GUIDE TO THE SQ18 YANOAMA FILE

[The name Yanoáma is an ethnolinguistic designation for a number of small groups of Indians living in southern Venezuela and northern Brazil, and does not refer to a nation or a people in the political sense. The Yanoáma include the Sanema (Guaharibo), Nabudub, Pubmatari, Taclaudub, Waica, Casapare (Shiriana), Karime, Samatari, Surara, and Pakidai. These subdivisions are not unified by socio-political authority but rather by a general and culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and cultural variants within the various subgroups. These groups occupy a coherent territory, speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious cultural forms. The Yanoáma are located in southern Venezuela and northern Brazil between 0° 30' - 5° North latitude and 62° - 65° 30' West longitude.

The Yanoáma language is basically an isolated linguistic stock, consisting of at least four languages and several dialects. Migliazza designates the four major languages of the Yanoáma family as: Yanomamɨ, spoken in the west-southwest; Yanomam in the east-southeast; Yanam in the northeast; and Sanɨma in the north (Migliazza, 1972, p. 34). According to the glottochronological analysis made by Layrisse et al, the Yanoáma linguistic stock ranges from 6-35 minimum centuries of internal separation. The two most clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: (1) Sanema, consisting of the Sanema, Nabudib, and Pubmatari, of 6-17 minimum centuries of internal divergencies, and (2) the Casapare, consisting of the Casapare, Carime (?), Waica, Samatari, Surara, and Pakidai, of 8-21 minimum centuries of internal divergencies (5: Layrisse et al, p. 80).

The Yanoáma are probably one of the largest, yet unacculturated aboriginal groups in South America, with a total population estimate of around 12,000 people distributed in over 200 villages. This would give an average of 60 people per village, yet as Migliazza points out in the central villages and those engaging in warfare, the population may reach as high as 200 in one village (Migliazza, 1972, p. 16). On the periphery of the Yanoáma area, the average per village is well below 50.

Subsistence is based on slash and burn agriculture with the predominant cultigen being a variety of plantains and bananas. Other crops grown are bitter and sweet manioc, taro, yams, and sweet potatoes. A form of arboriculture is also practiced, the tree grown being the peach palm whose fruit is of primary importance to the diet during certain times of the year. Hunting and collecting further supplement subsistence needs. Fishing is of minor importance to the economy.

The Yanoáma permanent settlements consisted of a circle of huts around a central plaza. The huts stand so close to one another that adjacent roofs overlap, giving the impression that a circular roof existed interrupted only by the diametrically opposed entrances to the settlement (Wilbert, 1972, p. 32). Each hut by itself was little more than a large windscreen on four poles, the front poles which are about twenty-one feet high slanting down in the rear to about three feet. The side facing the plaza is left open while the exterior wall is closed with poles wedged against the roof. The roof is made of a thick matting of palm leaves which are fastened to a framework of poles and lianas. The permanent villages are often surrounded by a palisade fence. The village is the basic socio-political unit of the Yanoáma and is composed of several

extended families with nuclear family households (5: Layrisse et al, p. 81). The founding nucleus of such a village consists of two intermarried pairs of brothers and (consanguineally with them unrelated) sisters and thier descendants. The two resulting lineages exchange their women, thus bringing about a web of affinal relationships. Every village has its own headman, and one pata, "big-old," was usually more influencial than the others. Migliazza claims that the position of chief or headman is not really inherited but was more dependent on having many living agnatic relatives and the ability to assert oneself among them (Migliazza, 1972, p. 415), yet there is some indication that at one time, at least, the office was inherited patrilineally from father to son, or from elder brother to younger brother. If there is no suitable successor to the office the old chief could choose a capable man outside of the dominant lineages. In addition to the regular village chief, during times of war, a man was often chosen with experience in combat to act as war chief. This latter office was not hereditary and became inactive when hostilities ceased. As additional lineage groups joined the village community and intermarried with members of the original lineages, political pressures and internal factionalism frequently led to the splitting apart of the village and the establishment of a completely new community.

Marriages are usually arranged by the male relatives of the girl, although there have been cases where the man would make his own choice of a bride and talk to her parents about the wedding arrangements. Brother-sister exchanges and cross-cousin marriages are the preferred pattern. Bride service is common among the Yanoáma. Residence is first with the girl's parents and later with the husband's family or wherever the husband chooses. There is no general marriage ceremony to all the Yanoáma. Polygyny is widespread.

All Yanoáma groups as well as their Carib neighbors have a kinship terminology of a bifurcate merging type (e.g., Ego calls his father's brother "father" and his mother's sister "mother"). A different term is used by Ego for his "uncles" and "aunts" of a different sex than that of his mother or father. In Ego's generation the terminology is of the Iroquois type in which parallel cousins are called "brothers" and "sisters" and thus differentiated from cross-cousins. Patrilineal descent and agnatic relationships are considered more important than matrilineal relatives, a fact not uncommon in the Iroquois kinship system (Migliazza, 1972, pp. 414-415).

Shamanism is well developed in the society with the shaman establishing contact with the spirits (hekira) through the use of hallucinogenic drugs. The chief function of the shaman is in the supernatural curing of the sick. All men can become shamans if they wish, requiring only some relatively simple but formal training under the tutelage of an older shaman; however, only a few men in each village actually choose to do so. The Yanoáma have a well developed cosmology and mythology with the primary cultural heroes Omam, his brother Yoao and their enemy Pore playing a major part in many of the tales and stories. A whole host of spirits and ghosts also play a part in their religious activities.

The SQ18 Yanoáma file consists of eleven sources, five in English (sources 5, 6, 9, 10, and 11), three are translations from the German (sources 1, 2, and 3), and three from the Spanish (sources 4, 7, and 8). Probably the most useful sources for a general background on the Yanoáma are 5: Layrisse et al, which contains a five page cultural summary on the Yanoáma as a whole, supplemented with the more detailed information presented in 10: Chagnon and 11:

Chagnon. The remaining sources in the file are related to specific Yanoáma subgroups. 1: Schuster, written by a professional anthropologist, is a sociological analysis of inter- and intra- community relationships among the Waica. Source 2: Becher, also written by a professional anthropologist, provides excellent ethnographic information on the material culture, religion, and political structure of the Surara and Pakidai subgroups, but is somewhat weak on social organization and kinship. 3: Rodrigues, written by a linguist, is a brief account of the historical and linguistic background of the Yanoáma language as spoken by the present day Surara and Pakidai. 4: Wilbert provides a good general background coverage on Sanema ethnography with additional data on other Yanoáma subgroups. Wilbert is a well known anthropologist with a specialized interest in South American ethnography. 5: Layrisse et al, prepared by a team of physicians and professional anthropologists, is basically a blood group study of the Waica Indians, with comparative data provided on other "Paleo/Meso-Indian peoples," especially the Warao and Yaruro. 6: Vinci, written by a traveler/explorer, is a popularized account of the author's travels among the Sanema subgroup of Yanoáma, as well as the Makiritare Indians (SS20) of southern Venezuela. Some general cultural information on both groups will be found here. 7 and 8: Barker, written by an American Protestant missionary, provide a short but precise ethnographic descriptions of the Waica, with special elaboration in 8: Barker on the warfare aspect. 9: Grelier, by a geographer, presents a popularized account of the author's trip to discover the source of the Orinoco River and his incidental observations on the various Indian groups with whom he came in contact during his expedition, here notably the Guaharibo (Sanema) and Waica, and the Makiritare (SS20). As noted previously, sources 10: Chagnon and 11: Chagnon provide a more general ethnography on the Yanoáma as a whole, with special emphasis in 10: Chagnon on warfare, social organization, and marriage alliances and in 11: Chagnon on warfare, interpersonal relations, and intercommunity relationships. All sources

except 3: Rodrigues, which was based entirely on secondary source material, were written from the primary field experiences of the authors. Sources 4: Wilbert and 10: Chagnon were further supplemented by the addition of documentary material to their primary data. All sources were based on data gathered in the period of 1950-1968.

The Yanoáma file is one of best available of any South American Indian group now a part of the HRAF file system, and well adapted to cross-cultural research. The file was processed between 1965-1972.]

/114/

121 I shall describe to you in the following some aspects of the social structure of the same Indian tribe whose conceptions about the soul Herr Dr. Zerries has just discussed. The title, "Sociology," is too presumptuous, insofar as today I intend to deal with only the larger social units and thus touch upon only a small sector of the sociological field. I shall be able to present to you only raw expedition-material; the comparative arrangement of these data in South American cultural history will be the work of the next few months.

101 131 The Waika /Waica/ inhabit the upper Orinoco river region in southern Venezuela; their area of habitation, however, is not limited by the Sierra Parima, in which the Orinoco rises and which forms the mountain border with Brazil, but rather extends into Brazilian soil far beyond this mountain chain, about to the middle of the northern tributaries of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco. [161] The Sierra Parima therefore is more the backbone of the living space of this Indian group, which, according to the best estimates, contains about fifty thousand persons and an area of about half 137 the size of West Germany. According to external appearances, [132] this region is counted as tropical rain forest; seasonal differences are only slight and are practically without influence on the life 101 and culture of the people. The critical cultural importance of the 199 forest lies in its isolating effect: between the habitation area of [137] the Waika and the first mixed settlement there extends an almost [487] uninhabited forest-belt several hundred kilometers wide, and since there is very little river traffic and as other means of transportation there are only onerously traversable Indian paths, the culture of the Waika has been able to remain almost completely pure. Only a [199] few material things from our world have as yet found their way to them: a few machetes and axes, a few matches and fishhooks, which an American mission working from 1947 to 1955 under very difficult conditions and we ourselves brought along; since the Waika do not maintain any contacts of their own downriver, however, the barely begun acculturation process does not go on /115/ by itself, but ebbs away the moment the visiting whites leave Waika country.

/115 cont./

101
(191)

Thus the geographic situation of the Waika and their extremely limited contact with civilization are depicted in a few words. Because the name is simple and well-known, I have so far spoken only of the "Waika," but now it is time to make a more precise distinction when first we turn to the question of tribal organization. On Venezuelan soil this people is divided into three large groups, all of whom, disregarding slight differences, speak the same language and have the same culture. The Shidishana /Shiriana/ live north of the Ocamo, a northern tributary of the upper Orinoco; to the north their territory is bordered by the Cariban Makiritare, with whom the Shidishana have in many ways entered into a close economic and social symbiosis. Adjacent to the Shidishana on the south are the Waika proper (the name means "killer"); they inhabit the region between Ocamo and Orinoco and with a few of their villages extend over to the southern Orinoco bank. The large and completely unexplored region south of the Orinoco to the Brazilian border and beyond, however, belongs, at least in its northern part, to the Shamatairi /Samatari/, the "tapir people," who are one of the most primitive groups of this people, stand strictly inimically opposed to any contact, and thus do not show even the slight traces of acculturation that the Waika do. As far as I can see, there is no reliable information available concerning the population groups east of the Sierra Parima, and unquestionably the picture for the Venezuelan area from whose northeastern part another group, named Okomatairi, has been reported will be improved later. The terms Waika and Shidishana (or Shiriana) used in the literature as a collective designation for these culturally similar virgin-forest groups are not very suitable, since they refer to subgroups; on the other hand, the name Guaharibo used by foreigners does not belong to the language of this people and is recognized only by the Shidishana. The only name that encompasses all the subgroups and is understood by the natives themselves as a general term is the word "Yanoama," which means "voice of the house" and contrasts with "nabe," by which all foreigners are meant indiscriminately -- all who do not speak

/115 cont./

101 the language of the Waika, Shidishana, or Shamatairi, therefore the neighboring Indians as well.

Thus the term "Yanoama" refers to the cultural and linguistic identity; it does not have the least political aspect. There is no tribe of the Yanoama, nor is there any tribe of the Waika, the Shidishana, or the Shamatairi. At most one can speak of the "people"; but one must bear in mind that there is no institution, no office, that is representative of this people. Also the cognizance of this term in the thinking of the natives /116/ remains general and therefore inevitably vague, parallel to the small amount of geographical knowledge, which is limited to what they themselves have traversed, that is, as a rule, to the circle of the nearest villages, which are about one to two days' journey away from one's own.

101 621 Geopolitical thought, which would find expression in a more extensive political organization, is unknown to the Yanoama; their conceptual world revolves around the village.

The village is the unit in which one thinks and after which one names himself: when questioned a Waika will never answer that he is a Waika or a Yanoama, but rather will give his village name, say, "Bolitaotedi," whereby "tedi" (village), like the Spanish "pueblo," refers less to the settlement and more to the

829 people who live in it. It seems obvious that one is a Waika, for the slight contact with civilization has not yet led in their thinking to distinguishing their own culture from that of foreigners; the foreigner has remained an individual guest with peculiar habits and has not yet become the representative of a large, strange

101 621 world. It is not obvious, however, to which village one belongs; village membership is the decisive political and sociological characteristic of the individual.

361 Externally the village is a clearing in the virgin forest, usually oval in ground plan, with a large diameter from 30 to 100 meters;

[162] the houses line the edge of this clearing. On the average a village is inhabited by about 100 persons. The villages of the Shamatairi south of the Orinoco, however, are much larger; according to our

2: Becher--1 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/V/

Foreword

114
101 This monograph contains the results of a nine-month investigation which I conducted from October 1955 to June 1956 among two Indian tribes of northwest Brazil which are as yet unknown to science.

121 My journey and the analysis of its results were made possible through the generous support of the Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft /German Research Association/, for which I am deeply indebted to it.

114 I should like cordially to thank my esteemed teacher, Herr Prof. Dr. Franz Termer, for regarding this work, the completion of which he supported actively and in an advisory capacity, worthy of inclusion in the series of reports of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/.

I was encouraged by Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, head of the study division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, to seek out these as yet uninvestigated tribes north of the middle Rio Negro. [122] Through his efforts I also obtained the approval of the Director and was given all possible assistance by this organization founded by Marshal Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, as well as a free flight with a military plane from Rio de Janeiro to Manaus. Hence I feel a sincere desire to express my gratitude to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, especially to Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro and the Brazilian Air Force.

122 I thank the University of São Paulo, above all the Dean, Herr Dr. Paulo Sawaya, and the Assistant Dean Herr Prof. Dr. Antonio Soares Amora, for granting me a stipend from June 1954 to September 1955, which made it possible for me to broaden my knowledge of Brazilian ethnology under such outstanding scholars as Herr Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and Herr Prof. Dr. Egon Schaden and to prepare myself thoroughly for the subsequent work in the field. To these two gentlemen I shall remain deeply indebted.

114 Valuable advice which was very useful to me on my expedition was given me by Herr Prof. Dr. med. Henrique da Rocha Lima (†).

2: Becher--vii E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/X/

102
101
131
133

Location of the Settlement Area of the Surára and Pakidái

/5 cont./

114 culture, along with a word list (12), while the latter describes his

12. Salathé, 1931/32.

visits in the Xiriâna (Shiriana) and Waiká (Uaika) maloka which were still on the Demini, or rather a branch, in 1932 (13).

13. Holdridge, 1933.

•101 On the basis of a perusal of the research reports of Zerries (14) (15)
114
127

14. Zerries, 1956a.

15. Zerries, 1956b.

and Schuster (16), as well as comparisons with ethnographic data

16. Schuster, 1958a.

and word lists which Salathé gathered among the Karimé (17),

17. Salathé, 1931/32.

Vinci among the Shiriana, Waika, and Samatari (18), and

18. Vinci, 1956.

Koch-Grünberg among the /6/ Xiriâna (Schirianá) groups, which he describes as linguistically isolated, and a few Waiká (Wafika) (19) (20),

19. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 454-456; 1923a, pp. 284 ff.

20. Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 302-308.

it was possible to determine that the societies investigated belong to a relatively uniform culture group and even linguistically differ

Surára. Pakidái Shiriana Waica

/6 cont./

114 101 [127] [97]

from each other only slightly in dialectal deviations (see the appendix /see 3: Rodrigues, this file/) (21). How great their

21. Loukotka and Rivet already established the relationship of a few of these languages and grouped them under the general term "Širianá linguistic family," in which they include Širianá, Karimé, Waŕka, and Pusárakaú. (Loukotka, 1942, pp. 8/9; Rivet et Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140).

homogeneity is may be seen by the fact that the Surára and Pakidái call themselves Yanonámi and the Waiká and Xiriána, according to Zerries and Schuster, call themselves Yanoáma (22) (23).

22. Zerries, 1956a, p. 187.

23. Schuster, 1958a, pp. 115/16.

However, members of the Aramamesterí, Karauaterí, Puseheweterí, and even of the Xiriána, whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái as wives, visitors, and captives, said that they were Yanonámi. Furthermore, the Surára chief Hewemão enumerated for me 42 more tribes between Catrimani and Rio Negro (24), friendly and hostile, pointing out that these

24. Becher, 1956.

must likewise be included.

In view of this and on the basis of the linguistic and cultural relationship, it would seem to be appropriate to adopt into South American ethnology Yanonámi or Yanoáma as a new designation for the linguistic and culture group made up of these small-sized and light-colored Indians of the northern Amazon. According to the investigations up to now, they occupy a relatively compact area which is bounded in the east and south by the Rio Branco and the Rio Negro, respectively, but in the north and west extends

Surára
Pakidái

/6 cont./

101 beyond the Uraricuera and the Parima range, respectively.
114 There can no longer be any doubt about the ethnic affiliation of this population. Koch-Grünberg was already of the opinion that in the case of the Xiriâna (Schirianá) and Waiká (Waíka) "it is not a matter of two different tribes, but merely of two divisions of one large nation" (25) (26). At the same place, however, the

25. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 224.

26. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 290.

investigator expresses the conjecture, which was confirmed by the opinions of neighboring tribes, that the Waiká represent merely a subdivision of the Xiriâna, "with whom they live either peaceably or in bitter enmity" (25) (26) /see the footnotes above/. Their isolation from other tribes is, according to Ourique, "an example of the instinctive precaution of the race against its own deterioration and its downfall" (27).

27. Ourique, 1906, p. 24.

101 In this connection there is a significant hint by the Surára chief,
619 according to which there are two powerful tribes within the
[115] "Yanonámi nation" first the Xiriâna, who call themselves "Harateri," and secondly the Waiká, who, however, are constantly warring. All the smaller tribes are on the side of either one or the other, but at the same time are obliged to pay tribute
[438] and render service in war (28). The Surára and Pakidái, the
[114]

28. With regard to the Xiriâna, Koch-Grünberg already mentions this vassal relationship (Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 226), and Métraux also refers to it (Métraux, 1948, p. 861).

chief told me further, are allies of the Xiriâna and occasionally

/6 cont./
obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xirifna.

/7/ IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Demini nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

/8 cont./
however, they had withdrawn into regions remote from the river. Their last maloka on the Demini was taken over by a Waiká tribe in 1934. This is the place where today the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" is located, on the right bank of the middle Demini, just below the Cachoeira Auatsinaua (40) (41). In 1939, the

40. Holdridge visited the Xiriána here in 1932. (Holdridge, 1933, p. 380.)

41. According to information which Nimuendajú obtained in Manaus in 1927 from a man named Domingos Campos, Aruak-speaking Indians on the Demini were supposed to have been called Xiriána (Nimuendajú, 1955, pp. 150/51). This brings up all kinds of questions which are yet to be solved. Thus, there could have been an Aruak tribe of this name, for the shards which I found on the Demini, as well as the name of this river, indicate that members of that linguistic group once lived here. It might also be possible, however, that Aruak groups, after their subjugation by the Xiriána, became assimilated with the latter. On the other hand, it is not impossible that individual Xiriána adopted the Aruak language, and finally there still remains open the surmise that the Indians mentioned by Domingos Campos are not identical with the actual Xiriána, but were merely called that by the caboclo population.

In the literature, the two tribal designations "Xiriána" (members of the Aruak linguistic family) and "Xirianá" (independent linguistic family) (Loukotka, 1942,

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/8 cont./

114
174
101

41. (cont.)

pp. 8, 24, 52; Ribeiro, 1957, p. 99) have already become current. Nevertheless, I incline to the view that in the case of the Xiriána it is a matter of one and the same large, widely scattered Yanonámi tribe. The material and spiritual culture of the Xiriána with whom the Surára and Pakidái are allied (the latter and the Xiriána whom I met among them themselves regularly accent the first a) corresponds perfectly with the one that Koch-Grünberg calls "Schirianá." The latter points out in one work that "Schirianá" is their self-designation, while "Schirischána" is a name which their neighbors and mortal enemies, the "Maquiritáres," gave them (Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 454). It should also be mentioned that the designation "Shrirana," according to Vinci, is a Makuxí /Macusi/ word (Vinci, 1956, p. 107).

167 In 1939, the
648 Waiká, too, gave up this maloka and moved to the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini. Here, at the beginning of the year 1956, at the time of my stay among the Surára, they were attacked by a Xiriána tribe and destroyed. Surára warriors told me that all the Waiká men were killed and the women and girls were taken captives.

101
114 As inhabitants of the Rio Aracá, Nimuendajú entered on the above-mentioned map of this region (see p. 16), with the date of 1874, the Bahuana, an Aruak tribe. With reference to this, the Surára chief remarked that this tribe also goes by the proper name of Pootarí and was an enemy of the Surára, Pakidái, Xiriána etc.; at the present time it lives in the source region of the Aracá

/134/

114 During his stay among the Surára Indians, Hans Becher was able to compile an extensive vocabulary of their language. This still needs linguistic revision and further checking. Even now, however, it makes it possible to establish perfectly clearly the relationship of this language to the languages of the Waika /Waica/, Širiana /Shiriana/, and Karimé. There is a very close correlation, [101] apparent at first glance, which corresponds to the cultural unity of these Indian groups, whom Becher has classified under the name Yanonámi /Yanoama/.

The first vocabulary of a language of this group was published by Koch-Grünberg in 1913 and -- considerably expanded -- in 1928, and comes from the Širiana (Širianá) of the Uraricuera (and its tributary the Uraricaparú) (1). In 1932 there appeared

1. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 458; 1928, pp. 302-308.

a vocabulary of the Karimé Indians of the Catrimani River compiled by G. Salathé (2). Further material was then published by

2. Salathé, 1932, pp. 314-316.

A. Vinci, who added to his travel account a vocabulary of the Warema-Širiana (or -Waika, listed by him as Uarema, Guaica and Scirisciana) on the Merevari River (3). In 1954-55 O. Zerries

3. Vinci, 1956, pp. 354-357.

and M. Schuster collected as yet unpublished material among the Waika of the upper Orinoco, and in 1956 Becher presented his vocabulary from the Surára and a number of expressions from the Pakidái. This, to my knowledge, is all that is known about these languages at present.

114 As early as 1913 Koch-Grünberg found that Širiana was in-
197 dependent of the neighboring Karaiben /Carib/ languages and apparently isolated (4). The latter view was adopted in 1924 by

4. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 455.

/11/

Introduction

101
131
[133] The native tribes that are discussed in the present report inhabit the northwest zone of the Escudo Guayanés, located in the southern part of the Republic of Venezuela. As the natural boundaries of this region, which we call "the Orinoco-Ventuari region," one may point out the rivers: the Orinoco in the north and west; the Ventuari in the south, and the Caura in the east. Geographically the zone is enclosed between 64°-68°W. and 4°-8° N. approximately. The northern part of it corresponds to the Distrito Cedeño of Bolivar state, while the southern part, as Departamento Atures, belongs to the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

133
101 Hydrographically speaking, the region includes five river basins which carry off its water and which at the same time set off the various areas of native distribution (1).

[128] 1. We do not include here the small native groups who recently arrived (Guahibo, Piapoco, Puinave, Curipaco). They live along the periphery of the region, except the Guahibo, who advanced a few years ago to the Manapiare river.

a) The basin of the Cuara, with the Mayoncon /Maioncon/, a subgroup of the Makiritare, the Yecuana, and with some Sanemá groups;
b) The basin of the Cuchivero, with the Panare Indians and some unknown groups on the headwaters;
c) The basin of the Suapure, which, with the exception of some Panare nuclei, does not at the present time have any native populations;
d) The basin of the Sipapo, with the Piaroa and Macó Indians;
e) The basin of the Ventuari, with the Yabarana Indians on the Manapiare River, the Yecuana (Decuana) subtribe of the Makiritare, and the Nabudub, a Sanemá subgroup (cf. hydrographic map /see p.12/).

Guahibo SC14
Yabarana SS22
Panare SS21
Sanema
Saliva SS15
Makiritare SS20

/11 cont./

All these basins, without exception, pour their great volumes of water into the Orinoco, which, like a gigantic arc, runs across the north of the Escudo de Guayana, thus enclosing all the native tribes studied here and marking the farthermost boundary and end of their primitive world (cf. ethnic map /see p. 5 /). /12/ /Map appears here./

/13/ It is interesting to point out that the extensive fluvial network of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone does not serve the majority of the tribes as a means of communication or as an outstanding source of food. The Panare of the basin of the Cuchivero do not travel by river, and on the Cuchivero we found only one dugout /bongo/, which was used solely for crossing the river. In general the curiara /dugout canoe/ seems to be a foreign element in Panare culture, introduced recently by the Creoles. Nor did the Yabarana of the basin of the Ventuari use the curiara, and they recently learned from their neighbors, the Makiritare, the art of making them. For the Sanemá the river represents an obstacle rather than a means of communication, and they use rafts in order to cross it. At the present time, only the groups who live in symbiosis with the Makiritare make curiaras, but there is not the slightest doubt that this industry was adopted recently. The Sanemá spend less time at fishing than do the Panare, Yabarana, and Guahibo, since the latter too are among those Indians oriented toward the land, with its roads, rather than toward the rivers and navigation. The only real voyagers of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone are the Piaroa and the Makiritare, and the fame of the latter exceeds that of the former.

Culturally, the Makiritare belong to a Neo-Indian level, as do their cousins of the same linguistic affiliation, the Panare and the Yabarana. It is interesting, however, to call attention to the fact that to speak of Caribe /Carib/ Indians is not the same eo ipso as speaking of voyaging Indians. There are Neo-Indians who are ignorant of the curiara and who developed agriculture, not in a Meso-Indian culture (of fishermen and voyagers), but basically on top of a Paleo-Indian culture (of hunters). Meso-Indian cultures, such as that of the Warao, for example, and possibly that of the Piaroa, represent a specialization of the Paleo-American who was

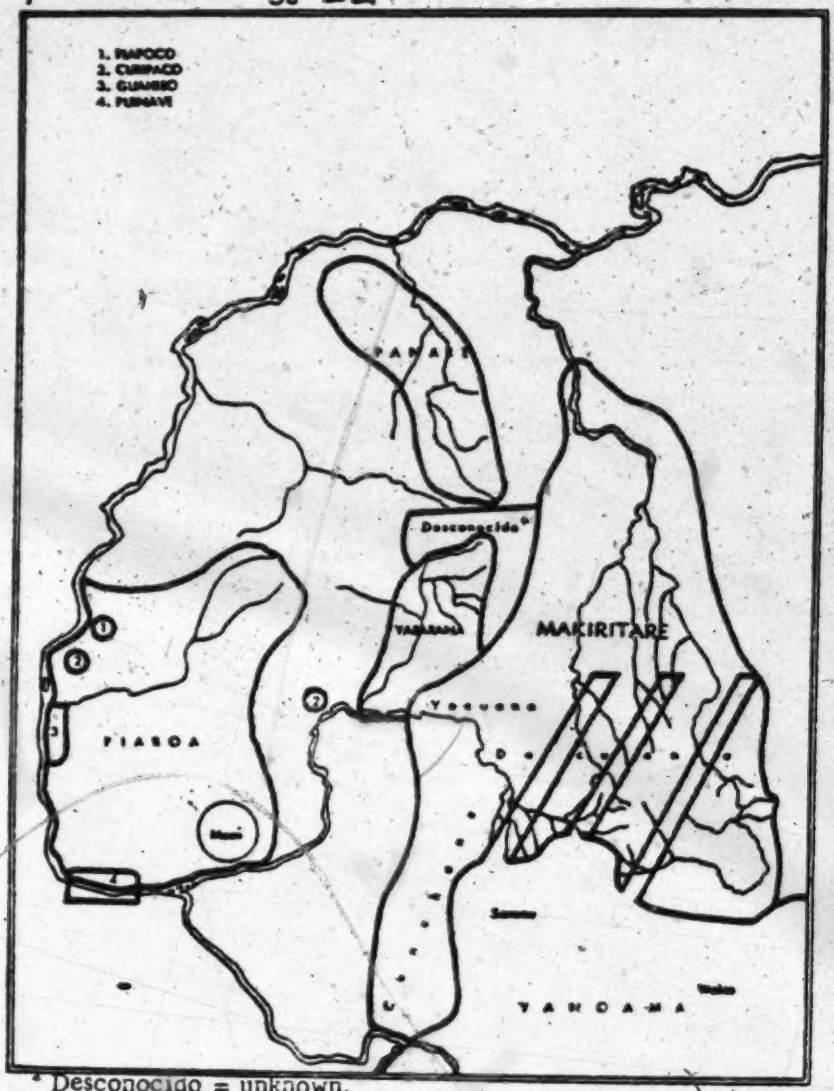
[Text continues on P. 4]

4 Wilbert--5 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Achagua SC5
Saliva SS15
Panare SS21
Makiritare SS20
Yabarana SS22

Sanema
Puinave SC18
Barauna SQ27
Guahibo SC14

Yapa SAGBPA MYa 101 102 133



* Desconocido = unknown.

Map 2. Distribution of the native tribes of the Orinoco-Ventauri region.

4: Wilbert--20 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

/177/

The Sanemá

101 The word Sanemá appears here as the designation for a subtribe of the Yanoama. The Sanemá were called Guaharibo and were sometimes confused also with the Shirishana /Shiriana/.

The terms Guaharibo and Shirishana (written with abusive orthographic freedom) lack proper sense when applied to the Sanemá, and they must not, as has heretofore happened, be applied to this tribe or to the peripheral bands, who accepted them as designations used by the Whites (Guaharibo) and by the Makiritare (Shirishana).

The name Guaharibo, like Macú and Tapuya, is a vague and collective designation which includes many primitive tribes and which, therefore, has little classificatory value and will not stand up to scientific and impartial criticism.

The term Shirishana, for its part, seems to us to be a nickname rather than a generic denomination, since it means "araguato monkey" and is used by the Caribe in a contemptuous tone when they refer to the Sanemá, whom they consider to be subhuman beings born from the dust of their shadows. The name also lends itself easily to confusion with the Crichaná of the Ianaperi River and of Caribe affiliation.

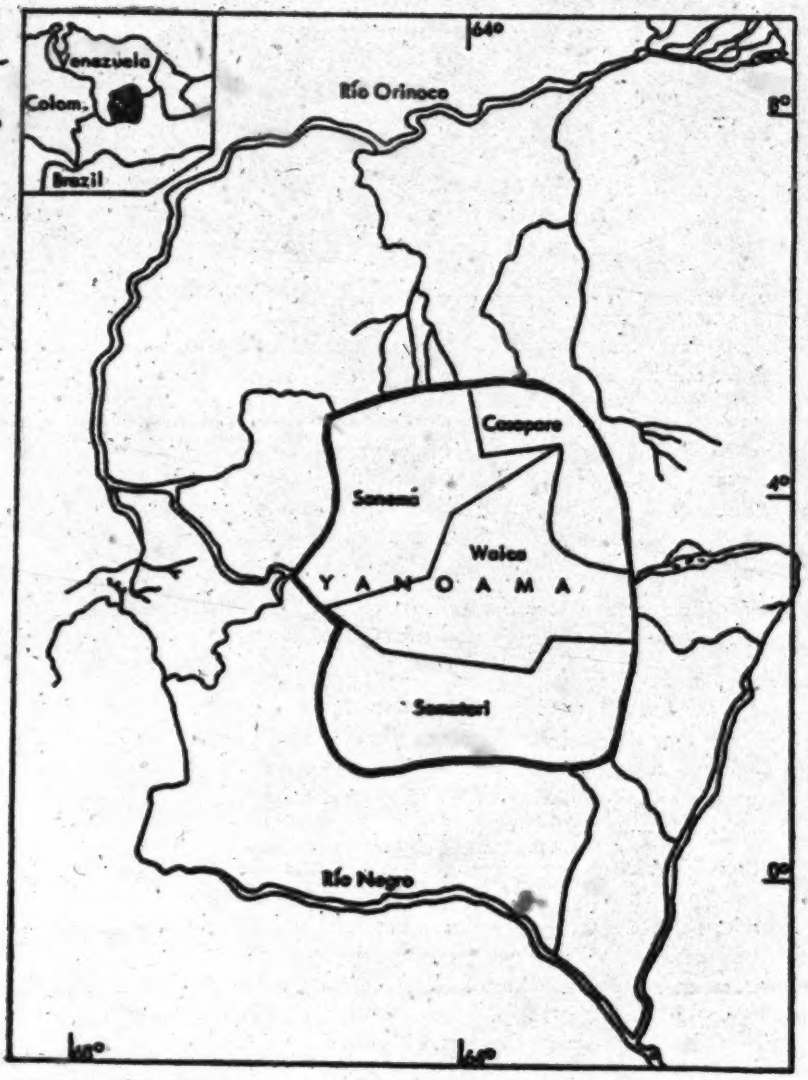
For the above-mentioned reasons we prefer the term Sanemá, which means "people," to that of Guaharibo, which is equivalent to "savage," or to Shirishana, "araguato monkey." This preference has more scientific aspects and more human respect.

[114] It would seem that the term Yanoama was introduced into ethnographic literature by Zerries (1956a, p. 187) and was accepted, quite rightly, by Schuster (1958, p. 115) and Becher (1960, p. 6) as a generic name for the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, Samatari, Surara, and Pakidai.

128 101 In the present treatise we shall consider the Yanoama as a tribe, not so much in the politico-social sense, as in the linguistic-cultural sense, since the Yanoama, in general, represent a specific culture made up /178/ /map appears here/ /179/ of the various peculiar subcultures of the diverse subtribes which live in a coherent territory, which speak closely related languages, and possess essentially similar economic and sociological forms.

4: Wilbert--21 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

101
102
131
133



Map 7. Distribution of the Yanoama Indians (preliminary).

Bari SS 13 Sanema
Makiritare SS 20 Warao SS 18
Saliva SS 15

/179 cont./

Y 131 127 128 We have knowledge of the distribution of the Sanemá on the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura from our own expedition's personnel, while we took the data on the Casapare from the excellent cartographic work of Montoya (1958), who visited the zone over a period of several months.

Y [101] /180/ The name Casapare is employed by the Sanemá to designate their neighbors to the east. Koch-Grünberg (1923) had already mentioned the group of the Upper Uraricaparâ, a tributary of the Uraricuera and the one that occupied the right shore of the Uraricuera River, facing the Marutani range, on the Motomotó River. The broken lines indicate, approximately, the territory occupied by each Yanoama subtribe. The location of the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma comes from the map published by Civrieux (1959), and that of the other settlements of that tribe was verified by the personnel of our expedition.

M 131 127

Y 131 161 According to this map, the territory inhabited at the present time by the Yanoama is located between 0° 30' – 5° 11 and 62° – 65° 30' W. If we grant that the total Yanoama population reaches the figure of 20,000 individuals spread out over an area of 150,000 square kilometers, we recognize as the density index of the population that of one person per 7.5 square kilometers. There are authors who, being overly generous, raise the Yanoama population to 30,000 and even 50,000 inhabitants, but this number seems exaggerated to us.

B S L 161 177 It is interesting to point out that the highest figures for the native population correspond to the primitive tribes of hunters and fishermen or to those who had an incipient or rudimentary agriculture, such as: the Barí (Motilones, Mapé), 2,000; the Piaroa, 4,000; and the Warao, 8,000.

They are also the tribes which have had least contact with the white man. There is an interesting and instructive relation between the demographic datum of a native population and the number of years that it has had contact with Whites: the higher the latter, the lower the former.

Sanema
Warao 5518
Saliva 5515
Bari 5513

/180 cont./

The Barí suffered greatly from the Yupa, the Piaroa and Warao from the Caribe, but these sufferings were minimal compared to the oppression to which other tribes were subjected by the Whites. The Yanoama have been attacked for hundreds of years by the Caribe, who surrounded their territory with a semicircle along the north; the Yanoama endured something similar from the Arawak, who surrounded them in a semicircle along the south. But all in all, the White has not been very successful so far in approaching this primitive population and his destructive influence has not affected their ancestral customs. The Caribe and Arawak have declined gradually in vigor and numbers; now we are witnesses of the triumph of the Yanoama over their neighbors of a more refined culture, for not only did they defend their territory, but were successful in spreading to the north and west.

The strongest and most efficaceous ally of the Yanoama has been the Cordillera de Parima, together with the dense tropical selva of the Territorio Amazonas. In the /181/ fateful period of persecution they have always found a safe refuge in the protecting selva. Nevertheless, as of relatively recent times, the different Yanoama subtribes are beginning to realize that the space beyond the conventional boundaries of their tribal territory is sparsely populated, almost deserted. The number of their traditional enemies has diminished considerably, and the invasions of their territory have had practically no consequences. In this manner they have gained almost 100 kilometers to the north of the Sierra de Pacarima, where the Casapare now live on the Upper Paragua, and the northern group of the Sanemá on the headwaters of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura rivers.

The center of distribution of the Casapare is located to the south of the Sierra Pacarima in the basin of the Rio Branco. We know this Yanoama subtribe only through a few sporadic superficial contacts, and the people, as well as their territory, remain practically unknown. For this reason we consider the name Casapare with which we designated all the Yanoama in the zone of study as strictly preliminary, and we would not be surprised if we had to change it in the future for a more exact and adequate name.

/181 cont./

101 name. We included the Casapare among the Yanoama on the basis of information from the Sanemá of the Erebato, who assured us that they speak a language similar to theirs.

101 127 The limited scientific data at our disposal and which refer to the Casapare all come from the northern group, and their interpretation is relatively difficult because of the fact that on the Uraricuera River the Waica and Sanemá zones of distribution come together with that of the Casapare, and the chroniclers were unable to distinguish with precision and clarity the representatives of the different subtribes.

101 The ethnic differentiation which appeared very early in the respective biographical sources was that of the Shirishana and Guaharibo (with their multiple orthographic variations). At the present time there is not the slightest doubt that we are dealing with Yanoama Indians, but we do not think that it is proper to identify the Guaharibo and Shirishana as a single group with two distinct names. It is our opinion, on the contrary, that each name designates a more or less distinct group of the Yanoama, and that "Shirishana" refers to the Casapare, and "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá. The Sanemá of the Territorio Amazonas of Venezuela have been known from the beginning by the name Guaharibo. The confusion of the two terms originates precisely in the northern zone under discussion, where the two subtribes live in close geographic proximity. Thus, we believe that among the Yanoama of the Paragua there are Sanemá in the west or on the headwaters of the Paragua itself, while the Casapare /182/ occupy the territory toward the east and are established principally along the length and on the banks of the Paramichi.

This close contact between the representatives of the two subtribes is recent, as we shall point out later on, and it is almost certain that today there is some genetic and cultural fusion between the two groups. To the south of the Sierra Pacarima they also have some relations, but more sporadically, since they occupy two distinct zones; the Casapare (Shirishana) on the Uraricuera to the north of Maraca Island; and the Sanemá (Guaharibo) and the Waica, the territory farther to the southwest.

4: Wilbert--26 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Casapare
Makiritare SS 20
Pemon SS 16

Y
•101
[127]

/132 cont./

With regard to the Casapare of the Uraricuera River, we have the data supplied us by Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 284-319), and a comparison of his "Shirishana" vocabulary with the "Shirishana" vocabulary of Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108) gives us the impression that both are very much alike, but differ greatly from the Sanemá family (cf. glotto-chronological sketch see p. 49 /). In spite of the fact that they now occupy adjacent geographic zones, we prefer to make a clear distinction in the literature between the "Shirishana" (Casapare) and "Guaharibo" (Sanemá), considering them as two different subtribes of the Yanoama tribe. According to their linguistic separation, they represent, in fact, the two extreme poles of maximum distance (18).

18. Note that this does not mean that we also continue with the old nomenclature, but rather that the name "Shirishana" of the literature corresponds to the Casapare subtribe, and the name "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá subtribe, of this work.

Y
648
P
M
648
361

[illegible] their center of distribution in Brazil, the Casapare harasse[illegible] their neighbors, the Pemón and the Makiritare, with continuo[illegible]raiding from the time that the latter arrived at the northern slope of the Serranía. It seems that the Taurepán (Pemón) were never able to establish a pueblo farther west than the eastern point of Maraca Island on the Uraricuera and that the Makiritare maintained their advanced posts at the cost of great losses and sacrifices, until finally they were forced to abandon them in the face of the constant threat and the imminent danger of losing their lives.

Y
M
648
361

The Makiritare began to lose ground at least some 120 years ago, when the Yanoama killed a number of Makiritare Indians (Schomburgk, 1841, pp. 437-8, 444), and it would seem that at the present time Tarakuñiña on the upper Yararejuri is the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía.

P
197 /184 cont./ Casapare
799 Auake 555
161 Pemon 55 16
expansionists, and their number at present is quite small; they number 1,800 individuals and show a density of 1:16.5 square kilometers.

Y
177 The Mayoncon and Arecuna, along the north, do not make
648 an effective barrier to Yanoama expansion. Here, however they are liable to clash with the already advanced civilization of these regions where they will meet the Indian, the Negro, and the White with individual cultures irreducible by the Paleo-Indian culture of the Yanoama.

Y
101 Among the tribes which have been absorbed by the Yanoama
619 are the Kaliana, Auakí, etc., about whose identification there is some confusion in the literature.

Kaliana, however, is the name which the Casapare give to
104 the Sapé. The latter were identified as Kaliana by a native companion of Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 12-13; cf. idem, 1922, p. 227), while Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 103) identify them with the name "Shirianá" (Casapare) as Karianapuik. In 1956 the Sapé (Kariana, Kaliana) were visited by Montoya, who classifies them as related to the "Shirishana" (1958, p. 168). "It is an isolated group," says Montoya, "which lives on the Antabarí River and upper Pao; in the zones of the upper Paragua and Pauré-Murán River.

A
241 /185/ "They devote themselves to agriculture, but produce
433 only as much as they consume or a little more for barter with the
439 Shirianna who are travelers and supply them with salt and other items which they lack.

A
501 "Some of them have learned to make curiaras in such a rudimentary manner as to make the Moñongón Indians, the masters of this art, smile. But they do make very fragile 'shells,' which allow them to travel to hunting and fishing zones, carrying
A light loads.

582 "They marry frequently with the Shirianna groups and even
A with the Arekuna. They appear to be destined to disappear as
101 a differentiated ethnic group or to be totally absorbed by the Shirianna, more numerous and nearer than the Arekuna" (Montoya, ibid.).

Auake 555

/185 cont./

101 [181] [114] As can be judged from these indications regarding the character of Sapé culture, this is a little-developed culture, and Montoya is right in differentiating them from the Caribe. But, judging from the Sapé vocabulary which accompanies the work of Armellada-Matallana and another by Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 308-317), it is not possible to identify the Sapé group as "related to the Shirianna."

101 114 [361] The Auaké, furthermore, are identical with the Arutani, who were visited by Armellada and Matallana during their expedition to the Paragua (1942, pp. 75, 86). They found them living in two rancherias; one near Maihia Falls on the Paragua River and across from the Momurán, a tributary of the same, on the right bank, with one house and 20 inhabitants. The comparison of the Auaké vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 308-313) with the Arutani vocabulary leaves no doubt but that the two are of the same tongue.

114 105 181 [362] [501] Both groups, the Sapé (Kaliana) as well as the Arutani (Auaké), seem to have a very poorly developed culture, probably like that of the Yanoama. Montoya describes Sapé culture with typically marginal traits, and Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 75) say of the Arutani that "these Indians are the poorest that we have seen on the whole trip; they live in an absolutely miserable rancho and the little boats that they use are made of bejucos."

175 31 [101] [622] The Portuguese commission on boundaries (1787) mentions this tribe as Aoaquis, inhabitants of the sources of the Canamé, where they lived in large numbers under the command of three captains (Coudreau, 1887:2, p. 393). In 1838 Robert Schomburgk found some Oewaku on the middle Uraricuera; he describes them as a nomad tribe that lived on the headwaters of the Uraricapará and on the source of the Paragua. In 1882 the Auaké (Arutani) /186/ were visited for the first and last time in their own home by a Comisión de Límits, which found a small group on the upper Uraricapará. They had a large, round house, provided with a palisaded wall. The latter served them as protection against the attacks of their neighbors (Relatorio, 1884, p. 189; Grupe and Thode, 1890, p. 253). In 1911 Koch-Grünberg (1923, p. 12;

[342] [712]

Avake 555

/186 cont./

Y 114 797 162 indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1942, p. 87) they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

/187/ This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history of the Yanoama. Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Pumpirí, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present volume only in the last decades. The marginal tribes, such as the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Y 162 167 114 Y [361] A [167] [648]

Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Uraricuera River starts.

Y ● 101

According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail.

Y 491 241

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 266

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491 494

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista." They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 411

142 146

114 ● 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

4: Wilbert--34 E-4,5 (1358) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

600 /186 cont./
M but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard. It is inter-
114 esting that Ghearbrandt (1955, p. 348) is of the opinion that the
167 Makiritare had left the Urariquera some twenty years previously.
Y The Guadema seem to be different from the Casapare,
• 101 according to what one can deduce from the above-mentioned book; probably it is a matter of a local Sanemá or Waica group.

The center of distribution of the Sanemá is the basin of the Padamo River, a tributary of the upper Orinoco. Their territory is bounded on the south by Waica territory, on the west by the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma, on the north by the Makiritare of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, and on the east by the little known territory of the Casapare.

Y If we judge from the present situation of the distribution
101 of the Yanoama, it is quite probable that the first Yanoama
197 with whom the Whites had contact on their trips along the upper Orinoco were the Sanemá, who appear in historical sources as the Guaharibo. One finds the Guaharibo frequently mentioned together with the Waica, but it is interesting that from the very first reports authors made a distinction between Waica and Guaharibo

Y /189/ Caulin (1958, pp. 305-306), writing in 1775, places
175 the Guaribe on the Maraca and its tributaries. According to him,
101 they are white in color like the Spaniards and are the same "uaribas" already mentioned by the "Expedición de Solano." Humboldt also speaks of Guaicas and of Guaharibos, having met representatives of them in the Esmeralda Mission. Spruce (1908: 1, pp. 396-398), who met an old Guaharibo man on his trip on the Casiquiare, is the first one to leave us the fullest and most authentic information regarding the Yanoama of the upper Orinoco. According to this author, the Guaharibo call themselves Kudé-Kubui, but it is difficult today to decide whether these are Guaharibo or Waica. We have a like opinion regarding the Guaharibo of Chaffanjon (1889). It is possible that the Sanemá may have occupied zones farther toward the Casiquiare and the Cunucunuma, but the Arawak and Caribe of this zone occupied these places before the arrival of the Whites, and the boundaries were established by the tribes interested in them.

Y 174 101 /189 cont./

The expansion of the Sanemá to the north, that is, from the Padamo to the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, is relatively recent, but, to judge from the data given us by glottochronology, the separation of the various groups of the subtribe corresponds to 600-1,700 years. We established contact with three northern groups of the Sanemá: the Nabudub of the upper Ventuari, the Taclaudub of the upper Caura, and the Pubmatari of the Canaracuni. They apparently represent Sanemá groups which are quite well established, and the internal distance of this linguistic family is, in a way, surprising.

Y 101 184

The Sanemá of the Padamo and of the upper Orinoco are practically unknown to science, and it is expected that the cultural difference between them and their brothers who live north of 4° and in close contact with the Makiritare is relatively pronounced.

Y 101 648 167

The geographic separation of the Sanemá into a southern group and another northern one is recent and is due to the fact that in 1947 Captain Cardona had to make a landing field on the Canaracuni (personal communication), and, since there were no Indians in the zone to help him in his venture, he went to Brazil and brought the first Sanemá to this region of Venezuela.

Y 167

This date marks the beginning of the infiltration of the Yanoama element on a larger scale into the land of the Makiritare, their

Y M 643

neighbors on the northwest, with whom they have lived in deep enmity from remote times. While the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma still do not tolerate large groups of Yanoama in their territory, those of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura live in close contact

Y M [179]

with large groups of the Sanemá subtribe. This was the way in which Makiritare culture of the tropical selva type penetrated to that essentially /190/ preagricultural tribe composed of hunters

Y M 648

and gatherers with a very rudimentary culture. The Sanemá received extremely bad treatment at the hands of the Makiritare, comparable to that received by a slave at the hands of his master, for which reason toward the year 1950 the Sanemá revolted against

4 [411]

the Makiritare and declared a war without quarter against them. It was then that the different Makiritare subtribes united to repulse the Sanemá, whom they conquered in various encounters, thanks to their fire-arms.

Makiritare SS 20

M
Y
641 /190 cont./ scorn them, and, at first sight, they seemed to be unworried, but the knowledge that they no longer live alone in the land of their fathers, and the fact of having heard that four days prior to our arrival /191/ at the conuco an Indian who had sought refuge by climbing a tree was shot by a Sanemá arrow and fell M Y lifeless into the river, constantly tortured them.

582 A powerful stimulus which always encouraged the Makiritare
563 on their numerous trips was to get a wife among their neighbors
177 of the same tribe. Nowadays, despite the intense scorn which the
648 Makiritare profess toward the Yanoama, taking a wife from that
M [186] tribe is not considered an impossible or degrading thing; there are many Yanoama women who have married Makiritare men (cf. Grelier, 1955b, p. 10). This matrimonial interchange inevitably carries with it an assimilation of cultures between the two tribes, a process in which the Makiritare cultural pattern will
Y dominate that of the Yanoama and the Yanoama genes will
167 infiltrate the Makiritare gene pool. There is not the least doubt
563 but that the Sanemá, who were brought in for a short time, ar-
177 rived at the upper Ventuari and Caura where they took up resi-
648 dence to stay, and that the present fusion between the Caribe and the Yanoama ought not to be explained so much by the good will of the former as by the vitality of the latter.

Y
● 101 The Waica subtribe occupies the central part of the present Yanoama territory, that of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the mouth of the Ocamo, including also the southern bank of the river (Barker, 1953, p. 434). As we have already mentioned, they appear to live also in the general arc of the upper Rio Branco and its western tributaries, and Schuster (1958, p. 114) is very probably right when he says that the Sierra Parima does not bound the Waica zone, but that it extends to Brazilian territory.

Y
[77 We have already mentioned the first contacts which the
797 Whites had with the Waica, and, after a somewhat unfruitful effort by Hamilton Rice at the beginning of the present century, the Waica world went without contact with science until the New
Y Tribes Mission was able to start peaceful relations with the Waica
114 through the missionary James Paul Barker. Some ethnographic data were also published on this Yanoama subtribe by several

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

•101 114 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 128 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have considered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 192 The linguistic material which the author of the present work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 192 174 197 In order to classify this material within the different Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 197 174 126 127 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabularies were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956, pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

/193 cont./

174 197 [192] 127] We were not able to obtain the vocabulary of the Karimé published by Salathé (1932, pp. 314-316). Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 134-138) places it between the Waica and the Casapare (Schiriana of Koch-Grünberg).

According to the results of the lexico-statistical calculation (cf. p. 47), it can be said that the idioms compared form a linguistic conglomerate whose internal divergences date from 6-35 minimal centuries (mc). By their temporal distribution they constitute two more or less distinct groups: a) a Sanemá family with Nabudub, Sanemá, and Pubmatari, with an internal divergence of 6-17 mc.; and b) a Casapare family with Samatari, Waica, and Casapare and with an internal divergence of 8-21 mc. The extreme languages are Nabudub (of the Sanemá) and Casapare. The distance of the Waica from the three Sanemá idioms corresponds to 17 mc., which is the same as the maximum internal distance of the Sanemá family, and the Nabudub have the same difficulty in understanding a Pubmatari or a Waica; they should, however, understand each other, although with some difficulty. The Waica has greater ties with the Samatari, with whom he can communicate orally without any great difficulty.

Other classifications of the Yanoama idioms were made by Rivet (1924, p. 678), Loukotka (1944, pp. 8-9), Mason (1950, p. 254), Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140), McQuown (1955), Swadesh (1959), and Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137).

Koch-Grünberg (1913, pp. 455-458) had established by 1913 the independence of the Yanoama idiom (Shiriana) from the Caribe and added that the idiom apparently represented an isolated language. Rivet (1924, p. 678) and W. Schmidt (1926, p. 211) shared the opinion of Koch-Grünberg regarding the affiliation and independence of the "Shirishana" family. /194/ The classification of the "Shirishana Family" by Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140) includes the following idioms:

Shirishana Family

[101] a) Shirishana (or Guaharibo), who live dispersed in small groups in the interior, along the tributaries of the

/194 cont./

174 197 Uraricuera and on the southern slopes of the Sierra de Parima;

● 101 b) Karime (or Shauári), on the Catemany River in the same region;

c) Waika, who live on the upper Ocamo and Mocajahy, right tributaries of the upper Orinoco;

d) Pusárakáu, an unknown wild tribe which lives in the Sierra Parima.

174 197 As we mentioned above, we are inclined to differentiate between Shirishana (Casapare) and Guaharibo (Sanemá), which would seem to be linguistically justified by the distance of 23-35 mc between them. Rivet bases his opinion, it would seem, [127] on Koch-Grünberg's material (1928), which we have also used in our comparison. The Pusárakáu idiom (d), which also appears in Loukotka's classification (1944, pp. 8-9), is a completely unknown idiom and therefore does not figure in Mason's classification (1950, p. 254), which presented the following Shirishaná grouping:

SHIRISHANÁ

[101] A.--Waharibo (Guaharibo)

1. Shirianá

a) Waicá (Guaica, Uaica)

B.--Carimé (Karimé)

174 197 114 According to Mason, Shirianá and the less important Carimé are the principal idioms of the family. This observation is based upon Koch-Grünberg's material (1928, Shiriana), which was identified in our comparison as Casapare, and, as the greater separation of the Yanoama stock corresponds to that language, we must admit the value of Mason's opinion. Carimé does not figure in our classification.

Furthermore, Mason is of the opinion that the Waica idiom is, possibly, a dialect of Shirianá (Casapare), but, according to the glottochronological calculation, he does not seem to be on firm ground. The distance between the two idioms is 21 mc, which is much greater than a dialectal difference of 5-7 mc. Waica appears on the graph as closer to Sanemá (17-18mc). The opinion of /195/ many researchers that Shirianá (Casapare) and Waica are descended from the Guaharibo (Sanemá) seems to have some justification.

/199 cont./

128 attributed to the other subtribes also, but we do not believe it proper to make an indiscriminate generalization, particularly if we bear in mind that the subtribes seem to be carriers of different subcultures.

●101 The Sanemá live on the upper Ventuari, the Erebato, and the Caura. It is therefore a matter of the Sanemadub, Nabadub, and Pubmatari and their various local groups already mentioned in the introduction. We can, to begin with, divide these Sanemá into two groups: those who live in close association with the Makiritare, and those who, although living in the land of the Makiritare, have not been able to establish permanent relationships with them. For which reason it is difficult to record in a definitive and absolute fashion precise demographic data, and we view those which we publish here with certain reservations.

/200/

101 A. Sanemá of the upper Caura (Pubmatari)

162

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Canaracuni	300	In the border zone there are several nomadic bands with specific names, who accept the term "Sanemá" as a generic name of theirs. They frequently change their stopping places between Brazil and Venezuela.
2. Wanaña	200	
3. Yemekuni	300	
4. Caura source	100	
5. Nomadic bands	500	
Total	1,400 estimated individuals	

162 B. Sanemá of the upper Erebato (Sanemadub)

1. Kariana-sodi	40
2. Wasaña	62
3. Udehuduña	125
4. Kuyuhiña	143
Total	370 individuals counted 1960

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS OF THE WAICA INDIANS OF VENEZUELA.[1]

MIGUEL LAYRISSE, ZULAY LAYRISSE, AND JOHANNES WILBERT

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

128 INTRODUCTION: For the purpose of the present paper we would like to classify the Waica as a subtribe of the Yanoama tribe, the ethnic identification and the internal composition of which appears to be but little understood. Although the actual blood group study will be concerned with the Waica Indians most particularly, we shall, nevertheless, include as well some information on the Yanoama tribe in general. This, we trust, will not only serve to locate the specific Waica data within a wider frame of reference, but also to facilitate the comprehension of the theoretical considerations based thereon.

131 *Ethnic identification.* The Yanoama inhabit a very extensive area between 0°30'-5° N and 62°-65° W, which includes the headwaters of the Paragua, Caura, Ventuari, Padamo, Ocamo, Mavaca, and Orinoco rivers of Venezuela, as well as those of the Uraricuera, Catrimani, Dimini, and Araçá rivers of Brazil. The Sierra Parima crosses this heavily forested territory like a vertebral column, so to speak, and marks at the same time the frontier between the Venezuelan and the Brazilian parts of the Yanoama land (see map, Fig. 1).

101 The Yanoama are surrounded by Tropical Forest Indians with Neo-Indian culture types; Cariban tribes enclose them in a semi-circle to the northeast, while Arawakan peoples bound them in a semicircle to the southwest. Thus, the Yanoama seem to have been functioning as a buffer between the Caribs and the Arawak, successfully resisting any attempt of intrusion by such groups as the Soto (Makiritare), the Pemon, and others. In recent years, after their Carib neighbours had suffered a marked decline in numbers and in strength, the Yanoama ventured northward into the Ventuari, Caura, and Paragua drainage area, intruding into Carib territory for more than 100 km.

[648]

114 Although sporadic and rather casual information on the several Yanoama groups have been published by various authors since early Colonial time, it is only

122 1 We wish to thank Dr A. Berti and Ovidio Castellani (División de Malariología, Ministerio de Sanidad, Venezuela) and the Misión Salesiana of the Territorio Federal Amazonas for their collaboration in collecting the blood samples. We are also indebted to Esperanza García for her technical assistance. We are greatly indebted to J. P. O'Riordan (The National Blood Transfusion Association, Dublin), M. Shapiro (The South African Blood Transfusion Service, Johannesburg), R. E. Rosenfeld (The Mount Sinai Hospital, New York), and Albin Masson (The Minneapolis Memorial Blood Bank, Minnesota) for supplying us with critical anti-sera.

St Layrisse et al. D,E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 Waica

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS OF THE WAICA INDIANS OF VENEZUELA.[1]

MIGUEL LAYRISSE, ZULAY LAYRISSE, AND JOHANNES WILBERT

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

128 INTRODUCTION: For the purpose of the present paper we would like to classify the Waica as a subtribe of the Yanoama tribe, the ethnic identification and the internal composition of which appears to be but little understood. Although the actual blood group study will be concerned with the Waica Indians most particularly, we shall, nevertheless, include as well some information on the Yanoama tribe in general. This, we trust, will not only serve to locate the specific Waica data within a wider frame of reference, but also to facilitate the comprehension of the theoretical considerations based thereon.

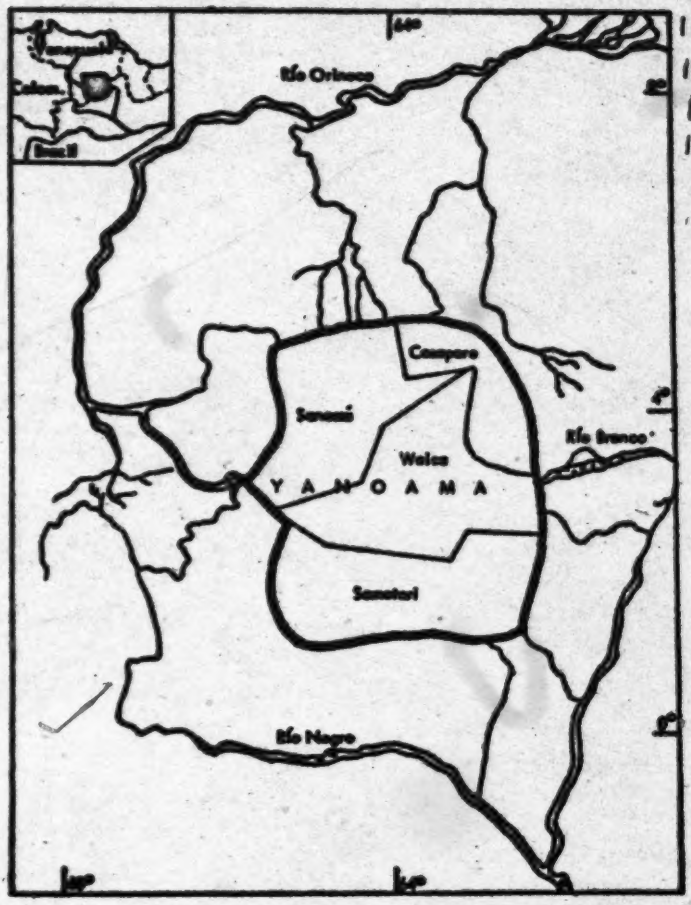
131 *Ethnic identification.* The Yanoama inhabit a very extensive area between 0°30'-5° N and 62°-65° W, which includes the headwaters of the Paragua, Caura, Ventuari, Padamo, Ocamo, Mavaca, and Orinoco rivers of Venezuela, as well as those of the Uraricuera, Catrimani, Dimini, and Araçá rivers of Brazil. The Sierra Parima crosses this heavily forested territory like a vertebral column, so to speak, and marks at the same time the frontier between the Venezuelan and the Brazilian parts of the Yanoama land (see map, Fig. 1).

● 101 The Yanoama are surrounded by Tropical Forest Indians with Neo-Indian culture types; Cariban tribes enclose them in a semi-circle to the northeast, while Arawakan peoples bound them in a semicircle to the southwest. Thus, the Yanoama seem to have been functioning as a buffer between the Caribs and the Arawak, successfully resisting any attempt of intrusion by such groups as the Soto (Makiritare), the Pemon, and others. In recent years, after their Carib neighbours had suffered a marked decline in numbers and in strength, the Yanoama ventured northward into the Ventuari, Caura, and Paragua drainage area, intruding into Carib territory for more than 100 km.

[648]

114 Although sporadic and rather casual information on the several Yanoama groups have been published by various authors since early Colonial time, it is only

122 1 We wish to thank Dr A. Berti and Ovidio Castellani (División de Malariología, Ministerio de Sanidad, Venezuela) and the Misión Salesiana of the Territorio Federal Amazonas for their collaboration in collecting the blood samples. We are also indebted to Esperanza García for her technical assistance. We are greatly indebted to J. P. O'Riordan (The National Blood Transfusion Association, Dublin), M. Shapiro (The South African Blood Transfusion Service, Johannesburg), R. E. Rosenfeld (The Mount Sinai Hospital, New York), and Albin Matson (The Minneapolis Memorial Blood Bank, Minnesota) for supplying us with critical anti-sera.



102
101
131
133

FIG. 1. Preliminary map of Yanoama distribution. (Wilbert, 1961b).

since Koch-Grünberg's contact with two Yanoama groups, in 1911, that more substantial information on this interesting tribe has been collected and in parts been published.[2]

Emerging from these data are the names and descriptions of a number of distinguishable tribal units, e.g., Sanemá (Guaharibo, Shirishana), Casapare, Waica, Samatari, Surara, Pakidái, and others. It also has become quite obvious that the Yanoama subtribes are not unified by socio-political authority, but rather by a general and specific culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and culture variants, carried by the different subtribes and local groups respectively. The various local groups and subtribes occupy a coherent territory, they speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious forms.

Taken as a whole, the Yanoama were found to be a very numerous tribe and they belong, in fact, to the most numerous of all the autochtonous populations of lowland South America, but previously published figures of 30-50,000 individuals appear to represent very generous overestimations of the demographic strength of the Yanoama groups known so far.

Linguistic classification. Several authors have attempted a linguistic classification of the Yanoama although most of them did not have at their disposal the more recent material.[3] Taking advantage of this material, we have attempted a glottochronological analysis, the results of which allow us some interesting insight into the internal correlation of the Yanoama languages.[4]

According to this result, the several Yanoama languages, as known today, constitute the Yanoama linguistic stock of 6-35 mc of internal separation. The two more or less clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: *A. Sanemá:* (a) Sanemá, (b) Nabudíb, (c) Pubmatari, [6-17 mc of internal divergencies: Sanemá-Nabudíb = 6 mc, Sanemá-Pubmatari = 17 mc, Nabudíb-Pubmatari = 17 mc]; *B. Casapare:* (a) Casapare, (b) Carime (?), (c) Waica, (d) Samatari (Surara and Pakidái), [8-21 mc of internal divergencies, excepting Carime (for lack of vocabulary material): Casapare-Waica = 21 mc, Casapare-Samatari = 21 mc, Waica-Samatari = 8 mc].

2 Sanema-Pakidái, by Becher, 1980; Waica, by Baker, 1933; Schmeer, 1938; Zerries, 1955, 1956, 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1960; Sanemá, by Vinci, 1959; Wilbert, 1961a, 1961b.

3 Rivet, 1924, p. 678; Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9; Mason, 1950, p. 254; Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140; McQuown, 1955, p. 525; Greenberg, 1956; Swadesh, 1959, p. 26; Dall' Igna Rodrigues, 1960, pp. 136-137.

4 We are indebted to Dra H. Becher and O. Zerries for having us have a basic vocabulary of Sanema-Pakidái and Waica respectively. Complete information on source material has been presented by Wilbert, 1961a.

6: Vinci / T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manuera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shirians.'

We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uana-Coco, Canaua, and Uagna. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

Manuera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'I am Uarema,' he declared to his Guayca kinsmen, who looked on him with hostile eyes because he was wearing trousers, 'Uarema, son of Measi. I was here as a boy. A long time I have been with "the rationals" [the civilized men] and I have grown to manhood. You are my people.'

His turning up in this fashion had a touch of the fabulous about it, and his kinsmen took him along without ill-treating him. When they found him to be a man of many accomplishments, and the old men remembered how he had disappeared during Uagna's time, after an encounter with the Samatari from the Aracosa lands, they kept him with them as their rightful chief, giving him unlimited freedom of action. As his obedient subjects they left it all to him.

Uarema had never taken to civilization. For him, it had lacked something. What it had lacked, we cannot guess: the civilization of the Lower Guiana rivers may be bounded by the cloth hammock and the bottle of rum, the loose woman and the pack of cards, but it cannot be ranked any lower than the barbarianism of the Guayca, eaters of worms and snakes. But now, after his experience of life with 'the rationals', neither could the young man endure the ceaseless warfare which engaged his own peoples. The broken heads he saw round the fire in the evenings, the howls of the medicine-men at their exorcisings—all this was anathema to him. He told his kinsfolk they had better put it all aside, and grow something. From the Soto they could obtain seeds and roots. Much manioc was needed, because without it one was always hungry. Sugar-cane was a pleasant thing to suck at any time, and the children loved it. Above all, there must be bananas, as far as eye could see—the forest must be transformed into a huge garden of fruits, there for the picking. Thus, with his head full of ideas which owed their origin to the years he had spent in civilization, Luis Antonio founded a new Guayca people. They were Guayca Indians no longer, but peasants—peasants who cared for the tilling of the soil and a sure supply of food. These Guayca called themselves after him, Uarema. They inhabited two big homesteads an hour distant from the Merevari river—a little above the mouth of the Canaracuni.

Now Luis Antonio wanted to stay with us and work, because he needed cloth for his people. We gave him what little we had been able to save from the greedy hands of Pancho's men, and he went off for a brief visit to his tribe, intending to return to Kirisochi in four days' time.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

especially strong and intelligent, and keep him at his side, adopting him, as it were, as his successor. The little girls continue to live in the feminine world of their tribe. Shy and submissive, they take on the humblest tasks, fetching water, making the fire and helping in the preparation—highly problematical—of food.

Such definitions of customs have, however, only a relative value, like any attempt to estimate the Shirian way of life: for Shirians are to be found spread over wild territory of vast extent. Their customs are less well defined than one might suppose after reading certain tracts about primitive peoples—the Pacific islanders, for instance. These give the impression that with slight formal changes only, Western culture might have much to learn from the degree of social organization they have attained to. The Shirian tribes, cut off from one another as they are by physical barriers such as mountains and rivers, and moral barriers like the ceaseless state of war which exists between the various branches of this race of 'howling Indians', have developed their own customs in their own sporadic fashion. Sometimes they have been weakened by contact with foreigners, such as the Makiritari in the north-west and the Makushi in the east. More often they have been weakened by a lack of strong traditions, which do not spring easily from such an excessively low level of culture, where mere survival calls for an unending struggle against the tremendous power of the eternally hostile forest.

The most primitive races are those most affected by their geographical setting. Their environment conditions them. Only by adapting themselves continually to their surroundings, only by the long process of response to the determining factor of geography, can they create that growing racial identity which at last succeeds in reversing the process—that is, in conditioning the surroundings instead of being conditioned by them. But we are here touching on the larger question of the development of civilization generally.

Where the Shirians are concerned, we are still at the beginning of the beginning, when geography is the absolute determining factor. Here environment is the master of man—a creature inferior, qualitatively and quantitatively, to the region which it is his fate to inhabit.

The territory they occupy is immense. Divided though it may be by great cordilleras, which make it the breeding ground for various rivers rushing north, west and south, it possesses one marked characteristic throughout its whole extent: the sources and the headwaters of the rivers are contained in a sort of

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

island of unbroken forest, which is not crossed by any formidable water barrier. If this were the case, the Shirians, who are pre-eminently a land people, would be presented with an insurmountable obstacle.

North of the Brazilian frontier live the Shirians of the Canaracuni and the Merevari. These are divided into various clans, the most important being the Uana-Dildep, the Haruao, the Oskadeli, the Kopali, the Hana-Dildep, the Ukumatari, the Kona-Kona—they swarm like ants. Then there are the Guayca Shirians of Uarema, lately established on the Merevari, but originally from the Upper Uagna. Along the mountain watershed which extends, with frequent interruptions, from the Uagna to the centre of the highlands where the Uraricoera, the Ventuari and the Padamo rivers rise, one encounters the nomadic Samatari—the 'people of the pineapple'—a fierce and savage race of howling creatures that run in packs like animals.

The general term used by the Shirians to designate their most savage tribes is 'Guayca' (in their language, 'wild'). By the Guayca they sometimes mean the Samatari and sometimes the Ukumatari. On the Padamo and in the lowlands enclosed by the great mountains of Marahuaca and Duida—that is, to the south of the central ridge—they have spread right beyond the upper reaches of the Orinoco: though in these regions there are also many of the more peaceful Shirian peoples such as the Uaka on the Uesete, the Faricete, the Matacuni, the Kologli, the Haue, and the Ish'tich—the 'people of flowers and bananas'. The Guayca and the Samatari are also to be found east of the Padamo-Orinoco-Rio Parima watershed, in the wildest and least-known territory. Isolated groups, with a touch of the legendary about them, inhabit the fringe of this region: for instance, the Kasarape, credited by all Shirians with unparalleled ferocity and cruelty. The Kasarape inhabit the right bank of the Lower Uraricoera in Brazil, and no traveller appears to have visited them yet.

How numerous are the Shirians? No one can state a figure with any certainty, but it may be accepted that they run into many thousands, and taken together represent a block that outnumbers all other races and tribes inhabiting the Orinoco and Rio Branco basin.

I had asked Luis Antonio whether it would be possible for me to be present during the confinement of his kinswoman, presuming the happy event took place during our stay, but all I got for an answer was a doubtful 'I don't know'—the formula in which the Indian takes refuge when he does not know what to say. This did not quite deny the possibility, even if it did not encourage the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

into the proper shape, which means without the logical synthesis which gives them their definitive value. As with his analytical copy of the face, so the Shirian analyses the world in his thoughts about it, but forms no judgment on it, because to form a judgment would necessitate a higher power of synthesis that he possesses.

We now discovered that the Indians had chosen two very fine names for us, by which we were henceforth known. Enrico's was Ilòh—howling monkey, on account of his red beard and its obvious resemblance to the alouata's tawny coat. Mine was Walé—wild boar: my hide was apparently somewhat similar to the peccary's. We had a good laugh over the names and were pleased to be known by them, because it meant that at any rate we had been accepted as men like themselves, our beards being so much superstructure; we were just Indians or '*Sanemá*', which means 'people', to use the word the Shirians apply to themselves, the equivalent of the Makiritari '*Soto*'.

The fact that I was accepted by the Samatari as one of themselves has

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

always filled me with pride. By setting about it in the right way we can always manage to make ourselves acceptable to our superiors, but no such effort will ensure the same result with people more lowly placed than we are: for this, the all-important thing is to possess a natural bent, a certain humility of spirit and a sympathetic understanding. One must possess the faculty of becoming, up to a certain point, 'primitive' oneself, adopting all the healthiest attributes of the primitive state, without at the same time losing one's own value as a civilized being: one must be primitive and something more—not just the 'something more' alone, which rather amounts to something less.

It often happens that scientific expeditions, or explorers of one sort or another, venture into regions inhabited by primitive men with the intention of studying them. They approach them with all the preconceived and presumptuous notions of men who have read up all there is on the subject, and every single human being who shows up on the river-bank becomes a savage and must be catalogued like a butterfly. Thus the Shirians in all their slightly different types and sub-divisions are all called 'Guaharibos'—a name which means nothing and which the Shirians themselves have never heard. These scientific explorers may indeed take measurements of their faces and calculate the number of red corpuscles in their blood: the Shirians remain Sanemà for all that—people living in their own forest land, fighting their battles for their own special reasons, but ready to become men just like any others—because with a completeness and a simplicity that surpasses our own, they are men already. But scientific records lump the Sanemà and the Soto together under the barbarian headings of Guaharibo and Magnungòn, both contemptuous epithets, and humanity learns nothing from these explorers with their solar topees, who have scarcely got back to civilization after spending a few months in the forest and learning all there is to be known about the savages before they start writing books about it. If these books could be read and understood by the primitive people they treat with, the authors would be rewarded with a volley of arrows.

VII

Living improved considerably and there was meat now in abundance: the banks of the Uraricoera were full of game. The best cuts were reserved for us,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Uaca

*123

This fantastic appellation sounded quite harmonious in the forest, even to Indian ears, and brought Dolfuss' followers out of their concealment, splashing through the water towards us.

[131] [101] Dolfuss belonged to the Shirians of the Uaka tribe. These are scattered over the territory bounded by the Matacuni, the Padamo and the tributary streams of the Upper Ventuari. They are similar in appearance to the Pulipuli people, though rather more savage. They were very timid, and full of references to the Guayca, who they said were very active in this area, particularly in the parts we had just come from.

With Dolfuss there was an old man who was always either squatting down or else propping himself up on one leg; and two dour, surly-looking boys, who kept well away from our guns with a gleam of terror in their eyes. The next morning brought a whole host, along with women and children too, and of course we had to let them all examine our beards and rub themselves against them, and investigate other more detailed peculiarities of our anatomy. By urging the whole crowd of them on with sweeping gestures, we managed to get on our way very quickly, and a few hours later arrived on the banks of the Ocamo, a smallish river but strangely resembling the Upper Merevari. From the last high point we had been able to make out some huge flat-topped massifs, blue in the haze of distance, which must certainly have belonged to the Duida-Marahuaca group. For a moment, we hoped to come out on a patch of savannah land where we should be able to dry the damp forest mould out of ourselves and our belongings. But the Shirians told us there was no savannah in these parts.

[361] [501] [342] [162] [165] The Uaka huts were on the side of a hill, a hundred yards from the right bank of the river, which we crossed by means of a length of rotten wood, shaped like a canoe. There were three buildings, each with the single-span sloping roof, very humble affairs, so low-pitched that inside them one risked getting a beam in one's eye at any moment. There were about fifty of these people, and among them we noticed many who had reached a considerable age, which is unusual. There must have been some aspect of the Ocamo region which favoured longevity in the inhabitants. There was an 'ape-man' too—an old, solitary fellow, almost dumb, who came up to us with gurgles of amazement, not daring to touch us. However, he took one of the axes when we gave it to him and with the aid of some of the youngsters started making us a cabin.

Life with the Shirians was made extremely difficult by their petulant ways

/433 cont./

121 Messrs. Eugene Higdem, Byron Reihart, and Joe Jenkins, and the late Flora Troxel.

124 The information concerning the area of Brazil inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ has been gathered from oral reports made to me by several men who said that they had worked upstream /434/ on the rivers of Brazil, within or near Guaika Territory. This information, although fragmentary and not absolutely certain, has helped us nevertheless to form a more complete picture of the Guaika tribe as a whole.

Orientation

101
131 The Guaika /Waica/ tribe inhabits the region of the Upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the outlet of the Ocamo River, including also the south bank of the Ocamo itself. In addition, the Guaika tribe extends into the territory of Brazil, occupying the headwaters of several tributaries of the Branco and Negro rivers (see the map /see p. 6 /).

The tribe located to the north, the Guajaribo /Guaharibo/, inhabits the north bank of the Ocamo River, the valley of the Padamo River, and the headwaters of the Caura River, and is also found in Brazil on the headwaters of the Uraricoera River, a tributary of the Branco River. The Guajaribo come downriver frequently as far as La Esmeralda, and on occasion even come as far as the mouth of the Cunucunuma River. It has been reported that they have been seen as far to the east as the Paragua River in the state of Bolívar (see map).

197 The Guaika and Guajaribo Indians speak the same language, but there are several observable dialectical differences which make it possible to distinguish immediately by their speech whether they belong to the one group or to the other. I make this observation on the basis of my studies of the Guaika language spoken in El Platanal and its comparison with samples of the Guajaribo dialect collected by Flora Troxel and by me in La Esmeralda and Ioeitedi.

[121]
[122]

/434 cont./

197 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a
101 separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation
197 zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted
[248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they culti-
[352] vate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton ham-
[342] mocks and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version
[484] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they
192 speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiríana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

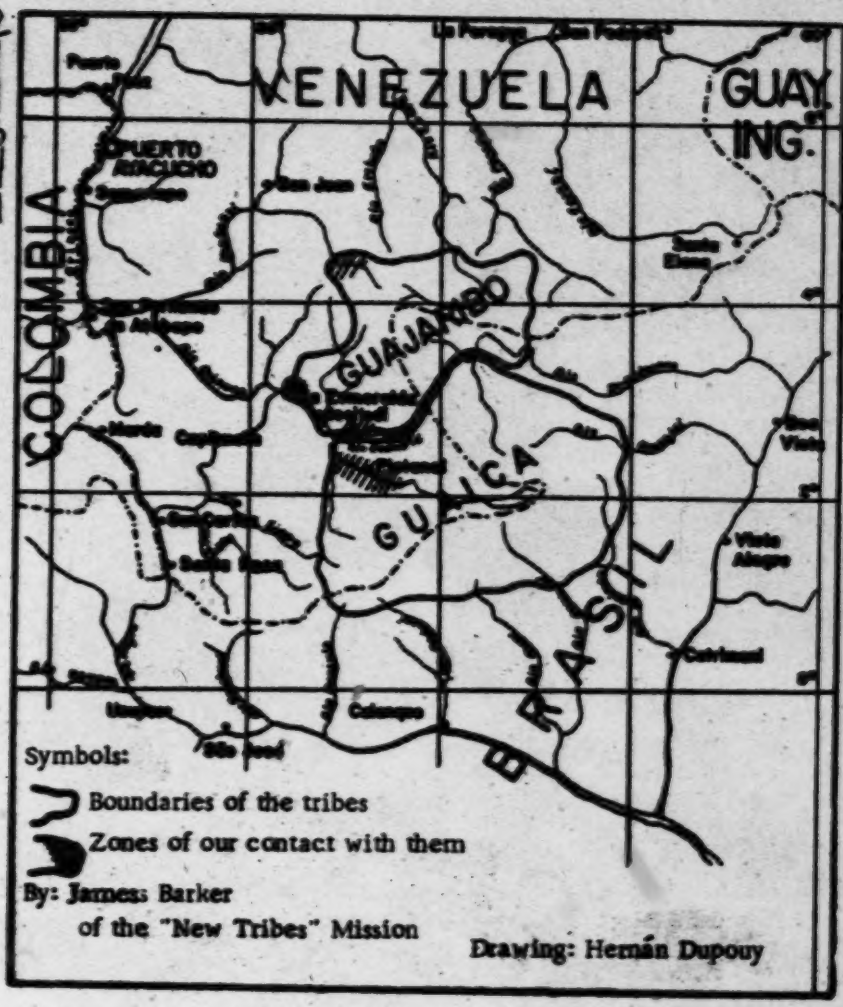
Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/
[114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried
628 to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

7: Barker--6 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

102
101
131
133
114
361



9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Venezuelan Indians 554
Makiritare 5820
5

they have imposed their mark in the names of the rivers, the word-endings -ari, -uni, -eni, meaning river or water. The ending -ari, often altered to -are, is ubiquitous west and north-west of the Orinoco as far as the foothills of the Andes—evidence of the former extent of the Arawak race. Most of the boatmen we recruited

MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN TRIBES IN THE AREA OF THE UPPER ORINOCO

in the Orinoco basin and on the Amazonas slopes were Arawaks. As a result of countless voyages up and down the great rivers and as a consequence of many an invasion they are, anthropologically, a very mixed lot, even showing traces of Negro blood.

Caribs

Caribs were the late-comers to the territory. They include the Arekuna, the Yauarana, the Mapayo, the Yekuana and the Bekuana.

[i.e. The Arawaks -- Analyst]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Saliva SS 15

the upper reaches of the Caura and Caroni rivers; and on the tributaries of the upper reaches of the rivers Negro and Branco in Brazil.

In his classification based on families of language, Koch-Grünberg includes these scattered groups under the heading "Detached Groups", a term he uses for all linguistic groups that do not belong to either of the main families, though he acknowledges their anthropological and linguistic kinship. The fact that they inhabit the most distant and least accessible regions, that they are dispersed over so wide an area, and that they are subdivided into clans which frequently number no more than a dozen individuals, strongly suggests that these people are a "residual population" that has doubtless been thrust farther and farther back by successive waves of invasion.

The four or five thousand Piaroas and Guaharibos who inhabit the territory of the Middle Orinoco, between Puerto Ayacucho and San Fernando de Atabapo, are also classified as "Detached" by Koch-Grünberg. Anthropologically it would seem that these two peoples are comparatively remote from each other. As we have no information as to the time of their emergence and settlement in their present zone of habitation, we may perhaps assume that all of these groups constitute, or did once constitute, the original stratum of population, without necessarily coming from the same stem.

Three small clans, tiny pockets of people geographically isolated from each other which cannot as yet be related to any of the big families already mentioned, also appear on Koch-Grünberg's ethnological map. These are the Makus. They occur on the River Auari, where they occupy no more than a single hut; on the Ventuari, where they number about eighty; and on the Iñirida, where they are known as Puinabes. It has been suggested that these last could conceivably be the descendants of the Guaypunabis whose chief, Ceseru, joined with Solano in founding San Fernando de Atabapo and Santa Bárbara.

Thus the classification of the Indian peoples of the

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

101 Guiano-Amazonas district of Venezuela, is neither so simple nor clear-cut as it at first appears. None of the Indians of the Guianian highlands are natural settlers. The more primitive groups, who live entirely from cropping the forest, fishing and hunting, are compelled to lead wandering lives; and those who practise agriculture and live in villages are ever ready for [167] a change of scene. These things, allied to an ingrained migratory instinct, lead them to keep moving about the country throughout their lives.

More Guaharibos from the Padamo

123 On the afternoon of May 25th another party of Guaharibos arrived at Esmeralda. I was approaching the jetty in one of the boats when I heard Francisco shouting from the other bank. It was nothing new to hear Francisco's bellowing; whenever he had killed a tapir that was too heavy for him to carry alone, or when the day's bag was too big to be loaded on his minute *curiara*, he would give tongue in this manner. I turned back to join him and as I did so he pointed with a paddle to an Indian craft which till then had been hidden from me by the bank-side vegetation. I steered towards it, standing up in the boat and making gestures of welcome and friendship. For an answer two men stood up timidly in their [501] boat as I went over to them and circled round them. Their craft, which rocked buoyantly in my wash, was built of a single strip of bark. It was similar to the one the children had left behind them, but bigger and contained thirteen people. Then I led them back to the landing-stage.

The official reception of these people we left to Butrón, who had a wonderful gift for this sort of thing. He quickly had some machetes brought out as gift-offerings. Of the boat's crew nine were young men in their teens, two of whom had their faces blackened with charcoal. Among them was Mopare, the eldest of our first visitors. Two children of about six and two young women tried to efface themselves against the bottom [291] of the boat. The youths wore some cotton material round their middles which was secured back and front by a belt of string. The women wore a sort of fringed apron no more than a few inches across.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

Orinoco to the Guaharibo Rapids. On this the river's course is given in great detail, showing not only the major tributaries but a great many minor ones as well, though there is no indication of their size. From first-hand experience it was clear to us that the contribution of some of the lesser tributaries was anything but negligible. There are, for instance, the Iguapo, which joins the Orinoco from the right ten miles above Esmeralda after itself being joined by a river its own size, and another river, unnamed as far as I know, which has its mouth midway between the Padamo and the Ocamo. And entering from the other bank come the Lipe and the Icipe, of which the latter is eighty yards wide at the confluence. Of these four only the Iguapo has been explored and that by Diez de la Fuente.

Above the Mavaca the Orinoco's mean width is less than two hundred yards. Its general direction of flow is east to west with a slight northern tendency and surprisingly, since it nowhere else does so in its thousand miles journey from Mavaca to the sea, it twists and turns pronouncedly.

Since we had left Esmeralda the only birds we had seen were single specimens of black ibis, large kingfishers and droves of white egrets. The egrets would sit craning their necks in the trees and, as we approached, would fly up only to settle down a little farther away. It was as though no human being had ever disturbed their forests. Once or twice we saw a pair of otters diving from a rock or dead tree stump and once we shot at an anaconda which was placidly coiled round a tree. We watched as it slowly unwound and disappeared into the murky water.

That evening we took one of the *curiaras* up a small tributary and fished, but the spate was too strong. Instead of fish we gathered some forest cocoa whose pulp is a refreshing drink when newly made.

The First Waïkas

The Padamo and Ocamo rivers are inhabited by Guaharibos. Above the Ocamo, the inhabitants of the Orinoco's banks call themselves Waïkas. They closely resemble the Guaharibos we had met at Esmeralda but are, perhaps, a little more primitive. Some had had previous contact with Butrón's wood-cutters.

CHAPTER I

YĘNOMAMÖ CULTURE AND EARLIER ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK[1]

[101]

A. Yęnomamö Culture

The Yęnomamö are discussed in the literature under such tribal designations as Guaica, Waika, Guaharibo, Makù, Schiriana, Xiriana, Kirischana, Shidishana, Shamatari, Sanema, and Yanoama. Most of the terms are derogatory names applied to the Yęnomamö by their neighbors and characterize the people as being monkey-like or as savages.[2]

[114] In the upper Orinoco and the Mavaca basin where I conducted my field work, the Indians referred to themselves as Yęnomamö, which at once defines their mode of life, language, origin, and includes all people who share this mode of life, language and origin. All non-Yęnomamö are collectively

---

[114] [1]As there are very few reliable English sources describing Yęnomamö social organization and culture, I give a brief description of them here. The best source in English to date is Zerries' 1955 publication, but it deals only with particular traits of Yęnomamö culture.

[128] [2]The word Yęnomamö is nasalized on every syllable,
[94] but for ease of typing this manuscript, I have not indicated all
the nasalization. The vowel /-ę-/ is written /-ë-/. I have writ-
[104] ten the /- ə -/ as "-ë-" and have indicated nasalization
by /-,-/; whenever a Yęnomamö word has one nasalized syllable,
all syllables in that word are nasalized.

• 101 called nabä--"stranger" or "foreigners." Nabä have degenerated from an original Yąnomamö stock and are regarded, therefore, with some contempt by the Yąnomamö, an attitude that is further manifested in the language; Yąnomamö in linguistic usage requires an honorific pronoun whereas nabä takes the common pronouns.

[128] I adopt the term Yąnomamö to refer to the entire group whose geographical distribution is shown in Map A,[1] using the term in a linguistic-cultural sense to define the tribe. Others have adopted the same usage with minor differences in spelling.

Several of the above-mentioned terms, Sanema, Waika, and Shamatari deserve further discussion, as they are used either as self-designations or in reference to local groups of Yąnomamö occupying specific geographical areas.

The term Sanema (Wilbert, 1963) is used in the upper Caura River as a self-designation. In this dialect the [194] initial phone /y/ has been replaced throughout the language by /s/, Sanema thus being a local pronunciation of Yąnomamö.[2]

The term Shamatari is used by all the Yąnomamö Indians on the upper Orinoco River to refer to the congeries of villages that occupy the large area south of the Orinoco River and adjacent portions of Brazil. Zerries (1964:19)

---

[1] See next page.

[115] [2] Ernesto Migliazza, personal communication. According to Migliazza, the word Sanema is pronounced /Sanöma/.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

Zerries (1964:19) has included the groups I studied in the Shamatari classification on the basis of information taken from Mahekodotedi informants. The members of these groups, however, deny the Shamatari identity and distinguish themselves from their southern neighbors, some of whom visit them regularly and are married into their villages.

The Shamatari,[1] according to my Bisaasi-tedi informants, take their name from one of the headmen, Kayabawä ("big tree"), who lived north of the Orinoco River in a village then called Shihowä-tedi. Kayabawä was an unusually corpulent man and bore a second name, Shamatari, derived from their word (Shama) for the tapir, a large ungulate found throughout tropical South America. Shamatari, when Shihowä-tedi split, led his faction south of the Orinoco River and settled in the headwaters of the river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u (see above), where his village became known as Mokayëaba-tedi. Other villages, related to Shiowä-tedi, moved into the Shukumöna River and Mavaca River basins after Shamatari's village was established, ultimately spreading as far southwest as the Cauabury headwaters in Brazil. The Shamatari expansion into this area took place around the turn of the century, according to my reconstruction of Shamatari history (see below). This is also supported by meagre

---

[1] There is another "Shamatari" group in the tributaries of the Upper Parima River of Brazil; these are not to be confused with the Shamatari under discussion here, although both groups are Yąnomamö. See Vinci, 1959, for an impressionistic account of his brief contact with the Parima Shamatari.

This is also supported by meagre historical evidence bearing on the aboriginal inhabitants of this area. Several distinguished Europeans explored portions of the area under consideration and all of them were familiar with the existence of the Yąnomamö in the Orinoco headwaters. None of them, however, reported that Yąnomamö Indians were living in the Mavaca Basin. Alexander Humboldt, who ascended the Casiquiare Canal in 1800, discussed the area of the Mavaca headwaters as one frequently used by Indians of the 'Portugueze Missions' as the route between the Cauabury headwaters to Esmeralda (on the Orinoco River) by way of the Mavaca River. The aromatic seeds of the puchery laurel were seasonally gathered near Esmeralda and sold in Brazil (Humboldt, 1281, Vol. 5, pt. 1, pp. 308-9).

So well known was this route that Robert Schomburgk intended to follow it in 1839 to reach the Rio Negro from Esmeralda, hoping to avoid the 200 miles that the Casiquiare route would have added to his journey. He was dissuaded from doing so by the residents of Esmeralda, who, knowing both the route and the seasonal variations in the river, assured him that the trip would be impossible at that time of the year (Schomburgk, 1840 :244).

Richard Spruce ascended the Paciba River, a branch of the Casiquiare Canal that has its source near the Mavaca River, in 1854 and found the upper reaches of the river inhabited by several Aruak-speaking tribes (1908:425, 427).

The first evidence that the Yąnomamö had penetrated

? [i.e. Shamatari expansion south of the Orinoco R. - Analyst]

101
175 The first evidence that [31] the Yąnomamö had penetrated the Mavaca Basin comes from a brief comment in Rice's account (1921) of his exploration of the Upper Orinoco. His guide, a Baré Indian, told him that the 'Guahariboa' had killed his brother ". . . near the sources of the Umauaca."[1] There is no historical evidence that the Yąnomamö occupied the Mavaca basin any earlier than this date (ca. 1915-20), save for scattered reports of unidentified 'wild tribes' alleged to dwell in these regions. My own data support this.

By 1925 the Yąnomamö were reported to be raiding settlements along the upper Cauabury River and soon were raiding the north bank of the Rio Negro itself. The Brazilian (648) settlers eventually abandoned this area because of the raids (Seitz, 1963:19, 20, 21; Zerries, 1964:14).

The historical evidence suggests, then, that the Yąnomamö have entered this large area only recently. This is supported by the accounts given to me by the Yąnomamö, who further describe the occupants of the area as Shamatari, a usage based in part on the historical interconnectedness of the villages that spread into the area, and in part on geographical considerations. Yąnomamö villages unrelated to the original group led by Kayabawë (Shamatari) have entered this area, and their northern neighbors refer to them as Shamatari, even though these villages are not historically related to Kayabawë's and their members deny being Shamatari.

---

[1] Ibid., p. 341.

• 101 The term Waika or Guaica is used in much the same way as the term Shamatari, i.e., in reference to a geographical bloc of villages that have a common history. I have no knowledge concerning the origin of the term except its etymological derivation from the verb waikaŏ: "to kill something that is already wounded," "to finish off an animal that is dying."[1]

The term Waika, or variants of it (Guaica, Uaica), has been in the literature the longest, appearing in Caulin's 1779 work. Zerries has adopted its usage, along with the term Schiriana, to refer to the entire Yąnomamŏ group; ironically, members of the village in which he conducted his field work, Mahekodo-tedi, denied to me that they were Waika, explaining that the Waika lived further up the Orinoco River and inland.

Insofar as designations more precise than Yąnomamŏ are required, the Indians themselves simply use their village names. The terms Shamatari and Waika do not refer to political entities, and the boundaries of the geographical zones including so-called Waika or Shamatari villages are difficult to fix. Only the members of those villages that are related historically to Kayabawë's group are properly designated as Shamatari. All of the Indians of this large area, however, regard themselves as Yąnomamŏ, no matter what others call them, and I adopt this term to refer to the entire group.

000 Numerically, the Yąnomamŏ are one of the largest

[114]

[1]Zerries, 1964:3, gives the same derivation for the term.

131 Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest
161 unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters
101 of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several
197 drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö
439 are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

114 161 No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

161 162 #621 The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

---

[115] [1]Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[128] [2]The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

593 684 the enraged husband struck his wife in the face with a burning log, severely burning her mouth. Burning is a common punishment, and many women bear immense scars from wounds inflicted by enraged husbands. Just before I left the field [578] a fight developed in Patanowä-tedi between a man and his wife's lover. The lover was killed in the fight and the woman's husband punished her by cutting off her ears with a [165] machete. Some women have been killed by enraged husbands, but in most of these cases, the deaths resulted from wounds that were not intended to be fatal.

607 613 *621 *628 [593] Despite the fact that the tie between spouses is weak, marriages create strong ties between a man and his sister's husband. This tie is of great significance in the social organization of the Yąnomamö, as it is stable, well defined, non-ambiguous and politically important. The brother-in-law (shoriwä) tie is the key link in alliances between local descent groups, both within and between villages.

607 601 The term shoriwä (brother-in-law, MoBrSo, FaSiSo, friend) is used constantly by Yąnomamö men when they address any new male acquaintance. Shoriwä implies a set of obligations and duties between the speakers. One can depend on his shoriwä for material goods and gifts, and a request for such items from a shoriwä is not easily denied: shoriwä is, in addition to goods-giver, wife-giver. The Yąnomamö use this [997] [609] [101] term for foreigners as well; they use it so frequently that the Salesian Missionaries who have recently contacted a few

607 601 799 [609] [601] groups of Yąnomamö have begun referring to the entire tribe as "Los Shori." The Yąnomamö address the missionaries with this term hoping to maximize their chances of obtaining desirable manufactured goods such as machetes and axes.

607 52 601 Men who are not related by blood constantly remind each other of obligations when they use this kinship term. A brother-in-law deserves respect, fair treatment, and gratitude. As the term is reciprocal, a conversation between two shoriwë is punctuated frequently by these constant reminders that each owes the other goods, services and respect by virtue of the fact that they stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other. Such conversations, usually about material goods or women, strike the outsider as something of verbal contests to determine which of the two speakers is more of a shoriwë than the other, i.e., who owes the other more goods, services, gratitude and generosity. One who has actually given a sister to the other's group has an advantage, in a trading sense, as he can more legitimately claim goods from the wife receiver.

*628 574 609 601 583 When men visit the village of an ally to beg, trade or participate in feasts, they call all non-related men of that village 'brother-in-law,' emphasizing the fact that they stand in wife-giver relationship to them, and deserve, therefore, the generosity of the hosts.

*628 527 574 583 581 Alliances between villages involve, in addition to military aid, mutual feasting and trading. It must be remembered that alliances, no matter how many marriage ex-

151

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowä, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Husirawä's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowä and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowä-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-kähkö--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakö), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hahoyaoba-täka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hahoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasaböwä-tedi and Ashadowä-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1987 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628 583 Bisaasi-tedi are the dominant partners in the bride-exchange network with their Shamatari allies, a dominance that is reflected in the disproportionate number of women they have managed to coerce out of their allies.

361 621 114 While I conducted my field work the Bisaasi-tedi lived in two villages on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. The group on the east bank was beginning to split by the time I left the field, and the split took place a few months later,[1] one of the factions moving to the north bank of the Orinoco River, but still within view of the other group.

B. The History of the Paruritawë-tedi

174 621 The Shamatari came into being as an identifiable group shortly before 1900. The Shamatari identity, as I have shown above (p. 28 ff.), is a function of the historical connections between the villages that split off from Shihowë-tedi's parental group, as well as geographical considerations.

My informants consistently spoke of two 'true' Shamatari men: Kayabawë (Shamatari) and Matakuwë. The villages of these two men have a common origin, but I was unable to get data on the nature of the events that led to the separation of these two groups. This event took place long before the life-span of my oldest informants, and none of them knew any details of the splitting. By 1875, however, 195 101 361 there were two distinct Shamatari groups north of the Orinoco headwaters, one of which bore the name Shihowë-tedi. Kayabawë

[1] Personal communication, James P. Barker.

(Shamatari) lived in this village and, when the village split, led his faction into the Shukumöna-u basin, becoming known as the Mokayäaba-tedi. This move took place about 1900.

The second village also moved to the south side of the Orinoco, but remained on that river. They settled near a mountain called Aramamisi-käkö, and named their village after the mountain. My historical data on the Shamatari village movements is sparce up to this point.

Between 1900 and 1950 the Mavaca and Shukumöna drainages were populated by the descendents of these two 'original' Shamatari groups, and the process of village splitting that led to the occupation of this large area continues at the present time.

Although there are two Shamatari groups (Kayabawä's and Matakuwä's), I outline the details of the movements of Matakuwä's group, mentioning Kayabawä's only in so far as it relates to the history of Paruritawä-tedi. Militarily, Kayabawä's group plays a prominent role in the movements of Matakuwä's followers up to 1920, illustrating once again that cognate villages enter into hostile relationships with each other after they separate. Thus, this section deals with the historical movements of the group that ultimately gave rise to Paruritawä-tedi; as this group also gave rise to a number of other villages, I shall have to briefly sketch the movements of these villages after their separation from the main group.

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 4: Kayurewë

174 175 +628 726 861 The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. Matakuwë's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwë, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowë-tëka. Ruwahiwë was Matakuwë's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, Matakuwë moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174 +621 361 (622) (101) About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by Matakuwë's group, the group split into two villages. One of them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwë's son, Sibarariwë. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumöna-u River and took the name Paruritawë-tedi, led by Weiamamowë. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

(578) (721)

174 36 +628 722 175 Sibarariwë's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the Paruritawë-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Armamisi-tedi and the Paruritawë-tedi themselves forced Sibarariwë's group to abandon Konabuma

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1]Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

MAP D

The Location of Uraricaá and Mavaca Yąnomamö

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

101 131 161 162 361 101 197 THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

721 793 181 But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

114 122 123 I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and _____ way of life.

[194]

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ö] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ä] vowel are pronounced as that vowel with the "ah" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąoläwä would be pronounced "cow-ha-wah," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
531
286

Fig. 2-7. Orusimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

241
754
829
184

nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

101
114

[8]The Yanomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xiriana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yanomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikai*, is a Yanomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yanomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yanomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yanomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yanomamö.

361 578 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village [101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at that site. Kąobawä's group fled to Shihota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a 361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take 726 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had 721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they 628 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab- [841] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kąobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954, 621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they [721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of [722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again, [101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1939 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kąobawä and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to estab- [648] lish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an up- [101] stream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2-8, have a settlement 621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being 578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away 722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more 184 complicated than the history of Kąobawä's group, since village fissioning began much earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2-8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above two groups of villages.

361 Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Mǫmariböwei-teri and Reya- [134] boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2-8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the [648] past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by [722] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The [578] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neighbors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

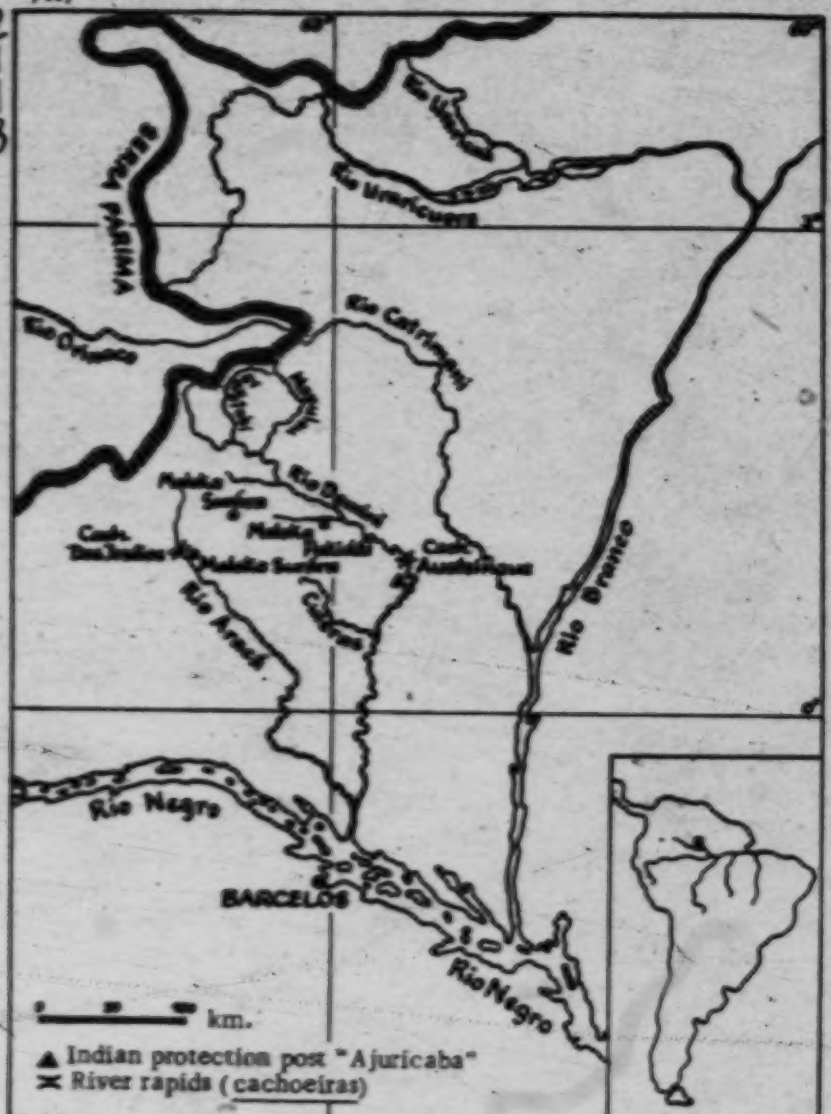
[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yąnomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

2: Becher--vii E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/X/

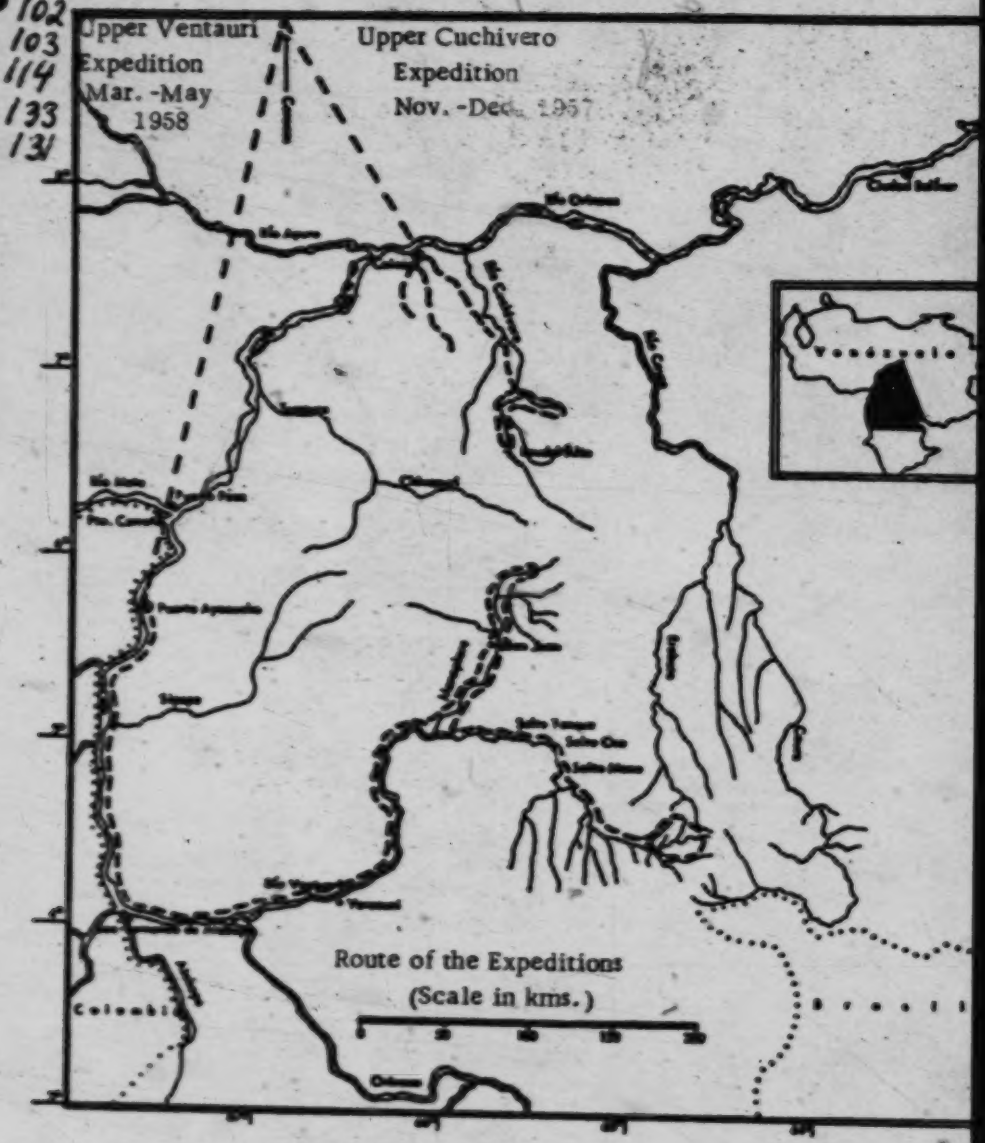
102
101
131
133



Location of the Settlement Area of the Surára and Pakidái

4: Wilbert--3 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

102
103
114
133
134



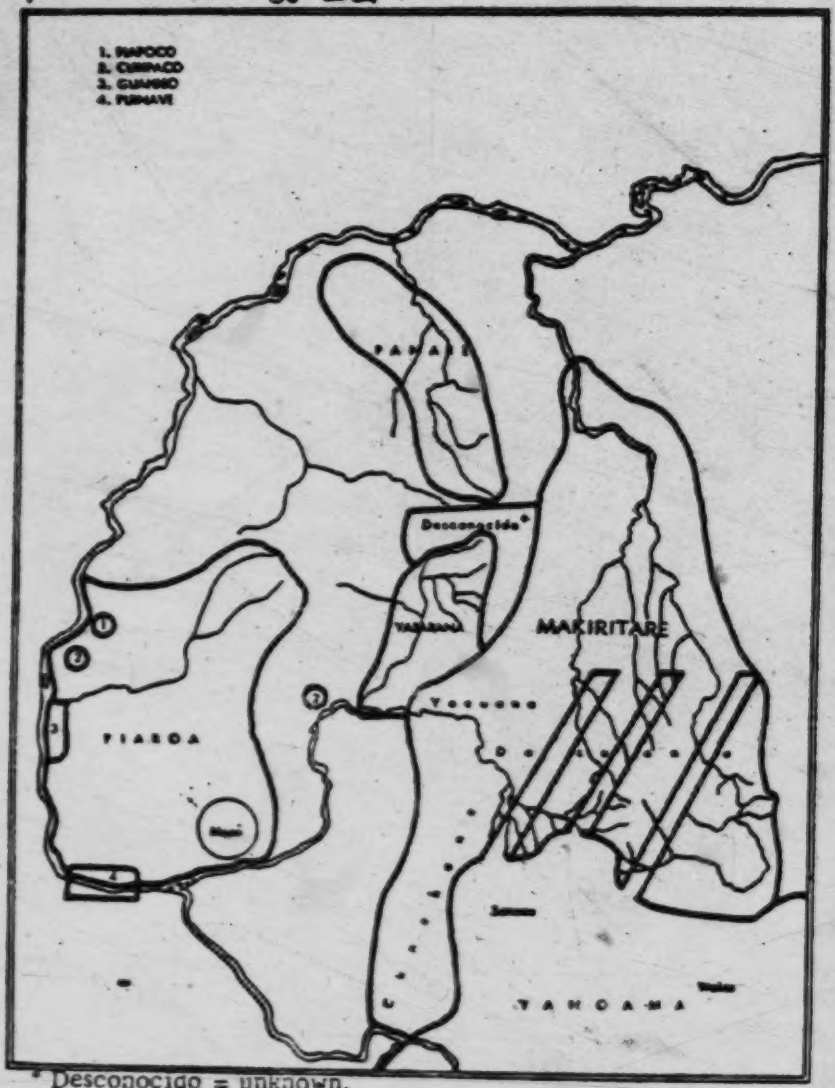
Map 1. Route of the expeditions.

4 Wilbert--5 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Achagua SC5
Saliva SS15
Panare SS21
Makiritare SS20
Yabarana SS22

Sanema
Puinave SC18
Barauna SQ27
Guahibo SC14

Yda SAtGrpAu MYa 101 102 133



* Desconocido = unknown.

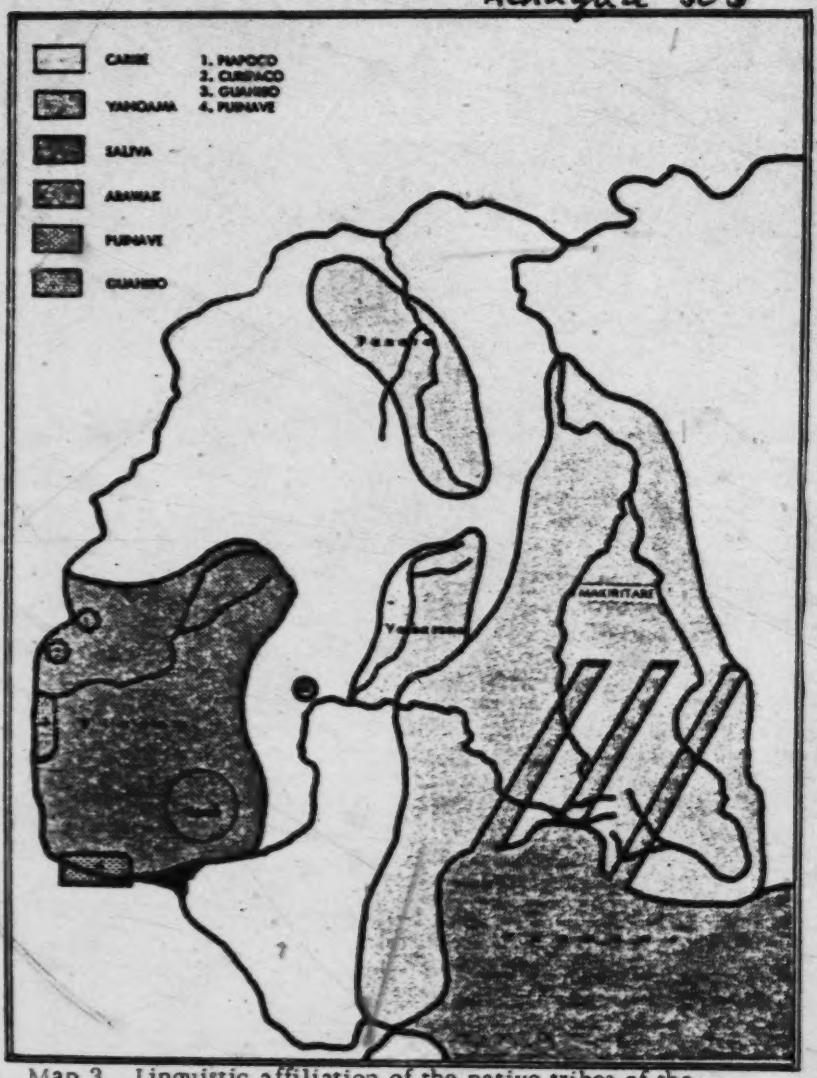
Map 2. Distribution of the native tribes of the Orinoco-Ventauri region.

4; Wilbert--7 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Saliva SS15
Panare SS21
Makiritare SS20
Yabarana SS22

Sanema
Purinave SC18
Barauna SQ27
Guahibo SC14
Achagua SC5

YPaSAGBPuMYa
102
197



Map 3. Linguistic affiliation of the native tribes of the Orinoco-Ventuari region.

4: Wilbert--9 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians
SS4
V
Y
102
133

0-200 m.

200-1000 m.

More than 1000 m.

Physical Map

Map 4. Physical map of the southern part of Venezuela (according to Vila, 1959).

4: Wilbert

Y
V
102
133
137

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians SS4

p. 14	p. 15	p. 16
p. 17	p. 18	p. 19

Chart of Positions of Map 6.
/facing Map 6/

4: Wilbert--12 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians
SS4

V
Y
● 102
133

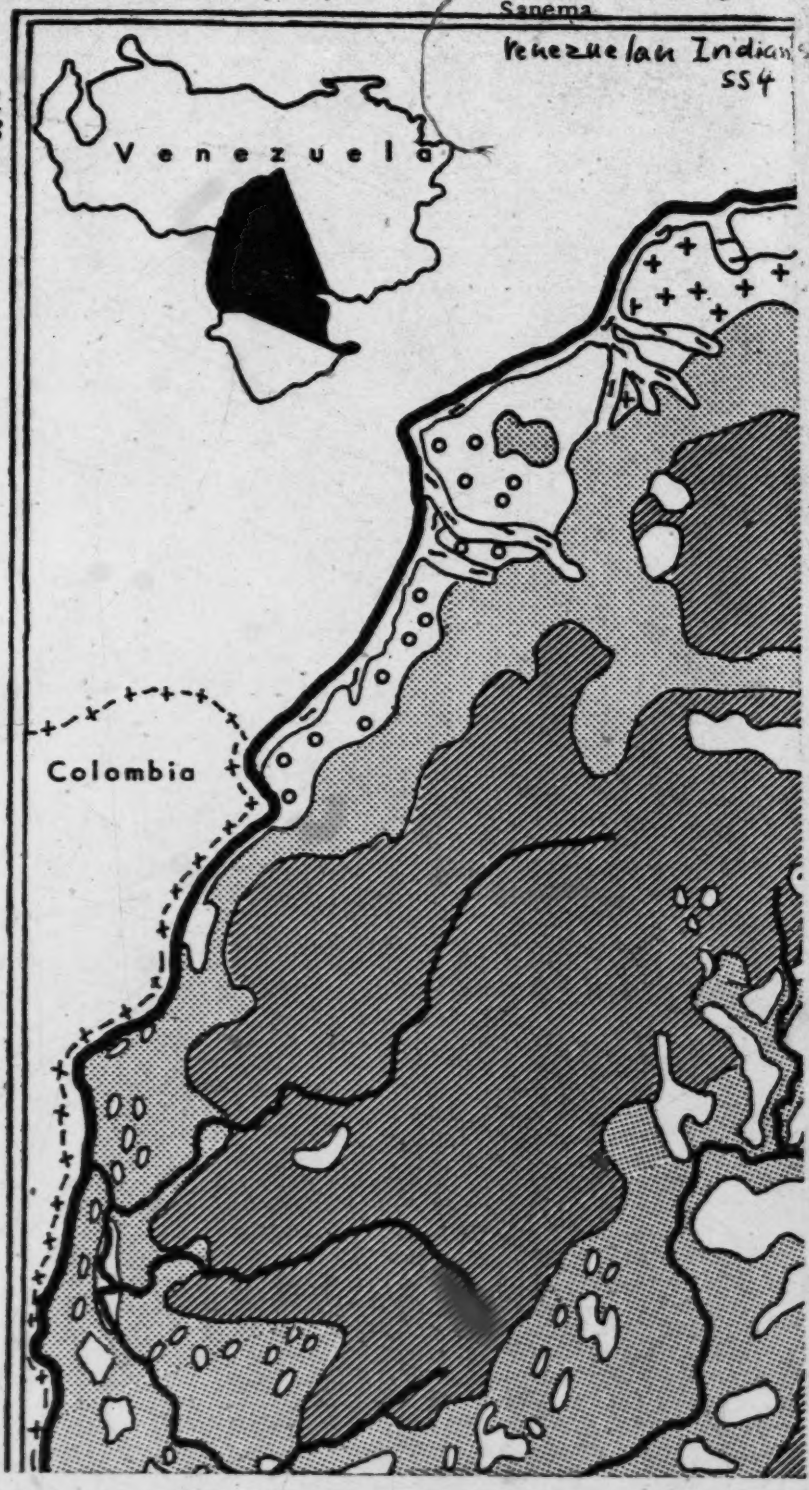
4; Wilbert--13 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians
554
Y
V
● 102
133

Map 5. Hydrographic map of the southern part of Venezuela (according to Vila, 1959).

4: Wilbert--14 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Sanema

Venezuelan Indians
554

V
Y
● 102
133
139



4: Wilbert
Y
M
102
103
131
133
361

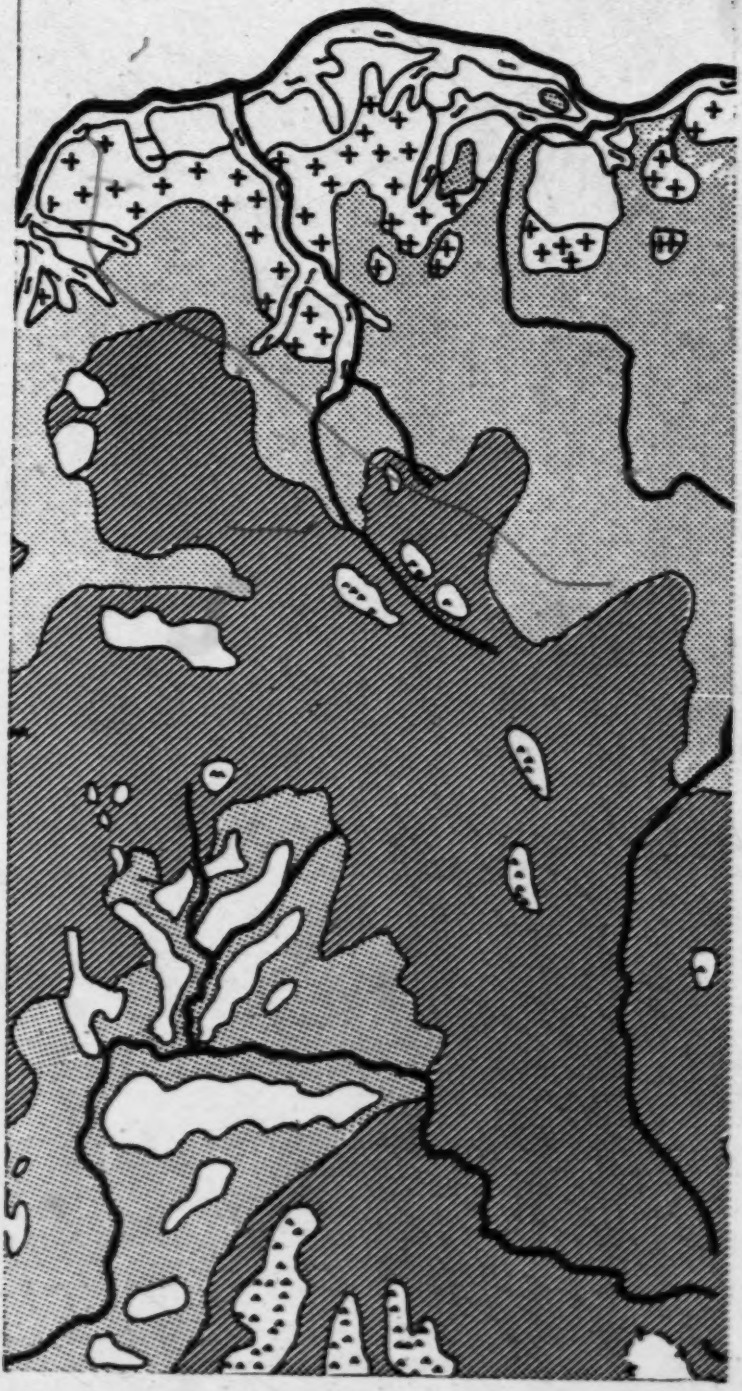
SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Makiritare SS20

p. 40	p. 41
p. 42	p. 43

Chart of Positions of Tribal Distribution Map (foldout). /facing p. 39/

4; Wilbert--15 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians SS4

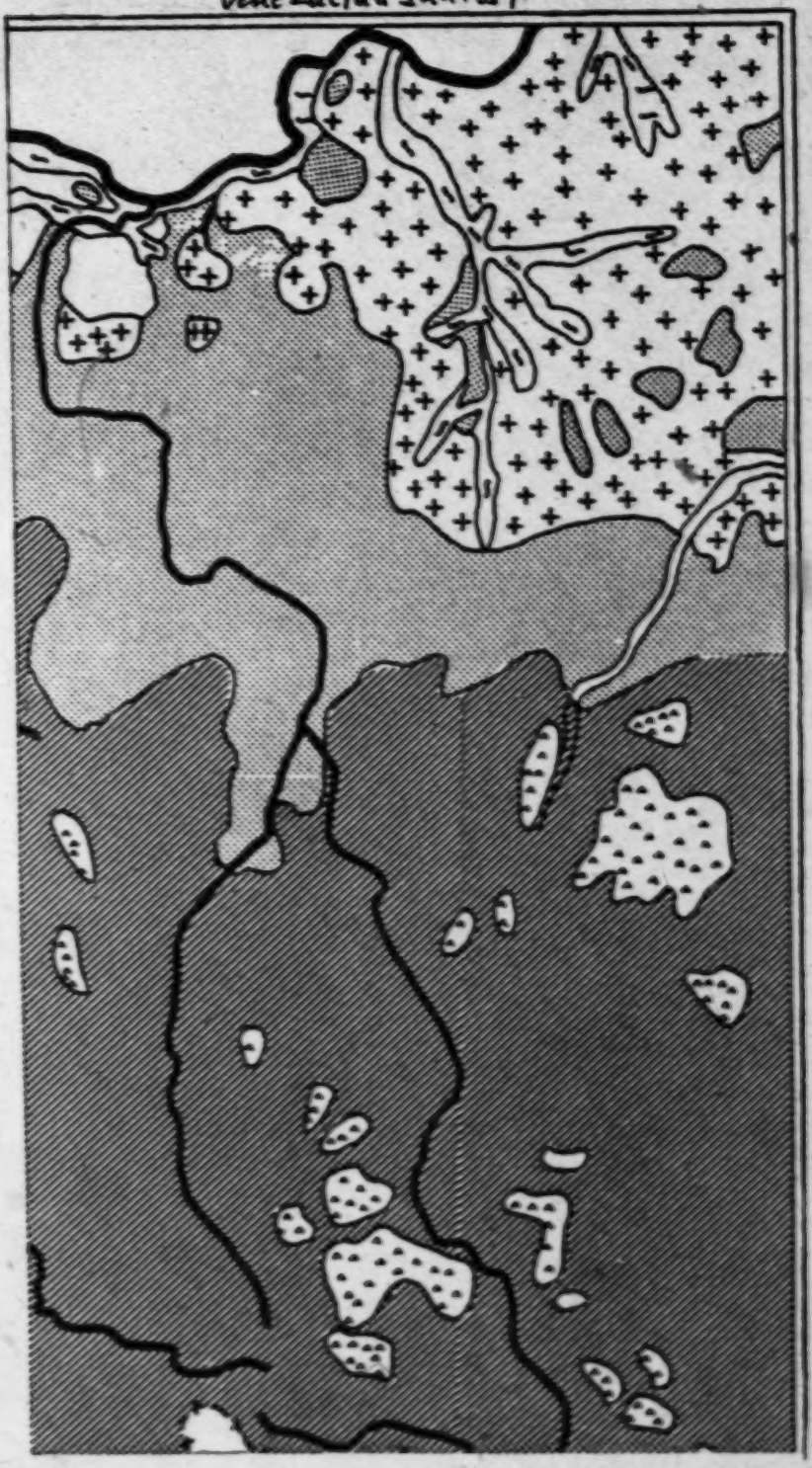
102
133
137



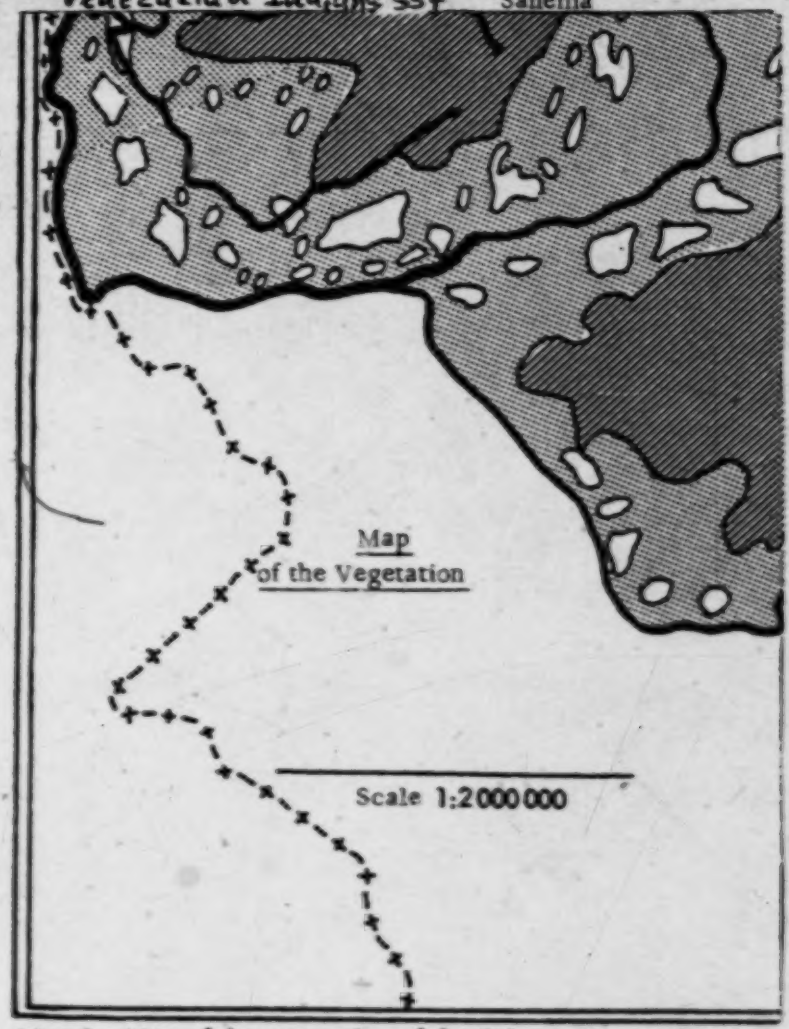
4: Wilbert--16 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Venezuelan Ind. Sty Sanema

V
Y
● 102
133
137



4: Wilbert--17 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Venezuelan Indians SS#
Sanema
Y
V
102
133
137



Map 6. Map of the vegetation of the Orinoco-Ventuari region (according to Hueck, 1960).

Chaparrals

Hygrophilous and mesophilous forests in the region of Guayanesa, locally interrupted by savannas

Mesophilous and hygrophilous deciduous forests, in part evergreen, of Guayana, in the low regions

Gramineous steppes of the upper Orinoco

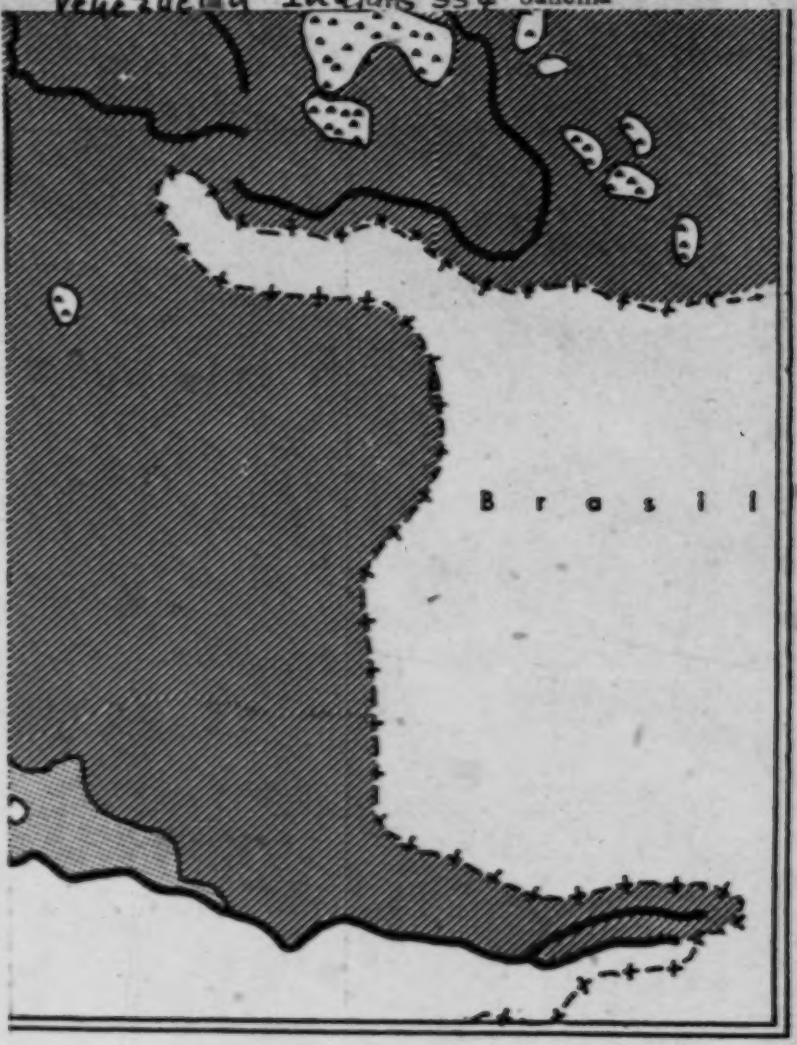
4: Wilbert--18 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Venezuelan Indians SQ4 Sanema
XV
102
133
137

Steppes and savannas of the high sierras of Guayana

Gramineous steppes of the llanos, with other isolated woody elements

Gallery forests, marked only in dry regions

4; Wilbert--19 E-4,5 (1958) 1969 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Venezuelan Indians 554 Sanema
X V
●102
133
137

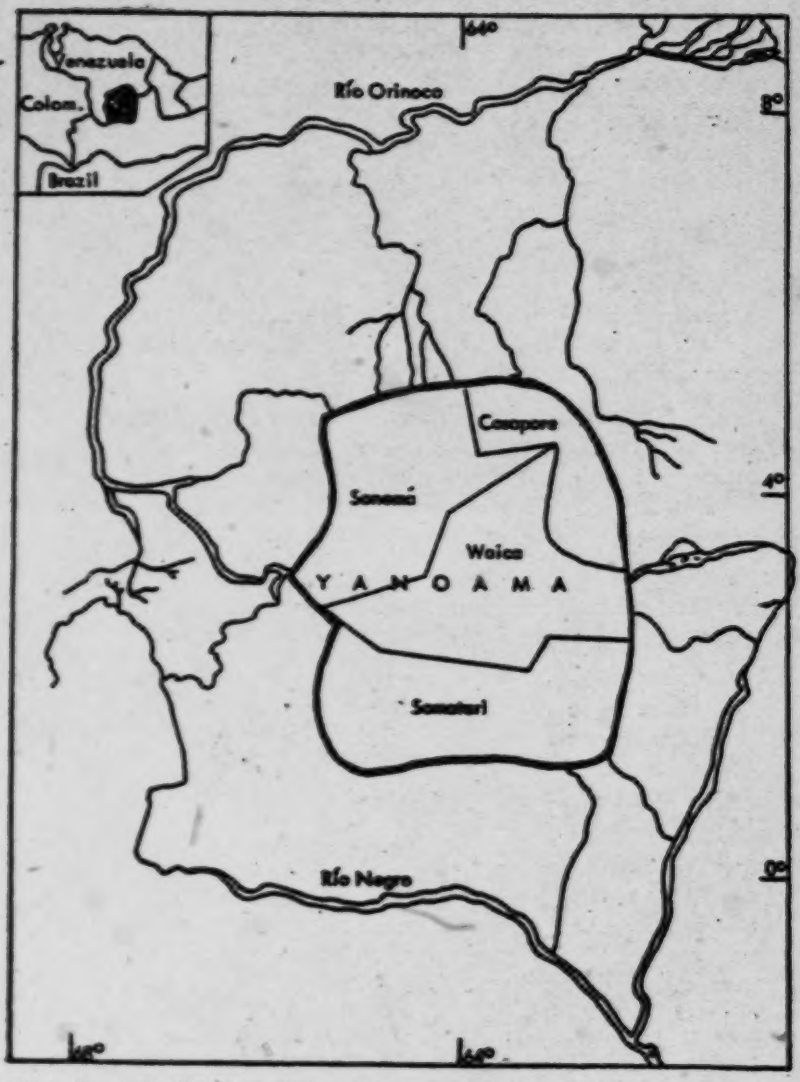


Steppes and savannas of the high sierras of Guayana

Gramineous steppes of the llanos, with other isolated woody elements

Gallery forests, marked only in the dry regions

101
102
131
133



Map 7. Distribution of the Yanoama Indians (preliminary).

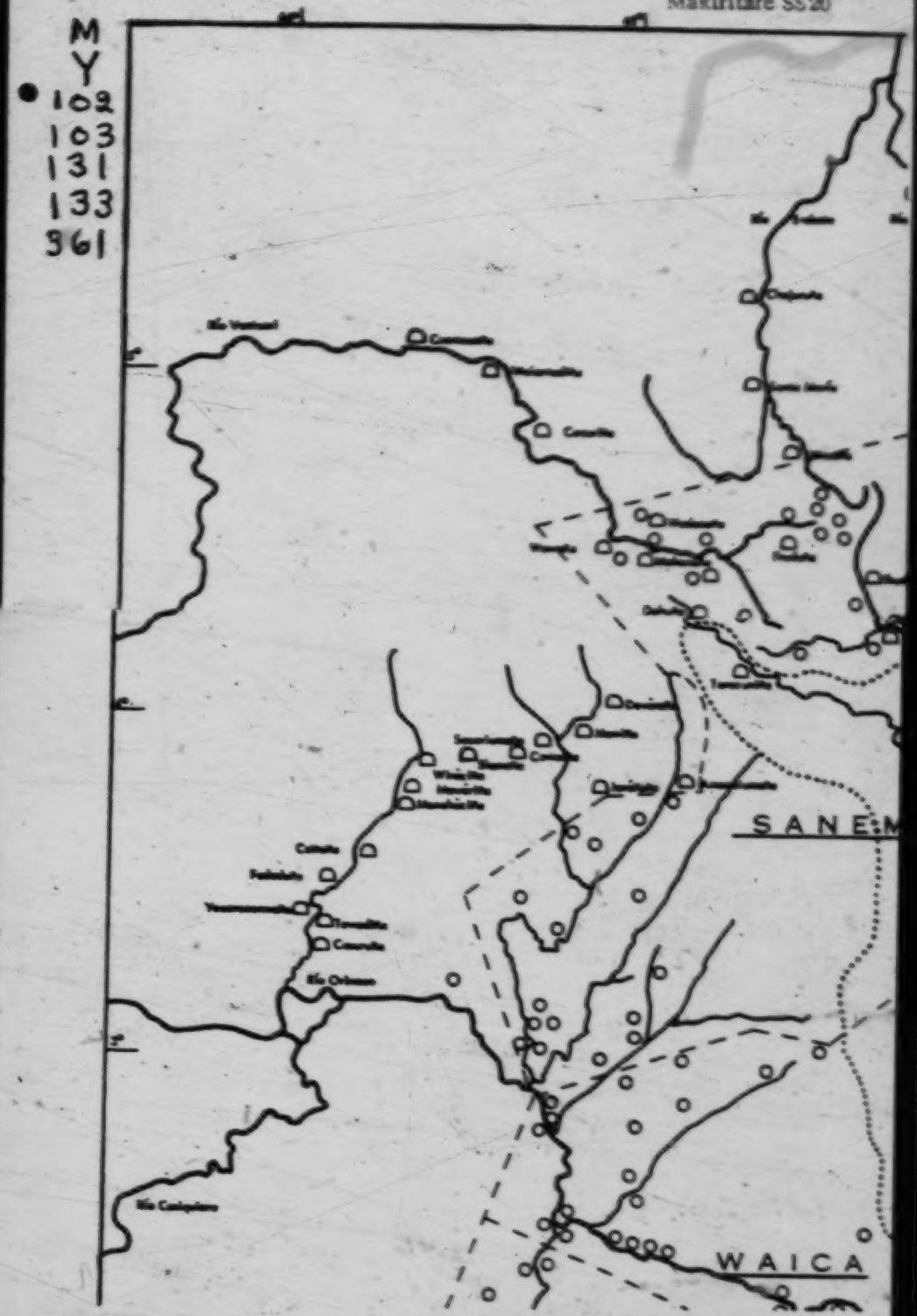
4: Wilbert--40 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Sanama

Makiritare SS20

MY
102
103
131
133
361



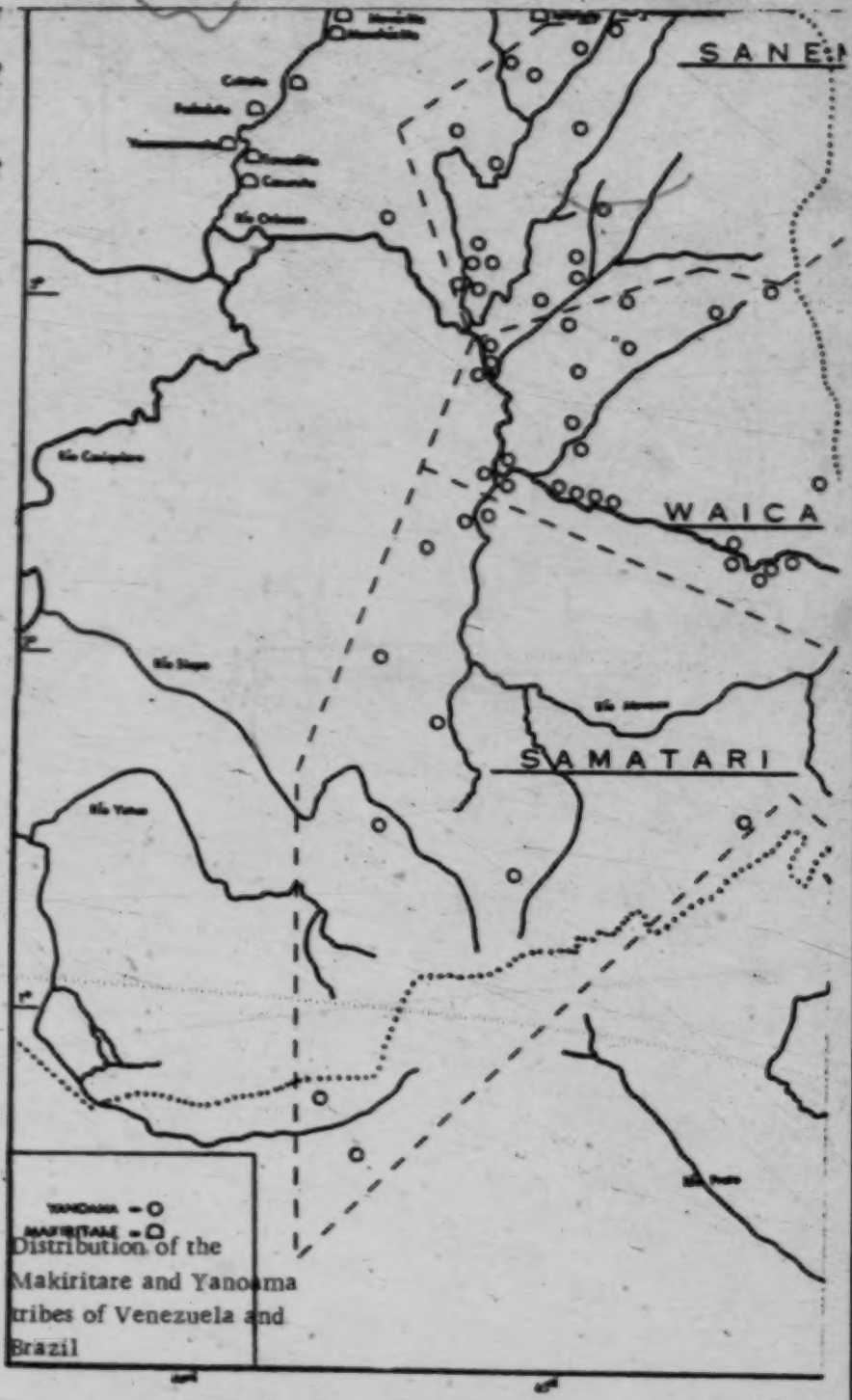
4: Wilbert--41 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Makiritare SS20 Sanema

M
Y
102
103
131
133
161

4; Wilbert--42 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Makiritare SS 20 Sanema

M
102
103
131
133
361



Distribution of the Makiritare and Yanoama tribes of Venezuela and Brazil

4: Wilbert--43 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Sanema

Makiritare SS 20

My

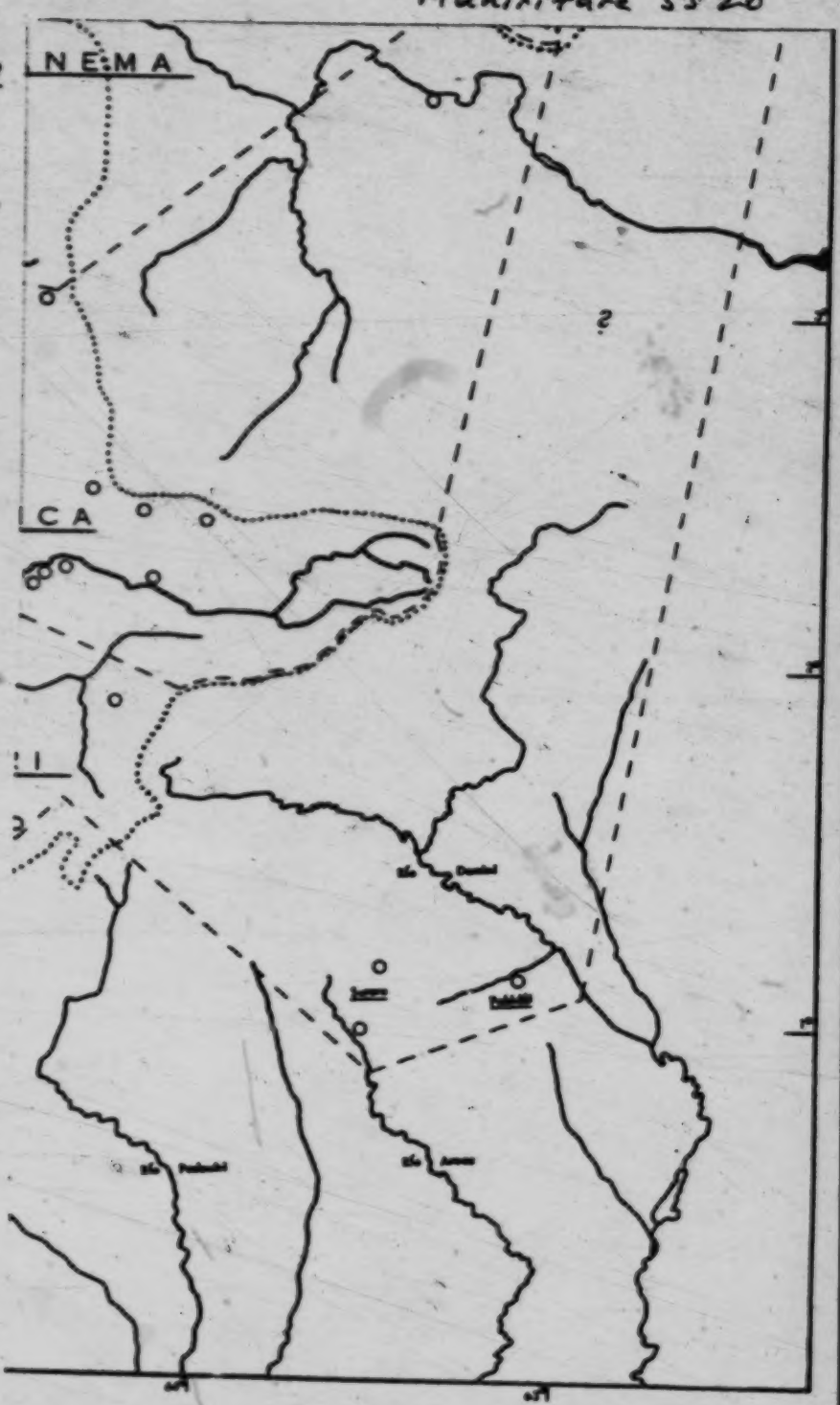
● 102

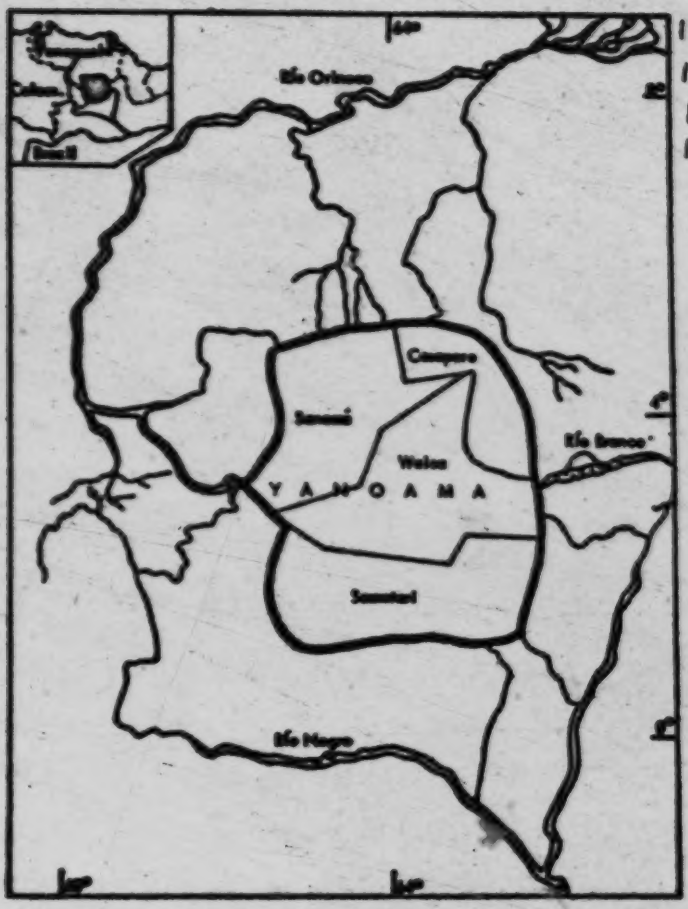
103

131

133

361



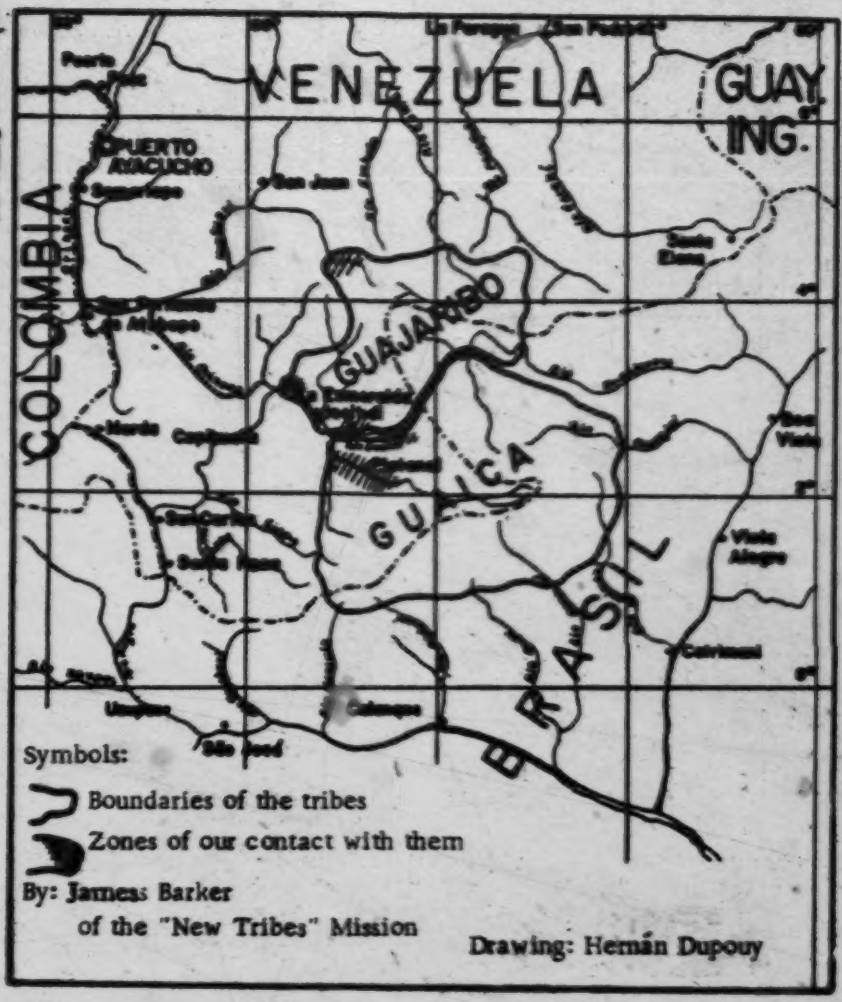


102 ●
101
131
133

FIG. 1. Preliminary map of Yanomama distribution. (Wilbert, 1961b).

7: Barker--6 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

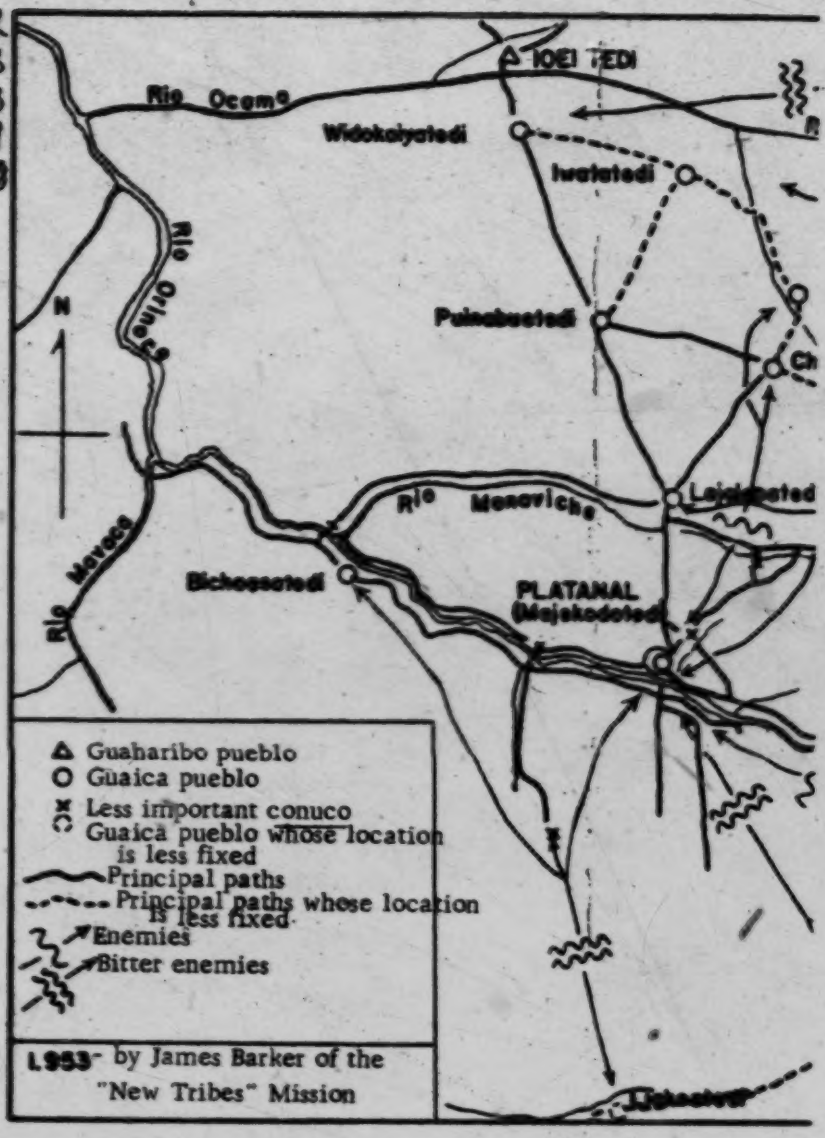
102
101
131
133
114
361



7: Barker--7 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

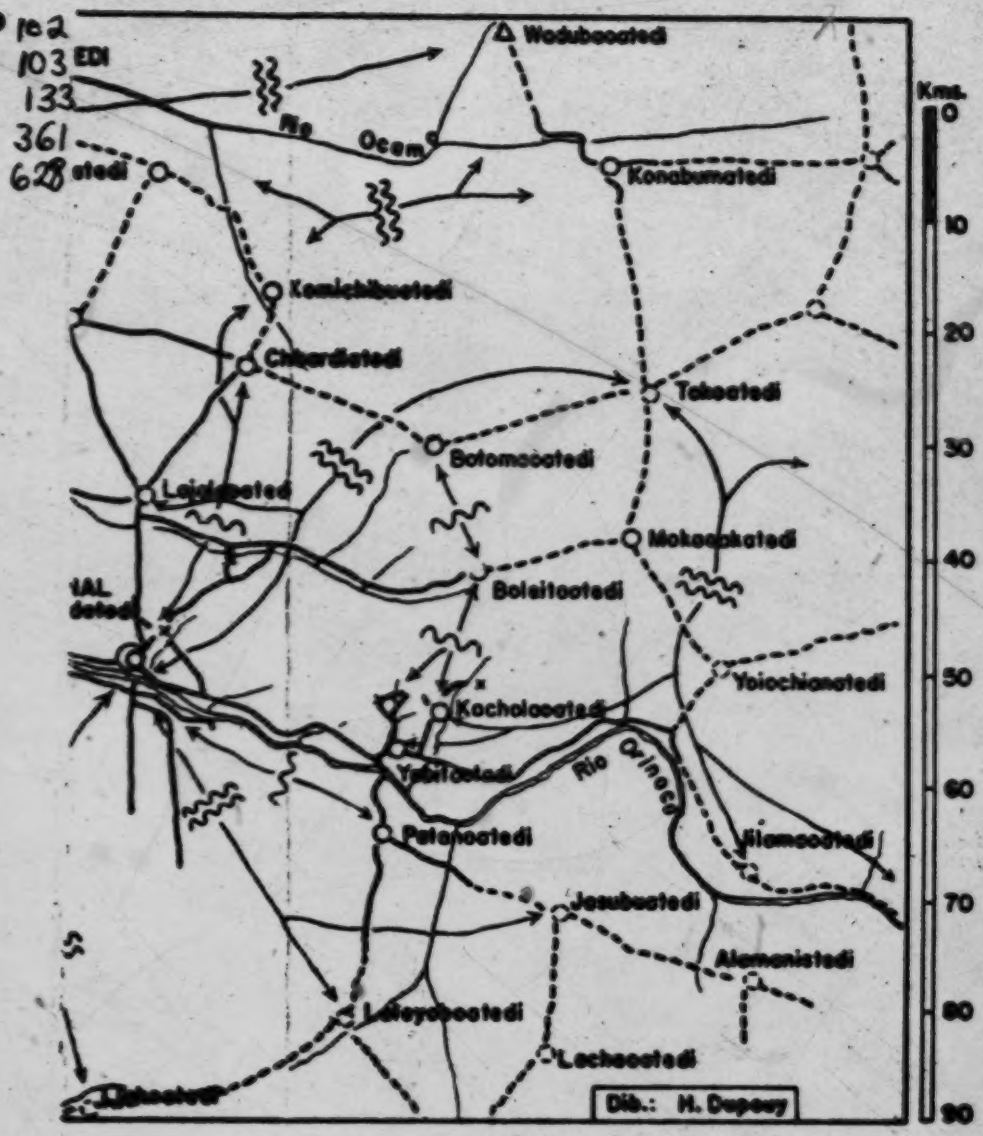
Waica
Guaharibo

102
103
133
361
628



7: Barker--8 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica
Guaharibo



/Drawing: H. Dupouy/

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Venezuelan Indians 554
Makiritare 5520
5

they have imposed their mark in the names of the rivers, the word-endings -ari, -uni, -eni, meaning river or water. The ending -ari, often altered to -are, is ubiquitous west and north-west of the Orinoco as far as the foothills of the Andes—evidence of the former extent of the Arawak race. Most of the boatmen we recruited

MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN TRIBES IN THE AREA OF THE UPPER ORINOCO

in the Orinoco basin and on the Amazonas slopes were Arawaks. As a result of countless voyages up and down the great rivers and as a consequence of many an invasion they are, anthropologically, a very mixed lot, even showing traces of Negro blood.

Caribs

Caribs were the late-comers to the territory. They include the Arekuna, the Yauarana, the Mapayo, the Yekuana and the Bekuana.

[i.e. The Arawaks -- Analyst]

• 102
131
132

10:Chagnon F-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

MAP B:
SOME
MAVACA & ORINOCO
YANOMAMÖ VILLAGES
N
OCAMO R.
MAATA R.
ORINOCO RIVER
MAVACA RIVER
Iyawei-tedi
Widokaiya-tedi
Buinabowä-tedi
Sabariwä-tedi
Makolima-tedi
Kaioni-tedi
Bisasai-tedi
Boreta-tedi
Dalyari-tedi
Mahekodo-tedi
Shashanawä-tedi
Yabitawä-tedi
Kashorawä-tedi
Monou-tedi
Mämarisawei-tedi
Patanowä-tedi
Hasabowä-tedi
Ashadowä-tedi
Royabotawei-tedi
Iwahikoroba-tedi
Möwärooba-tedi
scale in miles:
0 10 20
N.A. Chagnon 1966

[Namowei-tedi Group]
[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

102
175
361
133
174

MAP C
HISTORY OF
NAMOWEI-TEDI
AND
PARURITAWA-TEDI

MAP D
The Location of
Uraricaá and
Mavaca Yąnomamö

LOCATION OF YANOMAMÖ
IN SOUTH AMERICA

VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
GUYANA
BRAZIL

[p. iv]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

102
133
361
166

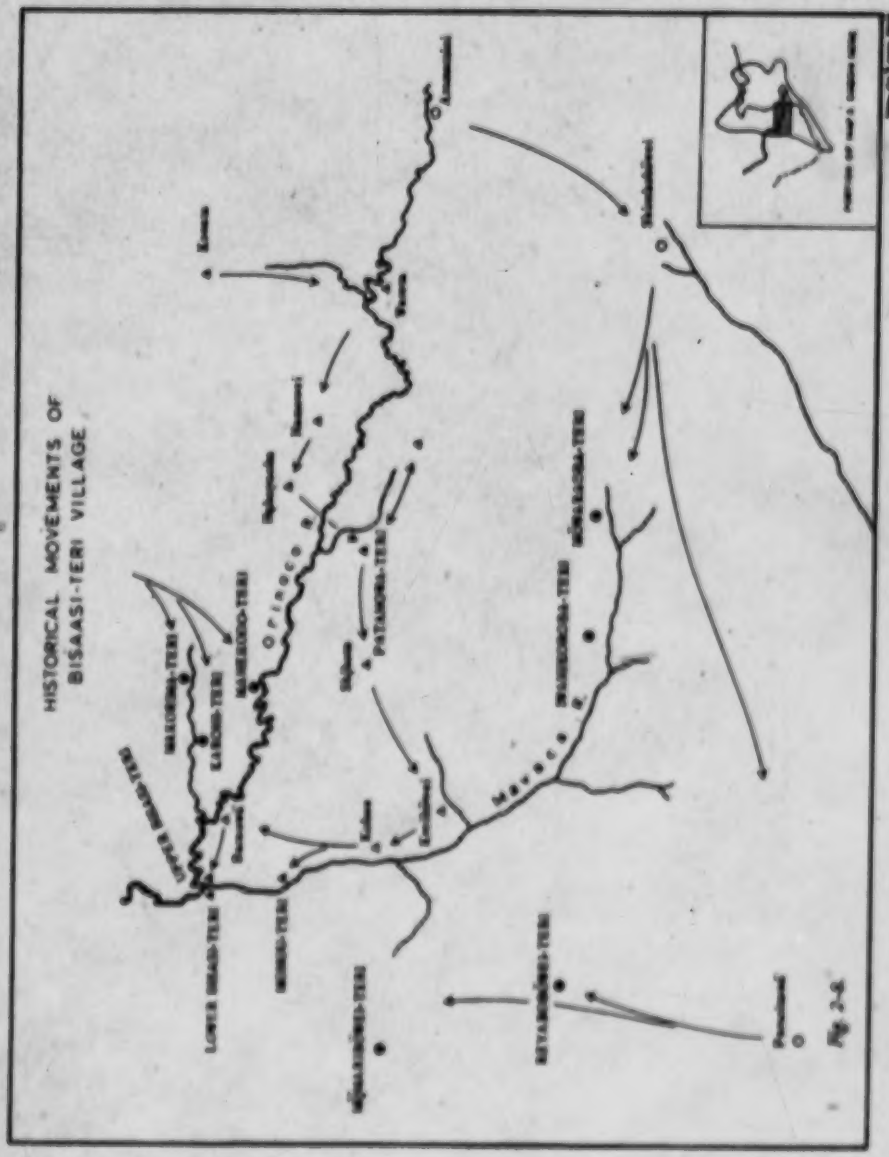


Fig. 3-5.

2: Becher--14 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/6 cont./

obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xirifna.

/7/

IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Demini nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

/7 cont./

Demini and Aracá were first introduced into the literature by João Barbosa Rodrigues, although he did not write Demini, but rather Demeune (32), and the Rio Aracá was called Uaraca by him (33).

32. On maps of that period one likewise finds the entry Demeney.

33. Rodrigues, 1885, pp. 136, 148.

With regard to the name Demini, it may be assumed that the ending "ini," according to the linguistic studies of Koch-Grünberg (34a), is derived from the Aruak /Arawak/ word "eni" =

34a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 15.

river, water. This assumption is confirmed by many very old finds of shards which I discovered on the entirely unpopulated terra firma on the riverine lakes of the Demini. They are yellowish gray shards, which are decorated with spiral lines, meanders, and other plaiting designs and resemble the earthenware vessels which Koch-Grünberg described for the Aruak tribes (34b).

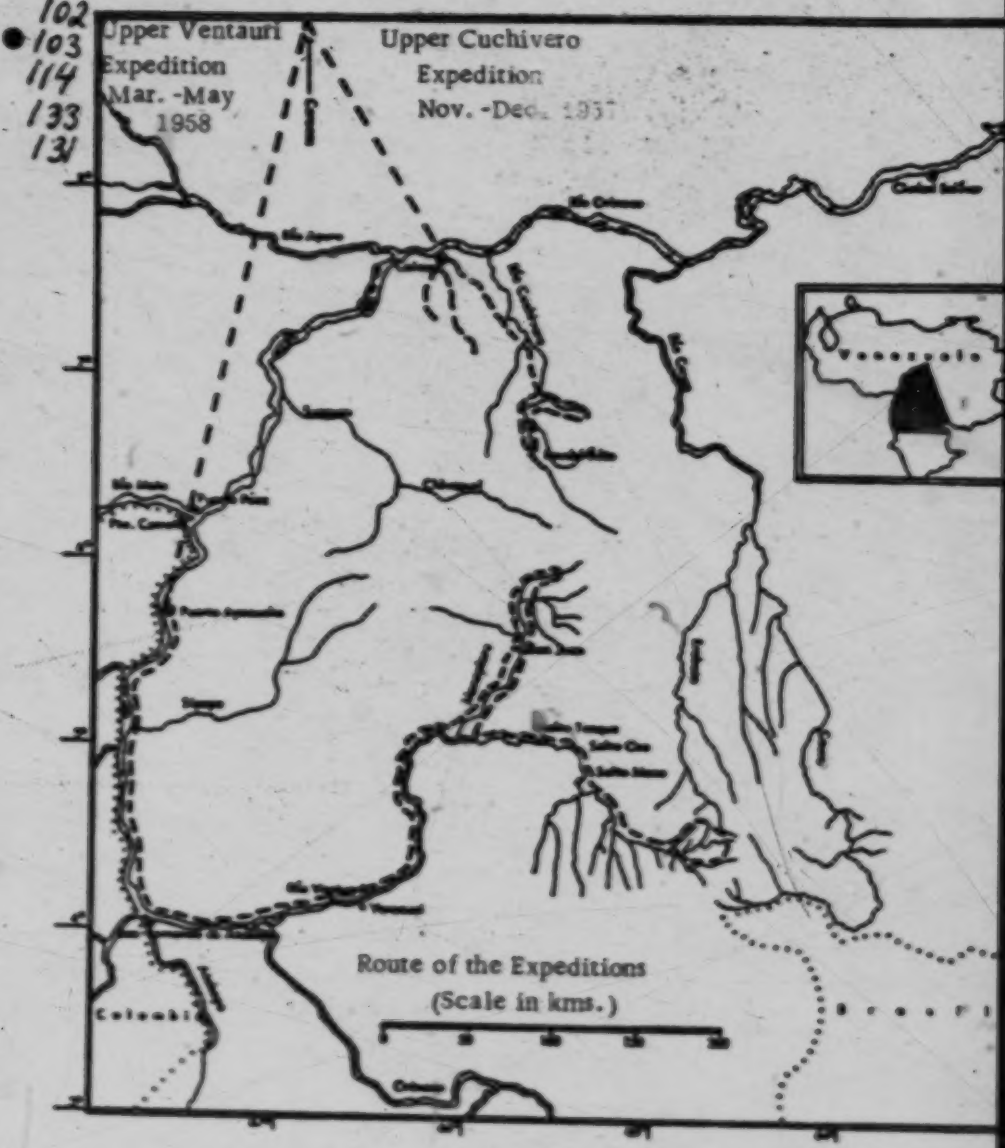
34b. Koch-Grünberg,1910a, pp. 227/28 and Ills. 152-155.

The fact that I found only shards is undoubtedly linked with the custom of the Aruak described by Koch-Grünberg, according to which all the clay vessels that belonged to a deceased person must be broken to pieces, for otherwise the spirit of the dead would punish the greed of the relatives (35).

35. Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, p. 151.

This would also confirm the surmise of Koch-Grünberg that at one time Aruak tribes coming from the west and southwest penetrated into the region between Rio Branco and Orinoco, which was

4: Wilbert--3 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema



Map 1. Route of the expeditions.

4: Wilbert
Y
M
102
103
131
133
361

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Makiritare SS20

p. 40	p. 41
p. 42	p. 43

Chart of Positions of Tribal Distribution Map (foldout). /facing p. 39/

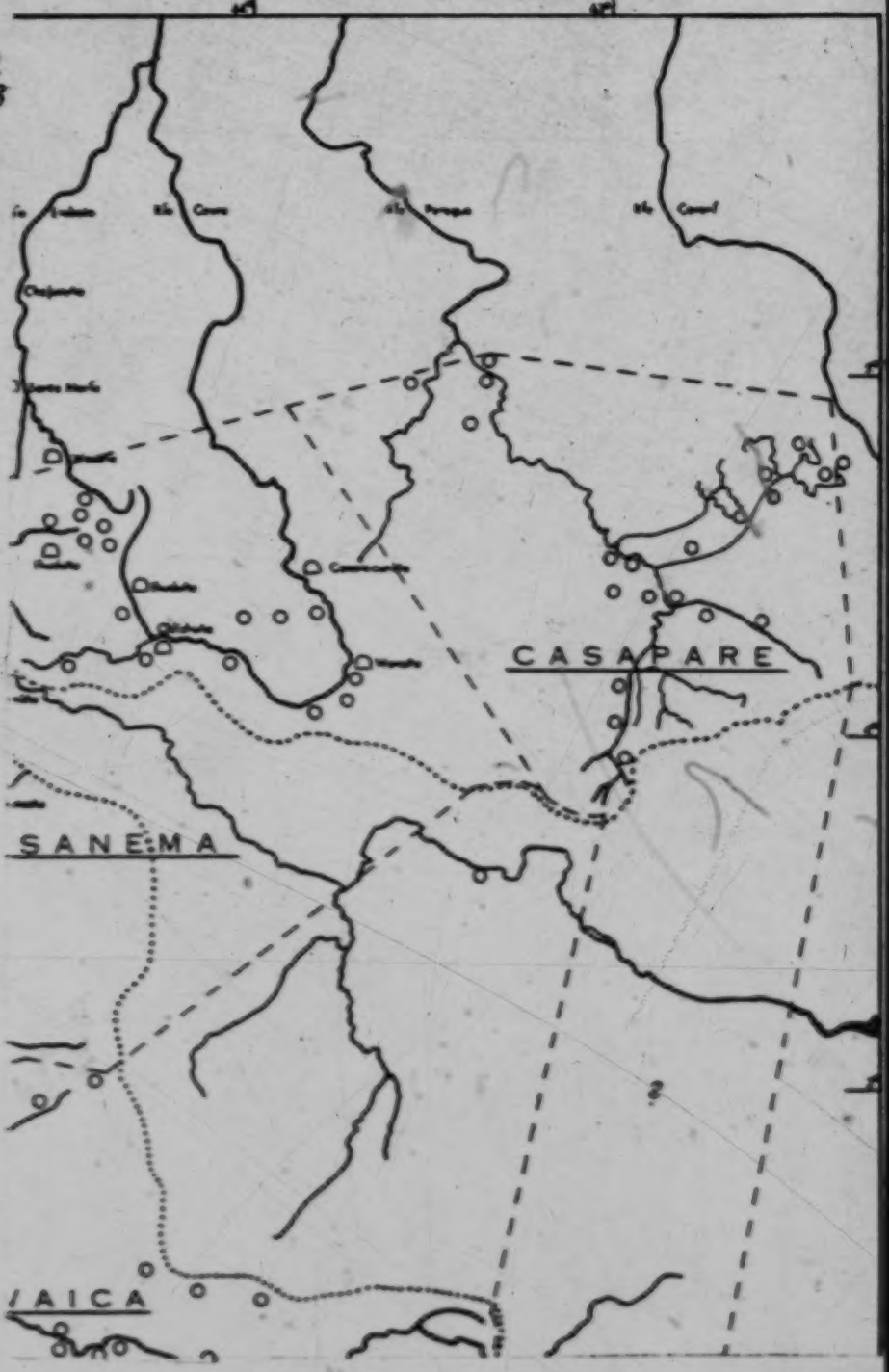
4: Wilbert--40 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Sanama
Makiritare SS20

M
Y
102
●103
131
133
361

4: Wilbert--41 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

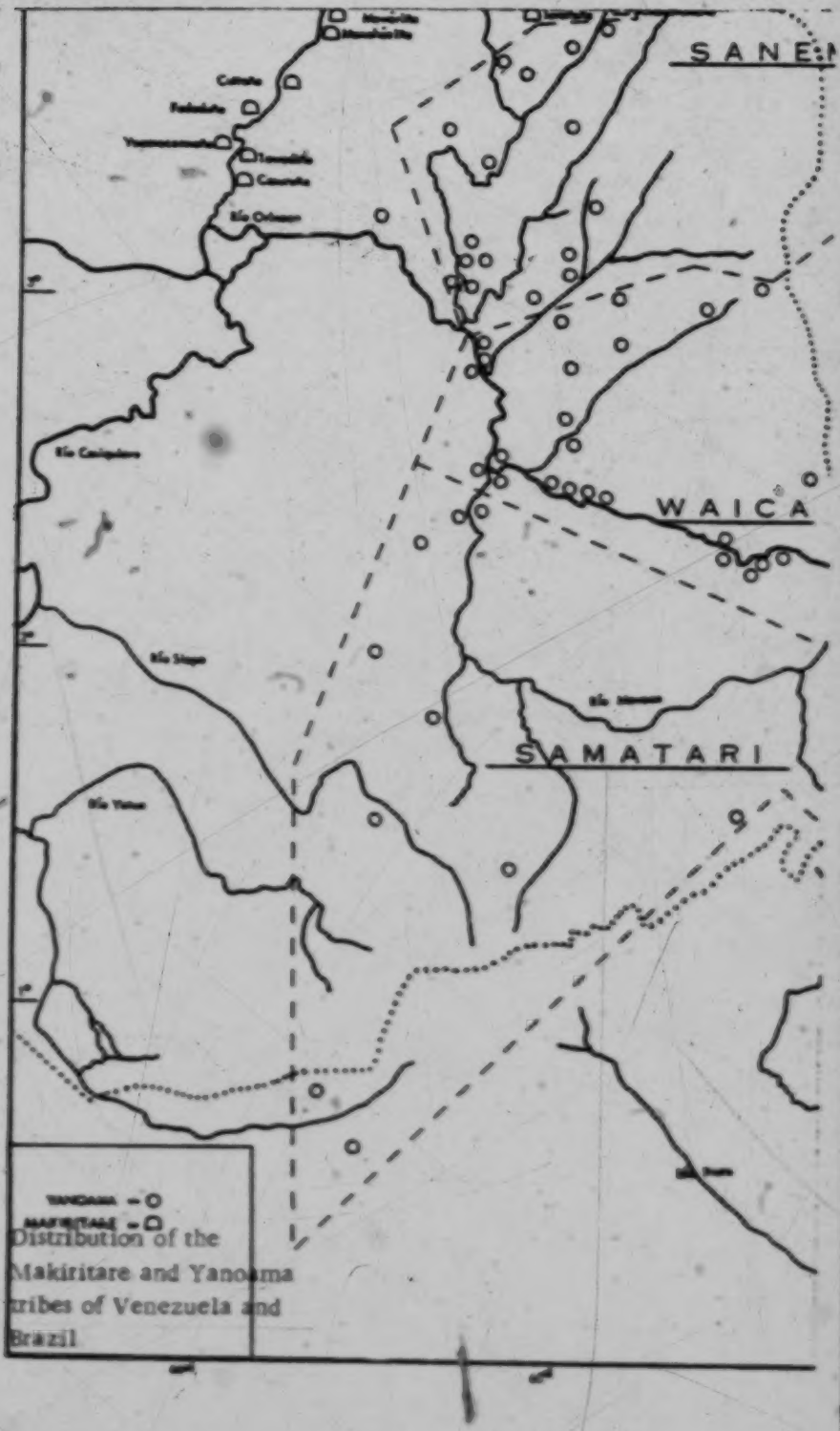
Makiritare SS20 Sanema

M
Y
102
●103
131
133
161



4: Wilbert--42 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Makiritare 55 2● Sanema

M
Y
102
●103
131
133
361

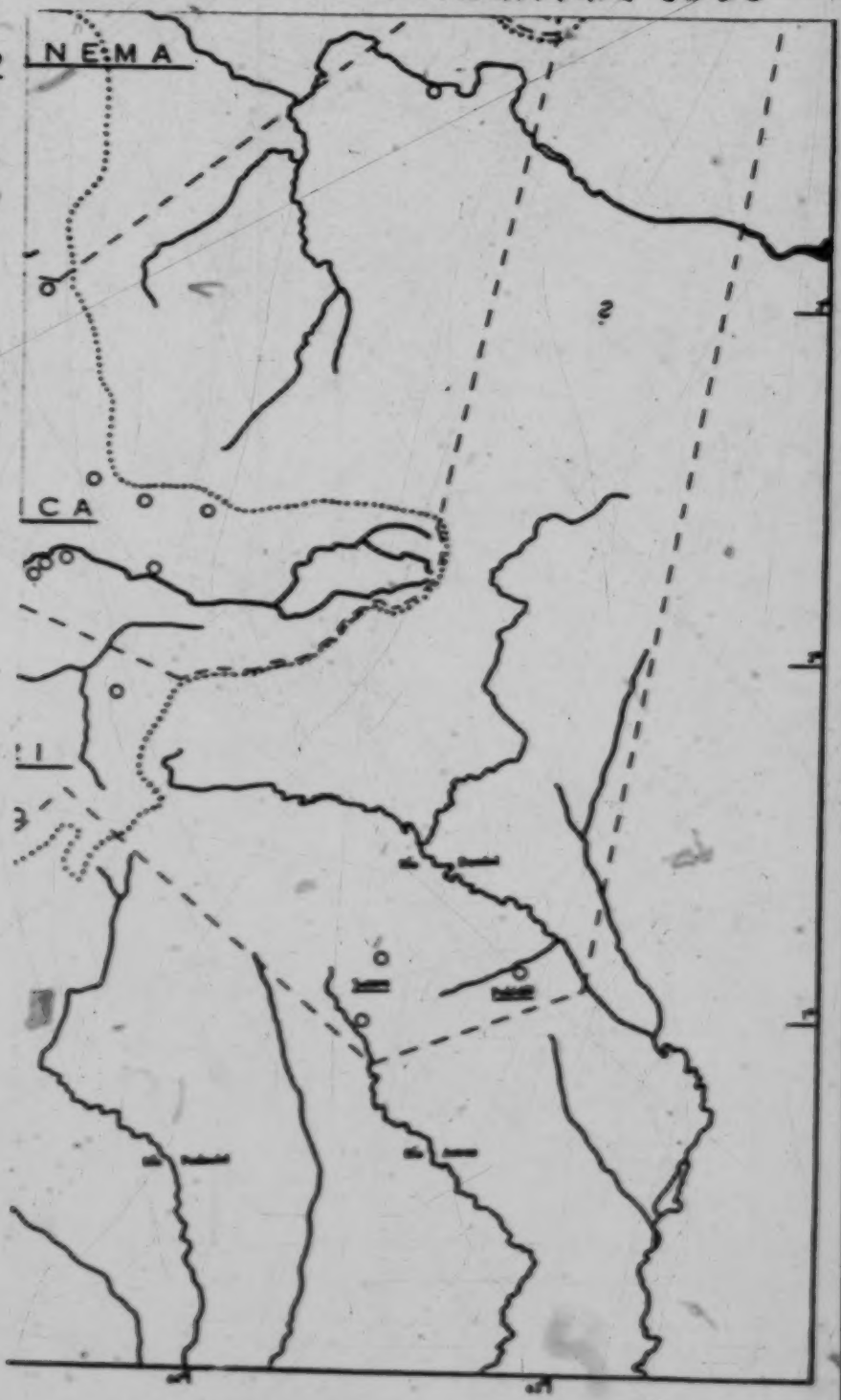


Distribution of the Makiritare and Yanoama tribes of Venezuela and Brazil

4: Wilbert--43 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Sanema
Makiritare SS20

M
Y
102
● 103
131
133
361



6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

122

It did not take us a great deal of time to organize the expedition. The question of food supplies didn't arise. We had given the little we had left to Jean. We were going among the Samatari like Samatari ourselves. The forest land of Uagna and the Rio Branco was waiting for us with its tapirs and its deer, serenely at pasture in the rich water-grass; with its ripened fruits falling from the trees into streams of dark water; with its birds whose crops were full of that fruit, and its fish which no barbasco had threatened for decades now, ever since the Guayca migrated to the north; with its fat grubs forming white silken cocoons in the trees. In the sharpness of our longing for the uncharted scene and for peoples still unknown, we saw ourselves already, in our imagination, plunging into the hidden depths of the forest, and the forest, in its turn, taking us to its bosom like a mother, boundlessly wise, providing for all our needs.

Hashimo arrived the next day and so far as we could judge from the preparations he had made and the quantity of arrows he was carrying, he had decided to come with us. So began the palavers between the four of us—Enrico and I on one side, Uaremu and Hashimo on the other. We went into everything. Hashimo had lived as a boy in the region we wanted to explore; he knew the Samatari and at times he claimed to be on friendly terms with them, so that it was he more than anyone who knew the problems we might have to face. From the Samatari 'gate', which we had already seen on the Uagna, our path lay over exactly thirty-two hills. The Indian made the same gesture as he would have used to greet us and numbered them off with his hand, his eyes closed and the whole scene passing in front of his mind's eye. Thirty-two—not one less—and some so high that the speaker groaned with exhaustion as he enumerated them, as if he were trying to push some great stone over the top. After these hills, which would mean a six days' march from the landing, one reached the River Aracosa. After descending that, there was the Parima (the Shirian name for the Upper Uraricoera), as far as a big falls. Then more *pilishi* and *nawishi* —daily stages and night stops—and landmarks on the way, until the traveller came to the Samatari. [103]

Considering that this people ranged like monkeys over a region which extended for hundreds of miles, we could not understand how he could be so definite about their present whereabouts—especially since he hadn't seen the place himself for many years. But the Indian mind is capable of subtleties beyond our imagining.

/435 cont./

126 628 rancherías. For anyone who might be preparing to travel or work in Guaika territory, these relations can be as important as the geographical location of the settlements. If a group of Guaika should be engaged to carry out certain tasks, they might be inclined to work well in certain areas, but doubtless would refuse to enter areas inhabited by their enemies.

126 /436/ On the map of the whole area inhabited by the Guaika and Guajaribo, I have tried to show the approximate limits of the two tribes. The areas which are shaded on the said map correspond to the zones where we have had contact with these [114] tribes on several occasions. The settlements whose names appear underlined, that is to say, El Platanal and Ioeitedi, are native rancherías where we have lived and worked for long periods of time. These settlements continue to be our principal bases of operation.

● 103 The native names of the principal rivers are as follows:

Orinoco River	Majekodo-ko
Cunucunuma River	Ami-ko
Padamo River	Jaiyama-ko
Metacuni River	Wakawaka-ko
Ocamo River	Kia-ko
Mavaca River	Wachewa-ko
Manavichi River	Mata-ko

The native name of the Raudal de Guajaribos /Guaharibo Torrent/ is Kalebakbola.

I have not been able to discover even one name for the hill of Guaiaribo, but the most important peaks, starting below and going up the river, are: Wanidi-mak, Yabinao-mak, Kacholaoa-mak, and Wadubaoa-mak.

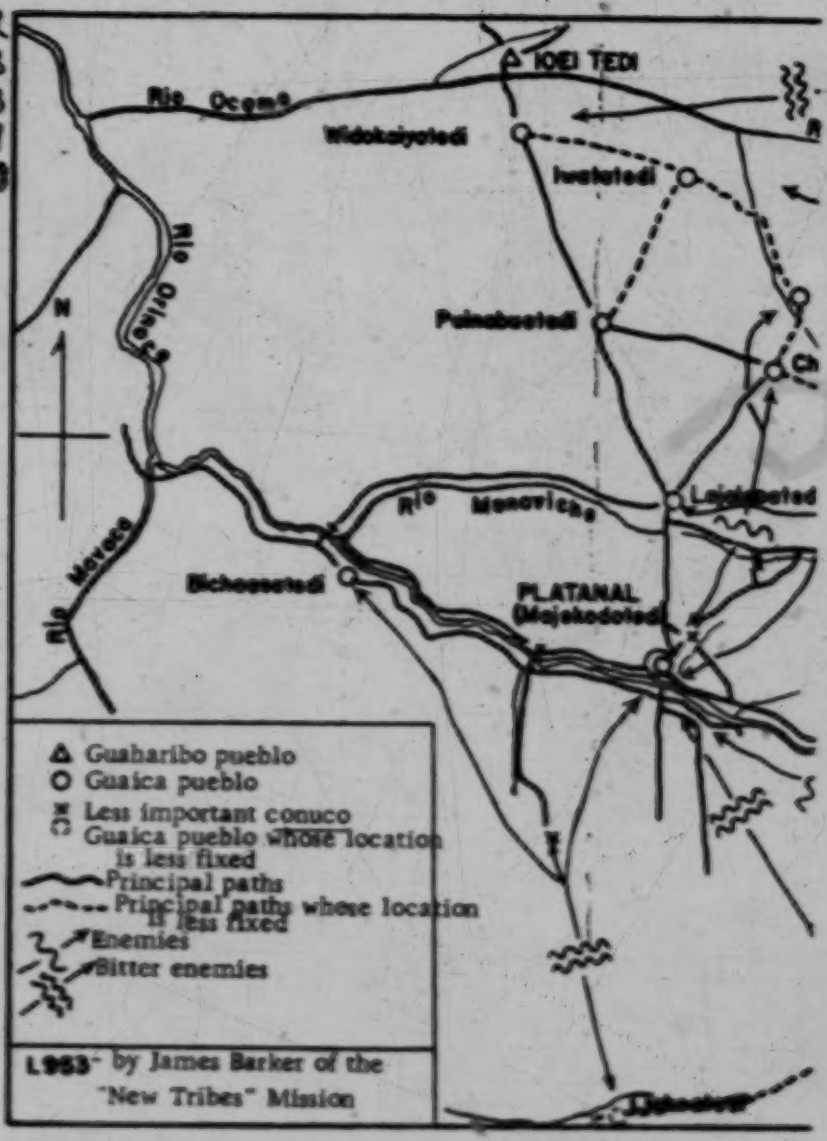
Geography

361 A few Guaika /Waica/ settlements are located along the principal rivers and are accessible by means of small boats or canoes with outboard motors. Nevertheless, most of the Guaika settlements are inland and can only be reached after one or more days of travel.

7: Barker--7 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

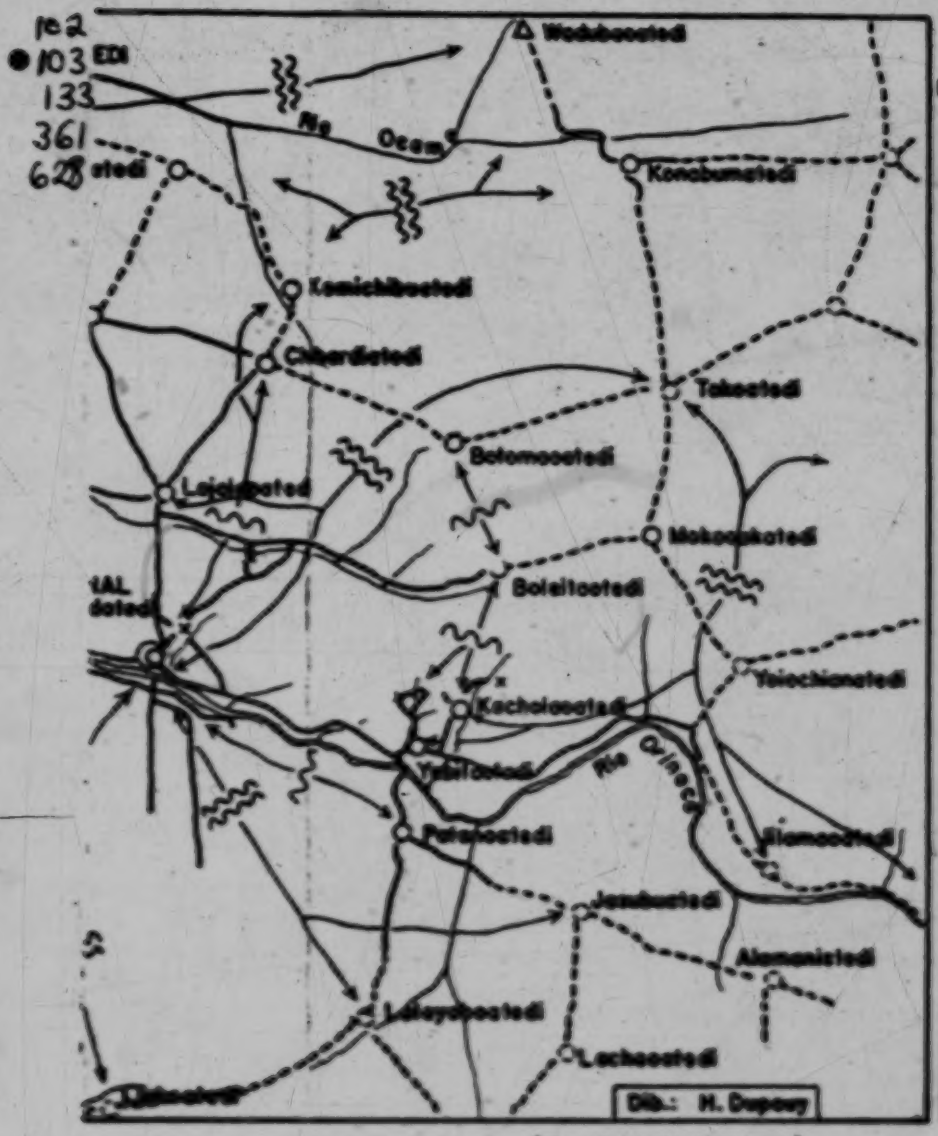
Waica
Guaharibo

102
103
133
361
6R3



7: Barker--8 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica
Guaharibo



/Drawing: H. Dupouy/

Waica
Guahariba

/437 cont./

Population -- 1953

361 It is known that there are about 23 Guaika /Waica/ settlements between the Orinoco and the Ocamo rivers and in the region of the Brazilian frontier to the north of the Orinoco River.

/438/ It is known that there are at least 28 other Guaika settlements to the south of the Orinoco River.

• 103 162 The approximate population of the Guaika settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Majekodotedi (Platanal).	100	Kacholaotedi	100
Bichaasatedi	100	Boleitaotedi	100
Lajalaowatedi	100	Patanaotedi	120
Yabitaotedi	75	Chibardiatedi	60

361 At least eight Guajaribo settlements are known to exist in the region of the Ocamo and Lower Padamo rivers. It is known that there are others on the Upper Padamo, a few others on the Ventuari River, and still others on the Upper Caura (also called the Merevari River).

103 162 [114] The approximate population of the Guajaribo settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Iceitedi	60
Wakawakatedi	100
Kwaisitedi	100

No2 The population of El Platanal can be divided by age and sex approximately as follows:

	Men	Women	Total
Great-grandparents	0	1	1
Grandparents	6	6	12
Parents	8	15	23
Newlyweds (childless)	5	6	11
Unmarried adolescents and children	33	21	54
	52	49	101

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621 [62] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and there- [578] fore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

• 103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

10:Chagnon B-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Zerries (1964:19) has included the groups I studied in the Shamatari classification on the basis of information taken from Mahakodotedi informants. The members of these groups, however, deny the Shamatari identity and distinguish themselves from their southern neighbors, some of whom visit them regularly and are married into their villages.

The Shamatari,[1] according to my Bisaasi-tedi informants, take their name from one of the headmen, Kayabawë ("big tree"), who lived north of the Orinoco River in a village then called Shihowë-tedi. Kayabawë was an unusually corpulent man and bore a second name, Shamatari, derived from their word (Shama) for the tapir, a large ungulate found throughout tropical South America. Shamatari, when Shihowë-tedi split, led his faction south of the Orinoco River and settled in the headwaters of the river known to the Yanomamë as the Shukunöna-u (see above), where his village became known as Mokayëaba-tedi. Other villages, related to Shihowë-tedi, moved into the Shukunöna River and Mavaca River basins after Shamatari's village was established, ultimately spreading as far southwest as the Causbury headwaters in Brazil. The Shamatari expansion into this area took place around the turn of the century, according to my reconstruction of Shamatari history (see below). This is also supported by meagre

---

[1] There is another "Shamatari" group in the tributaries of the Upper Parima River of Brazil; these are not to be confused with the Shamatari under discussion here, although both groups are Yanomamë. See Vinci, 1959, for an impressionistic account of his brief contact with the Parima Shamatari.

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Patanowë-tedi, MŲmaribŏwei-tedi and Reyabobŏwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Mamowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called Pararitawë-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

Table 5: History of Namowei-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Konata	1875-1900	Raids from Obotawë-tedi, Boreta-tedi, Bokpoiwë-urihi-tedi and Aramata-tedi	None	---
Wareta	1900-1910	Raids from Shihowë- and Nusirawë-urihi-tedi	None	---
Namowei	1910-1920	Raids from Boreta-tedi	None	---
Mahoyaoba	1920-1925	Poor Soil	None	---
Patanowë	1925-1943 (1966)	Internal feud led to split and raiding between factions; site still occupied	Village size and frequent fighting within village	Strained at first, then hostile
Shihota	1943-1949	Raids from Patanowë-tedi	None	---
Mahekodo	1951-1952	Suspicion that their hosts planned to kill them	None	---
Kobou	1952-1953	Fear of Shamatari raids	Internal feuds over women	Friendly
Monou and Barawë	1954-1966 1954-1959	Barawë abandoned because foreigners invited Indians to move to Mavaca; Monou still occupied	None	---
Hisasai	1959-1966	---	Village size and frequent arguments	Friendly

[Namowei-tedi Group]

146

10cChagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Table 6: History of Paruritawë-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Pre-Aramamisi	? - 1880	Raids from Shihowë- and Mokayëaba-tedi	None	---
Aramamisi	1880-1900	Raids from Shihowë-, Konabuma and Mokayëaba-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Shirakobëwei	1900-1910 [1900-1966]	Internal feuds led to separation of several factions that raided parent group: Karehewë-, Matakuwë-, and previous enemies, Shihowë- and Mokayëaba-tedi. Aramamisi-tedi group remained at Shirakobëwei after other factions left	a. 1900: Karehewë's faction left because of a feud over a woman. b. 1900: Waiyahowë's faction left for unknown causes. c. 1910: Matakuwë's faction left to aid Karehewë and to avoid raids from Shihowë-tedi.	a. Hostile b. Friendly; Waiyahowë's group was decimated by an epidemic and no longer exists. c. Hostile
Borabëwei	1910-1935	Raids from Karawatari- and Aramamisi-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Kayurewë	1935-1940	Raids from Aramamisi- and Mamowei-tedi	None	---
Konabuma	1940-1945	See next column	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Paruritawë	1945-1960	Raids from Sibarariwë's village (Mëwëracoba-tedi)	Minor internal feud	Friendly
Mëmaribëwei Reyabobëwei	1960-1965	Present locations	None	---

[Paruritawë-tedi Group]

100Chagnon K-4.6 (1964-1966) 1967 SO18 Yanoama SO18

151

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Musirawë's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowë and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowë-tedi and Bisasasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-kËkë--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Nakei, Shodemi, and Amatakë), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hahoyaoba-tëka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hahoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasaböwë-tedi and Ashadowë-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

174 men for the Kreibŏwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari,
175 and a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi managed to escape.
729 These fled to a mountain called WadubadidiobakĪkŏ where
[729] they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-tĪka.
• [103] Here, the Kreibŏwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the
[241] wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreibŏwei-
[752] tĪka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly
• [628] after the treacherous feast the Kreibŏwei-tedi were visited
by Shinanokawĭ, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his
followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the
Kreibŏwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them
to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made
a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

174 Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreibŏwei-tedi
175 undertook a revenge raid against Riakowĭ's group. They
721 killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collect-
• 628 ing their women and children at Kreibŏwei-tĪka as they pro-
361 ceeded from Riakowĭ's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was
early in 1951.

174 For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreibŏwei-tedi
175 worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi
361 at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more
241 plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the
• 621 Kreibŏwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before
Kobou-tĪka was producing, however, the Kreibŏwei-tedi decided

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Area 9: Kobou-tika

124 125 228 241 361 722 [103]

9 The Kreibŏwei-tedi parted with their protectors as soon as this garden began producing. They lived at this site only long enough to complete their two new gardens at Monou and Barawë, moving into the latter when they, in turn, began producing. "Kobou" in Yanomamö means "let it go at that," or, in more vernacular terms, "to hell with that garden." Kobou was abandoned shortly after it was made, having served as a temporary base for the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they completed their split. It would not have been necessary to complete the splitting of the village by making two new gardens had there been no war with the Shamatari. But, as one faction of the group made their garden elsewhere, the others were reluctant to remain at Kobou and bear the brunt of the revenge raids from the Shamatari. Thus, they too made a new garden. Again, it would not have been necessary to make Kobou-tika had Mahekodo-tedi been a dependable ally. But as the Kreibŏwei-tedi suspected that their erstwhile protectors were plotting against them, they followed that course of action most expedient at the time. As they had already started Kobou, it was simply more practicable to complete that garden and move out of Mahekodo-tedi as soon as possible, rather than begin making two gardens and delay their move until these gardens began producing.

124 125 228

Areas 10 and 11: Monou-tedi and Barawë-tedi

After separating into two groups the Kreibŏwei-tedi

(Shamatari) lived in this village and, when the village split, led his faction into the Shukunčna-u basin, becoming known as the Nakayišbe-tedi. This move took place about 1900.

The second village also moved to the south side of the Orinoco, but remained on that river. They settled near a mountain called Aramamisi-kïkë, and named their village after the mountain. My historical data on the Shamatari village movements is sparse up to this point.

Between 1900 and 1950 the Mavaca and Shukunčna drainages were populated by the descendents of these two 'original' Shamatari groups, and the process of village splitting that led to the occupation of this large area continues at the present time.

Although there are two Shamatari groups (Kayabawë's and Matakuwë's), I outline the details of the movements of Matakuwë's group, mentioning Kayabawë's only in so far as it relates to the history of Paruritawë-tedi. Militarily, Kayabawë's group plays a prominent role in the movements of Matakuwë's followers up to 1920, illustrating once again that cognate villages enter into hostile relationships with each other after they separate. Thus, this section deals with the historical movements of the group that ultimately gave rise to Paruritawë-tedi; as this group also gave rise to a number of other villages, I shall have to briefly sketch the movements of these villages after their separation from the main group.

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari

[Pururitawë-tedi Group]

Area 1: Arasanisi-kËkë

Matakuwë's group settled here after abandoning their site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawë's group. The village at Arasanisi-kËkë, according to my informants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Yeisi-tedi, Nakialyoaba-tedi, Arasanisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, MËwËracoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawë-tedi, Koherosahi-tedi, MËwaribËwei-tedi, and Kayabobëwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

A large segment of the population broke away from the main group and moved to the Mahuawë-u River, splitting into two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from the Arasanisi-kËkë population developed out of a feud over a woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Yeisi-tedi, Nakialyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from the original faction that separated from Matakuwë's group. The first three of these groups presently live in the Shakunëna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

[1] There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

others. Matakowë's group was being raided by Kayabowë's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-këkë. These raids forced Matakowë and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-këkë and settle at Shirakobëwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakobëwei

Matakowë's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabowë's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewë and Orakawë. During the fighting a young man from Karehewë's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewë moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewë's followers raided the group at Shirakobëwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewë to move further north. Karehewë's son, Riakowë, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreibëwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowë's son, Bërëbëwë. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Bërëbëwë's group. They feared Bërëbëwë would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyabowë, split off from

conuco--cultivated areas
curiara--the native canoe
guayucos--loincloths
hamacas--hammocks
hɨwɨ̃awán--the priest
hɨnpɨrɨ̃b--a soul who goes to live in the house of Omao as hɨ̃kula-d̃ib
hɨ̃kula--an immortal and spiritual vital principle in plants and animals, different than the soul
hɨ̃kula-d̃ib--ancestors
jefe--chief
káilala--the magician
morrocoy--turtle
póliawan--the jaguar; also used for the domestic dog
shabí--the shaman

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/4 cont./

648 agencies, so to speak, in the primeval forest. It is also one of the duties of the personnel, however, to lay out plantations for their own living, where they grow manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas, mamão /papaya/, beans, tobacco, sugar cane, etc. In addition, they hunt and fish.

Since living conditions are more favorable on the Aracá and the work of the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) is more remunerative than that of the rubber gatherers, the population here is four times as large as on the Demini. The region of the Indians begins at the Cachoeira dos Indios (Ills. 2 and 3). There is not as yet, however, any Indian protection post on the Rio Aracá.

/5/

114 III. The Ethnic Affiliation of the Surára and Pakidái

As early as the beginning of the previous century important investigators, among them Alexander von Humboldt, Robert Schomburgk, Jean Chaffanjon, and Theodor Koch-Grünberg, undertook ethnographic and in part linguistic studies in the northern and western part of the area between Rio Branco, Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro among a few groups of the Xiriána /Shiriana/ (5b) and Waiká /Waica/, which were broadened and

[104] 5b. X is pronounced like sch /in German/.

deepened by Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster in 1954/55, especially with regard to the Waiká (6a) (Waika) in the catchment

[194] 6a. When the Surára and Pakidái pronounce the tribal name of the Waiká, their worst enemies, they always accent the final a.

[197] area of the upper Orinoco (6b). Their work was supported by North

6b. Zerries, 1956a.

American missionaries who have been in touch with the

/134 cont./
114
197 (for him Shirianá, Shirianán), but disregards the unknown Pusarakaú (10). His attempt at a classification of this family, in

10. Mason, 1950, p. 254.

which he subordinates the Waika (Waicá) to the Siriana (Shirianá) /135/ and contrasts the two, put together as Waharibo (Guaharibo), Karimé (Carimé) (11), remains questionable (cf. p. ?). It has

11. Ibid.

been taken over and expanded by N. A. McQuown, however, whereby he again introduces the unknown Pusarakaú and adds a questionable, likewise linguistically unknown Guaharibo (12).

12. McQuown, 1955.

114
100 Since in McQuown's work the classification is not clear, I am
197 giving it here in the form of a table, in which I am retaining the not always fortunate orthography of McQuown:

Z. 15. CHIRIANAN.

a. Guahariban. Ven. Br.

α. Chiriana (861). N2-4° W61-64°30' Br.

β. Uaica (860). N1°30'-2° W62-4°, N3°30' W63°39', N4° W62°† Br.; N2-3° W64°, N3° W65° Ven.

γ. ? Guaharibo (495). N3° W65° Ven. Br.

b. Carime (845). N4° W64° Br.

c. Pusaracau (844). N3° W64° Br.

"Ven." means Venezuela, "Br." Brazil; the numbers in parentheses after the names of languages refer to McQuown's place-maps; the other data are the geographical co-ordinates of the places where the languages are spoken or (if followed by †) were spoken (in this connection it should be noted that Karimé erroneously appears on the north bank of the Uraricuera instead of on the Catrimani, considerably to the south of it [approximately N1°30' W62°30']).

/135 cont./

114 197 however, Čiriana and Čapakura are still to be regarded as two independent linguistic groups.

128 197 In the following, only a small selection of Surára words are offered, along with the corresponding words of Waika (according to Schuster) (16), Karimé (according to Salathé, 1932),

(122)

16. My sincerest thanks are due Herr Dr. Meinhard Schuster, Frankfurt, for the willingness with which he put at my disposal an excerpt of the Waika linguistic material that he is working on.

Širianá (according to Koch-Grünberg, 1928), and Warema (according to Vinci, 1956), in order to illustrate the close relationship that exists between these languages. The chief criterion for the selection was the availability of documented forms in the five languages; moreover, care was also taken to draw on words of a "non-cultural" nature for the most part, that is, /136/ those that are not so frequently taken over by neighboring languages and thus -- if agreeing morphologically and in meaning -- represent stronger proof of the genetic relationship of the languages compared. Becher's linguistic notes were made chiefly with Surára informants; for the designations of body parts, however, there were also additional forms (marked by P) which a Pakidái informant gave him.

104 194 The transcription of the five lists has been standardized; that of Karimé has also been simplified somewhat by the fact that two h and š sounds not adequately described by Salathé have been reproduced simply as h and š. With respect to the transcription, the following should be noted: ë = middle, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ï = high, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ã, etc. = nasal vowel; ɛ = open e; š = unvoiced, alveopalatal fricative; x = unvoiced, palatal fricative; ? = glottal stop; : = length for the previous sound.

CHAPTER I

YĘNOMAMÖ CULTURE AND EARLIER ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK[1]

101 ### A. Yąnomamö Culture

The Yąnomamö are discussed in the literature under such tribal designations as Guaica, Waika, Guaharibo, Makú, Sohiriana, Xiriana, Kirischana, Shidishana, Shamatari, Sanema, and Yanoama. Most of the terms are derogatory names applied to the Yąnomamö by their neighbors and characterize the people as being monkey-like or as savages.[2]

[104] In the upper Orinoco and the Mavaca basin where I conducted my field work, the Indians referred to themselves as Yąnomamö, which at once defines their mode of life, language, origin, and includes all people who share this mode of life, language and origin. All non-Yąnomamö are collectively

---

[1] As there are very few reliable English sources describing Yąnomamö social organization and culture, I give a brief description of them here. The best source in English to date is Zerries' 1955 publication, but it deals only with particular traits of Yąnomamö culture.

[127] [94] [104] [2] The word Yąnomamö is nasalized on every syllable, but for ease of typing this manuscript, I have not indicated all the nasalization. The vowel /-ə-/ is written /-ë-/. I have written the /- ə -/ as "-ë-" and have indicated nasalization by /-,-/; whenever a Yąnomamö word has one nasalized syllable, all syllables in that word are nasalized.

amoamo--dancing and singing of Yanoama men at feasts
basho--a large monkey. very desirable as food
broke--empty or void
buhli--one kind of human soul: will: self
date--a thick. sweet soup made from boiled plantains
ebene--a hallucinogenic drug
hashimo--a type of grouse hunted
hearoya--"husband"; the group from which a woman gets a husband
hekura--demons used by the shaman
henicmou--the week-long hunting trip of the men
hikari thka--a garden or jungle that has the potential for becoming a garden
humbou--state of emotional disequilibrium
mashi--exogamous patrilineal lineages; species. group; cluster of similar things
no borehoe--buhli after death
nomohoni--treachery
noreshi--a sort of spirit or portion of the soul. and in addition an animal that lives in the jungle and corresponds to this soul.
no uhudi (or hore)--the portion of the soul released after cremation
roo--"squatting"; menstruation
shabono--permanent house made out of wood material

104

shabori--shaman
shobariwaka--hell
shoriwae--brother-in-law
suaboeya--"wife"; group from which a man takes his wife
waiteri--fierce one
yai--spirits
yobõmou--girl's first menses

11: Chagnon E-S (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

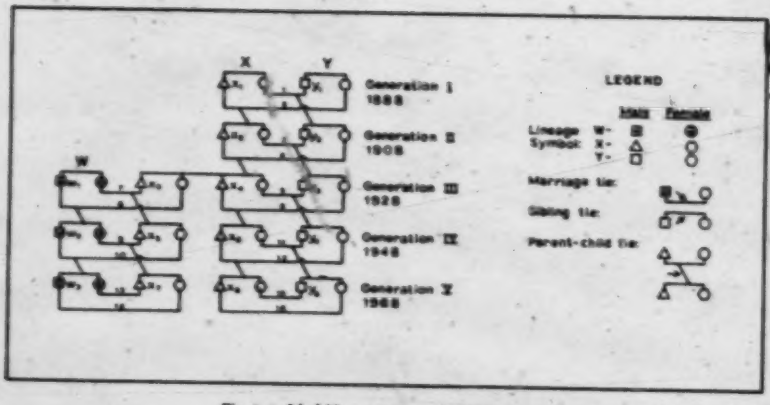


Fig. 3–1. Ideal Yąnomamö marriage pattern.

Fig. 3–1 can be presumed to represent the organization of a particular village over five generations, starting in the year 1888. Let us assume that the village originated in that year when individuals x_1 (and his sister, not numbered) and y_1 (and his sister) broke away from a larger village and established their own garden at some new location. Thus, in the year 1888, the village was comprised of two groups of kinsmen, X and Y. These two kinship groups are called lineages, the distinctive features of which I will discuss later.

In generation I, x_1 married the sister of y_1 and, in exchange, gave his own sister to y_1 as wife. This marriage practice is called *brother-sister* exchange and characterizes Yąnomamö marriage behavior. A man is under considerable obligation to *reciprocate* a woman to the kinship group from which he has taken one. In Fig. 3–1, x_3 married y_1's sister and reciprocated the exchange by giving his own sister to y_1. Because of this obligation of reciprocity, kinship groups become interdependent socially and form pairs of woman-exchanging kin groups. These paired kinship groups are discussed below in the context of village fissioning.

In generation II of Fig. 3–1, the village still contains only two groups of intermarrying kinsmen. These are the children of the individuals who founded the village. The reciprocal exchanges of women between the two groups of kinsmen (lineages X and Y) continue in the second generation, x_2 getting his wife from lineage Y and vice versa. Like their fathers, x_2 and y_2 exchanged sisters. It will be noted at this point that x_2 has married his mother's brother's daughter, who is simultaneously his father's sister's daughter.[1] This is a logical consequence of the fact that there are only *two* lineages in

[1] This is called bilateral cross-cousin marriage. See glossary for definitions. Hereafter the following abbreviations will be used, following Murdock, 1949: Mo—mother; Fa—father; Br—brother; Si—sister; So—son; and Da—daughter. Thus, "mother's brother's daughter" is simply MoBrDa.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Glossary

AFFINES: Relatives by marriage. These can also include blood relatives when, for example, a man marries his mother's brother's daughter. The word "cognate" is used to describe those blood relatives who are related by marriage. Cognates also include kinsmen who have a common ancestor. 104

AGNATES: Persons who trace their relationships to each other through males. This is distinct from cognatic kinship, where the relationship may be traced through either males or females.

BANANA, WILD: A distant relative to the common banana, but producing a fruit pod that is very different from the banana. The pod contains seeds that taste like maize. It is the only American member of the Musaceae family. Plantains and bananas now cultivated by the Yąnomamö were probably introduced to the Americas after Columbus.

BIFURCATING MERGING: A term used to describe the widespread type of kinship system in which an individual's paternal relatives are distinguished (bifurcated) from maternal relatives in the terminology. Furthermore, a single term is used in reference to, for example, father and father's brother; that is, they are merged terminologically into the same kinship category. The Yąnomamö have the most commonly found variant of this type, the Iroquois system. *See* Iroquois kinship terms.

BILATERAL CROSS-COUSINS: In practical terms, an individual's mother's brother's children *together with* his father's sister's children. Unilateral cross-cousins are mother's brother's children *or* father's sister's children, but not both. These two terms are frequently ued in discussions of types of marriage rules found in primitive societies. Mother's brother's daughter is a *uni*lateral cross-cousin; properly speaking, she is a *matri*lateral cross-cousin. In Yąnomamö (Iroquois) kinship this person is simultaneously father's sister's daughter. Some societies have rules forbidding marriage with the latter type of cousin, that is, they have a *uni*lateral cross-cousin marriage rule. *See* Cross-cousins.

COGNATES: Individuals who are related to each other through either males or females. *See* Affines, Agnates.

CORPORATION: A group of people sharing some estate, having definite rights with respect to each other and to the estate, and able to demonstrate their membership to that group by citing a recognized rule concerning recruitment.

CROSS-COUSINS: The children of a man and his sister are cross-cousins to each other. The children of a man and his brother are *parallel* cousins to each other. Similarly, the children of a woman and her sister are parallel cousins.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

• 104 DEMOGRAPHY: The study of populations with the intention of gathering certain kinds of vital statistics, such as birth rate, death rate, and family size.

DEMONSTRATED KINSHIP: Tracing relationships to kinsmen by citing the putative biological links. *See* Lineage.

IROQUOIS KINSHIP TERMS: Classifying both kinds of cross-cousins (matrilateral and patrilateral) into the same kinship category and distinguishing them from brothers and sisters and parallel cousins. In most Iroquois systems the parallel cousins are called by the same terms that are used for brothers and sisters.

LEVIRATE: A rule enjoining a man to marry the widow of his dead brother.

LINEAGE: A kinship group comprised of people who trace relationships to each other through either males or females, but not both. If the relationship is traced through males, as among the Yąnomamö, the group so defined is a *patri*lineage. The distinctive feature of the lineage is that the relationships are demonstrated by citing genealogical links. In a clan, relationships are merely *stipulated* by citing the fact that the two individuals in question belong to the same named kinship group. In short, a clan is a *named lineage* the members of which do not remember or do not care how they are related to each other biologically. *See* Demonstrated kinship.

LOCAL DESCENT GROUP: Among the Yąnomamö, a group of people who are related to each other patrilineally, who live in the same village, and one of whose major functions is to arrange marriages for the younger members of the group. It is usually the older males of the group who arrange the marriages.

MACHETE: A broad-bladed, long knife commonly used throughout South America for cutting brush. The closest English equivalent is the cutlass.

MATRILATERAL: Tracing relationships on the mother's side.

PATRILATERAL: Tracing relationships on the father's side.

PLANTAIN: A member of the banana family. The fruit looks like the common banana, but is considerably larger. When ripe, the fruit resembles the common banana in taste, but differs in that its texture is crude and stringy. Plantains are usually eaten cooked. Green plantains resemble raw potatoes in taste, even after cooking. Plantains appear to have been introduced to the Americas after the arrival of Europeans, but they spread with such rapidity that many early travelers described them as being native crops. (*See* References, Reynolds, 1927.)

SIBLINGS: One's brothers and sisters.

SORORAL POLYGYNY: A type of marriage in which a man marries two or more women who are related to each other as sisters.

TEKNONYMY: The practice of addressing an individual by the name of one of his children rather than by his own personal name. A kinship term is used in combination with the child's name, such as *father* of so-and-so.

105

105 CULTURAL SUMMARY--synopsis of the whole culture (as a background for specific information); references to summaries in other works. See also:

Cultural history . . . . . 17 Ethos 181

/121 cont./

166 Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each
221 other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism
241 of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today
as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps
182 the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun planting, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

162 The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually
621 made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new
182 plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the
174 working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

● 105 Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social
621 units of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural
182

/121 cont./

105
621
182

realms of this people: /122/ elements related to hunting for wild food, such as the group of families connected by kinship in various ways, for which, in accordance with its structure, one could probably use "roving horde" or similar terms, have held their ground and actively maintained themselves against those forms connected with agriculture and sedentariness, in our case the permanent village society. The Waika are now just at the point where the high economic preponderence of cultivated plants is beginning to make corresponding changes in the noneconomic cultural spheres.

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 266

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491 514

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista. They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 411

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

/201 cont./

342 The two windscreens had two posts stuck superficially into the ground at a distance of two meters apart. Contiguous to the post there was a smaller stake tied to it with a bejuco. The roof of this screen was covered with interlaced branches and roofed with platanillo leaves and supported with a slight inclination against two posts. The roof projects from the posts some 40 centimeters and touches the ground at its lower edge. In these houses the Sanemá hang their hammocks of bejuco or majagua. In some ranchos we found vestiges of fire. [352]

177 342 The houses of Makiritare type (rectangular or oblong) are small-scale imitations and have only one room. The roofs, made of palm leaves, are of two rectangular slopes and are raised on four or six posts. The edges of the roof are straight or rounded. The walls consist of bark or juxtaposed sticks. They have an average dimension of four meters long by two meters wide and approximately three high. Each house has one or two quite narrow doors. Within the house (of the Makiritare type) the greatest disorder reigns: from the roof and from the walls hang baskets, gourds, weapons, leather bags, tobacco, palm fruit, hammocks /chinchorros/ of bejuco, majagua, and cotton. On the floor there are hearths, firewood, cooking utensils, guapas with spindle and cotton, yuca graters, dogs, and children, all in confusion without order or arrangement. It is clear that they are not used to living under a roof, and the house is a place for storing things rather than a habitation. 353 [179]

● 105 422 484 The technology of the Sanemá is very little-developed, and precisely for this reason one can classify the Sanemá (and the Yanoama in general) as representatives of the most backward peoples of America and of the whole world. It would seem that the ideal of these seminomadic Indians is: omnia mea mecum porto -- everything that is mine I carry with me! and, apart from their weapons, a few implements, and a basket, it is unusual for them to carry anything else on their travels. They do not even transport their hammocks /202/ of bejuco or majagua from one camp to another, but rather make new ones each time they need them. [352]

St Layrisse et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

since Koch-Grünberg's contact with two Yanoama groups, in 1911, that more substantial information on this interesting tribe has been collected and in parts been published.[2]

Emerging from these data are the names and descriptions of a number of distinguishable tribal units, e.g., Sanemá (Guaharibo, Shirishana), Casapare, Waica, Samatari, Surara, Pakidái, and others. It also has become quite obvious that the Yanoama subtribes are not unified by socio-political authority, but rather by a general and specific culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and culture variants, carried by the different subtribes and local groups respectively. The various local groups and subtribes occupy a coherent territory, they speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious forms.

Taken as a whole, the Yanoama were found to be a very numerous tribe and they belong, in fact, to the most numerous of all the autochtonous populations of lowland South America, but previously published figures of 30-50,000 individuals appear to represent very generous overestimations of the demographic strength of the Yanoama groups known so far.

Linguistic classification. Several authors have attempted a linguistic classification of the Yanoama although most of them did not have at their disposal the more recent material.[3] Taking advantage of this material, we have attempted a glottochronological analysis, the results of which allow us some interesting insight into the internal correlation of the Yanoama languages.[4]

According to this result, the several Yanoama languages, as known today, constitute the Yanoama linguistic stock of 6-35 mc of internal separation. The two more or less clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: *A. Sanemá:* (a) Sanemá, (b) Nabudîb, (c) Pubenatari, [6-17 mc of internal divergencies: Sanemá-Nabudîb = 6 mc, Sanemá-Pubenatari = 17 mc, Nabudîb-Pubenatari = 17 mc]; *B. Casapare:* (a) Casapare, (b) Carime (?), (c) Waica, (d) Samatari (Surara and Pakidái), [8-21 mc of internal divergencies, excepting Carime (for lack of vocabulary material): Casapare-Waica = 21 mc, Casapare-Samatari = 21 mc, Waica-Samatari = 8 mc].

2 Surara-Pakidái, by Becher, 1960; Waica, by Becher, 1953; Schuster, 1958; Zerries, 1955, 1956, 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1960; Sanemá, by Vinci, 1939; Wilbert, 1961a, 1961b.

3 Rivet, 1924, p. 678; Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9; Mason, 1950, p. 254; Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140; McQuown, 1955, p. 525; Greenberg, 1956; Swadesh, 1959, p. 20; Dall' Igna Rodrigues, 1960, pp. 136-137.

4 We are indebted to Drs H. Becher and O. Zerries for having us have a basic vocabulary of Surara-Pakidái and Waica respectively. Complete information on source material has been presented by Wilbert, 1961a.

St Layrisse et al. D. E-8 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shirianá" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriana*" with an internal separation of 30 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirioana (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Siriana*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 455-458.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 28.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

St Layrisse et al. D, E-6 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanoama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hāwiawan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*subli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kāilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *subli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hāwiawan* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Samatari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, stout, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barker, 1953, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 35.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vinci, 1956, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1959.

Summary

Tables 5 and 6 broadly summarize the movements of the five villages. As the details of the text indicate, considerably more village movement goes on than can be included in tables of this sort. The micro-movements, however, merely express in greater detail what is immediately apparent from an examination of Tables 5 and 6: the Yanomamö abandon their gardens and move to new locations because of raids from other groups. In only one instance was the movement of a village stimulated by economic considerations: site 4 was abandoned by the Namowei-tedi because of poor soil. Another exception was the abandoning of Barawä (site 10) by the Bisaasi-tedi in 1959. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River to gain access to steel tools, marking the beginning of their sustained contact with foreigners.

The tables also show that there were ten village splits relevant to explaining the origins of the five villages considered in this chapter. Five of these splits were due to feuds over women. In four of the cases the factions that were involved immediately entered into hostilities with each other. The recent split within Patanowä-tedi, discussed in the text (pp. 188-89), again over a woman, is not included in Table 5, as the refugee group did not form a new village of their own. Three village splits in Tables 5 and 6 developed out of minor feuds, usually over women, brought about by large village size. In one case, the factions ultimately entered into hostilities with each other, whereas in two cases the factions still remain on friendly terms.

000 the factions still remain on friendly terms.

*621 *628 578 726 105 Material presented in the discussion above--details of the movements of factions that are not relevant to the origin of the five villages considered here--also support the contention that villages split over internal feuds. That villages are structurally unstable is evidenced by the sheer number of village splits and the fact that the related factions enter into hostilities with each other after separating. Data I collected on village movements for other Yanomamö groups support the conclusions I reach here.

*621 *628 602 582 583 105 [613] One can see that the process of village splitting leads to the formation of independent villages that comprise closely-related kinsmen. Intuitively, one can also see that marriages "between" such villages, i.e., between spouses that each claim to be of different villages, do not necessarily represent political alliances between those villages, for in many cases the marriages were contracted between the local lineages involved before they separated. This is not to say that all the cases of this sort can be dismissed in this fashion. Some marriages between ambilateral cross-cousins are in fact properly interpreted as marriage alliances between villages, for occasionally related villages enter into alliances with each other. In these cases, the marriages between them come about for essentially the same reasons that the exogamic marriages between unrelated groups occur. In short, the existence of the marriage rule alone does not account for alliances between related groups that enter into politico-military pacts.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

guishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö. Many wild plants are also said to have magical properties.

CONCLUSION The Yąnomamö have adapted to their jungle environment with a very simple technology. Exploiting both the naturally occurring foods and domesticated crops is relatively easy with this technology, and the resources of both the jungle and the garden provide the people with the two basic necessities of life: food and shelter. Although the resources are extremely varied and numerous, the diet is largely dominated by one food item: plantains. Techniques of manufacturing are so simple and direct that each individual can produce any item he needs from the resources immediately around him. The material aspect of the culture is decidedly rudimentary by comparison with other tropical forest tribes; the Yąnomamö appear to deliberately limit their possessions to an amount that can be easily transported in case the group is obliged to abandon its site on short notice.

Adaptation to the Sociopolitical Environment

The adaptation of the Yąnomamö to their environment can be only partially expressed in terms of how they make a living in the tropical forest with specific kinds of tools, plants, and techniques, for the forest is only one aspect of the external world to which they must adjust. Their adaptation also takes place in a social and political environment. This likewise affects the way in which the Yąnomamö are distributed over the land, how their villages are moved from one location to another, and the kinds of relationships each village has with its neighbors. In short, the Yąnomamö must relate themselves to each other as well as to nature.

ALLIANCES AND VILLAGE SIZE I spoke of the considerations that must be met when a new garden site is selected. However, the area within which the new site is selected is determined almost exclusively by political factors. A Yąnomamö group would remain indefinitely in the area it settled were it not for the threat of raids from warring neighbors. To be sure, the group would move its garden little by little each year, but the general area would be abandoned only if the people were driven out by stronger groups around them. Again, dissident factions of the village might leave the area if a particularly serious fight developed within the group, but because a garden is necessary for the group to survive as a group, the Yąnomamö abandon them only when faced with disaster. To establish a new garden at a great distance from the old one, a Herculean effort is required just to transport the necessary plantain cuttings and seed, not to mention carrying provisions for eating while the work of clearing the garden and planting the crops progresses. Then, since a new garden produces sporadically for the first year, the people are frequently faced with food shortage. They are, therefore, reluctant to sacrifice the predictability of subsistence at the established garden for insecurity, periods of hunger, and hard work at some distant location.

Instead, they develop political alliances with neighboring villages, thereby adjusting to their social environment. The nature of these alliances is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but at this point I will make some general statements about the relationships between villages to show why, on the one hand, the social environment calls forth the alliances, and why on the other hand, when alliances fail, a group must abandon its area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *hekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *hekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *hekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *hekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *hekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *hekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *hekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yanomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yanomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yanomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

have chronic warfare, results in a distinctive settlement pattern and system of alliances that permits groups of people to exploit a given area over a relatively long period of time. Finally, the Yąnomamö explain the nature of man's ferocity and origin in myth and legend, articulating themselves intellectually with the observable, real world.

Thus, each individual Yąnomamö enters the world with the physical, social, and ideological traditions at his disposal that will permit him to confront and adjust to the jungle, his neighbors, and the demons that cause sickness. The cosmos is ordered and orderly, in *fonda* as it is on earth.

SQ18 Yanoama

1: Schuster, Meinhard. Die Soziologie der Waika [The Sociology of the Waica]. International Congress of Americanists, Proceedings, No. 32, pp. 114-122. /HRAF pag. 1-11./ Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1958.

Yale: C2 054 32.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Shelton Hicock.

/This study based upon the author's personal field experience discusses antagonistic and friendly inter-community relationships, as well as social groupings within the village community. The latter are observed during a gift-giving ceremony, family groupings during internal migrations, and in case of establishment of a new village community./

Field date: 1954-1955
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1969

2: Becher, Hans. Die Surára and Pakidái, Zwei Yanonámi-Stämme in Nordwestbrasilien [The Surara and Pakidai, Two Yanoama Tribes in Northwest Brazil]. Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde, Mitteilungen, Vol. 26, pp. 1-133. Hamburg: Kommissionsverlag Cram, De Gruyter & Co., 1960.

Yale: Nk37 +H21e 26. [HRAF MS: pp. vii, 281].

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schütze.

/As an ethnographical account, this study goes into exact details on material culture, religious activities, and political structure. Social organization, in particular kinship, finds only limited discussion. The author provides the native terms for most culture elements under description. When discussing individual culture elements he points out their distribution in other parts of South America, and gives his own as well as other anthropologists' theories on the origin and migration of the particular element. During his stay in the field the author learned the language of these two Yanoama tribes. He held a most sympathetic attitude toward the Indians and was fully accepted by them.
Illustrations referred to in the text will be found at the end of this source, category 116, pp. 266-281./

Field date: 1956
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1968-1969

3: Rodrigues, Aryon Dall'Igna. Über die Sprache der Surára und Pakidái [On the Language of the Surara and Pakidai]. Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg. Vol. 26, pp. 134-138. /HRAF Pag. 1-7./ Hamburg, 1960.

Yale: Nk37 + H21e 26.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schutze.

/This source is a short account on the present day situation concerning the historical and linguistical knowledge of the Yanoama languages./

Field date: none
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Linguist-4
Processed in 1968

4: Wilbert, Johannes. Los Sanema /The Sanema/. In his Indios de la Región Orinoco-Ventuari. Fundación La Salle de Ciencias Naturales, Monografía No. 8, pp. 11-20, 177-236. Caracas, 1963.

8 maps (1 unnumbered); 26 illustrations.

HRAF Copy. /HRAF MS: pp. 1-115/.

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Sydney Muirden.

[This source encompasses only the introduction and one chapter (the Sanema) of the author's major work dealing with the Indians of the Orinoco-Ventuari region of southern Venezuela. The introductory portion deals primarily with the geography of the region and the location and basic identification of the various tribes inhabiting the area, specifically (in addition to the Sanema), the Makiritare-SS20, the Saliva--SS15, the Guahibo-SC14, the Yabarana-SS22, the Panare-SS21, the Puinave-SC18, the Barauna-SQ27, the Achagua-SC5 and the Venezuelan Indians-SS4. Data pertinent to the above ethnic groups have been given appropriate sub-heads in the text. The chapter on the Sanema (which incidentally covers other sub-tribes of the Yanoama in addition to the Sanema proper, as well as other OWC tribal groups), presents a general coverage of information on such aspects as: intertribal relationships; early European accounts of contacts with the Sanema; locality of settlements and population statistics of the Sanema on the upper Caura (Pubmatari), the upper Erebato (Sanemadub), and the upper Ventuari (Nabudub); house types; technology; clothing and body painting; a linguistic study of the language

4: Wilbert, Johannes.

based on glottochronological analysis of the vocabularies of the various Yanoama sub-tribes; genetic relationship of the Diego gene in the population in terms of linguistic affinity; food gathering and agriculture; domestic animals; the family, marriage customs and residential patterns; community structure; religion and the religious hierarchy (shaman, priest and magician); political organization (i.e. the chief); puberty; death customs; and mythology.

The author frequently uses native terms in the text which in many cases he fails to define, thus the source would benefit greatly if there had been a glossary. A brief glossary prepared by the analyst appears in category 104. The bibliography and table of contents will be found only in the foreign text, pp. 247-263 and p. 265 respectively.]

Field date: 1958
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1966

5: Layrisse, Miguel, Zulay Layrisse and Johannes Wilbert. Blood Group Antigen Tests of the Waica Indians of Venezuela. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 18, pp. 78-93. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1962.

1 map.

HRAF copy.

[Although this source is basically a blood group study of the Waica Indians, the first five pages contain a cultural summary of the Yanoama which should serve as an excellent background for the understanding of the people as a whole. After a discussion of the results of the blood group antigen tests with the Waica, the authors compare their results with the frequency of similarly occurring antigens among other marginal ("Paleo/Meso-Indian") people, primarily the Warao and the Yaruro. On the basis of their genetic analysis in conjunction with other linguistic and cultural evidence, the authors present the hypothesis(based on sampling of the Waica and Warao data) that "...the establishment of the genetic identity of two tribes with respect to the Diego blood gene has led us to assume that Paleo-American Man in Venezuela, although phenotypically different, is homogeneous for the Diego gene. Probably, in response to a changing environment, he developed two different culture types still traceable among his modern descendants.]

Field date: ca. 1960
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Physicians, Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965-1968

6: Vinci, Alfonso. Red Cloth and Green Forest. Translated from the Italian by James Cadell. London: Hutchinson and Co. Ltd., 1959.

Pp. 274; 56 photographic illustrations; preface; appendix; end map (attached to cover).

Yale: Ehh Ami 956Vg.

[Only pp. 25-26, 41-47, 52-66, 71-152, 185-189, 197-220 and plates between pages 96-97, 144-145, and 192-193 have been processed for this file.]

/This source is a popular account of the author's travels among the Yanoama (Sanema subgroup) and the Makiritare Indians of Southern Venezuela. In addition to the author's personal experiences in the field, this source records much incidental information on Sanema and Makiritare ethnography such as food gathering activities, travel, weapons, clothing, toilet, house types, raiding activities, and settlement patterns. Data on the Makiritare have been subheaded for the SS20 Makiritare file. In spite of chapter headings to the contrary, the author did not see any Waica or Samatari subgroups of the Yanoama in his travels but only Sanema. The researcher should note that while the heading of this source indicates that the author was only in the field during 1950, there is evidence in the book that he was there for a longer period than that; for example, on p. 216 of the text (cat. 116) a statement on the page indicates that he was actually in the field as of New Years Eve, 1954.]

Field date: 1950
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Traveler, Explorer, 5
Processed in 1965-1968

7: Barker, James. Memoria sobre la cultura de los Guaika [Memoir on the Culture of the Waica]. Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, Vol. 1, pp. 433-489. /HRAF pagination 1-65./ Caracas, 1953.

Harvard Peabody: L. Soc. 130.5.13.2.

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Sidney Muirden.

/This is a short yet precise ethnographic description by an American Protestant missionary. Of particular interest is the description of intercommunity relationships./

Field date: 1951-1953
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1969

St Barker, James. Las incursiones entre los Guaika [Raids among the Waica]. Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, Vol. 7, pp. 151-167. Caracas: Comisión Indigenista, 1959.

Harvard Peabody: L. Soc. 130.5.13.2. [HRAF MS: pp. 1-18]

Translated from the Spanish for the Human Relations Area Files by Sydney Muirden.

/This short article by a Protestant missionary gives an excellent description of warfare activities between Yanoama (Waica) groups, which the author witnessed personally during the 1950s./

Field dates: 1951-1956
Analyst: Sigrid Khera

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1968-1969

9: Grelier, Joseph. To the Source of the Orinoco. Translated from the French by H. A. G. Schmuckler. London: Herbert Jenkins, 1952.

Pp. 190; foreword by Professor Charles Jacob; author's note; bibliography; 51 illustrations; 4 text maps; 1 table; index; end map.

Personal copy of T. J. O'Leary.

/Only pp. 72-88, 90, 106-120, 170-171 and plates between pages 64-65 and 96-97 have been processed for this file./

/This source is a popular account of the author's trip to discover the source of the Orinoco river and his incidental ethnographic observations on the various Indian groups with whom he came in contact during his expedition. The selected pages from the book which have been chosen for inclusion in this file deal with the Guaharibo and Waica sub-groups of the Yanoama, the Makiritare (SS20) and the more general Venezuelan Indians (SS4) file. These latter two files have been added to the heading of the text pages as post posited subheads, the former two--sub-groups of the Yanoama--as unnumbered subheads. Ethnographic coverage in the source is limited to what the author observed about the Indians during his brief stay with them--physical appearance, toilet, clothing, ornament use of tobacco, house types, agriculture, trade, weapons, food preparation, and household furnishings and utensils./

Field date: 1951
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Geographer-5
Processed in 1965

10: Chagnon, Napoleon Alphonseau. Yąnomamö warfare, social organization and marriage alliances. Doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Michigan in 1966. University Microfilms Publications, No. 67-8226. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1967.

3, 9, 221 l.

HRAF Copy.

[Among the Yąnomamö Indians social relationships between members of a group as well as with persons outside the group are marked by highly aggressive behavior. Villages split frequently due to conflicts between residents. Warfare is most frequent and fierce between villages which have developed from such a split. The most frequent cause for intra- and intervillage conflicts is the shortage of females, created by female infanticide and polygyny. Abduction of women is a main goal of warfare. Alliances between villages are dictated by the warfare situation, and are very unstable. The militarily weaker village has to cede women to the stronger one as price for the protection granted. Apparently this situation of extreme aggression does not apply to all Yanoama groups, but primarily to the ones in the Mavaca Basin of Venezuela. Among the groups of the Uraricaa river area in Northern Brazil warfare is by far less frequent.]

Field work: 1964-1966
Analysis: Sigrid Khera, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1971-1972

SQ18 Yanoama

11: Chagnon, Napoleon Alphonseau. Yanomamö, the fierce people. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1968.

19, 142 p.; 31 photographs; 2 maps; 7 text figures; glossary; bibliography.

HRAF copy. DLC card no.: 68-22310.

[This monograph on the Yanoama is based on a two year stay in the field; the research being conducted in the native language.

The Yanoama in the tropical forest between the Rio Negro and the Orinoco, live on the cultivation of various food plants, of which plantains are of major importance. Yanoama society is marked by a chronic state of warfare, which determines not only intervillage relationships, but also relations between individuals of the same community, and even of the same family. Interpersonal as well as inter- and intracommunity relations are marked by constant distrust and display of fierceness to prove superiority.

This book also contains a very interesting description of the author's personal experience as field worker.]

Field dates: Nov. 1964-Feb. 1966, Venezuela
Jan.-March 1967, Brazil and Ven.
Jan.-March 1968, Ven.

Analysis: Sigrid Khera, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1971-1972

Bastos de Avila, José and João de Souza Campos. Observação de um Acampamento de Índios Padauri e Paquidari Encontrado no Rio Negro. Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, Serie 77, pp. 259-272. Lisboa, 1959.

2 plates; 1 map.

Yale: E10 So3477.

[This article describes the anthropologic aspects of a Brazilian Indian tribe which the authors met in the course of a botanical mission. While they appear to fall within the Yanoama pattern culturally and physically, the authors state that they hate the Waicas living in the region. Because of this ambiguity, this source has not been processed for the SQ18 Yanoama file.]

Surveyed in 1966.

Gheerbrant, Alain. Journey to the Far Amazon. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954.

Pp. viii, 353; 16 plates; maps.

Personal copy of T. O'Leary.

[This volume is a popular account of a trip made by Gheerbrant and three others across the Sierra Parima to Boa Vista on the Rio Branco during the period 1948-1950. A florid style and language make the book interesting reading, but the ethnographic content on the Yanoama is negligible. Therefore, this book has not been processed for the SQ18 Yanoama file.]

Surveyed in 1966.

SQ18 Yanoama

Grelier, Joseph. Habitat, Types d'Habitations et Genres de Vie chez les Aborigènes du Bassin de l'Orénoque. L'Ethnographie, Nouvelle Série, No. 50, pp. 43-59. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1955 (1956).

3 plates, 2 text figures; 1 map.

Yale: Nk10 +E31 II.49-51.

[This source includes information on four Venezuelan groups, the Warao, Piaroa, Makiritare and Yanoama. Since the material on the Yanoama is essentially the same as that in Gr Grelier, this file, this source has not been processed.]

Surveyed in 1966.

Zerries, Otto. Waika: Die Kulturgeschichtliche Stellung der Waika-Indianer des Oberen Orinoco in Rahmen der Völkerkunde Südamerikas /Waika: The Culture Historical Position of the Waika Indians of the Upper Orinoco in the Frame of South American Ethnology/. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expedition 1954/55 nach Südost-Venezuela, Herausgegeben von Otto Zerries, Vol. 1. München: Klaus Renner Verlag, 1964.

Pp. viii, 312; folding chart; bibliography; 54 maps; index of tribes.

Yale: CF2319 +Z47 1.

[This work was presented as a Habilitationsschrift to the Faculty of Philosophy, Munich University, and is the first major result of the Frobenius Institute expedition to the Waika. Various aspects of Waika culture (e.g., sociology, endocannibalism, mythology, religion and magic, etc.) are compared with similar aspects of the culture of other South American Tropical Forest tribes in order to place the Waika within a particular culture historical scheme. The distribution of the various traits is plotted on a series of maps placed at the end of the volume. Since much of the material does not refer specifically to the Waika, and since volume two of the series will be devoted to the descriptive ethnography of a Waika community, this source has not been processed.]

Surveyed in 1966.

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
SS18 Warao SS18
SS19 Yaruro SS19

Chaffanjon, Jean. L'Orénoque et le Caura. Relation de Voyages Exécutées en 1886 et 1887 /The Orinoco and the Caura. Relation of Journeys Made in 1886 and 1887/. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1889.

Pp. iii, 351; many illustrations; map.

Yale Ehdd 886.

/Pp. 9-16 of this work give a quick sketch of the Warao. Chaffanjon saw them in January 1886. He writes briefly on clothing, hair style, marriage, birth, religious ceremonies, superstitions, sickness, death and funeral, geographical dispersal, housing, nutrition, language and "perfectability." These Warao lived at the mouth of the Caño Rico outlet of the Orinoco. Since the data presented are inadequate and obviously inaccurate at some points, e.g., equating sago and cassava, and because of the brief time spent among the natives, this source has not been processed for the Warao file. Pp. 169-173 contain a brief description of the Yaruro, while pp. 307-314 contain a brief account of his meeting with the Waica. Since little information is contained in these accounts, they have not been processed./

Zerries, Otto. Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Schiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien [Contributions to the anthropology of the Waika and Shiriana Indians in the border region between Venezuela and Brazil]. Zeitscheift für Morphologie und Anthropologie, Vol. 50, pp. 31-41. Stuttgart: E. Schweizerbart'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960.

1 map.

Yale: S14 305 50.

[In this article, Zerries divides these two groups into four physical types: a pygmy type, not over 130 cm. tall, light skin, fine features, with very small hands and feet; a relatively larger type with a darker skin tone; a medium large type with round heads, very small nose and mouth, some having wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes; and a Mongoloid "half-Tartar" type with almond-shaped eyes and sharp chin. He gives some data as to their distribution and adduces some historical causes for these various body types.]

YV 127 128

/19 cont./

In the present report we use most of the extant data, and their compilation, ordering, and selection, together with our own personal contribution, constitute the study which we present here on the Indians of this part of Venezuela.

YV 114 128 ● [113]

For our purpose we followed the footsteps of the great Venezuelan ethnologist, Lisandro Alvarado, who, with the publication of his book, Datos Etnográficos de Venezuela /Ethnographic Data of Venezuela/, took a firm step toward the great task of compiling /20/ all the objective material written over the course of many decades regarding the native tribes of this part of the world (2).

YV [113]

2. Obras completas de Lisandro Alvarado /Complete Works of Lisandro Alvarado/, Vol. 4 (Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura y Bellas Artes). Caracas, 1956.

YV 128

Our report lacks uniformity with regard to the character and volume of material on the various tribes to which we refer, but this fact reflects precisely our present sporadic knowledge concerning the tribes, which, in the last phase of their autochthonous life, urgently invite the competent ethnologist to leave testimony of a human conglomerate of our ancient American continent. /Maps 5 and 6 appear here. Pages 21-176 are not included in the translation./

St Layrisse et al. D, E-6 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18
Waica

We would best interpret our general culture historic problem in the sense of suggesting that there exists a high probability for the two different populations and culture types to represent simply variants of basically the same people and the same culture type. Archaeologists[30] have proved that the Meso-Indian culture type dates back to 4150 ± 80 BP (Manicuare), so that the *Warao* Meso-Indian culture type could actually date back to the time of their splitting off from the *Yanomama* who, for their part, continued to live in the Paleo-Indian tradition, and which, in turn, may date back to its most original form in Venezuela to 16,000 ± 300 BP and more.

In our particular case, then, the establishment of the genetic identity of two tribes with respect to the Diego blood gene has led us to assume that Paleo-American Man in Venezuela, although phenotypically different, is homogeneous for the Diego gene. Probably, in response to a changing environment, he developed two different culture types still traceable among his modern descendants. A detailed analysis of the contents of both cultures would greatly substantiate this hypothesis, but in the limited frame of the present paper we shall have to refrain from doing so.

In closing this discussion, we would like to underline the preliminary character of our hypothesis. The culture content of the Waica and of the Warao has not been fully described as yet; the linguistic affiliation of the two tribes remains to be confirmed by profound linguistic analysis; and genetically we have little more to go by than the behavior of mainly one gene. Nevertheless, taken together this kind of threefold evidence, in spite of all the existing limitations, appears to be much stronger than the single evidence available for any one of them, and it would be highly desirable to test similar cases along the lines described above.

Bibliography

BARRE, JAMES
1953 *Memoria sobre la cultura Guaika* (Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, nos. 3-4, pp. 433-489, Caracas).

BARRAL, BASILIO DE
1957 *Diccionario Guarao-Español, Español-Guarao* (Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales, La Salle, Monografías, no. 3, Caracas).

BELLMANN-NOEL, HANS
1954 *Apuntes de un médico indigenista sobre los Piaroa de Venezuela* (Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, vol. 2, nos. 1-4, pp. 111-124, Caracas).

BECHER, HANS
1960 *Die Siriâno und Pakidái. Zwei Yanomami-Stämme in Nordwestbrasilien.* (Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, vol. 26, Hamburg).

30 Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-59, vol. 1, tables 2 and 3.

Schaeffner et al. D.B-S (ca. 1960)1961 8Q18 Yanoama 8Q18
Waica

CANALS FRAU, SALVADOR
1959 *Prehistoria de América* (Buenos Aires).

COON, C. S., S. M. GARN, AND J. B. BIRDSELL
1950 *Races: a Study of the Problems of Race Formation in Man* (Springfield).

CRUXENT, J. M., AND I. ROUSE
1958-59 *An Archaeological Chronology of Venezuela* (Pan American Union, Social Science Monographs, no. 6, 2 vols., Washington).

DALL'IGNA RODOLFINI, A.
1960 "Über die Sprache der Surára und Pakidái" (in H. Becher, *Die Surára und Pakidái*, Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, vol. 26, Hamburg).

GLASS, B., M. S. SACHS, E. F. JAHN, AND C. HESS
1952 *Genetic Drift in a Religious Isolate: an Analysis of the Causes of Variation in Blood Groups and Other Gene Frequencies in a Small Population* (The American Naturalist, vol. 86, pp. 145-159).

GREENBERG, JOSEPH
1955 *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (New Haven: Compass Publishing Co.).
1956 "Linguistic Classification of South America," (in J. H. Steward, and L. C. Faron, *Native Peoples of South America*, New York: [1959]).

KIRCHHOFF, PAUL
1948 "Food-gathering Tribes of the Venezuelan Llanos" (in *Handbook of South American Indians*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 143, vol. 4, pp. 445-468, Washington).

KOCH-GRÜNBERG, THEODOR
1913 *Abschluss meiner Reise durch Nordbrasilien zum Orinoco, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der von mir besuchten Indianer-stämme* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. 45, pp. 448-474).

LAYRISSE, M., T. ARVELO, AND J. WILBERT
1958 *Peculiar Distribution of the Diego Factor among the Warao* (Nature, vol. 181, p. 118).

LAYRISSE, M., Z. LAYRISSE, E. GARCÍA, AND J. WILBERT
1961 *Blood Group Antigen Tests of the Yaruro Indians* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 17, pp. 198-204).

LAYRISSE, M., Z. LAYRISSE, AND J. WILBERT
1960 *Blood Group Antigens in the Yupa Indians of Venezuela* (American Anthropologist, vol. 62, pp. 418-436).
1961 *Blood Group Antigen Studies of Four Chibcha Tribes* (American Anthropologist, in press).

de Laytrise et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Tzeltal SQ18
Weiss

113

LAYRISSE, M. AND J. WILBERT
1960 *El antígeno del sistema sanguíneo Diego* (Caracas).
1961 *Absence of Diego Antigen, a Genetic Characteristic of Early Immigrants to South America* (Science, vol. 134, no. 3485, pp. 1077-1078).

LOUKOTKA, ČESTMIR
1944 *Klassifikation der südamerikanischen Sprachen* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. 74, pp. 1-69).

MASON, J. ALDEN
1950 "The Languages of South American Indians" (in *Handbook of South American Indians*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 143, vol. 6, pp. 157-317, Washington).

MCQUOWN, NORMAN A.
1955 *The Indigenous Languages of Latin America* (American Anthropologist, vol. 57, pp. 501-570).

MURDOCK, GEORGE P.
1949 *Social Structure* (New York).

RACE, R. R. AND R. SANGER
1958 *Blood Groups in Man* (Blackwell Scientific Publications, Oxford).

RIVET, PAUL
1924 "Langues Américaines. Langues de l'Amérique du Sud et des Antilles" (in A. Meillet and A. M. Cohen, *Les Langues du Monde*, Coll. Ling. Paris, vol. 16, pp. 639-712, Paris).

RIVET, P. AND Č. LOUKOTKA
1952 "Langues de l' Amérique du Sud et des Antilles (in A. Meillet and M. Cohen, *Les Langues du Monde*, Coll. Ling. Paris, second edition, pp. 1099-1160, Paris).

ROUSE, IRVING
1960 *The Entry of Man into the West Indies* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 61, New Haven).

SCHUSTER, MEINHARD
1958 *Die Soziologie der Waika* (Proceedings, 32nd International Congress of Americanists, 1956, pp. 114-122, Copenhagen).

SHAPIRO, M.
1960 *Serology and Genetics of the New Blood Factor: Inᵃ* (Journal of Forensic Medicine, vol. 7, pp. 96-107).

SWADESH, MAURICE
1959 *Mapas de clasificación lingüística de México y las Américas* (Cuadernos del Instituto de Historia, Serie Antropológica, no. 8, Universidad Nacional de México, México).

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS

113 ●

VIEGS, ALFONSO
1956 *Samatari* (Bari).
1959 *Red Cloth and Green Forest* (London).

WILBERT, JOHANNES
1961a *Indios de la Región Orinoco Ventuari* (In press).
1961b *Notes on a Sanumá Vocabulary* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes, in press).

ZERRIES, OTTO
1955 *Some Aspects of Waica Culture* (Anais do 31. Congresso Internacional de Americanistas, 1954, pp. 73-88. São Paulo).
1956 *Zur Frage der ursprünglichen Wirtschaftsform der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoco (Venezuela). (Ergebnisse einer völkerkundlichen Forschungsreise 1954/55)* (Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 148-156, Vienna).
1958a *Die Vorstellungen der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoco (Venezuela) über die menschliche Seele* (Proceedings, 32nd International Congress of Americanists, pp. 105-113, Copenhagen).
1958b *Schöpfung und Urzeit im Denken der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoco (Venezuela)* (Proceedings 32nd International Congress of Americanists, pp. 280-286, Copenhagen).
1959 *Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Shiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien* (Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie, vol. 50, pp. 31-41, Stuttgart).
1960 *Medizinmannwesen und Geisterglaube der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoco* (Ethnologica n. f., vol. 2, pp. 485-507, Köln).

INSTITUTO VENEZOLANO DE INVESTIGACIONES CIENTÍFICAS
FUNDACIÓN LA SALLE DE CIENCIAS NATURALES
CARACAS, VENEZUELA

BIBLIOGRAPHY

• 113 Ackerman, Charles

1964 "Structure and Statistics: The Purum Case," American Anthropologist, Vol. 66, pp. 53-65

Barker, James P.

1953 "Memoria sobre la cultura de los Guaika," Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, Año 1, Tomo 1, Nos. 3-4

1959 "Las incursiones entre los Guaika," Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, Año 7, Tomo 7, Nos. 1-4

Becher, Hans

1957a "Bericht über eine Forschungsreise nach Nordbrasilien in das Gebeit der Flüsse Demini und Areçá," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Band 82, Heft 1, pp. 112-20

1957b "Die Yanonami," Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen, Jahrgang 5, Nr. 1, pp. 13-20

1960 Die Surára und Pakidái: Zwei Yanonámi-Stämme in Nordwestbrasiliens, Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde. Hamburg.

Befu, Harumi, and Plotnicov, Leonard

1962 "Types of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, Vol. 64, pp. 313-27

Carneiro, Robert L.

1956 "Slash-and-burn Agriculture: A Closer Look at its Implications for Settlement Patterns," in: Men and Cultures, Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Anthony F. C. Wallace, editor. Philadelphia.

Carneiro, Robert L., and Tobias, Stephen F.

1963 "The Application of Scale Analysis to the Study

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

• 113

of Cultural Evolution," Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, Ser. II, Vol. 26, pp. 196-207

Caulin, Antonio

1779 Historia corographica natural y evangelica de la Nauva Andalucia, provincias de Cumaná, Guayana, y vertientes del rio Orinoco. Madrid.

Chagnon, Napoleon A.

1967 "The Fierce Yanomamö," (in press) Natural History Magazine, American Museum of Natural History

Conklin, Harold C.

1961 "The Study of Shifting Cultivation," Current Anthropology, Vol. 2, pp. 27-61

Davenport, William

1959 "Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, Vol. 61, pp. 557-72

Firth, Raymond

1957 "A Note on Descent Groups in Polynesia," Man, Vol. LVII, pp. 4-8

Fortes, Meyer

1953 "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, Vol. 55, pp. 17-51

1959a "Descent, Filiation and Affinity: A Rejoinder to Dr. Leach: Part I," Man, LIX, pp. 193-7

1959b "Descent, Filiation and Affinity: A Rejoinder to Dr. Leach: Part II," Man, LIX, pp. 206-12

Freeman, J. D.

1955 Iban Agriculture, A Report on the Shifting Cultivation of Hill Rice by the Iban of Sarawak. Colonial Research Studies, Vol. 18. London.

Fried, Morton

1957 "The Classification of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 87, pp. 1-29

• 113

Goodenough, Ward H.
1955 "A Problem in Malayo-Polynesian Social Organization," American Anthropologist, Vol. 57, pp. 71-83

Homans, George C., and Schneider, David M.
1955 Marriage, Authority, and Final Causes: A Study of Unilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage. Glencoe.

Humboldt, Alexander
1821 Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, During the Years 1799-1804, Vol. 5, Pt. 1. (Translated from the French by H. M. Williams) London.

Koch-Grünberg, Theodor
1922 "Die Völkergruppierung zwischen Rio Branco, Orinoco, Rio Negro und Yapurá," in: Festschrift Eduard Seler. Stuttgart.

1923 Vom Roroima Zum Orinoco, Vol. III; Ethnographie. Stuttgart.

1928 Vom Roroima zum Orinoco, Vol. IV; Sprachen. Stuttgart.

Layrisse, Miguel, Layrisse, Zulay, and Wilbert, Johannes
1962 "Blood Group Antigen Tests of the Waica Indians of Venezuela," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 18, pp. 78-93

Leach, E. R.
1957 "Aspects of Bridewealth and Marriage Stability Among the Kachin and Lakher," Man, Vol. LVII, pp. 50-5

1960 "The Sinhalese of the Dry Zone of Northern Ceylon," in: Social Structure in Southeast Asia, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology No. 29. George P. Murdock, ed. Chicago.

1963 Rethinking Anthropology. London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 22. London.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

• 113 Lévi-Strauss, Claude
1963 Structural Anthropology. (Translated from the French by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf.) New York.

Mauss, Marcel
1954 The Gift. (Translated from the French by Ian Cunnison.) London.

Meggitt, Mervyn J.
1965 The Lineage System of the Mae-Enga of New Guinea. Barnes & Noble, Inc. New York.

Migliazza, Ernesto
1964 "Notas Sôbre A Organização Social dos Xiriâna do Rio Uraricaá," Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, Antropologia, pp. 1-22

1965 "Fonologia Máku," Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, Antropologia, pp. 1-19

Migliazza, Ernesto, and Grimes, Joseph
1961 "Shiriana Phonology," Anthropological Linguistics, Vol. 3, pp. 31-41

Murdock, George P., ed.
1960 Social Structure in Southeast Asia. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology No. 29. Chicago.

Needham, Rodney
1962 Structure and Sentiment: A Test Case in Social Anthropology. Chicago.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.
1935 "Patrilineal and Matrilineal Succession," Iowa Law Review, Vol XX, No. 2

Rice, A. Hamilton
1921 "The Rio Negro, the Casiquiare Canal, and the Upper Orinoco, September 1919-April 1920," The Geographical Journal, Vol. LVIII, pp. 321-43

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

• 113 Rose, F. G. G.
1960 Classification of Kin, Age Structure, and Marriage amongst the Groote Eylandt Aborigines. Berlin.

Sahlins, Marshall D.
1963 "Remarks on Social Structure in Southeast Asia," Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 72, pp. 39-50

Schomburgk, Robert H.
1840 "Journey from Fort San Joaquim on the Rio Branco to Roreima, and thence by the Rivers Parima and Mereware to Esmeralda on the Orinoco, in 1838-9," Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. X, pp. 191-247

Schuster, Meinhard
1958 "Die Soziologie der Waika," Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of Americanists, pp. 114-22. Copenhagen.

Seitz, Georg
1963 People of the Rain-Forests. (Translated from the German by Arnold J. Pomerans.) London.

Service, Elman R.
1962 Primitive Social Organization: An Evolutionary Perspective. New York.

Spruce, Richard
1908 Notes of a Botanist on the Amazon & Andes. Edited by Alfred Russel Wallace. London.

Vinci, Alfonso
1959 Red Cloth and Green Forest. (Translated from the Italian by James Cadell.) London.

White, Leslie A.
1959 The Evolution of Culture. New York.

Wilbert, Johannes
1963 Indios de la Region Orinoco-Ventuari. Monogra-

10:Chagnon E-4,5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

• 113

fía No. 8, Fundación La Salle de Ciencias Naturales. Caracas.

Zerries, Otto

1955 "Some Aspects of Waika Culture," Proceedings of the 31st International Congress of Americanists, pp. 73-88, São Paulo.

1958 "Kultur im Übergang: Die Waika-Indianer des Oberen Orinoco---Wildbeuter oder Pflanzer?" Die Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik, LVIII, pp. 177-80

1964 Waika: Die kulturgeschichtliche Stellung der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoco im Rahmen der Völkerkunde Südamerikas. Band I. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expedition 1954/55 nach Südost-Venezuela. Munich.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

References

ARENDS, TULIO, *et al.*, 1967, "Intratribal Genetic Differentiation among the Yanomama Indians of Southern Venezuela," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, Vol. 57, pp. 1252-1259.

DE BARANDIARAN, DANIEL, 1966, "La fiesta del Pijiguao entre los Indios Waikas," *El Farol*, Vol. 219, pp. 8-15.

BECHER, HANS, 1960, *Die Surára und Pakidái: Zwei Yanomámi-Stämme in Nordwest-Brasilien*, Vol. 26, Hamburg: Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde.

BOHANNAN, LAURA, 1964, *Return to Laughter*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc.

CHAGNON, NAPOLEON A., 1966, *Yąnomamö Warfare, Social Organization and Marriage Alliances*, doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan.

———, 1967, "Yąnomamö—The Fierce People," *Natural History*, Vol. 76, pp. 22-31.

COULT, ALLAN D., and A. E. HAMMEL, 1963, "A Corrected Model for Patrilateral Cross-cousin Marriage," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 19, pp. 287-296.

FORTES, MEYER, 1959. "Descent, Filiation and Affinity: A Rejoinder to Dr. Leach," *Man*, Vol. 59, No. 309, pp. 193-197 and No. 331, pp. 206-212.

FRIED, MORTON, 1957, "The Classification of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britian and Ireland*, Vol. 87, pp. 1-29.

LEACH, EDMUND R., 1961, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-cousin Marriage," reprinted in *Rethinking Anthropology*. London: The Athlone Press.

———, 1957, "Aspects of Bridewealth and Marriage Stability among the Kachin and Lakher," *Man*, Vol. 57, No. 59, pp. 50-55.

———, 1965, Letter, *Man*, Vol. 65, No. 12, p. 25.

LÉVI-STRAUSS, CLAUDE, 1963, *Structural Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

MALINOWSKI, BRONISLAW, 1922, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd.

———, 1926, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd.

———, 1967, *A Dairy in the Strict Sense of the Term*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

MAUSS, MARCEL, 1954, *The Gift*. New York: The Free Press.

MAYBURY-LEWIS, DAVID, 1960, "The Analysis of Dual Organizations: A Methodological Critique," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Vol. 116, pp. 17-44.

———, 1965*a*, "Prescriptive Marriage Systems," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 21, pp. 207-230.

113

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

——, 1965*b*, *The Savage and the Innocent*. London: Evans Bros.

——, 1967, *Akwé-Shavante Society*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

MEGGITT, MERVYN J., 1962, *Desert People: A Study of the Walbiri Aborigines of Central Australia*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

MURDOCK, GEORGE P., 1949, *Social Structure*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

NEEDHAM, RODNEY, 1962*a*, *Structure and Sentiment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

——, 1962*b*, "Genealogy and Category in Wikmunkan Society," *Ethnology*, Vol. 1, pp. 223–264.

——, 1963, "Some Disputed Points in the Study of Prescriptive Alliance," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 19, pp. 186–207.

NEEL, JAMES V., and NAPOLEON A. CHAGNON, 1968, "The Demography of Two Tribes of Primitive, Relatively Unacculturated American Indians," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, Vol. 59, pp. 680–689.

NIMUENDAJÚ, CURT and ROBERT LOWIE, 1927, "The Dual Organization of the Ramko' kamekra (Canella) of Southern Brazil," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 39, pp. 565–582.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R., 1965, "Patrilineal and Matrilineal Succession," reprinted in *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. New York: The Free Press.

REYNOLDS, PHILIP KEEP, 1927, *The Banana: Its History, Cultivation and Place among Staple Foods*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

TURNBULL, COLIN M., 1966, "Report from Africa: A People Apart," *Natural History*, Vol. 75, pp. 8–14.

ZERRIES, OTTO, 1955, "Das Lashafest der Waika-Indianer," *Die Umschau in Wissenshaft und Technik*, Vol. 55, pp. 662–665.

——, 1964, *Waika: Die Kulturgeschichtliche Stellung der Waika-Indianer des Oberen Orinoco im Rahmen der Völkerkunde Südamerikas*. Munich: Klaus Renner Verlag.

Film

An ethnographic film with synchronous sound in color will be available for classroom use late in 1968. It will illustrate Yąnomamö trading and feasting practices as described in Chapter 4. The movie was filmed by Timothy Asch, Director of the Center for Ethnographic Film Studies of the Department of Anthropology, Brandeis University, and Napoleon A. Chagnon, in conjunction with the Program in Ethnographic Films (P.I.E.F.) of Harvard University.

In addition, 8 mm film loops depicting various aspects of Yąnomamö behavior are currently available through the Ealing Corporation of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

2: Becher--i E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Foreword

114 101 This monograph contains the results of a nine-month investigation which I conducted from October 1955 to June 1956 among two Indian tribes of northwest Brazil which are as yet unknown to science.

121 My journey and the analysis of its results were made possible through the generous support of the Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft /German Research Association/, for which I am deeply indebted to it.

114 I should like cordially to thank my esteemed teacher, Herr Prof. Dr. Franz Termer, for regarding this work, the completion of which he supported actively and in an advisory capacity, worthy of inclusion in the series of reports of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/.

I was encouraged by Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, head of the study division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, to seek out these as yet uninvestigated tribes north of the middle Rio Negro. [122] Through his efforts I also obtained the approval of the Director and was given all possible assistance by this organization founded by Marshal Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, as well as a free flight with a military plane from Rio de Janeiro to Manaus. Hence I feel a sincere desire to express my gratitude to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, especially to Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro and the Brazilian Air Force.

122 I thank the University of São Paulo, above all the Dean, Herr Dr. Paulo Sawaya, and the Assistant Dean Herr Prof. Dr. Antonio Soares Amora, for granting me a stipend from June 1954 to September 1955, which made it possible for me to broaden my knowledge of Brazilian ethnology under such outstanding scholars as Herr Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and Herr Prof. Dr. Egon Schaden and to prepare myself thoroughly for the subsequent work in the field. To these two gentlemen I shall remain deeply indebted.

114 Valuable advice which was very useful to me on my expedition was given me by Herr Prof. Dr. med. Henrique da Rocha Lima (†).

/V cont./
114 as well as by Herr Prof. Dr. José Antonio Benton, Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Saake, S.V.D., Herr Harald Schultz and Frau Wilma, all of São Paulo.

I found helpful assistance in Manaus on the part of Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, the head of the I. Inspetoria Regional do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as in the small German colony there on the part of the families of Prof. Dr. Harald Sioli, Kurt Polack, and Gerhard Lindenberg.

122 With profound gratitude I mention my kind friends, the
123 Surára and Pakidái Indians, who were so hospitable to me and indefatigably helpful in my work; they are primarily the ones who deserve credit for the successful outcome of the undertaking.
[115] Above all the Surára chief Hewemão and his brothers Kurikayawõ and Inxinemá, my little interpreter Jibeauwõ (see p. 258), and the Pakidái chief Karenauõ and the war chief Porẽhiwõ deserve special mention here.

I also owe much to my faithful servant, the Tukano /Tucano/ Indian Mateus Dias, a member of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Rio Demini. He was an indispensable helper to me in all emergencies during these nine months.

/VI/ I am likewise very much indebted, however, to the Brazilian country people on the Rio Negro and on the Demini and Aracá rivers, as well as to the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini and the mission station of the Salesians in Barcelos. No matter where I went, I was shown such hospitality as is scarcely imaginable. Mention should be made here above all of the Spanish planter, Manuel Antonio Gómez, of the Rio Aracá, and the German nun, Klara Jakob, of the Salesian mission in Barcelos, who devotedly nursed me during my attacks of malaria. Equal thanks are due the physicians and sisters in the Hospital de Isolamento "Emílio Ribas" in São Paulo, where, after my return, I was treated without charge for two months and cured of a serious liver infection.

114 I thank Herr Dr. Koch and Herr Müller of the Bayer branch
122 in Rio de Janeiro for the medicines they donated. This made it possible for me to help many sick Indians and caboclos and to alleviate my own sufferings.

Surára
Pakidái
Shirjana
Waica

/4 cont./

648 agencies, so to speak, in the primeval forest. It is also one of the duties of the personnel, however, to lay out plantations for their own living, where they grow manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas, mamão /papaya/, beans, tobacco, sugar cane, etc. In addition, they hunt and fish.

Since living conditions are more favorable on the Aracá and the work of the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) is more remunerative than that of the rubber gatherers, the population here is four times as large as on the Demini. The region of the Indians begins at the Cachoeira dos Indios (Ills. 2 and 3). There is not as yet, however, any Indian protection post on the Rio Aracá.

/5/

• 114 III. The Ethnic Affiliation of the Surára and Pakidái

As early as the beginning of the previous century important investigators, among them Alexander von Humboldt, Robert Schomburgk, Jean Chaffanjon, and Theodor Koch-Grünberg, undertook ethnographic and in part linguistic studies in the northern and western part of the area between Rio Branco, Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro among a few groups of the Xiriâna /Shiriana/ (5b) and Waiká /Waica/, which were broadened and

[104] 5b. X is pronounced like sch /in German/.

deepened by Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster in 1954/55, especially with regard to the Waiká (6a) (Waika) in the catchment

[194] 6a. When the Surára and Pakidái pronounce the tribal name of the Waiká, their worst enemies, they always accent the final a.

[197] area of the upper Orinoco (6b). Their work was supported by North

6b. Zerries, 1956a.

American missionaries who have been in touch with the

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/5 cont./

114
[199] aforementioned Indians for several years and used this opportunity to carry on their own ethnological investigations (7a, b). More-

7a. Barker, 1953.

7b. Finney, 1957.

over one should mention the Italian, Alfonso Vinci, who lived in southern Venezuela in 1953-1955 and there met Xiriâna and Waikâ groups (8).

8. Vinci, 1956.

On the subject of contacts with natives in the interior of that vast area between Rio Branco and Serra Parima, which Coudreau regarded as virtually unpeopled (9), that is, according to his view,

9. Coudreau, H.A., 1887, p. 255.

only west of the Rio Branco, between the lower Mucajaí and the lower Catrimani, did there live a few Indian groups "mal connus et redoutés" known as evil and feared/ (10), Georges Salathé

10. Coudreau, H. A., 1887, p. 247 and Map V.

and Donald Holdridge alone have reported as yet (11). The

114
648

11. The area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, as well as the region east of the Rio Branco, have for a long time been regarded as dangerous because, as Alexander von Humboldt and Robert Schomburgk have already reported, several of the tribes living there are supposed to have a very

/5 cont./

114
648

11. (cont.)
hostile attitude toward the whites as well as toward neighboring Indians. Since the rubber gatherers, palm-fiber gatherers, etc. on the Demini, Aracá, and the other rivers usually do not advance beyond the middle course, to say nothing of visiting the regions away from the rivers, the Indians only rarely feel disturbed in their territory. The incidents mentioned below, however, which have taken place there within the last 30 years, confirm that hostility on the part of a *few tribes continues* and may at any time lead to new acts of violence:
1928: Surára Indians, in an attack on a settlement of palm-fiber gatherers on the Rio Aracá, abducted two white women and a girl.
1942: Jaú Indians shot at the Brazilian-Venezuelan border commission on the upper Demini and forced it to turn back; two members of the commission were seriously wounded by arrow shots.
1945: Five American officers were killed by arrow shots by the Aimirí Indians on the Rio Jauaperi. They had gone up the river in a motor boat in order to take motion pictures of Indians there. The Brazilian guide, who was the only one to escape, later said that the Indians disliked the whirring of the camera and had several times urged the Americans to go back.
1946: The Aimirí Indians attacked the Indian protection post on the Rio Jauaperi and killed ten men of the personnel.

114 former, with regard to the Karimé Indians living on the upper course of the Catrimani, gives a brief sketch of their material

Karime
Shiriana
Waica

/5 cont./

114 culture, along with a word list (12), while the latter describes his

12. Salathé, 1931/32.

visits in the Xiriána (Shiriana) and Waiká (Uaika) maloka which were still on the Demini, or rather a branch, in 1932 (13).

13. Holdridge, 1933.

101 114 127 On the basis of a perusal of the research reports of Zerries (14) (15)

14. Zerries, 1956a.

15. Zerries, 1956b.

and Schuster (16), as well as comparisons with ethnographic data

16. Schuster, 1958a.

and word lists which Salathé gathered among the Karimé (17),

17. Salathé, 1931/32.

Vinci among the Shiriana, Waika, and Samatari (18), and

18. Vinci, 1956.

Koch-Grünberg among the /6/ Xiriána (Schirianá) groups, which he describes as linguistically isolated, and a few Waiká (Waíka) (19) (20),

19. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 454-456;
1923a, pp. 284 ff.

20. Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 302-308.

it was possible to determine that the societies investigated belong to a relatively uniform culture group and even linguistically differ

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/6 cont./

114
101
[127]

[197]

from each other only slightly in dialectal deviations (see the appendix /see 3: Rodrigues, this file/) (21). How great their

21. Loukotka and Rivet already established the relationship of a few of these languages and grouped them under the general term "Širianá linguistic family," in which they include Širianá, Karimé, Waika, and Pusárakaj. (Loukotka, 1942, pp. 8/9; Rivet et Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140).

homogeneity is may be seen by the fact that the Surára and Pakidái call themselves Yanonámi and the Waiká and Xiriána, according to Zerries and Schuster, call themselves Yanoáma (22) (23).

22. Zerries, 1956a, p. 187.

23. Schuster, 1958a, pp. 115/16.

However, members of the Aramamesterí, Karauaterí, Puseheweterí, and even of the Xiriána, whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái as wives, visitors, and captives, said that they were Yanonámi. Furthermore, the Surára chief Hewemão enumerated for me 42 more tribes between Catrimani and Rio Negro (24), friendly and hostile, pointing out that these

24. Becher, 1956.

must likewise be included.

In view of this and on the basis of the linguistic and cultural relationship, it would seem to be appropriate to adopt into South American ethnology Yanonámi or Yanoáma as a new designation for the linguistic and culture group made up of these small-sized and light-colored Indians of the northern Amazon. According to the investigations up to now, they occupy a relatively compact area which is bounded in the east and south by the Rio Branco and the Rio Negro, respectively, but in the north and west extends

/6 cont./

101 beyond the Uraricuera and the Parima range, respectively.
●114 There can no longer be any doubt about the ethnic affiliation of this population. Koch-Grünberg was already of the opinion that in the case of the Xiriâna (Schirianá) and Waikâ (Waika) "it is not a matter of two different tribes, but merely of two divisions of one large nation" (25) (26). At the same place, however, the

25. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 224.

26. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 290.

investigator expresses the conjecture, which was confirmed by the opinions of neighboring tribes, that the Waikâ represent merely a subdivision of the Xiriâna, "with whom they live either peaceably or in bitter enmity" (25) (26) /see the footnotes above/. Their isolation from other tribes is, according to Ourique, "an example of the instinctive precaution of the race against its own deterioration and its downfall" (27).

27. Ourique, 1906, p. 24.

101 In this connection there is a significant hint by the Surâra chief,
619 according to which there are two powerful tribes within the
[115] "Yanonâmi nation" first the Xiriâna, who call themselves "Haraterî," and secondly the Waikâ, who, however, are constantly warring. All the smaller tribes are on the side of either one or the other, but at the same time are obliged to pay tribute
[438] and render service in war (28). The Surâra and Pakidâi, the
[114]

28. With regard to the Xiriâna, Koch-Grünberg already mentions this vassal relationship (Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 226), and Métraux also refers to it (Métraux, 1948, p. 861).

chief told me further, are allies of the Xiriâna and occasionally

2: Becher--14 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

101
41
45

/6 cont./
obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

323
411
362

29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xirianá.

/7/

IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

114
103

Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Demini nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

/7 cont./

•114 103 Demini and Aracá were first introduced into the literature by João Barbosa Rodrigues, although he did not write Demini, but rather Demeune (32), and the Rio Aracá was called Uaraca by him (33).

32. On maps of that period one likewise finds the entry Demeney.

33. Rodrigues, 1885, pp. 136, 148.

174 184 [103] With regard to the name Demini, it may be assumed that the ending "ini," according to the linguistic studies of Koch-Grünberg (34a), is derived from the Aruak /Arawak/ word "eni" =

34a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 15.

[172] [323] river, water. This assumption is confirmed by many very old finds of shards which I discovered on the entirely unpopulated terra firma on the riverine lakes of the Demini. They are yellowish gray shards, which are decorated with spiral lines, meanders, and other plaiting designs and resemble the earthenware vessels which Koch-Grünberg described for the Aruak tribes (34b).

34b. Koch-Grünberg,1910a, pp. 227/28 and Ills. 152-155.

The fact that I found only shards is undoubtedly linked with the custom of the Aruak described by Koch-Grünberg, according to which all the clay vessels that belonged to a deceased person must be broken to pieces, for otherwise the spirit of the dead would punish the greed of the relatives (35).

35. Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, p. 151.

This would also confirm the surmise of Koch-Grünberg that at one time Aruak tribes coming from the west and southwest penetrated into the region between Rio Branco and Orinoco, which was

/7 cont./

114 inhabited by an old population living in a wholly primitive state.
174 The Aruak were said to have been subjugated later by the Karaiben /Carib/, who, in turn, met powerful resistance on the part of the warlike Xiriâna and Waikâ (36). Elsewhere the same

36. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 15/16.

investigator writes: "On the Merewari and upper Orinoco Karaiben live together with Arowaken, whereas the upper Uraricuéra and the Parima Range are entirely in the hands of the allophylian Schirianâ and Waika" (37). I, too, met neither Karaiben nor

37. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 233.

Aruak tribes in the Demini-Aracâ region.

114 On a tribal map of that region drawn by Nimbendajú (38),
131
174

38. This map is in the possession of the scientific division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro.

Xiriâna are given as the inhabitants of the Rio Demini, along with the date 1874. Rodrigues also reports that at the end of the nineteenth century members of this tribe lived both along the banks of that stream and along its tributaries, the Cuieiras and Mamimêu; from there they extended their roving expeditions as far as the Catrimani (39).

39. Rodrigues, 1885, p. 136.

173 /8/ Today only one civilized Xiriâna family is living on the
115 lower Demini as planters, but it no longer has any connection
[131] at all with its original, living fellow-tribesmen. This family, whose members speak Portuguese exclusively, told me that the region of the Demini has been the land of the Xiriâna from olden times. On account of frequent attacks on the part of the Waikâ,

/8 cont./

however, they had withdrawn into regions remote from the river. Their last maloka on the Demini was taken over by a Waikâ tribe in 1934. This is the place where today the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" is located, on the right bank of the middle Demini, just below the Cachoeira Anatuinama (40) (41). In 1939, the

40. Holdridge visited the Xiriâna here in 1932. (Holdridge, 1933, p. 380.)

41. According to information which Nimuendajú obtained in Manaus in 1927 from a man named Domingos Campos, Aruak-speaking Indians on the Demini were supposed to have been called Xiriâna (Nimuendajú, 1955, pp. 150/51). This brings up all kinds of questions which are yet to be solved. Thus, there could have been an Aruak tribe of this name, for the shards which I found on the Demini, as well as the name of this river, indicate that members of that linguistic group once lived here. It might also be possible, however, that Aruak groups, after their subjugation by the Xiriâna, became assimilated with the latter. On the other hand, it is not impossible that individual Xiriâna adopted the Aruak language, and finally there still remains open the surmise that the Indians mentioned by Domingos Campos are not identical with the actual Xiriâna, but were merely called that by the caboclo population.

In the literature, the two tribal designations "Xiriâna" (members of the Aruak linguistic family) and "Xirianâ" (independent linguistic family) (Loukotka, 1942,

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/8 cont./

114
174
101

41. (cont.)

pp. 8, 24, 52; Ribeiro, 1957, p. 99) have already become current. Nevertheless, I incline to the view that in the case of the Xiriána it is a matter of one and the same large, widely scattered Yanonámi tribe. The material and spiritual culture of the Xiriána with whom the Surára and Pakidái are allied (the latter and the Xiriána whom I met among them themselves regularly accent the first a) corresponds perfectly with the one that Koch-Grünberg calls "Schirianá." The latter points out in one work that "Schirianá" is their self-designation, while "Schirischána" is a name which their neighbors and mortal enemies, the "Maquiritáres," gave them (Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 454). It should also be mentioned that the designation "Shrirana," according to Vinci, is a Makuxí /Macusi/ word (Vinci, 1956, p. 107).

167 In 1939, the
648 Waiká, too, gave up this maloka and moved to the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini. Here, at the beginning of the year 1956, at the time of my stay among the Surára, they were attacked by a Xiriána tribe and destroyed. Surára warriors told me that all the Waiká men were killed and the women and girls were taken captives.

101
114 As inhabitants of the Rio Aracá, Nimuendajú entered on the above-mentioned map of this region (see p. 16), with the date of 1874, the Bahuana, an Aruak tribe. With reference to this, the Surára chief remarked that this tribe also goes by the proper name of Pootarí and was an enemy of the Surára, Pakidái, Xiriána, etc.; at the present time it lives in the source region of the Aracá.

6

/9 cont./

114 This shows that nothing has changed since 1948, when Métraux,
178 following the accounts of Koch-Grünberg and other investigators
181 traveling through this region, quite justifiably wrote: "The
648 Shirianá are very warlike people who succeeded in dominating several weaker tribes" /cited in English/ (42).

42. Métraux, 1948, p. 861.

141 V. Physical Characteristics

With regard to physical characteristics, the Surára and Pakidái are identical. Their height is below average, for the men are only 1.50-1.60 meters tall and the women 1.40-1.50 meters.
142 Both sexes have soft but muscular body forms, yet frequently a protruding abdomen and often relatively thin legs. Since they
[291] always go barefoot, their feet have retained the ability to serve as prehensile organs for climbing tree trunks, and their toes are not squeezed together as much as in the case of civilized persons who wear shoes all the time. The considerable gap between the great toe and the second toe is striking (Ill. 14) (43). The color

43. Crevaux has already pointed this out in connection with the Oyampí Indians in French Guiana: "The great toe, very much set apart, always turns inward, while the third, fourth, and fifth are turned outward" /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, p. 76 and ill., left).

of their skin is very light, almost white. The forehead of the dolicocephalic head is often flat. Their broad noses with the nostrils directed slightly upward are noteworthy; the root of the nose, on the other hand, is narrow. The Mongoloid strain is clearly evident in the prominent cheekbones and the slanting, dark-brown, almost black-looking eyes. Between the slightly

Surára, Pakidái, Waica, Shiriana

/9 cont./

142 pouting lips of a mouth that is never too large, there are always two gleaming rows of sound teeth. Their beautiful, always straight hair is a very dark brown. They all have a thick head of hair, but lose it in old age. No bald spot appears, however; the hair then simply looks as though it had been cut very short all over the head. Individual men have a thin growth of beard on [302] either side of the lips and on the chin; occasionally they pluck out the beard hair. The rest of their body hair is limited to the pubic region. Women pluck out their pubic hair, as well as their eyebrows and lashes. Young girls usually have well-formed, hemispherical, firm breasts, which, however, become slack and pendulous after the first child, although at that time the women have often not even reached the age of 18 or 19 years old.

• 114 142 These observations parallel the descriptions which Alexander von Humboldt gives of the Waiká (Guaicas) and Guaharibo. He also describes them as tribes "with whitish skin color and very small stature." He adds, however, "the shortness of the Guaicas and the whiteness of the Guaharibos, /10/ whom P. Caulín calls [141] Guaharibos blancos, are equally exaggerated" (44). The Guaicas

44. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 113 ff.

measured by Alexander von Humboldt were "on the average four feet seven inches to four feet eight inches (according to the old French measurement)" (44) /see footnote above/, in other words, about 1.52-1.55 meters. Koch-Grünberg gives the same body height for the Waiká (Waíka) whom he met in Motomotó on the Uraricuera and whom he likewise describes as very light-skinned (45). In

45. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 293.

[141] another place Koch-Grünberg writes: "The Schirianá and Waíka of Motomotó were small people, on the average about 1.52 meters tall. In no case did the height exceed 1.55 meters... Older people had distended abdomens and thin legs... These people, who were by nature ugly almost throughout, were even more

Surára
Pakidái
Waica
Shiriana

/10 cont./

114 repellent because of the lack of any kind of body care" (46).
142

46. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 304.

Chaffanjon expressed himself in a similar manner, but even more disapprovingly, with regard to the Guaharibos: "Small and puny, thin limbs, a stomach enormously distended, hair long and dirty, a bestial countenance make them look repulsive.
[291] They are absolutely naked; two men have a long and scraggly
[411] beard; their complexion is lighter than that of all the Indians whom I have thus far mentioned; their only weapon is a stick"
114 /translated from the French/ (47). Finally, it should be men-
141

47. Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 308-311.

tioned that, of approximately 40 adult Waiká, Zerries established an average figure of 151.5 centimeters for men and 142 centimeters for women (48a).

48a. Zerries, 1956a, p. 186.

114 Comparisons show that the Surára and Pakidái have the same
142 physical characteristics as the Guaharibo, Xiriána, and Waiká (48b).

48b. Only recently there appeared a work by the same author, "Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Schiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien /Contributions to the Anthropology of the Waica and Schiriana Indians in the Border Region Between Venezuela and Brazil/," which is supplemented by excellent illustrative material (Zerries, 1959, pp. 31-41).

It is therefore astonishing that Chaffanjon and Koch-Grünberg describe the Indians that they studied as so strikingly ugly. It

/10 cont./
114 142 is true, the related Surára and Pakidái, as well as the Waiká in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco, embody a type that is strange to us (see Ills. 9-24 /see pp. 270-274/ and ills. in Zerries, 1959), but certainly not one that is repulsive to that extent.

342

VI. Technology and Material Culture

1. House Forms

The Surára and Pakidái are familiar with four different house-forms. The simplest and probably the earliest form, which at present, however, is used only as overnight quarters by one family during the expeditions in the virgin forest, is similar to a wind-screen /Windschirm/ (Ill. 4). It is built in the following way: In front, one or two supports, 2-2.50 meters long, are set into the ground at intervals as long as a hammock; about three meters behind these there are two weaker supports, 1-1.50 meters long, at somewhat longer intervals. The upper ends are joined together with poles; cipó-titca (a type of liana) serves as lashing material. The poles are also frequently tied to trees standing a short distance apart, instead of the rear supports. Over this 12 to 15 thinner poles are placed crosswise, and on top of these four to six are placed lengthwise. This results in a more or less steep frame-
[824] work which has the shape of a lean-to roof (Ill. 4). Palm leaves are laid on this so that the hut gives secure protection against the rain; even the most severe tropical thunderstorms cannot
[352] harm the Indians sleeping under it. The hammocks are fastened
[354] in the form of a triangle around the fire burning in the center; In the case of larger families, two hammocks often hang one above the other.

361 /11/ If the entire tribe is on the march, the huts of the individual families are always placed in a circle around the chief's hut standing in the center, after the virgin forest has been hastily cleared to a certain extent beforehand. The space between the huts is five to eight meters.

/11 cont./

342 ●114 [184] Exactly the same construction is shown by Salathé for the Karimé (49), Zerries for the Waiká (50), and Koch-Grünberg for

49. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 298-300 and Fig. 1 and 2.

50. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

the Xiriána (Schirianá) on the upper Uraricapará; the latter, however, calls the lean-to type of hut a storm-shelter /Wetterschirm/ (51). This name is not suitable, however, for a

51. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Pl. 43 b and c.

genuine storm-shelter, also called windscreen, touches the ground on one side. In the method of construction described and likewise in Koch-Grünberg's drawings, however, the roof rests on supports everywhere. The circular arrangement of the huts is also mentioned in Koch-Grünberg. In this connection the scholar expresses 361 114 the opinion that this is only a temporary camp (52), which I am

52. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Plate 43 a.

now able to confirm with respect to the Surára and Pakidái. On the other hand, Koch-Grünberg, Salathé, and Zerries say nothing about a hut standing in the center. Among the Surára and Pakidái, however, this is never absent. The reason for it, these Indians [622] told me, was to protect the chief sleeping in it from hostile attacks. Moreover, two warriors must always guard the camp at night.

361 Along the routes of travel of the Surára and Pakidái in the area between the Demini and Aracá rivers, one finds many such abandoned camps. They are never occupied a second time as overnight quarters, however, although the construction is often

/15 cont./

342 large posts. On each of the two narrow sides of the three tall middle posts, 11 thin sticks are attached, organ-fashion, between the supported horizontal poles and form the two gable faces.

[824] Here, too, cipó-titica is used exclusively as the lashing material. To the right on the front broad-side and to the left on the rear one there is a small entrance only one meter high and one meter wide. After the framework is completed (Ill. 8), the panos (rectangular mats made out of the leaves of the ubim palm) are again laid over one another on the roof, like shingles, and fastened to the rafters. It is the same technique as has already been described in the construction of the large, open maloka. The upper part of the two gable sides is left open so that light may penetrate into the interior of the house and the smoke be carried off. The walls, too, are completely covered with panos, and in front of the entrances palm-leaf mats that can be drawn back are hung by means of lianas. Inside the house, the center part is left free for holding festivals and dances, while the families, in the same way as in the open maloka, live comparatively close to the wall, one

[622] family beside the other. For the chief and his family a particularly large space is reserved on the side toward the river.

342 171 114 The astonishing fact in this form of house is that the ground plan is circular whereas the roof is gable-shaped. Ordinarily for houses with a circular ground-plan, the conical roof is characteristic, as Olga Coudreau (54) and Koch-Grünberg (55) have shown

54. Olga Courdreau, 1903, p. 121.

55. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 18 and Pl. 2 (1a, 1b, 2a, 2b).

for Karaiben /Carib/ tribes. In this case, one or at most two center posts are used. Koch-Grünberg also mentions, to be sure, a construction with three and writes: "If the two center posts are set farther apart or if, instead of two center posts, three or more are used, /16/ the ridge is lengthened and the circular ground-plan gradually becomes an elliptical one" (56).

56. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22 and Pl. 2 (4).

/16 cont./

342 In the building method described by me, however, the
174 circular ground-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts.
177 According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical
ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obvi-
[114] ously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in com-

57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

plete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they modeled after the community house of the Xiriána, actually developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts of the caboclos). This is also indicated by the construction of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka,
[184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy, however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show
342 a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why
825

58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

the Surára in the sierra occupy an open maloka and on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

501 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on
484 their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our
491 eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

Surára
Pakidái

/16 cont./

484 season, or in case their banks are steep, a tree trunk is simply
491 laid across as a footbridge. To cross small rivers, for example, the Rio Deminisinho, a left tributary of the upper Aracá which empties into it one kilometer beyond the Cachoeira dos Índios, the Surára even use a regular bridge. The Rio Deminisinho is 38 meters wide at the place where it is crossed, and on either side
499 there are steep banks eight meters high. The bridge, which was built here during the summer, when the riverbed was relatively shallow, consists of 12 crossed tree-trunks 12-14 meters long, which were rammed into the riverbed. Over the places where they crossed, two thinner trunks were laid next to each other and fastened with liana lashings. At the projecting ends of the supporting posts, lianas form a sort of railing. Since they hang very loosely, however, they can scarcely offer a grip. To secure the bridge, both ends have been additionally anchored to thick trees by means of lianas. Because of this, the construction looks like a hanging bridge at first glance. Since it is one meter higher than the banks, however, small rung-ladders 60 centimeters wide are attached at either side and fastened with liana lashings.

484 While I always had to fight with great difficulty to keep my
491 balance in crossing this and other tree-trunk bridges, the Indians,
[481] men, women, and children, always strode across effortlessly, even when they were carrying a great deal of baggage. This may be connected with the fact that they hardly place their feet outward at all, so that one might almost believe them parallel (Ill. 17) (59).

•[114]
[141]

59. There are similar accounts by Crevaux with regard to the Oiana /Oyana/ (Rukuien /Rucuyen/, Roucouyennes). The investigator sought the reasons for this and believed he found them in the pelvis. The white women, too, he said, more than the men, walk with their feet placed inward, because their pelvis is wider. On account of the foot position, he concludes that the Indians also have a wider pelvis (Crevaux, 1875, p. 255).

Surára
Pukidai
Shiriana
Samatari

/17 cont./

411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 curatella (Cecropia peltata), which gives the bow a beautiful,
237 shiny appearance.
824 The bowstring -- penahitábe --, which consists of three
411 strands of curauá (Bromeliaceae) fiber strings twisted to the right,
283 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
● 114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66).

66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semi-circular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also

67. Meyer, no date, p. 31.

devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here./ /19/ Uraricapara,
411 Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustra-
184
114

68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.

tions of the Xiriána bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[Text continues on P. 39]

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Samatari

/19 cont./

411 184 ●114 [173] almost identical with that of the Surára and Pakidái, except for the fact that the former is set off at the ends. This confirms the statements made by the Indians investigated by me who said that they obtained bows of this kind and the knowledge of how to make them themselves from the Xiriána. In reply to my question as to why their bows were not set off at the end, I was told that the Xiriána demand this deviation. In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/, there are two Xiriána bows which were collected by Koch-Grünberg (12.25:29, 12.25:31). They are relatively small specimens, however, for they are only 1.92 and 1.82 meters high, respectively. A bow which came from the Xamatári of the Rio Maiá, a left tributary of the Rio Cauaboris, and which is also in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:4) and is two meters high, has exactly the same shape as the Surára and Pakidái one, that is, without the offset ends. .This is not surprising, for, according to the statement of the Surára chief Hewemão, the Xamatári are likewise satellites of the Xiriána (see p. 12). Finally, it should be mentioned that the same bow-form has also been documented for the Waiká in Venezuela (70).

70. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

411 249 824 The arrows -- xerêka --, whose total length comes to between 2-2.12 meters (shaft length 1.89-1.94 meters; weight, 60-90 grams) (71) (72), are made out of arrow cane -- xerekaîbe --

[114]

71. These measurements confirm Weule's statement when he says that the arrow must correspond in length, shape, and weight to the bow, in order to guarantee a certain accuracy of aim (Weule, 1899, p. 6).

72. Pertinent comparisons with other South American tribes are to be found in the chart by Ranke (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Samatari

/19 cont./

411 which the Surára and Pakidái plant in the vicinity of their malokas
[249 on the upper Aracá and the middle Demini, respectively. All five
[824 of the arrow types used by them have the same feathering --
[237 jaromahîk --, which consists of two halves of the black wing feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.) -- pararí. They are placed against the cane in such a way that they alternately show the upper and the
[283 lower side of the feather. At several places on the hand end they are held by two threads of the tight winding of Bromelia fibers -- pemakasiurakama. Inside this winding, which is supposed to strengthen the weak cane against the pressure of the bowstring, there is stuck on the end of the cane in addition a small wooden peg fastened with resin, which has a notch in its thickened outer part, which is set on the bowstring. This is supposed to prevent the cane from splitting when the arrow flies off. The upper end of the feather shaft is wound with a second, narrower winding, in which, between the two halves of the arrow feathers, two additional small black mutum feathers are frequently stuck as ornaments (Fig. 2f).

411 The feathering described belongs to the Guiana type of
184 feathering, according to the classification by Meyer (73). Koch-
• 114

73. Meyer, no date, p. 9.

Grünberg (74) confirms it for the Xiriána, and it can also be recog-

74. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (4, 7, 8).

nized on the arrows which that investigator brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:33-42). The arrows in the Alfred Boeldecke Collection (56.15:5-7) in the same museum and the drawings by Vinci (75) show that the Xamatári likewise use this

75. Vinci, 1956, p. 146, Fig. a.

Surára
Pakidái
Xamatári
Karimé

/19 cont./

411 feathering, and, according to Salathé, it is also to be found
184 among the Karimé (76).
114

76. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Figs. 3 and 4.

411 There is an astonishingly wide range of variation for the arrow points, of which the following five different types occur among the Surára and Pakidái:

1. Kantaná -- It is a wide, lancet-shaped bamboo point, 25-28 centimeters long, both /20/ ends of which come to a point; the [531] width in the center is 3-4 centimeters. The upper side is rounded off, and the lower one, occasionally somewhat hollowed out, is [283] sometimes painted with black dots. It is inserted in the slightly split arrow shaft and tightly wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2a). Since the arrows with this large point have particularly great penetrating power, they are used chiefly for the hunting of tapirs and jaguars; moreover, they are used for warlike encounters. Every Surára and Pakidái man always carries two or three such reserve points in his quiver.

411 Salathé found similar points among the Karimé (77) and
184
114

77. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 299/300 and Fig. 3b.

Vinci among the Xamatári (78). Moreover, they are confirmed

78. Vinci, 1956, pp. 145 and 146, Fig. b.

for the latter Indians by a specimen in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte. (Alfred Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:5. Length, 23 centimeters; width in the center, three [531] centimeters. On the lower hollowed-out side, this point is painted with a black, serpentine line.)

Shiriana
Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./

411 184 ● 114 [283]

The lancet-shaped bamboo points of the Xiriâna investigated by Koch-Grünberg, on the other hand, have a somewhat different shape. Here the two ends do not come to a point, as among the Surára, Pakidái, Karimé, and Xamatári, but rather one end is thickened, hollowed out, and, wound with Bromelia fibers, is set on a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (79). Three such

79. Koch-Grünberg 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (5, 8).

Xiriana arrow points of the Koch-Grünberg Collection in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte have, moreover, the respectable length of 34 centimeters (12.25:37) and 35 centimeters (12.25:34-35).

Inasmuch as the Surára and Pakidái, according to their own statements, borrowed their lancet-shaped bamboo points from the Xiriâna, the ensuing alteration process is quite significant, since, indeed, the point is no longer mounted on a wooden shaft, but is inserted directly into the arrow cane.

Furthermore, lancet-shaped bamboo points have been confirmed for the Waiká by Zerries (80) and Schuster (81), but it is

80. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

81. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

not clear from their texts whether this is the same type as that of the Surára, Pakidái, etc. or that of the Xiriâna.

411 171

How greatly the lengths and attachment possibilities of such bamboo points vary among South American Indians is very clearly shown by the comprehensive investigations of Meyer (82) and

82. Meyer, no date, pp. 18, 19, 25, 27, 30, 36, 37, 47, 48, 49, and Plates I, 11, 13; II, 16; III, 14; IV, 8, 15.

Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./

Métraux (83).

83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

2. Rahaká -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the kantaná (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and cutias (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

3. Kantarím -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84). Meyer mentions that it is

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanoámi group, they have furthermore

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

been documented for the Xiriána (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88),

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./

411 and Waiká (89) (90). In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde
114
184

89. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

90. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

und Vorgeschichte, there are, /21/ moreover, three Xiriâna arrows with this point (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:39-41) and an arrow from the Xamatâri (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:6).

411 4. Ranaká -- Forked wooden point of a bird arrow; length, 12-15
[824] centimeters. The material is furnished by a tree -- paioórimá -- which shows countless such forkings. The lower part of the stem is pointed and is set in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2e). Thus far there is a parallel for this arrow point only among the Waiká (91a).

91a. Barker, 1953, p. 464.

5. Unamú -- Wooden arrow-point with a coating of poison. A thin, pointed rod of the hard wood of the pupunha palm, 22-24 centimeters long, is coated with arrow poison, giving it a black appearance. The rear end is inserted in the arrow cane wound with
[824] Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2d). Such poisoned arrows are used exclusively for hunting monkeys, since these animals living in the tall trees are otherwise difficult to kill. According to the statements of Surára and Pakidái informants, they never shoot poisoned arrows at human beings.

411 Other Yanonámi tribes who likewise use poisoned arrows are
184 the Xiriâna (91b), Karimé (92), and Waiká (93) (94). Moreover,

91b. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 312.

92. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 301 and Fig. 5a.

93. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

94. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

/21 cont./

411 184 there is a Xamatári poisoned arrow in the possession of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56. 15:7).

411 171 114 [139] Métraux writes with reference to the poisoned arrows: "Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is commonly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is traded throughout wide regions" /cited in English/ (95). Among

95. Métraux, 1949, p. 242.

Karaiben /Carib/ tribes in Guiana, poisoned arrows which are shot with a bow are not very often encountered, for they are documented only for the Makuxí /Macusi/ by Richard Schomburgk (96) and for

96. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 428.

411 171 the Trio by de Goeje (97). It should be mentioned in this connec-

97. de Goeje, 1906, p. 15; Pl. V, Figs. 10-12; Pl. XI, Fig. 22.

tion, however, that many Karaiben, for example, the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, shoot small poisoned arrows with a blowgun; this weapon is unknown to the Surára and Pakidái.

278 Arrow poisons:

[192] [184] According to what my Surára informants reported to me, they use three kinds of poison of different strengths, all of which, however, they designate by the general name -- mamokõrimaunãpe. This name is almost the same as the one which the Waiká, according to Zerries, use for arrow poison -- mamokondi (98).

98. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/21 cont./

278 The strongest poison is said to be obtained from the milk of a tree which, in the language of the Surára, is called -- patemá. [824] This tree was not pointed out to me; I was told that it only grows in a very distant region. To prepare an allegedly weaker poison the milk of the -- tototo -- (Strychnos toxifera) is used.

[415] As soon as it is obtained, the particular type of milk is boiled in a clay vessel. This makes it turn black, and subsequently [413] it is painted on the arrow points by means of a wooden stick which is wrapped with cotton. Special bags -- kanabó --, which are made [415] out of the leaves of the açaí palm (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) and [824] sewed with lianas, are used for storing them. There is never anything left of the poison itself.

278 I was also told that of the tribes allied with the Xiriána only 438 the Surára were entrusted with the preparation of these two types of poison. All the Indians who were friendly with them, even the Xiriána, thus obtained their poisoned arrows from them by barter. The Surára chief Hewemão, however, emphasized that the detested Waiká also knew how to prepare arrow poisons, which they used above all to shoot at human beings. The latter statement is confirmed by Zerries (99). [114]

99. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

278 /22/ The third type of arrow poison is the weakest. It is made out of snuff powder -- epená -- (see pp.190/193, which is mixed with water and boiled. This method is also supposed to be familiar to the Pakidái and Xiriána.

Unfortunately, I could not take part in the preparation of the poisons, for, with the exception of the chief /Fig. 3 appears here/ and his brother, only a few older men are familiar with them and they are kept strictly secret even from all the other members of the tribe. The meager information about them is limited to oral statements.

Surára
Pakidái

/22 cont./

411
[482]

In the forest the Surára and Pakidái as a rule carry their bows and arrows longwise with one or both hands above their heads, but occasionally also on the right or left shoulder.

In shooting, the bow is held in a horizontal position with the left hand. The arrow lies to the left of the bow, between thumb and index finger. The man holds the end of the arrow between the index finger and middle finger of the right hand and simultaneously stretches the bowstring with the second joints of these fingers (Fig. 3); occasionally he also adds the second joint of the ring finger, if the shot is to be reinforced. This is a form which, following Morse, is designated as the "Mediterranean release" /cited in English/. This practice has been documented also for Eskimo tribes and Siberian peoples (100), but never for

411
171
114

100. Morse, 1885, pp. 12-15 and Figs. 8 and 9.

South American Indians. Concerning the tribes on the Aiarý, Koch-Grünberg says that here the men hold the end of the arrow with thumb and index finger of the /23/ right hand, while they simply press the other three fingers against the palm of the hand (101).

101. Koch-Grünberg, 1909, p. 104 and Ill. 58.

The Yurakare /Yuracare/, too, hold the arrow with the thumb and index finger of the right hand, and they use the remaining three fingers for stretching the bow (102). These latter forms seem to be

102. von Holten, 1877, p. 111.

the most customary in South America, but unfortunately this cannot be definitely established because the information concerning this is too meager. Friederici has already justifiably complained: "With reference to the manner of grasping and stretching the bow and aiming and shooting the arrow, reports are unfortunately very scarce;

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 the few that are available are not the type from which rules could
171 be deduced" (103). If the arrow is to be shot upward, the left arm
● 114

103. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

is stretched out and the bowstring is pulled up to the right eye with the right hand (Ill. 13). I did not meet any left-handed archers. Koch-Grünberg mentions one and remarks that he was assured there were many of them (104). Among the Mosquito

104. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 73.

Indians in Central America left-handedness seems even to be quite pronounced, for Sapper shows their typical handling of the bow and arrow in the photograph of a Mosquito boy shooting left-handed (105).

105. Sapper, 1903, p. 54.

411 The best shooting performances, which I tested with men and boys, were between 40-50 meters for the former, who shot straight through an empty gasoline can with the large, mounted, lancet-shaped arrow-point, and between 8-10 meters for the latter. Yet even at a distance of 100 meters, most of the men hit the target; the penetrating power, however, was considerably diminished. These figures agree very closely with the statements compiled from the literature by Friederici (106). Several warriors

106. Friederici, 1907, p. 326.

were also able to shoot indirectly, which is shown by the following experiment which I carried out with Hewemão, the chief of the Surára, his younger brother Kurikajawõ, the Surára man Brakaiwõ, and the warrior chief of the Pakidái, Porẽhiwõ. I placed three white leaves of standard size on the ground, one behind the other, at a distance of 30, 28, and 26 meters from the

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[196] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[155] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[439] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons
[764] are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

Surára Pakidái

411 482 /24 cont./ lancet-shaped bamboo points, is worn on a neck cord by every hunter and warrior, who has it hang down on his back so that it does not interfere with the stretching of the bow.

411 184 /25/ Quivers of the same form and carried in the same way are also found among the Waikâ, as may be seen from a photograph by Zerries (116). Moreover, the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte owns such a quiver, though without decoration, from the Xamatâri (Boelsche Collection, 56.15:3a).

372 4. Fire-making Apparatus

Tied by means of a string of cotton or curauâ (bromelia fiber) to every Surára and Pakidái quiver at the top and bottom is the fire-drilling apparatus -- borôrohfi -- which consists of a lancet-shaped hearth -- panâibequehfi -- and two drilling sticks -- ihirupehfi (Fig. 5). Both parts are made from the soft wood of the [824] [184] wild cacao tree -- porôroâ -- exactly as among the Waikâ (117).

117. Schuster, 1955b, p. 17.

372 114 Koch-Grünberg documents such a fire-drilling apparatus for the Xirianâ (118), but without mentioning the material. On the basis

118. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

of a specimen which he brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:124), however, one may state that it is likewise made of the wood of the wild cacao tree. He says nothing at all about [411] quivers and thus does not seem to have found any. Nor did I find elsewhere in the literature any parallels for the very practical combination of quiver and fire-making apparatus (119). Nevertheless,

392 411 184 114 119. That it is well-known among the Xamatâri, however, is proved by two objects from that tribe in the Hamburg Museum

Surára Pakidái

/25 cont./

372
411
184
114

119.(cont.) für Volkerkund und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection 56.15 3a and b), and presumably the fire-making apparatus is likewise fastened to the quiver among the Waiká. Definite statements about this by Zerries and Schuster have not yet been made.

Fig. 5. Bamboo quiver with fire-drill apparatus tied on.

372 Nevertheless,
[484] it is perfectly obvious; for if the Surára and Pakidái men on war and hunting expeditions are unable to return to the maloka in the evening, they are able to kindle a fire along the way in three to four minutes. To do this a man in a squatting position holds the hearth on the ground with one foot and drills with the palms of his
[412] hands (Ill. 31). The holes of the hearth are previously bored with
[237] a knife made of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.)
(See P. 116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side.

Surára
Pakidái

372 /25 cont./
(see p.116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side. The hole is enlarged by the drilling. There is loosened a fine dust which slowly starts to smoke and glow and, by way of the groove, falls on tinder previously placed next to it (dry grass, leaves, or dry splinters of bamboo), which quickly catches fire. Cautiously the man blows upon it, and a short time later a flame leaps up. This requires a great deal of practice and skill, however; often he
[171] has blisters on his hands after drilling. This is the most widely distributed method of producing fire in South America (120). In their malokas

120. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 118-125 and Map 13.

the Surára and Pakidái preserve the fire.

283

5. Twining and Spinning

[824] For making thread and cord the leaf fibers of a Bromeliaceae, curauá (121), and cotton are used, the latter, however, only in more recent times.

[114] [171] 121. Koch-Grünberg also verifies the use of this material for the northwestern Brazilian tribes (Koch-Grünberg, 1910, p. 210).

[462] While to this day the curauá fibers are worked, mostly by men and only occasionally by women, with the right hand against the right thigh in the direction of the knee, to produce thread twisted to the right (122), a spindle is used to make cotton thread,

[171] 122. Threads which are not spun with the spindle are twisted to the right among most of the South American tribes. There are exceptions, however, for among a few nations of northwestern South America threads twisted to the left are more prevalent, and

283 /26 cont./
171 Up to now there has been only one parallel to this, namely
184 a Quechua spindle (124). The spindle of the Karimé, on the
114

124. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

basis of the drawing in Salathé's article, seems to resemble those of the Surára and Pakidái (125). Unfortunately, Salathé does

125. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305, Fig. 14.

not indicate whether the whorl is held in position by a wrapping put on below it or perhaps by means of resin or wax, as is the case, for example, for the spindles of the Chama and Pauserna (126).

126. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

283 This already exhausts the comparisons with regard to the securing of the whorl by means of a wrapping, wood, or wax, so that no conclusions about origin and distribution can as yet be drawn about it.

283 During the time I lived with the Surára and Pakidái, I
123 found that many women preferred to use the lids of my empty powder-boxes and skin-cream jars as whorls, /27/ and they preferred to spin the surgical cotton which I carried with me rather than their cultivated cotton, because, they said, the threads spun from it were stronger and more durable.

283 Spinning is done in the following way: The woman sits on a thin tree trunk with the lower part of her legs bent back. The cotton that is to be worked hangs over her left shoulder and from there the thread is fed out with the fingers of the left hand. She first rolls the spindle, on the barb of which she has fastened the thread, in a horizontal position with the palm of her right hand on her slightly sloping right thigh, moving her hand rapidly from the knee upwards. This gives the thread a

/27 cont./

283 left twist. Then she lets the spindle fall to a vertical position between her legs and rotate on the ground.

[191] This method belongs to Variation I of the Bakaïri spinning (127), which is extraordinarily characteristic for the

127. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 34 and 46.

Guiana tribes and which is described in a similar manner by Koch-Grünberg (128), Frödin-Nordenskiöld (129), Im Thurn (130),

128. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

129. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 52 and 56.

130. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 282.

and Roth (131).

131. Roth, 1929, p. 23 and Pl. I and II.

283 436 437 The spun threads are wound into round balls, which in this form are used as tribute payment to the Xirišana (see pp. 159/160) and also represent popular trade items, exactly as in the case of the Arekuná-Taulipang and their neighbors (132).

132. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

283 174 The cotton, the spindle, and the technique of spinning it to the left presumably reached the Surára and Pakidái from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes by way of the Xirišana. The fact that cotton and spindle represent imports becomes clear in particular from the technique of the left twist, since in the case of the original material, the curauá fibers, the threads are always twisted to the right. Im Thurn already points out that in Guiana

[191] [114]

283 /27 cont./
191 it is chiefly the Karaiben who spin thread out of cotton, and he
194 believes that they also brought along cotton and the spindle
114 when they immigrated into Guiana (133). The latter assumption

133. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 287.

has, however, not yet been proved, for on the upper Rio Negro Koch-Grünberg met Karaiben tribes who were acquainted with neither cotton nor the spindle. To an inquiry by Frödin and Nordenskiöld about this, he replied in a letter as follows: "It is an absolute mystery to me why the Indians on the upper Rio Negro do not plant cotton for spinning and have no spindles. It would be important to investigate how far this absence of spindles extends down the Rio Negro and into its tributaries, which, to be sure, from the Curicuriary downward, are almost completely unknown ethnographically" (134).

134. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 21, footnote 1.

283 Within the Yanonámi group, cotton and spinning are known,
184 in addition to the Xiriána, Surára, and Pakidái, also to the
194 Pusheweteri, Aramamesteri, and Karauateri, members of
114 whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái, and also to the Karimé (135) and the Waikâ, who, according to Schuster,

135. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 14.

presumably became acquainted with cotton through the Karaiben Makiritare (136).

136. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

/28 cont./

291
[171]
[482]

137. (cont.)
(Baldus, 1945, pp. 87/88), because there is the very likely danger that it might tear.

291 I am herewith able to
• 114 confirm an opinion which Ehrenreich already holds with regard
[171] to the covered glans penis among the Xingú Indians (138), which,

138. Ehrenreich, 1890, p. 86.

however, is shared neither by Karl von den Steinen (139) nor by

139. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 195.

Koch-Grünberg (140). According to the opinion of these two

140. Koch-Grünberg, 1910b, p. 89.

scholars, and also of Nordenskiöld (141) and Krickeberg (142),

141. Nordenskiöld, 1922, p. 94.

142. Krickeberg, 1922, p. 251.

the tying up of the penis is supposed to protect the glans from penetrating insects, thorns, etc. This assumption, as far as the Surára and Pakidái are concerned, is at most of secondary importance, for the uncovered female vagina is, of course, equally threatened by penetrating insects. But magical conceptions, too, with which Karsten (143) tries to explain the tying up of the

143. Karsten, 1926, pp. 151/52.

penis, are not applicable in the case of the Indians investigated by me. Hence, the second conjecture expressed by Karl von den Steinen, in which he connects this custom directly with the sex life and points out that it might have the same purpose as

/28 cont./

291 circumcision, is more suggestive. "Not that the opening is
●114 enlarged; it is a matter of a gymnastic treatment of phimosis rather than an operative one. Do they not stretch the skin which the others cut? Do they not make room inside, where the others make it toward the outside? This may be doubted least of all for the clamping of the preputium by means of the hip cord, which, as has already been mentioned, seems to be the oldest form, for the hip cord has been retained everywhere. The skin was roughly pulled forward with the cuff. Among young men it often looked sore and scraped. The European has the shoemaker put shoes that are too tight upon the last, but in the interior of Brazil, where only finished, imported goods are bought, a man of social standing thinks nothing of appearing in patent leather shoes which he has widened by a couple of vigorous slashes. His knife is to the shoemaker's last what the circumcising splinter or thorn is to the hip cord"(144).

144. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 199.

Besides the verified feeling of modesty, this assumption may
[833] quite possibly be a second reason. One would then have a parallel, as it were, to the girls who are deflowered with the finger by the mother after the first year of life; it is expressly stated that this is done to facilitate sexual intercourse later on (see p. 135).

291 Among other Yanonámi tribes, too, the hip cord of plant
184 fibers or cotton is used by both sexes, /29/ and the men likewise tie up the penis with it. I was able to verify this among members of the Xirišána, Puseheweteri, and Aramamesteri who, as wives or visitors, were staying in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái. The captive Karauateri girl, Nikeromá, also always wore a hip cord and told me that this was characteristic for her tribe and that the men likewise stuck the member under it. Similarly, Zerries (145) and Hübner (146) point out that the

145. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

146. Hübner, 1907, p. 231 and Fig. 12.

/35 cont./

291 On the basis of my field work, however, I have reached different conclusions with respect to the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri, Xiriána, and Karauateri. Protection of the genital organs is completely eliminated for the women of these tribes, and for the men it is at most of secondary, if not tertiary importance. The thin hip-cord gives them, in fact, the same outward security that the article of clothing gives the civilized person. Though nothing is covered by it, except the glans penis, the absence of it immediately arouses a feeling of modesty in them, which, however, differs from that which has been instilled in us in that it has nothing to do with their nakedness. Clothing, shirts and trousers which I brought along as gifts, was donned by them, to be sure, as a joke, in somewhat the way we might dress up for a carnival, but they were glad when they could take it off again. Yet these Indians never showed the least shyness or embarrassment before me in their unclothed state, and when I had won their friendship and convinced them of the harmlessness of my photographic equipment, men, women, and children let themselves be photographed in relaxed and natural poses.

291 123

292 In contrast to the important hip-cord, the belts of the Surára and Pakidái are expressly ornamental objects. Since they are worn not only for festivals, however, but also on all ceremonial occasions, magical motives may likewise play a part. At the same time, they are a distinguishing mark for specific tribes and age classes. They differ from all the other belts of South American Indians, as do the men's belts of the Waiká (186) (187), in that they are open in front

186. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

187. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

[114] and positively accentuate the pubic parts. Thus, they seem to represent striking evidence for the view of Brosse (188) and

188. Grosse, 1894, p. 96.

/35 cont./

292 Westermarck (189), who regard the belts as a sexual stimulus,
114

189. Westermarcj, 1901, pp. 195/96, 211.

by means of which the eyes are supposed to be drawn to the pubic parts. For the Surára and Pakidái, however, /36/ this hypothesis does not apply, in spite of their open belts, for the naked body does not provide any sensual stimulation for them, but rather solely the sexual act. According to Krause, among the Karajá /Caraja/ the feeling of modesty of the girls is supposed to have led to the development of the types of belts. As evidence for this, he gives the following observation: "Women never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and small girls from whom I bought belts went behind the nearest mat wall in order to put on a new one there before they brought
291 123 me the worn belt" (190). My experiences among the Surára

190. Krause, 1911, pp. 208/09.

and Pakidái were the same with respect to the hip cords, among men as well as among women and children, but they always untied their belts without shyness and gave them to me in exchange
292 184 for trade goods. This was also true of the Puseheweterf women, which shows that their little fringed aprons do not represent, say, a pubic covering, but merely ornamentation. Moreover, they also tie on their belts only for festive occasions.

291 171 The situation with respect to the children's belt made of the skin of the maracajá is unique. It should be noted, however, that in Guiana, one of the chief South American areas of distribution of the skin belt (191) (192), specimens made of jaguar skin have

191. Becher, 1951, I, p. 82; II, plate and Map No. 4.

192. Becher, 1955, p. 72.

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
856 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
[824] busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
292 curauá fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí,
184 and Karauaterí whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
[114] said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xiriána (Schirianá). Among the Arekuná-
171 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
179 cord of curauá fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
[191] transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

302 /39 cont./
593 husband beats his wife for reasons of jealousy, he may likewise choose only this marked part of the head. As a further, but
302 probably secondary reason, I was told that the short haircut and
825 the tonsure made it easier to control the plague of lice. People with long hair, they thought, were certainly unable to escape head lice.

302 The tonsure is also mentioned in religion and mythology.
538 Poré, the lord of the moon, is imagined as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red (see p. 197).

302 As among many other South American tribes, the tonsure
191 is also a /40/ characteristic feature of all small-sized light-
184 skinned Indians between the Rio Negro and the upper Orinoco, for the members of both sexes of the Xiriâna, Pusheweteri, Aramamesteri, and Karauateri whom I met also wore it (206).

302
191
●114 206. The Brazilian country people designate all Indians with tonsures as Coroados = crowned. Baldus and Willems, however, quite rightly demand that the use of this name be avoided in Brazilian ethnology: "Coroado- Várias tribus de indios no Brasil, por exemplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Purí, Bororo, receberam do povo o nome de Coroados, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que êsse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou êste têrmo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada" /Coroado -- Various tribes of Indians in Brazil, for example, the Botocudo, Caingang, Puri, Bororo, are given the name of Coroado by people, owing to the manner of cutting the hair, even though this style is not the same among all of them. This term has caused great confusion in Brazilian ethnography, and for this reason it should be abandoned/ (Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 67).

/42 cont./

304 824 386 412 377 The former use the juice of the genipap fruit as coloring matter, the latter the ashes of burned honey bees (229) /see footnote p. 90/. The original instrument everywhere for the puncturing of the dots was a palm thorn. Koch-Grünberg, however, also saw the use of pointed fragments of glass among the above-mentioned Karaiben (230).

230. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45.

304 174 171 ●114 A decision about whether the tattooings in the mouth region developed independently among the aforementioned Yanonámi, Karaiben, and Aruak tribes or whether they were brought about by reciprocal or outside influences cannot be reached as yet, although Koch-Grünberg saw a young Xiriána woman who had the fishhook and dot tattooing of the Arekuná-Taulipang painted on her face (231). This may have been an exception, however,

231. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

for, strangely enough, he did not find any further tattooing among the Xiriána.

179 The designs of the Surára and Pakidái also seem to be more primitive than the basic motifs of the Karaiben and Aruaken in the form of fishhooks, which clearly point to borrowings from civilization. Moreover, the fact that among the Karaiben tribes of Guiana individual men and boys are tattooed in the region of the mouth leads one to conclude that there has been a leveling of this custom. For probably there, too, it was formerly reserved for only the women, just as it is today among the Surára and Pakidái.

In conclusion, reference is to be made to P. Schmidt and Nordenskiöld, from whom there are already available brief, summary studies about puncture-tattooing in South America. The first-named author differentiates two groups, which are reserved for men and women or only for women, respectively, and regards a western origin as probable (232). /43/ On the other

/43 cont./

232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

304 174 171 114 hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A com-

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

prehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

301 h) Painting

The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is [531] very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

[824] [386] For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- narú --, a paste which is prepared from the red berries of Bixa orellana. Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (Genipa brasiliensis) -- narabú --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

[413] The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

Surára
Pakidái

/44 cont./

301 171 South American tribal units developed their abilities and passed on their traditions over the centuries from generation to generation.

301 184 For the Yanomámi the simple upper-arm ornament represents a further external distinction, for Xirišna, Pusebeweteri, and Aramamesteri men whom I met wore it in the same manner.

● 114 With regard to the Xirišna, my observations correspond with a statement by Koch-Grünberg: "The men," he says, "wrap around the upper arms long, red-dyed cotton strings, on the ends of which hang bird skins (Pl. 46, 2 and 2a). When they go to war, they stick bunches of tail feathers of the red arara in front under the arm bindings, so that they project above the /45/ shoulders" (239).

239. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

For the Waiká this upper-arm ornament is documented by photographs by Zerries (240) (241).

240. Zerries, 1955b, frontispiece.

241. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

301 239 171 As for ear and lip ornaments, parallels are found among the Makuxi and Arekuná-Taulipang, but here the white down-feathers of the king vulture or of the large hocco (mutum) are used (242).

242. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

301 436 (822) D) Bead ornaments

European glass beads, especially small ones, are to this day the favorite trade items among the Surára and Pakidái. They value most of all white, blue, and red beads (243), and

243. In this respect the Surára and Pakidái are like many other South American tribes (Menzel, 1957, p. 23 and Pl. 3).

/45 cont./

301 in most cases, a silver triangle, a large glass bead, or a fruit pit is fastened at the bottom.

301 439 When I came to the Surára and Pakidái, a few bead chains were already in use. According to their statements, they had obtained the glass beads from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Rio Demini, from rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, and from the Xiriána. The latter had presumably acquired this foreign commodity from Karaiben tribes who, for their part, had received it from the whites. This shows that the barter of glass beads is still carried on vigorously among the Indians themselves (245).

• [114]

245. It was already observed by v. Martius that glass beads were traded over wide areas (von Martius, 1867, I, pp. 702 ff.), and Krause also points out that they are greatly prized as trade items (Krause, 1911, p. 279).

7. Hammocks

352 [824] The Surára and Pakidái have three different kinds of hammocks. The hammock of embira (tree bast, Malvaceae sp.) -- yâritanacîk -- whose length is between 1.80-1.90 meters, may probably be regarded as the oldest and most primitive form (Ill. 26). It has no weft and consists only of ten to 14 embira strips [284] 1-2 centimeters wide. These are bent over at the ends and tied together by means of two ropes 1.30-1.40 meters long, which at the same time serve for suspension (Fig. 18a and b). Both ropes are very strong and durable, for they have been plaited in the form of a braid out of three one-centimeter-wide /46/ /Fig. 18 appears [462] here/ strands of embira. The manufacture of this hammock is [824] extraordinarily simple and is done only by men. From the embira [284] tree they remove 10-15 bast strips two meters long and 1-2 centimeters wide, which they tie together in the manner described above, after they have first plaited two ropes. To cut the tree [412] bast they use the little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 113). Since the yâritanacîk is extraordinarily light, the men like to use it on their

Surara
Pakidai
Shiriana
Waica

/46 cont./

352
284

Fig. 18a-b
Detail of the end fastening on a hammock of embira, as well as loop and knot diagram.

352 roving, hunting, and war expeditions as a travel hammock.
[482] Rolled up, it then hangs on their backs, held by a thin neck-cord
of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber). For sleeping they usually
[513] lie curled up in it; it takes practice and skill, however, not to
fall out.

352 Similar hammocks are also used by the Waiká, and there,
184 according to Zerries, they are supposed to fulfill certain functions
[114] in the ritual system (246) (247), whereas Schuster says that they

246. Zerries, 1955a, p. 87.

247. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

are made only in an emergency (248). The tree-bast hammocks

248. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

of the Xirianá are more highly developed, for they have a weft of cotton threads and plant fibers. Ruth Haebler describes two specimens in the ethnological museums in Berlin (VA 61119) and Leipzig (8736) (249).

249. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

2: Becher--100 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/46 cont./

352
191

Even highly civilized peoples, however, for example, the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that at present is still living on the Acre, Seruini, and Ituxí rivers in the Brazilian state of Amazonas (250), formerly used these hammocks without weft, as

250. Darcy Ribeiro, 1957, p. 75.

is confirmed by a specimen in the Berlin ethnological museum (VB 3758) (251). There were also some, however, that were bound

251. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

[114] by means of one or two rather long cross-strips. With respect to their purpose and manufacture, my observations among the Surára and Pakidái are almost identical with Ehrenreich's statements concerning the Ipurina. Thus, the investigator named writes: "The extremely primitive, but serviceable hammocks which the Ipurina use in an emergency on journeys, hunting expeditions, etc. clearly show how this useful implement may have been invented.

"Four or five strips of bast (embira) two meters long and 3-4 centimeters wide are simply loosened from the tree and gathered together at the ends, and sometimes bound together by one or two shorter cross-strips. In any case, lying in it requires no little skill and practice" (252).

252. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 63.

The Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, however, owns one hammock that is still more primitive. It comes from the Nahukuá (Nahuqua), a Karaiben /Carib/ tribe of the Xingú source region, and consists only of a bundle of grass, which, tied together at top and bottom, served as a sleeping arrangement for children (VB 2624) (253).

253. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

252 /51 cont./
184
285 The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry
[192] among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curauá plant
[438] (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter
[192] from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohí -- (290).

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

[178] Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in.
[426] Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the
● 114 Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is
252 supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is
174 significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with
285 a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any there, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed
[177] with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karaiben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

/52 cont./

854 287 [824] [413] [412] 854 [171] [184] [114]

9. Band for Carrying Children

The band for carrying children -- okomakuſ -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (Daphnopsis brasiliensis Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- xamotimſ -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- uarimaxſke -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- pekehſ -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little cutia-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

This carrying method is very widespread in South America and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying-band (292). Among the Xiriſna Koch-Grünberg does not seem to

292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

415 824 [192]

As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria Lin. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda = jamaru), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

These vessels in general are called -- horotokſ --, except for those of the jamaru fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- nhapotoſma.

/55 cont./

The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their occasional contacts with the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) on the Rio Araçá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the ax -- hanhokomã. The blade alone is named synonymously, whereas the shaft is called -- hanhokomãhitohĩ. Most probably the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according to Schuster, for the Waikás (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the Xirianá seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg writes: "They (the Xirianá) in former times apparently had no axes at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

12. Equipment for Climbing

To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus or Oenocarpus /56/ bacaba Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), tucuma palm (Astrocaryum sp.), and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring -- horoboromã --, which consists of a split liana (cipó-titica) rolled up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears here./

Surára
Pakidái

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Pusheweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726]

Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. [115] (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of la. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551 162 [160]

The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

• [114]

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

Surára
Pakidai

/63 cont./

854 593 It is simply touching to see how lovingly and solicitously every mother treats her child. But the love of the father is no less great. He openly acknowledges the child and clearly shows his feelings of pride and fatherliness (318), though he is otherwise

[114] [191]

318. In contrast to this, Alexander von Humboldt, with reference to the Indians on the Orinoco, writes that fathers do not have any affection for their children (A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 155).

very reserved in his expressions of feeling. When he comes wearily into the communal house after a strenuous hunting expedition or from his field work, he never forgets to devote himself first of all to his little child for a while. He either takes it on his arm and goes walking with it, or he lays it beside him in the hammock. Even during migrations of the tribe he sometimes [858] carries the child for hours. Moreover, he loves a daughter just as much as a son.

854 304 During the first year of life the ear lobes and the lower lips of boys and girls are pierced by the mother with a sharp palm thorn, and, in addition, the girls are given perforations in the corners of the mouth. To prevent the wounds from healing, small wooden rods are stuck in temporarily and moved back and forth 304 frequently.

854 833 When a little girl has completed the first year of life, she is deflowered by the mother with her finger. This procedure is done in preparation for sexual intercourse later on.

114 191 854 833 304 Similar procedures were observed by von Feldner among the Machacarí /Mashacali/ Indians, and he describes them as follows: "Nulla inter illas invenitur virgo, quia mater inde a tenera aetate filiae maxima cum cura omnem vaginae constrictionem ingredimentumque amovere studet hoc quidem modo: manui dextrae imponitur folium arboris in infundibuli formam redactum, et dum index, in partes genitales immissus huc et illuc movetur, per infundibulum aqua tepida immittitur" (319). In this connection

319. von Feldner, 1828, II, p. 149, footnote.

114 171 854 833 304

/63 cont./
Ploss and Bartels have already observed: "These manipulations probably serve not so much the purpose of cleanliness as preparation for the later sexual functions" (320).

320. Ploss and Bartels, 1927, p. 376.

171 304 854

A custom which is said to prevail in Paraguay should be mentioned in this connection. When a girl is born there, the midwife inserts her finger into the vagina and says: This is a woman (321). Unfortunately, there is no account of the origin

321. Written communication from Montegazza to Ploss (Ploss, 1912, p. 219).

of this custom. It is possible that it was taken over from Indians, because in Paraguay the Indian population is, of course, numerically the largest.

Among most South American tribes for whom there is evidence of an artificial destruction of the hymen, however, chiefly those of the Tukano /Tucano/ and Pano linguistic families, but also some of the Aruaken /Arawak/ and Tupi, it is done for ritualistic purposes at the onset of puberty (322).

322. Fuchs, 1956, pp. 79-81.

Among the Totonaken /Totonac/ in Mexico it is one of the duties of two priests to destroy with their fingers the hymen of female babies 28-29 days after birth. At the same time they ordered the mothers to repeat the defloration six years later with their fingers (323). Strebel regards this procedure as a castigation rite,

323. Krickeberg, 1918-1922, p. 47.

corresponding to the circumcision of male infants, which was also carried out by the priests. "Even the child was to pay its tribute to the gods, /64/ and the fact that the sexual parts were chosen for

Surára
Pakidái

/64 cont./ If the child's nose is not clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, nápe=mother and hápe=father.

e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1338.)

has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

/64 cont./

553 976 [782] high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermediaries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris" [779] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 • 114 191 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 302 [412] [824] On the day of the name-giving the children are given a tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara -- Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in 553 291 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under [834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good [292] form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around children (See pp. 64ff.).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

619 /75 cont./
651 already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
576 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
574 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114]

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433
178
241 a) General

At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[622]
000

[174]

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

Surára
Pakidái

/78 cont./

222 carrying baskets. -- Of the fruits of the wild cacao tree (Theobroma sp.) -- boroš --, which has many branches and whose foliage is dense and dark, only the sweet pith of the husks is sucked out, while the beans, which played such an important part among the high-culture peoples of Central America, are carelessly thrown away (363). -- The apple-like fruit of the lucuma tree

[184] [192] [114]

363. Zerries reports the same thing of the Waikš, and here the names are "loa" or "boholoa" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 150; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177).

(Lucuma macrocarpa Hub.) -- kumatš -- is valued for its sweetish, gelatinous pulp that surrounds the pit; the /79/ outer meat of the fruit and the shell, on the other hand, has a very bitter, unpleasant taste. -- The fruit of the wild pineapple, which only reaches the size of a medium-sized apple, is also eaten with relish.

The pods of the pacova sororoca, a Musaceae species (Ravenala guianensis Benth.) -- mokohš -- (364), gathered espe-

364. The pacova-sororoca is often erroneously called "wild banana" because its large leaves, which resemble those of the banana trees.

cially frequently, contribute more to the everyday food. -- When there is an occasional food shortage during the rainy season, the flat brown fruits of the pot tree (Lecythis longifolia), which are called uapš by the Surára and kurupš by the Pakidái, are appreciated to this day (365).

365. The Waikš have the name "wabu" for them (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177); Barker, 1953, p. 443).

Besides these most important vegetable products that are gathered, there are also a great many animal ones. To be named here above all is the honey of several species of small bees (366)

[36]

366. There are said to be more than 20 different varieties of them.

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

241
166
361 It is worth mentioning that at present in the course of one year the Surára as well as the Pakidái regularly carry on their field work in two places that are far apart. During the rainy season, April-September, the Surára, as is well known, live at the Cachoeira dos Indios on the upper Aracá and the Pakidái on a right tributary of the middle Demini, where they also own fields. On the other hand, they spend the summer season together in the large, open Surára maloka (between the Demini and Aracá rivers), around which was laid out a roça which was large enough to be divided among the Surára and Pakidái families. Thus, both tribes always have the benefit of abundant harvests at their permanent dwelling sites. In addition, there are the bananas and pupunha fruits of the abandoned fields, to which the entire tribe travels at the time of this harvest, or gathering expeditions are undertaken to bring in chestnuts, inga, and other kinds of wild fruits.

241
423 Since, however, on account of the seminomadic way of life of these Indians, one forest clearing or another is left untended for shorter or longer periods, there is the danger that in the meantime members of hostile tribes will break in and take possession of the produce there. Provision is made for this, however. Before the tribe leaves one of its clearings, a few men commissioned by the chief stick several wooden arrow points and thorns of the pupunha palm, coated with poison, into the ground and put leaves over them. Hostile Indians with plunder in view therefore risk the danger of running these into their legs (370).

[291] 370. All Indians of this region go barefoot.

[184] As I was told, this custom is resorted to by all Yanomámi tribes, and for this reason no Indian would ever think of setting foot on the deserted clearing of another tribe (371).

• [114] 371. This hint may be of the greatest importance for research travelers who want to work in this region.

Surára
Pakidái

245
[481]

/81 cont./

with a specially constructed apparatus (see p. 120), bears very narrow, pinnate leaves that are curly at the tips and are always gently swaying in the wind. They stand around the community house like sentinels and seem to be perpetually nodding benevolently and reassuringly to the inhabitants of the large, open maloka (Ill. 6). Their fruits -- maraxá -- (377),

377. The name among the Waiká is very similar -- "lasha" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149).

50-80 of which form a cluster, are noteworthy. They can be harvested only once a year, between September-April, but each palm has at least three, and sometimes four clusters, that is to say, approximately 200-300 fruits. At first they look yellow, but after ripening they take on a bright red color. In contrast to other palm fruits, they are characterized by especially abundant meat.

137
245
●114

As to the question of whether or not the pupunha fruit has seeds, there are various opinions. Zerries did not find any seedless ones (378). On the other hand, I saw fruits with

378. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

seeds and without. This observation is confirmed by statements by Sauer, who writes: "In many cases it has lost the capacity to produce fertile seeds..." /cited in English/ (379).

379. Sauer, 1950 p. 525.

And even Alexander von Humboldt (380) and Vinci (381)

380. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 281.

381. Vinci, 1956 pp. 370-375.

245
139
•114
[040
184]

/81 cont./
mention such seedless fruits (382).

382. Zerries, moreover, thinks it is possible that among the Waikás the pupunha fruit was the predecessor of the mealy banana (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

244 The cultivation of tubers, which is always done separately from the banana plantings, has hitherto been practiced on only a very modest scale. It includes the cultivation of taioba or taro (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.) -- ohĩná -- (383), cará or yams (Dioscorea

383. Among the Waikás the corresponding name is "ohina" (Zerries, 1956b p. 153).

sp.) -- cabiromá -- sweet manioc, known in Brazil as macaxeira aipim or mandioca doce (Manihot palmata Muell. Arg.) -- mihitarima -- bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima Pohl) -- kuamirimakõse --, and sweet potatoes (Ipomoea batatas Lam.) -- hikarí -- (384). Worth mentioning

249
243

384. The Waikás call the sweet potato "higali" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

also are the sugar cane plantings (sugar cane (Saccharum officinale) -- bukũ -- (385)) and the absence of maize (386).

385. The Waikás have the same word for sugar cane (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

[184]

386. Zerries, to be sure, found evidence of its cultivation by the Waikás. But, he adds, maize "is little more than a rare delicacy" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

252
262

394. (cont.)
nourishment during their first and second menstruation (see p. 142), and it represents the most important item of food for pregnant women, and for several months after confinement. Among the Tapirapé, on the other hand, where the banana also represents a basic part of the diet, parents must refrain from eating this fruit after a birth. "They believe that the child would die if they disregarded this rule" /cited in English/ (Baldus, 1956b, p. 601).

[191]

252 raw. -- The mealy, nourishing fruits of the pupunha palm are primarily boiled. Then the soup is allowed to cool and a refreshing drink is obtained in this way. Before festivals all the [415] women pour it into a large, wooden trough, which is found in every maloka, so that there will be enough on hand. By means of steaming or roasting, a solid food is also prepared from them (395). --

• [114] [137]

395. Alexander von Humboldt, by the way designates the pupunha or pihiguao palm as "Pfirsich-palme" /peach palm/ and praises the delicious taste of its fruit (Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 281 f., 300; IV, p. 145). I cannot agree with the great scholar in this, for to me it tasted like slightly bitter potatoes. Zerries, by the way, is of the same opinion (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

Taioba, carí, sweet potatoes, and sweet manioc are steamed in a pot or roasted in hot ashes without being previously washed or
252 peeled. -- Bitter manioc is scraped by the women with the
412 lancet-shaped bamboo knife (see p. 118) and then grated on a rough slab of granite, for they do not have grating boards (396) (397).

[177] [123]

396. My servant Mateus, however, made them

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/83 cont./

252
412
[177]
[123]
[192]

396. (cont.)
a few graters out of the sides of our empty gasoline cans by boring numerous holes in them with a nail. They were very happy over these and maintained that it was considerably more agreeable to grate on them. They also immediately had a name for this grater -- kabaricinamõ.

252
184
412

397. The Xiriâna, too, grate the manioc roots on rough slabs of granite (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

252 The grated pulp is then pressed out by hand with the help of small, square strips of plaiting (see p. 112), which are rolled up (398).

398. The poison is removed from the manioc pulp in the same way among the Xiriâna (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

Among the Surâra I found three tube presses and among the Pakidâi five, which they had obtained from the Xiriâna (see p. 112). With the flour the women bake, on large, flat granite stones under which a fire is kindled, manioc flat-cakes, which are consumed with pleasure. This food, which appeared among them only a comparatively short time ago, seems to become
293 more and more popular. The preparation of kaschirí is unknown (399).

• [114]
[177]

399. Since, however, my servant, a pure-blooded Tukano /Tucano/ Indian, felt a great desire for a slight alcoholic intoxication at the sight of the manioc flat-cakes, he taught the Surâra how to make kaschirí. At first they tried this unknown drink very critically. But after the first swallow their eyes shone, and they slapped Mateus on the shoulder enthusiastically and assured him again and again how good it tasted to them.

/84 cont./

272 are kneaded and pulverized in calabashes filled with water. This produces a grayish-brown, greasy juice which, after the fleshy husks have been fished out and thrown away, reminds one of cacao in appearance and flavor and is extremely filling. This drink tasted even better to me when I added a little sugar. [123] [263] The Indians who tasted this, however, were not enthusiastic about the addition, since they like sugar just as little as salt. I was unable to please either children or adults with my bonbons. The fruit of the bacu buriti, curauá, piaçaba, and ubim palms (see p. 166) is made into beverages in the same way, while that of the inaja palm is cooked beforehand. The juice obtained from this tastes quite insipid, to be sure, but likewise has a high food value.

One should also mention that a drink is prepared from the gathered honey by mixing it with water. I never saw it eaten, [114] [84] [197] as has been confirmed for the Waiká (407) and various /85/ other

407. Zerries, 1956b, p. 150.

tribes of Guiana (408) (409).

408. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 55.

409. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 169.

271 184 As the above account shows, the Surára and Pakidái do not lack variety with regard to beverages, so that only in the rarest instances need they resort to plain water, as is the case, according to Zerries' accounts, among the Waiká (410). As among

273 184

410. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

the latter (411), however, alcoholic beverages are completely

411. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

unknown to the Surára and Pakidái too.

2: Becher--186 E75 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/86 cont./

231 Dogs are never killed; they are allowed to live until they
[262] die of old age. When I asked whether dog meat was ever eaten
in former times, men and women, with horrified faces, answered
in the negative. Yet this custom is supposed to have prevailed
[273] at one time among various tribes of Guiana (414). There do not

414. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 189.

seem to be any myths about dogs.

123 I should also like to mention that during my months-long,
23 extremely friendly stay with the Surára and Pakidái, and in
[114] spite of great efforts, in which the Indians helped me, I never
23 succeeded in winning the affection of their dogs. It meant a
[114] good deal that in time I was tolerated by them. I can agree
perfectly with Friederici when he writes: "The Indian dog has
always hated the white man, and, conversely, the dog of the
European, the Indian. The odors given off by the races are so
different that even a human nose can usually tell the difference,
how much more a dog. If a white man walked through an Indian
camp he usually had a whole pack of growling and teeth-baring
dogs behind him" (415). But I also found that the opposite was

415. Friederici, 1899, p. 365.

true. The dogs kept at the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on
the middle Demini, mongrels of the most diverse breeds, but
among them also former Indian dogs, behaved, in their hatred, as
though they were mad when Pakidái families came to visit (416).

[171]

416. Baldus, on the occasion of his Chaco expedition, also observed that Indian dogs, once they are in the hands of whites, become the bitterest enemies of their former masters (Baldus, 1931, p. 18).

Surára
Pakidái

/88 cont./

296 and Pakidái I was unable to learn anything with reference to this, although there, too, the consumption of tobacco is uncommonly
[249] great. They plant plenty of tobacco in all the forest clearings, however, and if it were entirely harvested in the fields where they were living at the time, the men fetch it from other distant rocas or in emergencies they obtain it from friendly tribes by barter.

[184] [114] Koch-Grünberg reports that the Xirifna and Waikâ hordes visited by him chew the tobacco (430). From his description, how-

430. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

ever, it is to be seen that actually a sucking of the tobacco is
296 also involved. The Arekunâ on the Roroima probably also did the
191 same thing, although Richard Schomburgk (431) and Appun (432)
114

431. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 239.

432. Appun, 1871, p. 321.

agree in speaking of "tobacco chewing." It is noteworthy that Koch-Grünberg (433) did not observe this form of tobacco enjoyment

433. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 57.

among any other tribe in the Roroima region, for on the occasion of his visits the men smoked the tobacco as cigarettes or in short English pipes which were imported from British Guiana; he never saw women smoke.

123 If I offered the Surára and Pakidái cigarettes, they first
296 always removed the paper and enjoyed the tobacco in the same way as their cultivated tobacco. Yet they were not very enthusiastic about it, for in their opinion the cigarette tobacco was much too weak. In time, however, men and children became accustomed to smoking (434), but not the women.

434. As a result of this, our supply of cigarettes rapidly dwindled, and my

Survey Panikí

276 [191] [184]

/89 cont./

Among the Waikâ, this taking of snuff is done in the same way (438). The Tuparí (439) and numerous other tribes of western

438. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

439. Caspar, 1953, pp. 151 ff.

South America (440) also indulge in this custom, though the com-

440. Gillin, 1948, p. 855.

[115]

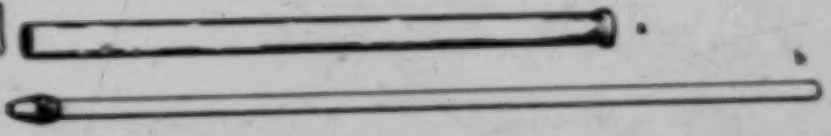


Fig. 28a. Bamboo tube for storing snuff-powder.

Fig. 28b. Bamboo snuff-tube.

position of the powder, except for the paricá or Piptadenia seeds, seems to differ from tribe to tribe. Cooper, moreover, in a com- [114] parative study of the taking of Piptadenia snuff, comes to the conclusion that this is a "western trait" /cited in English/ (441).

441. Cooper, 1949, pp. 536-538 and Map 10.

Surára. Pakidái Waica

/92 cont./
and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the heiuri and use a very similar sounding word -- teiuri -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waikâ /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Puré or "Omama," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Puré is brought into relationship with the moon --

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

776
184
821

/98 cont./ Thus, Peré is brought into relationship with the moon-Perimbó -- and with the latter forms an inseparable unity (450),

[114]
[171]

450. This conception, which seems rather strange and in which Josef Haekel therefore thinks he sees a contradiction (Haekel, 1959, p. 40), is, however, also confirmed for the Uitoto /Witoto/, for Preuss writes about it, among other things: "We thus have here the rare instance in which, through a combination of the god of the earth and a moon demon, a single deity has arisen, a sort of monotheism, alongside of which there are only very insignificant demons" (Preuss, 1922, p. 176). And elsewhere he states: "The fact that moon and Supreme Being here coincide may therefore have come about later, but not necessarily. Today we have them as an inseparable unity" (Preuss, 1922, p. 184).

whereas "Omawa," together with a helper, "Yoawa," lives in the western sky, where they too produce rain, in that they pour the water out of the two celestial rivers (451). In contrast to this

451. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

among the Surára and Pakidái it is believed that Peré shakes the rain-tree of the moon (see p. 199).

821
184
773

Great significance is also attached to the moon by the Waiká, and, significantly enough, also in connection with the creation of human beings. This may be seen from their legend of primitive times (452), which, except for minor deviations,

452. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

corresponds to the one which the Surára chief Hewemão told me

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

/94 cont./

776
174
[171]

468. Gillin, 1936, pp. 155 ff.

Kalina (469), Wajana (Oyana) (470), Makiritare (471).

469. de Goeje, 1943, pp. 26 ff.

470. Ahlbrinck, 1956, p. 26.

471. Cruxent, 1953, pp. 325 ff.

776
174
114
171

"The suggested parallels," Haekel goes on to say, "between Yanoama and Carib call attention, in any case, to a series of problems for which we are still far from a solution today. The probability of historical relationships can undoubtedly not be overlooked. But who were the 'givers,' who the 'receivers'? It is obvious that the Surara-Pakidai and Waika lie within the sphere of influence of Cariban tribes, but in my opinion there is no justification for thinking merely of influences from the Carib in connection with the similarities coming to light. One should also take into consideration the fact that Yanoama and Carib participated jointly in an older substratum" (472). On

472. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

this point I agree with Haekel completely. I also share certain reservations that he has with regard to the avowed western orientation of the Waikâ or the Yanonámi culture (473), which

473. Haekel, 1959, pp. 43/44.

Zerries represents (474). True, there is much in favor of it,

474. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

among other things a definite form of endocannibalism and the ritual taking of a narcotic snuffpowder. Further proof might be seen in the fact that among the Ipurina on the Rio Purús the

Surara Pakidai

/94 cont./

moon -- "pati" -- is venerated as Supreme Being and "father," who causes the fruits to grow (475). In this case, however,

475. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 72.

Ehrenreich believes that there has been Christian influence. Among the Sáliva in southern and eastern Colombia /95/ one also finds certain features in the religion and mythology which are reminiscent of those of the Yanomámi and Karaiben, and the Supreme Being worshiped by them is called "Puru" (476), a

476. H. v. Walde-Waldegg, 1936, pp. 40 ff.

name which sounds very similar to Poré and "Purá." Haekel further points out that the religion of the Sáliva shows marked agreement with the neighboring Aruak Achagua (477), which

477. Haekel, 1959, pp. 45/46.

was described by Hernandez de Alba (478). Moreover, it should

478. Hernandez de Alba, 1948, pp. 410 ff.

be mentioned that the Guahibo Indians on the Venzuelan banks of the Orinoco, according to Zerries, have taken over their deity, Purnaminali, from the Achagua or Sáliva (479).

479. Zerries, 1956c, p. 232.

But in the eastern regions of Guiana there are also significant parallels with respect to the religious and mythological conceptions of the Yanomámi mentioned. Reference has already been made to the Kachuyana and their Supreme Being, Purá (see p. 205). They are even more strongly pronounced among the Warrau /Warao/. In their moon myth about "Aboré" and "Wowtáh" the moon has the character of a culture hero (480).

480. Brett, 1880, p. 76.

2: Becher--208 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/95 cont./

796 exactly as among the Surára and Pakidái; moreover, the corre-
191 spondence between the names Aboré and Poré is especially great. The supplying of cultural possessions is also attributed to the deities in each case. In the Warrau myth it is even said that Aboré fled before Wowáh into the land of the whites, from whence he provided his fellow tribesmen with import articles (481).

481. Brett, 1880, pp. 84 ff.

794 The idea that there are gigantic prototypes of each animal
191 and plant species also exists among other South American tribes. Zerries has already worked out the connections for this and has cited several investigators who confirmed identical or similar views for various Indian peoples, among them Arawak, Mura, tribes of the Chaco, Karaiben in Guiana (Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, Cavina and Tumupasa Indians of northeastern Bolivia, Cáyapa in Ecuador, and Yaruro in Venezuela (482).

482. Zerries, 1951, pp. 149/50.

794 The conception of the Yaruro in particular shows corre-
191 sponding parallels, according to Petrullo's description (483).
●114

483. Petrullo, 1939, p. 237.

For the Karaiben tribe Arekuná, Koch-Grünberg, to be sure, does not find any evidence of gigantic plant spirits, but their idea of the animal spirits is very similar; here they are called "podole" = father (484).

484. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 187.

793 If one then compares the myths which deal with happen-
184 ings on the already created earth, one is struck by the fact that among the Waiká the transformations of human beings into land animals cover a wide range (485). The same is true among the

485. Zerries, 1958b, p. 283.

Surára
Pakidái

/102 cont./

755 I was allowed to take part as a spectator in all the cures,
[123] and each rekurí was a new, great experience for me. I was
755 amazed at the devotion, passion, and fervor with which the
757 chief and his helpers interceded with all their physical and
622 psychic powers to ward off the sicknesses of their fellow-tribesmen (504). This explains why the Surára and Pakidái

[123]

> 504. The same care was bestowed upon me, the stranger. If I had an attack of malaria, the chief and his helpers likewise danced around me, and they sang in chorus while Hewemão stroked my body, massaged it, and sucked at it. He was of the opinion that the Waikâ had poisoned my blood because I lived in friendship with the Surára and had brought them so many beautiful gifts.

have such boundless confidence in their chiefs and are absolutely convinced of their magic powers. It is doubtless due to this unshakable faith that so many of the sick can be cured (505).

> 505. I never saw the chiefs demand a fee for their cures. The members of the tribe show their appreciation, however, by continuously offering their chiefs larger or smaller gifts (see p. 130).

[431]

755 In this context I should like to cite the following very re-
756 vealing description by Herbert Baldus: "The witch doctors were
● 114 simply called imposters by early travelers, and even today all whites who are incapable of understanding the mentality of the Indian are of the same opinion. One forgets that, as a result of the suggestibility of the primitive, the magic practices not only essentially help the sick person and rid his relatives of their fears, but also weave such a spell around the practitioner himself that it is impossible to decide to what extent he is acting in good

2: Becher--224 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára Pakidái

/102 cont./
755 faith and to what extent he is faking" (506). The fact that
756
•114

506. Baldus, 1931, p. 142.

even in modern medicine great importance is now attributed to the suggestive influence of the physician on his patients is shown in the following statements by Hans Grimm: "If we emphasize that the suggestive influence of the physician's personality on the patient is often of decisive influence (Jores), if we use hypnosis, the so-called 'autogenous training,' etc., we are, in our own way, returning to what was already playing a role in shamanistic techniques" (507).

507. Grimm, 1958/59, p. 357.

769 3. Religious Festivals

Every year, toward the end of the dry season, March-April, the Surára and Pakidái jointly celebrate the festival in memory of the dead -- patapánomãn -- (508). It always takes
[192]

508. This contains the word for corpse, the male or female dead person -- anomãn.

place in the large, open Surára maloka Jaracá (see pp. 25 ff.). Occasionally a few families of friendly tribes (Xirifna, Pusheweteri, Aramamesteri, etc.) also take part. The
[114] patapánomãn festival, which I witnessed in all its phases, /103/ was held during the period from the fourth to the sixth of
769 April, 1956. But even before that there were great preparations
251 for this purpose. The men set out on a joint hunting expedition in order to kill as many tapirs as possible, the meat of which was then roasted on roasting racks over an even fire, not too hot, until it was black and bone-hard, so that it could be kept for a

Surára. Pakidái. Waiká

/107 cont./

769 526 [622] [624] [147] in his place. The wife then managed the head of the exhausted one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other, who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexí (see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After [262] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed themselves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and manioc flat-[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in connection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives were obliged to manage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

769 ● 114 184 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká, which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds

515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

2: Becher--235 . E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára, Pakidái Waica

/108 cont./

769 182 184 789 526 [946]

festival. It is decidedly a festival in memory of the dead, which characterized by the ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe. At the same time, defensive magic against the nonexf is connected with it, for they, of course, are the ones who transmit sickness and thereby frequently cause death. As in all the magic cures for healing the sick, where the symbolic struggles between the "bekurf" and one or more "nonexf" are always enacted (see pp. 212 ff.), this factor is naturally also in evidence in all parts of the festival, in the dances, in the mixing of bone ashes, when the medicine man pulls down-feathers of the gavião-real out of the hair of the warriors and adds these, and in the duels performed in a sitting position. The latter are also documented for the Waikí in the same way, but Zerries writes that neither for him nor for the American missionaries was it possible to find out anything definite about the meaning of this ceremony (517). Presumably,

517. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

however, it is the same symbolic struggle between a good and an evil spirit as among the Surára and Pakidái. As yet nothing has been reported about this from other Indian tribes. My informants, however, told me that the Xirixána, Pusebeweterf, and Aramamesterf engage in these combats on the occasion of their festivals in memory of the dead. Hence it seems to be a very special characteristic of the Yanomámi, which in former times may have been even more widespread. Herr Dr. Gerdt Kutscher, in connection with a lecture I gave in Berlin, called my attention to the fact that the position taken by the two men during this is reminiscent of the painting on a clay bowl from the Río Ulúa, Honduras (518). According to Zerries, Barker,

114 769 526

518. This is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (No. IVa Ca 22381) and was reproduced in an article by Walter Lehmann (Lehmann, 1910, p. 737, Ill. 9).

Surára
Pakidái
waica

/108 cont./ According to Zerries, Barker,
114 and Dupouy, there is also a similar combat among the Waikâ,
769 in which the partners alternately beat each other on the chest
52 with clenched fists (519a, b, c). I did not observe this among
184

519a. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

519b. Barker, 1953, p. 447.

519c. Dupouy, 1953, p. 495.

114 the Surára and Pakidái. Similarly unknown there is the custom,
769 also reported by Zerries, that the men, when they run about in
276 the snuff-powder intoxication, hit each other on the back with the
palm of the hand (520). The author named regards this as a

520. Zerries 1955b, p. 665.

769 fertility rite. There seems to be involved here, however, out-
187 side influences of agricultural tribes, which is indicated also by
179 the ceremonial gathering of pupunha fruits (521).

521. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

769 It is further noteworthy that among the Waikâ women and
184 girls actively participate in the festival in that they take part in
52 some dances and even drink some of the banana soup mixed with
[266] bone ashes (522). In contrast to this, the female members of

522. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662 ff.

the tribe act only as spectators among the Surára and Pakidái.

769 The endocannibalism should be regarded as a very signifi-
184 cant similar trait. It is documented for the Waikâ by Cruxent (523a)
266
114

523a. Cruxent, 1953a, pp. 149/50.

Surára Pakidái Waiká

/108 cont./

769 184 266 114

and Zerries in several articles (523b) (524) (525). Moreover,

523b. Zerries, 1955a, p. 80.

524. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 664/65.

525. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

769 266 171

Moreover,

/109/ the latter author, on the basis of contributions to the first five volumes of the Handbook of South American Indians, drew up a distribution map for the occurrence of endocannibalism, which was supplemented by numerous examples (526). Accord-

526. Zerries, 1955a, pp. 80/81.

ing to this, endocannibalism occurs in South American primarily in the western parts of the continent and among the marginal and submarginal tribes of the Tropical zone. This custom is particularly frequent among the Pano and Tukano /Tucano/. In most cases, besides the pulverized bones, which are mixed with chicha (for example, Pano and Tukano), water (for example, Tapuya), or a mash of Pará chestnuts (Moré Indians), the flesh is also eaten. The practice of the Surára, Pakidái, and Waiká, on the other hand, who consume only the cremated, pulverized bones, is very rarely found. The corresponding custom of the Sáliba, Guayupe, and Saé in Colombia is the most similar one. But in eastern Guiana, too, endocannibalism is widespread, for example, among the Karaiben /Carib/ Parukotó (527) and

527. Frikel, 1957, pp. 520 and 545.

among the Arapium, a Tupi tribe in the vicinity of Santarem (528).

528. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

Moreover, it is reported of the Kalina, Palikur, and Arawak that they consume cremated bones of the dead (529). Of the latter

529. de Goeje, 1948, p. 11.

2: Becher--238 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Suppl
Pamphlet

/109 cont./

Raleigh also writes that they pound the bones to powder and consume them mixed with a beverage (530) (531), and the same has

530. Raleigh, 1848, p. 55.

531. Waitz, 1862, p. 388.

been attested to for the Maxubí (532).

532. von Martius, 1867, I, p. 404 A.

According to Whiffen, there is no endocannibalism at all in South America, for, according to his view, only vengeance against hostile tribes can be regarded as a motive for anthropophagy. "From all this," he continues, "it follows that intratribal cannibalism would be a criminal outrage by the tribe on itself, and therefore it could never occur that a member of the tribe was eaten, ... This disposes of any such thing as the eating of dead relatives as a sign of respect. These and similar statements are due to misapprehension /sic/ of facts by the writer, or a too hasty judgement on the part of the explorer" /cited in English/ (533). In conjunction with these devious

533. Whiffen, 1915, pp. 120/21.

statements by Whiffen with their completely unjustified criticism, I should like to cite a contribution concerning endocannibalism drawn up by Herbert Baldus and Emilio Willems (534):

534. This appeared in the eminently important, but long out of print, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, which came out shortly before World War II and is therefore, unfortunately, not available in most European libraries.

2: Becher--230 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

114
769
262
171

/109 cont./

/The long passage in Portuguese which follows on pp. 109-110 in the original source is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text/ /110/ (535a).

535a. Baldus e Willems, 1939, pp. 40/41.

Most recently there appeared the commendable study by Boglár, "Ein endokannibalischer Ritus in Südamerika /An Endocannibalistic Rite in South America/," in which the author presents the material of several competent sources (535b). I

535b. Boglár, 1958, pp. 67-85.

cannot, however, agree with his interpretations in connection with them. The consumption of the bone powder of the deceased is by no means always to be associated with agricultural tribes, for, as my informants among the Surára and Pakidái explained to me, their forebears, who were pure hunters and gatherers, already practiced this custom. Also the author's view that the showing of respect, the magical transmission of good qualities, etc., can be regarded merely as secondary motives of the endocannibalistic rite (535c), do not apply to the

535c. Boglár, 1958, p. 83.

Surára and Pakidái; here they are decidedly primary. Among them the future life of the dead is assured by cremation, for with the ascending smoke the soul of the dead reaches the moon (see p. 151).

It should further be mentioned that endocannibalism is documented also for Central America, Mexico, and in one case in North America, but Beals regards it as a typical element of the South American Indians (536).

536. Beals, 1932, pp. 123/24.

Sutéra
Pakidá!

/110 cont./

224 If the hunter accompanied by his wife has slain small game or a bird, the wife carries the hunting booty into the community /111/ house. If the man was alone, he brings the animal only to the entrance of his dwelling. It is taken inside by his wife or by another man. The same is true for big game, for example, a tapir, from which a few pieces of meat are first taken along; the rest is fetched later by friendly fellow tribesmen. Thus, the hunter may always carry his booty to the entrance of the maloka, but he may never go inside with it. He must also leave the evisceration of the animal to other men. Subsequently he may roast the meat, to be sure, but after it has been prepared, he is forbidden to eat the first morsel. When (782) he has finished his meal, he is obliged to pray anew by way of the heiuri to Poré and Perimbó, for the latter demand that one thank them for the hunting booty. If the hunter observes all these rules, the united Supreme Being and the heiuri will always be well-disposed toward him and will always provide for a successful outcome of the hunt.

224 Among many other tribes of South America there are the
191 same or similar conceptions of hunting magic. I can here refer
114 to Zerries, who has gathered together the pertinent source material and made a comparative study of it (537) (538). This

537. Zerries, 1951.

538. Zerries, 1954a.

shows that urucú is almost always used for the red coloring before the hunt. Métraux, however, mentions that the ancient Mocovi in the Gran Chaco smeared the snouts of their dogs with jaguar blood (539). From this Zerries draws the justifiable

539. Métraux, 1944, p. 283.

conclusion that urucú is a substitute for blood (540), which

540. Zerries, 1954a, p. 22.

2: Becher--242 E-5 (1955-1956) 1980 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Pak. Aq.

224
191
●114

/111 cont./
Métraux also documents for the Chiriguano (541).

541. Métraux, 1931, p. 154, footnote 1.

It should also be pointed out that the hunting rule so strictly observed by the Surára and Pakidái men, which says that a hunter may never carry his game into the maloka himself, can probably be traced back to Karaiben /Carib/ influences. In this connection Zerries speaks of propitiatory rites relating to the killed animal (542). According to his investigations, the

542. Zerries, 1954a, p. 359.

northern region of South America emerges as the nuclear area, where they are found primarily among Karaiben tribes of the Venezuelan coast and its hinterland (543). The author cites

543. Zerries, 1954a, pp. 136/37, 359/66.

Roth (544) and Crévaux (545) as the most important sources, as

544. Roth, 1915, p. 294.

545. Crévaux, 1883, p. 283.

well as the very old report by Rochefort (546), which shows that

546. Rochefort, 1658, p. 451.

even the Island Karaiben were acquainted with this custom.

832
(824)
c) Love magic:

For the purpose of love magic, young men sometimes wear a curauá-fiber string around the neck, to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanaë -- (see p. 83). If the

2: Boehm--245 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/112 cont./

782 with threads of Bromelia fibers. Such threads are also drawn
(824) crisscross over the sticks, and on them are glued down-feathers
(239) of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). The structure --
alwanobé --, which women and girls are not permitted to see,
gives the effect of a man's head, in the hair of which are glued
down-feathers of the gavião-real. By order of the chief, several
warriors take this calabash into the forest and set it down in a
particular spot.

6. Birds as Transmitters of Messages

825
202

On May 21, 1956, in his maloka on the Cachoeira dos
Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, a Surára man, Honohomá, was
engaged in a loud monologue which started about 4:00 in the
morning and lasted until about 6:00; during this he was lying in
(114) his hammock. As to the meaning of this apparent monologue,
my little interpreter Jibeauwõ afterwards gave me the following
explanation: When Honohomá woke up, he heard the singing
of the little bird kaukaumã, a japim (Cacicus cela L.), in which
at the time, however, the soul of Porõhiwõ, the war chief of the
Pakidái, was to be found. The latter was living with his tribe
in the /113/ maloka on the middle Demini. The soul in the
little bird said that the Pakidái, after the festival in memory of the
dead, had arrived safely at their communal house. At the same
time it reported the course of the journey in detail, the hunting
successes, and the planting of new banana trees and pupunha
palms. Whenever the little bird interrupted its song for a time,
Honohomá would tell it about how the Surára were getting along.

According to the belief of the two tribes, the little japim
is a transmitter of messages, who reports illness and death, as
well as military encounters with hostile tribes.

Surára
Pakidái

/117 cont./

XI. Reasoning Abilities

153 Among the Surára and Pakidái the memory is especially keen, both with respect to the myths and songs, religion, and tribal history, as well as with respect to the flora and fauna and the peculiarities of a landscape (561). Their imitative

117

561. In this connection I should like to refer to a remark by Baldus: "By and large as far as the Indian's memory is concerned, he retains only what is useful on the phenominal level accessible to him. He will note each peculiarity of a landscape which he crosses, for that is necessary in order to find the way again and to be able to describe it to his companions. The much lauded 'sense of orientation' of the Indian is nothing but memory" (Baldus, 1931, p. 118).

123 153 Their imitative talent is also noteworthy. For example, upon my arrival, writing and drawing seemed new and mysterious to the Indians. When I handed them my fountain pen and pencils and asked them to draw something, neither the children nor men and women managed to produce anything but the customary serpentine lines, circles, and dots which they otherwise draw with urucú on their bodies, faces, and utilitarian objects. But as soon as I drew trees, houses, and animals for them, they were able to copy these figures after a few attempts. They proved indefatigable in this, and once they had started, they did not want to stop at all. Nor was it long before they /118/ were able to copy letters and finally entire words (562) (563).

153 191

562. Baldus reports the same thing about the Indian tribes in the northeastern Chaco: "Once one has taught the Indians

Surára
Pakidái

/118 cont./

159
734
752

564. (cont.)
Manoel Antonio Gómez, who succeeded in saving his life. The chief was said to have been very angry at first over the arbitrary action of the grandmother, but then, when he saw that the little one had recovered, he calmed down.

123 Most men, after but a short time, had no difficulty handling
153 our two guns; a few were soon even operating the outboard
[179] motor, and the Surára chief Hewemão, who showed great interest in my camera, took very acceptable pictures with it.
153 The reasoning power seems to be somewhat more strongly developed among the men than among the women (565).

• [114]
[191]

565. This conclusion agrees with an observation by Baldus among the Tumerehã, and the scholar adds a remark which could also be applied to the Surára and Pakidái: "The differences in the talents of the sexes are perhaps the result of their way of life and division of labor. Thus, among the Tumerehã, the man's way of acquiring food has probably developed his acuteness, for he does not merely gather fruits, like the woman, but also goes hunting..." (Baldus, 1931, p. 119).

802 /119/ XII. Counting and Conception of Time

The Surára and Pakidái count only to three:

1 -- mahón

2 -- porokabõ

3 -- prukatabõ.

2:Becher--277 E-S (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Paklidáí

/12/

137
←

137
24
622
516
412
→

Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemaõ doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

137
481
←

114
142
302
291
516
624
→

Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Paklidáí (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Paklidáí youth is squatting in the background.

/134/

• 114 During his stay among the Surára Indians, Hans Becher was able to compile an extensive vocabulary of their language. This still needs linguistic revision and further checking. Even now, however, it makes it possible to establish perfectly clearly the relationship of this language to the languages of the Waika /Waica/, Širiana /Shiriana/, and Karimé. There is a very close correlation, [101] apparent at first glance, which corresponds to the cultural unity of these Indian groups, whom Becher has classified under the name Yanomámi /Yanoama/.

The first vocabulary of a language of this group was published by Koch-Grünberg in 1913 and -- considerably expanded -- in 1928, and comes from the Širiana (Širianá) of the Uraricuera (and its tributary the Uraricaparú) (1). In 1932 there appeared

1. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 458; 1928, pp. 302-306.

a vocabulary of the Karimé Indians of the Catrimani River compiled by G. Salathé (2). Further material was then published by

2. Salathé, 1932, pp. 314-316.

A. Vinci, who added to his travel account a vocabulary of the Warema-Širiana (or -Waika, listed by him as Uarema, Guaica and Sciriciana) on the Merevari River (3). In 1954-55 O. Zerries

3. Vinci, 1956, pp. 364-367.

and M. Schuster collected as yet unpublished material among the Waika of the upper Orinoco, and in 1956 Becher presented his vocabulary from the Surára and a number of expressions from the Pakidái. This, to my knowledge, is all that is known about these languages at present.

114 197 As early as 1913 Koch-Grünberg found that Širiana was independent of the neighboring Karaiben /Carib/ languages and apparently isolated (4). The latter view was adopted in 1924 by

4. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 455.

/134 cont./

114 197 Rivet, who at that time set up in his classification of the American languages a Širianá linguistic family which included the Širiana and Waika (5). W. Schmidt, who was familiar with the larger

5. Rivet 1924, p. 678.

Širiana vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, still unpublished at that time, was of the same opinion and wrote in 1926 that the language of the Širiana (Schiriana) "forms an isolated group along with those of the nearby Waika" (6). C. Loukotka, who took over the

6. Schmidt, 1926, p. 221.

revision and further working out of the classification from Rivet, retains the Širianá linguistic family, but adds to it Karimé, which has meanwhile become known, and Pusarakaú, which is merely mentioned, but is unknown linguistically (7). Waika was also still

7. Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9.

undocumented at that time, but its inclusion in the family resulted from the assertion by Koch-Grünberg that "the language of the very light-colored Waika is very closely related to the Schirianá" (8).

8. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 455.

This assertion is now fully confirmed by the Waika notes of Zerries and Schuster. Up to the present time, however, the Pusarakaú has remained unconfirmed. The last version of the classification by Rivet and Loukotka, which appeared in 1952, introduces no change in the Širiana family (9).

9. Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140.

J. A. Mason, in his comprehensive revision of the classification of South American languages undertaken for the Handbook of South American Indians, acknowledges the Širiana linguistic family

/134 cont./
114 197 (for him Shiriană, Shirianán), but disregards the unknown Pusarakaú (10). His attempt at a classification of this family, in

10. Mason, 1950, p. 254.

which he subordinates the Waika (Waicâ) to the Širiana (Shiriană) /135/ and contrasts the two, put together as Waharibo (Guaharibo), Karimé (Carimé) (11), remains questionable (cf. p. 7). It has

11. Ibid.

been taken over and expanded by N. A. McQuown, however, whereby he again introduces the unknown Pusarakaú and adds a questionable, likewise linguistically unknown Guaharibo (12).

12. McQuown, 1955.

114 104 197 Since in McQuown's work the classification is not clear, I am giving it here in the form of a table, in which I am retaining the not always fortunate orthography of McQuown:

Z. 15. CHIRIANAN.

a. Guahariban. Ven. Br.
α. Chiriana (861). N2-4° W61-64°30' Br.
β. Uaica (860). N1°30'-2° W62-4°, N3° 30' W63°30', N4° W62°† Br.; N2-3° W64°, N3° W65° Ven.
γ? Guaharibo (495). N3° W65° Ven. Br.
b. Carime (845). N4° W64° Br.
c. Pusaracau (844). N3° W64°? Br.

"Ven." means Venezuela, "Br." Brazil; the numbers in parentheses after the names of languages refer to McQuown's place-maps; the other data are the geographical co-ordinates of the places where the languages are spoken or (if followed by †) were spoken (in this connection it should be noted that Karimé erroneously appears on the north bank of the Uraricuera instead of on the Catrimani, considerably to the south of it [approximately N1°30' W62°30']).

/135 cont./

114
197

Rivet, Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason, and McQuown all agree in regarding the Širiana family as a more or less closed group for which it has not been possible to determine any closer relationship with other American linguistic families. On the other hand, Swadesh, in his most recent contribution to the classification of American languages, sets up a "Makro-Širiana" group (for him macro-siriana), which includes, besides the Širiana family (for him sirisana), also the Čapakura family (chapakura) (13). This

13. Swadesh 1959, p. 20.

quite unexpected linkage, if it could be proved, would certainly raise very interesting and important questions for linguistics and ethnology, for the Čapakura family is found in the Guaporé basin, where it extends approximately between the tenth and sixteenth degrees south latitude over an axis formed by the 63rd degree west longitude. I therefore pursued the possibility of such a relationship and compared the languages of the Širiana family with those of the Čapakura. Although in the process nine Čapakura languages were considered (14), a lexical relationship between the two

14. Čapakura, Kitemoka, Napeka, Pawumwa, Iten, Moré, Kumaná, Wanyam, and Kabiší.

linguistic families could not be established. Since Swadesh has not yet published any material as evidence for the relationship suggested by him (15), his results cannot yet be evaluated in a

15. Swadesh is preparing to publish this evidence soon under the title "Materiales para un diccionario comparativo de las lenguas amerindias /Material for a Comparative Dictionary of Amerindian Languages/"; cf. Swadesh, 1959, pp. 8-9.

case such as the present one. On the basis of my own investigation,

/135 cont./
114 however, Čiriana and Čapakura are still to be regarded as two
197 independent linguistic groups.

128 In the following, only a small selection of Surára words
197 are offered, along with the corresponding words of Waika (according to Schuster) (16), Karimé (according to Salathé, 1932),

(122)

16. My sincerest thanks are due Herr Dr. Meinhard Schuster, Frankfurt, for the willingness with which he put at my disposal an excerpt of the Waika linguistic material that he is working on.

Širianá (according to Koch-Grünberg, 1928), and Warema (according to Vinci, 1956), in order to illustrate the close relationship that exists between these languages. The chief criterion for the selection was the availability of documented forms in the five languages; moreover, care was also taken to draw on words of a "non-cultural" nature for the most part, that is, /136/ those that are not so frequently taken over by neighboring languages and thus -- if agreeing morphologically and in meaning -- represent stronger proof of the genetic relationship of the languages compared. Becher's linguistic notes were made chiefly with Surára
114 informants; for the designations of body parts, however, there were also additional forms (marked by P) which a Pakidái informant gave him.

104 The transcription of the five lists has been standardized;
194 that of Karimé has also been simplified somewhat by the fact that two h and š sounds not adequately described by Salathé have been reproduced simply as h and š. With respect to the transcription, the following should be noted: ë = middle, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ï = high, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ã, etc. = nasal vowel; ɛ = open e; š = unvoiced, alveopalatal fricative; x = unvoiced, palatal fricative; ? = glottal stop; : = length for the previous sound.

/137/

192
197

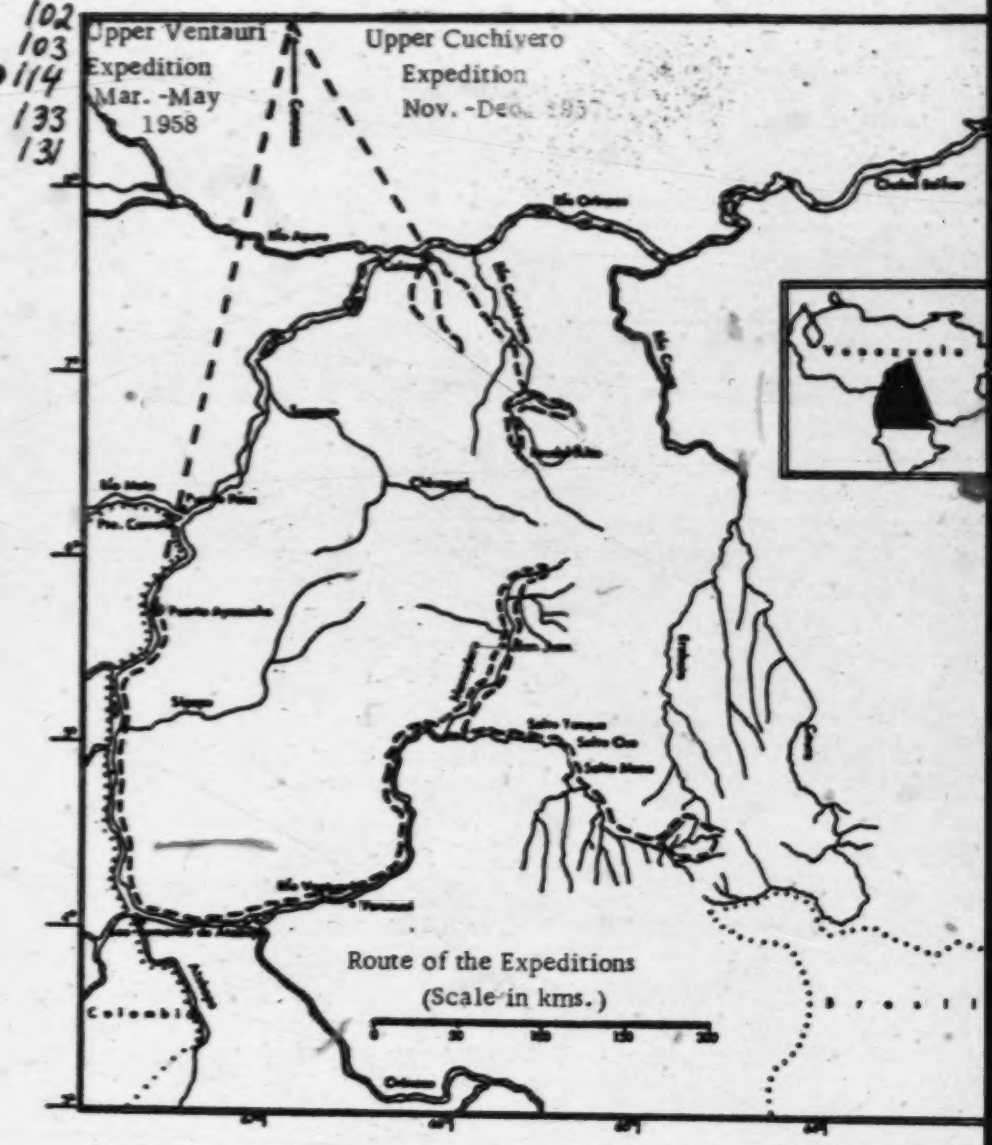
	Surára and *Pahidái*	*Waika*	*Karimé*	*Širiana*	*Warema*
Deer	*hayá*	*háya*	*hdia*	*haitxa*	*aʔsá*
Maracajá	*yaó*	*gidanáni*	*yauesé*	*txáo*	*hiʔdanani* (puma)
Cutia	*tómã*	*tómĩ*	*uaióro*	*tó:mĩ*	
Paca	*amutá*	*amóta*		*amõta*	*amotá*
Mutum	*paruri*	*bdluli*	*pá:ri*	*bé:li*	*paluli*
Jacamim	*nyapín*	*yápi*	*yá:pi*		
Jacaré	*iwá*	*iwa*	*uéri*	*wé:li*	*iuadamá*
Fish	*yu:ri*	*yúli*	*yúri*	*mayteli-tép(i)na*	*ẽẽmá:*
Crayfish	*okó*	*óko*		*ó:ko*	
Banana	*kuratá*	*kuratá*	*kura:tá*	*kalatá:ke*	*ukumatadé*

192
197
128

The languages have been arranged in such a way that those which seem to be nearest to the Surára lexically follow it directly, and those which differ from it the most come last. This gradation of similarity with respect to the Surára is given here, however, only on the basis of impressionistic findings, which, furthermore, rest only on an examination of language samples containing the above 40 words. It is therefore not a reliable basis for a linguistic classification of the entire group, though one may see in it an indication of the relationships of the individual languages to each other. In any case, support for the classifications of Mason and McQuown (pp. 1-3) cannot be drawn from it. /The bibliography on pp. 137-138 of the original source is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

[114]
000

4: Wilbert--3 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema



Map 1. Route of the expeditions.

Guahibo SC 14 Sanema
Yabarana 55 22 & Saliva 55 15
Makiritare 55 20 Panare 55 21

M /13 cont./
101 searching primarily for a new source of food and not so much for a better means of communication. The typical Venezuelan Caribe, at least at the present time, is a man who loves land (Pemón, Cariña, Panare, Yabarana, Yupa), and the Makiritare, river men, represent an exception among them.

I & Y/Ya M According to the relative importance which the river has among the different tribes, nuclei of them are found along the
361 principal aquatic arteries, such as those of the Makiritare, or at a distance from them, on the tributaries and headwaters, as among the Panare, Yabarana, Guahibo, and Sanemá. This circumstance is of the utmost importance for the study of these Indians. The
Y/Ya farther away they live from the river, the more difficult it is to
[128] make contact and to live with them. Thus the Panare are even less known than are the Makiritare and the Piaroa, and we are presenting in the present report the first relatively ample information on the Sanemá and Yabarana. /14/ /Map appears here./

D Y
● 114 /15/ The three weeks which we spent among the Panare were very laborious, and the time among the Sanemá was very hard physically.

Y/122 In spite of these difficulties, which in comparison with those of a voyage at the beginning of the century are insignificant, the zone is open for any type of communication. One can
P go by airplane to Caicara, Puerto Ayacucho, San Juan de
122 Manapiare, and Cucurí (between the Tenqua and Oso Falls). Thus, for a special study of the Panare one can go from Caracas to Caicara
S on a flight of a few hours and then continue by jeep and arrive
122 on the same day at the first bohio of the Panare. In order to
Ya study the Piaroa, one goes by airplane as far as Puerto Ayacucho
122 and then on by foot or by curiara. The Yabarana can be visited in the dry season, going by regular flight to Puerto Ayacucho and from there to San Juan de Manapiare by a flight lasting 30 minutes
Y in a small plane. One reaches the houses of the Yabarana on
M the same say, and in two days more the "Monteros," the most
122 autochthonous of this tribe. In order to reach Makiritare territory and the Sanemá of the upper Ventuari, one goes by airplane to Puerto Ayacucho on a regular flight and then on to Cacurí on a flight lasting 50 minutes more or less in a small plane. In

[Text continues on p. 6]

V /19 cont./
137 traveler, they usually indicate an obstacle, even in dry seasons.
[133] The hygrophilous selvas, constantly green (tropical rain forest), are made up of trees from 20-50 meters in height, intertwined with lianas and epiphytes. The trunks on occasion measure over two meters in diameter, and once in a while they have tabular roots. Among the characteristic species are found: Anacardium rhinocarpus, Terminalia amazonica, Philodendron bipinnatum, Sterculia apetala, Basiloxylon brasiliensis, Astronium graveolens, Brosinum spec., Pouteria spec., Guarea spec., Carapa guianensis, Mora excelsa, Bertholletia excelsa, Hevea benthamiana, and Ochroma lagopus.

In the Venezuelan region of Guayana it is difficult to make a distinction between the zones of hygrophilous selvas and the deciduous mesophilous forests. In Venezuela the deciduous mesophilous forests occupy the most extensive part of all the forest zones. Owing to the dry season, this type of forest has a smaller number of species than the hygrophilous selvas. The trees attain a height between 20-40 meters, and lianas are less abundant than in the hygrophilous forests. Among the important species in the deciduous forests of our region are found: Cedrela mexicana (cedar), Swietenia macrophylla (mahogany), Anacardium rhinocarpus (mijao) Mombacopsis sepium (saquisaqui), Spondias mombin (jobo), Samanea saman (saman) and Tabebuia pentaphylla (apamate) (Hueck, 1960).

V
114 As we have already indicated in the preface /untranslated/,
127 the present book is the result of a report on two trips and of a bibliographical study of the extant data on the zone visited (cf. map: Route of the expedition /see p. 3 /). Although it is true that no monographic work has yet been written for any of the tribes of the Orinoco-Ventuari region, it is also true that the great number of articles which have been published on the Indians of that zone is surprising. The material is primarily descriptive, but since they often describe for us aspects of native life which have now disappeared or changed, the general material of these authors is of great value and interest.

/19 cont./

In the present report we use most of the extant data, and their compilation, ordering, and selection, together with our own personal contribution, constitute the study which we present here on the Indians of this part of Venezuela.

For our purpose we followed the footsteps of the great Venezuelan ethnologist, Lisandro Alvarado, who, with the publication of his book, Datos Etnográficos de Venezuela /Ethnographic Data of Venezuela/, took a firm step toward the great task of compiling /20/ all the objective material written over the course of many decades regarding the native tribes of this part of the world (2).

2. Obras completas de Lisandro Alvarado /Complete Works of Lisandro Alvarado/, Vol. 4 (Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura y Bellas Artes). Caracas, 1956.

Our report lacks uniformity with regard to the character and volume of material on the various tribes to which we refer, but this fact reflects precisely our present sporadic knowledge concerning the tribes, which, in the last phase of their autochthonous life, urgently invite the competent ethnologist to leave testimony of a human conglomerate of our ancient American continent. /Maps 5 and 6 appear here. Pages 21-176 are not included in the translation./

/177/

The Sanemá

101 The word Sanemá appears here as the designation for a subtribe of the Yanoama. The Sanemá were called Guaharibo and were sometimes confused also with the Shirishana /Shiriana/.

The terms Guaharibo and Shirishana (written with abusive orthographic freedom) lack proper sense when applied to the Sanemá, and they must not, as has heretofore happened, be applied to this tribe or to the peripheral bands, who accepted them as designations used by the Whites (Guaharibo) and by the Makiritare (Shirishana).

The name Guaharibo, like Macú and Tapuya, is a vague and collective designation which includes many primitive tribes and which, therefore, has little classificatory value and will not stand up to scientific and impartial criticism.

The term Shirishana, for its part, seems to us to be a nickname rather than a generic denomination, since it means "araguato monkey" and is used by the Caribe in a contemptuous tone when they refer to the Sanemá, whom they consider to be subhuman beings born from the dust of their shadows. The name also lends itself easily to confusion with the Crichaná of the Ianaperi River and of Caribe affiliation.

For the above-mentioned reasons we prefer the term Sanemá which means "people," to that of Guaharibo, which is equivalent to "savage," or to Shirishana, "araguato monkey." This preference has more scientific aspects and more human respect.

●[114] It would seem that the term Yanoama was introduced into ethnographic literature by Zerries (1956a, p. 187) and was accepted quite rightly, by Schuster (1958, p. 115) and Becher (1960, p. 6) as a generic name for the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, Samatari, Surara, and Pakidai.

128 101 In the present treatise we shall consider the Yanoama as a tribe, not so much in the politico-social sense, as in the linguistic-cultural sense, since the Yanoama, in general, represent a specific culture made up /178/ /map appears here/ /179/ of the various peculiar subcultures of the diverse subtribes which live in a coherent territory, which speak closely related languages, and possess essentially similar economic and sociological forms.

/182 cont./
the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía. The Yanoama, however, by their own strength, were able to contain the advance of the Caribe in the northeastern part of their territory.

The massacre of the Indians to which we have made reference above was pointed out by Schomburgk (1841), who visited this land around 1839, /183/ and his data constitute the first report regarding the Yanoama of the north. Schomburgk had crossed the Sierra Pacarima when, on the way to the sources of the Orinoco, he found the Makiritare in the grip of great panic. The Yanoama, possibly a group of Waica, had killed a number of Makiritare who had been on their way to the Yanoama rancherías in order to establish commercial relations with them. A short time after that horrible massacre, the same Yanoama attacked a Makiritare rancheria with the intent of exterminating all its inhabitants. This event marked the date of the withdrawal of all the Makiritare south of this zone. Even the Caribe companions who were with Schomburgk accompanied them on their flight, abandoning him with his baggage a short distance from the sources of the Orinoco. It is easy to understand Schomburgk's emotional state, bordering on desperation, on finding himself so close to his goal without being able to reach it.

On the upper Uraricuera, in the region of the Sierra Marutani, Schomburgk came upon a comuco /cultivated area/ of the "Kirishanas," whom he described as nomad Indians who depended primarily on hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild fruits for their basic sustenance; some, however, cultivated small plantings of bitter yuca and peppers (Schomburgk, 1841, p. 417). Seventy-two years after this first report, Koch-Grünberg, in December of 1911, once again established brief communication with the Yanoama of this zone, and his information constituted, until a few years ago, the most important material on the Yanoama in general. Koch-Grünberg met representatives of two distinct groups. The first group (Casapare), which he found at the Purumamé Falls, lived at that time on the upper Uraricaparâ, although it had only recently arrived in that region from the Uraricuera, above the island of Maraca. That was the place where they took by surprise all the Indians whom they robbed and killed.

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auarí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

Casapare
Cariban Indians SR7
Auake 555

A /186 cont./
131 cf. idem, 1922, p. 226) was visited on the Urumamy Falls by
175 a small group of Auaké (Arutani), who pointed out to the ex-
A plorer that their land was on the source of the Paragua, where
[167] they had a communal house. But even by that time the Auaké
A (Arutani) had left their southern haunts to the Casapare and had
Y migrated to the north. But a large number merged with the
[619] Casapare, and it is very likely that the Arutani of the upper
Paragua represent the last vestiges of the Auaké.

A It is useful to stress the fact that both tribes, the Sapé and
101 the Arutani, belong among the primitive groups of South
174 America, and that their idioms constitute independent languages.
648 They have very probably served as buffers between the Caribe
[199] and the Yanoama, and while the former pushed them from the
Paragua to the south, the latter absorbed them or displaced them
C toward the north. The Caribe have had the same function in
648 more recent times, when they were destroyed between the frontiers
of white civilization and that of the Yanoama, and today only
a few vestiges of these tribes remain.

A Regarding the idioms of the Sapé (Kaliana) and Arutani
197 (Auaké), it is interesting to point out that Loukotka (1935) found
194 Chibcha vestiges in the Auaké and the Kaliana. If we consider
that the Yanoama are related to the Warao and that both have
a relatively low cultural level, it is possible to believe in a sub-
stratum of marginal tribes with a Chibcha linguistic affiliation,
to which the present Warao, Sapé, Arutani, and Yanoama tribes
may possibly belong. We shall go into this interesting topic in
the section which describes some of the linguistic aspects of the
Yanoama /see pp. 38 ff./.

Y The most recent information that we have regarding the
● 114 Casapare was submitted by the previously mentioned Capuchin
fathers, Armellada and Matallana (1942), by Gheerbrandt (1955),
and by Montoya (1958).

Y The expedition of the Capuchin fathers was undertaken in
114 1940 with the intention of completing a missionary report on
797 the river and its native population. They went out in search of
162 men, and their conclusion that the Paraguá, apart from being
a dangerous river and difficult to navigate, did not have large

Avake 555

/186 cont./ indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1942, p. 87) they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

/187/ This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history of the Yanoama. Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Pumpirí, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present volume only in the last decades. The marginal tribes, such as the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Uraricuera River starts.

According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail.

/187 cont./

105 The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guahariho (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced.". They obtain curiaras from the Mayongon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Ararikuera and Parima, to Boavista." They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

114 101 The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648 Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

Makiritare SS 20

M
Y
648 /190 cont./ scorn them, and, at first sight, they seemed to be unworried, but the knowledge that they no longer live alone in the land of their fathers, and the fact of having heard that four days prior to our arrival /191/ at the conuco an Indian who had sought refuge by climbing a tree was shot by a Sanemá arrow and fell lifeless into the river, constantly tortured them.

M
Y
582
563
177
648
M
[186] A powerful stimulus which always encouraged the Makiritare on their numerous trips was to get a wife among their neighbors of the same tribe. Nowadays, despite the intense scorn which the Makiritare profess toward the Yanoama, taking a wife from that tribe is not considered an impossible or degrading thing; there are many Yanoama women who have married Makiritare men (cf. Grelier, 1955b, p. 10). This matrimonial interchange inevitably carries with it an assimilation of cultures between the two tribes, a process in which the Makiritare cultural pattern will dominate that of the Yanoama and the Yanoama genes will infiltrate the Makiritare gene pool. There is not the least doubt but that the Sanemá, who were brought in for a short time, arrived at the upper Ventuari and Caura where they took up residence to stay, and that the present fusion between the Caribe and the Yanoama ought not to be explained so much by the good will of the former as by the vitality of the latter.

Y
167
563
177
648

Y
101 The Waica subtribe occupies the central part of the present Yanoama territory, that of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the mouth of the Ocamo, including also the southern bank of the river (Barker, 1953, p. 434). As we have already mentioned, they appear to live also in the general arc of the upper Rio Branco and its western tributaries, and Schuster (1958, p. 114) is very probably right when he says that the Sierra Parima does not bound the Waica zone, but that it extends to Brazilian territory.

Y
177
797 We have already mentioned the first contacts which the Whites had with the Waica, and, after a somewhat unfruitful effort by Hamilton Rice at the beginning of the present century, the Waica world went without contact with science until the New Tribes Mission was able to start peaceful relations with the Waica through the missionary James Paul Barker. Some ethnographic data were also published on this Yanoama subtribe by several

Y
● 114

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 114 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 128 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have considered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 192 The linguistic material which the author of the present work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 192 174 197 In order to classify this material within the different Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 197 174 126 127 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabularies were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956, pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

/194 cont./

174 197 101 Uraricuera and on the southern slopes of the Sierra de Parima;

b) Karime (or Shaufri), on the Catemany River in the same region;

c) Waika, who live on the upper Ocamo and Mocajahy, right tributaries of the upper Orinoco;

d) Pusirakidu, an unknown wild tribe which lives in the Sierra Parima.

174 197 [127] As we mentioned above, we are inclined to differentiate between Shirishana (Casapare) and Guaharibo (Sanemá), which would seem to be linguistically justified by the distance of 23-35 mc between them. Rivet bases his opinion, it would seem, on Koch-Grünberg's material (1928), which we have also used in our comparison. The Pusirakidu idiom (d), which also appears in Loukotka's classification (1944, pp. 8-9), is a completely unknown idiom and therefore does not figure in Mason's classification (1950, p. 254), which presented the following Shirishaná grouping:

SHIRISHANÁ

[101] A.--Waharibo (Guaharibo)

1. Shirianá

a) Waicá (Guaica, Uaica)

B.--Carimé (Karimé)

174 197 114 According to Mason, Shirianá and the less important Carimé are the principal idioms of the family. This observation is based upon Koch-Grünberg's material (1928, Shiriana), which was identified in our comparison as Casapare, and, as the greater separation of the Yanoama stock corresponds to that language, we must admit the value of Mason's opinion. Carimé does not figure in our classification.

Furthermore, Mason is of the opinion that the Waica idiom is, possibly, a dialect of Shirianá (Casapare), but, according to the glottochronological calculation, he does not seem to be on firm ground. The distance between the two idioms is 21 mc, which is much greater than a dialectal difference of 5-7 mc. Waica appears on the graph as closer to Sanemá (17-18mc). The opinion of /195/ many researchers that Shirianá (Casapare) and Waica are descended from the Guaharibo (Sanemá) seems to have some justification.

/195 cont./

174
197
● 114

McQuown (1955) classified the "Chirianan" family in the following way:

a) Guahariban with Chirianaa, Uaica and ? Guaharibo; b) Carime; c) Punaracau.

A more recent classification of the Yanoama family was made by Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137). By their internal distances the author just mentioned brought together the various Yanoama idioms in the following manner: Surara and Pakidai (Samatari), Waika, Karimé, Shirianá (Casapare), Warema (Sanemá, Pubmatari) (19).

19. The names in parenthesis were added by the present author.

Dall'Igna Rodrigues arrived at this result on the basis of a comparison of 40 words of the idioms mentioned and explains that the idioms of his list were arranged according to the relative distance between each one of them with respect to Surara and Pakidai. He also emphasizes the provisional nature of his result, somewhat different from those presented by Mason and McQuown.

It is interesting, however, to observe that the classification of Dall'Igna Rodrigues coincides in its details with ours. On adding the lexico-statistical data, the classification would read as follows:
Surará-Pakidai (Samatari) 8 mc > Waica; 21mc > Shirishaná (Casapare); 21-25 mc > Warema (Sanemá).

Two American linguists, Greenberg and Swadesh, recently broke with the tradition established by Rivet, W. Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason, and McQuown, according to which the Yanoama had no close affiliation with any other South American linguistic family.

Greenberg (1956) classifies the Shirianá as a distinct group in the "Chibchan proper" subfamily of the "Macro Chibchan" family. The Tunebo also belong to the same category.

Swadesh (1959, p. 20) established a Macro-Siriana, with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc) and

/195 cont./

114 174 197 Sirisana (21 mc). According to what Dr. Swadesh said to me personally, he also planned to include the Warao in Macro-Siriana, which would magnify the internal divergence of the group to 72 mc of a microphylum. I took some interest in this suggestion by Swadesh and tried to compare Warao with Yanoama, particularly with the more extensive vocabulary which I collected among the Sanemá.

I made two comparisons: a) that of the basic vocabularies, and b) that of all the possible pairs between the Sanemá vocabulary and the Warao /196/ dictionary by Barral (1957). The results of these comparisons can be expressed in the following manner: More than 20% of all the pairs compared seem to be related, a sufficiently high percentage to stimulate a more thorough linguistic study. The result of the preliminary glottochronological calculation gave a separation between the two idioms of 45 mc corresponding to 26% of common retentions.

I have the impression that that mathematical result tends to diminish and not to become greater as one goes further into his study. We also observed certain relationships between the Yanoama and the Ye /Ge/ of Brazil. But these are of a different nature and more distant than the cases considered between the Warao and Sanemá.

As we have already mentioned, there are certain indications that the Tunebo, Warao, Yanoama, and Ye idioms seem to have a common root in Chibcha and are linguistically more closely related among themselves than with the majority of South American idioms.

4: Wilbert--50 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Chibcha SC11 Sanema Warao SS18 Bari SS 13

/198/ Cariban Ind. SR7

Y
● 114
126
143

At the beginning of the year 1961 I had an opportunity, together with Dr. Layrisse, to visit the Waica of the upper Orinoco, where we went with the intention of taking blood samples of that group. We obtained 140 individual samples, which, in all probability, are representative for the Yanoama in general. We shall now report an interesting genetic discovery.

Y
143

The Waica showed a complete absence of the gene Diego (Di^a). As we reported before (Layrisse, Wilbert, 1960), the antigen Diego is an exclusively Mongoloid genetic marker, but, in spite of the fact that it occurs solely in populations called "Mongoloid," it does not appear in all of them. There are Diego-positive Mongoloids and Diego-negative Mongoloids. Gradual differences of frequency between one Mongoloid population and another have also been observed. Up to the present the scale of frequency varies between 0 and 50%.

4c
8
[143]

The Waica are one of the Diego-negative Mongoloid populations, and the tribes of South America in the same category are: the Tuñebo, Barí (Motilones Bravos), and Warao. Other groups with very low incidence could be included in this category also, since the low frequency they showed for the gene can be better explained by the crossing of a population originally negative with another one highly positive. A representative of the latter group is the tribe of the Yaruro.

Y
CI
143
197

During the six years of research on the Diego gene we made an observation which we consider to be of importance, which is: the various frequency groups of the Diego antigen correspond to different linguistic affinities. The most carefully studied case is that of the Caribe. We examined more than ten tribes and subtribes and they all show an average of 28% of the Di^a gene. In this case the Caribe linguistic affinity is indicatory for a positive incidence of the Di^a gene. It is understood, of course, that there is no causal relationship between these two facts and that its observation is not to be interpreted in the sense that we are trying to make a chromosome responsible for a given cultural trait. The two factors are essentially different, but their parallel appearance is an interesting fact.

262 /207 cont./
223
825 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear. The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for [514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground, [785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily" on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war" /see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy. [433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit, [527] and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social [114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48), Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion in greater detail, according to their observation of it among the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

4: Wilbert--72 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

114
342
516
291
142
302

The author with a group of Sanemá on the upper Ventuari.

501

Sanemá raft.

/223 cont./

776 The Great Jaguar has certain relations with Omao, the
793 deified hero of the Sanemá, since his name, "Omao-kóhe," indicates such a relationship, and it is possible perhaps to speak of a vocation for the office of priest, since the Sanemá Supreme Being admits him, after his encounter with the Great Jaguar, into the court of Omao.

793 According to South American ethnology, it is surprising
171 to find a "specialist" in a nomadic preagricultural society, but, as we shall state below, this is the second time that we have found a similar case in Venezuela; the other one was that of the Warao wiʃiráto.

793 The Sanema priest is a member of the court of Omao, not
776 only because the Great Jaguar changed him into a bat, but also
778 because Omao gave him a hikuladɛ which is invisible, although it has a spherical shape like a ball, and the larger the hikuladɛ, the more powerful the priest.

The hikuladɛ of the priest, the informant explained, is like a globe which the hɛwĩawán keeps in his chest. We shall also see later that the other religious practitioner of the Sanema has a hikuladɛ too, but one which is essentially different. We
793 have the impression that the hikuladɛ of the priest contains "the
778 souls" of the ancestors who were destined by Omao to live there
775 and help the priest. Since the data obtained are, in our opinion,
793 insufficient, we do not want to hazard peremptory statements,
778 but it seems certain that the Sanemá priest also cures the sick,
755 particularly those who are suffering from fever. Our informant
[114] explained to us that the ancestors (hikula-dĩb), the people of the
[775] hikuladɛ of the priest, are the ones who cure the fever when the priest brings the hikuladɛ out of his chest and deposits it for a time on the body of the patient.

Sometimes the desired effect is not attained, and that indicates that the soul of the /224/ victim has already abandoned the
793 body and does not want to return. The hʃkula therefore constitute
778 a sort of supernatural "little pueblo" /pueblecito/ within the
628 Sanemá community in which the priest lives and do not wish to have any communication with the kʃkula-dib /sic/ of the neighboring pueblo. The priests from nearby pueblos do not visit each

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS OF THE WAICA INDIANS OF VENEZUELA.[1]

MIGUEL LAYRISSE, ZULAY LAYRISSE, AND JOHANNES WILBERT

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

128 INTRODUCTION: For the purpose of the present paper we would like to classify the Waica as a subtribe of the Yanoama tribe, the ethnic identification and the internal composition of which appears to be but little understood. Although the actual blood group study will be concerned with the Waica Indians most particularly, we shall, nevertheless, include as well some information on the Yanoama tribe in general. This, we trust, will not only serve to locate the specific Waica data within a wider frame of reference, but also to facilitate the comprehension of the theoretical considerations based thereon.

131 *Ethnic identification.* The Yanoama inhabit a very extensive area between 0°30'-5° N and 62°-65° W, which includes the headwaters of the Paragua, Caura, Ventuari, Padamo, Ocamo, Mavaca, and Orinoco rivers of Venezuela, as well as those of the Uraricuera, Catrimani, Dimini, and Aratá rivers of Brazil. The Sierra Parima crosses this heavily forested territory like a vertebral column, so to speak, and marks at the same time the frontier between the Venezuelan and the Brazilian parts of the Yanoama land (see map, Fig. 1).

101 The Yanoama are surrounded by Tropical Forest Indians with Neo-Indian culture types; Cariban tribes enclose them in a semi-circle to the northeast, while Arawakan peoples bound them in a semicircle to the southwest. Thus, the Yanoama seem to have been functioning as a buffer between the Caribs and the Arawak, successfully resisting any attempt of intrusion by such groups as the Soto (Makiritare), the Pemon, and others. In recent years, after their Carib neighbours had suffered a marked decline in numbers and in strength, the Yanoama ventured northward into the Ventuari, Caura, and Paragua drainage area, intruding into Carib territory for more than 100 km.

114 Although sporadic and rather casual information on the several Yanoama groups have been published by various authors since early Colonial time, it is only

122 1 We wish to thank Dr A. Berti and Ovidio Castellani (División de Malariología, Ministerio de Sanidad, Venezuela) and the Misión Salesiana of the Territorio Federal Amazonas for their collaboration in collecting the blood samples. We are also indebted to Esperanza García for her technical assistance. We are greatly indebted to J. P. O'Riordan (The National Blood Transfusion Association, Dublin), M. Shapiro (The South African Blood Transfusion Service, Johannesburg), R. E. Rosenfeld (The Mount Sinai Hospital, New York), and Albin Moores (The Minneapolis Memorial Blood Bank, Minnesota) for supplying us with critical anti-sera.

St Layrisse et al. D,E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

since Koch-Grünberg's contact with two Yanoama groups, in 1911, that more substantial information on this interesting tribe has been collected and in parts been published.[2]

Emerging from these data are the names and descriptions of a number of distinguishable tribal units, e.g., Sanemá (Guaharibo, Shirishana), Casapare, Waica, Samatari, Surara, Pakidái, and others. It also has become quite obvious that the Yanoama subtribes are not unified by socio-political authority, but rather by a general and specific culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and culture variants, carried by the different subtribes and local groups respectively. The various local groups and subtribes occupy a coherent territory, they speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious forms.

Taken as a whole, the Yanoama were found to be a very numerous tribe and they belong, in fact, to the most numerous of all the autochtonous populations of lowland South America, but previously published figures of 30-50,000 individuals appear to represent very generous overestimations of the demographic strength of the Yanoama groups known so far.

Linguistic classification. Several authors have attempted a linguistic classification of the Yanoama although most of them did not have at their disposal the more recent material.[3] Taking advantage of this material, we have attempted a glottochronological analysis, the results of which allow us some interesting insight into the internal correlation of the Yanoama languages.[4]

According to this result, the several Yanoama languages, as known today, constitute the Yanoama linguistic stock of 6-35 mc of internal separation. The two more or less clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: *A. Sanemá:* (a) Sanemá, (b) Nabudíb, (c) Pubmatari, [6-17 mc of internal divergencies: Sanemá-Nabudíb = 6 mc, Sanemá-Pubmatari = 17 mc, Nabudíb-Pubmatari = 17 mc]; *B. Casapare:* (a) Casapare, (b) Carime (?), (c) Waica, (d) Samatari (Surara and Pakidái), [8-21 mc of internal divergencies, excepting Carime (for lack of vocabulary material): Casapare-Waica = 21 mc, Casapare-Samatari = 21 mc, Waica-Samatari = 8 mc].

2 Surara-Pakidái, by Becher, 1960; Waica, by Baker, 1953; Schuster, 1958; Zerries, 1955, 1956, 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1960; Sanemá, by Vinci, 1959; Wilbert, 1961a, 1961b.

3 Rivet, 1924, p. 678; Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9; Mason, 1950, p. 254; Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140; McQuown, 1955, p. 525; Greenberg, 1956; Swadesh, 1959, p. 20; Dall' Igna Rodrigues, 1960, pp. 136-137.

4 We are indebted to Dra H. Becher and O. Zerries for letting us have a basic vocabulary of Surara-Pakidái and Waica respectively. Complete information on source material has been presented by Wilbert, 1961a.

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shiriana" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriana*" with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirisana (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Siriana*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 493-498.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 20.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

StLaycime et al. D.R-8 (ca.1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Duffy: The Fy (a+) ranged in these tribes from 77% to 92%, which is the usual range found in Indian tribes. 143

Kidd: The gene Jk^a showed comparable results in Yaruro 49% and in Waica 56%. The Warao were not tested for this gene.

Diego: As was mentioned before, the Waica showed absence of the gene Di^a; the Warao had a negative frequency among the Winikina sub-tribe and 1.9% among the Guayo sub-tribe; the Yaruro showed five Diego-positive cases out of 102 samples, but four of them were derived from eleven samples taken from a single band. For reasons mentioned elsewhere, the authors suggested that the Warao as well as the Yaruro were originally Diego-negative, and that their low Di^a frequencies are due to admixture with neighboring tribes exhibiting a relatively high frequency of the gene.

Other Blood Groups

The tribes tested for Lutheran, Kell, and Lewis showed negative frequency for Lu^a, K, and Le^a, as is seen also in other Indian tribes with non-Indian admixture.

As can be gathered from these comparisons, it is mainly on the basis of the Di^a gene that we could establish a sharply contrasting difference between the Marginal tribes and other South American tribes tested so far (Goajiro 8%, Paraujano 10%, Mundurukú 12%, Guahibo 14%, Caingang 17-46%, Aymara 17%, Caribs [Cariña 29%, Pemon 28%, Yupa 27%]), etc. . .

DISCUSSION

In a previous section we have tried to indicate that the absence or a very low frequency of the Diego gene appears to coincide with a culture pattern typical for hunting, fishing and gathering tribes of South America. On several other occasions [19] it has been pointed out as well that there seems to exist a coincidence of certain levels of cultural developments with characteristic ranges of Diego frequencies, and that these frequencies tend to be quantitatively similar or identical between tribes of "genetic" linguistic affiliation, in the sense Greenberg [20] uses the term. For Venezuela we have, in particular, made mention of the low frequency or absence of the Diego gene among the Waica, Warao, and Yaruro who exhibit a Marginal or Paleo/Meso-Indian type of culture. 143 114 104

We have also indicated that this parallel occurrence of Diego gene distribution and the culture pattern of its bearers coincides to a certain extent with a similar

19 Layrisse and Wilbert, 1960.
20 Greenberg, 1957.

St Layrisse et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

classification, based on somatological and phenotypical characteristics of the American Indians as proposed by Coon, Garn, and Birdsell,[21] who distinguished between dolicephalic and somewhat mongoloid *Marginal American Indians*, and broader headed less mongoloid *Central American Indians. As a parallel and, of course, not as a causal phenomenon*, the cited authors (very much like the present authors) record that the *Marginal American Indians* include largely non-agricultural Indians of the Americas, while the latter are agricultural peoples of North and South America, especially of the central part. This observation receives substantial support from the recorded facts of the Diego gene distribution, and its importance for migration theory and culture history of South America may be significant. In the given frame of the present paper we shall restrict ourselves to the discussion of the importance of the absence of the Diego gene mainly among two Marginal tribes of Venezuela, the Waica and the Warao, trying to indicate a possible direction for future Diego research.[21a]

In a recent study, Canals Frau [22] observed that the oldest stratum of *Homo sapiens* in America was composed of five distinct racial types, i.e., the *Silvidos*, the *Sonóridos*, the *Láguidos*, the *Patagónidos*, and the *Huárpidos*, and that the last three were of South American distribution. It is interesting to recall in this connection that Canals Frau includes the Waica and the Piaroa in this antique stratum within which great phenotypical variation has been observed by Vinci, for the Yanoama, and by Baumgartner for the Piaroa.[23] It would seem that the actual occurrence of this variation in one and the same group could best be interpreted by fusion and interbreeding of the different racial types of Paleo-American Man.

Because of his early appearance, the culture of this Paleo-American Man will necessarily have been on a Paleo-Indian (hunters), and later Meso- Indian (fishermen) level of development.[24] Kirchhoff,[25] in referring to the hunting and fishing Marginals of Venezuela, observed that the "differences in subsistence are correlated with other cultural differences, indicating that there was not one basic culture type, but two, the Hunting Culture and the Fishing Culture;" that "Each in turn was divided into at least two subtypes," and that "Without further comparative research, it is impossible to say whether these subtypes were simply local variants of the two basic types or whether they too sprang from different origins."

21 Coon, Garn, and Birdsell, 1950.
21a Layrisse and Wilbert, 1961.
22 Canals Frau, 1959.
23 Vinci, 1936; Zerries, 1939; Baumgartner, 1954.
24 Cf. Rouse, 1960.
25 Kirchhoff, 1948, p. 445.

St.Layrisse et al. D.E-6 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

The most typical representative of the Hunters among modern Venezuelan Indians are the Yanoama, while the most typical example of a people of Fishermen culture can be seen in the Warao. It is interesting for the discussion of Kirchhoff's problem that Swadesh (personal communication) suggests a linguistic affiliation between Yanoaman and Waraoan; interesting, because it is generally accepted that "genetic" linguistic relationship is most likely to have biological significance, since the ancestors of the speakers of genetically related languages[26] once belonged to the same gene pool.

In following up Swadesh's suggestion, the present authors have compared (a) the basic vocabularies of Yanoaman and Waraoan, and (b) all available pairs of about 1000 Yanoama (Sanema) words with their equivalents in the Warao dictionary recently published by Barral.[27] As a result of this comparison, more than twenty percent of the total pairs compared appeared to be cognate; a percentage certainly high enough to encourage further research. A preliminary glottochronological calculation resulted in 45 mc of separation, which corresponds to twenty six percent of common retentions. Accepting this result as a strong *prima facie* case, it would suggest that the *Yanoama* and *Warao* originally united, separated from each other some 4,500 years ago.[28]

If we compare the blood group phenotype frequencies found in these two tribes, we see that only the frequencies at Diego are very similar, whereas MN, Rh, and Duffy showed statistically significant variations. It is generally accepted that significant differences of gene frequencies in two populations are indicative of different origin, but in comparing small isolated populations, such as most Indian tribes, this statement may not be applicable without allowing for certain restrictions. The gene frequencies in these populations may, for instance, reflect the fortuitous results of gene drift, since in a population with an effective size of 200, an allele would require a selective advantage of 0.01 to avoid the action of drift.[29]

In our case, we are comparing the gene frequencies of blood groups, the majority of which have, until now, been considered to be of neutral selective value. Although the Waica and the Warao belong to the most numerous Indian tribes of Venezuela and lowland South America (8-10,000), they have been living in smaller isolated groups which might have favored the production of gene drift. On this basis, then, one could consider gene drift as the most probable explanation for the phenotype differences of the Rh, MN, and Duffy systems, especially, if we take into consideration a possible 4,500 years lapse of time since their separation.

26 Greenberg, 1953.
27 Barral, 1957.
28 Wilbert, 1961b.
29 Glass, Sacks, Jahn, and Hsu, 1952.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

133 the forest lands, and their tops are so high and so difficult of access that this has helped to preserve a biological world completely distinct not only from that of the surrounding lowlands of the Caroni, Paragua, Caura, and Orinoco valleys but also from that common to all other valleys in the American
● [114] continent. A few decades ago, when the aeroplane first enabled us to study these regions and their geological peculiarities, some observers proceeded to formulate wild theories which aroused more legitimate emotions in the breasts of explorers and scientists.

The formation of sandstone and conglomerate which overlays the original basic rock of this region to a depth of 2,500 metres was eroded almost completely on the periphery of these uplands, leaving the great flat-topped mountains isolated. This geological phenomenon began in the Secondary Era, when the plant and animal life on our planet was appreciably different from what it is today. The process of erosion continued right down to the ancient granite crust, while on the uplands flora and fauna continued as hitherto, restricted now to their new isolation. Communication between the heights and the plain became impossible. The pressure at 2,500 metres is very different from what it is at four hundred, and creates peculiar physiological changes in the organisms that adapt themselves to it.

13 It seemed possible that the flat tops of these mountains, which from the air
114 appeared to be covered with bush, would not only reveal unknown vegetable species but also animals which scientists believed to be extinct. Perhaps certain monsters from the Mesozoic age—the Saurians, it might be, the inspiration of so many fantasies—still lived and pastured in deep chasms scooped out by the waters of ages. Speculation wove many a scientific fantasy.

In reality, the monsters remained well and truly buried in their geological strata and no mountain could preserve forms of life surviving through a radical
137 change of atmospheric and geological conditions. What did come as a surprise, however, on these mountains—and the Sarisariñama itself proved the point—was an entirely individual flora: orchids, epiphytes, bromeliads and lianas of hitherto unknown types, which are likely to keep botanical students busy for a long time all over the world.

136 The usual fly-catchers, merry little birds I had already known closely on other high Guiana mountains, came to greet us. Never having seen animals bigger than themselves, these birds took us for strange trees with two big humid flowers distilling honey at the top: our eyes. First one of them came

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

Aracosa. There was something about the ring of the name. At last I pinned it down. I had seen it in an account of the journeys made by a certain Theodor Koch-Grünberg—a German who from 1911 to 1913 made a long trip from the Roraima savannah to the Upper Orinoco. He left a record of it in a famous five-volume work—a worthy monument to his venture. In Makiritari, *aracosa* means 'gun': it is a corruption of the old Spanish word *aracabuso*—arquebus. Koch-Grünberg had reached its mouth, and it was here that he made his first contact with the Shirians. Unfortunately he was unable to keep in touch with them for any length of time and only visited the isolated elements he met with in the course of his journey.

This German explorer naturally made the expedition in the company of Makushi and Makiritari Indians, who live in holy terror of the tribes they call Guaharibo. Their fear may not always be justified, for a good many Guaharibo have now settled down to a mild and perfectly harmless way of life. But they still arouse a rancorous contempt in other tribes. Koch-Grünberg returned to the same region eleven years later, when he made the journey up the Rio Branco, irresistibly drawn towards these people whom he could not understand and whom he described in his book as forming an '*isolierte Gruppe*'—an isolated group, with no affinities to other races. But at the very gateway of their world he died of fever, and his expedition (which had been organized by Hamilton-Rice) after losing its chief, packed its bags and turned south again.

VI

We left for the Samatari country on March 16th, accompanied by Uarema, Sempronio, and Hashimo, the latter's fee as guide being nothing less than my own fur jacket. Caio, for some inexplicable reason, had quietly declined to come with us. We embarked in a canoe acquired from Pancho's father, and in this swift, light craft we made easy progress up the flooded Merevari.

Heavy rain set in, for whole days at a time. Progress slowed down. The Indians grew weary and there was no more singing and laughter from them. The second evening out, when we had slung our hammocks in a hut we had made on an earlier trip, Luis Antonio told us that his brother wanted to quit: there was not enough cassava—we had brought about twenty pounds.

'You had time to prepare as much as you wanted,' I answered him shortly,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 always filled me with pride. By setting about it in the right way we can always manage to make ourselves acceptable to our superiors, but no such effort will ensure the same result with people more lowly placed than we are: for this, the all-important thing is to possess a natural bent, a certain humility of spirit and a sympathetic understanding. One must possess the faculty of becoming, up to a certain point, 'primitive' oneself, adopting all the healthiest attributes of the primitive state, without at the same time losing one's own value as a civilized being: one must be primitive and something more—not just the 'something more' alone, which rather amounts to something less.

114 It often happens that scientific expeditions, or explorers of one sort or another, venture into regions inhabited by primitive men with the intention of studying them. They approach them with all the preconceived and presumptuous notions of men who have read up all there is on the subject, and every single human being who shows up on the river-bank becomes a savage and must be catalogued like a butterfly. Thus the Shirians in all their slightly different types and sub-divisions are all called 'Guaharibos'—a name which means nothing and which the Shirians themselves have never heard. These scientific explorers may indeed take measurements of their faces and calculate the number of red corpuscles in their blood: the Shirians remain Sanemà for all that—people living in their own forest land, fighting their battles for their own special reasons, but ready to become men just like any others—because with a completeness and a simplicity that surpasses our own, they are men already. But scientific records lump the Sanemà and the Soto together under the barbarian headings of Guaharibo and Magnungòn, both contemptuous epithets, and humanity learns nothing from these explorers with their solar topees, who have scarcely got back to civilization after spending a few months in the forest and learning all there is to be known about the savages before they start writing books about it. If these books could be read and understood by the primitive people they treat with, the authors would be rewarded with a volley of arrows.

[101]

VII

123 Living improved considerably and there was meat now in abundance: the banks of the Uraricoera were full of game. The best cuts were reserved for us,

[136]

/433/ Memoir on the Culture of the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

● 114 * The author of this work is a missionary of a North American mission, the "New Tribes Mission," who has lived for several years among the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. Without presuming to be an ethnologist, Mr. Barker has prepared this report containing his observations, and, having kindly sent it to the Ministro de Justicia for his information and for publication, the Comisión Indigenista has accepted it for these pages of the Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, considering its importance as firsthand information concerning a remote tribe scarcely studied up to now. Direct observations made over a period of several years, such as those revealed to us by Mr. Barker in a simple and objective fashion, are of positive utility for
[128] ethnologists and ethnographers. In the translation of the original from English to Spanish, we tried to adhere as closely as possible to the words and expressions of the author himself, without having recourse to technical terms. -- (Note by the translator, Walter
HDO Dupouy.) /It is to be noted that Mr. Dupouy was the original translater from the English to Spanish, but not the HRAF translator from the Spanish to English./

121 Most of the data included in this memoir are the result of my own observations. Observations made by other members of the staff of the "New Tribes" Mission, who have also collaborated, are included as well. They are: Mr. Edwin Killam and his wife,

/434 cont./

197 101 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 197 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted [248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they cultivate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton hammocks [352] and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version [342] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos [484] with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 192 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/ [114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 628 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/435 cont./
126 628 rancherias. For anyone who might be preparing to travel or work in Guaika territory, these relations can be as important as the geographical location of the settlements. If a group of Guaika should be engaged to carry out certain tasks, they might be inclined to work well in certain areas, but doubtless would refuse to enter areas inhabited by their enemies.

126 /436/ On the map of the whole area inhabited by the Guaika and Guajaribo, I have tried to show the approximate limits of the two tribes. The areas which are shaded on the said map correspond to the zones where we have had contact with these tribes on several occasions. The settlements whose names appear underlined, that is to say, El Platanal and Ioeitedi, are native rancherias where we have lived and worked for long periods of time. These settlements continue to be our principal bases of operation.

[114]

103 The native names of the principal rivers are as follows:

Orinoco River	Majekodo-ko
Cunucunuma River	Ami-ko
Padamo River	Jaiyama-ko
Metacuni River	Wakawaka-ko
Ocamo River	Kia-ko
Mavaca River	Wachewa-ko
Manavichi River	Mata-ko

The native name of the Raudal de Guajaribos /Guaharibo Torrent/ is Kalebakbola.

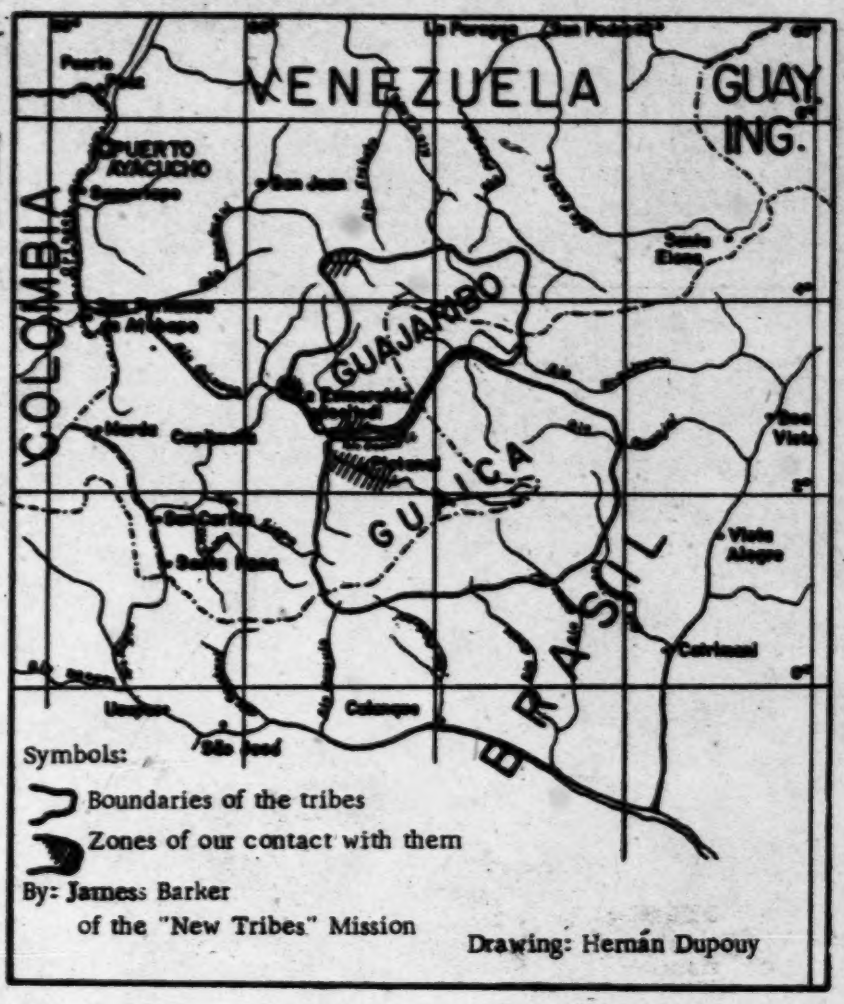
I have not been able to discover even one name for the hill of Guaiaribo, but the most important peaks, starting below and going up the river, are: Wanidi-mak, Yabitao-mak, Kacholaoa-mak, and Wadubaoa-mak.

Geography

361 A few Guaika /Waica/ settlements are located along the principal rivers and are accessible by means of small boats or canoes with outboard motors. Nevertheless, most of the Guaika settlements are inland and can only be reached after one or more days of travel.

7: Barker--6 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

102
101
131
133
114
361



Waica
Guahariho

/437 cont./

Population -- 1953

361 It is known that there are about 23 Guaika /Waica/ settlements between the Orinoco and the Ocamo rivers and in the region of the Brazilian frontier to the north of the Orinoco River.

/438/ It is known that there are at least 28 other Guaika settlements to the south of the Orinoco River.

103 162 The approximate population of the Guaika settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Majekodotedi (Platanal).	100	Kacholaotedi	100
Bichaasatedi	100	Boleitaotedi	100
Lajalaowatedi	100	Patanaotedi	120
Yabitaotedi	75	Chibardiatedi	60

361 At least eight Guajaribo settlements are known to exist in the region of the Ocamo and Lower Padamo rivers. It is known that there are others on the Upper Padamo, a few others on the Ventuari River, and still others on the Upper Caura (also called the Merevari River).

103 162 The approximate population of the Guajaribo settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

● [114]

Ioeitedi	60
Wakawakatedi	100
Kwaisitedi	100

162 The population of El Platanal can be divided by age and sex approximately as follows:

	Men	Women	Total
Great-grandparents	0	1	1
Grandparents	6	6	12
Parents	8	15	23
Newlyweds (childless)	5	6	11
Unmarried adolescents and children	33	21	54
	52	49	101

/457 cont./

323 the fire quite blackened when well baked. On my last trip up-
• [114] river I had the good luck to see how one of these pots was made, except for the baking in the fire. In spite of being very fragile, these pots are highly esteemed for cooking.

Constructions

342
335 The Guaika /Waica/ dwelling is a roof with only one slope and no walls. The basic structure is a triangle of beams supported at its vertices by uprights. The highest angle is supported by a long upright, while the two lower angles are held up by two short crossed stakes at each corner. Or one of these lower corners might be fixed to a living tree for greater stability.

The uprights are pointed at their lower end and stuck into the ground repeatedly until they are quite firm. Then the main beam, or bearing beam, is tied in place horizontally between the short uprights on which the roof is supported. Then the two diagonal beams which form a triangle with the main beam are put in place, and on this basic triangle are added four beams inclined toward both sides. Then the small beams which form the framework which will bear the leaves are put on top. (Fig. 3./see p. 29/.)

342
[824] The leaves are placed on top like tiles, but are not tied in place. Brush /breñas/ and sticks are put over the leaves so that the wind will not blow them off. Sometimes palm leaves and brush are drawn up against the back eaves so as to form a sort of back wall. /458/ /[illegible]/Fig. 3 appears here./

This basic structure may vary, two or more ranchos being joined laterally and their roofs united.

On sites more suitable for more stable constructions (that is to say, where there is considerable clayey ground and consequently fewer fleas or "niguas"), the Guaika build dwellings with the palm leaves of the roof fixed in place. These dwellings are similar to the more temporary constructions, but are generally larger, and the small beams of the framework are replaced by strings of vine stretched lengthwise across the inclined beams. The palm leaves are fixed to these strings, their stems being bent backwards and down, thus piercing the lower layer of leaves.

/487 cont./

804 They determine measures by comparing one thing with another. Thus, a man lies down on the ground to determine the distance which separates the posts which he is going to plant for setting up his hammock. In the same way the Indian measures the size of his belt by means of a string before making himself a woven cotton belt of the same length as that obtained with the string.

Weights are determined by lifting the object and mentally comparing its weight with that of other objects which have been lifted previously.

805 Time Reckoning

The Guaika /Waica/ divide the solar day as follows: morning, while the sun rises; the period of midday, while the sun is high in the heavens; afternoon, until the rapid setting of the sun; and night. A more precise time of day is indicated by pointing to where the sun is at the moment, where it was, or where it will be when a certain event will occur.

A period of time is correlated approximately with the distance that can be covered during this time. For example, they say: "We shall arrive at the house when the sun reaches that height (and they point to it)." Or they would say: "He will be back in the time that it would take you to go from here to the river."

The Guaika do keep count of the days. They count the weeks by the phases of the moon. They also count the lunar months. The seasons of the year are reckoned according to the cycle of the fruits. A year is the time that passed between two similar harvests.

Birth

● 114 This part of my essay has been kindly written for me by Mr. Edwin Killam, to whom we must express our thanks for his esteemed collaboration.

/151/

Raids among the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

● 114

* Mr. James Barker has prepared this work as a result of his many years with the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. In this Boletín (Year I, Vol. I, Caracas, June-December, 1953, Nos. 3-4, pp. 433-489 /see 7: Barker, this file/) he presented a report of his observations under the title of "Memoria sobre la cultura Guaika /Memoir on the Culture of the Waica/." The present work is the result of his observations, which, revealed in an objective and simple manner, are of positive value for ethnologists and ethnographers.

121 I have been asked for more information about the raid. As I am not sure of which one I am asked about, I will tell about several, especially those about which I have quite detailed information.

574 628 In February of 1951 the aldea of Liacoatjeti invited the aldea of Bisheasetjeti to a Pijiguao or palm festival. The men of Liacoatjeti had gone on a special hunt to get a supply of meat. There was to have been an abundance of every type of food. There were to have been special dances, the taking of yopo, and other things which they do on such festive occasions.

574 628 721 But the invitation was a trick which those of Liatcoatjeti /sic/ had planned in order to be able to kill, if possible, all of the men of Bisheasetjeti and capture their women. Batanoetjeti and other aldeas which were enemies of Bisheasetjeti were invited to hide outside of the aldea and shoot at any man who tried to get away. Since they did not need to feed anybody, the Liacoatjeti did not bother to go hunting.

/156 cont./

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

[302] [574] [822] [412] [361]

166 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called
361 "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could
721 live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at
361 their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was
[114] calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

[226] [411] [857]

/158 cont./

726 That night some of our missionaries were camped outside in a
● 114 casa abierta /"open house"/. Suddenly they were awakened by
a group of Yanomama men, who were standing and looking at
our missionaries, without saying anything. They all were painted
[302] black, as though to make it impossible to recognize them by
the light of the evening, or in the lesser light of the night.
Finally the silence was broken, and the men of Majecototjeti
told them that they were looking for the raiders who had killed
the man and the boy and had carried off the four women. Our
people had seen nothing of the raiders and were enormously sur-
prised at the news.

726 The following morning the men went to the place of the
attack and brought the arrows which were there. They did not
bring back the complete arrows, but only the ends with the feathers.
The arrows were not cut, but burned in two. The poisoned
points were brought also. The men carefully examined the arrows
and tried to make out from what aldea the raiders had come.
The arrows looked like those of the Liacoatjeti, but they had
seen a machete in that place, and who could imagine a
Liacoatjeti leaving a machete, even in a moment of danger.

There was also a rumor that a bark canoe had been found
some distance down the river. Probably the Shibaatía-tjeti had
crossed the river in this canoe. (This rumor later turned out
to be false.)

A search was carried out in a large circle in every direction
to try to find out what direction the raiders had taken. Finally
the track was found, and the Liacoatjeti were then recognized
as the raiders, and they had come from the south. Their path had
been made so as to cover the tracks, leaving the formation one
by one and reassembling farther on.

721 The Majecototjeti planned, in turn, a raid of /159/ re-
venge. First a banquet was held with tapir meat and cassava to
eat with the meat. A day or so later the men marched off on a
raid of revenge against the Liacoatjeti. The Majecototjeti had
gone off two weeks before, but had not found the Liacoatjeti in
their houses.

727 "Jolocoiue," a boy with a broken leg who had stayed with
[123] us, asked us to pray to God to send "Etemi" (one of the abducted
women) home safe and sound.

/159 cont./

727 women) home safe and sound. A few days after the Majecototjeti returned from their attempted raid, "Etemi" returned. When she returned, the whole aldea went back to the north bank of the Orinoco River, in case they were being followed.

She told how it was that she had had a chance to walk in front of an old woman, and, getting somewhat out in front along the way, she was able to get off the path without being seen and had returned.

We marveled at our little faith. Why had we not prayed to God to bring them all back?

721 The chief repeatedly called meetings for raids to get revenge on the Liatcoatjeti. Usually the aldeas of Bisheasetjeti
[628] and Macolimutjeti accompanied the Majecototjeti on their raids. Our missionaries and some of the believers and the Yanomama prayed together that the raiders would not kill anybody or lose any of their own. Once they did not find anybody in the houses. Another time they became lost and for lack of food had to return home. Another time the whole group was so sick that they had to return, having covered only a few days of travel from their point
721 of departure. When a Yanomama aldea or several aldeas are about to
726 to go on a raid, they hold an impressive ceremony. They make one or several effigies which represent the enemy. Then a simulated raid is acted out, in which these effigies are wounded, broken in two, and then thrown down. If the enemy is far away, they can do this at home and several times on the way to the enemy. Sometimes the simulated raid is carried to the point of dividing the group into two parts: one group which shoots at the effigies and then escapes (flees) with several girls from the aldea; the other group comes along a little later, /160/ finds that the women are gone, and pursues the raiders until it finds them hidden, sometimes out in the forest, with the girls. When the raiders are found, each one gives a loud war-cry and the ceremony ends.

● 114
721 In December of 1954 all our missionaries went down the river for our field conference, leaving the Frobenius expedition alone in Platanal. One night a man from Shibaatfa-tjeti slipped

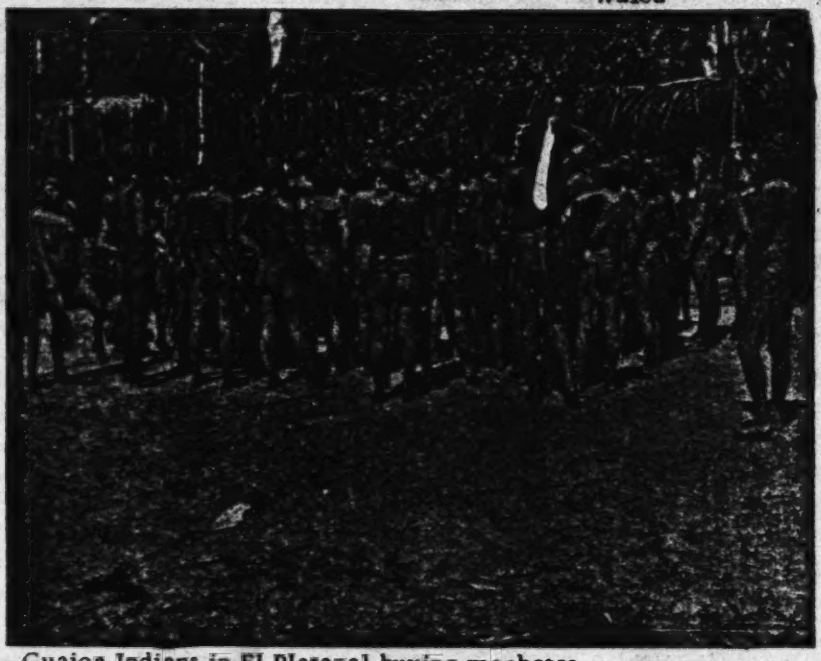
/160 cont./
114 into the aldea of Platanal and shot at one of the men. His shot
721 wounded "Lublo-juu" in the thigh. Nevertheless, since he recovered, there was no gathering for a raid. The men of the Frobenius expedition treated his leg and prevented complications, since the wound was quite deep.

574
628 At the beginning of February 1955 the Macolimutjeti and the Bisheasetjeti were invited to a Pijiguao or palm (Peach) festival among the Majecototjeti. The Macolimutjeti all came, men, women, and children. But the Bisheasetjeti were somewhat afraid. The Majecototjeti had been somewhat friendly with the Batanoatjeti, bitter enemies of the Bisheasetjeti, and the Bisheasetjeti feared a trick. (Years before, in 1951, they had been tricked by the Liacoatitjeti.) But so as not to show their bad faith, the men came (or at least a few of them), but none of the women, in order thus to reduce the "desirability" of a trick to steal them.

926 In March of 1955 the men of Platanal had gone for a new attempt at a raid, leaving the rest of the people in the principal aldea, located to the north of the Orinoco. One day, when /illustration appears here/ /161/ all of them except the lame boy were out of the aldea, the Shibaatía-tjeti returned. They found "Joashimocaoue," who was returning from the farm at the head of the others who had gone to take advantage of the Pijiguao, or palm festival. The raiders shot him twice in the back, since he ran toward the refuge of the aldea. He was wounded by one bamboo point, not deeply, and by one point poisoned with curare, which caused a rather deep wound. In the aldea he told the lame
[123] boy to hide himself from the raiders who had killed him, and then, finding no help in the aldea, he ran to our house, about 200 to 300 meters away.

8: Barker--16 M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

291
439



Guaica Indians in El Platanal buying machetes.

114
291
516
302
142

A group of Guaica natives surrounding James Barker.

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

133

Cerro Yapacana dominates the river from a distance of almost a mile. (*Photograph by J. Grolier*)

114

Our three "lanchas" lashed together tow a retinue of *curiaras*. (*Photograph by J. Grolier*)

Raymond Pélégri aboard the radio-pirogue. (*Photograph by J. Grolier*)

[p. 80 - D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

supple wood and well over six feet long, it is very powerful. With it the Waïka can shoot an arrow more than a hundred yards and can hit a *paujil*—a bird about the size of a turkey—at forty yards. Normally two or three arrows are carried and they are as long as, if not longer than, the bow itself. The shafts are made of reed which, Cardona said, is specially grown for the purpose on their plantations, and are feathered by falcon's feathers. The feathers are meticulously tied in a near-perfect spiral with thread of forest cotton or morisco palm fibre. Each arrow has a different head specially adapted to a particular purpose. Spare arrow-heads are carried in a quiver in which also is carried fire-making material to protect it from the damp.

The quiver is a simple bamboo case to which are also tied a firestick and a number of little knives made from the incisors of a large rodent called a capybara. It is carried on the back by means of a string slung round the forehead.

Such comprise the simple impedimenta of the Waïka on his journeys through the forest. The women, who accompany their mates on their many ceaseless wanderings, presumably have their own burdens to carry, but we saw nothing of them until we visited our first native village on the next day.

As we went up-river we came across the remains of a rude bridge which had formerly spanned the two hundred yards of river and which had been carried away by the flood waters. It was the biggest bridge we had seen although we had passed a number of lesser ones fashioned of lianas spanning the tributaries. On the bank where the bridge had been were some twenty natives and a handful of children.

"*Apo! Shori! Apo!*" they greeted us.

We knew from Butrón that, though his men were accustomed to replenish their banana stocks at this place, they had so far never been allowed to visit the village hidden somewhere in the forest.

The Waïka lives on wild fruits, fish, meat and the produce of plantations adjacent to his villages. Most of his time he spends wandering in the forest and his fleeting appearances at his village occur usually only when natural resources fail or when he has to defend himself against an enemy horde. He knows

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

I tried to take some photographs of them, but they cowered back behind each other, clucking like frightened chickens, and the men gestured to me to stop. One of them, a one-eyed old man, despatched a stream of spittle from his quid into my face.

"*Shori! Noji!*" I protested, and laughed. I got out my comb and combed my hair and beard. He came over and examined the comb and my hair and stroked my beard. Then he, too, laughed.

"*Shori!*" he repeated.

I set about combing his crown of short bristly hair. He laughed louder and spat heartily. I slipped my arm round his shoulders and placed the view-finder of my camera against his good eye. He groaned and hopped from one foot to another, and I pressed the release. Then he laughed again and allowed himself to be photographed but he would not allow me to take pictures of the women until we had made further gifts of knives.

In the missionaries' hut, which was identical with the others, we saw the beginnings of the first Waïka dictionary. While we were there a native came up and led me to a hut where his wife was suckling a few-week's-old baby. The baby's two-year-old brother was playing in the dust with two mangy dogs as thin as a skeleton and of no recognizable breed. The child's body was covered with scabs about the size of threepenny bits. Quite obviously the father expected me to do something about the affliction, and I made up my mind to give Barker some tubes of sulphonamide. Barker told me that infant mortality was high among the Waïkas, adding that he had never known a child to be born or to die within the village enclosure. Since the sojourns of these people within the village were invariably brief, birth and death invariably occurred in the course of their peregrinations.

The men and youths all had deep scars on their scalps, made the more conspicuous by their shaven crowns. In answer to our inquiries we were told in gestures that these came from some sort of stick or club, but whether in battle or ritual, we could not discover. (The following year King Leopoid II's expedition to the same area saw similar long head-scars among Waïka women.)

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

121 The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yąnomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data
• 114 covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the
124 field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yąnomamö in their language.

162 Census data on five Yąnomamö villages are presented
847 to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage
595 of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is compli-
834 cated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos
721 and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter-
182 village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

* 621 The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the
613 basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal
578 descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves
562 to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal
000 descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii]

[Introductory, P. iii]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS[1]

OOO I am indebted to a number of the faculty members of the Anthropology Department for their guidance, counsel and personal attention during the course of my undergraduate and graduate program. In particular, I wish to express my gratitude to Professors Mervin J. Meggitt, Marshall D. Sahlins, Elman R. Service, Leslie A. White, and Eric R. [redacted] all they have done to assist me in planning and carrying out my curriculum and field work. Whatever may prove to be of worth in this dissertation derives ultimately from the training I received from them.

I owe special thanks to Dr. Robert L. Carneiro and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole for assisting me in particular phases of my field preparations and for the innumerable personal kindnesses they showed me before, during and after my field work among the Yanomamö.

• 114 122 During the seventeen months I spent in Venezuela planning and conducting my field work, a large number of people rendered me invaluable assistance. I wish to express my gratitude to the Staff of the Venezuelan Air Force Transport Group No. 6 for transporting me and my equipment into

[122] [1]This investigation was supported in part by a Public Health Service Predoctoral Fellowship F1 MH-25, 052, and an attached Research Grant NH 10575-01 BEH R04 from the National Institute of Mental Health.

114 and out of the Federal Territory of Amazonas, and to
122 Commander Dr. David Capriles of the Medical Section for assisting me in making these arrangements. I also wish to thank Dr. Armando Caballín T. of the Amazonas District of the Venezuelan Malaria Control Service (Malarialogía) for generously placing the facilities of that organization at my disposal, and for arranging the purchase and transportation of many of my supplies.

I am personally indebted to Dr. Marcel Roche, Director of the Venezuelan Institute of Scientific Research (I.V.I.C.), and to Dr. Miguel Layrisse, Chairman of the Physiopathology Department of that institute, for their cooperation in and assistance to my field work.

122 A number of Missionaries gave me invaluable assistance in the Yąnomamö language and generously placed the resources of their missions at my disposal. I particularly wish to thank Mr. James P. Barker and Mr. Cecil Neese of the New Tribes Mission, and Padre Luiz Cocco and Padre José Berno of the Salesian Mission for their generous aid.

116 I thank Kąobäwä, headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for
126 his assistance and cooperation in the collection of some of the genealogical data; without his aid my data would have serious gaps.

I wish to thank Dr. James V. Neel, Chairman of the Department of Human Genetics at the University of Michigan, for encouraging and personally supporting my field work, and for generously making departmental office space available

124 omissions in ascending generations. The genealogies of
128 individuals from other villages were easier to collect, particularly if my informants had grudges against the members of those villages, but I employed the same techniques in these cases as well.

124 After I had established the genealogical relationships, I visited the various villages to make estimates of the ages of the individuals, as well as to collect other
124 kinds of information. This was always a touchy business, as
123 the Yąnomamö resent being called by their names, particularly
551 older and more influential individuals. Occasionally I would
554 say the name of an individual who had recently been killed in
769 a raid; this always resulted in an unpleasant and possibly dangerous situation, as most of them were unable to understand why a complete stranger should want to possess such knowledge unless it were for harmful magical purposes. My guides were constantly reminding me not to mention the names of dead people of the villages I visited and of the disastrous consequences that would follow should I fail to heed this advice.

124 In short, the collection of the genealogies was an unpleasant, full-time task and left very little time for intensive study of other aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

114 The two monographs dealing with the Yąnomamö mentioned above are quite superficial in their treatment of social organization; to date no intensive analysis of Yąnomamö social organization has been attempted using data

similar to that presented here, and I regard my own efforts in this area as supplemental to the generally excellent ethnographic work of Zerries (1964) and Schuster (1958). Without genealogical data it is not possible to estimate the degree to which marriage practices deviate from stated preference, nor to grasp the importance of these deviant cases in Yąnomamö politics.

The histories of the five villages are equally important, as they illustrate the role of warfare in determining settlement pattern, the development of political ties between villages, and the process of village splitting. These factors provide the matrix within which the genealogical data become meaningful.

Piecing together the history of these groups of villages proved to be a difficult task. The geographical area under discussion is unexplored and unmapped. Not even major rivers are accurately known in their upper courses, so that of two published versions of the Siapa River I have had to choose the one most consistent with the account given to me by the Indians. The major problem in this regard has been the identification of a large river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u, whose headwaters lie near the source of the Orinoco River. According to my Yąnomamö informants (people who have either lived on this river or have visited or raided villages located on it), the Shukumöna-u, in its middle course, is nearly as large as the Orinoco at its junction with the Mavaca River. It flows in a westerly

direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of mountains. At a few points the Shukumõna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extending nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the Indians claim the Shukumõna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the Shukumõna-u of the Yąnomamõ. I have used more recent maps, also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

In reconstructing the history of the village movements, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimõwi-bora in Yąnomamõ) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karãbã-bora in Yąnomamõ) near the present village of Kashorawã-tedi.

I employed three sources of information to locate present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages I personally visited. Second, information from James P.

175 Karawatari's village.
648
[726] The raiders attacked the foreigners at dawn but were driven off by gunfire; a number of the Indians were killed, among them a man called Hokohenawä, and some of the foreigners were allegedly hit with arrows. The Indians managed to capture a young girl, taking her back to Karawatari's village on the Shukumöna-u. Shortly after arriving at Karawatari's village, the abductors were in turn raided by another Shamatari village, then on the Upper Mavaca River under the leadership of Matakuwä, one of the two "original" Shamatari men. Karawatari's group had split from Matakuwä's group and was on hostile terms with it. The girl was taken by Matakuwä's men on this raid and brought to the Mavaca River. Matakuwä's village was on a branch of the Mavaca River called Kedebaböwei-u when Nabäyoma was abducted from Karawatari's
• [114] group. Zerries (1964:14) gives 1934 as the date of the abduction of Nabäyoma, whereas Seitz (1963:21) places it a little earlier.

[593] In Matakuwä's village, Nabäyoma was given to Yoyonahi's
[952] son; he shot her with a barbed arrow for disobeying him and the girl fled into the woods to nurse her wound. At this time Matakuwä's group was on friendly terms with the residents of Patanowä-täka (who are now living in three distinct villages and constitute the groups from whom most of my data were
* [28] taken). On one of their visits, the residents of Patanowä-
[594] täka found Nabäyoma in the woods outside Matakuwä's village and took her home with them when they left after visiting.

what happened. The later descriptions obtained from much older informants were virtually identical with those I originally recorded from the younger informants. I believe, accordingly, that the accounts of the time period antecedent to the life-span of even my oldest informants are accurate in so far as their major features are concerned.

That the histories are filled with treachery, great violence, and much bloodshed will be apparent. The nature of Yąnomamö warfare, however, has not changed. It was being conducted as vigorously and in similar ways in 1964-1966 while I conducted my field-work.

CHAPTER I

YąNOMAMÖ CULTURE AND EARLIER ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK[1]

101

A. Yąnomamö Culture

The Yąnomamö are discussed in the literature under such tribal designations as Guaica, Waika, Guaharibo, Maku, Sohiriana, Xiriana, Kirischana, Shidishana, Shamatari, Sanema, and Yanoama. Most of the terms are derogatory names applied to the Yąnomamö by their neighbors and characterize the people as being monkey-like or as savages.[2]

[114] In the upper Orinoco and the Mavaca basin where I conducted my field work, the Indians referred to themselves as Yąnomamö, which at once defines their mode of life, language, origin, and includes all people who share this mode of life, language and origin. All non-Yąnomamö are collectively

---

[114] [1]As there are very few reliable English sources describing Yąnomamö social organization and culture, I give a brief description of them here. The best source in English to date is Zerries' 1955 publication, but it deals only with particular traits of Yąnomamö culture.

[128] [94] [104] [2]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized on every syllable, but for ease of typing this manuscript, I have not indicated all the nasalization. The vowel /-ą-/ is written /-ö-/. I have written the /- ə -/ as "-ë-" and have indicated nasalization by /-,-/; whenever a Yąnomamö word has one nasalized syllable, all syllables in that word are nasalized.

101 Zerries (1964:19) has included the groups I studied in the Shamatari classification on the basis of information taken from Mahekodotedi informants. The members of these groups, however, deny the Shamatari identity and distinguish themselves from their southern neighbors, some of whom visit them regularly and are married into their villages.

101 361 [103] [951] The Shamatari,[1] according to my Bisaasi-tedi informants, take their name from one of the headmen, Kayabawë ("big tree"), who lived north of the Orinoco River in a village then [951] called Shǐhowë-tedi. Kayabawë was an unusually corpulent man and bore a second name, Shamatari, derived from their word (Shama) for the tapir, a large ungulate found throughout [103] tropical South America. Shamatari, when Shǐhowë-tedi split, led his faction south of the Orinoco River and settled in the headwaters of the river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u (see above), where his village became known as Mokayëaba-tedi. Other villages, related to Shǐowë-tedi, moved into the Shukumöna River and Havaca River basins after Shamatari's village was established, ultimately spreading as far southwest as the Cauabury headwaters in Brazil. The 101 [174] Shamatari expansion into this area took place around the turn of the century, according to my reconstruction of Shamatari history (see below). This is also supported by meagre

---

[1] There is another "Shamatari" group in the tributaries of the Upper Parima River of Brazil; these are not to be confused with the Shamatari under discussion here, although both groups are Yąnomamö. See Vinci, 1959, for an impressionistic account of his brief contact with the Parima Shamatari.

101 The term Waika or Guaica is used in much the same way as the term Shamatari, i.e., in reference to a geographical bloc of villages that have a common history. I have no knowledge concerning the origin of the term except its etymological derivation from the verb waikaõ: "to kill something that is already wounded," "to finish off an animal that is dying."[1]

The term Waika, or variants of it (Guaica, Uaica), has been in the literature the longest, appearing in Caulin's 1779 work. Zerries has adopted its usage, along with the term Schiriana, to refer to the entire Yąnomamõ group; ironically, members of the village in which he conducted his field work, Mahekodo-tedi, denied to me that they were Waika, explaining that the Waika lived further up the Orinoco River and inland.

Insofar as designations more precise than Yąnomamõ are required, the Indians themselves simply use their village names. The terms Shamatari and Waika do not refer to political entities, and the boundaries of the geographical zones including so-called Waika or Shamatari villages are difficult to fix. Only the members of those villages that are related historically to Kayabawã's group are properly designated as Shamatari. All of the Indians of this large area, however, regard themselves as Yąnomamõ, no matter what others call them, and I adopt this term to refer to the entire group.

000 Numerically, the Yąnomamõ are one of the largest

[114]

[1]Zerries, 1964:3, gives the same derivation for the term.

Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

[1] Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[2] The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

[622 [554] women. During relatively peaceful times headmen are hardly more than equals among their followers and their ability to command respect and issue orders diminishes accordingly. [622] Political commitments to aid other villages in raiding, however, usually precludes long periods of peace and, should a village fail in such an obligation, its allies quickly turn on it and force it to participate. Thus, political circumstances are continually forcing villages into situations that require leadership.

• 114

B. Anthropological Work On the Yąnomamö

So far four anthropological expeditions have had an opportunity to study Yąnomamö groups, but only two of these spent an adequate amount of time in the field to collect data that substantially increase our knowledge of Yąnomamö culture. I refer to the expeditions of the Frobenius Institute in 1954-55 which brought Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster to the village of Mahekodo-tedi for some 10 months, and the expedition of Hans Becher in 1955-56 to the upper Demini River in Brazil, where he studied two villages for 9 months. The expeditions of Koch-Grünberg in 1911-12 and Johannes Wilbert in 1958 and 1960 made only brief contacts with Yąnomamö.

The results of Koch-Grünberg's contact with two groups of Yąnomamö are summarized in his Von Rorima zum Orinoco. He met two "hordes" of "Schiriana" in 1911 on the upper Uraricuera (Parima) River of Brazil. One group, whose

114 village was on the upper Uraricaparú, a left tributary of the Uraricuera, visited his camp on the Purumamó Rapids of the Uraricuera.[1] The second group, which he met about a month later, was settled on a small stream (Motomotó) off the Parima River near the Marutani Mountains. The latter group fled shortly after he contacted them; they feared the photographic equipment and firearms carried by the members of the expedition. Most of Koch-Grünberg's material comes from his contact with the first group and is limited to brief descriptions of physical type, material culture, house styles, body decorations, and a short vocabulary of the language (1923: 300ff; 1928). He was the first to conclude that the Guaica, Kirishana, Guaharibo, and Schiriana were in all probability the same group:

> We can admit with great probability that the Guaharibo are very closely related to, if not the same tribe as, the Schirianá of the Uraricuéra, just as the Waikas of the Parima Mountains may not be a group distinct from the tribe bearing that same name on the upper Uraricuéra. (My translation. 1923:299. See also pp. 290, 291 and his 1922 work, p. 225.)

As significant as this accurate conclusion in the development of Yanomamö ethnography is his inaccurate vignette of the economy and settlement pattern of this large group:

> In view of entire culture content (Habitus) I should like to consider the Schirianá and Waika as an extremely old population layer of these areas that, similar to the more primitive Makú of the Rio Negro area, is found scattered in small, mutually hostile bands having no fixed habitation site in the headwaters of the upper Uraricuéra tributaries and beyond to the upper Orinoco, and lives only on hunting,

---

[1] This is the group studied more recently by Migliazza, 1964.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

• 114 fishing and collecting forest fruits. (1923: 299-300. My translation. See also 1922:226.)

His assertion that the Yąnomamö lived only on hunting, fishing, and collecting wild forest fruit was unsupported not only by the existing accounts but also by his own observations; and it has never been verified by any field worker who has spent more than a few days with the Yąnomamö.[1] Nor was the conclusion warranted that the Yąnomamö had no fixed habitation sites; Koch-Grünberg was visited by one of the groups and the other had a garden site a short distance from where he met them. Finally, the antiquity of the group as a "population layer" is something that can only be speculated about at best; indeed, the concept 'population layer' is itself an analytic construct presupposing a considerable amount of knowledge concerning tribal distributions over a period of time which, at least for this area, is entirely lacking.

The expedition of the Frobenius Institute in 1954-55 conducted the first anthropological inquiry in this area that concentrated exclusively on the study of the Yąnomamö. The members of the expedition, Otto Zerries and his assistant, Meinhard Schuster, spent 10 months in the village of Mahekodotedi. They selected the Yąnomamö because of their interest in hunters and gatherers; the literature, especially the work of Koch-Grünberg, described the Yąnomamö as such. They

---

[1] "It is surprising to notice, that the Waica, formerly reported as a hunting and gathering tribe by visitors who had only superficial contact with them, are actually horticulturists." (Zerries, 1955:78.)

114 initiated their work among this group, in Zerries' words, ". . . to come a step closer to the problem of the world's oldest cultural layer of the hunter and collector."[1] On arriving at Mahekodo-tedi, however, Zerries was surprised to discover that the Yąnomamö were not in fact hunters and gatherers, but horticulturists:

> To our great surprise we were obliged to conclude right from the start of our investigations that the Waika are above all dependent on the cultivation of the plantain (platano) to a considerable degree. (1958:177. My translation.)

114 194 224 222 241 Although Zerries acknowledges the current horticultural status of the Yąnomamö, his work is frequently characterized by attempts to portray the Yąnomamö as hunting and gathering people who have only recently adopted cultivation and are still in transition from a pure hunting and gathering stage to a purely horticultural one. Thus, Zerries argues that the Yąnomamö divide their year into seasons fixed by the ripening of individual species of wild fruits (which I have not been able to verify), implies that peach palm (pijiguao) was recently a collected rather than a cultivated fruit, describes the Yąnomamö settlement pattern and annual cycle as half-nomadic or semi-nomadic, and generally emphasizes the role of hunting and collecting in determining the cultural status of the Yąnomamö in South American culture history, all of which detract, I believe, from an understanding of their culture as it exists at the present time and probably has

---

[1] 1964:1. My translation.

existed for the past several hundred years. At many points the data used by Zerries to infer that they were until recently hunters and gatherers lend themselves to other interpretations:

> Finally, the Waika connect the general word for food, "ni," with the word for archery, "niai," out of which results that in their conceptual world, subsistence itself in the last analysis results from hunting--which is symptomatic of the way of life of the hunting and gathering heritage of the Waika. (1958:180. My translation.)

The word nii (not ni) usually refers to vegetable food, most of which is cultivated by the Yąnomamö and generally does not include meat. The word for the latter, yąro, conversely, does not apply to vegetable food. Again, there are two words to describe hunger; ohi refers to that kind of hunger that can be satisfied by eating vegetable food, whereas naiiki is a kind of hunger that can only be satisfied by eating meat or fish. And, it is possible for individuals not to be ohi but be naiiki. One could easily argue that subsistence and cultivation are intimately linked, as their word for one form of hunger (ohi) is similar to their word for taro: ohina. The similarity, then, between the word for archery (niaö) and vegetable food (nii, not ni) tells us nothing about the cultural status of the Yąnomamö either in the past or at the present.

In general, Zerries' data are excellent and his conclusions sound; and his major work (1964) will remain the basic ethnographic source on the Yąnomamö for many years.

The Frobenius Expedition was followed by the work of

114 Hans Becher, who conducted field work in two Yąnomamö villages on the upper Demini and the Aracá rivers (Pakidái and Surára) from October 1955 to June 1956. His results are summarized in his 1960 monograph, a general description of all aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

114 619 His analysis of Yąnomamö social organization is inadequate and misleading, particularly his treatment of the political organization about which he asserts that the Yąnomamö are divided into two large, antagonistic political blocs:

> The suggestion of the Surára headman is significant in this connection, according to which there are, within the Yanonámi People, two powerful tribes that constantly make war upon each other; first, the Xiriána, whose name for themselves is "Harateri," and, secondly, the Waikâ. All of the smaller tribes are on the side of one or the other, but are at the same time liable to them for tribute and war duty. (1960:6. See also p. 73 and his 1957a:119 and 1957b:115 comments. Zerries [1964:1] expresses his dissatisfaction with this interpretation also. My translation.)

114 In 1958 and 1960 Johannes Wilbert briefly visited Yąnomamö (Sanema) villages in the upper Ventuari River and upper Caura River, summarizing his results in his 1963 publication.

Although Wilbert regards the villages he visited as representative of the Yąnomamö villages described in the works of Zerries and Becher, his reports are somewhat at variance with the accounts of the latter, particularly with respect to economy and aspects of social organization. On these topics Wilbert tends to accept Koch-Grünberg's state-

114 ments rather uncritically, largely because they support his own theory that 'Paleo-Indian' culture, Chibchan language, and low Diego gene frequency are correlated in South America. In treating Yąnomamö economy as 'Paleo-Indian' in nature, Wilbert ignores the only data based on field work bearing on Yąnomamö economic life--that reported by Zerries and Becher in the two monographs mentioned above.

Again, it is difficult to determine when Wilbert is reporting facts, when he is making theoretical conclusions, or when he is guessing. This is particularly true of his 114 601 comments on social organization and data relevant to analyzing it:

> We did not succeed, for lack of an informant, in obtaining a list of kinship terms. Our impression is that it would be an Hawaiian System. (1963:211. My translation. [His statements in other publications are quite emphatic on this point: "The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type." Layrisse, Layrisse, and Wilbert, 1962:82.])

The kinship terminology of the groups in the area visited by Wilbert is bifurcate-merging (Iroquois) in type (Migliazza, 1964), as it is in the upper Orinoco area.[1]

114 In addition to the field work conducted by these ethnologists, numerous travelers, adventurers, botanists,

---

[1]Migliazza's publication was not available to Wilbert when the latter concluded that the Yąnomamö have an Hawaiian kinship terminology. A part of the discrepancy between Wilbert's data and that reported by Zerries (1964) and Becher (1960) stems from the fact that Wilbert's Sanema differ appreciably from the more southerly Yąnomamö groups. Wilbert, however, intends his generalizations on the Sanema to apply to all the Yąnomamö. I might point out that my own analysis applies to the Upper Orinoco and Mavaca River Yąnomamö. See Conclusions, Chapter 6.

• 114 geographers and explorers have from time to time passed through or near the Yąnomamö area. Their observations have not materially increased our knowledge or understanding of Yąnomamö culture except, in a few instances, in a geographic-distributional sense. Koch-Grünberg (1922) and Otto Zerries (1964:7 ff.) have summarized the results. Finally, a number of missionaries or linguists employed by missions have made significant contributions to Yąnomamö ethnography. Of major importance are the works of James P. Barker (1953, 1959) and Ernesto Migliazza (1964, Migliazza and Grimes, 1961).

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide. There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice. First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

[1]The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, listed in Table 1, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

847 [848] child: he had scrupulously observed the coitus taboo during lactation--the wife had not.

Most cases of infanticide take place when a couple already has a small child. Sickness takes a heavy toll during the early months of a child's life, and women are reluctant to jeopardize a child that has already survived the first two years. So, they frequently kill the new-born so that their older child will have no competition for milk. Bahimi, a woman of some 30 years, killed a new male baby shortly after I started my fieldwork in Bisassi-tedi. She explained, tearfully, that she did not feel that she could successfully raise the new child because she still had a son that was nursing.

847 562 162 These cases do not, however, explain why there is a consistent bias to kill females rather than males. When I discovered how significantly the sex ratio diverged from the expected value of 1.0 in some villages, I tried to get an explanation from the Yąnomamö. I was surprised to find out that they were ignorant of their own bias in killing children. [842] What did come to light, however, was the fact that Yąnomamö prefer to have a male baby for their first child and, if it turns out that the first child is a girl, they will frequently kill her. If, however, a couple prefers to have a girl and the first child is a boy, they generally do not kill the boy.[1]

[114] [582] [1]Whatever the reason may be for the preference toward males as eldest children, there is one structural effect that deserves further enquiry. Rose (1960) effectively showed that where males tend to marry females that are younger than them-

847 562 162 Several kinds of demographic data suggest that the rate of female infanticide is high. Table 1 gives the sex ratios of five Yąnomamö villages. The sex ratio for the total population sample (576 individuals) gives a more meaningful estimate of the rate of female infanticide, as there is considerable variation by village in the value of the sex ratio. The excess of males in the total population (8%) gives a first 562 approximation of the frequency of female infanticide. The 162 variation in the sex ratio by the village, on the other hand, 628 expresses the political relationships of the villages to 722 their allies. That is, the distribution of women in these [583] five villages is a function of the military requirements of the particular villages in the marriage alliance network. Thus, the cline in sex ratio from Reyabobŏwei-tedi to Bisaasi-tedi (ignoring the Patanowŏ-tedi, who are not allied to the other groups) reflects a dominance gradient in politico- 125 military requirements of each village. The total sample of 847 576 individuals must be considered in order to estimate the 162 628 frequency of female infanticide among the Yąnomamö, but the 562 political relationships between the villages must be understood to account for the variation by village of the value

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 69]

847 562 162 114 982 selves, it is highly unlikely that men will marry a FaSiDa, despite the kinship terminology. Rose did not, however, consider the possibility that sibships may have a systematic bias in their composition; if males tend to be older than their sisters considering all sibships, the probability that a FaSiDa is of marriageable age is increased. I specifically questioned the relationship between female infanticide and FaSiDa marriage, and the Yąnomamö denied any correlation between the two practices. There can be no doubt, however, that the occurrence of FaSiDa marriage among the Yąnomamö is made more probable by female infanticide.

avoid the raids from the PatanowÃ-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with KonoreiwÃ's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by KonoreiwÃ. The entire village participated in the club fight. KonoreiwÃ punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the PatanowÃ-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the PatanowÃ-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the PatanowÃ-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

726 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time in-
114 volved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

*621 628 837 578 721 [241] When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 726 722 241 361 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare necessitates the formation of political alliances with other groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

---

[241] [361] [191] [128] [1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory. In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

these situations[1] by establishing new gardens as new wars develop; occasionally, however, the wars take on unpredictable intensity before new gardens can be established, and the members of the villages concerned necessarily seek refuge with their allies.

To the Yąnomamö, gardens (hikari) are the fount of subsistence. They acknowledge the relationship between chronic warfare and village relocation by being constantly on the lookout for new lands to settle. Men are always discussing the agricultural merits of the forested areas in which they hunt, and most new sites are selected on the basis of information collected by hunters. Thus, when the Namowei-tedi split up at Patanowä-tëka, the Bisaasi-tedi faction moved to Shįhota, an area they knew well because they customarily hunted there.[2] In 1965 the Monou-tedi cleared a new garden at Moyanabŏwei for the same reason. I accompanied hunting parties from Bisaasi-tedi on several occastions to new areas not normally frequented by these hunters, and the topic of agriculture invariably came up during the evening résumé of the day's experiences.

Other factors besides density of jungle, type of floral association, and general topography are considered by

[1]They avoid these situations because the hosts usually demand either sexual access to the women of the refugees, or wives for their bachelors. The refugees, of course, are reluctant to do either, but are frequently obliged to do both. The cost of the alliance, once again, is measured in terms of women lost.

[2]See Map C, and Chapter 5.

*628 361 241 the Yąnomamö when they make new gardens. The relative location of friendly and hostile villages with respect to the new site is very important. The Monou-tedi moved west in 1965, clearing their new site in the direction away from their major enemies, the Patanowë-tedi. Their allies, the Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi and the Reyabobǫwei-tedi, lived to their west. Furthermore, their old enemies, the Mǫwëraoba-tedi and Iwahikoroba-tedi, lived to their southeast, a direction the Monou-tedi wished to avoid. Finally, by moving to the west, the Monou-tedi crossed a large river (Mavaca), a natural barrier that would interfere with the retreat of raiding parties that initiated in the east.

361 241 245 Another factor influences the choice of site when the members of a village must abandon their existing garden: the location of a previously cultivated site. Old gardens are desirable sites because they continue to produce peach palm long after they are deserted. As the fruit of this palm seasonally provides an important and desirable addition to the diet of the Yąnomamö, they prefer to move into an old garden rather than start a new peach palm grove from seedlings. The Yąnomamö frequently return to their old, abandoned sites in order to harvest the peach palm crop. This is usually a dangerous undertaking, as their old enemies are also aware of the fruit, and exploit it themselves. In February 1965 I accompanied a group of Bisaasi-tedi men to Barawë-tëka,[1]

361 241 245 • 114 +628

[1]See Map C, and Chapter 5.

abandoned in about 1959, to harvest the peach palm of that garden. We approached the site with great caution lest we run into a group of Patanowä-tedi. We discovered that somebody, probably the Patanowä-tedi, had beaten us to the garden and harvested the fruit.

During 1965 raids were so intense on the Patanowä-tedi that they were forced to abandon their site at Patanowä-tëka. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi predicted that the Patanowä-tedi would make their new site at one of two possible locations: Shihota or Shamata, two abandoned gardens. Their predictions were right on both counts, for the Patanowä-tedi began utilizing both sites because peach palm was to be found at either. By occupying two sites, the Patanowä-tedi were also better able to avoid their enemies by moving frequently from one to the other.

The several variables to be considered in re-locating villages during especially hostile wars may be briefly summarized: (1) the members of a village will make their new garden site in a direction away from their major enemy; (2) if the members of a village have allies, they tend to make their new garden in the direction of these allies, provided that the direction brings them no closer to their enemies; (3) if abandoned villages whose gardens contain producing groves of peach palm are to be found in a suitable direction from the old site, these will be the ideal choices for new garden sites.

The cultivation practices of the Monou-tedi in 1965

584 583 591 578 935 613 *621 627 affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawë's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawë threatened to kill Koima, but [602] the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawë shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawë, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bëkotawë, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawë discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawë, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

602 The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

[601] [114] [128]

602 of social organization,[1] and in analyses of particular societies.[2] It is not assumed here that the nature of the [114] social organization itself stems from the nature of the sentiments associated with particular dyadic kin ties, as was implied in Homans and Schneider's work (1955). Dyadic ties are a product of political, military, ideological and economic forces that shape Yąnomamö social organization, and reflect, rather than cause, that organization.

Of the large number of logically possible kinship dyads, only a few have structural relevance to this analysis. In particular, ties between agnates and ties between brothers-in-law must be considered to render intelligible the mechanics of Yąnomamö social organization.

602 Ties between distantly related agnates are the most
+621 ambiguous, and the ones that usually break when villages split.
578 Conversely, ties between closely related agnates are strong and less likely to be severed in village splits.

609 Of the affinal ties, those linking brothers-in-law to each other are of the greatest structural importance and are often stronger than ties between distantly related agnates.

606 Secondarily, ties between a man and his son-in-law are strong,
601 but have fewer structural consequences than either brother-in-law (shoriwë) or brother (aiwë, osheya) ties.

---

[1] Levi-Strauss, 1963, Ch. 2; Needham, 1962, Ch. 2.

[2] Leach, 1957.

Table 4: Age and Sex Distribution of the Yanomamö Population.[1]

*62
162

Frequency Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	55	48	103	68	14	288
Females	36	42	77	60	23	238
Totals:	91	90	190	128	37	526
Percentage Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	10.5	9.1	19.6	12.9	2.7	54.8
Females	6.8	8.0	14.6	11.4	4.4	45.2
Totals:	17.3	17.1	34.2	24.3	7.1	100.0

[114]
[128]

[1]Based on residents of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, Patanowä-tedi, Mąmariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi. I was not able to get age estimates on a number of individuals in Reyaboböwei-tedi and Patanowä-tedi, accounting for the difference in total population given in Table 5, Chapter IV. The sex ratio for the above population is 1.22, and male excess is 9.5%, compared to 1.19 and 8.35% in Table 5.

*62
70
72
[122]

effectiveness of the raiding party. As someone must stay home to guard the women, the guards usually come from the too young and too old. Usually, however, one or two '<u>waitedi</u>' (fierce ones), men who have a great deal of experience in warfare and who would bravely defend the village, also remain behind. Thus, a village of 100 people could, at best,

701 organize a raiding party of approximately 20 to 25 men.[1]

*[62] The smallest raiding party I saw during my field work comprised 10 men. This seems to be the lower limit to the size of an effective raiding party; most raiding parties are of the order of 35-40 men, although I have seen as many as 60 men leave on a raid.[2] There are several reasons why raiding parties require ten or more men. First, the Yanomamö are not brave warriors; in a party of 10 men, a significant fraction of them would rather remain in the village where it is safer, and these men always look for excuses to drop out of the raiding party before the party meets and joins the enemy. The usual excuses given are sickness or sore feet. Thus, even in small raiding parties there is considerable dissent among the men, particularly the younger ones. Such problems would be insurmountable if the party contained fewer than ten men, as even the most determined of the raiders would lose his enthusiasm by listening to the complaints and pessimistic comments of the more reluctant members of the raiding party. I accompanied one Monou-tedi raiding party a portion of the way to their objective; most of the younger men in the raiding party complained of having dysentery, malaria, or sore feet. I had promised to give them malaria

701 703 721

701 703 721 123 114

---

[1] This presumes that there are no sick or injured men in the village; there are always some.

*[628] [2] The larger raiding parties are always composite, involving the members of two or more villages.

701 pills before the raiding party left, but I forgot them.
703 This almost ended the raiding party, as the younger men
721 jumped on this as an excuse to stay home. The older men,
123 however, forced them into line and severly chastized them for
114 being cowardly.

701 Raiding tactics also require that approximately ten
721 men be included in the raiding party. The raiding party
725 usually splits into two or more groups when it approaches the village of the enemy. This increases the probability that the raid will be successful; two groups are more likely to confront individuals of the enemy village while at the same time splitting up reduces the possibility that the raiders will be accidentally discovered by the enemy. After the raiders shoot one or more of the enemy, they retreat in a standardized pattern. Groups of two men retreat a specified distance, their retreat being covered by two men who lie in ambush along the trail most likely to be taken by pursuers. The guarding pair then retreats, being covered by the first pair who lie in ambush. If the raiding party has separated into two groups, retreat tactics will necessitate at least 8 men.

721 The purpose of a raid is to kill one or more of the
727 enemy and retreat before being discovered. A raid is successful only if one or more of the enemy is killed and none of the raiders is wounded or killed. When a joint raiding party from Mahekodo-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi raided Riakowë's village in the early '50s to revenge the deaths of two

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Moncu-tedi, Patanowë-tedi, Mąmaribŏwei-tedi and Reyabobŏwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Namowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called Paruritawë-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

remained on good terms with each other. Their split occurred in 1954, perhaps a year earlier.

When I initiated my field work in 1964 Monou-tëka was still occupied, but its population, the Monou-tedi, was in the process of making a new garden (Moyanaböwei) west of Monou to avoid the raids of the Patanowë-tedi, with whom they had entered into a new war in 1964.

The faction that moved to Barawë remained at that site about five years. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River, taking the name Bisaasi-tedi, in 1959, splitting into two villages, each located on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. By 1958 the Venezuelan Government had initiated a malaria-control program in this area of Amazonas and had established a small field station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Venezuelans associated with this field station invited the Barawë-tedi to move to the Mavaca River; the Indians accepted the invitation, hoping to gain access to steel tools. This was the beginning of contact with outsiders for the Kreiböwei-tedi; prior to 1959 the only foreigners they had known were the missionary at Mahekodo-tedi, James P. Barker, and the members of the Frobenius Institute Expedition, Meinhard Schuster and Otto Zerries, who they visited occasionally at Mahekodo-tedi.

Area 12: Bisaasi-tedi

The Bisaasi-tedi began friendly contacts with a Shamatari village, Pararitawë-tedi, after they moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1987 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628 583 Bisaasi-tedi are the dominant partners in the bride-exchange network with their Shamatari allies, a dominance that is reflected in the disproportionate number of women they have managed to coerçe out of their allies.

361 621 114 While I conducted my field work the Bisaasi-tedi lived in two villages on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. The group on the east bank was beginning to split by the time I left the field, and the split took place a few months later,[1] one of the factions moving to the north bank of the Orinoco River, but still within view of the other group.

B. The History of the Paruritawë-tedi

174 621 The Shamatari came into being as an identifiable group shortly before 1900. The Shamatari identity, as I have shown above (p. 28 ff.), is a function of the historical connections between the villages that split off from Shihowë-tedi's parental group, as well as geographical considerations.

My informants consistently spoke of two 'true' Shamatari men: Kayabawë (Shamatari) and Matakuwë. The villages of these two men have a common origin, but I was unable to get data on the nature of the events that led to the separation of these two groups. This event took place long before the life-span of my oldest informants, and none of them knew any details of the splitting. By 1875, however, there were two distinct Shamatari groups north of the Orinoco headwaters, one of which bore the name Shihowë-tedi. Kayabawë

195 101 861

[1] Personal communication, James P. Barker.

others. Matakuwä's group was being raided by Kayabawä's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-kähö. These raids forced Matakuwä and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-kähö and settle at Shirakoböwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakoböwei

Matakuwä's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawä's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewä and Orakawä. During the fighting a young man from Karehewä's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewä moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewä's followers raided the group at Shirakoböwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewä to move further north. Karehewä's son, Riakowä, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowä's son, Börösöwä. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signr (bridges and trails) made by Börösöwä's group. They feared Börösöwä would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyahowä, split off from

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

and move to Kakamoba. This site was occupied for just a few years, and by 1950 Sibarariwä's group was living at Amąrokobõ-wei: the 1950 treacherous feast for the Kreibõwei-tedi was conducted while Sibarariwä's group was here. After 1950 Sibarariwä's group fled south to avoid the raids of the survivors of that treacherous feast, establishing the garden of Dądamobõwei. This garden was abandoned because of raids mounted by the Paruritawä-tedi, and Sibarariwä returned to Amąrokobõwei about 1955. The Paruritawä-tedi eventually became friendly to Sibarariwä's group and were able to lure some of them, at the instigation of the Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, to a treacherous feast in 1960, during which three men were murdered and four women captured. In 1964 Sibarariwä's group moved to the headwaters of the Mavaca River, being known as the Mõwäraoba-tedi. Monou-tedi and Mąmaribõwei-tedi sent a raiding party against them at this location about the time I started my field work, and killed one man.

Area 6: Paruritawä-tedi

The Paruritawä-tedi made friendly contact with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi about 1960, and have entered into alliance with these groups. The Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi persuaded the Paruritawä-tedi to invite members of Sibarariwä's group to a feast in 1960 and, with the aid of the Paruritawä-tedi, murdered three men and seized four women. Sibarariwä's group avenged this by mounting raids

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

against the Paruritawä-tedi, and the latter abandoned their site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Mõmaribõwei and Reyabobõwei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyabobõwei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965 the Reyabobõwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawä-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966

The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowä-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowä-tedi to venture away from the village.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

128 In the body of this dissertation I have attempted to demonstrate that two variables in particular exert an overriding effect on Yąnomamö social structure. These are, respectivley, the shortage of women and the intensity of actual warfare. In this final chapter, I should like to accomplish two ends. First, I should like to set my conclusions against different material recently gathered among the Yąnomamö in northern Brazil.[1] Second, I should like to bring my material to bear on the discussion between Leach (1957) and Fortes (1959a, 1959b) regarding the relationship of kinship, marriage ties, descent and politics.

121 721 582 183 Let us turn first to comparative Yąnomamö ethnology. If it is true, as I have argued, that warfare enhances the

[114] [1]After I had completed the text of the thesis I had an opportunity to discuss with Ernesto Migliazza the social organization of a number of Brazilian Yąnomamö groups. Migliazza, a linguist, spent nearly six years among the Uraricaá Yąnomamö, working for a Baptist Mission and, more recently, for the Goeldi Museum in Belém. I thank him for permission to use much of the comparative material presented below; some of it has already been published in his 1964 work. I introduce this new data because it very effectively demonstrates the interrelationships between the variables discussed in the thesis. I would have arrived at the same conclusions, by employing arguments similar to those used by Meggitt (1965), but the contrast provided by this new material makes the conclusions more defensible.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

114 121 602 Among the Yąnomamö consanguineal kinship does not have the quality attributed to kinship in general by Fortes, and we therefore cannot explain the stability that exists in terms of these alleged properties. The fact that affinal ties do promote a certain amount of stability between Yąnomamö descent groups supports Leach's arguments, and, for the reasons implied by Leach: Yąnomamö marriages occur within a political context that promotes military obligations and concomitants not predictable from first principles regarding the putative nature of kinship itself. Descent groups exchange women with an eye toward maximizing military advantage in a milieu of hostile political relationships. The stability brought about by such marriages is, therefore, largely a function of the politico-military ends served by marriage and is only tangentially, if at all, a result of kinship.

613 613 682 722 681

121 I would also like to discuss the nature of the relationship between corporation and descent from another point of view, for the nature of the estate of the Yąnomamö descent corporation gives a particular quality to the corporation. Most corporate lineal descent groups have as one of their major functions the control over and disposition of property. The property is usually real property. Pastoralists, of course, have as their estates, herds and use rights to forage areas. Some Northwest Coast and northern California tribes have corporate groups whose estates are acorn groves and portions of salmon streams.

In addition to real property, corporate groups

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Foreword

About the Series

These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

Napoleon Chagnon was born the second of twelve children in Port Austin, Michigan, in 1938. He is married and has two children. At present he is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology and holds a joint appointment as Research Associate in the Department of Human Genetics, University of Michigan Medical School. This department has developed a long-term project for the study of the Yąnomamö from a medical-genetics viewpoint in a team approach involving specialists in several fields. Dr. Chagnon is the ethnological member of the team. He began his academic training in the Michigan College of Mining and Technology, but switched to anthropology, receiving a B.A. in anthropology at the University of Michigan in 1961, an M.A. in 1963, and a Ph.D. in 1966. He has spent nineteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö of Venezuela and Brazil, studying demography, social organization, and warfare, and about one month with the Carib-speaking Makiritare of Brazil and Venezuela, studying social organization. He has published several articles in *Natural History* and *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* and has presented papers at meetings of the American Anthropological Association and the National Academy of Science. He plans to return to the Yąnomamö in several field trips over the next three years, having completed two cooperative trips with members of the Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas.

About the Book

This is indeed a book about a fierce people. Yąnomamö culture, in its major focus, reverses the meanings of "good" and "desirable" as phrased in the ideal postulates of the Judaic-Christian tradition. A high capacity for rage, a quick flash point, and a will-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

ingness to use violence to obtain one's ends are considered desirable traits. Much of the behavior of the Yąnomamö can be described as brutal, cruel, treacherous, in the value-laden terms of our own vocabulary. The Yąnomamö themselves, however, as Napoleon Chagnon came to intimately know them in the year and a half he lived with them, do not all appear to be mean and treacherous. As individuals, they seem to be people playing their own cultural game, with internal feelings that at times may be quite divergent from the demands placed upon them by their culture. This case study furnishes valuable data for phrasing questions about the relationship between the individual and his culture.

The Yąnomamö appear to be constantly on the verge of extranormal behavior, as we define it, and their almost daily use of hallucinogenic drugs reinforces these drives to what might seem to the outside observer to be the limits of human capacity. Life in their villages is noisy, punctuated by outbursts of violence, threatened by destruction by enemies. To the ethnographer it is frightening, frustrating, disgusting, exciting, and rewarding, and in this case study the ethnographer lets the reader know how he feels. His honest reactions help us, as interested outsiders, to know the Yąnomamö.

This is a study of a fierce people who engage in chronic warfare. It is also a study of a system of controls that usually hold in check the drive toward annihilation. Conflict among the Yąnomamö is regulated through a series of graded escalations, from chest-pounding and side-slapping duels, through club fighting, spear throwing, to raiding in a state of war, to the ultimate—the *nomoboni*—massacre by treachery. The processes of avoidance, settlement, or escalation of disputes are discussed in detail in this case study. There are implications that range beyond the Yąnomamö, and beyond primitive peoples, to the "civilized" world in which we live, for we too live in a state of chronic warfare and are threatened by annihilation.

The Yąnomamö goad each other, within their own villages, to the brink of an explosion (and they goaded the ethnographer in the same way). This hostility is projected on a larger scale in the negotiating of alliances between villages. Each principal must establish the credibility of his own threats, as well as discover the point at which the opposite party's bluffing will dissolve into action. It is, as the author says, a politics of brinksmanship, all too familiar to us.

The study is, however, not confined to a description of regulated violence. Dr. Chagnon provides us with an unusually clear chapter on social organization, with the genealogical details of kinship. The models he produces in his analysis are cast in sharper relief because he also discusses deviations from these models in actual behavior. He links social organization with the processes of fission that produce new villages and the alliances that are created in response to the threat of annihilation, reinforced and validated by the mutual ceding of women between villages. Social organization is presented not as an abstraction but as a dynamic process interrelated with other significant dimensions of life. The anthropological novice will find the analysis of social organization detailed but, with close attention, entirely understandable. The more experienced anthropological reader will grasp the full theoretical implications of the analysis and will find the author's references to various debates in the anthropological literature stimulating.

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and _____ way of life.

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ə] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ä] vowel are pronounced as that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąobawä would be pronounced "cow-ba-wuh," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

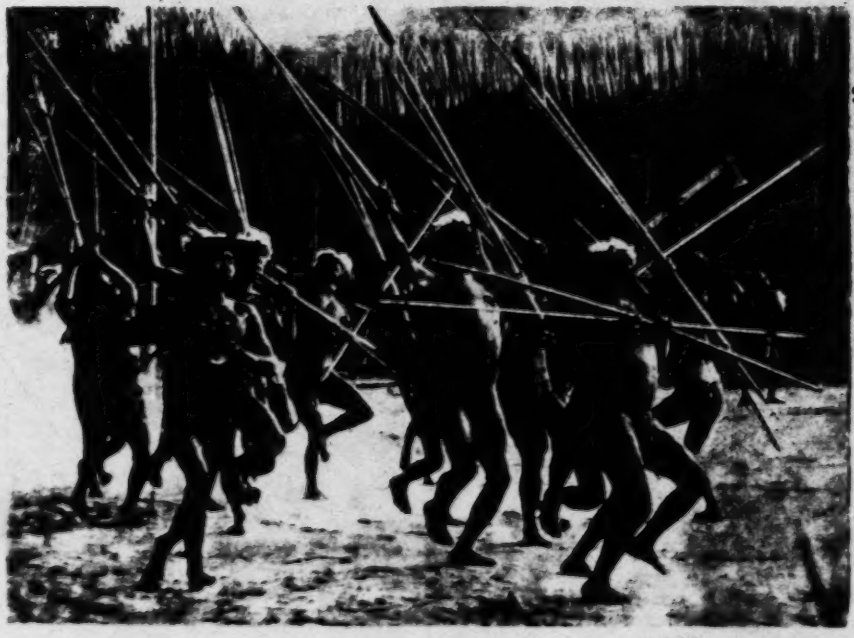
721
181
128
114

The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnamamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1–2).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere is unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1–2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnomamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their hosts' village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.



142
301
411
535
623*
578
291

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of them anxious to help me and honor bound to show any visitor the numerous courtesies of their system of etiquette. In short, they approached the image of primitive man that I had conjured up, and it was sheer pleasure to work with them. The recent work by Colin Turnbull (1966) brings out dramatically the contrast in personal characteristics of two African peoples he has studied.

Hence, what I say about some of my experiences is probably equally true of the experiences of many other fieldworkers. I write about my own experiences because there is a conspicuous lack of fieldwork descriptions available to potential fieldworkers. I think I could have profited by reading about the private misfortunes of my own teachers; at least I might have been able to avoid some of the more stupid errors I made. In this regard there are a number of recent contributions by fieldworkers describing some of the discomforts and misfortunes they themselves sustained.[3] Students planning to conduct fieldwork are urged to consult them.

My first day in the field illustrated to me what my teachers meant when they spoke of "culture shock." I had traveled in a small, aluminum rowboat propelled by a large outboard motor for two and a half days. This took me from the Territorial capital, a small town on the Orinoco River, deep into Yąnomamö country. On the morning of the third day we reached a small mission settlement, the field "headquarters" of a group of Americans who were working in two Yąnomamö villages. The missionaries had come out of these villages to hold their annual conference on the progress of their mission work, and were conducting their meetings when I arrived. We picked up a passenger at the mission station, James P. Barker, the first non-Yąnomamö to make a sustained, permanent contact with the tribe (in 1950). He had just returned from a year's furlough in the United States, where I had earlier visited him before leaving for Venezuela. He agreed to accompany me to the village I had selected for my base of operations to introduce me to the Indians. This village was also his own home base, but he had not been there for over a year and did not plan to join me for another three months. Mr. Barker had been living with this particular group about five years.

We arrived at the village, Bisaasi-teri, about 2:00 PM and docked the boat along the muddy bank at the terminus of the path used by the Indians to fetch their drinking water. It was hot and muggy, and my clothing was soaked with perspiration. It clung uncomfortably to my body, as it did thereafter for the remainder of the work. The small, biting gnats were out in astronomical numbers, for it was the beginning of the dry season. My face and hands were swollen from the venom of their numerous stings. In just a few moments I was to meet my first Yąnomamö, my first primitive man. What would it be like? I had visions of entering the village and seeing 125 social facts running about calling each other kinship terms and sharing food, each waiting and anxious to have me collect his genealogy. I would wear them out in turn. Would they like me? This was important to me; I wanted them to be so fond of me that they would adopt me into their kinship system and way of life, because I had heard that successful anthropologists always get adopted by their people. I had learned during my seven years of

[3] Maybury-Lewis 1967, "Introduction," and 1965*b*; Turnbull, 1966; L. Bohannan, 1964. Perhaps the most intimate account of the tribulations of a fieldworker is found in the posthumous diary of Bronislaw Malinowski (1967). Since the diary was not written for publication, it contains many intimate, very personal details about the writers' anxieties and hardships.

anthropological training at the University of Michigan that kinship was equivalent to society in primitive tribes and that it was a moral way of life, "moral" being something "good" and "desirable." I was determined to work my way into their moral system of kinship and become a member of their society.

My heart began to pound as we approached the village and heard the buzz of activity within the circular compound. Mr. Barker commented that he was anxious to see if any changes had taken place while he was away and wondered how many of them had died during his absence. I felt into my back pocket to make sure that my notebook was still there and felt personally more secure when I touched it. Otherwise, I would not have known what to do with my hands.

The entrance to the village was covered over with brush and dry palm leaves. We pushed them aside to expose the low opening to the village. The excitement of meeting my first Indians was almost unbearable as I duck-waddled through the low passage into the village clearing.

I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous, and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses. We arrived at the village while the men were blowing a hallucinogenic drug up their noses. One of the side effects of the drug is a runny nose. The mucus is always saturated with the green powder and the Indians usually let it run freely from their nostrils. My next discovery was that there were a dozen or so vicious, underfed dogs snapping at my legs, circling me as if I were going to be their next meal. I just stood there holding my notebook, helpless and pathetic. Then the stench of the decaying vegetation and filth struck me and I almost got sick. I was horrified. What sort of a welcome was this for the person who came here to live with you and learn your way of life, to become friends with you? They put their weapons down when they recognized Barker and returned to their chanting, keeping a nervous eye on the village entrances.

We had arrived just after a serious fight. Seven women had been abducted the day before by a neighboring group, and the local men and their guests had just that morning recovered five of them in a brutal club fight that nearly ended in a shooting war. The abductors, angry because they lost five of the seven captives, vowed to raid the Bisaasi-teri. When we arrived and entered the village unexpectedly, the Indians feared that we were the raiders. On several occasions during the next two hours the men in the village jumped to their feet, armed themselves, and waited nervously for the noise outside the village to be identified. My enthusiasm for collecting ethnographic curiosities diminished in proportion to the number of times such an alarm was raised. In fact, I was relieved when Mr. Barker suggested that we sleep across the river for the evening. It would be safer over there.

As we walked down the path to the boat, I pondered the wisdom of having decided to spend a year and a half with this tribe before I had even seen what they were like. I am not ashamed to admit, either, that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next day when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever decided to switch from civil en-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114 123 gineering to anthropology in the first place. I had not eaten all day, I was soaking wet from perspiration, the gnats were biting me, and I was covered with red pigment, the result of a dozen or so complete examinations I had been given by as many burly Indians. [515] These examinations capped an otherwise grim day. The Indians would blow their noses into their hands, flick as much of the mucus off that would separate in a snap of the wrist, wipe the residue into their hair, and then carefully examine my face, arms, legs, hair, and the contents of my pockets. I asked Mr. Barker how to say "Your hands are dirty"; my comments were met by the Indians in the following way: They would "clean" their hands by spitting a quantity of slimy tobacco juice into them, rub them together, and then proceed with the examination.

Mr. Barker and I crossed the river and slung our hammocks. When he pulled his hammock out of a rubber bag, a heavy, disagreeable odor of mildewed cotton came with it. "Even the missionaries are filthy," I thought to myself. Within two weeks, everything I owned smelled the same way, and I lived with that odor for the remainder of the fieldwork. My own habits of personal cleanliness reached such levels that I didn't even mind being examined by the Indians, as I was not much cleaner than they were after I had adjusted to the circumstances.

So much for my discovery that primitive man is not the picture of nobility and sanitation I had conceived him to be. I soon discovered that it was an enormously time-consuming task to maintain my own body in the manner to which it had grown accustomed in the relatively antiseptic environment of the northern United States. Either I could be relatively well fed and relatively comfortable in a fresh change of clothes and do very little fieldwork, or, I could do considerably more fieldwork and be less well fed and less comfortable.

114 122 It is appalling how complicated it can be to make oatmeal in the jungle. First, I had to make two trips to the river to haul the water. Next, I had to prime my kerosene stove with alcohol and get it burning, a tricky procedure when you are trying to mix powdered milk and fill a coffee pot at the same time: the alcohol prime always burned out before I could turn the kerosene on, and I would have to start all over. Or, I would turn the kerosene on, hoping that the element was still hot enough to vaporize the fuel, and start a small fire in my palm-thatched hut as the liquid kerosene squirted all over the table and walls and ignited. It was safer to start over with the alcohol. Then I had to boil the oatmeal and pick the bugs out of it. All my supplies, of course, were carefully stored in Indian-proof, rat-proof, moisture-proof, and insect-proof containers, not one of which ever served its purpose adequately. Just taking things out of the multiplicity of containers and repacking them afterward was a minor project in itself. By the time I had hauled the water to cook with, unpacked my food, prepared the oatmeal, milk, and coffee, heated water for dishes, washed and dried the dishes, repacked the food in the containers, stored the containers in locked trunks and cleaned up my mess, the ceremony of preparing breakfast had brought me almost up to lunch time!

Eating three meals a day was out of the question. I solved the problem by eating a single meal that could be prepared in a single container, or, at most, in two containers, washed my dishes only when there were no clean ones left, using cold river water, and wore each change of clothing at least a week to cut down on my laundry problem, a courageous undertaking in the tropics. I was also less concerned about sharing my provisions with the rats, insects, Indians, and the elements, thereby eliminating the need

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

for my complicated storage process. I was able to last most of the day on *café con leche*, heavily sugared espresso coffee diluted about five to one with hot milk. I would prepare this in the evening and store it in a thermos. Frequently, my single meal was no more complicated than a can of sardines and a package of crackers. But at least two or three times a week I would do something sophisticated, like make oatmeal or boil rice and add a can of tuna fish or tomato paste to it. I even saved time by devising a water system that obviated the trips to the river. I had a few sheets of zinc roofing brought in and made a rain-water trap; I caught the water on the zinc surface, funneled it into an empty gasoline drum, and then ran a plastic hose from the drum to my hut. When the drum was exhausted in the dry season, I hired the Indians to fill it with water from the river.

I ate much less when I traveled with the Indians to visit other villages. Most of the time my travel diet consisted of roasted or boiled green plantains (see Glossary) that I obtained from the Indians, but I always carried a few cans of sardines with me in case I got lost or stayed away longer than I had planned. I found peanut butter and crackers a very nourishing food, and a simple one to prepare on trips. It was nutritious and portable, and only one tool was required to prepare the meal, a hunting knife that could be cleaned by wiping the blade on a leaf. More importantly, it was one of the few foods the Indians would let me eat in relative peace. It looked too much like animal feces to them to excite their appetites.

I once referred to the peanut butter as the dung of cattle. They found this quite repugnant. They did not know what "cattle" were, but were generally aware that I ate several canned products of such an animal. I perpetrated this myth, if for no other reason than to have some peace of mind while I ate. Fieldworkers develop strange defense mechanisms, and this was one of my own forms of adapeation. On another occasion I was eating a can of frankfurters and growing very weary of the demands of one of my guests for a share in my meal. When he asked me what I was eating, I replied: "Beef." He then asked, "What part of the animal are you eating?" to which I replied, "Guess!" He stopped asking for a share.

Meals were a problem in another way. Food sharing is important to the Yąnomamö in the context of displaying friendship. "I am hungry," is almost a form of greeting with them. I could not possibly have brought enough food with me to feed the entire village, yet they seemed not to understand this. All they could see was that I did not share my food with them at each and every meal. Nor could I enter into their system of reciprocities with respect to food; every time one of them gave me something "freely," he would dog me for months to pay him back, not with food, but with steel tools. Thus, if I accepted a plantain from someone in a different village while I was on a visit, he would most likely visit me in the future and demand a machete as payment for the time that he "fed" me. I usually reacted to these kinds of demands by giving a banana, the customary reciprocity in their culture—food for food—but this would be a disappointment for the individual who had visions of that single plantain growing into a machete over time.

Despite the fact that most of them knew I would not share my food with them at their request, some of them always showed up at my hut during mealtime. I gradually became accustomed to this and learned to ignore their persistent demands while I ate. Some of them would get angry because I failed to give in, but most of them accepted

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

it as just a peculiarity of the subhuman foreigner. When I did give in, my hut quickly filled with Indians, each demanding a sample of the food that I had given one of them. If I did not give all a share, I was that much more despicable in their eyes.

A few of them went out of their way to make my meals unpleasant, to spite me for not sharing; for example, one man arrived and watched me eat a cracker with honey on it. He immediately recognized the honey, a particularly esteemed Yąnomamö food. He knew that I would not share my tiny bottle and that it would be futile to ask. Instead, he glared at me and queried icily, "Shaki![4] What kind of animal semen are you eating on that cracker?" His question had the desired effect, and my meal ended.

Finally, there was the problem of being lonely and separated from your own kind, especially your family. I tried to overcome this by seeking personal friendships among the Indians. This only complicated the matter because all my friends simply used my confidence to gain privileged access to my cache of steel tools and trade goods, and looted me. I would be bitterly disappointed that my "friend" thought no more of me than to finesse our relationship exclusively with the intention of getting at my locked up possessions, and my depression would hit new lows every time I discovered this. The loss of the possession bothered me much less than the shock that I was, as far as most of them were concerned, nothing more than a source of desirable items; no holds were barred in relieving me of these, since I was considered something subhuman, a non-Yąnomamö.

The thing that bothered me most was the incessant, passioned, and aggressive demands the Indians made. It would become so unbearable that I would have to lock myself in my mud hut every once in a while just to escape from it: Privacy is one of Western culture's greatest achievements. But I did not want privacy for its own sake; rather, I simply had to get away from the begging. Day and night for the entire time I lived with the Yąnomamö I was plagued by such demands as: "Give me a knife, I am poor!"; "If you don't take me with you on your next trip to Widokaiya-teri I'll chop a hole in your canoe!"; "Don't point your camera at me or I'll hit you!"; "Share your food with me!"; "Take me across the river in your canoe and be quick about it!"; "Give me a cooking pot!"; "Loan me your flashlight so I can go hunting tonight!"; "Give me medicine . . . I itch all over!"; "Take us on a week-long hunting trip with your shotgun!"; and "Give me an axe or I'll break into your hut when you are away visiting and steal one!" And so I was bombarded by such demands day after day, months on end, until I could not bear to see an Indian.

It was not as difficult to become calloused to the incessant begging as it was to ignore the sense of urgency, the impassioned tone of voice, or the intimidation and aggression with which the demands were made. It was likewise difficult to adjust to the fact that the Yąnomamö refused to accept "no" for an answer until or unless it seethed with passion and intimidation—which it did after six months. Giving in to a demand always established a new threshold; the next demand would be for a bigger item or favor, and the anger of the Indians even greater if the demand was not met. I soon learned

[4] "Shaki," or, rather, "Shakiwë," is the name they gave me because they could not pronounce "Chagnon." They like to name people for some distinctive feature when possible. *Shaki* is the name of a species of noisome bee; they accumulate in large numbers around ripening bananas and make pests of themselves by crawling into the fruit, showering the people below with the debris. They probably adopted this name for me because I was also a nuisance, continuously prying into their business, taking pictures of them, and, in general, being where they did not want me.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that I had to become very much like the Yąnomamö to be able to get along with them on their terms: sly, aggressive, and intimidating.

Had I failed to adjust in this fashion I would have lost six months of supplies to them in a single day or would have spent most of my time ferrying them around in my canoe or hunting for them. As it was, I did spend a considerable amount of time doing these things and did succumb to their outrageous demands for axes and machetes, at least at first. More importantly, had I failed to demonstrate that I could not be pushed around beyond a certain point, I would have been the subject of far more ridicule, theft, and practical jokes than was the actual case. In short, I had to acquire a certain proficiency in their kind of interpersonal politics and to learn how to imply subtly that certain potentially undesirable consequences might follow if they did such and such to me. They do this to each other in order to establish precisely the point at which they cannot goad an individual any further without precipitating retaliation. As soon as I caught on to this and realized that much of their aggression was stimulated by their desire to discover my flash point; I got along much better with them and regained some lost ground. It was sort of like a political game that everyone played, but one in which each individual sooner or later had to display some sign that his bluffs and implied threats could be backed up. I suspect that the frequency of wife beating is a component of this syndrome, since men can display their ferocity and show others that they are capable of violence. Beating a wife with a club is considered to be an acceptable way of displaying ferocity and one that does not expose the male to much danger. The important thing is that the man has displayed his potential for violence and the implication is that other men better treat him with respect and caution.

After six months, the level of demand was tolerable in the village I used for my headquarters. The Indians and I adjusted to each other and knew what to expect with regard to demands on their part for goods, favors, and services. Had I confined my fieldwork to just that village alone, the field experience would have been far more enjoyable. But, as I was interested in the demographic pattern and social organization of a much larger area, I made regular trips to some dozen different villages in order to collect genealogies or to recheck those I already had. Hence, the intensity of begging and intimidation was fairly constant for the duration of the fieldwork. I had to establish my position in some sort of pecking order of ferocity at each and every village.

For the most part, my own "fierceness" took the form of shouting back at the Yąnomamö as loudly and as passionately as they shouted at me, especially at first, when I did not know much of their language. As I became more proficient in their language and learned more about their political tactics, I became more sophisticated in the art of bluffing. For example, I paid one young man a machete to cut palm trees and make boards from the wood. I used these to fashion a platform in the bottom of my dugout canoe to keep my possessions dry when I traveled by river. That afternoon I was doing informant work in the village; the long-awaited mission supply boat arrived, and most of the Indians ran out of the village to beg goods from the crew. I continued to work in the village for another hour or so and went down to the river to say "hello" to the men on the supply boat. I was angry when I discovered that the Indians had chopped up all my palm boards and used them to paddle their own canoes[8] across the river. I knew that if

[8]The canoes were obtained from missionaries, who, in turn, got them from a different tribe.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114 I overlooked this incident I would have invited them to take even greater liberties with
123 my goods in the future. I crossed the river, docked amidst their dugouts, and shouted for the Indians to come out and see me. A few of the culprits appeared, mischievous grins on their faces. I gave a spirited lecture about how hard I had worked to put those boards in my canoe, how I had paid a machete for the wood, and how angry I was that they destroyed my work in their haste to cross the river. I then pulled out my hunting knife and, while their grins disappeared, cut each of their canoes loose, set it into the current, and let them float away. I left without further ado and without looking back.

They managed to borrow another canoe and, after some effort, recovered their dugouts. The headman of the village later told me with an approving chuckle that I had done the correct thing. Everyone in the village, except, of course, the culprits, supported and defended my action. This raised my status.

Whenever I took such action and defended my rights, I got along much better with the Yąnomamö. A good deal of their behavior toward me was directed with the forethought of establishing the point at which I would react defensively. Many of them later reminisced about the early days of my work when I was "timid" and a little afraid of them, and they could bully me into giving goods away.

Theft was the most persistent situation that required me to take some sort of defensive action. I simply could not keep everything I owned locked in trunks, and the Indians came into my hut and left at will. I developed a very effective means for recovering almost all the stolen items. I would simply ask a child who took the item and then take that person's hammock when he was not around, giving a spirited lecture to the others as I marched away in a faked rage with the thief's hammock. Nobody ever attempted to stop me from doing this, and almost all of them told me that my technique for recovering my possessions was admirable. By nightfall the thief would either appear with the stolen object or send it along with someone else to make an exchange. The others would heckle him for getting caught and being forced to return the item.

121 With respect to collecting the data I sought, there was a very frustrating problem.
124 Primitive social organization is kinship organization, and to understand the Yąnomamö
551 way of life I had to collect extensive genealogies. I could not have deliberately picked
114 a more difficult group to work with in this regard: They have very stringent name taboos. They attempt to name people in such a way that when the person dies and they can no longer use his name, the loss of the word in the language is not inconvenient. Hence, they name people for specific and minute parts of things, such as "toenail of some rodent," thereby being able to retain the words "toenail" and "(specific) rodent," but not being able to refer directly to the toenail of that rodent. The taboo is maintained even for the living: One mark of prestige is the courtesy others show you by not using your name. The sanctions behind the taboo seem to be an unusual combination of fear and respect.

114 I tried to use kinship terms to collect genealogies at first, but the kinship terms
123 were so ambiguous that I ultimately had to resort to names. They were quick to grasp
124 that I was bound to learn everybody's name and reacted, without my knowing it, by
60 inventing false names for everybody in the village. After having spent several months
551 collecting names and learning them, this came as a disappointment to me: I could not cross-check the genealogies with other informants from distant villages.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

They enjoyed watching me learn these names. I assumed, wrongly, that I would get the truth to each question and that I would get the best information by working in public. This set the stage for converting a serious project into a farce. Each informant tried to outdo his peers by inventing a name even more ridiculous than what I had been given earlier, or by asserting that the individual about whom I inquired was married to his mother or daughter, and the like. I would have the informant whisper the name of the individual in my ear, noting that he was the father of such and such a child. Everybody would then insist that I repeat the name aloud, roaring in hysterics as I clumsily pronounced the name. I assumed that the laughter was in response to the violation of the name taboo or to my pronunciation. This was a reasonable interpretation, since the individual whose name I said aloud invariably became angry. After I learned what some of the names meant, I began to understand what the laughter was all about. A few of the more colorful examples are: "hairy vagina," "long penis," "feces of the harpy eagle," and "dirty rectum." No wonder the victims were angry.

I was forced to do my genealogy work in private because of the horseplay and nonsense. Once I did so, my informants began to agree with each other and I managed to learn a few new names, real names. I could then test any new informant by collecting a genealogy from him that I knew to be accurate. I was able to weed out the more mischievous informants this way. Little by little I extended the genealogies and learned the real names. Still, I was unable to get the names of the dead and extend the genealogies back in time, and even my best informants continued to deceive me about their own close relatives. Most of them gave me the name of a living man as the father of some individual in order to avoid mentioning that the actual father was dead.

The quality of a genealogy depends in part on the number of generations it embraces, and the name taboo prevented me from getting any substantial information about deceased ancestors. Without this information, I could not detect marriage patterns through time. I had to rely on older informants for this information, but these were the most reluctant of all. As I became more proficient in the language and more skilled at detecting lies, my informants became better at lying. One of them in particular was so cunning and persuasive that I was shocked to discover that he had been inventing his information. He specialized in making a ceremony out of telling me false names. He would look around to make sure nobody was listening outside my hut, enjoin me to never mention the name again, act very nervous and spooky, and then grab me by the head to whisper the name very softly into my ear. I was always elated after an informant session with him, because I had several generations of dead ancestors for the living people. The others refused to give me this information. To show my gratitude, I paid him quadruple the rate I had given the others. When word got around that I had increased the pay, volunteers began pouring in to give me genealogies.

I discovered that the old man was lying quite by accident. A club fight broke out in the village one day, the result of a dispute over the possession of a woman. She had been promised to Rerebawä, a particularly aggressive young man who had married into the village. Rerebawä had already been given her older sister and was enraged when the younger girl began having an affair with another man in the village, making no attempt to conceal it from him. He challenged the young man to a club fight, but was so abusive in his challenge that the opponent's father took offense and entered the village circle with his son, wielding a long club. Rerebawä swaggered out to the duel and

11: Chagnon E-6 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

114 123 124 518 839 hurled insults at both of them, trying to goad them into striking him on the head with their clubs. This would have given him the opportunity to strike them on the head. His opponents refused to hit him, and the fight ended. Rerebawë had won a moral victory because his opponents were afraid to hit him. Thereafter, he swaggered around and insulted the two men behind their backs. He was genuinely angry with them, to the point of calling the older man by the name of his dead father. I quickly seized on this as an opportunity to collect an accurate genealogy and pumped him about his adversary's ancestors. Rerebawë had been particularly nasty to me up to this point, but we became staunch allies: We were both outsiders in the local village. I then asked about other dead ancestors and got immediate replies. He was angry with the whole group and not afraid to tell me the names of the dead. When I compared his version of the genealogies to that of the old man, it was obvious that one of them was lying. I challenged his information, and he explained that everybody knew that the old man was deceiving me and bragging about it in the village. The names the old man had given me were the dead ancestors of the members of a village so far away that he thought I would never have occasion to inquire about them. As it turned out, Rerebawë knew most of the people in that village and recognized the names.

114 124 I then went over the complete genealogical records with Rerebawë, genealogies I had presumed to be in final form. I had to revise them all because of the numerous lies and falsifications they contained. Thus, after five months of almost constant work on the genealogies of just one group, I had to begin almost from scratch!

114 123 124 Discouraging as it was to start over, it was still the first real turning point in my fieldwork. Thereafter, I began taking advantage of local arguments and animosities in selecting my informants, and used more extensively individuals who had married into the group. I began traveling to other villages to check the genealogies, picking villages that were on strained terms with the people about whom I wanted information. I would then return to my base camp and check with local informants the accuracy of the new information. If the informants became angry when I mentioned the new names I acquired from the unfriendly group, I was almost certain that the information was accurate. For this kind of checking I had to use informants whose genealogies I knew rather well: they had to be distantly enough related to the dead person that they would not go into a rage when I mentioned the name, but not so remotely related that they would be uncertain of the accuracy of the information. Thus, I had to make a list of names that I dared not use in the presence of each and every informant. Despite the precautions, I occasionally hit a name that put the informant into a rage, such as that of a dead brother or sister that other informants had not reported. This always terminated the day's work with that informant, for he would be too touchy to continue any further, and I would be reluctant to take a chance on accidentally discovering another dead kinsman so soon after the first.

114 123 124 551 These were always unpleasant experiences, and occasionally dangerous ones, depending on the temperament of the informant. On one occasion I was planning to visit a village that had been raided about a week earlier. A woman whose name I had on my list had been killed by the raiders. I planned to check each individual on the list one by one to estimate ages, and I wanted to remove her name so that I would not say it aloud in the village. I knew that I would be in considerable difficulty if I said this name aloud so soon after her death. I called on my original informant and asked him to tell

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ19

me the name of the woman who had been killed. He refused, explaining that she was a close relative of his. I then asked him if he would become angry if I read off all the names on the list. This way he did not have to say her name and could merely nod when I mentioned the right one. He was a fairly good friend of mine, and I thought I could predict his reaction. He assured me that this would be a good way of doing it. We were alone in my hut so that nobody could overhear us. I read the names softly, continuing to the next when he gave a negative reply. When I finally spoke the name of the dead woman he flew out of his chair, raised his arm to strike me, and shouted: "You son-of-a-bitch![6] If you ever say that name again, I'll kill you!" He was shaking with rage, but left my hut quietly. I shudder to think what might have happened if I had said the name unknowingly in the woman's village. I had other, similar experiences in different villages, but luckily the dead person had been dead for some time and was not closely related to the individual into whose ear I whispered the name. I was merely cautioned to desist from saying any more names, lest I get people angry with me.

I had been working on the genealogies for nearly a year when another individual came to my aid. It was Kąobawä, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri, the group in which I spent most of my time. He visited me one day after the others had left the hut and volunteered to help me on the genealogies. He was poor, he explained, and needed a machete. He would work only on the condition that I did not ask him about his own parents and other very close kinsmen who were dead. He also added that he would not lie to me as the others had done in the past. This was perhaps the most important single event in my fieldwork, for out of this meeting evolved a very warm friendship and a very profitable informant-fieldworker relationship.

Kąobawä's familiarity with his group's history and his candidness were remarkable. His knowledge of details was almost encyclopedic. More than that, he was enthusiastic and encouraged me to learn details that I might otherwise have ignored. If there were things he did not know intimately, he would advise me to wait until he could check things out with someone in the village. This he would do clandestinely, giving me a report the next day. As I was constrained by my part of the bargain to avoid discussing his close dead kinsmen, I had to rely on Rerebawä for this information. I got Rerebawä's genealogy from Kąobawä.

Once again I went over the genealogies with Kąobawä to recheck them, a considerable task by this time: they included about two thousand names, representing several generations of individuals from four different villages. Rerebawä's information was very accurate, and Kąobawä's contribution enabled me to trace the genealogies further back in time. Thus, after nearly a year of constant work on genealogies, Yąnomamö demography and social organization began to fall into a pattern. Only then could I see how kin groups formed and exchanged women with each other over time, and only then did the fissioning of larger villages into smaller ones show a distinct pattern. At this point I was able to begin formulating more intelligent questions because there was now some sort of pattern to work with. Without the help of Rerebawä and Kąobawä I could not have made very much sense of the plethora of details I had collected from dozens of other informants.

[6] This is the closest English translation of his actual statement, the literal translation of which would be nonsensical in our language.

Fig. 1-3. Kaobawä, the male leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yanomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

Kaobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yanomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kaobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kaobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was bashi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
531
286

Fig. 2-7. Orozimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

241
754
829
184

nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

101
014

[8]The Yanomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xiriana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yanomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikai*, is a Yanomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yanomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yanomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yanomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yanomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kąobawï, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kąobawï's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kąobawï. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kąobawï goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kąobawï's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kąobawï would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kąobawï is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*hekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *hekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kąobawï's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *hekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *hekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yąnomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

611 the village, the members of which being related to each other as brother and sister, and
602 the fact that individuals must marry outside their own lineages.
582 The important features of the lineages X and Y are now clearly visible in genera-
613 tion II: The lineages are patrilineal and exogamous. That is, males and females belong to the lineage of their father (patrilineality), and individuals must marry people who belong to a different lineage (exogamy). This can be seen more clearly in the symbols
601 used in Fig. 3-1. All males of lineage X are designated by triangles (x_1, x_2, x_3 . . . x_n), and all females of lineage X are designated by hexagons. Similarly, all males of lineage Y are designated as squares and all females by circles. Males of lineage X marry females of lineage Y. Their children belong to lineage X because their *father* (patrilineality) is of lineage X.

601 The Yąnomamö kinship system also reflects the rules of lineage exogamy, brother-
613 sister exchange and reciprocity. Their kinship system is called the "bifurcate merging"
582 type with "Iroquois" cousin terms (see Glossary). Within each generation, all the males of one lineage call each other "brother," and all the women call each other "sister." Males of lineage X call males of lineage Y "brother-in-law" and are eligible to marry their sisters. In fact, the males of lineage X call the females of lineage Y "wife" *whether or not they marry them.* This is likewise true for the males of lineage Y with respect to the females of lineage X. This brings us to another important Yąnomamö marriage rule: A male must marry a woman of the category called *nabëya*—"wife." This is called a *prescriptive* marriage rule.[2] To state it more precisely, Yąnomamö society is characterized by a rule that enjoins a man to marry a woman of a specific kinship category; he has no choice with respect to the category.

582 There is an important controversy over the meaning and implications of the term
•114 "prescriptive." I have given the definition held by British anthropologists generally,
128 by Needham (1962*a*:9) in particular. This definition emphasizes the fact that men have no choice with respect to the category of women from which their wives must come, that men are forbidden to marry women of other categories, and that the society itself is said to be characterized by the prescriptive rule. The opposition to this definition comes largely from certain American anthropologists, who maintain that a society can only be said to have a prescriptive marriage rule when a high percentage (close to 100 percent) of the people marry according to the rule (see Coult and Hammel 1963:291). The issues involved are not quite as simple as this, but a glimmering of the area of contention can be seen in an example provided by Leach (1965). Rephrasing his example, the rule (in our society) "thou shalt not kill" is like the rule (among, say, the Yąnomamö) "thou shalt marry a woman of category A." These rules can be said to exist in the respective societies irrespective of the homocide rate in New York or the frequency of aberrant marriages in a Yąnomamö village. That is, Leach (and Needham) maintain that one cannot discover such a rule by counting examples of murder (or, rather, "non-murder") or marriages of men to women of category A. The more basic issue, however, is the

[2]Professor Lévi-Strauss, who read an earlier draft of this chapter, quite correctly pointed out that to say a marriage system is "prescriptive" is to say no more than "a man must marry a marriageable female," which is a tautology. Nevertheless, we must have some way to distinguish a system that permits marriage with only a single category of women from those that permit marriage with women of several categories. By showing what is meant by the Yąnomamö category *nabëya*, as I have attempted to do in Fig. 3-2, the reader will gain some idea of what is meant by that marriage type. I have used the term "prescriptive" because it is the current usage.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

meaning of, in this case, "category A." It is customary to represent primitive kinship categories in models (for example, Fig. 3–1) by their closest biological equivalents in *our own kinship system*. Many critics of Needham's definition of prescription fail to appreciate the fact that *FaSiDa* and *MoBrDa* in a model like the one given in Fig. 3–1 represent just *two* of several kinds of kinswomen who fall into the prescribed category. That is, they interpret the native's kinship category from the narrow point of view of one of that category's biological meanings in *our own kinship system*. (I have given ten examples of actual Yąnomamö marriages in Fig. 3–2, discussed later, to illustrate what the categories FaSiDa and MoBrDa mean to the Yąnomamö.) The use of Needham's definition of prescription to characterize Yąnomamö marriage rules can be justified, therefore, on several grounds. First, the Yąnomamö assert that a man must marry a woman of the *suaböya* category. Second, of the six primary categories used by men to classify female relatives, five of them embrace women who stand in incestuous relationship to the male speaker, and he is forbidden to marry any woman that falls into any of these five additional categories. Third, we will see below how closely the alternative definition of prescription fits the Yąnomamö, using their own notions of kinship to reckon relationships between males and females.[3]

In Fig. 3–1, marriageable women are related to their husbands as both FaSiDa and MoBrDa; this is an artifact of the way in which the model is drawn. These two kinds of kinswomen are the closest biological equivalents in our kinship system for the Yąnomamö term "*suaböya*:" "wife." It must be emphasized, however, that given the classificatory nature of the Yąnomamö kinship system (for example, men of the same generation and of the same lineage are "brothers"), there are several ways to be related to a woman as "wife."

Something new has happened in generation III. A man (w_1) from a distant village, along with his sister, has joined the group. Both he and his sister have married into lineage X. Thus, there are three lineages represented in the village (W, X, and Y), and the *dual organization* characterizing generations I and II is now lost.[4] A Yąnomamö village can incorporate new lineages into its social life by an extension of marriage ties to its members. As can be seen from Fig. 3–1, the same rules—exogamy, reciprocity, patrilineal descent, and brother-sister exchange—that characterize the behavior of the members of lineages X and Y also hold for the members of the new lineage, W. The incorporation of lineage W takes place this way. W_1 joined the village in 1928 (generation III) because x_3 and x_4 promised him one of their sisters. As shown in Fig. 3–1, he did, in fact, marry one of their sisters and gave, in exchange, one of his sisters to x_3.

This (potentially) brings about an important structural change in the village with

[3]For an excellent summary of the various arguments concerning "prescriptive alliance," see Maybury-Lewis 1965a.

[4]A society is said to have dual organization when, for example, it is comprised of two intermarrying kinship groups, such as lineages X and Y in generations I and II of Fig. 3–1. In some societies the intermarrying kin groups are named, for example, "Bear Clan (or Moiety)" and "Thunderbird Clan (or Moiety)." The Yąnomamö do not have named kinship groups such as this. Dual organization is, however, implied in their kinship terminology and marriage rules and, as will be seen, villages tend to have two (and only two) politically dominant lineages that intermarry. In short, the Yąnomamö village tends to be comprised *in fact* of two dominant kinship groups but lacks some of the ideology, such as named pairs of intermarrying kin groups, of classical dual organization. See: Maybury-Lewis, 1960 and 1967; Lévi-Strauss, 1963, Chapter VIII; Nimuendajú and Lowie, 1937; and Malinowski, 1926, for further descriptions and analyses of societies having dual organization.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him to do a favor, whereas he could ask this of a brother-in-law.[6] As shall presently be seen, the dynamics of Yąnomamö social organization originate in the politics of obtaining a wife. Within this context, agnates are competitors and affines are allies. This has an important effect on the manner in which villages fission and form new groups. The point to remember at this juncture is that ties of marriage are in many cases stronger than ties of blood.

I emphasize this because many anthropologists argue from "first principles" that ties of blood are—by definition—more capable of promoting solidarity and amity than ties by marriage. The controversy over "complementary filiation" between E. R. Leach (1957) and M. Fortes (1959), still not satisfactorily resolved, was essentially a debate about the analytical significance of marriage ties. Focusing on only one of the issues and rephrasing the arguments so as to apply to Fig. 3–2, the debate ran something like this: Both Leach and Fortes seemed to agree that in societies having lineal descent groups (lineages), the descent groups would tend to fall apart unless some kind of tie bound the members to each other. That is, lineages X and Y of Fig. 3–2 would, in short, pull away from each other unless they were held together by some special social tie. Fortes argued that this special tie was the solidarity and amity that grew out of the cognatic (see Glossary) kinship ties between the two lineages which arise when individuals marry blood relatives. Looking at generation V, for example, Fortes would argue that lineages X and Y are bound to each other because x_8 and y_5 married women to whom they are related by blood (as FaSiDa and MoBrDa). He argues from first principles that solidarity emanates from the blood ties. Leach, however, states that in generation V the two lineages are bound to each other by obligations to reciprocate goods, services, and women and that the solidarity of the two lineages derives from the affinal ties themselves (shown as "15" and "16" in Fig. 3–2). If we look only at generation V, the argument cannot be resolved, since the data support both arguments equally well, or at least do not convincingly support one rather than the other. I might add that both arguments can be supported by data not given in Fig. 3–2; Fortes' arguments are supported, for example, by the additional fact that Yąnomamö men do not stringently have to avoid their mothers-in-law when they are related to them in the fashion shown in Fig. 3–2, whereas the avoidance taboo is very onerous when a man's mother-in-law is not a blood relative. If, however, attention is focused on the events of generation III and their consequences examined, it can readily be seen that the affinal (marriage) ties in generation V are stronger than some of the agnatic (blood) ties, and the latter break when the village fissions. (This can be even more readily seen in Fig. 3–4 and 3–5, discussed later.) Thus, it cannot be argued that Yąnomamö lineage solidarity derives exclusively from blood ties and "complementary filiation." There is another issue. Structural analyses depend in large measure on a sharp distinction between marriage (affinal) ties and blood (consanguineal) ties. Fortes seems to deny that affinal ties as such exist independently of blood ties, and he has "subsumed" them into his concept of "complementary filiation." If there is no such thing as affinal ties between lineal descent groups, then structural

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

[6] In addition, it is by no means rare for agnates to get into club fights over women. I even have recorded a number of cases of men shooting and killing a "brother" during raids. This happened on two occasions during my first stay in the field, and I have reports of several additional cases obtained from informants who were describing past raids.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

analysis of reciprocal marriage exchanges between such groups and the obligations implied in such exchange is seriously hampered. In short, if Yąnomamö marriage exchanges over a number of generations and the kinship basis of village fissioning are examined, the data support Leach's arguments. They do not, however, invalidate Fortes' argument that blood ties create some solidarity, but they do call into question the contention that blood ties by definition, or, rather, on "first principles," account exclusively for the solidarity occurring between lineages.

In summary, Fig. 3–1 represents a number of important features of Yąnomamö social organization. First, people reckon descent through males and are grouped into exogamous, patrilineal lineages. These are called *mashi* by the Yąnomamö, although none of them bear distinctive names.[7] Second, members of these lineages tend to intermarry with the members of a second lineage over a number of generations, being bound to them by obligations to reciprocate women in marriage. This results in a dual organization of kinsmen within the village, whose residents fall into one or the other of the two lineages. Third, new lineages can be incorporated into the village by an extension of marriage ties, potentially bringing about "structural faults" within the lineages of that village. Fourth, men are obliged to marry a woman of a single, specific category, *suakörya*. This category defines a variety of women, two subcategories of which can be translated into the English biological equivalents MoBrDa and FaSiDa. Yąnomamö men prefer to marry women of these subcategories because they are relieved of much of the discomfort of avoiding their mothers-in-law.[8]

The ten partial genealogies shown in Fig. 3–2 show how the Yąnomamö actually marry. The genealogies have been selected with the intention of illustrating how the Yąnomamö reckon relationships between kinsmen in general, and between husband and wife in particular. All ten exemplify prescriptive marriage. They are more or less arranged in decreasing order of correspondence to our own biological concepts of kinship and illustrate the classificatory nature of their kinship system.

The people shown on these genealogies are (or were) real people. Many of the individuals in the examples are related to each other in such ways that all ten of the examples could be drawn as a single, unified genealogy.

The first eight examples are drawn from the village of Patanowä-teri; the last two are from Bisaasi-teri. In case J, for example, the fifth individual of the second generation is Kąobawä. To give a rough idea of the incompleteness of each genealogy, only one of Kąobawä's four marriages is shown and only one of his four children. None of his brothers and sisters are shown either, nor is the fact that he married a MoBrDa indicated.

Case A illustrates the identification procedure to be used in relating the genealogies to the text. There are three generations shown in case A; the first is symbolized by the Roman numeral I, the second, by II, the third, by III. Each individual in each generation is given a number; the number series runs from left to right and begins anew with 1 in each generation. Hence, every individual bears a generation number and a position-within-generation number. Case A illustrates the marriage of individuals III–1 to III–2;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[7] *Mashi* means "species," "group," "cluster of similar things," and, in the context of kinship, "that group of people to whom I am related through males;" that is, "patrilineal kinsmen."

[8] I draw attention to the fact that the category is *prescribed*, but within it there are *preferences*. There are very few analyses of societies that have a prescriptive rule within which there are preferences, although Needham has devoted some attention to this interesting phenomenon (1962*a*, 1962*b*, and 1963).

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Kąobawä's group. All their other neighbors, allied to the victims of the treacherous feast, relentlessly raided them. They were, in short, extremely dependent on Kąobawä's group and the two other villages related to Kąobawä's group.

Kąobawä and his followers have astutely finessed this situation in two ways. First, they have managed to coerce the two Shamatari villages into ceding women without reciprocating an equal number of their own in return. The men who have obtained Shamatari wives have, as well, managed to cut short their period of bride service in the Shamatari village. Conversely, Shamatari men who have been promised women of Kąobawä's group are pressed into very lengthy bride service, sometimes up to three years. Secondly, Kąobawä's group has prevented the two Shamatari allies from re-establishing friendly contacts with the other Shamatari to their southeast by chicane, threat, and intimidation. One of the two Shamatari allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri, has attempted a rapprochement with the Shamatari enemies of Kąobawä's group. In 1965, several months after I had been living in Kąobawä's village, Kąobawä's group managed to stage another treacherous feast for the old enemies by taking advantage of the renewed ties between the Reyaboböwei-teri and the enemies. They learned that the Reyaboböwei-teri planned to invite one of the villages to a feast, so they, along with the Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Mǫmariböwei-teri, went to the feast in order to ambush the guests. The Reyaboböwei-teri, however, were reluctant to go through with the plan and warned the visitors about it. The visitors were en route to the village when word of the treachery reached them. This had the effect of creating even more difficulties for the Reyaboböwei-teri, for it is highly unlikely that they will succeed in gaining the confidence of their neighbors to the southeast. Nevertheless, some visiting between the groups still continues.[17]

The historical relationships between the villages helps account for the reasons behind contemporary alliance patterns. The discrepancy between marriage rules and actual marriage practice in Lower Bisaasi-teri is a result of the political advantages that group enjoys over one of its allies. It has used this advantage to gain a favorable imbalanced marriage exchange pattern, but one that is only temporary. The Shamatari are also shrewd in their alliance practices, and have succeeded in neutralizing their disadvantages by capitalizing on schisms between Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. This has been done largely by confining their marriage exchanges to important men in the dominant lineages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri. One of the Shamatari villages, Mǫmaribowei-teri, has restricted its exchanges to Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri, while completely ignoring Upper Bisaasi-teri. The other Shamatari village has given its women only to Upper Bisaasi-teri. This has resulted in the weakening of ties between the three villages of Upper Bisaasi-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Monou-teri, whose members are

[17] I plan to use these visiting ties to establish contact with the Shamatari villages in that area, none of which have had contact with outsiders. These uncontacted Shamatari, however, know who I am because I attempted to reach them in 1965. They subsequently sent a message out urging me to visit them, angry because my guides forced me to turn back on my first attempt. In 1966 they even sent an old man to Kąobawä's village by way of Reyaboböwei-teri with an invitation for me to visit them. I had already left Venezuela by that time. Most of the men in the two contacted Shamatari villages tried to prevent me from going by telling horrible tales of the treachery that awaited my visit, describing how the Shamatari will kill me. The truth of the matter is that they know that I will bring the uncontacted Shamatari machetes and axes that might otherwise be given to them. The headman of one of the uncontacted villages has a brother in Mǫmariböwei-teri. He privately conceded that no harm would befall me and offered to take me to visit in 1967. He was, unfortunately, bitten by a snake just before I arrived in March of 1967, and my plans were deferred until 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

interdependency. The Yąnomamö cannot simply arrive at the village of a potential ally and declare that they need military assistance because of the raids of a superior enemy. Doing so would admit vulnerability and perhaps invite predation from the potential ally. Instead, they conceal and subsume the true motive for the alliance in the vehicles of *trading* and *feasting*, developing these institutions over months and even years. In this manner they retain an apparent modicum of sovereignty and pride, while simultaneously attaining the true objectives: intervillage solidarity and military interdependence.

Three distinct features of Yąnomamö trading practices are important in the context of alliance formation. First, each item must be repaid with a different kind of item: The recipient is under an *obligation* to repay his partner in a type of exchange called *no mruiba*. Secondly, the payment is delayed, a temporal factor in the trading techniques that is likewise implied by the *no mruiba*. The consequence of these two trading features is that one trade always calls forth another and gives the members of different villages both the excuse and the opportunity to visit each other; and once the trading starts, it tends to continue, for one village in an alliance always owes the other trade goods from their last confrontation. The third significant trade feature is the peculiar specialization in the production of trade items. Each village has one or more special products that it provides to its allies. These include such items as dogs, hallucinogenic drugs (both cultivated and collected), arrow points, arrow shafts, bows, cotton yarn, cotton and vine hammocks, baskets of several varieties, clay pots, and, in the case of the several contacted villages, steel tools and aluminum pots.

This specialization in production cannot be explained in terms of the distribution of natural resources. Each village is, economically speaking, capable of self-sufficiency. (The steel tools and other products from civilization constitute the major exceptions.) The explanation of the specialization must be sought, rather, in the sociological aspects of alliance formation. Trade functions as the social catalyst, the "starting mechanism," through which mutually suspicious allies are repeatedly brought together in direct confrontation. Without these frequent contacts with neighbors, alliances would be much slower in formation and would be even more unstable once formed: A prerequisite to stable alliance is repetitive visiting and feasting, and the trading mechanism serves to bring about these visits.

Clay pots are a good example of the specialization in labor that characterizes Yąnomamö production and trade. The Mǫmariböwei-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8) are allied to both Kąobawä's group and the people of a distant Shamatari village, the latter being mortal enemies of Kąobawä. When I first began my fieldwork, I visited the Mǫmariböwei-teri, specifically asking them if they knew how to make clay pots. They all vigorously denied knowledge of pot-making, explaining that they once knew how to make them but had long since forgotten. They explained that their allies, the Möwaraoba-teri, made them in quantities and provided all they needed, and therefore they did not have to make them anymore. They also added that the clay in the area of their village was not of the proper type for making pots. Later in the year their alliance with the pot makers grew cool because of a war, and their source of pots was shut off. At the same time, Kąobawä's group began asking them for clay pots. The Mǫmariböwei-teri promptly responded by "remembering" how pots were made and "discovering" that the clay in their neighborhood was indeed suitable for pot manufacturing. They had merely created

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

undertake it if it meant getting rid of their first group of visitors, who, by this time, had spent nearly a week eating Kaobawä's produce.

On the morning of the feast three large pieces of bark from the *arapuri* tree were cut and brought to the village. These were made into troughs to contain the boiled, ripe plantain soup. All day long Kaobawä's younger brothers, who had returned from the hunt the day before, labored at cooking the enormous quantity of ripe plantains, pouring each boiling containerful into the trough as it was prepared.[3]

The plantains that Kaobawä had hung in his *shabono* roof a week before were now ripe. The young men who were preparing the soup would cut the bunches of plantains from the roof, split each fruit with their thumb, throw the two halves of the flesh into a cooking pot, and toss the skins onto a pile. They worked at this task from early morning until late afternoon, in addition to boiling a nearly equal quantity of green plantains, which provided the green vegetable food that customarily accompanies the presentation of meat. Yanomamö etiquette dictates that meat must be accompanied by vegetable food and vice versa.[4] It is an insult, for example, to offer someone meat without simultaneously offering a vegetable food with it. Peeling green plantains is a little more difficult than peeling ripe ones, which are very tough and brittle. The Yanomamö solve this problem, like they solve so many others, by using their teeth. Each plantain is bitten along its length several times, cracking the peel, which in turn is removed with the fingernails and further application of the dentition. On this particular occasion, two young men peeled, with their thumbs, enough ripe plantains to make approximately 95 gallons of soup, and, with their teeth, a sufficiently large quantity of green plantains to fill a dozen large pack-baskets.

In the morning on the day of the feast, Kaobawä went to the center of the village clearing where all could see him and proceeded to pull weeds. The clearing has to look presentable to the visitors, as it functions as the dancing plaza. As noted before, since Yanomamö headmen cannot directly order their followers to execute tasks such as these, they usually initiate them and hope that others will follow. By and by, a number of older men joined him, as well as a few women, and when a sufficient number of workers were pulling weeds and hauling them out, Kaobawä quietly retired to his hammock, from which he oversaw the food preparations and calculated the distribution of meat.

Excitement in the village grew conspicuously as the hours passed, and by noon there was a constant din of laughter and chatter, punctuated now and then with a shrill scream from some young man overcome with the thrill of the feast. Occasionally, the visitors would reply to the shouts, setting off a brief contest of screaming between hosts

---

[3]Kaobawä's group has access to aluminum pots now and uses them extensively in food preparations. Most Yanomamö groups still use crude clay pots, although these are being rapidly replaced by aluminum ware, which is traded inland to the more remote villages.

[4]The three vegetable foods considered to be suitable accompaniments for the meat presentation are: boiled green plantains, boiled *ruuhe* fruit, and cassava bread. A number of missionaries and a few scientific observers have identified the Yanomamö feast strongly with the *ruuhe* fruit (Zerries 1955; de Barandiaran 1966). If it is to be identified with any food, it should be called the "plantain feast," but to identify the feast with a food that sometimes (*ruuhe*) or invariably (plantains) accompanies it is to overlook the sociopolitical causes of the feast. *Ruuhe* is so unnecessary to the feast that it was served at only two of six feasts I attended. In short, the Yanomamö feast is a social and political event, not a harvest ceremony, and occurs independently of the abundance or availability of *ruuhe* fruit. *Ruuhe* fruit ripens in February, the peak of the dry season. It is only in the dry season that feasts can be held, because travel is difficult or impossible at other times of the year. The correlation of the ripening of *ruuhe* and feasting is rather more fortuitous than causal.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

they were about to release their arrows point-blank at Kaobawä's attackers, but when he and his aides turned them back, the crisis was over. The leaders of the visiting group rejoined the other men, some of whom had picked up glowing brands of firewood, and they backed out of the village, weapons still drawn, their way illuminated by those who were waving the brands.[7]

Kaobawä's group took no further action in this affair and was not invited to feast at Mahekodo-teri. Later in the year, their relationships worsened because of a club fight in yet another village, and for a while both groups threatened to shoot each other on sight. A temporary rapprochement developed after the club fight, when a group of raiders from Kaobawä's group met a group of hunters from Mahekodo-teri while en route to attack the village of one of their enemies. The men from both villages traded with each other and departed on friendly terms, the raiders abandoning their raid and returning to their village lest they be later ambushed on the way home by the Mahekodo-teri. They are presently on trading terms with each other, but their relationship is still somewhat strained and potentially hostile.

In general, feasts are exciting for both the hosts and the guests and contribute to their mutual solidarity. Under normal circumstances, allies that customarily feast with each other do not fight. Nevertheless, even the best allies occasionally agree beforehand to terminate their feast with a chest-pounding duel, thereby demonstrating to each other that they are friends, but capable of maintaining their sovereignty and willing to fight if necessary (Fig. 4–4). Kaobawä's group had a chest-pounding duel with one of its staunchest allies in 1966, as each had heard that the other was spreading rumors that it was cowardly. Of the six feasts I witnessed during the nineteen months I spent with the Yanomamö, two of them ended in fighting.

Any Yanomamö feast can potentially end in violence because of the nature of the attitudes the participants hold regarding canons of behavior and obligations to display ferocity.

Still, the feast and its attendant trade serve to reduce the possibility of neighbors fighting with each other at a more serious level of violence, and they contribute to intervillage solidarity and mutual interdependence.

[7] At this time, I was crouched in the house behind the line of bowmen, trembling in my boots.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1984-1988) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women. One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomohoni*, is the ultimate form of violence. Kaobawä's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kaobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yanomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Sisiwä, coveted my British commando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

was killed in the incident. Manasinawä, his wife, and his daughter remained with Kąobawä's group, and he ultimately gave the daughter to Kąobawä for a second wife. Kąobawä still has her.

At this time, the groups, of Damowä and Kąobawä, respectively, were still at war with the Patanowä-teri, from whom they separated some fifteen years earlier. Damowä's group, after separating from Kąobawä's, attempted to make peace with the Patanowä-teri, as they were now vulnerable and could ill afford to remain on hostile terms with them. Damowä's group also made an alliance with the two Shamatari villages, which had given them cooperation when they staged the revenge treacherous feast discussed in the last chapter. For about five years relationships between Damowä's group and the Patanowä-teri were relatively amicable, but as the former's alliances with the Shamatari grew in strength, their relationship to the Patanowä-teri grew cool once again.

The Patanowä-teri then became embroiled in new wars with several villages on the Orinoco River and turned to Kąobawä's group for aid, hoping to patch up their old grievances and remain at peace. The first day I began my fieldwork marked the initiation of complete peace between Kąobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri: They were having a feast together in Bisaasi-teri. Damowä's group, the Monou-teri, were not participating in the feast, but a large number of men came anyway. They discovered a group of seven Patanowä-teri females outside the main village and could not resist the temptation: They forcefully took them back to Monou-teri. Later that day the Patanowä-teri men discovered that the women were missing, so they searched the neighborhood and found the tracks of the Monou-teri men at the site of the abduction, where signs of struggling abounded. The next morning they went to Monou-teri armed with clubs: They were bound to get their women back, but did not care to start another shooting war with the Monou-teri. They took five of the women away from the Monou-teri in a heated struggle, but had to pull back without the remaining two, unless they were willing to shoot to kill: The Monou-teri were determined to keep the other women at all costs.

The significance of this incident is this: The headman of Monou-teri realized that the Patanowä-teri would not risk getting into a shooting war with them since they already had more enemies than they could comfortably handle. Hence, this provided an excellent opportunity for the Monou-teri to abduct women with relatively little chance of getting shot in retaliation.

Damowä, the headman of Monou-teri, was angry because the Patanowä-teri had recovered so many of their women. He then threatened to ambush the Patanowä-teri when they left for home after the feast at Bisaasi-teri was over. The Patanowä-teri, in view of this, cut their stay short and left for home before the feast was over, hoping to avoid trouble with the Monou-teri.

Damowä was not satisfied, however, that he forced the Patanowä-teri to capitulate, leave for home, and not attempt to recover the two remaining women. He decided to raid them. In January of 1966 he and a party of men from Monou-teri raided the Patanowä-teri at the latter's village. They caught Bosibeei climbing a *rasha* tree, a prickly, cultivated palm that must be climbed slowly and with the aid of a pair of moveable stick frames in order to avoid getting pierced by the needle-sharp thorns that protrude from the tree's trunk (see Fig. 2–6). Bosibeei was almost to the top of the tree when the raiders caught him—he made an excellent target silhouetted against the sky. They shot and killed him with one volley of arrows as he reached for the fruits of the palm. One of

142
301
302
516
411
965
296
926

Fig. 5-4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized leaves of Dimowë, slain Monou-teri headman.*

726
901

726
114

992
628

726

[165]

located the enemy, but Panowë refused to go any farther. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

The Monou-teri and Bisasi-teri raided against the Patanowë-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they raise without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowë-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Dimowë were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

2:Armellada--33 M-5 (1933-1945) 1946 SS16 Pemon
Yanoama SQ18
Bari 6513

/25 cont./

know of several cases. Neither do we deny proven and concrete cases of attacks by the Indians on Creoles; we have certain proof of several. But, does not this same thing also occur among us in every city, town, or village?

53. In particular there is talk of the untamable wildness of the Siriana of the Paragua River and of the Motilón of the Zulia. As for the former, there is no doubt whatsoever that such butchers do not exist, as we were able to prove in the expedition made in the year 1940 and we reported this in an article published in the Boletín de la Sociedad Venezolana de Ciencias Naturales, Volume VIII, No. 53, to which we refer now.

As for the latter, what is certain is that they have trade relations with the Indians of the Tukuku River, with which statement at least half of the legend is destroyed, that part which says that the Motilón did not permit even dealing with or the approach of other tribes. And regarding their hate of Creoles and their aggressiveness, I refer to the judgment of Mr. Gsell, quoted by A. Jahn in his book, Los Aborígines del Occidente de Venezuela /The Aborigines of Western Venezuela/, page 99, where he says: "As for the temperament of the Motilón, Gsell's opinion is that he does not consider them dangerous whilst they have not been molested by the Creoles; so that their hostility towards the whites is always motivated by a spirit of revenge."

He himself says: "Creole peons are too cowardly and imprudent to be able to enter into dealings with the Motilón and when they have had the fortune to run across a plantation of yucca and plantain trees, made by the Indians, they pull up the tubers and cut the ripe fruit, in this way provoking their ire." While holding the same ideas as Mr. Gsell, we can add that, as we well know from the not short time spent living among the Indians and the not narrow circle of our observations, the abuses he denounces are the least; other much more important ones, which it is not necessary to name, have caused and do cause reprisal; and what is remarkable is

/V cont./

114 as well as by Herr Prof. Dr. José Antonio Benton, Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Saake, S.V.D., Herr Harald Schultz and Frau Wilma, all of São Paulo.

I found helpful assistance in Manaus on the part of Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, the head of the I. Inspetoria Regional do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as in the small German colony there on the part of the families of Prof. Dr. Harald Sioli, Kurt Polack, and Gerhard Lindemberg.

122 With profound gratitude I mention my kind friends, the
123 Surára and Pakidái Indians, who were so hospitable to me and indefatigably helpful in my work; they are primarily the ones who deserve credit for the successful outcome of the undertaking.
• [115] Above all the Surára chief Hewemão and his brothers Kurikayawõ and Inxinemá, my little interpreter Jibeauwõ (see p. 258), and the Pakidái chief Karemauõ and the war chief Porõhiwõ deserve special mention here.

I also owe much to my faithful servant, the Tukano /Tucano/ Indian Mateus Dias, a member of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Rio Demini. He was an indispensable helper to me in all emergencies during these nine months.

/VI/ I am likewise very much indebted, however, to the Brazilian country people on the Rio Negro and on the Demini and Aracá rivers, as well as to the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini and the mission station of the Salesians in Barcelos. No matter where I went, I was shown such hospitality as is scarcely imaginable. Mention should be made here above all of the Spanish planter, Manuel Antonio Gómez, of the Rio Aracá, and the German nun, Klara Jakob, of the Salesian mission in Barcelos, who devotedly nursed me during my attacks of malaria. Equal thanks are due the physicians and sisters in the Hospital de Isolamento "Emilio Ribas" in São Paulo, where, after my return, I was treated without charge for two months and cured of a serious liver infection.

114 I thank Herr Dr. Koch and Herr Müller of the Bayer branch
122 in Rio de Janeiro for the medicines they donated. This made it possible for me to help many sick Indians and caboclos and to alleviate my own sufferings.

/6 cont./

101 beyond the Uraricuera and the Parima range, respectively.
114 There can no longer be any doubt about the ethnic affiliation of this population. Koch-Grünberg was already of the opinion that in the case of the Xiriâna (Schirianá) and Waikâ (Waika) "it is not a matter of two different tribes, but merely of two divisions of one large nation" (25) (26). At the same place, however, the

25. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 224.

26. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 290.

investigator expresses the conjecture, which was confirmed by the opinions of neighboring tribes, that the Waikâ represent merely a subdivision of the Xiriâna, "with whom they live either peaceably or in bitter enmity" (25) (26) /see the footnotes above/. Their isolation from other tribes is, according to Ourique, "an example of the instinctive precaution of the race against its own deterioration and its downfall" (27).

27. Ourique, 1906, p. 24.

101 In this connection there is a significant hint by the Surára chief,
619 according to which there are two powerful tribes within the
● [115] "Yanoamí nation" first the Xiriâna, who call themselves "Harateri," and secondly the Waikâ, who, however, are constantly warring. All the smaller tribes are on the side of either one or the other, but at the same time are obliged to pay tribute
[438] and render service in war (28). The Surára and Pakidái, the
[114]

28. With regard to the Xiriâna, Koch-Grünberg already mentions this vassal relationship (Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 226), and Métraux also refers to it (Métraux, 1948, p. 861).

chief told me further, are allies of the Xiriâna and occasionally

/7 cont./

114 inhabited by an old population living in a wholly primitive state.
174 The Aruak were said to have been subjugated later by the Karaiben /Carib/, who, in turn, met powerful resistance on the part of the warlike Xiriâna and Waiká (36). Elsewhere the same

36. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 15/16.

investigator writes: "On the Merewari and upper Orinoco Karaiben live together with Arowaken, whereas the upper Uraricuéra and the Parima Range are entirely in the hands of the allophylian Schirianá and Wafka" (37). I, too, met neither Karaiben nor

37. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 233.

Aruak tribes in the Demini-Aracá region.
114 131 174 On a tribal map of that region drawn by Nimuendajú (38),

38. This map is in the possession of the scientific division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro.

Xiriâna are given as the inhabitants of the Rio Demini, along with the date 1874. Rodrigues also reports that at the end of the nineteenth century members of this tribe lived both along the banks of that stream and along its tributaries, the Cuieiras and Mamimêu; from there they extended their roving expeditions as far as the Catrimani (39).

39. Rodrigues, 1885, p. 136.

173 115 [131] /8/ Today only one civilized Xiriâna family is living on the lower Demini as planters, but it no longer has any connection at all with its original, living fellow-tribesmen. This family, whose members speak Portuguese exclusively, told me that the region of the Demini has been the land of the Xiriâna from olden times. On account of frequent attacks on the part of the Waiká,

/8 cont./

however, they had withdrawn into regions remote from the river. Their last maloka on the Demini was taken over by a Waikâ tribe in 1934. This is the place where today the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" is located, on the right bank of the middle Demini, just below the Cachoeira Auatsinaua (40) (41). In 1939, the

40. Holdridge visited the Xiriâna here in 1932. (Holdridge, 1933, p. 380.)

41. According to information which Nimuendajú obtained in Manaus in 1927 from a man named Domingos Campos, Aruak-speaking Indians on the Demini were supposed to have been called Xiriâna (Nimuendajú, 1955, pp. 150/51). This brings up all kinds of questions which are yet to be solved. Thus, there could have been an Aruak tribe of this name, for the shards which I found on the Demini, as well as the name of this river, indicate that members of that linguistic group once lived here. It might also be possible, however, that Aruak groups, after their subjugation by the Xiriâna, became assimilated with the latter. On the other hand, it is not impossible that individual Xiriâna adopted the Aruak language, and finally there still remains open the surmise that the Indians mentioned by Domingos Campos are not identical with the actual Xiriâna, but were merely called that by the caboclo population.

In the literature, the two tribal designations "Xiriâna" (members of the Aruak linguistic family) and "Xirianâ" (independent linguistic family) (Loukotka, 1942,

/8 cont./

175 According to statements of old palm-fiber gatherers on the
648 Aracá, no Indians appeared on this river from the end of the previous century to the end of the twenties of our century. During the months of October and November of the year 1927, palm-fiber gatherers on their way to their places of work saw for the first time small and relatively light-skinned Indians disappearing into the forest thickets. In December, 1927, and January/February, 1928, the settlements were attacked by Indians several times, but the palm-fiber gatherers always managed to put them to flight. During the forenoon of June 28, 1928, there was another attack during which two wives of rubber gatherers and a 12-year-old girl were abducted. After this abduction there was no further Indian attack. Not until 16 years later, in January, 1944, did six
[439] Indians appear, but this time with friendly intent. They called themselves Surára and wanted to barter for articles of civilization. Later they admitted that their tribe had carried out the earlier attacks. In reply to questions about the two abducted women and the girl, they said that they had died. /9/ The palm-fiber gatherers did not bear them any malice for their previous hostile attitude, for they were glad that they could now carry on their work without fear of the Indians.

439 The Surára cling to their old habits and customs and visit the palm-fiber gatherers only when they want to barter for knives,
• [115] axes, pots, etc. According to the statements of the chief of the Surára, they are forced by the Xiriána to barter with the palm-fiber gatherers, for they are obliged to deliver to them all the articles obtained (see also pages 157/163); the Xiriána themselves never have any contact with the civilized inhabitants.

648 In August of the year 1944 the Indian protection post founded in 1940 on the Rio Demini was visited for the first time by some Pakidái. At rather long intervals there have been further visits
[619] by various families of this tribe up to the present time. They, too, however, come at the request of the Xiriána and must hand over to them all the gifts.

Surára
Pakidái

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Pusebeweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726]

Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of Ia. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

● [115]

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551 162 [160]

The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

/113 cont./

526 between two men embracing each other, which is performed in a sitting position (see p. 233); the tug of war (see p. 244); and the throwing of wet earth at one another (see p. 244).

539

IX. Myths and Legends

[115] The following myths and legends were told me by the Surára chief Hewemãõ:

The Creation of the Yanomámi

The earth already existed and was full of plants and animals, but as yet was without human beings. But one day the first man, Uruhí, came out of the leg of the xiapõ, a small bird with black and yellow feathers similar to the japim. A short time later the bird-leg gave birth to a second man, then a third, a fourth, and finally a woman, Petá. These four men and the woman lived together in perfect harmony. Petá, to be sure, was the wife of Uruhí, the first-born, but the other three brothers also had the right to have sexual intercourse with her (552).

[835] 552. Among the Surára and Pakidái, the younger, unmarried brothers likewise have the right to have sexual intercourse with the wives of their elder brothers. Moreover, the members of both tribes believe that a woman is able to have strong children only if she has frequent intercourse with other men during her pregnancy.

[843]

After a year Petá gave birth to a strong, healthy boy who grew rapidly and called all four men "father" (553). The boy's

[801] 553. The Surára and Pakidái children also call the unmarried brother of their father, not uncle, but likewise father.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 609 speeded them with threats of dubious efficacy as they retreated to a safe distance.

'*Ami*,' said the old man. We took him up in chorus and by evening the merriment reached its height, punctuated by the howls of the Shirians as they trampled our food supplies, grimacing over them like apes. The howling and shouting gradually gave place to something a little more musical; soon they were singing, and this in its turn excited them to dancing and stylised movements that were of great interest to us. Ami repeated anything we said, without hesitation. Sometimes the imitation was perfect, but for the most part our barbarous language tied his tongue up, so that he would be saying '*gweeno*' for '*oregano*' (wizard) and '*dirifichappa*' for '*aeroplano*', amid general hilarity.

By the time the Great Bear had appeared in the cold sky over the Sarisariñama, a certain madness had invaded us too, and in an innocent, unutopical sort of way we ran mildly amok. We got hold of the gun and fired shots into the air. This made the Indians jump for joy. Some of them started dancing and howling in a fine frenzy round and round the hut, sweating like pigs and led by Mouni armed with a big aluminium saucepan on which he kept up a rhythmic beat with a machete. The song and dance finished when the performers had no strength left, and no voice. The most dogged of them, however, even after they had flung themselves down on the benches, or on the ground, or lay stretched out on the table, still managed a last raucous imitation of the refrain they had learned from us: '*Parautapparche, che, che, che.*'

When morning came the men of Ami went off promising to return with bananas and sugar-cane: we undertook to purchase these, giving them in exchange those things which the women had vainly tried to lift from us. Then the long file of dirty dwarfs vanished among the trees, and with them our windsock which they had taken off its pole at some stage of the proceedings and were now carrying off as a trophy.

● [115] We learned more that same day about the 'windsock' from Luis Antonio, a Shirian speaking perfect Spanish who had come up the river with two other Indians: they didn't exactly inspire confidence, though he presented them as brothers.

'I saw one of the Obatiri Shirians wearing it,' he told us, giving the Ami men their proper name. 'He was running about in the woods with one leg on and one off.'

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

842
846 the male as continuing in importance not only after conception—at which stage, in our own positivist scientific view, the male role ceases to count—but for a certain period after the actual birth. The male, the cause, is still in the picture, according to the Indian mind, when the mother and child are living a normal life.

843
844 I had known other native peoples, and in regard to these Indian beliefs on the subject of childbirth, Luis Antonio confirmed what had already come to my [128] knowledge.

● [115] 'In order for the birth to be a success,' he told me, 'when the wife is five [225] months gone, the husband should stop eating peccary, snake or *carite* (the name given in Venezuela to the carnivorous fish known in Brazil as *piranha*), and the flesh of any animal of an aggressive nature.' (Here, principles of hygiene were mingled with elements of magic, as happens also in the more advanced [846] religions.) 'Then, before the birth, during the birth and after, the man must stay in the hammock without stirring, because any strain on his part, or any mishap that came his way, would affect the child and might have dire results.'

[562] The explanation sounds quite normal and natural once one admits the principle of continued causation in the man, the woman being regarded simply as a means. In fact there is no need for her to obey the injunction to stay in the hammock. She will continue her daily round until she feels 'something break inside her'. Then, with the midwife, she will hurry to the appointed place on the river-bank.

*123
844 I once had the chance of being present at a birth. I was with the Taurepan Indians of the Gran Sabana, and I watched hidden behind a cluster of Mauritius palm, where I could follow the principal stages of the proceedings. The woman, with her head tilted back, was seated on the clay bank in a sort of arm-chair shaped hollow which had been scooped out—whether naturally or made for the purpose I do not know. The midwife knelt at her feet, waiting. For some time both remained in this position. The woman kept giving little cries—but not really cries of pain. After a brief labour, the mother uttered one long howl which sounded to me like an 'u . . . u . . . uh' of rapture, and the midwife rose to her feet, holding up a tiny, mottled infant head downwards by the heels.

Still holding the baby by the feet, the old lady washed him in the river—with exactly the motions you might expect from a washerwoman giving the final rinsing to some heavy garment. I couldn't see the next step, but a few

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

to use our machetes to open up a fair-sized space so that we could drag the canoes up on to dry ground beyond the reach of possible floods. Behind the bamboos we could see traces in the undergrowth of an old track, which after crossing thirty-two hills and the length of the Aracoea river would lead us to a horde of howling ape-men, who cultivated cane for their arrows, and nothing else.

Uaremo had a young dove which he had caught alive on the way along the Merevari, and was looking after it. He gave it the affectionate name of Pipa. Sempronio helped him by looking for little berries, which the pretty little bird took greedily. The others were meanwhile busy putting up a shelter for the night and clearing a little more space around it, while Hashimo and Solituan went off to make a brief reconnaissance of the all but vanished track. Uaremo paid no attention to anything but his Pipa, calling its name softly and fondling it like a child.

A love for animals always seems strange among these Indians, and when it exists it is subject to the wildest caprice. For instance, a monkey, after being brought up among them with every sign of affection, will suddenly become a comic target for their blunt arrows and die a slow death from its wounds.

For the moment Uaremo was lavishing all his affection on Pipa, and when I accidentally trod on the bird, squashing it flat as a pancake, he turned on me instinctively, as if he was going to throw himself on me: the Guayca Indian in him had suddenly come out, roused by this offence against his love for the poor little dove crushed under the foreigner's foot. But suddenly his mood changed and without a word he picked up the squashed bird, under whose wings there was still a flutter of life, and threw it far off, with an air of disgust.

Sempronio watched the incident, laughing very quietly as he always did and looking up at me: he seemed to regard me as some sort of personal protector of his own. Then he went off in search of Pipa. Rolled up in a few leaves, the bird was put aside for his private cuisine.

Sempronio came from Auui stock. He was a mere boy, not fully developed, and he had joined us in this Samatari venture simply because I had told him to come. 'He doesn't want to come, but you want him to, so he comes'—these were the exact words into which Uaremo had translated Sempronio's brief remarks. And he came everywhere with us, even to the Samatari, who were considered by his own people—a good, smiling people, whose only remaining primitive trait lay in their inordinate passion for theft—to be monsters ready at

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

any moment to fall on human beings and devour them. With us Sempronio knew no fear, and he always wore a smile. He would run round our legs like a puppy, and was always ready to do things, taking on the heaviest tasks under the worst conditions. He ate with us. He ate purposefully and he went on eating. His voracity had to be seen to be believed, when you considered his slim delicate build. He ate our rations. Then he ate the special ones which the Indians prepared for themselves, and on top of that he ate an endless number of things which with great foresight he had collected on the way: grubs, honeycomb with brood cells, honey and all, small fish, worms, birds' eggs taken from the nest, frogs, young snakes, palm hearts from young palm trees—he ate everything with rapid and relentless mastication, cooking what could be cooked on the fire, and devouring the rest raw.

When he had eaten everything he would start a regular licking of his fingers, and of the leaves which might still be wet with the juices of whatever strange meats he had wrapped in them. Then he would prepare fresh delights with the innards of any game we ourselves had cooked, adding heads, claws, wing-sinews and any other odd tit-bits he could find. With a knife he would work on them like lightning. Each little delicacy was attacked at full speed, entrails were devoured, heads were crunched right up to the beak, claws cleaned of every shred of meat. Then came the time to inspect the bones we had thrown away. He split them with a knife, and if there was any marrow he could be trusted to suck it out. Finally, after a last careful lick of each finger in turn, Sempronio, the little fellow from the Shirian metropolis of Auxi, would go to roost in his hammock over the fire which wrapped him in its warm blanket of heat.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
MaKiri'tare SS 20
M
115
291
Y°
●115
291
*123

21. The Indians of La Perouse have lost all but a shadow of their old proud personalities. Left to right: - Segundi, Pedro, Sabo, Pedro's wife, Sampronio, Thomaso. Enrico in background.

[P 96 - H]

114 and out of the Federal Territory of Amazonas, and to
122 Commander Dr. David Capriles of the Medical Section for assisting me in making these arrangements. I also wish to thank Dr. Armando Caballín T. of the Amazonas District of the Venezuelan Malaria Control Service (Malarialogía) for generously placing the facilities of that organization at my disposal, and for arranging the purchase and transportation of many of my supplies.

I am personally indebted to Dr. Marcel Roche, Director of the Venezuelan Institute of Scientific Research (I.V.I.C.), and to Dr. Miguel Layrisse, Chairman of the Physicpathology Department of that institute, for their cooperation in and assistance to my field work.

122. A number of Missionaries gave me invaluable assistance in the Yąnomamö language and generously placed the resources of their missions at my disposal. I particularly wish to thank Mr. James P. Barker and Mr. Cecil Neese of the New Tribes Mission, and Padre Luiz Cocco and Padre José Barno of the Salesian Mission for their generous aid.

116 I thank Kąobëwä, headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri, for
124 his assistance and cooperation in the collection of some of the genealogical data; without his aid my data would have serious gaps.

I wish to thank Dr. James V. Neel, Chairman of the Department of Human Genetics at the University of Michigan, for encouraging and personally supporting my field work, and for generously making departmental office space available

direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of mountains. At a few points the Shukumöna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extending nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the Indians claim the Shukumöna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the Shukumöna-u of the Yanomamö. I have used more recent maps, also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

In reconstructing the history of the village movements, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Rusmi-u (Shuwimöwi-bora in Yanomamö) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karibö-bora in Yanomamö) near the present village of Kashorawö-tedi.

I employed three sources of information to locate present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages I personally visited. Second, information from James P.

126 Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a
361
• [145] larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he
[179] has lived among the Yąnomamö. Finally, on information
[184] obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yąnomamö have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants' accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mąmaribŏwei-tedi or Patanowä-tedi, I had the residents point in the direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps" required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain
[502] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was the poverty of the Yąnomamö language in indicating numbers. The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu, dahiabä), two (porakĕbä), and more-than-two (bruka). In establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to estimate the length of time each site was occupied before being abandoned.

175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five villages I have been guided by two historically known events. One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahekodo-tedi in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

101 called nabä--"stranger" or "foreigners." Nabä have degenerated from an original Yąnomamö stock and are regarded, therefore, with some contempt by the Yąnomamö, an attitude that is further manifested in the language; Yąnomamö in linguistic usage requires an honorific pronoun whereas nabä takes the common pronouns.

[[29]] I adopt the term Yąnomamö to refer to the entire group whose geographical distribution is shown in Map A,[1] using the term in a linguistic-cultural sense to define the tribe. Others have adopted the same usage with minor differences in spelling.

Several of the above-mentioned terms, Sanema, Waika, and Shamatari deserve further discussion, as they are used either as self-designations or in reference to local groups of Yąnomamö occupying specific geographical areas.

The term Sanema (Wilbert, 1963) is used in the upper Caura River as a self-designation. In this dialect the [[94]] initial phone /y/ has been replaced throughout the language by /s/, Sanema thus being a local pronunciation of Yąnomamö.[2]

The term Shamatari is used by all the Yąnomamö Indians on the upper Orinoco River to refer to the congeries of villages that occupy the large area south of the Orinoco River and adjacent portions of Brazil. Ierries (1964:19)

---

[1] See next page.

[[85]] [2] Ernesto Migliazza, personal communication. According to Migliazza, the word Sanema is pronounced /Sanẽma/.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

---

[1] Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[2] The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Table 2: Causes of death of 240 (adult) ancestors of the Namowei-tedi.

Stated Cause of Death[1]	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
Malaria & Epidemics	58	72	130	54.2
Dysentery, Diarrhea	16	5	21	8.8
Warfare	31	6	37	15.4
Clubfights	2	0	2	0.8
Snakebite	2	3	5	2.1
Sorcery (2)	15	10	25	10.4
Tigers	1	0	1	0.4
Chest infections	3	1	4	1.7
Hayaberi[3]	1	2	3	1.2
"Old age"	4	0	4	1.7
Pains in groin	3	0	3	1.2
Childbirth	0	3	3	1.2
Other	2	0	2	0.8
Totals:	138	102	240	99.9

1. These diagnoses were made by the Yanomamö. Some of the biological implications of these statistics have been brought to my attention by Dr. James V. Neel; I intend to discuss them in a later publication.

2. These deaths were probably due to such pathological causes as malaria. When malaria first reached epidemic proportions in some of the Yanomamö villages in the middle 1950's most of the deaths were attributed to the practice of harmful magic on the part of enemies.

3. This is a peculiar sickness associated with intense pains in the upper abdominal region; the pains may last several days. In most cases the Indians recover from this illness.

Mahekodo-tedi men and the victims of the 1950-51 treacherous feast, they succeeded in destroying Riakowë's village and garden, recapturing two of the women abducted by the Shamatari, killing three men, and abducting Riakowë's son.[1] They did not consider the raid a success because the Shamatari succeeded in killing one of the raiders. Again, in 1965 a joint raiding party comprised of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi men raided the Patanowë-tedi, killing one man. One of the Monou-tedi, Konoreiwë, was badly wounded by the Patanowë-tedi and almost died. The raid was only partially successful according to the raiders.

The tactic of ambush and retreat does not require the participation of large numbers of men. Raiding parties of 60 men, therefore, are somewhat less effective than raiding parties of 25-30 men, because raiding parties of this size usually involve the cooperation of two or more villages. Then, the organization of such large numbers of men is a problem, as each village will have its own leader, and therefore the contingency of raiders provided by allied villages in a joint raid has its own leadership. Thus, joint raids are invariably less effective because of the numbers of men involved and the difficulty of organizing them properly. The contingency of allies in a joint raiding party is less enthusiastic about the raid than the group from the aggrieved village, and if the enemy is not to be found at the site being

[1] Both Barker and my informants gave me an account of this raid. The two versions were identical.

Moiyowë had two wives, Borehima and her older sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with another man, Makerawë. Moiyowë attempted to get his wife back from Makerawë, precipitating a club fight between two factions of the village. During the club fight, Makerawë stabbed Moiyowë with the sharp end of his club, wounding him badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyowë's faction, Rakoiwë, who then attacked Makerawë, running him through with a sharpened club, killing him. Makerawë's faction fled from Patanowë-tedi and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids against the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the Patanowë-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowë-tedi two times shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid they caught two Patanowë-tedi men hunting outside the village. They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was Epabëwë's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man, Shinahewë. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

The woman over whom the internal feud started was taken away from Makerawë's group. Moiyowë cut both her ears off to punish her.

Fig. 1-3. Kaiwaiwä, the new leader, listens to (thought) a strange voice in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö. If, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

Kaiwaiwä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisasi-teri. He has had five or six wives as for and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bakimi and Kosamabima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bakimi, his oldest and favorite wife. Kosamabima, about 30 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kaiwaiwä may give Kosamabima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kaiwaiwä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was lonely. "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

11: Chagnon 8-6 (1964-1965) 1981 SCSS Yanomamo SCSS

115

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąpawrë had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąpawrë's oldest wife, Bakimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bakimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Arowë, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Arowë to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąpawrë have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kąpawrë is quiet, serious, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

Fig. 1-4. Kamakawë (Kąpawrë's younger) playing with playing with her son, who is holding a toy frog

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village, thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawë is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the villages to which Kąobawë's is allied. Rerebawë left his village to seek a wife in Kąobawë's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

Rerebawë is perhaps more typical than Kąobawë in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other often his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relationships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

He does not intend to stay in Kąobawë's group and has not made a garden. He feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked him with a club. Rerebawë was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawë dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and shrank back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawë release the vise-grip on his arm.

Despite the fact that he admires Kąobawë, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kąobawë's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawë was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

Even though Rerebawë is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yąnomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawë was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, 115
"Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his [156]
culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own [829]
culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

142
291
301
302
516
352
276

Fig. 1-5. Rerebawä during an chenc nasiw sitting on the sideline in an hallucinogenic stupor.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowī's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąbowī's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąbowī and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąbowī's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąbowī's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąbowī's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąbowī's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąbowī's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąbowī and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąbowī's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąbowī and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16]James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąbowī and his group.

11: Chagnon I-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited aid from their allies. Kaobawë's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that took the woman away from the cruel husband.

When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yąnomamö had deceived the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.[1] Thereafter, the two groups were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered. If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebawë told me of a raid he went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebawë, the raid was not a good one because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by Torokoiwë, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwë got sick of seeing this, so he shot the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

---

[1] The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yąnomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yąnomamö villages, so the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yąnomamö, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.

1: Schuster E-5 (1954-1955) 1958 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

The Sociology of the Waica
[Die Soziologie der Waika]

by Meinhard Schuster

Copenhagen: 1958
Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of Americanists
Pages 114-122

Translated from the German by Shelton Hicock

Human Relations Area Files

1966

[Title page]

/114/

I shall describe to you in the following some aspects of the social structure of the same Indian tribe whose conceptions about the soul Herr Dr. Zerries has just discussed. The title, "Sociology," is too presumptuous, insofar as today I intend to deal with only the larger social units and thus touch upon only a small sector of the sociological field. I shall be able to present to you only raw expedition-material; the comparative arrangement of these data in South American cultural history will be the work of the next few months.

The Waika /Waica/ inhabit the upper Orinoco river region in southern Venezuela; their area of habitation, however, is not limited by the Sierra Parima, in which the Orinoco rises and which forms the mountain border with Brazil, but rather extends into Brazilian soil far beyond this mountain chain, about to the middle of the northern tributaries of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco. The Sierra Parima therefore is more the backbone of the living space of this Indian group, which, according to the best estimates, contains about fifty thousand persons and an area of about half the size of West Germany. According to external appearances, this region is counted as tropical rain forest; seasonal differences are only slight and are practically without influence on the life and culture of the people. The critical cultural importance of the forest lies in its isolating effect: between the habitation area of the Waika and the first mixed settlement there extends an almost uninhabited forest-belt several hundred kilometers wide, and since there is very little river traffic and as other means of transportation there are only onerously traversable Indian paths, the culture of the Waika has been able to remain almost completely pure. Only a few material things from our world have as yet found their way to them: a few machetes and axes, a few matches and fishhooks, which an American mission working from 1947 to 1955 under very difficult conditions and we ourselves brought along; since the Waika do not maintain any contacts of their own downriver, however, the barely begun acculturation process does not go on /115/ by itself, but ebbs away the moment the visiting whites leave Waika country.

/115 cont./

101
(197)

Thus the geographic situation of the Waika and their extremely limited contact with civilization are depicted in a few words. Because the name is simple and well-known, I have so far spoken only of the "Waika," but now it is time to make a more precise distinction when first we turn to the question of tribal organization. On Venezuelan soil this people is divided into three large groups, all of whom, disregarding slight differences, speak the same language and have the same culture. The Shidishana /Shiriana/ live north of the Ocamo, a northern tributary of the upper Orinoco; to the north their territory is bordered by the Cariban Makiritare, with whom the Shidishana have in many ways entered into a close economic and social symbiosis. Adjacent to the Shidishana on the south are the Waika proper (the name means "killer"); they inhabit the region between Ocamo and Orinoco and with a few of their villages extend over to the southern Orinoco bank. The large and completely unexplored region south of the Orinoco to the Brazilian border and beyond, however, belongs, at least in its northern part, to the Shamatairi /Samatari/, the "tapir people," who are one of the most primitive groups of this people, stand strictly inimically opposed to any contact, and thus do not show even the slight traces of acculturation that the Waika do. As far as I can see, there is no reliable information available concerning the population groups east of the Sierra Parima, and unquestionably the picture for the Venezuelan area from whose northeastern part another group, named Okomatairi, has been reported will be improved later. The terms Waika and Shidishana (or Shiriana) used in the literature as a collective designation for these culturally similar virgin-forest groups are not very suitable, since they refer to subgroups; on the other hand, the name Guaharibo used by foreigners does not belong to the language of this people and is recognized only by the Shidishana. The only name that encompasses all the subgroups and is understood by the natives themselves as a general term is the word "Yanoama," which means "voice of the house" and contrasts with "nabe," by which all foreigners are meant indiscriminately -- all who do not speak

/115 cont./

101 the language of the Waika, Shidishana, or Shamatairi, therefore the neighboring Indians as well.

Thus the term "Yanoama" refers to the cultural and linguistic identity; it does not have the least political aspect. There is no tribe of the Yanoama, nor is there any tribe of the Waika, the Shidishana, or the Shamatairi. At most one can speak of the "people"; but one must bear in mind that there is no institution, no office, that is representative of this people. Also the cognizance of this term in the thinking of the natives /116/ remains general and therefore inevitably vague, parallel to the small amount of geographical knowledge, which is limited to what they themselves have traversed, that is, as a rule, to the circle of the nearest villages, which are about one to two days' journey away from one's own.

101 621 Geopolitical thought, which would find expression in a more extensive political organization, is unknown to the Yanoama; their conceptual world revolves around the village.

The village is the unit in which one thinks and after which one names himself: when questioned a Waika will never answer that he is a Waika or a Yanoama, but rather will give his village name, say, "Bolitaotedi," whereby "tedi" (village), like the Spanish "pueblo," refers less to the settlement and more to the

829 people who live in it. It seems obvious that one is a Waika, for the slight contact with civilization has not yet led in their thinking to distinguishing their own culture from that of foreigners; the foreigner has remained an individual guest with peculiar habits and has not yet become the representative of a large, strange

101 621 world. It is not obvious, however, to which village one belongs; village membership is the decisive political and sociological characteristic of the individual.

361 Externally the village is a clearing in the virgin forest, usually oval in ground plan, with a large diameter from 30 to 100 meters;

[62] the houses line the edge of this clearing. On the average a village is inhabited by about 100 persons. The villages of the Shamatairi south of the Orinoco, however, are much larger; according to our

/116 cont./

361 scanty knowledge, their population varies between 200 and 300.
161 Whereas there in the unexplored south organizational forms for
[621] larger numbers of people have evidently developed, the sociological system of the Waika is organized for only the above-named figure of a hundred village inhabitants; a surplus of births is answered by village partition.

628 The politically independent villages are partners in war and peace and for trading and visiting, and the momentary, frequently changing relationships of the villages to one another give the political situation in Waika territory its stamp. Let us first look
721 at the hostile relationships. Affairs involving women are for the
[583] most part the cause of war; if a wife is sought in other villages, and if the offer is turned down, one resorts to abducting a woman. Once there has been bloodshed in quarrels originating from this, the war is self-perpetuating; the original cause has not been forgotten, to be sure, but because of its slight intensity in the conceptual world it in no way suffices as a motive for the continuation
726 of the war. Rather, what does not permit breaking the chain of attacks repeated at intervals of a few months, in which the enemy men are killed, but the women abducted, /117/ is ideas and analogous
728 to blood revenge. Concluding peace is possible only when there has been no bloodshed for a long period of time, and hostile relations
628 often last for generations. Thus Waika country is covered with a network of hostile relationships of varying degrees, and, picking a village at random, one can distinguish a series of villages that are friendly, benevolently indifferent, neutral, sympathetic with
[726] the enemy, and, finally, completely hostile. For no two villages, however, is this series completely identical; there are no extensive alliances; war is an affair of the individual village, and a friendly village is aided only if there are personal reasons for hostility. No Waika village is without an enemy, and because of the many crisscrossings of the degrees of relationships the political situation is extremely complicated. We therefore see that even on the broadest social plane -- that of the people as a cultural and linguistic whole -- there is a very pronounced

/117 cont./

628 tendency toward the independence of the next smaller parts acting on this plane and forming it -- namely, the villages.

These hostile relationships between the villages are external evidence of a centrifugal force in Waika culture seeking detach-
628 ment. The opposite tendency, the centripetal force toward bind-
574 ing the villages together, finds its expression in active intercourse
438 for trading and visiting. These trips, which are performed with such zeal that practically every second day there is some associa-tion with another village, from or to it, can be divided into sev-
438 eral groups, according to their purpose. First, trips purely for trade take place: each village prefers to produce or procure a certain article of the material culture so that it practically has a monopoly on it. One village supplies especially fine tobacco, another is favorably located in a place where much arrow-cane grows, a third produces pots because good clay is present in the vicinity, another is the supplier of hunting dogs for the neighbor-hood, and the village closest to us naturally barters primarily with European ironware. This formation of centers for specific goods naturally favored the development of commercial traffic; the trading itself is carried out over very long periods and thus resembles a gift-exchange behind which there is a certain amount
437 of compulsion. When one knows that the partner has more objects of a kind than he justifiably needs for himself, it is requested very urgently, and the one so entreated may not refuse, if he does not want to risk enmity and war -- he can, of course, get his revenge
[182] in his own way the next time. This system successfully prevents
556] any accumulation of capital; no Waika possesses noticeably more
565] than his neighbor; there are no social distinctions, and consequently no vertical classes.

628 Besides trade, the transmission of news, which proceeds in the
574 form of a /118/ ceremonial conversational-singing and not in
[203] simple dialogue, is also one purpose of such trips, as are wife-
[533] seeking and courting in other villages. As a rule all these trips
[584] are made by a group of men or young people who are guests for one or at most two nights in the strange village and then, after the trading has been done, oddly enough not until the last minute

574 628 /118 cont./ on the morning of departure, return to their own village. In contrast to this hastily accomplished visiting by small groups or even individuals, there is the migration of whole villages. During the 796) great palm-fruit festival, which takes place in February and of which I shall show you a film in a few days, the villages visit each other, which is often done in such a way that the two villages celebrate first in the settlement of the one and the other. The various above-mentioned purposes of this intervillage intercourse [184] are naturally combined in practice. The trading and visiting trips are responsible for the remarkable cultural unity of the Waika region, and the consciousness of this in the minds of the inhabitants. 574 On the other hand, in many cases they are the occasion and op- 721 portunity for quarrels and warfare; refusal to trade and refusal of 628 a girl lead at least to ill feeling, and, as was reported to us, neutral villages are sometimes invited to the palm-fruit festival solely for the purpose of attacking the men at a favorable moment in order to kill them and keep the women as booty. The language has a special word for this type of hostile act, and the procedure was described to us in detail, so there can be no doubt about its occasional occurrence.

628 In summary, the following may be said about the intervillage 182 relations presented in brief form. The balance between the two tendencies, the binding one and the separative one, both of which -- probably in correspondence to each other -- are expressed in remarkably vivid form, stamps the picture of the political organization in Waika country. The separative forces, in that they protect the detachment of the villages, prevent the formation of alliances on a wider scale, which could lead to political ascendancy, to regional groupings, to divisions -- in any case to a political unit extending beyond the village. Thus, in a cultural sense, these separative forces act indirectly in the same direction as the binding ones: both promote and maintain cultural homogeneity in a large territory. For since the individual villages are too weak to detach themselves from the leveling tensions /Verspannung/ with their neighbors, but, on the other hand, lasting, stable alliances cannot be achieved, political and cultural divisions

/118 cont./

628 are not feasible. The villages remain /119/ dependent on one
182 another in economic, sociological, and political respects, in connection with which the frequent change of partners guarantees the multiplicity of the contacts. Politically independent, with equal rights, and not anchored in any superordinate organization, the villages are the knots in a tightly woven network of active mutual relationships, in part of a positive kind, in part negative; the tension inherent in these relationships represents, on the one hand, the dynamic factor and, on the other hand, the stabilizing factor in the social life of the Waika.

621 Up to now I have used the term village as though it represented a stable unit; if we look at its internal structure, however, it turns out that this local body, the settlement community, very tightly united in itself, again is made up of individual groups which are distinguished from one another on certain occasions.
621 In many cases the festivals of human beings rather than their daily
796 life offer the opportunity to recognize the nature of their social
182 grouping: during festive occasions the community itself is represented and confirms this representation in ceremonial. Among
621 the Waika the ceremonial gift-exchange was the key to under-
431 standing the village structure. That is, after a successful large-scale hunt, in which the men of almost every house take part, it is customary to exchange baskets of roasted meat and a few bananas within the village. This exchange takes place, however, not between the individual houses, but between groups of houses: no baskets of meat are exchanged within the same group of houses, but rather only to and from the houses of the other groups. The village investigated by us was divided, according to the paths of exchange, into three groups of houses, which -- perhaps by chance -- were arranged in strips: on both sides of the oval several houses were combined in a group, and the two houses opposite each other in the middle likewise did not exchange gifts.
621 Now the next step must be to look at the reflection of the
611 sociologically inadequate term "group of houses" on the kinship level: the members of the individual groups of houses are to be characterized, according to their kinship relations, as bilateral and bilocal groups of families.

/19 cont./

000 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the
621 multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation --
931 is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but, on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance.
621 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion,
166 namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements, which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a
[361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their
[342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried children. The new place is chosen according to the
262 possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting;
245 nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this
194 migration, for even during this period they continue to live from
166 the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent
[222] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on
[224] gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the past.

/120 cont./

621 166 241 These periodically recurring radial movements from a fixed center (the village with its planting) do not affect, in sociological respects, the substance of the village: normally the whole village migrates. In this respect, however, it is different with regard to a second type of village movement, which is not characterized by the going back and forth of the short forest-sojourns, but rather takes place over longer periods of time and only in one direction. The Waika live only about five years from one planting and then move to a new one laid out beforehand, which is usually about a day's journey away. Practically every village known to us has an old and a new planting, for since the chonta palm (Guilielma gasipaes), still cultivated today and useful in many ways, has a different life span than the various types of bananas, overlapping in the utilization of the plantings cannot be [173] avoided. If a newly established planting is bearing enough bananas, the whole village is moved to the new planting; the names and the site of earlier plantings are remembered exactly, however, so that from this the history of each individual village, i.e., its shifting in Waika territory, and consequently the history of the Waika themselves in their territorial aspect, can be reconstructed for two to three generations. Such a move to a new place, however, is also the occasion for changes in the composition of the village, for a split as a rule, for in the meantime, because of the enormous /121/ surplus of births, which the Waika have to register today, the village has grown far beyond the limit of the number of persons that can be governed well under their institution-poor system. The partition of the village is not done at discretion, but exactly along the lines of separation indicated by the above-mentioned composition by groups of families. One or more groups [431] of families are the bearers of the new villages, and the memory [182] of the way the new village was founded by the union of several groups of families is ceremonially represented as shown, in the gift-exchange.

621 166 161 193

/121 cont./

Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun planting, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social units of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural

/121 cont./

105 621 182 realms of this people: /122/ elements related to hunting for wild food, such as the group of families connected by kinship in various ways, for which, in accordance with its structure, one could probably use "roving horde" or similar terms, have held their ground and actively maintained themselves against those forms connected with agriculture and sedentariness, in our case the permanent village society. The Waika are now just at the point where the high economic preponderance of cultivated plants is beginning to make corresponding changes in the noneconomic cultural spheres.

1: Schuster SQ18 Yanoama

PROCEEDINGS OF THE

THIRTY-SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICANISTS

Copenhagen, 8–14 August 1956

Under the Patronage of

His Royal Highness Prince Axel of Denmark

MUNKSGAARD

COPENHAGEN 1958

[Title Page]

[P.114]

DIE SOZIOLOGIE DER WAIKA

Meinhard Schuster, *Frankfurt a.M.*

Aus der sozialen Struktur des gleichen Indianerstammes, dessen Seelenvorstellungen Herr Dr. Zerries soeben behandelt hat, will ich Ihnen im folgenden einige Aspekte schildern. Der Titel »Soziologie« aber ist insofern zu anspruchsvoll, als ich mich heute nur mit den grösseren Sozialeinheiten befassen will und deshalb nur einen kleinen Sektor des soziologischen Feldes berühre. Ich werde Ihnen nur rohes Expeditionsmaterial vorlegen können; die vergleichende Einordnung dieser Daten in die südamerikanische Kulturgeschichte wird die Arbeit der nächsten Monate sein.

Die Waika bewohnen den Flussraum des oberen Orinoco im südlichen Venezuela; ihr Wohngebiet wird aber nicht durch die Sierra Parima begrenzt, in der der Orinoco entspringt und die das Grenzgebirge nach Brasilien bildet, sondern greift weit über diesen Gebirgszug hinaus auf brasilianischen Boden über, etwa bis in die Mitte der nördlichen Zuflüsse von Rio Negro und Rio Branco. Die Sierra Parima ist also vielmehr das Rückgrat des Lebensraumes dieser Indianergruppe, die nach den besten Schätzungen etwa fünfzigtausend Menschen umfasst und eine Fläche von der halben Grösse Westdeutschlands in Besitz hält. Der äusseren Beschaffenheit nach zählt dieses Gebiet zum tropischen Regenwald; jahreszeitliche Unterschiede kommen nur schwach zum Ausdruck und sind praktisch ohne Einfluss auf Leben und Kultur der Menschen. Die entscheidende kulturelle Bedeutung des Waldes liegt in seiner isolierenden Wirkung: zwischen dem Wohngebiet der Waika und der ersten Mischlingssiedlung dehnt sich in einer Breite von mehreren hundert Kilometern ein fast unbewohnter Waldgürtel, und da der Flussverkehr sehr gering ist und an sonstigen Verkehrsmöglichkeiten nur schwer begehbare Indianerpfade zur Verfügung stehen, konnte sich die Kultur der Waika fast gänzlich rein erhalten. Nur wenige materielle Dinge aus unserer Welt fanden bisher ihren Weg zu ihnen: ein paar Macheten und Äxte, ein paar Streichhölzer und Angelhaken, die eine von 1947 bis 1955 unter sehr schwierigen Umständen arbeitende amerikanische Mission und wir selbst mitbrachten; da aber die Waika von sich aus keine eigene Verbindung flussabwärts unterhalten, trägt sich der kaum begonnene Akkulturationsprozess

1: Schuster SQ18 Yanoama

nicht von allein weiter, sondern verebbt in dem Moment, da die besuchenden Weissen das Waikaland verlassen.

So stellen sich in kurzen Worten die geographische Situation der Waika und ihr äusserst spärlicher Kontakt zur Zivilisation dar. Der Einfachheit und der Bekanntheit dieses Namens wegen sprach ich bisher immer nur von »Waika«, doch gilt es nun, wenn wir uns als erster der Frage nach der Stammesgliederung zuwenden, eine genauere Unterscheidung zu treffen. Auf venezolanischem Boden gliedert sich dieses Volk in drei grosse Gruppen, die, abgesehen von kleinen Differenzen, alle die gleiche Sprache sprechen und die gleiche Kultur besitzen. Nördlich des Ocamo, eines nördlichen Zuflusses des oberen Orinoco, leben die Shidishana; im Norden wird ihr Gebiet von den karibischen Makiritare umsäumt, mit denen die Shidishana vielfach eine enge wirtschaftliche und soziologische Symbiose eingegangen sind. Südlich an die Shidishana schliessen sich die eigentlichen Waika (der Name bedeutet »Töter«) an: sie bevölkern das Gebiet zwischen Ocamo und Orinoco und greifen mit einigen ihrer Dörfer auf das südliche Orinocoufer über. Das grosse und gänzlich unerforschte Gebiet südlich des Orinoco bis zur brasilianischen Grenze und darüber hinaus gehört aber wenigstens in seinem Nordteil den Shamatairi, den »Tapirleuten«, die zu den ursprünglichsten Gruppen dieses Volkes gehören, jeder Annäherung strikt feindlich gegenüberstehen und deshalb nicht einmal die geringen Akkulturationsspuren der Waika aufweisen. Über die Bevölkerungsgruppierung östlich der Sierra Parima liegen, soweit ich sehe, keine zuverlässigen Nachrichten vor, und ohne Frage wird sich auch das Bild für den venezolanischen Raum, von dessen nordöstlichem Teil eine weitere Gruppe namens Okomatairi vermeldet wird, noch verfeinern. Für eine Gesamtbezeichnung dieser kulturgleichen Urwaldgruppen sind die in der Literatur benützten Termini Waika und Shidishana (oder Shiriana) also nur wenig geeignet, da sie sich auf Untergruppen beziehen: der von Fremden benutzte Name Guaharibo hingegen gehört nicht der Sprache dieses Volkes an und wird nur von den Shidishana anerkannt. Die einzige Bezeichnung, die alle Untergruppen umfasst und von den Eingeborenen selbst als Oberbegriff verstanden wird, ist das Wort »Yanoama«, das »Stimme des Hauses« bedeutet und den Gegensatz zu »nabe« bildet, womit unterschiedslos alle Fremden gemeint sind – alle, die nicht die Sprache der Waika, Shidishana oder Shamatairi sprechen, also auch die benachbarten Indianer.

Der Begriff »Yanoama« ist demnach auf die kulturelle und sprachliche Identität bezogen; er besitzt nicht den mindesten politischen Aspekt. Es gibt keinen Stamm der Yanoama, es gibt auch keinen Stamm der Waika, der Shidishana oder der Shamatairi. Im besten Fall kann man von »Volk« sprechen; doch muss man dabei beachten, dass es keine Institution, kein Amt gibt, das eine Repräsentation dieses Volkes wäre. Auch die Bewusstheit dieses Begriffs im Denken der Eingeborenen

1: Schuster SQ18 Yanoama

bleibt allgemein und deshalb notwendig verschwommen, parallel zu dem geringen Mass an geographischer Kenntnis, die sich auf das selbst Erwanderte beschränkt, d.h. in der Regel auf den Kranz der nächsten Dörfer, die vom eigenen etwa eine bis zwei Tagereisen entfernt sind. Grossräumiges Denken, das in einer weiterreichenden politischen Organisation seinen Niederschlag fände, ist den Yanoama unbekannt; ihre Begriffswelt kreist um das Dorf.

Das Dorf ist die Einheit, in der man denkt und nach der man sich nennt: ein Waika wird auf Befragen nie antworten, dass er ein Waika oder ein Yanoama sei, sondern er wird seinen Dorfnamen angeben, also etwa »Bolitaotedi«, wobei mit »tedi« (= Dorf) ähnlich wie mit dem spanischen »pueblo« weniger die Siedlung als vielmehr die Menschen gemeint sind, die darin wohnen. Dass man ein Waika ist, erscheint selbstverständlich, denn die geringe Berührung mit der Zivilisation hat in der Vorstellung noch nicht zur Abhebung der eigenen Kultur von der der Fremden geführt; der Fremde blieb individueller Gast mit eigentümlichen Gewohnheiten und wurde noch nicht zum Vertreter einer grossen fremden Welt. Nicht selbstverständlich ist aber, zu welchem Dorf man gehört: die Dorfzugehörigkeit ist das entscheidende politische und soziologische Charakteristikum des Individuums.

Im Äusseren ist das Dorf ein Kahlschlag im Urwald von meist ovalem Grundriss und einem grossen Durchmesser von dreissig bis zu hundert Metern; die Häuser begleiten den Rand dieser Lichtung. Ein Dorf wird im Mittel von etwa hundert Menschen bewohnt; die Dörfer der Shamatairi südlich des Orinoco sind jedoch weit grösser: ihre Kopfzahl schwankt nach unserer geringen Kenntnis zwischen zwei- und dreihundert. Während man dort im unerforschten Südraum offenbar Organisationsformen für grössere Menschenzahlen entwickelt hat, ist das soziologische System der Waika nur auf die genannte Zahl von hundert Dorfbewohnern eingerichtet; Geburtenüberschuss wird mit Dorfteilung beantwortet.

Die politisch unabhängigen Dörfer sind die Partner in Krieg und Frieden, für Handel und Besuch, und die jeweiligen, oft wechselnden Beziehungen der Dörfer zueinander prägen die politische Situation im Waikagebiet. Betrachten wir zunächst die feindlichen Beziehungen. Den Anlass zum Krieg bilden in der Regel Frauenangelegenheiten: man wirbt in anderen Dörfern um Ehefrauen, und wenn diese Werbung abgewiesen wird, nimmt man seine Zuflucht zum Frauenraub. Sind in so entstandenen Streitfällen erst einmal Blutverluste eingetreten, so lebt der Krieg von sich aus weiter; man hat den ursprünglichen Anlass zwar nicht gerade vergessen, doch reicht er nach seiner geringen Intensität in der Vorstellungswelt keinesfalls mehr als Beweggrund zur Fortsetzung des Krieges aus. Was die Kette der im Abstand von wenigen Monaten wiederholten Überfälle, bei denen die feindlichen Männer getötet, die Frauen aber geraubt

1: Schuster SQ18 Yanoama

werden, nicht abreissen lässt, sind vielmehr blutracheähnliche Gedanken. Ein Friedensschluss ist nur möglich, wenn einmal längere Zeit kein Blut geflossen ist, und feindliche Beziehungen überdauern oft Generationen. So ist das Waikaland mit einem Netz von Feindschaftsverhältnissen verschiedenen Grades überzogen, und von einem beliebigen Dorfe aus betrachtet, kann man eine Reihe von befreundeten, wohlwollend indifferenten, neutralen, mit dem Feind sympathisierenden und schliesslich direkt feindlichen Dörfern unterscheiden. Für keine zwei Dörfer jedoch ist diese Reihe völlig identisch; man kennt keine ausgedehnten Bündnisfronten, der Krieg ist eine dorfindividuelle Angelegenheit, und man hilft einem befreundeten Dorf nur dann, wenn man selbst auch einen Grund zur Feindschaft besitzt. Kein Waikadorf ist ohne Feind, und durch die vielen Überkreuzungen der Beziehungsstufen ist die politische Lage ausserordentlich verwickelt. Wir sehen also, dass sich schon auf der breitesten gesellschaftlichen Ebene – der des Volkes als kulturell-sprachlicher Gesamtheit – eine Tendenz zur Unabhängigkeit der auf dieser Ebene agierenden und sie bildenden nächstkleineren Teile – nämlich der Dörfer – sehr lebhaft bemerkbar macht.

Diese feindlichen Verhältnisse zwischen den Dörfern sind das äusserliche Zeugnis eines zentrifugalen, die Vereinzelung suchenden Dranges in der Waikakultur. Die Gegenrichtung, der zentripetale Drang zur Bindung der Dörfer aneinander, findet in regem Handels- und Besucherverkehr seinen Niederschlag. Nach ihrem Zweck kann man diese Reisen, die so eifrig durchgeführt werden, dass praktisch jeden zweiten Tag eine Verbindung von oder zu einem anderen Dorf besteht, in mehrere Gruppen aufteilen. Zunächst finden reine Handelsreisen statt: jedes Dorf erzeugt oder beschafft sich mit Vorliebe einen bestimmten Artikel aus der materiellen Kultur, so dass es dafür fast ein Monopol besitzt. Ein Dorf liefert besonders guten Tabak, ein anderes liegt günstig an einem Platze, wo viel Pfeilrohr wächst, ein drittes produziert Töpfe, weil guter Lehm in der Nähe vorkommt, ein weiteres ist der Lieferant von Jagdhunden für den Umkreis, und das uns nächstgelegene Dorf tauschte natürlich in erster Linie mit europäischen Eisenwaren. Diese Schwerpunktbildung für bestimmte Güter begünstigte natürlich die Ausbildung eines Handelsverkehrs; der Handel selbst wird sehr langfristig durchgeführt und ähnelt damit einem Geschenkaustausch, hinter dem ein gewisser Zwang steht. Man bittet sehr dringend, wenn man weiss, dass der Partner mehr Gegenstände einer Sorte hat, als er billigerweise für sich selbst benötigt, und der so Gebetene darf, will er nicht Feindschaft und Krieg riskieren, nicht ablehnen – er kann sich ja beim nächsten Mal auf seine Weise revanchieren. Dieses System verhindert jegliche Kapitalbildung mit Erfolg; kein Waika besitzt merkbar mehr als sein Nachbar, man kennt keine sozialen Unterschiede und folglich auch keine Vertikalklassen.

Ausser dem Handel ist auch die Nachrichtenübermittlung, die in Form eines

1: Schuster SQ18 Yanoama

zeremoniellen Sprechgesangs und nicht in einfacher Rede und Gegenrede vor sich geht, ein Zweck solcher Reisen, ferner Brautschau und Brautwerbung in anderen Dörfern. Alle diese Reisen werden in der Regel von einer Gruppe von Männern oder jungen Leuten durchgeführt, die für eine oder höchstens zwei Nächte in dem fremden Dorfe zu Gast sind und dann wieder, nachdem eigentümlicherweise erst in der letzten Minute am Morgen des Aufbruchs der Handel getätigt worden ist, in ihr eigenes Dorf zurückkehren. Diesem hastig durchgeführten Besuchsverkehr von kleinen Gruppen oder auch Einzelgängern steht die Wanderung ganzer Dörfer gegenüber. Beim grossen Palmfruchtfest, das im Februar stattfindet und wovon ich Ihnen in ein paar Tagen einen Film vorführen darf, besuchen sich die Dörfer gegenseitig, wobei man oft so verfährt, dass die zwei nämlichen Dörfer zunächst in der Siedlung des einen und wenige Tage später dann in der Siedlung des andern feiern. Die aufgeführten verschiedenen Zwecke dieses zwischendörflichen Verkehrs werden in der Praxis natürlich miteinander verknüpft. Die Handels- und Besuchsreisen sind verantwortlich für die auffallende kulturelle Einheitlichkeit des Waikaraumes und deren Bewusstwerden in der Vorstellung seiner Bewohner; andererseits sind sie auch in vielen Fällen Anlass und Gelegenheit zu Streit und Krieg: Verweigerung des Handels und Verweigerung eines Mädchens führen mindestens zu Verstimmung, und man lädt, wie uns berichtet wurde, andere, neutral stehende Dörfer bisweilen nur deshalb zum Palmfruchtfest ein, um in einem günstigen Augenblick über die Männer herzufallen, sie zu töten und die Frauen als Beute zu behalten. Die Sprache kennt ein eigenes Wort für diese Art feindseliger Handlungen, und der Vorgang wurde uns in allen Details geschildert, so dass an seiner gelegentlichen Durchführung nicht zu zweifeln ist.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich zu den in kurzer Form dargelegten zwischendörflichen Beziehungen etwa folgendes sagen. Das Gleichgewicht zwischen beiden Tendenzen, der bindenden und der trennenden, die beide – wohl in Entsprechung zueinander – in auffällig lebhafter Form zum Ausdruck kommen, prägt das Bild der politischen Gliederung im Waikaland. Die trennenden Kräfte verhindern, indem sie die Vereinzelung der Dörfer schützen, eine Bündnisbildung breiteren Ausmasses, die zu politischen Übergewichten, zu Regionalgruppierungen, zu Teilungen – jedenfalls zu einer über das Dorf hinausgreifenden politischen Einheit führen könnte. In kulturellem Sinne wirken diese trennenden Kräfte damit indirekt in gleicher Richtung wie die verbindenen: beide fördern und erhalten die kulturelle Gleichartigkeit in einem grösseren Gebiet. Denn da einzelne Dörfer zu schwach sind, um sich aus der nivellierenden Verspannung mit ihren Nachbarn zu lösen, solide, langfristige Bündnisse andererseits aber nicht erreicht werden können, sind politische und kulturelle Sonderungen nicht durchführbar. Die Dörfer bleiben in ökonomischer, soziologischer und poli-

1: Schuster SQ18 Yanoama

tischer Hinsicht aufeinander angewiesen, wobei der häufige Partnerwechsel die Vielseitigkeit der Kontakte gewährleistet. Politisch unabhängig, einander gleichberechtigt und in keiner übergeordneten Gliederung verankert, sind die Dörfer die Knoten in einem engmaschigen Netz lebhafter gegenseitiger Beziehungen teils positiver, teils negativer Art; die diesen Beziehungen innewohnende Spannung stellt einerseits den dynamischen, andererseits den stabilisierenden Faktor im gesellschaftlichen Leben der Waika dar.

Bisher habe ich den Begriff des Dorfes immer so benutzt, als stelle es eine feste Einheit dar; betrachten wir aber seine innere Gliederung, so stellt sich heraus, dass auch der an sich sehr festgefügte Lokalverband, die Siedlungsgemeinschaft, aus einzelnen Gruppen besteht, die sich bei gewissen Gelegenheiten voneinander abheben. In vielen Fällen bieten die Feste der Menschen eher als ihr Alltag dazu Gelegenheit, die Beschaffenheit ihrer sozialen Gruppierung zu erkennen; bei festlichen Anlässen stellt sich die Gemeinschaft selbst dar und verfestigt diese Darstellung im Zeremoniell. Bei den Waika war der zeremonielle Geschenkaustausch der Schüssel zum Verständnis des Dorfaufbaus. Nach einer erfolgreichen Grossjagd nämlich, an der Männer aus fast jedem Hause teilnehmen, ist es üblich, dass man Körbe mit geröstetem Fleisch und wenigen Bananen innerhalb des Dorfes austauscht. Dieser Tausch geschieht nun aber nicht zwischen den einzelnen Häusern, sondern zwischen Häusergruppen: innerhalb der gleichen Häusergruppe werden keine Fleischkörbe getauscht, sondern nur zu und von den Häusern der jeweils anderen Gruppen. Das von uns untersuchte Dorf gliederte sich nach Massgabe der Tauschwege in drei Häusergruppen, die – vielleicht zufällig – in Streifen angeordnet waren: an den beiden Seiten des Ovals waren je mehrere Häuser zu einer Gruppe zusammengefasst, und die beiden in der Mitte sich gegenüberliegenden Häuser tauschten gleichfalls untereinander keine Geschenke aus. Der nächste Schritt muss nun der Spiegelung des soziologisch ungenügenden Begriffs »Häusergruppe« auf der verwandtschaftlichen Ebene gelten: die Bewohnerschaften der einzelnen Häusergruppen sind ihren Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen nach als bilaterale und bilokale Familiengruppen zu kennzeichnen. Die Familiengruppe – die Vielfältigkeit der Beziehungen erlaubt keine andere Bezeichnung – ist also das nächstkleinere konstituierende Element der Dorfeinheit; der zeremonielle Geschenkaustausch betont demnach zwar die Untergliederung des Dorfes, indem er die Zugehörigkeit der Partner zu einer der beiden anderen Familiengruppen unterstreicht, verbindet aber andererseits auch die drei Familiengruppen als gemeinsame Bewohner des gleichen Dorfes.

Es könnte nun scheinen, als sei die Familiengruppe, die im Geschenkaustausch als funktionale Einheit hervortritt, nur ein zufälliges Konglomerat von Kernfamilien und deshalb von minderem Belang. Sie kommt jedoch noch bei einem anderen entscheidenden Anlass zur Wirkung, nämlich im Zusammenhang mit

1: Schuster SQ18 Yanoama

den Wanderbewegungen, die ich Ihnen in kurzen Worten skizzieren will. Die Bewohner eines Dorfes verbleiben nie länger als etwa drei bis vier Wochen in ihrem Hauptdorf, jener Lichtung im Urwald mit relativ fest gebauten Häusern; dann ziehen sie für eine mindestens gleichlange Zeit auf Wanderschaft, jedoch selten weiter weg als eine bis zwei Tagereisen, und bauen sich an einem günstigen Platz im Wald eine Reihe von kleinen dreieckigen Hütten, die gerade gross genug sind, um einer Kernfamilie Platz zu bieten, d.h. den Eltern und ihren unverheirateten Kindern. Der neue Ort wird nach den Möglichkeiten ausgewählt, die er zum Sammeln von Urwaldfrüchten und zur Jagd bietet; dennoch sind aber nicht im eigentlichen Sinn wirtschaftliche Gründe der Anlass zu dieser Wanderung, denn man lebt auch in dieser Zeit weiterhin von der reich tragenden Bananenpflanzung nahe dem Hauptdorf: alle zehn Tage ungefähr kommt eine Gruppe von Männern und holt Nachschub an Bananen, von denen sich die Waika heute zu etwa neunzig Prozent ernähren. Allerdings lebt man während dieser Waldzeit stärker von gesammelten Früchten und von der Jagd als im Hauptdorf, und wir werden deshalb in der Annahme kaum fehlgehen, dass es sich bei diesen kurzfristigen Waldaufenthalten um traditionell bewahrte Reminiszenzen an die zweifellos noch nicht lange zurückliegende rein wildbeuterische Epoche der Waika handelt.

Diese periodisch wiederkehrenden radialen Bewegungen von einem festen Mittelpunkt (dem Dorf mit seiner Pflanzung) aus tasten in soziologischer Hinsicht die Dorfsubstanz nicht an: das Dorf wandert normalerweise gemeinsam. Anders verhält es sich in diesem Punkte aber mit einer zweiten Art von Dorfbewegung, die nicht durch das Hin und Zurück der kurzfristigen Waldaufenthalte charakterisiert wird, sondern sich in längeren Zeiträumen und nur in einer Richtung abspielt. Die Waika leben nur etwa fünf Jahre von einer Pflanzung und wechseln dann in eine vorher angelegte neue über, die im Regelfall etwa eine Tagesreise davon entfernt ist. Praktisch jedes uns bekannte Dorf hatte eine alte und eine neue Pflanzung, denn da die heute gleichfalls angebaute vielseitig verwertbare Shontapalme (Guilielma gasipaes) eine andere Lebensdauer hat als die verschiedenen Bananensorten, sind Überschneidungen in der Auswertung der Pflanzungen nicht zu vermeiden. Trägt eine neu angelegte Pflanzung genügend Bananen, so wird das ganze Dorf zu der neuen Pflanzung verlegt; man erinnert sich aber noch genau an die Namen und den Ort der früheren Pflanzungen, so dass daraus die Geschichte jedes einzelnen Dorfes, d.h. seine Verschiebung im Waikagebiet, und damit die Geschichte der Waika selbst in ihrem territorialen Aspekt für zwei bis drei Generationen rekonstruiert werden kann. Eine solche Übersiedelung an einen neuen Ort ist aber auch der gegebene Zeitpunkt für Veränderungen in der Zusammensetzung des Dorfes, im Regelfall für eine Spaltung, denn in der Zwischenzeit ist das Dorf durch den enormen Geburten-

1: Schuster SQ18 Yanoama

überschuss, den die Waika heute zu verzeichnen haben, wieder über die Grenze der mit ihrem institutionsarmen System günstig zu lenkenden Menschenzahl hinaus angewachsen. Die Dorfteilung erfolgt nun nicht nach Gutdünken, sondern genau entlang den durch die vorhin erwähnte Zusammensetzung in Familiengruppen vorgezeichneten Trennlinien. Eine oder mehrere Familiengruppen sind die Träger der neuen Dörfer, und die Erinnerung an die Art der Gründung eines neuen Dorfes durch den Zusammenschluss mehrerer Familiengruppen wird, wie gezeigt, im Geschenkaustausch zeremoniell dargestellt.

In den Wanderbewegungen der Waika haben sich also zwei Arten von Nomadismus überlagert: der sehr lebendige wildbeuterische Nomadismus, der sich heute als Radialbewegung von einem pflanzerischen Mittelpunkt aus darstellt, prägt den Jahresrhythmus, während die pflanzerische Dorfverlegung, die den Brandrodungsfeldern folgt, im Rhythmus weniger Jahre geschieht und auch eine grössere räumliche Reichweite besitzt als das wildbeuterische Schweifen. Um es anders zu sagen: ein räumlich und zeitlich engerer wildbeuterischer Nomadismus füllt die Perioden der weiter gespannten pflanzerischen Wanderbewegungen aus. Auch an den Endpunkten dieser Perioden, wo sich beide Rhythmen überlagern, werden sie von den Waika als ganz verschiedene und gegenseitig nicht substituierbare Dinge empfunden: wenn man etwa eine Zeitlang in der neuen, kaum begonnenen Pflanzung gearbeitet hat, die äusserlichen Momente eines Waldaufenthaltes (wie Wechsel des Wohnortes und günstigere Jagd- und Sammelmöglichkeiten) also durchaus gegeben waren, zieht man dennoch gleich hinterher noch einmal in der herkömmlichen Weise an eine andere Stelle in den Wald – die Anlage einer neuen Pflanzung ist selbst bei grosser Ähnlichkeit der äusseren Umstände etwas grundsätzlich anderes als das wildbeuterische Waldleben und in keiner Weise ein Ersatz dafür.

Die kurzfristigen Waldaufenthalte werden nun, wie gesagt, meistens vom Dorfganzen durchgeführt, während sich bei der Anlage neuer Pflanzungen die Familiengruppe als handelnde Einheit in den Vordergrund schiebt. Aus diesem Tatbestand könnte man den Schluss ziehen, dass die Bildung und die soziologische Bedeutung von Familiengruppen mit der Einführung des Pflanzenanbaus zusammenhingen. Ich möchte aber umgekehrt folgern, dass sich in diesen Familiengruppen nur die alte wildbeuterische Siedlungseinheit im jetzigen grösseren pflanzerischen Dorfverband erhalten hat. Die Beziehung der Familiengruppen zum Wildbeutertum erhellt auch daraus, dass der von Familiengruppen getragene Geschenkaustausch ganz überwiegend ein Austausch von Wildfleisch ist, dem man nur ein paar geröstete Bananen beigefügt hat, und ausschliesslich nach einer Jagd stattfinden kann.

Der soziologische Befund in bezug auf die grösseren Gesellschaftseinheiten der Yanoama spiegelt demnach das Bild der anderen Kulturbereiche dieses Volkes

1: Schuster SQ18 Yanoama

wider: wildbeuterische Elemente wie die auf verschiedenen verwandtschaftlichen Wegen verknüpfte Familiengruppe, für die man ihrer Struktur nach wahrscheinlich auch »schweifende Horde« oder ähnliche Termini gebrauchen könnte, haben sich gegen die mit Pflanzenanbau und Sesshaftwerdung verbundenen Formen wie in unserem Falle den festen Dorfverband behauptet und lebendig erhalten: die Waika stehen jetzt gerade an dem Punkt, wo das hochgradige wirtschaftliche Übergewicht der angebauten Pflanze entsprechende Veränderungen auf den nichtwirtschaftlichen Kulturgebieten zu bewirken beginnt.

2: Becher E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The Surara and Pakidai, Two Yanoama Tribes in Northwest Brazil [Die Surára und Pakidái, zwei Yanonámi-Stämme in Nordwestbrasilien]

by Hans Becher

Hamburg: 1960
Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg
Vol. 26, pp. 1-133

Translated from the German by Frieda Schütze

Human Relations Area Files

1966

[Title page]

/V/

Foreword

114 101 This monograph contains the results of a nine-month investigation which I conducted from October 1955 to June 1956 among two Indian tribes of northwest Brazil which are as yet unknown to science.

121 My journey and the analysis of its results were made possible through the generous support of the Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft /German Research Association/, for which I am deeply indebted to it.

114 I should like cordially to thank my esteemed teacher, Herr Prof. Dr. Franz Termer, for regarding this work, the completion of which he supported actively and in an advisory capacity, worthy of inclusion in the series of reports of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/.

I was encouraged by Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, head of the study division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, to seek out these as yet uninvestigated tribes north of the middle Rio Negro. [122] Through his efforts I also obtained the approval of the Director and was given all possible assistance by this organization founded by Marshal Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, as well as a free flight with a military plane from Rio de Janeiro to Manaus. Hence I feel a sincere desire to express my gratitude to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, especially to Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro and the Brazilian Air Force.

122 I thank the University of São Paulo, above all the Dean, Herr Dr. Paulo Sawaya, and the Assistant Dean Herr Prof. Dr. Antonio Soares Amora, for granting me a stipend from June 1954 to September 1955, which made it possible for me to broaden my knowledge of Brazilian ethnology under such outstanding scholars as Herr Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and Herr Prof. Dr. Egon Schaden and to prepare myself thoroughly for the subsequent work in the field. To these two gentlemen I shall remain deeply indebted.

114 Valuable advice which was very useful to me on my expedition was given me by Herr Prof. Dr. med. Henrique da Rocha Lima (†).

/V cont./

114 as well as by Herr Prof. Dr. José Antonio Benton, Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Saake, S.V.D., Herr Harald Schultz and Frau Wilma, all of São Paulo.

I found helpful assistance in Manaus on the part of Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, the head of the I. Inspetoria Regional do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as in the small German colony there on the part of the families of Prof. Dr. Harald Sioli, Kurt Polack, and Gerhard Lindenberg.

122 With profound gratitude I mention my kind friends, the
123 Surára and Pakidái Indians, who were so hospitable to me and indefatigably helpful in my work; they are primarily the ones who deserve credit for the successful outcome of the undertaking.
[115] Above all the Surára chief Hewemão and his brothers Kurikayawõ and Inxinemá, my little interpreter Jibeauwõ (see p. 258), and the Pakidái chief Karenauõ and the war chief Porêhiwõ deserve special mention here.

I also owe much to my faithful servant, the Tukano /Tucano/ Indian Mateus Dias, a member of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Rio Demini. He was an indispensable helper to me in all emergencies during these nine months.

/VI/ I am likewise very much indebted, however, to the Brazilian country people on the Rio Negro and on the Demini and Aracá rivers, as well as to the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini and the mission station of the Salesians in Barcelos. No matter where I went, I was shown such hospitality as is scarcely imaginable. Mention should be made here above all of the Spanish planter, Manuel Antonio Gómez, of the Rio Aracá, and the German nun, Klara Jakob, of the Salesian mission in Barcelos, who devotedly nursed me during my attacks of malaria. Equal thanks are due the physicians and sisters in the Hospital de Isolamento "Emílio Ribas" in São Paulo, where, after my return, I was treated without charge for two months and cured of a serious liver infection.

114 I thank Herr Dr. Koch and Herr Müller of the Bayer branch
122 in Rio de Janeiro for the medicines they donated. This made it possible for me to help many sick Indians and caboclos and to alleviate my own sufferings.

/VI cont./

I thank my friend and colleague, Dr. Dall'Igna Rodrigues, for important suggestions given to me in connection with completing this monograph and for the appendix of comparative linguistic material /see 3: Rodrigues, this file/.

I am also deeply grateful to my co-workers at the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, who contributed so much to the fashioning of the present work. They are Herr Dr. Herbert Tischner, who helped me with advice and experience in the printing, Fräulein Dascha Detering, who made the drawings and the map with great care and who independently worked out the textile techniques presented in this work; also Herr Hans Cantzler, who photographed a number of objects and made enlargements of my photographs.

In conclusion I should like to thank Herr Prof. Dr. Herbert Freudenthal and my wife for their tireless help in reading proof, and the printing firm J. J. Augustin for their excellent technical work on the present book.

126 The ethnographic collections are in the possession of the Museu Paulista, São Paulo, and the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte. All the inventory numbers in the index of figures and illustrations are those of the specimens in the Hamburg Museum.

Hamburg, Christmas 1959. Hans Becher

/VII/

Table of Contents

		Page
Foreword		i
I.	Geographical introduction	1
II.	The civilized inhabitants of the Demini-Aracá region	5
III.	The ethnic affiliation of the Surára and Pakidái	8
IV.	Historical data	14
V.	Physical characteristics	20
VI.	Technology and material culture	23

/VII cont./

	Page
1. House forms	23
2. Bridges	33
3. War and hunting weapons and accessories	36
4. Fire-making apparatus	53
5. Twining and spinning	55
6. Dress and ornament	60
a) Hip cords and belts	60
b) Chest cords	77
c) Cords for arms, wrists, and legs	79
d) Neck cords and chains of primitive materials	83
e) Hair style	83
f) Deforming facial ornamentation	85
g) Tattooing	89
h) Painting	92
i) Feather ornaments	93
j) Bead ornaments	96
7. Hammocks	98
8. Basketry	106
9. Band for carrying children	114
10. Receptacles	114
11. Tools	115
12. Equipment for climbing	120
13. Preparation of urucú	122
VII. Social organization	123
1. General	123
2. Names	123
3. Political structure	129
4. Life cycle	133
a) Birth control	133
b) Food taboos during pregnancy	133
c) Birth	133
d) Infancy and early childhood	134
e) Name-giving	138
f) Childhood	140

/VIII/

	Page
g) Marriage	141
h) Puberty rites for girls	142
i) Initiation rites for young men	143
j) Sex life	145
k) Death and burial customs	148
5. War--nfanyu--	156
6. Tribute payments and greeting ceremonial	159
7. Making a living	160
a) General	160
b) Hunting	161
c) Fishing	165
d) Gathering	166
e) Agriculture	169
8. Preparation of food	176
9. Meals and eating habits	184
10. Tame animals	185
11. Luxuries	190
12. Hygiene	195
VIII. Religion and magic	197
1. The religious conception of the world	197
2. Curing the sick	211
a) General	211
b) Magic cure--rekurá--for Xunamí	214
c) Magic-cure--rekurá--for Xanimá	219
3. Religious festivals	224
4. Magic for sickness, hunting, love, and rain	240
a) Magic for sickness	240
b) Hunting magic	240
c) Love magic	242
d) Rain magic	243
5. A special way of showing gratitude to Poré and Perimbó	244
6. Birds as transmitters of messages	245
7. Types of sports	246
IX. Myths and legends	247

/VIII cont./

		Page
	The creation of the Yanonámi	247
	The origin of fire	248
	The origin of the banana	249
	The first pupunha palms	249
	The creation of the jibóia-vermelha	249
	The creation of the black jaguar	250
	The creation of the tapir	250
	The creation of wild pigs	250
	The creation of the ant bear	250
X.	Character and way of thinking	251
XI.	Reasoning abilities	256
XII.	Counting and conception of time	259
	Bibliography /omitted in the translation; see foreign text/.	
	List of illustrations	261
	List of figures	263
	Subject index /omitted in the translation; see foreign text/.	
	Appendix: On the Language of the Surára and Pakidái. By Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues /see 3: Rodrigues, this file/.	

/Page IX is blank./

2: Becher--vii E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/X/

102
101
131
133

Location of the Settlement Area of the Surára and Pakidái

/1/

I. Geographical Introduction

131 The habitation and roaming area of the Surára and Pakidái lies between the Demini and Aracá rivers -- a terra incognita within the large area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, which up to now has been so little opened up ethnologically and geographically.

133 The Rio Demini is a left tributary of the middle Rio Negro. Its source is in the Serra Parima, in the Brazilian-Venezuelan border area, and its mouth is just above Barcelos, the former capital of "Capitania do Rio Negro." The water of this river is
133 white, whereas the numerous lakes along its banks and all its
134 tributaries, such as the Aracá, a right tributary of the lower Demini, have black water. The tributaries of the Aracá, on the other hand, are characterized by clear water. This peculiarity is connected with soil conditions, soil erosion, and the topography of the catchment areas. Thus, soil erosion in very mountainous terrain causes a light coloring, whereas in a very flat, swampy region dark humus substances overflow into the water and darken it. It is further noteworthy that black water is healthier and
133 tastier and, in standing, does not leave a dirty sediment. Even
136 water turtles and fish that have lived in black water are tastier than the same animals taken from white-water rivers or lakes. Moreover, it should be pointed out that mosquitoes appear in considerably smaller numbers along black water than along white. On the Rio Demini one can scarcely defend oneself from the small piums (Simulium sp., day gnats) and the large carapanãs (Anopheles); the latter are the dangerous malaria-carriers. The lower course and part of the middle course are therefore completely fever-infested.

137 The two types of water also result in different kinds of vegetation. Characteristic for the Rio Demini are the igapós (inundated forests with tall trees standing close together), between which there is very seldom any terra firma. On the higher banks of the Aracá, however, one finds primarily low scrub-forest. The

/1 cont./

137 most important useful plants along the middle course of the Demini are the seringueiras (rubber trees -- Hevea brasiliensis Muell. Arg.), and along the Aracá and its tributaries the piaçaba palms (Attalea funifera Mart. and Leopoldinia piassaba Wal.). The chestnut forests that occur in the area around the mouth of the Demini and on the lower course of the Aracá also have economic significance. The chestnut, or more precisely, the chestnut of Pará (Bertholletia excelsa H.B.K. -- its fruits are known in Germany as Pará nuts), is regarded as the queen of the Amazonian primeval forests on account of its tall crown, with which it towers over all the other trees. On the lower Aracá the itaúba tree (Silvia itaiúba Pax.) is of special importance because it furnishes the best lumber in that region. Finally, a few other species of trees and palms, which occur along the Demini as well as along the Aracá, should be mentioned:

a) Trees: imbauba (Cecropia palmata Wild.), angelin-amargoso (Andira vermifuga Mart.), macaranduba (Mimusops sp.), embireira (Anonaceae sp.), matamatazeiro (Eschweilera matamata Hub.), taxizeiro (Cesalpenaceae sp.), ingàzeiro (Inga sp.), abiurana (Lucuma sp.), cajueiro (Anacardium sp.), lucuma (Lucuma /2/ macrocarpa Hub.), wild cacao tree (Theobroma sp.), wild lemon tree (Rubiacea sp.), and cedars (Meliaceae sp.).

b) Palms: acaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus Mart. or Oenocarpus bacaba Mart.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), curua (Attalea spectabilis Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), patauá (Oenocarpus bataua Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), pupunha (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), tucuma (Astrocaryum sp.), and ubim (Geonoma sp.).

133 The two rivers have many bends and during the summer months, October to March, flow relatively sluggishly. Their water level during this time is extremely low, so that numerous sandbanks [134] stand out. On the Demini the color of the sand is yellowish, whereas on the Aracá it is gleaming white. The average width of the Demini along its lower and middle course is 200-300 meters,

/2 cont./

133 that of the Aracá 300-400 meters. This may be why, on old maps, the Aracá is erroneously designated as the main river; the course of the Demini, however, is considerably longer. In the middle and upper courses of the aforementioned rivers there are rapids, the crossing of which often endangers life.

The area lying between the rivers represents one of those inselberg landscapes which are so characteristic for the region
133 of the middle and upper Rio Negro. Cone-, dome-, or ridge-
137 shaped granite mountains which individually or occasionally in groups rise up to 400 meters in the form of small massifs or short mountain chains offer a conspicuous contrast to the plain covered with dense primeval forest. Their relatively flat peaks and the gently sloping alluvial cones at the foot are likewise
133 densely forested. At the middle height, however, there appear steep, smooth granite walls looking fluted because of the many rain furrows.

Morphologically these elevations belong to a type which Passarge discusses in his Kalahari work (1) and elsewhere (2) and

1. Passarge, 1904a.

2. Passarge, 1904b.

which he has defined, following Bornhardt, as inselberge. These granite mountains in the Rio Negro region have already been strikingly described by Spruce (3). According to Brandt, who dealt

3. Spruce, 1908, p. 383.

in detail with the morphogenesis of isolated granite mountains, their cone-shaped appearance may be traced back to a "peeling process" of periclinal granite folds (4).

4. Brandt, 1917, pp. 52 ff.

/2 cont./

132 Because of the nearness of the equator, it is very hot, humid, and oppressive in this region, yet not unbearable. For, on account [164] of the high moisture content of the air, there is, for example, no heat prostration and no sunstroke here. One can also sleep quite well at night, since the temperature then drops several degrees and is accompanied by a refreshing breeze. During the day the temperature of the air comes to 32-36° and at night 24-28°, whereas that of the water is usually between 29-32°.

136 As a result of the scarcity of human beings that prevails here, there are a great many wild animals and birds in the forests, in addition to the abundance of water turtles, caymans, and fish in the rivers, several species of which will be enumerated in the following:

a) Mammals: spotted jaguar (Felis onca L.), black jaguar (Panthera onca L.), puma (Felis concolor), maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.), tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.), deer (Cervidae sp.), wild pig (Pecari tajacu), capybara (Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris Erxl.) paca (Cuniculus paca L.), cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.), armadillo (Dasypodidae sp.), sloth (Bradypus sp.), ant bear (Myrmecophaga sp.) monkeys, such as the howling monkey (Alouatta sp.), cuxiú-negro (Chiroptes satanas Humb.), cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.), macaco-da-noite (Aotus infulatus), etc., sea cow (Trichechus inunguis Desmaret), etc.

b) Birds: mutum (Crax sp.), urumutum (Crax sp.), mutum-cavalo (Mitu mitu L.), jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.), cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.), jacu (Penelope sp.), japim (Cacicus cela L.), inambu (Crypturellus sp.), inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.), toucan (Rhamphastus /3/ sp.), arara vermelha (Ara macao L.), arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.), papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.), papagaio curica (Amazona sp.), garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm.), gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.), gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.), urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.), etc.

c) Water turtles: tracajá (Emys sp.), cabeçuda (Podocnemis dumeriliana), etc.

d) Land turtles: jabuti (Testudo tabulata Woelb.), etc.

/3 cont./

136 e) Caymans: jacaretinga or jacaré-de-óculos (Caiman sclerpos Schneid.), etc.

f) Fish: aracu (Leporinus copelandi Steind.), piranha (Pygocentrus sp. and Serrasalmus sp.), pirarucu (largest fresh-water fish, reaches a length of over three meters; belongs to the family of the bone-tongues (Osteoglossidae). The hard tongue serves as a grater for Indians and whites), piraíba (Brachyplatystoma filamentosa), surubim (Platystoma sp.), jandiá (Sciluridae sp.), mandi (Rhamdia sp.), curimatã (Prochilodus sp.), pescada (Gadus sp.), dourado (Salminus brevidens), tambaquí (Characinidae sp.), mandubi (Auchenipteridae sp.), anujá (Trachycoristes sp.), cuiúcuiú (Oxidoras niger Vall.), etc.

There are also snakes in large numbers:

a) Nonpoisonous snakes: sucuriju (Eunectes murinus), jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris), etc.

b) Poisonous snakes: surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), cascavel (Crotalus terrificus terrificus), jararaca (Lachesis sp.), jararacussu (Bothrops jararacussu Lacerda), cobra-coral (Elaps corallinus Wied.), etc.

II. The Civilized Inhabitants of the Demini-Aracá Region

162 In the case of the civilized population, which lives along the lower and middle course, there is a mixture of Indians, whites, Negroes, and mulattoes who make a living as rubber gatherers, palm-fiber gatherers, woodcutters, fishermen, and planters.

Rubber gatherers work exclusively in the Demini river basin, palm-fiber gatherers and woodcutters only in the Aracá region. Planters, fishermen, and a few ambulant traders may be found on terra firma along both rivers. While the rubber gatherers on the Demini live in families far apart from one another, the distances are 10-20 kilometers and more, the woodcutters and palm-fiber gatherers along the Aracá have joined together in small settlements.

/3 cont./

648 On the Rio Demini, slightly below the Cachoeira (rapids)
484 Auatsinaua, is the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" (Ill. 1).
From the mouth to that point is a six-day journey in a small boat
161 with a four-horsepower outboard motor. On this long stretch
178 there are only two dozen families. Fifty years ago the banks
along the lower third were more densely settled than they are
164 today. But malaria and a terrible beriberi epidemic, 1907/08,
165 carried off the majority of the inhabitants. After the great forest
fire which raged along the Demini in 1926, health conditions
648 improved temporarily. In the most recent times a motor boat
164 of the National Malaria Service travels up the Demini and Aracá
once a year, and the palm-straw huts of the inhabitants are sprayed
with DDT. Nevertheless, malaria still takes its toll. Often it
also leads to a protracted liver ailment; above all, there is a
164 lack of any kind of medication. A second scourge is tuberculosis,
262 the cause of which, aside from the humid, hot climate, may
probably be traced to the poor and unbalanced diet. It consists
predominantly of manioc meal, small fish, the salted, sun-dried
meat of the pirarucu, salted wild-pig meat, and, to a considerably
smaller extent, birds and game, for the men generally do not
have time to hunt. In addition, /4/ for rubber and palm-fiber
gatherers, fruit and vegetables are practically unknown luxuries.
164 As a result of the crowded life of the individual families and the
lack of hygiene, children too are not free from tuberculosis.
Moreover, mention must be made of a dangerous eye infection
which often leads to blindness. This comes about because a fine
dust is constantly trickling down from the palm-straw roofs of the
huts, in which there are many insects, and it gets into the eyes of
the people asleep in their hammocks. An infectious skin disease
that causes light spots on the skin is also widespread. Worm and
intestinal ailments occur frequently, as does syphilis. Finally,
it is noteworthy that adults and children have very poor teeth.
162 The reason for this may again probably be sought in the unbalanced
diet, for all of the free Forest Indians who have more variety in
165 their meals, have excellent teeth. Mortality is highest among
the children, and next come the women, a relatively large num-
ber of whom die in childbirth since there is, of course, no medical
assistance.

/4 cont./

648 The last hut of a rubber gatherer stands one day's journey from the Indian protection post, while the post itself represents the last station of civilization. Above it the territory of the Indians begins. Here, numerous tribes hitherto entirely unknown to science still live as they did before the period of discovery. They are very warlike, so there are often bloody conflicts between them. Their malokas are usually far from the riverbank, deep in the interior of the virgin forests. Occasionally some of them visit the post in order to get gifts, that is, knives, axes, pots, glass beads, etc. They never come in contact with the civilized population on the Demini.

The personnel of the post consists of 12 men, among them several pure-blooded, civilized Tukano /Tucano/ Indians, who lead here a hard and dangerous life full of privations. Before they entered the Indian protection service, they had to pledge themselves, in their association with the free Indians, always to observe the following motto which was set up by the founder of this magnificent organization, Marshall Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon: "Morrer se preciso fôr, matar nunca!" ("Die if necessary, never kill!"). Their only connections with the outside world are a radio station and the motor boat of the Inspetoria des Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Manaus, which once or twice a year brings them food supplies and commodities, as well as gifts for the Indians.

Besides attending to Indian visitors, the post personnel must also see to it that the members of free Indian tribes are not exploited and badly treated by the undesirable elements of civilization, in the form of gold-seekers and other adventurers. The protection of all free Forest Indians is legally anchored in Brazil. Accordingly, no civilized person may seek out Indian tribes without permission from the management of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro (5a). Thus, the posts represent police

5a. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios is a division of the Ministério da Agricultura.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/4 cont./

648 agencies, so to speak, in the primeval forest. It is also one of the duties of the personnel, however, to lay out plantations for their own living, where they grow manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas, mamão /papaya/, beans, tobacco, sugar cane, etc. In addition, they hunt and fish.

Since living conditions are more favorable on the Aracá and the work of the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) is more remunerative than that of the rubber gatherers, the population here is four times as large as on the Demini. The region of the Indians begins at the Cachoeira dos Indios (Ills. 2 and 3). There is not as yet, however, any Indian protection post on the Rio Aracá.

/5/

114 III. The Ethnic Affiliation of the Surára and Pakidái

As early as the beginning of the previous century important investigators, among them Alexander von Humboldt, Robert Schomburgk, Jean Chaffanjon, and Theodor Koch-Grünberg, undertook ethnographic and in part linguistic studies in the northern and western part of the area between Rio Branco, Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro among a few groups of the Xiriâna /Shiriana/ (5b) and Waiká /Waica/, which were broadened and

[104] 5b. X is pronounced like sch /in German/.

deepened by Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster in 1954/55, especially with regard to the Waiká (6a) (Waika) in the catchment

[194] 6a. When the Surára and Pakidái pronounce the tribal name of the Waiká, their worst enemies, they always accent the final a.

[197] area of the upper Orinoco (6b). Their work was supported by North

6b. Zerries, 1956a.

American missionaries who have been in touch with the

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/5 cont./

114
[199] aforementioned Indians for several years and used this opportunity to carry on their own ethnological investigations (7a, b). More-

7a. Barker, 1953.

7b. Finney, 1957.

over one should mention the Italian, Alfonso Vinci, who lived in southern Venezuela in 1953-1955 and there met Xirifna and Waiká groups (8).

8. Vinci, 1956.

On the subject of contacts with natives in the interior of that vast area between Rio Branco and Serra Parima, which Coudreau regarded as virtually unpeopled (9), that is, according to his view,

9. Coudreau, H. A., 1887, p. 255.

only west of the Rio Branco, between the lower Mucajaí and the lower Catrimani, did there live a few Indian groups "mal connus et redoutés" known as evil and feared/ (10), Georges Salathé

10. Coudreau, H. A., 1887, p. 247 and Map V.

and Donald Holdridge alone have reported as yet (11). The

114
648

11. The area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, as well as the region east of the Rio Branco, have for a long time been regarded as dangerous because, as Alexander von Humboldt and Robert Schomburgk have already reported, several of the tribes living there are supposed to have a very

/5 cont./

114
648

11. (cont.)
hostile attitude toward the whites as well as toward neighboring Indians. Since the rubber gatherers, palm-fiber gatherers, etc. on the Demini, Aracá, and the other rivers usually do not advance beyond the middle course, to say nothing of visiting the regions away from the rivers, the Indians only rarely feel disturbed in their territory. The incidents mentioned below, however, which have taken place there within the last 30 years, confirm that hostility on the part of a few tribes continues and may at any time lead to new acts of violence:
1928: Surára Indians, in an attack on a settlement of palm-fiber gatherers on the Rio Aracá, abducted two white women and a girl.
1942: Jaú Indians shot at the Brazilian-Venezuelan border commission on the upper Demini and forced it to turn back; two members of the commission were seriously wounded by arrow shots.
1945: Five American officers were killed by arrow shots by the Aimirí Indians on the Rio Jauaperi. They had gone up the river in a motor boat in order to take motion pictures of Indians there. The Brazilian guide, who was the only one to escape, later said that the Indians disliked the whirring of the camera and had several times urged the Americans to go back.
1946: The Aimirí Indians attacked the Indian protection post on the Rio Jauaperi and killed ten men of the personnel.

114 former, with regard to the Karimé Indians living on the upper course of the Catrimani, gives a brief sketch of their material

/5 cont./

114 culture, along with a word list (12), while the latter describes his

12. Salathé, 1931/32.

visits in the Xiriâna (Shiriana) and Waiká (Uaika) maloka which were still on the Demini, or rather a branch, in 1932 (13).

13. Holdridge, 1933.

101 114 127 On the basis of a perusal of the research reports of Zerries (14) (15)

14. Zerries, 1956a.

15. Zerries, 1956b.

and Schuster (16), as well as comparisons with ethnographic data

16. Schuster, 1958a.

and word lists which Salathé gathered among the Karimé (17),

17. Salathé, 1931/32.

Vinci among the Shiriana, Waika, and Samatari (18), and

18. Vinci, 1956.

Koch-Grünberg among the /6/ Xiriâna (Schirianá) groups, which he describes as linguistically isolated, and a few Waiká (Wafka) (19) (20),

19. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 454-456;
1923a, pp. 284 ff.

20. Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 302-308.

it was possible to determine that the societies investigated belong to a relatively uniform culture group and even linguistically differ

Surára. Pakidái. Shiriana Waica

/6 cont./

114 101 [127] from each other only slightly in dialectal deviations (see the appendix /see 3: Rodrigues, this file/) (21). How great their

[197]

21. Loukotka and Rivet already established the relationship of a few of these languages and grouped them under the general term "Širianá linguistic family," in which they include Širianá, Karimé, Waíka, and Pusárakaú. (Loukotka, 1942, pp. 8/9; Rivet et Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140).

homogeneity is may be seen by the fact that the Surára and Pakidái call themselves Yanonámi and the Waiká and Xiriána, according to Zerries and Schuster, call themselves Yanoáma (22) (23).

22. Zerries, 1956a, p. 187.

23. Schuster, 1958a, pp. 115/16.

However, members of the Aramamesterí, Karauaterí, Puseheweterí, and even of the Xiriána, whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái as wives, visitors, and captives, said that they were Yanonámi. Furthermore, the Surára chief Hewemão enumerated for me 42 more tribes between Catrimani and Rio Negro (24), friendly and hostile, pointing out that these

24. Becher, 1956.

must likewise be included.

In view of this and on the basis of the linguistic and cultural relationship, it would seem to be appropriate to adopt into South American ethnology Yanonámi or Yanoáma as a new designation for the linguistic and culture group made up of these small-sized and light-colored Indians of the northern Amazon. According to the investigations up to now, they occupy a relatively compact area which is bounded in the east and south by the Rio Branco and the Rio Negro, respectively, but in the north and west extends

/6 cont./

101 beyond the Uraricuera and the Parima range, respectively.
114 There can no longer be any doubt about the ethnic affiliation of this population. Koch-Grünberg was already of the opinion that in the case of the Xiriána (Schirianá) and Waiká (Waíka) "it is not a matter of two different tribes, but merely of two divisions of one large nation" (25) (26). At the same place, however, the

25. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 224.

26. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 290.

investigator expresses the conjecture, which was confirmed by the opinions of neighboring tribes, that the Waiká represent merely a subdivision of the Xiriána, "with whom they live either peaceably or in bitter enmity" (25) (26) /see the footnotes above/. Their isolation from other tribes is, according to Ourique, "an example of the instinctive precaution of the race against its own deterioration and its downfall" (27).

27. Ourique, 1906, p. 24.

101 In this connection there is a significant hint by the Surára chief,
619 according to which there are two powerful tribes within the
[115] "Yanonámi nation" first the Xiriána, who call themselves "Haraterí," and secondly the Waiká, who, however, are constantly warring. All the smaller tribes are on the side of either one or the other, but at the same time are obliged to pay tribute
[438] and render service in war (28). The Surára and Pakidái, the
[114]

28. With regard to the Xiriána, Koch-Grünberg already mentions this vassal relationship (Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 226), and Métraux also refers to it (Métraux, 1948, p. 861).

chief told me further, are allies of the Xiriána and occasionally

101
69
[43] /6 cont./ obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

[323]
411
[352] 29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xiriána.

/7/ IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

114
103 Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Demini nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

/7 cont./

114
103 Demini and Aracá were first introduced into the literature by João Barbosa Rodrigues, although he did not write Demini, but rather Demeune (32), and the Rio Aracá was called Uaraca by him (33).

32. On maps of that period one likewise finds the entry Demeney.

33. Rodrigues, 1885, pp. 136, 148.

174
114
103 With regard to the name Demini, it may be assumed that the ending "ini," according to the linguistic studies of Koch-Grünberg (34a), is derived from the Aruak /Arawak/ word "eni" =

34a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 15.

172
323 river, water. This assumption is confirmed by many very old finds of shards which I discovered on the entirely unpopulated terra firma on the riverine lakes of the Demini. They are yellowish gray shards, which are decorated with spiral lines, meanders, and other plaiting designs and resemble the earthenware vessels which Koch-Grünberg described for the Aruak tribes (34b).

34b. Koch-Grünberg,1910a, pp. 227/28 and Ills. 152-155.

The fact that I found only shards is undoubtedly linked with the custom of the Aruak described by Koch-Grünberg, according to which all the clay vessels that belonged to a deceased person must be broken to pieces, for otherwise the spirit of the dead would punish the greed of the relatives (35).

35. Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, p. 151.

This would also confirm the surmise of Koch-Grünberg that at one time Aruak tribes coming from the west and southwest penetrated into the region between Rio Branco and Orinoco, which was

/7 cont./

114 inhabited by an old population living in a wholly primitive state.
174 The Aruak were said to have been subjugated later by the Karaiben /Carib/, who, in turn, met powerful resistance on the part of the warlike Xiriâna and Waiká (36). Elsewhere the same

36. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 15/16.

investigator writes: "On the Merewari and upper Orinoco Karaiben live together with Arowaken, whereas the upper Uraricuéra and the Parima Range are entirely in the hands of the allophylian Schirianá and Waíka" (37). I, too, met neither Karaiben nor

37. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 233.

Aruak tribes in the Demini-Aracá region.

114 On a tribal map of that region drawn by Nimuendajú (38),
131
174

38. This map is in the possession of the scientific division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro.

Xiriâna are given as the inhabitants of the Rio Demini, along with the date 1874. Rodrigues also reports that at the end of the nineteenth century members of this tribe lived both along the banks of that stream and along its tributaries, the Cuieiras and Mamimêu; from there they extended their roving expeditions as far as the Catrimani (39).

39. Rodrigues, 1885, p. 136.

173 /8/ Today only one civilized Xiriâna family is living on the
115 lower Demini as planters, but it no longer has any connection
131 at all with its original, living fellow-tribesmen. This family, whose members speak Portuguese exclusively, told me that the region of the Demini has been the land of the Xiriâna from olden times. On account of frequent attacks on the part of the Waiká,

/8 cont./

however, they had withdrawn into regions remote from the river. Their last maloka on the Demini was taken over by a Waiká tribe in 1934. This is the place where today the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" is located, on the right bank of the middle Demini, just below the Cachoeira Auatsinaua (40) (41). In 1939, the

40. Holdridge visited the Xiriána here in 1932. (Holdridge, 1933, p. 380.)

41. According to information which Nimuendajú obtained in Manaus in 1927 from a man named Domingos Campos, Aruak-speaking Indians on the Demini were supposed to have been called Xiriána (Nimuendajú, 1955, pp. 150/51). This brings up all kinds of questions which are yet to be solved. Thus, there could have been an Aruak tribe of this name, for the shards which I found on the Demini, as well as the name of this river, indicate that members of that linguistic group once lived here. It might also be possible, however, that Aruak groups, after their subjugation by the Xiriána, became assimilated with the latter. On the other hand, it is not impossible that individual Xiriána adopted the Aruak language, and finally there still remains open the surmise that the Indians mentioned by Domingos Campos are not identical with the actual Xiriána, but were merely called that by the caboclo population.

In the literature, the two tribal designations "Xiriána" (members of the Aruak linguistic family) and "Xirianá" (independent linguistic family) (Loukotka, 1942,

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/8 cont./

114
174
101

41. (cont.)
pp. 8, 24, 52; Ribeiro, 1957, p. 99) have already become current. Nevertheless, I incline to the view that in the case of the Xiriâna it is a matter of one and the same large, widely scattered Yanonámi tribe. The material and spiritual culture of the Xiriâna with whom the Surára and Pakidái are allied (the latter and the Xiriâna whom I met among them themselves regularly accent the first a) corresponds perfectly with the one that Koch-Grünberg calls "Schirianá." The latter points out in one work that "Schirianá" is their self-designation, while "Schirischâna" is a name which their neighbors and mortal enemies, the "Maquiritáres," gave them (Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 454). It should also be mentioned that the designation "Shrirana," according to Vinci, is a Makuxí /Macusi/ word (Vinci, 1956, p. 107).

167 In 1939, the
648 Waiká, too, gave up this maloka and moved to the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini. Here, at the beginning of the year 1956, at the time of my stay among the Surára, they were attacked by a Xiriâna tribe and destroyed. Surára warriors told me that all the Waiká men were killed and the women and girls were taken captives.

101
114 As inhabitants of the Rio Aracá, Nimuendajú entered on the above-mentioned map of this region (see p. 16), with the date of 1874, the Bahuana, an Aruak tribe. With reference to this, the Surára chief remarked that this tribe also goes by the proper name of Pootarí and was an enemy of the Surára, Pakidái, Xiriâna, etc.; at the present time it lives in the source region of the Aracá.

/8 cont./

175 According to statements of old palm-fiber gatherers on the
648 Aracá, no Indians appeared on this river from the end of the previous century to the end of the twenties of our century. During the months of October and November of the year 1927, palm-fiber gatherers on their way to their places of work saw for the first time small and relatively light-skinned Indians disappearing into the forest thickets. In December, 1927, and January/February, 1928, the settlements were attacked by Indians several times, but the palm-fiber gatherers always managed to put them to flight. During the forenoon of June 28, 1928, there was another attack during which two wives of rubber gatherers and a 12-year-old girl were abducted. After this abduction there was no further Indian attack. Not until 16 years later, in January, 1944, did six
[439] Indians appear, but this time with friendly intent. They called themselves Surára and wanted to barter for articles of civilization. Later they admitted that their tribe had carried out the earlier attacks. In reply to questions about the two abducted women and the girl, they said that they had died. /9/ The palm-fiber gatherers did not bear them any malice for their previous hostile attitude, for they were glad that they could now carry on their work without fear of the Indians.

439 The Surára cling to their old habits and customs and visit the palm-fiber gatherers only when they want to barter for knives,
[115] axes, pots, etc. According to the statements of the chief of the Surára, they are forced by the Xiriána to barter with the palm-fiber gatherers, for they are obliged to deliver to them all the articles obtained (see also pages 157/163); the Xiriána themselves never have any contact with the civilized inhabitants.

648 In August of the year 1944 the Indian protection post founded in 1940 on the Rio Demini was visited for the first time by some Pakidái. At rather long intervals there have been further visits
[619] by various families of this tribe up to the present time. They, too, however, come at the request of the Xiriána and must hand over to them all the gifts.

Surára
Pakidái

/9 cont./

114 This shows that nothing has changed since 1948, when Métraux,
198 following the accounts of Koch-Grünberg and other investigators
181 traveling through this region, quite justifiably wrote: "The
648 Shiriana are very warlike people who succeeded in dominating several weaker tribes" /cited in English/ (42).

42. Métraux, 1948, p. 861.

141 V. Physical Characteristics

With regard to physical characteristics, the Surára and Pakidái are identical. Their height is below average, for the men are only 1.50-1.60 meters tall and the women 1.40-1.50 meters.
142 Both sexes have soft but muscular body forms, yet frequently a
291 protruding abdomen and often relatively thin legs. Since they always go barefoot, their feet have retained the ability to serve as prehensile organs for climbing tree trunks, and their toes are not squeezed together as much as in the case of civilized persons who wear shoes all the time. The considerable gap between the great toe and the second toe is striking (Ill. 14) (43). The color

43. Crevaux has already pointed this out in connection with the Oyampí Indians in French Guiana: "The great toe, very much set apart, always turns inward, while the third, fourth, and fifth are turned outward" /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, p. 76 and ill., left).

of their skin is very light, almost white. The forehead of the dolicocephalic head is often flat. Their broad noses with the nostrils directed slightly upward are noteworthy; the root of the nose, on the other hand, is narrow. The Mongoloid strain is clearly evident in the prominent cheekbones and the slanting, dark-brown, almost black-looking eyes. Between the slightly

Surára, Pakidái, Waica Shiriana

/9 cont./

142 pouting lips of a mouth that is never too large, there are always two gleaming rows of sound teeth. Their beautiful, always straight hair is a very dark brown. They all have a thick head of hair, but lose it in old age. No bald spot appears, however; the hair then simply looks as though it had been cut very short all over the head. Individual men have a thin growth of beard on [302] either side of the lips and on the chin; occasionally they pluck out the beard hair. The rest of their body hair is limited to the pubic region. Women pluck out their pubic hair, as well as their eyebrows and lashes. Young girls usually have well-formed, hemispherical, firm breasts, which, however, become slack and pendulous after the first child, although at that time the women have often not even reached the age of 18 or 19 years old.

114 142 These observations parallel the descriptions which Alexander von Humboldt gives of the Waikâ (Guaicas) and Guaharibo. He also describes them as tribes "with whitish skin color and very small stature." He adds, however, "the shortness of the Guaicas and the whiteness of the Guaharibos, /10/ whom P. Caulín calls [141] Guaharibos blancos, are equally exaggerated" (44). The Guaicas

44. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 113 ff.

measured by Alexander von Humboldt were "on the average four feet seven inches to four feet eight inches (according to the old French measurement)" (44) /see footnote above/, in other words, about 1.52-1.55 meters. Koch-Grünberg gives the same body height for the Waikâ (Wafka) whom he met in Motomotó on the Uraricuera and whom he likewise describes as very light-skinned (45). In

45. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 293.

[141] another place Koch-Grünberg writes: "The Schirianâ and Wafka of Motomotó were small people, on the average about 1.52 meters tall. In no case did the height exceed 1.55 meters... Older people had distended abdomens and thin legs... These people, who were by nature ugly almost throughout, were even more

Surára
Pakidái
Waica
Shiriana

/10 cont./

114 repellent because of the lack of any kind of body care" (46).
142

46. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 304.

Chaffanjon expressed himself in a similar manner, but even more disapprovingly, with regard to the Guaharibos: "Small and puny, thin limbs, a stomach enormously distended, hair long and dirty, a bestial countenance make them look repulsive. [291] They are absolutely naked; two men have a long and scraggly [411] beard; their complexion is lighter than that of all the Indians whom I have thus far mentioned; their only weapon is a stick" 114 /translated from the French/ (47). Finally, it should be men- 141

47. Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 308-311.

tioned that, of approximately 40 adult Waiká, Zerries established an average figure of 151.5 centimeters for men and 142 centimeters for women (48a).

48a. Zerries, 1956a, p. 186.

114 Comparisons show that the Surára and Pakidái have the same
142 physical characteristics as the Guaharibo, Xiriána, and Waiká (48b).

48b. Only recently there appeared a work by the same author, "Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Schiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien /Contributions to the Anthropology of the Waica and Schiriana Indians in the Border Region Between Venezuela and Brazil/," which is supplemented by excellent illustrative material (Zerries, 1959, pp. 31-41).

It is therefore astonishing that Chaffanjon and Koch-Grünberg describe the Indians that they studied as so strikingly ugly. It

Surára
Pakidái

/10 cont./

114 142 is true, the related Surára and Pakidái, as well as the Waiká in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco, embody a type that is strange to us (see Ills. 9-24 /see pp. 270-274/ and ills. in Zerries, 1959), but certainly not one that is repulsive to that extent.

342

VI. Technology and Material Culture

1. House Forms

The Surára and Pakidái are familiar with four different house-forms. The simplest and probably the earliest form, which at present, however, is used only as overnight quarters by one family during the expeditions in the virgin forest, is similar to a wind-screen /Windschirm/ (Ill. 4). It is built in the following way: In front, one or two supports, 2-2.50 meters long, are set into the ground at intervals as long as a hammock; about three meters behind these there are two weaker supports, 1-1.50 meters long, at somewhat longer intervals. The upper ends are joined together with poles; cipó-titica (a type of liana) serves as lashing material. The poles are also frequently tied to trees standing a short distance apart, instead of the rear supports. Over this 12 to 15 thinner poles are placed crosswise, and on top of these four to six are placed lengthwise. This results in a more or less steep frame-work which has the shape of a lean-to roof (Ill. 4). Palm leaves are laid on this so that the hut gives secure protection against the rain; even the most severe tropical thunderstorms cannot harm the Indians sleeping under it. The hammocks are fastened in the form of a triangle around the fire burning in the center; In the case of larger families, two hammocks often hang one above the other.

[824] [352] [354]

361 /11/ If the entire tribe is on the march, the huts of the individual families are always placed in a circle around the chief's hut standing in the center, after the virgin forest has been hastily cleared to a certain extent beforehand. The space between the huts is five to eight meters.

/11 cont./

342 114 184) Exactly the same construction is shown by Salathé for the Karimé (49), Zerries for the Waiká (50), and Koch-Grünberg for

49. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 298-300 and Fig. 1 and 2.

50. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

the Xiriâna (Schirianá) on the upper Uraricaparâ; the latter, however, calls the lean-to type of hut a storm-shelter /Wetterschirm/ (51). This name is not suitable, however, for a

51. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Pl. 43 b and c.

genuine storm-shelter, also called windscreen, touches the ground on one side. In the method of construction described and likewise in Koch-Grünberg's drawings, however, the roof rests on supports everywhere. The circular arrangement of the huts is also mentioned in Koch-Grünberg. In this connection the scholar expresses 361 114 the opinion that this is only a temporary camp (52), which I am

52. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Plate 43 a.

now able to confirm with respect to the Surára and Pakidái. On the other hand, Koch-Grünberg, Salathé, and Zerries say nothing about a hut standing in the center. Among the Surára and Pakidái, however, this is never absent. The reason for it, these Indians [622] told me, was to protect the chief sleeping in it from hostile attacks. Moreover, two warriors must always guard the camp at night.

361 Along the routes of travel of the Surára and Pakidái in the area between the Demini and Aracá rivers, one finds many such abandoned camps. They are never occupied a second time as overnight quarters, however, although the construction is often

/11 cont./

361 very well preserved and only the roofs would need to be covered with fresh palm leaves.

One exception is Camp Xiwarí, which is 35 kilometers north of the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá. Three-fourths [342] of the circle, which is 28 meters in diameter, is made up of ten of the small huts described, while a similarly constructed dwelling seven meters long and five meters high occupies the remaining fourth. In the center of the circle, as usual, stands the chief's [241] hut. Around the camp, rocas (forest clearings) have been laid out, where bananas, pupunha palms, manioc, species of sweet [227] potatoes, and tobacco are planted. The Surára stay here every [156] year between the months of October and December. In the large huts at that time two young men about 20 years old are always trained as medicine man's helpers for two months by the chief and his brother (see pp. 143 f.).

342 The second house-form is a large, open, almost circular
361 maloka which lies in a valley between three short mountain ranges, 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco (Ill. 5). This is a construction (see Fig. 1 /see p. 27 /) which has not been documented up to now for South American Indians. During the dry season it is occupied by the Surára and Pakidái jointly. As the more detailed explanation will show, this house form developed from the circularly arranged small huts which serve as overnight quarters. Camp Xiwarí described above clearly shows the transitional form.

361 Around an area 52 meters long and 48 meters wide three curved
342 windscreens about six meters high are erected (Ill. 6), as well as a rectangular house with gable roof, open toward the inner area. The length of the largest windscreen is 74.40 meters and that of the other two 28.60 and 25.40 meters, respectively. The chief's rectangular house is 9.70 meters long. Four entrances, 8 meters, 6.80 meters, 6.30 meters, and 2 meters wide respectively, lead toward the large open circular area. A fifth entrance, which is only one meter high and 50 centimeters wide, however, is inside the largest windscreen. Moreover, it should be mentioned that

343 /11 cont./ Moreover, it should be mentioned that
342 between the chief's house and the windscreen that is 24.80 meters
361 long there stands a four-meter-long, rectangular, open gabled-hut, the rooster coop (Ill. 7). /12/ /Fig. 1 appears here./

342 /13/ The three windscreens are built as follows: Toward the interior, posts 3.30-3.60 meters high are set up at irregular intervals. Behind them, at intervals of 2.60 meters, stand smaller posts which are about 1.20 meters high. The front and rear posts are joined by strips which are allowed to project about two [824] meters at the top. Here, too, cipó-titica, a type of liana, serves for fastening them. Over these strips, at intervals of 50-70 centimeters, 31-35 thinner cross-strips are laid, which produces a windscreen construction. In contrast to the lean-to type of hut described above, these are genuine, albeit specially large windscreens, for they touch the ground on one side. They are about seven meters deep and the height of the roof is up to six meters. [824] For roof covering the leaves of the ubim palm (Geonoma sp.) are [171] used, the "tiles" of the Amazon. The rubber gatherers, the palm-fiber gatherers, the planters, and woodcutters also use these leaves as roof and wall covering, the durability of which is four to five years.

824 The ubim palm, which is very common in the Demini-Aracá area, reaches a height of only 1.50-2 meters. The leaves are 80 centimeters to one meter long and from 25 to 30 centimeters [461] wide. The gathering of these is quite strenuous and demands four to five hours of hard work. They are cut off or broken off and at first laid on top of one another in piles. When the Indian has gathered enough leaves, he clears a small rectangular place in the forest for a distance of about four meters. At this distance he thrusts three sticks, one meter high, into the ground on either side directly opposite one another. These are joined together with lianas. Then piles of eight to ten leaves are placed next to one another over the three liana strips. When he comes to the end, the Indian places additional piles of eight to ten leaves in the interspaces, but this time with the stem pointing toward the opposite side. He repeats this several times until finally all the gathered

[Text Continues on P. 28]

Surára
Pakidái

342
343
361
622

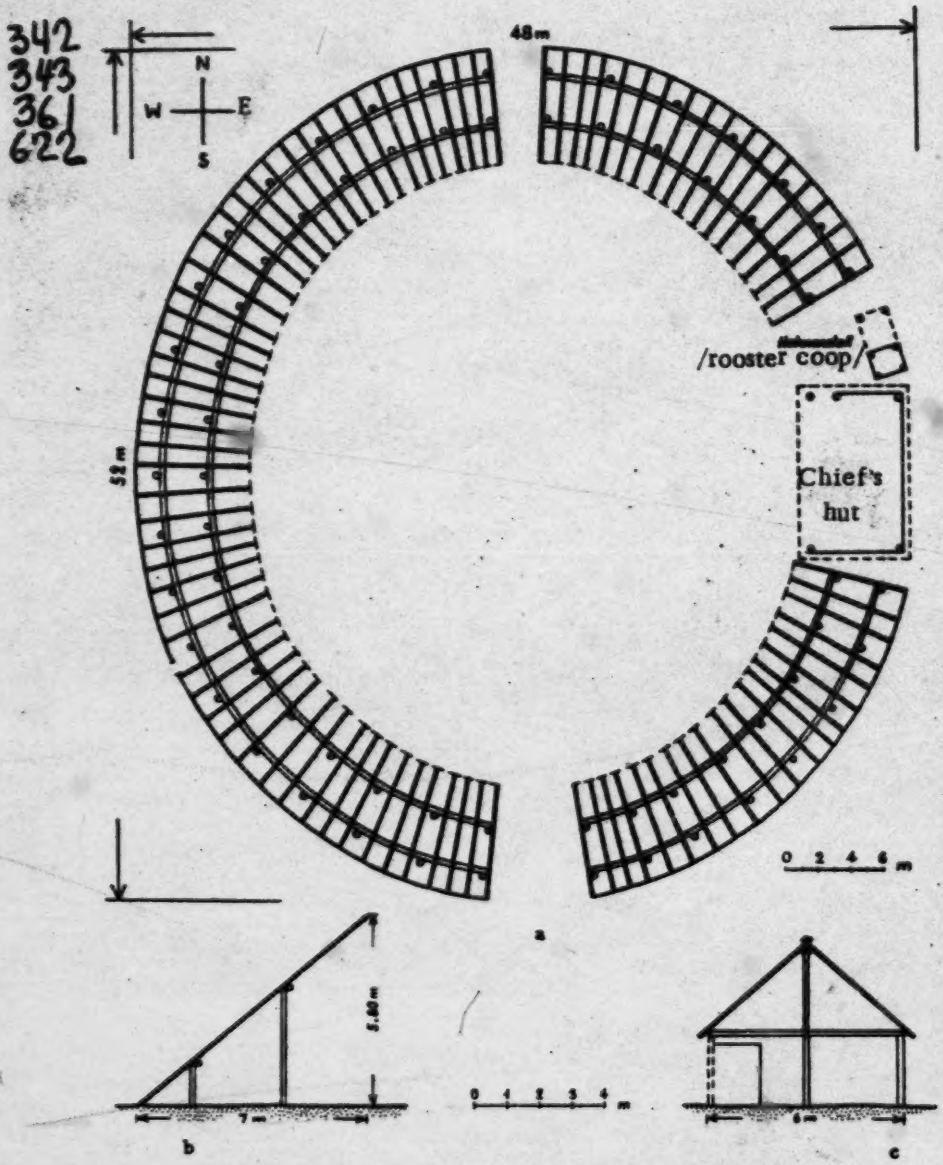


Fig. 1a-c. Ground plan and cross-section of the open maloka with chief's hut.

/13 cont./

824 leaves are neatly piled up on top of one another. Then he pulls out the three poles on one side and rolls up the leaves, along with the three liana strips on which they are lying, like a carpet. The ends of the lianas are then pulled together securely and one [482] stuck into the other. A carrying-strap of embira is wrapped around the ball, whereupon the Indian carries the heavy 60-70 kilogram load with his head or chest, in the latter case with the carrying-strap running over the chest and the two upper arms, 30 to 40 minutes or more through the pathless forest to his maloka. [481] The pace which the Indians strike up in doing this is so swift that I, without a load, always had difficulty following them.

824 285 Having arrived at the dwelling, on the same day or the following day, the leaves are worked up into rectangular mats which are to serve as roof covering, at which the women help. In this technique the efficiency and the inventiveness of the Indian are impressive.

Over a stalk of the paxiúba palm (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.) 60-100 ubim leaves are laid next to one another with the underside on top, and, to be sure, in such a way that only the end of the leaf lies above the paxiúba stem, while the long stem of the ubim leaf projects beyond it. Each ubim leaf, moreover, consists of three to four V-shaped sides. From the right side there is now begun the fitting of the leaves together into a firm structure. The lower part of the right V-shaped side is now folded under. Then the long ubim stem is bent, wrapped around the paxiúba stem, led upward to the right of the leaf, and then laid over the leaf toward the left. The same procedure is followed with the adjacent leaves. The stem end of the last leaf on the left is fastened with a piece of liana wound around the paxiúba stem, or simply by bending this stem to the right, by way of exception, and shoving it under the other leaves. With this a pano (rectangular mat) is completed, generally with a length of five to eight 342 meters and a width of half a meter. Depending on the length 824 of the windscreen, 80-100 or more of these panos /14/ are now laid on the roof framework over one another tile-fashion at intervals of 30-50 centimeters and fastened with lianas.

342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters. In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
354 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc.,
231 are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
342 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50 centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
[174] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
[171] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem, similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[177] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is 9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

/14 cont./

342 622 posts are joined by crossbeams; in addition, horizontal strips lead to the tall posts, whereby a gable roof is formed. Over this again lie small, thin cross-strips, on which, exactly as in the case of the large windscreens, the panos, the rectangular palm-leaf mats, are fastened. In the same manner, the rear wall and the two side-walls are also provided with panos. Between the two ends of the front side there are fastened three poles half a meter high, which are often used as sitting places. The entrance, which is one meter wide, is on the right-hand narrow side. The fire burns in the center of the hut, and in a triangle around it are fastened the hammocks in which the chief, his two wives, and the children sleep. All the implements hang on the crossbeams and on the plaiting of the rear wall.

[354] [352] [353]

343 To the right, next to the chief's house, stands a small, open hut which is four meters long, two meters wide, and six meters high. Here, too, the roof has a gable-shape and is likewise covered with panos made of ubim leaves. Under the roof is found a latticework pen about 1.60 X 2 meters, which is used as a rooster coop.

342 From an architectural standpoint, this open, almost circular construction, in which, to be sure, the chief's hut and the coop for the roosters form two foreign bodies added later -- represents an unexcelled method of building, particularly for this hot, tropical region. The circular shape prevents the wind from entering, and the rain, too, cannot reach the families living in the dead angle under the roofs. Moreover, there is always pleasantly fresh air, so that even upon leaving this maloka there is no danger of catching cold. Tribes or groups living in closed malokas are much more subject to respiratory ailments when they leave the warm community house and step out into the cool morning or night air. This maloka of the Surára may doubtless be regarded as one of the oldest and most primitive types of construction of the South American Indians. Around the community house, plantings have been laid out (Ill. 37) and at the present time extend to the middle of the mountain slopes.

[174] 241

Surára
Pakidai

/15/

342
184 As a third house-form, on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá I became acquainted with a closed, circular maloka ten meters high with a gable roof. The Surára told me that this type of construction is customary among the Xirišna. Up to now, however, there has been no description of it.

36
313 The construction, as in the case of the open maloka, is carried out by all the men of the tribe, under the direction of the chief, as communal work. I had the good fortune to be present at this construction in all its phases. First, a section of the forest, upon which the maloka is to be erected, is cleared. The men start by cutting down the small trees and bushes and pulling out the roots. Then they proceed to fell the large trees. Before two men with their axes set to work on a tree, however, one man climbs it and fastens a very long liana just under the crown. When the tree is then notched so far that it threatens to fall, three or four men pull it down to the ground by means of the liana and, as the tree falls, quickly leap to one side. When all the trees are cut, the roots are dug out with the help of the terçados (large bush-knives) and the hands. Meanwhile other men pull out the underbrush on the ground. During the next two or three days, trees are cut in the virgin forest to serve as building material. After that the chief, assisted by two or three men,
342 marks off a circular area by means of a liana. Then the building starts, and, after only eight days, presents the following completed construction: On either side of three center posts ten meters high, which constitute the ridge, four posts eight meters high stand in a semicircle. At a greater distance from these posts 21 small stakes, each five meters high, are driven into the ground in a semicircle around the posts mentioned. The tall posts, as well as the medium-sized and small ones, are joined by means of two cross-strips at the upper ends and two meters below this. Moreover, numerous horizontal rods are fastened to the cross-strips of the 21 outer posts, by means of which the house wall is formed. Sixty-nine horizontal poles, which are supposed to support the frame of the roof, run from the upper cross-strips of the small posts, over those of the middle posts, which serve as supports, to those of the

/15 cont./

342 large posts. On each of the two narrow sides of the three tall middle posts, 11 thin sticks are attached, organ-fashion, between the supported horizontal poles and form the two gable faces. [824] Here, too, cipó-titica is used exclusively as the lashing material. To the right on the front broad-side and to the left on the rear one there is a small entrance only one meter high and one meter wide. After the framework is completed (Ill. 8), the panos (rectangular mats made out of the leaves of the ubim palm) are again laid over one another on the roof, like shingles, and fastened to the rafters. It is the same technique as has already been described in the construction of the large, open maloka. The upper part of the two gable sides is left open so that light may penetrate into the interior of the house and the smoke be carried off. The walls, too, are completely covered with panos, and in front of the entrances palm-leaf mats that can be drawn back are hung by means of lianas. Inside the house, the center part is left free for holding festivals and dances, while the families, in the same way as in the open maloka, live comparatively close to the wall, one [622] family beside the other. For the chief and his family a particularly large space is reserved on the side toward the river.

342 171 114 The astonishing fact in this form of house is that the ground plan is circular whereas the roof is gable-shaped. Ordinarily for houses with a circular ground-plan, the conical roof is characteristic, as Olga Coudreau (54) and Koch-Grünberg (55) have shown

54. Olga Courdreau, 1903, p. 121.

55. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 18 and Pl. 2 (1a, 1b, 2a, 2b).

for Karaiben /Carib/ tribes. In this case, one or at most two center posts are used. Koch-Grünberg also mentions, to be sure, a construction with three and writes: "If the two center posts are set farther apart or if, instead of two center posts, three or more are used, /16/ the ridge is lengthened and the circular ground-plan gradually becomes an elliptical one" (56).

56. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22 and Pl. 2 (4).

/16 cont./

342 In the building method described by me, however, the
174 circular ground-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts.
177 According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical
ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obvi-
[114] ously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in com-

57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

plete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they modeled after the community house of the Xiriána, actually developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts of the caboclos). This is also indicated by the construction of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka,
[184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy, however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show
342 a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why
825

58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

the Surára in the sierra occupy an open maloka and on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

501 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on
484 their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our
491 eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

/16 cont./

484 season, or in case their banks are steep, a tree trunk is simply
491 laid across as a footbridge. To cross small rivers, for example, the Rio Deminisinho, a left tributary of the upper Aracá which empties into it one kilometer beyond the Cachoeira dos Índios, the Surára even use a regular bridge. The Rio Deminisinho is 38 meters wide at the place where it is crossed, and on either side
499 there are steep banks eight meters high. The bridge, which was built here during the summer, when the riverbed was relatively shallow, consists of 12 crossed tree-trunks 12-14 meters long, which were rammed into the riverbed. Over the places where they crossed, two thinner trunks were laid next to each other and fastened with liana lashings. At the projecting ends of the supporting posts, lianas form a sort of railing. Since they hang very loosely, however, they can scarcely offer a grip. To secure the bridge, both ends have been additionally anchored to thick trees by means of lianas. Because of this, the construction looks like a hanging bridge at first glance. Since it is one meter higher than the banks, however, small rung-ladders 60 centimeters wide are attached at either side and fastened with liana lashings.

484 While I always had to fight with great difficulty to keep my
491 balance in crossing this and other tree-trunk bridges, the Indians,
[481] men, women, and children, always strode across effortlessly, even when they were carrying a great deal of baggage. This may be connected with the fact that they hardly place their feet outward at all, so that one might almost believe them parallel (Ill. 17) (59).

[114]
[141]

59. There are similar accounts by Crevaux with regard to the Oiana /Oyana/ (Rukuien /Rucuyen/, Roucouyennes). The investigator sought the reasons for this and believed he found them in the pelvis. The white women, too, he said, more than the men, walk with their feet placed inward, because their pelvis is wider. On account of the foot position, he concludes that the Indians also have a wider pelvis (Crevaux, 1875, p. 255).

Surara
Pakidái
Sanema

/17/

491
499
184

These bridges are nothing new, for they were already mentioned in similar form by Alexander von Humboldt from the Raudal de Guaharibos (60). An absolutely classic description of

60. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 111, 112, 119.

this method of construction observed among the Guaharibo is given by Chaffanjon: "Finally, toward half-past four in the evening we discover a sort of lake with a rayol, at the end of which some branches, regularly placed across the stream, attract our attention; planted between crevices in the rocks, they form a foot-bridge. For constructions of this type, the Indians wait until the river is very low. They look for branches or young trunks of single growth, such as are often encountered in the forest. The thickness varies from 12 to 15 centimeters in diameter, the length differs according to the depth of the water. The posts which we examine do not exceed four meters in length; they are, like all the branches, either broken off or burned; none bears any trace of ax or knife. The supports in an X, set at intervals, have their forks joined by cross-pieces both at the lower part and at the upper part. The whole is firmly fastened with very resistant lianas. In order to make the supports planted in the crevices or between the rocks more secure, they are tied to trees along the bank, which gives them the appearance of a hanging bridge. The Indians walk along the two lower cross-pieces and use the upper one as a handrail" /translated from the French/ (61). Such bridges

491
184
171

61. Chaffanjon, 1889, p. 311 and illustration, p. 309.

are further documented by Koch-Grünberg for the Taulipáng (62)

62. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 78 and Ill. 6.

and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

/17 cont./
and by Zerries for the Waikâ (63).

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

411

3. War and Hunting Weapons and Accessories

For war and hunting expeditions the Surára and Pakidái, exactly like most of the other forest nomads of South America, use very large bows -- hâtonahî -- and arrows -- xeréka (Ill. 12).

[824] The bows, so-called simple bows because they consist of only one piece, are made out of the heavy black wood of the pupunha or chonta palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and are between 2.03-2.12 meters long. Their tension-strength weight is 32 kilograms and the length of stretch 71 centimeters (64). As

64. Pertinent comparisons with bows of other South American tribes may be found in Ranke's chart (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

the result of a not too marked, but uniform curvature, they have a symmetrical appearance. While the outer side is flat, the inner side is rounded, so that the cross-section, which in the center amounts to 2-2 1/2 centimeters, appears semicircular. The two ends come to a point (Fig. 2 i).

411 With regard to their construction it may be said that now-
412 adays the bow-staff is first roughly shaped with ax and tercado
322 (large bush-knife (65). (I did not find any stone axes, which

[439]

65. They obtain these objects by barter with piacabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) and as gifts from the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

[439] were perhaps once used in former times.) Subsequently the men shape them with a small knife, which they likewise obtain by barter.

Surára
Pukidai
Shiriana
Yamatari

/17 cont./

411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 curatella (Cecropia peltata), which gives the bow a beautiful,
237 shiny appearance.
824 The bowstring -- penahitábe --, which consists of three
411 strands of curaná (Bromeliaceae) fiber strings twisted to the right,
283 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66).

66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semi-circular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also

67. Meyer, no date, p. 31.

devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here./ /19/ Uraricapara,
411 Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustra-
184
114

68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.

tions of the Xiriána bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[Text continues on p. 39]

2: Becher--38 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

411
284

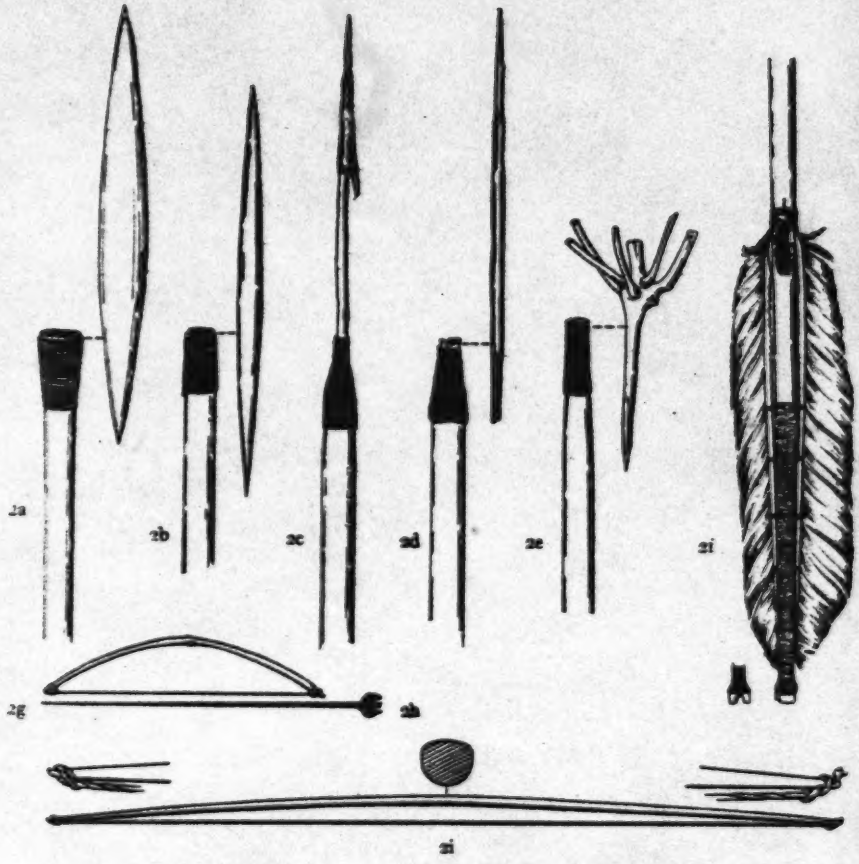


Fig. 2a. Wide, lancet-shaped bamboo arrow-point.
Fig. 2b. Narrow, lancet-shaped bamboo arrow-point.
Fig. 2c. Arrow-point with barb.
Fig. 2d. Wooden arrow-point with coating of poison.
Fig. 2e. Forked wooden arrow-point.
Fig. 2f. Arrow feathering.
Fig. 2g. Boy's bow.
Fig. 2h. Boy's arrow.
Fig. 2i. Bow with cross-section and string fastening.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Samatari

/19 cont./

411
184
114
[173]

almost identical with that of the Surára and Pakidái, except for the fact that the former is set off at the ends. This confirms the statements made by the Indians investigated by me who said that they obtained bows of this kind and the knowledge of how to make them themselves from the Xiriána. In reply to my question as to why their bows were not set off at the end, I was told that the Xiriána demand this deviation. In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/, there are two Xiriána bows which were collected by Koch-Grünberg (12.25:29, 12.25:31). They are relatively small specimens, however, for they are only 1.92 and 1.82 meters high, respectively. A bow which came from the Xamatári of the Rio Maiá, a left tributary of the Rio Cauaboris, and which is also in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:4) and is two meters high, has exactly the same shape as the Surára and Pakidái one, that is, without the offset ends. This is not surprising, for, according to the statement of the Surára chief Hewemão, the Xamatári are likewise satellites of the Xiriána (see p. 12). Finally, it should be mentioned that the same bow-form has also been documented for the Waiká in Venezuela (70).

70. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

411
249
824

The arrows -- xerêka --, whose total length comes to between 2-2.12 meters (shaft length 1.89-1.94 meters; weight, 60-90 grams) (71) (72), are made out of arrow cane -- xerekaîbe --

[114]

71. These measurements confirm Weule's statement when he says that the arrow must correspond in length, shape, and weight to the bow, in order to guarantee a certain accuracy of aim (Weule, 1899, p. 6).

72. Pertinent comparisons with other South American tribes are to be found in the chart by Ranke (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Xamatari

/19 cont./

411 which the Surára and Pakidái plant in the vicinity of their malokas
[249 on the upper Aracá and the middle Demini, respectively. All five
[824 of the arrow types used by them have the same feathering --
[237 jaromahîk --, which consists of two halves of the black wing feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.) -- pararí. They are placed against the cane in such a way that they alternately show the upper and the
[283 lower side of the feather. At several places on the hand end they are held by two threads of the tight winding of Bromelia fibers -- pemakasiurakama. Inside this winding, which is supposed to strengthen the weak cane against the pressure of the bowstring, there is stuck on the end of the cane in addition a small wooden peg fastened with resin, which has a notch in its thickened outer part, which is set on the bowstring. This is supposed to prevent the cane from splitting when the arrow flies off. The upper end of the feather shaft is wound with a second, narrower winding, in which, between the two halves of the arrow feathers, two additional small black mutum feathers are frequently stuck as ornaments (Fig. 2f).

411 The feathering described belongs to the Guiana type of
184 feathering, according to the classification by Meyer (73). Koch-
114

73. Meyer, no date, p. 9.

Grünberg (74) confirms it for the Xirišna, and it can also be recog-

74. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (4, 7, 8).

nized on the arrows which that investigator brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:33-42). The arrows in the Alfred Boeldecke Collection (56.15:5-7) in the same museum and the drawings by Vinci (75) show that the Xamatári likewise use this

75. Vinci, 1956, p. 146, Fig. a.

Surára
Pakidái
Xamatári
Karimé

/19 cont./

411 184 114 feathering, and, according to Salathé, it is also to be found among the Karimé (76).

76. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Figs. 3 and 4.

411 There is an astonishingly wide range of variation for the arrow points, of which the following five different types occur among the Surára and Pakidái:

1. Kantaná -- It is a wide, lancet-shaped bamboo point, 25-28 centimeters long, both /20/ ends of which come to a point; the [531] width in the center is 3-4 centimeters. The upper side is rounded off, and the lower one, occasionally somewhat hollowed out, is [283] sometimes painted with black dots. It is inserted in the slightly split arrow shaft and tightly wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2a). Since the arrows with this large point have particularly great penetrating power, they are used chiefly for the hunting of tapirs and jaguars; moreover, they are used for warlike encounters. Every Surára and Pakidái man always carries two or three such reserve points in his quiver.

411 184 114 Salathé found similar points among the Karimé (77) and

77. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 299/300 and Fig. 3b.

Vinci among the Xamatári (78). Moreover, they are confirmed

78. Vinci, 1956, pp. 145 and 146, Fig. b.

for the latter Indians by a specimen in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte. (Alfred Boeldecke Collection, [531] 6.15:5. Length, 23 centimeters; width in the center, three centimeters. On the lower hollowed-out side, this point is painted with a black, serpentine line.)

Shiriana
Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./

411 184 114 [283]

The lancet-shaped bamboo points of the Xirišána investigated by Koch-Grünberg, on the other hand, have a somewhat different shape. Here the two ends do not come to a point, as among the Surára, Pakidái, Karimé, and Xamatári, but rather one end is thickened, hollowed out, and, wound with Bromelia fibers, is set on a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (79). Three such

79. Koch-Grünberg 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (5, 8).

Xiriana arrow points of the Koch-Grünberg Collection in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte have, moreover, the respectable length of 34 centimeters (12.25:37) and 35 centimeters (12.25:34-35).

Inasmuch as the Surára and Pakidái, according to their own statements, borrowed their lancet-shaped bamboo points from the Xirišána, the ensuing alteration process is quite significant, since, indeed, the point is no longer mounted on a wooden shaft, but is inserted directly into the arrow cane.

Furthermore, lancet-shaped bamboo points have been confirmed for the Waiká by Zerries (80) and Schuster (81), but it is

80. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

81. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

not clear from their texts whether this is the same type as that of the Surára, Pakidái, etc. or that of the Xirišána.

411 171

How greatly the lengths and attachment possibilities of such bamboo points vary among South American Indians is very clearly shown by the comprehensive investigations of Meyer (82) and

82. Meyer, no date, pp. 18, 19, 25, 27, 30, 36, 37, 47, 48, 49, and Plates I, 11, 13; II, 16; III, 14; IV, 8, 15.

/20 cont./
Métraux (83).

83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

2. Rahakâ -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the kantanâ (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and cutias (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

3. Kantarîm -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the cuatâ (Ateles paniscus L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84). Meyer mentions that it is

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanomámi group, they have furthermore

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

been documented for the Xiriâna (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88),

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./
411 and Waiká (89) (90). In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde
114
184

89. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

90. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

und Vorgeschichte, there are, /21/ moreover, three Xiriâna arrows with this point (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:39-41) and an arrow from the Xamatâri (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:6).

411 4. Ranaká -- Forked wooden point of a bird arrow; length, 12-15
[824] centimeters. The material is furnished by a tree -- paioórimá -- which shows countless such forkings. The lower part of the stem is pointed and is set in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2e). Thus far there is a parallel for this arrow point only among the Waiká (91a).

91a. Barker, 1953, p. 464.

5. Unamú -- Wooden arrow-point with a coating of poison. A thin, pointed rod of the hard wood of the pupunha palm, 22-24 centimeters long, is coated with arrow poison, giving it a black appearance. The rear end is inserted in the arrow cane wound with
[824] Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2d). Such poisoned arrows are used exclusively for hunting monkeys, since these animals living in the tall trees are otherwise difficult to kill. According to the statements of Surára and Pakidái informants, they never shoot poisoned arrows at human beings.

411 Other Yanonámi tribes who likewise use poisoned arrows are
184 the Xiriâna (91b), Karimé (92), and Waiká (93) (94). Moreover,

91b. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 312.

92. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 301 and Fig. 5a.

93. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

94. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

Surára
Pakidái

/21 cont./

411 184 there is a Xamatâri poisoned arrow in the possession of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56. 15:7).

411 171 114 [139] Métraux writes with reference to the poisoned arrows: "Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is commonly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is traded throughout wide regions" /cited in English/ (95). Among

95. Métraux, 1949, p. 242.

Karaiben /Carib/ tribes in Guiana, poisoned arrows which are shot with a bow are not very often encountered, for they are documented only for the Makuxí /Macusi/ by Richard Schomburgk (96) and for

96. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 428.

411 171 the Trio by de Goeje (97). It should be mentioned in this connec-

97. de Goeje, 1906, p. 15; Pl. V, Figs. 10-12; Pl. XI, Fig. 22.

tion, however, that many Karaiben, for example, the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, shoot small poisoned arrows with a blowgun; this weapon is unknown to the Surára and Pakidái.

278 Arrow poisons:

[192] [184] According to what my Surára informants reported to me, they use three kinds of poison of different strengths, all of which, however, they designate by the general name -- mamokôrimaunâpe. This name is almost the same as the one which the Waiká, according to Zerries, use for arrow poison -- mamokordi (98).

98. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/21 cont./

278 The strongest poison is said to be obtained from the milk of a tree which, in the language of the Surára, is called -- patemá. [824] This tree was not pointed out to me; I was told that it only grows in a very distant region. To prepare an allegedly weaker poison the milk of the -- tototó -- (Strychnos toxifera) is used.

As soon as it is obtained, the particular type of milk is [415] boiled in a clay vessel. This makes it turn black, and subsequently [413] it is painted on the arrow points by means of a wooden stick which [415] is wrapped with cotton. Special bags -- kanabó --, which are made [824] out of the leaves of the acaf palm (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) and sewed with lianas, are used for storing them. There is never anything left of the poison itself.

278 438 I was also told that of the tribes allied with the Xiriána only the Surára were entrusted with the preparation of these two types of poison. All the Indians who were friendly with them, even the Xiriána, thus obtained their poisoned arrows from them by barter. The Surára chief Hewemão, however, emphasized that the detested Waiká also knew how to prepare arrow poisons, which they used [114] above all to shoot at human beings. The latter statement is confirmed by Zerries (99).

99. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

278 /22/ The third type of arrow poison is the weakest. It is made out of snuff powder -- epená -- (see pp.190/193, which is mixed with water and boiled. This method is also supposed to be familiar to the Pakidái and Xiriána.

Unfortunately, I could not take part in the preparation of the poisons, for, with the exception of the chief /Fig. 3 appears here/ and his brother, only a few older men are familiar with them and they are kept strictly secret even from all the other members of the tribe. The meager information about them is limited to oral statements.

/22 cont./

411 Boys' bow:

524 The boys' bow -- hauoá -- is 80-90 centimeters long and
[824] consists of a curved branch of the paioôrimá tree, which also furnishes the material for the bird arrow-points. As in the case of all branch-bows, the arms are of different lengths, so that an unsymmetrical shape is produced, which affects the accuracy of the

Fig. 3. Position for shooting with the bow.

shot. This is of no consequence, however, since these are merely
283] toy bows for small boys. On both ends the bow staff is tapered and
[824] set off to receive the bowstring -- pebatábe -- which is made out of a liana (cipó-titica) (Fig. 2g).

Boys' arrows:

[192] Ruhumacík is the name of the thin arrow, 80-90 centimeters
[824] long, for boys, which the fathers make out of the wood of the
[237] inaja palm Maximiliana regia Mart.) -- kareximací. The feather-
[283] ing -- jaronahík -- consists of two small halves of mutum feathers,
which are lashed to the shaft with a thread of cotton. Instead of
[192] an arrow point mounted separately, the arrow here is only slightly pointed (Fig. 2h); the designation for it is -- peimacikenâme.

/22 cont./

411
[482] In the forest the Surára and Pakidái as a rule carry their bows and arrows longwise with one or both hands above their heads, but occasionally also on the right or left shoulder.

In shooting, the bow is held in a horizontal position with the left hand. The arrow lies to the left of the bow, between thumb and index finger. The man holds the end of the arrow between the index finger and middle finger of the right hand and simultaneously stretches the bowstring with the second joints of these fingers (Fig. 3); occasionally he also adds the second joint of the ring finger, if the shot is to be reinforced. This is a form
411 which, following Morse, is designated as the "Mediterranean re-
171 lease" /cited in English/. This practice has been documented
114 also for Eskimo tribes and Siberian peoples (100), but never for

100. Morse, 1885, pp. 12-15 and Figs. 8 and 9.

South American Indians. Concerning the tribes on the Aiarý, Koch-Grünberg says that here the men hold the end of the arrow with thumb and index finger of the /23/ right hand, while they simply press the other three fingers against the palm of the hand (101).

101. Koch-Grünberg, 1909, p. 104 and Ill. 58.

The Yurakare /Yuracare/, too, hold the arrow with the thumb and index finger of the right hand, and they use the remaining three fingers for stretching the bow (102). These latter forms seem to be

102. von Holten, 1877, p. 111.

the most customary in South America, but unfortunately this cannot be definitely established because the information concerning this is too meager. Friederici has already justifiably complained: "With reference to the manner of grasping and stretching the bow and aiming and shooting the arrow, reports are unfortunately very scarce;

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 the few that are available are not the type from which rules could
171 be deduced" (103). If the arrow is to be shot upward, the left arm
114

103. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

is stretched out and the bowstring is pulled up to the right eye with the right hand (Ill. 13). I did not meet any left-handed archers. Koch-Grünberg mentions one and remarks that he was assured there were many of them (104). Among the Mosquito

104. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 73.

Indians in Central America left-handedness seems even to be quite pronounced, for Sapper shows their typical handling of the bow and arrow in the photograph of a Mosquito boy shooting left-handed (105).

105. Sapper, 1903, p. 54.

411 The best shooting performances, which I tested with men and boys, were between 40-50 meters for the former, who shot straight through an empty gasoline can with the large, mounted, lancet-shaped arrow-point, and between 8-10 meters for the latter. Yet even at a distance of 100 meters, most of the men hit the target; the penetrating power, however, was considerably diminished. These figures agree very closely with the statements compiled from the literature by Friederici (106). Several warriors

106. Friederici, 1907, p. 326.

were also able to shoot indirectly, which is shown by the following experiment which I carried out with Hewemão, the chief of the Surára, his younger brother Kurikajawõ, the Surára man Brakaiwõ, and the warrior chief of the Pakidái, Poréhiwõ. I placed three white leaves of standard size on the ground, one behind the other, at a distance of 30, 28, and 26 meters from the

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

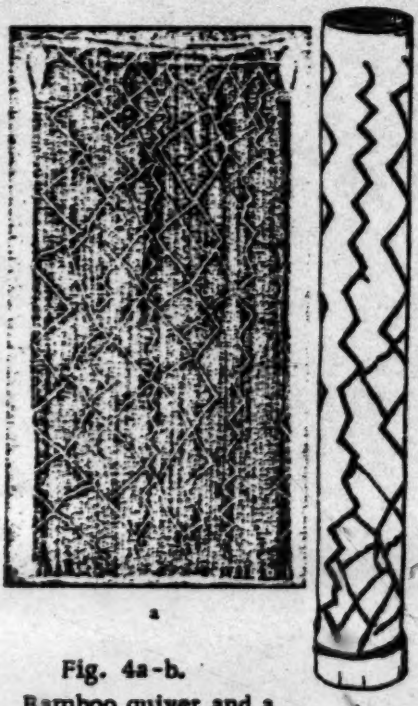
[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[796] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[156] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[437] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows
[764] for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

/24 cont./

000 411 194 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would resent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waikâ, Zerries reports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked 173 411 even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them 726

411 415 531



a b

Fig. 4a-b.
Bamboo quiver and a rubbing of the incised design.

173 411 726 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hímo," which are made from the wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

411 171 578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled, which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

411 824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xiriâna, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in 411 578 191 stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114);

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldus, 1939, p. 113.

they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the 411 184 Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be-

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

tween the poles or clubs of the Waikâ and the sticks of the Surára and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is [174] therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed.

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tôra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the [581] most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b).

411 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrow-482 points wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

411 482 /24 cont./ lancet-shaped bamboo points, is worn on a neck cord by every hunter and warrior, who has it hang down on his back so that it does not interfere with the stretching of the bow.

411 184 /25/ Quivers of the same form and carried in the same way are also found among the Waiká, as may be seen from a photograph by Zerries (116). Moreover, the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte owns such a quiver, though without decoration, from the Xamatári (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:3a).

372 4. Fire-making Apparatus

Tied by means of a string of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) to every Surára and Pakidái quiver at the top and bottom is the fire-drilling apparatus -- borôrohík -- which consists of a lancet-shaped hearth -- panâibequehík -- and two drilling sticks -- [824] [184] ihirupehík (Fig. 5). Both parts are made from the soft wood of the wild cacao tree -- porôroš -- exactly as among the Waiká (117).

117. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

372 114 Koch-Grünberg documents such a fire-drilling apparatus for the Xirianá (118), but without mentioning the material. On the basis

118. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

of a specimen which he brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:124), however, one may state that it is likewise made of the wood of the wild cacao tree. He says nothing at all about [411] quivers and thus does not seem to have found any. Nor did I find elsewhere in the literature any parallels for the very practical combination of quiver and fire-making apparatus (119). Nevertheless,

392 411 184 114 119. That it is well-known among the Xamatári, however, is proved by two objects from that tribe in the Hamburg Museum

/25 cont./

372
411
184
114

119.(cont.) für Volkerkund und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection 56. 15. 3a and b), and presumably the pre-fire-making apparatus is likewise fastened to the quiver among the Waiká. Definite statements about this by Zerries and Schuster have not yet been made.

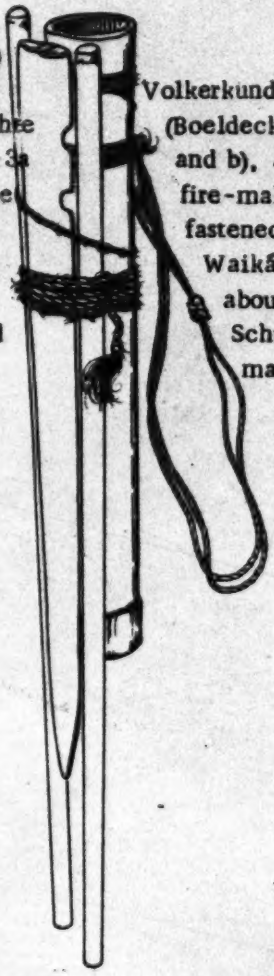


Fig. 5. Bamboo quiver with fire-drill apparatus tied on.

372 Nevertheless,
[484] it is perfectly obvious, for if the Surára and Pakidái men on war and hunting expeditions are unable to return to the maloka in the evening, they are able to kindle a fire along the way in three to four minutes. To do this a man in a squatting position holds the hearth on the ground with one foot and drills with the palms of his hands (Ill. 31). The holes of the hearth are previously bored with a knife made of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.)
[412] [237] (See P. 116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side.

Surára
Pakidái

372 /25 cont./
(see p.116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side. The hole is enlarged by the drilling. There is loosened a fine dust which slowly starts to smoke and glow and, by way of the groove, falls on tinder previously placed next to it (dry grass, leaves, or dry splinters of bamboo), which quickly catches fire. Cautiously the man blows upon it, and a short time later a flame leaps up. This requires a great deal of practice and skill, however; often he
[171] has blisters on his hands after drilling. This is the most widely distributed method of producing fire in South America (120). In their malokas

120. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 118-125 and Map 13.

the Surára and Pakidái preserve the fire.

283

5. Twining and Spinning

[824] For making thread and cord the leaf fibers of a Bromeliaceae, curauá (121), and cotton are used, the latter, however, only in more recent times.

[114] [171]

121. Koch-Grünberg also verifies the use of this material for the northwestern Brazilian tribes (Koch-Grünberg, 1910, p. 210).

[462] While to this day the curauá fibers are worked, mostly by men and only occasionally by women, with the right hand against the right thigh in the direction of the knee, to produce thread twisted to the right (122), a spindle is used to make cotton thread,

[171]

122. Threads which are not spun with the spindle are twisted to the right among most of the South American tribes. There are exceptions, however, for among a few nations of northwestern South America threads twisted to the left are more prevalent, and

/26 cont./

283
[171]

122. (cont.)
in Guiana as well as in the Gran Chaco both thread twisted to the right and thread twisted to the left appear (Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 50).

[462] with which, however, a left twist is associated. The treatment of cotton -- xinarí --, starting with picking, then drying and bleaching, removal of the seeds, loosening and plucking apart, up to the spinning, is women's work.

The spindle -- xinarikã -- consists of a smoothed stick -- ruhú -- 30-35 centimeters long, for which the rib of a palm leaf is also often used, on the upper end of which a small barb -- nhobaná -- of the same material is attached with a cotton thread. [321] The disk-shaped whorl -- tankarã --, made by the men out of bone [322] or wood, is slipped onto the stick from below and rests in the cen- [462] ter of it. To prevent it from slipping off when the woman holds her spindle in a vertical position, there is a wrapping of cotton below the whorl.

283
171 From the description it may be seen that this is a typical Guianese variation of the "Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ spindle." "Only in Guiana and on the Amazon River," Frödin and Nordenskiöld write in their study, "Uber Zwirnen und Spinnen bei den Indianern Südamerikas /On Twining and Spinning among the Indians of South America/, "do we find the spindles provided with barbs, which, however, differ from the other Bakaïrí spindles only in that the spindle whorl rests near the center of the stick (Fig. 40)" (123).

123. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 24.

In two other respects, however, the spindles of the Surára and Pakidái differ somewhat, for among them the stick is not thickened at the bottom, and the whorl is held by a wrapping of cotton.

283 /26 cont./
171 Up to now there has been only one parallel to this, namely
184 a Quechua spindle (124). The spindle of the Karimé, on the
114

124. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

basis of the drawing in Salathé s article, seems to resemble those of the Surára and Pakidái (125). Unfortunately, Salathé does

125. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305, Fig. 14.

not indicate whether the whorl is held in position by a wrapping put on below it or perhaps by means of resin or wax, as is the case, for example, for the spindles of the Chama and Pauserna (126).

126. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

283 This already exhausts the comparisons with regard to the securing of the whorl by means of a wrapping, wood, or wax, so that no conclusions about origin and distribution can as yet be drawn about it.

283 During the time I lived with the Surára and Pakidái, I
123 found that many women preferred to use the lids of my empty powder-boxes and skin-cream jars as whorls, /27/ and they preferred to spin the surgical cotton which I carried with me rather than their cultivated cotton, because, they said, the threads spun from it were stronger and more durable.

283 Spinning is done in the following way: The woman sits on a thin tree trunk with the lower part of her legs bent back. The cotton that is to be worked hangs over her left shoulder and from there the thread is fed out with the fingers of the left hand. She first rolls the spindle, on the barb of which she has fastened the thread, in a horizontal position with the palm of her right hand on her slightly sloping right thigh, moving her hand rapidly from the knee upwards. This gives the thread a

/27 cont./
283 left twist. Then she lets the spindle fall to a vertical position between her legs and rotate on the ground.

[190] This method belongs to Variation I of the Bakaïri spinning (127), which is extraordinarily characteristic for the

127. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 34 and 46.

Guiana tribes and which is described in a similar manner by Koch-Grünberg (128), Frödin-Nordenskiöld (129), Im Thurn (130),

128. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

129. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 52 and 56.

130. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 282.

and Roth (131).

131. Roth, 1929, p. 23 and Pl. I and II.

283 436 437 The spun threads are wound into round balls, which in this form are used as tribute payment to the Xiriâna (see pp. 159/160) and also represent popular trade items, exactly as in the case of the Arekuná-Taulipang and their neighbors (132).

132. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

283 174 The cotton, the spindle, and the technique of spinning it to the left presumably reached the Surára and Pakidái from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes by way of the Xiriâna. The fact that cotton and spindle represent imports becomes clear in particular from the technique of the left twist, since in the case of the original material, the curauá fibers, the threads are always twisted to the right. Im Thurn already points out that in Guiana

[191] [114]

283 /27 cont./
191 it is chiefly the Karaiben who spin thread out of cotton, and he
194 believes that they also brought along cotton and the spindle
114 when they immigrated into Guiana (133). The latter assumption

133. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 287.

has, however, not yet been proved, for on the upper Rio Negro Koch-Grünberg met Karaiben tribes who were acquainted with neither cotton nor the spindle. To an inquiry by Frödin and Nordenskiöld about this, he replied in a letter as follows: "It is an absolute mystery to me why the Indians on the upper Rio Negro do not plant cotton for spinning and have no spindles. It would be important to investigate how far this absence of spindles extends down the Rio Negro and into its tributaries, which, to be sure, from the Curicuriary downward, are almost completely unknown ethnographically" (134).

134. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 21, footnote 1.

283 Within the Yanonámi group, cotton and spinning are known,
184 in addition to the Xiriána, Surára, and Pakidái, also to the
194 Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri, and Karauateri, members of
114 whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái, and also to the Karimé (135) and the Waiká, who, according to Schuster,

135. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 14.

presumably became acquainted with cotton through the Karaiben Makiritare (136).

136. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

/27 cont./

6. Dress and Ornament

291 a) Hip cords and belts

From the age of four on both sexes constantly wear a hip [824] cord -- nhamaaxí -- which is made by the women, but occasionally also by men, out of curauá fibers, the original ma- [283] terial (see p. 55), or out of cotton. For the former, two strands are twisted to the right, and for the latter, to the left. The old technique of the right twist in the working of curauá fibers was thus retained, in spite of the adoption of cotton. There is, how- [292] ever, a further important difference. Whereas the hip cord of cotton represents the everyday dress, so to speak, /28/ the one made out of curauá fibers is at present used almost solely for ceremonial purposes.

All male Surára and Pakidái tie the penis up by means of the hip cord, which is done before donning it by tying a knot and drawing the foreskin through it.

With the hip cord these Indians feel clothed, and they therefore never take it off, not even for sleeping or bathing. Once when I was out hunting with the war chief of the Pakidái, Poréhiwö, he happened to tear his hip cord. He modestly stepped behind the nearest tree immediately and tied it together again. Later he told me that it would be the most flagrant offense against good form to walk about without the hip cord. The women would then cover their faces and scream loudly. [689] Hence a man may never appear with his penis hanging down, and it would be a positively execrable crime, which is punished by blows, if he exposed his glans to the eyes of women and girls.

This shows that among the Surára and Pakidái the hip cord in general, for women and girls also use it without covering anything with it, and the tying up of the penis in particular are associated with feelings of propriety (137). I am herewith able to

[171] [482]

137. The hip cord is never used as a device for carrying utilitarian articles, as Baldus noted, for example, among the Tapirapé

Surára
Pakidái

/28 cont./

291
[171]
[482]

137. (cont.)
(Baldus, 1945, pp. 87/88), because there is the very likely danger that it might tear.

291
114
[171]

I am herewith able to confirm an opinion which Ehrenreich already holds with regard to the covered glans penis among the Xingú Indians (138), which,

138. Ehrenreich, 1890, p. 86.

however, is shared neither by Karl von den Steinen (139) nor by

139. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 195.

Koch-Grünberg (140). According to the opinion of these two

140. Koch-Grünberg, 1910b, p. 89.

scholars, and also of Nordenskiöld (141) and Krickeberg (142),

141. Nordenskiöld, 1922, p. 94.

142. Krickeberg, 1922, p. 251.

the tying up of the penis is supposed to protect the glans from penetrating insects, thorns, etc. This assumption, as far as the Surára and Pakidái are concerned, is at most of secondary importance, for the uncovered female vagina is, of course, equally threatened by penetrating insects. But magical conceptions, too, with which Karsten (143) tries to explain the tying up of the

143. Karsten, 1926, pp. 151/52.

penis, are not applicable in the case of the Indians investigated by me. Hence, the second conjecture expressed by Karl von den Steinen, in which he connects this custom directly with the sex life and points out that it might have the same purpose as

Surára
Pakidái

/28 cont./

291
114 circumcision, is more suggestive. "Not that the opening is enlarged; it is a matter of a gymnastic treatment of phimosis rather than an operative one. Do they not stretch the skin which the others cut? Do they not make room inside, where the others make it toward the outside? This may be doubted least of all for the clamping of the preputium by means of the hip cord, which, as has already been mentioned, seems to be the oldest form, for the hip cord has been retained everywhere. The skin was roughly pulled forward with the cuff. Among young men it often looked sore and scraped. The European has the shoemaker put shoes that are too tight upon the last, but in the interior of Brazil, where only finished, imported goods are bought, a man of social standing thinks nothing of appearing in patent leather shoes which he has widened by a couple of vigorous slashes. His knife is to the shoemaker's last what the circumcising splinter or thorn is to the hip cord"(144).

144. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 199.

Besides the verified feeling of modesty, this assumption may
[833] quite possibly be a second reason. One would then have a parallel, as it were, to the girls who are deflowered with the finger by the mother after the first year of life; it is expressly stated that this is done to facilitate sexual intercourse later on (see p. 135).

291
184 Among other Yanonámi tribes, too, the hip cord of plant fibers or cotton is used by both sexes, /29/ and the men likewise tie up the penis with it. I was able to verify this among members of the Xirišana, Pusheweteri, and Aramamesteri who, as wives or visitors, were staying in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái. The captive Karauateri girl, Nikeromá, also always wore a hip cord and told me that this was characteristic for her tribe and that the men likewise stuck the member under it. Similarly, Zerries (145) and Hübner (146) point out that the

145. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

146. Hübner, 1907, p. 231 and Fig. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/29 cont./

291 Waiká use a hip cord to bind up the member, and, according to
184 a statement of the last-named author, the Xiriána too. There is further substantiation for the Karimé (147).

147. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

291 In connection with P. Schmidt (148) and Nordenskiöld (149),
171
184

148. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1047.

149. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 147/48.

I investigated this strange custom in my study, "Gürtel und Hüftschnüre südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Belts and Hip Cords of South American Primitive Peoples/," and found them verified for 39 tribes, to which six more are now added, the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, Karauaterí, and Karimé. It is even to be suspected that among all the tribes or groups that belong to the ethnic unit of the Yanonámi the membrum is tied
291 up. Since this custom is likewise common among the Pano and
171 Tukano /Tucano/ tribes, as well as among the Makú /Macu/, and
174 three San Agustín statues prove the pre-Columbian occurrence (150).

150. Preuss, 1929, I, p. 79; II, Plates 1; 55 (1); 64 (1).

the northwestern part of South America clearly stands out as the nuclear area and probably the area of origin of this very old custom. On the other hand, the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes, which, according to the investigations up to now, did not immigrate into Guiana until later, do not observe it, with the exception of the Yauapery /Yauaperi/ (151), and

151. Hübner, 1907, p. 231.

the Tupi even regard the tying up of the penis as abominable

/29 cont./
291 and ridiculous (152) (153) (154).
171
174

152. Nimuendajú, 1914, pp. 321/22.

153. Becher, 1951, I, pp. 180/81;
II, plate and Map No. 18.

154. Becher, 1955, pp. 144/45.

292 On festival and ceremonial occasions, men, women, and
[192] children from the age of four on also tie over the hip cord a cotton belt -- nyõ -- (155), which is always open in front. As

155. It is the same word that is used to designate the cotton hammock.

a rule, the belts are made by the women; bachelors, however, must make their own.
[171] These are the string belts typical for Guiana (156) (157),

156. Becher, 1951, I, p. 169.

157. Becher, 1955, p. 138.

which, however, take on an appearance somewhat different from the familiar form because of wrappings or cross-bindings. /Fig. 6 appears here./
292 All the men's and boys' belts are roll-shaped and have a
284 length of 70-80 centimeters and 40-50 centimeters, respectively. The diameter for the former is 4-5 centimeters, and for the latter, 2-3 centimeters. They are very simple to make, for around two small sticks thrust into the ground, the distance between them determining the length of the belt, a long cotton thread is looped until a thick layer is finally obtained. This is then simply tightly wound with a thin string of cotton or

/29 cont./

292 284 curauá fibers at /30/ /Fig. 7 appears here/ intervals of 1.5-2 centimeters for men's belts and 0.5-1 centimeter for boys' belts, which produces bulges and grooves. Before the belt is slipped off the sticks, a small, two to five-strand twisted cord of cotton or curauá fibers is drawn through the openings and knotted into a loop by means of the two ends three to five centimeters long. These two loops are twisted into each other in front, over the abdomen, by the wearer, and the knots keep the belt secure (Fig. 6a and b, Ill. 23). After [531] [386] they are finished, serpentine lines, circles, or dots are painted on these belts with urucú, for which a small stick is used: often, however, they are colored red all over.

Fig. 6a
Men's belt, detail.

Fig. 6b
Men's belt, diagram.

292 184 Among the Waiká, Zerries found the same men's belts (158),

158. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

and from the photographs in other publications of this author it may be seen that they are worn in the same way as among the Surára and Pakidái (159) (160).

159. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

160. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

Surára
Pakidái

/30 cont./

292
284

Fig. 7a
Young men's belt, detail.

Fig. 7b
Young men's belt, diagram.

Among the Surára and Pakidái, besides the men's and boys' belts, there is another special kind for young men, made with a plaiting technique. They are started in the manner described above, but after the layer of cotton is obtained, it is divided into two equally thick bundles which are tightly wound, alternately, at intervals of 1-1.5 centimeters. The belt therefore consists of two adjacent thin rolls of cotton, each two centimeters in diameter (Fig. 7a and b). Tie-strings and the wearing style correspond to the men's and boys' belts, as does the painting.

Women's and girls' belts are characterized by a wide, flat shape. The lengths vary between 55-70 centimeters and the widths between 6-8 centimeters for women's belts and 35-46 centimeters and 4-5 centimeters, respectively, for girls' belts. In making them, again two sticks are used, around which the cotton threads are wound. The resultant layer is divided into 6-8 equally thick bundles, each of which is wound with a cotton thread in the manner shown in Fig. 8a-c, and in this way the bunches of warp threads are held together. In other words, the longitudinal threads are held side by side by means of cross-bindings. The distance between these weft-threads is 2.5-3 centimeters for the belts of young women and

Surára
Pakidái
Pusheweteri

292 /30 cont./
284 girls and 0.5 centimeter for those of old women. This distin-
guishing feature was always pointed out to me. Tie strings and
292 the wearing style correspond in this case too with the men's belts,
53 as does the painting with urucú, which is applied on the outer
[386] side. As a result of their width, these belts are much easier to
paint than those of the men. Most often one sees serpentine lines,
occasionally circles are placed between them, and sometimes too
the painting only consists of circles, or circles and dots (Fig.
9 a-e; Fig. 10 a-d); there are also belts, however, which are
colored red all over.

292 ! Xiriána women who are married to Surára and Pakidái
184 men wear the same belts, as did the little captive of the Surára,
Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the /31/ /Figs. 8 and 9 ap-
pear here/ /32/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ Karauateri (Ills. 17 and
[192] 18). When I asked them the name of their belts, they gave me
the designation -- nyõ -- which corresponds to the Surára and
Pakidái word.

292 The Pusheweteri women gave me the same word, although
184 their belts have a somewhat different form (161). They are 60-
[192]

161. I saw them on the women of that tribe
who were married to Surára and Pakidái men.

70 centimeters long and consist solely of a thick layer of cotton
292 which has been somewhat twisted together. In other words, it is
284 a very characteristic string-belt, that is, without wrappings or
184 cross-bindings. An additional little fringed apron, however, 22-
26 centimeters long, is attached to a tie-string. To make it, 60 to
90 cotton strings, 14-18 centimeters long, are put over the tie-
string. After that, starting from the left, the end of the first
string hanging down in front is knotted with the one of the second
hanging down in back and tightly twisted with it, then the front
end of the second one with the rear end of the third, and so
forth. The fringes hanging down are 7-9 centimeters long and,
to assure firmness, are wound once more below the tie-string
292 with a thin cotton thread. When the belt is worn, the little
53
184

[text continues on p. 69]

2: Becher--68 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

292
284

Fig. 8a-b. Part of a women's belt.

Fig. 8c. Part of a women's belt, diagram.

292
531

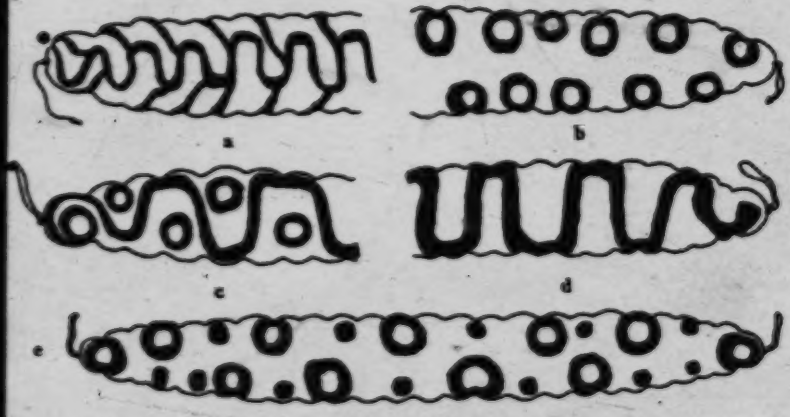


Fig. 9a-e. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts.

Puseheweterí
Surára,
Karimé

/32 cont./

292
531

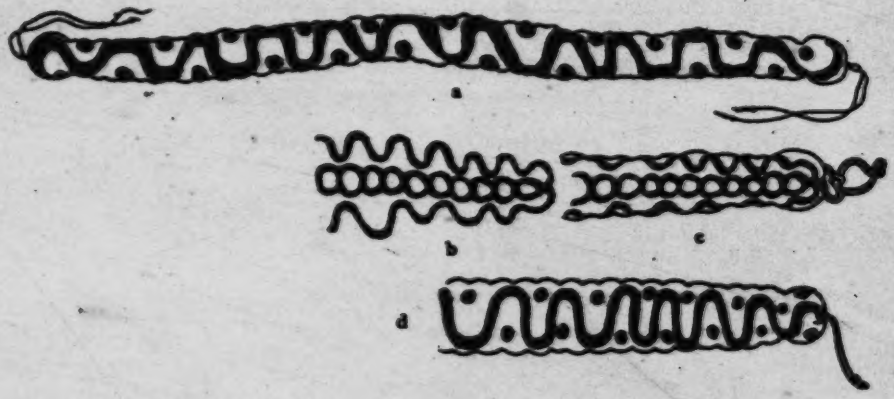


Fig. 10 a-d. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts. /On p. 131 this caption is given as "Various paintings from men's and young men's belts."/

531
292
184 fringed apron rests directly over the pubic region (Ill. 15). These belts, including the little aprons, are as a rule dyed with urucú. It should
292 also be pointed out that younger Puseheweterí women usually adorn
531 the two ends of the little apron with small feathers of the toucan
239 (Rhamphastus sp.), mutum (Crax sp.), and anambé azul (Cotinga
184 cayana L.) fastened to a string. Older Puseheweterí women, on the other hand, always have hanging on the ends of the little apron eight to twelve mussel shells, 2-3 centimeters long and pierced on one side, which, when the wearers walk, beat together and make a soft jangling noise (Fig. 11).

292 Exactly the same belt with fringed apron is documented by
184 Salathé for the Karimé women, and from his statements it is to be seen further that the men also wear it, though without the pubic covering (162).

162. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 13a, b.

It should be mentioned that a few Surára women, following the example of their Puseheweterí sisters, have likewise fastened such a fringed apron to a tie-string of their plaited belts. In this the mixture of two cultural elements can be seen especially clearly.

Puseheweteri
surára

/32 cont./

292
531
237

Fig. 11. Fringed belt of an old Puseheweterí woman, with pierced mussel shells.

291
[462]
[237] Finally, the Surára also use a child's belt -- yaoké -- which is always made by the father /33/ out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yaõ. These belts are 30-35 centimeters long and 2-2.5 centimeters wide. One end is pierced to receive a thin [284] tie-string of cotton or curauá fibers. The string is wound around the other end several times and then knotted (Fig. 12). This belt, too, is worn in such a way that it is open in front. Only now and then is it put on small boys and girls between 1-3 years old, who at that age, of course, do not even wear the hip cord (see p. 60), in order to promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

Surára
Shiriana

/33 cont./

291
237

Fig. 12. Child's belt made out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.).

promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

292
171

From the above description of the cotton string-belts it may be seen that, in spite of certain differences with respect to technique and the way they are worn, they resemble the corresponding belts of the Xiriána and several Karaiben tribes of Guiana. Thus, a bundle of red-dyed cotton strings serves as a hip belt for the Xiriána men, under which they wedge the preputium of the upraised penis (163). Arekuná men often wear

163. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

a plaited string-belt of cotton, which, twisted together, takes on a sausage shape. This belt, also resembling in appearance the human- and monkey-hair belts in Guiana (164) (165), is

164. Becher, 1951, pp. 99 ff. and pp. 115 ff.

165. Becher, 1955, pp. 84 ff. and pp. 97 ff.

2: Becher--72 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidai

/34 cont./

292
171

mentioned by Martius (166), Richard Schomburgk (167), and Koch-

166. Martius, 1867, pp. 622/23.

167. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, p. 239.

Grünberg (168). Ule, shows in an illustration of two Arekuná men,

168. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 41.

shows how it is worn (169). It can be seen there that they use the

169. Ule, 1913, p. 283, Ill. 2.

belt for fastening their pubic apron, to which Appun likewise calls attention (170). Moreover, the cotton string-belt is documented

170. Appun, 1871, II, p. 307.

for the male Makuxí /Macusi/ (171) and for the Maionkong /Maioncon/,

171. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 77.

where it is worn by men (172) and women (173).

172. Rice, 1928, p. 220, illustration.

173. Stevens, 1926, p. 401, illustration.

The plaited, wide, flat women's belt of the Surára and Pakidái, however, also has its prototype among the Makuxí, where, to be sure, men wear it. Roth describes how it is made as follows: "The Makusi will plait a thick cotton cord upon two arrow thicks, and when completed will bend it twice upon itself in three equal parts and, by sewing, maintain it in this position to form what is now a broad flat belt" /cited in English/ (174).

174. Roth, 1924, p. 440.

/34 cont./
292 171 The neighboring Wapixana /Wapishana/ men (Aruak) /Arawak/, moreover, wear a very similar belt and attach to it a pubic band which is drawn between the legs (175).

175. Farabee, 1918, p. 29.

[648] [179] Since the Surára and Pakidái waged many wars with the Makuxí (the father of the Surára chief Hewemão is even supposed to have been killed by a Makuxí warrior), it would be entirely possible that they took over from this Karaiben /Carib/ tribe the form of the plaited, wide, flat belt, but then used it, not as men's, but as women's clothing.

179 [179] 184 The little fringed apron so typical for the Puseheweterí and Karimé women was also surely copied from Karaiben models, which, in turn, could have been borrowed from the Aruak, for Farabee confirms it also for Wapixana and Mapidian /Maopityan/ girls (176). According to Roth, a woven, red-dyed belt, the lower

292 171

176. Farabee, 1918, Pl. XXIX, A.

edge of which is fringed and, in addition, provided with three pendant tassels, is tied around young Makuxí and Wapixana girls on the occasion of their first menstruation. He designates this article of clothing as "apron belt" /cited in English/ (177). A

177. Roth, 1924, p. 437.

dyed belt provided with fringe is likewise documented for the Maiongkong (178) (179) and, /35/ according to Roth, resembles

178. R. H. Schomburgk, 1841, p. 215.

179. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, pp. 402/03.

000 the above-mentioned apron-belt (180). When Koch-Grünberg saw

180. Roth, 1924, p. 444.

Surara
Pakidai
Puseheweterí

292 /35 cont./ When Koch-Grünberg saw
174 Xiriâna women dressed in a little fringed apron (181), he had
179

181. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305 and Plates 45, 48 (4, 5).

reason to suspect that they may have taken over and preserved the ancient dress of the Maiongkong (Yekuanâ) women. Thus, he writes: "They, too, were surely not originally peculiar to these Indians, for some of them wore the little apron up on their stomachs, on others it had slipped down halfway to the knees" (182).

182. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305, footnote 1, and p. 306.

Comparative investigations show that the cotton belts of the Surâra, Pakidâi, and Puseheweterí reached them from the outside, that is, directly from the Karaiben or by way of the Xiriâna (183), along with cotton. With regard to the way they

183. According to Métraux, the Xiriâna took over their dress from the Karaiben (Métraux, 1948, p. 863).

291 With regard to the way they
292 were worn and the use they were put to, however, there followed
174 a transformation process, which is very informative. That is, when, on the basis of the statements in the literature, I had traced in my dissertation all the motives that might have induced the South American primitive peoples to tie on belts and hip cords, the result was as follows: "It has been possible to prove that the idea of adornment plays only a secondary role, as does the magical motive. The feeling of modesty is entirely eliminated as a cause, and also verification for a sexual stimulus is lacking. On the other hand, the investigations show that the belts and hip cords primarily have the purpose of protecting the genital organs from insects, thorns, etc. (as a holding device for the upward-placed penis, the uluri, the pubic aprons, etc.)" (184) (185).

184. Becher, 1951, p. 192.
185. Becher, 1955, p. 153.

/35 cont./

291 On the basis of my field work, however, I have reached different conclusions with respect to the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweterf, Aramamesterf, Xiriána, and Karauaterf. Protection of the genital organs is completely eliminated for the women of these tribes, and for the men it is at most of secondary, if not tertiary importance. The thin hip-cord gives them, in fact, the same outward security that the article of clothing gives the civilized person. Though nothing is covered by it, except the glans penis, the absence of it immediately arouses a feeling of modesty in them, which, however, differs from that which has been instilled in us in that it has nothing to do with their nakedness. Clothing, shirts and trousers which I brought along as gifts, was donned by them, to be sure, as a joke, in somewhat the way we might dress up for a carnival, but they were glad when they could take it off again. Yet these Indians never showed the least shyness or embarrassment before me in their unclothed state, and when I had won their friendship and convinced them of the harmlessness of my photographic equipment, men, women, and children let themselves be photographed in relaxed and natural poses.

291 123

292 In contrast to the important hip-cord, the belts of the Surára and Pakidái are expressly ornamental objects. Since they are worn not only for festivals, however, but also on all ceremonial occasions, magical motives may likewise play a part. At the same time, they are a distinguishing mark for specific tribes and age classes. They differ from all the other belts of South American Indians, as do the men's belts of the Waiká (186) (187), in that they are open in front

186. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

187. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

[114] and positively accentuate the pubic parts. Thus, they seem to represent striking evidence for the view of Brosse (188) and

188. Grosse, 1894, p. 96.

/35 cont./

292 114 Westermarck (189), who regard the belts as a sexual stimulus,

189. Westermarcj, 1901, pp. 195/96, 211.

by means of which the eyes are supposed to be drawn to the pubic parts. For the Surára and Pakidái, however, /36/ this hypothesis does not apply, in spite of their open belts, for the naked body does not provide any sensual stimulation for them, but rather solely the sexual act. According to Krause, among the Karajá /Caraja/ the feeling of modesty of the girls is supposed to have led to the development of the types of belts. As evidence for this, he gives the following observation: "Women never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and small girls from whom I bought belts went behind the nearest mat wall in order to put on a new one there before they brought me the worn belt" (190). My experiences among the Surára

291 123

190. Krause, 1911, pp. 208/09.

and Pakidái were the same with respect to the hip cords, among men as well as among women and children, but they always untied their belts without shyness and gave them to me in exchange for trade goods. This was also true of the Puseheweterí women, which shows that their little fringed aprons do not represent, say, a pubic covering, but merely ornamentation. Moreover, they also tie on their belts only for festive occasions.

292 184

291 171 The situation with respect to the children's belt made of the skin of the maracajá is unique. It should be noted, however, that in Guiana, one of the chief South American areas of distribution of the skin belt (191) (192), specimens made of jaguar skin have

191. Becher, 1951, I, p. 82; II, plate and Map No. 4.

192. Becher, 1955, p. 72.

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
[192] xinarîke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarí -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
[824] out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
[531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
856 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
[824] busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
292 curauá fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xiriána, Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri,
184 and Karauateri whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
[114] said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xiriána (Schiriana). Among the Arekuná-
171 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
174 cord of curauá fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
[191] transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

/37 cont./

301
531

13a

13b

Fig. 13a-b. Chest string-bundle of the women (detail and diagram of the painting).

301 c) Cords for arms, wrists, and legs

From the age of four on both sexes at times wear upper-arm cords, and women and girls in addition wrist- and leg-cords, which are made of curauá fibers or cotton. It was also [283] definitely established that the two-strand curauá-fiber cords twisted to the right are the original objects, whereas the two-strand cotton cords twisted to the left are of more recent [824] date. Moreover, here, too, it was observed that a strengthening effect is attributed to the plant fiber. [856]

301 /37 cont./
856 Thus, the upper-arm cord -- xinariúnko -- is supposed to impart greater muscular and arm power (198). The wrist cord used

[192]

198. It is noteworthy that the curauá-fiber cord is also called by the word Xinariúnko, although the name for cotton -- xinarí -- is contained in it.

only by women and girls, likewise called xinariúnko, strengthens the wrists, it is believed, and the cord worn below the knees -- hukuá -- the legs.

301 171 As an ornament for the upper arms, however, besides the simple cord, bands of string -- nyõõmutimá -- the forms of which are exact miniature reproductions of the belts (199), a

[192]

199. In the word -- nyõõmutimá -- there is contained the name for belt, nyõ, to which is appended the diminutive form õmutimá.

novelty /38/ for South America, since there are as yet no parallels for this. Thus, the string-bands of the men, 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5-2 centimeters in diameter (string-bands of boys: length, 12-15 centimeters; diameter, 0.5-1 centimeter), have the same roll-shaped appearance as their belts (Fig. 14a and b; Fig. 15a and b) and are made and painted or dyed by the women in the same way (see pp. 64/65). The wide, flat shape of the women's bands (length, 18-22 centimeters; width, 1-2.5 centimeters), however, corresponds perfectly with the belts worn by them, apart from the smaller size (Fig. 16a-c; Fig. 17), so that with regard to the manufacture and painting I can refer to the making of the women's belts (see p. 66). It should also be mentioned that the upper-arm /Figs. 14-16 appear here/ bands of younger women are narrower (1-1.5 centimeters) than those of older women (2-2.5 centimeters) (200).

200. An older Pakidái woman, by the way, wore a woven upper-arm band two and a half

/38 cont./

301
[438]

200. (cont.)
centimeters wide. She likewise designated it for me with the name nyõõmutimá and added that she had obtained it from a Xiriána woman.

301
184

The four Xiriána women whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái wore the same cords and bands on their upper arms, wrists, and legs, like all the Puseheweterí and Aramamesterí women, including the captive Karauaterí girl. The latter, however, said that they had only adopted the upper-arm bands here, for in their tribes only upper-arm cords were used.

[184]

Fig. 14a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the men.

Fig. 15a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the young men.

Fig. 16a-c. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

/38 cont./

301
284

Fig. 17. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

184
301 According to Koch-Grünberg, too, among the Xiriána (Schirianá) the men wrap long, red-dyed cotton cords around their upper arms, while women use "narrow bands," which, however, they tie so tightly that the marks of them are seen even when they
301 are removed (201). The women of the Maiongkong-Yekuaná bind
171

201. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

their upper arms in the same tight fashion (202). With reference

202. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 151, 152, 170, 171, 172.

to the Arekuná-Taulipang, Koch-Grünberg writes: "Among the ornaments of the women, moreover, there are wide wrappings of strings of white beads below the knees, around the upper arms and the wrists. The men /39/ wear the same bead ornaments around the wrists, sometimes also around the ankles, but bind the legs below the knees with white cotton cords, the ends of which hang far down. Around the upper arms they usually wear only a string of white beads or a white cotton cord or, on festive days, a round disk of snail shells... The bindings around the legs are frequently pulled so tightly by young girls, out of vanity, that the calves bulge out tautly" (203) (204).

203. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 34.

204. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, Ills. 7, 8.

/39 cont./

301 171 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

301 789 832 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, [824] to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrẽ. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrẽ -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hĩ -- (see p.243).

302 e) Hair style

Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around the head, including the tonsure -- hemõno. [462] Shaving the latter, but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp. --) (see p.119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

302 /39 cont./
593 husband beats his wife for reasons of jealousy, he may likewise choose only this marked part of the head. As a further, but
302 probably secondary reason, I was told that the short haircut and
825 the tonsure made it easier to control the plague of lice. People with long hair, they thought, were certainly unable to escape head lice.

302 The tonsure is also mentioned in religion and mythology.
538 Poré, the lord of the moon, is imagined as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red (see p.197).

302 As among many other South American tribes, the tonsure
191 is also a /40/ characteristic feature of all small-sized light-
184 skinned Indians between the Rio Negro and the upper Orinoco, for the members of both sexes of the Xiriâna, Pusheweteri, Aramamesteri, and Karauateri whom I met also wore it (206).

302
191
114

206. The Brazilian country people designate all Indians with tonsures as Coroados = crowned. Baldus and Willems, however, quite rightly demand that the use of this name be avoided in Brazilian ethnology: "Coroado- Várias tribus de indios no Brasil, por examplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Puri, Bororo, receberam do povo o nome de Coroados, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que êsse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou êste têrmo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada" /Coroado -- Various tribes of Indians in Brazil, for example, the Botocudo, Caingang, Puri, Bororo, are given the name of Coroado by people, owing to the manner of cutting the hair, even though this style is not the same among all of them. This term has caused great confusion in Brazilian ethnography, and for this reason it should be abandoned/ (Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 67).

/40 cont./

302 184 Furthermore, it has been documented for the Waiká (207) (208),

207. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 198.

208. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Karime (209), and the Xiriána men on the Motomotó (210). With

209. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

210. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

regard to the latter, Koch-Grünberg points out that in this case it is a male hair style (210) /see footnote above/. In the same 302 171 work he goes on to describe the tonsure of a Karaíben woman: "The oldest woman on the Roroima had a strange hair style. Except for a narrow wreath of longer hair all around her head, which was cut in the customary fashion over the forehead, the head hair was cut short, like a monk's tonsure. (Cf. Vol. VI, Plate 86). I was unable to discover the reason for this differing hair style" (211). The remarks which Alexander von Humboldt devotes

211. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 27.

to this Indian hair style are also worthy of mention (212).

212. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 319.

304 f) Deforming facial ornamentation

The male as well as the female sex among the Surára and Pakidái have pierced ear-lobes -- nhimekakeká -- (Surára), -- nimukakuká -- (Pakidái), a perforation of the lower lip -- husekahá --, and, in addition, the women have such in the corners of the mouth -- kaskehá.

304 301 The perforations are already made in babyhood (see p.135). The men use them primarily as a place for feather ornaments (see p. 93). They sometimes also wear as ear ornaments, however,

Surára
Pakidái

/40 cont./

304 small pieces of reed 1-2 centimeters long, from which hang, on
301 one or two short chains of beads, small triangular pieces of silver leaf, shiny silver coins, or particularly large glass beads. Women also have a special preference for these objects. The teeth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which the men use as a knife (see p.115, are a typical feminine ear ornament.
[314] To prevent them from slipping out of the perforation, a small lump of tree resin is stuck on the back end. The perforations of the ear lobes are also adorned now and then with blossoms.

In the perforations of the lower lip and the corners of the mouth on either side the women now and again have delicate little reed rods -- tunhabaácre -- 15-17 and 12-15 centimeters
[184] long, respectively. Among the Xiriána women married to Surára and Pakidái men I observed that they wear, in addition, two little reed rods 30-35 centimeters long in the pierced nasal septum -- huxibéka -- (Ill. 16). This piercing I was told, is reserved for only the female members of this large, mighty tribe.
[184] This also explains why the perforations of the Pusheweterí and Aramamesterí women correspond perfectly to those of their Surára and Pakidái "sisters," that is to say, there is no piercing of the nasal septum. The same applies for Nikeromá, the little captive from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí.

301 All the ornamental objects named are made by the male
422 and female wearers themselves and are regarded as personal property.

304 Due to Koch-Grünberg's research among the Xiriána
301 (Schirianá), Waikâ (Waíka), and various Karaiben /Carib/ tribes,
184 abundant comparative and supplementary material is available
[171] to me. Thus, the great investigator writes with regard to the Xiriána (Schirianá): "Nasal septum, /41/ ear lobes, and lower
[127] lip were pierced among the men and in many cases adorned with little reed rods almost as long as a hand. On special occasions they also wear a jaguar tooth in the lower lip.

"The women had long reed rods in the pierced ear-lobes, the lower lip, and the corners of the mouth. Three narrow strips of reed, spread out fan-shaped at both ends, adorned the nasal septum (Ill. 12)" (213).

213. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

304 /41 cont./
301 This confirms the statements of my informants, who said
184 that a perforation of the nasal septum was characteristic for the Xiriâna. For the male and female Waikâ, too, there is confirmation of nose, ear, and lower-lip rods, and, in the case of women, such in the corners of the mouth (214).

214. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, pp. 198-200.

As for the use of nose-rods, it seems to be a privilege of the two hostile "great ones" (see p. 12), for their lesser allies do not use them.

The other perforations, however, are the same among all the Yanonâmi tribes mentioned, but it should be pointed out that pierced corners of the mouth are found only among women.

304 With reference to the Karaiben Arekunâ-Taulipang, Koch-
301 Grünberg writes: "Ear lobes and lower lip are pierced, and in
171 the case of some men the nasal septum as well" (215). According

215. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

to that, the perforation of the nasal septum is reserved for only the men, and perforations of the corners of the mouth are en-
301 tirely absent. In the ear lobes, however, male as well as female
171 members of the tribe likewise wear little reed rods with one or two short chains of beads hanging down, to which are fastened silver coins and crescent-shaped or triangular pieces of silver leaf (216). The latter are the same type of objects that I found

216. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.
Plate 5 (6).

as ornaments among the Surâra and Pakidâi (see p. 85 and Ill. 9 /see p. 270/. Therefore, in this case, too, an adoption from the Karaiben, directly or indirectly, seems to be indicated. In reply to my question about the origin of these ornamental objects, the Xiriâna were mentioned, to be sure, but they for their part certainly

/41 cont./

301 M1 did not make them themselves either, for they were made, by pounding and grinding, out of Brazilian silver coins which are no longer in circulation today. Moreover, for centuries the technical skill of the Karaiben with regard to gold, silver, and copper ornaments has been acclaimed. For example, Gumilla already mentions Karaiben tribes in the vicinity of the Orinoco who wore homemade plates of gold (217), and, according to de

217. Gumilla, 1745, I, p. 139.

Rochefort, the Island Karaiben used ear pendants of gleaming copper (218). Crescent-shaped silver leaf is used by the Makuxf

218. de Rochefort, 1658, p. 289.

men, but they wear it on a nose rod (219).

219. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 198, Figs. 2 and 4.

Further comparative material is to be found in the valuable work by Brigitte Menzel, "Deformierender Gesichtschmuck südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Deforming Facial Ornaments of South American Primitive Peoples/." Here it was shown that ear ornaments of metal occur especially frequently in northwest Amazonas as well as Guiana (220), and also ear ornaments of teeth are con-

220. Menzel, 1957, p. 38 and Map 14.

firmed in considerable quantity for the highlands of Guiana (221).

221. Menzel, 1957, p. 34.

With reference to the ornamentation of the corners of the mouth, the authoress writes: "From an accumulation in the source region of the Ucayali, the evidence extends over northwest Amazonas

/41 cont./

301 as far as Guiana; the Tapuya on the eastern horn of South
171 America remain isolated. The pattern of distribution coincides
301 in essential features with the multiple perforations of the upper
304 lip (these parts also merge into each other very much anatomi-
171 cally) and clearly rests on Andean prototypes" (222). The

222. Menzel, 1957, p. 33.

characteristic mouth-corner rods of the Yanonámi women may well fit into this area of distribution, but not in connection with perforations of the upper /42/ lip, for here instead of the latter, the lower lip is pierced.

304 g) Tattooing
[881] All women and girls have pin-point tattooing over the upper lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth (Ills. 19 and 24) and is punctured on the girls during the first menstrua-
[192] tion (see p. 66) (223). The designation for this among the Surára

[184]

223. This tattooing is also found among the female Xirišna, Puseheweterî, and Aramamesterî who are married to Surára and Pakidái men. The little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterî is an exception. She assured me, however, that in her maloka the girls are also tattooed. But she had fallen into the hands of the Surára before her first menstruation, and the tattooing was not put on her here. If later, however, she is married by a Surára man, the pin-point design must subsequently be punctured on her.

is -- uarabakoxîk -- and among the Pakidái -- uarabakoxîbe.
[824] [386] These words are derived from the name for the genipap fruit -- uarabá --, the juice of which is used for puncturing the dots.

2: Becher--90 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/42 cont./

304 For the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ women of
171 Guiana, however, a puncture-tattooing in the mouth region is also characteristic, and occasionally one finds it even among male Karaiben. In this case, too, it is regarded as a sign of maturity and usually has a magical significance. The punctured patterns, however, differ entirely from those of the Surára and Pakidái. Among the Makuxí /Macusi/ they consist of numerous short, vertical, parallel lines, and the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/ prefer dots, dashes, and fishhook patterns (224). The

224. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45; Pl. 12 (3-16).

latter motifs have also been confirmed for the women of the Wapixana /Wapishana/ (225) (226) and other Aruak tribes in

225. Appun, 1871, p. 523.

226. Farabee, 1918, p. 82, Fig. 9.

British Guiana as well as Surinam (227) (228).

227. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 226.

228. Joest, 1893, p. 83 and Ill. a and b.

304 There are also slight differences with regard to the time of
171 tattooing. The Surára and Pakidái carry it out during the first
881 menstruation, the Arekuná-Taulipang and Makuxí, on the other
(184) hand, shortly before the onset of it, and, to be sure, in connection with the ant torture (229).

229. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 128.

/42 cont./

304 824 386 412 177 The former use the juice of the genipap fruit as coloring matter, the latter the ashes of burned honey bees (229) /see footnote p. 90/. The original instrument everywhere for the puncturing of the dots was a palm thorn. Koch-Grünberg, however, also saw the use of pointed fragments of glass among the above-mentioned Karaiben (230).

230. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45.

304 174 171 114 A decision about whether the tattooings in the mouth region developed independently among the aforementioned Yanonámi, Karaiben, and Aruak tribes or whether they were brought about by reciprocal or outside influences cannot be reached as yet, although Koch-Grünberg saw a young Xiriána woman who had the fishhook and dot tattooing of the Arekuná-Taulipang painted on her face (231). This may have been an exception, however,

231. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

for, strangely enough, he did not find any further tattooing among the Xiriána.

177 The designs of the Surára and Pakidái also seem to be more primitive than the basic motifs of the Karaiben and Aruaken in the form of fishhooks, which clearly point to borrowings from civilization. Moreover, the fact that among the Karaiben tribes of Guiana individual men and boys are tattooed in the region of the mouth leads one to conclude that there has been a leveling of this custom. For probably there, too, it was formerly reserved for only the women, just as it is today among the Surára and Pakidái.

In conclusion, reference is to be made to P. Schmidt and Nordenskiöld, from whom there are already available brief, summary studies about puncture-tattooing in South America. The first-named author differentiates two groups, which are reserved for men and women or only for women, respectively, and regards a western origin as probable (232). /43/ On the other

/43 cont./

232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

304
174
17
114

hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A com-

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

prehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

301 h) Painting

The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is [531] very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

[824] For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- narã --, a [386] paste which is prepared from the red berries of Bixa orellana. Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (Genipa brasiliensis) -- uarabá --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

[413] The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

/43 cont./

302 174 Since Koch-Grünberg also found only very little body painting among the Xiriâna (Schirianâ) (235), it is to be sus-

235. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

pected that originally it was not peculiar to the three Yanonámi tribes named, but is to be traced back to Karaiben influences. The following account by Alexander von Humboldt also points to this: "The custom," writes the great investigator, "of painting the body is not equally old among all the peoples on the Orinoco. It has only been since the frequent invasions by the mighty nation of the Caraiben into these lands that it has become more general. Victors and vanquished alike were naked, and in order to be agreeable to the victor, one was obliged to paint oneself as he did and to wear his color. Now the might of the Caraiben is past, they are confined to the region between the Carony, Cuyuni, and Paraguamuzi rivers, but the Caraiben custom of coloring the entire body has persisted; the practice is more enduring than the conquest" (236).

236. A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 92/93.

301 562 i) Feather ornaments

Feather ornaments -- pauxí -- are worn by men only and chiefly on the upper arms, but occasionally also in the perforations of the ear lobes and the lower lip.

301 825 237 Under the upper-arm cords and bands, which serve primarily as fastening devices for the upper-arm ornaments, individual or several tail feathers of the arara vermelha (Ara Macao L.) -- pauxí aratexinâ -- as well as small bunches of feathers, are wedged in front for war expeditions and festive occasions. The latter are always tied with a string of cotton or curauá fibers to a wooden stick 7-9 centimeters long (Ills. 9 and 14). The following list shows which birds are preferred as feather-suppliers for these objects:

301 /43 cont./
237 Pauxí maraxí -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers
825 of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.).
Pauxí koikoimão -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers of the gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.).
Pauxí parurihonomaíbe -- upper-arm ornament of white breast feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.).
Pauxí marakanã -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.).
Pauxí xeraŷeramão -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) and the papagaio curica (Amazona sp.).

Besides these bunches of feathers which are stuck into the arm cords or bands from the top, /44/ there are also ornaments which are knotted to them and hang down. These are usually several small feathers from different birds, the quills of which have been tied together with a string of cotton or curauá fibers:
Pauxí prukatõba -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.), and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).
Pauxí maraxiakosíbe -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).

Finally, as the most valuable ornament in this category, one should mention upper-arm bindings of mutum feathers -- pauxí parurihés -- to which are fastened hangings -- pauxí manhebéahunque -- of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), toucan (Rhamphastus sp.), and jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.), or even skins of these birds. In addition, there are upper-arm bindings which consist only of feathers of the jacamim -- pauxí nhapinhéssi -- with feather hangings -- pauxí pehakossíbe -- from the same bird.

[554] All the feather ornaments listed also represent marks of distinction, for only the chiefs and trusted warriors have the right to adorn both upper arms; younger men, on the other hand, only one.

/44 cont./

301 825 239 Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxí osuemekés --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- occasionally adorns the perforation of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be used by older as well as younger warriors. [554]

[962] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men, who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but sometimes they are scattered through the hair at random. The ornamental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case, for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile tribes, above all from the Waiká. They are caused by magical performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls. Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end (see also pp.211 and 229).

301 825 75

301 171 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá /Caraja/, Bororo, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé /Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G. Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

/44 cont./

301 South American tribal units developed their abilities and passed
171 on their traditions over the centuries from generation to generation.

301 For the Yanonámi the simple upper-arm ornament represents
184 a further external distinction, for Xiriâna, Puseheweterî, and
114 Aramamesterî men whom I met wore it in the same manner. With regard to the Xiriâna, my observations correspond with a statement by Koch-Grünberg: "The men," he says, "wrap around the upper arms long, red-dyed cotton strings, on the ends of which hang bird skins (Pl. 46, 2 and 2a). When they go to war, they stick bunches of tail feathers of the red arara in front under the arm bindings, so that they project above the /45/ shoulders" (239).

239. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

For the Waiká this upper-arm ornament is documented by photographs by Zerries (240) (241).

240. Zerries, 1955b, frontispiece.

241. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

301 As for ear and lip ornaments, parallels are found among
239 the Makuxî and Arekuná-Taulipang, but here the white down-
171 feathers of the king vulture or of the large hocco (mutum) are used (242).

242. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

301 j) Bead ornaments
436 European glass beads, especially small ones, are to this day the favorite trade items among the Surára and Pakidái.
[822] They value most of all white, blue, and red beads (243), and

243. In this respect the Surára and Pakidái are like many other South American tribes (Menzel, 1957, p. 23 and Pl. 3).

/45 cont./

301 436 822 [171] only then come beads in the colors of orange, yellow, black, and green (244).

244. Krause also notes with regard to the Karajá that they scorn green glass beads (Krause, 1911, p. 279), and among many other tribes there is likewise an aversion to this color (Menzel, 1957, pp. 17/18 and Pl. II and III). For this reason Brigitte Menzel asks the justifiable questions: "Could this rejection of green raw material among forest peoples be traced back to the predominance of green in their physical-geographical environment? Do they prefer other colors for reasons of contrast?" (Menzel, 1957, p. 18.)

301 462 They are strung by the women on cords of cotton or curauá fibers, at which the men occasionally help, and are used as neck chains, upper-arm and wrist cords, and ear pendants.

301 822 I was able to observe the following ways of making them: On a cord are strung, for example, only white, red, or blue beads. Depending on the taste of the person making it, however, a blue or red bead may always follow three white ones; others prefer the color combination of blue, white, red, or vice versa. There are many more variations, however, also in combination with other colors.

Moreover, chains are made of two strings, though less often. In this case, for example, a white bead is strung on both strings, then a red or blue one on one string, then again a white one on both, etc.

301 Women and girls like to wear several strings of beads, one over the other, as neck chains, whereas men and boys never tie on more than one. Only men wear upper-arm strings of glass beads and only boys and girls corresponding strings around their wrists. Short chains of beads which are fastened in the perforations of the ear lobes are worn by both sexes, though only rarely. Then,

Surára
Pakidái

/45 cont./

301 in most cases, a silver triangle, a large glass bead, or a fruit pit is fastened at the bottom.

301 439 When I came to the Surára and Pakidái, a few bead chains were already in use. According to their statements, they had obtained the glass beads from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Rio Demini, from rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, and from the Xiriána. The latter had presumably acquired this foreign commodity from Karaiben tribes who, for their part, had received it from the whites. This shows that the barter of glass beads is still carried on vigorously among the Indians themselves (245).

[114]

245. It was already observed by v. Martius that glass beads were traded over wide areas (von Martius, 1867, I, pp. 702 ff.), and Krause also points out that they are greatly prized as trade items (Krause, 1911, p. 279).

7. Hammocks

352 [824] The Surára and Pakidái have three different kinds of hammocks. The hammock of embira (tree bast, Malvaceae sp.) -- yâritanacík -- whose length is between 1.80-1.90 meters, may probably be regarded as the oldest and most primitive form (Ill. 26). It has no weft and consists only of ten to 14 embira strips [284] 1-2 centimeters wide. These are bent over at the ends and tied together by means of two ropes 1.30-1.40 meters long, which at the same time serve for suspension (Fig. 18a and b). Both ropes are very strong and durable, for they have been plaited in the form of a braid out of three one-centimeter-wide /46/ /Fig. 18 appears [462] here/ strands of embira. The manufacture of this hammock is [824] extracrdinarily simple and is done only by men. From the embira [284] tree they remove 10-15 bast strips two meters long and 1-2 centimeters wide, which they tie together in the manner described above, after they have first plaited two ropes. To cut the tree [412] bast they use the little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 110). Since the yâritanacík is extraordinarily light, the men like to use it on their

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
waica

/46 cont./

352
284

Fig. 18a-b
Detail of the end fastening on a hammock of embira, as well as loop and knot diagram.

352 roving, hunting, and war expeditions as a travel hammock.
[482] Rolled up, it then hangs on their backs, held by a thin neck-cord
of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber). For sleeping they usually
[513] lie curled up in it; it takes practice and skill, however, not to
fall out.

352 Similar hammocks are also used by the Waiká, and there,
184 according to Zerries, they are supposed to fulfill certain functions
[114] in the ritual system (246) (247), whereas Schuster says that they

246. Zerries, 1955a, p. 87.

247. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

are made only in an emergency (248). The tree-bast hammocks

248. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

of the Xiriána are more highly developed, for they have a weft of cotton threads and plant fibers. Ruth Haebler describes two specimens in the ethnological museums in Berlin (VA 61119) and Leipzig (8736) (249).

249. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

/46 cont./

352
171

Even highly civilized peoples, however, for example, the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that at present is still living on the Acre, Seruini, and Ituxf rivers in the Brazilian state of Amazonas (250), formerly used these hammocks without weft, as

250. Darcy Ribeiro, 1957, p. 75.

is confirmed by a specimen in the Berlin ethnological museum (VB 3758) (251). There were also some, however, that were bound

251. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

[114] by means of one or two rather long cross-strips. With respect to their purpose and manufacture, my observations among the Surára and Pakidái are almost identical with Ehrenreich's statements concerning the Ipurina. Thus, the investigator named writes: "The extremely primitive, but serviceable hammocks which the Ipurina use in an emergency on journeys, hunting expeditions, etc. clearly show how this useful implement may have been invented.

"Four or five strips of bast (embira) two meters long and 3-4 centimeters wide are simply loosened from the tree and gathered together at the ends, and sometimes bound together by one or two shorter cross-strips. In any case, lying in it requires no little skill and practice" (252).

252. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 63.

The Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, however, owns one hammock that is still more primitive. It comes from the Nahukuá (Nahuqua), a Karaiben /Carib/ tribe of the Xingú source region, and consists only of a bundle of grass, which, tied together at top and bottom, served as a sleeping arrangement for children (VB 2624) (253).

253. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/46 cont./

352
[192] Instead of the yâritanaçík (embira hammock), the Surára and Pakidái men, on their rovings and hunting and war expeditions, also /47/ frequently use a liana hammock -- totokẽ -- (254) (255),

254. The name is derived from tototó, with which the liana (cipó-titica) is designated.

255. Except for a slight dialectal difference, the name corresponds to the Waiká word -- "toto" --, with which, however, according to statements by Zerries, they designated their tree-bast hammocks (Zerries, 1955a, p. 87).

which is likewise very light but gives the sleeper a somewhat firmer support. The lengths of these hammocks vary between
[462] 1.90 and 2.10 meters. They, too, are without cross-bindings
352 and are likewise made only by men. This is done as follows:
284 The man has a rather large bundle of long lianas lying in front of him. He splits each one with his teeth into 3-5 flat strips and places these side by side. When he has gathered as many strips as he can easily grasp with one hand, approximately 200-250, he winds a thick liana around the ends. Below the wrapping he then divides the flat strips into several bunches of equal size, each of which he winds twice with two split, twisted lianas (Fig. 19 and Fig. 20). This makes the bundle of strips wider at the ends. As tie ropes the man uses three lianas plaited like braids (Ill. 7).

352
184 Such hammocks are likewise used by the Waiká (256) and

256. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Xirianá, but the latter Indians sometimes provide them with cross-bindings of cotton strings (257).

257. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 314 and Pl. 46 (1).

Surára
pakidái

/47 cont./

352 Finally, as the third and most important form, which is used constantly by men, women, and children, both in the maloka as well as during migrations of the tribe, the plaited hammock of cotton -- nyõ (258) -- is to be mentioned (Ills. 28 and 29). Aside

258. The cotton belts are also designated with the same word.

from the material, it differs from the two earlier types above all because of the weft. The lengths run between 1.60-2.20 meters, depending on whether they are meant for children or adults.
[462] Making them is again the duty of the men, though the women occasionally help a little.

352 Before they are made, two posts are rammed into the ground
286 and connected at top and bottom by cross-poles with lianas. The length of the hammock depends on the distance of the latter, for around these cross poles is /Figs. 19 and 20 appear here/ wound the continuous warp thread, the two ends of which are knotted with the warp at the start and finish. This produces front and rear layers of thread, which are united into a single layer by slipping the rear warp threads between the /48/ front ones. After that the plaiting of the double thread is begun, which is done without implements, only with the fingers, from right to left; it should also be mentioned that it is started at the top. All hammocks are plaited with very wide meshes, for the intervals between the individual cross-bindings, which are knotted at the beginning and end, are 8-12 centimeters. To fasten the hammocks ropes of
[824] Bromelia fibers (curauá) are used, which, made of four strands, braidlike, are twisted to the right.

352 When a hammock has been used for some time, it gradually takes on a dirty-brown appearance. This comes about because
[302] the urucú color with which the Indians frequently paint their bodies rubs off on it somewhat when they lie down and adheres to the cotton.

Surára Pakidái

/48 cont./

352 According to the classification by Max Schmidt,
286 who differentiates three groups for the plaiting tech-
174 nique in South America, the cotton hammocks made
171 by the Surára and Pakidái would belong to the second

(284)

Fig. 19. End fastening of a liana hammock.

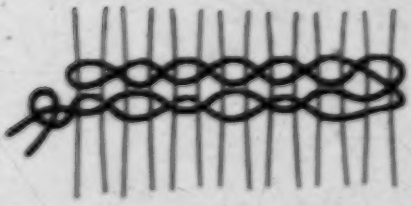


Fig. 20. Diagram of the interweaving of the end fastening of a liana hammock.

group, the double-thread plaiting, which the scholar characterizes as follows: "This plaiting method, which is widespread throughout America, North and South, is simply based, as the diagram in Fig. 115 shows, on two threads that are twisted around each other and are simultaneously, at each half twist around each other, wound around one of the bundles

Surára
Pakidái

/48 cont./

352 of rushes or fibers running parallel to one another" (259). "It is
286
174
171

259. Max Schmidt, 1905, p. 228.

this double-thread technique," Ruth Haebler writes in her work, "Die geflochtenen Hängematten der Naturvölker Südamerikas /The Plaited Hammocks of the Primitive Peoples of South America/," "which is used in the manufacture of the plaited hammocks. The essence of the two-ply technique thus consists of stretching parallel threads which form a warp, so to speak, and through which the double thread is passed as a weft. As a result of the manner in which the warp is stretched, two completely different groups of plaited hammocks are produced" (260).

260. Haebler, 1919, p. 3.

The Surára and Pakidái hammocks are to be assigned to group two, which leads over to weaving (261), for here there is already

261. Haebler, 1919, pp. 9/10.

regular shed-formation. My observations among the Surára and Pakidái also agree almost exactly with the descriptions by Im Thurn (262) Ehrenreich (263), and Krause (264). This proves an

262. Im Thurn, 1883, pp. 288 ff.

263. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 22.

264. Krause, 1911, pp. 259 ff.

adoption from the outside, most probably from the Karaiben tribes, which took place presumably by way of the Xiriána. It is noteworthy, however, that all the authors named say that the warp threads are stretched horizontally and that the weft is interlaced
000 from top to bottom or from bottom to top. From a photograph

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

352 /48 cont./ From a photograph
286 taken by Zerries (265) it may be seen that the Waikâ make their
174
184

265. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, bottom.

cotton hammocks in the same way. With regard to the origin and technique, he writes in another place: "The cotton hammock of the Waika was taken over, in simplified form, from the Marikitare /Makiritare/ and, like theirs, is not woven, but merely knotted" (266). Although Zerries uses the expression

266. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

"knotted" /geknüpft/, this is probably the same type which I described for the Surára and Pakidái (267). This is even further

267. The names, too, are very similar, -- "nu" -- among the Waikâ (Zerries, 1955a, p. 84; 1954b, p. 71), and -- nyõ -- among the Surára and Pakidái.

elucidated by the following remarks of Schuster: "The cotton hammock, following, as a more recent form, these types made of wild material, exhibits as an essential difference, aside from the cultivated raw material, longitudinal threads held parallel and close together by cross-bindings. Apparently this hammock, whose length is determined by the bow-staff used as a crosspiece on the tying framework, is a clumsy imitation of the far more carefully worked hammock of the Karaiben Makiritare, who live in the northern and northwestern part of the Waika /49/ region" (268).

268. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

This cotton hammock of the Waikâ, clearly taken over from the Karaiben, thus completely corresponds in form to the one used by the Surára and Pakidái. But what induced the latter in making it to put the warp threads vertically, instead of horizontally, as among the other tribes, cannot yet be explained.

/49 cont./

8. Basketry

285 462 [824] Basketry is carried on primarily by the women. The only exceptions are temporary carrying-baskets of natural palm leaves, which are made by both sexes, and carrying-baskets of curauí, the making of which falls to the men.

[824] If the Indians need a temporary carrying-basket in the forest, they simply place two pinnate palm leaves close together on the ground (most often they use for this the leaves of the patauí, açaí, and ubim palm) and interweave the inner sides to make a firm surface. Then both leaves are bent over at the upper end, which makes the bottom, and on the outside a braidlike rim is plaited 482 (Ill. 32). By means of a carrying-band of embira, very heavy loads can then be carried with this basket, called pakokêhe, above all fruits, but also pieces of large game, for example, tapir, which the hunter alone cannot carry into the maloka. Men always slip the carrying-band over upper arms and chest, while women prefer the forehead for this.

285 191 Similar baskets are found among the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana (269), as well as among the

269. Roth, 1924, p. 379 and Pl. 124.

Urubu in the Brazilian state of Maranhão (270). Similar specimens,

270. Lopes, 1932, p. 147 and Fig. 6.

however, are used by the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ and Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the Xingú source region (271), to mention only a few more

271. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 500 ff. and Figs. 13 and 14.

examples, which, however, could be augmented at will. It is seen from this that many tribes were in a position to make carrying devices out of natural palm leaves.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

285 462 824 More highly developed is the carrying basket which consists of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) -- uaramá. It is made by the male members of the tribe in the following manner: Two groups of plaiting strips are laid on top of each other in different directions and then interwoven with a third group of strips running in still another direction (Ill. 33).

285 194 971 This, according to Max Schmidt's classification, is the third principal type of South American plaiting (272) (273). This type

272. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

273. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

of basket (274), which is very widespread in South America, is

274. Abundant comparative material is to be found in Roth (Roth, 1924, pp. 321 ff. and Pl. 100 B and 102) and Mason (Mason, 1904, pp. 529 ff. and Pl. 240 (1, 2).

also regarded as very old, but today is seldom used any more by the Surára and Pakidái. Nothing concerning its origin is known any more among the tribes named. An autochthonous development (179) is possible, but an adoption from Karaiben or Aruak tribes, who use similar baskets, is more probable. The same basket is (184) likewise confirmed for the related Karimé (275).

275. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Figs. 9 and 10.

285 824 192 The one most frequently used at present is the women's large carrying-basket made of liana strips (276) -- wuēka --, which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34).

276. Each individual liana is split with the teeth into several flat strips. (Cf. also p. 101).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34). This description comes from Koch-Grünberg, and, to be sure, he is referring to the completely identical women's carrying-baskets of the Xirišana (Schirianá). "In this type of plaiting," says the investigator named, "which is probably peculiar to the Schirianá, the vertical strips running out radially from the common center of the bottom are wound spirally with two finer horizontal strips. A few stronger inner rings to which /50/ the vertical strips are lashed with lianas give the basket shape and support. The ends of the vertical strips are secured under a special overcasting of the rim (Pl. 23, 1). By means of tree-bast strips, to which the bark still adheres, the basket is carried by the forehead on the back" (277). The same technique is used by the

277. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 307/08.

Surára and Pakidái, and the initial plaiting of a carrying-basket (Fig. 21) shows this particularly clearly (Ill. 35). This is /Fig. 21 appears here/ /51/ the type of plaiting which Max Schmidt designates as "double-thread plaiting," the second principal type of South American plaiting (278) (279).

278. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

279. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

By means of an external feature one can, however, easily distinguish the women's carrying-baskets of the Xirišana from those of the Surára and Pakidái. In the case of the former, the carrying band is fastened only at the edge (280), while the latter

280. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, Pl. 23, 1.

always wind it around the bottom, then lead it through two twisted liana-loops on the lower third as well as on the upper edge, and then knot it on one side (Ill. 34). This gives the wearers a better

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/51 cont./

285
184
482]
[438]

hold, which makes it possible for them to transport substantially heavier loads without chafing themselves. This slight improve-

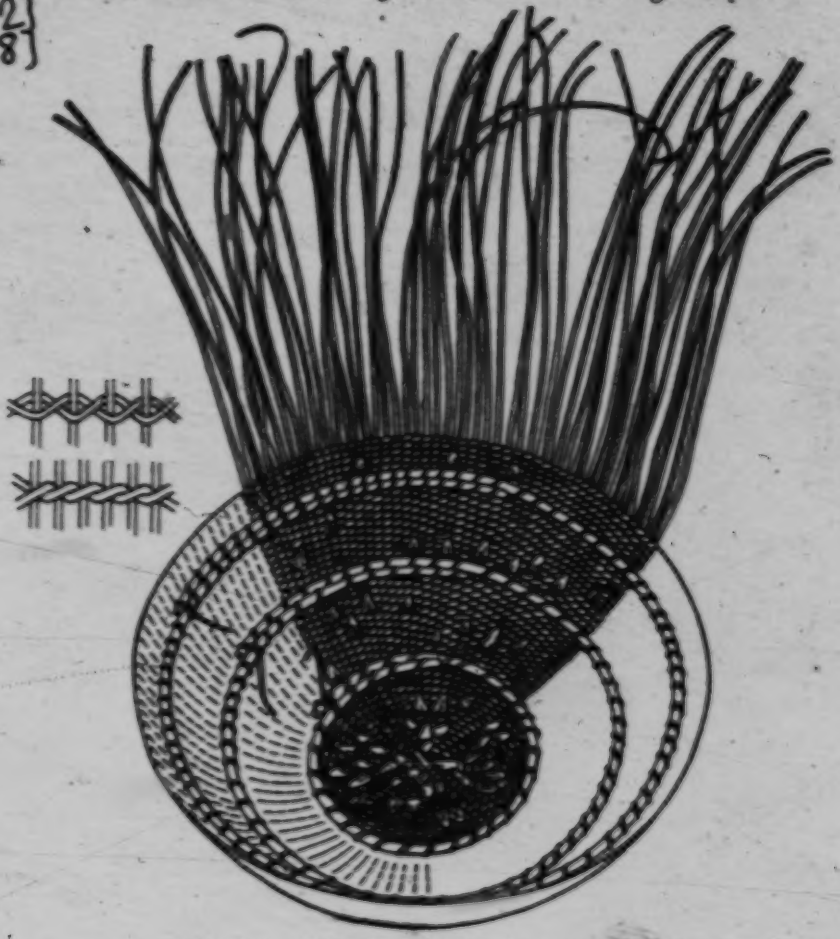


Fig. 21. Initial plaiting of a women's carrying-basket.

ment could have been developed by the Surára and Pakidái women, but the baskets themselves, as well as the method of making them, according to the statements of my informants, represent imported goods from the Xiriána.

The same applies for the round, flat basket-bowls made by the same technique, which are found in various sizes among the Xiriána (281) as well as among the Surára and Pakidái and

/51 cont./

285
184

281. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

which serve for storing manioc cakes and fruits. Among the last-named Indians I also saw women's carrying-baskets in miniature form, which are meant for small girls, and some with covers -- [531] wee. All the objects named are usually painted with serpentine [386] lines, for which urucú is used. Finally, it should be mentioned [461] that the women, like best to lie comfortably in their hammocks while making such baskets and basket-bowls.

285
191
184

The women's large carrying-baskets and basket-bowls described above are likewise used by the Waikâ, and both Zerries and Schuster point out that in the manufacture the twining plaiting-technique is used (282) (283) (284). Similar basket-bowls

282. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

283. Zerries, 1955b, p. 663, Ill. 2.

284. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

are also documented for the Karimé (285), and small hanging

285. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 11.

baskets and basket-winnowers from Aruak and Tukano /Tucano/ tribes on the upper Rio Negro, as well as from the Makú /Macu/, exhibit further parallels, which differ only slightly in the external form (286).

286. Koch-Grüngerg, 1910a, pp. 220 ff. and Ills. 142e, 143a, 144.

/51 cont./

285 [192] [824] Then there are small baskets with handles and square bottoms -- yorohfkes -- (Ill. 36), in which women keep their ornaments, arm, leg, and chest cords, the spindle and balls of cotton. To make these, split lianas are again used. The technique employed is very primitive, for the plaiting strip is merely led [184] alternately over and under a plaiting strand (287). The shape of

287. Max Schmidt includes this technique in the first principal group of South American plaiting (Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 492/93).

these little baskets seems to be peculiar to the Surára and Pakidái, for in the literature I have not yet found a corresponding description with reference to other tribes.

285 824 302 Simple plaited fire-fans -- xuhéma -- are made of the leaf-stalk sheaths of the tucumã palm (Astrocaryum sp.). They have an elongated shape, and the ends of the strips are tied together to form a handle (Fig. 22).

285 372 174 171 Similar fans, but more evenly worked, were found by Koch-Grünberg among the Makiritare, Yekuaná /Yecuana/, and Guinaú in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco (288), from which one

288. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 345 and Pl. 24, 6.

might conclude that this object reached the Surára and Pakidái from here, probably by way of the Xiriána. The reverse route might also be possible, however, if only because most of the Karaiben and Aruak tribes of Guiana use fire-fans with a handle set crosswise (289).

289. Roth, 1924, pp. 291 ff., Pl. 78, 79, and Fig. 91.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

252 /51 cont./
184
285 The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry
[192] among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curauá plant
[438] (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter
[192] from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohí -- (290).

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

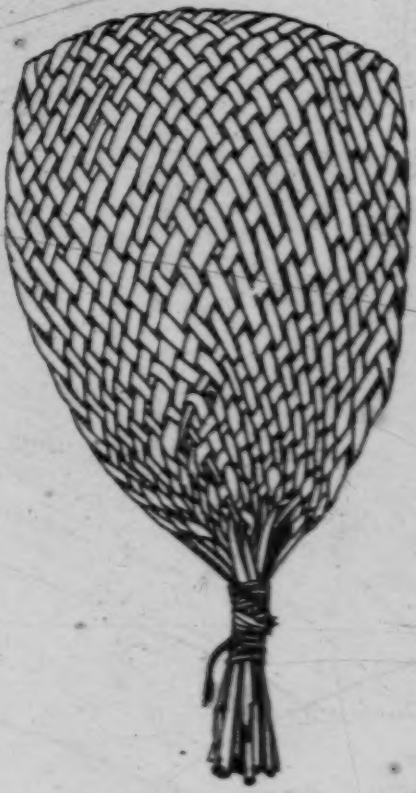
[178] Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in.
[426] Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the
114 Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is
252 supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is
174 significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with
285 a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any there, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed
[177] with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karaíben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

2: Becher--113 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

372
285



854
287

287

[413]

Fig. 22. Plaited fire-fan.

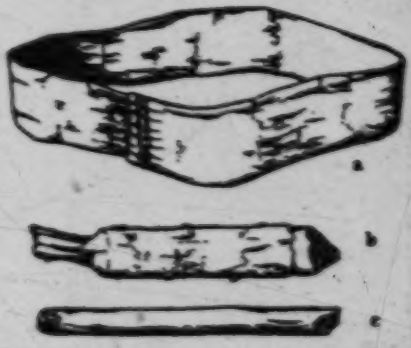


Fig. 23a. Band for carrying children, made of embira tree-bast.

Fig. 23b. Part of an embira trunk with beaten tree-bast which has already been partly pulled off.

Fig. 23c. Bast-beater made of embira wood.

/52 cont./

854 287 [824] [413] [412] 854 [171] [184] [714]

9. Band for Carrying Children

The band for carrying children -- okomakuſ -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (Daphnopsis brasiliensis Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- xamotimá -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- uarimaxſke -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- pekehſk -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little cutia-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

This carrying method is very widespread in South America and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying-band (292). Among the Xiriſna Koch-Grünberg does not seem to

292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

415 824 [192]

As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria Lin. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda = jamaru), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

These vessels in general are called -- horotokſ --, except for those of the jamaru fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- nhapotoſma.

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana
Waica
Karime

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- haboká -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriána (293).

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301] 296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

Surára
Pakidái

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[723] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatáz --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or cunauí (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

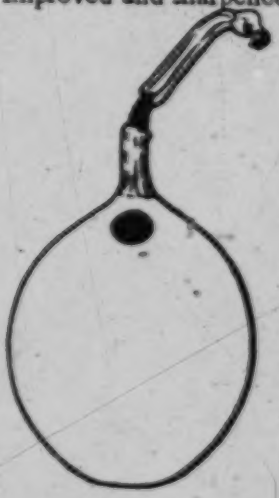


Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the
[531] fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[593] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it, and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

412 /54 cont./
184 Zerries and Schuster, (297) (298), for the Karimé by Salathé (299).

297. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

298. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

299. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 306 and Fig. 16.

[237]

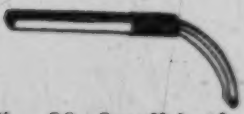


Fig. 25. Small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.).

Fig. 26. Knife made out of the ventral shell of the perema (water turtle).

[284] [824] and for the Xiriâna by Koch-Grünberg (300). The latter, however,

300. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 47 (9).

says that the Xiriâna lash the tooth to a wooden handle by means 000 of Bromelia fibers (301). In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise

301. Such a knife is to be found in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:108).

Surara, Shiriana
Pakidai
Waica

412 /54 cont./ In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise
171 mentions a knife with a bone handle which he acquired from an Arekuná who lived among the Guinaú on the Merewarí, but he adds: "Whether the subdivisions of the Arekuná who live deep in the interior still use such primitive tools I do not know" (302).

302. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 17 (3).

Outside Guiana this little knife is confirmed for the Guayakí (303)

303. de la Hitte, 1897, Pl. III, Figs. 4 and 6.

and Sirionó (304), among others. /Fig. 26 appears here./

304. Nordenskiöld, 1911, p. 193, Ill. 119.

412 /55/ The knife made of tortoise shell -- micí -- represents a
184 work tool for women. This is the ventral shell of the perema
[237] (small water turtle), sharpened on one long side (Fig. 26). Primarily the wild fruits of the pot tree (Lecythis longifolia) are cut with it after cooking (see p. 182).

This knife is also familiar to the Waikí and is used for the same purpose there (305).

305. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

For a third type of knife, which is likewise used only by women, there are the no longer serviceable lancet-shaped arrow points of bamboo -- kantaní and rahakí -- (see pp. 41/43). They are used primarily for peeling and scraping manioc tubers.

Koch-Grünberg also observed this among the Xirifna (Schirianí) (306). The investigator named also points out that the

306. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308 and Pl. 48 (6 and 7).

/55 cont./

412 184 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xirišna, unlike the Surára and Pakidái, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 462 302 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

412 191 Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 239 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw of the wild pig -- manacoauí --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waikí (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 192 [184] For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long -- namunamutehí --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waikí (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 462 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimí (see also pp. 112/114).

412 197 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as tercados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

Suráro
Waica
Shiriana
Pakidái

/55 cont./

412 [432] [439] The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their occasional contacts with the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) on the Rio Aracá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors [124] had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always 412 given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the 192 ax -- hanhokomã. The blade alone is named synonymously, 437 whereas the shaft is called -- hanhokomãhitohã. Most probably 194 the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according to Schuster, for the Waikás (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the 412 Xirixána seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg 194 writes: "They (the Xirixána) in former times apparently had no axes 114 at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

481

12. Equipment for Climbing

[137] [192] To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus or Oenocarpus /56/ bacaba Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), tucumã palm (Astrocaryum sp.), and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring -- horohoromã --, which consists of a split liana (cipó-titica) rolled up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears here./

/56 cont./

481 The man, sometimes also the woman, puts this ring around the feet and presses them, with the hollow between the ball of the foot and the heel, in the form of a prehensile foot, firmly against the trunk so that they are fairly sucked against the bark. He assumes a squatting position and then hoists his body upward.

Fig. 27. Climbing ring.

Although he embraces the trunk with his arms and hands, for climbing he uses only his feet, which, because of the ring, always have a firm grip. This grip becomes particularly important after the man has reached the top where he now uses both hands to cut off the fruits.

[191] Such climbing rings are known in many parts of South America and are also used by the caboclos (Brazilian country people). The invention, however, seems to be of Indian origin.

481 222 [137] The pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), however, which plays such an important role in the economic life of the Surára and Pakidái, cannot be climbed in this fashion, because its trunk, the diameter of which is 60-80 centimeters, is covered with long, pointed thorns. In order to be able to harvest its fruits in spite of this, these Indians use a climbing apparatus -- kanaške -- which is also familiar to the Waiká (311b).

[184]

311b. Barker, 1953, p. 446 and Fig. 1.

Surára
Pakidái

/56 cont./

481 222 The apparatus consists of two devices completely alike, which are fastened and used in the following manner: Two sticks, 1.60-1.80 meters long, whose diameter is 12-15 centimeters, are tied to the trunk scissors-like and loosely with lianas. The downward-pointing rear part of these crossed sticks is also wound with lianas. Above this first climbing apparatus a second one is attached in the same manner. The Indian who wishes to climb the pupunha palm now stands on the rear end of the lower "scissors" and pushes the one above it upward a short distance. Then he climbs on the rear end of the upper "scissors" and pulls the lower one after him. Next he shifts back to the lower climbing device and pushes the top one up a bit farther. Thus, by constantly changing his position and pushing one apparatus up and drawing the other one after him, he reaches the crown in 4-5 minutes (Ill. 39). He picks the ripe fruits and lets them down one by one on a liana, where his fellow tribesmen receive them. The descent is the reverse of the ascent.

481 222 194 I venture to doubt that this magnificent technical invention was developed by the Waikí, Surára, or Pakidái, above all because the rest of their material culture is extraordinarily poor. There is nothing to indicate an import, however. Influences of civilization are likewise out of the question, for the caboclo population (planters, rubber /57/ and palm-fiber gatherers) in the Demini-Aracá area is unfamiliar with the technique described; they knock down the pupunha fruits with long poles.

303

13. Preparation of Urucú

The red coloring urucú -- narú -- with which the Indians paint their bodies as well as their implements, is made by the women from the red seeds of the Bixa orellana which are found in thorny capsules. The seeds are cooked in a vessel until only a red sediment remains on the bottom, which is shaped into lumps and allowed to dry. With this the Indians are then able to paint themselves at any time; the color must first be moistened, however, with a little water or saliva.

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Puscheweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [126]

Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. [115] (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of Ia. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551 162 [160]

The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

/57 cont./

551
162
[802]

Estimated Age (315)

315. These Indians count only to three, so I could only estimate the ages given.

Hewemãõ (316) -- chief and medicine man — 42 years

[123]

316. I was able to learn all the names only after my adoption into the tribe, for they are kept a strict secret from outsiders. But even then the individual men and women themselves never told them to me; I learned the names only from other members of the tribe, and, to be sure, always in a whisper. If they call each other in a loud voice, they use Portuguese names which they have heard from palm-fiber gatherers. I too had to give names to several members of the tribe.

Koemtemĩ -- his first wife (from the Pakidã tribe) — 24 years
Kanikawõ -- son — 8 years
Daughter (has no name yet (317) — 1 year

[553]

317. Children are given their names only after the completion of their third year (see pp. 201 ff.).

Yaripanamĩ -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterĩ tribe) (She had a daughter who died in infancy.) — 35 years
Maximamĩ -- daughter of Hewemãõ and his former wife Tafmakĩna, who died in childbirth — 9 years

Surára

551
162

/57 cont./

	Estimated Age
Kurikayawõ -- brother of the chief and later his successor	37 years
Xunamĩ -- his wife (from the Pakidĩi tribe) (She had a son who died as a small child.)	18 years

/58/

Xomixawõ -- war chief	40 years
Uitimĩ -- his wife (from the Xamatĩri tribe)	38 years
Moramanamĩ -- daughter (married to the Surára Uaxianauwõ)	18 years
Yaxoĩma -- daughter	13 years
Ximarĩ -- his first wife (from the Pakidĩi tribe, sister of Koeatemĩ)	20 years
Inxinemĩ -- youngest brother of the chief (bachelor)	19 years
Hemahemĩ -- son of the deceased eldest brother of Hewemãõ	25 years
Hanohomĩ -- warrior	43 years
Unhamĩ -- his wife	24 years
Matuwõ -- son of Hanohomĩ and his first wife, who died. (Matuwõ is married to Maxiuamĩ, the nine-year-old daughter of Chief Hewemãõ.)	17 years
Unariwõ -- warrior	38 years
Yanauemĩ -- his wife (from the Puscheweterĩ tribe)	35 years
Komitimĩ -- daughter (second wife of the Surára Hemahemĩ)	18 years
Roioahĩma -- daughter	8 years
Cinapemĩ -- mother of Unariwõ	54 years
Toabewõ -- warrior	28 years
Uainomĩ -- his wife (mother of Unhamĩ, see above)	43 years
Raxakewõ -- warrior	32 years
Amarokomĩ -- his first wife (from the Xirihna tribe) (Two children, a boy and girl, have died.)	24 years
Yaxuramĩ -- his second wife (from the Puscheweterĩ tribe)	22 years

Surára

/58 cont./	Estimated Age
161 Daughter (has no name yet)	3 years
162 Crated -- warrior	32 years
Posioubemf -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	23 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 months
Uaxianauwõ -- warrior	24 years
Morsmanamf -- his wife (daughter of the war chief)	18 years
Rarorauwõ -- warrior	36 years
Tanyakomf -- his wife (from the Pusheweterf tribe) (Three children, two boys and a girl, died.)	30 years
Rokomf -- mother of Rarorauwõ (oldest Surára woman)	63 years
Anyarawõ -- warrior	29 years
Ranomf -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	20 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	2 years
Xanimf, mother of Anyarawõ	47 years
Poxewõ -- warrior	28 years
Riopemf -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	21 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Hunkawf -- warrior	29 years
Xororimf -- his wife	21 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Kixoyewõ -- warrior	31 years
Naturreomf -- his wife (from the Pusheweterf tribe)	23 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 years
Werewõ -- warrior	30 years
Makanamf -- his wife (from the Pusheweterf tribe)	22 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	1 year
Ixobewõ -- warrior	31 years
Olkoçimf -- his first wife (from the Xirifna tribe)	28 years
Daughter (has no name yet). The twin brother died.	3 years

Surára
Pakidái

/58 cont./

	Estimated Age
551 162 Xeramí -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe)	25 years
Xamiwõ -- son	12 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	2 years
Xutumí -- widow	59 years
Haikiamí -- her daughter (likewise a widow)	40 years
Yarikoawõ -- son of Haikiamí (bachelor)	17 years
Kasarauwõ -- solitary bachelor	17 years
/59/	
Ikoauwõ -- solitary bachelor	16 years
Jibeauwõ -- orphan boy	9 years
Mauabemí -- orphan boy	8 years
Nikeromí -- female captive (from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí)	15 years

[161] [123] There are somewhat more Pakidái, for they numbered 89. Since my association with them was not quite as close as with the Surára, however, I was able to learn considerably fewer given names. In the following I am presenting those that became known to me:

	Estimated Age
Karenauõ -- chief and medicine man	28 years
Poroamí -- his wife (from the Surára tribe)	20 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Porõhiwõ -- war chief	32 years
Ruxoyetemí -- his first wife (from the Surára tribe)	30 years
Yauetoiwõ -- son	13 years
Xamima -- daughter	7 years
Daughter (has no name yet). She was born during my stay	1 month
The second wife of Porõhiwõ left him because of ill treatment and was presumably drowned	
Kaxiribewõ -- warrior (brother of Porõhiwõ)	39 years
Monamí -- his wife	38 years

/59 cont./

	Estimated Age
551 162 Kuyaromí -- daughter	19 years
Bixewõ -- son	15 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 years
Son (has no name yet). He was born during my visit	1 month
Ironasterí (from the Xiriána tribe) -- wife of Bixewõ	22 years
Yururauwõ -- warrior	28 years
Xekoreimí -- his wife (from the Surára tribe)	28 years
Tenxoyahibewõ -- son. (He is the only Pakidái boy attending the mission school of the Salesians in Barcelos (Rio Negro) and speaks Portuguese well. A river trader took him there. Now he is ashamed of his fellow tribesmen and was not to be persuaded to give any information about them).	14 years
Mihemehumí -- son	5 years
Son (has no name yet)	1 year
Kuatoxemão -- warrior	33 years
Toreheíma -- his first wife (from the Puseheweterí tribe)	26 years
Xiahomí -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe)	21 years
Daughter of Xiahomí (has no name yet)	2 years
Karemoumí -- warrior	29 years
Xitiporimí -- his first wife	26 years
Tokorí -- son	8 years
Nyarimí -- daughter	4 years
Kirixoíma -- his second wife (from the Xiriána tribe)	20 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	6 months
Prexemí -- widow (mother of Karemoumí)	50 years
Hokotõmarimí -- bachelor (brother of Karemoumí; died as the result of an accident during my stay)	19 years
Xoromauwõ -- solitary bachelor	17 years

/59 cont./

595 From this list of families one gains the impression that monogamy predominates. But I was assured by my informants that those warriors who thus far have only one wife would be glad to take a second or even a third one, as was customary among their forefathers. The small number of persons in the tribes, however, has caused a shortage of women, so that most of the men are forced to be content with one spouse.

/60/ 3. Political Structure

619

These low population figures could, moreover, arouse the suspicion that it is not tribes, but only tribal divisions that are involved here, especially on account of the connubium in which they live, or merely groups. The chiefs and war chiefs named, however, told me emphatically that the Surára as well as the Pakidái were formerly large and mighty and distributed in many malokas. [185] They regard achieving this size again as a goal worth striving for.

622 An institutional chiefdom with a definitely established succession prevails in both tribes. If the chief dies, his next younger brother automatically takes his place. Only if the youngest brother is dead may the first-born son of the oldest brother, who by that time is usually an older man, occupy the office of chief.

624 701 In addition there is the war chief. This position is not hereditary; rather, the bravest warrior is chosen for it. During peacetimes he has no prerogatives whatever and lives like an ordinary member of the tribe. Only during military encounters does he take over the [622] leadership, while the real chief, as religious head, doctor, and teacher, is protected and does not take part; the same is true for his brothers.

622 159 The Surára chief Hewemão, very bold and intelligent, is a truly great personality; his orders are respected by all members of the tribe without opposition. When he was still a youth, his father, Xoromão, was killed with two arrow shots by Makuxí /Macusi/ Indians. Hewemão eldest brother, Xaraíma, assumed the succession, but he died of a fever about eight years ago.

/60 cont./

622 Since that time Hewemãõ has been chief and at the same time,
159 like his predecessor, a medicine man who instructs all the male
Surára in religion, mythology, magic, curing the sick, and tribal
traditions (see pp. 143f.). He also, however, assigns them to oc-
casional communal projects, supervises their activity in the roças
(forest clearings), gives instructions for the building of a maloka,
and selects the participants for curing the sick and for magic per-
[224] formances. If a large animal was killed, a tapir, for example,
he supervised the fair distribution of the meat so that every
family obtained its piece. In the case of smaller game, the
hunters usually give their chief a choice piece, and the women
bring him and his family fruits and berries or brimming calabashes
[554] of refreshing palm drinks. He is thus honored in every way.
He and his wives too, however, willingly and freely give up some
of their hunting or gathering spoils.

[342] In the large, open maloka he and his two wives and chil-
dren occupy a special hut (see pp. 24 ff.). During migrations of
622 the tribe he determines when they are to rest and to set out again.
484 Moreover, each morning he arranges for regular march-protection,
159 4-5 warriors who form the advance guard and set out two hours
484 before the departure. They have only their bows and arrows with
them and reconnoiter in both directions from the Indian path, in
order to be on the lookout for enemies. The bulk of the tribe,
which travels in single-file formation, always presented the
following picture during the time I lived among the Surára: 3-4
484 warriors armed only with bows and arrows. They carry their
482 weapons longitudinally over their heads or over one shoulder.
After them came men with my baggage, the younger brothers of
the chief, and finally the latter himself. I walked behind him,
my servant Mateus followed me, and the boys and girls with little
baskets, then the women with their large, cylindrical baskets,
which contain all the household goods. Mothers with babies
carried them, in addition, in a carrying band on their left hips.
On top of the basket there often sat a little dog, a monkey, or a
parrot. Then behind the women there marched 4-5 more warriors
as a rear guard.

Surára
Pakidái

/60 cont./

484 These safety measures are necessary, for one must always be prepared for a hostile attack. That is why the /61/ women [482] carry all the household goods, for if the men were thus burdened, they could not defend themselves. For this reason, the chief 484 and his brothers always march in the middle of the tribe, for in 622 the event of a military encounter the protection of the chief is the 554 supreme command of all the Surára. He is honored and respected, of course, not only as the head of the tribe, but also because he is the adviser in all situations of life, the medicine man who is able to make connections with the hekurá and serras /xierras/ (see pp. 200/201) and can ward off sickness and misfortune. If he were killed, the tribe would suddenly be in a terrible situation, for his successor does not yet have the same experience.

622 The next youngest brother and subsequent successor of Hewemãõ is Kurikayawõ. He will be followed by Inxinemá, who is approximately 19 years old, but has not yet completed his youth-initiation. And it is only after the latter that Hemahemá, who is approximately 25 years old and the only son of the oldest brother, Xarimá, who died eight years ago, would be able to take over the leadership.

624 The war chief of the Surára is Xomirawõ, a modest, reserved, but extraordinarily hardy and brave man.

622 Among the Pakidái the succession of chiefs is the same.
624 The following remarks, however, will show the complications that
619 arose six years ago as a result of the death of the old chief Karakarawõ, because his three younger brothers who could have taken over the succession died before him. Karakarawõ did have a son, Karenauõ, but he was still very young, so that there was nothing to do but to entrust the leadership of the tribe for the time being to the war chief Porẽhiwõ as a substitute. At the same time he and the older Pakidái men asked the chief of the friendly Surára, Hewemãõ, for advice in many things, especially serious illnesses, magic performances, etc. At this time many younger Pakidái attended the school of the Surára chief, among them the present Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, who was given a very thorough training by Hewemãõ. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái even lived

Pakidái
Surára

/61 cont./

622 together for several years, both in the sierra during the dry season
619 and at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá during the
624 rainy season. In the long run, however, the war chief Porẽhiwõ did not like this, and there were also differences of opinion with the young chief, so he and his brother Kaxiribewõ, with their families temporarily withdrew from the tribe and remained alone in Taraquá, the Pakidái maloka on the middle Demini.

As a result of the youthful exuberance of the not yet fully mature Pakidái chief Karenauõ, the previously good relationship between the Surára and Pakidái was unfortunately slightly disturbed. Yet Karenauõ really had every reason to be grateful to Hewemãõ.

769 The discord began in March 1956 during the great festival
619 in memory of the dead, which the Surára as hosts and the Pakidái
622 as guests always celebrate together, and in which some friendly Pusheweteri and Xiriána families also took part. During this gathering it is customary for Hewemãõ to be acknowledged as the head by the guests, even by their chiefs, and for his orders to be followed. Young Karenauõ, however, refused to do this. He suddenly felt himself very strong because the member of Pakidái, of course, is considerably larger than that of the Surára. The rivalry between the chiefs increased from day to day and extended even to the members of the two tribes. It was only thanks to the magnanimous, wise attitude of Hewemãõ and the mediation of the chief of the Pakidái, Porẽhiwõ, who returned to his tribe and exerted great influence, that greater tensions or even military encounters could be avoided. This was only to be welcomed, for there is a long, traditional friendship between the two tribes, which has deepened consanguineously as a result of intermarriages.

[166] When the festival was over, at the end of March 1956, the Pakidái again moved to /62/ Taraquá on the middle Demini and the Surára to the Cachoeira dos Índos on the upper Aracá. But at this point I was to experience a great surprise. Three Pakidái men, with their families, no longer followed their chief Karenauõ, but joined Hewemãõ and thus actually emigrated to the Surára.

/62 cont./

4. Life Cycle

842 a) Birth control

862 The number of children among both the Surára and the [63] Pakidái is very small; no woman has more than three at most. [65] Aside from the high infant mortality rate as a result of the lack of hygiene, however, this is bound up with the fact that the women must observe an interval of at least three years after each birth, as long as a child is fed with mother's milk, which, in the opinion of these Indians, prevents conception to a considerable 842 extent. If a woman nevertheless becomes pregnant, the medicine 847 men know how to prepare an abortive medicine from plant juices. The reason for birth control, I was told, is that if a child were born during the period of restriction, it would not be healthy and able to cope with life, because the mother's body would still be too weak.

843 b) Food taboos during pregnancy

Before the birth the mother must observe many food taboos in order not to harm her child. Her diet then consists primarily of the tender meat of the mutum (Crax sp.), cooked bananas, manioc flat-cakes, and a drink that is made from the nourishing, very oily pupunha fruits. If she were to eat wild-pig meat, for example, the child would be born dead; the meat of the pirarucu (Osteoglossidae, the largest fresh-water fish), which carries inside it the bad breath of the river, would make it blind, and parrot meat would make it cry constantly later on.

844 c) Birth

While giving birth, the woman kneels in front of a tree and embraces the trunk with both arms. The ground has been sprinkled with water beforehand so that it is slimy and soft. Several female members of the tribe assist the woman in labor. After the birth, two women, each with a cotton thread, tie off the umbilical cord, and a third one then bites it off. The father

Surara
Pakidai

/62 cont./ the father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confine-
ments which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case
the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock
for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she
already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[622] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has
only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into
the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

/63 cont./

854 593 It is simply touching to see how lovingly and solicitously every mother treats her child. But the love of the father is no less great. He openly acknowledges the child and clearly shows his feelings of pride and fatherliness (318), though he is otherwise

[114] [191]

318. In contrast to this, Alexander von Humboldt, with reference to the Indians on the Orinoco, writes that fathers do not have any affection for their children (A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 155).

very reserved in his expressions of feeling. When he comes wearily into the communal house after a strenuous hunting expedition or from his field work, he never forgets to devote himself first of all to his little child for a while. He either takes it on his arm and goes walking with it, or he lays it beside him in the hammock. Even during migrations of the tribe he sometimes [858] carries the child for hours. Moreover, he loves a daughter just as much as a son.

854 304 During the first year of life the ear lobes and the lower lips of boys and girls are pierced by the mother with a sharp palm thorn, and, in addition, the girls are given perforations in the corners of the mouth. To prevent the wounds from healing, small wooden rods are stuck in temporarily and moved back and forth 304 frequently.

854 833 When a little girl has completed the first year of life, she is deflowered by the mother with her finger. This procedure is done in preparation for sexual intercourse later on.

114 191 854 833 304 Similar procedures were observed by von Feldner among the Machacarf /Mashacali/ Indians, and he describes them as follows: "Nulla inter illas invenitur virgo, quia mater inde a tenera aetate filiae maxima cum cura omnem vaginae constrictionem ingredimentumque amovere studet hoc quidem modo: manui dextrae imponitur folium arboris in infundibuli formam redactum, et dum index, in partes genitales immissus huc et illud movetur, per infundibulum aqua tepida immittitur" (319). In this connection

319. von Feldner, 1828, II, p. 149, footnote.

2: Becher--136 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Suvaya
Pakidai

/63 cont./

Ploss and Bartels have already observed: "These manipulations probably serve not so much the purpose of cleanliness as preparation for the later sexual functions" (320).

320. Ploss and Bartels, 1927, p. 376.

A custom which is said to prevail in Paraguay should be mentioned in this connection. When a girl is born there, the midwife inserts her finger into the vagina and says: This is a woman (321). Unfortunately, there is no account of the origin

321. Written communication from Montegazza to Ploss (Ploss, 1912, p. 219).

of this custom. It is possible that it was taken over from Indians, because in Paraguay the Indian population is, of course, numerically the largest.

Among most South American tribes for whom there is evidence of an artificial destruction of the hymen, however, chiefly those of the Tukano /Tucano/ and Pano linguistic families, but also some of the Aruaken /Arawak/ and Tupi, it is done for ritualistic purposes at the onset of puberty (322).

322. Fuchs, 1956, pp. 79-81.

Among the Totonaken /Totonac/ in Mexico it is one of the duties of two priests to destroy with their fingers the hymen of female babies 28-29 days after birth. At the same time they ordered the mothers to repeat the defloration six years later with their fingers (323). Strebel regards this procedure as a castigation rite,

323. Krickeberg, 1918-1922, p. 47.

corresponding to the circumcision of male infants, which was also carried out by the priests. "Even the child was to pay its tribute to the gods, /64/ and the fact that the sexual parts were chosen for

1171 /64 cont./
304 this is likewise understandable, considering their significance,
854 though the least possible loss of blood may also have been a consideration" (324).

324. Strebel, 1885, p. 13.

854 On the other hand, with regard to the Surára and Pakidái
304 it should be noted that there is no circumcision of boys among them
[833] and the defloration of small girls unequivocally serves for later sexual intercourse; there are no religious motives or hygienic reasons connected with it. Whether this was different in former times neither the chiefs nor older men and women were able to say (325a).

1171 325a. It is an interesting fact that among the
304 Itälmen on Kamchatka little girls are de-
854 flowered at a very tender age by their mothers in the same manner as among the Surára and Pakidái and for the same reason (Stellers, 1774, p. 346).

This type of body deformation has been documented for China and Indonesia too. It is done there, however, for hygienic purposes, in order to remove the mucus which gathers in the genitalia (Ploss, 1912, pp. 218/19).

593 It should be mentioned further that all Surára and Pakidái
839 fathers often touch the vulva of their small daughters with the mouth and gently suck on it.

854 If a man has two or more wives, they help each other in
[595] caring for a baby. The grandmother, a sister, or the eldest
[593] daughter are also loving helpers. Infant care, of course, does
854 not require much trouble, for regular baths are unknown. It is
515 only when the crust of dirt is a little too thick that the mother washes it off a bit when she goes to fetch water from the river. The infrequent washing has the advantage that the skin is more
000 nearly invulnerable to mosquito bites. If the child's nose is not

Surára
Pakidái

854 514 [123] /64 cont./ If the child's nose is not clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

856 593 The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, nãpe=mother and hãpe=father.

862 e) Name-giving

[851] After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

851 846 114 171 842 325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

000 553 776 [782] has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

Surára Pakidái

/64 cont./

553 276 [782] high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermediaries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris" [777] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 114 191 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 302 [412] [824] On the day of the name-giving the children are given a tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara -- Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in 553 291 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under [834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good [992] form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around children (See pp. 64ff.).

/65 cont./

000 children (see pp. 64 ff.). A thin cord of cotton or plant fibers,
301 which is occasionally worn below the knees, is supposed to
856 strengthen the legs, and corresponding upper-arm cords, the muscles (in the case of boys) and the arms (in the case of girls). Moreover, small girls wear strings crossed over their chests so that they will have well-shaped breasts later on.

f) Childhood

593 Even in boyhood and girlhood the family bears the chief
859 responsibility for all educational measures. The boy, to be sure, is now drawn to the father somewhat more and gradually begins to free himself from his mother. With his bow, which his father has made for him, he daily practices shooting small birds, for it is believed that a boy who kills many birds will later become a good hunter. They are cleaned and prepared by the girls, however, and together the children then have a meal, to which the girls often contribute cooked bananas or manioc flat-cakes. In play the children are properly prepared for their future duties and responsibilities as adults. Thus, the girls occasionally also help their mothers and fetch their water or wood, or they assume the care of their younger siblings.

861 The modest, thoughtful nature of these Indian children
[159] should be emphasized. Yet they are never beaten and they never hear a harsh word either from their parents or from other adults. Gentle admonishment suffices to reprove a child if it is really
857 naughty on occasion. Even in their play, however, there are
152 seldom such quarrels as are so frequent among civilized children. It would be quite unthinkable, for example, for a Surára or Pakidái child to run to its mother in order to complain about a playmate.

524 Boys and girls grow up together quite naturally and without constraint, as is shown by the fact that group games are preferred to solitary games. A great favorite, among others, is a game of ball which they play with a monkey bladder. It is batted upward with the palm of the hand (see also p. 246). They also play a sort of tug-of-war with lianas (see p.244). Moreover, the boys
[868] often imitate the dances of the men, while the girls are very fond of string games. It is especially popular to play "mother and

524 /65 cont./
child" or "married couple." In the latter game sexual activity
524 is already often involved. As long as the children have not yet
864 reached puberty, the adults laugh about it. It is only the mothers of girls who are a little annoyed when they hear about it. They do not regard it as tragic, however, since they themselves were reprimanded about it by their mothers when they were little girls.

/66/

582 g) Marriage

At the age of 7-8 a girl as a rule has already been given in
585 marriage. The husband is usually 8-10 years older. They do not as yet lead a regular married life, however. During the day the little girl plays with other children, and only at night does she sleep
[833] in her hammock beside her husband. Sexual intercourse, however,
[593] is strictly forbidden until after the second menstruation. She also fetches firewood and water and receives prepared food for herself
[484] and her husband from her family. When the tribe is on the march, she carries the hammock of her spouse and the few household articles. Economic reasons are connected with this marriage in childhood, for the young husband must hunt for his little wife and
606 her parents. Especially noteworthy is the reserve toward in-laws which operate in such a way that son-in-law and mother-in-law never
582 speak to each other and may not visit each other. Since the fear of incest is very great in both tribes, a marriage, which is always agreed upon by the parents, may be entered into only by partners who are not related by kinship. For this reason young wives are preferably obtained from a friendly tribe; in this case, however, the young man must live there until his wife has put her second
583 menstruation behind her. Occasionally young girls and women are abducted from hostile tribes. They are first held as captives and prostitutes for some time, however, before a man may finally marry them. I met such a little female captive among the Surára. She came from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí and was approximately 15 or 16 years old.

595 /66 cont./

The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the Pakidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Vari-
587 ous other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies, these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do not call them uncle, but likewise father.

881 b) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl,
[302] on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú, a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may
881 speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. Dur-
304 ing the second day her mother or another woman applies a pin-point tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either
[413] side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a
[824] pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty-
[386] gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured, leaves a dark blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the
[147] little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears, and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysterious forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life.
881 With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated, and after that a small celebration takes place.

/66 cont./

and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during these days, and, if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the bank of the nearby river or brook.

i) Initiation rites for young men

All young men who have reached the age of approximately 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December, halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and celebrate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an intermediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate camp of the Surára, see p. 23) two young men are always trained for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemãõ and his brother Kurikayawõ among the Surára; Karenauõ and the war chief Porêhiwõ among the Pakidái) in all matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only after that are they regarded as full members of their community and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers. It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and plant spirits (hekurâ, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clearing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices, however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication (see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely externally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting, which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representation of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

Surára
Pakidái

/67 cont./

poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourishment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits -- hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-state.

It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers. Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children, or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxication. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings, hopping, etc.

Surára
Pakidái

/68 cont./

hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemãõ would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

There is evidence that this type of training, in similar form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be sure, but mandatory.

j) Sex life

The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

Surára
Pakidái

/68 cont./

835 Younger, unmarried brothers have the right to unite physically with the wives of their older brothers. Nevertheless the jealousy of the latter often prevents the realization, which, however, is made up for on a suitable occasion, for the women are altogether in favor of this custom (331).

331. This polyandrous feature is also found in the myth about the origin of human beings (see p. 247).

727 Among the Surára I found a pretty, delicate girl about
83 15 or 16 years old, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the
159 Karausterf (Ills. 17 and 18), who was held as a captive and was the common property of all the men, the unmarried as well as the married. When her maloka was raided, she fell into the hands of the Surára. She lived with the old widow Xututumf and her daughter Haikiamá, likewise widowed. During the day she occasionally took care of little children, deloused the wives of the chiefs, grated manioc or squeezed out the grated mass; she also strung beads or made a belt. When it grew dark, she always fetched wood for the night, just like the other female members of the tribe. She was the only woman who took a bath several times a day and played childish games with other small girls. Now and then she also went into the forest with other women to gather fruits. I never saw her inactive. When she works, however, she does so of her own free will. Yet at the same time she must always be ready for all the men, at any hour of the day or night. A man scarcely ever comes alone, but rather four, five, or more usually join him. They do not ask whether she has any desire for it, is sleeping, working, or is perhaps ill. One of them seizes her by the arm or the hair and sets out with her into /69/ the forest, and the others follow. Especially if the men have communal tasks to do in the forest, that is, felling trees for house construction, gathering palm leaves and lianas, Nikeromá is regularly taken along, whether or not she is willing. If she resists or raises objections, one of the men, with a big stick, will

Surára
Pakidái

/69 cont./

727 83 159 give her a blow on her tonsure, which is already full of scars, or he will scratch her body bloody with the sharp little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 117).

It is worth noting that the married men do not go furtively into the forest with Nikeromá, but quite openly. When I was wandering about with the tribe, I was often able to observe during the midday rest that a married man would suddenly go up to the little captive, take her by the arm, and go off with her a short distance, while five or six other men followed. The others present, men, women, and children, would laugh about it. The [593] wives, to be sure, were somewhat angry and would now and then throw a piece of wood after their husbands, but then they would make the best of it and likewise join in the laughter, though it was somewhat bittersweet. When the men returned with Nikeromá, after about an hour, we resumed our march. The women put up with this behavior of their spouses and, for their part, enjoy themselves with other men at a suitable opportunity. They never vent their wrath on the little captive, however. There is nothing defamatory about her actions, into which she is, of course, forced, for various wives were obliged to submit in the same way before their marriage. Little Nikeromá, however, found it hard to bear her fate; she was always grave and sad, in fact, almost melancholy, and suffered very much from homesickness. Yet one day, when other women and girls are captured from a hostile tribe, a Surára man will marry her.

It should be mentioned further that the Surára chief rigorously sees to it that Nikeromá is always supplied with plenty of meat and other food. He himself and his brothers treat the little captive very well, and I never saw them go into the forest with her.

The Pakidái had two captive Makuxí women.

727 83 171 In this connection I should like to refer to a very similar observation by Ehrenreich with regard to the Šambioa /Shambioa/ (Karajá /Caraja/), which the investigator describes as follows: "Moreover, unmarried men who wish to turn to the female sex may only have intercourse with the captive Kayapo /Cayapo/ women held in semislavery, a few of whom, at least among the Šambioa,

/69 cont./

727 are lodged in every village. They are regarded as common prop-
83 erty. Unfortunately, one also sees children used for similar pur-
171 poses. This clearly shows the dualism in the etiquette of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to members of their own tribe. This attitude, which is common to all primitive peoples, cannot, for this reason, alter our judgment concerning the morality of the Karaja in general" (332).

332. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 28.

844 k) Death and burial customs
585
764 As the previous comments have shown, there are neither birth nor marriage ceremonies among the Surára and Pakidái. The social and religious life is therefore dominated all the more by death practices.

764 If a human being who has completed the third year of life dies, the relatives are inconsolable. There is lamenting in the loudest tones, and the flood of tears among men, women, and children seems endless. Meanwhile, however, the customary occupations are not neglected. While the woman is fetching water from the river, for example, she weeps incessantly to herself and intermittently shrieks loudly; the same is true for the men at their work in the plantings and even for the children at their play. The other members of the tribe cast only an occasional compassionate glance at the mourners, and with this their interest is exhausted.

Immediately after a death it is the duty of the male relatives and /70/ friends to fell small trees in the forest, out of which they make a cylindrical wooden frame -- praotimá. This consists of 15 to 20 poles 1.60-1.80 meters long, which are tied with lianas a handbreadth apart. The corpse is slid into this, and liana ropes are drawn over the two open ends so that it is protected from the attack of birds, especially vultures.

/70 cont./

764 Among the Pakidái I was able to be present on the sad occasion of a burial ceremony for the young, vigorous, and happy Hokotómarimá, an unmarried youth whose age was 19 years at [752] most. He had fallen from the top of a pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) (the liana lashing of his climbing apparatus, see p. 121, had evidently not been firm enough) and must have suffered internal injuries. All the efforts to save him, which were carried out uninterruptedly by the chief and his helpers for two days and nights, were unsuccessful.

[302] After the dead Hokotómarimá had been pushed into the wooden frame, five warriors whose bodies were painted all over with urucú carried him out of the maloka, amid loud lamentations. Two men carried the frame, one in front and one in back; now and then they were relieved by their companions. The women of his kin group, in part with children on their hips or by the hand, accompanied him, amid heart-rending, shrill tones of lament and endlessly flowing tears, on this last journey to the edge of the forest. Then the five men went on alone with the deceased. (The chief did not take part; he would do so only if the deceased were a relative.) After a walk of about 20 minutes, they suddenly stopped, set down the frame, and selected a suitable tree, in order to hang it in the crown. When they had found it, in this case a tall imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.) -- tokorí --, two men climbed up, each with two long lianas (cipó-titica) hanging around their necks. They chose a particularly thick limb, then lowered the lianas, where their companions tied them to the wooden frame, and pulled it up with the dead man lying in it. When the frame was hanging firmly and securely on the branch, they climbed down again.

Immediately thereafter the five men started back to the maloka. On the way, however, the brother of the deceased cut [551] into a tree, the name of which the deceased bore -- hokotómarimá -- matamatazeiro (Eschweilera matamata Hub.), with his terçado (large bush-knife) and in the lower part of the trunk, deep notches which had the following appearance ~~~~~~~~~~~~ and extended around the entire trunk. This was supposed to make the tree die.

/70 cont./

764 [551] If the deceased had borne, say, the name of an animal, it would have been the duty of the brother or a relative to kill such an animal. For, with the dead person, an animal or plant of the same name must also be killed or be made to die (see pp. 138/139).

While the deceased hung in the crown of the imbauba tree, the laments of his relatives in the maloka continued, and even the children did not lag behind their parents in this respect. At night one or two men were always awake, sometimes also a woman, who, at the same time, sang, wept, and intermittently uttered shrill sounds. The sleep of the other members of the tribe, however, was not disturbed by it.

765 Seventeen days after the death of Hokotőmarimá the second part of the burial ceremony began. The male relatives cut down more trees, and, under the imbauba tree in whose crown the dead man hung, they raised a funeral pyre; moreover, they cleared the forest at this spot, so that there was a rather large open area. On the afternoon of the eighteenth day all the Pakidái men then painted themselves with urucú and, under the leadership of Chief Karenauõ, singing loudly and weeping at the same time, they went to the place of the dead. All the women and children remaining behind also wept fervently, even the ones who were not related to the deceased. The /71/ men carried bows and arrows in their hands; some of them also carried snuff-powder and the tube for blowing it in. The brother, moreover, had the weapons and tools of the deceased, as well as bowls made out of the jamaru fruit -- horotő.

When the procession reached the imbauba tree, two kinsmen climbed up once more and carefully lowered the wooden frame, which was received by the other warriors and placed on the pyre in such a way that the head of the deceased was turned toward the rising moon. The dead man, however, was only a skeleton. The flesh had decayed and fallen through the slats to the ground where the vultures, ants, and other animals had devoured it. The brother put his weapons and tools on the wooden frame, so that they would be available to Hokotőmarimá in the realm of the dead. Several pieces of meat, bananas, some manioc flour, and the full calabash of a palm drink were to serve as food along the way.

/71 cont./

765 Shortly before sundown a bright, blazing fire was kindled with the help of the fire-drill, and the funeral pyre was set afire 765 with it. Then the men blew the snuff into each other's noses, 787 and after a few minutes they were in a state of intoxication, dur- 276 ing which they danced, singing and screaming, around the flames that leaped up over the dead man. This was the appeal to the hekurá who are supposed to help the soul of the dead on its journey [782] to the moon (see pp.199/201). The chief uttered his prayers of supplication in a loud voice, and all the other men joined in the chorus. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff into each other's noses, so that their ecstasy constantly increased and finally reached an unimaginable climax when the fire took possession of the skeleton. It no longer seemed to be human beings who, howling, stamping, and gesticulating, now stormed around the pyre. They seemed to have taken leave of their senses, and, as a result of the snuff-intoxication, they probably actually were in another world. To me, the sight was like a nightmare and made me think [794] of paintings by Hieronymus Bosch. The wandering of the soul of [795] the dead existing in the bones, accompanied by the tree-soul, had begun, and the hekurá paved the way for them. Meanwhile, night had fallen, and the moon, which I suddenly noticed in the sky in its full size between the crowns of the trees, seemed to be waiting for its new inhabitant. In spite of the heat, which was increased [123] by the fire of the funeral pyre, cold shudders ran down my spine, and an indescribable feeling of terror clutched at my heart. Though I had not taken any snuff-powder at this ceremony, I, too, was in a veritable drunken fever. Never before, neither in church nor in a theater, had I experienced a scene as grandiose as the one here in the nocturnal forest of Amazonia.

This death ceremony continued until dawn. After midnight, however, only a few men, whose duty it was at the same time to keep the funeral pyre burning, were still dancing and singing. The other warriors lay exhausted on the ground and slept. Occasionally one of the dancers was nudged. He got up immediately, had snuff blown into his nose, and danced around the pyre, singing, while another lay down to sleep. Finally, only two men were still

/71 cont./

765 dancing and singing. About an hour before sunrise, however, all
787 the sleepers were awakened; they again took snuff immediately,
276 and once more there began a wild dance with singing until day-
[821] break. The death ceremony must be kept secret from the sun (it
[715] is likewise regarded as a male creature), the worst enemy of the moon, because otherwise it would hinder the soul's wandering. Loudly sustained, shrill, joyous cries formed the conclusion and made it manifest that the soul of the deceased had found entry
765 into the moon. Then all the warriors, sobbing loudly, formed a circle around the burned-down funeral pyre, while the /72/ brother and other relatives gathered up the charred remains of the bones from the ashes. After these had been pounded in gourd vessels by means of small stone mortars, the bone ashes were emptied into two bowls made out of the jamaru fruit, which the brother of the deceased wrapped with palm leaves and a liana binding. Thereupon he handed them to the chief, who lifted up each one in the direction of the moon and, singing, blessed it, while the men standing about uttered shrill cries. With this the end of the ceremony was reached, and the exhausted warriors could again return to their maloka in order to recover in their hammocks from
[766] the strenuous night. The brother of the deceased tied the two jamaru bowls containing the bone ashes to the rafters of the roof behind his hearth, in order to keep them for the big annual festival in memory of the dead, at which the bone ashes of their dead, mixed with banana soup, are drunk by the men (see pp.231 ff.). From now on there was no more wailing and weeping in the maloka; daily life had resumed its normal course.

776 After the death of women and of children too, as soon as they have completed the third year of life, the death ceremonies are
[822] conducted in exactly the same way. For a deceased chief, on the other hand, there is dancing around the funeral pyre for three nights, for, of course, his entrance into the moon must be particularly solemn.

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

766 The ceremony for an old person is entirely different. After death has set in, his head is chopped off and is hung, likewise in a little wooden rack, in the crown of a tree, again 15 or 20 minutes away from the maloka. The body, however, is buried in the ground in the jungle without ceremony, and, to be sure, in a squatting position, bound tightly with lianas. This is supposed to prevent its possible return, for it would have dire consequences for the tribe. The head, however, is burned on a small pyre, under [975] the same circumstances as described above, so that the soul may reach the moon in the ascending smoke; the remaining bone ashes are also kept.

769 888 266 The reason for the different obsequies for younger and older persons is the following: At the big annual ceremony in memory of the dead, which is held jointly with the Surára (see pp. 222 ff.), all the men drink the bone ashes of their deceased relatives, mixed with banana soup, because they believe that in this way the vigor and spirit of the dead remain within the tribes. In the case of old people, however, it is assumed that their bodies are already too leached out for their ashes to be able to transmit strength any more. Only the bone ashes of the head are still regarded as valuable.

888 If members of the tribe are very old or so seriously ill that, in spite of all efforts to cure them, they are no longer able to take part in the joint migrations, they are killed. For this purpose there takes place beforehand a gathering of the chief and older, more experienced men, at which they choose a participant who has to perform the killing. He uses a stick for this and, while the person in question is asleep, beats him hard on the head several times, until he has breathed his last (333). These tribal

[971]

333. Old and sick people are killed in similar manner among the Ipurina. "Moribund persons," writes Ehrenreich, "are said to be dispatched to the other world not infrequently by sorcerers by means of club-blows" (Ehrenreich, 1891,

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

888
[191]

333. (cont.)
p. 70). Among the Piaroa Indians very weak old people are walled up alive in a cave. They are given food and drink for several more days and, when this has been used up, die of enervation (Marquis de Wavrin, 1944, pp. 197/98).

members destined for death are thus dispatched into the other world in an altogether humane manner, and even the killing itself is dictated by humane impulses. Since these old and sick persons can, of course, no longer take part in the customary seminomadic way of life, they would be obliged to remain helplessly behind when the tribe sets out on a new migration. This is to be prevented, however, /73/ and at the same time it is desired that the way to the moon, the paradise of the dead, be opened for them. After their death, they are cremated in the same way as all other deceased persons, that is to say, in the case of old people only the head is burned, and their ashes, too, are preserved and drunk at the festival in memory of the dead.

888
766

775 Greater than the fear of death among all Surára and Pakidái is the thought that they might one day die without being cremated, for example, during military actions, for then the entrance into the moon is barred for their soul (see p. 198).

766
[684]
[784] Persons who commit incest are excluded from cremation after their demise, and they are not mourned, for incest is regarded as the greatest crime. Poré (see p. 197) does not want their souls on the moon, and partaking of their bone ashes would exert unfavorable influences on the male members of the tribe. They are therefore tied up in a squatting position and buried in a hole in the ground.

766
858
774 If children die before the completion of the third year of life, they are thrown into the river without any ceremony, since they belong to the flesh and blood of the mother and do not yet have their own soul (see p. 138).

Surára
Pakidái

/73 cont./

764
171

For the types of burial of the Surára and Pakidái, which are undoubtedly very old and original, there are no parallels thus far in South America (334). This is true of the combined tree- and

[184]

334. Among the Waiká /Waica/, the corpse is cremated on the same day on the village square (Zerries, 1955b, p. 664).

fire-burial as well as of the earth burial of old people. A deceased member of the tribe, however, is only hung in a treetop for two or three weeks, so that his flesh will decay, before the bones are subsequently cremated.

765
171
175

The latter custom, albeit in the form of combined earth- and fire-burial, is, moreover, already mentioned in old sources. "Far inland," writes Barrère with regard to Guiana, "there are nations who assemble in order to dig out skeletons, when they think that the corpse is almost decayed, and after they have calcined these, they drink the ashes, which they soak in roucou, and they believe that they have thereby given their dead a more decent burial than if they left them to worms and putrefaction" (335).

335. Barrère, 1751, p. 172.

764
765
171
175

Similar reports are given by Froger about French Guiana (336)

336. "They have great respect for the old people, and when one of them dies, they inter him in the Carbet (Maloka) without any other ceremony than becoming very intoxicated: but when they believe that he is almost decayed, they assemble the Indians of the neighboring Carbets, dig out the bones, burn them, and take the ashes into their Oüicou in order to have a great feast" /translated from the French/ (Froger, 1715, p. 178).

Surára
Pakidái

175
764
765
171
[715]

/73 cont./
and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

619
648
721

5. War -- nfanyu --

The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood revenge -- noyú -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

619 /74 cont./
648 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.
721

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-
[835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára
[171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriána. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the
[171]

342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

Surára
Pakidái

726 /74 cont./

[171] [302]

343 (cont.)
Richard Schomburgk points out that their body painting in wartime differs from that of peacetimes. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, page 322).

spend the night quietly, while a few scouts reconnoiter the [276] position. At dawn the warriors blow large quantities of snuff into each other's noses and then, completely unfettered, but in all [720] silence they storm the hostile maloka. Men and boys are killed ruthlessly with arrow shots, and the women and children are dragged off as captives. But the attackers, too, often have to suffer great losses, and it is said that they are sometimes put to flight.

726 During my stay among the Surára, I heard of an attack by 727 the Xiriána and allied warriors on a maloka of the Waiká on the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini (see p. 16). On this occasion, as I was told, all the Waiká men were killed, and the women and girls were brought to the Xiriána maloka as captives. The head of the Waiká chief, as the war chief of the Surára added, was then adorned with feathers by the Xiriána and left standing in front of their community house for several days 727 as a trophy; after that it was thrown away (344). The night after

344. The Hório and Ebidoso in the northeastern Chaco, who occasionally behave in a similar way, are to be referred to as a parallel (Baldus, 1931, p. 73).

the attack there was a big dance festival, in which all the men [226] took part. Before that they took snuff and prayed to the hekurá [782] (see p.199), in order to thank them for the victory.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/74 cont./

6. Tribute payments and greeting ceremonial

619
651
576
574

Two or three times a year a Xiriâna chief and 18-20 warriors of this tribe come to the Surára as well as to the Pakidái, in order to collect tribute from their satellites (see also pp. 13 and 19). This visit is always carried out /75/ according to a regular protocol. First the chiefs squat down opposite each other, place the right hand on the left shoulder of the other, and hold the left hand in front of the mouth. They remain in this position for about two hours and, singing, exchange their news (345). The warriors of

> 345. I, too, was greeted in this fashion by the Surára chief as well as by the Pakidái chief.

the Xiriâna and Surára or Pakidái stand around in a circle and listen, their faces immobile. All the women and children remain lying in their hammocks during the ceremonial, or they sit with anxious faces by their hearths. When the greeting is ended, the Surára or the Pakidái chief makes a sign, whereupon his men run off and fetch knives, axes, pots, etc., and also bananas and pupunha fruits, which they put down in front of the Xiriâna chief. The latter picks up the objects and distributes them to his warriors, one after the other. When each is richly laden, they leave the maloka with measured step and disappear into the forest. The Xiriâna chief is now the only one left behind. For him, however, particularly valuable objects must be brought. Above all, it is now the duty of the Surára or Pakidái chief to offer precious things of his own, perhaps a woven hammock which was given him by civilized people, a large pot, a bush knife, or a particularly beautiful chain of glass beads. Along with these, he usually sets down a basket of bananas and pupunha fruits. When the Xiriâna chief, finally satisfied, nods his head, the Surára or Pakidái at last feel relieved. There is now a concluding dialogue sung by the two chiefs, whereupon the Xiriâna chief rises and, heavily loaded for his part, strides toward the forest where his warriors are

/75 cont./
already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon hears them laughing and joking again (346).

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

a) General

At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/75 cont./ According to their own statements, both tribes regard the Xiriâna as their culture-bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larâ -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norâ -- (350). The latter,

359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

350. Among the Waikâ, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xâma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajâ. The

Surára
Pakidái

/76 cont./ The
224 meat of all the animals mentioned is greatly prized. Smaller
[262] rodents, however, are regarded as decided delicacies: paca (Cuniculus paca L.) -- amutá -- and cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- toma --, which usually are killed with dogs or driven into a hole in the ground, as well as the armadillo (Dasypodidae sp.) -- obó. The latter is killed in the following way: When the Indian has discovered an inhabitated armadillo burrow, he examines it to see whether the animal is occupying it. If this is the case, he quickly fetches dry leaves and blocks the entrance. Then he kindles a fire with his fire apparatus, which he always carries on the quiver (see p. 53), sets fire to the leaves, and, with a palm leaf, fans the smoke into the burrow. This forces the animal to come out after a few minutes, whereupon the hunter is able to kill
[262] with an arrow or beat it to death with a stick (351). With some-

[191]

351. Caspar describes the same method for the Tuparí Indians (Caspar, 1953, p. 96 and Pl. 3).

what less relish these Indians eat the meat of the capybara (Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris Erxl.) and the various monkey species, such as, for example, the howling monkey (Alouatta sp.) -- ihró --, cuxiú-negro (Chiroptes satanas Humb.) -- uixá --, cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.) -- paxó --, and macaco-da-noite (Aotus infulatus) -- makurutamão. A great deal of skill, however, is required for monkey hunting in particular, because these animals leap from limb to limb in the crowns of tall trees and swing from one treetop to another by means of lianas. -- Feline species (352) are shot

352. Spotted jaguar (Felis onca L.) -- ihrá --, black jaguar (Panthera onca L.) -- hukumarí --, puma (Felis concolor) -- uaquearima --, maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yaó.

/76 cont./

224 relatively infrequently, for the most part only when they stay in the vicinity of a maloka and thus constitute a danger for human
224 beings. Only the meat of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) is
262 eaten. For some hunters, however, pride in killing such animals plays a role, for finishing off a jaguar, especially the black one, gives him greater esteem. -- Snakes, which are very numerous here because of the considerable dampness, are killed with a stick. If a surucucu (Lachesis muta L.) -- pereíma -- (Surára word) -- peléma -- (Pakidái word), the largest and most dangerous poisonous snake of South America, is killed, then the joy is especially great. The head is cut off, and every family gets a piece of the snake's body, which is cooked with other meat. It has an agreeable taste and reminded me of eel. The Surára and Pakidái also
[751] [825] believe, however, that every person who has eaten the meat of a surucucu will never be bitten by any other poisonous snake. The sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) -- uaikonyá -- and the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatá -- are also eaten with relish. The jararaca (Lachesis sp.) -- karihirimá --, the papaova (Spilotes sp.) -- karimatá --, and the cobra-coral (Elaps corallinus Wied.) -- huamoxíke --, on the other hand, are never eaten. -- Now and then a cayman (Caiman sclerops Schneid.) -- ihuá -- or a lizard -- xaraimá -- are killed with a stick, and sometimes the hunter, but more often his dog, discovers in the forest a jabuti (Testudo tabulata Woelb.) -- totorí --, whose meat is also very tender and tasty; /77/ it does not come up to that of the water turtle, how-
[225] ever. Yet, of the numerous species which inhabit the Demini, Aracá, and their tributaries, the Surára and Pakidái catch only the peremã -- talmã --, and, to be sure, they seize it in shallow water with their hands.

223 Bird hunting requires special training. That is why even
[868] boys are encouraged to kill as many small birds as possible, so that later on they will be good hunters.

The following birds are most frequently hunted, on account of both their meat and their feathers: mutum (Crax sp.) -- parurí --, urumutum (Crax sp.) -- katará --, mutum cavalo (Mitu mitu L.) -- katauri --, jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nhapín --, cujubim

/77 cont./

223 (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) -- maraxí --, jacu (Penelope sp.) -- kuremś --, japim (Cacicus cela L.) -- anhakoramś --, inambu (Crypturellus sp.) -- rororôme --, inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.) -- honamś --, toucan (Rhamphastus sp.) -- mahebé --, arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) arakaké -- arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.) -- maracana --, papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxeramakó --, papagaio curica (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxerś --, garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm) -- korihenś.

[825] [753] The gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- nonexí -- is killed for magical reasons, because it is believed that there is concealed in it a hostile medicine man who brings sickness and [237] other disasters. Its down feathers are glued into the hair by the men as trophies (see p. 95); the meat is discarded. The gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm) -- nonexipéke -- is also killed only for its feathers, which serve the men as upper-arm ornaments.

[825] They never shoot at the urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.) -- uatubś --, for they are glad that they remove the refuse.

224 In conclusion it should be mentioned that traps are unknown to the Surára and Pakidái (353).

353. There is a corresponding statement by Zerries about the Waikś (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

[622] If the hunter has killed a small animal, he may keep this booty for himself and his family, but he often gives the chief a roasted or boiled piece of it. A big-game animal, on the other hand, is divided up under the chief's supervision, and each family gets a piece of meat. This communal feeling is very strongly marked, and no member of the tribe would ever violate it.

Surára
Pakidái

/17 cont./

226 c) Fishing

Fishing plays a very subordinate part, and since olden times it has been carried on, with bow and arrow, only from the river-bank. Fishing by means of poison or landing nets, weirs, and [179] similar implements is unknown. Recently, however, these Indians have now and then used fishhooks of metal (354), which were

354. They fasten these to a line of cotton or Bromelia fibers.

given them by rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, as well as by 226 the Indian protection post on the Rio Demini. Nevertheless, this 262 has not substantially increased their interest in fishing, for fish simply are not among their favorite foods. Moreover, only smaller species may be eaten (355), because all the large ones have the

355. Aracu (Leporinus copelandi Steind.), piranha (Pygocentrus sp. and Serrasalmus sp.), surubim (Platystoma sp.), jandiá (Sciluridae sp.), mandi (Rhamdia sp.), curimatã (Prochilodus sp.), pescada (Gadus sp.), dourado (Salminus brevidens), tambaquí (Characinidae sp.), mandubí (Auchenipteridae sp.), anujá (Trachycoristes sp.), cuiú-cuiú (Oxidorus niger Vall.), etc.

evil breath of the river within them and thus cause sickness and other misfortune. Thus, they, of course, abhor the pirarucu (Osteoglossidae), over three meters long and the largest fresh-water fish, the dried meat of which represents practically the basic diet of the caboclo population (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers), and the delicious meat of the large water-turtles is also rejected by them for this reason.

Surára
Pakidai
Waica

/78/

226 184 Among the Waikâ, too, fishing ranks last in the acquisition of food and is likewise practiced with bow and arrow there, as well as with the fishhook in more recent times. It is worth noting, however, that in addition they are familiar with a method of fishing by poisoning the water (356a) (356b) 357).

356a. Barker, 1953, pp. 464/65.

356b. Zerries, 1956b, p. 152.

357. Zerries, 1958c, p. 179.

222 [462] d) Gathering

Not only women, but also men take part in the gathering activity. The latter have the duty in particular to bring in the fruits of the many palm species (358), of which the following are

358. The general name for palms is -- petabaĉmo.

the most important: acaĉ (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) -- uaiĉma --, bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus Mart. or Oenocarpus bacaba Mart.) -- hokomakê --, bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.) -- yauetoŝk --, buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.) -- etewexĉ --, curua (Attalea spectabilis Mart.) -- yauatoŝ --, tucuma (Astrocaryum sp.) -- pahĉ -- (359), and pupunha (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) --

[481] 359. To climb the palms named they used the climbing ring (see pp. 119/120).

komunamĉ -- (360). The fruits of smaller palms that are easy to

[481] 360. Since the trunk of this palm is covered with sharp thorns -- miĉmicibâ --, it can be climbed only with the help of two specially constructed implements (see pp. 121/122).

/78 cont./

222 climb, such as the piaçaba (Attalea funifera Mart. and Leopoldinia piassaba Wal.) -- tanbarí -- and ubim (Geonoma sp.) -- komixí --, are gathered by men and women in the same manner.

[462] A division of labor between the sexes may be observed in the gathering of the fruits of the inga trees (Inga sp.) -- kepõ -- growing on the banks of rivers and brooks. In this case, however, they do not take the trouble to climb the tall, broad-limbed trees. They are felled by the men, and then the women and children strip off the long, dark-green, hard-shelled pods, the beans of which are embedded in a white, spongy pulp as sweet as sugar. This is sucked out and then spat out along with the seed. Men, women, and children relish it even while they are working, but the bulk of the pods are tied together with lianas and carried into the maloka by the women, where the pulp is again sucked out with great satisfaction. -- The fruits of the wild caju tree (Anacardium sp.) -- uitõ -- (361) are harvested in the same way, that is, by

361. The corresponding Waikâ name is "wido" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 150).

felling the trees. Of this, however, the Surára and Pakidái eat only the longish, dark-red, shiny receptacle, which is extraordinarily juicy and is especially prized as pleasantly refreshing. The kidney-shaped, greenish-black kernel, on the other hand, is not eaten. -- The fruits of the chestnut, castanha-do-pará (362)

362. We know them as Pará nuts.

(Bertholletia excelsa H.B.K.) -- hokoõ --, are very popular. During the rainy season, when the ouriços (ball-shaped husks with a hard shell, which weigh more than one kilogram and contain between 10-30 chestnuts) fall from the tall trees because of gusts of wind, the entire tribe often travels to the chestnut forests on the lower Aracá or the middle Demini, in order to reap a rich harvest here, in which again both sexes take part. The ouriços, wherever they are found, are cut open with a stone or, if available, with a terçado (large bush-knife), and the chestnuts are poured into the

Surára
Pakidái

/78 cont./

222 carrying baskets. -- Of the fruits of the wild cacao tree (Theobroma sp.) -- boroá --, which has many branches and whose foliage is dense and dark, only the sweet pith of the husks is sucked out, while the beans, which played such an important part among the high-culture peoples of Central America, are carelessly thrown away (363). -- The apple-like fruit of the lucuma tree

[184] [192] [114]

363. Zerries reports the same thing of the Waiká, and here the names are "loa" or "boholoa" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 150; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177).

(Lucuma macrocarpa Hub.) -- kumató -- is valued for its sweetish, gelatinous pulp that surrounds the pit; the /79/ outer meat of the fruit and the shell, on the other hand, has a very bitter, unpleasant taste. -- The fruit of the wild pineapple, which only reaches the size of a medium-sized apple, is also eaten with relish.

The pods of the pacova sororoca, a Musaceae species (Ravenala guianensis Benth.) -- mokohé -- (364), gathered espe-

364. The pacova-sororoca is often erroneously called "wild banana" because its large leaves, which resemble those of the banana trees.

cially frequently, contribute more to the everyday food. -- When there is an occasional food shortage during the rainy season, the flat brown fruits of the pot tree (Lecythia longifolia), which are called uapú by the Surára and kurupú by the Pakidái, are appreciated to this day (365).

365. The Waiká have the name "wabu" for them (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177); Barker, 1953, p. 443).

Besides these most important vegetable products that are gathered, there are also a great many animal ones. To be named here above all is the honey of several species of small bees (366)

[136]

366. There are said to be more than 20 different varieties of them.

/79 cont./

222 which can be obtained easily and without danger, for the bees are stingless. Usually they have their nests in hollow trees or in the ground. Occasionally, however, one also sees nests built in tall trees; the latter are then cut down by the men, for the purpose of obtaining the honey. The honey is scooped out of the nest with the hand or with a calabash and put into a folded palm leaf which is then tied together and taken along to the maloka. -- Birds' eggs also constitute a popular addition to the diet, as does the nourishing yolk of the eggs of water turtles; the egg white, on the other hand, is discarded because it has an unpleasant, fish-oil taste. During the dry season, especially during the months December-February, the Surára and Pakidái gather these turtle eggs in great numbers on the sandbanks of the Demini and Aracá. -- [226] Also to be mentioned are crayfish and crabs, which are pulled out of the holes in the mud of the riverbanks. -- I also observed that they eat certain kinds of frogs and spiders, as well as insect larvae, caterpillars, termites, and the hind parts of the leaf-cutter ant (Atta sp.) -- aneanemá.

241 e) Agriculture

Although agriculture among the Surára and Pakidái was introduced only a comparatively short time ago, they have already developed a remarkable system with regard to the laying out of their fields. These are always laid out circularly around the maloka. The procedure is such that, first of all, at the beginning of a dry season, October-November, a rather large piece of forest is cleared, during which it is seen to that the circular shape is [313] produced. To chop down the underbrush and the lianas, the [412] men use the tercados (large bush-knives), and the trees are felled with steel axes (367). After about two months, when the felled

[439]

367. The Surára obtain these articles of civilization from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter, and the Pakidái get them from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

Surára
Pakidái

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying [361] and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka [622] is erected. This roça (forest clearing) -- hikarí --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, carâ, cotton, [462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

[184]

368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

[134] falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132]

369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

24 36 166 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka 245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

241 166 361 It is worth mentioning that at present in the course of one year the Surára as well as the Pakidái regularly carry on their field work in two places that are far apart. During the rainy season, April-September, the Surára, as is well known, live at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá and the Pakidái on a right tributary of the middle Demini, where they also own fields. On the other hand, they spend the summer season together in the large, open Surára maloka (between the Demini and Aracá rivers), around which was laid out a roça which was large enough to be divided among the Surára and Pakidái families. Thus, both tribes always have the benefit of abundant harvests at their permanent dwelling sites. In addition, there are the bananas and pupunha fruits of the abandoned fields, to which the entire tribe travels at the time of this harvest, or gathering expeditions are undertaken to bring in chestnuts, inga, and other kinds of wild fruits.

241 423 Since, however, on account of the seminomadic way of life of these Indians, one forest clearing or another is left untended for shorter or longer periods, there is the danger that in the meantime members of hostile tribes will break in and take possession of the produce there. Provision is made for this, however. Before the tribe leaves one of its clearings, a few men commissioned by the chief stick several wooden arrow points and thorns of the pupunha palm, coated with poison, into the ground and put leaves over them. Hostile Indians with plunder in view therefore risk the danger of running these into their legs (370).

[291] 370. All Indians of this region go barefoot.

[184] As I was told, this custom is resorted to by all Yanonámi tribes, and for this reason no Indian would ever think of setting foot on the deserted clearing of another tribe (371).

[114] 371. This hint may be of the greatest importance for research travelers who want to work in this region.

/80 cont./

245 [262] Among the vegetable foods of the Surára and Pakidái, bananas, of which I found nine different varieties, occupy first place today. Of these, in turn, the most frequently cultivated is the mealy banana (Musa paradisiaca normalis; the regional caboclo population calls it pacovinha) -- kuratá -- (372).

[174]

372. With regard to its origin, Sauer writes: "The plantains and bananas (Musa paradisiaca) originated in southeastern Asia and were there bred into a great variety of seedless cultivated forms. Their presence in the New World is considered by many as due to post-Columbian introduction" /cited in English/ (Sauer, 1950, p. 526).

192 245 Kuratá, however, is also the general designation for all bananas (373). In addition, the following special names were

[184]

373. Zerries gives the same name with regard to the Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, pp. 152, 155), and Koch-Grünberg gives the following names for the Karaiben Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/: "kurá:tana," "kura:tana´," or "kuratanâ" (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 47, 268). The corresponding Xiriâna designation, namely, "kalatá:ke," is very similar (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 306). This definitely proves that the banana, or at least one variety, reached the Waiká, Xiriâna, Surára, and Pakidái from Karaiben tribes. The myth concerning the origin of the banana, which the Surára chief told me (see p.249), also shows that this fruit came from the outside only in very recent times.

[174]

given me for the other eight varieties (374):

[184]

374. The Waiká, too, use very similar terms for certain varieties of bananas (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153):

/81/

Designation of the Surára and Pakidái:	Designation of the regional caboclo population:
pakatarimã	pacovão
kuratá pauximí	inajá
nakaximí	São Tomé roxa
rokojá	São Tomé branca
rokomã	banana maçã (?)
parauá	caité
roórenvökãkõ	banana bajé
xiahíma	Banana govêrno (375)

375. Unfortunately, I could not carry out a botanical classification of these varieties.

With the help of a digging stick made from the wood of the pupunha palm and 1.60-1.80 meters long, which has a flattened point at the lower end (Ill. 38), or a broken bow-staff, cuttings of banana trees are planted in the clearing, and after only a few months they are full-grown and bear fruit. The work of planting as well as the care of the plants falls to the men, while the women help only with the harvest (376).

376. Among the Waiká, the plants are cared for by men and women (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Besides the banana, the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) -- komunamá -- is cultivated to a considerable extent. Cuttings are used for planting, but occasionally seeds as well. These palms, which always stand between the bananas, give the clearings of the Surára and Pakidái a characteristic stamp (Ill. 37). The trunk, 18-20 meters tall, which is covered with pointed thorns -- mifmicibá -- and can therefore be climbed only

Surára
Pakidái

245
[481]

/81 cont./

with a specially constructed apparatus (see p. 120), bears very narrow, pinnate leaves that are curly at the tips and are always gently swaying in the wind. They stand around the community house like sentinels and seem to be perpetually nodding benevolently and reassuringly to the inhabitants of the large, open maloka (Ill. 6). Their fruits -- maraxá -- (377),

377. The name among the Waiká is very similar -- "lasha" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149).

50-80 of which form a cluster, are noteworthy. They can be harvested only once a year, between September-April, but each palm has at least three, and sometimes four clusters, that is to say, approximately 200-300 fruits. At first they look yellow, but after ripening they take on a bright red color. In contrast to other palm fruits, they are characterized by especially abundant meat.

137
245
114

As to the question of whether or not the pupunha fruit has seeds, there are various opinions. Zerries did not find any seedless ones (378). On the other hand, I saw fruits with

378. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

seeds and without. This observation is confirmed by statements by Sauer, who writes: "In many cases it has lost the capacity to produce fertile seeds..." /cited in English/ (379).

379. Sauer, 1950 p. 525.

And even Alexander von Humboldt (380) and Vinci (381)

380. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 281.

381. Vinci, 1956 pp. 370-375.

245
137
114
[104]
[184]

/81 cont./
mention such seedless fruits (382).

382. Zerries, moreover, thinks it is possible that among the Waikâ the pupunha fruit was the predecessor of the mealy banana (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

244

The cultivation of tubers, which is always done separately from the banana plantings, has hitherto been practiced on only a very modest scale. It includes the cultivation of taioba or taro (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.) -- ohĩnâ -- (383), carâ or yams (Dioscorea

383. Among the Waikâ the corresponding name is "ohina" (Zerries, 1956b p. 153).

sp.) -- cabiromâ -- sweet manioc, known in Brazil as macaxeira aipim or mandioca doce (Manihot palmata Muell. Arg.) -- mihitarĩma -- bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima Pohl) -- kuamirimakõke --, and sweet potatoes (Ipomoea batatas Lam.) -- hikarĩ -- (384). Worth mentioning

249
243

384. The Waikâ call the sweet potato "higalĩ" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

also are the sugar cane plantings (sugar cane (Saccharum officinale) -- bukâ -- (385)) and the absence of maize (386).

385. The Waikâ have the same word for sugar cane (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

[184]

386. Zerries, to be sure, found evidence of its cultivation by the Waikâ. But, he adds, maize "is little more than a rare delicacy" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

249 /82/ Besides the cultivated plants used for food, some are raised to be used for enjoyment. These are primarily tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) -- peenáke -- (387) and a pepper plant (Piperacea sp.) --

387. The Waiká word for this is "be" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

maxarahá -- (388) which is required for making the narcotic

[184] 388. This plant is also cultivated by the Waiká and is designated by almost the same name "masho hara" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

snuff-powder (see pp. 192), as well as -- perakí -- (389)

389. The Waiká call this pepper plant "blaki" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

(Piper caudatum Vahl.), Portuguese pimenta-dos-índios, with which they spice their food.

249 824 Finally, the cultivation of plants yielding important required articles should be mentioned. These are arrow cane (Sagittaria montevidensis Cham. et Schl.) -- xerekaíbe --, the urucuzeiro (Bixa orellana L.), from whose seeds, found in a thorny capsule, the red coloring matter urucú -- narú -- is obtained (see p. 122), as well as a Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria L. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda), the fruits of which are used as vessels (see p. 114).

248 The cultivation of cotton (Gossypium barbadense or hirsutum) -- xinarí -- is of comparatively recent date.

252 [462] 8. Preparation of Food

The preparation of solid food is almost exclusively in the hands of the women, but the roasting of game is reserved for the men (390). There are two methods of doing this: The simplest

[171] 390. According to Baldus, this prerogative

Suráta
Pakidai

/82 cont./

252
462
171

390. (cont.)
of the men is found among most Brazilian tribes: "Entre os povos naturais do Brasil, as grandes caças são assadas ou moqueadas, em geral, pelos homens /among the primitive peoples of Brazil, big game is, in general, roasted or smoked by men/" (Baldus, 1950, p. 7).

252 and most common consists of impaling a piece of meat on a pointed stick, sticking the latter into the ground obliquely toward the fire, and turning it from time to time, so that all sides are equally exposed to the heat. There are also square [171] roasting racks (Portuguese moquém) with grates of wooden rods which, in the same shape or in triangular form, are familiar to almost all primitive peoples of tropical South America (391).

391. These roasting racks are made in the following way: Four sticks, forked at the top, are stuck into the ground so that a square is formed, cross rods are placed in the forks, and over them are laid sticks which are fastened with lianas.

The men use the roasting rack mostly if the meat of large animals, such as tapirs and wild pigs, is to be prepared, because several pieces can be roasted at once. Now and then, however, I also saw a whole monkey lying on the grate. So that no fat will be lost during roasting, the skin is not removed beforehand, but only when one sits down to eat. The entrails, however, are removed from the animals before roasting or boiling. They are not discarded, however, but wrapped in palm leaves and steamed in the hot ashes, to be consumed afterwards with great relish. When the roasting rack is used, an even fire; not too hot, is kept burning under it day and night. Before festivals, when it is desired to preserve exceptionally large quantities of meat,

Surára
Pakidái

/82 cont./

252 especially of the tapir, the pieces are left on the rack until they are black and as hard as bone.

[177] Smaller pieces of meat are cooked or boiled in clay vessels (392) and occasionally also in aluminum pots (393), often

[438] 392. These come from the Xiriâna.

[439] 393. These are trade articles of the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) or gifts from the Indian protection post on the Rio Demini.

together with green bananas, by the women. The pot is simply set between the burning logs. The women are very enthusiastic about my empty gasoline cans, in which they often cooked a whole cutia, paca, or monkey. Snake meat is eaten only in a cooked state. Fish are wrapped in leaves and steamed in the hot ashes.

/83/ Vegetables offer a variety of possibilities in the way of preparation. Bananas are predominantly roasted in hot ashes when they are still green, after the peeling has been removed beforehand (the taste always reminded me of a fresh roll), or cut into small pieces and boiled, in the latter case usually along with meat. A soup which is made out of ripe bananas is regarded as a special delicacy (394). Bananas are seldom eaten

252
262

394. The banana in general and this soup in particular play an important role in the religious and social life of the Surára and Pakidái. Young men, during their training period as medicine-man helpers, must be satisfied with a banana as their daily diet (see p. 144). At the festival in memory of the dead such a soup, mixed with the bone ashes of deceased tribesmen, is drunk by the men (see p. 230). Young girls are permitted to eat banana soup as their sole

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

252
262

394. (cont.)
nourishment during their first and second menstruation (see p. 142), and it represents the most important item of food for pregnant women, and for several months after confinement. Among the Tapirapé, on the other hand, where the banana also represents a basic part of the diet, parents must refrain from eating this fruit after a birth. "They believe that the child would die if they disregarded this rule" /cited in English/ (Baldus, 1956b, p. 601).

[171]

252 raw. -- The mealy, nourishing fruits of the pupunha palm are primarily boiled. Then the soup is allowed to cool and a refreshing drink is obtained in this way. Before festivals all the
[415] women pour it into a large, wooden trough, which is found in every maloka, so that there will be enough on hand. By means of steaming or roasting, a solid food is also prepared from them (395). --

[114]
[139]

395. Alexander von Humboldt, by the way designates the pupunha or pihiguao palm as "Pfirsich-palme" /peach palm/ and praises the delicious taste of its fruit (Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 281 f., 300; IV, p. 145). I cannot agree with the great scholar in this, for to me it tasted like slightly bitter potatoes. Zerries, by the way, is of the same opinion (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

Taioba, carâ, sweet potatoes, and sweet manioc are steamed in a pot or roasted in hot ashes without being previously washed or
252 peeled. -- Bitter manioc is scraped by the women with the
412 lancet-shaped bamboo knife (see p. 118) and then grated on a rough slab of granite, for they do not have grating boards (396) (397).

[177]
[123]

396. My servant Mateus, however, made them

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/83 cont./

252
412
[177]
[123]
[192]

396. (cont.)
a few graters out of the sides of our empty gasoline cans by boring numerous holes in them with a nail. They were very happy over these and maintained that it was considerably more agreeable to grate on them. They also immediately had a name for this grater -- kabaricinamõ.

252
184
412

397. The Xiriâna, too, grate the manioc roots on rough slabs of granite (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

252 The grated pulp is then pressed out by hand with the help of small, square strips of plaiting (see p. 112), which are rolled up (398).

398. The poison is removed from the manioc pulp in the same way among the Xiriâna (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

Among the Surára I found three tube presses and among the Pakidái five, which they had obtained from the Xiriâna (see p. 112). With the flour the women bake, on large, flat granite stones under which a fire is kindled, manioc flat-cakes, which are consumed with pleasure. This food, which appeared among them only a comparatively short time ago, seems to become
273 more and more popular. The preparation of kaschirí is unknown (399).

[114]
[177]

399. Since, however, my servant, a pure-blooded Tukano /Tucano/ Indian, felt a great desire for a slight alcoholic intoxication at the sight of the manioc flat-cakes, he taught the Surára how to make kaschirí. At first they tried this unknown drink very critically. But after the first swallow their eyes shone, and they slapped Mateus on the shoulder enthusiastically and assured him again and again how good it tasted to them.

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

262 Great popularity was also enjoyed among the Surára and Pakidái
439 by the roasted manioc flour which they occasionally obtain from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter or from the Indian protection post on the Demini as a gift. They are unable to make it themselves because they do not have the large iron pans for it.

252 Various fruits of wild plants also need special preparation. The white seeds found in the pods of the pacova-sororoca (see p. 168) must be roasted before they are eaten. The taste, by the way, corresponds exactly to roasted maize. /84/ -- The fruits of the pot-tree (see p. 168) are first boiled, for which the women particularly liked to use my empty gasoline cans, and then cut open with the knife of tortoise shell (see p. 118). They are then poured into one or more of the large plaited baskets -- uaramá -- (see p. 107) and hung for four days in the water on the bank of a stream, in order to remove the bitter substances. After that they are thoroughly rubbed by the women with their feet. These fruits, to be sure, occupy only a second-rank position in the favor of the "gourmets," but at least they fill the stomach. Moreover, I was assured that in olden times, that is, before the introduction of the banana, this fruit played a much greater role in the food economy.

263 All the foods mentioned are, as a rule, eaten without spices. Only now and then do some men and women add a little of their
[123] cultivated pepper, which is roasted beforehand. Not a single tribesman developed a taste for my salt, of which I had brought along several kilograms, assuming that the Indians would be pleased about it, and they had no interest whatsoever in acquiring any of it (400).

[146] 400. The amount of salt required by the body is supplied by the wood ashes with which the tobacco roll (see p.190) is mixed.

171 This aversion to salt is also found among many other tribes,
175 and in a report as early as the sixteenth century one can read the
263 following remark: "The forest people cannot use any salt, because it makes them ill, for they are not used to it; if they eat it, they

263
17
175

/84 cont./
almost always die within a short time" (401). Reference should

401. Taunay, 1921, p. 166.

also be made to a statement by Roquette-Pinto, in which he says that the Indians of the Serra do Norte reject all salted food (402).

402. Roquette-Pinto, 1919, p. 243.

There are, however, tribes among whom salt is valued to a certain extent. For example, Herbert Baldus reports about a Boróro who complained that he never got enough salt from the mission kitchen. Yet salt was previously unknown to these Indians (403). The Tapirapé and Karajá /Caraja/ also like salt

403. Baldus, 1937, p. 287.

very much (404), whereas among the Tuparí only the men like

404. Baldus, 1950, p. 14.

to use it; several women, on the other hand, not at all (405).

405. Caspar, 1953, pp. 133/34.

The following statement by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang is noteworthy: "In general, the Indians salt their foods little, but like salt very much and are glad to take it in payment for services rendered" (406).

406. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 49.

272 The number of beverages which are prepared from the nourishing fruit-meat of wild palms is abundant. Especially popular are the bluish acaí and bacaba fruits (see p. 166) about as large as plums, which ripen between December-March. They

/84 cont./

272 are kneaded and pulverized in calabashes filled with water. This produces a grayish-brown, greasy juice which, after the fleshy husks have been fished out and thrown away, reminds one of cacao in appearance and flavor and is extremely filling. This drink tasted even better to me when I added a little sugar. [123] [263] The Indians who tasted this, however, were not enthusiastic about the addition, since they like sugar just as little as salt. I was unable to please either children or adults with my bonbons. The fruit of the bacu buriti, curauá, piaçaba, and ubim palms (see p. 166) is made into beverages in the same way, while that of the inaja palm is cooked beforehand. The juice obtained from this tastes quite insipid, to be sure, but likewise has a high food value.

One should also mention that a drink is prepared from the [114] [184] [171] gathered honey by mixing it with water. I never saw it eaten, as has been confirmed for the Waiká (407) and various /85/ other

407. Zerries, 1956b, p. 150.

tribes of Guiana (408) (409).

408. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 55.

409. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 169.

271 184 As the above account shows, the Surára and Pakidái do not lack variety with regard to beverages, so that only in the rarest instances need they resort to plain water, as is the case, according to Zerries' accounts, among the Waiká (410). As among

273 184

410. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

the latter (411), however, alcoholic beverages are completely

411. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

unknown to the Surára and Pakidái too.

/85 cont./

9. Meals and Eating Habits

264
262 In the morning the Surára and Pakidái eat very little, usually only one or two bananas or tubers roasted in the hot ashes. I often found that men and women set out to hunt or gather without having eaten anything. If they come across wild fruits on their wanderings, however, they help themselves generously. Small, light meals in the form of banana soup, roasted or steamed bananas, pupunha fruit, sweet potatoes, etc. are eaten at noon. Sometimes there are some leftovers from the meat of the day before. The main meal of the day does not take place until after sundown, by the light of the blazing fire. For at this time the whole family is usually assembled again, and the hunting booty which the man perhaps brought home in the afternoon or the products of the gathering by the women have been prepared. Everywhere one sees the men squatting beside the fire and waiting for food, which includes larger or smaller pieces of meat
[824] supplemented by vegetable fare. In front of them the women have spread out a few palm leaves as an underlayer for the food. The men eat first, and they also get the best pieces of meat. When they are satisfied, the women and children may start eating. Nothing is drunk during the meal, but afterwards a palm-fruit or honey drink is enjoyed.

264 Eating is done with the hands. In one hand the Indian holds a piece of roasted or boiled meat and in the other a roasted banana, a manioc flat-cake, or something similar. Intermittently one reaches into the pot and takes out another piece or cuts it off from
[415] the wooden spit or roasting rack. Soups are drunk out of gourd bowls or calabashes, just like the palm-fruit and honey drinks.

[251] If the hunters' bag was particularly good, one may observe many Indians, men, women, and children, eating all night long, for meat is preserved only before festivals. In connection with this the individual members of the family lie comfortably in their hammocks, converse, sleep a little at intervals, then fetch themselves another piece of meat from the roasting spit or rack. It is
[261] astonishing what quantities they consume during such a night. On the other hand, they are also easily able to fast for a long period of time.

Surára
Pakidái

/85 cont./

264 There is no feeling of modesty during eating, such as Karl von den Steinen, for example, describes for the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ (412).

412. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 66.

262 On the other hand, there are food taboos for sick people, pregnant women, for girls during their first and second menstruation, and for young men in connection with their two-months' training as medicine-man helpers.

10. Tame Animals

231

As the sole, true domestic animal, there is found among the Surára and Pakidái only the dog -- hiíma. In addition, for amusement and the pleasure in animals, European cocks are kept, as well as small monkeys, porpoise-like little hamsters (Cavia leucopyga), parrots, araras, and parakeets (Conuvidae).

As for the dogs, there are two barking varieties. One resembles the German shepherd dog, while the other, which is short- /86/ haired, white or spotted, looks very much like our fox terrier. Well-trained hunting dogs, with which a profitable [439] barter trade is carried on, are very lovingly cared for and are always given plenty of food, whereas the others are sometimes neglected. Basically, however, the Indians are attached to these animals also, which may be seen by the fact that every family that owns dogs, usually one or two, has made a "dog bed" behind their fire area, that is, a sleeping place for the loyal members of the household (Ill. 30) (see p. 29). Sometimes young dogs [552] are even nursed by women. If a bitch has brought forth young, all the relatives and friends ask to be given a young one later on and, upon receiving it, immediately give it a name. It may also be of interest to point out that the Indians mentioned never whistle to their dogs. Usually they call them by name or they hiss by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth (413).

[171] 413. Many North American Indians behave in the same way (Friederici, 1899, p. 365).

/86 cont./

231 [262] [973] Dogs are never killed; they are allowed to live until they die of old age. When I asked whether dog meat was ever eaten in former times, men and women, with horrified faces, answered in the negative. Yet this custom is supposed to have prevailed at one time among various tribes of Guiana (414). There do not

414. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 189.

seem to be any myths about dogs.

123 231 [114] 231 [114] I should also like to mention that during my months-long, extremely friendly stay with the Surára and Pakidái, and in spite of great efforts, in which the Indians helped me, I never succeeded in winning the affection of their dogs. It meant a good deal that in time I was tolerated by them. I can agree perfectly with Friederici when he writes: "The Indian dog has always hated the white man, and, conversely, the dog of the European, the Indian. The odors given off by the races are so different that even a human nose can usually tell the difference, how much more a dog. If a white man walked through an Indian camp he usually had a whole pack of growling and teeth-baring dogs behind him" (415). But I also found that the opposite was

415. Friederici, 1899, p. 365.

true. The dogs kept at the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini, mongrels of the most diverse breeds, but among them also former Indian dogs, behaved, in their hatred, as though they were mad when Pakidái families came to visit (416).

[191] 416. Baldus, on the occasion of his Chaco expedition, also observed that Indian dogs, once they are in the hands of whites, become the bitterest enemies of their former masters (Baldus, 1931, p. 18).

Surára
Pakidái

/86 cont./

231 But their enmity was expressed to an even greater degree between each other, that is to say, between the dogs of the post personnel and those of the Pakidái, for if they merely saw each other, they were immediately at each other's throats.

174 231 With regard to the origin of these two breeds of dogs, which have probably been raised for centuries by the Surára and Pakidái, nothing definite can as yet be said. The first breed mentioned by me, which seems to resemble our shepherd dog, seems to be a quite typical Indian dog, for it corresponds exactly to the description which Friederici gives of a genuine Indian dog: "The general appearance of the pure Indian dog, so far as one can tell from descriptions and drawings, is a picture of the German shepherd dog, the so-called Thuringian strain, with somewhat more of the wild-dog character and with rough or bristly hair" (417). Friederici

417. Friederici, 1899, p. 362.

was concerned here, to be sure, with the Indian dog of North America, but, according to Alexander von Humboldt, this breed was already confirmed for Guiana in pre-Columbian times, as may be seen from the following quotation: "...nevertheless it has been confirmed that before the conquest in Peru, New Grenada and Guiana there was a breed of dog similar to our shepherd /87/ [184] dogs" (418). Among the Waikâ, Zerries, strangely enough, did not

418. Alexander von Humboldt, 1890, IV, p. 189.

come across this type of dog, but only the small, short-haired one that resembles the fox terrier, and he suspects that they are in part still descended from the dogs that came with the first immigrants from Asia by way of the Bering Strait about 15,000 years ago (419).

419. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

The following account by Franz Termer, however, shows that definite proof is lacking for the latter assumption. The scholar

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

231 174 writes: "Whether the first hunter-gatherer hordes migrating to America from northeastern and northern Asia by way of the Bering Strait brought the dog along has, apart from the Eskimo dog, not as yet been proved with certainty, even though it is probable. Whether the dogs of the New World can be traced back to such early dogs, that is, of the late glacial to early postglacial times, migrating in with human beings, or whether they have come from autochthonous ancestors of New World origin is a zoological problem that cannot be decided here. Opinions about it differ. In most recent times there seems to be more of a tendency to favor a Neotropical origin of Indian dogs" (420). In this last statement

420. Termer, 1957, p. 2.

Termer refers to comments by Gilmore (421).

421. Gilmore, 1950, p. 377.

235 [439] [199] In contrast to the obscure origin of the two breeds of dogs, there is no doubt about that of the cocks -- cacará --, for these were acquired from the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) by barter only a short time ago. Yet I was very much surprised when, on entering the Surára and Pakidái malokas, I found a large number of cocks but no hens (422), although they could

422. Incidentally, these are also called cacará.

obtain these as well. There is no interest in doing so, however, for they keep cocks only for their colorful plumage and their crowing at dawn (423). Most families have one or two, which they

[231] [191] 423. Ehrenreich reports of the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe, that they keep only dogs and cocks as domestic animals, and that the latter were very popular in particular as sentinels (Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 61).

/87 cont./

235 also give names; they are fed by the women. During the day they
[552] run around freely, and at night they are confined in a common pen built out of thin trunks and sticks beside each maloka. When the tribe is traveling, it is the duty of the small boys to carry a rooster in the plaited carrying basket made from the bast strips of the curauá plant (see p. 106). When a temporary camp is set up in the afternoon, the cocks are set free. During the night they rest on the limbs of low trees, usually in the vicinity of their owners. Before the march is resumed the next morning, they are caught again and put in the baskets of the boys. I might also men-
[825] tion that the Surára and Pakidái never kill a cock, for it is a mem-
[262] ber of the household, and they believe furthermore that roosters and hens are unclean animals that eat any kind of filth. For this reason, eating their meat, including the eggs, would be very harmful for human beings (424).

235
171
262

424. Among various Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana, where many chickens are kept, neither the meat nor the eggs are eaten (Im Thurn, 1883, p. 265). Ehrenreich reports the same thing about the Karajá /Caraja/: "Even the domestic hen, which reached the Araguaya /Araguaia/ tribes a long time ago in the domestic state and has multiplied tremendously, is, as a member of the household, not used for food, nor are its eggs. In modern times, however, it serves as a trade item in dealings with travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Para at a high profit" (Ehrenreich, 1891, pp. 13/14).

231

The tamed wild animals, such as monkeys, parrots, araras, and
[171] parakeets, also enjoy complete freedom. I never found them tied up, as is mentioned by Baldus, for example, for the Chaco tribes (425).

425. Baldus, 1931, p. 18.

/87 cont./

231 In the evening the monkeys climb the tallest trees in order to spend the night in their crowns, and the birds, too, occasionally fly away. But all the animals come back, for, of course, they were tamed when small and are very attached to the Indians, who /88/ always treat them affectionately. They take the trouble, with great patience, to train the parrots and parakeets to talk, and they are happy when the first results appear.

11. Luxuries

276

The Surára and Pakidái use only two luxuries, tobacco -- peenáke -- and a snuff powder -- epená. The former serves for profane purposes and the latter exclusively for ritual use.

Tobacco is not smoked, however. The leaves are pulverized in the green state, mixed with wood ashes and water or saliva, and twisted between the hands into small rolls. These are then inserted between the lower or upper lip and the teeth, where they are sucked. Both sexes, including children, indulge in this enjoyment, which also is connected with a very practical purpose, for, as a result, the Indians are able to walk around all day in the forest without feeling hungry or thirsty; but their attractive faces are quite distorted by the tobacco roll (Ill. 41).

[184] Tobacco is used in the same way among the Waiká, but
[824] here, according to Zerries' account, the roll is inserted only between the lower lip and the teeth (426) (427). The investigator

426. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

427. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

named also mentions the occasional use of wild plants as substitutes in case tobacco is lacking (428) (429). Among the Surára

428. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

429. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

/88 cont./

276 and Pakidái I was unable to learn anything with reference to this, although there, too, the consumption of tobacco is uncommonly
[249] great. They plant plenty of tobacco in all the forest clearings, however, and if it were entirely harvested in the fields where they were living at the time, the men fetch it from other distant rocas or in emergencies they obtain it from friendly tribes by barter.

[184] Koch-Grünberg reports that the Xiriána and Waiká hordes
[114] visited by him chew the tobacco (430). From his description, how-

430. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

ever, it is to be seen that actually a sucking of the tobacco is
276 also involved. The Arekuná on the Roroima probably also did the
171 same thing, although Richard Schomburgk (431) and Appun (432)
114

431. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 239.

432. Appun, 1871, p. 521.

agree in speaking of "tobacco chewing." It is noteworthy that Koch-Grünberg (433) did not observe this form of tobacco enjoyment

433. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 57.

among any other tribe in the Roroima region, for on the occasion of his visits the men smoked the tobacco as cigarettes or in short English pipes which were imported from British Guiana; he never saw women smoke.

123 If I offered the Surára and Pakidái cigarettes, they first
276 always removed the paper and enjoyed the tobacco in the same way as their cultivated tobacco. Yet they were not very enthusiastic about it, for in their opinion the cigarette tobacco was much too weak. In time, however, men and children became accustomed to smoking (434), but not the women.

434. As a result of this, our supply of cigarettes rapidly dwindled, and my

Surára
Pakidái

/88 cont./

123
276

434. (cont.)
servant Mateus and I were thereafter dependent on the cultivated tobacco of the Indians, which, however, was so strong that we simply could not enjoy it. Mateus, however, had the happy idea of washing the tobacco several times and then he let it dry in the sun. Since we had plenty of cigarette paper with us, we were not obliged to give up our customary enjoyment of cigarettes. We could never have become accustomed to sucking out the tobacco, for every attempt resulted in retching.

276 The narcotic snuff powder, similar to yopo or paricá, is made up of various ingredients, of which I was able to identify, besides the roasted and pulverized paricá seed (Piptadenia peregrina Benth.), the ashes of the burned bark of a wild species of mimosa (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurâhihenâ -- (435), as

[192]
[776]
[787]

435. This, it should be noted, contains the word with which the gigantic animal and plant spirits are called -- hekurâ -- with which the men are able to make contact only by means of the snuff powder.

well as a cultivated pepper plant /89/ (Piperacea sp.) -- maxarahâ -- (436) (437).

[192]
[184]

436. Zerries found the same combination among the Waikâ, and even the names for the pepper plant are almost identical; the Waikâ call it "masho hara." The bark of the mimosa, in which Zerries suspects there is an alkaloid, is, however, used only in the dried or roasted state (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

[126]

437. Herr Prof. Dr. Klaus Soehring of the

/89 cont./

276
122

437. (cont.)
Pharmakologischen Institut der Universität Hamburg is at present still analyzing the powder that I brought back. The result is to be published later in an article.

276
[463]
[415]

Exactly like the arrow poison, this powder is made only by certain men. It is stored in bamboo tubes -- tõra -- (Fig. 28a) which are closed with leaves. Before prayers, on the occasion of big festivals, and before curing the sick, in which several men take part, besides the chief, the powder is poured on a large clay plate left by the Xiriâna. From here it is then packed into the bamboo snuff-tube 60-70 centimeters long, on one end of which is glued by means of tree resin a perforated, longish palm nut (Fig. 28b). At the free end the nut is sharpened to a point so that the man wishing to take snuff can insert it into one nostril. From the other end /Fig. 28 appears here/ of the tube, a friendly fellow-tribesman, with partly bent knees, blows the powder with all of his might into the man's nose (Ill. 44).

123
276

After only a few minutes the snuff-taker falls into an inconceivable state of intoxication, in which he rages, screams, sings, dances, and leaps about (Ills. 45, 46). Since I was obliged, after my adoption into the tribe of the Surára, to submit to this usage also, I am in a position to describe the effect in detail. I should like to point out briefly here that immediately afterwards I developed a splitting headache and felt a strong desire to vomit, exactly like the youths making their first acquaintance with this drug. But shortly after that a strange reaction took place within me, for I felt myself to be a giant among giants. All the human beings near me, as well as dogs and parrots, suddenly seemed to be giants. This effect, which is caused by the alkaloids in the powder, is closely connected with the conceptions of gigantic animal and plant spirits (see pp. 201/201).

276
17
[184]

/89 cont./

Among the Waiká, this taking of snuff is done in the same way (438). The Tuparí (439) and numerous other tribes of western

438. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

439. Caspar, 1953, pp. 151 ff.

South America (440) also indulge in this custom, though the com-

440. Gillin, 1948, p. 855.

[415]

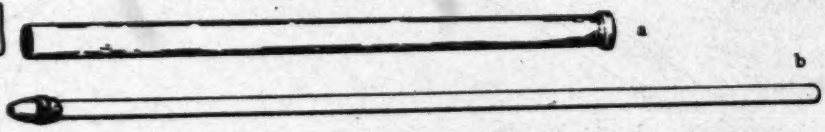


Fig. 28a. Bamboo tube for storing snuff-powder.

Fig. 28b. Bamboo snuff-tube.

position of the powder, except for the paricá or Piptadenia seeds,
[114] seems to differ from tribe to tribe. Cooper, moreover, in a comparative study of the taking of Piptadenia snuff, comes to the conclusion that this is a "western trait" /cited in English/ (441).

441. Cooper, 1949, pp. 536-538 and Map 10.

/89 cont./

12. Hygiene

515 Regular bathing, washing of the face and hands, and cleaning the finger and toe nails are unknown; this is also true for babies, who are often covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Nor do they /90/ brush their teeth or ever rinse their mouths. Yet I [147] [145] was never aware of an unpleasant body odor or bad breath on the Indians, and until an advanced age their teeth are dazzlingly white and sound. While hunting or gathering, however, if men and women are obliged to cross a brook or small river, they gladly utilize the opportunity to take a refreshing bath, and the same is true when female members of the tribe fetch water. A bath is greatly appreciated by children and young people, but [481] not at all by older persons. Most men can swim quite well and teach their sons also; women and girls who swim are exceptions. 177 515 As a result of occasional contacts with the palm-fiber gatherers on the Rio Aracá or with the personnel of the Indian protection post on the Demini, the Surára and Pakidái have for some time been acquainted with soap, and various Indians, predominantly children and young men and women, like to lather themselves when they take a bath. Several women had even taken to washing their hammocks now and then with soap. Thus, the cakes of soap [123] that I carried with me were very much in demand, as were perfume and hair tonic.

264 Eating is done only with the hands (see p. 184). If the meat was very greasy and the hands are smeared all over with dirt and grease, they are rubbed off somewhat against a post and then run through the hair a few times. The eating bowls and pots, with the remains of the meal, are then put down for the dogs, who at the same time take over the work of cleaning; eating utensils are seldom washed. When they are needed for the next meal, the woman passes them over her hair a few times. If there are still a few crusts of dirt present, she spits on them and rubs them with her hand.

Surára
Pakidái

/90 cont./

514
[264] There is frequent belching during and after eating, and it happens not infrequently that a member of the family breaks wind, often with a loud noise, which, however, is received with happy laughter, without any damage to the appetite. Both sexes also spit a great deal as a result of the tobacco rolls which they have in the mouth almost constantly (see p. 190).

Urination is done in the immediate vicinity of the maloka during the day and in the hearth at night. Men and boys always urinate in a squatting position, just like women and girls. For their other needs they all go a bit deeper into the forest clearing during the day, or even to the edge of the forest. When they have finished, they rub the seat back and forth a few times on the ground or against a tree trunk. The mother holds small children, in case she happens to be lying in the hammock, over the edge of it. Then she wipes her hand or lower arm across its seat a few times, or, if necessary, she uses a little stick to clean it. The little heap is covered with ashes or earth and stamped into the ground by the mother. If an adult has more important business to attend to at night, he digs a small hole beside the hammock and subsequently covers it with ashes or earth. Old or sick persons do this during the day as well. The reason that [825] [776] the Surára and Pakidái do not leave the maloka at night for the aforementioned purpose is because they are afraid of snakes and jaguars, as well as of nonexí, the evil spirit which transmits sickness (see p. 211). Persistent unpleasant odors are not noticeable even in closed malokas, however, since they are dispelled by the ascending smoke of the constantly burning fire.

841 During their menstruation the women do not use anything to absorb the blood (see pp. 142/143). Pools of blood that remain on the ground are obliterated by them with their feet.

356
123
291 In general, however, the communal house is kept quite clean. One always sees men and women sweeping with a broom made of piaçaba fibers. For this work both sexes liked to put on the shirts and trousers or clothing which I had brought them as gift articles and which were otherwise not at all appreciated.

2: Becher--197 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

VIII. Religion and Magic

1. The Religious Conception of the World

821
796 According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the earth is a disk over which the sky arches like a bell. All power emanates from the moon -- Perimbó -- and from Poré, the lord of the moon, who is pictured as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red. Occasionally he comes down to earth, but is then invisible to human beings.

Thus, Poré and Perimbó constitute an inseparable unity that is regarded as eternal, just, and benevolent, but is also able to punish, if necessary. To it is attributed the origin of the earth and all life, and it is assumed that the events of creation followed in direct as well as in indirect fashion (442).

> 442. The creation myth of the Yanonámi /Yanoama/ represents an example of such indirect creations (see pp. 247/248).

821
795 The moon, a large, open, circular maloka located in the midst of a planting and surrounded by forests, mountains, and rivers (443), is at the same time regarded as the place where

> 443. The picture of the surface of the moon corresponds to the open, almost circular Surára maloka (see pp. 25/27).

all the souls of human beings who were cremated after death lead a paradisiac existence under Poré. There are animals, plants, and fruits in abundance here, and no moon-dweller need ever suffer hunger and thirst.

[964]
[794] But only with the smoke rising during the cremation can a soul -- uwexík -- (identical with cloud, smoke), which exists in the bones and never leaves the body during life, reach this paradise. The souls of the dead who are not cremated become shadows -- petamúhi -- that must wander about restlessly,

/91 cont./

821 795 without food and drink, between earth, sun, and moon (444).

444. One feels reminded here of the conception of the Homeric Greeks, who also assumed that the dead, after actual life has gone, are obliged to lead a wretched shadow-existence.

All Surára and Pakidái therefore greatly fear that after their deaths they might become such shadows. That is why, after military encounters, they make an effort to recover their fallen fellow-tribesmen, in order to cremate them. The only the head of old persons is cremated (see p. 153), believed that this suffices to carry the soul up to the moon. Enemies are not cremated, however, for the shadow existence is desired for them.

821 The countless stars, which are also all inhabited by tribes, are allies of the moon (445). If a shooting star falls, it is

445. The Surára and Pakidái do not have special designations for the individual stars and constellations. There are only two general names, star -- purimá -- and big star -- purimá breu.

[192]

believed that the inhabitants of one star are visiting those of another.

The sun is of only minor importance in the religious life. It is regarded as rather weak and powerless, because it stands alone in the sky, has no strong allies, and travels around the earth-disk like a vagabond. It rules only the wandering souls of the uncremated dead and uses their shadows in order, in the protection of them, to slake its burning, unquenchable thirst on human beings, animals, and plants. In perspiration, my informants told me, one sees clearly how it draws the liquid out of bodies, and subsequently there remains for human beings and animals a feeling

[795]

/91 cont./

821 of thirst and weakness, while plants often wither. For this reason, and especially out of fear of the shadows, the sun's rays are regarded as dangerous. Therefore, tasks for which one must expose himself to the direct radiation of the sun, for example, forest clearing, cultivation of fields, and house construction, are preferably undertaken in cloudy or even rainy weather. In the latter case, there is even a direct /92/ connection with the moon. A large tree stands on this celestial body, in the middle of the open maloka. When Poré shakes it, the wind rises first, and after that rain falls. The aversion of the Surára and Pakidái to the merciless sun's rays of the equatorial zone has a further, matter-of-fact explanation, for in former times, as pure hunters and gatherers, they practically never came out of the eternal twilight of the primeval forest.

821 The awe of Poré and the moon is so great that the Indians
774 do not dare pray personally to this united Supreme Deity. Serras
774 /sierras/ -- peatíle -- as well as gigantic animal and plant
[782] spirits -- hekurá -- (446), who live on them and are characterized
[192]

446. This word is derived from hetumisse = heaven and he = head, above.

by supernatural qualities, are the mediators. The serras are well suited for this, because they are situated between the earth, on the one hand, and the moon and sun on the other. They are regarded as higher divine helpers, who, after Poré and Perimbó, are the mightiest. At the same time they are regarded as the masters of all the animal and plant spirits living on them. Their power is much greater than that of the sun because there is, of course, only one sun whereas there are innumerable serras. Their attitude toward Poré and Perimbó, however, is not always a loyal one. Usually they are on their side, to be sure, but if there is occasionally a quarrel between them, it may happen that they ally themselves with the sun for a time. The united Supreme Deity has taken precautions, however, and considered any possible

Surára
Pakidái

821 /92 cont./
796 danger. For the fact that it has chosen the serras as dwelling
794 places for the gigantic plant and animal spirits is injurious to their power if it is directed against Poré and Perimbó. In contrast to the serras, the hekurá are steadfastly faithful followers of the united moon deities and, together with the stars, protect them against any attacks on the part of the sun and its temporary allies. Sometimes, in an altercation which the serras wage with the moon or sun, an eclipse of the moon or sun appears, because the celestial body in question wishes to conceal itself from the other, so that it will not be drawn into the dispute (447). If, for example, it becomes dark before a thunderstorm and lightning begins to flash, then the sun is very thirsty, is hiding behind the serras and asking for rain. The latter relay the request to the moon. But it does not want to comply with the sun's wish, and already there is reason for the serras and the moon to quarrel. Then when it thunders, Poré has a headache out of anger, and he finally shakes the rain tree to put an end to the quarrel.

[191]

447. The relationship of moon and sun also plays a special role in the religious and mythological ideas of various other Indian tribes. In the myth of the Yurakaré /Yuracare/, for example, it is treated in the sense of the Orpheus motif (Rodrigues, 1875, pp. 252 ff.; d'Orbigny, 1835/47, III, p. 210).

794 The hekurá are gigantic prototypes of all the species of plants and animals that live on certain serras that are taboo for human beings. These nature spirits are regarded as subordinate helpers of Poré and Perimbó. They are usually favorably disposed toward human beings, permit and facilitate hunting, gathering, and agriculture for them. The men, however, must always show their gratitude to them by prayers, and they may
794 not indiscriminately destroy animals and plants. This is also
55 related to the fact that all members of the tribe, men, women,

Surára. Pakidái Waica

/92 cont./ and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waikâ /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omaua," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

776
184
821 /93 cont./ Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon--
Perimbó -- and with the latter forms an inseparable unity (450).

[114]
[171]

450. This conception, which seems rather strange and in which Josef Haekel therefore thinks he sees a contradiction (Haekel, 1959, p. 40), is, however, also confirmed for the Uitoto /Witoto/, for Preuss writes about it, among other things: "We thus have here the rare instance in which, through a combination of the god of the earth and a moon demon, a single deity has arisen, a sort of monotheism, alongside of which there are only very insignificant demons" (Preuss, 1922, p. 176). And elsewhere he states: "The fact that moon and Supreme Being here coincide may therefore have come about later, but not necessarily. Today we have them as an inseparable unity" (Preuss, 1922, p. 184).

whereas "Omaua," together with a helper, "Yoaua," lives in the western sky, where they too produce rain, in that they pour the water out of the two celestial rivers (451). In contrast to this

451. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

among the Surára and Pakidái it is believed that Poré shakes the rain-tree of the moon (see p. 199).

821 Great significance is also attached to the moon by the
184 Waiká, and, significantly enough, also in connection with the
773 creation of human beings. This may be seen from their legend of primitive times (452), which, except for minor deviations,

452. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

corresponds to the one which the Surára chief Hewemão told me

2: Becher--203 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

821
184
773

/93 cont./

(see pp. 247-248) (453). As a further parallel, the leg-birth

453. With reference to this, however, among the Waiká there is a second conception that the first human beings came to the earth in the rain (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). Hence they must have come out of the western sky where, to be sure, Omaua lives and produces rain. Zerries, however, thinks it possible that this rain is identical with the blood of the wounded moon and refers to a Uitoto myth as a parallel (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). In this myth the monthly blood of the daughter of the organizer of the festival of the animals is seen as a fine, cold rain, which Preuss interprets as the flood in miniature, which appears with the dark of the moon; it corresponds to the menses (Preuss, 1921, pp. 113-115).

773
184

As a further parallel, the leg-birth should be mentioned. According to the Surára and Pakidái version, the first four men and a woman came from the leg of a small bird at definite intervals (see p. 247), while, according to the one of the Waiká, the first woman came out of the pregnant leg of a man (454) (455). Both myths, however, have

454. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

793
191

455. Conceptions of leg-births are confirmed also for other South American tribes. Thus, among the Tukuna /Tucuna/ the tribal heroes Dyoi and Epi, together with their two sisters, spring from the knees, swollen by wasp stings, of the male Nutapa (Nimuendajú, 1952, p. 122), and among the Umutina, who unfortunately no

Surára Pakidái Waiká

/93 cont./

773 191

455. (cont.)
longer exist as a tribal unit, it is believed that civilized people and hostile Indian tribes came out of the inflamed and swollen calves of the first man, Aipuku (Oberg, 1953, p. 108).

773 184 the polyandrous feature in common, for the woman had a boy (Surára and Pakidái) (see p. 247) or several children (Waiká)(456)

456. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

by the men.

776 174 184 /94/ In the religious world of thought of the Waiká one also finds ideas that are very contradictory. Thus, "Omaua" is regarded, on the one hand, as the Supreme Being and creator of the earth and of mankind, and, on the other hand, is thought of as an actual enemy of the Waiká who is closely linked with alien tribes in the west and with the whites, as well as with their pernicious influences, diseases, puzzling cultural possessions [782] (motor, gasoline, etc.) (457). Furthermore, it is noteworthy

457. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

that in white and black magic "Omaua" is directly invoked (458)

458. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

(the Surára and Pakidái communicate with Poré/Perimbó only through intermediaries), and that there lives with him a cannibalistic creature, "Omayali," which, according to Zerries, presumably represents a hypostasis of the former (459). He believes,

776 174 171

459. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

however, that "Omaua-Omayali" is an import from another culture

/94 cont./

196
194
[171]

area and cites corresponding parallels from Aruak /Arawak tribes of northwestern Brazil as well as from Karaiben /Carib/ of Guiana (460), which are augmented by Haekel (461). The last-

460. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

461. Haekel, 1959, p. 41.

named scholar then poses the question: "Did the Waika, prior to this foreign influence, lack the conception of a Supreme Being?" (462)

462. Haekel, 1959, p. 42.

He assumes that the idea of a Supreme Deity in the sense of the Surára and Pakidái related to them might have been familiar to them, since in the ethnic groups named the moon, or the lord of the moon, occasionally comes down to earth, and, as a further link, he mentions the idea of a heavenly paradise of the souls (463). Then Haekel points out that the Surára and Pakidái

[171]

463. Haekel, 1959, p. 42.

as well as the Waiká, in a religious-mythological respect, show remarkable similarity with the following Karaiben /Carib/ tribes (464), though it should be noted that some link the Supreme

464. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

Being with the moon and others with the sun (465): Kachuyana

465. Haekel, 1959, p. 35.

(Kashuiéna /Cashuena/) (even the name of the Supreme Being is very similar in this case, Purá) (466) (467), Barama (468),

466. Kruse, 1955, pp. 404 ff.

467. Polykrates, 1957, pp. 138 ff.

/94 cont./

776 194 [171]

468. Gillin, 1936, pp. 155 ff.

Kalina (469), Wajana (Oyana) (470), Makiritare (471).

469. de Goeje, 1943, pp. 26 ff.

470. Ahlbrinck, 1956, p. 26.

471. Cruxent, 1953, pp. 325 ff.

776 174 114 171 "The suggested parallels," Haekel goes on to say, "between Yanoama and Carib call attention, in any case, to a series of problems for which we are still far from a solution today. The probability of historical relationships can undoubtedly not be overlooked. But who were the 'givers,' who the 'receivers'? It is obvious that the Surara-Pakidai and Waika lie within the sphere of influence of Cariban tribes, but in my opinion there is no justification for thinking merely of influences from the Carib in connection with the similarities coming to light. One should also take into consideration the fact that Yanoama and Carib participated jointly in an older substratum" (472). On

472. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

this point I agree with Haekel completely. I also share certain reservations that he has with regard to the avowed western orientation of the Waikâ or the Yanonâmi culture (473), which

473. Haekel, 1959, pp. 43/44.

Zerries represents (474). True, there is much in favor of it,

474. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

among other things a definite form of endocannibalism and the ritual taking of a narcotic snuffpowder. Further proof might be seen in the fact that among the Ipurina on the Rio Purús the

Surara
Pakidai

/94 cont./

776 174 171 114 moon -- "pati" -- is venerated as Supreme Being and "father," who causes the fruits to grow (475). In this case, however,

475. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 72.

Ehrenreich believes that there has been Christian influence. Among the Sáliva in southern and eastern Colombia /95/ one also finds certain features in the religion and mythology which are reminiscent of those of the Yanomámi and Karaiben, and the Supreme Being worshiped by them is called "Puru" (476), a

476. H. v. Walde-Waldegg, 1936, pp. 40 ff.

name which sounds very similar to Poré and "Purá." Haekel further points out that the religion of the Sáliva shows marked agreement with the neighboring Aruak Achagua (477), which

477. Haekel, 1959, pp. 45/46.

was described by Hernandez de Alba (478). Moreover, it should

478. Hernandez de Alba, 1948, pp. 410 ff.

be mentioned that the Guahíbo Indians on the Venzuelan banks of the Orinoco, according to Zerries, have taken over their deity, Purnaminali, from the Achagua or Sáliva (479).

479. Zerries, 1956c, p. 232.

776 171 But in the eastern regions of Guiana there are also significant parallels with respect to the religious and mythological conceptions of the Yanomámi mentioned. Reference has already been made to the Kachuyana and their Supreme Being, Purá (see p. 205). They are even more strongly pronounced among the Warrau /Warao/. In their moon myth about "Aboré" and "Wowtáh" the moon has the character of a culture hero (480),

480. Brett, 1880, p. 76.

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/95 cont./

796 171 exactly as among the Surára and Pakidái; moreover, the correspondence between the names Aboré and Poré is especially great. The supplying of cultural possessions is also attributed to the deities in each case. In the Warrau myth it is even said that Aboré fled before Wowáh into the land of the whites, from whence he provided his fellow tribesmen with import articles (481).

481. Brett, 1880, pp. 84 ff.

794 191 The idea that there are gigantic prototypes of each animal and plant species also exists among other South American tribes. Zerries has already worked out the connections for this and has cited several investigators who confirmed identical or similar views for various Indian peoples, among them Arawak, Mura, tribes of the Chaco, Karaiben in Guiana (Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, Cavina and Tumupasa Indians of northeastern Bolivia, Cayapa in Ecuador, and Yaruro in Venezuela (482).

482. Zerries, 1951, pp. 149/50.

794 171 114 The conception of the Yaruro in particular shows corresponding parallels, according to Petrullo's description (483).

483. Petrullo, 1939, p. 237.

For the Karaiben tribe Arekuná, Koch-Grünberg, to be sure, does not find any evidence of gigantic plant spirits, but their idea of the animal spirits is very similar; here they are called "podole" = father (484).

484. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 187.

793 184 If one then compares the myths which deal with happenings on the already created earth, one is struck by the fact that among the Waiká the transformations of human beings into land animals cover a wide range (485). The same is true among the

485. Zerries, 1958b, p. 283.

Surára
Pakidai
Waica

/95 cont./

793 Surára and Pakidái, but here in addition there are also such for
184 the animals themselves, and, to be sure, smaller ones are always transformed into larger ones (see p. 251). The myth of the creation of the ant bear, in which Omaua or Porê transforms a man who has committed incest with his mother-in-law into this animal by magic, is familiar to the Waiká (486), as well as to

486. Zerries, 1958b, p. 285.

the Surára and Pakidái, in the same version (see p. 250).

794 Likewise synonymous is the system of the species-spirits
184 of animals and plants, hekurá (Surára and Pakidái), or "hekula" (Waiká) (487), which is closely connected with the medicine-man system.

487. Zerries, 1958b, pp. 286/87.

794
795 Of interest, finally, are comparisons concerning the con-
184 ception of the human soul. It can ascend to the moon (Surára
[184] and Pakidái) or to heaven (Waiká) (488) only if the corpse is

488. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

cremated, for its name, uwexík (Surára and Pakidái), or "nobolebe" (Waiká) (488) /see footnote above/, is identical with that of cloud, smoke. According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the soul exists in the bones (see p. 151) (489).

[171]

489. In this respect they correspond to many other tribes, for in his essay "Die Antropophagie der südamerikanischen Indianer /The Anthropophagy of the South American Indians/," Koch (Grünberg) writes: "All these practices show that the Indian, incapable of separating the physical from the spiritual, regards the bones, which alone remain after the corpse has decomposed, as the actual and ultimate seat of the soul" (Koch (Grünberg), 1899, p. 83).

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

774 /95 cont./
775 That is why they cremate only /96/ the skeleton of their dead,
184 for if the flesh were still present, the soul would be unable to
come out in time. The ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes,
[169] too, on the occasion of the annual festival in memory of the
[266] dead, is connected with the idea that strengthening remains
of the soul are still present in them. In this connection Zerries
writes with reference to the Waiká: "We were unable to find
the idea of a bone-soul among the Waika, if we disregard the
774 connection between bone ashes and bole" (490). Zerries also

490. Zerries, 1958a, p. 107.

points out that the soul, according to the view of the Waiká,
is peculiar only to the human being, but not to the animal (491).

491. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

774 According to the statements of the Surára and Pakidái chiefs,
775 however, the human soul of the dead on its journey to the
moon must be accompanied by a like-named animal or plant
soul of the dead, which serves as a guide (see pp. 149/150).
It is assumed by the Surára and Pakidái that children are
without a soul until they have completed the third year of life,
because during this time they are nursed by the mother and
thus still belong to her flesh and blood as well as to her soul
(see also pp. 138 and 154). Waiká children are said to re-
ceive their souls only after the completion of the sixth year
of life (492).

492. Zerries, 1958a, p. 106.

/96 cont./

2. Curing the Sick

754 825 [753] [171]

a) General

All sickness is attributed to hostile witch-doctors, especially those of the Waikâ (493). As carriers they use the gavião-real

493. The idea that sickness is caused by witch doctors is so widespread in South America that from the large number of examples I should like to quote only two authors for comparison: Roth, 1915, p. 346; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 192.

gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) and the bat. Both animals are therefore designated generally as -- nonexí --, that is, evil spirit or spirit of sickness (494) (495). If such an animal is sighted,

494. Nonexí, however, is also the specific name of the gavião-real.

495. Zerries documents the same name, "noneshi" or "nonish," for the Waikâ. With it, however, they designate the shadow-soul or the alter ago (Zerries, 1958a, p. 108).

it is immediately killed, in order to prevent a misfortune. Moreover, it is assumed that with its death a hostile medicine man, who, of course, temporarily inhabits it, has breathed his last. [239] The down feathers of the gavião-real are therefore glued into the hair for a few days as a trophy (see p. 95).

755 If a member of the tribe has fallen ill, he can be cured only by having the chief, who among the Surára and Pakidái is at the same time the medicine man, and his helpers try to hurl the sickness back to the enemies. This can be done, however, only in the snuff-powder intoxication and by invoking

Surara
Pakida

/96 cont./

755 the hekurá, and best of all at night by moonlight (496). All

[174] [196]

496. The hekurá are the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being Poré/Perimbó (see pp. 199 ff.).

day long, usually one or two or sometimes even several men make preliminary attempts at healing. For all sicknesses there are very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps, which are taught the young men by their chief during a two-months' training course (see pp. 143/145). If the patient dies despite all efforts, the people yield to a certain fatalism, for in that case the power of the hostile medicine man was simply stronger (497).

[171]

497. The same thing is reported by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 202), Richard Schomburgk about the Warrau (Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 172), and Barrère as well as Quandt about the Galibi and Arowaken (Barrère, 1743, pp. 216/17; Quandt, 1807, p. 260), to mention only a few parallels.

755 For the reasons mentioned, there is only suggestive therapy,
757 supplemented by fasting and treatment with cold water. In the latter case a patient, even with the highest fever, must drink a great deal of water and take frequent baths in the nearby river or brook. He is also often exposed to pouring /97/ rain (Ill. 49), since it is assumed that it has healing powers because it comes from the rain tree of the moon (see p. 199). Sick persons who are already too weak and are unable to leave their hammocks are doused with cold water at regular intervals (498).

[171]

498. Treatment with cold water is widespread in South America. For comparison

Surára
Pakidái

/97 cont./

755
759
171

498. (cont.)
I should like to mention the Kaskihá Indians in the northeastern Chaco, among whom the witch doctor tries to heal the sick in the same way (Baldus, 1931, p. 143).

164

During my nine-months' stay among the Surára and Pakidái the following sicknesses occurred there: grippe, pneumonia, malaria, chicken pox, and a gastric fever; fortunately, none was fatal (499). But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,

000

[165]
[752]

499. Only the Pakidái youth Hokotómarimá died after a fall from a pupunha palm, which probably caused internal injuries (see p. 149).

123
755
759
177

But the two Surára women who had pneumonia, first a young woman, Xunamí, the wife of Kurikayawõ, the younger brother of the chief, and later an older woman, Xanimá, the approximately 47-year-old mother of Anyarawõ (see pp. 123/125), and a boy, Xaniwõ (see p. 127), about 12 years old, would probably not have survived without the penicillin that I had brought along, for, in spite of untiring treatment by the chief and his helpers, their condition grew worse from day to day. In the first instance, the chief, Hewemão, and the husband, Kurikayawõ, finally permitted me to give Xunamí a penicillin injection in the upper arm on two successive days, whereupon she improved dramatically (500). In the second and third cases,

500. This cure increased my reputation tremendously, so that afterward I was properly adopted into the tribe of the Surára and, on the occasion of the great festival in memory of the dead, was also permitted to drink the banana soup mixed with the bone ashes of deceased relatives (see p. 231). If the woman had died after the injection, however, the intervention could have had grave consequences for me.

/97 cont./

755 the chief even asked me to give the patients "penicilina" after
[959] his healing efforts had again brought no success.
[123]
[179] Of the various cures at which I was allowed to be present, I should like to describe in detail the following two treatments:

b) Magic cure (rekurá) for Xunamí:

Xunamí, the young, pretty wife of Kurikayawõ, fell ill quite suddenly. She had a high fever, lay apathetically in her hammock, and complained of severe chest pains. Her husband,
[593] who, with touching devotion, remained with her throughout the
[757] first day, that is, he sat beside her or lay in his hammock, led her several times to the nearby small river, in which she always remained for some time and drank copious amounts. She was not permitted to eat anything, but she had no desire to do so. During the night, the fever seemed to climb, for she was quite delirious and unable to sleep soundly. The next day she felt
[959] even worse. Three times in the forenoon and as often in the afternoon her husband took her to the river, but there was no improvement after the baths and the drinking. At noon on the third day the husband, together with two other men, began
[302] the first special cure. First of all, Kurikayawõ and the second participant painted serpentine lines on their faces and bodies with urucú, while the third one rubbed himself all over with soot. Then they all three blew snuff-powder into each other's noses and in a few minutes they were in a state of ecstasy in which they leaped wildly about the sick woman lying in her hammock, shouted loudly, and gesticulated. Then, however, the cure followed very definite directions. The man painted completely black symbolically represented the spirit of sickness -- nonexí -- whom a hostile medicine man had conjured into the body of the sick woman, and the other two men, who now identified themselves with the hekurá (see p. 200), staged a sham battle against him. At first they were armed with large sticks and beat "nonexí" in order to kill him. But he defended himself with all his might. Then he hurled arrows at him, which, however, he threw back. After that the /98/ spirit of sickness stuck a carrying basket on his head, and this suddenly fell off. At once, the other two men

/98 cont./

755 beat quite hard upon the basket with their sticks, in order to
[535] give the sickness the finishing blow. All the movements were executed in a dance rhythm, two steps forward and one back, during which the "hekurá" uninterruptedly sang the words ho-he-hi-ha-fk, ho-he-hi-ha-fk, while "nonexí" uttered shrill sounds in between. At first the "battle" was enacted at some distance from the sick woman, but during the "argument" they drew nearer to her. "Nonexí" now danced alone at the head end of Xunamí, and the two "hekurá" stroked the body of the sick woman and sucked at it. Then they vomited, and one of them suddenly took a stone out of his mouth, and the other, a piece of wood. With shrill cries they threw these objects away, while "nonexí," who was still at the head end of the patient, crouched down and started to whimper loudly. With the stone and the piece of wood the sickness was to be hurled back to the Waiká. Then the sham battle between "nonexí" and the "hekurá" began anew, frequently interrupted by the sucking and stroking of the body of the sick woman, who suffered everything indifferently. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff-powder into each other's noses. For four hours the treatment went on, but there was no improvement to be seen in Xunamí; rather, she grew worse. The sick woman was then set on the ground in front of her hammock, and two other men, this time only personified hekurá, continued the treatment in snuff-powder intoxication, in that they danced around the woman, sang, and screamed loudly. In between, they stroked Xunamí's body and sucked out little stones, which they spat upon, licked, and then rubbed against their own bodies before they hurled them away with shrill cries. Now and then they also struck out with hands and feet and threatened an invisible foe. Occasionally they spat and stepped on the sputum with gestures of repugnance. Then the patient was again placed in her hammock and doused with cold water.

As a result of the high fever and long fasting, Xunamí was already very weak. But during the coming night a very great rekurá (magic cure; see also p. 211) was to be performed, and, to be sure, by Chief Hewemãõ and eight helpers. (The chief

/98 cont./

765 intervenes only if the day-cures of individual men have been unsuccessful.) Immediately after darkness set in, the men assembled, eight of whom, including the chief, had painted their faces and bodies with red serpentine lines, while the ninth was blackened with soot. A little to one side of the sick woman they formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the center, upon which there was snuff-powder. They blew considerable amounts of this into each other's noses and then danced around in a circle, singing loudly and shouting. This, as the chief later explained to me, was to establish contact with the hekurá. These preparations lasted about half an hour. Then, dancing and singing, they drew nearer to the sick woman. This time she stood in front of her hammock, held by her husband, who had slipped his arms under hers and folded them over her chest, for she was no longer able to stand alone. Shouting loudly, the men danced around her several times and then leaped into the inner circle of the large, open maloka, where, in great rage, they hurled away invisible objects. Then they spat upon them and trampled furiously on these imaginary objects, at the same time uttering loud threats against the Waiká. After that they danced and leaped in apparent disorder back and forth between the sick woman, whose body they stroked a few times at each encounter, and the inner court of the maloka, during which they now and then shouted loudly, executed wild leaps, and at the same time turned in a circle. Whenever they came outside the dwelling part, they again tossed away invisible objects. This dancing, leaping, and shouting, the motions of /99/ casting away, the bending of the knees, the pointing forward and upward with the hands seemed to be utter confusion, and the noise that went with it was indescribable. After that the chief and his brother danced alone for about 40 minutes around the sick woman, who meanwhile was being held by another man. They blew in her direction and sucked at her body, at the same time massaging it. By turns they leaped a few meters backward and threw away imaginary objects. -- Meanwhile the eight medicine-man helpers had moved away a bit from the hearth. The man blackened with soot lay on the ground, symbolically portraying the evil

/99 cont./

755 nonexí, while the other seven, who, exactly like the chief and his brother, identified themselves with the hekurá, danced and leaped around him. They kicked at him with their feet, uttered invectives, threatened him with their fists, and beat him. Suddenly, "nonexí" tried to flee, but the other men quickly caught up with him and threw the "evil spirit of sickness" to the ground again. They tapped his body, sucked at it, and spat over him. In fact, they even beat him symbolically with sticks. Then a stone weighing two kilograms was placed on the abdomen of "nonexí," was picked up again after a short time, and was hurled away. At that the fiendish noise suddenly ceased. Chief Hewemãõ squatted before the sick woman, completely absorbed within himself. Behind him crouched his brother Kurikayawõ, who stroked his body and head and lightly tapped his back. Complete silence prevailed; only the moaning of the chief and of the sick woman was to be heard, frequently interrupted by the loud sighs of the former. The other seven "hekurá" meanwhile squatted silently around the prostrate "nonexí." The sick woman now sat between the legs of the man who had hitherto supported her. After the chief had concentrated, which lasted about 30 minutes, all the participants in the rekurá formed a circle around Xunamí. The chief crouched directly opposite her, face to face with her, and commenced to sing loudly in a wonderful baritone voice, while the other eight men, with the exception of the "nonexí," joined in chorus. It was a part song and so melodious that it sounded to me like an organ. Now and then the medicine-man helpers stood up and walked, singing, around the patient, while the chief stroked her body from head to foot, massaged her, tapped her, and sucked at her. Each time he would spit out imaginary objects, whereupon the other men always broke out in loud cries of "oh" and "ah." This choral singing and the manipulations accompanying it lasted for about three hours. Then Hewemãõ sucked especially vigorously on Xunamí's body, while his hands kept stroking her downwards. All at once there was a stone weighing about one kilogram in his right hand, and three small stones, two pieces of wood, and two fingernails in his left. He had sucked all these

/99 cont./

755 objects out of her body and now hurled them away with gestures of disgust, amid the loud shouts of "oh" and "ah" by his helpers. During this sucking and stroking, the chorus of all the "hekurá" standing in a circle swelled to tremendous power and subsided only after Hewemãõ slowly withdrew, for his work was ended for the time being. He was bathed in sweat and, completely exhausted, lay down in his hammock, where his two wives provided him with a nourishing meal consisting of roasted tapir meat, manioc flat-cakes, and a bacaba drink.

The sick woman was not released, however, even after this five-hour cure. From 11:00 to 1:00 at night the husband and the medicine-man helpers continued it in the manner described above. The main thing was the choral singing and the dancing in step, with occasional sitting, stroking the sick woman, sucking, threatening hand movements toward an invisible opponent, spitting, etc. added. At 1:00 two more men dropped out, including the husband. The latter now lifted his wife up and laid her in her /100/ hammock, then he crouched beside her and tenderly supported her head. For about another two hours the medicine-man helpers went on singing and "curing" and after that one alone until around 5:00. Only then could the sick woman surrender herself for a short time to a well-earned rest (501). Many other members of the tribe watched this magic

[761]

501. If patients have become very much worse, they are kept awake as much as possible to prevent their life from escaping. For if they fall asleep, death might take possession of them.

performance, above all women, who wept softly during it. They crouched in a semicircle at a somewhat greater distance and watched the proceedings with rapt attention, but only as long as the chief was acting. When he finished his work, the spectators gradually disappeared.

Unfortunately, all efforts remained unsuccessful in this case, and Hewemãõ confessed to me the next day, when the sick woman

/100 cont./

755 was much worse, that this time the power of the Waikâ medicine
123 men was extraordinarily great. I then proposed to him that I
179 should give Xunamî penicillin injections. After lengthy consultations with the husband and other male members of the tribe he consented, though with misgivings, and luck was with the patient as well as with me. From this moment on the name penicilina (Portuguese spelling) became a magic word, for it had helped to cast away the sickness. Hewemãõ even asked me to bring him a great deal of it on my next visit.

755 c) Magic cure (rekurâ) for Xanimâ:

Xanimâ, the approximately 47-year-old mother of
[164] Anyarawõ (see p. 126), had been ill for five days with chicken
pox and had had persistently high fever. At first she, too, was
[959] given the water cures, that is, she constantly had to take baths in the river and drink a great deal of water; as her weakness increased, she remained lying in her hammock and was doused with cold water. After that there were sham battles between two "hekurâ" and the bad, black-colored spirit of sickness, "nonexî."

When there was no improvement, Chief Hewemãõ and eight helpers again arranged a large, nocturnal rekurâ, but this time a somewhat different one, because, of course, a different
[302] sickness was involved (502). At first the men, eight with red

502. As has been mentioned above (see p. 212), every sickness has very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps.

serpentine lines painted on their faces and bodies and one colored black, in the light of the hearth, again formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the middle, on which snuff-
[296] powder had been poured. They filled their snuff tubes with generous amounts of it and blew it into each other's noses, whereupon, after a few minutes, the state of ecstasy set in. The men hopped around their own axis several times, and, after a hissing sound on the part of the chief and with prolonged shrill

Suréra

/100 cont./

755 cries in the most diverse tones, they rushed toward the sick woman. They were like a wild horde, for the participants screamed at the top of their voices, bent their knees, leaped into the air, and shook their fists at an invisible foe. After a renewed hissing sound by Hewemão, they formed a circle around the sick woman lying in her hammock, and each man placed both hands on the shoulders of the one standing in front of him. With swaying dance steps, two forward and one back, 535 533 during which they sang ho-he-hi-ha-fk, ho-he-hi-ha-fk, they walked around the patient for some time. Then Hewemão hissed for the third time, whereupon the song ceased. Then the chief 755 struck up a melodious song which his helpers underscored with 533 humming. Meanwhile, with swaying step, they continued to 535 move around the sick woman, their hands always on the shoulders of the man in front as before. After 15 minutes Hewemão hissed again, and then they laid their hands crossed upon the shoulders of the one walking ahead. At the same time all the men joined in the song /101/ of the chief, and again they sang in parts. This choral singing, together with the dancing in step, lasted another 20 minutes. Then the chief and his brother Kurikayawõ placed themselves opposite each other at the head end of the patient and struck up an alternate song. At the foot end squatted two helpers who also faced each other and hummed softly. A short distance behind the head end two more helpers danced back and forth with faces turned toward each other; they were also humming, and occasionally they uttered bird-like sounds; they frequently ran their fingers through their hair and then always passed them downward over their seats. 755 Meanwhile the other three men, two painted red, the one black-colored, that is to say, two "hekurã" and "nonexf," were carrying on a sham battle beyond the foot end of Xanimã, in a manner similar to that already described on page 216. In the meantime the daughter-in-law of the sick woman had raised her up and had seated herself behind her in the hammock, at the same time supporting the old woman with both arms. Then when the sham combat was ended, and the bad "nonexf" lay on the

/101 cont./

755 ground and the two "hekurá" crouched beside him as "victors," a part song by all the participants began once more. At the same time the chief stroked the head and then the body of the sick woman. Then he started to suck at her, first at her head, then on the chest, on the stomach, and on the thighs. Then he uttered shrill cries and vomited. At this moment the singing ceased and all the helpers uttered loud cries of "ah" and "oh." Thereupon Hewemão hurled invisible objects to one side, which was always accompanied by ah and oh shouts of the other men. Then a chorus was struck up anew. This part of the magic performances lasted more than two hours. After the chief had sucked stones and pieces of wood out of the body of the sick woman and hurled them away amid animated cries of ah and oh by the helpers, however, the volume of the singing increased and was followed by shrill cries which ended in a general humming. -- After that there was complete silence. The men sat down in a circle around Xanimá, and each one leaned his head against his knees, for all were visibly exhausted, especially the chief and his brother. The wives of the latter, however, had seated themselves behind them and stroked their heads and shoulders and gently tapped their backs in order to give the weary ones new strength, for during the curing process they had completely spent themselves. The sick woman, too, could now lie down again. She had her eyes closed and one could see how exhausted she was from sitting up so long. After the noise that had been going on, the stillness had a very strange effect. But after only 15 minutes one of the medicine-man helpers arose; he began dancing in a circle around the sick woman, during which he softly sang. Meanwhile, however, clouds had passed before the moon and a heavy rain set in. Hewemão then decided to break off the session and continue it at dawn. "For with a [821] darkened sky," he said, "without the co-operation of the moon, it would be impossible to free the woman from her sickness." He left behind with the moaning Xanimá, shaken with fever chills, two helpers who crouched to the right and left of her head end and hummed softly, in order that, as Hewemão told

/101 cont./

755 me, contact with the hekurá would not be broken. Toward 4:30, the rain had stopped in the meantime, the nine men once more gathered around the sick woman and continued the cure for another two hours in the manner described above. By forenoon the fever was gone and the woman was on the way to recovery. She and every other member of the tribe were convinced that Hewemão had hurled the evil spirit of sickness, nonexí, back to the Waiká. Even Hewemão himself firmly believes that in the snuff-powder intoxication and with the help of the hekurá and the moon he is able to ward off sickness and accidents and to cast them out.

/102/ The two above-described magic performances for warding off two different diseases show a certain external pattern. Each cure begins with the taking of snuff-powder, which causes the chief and his helpers to fall into a state of ecstasy and to identify themselves with the hekurá. There follows the invocation of the hekurá, which is reinforced by wild gestures, then the sham struggle between two or more "hekurá" and the spirit of sickness, "nonexí." After that, very definite texts, melodies, and dances are used for each sickness. Unforgettable [533] for me are the choral part-songs which contain the requests to the hekurá and the serras, who, in turn, relay them to Poré/Perimbó (see pp. 197 ff.) (503).

[126]

503. I deeply regret that I was unable to record these songs on a sound track. Unfortunately, the tape recorder which the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft had sent by courier to the German Consulate in São Paulo before the start of my expedition was damaged by an employee there. Without permission, he had unpacked it and tinkered with it. Thus, I can only hope that on a subsequent expedition I shall have an opportunity to record these songs.

Surára
Pakidái

/102 cont./

755 I was allowed to take part as a spectator in all the cures,
[123] and each rekurá was a new, great experience for me. I was
755 amazed at the devotion, passion, and fervor with which the
756 chief and his helpers interceded with all their physical and
622 psychic powers to ward off the sicknesses of their fellow-tribesmen (504). This explains why the Surára and Pakidái

[123]

504. The same care was bestowed upon me, the stranger. If I had an attack of malaria, the chief and his helpers likewise danced around me, and they sang in chorus while Hewemão stroked my body, massaged it, and sucked at it. He was of the opinion that the Waikâ had poisoned my blood because I lived in friendship with the Surára and had brought them so many beautiful gifts.

have such boundless confidence in their chiefs and are absolutely convinced of their magic powers. It is doubtless due to this unshakable faith that so many of the sick can be cured (505).

505. I never saw the chiefs demand a fee for their cures. The members of the tribe show their appreciation, however, by continuously offering their chiefs larger or smaller gifts (see p. 130).

[431]

755 In this context I should like to cite the following very re-
756 vealing description by Herbert Baldus: "The witch doctors were
114 simply called imposters by early travelers, and even today all whites who are incapable of understanding the mentality of the Indian are of the same opinion. One forgets that, as a result of the suggestibility of the primitive, the magic practices not only essentially help the sick person and rid his relatives of their fears, but also weave such a spell around the practitioner himself that it is impossible to decide to what extent he is acting in good

/102 cont./

755 faith and to what extent he is faking" (506). The fact that
756
114

506. Baldus, 1931, p. 142.

even in modern medicine great importance is now attributed to the suggestive influence of the physician on his patients is shown in the following statements by Hans Grimm: "If we emphasize that the suggestive influence of the physician's personality on the patient is often of decisive influence (Jores), if we use hypnosis, the so-called 'autogenous training,' etc., we are, in our own way, returning to what was already playing a role in shamanistic techniques" (507).

507. Grimm, 1958/59, p. 357.

769 3. Religious Festivals

Every year, toward the end of the dry season, March-April, the Surára and Pakidái jointly celebrate the festival in memory of the dead -- patapáanomão -- (508). It always takes

[192]

508. This contains the word for corpse, the male or female dead person -- anomão.

place in the large, open Surára maloka Jaracá (see pp. 25 ff.). Occasionally a few families of friendly tribes (Xiriána, Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri, etc.) also take part. The
[114] patapáanomão festival, which I witnessed in all its phases, /103/ was held during the period from the fourth to the sixth of
769 April, 1956. But even before that there were great preparations
251 for this purpose. The men set out on a joint hunting expedition in order to kill as many tapirs as possible, the meat of which was then roasted on roasting racks over an even fire, not too hot, until it was black and bone-hard, so that it could be kept for a

/103 cont./

769 25 [462] few days. This roasting belongs to the men's sphere of duties, as does the harvesting of pupunha fruits. The latter are then made into a drink by the women. Moreover, they fetched from the plantings large quantities of bananas which were put in the sun so that they could ripen, and, finally, it should be mentioned that among all the families several stacks of manioc flat-cakes were piled up little by little.

769 535 [276] On the evening of April fourth, toward 9:00, the actual festival began. Five men and five boys, who wore cotton belts over their hip cords, danced, after the former had first blown snuff-powder into each other's noses, one behind the other (two steps forward and one back, during which the more marked lifting of the knees with a slight turning outward of the legs is to be noted), on a circular path in the open circle of the maloka, and, to be sure, counterclockwise (509a). The first two men

509a. In all the dances that go around the periphery of a circle the participants dance counterclockwise.

each held two arrows in the right hand, and the rest, as well as [533] all the boys, had their hands crossed behind their heads. Occasionally one man would sing in a beautiful, full bass voice, and the others would then join in chorus. The songs were very melodious and furnished the rhythm for the dance steps (509b).

[534] 509b. The Surára and Pakidái accompany dances in part with songs, for musical instruments are unknown to them.

[276] Toward 10:00 more men, in part with arrows, in part without, and boys (all without arrows) joined the dancers, and at 11:30 all the men and boys, with the exception of the Surára chief, were gathered in the center of the maloka courtyard, where, from a large clay plate filled with snuff-powder that had been placed here along with several snuff tubes, they blew huge quantities into each other's noses. Then they sat down in a

Surára
Pakidái

769 /103 cont./Then they sat down in a
535 circle and started singing a song in chorus. Soon afterwards
[533] five warriors, holding arrows in both hands, arose and danced around the singers. Now and then they made huge leaps and shouted in a high, shrill voice. All this was enacted on a cool, cloudy, full-moon night, but the numerous hearthsadded some light. All the women and girls, as well as my servant Mateus and I, lay in the hammocks and watched the unique spectacle. Toward 1:00 in the morning the male participants in the festival arose and now danced, again one behind the other, around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard. They were arranged in such a way that a man with two arrows was always followed by one who held his hands crossed behind his head.

[622] Suddenly Chief Hewemãõ, who was sleeping in his ham-
[123] mock next to me, was tapped lightly by a warrior with an arrow. He got up at once, removed shirt and trousers (he had been given the two articles of clothing by me as gifts), took a bow without a bowstring in his hand, had snuff-powder blown into his nose, and mixed with the dancers, who, however, immediately after his entrance formed the following new formation: Ten men arranged themselves in rhombus form at the head of the dance procession, one at the very front, two behind to one side, and two more behind and to one side of these; two stood directly opposite the latter, then followed two who stood somewhat inward and finally one who was in the middle behind these (Fig. 29). The first five warriors, who had blackened themselves with soot, symbolized the nonexĩ (evil spirits or spirits of sickness, see p. 211) and were obliged to dance backwards. The five dancers following them embodied hekurã (gigantic animal and plant spirits who /104/ /Fig. 29 appears here/ Pakidái; see pp. 199, 214 ff.). Between these two groups of five, the participants of which each held two arrows in their hands, a sham battle was being carried out during the dance (see also pp. 214 ff.). Each of the men of the first group danced two steps back and one forward, and those of the second, two steps forward and one back. In between, wild leaps and turns were executed, the men threatened each other with the arrows and screamed in the highest key. The "nonexĩ" were constantly in

Surára
Pakidái

/104 cont./

769
535

Fig. 29. Arrangement of the dancers on the occasion of a ceremony of the festival in memory of the dead.

retreat and defended themselves with all their might against the advancing "hekurá." Behind these ten "fighting" dancers there followed six men in a row, each with an arrow in his hand, the advance guard of the chief. At a slight distance they were joined by the Surára [622] chief Hewemão, flanked on either side by six men forming a double row. These men were also prominent personalities; thus, among them there were the two younger brothers of the chief, the war chief of the Surára, the chief and war chief of the Pakidái, as well as especially excellent older warriors of both tribes. Following them, as a rear guard, in a double-row formation, came the rest of the men, young men, and boys. All who took part in the procession moved in the customary dance steps, two forward and one back, during which they sang in chorus. Now and then Chief Hewemão would utter a hissing sound, whereupon all the participants grouped themselves in the center of the plaza around the large clay plate with snuff-powder. Here the chief, in a singing voice, prayed to the hekurá [622] and asked them to intercede with Poré/Perimbó, so that the festival [782] would be vouchsafed a happy and successful course. Then the men [276] blew new snuff-powder into each other's noses, whereupon the dance would continue in the manner described above. This dancing and singing lasted, except for the brief interruptions at the clay plate, until 6:00 in the morning.

Surára
Pakidái

/104 cont./

769
788 Immediately after that the Surára chief squatted down at his hearth, and beside him squatted a medicine-man helper. On the opposite side of the large maloka the Pakidái chief and a helper had assumed the same position. Hewemão, the first-named chief, began to speak loudly and distinctly to the hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits). While doing so, he kept stroking his hair from front to back and then slapping his seat. The helper squatting beside him repeated each of his words and copied all his movements. (This was to express symbolically that the hekurá, the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being, Poré/Perimbó, actually pass on all questions, requests, and wishes). After Hewemão, the Pakidái chief spoke to the hekurá, and his helper likewise repeated each word and imitated the gestures (stroking the hair and slapping the seat). This exorcism, which the two chiefs carried out alternately, lasted an hour.

769
461 After that the two exhausted chiefs and the rest of the men, young men, and boys lay down for a well-earned rest. /105/ Meanwhile the women had been going about their accustomed activity. They fetched water, prepared food, took care of the children; some of them also plaited a basket in the meantime, or they strung glass beads on a string. Some of the men who had meanwhile awakened continued to lie idly in their hammocks, some also played with the children, while others sat together in groups and talked.

769 Toward 2:00 the festival was resumed when 20 men, young men, and boys, each of whom held an arrow in his hand, rushed into the maloka courtyard with loud shouts. They were [302] magnificently painted (510) and on the upper arms and in part [301]

510. The painting had been done with urucú color and consisted of serpentine lines, circles and dots; several men, however, had painted their whole bodies red.

/105 cont./

769 in the ear lobes were adorned with colorful feather ornaments
[302] (see pp. 93/95). Moreover, they had all glued into their hair
[301] the white down feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.),
the dreaded carrier of sickness (see p. 211) (Ill. 43). They
769 made mighty leaps, then bent their knees, turned around
535 several times in between, threw their arrows into the air and
533 caught them again. After that they fell into a dance in step,
during which they sang. But this dance was constantly interrupted by wild charges and rousing shouts, which were supposed to drive the nonexí out of the maloka and show them how dangerous it was to come here at all. The others present were enthusiastically watching this performance from their hearths. For the
[302] occasion of the festival all the men, women, and children had
[292] likewise painted themselves and in part donned the cotton belts;
[301] moreover, the men wore their upper-arm ornaments of feathers (Ills. 9-11).

769 After this two-hour dance performance a particularly solemn ceremony took place, the blessing of the preserved bone ashes of deceased tribesmen. For this purpose two leading personalities of each of the two tribes sat down in a square formation before the chief's hut. The Surára chief Hewemão was squatting in such a way that he faced the maloka courtyard. To the right and left of him, somewhat to the side and forward, squatted the Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, and Hewemão's brother, Kurikayawõ, respectively, and opposite Hewemão, Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, had his place. In front of the latter were arranged ten small jamaru vessels (jamaru = Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda) filled with bone ashes. Behind them stood one empty gourd bowl and one filled with urucú. The Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, on the other hand, had two large empty jamaru vessels standing in front of him.

Porêhiwõ now poured bone ashes from one after another of the small jamaru vessels into the empty gourd bowls, added a little urucú, mixed the two with his hands, and gave the bowl to Karenauõ, who each time poured the contents into one of the
[782] larger jamaru vessels. While the two Pakidái were silently per-
[788] forming their work, Hewemão was praying in a half-singing

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 voice to the hekurá and constantly passed his hands from his head
[782] to his feet. His brother Kurikayawõ repeated each of his words
[788] and imitated the gestures (511). Around the four men, who were

511. This was again the symbolic transmission of the prayers from the hekurá to Porẽ/Perimbõ (see also p. 228).

now officiating as priests, crouched red-painted warriors whose head hair was completely covered with the down feathers of the gavião-real. Whenever the Pakidái chief poured a new mixture of bone ashes and urucú into a larger jamaru vessel, he always pulled a few feathers from the heads of the warriors and threw them in (512). The closest relatives of the late deceased sat

[751]

512. There is defensive magic connected with this. For if the men, in the subsequent ceremonial drinking of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes, swallow these feathers, they and their families are better protected against sickness.

behind the warriors and sobbed heart-rendingly, especially the
[782] women. Their tears /106/ flowed uninterruptedly, and at the same time they prayed in a low, singing cadence. When the bone ashes of another jamaru vessel were mixed with urucú by Porẽhiwõ, their sobbing and their prayers changed to high, shrill tones. This made no impression upon the medicine men, however, who imperturbably went on with their activity. The
[302] [301] mourners were surrounded by a circle of standing warriors painted red and adorned with upper-arm feathers, who held bows and arrows in their hands and faced outward. It was their task to shield
[522] the ceremony against harmful outside influences. Behind them stood numerous male spectators, who followed the proceedings with interest, to be sure, but without inner participation, for at times they laughed and joked.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769 When the mixing of bone ashes, which lasted about two hours, was finished, Porĕhiwõ returned the half-empty little jamaru vessels to the relatives, who, amid lamentations, took them for further safekeeping. Then a solemn procession began, in which, however, the Surára chief did not take part. Karenauõ, the Pakidái chief, strode ahead, followed by Porĕhiwõ and Kurikayawõ, each of whom held in his hand one of the large jamaru vessels filled with bone ashes, a little urucú, and a few down-feathers of the gavião-real; all three were singing prayers. Behind them, weeping and lamenting, walked the closest relatives, who carried the small jamaru vessels. The warriors participating in the ceremony formed the end of the train.

[533] [782] This procession, which walked around the maloka courtyard several times, came to an end, after half an hour in front of the chief's hut, with a prayer sung in unison.

[517] Meanwhile night had descended and most of the members of the two tribes were lying in their hammocks, sitting around the fire, or calling on each other, singly or in family groups, in order to chat. Loud, happy laughter often resounded. Opposite the hut of the Surára chief, however, six warriors who wore the feathers of the gavião-real in their hair had kindled three blazing fires, upon which, in several black, round-bottomed clay vessels (see p. 115) they cooked banana soup until midnight. During this time a medicine-man helper who carried a bow and arrow in his hand ran around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard, singing loudly, and requested the assistance

[625] of the hekurá for the success of the soup. After that, general quiet set in; only two men made their rounds in front of the maloka, as they did every night, in order to warn the inhabitants, if necessary, of a hostile attack (513).

[624] [805] 513. The war chief divides up the watches each evening. The warriors have a feeling about when their time is up and they must waken their successors; as a rule this is done after two or three hours.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769
266 On the next day, April 6, 1956, the festival reached its climax. Toward 9:00 the Surára chief, his brother Kurikayawõ, and the chief and war chief of the Pakidái sat down around the pots of banana soup, in front of which also stood the two jamaru vessels with the bone ashes of the deceased, and all the other [533] male members of the tribe sat around them. The Surára chief started to pray loudly, whereupon a rather long choral song was struck up. Then he poured the bone ashes into all the soup pots, mixed them thoroughly with his hands, and scooped out a calabash full for himself, which he emptied hastily and to the last drop. Thereupon the Pakidái chief, the brother of Hewemão, and the war chiefs of both tribes drank, followed by all the older and younger men, including the larger boys, who drank last (514). As a result of this ceremonial drinking of the

[123]

514. Hewemão also offered my servant and me a full calabash each, along with the war chiefs. When we had drunk them, he slapped our backs appreciatively and said that we were now true Sarára.

bone ashes, it is believed, the strength and spirit of the de-
769 ceased will remain within the tribe and contribute to its vigor.
[533] Following this drink, a prayer of thanksgiving was sung.
[782] Then the men, youths, and boys together ate large quantities
/107/ of the roasted tapir meat, as well as manioc flat-cakes,
[262] and after that the women handed them calabashes full of the refreshing drink made of pupunha fruits.

Invigorated and fortified with the powers of the deceased, the men were now able to proceed with the most strenuous part
[302] of the festival. But before this began, half of them blackened their faces and bodies with soot, which they scraped off of their
769 cooking pots. Meanwhile others had again set in the center of
276 the maloka circle the large clay plate upon which they poured the brownish snuff-powder -- epená --, out of bamboo containers, and in front of the plate they laid a large number of

Surára
Pakidái

/107 cont./

769
276 snuff-tubes. After these preparations, the chiefs, all the men, youths, and boys, light and black-colored participants, assembled outside the maloka. At a hissing sound from Hewemão they then stormed into the courtyard, screaming loudly, ran once around the periphery, and then grouped themselves around the clay plate. The snuff-tubes were filled with powder, and the men by twos blew it with all their might into each other's noses (Ill. 44). On the occasion of this festival they take even more snuff than before other magic performances, curing the sick, and prayers. The effect was extraordinary. After only a few moments all the men were in a wild state of ecstasy (Ills. 45 and 46). At first they danced and leaped, gesticulating and screaming, in wild disorder around the clay plate, and after that they stormed around the courtyard several times in the
[535] same manner. Then groups of five, ten, or more men put their arms around each other's necks and performed stamping circle-dances in this formation (Ill. 47), during which each man tried to pull another one tightly to him; now and then they also
769
526 danced with the knees bent. After half an hour, this ecstatic dancing, during which the participants were bathed in sweat, was replaced by an extremely strange type of sport -- petapóanhamũ. In the entire outer circle of the maloka courtyard there were seated everywhere two men opposite each other, chest to chest, with legs spread apart; in each case one had his on top of the thighs of the other one. The partners were always a Surára and a Pakidái; moreover, in each case one of them was blackened. They wound their arms around each other at the neck and, with vigorous arm movements, pulled each other back and forth with all their might (Ill. 48). Each tried to pull the head of his opponent quite close to him. Sometimes their arms would drop down on the back of the other one, and they would then pull at each other for a while in this position. During the struggle they constantly called out wrathful words at each other. Often the wives stood beside their husbands and spurred them on. But there were no victors and no losers in these combats. If the strength of a combatant flagged, another tribesman immediately came and continued the struggle with the opponent

/107 cont./

769 526 [622] [624] [147] in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other, who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexf (see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After [262] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed themselves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and manioc flat- [276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in connection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

769 114 184 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká, which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds

515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

2: Becher--235 . E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára, Pakidái Waica

/108 cont./

769 182 184 789 526 [266]

festival. It is decidedly a festival in memory of the dead, which characterized by the ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe. At the same time, defensive magic against the nonexí is connected with it, for they, of course, are the ones who transmit sickness and thereby frequently cause death. As in all the magic cures for healing the sick, where the symbolic struggles between the "hekurá" and one or more "nonexí" are always enacted (see pp. 212 ff.), this factor is naturally also in evidence in all parts of the festival, in the dances, in the mixing of bone ashes, when the medicine man pulls down-feathers of the gavião-real out of the hair of the warriors and adds these, and in the duels performed in a sitting position. The latter are also documented for the Waiká in the same way, but Zerries writes that neither for him nor for the American missionaries was it possible to find out anything definite about the meaning of this ceremony (517). Presumably,

517. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

however, it is the same symbolic struggle between a good and an evil spirit as among the Surára and Pakidái. As yet nothing has been reported about this from other Indian tribes. My informants, however, told me that the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí engage in these combats on the occasion of their festivals in memory of the dead. Hence it seems to be a very special characteristic of the Yanonámi, which in former times may have been even more widespread. Herr Dr. Gerdt Kutscher, in connection with a lecture I gave in Berlin, called my attention to the fact that the position taken by the two men during this is reminiscent of the painting on a clay bowl from the Rio Ulúa, Honduras (518). According to Zerries, Barker,

114 769 526

518. This is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (No. IVa Ca 22381) and was reproduced in an article by Walter Lehmann (Lehmann, 1910, p. 737, Ill. 9).

Surára Pakidái waicá

114 /108 cont./ According to Zerries, Barker,
769 and Dupouy, there is also a similar combat among the Waiká,
769 in which the partners alternately beat each other on the chest
526 with clenched fists (519a, b, c). I did not observe this among
184

519a. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

519b. Barker, 1953, p. 447.

519c. Dupouy, 1953, p. 495.

114 the Surára and Pakidái. Similarly unknown there is the custom,
769 also reported by Zerries, that the men, when they run about in
296 the snuff-powder intoxication, hit each other on the back with the palm of the hand (520). The author named regards this as a

520. Zerries 1955b, p. 665.

769 fertility rite. There seems to be involved here, however, out-
179 side influences of agricultural tribes, which is indicated also by the ceremonial gathering of pupunha fruits (521).

521. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

769 It is further noteworthy that among the Waiká women and
184 girls actively participate in the festival in that they take part in
562 some dances and even drink some of the banana soup mixed with
[266] bone ashes (522). In contrast to this, the female members of

522. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662 ff.

the tribe act only as spectators among the Surára and Pakidái.

769 The endocannibalism should be regarded as a very signifi-
184 cant similar trait. It is documented for the Waiká by Cruxent (523a)
266
114

523a. Cruxent, 1953a, pp. 149/50.

Surára
Pakidái
Waicá

/108 cont./

769
184
266
114

and Zerries in several articles (523b) (524) (525). Moreover,

523b. Zerries, 1955a, p. 80.

524. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 664/65.

525. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

769
266
171

Moreover,
/109/ the latter author, on the basis of contributions to the first five volumes of the Handbook of South American Indians, drew up a distribution map for the occurrence of endocannibalism, which was supplemented by numerous examples (526). Accord-

526. Zerries, 1955a, pp. 80/81.

ing to this, endocannibalism occurs in South American primarily in the western parts of the continent and among the marginal and submarginal tribes of the Tropical zone. This custom is particularly frequent among the Pano and Tukano /Tucano/. In most cases, besides the pulverized bones, which are mixed with chicha (for example, Pano and Tukano), water (for example, Tapuya), or a mash of Pará chestnuts (Moré Indians), the flesh is also eaten. The practice of the Surára, Pakidái, and Waiká, on the other hand, who consume only the cremated, pulverized bones, is very rarely found. The corresponding custom of the Sáliba, Guayupe, and Saé in Colombia is the most similar one. But in eastern Guiana, too, endocannibalism is widespread, for example, among the Karaiben /Carib/ Parukotó (527) and

527. Frikel, 1957, pp. 520 and 545.

among the Arapium, a Tupi tribe in the vicinity of Santarem (528).

528. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

Moreover, it is reported of the Kalina, Palikur, and Arawak that they consume cremated bones of the dead (529). Of the latter

529. de Goeje, 1943, p. 11.

2: Becher--238 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/109 cont./

769 266 171 Ralegh also writes that they pound the bones to powder and consume them mixed with a beverage (530) (531), and the same has

530. Ralegh, 1848, p. 53.

531. Waitz, 1862, p. 388.

been attested to for the Mauhé (532).

532. von Martius, 1867, I, p. 404 A.

114 769 266 171 According to Whiffen, there is no endocannibalism at all in South America, for, according to his view, only vengeance against hostile tribes can be regarded as a motive for anthropophagy. "From all this," he continues, "it follows that intratribal cannibalism would be a criminal outrage by the tribe on itself, and therefore it could never occur that a member of the tribe was eaten, ... This disposes of any such thing as the eating of dead relatives as a sign of respect. These and similar statements are due to missapprehension /sic/ of facts by the writer, or a too hasty judgement on the part of the explorer" /cited in English/ (533). In conjunction with these devious

533. Whiffen, 1915, pp. 120/21.

statements by Whiffen with their completely unjustified criticism, I should like to cite a contribution concerning endocannibalism drawn up by Herbert Baldus and Emilio Willems (534):

534. This appeared in the eminently important, but long out of print, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, which came out shortly before World War II and is therefore, unfortunately, not available in most European libraries.

2: Becher--239 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidai

114 /109 cont./
769 /The long passage in Portuguese which follows on pp. 109-110
266 in the original source is omitted in the translation; see the
171 foreign text/ /110/ (535a).

535a. Baldus e Willems, 1939, pp. 40/41.

Most recently there appeared the commendable study by Boglár, "Ein endokannibalischer Ritus in Südamerika /An Endocannibalistic Rite in South America/," in which the author presents the material of several competent sources (535b). I

535b. Boglár, 1958, pp. 67-85.

cannot, however, agree with his interpretations in connection with them. The consumption of the bone powder of the deceased is by no means always to be associated with agricultural tribes, for, as my informants among the Surára and Pakidái explained to me, their forebears, who were pure hunters and gatherers, already practiced this custom. Also the author's view that the showing of respect, the magical transmission of good qualities, etc., can be regarded merely as secondary motives of the endocannibalistic rite (535c), do not apply to the

535c. Boglár, 1958, p. 83.

Surára and Pakidái; here they are decidedly primary. Among them the future life of the dead is assured by cremation, for with the ascending smoke the soul of the dead reaches the moon (see p. 151).

It should further be mentioned that endocannibalism is documented also for Central America, Mexico, and in one case in North America, but Beals regards it as a typical element of the South American Indians (536).

536. Beals, 1932, pp. 123/24.

Surára
Pakidái

/110 cont./

527 Between the patapáanomão festivals the Surára and Pakidái have only a few other festivities in the course of the year. These are but small celebrations, which, for example, take place after the two-months' training of two young men as medicine-man helpers, after a successful war-expedition, upon moving into a newly erected maloka, and in connection with the second menstruation of a girl. The latter has more of an intimate character, for only families of relatives and friends take part in it.

754 825 4. Magic for Sickness, Hunting, Love, and Rain

a) Magic for sickness:

[824] A magic powder is occasionally prepared from the bark ashes of a wild mimosa species (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekuráhihená -- (see also p. 192) and the bone powder of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). In the evening, shortly before twilight sets in, if a gavião-real happens to be flying by or is sitting on a tree, the chief blows this powder in the direction of the bird. The latter receives it and with it transmits sickness to a specific hostile tribe.

224 789 b) Hunting magic:

[782] The evening before a proposed hunting expedition the hunter takes snuff-powder and prays for about 2-3 hours to the hekurá (see pp. 200/201), whereby through them he requests [302] Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) for a successful outcome. Then, before he sets out the next morning, he paints serpentine lines [825] on his face and body with urucú. If his wife accompanies him, she also applies this design, and the snout and feet of a dog that is taken along are painted with the same color. This is [751] supposed to increase the luck of the hunt and is at the same time bound up with defensive magic against possible dangers threatened by poisonous snakes and jaguars.

Surára
Pakidái

/110 cont./

224 If the hunter accompanied by his wife has slain small game or a bird, the wife carries the hunting booty into the community /111/ house. If the man was alone, he brings the animal only to the entrance of his dwelling. It is taken inside by his wife or by another man. The same is true for big game, for example, a tapir, from which a few pieces of meat are first taken along; the rest is fetched later by friendly fellow tribesmen. Thus, the hunter may always carry his booty to the entrance of the maloka, but he may never go inside with it. He must also leave the evisceration of the animal to other men. Subsequently he may roast the meat, to be sure, but after it has been prepared, he is forbidden to eat the first morsel. When
[782] he has finished his meal, he is obliged to pray anew by way of the hekurá to Poré and Perimbó, for the latter demand that one thank them for the hunting booty. If the hunter observes all these rules, the united Supreme Being and the hekurá will always be well-disposed toward him and will always provide for a successful outcome of the hunt.

224 Among many other tribes of South America there are the
191 same or similar conceptions of hunting magic. I can here refer
114 to Zerries, who has gathered together the pertinent source material and made a comparative study of it (537) (538). This

537. Zerries, 1951.

538. Zerries, 1954a.

shows that urucú is almost always used for the red coloring before the hunt. Métraux, however, mentions that the ancient Mocovi in the Gran Chaco smeared the snouts of their dogs with jaguar blood (539). From this Zerries draws the justifiable

539. Métraux, 1944, p. 283.

conclusion that urucú is a substitute for blood (540), which

540. Zerries, 1954a, p. 22.

224
191
114

/111 cont./
Métraux also documents for the Chiriguano (541).

541. Métraux, 1931, p. 154, footnote 1.

It should also be pointed out that the hunting rule so strictly observed by the Surára and Pakidái men, which says that a hunter may never carry his game into the maloka himself, can probably be traced back to Karaiben /Carib/ influences. In this connection Zerries speaks of propitiatory rites relating to the killed animal (542). According to his investigations, the

542. Zerries, 1954a, p. 359.

northern region of South America emerges as the nuclear area, where they are found primarily among Karaiben tribes of the Venezuelan coast and its hinterland (543). The author cites

543. Zerries, 1954a, pp. 136/37, 359/60.

Roth (544) and Crévaux (545) as the most important sources, as

544. Roth, 1915, p. 294.

545. Crévaux, 1883, p. 283.

well as the very old report by Rochefort (546), which shows that

546. Rochefort, 1658, p. 451.

even the Island Karaiben were acquainted with this custom.

832
[824]
c) Love magic:

For the purpose of love magic, young men sometimes wear a curauá-fiber string around the neck, to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the taja (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- h[illegible]rē -- (see p. 83). If the

/111 cont./

832 wearer bites on it and holds it under the nose of a girl or a woman, he gains her favor through the fragrances emanating from it. In fact, I was told that love will then be so great that the woman or the girl would follow him everywhere (547).

547. This type of love magic is reminiscent of a myth of the Aruak /Arawak/ Manao: The Aromatic Root. (Baldus, 1958, pages 32 ff.)

In order to protect themselves from this love magic, married women use two kinds of neck chains. Younger ones [824] have tied to their string of curauá fibers numerous small pieces of tajá root, and older ones, small pieces of the camarau liana (Cipó sp.) -- hií -- (see p. 83). These many pieces of root or liana then counteract the effect of the young men's single piece of root.

754 If a man is angry at a woman because she does not give him a hearing, he can avenge himself in the following manner: [824] On a rainy day he tears off a leaf of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and goes with it into the forest. When he reaches a matamatá tree (Eschweilera matamata Hub.) from which /112/ drops are falling, he lays the palm leaf under the tree. He leaves it there until it has rotted. Out of it comes a worm which the man later fetches and then roasts. If he throws this upon the sleeping woman, she will have no more children.

789 d) Rain magic:
821 Although the Surára and Pakidái appreciate rain more than too strong a radiation from the sun (548), there are occasions when

[171]

548. In contrast to this, I should like to point out that among the Taulipang, for example, there is great fear of rain (Koch-Grünberg, 1916, pp. 130/31).

/112 cont./

789 it is not needed, for example, before hunting expeditions or
[821] during a tribal migration. In this case all the men, women,
[302] and children paint their bodies with a confusion of serpentine lines, in order by this means to command the rain to stop. If
526 this does not help, a tug of war -- toõtotõ -- with a thick liana
789 is arranged. This liana personifies the sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) --
[796] uaikonyã -- which, as a strong water-animal, has the power to induce Porê to stop shaking the rain tree (see p. 199). At first only two groups of red-painted men engage in the tug of war. But if the rain simply will not abate, red-painted women also take part in it. Their participation is supposed to increase the
[796] pressure on the sucuriju, for it is assumed that it is of the female sex and thus particularly well-disposed toward women. Such a
[857] tug of war often goes on for several hours. In most cases, besides adults, I also saw children who imitated it with a thin liana.

526 If it happens to rain while the sun is shining, the Surára
789 and Pakidái believe that a serious fight has broken out between
821 the moon, from which the rain comes, and the sun. Then all the members of the tribe feel obligated to come to the aid of their Supreme Being, the moon. They do this by again forming two mixed groups of men and women -- one symbolically represents the population of the moon and the other that of the sun -- who throw wet earth at each other; this "battle" is called xejejõ.

782 5. A Special Way of Showing Gratitude to Porê and Perimbõ

In connection with the festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.) after the training period of the two medicine-man helpers (see pp. 143 f.), after the curing of the sick (see pp. 211 ff.), and other magic ceremonies, the people want to thank Porê and Perimbõ (see p. 197) in a special way, outside of the customary prayers which take place through the hekurá (see pp. 199/201). For this purpose a large calabash is filled with earth,
[824] into which, in a circle, are stuck red-painted twigs of the imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.), which are connected

Surára
Pakidái

/112 cont./

782 with threads of Bromelia fibers. Such threads are also drawn
[824] crisscross over the sticks, and on them are glued down-feathers
[237] of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). The structure --
akuanohé --, which women and girls are not permitted to see,
gives the effect of a man's head, in the hair of which are glued
down-feathers of the gavião-real. By order of the chief, several
warriors take this calabash into the forest and set it down in a
particular spot.

825
202

6. Birds as Transmitters of Messages

On May 21, 1956, in his maloka on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, a Surára man, Honohomá, was engaged in a loud monologue which started about 4:00 in the morning and lasted until about 6:00; during this he was lying in
[114] his hammock. As to the meaning of this apparent monologue, my little interpreter Jibeauwõ afterwards gave me the following explanation: When Honohomá woke up, he heard the singing of the little bird kaukaumã, a japim (Cacicus cela L.), in which at the time, however, the soul of Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, was to be found. The latter was living with his tribe in the /113/ maloka on the middle Demini. The soul in the little bird said that the Pakidái, after the festival in memory of the dead, had arrived safely at their communal house. At the same time it reported the course of the journey in detail, the hunting successes, and the planting of new banana trees and pupunha palms. Whenever the little bird interrupted its song for a time, Honohomá would tell it about how the Surára were getting along.

According to the belief of the two tribes, the little japim is a transmitter of messages, who reports illness and death, as well as military encounters with hostile tribes.

/113 cont./

7. Types of Sports

526
[578] Aside from the stick duels -- xelekuhahé --, which are carried out for reasons of jealousy (549), all other types of sports

549. I have already described these stick duels in detail (Becher, 1959, pp. 162-167).

have a religious or magical character.

[237] Noteworthy above all is the game of ball with a monkey bladder -- yarobussí. Only male members of the tribe may take part in it, and for this purpose they always put on their cotton belts. Then they form a circle and keep hitting the bladder upward with the palm of the hand; it then represents both the sun and the moon (Ill. 50).

526
171
821 This game of ball is very similar to that of the Uitoto /Witoto/, even with respect to the lunar and solar conceptions associated with it (550a). Moreover, it should be mentioned

550a. Preuss, 1921, pp. 123, 133-136; 1923, pp. 644 to 659.

that in a myth of the Paressi both celestial bodies are thought of as feather balls (550b). Finally, reference is to be made to the

550b. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 435/36.

Aztec popular belief in which the flying ball is likewise identified with sun and moon (551).

551. Krickeberg, 1948, p. 139.

526 Three other types of sports of the Surára and Pakidái have already been described elsewhere: petapoanhamú, the fight

/113 cont./

526 between two men embracing each other, which is performed in a sitting position (see p. 233); the tug of war (see p. 244); and the throwing of wet earth at one another (see p. 244).

539 [115] IX. Myths and Legends

The following myths and legends were told me by the Surára chief Hewemãõ:

The Creation of the Yanonámi

The earth already existed and was full of plants and animals, but as yet was without human beings. But one day the first man, Uruhí, came out of the leg of the xiapó, a small bird with black and yellow feathers similar to the japim. A short time later the bird-leg gave birth to a second man, then a third, a fourth, and finally a woman, Petá. These four men and the woman lived together in perfect harmony. Petá, to be sure, was the wife of Uruhí, the first-born, but the other three brothers also had the right to have sexual intercourse with her (552).

[835] 552. Among the Surára and Pakidái, the younger, unmarried brothers likewise have the right to have sexual intercourse with the wives of their elder brothers. Moreover, the members of both tribes believe that a woman is able to have strong children only if she has frequent intercourse with other men during her pregnancy.

[843]

After a year Petá gave birth to a strong, healthy boy who grew rapidly and called all four men "father" (553). The boy's

[601] 553. The Surára and Pakidái children also call the unmarried brother of their father, not uncle, but likewise father.

Surára
Pakidái

/113 cont./

539 chief delight was to kill small birds with his little bow and arrow. But one night, for fun, /114/ he aimed at the moon and shot off his arrow. At once an eclipse of the moon set in. Blood dripped down and poured like a flood over the entire earth (554). From this blood came all the Yanonámi, that is,

[184] [821]

554. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái children are strictly forbidden to this day to shoot their arrows in the direction of the moon.

the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri, Xiriána, Karauateri, Wa[illegible]á, etc. (see p. 12).

The Origin of Fire

539
392 The virgin forest with its wealth of plants and fruits was already created, and human beings, as well as all kinds of animals were living upon the earth. Only fire was still lacking. Besides their vegetable food, the human inhabitants were therefore able to eat only raw meat, and at night they shivered in their hammocks. They knew, however, that the cayman (jacaretinga) had fire in its mouth. Despite all entreaties, it would not give up any of it. So people resorted to a ruse. They asked the hummingbird to fly around the cayman and make jokes. At first the cayman was unmoved and took no notice of the little bird. But finally he could not suppress his laughter any longer, whereupon fire shot out of his opened mouth. The people were very happy about it and thanked the hummingbird extravagantly.

/114 cont./

539
245

The Origin of the Banana

In olden times the Surára men were only hunters, and the women gathered the fruits of the jungle. They were unacquainted as yet with any kind of agriculture. One morning, however, when the Surára man Horonamú had arisen especially early and stepped out in front of the maloka, he saw to his astonishment peculiar large plants full of fruits. Immediately he wanted to pick one, but the voice of Poré, the lord of the moon, who, along with the latter, represents the supreme divine power (see p. 197), caused him to stiffen. Poré, however, in a very friendly way, said that he had grown these plants for the Surára and that their name was kuratá. He then ordered him to inform all the members of the tribe that the kuratá should be cultivated, for with it they would never have to suffer hunger again and would not have to rely solely on hunting luck. When Horonamú wanted to express his gratitude, Poré had already disappeared.

The First Pupunha Palms

The Surára were already acquainted with the banana tree, and this was the first plant that they cultivated. One night a japim (Cacicus cela L.) came flying and, on orders from Poré, planted pupunha palms (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) between the banana trees. Early in the morning it wakened the Surára with a particularly loud song, and when they stepped outside their maloka in astonishment, it told them that this palm was called komunamá and its fruits -- araxá -- were good for eating as well as for making a refreshing drink.

539

The Creation of the Jibóia-vermelha

Once upon a time there lived the Surára Karemoná, who was very quarrelsome by nature. Every day he mistreated his two wives and quarreled with the other men. He never submitted to the orders of the chief and even tried to undermine the

/114 cont./

539 discipline of the tribe. Since all admonitions were of no avail, he was banished from the community.

Karemoná painted his body with urucú and left the maloka. After he had wandered about in the forest for a few hours, he lay down wearily on the ground and fell asleep. While he was asleep Poré transformed him into the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatá -- because of his insubordination.

539
825

The Creation of the Black Jaguar

The Surára were already acquainted with clearing by burning and cultivated banana trees and pupunha palms. One day they saw a large toad in the forest clearing. A Surára wanted to kill it, but it fled to the other /115/ side of the roça (forest clearing) and there turned into a black jaguar.

The Creation of the Tapir

A cuatá monkey fell from a tall tree and was unable to climb up again. After several unsuccessful attempts, it turned into a tapir.

The Creation of Wild Pigs

A band of cuxiú monkeys fell from a tall tree. After futile attempts at climbing up again they were transformed into wild pigs.

The Creation of the Ant Bear

539
606
862

A Surára man who had raped his mother-in-law was turned into an ant bear by Poré as punishment. Since then there has been in-law avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and the meat of the ant bear may not be eaten by members of the tribe.

/115 cont./

X. Character and Way of Thinking

157 [179] In spite of insignificant contacts with the caboclos (rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, planters, and the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini), the Surára and Pakidái have preserved throughout the character of unspoiled primitive peoples who have not yet been alienated from such traditional Indian virtues as hospitality, moderation, 123 and honesty. I discovered this even on the occasion of my first 157 contact with them. When I, together with my servant Mateus, met nine Surára warriors on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, they gazed in wonder at our boat, the outboard motor, and the numerous gifts and trade articles in the form of knives, axes, pots, glass beads, etc., but they did not touch anything. They were also immediately willing to take us to their maloka, about 70 kilometers away, and carried the trunks, boxes and bags weighing 50-60 kilograms (555) (556), which, to

555. Becher, 1957a, p. 115.

556. Becher, 1958, p. 153.

their minds, contained tremendous treasures. During the strenuous three-day march, a definite feeling of harmony prevailed; there was constant laughing and jesting. When the Indians heard that Mateus called me "doutor" /doctor/, they burst into particularly hearty laughter and told us that totorí (jabuti /land turtle/) was a fitting name for me. The name remained with me until my departure and was brilliantly appropriate for me, for, in comparison with the free Forest Indians, anyone from civilization presents a very clumsy picture in the forest regions.

These nine warriors could easily have murdered us and departed alone with the gifts and trade articles. But not for a moment was I aware of any danger, for there could not have been more gracious or thoughtful companions. How great their honesty was I should like to document with the following example: During the march on the impassable Indian paths in the eternal

/115 cont./

123 157 twilight of the forest, a packet of cigarettes fell out of my trousers pocket. Who can describe my astonishment when in the evening at a halting place an Indian brought back to me the packet with the contents intact. Naturally, I gave the honest finder the cigarettes and a knife in addition.

Similarly, during my months-long stay with the two tribes I always had all the trunks, boxes, and bags standing open, and yet nothing was ever stolen from me. Even the barter of ethnographic objects always took place, usually under the supervision of the chiefs, in perfect peace and tranquility. When I presented knives, pots, glass beads, and other objects to men, women, or children, /116/ they always took them with impassive faces, [92] but without expressing gratitude. There is no word for "thanks" in their language, any more than there is in the other Indian languages. In their shining eyes, however, I could read that they were pleased.

152 157 Before the departure of a member of the family there are never any sentimental scenes between relatives, let alone endearments, and even at the return one can see aroused emotion only in the shining eyes.

123 In the presence of strangers, women and girls in particular are at first timid and grave, but when one has gained their confidence, they are gay and unrestrained. I very quickly gained the affection of the children and with it also that of their parents and the other adults. One's behavior, of course, plays an important part in relations with the Indians. If one approaches the Surára and Pakidái in a friendly and courteous manner, one can accomplish anything with them. On the other hand, if one expressed himself disapprovingly with regard to their customs and habits, scolded them, or beat a child, he would be inviting their antagonism. Thus, a visit to the malokas of these Indians is not to be recommended to nervous people, for one does not find any rest throughout the entire day, and it is often lacking at night as well. There were always men, women, and children standing or sitting around me. In the beginning, they tirelessly pronounced the words of their language for me, but they never laughed at me if I repeated them with the wrong accent. At first they even

Surára
Pakidái

/116 cont./

123 touched me all over my body, and they examined my spectacles with particular interest (557) and were very astonished at my

557. The Surára chief was so enthusiastic about my spectacles that he asked me to be sure to bring him a pair on my next visit.

blond hair and blue eyes. When I shaved, I was likewise surrounded by a circle of spectators (558). Even when I had to re-

558. Similar experiences were had by Chaffanjon among the Kunuaná (Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 267/68), Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipang and Makuxí /Macusí/ (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 360), and Baldus among the Tapirapé (Baldus, 1956b, p. 606).

lieve myself, I was asked where I was going, and often I was joined by companions.

191 When the Surára and Pakidái see something new for the first time or if they like an object particularly well, they
521 manifest their approval by loud clickings. They love conversation above all else, and even at night they go on talking for
[576] hours. They never interrupt each other, however.

593 Though the man is the head of the family, the wife is
692 regarded as his partner with equal rights, without whose advice he does not undertake anything important. If he has two or
595 more wives, the youngest usually leads a princess's existence, for which even the older ones must contribute. Mistreatment
593 of women occurs only on account of adultery and for reasons of jealousy. But if a man beats his wife or draws blood on her body with the little cutia-tooth knife, several companions of her own sex immediately hasten to her aid. They try to pin down the arms of the angry man, and one woman will attempt to seize his scrotum and squeeze it with all her might, so that

/116 cont./

593 he soon loses all desire for further mistreatment. The other members of the tribe watch such a spectacle with interest. Moreover, it is worth noting that most of the women are very energetic and can scold with persistence. If a woman is angry with her husband, perhaps because he was unfaithful or did not go hunting, she will often scold loudly to herself for hours, so that all the other occupants of the maloka hear every word. [592] Meanwhile, however, the man being scolded remains lying in hammock in stoic calm, for a scolding woman may never be 578 interrupted. But between women, too, there are sometimes regular cannonades of vituperation carried on with the greatest vocal display. I always had the impression that at any moment they would come to blows. Sometimes this actually happens. Then they pull one another by the hair and strike each other in the face and on the rest of the body with the hands. /117/ In this case, other women do not interfere, nor do the men. Everybody watches calmly and waits until the scuffle is over.

855 Children are treated with special love and tenderness. In most cases, they show their gratitude to their parents by bestow-
888 ing upon them everlasting affection. I never saw old people neglected (559). If they became so weak and ill that they were

[171]

559. Baldus also reports of the Tapirapé that the old people are very well treated there (Baldus, 1956, p. 603), whereas later Giacone paints a very gloomy picture in this respect about the Tukano: "Entre os índios dêsses rios, a condição dos velhos é das mais penosas .... Poderíamos dizer, sem medo de errar, que o velho ou a velha, quando não pode mais trabalhar para a famíia, é considerado como bananeira que já deu cacho, e ninguem terá compaixão deles... /Among the Indians of these rivers the situation of the old people is most painful .... We might say, without fear of error, that the old man or old woman, when

Surára Pakidái

/117 cont./

888 [171]

559. (cont.) no longer able to work for the family is regarded like a banana tree that has already produced the fruit, and no one pities them.../" P. Giacone, 1949, p. 25).

no longer able to take part in the general migrations, however, they were killed, in accordance with the tribal custom (see pp. 153/154).

829 [159] The friendly, open nature of all Surára and Pakidái is coupled with a very strongly marked self-assurance. Along with their allies, above all the mighty Xiriána, they feel like rulers of the world, which, in their opinion, consists only of virgin forest, mountains, rivers, and lakes. The caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers), the only members of civilization whom they know, are therefore always treated with a certain compassionate condescension by them, for they are of the opinion that all civilized persons, whites, blacks, and mixed, are weak and powerless and owe their lives solely to the benevolent 000 forbearance of the Indians (560). When I told them about cities

[171]

560. Baldus found similar conceptions among tribes of the northeastern Chaco (Baldus, 1931, p. 114), as did Métraux among the Kayapó /Cayapo/. (Herr Prof. Métraux told me this during the meeting of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde in Berlin, 1957.)

123 When I Told them about Cities
829 in which many white and black people live, of the sea and the big ships sailing on it, they could not grasp this at first and then became very thoughtful. Later, at my departure, they urged me not to travel too far out on the ocean so that I would not fall off the earth-disk (see p. 197).

Surára
Pakidái

/117 cont./

XI. Reasoning Abilities

153 Among the Surára and Pakidái the memory is especially keen, both with respect to the myths and songs, religion, and tribal history, as well as with respect to the flora and fauna and the peculiarities of a landscape (561). Their imitative

[114]

561. In this connection I should like to refer to a remark by Baldus: "By and large as far as the Indian's memory is concerned, he retains only what is useful on the phenominal level accessible to him. He will note each peculiarity of a landscape which he crosses, for that is necessary in order to find the way again and to be able to describe it to his companions. The much lauded 'sense of orientation' of the Indian is nothing but memory" (Baldus, 1931, p. 118)..

123 Their imitative
153 talent is also noteworthy. For example, upon my arrival, writing and drawing seemed new and mysterious to the Indians. When I handed them my fountain pen and pencils and asked them to draw something, neither the children nor men and women managed to produce anything but the customary serpentine lines, circles, and dots which they otherwise draw with urucú on their bodies, faces, and utilitarian objects. But as soon as I drew trees, houses, and animals for them, they were able to copy these figures after a few attempts. They proved indefatigable in this, and once they had started, they did not want to stop at all. Nor was it long before they /118/ were able to copy letters and finally entire words (562) (563).

153
171

562. Baldus reports the same thing about the Indian tribes in the northeastern Chaco: "Once one has taught the Indians

/118 cont./

153
191

562. (cont.)
'to see with our eyes,' they do not lag behind us in penmanship and copying" (Baldus, 1931, p. 118).

563. The experiences of two more investigators should also be cited. First Crevaux, whose following description concerns the Oyampí: "I enjoy reproducing the figures and arabesques with which the people of the village are covered. They are very similar to the carvings in the rock Timéri of the Maroni. It then gives me the idea of cutting a piece of charcoal and giving it to the captain Jean-Louis and asking him to draw in my notebook, which he calls caréta, whereas he calls the drawings that he makes coussiouar. Jean-Louis does not know how to draw very well. On the other hand, young Yami soon makes for me, no longer with charcoal, but with a pencil, drawings of a man, a dog, a tiger, finally all the animals and devils of the country.

"Another Indian reproduces all sorts of arabesques which he is in the habit of painting with genipap.

"Having given some needles to my draftsmen, the question is who will ask me for a pencil in order to blacken the paper. I see that these savages who are accused of being absolutely ignorant of the fine arts draw everything with extraordinary facility;..." /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, pp. 76/77). -- No less interesting is the statement by Karl von den

/118 cont./

153
191

563. (cont.)
Steinen about the Suya on the Xingú, in which he declares that these Indians knew how to use the pencil very well and drew beautiful motifs in his notebook, although he was the first white man they had seen (Karl von den Steinen, 1886, p. 212).

153
[171]
[191]
124
159
[191]

Younger people are distinguished by a gift for rapid comprehension and an astonishing learning capacity. Although these Indians very rarely come in contact with caboclos, and in most cases only the men, both sexes have at their command a rather large store of Portuguese words and figures of speech. One little Surára boy about nine years old, Jubeauwö, also called Mandú, who had spent almost two years in the hut of the palm-fiber gatherer Manuel Antonio Gómez on the Rio Aracá, had a nearly perfect command of the Portuguese language and performed unique service as my interpreter. I owe it to him alone that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the mental culture of the Surára and Pakidái and put together a complete vocabulary (564).

159
734
752

564. Three years ago the little boy suffered dangerous burns on the abdomen by an upset vessel containing boiling tree resin. Since the chief had given up hope that he would recover, he wanted to have

[888]

him given the deathblow. The custom of this tribe, as well as that of the Pakidái, decrees that all old and seriously ill persons who are no longer able to take part in the general migrations must be killed (see pp. 153/154). The grandmother of the little boy, who is an orphan took him secretly one night to the hut of the Spanish palm-fiber gatherer,

/118 cont./

159
734
752

564. (cont.) Manoel Antonio Gómez, who succeeded in saving his life. The chief was said to have been very angry at first over the arbitrary action of the grandmother, but then, when he saw that the little one had recovered, he calmed down.

123 Most men, after but a short time, had no difficulty handling
153 our two guns; a few were soon even operating the outboard
[177] motor, and the Surára chief Hewemão, who showed great interest in my camera, took very acceptable pictures with it.
153 The reasoning power seems to be somewhat more strongly developed among the men than among the women (565).

[114]
[171]

565. This conclusion agrees with an observation by Baldus among the Tumerehã, and the scholar adds a remark which could also be applied to the Surára and Pakidái: "The differences in the talents of the sexes are perhaps the result of their way of life and division of labor. Thus, among the Tumerehã, the man's way of acquiring food has probably developed his acuteness, for he does not merely gather fruits, like the woman, but also goes hunting..." (Baldus, 1931, p. 119).

802 /119/ XII. Counting and Conception of Time

The Surára and Pakidái count only to three:

1 -- mahõn

2 -- porokabõ

3 -- prukatabõ.

Surára
Pakidái

/119 cont./

802 Then comes much -- pruká -- and very much -- pruká, pruka. The opposite of that, little, is called -- porkotauẽ. One hand is called mahõn imẽk, and both hands, porokabõ imẽk. The fingers -- imixõk -- are never used as an aid in counting.

802 The Indians named, to be sure, can determine at a
804 glance whether a quantity has become larger or smaller, but they do not have any way of expressing it in numbers. For example, if 20 arrows are standing together and one increases or reduces the bundle by only one during the owner's absence, he will notice this change at once upon his return.

805 The day begins with the rising of the sun -- petamahujehãu --
821 (Surára), -- bemututuorelí -- (Pakidái) and ends with the setting of the sun -- peimaujaũuk -- (Surára), -- betamtíte -- (Pakidái). The place where the sun rises, however, is called peiuxomoprahomoprariekohẽ by both tribes, and the place where the sun sets, peiuximaakuimate. The rhythm of the day is determined by the position of the sun -- peniboínxi -- (Surára), -- benibeũx -- (Pakidái), the degree of light, the temperature fluctuations, and the wind -- ibokõ -- (Surára), -- yarí -- (Pakidái). In the morning, I was told, a light wind is usually felt, at noon it is almost always calm, and in the afternoon it blows somewhat stronger.

The day is called petamhâruk, the morning henahá, the evening -- petamahuwetehaũk --, and night -- petamatíti. There are no designations for noon and midnight, nor for year, month, and week. One speaks only of the dry season -- peuhaxtiũ -- and the rainy season -- peuõnk.

821 Besides the word for moon -- perimbõ --, there are also designations for new moon -- istoríbe -- and full moon -- perimbóabreu --, as well as for eclipse of the moon -- peauábe -- (Surára), -- hubári -- (Pakidái). The eclipse of the sun is called xomokã by both. There are no special names for individual stars and constellations; one merely speaks in general of stars --
000 purimá -- and big stars -- purimá breu. /The "Bibliography," pp. 120-129, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

2: Becher--261 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
pakidái

List of Illustrations

000

1. Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" on the middle Rio Demini
2. Cachoeira (rapids) dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá (during the dry season)
3. Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá (during the rainy season)
4. Construction of family overnight quarters during migrations of the tribe
5. View of the large, open Surára maloka in the region between the Demini and Aracá
6. A section of the large, open Surára maloka
7. Chief's hut (right) and rooster pen inside the Surára maloka
8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)
9. Hewemãõ, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)
10. The Surára chief Hewemãõ with both of his wives and two children
11. Kurikayawõ, the younger brother of the Surára chief
12. Surára warriors
13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow
14. Porẽniwõ, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment
15. Surára family. (The woman is a member of the Pusheweteri and wears the characteristic fringe belt of this tribe)
16. Xirixana woman, Ironasteri, with deforming facial adornment
17. Nikeromá, a girl of the hostile Karauateri. (She is a captive of the Surára)
18. Nikeromá (rear view)
19. Yaxoima, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing
20. Yaxoima (left) and Rokoahima, two Surára girls
21. Jibeauwõ, my little interpreter (right), and Maushemá. (Two orphan boys from the tribe of the Surára)

Surára
Pakidái

/130 cont./

000 22. Two Surára boys. Xaniwõ (right) and Mauahemá, who is holding a monkey bladder between his legs.
23. The Surára boy Xaniwõ
24. Pakidái woman, Riopemí
25. The two oldest Surára women: Rokomá (right) and Cinapemí
26. Hammock of embira 59.29:36
27. Liana hammock 59.27:39
28. Plaited hammock of cotton 59.27:38
29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock
30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")
31. Pakidái Indian making fire
32. Temporary carrying-basket of palm leaves 59.29:33
33. Carrying baskets of bast strips from the curauá plant 59.29:31
34. Woman's large carrying-basket made of liana strips 59.27:34
35. Surára woman plaiting a woman's large carrying-basket
36. Small basket with handle, made of liana strips 59.29:32
37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka
38. The Surára chief Hewemão doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand
39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus
40. Porêhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background
41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth
42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with the bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe
48. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground)

Surára, Pakidái

/130 cont./

000 44. Surára and Pakidái men blow snuff-powder into each other's noses

45. Beginning of the state of ecstasy after the taking of the snuff-powder

46. Height of the ecstasy

47. Circle dance in the state of ecstasy

48. Petapoanhamú -- the embracing-combat performed in a sitting position

49. Curing the sick in pouring rain. (Five Surára medicine-man helpers dance around a youth sick with chicken pox)

50. Ball game with a monkey bladder

/131/

List of Figures

Fig.		page
1a-c.	Ground plan and cross-section of the open maloka with chief's hut	27
2a.	Wide, lancet-shaped, bamboo arrow-point 59.27:52	38
2b.	Narrow, lancet-shaped, bamboo arrow-point 59.27:53	38
2c.	Arrow point with barb 59.27:54	38
2d.	Wooden arrow-point with coating of poison 59.27:57	38
2e.	Forked wooden arrow-point 59.27:56	38
2f.	Arrow feathering 59.27:52	38
2g.	Boy's bow 59.29:59	38
2h.	Boy's arrow 59.29:60	38
2i.	Bow with cross-section and string fastening 59.27:50	38
3.	Position for shooting with the bow	47
4a-b.	Bamboo quiver and a rubbing of the incised design 59.27:46	51
5.	Bamboo quiver with fire-drill apparatus tied on 57.33:28/29	54
6a.	Men's belt, detail 59.27:17	65

/131 cont./

		page
6b.	Men's belt, diagram 59.27:17	65
7a.	Young men's belt, detail 59.29:12	66
7b.	Young men s belt, diagram 59.29:12	66
8a–b.	Part of a women's belt 59.27:20	68
8c.	Part of a women's belt, diagram 59.27:20. .	68
9a–e.	Various paintings from women's and girls' belts 59.29:14, 59.29:15, 59.27:21, 59.27:22, 59.29:16	68
10a–d.	Various paintings from men's and young men's belts 59.27:19, 59.27:17, 59.27:12	69
11.	Fringed belt of an old Pusheweterí woman, with pierced mussel shells 59.29:18	70
12.	Child's belt made out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) 59.29:24	71
13a–b.	Chest string-bundle of the women, detail and diagram of the painting 59.27:27	79
14a–b.	Upper-arm string-band of the men 59.27:31	81
15a–b.	Upper-arm string-band of the young men 59.27:30	81
16a–c.	Upper-arm string-band of the women 59.29:27	81
17.	Upper-arm string-band of the women 59.29:25 a+b	82
18a–b.	Detail of the end fastening on a hammock of embira, as well as loop and knot diagram 59.29:36	99
19.	End fastening of a liana hammock 57.33:25	103
20.	Diagram of the interweaving of the end fastening of a liana hammock 57.33:25 . . .	103
21.	Initial plaiting of a women's carrying-basket 59.27:35	109

/131 cont./ page

22.	Plaited fire-fan 59.29:35	113
23a.	Band for carrying children, made of embira bast 59.29:42	113
23b.	Part of an embira trunk with beaten tree-bast which has already been partly pulled off 59.29:44	113
23c.	Bast beater made of embira wood 59.29:45	113
24.	Jamaru fruit 59.27:42	116
25.	Small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) 59.29:40 . . .	117
26.	Knife made out of the ventral shell of the perema (water turtle) 59.29:41	117
27.	Climbing ring 57.33:35	121
28a.	Bamboo tube for storing snuff-powder 59.27:13	194
28b.	Bamboo snuff-tube 59.27:16	194
29.	Arrangement of the dancers on the occasion of a ceremony of the festival in memory of the dead	227

Map

Location of the Settlement Area of the Surára and Pakidái

/The "Subject Index," pp. 132-133, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text. The appendix, "On the Language of the Surara and Pakidai," pp. 134-138, appears in this file as a separate source; see 3:Rodrigues. The end-illustrations follow here on pp. 266-281 of the translation; in the original source the pagination is begun anew for the illustrations, which appear there on pp. 1-16 at the end of the volume./

2: Becher--266 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidái

/1/

137
133
648

Ill. 1. Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" on the middle Rio Demini

2: Becher--267 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/2/

133
139

Ill. 2. Cachoeira (rapids) dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá (during the dry season)

Ill. 3. Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá (during the rainy season)

2: Becher--268 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/3/

342

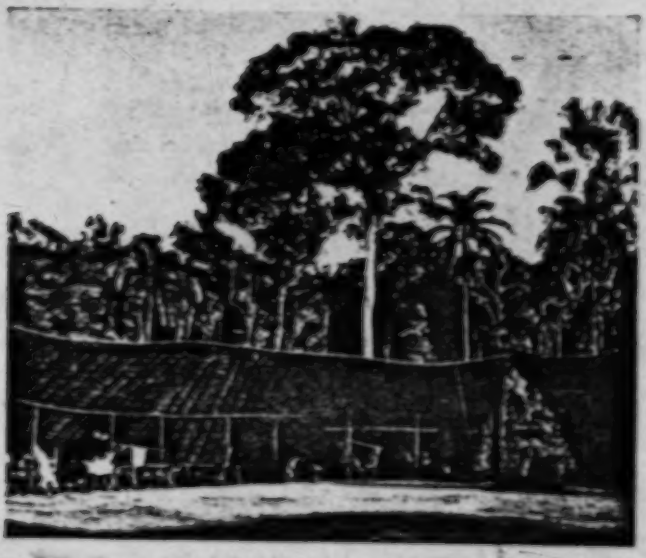
Ill. 4. Construction of family overnight quarters during migrations of the tribe

133
137
361

Ill. 5. View of the large open Surára maloka in the region between the Demini and Aracá

2: Becher--269 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/4/
137
342
361



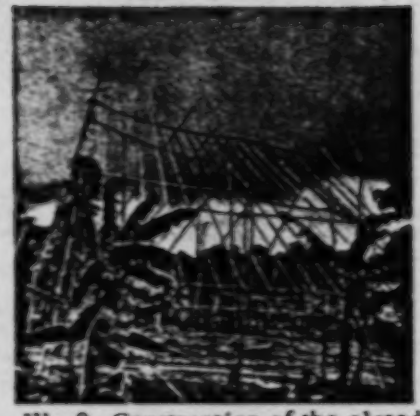
Ill. 6. A section of the large, open Surára maloka

342
361
231
343
622

Ill. 7. Chief's hut (right) and rooster pen inside the Surára maloka

2: Becher--270 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

342
361



Ill. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)

142
301
302
291
622

Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)

Ill. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children

142
291
301
302
854
622

142
301
302

Ill. 11. Kurikayawó, the younger brother of the Surára chief

2: Becher--271 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
/6/
142
411
302
291
516

Ill. 12. Surára warriors

142
291
411
516
←
142
411
301
302
342
291
624
→

Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow

Ill. 14. Potéhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

2: Becher-- 272 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Shiriana
Karauateri
Pusehewéteri

/7/

142
291
302
516
854

142
301
302

Ill. 15. Surára family. (The woman is a member of the Pusehewéteri and wears the characteristic fringed belt of this tribe)

Ill. 16. Xiriána woman, Ironasteri, with deforming facial adornment

137
142
291
302

Ill. 17. Nikeromá, a girl of the hostile Karauateri. (She is a captive of the Surára)

Ill. 18. Nikeromá (rear view!)

2: Becher--273 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

/8/

142
302
304
←

142
291
302
516
→

Ill: 19. Yaxoíma, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing

Ill. 20. Yaxoíma (left) and Rokoahíma, two Surára girls

124
137
142
291
302
516
←

142
291
302
237
516
→

Ill. 21. Jibeauwõ, my little interpreter (right), and Mauahemá (two orphan boys from the tribe of the Surára)

Ill. 22. Two Surára boys. Xaniwõ (right) and Mauahemá, who holds a monkey bladder between his leg

2: Becher--274 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára, Pakidái

/9/

Ill. 23. The Surára boy Xamiwõ

139
142
291
302
516

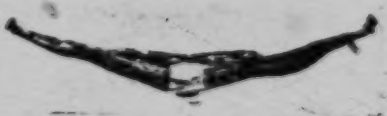
142
302
304

Ill. 24. Pakidái woman, Riopemí

Ill. 25. The two oldest Surára women: Rokomã (right and Cinapemí

142
302
516

Ill. 26. Hammock of embira



352

Ill. 27. Liana hammock

Ill. 28. Plaited hammock of cotton

2: Becher--275 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/10/
Surára
Pakidái

352
516
854
593

Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

342
231
←

142
302
291
516
372
→

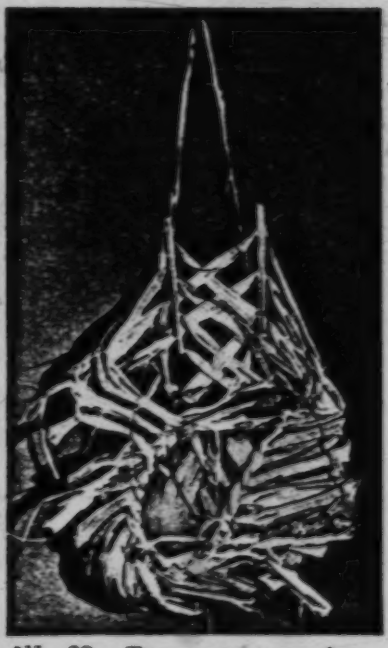
Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

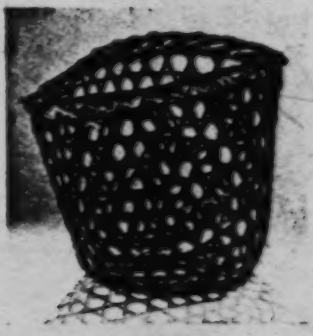
2: Becher--276 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/11/



Ill. 32. Temporary carrying basket of palm leaves



415
285

Ill. 33. Carrying basket of bast strips from the curauá plant

531

Ill. 34. Woman's large carrying-basket made of liana strips

Ill. 35. Surára woman plaiting a woman's large carrying-basket

142
302
516
285

415
285

Ill. 36. Small basket with handle, made of liana strips

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/12/

137
←

137
241
622
516
412
→

Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

137
481
←

114
142
302
291
516
624
→

Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Porêhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

142
302
296

Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

769
142
291
516
302
342
415
266

Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

516
342
411
535

Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

2: Becher--279 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

142
516
276
769
291

Ill. 44. Surára and Pakidái men blow snuff-powder into each other's noses

769
276

Ill. 45. Beginning of the state of ecstasy after the taking of the snuff-powder

2: Becher--280 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidái

769
276
142
291
302

Ill. 46. Height of ecstasy

Ill. 47. Circle dance in the state of ecstasy

769
276
535

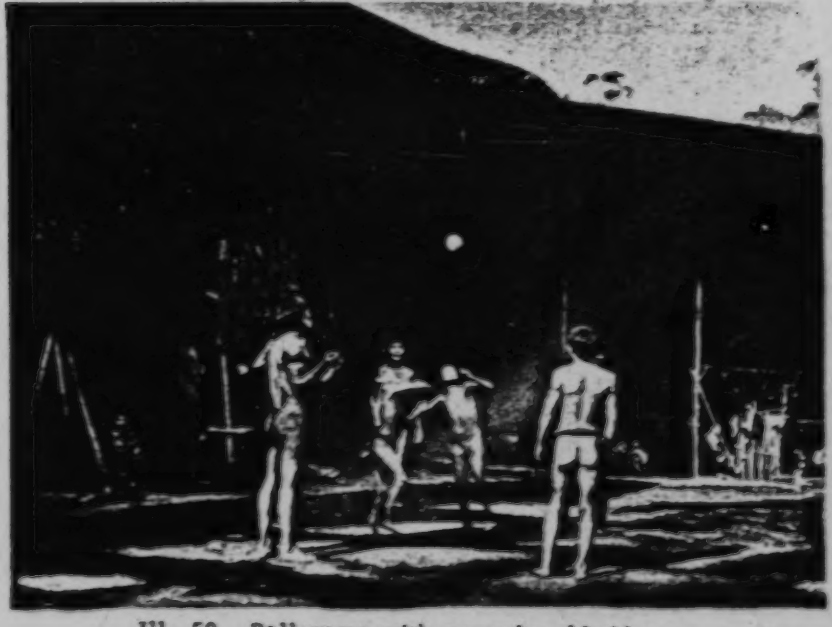
769
276

Ill. 48. Petapoanhamú -- the embracing-combat performed in a sitting position

2: Becher--281 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/16/
Surára
Pakidái
755
756
291

Ill. 49. Curing the sick in pouring rain. (Five Surára medicine-man helpers dance around a youth sick with chicken pox)

526
239



Ill. 50. Ball game with a monkey bladder

262

/For information on the wide variety of edible food items collected by the Yanoama, see category 222./

2: Becher

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidai

417

/For information on "windscreens" and "windscreen" construction utilized as one form of house construction among the Surára and Pakidái, see category 342./

2: Becher

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidai

756

/For information on the initiation and training of young Surára and Pakidái men in matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing of the sick and tribal traditions, prior to their obtaining full adult status in the society, see category 884./

2: Becher

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

776

/Information on the hekurá, gigantic prototypes of all the species of plants and animals, has been filed in category 774./

2: Becher

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidai

796

/For ceremonies associated with the annual feast of the dead, see category 769./

2: Becher

SOAS Yanoama

MITTEILUNGEN
AUS DEM MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE IN HAMBURG
XXVI

DIE SURÁRA UND PAKIDÁI

ZWEI YANONÁMI-STÄMME IN NORDWESTBRASILIEN

VON
HANS BECHER

MIT ANHANG:
ÜBER DIE SPRACHE DER SURÁRA UND PAKIDÁI

VON
ARYON DALL'IGNA RODRIGUES

1960

KOMMISSIONSVERLAG CRAM, DE GRUYTER & CO. HAMBURG

[P iiii] [Title Page]
[PP i-ii contain no textual material]

NE 37
.H31c
36

[P. iv]

Vorwort

Diese Monographie enthält die Ergebnisse einer neunmonatigen Untersuchung, welche ich von Oktober 1955—Juni 1956 bei zwei der Wissenschaft noch unbekannten Indianerstämmen in Nordwestbrasilien durchführte.

Meine Reise und die Auswertung ihrer Ergebnisse wurden durch die großzügige Unterstützung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft ermöglicht, wofür ich derselben zu tiefstem Dank verpflichtet bin.

Meinem verehrten Lehrer, Herrn Prof. Dr. Franz Termer, möchte ich herzlich danken, daß er diese Arbeit, deren Ausführung er mit Rat und Tat unterstützte, für wert befand, in die Mitteilungsreihe des Hamburgischen Museums für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte aufgenommen zu werden.

Von Herrn Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, dem Leiter der Studienabteilung des Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, bekam ich die Anregung, jene noch unerforschten Stämme nördlich des mittleren Rio Negro aufzusuchen. Durch seine Vermittlung erhielt ich hierfür auch die Genehmigung des Direktors sowie jegliche Unterstützung dieser von Marschall Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon gegründeten Organisation und eine freie Flugreise mit einem Militärflugzeug von Rio de Janeiro nach Manaus. Es ist mir daher ein aufrichtiges Bedürfnis, dem Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, besonders Herrn Prof. Darcy Ribeiro und der brasilianischen Luftwaffe, meinen ergebenen Dank abzustatten.

Der Universität São Paulo, vor allem dem Dekan, Herrn Prof. Dr. Paulo Sawaya, und dem Vizedekan, Herrn Prof. Dr. Antonio Soares Amora, danke ich für die Gewährung eines Stipendiums, Juni 1954—September 1955, wodurch es mir möglich war, unter so hervorragenden Gelehrten wie Herrn Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus und Herrn Prof. Dr. Egon Schaden meine Kenntnisse der brasilianischen Ethnologie zu erweitern und mich gründlich auf die bevorstehende Arbeit im Felde vorzubereiten. Den beiden genannten Herren werde ich in Dankbarkeit verbunden bleiben.

Wertvolle Ratschläge, welche mir bei meiner Expedition von großem Nutzen waren, gaben mir Herr Prof. Dr. med. Henrique da Rocha Lima (†) sowie Herr Prof. Dr. José Antonio Benton, Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Saake, S. V. D., Herr Harald Schultz und Frau Wilma, alle São Paulo.

Hilfreiche Unterstützung fand ich in Manaus bei Herrn Alípio Edmundo Lage, dem Chef der 1. Inspetoria Regional do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, sowie in der dortigen kleinen deutschen Kolonie bei den Familien Prof. Dr. Harald Sioli, Kurt Polack und Gerhard Lindenberg.

Mit inniger Dankbarkeit gedenke ich aber meiner liebenswerten Freunde, der Suráro- und Pakidái-Indianer, die mich so herzlich aufnahmen und mir unermüdlich bei der Arbeit halfen; ihnen gebührt in erster Linie das Verdienst am erfolgreichen Verlauf des Unternehmens. Besondere Erwähnung verdienen hier vor allem der Suráro-Häuptling Hewemão und seine Brüder Kurikayawó und Inxiemsú, mein kleiner Dolmetscher Jibeauwó (s. S. 118) sowie der Pakidái-Häuptling Karenauã und der Kriegshäuptling Porthiwõ.

Viel verdanke ich auch meinem treuen Diener, dem Tukano-Indianer Mateus Dias, einem Angehörigen des Indianerschutzpostens Ajuricaba am mittleren Rio Demini. Er war mir ein unentbehrlicher Helfer in allen Lebenslagen dieser neun Monate.

Sehr verbunden bin ich aber ebenfalls der brasilianischen Landbevölkerung am Rio Negro und an den Flüssen Demini und Aracá sowie dem Personal des Indianerschutzpostens Ajuricaba am mittleren Demini und der Missionsstation der Salesianer in Barcelos. Wohin ich auch kam, überall wurde mir eine kaum vorstellbare Gastfreundschaft zuteil. Hervorzuheben sind hier vor allem der spanische Pflanzer Manoel Antonio Gómez vom Rio Aracá und die deutsche Ordensschwester Klara Jakob von der Salesianermission in Barcelos, welche mich während meiner Malariaanfälle in aufopfernder Weise pflegten. Der gleiche Dank gebührt den Ärzten und Schwestern in dem Hospital de Isolamento „Emilio Ribas" in São Paulo, wo mir nach meiner Rückkehr zwei Monate lang unentgeltlich eine schwere Leberinfektion ausgeheilt wurde.

Herrn Dr. Koch und Herrn Müller von der Bayer-Filiale in Rio de Janeiro danke ich für die geschenkweise überlassenen Medikamente. Dadurch war es mir möglich, vielen kranken Indianern und Cabocios zu helfen und eigene Leiden zu beheben.

Bei meinem Freund und Kollegen Dr. Dall'Igna Rodrigues bedanke ich mich für wichtige Hinweise, welche er mir anläßlich der Ausarbeitung dieser Monographie gab und für den vergleichenden sprachlichen Anhang.

Aber auch den Mitarbeitern vom Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, die einen so großen Anteil an der Gestaltung dieser Arbeit haben, bin ich zu großem Dank verpflichtet. Es sind dies Herr Dr. Herbert Tischner, der mir bei der Drucklegung mit seinem Rat und seiner Erfahrung behilflich war, Fräulein Dascha Detering, die mit großer Sorgfalt die Zeichnungen und die Landkarte anfertigte und selbständig die in dieser Arbeit dargestellten textilen Techniken bearbeitete; ferner Herr Hans Cantzler, der mehrere Gegenstände photographierte und von meinen Aufnahmen Vergrößerungen herstellte.

Abschließend möchte ich Herrn Prof. Dr. Herbert Freudenthal und meiner Frau danken, daß sie mir unermüdlich beim Korrekturlesen halfen und der Druckerei J. J. Augustin für die gute drucktechnische Ausführung des vorliegenden Bandes.

Die ethnographischen Sammlungen sind in den Besitz des Museu Paulista, São Paulo und des Hamburgischen Museums für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte übergegangen. Alle im Figuren- und Abbildungsverzeichnis angeführten Inventarnummern sind diejenigen der im Hamburgischen Museum befindlichen Stücke.

Hamburg, Weihnachten 1959 Hans Becher

Inhaltsverzeichnis

Seite

Vorwort V

I. Geographische Einführung 1

II. Die zivilisierten Bewohner des Demini-Aruká-Gebiets 3

III. Die ethnische Zugehörigkeit der Surára und Pakidái 5

IV. Geschichtliche Daten 7

V. Körperliche Beschaffenheit 9

VI. Technologie und materielle Kultur 10

1. Handformen 10
2. Brüche 16
3. Jagd- und Kriegswaffen nebst Zubehör 17
4. Feuerung 25
5. Zwirnen und Spinnen 26
6. Tracht und Schmuck 27
   a) Hüftschnüre und Gürtel 27
   b) Brustschnüre 30
   c) Arm-, Fuß- und Beinschnüre 37
   d) Halsschnüre und -ketten aus unorthoptischem Material 39
   e) Haartracht 39
   f) Deformierender Gesichtsschmuck 40
   g) Tatauierung 41
   h) Bemalung 43
   i) Fußschmuck 43
   j) Perlenschmuck 43
7. Hängematten 45
8. Korbflechterei 49
9. Kindertragband 51
10. Gefäße 53
11. Werkzeuge 54
12. Kleidungsstücke 55
13. Bereitung von Urucu 57

VII. Soziale Organisation 57

1. Allgemeines 57
2. Namen 57
3. Politische Gliederung 60
4. Lebenszyklus 62
   a) Geburtsvorgeschichte 62
   b) Speisetabus während der Schwangerschaft 64
   c) Geburt 65
   d) Säuglings- und Kleinkindalter 68
   e) Namengebung 69
   f) Kindheit 69

Seite

g) Heirat ... 66
h) Pubertätsriten für Mädchen ... 66
i) Initiationsriten junger Männer ... 67
j) Geschlechtsleben ... 68
k) Tod und Bestattungsbräuche ... 69
3. Krieg — nimyu — ... 73
4. Tributzahlungen und Begräbnisgemeinschaft ... 74
5. Erwerb des Lebensunterhalts ... 75
a) Allgemeines ... 75
b) Jagd ... 75
c) Fischfang ... 77
d) Sammeln ... 78
e) Feldbau ... 79
8. Nahrungsbereitung ... 82
9. Mahlzeiten und Gebräuche beim Essen ... 83
10. Zahme Tiere ... 83
11. Genußmittel ... 88
12. Hygiene ... 89

VIII. Religion und Magie ... 91
1. Das religiöse Weltbild ... 91
2. Krankheitsbegriff ... 96
a) Allgemeines ... 96
b) Zauberkur — *Rahwá* — für Xamanê ... 97
c) Zauberkur — *Rahwá* — für Xamanâ ... 100
3. Religiöse Feste ... 102
4. Krankheits-, Jagd-, Liebes- und Regenzauber ... 110
a) Krankheitszauber ... 110
b) Jagdzauber ... 110
c) Liebeszauber ... 111
d) Regenzauber ... 112
5. Eine besondere Art der Denkbewegung gegenüber *Pwë* und *Pejulahë* ... 112
6. Vögel als Nachrichtenübermittler ... 112
7. Sportarten ... 113

IX. Mythen und Legenden ... 113
Die Schöpfung der Yanomâmi ... 113
Der Ursprung des Feuers ... 114
Die Herkunft der Banane ... 114
Die ersten Peguaiba-Palmen ... 114
Die Erschaffung der Jõkõa-vermelha ... 114
Die Erschaffung des schwarzen Jaguars ... 114
Die Erschaffung des Tapirs ... 115
Die Erschaffung der Wildschweine ... 115
Die Erschaffung des Ameisenbären ... 115

X. Charakter und Denkweise ... 115

XI. Verständnismäßige Fähigkeiten ... 117

XII. Zählen und Zeitauffassung ... 119

Literatur ... 120

Verzeichnis der Abbildungen ... 130

Verzeichnis der Figuren ... 131

Sachregister ... 132

Anhang: ÜBER DIE SPRACHE DER SURÁRA UND PAKIDÁI. Von Aryon Dall Igna Rodrigues ... 134

Lage des Siedlungsgebietes der Yanoa und Pakidai

[facing p. 1]

I. Geographische Einführung

Das Wohn- und Streifgebiet der Surára und Pakidái liegt zwischen den Flüssen Demini und Aracá — eine Terra incognita innerhalb des großen, völkerkundlich und geographisch bisher so gering erschlossenen Raumes zwischen Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima und Rio Negro.

Der Rio Demini ist ein linker Nebenfluß des mittleren Rio Negro. Seine Quelle befindet sich in der Serra Parima, im brasilianisch-venezolanischen Grenzgebiet, und die Mündung kurz oberhalb von Barcelos, jener früheren Hauptstadt der „Capitania do Rio Negro". Das Wasser dieses Flusses ist weiß, während die zahlreichen Uferseen und alle Zuflüsse, wie z. B. der Aracá, ein rechter Nebenfluß des unteren Demini, schwarzes Wasser enthalten. Die Nebenflüsse des Aracá hingegen zeichnen sich durch klares Wasser aus. Diese Merkwürdigkeit hängt mit den Bodenverhältnissen, der Bodenerosion und der Topographie in den Einzugsgebieten zusammen. So bedingt die Bodenerosion in stark hügligem Gelände eine helle Färbung, während in einer stark verflachten, sumpfigen Gegend dunkle Humusstoffe ins Wasser übertreten und dieses verdunkeln. Bemerkenswert ist weiterhin, daß schwarzes Wasser geründer und wohlschmeckender ist und beim Stehen keinen schmutzigen Satz absondert. Auch Wasserschildkröten und Fische, die in schwarzem Wasser leben, sind schmackhafter als die gleichen Tiere aus Weißwasserflüssen oder -seen. Außerdem ist hervorzuheben, daß Moskiten an schwarzem Wasser in wesentlich geringerem Maße auftreten als an weißem. Am Rio Demini kann man sich der kleinen Plums (*Simulium* sp., Tagesstechmücken) und der großen Carapanãs (*Anopheles*), letztere sind die gefährlichen Malariaüberträger, kaum erwehren. Der Unterlauf und ein Teil des Mittellaufes sind daher vollständig fieberverseucht.

Beide Arten des Wassers bewirken auch eine verschiedenartige Vegetation. Das Charakteristikum des Rio Demini sind die Igapós (Überschwemmungswälder mit hohen, dicht nebeneinanderstehenden Bäumen), zwischen denen es nur ganz selten eine Terra firme gibt. Auf den höheren Ufern des Aracá findet man dagegen vorwiegend niedrigen Buschwald. Als wichtigste Nutzpflanzen sind am Mittellauf des Demini die Seringueiras (Gummibäume — *Hevea brasiliensis* Muell. Arg.) zu erwähnen und am Aracá und seinen Nebenflüssen Piaçaba-Palmen (*Attalea funifera* Mart. e *Leopoldinia piassaba* Wal.). Eine wirtschaftliche Bedeutung haben auch die im Mündungsgebiet des Demini und am Unterlauf des Aracá auftretenden Kastanienwälder. Die Kastanie, oder genauer, die Kastanie von Pará (*Bertholletia excelsa* H.B.K. — ihre Früchte sind in Deutschland als Pará-Nüsse bekannt), gilt ihrer hohen Krone wegen, mit der sie alle anderen Bäume überragt, als die Königin der Urwälder Amazoniens. Am unteren Aracá ist der Itaúba-Baum (*Silvia itaúba* Pax.) von besonderer Wichtigkeit, da dieser das beste Nutzholz jener Gegend liefert. Schließlich sind noch einige weitere Baum- und Palmarten zu erwähnen, welche sowohl am Demini als auch am Aracá vorkommen:

a) Bäume: Imbaúba (*Cecropia palmata* Wild.), Angelim-amargoso (*Andira vermifuga* Mart.), Maçaranduba (*Mimusops* sp.), Embireira (*Anonaceae* sp.), Matamatazeiro (*Eschweilera matamata* Hub.), Taxizeiro (*Couratarieae* sp.), Inglazeiro (*Inga* sp.), Abiurana (*Lucuma* sp.), Cajuzeiro (*Anacardium* sp.), Lucuma (*Lucuma*

marocarpa Hub.), wilder Kakaobaum (*Theobroma* sp.), wilder Zitronenbaum (*Rubiacea* sp.) und Zedern (*Meliacea* sp.).

b) Palmen: Açaí (*Euterpe oleracea* Mart.), Bacaba (*Oenocarpus distichus* Mart. oder *Oenocarpus bacaba* Mart.), Buriti (*Mauritia vinifera* Mart.), Buçu (*Manicaria saccifera* Gaertn.), Carnaúba (*Attalea spectabilis* Mart.), Inajá (*Maximiliana regia* Mart.), Patauá (*Oenocarpus bataua* Mart.), Paxiúba (*Iriartea exorrhiza* Mart.), Pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa* Mart.), Tucumã (*Astrocaryum* sp.) und Ubim (*Geonoma* sp.).

Die beiden Flüsse haben viele Windungen und fließen in den Sommermonaten, Oktober—März, verhältnismäßig träge. Ihr Wasserstand ist in dieser Zeit außerordentlich niedrig, so daß zahlreiche Sandbänke hervortreten. Am Demini ist die Farbe des Sandes gelblich, leuchtend weiß dagegen am Aracá. Die Durchschnittsbreite des Demini beträgt an seinem Unter- und Mittellauf 200—300 m, die des Aracá 300—400 m. Hieran mag es liegen, daß auf alten Karten der Aracá fälschlich als Hauptfluß bezeichnet wird; doch der Lauf des Demini ist wesentlich länger. In den Mittel- und Oberläufen der genannten Flüsse treten Stromschnellen auf, deren Überquerung oft mit Lebensgefahr verbunden ist.

Der zwischen den Flüssen liegende Raum stellt eine jener Inselberglandschaften dar, die für den Bereich des mittleren und oberen Rio Negro so charakteristisch sind. Kegel-, kuppen- oder kammförmige Granitberge, die sich einzeln oder gebirgsartig auch gruppenweise in Form von kleinen Gebirgsstöcken oder kurzen Bergzügen bis zu 400 m erheben, bilden einen auffälligen Kontrast zu der mit dichtem Urwald bewachsenen Ebene. Ihre verhältnismäßig flachen Gipfel und die sanft geneigten Schuttkegel am Fuße sind ebenfalls dicht bewaldet. In mittlerer Berghöhe treten aber steile, glatte, von zahlreichen Regenfurchen wie kanneliert aussehende Granitwände zutage.

Morphologisch gehören diese Erhebungen einem Typus an, den Passarge in seinem Kalahari-Werke[7]) und an anderer Stelle[8]) behandelt und nach Bornhardt als Inselberge definiert hat. Diese Granitberge im Rio Negro-Gebiet wurden bereits von Spruce treffend beschrieben[9]). Nach Brandt, der sich eingehend mit der Morphogenese isolierter Granitberge befaßte, ist ihr kegelförmiges Aussehen auf einen „Abschälungsvorgang" von periklinal streuenden Granitfalten zurückzuführen[9]).

Infolge der Äquatornähe ist es in diesem Gebiet zwar sehr heiß, feucht und schwül, aber trotzdem nicht unerträglich. Denn wegen des hohen Feuchtigkeitsgehalts der Luft gibt es hier z. B. keinen Hitzschlag und keinen Sonnenstich. Auch nachts kann man recht gut schlafen, da die Temperatur dann stets um einige Grade sinkt und mit einer erfrischenden Brise verbunden ist. Die Temperatur der Luft beträgt tagsüber 32—36° und nachts 24—28°, während die des Wassers meist zwischen 29—32° liegt.

Auf Grund der Menschenarmut, die hier herrscht, gibt es in den Wäldern sehr viel Wild und Vögel, dazu kommt in den Flüssen der Reichtum an Wasserschildkröten, Kaimanen und Fischen, von denen nachstehend einige Species aufgezählt werden:

a) Säugetiere: Gefleckter Jaguar (*Felis onca* L.), Schwarzer Jaguar (*Panthera onca* L.), Puma (*Felis concolor*), Maracajá (*Felis pardalis* Nerw.), Tapir (*Tapirus americanus* Brün.), Reh (*Cervidae* sp.), Wildschwein (*Pecari tajacu*), Capivara (*Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris* Erxl.), Paca (*Coniculus paca* L.), Cutia (*Dasyprocta aguti* L.), Gürteltier (*Dasypodidae* sp.), Faultier (*Bradypus* sp.), Ameisenbär (*Myrmecophaga* sp.), Affen: Brüllaffe (*Alouatta* sp.), Cuxiú-negro (*Chiropotes satanas* Humb.), Cuntí (*Ateles paniscus* L.), Macaco-da-noite (*Aotus infulatus*) etc., Seekuh (*Trichechus inunguis* Desmarest) etc.

b) Vögel: Mutum (*Crax* sp.), Urumutum (*Crax* sp.), Mutum-cavalo (*Mitu mitu* L.), Jacamim (*Psophia crepitans* L.), Cujubim (*Pipile pipile cujubi* Pelz.), Jacu (*Penelope* sp.), Japim (*Cacicus cela* L.), Inambu (*Crypturellus* sp.), Inambu-relógio (*Crypturellus strigulosus* Temm.), Tucano (*Rhamphastos*

[7]) Passarge, 1904.
[8]) Passarge, 1905.
[9]) Spruce, 1908, S. 383.
[9]) Brandt, 1917, S. 32 ff.

sp.), Arara vermelha (*Ara macao* L.), Arara amarela (*Ara ararauna* L.), Papagaio moleiro (*Amazona* sp.), Papagaio curica (*Amazona* sp.), Garça branca (*Casmerodius albus egretta* Gm.), Gavião-real (*Thrasaetus harpyia* L.), Gavião-caipira (*Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga* Gm.), Urubus (*Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura* etc.) etc.

c) Wasserschildkröten: Tracajá (*Emys* sp.), Cabeçuda (*Podocnemis dumeriliana*) etc.

d) Landschildkröten: Jabuti (*Testudo tabulata* Woelb.) etc.

e) Kaimane: Jacarétinga oder Jacaré-de-óculos (*Caiman sclerops* Schneid.) etc.

f) Fische: Aracu (*Leporinus copelandi* Steind.), Piranha (*Pygocentrus* sp. und *Serrasalmus* sp.), Pirarucu (größter Süßwasserfisch, erreicht eine Länge bis über 3 m; gehört zur Familie der Knochenzüngler (*Osteoglossidae*). Die harte Zunge dient Indianern und Weißen als Reibebrett), Piraiba (*Brachyplatystoma filamentosa*), Surubim (*Pseudoplatystoma* sp.), Jundiá (*Siluridae* sp.), Mandi (*Rhamdia* sp.), Curimatã (*Prochilodus* sp.), Pescada (*Cynoscion* sp.), Dourado (*Salminus brevidens*), Tambaqui (*Characinidae* sp.), Mandubi (*Anchenipteridae* sp.), Aimjá (*Trachycorystes* sp.), Caiácaiá (*Oxidoras niger* Val.) etc.

Auch Schlangen treten in großer Zahl auf:

a) Ungiftige Schlangen: Sucuriju (*Eunectes murinus*), Jiboia-vermelha (*Epicrates cenchris*) etc.

b) Giftschlangen: Surucucu (*Lachesis muta* L.), Cascavel (*Crotalus terrificus terrificus*), Jararaca (*Lachesis* sp.), Jararacuçu (*Bothrops jararacussu* Lacerda), Cobra-coral (*Elaps corallinus* Wied.) etc.

II. Die zivilisierten Bewohner des Demini-Aracá-Gebietes

Bei der zivilisierten Bevölkerung, welche an den Unter- und Mittelläufen lebt, handelt es sich um eine Mischung von Indianern, Weißen, Negern und Mulatten, die als Gummisammler, Palmfasersammler, Holzfäller, Fischer und Pflanzer ihr Leben fristen.

Gummisammler arbeiten ausschließlich im Flußgebiet des Demini, Palmfasersammler und Holzfäller nur in der Aracá-Region. Pflanzer, Fischer und einige ambulante Kaufleute sind an beiden Flüssen auf der Terra firme anzutreffen. Während die Gummisammler am Demini familienweise in großen Abständen voneinander leben, die Entfernungen betragen 10—20 km und mehr, haben sich die Holzfäller und Palmfasersammler am Aracá in kleinen Siedlungen zusammengeschlossen.

Am Rio Demini befindet sich kurz unterhalb der Cachoeira (Stromschnelle) Araticanga der Indianerschutzposten „Ajuricaba" (Abb. 1). Von der Mündung bis dorthin benötigt man in einem kleinen Boot mit Außenbordmotor, vier PS, sechs Tagereisen. Auf dieser langen Strecke zählt man nur zwei Dutzend Familien. Vor 50 Jahren waren die Ufer am unteren Drittel stärker besiedelt als heute. Doch Malaria und eine furchtbare Beri-Beri Epidemie, 1917/18, rafften die Mehrzahl der Bewohner dahin. Nach dem großen Urwaldbrand, der im Jahre 1926 am Demini wütete, besserte sich der Gesundheitszustand vorübergehend. In neuester Zeit fährt einmal im Jahr ein Motorboot des Nationalen Malariadienstes den Demini und Aracá hinauf, und man spritzt die Palmstrohhütten der Bewohner mit DDT aus. Aber trotzdem fordert die Malaria noch immer ihre Opfer. Häufig führt sie auch zu einem langen Leberleiden; vor allem mangelt es an jeglichen Medikamenten. Eine zweite Geißel ist die Tuberkulose, deren Ursache, außer dem feuchten, heißen Klima, wohl auf die kraftlose und einseitige Ernährung zurückzuführen ist. Diese besteht in vorwiegendem Maße aus Maniokmehl, kleinen Fischen, gesalzenem, an der Sonne getrocknetem Fleisch des Pirarucu, gesalzenem Wildschweinefleisch und in wesentlich geringerem Umfang aus Vögeln und Wild, denn zum Jagen fehlt den Männern im allgemeinen die Zeit. Hinzu kommt,

daß für die Gummi- und Palmfaserernteder Obst und Gemüse nahezu unbekannte Gemüse sind. Infolge des engen Zusammenlebens der einzelnen Familien und der mangelnden Hygiene bleiben auch die Kinder von der Tuberkulose nicht verschont. Außerdem ist eine gefährliche Augenentzündung zu erwähnen, die oft bis zur Erblindung führt. Diese entsteht dadurch, daß aus den Palmstrohdächern der Hütten, in denen sich viele Insekten befinden, ständig ein feiner Staub herniederrieselt und den in ihren Hängematten schlafenden Menschen in die Augen dringt. Auch eine infektiöse Hautkrankheit, wobei sich helle Flecke auf der Haut bilden, ist weit verbreitet. Häufig kommen Wurm- und Darmkrankheiten vor, ebenfalls Syphilis. Bemerkenswert ist schließlich noch, daß Erwachsene und Kinder sehr schlechte Zähne haben. Der Grund hierfür dürfte auch wieder in der einseitigen Ernährung zu suchen sein, denn die freien Waldindianer, welche ihre Mahlzeiten abwechslungsreicher gestalten, verfügen alle über ein vorzügliches Zahnmaterial. Die Sterblichkeit der Kinder ist am höchsten, danach kommt die der Frauen, von denen, da es ja keinerlei ärztliche Hilfe gibt, verhältnismäßig viele den Tod im Kindbett erleiden.

Eine Tagereise von dem Indianerschutzposten entfernt steht die letzte Hütte eines Gummisammlers, während der Posten selbst die äußerste Station der Zivilisation darstellt. Oberhalb desselben beginnt das Gebiet der Indianer. Zahlreiche, der Wissenschaft bisher völlig unbekannte Stämme führen hier noch ein Leben wie vor der Entdeckungszeit. Sie sind sehr kriegerisch, so daß es oft zu blutigen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen ihnen kommt. Ihre Malokas befinden sich meist weit ab vom Flußufer, tief im Inneren der Urwälder. Gelegentlich besuchen einige den Posten, um sich hier Geschenke, d. h. Messer, Beile, Töpfe, Glasperlen usw. abzuholen. Mit der zivilisierten Bevölkerung am Demini treten sie nie in Berührung.

Das Postenpersonal besteht aus 12 Männern, unter ihnen mehrere reinblütige, zivilisierte Tukano-Indianer, die hier ein entbehrungsreiches, schweres und gefährliches Leben führen. Bevor sie in den Indianerschutzdienst eintreten, müssen sie sich verpflichten, im Umgang mit den freien Indianern stets die Jolgrade, von dem Gründer dieser großartigen Organisation, Marschall Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, aufgestellte Devise zu beherzigen: „Morrer se preciso for, matar nunca!" („Sterben wenn nötig, töten nie!") Ihre einzigen Verbindungen zur Außenwelt sind eine Funkstation und das Motorboot der Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Manaus, welches ihnen ein- bis zweimal im Jahre Lebensmittel und Gebrauchsgegenstände bringt sowie Geschenke für die Indianer.

Neben der Betreuung indianischer Besucher hat das Postenpersonal auch dafür zu sorgen, daß die Angehörigen freier Indianerstämme nicht von unerfreulichen Elementen der Zivilisation, in Gestalt von Goldsuchern und anderen Abenteurern, ausgebeutet und schlecht behandelt werden. Der Schutz aller freien Waldindianer ist in Brasilien gesetzlich verankert. Danach darf kein Zivilisierter ohne Erlaubnis der Direktion des Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro[*]) Indianerstämme aufsuchen. Die Posten stellen also gleichsam polizeiliche Organe im Urwald dar. Es gehört aber auch zum Aufgabenbereich des Personals, daß sie für den eigenen Lebensunterhalt Pflanzungen anlegen, wo sie Mandioka, Mais, süße Kartoffeln, Bananen, Mamão, Bohnen, Tabak, Zuckerrohr usw. anbauen. Zusätzlich betreiben sie Jagd und Fischfang.

Da am Arauá die Lebensbedingungen günstiger und die Arbeiten der Plantagenbesitzer (Palmfasersammler) einträglicher sind als die der Gummisammler, ist hier die Bevölkerung viermal so stark wie am Demini. Die Indianerregion beginnt an der Cachoeira dos Índios (Abb. 2 u. 3). Einen Indianerschutzposten gibt es am Rio Arauá aber noch nicht.

*) Der Serviço de Proteção aos Índios ist eine Abteilung des Ministério da Agricultura.

III. Die ethnische Zugehörigkeit der Surára und Pakidái

Schon seit Beginn des vorigen Jahrhunderts haben bedeutende Forscher, u. a. Alexander von Humboldt, Robert Schomburgk, Jean Chaffanjon und Theodor Koch-Grünberg, nördlich und westlich des Raumes zwischen Rio Branco, Uraricuera, Serra Parima und Rio Negro, bei einigen Gruppen der Xirianá[1]) und Waiká ethnographische und teilweise sprachliche Studien unternommen, die 1954/55 durch Otto Zerries und Meinhard Schuster eine Erweiterung und Vertiefung fanden, besonders hinsichtlich der Waiká[2]) (Waika) im Einzugsgebiet des oberen Orinoco[3]). Ihre Arbeit wurde von nordamerikanischen Missionaren unterstützt, welche schon seit mehreren Jahren mit den genannten Indianern in Verbindung stehen und diese Gelegenheit benutzen, um auch selbst völkerkundliche Untersuchungen durchzuführen[4]).

Außerdem ist der Italiener Alfonso Vinci zu erwähnen, der 1953—1955 in Südvenezuela weilte und dort mit Xirianá- und Waiká-Gruppen zusammentraf[5]).

Über Berührungen mit Eingeborenen im Inneren jener ausgedehnten Region zwischen Rio Branco und Serra Parima, die Coudreau noch für nahezu menschenleer hielt[6]), lediglich westlich vom Rio Branco, zwischen dem unteren Mucajaí und dem unteren Catrimani, lebten seiner Ansicht nach einige Indianergruppen „mal connus et redoutés"[7]), haben bislang nur George Salathé und Donald Holdridge berichtet[8]). Der erstere gibt von den am Oberlauf des Catrimani lebenden Karimé-Indianern einen kurzen Abriß ihrer materiellen Kultur, nebst einem Wörterverzeichnis[9]), während letzterer seine Besuche in der Xirianá (Shirianá)- und Waiká (Uaika) Maloka beschreibt, die sich 1932 noch am Demini, bzw. einem Nebenarm, befanden[10]).

Nach Durchsicht der Forschungsberichte von Zerries[11]) [12]) und Schuster[13]) sowie an Hand von Vergleichen mit ethnographischen Angaben und Wörterlisten, die Salathé bei den Karimé[14]), Vinci bei den Shirianá, Waika und Samatari[15]) und Koch-Grünberg bei den von den Waiká, aber auch benachbarten Indianern gegenüber eine sehr feindliche Haltung einnehmen sollen. Da die Gummisammler, Palmheuesammler usw. am Demini, Arecá und den anderen Flüssen meist nicht über den Mittellauf hinaus vordringen und schon gar nicht die theilweise Gebiete aufsuchen, fühlen sich die Indianer nur selten in ihrem Bereich gestört. Die nachstehend aufgeführten Vorfälle, welche sich noch in den letzten 30 Jahren hier ereigneten, beweisen aber, daß die Feindschaft seitens einiger Stämme weiter besteht und jederzeit zu neuen Gewaltakten führen kann:

1926: Surára-Indianer raubten während eines Überfalls auf eine Siedlung von Palmheuesammlern am Rio Arecá zwei weiße Frauen und ein Mädchen.

1942: Jaó-Indianer beschossen am oberen Demini die Brasil.-Venez. Grenzkommission und zwangen dieselbe zur Umkehr; zwei Angehörige der Kommission wurden durch Pfeilschüsse schwer verwundet.

1943: Fünf amerikanische Offiziere wurden von den Aimoré-Indianern am Rio Jauaperi durch Pfeilschüsse getötet. Sie waren mit einem Motorboot den Fluß hinaufgefahren, um hier Indianer zu filmen. Der brasilianische Begleiter, welcher als einziger entkam, gab später an, daß die Indianer das Surren der Kamera unangenehm empfunden und die Ausrüstung mehrfach zur Rückkehr aufgefordert hätten.

1946: Die Aimoré-Indianer überfielen den Indianerschutzposten am Rio Jauaperi und töteten 10 Mann des Personals.

[1]) X wird wie sch ausgesprochen.

[2]) Wenn die Surára und Pakidái den Stammesnamen der Waiká, ihrer bepaten Feinde, aussprechen, so betonen sie stets das letzte a.

[3]) Zerries, 1956a.

[4]) Becher, 1953.

[5]) Finnery, 1957.

[6]) Vinci, 1956.

[7]) Coudreau, H. A., 1887, S. 155.

[8]) Coudreau, H. A., 1887, S. 147 und Karte V.

[9]) Der Raum zwischen Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima und Rio Negro sowie das Gebiet östlich des Rio Branco gelten seit langem als gefährlich, weil, wie bereits Alexander von Humboldt und Robert Schomburgk berichteten, mehrere hier lebende Stämme

[10]) Salathé, 1931/32.

[11]) Holdridge, 1933.

[12]) Zerries, 1956a.

[13]) Zerries, 1956b.

[14]) Schuster, 1956a.

[15]) Salathé, 1931/32.

[16]) Vinci, 1956.

ihm als isoliert-sprachig bezeichneten Xirián (Schiriana)-Gruppen und einigen Waikí (Waika) aufgenommen hatten[87] [88], konnte festgestellt werden, daß die untersuchten Verbände zu einer verhältnismäßig einheitlichen Kulturgruppe gehören und sich auch sprachlich nur leicht durch dialektische Abweichungen voneinander unterscheiden (s. Anhang.)[89]. Wie stark ihre Zusammengehörigkeit ist, sieht man bereits daran, daß sich die Surára und Pakidái als Yanomámi bezeichnen und die Waikí und Xirián nach Zerries und Schuster als Yanóama[90] [91].

Doch auch Angehörige der Aramamonteri, Karamateri, Pusiweteri und selbst der Xirián, die ich in den Malokas der Surára und Pakidái als Ehefrauen, Besucher sowie als Gefangene antraf, erklärten, daß sie Yanomámi seien. Außerdem zählte mir der Surára-Häuptling Hewemáo weitere 42 Stämme zwischen Catrimani und Rio Negro auf[92], befreundete und feindliche, wobei er darauf hinwies, daß diese ebenfalls einbezogen werden müssen.

Danach, und auf Grund der sprachlichen und kulturellen Verwandtschaft, dürfte es angebracht sein, Yanomámi bzw. Yanóama als neue Bezeichnung für die Sprach- und Kulturgruppe jener kleinwüchsigen und hellhäutigen Indianer des nördlichen Amazonien in die südamerikanische Völkerkunde einzuführen. Den bisherigen Untersuchungen zufolge bewohnen sie einen verhältnismäßig geschlossenen Raum, der im Osten und Süden vom Rio Branco bzw. dem Rio Negro begrenzt wird, sich jedoch nach Norden und Westen über den Uraricuera resp. die Parima-Kette ausdehnt.

Über die ethnische Zusammengehörigkeit dieser Bevölkerung kann kein Zweifel mehr bestehen. Auch Koch-Grünberg war schon der Ansicht, daß es sich bei den Xirián (Schiriana) und Waikí (Waika) „nicht um zwei verschiedene Stämme, sondern nur um zwei Abteilungen eines großen Volkes handelt"[93] [94]. An gleicher Stelle spricht der Forscher aber auch die Vermutung aus, worin ihn Ansichten von Nachbarstämmen bestärkten, daß die Waikí nur eine Untergliederung der Xirián darstellen, „mit denen sie entweder friedlich zusammen oder in erbitterter Feindschaft leben"[95] [96]. Ihre Abgeschlossenheit gegenüber anderen Stämmen ist nach Ourique „ein Beispiel der instinktiven Vorsicht der Rasse gegen ihre eigene Entartung und ihren Untergang"[97].

Bedeutsam ist nun in diesem Zusammenhang der Hinweis des Surára-Häuptlings, wonach es innerhalb des „Yanomámi-Volkes" zwei mächtige Stämme gibt, erstens die Xirián, deren Selbstbezeichnung „Harateri" lautet, und zweitens die Waikí, welche sich aber ständig befehden. Alle kleineren Stämme stehen entweder auf seiten des einen oder anderen, sind diesen aber gleichartig tribut- und kriegsdienstpflichtig[98]. Die Surára und Pakidái, so erklärte mir der Häuptling weiter, seien Verbündete der Xirián und erhalten im Tausch gelegentlich Tongefäße, Tontöpfe, Bogen, Pfeile, Hängematten, Körbe, Gürtel und Oberarmschmuck[99].

[87] Koch-Grünberg, 1913, S. 450—456; 1923, S. 284ff.
[88] Koch-Grünberg, 1928, S. 300—308.
[89] Schon Loukotka und Rivet wiesen die Verwandtschaft von einigen dieser Sprachen nach und faßten sie unter dem Oberbegriff „Xirianá-Sprachfamilie" zusammen, wozu sie die Xirianá, Karimá, Waika und Parakanã rechnen. (Loukotka, 1940, S. 89; Rivet et Loukotka, 1952, S. 1146).
[90] Zerries, 1956a, S. 287.
[91] Schuster, 1956a, S. 1156f.
[92] Becher, 1958.
[93] Koch-Grünberg, 1911, S. 104.
[94] Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 250.
[95] Ourique, 1916, S. 24.
[96] In bezug auf die Xirián erwähnt auch schon Koch-Grünberg diese Verallgemeinerbildnis (Koch-Grünberg, 1911, S. 126), und Métraux weist ebenfalls darauf hin. (Métraux, 1948, S. 861).
[97] Von den Surára und Pakidái wird die Töpferei überhaupt nicht ausgeübt, und ihre selbstverfertigten Bogen, Pfeile, Hängematten usw. sind von minderer Qualität als die der Xirián.

IV. Geschichtliche Daten

Gegenwärtig leben die Surára in den Wintermonaten (Regenzeit), April—September, an der Cachoeira dos Índios (Abb. 2 u. 3), am oberen Rio Aracá und die Pokidái in Tarraquá, an einem rechten Nebenarm des mittleren Demíni. Die Sommermonate (Trockenzeit), Oktober—März, verbringen dagegen beide Stämme gemeinsam in einer großen, offenen Maloka, welche den Surára gehört, in der Urwaldregion zwischen den Flüssen Demíni und Aracá. Diese Maloka liegt 70 km nordöstlich von der Cachoeira dos Índios entfernt und etwa 100 km südlich vom Quellgebiet des Orinoco.

Koch-Grünberg hat auf seiner Karte zu dem Werk „Vom Roroima zum Orinoco" weder den Rio Demíni noch den Rio Aracá eingetragen und bezeichnet diese Region als „Unbekanntes Gebiet". Auch in seinen Ausführungen bemerkt er, „das ganze große Gebiet zwischen Rio Negro, Rio Branco und Uraricuéra ist bis heute unerforscht"[98]. Desgleichen weist Baldus darauf hin, daß in diesem Raum „noch Überraschungen auf den Sucher unbekannter Stämme warten"[99].

Durch João Barbosa Rodrigues hatten Demíni und Aracá zum erstenmal Eingang in die Literatur gefunden, doch er schrieb nicht Demíni, sondern Demeene[100], und der Rio Aracá wurde von ihm als Uaraca bezeichnet[101].

Bezüglich des Namens Demíni darf angenommen werden, daß sich die Endung „ĩní", den sprachlichen Untersuchungen Koch-Grünbergs zufolge[102], von dem aruakischen Wort „eni" = Fluß, Wasser, ableitet. Diese Annahme findet eine Bestätigung durch zahlreiche, sehr alte Scherbenfunde, die ich auf der völlig unbesiedelten Terra firme an Ufern des Demíni machte. Es handelt sich dabei um gelblichgraue Scherben, die mit Spirallinien, Mäandern und anderen Geflechtmustern verziert sind und den Tongefäßen gleichen, die Koch-Grünberg von Aruakstämmen beschrieben hat[103].

Daß ich nur Scherben fand, hängt sicher mit der von Koch-Grünberg beschriebenen Sitte der Aruaken zusammen, derzufolge alle Tongefäße einer verstorbenen Person zerschlagen werden müssen, da sonst der Totengeist die Habgier der Verwandten bestrafen würde[104].

Damit wäre auch die Vermutung von Koch-Grünberg bestätigt, daß einst Aruakstämme von Westen und Südwesten her in das Gebiet zwischen Rio Branco und Orinoco eingedrungen waren, welches von einer alten, in ganz primitivem Zustand lebenden Bevölkerung bewohnt wurde. Die Aruaken sollen später von den Karaiben unterworfen worden sein, welche ihrerseits an den streitbaren Xirióna und Waiká einen kräftigen Widerstand fanden[105]. An einer anderen Stelle schreibt derselbe Forscher sodann: „Am Merewari und oberem Orinoco wohnen Karaiben zusammen mit Aruwaken, während der obere Uraricuéra und die Parimakette ganz in der Hand der alleinsässigen Schiriana und Waika sind"[106]. Auch ich traf im Demíni-Aracá Gebiet weder Karaiben-, noch Aruakstämme an.

Auf einer von Nimuendajú gezeichneten Stammeskarte jener Gegend[107] werden mit der Angabe des Jahres 1874 Xirióna als Bewohner des Rio Demíni angegeben. Auch Rodrigues berichtet, daß Angehörige dieses Stammes am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts sowohl an den Ufern jenes Stromes, als auch an seinen Nebenflüssen Cuiúnas und Mamóndu lebten; von hier aus hätten sie ihre Streifzüge bis zum Catrimani ausgedehnt[108].

[98]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 287.
[99]) Baldus, 1939a, S. 294.
[100]) Auf damaligen Karten findet man ebenfalls die Bezeichnung Demeney.
[101]) Rodrigues, 1885, S. 136, 148.
[102]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 13.
[103]) Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, S. 227/28 und Abb. 132—135.
[104]) Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, S. 132.
[105]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 15/16.
[106]) Koch-Grünberg, 1911, S. 133.
[107]) Diese Karte ist im Besitz der wissenschaftlichen Abteilung des Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro.
[108]) Rodrigues, 1885, S. 136.

Heute lebt nur noch eine zivilisierte Xirián-Familie als Pflanzer am unteren Demini, die jedoch mit ihren ursprünglich lebenden Stammesangehörigen keinerlei Beziehungen mehr hat. Diese Familie, deren Angehörige ausschließlich portugiesisch sprechen, erklärte mir, daß die Gegend des Demini seit alter Zeit das Land der Xirián gewesen sei. Wegen häufiger Überfälle weiter der Waikâ hätten sie sich aber in die äußersten Gebiete zurückgezogen. Ihre letzte Maloka am Demini wäre 1934 von einem Waikâstamm überrumpelt worden. Es ist dieselbe Stelle, wo sich heute der Indianerschutzposten „Ajuricaba" befindet, am rechten Ufer des mittleren Demini gelegen, kurz unterhalb der Cachoeira Austrinoso[*]) [**]). 1939 gaben aber auch die Waikâ diese Maloka auf und zogen zum Rio Mapulan, einem linken Nebenfluß des oberen Demini. Hier wurden sie Anfang des Jahres 1956, z. Z. meines Aufenthalts unter den Suriára, von einem Xiriánastamm überfallen und vernichtet. Suriára-Krieger erzählten mir, daß alle Waikâ-Männer getötet und die Frauen und Mädchen als Gefangene mitgeschleppt worden seien.

Als Bewohner des Rio Araçá hat Nimuendajú auf der schon erwähnten Stammeskarte dieser Gegend (s. S. 7), mit der Angabe des Jahres 1874, die Bahuanen, einen Arauktstamm, eingetragen. Herrn bemerkte der Suriára-Häuptling, daß jener Stamm auch den Eigennamen Pontari führt und ein Feind der Suriára, Pahâdâ, Xirián usw. wäre; gegenwärtig lebe er im Quellgebiet des Araçá.

Nach Aussagen älterer Palmfasersammler am Araçá erschienen seit Ende des vergangenen Jahrhunderts bis Ende der zwei Jahre unseres Jahrhunderts keine Indianer an diesem Fluß. Während der Monate Oktober und November des Jahres 1927 sahen Palmfasersammler auf dem Weg zu ihren Arbeitsplätzen erstmalig kleine und verhältnismäßig hellhäutige Indianer im Urwalddickicht verschwinden. Im Dezember 1927 und Januar/Februar 1928 wurden die Siedlungen mehrere Male von Indianern überfallen, doch den Palmfasersammlern gelang es stets, dieselben in die Flucht zu schlagen. Am Vormittag des 28. Juni 1928 erfolgte ein weiterer Überfall, wobei zwei Frauen von Gummisammlern und ein 12jähriges Mädchen geraubt wurden. Nach dieser Entführung erfolgte kein neuer indianischer Überfall. Erst 16 Jahre später, im Januar 1944, erschienen sechs Indianer, doch diesmal in friedlicher Absicht. Sie nannten sich Suriára und wollten Gegenstände der Zivilisation eintauschen. Später gaben sie auch zu, daß ihr Stamm die früheren Überfälle durchgeführt hätte. Auf Fragen nach den beiden geraubten Frauen und dem Mädchen erklärten sie, daß diese gestorben seien. Von den

[*]) Hier besuchte Hübsch 1932 die Xirián. (Hübsch, 1933, S. 386).

[**]) Auf Grund einer Information, welche Nimuendajú 1927 in Manaos von einem Mann namens Domingos Campos erhielt, sollen ursprünglich Indianer am Demini Xirián genannt worden sein (Nimuendajú, 1955, S. 130/31). Herrn lassen sich allerlei Fragen hinzufügen, die noch einer Lösung bedürfen. So könnte es sein, daß ein Arauktstamm diesen Namen gegeben haben, denn die Schreiber, welche ich am Demini fand, sind auch der Name dieses Flusses deuten darauf hin, daß hier einst Angehörige jener Sprachgruppe lebten. Es wäre aber auch möglich, daß sich Arauktgruppen nach ihrer Unterwerfung durch die Xirián mit letzteren zusammenten. Andererseits ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, daß einzelne Xirián die Arauktsprache angenommen haben, und schließlich bleibt auch die Vermutung offen, daß die von Domingos Campos erwähnten Indianer nicht mit den eigentlichen Xirián identisch sind, sondern nur von der Cabocle-Bevölkerung so genannt wurden.

In der Literatur haben sich die zwei Stammesbezeichnungen „Xirián" (Angehörige der Arauk-Sprachfamilie) und „Xirianá" (selbständige Sprachfamilie) (Loukotka, 1942, S. 8, 24, 32, Ribeiro, 1957, S. 90) zwar bereits eingebürgert. Trotzdem neige ich zu der Ansicht, daß es sich bei den Xirián und Xirianá um ein und denselben großen, weitverbreiteten Yanomámistamm handelt. Die materielle und geistige Kultur der Xirián, mit denen die Suriára und Pahâdâ verbändet sind (diese und die Xirián, welche ich bei diesen traf, selbst, bezeugen grundsätzlich das erste ist, stimmt nämlich vollständig mit jener überein, die Koch-Grünberg „Schiriana" nennt. Letzterer weist auch in einer Arbeit darauf hin, daß „Schiriana" die Selbstbezeichnung sei, „Schiriachiwi" dagegen ein Name, den ihnen ihre Nachbarn und Todfeinde, die „Maquiritâre", gaben. (Koch-Grünberg, 1913, S. 454). Es sei auch noch erwähnt, daß es sich bei der Bezeichnung „Shiriana" nach Vinci um ein Makuxi-Wort handeln soll. (Vinci, 1956, S. 107).

Palmkernsammlern wurde ihnen ihre bisherige feindliche Haltung nicht nachgetragen, denn diese waren froh, daß sie jetzt ohne Furcht vor den Indianern der Arbeit nachgehen konnten.

Die Surára halten fest an ihren alten Sitten und Gebräuchen und besuchen die Palmkernsammler nur dann, wenn sie Messer, Beile, Töpfe usw. eintauschen wollen. Nach Angaben des Häuptlings der Surára werden sie von den Xirianá zu dem Tauschverkehr mit den Palmkernsammlern gezwungen, denn alle erhaltenen Gegenstände müssen sie diesen abliefern (v. auch S. 74/77); die Xirianá selbst treten nie mit zivilisierten Bewohnern in Berührung.

Im August des Jahres 1949 wurde der 1940 gegründete Indianerschutzposten am Rio Demini erstmalig von einigen Pakidái aufgesucht. In größeren Abständen erfolgten bis heute weitere Besuche verschiedener Familien dieses Stammes. Aber auch sie kommen im Auftrage der Xirianá und müssen jenen alle Geschenke übergeben.

Hieraus ist zu ersehen, daß sich seit 1948 nichts geändert hat, als Métraux, basierend auf Angaben von Koch-Grünberg und anderen Forschungsreisenden dieser Gegend, mit voller Berechtigung schrieb: „The Shirianá are very warlike people who succeeded in dominating several weaker tribes"[*].

V. Körperliche Beschaffenheit

Bezüglich der körperlichen Beschaffenheit stimmen die Surára und Pakidái überein. Ihre Körperhöhe liegt unter der mittleren Rassengröße, denn die Männer sind nur 1,50—1,60 m und die Frauen 1,40—1,50 m groß. Beide Geschlechter haben weiche, aber muskulöse Körperformen, jedoch häufig einen vorgewölbten Unterleib und oft verhältnismäßig dünne Beine. Da sie immer barfuß gehen, haben ihre Füße die Fähigkeit behalten, beim Erklettern von Baumstämmen als Greiforgane zu dienen, und die Zehen sind nicht so zusammengepreßt wie bei zivilisierten Menschen, welche ständig Schuhe tragen. Auffällig ist der beträchtliche Abstand zwischen der großen Zehe und der zweiten (Abb. 14)[**]. Ihre Hautfarbe ist sehr hell, fast weiß. Die Stirn des dolichocephalen Kopfes ist oft flach. Bemerkenswert sind ihre breiten Nasen mit den gering nach oben gerichteten Nasenlöchern; die Nasenwurzel ist dagegen schmal. Der mongoloide Einschlag zeigt sich deutlich an den hervorspringenden Backenknochen und den schräg gestellten dunkelbraunen, beinahe schwarz wirkenden Augen. Zwischen den gering aufgeworfenen Lippen eines nie zu großen Mundes schimmern stets zwei Reihen gesunder Zähne. Ihre schönen, ganz glatten Haare sind von einem sehr dunklen Braun. Alle haben volles Haupthaar, verlieren es aber im Alter. Eine Glatzenbildung tritt jedoch nicht auf, das Haar wird dann so, als wäre es ganz kurz über dem Kopfe abgeschnitten. Bei einzelnen Männern sprießt eine dünne Barthebaarung beiderseits der Lippen und am Kinn; gelegentlich zupfen sie die Barthaare aus. Ihre übrige Körperbehaarung ist auf die Schamgegend beschränkt. Frauen zupfen sich die Schambaare aus, desgleichen Augenbrauen und Wimpern. Junge Mädchen haben meist schön geformte, halbkugelige, feste Brüste, die jedoch nach dem ersten Kind erschlaffen und herunterhängen, obgleich die Frauen dann oft noch nicht einmal das Alter von 18 oder 19 Jahren erreicht haben.

Diese Beobachtungen finden Parallelen durch die Beschreibungen, welche Alexander von Humboldt von den Waiká (Guaicas) und Guahariba gibt. Er bezeichnet sie auch als Stämme „von weißlicher Hautfarbe und sehr kleinem Wuchs". Er fügt aber hinzu „die Kleinheit der Guaicas und die Weiße der Guahariba.

[*] Métraux, 1948, S. 861.

[**] Hierauf hat auch schon Crevaux hingewiesen, und zwar bezüglich der Oyampi-Indianer in Französisch Guayana: „Le pouce fortement écarté regarde toujours en dedans, tandis que le troisième, le quatrième et le cinquième sont tournés en dehors." (Crevaux, 1880, S. 76 und Abb., links).

die P. Cunibo Gualinibos blancos nannt, wies im gleichen Maße übertrieben worden[99]). Die von Alexander von Humboldt gemessenen Guaicas hatten „im Durchschnitt 4 Fuß 7 Zoll bis 4 Fuß 8 Zoll (nach altem franz. Maß)"[100]), also etwa 1,52—1,55 m. Dieselbe Körperhöhe gibt auch Koch-Grünberg von den Waiká (Waika) an, die er in Mokomoká am Uraricuera traf und welche er ebenfalls als sehr hellhäutig bezeichnet[101]). An anderer Stelle schreibt Koch-Grünberg: „Die Schiriana und Waika von Mokomoká waren kleine Leute, im Durchschnitt etwa 1,52 m hoch. Bei keinem überstieg die Körperhöhe 1,55 m ..... Ältere Leute hatten aufgetriebene Bäuche und dürre Beine ..... Die von Natur fast durchweg hellhäutigen Menschen wirkten noch abstoßender durch den Mangel jeder Körperpflege"[102]). Ähnlich, aber noch abfälliger äußerte sich Chaffanjon über die Guahariben: „Petits et chétifs, des nomades grêles, au crâne démesurément gonflé, des cheveux longs et nuls, une physionomie bestiale, leur donnant un aspect repoussant. Ils vont absolument nus; deux hommes ont la barbe longue et clairsemée; leur teint est plus clair que celui de tous les Indiens que j'ai encore rencontrés; ils n'ont pour toute arme qu'un bâton"[103]). Schließlich ist noch zu erwähnen, daß nach Zerries bei etwa 40 erwachsenen Waiká einen Durchschnittswert von 151,5 cm für Männer und 141 cm für Frauen festzustellen[104]).

Aus den Vergleichen ist zu ersehen, daß die Surára und Pakidái von derselben körperlichen Beschaffenheit sind wie die Guahariben, Xirianá und Waiká[105]). Erstaunlich ist es daher, daß Chaffanjon und Koch-Grünberg die untersuchten Indianer als so auffallend hellhäutig bezeichnen. Die verwandten Surára und Pakidái sowie die Waiká im Einzugsgebiet des oberen Orinoco verkörpern zwar auch einen für uns fremden Typus (v. Abb. 9—24 und Abb. bei Zerries, 1959), aber bestimmt keinen derart abstoßenden.

VI. Technologie und materielle Kultur

1. Hausformen

Den Surára und Pakidái sind vier verschiedene Hausformen bekannt. Die einfachste und wohl ursprünglichste, welche aber gegenwärtig nur noch bei den Streifzügen im Urwald als Nachtquartier für jeweils eine Familie Verwendung findet, hat Ähnlichkeit mit einem Windschirm (Abb. 4). Sie wird folgendermaßen konstruiert: Vorn werden ein oder zwei 2—2,50 m lange Stützen, im Abstand der Länge einer Hängematte, in den Boden gesteckt, etwa drei Meter dahinter befinden sich in etwa weiterem Zwischenraum zwei 1—1,50 m lange, schwächere Stützen. Die oberen Enden werden durch Stangen miteinander verbunden; als Bindematerial dient Cipó-titica (eine Lianenart). Statt der hinteren Stützen bindet man die Stangen auch häufig an zwei ein Stück auseinanderstehenden Bäumen an. Darüber werden 12—15 dünnere Stangen in Querrichtung gelegt und darauf 4—6 in Längsrichtung. Es ergibt sich dadurch ein mehr oder weniger steiles Gerüst, welches die Form eines Pultdaches hat. (Abb. 4). Hierauf legt man Palmblätter, so daß die Hütte einen sicheren Schutz gegen den Regen gewährt; selbst die schwersten tropischen Gewitter können den schlafenden Indianern darunter nichts anhaben. Die Hängematten befestigt man in Dreiecksform um das in der Mitte brennende Feuer, bei größeren Familien hängen auch oft zwei Hängematten übereinander.

[99]) Chaffanjon, 1889, S. 308—311.
[100]) Zerries, 1959b, S. 186.
[101]) Erst kürzlich erschien von dem gleichen Verfasser eine Arbeit „Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Schiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien", welche durch ungenügendes Bildmaterial auffällt (Zerries, 1959a, S. 31—51).

[99]) A. von Humboldt, 1880, IV, S. 1158.
[100]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923, S. 215.
[101]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923, S. 304.

Die Hütten der einzelnen Familien werden, wenn der ganze Stamm wandert, stets im Kreis um die im Zentrum stehende Häuptlingshütte aufgestellt, nachdem vorher der Urwald schnell etwas gerodet wurde. Der Abstand von Hütte zu Hütte beträgt 5—8 m.

Genau die gleiche Konstruktion bringen auch Salathé für die Karinä[28]), Zerries für die Waiká[29]) und Koch-Grünberg für die Xirianá (Schirianá) am oberen Uraricapará; doch letzterer bezeichnet jene pultdachartige Hütte als Wetterschirm[30]). Dieser Name ist aber nicht zutreffend, denn ein echter Wetterschirm, auch Windschirm genannt, berührt auf einer Seite den Boden. Bei der geschilderten Bauweise und ebenfalls auf Koch-Grünbergs Zeichnungen ruht jedoch das Dach überall auf Stützen. Auch die kreisförmige Anordnung der Hütten wird schon von Koch-Grünberg erwähnt. Dann äußert der Gelehrte die Vermutung, daß es sich hierbei nur um ein flüchtiges Lager handelt[31]), was ich jetzt, hinsichtlich der Surára und Pakidái, bestätigen kann. Dagegen sagen Koch-Grünberg, Salathé und Zerries nichts über eine im Zentrum stehende Hütte aus. Diese fehlt aber bei den Surára und Pakidái niemals. Als Grund hierfür gaben mir die genannten Indianer an, daß der darin schlafende Häuptling gegen feindliche Überfälle geschützt werden soll. Nachts müssen außerdem jeweils zwei Krieger das Lager bewachen.

An den Wanderwegen der Surára und Pakidái im Gebiet zwischen den Flüssen Demíni und Aracá findet man zahlreiche solche verlassenen Lager. Sie werden aber nie ein zweites Mal als Nachtquartier benutzt, obgleich die Konstruktion oft noch sehr gut erhalten ist und nur die Dächer mit frischen Palmblättern bedeckt werden müßten.

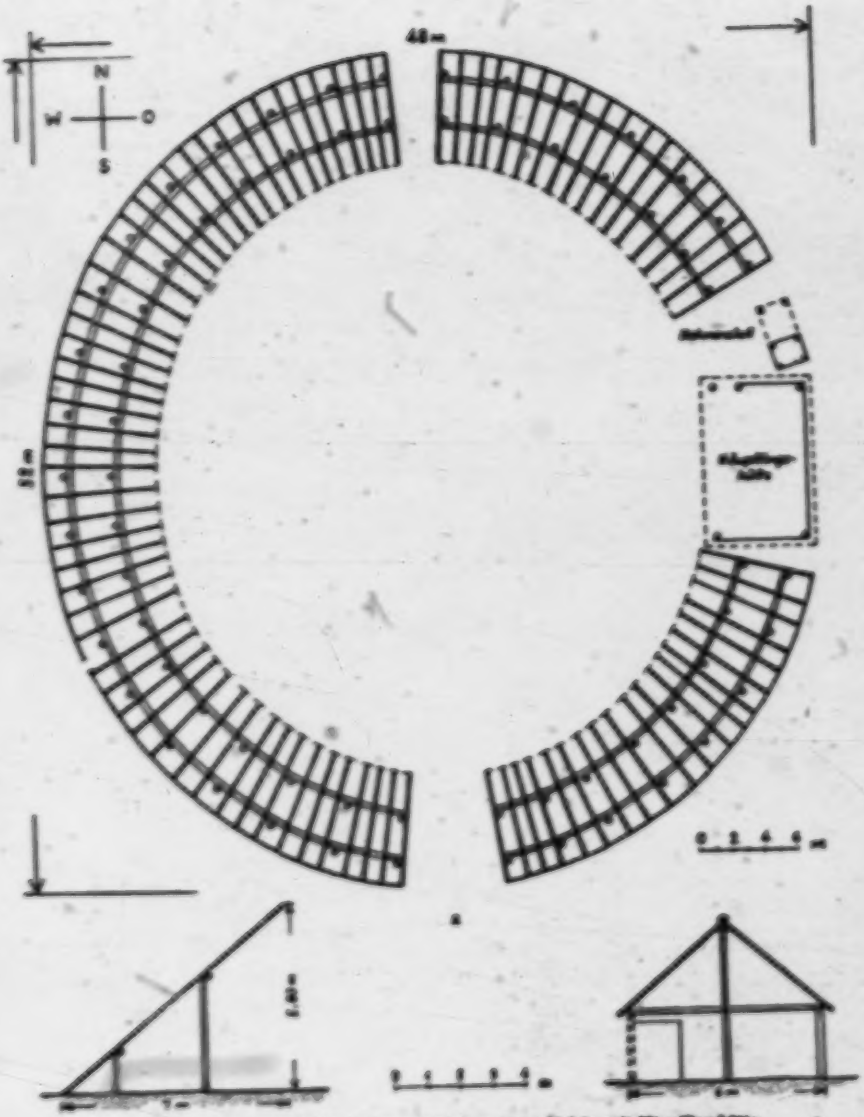
Eine Ausnahme bildet das Lager Xiwarí, welches sich 35 km südlich von der Cachoeira das Índios am oberen Aracá befindet. Drei-

[28]) Salathé, 1931/32, S. 298—300 und Fig. 1 und 2.
[29]) Zerries, 1938, S. 184.
[30]) Koch-Grünberg, 1903a, S. 300 und Taf. 43 b und c.
[31]) Koch-Grünberg, 1903a, S. 300 und Taf. 43 a.

viertel des Kreises, der einen Durchmesser von 28 m hat, wird von 20 der beschriebenen kleinen Hütten eingenommen, während eine 7 m lange und 5 m hohe gleichartig konstruierte Behausung das übrige Viertel ausfüllt. In der Mitte des Kreises steht, wie üblich, die Häuptlingshütte. Um das Lager herum sind Roças (Waldrodungen) angelegt, wo Bananen, Pupunha-Palmen, Maniok, süße Kartoffelarten und Tabak angepflanzt werden. Hier halten sich die Surára in jedem Jahr zwischen den Monaten Oktober und Dezember auf. In der großen Hütte werden dann stets zwei Monate lang zwei junge Männer im Alter von etwa 20 Jahren von dem Häuptling und seinem Bruder als Medizinmannsgehilfen ausgebildet (s. S. 671.).

Die zweite Hausform ist eine große, offene, fast kreisförmige Maloka, welche in einem Tal zwischen drei kurzen Bergzügen liegt, 70 km nordöstlich von der Cachoeira das Índios und etwa 100 km südlich vom Quellgebiet des Orinoco (Abb. 5). Hierbei handelt es sich um eine Konstruktion (s. Fig. 1), die bisher noch nie für südamerikanische Indianer belegt worden ist. Sie wird in der Trockenzeit von den Surára und Pakidái gemeinsam bewohnt. Wie die weiteren Ausführungen zeigen werden, hat sich diese Hausform aus den kreisförmig angeordneten kleinen Hütten, die als Nachtquartier dienen, entwickelt. Das beschriebene Lager Xiwarí zeigt schon deutlich die Übergangsform.

Um eine Fläche von 52 m Länge und 46 m Breite sind drei ca. 6 m hohe, gebogene Windschirme aufgestellt (Abb. 6) und ein zum Inneruum hin offenes, sechseckiges Haus mit Giebeldach. Die Länge des größten Windschirmes beträgt 74,40 m und die der beiden anderen 28,60 m bzw. 25,40 m. Das rechteckige Häuptlingshaus ist 9,70 m lang. Vier Eingänge, mit einer jeweiligen Breite von 8 m; 6,60 m, 6,30 m und 2 m, führen in das große, offene Rund. Ein kleiner Eingang, der jedoch nur 1 m hoch und 50 cm breit ist, befindet sich innerhalb des größten Windschirmes. Außerdem ist zu erwähnen, daß zwischen dem Häuptlingshaus und dem 24,80 m langen Windschirm noch eine 4 m lange rechteckige, offene Giebeldachhütte steht, der Hahnenstall (Abb. 7).


N
W
O
S
48 m
52 m
0 1 2 4 6 m
a
b
c

Die drei Windschirme werden folgendermaßen errichtet: Zum Innenraum hin sind in unregelmäßigen Abständen 3,30—3,60 m hohe Pfosten aufgestellt. Dahinter, in einem Abstand von 2,60 m, stehen kleinere Pfosten, die ca. 1,20 m hoch sind. Die vorderen und hinteren Pfosten werden durch Leisten verbunden, die man ungefähr 2 m nach oben hinauswagen läßt. Zur Befestigung dient auch hier Cipó-titica, eine Lianenart. Im Abstand von 30—70 cm werden über diese Leisten 31—35 dünnere Querleisten gelegt, wodurch eine Windschirmkonstruktion entsteht. Im Gegensatz zu der oben beschriebenen pultdachartigen Hütte handelt es sich diesmal um echte, wenn auch besonders große Windschirme, denn der Boden wird auf einer Seite berührt. Die Tiefe beträgt ca. 7 m und die Höhe des Daches bis zu 6 m. Als Dachbelag verwendet man die Blätter der Ubim-Palme (*Geonoma* sp.), die „Ziegel" Amazoniens. Auch die Gummisammler, Palmfasersammler, Pflanzer und Holzfäller benutzen als Dach- und Wandbelag diese Blätter, deren Haltbarkeit 4—5 Jahre beträgt.

Die Ubim-Palme, welche im Demini-Aracá Gebiet sehr häufig auftritt, erreicht nur eine Höhe von 1,50—2 m. Die Blätter haben eine Länge von 80 cm bis 1 m und eine Breite von 25—30 cm. Das Sammeln derselben ist recht anstrengend und erfordert 4—5 Stunden schwere Arbeit. Sie werden abgeschlagen oder abgebrochen und zunächst haufenweise übereinandergelegt. Hat der Indianer genug Blätter zusammen, säubert er im Urwald einen kleinen rechteckigen Platz im Abstand von etwa 4 m. In dieser Entfernung steckt er auf beiden Seiten je drei 2 m hohe sich direkt gegenüberstehende Stöcke in den Boden. Diese werden mit Lianen verbunden. Danach werden über die drei Lianenstreifen jeweils Haufen von 8—10 Blättern nebeneinandergelegt. Ist das Ende erreicht, schichtet der Indianer auf die Zwischenräume erneut Haufen von 8—10 Blättern, doch diesmal mit dem Stiel nach der entgegengesetzten Seite. In der gleichen Weise verfährt er noch mehrmals, bis schließlich alle gesammelten Blätter schön säuberlich haufenweise übereinander liegen. Danach zieht er auf der einen Seite die drei Stöcke heraus und rollt jetzt die Blätter mit den drei Lianenstreifen, auf denen sie liegen, wie einen Teppich zusammen. Die Enden der Lianen werden dann fest angezogen und ineinandergesteckt. Um den Ballen wird noch ein Tragband aus Embira geschlungen, und hierauf trägt der Indianer die 60—70 kg schwere Last mit dem Kopf oder der Brust, im letzteren Falle verläuft das Tragband über der Brust und den beiden Oberarmen, 30—40 Minuten oder mehr durch den unwegsamen Urwald bis zu seiner Maloka. Der Schritt, den die Indianer dabei anschlagen, ist so schnell, daß ich, obgleich ohne Last, regelmäßig Mühe hatte, ihnen zu folgen.

In der Behausung angekommen, verarbeitet man nun die Blätter am gleichen oder folgenden Tag zu rechteckigen Matten, die als Dachbelag dienen sollen, wobei die Frauen helfen. Bei dieser Technik beeindruckt die Zweckmäßigkeit und der indianische Erfindergeist.

Über einen Stengel der Paxiúba-Palme (*Iriartea exorrhiza* Mart.) werden 60—100 Ubimblätter, mit der Rückseite nach oben, nebeneinandergelegt, und zwar in der Weise, daß gerade noch das Blattende oberhalb des Paxiúbastengels liegt, während der lange Stengel des Ubimblattes darüber hinausragt. Jedes Ubimblatt besteht übrigens aus 3—4 V-förmigen Seiten. Von rechts wird nun damit begonnen, die Blätter zu einem festen Bestand ineinanderzufügen. Der untere Teil der rechten V-förmigen Seite wird eingeschlagen. Danach wird der lange Ubimstengel umgeknickt, um den Paxiúbastengel geschlungen, rechts vom Blatt nach oben geführt und dann über das Blatt nach links gelegt. Mit den anschließenden Blättern wird in der gleichen Weise verfahren. Das Stengelende des letzten linken Blattes wird durch ein um den Paxiúbastengel geschlungenes Lianenstück befestigt, oder einfach dadurch, daß man diesen Stengel ausnahmsweise nach rechts umbiegt und unter die anderen Blätter schiebt. Damit ist ein Pano (rechteckige Matte) fertig, der im allgemeinen eine Länge von 5—8 m hat und eine Breite von einem halben Meter. Je nach der Länge des Windschirmes werden nun 80—100 oder mehr solcher Panos

im Abstand von 30—50 cm ziegelartig übereinander auf das Dachgerüst gelegt und mit Lianen befestigt.

Unter diesen Windschirmen leben die Familien, eine neben der anderen. Die räumliche Ausdehnung jeder Familie beträgt 3—4 m. In der Mitte brennt das Feuer, welches Tag und Nacht unterhalten wird. Rechts und links davon hängt je eine Hängematte, für den Mann und die Frau (Abb. 29). Bei größeren Familien werden die Hängematten dreieckförmig um das Feuer herum aufgehängt, und wenn nötig, auch übereinander. Im letzteren Falle schläft die Hauptfrau stets unten und der Mann oben, während die zweite Frau und die größeren Kinder, oder die Großmutter, in den Hängematten auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite des Feuers liegen. Über und hinter den Hängematten sind die Gebrauchsgegenstände, Bogen, Pfeile, Köcher, Messer, Körbe usw., am Dachgerüst befestigt. Die meisten Familien haben außerdem ganz im Hintergrunde ein etwa 1 m hohes quadratisches oder rechteckiges $^1/_2$ bis höchstens 1 m langes Holzgerüst aufgestellt, welches mit 30—50 cm hohen Seitenwänden versehen ist, in dem die jungen Hunde schlafen, das sogenannte Hundebett (Abb. 30). Ob letztere Vorrichtung eigenständig ist oder früher einmal von Karaibenstämmen übernommen wurde, konnte bisher nicht festgestellt werden. Nach Angabe des deutschen Franziskanerpaters Protasius Frikel aus Santarem sind ähnliche Hundebetten auch bei Karaibenstämmen am Rio Trombetas in Gebrauch[28]).

Die Häuptlingshütte verdankt ihre Entstehung offensichtlich dem Vorbild von Hütten der Pflanzer, Gummi- und Palmfasersammler. Sie hat einen rechteckigen Grundriß, die Breitseite ist zum Hof hin gerichtet und auf dieser Seite auch offen. Die Länge beträgt 9,70 m, die Breite 6 m und die Höhe, genau wie die der Windschirme, ca. 6 m. In der Mitte stehen vier 5 m lange Pfosten, vorn und hinten je vier kleinere, deren Höhe je 2,35 m beträgt. Durch Querbalken sind die kleinen Pfosten miteinander verbunden, außerdem führen Horizontalleisten zu den hohen Pfosten, wodurch ein Giebeldach gebildet wird. Darüber liegen wiederum kleine, dünne Querleisten, auf denen, genau wie bei den großen Windschirmen, Panos, die rechteckigen Palmblattmatten, befestigt sind. In der gleichen Weise hat man auch die hintere Wand und die beiden Seitenwände mit Panos versehen. Zwischen den beiden Enden der Vorderseite sind drei $^1/_2$ m hohe Stangen befestigt, die häufig als Sitzgelegenheit benutzt werden. An der rechten Schmalseite befindet sich der Eingang, welcher 1 m breit ist. In der Mitte der Hütte brennt das Feuer, und im Dreieck herum hat man die Hängematten befestigt, in denen der Häuptling, seine beiden Frauen und die Kinder schlafen. An den Querbalken und am Geflecht der hinteren Wand hängen alle Gebrauchsgegenstände.

Rechts neben dem Häuptlingshaus steht noch eine kleine, offene Hütte, welche 4 m lang, 2 m breit und 6 m hoch ist. Auch hier hat das Dach eine Giebelform und ist ebenfalls mit Panos aus Ubimblättern bedeckt. Unter dem Dach befindet sich ein Lattenverschlag, ca. 1,60 × 2 m, der als Hühnerstall Verwendung findet.

Vom architektonischen Standpunkt aus stellt diese offene, nahezu kreisförmige Konstruktion, in der allerdings die Häuptlingshütte und der Stall für die Hühne zwei später eingefügte Fremdkörper bilden, eine unübertreffliche Bauweise dar, gerade für dieses heiße, tropische Gebiet. Die Kreisform verhindert das Eindringen von Wind, und auch der Regen kann den im toten Winkel unter den Dächern lebenden Familien nichts anhaben. Außerdem herrscht ständig eine angenehme frische Luft, so daß auch beim Verlassen dieser Maloka keine Erkältungsgefahr besteht. Stämme oder Gruppen, die in geschlossenen Malokas leben, sind Erkältungskrankheiten viel leichter ausgesetzt, wenn sie das warme Gemeinschaftshaus verlassen und in die kühle Morgen- oder Nachtluft hinaustreten. Diese Maloka der Surára darf wohl als eine der ältesten und ursprünglichsten Bauformen südamerikanischer Indianer angesehen werden. Um das Gemeinschaftshaus herum hat man Pflanzungen angelegt (Abb. 37), die sich z. T. bis in die Mitte der Bergabhänge erstrecken.

[28]) Persönliche Angabe von P. Frikel anläßlich des XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

Als dritte Hausform lernte ich an der Cachoeira dos Índios am oberen Aracá eine 10 m hohe, geschlossene, kreisförmige Maloka mit Giebeldach kennen. Die Surára erklärten mir, daß diese Bauweise bei den Xiriána üblich sei. Eine Beschreibung davon gibt es aber bisher auch noch nicht.

Der Bau wird, wie bei der offenen Maloka, von allen Männern des Stammes unter Leitung des Häuptlings in Gemeinschaftsarbeit durchgeführt. Ich hatte das Glück, diese Konstruktion in allen Phasen miterleben. Zuerst wird ein Stück des Urwaldes, auf dem die Maloka errichtet werden soll, gesäubert. Die Männer beginnen damit, die kleinen Bäume und Sträucher umzuschlagen und die Wurzeln derselben herauszuziehen. Hierauf gehen sie an das Fällen der großen Bäume. Doch bevor jeweils zwei Männer mit ihren Äxten die Arbeit an einem Baum beginnen, klettert ein Mann hinauf und befestigt dicht unterhalb der Krone eine sehr lange Liane. Ist danach der Baum soweit eingekerbt, daß er zu fallen droht, ziehen ihn drei bis vier Männer mittels der Liane zu Boden und springen, während der Baum fällt, rasch zu Seite. Sind alle Bäume geschlagen, werden die Wurzeln mit Hilfe von Terçados (große Buschmesser) und den Händen ausgegraben. Andere Männer ziehen inzwischen das auf dem Boden wachsende Gestrüpp heraus. An den folgenden 2—3 Tagen werden im Urwald Bäume gefällt, welche als Baumaterial dienen sollen. Hierauf mißt der Häuptling, unterstützt von zwei oder drei Männern, mittels einer Liane, einen kreisrunden Platz ab. Anschließend beginnt der Bau, welcher bereits nach acht Tagen die nachstehend aufgeführte Konstruktion zeigt: Beiderseits von drei 10 m hohen Mittelpfosten, die den Dachfirst bilden, stehen im Halbkreis je vier Pfosten, deren Höhe 8 m beträgt. In einem weiteren Abstand sind um die genannten Pfosten 21 kleine Pfähle, je 5 m hoch, kreisförmig in den Boden gerammt. Sowohl die hohen, als auch die mittleren und kleinen Pfosten sind jeweils durch zwei Querleisten an den oberen Enden und 2 m darunter miteinander verbunden. An den Querleisten der 21 Außenpfosten sind außerdem zahlreiche Horizontalstäbe befestigt, wodurch die Hauswand gebildet wird. Von den oberen Querleisten der kleinen Pfosten verlaufen über die der mittleren Pfosten, die als Stützen dienen, bis zu denen der großen Pfosten 69 Horizontalstangen, die das Dachgerüst tragen sollen. An den beiden Schmalseiten der drei hohen Mittelpfosten sind zwischen den aufliegenden Horizontalstangen orgelförmig je 11 dünne Stöcke angebracht und bilden die beiden Giebelfronten. Als Bindematerial wird auch hier ausschließlich Cipó-titica verwandt. Rechts an der vorderen und links an der hinteren Breitseite ist je ein kleiner nur 1 m hoher und 1 m breiter Eingang. Nach der Fertigstellung des Gerüstes (Abb. 8) werden auf das Dach die Panos (rechteckige Matten aus den Blättern der Ubimpalme) wieder schindelartig übereinandergelegt und an den Sparren befestigt. Es ist die gleiche Technik, wie sie schon bei der Konstruktion der großen, offenen Maloka beschrieben wurde. Den oberen Teil der beiden Giebelseiten läßt man offen, damit Licht in das Innere des Hauses eindringen und der Rauch abziehen kann. Auch die Wände werden vollständig mit Panos bedeckt, und vor die Eingänge werden mittels Lianen zurückschlagbare Palmblattmatten gehängt. Im Inneren des Hauses bleibt die Mitte frei, zur Veranstaltung von Festen und Tänzen, während die Familien, in der gleichen Form wie in der offenen Maloka, verhältnismäßig dicht an der Wand wohnen, eine Familie neben der anderen. Für den Häuptling und seine Angehörigen ist an der zum Fluß gelegenen Seite ein besonders großer Platz reserviert.

Erstaunlich ist an dieser Hausform die Tatsache, daß der Grundriß kreisförmig ist, während das Dach eine Giebelform hat. Für Häuser mit kreisförmigen Grundriß ist sonst das Kegeldach charakteristisch, wie es Olga Coudreau[28]) und Koch-Grünberg[29]) für Karaibenstämme belegt haben. Dabei werden ein oder höchstens zwei Mittelpfosten verwandt. Koch-Grünberg erwähnt zwar auch einen Bau mit drei und schreibt dazu: „Werden die beiden Mittelpfosten weiter auseinandergesetzt oder statt zwei Mittelpfosten drei oder mehr verwendet,

[28]) Olga Coudreau, 1903, S. 122.

[29]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 18 und Taf. 2 (2a, 2b, 2a, 2b).

so verlängert sich der Dachfirst, und der kreisrunde Grundriß geht allmählich in einen elliptischen über"[95]).

Bei der von mir geschilderten Bauweise bleibt aber der kreisförmige Grundriß trotz der drei Mittelpfosten erhalten. Nach Koch-Grünberg verdanken die Giebeldächer und Hütten mit elliptischem Grundriß und anderen von Viereckform" offensichtlich europäischem Einfluß ihre Entstehung"[97]). Hierin stimme ich mit dem genannten Forscher vollständig überein und glaube daher, daß diese von den Surára konstruierte Maloka, die sie dem Gemeinschaftshaus der Xiriána nachbildeten, in Wirklichkeit aus der karaibischen Kegeldachhütte hervorgegangen ist, während das Dach eine Entlehnung aus dem Bereich der Zivilisation (Palmstrohhütten der Caboclos) darstellt. Darauf weist auch die Konstruktion der Häuptlingshütte innerhalb des Kreisumfanges der großen, offenen Maloka hin, welche ebenfalls ein Giebeldach enthält (s. S. 14). Bemerkenswert ist jedoch, daß die Maloka der Surára eine Höhe von 10 m hat, während die von Koch-Grünberg erwähnten Rundhütten eine Höhe zwischen 4.20—5.37 m aufweisen[98]). Meine Frage, warum die Surára in der Serra eine offene und an der Cachoeira dos Índios am oberen Aracá eine geschlossene Maloka bewohnen, wurde mir dahingehend beantwortet, daß es in der höhergelegenen, kühleren Region zwischen Demini und Aracá so gut wie keine Moskitos gibt, jedoch am Flußufer des Aracá verhältnismäßig viele. Diese Begründung ist sehr einleuchtend, denn in den geschlossenen indianischen Gemeinschaftshäusern halten sich keine Stechmücken. Sie scheuen das Halbdunkel und den Rauch der ständig brennenden Feuer.

2. Brücken

Boote werden von den Surára und Pakidái nicht verwandt. Wenn sie auf ihren schmalen Urwaldpfaden, die für unsere Augen kaum erkennbar sind, an Bäche gelangen, so waten sie einfach hindurch. Handelt es sich um breitere Bäche, die in der Regenzeit Hochwasser führen, oder sind deren Ufer steil abfallend, so wird einfach ein Baumstamm als Steg darübergelegt. Zur Überquerung kleinerer Flüsse, wie z. B. des Rio Deminisinho, eines linken Nebenflusses des oberen Aracá, der 1 km hinter der Cachoeira dos Índios in denselben mündet, bedienen sich die Surára sogar einer regelrechten Brücke. An der Übergangsstelle beträgt die Breite des Rio Deminisinho 38 m, und zu beiden Seiten befinden sich 8 m hohe Steilufer. Die Brücke, welche hier während der Sommerzeit, in der das Flußbett verhältnismäßig flach ist, gebaut wurde, besteht aus zwölf 12—14 m langen gekreuzten Baumstämmen, die in das Flußbett gerammt wurden. Über die Kreuzungsstellen hat man jeweils zwei nebeneinanderliegende dünnere Stämme gelegt und mit Lianenumwicklungen befestigt. An den überstehenden Enden der Tragpfosten bilden Lianen eine Art Geländer. Da sie aber sehr locker durchhängen, können sie kaum einen Halt geben. Zur Sicherung der Brücke hat man beide Enden noch zusätzlich mittels Lianen an dicken Bäumen verankert. Hierdurch wirkt die Konstruktion auf den ersten Blick wie eine Hängebrücke. Da sie aber 1 m höher ist als die Ufer, sind an beiden Seiten kleine 60 cm breite Sprossenleitern angebracht und mit Lianenbindungen befestigt.

Während ich beim Überqueren dieser und anderer Baumstammbrücken stets mit großen Schwierigkeiten zu kämpfen hatte, um das Gleichgewicht zu halten, schritten die Indianer, Männer, Frauen und Kinder, immer mühelos darüber hinweg, selbst dann, wenn sie viel Gepäck trugen. Dies mag wohl damit zusammenhängen, daß sie ihre Füße beinahe gar nicht auswärts stellen, so daß man dieselben fast für parallel halten kann (Abb. 17)[99]).

[95]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 22 und Taf. 2 (4).
[97]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 22.
[98]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 21.

[99]) Ähnliche Angaben liegen von Crevaux bezüglich der Oiana (Rukuien, Roucouyennes) vor. Der Forscher suchte bereits nach den Ursachen und glaubte, dieselben im Becken zu finden. Auch die weißen Frauen, so sagte er, gehen mehr als die Männer mit nach innen gesetzten Füßen, weil ihr Becken breiter ist. Wegen der Fußstellung schließt er deshalb auch auf ein breiteres Becken bei den Indianern. (Crevaux, 1883, S. 255).

Diese Brücken stellen kein Novum dar, denn in ähnlicher Form werden sie bereits von Alexander von Humboldt vom Raudal de Guaharibos erwähnt[82]. Eine geradezu klassische Beschreibung dieser bei den Guaharibo beobachteten Bauweise liefert Chaffanjon: „Enfin, vers les quatre heures et demie du soir, nous trouvons une espèce de lac avec un rayol, à l'extrémité duquel quelques branches, régulièrement placées en travers du courant, attirent notre attention; plantées entre les anfractuosités des rochers, elles forment passerelle. Pour les constructions de cette espèce, les Indiens attendent que la rivière soit très basse. Ils recherchent des ramures ou de jeunes fûts, d'une seule venue, comme on en recontre beaucoup dans la forêt. La grosseur varie entre 12 à 15 centimètres de diamètre, la longueur diffère suivant la profondeur de l'eau. Les piquets que nous examinons ne dépassent pas 4 mètres de longueur, ils sont, ainsi que toutes les branches, ou cassés ou brûlés; aucun ne porte trace de hache ou de couteau. Les supports en X, disposés de distance en distance, ont les bras réunis par des traverses, tant à la partie inférieure qu'à la partie supérieure. Le tout est solidement fixé avec des lianes très résistantes. Pour mieux assujettir les supports plantés dans quelque anfractuosité ou entre les roches, on les relie aux arbres de la rive, ce qui leur donne l'aspect d'un pont suspendu. Les Indiens marchent sur les deux traverses inférieures et se servent de la supérieure comme d'une rampe"[83]. Weiterhin werden solche Brücken von Koch-Grünberg für die Tauliping belegt[84] und von Zerries für die Waiká[85].

3. *Jagd- und Kriegswaffen nebst Zubehör*

Für Jagd- und Kriegszüge verwenden die Sanŕma und Pakidái, genau wie die meisten anderen Urwaldnomaden Südamerikas, sehr große Bögen — *kdonaki* — und Pfeile — *xerika* (Abb. 11).

[82] A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, S. 111, 113, 119.
[83] Chaffanjon, 1889, S. 311 und Abb. S. 309.
[84] Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 78 und Abb. 6.
[85] Zerries, 1954b, S. 73.

Die Bögen, sogenannte einfache Bögen, da sie jeweils nur aus einem Stück bestehen, werden aus dem schweren, schwarzen Holz der Pupunha- oder Chontapalme (*Guilielma speciosa* Mart.) gearbeitet und haben Längen zwischen 2,03—2,12 m. Ihre Gewichtszugkraft beträgt 32 kg und die Spannlänge 71 cm[86]. Durch eine nicht zu starke, aber gleichmäßige Krümmung erhalten sie ein symmetrisches Aussehen. Während die äußere Seite flach ist, hat die innere eine abgerundete Form, so daß der Querschnitt, welcher in der Mitte 2—2½ cm beträgt, halbkreisförmig erscheint. Beide Enden laufen spitz aus (Fig. 21).

Bezüglich der Herstellung ist zu sagen, daß man den Bogenstab heute mittels Axt und Terçado (großes Buschmesser)[87] zunächst roh zuhaut. (Steinbeile, die man vielleicht früher einmal dazu verwandte, habe ich nicht vorgefunden). Anschließend bearbeiten ihn die Männer mit einem kleinen Messer, welches sie ebenfalls eintauschen. Zum Glätten verwendet man die innere Kante des Eckzahnes von einem Wildschweinunterkiefer und die rauhen Blätter der Curatella (*Cecropia peltata*), wodurch der Bogen ein schönes, glänzendes Aussehen erhält.

Die Sehne — *penahildhe* —, welche aus dreisträhnig nach rechts gedrehten Curauá (*Bromeliaceae*)-Faserschnüren besteht, wird jeweils mit einfacher Schlinge an den Bogenenden befestigt. Will man den Bogen nachspannen, muß die Sehne stärker zusammengedreht werden, wodurch sie sich verkürzt.

Der beschriebene Bogen läßt sich sofort in die typischen Bogenformen Guayanas einordnen, welche Métraux wie folgt charakterisiert: „Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while the back or outer surface was concave or flat"[88]. Nach Meyers Klassifikation würde er wegen seines halbkreisförmigen Querschnitts

[86] Diesbezügliche Vergleiche mit Bögen anderer südamerikanischer Stämme sind aus Rankes Tabelle zu ersehen. (Ranke, 1903, S. 347).
[87] Sie erhalten diese Gegenstände im Tausch von Piaçabeiros (Palmfasersammlern) und als Geschenke vom Personal des Indianerschutzpostens Ajuricaba am mittleren Demini.
[88] Métraux, 1949, S. 232.

zum nordbrasilianischen Bogentypus gehören; auf Grund des Materials jedoch zur Peru-Gruppe, da es sich ja nicht um rotbraunes, glattes Leguminosenholz handelt, sondern um solches der Pupunhapalme[*]). Auch P. Schmidt widmet

*) Meyer, o. J., S. 31.

dieser „umgekehrten Form des Flachbogens" einen größeren Abschnitt und zählt schon folgende Stämme nördlich des Amazonas auf, wo sie vorkommt: „Kanamare am Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Purohoto, Paase (Kinderbogen), Siriana am Rio

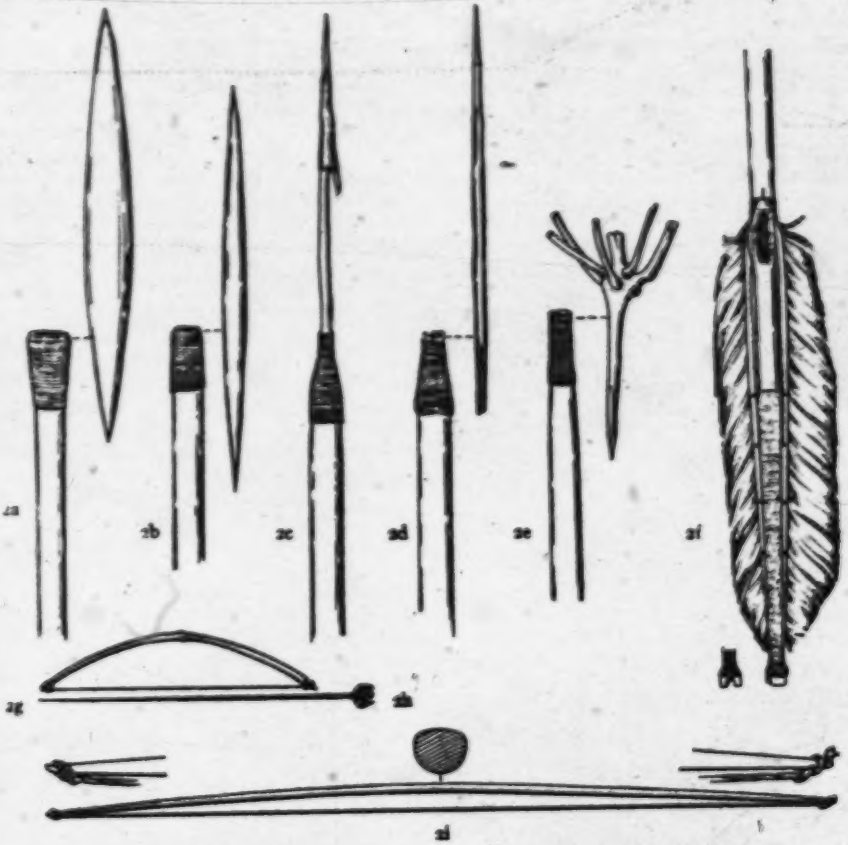


Fig. 2a Pfeilspitze, breit, lanettförmig, aus Bambus
Fig. 2b Pfeilspitze, schmal, lanettförmig, aus Bambus
Fig. 2c Pfeilspitze mit Widerhaken
Fig. 2d Hölzerne Pfeilspitze mit Giftüberzug
Fig. 2e Gegabelte hölzerne Pfeilspitze
Fig. 2f Pfeilbefiederung
Fig. 2g Knabenbogen
Fig. 2h Knabenpfeil
Fig. 2i Bogen mit Querschnitt und Sehnenbefestigung

Uraricapara, Motomoto[68]). Auf Grund der Beschreibungen und Abbildungen, die Koch-Grünberg von dem Xiriána-Bogen gibt[69]), stimmt dieser mit dem der Surára und Pakidái nahezu überein, bis auf die Tatsache, daß ersterer an den Enden abgesetzt ist. Dadurch werden die Aussagen der von mir untersuchten Indianer bestätigt, welche erklärten, daß sie Bogen dieser Art und die Kenntnis, sie selbst herzustellen, von den Xiriána erhielten. Auf meine Frage, warum ihre Bögen am Ende aber nicht abgesetzt sind, gab man mir die Auskunft, daß die Xiriána diese Abweichung fordern. Im Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte befinden sich zwei Xiriána-Bögen, welche von Koch-Grünberg gesammelt wurden (12.25:29; 12.25:31). Es sind aber verhältnismäßig kleine Exemplare, denn sie haben nur eine Höhe von 1,92 bzw. 1,82 m. Ein Bogen der Xamatári vom Rio Mairi, einem linken Nebenfluß des Rio Cauaboris, der sich ebenfalls im Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte befindet (Sammlung Boeldecke, 56.15:4) und zwei Meter hoch ist, hat genau die gleiche Form wie die der Surára und Pakidái, d. h. ohne abgesetzte Enden. Das ist nicht verwunderlich, denn die Xamatári sind nach Aussage des Surára-Häuptlings Hewemão gleichfalls Trabanten der Xiriána (s. S. 6). Schließlich ist noch zu erwähnen, daß dieselbe Bogenform auch für die Waikâ in Venezuela belegt ist[70]).

Die Pfeile — *zerika* —, deren ganze Länge zwischen 2—2,12 m beträgt (Schaftlänge: 1,89—1,94 m; Gewicht: 60—90 g[71]) [72]), werden aus Pfeilrohr — *zerokahe* — hergestellt, daß von den Surára und Pakidái in der Nähe ihrer Malokas am oberen Araçá, bzw. am mittleren Demini angebaut wird. Alle fünf von ihnen verwandte Pfeilarten haben die gleiche Fiederung — *jarowakih* —, welche aus zwei halben schwarzen Schwungfedern des Mutum (*Crax* sp.) — *jaruri* — besteht. Man legt sie in der Weise an das Rohr, daß sie abwechselnd die obere und die untere Seite der Fahne zeigen. An mehreren Stellen des Handendes werden sie durch jeweils zwei Fäden der festen Umwicklung aus Bromeliafasern — *jamahassiwakama* — gehalten. Innerhalb dieser Umwicklung, die das schwache Rohr gegen den Eindruck der Bogensehne stärken soll, steckt am Rohrende außerdem ein kleiner, mit Harz befestigter Holzstift, der in seinem verdickten äußeren Teil eine Einkerbung hat, welche auf die Bogensehne aufgesetzt wird. Hierdurch soll verhindert werden, daß das Rohr beim Abschnellen des Pfeiles splittert. Das obere Ende des Federschaftes ist in eine zweite, schmälere Umwicklung eingebunden, in welcher zwischen den beiden halben Pfeilfedern häufig noch zwei schwarze Mutumfederchen als Schmuck stecken (Fig. 2 f).

Die beschriebene Fiederung gehört nach der Klassifizierung von Meyer zum Typ der Guayanafiederung[73]). Für die Xiriána bezeugt sie Koch-Grünberg[74]), und man kann sie auch an den Pfeilen erkennen, die der Forscher für das Hamburgische Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte mitgebracht hat (Sammlung Koch Grünberg, 12.25:33—42). Daß die Xamatári diese Fiederung ebenfalls verwenden, zeigen die im gleichen Museum befindlichen Pfeile der Sammlung Alfred Boeldecke (56.15:3—7) und die Zeichnungen von Vinci[75]), außerdem ist sie nach Salathé bei den Karinyá anzutreffen[76]).

Erstaunlich groß ist die Variationsbreite der Pfeilspitzen, von denen es bei den Surára und Pakidái folgende fünf verschiedenen Typen gibt:

1. *Kenland* — Es ist eine breite, lanzettförmige Bambusspitze von 25—28 cm Länge; deren

[68]) P. Schmidt, 1913, S. 1030.

[69]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 311 und Taf. 47 (1 und 2a, b, c, d).

[70]) Schuster, 1953b, S. 17.

[71]) Diese Maße bestätigen Woulu Feststellung, welcher sagte, daß der Pfeil nach Länge, Form und Gewicht dem Bogen entsprechen müsse, um eine gewisse Treffsicherheit zu gewährleisten. (Woulu, 1895, S. 6).

[72]) Dienenügliche Vergleiche mit anderen südamerikanischen Stämmen sind aus der Tabelle von Ranke zu ersehen. (Ranke, 1903, S. 347).

[73]) Meyer, o. J., S. 9.

[74]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 311 und Taf. 47 (4, 7, 8).

[75]) Vinci, 1956, S. 146, Fig. 2.

[76]) Salathé, 1931/32, S. 300 und Fig. 3 und 4.

beide Enden spitz auslaufen; die Breite in der Mitte beträgt 3—4 cm. Die obere Seite ist abgerundet und die untere, griffgerechtlich etwas ausgehöhlt, manchmal auch mit schwarzen Punkten bemalt. Sie wird in den ein wenig gespaltenen und mit Bromeliafasern fest umwickelten Pfeilschaft hineingesteckt (Fig. 2a). Da die Pfeile mit dieser großen Spitze besonders durchschlagskräftig sind, werden sie vorwiegend für die Jagd auf Tapire und Jaguare verwandt; außerdem benutzt man sie bei kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen. Jeder Surára- und Pakidái-Mann führt stets 2—3 solcher Reservespitzen in seinem Köcher bei sich.

Gleichartige Spitzen fand Salathé bei den Karimé[77]) und Vinci bei den Xamatári[78]) vor. Außerdem sind sie für letztere Indianer noch durch ein Exemplar im Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte belegt. (Sammlung Alfred Boeklecke, 56.15:5. Länge: 23 cm, Breite in der Mitte: 3 cm. An der unteren ausgehöhlten Seite ist diese Spitze mit einer schwarzen, schlangenförmigen Linie bemalt).

Die von Koch-Grünberg untersuchten lanzettförmigen Bambusspitzen der Xiriána haben dagegen eine etwas abweichende Form. Hier laufen nicht, wie bei den Surára, Pakidái, Karimé und Xamatári, beide Enden spitz aus, sondern das eine Ende ist verdickt, ausgehöhlt und wird, mit Bromeliafasern umwickelt, auf einen dem Pfeilrohr eingefügten Holzschaft aufgesetzt[79]). Drei solcher Xiriána-Pfeilspitzen der Sammlung Koch-Grünberg im Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte haben zudem die respektablen Längen von 34 cm (12.25:37) und 35 cm (12.25:34—35).

Da die Surára und Pakidái nach eigenen Angaben ihre lanzettförmige Bambusspitze von den Xiriána entlehnt haben, ist der erfolgte Wandlungsprozeß recht bedeutsam, weil ja die Spitze nicht mehr auf einen Holzschaft aufgesetzt, sondern direkt in das Pfeilrohr hineingesteckt wird.

Außerdem werden durch Zerries[80]) und Schuster[81]) lanzettförmige Bambusspitzen für die Waiká belegt, doch es ist aus dem Text nicht ersichtlich, ob es sich um die Art der Surára, Pakidái usw. handelt oder um die der Xiriána.

Wie stark Längen und Befestigungsmöglichkeiten solcher Bambusspitzen bei südamerikanischen Indianern variieren, zeigen die zusammenfassenden Untersuchungen von Meyer[82]) und Métraux[83]) sehr deutlich.

2. *Rahahé* — Hierbei handelt es sich um eine schmälere lanzettförmige Bambusspitze, welche in gleicher Weise wie die Kantaná in das mit Bromeliafasern umwickelte Pfeilrohr hineingesteckt wird (Fig. 2 b). Die einzelnen Spitzen sind 20—22 cm lang und in der Mitte 1,5—2 cm breit. Hiermit werden Wildschweine, Wasserschweine (Capivara), Rehe, Pacas und Cutias (s. S. 2) erlegt. Es ist bemerkenswert, daß solche schmalen Bambusspitzen in der Literatur bisher noch keine Erwähnung fanden.

3. *Kantarim* — Spitze mit Widerhaken, hergestellt aus einem doppelspitzigen Knochenstück vom Cuatá (*Ateles paniscus L.*). Derselbe ist am oberen Ende eines im Pfeilrohr steckenden Holzschaftes mittels einer Umwicklung aus Bromeliafasern, die zusätzlich noch mit Pech überzogen ist, parallel angeschnürt (Fig. 2 c). Mit dieser in Südamerika sehr weit verbreiteten Pfeilspitze werden von den Surára und Pakidái Vögel und Fische geschossen.

Nach der Klassifizierung von Métraux gehört sie zum zweiten Haupttyp der im tropischen Urwaldgebiet Südamerikas vorkommenden Pfeilspitzen[84]). Meyer erwähnt, daß sie in Guayana gebräuchlich ist, aber auch im westlichen Brasilien und bei den Karajá[85]). Innerhalb der Yanonámi-Gruppe sind sie noch für die Xiriána[86]), Karimé[87]), Xamatári[88]) und Waiká[89]) [90]) belegt. Im Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte befinden sich

[77]) Salathé, 1931/32, S. 299/300 und Fig. 3b.
[78]) Vinci, 1956, S. 145 und 146, Fig. b.
[79]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 312 und Taf. 47 (5, 8).
[80]) Zerries, 1956b, S. 131.
[81]) Schuster, 1958b, S. 17.
[82]) Meyer, o. J., S. 18, 19, 25, 27, 30, 36, 37, 47, 48, 49 und Tafeln I, 11, 13; II, 16; III, 14; IV, 8, 13.
[83]) Métraux, 1949, S. 236/37 und Fig. 64.
[84]) Métraux, 1949, S. 237.
[85]) Meyer, o. J., S. 18.
[86]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 312 und Taf. 47 (7).
[87]) Salathé, 1931/32, S. 300 und Fig. 3c.
[88]) Vinci, 1956, S. 144 und 146, Fig. c.
[89]) Zerries, 1956b, S. 131.
[90]) Schuster, 1958b, S. 17.

übrigens drei Xiriána-Pfeile mit dieser Spitze (Sammlung Koch-Grünberg, 12.25: 39—41) und ein Pfeil der Xamatári (Sammlung Boelkecke, 56.15:6).

4. *Ranabá* — Gegabelte Holzspitze eines Vogelpfeils. Länge: 12—15 cm. Das Material liefert ein Baum — *paiodrimá* —, der unzählige solcher Gabelungen aufweist. Der untere Teil des Stiels ist zugespitzt und steckt in dem mit Bromeliafasern umwickelten Pfeilrohr (Fig. 2 e). Für diese Pfeilspitze gibt es bisher nur bei den Waiká eine Parallele.[82a])

5. *Unamá* — Hölzerne Pfeilspitze mit Giftüberzug. Ein dünner, zugespitzter Stab aus dem harten Holz der Pupunha-Palme, von 22—24 cm Länge, wird mit Pfeilgift überzogen, wodurch er ein schwarzes Aussehen erhält. Das hintere Ende steckt man in das mit Bromeliafasern umwickelte Pfeilrohr (Fig. 2 d). Solche Giftpfeile dienen ausschließlich der Affenjagd, da diese auf den hohen Bäumen lebenden Tiere sonst schwer zu erlegen sind. Nach den Aussagen von Gewährsleuten der Surára und Pakidái schießen sie vergiftete Pfeile niemals auf Menschen ab.

Andere Yanomámi-Stämme, die ebenfalls Giftpfeile verwenden, sind die Xiriána[82b]), Karimé[83]) und Waiká[84]) [85]). Außerdem befindet sich ein Giftpfeil der Xamatári im Besitz des Hamburgischen Museums für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Sammlung Boeldecke, 56.15:7).

Métraux schreibt bezüglich der Giftpfeile: „Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is commonly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is traded throughout wide regions"[86]). Bei Karaibenstämmen in Guayana sind Giftpfeile, die mit einem Bogen geschossen werden, nicht sehr häufig anzutreffen, denn sie sind lediglich durch Richard Schomburgk für die Makuxí belegt[87]) und durch de Goeje für die Trio[88]). Hierzu muß jedoch bemerkt werden, daß viele Karaiben, wie z. B. die Arekuná-Taulipang, kleine Giftpfeile mit einem Blasrohr schießen; diese Waffe ist den Surára und Pakidái unbekannt.

Pfeilgifte:

Wie mir meine Surára-Gewährsleute berichteten, verwenden sie drei Giftarten von verschiedener Stärke, welche sie jedoch alle mit dem generellen Namen — *mamakórimaxapö* — bezeichnen. Dieser Name ist fast gleichlautend mit dem der Waiká, welche nach Zerries das Pfeilgift — *mamakoli* — nennen[89]).

Das stärkste Gift soll aus der Milch eines Baumes gewonnen werden, welcher in der Sprache der Surára — *paiomá* — heißt. Dieser Baum wurde mir nicht gezeigt; er wüchse, so sagte man mir, nur in einer weit entfernten Gegend. Zur Herstellung eines angeblich schwächeren Giftes bedient man sich der Milch des — *totótó* — (*Strychnos toxifera*).

Gleich nach der Gewinnung läßt man die jeweilige Milchart in einem Tongefäß aufkochen. Dadurch erhält sie ein schwarzes Aussehen und wird anschließend mittels eines Holzstäbchens, welches mit Baumwolle umwickelt ist, auf die Pfeilspitzen gestrichen. Zur Aufbewahrung derselben verwendet man besondere Taschen — *hawabó* —, die aus Blättern der Açaípalme (*Euterpe oleracea* Mart.) angefertigt und mit Lianen genäht werden. Von dem Gift selbst bleibt nie etwas zurück.

Man sagte mir noch, daß von den Stämmen, die mit den Xiriána verbündet seien, nur die Surára mit der Zubereitung dieser beiden Giftarten vertraut wären. Alle befreundeten Indianer, selbst die Xiriána, würden daher ihre Giftpfeile von ihnen eintauschen. Allerdings, so betonte der Surára-Häuptling Hewemão, wüßten auch die verhaßten Waiká Pfeilgifte zu bereiten, die sie vor allem dazu benutzen, um auf Menschen zu schießen. Letztere Angabe findet durch Zerries eine Bestätigung[90]).

[82a]) Barbar, 1953, S. 464.
[82b]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923, S. 312.
[83]) Salathé, 1931/32, S. 301 und Fig. 52.
[84]) Zerries, 1956b, S. 131.
[85]) Schuster, 1956b, S. 17.
[86]) Métraux, 1949, S. 242.
[87]) Richard Schomburgk, 1847, S. 428.
[88]) de Goeje, 1906, S. 13; Taf. V, Fig. 10—12; Taf. XI, Fig. 22.
[89]) Zerries, 1956b, S. 131.
[90]) Zerries, 1956b, S. 131.

Die dritte Pfeilgiftart ist am schwächsten. Sie wird aus dem Schnupfpulver — *ejarud* — hergestellt (s. S. 88/89), indem man dieses mit Wasser anrührt und aufkochen läßt. Diese Methode soll auch den Pakidái und Xirióna bekannt sein.

An den Giftzubereitungen konnte ich leider nicht teilnehmen, denn außer dem Häuptling

Fig. 3 Haltung beim Bogenschießen

und seinem Bruder sind sie nur noch wenigen älteren Männern bekannt und werden sogar vor allen übrigen Stammesangehörigen streng geheimgehalten. Bei den spärlichen Angaben hierüber handelt es sich daher lediglich um mündliche Aussagen.

Knabenbogen:

Der Knabenbogen — *kasad* — ist 80—90 cm lang und besteht aus einem gebogenen Zweig des Paiodrimá-Baumes, der auch das Material für die Vogelpfeilspitzen liefert. Die Arme sind, wie bei allen Zweigbögen, verschieden lang, so daß sich eine unsymmetrische Form ergibt, was die Treffsicherheit beeinträchtigt. Dies ist aber ohne Bedeutung, da es sich ja lediglich um einen Spielbogen für kleinere Knaben handelt. An beiden Seiten ist der Bogenstab zugespitzt und abgesetzt, zur Aufnahme der Sehne — *pekelíhe* —, welche aus einer Liane (*Cipó-tábica*) hergestellt wird. (Fig. 2 g).

Knabenpfeile:

Rukumaçík lautet der Name des 80—90 cm langen, dünnen Knabenpfeils, den die Väter aus dem Holz der Inajápalme (*Maximiliana regia* Mart.) — *kawzimaçí* — herstellen. Die Federung — *jaronahík* — besteht aus zwei kleinen halben Mutumfedern, die am Schaft mit einem Baumwollfaden festgebunden sind. Statt einer besonderen, aufgesetzten Pfeilspitze ist hier der Pfeil nur etwas zugespitzt (Fig. 2 h); die Bezeichnung dafür lautet — *peimaçíhenãmo* —.

Tragweise und Handhabung von Bogen und Pfeil, Schußweite:

Im Urwald tragen die Surára und Pakidái ihre Bogen und Pfeile in der Regel mit einer oder beiden Händen in Längrichtung über dem Kopf, gelegentlich aber auch auf der rechten oder linken Schulter.

Beim Schießen wird der Bogen mit der linken Hand in senkrechter Lage gehalten. Der Pfeil liegt links vom Bogen zwischen Daumen und Zeigefinger. Das Pfeilende hält der Mann zwischen Zeige- und Mittelfinger der rechten Hand und spannt gleichzeitig mit den zweiten Gliedern dieser Finger die Sehne (Fig. 3); gelegentlich nimmt er auch noch das zweite Glied des Ringfingers hinzu, wenn der Schuß verstärkt werden soll. Hierbei handelt es sich um eine Form, welche nach Morse als „Mediterranean release" bezeichnet wird. Diese Anwendung ist auch für Eskimostämme und sibirische Völker belegt[20]), aber noch nie für Indianer Südamerikas. Von den Stämmen am Alarý gibt Koch-Grünberg an, daß hier die Männer das Pfeilende mit Daumen und Zeigefinger der

[20]) Morse, 1885, S. 12—13 und Fig. 8 und 9.

rechten Hand halten, während sich die übrigen drei Finger einfach wider die Handfläche drücken[202]). Auch die Yuruhaxe halten den Pfeil mit dem Daumen und Zeigefinger der rechten Hand, und die drei übrigen Finger dienen ihnen zum Spannen des Bogens[203]). Diese letztgenannten Formen scheinen in Südamerika am gebräuchlichsten zu sein, aber eine genaue Feststellung kann leider nicht getroffen werden, da die Angaben hierüber zu gering sind. Mit Recht klagte daher schon Friederici: „Über die Art, den Bogen zu fassen, zu spannen, zu zielen und den Pfeil zu entsenden, sind die Nachrichten leider nur sehr spärlich; die wenigen vorhandenen sind nicht von der Art, daß man Regeln aus ihnen ableiten könnte"[204]). Soll der Pfeil nach oben geschossen werden, so wird die Sehne bei gerade vorgestrecktem linken Arm mit der rechten Hand bis vor das rechte Auge gezogen (Abb. 13). Linkshändige Schützen sind mir nicht begegnet. Koch-Grünberg erwähnt einen solchen und bemerkt dazu, daß man ihm versichert hätte, es würde viele davon geben[205]). Bei den Mosquito-Indianern in Mittelamerika scheint die Linkshändigkeit sogar besonders ausgeprägt zu sein, denn Sapper beigt ihre typische Handhabung von Bogen und Pfeil mit der Photographie eines linkshändig schießenden Mosquito-Knaben[206]).

Die besten Schußleistungen, welche ich mit Männern und Knaben ausprobierte, lagen bei ersteren zwischen 40—50 m, wobei leere Benzinkanister mit der aufgesetzten großen lanzettförmigen Pfeilspitze glatt durchschossen wurden, und bei letzteren zwischen 8—10 m. Aber selbst auf eine Entfernung von 100 m trafen die meisten Männer noch das Ziel; die Durchschlagskraft war jedoch stark vermindert. Diese Zahlen decken sich nahezu mit den nach der Literatur zusammengestellten Angaben von Friderici[207]). Einige Krieger konnten auch indirekt schießen, was folgender Versuch beweist, den ich mit Hewenšo, dem Häuptling der Surára, seinem jüngeren Bruder Kurikajowë, dem Surára-Mann Brakaiwë und dem Kriegshäuptling der Pakidái, Pwëlëwë, durchführte. Ich legte drei weiße Blätter, Din-Format, hintereinander auf den Boden, deren Entfernungen zum jeweiligen Schützen 30, 28 und 26 m betrugen. Die genannten Männer schossen nun nacheinander drei Pfeile in die Luft (einen mit großer lanzettförmiger Spitze, einen mit kleiner lanzettförmiger Spitze und einen mit Knochenspitze), und jeder traf, meist sogar die Mitte des Blattes. Diese indianische Fähigkeit, auch Ziele mittels indirektem Beschuß zu erreichen, wurde schon von Friederici hervorgehoben und durch Quellenangaben belegt[208]).

Ich beobachtete aber auch, daß nicht alle Männer gleich gute Schützen sind, obwohl sie ja von Kindheit an in ständigem Umgang mit Bogen und Pfeil stehen. Desgleichen erweckte der Gebrauch unserer Gewehre, mein Diener Materu und ich führten je eine Schrotflinte, Kal. 20, bei uns, nur bei einigen Männern Interesse. Die oben genannten drei Surára und der Pakidái, außerdem noch mehrere andere Krieger wußten aber schon nach ganz kurzer Zeit genauso gut damit umzugehen wie mit Bogen und Pfeil.

Ähnliche Feststellungen traf Koch-Grünberg während seiner Reisen, denn er schreibt: „Damit soll jedoch nicht gesagt sein, daß jeder Indianer ein vollendeter Jäger sei. Auch unter diesen Menschen sind Gaben und Neigungen ungleich verteilt..."[209]).

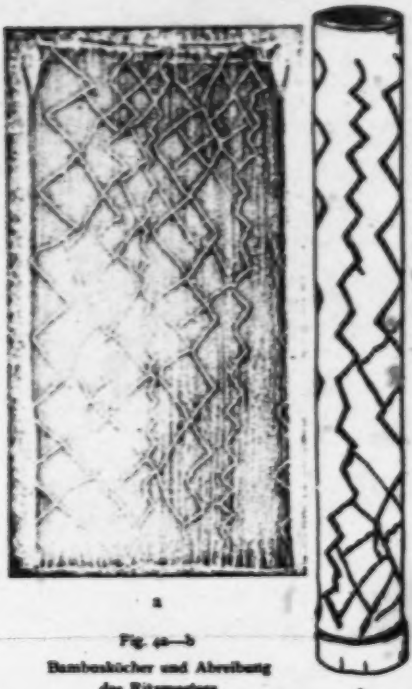
Zu erwähnen ist noch, daß Bogen und Pfeile das wertvollste Privateigentum jedes Mannes darstellen und auch bei allen magischen und religiösen Handlungen (Krankenkuren, Festen, Tänzen usw.) eine große Rolle spielen. Weiterhin sind die Waffen beliebte Tauschobjekte und ehrende Geschenke, welche die Surára und Pakidái gelegentlich von den Xiriána erhalten oder diesen bei Besuchen überreichen (s. S. 6, 74/75). Auch jeder Jüngling, der ein Mädchen heiraten will, muß vorher für seinen Schwiegervater in spe einen Bogen und fünf verschiedene Pfeile

[202]) Koch-Grünberg, 1909, S. 104 und Abb. 58.
[203]) von Helten, 1877, S. 111.
[204]) Friederici, 1907, S. 329.
[205]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 73.
[206]) Sapper, 1903, S. 34.
[207]) Friederici, 1907, S. 326.

[208]) Friederici, 1907, S. 329.
[209]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 50.

anfertigen. Stirbt ein Krieger, so werden seine Waffen mit ihm verbrannt, damit er sie bei seiner Reise zum Mond und dortselbst verwenden kann (s. S. 71).

Bevor die Surára und Pakidái von den Xiriána den großen umgekehrten Flachbogen übernahmen, so erklärte man mir, kannten ihre Vorfahren nur den Zweigbogen. Danach würde



a b

Fig. 4a—b
Bambusköcher und Abreibung des Ritzmusters

dieses heutige Kinderspielzeug ein „survival" darstellen. Die Waiká, so berichtet Zerries, hätten eine Überlieferung, derzufolge ihnen in alter Zeit Bogen und Pfeile sogar völlig fehlten. Die Kriege wären damals nur mit Keulen ausgetragen worden. Er fand auch einige Exemplare vor und beschreibt sie als lange, flache Schwertkeulen, „himo" genannt, die man aus dem Holz der Pupunhapalme anfertigt[109]). Außerdem erwähnt er lange Holzstangen, mit denen noch heute lokale Konflikte ausgetragen würden, was ihn an die Zweikämpfe der Botokuden erinnert[110]) [111]). Bei den von mir untersuchten Indianern habe ich zwar weder Stangen noch Keulen bemerkt[112]), wohl aber eine Zwischenform, nämlich Stöcke aus Pupunha-Holz von 1.30—1.40 m Länge, welche an einem Ende etwas verdickt sind und deren Name ebenfalls — *himo* — lautet. Hiermit führen die Männer aus bestimmten Anlässen Stockduelle durch[113]), die denen der Guayakí ähneln[114]); von den Stockkämpfen der Botokuden[115]) weichen sie jedoch stark ab. Trotzdem treten zwischen den Stangen, bzw. Keulen der Waiká und den Stöcken der Surára und Pakidái deutliche Parallelen hervor, einmal wegen des ähnlichen Verwendungszweckes und zum anderen durch die gleichlautenden Namen. Es ist daher anzunehmen, daß Stange und Stock sehr ursprüngliche Waffen darstellen, woraus bei den Waiká, vermutlich durch äußere Einflüsse, die Keule entwickelt wurde.

Köcher:

Ein wichtiges Zubehör für die Jagd- und Kriegswaffen bilden die 32—40 cm langen Bambusköcher — *kóra* —, die einen Durchmesser von 4—5 cm besitzen. Meist sind sie mit eingeritzten schlangenförmigen Linien und Zickzackmustern verziert (Fig. 4a, 4b).

Jeder Jäger und Krieger trägt den Köcher, in dem sich stets einige mit Palmblättern umwickelte vergiftete Pfeilspitzen und mehrere große sowie kleine lanzettförmige Bambusspitzen befinden, an einer Halsschnur und läßt ihn auf den Rücken herabhängen, damit er beim Spannen des Bogens nicht hindert.

[109]) Zerries, 1956a, S. 185.
[110]) Zerries, 1956a, S. 184.
[111]) Zerries, 1954b, S. 75.
[112]) Auch bei den Xiriána entdeckte Koch-Grünberg keine einheimischen Keulen. (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 313).
[113]) Becher, 1959, S. 162 ff.
[114]) Baldus, 1939, S. 113.
[115]) Prinz zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, S. 368—370.

Köcher von gleicher Form und dieselbe Tragweise findet man auch bei den Waikâ, wie aus einer Aufnahme von Zerries zu ersehen ist[116]). Außerdem besitzt das Hamburgische Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte solch einen Köcher, jedoch ohne Verzierung, von den Xamatári (Sammlung Boeldecke, 56.15:31).

4. Feuerzeug

An jedem Surára- und Pakidái-Köcher ist oben und unten mittels einer Schnur aus Baumwolle oder Curauá (Bromeliafaser) das Quirlfeuerzeug — *hordoshîk* — festgebunden, welches jeweils aus dem lanzettförmigen Herd — *pandíhapashîk* — und zwei Bohrstäben — *ihirupshîk* — besteht (Fig. 5). Beide Teile werden aus dem weichen Holz des wilden Kakaobaumes — *pordrod* — angefertigt, genau wie bei den Waikâ[117]). Koch-Grünberg belegt solch ein Quirlfeuerzeug für die Xiriána[118]), jedoch ohne Erwähnung des Materials. An einem Exemplar, welches er für das Hamburgische Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte mitgebracht hat (Sammlung Koch-Grünberg, 12.25:124), kann man aber feststellen, daß es sich dabei ebenfalls um Holz des wilden Kakaobaumes handelt. Von Köchern sagt er gar nichts aus und scheint also keine vorgefunden zu haben. Auch sonst fand ich in der Literatur noch keine Parallele für die sehr praktische Verbindung von Köcher und Feuerzeug[119]). Dabei ist sie durchaus naheliegend, denn wenn die Surára- und Pakidái-Männer bei Kriegs- und Jagdzügen abends nicht mehr in die Maloka zurückkehren können, haben sie unterwegs die Möglichkeit, innerhalb von drei bis vier Minuten ein Feuer zu entfachen. Dies geschieht, indem der Mann im Hocksitz mit einem Fuß den Herd auf dem Boden festhält und mit

Fig. 5 Bambusköcher mit angebundenem Quirlfeuerzeug

den flachen Händen quirlt (Abb. 31). Die Löcher des Herdes werden mittels eines Messers aus dem scharfen Zahn des Cutia (*Dasyprocta aguti* L.) (s. S. 54) vorgebohrt und mit einer

[116]) Zerries, 1958c, S. 179, Abb. 6.
[117]) Schuster, 1958b, S. 17.
[118]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 311.
[119]) Daß sie aber auch bei den Xamatári bekannt ist, beweisen zwei Gegenstände jenes Stammes im Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Sammlung Boeldecke, 56.15:32 und b), und vermutlich ist bei den Waikâ das Feuerzeug ebenfalls am Köcher befestigt. Genaue Angaben von Zerries und Schuster stehen darüber noch aus.

kleinen seitlichen Rinne verbunden. Durch das Quirlen wird das Loch erweitert. Es löst sich ein feiner Staub, der langsam zu rauchen und zu glimmen beginnt und durch die Rinne auf einen schon vorher daneben gelegten Zunder fällt (trockenes Gras, Laub oder trockne Bambusspäne), welcher rasch Feuer fängt. Vorsichtig bläst der Mann darauf, und kurze Zeit später lodert eine Flamme empor. Doch hierzu gehört sehr viel Übung und Geschicklichkeit; häufig hat er nach dem Quirlen Blasen an den Händen. Diese Art der Feuererzeugung ist in Südamerika am weitesten verbreitet[108]). In ihren Malokas wird das Feuer von den Surára und Pakidái konserviert.

5. *Zwirnen und Spinnen*

Zur Herstellung von Fäden und Bindfäden werden die Blattfasern einer Bromeliacee, Curaua[109]) und Baumwolle verwandt, letztere jedoch erst seit neuerer Zeit.

Während die Curaua-Fasern auch heute noch meist von Männern und nur gelegentlich von Frauen mit der rechten Hand gegen den rechten Schenkel, zum Knie hin, zu rechtsgedrehten Fäden verarbeitet werden[110]), wird zur Herstellung von Baumwollfäden eine Spindel verwandt, womit jedoch eine Linksdrehung verbunden ist. Die Behandlung der Baumwolle — *zinarí* —, angefangen vom Pflücken, über Trocknen und Bleichen, Entfernen der Kerne, Lockern und Auseinanderzupfen, bis zum Spinnen, ist Frauenarbeit.

Die Spindel — *zinaríhi* — besteht aus einem 30—35 cm langen, glatt bearbeiteten Stöckchen — *ruhú* —, oft wird hierfür auch eine Palmblattrippe verwandt, an deren oberem Ende ein kleiner Widerhaken — *akuhená* — aus demselben Material mit einem Baumwollfaden befestigt ist. Der scheibenförmige Wirtel — *tauhará* —, von Männern aus Knochen oder Holz angefertigt, wird von unten auf das Stöckchen gestreift und sitzt in der Mitte desselben. Damit er nicht abgleiten kann, wenn die Frau ihre Spindel in vertikaler Stellung hält, befindet sich unterhalb des Wirtels eine Baumwollumwicklung.

Aus der Beschreibung ist zu ersehen, daß es sich um eine für Guayana typische Abart der „Bakairispindel" handelt. „Nur in Guayana und am Amazonenstrom", so schreiben Frödin und Nordenskiöld in ihrer Untersuchung „Über Zwirnen und Spinnen bei den Indianern Südamerikas" „finden wir die mit Haken versehenen Spindeln, die sich übrigens von den übrigen Bakairispindeln nur dadurch unterscheiden, daß der Spinnwirtel nahe der Mitte des Stöckchens sitzt (Abb. 40)"[111]).

Doch in zwei anderen Punkten weichen die Spindeln der Surára und Pakidái etwas ab, denn bei ihnen ist das Stöckchen unten nicht verdickt, und der Wirtel wird durch eine Baumwollumwicklung gehalten.

Hierfür gibt es bisher nur eine Parallele, und zwar handelt es sich dabei um eine Quechua-Spindel[112]). Die Spindel der Karinié scheint auf Grund der Zeichnung in Salathés Aufsatz denen der Surára und Pakidái zu gleichen[113]). Leider gibt Salathé nicht an, ob der Wirtel durch eine darunter angebrachte Umwicklung oder vielleicht durch Harz oder Wachs seine Lage behält, wie es z. B. bei den Spindeln der Chama und Panserna der Fall ist[114]). Damit erschöpfen sich schon die Vergleiche hinsichtlich der Befestigung des Wirtels durch Umwicklung, Holz oder Wachs, so daß sich hierüber noch keine Schlüsse über Ursprung und Verbreitung ziehen lassen.

Während ich mit den Surára und Pakidái zusammenlebte, konnte ich feststellen, daß viele Frauen die Deckel meiner leeren Puderdosen und Hautcremeschachteln bevorzugt als Wirtel

[108]) Nordenskiöld, 1924, S. 118—125 und Karte 13.

[109]) Auch Koch-Grünberg bezeugt die Verwendung dieses Materials für nordwestbrasilianische Stämme. (Koch-Grünberg, 1910, S. 210).

[110]) Fäden, die nicht mit der Spindel gesponnen werden, sind bei den meisten südamerikanischen Stämmen rechtsgedreht. Es gibt jedoch Ausnahmen, denn bei einigen Völkerschaften des nordwestlichen Südamerika kommen überwiegend linksgedrehte Fäden vor, und in Guayana sowie im Gran Chaco treten erstere rechts- als auch linksgedrehte Fäden auf. (Frödin und Nordenskiöld, 1918, S. 30).

[111]) Frödin und Nordenskiöld, 1918, S. 24.

[112]) Frödin und Nordenskiöld, 1918, S. 26/27.

[113]) Salathé, 1931/32, S. 305, Fig. 14.

[114]) Frödin und Nordenskiöld, 1918, S. 26/27.

gebrauchten, und die Verbandwatte, welche ich bei mir führte, wurde von ihnen sofort gesponnen in ihre angebaute Baumwolle, weil die daraus gewonnenen Fäden, so sagten sie, fester und haltbarer wären.

Gesponnen wird in folgender Weise: Mit zurückgeschlagenem Unterschenkel sitzt die Frau auf einem dünnen Baumstamm. Die zur Verarbeitung vorgerollte Baumwolle hängt über ihrer linken Schulter, und von dort wird der Faden mit den Fingern der linken Hand weiterpräpariert. Die Spindel, an deren Widerhaken sie den Faden befestigt hat, rollt sie zunächst in horizontaler Lage mit der flachen rechten Hand auf dem etwas geneigten rechten Oberschenkel, wobei sie die Hand vom Knie aus schnell aufwärts bewegt. Dadurch erhält der Faden eine Linksdrehung. Hierauf läßt sie die Spindel in vertikale Lage zwischen die Beine fallen und auf dem Boden rotieren.

Diese Methode gehört zur Variation 1 des Fakultativspinnens[107]), welche für die Stämme Guayanas außerordentlich charakteristisch ist und in ähnlicher Weise von Koch-Grünberg[108]), Frédin-Nordenskiöld[109]), Im Thurn[110]) und Roth[111]) beschrieben wird.

Die gesponnenen Fäden wickelt man zu runden Knäueln zusammen, welche in dieser Form mit als Tributzahlung für die Xirianá verwendet werden (s. S. 74/75) und auch sonst beliebte Tauschobjekte darstellen, genau wie bei den Arekuná-Taulipang und ihren Nachbarn[112]).

Sowohl die Baumwolle, die Spindel als auch die Technik, links zu spinnen, ist vermutlich von Karaibenstämmen über die Xirianá zu den Surára und Pakidái gelangt. Daß Baumwolle und Spindel ein Importgut darstellen, wird durch die Technik des Linksdrehens besonders deutlich, weil ja mit dem ursprünglichen Material, den Curuá-Fasern, die Fäden stets rechts gedreht werden. Im Thurn weist schon darauf hin, daß es in Guayana vor allem Karaiben sind, welche Fäden aus Baumwolle spinnen, und er glaubt, daß sie auch die Baumwolle und die Spindel mitgebracht, als sie in Guayana einwanderten[113]). Letztere Annahme ist allerdings noch nicht bewiesen, denn am oberen Rio Negro traf Koch-Grünberg auch Karaibenstämme an, welche weder die Baumwolle, noch die Spindel kannten. Auf eine diesbezügliche Anfrage von Frédin und Nordenskiöld antwortete er in einem Briefe wie folgt: „Es ist mir vollkommen rätselhaft, warum die Indianer am oberen Rio Negro keine Baumwolle zum Spinnen anpflanzen und keine Spindeln haben. Es wäre wichtig zu untersuchen, wie weit diesen Fehlen der Spindeln Rio Negro abwärts und in seine Nebenflüsse reicht, die ja vom Curicuriary abwärts ethnographisch noch fast völlig unbekannt sind"[114]).

Innerhalb der Yanomámi-Gruppe ist die Baumwolle und das Spinnen außer den Xirianá, Surára und Pakidái aber auch den Pumbowéteri, Arutanowéteri und Karawatéteri bekannt, von denen ich Angehörige in den Malokas der Surára und Pakidái traf, desgleichen den Karimé[115]) und den Waikí, welche auch Schuster vermutlich durch die karaibischen Makiritare mit der Baumwolle bekannt wurden[116]).

6. *Tracht und Schmuck*

a) Hüftschnüre und Gürtel

Von 4. Lebensjahr ab tragen beide Geschlechter ständig eine Hüftschnur — akawaxi —, welche von Frauen, gelegentlich aber auch von Männern aus Curuá-Fasern, dem ursprünglichen Material (s. S. 26), oder aus Baumwolle angefertigt wird. Bei ersterer sind jeweils zwei Strähnen rechts- und bei letzterer linksgedreht. Die alte Technik der Rechtsdrehung bei Verarbeitung von Curuá-Fasern wurde also trotz Übernahme der Baumwolle beibehalten. Es gibt aber noch einen weiteren bedeutsamen Unterschied. Während nämlich die Hüftschnur aus Baumwolle gewissermaßen die Alltagstracht

[107]) Frédin und Nordenskiöld, 1918, S. 34 und 46.
[108]) Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, S. 86.
[109]) Frédin und Nordenskiöld, 1918, S. 32 und 38.
[110]) Im Thurn, 1883, S. 262.
[111]) Roth, 1909, S. 23 und Tafn. I und II.
[112]) Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, S. 86.

[113]) Im Thurn, 1883, S. 267.
[114]) Frédin und Nordenskiöld, 1918, S. 21, Fußnote 1.
[115]) Salzlick, 1931/32, S. 305 und Fig. 14.
[116]) Schuster, 1939b, S. 18.

darstellt, wird diejenige aus Curaná-Fasern gegenwärtig fast nur für zeremonielle Zwecke angelegt.

Alle männlichen Surára und Pakidái binden mittels der Hüftschnur den Penis nach oben, was in der Weise geschieht, daß sie vor dem Anlegen derselben einer Schlinge knoten und die Vorhaut hindurchziehen.

Mit der Hüftschnur fühlen sich diese Indianer bekleidet und legen dieselbe daher niemals ab, auch nicht beim Schlafen oder beim Baden. Als ich einmal mit dem Kriegshäuptling der Pakidái, Porihiwó, auf der Jagd war, passierte es ihm, daß seine Hüftschnur riß. Sofort trat er schamhaft hinter den nächsten Baum und knüpfte sie wieder zusammen. Hinterher erklärte er mir, daß es der größte Verstoß gegen die guten Sitten wäre, ohne Hüftschnur herumzulaufen. Die Frauen würden dann ihr Gesicht verhüllen und laut schreien. Nie dürfe sich daher ein Mann mit herunterhängendem Penis zeigen, und ein geradezu fluchwürdiges Verbrechen wäre es, welches durch Schläge geahndet wird, wenn er seine Glans den Augen der Frauen und Mädchen preisgibt.

Hieraus ist zu ersehen, daß bei den Surára und Pakidái die Hüftschnur im allgemeinen, denn auch die Frauen und Mädchen verwenden sie, ohne damit etwas zu verdecken, und das Hochbinden des Penis im besonderen mit Anstandsgefühlen in Verbindung gebracht wird[107]. Damit kann ich eine Ansicht bestätigen, welche schon Ehrenreich bezüglich der bedeckten Glans penis bei den Xingú-Indianern vertritt[108], die jedoch weder von Karl von den Steinen[109] noch von Koch-Grünberg[110] geteilt wird. Nach Auffassung dieser beiden Gelehrten, aber auch Nordenskiölds[111] und Krickebergs[112], soll durch das Hochbinden des Penis die Glans vor eindringenden Insekten, Dornen usw. geschützt werden. Diese Annahme ist für die Surára und Pakidái höchstens von sekundärer Bedeutung, denn die unbedeckte weibliche Vagina ist ja durch eindringende Insekten gleichermaßen bedroht. Aber auch magische Vorstellungen, womit Karsten[113] das Hochbinden des Penis begründen will, treffen für die von mir untersuchten Indianer nicht zu. Naheliegender wäre daher schon jene zweite von Karl von den Steinen geäußerte Vermutung, worin er diese Sitte in unmittelbare Beziehung zum Geschlechtsleben bringt und hervorhebt, daß sie den gleichen Zweck wie die Zirkumzision haben könnte: „Nicht daß die Oeffnung erweitert würde; es liegt vielmehr eine gymnastische Behandlung der Phimose vor anstatt einer operativen. Dehnen sie denn nicht die Haut, die die Andern ausschneiden? Schaffen sie nicht Raum innerhalb der Andern nach außen schaffen?" Um wenigsten kann dies für das Abklemmen des Präputiums mittels der Hüftschnur bezweifelt werden, was, wie bereits erwähnt, die älteste Form zu sein scheint, da sich die Hüftschnur überall erhalten hat. Mit dem Stulp wurde die Haut stark vorgezerrt. Bei Jünglingen zeigte sie sich häufig wund und abgeschürft. Der Europäer läßt zu enge Schuhe vom Schuster auf den Leisten schlagen, im innern Brasilien aber, wo man nur fertige importierte Ware kauft, findet ein Mann der guten Gesellschaft gar nichts darin, in Lackschuhen zu erscheinen, die er sich mit ein paar festen Schnitten erweitert hat. Sein Messer verhält sich zum Leisten, wie der beschneidende Späher oder Dorn zur Hüftschnur[114]. Außer dem brennenden Schamgefühl kann diese Annahme durchaus als zweiter Grund zutreffen. Man hätte dann gleichsam eine Parallele zu den Mädchen, welche ja bereits nach Vollendung des ersten Lebensjahres durch die Mutter mit dem Finger defloriert werden, wobei ausdrücklich gesagt wird, daß dies geschieht, um den späteren Geschlechtsverkehr zu erleichtern (s. S. 63).

Aber auch bei anderen Yanomámi-Stämmen wird die Hüftschnur aus Pflanzenfasern oder Baumwolle von beiden Geschlechtern verwandt,

[107]) Als Tragevorrichtung für Gebrauchsgegenstände, wie es z. B. Baldus bei den Tapirapé sah (Baldus, 1945, S. 83/88), wird die Hüftschnur niemals verwandt, weil ja dann leicht die Gefahr besteht, daß sie reißt.

[108]) Ehrenreich, 1891, S. 86.

[109]) Karl von den Steinen, 1894, S. 195.

[110]) Koch-Grünberg, 1910b, S. 89.

[111]) Nordenskiöld, 1912, S. 94.

[112]) Krickeberg, 1912, S. 231.

[113]) Karsten, 1926, S. 151/52.

[114]) Karl von den Steinen, 1894, S. 190.

und die Männer binden damit ebenfalls den Penis nach oben. Diese Feststellung konnte ich bei Angehörigen der Xirianá, Pianhewetteri und Aramamateri treffen, welche als Einbrasen, bzw. Besucher in den Häusern der Surára und Pakidái weilten. Auch das gefangene Karamatari-Mädchen Nikerumá trug stets eine Hüftschnur und erklärte mir, daß derselbe für ihren Stamm charakteristisch sei und die Männer ebenfalls das Glied darunterziehen. Desgleichen weisen Zerries[128] sowie Hübner[129] darauf hin, daß die Waiká eine Hüftschnur zum Hochbinden des Gliedes verwenden, und nach Aussage des letztgenannten Verfassers auch die Xirianá. Ein weiterer Beleg liegt sodann für die Karimé vor[130].

Im Anschluß an P. Schmidt[131] und Nordenskiöld[132] untersuchte ich diese merkwürdige Sitte schon in meiner Arbeit „Gürtel und Hüftschnüre südamerikanischer Naturvölker" und fand sie für 33 Stämme belegt, wozu jetzt noch sechs weitere kommen, die Surára, Pakidái, Pianhewetteri, Aramamateri, Karamatari und Karimé. Es ist sogar zu vermuten, daß bei allen Stämmen, bzw. Gruppen, die zur ethnischen Einheit der Yanoáma gehören, das Membrum nach oben gebunden wird. Da unter den Puno- und Tukano-Stämmen sowie unter den Mahé dieser Brauch ebenfalls verbreitet ist und drei San Agustín-Statuen das präkolumbische Vorkommen beweisen[133], hebt sich der Nordwesten Südamerikas einheitig als Kern- und wahrscheinlich Ursprungsgebiet dieser sehr alten Sitte ab. Die Karaiben- und Arawakstämme, welche den bisherigen Forschungen zufolge erst später in Guayana einwanderten, pflegen ihn dagegen, mit Ausnahme der Yanapery[134], gar nicht, und die Tupi empfanden das Hochbinden des Penis sogar als verabscheuungswürdig und lächerlich[135] [136] [137].

[128] Zerries, 1950a, S. 184.
[129] Hübner, 1957, S. 131 und Fig. 11.
[130] Sabelli, 1931/32, S. 305.
[131] P. Schmidt, 1913, S. 1057.
[132] Nordenskiöld, 1924, S. 147/48.
[133] Preuss, 1929, I, S. 79; II, Tabs. 1: 33 (1); 64 (1).
[134] Hübner, 1957, S. 131.
[135] Nimuendajú, 1914, S. 322/23.
[136] Becher, 1951, I, S. 189/91; II, Tab. und Karte Nr. 18. [137] Becher, 1955, S. 124/25.

Bei festlichen und zeremoniellen Anlässen binden Männer, Frauen und Kinder vom 4. Lebensjahr ab über die Hüftschnur noch einen Baumwollgürtel — apé —[138], welcher vom stets ohne ist. In der Regel werden die Gürtel von Frauen hergestellt; Junggesellen müssen sie jedoch selbst anfertigen.

Es handelt sich zwar um die für Guayana typischen Schnurgürtel[139] [140], welche aber durch Umwicklungen, resp. Querbindungen sie von den bekannten Formen etwas abweichenden Aussehen erhalten.

Fig. 6a
Männergürtel, Detail

Fig. 6b
Männergürtel, Schema

Alle Männer- und Knabengürtel sind vollständig und haben eine Länge von 70—80 cm, bzw. 40—50 cm. Der Durchmesser bei ersteren beträgt 4—5 cm und bei letzteren 2—3 cm. Die Anfertigung ist sehr einfach, denn um zwei in den Boden gesteckte hölzerne Stöcke, deren Abstand die Länge des Gürtels bestimmt, wird ein langer Baumwollfaden solange herumgewickelt, bis man schließlich eine dicke Lage gewinnt. Diese wird dann einfach mit einem dünnen Faden aus Baumwolle oder Curaná-Fasern im

[138] Es ist der gleiche Name mit dem auch die baumwollenen Hängematte bezeichnet wird.
[139] Becher, 1951, I, S. 189.
[140] Becher, 1955, S. 138.

Fig. 7a
Jünglingsgürtel, Detail

Fig. 7b
Jünglingsgürtel, Schema

Abstand von 1,5—2 cm bei Männergürteln und 0,5—1 cm bei Knabengürteln fest umwickelt, wodurch Erhebungen und Rillen entstehen. Bevor der Gürtel von den Stöcken abgestreift wird, führt man durch die Öffnungen jeweils eine kleine zwei bis fünffarbig gefärbte Schnur aus Baumwolle oder Curaua-Fasern und knotet mittels der beiden 3—5 cm langen Enden eine Schlaufe. Diese zwei Schlaufen werden vom Träger vorn, über dem Unterleib, ineinandergedreht und gewölbeleistenartig durch die Knoten den Halt des Gürtels (Fig. 6 a u. b, Abb. 25). Nach der Fertigstellung werden auf diese Gürtel mit Urucu, wenn man sich eines Stäbchens bedient, schlangenförmige Linien, Kreise oder Punkte gemalt; häufig färbt man sie aber auch gänzlich rot.

Bei den Waiká fand Zerries die gleichen Männergürtel vor[107]), und aus den Photographien in anderen Publikationen dieses Verfassers ist zu ersehen, daß sie in derselben Weise wie bei den Suriára und Pakidái gefertigt werden[108]) [109]).

[107]) Zerries, 1954/b, S. 182.
[108]) Zerries, 1955/b, farbiges Umschlagbild und Photogr. auf S. 163 unten links.
[109]) Zerries, 1955/b, Taf. VI, oben.

Außer den Männer- und Knabengürteln gibt es bei den Suriára und Pakidái noch eine in Flechttechnik hergestellte spezielle Art für Jünglinge. Die Anfertigung beginnt in der oben beschriebenen Art. Doch nach Erhalt der Baumwollage wird dieselbe in zwei gleichmäßig dicke Bündel geteilt, die man abwechselnd im Abstand von 1—1,5 cm fest umwickelt. Der Gürtel besteht also aus zwei dünnen nebeneinanderliegenden Baumwollrollen von je 1 cm Durchmesser (Fig. 7 a u. b). Bindeschnüre und Tragweise entsprechen den Männer- und Knabengürteln, desgleichen die Bemalung.

Frauen- und Mädchengürtel zeichnen sich durch eine breite, flache Form aus. Die Längen bewegen sich zwischen 55—70 cm und die Breiten zwischen 6—8 cm für Frauengürtel und 35—45 cm, bzw. 4—5 cm für Mädchengürtel. Zur Herstellung benutzt man auch hierfür wieder zwei Stöcke, um welche die Baumwollfäden geschlungen werden. Die gewonnene Lage wird in 6—8 gleichmäßig dicke Bündel geteilt, von denen man jedes in der auf Fig. 8 a—c dargestellten Weise mittels eines Baumwollfadens umschlingt und so die Bündel der Kettfäden zusammenhält. Die Längsfäden werden also durch Querbindungen nebeneinander gehalten. Der Abstand zwischen diesen Einschlägen beträgt bei den Gürteln junger Frauen und Mädchen 1,5—3 cm und bei denen alter Frauen 0,5 cm. Auf diesen Unterscheidungsmerkmal wurde ich stets aufmerksam gemacht. Bindeschnüre und Tragweise stimmen auch hier mit den Männergürteln überein, ebenfalls die Bemalung mit Urucu, welche auf der äußeren Seite angebracht wird. Infolge ihrer Breite lassen sich diese Gürtel viel besser bemalen als die der Männer. Am häufigsten sieht man schlangenförmige Linien, gelegentlich werden Kreise dazwischen gesetzt, manchmal besteht die Bemalung auch nur aus Kreisen, oder aus Kreisen und Punkten (Fig. 9 a—c; Fig. 10 a—d); es gibt aber auch Gürtel, die vollständig rot gefärbt sind.

Xirianá-Frauen, die mit Suriára- und Pakidái-Männern verheiratet sind, tragen die gleichen Gürtel, ebenfalls die kleine Gebärgurte der Suriára, Hikaunná, vom häuslichen Stamme der

Fig. [illegible] Tuli-artiges Frauengeflecht

Fig. [illegible] Tuli-artiges Frauengeflecht, Schema

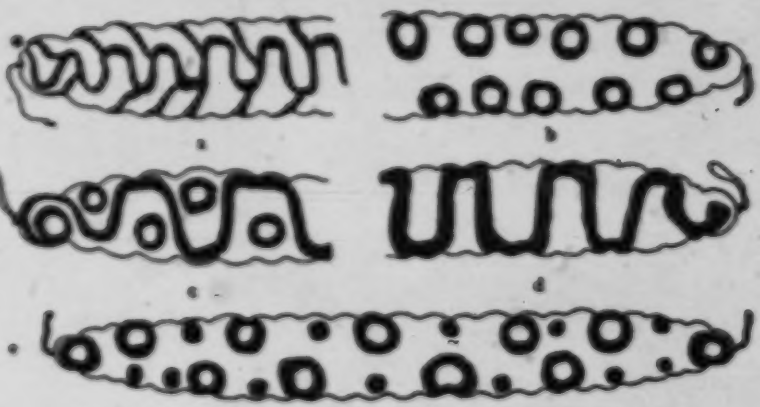


Fig. [illegible] Verschiedene Bandungen von Frauen- und Mädchengeflecht

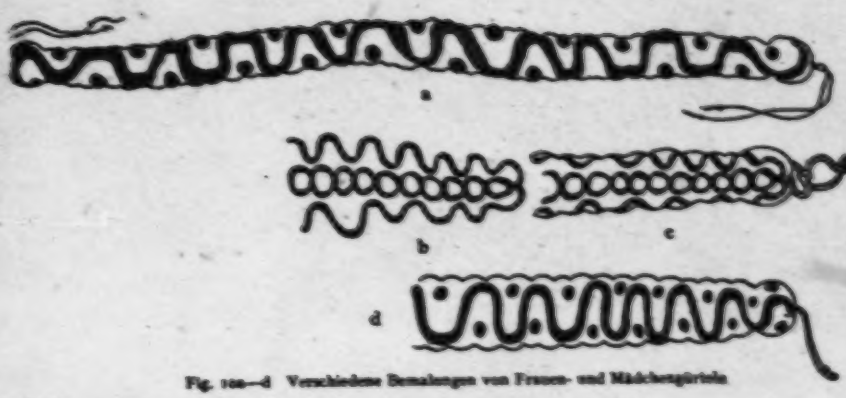


Fig. 10a—d Verschiedene Bemalungen von Frauen- und Mädchengürteln

Karuuateri (Abb. 17 u. 18). Als ich sie nach dem Namen ihrer Gürtel fragte, gaben sie mir die mit dem Surára- und Pakidái-Wort übereinstimmende Bezeichnung — *wyö* — an.

Dasselbe Wort nannten mir die Pusheweteri-Frauen, obgleich deren Gürtel eine etwas abweichende Form haben[107]). Sie sind 60—70 cm lang und bestehen lediglich aus einer dicken Lage Baumwolle, die man etwas zusammengedreht hat. Es handelt sich also um einen ganz charakteristischen Schnurgürtel, d. h. ohne Umwicklungen oder Querbindungen. An einer Bindeschnur ist aber noch ein 22—26 cm langes Fransenschürzchen befestigt. Zur Herstellung desselben legt man sechzig bis neunzig 14—18 cm lange Baumwollschnüre über die Bindeschnur. Anschließend wird, von links beginnend, das nach vorn hängende Ende der ersten Schnur mit dem nach hinten hängenden der zweiten einmal verknotet und fest zusammengedreht, danach das vordere Ende der zweiten mit dem hinteren Ende der dritten Schnur usw. Die herabhängenden Fransen haben eine Länge von 7—9 cm und sind, damit ein fester Halt gewährleistet ist, unterhalb der Bindeschnur noch je einmal mit einem dünnen Baumwollfaden umwickelt. Beim Tragen des Gürtels sitzt dann das Fransenschürzchen direkt über der Schamgegend (Abb. 15). Diese Gürtel, einschließlich der Schürzchen, sind in der Regel mit Urucu gefärbt. Hervorzuheben ist noch, daß jüngere Pusheweteri-Frauen die beiden Enden des Schürzchens meist mit kleinen an einem Faden befestigten Federn des Tucano (*Rhamphastus* sp.), Mutum (*Crax* sp.) und Anambé azul (*Cotinga cayana* L.) schmücken. Ältere Pusheweteri-Frauen haben dagegen an den Schürzchenenden stets acht bis zwölf 2—3 cm lange und an einer Seite durchbohrte Muschelschalen hängen, die beim Laufen der Trägerinnen zusammenschlagen und ein leises klirrendes Geräusch hervorrufen (Fig. 11).

Genau den gleichen Gürtel mit Fransenschürzchen beigt Salathé für die Karimé-Frauen, und aus seinen Angaben ist weiter zu ersehen, daß ihn auch die Männer tragen, allerdings ohne Schambedeckung[108]).

Zu erwähnen ist sodann, daß einige Surára-Frauen, dem Vorbild ihrer Pusheweteri-Schwestern folgend, an einer Bindeschnur ihres geflochtenen Gürtels ebenfalls solch ein Fransenschürzchen befestigt haben. Hieran läßt sich die Vermischung zweier Kulturelemente einmal besonders deutlich erkennen.

Schließlich verwenden die Surára noch einen Kindergürtel — *yaaki* —, der jeweils vom Vater

[107]) Ich sah sie bei den Frauen jener Stämme, welche mit Surára- und Pakidái-Männern verheiratet sind.

[108]) Salathé, 1931/32, S. 303 und Fig. 130, b.

Fig. 11 Frauengürtel einer älteren Pusheweteri-Frau, mit durchbohrten Muschelschalen

aus dem Fell des Maracajá (*Felis pardalis* Neuw.) — *jaó* — angefertigt wird. Diese Gürtel haben eine Länge von 30—35 cm und eine Breite von 2—2,5 cm. Ein Ende ist durchbohrt, zur Aufnahme einer dünnen Bindeschnur aus Baumwolle oder Curauá-Fasern. Um das andere Ende wird die Schnur mehrfach herumgewickelt und dann verknotet (Fig. 12). Auch dieser Gürtel wird so getragen, daß er vorn offen ist. Nur hin und wieder legt man ihn kleinen Jungen und Mädchen zwischen 1—3 Jahren an, die ja in jenem Alter noch nicht einmal die Hüftschnur tragen (s. S. 17), um deren körperliche Kräfte und das Wachstum zu fördern.

Fig. 12 Kindergürtel aus dem Fell des Maracajá (*Felis pardalis* Neuw.)

Aus den obigen Beschreibungen der baumwollenen Schnurgürtel ist zu ersehen, daß sie trotz gewisser Abweichungen in bezug auf Technik und Tragweise den entsprechenden Gürteln der Xiriána und mehrerer Karaibenstämme Guayanas ähneln. So dient den Xiriána-Männern ein Bündel rotgefärbter Baumwollschnüre als Hüftgürtel, worunter sie das Praeputium des hochgeschlagenen Penis klemmen[169]). Arekuná-Männer tragen häufig einen geflochtenen Schnurgürtel aus Baumwolle, der zusammengedreht eine wurstförmige Gestalt annimmt. Dieser Gürtel, im Aussehen auch den Menschen- und Affenhaargürteln in Guayana gleichend[170]) [171]), wird von Martius[172]), Richard Schomburgk[173]) und Koch-Grünberg[174]) erwähnt. Ule zeigt seine Tragweise an Hand einer Abbildung von zwei Arekuná-Männern[175]). Man erkennt daran, daß ihnen der Gürtel zur Befestigung ihres Schamschurzes dient, worauf ebenfalls Appun hinweist[176]). Außerdem ist der baumwollene Schnurgürtel für die männlichen Makuxí belegt[177]) und für die Maiongkong, wo er von Männern[178]) und Frauen[179]) getragen wird.

Aber auch der geflochtene, breite, flache Frauengürtel der Surára und Pakidái findet bei den Makuxí, wo ihn allerdings Männer anlegen, ein Vorbild. Roth beschreibt die Art und Weise seiner Herstellung wie folgt: „The Makusi will plait a thick cotton cord upon two arrow thicks, and when completed will bend it twice upon itself in three equal parts and, by sewing, maintain it in this position to form what is now a broad flat belt"[180]). Die benachbarten Wapixana-Männer (Aruaken) tragen übrigens einen sehr ähnlichen Gürtel und befestigen daran eine zwischen den Beinen hindurchgezogene Schambinde[181]).

Da die Surára und Pakidái mit den Makuxí viele Kriege führten, der Vater des Surára-Häuptlings Hewemão, soll sogar von einem Makuxí-Krieger getötet worden sein, so wäre es durchaus möglich, daß sie von diesem Karaibenstamm die Form des geflochtenen, breiten, flachen Gürtels übernahmen, dann aber nicht als Männer-, sondern als Frauenkleidung verwandten.

Auch das für die Puseheweteri- und Karimé-Frauen so typische Fransenschürzchen ist sicher karaibischen Vorbildern nachgeahmt worden, die es allerdings ihrerseits von Aruaken entlehnt haben könnten, denn Farabee bezeugt dasselbe ja ebenfalls für Wapixana- und Mapidian-Mädchen[182]). Nach Roth bindet man jungen Makuxí- und Wapixana-Mädchen anläßlich ihrer ersten Menstruation einen gewebten, rotgefärbten Gürtel um, dessen unterer Rand gefranst und noch zusätzlich mit drei herabhängenden Quasten versehen ist. Er bezeichnet dieses Kleidungsstück als „apron belt"[183]). Für die Maiongkong ist gleichfalls ein gefärbter und mit Fransen versehener Gürtel belegt[184]) [185]), der

[169]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 306.
[170]) Becher, 1951, S. 99ff. und S. 115ff.
[171]) Becher, 1955, S. 84ff. und S. 97ff.
[172]) Martius, 1867, S. 622/23.
[173]) Richard Schomburgk, 1848, S. 239.
[174]) Koch-Grünberg, 1917, S. 41.
[175]) Ule, 1913, S. 283, Abb. 2.
[176]) Appun, 1871, II, S. 307.
[177]) Koch-Grünberg, 1917, S. 77.
[178]) Rice, 1928, S. 220, Abb.
[179]) Stevens, 1926, S. 401, Abb.
[180]) Roth, 1924, S. 440.
[181]) Farabee, 1918, S. 29.
[182]) Farabee, 1918, Taf. XXIX, A.
[183]) Roth, 1924, S. 437.
[184]) R. H. Schomburgk, 1841, S. 213.
[185]) Richard Schomburgk, 1847, S. 102/03.

Roth zufolge dem oben erwähnten Schürzengürtel gleicht[180]). Als Koch-Grünberg Xiriána-Frauen mit einem Fransenschürzchen bekleidet sah[181]), gab ihm dies zu der Vermutung Anlaß, daß sie vielleicht die alte Tracht der Maiongkong (Yekuaná)-Frauen übernommen und bewahrt haben. So schreibt er: „Auch sie sind diesen Indianern sicherlich nicht ursprünglich eigen, denn einige trugen das Schürzchen oben am Bauch, andern war es bis halb zu den Knien herabgerutscht"[182]).

Die vergleichenden Untersuchungen lassen erkennen, daß die Baumwollgürtel der Surára, Pakidái und Puseheweteri von außen, d. h. durch Karaiben direkt, oder über die Xiriána[183]) mit der Baumwolle zu ihnen gelangten. Doch bezüglich der Tragweise und des Verwendungszweckes erfolgte ein Wandlungsprozeß, der sehr aufschlußreich ist. Als ich nämlich auf Grund von Literaturangaben in meiner Dissertation allen Beweggründen nachgegangen war, welche die südamerikanischen Naturvölker veranlaßt haben könnten, Gürtel und Hüftschnüre umzubinden, sah das Resultat folgendermaßen aus: „Es ließ sich nachweisen, daß der Schmuckgedanke nur eine sekundäre Rolle spielt ebenso wie das magische Motiv. Das Schamgefühl ist als Ursache völlig auszuschalten, und auch Belege für ein sexuelles Reizmittel fehlen. Dagegen zeigen die Untersuchungen, daß Gürtel und Hüftschnüre vorwiegend den Zweck haben, die Genitalorgane gegen Insekten, Dornen usw. zu schützen (als Haltevorrichtung für den hochgelegten Penis, das Uluri, der Schamschürze usw.)"[184]) [185]).

Auf Grund meiner Feldforschungen bin ich jedoch hinsichtlich der Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri, Xiriána und Karauateri zu abweichenden Schlüssen gelangt. Ein Schutz der Genitalorgane scheidet für die Frauen dieser Stämme vollständig aus, und für die Männer ist er höchstens von zweit-, wenn nicht gar drittrangiger Bedeutung. Die dünne Hüftschnur gewährt ihnen in der Tat die gleiche äußere Sicherheit wie den zivilisierten Menschen das Kleidungsstück. Obwohl damit, abgesehen von der Glans penis, nichts verhüllt wird, ruft das Fehlen derselben sofort ein Schamgefühl bei ihnen wach, welches sich allerdings von dem uns anerzogenen dadurch unterscheidet, daß es sich nicht auf die Nacktheit bezieht. Kleider, Hemden und Hosen, die ich als Geschenke mitgebracht hatte, zogen sie zum Scherz zwar einmal über, etwa so, wie wir uns für eine Karnevalsveranstaltung verkleiden; sie waren aber froh, wenn sie sich derselben wieder entledigen konnten. Doch nie zeigten diese Indianer in ihrem unverhüllten Zustand auch nur irgendwelche Scheu oder Verlegenheit vor mir, und als ich ihre Freundschaft gewonnen und sie von der Unschädlichkeit meines Photoapparates überzeugt hatte, ließen sich Männer, Frauen und Kinder in ungezwungener und natürlicher Stellung aufnehmen.

Im Gegensatz zu der bedeutungsvollen Hüftschnur sind die Gürtel der Surára und Pakidái ausgesprochene Schmuckgegenstände. Doch da man sie nicht nur zu Festen, sondern auch bei allen zeremoniellen Anlässen trägt, dürften magische Motive dabei ebenfalls eine Rolle spielen. Gleichzeitig sind sie ein Kennzeichen für bestimmte Stämme und Altersklassen. Von allen übrigen Gürteln südamerikanischer Indianer unterscheiden sie sich, gemeinsam mit den Männergürteln der Waiká[186]) [187]), dadurch, daß sie vorn offen sind und die Schamteile geradezu hervorheben. Somit scheinen sie einen eklatanten Beweis darzustellen für die Auffassung von Grosse[188]) und Westermarck[189]), welche die Gürtel als ein sexuelles Reizmittel ansehen, durch das der Blick auf die Schamteile gelenkt werden soll. Doch für die Surára und Pakidái

[180]) Roth, 1924, S. 444.
[181]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 303 und Tafn. 45, 48 (4, 5).
[182]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 303, Fußnote 1 und S. 306.
[183]) Nach Métraux haben die Xiriána ihre Bekleidung von den Karaiben übernommen (Métraux, 1948, S. 863).
[184]) Becher, 1951, S. 192.
[185]) Becher, 1953, S. 153.
[186]) Zerries, 1953b, farbiges Umschlagbild und Photogr. auf S. 663 unten links.
[187]) Zerries, 1954b, Taf. VI, oben.
[188]) Grosse, 1894, S. 96.
[189]) Westermarck, 1901, S. 193/96, 211.

trifft diese Hypothese trotz ihrer offenen Gürtel nicht zu, denn der nackte Körper übt auf sie keinen sinnlichen Reiz aus, sondern einzig und allein der Geschlechtsakt. Nach Krause soll bei den Karajá das Schamgefühl der Mädchen zur Ausbildung der Gürtelarten geführt haben. Als Beweis hierfür gibt er folgende Beobachtung an: „Frauen haben nie in unserer Gegenwart ihre Binde abgelegt oder gewechselt, und kleine Mädchen, denen ich ihren Gürtel abkaufte, gingen hinter die nächste Mattenwand, um dort einen neuen anzulegen, ehe sie mir den getragenen Gürtel brachten"[100]). Meine Erfahrungen bei den Surára und Pakidái waren bezüglich der Hüftschnüre die gleichen, bei Männern wie bei Frauen und Kindern, doch ihre Gürtel banden sie stets ohne Scheu ab und überließen sie mir gegen Tauschobjekte. Dies traf auch für die Pusheweteri-Frauen zu, woraus hervorgeht, daß ihre Fransenschürzchen nicht etwa eine Schambedeckung darstellen, sondern lediglich Verzierung. Außerdem binden sie ihre Gürtel ebenfalls nur zu festlichen Anlässen um.

Bei dem Kindergürtel aus dem Fell des Maracajá handelt es sich um ein Unikum. Zu bemerken ist jedoch, daß in Guayana, einem der südamerikanischen Hauptverbreitungsgebiete des Fellgürtels[101]) [102]), für die Männer der Makuxi[103]) und Waiwai[104]) Exemplare aus Jaguarfell bezeugt sind.

b) Brustschnüre

Die kreuzweise über Brust und Rücken geschlungene einfache Schnur — *xinarîke* — und das gleichermaßen verwandte Schnurbündel — *xinari* —[105]) stellen bei den Surára und Pakidái charakteristische Kleidungsstücke der Mädchen und Frauen dar. Bei letzteren verlaufen Schnur, bzw. Schnurbündel direkt unter den Brüsten und kreuzen sich über der Brusthöhle, so daß sie auf den ersten Blick wie eine Büstenhebe wirken; doch eine Anhebung der Brust ist damit nicht verbunden, denn sie sitzen ganz locker (Abb. 10).

Während die 1,50—1,60 m lange und aus zwei Fäden zusammengedrehte Frauenschnur, welche an den Enden verknotet ist, aus Curauá-Fasern oder Baumwolle hergestellt wird (die Länge der entsprechenden Mädchenschnur beträgt 1,20—1,40 m), handelt es sich bei den Schnurbündeln um Baumwollagen von 56—90cm Länge, die aus 60—80 Fäden bestehen und an einer Stelle zusammengebunden sind. Die dünneren Exemplare werden von jungen und die dickeren von älteren Frauen verwandt. Sowohl die Schnurbündel als auch die Schnur sind entweder vollständig rot gefärbt oder, wie z. B. erstere, im Abstand von 6—7 cm mit 1 cm breiten, roten Ringen versehen (Fig. 13a u. b), wozu man sich der Urucufarbe bedient. Ungefärbte Objekte nehmen mit der Zeit ein schmutzig-braunes Aussehen an, ähnlich wie die Hängematten, denn die rote Körperbemalung bleibt an der Baumwolle haften.

Die Brustschnur, welche den kleinen Mädchen vom 4. Lebensjahr ab hin und wieder umgebunden wird, soll dazu beitragen, daß sie später eine schön geformte Brust erhalten. Aber auch die jüngeren Frauen haben die Vorstellung, daß sie durch gelegentliches Tragen derselben ihre Brust konservieren können, vor allem dann, wenn die Schnur aus ursprünglichem Material, Curauá-Fasern, hergestellt wurde. Daneben betrachtet man die Brustschnur und das Schnurbündel, welches nur während der Feste und anläßlich zeremonieller Handlungen getragen wird, als Schmuckgegenstände und Abzeichen zweier Altersklassen.

Die Frauen der Xiriána, Pusheweteri, Aramamesteri und Karauateri, welche ich in den Malokas der Surára und Pakidái antraf, trugen zwar ebenfalls solche Schnüre und Schnurbündel, bemerkten jedoch, daß sie innerhalb ihrer Stämme nicht verwandt würden. Dies erklärt auch, warum Koch-Grünberg solche Gegenstände nicht erwähnte, als er die Tracht der Xiriána (Schirianá) beschrieb. Bei den Arekuná-Taulipang sah er dagegen als Festschmuck bei Frauen und Männern lange Ketten

[100]) Krause, 1911, S. 208/09.
[101]) Becher, 1951, I, S. 82; II, Tab. und Karte Nr. 4.
[102]) Becher, 1955, S. 72.
[103]) Farabee, 1924, S. 61.
[104]) Farabee, 1924, Taf. XXX.
[105]) Dieser Name ist identisch mit dem Wort für Baumwolle.

13a 13b

Fig. 13a—b
Brustschnurbündel der Frauen
(Detail und Schema der Bemalung)

aus weißen Perlen und braunen Samen, die sie sich in vielen Windungen kreuzweise über Brust und Rücken geschlungen hatten[196]) [197]). Abgesehen von dem zusätzlich verwandten Schmuckmaterial unterscheiden sich diese Ketten von den oben beschriebenen Schnüren und Schnurbündeln noch durch ihre Tragweise, denn sie reichen viel weiter nach unten.

Man gewinnt daher den Eindruck, daß es sich bei der von den Surára- und Pakidái-Frauen verwandten Brustschnur aus Curauá-Fasern um einen sehr ursprünglichen Gegenstand handelt, aus dem wahrscheinlich erst nach Einführung der Baumwolle das Schnurbündel entwickelt wurde. Dieses wiederum könnten Karaibenstämme, vielleicht während kriegerischer Berührungen, entlehnt haben, und bei ihnen wandelte es sich dann in eine lange Schmuckkette. Jene ist zwar auch kreuzweise geschlungen, doch der ursprüngliche Sinngehalt, die Verschönerung der Brustform, ging verloren, was auch daraus zu entnehmen ist, daß bei den Arekuná-Taulipang selbst Männer solch eine Schmuckkette umbinden.

c) Arm-, Puls- und Beinschnüre

Vom 4. Lebensjahr ab tragen beide Geschlechter zeitweilig Oberarmschnüre, Frauen und Mädchen außerdem noch Puls- und Beinschnüre, die aus Curauá-Fasern oder Baumwolle angefertigt werden. Es ließ sich noch eindeutig feststellen, daß es sich bei den zweisträhnig nach rechts gedrehten Curauáfaserschnüren um die ursprünglichen Gegenstände handelt, während die zweisträhnig nach links gedrehten Baumwollschnüre jüngeren Datums sind. Außerdem war auch hier wieder zu beobachten, daß man der Pflanzenfaser eine kräftigende Wirkung beimißt.

So soll die Oberarmschnur — *xinarisinho* — eine größere Muskel- und Armkraft verleihen[198]). Die nur von Frauen und Mädchen verwandte Pulsschnur, ebenfalls *xinarisinho* genannt, kräftigt, so glaubt man, die Handgelenke und jene unterhalb der Knie getragene Schnur — *hukud* — die Beine.

Als Schmuck für die Oberarme verwendet man aber neben der einfachen Schnur auch Schnurbänder — *nyõõmutimd* —, bei deren Formen es sich um genaue miniaturartige Wiedergaben der Gürtel handelt[199]), ein Novum

[196]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 37.
[197]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Tafn. 15, 43, 61, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102 und 107.

[198]) Bemerkenswert ist es, daß die Curauáfaserschnur auch mit dem Wort *Xinarisinho* benannt wird, obgleich darin der Name für Baumwolle — *xinari* — enthalten ist.
[199]) In dem Wort — *nyõõmutimd* — ist der Name für Gürtel, *nyõ*, enthalten, dem man die Verkleinerungsform *õõmutimd* angehängt hat.

für Südamerika, denn Parallelen gibt es hierfür noch nicht. So haben die 20—22 cm langen Schnurbänder der Männer, deren Durchmesser 1,5—2 cm beträgt (Schnurbänder der Knaben: Länge: 12—15 cm; Durchmesser: 0,5—1 cm) dasselbe rollenförmige Aussehen wie ihre Gürtel (Fig. 14a u. b; Fig. 15a u. b) und werden von den Frauen in gleicher Weise angefertigt und bemalt, bzw. gefärbt (s. S. 29/30). Aber auch die breite, flache Form der Frauenbänder (Länge: 18—22 cm; Breite: 1—2,5 cm) stimmt, abgesehen von der geringeren Größe, vollständig mit den von ihnen getragenen Gürteln überein (Fig. 16a—c; Fig. 17), so daß ich hinsichtlich der Herstellung und Bemalung auf die Anfertigung der Frauengürtel verweisen kann (s. S. 30). Zu erwähnen ist noch, daß die Oberarmbänder jüngerer Frauen schmäler (1—1,5 cm) als die der älteren (2—2,5 cm) sind[880]).

Die vier Xiriána-Frauen, welchen ich in den Malokas der Surára und Pakidái begegnete, trugen die gleichen Oberarm-, Puls- und Beinschnüre sowie -bänder, desgleichen alle Pusheweteri- und Aramamesteri-Frauen, einschließlich des gefangenen Karauateri-Mädchens. Letztere sagten aber aus, daß sie die Oberarmbänder erst hier angenommen hätten, denn in ihren Stämmen würden nur Oberarmschnüre verwandt.

Auch nach Koch-Grünberg umwickeln bei den Xiriána (Schirianá) die Männer ihre Oberarme mit langen, rotgefärbten Baumwollschnüren, während Frauen „schmale Bänder" benutzen, die sie aber so fest binden, daß man die Male auch beim Ablegen derselben sieht[881]). Die Frauen der Maiongkong-Yekuaná umschnüren ihre Oberarme in der gleichen straffen Weise[882]). Bezüglich der Arekuná-Taulipang schreibt Koch-Grünberg: „Zum Schmuck der Frauen gehören ferner breite Umwicklungen aus weißen Perlenschnüren unterhalb der Knie, um die Oberarme und die Handgelenke. Die Männer

Fig. 14a—b Oberarmschnurband der Männer

Fig. 15a—b Oberarmschnurband der Jünglinge

[880]) Eine ältere Pakidái-Frau trug übrigens ein 2½ cm breites, gewebtes Oberarmband. Sie bezeichnete es mir ebenfalls mit dem Namen *wyâwutimâ* und fügte hinzu, daß sie dasselbe von einer Xiriána-Frau erhalten hätte.

[881]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 305.

[882]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Taf. 151, 152, 170, 171, 172.

Fig. 16a—c Oberarmschnurband der Frauen

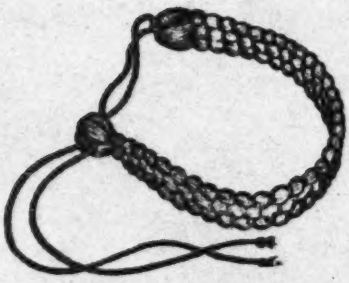


Fig. 17 Oberarmschnurband der Frauen

tragen den gleichen Perlenschmuck um die Handgelenke, bisweilen auch um die Fußgelenke, umschnüren aber die Beine unter den Knien mit weißen Baumwollschnüren, deren Enden lang herabhängen. Um die Oberarme tragen sie gewöhnlich nur eine Schnur weißer Perlen oder eine weiße Baumwollschnur oder an Festtagen eine runde Scheibe aus Schneckenschalen.... Die Umschnürungen an den Beinen werden von den jungen Mädchen aus Eitelkeit häufig so straff angezogen, daß die Waden prall hervortreten"[203]) [204]).

Diese alte Karaibensitte, welche schon den ersten Entdeckern als Besonderheit ins Auge fiel, ist auch den Surára und Pakidái bekannt, wird von ihnen aber als sehr häßlich empfunden und daher nicht nachgeahmt; bei den Frauen und Mädchen dieser Indianer sitzen die Beinschnüre stets locker.

d) Halsschnüre und -ketten aus ursprünglichem Material

Mit Halsschnüren und -ketten aus ursprünglichem Material sind keine Schmuck-, sondern magische Absichten verbunden.

So tragen junge Männer gelegentlich eine mit Urucu gefärbte zweisträhnig nach rechts gedrehte Curauáfaserschnur um den Hals, an welcher ein Wurzelstückchen der Tajá (*Colocasia antiquorum* und *Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott) — *kanrí* — befestigt ist. Hierbei handelt es sich um einen Liebeszauber (s. S. 111). Um denselben abzuwehren, verwenden verheiratete weibliche Stammesangehörige zwei Arten von Halsketten. Junge Frauen haben an ihrer mit Urucu gefärbten Schnur aus Curauá-Fasern zahlreiche Wurzelstückchen der Tajá — *kanrí* — festgebunden und ältere kleine Teilchen der Camarau (*Cipó* sp.) — *hií* — (s. S. 111).

e) Haartracht

Männer, Frauen und Kinder, nach Vollendung des dritten Lebensjahres, haben die gleiche rund um den Kopf geschnittene Haartracht — *mabdu* —, einschließlich der Tonsur — *kemdno* —. Das Ausrasieren derselben, aber auch das Schneiden der Haare gehört zu den Pflichten der Frauen, wozu sie sich eines gespaltenen und auf einer Seite geschärften Rohrstückes (Taquara — *Guadua* sp. —) bedienen (s. S. 55). Bei Festen, anläßlich magischer Handlungen und während der Kriegszüge wird die Tonsur mit Urucu bemalt.

Nach Angaben meiner Gewährsleute stellt dieselbe in erster Linie eine Markierung dar, um für die Stockduelle, welche von den Männern gelegentlich ausgetragen werden, den sichersten und widerstandsfähigsten Teil des Kopfes zu kennzeichnen[205]). Dadurch erklären sich auch die Narben, welche man fast bei allen Männern auf der Tonsur sieht. Doch auch bei weiblichen Stammesangehörigen sind sie vorhanden, denn wenn ein Ehemann seine Frau aus Gründen der Eifersucht schlägt, darf er ebenfalls nur diesen markierten Teil des Kopfes auswählen. Als weiteren, aber wohl mehr sekundären Grund, gab man mir an, daß durch den kurzen Haarschnitt und die Tonsur der Läuseplage leichter Einhalt zu gebieten wäre. Menschen mit langem Haar, so meinten sie, könnten sich vor Kopfläusen sicher nicht retten.

Auch in der Religion und Mythologie wird die Tonsur erwähnt. Poré, den Herrn des Mondes, stellt man sich nämlich als alten Mann mit langem weißen Bart und mit rotbemalter Tonsur vor (s. S. 91).

Wie bei zahlreichen anderen südamerikanischen Stämmen, ist die Tonsur auch ein charak-

[203]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 34.
[204]) Koch-Grünberg, 1917, Abb. 7, 8.
[205]) Becher, 1959, S. 165.

teristisches Merkmal aller kleinwüchsigen, hellhäutigen Indianer zwischen dem Rio Negro und dem oberen Orinoco, denn die Angehörigen beiderlei Geschlechts der Xiriána, Pusheweteri, Aramamesteri und Karauateri, denen ich begegnete, trugen sie gleichfalls[205]). Weiterhin ist sie für die Waiká[207]) [208]), Karimé[209]) und die Xiriána-Männer am Motomotó belegt[210]). Bezüglich letzterer hebt Koch-Grünberg hervor, daß es sich hierbei um eine männliche Haartracht handelt[211]). Im gleichen Werk beschreibt er dann noch die Tonsur einer Karaibenfrau: „Eine eigenartige Haartracht hatte die älteste Frau am Roroima. Bis auf einen schmalen Kranz längerer Haare rund um den Kopf, die an der Stirn in der üblichen Weise verschnitten waren, war das Haupthaar wie bei einer Mönchtonsur kurz geschoren. (Vgl. Bd. VI, Taf. 86). Den Grund für diese abweichende Haartracht konnte ich nicht in Erfahrung bringen"[212]). Erwähnenswert sind auch die Ausführungen, welche Alexander von Humboldt jener indianischen Haartracht widmet[213]).

f) Deformierender Gesichtsschmuck

Sowohl das männliche als auch das weibliche Geschlecht haben bei den Surára und Pakidái perforierte Ohrläppchen, — *nhimehakehá* — (Surára), — *nimakakuhá* — (Pakidái), eine Durchbohrung der Unterlippe — *kuzehahá* —, und die Frauen noch zusätzlich solche in den Mundwinkeln — *kashehá* —.

Die Durchbohrungen erfolgen bereits im Säuglingsalter (s. S. 63). Den Männern dienen sie in erster Linie zum Anbringen von Federzieraten (s. S. 43). Doch als Ohrschmuck tragen sie auch manchmal 1—2 cm lange Rohrstückchen, von denen an einem oder zwei kurzen Perlenkettchen kleine dreieckige Silberbleche, blanke Silbermünzen oder besonders große Glasperlen herabhängen. Frauen verwenden diese Objekte ebenfalls mit besonderer Vorliebe. Ein typisch weiblicher Ohrschmuck sind die Zähne des Cutia (*Dasyprocta aguti* L.) — *tomenáhe* —, welche den Männern als Messer dienen (s. S. 54). Damit sie nicht aus der Durchbohrung herausrutschen, klebt man an das hintere Ende ein Klümpchen Baumharz. Auch mit Blüten werden die Durchbohrungen der Ohrläppchen ab und zu geschmückt.

In den Perforationen der Unterlippe und beiderseits der Mundwinkel haben die Frauen hin und wieder feine Rohrstäbchen — *tunhabadere* — stecken von 15—17 bzw. 12—15 cm Länge. Bei Xiriána-Frauen, welche mit Surára- und Pakidái-Männern verheiratet sind, konnte ich beobachten, daß sie noch zusätzlich zwei 30—35 cm lange Rohrstäbchen im durchbohrten Nasenseptum — *kuxibéha* — tragen (Abb. 16). Diese Durchbohrung, so wurde mir gesagt, bleibe nur den weiblichen Angehörigen dieses großen, mächtigen Stammes vorbehalten. Daher erklärt sich auch, daß die Perforationen der Pusheweteri- und Aramamesteri-Frauen vollkommen denen ihrer Surára- und Pakidái-„Schwestern" entsprechen, d. h. eine Durchbohrung der Nasenscheidewand fehlt. Dieselbe Feststellung trifft für Nikeromá, die kleine Gefangene vom feindlichen Stamm der Karauateri, zu.

Alle genannten Schmuckobjekte werden von den männlichen und weiblichen Trägern selbst angefertigt und gelten als persönliches Eigentum.

Durch Koch-Grünbergs Forschungen bei den Xiriána (Schirianá), Waiká (Waika) und verschiedenen Karaibenstämmen bietet sich mir ein reichhaltiges Vergleichs- und Ergänzungsmaterial. So schreibt der große Forscher bezüglich der Xiriána (Schirianá): „Nasenseptum,

[205]) Die brasilianische Landbevölkerung bezeichnet alle Indianer mit Tonsuren als Coroados = Gekrönte. Baldus und Willems fordern jedoch mit Recht, den Gebrauch dieses Namens innerhalb der brasilianischen Völkerkunde zu vermeiden: „Coroado-Várias tribus de índios no Brasil, por exemplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Puri, Bororo, receberam do povo o nome de Coroados, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que êsse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou êste têrmo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada." (Baldus e Willems, 1939, S. 67).

[207]) Koch-Grünberg, 1917, S. 198.

[208]) Zerries, 1954b, S. 73.

[209]) Salathé, 1931/32, S. 305.

[210]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 306.

[211]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 27.

[212]) A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, S. 319.

Ohrläppchen und Unterlippe waren bei den Männern durchbohrt und bei vielen mit fast handlangen Rohrstäbchen verziert. Bei besonderen Gelegenheiten tragen sie auch einen Jaguarzahn in der Unterlippe.

Die Weiber hatten lange Rohrstäbchen in den durchbohrten Ohrläppchen, der Unterlippe und den Mundwinkeln. Drei schmale Rohrstreifen, nach beiden Seiten fächerförmig auseinanderstehend, zierten das Nasenseptum (Abb. 12)"[212]).

Hierdurch werden die Angaben meiner Gewährsleute bestätigt, welche besagten, daß eine Perforation des Nasenseptums charakteristisch für die Xiriána sei. Doch auch für die männlichen und weiblichen Waiká sind Nasen-, Ohr- und Unterlippenstäbchen, für die Frauen außerdem solche der Mundwinkel bezeugt[214]).

Bezüglich der Verwendung von Nasenstäbchen scheint es sich also um Vorrechte der beiden feindlichen „Großen" (s. S. 6) zu handeln, denn von den kleineren Verbündeten werden sie nicht benutzt.

Die anderen Durchbohrungen stimmen dagegen bei allen genannten Yanonámi-Stämmen überein, wobei hervorzuheben ist, daß man perforierte Mundwinkel nur bei Frauen findet.

Hinsichtlich der karaibischen Arekuná-Taulipang schreibt Koch-Grünberg: „Ohrläppchen und Unterlippe, bei manchen Männern auch das Nasenseptum sind durchbohrt"[215]). Demnach bleibt hier die Perforation der Nasenscheidewand nur Männern vorbehalten, und Durchbohrungen der Mundwinkel fehlen gänzlich. In den Ohrläppchen tragen aber männliche und weibliche Stammesangehörige ebenfalls kleine Rohrstäbchen, mit einem oder zwei herabhängenden kurzen Perlenkettchen, an denen Silbermünzen, halbmondförmige oder dreieckige Silberbleche befestigt sind[216]). Bei letzteren handelt es sich um dieselben Objekte, die ich als Schmuck bei den Surára und Pakidái vorfand (s. S. 40 und Abb. 9). Eine Übernahme von Karaiben, direkt oder indirekt, scheint in diesem Falle also wieder vorzuliegen. Auf meine Frage nach der Herkunft jener Schmuckgegenstände nannte man mir zwar die Xiriána, welche sie aber ihrerseits sicher auch nicht selbst angefertigt haben, denn sie wurden durch Klopfen und Schleifen aus brasilianischen Silbermünzen hergestellt, die heute gar nicht mehr im Umlauf sind. Außerdem wird schon seit Jahrhunderten das handwerkliche Können der Karaiben in bezug auf Gold-, Silber- und Kupferzierate gerühmt. So erwähnt bereits Gumilla Karaibenstämme in der Umgebung des Orinoco, die selbstverfertigte Platten aus Gold trugen[217]), und nach de Rochefort verwandten die Inselkaraiben Ohrgehänge aus glänzendem Kupfer[218]). Von den Makuxi-Männern werden halbmondförmige Silberbleche benutzt, diese tragen sie aber an einem Nasenstäbchen[219]).

Weiteres Vergleichsmaterial findet sich in der wertvollen Arbeit von Brigitte Menzel, „Deformierender Gesichtsschmuck südamerikanischer Naturvölker". Hierin wurde festgestellt, daß Ohrschmuck aus Metall besonders häufig in Nordwest-Amazonien sowie Guayana auftritt[220]) und auch Ohrschmuck aus Zähnen in starkem Maße für das Hochland von Guayana bezeugt ist[221]). Bezüglich des Mundwinkelschmuckes schreibt die Autorin: „Von einer Häufung im Quellgebiet des Ucayali reichen die Belege über das nordwestliche Amazonien bis nach Guayana; gesondert bleiben die Tapuya am Osthorn Südamerikas. Das Verteilungsbild deckt sich in wesentlichen Zügen mit den mehrfachen Durchbohrungen der Oberlippe (diese Teile gehen auch anatomisch sehr ineinander über) und lehnt sich deutlich an andine Vorbilder an"[222]). Die charakteristischen Mundwinkelstäbchen der Yanonámi-Frauen lassen sich zwar gut in dieses Verbreitungsgebiet einreihen, jedoch nicht im Zusammenhang mit Durchbohrungen der Ober-

[212]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 306.
[214]) Koch-Grünberg, 1917, S. 198—200.
[215]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 28.
[216]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 28, Taf. 3 (6).
[217]) Gumilla, 1745, I, S. 139.
[218]) de Rochefort, 1658, S. 289.
[219]) Im Thurn, 1883, S. 198, Fig. 2 und 4.
[220]) Menzel, 1957, S. 38 und Karte 14.
[221]) Menzel, 1957, S. 34.
[222]) Menzel, 1957, S. 33.

lippe, denn statt dieser wird hier die Unterlippe perforiert.

g) Tatauierung

Alle Frauen und Mädchen haben eine punktförmige Tatauierung über der Oberlippe, welche beiderseits des Mundes nach unten verläuft (Abb. 19 u. 24) und den Mädchen während der ersten Menstruation eingestochen wird (s. S. 66)[223]. Die Bezeichnung hierfür lautet bei den Surára — *uarabakoxlk* — und bei den Pakidái — *uarabakoxlbe* —. Diese Worte werden von dem Namen der Genipapo-Frucht — *uarabd* — abgeleitet, deren Saft zum Einstechen der Punkte verwandt wird.

Aber auch für karaibische und aruakische Frauen Guayanas ist eine Stichtatauierung in der Mundgegend charakteristisch, und gelegentlich findet man sie sogar bei männlichen Karaiben. Sie gilt hier ebenfalls als Zeichen der Reife und hat meist eine magische Bedeutung. Die eingestochenen Muster weichen aber von denen der Surára und Pakidái vollständig ab. Bei den Makuxi bestehen sie aus zahlreichen kurzen, vertikalen Parallelstrichen, und die Arekuná-Taulipang bevorzugen Punkte, Striche und Angelhakenmuster[224]. Letztere Motive sind auch für die Frauen der Wapixana[225] [226] und weiterer Aruakstämme in Britisch Guayana sowie Surinam bezeugt[227] [228].

Auch bezüglich des Zeitpunktes der Tatauierung gibt es kleine Unterschiede. Die Surára und Pakidái führen sie während der ersten Menstruation durch, Arekuná-Taulipang und Makuxi dagegen kurz vor Eintritt derselben, und zwar in Verbindung mit der Ameisenmarter[229].

Als Farbstoff verwenden erstere den Saft der Genipapo-Frucht, letztere die Asche verbrannter Honigbienen[230]. Das ursprüngliche Instrument zum Stechen der Punkte war überall ein Palmstachel. Doch Koch-Grünberg sah bei den genannten Karaiben auch schon die Verwendung von zugespitzten Glasscherben[231].

Eine Entscheidung darüber, ob sich die Tatauierungen der Mundgegend bei den erwähnten Yanomámi-, Karaiben- und Aruak-Stämmen selbständig entwickelt haben, oder ob sie durch wechselseitige, bzw. äußere Einflüsse hervorgerufen wurden, kann noch nicht getroffen werden, obgleich Koch-Grünberg eine junge Xiriána-Frau sah, welche die Angelhaken- und Punkttatauierung der Arekuná-Taulipang in das Gesicht gemalt hatte[232]. Doch hierbei kann es sich um eine Ausnahme handeln, denn merkwürdigerweise stellte er bei den Xiriána keinerlei weiteren Tatauierungen fest.

Die Muster der Surára und Pakidái scheinen auch ursprünglicher zu sein als die Grundmotive der Karaiben und Aruaken in Gestalt von Angelhaken, welche eindeutig auf Entlehnungen seitens der Zivilisation hinweisen. Auch die Tatsache, daß bei den Karaibenstämmen Guayanas vereinzelte Männer und Knaben [illegible] der Mundgegend tatauiert sind, läßt auf eine Verflachung dieser Sitte schließen. Denn wahrscheinlich war sie ja früher auch dort nur Frauen vorbehalten, genau wie noch heute bei den Surára und Pakidái.

Abschließend ist noch auf P. Schmidt und Nordenskiöld zu verweisen, von denen bereits kurze zusammenfassende Untersuchungen über die Stichtatauierung in Südamerika vorliegen. Der erstgenannte Autor unterscheidet zwei Gruppen, welche Männern und Frauen, bzw. nur Frauen vorbehalten sind, und hält eine westliche Herkunft für wahrscheinlich[233]. Dem-

[223]) Diese Tatauierung findet sich auch bei den weiblichen Xiriána, Puseheweteri und Aramameteri, die mit Surára- und Pakidái-Männern verheiratet sind. Eine Ausnahme bildet die kleine Gefangene der Surára, Nikeromá, vom feindlichen Stamm der Karauateri. In ihrer Maloka, so versicherte sie mir, werden die Mädchen aber auch tatauiert. Doch sie war bereits vor Eintritt der ersten Regel in die Hände der Surára gefallen, und hier wurde die Tatauierung an ihr nicht vorgenommen. Falls sie aber später von einem Surára-Mann geheiratet wird, müßte ihr das punktförmige Muster noch nachträglich eingestochen werden.

[224]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 45; Taf. 12 (3—16).

[225]) Appun, 1871, S. 523.

[226]) Farabee, 1918, S. 82, Fig. 9.

[227]) Richard Schomburgk, 1847, S. 226.

[228]) Joest, 1893, S. 83 und Abb. a und b.

[229]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 128.

[230]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 45.

[231]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 305.

[232]) P. Schmidt, 1913, S. 1283/84.

gegenüber vertritt Nordenskiöld die Auffassung, daß die Stichtatauierung „ziemlich leicht an verschiedenen Orten hat erfunden werden können". Seine Verbreitungskarte zeigt eine Häufung dieser Sitte in nördlichen und zentralen Teilen Südamerikas[222]). Eine umfassende Arbeit über die Tatauierung südamerikanischer Indianer würde bestimmt gute und aufschlußreiche Ergebnisse zeitigen.

h) Bemalung

Die Körperbemalung, welche bei zeremoniellen Anlässen, Kriegs- und gelegentlich auch Jagdzügen zur Anwendung kommt, ist sehr einfach und kunstlos. Entweder sind es jene immer wiederkehrende Motive, wie schlangenförmige Linien, Kreise und Punkte[223]), welche man mal einzeln, mal vermischt aufträgt, oder der ganze Körper wird mit rotem oder schwarzem Farbstoff eingerieben.

Bei dem roten Farbstoff handelt es sich um Urucu — *narú* —, eine Paste, die aus den roten Beeren der Bixa orellana bereitet wird. Blaue Farbe liefern die Samen der Genipapo-Frucht (*Genipa brasiliensis*) — *uarabú* —, während man für die Schwarzfärbung den abgekratzten Ruß der Kochtöpfe benutzt, meist vermischt mit etwas Genipapo.

Die schlangenförmigen Linien, Kreise und Punkte werden mit den Fingern oder einem Holzstäbchen aufgetragen, und zur diffusen Färbung benutzt man ein kleines Baumwollknäuel.

Da auch Koch-Grünberg bei den Xiriána (Schirianá) nur eine ganz geringe Körperbemalung feststellte[224]), ist zu vermuten, daß dieselbe den drei genannten Yanomámi-Stämmen ursprünglich nicht eigen war, sondern auf karaibische Einflüsse zurückzuführen ist. Auch die nachstehenden Ausführungen Alexander von Humboldts deuten daraufhin: „Der Brauch", so schreibt der große Forscher, „den Körper zu bemalen, ist nicht bei allen Völkern am Orinoco gleich alt. Erst seit den häufigen Einfällen der mächtigen Nation der Caraiben in diese Länder ist derselbe allgemeiner geworden. Sieger und Besiegte waren gleich nackt, und um dem Sieger gefällig zu seyn, mußte man sich bemalen wie er und seine Farbe tragen. Jetzt ist es mit der Macht der Caraiben vorbei, sie sind auf das Gebiet zwischen den Flüssen Carony, Cuyuni und Paraguamuzi beschränkt, aber die caraibische Mode, den ganzen Körper zu färben, hat sich erhalten; der Brauch ist dauernder als die Eroberung"[225]).

i) Federschmuck

Federzierate — *pauxi* — werden nur von Männern getragen und zwar vorwiegend an den Oberarmen, doch gelegentlich auch in den Perforationen der Ohrläppchen und der Unterlippe.

Als Befestigungsvorrichtungen für den Oberarmschmuck dienen vor allem die Oberarmschnüre und -bänder, unter welche bei Kriegszügen und festlichen Anlässen vorn einzelne oder mehrere Schwanzfedern des Arara vermelha (*Ara macao* L.) — *pauxi aralexiná* — geklemmt werden sowie kleine Federbüschel. Letztere sind stets mit einer Schnur aus Baumwolle oder Curauá-Fasern an einem 7—9 cm langen Holzstäbchen festgebunden (Abb. 9 u. 14). Die nachstehende Aufzählung zeigt, welche Vögel als Federlieferanten für diese Objekte bevorzugt werden:

Pauxi maraxi — Oberarmschmuck aus den schwarz-weißen Federn des Cujubim (*Pipile pipile cujubi* Pelz.).

Pauxi koihoimdo — Oberarmschmuck aus den schwarz-weißen Federn des Gavião-caipira (*Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga* Gm.)

Pauxi paruriihonomaïbo — Oberarmschmuck aus weißen Brustfedern des Mutum (*Crax* sp).

Pauxi marahanã — Oberarmschmuck aus Federn des Arara amarela (*Ara ararauna* L.)

Pauxi xerexeromãbo — Oberarmschmuck aus Federn des Papagaio moleiro (*Amazona* sp.) und des Papagaio curica (*Amazona* sp.).

Außer diesen Federbüschein, welche von oben in die Armschnüre, bzw. -bänder gesteckt

[222]) Nordenskiöld, 1918, S. 128—130 und Karte 19.
[223]) Mit diesen Motiven werden auch die Gebrauchsgegenstände bemalt.
[224]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 307.
[225]) A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, S. 92/93.

werden, gibt es auch Zierate, die hieran geknotet sind und nach unten hängen. Es handelt sich dann meist um mehrere kleine Federn von verschiedenen Vögeln, deren Kiele man mit einer Schnur aus Baumwolle oder Curauá-Fasern zusammengebunden hat:

Pauxi prukatöha — Herabhängender Oberarmschmuck aus Federn des Mutum (*Crax* sp.), Papagaio moleiro (*Amazona* sp.) und Tucano (*Rhamphastus* sp.).

Pauxi maraxiakosíbe — Herabhängender Oberarmschmuck aus Federn des Cujubim (*Pipile pipile cujubi* Pelz.) und Tucano (*Rhamphastus* sp.).

Als wertvollster Schmuck dieser Kategorie sind schließlich noch Oberarmbinden aus Mutumfedern — *pauxi parurihís* — zu erwähnen, an denen man Gehänge — *pauxi manhebéhanque* — aus Federn des Mutum (*Crax* sp.), Tucano (*Rhamphastus* sp.) und Jacamim (*Psophia crepitans* L.) befestigt hat, oder sogar Bälge dieser Vögel. Daneben werden auch Oberarmbinden verwandt, die nur aus Federn des Jacamim — *pauxi nhapinhéssi* — bestehen, mit Federgehängen — *pauxi pchakossíbe* — des gleichen Vogels.

Alle aufgezählten Federzierate stellen gleichzeitig Abzeichen dar, denn lediglich die Häuptlinge und bewährte Krieger haben das Recht, beide Oberarme zu schmücken, jüngere Männer dagegen nur einen.

In die perforierten Ohrläppchen steckt man bisweilen kleine Federn des Anambé azul (*Cotinga cayana* L.) — *pauxi osmemchís* —, während eine Schwanzfeder des Arara vermelha (*Ara macao* L.) — *pauxi arataxind* — gelegentlich die Durchbohrung der Unterlippe ziert (Abb. 11). Diese Schmuckobjekte dürfen sowohl von älteren als auch von jüngeren Kriegern verwandt werden.

Die Herstellung von Federzierat obliegt den Männern, welche sie aber recht oberflächlich ausführen. Doch infolge des Vogelreichtums in ihren Wohn- und Streifgebieten verursacht es ja keine Mühe, schadhaft gewordene Stücke rasch zu erneuern.

Als Besonderheit ist schließlich zu erwähnen, daß Surára- und Pakidái-Männer häufig die weißen Flaumfedern vom Gavião-real (*Thrasaetus harpyia* L.) — *koikoimdo* — mittels Baumharz in die Haare kleben. Meist ordnet man sie kranzförmig an, so daß sie wie ein Kopfreif wirken (Abb. 9), verteilt sie aber gelegentlich auch wahllos über die Haare. Doch der Schmuckgedanke spielt in diesem Falle nur eine sekundäre Rolle, denn diese Federbedeckung wird als Trophäe betrachtet. Nach Ansicht jener Indianer kommen nämlich die Krankheiten und überhaupt alles Böse von feindlichen Stämmen, vor allem von den Waiká. Sie werden durch Zauberhandlungen der Medizinmänner verursacht, welche dazu als Überträger diese Vögel oder Fledermäuse verwenden und in deren Körper die eigene Seele mitschicken. Wenn nun die Surára und Pakidái solch ein Tier töten, so glauben sie, daß damit auch ein feindlicher Medizinmann sein Ende gefunden hat (s. auch S. 96 u. 105).

Mit dem großartigen Federschmuck der Urubu-Kaapor, Mundurukú, Tapirapé, Karajá, Boróro, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká, Mawé, Arara, Tukano und Xingú-Indianer, welcher von Darcy und Berta G. Ribeiro ausführlich bearbeitet und klassifiziert wurde[227] [228]), können die Federzierate der Surára und Pakidái natürlich nicht konkurrieren, aber man ersieht daraus, wie verschieden die einzelnen südamerikanischen Stammesverbände ihre Fähigkeiten entwickelten und ihre Traditionen über Jahrhunderte hinweg von Generation zu Generation vererbten.

Für die Yanomámi stellt der einfache Oberarmschmuck ein weiteres äußeres Kennzeichen dar, denn auch Xiriána-, Pusheweteri- und Aramamesteri-Männer, denen ich begegnete, trugen ihn in der gleichen Weise. Bezüglich der Xiriána decken sich meine Beobachtungen auch mit einer Angabe Koch-Grünbergs: „Die Männer", so führt er aus, „wickeln um die Oberarme lange, rotgefärbte Baumwollschnüre, an deren Enden Vogelbälge hängen (Taf. 46, 2 und 2a). Wenn sie in den Krieg ziehen, stecken sie vorn unter die Armbinden Büschel Schwanzfedern des roten Arára, so daß sie die Schultern über-

[227]) Darcy Ribeiro e Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.
[228]) Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

ragen"[339]). Für die Waiká wird dieser Oberarmschmuck durch Photographien von Zerries belegt[340]) [341]).

Bezüglich des Ohr- und Lippenschmuckes findet man bei den Makuxí und Arekuná-Taulipang Parallelen, doch hier werden die weißen Flaumfedern des Königsgeiers oder des großen Hokko (Mutum) verwandt[342]).

j) Perlenschmuck

Europäische Glasperlen, vor allem kleine, gelten bei den Surára und Pakidái noch heute als beliebteste Tauschobjekte. Am meisten schätzt man weiße, blaue und rote Perlen[343]), und erst danach folgen solche in den Farben orange, gelb, schwarz und grün[344]).

Sie werden von den Frauen auf Schnüre aus Baumwolle oder Curauá-Fasern gezogen, wobei die Männer gelegentlich helfen, und dienen als Halsketten, Oberarm- und Pulsschnüre sowie Ohrgehänge.

Folgende Herstellungsarten konnte ich beobachten: Auf eine Schnur werden z. B. nur weiße, rote oder blaue Perlen gezogen. Je nach dem Geschmack der Hersteller kommt es aber auch vor, daß auf drei weiße Perlen stets eine blaue oder rote folgt, andere bevorzugen die Farbzusammenstellung blau, weiß, rot oder umgekehrt. Es gibt jedoch noch viele weitere Variationen, auch in Verbindung mit anderen Farben.

Daneben werden, wenn auch seltener, Ketten aus zwei Schnüren angefertigt. In diesem Falle wird z. B. eine weiße Perle über beide Schnüre gezogen, danach je eine rote oder blaue über eine Schnur, dann wieder eine weiße über beide, usw.

Frauen und Mädchen tragen gern mehrere Perlenschnüre als Halsketten übereinander, Männer und Knaben binden dagegen niemals mehr als eine um. Oberarmschnüre aus Glasperlen legen nur Männer an und entsprechende Pulsschnüre allein Knaben und Mädchen. Kurze Perlenkettchen, die in den Perforationen der Ohrläppchen befestigt werden, tragen, wenn auch nur selten, beide Geschlechter. Meist ist dann unten ein silbernes Dreieck, eine große Glasperle oder ein Fruchtkern befestigt.

Als ich zu den Surára und Pakidái kam, waren schon einige Perlenkettchen in Gebrauch. Die Glasperlen hatten sie, ihren Angaben zufolge, sowohl vom Indianerschutzposten Ajuricaba am Rio Demini, von Gummi- und Palmfasersammlern, aber auch von den Xiriána erhalten. Letztere erwarben jenes Fremdgut vermutlich von Karaibenstämmen, welche es ihrerseits ebenfalls von Weißen bekommen hatten. Daran erkennt man, daß der Tausch von Glasperlen auch unter den Indianern selbst noch stark betrieben wird[345]).

7. *Hängematten*

Die Surára und Pakidái besitzen drei verschiedene Arten von Hängematten. Als älteste und wohl ursprünglichste Form kann die Hängematte aus Embira (Baumbast, *Malvaceae* sp.) — *ydritanaçik* — betrachtet werden, deren Länge zwischen 1,80—1,90 m liegt (Abb. 26). Sie enthält keinen Einschlag und besteht lediglich aus zehn bis vierzehn 1—2 cm breiten Embirastreifen. Diese werden an den Enden umgebogen und mittels zweier 1,30—1,40 m langer Stricke, welche gleichzeitig zum Aufhängen dienen, zusammengebunden (Fig. 18a u. b). Beide Stricke sind sehr fest und haltbar, denn man hat sie in Gestalt eines Zopfes aus drei 1 cm breiten

[339]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 303.

[340]) Zerries, 1955b, Titelbild.

[341]) Zerries, 1954b, Taf. VI, oben.

[342]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 28.

[343]) Hierin stimmen die Surára und Pakidái mit zahlreichen anderen südamerikanischen Stämmen überein. (Menzel, 1937, S. 23 und Tab. 3).

[344]) Auch Krause bemerkt hinsichtlich der Karajá, daß sie grüne Glasperlen verachten (Krause, 1911, S. 279), und bei vielen anderen Stämmen ist gleichfalls eine Aversion gegenüber dieser Farbe zu finden (Menzel, 1937, S. 17/18 u. Tab. II und III). Deshalb stellt Brigitte Menzel auch die berechtigten Fragen: „Sollte diese Ablehnung grüner Rohstoffe bei Waldvölkern auf das Dominieren von Grün in der physisch-geographischen Umwelt zurückzuführen sein? Zieht man aus Kontrastgründen die anderen Farben vor?" (Menzel, 1937, S. 18).

[345]) Schon v. Martius beobachtete, daß Glasperlen über weite Strecken gehandelt wurden (v. Martius, 1867, I, S. 702 ff.), und auch Krause hebt hervor, daß sie als Tauschobjekte sehr geschätzt werden. (Krause, 1911, S. 279).

Fig. 18a—b
Detail der Endbefestigung an einer Hängematte aus Embira sowie Schlingen- und Knotenschema

Embirasträhnen geflochten. Die Herstellung dieser Hängematte ist außerordentlich einfach und geschieht nur durch Männer. Von dem Embirabaum lösen sie 10—15 Baststreifen von 2 m Länge und 1—2 cm Breite, die sie in der oben beschriebenen Weise zusammenbinden, nachdem sie vorher noch zwei Stricke geflochten haben. Zum Schneiden des Baumbastes benutzen sie das Cutiazahn-Messerchen (s. S. 54). Da die *Ydritanaçik* außerordentlich leicht ist, wird sie von den Männern bei Wanderungen, Jagd- und Kriegszügen gern als Reisehängematte verwandt. Zusammengerollt hängt sie dann auf dem Rücken, gehalten von einer dünnen Halsschnur aus Baumwolle oder Curauá (Bromeliafaser). Beim Schlafen legen sie sich meist gekrümmt hinein; Übung und Geschicklichkeit sind aber erforderlich, um nicht durchzufallen.

Gleichartige Hängematten sind auch bei den Waiká in Gebrauch und sollen dort, nach Zerries, besondere Aufgaben im Ritualwesen erfüllen[326]) [327]), während Schuster bemerkt, daß sie nur im Notfall angefertigt werden[328]). Schon entwickelter sind die Baumbasthängematten der Xiriána, denn sie besitzen bereits Einschläge aus Baumwollfäden und Pflanzenfasern. Ruth Haebler beschreibt zwei Exemplare aus den Völkerkundemuseen in Berlin (VA 61119) und Leipzig (8736)[329]).

Aber selbst höher kultivierte Völker, wie z. B. die Ipurina, ein Aruakstamm, der gegenwärtig noch an den Flüssen Acre, Seruini und Ituxí im brasilianischen Staat Amazonas lebt[330]), verwandten früher diese Hängematten ohne Einschlag, was durch ein im Berliner Völkerkundemuseum befindliches Exemplar (VB 3758) bestätigt wird[331]). Es gab aber auch solche, die mittels eines oder zweier längerer Querstreifen verbunden waren. Bezüglich ihres Verwendungszweckes und der Herstellung stimmen meine Beobachtungen bei den Surára und Pakidái mit Ehrenreichs Angaben von den Ipurina nahezu überein. So schreibt der genannte Forscher: „Die äußerst primitiven, aber doch zweckentsprechenden Hängematten, deren die Ipurina sich im Nothfall, auf Reisen, Jagdzügen u.s.w. bedienen, zeigen deutlich, wie dieses nützliche Geräth erfunden sein mag.

Es werden einfach vier oder fünf Baststreifen (Embira) von 2 m Länge und 3—4 cm Breite vom Baume abgelöst und an den Enden zusammengenommen, zuweilen auch noch unter einander durch ein oder zwei kürzere Querstreifen verbunden. Immerhin erfordert das Liegen darin keine geringe Geschicklichkeit und Uebung"[332]).

Das Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde besitzt aber sogar eine Hängematte, welche noch primitiver ist. Sie stammt von den Nahukuá (Nahuqua), einem Karaibenstamm des Xingúquellgebietes, und besteht lediglich aus einem Büschel Gras, welches, oben und unten zusammengebunden, als Schlafgelegenheit für Kinder diente (VB 2624)[333]).

Statt der *Ydritanaçik* (Embirahängematte) benutzen die Surára- und Pakidái-Männer bei Wanderungen, Jagd- und Kriegszügen auch

[326]) Zerries, 1953a, S. 87.
[327]) Zerries, 1956a, S. 184.
[328]) Schuster, 1958b, S. 16.
[329]) Haebler, 1919, S. 12.
[330]) Darcy Ribeiro, 1957, S. 73.
[331]) Haebler, 1919, S. 12.
[332]) Ehrenreich, 1891, S. 63.
[333]) Haebler, 1919, S. 12.

häufig eine Lianenhängematte — *totoké* —[324]) [325]), welche ebenfalls sehr leicht ist, aber dem Schlafenden schon einen etwas festeren Halt gewährt. Die Längen dieser Hängematten bewegen sich zwischen 1,90 und 2,10 m. Auch sie sind ohne Querbindungen und werden ebenfalls nur von Männern angefertigt. Dies geschieht folgendermaßen: Der Mann hat vor sich ein größeres Bündel langer Lianen liegen. Jede einzelne spaltet er mit den Zähnen in 3—5 flache Streifen und legt diese nebeneinander. Wenn er so viele Streifen zusammen hat, daß er sie gerade gut mit der Hand umfassen kann, etwa 200—250, umwickelt er die Enden mit einer dicken Liane. Unterhalb der Umwicklung teilt er dann die flachen Streifen in mehrere gleich große Bündel, die er jeweils zweimal mit zwei gespaltenen, zusammengedrehten Lianen umschlingt (Fig. 19 u. Fig. 20). Dadurch erhält das Streifenbündel an den Enden eine breitere Form. Als Bindestricke verwendet der Mann drei zopfartig geflochtene Lianen (Abb. 27).

Von den Waiká[326]) und Xiriána werden solche Hängematten ebenfalls benutzt, doch die letztgenannten Indianer versehen sie teilweise schon mit Querbindungen aus Baumwollfäden[327]).

Als dritte und wichtigste Form, die von Männern, Frauen und Kindern ständig verwandt wird, sowohl in der Maloka als auch bei Wanderungen des Stammes, ist schließlich die geflochtene Hängematte aus Baumwolle — *nyó*[328]) — zu erwähnen (Abb. 28 u. 29). Abgesehen vom Material unterscheidet sie sich von den beiden frühen Arten vor allem durch Einschläge. Die Längen betragen zwischen 1,60—2,20 m, je nachdem ob sie für Kinder oder Erwachsene bestimmt sind. Ihre Anfertigung obliegt ebenfalls den Männern, doch die Frauen helfen gelegentlich ein wenig.

[324]) Der Name ist abgeleitet von *totoló*, womit die Liane (Cipó-titica) bezeichnet wird.

[325]) Bis auf eine leichte dialektische Abweichung entspricht der Name dem Waiká-Wort — „toto" —, womit diese, den Angaben von Zerries zufolge, aber ihre Baumbasthängematten bezeichnen. (Zerries, 1953a, S. 87).

[326]) Schuster, 1958b, S. 16.

[327]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 314 und Taf. 46 (1).

[328]) Mit dem gleichen Namen bezeichnet man auch die Baumwollgürtel.

Vor der Herstellung rammt man zwei Pfähle in die Erde und verbindet sie oben und unten mittels Lianen durch Querstangen. Nach dem Abstand der letzteren richtet sich die Länge der Hängematte. Denn um diese Querstangen wird

Fig. 19 Endbefestigung einer Lianenhängematte

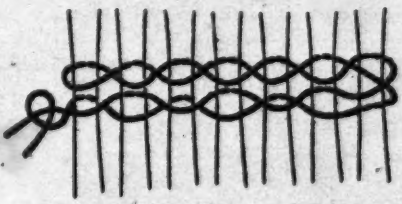


Fig. 20 Durchflechtungsschema von der Endbefestigung einer Lianenhängematte

der fortlaufende Kettenfaden gewickelt, dessen beide Enden am Anfang und Schluß mit der Kette verknotet werden. Es entsteht eine vordere und eine hintere Fadenlage, die man dadurch zu einer einzigen Lage vereinigt, daß man die hinteren Kettenfäden zwischen die

vorderen schiebt. Danach wird mit dem Einflechten des Doppelfadens begonnen, was ohne Gerät, lediglich mittels der Finger von rechts nach links geschieht; dabei ist noch zu erwähnen, daß oben begonnen wird. Alle Hängematten sind sehr weitmaschig geflochten, denn die Abstände zwischen den einzelnen Querbindungen, die am Anfang und am Ende verknotet sind, betragen 8—12 cm. Zur Befestigung der Hängematte verwendet man Stricke aus Bromeliafasern (Curauá), die jeweils aus vier Strähnen zopfartig nach rechts zusammengedreht werden.

Ist eine Hängematte länger in Gebrauch, so bekommt sie allmählich ein schmutzig-braunes Aussehen. Dies wird dadurch hervorgerufen, daß sich die Urucufarbe, mit welcher die Indianer häufig ihre Körper bemalen, beim Liegen derselben etwas abscheuert und an der Baumwolle haften bleibt.

Nach der Klassifizierung von Max Schmidt, welcher in Südamerika drei Gruppen der Flechttechnik unterscheidet, würden die von den Surára und Pakidái angefertigten Baumwollhängematten zur zweiten Gruppe, dem Doppelfadengeflecht, gehören, welches der Gelehrte wie folgt charakterisiert: „Diese Flechtmethode, welche über ganz Amerika-Nord und Südverbreitet ist, beruht, wie das Schema in Fig. 115 zeigt, einfach darin, daß zwei Fäden um sich selbst geschlungen werden und gleichzeitig bei jeder halben Drehung um sich selbst eine der parallel zueinanderverlaufenden Binsen oder Faserbüschel umschlingen"[385]). „Diese Doppelfadentechnik nun ist es", so schreibt Ruth Haebler in ihrer Arbeit: „Die geflochtenen Hängematten der Naturvölker Südamerikas, die bei der Herstellung der geflochtenen Hängematten zur Anwendung kommt. Das Wesen der Doppelfadentechnik besteht also darin, daß parallel verlaufende Fäden aufgespannt werden, die gleichsam die Kette bilden und durch welche als Einschlag der Doppelfaden hindurchgeführt wird. Durch die Art und Weise wie die Kette aufgespannt wird, ergeben sich zwei völlig voneinander verschiedene Gruppen der geflochtenen Hängematten"[386]). Der Gruppe zwei, welche schon mehr zur Weberei hinüberführt[387]), denn es handelt sich ja hierbei bereits um eine regelrechte Fachbildung, sind die Surára- und Pakidái-Hängematten zuzuordnen. Auch mit den Beschreibungen von Im Thurn[388]), Ehrenreich[389]) und Krause[390]) stimmen meine Beobachtungen bei den Surára und Pakidái nahezu überein. Dies beweist eine Übernahme von außen, höchstwahrscheinlich von Karaibenstämmen, welche vermutlich über die Xiriána erfolgte. Bemerkenswert ist jedoch die Tatsache, daß alle genannten Autoren angeben, daß die Kettenfäden waagerecht gespannt und die Einschläge von oben nach unten oder von unten nach oben eingeflochten werden. Daß die Waiká ihre Baumwollhängematten in der gleichen Weise anfertigen, ist aus einer Photographie zu ersehen, welche Zerries aufgenommen hat[391]). Bezüglich des Ursprungs und der Technik schreibt er noch an anderer Stelle: „Die Hängematte der Waika aus Baumwolle ist in vereinfachter Form von den Marikitare übernommen und wird, wie diese, nicht gewebt, sondern nur geknüpft"[392]). Obgleich Zerries den Ausdruck „geknüpft" verwendet, dürfte es sich um die gleiche Form handeln, wie ich sie von den Surára und Pakidái beschrieb[393]). Durch Schusters nachstehende Angaben wird dies sogar noch verdeutlicht: „Die diesen beiden Typen aus Wildmaterial als jüngere Form folgende Baumwollhängematte zeigt als wesentlichen Unterschied, vom angebauten Rohmaterial abgesehen, daß ihre Längsschnüre durch Querbindungen parallel und dicht beieinander gehalten werden. Allen Anschein nach ist diese Hängematte, deren Länge durch den am Bindegerüst als Querleiste benutzten Bogenstab bestimmt wird, eine ungeschickte Nachahmung der weit sorgfältiger gearbeiteten Hängematten der karaibischen Makiritare, die im Norden und Nordwesten des Waikagebietes

[385]) Max Schmidt, 1905, S. 228.
[386]) Haebler, 1919, S. 3.
[387]) Haebler, 1919, S. 9/10.
[388]) Im Thurn, 1883, S. 288 ff.
[389]) Ehrenreich, 1891, S. 22.
[390]) Krause, 1911, S. 259 ff.
[391]) Zerries, 1954b, Taf. VI, untén.
[392]) Zerries, 1956a, S. 184.
[393]) Auch die Namen lauten sehr ähnlich, — „ne" — bei den Waiká (Zerries, 1959a, S. 84; 1954b, S. 71) und — nye — bei den Surára und Pakidái.

wohnen"[268]). Diese eindeutig von den Karaiben entlehnte Baumwollhängematte der Waiká stimmt also in ihrer Form vollständig mit der von den Surára und Pakidái benutzten überein. Was aber letztere veranlaßte, bei der Herstellung die Kettenfäden senkrecht, anstatt, wie bei den übrigen Stämmen, waagerecht zu ziehen, konnte noch nicht geklärt werden.

8. Korbflechterei

Die Korbflechterei wird vorwiegend von Frauen betrieben. Ausnahmen bilden lediglich die provisorischen Tragkörbe aus natürlichen Palmblättern, welche beide Geschlechter herstellen und Tragkörbe aus Curauá, deren Anfertigung den Männern obliegt.

Benötigen die Indianer im Urwald einen provisorischen Tragkorb, so legen sie einfach zwei gefiederte Palmblätter dicht nebeneinander auf den Boden (am häufigsten verwenden sie hierzu die Blätter der Pataúá-, Açaí- und Ubimpalme) und verflechten die Innenseiten zu einer festen Fläche. Danach werden beide Blätter am oberen Ende umgebogen, man erhält dadurch den Boden, und aus den Außenseiten wird ein zopfartiger Rand geflochten (Abb. 32). Mittels eines Tragbandes aus Embíra lassen sich dann mit diesem Korb, der *pakohíhe* genannt wird, sehr schwere Lasten transportieren, vor allem Früchte, aber auch Stücke eines erlegten Großwildes, z. B. des Tapirs, den der Jäger nicht allein in die Maloka tragen kann. Männer schlingen das Tragband stets über Oberarme und Brust, während Frauen hierfür die Stirn bevorzugen.

Gleichartige Körbe findet man bei Karaiben- und Aruakstämmen Guayanas[269]) sowie bei den Urubu im brasilianischen Staate Maranhão[270]). Ähnlich sind aber auch jene Exemplare, welche die Nahukuá und Bakairí im Xingúquellgebiet verwenden[271]), um nur noch einige Beispiele anzuführen, die jedoch beliebig vermehrt werden könnten. Man ersieht daraus, daß viele Stämme in der Lage waren, aus natürlichen Palmblättern Tragevorrichtungen anzufertigen.

Schon entwickelter ist der Tragkorb, welcher aus den Baststreifen der Curauá-Pflanze (*Ananas sativus* Sch.) besteht — *uruná* —. Von den männlichen Stammesangehörigen wird er in folgender Weise angefertigt: Zwei Gruppen von Geflechtstreifen werden in verschiedener Richtung übereinandergelegt und von einer dritten, wieder in anderer Richtung verlaufender Streifengruppe durchflochten (Abb. 33).

Hierbei handelt es sich, der Einteilung von Max Schmidt zufolge, um die dritte Hauptart der südamerikanischen Geflechte[272]) [273]). Auch diese in Südamerika weit verbreitete Korbart[274]) gilt als sehr alt, wird aber heute von den Surára und Pakidái nur noch selten benutzt. Bezüglich ihrer Herkunft ist bei den genannten Stämmen nichts mehr bekannt. Eine autochthone Entwicklung wäre möglich, doch die Übernahme von Karaiben- oder Aruak-Stämmen, welche ähnliche Körbe verwenden, ist wahrscheinlicher. Der gleiche Korb ist ebenfalls für die verwandten Karimé belegt[275]).

Am häufigsten ist gegenwärtig der große, aus Lianenstreifen[276]) verfertigte Frauentragkorb — *wuíha* — in Gebrauch, welcher „die Form einer etwas in die Länge gezogenen Halbkugel hat" (Abb. 34). Diese Beschreibung stammt von Koch-Grünberg, und zwar bezieht er sich dabei auf die völlig übereinstimmenden Frauentragkörbe der Xiriána (Schirianá). „Bei dieser Flechtart", so bemerkt der genannte Forscher, „die den Schirianá wahrscheinlich eigentümlich ist, werden die von dem gemeinschaftlichen Mittelpunkt des Bodens strahlenförmig ausgehenden Vertikalstreifen abwechselnd von zwei feineren Horizontalstreifen in Spiralen umflochten. Einige stärkere innere Ringe, auf denen

[268]) Schuster, 1958b, S. 16.
[269]) Roth, 1924, S. 379 und Taf. 124.
[270]) Lopes, 1932, S. 147 und Fig. 6.
[271]) Max Schmidt, 1904, S. 300ff. und Figs. 13 und 14.
[272]) Max Schmidt, 1904, S. 490ff.
[273]) Max Schmidt, 1905, S. 330ff.
[274]) Reiches Vergleichsmaterial findet man bei Roth (Roth, 1924, S. 321 ff. und Tafn. 100 B und 101) und Mason (Mason, 1904, S. 329ff. und Taf. 240 (1, 2)).
[275]) Salathé, 1931/32, S. 302 und Figs. 9 und 10.
[276]) Mit den Zähnen wird jede einzelne Liane in mehrere flache Streifen gespalten. (Vgl. auch S. 47).

die Vertikalstreifen mit Lianen festgebunden sind, geben dem Korb Form und Halt. Unter einer besonderen Umflechtung des Randes sind die Enden der Vertikalstreifen verwahrt (Taf. 23,1). Mittels eines Bündels Baumbaststreifen, an denen noch die Rinde hängt, wird der Korb an der Stirn auf dem Rücken getragen"[227]). Die gleiche Technik wird von den Surára und Pakidái angewandt, und der Geflechtsanfang eines Tragkorbes (Fig. 21) führt dies besonders deutlich vor Augen (Abb. 35). Es handelt sich hierbei um

[227]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 307/08.

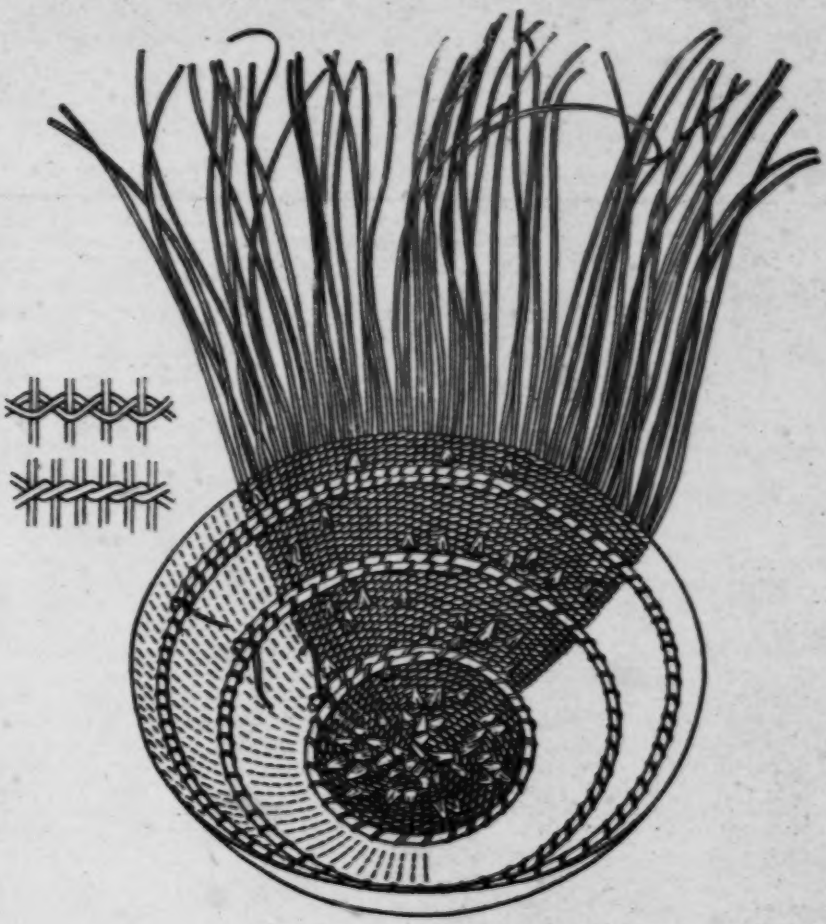


Fig. 21 Geflechtsanfang eines Frauentragkorbes

jene Flechtart, welche Max Schmidt als „Doppelfadengeflecht" bezeichnet, die zweite Hauptart der südamerikanischen Geflechte[373]) [374]).

Durch ein äußeres Merkmal kann man aber die Frauentragkörbe der Xiriána leicht von jenen der Surára und Pakidái unterscheiden. Bei ersteren ist das Tragband nur am Rande befestigt[375]), während es letztere stets um den Boden schlingen, danach im unteren Drittel sowie am oberen Rand durch je zwei gedrehte Lianenschlaufen führen und dann an einer Seite verknoten (Abb. 34). Dies bewirkt für die Trägerinnen einen besseren Halt, wodurch es ihnen möglich ist, wesentlich schwerere Lasten zu transportieren, ohne daß sie sich dabei wundscheuern. Jene geringfügige Verbesserung könnte von den Frauen der Surára und Pakidái entwickelt worden sein, doch die Körbe an sich wie auch die Herstellungsart stellen auf Grund von Aussagen meiner Gewährsleute Importgüter der Xiriána dar.

Dasselbe trifft auch für die in gleicher Technik angefertigten runden, flachen Korbschalen zu, welche in verschiedenen Größen sowohl bei den Xiriána[376]) als auch bei den Surára und Pakidái vorhanden sind und zur Aufbewahrung von Maniokfladen und Früchten dienen. Bei den letztgenannten Indianern sah ich außerdem Frauentragkörbe in Miniaturform, die für kleine Mädchen bestimmt sind und solche mit Deckel — *unî* —. Alle genannten Gegenstände werden meist mit schlangenförmigen Linien bemalt, wozu man Uruca verwendet. Schließlich ist noch zu erwähnen, daß die Frauen während der Anfertigung solcher Körbe und Korbschalen am liebsten bequem in der Hängematte liegen.

Von den Waiká werden die beschriebenen großen Frauentragkörbe und Korbschalen ebenfalls benutzt, und Zerries sowie Schuster heben hervor, daß bei der Herstellung die zwirnende Flechttechnik angewandt wird[377]) [378]) [379]). Gleichartige Korbschalen sind auch für die Karinä belegt[380]), und weitere Parallelen, die nur in der äußeren Form etwas abweichen, zeigen Hängekörbchen und Korbwannen von Arawak- und Tukano-Stämmen am oberen Rio Negro sowie von den Makú[381]).

Sodann sind kleine Henkelkörbchen mit viereckigem Boden — *yarokîkse* — zu erwähnen (Abb. 36), worin die Frauen ihren Schmuck, Arm-, Bein- und Brustschnüre, die Spindel und Baumwollknäuel aufbewahren. Zur Herstellung derselben werden ebenfalls gespaltene Lianen benutzt. Die angewandte Technik ist sehr ursprünglich, denn der Geflechtstreifen wird abwechselnd nur über und unter einen Geflechtsstrang geführt[382]). Die Form dieser Körbchen scheint den Surára und Pakidái eigentümlich zu sein, denn in der Literatur fand ich bezüglich anderer Stämme noch keine entsprechende Beschreibung.

Einfach geflochtene Feuerfächer — *zukûna* — werden aus den Blattstielhüllen der Tucumpalme (*Astrocaryum* sp.) verfertigt. Sie haben eine längliche Form, und die Enden der Streifen sind als Griff zusammengebunden (Fig. 22).

Gleichartige Fächer, jedoch regelmäßiger gearbeitet, fand Koch-Grünberg bei den Makiritare, Yekuaná und Guinaú im Einzugsgebiet des oberen Orinoco[383]), woraus man schließen könnte, daß dieser Gegenstand von hier, eventuell über die Xiriána, zu den Surára und Pakidái gelangte. Doch auch der umgekehrte Weg wäre möglich, schon deshalb, weil die meisten Karaiben- und Arawakstämme Guayanas Feuerfächer mit quergestelltem Handgriff verwenden[384]).

Der Preßschlauch — *pokunâko* — hat bei den Surára und Pakidái erst in jüngster Zeit Eingang gefunden. Bei ersteren entdeckte ich nur drei und bei letzteren fünf Exemplare, die alle aus

[373]) Max Schmidt, 1904, S. 490 ff.
[374]) Max Schmidt, 1905, S. 330 ff.
[375]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, Taf. 23, 1.
[376]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 308.
[377]) Zerries, 1954a, S. 184.
[378]) Zerries, 1955b, S. 665, Abb. 2.
[379]) Schuster, 1955b, S. 17.
[380]) Salathé, 1931/32, S. 302 und Fig. 11.
[381]) Koch-Grünberg, 1911a, S. 220 ff. und Abbn. 149a, 149b, 144.
[382]) Max Schmidt zählt diese Technik noch zur ersten Hauptgruppe der südamerikanischen Geflechte. (Max Schmidt, 1904, S. 490/93).
[383]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 343 und Taf. 24, 6.
[384]) Roth, 1924, S. 191 ff., Tafn. 78, 79 und Fig. 91.

Fig. 22 Geflochtener Feuerfächer

Blattstreifen der Curuápflanze (*Ananas sativus* Sch.) angefertigt und verhältnismäßig klein waren (Länge: 1,10—1,20 m; Durchmesser: 3—4 cm). Sie befanden sich im Besitz einiger Familien, welche dieselben von den Xiriána eingetauscht hatten. Bisher wurde die Maniokmasse nämlich nur mittels kleiner, viereckiger Geflechte — *yuvobi* —[288]) mit den Händen ausgepreßt. Noch heute ist diese Methode gebräuchlicher als jene mit dem Preßschlauch, doch langsam beginnt sich letztere durchzusetzen. Auch Familien, die den Preßschlauch noch nicht besitzen, leihen sich denselben gelegentlich aus, denn verfertigt wird er bisher weder von den Surára noch von den Pakidái. Bedeutsam ist aber der oben erwähnte Hinweis, daß der Preßschlauch ein Importgut der Xiriána darstellen soll. Als nämlich Koch-Grünberg unter einer Xiriána-Gruppe in Motomotó weilte, fand er dort auch keinen vor, sondern nur kleine Korbwannen, in denen die Maniokmasse mit den Händen gequetscht wurde[289]). Deshalb ist anzunehmen, daß auch diese Indianer den Preßschlauch noch nicht sehr lange kennen; vermutlich übernahmen sie ihn von Karaiben.

Fig. 23a Kindertragband aus Embira-Baumbast
Fig. 23b Teil eines Embirastammes mit beklopftem Baumbast, der bereits etwas abgezogen wurde
Fig. 23c Bastklopfer aus Embiraholz

9. *Kindertragband*

Das Kindertragband — *ehomakud* — wird aus dem Bast eines Embirabaumes (*Daphnopsis brasiliensis* Mart.) gewonnen. Zu diesem Zweck werden von den Männern dünnere Stämme gefällt. Danach entfernen Frauen die Rinde und

[288]) Der Name ist nahezu identisch mit dem des Henkelkörbchens — *yuvobidne* —, und die Geflechttechnik stimmt völlig überein.

[289]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 308.

schlagen mittels eines Rustklopfers — *zanatimá* — (hierbei handelt es sich um ein 30—40 cm langes Holzstück des Embirabaumes) 1—2 Stunden lang auf den jeweiligen Stamm. Dadurch wird der Baumbast — *sarúmaxíke* — locker, weich und geschmeidig, so daß man ihn schließlich leicht von dem Stamm — *pakakíli* — abziehen kann (Fig. 23a—c). Hierauf werden die beiden Enden ineinandergeflochten und mit einem Faden aus Bromeliafasern oder Baumwolle doppelt vernäht. Die Löcher bohrt man mit dem Cutiaraknagerzahn (s. S. 54) vor und kann dann den Faden mühelos hindurchziehen.

Das Traghand wird stets über die rechte Schulter geschlungen, damit die rechte Hand zur Arbeit frei bleibt, und endet in der Höhe der linken Hüfte (Abb. 15), wodurch dem sitzenden Kinde, wenn die Mutter dessen Beine um ihren Körper legt, noch ein zusätzlicher Halt gewährt wird.

Diese Tragweise ist in Südamerika weit verbreitet und wird auch von Stämmen angewandt, die Traghänder nicht benutzen[887]. Bei den Xirianá scheint Koch-Grünberg keine derartigen Traghänder gesehen zu haben, denn er sagt nichts darüber aus.

20. *Gefäße*

Als Gefäße verwendet man vor allem die Früchte von Bignoniaceen (*Crescentia cujete* Lin.) und Cucurbitaceen (*Cucurbita lagenaria* Lin. und *Cucurbita idolatrica Lauxda* — Jamaru), welche mannigfaltige Formen liefern (Kugelform, Flaschenform, Gurkenform u. a.).

Diese Gefäße werden generell — *kuvutaká* — genannt, mit Ausnahme derjenigen der Jamaru-Frucht (Fig. 24), welches — *akapetaténa* — heißt.

Durchgeschnittene Früchte liefern entsprechend gestaltete Schalen — *maraká* —. Um sie zu zerteilen, werden die frischen Früchte von Männern oder Frauen mit Curauá-Fasern umschnürt, und anschließend ritzt man mit dem Cutiaraknagerzahn (s. S. 54) darum entlang. Alle Schalen werden innen mit einem schwarzen Überzug versehen, den man aus verbranntem Holz der Pupunha-Palme und dem ölhaltigen Dotter von Schildkröteneiern oder Kaimaneier gewinnt.

Einige Familien besitzen auch schwarze, dickwandige, unverzierte Tongefäße — *kakaká* — mit rundem Boden, welche schlecht gebrannt sind und leicht brechen. Sie stammen, wie man mir sagte, von den Xirianá[888], denen die Surára und Pakidái eben selbst keine Töpferei usw.

Den Waiká und Kariná dagegen ist dieses Handwerk wiederum bekannt, und zwar stellen sie die gleiche oben beschriebene Gefäßform her[889] [890].

Fig. 24 Jamaru-Frucht

Meine als Geschenke mitgebrachten Töpfe und Schüsseln aus Aluminium wurden von den Frauen beider Stämme sehr geschätzt, desgleichen leere Bonbonkanister und Konservendosen.

[887] u. a. z. B. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, Taf. 45.

[888] Auch der Name ist bei diesen fast gleichlautend — „Jaqaiga" — (Koch-Grünberg, 1916, S. 304).

[889] Ehrenreich, 1939a, S. 184.

[890] Kakaká, 1939/40, S. 300 und Fig. 12.

11. Werkzeuge

Ursprüngliche Werkzeuge, die zum Zähnen, Schälspatt, Knochen, Taquara, Bambus und Holz bestehen, gibt es nur wenige.

Das wichtigste und ausschließlich für den rituellen Gebrauch vorbehaltene ist ein kleines Messer aus dem scharfen Zahn des Cutia (*Dasyprocta agouti L.*) — *hamradle* —, welches jeder Suriára und Pakidái bei Wanderungen, Jagd- und Kriegszügen unter seine linke Oberarmschnur klemmt (Abb. 32)[288]. Mittels Baumharz hat man den unteren Teil des Zahnes fest in einem Röhrenknochen des Jacamins (*Psophia crepitans L.*) — *nyapán* —, der gleichzeitig als Griff dient und — *nyapámatde* — genannt wird, verankert und diese Schaftstelle außerdem noch mit einem Faden aus Baumwolle oder Curuá (Bromeliafaser) umwickelt (Fig. 25).

Fig. 25 Kleines Messer aus dem scharfen Zahn des Cutia (*Dasyprocta agouti L.*)

Mit diesem Messerchen bohrt man die Pfeilrohre an, um die Spitze, einen hölzernen Schaft oder das gekerbte Handende einzufügen. Die roh angebrannten Bambuspfeile werden damit verbrannt und geschärft, desgleichen die Spitzen aus Knochen und Holz. Es wird aber auch benutzt, um in den Herd, jenen liegende Holz den Feuerzungen, Löcher vorzubohren und eine Seitenkerbe zu ziehen. Auf dem Köcher werden damit die schlangenförmigen Linien und Zickzackmuster angebracht, und schließlich dient es den Männern noch dazu, um aus Gründen der Eifersucht ihren Frauen tiefe Einschnitte am Körper beizubringen. Fast alle Frauen haben daher größere und kleinere Narben; sie zeigten sie mir aber stets mit einem gewissen Stolz, als Zeichen, daß sie schön und begehrenswert sind, oder waren.

[288] Die Frauen verwenden die Cutia-Zähne als Glättemesser (s. S. 46).

Auch andere Stämme Guayanas und solche, die im übrigen Südamerika zu den Resten der Urschicht gehören, verwenden diese Messerchen. Durch Zerries und Schuster sind sie für die Waikâ bezeugt[289] [290], durch Salathé für die Karinâ[291] und durch Koch-Grünberg für die Xirianá[292]. Letzterer gibt jedoch an, daß die Xirianá den Zahn mittels Bromeliafasern an einem Holzstiel festbinden[293]. An gleicher Stelle erwähnt Koch-Grünberg ebenfalls ein Messer mit Knochengriff, welches er von einem Arekuná erwarb, der bei den Guinaú am Merewurf lebte, fügt aber hinzu: „Ob die Unterabteilungen der Arekuná, die tief im Innern wohnen, noch solche ursprünglichen Werkzeuge gebrauchen, weiß ich nicht"[294]. Außerhalb Guayanas ist dieses Messerchen u. a. für die Guayaki[295] und Sirionó[296] belegt.

Fig. 26 Messer aus dem Bauchbeinschild der Panzerschildkröte

[289] Zerries, 1954a, S. 184.
[290] Schuster, 1956b, S. 13.
[291] Salathé, 1931/32a, S. 326 und Fig. 16.
[292] Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 323 und Taf. 27, fig. 6b. Solch ein Messer befindet sich im Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Sammlung Koch-Grünberg, 12.03:208).
[293] Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 323 und Taf. 27 (5).
[294] de la Hitte, 1849, Taf. III, Figs. 4 und 6.
[295] Nordenskiöld, 1912, S. 193, Abb. 119.

Ein Arbeitsgerät für Frauen stellt das Messer aus Schildpatt — *mici* — dar. Hierbei handelt es sich um den an einer Längsseite geschärften Bauchdeckel der Perema (kleine Wasserschildkröte) (Fig. 26). Damit werden vor allem die wildwachsenden Früchte des Topfbaumes (*Lecythis longifolia*) nach dem Kochen aufgeschnitten (s. S. 84).

Dieses Messer ist auch den Waiká bekannt und hat dort denselben Verwendungszweck[286]).

Bei einer dritten Art von Messern, die ebenfalls nur von Frauen benutzt werden, handelt es sich um die unbrauchbar gewordenen lanzettförmigen Pfeilspitzen aus Bambus — *kuniand* und *rakahé* — (s. S. 19/20). Man gebraucht sie vorwiegend zum Schälen und Schaben der Maniokwurzeln.

Dies beobachtete auch Koch-Grünberg bei den Xiriána (Schiriana)[287]). Der genannte Forscher weist noch daraufhin, daß die Messer bisweilen an einen zugespitzten Holzstiel gebunden sind. Jene Befestigung erfolgte aber sicher nicht nachträglich, sondern es ist einfach der Schaft, welchen die Xiriána, abweichend von den Surára und Pakidái, ihren Pfeilspitzen aufsetzen (s. S. 20).

Zum Schneiden der Haare und für das Ausrasieren der Tonsuren, ausgesprochenen Frauenarbeiten, bedient man sich eines gespaltenen und auf einer Seite geschärften Rohrstückes (Taquara — *Gnadua* sp.).

Solche „Messer" sind unter den südamerikanischen Indianern ebenfalls weit verbreitet; für die Botokuden weist sie der Prinz zu Wied-Neuwied nach[287]).

Ein weiteres wichtiges Werkzeug ist sodann der Eckzahn eines Wildschweinunterkiefers — *nanacoand* —, mit dessen innerer Kante die Männer ihre Bogen glätten.

Zum gleichen Zweck wird dieses Arbeitsgerät auch von den Waiká verwandt[288]).

Für Feldarbeiten benutzen die Männer einen am unteren Ende etwas abgeflachten 2—2,20 m langen Grabstock — *nanuanuatshi* —, den sie aus dem harten Holz der Pupunha-Palme (*Guilielma speciosa* Mart.) anfertigen; als Ersatz verwenden sie auch gelegentlich einen alten, gebrochenen Bogenstab.

Die letztere Anwendung nahm Zerries ebenfalls bei den Waiká wahr[289]).

Auch ein Stück Rundholz vom Stamm der Pupunha-Palme ist zu erwähnen, daß von den Frauen als Bastklopfer — *xamotimá* — verwandt wird (s. auch S. 52/53).

Damit erschöpft sich der Gebrauch ursprünglicher Werkzeuge. Aber auch in alter Zeit gab es sicher nicht viel mehr. Während meines Aufenthalts unter den beiden Stämmen sah ich sie aber bereits Stahläxte benutzen, sowie Terçados (große Buschmesser) und kleine Messer. Die Surára erwerben jene Gegenstände auf dem Tauschwege durch ihre gelegentlichen Berührungen mit den Piaçabeiros (Palmfasersammler) am Rio Aracá, während sie den Pakidái vom Personal des Indianerschutzpostens Ajuricaba am mittleren Demini als Geschenke überlassen werden. Auf meine Frage, ob ihre Vorfahren einmal Steinäxte verwandten, ich konnte nämlich keine entdecken, erhielt ich stets bejahende Antworten. Sie haben auch einen besonderen Namen für die Axt — *kankokomd* —. Die Klinge allein wird synonym benannt, während der Schaft — *kankokomdhilohi* — heißt. Höchstwahrscheinlich wurden die Steinäxte im Tausch erworben, wie es ja nach Schuster für die Waiká zutrifft[290]). Welcher Stamm dieses Importgut lieferte, war nicht mehr festzustellen, doch die Xiriána scheinen diesmal als Vermittler auszuscheiden. Koch-Grünberg schreibt nämlich: „Sie (die Xiriána) hatten ehemals anscheinend gar keine Äxte, um Wald zu schlagen. Mit einer Steinaxt, die ich ihnen zeigte, wußten sie jedenfalls nichts anzufangen"[291]).

12. *Klettergerät*

Zum Erklettern hoher Palmen mit glattem Stamm, wie die Açaí-(*Euterpe oleracea* Mart.), Bacaba-(*Oenocarpus distichus* oder *Oenocarpus*

[286]) Zerries, 1956b, S. 149.
[287]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 308 und Taf. 48 (8 und 7).
[287]) Prinz zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, S. 9.
[288]) Schuster, 1956b, S. 17.
[289]) Zerries, 1956b, S. 153.
[290]) Schuster, 1956b, S. 17.
[291]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 307.

hacaba Mart.), Buçu-(*Manicaria saccifera* Gaertn.), Buriti-(*Mauritia vinifera* Mart.), Inajá-(*Maximiliana regia* Mart.), Paxiúba-(*Iriartea exorhiza* Mart.), Tucumã-Palme (*Astrocaryum* sp.) u. a. bedienen sich die Surára und Pakidái des Kletterringes — *hoeberomd* —, der aus einer gespaltenen und mehrfach zusammengerollten Liane (*Cipó-titica*) besteht. Die Lianenenden werden einige Male um den Ring gewickelt und mittels eines Knoten verbunden (Fig. 27).

Fig. 27 Kletterring

Diesen Ring legt sich der Mann, gelegentlich auch eine Frau, um die Füße und preßt dieselben mit der zwischen Ballen und Ferse gelegenen Hohlkehle, in Form eines Greiffußes, kräftig an den Stamm, so daß sie sich in der Rinde förmlich festsaugen. Er geht jeweils in den Hocksitz und schnellt dann seinen Körper nach oben. Mit den Armen und Händen umschlingt er zwar den Stamm, doch zum Erklettern bedient er sich nur der Füße, die infolge des Ringes stets einen festen Halt haben. Von besonderer Wichtigkeit wird dieser Halt, wenn der Mann den Wipfel erreicht hat, wo er nun beide Hände gebraucht, um die Früchte abzuschneiden.

Solche Kletterringe sind in vielen Teilen Südamerikas bekannt und werden ebenfalls von den Caboclos (brasilianische Landbevölkerung) benutzt. Die Erfindung scheint aber indianischen Ursprungs zu sein.

Die Pupunha-Palme (*Guilielma speciosa* Mart.) jedoch, welche im Wirtschaftsleben der Surára und Pakidái eine so große Rolle spielt, kann in dieser Weise nicht erklettert werden, da deren Stamm, dessen Durchmesser 60—80 cm beträgt, mit langen, spitzen Stacheln bedeckt ist. Um die Früchte aber trotzdem ernten zu können, benutzen diese Indianer ein Klettergerät — *hanadku* —, welches auch den Waikâ bekannt ist[218].)

Das Gerät besteht aus zwei völlig gleichen Vorrichtungen, die man in nachfolgender Weise befestigt und benutzt: Je zwei 1,60—1,80 m lange Stöcke, deren Durchmesser 12—15 cm beträgt, werden scherenartig und lose mit Lianen an den Stamm gebunden. Der hintere, nach unten geneigte Teil jener gekreuzten Stöcke ist ebenfalls mit Lianen umwickelt. Über diesem ersten Kletterapparat wird in derselben Weise ein zweiter angebracht. Der Indianer, welcher die Pupunha-Palme erklettern will, stellt sich nun auf das hintere Ende der unteren „Schere" und schiebt die obere ein Stück aufwärts. Danach steigt er auf das hintere Ende der oberen „Schere" und zieht die untere nach. Anschließend wechselt er zurück auf die untere Klettervorrichtung und schiebt die obere ein weiteres Stück aufwärts. Indem er also ständig seine Position ändert und einen Apparat hochschiebt und den anderen nachzieht, erreicht er in 4—5 Minuten den Wipfel (Abb. 39). Er pflückt die reifen Früchte und läßt sie einzeln an einer Liane herab, wo sie von Stammesangehörigen entgegengenommen werden. Das Herabsteigen geschieht in umgekehrter Weise wie der Aufstieg.

Ob diese großartige technische Erfindung von den Waikâ, Surára oder Pakidái entwickelt wurde, wage ich zu bezweifeln, vor allem deshalb, weil ja ihre sonstige materielle Kultur außerordentlich arm ist. Es gibt aber auch noch keine Hinweise, die auf einen Import schließen lassen. Einflüsse der Zivilisation sind ebenfalls auszuschalten, denn der Caboclo-Bevölkerung (Pflanzer, Gummi-

[218]) Barbot 1933, S. 446 und Fig. 1.

und Palmfasersammler) im Demini-Aracá-Gebiet ist die beschriebene Technik unbekannt; sie schlagen die Pupunha-Früchte mit langen Stangen herab.

13. Bereitung von Urucu

Die rote Farbe Urucu — *nard* —, mit der die Indianer ihren Körper sowie Gebrauchsgegenstände bemalen, wird von den Frauen aus den roten Samen der Bixa orellana hergestellt, welche sich in stacheligen Fruchtkapseln befinden. Die Körner werden in einem Gefäß so lange gekocht, bis auf dem Boden nur noch ein roter Satz übrig bleibt, den man zu Klumpen formt und trocknen läßt. Hiermit können sich die Indianer dann jederzeit bemalen; die Farbe muß allerdings vorher mit etwas Wasser oder Speichel angefeuchtet werden.

VII. Soziale Organisation

1. Allgemeines

Sowohl bei den Surára, als auch bei den Pakidái handelt es sich um souveräne Stämme, die aber untereinander im Connubium leben. Dasselbe erstreckt sich auch auf die befreundeten Xiriána, Pusheweteri, Aramamesteri u. a.

Obgleich die von mir untersuchten Indianer nur ganz geringen Kontakt mit Palmfasersammlern, bzw. dem Personal des Indianerschutzpostens Ajuricaba am Demini haben, geht ihre Bevölkerungsstärke ständig zurück, wofür folgende Gründe maßgebend sind: Geburtenregelung; hohe Kindersterblichkeit infolge mangelnder Hygiene; Krankheiten, vor allem Masernepidemien[115]), aber auch Windpocken und Grippe, sowie häufige Kriege[116]).

2. Namen

Die genaue Anzahl der Surára betrug während meines Aufenthaltes unter ihnen nur noch 64[117]) und gliederte sich wie folgt:

	Geschätztes Alter:[118])
Hewemão[119]) — Häuptling und Medizinmann	42 J.
Koentemá — seine 1. Frau (vom Stamme der Pakidái)	24 J.
Kanikawö — Sohn	8 J.
Tochter (hat noch keinen Namen[117]))	1 J.
Yaripanamá — seine 2. Frau (vom Stamme der Aramamesteri) (Sie hatte eine Tochter, die im Säuglingsalter starb)	35 J.
Maxiuamá — Tochter von Hewemão und seiner früheren Frau Taimakána, welche während der Entbindung gestorben war	9 J.
Kurikayawö — Bruder des Häuptlings und dessen späterer Nachfolger	37 J.
Xunamí — seine Frau (vom Stamme der Pakidái) (Sie hatte einen Sohn, der im Kleinkindalter starb).	18 J.

[115]) 1932/33 verbreitete sich beispielsweise eine Masernepidemie wie eine Welle vom unteren Amazonas bis zum brasilianisch-kolumbianischen Grenzgebiet und brachte vielen Indianern den Tod. (Angabe von Herrn Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspektor der 1a. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

[116]) Anläßlich des Überfalls auf eine feindliche Maloka versucht man möglichst alle Männer, Jünglinge und Knaben zu töten, während die Frauen und Mädchen als Gefangene mitgeschleppt werden.

[117]) In meinen ersten Forschungsberichten hatte ich irrtümlicherweise die Zahl 42 angegeben (Becher, 1957a, S. 118; Becher, 1958, S. 137).

[118]) Diese Indianer zählen nur bis drei, so daß ich die Altersangaben lediglich schätzen konnte.

[119]) Alle Eigennamen konnte ich erst nach meiner Aufnahme in den Stamm erfahren, denn vor Außenstehenden werden sie streng geheim gehalten. Aber auch dann nannten sie mir die einzelnen Männer und Frauen nie selbst; ich erfuhr die Namen nur durch andere Stammesangehörige, und zwar regelmäßig im Flüsterton. Wenn sie sich laut rufen, werden portugiesische Namen verwandt, die sie bei Palmfasersammlern hörten; auch ich mußte mehreren Stammesangehörigen Namen geben.

[117]) Die Kinder erhalten ihre Namen erst nach Vollendung des 3. Lebensjahres (s. S. 92 f.).

	Geschätztes Alter:
Xomirawö — Kriegshäuptling	40 J.
Uitimá — seine Frau (vom Stamme der Xamatári)	38 J.
Moramanamá — Tochter (verheiratet mit dem Surára Uaxianauwö)	18 J.
Yaxoima — Tochter	13 J.
Xinari — seine 1. Frau (vom Stamme der Pakidái, Schwester von Koentemá)	20 J.
Inxinemá — jüngster Bruder des Häuptlings (Junggeselle)	19 J.
Hemahemá — Sohn des verstorbenen ältesten Bruders von Hewemão	25 J.
Hanohomá — Krieger	43 J.
Unhami — seine Frau	24 J.
Matuwö — Sohn von Hanohomá und dessen erster Frau, die gestorben ist. (Matuwö ist mit Maxiuamá, der neunjährigen Tochter des Häuptlings Hewemão verheiratet)	17 J.
Unariwö — Krieger	38 J.
Yanaucmá — seine Frau (vom Stamme der Puseheweteri)	35 J.
Komitimá — Tochter (2. Frau des Surára Hemahemá)	18 J.
Rokoahima — Tochter	8 J.
Cinapemi — Mutter von Unariwö	54 J.
Toabewö — Krieger	28 J.
Uainomi — seine Frau (Mutter von Unhami, s. oben)	43 J.
Raxakewö — Krieger	32 J.
Amarokomá — seine 1. Frau (vom Stamme der Xiriána) (Zwei Kinder, ein Junge und ein Mädchen, sind gestorben)	24 J.
Yaxuramá — seine 2. Frau (vom Stamme der Puseheweteri)	22 J.
Tochter (hat noch keinen Namen)	3 J.
Orateú — Krieger	32 J.
Posioubemi — seine Frau (vom Stamme der Pakidái)	23 J.
Sohn (hat noch keinen Namen)	3 Monate
Uaxianauwö — Krieger	24 J.

	Geschätztes Alter:
Moramanamá — seine Frau (Tochter des Kriegshäuptlings)	18 J.
Rarorauwö — Krieger	36 J.
Tanyakomi — seine Frau (vom Stamme der Puseheweteri) (Drei Kinder, zwei Jungen und ein Mädchen, sind gestorben)	30 J.
Rokomá — Mutter von Rarorauwö (älteste Surára-Frau)	63 J.
Anyarawö — Krieger	29 J.
Ranomá — seine Frau (vom Stamme der Pakidái)	20 J.
Tochter (hat noch keinen Namen)	2 J.
Xanimá, Mutter von Anyarawö	47 J.
Poxewö — Krieger	28 J.
Riopemi — seine Frau (vom Stamme der Pakidái)	21 J.
Sohn (hat noch keinen Namen)	2 J.
Hunkawá — Krieger	29 J.
Xororimá — seine Frau	21 J.
Sohn (hat noch keinen Namen)	2 J.
Koroyewö — Krieger	31 J.
Natororomá — seine Frau (vom Stamme der Puseheweteri)	23 J.
Sohn (hat noch keinen Namen)	3 J.
Werewö — Krieger	30 J.
Makanamá — seine Frau (vom Stamme der Puseheweteri)	22 J.
Tochter (hat noch keinen Namen)	1 J.
Ixobewö — Krieger	31 J.
Oikoçimá — seine 1. Frau (vom Stamme der Xiriána)	28 J.
Tochter (hat noch keinen Namen). Der Zwillingsbruder starb	3 J.
Xeramá — seine 2. Frau (vom Stamme der Aramamesteri)	25 J.
Xaniwö — Sohn	12 J.
Tochter (hat noch keinen Namen)	2 J.
Xutumi — Witwe	59 J.
Haikiamá — ihre Tochter (ebenfalls Witwe)	40 J.
Yarikoawö — Sohn von Haikiamá (Junggeselle)	17 J.
Katarauwö — alleinstehender Junggeselle	17 J.

	Geschätztes Alter:
Ikoauwö — alleinstehender Junggeselle	16 J.
Jibeauwö — Waisenknabe	9 J.
Manahemá — Waisenknabe	8 J.
Nikeromá — Gefangene (vom feindlichen Stamm der Karauateri)	15 J.

Die Pakidái sind etwas stärker, denn ihre Kopfzahl betrug 89. Da meine Verbindung mit ihnen aber nicht ganz so eng wie mit den Surára war, konnte ich auch nur bedeutend weniger Eigennamen erfahren. Diejenigen, welche mir bekannt wurden, führe ich nachstehend auf:

	Geschätztes Alter:
Karenauö — Häuptling und Medizinmann	26 J.
Poroamá — seine Frau (vom Stamme der Surára)	20 J.
Sohn (hat noch keinen Namen)	2 J.
Poréhiwö — Kriegshäuptling	32 J.
Ruxoyetemí — seine 1. Frau (vom Stamme der Surára)	30 J.
Yauetoiwö — Sohn	13 J.
Xaraíma — Tochter	7 J.
Tochter (hat noch keinen Namen). Sie wurde während meiner Anwesenheit geboren	1 Monat
Die 2. Frau von Poréhiwö lief ihm wegen schlechter Behandlung davon und ist vermutlich ertrunken	
Kaxiribewö — Krieger (Bruder von Poréhiwö)	39 J.
Monamí — seine Frau	36 J.
Kuyaromá — Tochter	19 J.
Bixewö — Sohn	15 J.
Sohn (hat noch keinen Namen)	3 J.
Sohn (hat noch keinen Namen). Er wurde während meiner Anwesenheit geboren	1 Monat
Ironasteri (vom Stamme der Xiriána) — Frau von Bixewö	22 J.
Yururauwö — Krieger	28 J.
Xekoreimá — seine Frau (vom Stamme der Surára)	28 J.

	Geschätztes Alter:
Tenxoyahibewö — Sohn. (Als einziger Pakidái-Knabe besucht er die Missionsschule der Salesianer in Barcelos (Rio Negro) und spricht gut portugiesisch. Ein Flußhändler hatte ihn dort hingebracht. Jetzt schämt er sich seiner Stammesangehörigen und war nicht zu bewegen, etwas über dieselben auszusagen).	14 J.
Mihemehumá — Sohn	5 J.
Sohn (hat noch keinen Namen)	1 J.
Kuatoxemão — Krieger	33 J.
Toreheima — seine 1. Frau (vom Stamme der Puseheweteri)	26 J.
Xiahomá — seine 2. Frau (vom Stamme der Aramamesteri)	21 J.
Tochter von Xiahomá (hat noch keinen Namen)	2 J.
Karemouá — Krieger	29 J.
Xitiporimá — seine 1. Frau	26 J.
Tokorá — Sohn	8 J.
Nyarimá — Tochter	4 J.
Kirixoíma — seine 2. Frau (vom Stamme der Xiriána)	20 J.
Tochter (hat noch keinen Namen)	6 Monate
Prexemí — Witwe (Mutter von Karemouá)	50 J.
Hokotómarimá — Junggeselle (Bruder von Karemouá; starb während meiner Anwesenheit durch einen Unglücksfall)	19 J.
Xoronauwö — alleinstehender Junggeselle	17 J.

Aus diesen listenmäßigen Familienaufstellungen gewinnt man den Eindruck, als ob Monogamie vorherrschend sei. Doch von meinen Gewährsleuten wurde mir versichert, daß auch diejenigen Krieger, welche bisher nur eine Frau haben, gern noch eine zweite oder gar dritte hinzunehmen würden, wie es bei ihren Vorfahren üblich war. Aber die niedrige Kopfzahl der Stämme führte bereits zu einem Frauenmangel, so daß sich die meisten Männer zwangsweise mit einer Ehegefährtin begnügen müssen.

3. *Politische Gliederung*

Jene geringen Bevölkerungsstärken könnten außerdem die Vermutung erwecken, daß es sich gar nicht um Stämme, sondern nur um Stammeshalbierungen handelt, besonders wegen des Connubiums, in dem sie leben, oder lediglich um Gruppen. Doch die genannten Häuptlinge und Kriegshäuptlinge erklärten mir mit Nachdruck, daß sowohl die Surára als auch die Pakidái früher groß und mächtig gewesen seien und sich jeweils auf zahlreiche Malokas verteilt hätten. Diese Größe wieder zu erreichen, sehen sie als ein erstrebenswertes Ziel an.

Bei beiden Stämmen herrscht ein institutionelles Häuptlingstum, mit genau festgelegter Erbfolge. Stirbt der Häuptling, so tritt automatisch der nächstjüngere Bruder an seine Stelle. Erst wenn der jüngste Bruder gestorben ist, kann der erstgeborene Sohn des ältesten Bruders, welcher dann jedoch meist ein betagter Mann ist, die Häuptlingswürde einnehmen. Daneben gibt es den Kriegshäuptling. Dieses Amt ist nicht erblich, sondern der tapferste Krieger wird dazu auserkoren. In Friedenszeiten hat er keinerlei Vorrechte und lebt wie ein gewöhnlicher Stammesangehöriger. Nur bei kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen übernimmt er die Führung, während der eigentliche Häuptling als religiöses Oberhaupt, Arzt und Lehrer geschützt wird und sich nicht daran beteiligt; dasselbe gilt für seine Brüder.

Der Surára-Häuptling Hewemáo, sehr kühn und intelligent, ist eine wahrhaft große Persönlichkeit; seine Anordnungen werden von allen Stammesangehörigen widerspruchslos respektiert. Als er noch ein Jüngling war, wurde sein Vater, Xoromáo, von einem Makuxi-Indianer durch zwei Pfeilschüsse getötet. Die Nachfolgeschaft trat Hewemáos ältester Bruder, Xaraíma, an, der vor etwa 8 Jahren an einer Fiebererkrankung starb. Seit dieser Zeit ist Hewemáo Häuptling und, wie seine Vorgänger, zu gleicher Zeit Medizinmann, der alle männlichen Surára in Religion, Mythologie, Zauberwesen, Krankenheilungen und Stammestradition ausbildet (s. S. 67 f.). Er teilt sie aber auch zu gelegentlichen Gemeinschaftsarbeiten ein, beaufsichtigt ihre Tätigkeit in den Roças (Waldrodungen), gibt Anweisungen für den Bau einer Maloka und bestimmt die Teilnehmer für Krankenkuren und Zauberhandlungen. Wurde ein großes Tier erlegt, z. B. ein Tapir, so überwacht er die gerechte Verteilung des Fleisches, damit jede Familie ihr Stück bekommt. Von kleinerem Wild überreichen die Jäger ihrem Häuptling meist einen Leckerbissen, und die Frauen bringen für ihn und seine Familie Früchte und Beeren oder volle Kalebassen mit erfrischendem Palmgetränk. Man ehrt ihn also in jeder Weise. Doch auch er und seine Frauen geben gern und reichlich von ihrer Jagd- bzw. Sammelbeute ab.

In der großen, offenen Maloka bewohnt er mit seinen beiden Frauen und den Kindern eine besondere Hütte (s. S. 11 ff.). Bei Wanderungen des Stammes bestimmt er, wann gerastet und wieder aufgebrochen wird. Außerdem teilt er jeden Morgen eine regelrechte Marschsicherung ein, 4—5 Krieger, welche die Vorhut bilden und bereits zwei Stunden vor dem Abmarsch aufbrechen. Sie haben nur ihre Bogen und Pfeile bei sich und streifen nach beiden Richtungen des Indianerpfades, um nach Feinden Ausschau zu halten. Das Gros des Stammes, welches in der Formation einer Reihe wandert, ergab während meines Zusammenlebens mit den Surára stets folgendes Bild: 3—4 nur mit Bogen und Pfeilen ausgerüstete Krieger. Ihre Waffen tragen sie in Längsrichtung über dem Kopf oder über einer Schulter. Danach kamen Männer mit meinem Gepäck, die jüngeren Brüder des Häuptlings und schließlich dieser selbst. Hinter ihm ging ich, mir folgte mein Diener Mateus, die Knaben und Mädchen mit kleinen Körben, dann die Frauen mit ihren großen, zylinderförmigen Körben, welche den gesamten Hausrat enthalten. Mütter mit Säuglingen hielten diese außerdem in einem Tragband auf der linken Hüfte. Oben auf dem Korb saß dann häufig noch ein kleiner Hund, ein Affe oder ein Papagei. Hinter den Frauen marschierten dann nochmals 4—5 Krieger als Nachhut.

Diese Sicherungsmaßnahmen sind notwendig, da stets mit einem feindlichen Überfall gerechnet werden muß. Deshalb läßt man die

Frauen allen Hausrat tragen, denn wären die Männer genauso bepackt, könnten sie sich nicht verteidigen. Aus diesem Grunde marschieren der Häuptling und seine Brüder auch stets in der Mitte des Stammes, weil im Falle einer kriegerischen Auseinandersetzung der Schutz des Häuptlings das oberste Gebot aller Surára ist. Er wird ja nicht nur als Stammesoberhaupt verehrt und geachtet, sondern er ist auch der Ratgeber in allen Lebenslagen, der Medizinmann, welcher die Verbindungen mit den Hekurá und den Serras herstellen (s. S. 92/93) sowie Unglück und Krankheiten abwehren kann. Würde er getötet, so käme der Stamm zunächst in eine schreckliche Situation, da der Nachfolger ja noch nicht über die gleichen Erfahrungen verfügt.

Der nächstjüngere Bruder und spätere Nachfolger Hewemãos ist Kurikayawö. Ihm wird der ungefähr 19 Jahre alte Inxinemá folgen, welcher aber bisher noch nicht seine Jünglingsinitiation durchlaufen hat. Und erst nach dem letzten könnte der einzige Sohn des vor 8 Jahren verstorbenen ältesten Bruders, Xarimá, der etwa 25jährige Hemahemá, die Führung übernehmen.

Kriegshäuptling der Surára ist Xomirawö, ein bescheidener, zurückhaltender, aber ungemein zäher und tapferer Mann.

Bei den Pakidái ist die Häuptlingsfolge identisch. Doch die nachfolgenden Ausführungen werden zeigen, welche Komplikationen sich hier vor sechs Jahren durch den Tod des alten Häuptlings Karakarawö ergaben, weil seine drei jüngeren Brüder, welche die Nachfolgeschaft hätten übernehmen können, schon vor ihm gestorben waren. Karakarawö hatte zwar einen Sohn, Karenauö, der aber noch sehr jung war, so daß nichts anderes übrig blieb, als zunächst vertretungsweise den Kriegshäuptling, Poréhiwö, mit der Führung des Stammes zu betrauen. Gleichzeitig baten er und die älteren Pakidái-Männer den Häuptling der befreundeten Surára, Hewemão, in vielen Dingen, besonders bei schweren Erkrankungen, Zauberhandlungen usw., um Rat. Za dieser Zeit durchliefen auch zahlreiche jüngere Pakidái die Schule des Surára-Häuptlings, u. a. auch der heutige Pakidái-Häuptling, Karenauö, dem Hewemão eine sehr gründliche Ausbildung zuteil werden ließ. Aus diesem Grunde lebten die Surára und Pakidái sogar einige Jahre zusammen, sowohl während der Trockenzeit in der Serra als auch in der Regenzeit an der Cachoeira dos Índios am oberen Rio Aracá. Doch dies behagte dem Kriegshäuptling Poréhiwö auf die Dauer nicht, dazu kamen Differenzen mit dem jungen Häuptling, so daß er und sein Bruder Kaxiribewö sich mit ihren Familien zeitweilig von dem Stamm trennten und allein in Taraquá, der Pakidái-Maloka am mittleren Demini, verblieben.

Infolge des jugendlichen Überschwanges des noch nicht völlig ausgereiften Pakidái-Häuptlings Karenauö erfuhr leider auch das bisher so gute Verhältnis zwischen den Surára und Pakidái eine leichte Trübung. Dabei hatte Karenauö doch wirklich alle Ursache, Hewemão dankbar zu sein.

Der Mißklang entstand im März 1956 während des großen Totenerinnerungsfestes, welches die Surára als Gastgeber und die Pakidái als Gäste stets gemeinsam feiern, und woran auch einige befreundete Pusheweteri- und Xiriána-Familien teilnahmen. Während dieses Zusammenlebens ist es üblich, daß Hewemão von den Gästen, selbst von deren Häuptlingen, als Oberhaupt respektiert wird, und daß man seinen Anordnungen Folge leistet. Hiergegen lehnte sich aber der junge Karenauö auf. Er fühlte sich plötzlich sehr stark, da die Kopfzahl der Pakidái ja wesentlich größer ist als die der Surára. Die Rivalität der Häuptlinge wuchs von Tag zu Tag und dehnte sich auch auf die Angehörigen beider Stämme aus. Nur der großzügigen, weisen Haltung von Hewemão und der Vermittlung des Kriegshäuptlings der Pakidái, Poréhiwö, welcher wieder zu seinem Stamm zurückgekehrt war und großen Einfluß ausübte, war es zu verdanken, daß stärkere Spannungen oder gar kriegerische Auseinandersetzungen vermieden werden konnten. Dies war nur zu begrüßen, da zwischen beiden Stämmen eine lange, traditionelle Freundschaft besteht, die durch wechselseitige Heiraten auch noch blutmäßig vertieft ist. Nach Beendigung des Festes, Ende März 1956, zogen dann die Pakidái wieder nach

Taraquá am mittleren Demini und die Surára zur Cachoeira dos Índios am oberen Aracá. Doch hierbei erlebte ich nun eine große Überraschung. Drei Pakidái-Männer folgten nämlich mit ihren Familien nicht mehr ihrem Häuptling Karenauö, sondern schlossen sich Hewemáo an und emigrierten also regelrecht zu den Surára.

4. Lebenszyklus

a) Geburtenregelung

Die Kinderzahl ist sowohl bei den Surára als auch bei den Pakidái sehr gering; keine Frau hat mehr als höchstens drei. Dies hängt aber, abgesehen von der hohen Kindersterblichkeit infolge mangelnder Hygiene, damit zusammen, daß die Frauen nach jeder Geburt einen Abstand von mindestens drei Jahren einhalten müssen. Solange wird ein Kind auch mit Muttermilch genährt, wodurch, nach Ansicht dieser Indianer, die Empfängnisverhütung weitgehend gewährleistet ist. Wird eine Frau trotzdem schwanger, so verstehen es die Medizinmänner aus Pflanzensäften ein Abtreibungsmittel zu bereiten. Als Grund für die Geburtenregelung gab man mir an, daß ein Kind, käme es in der Karenzzeit zur Welt, nicht gesund und lebenstüchtig sein könne, weil ja der Körper der Mutter noch zu schwach wäre.

b) Speisetabus während der Schwangerschaft

Vor der Geburt muß die Mutter viele Speisetabus einhalten, um ihrem Kinde nicht zu schaden. Ihre Nahrung besteht dann vorwiegend aus dem zarten Fleisch des Mutum (*Crax* sp.), gekochten Bananen, Maniokfladen und einem Getränk, welches man aus den nahrhaften, stark ölhaltigen Pupunha-Früchten bereitet. Denn wenn sie z. B. Wildschweinfleisch äße, käme das Kind tot zur Welt, durch das Fleisch des Pirarucu (*Osteoglossidae*, größter Süßwasserfisch), der den bösen Atem des Flusses in sich trägt, würde es blind, und Papageienfleisch führt dazu, daß es später ständig schreit.

c) Geburt

Während der Geburt kniet die Frau vor einem Baum und umklammert mit beiden Armen den Stamm. Der Boden wird vorher mit Wasser begossen, damit er schlammig und weich ist. Mehrere weibliche Stammesangehörige unterstützen die Gebärende. Nach der Geburt binden zwei Frauen die Nabelschnur mit je einem Baumwollfaden ab, und eine dritte beißt sie dann durch. Später wird dieselbe vom Vater des Kindes auf den Gipfel einer Pupunha-Palme (*Guilielma speciosa* Mart.) gehängt, womit ein Fruchtbarkeitszauber verbunden ist; die Nachgeburt vergräbt er in der Pflanzung. Zwei Entbindungen, die ich beobachten konnte, gingen sehr leicht und schnell vonstatten. Auf dem unteren Teil des Rückens der Kinder konnte ich auch jedesmal grauschwarze Pigmentflecke wahrnehmen, die sogenannten Mongolenflecke.

Gleich nach der Geburt nahm jeweils die Mutter mit ihrem Säugling an dem nahegelegenen Flußufer ein Bad und legte sich dann für ein bis zwei Stunden in ihre Hängematte. Anschließend ging sie, mit dem Säugling auf dem Arm, bereits wieder ihrer gewohnten Beschäftigung nach.

Tritt bei der Entbindung eine Komplikation ein, so wird der Häuptling, welcher zu gleicher Zeit Zauberarzt ist, herbeigeholt.

Im Gegensatz zu den meisten anderen Indianerstämmen zieht man Zwillinge auf. Würde es sich um Drillinge handeln, was jedoch bislang nie vorkam, müßte ein Kind getötet werden, da ja die Mutter nur zwei Brüste hätte. Auch mißgestaltete Kinder tötet man und wirft sie in den Fluß.

Geburtszeremonien gibt es nicht, denn bis zu seinem dritten Lebensjahr gehört das Kind zum Fleisch und Blut der Mutter und erhält vorher auch noch keinen Namen.

d) Säuglings- und Kleinkindalter

Der Säugling und das Kleinkind werden nicht einen Augenblick lang sich selbst überlassen. Geht die Mutter ihrer Hausarbeit nach, oder sammelt sie im Urwald Früchte und Beeren, so trägt sie es in einem Tragband aus Baumbast auf der linken Hüfte, damit sie die rechte Hand zur Arbeit frei hat. Auch nachts schläft es mit ihr zusammen in der Hängematte. Die Brust steht ihm ständig zur Verfügung, so daß es gar nicht

auf die Idee kommt, jemals am Finger zu lutschen. Dadurch erklärt sich vielleicht auch, daß diese Indianer so einwandfreie Gebisse haben. Sobald die Zähne einschießen, läßt man das Kind auf zähem Fleisch herumkauen, um das Zahnen zu erleichtern. Gleichzeitig verhindert die lange Stillzeit, in Verbindung mit der reichlichen Sonnenbestrahlung, das Auftreten von Rachitis. Nach 3—4 Monaten erhält das Kleinkind Zusatzernährung in Gestalt von gekochten, grünen Mehlbananen (*Musa paradisiaca normalis*), die von der Mutter vorgekaut werden, oder einem aus Maniokfladen zubereiteten Brei.

Es ist einfach rührend, zu sehen, wie liebevoll und fürsorglich jede Mutter ihr Kind behandelt. Doch die Liebe des Vaters ist nicht minder groß. Offen bekennt er sich zu dem Kinde und läßt seine Empfindungen von Stolz und Vatergefühl deutlich erkennen[218]), obgleich er sonst in seinen Gefühläußerungen sehr zurückhaltend ist. Kommt er nach einem anstrengenden Jagdzug oder von der Feldarbeit ermüdet in das Gemeinschaftshaus, so vergißt er nie, sich zuerst für längere Zeit seinem kleinen Kinde zu widmen. Er nimmt es entweder auf den Arm und geht ein Stück mit ihm spazieren, oder er legt es neben sich in die Hängematte. Auch bei Wanderungen des Stammes trägt er das Kind oft stundenlang. Eine Tochter liebt er übrigens genauso wie den Sohn.

Innerhalb des ersten Lebensjahres werden den Knaben und Mädchen von der Mutter mittels eines scharfen Palmstachels die Ohrläppchen und die Unterlippe durchbohrt, und die Mädchen erhalten außerdem noch Durchbohrungen in den Mundwinkeln. Damit die Wunden nicht zuheilen, steckt man zeitweilig kleine Holzstäbchen hinein und bewegt sie öfter hin und her.

Hat ein kleines Mädchen dann das erste Lebensjahr vollendet, so wird es von der Mutter mit dem Finger defloriert. Dieses Verfahren dient zur Vorbereitung für den späteren Geschlechtsverkehr.

[218]) Demgegenüber schreibt Alexander von Humboldt bezüglich der Indianer am Orinoco, daß Väter ihren Kindern keine Zuneigung entgegenbringen (A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, S. 153).

Ähnliche Vorgänge beobachtete von Feldner bei den Machacarí-Indianern und beschreibt sie wie folgt: „Nulla inter illas invenitur virgo, quia mater inde a tenera aetate filiae maximam cum cura omnem vaginae constrictionem ingredimentumque amovere studet hoc quidem modo: manui dextrae imponitur folium arboris in infundibuli formam redactum, et dum index, in partes genitales immissus huc et illud movetur, per infundibulum aqua tepida immittitur"[219]. Hierzu bemerkten schon Ploss und Bartels: „Wahrscheinlich sollen diese Manipulationen weniger den Zwecken der Reinigung als der Vorbereitung für die späteren Geschlechtsfunktionen dienen"[220]).

Zu erwähnen ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch ein Brauch, der in Paraguay herrschen soll. Kommt dort ein Mädchen zur Welt, so bohrt ihm die Hebamme den Finger in die Vagina und sagt: Dies ist ein Weib[221]). Leider fehlt jede Angabe über den Ursprung dieser Sitte. Möglich, daß sie von Indianern übernommen wurde, weil ja in Paraguay der indianische Bevölkerungsteil zahlenmäßig am stärksten ist.

Doch bei den meisten südamerikanischen Stämmen, für welche eine künstliche Zerstörung des Jungfernhäutchens bezeugt ist, vorwiegend solche der Tukano- und Pano-Sprachfamilien, aber auch einige der Aruaken und Tupi, wird sie aus zeremoniellen Gründen während des Eintritts der Geschlechtsreife durchgeführt[222]).

Bei den Totonaken in México gehörte es zu den Obliegenheiten zweier Priester, mit ihren Fingern das Hymen weiblicher Säuglinge 28—29 Tage nach der Geburt zu zerstören. Gleichzeitig befahlen sie den Müttern, die Defloration sechs Jahre später mit dem Finger zu wiederholen[223]). Strebel hält diesen Vorgang für eine Kasteiungsrite, die der Beschneidung männlicher Säuglinge entsprach, welche auch von den Priestern durchgeführt wurde. „Schon das Kind sollte seinen Tribut den Göttern

[219]) von Feldner, 1928, II, S. 149, Fußnote.
[220]) Ploss und Bartels, 1927, S. 376.
[221]) Schriftliche Mitteilung von Montagnani an Ploss. (Ploss, 1912, S. 219).
[222]) Fuchs, 1956, S. 79—81.
[223]) Krickeberg, 1928—1922, S. 67.

bringen, und daß man dafür gerade die Geschlechtsteile wählte, ist bei der Bedeutung, den dieselben haben, ebenfalls nahe gelegt, wenn dafür vielleicht auch noch Rücksicht auf einen möglichst geringen Blutverlust mitgewirkt haben kann"[228]).

Demgegenüber ist aber hinsichtlich der Surára und Pakidái festzustellen, daß es bei ihnen keine Beschneidung der Knaben gibt und die Defloration der kleinen Mädchen eindeutig dem späteren Geschlechtsverkehr dient; religiöse Anlässe oder hygienische Gründe sind damit nicht verbunden. Ob es früher einmal anders war, darüber konnten weder die Häuptlinge, noch ältere Männer und Frauen etwas aussagen[229]).

Zu erwähnen ist noch, daß alle Surára- und Pakidái-Väter die Vulva ihrer kleinen Tochter, nach der Zerstörung des Hymens, häufig mit dem Munde berühren und behutsam daran saugen.

Wenn ein Mann zwei oder mehrere Frauen hat, so unterstützen sich diese gegenseitig bei der Betreuung eines Säuglings. Auch die Großmutter, eine Schwester oder die älteste Tochter sind liebevolle Helfer. Viel Umstände verursacht die Säuglingspflege ja nicht, denn regelmäßige Bäder sind unbekannt. Nur wenn die Schmutzkruste etwas zu stark ist, wäscht sie die Mutter beim Wasserholen am Fluß ein wenig ab. Die geringen Waschungen haben den Vorteil, daß die Haut dadurch besser gegen Moskitostiche gefeit ist. Hat das Kind eine unsaubere Nase, dann nimmt sie die Mutter vorsichtig zwischen ihre Zähne, drückt den Inhalt in ihren Mund und spuckt ihn aus. Die Frauen empfanden es im höchsten Grade als unhygienisch, daß ich in ein Taschentuch schnupfte und dasselbe bei mir führte.

Im gleichen Alter wie die Kinder der Zivilisation lernen auch die kleinen Surára und Pakidái laufen und sprechen, wobei sie von ihren Eltern, Geschwistern und Verwandten unterstützt werden. Die Freude der Angehörigen ist groß, und sie sind überglücklich, wenn das Kind stehen und laufen kann und die ersten Worte, nápe = Mutter und hápe = Vater, lallt.

e) Namengebung

Nach Vollendung des 3. Jahres beginnt ein neuer, wichtiger Lebensabschnitt. Die Nährperiode ist beendet, und das Kind, welches bisher zum Fleisch und Blut der Mutter gehörte[229a]), ist ein selbständiger Mensch geworden. Es erhält jetzt auch einen Namen, den man aus dem Tier- oder Pflanzenreich entnimmt. Er wird dem Vater anläßlich seiner im Schnupfpulverrausch durchgeführten Gebete von den auf hohen Bergzügen lebenden gigantischen Tier- und Pflanzengeistern — *hekurá* — genannt, welche die Vermittler zu Poré und Perimbó, dem vereinigten Höchsten Wesen dieser Indianer, darstellen (s. S. 91/92). Das betreffende Tier oder die Pflanze, dessen Namen ein Kind trägt, gilt als eine Art „spiritus familiaris" für das ganze Leben. Damit ist die Vorstellung verknüpft, daß das Schicksal des Kindes von nun an wesensidentisch mit ihnen geworden ist; d. h. Glück, aber auch Not und Sterben von Tieren und Pflanzen, übertragen sich auf die gleichnamigen Menschen.

Die Verwendung von Tiernamen entspricht den nagualistischen Vorstellungen und Gebräuchen, die Eduard Seler in seiner Monographie

[228]) Strebel, 1885, S. 13.

[229]) Interessant ist die Tatsache, daß bei den Itälmen auf Kamtschatka die kleinen Mädchen von ihren Müttern in der gleichen Weise wie bei den Surára und Pakidái und aus demselben Grunde in zartester Jugend defloriert werden. (Steller, 1774, S. 346).

Auch für China und Indonesien ist diese Art der Körperdeformation bezeugt. Dort wird sie jedoch aus hygienischen Gründen angewandt, um den Schleim zu beseitigen, der sich in den Genitalien sammelt. (Ploss, 1912, S. 218/19).

[229a]) Diese Vorstellung ist für südamerikanische Indianer sehr ungewöhnlich. Doch es muß berücksichtigt werden, daß bei den meisten Stämmen die sogenannte Couvade, das Männerkindbett, zur Anwendung kommt. Karl von den Steinen, der jene Sitte auf ihre psychologischen Grundlagen hin untersucht hat, erklärt, daß das Kind in diesem Falle, mag es nun ein Knabe oder ein Mädchen sein, gewissermaßen „der kleine Vater", ein Teil des Vaters ist, also ein Stück seines Leibes. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, S. 334 f.). „Die Thätigkeit der Mutter dabei wird der des Bodens, der die Saat empfängt, verglichen." (von Spix und von Martius, 1831, S. 1339).

über Michuacan erwähnt[335]), während von den Surára und Pakidái auch die Pflanzennamen unter den gleichen Aspekt einbezogen werden. Der Name Nagual wird nach Seler von dem aztekischen Wort naualli = Verkleidung abgeleitet[337]). An Stelle von Nagualismus kann aber auch der Terminus technicus Tonalismus angewandt werden (aztekisch tonalli = jemandes Bestimmung, Schicksal, Seele, Geist...)[338]).

Am Tage der Namengebung erhalten die Kinder eine Tonsur, wie sie alle Erwachsenen beiderlei Geschlechts tragen. Mit der geschärften Seite eines gespaltenen Rohrstückes (Taquara — *Guadua* sp.) wird sie ausrasiert. Gleichzeitig legt man ihnen zum erstenmal die Hüftschnur aus Baumwolle oder Pflanzenfasern an, die sie dann bis zu ihrem Lebensende nie mehr ablegen dürfen, nicht einmal beim Baden oder während des Schlafes. Die Schnur muß zwar gelegentlich erneuert werden, doch das geschieht dann stets in aller Heimlichkeit. Den kleinen Jungen wird beim Anlegen der Hüftschnur gleichzeitig der Penis nach oben gebunden, indem man das Praeputium mittels einer Schlaufe unter die Schnur klemmt (Abb. 22). Von nun an darf der Penis nicht mehr nach unten hängen, denn dies wäre ein Verstoß gegen die guten Sitten. Bei festlichen Anlässen bindet man den Kindern noch zusätzlich einen Gürtel aus Baumwolle um (s. S. 29ff.). Eine dünne Schnur aus Baumwolle oder Pflanzenfasern, welche gelegentlich unterhalb der Knie getragen wird, soll die Beine kräftigen und entsprechende Oberarmschnüre Muskeln (bei Knaben) und Arme (bei Mädchen). Außerdem verwenden kleine Mädchen kreuzförmig geschlungene Brustschnüre, um dadurch später eine schön geformte Brust zu erhalten.

f) Kindheit

Auch im Knaben- und Mädchenalter ist die Familie noch der Hauptträger aller Erziehungsmaßnahmen. Der Knabe ist jetzt zwar etwas mehr dem Vater zugewandt und beginnt sich allmählich von der Mutter zu lösen. Mit seinem Bogen, den ihm der Vater angefertigt hat, übt er sich täglich im Schießen kleiner Vögel, denn man glaubt, daß ein Junge, der viele Vögel erlegt, später ein guter Jäger sein wird. Doch ausgenommen und zubereitet werden sie von den Mädchen, und gemeinsam halten die Kinder dann ein Mahl, zu dem die Geführtinnen häufig gekochte Bananen oder Maniokfladen beisteuern. Im Spiel werden die Kinder regelrecht auf ihre künftigen Aufgaben und Pflichten als Erwachsene vorbereitet. So helfen die Mädchen auch gelegentlich der Mutter und holen ihr Holz und Wasser, oder sie übernehmen die Betreuung kleinerer Geschwister.

Hervorzuheben ist das bescheidene, zuvorkommende Wesen dieser Indianerkinder. Dabei werden sie nie geschlagen und hören weder von ihren Eltern, noch von anderen Erwachsenen jemals ein hartes Wort. Sanfte Ermahnungen genügen, um ein Kind, wenn es wirklich einmal ungezogen ist, zurechtzuweisen. Aber auch bei ihren Spielen kommt es nur selten zu Streitereien, wie sie unter zivilisierten Kindern so häufig sind. Ganz undenkbar wäre es z. B., daß ein Surára- oder Pakidái-Kind zu seiner Mutter läuft, um sich dort über einen Spielgefährten zu beklagen.

Knaben und Mädchen wachsen ganz natürlich und ungezwungen miteinander auf, was sich schon daraus erklärt, daß Alleinspiele zugunsten der Gruppenspiele zurücktreten. Außerordentlich beliebt ist u. a. ein Ballspiel, welches sie mit einer Affenblase durchführen. Mit der flachen Hand wird dieselbe nach oben geschlagen (s. auch S. 113). Mittels Lianen betreiben sie auch eine Art von Tauziehen (s. S. 112). Außerdem ahmen die Knaben oft die Tänze der Männer nach, während von den Mädchen Fadenspiele sehr geschätzt werden. Besonders gern wird „Mutter und Kind" oder „Ehepaar" gespielt. Bei letzterem Spiel kommt es dann häufig schon zu einer Sexualbetätigung. Solange die Kinder das Pubertätsalter noch nicht erreicht haben, lachen die Erwachsenen darüber. Nur die Mütter der Mädchen sind ein wenig ärgerlich, wenn sie davon hören. Doch sie finden dies nicht weiter tragisch, da sie ja als kleine Mädchen von ihren Müttern deswegen auch getadelt wurden.

[335]) Seler, 1908, S. 104/05.
[337]) Seler, 1904, S. 73/76.
[338]) Haekel, 1958, S. 45.

g) Heirat

Im Alter von 7—8 Jahren wird ein Mädchen in der Regel schon verheiratet. Der Ehemann ist meist 8—10 Jahre älter. Doch ein richtiges Eheleben wird noch nicht geführt. Tagsüber spielt die Kleine mit den anderen Kindern, und nur nachts schläft sie in ihrer Hängematte neben dem Gatten. Ein sexueller Verkehr ist aber bis zum Abschluß der zweiten Menstruation streng verboten. Sie holt auch schon Brennholz sowie Wasser und erhält die zubereiteten Speisen für sich und den Mann von ihrer Familie. Wenn der Stamm wandert, trägt sie die Hängematte des Gemahls und die wenigen Haushaltsgegenstände. Mit dieser Heirat im Kindheitsalter sind wirtschaftliche Motive verbunden, denn der junge Mann muß für seine kleine Frau und deren Eltern jagen. Besonders bemerkenswert ist die Schwiegerscheu, welche sich in der Weise auswirkt, daß Schwiegersohn und Schwiegermutter nie miteinander sprechen und sich auch nicht besuchen dürfen. Da bei beiden Stämmen die Angst vor Inzest sehr groß ist, darf eine Ehe, welche stets von den Eltern vereinbart wird, nur zwischen Partnern erfolgen, die in keinem verwandtschaftlichen Verhältnis zueinander stehen. Deshalb werden junge Frauen gern aus einem befreundeten Stamm geholt; in diesem Falle muß der Jüngling dort aber solange leben, bis seine Frau die zweite Menstruation hinter sich gebracht hat. Gelegentlich werden auch junge Mädchen und Frauen von feindlichen Stämmen geraubt. Sie werden aber erst längere Zeit als Gefangene und Prostituierte gehalten, ehe sich ein Mann endgültig mit ihnen verbinden darf. Solch eine kleine Gefangene traf ich bei den Surára an. Sie stammte von dem feindlichen Stamm der Karauateri und war schätzungsweise 15 bis 16 Jahre alt.

Der Surára-Häuptling hat zwei Frauen, eine dritte ist gestorben, und der Pakidái-Häuptling, welcher noch verhältnismäßig jung ist, eine. Auch verschiedene andere Männer haben zwei oder mehrere Frauen. Stirbt der Mann, so werden diese, ohne selbst entscheiden zu können, mit ihren Kindern von einem seiner Brüder, in der Regel von dem jüngeren, übernommen, auch wenn dieser schon verheiratet ist.

Junggesellen haben das Recht auf sexuellen Verkehr mit den Frauen ihrer älteren Brüder, und deren Kinder nennen sie daher auch nicht Onkel, sondern ebenfalls Vater.

h) Pubertätsriten für Mädchen

Mit 9—10 Jahren werden die Surára- und Pakidái-Kinder schon mannbar, was wohl damit zusammenhängt, daß diese Indianer in den heißen, feuchten Regenwäldern der Äquatorialzone leben. Für die Knaben gibt es keine Initiationsriten. Ein Mädchen wird dagegen beim Eintritt der ersten Regel in einem kreisrunden Pferch von 3—4 m Durchmesser, den man ein Stück abseits von der Maloka errichtet, isoliert gehalten; ihr ganzer Körper ist mit Urucu, einer roten Pflanzenfarbe, bemalt. Hier muß die Kleine unbeweglich sitzen und erhält nur einmal am Tage von der Mutter eine Kalebasse voll Bananensuppe und eine zweite mit Wasser. Abends wird sie in das Gemeinschaftshaus geholt, um sich dort schlafen zu legen, aber weder Eltern und Geschwister, noch andere Stammesangehörige dürfen mit ihr sprechen. Am nächsten Morgen kommt sie wieder in den Pferch. Während des zweiten Tages wird ihr von der Mutter oder einer anderen Frau eine punktförmige Tatauierung über der Oberlippe angebracht, die beiderseits des Mundes nach unten, bis zum Kinn verläuft. Das Tatauierungsgerät ist ein spitzer Stachel der Pupunha-Palme. Dieser wird jeweils in den schmutzig-grauen Saft der Genipapo-Frucht getaucht, welcher nach dem Einstich in die Haut einen schwarzblauen Punkt hinterläßt. Jene Prozedur ist für die kleinen Mädchen außerordentlich schmerzhaft. Doch sie ertragen dieselbe mit unbewegtem Gesicht, unterdrücken die Tränen und geben auch keinen Laut von sich. Mit dieser Tatauierung sollen alle bösen, geheimnisvollen Kräfte, welche sich in dem Menstrualblut befinden, und die den Männern Gefahren bringen können, für die Dauer des Lebens einer Frau gebannt werden. Auch beim zweiten Eintritt der Periode wird ein Mädchen nochmals abgesondert, und hiernach findet ein kleines Fest statt. Später treffen die Frauen keine Anstalten, um die monatliche Blutung vor den Blicken der übrigen

Stammesangehörigen, einschließlich der Kinder, zu verbergen. Sie vermeiden es jedoch, in diesen Tagen viel herumzulaufen, und wenn das Blut zu stark fließt, setzen sie sich an das Ufer des nahegelegenen Flusses oder Baches.

i) Initiationsriten junger Männer

Alle jungen Männer, die etwa das Alter von 20 Jahren erlangt haben, müssen sich einem Initiationsritus unterziehen. Derselbe findet jeweils zu Beginn der Trockenzeit statt, zwischen Oktober—Dezember, auf halbem Wege zwischen ihren Winterquartieren und der großen, offenen Maloka, wo beide Stämme gemeinsam die Sommerzeit verbringen und das große Totenerinnerungsfest feiern. In solch einem Zwischenlager (Beschreibung des Zwischenlagers der Surára s. S. 11) werden jeweils zwei junge Männer zwei Monate lang von dem Häuptling und einem erfahrenen Gehilfen (Hewemõo und sein Bruder Kurikayawõ bei den Surára; Karenauõ und der Kriegshäuptling Porõhiwõ bei den Pakidái) in allen Fragen der Religion, Magie, Mythologie, Krankenheilung und Stammestradition ausgebildet. Erst danach gelten sie als vollwertige Mitglieder ihrer Gemeinschaften und dürfen von jetzt an selbständig Krankenbehandlungen und Gebete verrichten. Dabei ist zu erwähnen, daß es für jede Krankheit bestimmte Melodien, Texte und Tanzschritte gibt. Dasselbe gilt auch für die Gebete, mit denen sich die einzelnen Männer vor und nach einer Reise, nach Erlegung eines größeren Wildes, vor der Anlage einer Roça (Waldrodung), nach erfolgreicher Ernte usw. an die gigantischen Tier- und Pflanzengeister (*hekurd*, s. S. 92) wenden. Alle diese magischen Handlungen können jedoch nur im Schnupfpulverrausch erfolgen (s. S. 93).

Während der Ausbildung dürfen die Kandidaten mit keinem Stammesangehörigen sprechen, sie gelten in dieser Zeit als tot und erlangen nach zwei Monaten eine initiatorische Wiedergeburt. Rein äußerlich erkennt man die beiden Kandidaten an ihrer Körperbemalung, welche aus sechs senkrechten schlangenförmigen Linien besteht, die mittels Urucu auf Brust und Bauch aufgetragen werden. Bei diesen Linien handelt es sich um die symbolische Darstellung der Surucucu (*Lachesis muta* L.), jener über 3 m langen, gefährlichsten Giftschlange Südamerikas. Die Bemalung soll dazu beitragen, Gefahren zu bannen, die von dieser und anderen Giftschlangen ausgehen. Als tägliche Nahrung dürfen die beiden Kandidaten nur eine reife Banane und ein halbes Liter Wasser zu sich nehmen. Nach zwei Monaten sind sie dann stark abgemagert und scheinen nur noch aus Haut und Knochen zu bestehen. Um das Hunger- und Durstgefühl zu unterdrücken, haben sie ständig die mit Wasser und Asche vermischte Tabakrolle zwischen Unter- bzw. Oberlippe und Zähnen (s. S. 88). Außerdem müssen sie sich täglich mehrmals große Prisen von Schnupfpulver in die Nase blasen, damit ihr Kontakt zu den gigantischen Tier- und Pflanzengeistern — *hekurd* — hergestellt wird. So verbringen sie ihre Schulungszeit in einem regelrechten Trancezustand.

Es ist bemerkenswert, daß die Initiationsriten der männlichen Stammesmitglieder verhältnismäßig spät erfolgen, und daß so nach und nach alle Männer als Medizinmannsgehilfen ausgebildet werden. Man will dadurch erreichen, so erklärte mir der Surára-Häuptling Hewemõo, daß sie sich und ihre Familien notfalls selbst gegen Krankheiten und Unglücksfälle schützen können. Wird ein Mann unterwegs z. B. von einer Giftschlange oder einem Jaguar bedroht, so ist er nun in der Lage, die Gefahr durch Anrufung der Schutzgeister zu bannen. Er darf es aber nie unterlassen, sich nach einem glücklich verlaufenem Jagdzug oder nach einer guten Ernte bei den *Hekurd* zu bedanken, da er sich sonst deren Zorn zuziehen würde. Auch wenn seine Frau, eines seiner Kinder oder ein Verwandter erkrankt, muß er zunächst selbst versuchen, die Krankheit durch Gesang und Tanz, wobei er die Hekurá anruft, zu dem feindlichen Stamm, von welchem sie gesandt wurde, zurückzuschleudern. Erst wenn seine Versuche erfolglos bleiben, kann er den Häuptling um Beistand bitten, der dann dann auch stets bereit ist und mit Unterstützung von 8—9 Gehilfen eine große *Rekurd* (Krankenheilung) durchführt. So sieht man bei den Surára und Pakidái während des Tages

und in der Nacht häufig eines, oft auch mehrere Männer, die gerade beten oder bei einem Familienangehörigen Heilversuche unternehmen. Vorher müssen sie jedoch Schnupfpulver zu sich genommen haben, weil ja der Kontakt zu den Hekurá nur im Rausch erfolgen kann. Die Gesänge wirken etwas monoton und sind mit Tierlauten, tierischen Bewegungen, wie Flügelschlagen, Hüpfen usw., vermischt. Die übrigen Stammesangehörigen nehmen von solchen Gebeten und Zauberhandlungen keine Notiz. Nur die Häuptlinge und ihre Ausbildungsgehilfen hören gelegentlich genauer zu. Manchmal kam es dann vor, daß Hewemäo den Kopf schüttelte und zu mir sagte, daß dieser oder jener Mann ganz falsch bete; sicher hätte er beim Unterricht nicht genügend aufgepaßt. Stellt er häufiger solche Mängel fest, kann es passieren, daß er den betreffenden Mann auffordert, erneut an einer zweimonatigen Schulung teilzunehmen, damit dieser seine Kenntnisse vertieft.

In ähnlicher Form ist jene Art von Schulung auch für die Jívaro belegt, wo angehende Schamanen eine einmonatige Instruktion erhalten, in deren Verlauf der Neophyt ebenfalls zu fasten hat und verschiedene Drogen, einschließlich der Tabakbrühe und Cayapí, trinken muß. Die Ausbildungskosten sind jedoch sehr hoch[329]). Für die jungen Surára- und Pakidái-Männer ist der Unterricht zwar kostenlos, aber eben auch obligatorisch.

j) Geschlechtsleben

Das Verhalten der Geschlechter zueinander ist in der Öffentlichkeit außerordentlich dezent. Küsse, Umarmungen oder andere Zärtlichkeitsbezeigungen sind ihnen unbekannt. Körperliche Liebesbeweise werden im Urwald vollzogen, ein Stück abseits von der Maloka, oder im Dunkel der Nacht, wenn man annimmt, daß die übrigen Stammesangehörigen schlafen. Auch Jagdzüge bieten hierzu eine günstige Gelegenheit, weil die Frau ihren Mann ja gelegentlich begleitet. Da manche Männer zwei Frauen haben, gehen sie abwechselnd mit der ersten und mit der zweiten jagen.

[329]) Stirling, 1938, S. 117/18.

Ist eine Frau schwanger, so soll sie häufig mit anderen Männern zusammenkommen, weil man annimmt, daß ihr Kind nur dadurch kräftig werden kann. Doch es muß in aller Heimlichkeit geschehen, denn wenn ihr Mann sie mit einem Buhler beim Coitus überrascht, so fordert er diesen zu einem Stockduell, und sie selbst wird von ihm mißhandelt[330]).

Jüngere, unverheiratete Brüder haben das Recht, sich mit den Frauen ihrer älteren Brüder körperlich zu vereinigen. Doch die Eifersucht der letzteren verhindert oftmals die Ausführung, welche aber bei passender Gelegenheit nachgeholt wird, denn auch die Frauen sind mit dieser Sitte durchaus einverstanden[331]).

Bei den Surára traf ich ein etwa 15—16jähriges hübsches, zartes Mädchen an, Nikeromá, vom feindlichen Stamm der Karanateri (Abb. 17 u. 18), die als Gefangene gehalten wurde und Gemeingut aller Männer war, sowohl der ledigen als auch der verheirateten. Bei einem Überfall auf ihre Maloka war sie in die Hände der Surára gefallen. Sie lebte mit der alten Witwe Xututumi und deren ebenfalls verwitweten Tochter Haikiamá zusammen. Tagsüber betreute sie gelegentlich kleine Kinder, lauste die Frauen der Häuptlinge, rieb Maniok oder preßte die geriebene Masse aus, sie zog auch Perlen auf oder fertigte einen Gürtel an. Bei Einbruch der Dunkelheit holte sie sich stets Holz für die Nacht, genau wie die übrigen weiblichen Stammesangehörigen. Als einzige Frau nahm sie mehrere Male am Tag ein Bad und führte mit den anderen kleinen Mädchen kindliche Spiele aus. Ab und zu ging sie auch mit den anderen Frauen in den Urwald, um Früchte zu sammeln. Nie habe ich sie untätig gesehen. Wenn sie arbeitet, so ist dies aber ihr freier Wille. Doch gleichzeitig muß sie stets für alle Männer bereit sein, zu jeder Stunde des Tages oder der Nacht. Dabei kommt ein Mann fast nie allein, sondern meist schließen sich ihm 4, 5 oder mehr an. Sie fragen dann nicht, ob sie Lust hat, schläft, arbeitet oder vielleicht krank ist. Einer ergreift sie am Arm oder an den Haaren und zieht mit ihr hinaus in

[330]) Bucher, 1959, S. 162.

[331]) Dieser polyandrische Zug findet sich auch in der Mythe vom Ursprung der Menschen (s. S. 113).

den Urwald, und die anderen folgen. Besonders wenn die Männer Gemeinschaftsarbeiten im Urwald zu verrichten haben, d. h. für einen Hausbau Bäume fällen, Palmblätter und Lianen sammeln, so wird Nikeromá regelmäßig mitgenommen, ob sie will oder nicht. Falls sie sich wehrt oder Einwände erhebt, so versetzt ihr ein Mann mittels seines Stockes einen Schlag auf die Tonsur, welche schon voller Narben ist, oder er ritzt ihr mit dem scharfen Cutiazahnmesserchen (s. S. 54) den Körper blutig.

Bemerkenswert ist es, daß die verheirateten Männer nicht etwa heimlich mit Nikeromá in den Urwald gehen, sondern ganz offen. Wenn ich mit dem Stamm wanderte, konnte ich bei der Mittagsrast oft beobachten, daß ein Ehemann plötzlich auf die kleine Gefangene zuging, sie am Arm faßte und mit ihr ein Stück abseits ging, während fünf bis sechs andere Männer folgten. Die übrigen Anwesenden, Männer, Frauen und Kinder, lachten darüber. Die Ehefrauen waren allerdings etwas ärgerlich und warfen ihren Männern ab und zu ein Stück Holz nach, machten dann aber eine gute Miene zum bösen Spiel und stimmten ebenfalls, wenn auch etwas süßsauer, in das Gelächter ein. Kehrten die Männer dann nach etwa einer Stunde mit Nikeromá zurück, setzten wir unseren Marsch fort. Die Frauen haben sich schon mit diesem Verhalten ihrer Ehepartner abgefunden und vergnügen sich dafür bei passender Gelegenheit mit anderen Männern. Doch an der kleinen Gefangenen lassen sie ihren Ärger niemals aus. Deren Tätigkeit, zu der sie ja gezwungen wird, hat auch nichts Ehrenrühriges an sich, denn verschiedene Ehefrauen mußten sich vor ihrer Heirat in gleicher Weise hingeben. Doch die kleine Nikeromá konnte sich nur schwer mit ihrem Geschick abfinden, immer war sie ernst und traurig, ja fast schwermütig und litt sehr unter Heimweh. Doch eines Tages, wenn man erneut Frauen und Mädchen von einem feindlichen Stamm erbeutet hat, wird sie von einem Surára-Mann geheiratet werden.

Zu erwähnen ist noch, daß der Surára-Häuptling streng darauf achtet, daß Nikeromá stets reichlich mit Fleisch u. a. Nahrungsmitteln versorgt wird. Er selbst und seine Brüder behandeln die kleine Gefangene sehr gut, und niemals habe ich sie mit ihr in den Urwald gehen sehen.

Die Pakidái hatten zwei gefangene Makuxi-Frauen.

In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich auf eine sehr ähnliche Beobachtung von Ehrenreich bei den Sambioa (Karajá) verweisen, die der Forscher wie folgt beschreibt: „Im übrigen sind ledige Männer, welche sich dem weiblichen Geschlecht zuwenden wollen, auf den Verkehr mit den gefangenen, in Halbsklaverei gehaltenen Kayapofrauen angewiesen, deren bei den Sambioa wenigstens jedes Dorf einige beherbergt. Dieselben gelten als Allgemeingut. Leider sieht man aber auch Kinder zu ähnlichen Zwecken verwendet. Hier zeigt sich deutlich der Dualismus in der Etikette der Wilden, deren Moralgesetze nur den eigenen Stammesangehörigen gegenüber gelten. Diese allen Naturvölkern gemeinsame Anschauung vermag deshalb nicht unser Urteil über die Moralität der Karaja im Allgemeinen zu ändern"[227].

k) Tod und Bestattungsbräuche

Wie die bisherigen Ausführungen zeigten, gibt es bei den Surára und Pakidái weder Geburts-, noch Heiratszeremonien. Umsomehr wird dafür das soziale und religiöse Leben von Totenbräuchen beherrscht.

Stirbt ein Mensch, der das dritte Lebensjahr vollendet hat, so sind die Verwandten untröstlich. In den lautesten Tönen wird gejammert, und bei Männern, Frauen und Kindern will der Tränenstrom kein Ende nehmen. Trotzdem vernachlässigt man dabei nicht die gewohnte Beschäftigung. Während z. B. die Frau das Wasser vom Fluß holt, weint sie ununterbrochen vor sich hin und schreit zwischendurch laut auf, dasselbe trifft für die Männer bei ihren Arbeiten in der Pflanzung zu und selbst für die Kinder natürlich ihrer Spiele. Die übrigen Stammesangehörigen werfen nur ab und zu einen mitleidigen Blick auf die Trauernden, womit sich ihre Anteilnahme erschöpft.

Unmittelbar nach dem Todesfall ist es die Aufgabe der männlichen Verwandten und

[227] Ehrenreich, 1891, S. 56.

Freunde im Urwald kleine Bäume zu fällen, aus denen sie ein zylinderförmiges Holzgerüst — *frontimá* — anfertigen. Dasselbe besteht aus fünfzehn bis zwanzig 1,60—1,80 m langen Stangen, die, in Handbreite voneinander entfernt, mittels Lianen verbunden werden. Hierhinein wird die Leiche geschoben, und über die beiden offenen Enden zieht man Lianenschnüre, damit sie vor Zugriffen von Vögeln, besonders Geiern, geschützt ist.

Bei den Pakidái bot sich mir der traurige Anlaß, eine Bestattungszeremonie mitzuerleben, die dem blühenden, kräftigen und lebensfrohen Hokotómarimá galt, einem unverheirateten Jüngling, dessen Alter höchstens 19 Jahre betrug. Er war vom Gipfel einer Pupunha-Palme (*Guilielma speciosa* Mart.) gestürzt (die Lianenumwicklung seines Kletterapparates, s. S. 56, war offenbar nicht fest genug gewesen) und muß sich innerliche Verletzungen zugezogen haben. Alle Heilversuche des Häuptlings und seiner Gehilfen, welche zwei Tage und Nächte ununterbrochen durchgeführt wurden, blieben erfolglos.

Nachdem man den toten Hokotómarimá in das Holzgerüst geschoben hatte, schafften ihn fünf Krieger, deren Körper vollständig mit Urucu bemalt waren, unter lauten Klagen aus der Maloka. Jeweils zwei Männer trugen das Gestell, einer vorn und einer hinten; ab und zu wurden sie von den Begleitern abgelöst. Die Frauen seiner Verwandtschaft, teilweise mit den Kindern auf der Hüfte oder an der Hand, gaben ihm, unter herzzerreißenden, schrillen Jammertönen und endlos fließenden Tränen, das letzte Geleit bis zum Rande des Urwaldes. Dann gingen die fünf Männer mit dem Toten allein weiter. (Der Häuptling nahm nicht teil, er würde es nur dann tun, wenn es sich um einen verstorbenen Verwandten handelt). Nach einem Marsch von etwa 20 Minuten hielten sie plötzlich an, setzten das Gestell ab und suchten einen geeigneten Baum aus, um es in dessen Wipfel aufzuhängen. Als sie ihn gefunden hatten, in diesem Falle einen hohen Imbaúbabaum (*Cecropia palmata* Wild.) — *tohori* —, kletterten zwei Mann hinauf, um deren Hals je zwei lange Lianen (*Cipó-titica*) hingen. Sie wählten einen besonders dicken Ast, ließen dann die Lianen hinunter, wo ihre Begleiter sie an dem Holzgerüst anbanden, und zogen dasselbe mit dem darin liegenden Toten nach oben. Als das Gerüst fest und sicher an dem Ast hing, kletterten sie wieder herab.

Gleich darauf traten die fünf Männer den Rückweg in die Maloka an. Doch unterwegs schlug der Bruder des Toten in einen Baum, dessen Namen der Verstorbene trug — *hokotómarimá* —, Matamataziro (*Eschweilera matamata* Hub.), mit seinem Terçado (großes Buschmesser) am unteren Teil des Stammes tiefe Kerben ein, die folgendes Aussehen hatten ..... und sich um den ganzen Stamm herumzogen. Dadurch sollte der Baum zum Absterben gebracht werden. Hätte der Tote z. B. einen Tiernamen getragen, wäre es die Aufgabe des Bruders oder eines Verwandten gewesen, solch ein Tier zu erlegen. Denn mit dem Toten muß auch ein Tier oder eine Pflanze gleichen Namens getötet, bzw. zum Absterben gebracht werden (s. S. 64/65).

Während der Tote im Wipfel des Imbaúbabaumes hing, gingen die Klagen seiner Verwandten in der Maloka weiter, und selbst die Kinder standen ihren Eltern darin nicht nach. Nachts wachten stets ein oder zwei Männer, manchmal auch eine Frau, die zu gleicher Zeit sangen, weinten und zwischendurch schrille Laute ausstießen. Die übrigen Stammesangehörigen ließen sich aber dadurch nicht in ihrem Schlaf stören.

Siebzehn Tage nach dem Tode von Hokotómarimá begann der zweite Teil der Bestattungszeremonie. Die männlichen Verwandten fällten erneut Bäume und errichteten unter dem Imbaúbabaum, in dessen Wipfel der Tote hing, einen Scheiterhaufen; außerdem säuberten sie an dieser Stelle den Urwald, so daß ein größerer freier Platz gewonnen wurde. Am Nachmittag des achtzehnten Tages bemalten sich dann alle Pakidái-Männer mit Urucu und zogen unter Führung des Häuptlings Karonauó laut singend und gleichzeitig weinend zum Ort des Toten. Alle zurückbleibenden Frauen und Kinder weinten ebenfalls inbrünstig, auch die, welche nicht mit dem Toten verwandt waren. Die

Männer trugen Bogen und Pfeile in den Händen, einige führten daneben Schnupfpulver mit sich und die Rohre zum Einblasen desselben. Der Bruder hatte außerdem noch die Waffen und Werkzeuge des Toten sowie Schalen der Jamaru-Frucht — *kuutú* —.

Als der Zug den Imbaúbabaum erreicht hatte, kletterten wieder zwei Verwandte hinauf und ließen das Holzgerüst vorsichtig hinunter, wo es von den übrigen Kriegern in Empfang genommen und so auf den Scheiterhaufen gestellt wurde, daß der Kopf des Verstorbenen dem aufgehenden Mond zugewandt war. Bei dem toten Mann handelte es sich aber nur noch um ein Skelett. Das Fleisch war inzwischen verfault und durch die Stäbe nach unten gefallen, wo es Geier, Ameisen u. a. Tiere aufgefressen hatten. Seine Waffen und Geräte legte der Bruder auf das Holzgerüst, damit sie Hokotónarimá im Totenreich zur Verfügung ständen. Mehrere Fleischstücke, Bananen, etwas Maniokmehl und die volle Kalebasse eines Palmgetränkes sollten als Wegzehrung dienen.

Kurz vor dem Untergang der Sonne wurde mit Hilfe des Feuerbohrers ein hell loderndes Feuer entfacht, womit man den Scheiterhaufen anzündete. Danach bliesen sich die Männer gegenseitig das Schnupfpulver in die Nase, gerieten nach wenigen Minuten in einen Rauschzustand, in dem sie singend und schreiend um die Flammen, welche zum Toten emporzüngelten, herumtanzten. Dies war die Anrufung der *Hekurá*, die der Totenseele bei ihrer Wanderung zum Monde beistehen sollten (s. S. 92/93). Der Häuptling stieß laut seine Bittgebete aus, und alle übrigen Männer fielen im Chor ein. Zwischendurch bliesen sich die Männer immer wieder neues Schnupfpulver in die Nase, so daß sich ihre Ekstase ständig steigerte und schließlich einen unvorstellbaren Höhepunkt erreichte, als das Feuer Besitz von dem Skelett ergriff. Es schienen keine menschlichen Wesen mehr zu sein, die jetzt brüllend, stampfend und gestikulierend um den Scheiterhaufen herumtobten. Es hatte den Anschein, als ob sie ihrer Sinne nicht mehr mächtig waren, und infolge des Schnupfpulverrausches befanden sie sich wohl auch tatsächlich in einer anderen Welt. Der Anblick wirkte auf mich wie ein Alptraum und erweckte in mir Erinnerungen an Gemälde von Hieronymus Bosch. Die Wanderung der in den Knochen befindlichen Seele des Toten, in Begleitung der Baumseele, hatte begonnen, und die Hekurá ebneten ihnen den Weg. Währenddessen war die Nacht hereingebrochen, und der Mond, welchen ich plötzlich in seiner ganzen Größe zwischen den Wipfeln der Bäume am Himmel wahrnahm, schien seinen neuen Bewohner zu erwarten. Trotz der Hitze, die noch durch das Feuer des Scheiterhaufens verstärkt wurde, liefen mir kalte Schauer über den Rücken, und ein unbeschreibliches Angstgefühl zog mir das Herz zusammen. Obgleich ich bei dieser Zeremonie kein Pulver geschnupft hatte, befand ich mich selbst in einem wahren Fieberrausch. Denn nie zuvor erlebte ich eine so grandiose Szenerie, weder in einer Kirche, noch in einem Theater, wie hier, im nächtlichen Urwald Amazoniens.

Bis zum Morgengrauen dehnte sich diese Totenfeier aus. Doch nach Mitternacht tanzten und sangen nur noch wenige Männer, welche gleichzeitig die Aufgabe hatten, den Scheiterhaufen im Gange zu halten. Die anderen Krieger lagen vor Erschöpfung auf dem Boden und schliefen. Gelegentlich wurde einer von den Tanzenden angestoßen. Er erhob sich sofort, ließ sich Schnupfpulver in die Nase blasen und tanzte singend um den Scheiterhaufen herum, während sich ein anderer zum Schlafen niederlegte. Schließlich tanzten und sangen nur noch zwei Männer. Doch etwa eine Stunde vor Sonnenaufgang wurden alle Schläfer geweckt, die sogleich wieder Pulver schnupften, und erneut begann ein wilder Tanz mit Gesang, bis zum Einbruch der Morgendämmerung. Vor der Sonne (sie wird ebenfalls als männliches Wesen betrachtet), dem ärgsten Feind des Mondes, muß die Totenzeremonie ähnlich geheimgehalten werden, weil diese sonst die Wanderung der Seele behindern würde. Laut anhaltende, schrille, freudige Schreie bildeten den Abschluß und gaben zu erkennen, daß die Totenseele Eingang in den Mond gefunden hatte. Dann stellten sich alle Krieger laut schluchzend im Kreis um den niedergebrannten Scheiterhaufen, während der

Bruder und andere Verwandte die verkohlten Knochenreste aus der Asche aufsammelten. Nachdem man dieselben dann mittels kleiner Steinmörser in Cujen zerstampft hatte, wurde die Knochenasche in zwei Schalen der Jamaru-Frucht geschüttet, welche der Bruder des Toten mit Palmblättern und einer Lianenbindung verschloß. Hierauf überreichte er sie dem Häuptling, der jede einzelne in Richtung des Mondes emporhob und sie singend segnete, wobei die umstehenden Männer schrille Schreie ausstießen. Damit war das Ende der Zeremonie erreicht, und die erschöpften Krieger konnten wieder in ihre Maloka zurückkehren, um sich in den Hängematten von der anstrengenden Nacht zu erholen. Der Bruder des Verstorbenen band die beiden Jamaru-Schalen mit der darin befindlichen Knochenasche im Hintergrund seiner Feuerstelle an das Sparrenwerk des Daches, um sie für das jährlich einmal stattfindende große Totenerinnerungsfest aufzubewahren, bei welchem von den Männern die Knochenasche ihrer Toten, vermischt mit Bananensuppe, getrunken wird (s. S. 106ff.). Von jetzt ab wurde in der Maloka nicht mehr geklagt und geweint; das tägliche Leben hatte wieder seinen normalen Verlauf angenommen.

Auch nach dem Tode von Frauen und Kindern, sobald sie das dritte Lebensjahr vollendet haben, verlaufen die Totenfeiern genau in der gleichen Weise. Für einen verstorbenen Häuptling wird dagegen drei Nächte lang um den Scheiterhaufen getanzt, weil dessen Eintritt in den Mond natürlich besonders feierlich gestaltet werden muß.

Ganz anders verläuft die Zeremonie für einen alten Menschen. Ihm schlägt man nach dem Eintritt des Todes den Kopf ab und hängt denselben, ebenfalls in einem kleinen Holzgestell, in den Wipfel eines Baumes, auch wieder 15—20 Minuten von der Maloka entfernt. Der Körper wird dagegen ohne Zeremoniell im Urwald erdbestattet, und zwar im Hockstz, wobei man ihn fest mit Lianen umschnürt. Hierdurch soll seine eventuelle Rückkehr verhindert werden, weil diese schreckliche Folgen für den Stamm hätte. Der Kopf wird jedoch unter gleichen Umständen, wie oben geschildert, auf einem kleinen Scheiterhaufen verbrannt, damit die Seele im aufsteigenden Rauch zum Monde gelangt; die zurückbleibende Knochenasche bewahrt man ebenfalls auf.

Der Grund für die verschiedenartige Bestattung von jüngeren und älteren Menschen ist folgender: Bei der jährlich stattfindenden großen Totenerinnerungsfeier, die gemeinsam mit den Surára durchgeführt wird (s. S. 102ff.), trinken alle Männer die mit Bananensuppe vermischte Knochenasche ihrer verstorbenen Angehörigen, weil sie glauben, daß dadurch Kraft und Geist dieser Toten innerhalb der Stämme verbleiben. Von alten Personen nimmt man dagegen an, daß ihre Körper schon zu ausgelaugt seien, so daß deren Asche keine Kräfte mehr übertragen kann. Nur die Knochenasche des Kopfes gilt noch als wertvoll.

Wenn Stammesangehörige sehr alt oder so schwer erkrankt sind, daß sie trotz aller Heilversuche nicht mehr an den gemeinsamen Wanderungen teilnehmen können, werden sie getötet. Zu diesem Zweck findet vorher eine Versammlung des Häuptlings und älterer, erfahrener Männer statt, wobei ein Teilnehmer bestimmt wird, der die Tötung vorzunehmen hat. Er verwendet dazu einen Stock und schlägt die betreffende Person, wenn sie gerade schläft, mehrere Male so stark auf den Kopf, bis sie ihr Leben ausgehaucht hat[***]). Diese dem Tode geweihten Stammesangehörigen werden also in durchaus humaner Weise in das Jenseits befördert, und selbst die Tötung an sich wird von menschenfreundlichen Regungen diktiert. Da solche Alten und Kranken ja nicht mehr an der gewohnten halbnomadischen Lebensweise teilnehmen können, müßten sie hilflos zurückbleiben, wenn der Stamm zu einer neuen Wanderung aufbricht. Doch das soll vermieden

[***]) In ähnlicher Weise werden alte und kranke Personen bei den Iparina getötet. „Man'fasuale Louis," so schreibt Ehrenreich, „sollen nicht selten von den Zauberern durch Keulenschläge ins Jenseits befördert werden." (Ehrenreich, 1891, S. 70). Bei den Pianoa-Indianern werden sehr schwache Alte lebend in eine Hütte eingemauert. Sie bekommen noch für mehrere Tage Speisen und Getränke und sterben, wenn diese aufgebraucht sind, an Entkräftung. (Marquis de Wavrin, 1944, S. 197/98).

werden, und gleichzeitig will man ihnen den Weg zum Monde, dem Paradies der Toten, eröffnen. Nach ihrem Tode werden sie in der gleichen Weise verbrannt wie alle anderen Verstorbenen, d. h. von alten Menschen wird ebenfalls nur der Kopf verbrannt, und auch ihre Knochenasche wird aufbewahrt und beim Totenerinnerungsfest getrunken.

Größer als die Furcht vor dem Tode ist bei allen Surára und Pakidái der Gedanke, daß sie einmal sterben müssen, z. B. bei kriegerischen Handlungen, ohne verbrannt zu werden, denn dann ist ihrer Seele der Eingang in den Mond versperrt (s. S. 91).

Blutschänder werden nach ihrem Ableben von der Verbrennung ausgeschlossen, und man trauert auch nicht um sie, weil Inzest als schwerstes Verbrechen angesehen wird. Poré (s. S. 91) will deren Seelen nicht auf dem Mond haben, und der Genuß ihrer Knochenasche würde ungünstige Einflüsse auf die männlichen Stammesangehörigen ausüben. Sie werden deshalb im Hocksitz zusammengebunden und in einem Erdloch verscharrt.

Sterben Kinder vor Vollendung des dritten Lebensjahres, so werden sie ohne jegliche Feierlichkeit in den Fluß geworfen, da sie ja zum Fleisch und Blut der Mutter gehören und noch keine eigene Seele haben (s. S. 64).

Für die Bestattungsarten der Surára und Pakidái, welche sicher sehr alt und ursprünglich sind, gibt es in Südamerika noch keine Parallelen[324]). Dies betrifft sowohl die kombinierte Baum- und Brandbestattung als auch die Erdbestattung alter Leute. Ein toter Stammesangehöriger wird aber nur deshalb für zwei bis drei Wochen in eine Baumkrone gehängt, damit sein Fleisch verfault, bevor die Knochen anschließend verbrannt werden.

Letztere Sitte, jedoch in Form einer kombinierten Erd- und Brandbestattung, wird übrigens schon in alten Quellen erwähnt. „Weit in dem Lande," schreibt Barrère bezüglich Guayanas, „sind Nationen, welche sich versammeln, um die Gebeine auszugraben, wenn sie glauben, daß der Leichnam bey nahe verfault sey, und nachdem sie solche calcinirt haben, trinken sie die Asche, welche sie in Roucou einweichen, und glauben, daß sie den Todten dadurch ein anständigeres Begräbniß geben, als wenn sie dieselben den Würmern und der Fäulniß überließen"[325]). Ähnliches berichten Froger von Französisch Guayana[326]) und de la Neuville und Biet von einem Teil der Festlandkaraiben[327]). Die Surára und Pakidái sind dagegen der Ansicht, daß die in den Knochen befindliche Seele nur dann zum Monde emporfahren könne, wenn vorher das Fleisch verfault sei und nunmehr dem Austritt nicht mehr hindernd im Wege steht.

Auch die Gewohnheit, den Leichnam solange im Freien aufzuhängen, bis er in Fäulnis übergeht, ist, jedoch nicht in Verbindung mit einer anderen Bestattungsart, bereits für das 17. Jahrhundert bezeugt. Hierüber liegen Angaben von Coreal vor, welche die Chevelus (Amaguaxe oder Encabellados — Angehörige der Tukano-Sprachfamilie) betreffen, die zu beiden Seiten des Putumayo lebten: „Ils n'enseveliissent point leurs morts, mais ils les pendent à l'air jusqu'à ce que la chair se pourrisse: aprés cela ils gardent les os comme des Reliques"[328]).

5. Krieg — ulanyu —

Die Yanomámi sind, wie schon oben erwähnt (s. S. 6), in zwei antagonistische Lager aufgespalten, die Xiriána und Waiká, mit ihren kleineren Trabantenstämmen. Zwischen diesen beiden „Machtblöcken" einerseits und gegenüber den äußeren Feinden (Karaiben und Aruaken) anderseits, besteht eine immerwährende, offene Feindschaft. Man beschäftigt sich gegenseitig der Neigung zu Diebstahl und

[324]) Bei den Waiká wird der Leichnam noch am gleichen Tage auf dem Dorfplatz verbrannt. (Ferrin, 1955b, S. 664).

[325]) Barrère, 1731, S. 132.

[326]) „Ils ont beaucoup de respect pour les vieillards, & lorsqu'il meurt quelqu'un d'eux, ils l'enterrent dans la Carbet (Maloka) avec notre ceremonie que de se bien en yvrer: mais lorsqu'ils croyent à peu prés qu'il est pourry, ils assemblent les Indiens des Carbets voisins, deterrent les os, les brûlent, & en mettent la cendre dans leur Ollieve pour en faire un grand regal." (Froger, 1715, S. 178).

[327]) Laët, 1924, II, S. 444 ff.

[328]) Coreal, 1722, I, S. 292.

führt jede Krankheit und jeden Todesfall auf die Zauberei seiner Angehöriger feindlicher Stämme zurück. Daher spielt auch die Blut-rache — *warfa* — [illegible] Haupturache aller Kriege häufig damit zusammen, daß man es für notwendig erachtet, Frauen und Mädchen feindlicher Stämme und Gruppen zu rauben, damit dem eigenen Stammesverband frisches Blut zugeführt wird. Da viele Stämme verhältnismäßig klein sind, erfordert eine zunehmende Verschwägerung zwar schon bis zu einem gewissen Grade die Exogamie[288]) und bedeutendere Stammesverbände stehen deshalb in einem Connubium. Mit der Zeit ergeben sich aber auch hier wieder starke verwandtschaftliche Bindungen, daß schließlich, auch infolge der bevorzugten Polygynie, ein regelrechter Frauenmangel herrscht, der besonders von den jüngeren, bisher noch unverheirateten Männern sehr schmerzlich empfunden wird[289]). So berichtet man deshalb, wie mir von Gewährsleuten berichtet wurde, ab und zu Überfälle auf feindliche Stämme vor, die im Morgengrauen, ohne jegliche Kriegserklärung, erfolgen[290]). Aber auch an geplanten Überfällen der Xirúna nehmen sich Surára- und Pakidái-Krieger beteiligen. Sie werden stets von dem Kriegshäuptling angeführt (der Häuptling, seine Brüder und Söhne nehmen nicht an kriegerischen Handlungen teil (s. S. 60), ebensowenig die Frauen[291]) und brechen bereits am Vortage des beabsichtigten Überfalls auf. Alle Teilnehmer malen sich mit Urucu waagerechte schlangenförmige Linien auf Körper und Gesicht. Dies ist die typische Kriegsbemalung, denn in Friedenszeiten werden die schlangenförmigen Linien stets senkrecht aufgetragen[292]). In der Nähe der feindlichen Maloka verbringen sie ruhig die [illegible] Stunden, schlafen, ruhen, [illegible] Im Morgengrauen blasen sich die Krieger gegenseitig große Mengen von Schnupfpulver in die Nase und stürmen dann, völlig entblößt, doch in aller Stille, auf die feindliche Maloka zu. Rücksichtslos werden Männer und Knaben durch Pfeilschüsse getötet, und die Frauen und Mädchen schleppt man als Gefangene mit. Aber auch die Angreifer haben oft große Verluste zu verzeichnen, und es soll vorkommen, daß sie in die Flucht geschlagen werden.

Während meines Aufenthalts unter den Surára hörte ich von einem Überfall seitens der Xirúna und verbündeter Krieger auf eine Maloka der Waikó am Rio Mapulon, einem linken Nebenfluß des oberen Demini (s. S. 8). Hierbei, so berichtete man mir, wären alle Waikó-Männer getötet worden, und die Frauen und Mädchen hätte man als Gefangene in die Xirúna-Maloka gebracht. Den Kopf des Waikó-Häuptlings, so fügte der Kriegshäuptling der Surára hinzu, schmückten die Xirúna dann mit Federn und Ästen ihn mehrere Tage vor ihrem Gemeinschaftshaus als Trophäe stehen; danach wurde er fortgeworfen[293]). In der Nacht nach dem Überfall fand ein großes Tanzfest statt, an dem alle Männer teilnahmen. Vorher schmückten sie und bemalten sie den Häuptling (s. S. 92), um ihnen für den Sieg zu danken.

6. *Teilnahmelosigkeit und Begräbnisgemeinschaft*

Zwei- bis dreimal im Jahr kommen ein Xirúna-Häuptling und 18—20 Krieger dieses Stammes sowohl zu den Surára als auch zu den Pakidái, um den Tribut ihrer Tributären abzuholen (s. auch S. 62 u. 93). Dieser Besuch verläuft

[288]) Gleichen berichtet Zerries von den Waikó. (Zerries, 1950a, S. 180).

[289]) Damit dürfte es zusammenhängen, daß den jüngeren, unverheirateten Männern der geschlechtliche Verkehr mit den Frauen ihrer älteren Brüder gestattet ist.

[290]) Sehr ähnlich lauten die Schilderungen von Kriegszügen der Karaiben, die Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, S. 321) und Appun (Appun, 1871, S. 447) beschreiben.

[291]) Richard Schomburgk und Koch-Grünberg berichten, daß bei einigen Karaibenstämmen die Frauen als Träger an Kriegszügen teilnehmen. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, S. 321; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 109).

[292]) Auch bezüglich der Karaiben hebt Richard Schomburgk hervor, daß die Bemalung in Kriegszeiten anders ist als im Frieden. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, S. 302).

[293]) Als Parallele ist auf die Hitóto und Ebidoxa im nordöstlichen Chaco zu verweisen, die gelegentlich in ähnlicher Weise verfahren. (Ibidem, 1950, S. 75).

stets nach einem regelrechten Protokoll. Zuerst setzen sich die Häuptlinge im Hockstil einander gegenüber, legen die rechte Hand auf die linke Schulter des anderen und halten die linke Hand vor den Mund. In dieser Stellung verharren sie etwa zwei Stunden und tauschen eingend ihre Neuigkeiten aus[xxx]). Die Arauá- und Suriára-, resp. Pakidái-Krieger stehen mit unbeweglichen Gesichtern im Kreis herum und hören zu. Alle Frauen und Kinder bleiben während des Zeremoniells in den Hängematten liegen oder sitzen mit ängstlichen Gesichtern an ihren Feuerstellen. Ist die Begrüßung beendet, gibt der Suriára- bzw. Pakidái-Häuptling ein Zeichen, worauf seine Männer davonlaufen und Messer, Beile, Töpfe usw., aber auch Bananen und Pupunha-Früchte holen, die sie vor dem Xiriána-Häuptling niederlegen. Dieser nimmt die Gegenstände auf und verteilt sie der Reihe nach an seine Krieger. Wenn jeder reichlich beladen ist, verlassen sie gemessenen Schrittes die Maloka und verschwinden im Urwald. Der Xiriána-Häuptling ist jetzt allein zurückgeblieben. Doch für ihn müssen ganz besonders wertvolle Objekte gebracht werden. Vor allem ist es nun die Aufgabe des Suriára- oder Pakidái-Häuptlings, ihm Kostbarkeiten seines eigenen Besitzes zu überlassen, vielleicht eine gewebte Hängematte, die er von Zivilisierten erhalten hat, einen großen Topf, ein Buschmesser, oder eine besonders schöne Kette aus Glasperlen. Dann stellt er meist auch einen Korb voll Bananen und Pupunha-Früchte. Wenn der Xiriána-Häuptling schließlich befriedigt mit dem Kopfe nickt, fühlen sich die Suriára oder Pakidái endlich erleichtert. Es gibt auch ein abschließendes gemeinsames Zwiegespräch der beiden Oberhäupter, worauf sich der Xiriána-Häuptling erhebt und mürrisch schwer bepackt dem Urwald entgegenstrebt, wo seine Krieger schon auf ihn warten. Nach solch einem Besuch sind die Suriára und Pakidái zwar regelrecht empfindet, aber der Baum, dem sie während dieser Stunden unterlagen, ist gebrochen, und bald hört man sie wieder hacken und scharren[xxxi]).

[xxx]) Auch ich wurde zuweilen von dem Suriára-, als auch von dem Pakidái-Häuptling in dieser Weise begrüßt.

7. Erwerb des Lebensunterhalts

a) Allgemeines

Gegenwärtig befinden sich die Suriára und Pakidái in einem Übergangsstadium von ausgesprochener zu produzierender Wirtschaft. Der [illegible] Nahrungserwerb, Jagen und Sammeln, spielte zwar während meines Aufenthalts unter diesen Indianern noch eine beherrschende Rolle, ich konnte aber beobachten, daß die meisten Stammesangehörigen, vor allem die männlichen, schon ein großes Interesse für den vor etwa ein bis zwei Generationen eingeführten Feldbau bekundeten. Als leuchtende Vorbilder erwiesen sich besonders die Häuptlinge, welche bei allen Arbeiten in der Roça (Waldrodung) mit gutem Beispiel vorangingen[xxxii]). Nach eigenen Aussagen betrachten beide Stämme auch in diesem Falle die Xiriána als ihre Kulturbringer. Doch letztere haben den Feldbau ebenfalls erst von ihren höherstehenden karibischen Nachbarn angenommen[xxxiii]).

b) Jagd

Die Mehrzahl der Suriára- und Pakidái-Männer sind vorzügliche Jäger und führen ihr Waidwerk mit den oben beschriebenen großen Bögen und Pfeilen durch (s. S. 178f.), welche sie meisterhaft zu handhaben wissen. Hinzu kommt, daß sie die Lebensgewohnheiten der Tiere genau kennen. Sie entdecken jede, wenn auch noch so schwache Fährte des Wildes, berechnen sie und geben die Zeit an, wann es an dieser Stelle war. Oft folgen sie ihm dann stundenlang im nahen undurchdringlichen Urwald, manchmal sind sie

[xxxii]) Auch für Forschungsreisende, die mit Stämmen dieses Gebietes in Berührung kommen, ist es von großer Wichtigkeit, bei der Übergabe von Geschenken und Tauschartikeln darauf zu achten, daß wertvolle Gegenstände zunächst zurückgehalten werden, weil sich der Häuptling seinen Anteil stets zuletzt nimmt. Ein Besucher, der diese Gepflogenheit nicht kennt und schließlich mit leeren Händen dasteht, erlebt sich von vornherein die Feindschaft des Häuptlings und damit des ganzen Stammes zuziehen.

[xxxiii]) Die Ursprungssagen der Stämme (s. S. 114) zeigt übrigens deutlich, daß die Suriára und Pakidái früher nur Jäger und Sammler waren.

[xxxiv]) Koch-Grünberg, 1909/10, S. 309.

auch mehrere Tage unterwegs. Außerdem verstehen sie es, die Tiere durch nachgeahmte Laute anzulocken.

Es gibt zwei Jagdmethoden, die Einzeljagd — *kará* —[388], auch die Gemeinschaftsjagd — *axwé* —[389]. Letztere findet aber nur noch vor dem großen Totenerinnerungsfest (s. S. 102ff.) statt, um dafür genügend Fleischvorräte heranzuschaffen. Bewährte Jagdhelfer sind abgerichtete Hunde (s. S. 85ff.).

Von größerem Wild werden am häufigsten das Wildschwein (*Pecari tajacu*) — *paxe* — erlegt, danach der Tapir (*Tapirus americanus* Brss.) — *xéma* — und eine Rehart (*Cervidae* sp.) — *hajá* —. Das Fleisch aller genannten Tiere schätzt man sehr. Doch als ausgesprochene Leckerbissen gelten kleinere Nager: Paca (*Cuniculus paca* L.) — *amatá* — und Cutia (*Dasyprocta agouti* L.) — *tamá* —, die meist mit Hunden gestellt oder in ein Erdloch getrieben werden, sowie das Gürteltier (*Dasypodidae* sp.) — *obó* —. Letzteres erlegt man auf folgende Weise: Hat der Indianer einen bewohnten Gürteltierbau entdeckt, so untersucht er ihn, ob sich das Tier darin aufhält. Wenn das der Fall ist, holt er rasch trockene Blätter und verstopft damit den Eingang. Anschließend entfacht er mit seinem Feuerzeug, welches er ja stets am Köcher trägt (s. S. 23), ein Feuer, zündet die Blätter an und fächelt mittels eines Palmblattes den Rauch in die Höhle. Dadurch wird das Tier gezwungen, schon nach wenigen Minuten herauszukommen, wo es der Jäger dann mit einem Pfeil erlegen oder mittels eines Stockes erschlagen kann[390]. Mit etwas geringerem Appetit essen diese Indianer das Fleisch des Capivara (*Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris* Erxl.) und der verschiedenen Affenarten, wie z. B. der Brüllaffen (*Alouatta* sp.) — *ikré* —, Cuxiú-negro (*Chiropotes satanas* Humb.) — *wixá* —, Cuxiú (*Ateles paniscus* L.) — *paxá* — und Macaco-de-noite (*Aotus infulatus*) — *makarumako* —. Aber gerade zur Affenjagd gehört recht viel Geschick, weil diese Tiere in den Wipfeln der hohen Bäume von Ast zu Ast springen und sich mittels Umwinden von einer Baumkrone zur anderen schwingen. — Katzenarten[391] werden verhältnismäßig selten geschossen, meist nur dann, wenn sie sich in der Nähe einer Maloka aufhalten und hierdurch eine Gefahr für die Menschen darstellen. Gegessen wird übrigens nur das Fleisch des Maracajá (*Felis pardalis Nouv.*). Bei manchem Jäger spielt aber auch der Ehrgeiz eine Rolle, solche Tiere zu erlegen, denn der Abschluß eines Jaguars, vor allem des schwarzen, erhöht sein Ansehen. — Schlangen, die, infolge der großen Feuchtigkeit, hier sehr zahlreich auftreten, erschlägt man mit einem Stock. Wird eine Surucucu (*Lachesis muta* L.) — *pereima* — (Surára-Wort) — *pekéma* — (Pakidái-Wort), die größte und gefährlichste Giftschlange Südamerikas, getötet, dann ist die Freude besonders groß. Der Kopf wird abgeschlagen, und jede Familie bekommt ein Stück des Schlangenkörpers, welches mit anderem Fleisch zusammen gekocht wird. Der Geschmack ist angenehm und erinnerte mich an Aal. Doch die Surára und Pakidái glauben außerdem, daß jede Person, welche das Fleisch einer Surucucu gegessen hat, niemals mehr von anderen Giftschlangen gebissen wird. Auch die Sucuriju (*Eunectes murinus*) — *xaikonyá* — und die Jibóia-vermelha (*Epicrates cenchris*) — *oatá* — werden mit Genuß verzehrt. Die Jararaca (*Lachesis* sp.) — *kurihirimá* —, die Papo-eva (*Spilotes* sp.) — *karimatá* — und die Cobra-coral (*Elaps corallinus* Wied.) — *kuamoxíke* — verspeist man dagegen nie. — Hin und wieder werden auch ein Kaiman (*Caiman sclerops* Schneid.) — *ikuá* — oder eine Eidechse — *xaruámá* — mittels eines Stockes erschlagen, und manchmal entdeckt der Jäger, aber noch häufiger sein Hund, im Urwald eine Jabuti (*Testudo tabulata* Walb.) — *tabaré* —, deren Fleisch auch recht zart und schmackhaft ist;

[388]) Hierzu nimmt der Jäger oft seine Frau mit (hat er zwei oder mehrere Frauen, so begleitet ihn meist die älteste), welche das erlegte Tier, oder Fleischstücke davon, in die Maloka tragen muß.

[389]) Auch bei den Waiká gibt es diese zwei Jagdmethoden, und die Namen lauten dort sehr ähnlich „kare" und „axwéwa". (Zerries, 1956b, S. 131).

[390]) Die gleiche Methode beschreibt Cooper von den Tapajó-Indianern. (Cooper, 1933, S. 96 und Taf. 3).

[391]) Gefleckter Jaguar (*Felis onca* L.) — *tikoé* —, Schwarzer Jaguar (*Panthera onca* L.) — *kaikuaxé* —, Puma (*Felis concolor*) — *xapuxerimá* —, Maracajá (*Felis pardalis Nouv.*) — *yaxé* —.

an diejenige der Wasserschildkröte reicht es allerdings nicht heran. Doch von deren zahlreichen Arten, welche den Demini, Aracá und ihre Nebenflüsse bevölkern, fangen die Surára und Pakidái nur die Perema — *taimã* —, und zwar greifen sie diese im seichten Wasser mit den Händen.

Besondere Übung ist für die Vogeljagd erforderlich. Deshalb hält man schon die Knaben an, möglichst viele kleine Vögel zu erlegen, damit sie später einmal gute Jäger werden.

Folgende Vögel werden am häufigsten gejagt, und zwar sowohl des Fleisches als auch der Federn wegen: Mutum (*Crax* sp.) — *paruri* —, Urumutum (*Crax* sp.) — *kalard* —, Mutum cavalo (*Milu mitu* L.) — *kalauri* —, Jacamim (*Psophia crepitans* L.) — *nhapin* —, Cujubim (*Pipile pipile cujubi* Pelz.) — *maraxi* —, Jacu (*Penelope* sp.) — *kuremã* —, Japim (*Cacicus cela* L.) — *anhakoramã* —, Inambu (*Crypturellus* sp.) — *rororóme* —, Inambu-relógio (*Crypturellus strigulosus* Temm.) — *konamã* —, Tucano (*Rhamphastus* sp.) — *mahebé* —, Arara vermelha (*Ara macao* L.) — *arahahé* —, *Arara amarela* (*Ara ararauna* L.) — *maracanã* —, Papagaio moleiro (*Amazona* sp.) — *xerazeramahé* —, Papagaio curica (*Amazona* sp.) — *xerazerã* —, Garça branca (*Casmerodius albus egretta* Gm.) — *korihemã* —.

Der Gavião-real (*Thrasaetus harpyia* L.) — *sonaxi* — wird aus magischen Gründen erlegt, weil man glaubt, daß sich in ihm ein feindlicher Medizinmann verbirgt, der Krankheiten und anderes Unheil bringt. Seine Flaumfedern werden von den Männern als Trophäen in das Haar geklebt (s. S. 44); das Fleisch wird fortgeworfen. Auch den Gavião-caipira (*Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga* Gm.) — *sonaxiſõhe* — tötet man nur seiner Federn wegen, die den Männern als Oberarmschmuck dienen.

Auf die Urubus (*Catharies foetens, Catharies aura*, etc.) — *nahahã* — wird nie geschossen, denn man freut sich, daß sie den Unrat beseitigen.

Abschließend ist noch zu erwähnen, daß den Surára und Pakidái Fallen unbekannt sind[203].

[203]) Entsprechend lautet eine dienstägliche Aussage von Zerries über die Waiká. (Zerries, 1956b, S. 131).

Hat der Jäger ein kleines Tier erlegt, so kann er diese Jagdbeute für sich und seine Angehörigen behalten; doch dem Häuptling gibt er oft ein gebratenes oder gekochtes Stück davon ab. Handelt es sich dagegen um ein Großwild, so wird dasselbe, unter Aufsicht des Häuptlings, aufgeteilt, und jede Familie bekommt ein Fleischstück. Dieser Gemeinschaftssinn ist sehr stark ausgeprägt, und nie würde ein Stammesangehöriger dagegen verstoßen.

c) Fischfang

Der Fischfang spielt eine ganz untergeordnete Rolle und wird seit alter Zeit nur vom Ufer aus mit Bogen und Pfeil betrieben. Fangmethoden mittels Gift oder Käscher, Reusen und ähnlicher Geräte sind nicht bekannt. Neuerdings verwenden diese Indianer jedoch hin und wieder Angelhaken aus Metall[204], die ihnen von Gummi- und Palmfasersammlern sowie vom Indianerschutzposten am Rio Demini überlassen wurden. Trotzdem hat sich ihr Interesse am Fischfang dadurch nicht wesentlich verstärkt, denn die Fische gehören nun einmal nicht zu ihren bevorzugten Nahrungsmitteln. Hinzu kommt, daß nur kleinere Arten gegessen werden dürfen[205], weil alle großen den bösen Atem des Flusses in sich haben und daher Krankheiten sowie anderes Unheil hervorrufen. So verabscheuen sie natürlich besonders den Pirarucu *(Osteoglossidae)*, diesen über 3 m langen, größten Süßwasserfisch, dessen getrocknetes Fleisch für die Caboclo-Bevölkerung (Pflanzer, Gummi- und Palmfasersammler) geradezu eine Basis der Ernährung darstellt, und auch das köstliche Fleisch der großen Wasserschildkröten wird aus diesem Grunde von ihnen verschmäht.

[204]) Sie befestigen diese an einer Schnur aus Baumwolle oder Bromeliafasern.

[205]) Aracu (*Leporinus copelandi* Steind.), Piranha (*Pygocentrus* sp. und *Serrasalmus* sp.), Surubim (*Platystoma* sp.), Jandiá (*Soiluridae* sp.), Mandi (*Rhamdia* sp.), Curimatã (*Prochilodus* sp.), Pescada (*Gadus* sp.), Dourado (*Salminus brevidens*), Tamboqui (*Characinidae* sp.), Mandubi (*Anchenipteridae* sp.), Anujá (*Trachycoristes* sp.), Cuiú-cuiú (*Oxidoras niger Val.*), etc.

Auch bei den Waiká rangiert der Fischfang im Rahmen des Nahrungserwerbes an letzter Stelle und wird dort ebenfalls mit Bogen und Pfeil sowie seit neuerer Zeit mit Angelhaken durchgeführt. Doch es ist bemerkenswert, daß sie außerdem eine Fischfangmethode durch Vergiften des Wassers kennen[380a]) [380b]) [381]).

d) Sammeln

An der Sammeltätigkeit sind nicht nur Frauen, sondern auch Männer beteiligt. Letzteren obliegt vor allem das Einbringen von Früchten der zahlreichen Palmenarten[382]), von denen nachstehend die wichtigsten aufgezählt werden: Açaí (*Euterpe oleracea* Mart.) — *uaiima* —, Bacaba (*Oenocarpus distichus* Mart. oder *Oenocarpus bacaba* Mart.) — *hokomahé* —, Buçu (*Manicaria saccifera* Gaertn.) — *yauetoshi* —, Buriti (*Mauritia vinifera* Mart.) — *ciewexi* —, Caruá (*Attalea spectabilis* Mart.) — *yanaiod* —, Tucumã (*Astrocaryum* sp.) — *pahá* —[383]) und Pupunha (*Guilielma speciosa* Mart.) — *komunamá* —[384]). Die Früchte von kleineren, sehr leicht zu ersteigenden Palmen, wie Piaçaba (*Attalea funifera* Mart. e *Leopoldinia piassaba* Wal.) — *tanhari* — und Ubim (*Geonoma* sp.) — *homixi* —, werden von Männern und Frauen in gleicher Weise gesammelt.

Eine Arbeitsteilung beider Geschlechter ist beim Einbringen von Früchten der an den Ufern von Flüssen und Bächen wachsenden Ingá-Bäumen (*Inga* sp.) — *kepó* — zu beobachten. Man unterzieht sich hier aber nicht der Mühe, die hohen, breitästigen Bäume zu erklettern. Sie werden von den Männern gefällt, und Frauen sowie Kinder reißen danach die langen, dunkelgrünen, hartschaligen Schoten ab, deren Bohnen in einem weißen, schwammigen, zuckersüßen Fruchtfleisch sitzen. Dasselbe wird ausgesaugt und dann mit dem Kern fortgespuckt. Jenem Genuß geben sich Männer, Frauen und Kinder schon während der Arbeit hin, doch die Masse der Schoten wird mittels Lianen zusammengebunden und von den Frauen in die Maloka getragen, wo man das Fruchtfleisch weiter mit großem Behagen auslutscht. — Auch die Früchte des wilden Cajú-Baumes (*Anacardium* sp.) — *uitó* — [381]) werden in der gleichen Weise, d. h. durch Fällen der Bäume, geerntet. Hiervon essen die Surára und Pakidái aber nur den länglichen dunkelrot glänzenden Fruchtboden, der außerordentlich saftig ist und besonders als angenehme Erfrischung geschätzt wird. Den nierenförmigen, grünlich-schwarzen Kern ißt man dagegen nicht. — Sehr beliebt sind die Früchte der Kastanie, Castanha-do-pará[385]) (*Bertholletia excelsa H.B.K.*) — *hokoó* —. Wenn in der Regenzeit die Ouriços (kugelförmige Hülsen mit harter Schale, die mehr als 1 kg wiegen und zwischen 10—30 Kastanien enthalten) durch Windstöße von den hohen Bäumen fallen, zieht oft der ganze Stamm in die Kastanienwälder am unteren Aracá, resp. mittleren Demini, um hier eine reiche Ernte zu halten, woran sich auch wiederum beide Geschlechter beteiligen. Die Ouriços werden dort, wo man sie findet, mit einem Stein oder, falls schon vorhanden, mittels des Terçado (großes Buschmesser) aufgeschlagen, und die Kastanien schüttet man in die Tragkörbe. — Von den Früchten des wilden Kakaobaumes (*Theobroma* sp.) — *boroó* —, der viele Äste hat und dessen Laub dicht und dunkel ist, wird nur das süße Hülsenmark ausgesaugt, während man die Bohnen, welche bei den mittelamerikanischen Hochkulturvölkern solch große Rolle spielten, achtlos fortwirft[386]). — Die apfelähnliche Frucht des Lucumabaumes (*Lucuma macrocarpa* Hub.) — *kumatá* — schätzt man wegen ihrer süßlichen gallertartigen Masse, die den Kern umgibt; das

[380a]) Barker, 1953, S. 464/65
[380b]) Zerries, 1956b, S. 152.
[381]) Zerries, 1958c, S. 179.
[382]) Der generelle Name für Palmen lautet — *petahadno* —.
[383]) Zum Ersteigen der genannten Palmen benutzen sie den Kletterring (s. S. 35/36).
[384]) Da der Stamm dieser Palme mit spitzen Stacheln — *milmiçihá* — bedeckt ist, kann er nur mittels zweier besonders konstruierter Geräte erstiegen werden (s. S. 36/37).

[385]) Der entsprechende Waikáname lautet „widó" (Zerries, 1956b, S. 150).
[386]) Bei uns sind sie als Pará-Nüsse bekannt.
[387]) Gleiches berichtet Zerries von den Waiká, und hier lauten die Namen „loa" oder „boholoa". (Zerries, 1956b, S. 150; Zerries, 1958c, S. 177).

äußere Fruchtfleisch und die Schale haben dagegen einen sehr bitteren, unangenehmen Geschmack. — Auch wildwachsende Ananasfrüchte, welche nur die Größe eines mittelgroßen Apfels erreichen, werden mit Genuß verzehrt.

Mehr zur alltäglichen Kost tragen die besonders häufig gesammelten Schoten der Pacova sororoca bei, einer Musaceenart (*Ravenala guianensis* Benth.) — *mokohd* —[306]). — Bei gelegentlich auftretendem Nahrungsmittelmangel in der Regenzeit schätzt man auch heute noch die flachen, braunen Früchte des Topfbaumes (*Lecythis longifolia*), welche von den Surára *sapá* und von den Pakidái *kurupá* genannt werden[307]).

Neben diesen wichtigsten pflanzlichen Sammelprodukten gibt es auch eine große Zahl von tierischen. Hier ist vor allem der Honig mehrerer kleiner Bienenarten zu nennen[308]), der leicht und gefahrlos zu gewinnen ist, da die Bienen stachellos sind. Meist haben sie ihre Nester in hohlen Bäumen oder im Erdboden. Gelegentlich sieht man aber auch angebaute Nester an hohen Bäumen; letztere werden dann zum Zwecke des Honigerwerbs von den Männern gefällt. Der Honig wird mit der Hand oder mittels einer Kalebasse aus dem Nest geschöpft und in ein gefaltetes Palmblatt gefüllt, welches man dann zusammenwickelt und mit in die Maloka nimmt. — Auch Vogeleier bilden eine beliebte Bereicherung der Ernährung, desgleichen das nahrhafte Dotter der Eier von Wasserschildkröten; das Eiweiß wirft man dagegen fort, weil es einen unangenehmen, tranigen Geschmack hat. Während der Trockenzeit, besonders in den Monaten Dezember—Februar, sammeln die Surára und Pakidái diese Schildkröteneier in großen Mengen auf den Sandbänken des Demini und Aracá. — Weiterhin sind Krebse und Krabben zu erwähnen, die aus den Löchern im Uferschlamm gezogen werden. — Außerdem beobachtete ich, daß sie bestimmte Frosch- und Spinnenarten essen sowie Insektenlarven, Raupen, Termiten und die Hinterteile der Blattschneiderameise (*Atta* sp.) — *anaenend* —.

c) Feldbau

Obgleich der Feldbau bei den Surára und Pakidái erst vor verhältnismäßig kurzer Zeit eingeführt wurde, haben sie doch schon eine bemerkenswerte Methodik hinsichtlich der Anlage ihrer Felder entwickelt. Diese sind nämlich stets kreisförmig um die Maloka herum angelegt. Man verfährt in der Weise, daß zunächst bei Beginn einer Trockenzeit, Oktober—November, ein größeres Stück Urwald gerodet wird, wobei man schon darauf achtet, daß die Kreisform entsteht. Zum Abhauen des Unterholzes und der Lianen bedienen sich die Männer der Terçados (große Buschmesser), und die Bäume werden mit Stahläxten gefällt[309]). Nach etwa zwei Monaten, wenn das umgeschlagene Holz gut angetrocknet ist, wird die Rodung angezündet, und die zurückgebliebenen Aschensalze bilden gleichzeitig den Dünger. Große Stämme, Baumstümpfe und Äste, die nicht verbrannten, läßt man einfach liegen und pflanzt dazwischen die Gewächse an (Abb. 37). Nur in der Mitte der Rodung wird ein Kreis von etwa 50—60 m Durchmesser vollständig gesäubert, denn hier errichtet man eine offene oder geschlossene kreisförmige Maloka. Jene Roça (Waldrodung) — *kihari* —, welche das Gemeinschaftshaus umgibt, wird dann durch den Häuptling an die einzelnen Familien aufgeteilt, damit diese hier Bananenstauden, Pupunha-Palmen, Maniok, Taioba, Caré, Baumwolle, Tabak usw. anpflanzen können[310]). Roden und Feldbau, einschließlich des Jätens, obliegt den Männern; die Frauen helfen nur bei der Ernte. Da der Boden aber sehr unfruchtbar ist,

[306]) Die Pacova-sororoca wird wegen ihrer großen Blätter, die denen der Bananenstauden ähneln, oft fälschlich „wilde Banane" genannt.

[307]) Die Waiká haben hierfür den Namen „wahe". (Zerries, 1956b, S. 149; Zerries, 1958c, S. 177); Ihering, 1953, S. 443).

[308]) Es soll mehr als 20 verschiedene Arten davon geben.

[309]) Diese Gegenstände der Zivilisation tauschen die Surára von Palmfruchtsammlern ein, und die Pakidái erhalten sie vom Indianerschutzposten Ajuricaba am mittleren Demini.

[310]) Da aber noch nicht in allen Familien das Interesse für den Feldbau geweckt ist, kommt es vor, daß manche auf ihren Anteil verzichten, der dann von einer anderen Familie mit bearbeitet wird.

denn er besitzt nur eine dünne Humusschicht, welche durch die tropischen Regenfälle zudem noch ständig ausgelaugt wird, ist ein Anbau von Knollenfrüchten höchstens drei Jahre lang möglich[369]). Danach beginnt außerhalb des bisherigen kreisförmigen Feldstreifens erneut die Arbeit des Rodens und Abbrennens. Dies kann sich mehrmals wiederholen, so daß die Maloka schließlich von drei, vier und mehr ringförmigen Feldern umgeben ist, bis der Stamm eines Tages an einer anderen Stelle seine Maloka erbaut und neue Felder anlegt. Doch Bananenstauden und Pupunha-Palmen läßt man in den alten Rodungen stehen, pflanzt solche aber auch stets in den neuen mit an, da diese Fruchtbäume ja 6—8, bzw. 50 Jahre (Pupunha-Palme) Erträgnisse liefern; ihre Früchte werden regelmäßig geerntet, selbst auf längst verlassenen, weit entfernten Feldern.

Erwähnenswert ist noch die Tatsache, daß sowohl die Surára als auch die Pakidái gegenwärtig in einem Jahr jeweils an zwei weit auseinanderliegenden Orten regelmäßig ihren Feldarbeiten nachgehen. In der Regenzeit, April—September, leben die Surára bekanntlich an der Cachoeira dos Índios am oberen Aracá und die Pakidái an einem rechten Nebenarm des mittleren Demini, wo sie auch Felder besitzen. Die Sommerzeit verbringen sie dagegen gemeinsam in der großen, offenen Surára-Maloka (zwischen den Flüssen Demini und Aracá), um die herum man eine so große Roça angelegt hat, daß sie auf die Surára- und Pakidái-Familien aufgeteilt werden konnte. So verfügen beide Stämme an ihren festen Wohnsitzen stets über reichliche Ernteerträge. Dazu kommen noch die Bananen und Pupunha-Früchte von verlassenen Feldern, wohin der ganze Stamm zur Zeit dieser Ernte zieht, oder es werden Sammelzüge unternommen, um Kastanien, Ingá- u. a. Wildfruchtarten einzubringen.

Da nun aber wegen der halbnomadischen Lebensweise jener Indianer die eine oder andere Waldrodung für kürzere oder längere Zeit unbeaufsichtigt bleibt, besteht die Gefahr, daß in der Zwischenzeit Angehörige feindlicher Stämme hier eindringen und sich der Früchte bemächtigen. Doch für diesen Fall wird Vorsorge getroffen. Bevor der Stamm eine seiner Rodungen verläßt, stecken einzelne vom Häuptling beauftragte Männer mehrere mit Gift überzogene hölzerne Pfeilspitzen und Stacheln der Pupunha-Palme in den Boden und legen Blätter darüber. Feindliche Indianer laufen also bei einer beabsichtigten Plünderung Gefahr, sich dieselben in die Beine zu treten[370]). Wie man mir sagte, würde jene Sitte von allen Yanomámi-Stämmen angewandt, und aus diesem Grunde ließe es sich auch kein Indianer einfallen, jemals die verlassene Rodung eines anderen Stammes zu betreten[371]).

Unter den pflanzlichen Nahrungsmitteln der Surára und Pakidái nehmen heute die Bananen, von denen ich neun verschiedene Arten vorfand, die erste Stelle ein. Hiervon wiederum wird am häufigsten die Mehlbanane (*Musa paradisiaca normalis*; die regionale Caboclo-Bevölkerung nennt sie pacovinha) — *kurá* — kultiviert[372]). *Kurá* ist aber auch die generelle Bezeichnung für alle Bananen[373]). Außerdem nannte man mir für die übrigen acht Arten noch folgende spezielle Namen[374]):

[369]) Das üppige Wachstum des Urwaldes erklärt sich nur durch die Feuchtigkeit und Wärme des Klimas, welches wie Treibhausluft den Kreislauf der Nährstoffe beschleunigt.

[370]) Alle Indianer dieser Region laufen barfuß.

[371]) Auch für Forschungsreisende, die einmal in diesem Gebiet arbeiten wollen, dürfte dieser Hinweis von größter Bedeutung sein.

[372]) Bezüglich ihrer Herkunft schreibt Sauer: „The plantains and bananas (Musa paradisiaca) originated in southeastern Asia and were there bred into a great variety of seedless cultivated forms. Their presence in the New World is considered by many as due to post-Columbian introduction." (Sauer, 1950, S. 526).

[373]) Zerries belegt den gleichen Namen für die Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, S. 132, 155), und Koch-Grünberg gibt von den karaibischen Arekuná-Taulipang folgende Namen an: „kurá:tana", „kura:taná", bzw. „kuratanâ" (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, S. 47, 268). Sehr ähnlich lautet die entsprechende Xiriána-Bezeichnung, nämlich „kalatá:ha" (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, S. 360). Dadurch wird eindeutig bewiesen, daß die Banane, oder zumindest eine Art, von karaibischen Stämmen zu den Waiká, Xiriána, Surára und Pakidái gelangten. Auch die Ursprungsmythe der Banane, welche mir der Surára-Häuptling erzählte (s. S. 114), läßt erkennen, daß diese Frucht erst in jüngster Zeit von außen kam.

[374]) Sehr ähnliche Bezeichnungen verwenden auch die Waiká für bestimmte Bananenarten. (Zerries, 1956b, S. 153).

Bezeichnung der Surára und Pakidái:	Bezeichnung der regionalen Caboclo-Bevölkerung:
pakatarimã	pacovão
kuratá pauxiní	inajá
nahaxiní	São Tomé roxa
rohojá	São Tomé branca
rohomã	banana maçã(?)
paraud	caité
rodrewöhdhö	banana bajé
xiahima	Banana govêrno[228])

Mittels eines 1,60—1,80 m langen Grabstockes aus dem Holz der Pupunha-Palme, welcher unten eine abgeflachte Spitze hat (Abb. 38), oder eines abgebrochenen Bogenstabes werden Setzlinge von Bananenstauden in der Rodung gepflanzt, und schon nach wenigen Monaten sind sie herangewachsen und tragen Früchte. Sowohl die Arbeit des Pflanzens als auch die Betreuung der Stauden obliegt den Männern, während die Frauen nur bei der Ernte helfen[229]).

Neben den Bananen wird im besonderen Maße die Pupunha-Palme (*Guilielma speciosa* Mart.) — *homunamã* — kultiviert. Zur Anpflanzung verwendet man Setzlinge, doch gelegentlich auch Kerne. Diese Palmen, welche stets zwischen den Bananen stehen, verleihen den Rodungen der Surára und Pakidái ein charakteristisches Gepräge (Abb. 37). Ihr 18—20 m hoher Stamm, der mit spitzen Stacheln — *mitmiçihõ* — bedeckt ist und daher nur mit einem besonders konstruierten Gerät erstiegen werden kann (s. S. 56), trägt sehr schmale, gefiederte Blätter, die an den Spitzen gekräuselt sind und sich immer leicht im Winde wiegen. Wie Wächter stehen sie im Umkreis des Gemeinschaftshauses und scheinen den Bewohnern der großen, offenen Maloka beständig huldvoll und beruhigend zuzunicken (Abb. 6). Bemerkenswert sind ihre Früchte — *marazã* —[230]), von denen jeweils 50—80 eine Traube bilden. Nur einmal im Jahr, zwischen September—April, können sie geerntet werden, doch jede Palme hat mindestens drei, manchmal auch vier Trauben, d. h. rund 200—300 Früchte. Anfangs sehen diese gelb aus, doch nach dem Reifen nehmen sie eine leuchtend rote Farbe an. Gegenüber anderen Palmfrüchten zeichnen sie sich durch besonders reichliches Fruchtfleisch aus.

Hinsichtlich der Frage, ob die Pupunha-Frucht Kerne hat oder nicht, gibt es verschiedene Auffassungen. Zerries fand keine kernlosen[231]). Dagegen sah ich sowohl Früchte mit als auch ohne Kerne. Diese Beobachtung findet eine Bestätigung durch die Angaben von Sauer, welcher schreibt: „In many cases it has lost the capacity to produce fertil seeds..."[232]). Doch auch Alexander von Humboldt[233]) und Vinci[234]) erwähnen solche kernlosen Früchte[235]).

Die Kultivierung von Knollenfrüchten, welche man stets abseits der Bananenpflanzungen durchführt, wird bisher nur in einem sehr bescheidenen Maße betrieben. Es handelt sich dabei um den Anbau von Taioba oder Taro (*Colocasia antiquorum* und *Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott.) — *ohtad* —[236]); Cará oder Yams (*Dioscorea* sp.) — *cabiromã* —; süßen Maniok, in Brasilien Macaxeira, Aipim oder Mandioca doce genannt, (*Manihot palmata* Muell. Arg.) — *mihitarima* —; bitteren Maniok (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl) — *kumirimakhi* — und Süßkartoffeln (*Ipomoea batatas Lam.*) — *hikori* —[237]). Erwähnenswert sind dann noch die Zuckerrohrpflanzungen (Zuckerrohr (*Saccharum officinale*) — *bukis* —[238])) und das Fehlen von Mais[239]).

[228]) Eine botanische Klassifizierung jener Arten konnte ich leider nicht durchführen.

[229]) Bei den Waiká werden die Stauden von Männern und Frauen betreut. (Zerries, 1956b, S. 153).

[230]) Sehr ähnlich lautet der Name bei den Waiká — „bahe". (Zerries, 1956b, S. 149).

[231]) Zerries, 1956b, S. 149.

[232]) Sauer, 1950, S. 525.

[233]) Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, S. 281.

[234]) Vinci, 1956, S. 370—375.

[235]) Zerries hält es übrigens für möglich, daß bei den Waiká die Pupunha-Frucht die Vorgängerin der Mehlbanane war. (Zerries, 1956b, S. 149).

[236]) Bei den Waiká lautet der entsprechende Name „ohime". (Zerries, 1956b, S. 153).

[237]) Die Waiká nennen die Süßkartoffel „higuli". (Zerries, 1956b, S. 153).

[238]) Die Waiká haben für Zuckerrohr das gleiche Wort. (Zerries, 1956b, S. 153).

[239]) Für die Waiká ist der Anbau erst durch Zerries belegt. Doch der Mais, so fügt er hinzu, „ist wenig mehr als eine exotische Delikatesse." (Zerries, 1956b, S. 153).

Neben den für die Ernährung bestimmten Kulturpflanzen werden auch solche gezogen, die als Genußmittel Verwendung finden. Hierbei handelt es sich vor allem um Tabak (*Nicotiana tabacum*) — *pesudhe* —[287]) und um ein Pfeffergewächs (*Piperacea* sp.) — *maxarahd* —[288]), das zur Herstellung des narkotischen Schnupfpulvers benötigt wird (s. S. 88f.), sowie um —*perahi* —[289]) (*Piper caudatum* Vahl.), portugiesisch pimenta-dos-Indios, womit sie die Speisen würzen.

Schließlich ist noch der Anbau von Pflanzen zu erwähnen, welche wichtige Bedarfsartikel liefern. Es sind Pfeilrohr (*Sagittaria montevidensis* Cham. et Schl.) — *zarekabe* —, der Urucuzeiro (*Bixa orellana* L.), aus dessen Samen, die sich in einer stachligen Fruchtkapsel befinden, man den roten Farbstoff Urucu — *nard* — gewinnt (s. S. 57), sowie eine Bignoniacee (*Crescentia cujete Lin.*) und Cucurbitaceen (*Cucurbita lagenaria* L. und *Cucurbita idolatrica* Lacerda), deren Früchte als Gefäße verwendet werden (s. S. 53).

Verhältnismäßig jungen Datums ist der Anbau von Baumwolle (*Gossypium barbadense* oder *hirsutum*) — *xinarl* —.

8. Nahrungsbereitung

Die Bereitung fester Nahrung liegt fast ausschließlich in den Händen der Frauen, doch den Männern bleibt das Braten von Wildbret vorbehalten[290]). Hierbei gibt es zwei Methoden: Die einfachste und gebräuchlichste besteht darin, daß man ein Fleischstück auf einen zugespitzten Stock spießt, diesen schräg gegen das Feuer in die Erde steckt und von Zeit zu Zeit dreht, damit alle Seiten gleichmäßig der Hitze ausgesetzt werden. Daneben gibt es viereckige Bratständer (portug. Moquém) mit Rosten aus Holzstäben, welche in der gleichen oder dreieckigen Form bei fast allen Naturvölkern des tropischen Südamerika bekannt sind[291]). Des Bratständers bedienen sich die Männer meist dann, wenn das Fleisch von großen Tieren, wie Tapiren und Wildschweinen, zubereitet werden soll, da man so gleich mehrere Stücke auf einmal braten kann. Hin und wieder sah ich aber auch einen ganzen Affen auf dem Rost liegen. Damit beim Braten kein Fett verloren geht, zieht man die Haut vorher nicht ab, sondern erst dann, wenn man sich zum Essen niedersetzt. Doch die Eingeweide werden den Tieren vor dem Braten oder Kochen herausgenommen. Diese wirft man aber nicht fort, sondern hüllt sie in Palmblätter und läßt dieselben in der heißen Asche dünsten, um sie danach mit großem Genuß zu verspeisen. Wird der Bratständer benutzt, so läßt man Tag und Nacht ein gleichmäßiges, nicht zu starkes Feuer darunter brennen. Vor Festen, wenn man ausnahmsweise größere Fleischmengen, besonders vom Tapir, konservieren will, läßt man die Stücke solange auf dem Rost liegen, bis sie schwarz und knochenhart sind.

Von den Frauen werden kleinere Fleischstücke in Tongefäßen[292]) und gelegentlich auch schon in Aluminiumtöpfen[293]) gekocht oder gesotten, und zwar häufig zusammen mit grünen Bananen. Der Topf wird einfach zwischen die brennenden Holzscheite gestellt. Ganz begeistert waren die Frauen von meinen leeren Benzinkanistern, in welchen sie oftmals einen ganzen Cutia, Paca oder Affen kochten. Schlangenfleisch wird nur im gekochten Zustand gegessen. Fische wickelt man in Blätter und läßt sie in der heißen Asche dünsten.

[287]) Das Waikâ-Wort hierfür lautet „be". (Zerries, 1956b, S. 154).

[288]) Diesen Gewächs wird auch von den Waikâ angebaut und mit nahezu demselben Namen bezeichnet „mashe hara" (Zerries, 1956b, S. 154).

[289]) Die Waikâ nennen jene Pfefferpflanze „blaki". (Zerries, 1956b, S. 154).

[290]) Nach Baldus findet man dieses Vorrecht der Männer bei den meisten brasilianischen Stämmen: „Entre os povos naturais do Brasil, as grandes caças são assadas ou moqueadas, em geral, pelos homens." (Baldus, 1950, S. 7).

[291]) Diese Bratständer werden in folgender Weise angefertigt: Man steckt vier oben gegabelte Stöcke in den Boden, so daß ein Viereck gebildet wird, legt Querstäbe in die Gabeln und Stöcke darüber, welche man mit Lianen befestigt.

[292]) Diese stammen von den Xirianá.

[293]) Hierbei handelt es sich um Tauschartikel der Caboclos (Pflanzer, Gummi- und Palmfasersammler), bzw. Geschenke des Indianerschutzpostens am Rio Demini.

Vielseitige Zubereitungsmöglichkeiten bieten die Vegetabilien. Bananen werden vorwiegend im noch grünen Zustand, nachdem man vorher die Schale abgezogen hat, in der heißen Asche geröstet (der Geschmack erinnerte mich stets an ein frisches Brötchen) oder, in kleine Stücke geschnitten, gekocht, im letzteren Falle meist zusammen mit Fleisch. Als besondere Delikatesse gilt eine Suppe, welche man aus reifen Bananen bereitet[284]). Im rohen Zustand werden Bananen nur selten gegessen. — Die mehligen, nahrhaften Früchte der Pupunha-Palme werden in erster Linie gekocht. Danach läßt man die Suppe erkalten und gewinnt so ein erfrischendes Getränk. Vor Festen gießen es alle Frauen in einen großen, hölzernen Trog, der sich in jeder Maloka befindet, damit genügend Vorrat vorhanden ist. Durch Dünsten oder Rösten bereitet man aus ihnen aber auch eine feste Nahrung[285]). — Taioba, Cará, süße Kartoffeln und süßer Maniok werden ungewaschen und ohne vorherige Entfernung der Schale in einem Topf gedünstet oder in der heißen Asche geröstet. — Bitterer Maniok wird von den Frauen mittels des lanzettförmigen Bambusmessers (s. S. 55) geschabt und danach auf einer rauhen Granitplatte gerieben, denn Reibebretter besitzen sie nicht[286]) [287]). Die geriebene Masse wird anschließend mittels kleiner rechteckiger Geflechtsstreifen (s. S. 52), welche man zusammenrollt, mit den Händen ausgepreßt[288]). Bei den Surára fand ich auch drei und bei den Pakidái fünf Preßschläuche vor, die sie von den Xiriána erhalten hatten (s. S. 51/52). Aus dem Mehl backen die Frauen auf großen, flachen Granitsteinen, unter denen man ein Feuer entzündet, Maniokfladen, die gern verzehrt werden. Dieses Nahrungsmittel, welches erst vor verhältnismäßig kurzer Zeit bei ihnen Eingang fand, scheint sich immer mehr durchzusetzen. Die Bereitung von Kaschiri ist unbekannt[289]). Großer Beliebtheit erfreut sich bei den Surára und Pakidái auch das geröstete Maniokmehl, welches sie gelegentlich von Palmfasersammlern eintauschen, bzw. vom Indianerschutzposten am Demini als Geschenk erhalten. Sie selbst können es noch nicht herstellen, weil ihnen ja hierzu große, eiserne Pfannen fehlen.

Auch verschiedene Früchte wildwachsender Pflanzen bedürfen einer besonderen Zubereitung. Die weißen Kerne, welche sich in den Schoten der Pacova-sororoca (s. S. 79) befinden, muß man vor dem Genuß rösten. Der Geschmack stimmt übrigens völlig mit geröstetem Mais

[284]) Die Banane im allgemeinen und diese Suppe im besonderen spielen im religiösen und sozialen Leben der Surára und Pakidái eine große Rolle. Junge Männer müssen sich anläßlich ihrer Ausbildungszeit als Medizinmannsgehilfen mit einer Banane als täglicher Nahrung begnügen (s. S. 67). Beim Totenerinnerungsfest wird solch eine Suppe, vermischt mit der Knochenasche verstorbener Stammesangehöriger, von den Männern getrunken (s. S. 106). Kleine Mädchen dürfen Bananensuppe während ihrer ersten und zweiten Menstruation als einzige Ernährung zu sich nehmen (s. S. 66), und für schwangere Frauen stellt sie das wichtigste Nahrungsmittel dar, auch noch mehrere Monate nach der Entbindung. Bei den Tapirapé dagegen, wo ja die Banane auch eine Basis der Ernährung darstellt, müssen sich die Eltern nach einer Geburt des Genusses dieser Frucht enthalten. „They believe that the child would die if they disregarded this rule." (Baldus, 1956b, S. 601).

[285]) Alexander von Humboldt bezeichnet die Pupunha- oder Pihiguao-Palme übrigens als „Pfirsichpalme" und rühmt den köstlichen Geschmack ihrer Früchte. (Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, S. 281f., 300; IV, S. 145). Hierin kann ich dem großen Gelehrten allerdings nicht beistimmen, denn wir schmeckten sie wie etwas bittere Kartoffeln. Der gleichen Ansicht ist übrigens auch Zerries. (Zerries, 1956b, S. 148).

[286]) Mein Diener Mateus hatte ihnen jedoch aus Seiten unserer leeren Benzinkanister einige Reibebretter angefertigt, indem er mit einem Nagel zahlreiche Löcher hindurchbohrte. Sie waren darüber sehr glücklich und sagten aus, daß es sich hierauf wesentlich angenehmer reiben ließe. Sie hatten auch gleich einen Namen für dieses Reibebrett bereit — *Aduripimund* —.

[287]) Auch die Xiriána reiben die Maniokwurzeln auf rauhen Granitplatten. (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 306).

[288]) In derselben Weise wird die Maniokmasse bei den Xiriána entgiftet. (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 306).

[289]) Doch da mein Diener, ein ruhebedürftiger Tukuna-Indianer, beim Anblick der Maniokfladen ein großes Gelüst nach einem leichten Alkoholrausch verspürte, brachte er den Surára bei, wie man Kaschiri herstellt. Erst probierten sie recht kritisch diesen unbekannten Getränk. Doch schon nach dem ersten Schluck leuchteten ihre Augen, und sie schlugen Hatemo begeistert auf die Schultern und versicherten immer wieder, wie gut es ihnen schmeckte.

überein. — Die Früchte des Topfbaumes (s. S. 79) werden zunächst gekocht, wozu sich die Frauen besonders gern meiner leeren Benzinkanister bedienten, und dann mit dem Messer aus Schildpatt (s. S. 55) aufgeschnitten. Hierauf schüttet man sie in einen oder mehrere der großen geflochtenen Körbe — *aturund* — (s. S. 49) und hängt sie für vier Tage am Uferrand eines Flusses ins Wasser, um ihnen die Bitterstoffe zu entziehen. Danach werden sie von den Frauen noch tüchtig mit den Füßen gerieben. In der Gunst der „Feinschmecker" nehmen diese Früchte zwar nur eine zweitrangige Stelle ein, aber sie füllen doch wenigstens den Magen. Außerdem wurde mir versichert, daß diese Frucht in alter Zeit, d. h. vor der Einführung der Banane, eine wesentlich größere Rolle im Nahrungsmittelhaushalt gespielt hätte.

Alle aufgezählten Speisen werden in der Regel ohne Gewürz gegessen. Nur hin und wieder fügen einige Männer und Frauen etwas von ihrem angebauten Pfeffer hinzu, der vorher geröstet wird. Meinem Salz, wovon ich mehrere Kilogramm mitgebracht hatte, in der Annahme, daß sich die Indianer darüber freuen würden, gewann kein einziger Stammesangehöriger Geschmack ab, und es bestand keinerlei Interesse, etwas davon zu erwerben[105]).

Diese Abneigung gegen das Salz findet man auch bei vielen anderen Stämmen, und schon in einer Nachricht aus dem XVI. Jahrhundert kann man folgende Bemerkung lesen: „Die Waldleute können kein Salz gebrauchen, weil es sie krank macht, denn sie sind nicht daran gewöhnt; essen sie es, so sterben sie fast immer in kurzer Zeit"[106]). Es sei auch noch auf eine Aussage von Roquette-Pinto verwiesen, worin er zum Ausdruck bringt, daß die Indianer der Serra do Norte alle gesalzenen Gerichte zurückweisen[107]).

Doch es gibt auch Stämme, bei denen sich das Salz einer gewissen Wertschätzung erfreut. So berichtet Herbert Baldus von einem Bororo, der sich darüber beklagte, daß er nie genügend Salz aus der Missionsküche bekäme. Dabei war diesen Indianern das Salz früher unbekannt[108]). Die Tapirapé und Karajá haben das Salz ebenfalls sehr gern[109]), während es bei den Tupari nur die Männer mit Vorliebe verwenden, mehrere Frauen dagegen gar nicht[110]). Bemerkenswert ist noch der folgende Hinweis von Koch-Grünberg über die Arekuná-Taulipang: „Im allgemeinen salzen die Indianer die Speisen wenig, lieben aber das Salz sehr und nehmen es gern als Bezahlung für geleistete Dienste"[111]).

Reichhaltig ist die Zahl der Getränke, welche man aus dem nahrhaften Fruchtfleisch wildwachsender Palmen bereitet. Besonders beliebt sind die bläulichen, etwa pflaumengroßen Açaí- und Bacabafrüchte (s. S. 78), die zwischen Dezember—März reifen. In Kalebassen, die mit Wasser gefüllt sind, werden sie geknetet und gerieben. Dadurch entsteht eine graubraune, fettige Brühe, welche, nachdem man die fleischigen Hüllen herausgefischt und fortgeworfen hat, im Aussehen und Geschmack an Kakao erinnert und ungemein sättigt. Noch angenehmer schmeckten mir diese Getränke, wenn ich etwas Zucker hinzufügte. Die Indianer, welche davon probierten, waren aber von dieser Beimischung nicht begeistert, denn Zucker behagte ihnen ebensowenig wie Salz. Auch mit meinen Bonbons konnte ich weder Kinder noch Erwachsene beglücken. Die Früchte der Baçu-, Buriti-, Curauá-, Piaçaba- und Ubimpalme (s. S. 78) werden in der gleichen Weise zu Getränken verarbeitet, während man jene der Inajápalme vorher kocht. Die hieraus gewonnene Brühe schmeckt zwar recht fade, besitzt aber ebenfalls einen großen Nährwert.

Sodann ist noch zu erwähnen, daß auch aus dem gesammelten Honig stets ein Getränk bereitet wird, indem man ihn in Wasser auflöst. Nie habe ich beobachtet, daß er gegessen wird, wie es bei den Waika[112]) und verschiedenen

[105]) Die vom Körper benötigte Salzmenge führen sie ihm aber durch die Holzasche zu, womit die Tabakrolle (s. S. 88) gemischt wird.
[106]) Toussy, 1921, S. 166.
[107]) Roquette-Pinto, 1929, S. 243.
[108]) Baldus, 1937, S. 287.
[109]) Baldus, 1950, S. 14.
[110]) Cooper, 1953, S. 133/34.
[111]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 49.
[112]) Zerries, 1954b, S. 150.

anderen Stämmen Guayanas[109]) [110]) festgestellt wurde.

Wie die obigen Ausführungen zeigen, fehlt es den Surára und Pakidái in bezug auf Getränke nicht an Abwechslung, so daß sie sich nur in den seltensten Fällen des unvermischten Wassers bedienen müssen, wie es, nach den Ausführungen von Zerries, bei den Waiká der Fall ist[111]). Genau wie letzteren[112]) sind aber auch den Surára und Pakidái alkoholische Getränke völlig unbekannt.

9. *Mahlzeiten und Gebräuche beim Essen*

Morgens essen die Surára und Pakidái sehr wenig, meist nur ein bis zwei in der heißen Asche geröstete Bananen oder Wurzelknollen. Oft erlebte ich es auch, daß Männer und Frauen nüchtern zur Jagd, bzw. zum Sammeln aufbrechen. Wenn sie jedoch während ihres Umherschweifens auf wildwachsende Früchte stoßen, so langen sie tüchtig zu. Mittags werden kleine, leichte Mahlzeiten eingenommen, in Gestalt einer Bananensuppe, gerösteten oder gedünsteten Bananen, Pupunha-Früchten, süßen Kartoffeln usw. Manchmal sind auch noch einige Fleischreste vom Vortage da. Die tägliche Hauptmahlzeit findet erst nach dem Untergang der Sonne statt, im Schein der hellodernden Feuer. Denn jetzt ist die ganze Familie meist wieder beisammen, und die Jagdbeute, welche der Mann vielleicht am Nachmittag nach Hause brachte, oder die Sammelergebnisse der Frau sind zubereitet. Überall sieht man die Männer neben dem Feuer hocken und auf das Essen warten, wozu auch größere oder kleinere Fleischstücke gehören, die durch vegetabilische Kost ergänzt werden. Vor ihnen haben die Frauen jeweils einige Palmblätter ausgebreitet, als Unterlage für die Speisen. Zuerst essen die Männer, und sie bekommen auch die besten Fleischstücke. Wenn sie gesättigt sind, können die Frauen und Kinder mit dem Essen beginnen. Während der Mahlzeit wird nichts getrunken, doch danach labt man sich an einem Palmfrucht- oder Honiggetränk.

Gegessen wird mit den Händen. In einer Hand hat der Indianer ein gebratenes oder gekochtes Stück Fleisch und in der anderen eine geröstete Banane, einen Maniokfladen oder ähnliches. Zwischendurch greift man immer wieder in den Topf hinein und holt sich ein weiteres Stück heraus oder schneidet es vom hölzernen Bratspieß, resp. Bratständer, ab. Suppen werden aus Cuyenschalen oder Kalebassen getrunken, genau wie Palmfrucht- und Honiggetränke.

Wenn die Jagdbeute besonders gut ausfiel, so kann man beobachten, daß viele Indianer, Männer, Frauen und Kinder, die ganze Nacht hindurch essen, denn konserviert wird das Fleisch ja nur vor Festen. Die einzelnen Familienmitglieder liegen dabei gemütlich in der Hängematte, unterhalten sich, schlafen zwischendurch auch ein Weilchen, um sich dann erneut ein Fleischstück vom Bratspieß oder -ständer zu holen. Es ist erstaunlich, welche Mengen sie in solch einer Nacht verzehren. Doch anderseits können sie auch mit Leichtigkeit längere Zeit fasten.

Ein Schamgefühl beim Essen, wie es beispielsweise Karl von den Steinen von den Bakaïri beschreibt[113]), existiert nicht. Dagegen gibt es Speisetabus für Kranke, schwangere Frauen, für Mädchen während der ersten und zweiten Menstruation sowie für junge Männer anläßlich ihrer zweimonatigen Ausbildung als Medizinmannsgehilfen.

10. *Zahme Tiere*

Als einziges echtes Haustier findet sich bei den Surára und Pakidái nur der Hund — *hima* —. Daneben werden, aus Liebhaberei und Freude am Tier, noch europäische Hähne gehalten sowie kleine Affen, meerschweinähnliche Hamsterchen (*Cavia leucopyga*), Papageien, Ararus und Periquitos (*Conuridae*).

Bei den Hunden handelt es sich um zwei bellende Arten. Eine gleicht dem deutschen Schäferhund, während die andere, welche kurz-

[109]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 55.
[110]) Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, S. 169.
[111]) Zerries, 1958c, S. 177.
[112]) Zerries, 1958c, S. 177.

[113]) Karl von den Steinen, 1894, S. 66.

haarig, weiß oder gefleckt ist, unserem Foxterrier sehr ähnlich sieht. Gut abgerichtete Jagdhunde, mit denen man auch einen einträglichen Tauschhandel betreibt, werden sehr liebevoll gepflegt und bekommen stets reichliches Futter, während man die übrigen auch schon mal vernachlässigt. Aber im Grunde genommen hängen die Indianer auch an diesen Tieren, was schon daraus zu ersehen ist, daß jede Familie, welche Hunde besitzt, meist ein bis zwei, hinter ihrer Feuerstelle ein „Hundebett", d. h. ein Schlafgestell für die treuen Hausgenossen, errichtet hat (Abb. 30) (s. S. 14). Bisweilen werden junge Hunde sogar von Frauen gestillt. Wenn eine Hündin geworfen hat, so bitten alle Verwandten und Freunde um die spätere Überlassung eines Jungen, dem sie nach Erhalt sofort einen Namen geben. Von Interesse ist es vielleicht auch, darauf hinzuweisen, daß die genannten Indianer ihre Hunde niemals heranpfeifen. Meist rufen sie dieselben mit ihren Namen, oder sie zischen, indem sie die Zungenspitze gegen die Zähne pressen[113]).

Niemals werden Hunde getötet, man läßt sie solange leben, bis sie vor Altersschwäche sterben. Auf meine Frage, ob früher jemals Hundefleisch gegessen wurde, gaben mir Männer und Frauen mit entsetzten Gesichtern verneinende Antworten. Dabei soll dieser Brauch einstmals bei verschiedenen Stämmen Guayanas geherrscht haben[114]). Hundemythen scheint es nicht zu geben.

Erwähnen möchte ich noch, daß es mir, anläßlich meines monatelangen, überaus freundschaftlichen Zusammenlebens mit den Surára und Pakidái trotz vieler Bemühungen, wobei mir die Indianer halfen, nicht gelang, auch die Zuneigung ihrer Hunde zu gewinnen. Es bedeutete schon viel, daß ich mit der Zeit von ihnen geduldet wurde. Daher kann ich Friederici voll und ganz zustimmen, wenn er schreibt: „Der Indianerhund hat immer den weißen Mann gehaßt, und umgekehrt der Hund des Europäers den Indianer. Die Ausdünstungen der Rassen sind so verschieden, daß meistens schon eine menschliche Nase den Unterschied herausmerkt, wie viel mehr der Hund. Ging ein weißer Mann durch ein Indianerlager, so hatte er gewöhnlich eine ganze Bande knurrender und fletschender Hunde hinter sich"[115]). Doch auch den konträren Fall fand ich bestätigt. Denn die beim Indianerschutzposten Ajuricaba am mittleren Rio Demini gehaltenen Hunde, Bastarde der verschiedensten Rassen, unter ihnen aber auch frühere Indianerhunde, gebärdeten sich vor Haß ebenfalls wie toll, wenn Pakidái-Familien zu Besuch kamen[116]). Aber in einem noch größeren Maße war die Feindschaft untereinander ausgeprägt, d. h. zwischen den Hunden des Postenpersonals und denen der Pakidái, denn wenn sie sich nur sahen, so verbissen sie sich sofort ineinander.

Bezüglich der Herkunft dieser beiden Hunderassen, welche wohl schon seit Jahrhunderten von den Surára und Pakidái gehalten werden, läßt sich noch nichts Endgültiges aussagen. Bei der von mir erwähnten ersten Art, welche unserem Schäferhund ähnlich sieht, scheint es sich jedoch um einen ganz besonders typischen Indianerhund zu handeln, denn er entspricht völlig der Schilderung, welche Friederici von einem echten Indianerhund gibt: „Die Gesamterscheinung des unverfälschten Indianerhundes war, so weit man noch aus Beschreibung und Zeichnung erkennen kann, das Bild des deutschen Schäferhundes sogen. thüringischen Schlages, mit etwas mehr Wildhundcharakter und mit rauh- oder stockhaariger Behaarung"[117]). Friederici befaßt sich hier zwar mit dem Indianerhund Nordamerikas, doch nach Alexander von Humboldt ist diese Rasse auch bereits in präkolumbischer Zeit für Guayana bezeugt, was aus dem nachfolgenden Zitat zu ersehen ist: „. . . . aber nichts desto weniger steht fest, daß es vor der Eroberung in Peru, Neu-Grenada und Guayana eine unsern Schäferhunden ähnliche Hunderace

[113]) In der gleichen Weise verfahren viele nordamerikanische Indianer. (Friederici, 1899, S. 363).

[114]) Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, IV, S. 189.

[115]) Friederici, 1899, S. 365.

[116]) Auch Baldus beobachtete anläßlich seiner Chaco-Expedition, daß Indianerhunde, wenn sie in die Hände von Weißen kommen, zu erbittertsten Feinden ihrer früheren Herren werden. (Baldus, 1931, S. 18).

[117]) Friederici, 1899, S. 362.

gab"[418]). Bei den Waikâ fand Zerries diese Hundeart merkwürdigerweise nicht vor, sondern nur jene kleine, kurzhaarige, die dem Foxterrier ähnelt, und er vermutet, daß sie z. T. noch von den Hunden abstammt, die vor etwa 15000 Jahren mit den ersten Einwanderern aus Asien über die Beringstraße kam[419]). Doch die nachfolgenden Ausführungen Franz Termers zeigen, daß für letztere Annahme noch sichere Beweise fehlen. Der Gelehrte schreibt nämlich: „Ob schon die ersten, aus Nordost- und Nordasien über die Beringstraße nach Amerika eingewanderten Jäger-Sammler-Horden den Hund mitbrachten, ist, abgesehen vom Eskimohund, bisher nicht mit Sicherheit erwiesen, wenn auch wahrscheinlich. Ob sich von solchen frühen, d. h. späteiszeitlichen bis frühnacheiszeitlichen, mit den Menschen eingewanderten Hunden, die neuweltlichen ableiten lassen oder ob diese aus autochthonen Vorfahren neuweltlichen Ursprungs hervorgegangen sind, ist eine zoologische Frage, zu der hier nicht Stellung genommen werden kann. Die Meinungen darüber sind geteilt. Es scheint in jüngster Zeit eher die Neigung zu bestehen, einen neotropischen Ursprung der Indianerhunde zu vertreten"[420]). Mit dieser letzten Aussage bezieht sich Termer auf Angaben von Gilmore[421]).

Im Gegensatz zu der ungeklärten Herkunft beider Hundearten gibt es für jene der Hähne — *cacard* — keine Zweifel, denn diese werden erst seit kurzer Zeit von den Caboclos (Pflanzer, Gummi- und Palmfasersammler) im Tausch erworben. Doch es überraschte mich sehr, als ich beim Betreten der Surára- und Pakidái-Malokas eine große Zahl von Hähnen vorfand, aber keine Hühner[422]), obgleich sie jene ebenfalls erhalten könnten. Aber dafür besteht kein Interesse, denn die Hähne halten sie nur wegen ihres bunten Gefieders und ihres Krähens in der Morgenstunde[423]). Die meisten Familien besitzen ein bis zwei, welchen sie auch Namen geben; gefüttert werden sie von den Frauen. Tagsüber laufen dieselben frei herum, und nachts sperrt man sie in einen gemeinsamen Stall, den man neben jeder Maloka aus dünnen Stämmen und Stöcken errichtet hat. Wenn der Stamm wandert, ist es die Aufgabe der kleinen Jungen, jeweils einen Hahn in dem geflochtenen Tragkorb aus den Baststreifen der Curauá-Pflanze (s. S. 49) zu tragen. Wird nachmittags ein Behelfslager errichtet, so läßt man die Hähne frei. Die Nacht über ruhen sie auf den Ästen niedriger Bäume, meist in der Nähe ihrer Besitzer. Bevor dann am nächsten Morgen der Marsch weitergeht, werden sie wieder eingefangen und in die Körbe der Knaben gesetzt. Erwähnen möchte ich noch, daß die Surára und Pakidái niemals einen Hahn schlachten, denn er ist ja ein Hausgenosse, und außerdem glauben sie, daß Hähne und Hühner unsaubere Tiere seien, die jeglichen Schmutz fressen. Deshalb wäre der Genuß ihres Fleisches, einschließlich der Eier, für die Menschen sehr schädlich[424]).

Auch die gezähmten Wildtiere, wie Affen, Papageien, Araras und Periquitos, genießen jegliche Freiheit. Niemals habe ich es erlebt, daß man sie festbindet, wie es beispielsweise Baldus von Chacostämmen erwähnt[425]). Die Affen erklettern abends die höchsten Bäume, um in deren Kronen die Nacht zu verbringen, und auch die Vögel fliegen gelegentlich davon. Doch alle Tiere kommen zurück, weil sie ja von klein auf gezähmt wurden und an den Indianern, die sie

[418]) Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, IV, S. 189.

[419]) Zerries, 1956b, S. 151.

[420]) Termer, 1957, S. 2.

[421]) Gilmore, 1950, S. 377.

[422]) Diese werden übrigens gleichfalls *cacard* genannt.

[423]) Ehrenreich berichtet übrigens von den Ipurina, einem Arawakstamm, daß sie nur Hunde und Hühner als Haustiere halten, und letztere seien besonders als Wächter sehr beliebt gewesen. (Ehrenreich, 1891, S. 61).

[424]) Auch bei verschiedenen Karaiben- und Arawakstämmen Guayanas, wo viele Hühner gehalten werden, ißt man weder deren Fleisch noch die Eier. (Im Thurn, 1883, S. 263). Gleiches berichtet Ehrenreich von den Karajá: „Selbst das Haushuhn, welches schon seit langem im domesticirten Zustande zu den Araguayastämmen gelangt ist und sich massenhaft vermehrt, wird als Hausgenosse nicht zur Nahrung verwendet, ebensowenig wie seine Eier. Neuerdings dient es jedoch als Tauschartikel im Verkehr mit den Reisenden, die auf den ersten Ansiedlungen der Provinz Para das Geflügel mit hohem Profit absetzen." (Ehrenreich, 1891, S. 13/14).

[425]) Baldus, 1931, S. 18.

immer liebevoll behandeln, sehr hängen. Mit großer Geduld bemüht man sich, den Papageien und Periquitos das Sprechen beizubringen, und ist glücklich, wenn sich die ersten Erfolge zeigen.

11. Genußmittel

Nur zwei Genußmittel werden von den Surára und Pakidái verwandt, Tabak — *peundhs* — und ein Schnupfpulver — *epená* —. Ersterer dient dem profanen und letzteres ausschließlich dem rituellen Gebrauch.

Doch der Tabak wird nicht geraucht. Die Blätter werden im grünen Zustand zerkleinert, mit Holzasche und Wasser, resp. Speichel, vermischt und zwischen den Händen zu kleinen Rollen gedreht. Diese schiebt man dann zwischen Unter- oder Oberlippe und Zähne, wo sie ausgesogen werden. Jenem Genuß, mit dem auch ein sehr praktischer Zweck verbunden ist, denn die Indianer können dadurch den ganzen Tag im Urwald herumlaufen, ohne ein Hunger- oder Durstgefühl zu verspüren, huldigen beide Geschlechter, einschließlich der Kinder; doch ihre schönen Gesichter wirken durch die Tabakrollen recht entstellt (Abb. 41).

In derselben Weise bedient man sich des Tabaks bei den Waiká, doch hier wird, den Angaben von Zerries zufolge, die Rolle nur zwischen Unterlippe und Zähne geschoben[420] [421]). Sodann erwähnt der genannte Forscher die gelegentliche Verwendung von wildwachsenden Ersatzpflanzen, falls der Tabak einmal fehlt[420] [422]). Bei den Surára und Pakidái konnte ich eine diesbezügliche Erfahrung nicht machen, obgleich auch dort der Tabakverbrauch ungewöhnlich groß ist. Sie bauen aber in allen Waldrodungen reichlich Tabak an, und falls er auf den Feldern ihres jeweiligen Aufenthaltsortes einmal restlos abgeerntet wurde, so holen ihn die Männer von anderen, weit entfernt liegenden Roças, oder sie tauschen ihn notfalls von befreundeten Stämmen ein.

Koch-Grünberg berichtet, daß die von ihm besuchten Xiriána- und Waiká-Horden den Tabak kauen[423]). Doch aus seiner Beschreibung ist zu ersehen, daß es sich in Wirklichkeit auch um ein Aussaugen des Tabaks handelt. Auch die Arekuná am Roroima verfuhren wahrscheinlich in der gleichen Weise, obwohl Richard Schomburgk[424]) und Appun[425]) übereinstimmend von „Tabakkauen" sprechen. Bemerkenswert ist es, daß Koch-Grünberg[426]) diese Art des Tabakgenusses bei keinem Stamm im Roroimagebiet mehr beobachten konnte, denn anläßlich seiner Besuche rauchten die Männer den Tabak als Zigarren oder in kurzen englischen Pfeifen, welche aus Britisch Guayana eingeführt wurden; Frauen sah er niemals rauchen.

Wenn ich den Surára und Pakidái Zigaretten anbot, so entfernten sie anfangs stets das Papier und genossen den Tabak in der gleichen Weise wie ihren angebauten. Doch sie waren nicht sehr begeistert davon, denn für ihre Begriffe war der Zigarettentabak viel zu schwach. Mit der Zeit gewöhnten sich aber Männer und Kinder an das Rauchen[427]), Frauen dagegen nicht.

Das narkotische Schnupfpulver, ähnlich dem Yopo oder Paricá, setzt sich aus verschiedenen Ingredienzien zusammen, von denen mir neben den gerösteten und pulverisierten Paricá-Samen (*Piptadenia peregrina* Benth.) noch die zu Asche verbrannte Rinde einer wildwachsenden Mimosenart (*Mimosa acacioides ?*) — *hekurdhihend* —[428]) sowie ein angebautes Pfeffergewächs

[420]) Zerries, 1956b, S. 154.
[421]) Zerries, 1956c, S. 180.
[422]) Zerries, 1956b, S. 154.
[423]) Zerries, 1956c, S. 180.
[424]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 311.
[425]) Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, S. 239.
[426]) Appun, 1871, S. 321.
[427]) Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 57.
[428]) Hierdurch schwanden unsere Zigarettenvorräte rasch dahin, und mein Diener Mateus und ich waren danach auf den angebauten Tabak der Indianer angewiesen, welcher aber so stark war, daß wir ihn einfach nicht genießen konnten. Mateus kam jedoch auf die glückliche Idee, den Tabak mehrfach zu waschen, und anschließend ließ er ihn an der Sonne trocknen. Da wir in reichlichem Maße Zigarettenpapier mit uns führten, brauchten wir also nicht auf den gewohnten Zigarettengenuß zu verzichten. An das Aussaugen des Tabaks hätten wir uns nie gewöhnen können, denn jeder Versuch verursachte schon Brechreize.
[429]) Hierin steckt bemerkenswerterweise das Wort, mit dem die gigantischen Tier- und Pflanzengeister benannt werden — *hekurd* — und mit denen die Männer nur mittels des Schnupfpulvers in Verbindung treten können.

(*Piperacea* sp.) — *maxarahá* — bekannt wurden[880] [881].

Genau wie das Pfeilgift wird auch dieses Pulver nur von bestimmten Männern angefertigt. Es wird in Bambusröhren — *hira* — aufbewahrt (Fig. 28a), die man mit Blättern verschließt. Vor Gebeten, anläßlich großer Feste und vor Krankenheilungen, an denen außer dem Häuptling noch mehrere Männer beteiligt sind, schüttet man das Pulver auf einen großen, von den Xiriána überlassenen Tonteller. Von hier wird es dann in die 60—70 cm langen Schnupfrohre aus Bambus gefüllt, an deren einer Seite eine durchbohrte, längliche Palmnuß mittels Baumharz angekittet ist (Fig. 28b). An dem freien Ende ist die Nuß spitz zugeschliffen, damit sie der Mann, welcher schnupfen will, in ein Nasenloch stecken kann. Von der anderen Seite

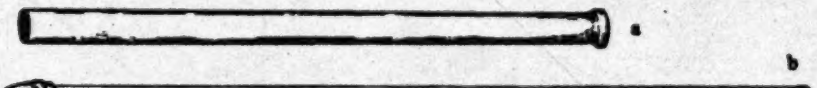


Fig. 28a Bambusröhre zum Aufbewahren des Schnupfpulvers
Fig. 28b Schnupfrohr aus Bambus

des Rohres bläst ihm dann ein befreundeter Stammesgenosse, der dabei halb in die Kniebeuge geht, das Pulver mit aller Kraft in die Nase (Abb. 44).

Schon nach wenigen Augenblicken gerät der Schnupfende dann in einen unvorstellbaren Rauschzustand, wobei er tobt, schreit, singt, tanzt und hin und her springt (Abb. 45, 46). Da ich mich, nach meiner Aufnahme in den Stamm der Surára, dieses Genusses ebenfalls unterzog, bin ich in der Lage, die Wirkung genau zu beschreiben. Ich möchte hier nur kurz andeuten, daß ich gleich danach rasende Kopfschmerzen bekam und einen starken Brechreiz verspürte, genau wie Jünglinge, welche zum ersten Mal mit dieser Droge Bekanntschaft machen. Doch kurz darauf vollzog sich in mir ein eigenartiger Vorgang, denn ich fühlte mich als Riese unter Riesen. Alle in meiner Nähe befindlichen Menschen, aber auch Hunde und Papageien, schienen plötzlich Giganten zu sein. Diese Wirkung, welche auf die im Pulver befindlichen Alkaloide zurückzuführen ist, hängt eng mit den Vorstellungen von den gigantischen Tier- und Pflanzengeistern zusammen (s. S. 92/93).

Bei den Waiká wird dieses Schnupfen in derselben Weise durchgeführt[882]. Auch die Tu-

parí[883] und zahlreiche andere Stämme des westlichen Südamerikas[884] frönen dieser Sitte, obgleich die Zusammensetzung des Pulvers, abgesehen von den Paricá- oder Piptadenia-Samen, scheinbar von Stamm zu Stamm verschieden ist. Cooper kommt übrigens in einer vergleichenden Arbeit über das Piptadenia-Schnupfen zu dem Schluß, daß es sich hierbei um einen „western trait" handelt[885].

12. Hygiene

Ein regelmäßiges Baden, Waschen von Gesicht und Händen und Reinigen der Finger- und Zehennägel kennt man nicht; dies trifft auch für die Säuglinge zu, welche oft mit förmlichen Schmutzkrusten bedeckt sind. Auch die

[880] Die gleiche Zusammenstellung fand Zerries bei den Waiká vor und selbst die Namen für das Pfeilgewächs stimmen nahezu überein, die Waiká nennen es „masho hara". Die Rinde der Mimose, in welcher Zerries ein Alkaloid vermutet, wird aber nur im getrockneten, bzw. gerösteten Zustand benutzt. (Zerries, 1956b, S. 134).

[881] Herr Prof. Dr. Klaus Bastkirig vom Pharmakologischen Institut der Universität Hamburg ist gegenwärtig noch dabei, mein mitgebrachtes Pulver zu analysieren. Das Ergebnis soll später in einem Aufsatz veröffentlicht werden.

[882] Zerries, 1935b, S. 665.
[883] Cooper, 1953, S. 131ff.
[884] Gillin, 1948, S. 833.
[885] Cooper, 1949, S. 536—538 und Karte 12.

Zähne werden nicht geputzt, noch wird jemals der Mund ausgespült. Trotzdem habe ich nie einen unangenehmen Körper- und Mundgeruch an den Indianern wahrgenommen, und ihre Zähne sind bis ins hohe Alter hinein blendend weiß und gesund. Doch wenn Männer und Frauen dann beim Jagen, bzw. Sammeln einen Bach oder einen kleinen Fluß durchqueren müssen, benutzen sie gern die Gelegenheit, um ein erfrischendes Bad zu nehmen, desgleichen, wenn weibliche Stammesangehörige Wasser holen. Von Kindern und jüngeren Leuten wird ein Bad sehr geschätzt, von älteren dagegen gar nicht. Die meisten Männer können recht gut schwimmen und lehren es auch ihre Söhne; schwimmende Frauen und Mädchen bilden Ausnahmen. Durch gelegentliche Berührungen mit den Palmfasersammlern am Rio Aracá, resp. dem Personal des Indianerschutzpostens am Demini haben die Surára und Pakidái seit einiger Zeit die Seife kennengelernt, und verschiedene Indianer, vorwiegend Kinder sowie jüngere Männer und Frauen, lieben es, sich bei einem Bad damit einzuseifen. Einige Frauen waren sogar schon dazu übergegangen, ihre Hängematten hin und wieder mit Seife zu waschen. Die Seifenstücke, welche ich bei mir führte, waren daher sehr begehrt, desgleichen Parfüm und Haarwasser.

Gegessen wird nur mit den Händen (s. S. 85). War das Fleisch sehr fettig und sind die Hände völlig mit Schmutz und Fett verschmiert, so reibt man sie an einem Pfosten etwas ab und fährt sich danach ein paar Mal durch das Haar. Die Eßschalen und Töpfe werden dann mit den Resten der Mahlzeit den Hunden vorgesetzt, welche auch gleichzeitig die Arbeit des Reinigens übernehmen; gespült werden die Eßgeräte nämlich nur selten. Werden sie für die nächste Mahlzeit gebraucht, so fährt die Frau damit einige Male über das Haar. Falls jedoch noch einige Schmutzkrusten vorhanden sind, spukt sie darauf und reibt mit der Hand darüber.

Während und nach dem Essen wird häufig aufgestoßen, und nicht selten kommt es vor, daß ein Familienmitglied d[illegible]uft abläßt, oft sogar mit lautem Geräusch, was man aber, ohne Beeinträchtigung des Appetits, mit fröhlichem Gelächter quittiert. Ansonsten sieht man beide Geschlechter auch viel spucken, bedingt durch die Tabakrollen, welche sie fast ständig im Munde haben (s. S. 88).

Uriniert wird am Tage in unmittelbarer Umgebung der Maloka und nachts in die Feuerstellen. Auch Männer und Knaben urinieren, genau wie Frauen und Mädchen, stets im Hocksitz. Für größere Geschäfte gehen tagsüber alle ein Stück tiefer in die Waldrodung hinein oder gar bis zum Rande des Urwaldes. Nach der Beendigung reiben sie das Gesäß einige Male auf dem Boden hin und her oder an einem Baumstamm. Kleinkinder hält die Mutter, falls sie gerade in der Hängematte liegt, über den Rand derselben ab. Danach wischt sie mit der Hand oder dem Unterarm einige Male über das Gesäß, oder sie bedient sich, falls nötig, zur Reinigung eines Stöckchens. Das kleine Häufchen wird mit Asche oder Erde überstreut und von der Mutter in den Boden eingetreten. Hat ein Erwachsener nachts ein größeres Geschäft zu verrichten, so gräbt er dazu ein kleines Loch neben der Hängematte und schüttet dieses anschließend mit etwas Asche oder Erde zu. Alte oder kranke Personen verfahren auch am Tage in dieser Weise. Daß die Surára und Pakidái zu dem oben erwähnten Zweck nachts die Maloka nicht verlassen, ist darauf zurückzuführen, daß sie Angst vor Schlangen und Jaguaren haben, sowie vor Nonexi, dem bösen Geist, welcher Krankheiten überträgt (s. S. 96). Doch anhaltende unangenehme Gerüche sind selbst in geschlossenen Malokas nicht zu verspüren, da sie durch den aufsteigenden Rauch der ständig brennenden Feuer vertrieben werden.

Während der Menstruation benutzen die Frauen keinerlei Mittel, um das Blut aufzufangen (s. S. 66/67). Blutlachen, welche auf dem Boden zurückbleiben, verwischen sie mit den Füßen.

Im übrigen wird das Gemeinschaftshaus aber recht sauber gehalten. Ständig sieht man Männer und Frauen, die mit Besen aus Piaçabafasern fegen. Für diese Arbeit sogen beide Geschlechter recht gern die von mir als Geschenkartikel mitgebrachten Hemden und Hosen bzw. Kleider an, welche sonst durchaus nicht sehr geschätzt wurden.

VIII. Religion und Magie

1. Das religiöse Weltbild

Nach Ansicht der Surára und Pakidái ist die Erde eine Scheibe, über welcher sich der Himmel glockenförmig wölbt. Alle Macht geht von dem Monde — *Perimbó* — und von *Porí*, dem Herren des Mondes, aus, den man sich als alten Mann mit langem weißen Bart und rotbemalter Tonsur vorstellt. Gelegentlich steigt er zur Erde herab, ist aber dann für die Menschen unsichtbar.

Porí und *Perimbó* bilden also eine untrennbare Einheit, die als ewig, gerecht und gütig gilt, aber auch strafen kann, wenn es notwendig ist. Ihr wird die Entstehung der Erde und alles Lebens zugeschrieben, wobei man annimmt, daß die Schöpfungsvorgänge sowohl in direkter als auch in indirekter Weise[442]) erfolgten.

Der Mond, eine große, offene, kreisrunde Maloka, die inmitten einer Pflanzung liegt und von Wäldern, Bergen und Flüssen umgeben ist[443]), wird gleichzeitig als der Ort betrachtet, wo alle Seelen von Menschen, die nach ihrem Tode verbrannt wurden, unter *Porí* ein paradiesisches Dasein führen. Tiere, Pflanzen und Früchte gibt es hier in Hülle und Fülle, und kein Mondbewohner braucht jemals Hunger und Durst zu leiden.

Aber nur mit dem während der Verbrennung aufsteigendem Rauch kann eine Seele — *wuzih* — (identisch mit Wolke, Rauch), die sich in den Knochen befindet und bei Lebzeiten nie den Körper verläßt, dieses Paradies erreichen. Die Seelen von nicht verbrannten Verstorbenen werden zu Schatten — *patanubi* —, welche ruhelos, ohne Speisen und Getränke, zwischen Erde, Sonne und Mond umherirren müssen[444]).

Alle Surára und Pakidái haben daher große Furcht, daß sie nach ihrem Tode einmal solche Schatten werden könnten. Deshalb bemühen sie sich auch nach kriegerischen Handlungen ihre gefallenen Stammesangehörigen zu bergen, um sie zu verbrennen. Von alten Personen wird zwar nur der Kopf verbrannt (s. S. 72), aber man glaubt, daß dies genügt, um die Seele ebenfalls zum Monde emporzuführen. Feinde verbrennt man dagegen nicht, denn ihnen wünscht man das Schattendasein.

Verbündete des Mondes sind die unzähligen Sterne, welche auch alle von Stämmen bewohnt werden[445]). Wenn eine Sternschnuppe fällt, so glaubt man, daß die Bevölkerung eines Sternes jene von einem anderen besucht.

Der Sonne wird im religiösen Leben nur eine geringe Bedeutung beigemessen. Man hält sie für ziemlich kraft- und machtlos, weil sie ja allein am Himmel steht, keine starken Verbündeten hat und wie ein Vagabund um die Erdscheibe läuft. Nur die umherirrenden Seelen unverbrannter Verstorbener beherrscht sie und bedient sich ihrer Schatten, um im Schutze derselben an Menschen, Tieren und Pflanzen den brennenden, unstillbaren Durst zu löschen. Am Schweiß, so sagten mir meine Gewährsleute, sieht man deutlich, wie sie die Flüssigkeit aus den Körpern herauszieht, und anschließend bleibt ja auch beim Mensch und Tier ein Durst- und Schwächegefühl zurück, während Pflanzen oft verdorren. Daher, und besonders aus Furcht vor den Schatten, hält man Sonnenstrahlen für gefährlich. Deshalb werden Arbeiten, bei denen man sich einer unmittelbaren Sonnenbestrahlung aussetzen müßte, z. B. Waldrodung, Feld- und Hausbau, lieber bei trübem oder sogar regnerischem Wetter durchgeführt. In letzterem Falle ergibt sich sogar ein unmittelbarer Zufort ist, ein jammerhaftes Schattendasein führen müssen.

[442]) Die Ursprungsmythe der Yanomámi stellt ein Beispiel solcher indirekten Schöpfungen dar (s. S. 113/14).

[443]) Das Bild, welches man sich von der Oberfläche des Mondes macht, entspricht der offenen nahezu kreisrunden Surára-Maloka (s. S. 11/12).

[444]) Man fühlt sich hier an die Vorstellung der homerischen Griechen erinnert, welche ja auch annahmen, daß die Toten, nachdem das eigentliche Leben

[445]) Die Surára und Pakidái haben keine besonderen Bezeichnungen für die einzelnen Sterne und Konstellationen. Es gibt nur zwei generelle Namen, Stern — *parimá* — und großer Stern — *parimá kwa* —.

zusammenhang mit dem Monde. Auf diesem Himmelskörper steht nämlich in der Mitte jener offenen Maloka ein großer Baum. Schüttelt *Purí* denselben, kommt erst Wind auf, und danach fällt der Regen. Der Abscheu der Surára und Pakidái vor den unbarmherzigen Sonnenstrahlen der Äquatorialzone findet aber noch eine weitere reale Erklärung darin, daß sie früher, als reine Jäger und Sammler, praktisch nie aus dem ewigen Halbdunkel des Urwaldes herauskamen.

Die Ehrfurcht vor *Purí* und dem Monde ist so groß, daß es die Indianer nicht wagen, persönlich zu dieser vereinigten Höchsten Gottheit zu beten. Serras — *postile* — sowie gigantische Tier- und Pflanzengeister — *hekurá* —[446]), die auf ihnen wohnen und sich durch übernatürliche Eigenschaften auszeichnen, sind die Vermittler. Hierfür eignen sich die Serras deshalb so gut, weil sie ja zwischen der Erde einerseits und dem Mond und der Sonne anderseits liegen. Sie werden als höhere göttliche Gehilfen betrachtet, die nach *Purí* und *Perimbó* am mächtigsten sind. Gleichzeitig sieht man sie als Oberhäupter aller auf ihnen lebenden Tier- und Pflanzengeister an. Ihre Macht ist deshalb viel größer als die der Sonne, weil es ja nur eine Sonne gibt, aber unendlich viele Serras. Doch die Haltung derselben gegenüber *Purí* und *Perimbó* ist nicht immer eine loyale. Meist stehen sie zwar auf deren Seite, wenn es zwischen ihnen aber mal zu einem Streit kommt, kann es passieren, daß sie sich für eine gewisse Zeit mit der Sonne verbünden. Die vereinigte Höchste Gottheit hat aber vorgesorgt und jede eventuelle Gefahr berücksichtigt. Denn dadurch, daß sie für die gigantischen Tier- und Pflanzengeister die Serras als Wohnsitze auserwählte, ist deren Stärke, wenn sie sich gegen *Purí* und *Perimbó* richtet, beeinträchtigt. Im Gegensatz zu den Serras sind nämlich die *Hekurá* unverbrüchlich treue Gefolgsleute der vereinigten Mondgottheiten und schützen sie, gemeinsam mit den Sternen, gegen jegliche Überfälle seitens der Sonne und deren zeitweilige Verbündete. Manchmal tritt bei einem Streit, den die Serras mit dem Monde oder mit der Sonne führen, eine Mond- bzw. Sonnenfinsternis ein, weil sich der jeweilige Himmelskörper dann vor dem anderen verbergen will, um nicht in die Auseinandersetzung hineingezogen zu werden[447]). Wird es z. B. vor einem Gewitter dunkel und beginnen Blitze zu zucken, dann ist die Sonne sehr durstig, verbirgt sich hinter den Serras und bittet um Regen. Diese geben die Bitte an den Mond weiter. Doch jener will nicht dem Wunsche der Sonne entsprechen, und schon ist ein Anlaß gegeben, daß sich die Serras und der Mond streiten. Wenn es dann donnert, hat *Purí* vor Ärger Kopfschmerzen und schüttelt schließlich doch den Regenbaum, damit der Streit ein Ende findet.

Bei den *Hekurá* handelt es sich um gigantische Prototypen aller Tier- und Pflanzenarten, welche auf bestimmten Serras leben, die für Menschen tabu sind. Jene Naturgeister werden als niedere Gehilfen von *Purí* und *Perimbó* betrachtet. Den Menschen sind sie meist wohlgesinnt, gestatten und erleichtern ihnen die Jagd, das Sammeln und den Feldbau. Doch die Männer müssen ihnen durch Gebete stets ihre Dankbarkeit erweisen, und sie dürfen Tiere und Pflanzen nicht wahllos vernichten. Hiermit hängt auch zusammen, daß alle Stammesmitglieder, Männer, Frauen und Kinder, Namen von Tieren oder Pflanzen tragen (s. S. 64/65). Dadurch ergibt sich eine Symbiose, die gleichzeitig den Beweis für das hier auftretende Alter ego — Motiv liefert. Stirbt ein Mensch, der das dritte Lebensjahr überschritten hat, so muß ein Tier oder eine Pflanze jener Gattung, deren Namen er trug, ebenfalls getötet, bzw. zum Absterben gebracht werden. Dies geschieht, damit die Seele des Toten für den langen Weg zum Monde einen Begleiter hat, der die Führung übernimmt und ihr den Eintritt in das paradiesische Totenreich erleichtert (s. auch S. 70).

[446]) Dieser Name wird abgeleitet von *hekuniasi* — Himmel und *ko* — Kopf, oben.

[447]) Das Verhältnis von Mond und Sonne spielt auch in den religiösen und mythologischen Vorstellungen verschiedener anderer Indianerstämme eine besondere Rolle. In einer Mythe der Yurukaré wird es beispielsweise im Sinne des Orpheusmotives behandelt. (Rodrigues, 1875, S. 230 ff.; d'Orbigny, 1835/47, III, S. 220).

Wenn die Häuptlinge, die ja gleichzeitig Medizinmänner sind, oder andere männliche Stammesmitglieder mit den Naturgeistern in Verbindung treten wollen, sei es bei Krankenheilungen, vor oder nach Jagdzügen, anläßlich von Dankgebeten für eine erfolgreiche Ernte usw., so lassen sie sich vorher von einem anderen Mann mittels eines Bambusrohres narkotisches Pulver in die Nase blasen und geraten unmittelbar danach in einen Rauschzustand, wobei sie sich als Riesen unter Riesen fühlen (s. S. 89). Daher ist es auch verständlich, daß sie sich während eines Schnupfpulverrausches mit den *Hekurá* identifizieren und jegliche magische Handlung mit einem sehr ähnlich klingenden Wort — *rekurá* — bezeichnen.

Vergleicht man die Glaubensvorstellungen der Surára und Pakidái mit denen der verwandten Waiká, welche von Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster und dem amerikanischen Missionar James Paul Barker untersucht wurden[888]) [889]) [890]), so läßt sich feststellen, daß sie in ihren Grundzügen weitgehend übereinstimmen.

Alle genannten Stämme glauben an ein Höchstes Wesen, *Pore*, bzw. „Omawa", und schreiben ihm die Erschaffung der Erde und aller Lebewesen zu. Dabei gibt es zwar gewisse Differenzierungen, welche aber wohl auf äußere Einflüsse zurückzuführen sind. So wird *Pore* mit dem Monde — *Parimâ* — in Verbindung gebracht und bildet mit diesem eine untrennbare Einheit[891]), während „Omawa" zusammen mit einem Helfer, „Yoma", im westlichen Himmel lebt, wo sie auch den Regen erzeugen, indem sie das Wasser aus den beiden Himmelsflüssen gießen[892]). Demgegenüber glaubt man bei den Surára und Pakidái, daß *Pore* den Regenbaum des Mondes schüttelt (s. S. 92).

Doch dem Monde wird auch von den Waiká eine große Bedeutung beigemessen, und zwar bezeichnenderweise ebenfalls im Zusammenhang mit der Schöpfung von Menschen. Dies ist aus ihrer Urzeitlegende zu ersehen[893]), welche, bis auf geringfügige Abweichungen, jener entspricht, die mir der Surára-Häuptling Hewemáo erzählte (s. S. 113/14)[894]). Als weitere Parallele ist sodann auf die Beingeburten zu verweisen. Nach der Surára- und Pakidái-Version kamen die ersten vier Männer und eine Frau in gewissen Abständen aus dem Bein eines kleinen Vogels (s. S. 113), während nach jener der Waiká die erste Frau aus dem schwangeren Bein eines Mannes hervorging[895]) [896]). Beiden Mythen gemeinsam ist aber der polyandrische Zug, denn die Frau bekam mit den Männern einen Knaben (Surára und Pakidái) (s. S. 113), bzw. mehrere Kinder (Waiká)[897]).

[888]) Zerries, 1938a.
[889]) Zerries, 1938b.
[890]) Barker, 1953.
[891]) Diese etwas ungewöhnlich anmutende Vorstellung, in welcher Josef Haekel deshalb einen Widerspruch zu erkennen glaubt (Haekel, 1959, S. 40), ist aber auch für die Ufotto belegt, denn Preuss schreibt darüber u. a.: „Wir haben hier also den seltenen Fall, daß durch die Verbindung von Weltgott und Monddirnen eine einzige Gottheit entstanden ist, eine Art Monotheismus, neben der es nur ganz bedeutungslose Dämonen gibt." (Preuss, 1921, S. 176). Und an anderer Stelle führt er noch aus: „Daß Mond und höchstes Wesen hier zusammenhalten, kann daher später eingetreten sein, bewiesen ist aber nicht zu sein. Heute haben wir sie als untrennbare Einheit." (Preuss, 1921, S. 184).
[892]) Zerries, 1938b, S. 280.
[893]) Zerries, 1938b, S. 280.
[894]) Aber bei den Waiká gibt es dankenswerterweise noch eine zweite Vorstellung, welche besagt, daß die ersten Menschen im Regen zur Erde kamen (Zerries, 1938b, S. 281). Demnach müßten sie also aus dem westlichen Himmel hervorgegangen sein, wo ja Omawa lebt und den Regen erzeugt. Zerries hält es jedoch für möglich, daß jener Regen mit dem Blute des verwundeten Mondes identisch ist, und verweist als Parallele auf eine Ufotto-Mythe (Zerries, 1938b, S. 281). In dieser Mythe ist der Monatslehrer der Tochter des Vornehmen den Festen der Tiere als feiner kalter Regen zu sehen, was Preuss als die Flut im Kleinen deutet, welche eintritt, sobald der Dunkelmond entsteht; sie entspricht der monatlichen Regel. (Preuss, 1921, S. 113—115).
[895]) Zerries, 1938b, S. 280.
[896]) Auch für andere südamerikanische Stämme sind die Vorstellungen von Beingeburten belegt. So treten bei den Tukuna die Stammesheroen Dyui und Epi gemeinsam mit ihren beiden Schwestern aus den durch Wespenstiche angeschwollenen Knien des männlichen Notapa (Nimuendajú, 1952, S. 122), und bei den Umotina, welche als Stammeseinheit leider nicht mehr existieren, glaubt man, daß Zivilisierte und feindliche Indianerstämme aus den entzündeten und geschwollenen Waden des ersten Menschen Alpahe kamen (Oberg, 1953, S. 108).
[897]) Zerries, 1938b, S. 280.

In der religiösen Gedankenwelt der Waikâ findet man aber auch Vorstellungen, die sehr widersprechend sind. So wird „Omama" einerseits als Höchstes Wesen und Schöpfer der Erde und der Menschheit betrachtet und andererseits geradezu als ein Feind der Waikâ empfunden, den man eng mit Fremdstämmen im Westen und den Weißen in Verbindung bringt, sowie mit deren unheilvollen Einflüssen, Krankheiten, rätselhaften Kulturgütern (Motor, Benzin etc.)[480]. Weiterhin ist es bemerkenswert, daß „Omama" bei weißer und schwarzer Magie direkt angerufen wird[481] (die Surára und Pakidái verehren mit *Puri/Pariwâ* nur über Vermittler), und daß bei ihm ein kannibalisches Wesen, „Omayalí", lebt, welches nach Zerries vermutlich eine Hypostase des ersteren darstellt[482]. Er glaubt jedoch, daß es sich bei „Omama — Omayalí" um Importgut aus einem anderen Kulturbereich handelt, und führt von Aruak-Stämmen Nordwestbrasiliens sowie von Karaiben Guayanas entsprechende Parallelen an[483], welche von Hackel noch erweitert werden[484]. Der letztgenannte Gelehrte stellt dann die Frage: „Fehlte nun aber den Waika vor dieser Fremdbeeinflussung die Vorstellung von einem Höchsten Wesen?"[485]. Daran knüpft er die Vermutung, daß ihnen eine Hochgottvorstellung im Sinne ihrer verwandten Surára und Pakidái bekannt gewesen sein könnte, da ja in den genannten Volksgruppen der Mond, bzw. der Herr des Mondes gelegentlich auf die Erde herabsteigt, und als weitere Verbindung führt er die Vorstellung von einem himmlischen Paradies der Seelen an[486]. Sodann weist Hackel darauf hin, daß die Surára und Pakidái sowie die Waika in religiös-mythologischer Hinsicht auffallende Ähnlichkeit mit den nachstehend aufgeführten Karaiben-Stämmen zeigen[487], wobei jedoch zu bemerken ist, daß manche das Höchste Wesen mit dem Mond und andere mit der Sonne in Verbindung bringen[488]: Kachuyana (Kashoiéna) (selbst der Name des Höchsten Wesens lautet hier sehr ähnlich, Purá)[489], Baruana[490], Kalina[491], Wajana (Oyana)[492], Makiritare[493].

„Die angedeuteten Parallelen", so führt Hackel hierzu aus, „zwischen Yanoama und Karaiben machen jedenfalls auf eine Reihe von Problemen aufmerksam, von deren Lösung wir heute allerdings noch weit entfernt sind. An der Wahrscheinlichkeit von historischen Beziehungen wird man wohl kaum vorbeisehen können. Wer waren aber nun die „Gebenden", wer die „Nehmenden"? Daß die Surara-Pakidai und Waika in der Einflußsphäre karibischer Stämme liegen, ist offensichtlich, doch besteht meines Erachtens keine Berechtigung, bei den zutage tretenden Anklängen bloß an Einwirkungen von Seiten der Karaiben denken zu wollen. Es wäre auch in Betracht zu ziehen, daß sowohl Yanoama als auch Karaiben gemeinsam an einem älteren Substrat partizipierten"[494]. Hierin stimme ich mit Hackel vollständig überein. Auch seine gewissen Bedenken teile ich in bezug auf die ausgesprochen westliche Orientierung der Waikâ-, resp. Yanomámi-Kultur[495], welche von Zerries vertreten wird[496]. Vieles spricht zwar dafür, u. a. eine bestimmte Form des Endokannibalismus und das rituelle Schnupfen eines narkotischen Pulvers. Als weiterer Beweis könnte auch die Tatsache gewertet werden, daß man bei den Ipurina am Rio Purús den Mond — „pati" — als Höchstes Wesen und „Vater" verehrt, der die Früchte wachsen läßt[497]. Ehrenreich glaubt jedoch in diesem Falle, daß eine christliche Beeinflussung vorliegt. Auch bei den Sáliva im südlichen und östlichen Kolum-

[480] Zerries, 1956b, S. 288.
[481] Zerries, 1956b, S. 286.
[482] Zerries, 1956b, S. 280.
[483] Zerries, 1956b, S. 288.
[484] Hackel, 1959, S. 41.
[485] Hackel, 1959, S. 42.
[486] Hackel, 1959, S. 42.
[487] Hackel, 1959, S. 43.
[488] Hackel, 1959, S. 35.
[489] Kruse, 1935, S. 494 ff.
[490] Polykrates, 1957, S. 1368.
[491] Gillin, 1936, S. 1358.
[492] de Goeje, 1943, S. 168.
[493] Ahlbrinck, 1956, S. 26.
[494] Creutzer, 1953, S. 3058.
[495] Hackel, 1959, S. 43.
[496] Hackel, 1959, S. 43/44.
[497] Zerries, 1956a, S. 81.
[498] Ehrenreich, 1891, S. 70.

hien findet man gewisse Züge in der Religion und Mythologie, die an jene der Yanomámi und Karaiben erinnern, und das von ihnen verehrte Höchste Wesen heißt „Pura“[...], ein Name, der sehr ähnlich klingt wie *Puri* und „Puri“. Sodann weist Hackel noch darauf hin, daß die Religion der Sáliva eine betonte Übereinstimmung mit den benachbarten arawakischen Achagua zeigt[...], die von Hernandez de Alba beschrieben wurde[...]. Außerdem ist zu erwähnen, daß die Guahibo-Indianer am venezolanischen Ufer des Orinoco ihre Gottheit Purumáli nach Zerries von den Achagua, bzw. Sáliva übernommen haben[...].

Aber auch in den östlichen Regionen Guayanas finden sich bedeutsame Parallelen in bezug auf die religiösen und mythologischen Vorstellungen der genannten Yanomámi. Auf die Kachuyana und ihr Höchstes Wesen Purú wurde bereits hingewiesen (s. S. 94). Noch stärker ausgeprägt sind sie bei den Warrau. In ihrer Hauptmythe von „Aboré“ und „Wowáh“ hat der Mond den Charakter eines Kulturheros[...], genau wie bei den Surára und Pakidái; außerdem ist die Übereinstimmung der Namen Aboré und *Puré* besonders groß. Auch die Verwandtschaft mit Kultusgütern führt man jeweils auf die Gottheiten zurück. In der Warraumythe heißt es sogar, daß Aboré vor Wowáh in das Land der Weißen flüchtete, von wo aus er seine Stammesangehörigen mit Importartikeln versorgte[...].

Auch die Vorstellung, daß es von jeder Tier- und Pflanzengattung gigantische Prototypen gibt, existiert bei anderen südamerikanischen Stämmen. Zerries hat hierüber bereits zusammenhängend gearbeitet und mehrere Forscher zitiert, die gleiche oder ähnliche Anschauungen für verschiedene indianische Volksschaften belegten, u. a. Arawak, Mura, Stämme des Chaco, Karaiben in Guayana (Arekuná-Taulipang), Cariña- und Tamanaco-Indianer Nordostboliviens, Cayapa in Ecuador und Yaruro in Venezuela[...].

[...] H. v. Wobeser-Waldegg, 1936, S. 408.
[...] Haekel, 1939, S. 458f.
[...] Hernandez de Alba, 1948, S. 410f.
[...] Zerries, 1954b, S. 150.
[...] Brett, 1880, S. 76.
[...] Brett, 1880, S. 84f.
[...] Zerries, 1951, S. 149/50.

Besonders die Auffassung der Yaruro zeigt nach Petrullos Beschreibung übereinstimmende Parallelen[...]. Für den Karaibenstamm Arekuná bezeugt Koch-Grünberg zwar keine gigantischen Pflanzengeister, aber ihre Vorstellung von den Tiergeistern ist sehr ähnlich; sie werden hier „Pudshi“ — Vater genannt[...].

Vergleicht man danach die Mythen, welche vom Geschehen auf der bereits geschaffenen Erde handeln, so fällt auf, daß bei den Waiká die Verwandlungen von Menschen in Landtiere einen breiten Raum einnehmen[...]. Dasselbe ist auch bei den Surára und Pakidái der Fall, doch kommen noch solche der Tiere selbst, und zwar werden stets kleinere in größere verwandelt (s. S. 115). Die Mythe von der Erschaffung des Anwohnsitzes, in welcher Onoma bzw. *Puré* einen Kuan in jenes Tier verwandelt, der mit seiner Schwiegermutter Inzest begangen hatte, ist den Waiká[...] sowie den Surára und Pakidái in gleicher Fassung bekannt (s. S. 115).

Gleichfalls synonym ist das System der Speisegeister von Tieren und Pflanzen, *kokorí* (Surára und Pakidái) resp. „kokoshi“ (Waiká)[...], welches eng mit dem Medizinmannwesen verbunden ist.

Von Interesse sind schließlich noch Vergleiche über die Vorstellung der menschlichen Seele. Sie kann jeweils nur durch zum Monde (Surára und Pakidái) bzw. Himmel (Waiká[...]) emporsteigen, wenn die Leiche verbrannt wird, denn ihr Name *wawáh* (Surára und Pakidái) resp. „wahwáh“ (Waiká)[...] ist mit dem für Wolke, Rauch identisch. Nach Ansicht der Surára und Pakidái befindet sich die Seele in den Knochen (s. S. 71)[...]. Deshalb verbrennen sie auch nur

[...] Petrullo, 1939, S. 137.
[...] Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 183.
[...] Zerries, 1954b, S. 183.
[...] Zerries, 1954b, S. 183.
[...] Zerries, 1954b, S. 183/84.
[...] Zerries, 1954b, S. 109.
[...] Hierin stimmen sie mit vielen anderen Stämmen überein, denen in seinem Aufsatz „Die Anthropophagie der südamerikanischen Indianer“ schreibt Koch-Grünberg: „Aus allen diesen Gebräuchen geht hervor, daß der Indianer, weitab von körperlichen von dem Gedanken an Genuß, die Knochen, die noch der Bestattung des Leibes übrig bleiben, als den eigentlichen und besten Sitz der Seele betrachtet.“ (Koch-Grünberg), ebda, S. 84.

die Sicherheit ihrer Toten, denen wohl das Fleisch noch verbunden, so bleiben die Seele ja nicht völlig genug beisammen. Auch das zeremonielle Trinken der Knochenasche, erklärlich als jährlich stattfindendes Totenvereinigungsfest, hängt mit der Vorstellung zusammen, daß darin noch kräftigende Bestandteile der Seele vorhanden sind. Bezüglich der Wahl scheidet Zaviera in diesem Zusammenhang: „Allerdings kommen wir die Vorstellung einer Knochenseele bei den Wahe nicht feststellen, wenn wir von der Verbindung zwischen Knochenasche und Seele absehen"[1]. Zaviera hebt auch hervor, daß die Seele nach Ansicht der Wahe nur dem Menschen eigen sei, nicht aber dem Tier[2]. Nach den Aussagen der Saviera- und Pokómo-Häuptlinge soll aber die menschliche Totenseele anläßlich ihrer Wanderung zum Monde von einer gleichzeitigen Gruppe oder pflanzlichen Totenseele begleitet sein, die als Führer dient (s. S. 70/71). Von Kindern nimmt man bei den Saviera und Pokómo an, daß sie bis zum vollendeten 3. Lebensjahre ohne Seele sind, weil sie ja solange von der Mutter getillt werden und daher noch zum Fleisch und Blut gerade zur Seele derselben gehören (s. auch S. 64 und 73). Wahe-Kinder sollen ihre Seele sogar erst nach der Vollendung des 6. Lebensjahres bekommen[3].

2. Krankheiten

a) Allgemeines

Alle Krankheiten werden feindlichen Zauberkünsten, besonders jenen der Wahe, zugeschrieben[4]. Als Überträger bedienen sich derselben den Gerstekorn-Vogel (*Thamnistes hartyptis* L.) und der Fledermaus. Beide Tiere bezeichnet man deshalb gemein als — *mwezi* —, d. h. böser Geist oder Krankheitsgeister[5] [6]. Wird solch ein Tier erblickt, tötet man es sofort, um dadurch ein Unheil zu verhüten. Außerdem wird angenommen, daß mit dem Tode derselben auch ein feindlicher Medizinmann, der ihm ja vorübergehend innewohnt, sein Leben ausgehaucht hat. Die Flügeldecken des Gerstekorn-Vogels werden deshalb für einige Tage als Trophäe in die Haare gesteckt (s. S. 44).

Ist ein Stammesangehöriger erkrankt, so kann man ihn nur dadurch heilen, daß der Häuptling, welcher bei den Saviera und Pokómo zu gleicher Zeit Medizinmann ist, und seine Gehilfen versuchen, die Krankheit an den Feinden zurückzuübertragen. Dies kann aber nur im Schutzgeisterzauber und unter Anrufung der *Mukuru* erfolgen, und zwar am allerbesten in der Nacht bei Mondschein[7]. Den ganzen Tag über haben meist schon ein bis zwei oder mehrmal auch mehrere Männer einbrechende Hahnenrufe durchgeführt. Für alle Krankheiten gibt es ganz bestimmte Texte, Melodien und Tanzarten, die den jungen Männern in einem zweimonatigen Kursus von ihrem jeweiligen Häuptling beigebracht werden (s. S. 67/68). Wenn der Patient trotz aller aufgewandten Mühen stirbt, so ergibt man sich einem gewissen Fatalismus, weil dann eben die Kraft des feindlichen Medizinmannes stärker war[8].

Aus den genannten Gründen gibt es nur eine suggestive Therapie, die durch Fasten und eine Behandlung mit kaltem Wasser ergänzt wird. Im letzteren Falle muß ein Kranker, auch bei höchstem Fieber, viel Wasser trinken und im nahegelegenen Fluß oder Bach häufige Bäder nehmen. Man setzt ihn auch gern dem strömen-

[1] Zaviera, ungdr., S. 103.
[2] Zaviera, ungdr., S. 104.
[3] Zaviera, ungdr., S. 108.
[4] Die Vorstellung, daß Krankheiten von Zauberkünsten verursacht werden, ist in Südostafrika so weit verbreitet, daß ich von der großen Zahl von Belegen nur zwei Autoren zum Vergleich anführen möchte: Roth, 1903, S. 308; Kisch-Gelehrung, 1930/31, S. 190.
[5] *Mwezi* ist eher auch der spezielle Name des Gerstekorn-

[6] Das gleiche Wesen „*mwezi*" oder „*mwizi*" bedeutet Zaviera für die Wahe. Durch diese Identifizierung dürfte die Schuldfrage eher den Affen treffen. (Zaviera, ungdr., S. 108).
[7] Die *Mukuru* sind die Vermittler zwischen den Menschen und dem verborgenen Höchsten Wesen Pwiti (Pwiti) (s. S. 91f.).
[8] Gleiches berichten auch Kisch-Gelehrung von den Ambundu-Umbangala (Kisch-Gelehrung, 1930/31, S. 200), Richard Schmidtlough von den Wahehe (Richard Schmidtlough, 1897, S. 170) und Dundas sowie Quanda von den Galla und Azteken (Dundas, 1913, S. 108/11; Quanda, 1890, S. 160), um nur einige Parallelen zu erwähnen.

den Regen um (Abb. 49), da man annimmt, daß derselbe Heilkräfte in sich birgt, weil er ja vom Regenbaum des Mondes kommt (s. S. 91). Kranke, die jedoch schon zu schwach sind und ihre Hängematte nicht mehr verlassen können, übergießt man in regelmäßigen Abständen mit kaltem Wasser[98].

Während meines verhältnismäßigen Aufenthalts unter den Surára und Pakidái traten dort folgende Krankheiten auf: Grippe, Lungenentzündung, Malaria, Windpocken und ein gastrisches Fieber; zum Glück verlief aber keine tödlich[99]. Doch die beiden an Lungenentzündung erkrankten Surára-Frauen, anfangs eine junge, Xamámi, die Frau von Kúrikayawé, dem jüngeren Bruder des Häuptlings, später eine ältere, Xanámá, die etwa 47 Jahre alte Mutter von Amyarawé (s. S. 57/58), und ein etwa 12 Jahre alter Junge, Xanáwé (s. S. 58), wären wohl ohne mein mitgeführtes Penicillin nicht lebend davongekommen, denn trotz der unerschöpflichen Kuren des Häuptlings und seiner Gehilfen verschlimmerte sich deren Zustand von Tag zu Tag. Im ersten Fall erbaten mir der Häuptling Hewenáo und der Ehemann Kurikayawé schließlich, daß ich Xamámi an zwei aufeinanderfolgenden Tagen je eine Penicillin-Injektion in den Oberarm gab, wodurch sich schlagartig eine Besserung bei ihr einstellte[100]. Im zweiten und dritten Fall bat mich der Häuptling, nachdem auch diesmal seine Heilversuche nicht zum Erfolg führten, sogar darum, den Patienten „Penicillina" zu geben.

[98] Die Behandlung mit kaltem Wasser ist in Südamerika weit verbreitet. Abweichen Vergleichshalber möchte ich die Kashibá-Indianer im nordöstlichen Chaco erwähnen, bei denen der Zauberer die Kranken in derselben Weise zu heilen versucht. (Baldus, 1931, S. 145).

[99] Nur der Pakidái-Jüngling Hakuwáwawéwé starb nach dem Stich von einer Pogonáis-Palme, wobei er sich wahrscheinlich innere Verletzungen zugezogen hatte (s. S. 30).

[100] Dieser Heilung schrieb mein Assistent zugeschrieben, so daß ich dennoch zugestimmt in den Stamm der Surára aufgenommen wurde und natürlich das großen Tatsacheneingeschlossen auch die mit der Krankenstube verbundenen Angehörigen verwichte. Besonderes Interesse dürfte (s. S. 108). Wäre die Frau jedoch nach der Injektion gestorben, so hätte der Häuptling böse Folgen für mich haben können.

Von den verschiedenen Kuren, denen ich beiwohnen durfte, möchte ich nachstehende zwei Behandlungen ausführlich schildern:

b) Zauberkur (Rehawé) für Xamámi:

Xamámi, die junge, schöne Frau von Kurikayawé, war ganz plötzlich erkrankt. Sie hatte hohes Fieber, lag apathisch in ihrer Hängematte und klagte über starke Brustschmerzen. Ihr Mann, der den ganzen ersten Tag in rührender Anhänglichkeit bei ihr blieb, er saß neben ihr oder lag in seiner Hängematte, führte sie mehrmals zu dem nahegelegenen kleinen Fluß, worin sie stets längere Zeit verweilte und in reichlichem Maße trank. Essen durfte sie nichts, doch sie hatte auch kein Verlangen danach. In der Nacht schien das Fieber zu steigen, denn sie phantasierte viel und fand keinen festen Schlaf. Am nächsten Tag fühlte sie sich noch schlechter. Dreimal brachte sie ihr Mann am Vormittag und ebenso oft am Nachmittag zu dem Fluß, ohne daß nach den Bädern und dem Trinken eine Besserung eintrat. Am Mittag des dritten Tages begann dann der Ehemann, zusammen mit zwei anderen Männern, die erste Spezialkur. Zuerst malten sich Kurikayawé und der zweite Teilnehmer mit Urucu schlangenförmige Linien in das Gesicht und auf den Körper, während sich der dritte vollständig mit Ruß einrieb. Danach bliesen sich alle drei gegenseitig Schnupfpulver in die Nase und gerieten schon nach wenigen Augenblicken in Ekstase, indem sie wie wild um die in ihrer Hängematte liegende Kranke herumsprangen, laut schrien und gestikulierten. Doch dann verlief die Kur nach ganz bestimmten Richtlinien. Der völlig schwarz gefärbte Mann stellte symbolisch den Krankheitsgeist — *wenzi* — dar, den ein feindlicher Medizinmann in den Körper der Kranken gezaubert hatte, und die beiden anderen Männer, die sich jetzt mit den *Rehawé* identifizierten (s. S. 92), führten gegen ihn einen Schaukampf. Anfangs waren sie mit großen Stöcken bewaffnet und schlugen auf „*wenzi*" ein, um diesen zu töten. Doch er wehrte sich mit allen Kräften. Dann schleuderten sie Pfeile auf ihn, die er aber zurückwarf. Hierauf stülpte sich der

Krankheitsgeist einen Tragkorb auf den Kopf, der ihm plötzlich herunterfiel. Sofort schlugen die zwei anderen Männer mit ihren Stöcken ganz heftig auf den Korb, um der Krankheit den Garaus zu machen. Alle Bewegungen wurden in einem Tanzrhythmus, zwei Schritte vor und einer zurück, durchgeführt, wobei die *„Hekurá"* ununterbrochen die Worte ho-he-hi-ha-fi, ho-he-hi-ha-fi sangen, während *„Nonexí"* zwischendurch schrille Laute von sich gab. Erst spielte sich der „Kampf" in einiger Entfernung von der Kranken ab, doch während der „Auseinandersetzung" näherten sie sich ihr. *„Nonexí"* tanzte nun allein am Kopfende von Xunamí, und die beiden *„Hekurá"* strichen über den Körper der Kranken und sangen daran. Danach erbrachen sie sich und einer nahm plötzlich einen Stein und der andere ein Stück Holz aus dem Mund. Mit schrillen Schreien warfen sie diese Gegenstände fort, wobei sich *„Nonexí"*, der noch am Kopfende der Patientin verharrte, duckte und laut zu wimmern begann. Mit dem Stein und dem Stück Holz wollte man die Krankheit zu den Waiká schleudern. Hierauf begann erneut das Schringericht zwischen *„Nonexí"* und den *„Hekurá"*, oftmals unterbrochen durch Saugen und Streichen an dem Körper der Kranken, die alles völlig willenlos über sich ergehen ließ. Zwischendurch bliesen sich die Männer immer wieder Schnupfpulver in die Nase. Vier Stunden lang wurde die Kur durchgeführt, doch bei Xunamí war noch keine Besserung festzustellen, sondern eher eine Verschlechterung. Man setzte nun die Kranke vor ihre Hängematte auf den Boden, und zwei andere Männer, diesmal nur personifizierte *Hekurá*, führten im Schnupfpulverrausch die Kur weiter, indem sie um die Frau herumtanzten, sangen und laut schrieen. Zwischendurch bestrichen sie Xunamís Körper und sangen kleine Steine heraus, die sie bespuckten, beleckten und danach an ihrem eigenen Körpern rieben, bevor sie dieselben unter schrillen Schreien fortschleuderten. Hin und wieder schlugen sie auch mit den Händen und Füßen um sich herum einen unsichtbaren Feind. Gelegentlich spuckten sie auch und traten mit Gebärden des Abscheus auf das Sputum. Danach wurde die Patientin wieder in ihre Hängematte gelegt und mit kaltem Wasser übergossen.

Infolge des hohen Fiebers und durch das lange Fasten war Xunamí schon sehr geschwächt. Doch in der kommenden Nacht sollte nun eine ganz große *Rekurá* (magische Kur; s. auch S. 96) durchgeführt werden, und zwar vom Häuptling Hewemáo und acht Gehilfen. (Der Häuptling greift erst dann ein, wenn die Tageskuren einzelner Männer ergebnislos waren). Gleich nach dem Einbruch der Dunkelheit versammelten sich die Männer, von denen acht, einschließlich des Häuptlings, ihr Gesicht und den Körper mit roten, schlangenförmigen Linien bemalt hatten und der neunte mit Ruß schwarz gefärbt war. Ein Stück abseits von der Kranken bildeten sie einen Kreis um den in der Mitte stehenden großen Tonteller, auf dem sich das Schnupfpulver befand. Hiervon bliesen sie sich gegenseitig erhebliche Mengen in die Nase und tanzten danach laut singend und schreiend im Kreise herum. Dadurch sollte, wie mir der Häuptling später erklärte, der Kontakt mit den Hekurá hergestellt werden. Diese Vorbereitungen währten etwa eine halbe Stunde. Darauf näherten sie sich tanzend und singend der Kranken. Diese stand diesmal vor der Hängematte, gehalten von dem Ehemann, der seine Arme unter den übrigen durchgesteckt und über ihrer Brust gefaltet hatte, denn sie war schon nicht mehr in der Lage, allein zu stehen. Laut schreiend tanzten die Männer mehrmals um sie herum und sprangen dann in das innere Rund der großen, offenen Maloka, wo sie mit Ingrimm unsichtbare Gegenstände fortschleuderten. Dann spuckten sie auf dieselben und trampelten wütend auf jenen imaginären Objekten herum, wobei sie laute Drohungen gegen die Waiká ausstießen. Hierauf tanzten und sprangen sie in einem scheinbaren Durcheinander zwischen der Kranken, deren Körper sie jeweils einige Male bestrichen, und dem inneren Hof der Maloka hin und her, wobei sie ab und zu laut schrieen, wilde Sprünge ausführten und sich dabei im Kreise drehten. Immer wenn sie außerhalb des Wohnteiles kamen, warfen sie erneut unsichtbare Gegenstände von sich. Dieses Tanzen, Springen und Schreien, die Bewegungen des

Fortwerfens, in die Kniebeuge gehen, mit den Händen nach vorn und oben zeigen, erschien wie ein Wirwarr, und der dabei vollführte Lärm war unbeschreiblich. Anschließend tanzten der Häuptling und sein Bruder, die Kranke wurde währenddessen von einem anderen Mann gehalten, für etwa 40 Minuten allein um dieselbe herum. Sie bliesen nach ihr und saugten am Körper, wobei sie ihn gleichzeitig massierten. Abwechselnd sprangen sie dann einige Meter zurück und warfen imaginäre Gegenstände von sich. — Die acht Medizinmannsgehilfen hatten sich inzwischen ein Stück von der Feuerstelle entfernt. Der mit Ruß gefärbte Mann lag auf dem Boden, symbolisch den bösen *Nosexi* darstellend, während die anderen sieben, welche sich, genau wie der Häuptling und sein Bruder, mit den Hekurá identifizierten, um denselben herumtanzten und -sprangen. Dabei stießen sie mit den Füßen nach ihm, sprachen Schimpfworte aus, drohten mit den Fäusten und schlugen auf ihn ein. Plötzlich versuchte „*Nosexi*" zu fliehen, doch die anderen Männer holten ihn rasch wieder ein und warfen den „bösen Krankheitsgeist" erneut zu Boden. Man beklopfte seinen Körper, saugte daran und spuckte über ihm aus. Ja, man schlug sogar symbolisch mit Stöcken auf denselben ein. Dann wurde ein 2 kg schwerer Stein auf den Leib von „*Nosexi*" gelegt, nach kurzer Zeit wieder aufgenommen und fortgeschleudert. Hierauf verstummte mit einem Male der Höllenlärm. Der Häuptling Hewemäo hockte völlig in sich versunken vor der Kranken. Hinter ihm kauerte sein Bruder Kurikayawö, der ihm über den Körper und den Kopf strich und leicht seinen Rücken beklopfte. Es herrschte ein völliges Schweigen, nur das Stöhnen des Häuptlings und der Kranken war zu vernehmen, welches oft durch laute Seufzer des ersteren unterbrochen wurde. Die übrigen sieben „*Hekurá*" hockten indessen schweigend um den liegenden „*Nosexi*" herum. Die Kranke saß nun zwischen den Beinen jenes Mannes, der sie bisher gestützt hatte. Nach der Sammlung des Häuptlings, die etwa 30 Minuten währte, bildeten alle Teilnehmer der *Rahurá* einen Kreis um Xunamä. Der Häuptling kauerte sich ihr direkt von Angesicht zu Angesicht gegenüber und begann laut mit einer wunderbaren Baritonstimme zu singen, während die übrigen acht Mann, mit Ausnahme des „*Nosexi*", im Chor einstimmten. Es war ein mehrstimmiger Gesang und so melodisch, daß er auf mich wie ein Orgelklang wirkte. Ab und zu standen die Medizinmannsgehilfen auf und gingen singend um die Patientin herum, während ihr der Häuptling vom Kopf bis zu den Füßen über den Körper strich, sie massierte, beklopfte und an ihr saugte. Danach spuckte er jeweils imaginäre Gegenstände aus, wobei die anderen Männer stets in laute Ah- und Oh-Rufe ausbrachen. Dieser Chorgesang und die dabei durchgeführten Handlungen währten ca. drei Stunden. Anschließend saugte Hewemäo besonders heftig an Xunamäs Körper, wobei seine Hände an ihr immer von oben nach unten strichen. Mit einem Male befanden sich ein etwa 1 kg schwerer Stein in seiner rechten Hand und drei kleine Steine, zwei Stückchen Holz und zwei Fingernägel in seiner linken. Alle Objekte hatte er aus ihrem Körper gesaugt und schleuderte sie nun, unter lauten Ah- und Oh-Rufen seiner Gehilfen, mit Gebärden des Abscheus fort. Während dieses Saugens und Bestreichens schwoll der Chor aller im Kreise stehender „*Hekurá*" zu einer ungeheueren Stärke an und ebbte erst wieder ab, nachdem sich Hewemäo langsam zurückgezogen hatte, denn seine Arbeit war zunächst beendet. Er war in Schweiß gebadet und legte sich völlig erschöpft in seine Hängematte, wo ihn seine beiden Frauen mit einer nahrhaften Mahlzeit, bestehend aus gebratenem Tapirfleisch, Maniokfladen und einem Bacabagetränk, versorgten.

Doch die Kranke war auch nach dieser fünfstündigen Kur noch nicht erlöst. Von 23.00 bis 1.00 Uhr führten der Ehemann und die Medizinmannsgehilfen dieselbe weiter, und zwar in der gleichen oben beschriebenen Weise. Die Hauptsache waren der Chorgesang und das schreitende Tanzen, dazu kamen gelegentliches Sitzen, Bestreichen der Kranken, Saugen, drohende Handbewegungen zu einem unsichtbaren Gegner, Ausspeien usw. Um 1.00 Uhr schieden zwei weitere Männer aus, u. a. der Ehemann. Dieser hob jetzt seine Frau auf und legte sie in ihre

Hängematte, dann kauerte er sich daneben und stützte ihr ärztlich den Kopf. Noch etwa zwei Stunden lang sangen und „kurierten" die Medizinmannsgehilfen weiter und danach bis gegen 5.00 Uhr einer allein. Erst dann konnte sich die kranke Frau für kurze Zeit der wohlverdienten Ruhe hingeben[202]). Von den übrigen Stammesangehörigen schauten viele dieser Zauberhandlung zu, vor allem Frauen, die dabei leise weinten. In einem etwas größeren Abstand kauerten sie im Halbkreis und beobachteten die Vorgänge mit gespannter Aufmerksamkeit, jedoch nur, solange der Häuptling in Tätigkeit war. Als er seine Arbeit beendet hatte, verschwanden auch nach und nach die Zuschauer.

Leider blieben in diesem Falle alle aufgewandten Mühen ohne Erfolg, und Hewemäo gestand mir am nächsten Tag, als es der Kranken noch viel schlechter ging, daß diesmal die Kraft der Waiká-Medizinmänner ungewöhnlich groß sei. Daraufhin schlug ich ihm vor, daß ich Xunamí Penicillin-Injektionen geben wolle. Nach längeren Beratungen mit dem Ehemann und anderen männlichen Stammesangehörigen willigte er, wenn auch mit Bedenken, ein, und das Glück stand sowohl der Kranken als auch mir zur Seite. Von diesem Augenblick an wurde der Name Penicilina (portugiesische Schreibweise) zu einem Zauberwort, denn es hatte ja dazu beigetragen, die Krankheit fortzuscheuchen. Hewemäo bat mich sogar, daß ich ihm beim nächsten Besuch recht viel davon mitbringe.

c) Zauberkur (*Rekurd*) für Xanimá:

Xanimá, die etwa 47 Jahre alte Mutter von Anyarawë (s. S. 58), war seit fünf Tagen an Windpocken erkrankt und hatte ständig hohes Fieber. Anfangs führte man auch bei ihr die Wasserkuren durch, d. h. sie mußte im Fluß ständig Bäder nehmen und viel Wasser trinken; bei zunehmender Schwäche blieb sie in der Hängematte liegen und wurde mit kaltem Wasser übergossen. Danach gab es Scheingefechte zwischen zwei „*Hekurá*" und dem bösen, schwarzgefärbten Krankheitsgeist „*Nowazi*".

Als keine Besserung eintrat, veranstalteten der Häuptling Hewemäo und acht Gehilfen wiederum eine große, jedoch diesmal etwas abweichende nächtliche *Rekurá*, weil es sich ja um eine andere Krankheit handelte[203]). Zuerst bildeten die Männer, acht hatten sich rote schlangenförmige Linien auf Gesicht und Körper gemalt und einer war schwarz gefärbt, im Schein der Feuerstelle wieder einen Kreis um den in der Mitte stehenden großen Tonteller, auf welchen man Schnupfpulver geschüttet hatte. Sie füllten reichlich davon in ihre Schnupfrohre und bliesen es sich gegenseitig in die Nase, worauf schon nach wenigen Augenblicken der Ekstasezustand eintrat. Die Männer hüpften mehrmals um ihre eigene Achse und stürmten, auf einen Zischlaut des Häuptlings, mit anhaltend schrillen Schreien, die in den verschiedensten Tönen erfolgten, auf die Kranke zu. Sie wirkten wie eine wilde Horde, denn die Teilnehmer überschrieen sich, hüpften vor und zurück, drehten sich im Kreise, gingen in die Kniebeuge, sprangen in die Höhe und drohten mit den Fäusten gegen einen unsichtbaren Feind. Nach einem erneuten Zischlaut Hewemäos stellten sie sich im Kreis um die in ihrer Hängematte liegende kranke Frau, und jeder Mann legte beide Hände auf die Schultern des vor ihm stehenden. Mit wiegenden Tanzschritten, zwei vor und einer zurück, wobei sie ho-he-hi-ha-fk, ho-he-hi-ha-fk sangen, liefen sie längere Zeit um die Patientin herum. Dann zischte Hewemäo zum dritten Mal, worauf der Gesang verstummte. Hierauf stimmte der Häuptling einen melodischen Gesang an, den die Gehilfen durch Summen untermalten. Währenddessen bewegten sie sich weiter wiegenden Schrittes um die Kranke, wobei die Hände nach wie vor auf den Schultern des jeweiligen Vordermannes lagen. Nach 15 Minuten zischte Hewemäo erneut, und jetzt legte man die Hände gekreuzt auf die Schultern des Voranschreitenden. Gleichzeitig fielen alle Männer in den Ge-

[202]) Hat sich bei Patienten die Krankheit sehr verschlimmert, so läßt man sie möglichst wach, um ihr Leben nicht aufs Spiel zu setzen. Dann wenn sie einschliefen, so könnte der Tod von ihnen Besitz ergreifen.

[203]) Wie schon oben erwähnt (s. S. 96), gibt es für jede Krankheit ganz bestimmte Texte, Melodien und Tanzschritte.

sang des Häuptlings ein, und zwar wurde wieder mehrstimmig gesungen. Dieser Chorgesang, in Verbindung mit dem schreitenden Tanz, währte weitere 20 Minuten. Danach stellten sich der Häuptling und sein Bruder Kurikayawö am Kopfende der Patientin einander gegenüber und stimmten einen Wechselgesang an. Am Fußende hockten zwei Gehilfen, die sich ebenfalls anschauten und leise summten. Ein Stück hinter dem Kopfende tanzten zwei weitere Gehilfen mit zugewandten Gesichtern vor und zurück, welche ebenfalls summten und gelegentlich vogelartige Laute ausstießen; mit den Händen fuhren sie häufig durch das Kopfhaar und strichen sie danach regelmäßig über das Gesäß nach unten. Die restlichen drei Männer, zwei rotbemalte und der eine schwarzgefärbte, d. h. zwei „*Hekurd*" und „*Nonezi*", führten währenddessen hinter dem Fußende von Xanimá ein Scheingefecht durch, in ähnlicher Weise, wie es bereits auf S. 99 geschildert wurde. Inzwischen hatte die Schwiegertochter der Kranken dieselbe aufgerichtet und sich hinter ihr in die Hängematte gesetzt, gleichzeitig stützte sie die alte Frau mit beiden Armen. Als dann das Scheingefecht beendet war und der böse „*Nonezi*" am Erdboden lag und die beiden „*Hekurd*" neben ihm als „Sieger" kauerten, begann erneut ein mehrstimmiger Gesang aller Teilnehmer. Gleichzeitig strich der Häuptling über den Kopf und anschließend über den Körper der Kranken. Dann begann er an ihr zu saugen, erst am Kopf, danach an der Brust, am Bauch und an den Oberschenkeln. Hierauf stieß er schrille Schreie aus und erbrach sich. In diesem Augenblick verstummte der Gesang, und alle Gehilfen stießen laute Ah- und Oh-Rufe aus. Hierauf schleuderte Hewemäo unsichtbare Gegenstände zur Seite, was von den übrigen Männern stets mit Ah- und Oh-Rufen begleitet wurde. Dann stimmte man erneut einen Chor an. Dieser Teil der Zauberhandlung dehnte sich über zwei Stunden lang aus. Nachdem der Häuptling aber Steine und Holzstücke aus dem Körper der Kranken herausgesaugt und unter begeisterten Ah- und Oh-Rufen der Gehilfen fortgeschleudert hatte, steigerte sich die Lautstärke des Gesanges, dem sich schrille Schreie anschlossen, die in einem allgemeinen Summen endeten. — Danach trat völlige Ruhe ein. Die Männer setzten sich im Kreis um Xanimá, und jeder stützte den Kopf auf die Knie, denn alle waren sichtlich erschöpft, besonders der Häuptling und sein Bruder. Doch die Frauen der letzteren hatten sich hinter dieselben gesetzt und strichen ihnen über den Kopf, über die Schultern und beklopften leicht den Rücken, um den Ermatteten neue Kräfte zu verleihen, denn während des Heilprozesses hatten sie sich vollständig verausgabt. Auch die Kranke konnte jetzt wieder liegen. Sie hatte die Augen geschlossen, und man merkte, wie mitgenommen sie von dem langen Sitzen war. Nach dem bisherigen Lärm wirkte die Stille recht eigenartig. Aber bereits nach 15 Minuten erhob sich einer der Medizinmannsgehilfen; er begann im Kreise um die Kranke herumzutanzen, wobei er leise sang. Doch inzwischen hatten sich Wolken vor den Mond geschoben, und ein heftiger Regen setzte ein. Daraufhin beschloß Hewemäo, die Sitzung zunächst abzubrechen, um sie im Morgengrauen fortzusetzen. „Denn bei verdunkeltem Himmel", so meinte er, „ohne die Mitwirkung des Mondes, sei es nicht möglich, die Frau von ihrer Krankheit zu befreien." Zwei Gehilfen ließ er bei der stöhnenden, von Fieberschauern geschüttelten Xanimá zurück, die links und rechts von ihrem Kopfende kauerten und leise summten, damit, wie mir Hewemäo sagte, der Kontakt zu den *Hekurd* nicht abgebrochen wurde. Gegen 4.30 Uhr, der Regen hatte inzwischen aufgehört, versammelten sich die neun Männer erneut um die Kranke und setzten die Kur in der oben beschriebenen Weise noch zwei Stunden lang fort. Bereits am Vormittag war das Fieber beseitigt, und die Frau befand sich auf dem Wege der Besserung. Sie und jeder andere Stammesangehörige waren davon überzeugt, daß Hewemäo den bösen Krankheitsgeist *Nonezi* zu den Waiká geschleudert hätte. Doch auch Hewemäo selbst glaubt fest daran, daß er im Schnupfpulverrausch und mit Hilfe der *Hekurd* und des Mondes Krankheiten und Unglücksfälle abwehren, aber auch verursachen könne.

Die beiden geschilderten Zauberhandlungen zur Abwehr von zwei verschiedenen Krankheiten lassen ein gewisses äußeres Schema erkennen. Jede Kur beginnt mit der Einnahme von Schnupfpulver, wodurch der Häuptling und seine Gehilfen in einen Rauschzustand geraten und sich dabei mit den *Hekurá* identifizieren. Es folgt das Anrufen der *Hekurá*, was durch wilde Gebärden unterstützt wird, dann das Scheingefecht zwischen zwei oder mehreren „*Hekurá*" und dem Krankheitsgeist „*Nosexi*". Doch danach wendet man für jede Krankheit ganz bestimmte Texte, Melodien und Tänze an. Unvergeßlich werden mir die mehrstimmigen Chorgesänge bleiben, welche die Bitten an die Hekurá und die Serras enthalten, die sie ihrerseits an *Porí/Perimbó* weiterleiten (s. S. 91 ff.)[888])

Bei allen Kuren durfte ich als Zuschauer teilnehmen und jede *Rekurá* war ein erneutes, großes Erlebnis für mich. Ich fand es bewunderungswürdig, mit welcher Aufopferung, Leidenschaft und Inbrunst der Häuptling und seine Gehilfen sich mit allen ihren physischen und psychischen Kräften dafür einsetzten, die Krankheiten von ihren Stammesangehörigen abzuwehren[889]). Daher ist es verständlich, daß die Surára und Pakidái ihren Häuptlingen ein so grenzenloses Vertrauen entgegenbringen und restlos von deren Zauberkräften überzeugt sind. Diesem unerschütterlichen Glauben ist es deshalb wohl auch zu verdanken, daß so viele Kranke geheilt werden können[890]).

In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich noch folgende sehr aufschlußreiche Schilderung von Herbert Baldus zitieren: „Die Zauberärzte wurden von früheren Reisenden einfach für Betrüger erklärt, und heute noch sind alle Weißen, welche die Psyche des Indianers nicht zu begreifen vermögen, derselben Ansicht. Man vergißt, daß bei der Suggestibilität des Primitiven die zauberischen Handlungen nicht nur dem Kranken wesentlich helfen und seinen Angehörigen die Angst nehmen, sondern auch den Ausübenden selbst derartig in ihren Bann ziehen, daß es unmöglich ist zu unterscheiden, wieweit er gläubig wirkt und wieweit er heuchelt"[891]). Daß aber selbst in der modernen Medizin der suggestiven Einwirkung des Arztes auf seinen Patienten heute eine große Bedeutung beigemessen wird, zeigen die nachfolgenden Ausführungen von Hans Grimm: „Wenn wir betonen, daß die suggestive Einwirkung der Arztpersönlichkeit auf den Patienten vielfach von entscheidender Bedeutung ist (Jores), wenn wir Hypnose, das sogenannte „autogene Training" usw. verwenden, so kehren wir in unserer Weise zu dem zurück, was schon in den schamanistischen Techniken eine Rolle spielte"[892]).

3. Religiöse Feste

In jedem Jahr, gegen Ende der Trockenzeit, März—April, feiern die Surára und Pakidái gemeinsam das Totenerinnerungsfest — *patapánomõo* —[893]). Es findet regelmäßig in der großen, offenen Surára-Maloka Jaracá (s. S. 11 ff.) statt. Gelegentlich nehmen auch einige Familien befreundeter Stämme (Xiriána, Pusheweteri, Aramamesteri usw.) daran teil. Das Patapánomõo-Fest, welches ich in allen Phasen mit-

[888]) Ich bedauere es zutiefst, daß ich diese Gesänge nicht auf einem Tonband festhalten konnte. Aber leider war das Tonbandgerät, welches mir die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft vor Antritt meiner Expedition auf dem Kurierwege an das Deutsche Generalkonsulat in São Paulo geschickt hatte, von einem dortigen Angestellten beschädigt worden. Er hatte es unberechtigterweise ausgepackt und damit herumgespielt. So kann ich nur hoffen, daß es mir vergönnt sein wird, diese Gesänge bei einer späteren Forschungsreise noch aufzunehmen.

[889]) Aber auch mir, dem Fremdling, ließ man die gleiche Fürsorge angedeihen. Wenn ich einen Malariaanfall hatte, tanzte der Häuptling mit seinen Gehilfen ebenfalls um mich herum, und sie sangen im Chor, während Hewemõo meinen Körper bestrich, massierte und daran saugte. Er war der Meinung, daß die Waihá mein Blut vergiftet hätten, weil ich mit den Surára in Freundschaft lebte und ihnen so viele schöne Geschenke mitgebracht hatte.

[890]) Nie beobachtete ich, daß die Häuptlinge für ihre Kuren ein Honorar verlangten. Aber die Stammesangehörigen zeigen sich erkenntlich, indem sie ihren Häuptlingen laufend größere und kleinere Geschenke darbringen (s. S. 60).

[891]) Baldus, 1931, S. 142.

[892]) Grimm, 1938/39, S. 337.

[893]) Hierin ist das Wort für Leiche, der oder die Tote — *masmãe* — enthalten.

erlebte, wurde in der Zeit vom 4.—6. IV. 1956 durchgeführt. Doch schon vorher traf man zu diesem Zwecke große Vorbereitungen. Die Männer gingen auf Gemeinschaftsjagd, um möglichst viele Tapire zu erlegen, deren Fleisch dann auf den Bratständern, bei gleichbleibendem, nicht zu starkem Feuer, solange durchgebraten wurde, bis es schwarz und knochenhart war, so daß man es einige Tage aufbewahren konnte. Dieses Braten gehörte zum Aufgabenbereich der Männer, genau wie das Ernten der Pupunha-Früchte. Von den Frauen wurden die letzteren dann zu einem Getränk verarbeitet. Außerdem holten sie aus der Pflanzung große Mengen Bananen, welche man in die Sonne legte, damit sie nachreifen konnten, und schließlich ist noch zu erwähnen, daß sich bei allen Familien nach und nach mehrere Haufen von Maniokfladen stapelten.

Am Abend des 4. April, gegen 21.00 Uhr, begann dann das eigentliche Fest. Fünf Männer und fünf Knaben, welche über ihren Hüftschnüren baumwollene Gürtel trugen, tanzten, nachdem sich die ersteren vorher noch Schnupfpulver in die Nase geblasen hatten, einer hinter dem anderen (zwei Schritte vor und einer zurück, wobei das stärkere Anheben der Knice bei leichter Auswärtsdrehung des Beines zu bemerken ist) auf einer Kreisbahn im offenen Rund der Maloka herum, und zwar gegen den Uhrzeigersinn[*]). Die beiden ersten Männer hielten je zwei Pfeile in der rechten Hand, und die übrigen, sowie alle Knaben, hatten die Hände hinter dem Kopf verschränkt. Gelegentlich sang ein Mann mit schöner, voller Baßstimme, und die anderen fielen danach im Chor ein. Die Gesänge waren sehr melodisch und gaben den Rhythmus für die Tanzschritte ab[**]). Gegen 22.00 Uhr stießen weitere Männer, z. T. mit, z. T. ohne Pfeile, und Knaben (alle ohne Pfeile) zu den Tanzenden, und 23.30 Uhr waren, mit Ausnahme des Surára-Häuptlings, alle Männer und Knaben in der Mitte des Maloka-Hofes versammelt, wo sie sich von einem mit Schnupfpulver gefüllten großen Tonteller, den man inzwischen hier aufgestellt hatte, einschließlich mehrerer Schnupfrohre, gegenseitig gewaltige Mengen in die Nase bliesen. Danach setzten sie sich im Kreise nieder und begannen einen Chorgesang anzustimmen. Bald darauf erhoben sich fünf Krieger, die in beiden Händen Pfeile hielten, und tanzten um die Singenden herum. Ab und zu führten sie gewaltige Sprünge aus und schrieen dabei mit hoher, schriller Stimme. Alles spielte sich in einer kühlen, wolkenverhangenen Vollmondnacht ab, die zahlreichen Feuerstellen trugen aber etwas zur Erhellung bei. Alle Frauen und Mädchen sowie mein Diener Mateus und ich lagen in den Hängematten und schauten dem einzigartigen Schauspiel zu. Gegen 1.00 Uhr morgens erhoben sich die männlichen Festteilnehmer und tanzten jetzt, wieder einer hinter dem anderen, im Außenkreis des Maloka-Hofes herum. Sie waren in der Weise formiert, daß hinter einem Mann mit zwei Pfeilen stets einer folgte, der die Hände hinter dem Kopf verschränkt hatte.

Plötzlich wurde der neben mir in seiner Hängematte schlafende Häuptling Hewemão von einem Krieger mit dem Pfeil leicht angestoßen. Er stand sofort auf, zog Hemd und Hose aus (die beiden Kleidungsstücke hatte er von mir als Geschenk erhalten), nahm einen Bogen ohne Sehne in die Hand, ließ sich Schnupfpulver in die Nase blasen und mischte sich unter die Tänzer, welche aber sofort nach seinem Eintritt folgende neue Formation bildeten: Zehn Männer hatten sich an der Spitze des Tanzzuges in Rhombusform aufgestellt, einer ganz vorn, zwei seitlich dahinter und wiederum zwei seitlich hinter diesen; letzteren standen zwei unmittelbar gegenüber, dann folgten zwei, die etwas nach innen standen, und schließlich einer, der sich in der Mitte hinter diesen befand (Fig. 29). Die ersten fünf Krieger, welche sich mit Ruß schwarz gefärbt hatten, symbolisierten die *Nowaxi* (böse Geister bzw. Krankheitsgeister, s. S. 96) und mußten rückwärts tanzen. Die ihnen folgenden fünf Tänzer verkörperten *Hekurá* (gigantische Tier- und Pflanzengeister, die den Surára und

[*]) Bei allen Tänzen, die sich auf der Peripherie eines Kreises bewegen, tanzen die Teilnehmer entgegen dem Uhrzeigersinn.

[**]) Die Surára und Pakidái begleiten ihre Tänze teilweise mit Gesängen, denn Musikinstrumente sind ihnen nicht bekannt.

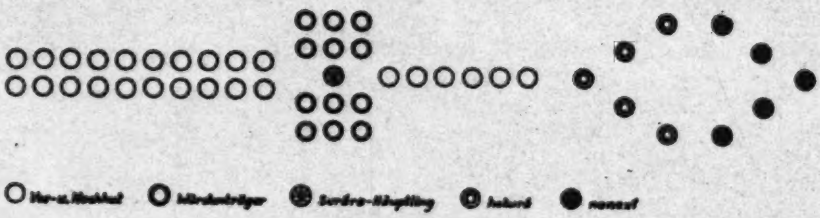


Fig. 29 Aufstellung der Tänzer anläßlich einer Zeremonie des Totenerinnerungsfestes

Pakidái wohlgesinnt sind, s. S. 92, 97 ff.). Zwischen diesen beiden Fünfergruppen, deren Teilnehmer je zwei Pfeile in den Händen hielten, wurde während des Tanzes ein Scheingefecht durchgeführt (s. auch S. 97 ff.). Die Männer der ersten Gruppe tanzten je zwei Schritte zurück und einen vor und die der zweiten zwei Schritte vor und einen zurück. Dazwischen wurden wilde Sprünge und Drehungen ausgeführt, man bedrohte sich mit den Pfeilen und schrie in den höchsten Tönen. Die „*Nonaxí*" waren also ununterbrochen auf dem Rückzuge und verteidigten sich mit allen Kräften gegen die vordringenden „*Hekurá*". Hinter diesen zehn „kämpfenden" Tänzern folgten sechs Männer in Reihe, die je einen Pfeil in der Hand hatten, die Vorhut des Häuptlings. Mit kleinem Abstand schloß sich ihnen der Surára-Häuptling Hewemão an, eingerahmt zu beiden Seiten von je sechs in Doppelreihe formierten Männern. Bei letzteren handelte es sich ebenfalls um hervorragende Persönlichkeiten; so gehörten ihnen die beiden jüngeren Brüder des Häuptlings an, der Kriegshäuptling der Surára, Häuptling und Kriegshäuptling der Pakidái sowie besonders bewährte ältere Krieger beider Stämme. Danach kamen, als Nachhut, in der Formation einer Doppelreihe, die übrigen Männer, Jünglinge und Knaben. Alle Teilnehmer des Zuges bewegten sich in den üblichen Tanzschritten, zwei vor und einen zurück, wozu sie im Chor sangen. Ab und zu stieß der Häuptling Hewemão einen Zischlaut aus, worauf sich alle Teilnehmer in der Mitte des Platzes um den großen Tonteller mit Schnupfpulver gruppierten. In singendem Tonfall betete der Häuptling hier zuden *Hekurá* und bat sie um Fürsprache bei *Purí/Perimbó*, damit dem Fest ein glücklicher und erfolgreicher Verlauf beschieden sei. Dann bliesen sich die Männer gegenseitig neues Schnupfpulver in die Nase, worauf der Tanz in jener oben geschilderten Weise fortgesetzt wurde. Dieses Tanzen und Singen währte, mit Ausnahme der kurzen Unterbrechungen am Tonteller, bis 6.00 Uhr morgens.

Gleich anschließend kauerte sich der Surára-Häuptling an seiner Feuerstelle nieder, und neben ihn hockte sich ein Medizinmannsgehilfe. Auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite der großen Maloka hatten der Pakidái-Häuptling und ein Gehilfe die gleiche Stellung eingenommen. Hewemão, der erstgenannte Häuptling, begann laut und vernehmlich mit den *Hekurá* (gigantische Tier- und Pflanzengeister) zu sprechen. Dabei strich er sich ständig von vorn nach hinten über das Haar und klatschte sich anschließend auf sein Gesäß. Der neben ihm hockende Gehilfe wiederholte jedes seiner Worte und kopierte alle Bewegungen. (Hierdurch soll symbolisch zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, daß die *Hekurá*, jene Vermittler zwischen den Menschen und dem vereinigten Höchsten Wesen, *Purí/Perimbó*, auch tatsächlich alle Fragen, Bitten und Wünsche weiterleiten). Nach Hewemão sprach der Pakidái-Häuptling mit den *Hekurá*, und sein Gehilfe wiederholte ebenfalls jedes Wort und ahmte die Gesten (Haarstreichen und Klatschen auf das Gesäß) nach. Diese Geisterbeschwörung, welche die beiden Häuptlinge wechselseitig durchführten, dauerte eine Stunde.

Danach legten sich die beiden erschöpften Häuptlinge und die übrigen Männer, Jünglinge und Knaben zur wohlverdienten Ruhe nieder.

Die Frauen gingen inzwischen ihrer gewohnten Tätigkeit nach. Sie holten Wasser, bereiteten das Essen, versorgten die Kinder; manche flochten inzwischen auch an einem Korb, oder sie zogen Glasperlen auf eine Schnur. Diejenigen Männer, welche inzwischen wieder erwacht waren, blieben z. T. untätig in ihrer Hängematte liegen, manche spielten auch mit den Kindern, während andere gruppenweise zusammensaßen und sich unterhielten.

Gegen 14.00 Uhr nahm das Fest seinen Fortgang, als 20 Männer, Jünglinge und Knaben, von denen jeder einen Pfeil in der Hand hielt, mit lauten Schreien in den Maloka-Hof stürmten. Sie waren prächtig bemalt[111]) und an den Oberarmen und z. T. in den Ohrläppchen mit bunten Federziefaten geschmückt (s. S. 43/44). Außerdem hatten sich alle die weißen Flaumfedern des Gavião-real (*Thrasaetus harpyia* L.), des gefürchteten Überträgers der Krankheiten (s. S. 96), in die Haare geklebt (Abb. 43). Sie vollführten gewaltige Sprünge, gingen danach in die Kniebeuge, drehten sich zwischendurch mehrere Male, warfen die Pfeile in die Luft und fingen sie wieder auf. Hiernach verfielen sie in einen schreitenden Tanz, wozu sie sangen. Doch dieser Tanz wurde immer wieder von wildem Vorwärtsstürmen und anfeuernden Schreien unterbrochen, wodurch die *Nonaxi* aus der Maloka vertrieben werden sollten, und man wollte ihnen zeigen, wie gefährlich es sei, überhaupt hierherzukommen. Die übrigen Anwesenden sahen dieser Vorführung von ihren Feuerstellen aus begeistert zu. Doch aus Anlaß des Festes hatten sich alle Männer, Frauen und Kinder gleichfalls bemalt und z. T. die baumwollenen Gürtel angelegt; die Männer trugen außerdem ihren Oberarmschmuck aus Federn (Abb. 9—11).

Nach dieser zweistündigen Tanzveranstaltung fand eine besonders feierliche Zeremonie statt, die Segnung der aufbewahrten Knochenasche verstorbener Stammesangehöriger. Zu diesem Zweck hatten sich je zwei führende Persönlichkeiten beider Stämme in Viereckform vor der Häuptlingshütte niedergelassen. Der Surára-Häuptling Hewemão kauerte so, daß er in Richtung des Maloka-Hofes schaute. Rechts und links von ihm, ein wenig seitlich nach vorn, hockten der Pakidái-Häuptling Karenanõ, bzw. Hewemãos Bruder Kurikayawõ und gegenüber von Hewemão hatte Poréhiwõ, der Kriegshäuptling der Pakidái, seinen Platz. Vor letzterem waren 10 kleine mit Knochenasche gefüllte Jamarugefäße (Jamaru = *Cucurbita idolatrica* Lacerda) aufgebaut. Dahinter standen eine leere und eine mit Urucu gefüllte Cuyenschale. Der Pakidái-Häuptling Karenanõ hatte dagegen zwei größere, leere Jamarugefäße vor sich stehen.

Poréhiwõ schüttete nun der Reihe nach aus den kleinen Jamarugefäßen Knochenasche in die leeren Cuyenschalen, fügte etwas Urucu hinzu, vermengte beides mit den Händen und übergab die Schale an Karenanõ, der den Inhalt jeweils in eines der größeren Jamarugefäße füllte. Während die beiden Pakidái ihre Arbeit schweigend verrichteten, betete Hewemão in einer halb singenden Tonart zu den *Hekurá* und strich sich dabei ständig mit den Händen vom Kopf bis zu den Füßen herunter. Sein Bruder Kurikayawõ wiederholte jedes seiner Worte und imitierte die Gesten[112]). Um die vier Männer herum, welche jetzt als Priester fungierten, kauerten rotbemalte Krieger, deren Kopfhaare über und über mit Flaumfedern des Gavião-real bedeckt waren. Wenn der Pakidái-Häuptling ein neues Gemisch von Knochenasche und Urucu in ein größeres Jamarugefäß gefüllt hatte, zog er stets einige Federn von den Köpfen der Krieger und warf sie dazu[113]). Hinter den Kriegern saßen die nächsten Angehörigen der kürzlich Verstorbenen und schluchzten herzzerreißend, vor allem die Frauen. Ihre Tränen

[111]) Die Bemalung wurde mit Urucufarbe durchgeführt und bestand aus schlangenförmigen Linien, Kreisen und Punkten; einige Männer hatten sich aber auch den ganzen Körper rot gefärbt.

[112]) Hierbei handelt es sich wiederum um die symbolische Übertragung der Gebete von den *Hekurá* an *Pwdë/Periwãdë* (s. auch S. 104).

[113]) Hiermit ist ein Abwehrzauber verbunden. Denn wenn die Männer beim späteren zeremoniellen Trinken der mit Knochenasche vermischten Bananensuppe diese Federn mit hineinerschluchzen, sind sie und ihre Angehörigen besser gegen Krankheiten gefeit.

flossen ununterbrochen, und gleichzeitig beteten sie in einem halblauten, singenden Tonfall. Wurde von Poréhiwö die Knochenasche eines weiteren Jamarugefäßes mit Urucu vermischt, so gingen ihr Schluchzen und die Gebete in hohe, schrille Töne über. Doch die Medizinmänner ließen sich davon nicht beeindrucken, sondern setzten unbeirrt ihre Tätigkeit fort. Die Trauergemeinde wurde von einem Kreis stehender, rotbemalter und mit Oberarmfedern geschmückter Krieger umschlossen, welche Bogen und Pfeile in den Händen hielten und zur Außenseite blickten. Ihre Aufgabe war es, die Zeremonie gegen böse, äußere Einflüsse abzuschirmen. Hinter diesen standen zahlreiche männliche Zuschauer, welche den Vorgang zwar mit Interesse, aber ohne innere Anteilnahme verfolgten, denn zwischendurch lachten und scherzten sie.

Als die etwa zwei Stunden dauernde Vermischung der Knochenasche beendet war, gab Poréhiwö die halbgeleerten kleinen Jamarugefäße an die Angehörigen zurück, die sie mit Klagelauten zur weiteren Aufbewahrung entgegennahmen. Darauf begann eine feierliche Prozession, an welcher sich der Surára-Häuptling jedoch nicht beteiligte. Karenauö, der Pakidái-Häuptling, schritt voran, ihm folgten Poréhiwö und Kurikayawö, die je eine der großen, mit Knochenasche, etwas Urucu und einigen Flaumfedern des Gavião-real gefüllten großen Jamarugefäße in den Händen hielten; alle drei sangen Gebete. Weinend und klagend schritten dahinter die nächsten Angehörigen, welche die kleinen Jamarugefäße trugen. Das Ende des Zuges bildeten die an der Zeremonie teilnehmenden Krieger. Diese Prozession, welche mehrere Male um den Maloka-Hof herumschritt, wurde nach einer halben Stunde vor der Häuptlingshütte mit einem gemeinsam gesungenen Gebet abgeschlossen.

Inzwischen war die Nacht hereingebrochen, und die meisten Angehörigen der beiden Stämme lagen in ihren Hängematten, saßen um die Feuer herum oder besuchten sich einzeln bzw. familienweise, um zu plaudern. Oft erschallte ein lautes, fröhliches Lachen. Doch gegenüber der Hütte des Surára-Häuptlings hatten sechs Krieger, die Federn des Gavião-real im Haar trugen, drei hellodernde Feuer entzündet, auf denen sie in mehreren schwarzen, rundbodigen Tongefäßen (s. S. 53) bis Mitternacht Bananensuppe kochten. Während dieser Zeit lief ein Medizinmannsgehilfe, der Bogen und Pfeile in der Hand trug, laut singend im äußeren Rund des Maloka-Hofes herum und erbat den Beistand der Hekurá für das Gelingen der Suppe. Danach trat allgemeine Ruhe ein, nur zwei Männer gingen, wie allnächtlich, vor der Maloka ihre Runden, um die Bewohner gegebenenfalls vor einem feindlichen Überfall zu warnen[112]).

Am nächsten Tag, dem 6. April 1956, erreichte das Fest seinen Höhepunkt. Gegen 9.00 Uhr setzten sich der Surára-Häuptling, sein Bruder Kurikayawö und der Häuptling und Kriegshäuptling der Pakidái um die Töpfe mit der Bananensuppe, vor denen auch die beiden Jamarugefäße mit der Knochenasche der Verstorbenen standen, und alle übrigen männlichen Stammesangehörigen saßen um sie herum. Der Surára-Häuptling begann laut zu beten, worauf ein längeres Chorlied angestimmt wurde. Danach schüttete er die Knochenasche in alle Suppentöpfe, mengte sie mit den Händen gut durch und schöpfte sich anschließend eine Kalebasse voll, welche er hastig und bis zur Neige leerte. Hierauf tranken der Pakidái-Häuptling, der Bruder von Hewemäo und die Kriegshäuptlinge beider Stämme, denen sich alle älteren und jüngeren Männer, einschließlich der größeren Knaben, welche zuletzt tranken, anschlossen[113]). Durch dieses zeremonielle Trinken der Knochenasche würden, so glaubt man, Kraft und Geist der Verstorbenen innerhalb der Stämme verbleiben und zu deren Stärkung beitragen.

Im Anschluß an diesen Trunk wurde ein Dankgebet gesungen. Danach aßen die Männer, Jünglinge und Knaben gemeinsam große Mengen

[112]) Die Einteilung der Wachen wird jeden Abend vom Kriegshäuptling vorgenommen. Die Krieger haben es im Gefühl, wann ihre Zeit herum ist und sie die Nachfolger wecken müssen; in der Regel geschieht dies nach zwei bis drei Stunden.

[113]) Auch meinem Diener und mir hatte Hewemäo, gleich im Anschluß an die Kriegshäuptlinge, je eine volle Kalebasse davon angeboten. Als wir sie ausgetrunken hatten, klopfte er uns anerkennend auf die Schulter und sagte, daß wir nun echte Surára seien.

des gebratenen Tapirfleisches sowie Maniokfladen, und hinterher reichten ihnen die Frauen volle Kalebassen mit dem erfrischenden Getränk aus Pupunha-Früchten.

Gut gestärkt und ausgerüstet mit den Kräften der Verstorbenen, konnten die Männer nunmehr zu dem anstrengendsten Teil des Festes schreiten. Doch bevor dieser begann, schwärzte sich die Hälfte von ihnen Gesicht und Körper mit Ruß, den sie von ihren Kochtöpfen abkratzten. Inzwischen hatten andere in der Mitte des Malokarundes wieder den großen Tonteller aufgestellt, auf welchen sie aus Bambusbehältern das bräunliche Schnupfpulver — *epená* — schütteten, und vor den Teller legten sie eine große Anzahl von Schnupfrohren. Im Anschluß an diese Vorbereitungen versammelten sich die Häuptlinge, alle Männer, Jünglinge und Knaben, helle und schwarzgefärbte Teilnehmer, außerhalb der Maloka. Auf einen Zischlaut von Hewemõo stürmten sie dann laut schreiend in den Hof, liefen einmal am Außenrande herum und gruppierten sich danach um den Tonteller. In die Schnupfrohre wurde Pulver hineingefüllt, und je zwei Männer bliesen es sich gegenseitig mit aller Kraft in die Nase (Abb. 44). Anläßlich dieses Festes schnupfen sie noch stärker als vor sonstigen Zauberhandlungen, Krankheitskuren und Gebeten. Die Wirkung war ungeheuerlich. Schon nach wenigen Augenblicken befanden sich alle Männer in einem wilden Rauschzustande (Abb. 45 u. 46). Zuerst tanzten und sprangen sie gestikulierend und schreiend in einem wilden Durcheinander um den Tonteller herum, danach stürmten sie in der gleichen Weise mehrmals um den Hof. Darauf legten sich jeweils fünf, zehn oder mehr Männer die Arme um den Hals und führten in diesen Gruppen stampfende Kreistänze durch (Abb. 47), wobei jeder Mann einen anderen fest an sich zu ziehen suchte; ab und zu tanzten sie auch in der Kniebeuge. Nach einer halben Stunde wurde dieses ekstatische Tanzen, wobei die Teilnehmer in Schweiß gebadet waren, von einer höchst merkwürdigen Sportart — *fetaplankamã* — abgelöst. Im ganzen äußeren Rund des Maloka-Hofes setzten sich überall zwei Männer, Brust an Brust, mit gespreizten Beinen gegenüber, einer hatte sie jeweils über die Oberschenkel des anderen gelegt. Bei den Partnern handelte es sich immer um einen Surára und einen Pakidái; außerdem war einer von ihnen jeweils geschwärzt. Mit den Armen umschlangen sie sich gegenseitig am Halse und zogen sich, unter kräftigen Armbewegungen, mit aller Gewalt hin und her (Abb. 48). Jeder versuchte den Kopf des Gegners ganz dicht zu sich heranzuziehen. Manchmal sanken die Arme auch auf die gegenseitigen Rücken herab, und man zog sich dann für eine Weile in dieser Stellung. Während des Kampfes riefen sie sich ständig grimmige Worte zu. Oft standen die Ehefrauen um ihre Männer herum und feuerten sie an. Doch es gab bei diesen Kämpfen keine Sieger und keine Verlierer. Erlahmte die Kraft eines Kämpfers, so kam sofort ein anderer Stammesgenosse und setzte an seiner Stelle den Kampf mit dem Gegner fort. Die Ehefrau massierte dann dem Erschöpften den Kopf, damit er rasch wieder einsatzfähig wurde. Die Häuptlinge und Kriegshäuptlinge zeichneten sich bei dieser Sportart besonders aus. Sie kämpften auch am längsten, teilweise mit fünf, sechs und mehr Gegnern; sie hatten eine geradezu unwahrscheinliche Kraft und Ausdauer.

Diese Kämpfe, bei denen symbolisch ein Mann immer den guten Geist, d. h. einen *Hekurá*, und der andere, welcher sich mit Ruß beschmiert hatte, den bösen Geist, einen *Nonaxi*, repräsentierte (s. S. 97 ff., 103 ff.), dauerte nahezu zwei Stunden. Danach waren die Männer völlig erschöpft und stärkten sich bei einem neuen, gemeinsamen Mahle mit Tapirfleisch und Maniokfladen. Hinterher litten aber noch viele Teilnehmer an starken Kopfschmerzen, hervorgerufen durch das Schnupfpulver in Verbindung mit den unmenschlichen körperlichen Anstrengungen, so daß viele Ehefrauen ihren Männern den Kopf massieren mußten.

Abends fand dann nochmals eine etwa halbstündige Prozession in dem Maloka-Hof statt, wobei man alle kleinen Jamurugefäße, in denen noch Reste der Knochenasche aufbewahrt wurden, mitführte. Dieses Zurückhalten von einem gewissen Aschenquantum ist sehr wichtig, damit man das nächste Totenerinnerungsfest für den Fall, daß bis dahin kein Stammes-

angehöriger stirbt, überhaupt feiern kann. Ohne Knochenasche verstorbener Surára oder Pakidái könnte es nämlich nicht stattfinden.

Vergleicht man dieses Jahresfest mit dem der Waiká, welches von Zerries sehr eingehend geschildert wurde[318]), so findet man in den wichtigsten Phasen weitgehende Analogien. Zerries glaubt, daß es bei den Waiká ursprünglich ein Erntefest war, zu dem sich noch andere Riten verschiedenen Charakters hinzugesellt hätten[319]). Demgegenüber ist für die Surára und Pakidái festzustellen, daß hier keinerlei Züge an ein Erntefest erinnern. Es handelt sich um ein ausgesprochenes Totenerinnerungsfest, welches durch das zeremonielle Trinken der Knochenasche verstorbener Stammesangehöriger gekennzeichnet wird. Gleichzeitig ist damit allerdings auch ein Abwehrzauber gegen die *Nonxi* verbunden, weil sie es ja sind, welche die Krankheiten übertragen und dadurch häufig den Tod herbeiführen. Wie bei allen Zauberkuren zur Heilung Kranker, wo stets die symbolischen Kämpfe zwischen den „*Hekurá*" und dem oder den „*Nonxi*" veranstaltet werden (s. S. 97 ff.), tritt dieses Faktum natürlich auch in allen Abschnitten des Festes zutage, sowohl bei den Tänzen, bei der Vermischung der Knochenasche, wenn ein Medizinmann Flaumfedern des Gavião-real aus den Haaren von Kriegern zieht und diese beifügt, als auch anläßlich der Zweikämpfe, die in sitzender Stellung durchgeführt werden. Für die Waiká sind letztere in der gleichen Weise belegt, doch Zerries schreibt, daß es weder ihm noch den amerikanischen Missionaren möglich war, Exaktes über den Sinn dieser Zeremonie zu erfahren[327]). Es ist aber zu vermuten, daß es sich um den gleichen symbolischen Kampf zwischen einem guten und einem bösen Geist handelt, wie bei den Surára und Pakidái. Von anderen Indianerstämmen ist hierüber noch nichts berichtet worden. Meine Gewährsleute sagten mir jedoch, daß auch die Xirióna, Puschewteri und Arumamesteri diese Kämpfe anläßlich ihrer Totenerinnerungsfeste veranstalten. Demnach scheint es sich also um ein ganz spezielles Charakteristikum der Yanomámi zu handeln, daß allerdings früher auch weiter verbreitet gewesen sein könnte. Herr Dr. Gerdt Kutscher machte mich nämlich im Anschluß an einen Vortrag, den ich in Berlin hielt, darauf aufmerksam, daß die Position, welche die zwei Männer hierbei einnehmen, an die Bemalung einer Tonschale vom Rio Ulúa, Honduras, erinnert[328]). Nach Zerries, Barker und Dupouy gibt es bei den Waiká auch noch einen ähnlichen Kampf, wobei sich die Partner abwechselnd mit geballter Faust auf die Brust schlagen[329a, b, c]). Diesen konnte ich bei den Surára und Pakidái nicht beobachten. Desgleichen ist dort die Sitte unbekannt, von der Zerries ebenfalls berichtet, daß sich die Männer, wenn sie im Schnupfpulverrausch umherlaufen, mit der flachen Hand auf den Rücken schlagen[330]). Der genannte Autor faßt dies als Fruchtbarkeitsritus auf. Hierbei scheint es sich jedoch um äußere Einflüsse feldbautreibender Stämme zu handeln, worauf ja auch das zeremonielle Einbringen der Pupunha-Früchte hindeutet[331]).

Weiterhin ist bemerkenswert, daß bei den Waiká Frauen und Mädchen aktiv an dem Fest teilnehmen, indem sie sich an einigen Tänzen beteiligen und sogar von der mit Knochenasche vermischten Bananensuppe trinken[332]). Die weiblichen Stammesangehörigen der Surára und Pakidái fungieren demgegenüber nur als Zuschauer.

Als ein sehr bedeutsamer gleichartiger Zug ist der Endokannibalismus zu werten. Für die Waiká wird er von Cruxent[333a]) und Zerries in mehreren Aufsätzen belegt[333b]) [334]) [335]). Außer-

[318]) Zerries, 1933b, S. 663—665.
[319]) Zerries, 1933b, S. 662.
[327]) Zerries, 1933b, S. 665.

[328]) Dieselbe befindet sich im Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde (Nr. IVa Ca 21381) und wurde in einem Aufsatz Walter Lehmanns abgebildet (Lehmann, 1910, S. 737, Abb. 9).
[329a]) Zerries, 1933b, S. 665.
[329b]) Barker, 1953, S. 447.
[329c]) Dupouy, 1953, S. 923.
[330]) Zerries, 1933b, S. 665.
[331]) Zerries, 1933b, S. 665.
[332]) Zerries, 1933b, S. 661 ff.
[333a]) Cruxent, 1953a, S. 149/50.
[333b]) Zerries, 1933a, S. 80.
[334]) Zerries, 1933b, S. 664/65.
[335]) Zerries, 1936a, S. 185.

dem hat letzterer Verfasser nach den Beiträgen der ersten fünf Bände des Handbook of South American Indians eine Verbreitungskarte über das Vorkommen des Endokannibalismus entworfen, die durch umfangreiche Beispiele ergänzt wird[220]). Danach tritt der Endokannibalismus in Südamerika vor allem in den westlichen Teilen des Kontinents auf und unter den marginalen und submarginalen Stämmen der Tropenzone. Besonders häufig ist dieser Brauch bei den Pano und Tukano. In den meisten Fällen wird außer den pulverisierten Knochen, die mit Chicha (z. B. Pano und Tukano), Wasser (z. B. Tapuya) oder einem Brei aus Parákastanien (Moré-Indianer) vermengt werden, auch das Fleisch gegessen. Die angewandte Praxis der Surára, Pakidái und Waikâ, welche lediglich die verbrannten, pulverisierten Knochen zu sich nehmen, ist dagegen sehr selten zu finden. Am ähnlichsten ist die entsprechende Sitte der Sáliba, Guayupe und Saé in Kolumbien. Doch auch im östlichen Guayana ist der Endokannibalismus verbreitet, so bei den karaibischen Parukotó[221]) und bei den Arapium, einem Tupistamm in der Nähe von Santarem[222]). Außerdem wird von den Kalina, Palikur und Arawak berichtet, daß sie die verbrannten Totenknochen konsumieren[223]). Von letzteren schreibt ebenfalls Ralegh, daß sie die Knochen zu Pulver zerstoßen und mit einem Getränk vermischt zu sich nehmen[224]) [225]), und auch von den Mauhé wird dasselbe bezeugt[226]).

Nach Whiffen existiert in Südamerika gar kein Endokannibalismus, da, seiner Ansicht zufolge, nur die Rachsucht gegenüber feindlichen Stämmen als Motiv der Anthropophagie angesehen werden kann. „From all this", so führt er weiter aus, „it follows that intra-tribal cannibalism would be a criminal outrage by the tribe on itself, and therefore it could never occur that a member of the tribe was eaten, ... This disposes of any such thing as the eating of dead relatives as a sign of respect. These and similar statements are due to missapprehension of facts by the writer, or a too hasty judgement on the part of the explorer"[227]). Im Anschluß an diese abwegigen und mit völlig ungerechtfertigter Kritik versehenen Ausführungen Whiffens möchte ich noch einen von Herbert Baldus und Emilio Willems verfaßten Beitrag über den Endokannibalismus zitieren[228]): „Uma forma especial do canibalismo é o endocanibalismo, isto é, o canibalismo dentro da própria tribu, o costume de comer os companheiros da tribu. Aparece das seguintes duas maneiras distintas:

1. Matam-se e comen-se os velhos e doentes da própria tribu, como, por exemplo, entre os índios Caxibo e Mayoruna (Krickeberg, 272, 273). Entre os Guayaki do Paraguay o endocanibalismo existe como privilégio usurpado só por certos cabeças de bando (v.i.) extraordinariamente fortes e brutais e condenados, por sua perversidade, pelos outros bandos. Para êsses antropófagos se atreverem a mater gente da própria tribu com o fim de moqueála como um animal e comê-la em companhia dos outros membros do bando, a fome é estímulo importante porque, muitas vezes, duas semanas a fio, não conseguem nêm uma única peça de caça. Mas a fome só, dificilmente incitaria o Guayaki a tratar como se fosse animal de caça, uma creatura que com êle partilha o aspecto, os costumes e a língua. Para chegar a tal ponto, o cabeça deve ter alcançado um estado de autocracia, que já não respeita as restrições mais rudimentares impostas pela vida em comum. Não mata somente o indivíduo isolado de outro bando podendo surpreendê-lo traiçoeiramente, mas, com a mesma perfídia, assassina também membros do próprio bando. O bando inteiro participa da comezaina. Mas, sendo vencido o cabeça em duelo com o cabeça de outro bando, seus companheiros e êle mesmo não comen mais carne humana.

[220]) Zerries, 1953a, S. 80/81.
[221]) Pribil, 1937, S. 320 und 343.
[222]) Zerries, 1953a, S. 81.
[223]) de Goeje, 1943, S. 11.
[224]) Ralegh, 1848, S. 53.
[225]) Waitz, 1862, S. 388.
[226]) von Martius, 1867, I, S. 404 A.
[227]) Whiffen, 1915, S. 120/21.
[228]) Dieser erschien in dem eminent wichtigen, aber längst vergriffenen Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia, welches kurz vor Beginn des 2. Weltkrieges herauskam und deshalb in den meisten europäischen Bibliotheken leider nicht vorhanden ist.

2. A outra espécie do endocanibalismo afigura-se, por assim dizer, como uma das muitas variantes de sepultar os mortos. Da parte ocidental das selvas tropicais sulamericanas refere Krickeberg (273) que os Konibo e os Kokama, por ocasião de certas festas, consumiam os ossos torrados e pulverizados dos mortos em mistura com bebidas fortes. O mesmo costume, em relação à sepultura secundária (v.i.), encontra-se entre muitas tribus tukano da região do Uaupé e Yapurá e, também, mais ao norte até os caraíbas ilhéos. Predomina nêle a vontade de incorporar-se a alma do morto que vive nos ossos"[1222]).

In jüngster Zeit erschien die verdienstvolle Arbeit von Boglár „Ein endokannibalischer Ritus in Südamerika", worin der Verfasser das Material mehrerer einschlägiger Quellen zur Darstellung bringt[1223]). Mit seinen daran anknüpfenden Interpretationen kann ich jedoch nicht konform gehen. Der Genuß des Knochenpulvers Verstorbener ist nämlich durchaus nicht immer mit feldbautreibenden Stämmen in Verbindung zu bringen, denn wie mir meine Gewährsleute bei den Surára und Pakidái erklärten, übten auch schon ihre Vorfahren, welche ja noch reine Jäger und Sammler waren, diesen Brauch. Auch die Ansicht des Autors, daß die Ehrfurchtsbezeugung, die magische Vererbung von guten Eigenschaften usw. bloß als sekundäre Motive des endokannibalischen Ritus betrachtet werden können[1224]), trifft für die Surára und Pakidái nicht zu; hier sind sie ausgesprochen primär. Das Weiterleben des Toten wird bei ihnen durch die Verbrennung gewährleistet, denn mit dem aufsteigenden Rauch gelangt ja die Totenseele zum Monde (s. S. 71).

Es ist noch zu erwähnen, daß der Endokannibalismus auch für Zentralamerika, México und in einem Falle für Nordamerika belegt ist, doch Beals hält ihn für ein typisches Element der südamerikanischen Indianer[1225]).

[1222]) Baldus e Willems, 1939, S. 40/41.
[1223]) Boglár, 1958, S. 67—83.
[1224]) Boglár, 1958, S. 83.
[1225]) Beals, 1932, S. 123/24.

Zwischen den *Patapãnomõ*-Festen veranstalten die Surára und Pakidái im Laufe des Jahres nur noch wenig andere Festlichkeiten. Es sind auch nur kleine Feiern, die z. B. nach der zweimonatigen Medizinmannsgehilfenausbildung zweier junger Männer stattfinden, nach einem erfolgreichen Kriegszug, beim Einzug in eine neuerrichtete Maloka und im Anschluß an die zweite Menstruation eines Mädchens. Letztere hat außerdem einen familiären Charakter, denn daran beteiligen sich lediglich verwandte und befreundete Familien.

4. Krankheits-, Jagd-, Liebes- und Regenzauber

a) Krankheitszauber:

Aus der Rindenasche einer wildwachsenden Mimosenart (*Mimosa acacioides* ?) — *hekurãhikeñã* — (s. auch S. 88) und dem Knochenpulver des Gavião-real (*Thrasaetus harpyia* L.) wird hin und wieder ein Zauberpulver bereitet. Abends, kurz vor Einbruch der Dämmerung, wenn gerade ein Gavião-real vorbeifliegt oder auf einem Baum sitzt, bläst der Häuptling jenes Pulver in die Richtung des Vogels. Dieser nimmt es auf und überträgt damit Krankheiten zu einem bestimmten feindlichen Stamm.

b) Jagdzauber:

Am Vorabend eines geplanten Jagdzuges nimmt der Jäger Schnupfpulver zu sich und betet etwa 2—3 Stunden lang zu den Hekurá (s. S. 92/93), wobei er über diese Poré und Perimbó (s. S. 91) um einen erfolgreichen Verlauf bittet. Bevor er dann am nächsten Morgen aufbricht, bemalt er sein Gesicht und den Körper mittels Urucu mit schlangenförmigen Linien. Wenn ihn seine Frau begleitet, trägt sie sich ebenfalls diese Muster auf, und einem Hund der mitgenommen wird, färbt man die Schnauze sowie dessen Füße mit der gleichen Farbe. Hierdurch soll das Jagdglück erhöht werden, und gleichzeitig ist damit ein Abwehrzauber verbunden gegen eventuelle Gefahren, die von Giftschlangen und Jaguaren drohen.

Hat der Jäger in Begleitung seiner Frau ein kleineres Wild oder einen Vogel erlegt, so trägt letztere die Jagdbeute in das Gemeinschafts-

haus. War der Mann allein, dann bringt er das Tier nur bis zum Eingang seiner Behausung. Hineingeholt wird es von seiner Frau oder einem anderen Mann. Ähnlich ist es mit einem Großwild, z. B. einem Tapir, von dem zunächst einige Fleischstücke mitgenommen werden; den Rest holen danach befreundete Stammesangehörige. Bis zum Eingang der Maloka kann der Jäger seine Jagdbeute also stets tragen, doch hineingehen darf er damit nie. Auch das Ausnehmen des Tieres muß er anderen Männern überlassen. Anschließend kann er das Fleisch zwar braten, doch nach der Zubereitung ist es ihm verwehrt, den ersten Bissen davon zu essen. Hat er seine Mahlzeit beendet, so ist er verpflichtet, erneut über die *Hekurá* zu *Poré* und *Perimbó* zu beten, denn diese fordern, daß man ihnen für die Jagdbeute dankt. Wenn der Jäger alle diese Vorschriften befolgt, werden ihm das vereinigte Höchste Wesen und die Hekurá stets wohlgesinnt bleiben und immer für einen glücklichen Jagdausgang sorgen.

Auch bei vielen anderen Stämmen Südamerikas finden sich gleiche oder ähnliche Konzeptionen für den Jagdzauber. Ich kann hier auf Zerries verweisen, der das einschlägige Quellenmaterial bereits zusammengestellt und vergleichend bearbeitet hat[137] [138]. Danach ergibt sich, daß für die Rotfärbung vor der Jagd fast immer Urucu benutzt wird. Métraux erwähnt jedoch, daß die alten Mocovi im Gran Chaco die Schnauzen ihrer Hunde mit Jaguarblut beschmierten[139]. Hieraus zieht Zerries den berechtigten Schluß, daß Urucu ein Substitut für Blut sei[140], was von Métraux für die Chiriguano auch bezeugt wird[141].

Außerdem ist noch hervorzuheben, daß jenes von den Surára- und Pakidái-Männern so streng befolgte Jagdgebot, welches besagt, daß ein Jäger seine Beute niemals selbst in die Maloka tragen darf, wahrscheinlich auf karaibische Einflüsse zurückzuführen ist. Zerries spricht in diesem Zusammenhang von Verschonungsriten, die sich auf das getötete Tier beziehen[142]. Seinen Untersuchungen zufolge schält sich hier als Kerngebiet der Norden Südamerikas heraus, wo man sie vor allem bei Karaibenstämmen der venezolanischen Küste und ihres Hinterlandes findet[143]. Als wichtigste Quellen führt der Autor Roth[144] und Crévaux[145] an sowie den sehr alten Bericht von Rochefort[146], woraus zu ersehen ist, daß auch schon die Inselkaraiben diese Sitte kannten.

c) Liebeszauber:

Zum Zwecke des Liebeszaubers tragen junge Männer gelegentlich eine Curauáfaserschnur um den Hals, an welcher ein Wurzelstöckchen der Tajá (*Colocasia antiquorum* und *Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott) — *kaarí* — befestigt ist (s. S. 37). Wenn der Träger auf dasselbe beißt und es einem Mädchen oder einer Frau unter die Nase hält, so gewinnt er durch die ausströmenden Düfte deren Zuneigung. Ja, man sagte mir, daß die Liebe dann so groß sei, daß die Frau oder das Mädchen ihm überallhin folgen würde[147].

Um sich vor diesem Liebeszauber zu schützen, verwenden verheiratete Frauen zwei Arten von Halsketten. Jüngere haben an ihrer Schnur aus Curauáfasern zahlreiche Wurzelstöckchen der Tajá festgebenden und ältere kleine Stöcke der Camarau-Liane (*Cipó* sp.) — *hií* — (s. S. 39). Diese vielen Wurzel- bzw. Lianenstöckchen heben dann die Wirkung des einen Wurzelstöckchens der jungen Männer auf.

Wenn ein Mann auf eine Frau böse ist, weil sie ihn nicht erhört, kann er auf folgende Weise an ihr Rache nehmen: An einem Regentage reißt er ein Blatt der Pupunha-Palme (*Guilielma speciosa* Mart.) herab und geht damit in den Urwald. Hat er einen Matamatá-Baum (*Eschweilera matamata* Hub.) erreicht, von dem

[137] Zerries, 1951.
[138] Zerries, 1954a.
[139] Métraux, 1940, S. 283.
[140] Zerries, 1954a, S. 22.
[141] Métraux, 1931, S. 154, Anm. 1.
[142] Zerries, 1954a, S. 330.
[143] Zerries, 1954a, S. 136/37, 330/31.
[144] Roth, 1915, S. 294.
[145] Crévaux, 1883, S. 363.
[146] Rochefort, 1658, S. 451.
[147] Diese Art von Liebeszauber erinnert an eine Mythe der arauakischen Manao: Die Riechwurzel (Baldus, 1938, S. 328f.).

Tropfen herniederfallen, so legt er das Palmblatt unter den Baum. Hier läßt er es so lange liegen, bis es in Fäulnis übergegangen ist. Daraus entsteht ein Wurm, welchen der Mann später holt und danach röstet. Wirft er diesen dann auf die schlafende Frau, so bekommt sie keine Kinder mehr.

d) Regenzauber:

Obgleich die Surára und Pakidái den Regen mehr schätzen als eine zu starke Sonnenbestrahlung[68], gibt es auch Anlässe, wo man ihn nicht gebrauchen kann, z. B. vor Jagdzügen oder anläßlich der Wanderung eines Stammes. In diesem Falle bemalen sich alle Männer, Frauen und Kinder den Körper mit einem Wirrwarr von schlangenförmigen Linien, um dem Regen dadurch Einhalt zu gebieten. Wenn das nichts nützt, so wird mittels einer dicken Liane ein Tauziehen — *toitoti* — veranstaltet. Diese Liane personifiziert die Socuriju (*Eunectes murinus*) — *xaikonyé* —, welche als starkes Wassertier die Macht hat, *Purí* zu veranlassen, daß er aufhört, den Regenbaum zu schütteln (s. S. 92). Zuerst führen nur zwei Gruppen von rotbemalten Männern das Tauziehen durch. Doch wenn der Regen gar nicht nachlassen will, beteiligen sich auch rotbemalte Frauen daran. Ihre Teilnahme soll den Druck auf die Socuriju verstärken, denn man nimmt von ihr an, daß sie weiblichen Geschlechtes und den Frauen daher besonders wohlgesonnen sei. Solches Tauziehen erstreckt sich oft über mehrere Stunden. Meist sah ich neben den Erwachsenen auch Kinder, die es mit einer dünnen Liane imitierten.

Wenn der Fall eintritt, daß es bei Sonnenschein regnet, so glauben die Surára und Pakidái, daß zwischen dem Mond, von dem der Regen ja kommt, und der Sonne ein schwerer Streit ausgebrochen sei. Alle Stammesangehörigen fühlen sich dann verpflichtet, ihrem Höchsten Wesen, dem Monde, beizustehen. Dies geschieht in der Weise, daß sich wiederum zwei gemischte Gruppen von Männern und Frauen formieren — eine stellt symbolisch die Bevölkerung des Mondes dar und die andere jene der Sonne —, welche sich gegenseitig mit nasser Erde bewerfen, diesen „Kampf" nennt man *xajojd*.

[68] Demgegenüber möchte ich darauf hinweisen, daß z. B. bei den Tauhpang große Furcht vor dem Regen herrscht. (Koch-Grünberg, 1916, S. 130/31).

5. *Eine besondere Art der Danksagung gegenüber Purí und Porimbó*

Im Anschluß an das Totenerinnerungsfest (s. S. 102ff.), nach der Ausbildungszeit zweier Medizinmannsgehilfen (s. S. 67f.), nach Krankenheilungen (s. S. 96ff.) u. a. Zauberzeremonien will man *Purí* und *Porimbó* (s. S. 91) außer den üblichen Gebeten, die durch Vermittlung der *Hekurá* (s. S. 92/93) erfolgen, auch noch in einer besonderen Weise danken. Zu diesem Zweck wird eine große Kalebasse mit Erde gefüllt, in welche man in Kreisform rotbemalte Zweige des Imbaúba-Baumes (*Cecropia palmata* Wild.) steckt, die man mit Fäden aus Bromeliafasern verbindet. Auch über die Stöcke werden kreuz und quer solche Fäden gezogen, und darauf klebt man Flaumfedern des Gavião-real (*Thrasaetus harpyia* L.). Das Gebilde — *ahunaxé* —, welches Frauen und Mädchen nicht sehen dürfen, wirkt wie ein Männerkopf, in dessen Haaren die Flaumfedern des Gavião-real kleben. Mehrere Krieger bringen diese Kalebasse auf Anordnung des Häuptlings in den Urwald und setzen sie an einer bestimmten Stelle nieder.

6. *Vögel als Nachrichtenübermittler*

Am 21. Mai 1956 führte der Surára-Mann Honobomá in seiner Maloka an der Cachoeira dos Índios am oberen Rio Arací ein lautes Selbstgespräch, daß früh gegen 4.00 Uhr begann und bis gegen 6.00 Uhr währte; hierbei lag er in seiner Hängematte. Über die Bedeutung jenes scheinbaren Selbstgespräches gab mir hinterher mein kleiner Dolmetscher Jibeawé folgende Erklärung: Als Honobomá aufwachte, hörte er den kleinen Vogel Kaukaumá, einen Japim (*Cacicus cela* L.), singen, in dem sich aber gegenwärtig die Seele von Purihwé, dem Kriegshäuptling der Pakidái, befand. Letzterer wollte mit seinem Stamm in der

Maloka am mittleren Demini. Die Seele in dem kleinen Vogel erzählte, daß die Pakidái im Anschluß an das Totenerinnerungsfest wieder wohlbehalten in ihr Gemeinschaftshaus gelangt seien. Gleichzeitig berichtete er ausführlich über den Verlauf der Reise, von Jagderfolgen und über den Anbau neuer Bananenstauden und Pupunha-Palmen. Wenn der kleine Vogel für einige Zeit seinen Gesang unterbrach, gab ihm Honohomá Auskunft über das Befinden der Surára.

Nach Auffassung beider Stämme ist der kleine Japim ein Nachrichtenübermittler, der auch von Krankheiten und Todesfällen berichtet sowie von kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen mit feindlichen Stämmen.

7. *Sportarten*

Abgesehen von dem Stockduell — *zelekakalé* —, welches aus Gründen der Eifersucht durchgeführt wird[100]), haben alle anderen Sportarten einen religiösen oder magischen Charakter.

Bemerkenswert ist vor allem das Ballspiel mit einer Affenblase — *yawokami* —. An ihm dürfen sich nur männliche Stammesangehörige beteiligen, und zwar binden sie dazu stets ihre Baumwollgürtel um. Danach bilden sie einen Kreis und schlagen mit der flachen Hand die Blase unentwegt nach oben, welche dann sowohl den Mond als auch die Sonne repräsentiert (Abb. 50).

Dieses Ballspiel weist große Übereinstimmungen mit jenem der Uitoto auf, selbst hinsichtlich der damit verbundenen lunaren und solaren Vorstellungen[101]). Außerdem ist zu erwähnen, daß in einer Mythe der Paressi beide Himmelskörper als Federbälle gedacht sind[102]). Schließlich sei noch auf den azteckischen Volksglauben verwiesen, wo der fliegende Ball ebenfalls mit Sonne und Mond gleichgesetzt wird[103]).

Drei weitere Sportarten der Surára und Pakidái sind bereits an anderer Stelle beschrieben worden: *Potapoonkamé*, der im Sitzen durchgeführte Umschlingungskampf zweier Männer (s. S. 107), das Tauziehen (s. S. 112) und das gegenseitige Bewerfen mit nasser Erde (s. S. 122).

IX. Mythen und Legenden

Die nachstehenden Mythen und Legenden wurden mir von dem Surára-Häuptling Hewmáo erzählt:

Die Schöpfung der Yanomámi

Die Erde bestand schon und war voller Pflanzen und Tiere, aber noch ohne Menschen. Doch eines Tages kam der erste Mann, Urukí, aus dem Bein des Xiapó, eines kleinen Vogels mit schwarzen und gelben Federn, ähnlich dem Japim. Kurze Zeit darauf gebar das Vogelbein einen zweiten Mann, danach einen dritten, einen vierten und schließlich eine Frau, Petá. Diese vier Männer und die Frau lebten in vollkommener Harmonie zusammen. Petá war zwar die Ehegefährtin von Urukí, dem Erstgeborenen, aber die anderen drei Brüder hatten auch das Recht, sexuellen Verkehr mit ihr zu pflegen[104]).

Nach einem Jahr brachte Petá einen kräftigen und gesunden Knaben zur Welt, der schnell wuchs und alle vier Männer „Vater" nannte[105]). Das Hauptvergnügen des Jungen war, mit seinem kleinen Bogen und Pfeil Vögelchen zu erlegen. Doch eines Nachts träumte er zum Spaß

[100]) Diesen Stockduell habe ich bereits ausführlich beschrieben. (Becher, 1959, S. 161—167).

[101]) Preuss, 1921, S. 113, 133—136; 1923, S. 644 bis 659.

[102]) Karl von den Steinen, 1894, S. 435/36.

[103]) Krickeberg, 1928, S. 130.

[104]) Bei den Surára und Pakidái steht den jüngeren, unverheirateten Brüdern ebenfalls das Recht auf geschlechtlichen Verkehr mit den Frauen ihrer älteren Brüder zu. Außerdem haben die Angehörigen beider Stämme die Vorstellung, daß eine Frau nur dann kräftige Kinder gebären kann, wenn sie während ihrer Schwangerschaft auch häufig Verkehr mit anderen Männern pflegt.

[105]) Auch die Surára- und Pakidái-Kinder nennen den unverheirateten Bruder ihres Vaters nicht Onkel, sondern ebenfalls Vater.

den Mond an und schoß einen Pfeil ab. Sofort trat eine Mondfinsternis ein. Blut tropfte herab und floß wie eine Flut über die ganze Erde[102]). Aus diesem Blute entstanden alle Yanomámi, d. h. die Surára, Pakidái, Pusheweteri, Aramameteri, Xirián, Karamateri, Waikás etc. (s. S. 6).

Der Ursprung des Feuers

Der Urwald mit seinem Reichtum an Pflanzen und Früchten war bereits geschaffen, und auch die Menschen sowie alle Arten von Tieren lebten schon auf der Welt. Nur das Feuer fehlte noch. Neben ihrer pflanzlichen Kost konnten die menschlichen Bewohner daher lediglich rohes Fleisch zu sich nehmen, und während der Nacht froren sie in ihren Hängematten. Es war ihnen aber bekannt, daß der Kaiman (Jacaretinga) Feuer im Maule hatte. Doch trotz aller Bitten wollte er davon nichts abgeben. Da griffen die Menschen zu einer List. Sie baten den Kolibri, er möchte um den Kaiman herumfliegen und Späße machen. Anfangs blieb der Kaiman unbeweglich und nahm keinerlei Notiz von dem kleinen Vogel. Aber schließlich konnte er das Lachen nicht mehr unterdrücken, wobei aus seinem geöffneten Maule das Feuer herausschoß. Die Menschen waren darüber sehr glücklich und dankten dem Kolibri in überschwenglicher Form.

Die Herkunft der Bananen

Früher waren die Surára-Männer nur Jäger, und die Frauen sammelten Früchte des Urwaldes. Jegliche Art von Feldarbeit war ihnen noch unbekannt. Doch als eines Morgens der Surára-Mann Horonamó besonders zeitig aufgestanden war und vor die Maloka trat, erblickte er zu seiner Überraschung eigenartige große Pflanzen, voll mit Früchten. Sogleich wollte er eine pflücken, doch die Stimme von *Pwé*, dem Herrn des Mondes, welcher mit letzterem zusammen die höchste göttliche Macht repräsentiert (s. S. 91), ließ ihn erstarren. *Pwé* sagte aber sehr freundlich, daß er jene Pflanzen für die Surára angebaut hätte und ihr Name *kwatá* laute. Er befahl ihm dann, alle Stammesangehörigen zu benachrichtigen, daß die *Kwatá* kultiviert werden sollen, denn dadurch würden sie niemals mehr Hunger zu leiden brauchen und wären nicht allein auf das Jagdglück angewiesen. Als Horonamó seinen Dank aussprechen wollte, war *Pwé* schon verschwunden.

Die ersten Pupunha-Palmen

Die Surára kannten schon die Bananenstaude, und diese war die erste Pflanze, welche sie kultivierten. Eines nachts kam ein Japim (*Cacicus cela L.*) angeflogen und pflanzte auf Anordnung von *Pwé* zwischen den Bananenstauden Pupunha-Palmen (*Guilielma speciosa* Mart.) an. Am frühen Morgen weckte er die Surára durch einen besonders lauten Gesang, und als diese überrascht vor die Maloka traten, sagte er ihnen, daß diese Palme *kowaxamá* genannt würde und ihre Früchte — *awazá* — sich zum Essen sowie zur Bereitung eines erfrischenden Getränkes eigneten.

Die Erschaffung der Jíbóia-vermelha

Einst lebte der Surára Karemomá, welcher sehr zänkisch veranlagt war. Jeden Tag mißhandelte er seine beiden Frauen und stritt sich mit den anderen Männern herum. Nie fügte er sich den Anordnungen des Häuptlings und versuchte sogar, die Disziplin des Stammes zu unterhöhlen. Da alle Ermahnungen nichts nutzten, wurde er aus der Gemeinschaft ausgeschlossen.

Karemomá bemalte seinen Körper mit Urucu und verließ die Maloka. Nachdem er einige Stunden im Urwald gewandert war, legte er sich ermüdet auf den Boden und schlief ein. Während des Schlafes wurde er wegen seiner Unbotmäßigkeit von *Pwé* in die Jíbóia-vermelha (*Epicrates cenchris*) — *otó* — verwandelt.

Die Erschaffung des schwarzen Jaguars

Die Surára hatten schon die Brandrodung kennengelernt und kultivierten Bananenstauden und Pupunha-Palmen. Eines Tages sahen sie in der Waldrodung eine große Kröte. Ein Surára wollte sie töten, durch sie sich auf die andere

[102]) Aus diesem Grunde wird den Surára- und Pakidái-Kindern noch heute streng verboten, mit dem Pfeil in Richtung des Mondes zu schießen.

Seite der Roça (Waldrodung) und verwandelte sich dort in einen schwarzen Jaguar.

Die Erschaffung des Tapirs

Ein Cuatá-Affe fiel von einem hohen Baum und konnte nicht wieder hinaufklettern. Nach mehreren ergebnislosen Versuchen verwandelte er sich in einen Tapir.

Die Erschaffung der Wildschweine

Eine Bande von Cuxiú-Affen fiel von einem hohen Baume. Nach vergeblichen Versuchen, wieder hinaufzuklettern, verwandelten sie sich in Wildschweine.

Die Erschaffung des Ameisenbären

Ein Surára-Mann, der seine Schwiegermutter vergewaltigt hatte, wurde zur Strafe von *Purí* in einen Ameisenbär verwandelt. Seit dieser Zeit besteht die Schwiegerscheu zwischen Schwiegermutter und Schwiegersohn, und das Fleisch des Ameisenbären darf von den Stammesangehörigen nicht gegessen werden.

X. Charakter und Denkweise

Trotz geringfügiger Kontakte mit den Cabocios (Gummi- und Palmfasersammler, Pflanzer und Personal des Indianerschutzpostens Ajuricaba am mittleren Demini) haben sich die Surára und Pakidái noch durchaus den Charakter unverdorbener Naturvölker bewahrt, denen so althergebrachte indianische Tugenden, wie Gastfreundschaft, Mäßigkeit und Ehrlichkeit, noch nicht fremd geworden sind. Schon anläßlich meiner ersten Berührung mit ihnen konnte ich dies feststellen. Als ich, gemeinsam mit meinem Diener Mateus, neun Surára-Krieger an der Cachoeira dos Índios am oberen Rio Aracá traf, bestaunten sie zwar unser Boot, den Außenbordmotor und die zahlreichen Geschenke und Tauschartikel in Gestalt von Messern, Beilen, Töpfen, Glasperlen usw., rührten aber nichts an. Sie waren auch sofort bereit, uns zu ihrer etwa 70 km entfernten Maloka mitzunehmen und trugen die 50—60 kg schweren Koffer, Kisten und Säcke[222]) [223]), die ja für ihre Begriffe ungeheuere Schätze enthielten. Während des dreitägigen anstrengenden Marsches herrschte eine ungesprochene Harmonie, ständig wurde gelacht und gescherzt. Als die Indianer hörten, daß mich Mateus „doutor" nannte, brachen sie in ein besonders großes Gelächter aus und erklärten uns, daß *kaiuri* (Jaboti) eine passendere Bezeichnung für mich wäre. Der Name blieb mir dann auch bis zu meinem Abschied und war glänzend für mich geeignet, denn als Angehöriger der Zivilisation wirkt man ja, im Vergleich zu den freien Waldindianern, recht schwerfällig in den Urwaldgebieten.

Diese neun Krieger hätten uns mit Leichtigkeit umbringen und allein mit den Geschenken und Tauschartikeln davonziehen können. Doch nicht einen Augenblick lang war ich mir einer Gefahr bewußt, denn liebenswürdigere und fürsorglichere Begleiter kann es gar nicht geben. Wie groß ihre Ehrlichkeit war, möchte ich noch durch folgendes Beispiel dokumentieren: Während des Marsches auf den unwegsamen Indianerpfaden im ewigen Halbdunkel des Urwaldes war mir eine Schachtel Zigaretten aus meiner Hosentasche gefallen. Doch wer beschreibt mein Erstaunen, als mir abends am Rastort ein Indianer die Schachtel mit vollem Inhalt zurückbrachte. Es war dann selbstverständlich, daß ich dem ehrlichen Finder die Zigaretten überließ und ihm noch ein Messer dazu gab.

Auch während meines monatelangen Zusammenlebens mit beiden Stämmen hatte ich alle Koffer, Kisten und Säcke immer offen stehen, doch nie wurde mir etwas gestohlen. Selbst der Tausch von ethnographischen Gegenständen vollzog sich, meist unter Aufsicht der Häuptlinge, in völliger Ruhe und Gelassenheit. Wenn ich Männern, Frauen oder Kindern Messer, Töpfe, Glasperlen u. a. Gegenstände

[222]) Becher, 1957a, S. 113.
[223]) Becher, 1958, S. 133.

scheuchte, so nahmen sie diese stets mit unbewegtem Gesicht, aber ohne Dankesbezeugung entgegen. Doch ein Wort für „danke" existiert in ihrer Sprache ebensowenig wie in denen anderer Indianersprachen. Daß sie sich freuten, konnte ich aber an ihren leuchtenden Augen ablesen.

Vor dem Abschied einem Familienmitglieds kommt es zwischen den Angehörigen niemals zu rührseligen Szenen oder gar zu Liebkosungen, und selbst bei der Rückkehr kann man eine Gefühlsregung nur an den strahlenden Augen erkennen.

In Gegenwart von Fremden zeigen sich besonders Frauen und Mädchen anfangs scheu und ernst, doch wenn man ihr Vertrauen gewonnen hat, sind sie lustig und ausgelassen. Die Zuneigung der Kinder gewann ich besonders rasch und damit auch die ihrer Eltern und der anderen Erwachsenen. Eine wichtige Rolle im Umgang mit Indianern spielt natürlich die Behandlung. Tritt man den Suruára und Pakáásó freundlich und zuvorkommend gegenüber, so kann man bei ihnen alles erreichen. Würde man sich dagegen abfällig über ihre Sitten und Gebräuche äußern, mit ihnen schelten oder gar ein Kind schlagen, zieht man sich ihren Widerwillen zu. Nervösen Leuten wäre daher ein Besuch in den Malokas dieser Indianer nicht zu empfehlen, denn Ruhe findet man den ganzen Tag über nicht, und oft fehlt sie sogar in der Nacht. Immer standen oder saßen Männer, Frauen und Kinder um mich herum. Unermüdlich sprachen sie mir vorsagen die Worte ihrer Sprache vor, lachten mich aber nie aus, wenn ich sie mit falscher Betonung wiederholte. In der ersten Zeit wurde ich sogar am ganzen Körper betastet, und mit besonderem Interesse untersuchte man meine Brille[107]) und zeigte sich sehr erstaunt über mein blondes Haar und meine blauen Augen. Rasierte ich mich, so war ich ebenfalls von einem Kreis Zuschauer umgeben[108]). Selbst wenn ich eine Notdurft verrichten mußte, wurde ich gebeten, wußte ich gehen, und oftmals schlossen sich mir Begleiter an.

Sahen die Suruára und Pakáásó zum ersten Male etwas Neues, oder gefällt ihnen ein Gegenstand besonders gut, dann bekunden sie ihren Beifall durch lautes Schnalzen. Unterhaltungen führen sie über alles, und auch in der Nacht wird meist noch stundenlang erzählt. Dabei kommt es aber niemals vor, daß sie sich gegenseitig ins Wort fallen.

Der Mann ist zwar das Oberhaupt der Familie, doch die Frau gilt als seine gleichberechtigte Gefährtin, ohne deren Rat er nichts Wichtiges unternimmt. Hat er zwei oder mehrere Frauen, so führt die jüngste meist die Präsidialgeschäfte, für welchen auch die älteren mitarbeiten müssen. Mißhandlungen von Frauen kommen nur wegen Ehebruchs und aus Gründen der Eifersucht vor. Doch wenn ein Mann seine Frau schlägt oder ihren Körper mit dem Gallenblasensaft eines Tieres tötet, so eilen gleich mehrere Geschlechtsgenossinnen zu ihrer Hilfe herbei. Sie versuchen dem wütenden Mann die Arme festzuhalten, und eine Frau beweist sich, wie Sonstiges zu erlauben und greift es dann mit aller Kraft zusammen, so daß ihm die Lust zu weiteren Mißhandlungen vergeht. Die übrigen Stammesangehörigen schauen solch einem Schauspiel interessiert zu. Es ist übrigens bemerkenswert, daß die meisten Frauen recht energisch sind und mit Ausdauer schimpfen können. Wenn sich eine Frau über ihren Mann ärgert, weil er vielleicht untreu war oder nicht zur Jagd gegangen ist, dann schilt sie oft stundenlang so laut vor sich hin, daß alle übrigen Bewohner der Maloka jedes Wort verstehen. Der geschmähte Mann bleibt jedoch währenddessen in stoischer Ruhe in seiner Hängematte liegen, denn eine schimpfende Frau darf niemals unterbrochen werden. Aber auch zwischen den Frauen kommt es gelegentlich zu wahren Schimpfkanonaden, die mit grellem Stimmenschwall geführt werden. Ich hatte dabei stets den Eindruck, als gerieten sie jeden Augenblick handgreiflich aneinander. Manchmal kommt dies aber auch tatsächlich vor. Dann ziehen sie sich gegenseitig an den Haaren und schlagen sich mit den Händen ins Gesicht und auf den übrigen Körper.

[107]) Der Suruára-Häuptling war von meiner Brille so begeistert, daß er mich bat, ihm beim nächsten Besuch unbedingt eine mitzubringen.

[108]) Ähnliche Erlebnisse machten Chadwick bei den Kuikuró (Chadwick, 1889, S. 187/88), Koch-Grünberg bei den Taulipang und Makuschi (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, S. 36ff) und Holdridge bei den Tapirapé. (Holdridge, 1938b, S. 69ff).

In diesem Falle greifen andere Frauen nicht ein und überantworten Männer. Alle schauen gelassen zu und warten, bis die Raserei beendet ist.

Kinder werden mit besonderer Liebe und Zärtlichkeit behandelt. Meist drücken sie ihre auch ihren Eltern, indem sie ihnen eine besonderwillkommende Aufmerksamkeit bezeugen. Wie bald ich erfuhr, daß man alle Menschen verzogen findet[**], Wenn sie allerdings so schwach oder krank geworden waren, daß sie nicht mehr an den gemeinsamen Wanderungen teilnehmen konnten, wurden sie, gemäß der Stammessitte, getötet (s. S. 707ff).

Das Gemeinliche, aufgeschlossene Wesen aller Sorten und Farbigkeit ist aber mit einem stark ausgeprägten Selbsterhaltungstrieb gepaart. Zusammen mit dem Verhältnisse, vor allem den mächtigen Kräften, führen sie sich natürlich als die Beherrscher der Welt, die ihrer Nahrung nach nur aus Urwald, Bergen, Flüssen und Seen besteht. Die Caboclos (Pflanzer, Gummi- und Palmfruchtsammler), jene einfachen Angehörigen der Zivilisation, welche ihnen bekannt sind, werden deshalb stets mit einer gewissen mitleidigen Herablassung von ihnen behandelt, da sie auf dem Standpunkt stehen, daß alle Zivilisierten, Wilde, Schwarze und Mischlinge, schwach und krüftlos sind und ihr Leben nur der wohlwollenden Nachsicht der Indianer verdanken[**]. Als ich ihnen von Städten erzählte, in denen viele weiße und schwarze Menschen leben, vom Meer und den darauf fahrenden großen Schiffen, konnten sie dies erst gar nicht fassen und wurden unschlüssend recht nachdenklich. Später, bei meinem Abschied, meinten sie mich noch, nicht so weit auf das Meer zu fahren, damit ich nicht von der Eschelsche (s. S. 91) abstürze.

XI. Verstandesmäßige Fähigkeiten

Besonders ausgeprägt ist bei den Sorára und Paháhi das Erinnerungsvermögen, sowohl in bezug auf die Mythen und Gesänge, die Religion und Stammesgeschichte als auch hinsichtlich der Flora und Fauna sowie der Eigentümlichkeiten einer Landschaft[**]. Auch die Merk-

[**] Auch Bolton berichtet von den Tapuyas, daß man dort die Alten sehr gut behandelt (Bolton, 1878, S. 603), während Peter Claesen lediglich der Tatsache in diesen Hinsicht ein sehr düsteres Bild entwirft: „Entre os indios ahem vio, e consigão dos velhos é das mais pessoas..... Pedecidamente dizer, que mesão de serem, que o velho se o velho, quando não pode mais trabalhar para o familia, é considerado como homem que já deu cavalo, e obrigarem todj comprehão dalo...." (P. Claesen, 1696, S. 25).

[**] Ähnliche Verhältnisse fand Bolton bei Stämmen des nordöstlichen Chaco (Bolton, 1931, S. 116) und Wilmsen bei den Kayapó. (Herr Prof. Wilmsen hatte mir dies während der Tagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde in Berlin, 1937, mit).

[**] Hierzu möchte ich auf eine Bemerkung von Bolton verweisen: „Was den Gedächtnis des Indianers so großen und genauen angeht, so haftet dieser nur auf das ihm augenfälligen Dinge der Landschaft, und der Umgebung, die ihn umgibt, und die ihn angeht. Er wird sich jede Eigentümlichkeit einer Landschaft, die er durchwandert, merken, denn sie ist wichtig, um den Weg wiederzufinden und für den Gummi, Landwirtschaft zu können. Die vielgerühmte „Gedächtniskapazität" des Indianers ist nichts anderes als Erinnerungsvermögen." (Bolton, 1931, S. 116).

Buchstaben und schließlich ganze Worte nachschreiben konnte[***] [***].

Jüngere Leute zeichnen sich durch rasche Auffassungsgabe und eine erstaunliche Lernfähigkeit aus. Obgleich diese Indianer sehr selten mit Caboclos in Berührung kommen, und meist sind es nur die Männer, verfügen beide Gewährsleute bereits über einen größeren Schatz portugiesischer Worte und Redewendungen. Ein kleiner, etwa neun Jahre alter Surára-Junge, Jiburawá, auch Hanáhi genannt, der fast zwei Jahre in der Hütte des Polizeikommandeurs Manuel Antonio Gómes am Rio Arauá verbracht hatte, beherrschte die portugiesische Sprache nahezu vollkommen und leistete mir einigemal Dolmetscherdienste. Ihm allein verdanke ich es überhaupt, daß ich Lieder in die geistige Kultur der Surára und Pakáhi eindringen und die vollständigen Wörterverzeichnis aufnehmen konnte[***]. Das meinem Männern fiel es auch nicht schwer, schon nach kurzer Zeit mit unseren beiden Gewährsmännern; einige konnten sogar bald den Aufnahmeapparat, und der Surára-Häuptling Hewanáu, welcher großes Interesse für meinen Photoapparat zeigte, machte recht brauchbare Aufnahmen damit. Die Denkfähigkeit scheint bei den Männern etwas stärker entwickelt zu sein als bei den Frauen[***].

[***] Gänzlich barbarisch klingen von Indianerstimmen im nordwestlichen Chaco: „Lobet mit die Indianer und mit unseren Augen schaut, denn Hirten sie im Schlafe schreien und Tschwichtern nicht hinter uns zurück." (Holden, 1931, S. 116).

[***] Aber auch die entsprechenden Erklärungen meiner weißen Freunde sollen noch angeführt werden. So handelt sich einmal um Cawana, deren nachstehende Schilderung die Optimal bietet: „Je m'amuse à reproduire les figures et les arabesques dont sont couverts les gens du village. Elles prolongeaient beaucoup d'analogie avec les guirlandes de la roche Tiaiéri du Maroni. Il me vient ensuite l'idée de tailler un morceau de charbon et de le dessiner au crayon. Jean-Louis en le prenant de dessiner sur mon cahier, qu'il voulait copier, tandis qu'il copiait les dessins qu'il voulait reproduire. Jean-Louis ne sait guère dessiner. Au contraire le petit Yanni me fait rapidement une, plus avec des charbons, mais avec un crayon, des dessins d'hommes, de chien, de tigre, enfin de tous les animaux et diables du pays.

Un autre Indien reproduit toutes sortes d'arabesques qu'il a l'habitude de peindre avec la genipa.

Ayant dessiné quelques signatures à mon dessinateur, c'est à qui me demandera un crayon pour suivre du papier. Je vois que ces ouvrages qu'un novice d'Européen abandonnerait ignorants des leurs sorts dessinent tous avec une facilité extraordinaire. ..." (Cawana, 1880, S. 76/77). — Doch nicht minder interessant ist die Aussage Kiel von den Stämmen benachbart der Suya am Xingú, mit welcher er bezeugt, daß diese Indianer den Wunsch gut zu lernen wollen und schöne Motive in ein Notizbuch zeichneten, obgleich es der erste Weiße war, den sie sahen. (Kiel von den Steinen, 1888, S. 102).

[***] Der kleine Junge hatte vor drei Jahren durch ein ungeschicktes Gebiß mit hochstehenden Beneiden lebensgefährliche Verletzungen am Unterleib erlitten. Da der Häuptling den Heilung aufgegeben hatte, daß er wieder gesund würde, wollte er ihn totschlagen lassen. Die Sitte dieses Stammes, wie auch die der Pakáhi, gebietet nämlich, daß alle alten und schwerkranken Personen, die nicht mehr an den gemeinsamen Wanderungen teilnehmen können, getötet werden müssen (s. S. 107f.). Der Großvater des kleinen Jungen, der ein Witzenbruder ist, brachte den aber einen Knaben heimlich in die Hütte des spanischen Polizeikommandeurs Manuel Antonio Gómes, dem es gelang, ihn das Leben zu retten. Der Häuptling soll über die eigenmächtige Handlung der Großmutter sehr sehr böse gewesen sein, hatte sich aber dann, als er sah, daß der Kleine Heilung fand, wieder beruhigt.

[***] Diese Feststellung deckt sich mit einer Beobachtung von Holden bei den Tumereidá, und der Gelehrte schließt eine Bemerkung an, welche auch für die Surára und Pakáhi zutreffen könnte: „Die Unterschiede in der Begabung der Geschlechter werden vielleicht durch die Lebensweise und Arbeitsteilung hervorgerufen. So hat wahrscheinlich bei den Tumereidá der Nahrungserwerb den Mannes seinen Scharfsinn gesteigert, weil er dabei nicht nur wie die Frau Pflanzen erwerbt, sondern auch auf die Jagd geht ..." (Holden, 1931, S. 114).

XII. Zählen und Zeitauffassung

Die Sentéra und Pukiláli zählen nur bis drei:

1 — *makéla*
2 — *jáwakáhi*
3 — *jáwakaháhi*.

Danach kommt viel — *jáwáki* — und sehr viel — *jáwáki, jáwáki* —. Das Gegenteil davon, wenig, heißt — *jáwáiawá* —. Eine Hand wird *makéla áuch* genannt und beide Hände *jáwakáhi áuch*. Die Finger — *tatáili* — werden niemals als Hilfsmittel für das Zählen verwendet.

Ob eine Menge größer oder kleiner geworden ist, können die genannten Indianer zwar mit einem Blick feststellen, doch es fehlt ihnen die Möglichkeit, es zahlenmäßig auszudrücken. Stehen z. B. 20 Pfeile zusammen und man vermindert oder vermehrt das Bündel während der Abwesenheit des Besitzers nur um einen, so bemerkt er diese Veränderung bei der Rückkehr sofort.

Der Tag beginnt mit dem Sonnenaufgang — *jáiamakéjakáta* — (Sentéra), — *kenaitánaili* — (Pukiláli) und endet mit dem Sonnenuntergang — *jáiamajáhak* — (Sentéra), — *kenaitáte* — (Pukiláli). Der Ort des Sonnenaufgangs wird dagegen von beiden Stämmen *jáiamajáhakamajáwakáhi* genannt und der Ort des Sonnenuntergangs *jáiamakéjakáta*. Den Rhythmus des Tagesablaufes bestimmt man nach dem Stand der Sonne — *jáwáiawá* — (Sentéra), — *kenáiwáta* — (Pukiláli), dem Helligkeitsgrad, den Temperaturschwankungen und dem Wind — *tánáhi* — (Sentéra) — *yaré* — (Pukiláli). Morgens sa sagte man mir, sei meist ein leichter Wind zu verspüren, mittags ist es fast immer windstill, und nachmittags weht er etwas stärker.

Der Tag wird *jáiamakéwá* genannt, der Morgen *kenaiki*, der Abend — *jáiamakéwátakáti* — und die Nacht — *jáiamatíli* —. Für Mittag und Mitternacht gibt es keine Bezeichnungen, auch nicht für Jahr, Monat und Woche. Man spricht nur von der Trockenzeit — *jáwáiatíá* — und der Regenzeit — *jáwáiá* —.

Außer dem Wort für Mond — *jáwáiki* —, gibt es noch Benennungen für Neumond — *tánáiki* — und Vollmond — *jáwáiakáiawa* —, sowie für Mondfinsternis — *jáwáiki* — (Sentéra), — *kakáiwi* — (Pukiláli). Die Sonnenfinsternis wird überhaupt nicht genannt. Für die einzelnen Sterne und Konstellationen hat man keine besonderen Namen, man spricht nur generell von Sternen — *jáwáiná* — und großen Sternen — *jáwáiná kwa* —.

Literatur

Abkürzungen

A – Anthropos.
AC – Antropológica, Caracas.
ACA – Anales del Instituto de Etnografía Americana, Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Mendoza.
AfA – Archiv für Anthropologie, Braunschweig.
AfV – Archiv für Völkerkunde, Wien.
AMLP – Anales del Museo de La Plata.
ANM – Arquivos do Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.
BA – Baessler Archiv, Berlin.
BAEA – Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Reports.
BAEAP – Bureau of American Ethnology, Anthropological Papers.
BAEB – Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletins.
BAEB (Hdb) – Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletins (Handbook of South American Indians).
BEI – Bulletin of the Essex Institute, Salem, U.S.A.
BIV – Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, Caracas.
BPB – Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, São Paulo.
CES – Comparative Ethnographical Studies, Göteborg.
CIA – Congresso Internacional de Americanistas, Actas.
CIAE – Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques.
E – Ethnos.
EUS – Educação e cultura social, Rio de Janeiro.
FVS – Forschungen zur Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie, Leipzig.
G – Globus, Braunschweig.
GJ – The Geographical Journal.
GR – The Geographical Review.
IA – Ibero-Americana, Berkeley.
IAE – Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie.
IAE (S) – Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie (Supplement Bd.).
KB – Korrespondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, Braunschweig.
KTTM – Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Mededeling, Amsterdam.
MGGH – Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft Hamburg.
MIWF – Mitteilungen des Instituts für den Wissenschaftlichen Film, Göttingen.
MMVH – Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg.
MSA – Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris.
NGM – The National Geographic Magazine.
P – Paideuma (Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde), Wiesbaden.
PF – Psychologische Forschung (Zeitschrift für Psychologie und ihre Grenzwissenschaften), Berlin.
PM – Primitive Man, Washington, D.C.
PPM – Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
RA – Revista de Antropologia, São Paulo.
RAM – Revista do Arquivo Municipal, São Paulo.
RIE – Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán.

RMLP – Revista del Museo de La Plata.
RMP – Revista do Museu Paulista. São Paulo.
S – Sociologia. São Paulo.
SIA – Smithsonian Institution — Institute of Social Anthropology.
TC – Trabajos y Conferencias. Seminario de Estudios Americanistas (Facultad de Filosofía y Letras). Madrid.
TM – Le Tour du Monde. Paris.
U – Die Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik. Frankfurt/Main.
UCP – University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology. Berkeley.
UMPA – University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum, Anthropological Publications.
VMDV – Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde. Berlin.
WVM – Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen.
WZL – Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig.
ZfE – Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
ZfE(V) – Zeitschrift für Ethnologie (Verhandlungen).
ZGG – Zeitschrift der Deutschen Geologischen Gesellschaft. Berlin.
ZMA – Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie. Stuttgart.

Ahlbrinck, W.
1956 Op Zoek naar de Indianen.
KTM CXVIII.

Alba, Gregorio Hernández de
1948 The Achagua and their neighbors.
BAEB 143 (Bd. 4), S. 399–412.

Appun, Carl Ferdinand
1871 Unter den Tropen. Wanderungen durch Venezuela, am Orinoco, durch Britisch Guayana und am Amazonenstrome in den Jahren 1849–1868. 2 Bd. Jena.

Baldus, Herbert
1931 Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco.
FVS XI

1937 Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira.
BPB, Serie 5ª, Brasiliana, Bd. 101.

1939 Die Herrschaftsbildung und Schichtung des Naturvolkes Südamerika.
AfA (N.F.) XXV, S. 109–130.

1945 Os Tapirapé, tribo tupi no Brasil Central.
RAM CV, S. 77–90.

1950 A alimentação dos índios no Brasil.
S XII, Nr. 1, Separata, S. 1–13.

1954 Bibliografia Crítica da Etnologia Brasileira. São Paulo.

1956a Ethnologische und linguistische Forschungsreisen in Brasilien.
CIAE, 4., Wien 1952, Bd. III, S. 193–195.

1956b Some Aspects of Tapirapé Morals.
Encyclopedia of Morals, S. 620–626, New York.

1958 Die Jaguarzwillinge. Mythen und Heldengruppenbildung, Ursprungssage und Märchen brasilianischer Indianer. Eisenach und Kassel.

Baldus, Herbert, e Willems, Emilio
1950 Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia.
BPB, Serie 6ª, Iniciação científica, Bd. 17.

Barrère, James
1951 Mémoire sobre la cultura de los Caribes.
BEV I, Nr. 3–4, S. 433–489.

Barrère, Pierre
1743 Nouvelle relation de la France équinoxiale, contenant la description des côtes de la Guiane; de l'isle de Cayenne; le commerce de cette colonie; les divers changements arrivés dans ce pays; et les mœurs et coûtumes des différents peuples sauvages qui l'habitent. Paris.

Barrère, Pierre
1751 Neue Beschreibung von Guiana.
In: Neue Reisen nach Guinea, Peru und durch das südliche America. Aus dem Französischen übersetzt, S. 1—178, Göttingen.
Bartels, Max und Paul, s. Plate, Heinrich und Bartels, Max und Paul.
Beals, Ralph L.
1932 The Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico before 1750.
IA 2.
Becher, Hans
1951 Göttel und Hälbchenbeine südamerikanischer Naturvölker.
Diss., ungedruckt. Hamburg.
1953 Cintos e cordões de cintura dos índios sul-americanos (não-cerâmicos). Tradução de Frei Joaquim da Silva, O.F.M.
RSEP (N.S.) IX, S. 7—180.
1956 Tribos existentes entre o Rio Cuiriuaní e o Rio Negro.
RA 4, S. 158—170.
1957a Bericht über eine Forschungsreise nach Nordbrasilien in das Gebiet der Flüsse Demini und Araçá.
ZfE 82, S. 112—120.
1957b Die Yanomámi (Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Völkergruppierung zwischen Rio Branco, Uraricoéra, Serra Parima und Rio Negro).
WVM 5, S. 13—20.
1957c A importância da banana entre os índios Sanéma e Poianáwi.
RA 5, S. 193—194.
1958 Un viaje de investigación por los Ríos Demini y Araça (Brasil). Traducción del alemán por Fernando Rodríguez Lapuente.
TC II, 3, S. 140—160.
1959 Kriegsbeile, Das Streitbeil der Sanéma- und Poianáwi-Indianer. (Ein Beitrag zum Problem der „Kulturstellung" und der Tumaoca in Südamerika).
MWM XXV (Amerikanistische Miszellen), S. 161—167.
Beglar, L.
1958 Ein ostkordillerischer Ritus in Südamerika.
Miscellanea Paul Rivet, Octogenario Dicata, II, S. 63—83. México.
Brandt, H.
1907 Die tätowen Steine an der Bucht von Rio de Janeiro.
MGGH XXX, S. 1—68.
Brett, William Henry
1880 Legends and myths of the aboriginal Indians of British Guiana. London.
Cooper, Franz
1933 Ein Kulturausgleich im Hinterland der Flüsse Gaupení und Machado (Westbrasilien), dargestellt auch an verschiedenen und anderen wenig bekannten Quellen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schirunga- und Geschlechtertell.
Diss., ungedruckt. Hamburg.
Charlevoix, Jean
1889 L'Orénoque et la Canoe; relation de voyages exécutés en 1886 et 1887. Paris.
Comte, Paul Le
1907 Ärzneien e plantas úteis.
RPB, Serie 3ª, Botanikum, Bd. 251, 2. Aufl.
Cooper, John M.
1949 Stimulants and Narcotics.
BAEB 143 (HS II), S. 525—558.
Corvel, François
1722 Voyages de François Corvel aux Indes Occidentales, contenant ce qu'il y a vû de plus remarquable pendant son séjour depuis 1666, jusqu'en 1697... Trad. de l'Espagnol, 3 Bd. Amsterdam.
Coudreau, Henry Anatole
1887 La France équinoxiale. Bd. 2. Paris.
Coudreau, Olga
1903 Voyage à la Maguarí, 21 avril 1902—24 décembre 1902. Paris.

Crevaux, Jules M.
1873 Sur les Indiens Roucouyennes.
MSA Série 2, Tome 2, S. 230—258.
1880 De Cayenne aux Andes.
TM XL, S. 33—112.
1883 Voyages dans l'Amérique du Sud. Paris.
Creveaux, J. M.
1953a Indios Guaika: Incineracon de Cadaveres.
BIV I, 1, S. 149—150.
1953b Gesamt, Dios Bueno Maquiritare. — Mito de los Indios Maquiritare del Rio Cunucunuma, Territorio Federal Amazonas.
BIV I, 2, S. 325—328.
Dupouy, Walter
1953 Noticia sobre una curiosa pantera sentada de los Guaika.
BIV I, Nr. 3—4, S. 491—496.
Ehrenreich, Paul
1890 Mitteilungen über die zweite Xingú-Expedition in Brasilien.
ZfE XXII, S. 81—98.
1891 Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens.
VMHV II.
Farabee, William Curtis
1918 The Central Arawaks.
UMPA IX.
1924 The Central Caribs.
UMPA X.
Feldner, Wilhelm Christian Gottlieb von
1808 Reisen durch mehrere Provinzen Brasiliens. 2 Bd., Liegnitz.
Finney, Kenneth R.
1957 Prestamos culturales observados entre los Waica.
AC 2, S. 26—30.
Friederici, Georg
1890 Der Indianerbund von Nordamerika.
G 58, S. 361—365.
1907 Die Wirkung des Indianerbogens.
G 91, S. 313—330.
Frikel, Protasius
1957 Zur linguistisch-ethnologischen Gliederung der Indianerstämme von Nord-Pará (Brasilien) und des angrenzenden Gebietes.
A 52, S. 500—563.
Fröhlich, Otto und Nordenskiöld, Erland
1918 Über Zwirnen und Spinnen bei den Indianern Südamerikas.
Kungl. Vetenskaps-och Vitterhets-Samhälles Handlingar. Fjärde följden XIX, Göteborg.
Froger
1713 Relation d'un voyage de la Mer du Sud, détroit de Magellan, Brésil, Cayenne et les Iles Antilles Amsterdam.
Fuchs, Helmut
1956 Initiationen in Südamerika.
Diss., ungedruckt. Wien.
Giacone, Pe. Antonio, S. S.
1949 Os Tucanos e outras tribus do Rio Uaupés affluente do Negro-Amazonas. Notas etnográficas e lichtivicas de um Missionário Salesiano. São Paulo.
Gillin, John
1936 The Barama River Caribs of British Guiana.
PPM 14, Nr. 2, S. 1—274.
1948 Tribes of the Guianas.
BABB 143 (Hb 3), S. 799—860.

Gilmore, Raymond M.
1950 Fauna and ethnozoology of South America.
HARB 143 (Hb 6), S. 345—464.
Gorje, C. H. de
1906 Bijdrage tot de Ethnographie der Surinaamsche Indianen.
IAE(S) 17
1943 Philosophy, Initiation and Myths of the Indians of Guiana and Adjacent Countries.
IAE 44, S. 1—138.
Grimm, Hans
19 8 59 Völkerkunde und moderne Medizin.
WZL 8. Jahrg., Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe — Heft 1, S. 357—365.
Grosse, Ernst
1894 Die Anfänge der Kunst. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig.
Gumilla, J.
1745 El Orinoco ilustrado, y defendido, historia natural, civil, y geographica de este gran rio, y de sus caudalosas vertientes. 2 Bd. Madrid.
Haebler, Ruth
1919 Die geflochtenen Hängematte der Naturvölker Südamerikas.
ZfE 51, S. 1—18.
Haekel, Josef
1958 Religion.
Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde, S. 40—72. Stuttgart.
1959 Pará und Hochgott.
A/V XIII, S. 23—50.
Hitte, Ch. de la
1847 Notes ethnographiques sur les Indiens Guayaquis.
ASLP, Sammlg. anthropologica, II, S. 3—23.
Holmberg, Donald
1953 Exploration between the Rio Branco and the Serra Parima.
GR XXIII, S. 372—384.
Holten, Hermann v.
1877 Das Land der Yarukaer und dessen Bewohner.
ZfE 9, S. 109—115.
Hübner, Georg
1907 Die Yaupery. Kritisch bearbeitet und mit Einleitung versehen von Theodor Koch-Grünberg.
ZfE 39, S. 123—148.
Humboldt, Alexander von
1860 Reise in die Aequinoctial-Gegenden des neuen Continents. In deutscher Bearbeitung von Hermann Hauff. Bd. 3 und 4. Stuttgart.
Im Thurn, Everard F.
1883 Among the Indians of Guiana. London.
Jouet, W.
1893 Ethnographisches und Verwandtes aus Guayana.
IAE(S) V.
Kersten, Rafael
1926 The Civilization of South American Indians. London.
Koch(Grünberg), Theodor
1899 Die Anthropophagie der südamerikanischen Indianer.
IAE XII, S. 78—110.
Koch-Grünberg, Theodor
1909 Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern. Reisen in Nordwest-Brasilien 1903/1905. Bd. I, Berlin.
1910a Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern. Reisen in Nordwest-Brasilien 1903/1905. Bd. II, Berlin.
1910b Einiges über die Tracht südamerikanischer Indianer.
KB XLI, S. 89.
1913 Abschluß meiner Reise durch Nordbrasilien zum Orinoco, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der von mir besuchten Indianerstämme.
ZfE 45, S. 448—474.

Koch-Grünberg, Theodor
1916 Vom Roroima zum Orinoco. Bd. II, Berlin.
1917 Vom Roroima zum Orinoco. Bd. I, Berlin.
1920 Die Völkergruppierung zwischen Rio Branco, Orinoco, Rio Negro und Yapurá. Festschrift Eduard Seler, S. 205—266. Stuttgart.
1923a Vom Roroima zum Orinoco. Bd. III, Stuttgart.
1923b Vom Roroima zum Orinoco. Bd. V, Stuttgart.
1928 Vom Roroima zum Orinoco. Bd. IV, Stuttgart.
Krause, Fritz
1911 In den Wildnissen Brasiliens. Leipzig.
Krickeberg, Walter
1918—1922 Die Totenmahlen. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Ethnographie Mittelamerikas. BA VII, S. 1—55.
1922 Die Völker Südamerikas. Illustrierte Völkerkunde von Georg Buschan, Bd. I, S. 217—423, Stuttgart.
1928 Das mittelamerikanische Ballspiel und seine religiöse Symbolik. P 3, Heft 3—5, S. 118—190.
Kruse, A.
1933 Pará, das Höchste Wesen der Arikéna. A 30, S. 404—416.
Lafitau, P. Joseph François
1724 Moeurs des Sauvages Amériquains, ... 2 Bd., Paris.
Lehmann, Walter
1910 Ergebnisse einer Forschungsreise in Mittelamerika und Mexiko. ZfE 42, S. 687—740.
Lopes, Raimundo
1934 Os Tupis do Guaspy. CIA 25., La Plata, 1932, Bd. I, S. 139—171. Buenos Aires.
Loukotka, Čestmír
1932 Klassifikation der südamerikanischen Sprachen. ZfE 74, S. 1—69.
Loukotka, s. Rivet et Loukotka
Martius, Carl Friedrich Phil. v.
1867 Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas zumal Brasiliens. Bd. I, Leipzig.
Mason, Otis Tufton
1904 Aboriginal American Basketry: Studies in a textile art without machinery. Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution 1902, S. 171—548, Washington.
Massal, Brigitte
1937 Dekorationsmuster Guiabjuschmuck südamerikanischer Naturvölker. BA(N.F.) V, S. 1—120.
Métraux, Alfred
1932 Mitos y cuentos de los indios Chiriguanos. RMLP XXXIII, S. 119—184.
1934 Estudios de Etnografía Chiriguana. AEA V, S. 283—314.
1948 The hunting and gathering tribes of the Rio Negro Basin. BAEB 143 (Pt 3), S. 861—867.
1949 Weapons. BAEB 143 (Pt 3), S. 229—263.
Meyer, Hermann
o. J. Bogen und Pfeile in Central-Brasilien. Leipzig.
Morse, Edward S.
1885 Ancient and modern methods of Arrow-Release. BEI XVII, S. 3—36.
Nimuendajú, Curt
1914 Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocuva-Guarani. ZfE 46, S. 284—403.

Nimuendajú, Curt
1952 The Tukuna.
UCP 45
Nordenskiöld, Erland
1911 Indianer och Hvita i Nordöstra Bolivia. Stockholm.
1918 Eine geographische und ethnographische Analyse der materiellen Kultur zweier Indianerstämme in El Gran Chaco.
CES 1.
1922 Indianer und Weiße in Nordostbolivien. Stuttgart.
1924 The Ethnography of South America seen from Mojos in Bolivia.
CES 3.
Nordenskiöld, s. Frödin und Nordenskiöld.
Oberg, Kalervo
1953 Indian Tribes of Northern Mato Grosso, Brazil.
SISA 15.
Orbigny, Alcide Dessalines D'
1835—47 Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale .... 9 Bd., Paris.
Ourique, Jacques
1906 O valle do Rio Branco. Manaos.
Passarge, Siegfried
1904a Die Kalahari. Berlin.
1904b Rumpfflächen und Inselberge.
ZGG LVI, Protokoll.
Petrullo, Vincenzo
1939 The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River, Venezuela.
BAEAP 123, Nr. 11, S. 161—290.
Plass, Heinrich
1911 Das Kind im Brauch und Sitte der Völker. Bd. II, Leipzig.
Plass, Heinrich und Bartels, Max und Paul
1927 Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde. 11. Aufl., Bd. I, Berlin.
Polykrates, Gottfried
1937 Ein Brauch bei den Indianern am Rio Trombetas.
E 22, Nr. 3—4, S. 128—147.
Preuss, Konrad Theodor
1921 Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto. Bd. I, Göttingen und Leipzig.
1922 Die höchste Gottheit bei den kulturarmen Völkern.
PF 2, S. 101—108.
1923 Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto. Bd. II, Göttingen und Leipzig.
1929 Monumentale vorgeschichtliche Kunst. 2 Bd., Göttingen.
Quoendt, Christlieb
1807 Nachricht von Suriname und seinen Einwohnern, insonderheit den Arawacken, Warraus und Karaiben.... Gnadau.
Ralegh, W. Sir
1848 The discovery of the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana. Edited, with copious explanatory notes and a biographical memoir, by Sir Robert H. Schomburgk, Ph. D.
The Hakluyt Society.
Ranke, Karl Ernst
1903 Ballistisches über Bogen und Pfeil.
G 83, S. 345—348.
Ribeiro, Berta G.
1957 Bases para uma classificação dos adornos plumários dos índios do Brasil.
AMN XLIII, S. 39—120.
Ribeiro, Darcy
1957 Culturas e línguas indígenas do Brasil.
ECS 6.
Ribeiro, Darcy e Ribeiro, Berta G.
1957 Arte plumária dos índios Kaapor. Rio de Janeiro.

Rice, A. Hamilton
1928 The Rio Branco, Uraricuera, and Parima.
GJ LXXI, S. 113—143: 209—223: 345—350.
Rivet, P. & Lambrëtte, C.
1952 Langues de l'Amérique du Sud et des Antilles.
Les Langues du Monde par un groupe de linguistes sous la direction de A. Meillet et Marcel Cohen. Nouvelle édition. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, S. 1109—1132. Paris.
Rochebert, C. de
1658 Histoire naturelle et morale des îles Antilles de l'Amérique... Rotterdam.
Rodrigues, João Barbosa
1875 Exploração do Rio Yamundá. Rio de Janeiro.
1885 Rio Jauapery. Pacificação dos Crichanãs. Rio de Janeiro.
Roquette-Pinto, E.
1929 Rondonia. 2. Aufl., Rio de Janeiro.
Roth, Walter Edmund
1915 An inquiry into the animism and folk-lore of the Guiana Indians.
BAEA 30, S. 103—386.
1924 An introductory study of the arts, crafts, and customs of the Guiana Indians.
BAEA 38.
1929 Additional studies of the arts, crafts, and customs of the Guiana Indians.
BAEB 91.
Sabóthil, Georges
1951(?)a Les Indiens Karinné.
RSE II, S. 297—326.
Sapper, Karl
1903 Mittelamerikanische Waffen im modernen Gebrauche.
- G 85, S. 33—63.
Sauer, Carl O.
1950 Cultivated plants of South and Central America.
HAEB 143 (Nr. 6), S. 487—543.
Schmidt, Max
1904 Abbildung südamerikanischer Gedächtnismittel aus der Technik des Flechtens.
ZfE(V) 36, S. 490—522.
1905 Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien. Erlebnisse und ethnologische Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900—1901. Berlin.
Schmidt, Wilhelm, P.
1913 Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Südamerika.
ZfE 45, S. 1019—1109.
Schomburgk, Richard
1847 Reisen in Britisch-Guiana in den Jahren 1840—1844. Bd. I, Leipzig.
1848 Reisen in Britisch Guiana in den Jahren 1840—1844. Bd. II, Leipzig.
Schomburgk, Robert Hermann
1841 Reisen in Guiana und am Orinoko während der Jahre 1835—1839. Nach seinen Berichten und Mitteilungen an die Geographische Gesellschaft in London herausgegeben von O. A. Schomburgk. Leipzig.
Schuster, Meinhard
1956a Die Ontologie der Waika.
CIA 31., Kopenhagen 1956, S. 119—122.
1956b Neue Filme des Instituts
Waika-Südamerika-Venezuela
B 743 Herstellung einer Hängematte und Kartäschen aus Lianen.
B 704 Herstellung einer Hängematte (Baumwolle).
B 128 Feuerbohren.
B 129 Herstellung eines Bogens.
B 130 Herstellung einer Pfeilspitze (Bambus).
MWF, Nr. 8, S. 18—23.

Seler, Eduard
1904 Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde. Bd. II, Berlin.
1908 Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde. Bd. III, Berlin.
Spix, Joh. Bapt. von und Martius, Carl Friedr. Phil. von
1831 Reise in Brasilien. Bd. III, München.
Spruce, R.
1903 Notes of a Botanist on the Amazonas and Andes. London.
Steinen, Karl von den
1886 Durch Central-Brasilien. Leipzig.
1894 Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Berlin.
Steller, Georg Wilhelm
1774 Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka, dessen Einwohnern, deren Sitten, Nahmen, Lebensart und verschiedenen Gewohnheiten. Frankfurt und Leipzig.
Stevens, Albert W.
1906 Exploring the valley of the Amazon in a hydroplane.
NGM 17, Nr. 4, S. 353—416.
Stirling, Matthew Williams
1938 Historical and ethnographical material on the Jivaro Indians.
BAEB 117.
Strobel, Hermann
1865 Alt-Mexiko. Archäologische Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte seiner Bewohner. Bd. I, Hamburg.
Tannoy, Alfonse d'Escragnolle
1922 São Paulo no século XVI. Torno.
Tastevin, Pirmin
1925 Der Hund bei den Kulturvölkern Altamerikas.
ZfE 61, S. 1—57.
Ule, E.
1903 Unter den Indianern am Rio Branco in Nordbrasilien.
ZfE 45, S. 278—298.
Vianna, Affonso
1936 Sambaquis. (Kitchen-Middens). 2. Aufl., Rio.
Waldeck-Waldegg, Hermann von
1936 Notes on the Indians of the Llanos of Casanare and San Martin (Colombia).
PM IX, Nr. 3, S. 58—63.
Waitz, Theodor
1862 Anthropologie der Naturvölker. Bd. III, Leipzig.
Warren, Marquis de
1922 Das Geheimnis des Orinoko. Erlebnisse und Forschungen.
Herausgegeben von H. Surmont. Übersetzt von Dr. Karl Sell. Berlin.
Westermarck, Edward
1901 The history of human marriage. London.
Weule, Karl
1899 Der südamerikanische Pfeil. Leipzig.
Wied-Neuwied, Maximilian Prinz zu
1820 Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815—1817. Bd. I, Frankfurt a. M.
Whiffen, Thomas
1915 The North-West Amazons. Notes of some months spent among cannibal tribes. London.
Willems, s. Brüllau, Herbert + Willems, Emilio.
Zerries, Otto
1951 Wildgeistervorstellungen in Südamerika.
A XLVI, S. 1—180.
1954a Wild- und Buschgeister in Südamerika. Wiesbaden.
1954b Los indios Cuiba y su situación cultural.
RJV II, Nr. 1—4, S. 61—76.
1955a Some aspects of Waica Culture.
CIA 31., São Paulo 1954, S. 33—68.

Zerries, Otto
1955b Das Lanze-Fest der Waika-Indianer.
U 35. Jahrg., 11. Heft, S. 161—165.
1956a Verbal und verbildige Exprimine der Frobenius-Expedition 1954/55 nach Süd-Venezuela.
P VI, Heft 3, S. 181—187.
1956b Zur Frage der ursprünglichen Wirtschaftsform der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoco (Venezuela).
(Ergebnisse einer völkerkundlichen Forschungsreise 1954/55).
WVR 4, Nr. 2, S. 148—156.
1956c Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Guaika-Indianer des Territorio Amazonas, Venezuela.
P VI, Heft 4, S. 224—250.
1956d Die Vorstellung der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoko (Venezuela) über die menschliche Seele.
CIA 31., Kopenhagen 1956, S. 109—113.
1956e Schöpfung und Urzeit im Denken der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoko (Venezuela).
CIA 31., Kopenhagen 1956, S. 280—288.
1956f Kultur im Übergang. Die Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoko — Wildbeuter oder Pflanzer?
U 56. Jahrg., 4. Heft, S. 177—180.
1959 Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Schirkana-Indianer im Quellgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien.
ZRA 30, S. 33—42.

Verzeichnis der Abbildungen

1 Indianerschutzgebiet „Ajuricaba" am mittleren Rio Demini
2 Cachoeira (Stromschnelle) des Índios am oberen Rio Araçá (während der Trockenzeit)
3 Cachoeira des Índios am oberen Rio Araçá (während der Regenzeit)
4 Konstruktion eines Familienschlafquartiers bei Wanderungen des Stammes
5 Blick auf die große, offene Surára-Malóka im Gebiet zwischen dem Demini und Araçá
6 Ein Ausschnitt der großen, offenen Surára-Malóka
7 Häuptlingshütte (rechts) und Hahnenstall innerhalb der Surára-Malóka
8 Konstruktion der geschlossenen Surára-Malóka an der Cachoeira des Índios (oberer Rio Araçá)
9 Hewendo, der Surára-Häuptling (geschnitzt für das Tsáuarinterviewprojekt)
10 Der Surára-Häuptling Hewendo mit seinen beiden Frauen und zwei Kindern
11 Kurákyawö, der jüngere Bruder des Surára-Häuptlings
12 Surára-Krieger
13 Surára-Krieger vor dem Abschuß eines Pfeiles
14 Pwaiwei, Kriegshäuptling der Pukúlis im Frotschmuck
15 Surára-Familie. (Die Frau ist eine Angehörige der Pwaiwetsiwö und trägt den charakteristischen Frauengürtel dieses Stammes)
16 Karáina-Frau (ermordet) mit deformierendem Gesichtsschmuck
17 Nákawaná, ein Mädchen der feindlichen Karawatsiwö. (Sie ist eine Gefangene der Surára)
18 Nákawaná (Nächtenansicht)
19 Yaradina, Tochter des Kriegshäuptlings der Surára, mit charakteristischer Gesichtstätowierung
20 Yaradina (links) und Rokuchíwa, zwei Surára-Mädchen
21 Jáwawei, mein kleiner Dolmetscher (rechts) und Shoschowá (Zwei Wakuénjungen vom Stamme der Surára)
22 Zwei Surára-Jungen, Kanawö (rechts) und Shoschowá, der eine Albinokinder zwischen den Beinen hält
23 Der Surára-Junge Kanawö
24 Pukúlis-Frau Ringowé
25 Die beiden ältesten Surára-Frauen: Rokowá (rechts) und Cinquawé
26 Hängematte aus Embira
27 Lasurstäbengemälde
28 Geflochtene Hängematte aus Baumwolle
29 Pukúlis-Frau mit Säugling in einer Baumwollhängematte
30 Schlafstelle für junge Hunde („Hundebett")
31 Pukúlis-Indianer bei der Feuererzeugung
32 Peruanischer Tragkorb aus Palmblättern
33 Tragkorb aus Rindenfasern der Curaná-Pflanze
34 Großer Feuerungstragkorb aus Lianenruten
35 Surára-Frau beim Flechten eines großen Feuerungskorbes
36 Henkelkorbflechten aus Lianenruten
37 Wiederbelebung der Surára im Umkreis der großen, offenen Malóka
38 Der Surára-Häuptling Hewendo bei der Feldarbeit. In der linken Hand hält er einen Grabstock
39 Erzeugen einer Papaubua-Palme mittels Kletzergerät
40 Pwaiwei, Kriegshäuptling der Pukúlis (rechts) und seine Begleiter, Meinen Dias, ein mündiger Tukuna-Indianer vom oberen Rio Negro. Im Hintergrund kauert ein Pukúlis-Jüngling
41 Pukúlis-Indianer mit Tabakrolle zwischen Unterlippe und Zähnen
42 Die Surára- und Pukúlis-Männer verrenkenen sich während des Tsáuarinterviewprojektes zum zeremoniellen Trinken der Banisteriopsis, welche mit Kiwchenschi verunreinigt ist
43 *Ein Tanz der Surára-Krieger. Links im Vordergrund sitzt der Häuptling Hewendo*
44 Surára- und Pukúlis-Männer blasen sich gegenseitig Schnupfpulver in die Nase
45 Begrenzender Rauchvorhang nach dem Genuß des Schnupfpulvers
46 Höhepunkt der Ekstase
47 Kreuzform im Zustand der Ekstase
48 *Prinjawawei — der im Wasen durchgeführte Unterlängenkampf*
49 Eine Kreuzform bei ortsansässigen Regos. (Viel Mischmöglichkeiten der Surára können um einen so Wenigen schwachen Jüngling)
50 Beifuß mit einer Albinokinder

130

Verzeichnis der Figuren

Fig.		Seite
1a–c	Grundriß und Querschnitt der ältesten Malerei mit Hängeöffnungsbildern	11
2a	Pfeilspitze, breit, basiertürmig, aus Bambus 39-27:53	13
2b	Pfeilspitze, schmal, basiertürmig, aus Bambus 39-27:52	13
2c	Pfeilspitze mit Widerhaken 39-27:56	13
2d	Hölzerne Pfeilspitze mit Gifthöhlung 39-27:57	13
2e	Gegabelte hölzerne Pfeilspitze 39-27:58	13
2f	Pfeilbefiederung 39-27:55	13
2g	Knabenbogen 39-29:59	14
2h	Knabenpfeil 39-29:60	14
2i	Bogen mit Querschnitt und Sehnenbefestigung 39-27:59	13
3	Haltung beim Bogenschießen	14
4a–b	Bambusbrücke und Abzeichnung des Rillenmusters 39-27:46	15
5	Bambusbrücke mit angebundenem Querflechtwerk 37-33:28,29	16
6a	Männergürtel, Detail 39-27:17	19
6b	Männergürtel, Schema 39-27:17	19
7a	Jünglingsgürtel, Detail 39-29:18	20
7b	Jünglingsgürtel, Schema 39-29:18	20
8a–b	Teil eines Frauengürtels 39-27:20	21
8c	Teil eines Frauengürtels, Schema 39-27:20	21
9a–e	Verschiedene Bandungen von Frauen- und Mädchengürteln 39-29:14, 39-29:15, 39-27:21, 39-27:22, 39-29:19	21
10a–d	Verschiedene Bandungen von Männer- und Jünglingsgürteln 39-27:16, 39-27:17), 39-27:18	21
11	Frauengürtel einer älteren Frauentracht-Form, mit durchlochtem Muschelschalen 39-29:18	22
12	Kindergürtel aus dem Fell des Marozajä (*Felis pardalis* Rupp.) 39-29:14	24
13a–b	Brustschmuckteil der Frauen, Detail und Schema der Bandung 39-27:22	25
14a–b	Oberarmschmuck der Männer 39-27:31	26
15a–b	Oberarmschmuck der Jünglinge 39-27:30	26
16a–c	Oberarmschmuck der Frauen 39-29:27	26
17	Oberarmschmuck der Frauen 39-29:27a–b	26
18a–b	Detail der Knöchelringung an einer Hängematte aus Rinden sowie Schlingen- und Knotenschema 39-29:36	28
19	Knöchelringung einer Lianenhängematte 37-33:43	27
20	Durchlochungsschema von der Knöchelringung einer Lianenhängematte 37-33:43	27
21	Gehschürzung einer Frauentragkorbes 39-27:33	29
22	Gehschürzer Frauenkorb 39-29:35	29
23a	Kinderwiegenteil aus Knöchel-Bambusbast 39-29:42	31
23b	Teil eines Knöchelstreifens mit knöchelfarbem Bambusbast, der bereits etwas abgenagt wurde 39-29:42	31
24a	Bambusspalter aus Knöchelknie 39-29:43	32
24b	Jamaro-Frucht 39-27:45	32
25	Kleines Messer aus dem schwarzen Kern der Caiba (*Ceiba speciosa* St.) 39-29:40	32
26	Messer aus dem Beschlaghelzel der Pirarara (*Phractocephalus hemiliopterus*) 39-29:41	32
27	Kletterring 37-33:35	34
28a	Bambusspalter zum Aufbrechen des Schwanzgliedes 39-27:23	34
28b	Schwanzglieder aus Bambus 39-27:18	34
29	Anordnung der Tänzer anläßlich einer Zeremonie des Tanzmeisterempfanges	35

Karte

Lage der siedlungsgeschichtlichen Stellen und Punkte

Sachregister

Abmachungsmittel 62
Abnehmen 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 44
Aber 190–91
Aber, geschützter 37ff.
Arbeitsteilung 38
Archäologie 7
Armschmuck 37f., 63
Aufbewahrungsgefäß 118
Augenwimpern 4

Aufbewahrung einer Schwiegermutter 113
Baumwolle (Stoff) 1
Baumwollverarbeitung 30, 32
Begrüßungszeremonienbuch 118
Begrüßungszeremonienstuhl 39f.
Beingehäuse 13, 113
Beinschmuck 37f., 63
Beschneidungsmesser 62
Bestattungsgebräuche 62ff.
Bevölkerungsgeschichte
— Statistik 37
— Politik 30
Bewohner mit neuem Ende 110, 113
Blutrache 31
Brandbestattung 31ff., 41, 43
Brustschmuck 62, 103
Bruttogewicht 47f.
Bücher 161
Bruttoschmuck 36f., 63
Bügeln 118., 22
— Tragweise und Handhabung 118., 60

Calendar 36, 37, 60, 61, 63, 103, 105, 108
Charakter 113ff.
Cannabinon 32, 60, 32

Dekoration, künstliche 18, 63f.
Denkmäler 113ff.

Diagnose 36
Dialektologie 103
Dörfergröße 34, 98, 108
Dysenterie, parasitäre 13, 36, 37
Dysenterie 63, 107

Ehegesetze 62
Eheschließungsfeiern 72, 73, 80, 98, 108, 109ff.
Eheschließung 72, 73
Einwanderungsgeschichte 107
Elfenbeine Produkte 36.
Energetik 34

Federgeräte 63
Familienorganisation 37ff.
Federn 63f., 63, 98, 97, 98
Farben 4, 5, 36, 37
— s. auch: Rituelle Farbe
Federschmuck 63ff., 103
Feldbau 30ff.
Feste 100ff.
Feuererzeugung 63f.
Feuerländer 31
Feuererzeugungsgeräte 114
Feuerzeug 63f., 36
Fischfang 32f.
Flora 1, 2
— s. auch: Feldbau und Sammelwirtschaft
Form, Stellung der 108
Fruchtbarkeit 113, 108
Fruchtbarkeitsmasken 62
Fruchtpflege 18

Gastfreundschaft 113
Gebete 31, 92, 104, 105, 108
Geburt 62
Gebrauchsgegenstand 33, 62
Gedichte 107
Gefangene (Frauen und Weiber) 3, 62, 98ff.
Gefäße 33
Gefängnisgang 108
Gemeinschaftsleben 104
Gemeinschaftsarbeit 13, 62
Gesänge 98, 31, 33, 98, 100, 101, 103, 104
Gesichter 38
Gesichtsfarben 18, 63, 98f., 113
Gesichtsschmuck, dekorativer 98ff.

Getränke 63f., 107
Gliederung 18
Gottheit 33
Gottesdienst 117
Gruppe 37

Haarschnitt 36f., 39
Haarschmuck 11., 14
Halsschmuck und -halten 39
Hängematten 43ff.
Häuptlinge 62ff.
Hausbau 108.
Herrn 66
Hochzeit Wagen 31, 73, 91ff., 111, 114, 115
Hüftschmuck 37ff., 63, 103
Hundefett 14, 86
Hygiene 32, 63, 64f.

Igapó 1
Indianerschicksalen Abschnitte 6, 9, 33, 73, 83, 86, 90, 103
Initiationsritus junger Männer 63f. 98
Insektengeschichten 2
Insekt 66, 73, 98

Jagd 37ff., 103
Jagdwaffen 110f.
Jenseitsvorstellung 91

Kinderbeschneidung 62ff., 107
Kindergeschr 63
Kinderspielzeug 92f., 62
Kleidungsstücke 33ff.
Klima 2
Knochenarbeit 31, 103, 108, 109, 108, 109, 110
Knochenschmuck 31, 73, 91, 92f.
Körbe 34f.
Kopfbedeckung 31
Körbe 40ff.
Körperbemalung 4ff.
Körperbemalung 43, 88, 83, 91, 94, 95, 98, 100, 103, 105, 108, 111, 114, 117

Körperliche Tauchfähigkeit 96f.
Krankheiten 3, 4, 37, 96ff.
Krankheitsursachen 44, 100
Krankenkassen 67, 96ff.
Krieg 73f.
Kriegsbeteiligung 60, 61

Lagunen 114f.
Lernfähigkeit 108
Lichtverhältnisse 30, 110f.
Luftfeuchtigkeit 23

Magie 91ff.
Mahlzeiten 83, 108, 117
Malaria 3, 100
Marschbewegung 60
Masern 37
Medikamentenmangel 60, 61, 62, 96ff. 100
Menstruation 40, 66f., 93
Messer 34f.
Milchverhältnisse von Frauen 34, 116
Mangelkrankheiten 62
Mythen 113ff.
Mythologie 93ff.

Nachahmung 23, 107f.
Nagelbetten 63
Nahrung 62, 80ff.
Namen der Lebewesen 37ff.
Nasenspülung 33, 64f., 103
Nasen 32, 80

Penis, kultgebundener 28f., 34, 35, 80
Pflanzenarten (Heilpflanzen, Unterlagen, Muskelmittel, Stammesbewußtsein) 40, 63
Pflanzenbuch 28
Pfeile 23ff., 101, 103
– Tragweite und Durchdringung 25ff., 60
Pfeilgiftarten 25f.
Pflanzengifte, giftartige 63, 72, 88, 92, 93, 96, 99, 104
Polynesischer Zug 68, 93
Polygynie 66, 72
Preßluftbauch 32f., 83
Prostitution 66, 68f.
Pulverisierung der Mädchen 68f.
Pulverlecken 32f.

Rassenlehre der Frauen 116f.
Regenzauber 92, 93
Regenzeiten 110
Religion 91ff.
Rivalität der Ehegattin 64f.

Salz 82
Sauerstoffdürftigkeit 36f.
Schamgefühl 28, 33, 36, 83
Schattierungen 97
Schamgefühl 27ff., 104
Schattenfrauen 72, 77
Schamgefühlsmangel 116
Schenkel 27ff.
Schmalzen 110
Schwangerschaft 63, 72, 74, 80, 88f., 93, 94, 97, 98, 100, 102, 103, 104, 107
Schwangerschaftsabbruch 113f.
Schwangerschaften 66, 113
Schwimmen 90
Schwimmverhältnisse 107
Schwangerschaftsabbruch 111f.
Sexuelle Perversion der Europäer 4
Sicherungsmaßnahmen gegen Pflanzenzerstörung 60
Sinnlichkeit 104
Spezialisten 60, 63, 83, 103
Spinnen 26f.
Spinnen 26f.
Stammbaum 64, 90, 98, 103
Stämme 60, 97, 98, 99
Suggestive Therapie 98, 100
Syphilis 4

Tabak 63, 82, 88
Tänze 68, 72, 98, 100, 102, 103, 104, 107
Tatauierung 41f., 80
Tauchverhalter 9, 13, 17, 36, 45, 52, 55, 73, 82, 83, 86, 103
Tauchen 83, 104, 103
Tiergattungen, giftartige 63, 72, 88, 92, 93, 96, 99, 104
Tierfelle 80, 83f.
Tod 69ff.
Totenklage 63
Tonne 30f., 33, 63, 97
Totenzeremoniengebäude 72, 101ff.
Trauung Alter und Kinder 70f., 103, 108
Trocken 27ff.
Trübungsung 8, 9, 13, 25f.

Überfälle 3, 6, 33, 72
Urinieren 90
Ursache 33, 82, 98, 103, 109, 111, 114, 117

Vergewaltigung 103
Verhaltensbesonderheiten Fremdgruppen 103f.

Wanderung der Tanoama 80
Wahrheit 117
Werkzeuge 30f.
Wundgebiete 37
Wissen 60

Zahne Tiere 63ff.
Zähne 32, 109
Zauberhandlungen 101ff.
Zeichnen 103f.
Zeitschätzung 110
Zucker 63
Zweckmäßigkeit in ethnischer Stellung 103, 108
Zwillinge 60
Zwitter 96

[PP 134-138 not Processed]

[End Plate 1]

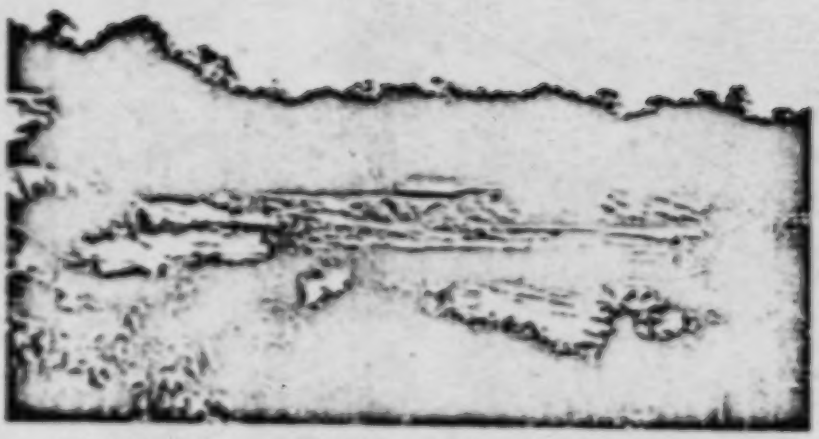


Abb. 2 Corbeaire (Hirnschale) des Indios am oberen Rio Amajá (während der Trockenzeit)

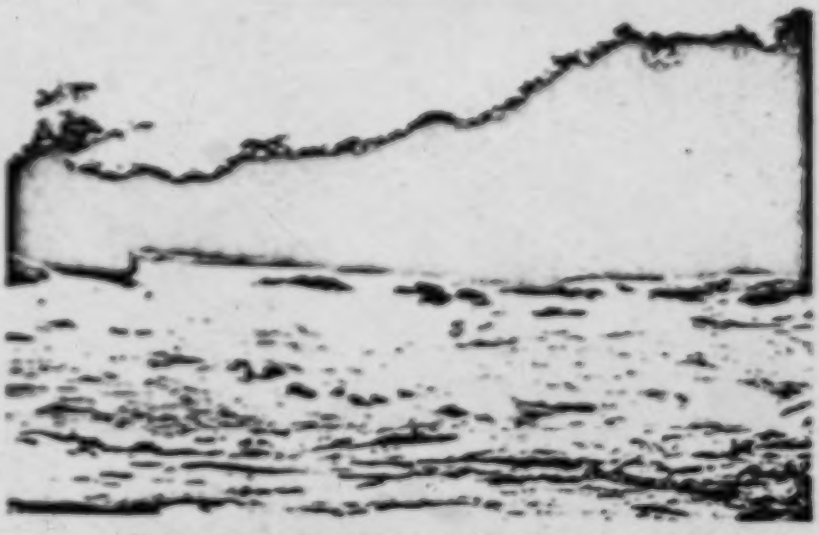


Abb. 3 Corbeaire des Indios am oberen Rio Amajá (während der Regenzeit)

[End Plate 2]

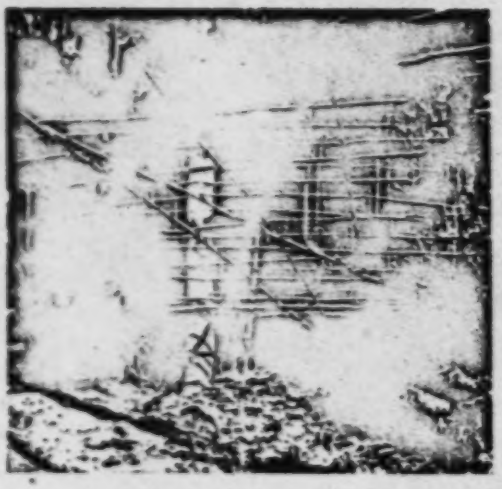


Abb. 4 Konstruktion eines Familienwohnquartiers bei Wanderungen des Stammes

Abb. 5 Blick auf die große, offene Sanáro-Malóka im Gebiet zwischen dem Demini und Areá

[End Plate 37]

Abb. 6 [illegible]

Abb. 7 [illegible]

[End Plate 4]

[End plate 5]

[End Plate 6]

(End plate 7)

[End Plate 8]

[End Plate 9]

[End Plate 10]

[End Plate II]

[End Plate 12]

[End Plate 13]

[End Plate 14]

[End Plate 16]

[End Plate 16]

3: Rodrigues L-4 (no date) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

On the Language of the Sanuma and Pakidai
[Über die Sprache der Sanúma und Pakidái]

660

by Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues

Hamburg: 1960
Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg XXVI
Pages 124-138

Translated from the German by Frieda Schijns

Human Relations Area Files
1966

[Title page]

/134/

114 During his stay among the Surára Indians, Hans Becher was able to compile an extensive vocabulary of their language. This still needs linguistic revision and further checking. Even now, however, it makes it possible to establish perfectly clearly the relationship of this language to the languages of the Waika /Waica/, [101] Širiana /Shiriana/, and Karimé. There is a very close correlation, apparent at first glance, which corresponds to the cultural unity of these Indian groups, whom Becher has classified under the name Yanomámi /Yanoama/.

The first vocabulary of a language of this group was published by Koch-Grünberg in 1913 and -- considerably expanded -- in 1928, and comes from the Širiana (Širianá) of the Uraricuera (and its tributary the Uraricapará) (1). In 1932 there appeared

1. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 458; 1928, pp. 302-308.

a vocabulary of the Karimé Indians of the Catrimani River compiled by G. Salathé (2). Further material was then published by

2. Salathé, 1932, pp. 314-316.

A. Vinci, who added to his travel account a vocabulary of the Waroma-Širiana (or -Waika, listed by him as Uaroma, Guaica and Sciricciana) on the Mereuari River (3). In 1954-55 C. Zerries

3. Vinci, 1936, pp. 364-367.

and M. Schuster collected as yet unpublished material among the Waika of the upper Orinoco, and in 1956 Becher presented his vocabulary from the Surára and a number of expressions from the Paúxiú. This, to my knowledge, is all that is known about these languages at present.

114 197 As early as 1913 Koch-Grünberg found that Širiana was independent of the neighboring Karaiben /Carib/ languages and apparently isolated (4). The latter view was adopted in 1924 by

4. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 455.

/134 cont./

Rivet, who at that time set up in his classification of the American languages a Tariané linguistic family which included the Tariana and Walka (5). W. Schmidt, who was familiar with the larger

5. Rivet 1924, p. 678.

Tariana vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, still unpublished at that time, was of the same opinion and wrote in 1926 that the language of the Tariana (Schiriana) "forms an isolated group along with those of the nearby Walka" (6). C. Loukotka, who took over the

6. Schmidt, 1926, p. 221.

revision and further working out of the classification from Rivet, retains the Tariané linguistic family, but adds to it Karind, which has meanwhile become known, and Pussinlaí, which is merely mentioned, but is unknown linguistically (7). Walka was also still

7. Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9.

undocumented at that time, but its inclusion in the family resulted from the assertion by Koch-Grünberg that "the language of the very light-colored Walka is very closely related to the Schiriana" (8).

8. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 431.

This assertion is now fully confirmed by the Walka notes of Zerries and Schuster. Up to the present time, however, the Pussinlaí has remained unconfirmed. The last version of the classification by Rivet and Loukotka, which appeared in 1952, introduces no change in the Tariana family (9).

9. Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1168.

J. A. Mason, in his comprehensive revision of the classification of South American languages undertaken for the Handbook of South American Indians, acknowledges the Tariana linguistic family

/134 cont./

(for him Shiriană, Shiriana), but disregards the unknown Pussaksă (10). His attempt at a classification of this family, in

10. Maam, 1950, p. 254.

which he subordinates the Waika (Waică) to the Siriana (Shiriană) /135/ and contains the two, put together as Waharibo (Guaharibo), Karimé (Carimé) (11), remains questionable (cf. p. ?). It has

11. Ibid.

been taken over and expanded by N. A. McQuown, however, whereby he again introduces the unknown Pussaksă and adds a questionable, likewise linguistically unknown Guaharibo (12).

12. McQuown, 1955.

Since in McQuown's work the classification is not clear, I am giving it here in the form of a table, in which I am retaining the not always fortunate orthography of McQuown:

2. 15. CHIRIANAN.

a. Guahariban. Ven. Br.

α. Chirians (861). N2-4° W61-64°30' Br.

β. Uaica (880). N1°30'-2° W62-4', N3°30' W63°30', N4° W61°? Br.; N1-3° W64°, N3° W63° Ven.

γ? Guaharibo (890). N3° W63° Ven. Br.

b. Carime (941). N4° W64° Br.

c. Pussaccas (944). N3° W64°? Br.

"Ven." means Venezuela, "Br." Brazil. the numbers in parentheses after the names of languages refer to McQuown's piece-maps. the other data are the geographical co-ordinates of the places where the languages are spoken or (if followed by ?) were spoken; in this connection it should be noted that Karimé erroneously appears on the north bank of the Unariconera instead of on the Catrimani, considerably to the south of it [approximately N1°30' W62°30'].

/135 cont./

114
197

Rivet, Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason, and McQuown all agree in regarding the Xiriana family as a more or less closed group for which it has not been possible to determine any closer relationship with other American linguistic families. On the other hand, Swadesh, in his most recent contribution to the classification of American languages, sets up a "Makro-Xiriana" group (for him macro-xiriana), which includes, besides the Xiriana family (for him xiriana), also the Čapakura family (chapakura) (13). This

13. Swadesh 1959, p. 20.

quite unexpected linkage, if it could be proved, would certainly raise very interesting and important questions for linguistics and ethnology, for the Čapakura family is found in the Guaporé basin, where it extends approximately between the tenth and sixteenth degrees south latitude over an axis formed by the 63rd degree west longitude. I therefore pursued the possibility of such a relationship and compared the languages of the Xiriana family with those of the Čapakura. Although in the process nine Čapakura languages were considered (14), a lexical relationship between the two

14. Čapakura, Kitemoka, Kapeka, Pawumwa, Itoo, Morê, Kumanê, Wanyam, and Kabixí.

linguistic families could not be established. Since Swadesh has not yet published any material as evidence for the relationship suggested by him (15), his results cannot yet be evaluated in a

15. Swadesh is preparing to publish this evidence soon under the title "Materiales para un diccionario comparativo de las lenguas amerindias /Material for a Comparative Dictionary of Amerindian Languages/"; cf. Swadesh, 1959, pp. 8-9.

case such as the present one. On the basis of my own investigation,

/135 cont./
114 however, Ciriana and Čapakura are still to be regarded as two
197 independent linguistic groups.

128 In the following, only a small selection of Surára words
197 are offered, along with the corresponding words of Waika (according to Schuster) (16), Karimé (according to Salathé, 1932),

(122)

16. My sincerest thanks are due Herr Dr. Meinhard Schuster, Frankfurt, for the willingness with which he put at my disposal an excerpt of the Waika linguistic material that he is working on.

Širianá (according to Koch-Grünberg, 1928), and Warema (according to Vinci, 1956), in order to illustrate the close relationship that exists between these languages. The chief criterion for the selection was the availability of documented forms in the five languages; moreover, care was also taken to draw on words of a "non-cultural" nature for the most part, that is, /136/ those that are not so frequently taken over by neighboring languages and thus -- if agreeing morphologically and in meaning -- represent stronger proof of the genetic relationship of the languages com-
114 pared. Becher's linguistic notes were made chiefly with Surára informants; for the designations of body parts, however, there were also additional forms (marked by P) which a Pakidái informant gave him.

104 The transcription of the five lists has been standardized;
194 that of Karimé has also been simplified somewhat by the fact that two h and ɨ sounds not adequately described by Salathé have been reproduced simply as h and ɨ. With respect to the transcription, the following should be noted: ə = middle, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ɨ = high, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ã, etc. = nasal vowel; ɛ = open e; š = unvoiced, alveopalatal fricative; x = unvoiced, palatal fricative; ? = glottal stop; : = length for the previous sound.

3: Rodrigues--6 L-4 (no date) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/136 cont./

192
197

	Surára and *Pakidái*	*Waika*	*Karimé*	*Siriana*	*Waremá*
Tongue	*-íka, P -íka*	*-íka*	*-íga*	*-í:ga*	*-ʔakuán*
Tooth	*-náka, P -nák*	*-nák*	*-náka*	*-ná:ka*	*-nakuán*
Mouth	*-kahkã*	*-kãhkã*	*-gá:xikã*	*-gáxig*	*-khái*
Nose	*-kuãka, P -ruãka*	*-kãkãkã*	*-nakãkã*	*-kãkãpa*	*-kinčokã*
Eye	*-mámok, P -mámu*	*-mámok*	*-má:mu*	*-má:mũ*	*-mamó*
Ear	*-niamakáka, P -niamikáka*	*-yámakãh*	*-yamaka*	*-yamɨ̃'ka*	*-kinkawán*
Forehead	*-kúko, P -kúko*	*-kúko*	*-yakoko*	*-kɨ̃:ko*	
Head	*-ká*	*-ká*	*-yá:ká*	*-í:ka*	*-ká*
Head hair	*-kenák, P -kenák*	*-kaiawãi*	*-yakíntakã*	*-kãtá:ka*	*-konowán*
Arm	*-kóko, P -kóko*	*-kóko*	*-yápoko*	*-kó:ko*	*-pokuán*
Hand	*-ímaka, P -ímak*	*-ámik*	*-yámi*	*-ãtá:ka*	*-ʔamián*
Foot	*-mamáka, P -mamayaka*	*-mámik*	*-yámã*	*-mãkɨ̃'ka*	*-mainuán*
Knee	*-makáko*	*-makáko*	*-mákako*	*-makáka*	*-inomokuá*
Chest	*-kurúk, P -kurúk*	*-yukuléka*	*-yápárá*	*-kalêka*	*-lalíbá*
Water	*maɨ̃*	*mãi*	*maku*	*mãɨ̃'pa*	*maduí*
Fire	*kawahã*	*kéa wáka*	*oá:ká*	*oáka*	*kuadáh*
Rain	*maʔa*	*mã*		*mãã*	*maduán*
Wind	*ãkaká*	*waddíli*	*yá:rã*	*watá:li*	*ipohó, wal*
Sun	*pawiboámã, wataká*	*watáka*	*watáka*	*belip(a)ĩ*	*pilmoró*
Moon	*parámako*	*pãkãko*	*paré:ko*	*wãlí:ko*	*pulípuli*
Soil	*makãtaka*	*makãta*	*maká:ta*	*makãta*	*makãadá*
Mountain	*paatãko*	*makã*	*kaku*	*tatalá:mã*	*keimadá*
Stone	*makã*	*makãma*	*ma:ma*	*ma:makã*	*maʔdamá*
House	*wyatá*	*yámo*	*yá:mo*	*wyɨ̃'nó* (village)	*saiá*
Pot	*kabokã*	*kabóka*	*kãbokã*	*kapóga*	*kabokã*
Man	*wakaó*	*ãdãi*		*koró:mã*	*wanodá*
Woman	*maí*	*mãi*	*tuí*	*tkaytka-tí:ápáá:la*	*sutudn*
Mother	*nápa*	*nã*		*ná:pa*	*ibannatuá*
Tapir	*kámu*	*kámu*	*ká:ma*	*ká:ma*	*saʔmá*
Jaguar	*kwa*	*'ka*	*ãkã*	*dãkã*	*poʔkí*

/137/

192
197

	Surára and Pakidái	Waika	Karimá	Sirióna	Waroma
Deer	hayá	háya	háia	haiíwa	a'?id
Maracajá	yaí	pídaidai	yauaná	tsaío	hi'?dauani (puma)
Cutia	tímã	tímã	naáiro	tí:ma	
Paca	amaíd	amáia		amáia	amaíd
Mutum	paruri	háhali	pá:ri	há:li	paháli
Jacamim	ayapía	yápi	yá:pi		
Jácaré	imí	ima	aíri	aí:li	inadamá
Fish	ya:ri	yáli	yáiri	mayáli-áp(i)ma	ámaí
Crayfish	aká	áka		á:ka	
Banana	hawaíd	hawaíd	hawa:íd	hainái:ka	ahamaináidi

192
197
128

The languages have been arranged in such a way that those which seem to be nearest to the Surára lexically follow it directly, and those which differ from it the most come last. This gradation of similarity with respect to the Surára is given here, however, only on the basis of impressionistic findings, which, furthermore, rest only on an examination of language samples containing the above 40 words. It is therefore not a reliable basis for a linguistic classification of the entire group, though one may see in it an indication of the relationships of the individual languages to each other. In any case, support for the classifications of Mason and McQuown (pp. 1-3) cannot be drawn from it. /The bibliography on pp. 137-138 of the original source is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

[114]
000

L. Rodrigues

BCIS Tessema

MITTEILUNGEN
AUS DEM MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE IN HAMBURG
XXVI

DIE SURÁRA UND PAKIDÁI

ZWEI YANONÁMI-STÄMME IN NORDWESTBRASILIEN

VON
HANS BECHER

MIT AUFSATZ:

ÜBER DIE SPRACHE DER SURÁRA UND PAKIDÁI

VON
ARYON DALL'IGNA RODRIGUES

1960

KOMMISSIONSVERLAG CRAM, DE GRUYTER & CO. HAMBURG

[Title Page]

Über die Sprache der Surára und Pakidái

von

Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues

Während seiner Aufenthalten unter den Nambikwára-Indianern konnte Hans Becher eine umfangreiche Wörterliste ihrer Sprache sammeln. Diese bedarf noch einer linguistischen Bearbeitung und weiterer Nachprüfungen. Schon jetzt aber ermöglicht sie, die Verwandtschaft dieser Sprache mit jener der *Waiko*, *Tóriona* und *Karíwai* vollkommen deutlich festzustellen. Es handelt sich um eine sehr enge, auf den ersten Blick ins Auge fallende Zusammengehörigkeit, die somit der kulturellen Einheitlichkeit jener Indianergruppen entspricht, die Becher unter dem Namen Yuruparí-zusammengefaßt hat.

Die erste Wörterliste einer Sprache dieser Gruppe wurde von Koch-Grünberg 1913 und — wesentlich erweitert — 1928 veröffentlicht und stammt von den *Tóriona* (*Tóriwai*) vom Uraricuera (und seinem Nebenfluß Uraricapará[1]). 1932 erschien die von G. Salzbrí aufgezeichnete Wörterliste der *Karíwai*-Indianer vom Catrimani-Fluß[2]. Weiteres Material wurde dann von A. Vinci herausgebracht, der eine Wörterliste der *Waramá-Tóriona* (bzw. *-Waiko*, von ihm als *Uaruma*, *Guaica* und *Toriviana* aufgeführt) vom Mucuxi-Fluß seiner Reisebeschreibung beifügte[3]. 1954—55 sammelten O. Zerries und H. Schuster noch unveröffentlichtes Sprachmaterial bei den *Waiko* vom oberen Orinoko, und 1958 brachte Becher sein Wörterverzeichnis von den *Surára* und einige Ausdrücke von den *Pakidái*. Das ist so, W. alles, was gegenwärtig von diesen Sprachen bekannt ist.

Schon 1913 hatte Koch-Grünberg festgestellt, daß die *Tóriona* unabhängig von den benachbarten Karaibensprachen und scheinbar isoliert wären[4]. Letzte Ansicht wurde 1924 von Rivet übernommen, der in seiner damaligen Klassifikation der amerikanischen Sprachen eine die *Tóriona* und *Waiko* umfassende *Tóriwai*-Sprachfamilie aufstellte[5]. Auch W. Schmidt, der die damals noch unveröffentlichten größeren *Tóriona*-Wörterlisten von Koch-Grünberg kannte, war derselben Ansicht und erklärte 1926, daß die Sprache der *Tóriona* (*Tóriwai*) „mit denen der umwohnenden *Waiko* eine isolierte Gruppe bildet"[6]. *C. Loukotka*, der die Revision und weitere Bearbeitung der Klassifikation von Rivet übernahm, behielt die *Tóriwai*-Sprachfamilie bei, fügte ihr aber das inzwischen bekannt gewordene *Karíwai* und ein nur ernähntes, aber sprachlich unbekanntes *Pruruhwai* hinzu[7]. Das *Waiko* war damals noch nicht inbegriffen, sein Einschluß in die Familie erfolgte aber auf Grund der Behauptung Koch-Grünbergs, daß „die Sprache der sehr heftigen *Waiko* ist dem Schirianá sehr nahe verwandt"[8]. Diese Behauptung findet jetzt durch die *Waiko*-Aufzeichnungen von *Zerries* und Schuster eine vollkommene Bestätigung. Das *Pruruhwai* ist dagegen bis heute unbelegt geblieben. Die letzte, 1932 erschienene Version der Klassifikation von Rivet und Loukotka führt keine Änderung in die *Tóriwai*-Familie ein[9].

In seiner letzten, für das Handbook of South American Indians unternommenen Revision der Klassifikation der südamerikanischen Sprachen erkennt J. A. Mason die *Tóriwai*-Sprachfamilie (bei ihm *Shirianá*, *Shirianái*) an, läßt aber den unbekannten *Pruruhwai* außer acht[10]. Sein Versuch einer Gliederung dieser Familie, wobei er dem *Tóriwai* (*Shirianá*) das *Waiko* (*Waicá*)

[1] Koch-Grünberg 1913, S. 438; 1928, S. 301—308.
[2] Salzbrí 1932, S. 314—316.
[3] Vinci 1938, S. 329—332.
[4] Koch-Grünberg 1913, S. 439.
[5] Rivet 1924, S. 658.
[6] Schmidt 1926, S. 111.
[7] Loukotka 1944, S. 8—9.
[8] Koch-Grünberg 1913, S. 439.
[9] Rivet und Loukotka 1952, S. 1140.
[10] Mason 1950, S. 870.

notwendigerweise und den beiden, als Wörterliste (Kurzwörter) zusammengestellt, das *Karinal* (Caribisch) gegenübergestellt[75], bisher allerdings lediglich (vgl. S. 135). Sie wird aber von H. A. Mc Queen übernommen und erweitert, wobei er wieder das unbekannte *Pesuvian* einführt und ein hypothetisches, ebenfalls sprachlich unbekanntes Gua-Amerika hinzufügt[76]. Da in Mc Queens Arbeit die Gliederung nicht übersichtlich ist, gebe ich sie hier in Tabellenform wieder, wobei ich die nicht immer glückliche Orthographie Mc Queens beibehalte:

2. 13. CHIBCHARAN

a. Guahiban. Yva. Bc

α. *Chiricoa* (Mc). Xa—ŋ Wa:—ɑ,ŋ'ɔ' Bc

β. *Guica* (Mc). Xŋ'ɔ'—ŋ Wa:—ŋ. Xŋ'ɔ' Wŋ'ɔ'. Xŋ Wŋ' Bc; Xa—ŋ Wŋ'. Xŋ Wŋ' Yva.

γ.? *Guahiba* (ass). Xŋ Wŋ' Yva. Bc

b. *Cuiva* (Ka). Xŋ' Wŋ' Bc

c. *Peranoan* (Pa). Xŋ Wŋ' Bc

„Yva." bedeutet Venezuela, „Bc" Brasilien; die eingeklammerten Nummern nach den Sprachnamen beziehen sich auf die Lokalisierungskarten von Mc Queen; die übrigen Angaben sind die geographischen Koordinaten der Orte, wo die Sprachen gesprochen werden oder (wenn ? folgt) wurden (hierzu sei bemerkt, daß das *Karinal* wahrscheinlich am Nordufer des Orinoco statt am Caicara, wesentlich südlicher davon [ungefähr Xŋ'ɔ' Wŋ'ɔ'], anzusetzen).

Rivet, Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason und Mc Queen sind sich alle darin einig, die *Tiviano*-Familie als eine eingeborenen geschlossene Gruppe zusammen, für die keine engere Verwandtschaft mit anderen amerikanischen Sprachfamilien festgestellt werden konnte. In seinem jüngsten Beitrag zur Klassifikation der Sprachen Amerikas stellt Swadesh dagegen eine „*Maipure-Tiviano*"-Gruppe (bei ihm macro-tiviano) auf, die außer der *Tiviano*-Familie (bei ihm *tiviano*) auch die *Cajubaboa*-Familie (*Arajubaboa*) einschließt[77]. Diese ganz unerwartete Verbindung könnte an sich begründet werden, würde gewiß sehr interessante und wichtige Fragen für die Linguistik und die Ethnologie aufwerfen, denn die *Cajubaboa*-Familie ist im Gegensatz zu den *Tiviano*-Sprachen, wo sie sich etwa zwischen dem 10. und dem 16. Grad südlicher Breite über einen vom 63. Grad westlicher Länge gebildeten Achse ausdehnt. Daher bin ich der Möglichkeit einer nahen Verwandtschaft nachgegangen und habe die Sprachen der *Tiviano*-Familie mit denen der *Cajubaboa* verglichen. Obgleich dabei neun *Cajubaboa*-Sprachen berücksichtigt wurden[78], gelang es nicht, eine lexikalische Verwandtschaft zwischen den beiden Sprachfamilien festzustellen. Da Swadesh auch kein Beweismaterial für die von ihm vorgeschlagenen Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse veröffentlicht hat[79], können seine Ergebnisse, in einem Fall wie dem vorliegenden, noch nicht beurteilt werden. Auf Grund meiner eigenen Untersuchung sind aber *Tiviano* und *Cajubaboa* weiterhin als zwei voneinander unabhängige Sprachgruppen anzusehen.

Im Folgenden wird nur eine kleine Auswahl von Swadesh-Wörtern neben den entsprechenden Wörtern des *Karinal* (nach Salzbild 1936), *Tiviano* (nach Koch-Grünberg 1928) und *Warrau* (nach Vinal 1936) gebracht, um die lexikalische enge Verwandtschaft dieser Sprachen miteinander zu veranschaulichen. Hauptkriterium für die Auswahl war das Vorhandensein lediglich Formen in drei Sind Sprachen; außerdem wurde aber auch dafür gesorgt, daß möglichst Wörter „nicht-kulturelle" Natur herangezogen wurden, also

[75] Salzbild 1936, S. 10.

[76] *Cajubaboa*, *Kiriminka*, *Kapaka*, *Pesuvian*, *Ano*, *Aiwi*, *Karinal*, *Warrau* und *Kaiwi*.

[77] Swadesh stellt die lediglig Verschiedenheiten dieser Sprache unter dem Titel „*Materiales para un diccionario comparativo de las lenguas amerindias*" vor, vgl. Swadesh 1959, S. 6—9.

[78] Herrn Dr. Bernhard Schuster, Frankfurt, gilt mein aufrichtigster Dank für die Bereitwilligkeit, mit der er seinen Anteil des Wörter-Sprachmaterials, das er bearbeitet, zur Verfügung stellte.

Lautwert und Phonem	Wörter	Kürzel	Sinnen	Wurzeln

	Tembé und Tenetehára	Wayãpi	Karajá	Xerente	Warao
Hand	ãwat	ãpẽ	ãbe	ãpẽ	ãʔã
Auge	ʔaʔ	pãmuʔ	jawaʔ	ʔaʔe	kʷʔawaʔ (Pl. ʔaʔ)
Ohr	ãwaʔ	ãwaʔ	wãbe	ãʔwaʔ	
Zahn	ãmãʔã	ãmãʔã		ãmãʔã	ãmãʔã
Knie	ãpeʔ	ãpiʔ	ãbeʔe	ãʔẽ	ãpaʔ
Zunge	ãnãʔã	ãnãʔã	ãnãʔã	ãnãʔã	ãnãʔã
Bein	ãʔaʔ	ãʔã	ãbeʔe	ãʔãʔã	ãʔaʔ
Fuß	ãpeʔ	ãpiʔ	ãbeʔe	ãpẽʔẽ	ãpaʔ
Kinn	ãkã	ãkã		ãkã	
Nase	ãwaʔ	ãwaʔ	ãwaʔ	ãwãʔã	ãkwaʔaʔ

Ohne und die Sprachen so ausgewählt wurden, daß diejenige, die dem Tembé lexikalisch am nächsten zu stehen schien, dem ursprünglichen, und diejenige, die sich von ihm am meisten unterscheidet, an letzter Stelle steht. Diese Reihenfolgeanordnung bezüglich des Tembé wird hier aber nur auf Grund einer impressionistischen Feststellung durchgeführt, die noch durch nur auf einer Durchsicht der obigen, gr Wörter entstehenden Sprachgruppen beruht. Sie ist also noch keine unerläßige Basis für eine linguistische Gliederung der genannten Gruppe, jedoch darf man in der eine Bestätigung auf die gegenseitigen Verhältnisse der einzelnen Sprachen sehen. Eine Untersuchung für die Gliederungen von Ri-ua und Ri-Queres (S. 130—133 kann allerdings darum nicht entnommen werden.

Literatur

Cabeza Quintero, C. de, und Rivet, Paul
1913 Linguistique bolivienne. La famille linguistique Cayubaba. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* n.s. 10:109—171.

Koch-Grünberg, Theodor
1913 Abschluß meiner Reise durch Nordbrasilien zum Orinoco, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der von mir besuchten Indianerstämme. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 45:418—474.

1928 Zum Animismus eines Orinoco. 3. Band: Sprachen. Stuttgart.

Loukotka, Čestmír
1932 Klassifikation der südamerikanischen Sprachen. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 64:1—69.

Rivet, J. Allen
1950 The languages of South American Indians. *Handbook of South American Indians* (hg. von Julian H. Steward), Bd. 6:137—317. Washington.

Ri-Queres, Tomasio A.
1933 The indigenous languages of Latin America. *American Anthropologist* 35:310—358.

Rivet, Paul
1924 Langues américaines. *Les langues du monde* (hg. von A. Meillet und M. Cohen), 921—1111. Paris.

Rivet, Paul, und Loukotka, Čestmír
1952 Langues de l'Amérique du Sud et des Antilles. *Les langues du monde* (hg. von A. Meillet und M. Cohen), 2. Auflage, 1109—1180. Paris.

Tastevin, Georges
1930 Les Indiens Karajá. *Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán* 1:61—93.

Schmidt, Wilhelm
1926 Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde. Heidelberg.
Santiago, Count O.
19— [illegible]
Swadesh, Maurice
1959 [illegible]
Thiel, Alfonso
1926 [illegible]

/11/ Introduction

101 131 [132] The native tribes that are discussed in the present report inhabit the northwest zone of the Escudo Guayanés, located in the southern part of the Republic of Venezuela. As the natural boundaries of this region, which we call "the Orinoco-Ventuari region," one may point out the rivers: the Orinoco in the north and west; the Ventuari in the south, and the Caura in the east. Geographically the zone is enclosed between 64°-68°W. and 4°-8° N. approximately. The northern part of it corresponds to the Distrito Cedeño of Bolívar state, while the southern part, as Departamento Atures, belongs to the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

133 101 Hydrographically speaking, the region includes five river basins which carry off its water and which at the same time set off the various areas of native distribution (1).

[128] 1. We do not include here the small native groups who recently arrived (Guahibo, Piapoco, Puinave, Curipaco). They live along the periphery of the region, except the Guahibo, who advanced a few years ago to the Manapiare river.

a) The basin of the Caura, with the Mayongon /Maioncon/, a subgroup of the Makiritare, the Yecuana, and with some Sanemá groups;
b) The basin of the Cuchivero, with the Panare Indians and some unknown groups on the headwaters;
c) The basin of the Suapure, which, with the exception of some Panare nuclei, does not at the present time have any native populations;
d) The basin of the Sipapo, with the Piaroa and Macú Indians;
e) The basin of the Ventuari, with the Yaberana Indians on the Manapiare River, the Yecuana (Decuana) subtribe of the Makiritare, and the Nahuduh, a Sanemá subgroup (cf. hydrographic map /see p.12/).

Guahibo SC19
Yaharana, Panare SS22 SS23
Sanema Sulva SS15 Makiritare SS20

/11 cont./

All these basins, without exception, pour their great volumes of water into the Orinoco, which, like a gigantic arc, runs across the north of the Escudo de Guayana, thus enclosing all the native tribes studied here and marking the southernmost boundary and end of their primitive world (cf. ethnic map /see p. 6 /- /12/ /Map appears here/-/

/12/ It is interesting to point out that the extensive fluvial network of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone does not serve the majority of the tribes as a means of communication or as an outstanding source of food. The Panare of the basin of the Cuchivero do not travel by river, and on the Cuchivero we found only one dugout /bongo/, which was used solely for crossing the river. In general the curiara /dugout canoe/ seems to be a foreign element in Panare culture, introduced recently by the Creoles. Nor did the Yabarana of the basin of the Ventuari use the curiara, and they recently learned from their neighbors, the Makiritare, the art of making them. For the Sanema the river represents an obstacle rather than a means of communication, and they use rafts in order to cross it. At the present time, only the groups who live in symbiosis with the Makiritare make curiaras, but there is not the slightest doubt that this industry was adopted recently. The Sanemá spend less time at fishing than do the Panare, Yabarana, and Guahibo, since the latter two are among those Indians oriented toward the land, with its roads, rather than toward the rivers and navigation. The only real voyagers of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone are the Piaroa and the Makiritare, and the fame of the latter exceeds that of the former.

Culturally, the Makiritare belong to a Meso-Indian level, as do their cousins of the same linguistic affiliation, the Panare and the Yabarana. It is interesting, however, to call attention to the fact that to speak of Caribe /Carib/ Indians is not the same *eo ipso* as speaking of voyaging Indians. There are Meso-Indians who are ignorant of the curiara and who developed agriculture, not in a Meso-Indian culture (of fishermen and voyagers), but basically on top of a Paleo-Indian culture (of hunters). Meso-Indian cultures, such as that of the Warao, for example, and possibly that of the Piaroa, represent a specialization of the Paleo-American who was

[Text continues on P. 4]

Map 1. Route of the expeditions.

Guahibo SC 19 Sanema
Yabarana SS 22 Saliva SS 15
Makiritare SS 20 Panare SS 21

/13 cont./

searching primarily for a new source of food and not so much for a better means of communication. The typical Venezuelan Caribe, at least at the present time, is a man who loves land (Pemón, Caribe, Panare, Yabarana, Tupe), and the Makiritare, river men, represent an exception among them.

According to the relative importance which the river has among the different tribes, nuclei of them are found along the principal aquatic arteries, such as those of the Makiritare, or at a distance from them, on the tributaries and headwaters, as among the Panare, Yabarana, Guahibo, and Sanemá. This circumstance is of the utmost importance for the study of these Indians. The farther away they live from the river, the more difficult it is to make contact and to live with them. Thus the Panare are even less known than are the Makiritare and the Piaroa, and we are presenting in the present report the first relatively ample information on the Sanemá and Yabarana. /14/ /Map appears here./

/15/ The three weeks which we spent among the Panare were very laborious, and the time among the Sanemá was very hard physically.

In spite of these difficulties, which in comparison with those of a voyage at the beginning of the century are insignificant, the zone is open for any type of communication. One can go by airplane to Caicara, Puerto Ayacucho, San Juan de Manapiare, and Cucuí (between the Tenque and Oso Falls). Thus, for a special study of the Panare one can go from Caracas to Caicara on a flight of a few hours and then continue by jeep and arrive on the same day at the first bohío of the Panare. In order to study the Piaroa, one goes by airplane as far as Puerto Ayacucho and then on by foot or by curiara. The Yabarana can be visited in the dry season, going by regular flight to Puerto Ayacucho and from there to San Juan de Manapiare by a flight lasting 30 minutes in a small plane. One reaches the houses of the Yabarana on the same say, and in two days more the "Monteros," the most autochthonous of this tribe. In order to reach Makiritare territory and the Sanemá of the upper Ventuari, one goes by airplane to Puerto Ayacucho on a regular flight and then on to Cacuí on a flight lasting 50 minutes more or less in a small plane. In

[Text continues on p. 6]

4. Wilbert--S E-4, 5 (1969) 1983 SQ19 Yanomama SQ18

Achagua SC 5
Saliba SC 15
Panare SS 21
Makiritare SS 20
Yabarana SS 22

Yanomama
Parimare SC 18
Barauana SR 27
Guahibo SC 14

Pa Sa Ge Ma Ya
101
102
133

Map 2. Distribution of the native tribes of the Orinoco-Ventuari region.

Y /15 cont./
122 no cost are more than three or four days needed in order to get
7 to the site of study, and the cost is relatively low. The Waica
[122] and Samatari live in a remote corner of Venezuela. On a re-
cent trip, however, we left Caracas at seven in the morning
and were among the Waica of the Padamo at five o'clock in the
afternoon of the same day. We spent five hours flying and three
in a fast curiara.

On a reconnaissance trip of long duration, such as the one we made for this present report, one needs to go more slowly in a curiara, stopping among the tribes, streams, and mountains. The only ones difficult to reach is that of the "Moreseco" and Chirano of the Sierra Guanapi.

Y The Orinoco-Ventuari region represents the secondary
133 western massif /macizo/ of the Macizo de Guayana, with eleva-
122 tions above 2,000 meters. The most difficult ascent in the region was the one south of the Saudal Alto on the Cuchivero, toward the Sierra Guanapi, and the first of the Salto Mono on the Upper Ventuari, where the level rises to more than 1,500 meters (cf. physical map /see p. 7 /). The traversing of the Salto Mono, particularly the ascent during the rainy season, is an extremely

M dangerous stretch, and one must spend at least a whole day to
[982] go and six hours to return. The Makiritare go up in six hours and
[982] come down in four hours with a load of 20-30 kilograms on their backs. We came down with 20 Sanemá and 30 Makiritare in only five hours, but such a marathon is extremely tiring. On the other hand, to cross the Mono in two days is an extraordinarily beautiful excursion because of the characteristics of this mountain and its gigantic forest, which at times allows an open view /16/ /map

M appears here/ /17/ and one can gaze on an enchanting panorama.
122 The Makiritare keep the wide path (over two meters) always open
[481] and in good repair, and at the upper port they built a house in
[985] which to rest and spend the night. There one finds curiaras with
[501] which one can follow the river to the Makiritare and Sanemá rancherías located on the headwaters of the same. From the port of Mono upriver as far as the headwaters there are no further obstacles for navigation, and the river permits easy access to all the Makiritare villages of the Upper Ventuari. We call Upper

[text continues on p. 8]

4; Wilbert--7 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Map 3. Linguistic affiliation of the native tribes of the Orinoco-Ventuari region.

4. Wilbert--S S-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Tamanaco

Makiritare II 20 Sanoma
Panare SI 24
Venezuelan Indians
559

N
182
[195]

/11 cont./
Venezuela that part of the river from the Salto Tempue to the source. From there the Makiritare take the expedition across the mountains to the Siapa, a tributary of the Caura River.

M
182
484

Communication between the flatlands of the north and the Macizo are very difficult going up the rapids of the Caura. On this account the Indians themselves exhaust their strength and frequently lose their lives. During the rainy season they do not usually travel by way of these dangerous routes (Vila, 1959).

V
137
153

As is natural, physical characteristics are reflected in the different types of vegetation in the Orinoco-Venezuelan region (cf. vegetation map /see p. 16/). In the low zone along the Orinoco, Ventuari, lower Cuchivero, and Caura rivers are dense gallery forest, chaparrals, and graminous steppes, as in the upper Orinoco and in the Llanos. In the higher stretches there are xerophilous and hygrophilous deciduous forest, in part evergreen, while in the high sierra, above 1,000 meters, are found xerophilous and hygrophilous forms interrupted locally by savannas. The forest between 200 and 1,000 meters elevation is frequently cut up by graminous steppes.

P
[137]
[137]

The word "chaparral" is used to designate the savannas filled with trees, such as those of the lower Cuchivero and of the hinterland and interior of the Parure of the north. Here, typically, are found stubby trees 4-6 meters in height, with species such as Curatella americana, species of Byrsonima and Erythroxylum, Bowdichia virgilioides, Pellicourea rigida, and Haematoxylon brasiletto.

The graminous steppes, humid or dry, constitute the typical vegetation of the Llanos. They are zones almost completely lacking in trees, interrupted by dunes or, in our zone, by marshes, and on occasion with chaparrals or other woody elements in the transition zones of the north. The savannas and steppes of the high sierras of Guayana /Guiana/ still remain almost unexplored.

The gallery forests which we pointed out for the dry regions are made up in the main of moriche groves. The moriche groves of the lower Cuchivero are /18/ /map appears here/ /19/ known in Venezuela for their beauty, in spite of the fact that, for the

[Text Cont. on P. 10]

4. W.Ilhen--9 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanomama SQ19
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians
554
V
y
102
133

Map 4. Physical map of the southern part of Venezuela (according to Vila, 1959).

V /19 cont./
137 traveler, they usually indicate an obstacle, even in dry seasons.
[133] The hygrophilous selvas, constantly green (tropical rain forest), are made up of trees from 20-50 meters in height, intertwined with lianas and epiphytes. The trunks on occasion measure over two meters in diameter, and once in a while they have tabular roots. Among the characteristic species are found: Anacardium rhinocarpus, Terminalia amazonica, Philodendron bipinnatum, Sterculia apetala, Basiloxylon brasiliensis, Astronium graveolens, Brosimum spec., Pouteria spec., Guarea spec., Carapa guianensis, Mora excelsa, Bertholletia excelsa, Hevea benthamiana, and Ochroma lagopus.

In the Venezuelan region of Guayana it is difficult to make a distinction between the zones of hygrophilous selvas and the deciduous mesophilous forests. In Venezuela the deciduous mesophilous forests occupy the most extensive part of all the forest zones. Owing to the dry season, this type of forest has a smaller number of species than the hygrophilous selvas. The trees attain a height between 20-40 meters, and lianas are less abundant than in the hygrophilous forests. Among the important species in the deciduous forests of our region are found: Cedrela mexicana (cedar), Swietenia macrophylla (mahogany), Anacardium rhinocarpus (mijao) Mombacopsis sepium (saquisaqui), Spondias mombin (jobo), Samanea saman (saman) and Tabebuia pentaphylla (apamate) (Hueck, 1960).

V
114 As we have already indicated in the preface /untranslated/,
127 the present book is the result of a report on two trips and of a bibliographical study of the extant data on the zone visited (cf. map: Route of the expedition /see p. 3 /). Although it is true that no monographic work has yet been written for any of the tribes of the Orinoco-Ventuari region, it is also true that the great number of articles which have been published on the Indians of that zone is surprising. The material is primarily descriptive, but since they often describe for us aspects of native life which have now disappeared or changed, the general material of these authors is of great value and interest.

4: Wilbert--11 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Venezuelan Studies 54

/19 cont./

In the present report we use most of the extant data, and their compilation, ordering, and selection, together with our own personal contribution, constitute the study which we present here on the Indians of this part of Venezuela.

For our purpose we followed the footsteps of the great Venezuelan ethnologist, Lisandro Alvarado, who, with the publication of his book, Datos Etnográficos de Venezuela /Ethnographic Data of Venezuela/, took a firm step toward the great task of compiling /20/ all the objective material written over the course of many decades regarding the native tribes of this part of the world (2).

2. Obras completas de Lisandro Alvarado /Complete Works of Lisandro Alvarado/, Vol. 4 (Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura y Bellas Artes). Caracas, 1956.

Our report lacks uniformity with regard to the character and volume of material on the various tribes to which we refer, but this fact reflects precisely our present sporadic knowledge concerning the tribes, which, in the last phase of their autochthonous life, urgently invite the competent ethnologist to leave testimony of a human conglomerate of our ancient American continent. /Maps 5 and 6 appear here. Pages 21-176 are not included in the translation./

4: Wilbert--12 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians
554

V
Y
102
133

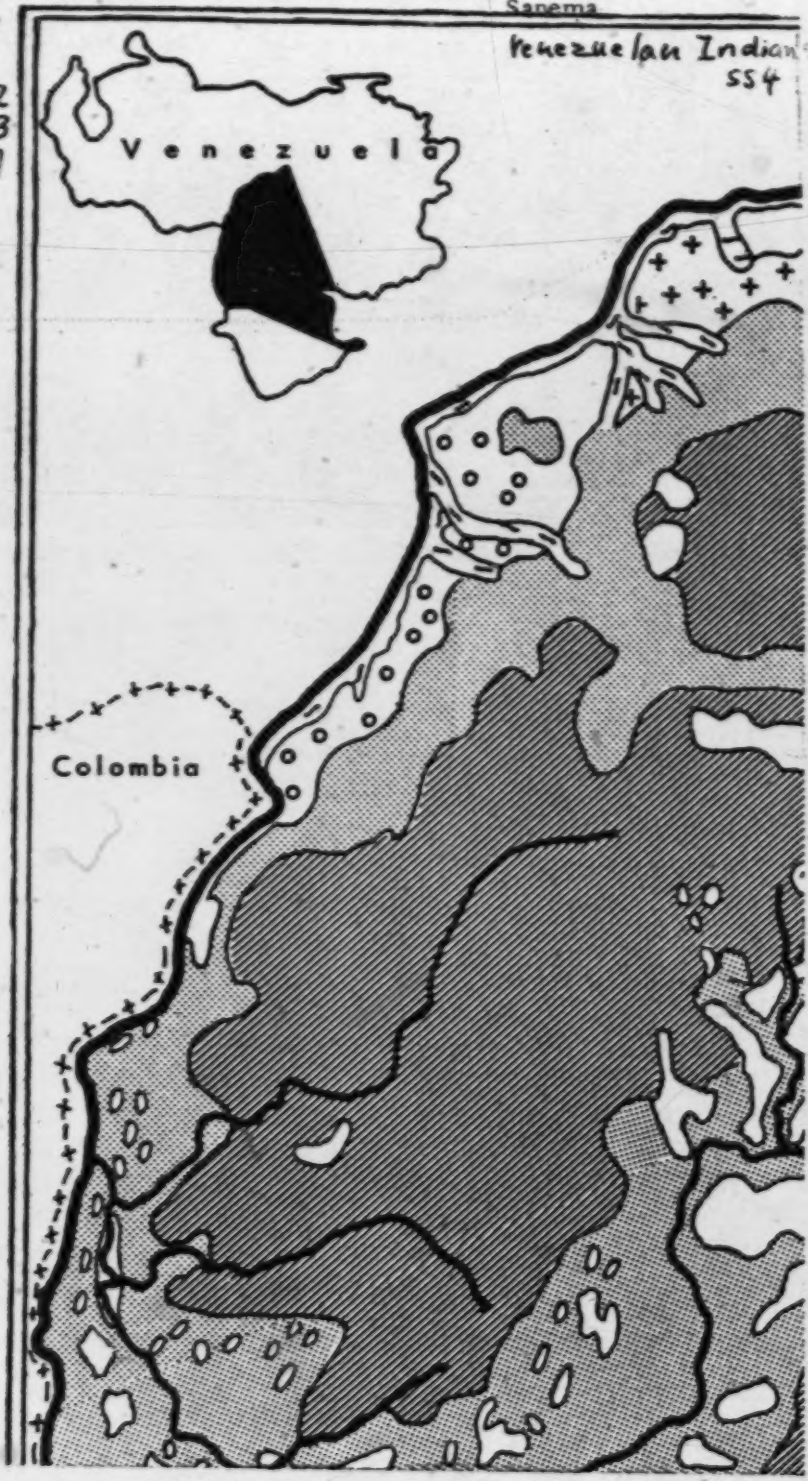
4; Wilbert--13 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians
SQ4
Y
V
102
133

Map 5. Hydrographic map of the southern part of Venezuela (according to Vila, 1959).

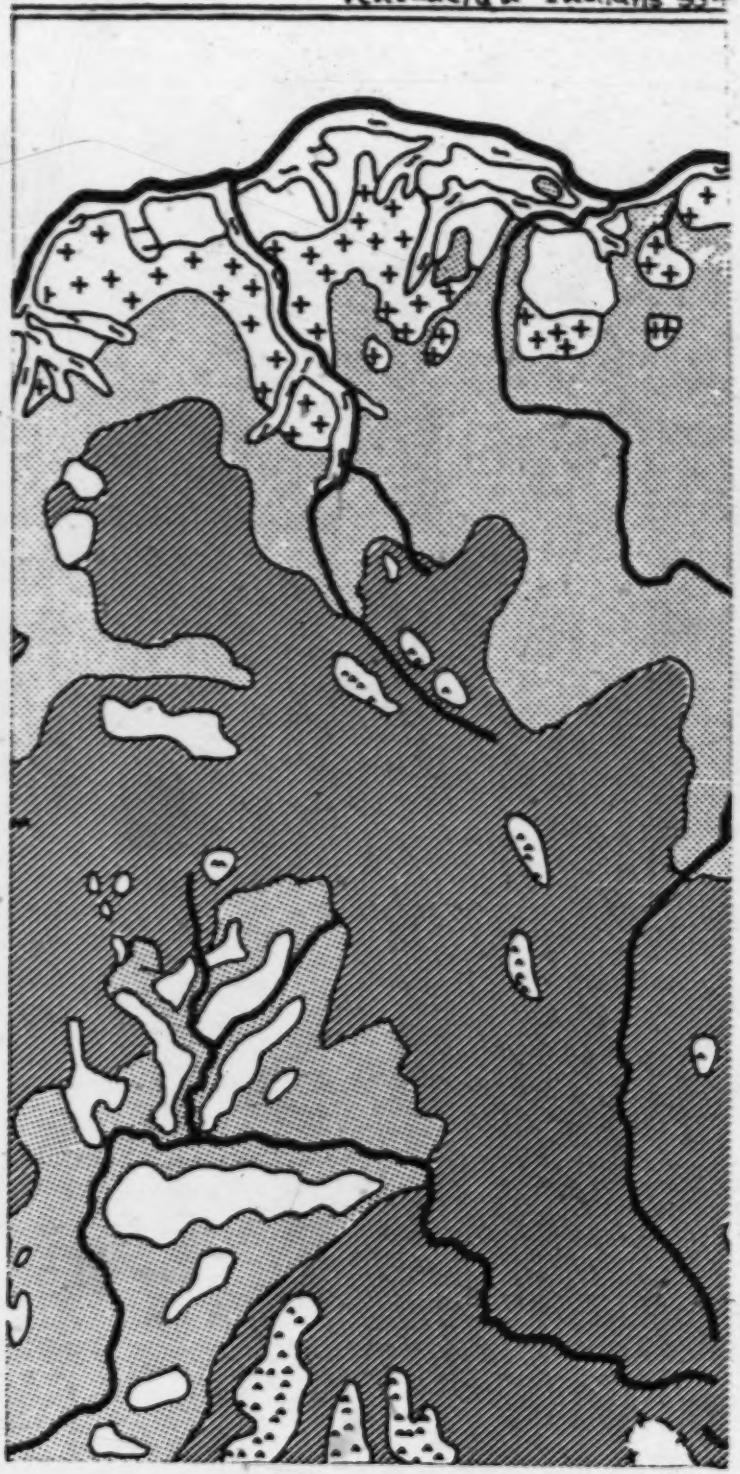
4: Wilbert--14 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Venezuelan Indians
554

V
Y
102
133
137



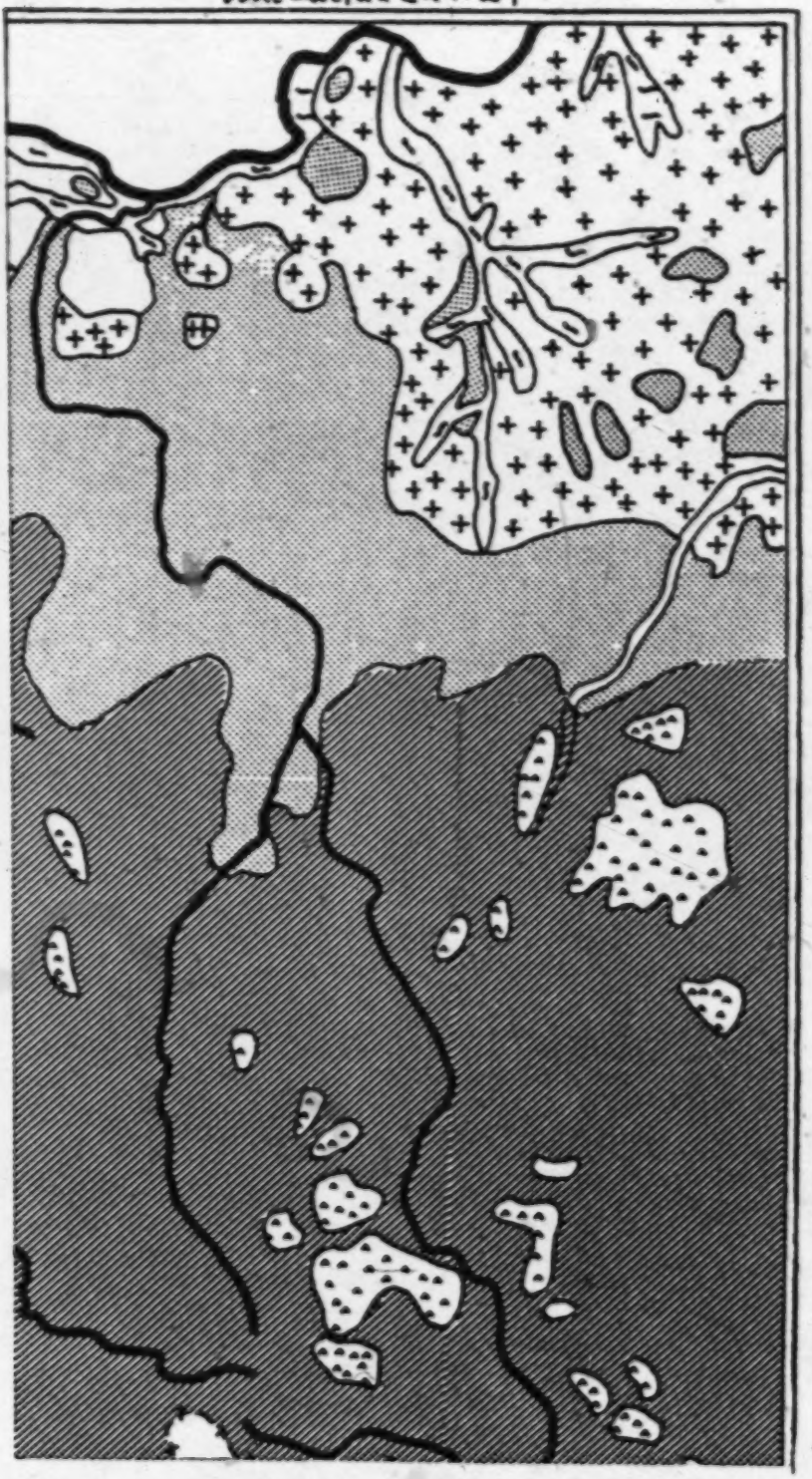
4; Wilbert--15 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians SS4
V
102
133
137



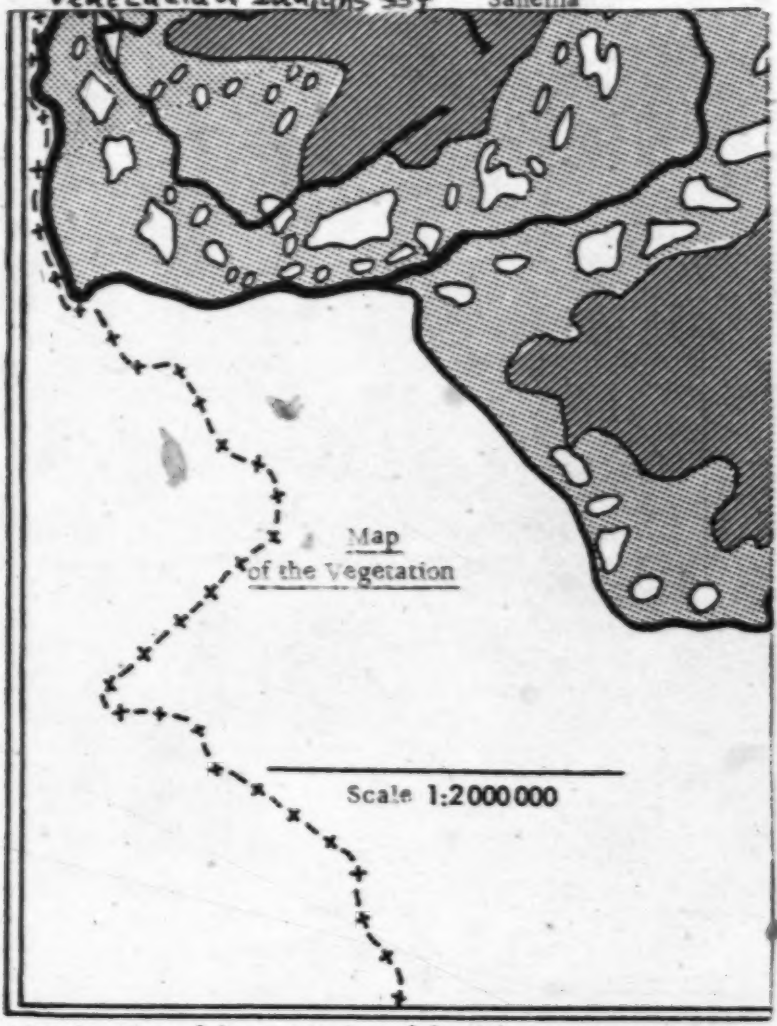
4: Wilbert--16 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Venezuela Ind. 554 Sanema

V
Y
102
133
137



4: Wilbert--17 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Venezuelan Indians SS4 Sanema
Y
V
102
133
137



Map 6. Map of the vegetation of the Orinoco-Ventuari region (according to Hueck, 1960).

Chaparrals

Hygrophilous and mesophilous forests in the region of Guayanesa, locally interrupted by savannas

Mesophilous and hygrophilous deciduous forests, in part evergreen, of Guayana, in the low regions

Gramineous steppes of the upper Orinoco

4: Wilbert--18 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Venezuelan Indians SQ# Sanema

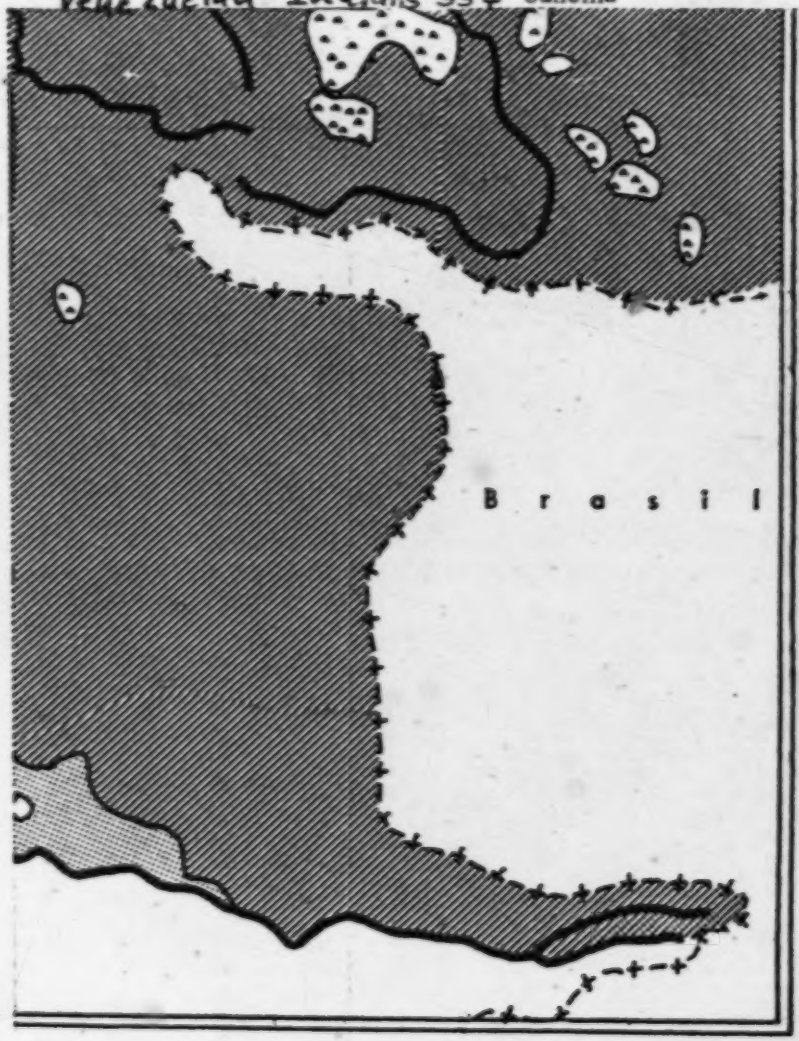
Y
V
102
133
137

Steppes and savannas of the high sierras of Guayana

Gramineous steppes of the llanos, with other isolated woody elements

Gallery forests, marked only in dry regions

4: Wilbert--19 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Venezuelan Indians 554 Sanema
Y
V
102
133
137



Steppes and savannas of the high sierras of Guayana

Gramineous steppes of the llanos, with other isolated woody elements

Gallery forests, marked only in the dry regions

/177/

The Sanemá

101 The word Sanemá appears here as the designation for a subtribe of the Yanoama. The Sanemá were called Guaharibo and were sometimes confused also with the Shirishana /Shiriana/.

The terms Guaharibo and Shirishana (written with abusive orthographic freedom) lack proper sense when applied to the Sanemá, and they must not, as has heretofore happened, be applied to this tribe or to the peripheral bands, who accepted them as designations used by the Whites (Guaharibo) and by the Makiritare (Shirishana).

The name Guaharibo, like Macú and Tapuya, is a vague and collective designation which includes many primitive tribes and which, therefore, has little classificatory value and will not stand up to scientific and impartial criticism.

The term Shirishana, for its part, seems to us to be a nickname rather than a generic denomination, since it means "araguato monkey" and is used by the Caribe in a contemptuous tone when they refer to the Sanemá, whom they consider to be subhuman beings born from the dust of their shadows. The name also lends itself easily to confusion with the Crichaná of the Ianaperi River and of Caribe affiliation.

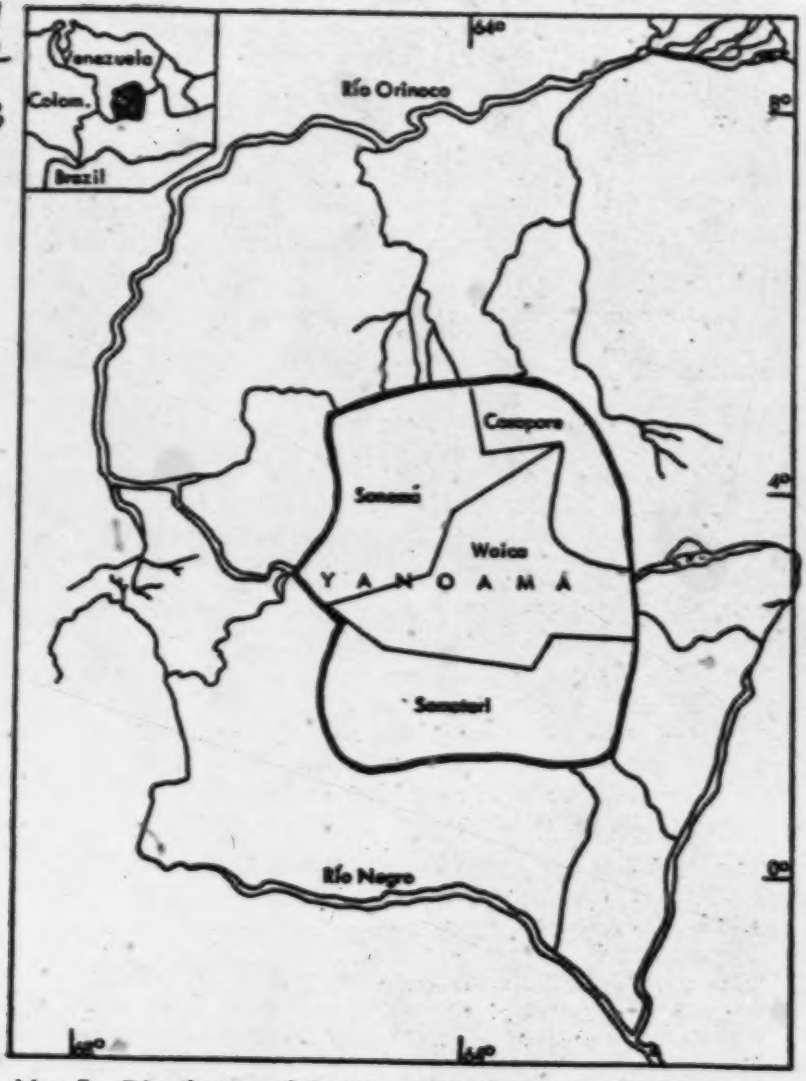
For the above-mentioned reasons we prefer the term Sanemá, which means "people," to that of Guaharibo, which is equivalent to "savage," or to Shirishana, "araguato monkey." This preference has more scientific aspects and more human respect.

[114] It would seem that the term Yanoama was introduced into ethnographic literature by Zerries (1956a, p. 187) and was accepted, quite rightly, by Schuster (1958, p. 115) and Becher (1960, p. 6) as a generic name for the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, Samatari, Surara, and Pakidai.

128 101 In the present treatise we shall consider the Yanoama as a tribe, not so much in the politico-social sense, as in the linguistic-cultural sense, since the Yanoama, in general, represent a specific culture made up /178/ /map appears here/ /179/ of the various peculiar subcultures of the diverse subtribes which live in a coherent territory, which speak closely related languages, and possess essentially similar economic and sociological forms.

4: Wilbert--21 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

101
102
131
133



Map 7. Distribution of the Yanoama Indians (preliminary).

/179 cont./

619 [624] [596] Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local groups which form a band of extended families and provide the peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclaudub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

[184] [194] From what has been published up to the present regarding the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

127 128 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to [797] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

Barí SS 13
Makiritare SS 20
Sanema
Warao SS 18
Saliva SS 15

/179 cont./

Y 131 127 128 We have knowledge of the distribution of the Sanemá of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura from our own expedition's personnel, while we took the data on the Casapare from the excellent cartographic work of Montoya (1958), who visited the zone over a period of several months.

Y [101] /180/ The name Casapare is employed by the Sanemá to designate their neighbors to the east. Koch-Grünberg (1923) had already mentioned the group of the Upper Uraricaparã, a tributary of the Uraricuera and the one that occupied the right shore of the Uraricuera River, facing the Marutani range, on the Motomotõ River. The broken lines indicate, approximately, the territory occupied by each Yanoama subtribe. The location of the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma comes from the map published by Civrieux (1959), and that of the other settlements of that tribe was verified by the personnel of our expedition.

M 131 127

Y 131 161 According to this map, the territory inhabited at the present time by the Yanoama is located between 0° 30' – 5° N and 62° – 65° 30' W. If we grant that the total Yanoama population reaches the figure of 20,000 individuals spread out over an area of 150,000 square kilometers, we recognize as the density index of the population that of one person per 7.5 square kilometers. There are authors who, being overly generous, raise the Yanoama population to 30,000 and even 50,000 inhabitants, but this number seems exaggerated to us.

B S U 161 177 It is interesting to point out that the highest figures for the native population correspond to the primitive tribes of hunters and fishermen or to those who had an incipient or rudimentary agriculture, such as: the Barí (Motilones, Mapé), 2,000; the Piaroa, 4,000; and the Warao, 8,000.

They are also the tribes which have had least contact with the white man. There is an interesting and instructive relation between the demographic datum of a native population and the number of years that it has had contact with Whites: the higher the latter, the lower the former.

Sanema
Warao 5518
Saliva 5515
Bari 5513

/180 cont./

The Barí suffered greatly from the Yupa, the Piaroa and Warao from the Caribe, but these sufferings were minimal compared to the oppression to which other tribes were subjected by the Whites. The Yanoama have been attacked for hundreds of years by the Caribe, who surrounded their territory with a semicircle along the north; the Yanoama endured something similar from the Arawak, who surrounded them in a semicircle along the south. But all in all, the White has not been very successful so far in approaching this primitive population and his destructive influence has not affected their ancestral customs. The Caribe and Arawak have declined gradually in vigor and numbers; now we are witnesses of the triumph of the Yanoama over their neighbors of a more refined culture, for not only did they defend their territory, but were successful in spreading to the north and west.

The strongest and most efficaceous ally of the Yanoama has been the Cordillera de Parima, together with the dense tropical selva of the Territorio Amazonas. In the /181/ fateful period of persecution they have always found a safe refuge in the protecting selva. Nevertheless, as of relatively recent times, the different Yanoama subtribes are beginning to realize that the space beyond the conventional boundaries of their tribal territory is sparsely populated, almost deserted. The number of their traditional enemies has diminished considerably, and the invasions of their territory have had practically no consequences. In this manner they have gained almost 100 kilometers to the north of the Sierra de Pacarima, where the Casapare now live on the Upper Paragua, and the northern group of the Sanemá on the headwaters of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura rivers.

The center of distribution of the Casapare is located to the south of the Sierra Pacarima in the basin of the Río Branco. We know this Yanoama subtribe only through a few sporadic superficial contacts, and the people, as well as their territory, remain practically unknown. For this reason we consider the name Casapare with which we designated all the Yanoama in the zone of study as strictly preliminary, and we would not be surprised if we had to change it in the future for a more exact and adequate

/181 cont./

101 name. We included the Casapare among the Yanoama on the basis of information from the Sanemá of the Erebato, who assured us that they speak a language similar to theirs.

101 127 The limited scientific data at our disposal and which refer to the Casapare all come from the northern group, and their interpretation is relatively difficult because of the fact that on the Uraricuera River the Waica and Sanemá zones of distribution come together with that of the Casapare, and the chroniclers were unable to distinguish with precision and clarity the representatives of the different subtribes.

101 The ethnic differentiation which appeared very early in the respective biographical sources was that of the Shirishana and Guaharibo (with their multiple orthographic variations). At the present time there is not the slightest doubt that we are dealing with Yanoama Indians, but we do not think that it is proper to identify the Guaharibo and Shirishana as a single group with two distinct names. It is our opinion, on the contrary, that each name designates a more or less distinct group of the Yanoama, and that "Shirishana" refers to the Casapare, and "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá. The Sanemá of the Territorio Amazonas of Venezuela have been known from the beginning by the name Guaharibo. The confusion of the two terms originates precisely in the northern zone under discussion, where the two subtribes live in close geographic proximity. Thus, we believe that among the Yanoama of the Paragua there are Sanemá in the west or on the headwaters of the Paragua itself, while the Casapare /182/ occupy the territory toward the east and are established principally along the length and on the banks of the Paramichi.

This close contact between the representatives of the two subtribes is recent, as we shall point out later on, and it is almost certain that today there is some genetic and cultural fusion between the two groups. To the south of the Sierra Pacarima they also have some relations, but more sporadically, since they occupy two distinct zones: the Casapare (Shirishana) on the Uraricuera to the north of Maraca Island; and the Sanemá (Guaharibo) and the Waica, the territory farther to the southwest.

Sanema
Casapare
Makiritare SS 20
Pemon SS 16

Y
101
[127]

/182 cont./

With regard to the Casapare of the Uraricuera River, we have the data supplied us by Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 284-319), and a comparison of his "Shirishana" vocabulary with the "Shirishana" vocabulary of Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108) gives us the impression that both are very much alike, but differ greatly from the Sanemá family (cf. glotto-chronological sketch see p. 49 /). In spite of the fact that they now occupy adjacent geographic zones, we prefer to make a clear distinction in the literature between the "Shirishana" (Casapare) and "Guaharibo" (Sanemá), considering them as two different subtribes of the Yanoama tribe. According to their linguistic separation, they represent, in fact, the two extreme poles of maximum distance (18).

18. Note that this does not mean that we also continue with the old nomenclature, but rather that the name "Shirishana" of the literature corresponds to the Casapare subtribe, and the name "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá subtribe, of this work.

Y
648
P
M
648
361

From their center of distribution in Brazil, the Casapare harassed their neighbors, the Pemón and the Makiritare, with continuous raiding from the time that the latter arrived at the northern slope of the Serranía. It seems that the Taurepán (Pemón) were never able to establish a pueblo farther west than the eastern point of Maraca Island on the Uraricuera and that the Makiritare maintained their advanced posts at the cost of great losses and sacrifices, until finally they were forced to abandon them in the face of the constant threat and the imminent danger of losing their lives.

Y
M
648
361

The Makiritare began to lose ground at least some 120 years ago, when the Yanoama killed a number of Makiritare Indians (Schomburgk, 1841, pp. 437-8, 444), and it would seem that at the present time Tarakuñña on the upper Yararejuri is the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía.

000
Y
648

/182 cont./
the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía. The Yanoama, however, by their own strength, were able to contain the advance of the Caribe in the northeastern part of their territory.

M
Y
114
648

The massacre of the Indians to which we have made reference above was pointed out by Schomburgk (1841), who visited this land around 1839, /183/ and his data constitute the first report regarding the Yanoama of the north. Schomburgk had crossed the Sierra Pacarima when, on the way to the sources of the Orinoco, he found the Makiritare in the grip of great panic. The Yanoama, possibly a group of Waica, had killed a number of Makiritare who had been on their way to the Yanoama rancherías in order to establish commercial relations with them. A short time after that horrible massacre, the same Yanoama attacked a Makiritare rancheria with the intent of exterminating all its inhabitants. This event marked the date of the withdrawal of all the Makiritare south of this zone. Even the Caribe companions who were with Schomburgk accompanied them on their flight, abandoning him with his baggage a short distance from the sources of the Orinoco. It is easy to understand Schomburgk's emotional state, bordering on desperation, on finding himself so close to his goal without being able to reach it.

M
[261]
[167]

Y
114

On the upper Uraricuera, in the region of the Sierra Marutani, Schomburgk came upon a conuco /cultivated area/ of the "Kirishanas," whom he described as nomad Indians who depended primarily on hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild fruits for their basic sustenance; some, however, cultivated small plantings of bitter yuca and peppers (Schomburgk, 1841, p. 417). Seventy-two years after this first report, Koch-Grünberg, in December of 1911, once again established brief communication with the Yanoama of this zone, and his information constituted, until a few years ago, the most important material on the Yanoama in general. Koch-Grünberg met representatives of two distinct groups. The first group (Casapare), which he found at the Purumamé Falls, lived at that time on the upper Uraricapará, although it had only recently arrived in that region from the Uraricuera, above the island of Maraca. That was the place where they took by surprise all the Indians whom they robbed and killed.

Y
[131]
[169]

Y
[1721]

P
Y
648
439
P
[131]
Y
241
194
Y
114
192
194
Y
114
Y
[648]
[177]
Y
[197]
Y
167
648
Y
[131]
P
131
[167]
P
177
797
161

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auarí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

P
197 /184 cont./ Casapare
799 Avake 555
161 Pemon 55 16

expansionists, and their number at present is quite small; they number 1,800 individuals and show a density of 1:16.5 square kilometers.

Y
177 The Mayoncon and Arecuna, along the north, do not make
648 an effective barrier to Yanoama expansion. Here, however they are liable to clash with the already advanced civilization of these regions where they will meet the Indian, the Negro, and the White with individual cultures irreducible by the Paleo-Indian culture of the Yanoama.

Y
101 Among the tribes which have been absorbed by the Yanoama
619 are the Kalíana, Auakí, etc., about whose identification there is some confusion in the literature.

Y
A
104 Kaliana, however, is the name which the Casapare give to the Sapé. The latter were identified as Kaliana by a native companion of Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 12-13; cf. idem, 1922, p. 227), while Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 103) identify them with the name "Shirianá" (Casapare) as Karianapuík. In 1956 the Sapé (Kariana, Kaliana) were visited by Montoya, who classifies them as related to the "Shirishana" (1958, p. 168). "It is an isolated group," says Montoya, "which lives on the Antabarí River and upper Pao; in the zones of the upper Paragua and Pauré-Murán River.

A
241 /185/ "They devote themselves to agriculture, but produce
433 only as much as they consume or a little more for barter with the
439 Shirianna who are travelers and supply them with salt and other items which they lack.

A
501 "Some of them have learned to make curiaras in such a rudimentary manner as to make the Moñongón Indians, the masters of this art, smile. But they do make very fragile 'shells,' which allow them to travel to hunting and fishing zones, carrying light loads.

A
512 "They marry frequently with the Shirianna groups and even
A with the Arekuna. They appear to be destined to disappear as
101 a differentiated ethnic group or to be totally absorbed by the Shirianna, more numerous and nearer than the Arekuna" (Montoya, ibid.).

Auake 555

/185 cont./

101 [181] [114] As can be judged from these indications regarding the character of Sapé culture, this is a little-developed culture, and Montoya is right in differentiating them from the Caribe. But, judging from the Sapé vocabulary which accompanies the work of Armellada-Matallana and another by Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 308-317), it is not possible to identify the Sapé group as "related to the Shirianna."

101 114 [361] The Auaké, furthermore, are identical with the Arutani, who were visited by Armellada and Matallana during their expedition to the Paragua (1942, pp. 75, 86). They found them living in two rancherías; one near Maihia Falls on the Paragua River and across from the Momurán, a tributary of the same, on the right bank, with one house and 20 inhabitants. The comparison of the Auaké vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 308-313) with the Arutani vocabulary leaves no doubt but that the two are of the same tongue.

114 105 181 [342] [501] Both groups, the Sapé (Kaliana) as well as the Arutani (Auaké), seem to have a very poorly developed culture, probably like that of the Yanoama. Montoya describes Sapé culture with typically marginal traits, and Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 75) say of the Arutani that "these Indians are the poorest that we have seen on the whole trip; they live in an absolutely miserable rancho and the little boats that they use are made of bejucos."

175 31 [101] [622] The Portuguese commission on boundaries (1787) mentions this tribe as Aoaquis, inhabitants of the sources of the Canamé, where they lived in large numbers under the command of three captains (Coudreau, 1887:2, p. 393). In 1838 Robert Schomburgk found some Oewaku on the middle Uraricuera; he describes them as a nomad tribe that lived on the headwaters of the Uraricapará and on the source of the Paragua. In 1882 the Auaké (Arutani) /186/ were visited for the first and last time in their own home by a Comisión de Límits, which found a small group on the upper Uraricapará. They had a large, round house, provided with a palisaded wall. The latter served them as protection against the attacks of their neighbors (Relatorio, 1884, p. 189; Grupe and Thode, 1890, p. 253). In 1911 Koch-Grünberg (1923, p. 12;

[342] [712]

Casapare
Cariban Indians SR7
Auake 555

A /186 cont./
131 cf. idem, 1922, p. 226) was visited on the Urumamy Falls by
175 a small group of Auaké (Arutani), who pointed out to the ex-
plorer that their land was on the source of the Paragua, where
A
[167] they had a communal house. But even by that time the Auaké
A (Arutani) had left their southern haunts to the Casapare and had
Y
[619] migrated to the north. But a large number merged with the
Casapare, and it is very likely that the Arutani of the upper
Paragua represent the last vestiges of the Auaké.

A It is useful to stress the fact that both tribes, the Sapé and
101 the Arutani, belong among the primitive groups of South
174 America, and that their idioms constitute independent languages.
648 They have very probably served as buffers between the Caribe
[199] and the Yanoama, and while the former pushed them from the
Paragua to the south, the latter absorbed them or displaced them
C
648 toward the north. The Caribe have had the same function in
more recent times, when they were destroyed between the frontiers
of white civilization and that of the Yanoama, and today only
a few vestiges of these tribes remain.

A Regarding the idioms of the Sapé (Kaliana) and Arutani
197 (Auaké), it is interesting to point out that Loukotka (1935) found
194 Chibcha vestiges in the Auaké and the Kaliana. If we consider
that the Yanoama are related to the Warao and that both have
a relatively low cultural level, it is possible to believe in a sub-
stratum of marginal tribes with a Chibcha linguistic affiliation,
to which the present Warao, Sapé, Arutani, and Yanoama tribes
may possibly belong. We shall go into this interesting topic in
the section which describes some of the linguistic aspects of the
Yanoama /see pp. 38 ff./.

Y The most recent information that we have regarding the
114 Casapare was submitted by the previously mentioned Capuchin
fathers, Armellada and Matallana (1942), by Gheerbrandt (1955),
and by Montoya (1958).

Y The expedition of the Capuchin fathers was undertaken in
114 1940 with the intention of completing a missionary report on
797 the river and its native population. They went out in search of
162 men, and their conclusion that the Paraguá, apart from being
a dangerous river and difficult to navigate, did not have large

Avake 555

/186 cont./
indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1942, p. 87) they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

/187/ This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history of the Yanoama. Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Pumpirí, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present volume only in the last decades. The marginal tribes, such as the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Uraricuera River starts.

According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail.

/187 cont./

105 The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista. They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

114 The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was pub-
101 lished by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt
114 met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names.
648 Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

Sanoma
Makiritare SS 20

600 /188 cont./
M but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard. It is interesting that Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 348) is of the opinion that the
114 Makiritare had left the Uraricuera some twenty years previously.
167
Y The Guadema seem to be different from the Casapare,
101 according to what one can deduce from the above-mentioned book; probably it is a matter of a local Sanemá or Waica group.

The center of distribution of the Sanemá is the basin of the Padamo River, a tributary of the upper Orinoco. Their territory is bounded on the south by Waica territory, on the west by the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma, on the north by the Makiritare of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, and on the east by the little known territory of the Casapare.

Y
101 If we judge from the present situation of the distribution
197 of the Yanoama, it is quite probable that the first Yanoama with whom the Whites had contact on their trips along the upper Orinoco were the Sanemá, who appear in historical sources as the Guaharibo. One finds the Guaharibo frequently mentioned together with the Waica, but it is interesting that from the very first reports authors made a distinction between Waica and Guaharibo.

Y
/189/ Caulin (1958, pp. 305-306), writing in 1779, places
175 the Guariba on the Maraca and its tributaries. According to him,
101 they are white in color like the Spaniards and are the same "uaribas" already mentioned by the "Expedición de Solano." Humboldt also speaks of Guaicas and of Guaharibos, having met representatives of them in the Esmeralda Mission. Spruce (1908: 1, pp. 396-398), who met an old Guaharibo man on his trip on the Casiquiare, is the first one to leave us the fullest and most authentic information regarding the Yanoama of the upper Orinoco. According to this author, the Guaharibo call themselves Kudé-Kubui, but it is difficult today to decide whether these are Guaharibo or Waica. We have a like opinion regarding the Guaharibo of Chaffanjon (1889). It is possible that the Sanemá may have occupied zones farther toward the Casiquiare and the Cunucunuma, but the Arawak and Caribe of this zone occupied these places before the arrival of the Whites, and the boundaries were established by the tribes interested in them.

Y 174 101 /189 cont./ The expansion of the Sanemá to the north, that is, from the Padamo to the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, is relatively recent, but, to judge from the data given us by glottochronology, the separation of the various groups of the subtribe corresponds to 600-1,700 years. We established contact with three northern groups of the Sanemá: the Nabudub of the upper Ventuari, the Taclaudub of the upper Caura, and the Pubmatari of the Canaracuni. They apparently represent Sanemá groups which are quite well established, and the internal distance of this linguistic family is, in a way, surprising.

Y 101 184 The Sanemá of the Padamo and of the upper Orinoco are practically unknown to science, and it is expected that the cultural difference between them and their brothers who live north of 4° and in close contact with the Makiritare is relatively pronounced.

Y 101 648 167 The geographic separation of the Sanemá into a southern group and another northern one is recent and is due to the fact that in 1947 Captain Cardona had to make a landing field on the Canaracuni (personal communication), and, since there were no Indians in the zone to help him in his venture, he went to Brazil and brought the first Sanemá to this region of Venezuela. This date marks the beginning of the infiltration of the Yanoama element on a larger scale into the land of the Makiritare, their neighbors on the northwest, with whom they have lived in deep enmity from remote times. While the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma still do not tolerate large groups of Yanoama in their territory, those of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura live in close contact with large groups of the Sanemá subtribe. This was the way in which Makiritare culture of the tropical selva type penetrated to that essentially /190/ preagricultural tribe composed of hunters and gatherers with a very rudimentary culture. The Sanemá received extremely bad treatment at the hands of the Makiritare, comparable to that received by a slave at the hands of his master, for which reason toward the year 1950 the Sanemá revolted against the Makiritare and declared a war without quarter against them. It was then that the different Makiritare subtribes united to repulse the Sanemá, whom they conquered in various encounters, thanks to their fire-arms.

Y M [177] Y M 648 Y M 648 4 [411]

/190 cont./

thanks to their firearms. It seems that, as a result of this incident, the Makiritare and the northern group of the Sanemá lived together more peaceably, and today it is rare to find a Makiritare settlement in that zone of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, without a few Sanemá groups in the immediate vicinity.

The clash of the two cultures began a process of progressive acculturation, and the hunters and gatherers of wild plants adopted a superior culture: from then on they would be agriculturalists. Furthermore, the genetic constitution of the two tribes underwent profound changes, and that of the minority group will perhaps be absorbed by the Sanemá in a relatively short period of time.

This process of acculturation and genetic absorption is interesting, for one is in the habit of thinking that the Caribe have always been the victorious and dominant invaders. But in this concrete case the process seems to be working in the opposite direction. The advance of the Sanemá, who adopted, among other things, the art of navigation, has brought about the isolation of the two large Makiritare groups: the Yecuana (Decuana) of the Ventuari and Caura on the one hand, and the Cunuhana of the Cunucunuma on the other. Prior to this, these two groups used to visit each other frequently, their members were related to each other, and strong family ties existed between them. At the present time the Makiritare youths know only partially the rivers and routes of those regions traveled so many times by their fathers, and they travel in small groups, overcome with deep anguish every time that they have to cross the zone occupied by the Sanemá. What was observed on the trip on the upper Ventuari fully confirmed this opinion for us, for there is not the least doubt but that the Makiritare captain, who, together with our five traveling companions, had fought eight years previously against the Sanemá, felt ill at ease on leaving the Makiritare rancherías behind, and his nervousness suddenly increased when one day we came upon a Sanemá raft on the bank of the river. They could not hide their nervousness when inland, in the selva, we came across a conuco and seven houses recently vacated. They always

Makiritare SS 20

M Y 648 /190 cont./ scorn them, and, at first sight, they seemed to be unworried, but the knowledge that they no longer live alone in the land of their fathers, and the fact of having heard that four days prior to our arrival /191/ at the conuco an Indian who had sought refuge by climbing a tree was shot by a Sanemá arrow and fell lifeless into the river, constantly tortured them.

M Y 582 563 177 648 M [186] A powerful stimulus which always encouraged the Makiritare on their numerous trips was to get a wife among their neighbors of the same tribe. Nowadays, despite the intense scorn which the Makiritare profess toward the Yanoama, taking a wife from that tribe is not considered an impossible or degrading thing; there are many Yanoama women who have married Makiritare men (cf. Grelier, 1955b, p. 10). This matrimonial interchange inevitably carries with it an assimilation of cultures between the two tribes, a process in which the Makiritare cultural pattern will

Y 167 563 177 648 dominate that of the Yanoama and the Yanoama genes will infiltrate the Makiritare gene pool. There is not the least doubt but that the Sanemá, who were brought in for a short time, arrived at the upper Ventuari and Caura where they took up residence to stay, and that the present fusion between the Caribe and the Yanoama ought not to be explained so much by the good will of the former as by the vitality of the latter.

Y 101 The Waica subtribe occupies the central part of the present Yanoama territory, that of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the mouth of the Ocamo, including also the southern bank of the river (Barker, 1953, p. 434). As we have already mentioned, they appear to live also in the general arc of the upper Rio Branco and its western tributaries, and Schuster (1958, p. 114) is very probably right when he says that the Sierra Parima does not bound the Waica zone, but that it extends to Brazilian territory.

Y 177 797 We have already mentioned the first contacts which the Whites had with the Waica, and, after a somewhat unfruitful effort by Hamilton Rice at the beginning of the present century, the Waica world went without contact with science until the New

Y 114 Tribes Mission was able to start peaceful relations with the Waica through the missionary James Paul Barker. Some ethnographic data were also published on this Yanoama subtribe by several

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 114 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 128 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have considered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 192 The linguistic material which the author of the present work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 192 174 197 In order to classify this material within the different Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 197 174 126 127 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabularies were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956, pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

4: Wilbert
Y
M
102
103
131
133
361

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Makiritare SS20

p. 40	p. 41
p. 42	p. 43

Chart of Positions of Tribal Distribution Map (foldout). /facing p. 39/

/192 cont./

127 192 197 174 The Casapare vocabulary was taken from Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308). It has 303 entries in all, 65 of which corresponds to the basic vocabulary. There is another Casapare vocabulary compiled by Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108), which has a total of 232 entries, 54 words of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. From the expedition's itinerary we know that the last-mentioned authors visited the Shirianá of the Paramichí River (tributary of the headwaters of the Paragua), a zone considered in the present work as an extension of the Casapare territory of Brazil.

Koch-Grünberg obtained his vocabulary among the Schirianá of the Uraricapará (1923, p. 288), and a comparison of the two vocabularies seems to indicate a closer affinity between them than that which exists with any other Yanoama language. The glottochronological calculation is based on Koch-Grünberg's material.

The Waica vocabulary comes from Dr. Zerries, who generously furnished us a basic one of 96 words of the Waica of the upper Orinoco.

Recently another vocabulary of the same language was published by /map appears here/ /193/ Anduze (1958, pp. 258-267), which contains 369 entries. The present calculation is based on the material provided by Zerries.

We give the "Samatari" vocabulary this name provisionally, for more precisely it is the idiom of the Surara and Pakidai of the Demini River in Brazil. The material was given to us by Dr. Becher in the form of a basic vocabulary which contains 85 words. Between the Surara and Pakidai there exist only slight dialectal differences. A vocabulary of 40 words of the same idiom was published in the monograph on these Indians by Becher (1960, pp. 136-137). Another vocabulary of the southern Yanoama was published by Seitz (1960, p. 306) and contains 40 entries. The few words which permit making a semantic comparison with other similar languages indicate that the Araraibo-Xamatari of Seitz is closer to the Surara, Pakidai, Waica, and Karimé than to the Sanemá and Casapare.

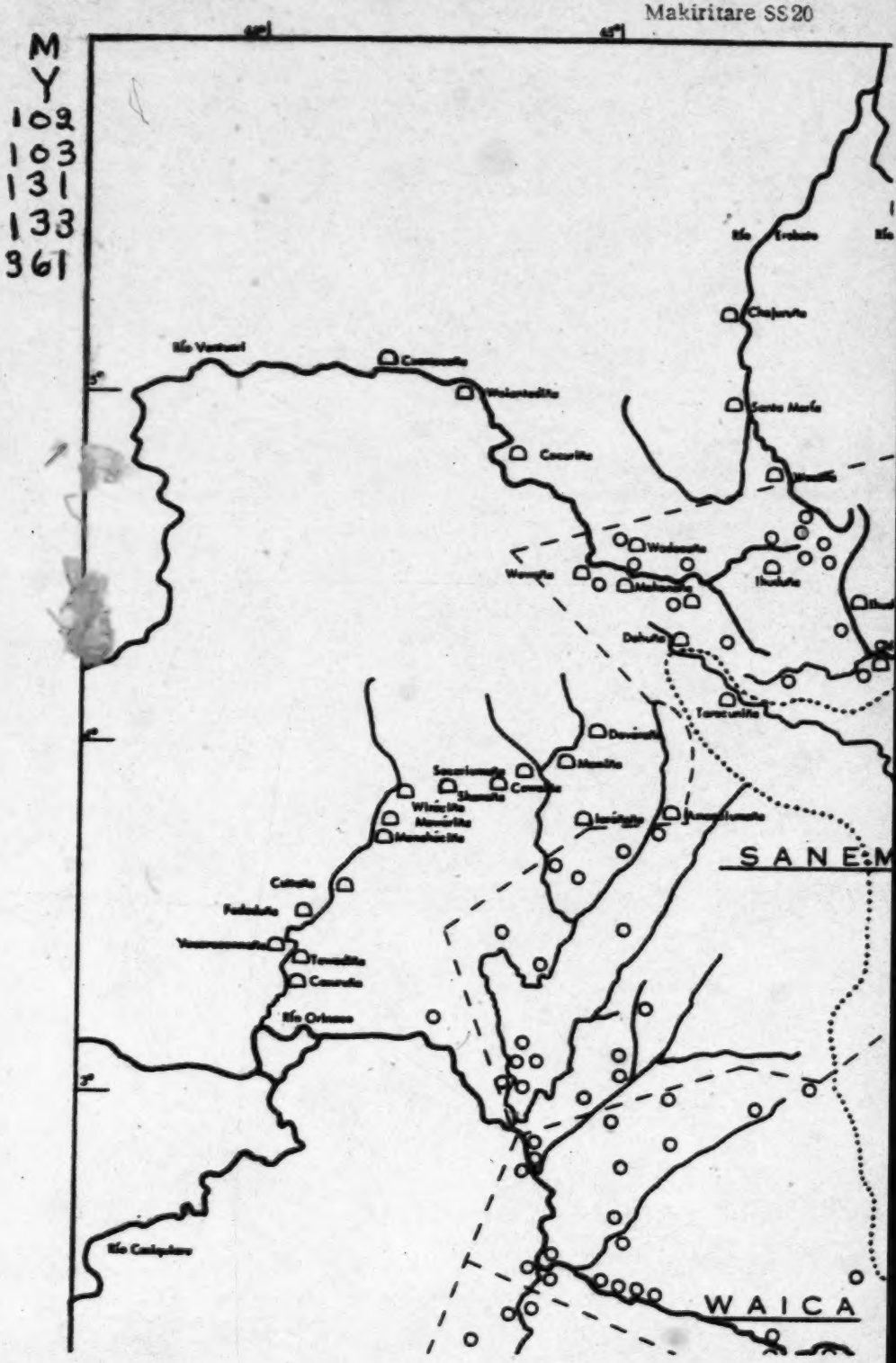
[text continues on p. 44]

4: Wilbert--40 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Sanama

Makiritare SS20

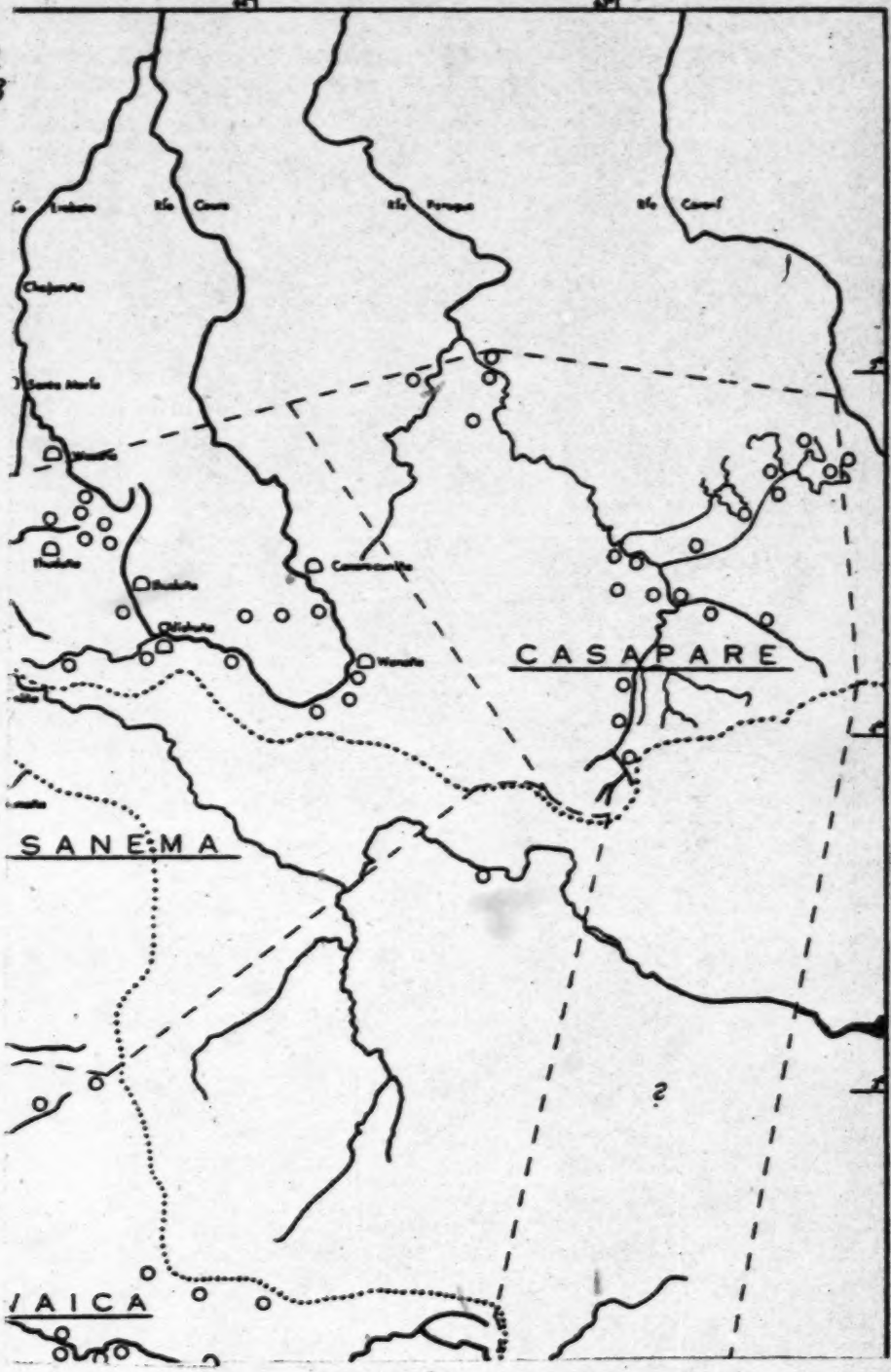
M
Y
102
103
131
133
361



4: Wilbert--41 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

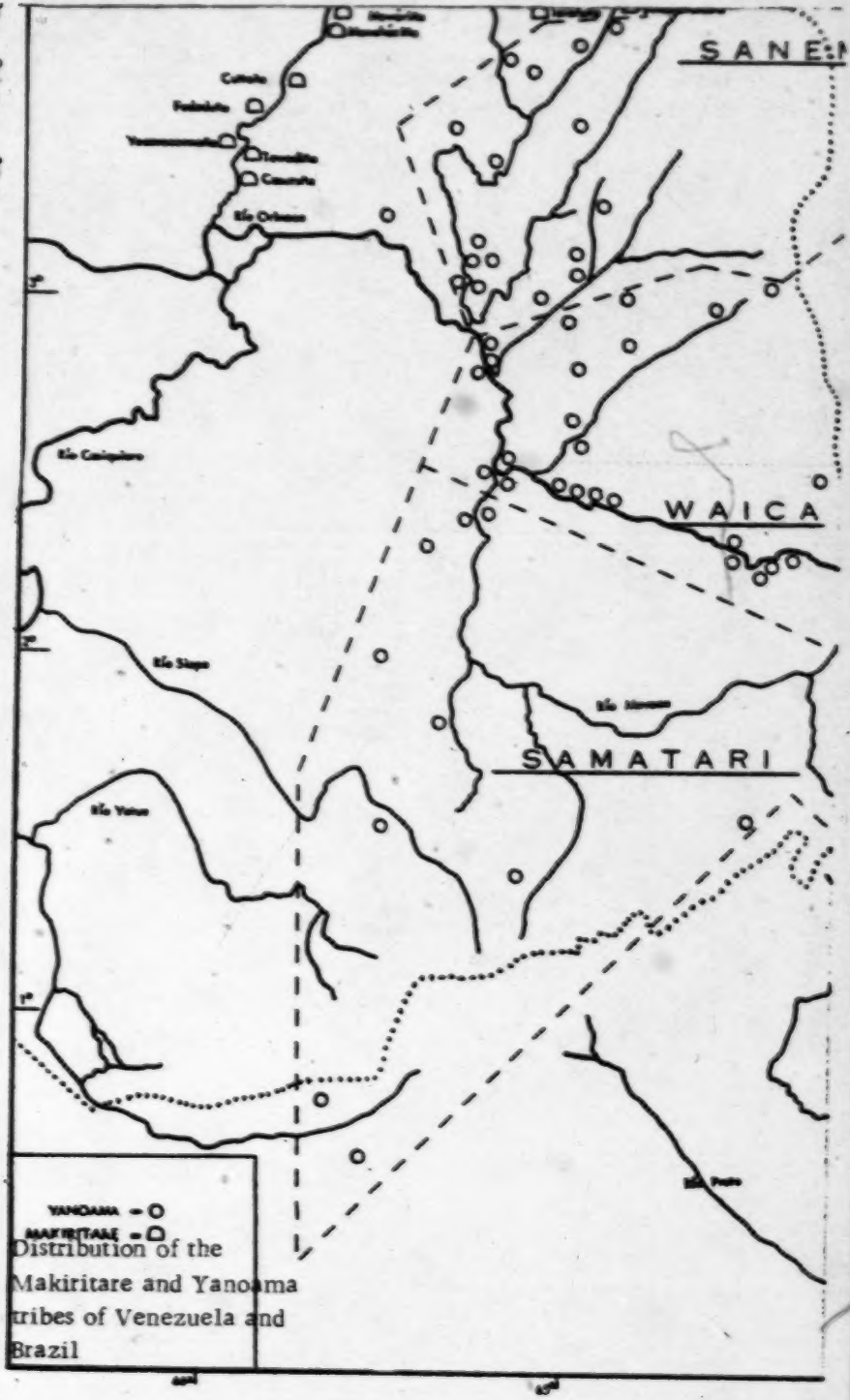
Makiritare SS 20 Sanema

M
Y
102
103
131
133
161



4: Wilbert--42 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Makiritare 55 20 Sanema

M
Y
102
103
131
133
361

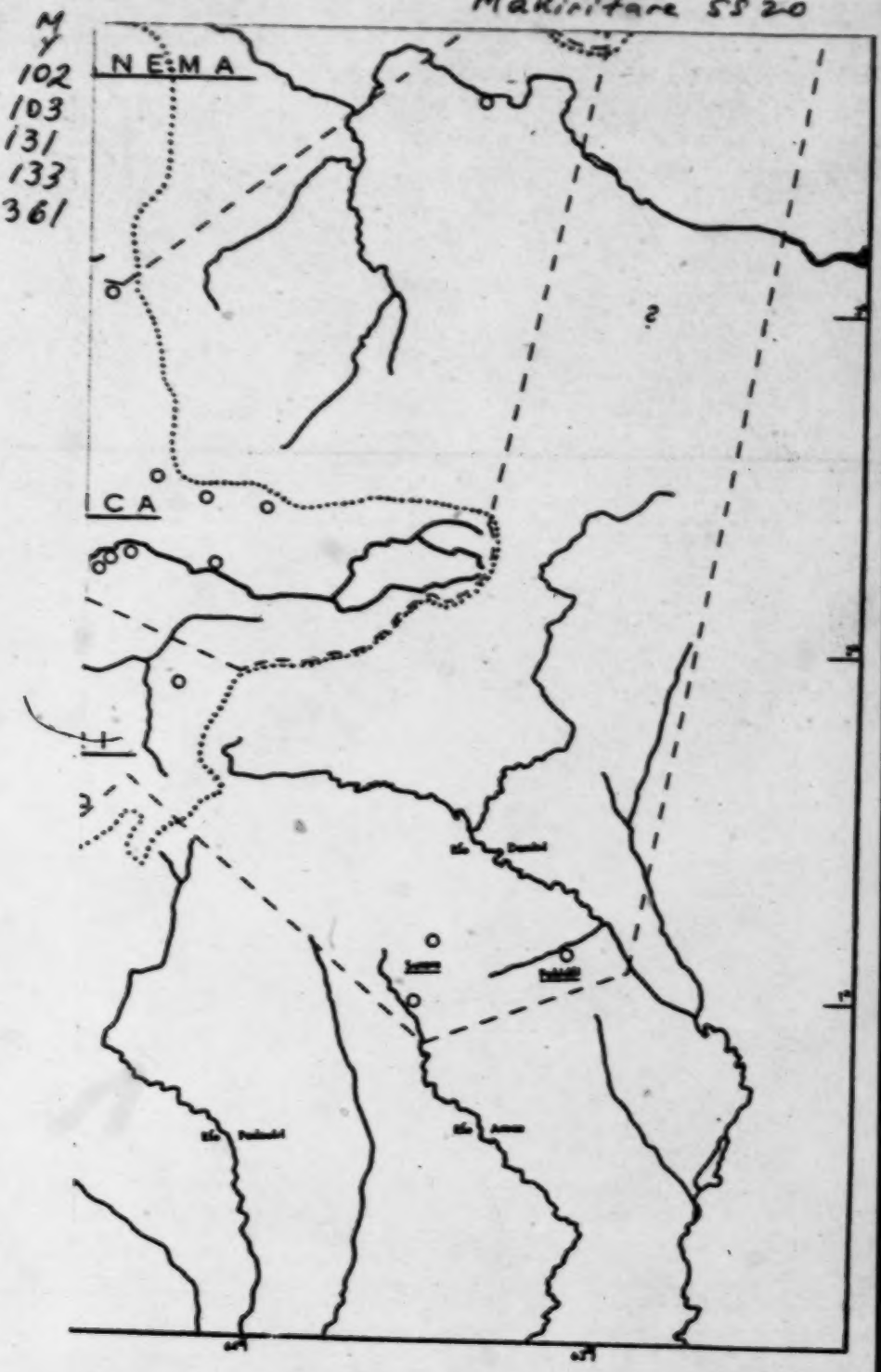


Distribution of the Makiritare and Yanoama tribes of Venezuela and Brazil

4: Wilbert--43 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Sanema

Makiritare 5520



/193 cont./

174 197 [192] 127] We were not able to obtain the vocabulary of the Karimé published by Salathé (1932, pp. 314-316). Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 134-138) places it between the Waica and the Casapare (Schiriana of Koch-Grünberg).

According to the results of the lexico-statistical calculation (cf. p. 47), it can be said that the idioms compared form a linguistic conglomerate whose internal divergences date from 6-35 minimal centuries (mc). By their temporal distribution they constitute two more or less distinct groups: a) a Sanemá family with Nabudub, Sanemá, and Pubmatari, with an internal divergence of 6-17 mc., and b) a Casapare family with Samatari, Waica, and Casapare and with an internal divergence of 8-21 mc. The extreme languages are Nabudub (of the Sanemá) and Casapare. The distance of the Waica from the three Sanemá idioms corresponds to 17 mc., which is the same as the maximum internal distance of the Sanemá family, and the Nabudub have the same difficulty in understanding a Pubmatari or a Waica; they should, however, understand each other, although with some difficulty. The Waica has greater ties with the Samatari, with whom he can communicate orally without any great difficulty.

Other classifications of the Yanoama idioms were made by Rivet (1924, p. 678), Loukotka (1944, pp. 8-9), Mason (1950, p. 254), Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140), McQuown (1955), Swadesh (1959), and Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137).

Koch-Grünberg (1913, pp. 455-458) had established by 1913 the independence of the Yanoama idiom (Shiriana) from the Caribe and added that the idiom apparently represented an isolated language. Rivet (1924, p. 678) and W. Schmidt (1926, p. 211) shared the opinion of Koch-Grünberg regarding the affiliation and independence of the "Shirishana" family. /194/ The classification of the "Shirishana Family" by Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140) includes the following idioms:

Shirishana Family

[101] a) Shirishana (or Guaharibo), who live dispersed in small groups in the interior, along the tributaries of the

/194 cont./

174 197 101 Uraricuera and on the southern slopes of the Sierra de Parima;

b) Karime (or Shaufri), on the Catemany River in the same region;

c) Waika, who live on the upper Ocamo and Mocajahy, right tributaries of the upper Orinoco;

d) Pusírakáu, an unknown wild tribe which lives in the Sierra Parima.

174 197 [127] As we mentioned above, we are inclined to differentiate between Shirishana (Casapare) and Guaharibo (Sanemá), which would seem to be linguistically justified by the distance of 23-35 mc between them. Rivet bases his opinion, it would seem, on Koch-Grünberg's material (1928), which we have also used in our comparison. The Pusírakáu idiom (d), which also appears in Loukotka's classification (1944, pp. 8-9), is a completely unknown idiom and therefore does not figure in Mason's classification (1950, p. 254), which presented the following Shirishaná grouping:

SHIRISHANÁ

[101] A.--Waharibo (Guaharibo)

1. Shirianá

a) Waicá (Guaica, Uaica)

B.--Carimé (Karimé)

174 197 114 According to Mason, Shirianá and the less important Carimé are the principal idioms of the family. This observation is based upon Koch-Grünberg's material (1928, Shiriana), which was identified in our comparison as Casapare, and, as the greater separation of the Yanoama stock corresponds to that language, we must admit the value of Mason's opinion. Carimé does not figure in our classification.

Furthermore, Mason is of the opinion that the Waica idiom is, possibly, a dialect of Shirianá (Casapare), but, according to the glottochronological calculation, he does not seem to be on firm ground. The distance between the two idioms is 21 mc, which is much greater than a dialectal difference of 5-7 mc. Waica appears on the graph as closer to Sanemá (17-18mc). The opinion of /195/ many researchers that Shirianá (Casapare) and Waica are descended from the Guaharibo (Sanemá) seems to have some justification.

/195 cont./

174 197 114 McQuown (1955) classified the "Chirianan" family in the following way:

a) Guahariban with Chirianan, Uaica and ? Guaharibo; b) Carime; c) Pusaracau.

A more recent classification of the Yanoama family was made by Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137). By their internal distances the author just mentioned brought together the various Yanoama idioms in the following manner: Surara and Pakidai (Samatari), Waika, Karimé, Shirianá (Casapare), Warema (Sanemá, Pubmatari) (19).

19. The names in parenthesis were added by the present author.

Dall'Igna Rodrigues arrived at this result on the basis of a comparison of 40 words of the idioms mentioned and explains that the idioms of his list were arranged according to the relative distance between each one of them with respect to Surara and Pakidai. He also emphasizes the provisional nature of his result, somewhat different from those presented by Mason and McQuown.

It is interesting, however, to observe that the classification of Dall'Igna Rodrigues coincides in its details with ours. On adding the lexico-statistical data, the classification would read as follows:

Surará-Pakidai (Samatari) 8 mc > Waica; 21mc > Shirishaná (Casapare); 21-25 mc > Warema (Sanemá).

Two American linguists, Greenberg and Swadesh, recently broke with the tradition established by Rivet, W. Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason, and McQuown, according to which the Yanoama had no close affiliation with any other South American linguistic family.

Greenberg (1956) classifies the Shirianá as a distinct group in the "Chibchan proper" subfamily of the "Macro Chibchan" family. The Tunebo also belong to the same category.

Swadesh (1959, p. 20) established a Macro-Siriana, with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc) and

/195 cont./

114 Sirisana (21 mc). According to what Dr. Swadesh said to me
174 personally, he also planned to include the Warao in Macro-
197 Siriana, which would magnify the internal divergence of the group to 72 mc of a microphylum. I took some interest in this suggestion by Swadesh and tried to compare Warao with Yanoama, particularly with the more extensive vocabulary which I collected among the Sanemá.

I made two comparisons: a) that of the basic vocabularies, and b) that of all the possible pairs between the Sanemá vocabulary and the Warao /196/ dictionary by Barral (1957). The results of these comparisons can be expressed in the following manner: More than 20% of all the pairs compared seem to be related, a sufficiently high percentage to stimulate a more thorough linguistic study. The result of the preliminary glottochronological calculation gave a separation between the two idioms of 45 mc corresponding to 26% of common retentions.

I have the impression that that mathematical result tends to diminish and not to become greater as one goes further into his study. We also observed certain relationships between the Yanoama and the Ye /Ge/ of Brazil. But these are of a different nature and more distant than the cases considered between the Warao and Sanemá.

As we have already mentioned, there are certain indications that the Tunebo, Warao, Yanoama, and Ye idioms seem to have a common root in Chibcha and are linguistically more closely related among themselves than with the majority of South American idioms.

/196 cont./

1947
174

Idioms	Pairs	Cognates	%	mc.
1. SAMATARI				
2. Casapare	62	35	56	21
3. Sanemá	81	42	52	22
4. Pubmatari	65	33	51	25
5. Nabudub	79	42	53	21
6. Waica	80	62	78	8
2. CASAPARE				
3. Sanemá	53	24	45	29
4. Pubmatari	57	30	53	23
5. Nabudub	61	23	38	35
6. Waica	54	30	56	21
3. SANEMA (Erebato)				
4. Pubmatari	69	54	78	9
5. Nabudub	82	69	84	6
6. Waica	89	53	60	17
4. PUBMATARI (Canaracuni)				
5. Nabudub	65	40	65	17
6. Waica	71	43	61	18
5. NABUDUB (Ventuari)				
6. Waica	86	51	59	17

Wilbert--49 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

1977
1774
/197

4: Wilbert--50 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Chibcha SC11 Sanema Warao SS18 Bari SS 13

/198/ Cariban Ind. SR7

Y 114 126 143 At the beginning of the year 1961 I had an opportunity, together with Dr. Layrisse, to visit the Waica of the upper Orinoco, where we went with the intention of taking blood samples of that group. We obtained 140 individual samples, which, in all probability, are representative for the Yanoama in general. We shall now report an interesting genetic discovery.

Y 143 The Waica showed a complete absence of the gene Diego (Di^a). As we reported before (Layrisse, Wilbert, 1960), the antigen Diego is an exclusively Mongoloid genetic marker, but, in spite of the fact that it occurs solely in populations called "Mongoloid," it does not appear in all of them. There are Diego-positive Mongoloids and Diego-negative Mongoloids. Gradual differences of frequency between one Mongoloid population and another have also been observed. Up to the present the scale of frequency varies between 0 and 50%.

4C B [143] The Waica are one of the Diego-negative Mongoloid populations, and the tribes of South America in the same category are: the Tunebo, Barí (Motilones Bravos), and Warao. Other groups with very low incidence could be included in this category also, since the low frequency they showed for the gene can be better explained by the crossing of a population originally negative with another one highly positive. A representative of the latter group is the tribe of the Yaruro.

Y CI 143 197 During the six years of research on the Diego gene we made an observation which we consider to be of importance, which is: the various frequency groups of the Diego antigen correspond to different linguistic affinities. The most carefully studied case is that of the Caribe. We examined more than ten tribes and subtribes and they all show an average of 28% of the Di^a gene. In this case the Caribe linguistic affinity is indicatory for a positive incidence of the Di^a gene. It is understood, of course, that there is no causal relationship between these two facts and that its observation is not to be interpreted in the sense that we are trying to make a chromosome responsible for a given cultural trait. The two factors are essentially different, but their parallel appearance is an interesting fact.

Warao SS18

Sanema

Chibcha SC11

Bari SS13

CBW 197 143

/198 cont./

A linguistic connection has been observed between the Tunebo, Barí, Warao, and Yanoama, a relationship which appears to be closer than that which usually exists among all the indigenous languages of America, and, therefore, it is interesting that that group of tribes should occupy a common position and at the same time an extreme one on the distribution scale of the Di^a gene. In this case it is not a matter /199/ of a gradual difference, such as that of 12% Arawak and 28% Caribe. In this case it is a matter of an important difference between "positive" and "negative." The tribes mentioned are diametrically opposed to the Páez, Ica, and other tribes with frequencies of 45%, and this means that the Tunebo, Barí, Warao, and Yanoama are genetically distinct from their Arawak and Caribe neighbors and from the Chibcha of Colombia (Páez, Ica), but identical among themselves (speaking always of a single gene).

CBW 143

Another observation, equally interesting, is that in general terms the cultural pattern of the tribes marked with the negative Diego is relatively uniform: they are essentially gatherers and not producers with regard to obtaining food, but their social structure and their religious concepts also seem to have many common traits which at the same time are very different from those of other native tribes of Venezuela and South America. We cannot at the present time go into this interesting point in greater detail. To sum up, we shall say that the Waica (Yanoama) are genetically similar to the Warao, Barí, and Tunebo. As all these tribes show very primitive cultural traits, it is our opinion that the absence of the Di^a gene is a characteristic of the ancient populations of South America, since it is generally accepted that the tribes called Marginal belong to an early invasion of native immigration. It is noteworthy that all the tribes speak idioms with Chibcha characteristics.

CBW [197] Y 128

In the foregoing discussion we had to include the several Yanoama subtribes in order to try to locate the Sanemá within a larger ethnogeographic framework. We shall now concentrate more specifically on the Sanemá, due to the study of this subtribe which we made in the field. Many of the data gathered could be

/199 cont./

128 attributed to the other subtribes also, but we do not believe it proper to make an indiscriminate generalization, particularly if we bear in mind that the subtribes seem to be carriers of different subcultures.

101 The Sanemá live on the upper Ventuari, the Erebato, and the Caura. It is therefore a matter of the Sanemadub, Nabadub, and Pubmatari and their various local groups already mentioned in the introduction. We can, to begin with, divide these Sanemá into two groups: those who live in close association with the Makiritare, and those who, although living in the land of the Makiritare, have not been able to establish permanent relationships with them. For which reason it is difficult to record in a definitive and absolute fashion precise demographic data, and we view those which we publish here with certain reservations.

/200/

101 A. Sanemá of the upper Caura (Pubmatari)

162

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Canaracuni	300	In the border zone there are several nomadic bands with specific names, who accept the term "Sanemá" as a generic name of theirs. They frequently change their stopping places between Brazil and Venezuela.
2. Wanaña	200	
3. Yemekuni	300	
4. Caura source	100	
5. Nomadic bands	500	
Total	1,400 estimated individuals	

162 B. Sanemá of the upper Erebato (Sanemadub)

1. Kariana-sodi	40
2. Wasaña	62
3. Udehuduña	125
4. Kuyuhiña	143
Total	370 individuals counted 1960

/200 cont./

162 C. Sanemá of the upper Ventuari (Nabudub)

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Weweña	50	The Nabudub of Ihuduña
2. Wadekuña	80	frequently move between
3. Mahanaña	50	the Ventuari and the
4. Ihuduña	200	Erebato.
Total	380 estimated individuals.	

161 According to this demographic estimation there are approximately 2,150 Sanemá in the zone of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura. We do not know how many Sanemá live on the Padamo.

342 We have seen four different types of houses among the Sanemá: (a) windscreen type, (b) triangular in shape and Makiritare system, (c) rectangular, and (d) oblong. We have found types (a) and (b) together in the same encampment on the Ventuari, facing Caño Mosquito.

342 361 [501] [137] [262] On our trip through that place we saw two Sanemá rafts moored on the bank of the Ventuari. We later climbed a cliff and followed a path which led us to a conuco of the Sanemá. At one end there was a gigantic algarroba tree laden with fruit. Judging from the skins scattered on the ground, we realized that the Sanemá had consumed a great quantity. Near the tree, which in times past offered them /201/ its generous shade, we found a desolate Sanemá encampment. It was made up of five

342 triangular huts and two of the windscreen type. Both types of construction seem to be typical of the Yanoama and are remarkable for their size, somewhat small. For the construction of a triangular cabin six poles 1.60 meters long are needed to serve as posts or supports. Three pairs are made out of them, each bound at the upper end with a bejuco, and with some 30 centimeters left free in order to form a fork. The lower parts of the poles are stuck into the ground at a distance of half a meter. These forks in tepee form with a separation of two meters form a [824] regular triangle. Three sticks are later placed on the forks, and these support the roof made of platanillo /Musaceae/ leaves. A similar rancho was described by Koch-Grünberg (1923, Pl. 43).

/201 cont./

342 The two windscreens had two posts stuck superficially into the ground at a distance of two meters apart. Contiguous to the post there was a smaller stake tied to it with a bejuco. The roof of this screen was covered with interlaced branches and roofed with platanillo leaves and supported with a slight inclination against two posts. The roof projects from the posts some
[352] 40 centimeters and touches the ground at its lower edge. In these houses the Sanemá hang their hammocks of bejuco or majagua. In some ranchos we found vestiges of fire.

177 The houses of Makiritare type (rectangular or oblong) are
342 small-scale imitations and have only one room. The roofs, made of palm leaves, are of two rectangular slopes and are raised on four or six posts. The edges of the roof are straight or rounded. The walls consist of bark or juxtaposed sticks. They have an average dimension of four meters long by two meters wide and approximately three high. Each house has one or two
353 quite narrow doors. Within the house (of the Makiritare type)
[179] the greatest disorder reigns: from the roof and from the walls hang baskets, gourds, weapons, leather bags, tobacco, palm fruit, hammocks /chinchorros/ of bejuco, majagua, and cotton. On the floor there are hearths, firewood, cooking utensils, guapas with spindle and cotton, yuca graters, dogs, and children, all in confusion without order or arrangement. It is clear that they are not used to living under a roof, and the house is a place for storing things rather than a habitation.

105 The technology of the Sanemá is very little-developed, and
422 precisely for this reason one can classify the Sanemá (and
484 the Yanoama in general) as representatives of the most backward peoples of America and of the whole world. It would seem that the ideal of these seminomadic Indians is: omnia mea mecum porto -- everything that is mine I carry with me! and, apart from their weapons, a few implements, and a basket, it is unusual
[352] for them to carry anything else on their travels. They do not even transport their hammocks /202/ of bejuco or majagua from one camp to another, but rather make new ones each time they need them.

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

283 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727] [184]

/202 cont./

412 [184] (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl. 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surará and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife, [171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Sirionó (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a [177] peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and 411 arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of [824] macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The string is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

[627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

291 /203 cont./
Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
382 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the hſkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the hſkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the hſkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm. [841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

/205 cont./

224 411 It is also dangerous to lose an arrow when one is hunting. That is why they only shoot the arrow when, should they miss the target, they can easily retrieve it. In spite of these precautions, the arrow is sometimes lost or remains hanging from an [782] inaccessible tree. Then the man, in order not to lose his aim, puts it under the protection of Omao, to whom he speaks, saying: "Omáuawan ipa ʃlaka toldíapala!" which means: "Omao, watch over my arrow!"

224 777 789 826 To lose one's aim or luck in hunting may arise from a technical reason or a supernatural cause. The former is due to a weakening of the body brought about by sickness or other causes which influence sight or the strength of the arm. If it is due to this latter cause, the hunter knows the remedy. He goes to the forest and searches for a tree with hard, heavy wood; he cuts a piece and sets fire to it and collects the ashes, which he applies to the cuts inflicted on his arm. If he bears the pain without touching the hurt arm with the other hand and does not shout, his muscles will once again recover their lost strength and the hunter will recover his luck and good aim.

224 776 777 If the hunter returns without any game, it may be because Omao did not favor him, and this is the supernatural cause of his failure.

224 782 [777] According to our informants from the Erebato, a good hunter speaks frequently with Omao, for without his protection he will not be lucky. For this reason he says to him: "Omao awayʃ ipa ʃálawa hadu kapálama!" which is translated as: "Omao, draw my game out into the open!"

Worse than being unlucky is to lose one's life in a hunting accident, and in order to implore the protection of the other world, the hunter prays, "Omao sátoria palái!" that is to say: "Omao, protect me!"

224 825 /206/ Of course, all these precautions are useless if the hunter has not learned the art of hunting. He must know how the various animals live and how to identify their tracks. If these latter should be fresh, he orders his dog to follow the track of the game; the success of a Sanemá hunter depends in great

/206 cont./

224 825 part on his dog. The hunter must also know a great variety of calls for attracting the animals and birds and, above all, know which arrow to shoot in order to kill the animal which may come in answer to his call.

224 775 All this and a great deal more about which we are ignorant must be learned by the Sanemá hunter in order to have the benefit of his knowledge not only on earth but also in the world of Omao after his death. An expert hunter continues to be one in "heaven" and there he will have the opportunity of recompensing Omao for the benevolence showed him during his earthly life.

224 The Sanemá hunt with bow and arrows. Usually each man carries with him, in addition to his bow, five arrows and a quiver with various types of points.

[415] [372] The quiver, made of bamboo, is carried, hanging by means of a bejuco, from the neck, on the chest, or across the back. In most cases they carry, tied to the same quiver, some small sticks with which to kindle fire. In the forest they pull out with extraordinary speed the point best suited to kill the animal which comes within range, and it is surprising with what dexterity and speed they can shoot one or several arrows.

If there are several hunters surrounding a pack of peccaries or a group of monkeys, the booty belongs to the one who kills it.

It seems that the Sanemá of the Erebato also use a kind of trap (Schwippgalgenfalle), particularly to capture the lapa /paca/ or deer (20).

20. It would seem that this trap reflects a cultural borrowing among the Sanemá, since the Surará, Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 77), and Waica (Zerries, 1956c, p. 151) do not have it.

223 In order to catch birds, the hunter climbs up into a very high tree and hides there behind some thick branches. He attracts the birds with whistles, and, when they are near, he shoots them; a companion waits at the foot of the tree for the prey's fall, in

/206 cont./

223 order to pick it up. As a result of his expertness in hunting, he knows the trees in which the birds gather to spend the night. The man, using palm leaves and bejucos, carefully prepares a blind with the sure hope that, by means of this ambush, the booty will be plentiful.

224 Hunting in groups is common among the Sanemá, and they
262 do this particularly to surround a group of monkeys, peccaries,
[237] or in order to kill a feline. /207/ They do not eat the meat of jaguars, but keep the canine teeth in the roof of the house.
[482] They tie up the peccaries that they get, front feet to the back ones, load them on their backs, and carry them home. The meat of the peccary is greatly esteemed, and the whole rancheria gathers to eat the animal, with the exception of the young unmarried men, who, by order of the capitan, must not taste the meat so that the hunters who have killed the animals will not die. They may, however, eat other kinds of meat and the food which they most like.

There are some animals that the Sanemá are prohibited from hunting: thus, they do not eat snakes, they kill the cayman, but
[.766] do not sample its flesh. The Sanemá of the Erebato told us that they cremate caymans as they do men, for, in fact, as far as
[784] they are concerned, caymans were previously men. It is taboo to kill a morrocoy or a turtle. They were people before and Omao
262 does not permit them to be killed. There are other animals which
223 they kill and eat only under certain conditions, among them the eagle (21).

> 21. The Surará and Pakidai kill the eagle, but throw away its flesh. They say that it transmits sickness (Becher, 1960, p. 77). (Cf. the section on "death" in the present study /see pp. 93-94 /.)

223 If a hunter comes upon an eagle, he believes that he is facing
825 a speciman of a species of animal which was previously a person.
262 He may be facing a friend or an enemy. Therefore, before shooting, he asks the animal if it is a friend or an enemy, and only if

262 /207 cont./
223 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of
825 cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear. The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for
[514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground,
[785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily" on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war" /see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy.
[433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit,
[527] and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social
[114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48), Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion in greater detail, according to their observation of it among the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

/208 cont./

241 [177] Among the Sanemá, doubtless as a result of their contact with their Macú and Caribe neighbors, agriculture has taken on increasing importance. The manner of cultivation is still very rudimentary, that of "slash and burn." The principal products are: plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, and certain herbs which have magical importance (cf. Barker, 824 241 1953, p. 444, similar plants among the Waica). Among the magical plants of the Sanemá there is one on which they lavish great care. An informant told us about the general consternation which seized all of them one day when a band of enemies tore up, during the night, all the magical plants of their conucos. They believed that they were going to die or at least become sick, and the "sablf had much work" in order to save his people. There is here a similar belief which we have already noted in connection with the eagles and hanekasá.

241 178 [628] Agriculture has given a degree of stability to the Sanemá subgroups and has introduced changes in their traditional social system. Not all the groups have adopted this new economy and disputes and fights frequently arise because the gatherers indiscriminately appropriate the products of a conuco of the agricultural group. [648] That was the motive which caused the Makiritare to fight with the Sanemá, who at that time had still not adopted the agriculture which flourished among their neighbors.

231 The Sanemá do not have domestic animals, and even dogs are uncommon. It is possible that the Yanoama have adopted them recently. [292] They have still not found a specific name for this animal, and they call it póliawan, like the jaguar. Some informants insisted that there is a phonetic difference between the word póliawan = jaguar and póliawan = dog, but there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the same word is involved. They raise dogs so that they may serve them as helpers in hunting.

In a Sanemá rancheria there are frequently found animals of various species, but tame. The hunters take home young turkeys, cranes, macaws, and parrots, as well as guinea pigs, lapas, and monkeys, as presents for their wives or children. /Illustrations appear here./

4: Wilbert--64 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

291
142
516
854

Nabudub

Nabudub Indians in front of their house, an imitation of a Makiritare house.

142
291
352
516
594
283

A Nabudub (Sanemá) nuclear family in front of its house.
The hammocks are of vegetal fiber.

Nabudub

4: Wilbert--65 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 Sanema

142
291
516
854
302

Nabudub (Sanemá) women and children.

142
302
291
352
516

Nabudub couple seated on hammocks of cotton made by the woman.

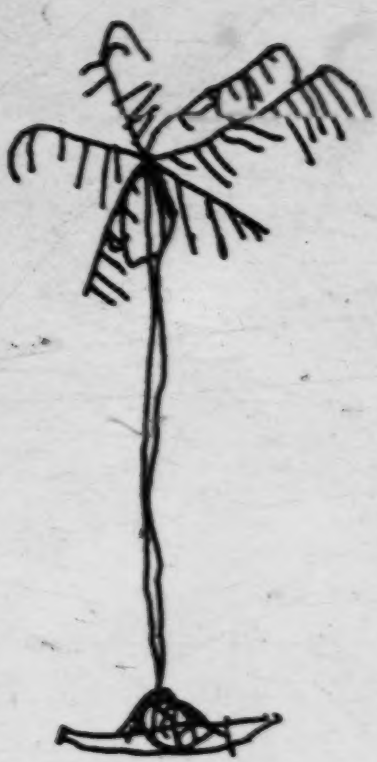
4; Wilbert--66 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ1
Sanema

532

Man in his curiara arriving home. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

Crab. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

532



Palm. Drawing by a
Sanemá Indian.

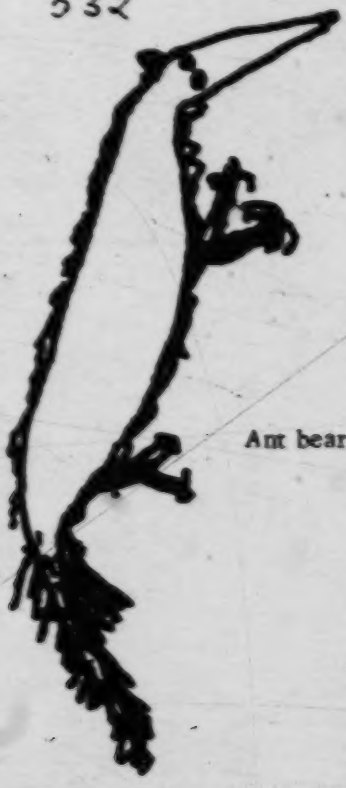
The morrocoy or turtle.
Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

4: Wilbert--68 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

532
773

The female toad which saved the hero children from the persecution of the Great Jaguar. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

532

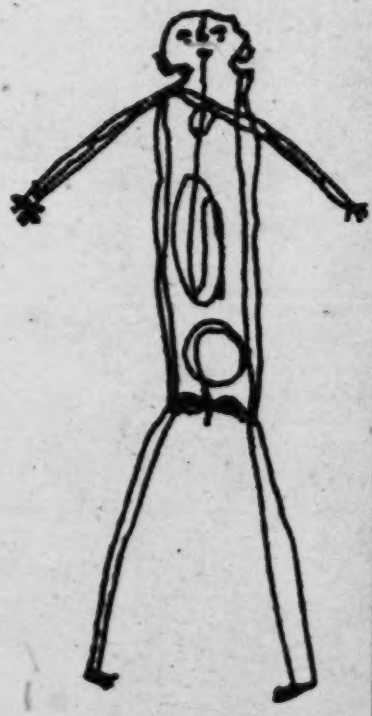


Ant bear. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

4: Wilbert--69 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

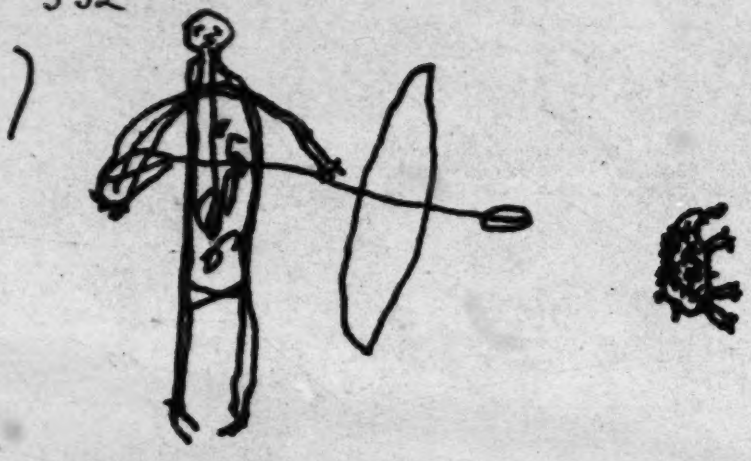
532

Scorpion. Drawing of a Sanemá Indian.



A man, with heart, stomach, bladder, and sexual organ. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

532



Indian hunting peccaries with bow and arrow. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

532
478
775

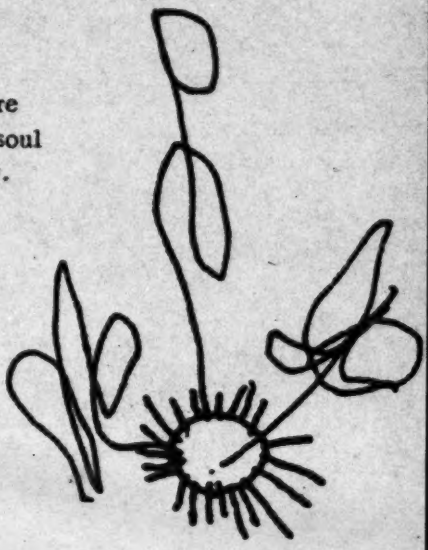
The hikuladé of the priest. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian. 1/1

1/1 [See explanation of this figure on p. 99 --Ani

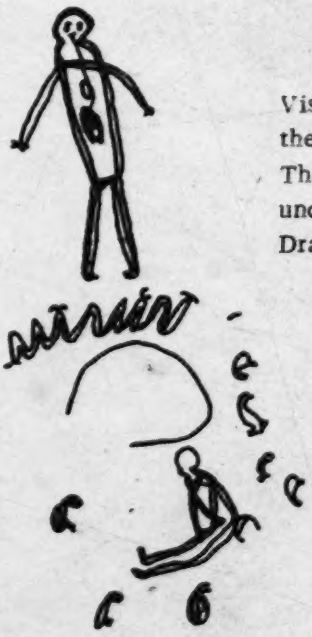
4: Wilbert--71 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

532

Cremation of a corpse. The fire forms spirals of smoke and the soul appears coming out of the body. Drawing of a Sanemá Indian.



532
772



Vision of the cosmos. God above the path of the sun and the earth. The "guapo" seated on a bench under the earth with animals. Drawing of a Sanemá Indian.

4: Wilbert--72 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

114
342
516
291
142
302

The author with a group of Sanemá on the upper Ventuari.

501

Sanemá raft.

4: Wilbert--73 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

Y
142
291
302
854
516

M
[344]

Group of Sanemá women and children of the upper Orinoco. In the background the wall of a communal house of the Makiritare Indians.

4. Wilbert--74 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ
Sanema

142
302
291
501
352
516

Group of Sanemá Indians of the upper Ventuari in their house. The girl (standing) is wearing ornaments of white feathers.

4. Wilbert--75 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

411
322
412
302
516

[237]

Sanemá Indian of the upper Ventuari preparing the shaft of an arrow, using a typical "knife" made out of a rodent's tooth mounted on a small stick.

4: Wilbert--76 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
301

Waica boy of the upper Orinoco.
Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi.

4: Wilbert--77 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
301

[304] A Waica girl of the upper Orinoco. The little sticks are held in perforations of the lips.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi

4: Wilbert--78 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
291
301
411
516

Waica family of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuz

4: Wilbert--79 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama
Achagua SC 5
Guahibo SC 14

G
361
797

Rancheria of the Guahibo Indians at the mission "La Virgen de Coromoto" near Puerto Ayacucho.

A
342
361

Rancheria of acculturated Piapoco near Puerto Ayacucho.

/209/

273 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make
271 alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in
177 contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the
263 coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use
261 wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is re-
[764] lated to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the
183 young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity
591 in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the
184 Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We
591 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially
182 matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes
596 to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively
591 rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

/209 cont./

596 591 [182] itself to an arrangement of this sort. In their seminomadic state there do not seem to be any sufficiently decisive economic factors to require a unilocal residence rule, which in a way would hinder a young man, after his marriage, from remaining in the group of his family of orientation or from leaving in order to found his family of procreation matrilocally, according to the particular circumstances. But what we are sure of is that the irregularities observed are precisely a result of the economic and technological changes which the Sanemá of the regions /210/ adjacent to the Makiritare are undergoing via the process of acculturation. The cultivation of the land, although still rudimentary, and the possibility of augmenting their properties have brought about as a natural consequence, not only greater stability and possibly a considerable demographic increase, but also the impetus which disrupts the balanced equilibrium present in the custom of choosing the postnuptial residence which is fundamental for the bilocal extended family (cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 35). So it is that one of the factors which has most contributed to bringing about disequilibrium among the Sanemá was the adoption of the Caribe agricultural system. The postmatrimonial moving from one local group to another was not of any particular importance in a nomadic society, but nowadays it presents certain difficulties not even suspected previously, for a man now has to leave his cultivated fields if he is to go with his wife. We are sure that the tendencies in the direction of the unilocal custom have their roots precisely in this economic change. Finally, the existence of the bilocal extended family among the Yanoama is in complete accord with the Hawaiian type of social organization which we are describing as typical for this tribe.

591 596 197 241 [601]

594 621 Without knowing a Sanemá nuclear family intimately, it is difficult to group with certainty the members of a local group solely on the basis of their family ties, particularly in a community in which polygamy, the sororate, the levirate, and a Hawaiian kinship system are practiced. There are occasions, however, on which the members of a nuclear family gather together: to eat, to sleep, etc., and, in spite of our not having full knowledge of Sanemá society, we can, with all this, say that the nuclear

/210 cont./

594 621 family exists as a definite cell in that tribe, assuming all the functions and all the specific responsibilities of that social entity. Thus, there exists the formal arrangement of marriage, which sanctions sexual contact between the spouses and guarantees procreation. There exists economic co-operation among the members of the nuclear family, which organizes work and apportions the necessary subsistance and, in this way, [86] injects persistence in the family's living together. There are practically no tasks which exceed the capacity of the nuclear family and the children learn the way of life directly from their parents and elders.

594 354 The most visible center of the nuclear family is the fire around which they eat and sleep. From here they go out to their work and, upon their return, reassemble at the fireside. After a long trip, the man takes the small sticks from his quiver and makes a fire; there is a new fire; a new home is established.

596 621 Each individual Sanemá belongs also to an extended family made up according to the residence rules already explained. The local group /211/ consists of two or more of these extended families of the same bilateral kinsfolk and form /sic/ a band. This local group or band is the largest social unit to which [619] a Sanemá belongs. The terms "subtribe" and "tribe" which we use are artificial terms lacking in real meaning for the Sanemá. But the band is definitely a familiar concept for him, one which he knows very well and with which he identifies. The band guarantees economic and social stability, and its well-being benefits the individual member, who feels tied to it by a multitude of family ties.

621 628 Each local group has innumerable enemies, while the circle of friends is extremely small. Contact between all of one group with a neighboring group is rare, but does sometimes occur. They sometimes get together for commercial reasons or at funeral ceremonies, but their friendship is weak and unstable.

601 582 600 We were unable, for lack of an informant, to obtain a list of kinship terms. Our impression is that a Hawaiian system is involved. One may not marry a female cross or parallel cousin. There are

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
[689 tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
[825 of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and,
as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to
speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists between the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law. Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom. These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes him in like another one of its own members. Older children also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted, properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denominations. We do not think that there are special terms to express a relationship of adoption.

554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main distinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers, and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three differ-
791 ent theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
756 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
793 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman and priest in particular, represent the most influential position in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
000 by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

/212 cont./ We were greatly surprised to find
554 this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did
791 not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar
793 situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).
756 The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists
171 who have studied this matter[1] is that it is a matter of a Circum-
194 Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of
793 priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural
771 complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence,
121 owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the
191 temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient platform of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its specific conditions, lent itself to the development or to the adoption of the cult.

121 We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the
773 Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit
793 authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have,
756 however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause, the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This personage is different from the shaman and his sphere.

771 The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts
171 of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the
174 Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

[1] [i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

/213/

197 174 Regarding the Chibcha characteristics in the Warao and Yanoama idioms, it is probably a substratum which we shall provisionally call proto-Chibcha. The Chibcha traits which are perceived in them do not seem to represent elements acquired owing to contact, but rather an ancient stratum common to the idioms which are at the present time identified as Chibcha.

143 174 Finally, it is necessary to point out that, judging from the genetic constitution (the Diego antigen) of some Chibcha tribes, it might be surmised that the highly formative culture was introduced by people genetically different from the Marginal Chibcha such as Tunebo, Barí, Warao, Yanoama, whose culture was favorably conditioned in the direction of the adoption and the increment of formative cultures and indigenous civilizations. Some tribes were absorbed by the invaders; others, such as the tribes that we have just mentioned, maintained their independence. Perhaps we shall have to deal with greater emphasis in the future with primitive reminiscences in the formative cultures instead of talking so much about traits and loans from the west among the Marginals of Guayana /Guiana/ and others. We have the impression that we are bringing out a complex of ancient culture in South America, from which a number of traits have survived in the more highly developed cultures.

623 [624] [793] Political duties are performed by a chief /jefe/ and a military leader. We are of the opinion that the priest can at the same time be the chief of a local group. We cannot, however, make a categorical affirmation, owing to the confusion which exists among the people as a consequence of the strong cultural current which is invading this Sanemá nucleus. In the same group on the Ventuari we observed that the office of chief is inherited patrilineally. The old chief had left his duties to his eldest son, about 28 years old, and it was easy to see that his younger brother, about 20 years old, was also respected as a possible future chief (cf. Becher, 1960, pp. 60-61. Chieftainships over more than a local group do not exist.

/213 cont./

793 For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain
624 later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may
[622] not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the im-
123 pression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly
[276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our
775 informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after
[841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a
[126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made
[532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals: he was the guapo. 1/1

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. 71-An.]

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill
[621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite
554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us,
769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to
628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder,
[266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablf shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be-
[888] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex-
[574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father,
162 who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition
855 we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of
000 the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

The first menstrual period

/215 cont./

584 881 indicates that a man may have sexual relations with the wife who was promised to him when she was still a child. Sometimes a girl will refuse to marry the man to whom she was promised as a wife, but she is afraid to conceal her first menstrual periods for mythological reasons.

881 773 In their oral literature the Sanemá tell of a very sad case which occurred in remote times because a girl concealed her first menstruation. Oineitĩb, a scrawny dwarf, found out about what had happened and caused heavy rains to fall for a period which demolished the rancheria where the girl lived. All the men died. The young girl went away to live with the neighboring group, where she was greeted with unequivocal signs of friendliness. On the very day of her arrival a man went to the river to fish, when suddenly he saw floating on the water the dead bodies of the people of the rancheria recently destroyed by the heavy rain. He immediately realized what had happened. He returned to the rancheria and killed the girl. The dwarf ate the girl and all the people who lived in the rancheria destroyed by the rain. This happens very rarely, however, which is why the dwarf is so thin.

881 [302] [262] We do not know the content of the puberty rites, but it seems that the hair is cut in the case of both sexes, and, for the boys as well as for the girls, food is limited to cassava and water, and that in small amounts. They do not eat meat. An informant 343 from the Erebato spoke to us of a special hut where the women 841 remain for the duration of their menstrual period. If we under- 881 stood him correctly, this hut is round and dome-shaped and made of palm leaves stuck into the ground. Inside the hut there is a circle made of little sticks placed side by side, within which there are two sticks stuck into the ground one meter apart. Between these sticks is fixed a bejuco. /216/ The woman, who must not lie down during menstruation, sits down and the bejuco serves as a back support. We did not see any house of this type.

584 The arrangements for a marriage are initiated with a private discussion between the two young lovers. The boy indicates to his fiancée that he wishes to take her as his wife and says to her:

/216 cont./

584 "péwa písayél." = I love you! If the girl agrees, she answers with the statement most feared and at the same time most desired by Sanemá suitors: "ipahâwana'a wahâbalone!" = speak to my father!

The anxiety which the young lovers feel as a result of this custom, which prescribes that, before marrying, they must speak to the future father-in-law, is surprising. We observed it in a palpable way in one of our informants. Sometimes it is necessary to wait until the girl takes the initiative and shows signs of love. In this case it is she who brings the matter up directly with her father. But the prevalent custom seems to be that it is the boy who must go to the house of his future father-in-law, who, forewarned, waits for him toward the end of the day. The future son-in-law comes without delay, but without showing any signs of haste or nervousness in order not to attract the attention of the people. He sits down in front of his fiancee's father, his gaze lost in the distance, and says in a very low voice: "authîwana sahbîp kobîtob' âble" = I need, I want your daughter. Everyone in the rancheria knows that a man will soon arrive to marry one of their prettiest girls, and all desire to know this man. Should the young man have been able to enter the rancheria incognito, all are aware of his arrival now, for the father-in-law gives a shout of surprise and repeats in a loud voice the boy's statement. The youth remains impassive, without moving, while all the people congregate to look at him, asking: what did you say? what did you say? All remain expectant to hear what the father-in-law may say. But the father-in-law is in no hurry. He says that he would lack three good conucos, that the girl requested has a younger sister who also wants to get married ... etc. All his suggestions are equivalent to actual conditions, which the young man considers carefully, but when the father-in-law finally says, "wahîspa kukéne" = take the woman, the young man runs off to the forest, now well informed about what he must do.

[593] [604] Should the girl not have a father, she would be represented by her elder brother or by her uncle.

/216 cont./

584 There are cases in which a brother or a friend of the suitor wishes to serve as intermediary and offers to speak to the father-in-law. The gesture is very well received and highly appreciated.

585 During the first two or three days the young husband remains
583 in the forest /217/ hunting; the woman hangs her hammock near that of her husband in the house of the family of orientation,
[476] that is, where she has always lived. This time having elapsed, the man tries to bring together some twenty friends to help him clear the land for the three conucos requested by his father-in-law. Usually he has no difficulty in finding this help. The father of the boy and his brothers do their best to feed the workers well, and, when the work is done, the young husband offers them as presents arrows, bows, etc. which they refuse to accept. Later, the man begins to clear some conucos for his own family.

584 Our informant from the upper Caura insisted that, once con-
627 sent has been obtained, delivery is definite and the girl cannot then accept any other young man. In order to give us an example, he told us what had happened to a man of his group.

A girl had accepted him as a husband, but, because of unforeseen circumstances, he had not had time to talk to the father-in-law. Then the girl surrendered to another young man and married him. The father-in-law knew nothing about the first offer. One day the people of the pueblo found the young couple in their hammock pierced by two arrows poisoned with curare. The murderer informed the father-in-law and the inhabitants of the rancheria of the motive which had caused him to perpetrate the crime. Neither the father-in-law nor the people intervened in the matter, for, according to them, the young lover was right in punishing the two who had deceived him in this way.

584 Sometimes parents marry off their children before they
595 reach maturity. Some men also take a second wife when she is
881 still underage, but they respect them and have no sexual contact with them until after the first menstrual periods have passed.

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

836 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their hus-
937 bands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passional
586 motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry
587 is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of
607 the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under
[836] his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has
587 always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children
593 find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have al-
[601] ways called "father" and he has called them "children." In
[184] this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

/218 cont./

595 We have mentioned that an adult may marry a very young girl, but must not have sexual relations with her until after the first menstrual periods. We do not base our observation on the practice of polygyny among the Sanemá in isolated cases, but rather on the fact that several men have several adult wives at the [554] same time. It does not seem that polygyny is an exclusive privilege of status or rank, but rather is an accepted thing, since [584] all adults may marry two or more women. Since there seems to be some scarcity of marriageable girls, the custom of binding oneself to a little girl can be looked upon as a form of foresightedness [587] by the man, with a view to the future. Many polygynous marriages, however, probably stem from the custom of the levirate.

587 765 There are widows who marry very shortly after the death of their husbands; others, however, wait for many months. They live in the house of their brother-in-law or in that of their parents, and it seems that the future husband does not demand that they cease mourning since the person mourned and for whom they weep was not only their husband but also the brother of the new suitor.

If the brother (who is very often the youngest) does not want to or cannot /219/ marry all the widows of his deceased brother, he allows them to live with another man. These marriages take place only after some time, during which the brother of the deceased and the women live apart from the society in a sort of isolation.

587 There are no differential rules for secondary marriages, but the father of sisters has the right to prevent both of them from marrying the same man, particularly if the man, owing to his poor preparation or deficiency, cannot give assurance of the economic help which he expects from him. This explains why only older men with greater experience in life are able to marry several women with ease.

595 The wives of one man may live under the same roof or in several houses, and, in spite of there being no fixed rotation, the husband must devote the same amount of time, more or less, to each of his homes.

/219 cont./

588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.

589 793 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 159 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá, but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 753 825 763 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle. As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica, the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle. A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people, that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for

159 his certain death.

764 Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

/220 cont./

159 764 inside, it is tied with lianas. Then they take the corpse into the forest where it is deposited, at a distance of some kilometers, on the branches of a tree in order for the flesh to decompose there. Often the members of the family will not leave the corpse alone in the forest for fear that animals will come and [775] devour it. The dead are very much afraid of animals and shout when a jaguar approaches them.

[825] The feline respects only a dead sablí, because he will die [756] in turn if he approaches.

Our informant spent several nights next to his father's [784] corpse, always being very careful not to step on the damp ground beneath the dead man, because those who step there lose their feet.

152 764 The grief of the relatives is so intense that very often some of them can not endure the pain and go to the forest to die. Above all the women lament a great deal during the night and the men hold them back so that they will not run away to the forest. The informant remembered that the strongest man of his tribe behaved as though he were mad after the death of his father and wanted to kill everybody. The men did not allow him to go with them into the forest to gather up the bones of his father for fear that, given his behavior, he might commit some crime.

765 After one month, more or less, the men of the tribe go to the forest and gather up the bones of their companion; the flesh decomposes completely during this period. Some of the men let down the coffin and others wrap the remains of the deceased in some large leaves, making in this way a bundle of bones which they take back with them to the rancheria. There they place it in a hammock and leave it for about four days, while the relatives continue to weep in uninterrupted lamentation.

765 775 [756] Later the sablí carries the bones to a fire prepared in the plaza and places them on top of the pile of firewood. Our informant also said that as the sablí did this he pronounced a well-known formula which means: "you are getting along well," for, if he did not say this, the hĩkula would not be able to find its way. Afterwards he lights the fire, blows upon it at the same time as he raises his arms /221/ above his head, and in the smoke

/221 cont./

765 775 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĭkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĭkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 [276] [756] The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĭ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 771 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of [184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 756 791 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a different supernatural sphere.

793 776 The first of the three is the hɛwĭawán, or the priest, who is the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

/221 cont./

793 [776 621] Since the Sanemá people cannot exist in good conditions without the continued and intimate contact with the house of Omao, sáiyawan, the priest makes himself indispensable in the grouping of a band, whose very existence is perpetuated in large part by the quality of the priest.

The hɛwĩawán of the Sanemá devotes himself exclusively to filling his high office. For this reason he cannot work, or hunt, or fish, etc. like a common man, and he lives on the benefactions given to him by the community as compensation for the services which he renders to it.

/222/ In his frequent flights between the earth and heaven he commonly kills a vulture or sparrow hawk and that explains why he often returns with his mouth covered with blood, bringing some cashew birds and, on certain limited occasions, even a human leg, trophies which he obtained as he killed the enemy (23).

23. It is likely that all this represents the ideal habitus rather than the real one of the priest.

793 773 Before discussing the nature of the power of the hɛwĩawán, we shall first narrate the genesis of the first hɛwĩawán of the Sanemá, which will explain to us how it comes about that the hɛwĩawán is able to fly and why he always goes about raised some 30 centimeters from the ground when he is on the earth.

There was a man who one day went into the forest to hunt. There he was met by a Great Jaguar, omaukóhe, who is a gigantic jaguar, master of the other felines, and who goes about in an upright position like a man. The jaguar caught the man and ate all his flesh, leaving the skeleton picked clean but without breaking a single bone. The man remained alive and asked the Great Jaguar to give him other flesh. The Jaguar gave him other flesh, but told him that henceforth he would be hɛwĩ (bat). [825] And from that time on the man hɛwĩawán is also a bat. He is a very timid man; children love him very much, because he never gets angry and does not scold. When he is in the company of men, he spends his time singing songs, wásámo songs, which

/222 cont./

793 the men learn because of the frequency with which he sings them.
773 He sings during the day, but especially at night. Suddenly he
[776] interrupts his song and flies up into the sky, where he joins other hɛwĩawán in order to sup with Omao.

793 The hɛwĩawán must jealously keep a certain number of
784 taboos, and on the degree of care with which he keeps them depends, not only his power as a priest, but also the existence of
[262] all his people. Thus, for example, he must not eat crabs or other animals which in reality are men to them, just like eagles, etc.

[778] Should he do this, the "weight of the dead" kills his hikuladɛ, a disaster which, in turn, causes the death, not only
[726] of the priest, but also of a large part of his congregation. For the same reason, the hɛwĩawán never takes part in war or in any combat whatsoever, because, although he is invulnerable and no arrow or club can kill him, his hikuladɛ could not bear the "weight" of a man killed by his weapons. This is the reason why each Sanemá local group relies on a special chief for wartime.

793 The hɛwĩawán, who belongs to the court of Omao more than
[776] to the Sanemá community, does not marry a specific woman. He may have sexual relations with all the unmarried women
[836] of the group, but he is completely unconcerned about them and the children. He has no duties as either husband or father.

/223/ If a hɛwĩawán dies, any woman of the group may
[776] have a son predestined to be a hɛwĩawán. No one knows which
[781] of the boys born in the period immediately after the death of a priest may be the hɛwĩawán of the future, but one day the true hɛwĩawán will return from the forest where he has met the Great Jaguar, who changed him into a priest, replacing his human flesh with other flesh more worthy of his bones, the flesh of a bat-priest.

[771] He than informs the people of what has happened, and, as that election happens shortly after the death of a priest, the new hɛwĩawán tries to take the vacant place in time, assuring, in this manner, the continuation of uninterrupted contact which the Sanemá have had with Omao generation after generation.

/223 cont./

776 The Great Jaguar has certain relations with Omao, the
793 deified hero of the Sanemá, since his name, "Omao-kóhe," indicates such a relationship, and it is possible perhaps to speak of a vocation for the office of priest, since the Sanemá Supreme Being admits him, after his encounter with the Great Jaguar, into the court of Omao.

793 According to South American ethnology, it is surprising
171 to find a "specialist" in a nomadic preagricultural society, but, as we shall state below, this is the second time that we have found a similar case in Venezuela; the other one was that of the Warao wiʃiráto.

793 The Sanema priest is a member of the court of Omao, not
776 only because the Great Jaguar changed him into a bat, but also
778 because Omao gave him a hikuladɛ which is invisible, although it has a spherical shape like a ball, and the larger the hikuladɛ, the more powerful the priest.

The hikuladɛ of the priest, the informant explained, is like a globe which the hɛwĩawán keeps in his chest. We shall also see later that the other religious practitioner of the Sanema has a hikuladɛ too, but one which is essentially different. We
793 have the impression that the hikuladɛ of the priest contains "the
778 souls" of the ancestors who were destined by Omao to live there
775 and help the priest. Since the data obtained are, in our opinion,
793 insufficient, we do not want to hazard peremptory statements,
778 but it seems certain that the Sanemá priest also cures the sick,
755 particularly those who are suffering from fever. Our informant
[114] explained to us that the ancestors (hikula-dĩb), the people of the
[775] hikuladɛ of the priest, are the ones who cure the fever when the priest brings the hikuladɛ out of his chest and deposits it for a time on the body of the patient.

Sometimes the desired effect is not attained, and that indicates that the soul of the /224/ victim has already abandoned the
793 body and does not want to return. The hĩkula therefore constitute
778 a sort of supernatural "little pueblo" /pueblecito/ within the
629 Sanemá community in which the priest lives and do not wish to have any communication with the kĩkula-dib /sic/ of the neighboring pueblo. The priests from nearby pueblos do not visit each

/224 cont./

793 778 628 [776] other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the hɛ̃wĩawãn gather with their hĩkula-dĩb.

793 778 775 The hĩkula-dĩb of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria, in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial community, and for this reason more than one priest is unnecessary. In the section of the illustrations[7] one can see the 532 hikuladɛ̃ of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees 793 there five hĩkula-dĩb, or souls of ancestors of the group in which 778 the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the 775 center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One 126 of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him 532 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is 793 based on the belief that a Sanemá must never speak of the insect 778 of the house of the hikuladɛ̃. As a matter of fact our informant 775 never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab 126 on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it 825 was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American ethnology.

171 773 825 778 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it payak, a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to the hĩkuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá priest to note the Mataco custom of attributing a supernatural power to a maraca /gourd rattle/ with sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The similarity between the hikuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá and the "sacred maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

[7] [see p. 70 - -Analyst]

/224 cont./

793 The function of the scarab in the curing process is as fol-
755 lows: If the hɛwĩawán wishes to cure a patient, he takes the
825 hĩkula from his chest and places it upon the patient. In order to effect the cure, the scarab opens an invisible hole in the chest of the patient, and the hikuladɛ of the priest enters through there.
[775] /225/ Once within the patient's chest, the hĩkula-dĩb come out of the hikuladɛ in order to combat and bring to the exterior the cause of the sickness. After a while the priest again takes possession of his hikuladɛ, and the treatment is fully successful. The informant did not want to mention the name of the caleopteran or even to talk about it, fearing that if he were to do so and if he were then to become sick, the priest would not be able to cure him, since the insect would not open a hole in the chest of the patient.

793 It is our impression that the priest only cures the ailments
755 that result from the presence, in the body of the sick person,
775 of the soul of a wandering deceased person who has approached the rancherias and whose very presence causes pain.

If we understand that the part of the Sanemá which goes to the house of Omao is the soul, we may say that the priest is concerned with the well-being of the same in the bodies of his companions, and that he represents the actualizing principle between the subject "the soul of the man" and the object "Omao," who enter into communication by means of the intervention of the priest. For the soul, which goes to live in the house [171] of Omao as hĩkula-dĩb, we noted down the name of hɛnpĩrtĩb, which essentially seems to correspond in its character to the "bole" of the Waica (Zerries, 1958b).

793 The hɛwĩawán may send a hĩkula-dĩb to a neighboring
775 pueblo in order to cause sickness among its inhabitants, but his
754 primary function is to guarantee the well-being of the souls of his community and to present them eventually to Omao at death.
793 It is interesting in this respect to note that the Surara and Pakidai,
754 subgroups of the Yanoama of Brazil, are of the opinion that
825 sicknesses are transmitted by a shaman of a neighboring pueblo
000 by means of sparrow hawks and bats. The Sanemá say that the

/225 cont./ The sanemá say that the
793 hɛwïawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikuladɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[796] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
[126] propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[795] hɛwïawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
974 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the híkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

/226 cont./

756 chest. They enter, without loss of time, through the extremi-
533 ties of the body and through the head. They arrive in the order
774 in which their names are sung by the master sablí, who in this way "builds a pueblo" of a microcosmos in the body of the man. The stronger the master, the greater will be the "pueblo," and the greater this "pueblo" is, the better chance the sablí will have to augment his inner world and his power during his life.

756 The hikuladi of the sablí is essentially different from that
774 of the priest, in the sense that it is inhabited by the vital princi-
[778] ple of vegetable and animal species and not by the souls of departed ancestors. The man also has a specific hísula, different from his soul and which, as is true of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, seems to be immortal and spiritual, essentially joined to animate matter until death. Each specimen of a species has a specific hísula; after death, the speciman goes to a luminous place in the forest. While the soul of a man may abandon the body during sleep, etc., without its being detrimental for the man himself, the hísula never leaves until the moment of death. Furthermore, the soul is typically human, while the hísula is found in man and also in plants and animals. Some informed us with insistence that women and small children do not have hísula.

773 Here is the story which explains the origin and the nature
774 of the hísula in the animate world.

[776] Chinanídmawan is a gigantic demon of dreadful shape, with long, sharp claws. He has skin which is impenetrable and as hard as rock.

/227/ One day Chinanídmawan came to attack the Sanemá. The latter posted themselves with their weapons to face his attack. Soon, however, the Sanemá realized that arrows and lances had no effect on the demon, who captured most of his enemies. Chinanídmawan quartered and devoured his victims, but kept the skins, which he nailed out on boards around and inside his house.

[171] (It is extremely interesting that this custom of keeping the skin
[727] of enemies has been preserved in Sanemá mythology, since it is reminiscent of some tribes of the Cauca, in Colombia, of the Mauta of Ecuador, of the Huauca of Peru, and of the Inca. It also recalls the cult of Xipe in Central America.)

/227 cont./

773 774 The Sanemá became discouraged in the face of the ferociousness of the monster and feared the day on which Chinanſdmawan would again mistreat and kill them.

773 774 756 In those days there lived among the Sanemá a great sablſ, very famous and extremely powerful, who began to think of how he could free them from this demon. The great sablſ went off to the forest, and there he found a liana which seemed very suitable for his purposes. He cut a piece of the bejuco and returned. During the night he went to the house of Chinanſdmawan in order to surprise him while he was asleep surrounded by his horrible trophies. In fact he did find him in a deep sleep; the sablſ then introduced a piece of the liana up his anus. The demon woke up startled. He realized that a powerful sablſ had found the means of killing him. In fact, shortly thereafter Chinanſdmawan died, and the Sanemá exposed his corpse to the sun so that the flesh might rot. But because the demon had such tough skin, the flesh dried up and the skin remained intact; they then tried to burn it, but this was impossible, so they flung it into the forest and fled from the place.

773 774 The skin of Chinanſdmawan, abandoned in the forest, gained access into the plants, animals, and men. That is why all male human beings, the animals, and the plants have within their bodies a hard and indestructible Chinanſdmawan which is called hſkula,

774 [764] The hſkula is that part of the male which remains on earth after his death. When the body of a person is burned, his hſkula, on seeing the black cloud which rises from the fire, joins all the other hſkulas and they remain there for a long time... listening and listening to what comes from the world where men live.

[826] The size of the hſkula of a man corresponds to the measure of his torso, and the larger the hſkula is, the stronger is the person.

[764] [276] [193] During the funeral rites, the men, under the influence of yopo, sing about their gigantic hſkula, and, in order to prove their gigantic strength, /228/ they invite each other to the wasamú, and they squeeze each other powerfully with their arms or with sticks. Among the men, only the priest, hɛwĭawan, has no hſkula, because he is already a citizen of heaven.

/228 cont./

756 778 825 [533] The Sanemá sablí has great power over animals and plants represented in his hikuladɛ, with which he communicates while he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song õkamõ against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladɛ of the sablí goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablí do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 533 754 [825] [774] The sablíes sing almost every night, and the bigger the animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense is the song. In his songs, the sablí can send any híkula from his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 756 [754] [753] [761] I have the impression that the híkulas belonging to the various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish of the sablí. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a híkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention of the sablí and by his magical power.

756 755 774 The priest sablí, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts, sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare off the harmful híkula which is striving to enter the body of the man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the híkula of the sablí and others chosen from his "pueblo of híkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablí depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great híkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the híkula or híkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablí makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the híkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

/228 cont./

756 may also happen that a sablf with a small "pueblo" of hfkulas in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a hfkula suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert sablf, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A young sablf is always hopeful that the hfkula "pueblo" in his chest will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

758 The potentiality of the hfkula of the sablf makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the sablf is the best
[624] man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A sablf of great power does not die until all the hfkulas of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
774 live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of
[754] his hfkula grows and brings about his death. Then the sablf informs his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his hfkula frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24).

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The hfkula of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place. Our informant told us that the hfkulas of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /tigres mariposas/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a hfkula of his group or one from a dead sablf. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

/229 cont./

774 The world of the "specific" hĩkulas is found on the other side of the horizon and in contrast with the world of the souls. There the sablĩes live forever, together with the dead animals and plants.

562 773 825 [774] It is worthwhile to refer once again to the insistence of our Sanemá informant from the Upper Caura regarding the fact that women do not have specific hĩkula. He asserted to us, furthermore, that women have a different origin from men and that there still exists a purely feminine world, and that each Sanemá pueblo has its corresponding hanekasá.* The informant would not identify the animal of which he spoke, but we knew [773] that it was of a well-known species. From the mythology one can deduce that the first men were made from a dead tree by the cultural hero brothers, while the first woman was fished out of a very large river.

Omao wished to metamorphose into women the butterflies which danced /230/ like people on the shore of a river, because the hanekasá are a pueblo of females in which there are only three males to insure reproduction. This pueblo of amazons is an exact replica of the female population of the rancheria neighboring a pueblo, in the characteristics of which we found a concept of alter ego for the Sanemá women.

[774] It is possible that there exists some relationship between [763] the hĩkula and the male, for it is said that men die from the "weight" of the hĩkula of certain animals; but we are not certain on this point (cf. Zerries, 1958b; Becher, 1960, p. 92). We are [763] more certain about the relationship which exists between women and the hanekasá animal, since a woman (of the neighboring rancheria) dies for each hanekasá which is killed. Other religious concepts which are difficult to interpret for the time being may also enter here.

791 755 A third type of theurgist which seems to exist in Sanemá society is the magician, the kãilala. He does not sing like the sablĩ and has no influence over the specific hĩkulas or over souls. He is the curer of the organism, of the body of a man. He cures by uttering tremendous cries, gives massages on the ailing and painful limbs of his patients. Suddenly he will surprise all those

* [see additional data on the hanekasá on p 113 .. Analyst]

Y /230 cont./
791 present by taking out from under his tongue stones, small sticks,
[755] vermin, etc. "Arrows" come out in the form of a black liquid,
of tobacco, etc. He spits out and tramples on what he has been
Y able to extract. The káilala of the Sanemá also possesses power
[754] that is benevolent and malignant at the same time and can shoot
Y magic arrows at the enemy rancheria, thus causing sickness or
[171] death. If we compare this religious complex of the Sanemá
with that of the Warao, we find such a great similarity that
there cannot be the least doubt but that both have the same origin.

W Among the Warao the temple cult is strictly local and
793 cannot be carried out in a place where there is no priest; who
[771] may be a man or a woman, although for this office there is
[787] a special category in the society of the Warao. It is not hered-
[776] itary and can be obtained by the special calling of the Supreme
Being, Kanobo.

W The son of a priest is generally considered as more suitable --
[171] by birth -- to fill the office of his father, but although the son
may be competent to succeed his father in a political position,
he does not necessarily have the right to succeed him as priest,
as happens among the Taino, where the son inherits the office of
priest together with the chieftainship.

W The Warao temple cult is furthermore completely separate
793 from shamanism and magic; religious matters are the responsi-
755 bility of especially designated persons who act only within their
776 own domain. /231/ The fact that the priest may cure sickness
[771] must not lead the observer to false conclusions, since it is logical,
according to Warao mentality, that the priest controls -- through the
power of God -- the spirits of heaven, whose desire is to take
everyone to the side of God, to whom they owe obedience and
W whose orders are transmitted to them by the mediation of the
793 priest. These are spirits objectively good, but which become
755 subjectively bad when with their metaphysical capability they
776 enter the body of a man, physically limited, causing a pressure,
753 that is, a sickness. In Warao terminology the priest cures by
778 "alleviating this pressure," bringing about as a result typical
ailments, such as fevers of various kinds, which he cures by
frightening away the spirits with merely his presence, but in
particularly critical and difficult cases he may also use one of his
maraca /gourd rattle/.

/231 cont./

This latter instrument in the hands of the priest-doctor might cause one to err by identifying him with the shaman, although actually the maraca of a priest and that of a shaman are considered by the Warao as essentially different. The powers of the maraca of the priest are guaranteed by the kareko stones which are inside it, a second category of spirits which belong to the court of God. The stones in the maraca of the shaman represent other powers. So, although morphologically both instruments have the same origin, functionally they have become specialized, probably in different fashion, by our Indians. Warao shamanism is based on the conception of the existence of an immanent essence in all objects which can only be freed by the power of the shaman for the purpose of being directed toward someone's body. Each shaman has also the power to extract this type of essence from a person, that is, to cure him of his sickness. The shaman cures by smoking, emitting smoke and blowing, and, when he does so, he must rest his hand on the affected part, while he allows to pass through his mind numerous images of objects, until he fixes his attention on a special one which is the object which caused the sickness, as a result of which the spirit immediately jumps to his hand or to the maraca. The magician, finally, takes out from the body of a person or puts into it material objects, the causes of sickness.

Warao priests are specialized to a high degree. They must observe special taboos regarding food, which must be cooked only by their wives in a fire newly kindled for it and in a special pot. They eat apart from the others, live in their own house, and must not perform any strenous work. Ideally, they make their living from their office (Wilbert, 1957a, 1960a).

/232/ We publish below some mythological details on which we were able to take notes.

OMAO AND SOAO

In the beginning there was a pregnant woman. One day the Great Jaguar came and devoured the woman. When he came to the uterus he wanted to eat it also, but at that very moment a toad appeared and told him that one ought not to eat that thing. The Jaguar left the uterus in the forest and went away.

/232 cont./

539 The toad picked up the uterus and took it home. After some months there came out of it two male twins to whom it gave the names Omao and Soao. The two boys were brothers, but the toad was not their "mother," in spite of its having fed them and protected them from all dangers.

One day the Jaguar returned again and heard the two young men talking. Then he realized what had happened, and he tried to kill the two brothers. But they gave a tremendous jump and climbed a gigantic tree. They remained there for a long time, eating the fruit of the tree. The Jaguar kept waiting for them and coveting their delicious food. Therefore he planned to climb the tree also, but when he came close to them they jumped off into space. The Jaguar followed them, but his luck did not hold, and on falling he hit the ground so hard that he died.

The two brothers went off to the forest. They were alone. The solitude was overwhelming. They decided to create man. They tried to make the males out of very hard wood so that they would not die. They therefore began going through the forest in search of the strongest tree. They found many, but Omao was not satisfied and continued searching. His brother Soao became discouraged and completely lost his patience; he took out his ax, felled the closest tree, and began to make men. When Omao arrived on the scene and saw the tree which his brother had felled, he became extremely sad, for he foresaw that men would die young for lack of strength. He became furious with his brother, and grabbing him by the arm, he threw him to the ground on top of a nest of wasps who stung him so much that he fled in panic, running and shouting, through the forest.

Sometimes polished axes are found in the forest; they are those of Omao, with which he felled four very strong trees. But he did not make men out of them, but snakes, which do not die since by changing the skins they are continually rejuvenated.

Then Omao and Soao wished to create women, and, as Soao was an excellent fisherman, Omao made him a fishhook so that he might go to the river to fish. But Soao lost the hook and came back empty-handed. Omao made another stronger hook for him.

/232 cont./

539 This time Soao pulled out an enormous fish. Omao put it in /233/ a basket, saying that it was his wife and that Soao must not touch it. Soao did not touch her despite the fact that she was very beautiful.

One day Omao told his brother that he wished to make a wife for him and also for the other men, that he was going to the shore and that he must take good care of his sister-in-law, being very careful not to touch her.

Omao went off and after walking a great distance came to the bank of a large river. There he found a great number of beautiful butterflies. From them he decided to create a wife for his brother and women for the other men. The butterflies were very wary and fled every time that Omao approached them. Then Omao changed himself into a fly and put out some sweet bait in order to attract the prey. But all was lost because at the very moment of catching the most beautiful butterfly Omao heard a scream which he identified as one from his wife. In fact, Soao, tired of waiting for his brother and for his wife, lost patience, opened the basket which his sister-in-law was in, and attempted to cohabit with her. But she gave a tremendous scream and escaped. The butterflies became frightened and fled from the shore.

Omao, angered by this, left his brother alone on the earth and went to heaven.

THE SUN AND THE MOON

[221] The sun is a man and the moon is also a man. The two regard each other as enemies because of the occurrence which I shall relate.

One day the moon told a man to go and look for firewood. The man went off to look for it. When he brought it, he did not please the moon, who wanted a great deal more. Again it sent him into the forest. Then the man realized that what the moon wanted was to eat him. Then the man fled. He ran to the sun in search of asylum and protection. The sun hid him. When the moon arrived in search of him, the sun said that it had not seen the man. The moon, angered, insisted and even wanted

/233 cont./

539 to search the sun's house. Then the sun burned its surface and from that came the scars which show on its face.

The moon went to the other side of the world, and, while the sun sealed its friendship with man, the moon was his irreconcilable enemy. When the moon appears rose-colored, it 539 821 is because it, along with its family, is eating men. The sun also has a family, but does not eat human flesh. Sometimes the moon hides in its house in order to plan a new campaign. [532] During that time women are very much afraid and, in order to [751] protect themselves, paint a likeness of the sun on their cheeks; they also commonly paint it on large stones which they find on the path.

/234/

OINEITĨB

539 Beneath the earth there exists the world of the dwarfs, who [772] are called Oineitĩb. They live like men, but eat and speak very rapidly. They have no intestines or anus, and when they eat meat or other food, they cut it in pieces and swallow it raw, without chewing (25). They sometimes also eat women who conceal

[171] 25. See also the corresponding myth of the Yupa Indians of Venezuela (Wilbert, 1959d).

their menstruation. On one occasion the subterranean river grew so much that it acquired an enormous volume and gained so much strength that it blew out the earth beneath the ground of the rancheria in which there lived a woman who had tried to conceal her state. The houses collapsed and the inhabitants drowned, with the exception of the women, who were devoured by the dwarfs and their souls went to live forever with the guapo, who is also unable to go up to heaven and live with Omao.

Because the dwarfs have no intestines, they are always hungry and, for that reason, devour their food with much greediness. On occasion one of these dwarfs comes to earth to visit a man, but never a woman. The man cannot see his guest, but

/234 cont./

539 feels his presence because a devouring hunger attacks him. When the man realizes what is happening, he begins to eat greedily and immediately goes to see the sablí so that he will get rid of the importunate dwarf.

THE WOMAN WHO TURNS INTO A PECCARY

A man wished to go hunting for peccaries and asked his wife to go with him. The woman was having her menstrual period but said nothing to her husband. The two of them met a small band of peccaries in the forest. The man made his wife climb a tree while he prepared to kill the wild pigs. Hardly had the hunter left the place when a peccary appeared at the foot of the tree. It changed into a man and climbed the tree in order to carry the woman off. When the hunter returned, he began to search painstakingly for his wife, but he did not find her. He ran back to the rancheria and told his companions what had happened. The latter decided to follow the tracks of the woman. The sablí placed himself at the head of the retinue, which advanced in Indian file.

Soon the group met a man who called himself haʂmõ and who gave off flames from his belly. They asked him if he had seen a woman in the vicinity. The man answered that he had seen a woman whose upper part had been changed into a peccary when she had tried to pass under a fallen log on all fours, and that she was accompanied by many men and women.

The Sanemá continued the search, and the haʂmõ man accompanied them. /235/ Toward dusk the men hung their hammocks very close together because it was cold. One of them, still half asleep, attempted to revive the fire by blowing strongly, but he made a mistake and blew on the fire of the haʂmõ, who turned into a guinea hen and flew away.

On the following day, very early in the morning, the men continued to look for the abducted woman. After they had walked for quite a long time, they heard the sound of an ax; someone was cutting trees. It was pólawan, the jaguar who always follows the peccaries. He was cutting firewood in order to roast a peccary which he had just killed. He had seen the woman almost completely

/235 cont./

539 transformed into a peccary; only her feet were still human. All those who accompanied her belonged to a great herd of peccaries. The pőlawan offered to show them the way, and very early on the following day he helped them attack the enemy encampment. During the attack the man found his wife; he recognized her by her feet, which had still not lost their human shape. He approached her and, from the rear, grasped her upper lip with his right hand and her lower lip with his left hand, tugged violently, and ripped off the peccary skin, freeing her in this way from that repugnant disguise. The skin got up and ran away toward the forest. The Sanemá killed all the wild pigs, the men, the women, and the children. Pőlawan said good bye to them, and the woman returned joyfully with the men to the rancheria.

THE HANEKASA

773 The hanekasá are a pueblo made up, in its immense majority, of women. There lives among them only one man of verile age, which insures reproduction. Only female children are born, and, when the progenitor reaches an advanced age, a male child comes who replaces his father in this pueblo of amazons. The number of males may not exceed three: a child, a man in the prime of life, and an old man.

The hanekasá by preference feed on lapa /paca/.

For each Sanemá settlement there is a corresponding hanekasá one. When two of these groups meet on the road, they fight like men. The hanekasá also fight against men. If a man, while hunting, kills a hanekasá, a woman in the neighboring tribe will die.

HARAMI

539 One day a young Sanemá man was alone in the forest. He was looking for food. After walking a considerable distance without killing a single /236/ animal, he became very angry, complaining bitterly because the animals remained in their hiding-

/236 cont./
539 places (26).

[224
782
784]

26. Taking into account what has already been pointed out as a prayer directed to Omao in order that he allow to come out those animals which he would judge as surplus in the animal kingdom, the young man's behavior can be judged as an offense against God because he would not yield to his will.

The father of the young hunter was at home sitting in front of the fire. He was a sablí. Suddenly he saw a swarm of butterflies approaching to put out the fire. A great cloud of smoke arose. The sablí heard the prolonged and penetrating howls of the Great Fox who has various members of his family living in the river. When they come out of the waters, they do not only kill the hunter who made them leave their "house," but all of his family as well. The butterflies also live in the river and are the friends of the Great Fox, whom they help to kill bad and guilty hunters. After putting out the fire they attack the family of the bad hunter, and, if the latter happens to be at home, they suck out his blood from the corners of his eyes. The sablí knew all about this and the grave danger which his son and his whole family were in, but he also knew a means of defending them against the butterflies. He caught some of them and spat on them. The butterflies immediately ceased their attack on him and died. The Great Fox kept quiet because he knew that his victim was in the forest under the protection of a powerful shaman. In this way the young hunter was saved from the teeth of the Great Fox,[1] who devours his victims and swallows them without chewing.

KASMAI

Kasmái is a man who lives in the river. Every six months, when there is a new moon, he comes out of the water to live for three days among men. This pleases them, and they regale him with a dance celebration. Kasmái enjoys himself very much at these celebrations. He comes up out of the river with his body

/236 cont./

539 painted red with onoto. His children paint him in the river, which they call "their home." The men give him presents of succulent food, but Kasmãi does not eat much because he is full and has an abundance of food at home. He does not remain long on earth. After three days he invites his companions to bathe in the river and suddenly disappears at the mercy of the waters.

WAU

Wau lives in the river, but he is a cayman. He is not a common cayman, however, since he is the owner of the fish. He runs as fast as the wind and chases men who fish with barbasco or who throw back into the river the bones of fish that they have eaten. Wau always carries an enormous club, and the man whom he pursues can only save himself if he succeeds in quickly
600 climbing a tall, stout tree. /See the foreign text for the bibliography, pp. 247-263 in the original source, and the table of contents for the entire book, p. 265 in the original source./

conuco--cultivated areas
curiara--the native canoe
guayucos--loincloths
hamacas--hammocks
hɛ̨wĩawán--the priest
hɛ̨npĩrtĩb--a soul who goes to live in the house of Omao as hĩkula-dĩb
hĩkula--an immortal and spiritual vital principle in plants and animals, different than the soul
hĩkula-dĩb--ancestors
jefe--chief
káilala--the magician
morrocoy--turtle
póliawan--the jaguar; also used for the domestic dog
sablĩ--the shaman

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

624
571

[For the role of the guapo in Yanoama society and his interaction with the community, see category 554.]

4t[illegible]/ilbert

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians SS4

Y
V
102
133
137

p. 14	p. 15	p. 16
p. 17	p. 18	p. 19

Chart of Positions of Map 6.
/facing Map 6/

4: Wilbert

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

775

[Information on the hĩkula, an immortal vital principle appearing in both plants and animals, but in man different than the soul (which he alone possesses), has been filed in category 774.]

776

[Additional information on the role of various supernatural beings in the mythology of the Yanoama will be found in category 139.]

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

JOHANNES WILBERT

Indios de la Región Orinoco - Ventuari

Instituto Caribe de Antropología y Sociología
FUNDACION LA SALLE DE CIENCIAS NATURALES
CARACAS 1963 Editorial Sucre, C. A.

[P 5] [Title Page]
[PP 1-4 not processed]

[pp6-10 not processed]
[p 11]

INTRODUCCION

LAS tribus indígenas de las que se trata en el presente informe habitan la zona noroccidental del Escudo Guayanés, situada en la parte sur de la República de Venezuela. Como límites naturales de esa región, que llamamos "la región Orinoco-Ventuari", se pueden señalar los ríos: *Orinoco*, en el Norte y Oeste; *Ventuari*, en el Sur, y *Caura*, en el Este. Geográficamente la zona está comprendida entre 64°-68° W, y 4°-8° N, aproximadamente. La parte norte de la misma corresponde al Distrito Cedeño del Estado Bolívar, mientras que la parte sur pertenece, como Departamento Atures, al Territorio Federal Amazonas.

Hidrográficamente hablando, la región comprende cinco cuencas de ríos que la desaguan y que, al mismo tiempo, marcan las diferentes áreas de distribución indígena (1).

a) La *cuenca del Caura*, con los Mayongon, un subgrupo de los Makiritare, los Yecuana, y con unos grupos Sanemá;

b) La *cuenca del Cuchivero*, con los indios Panare y algunos grupos desconocidos en las cabeceras;

c) La *cuenca del Suapure*, que, con excepción de algunos núcleos Panare, no cuenta, hoy en día, con poblaciones indígenas;

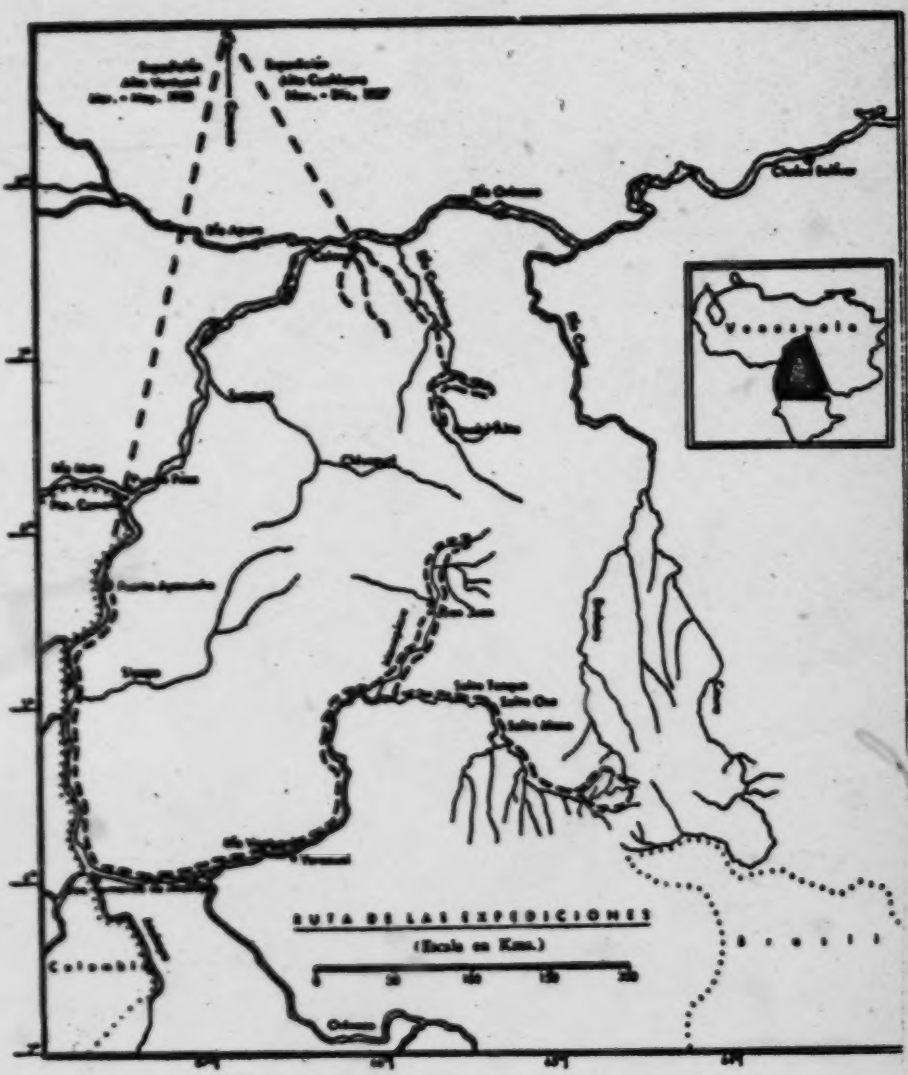
d) La *cuenca del Sipapo*, con los indios Piaroa y Macú;

e) La *cuenca del Ventuari*, con los indios Yabarana en el río Manapiare, la subtribu Yecuana (Decuana) de los Makiritare, y los Nabudub, un subgrupo Sanemá (cf. mapa hidrográfico).

Todas estas cuencas, sin excepción, vierten sus caudalosas aguas en el Orinoco, que, como un arco gigantesco, recorre el norte del Escudo de Guayana, abrazando, de este modo, todas las tribus indígenas aquí estudiadas y marcando el ultra límite y fin de su mundo primitivo (cf. mapa étnico).

---

(1) No incluimos aquí los pequeños grupos indígenas recién llegados (Guahibo, Piapoco, Puinave, Curipaco). Ellos viven a lo largo de la periferia de la región, excepto los Guahibo, que, hace unos años, se adelantaron hasta el río Manapiare.



Mapa 1. Ruta de las expediciones

Es interesante señalar que la extensa red fluvial de la zona Orinoco-Ventuari no sirve, a la mayoría de las tribus, como medio de comunicación, ni como fuente extraordinaria de alimentación. Los Panare de la cuenca del Cuchivero no viajan por río y en el Cuchivero hemos encontrado solamente un bongo que era utilizado únicamente para cruzar el río. Por lo general, la curiara parece un elemento extraño a la cultura Panare, recientemente introducido por los criollos. Tampoco los Yabarana de la cuenca del Ventuari usaban la curiara y aprendieron recientemente de sus vecinos Makiritare el arte de hacerlas. Para los Sanemá el río representa, más bien, un obstáculo que un medio de comunicación, y utilizan balsas para cruzarlo. Hoy en día, solamente los grupos que viven en simbiosis con los Makiritare fabrican curiaras, pero no cabe la menor duda de que esta industria fue adoptada últimamente. Los Sanemá se dedican a la pesca menos que los Panare, Yabarana y Guahibo, ya que estos últimos pertenecen también a los indios orientados hacia la tierra, con sus caminos, más bien que hacia los ríos y la navegación. Los únicos navegantes auténticos de la zona Orinoco-Ventuari son los Piaroa y los Makiritare, y la fama de estos últimos excede a la de los primeros.

Culturalmente, los Makiritare pertenecen a un nivel neo-indio, así como sus primos, los Panare y los Yabarana, de la misma afiliación lingüística. Es interesante, sin embargo, hacer notar que hablar de indios Caribe no equivale *eo ipso* a hablar de indios navegantes. Existen neo-indios que desconocen la curiara y que desarrollaron la agricultura, no en una cultura meso-india (de pescadores y navegantes), sino básicamente encima de una cultura paleo-india (de cazadores). Culturas meso-indias, como la de los Warao, por ejemplo, y quizás la de los Piaroa, representan una especialización del paleo-americano que buscaba, en primer lugar, una nueva fuente de alimentación y no tanto un mejor modo de comunicación. El típico Caribe venezolano es, por lo menos hoy en día, un hombre amante de la tierra (Pemón, Cariña, Panare, Yabarana, Yupa), y los Makiritare, hombres de río, representan una excepción entre ellos.

De acuerdo con la importancia relativa que tiene el río entre las diferentes tribus, se encuentran núcleos de ellas a lo largo de las arterias acuáticas principales, como los de los Makiritare, o aparados de ellas, en los afluentes y cabeceras, como entre los Panare, Yabarana, Guahibo y Sanemá. Esa circunstancia es de gran trascendencia para el estudio de estos indios. Cuanto más retirados viven del río más difícil resulta el contacto y la convivencia con ellos. Así, los Panare son aún menos conocidos que los Makiritare y los Piaroa, y de los Sanemá y Yabarana traemos, en el presente informe, las primeras noticias relativamente amplias.

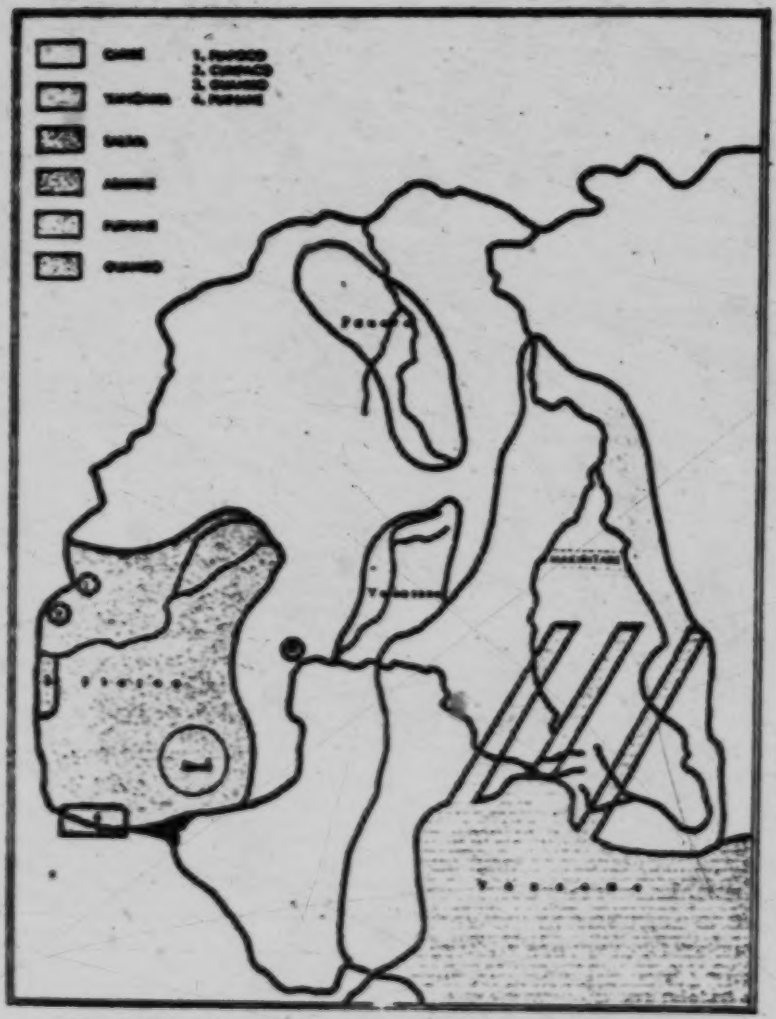
Mapa 2. Distribución de las tribus indígenas de la región Orinoco-Venezuela

Las tres semanas que pasamos entre los Panare fueron muy laboriosas, y el tiempo entre los Sanemá, finalmente, era muy duro.

A pesar de estas dificultades, que en comparación con las de un viaje al principio del siglo son insignificantes, la zona está abierta para cualquier tipo de comunicación. En avión se puede ir a Caicara, Puerto Ayacucho, San Juan de Manapiare y Cacuri (entre los saltos Tenqua y Oso). De este modo, para un estudio especial de los Panare, se va en pocas horas de vuelo desde Caracas hasta Caicara para seguir en jeep y llegar en el mismo día al primer bohío de los Panare. Para estudiar a los Piaroa, se va en avión hasta Puerto Ayacucho y se prosigue luego a pie o en curiara. A los Yabarana se les visita en la temporada seca yendo en un avión de línea a Puerto Ayacucho y desde allí hasta San Juan de Manapiare en un vuelo de avioneta durante 30 minutos. Se llega en el mismo día a las casas Yabarana y en unos días más a los "Monteros", el grupo más autóctono de esa tribu. Para arribar al territorio Makiritare y Sanemá del alto Ventuari, se va a Puerto Ayacucho en un avión de línea para seguir hasta Cacuri en un vuelo de avioneta durante 50 minutos más o menos. En ningún caso se necesita más de tres o cuatro días para llegar al sitio de estudios, y los gastos son relativamente bajos. En un remoto rincón de Venezuela viven los Waica y Samatari. Sin embargo, en un reciente viaje, salimos de Caracas a las siete de la mañana y estuvimos entre los Waica del Padamo a las cinco de la tarde del mismo día. Empleamos cinco horas de vuelo y tres en curiara rápida.

Para un viaje de reconocimiento y de prolongada duración como nosotros realizamos para el presente informe, se necesita ir más despacio en una curiara, quedándose entre las tribus, raudales y montañas. La única zona de difícil acceso es la de los "Monteros" y Chicano de la Sierra Guamapí.

La región Orinoco-Ventuari representa el macizo secundario occidental del Macizo de Guayana, con elevaciones superiores a los 2.000 m. La subida más difícil de la región resultó ser la zona al sur del Raudal Alto en el Cuchivero, hacia la Sierra Guamapí, y el paso del Salto Mono en el Alto Ventuari, donde el nivel sube a más de 1.500 m. de altura (cf. mapa físico). La travesía del Salto Mono, sobre todo la subida en la época de lluvia, resulta un trecho sumamente peligroso y se emplean, por lo menos, un día completo para la ida y seis horas para la vuelta. Los Makiritare suben en seis horas y bajan en cuatro horas con un bulto de 20 - 30 kg en la espalda. Bajamos con 20 Sanemá y 30 Makiritare en sólo cinco horas, pero tal maratón es en extremo agotador. Al contrario, atravesar el Mono en dos días representa una excursión sumamente bella por las características de esa montaña y lo gigantesco de su selva que, a veces, deja la vista libre



Mapa 1. Afiliación lingüística de las tribus indígenas de la región Orinoco-Ventuari

y se divisa un panorama encantador. Los Makiritare mantienen el ancho sendero (de más de 2 m) siempre abierto y en buen estado, y en el puerto de arriba construyeron una casa para reposar y pernoctar. Allí se encuentran unas curiaras, con las que se puede seguir por el río hacia las rancherías Makiritare y Sanemá, sitas en las cabeceras del mismo. Del puerto Mono arriba hasta las cabeceras no hay más obstáculos para la navegación, y el río permite todavía el fácil acceso a todas las poblaciones Makiritare del Alto Ventuari. Llamamos Alto Ventuari la parte de este río desde el Salto Tenqua hasta las fuentes. De allí, los Makiritare llevan al expedicionario, a través de la Sierra, al Erebato, afluente del río Caura.

La comunicación entre las tierras planas del norte y el Macizo es muy difícil subiendo el Paragua o el Caura. En ese trecho los indios mismos agotan sus energías y, frecuentemente, pierden la vida. Durante la época de lluvia no acostumbran viajar por estos peligrosos caminos (Vila, 1959).

Como es natural, las características físicas se reflejan en los diferentes tipos de vegetación con que cuenta la región Orinoco-Ventuari (cf. mapa de vegetación). En la zona baja, a lo largo de los ríos Orinoco, Ventuari, bajo Cuchivero y Caura se encuentran bosques de galería, chaparrales, estepas de gramíneas, al igual que en el alto Orinoco y en los llanos. En los trechos más altos hay bosques deciduos, en parte siempre verdes, mesófilos e higrófilos, mientras que en las zonas altas, por encima de los 1.000 m, se hallan los bosques higrófilos y mesófilos interrumpidos localmente por sabanas. El bosque entre 200-1.000 m de altura, por su parte, está cortado con frecuencia por estepas de gramíneas.

Por chaparrales se designan las sabanas llenas de árboles, como las del bajo Cuchivero y del *hinterland* y habitat de los Panare del Norte. Aquí, típicamente, se encuentran árboles achaparrados de 4-8 m de altura, con especies como *Curatella americana*, especies de *Byrsonima* y *Erythroxylum*, *Bowdichia virgilioides*, *Palicourea rigida* y *Haematoxylon Brasiletto*.

Las estepas de gramíneas, húmedas o secas, constituyen la vegetación típica de los llanos. Son zonas casi completamente desprovistas de árboles, interrumpidas por dunas o, en nuestra zona, por esteros, y a veces, con chaparrales u otros elementos leñosos en las zonas transitorias del Norte. Todavía permanecen casi inexploradas las sabanas y estepas de las sierras altas de Guayana.

Los bosques de galería, que indicamos en las regiones secas, los forman principalmente morichales. Los morichales del bajo Cuchivero son co-

Mapa 4. Mapa físico de la parte sur de Venezuela (según Vila, 1959)

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

nocidos en Venezuela por su mesura, a pesar de que, para el viajero, señalan casi siempre un obstáculo, sólo en épocas secas.

Las selvas higrófilas en perenne verdor (Tropical Rain Forest) están compuestas de árboles de 20-50 m de altura, entrelazados con lianas y epífitas. Los troncos pueden alcanzar más de dos metros de diámetro y poseen, de vez en cuando, raíces tabulares. Entre las especies características se cuentan: *Anacardium rhinocarpus, Terminalia amazonica, Philodendron bipinnatum, Sterculia apetala, Basiloxylon brasiliensis, Astronium graveolens, Brosimum spec., Pouteria spec., Guarea spec., Carapa guianensis, Mora excelsa, Bertholletia excelsa, Hevea Benthamiana y Ochroma lagopus.*

En la región venezolana de Guayana es difícil establecer una diferencia entre las zonas de selvas higrófilas y los bosques deciduos mesófilos. Los bosques deciduos mesófilos ocupan en Venezuela la parte más extensa de todas las zonas forestales. Debido al período de sequía, esta clase de bosque tiene un número más reducido de especies que las selvas higrófilas. Los árboles alcanzan una altura entre 20-40 m, y las lianas abundan menos que en los bosques higrófilos. Entre las especies importantes de los bosques deciduos de nuestra región se cuentan: *Cedrela mexicana* (Cedro), *Swietenia macrophylla* (Caoba), *Anacardium rhinocarpus* (Mijao), *Mouriopsis sepium* (Saquisaqui), *Spondias Mombin* (Jobo), *Samanea saman* (Samán) y *Tabebuia pentaphylla* (Apamate) (Hueck, 1960).

Como ya hemos indicado en el prefacio, el presente libro es el resultado de un informe de dos viajes y de un estudio bibliográfico de los datos existentes sobre la zona visitada (cf. mapa: Ruta de las expediciones). Aunque es verdad que no se ha escrito todavía un trabajo monográfico sobre ninguna de las tribus de la región Orinoco-Venturi, también es cierto que la gran cantidad de artículos que han sido publicados sobre los indios de esa zona es sorprendente. El material es, primeramente, descriptivo, pero como nos describen muchas veces aspectos de la vida indígena que hoy han desaparecido o cambiado, el material de conjunto de estos autores es de gran valor e interés.

En el presente informe utilizamos la mayoría de los datos existentes, y su recopilación, ordenación y selección, junto con nuestro aporte personal, constituye el estudio que aquí exponemos sobre los indios de esa parte de Venezuela.

Seguimos en nuestro propósito las huellas del gran etnólogo venezolano Lisandro Alvarado, quien, con la publicación de su libro "Datos Etnográficos de Venezuela", dio un paso firme hacia la gran tarea de recopilación

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

de todo el material objetivo, elaborado en el transcurso de muchos decenios, referente a las tribus indígenas de esa parte del mundo (2).

Nuestro informe carece de uniformidad en cuanto al carácter y volumen del material de las distintas tribus a que nos referimos, pero refleja este hecho precisamente nuestro actual conocimiento esporádico acerca de las tribus que, en la última fase de su vida autóctona, invitan, con urgencia, al etnólogo competente, para dejar el testimonio de un conglomerado humano de nuestro antiguo continente americano.

---

(2) Obras completas de Lisandro Alvarado, vol. 4 (Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura y Bellas Artes). Caracas, 1956.

[PP 21-176 not Processed]

LOS SANEMA

[P. 177]

LA palabra Sanemá aparece aquí, como la designación de una subtribu de los Yanoama. Los Sanemá fueron llamados Guaharibo y a veces confundidos también con los Shirishana.

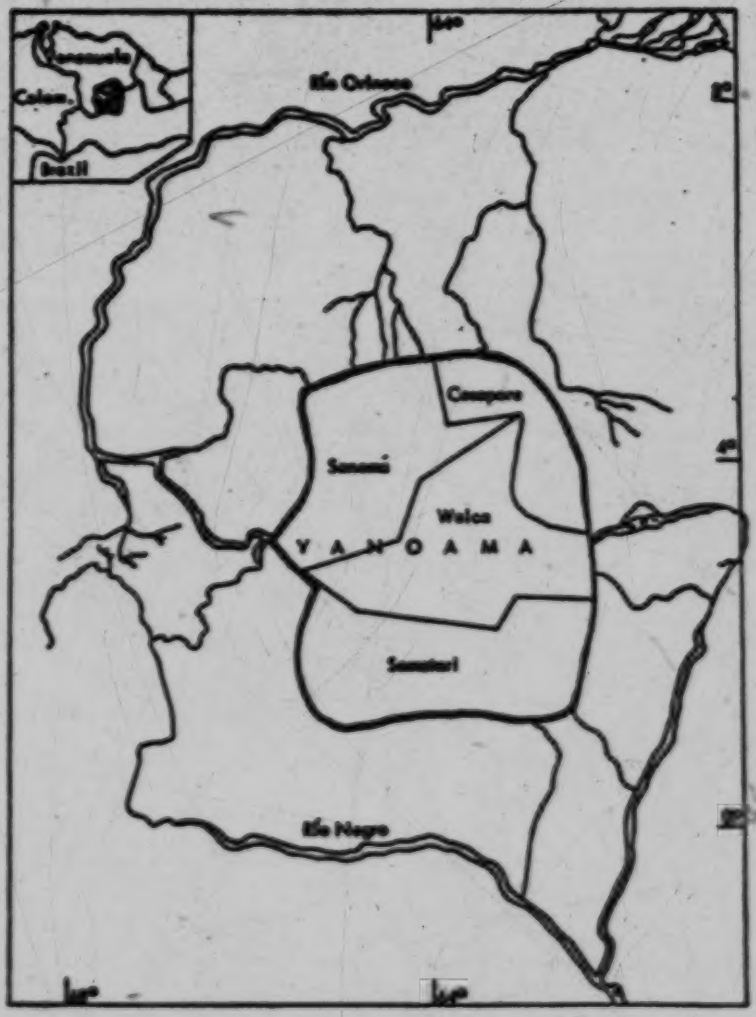
Los términos Guaharibo y Shirishana (escritos con abusiva libertad ortográfica) carecen de sentido adecuado aplicados a los Sanemá, y no debe, como hasta ahora ha sucedido, aplicárselos a esta tribu o a las bandas periféricas, quienes los aceptaron como designaciones empleadas por los Blancos (Guaharibo) y por los Makiritare (Shirishana).

El nombre Guaharibo, igual que Macú y Tapuya, es una designación vaga y colectiva que abarca muchas tribus primitivas y que, por consiguiente, tiene escaso valor clasificatorio y no resiste una crítica científica e imparcial.

El término Shirishana, por su parte, nos parece más que denominación genérica, un insulto, ya que significa "mono araguato" y que emplean los Caribe en tono despectivo cuando se refieren a los Sanemá, a quienes consideran como seres subhumanos nacidos del polvo de su sombra. También ese nombre se presta fácilmente a confusión con los Crichaná del río Ianaperi, y de filiación Caribe.

Por las razones arriba apuntadas, preferimos el término Sanemá, que significa "gente", al de Guaharibo, que equivale a "salvaje", o de Shirishana, "mono araguato". Esta preferencia tiene más visos de científica y mayor respeto humano. Parece que el término Yanoama lo introdujo en la literatura etnográfica Zerries (1956a, p. 187) y fue aceptado, con toda razón, por Schuster (1958, p. 115) y Becher (1960, p. 6) como nombre genérico de los Casupare, Sanemá, Waica, Sálumari, Surara y Pakidai.

En el presente tratado consideraremos a los Yanoama como una *tribu* no tanto en el sentido político-social, cuanto en el lingüístico-cultural, puesto que los Yanoama, en general, representan una cultura específica integrada



Mapa 7.—Distribución de los indios Yanoama (preliminar)

por varias subculturas propias de las diversas subtribus que habitan en un territorio coherente, que hablan lenguas estrechamente emparentadas, y poseen formas esencialmente similares en lo económico y sociológico.

Cada subtribu está compuesta por cierto número de grupos locales que forman una banda de familias extensivas y que aportan las características peculiares del grupo a que pertenecen, enriqueciendo así el patrimonio cultural de la subtribu. De esta forma conocemos como subtribus de los Yanoama a los Casapare, Sanemá, Waica y Samatari, mientras que los Pakidai y Surara parecen representar dos grupos locales de los Samatari o de una subtribu cuyo nombre ignoramos.

Como grupos locales de los Sanemá podemos mencionar a los: Nibadub del Ventuari, los Pubenatari del Caranakuni, los Taclaudub en el territorio del manantial del Caura, y otros que mencionaremos en la parte demográfica.

Por lo que se ha publicado hasta ahora acerca de las subtribus Yanoama podemos colegir que existen entre ellas diferencias culturales más o menos acentuadas, pero también es fácil demostrar que esas diferencias no representan sino variantes de un mismo patrón cultural; a pesar de que esas divergencias corresponderían básicamente a una separación que oscilaría entre los 600 como mínima y 3.500 años como máxima entre esas subtribus.

Para facilitar el estudio de la distribución de las subtribus Yanoama hemos elaborado el mapa conjunto que ilustra el presente trabajo. Los datos referentes a las poblaciones Surara y Pakidai se han tomado del estudio de Becher (1960), quien les localizó entre los ríos Demini y Aracá, en el Brasil. La localización de los Samatari del Brasil corresponde al mapa publicado por Seitz (1960), y la de los Samatari de Venezuela a uno levantado por la Malariología, ubicada entre los Waica, en el Alto Orinoco, frente a la boca del afluente Mavaca. De esta última fuente tomamos también los datos antropo-geográficos de los Waica y de los Sanemá del Padamo. El mapa referencia, se ha levantado según datos empíricos del personal de la Malariología que cuenta con la colaboración de los misioneros de esta zona, y, sobre todo, con la del señor James Barker, de la *New Tribes Mission*, quien ha intimado con los indios de esta región.

Tenemos conocimiento de la distribución de los Sanemá en el Ventuari, Erebato y Caura por el propio personal de nuestra expedición; mientras que los datos sobre los Casapare los tomamos del excelente trabajo cartográfico de Montoya (1958) quien visitó la zona durante varios meses.

El nombre Casapare lo emplean los Sanemá para designar a sus vecinos del oriente. Koch-Grünberg (1923) mencionó ya al grupo del Alto Ururicapará, afluente del Uneiuwini y al que ocupaba la margen derecha del río Ururicuera, frente a la serranía Marutani, en el río Mavaracó. Las líneas entrecortadas indican, aproximadamente, el territorio ocupado por cada subtribu Yanoama. La ubicación de los Makiritare del Cunucunuma proviene del mapa publicado por Civrieux (1959) y la de las demás poblaciones de esa tribu fue verificada por el personal de nuestra expedición.

Según ese mapa, el territorio actualmente habitado por los Yanoama está situado entre 0° 30' — 5° N y 62° — 65° 30' W. Si admitimos que la población total de los Yanoama alcanza la cifra de 20.000 individuos repartidos en una extensión de 150.000 km² reconocemos como índice de densidad de la población el de una persona por 7,5 km². Hay autores que, con sobrada generosidad, hacen subir la población de los Yanoama a 30.000 y hasta 50.000 habitantes, pero ese número nos parece exagerado.

Es interesante destacar que las cifras más altas de la población indígena corresponden a las tribus primitivas de cazadores y pescadores o aquellas que tenían una agricultura incipiente y rudimentaria, como: los Barí (Motilones, Mapoyo) 2.000; los Piaroa, 4.000 y los Warao, 8.000.

Son también las tribus que han tenido menos contacto con el blanco. Existe una relación interesante y aleccionadora entre el dato demográfico de una población indígena y el número de años que ha convivido con el blanco: mientras más elevado es el último, más bajo es el primero.

Los Barí sufrieron mucho de los Yupa, los Piaroa y Warao de los Caribe, pero esos sufrimientos fueron mínimos ante las vejámenes que experimentaron otras tribus por parte de los blancos. El Yanoama ha sido atacado durante centenares de años por los Caribe, quienes rodearon su territorio con un semicírculo por el Norte; con análoga tenacidad tuvieron que agenciar los Yanoama de los Arawak, quienes los rodearon con un semicírculo meridional. Pero con todo, el blanco no ha tenido mucho éxito todavía en aproximarse a esa población primitiva, y su influencia destructiva no ha afectado sus costumbres ancestrales. Los Caribe y Arawak han declinado gradualmente en vigor y en número; ahora presenciamos el triunfo de los Yanoama sobre sus vecinos poseedores de más refinada cultura pues no solamente defendieron su territorio, sino que lograron extenderse hacia el Norte y el Oeste.

El más fuerte y eficaz aliado de los Yanoama ha sido la Cordillera de Parima, junto con la densa selva tropical del Territorio Amazonas. En los

tiempos aciagos de persecución, siempre han encontrado en la acogedora selva un refugio seguro. Sin embargo, desde hace relativamente poco tiempo, las diferentes subtribus Yanoama se están dando cuenta de que el espacio allende los límites convencionales de su territorio tribal está escasamente poblado, casi desierto. El número de sus enemigos tradicionales ha disminuido considerablemente, y las invasiones a su territorio no han tenido prácticamente consecuencias. De esta manera han ganado casi 100 kms. al Norte de la Sierra de Pacarima, donde hoy viven los Casapare en el Alto Paragua; ,y el grupo norteño de los Sanemá en las cabeceras de los ríos Venezuari, Erebato y Caura.

El centro de distribución de los Casapare está situado al sur de la Sierra Pacarima en la cuenca del río Branco. Conocemos a esta subtribu Yanoama solamente por unos ligeros contactos esporádicos y, tanto la gente como el territorio, permanecen prácticamente ignorados. Por eso, consideramos el nombre de Casapare conque designamos a todos los Yanoama de la zona en estudio, como netamente preliminar, y no nos extrañaríamos tuviésemos que cambiarlo, en el futuro, por una denominación más propia y adecuada. Incluimos a los Casapare entre los Yanoama, basándonos en las informaciones de los Sanemá del Erebato, quienes nos aseguraron que hablan una lengua parecida a la suya.

Los escasos datos científicos de que disponemos y que se refieren a los Casapare provienen todos del grupo norteño, y su interpretación es relativamente difícil debido al hecho de que en el río Uraricuera se unen las zonas de distribución Waica y Sanemá con la de los Casapare; y los cronistas no lograron diferenciar con precisión y claridad los representantes de las diversas subtribus.

La diferenciación étnica que apareció muy temprano en las fuentes bibliográficas correspondientes, fue la de los Shirishana y Guaharibo (con sus múltiples variaciones ortográficas). Hoy, no cabe la menor duda de que se trata de indios Yanoama pero no creemos sea conveniente identificar a los Guaharibo y Shirishana como un solo grupo con dos denominaciones distintas. Opinamos por el contrario que cada nombre designa un grupo más o menos distinto, de los Yanoama, y que "Shirishana" se refiere a los Casapare, y "Guaharibo" a los Sanemá. Los Sanemá del Territorio Amazonas de Venezuela han sido conocidos, desde el principio con el nombre de Guaharibo. La confusión de ambos términos proviene, precisamente, de la zona norteña, en discusión, donde las dos subtribus viven en íntimo consorcio geográfico. Así, creemos que entre los Yanoama del Paragua hay Sanemá en el oeste o en las cabeceras del propio Paragua, mientras que los Casa-

pare ocupan el territorio hacia el este y están establecidos, principalmente, a lo largo y en las orillas del Paramichi.

Ese conocido lazo entre los representantes de las dos subtribus es reciente, como apuntaremos más adelante, y es casi seguro que hoy existe cierta fusión genética y cultural entre ambos grupos. Al sur de la Sierra Pacarima también venían algún trato pero de manera más esporádica, pues ocupaban dos zonas distintas: los Casapare (Shirishana) en el Uraricuera al Norte de la isla Maraca, y los Sanemá (Guaharibo) y los Waica el territorio más hacia el Suroeste.

De los Casapare del río Uraricuera poseemos los datos que nos suministró Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 284-319) y la comparación de su vocabulario "Shirishana" con el vocabulario "Shirishana" de Armellada y Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108), nos deja la impresión de que ambos son muy parecidos pero difieren mucho de la familia Sanemá (cf. croquis glotocronológico). A pesar de que hoy ocupan zonas geográficas adyacentes, preferimos hacer una clara distinción en la literatura entre los "Shirishana" (Casapare) y "Guaharibo" (Sanemá) considerándoles como dos subtribus diferentes de la tribu Yanoama. Según su separación lingüística, representan, en realidad, los dos polos extremos de distanciamiento máximo (18).

De su centro de distribución en el Brasil, los Casapare hostilizaron con continuas incursiones a sus vecinos los Pemón y los Makiritare, desde la época en que estos últimos llegaron a la vertiente norteña de la Serranía. Parece que los Taurepán (Pemón) nunca lograron fundar un pueblo más al oeste de la punta oriental de la isla Maraca en el Uraricuera y que los Makiritare mantuvieron sus puestos de avanzada, a costa de grandes bajas y sacrificios, hasta que, finalmente, tuvieron que abandonarlos ante la constante amenaza y el inminente peligro de perder sus vidas.

Los Makiritare empezaron a perder terreno hace ya, por lo menos, unos 120 años, cuando los Yanoama mataron a un número de indios Makiritare (Schomburgk, 1841, pp. 437-8, 444), y parece que actualmente Tarakuñiña en el alto Yaraviuri es el último reducto Makiritare al sur de la Serranía. Los Yanoama, empero, lograron, por su propia fuerza, contener el avance de los Caribe en la parte noreste de su territorio.

La matanza de indios a que hemos hecho referencia más arriba fue señalada por Schomburgk (1841), quien visitó esa tierra hacia el año 1839.

---

(18) Obsérvese que ésto no quiere decir que también consideramos la nomenclatura vieja, ésto que el nombre "Shirishana" de la literatura corresponde a la subtribu *Casapare* y el nombre "Guaharibo" a la subtribu Sanemá de esa tribu.

y sus datos constituyen el primer informe acerca de los Yanoama del Norte. Schomburgk había atravesado la Sierra Pacaraima cuando, en marcha hacia las fuentes del Orinoco, encontró a los Makiritare presas de enorme pánico. Los Yanoama, posiblemente un grupo de los Waica, habían matado a un número de Makiritare, quienes iban camino de las rancherías de los Yanoama para establecer con ellos relaciones comerciales. Poco tiempo después de aquella horrible matanza, los mismos Yanoama atacaron una ranchería Makiritare con el propósito de exterminar a todos sus habitantes. Este suceso marcó la fecha del retiro de todos los Makiritare meridionales de esa zona. Les acompañaron en su huída hasta los compañeros Caribe que estaban con Schomburgk, a quien abandonaron con su equipaje a corta distancia de las fuentes del Orinoco. Fácil es comprender el estado de ánimo rayano en la desesperación de Schomburgk al encontrarse tan cerca de su propósito sin poder lograrlo.

En el alto Uraricuera, en la región de la Sierra Maruani, Schomburgk encontró un conuco de los "Kirishanas" a quienes describe como indios nómadas cuya alimentación básica dependía, en primer lugar, de la caza, de la pesca y de la cosecha de frutas silvestres; algunos, sin embargo, cultivaban pequeñas plantaciones de yuca amarga y de pimientos (Schomburgk, 1841, p. 417). Setenta y dos años después de esta primera noticia, Koch-Grünberg, en diciembre del año 1911, estableció, de nuevo, breve comunicación con los Yanoama de esa zona, y sus informaciones constituyeron, hasta hace pocos años, el material más importante sobre los Yanoama en general. Koch-Grünberg conoció representantes de dos grupos distintos. El primer grupo (Casapare) al cual encontró en el salto Purumamé, vivía entonces en el alto Uraricaparú, aunque había llegado recientemente a esa región procedente del Uraricuera, más arriba de la isla Maraca. Era ése el lugar donde atraparon, por sorpresa, a todos los indios a quienes robaron y mataron.

En el otro extremo de la isla Maraca empieza el territorio de los Taurepan (Pemón) y resulta interesante notar que por el año 1911, los Casapare bajo el mando de un tal capitán Kurunaí habían establecido contactos pacíficos con sus vecinos Caribe, con el propósito de adquirir, mediante trueque, utensilios europeos que apreciaban en alto grado. De origen Caribe debe ser también la costumbre de cultivar pequeñas plantaciones y que fueron ya observadas por Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg y Ghiorbrandt (1955, p. 345).

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) logró publicar el primer vocabulario de una lengua Yanoama y, como el mismo autor advierte, se pueden distinguir unas palabras de procedencia caribe, en este idioma del río Urari-

taparí, pero casi todos ellos se refieren a utensilios y plantas cultivables de procedencia caribe o europea.

El otro grupo (¿Waica?) lo visitó Koch-Grünberg cuatro semanas después de su primer encuentro con gente Yanoama, con quienes vivió en una ranchería en el Mocomoco, enfrente de la Sierra Marutani. Este grupo tenía relaciones con los Makú del río Auarí, de quienes adoptaron algunos elementos culturales, como la agricultura. De este grupo no tenemos un vocabulario, pero según informaciones suministradas a Koch-Grünberg por sus compañeros indígenas, hablan el mismo idioma Yanoama con ligeras diferencias dialécticas.

La expansión de los Casapare hacia el norte, data de fecha reciente pues sus jurados enemigos, los habitantes del Paragua, como también los Pemón al noreste, cesaron en sus represalias y dejaron libre el avance de los nómadas Yanoama. Parece que en esa misma fecha, los Sanemá del suroeste y los Casapare empezaron a invadir la zona. Hoy día, los Yanoama dominan hasta el río Marí, afluente izquierdo del Paragua (5° 10'). Los Pemón al oriente del Paragua han dejado el espacio entre ese río y el Caroní. Sus núcleos se encuentran en la Gran Sabana, en la parte suroriental de Venezuela. Por influencia conjunta de la civilización y de la misión, han perdido sus características de Caribe expansionistas y su número resulta, actualmente, bastante reducido; cuentan con 1.800 individuos, y responden a una densidad de 1:16,5 km².

Los Mayongon y Arecuna, por el Norte, no significan una efectiva barrera a la expansión Yanoama. Sin embargo, aquí se exponen a chocar con la civilización ya avanzada de estas regiones y donde van a encontrar al indio, al negro y al blanco con culturas particulares irreductibles a la cultura paleo-indio del Yanoama.

Entre las tribus que fueron absorbidas por los Yanoama figuran los Kaliana, Auaké, etc., respecto a cuya identificación existe cierta confusión en la literatura.

Kaliana, es sin embargo el nombre que los Casapare dan a los Sapé. Estos fueron identificados como Kaliana por un compañero indígena de Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 12-13; cf. idem, 1922, p. 227), mientras que Armellada y Matallana (1942, p. 103) les identifican con el nombre "Shirianá" (Casapare) como Karinapuik. Los Sapé (Kariana, Kaliana) recibieron la visita de Monsoya el año 1956, quien les clasifica como afines a los "Shirishana" (1958, p. 168). "Es un grupo aislado", dice Monsoya, "que vive en el río Anauburí y alto Pao; en las zonas del alto Paragua y río Pauré-Muria".

"Se dedican a la agricultura, pero producen tan solo aquello que consumen o algo más para el intercambio con los Shirianna que son viajeros y les proporcionan sal y otros elementos de que carecen".

"Algunos de ellos han aprendido a construir curiaras en forma tan rudimentaria que hace sonreir a los indios Mofongón, los maestros en ese arte. Pero si fabrican "conchas", muy frágiles, pero que les permiten trasladarse a las zonas de pesca y caza, haciendo transportes ligeros".

"Realizan frecuentes matrimonios con los grupos Shirianna y hasta con los Arekuna. Parecen destinados a desaparecer como grupo étnico diferenciado o a ser totalmente absorbidos por los Shirianna, más numerosos y próximos que los Arekuna" (Monroya, ibid.).

Como se puede juzgar por esas indicaciones respecto al carácter de la cultura Sapé, se trata de una cultura poco desarrollada, y Monroya tiene razón al diferenciarles de los Caribe. Pero, juzgando por el vocabulario Sapé que acompaña el trabajo de Armellada-Matallana y otro de Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 308-317), no es posible identificar al grupo Sapé como "afín a los Shirianna".

Los Auaké, por otro lado, son idénticos a los Arutani, quienes fueron visitados por Armellada y Matallana durante su expedición al Paragua (1942, pp. 75, 86). Les encontraron viviendo en dos rancherías; una, cerca del salto de Maibia, en el río Paragua y frente del Momurio, afluente del mismo por la margen derecha, con una casa y 20 habitantes. La comparación del vocabulario Auaké de Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 308-313) con el vocabulario Arutani no deja lugar a duda de que los dos son de la misma lengua.

Ambos grupos, tanto los Sapé (Kaliana) como los Arutani (Auaké), parecen tener una cultura muy poco desarrollada, probablemente igual a la de los Yanoama. Monroya describe la cultura Sapé con rasgos típicamente marginales y Armellada y Matallana (1942, p. 75) dicen de los Arutani que "estos indios son los más pobres que hemos visto en todo el viaje; viven en un rancho enteramente miserable y los chinchorros que usan son de bejucos".

La comisión portuguesa de límites (1787) menciona a esta tribu como Acoquis, habitantes de las fuentes del Caranné, donde vivían en gran número bajo el mando de tres capitanes (Coudreau, 1887:2, p. 393). En el año 1838, Robert Schomburgk encontró algunos Orewaku en el medio Ururicuera, les describe como una tribu nómada, que vivía en las cabeceras del Ururicapará y en la cabecera del Paragua. En 1882 los Auaké (Arute-

al) fueron visitados por primera y última vez en su propio domicilio por una Comisión de Límites, que encontró un pequeño grupo en el alto Urucuparí. Tenían una casa grande y redonda, provista de una pared de palizada. Esta les sirvió de defensa contra los ataques de sus vecinos (Relatorio, 1884, p. 189; Grupe y Thode, 1890, p. 253). En 1911, Koch-Grünberg (1923, p. 12; cf. idem, 1922, p. 226), fue visitado por un pequeño grupo Auaké (Aruaní) en el alto Urumutuy, que enseñó al explorador que su tierra se encontraba en la cabecera del Paragua, donde tenían una casa comunal. Ya en estos días, los Auaké (Aruaní) habían dejado sus paraderos meridionales a los Casapare y migraron hacia el Norte. Pero un número creciido se mezcló con los Casapare y es muy probable que los Aruaní del alto Paragua representen los últimos vestigios de los Auaké.

Es interesante subrayar el hecho de que ambas tribus, los Sapé y los Aruaní, pertenecen a los grupos primitivos de Suramérica, y que sus idiomas constituyen lenguas independientes. Ellos han servido muy probablemente de parachoques entre los Caribe y los Yanoama, y mientras los primeros les empujaron del Paragua hacia el Sur, los últimos les absorbieron o desplazaron hacia el Norte. La misma función han tenido los Caribe en tiempos más recientes, cuando fueron destruidos entre las fronteras de la civilización blanca y de los Yanoama, y hoy permanecen tan sólo algunos reliquias de esas tribus.

Respecto a los idiomas de los Sapé (Kaliana) y Aruaní (Auaké) es interesante señalar que Loukotka (1935) encontró vestigios Chibcha en el Auaké y el Kaliana. Si consideramos que el Yanoama tiene relación con el Warao y que ambos tienen un nivel cultural relativamente bajo, es factible pensar en un suburano de tribus marginales con filiación lingüística Chibcha, a la cual pertenecen quizás las actuales tribus Warao, Sapé, Aruaní y Yanoama. Trataremos este tema tan interesante, en el capítulo que describe algunos aspectos lingüísticos de los Yanoama.

Las últimas noticias que tenemos de los Casapare fueron suministradas por los ya mencionados padres capuchinos Armellada y Masaliana (1942), por Ghezzbrandt (1955) y por Mosonyi (1958).

La expedición de los Padres Capuchinos se realizó por el año de 1940 con el fin de elaborar un informe misional completo sobre el río y su población indígena. Fueron en búsqueda de hombres y su conclusión de que el Paragua, aparte de ser un río peligroso y difícil de navegar, no tenía importantes agrupaciones indígenas es interesante. En su informe (1942, p. 87) mencionan un número total de 296 indios conocidos.

Este resultado contrasta con el obtenido por la expedición de Monoyo, y a pesar de que recorrió mucho más territorio que la de los padres Capuchinos, tenemos que admitir que Monoyo encontró poblaciones indígenas en el año de 1956, donde los Padres no vieron ninguna en el año de 1940. Esto tiene su valor en primer lugar, en cuanto se refiere a las poblaciones Yanoama (Camapare, Sanemá), y es significativo para la reconstrucción de la historia migratoria de los Yanoama. Armellada y Matallana (1942, p. 76) dicen que una ranchería cerca de la boca del Pumpirí, río que desemboca en el Paragua por la margen derecha, era "la única que los indios shirianas tienen del lado de Venezuela en la cuenca del Paragua". Veintiséis años más tarde Monoyo (1956) y sus compañeros descubrieron rancherías Yanoama establecidas desde el río Marí hasta las cabeceras del Paragua, éste indica que la expansión de los Camapare y Sanemá es de fecha muy reciente en esta zona del Paragua y que adquirió su actual volumen sólo en las últimas décadas. Las tribus marginales, como los Sapé y Arutani, han sido rechazadas hacia el Norte y están en proceso de ser absorbidas por los Yanoama en el Sur, y por los Caribe y los blancos en el Norte.

Refiriéndose a los Yanoama del Paragua Monoyo distingue los Guaharibo, Guaika y Shirianna. Según su excelente mapa, los Guaharibo y los Guaica viven entre el alto Caura y las cabeceras del propio Paragua y el río Okasiarí. Es posible que se trate de los Sanemá y Waica. Los Shirianna ocupan el río Paragua desde el río Marí hasta la cabecera del río Paramichí, y éstos parecen representar a los Camapare de nuestra nomenclatura. La mayor zona de incursión de estos últimos al territorio venezolano parece ser por el río Shatopae (3° 50') de donde parte el camino al río Ututiquera.

Según Monoyo (1958, pp. 173-174), los Guaharibo (Sanemá) casi desconocen la agricultura y atraviesan los ríos por sus puentes característicos que consisten simplemente en dos gruesas lianas paralelas y superpuestas; la superior sirve de pasamanos.

A los Guaika (Waica) los considera el mencionado autor como "los indígenas de vida más primitiva y salvaje de cuantos habitan en la gran región de la Guayana venezolana..." Tienen una agricultura incipiente, cultivan camburés y plátanos como base principal de su alimentación, que complementan con la fruta de la palmera Pijiguao. Practican el endocanibalismo, consumiendo los huesos de los muertos incinerados.

Sus chinchorros son anudados, sus casas triangulares y usan arco y flechas de diversas formas, según los usos. Guardan los huesos de muchos animales, viajan por tierra, rara vez por río y construyen puentes al estilo de los Guaharibo (Sanemá).

De los Shirianas (Casapare) dice Monroya (1958) que "los verdaderos Shirianas, viven en las márgenes de los ríos, construyendo poblados muy estables y dedicándose a una agricultura algo avanzada ya". Adquieren cuitetas de los Mayongon, pero también han aprendido a construir las suyas, aunque en forma rudimentaria. Usan arco y flechas para la caza, pero "sobre todo y por todo, son comerciantes y viajeros. Constantemente se internan en Brasil, a partir del Alto Paragua, utilizando la vía del río Shoropae, Urukuera y Parima, hasta Bouvista". Se distinguen de los demás indígenas de la cuenca del Paragua por ser altos y fuertes, sanos y bien nutridos.

La última noticia sobre los Yanoama del Noreste fue publicada por Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), y en ese informe aparece también por primera vez el nombre de Kaserapai, que debe ser una variación ortográfica de la denominación Casapare que empleamos para designar toda una subtribu y no tan sólo un grupo local como lo hizo el mencionado autor.

Navegando por el Uraricuera, en el año 1950, Gheerbrandt encontró y oyó hablar de varios grupos Yanoama con nombres distintos. Muy cerca de la Sierra Marutaní encontró a los Guadema en la margen izquierda del mencionado río. Los Guadema temían mucho a los Kaserapai, quienes habían matado a la mayoría de los Guadema y que estaban en plena pelea con Waikas y Waixchas en el Uraricuera. Es posible que se aluda aquí a un choque entre grupos Sanemá, Waica y Casapare, pero los datos existentes no ofrecen ninguna certeza al respecto. Es interesante que Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 348) opine que los Makiritare habían dejado el Uraricuera hacía unos veinte años.

Los Guadema parecen ser distintos a los Casapare según se deduce del mencionado libro; probablemente se trate de un grupo local Sanemá o Waica.

El centro de distribución de los Sanemá es la cuenca del río Padamo, afluente del alto Orinoco. Su territorio está limitado al Sur por el territorio Waica, al Oeste por los Makiritare del Cunucunuma, al Norte, por los Makiritare del alto Ventuarí, Erebato y Caura, y al Este por el territorio poco conocido de los Casapare.

Si juzgamos por la actual situación de distribución de los Yanoama, es muy probable que los primeros Yanoama con quienes tuvieron contacto los blancos en sus viajes por el alto Orinoco, fueran los Sanemá que aparecen en las fuentes históricas como Guaharibo. Con frecuencia se encuentra a los Guaharibo mencionados junto con los Waica, pero es de interés el que desde las primeras noticias, los autores hicieran la distinción entre Waica y Guaharibo.

Caulin (1958, pp. 305-306), escribiendo en 1779, ubica los Guaribe en el Marauca y sus afluentes. Según él, son de color blanco como españoles, y son los mismos "uaribas" mencionados ya por la "Expedición de Solano". Humboldt habla también de Guaicas y de Guaharibos, representantes de ellos conoció en la Misión de Esmeralda. Spruce (1908:1, pp. 396-398), quien encontró en su viaje por el Casiquiare a un viejo Guaharibo, es el primero que nos dejó las más amplias y auténticas informaciones de los Yanoama del alto Orinoco. Según ese autor los Guaharibo se autodenominan Kudé-Kubui, pero resulta difícil hoy día el decidir si se trata de Guaharibo o de Waica. Lo mismo opinamos respecto a los Guaharibo de Chaffanjon (1889). Es posible que los Sanemá hayan ocupado zonas más hacia el Casiquiare y el Cunucunuma, pero los Arawak y Caribe de esta zona ocuparon estos lugares con anterioridad a la llegada del blanco, y los límites fueron establecidos por las tribus en ello interesadas.

Es relativamente reciente la expansión de los Sanemá hacia el Norte, o sea desde el Padamo hacia el alto Ventuari, Erebato y Caura, pero, a juzgar por los datos que nos suministra la glotocronología, la separación de los varios grupos de la subtribu corresponde ya a 600-1.700 años. Establecimos contacto con tres grupos norteños de los Sanemá: los Nabudub del alto Ventuari, los Taclaudub del alto Caura, y los Pubmatari del Canaracuni. Al parecer, ellos representan grupos Sanemá bastante bien establecidos, y la distancia interna de esa familia lingüística no deja, en cierto modo, de sorprendernos.

Los Sanemá del Padamo y del alto Orinoco son prácticamente desconocidos a la ciencia, y es de esperar que la diferencia cultural entre ellos y sus hermanos que viven al norte del 4° y en un contacto íntimo con los Makiritare, sea relativamente pronunciada.

La separación geográfica de los Sanemá en un grupo meridional y otro norteño es reciente y se debe a la circunstancia de que en el año de 1947 el capitán Cardona tenía que preparar en el Canaracuni un campo de aviación (comunicación personal), y como no había indios por esa zona, para ayudarle en su empresa, fue al Brasil y trajo los primeros Sanemá a esta región de Venezuela. Esta fecha marca el inicio de la infiltración en mayor escala del elemento Yanoama a la tierra Makiritare, sus vecinos por el Noroeste con quienes han vivido desde tiempos remotos en profunda enemistad. Mientras que los Makiritare del Cunucunuma todavía no toleran nutridos grupos Yanoama en su territorio, los del Ventuari, Erebato y Caura viven en estrecho contacto con grupos numerosos de la subtribu Sanemá. Por aquí penetró la cultura Makiritare del tipo selva tropical a esa tribu esencialmente

protagricultores y compuestos de cazadores y recolectores dotados de cultura muy rudimentaria. Los Sanemá recibieron un pésimo trato de los Makiritare, comparable con el que recibe un esclavo de parte de su amo, por lo cual hacia el año 1950 los Sanemá se sublevaron contra los Makiritare y les declararon una guerra sin cuartel. Fue entonces cuando las diversas subtribus Makiritare se reunieron para rechazar a los Sanemá, a quienes vencieron en varios encuentros merced a sus armas de fuego. Parece que, como consecuencia de este incidente, la convivencia entre los Makiritare y el grupo Norte de los Sanemá resultó más pacífica, y hoy es raro no encontrar una población Makiritare en esa zona del Ventuari, Erebato y Caura, sin que en sus inmediaciones no existan algunos grupos Sanemá.

La colisión de las dos culturas inició un proceso de aculturación progresiva y los cazadores y recolectores de vegetales silvestres adoptaron una cultura superior: serían, en adelante, agricultores. Por otra parte, las constituciones genéticas de las dos tribus experimentaron profundos cambios y la del grupo minoritario será absorbida quizás por los Sanemá en un lapso de tiempo relativamente corto.

Este proceso de aculturación y de absorción genética es interesante, pues uno está acostumbrado a pensar que los Caribe han sido siempre los invasores victoriosos y dominantes. Pero en este caso concreto, el proceso parece resolverse en dirección opuesta. El avance de los Sanemá, quienes adoptaron, entre otras cosas, el arte de la navegación, tiene por consecuencia el aislamiento de los dos grandes grupos Makiritare: los Yecuana (Decuana) del Ventuari y Caura, por una parte, y los Cunuhuna del Cunucunuma por otra. Antes, estos dos grupos se visitaban con suma frecuencia, sus miembros se relacionaban mutuamente y fuertes lazos familiares existían entre ambos. Hoy, los jóvenes Makiritare desconocen ya en parte los ríos y caminos de esas regiones tantas veces transitadas por sus padres, y viajan en pequeños grupos, embargados por densa angustia cada vez que tienen que cruzar la zona ocupada por los Sanemá. Lo observado en el viaje por el alto Ventuari, nos confirmó plenamente esa opinión, porque no cabe la menor duda de que el capitán Makiritare que, junto con nuestros cinco compañeros de viaje, había luchado hacía ocho años contra los Sanemá, se sentía molesto al alejarse de las rancherías Makiritare y su sobresalto subió de punto cuando un día encontramos una balsa Sanemá en la orilla del río. No pudieron disimular su nerviosismo cuando en la selva adentro topamos con un conuco y 7 casas recién desalojadas. Siempre los despreciaban y, a simple vista, parecían despreocupados, pero la persuasión de que ya no viven solos en la tierra de sus padres, y el tener noticias de que cuatro días antes de nuestra llegada

al conuco, un indio que se había refugiado trepando a un árbol fue alcanzado por una flecha Sanemá y cayó exánime al río, no dejaba de sorprender.

Un poderoso estímulo que alentaba siempre a los Makiritare en sus numerosos viajes era conseguir una mujer entre sus vecinos de la misma tribu. Hoy, a pesar del intenso desprecio que los Makiritare profesan a los Yanoama, el tomar una mujer de esa tribu no está considerado como cosa imposible ni degradante; son muchas las mujeres Yanoama que se han casado con Makiritare (cf. Grelier, 1955b, p. 10). Este intercambio matrimonial acarrea inevitablemente una asimilación de cultura entre ambas tribus, proceso en el cual el patrón cultural Makiritare va a dominar al de los Yanoama y los genes Yanoama se infiltran al *gene pool* Makiritare. No cabe la menor duda de que los Sanemá, quienes fueron traídos por corto tiempo, llegaron al alto Ventuari y Caura donde se establecieron para quedarse y que la fusión actual entre los Caribe y los Yanoama no debe achacarse tanto a la buena voluntad de los primeros cuanto a la fuerza vital de los últimos.

La subtribu Waica ocupa la parte central del actual territorio Yanoama, la del alto Orinoco y sus tributarios, más arriba de la boca del Ocamo, incluyendo también la margen sur del río (Barker, 1953, p. 434). Como ya hemos apuntado parecen vivir también en el área general del alto río Branco y sus afluentes occidentales, y Schuster (1958, p. 114) muy probablemente tiene razón cuando dice que la Sierra Parima no limita la zona Waica, sino que ésta llega hasta tierras brasileñas.

Ya hemos mencionado los primeros contactos que los blancos tuvieron con los Waica y después de un intento poco fructífero de Hamilton Rice a principios del presente siglo, el mundo Waica se quedó ayuno de ciencia hasta que la *New Tribes Mission* logró trabar relaciones pacíficas con los Waica a través del misionero James Paul Barker. Algunos datos etnográficos fueron también publicados sobre esa subtribu Yanoama por varios miembros de la Expedición Franco-Venezolana al Alto Orinoco (1951), (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finalmente los Waica fueron estudiados entre abril de 1954 y agosto de 1955, por los etnólogos alemanes Zerries y Schuster, quienes están preparando una monografía sobre esta subtribu Yanoama.

Los grupos más meridionales de los Yanoama son conocidos como Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara y Pakidai (Becher, 1960). Este último presentó un estudio muy extenso basado en la experiencia que adquirió durante los nueve meses (Octubre 1955-Junio 1956) que permaneció con ellos.

Por carecer de datos comparativos hemos considerado a todos estos

grupos locales como integrantes de una subtribu Sanumani (grupo de tupir) que representan una entidad muy auténtica de los Yanoama. Advertimos, sin embargo, que esa clasificación está sujeta a cambios en el futuro, como también lo está el mapa de la distribución Yanoama que acabamos de discutir.

El *material lingüístico* que logró reunir el autor del presente trabajo durante su estancia entre los Sanumá corresponde a un vocabulario de los Nabuduh, quienes habitan en el alto Venezuela, y de los Sanumá del alto Casiquiare. El primer vocabulario comprende 270 palabras y 730 entradas, el segundo. (Wilbert, 1961b).

Para clasificar este material dentro de los diferentes idiomas Yanoama comparamos los dos vocabularios con otros pertenecientes a diversas lenguas Yanoama y así, establecimos, en cuanto nos fue posible, un vocabulario básico, calculando las diferencias mínimas existentes entre ellos, según el método glotocronológico.

Ya hemos indicado que los vocabularios Nabuduh y Sanumá fueron recopilados por el autor. El vocabulario de los Pubmatari (Sanumá del Casiquiare) proviene de Vinci (1956, pp. 351-357). Este vocabulario arroja un total de 278 palabras, de las cuales 73 corresponden al vocabulario básico. Según lo que dice el autor en las páginas 159 (1956) y 133 (1959), se trata según todas las probabilidades, de un vocabulario Pubmatari.

El vocabulario Casapare fue tomado de Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308). En total cuenta con 303 entradas, 65 de las cuales corresponden al vocabulario básico. Existe otro vocabulario Casapare reunido por Armellada y Maruliana (1942, pp. 101-108), que comprende un total de 232 entradas, de las cuales 54 palabras corresponden al vocabulario básico. Por el itinerario de la expedición, sabemos que los últimos autores citados visitaron a los Shirianá del río Paramichí (afluente de las cabeceras del Paragua), zona que se considera, en el presente trabajo, como extensión del territorio Casapare del Brasil.

Koch-Grünberg obtuvo su vocabulario entre los Schirianá del Uraricapará (1923, p. 288) y la comparación de los dos vocabularios parece indicar una afinidad más estrecha entre ambos, que la que existe con cualquiera otra lengua Yanoama. El cálculo glotocronológico se basa en el material de Koch-Grünberg.

El vocabulario Waica proviene del Dr. Zerries, quien, gentilmente, nos facilitó uno básico de 96 palabras de los Waica del alto Orinoco.

Recientemente fue publicado otro vocabulario de la misma lengua por

Andrade (1958, pp. 258-267) que comprende 369 emisiones. El presente cálculo se basa en el material facilitado por Zerries.

El vocabulario "Samatari" lo llamamos así provisionalmente, pues se trata, con más precisión, del idioma Surara y Pakidai del río Demini en el Brasil. El material nos lo suministró el Dr. Becher en forma de un vocabulario básico que comprende 85 palabras. Entre el Surara y el Pakidai existen solamente leves diferencias dialécticas. Un vocabulario de 40 palabras del mismo idioma fue publicado en la monografía sobre esos indios por Becher (1960, pp. 136-137). Otro vocabulario de los Yanoama meridionales fue hecho público por Seitz (1960, p. 306) y comprende 40 entradas. Las pocas palabras que permiten hacer una comparación semántica con otras lenguas similares indican que el Arara-Xamatari de Seitz está más próximo al Surara, Pakidai, Waica y Kariné que al Sanemá y Casapare.

El vocabulario del Kariné, publicado por Salathé (1932, pp. 314-316) no nos fue posible conseguirlo. Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 134-138) lo coloca entre el Waica y el Casapare (Schiriana de Koch-Grünberg).

Según el resultado del cálculo léxico-estadístico (cf. p. 196), se puede decir que los idiomas comparados forman un conglomerado lingüístico cuyas divergencias internas datan de 6-35 siglos mínimos (sm). Por su distribución temporal constituyen dos grupos más o menos distintos (a) una familia Sanemá con: Nabudub, Sanemá y Pubenatari, con una divergencia interna de 6-17 sm. y (b) una familia Casapare con: Samatari, Waica y Casapare y con una divergencia interna de 8-21 sm. Las lenguas extremas son Nabudub (del Sanemá) y Casapare. La distancia del Waica a los tres idiomas Sanemá corresponde a 17 sm. que es igual a la distancia máxima interna de la familia Sanemá, y los Nabudub tienen idéntica dificultad en entender a un Pubenatari como a un Waica; deben, sin embargo, comprenderse aunque con alguna dificultad. El Waica tiene mayores vinculaciones con el Samatari, con quien se comunica oralmente sin mayores dificultades.

Otras clasificaciones de los idiomas Yanoama fueron hechas por Rivet (1924, p. 678), Loukotka (1944, pp. 8-9), Mason (1950, p. 254), Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140), McQuown (1955), Swadesh (1959) y Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137).

Koch-Grünberg (1913, pp. 455-458) ya en 1913 estableció la independencia del idioma Yanoama (Shiriana) del Caribe, y añadió que el idioma representaba aparentemente una lengua aislada. Rivet (1924, p. 678) y W. Schmidt (1926, p. 211) compartieron la opinión de Koch-Grünberg acerca de la filiación e independencia de la familia "Shirishana".

La clasificación de la "Familia Shirishana" por Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140) comprende los siguientes idiomas:

Familia Shirishana

a) Shirishana (o Guahariho), que viven repartidos en pequeños grupos en el interior, a lo largo de los afluentes del Uraricuera y en la vertiente meridional de la Sierra de Parima;

b) Karime (o Shuairi), en el río Catemany en la misma región;

c) Waika que viven en el alto Ocamo y Mocajahy, afluentes derechos del alto Orinoco;

d) Pustérikin, tribu salvaje desconocida que habita en la Sierra Parima.

Como mencionamos arriba, somos partidarios de diferenciar entre Shirishana (Casapare) y Guahariho (Sanemá) lo cual lingüísticamente parece estar justificado por la distancia de 23-35 sm entre ellos. Rivet se basa, al parecer, en el material de Koch-Grünberg (1928), que también nosotros hemos utilizado en nuestra comparación. El idioma (d) Pustérikin que aparece también en la clasificación de Loukotka (1944, pp. 8-9) es un idioma completamente desconocido y no figura, por tanto, en la clasificación de Mason (1950, p. 254), quien presentó la siguiente agrupación Shirishaná:

SHIRISHANÁ

A.—Wahariho (Guahariho)
1. Shirianá
a) Waicá (Guaica, Uaica)
B.—Carimé (Karimé)

Según Mason, Shirianá y el menos importante Carimé son los idiomas principales de la familia. Esta observación se basa en el material de Koch-Grünberg (1928, Shiriana) que fue identificado en nuestra comparación como Casapare y, como la mayor separación del stock Yanoama corresponde a esa lengua, tenemos que admitir el valor de la opinión de Mason. El Carimé no figura en nuestra clasificación.

Por otra parte opina Mason, que el idioma Waica es, posiblemente, un dialecto del Shirianá (Casapare) pero, según el cálculo glottocronológico no parece estar en lo cierto. La distancia entre los dos idiomas es de 21 sm que es mucho más que una distancia dialéctica de 5-7 sm. Waica aparece en la gráfica como más cercano al Sanemá (17-18 sm). La opinión de mu-

chos investigadores de que Shiriană (Casapare) y Waica son descendientes de los Guaharibo (Sanemá) parece tener cierta justificación.

McQuown (1955) clasificó la familia "Chirianas" de la siguiente manera:

a) Guaharibas con Chirianas, Uaica y ? Guaharibo; b) Catrime; c) Pasaracas.

Una clasificación más reciente de la familia Yanoama fue hecha por Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137). Por sus diferencias internas el mencionado autor agrupó los diferentes idiomas Yanoama en la forma siguiente: Surara y Pakidai (Sumatari), Waika, Karimé, Shiriană (Casapare), Waroma (Sanemá, Pohomoari) (19).

Dall'Igna Rodrigues llegó a ese resultado basándose en una comparación de 40 palabras de los idiomas mencionados y explica que los idiomas de su lista fueron ordenados según la distancia relativa de cada uno de ellos, con respecto al Surara y Pakidai. También subraya el carácter provisional de su resultado, algo distanciado de los presentados por Mason y McQuown.

Es interesante, sin embargo, observar que la clasificación de Dall'Igna Rodrigues coincide, en sus detalles, con la nuestra. Al añadir los datos léxico-estadísticos, la clasificación se leería del modo siguiente:

Surará-Pakidai (Sumatari) 8 sm > Waica; 21 sm > Shiriháná (Casapare); 21-25 sm > Waroma (Sanemá).

Dos lingüistas americanos, Greenberg y Swadesh, rompieron, recientemente, con la tradición que habían establecido Rivet, W. Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason y McQuown, según la cual el Yanoama no tenía afiliación próxima con otra familia lingüística suramericana.

Greenberg (1956) clasifica a los Shiriană como un grupo distinto en la sub-familia "Chibchan proper" de la familia "Macro Chibchan". A la misma categoría pertenecen también los Tunebo.

Swadesh (1959, p. 20) establece un Macro-Siriana, con una separación interna de 50 sm. incluyendo Chapacura (27 sm) y Siriana (21 sm). Según me manifestó personalmente el Dr. Swadesh, pensaba incluir también el Warao al Macro-Siriana, lo cual aumentaría la divergencia interna del grupo a 72 sm de un *micropáylum*. Tomé cierto interés en esa indicación de Swadesh y traté de comparar el Warao con el Yanoama; sobre todo con el vocabulario más amplio que colecciona entre los Sanemá.

Hice dos comparaciones: (a) la de los vocabularios básicos y (b) la de todos los pares posibles entre el vocabulario Sanemá y el diccionario

(19) Las cursivas entre paréntesis fueron añadidas por el presente autor.

Warao de Barral (1957). Los resultados de esas comparaciones se pueden expresar del modo siguiente: Más del 20% del total de los pares comparados parecen emparentados, porcentaje suficientemente alto para estimular un estudio lingüístico más detenido. El cálculo glottocronológico preliminar dio por resultado una separación entre los dos idiomas de 45 mm correspondiente a 26% de retenciones comunes.

Tengo la impresión de que ese resultado matemático tiende a disminuir y no a aumentar, a medida que se profundiza su estudio. También observamos ciertas relaciones del Yanoama con el Ye del Brasil. Pero éstas son de carácter distinto y más distantes que los casos considerados entre Warao y Sanemá.

Como ya mencionamos anteriormente, existen ciertos indicios de que los idiomas Tunebo, Warao, Yanoama, y Ye parecen tener una raíz común en el Chibcha y están lingüísticamente más estrechamente emparentados entre sí que con la mayoría de los idiomas suramericanos.

1. SAMATARI

Idiomas	*Pares*	*Cognados*	%	mm.
2. Caspare	62	35	56	21
3. Sanemá	81	42	52	22
4. Pubmatari	65	33	51	25
5. Nabudub	79	42	53	21
6. Waica	80	62	78	8

2. CASAPARE

3. Sanemá	53	24	45	29
4. Pubmatari	57	30	53	23
5. Nabudub	61	23	38	35
6. Waica	54	30	56	21

3. SANEMA (Erebato)

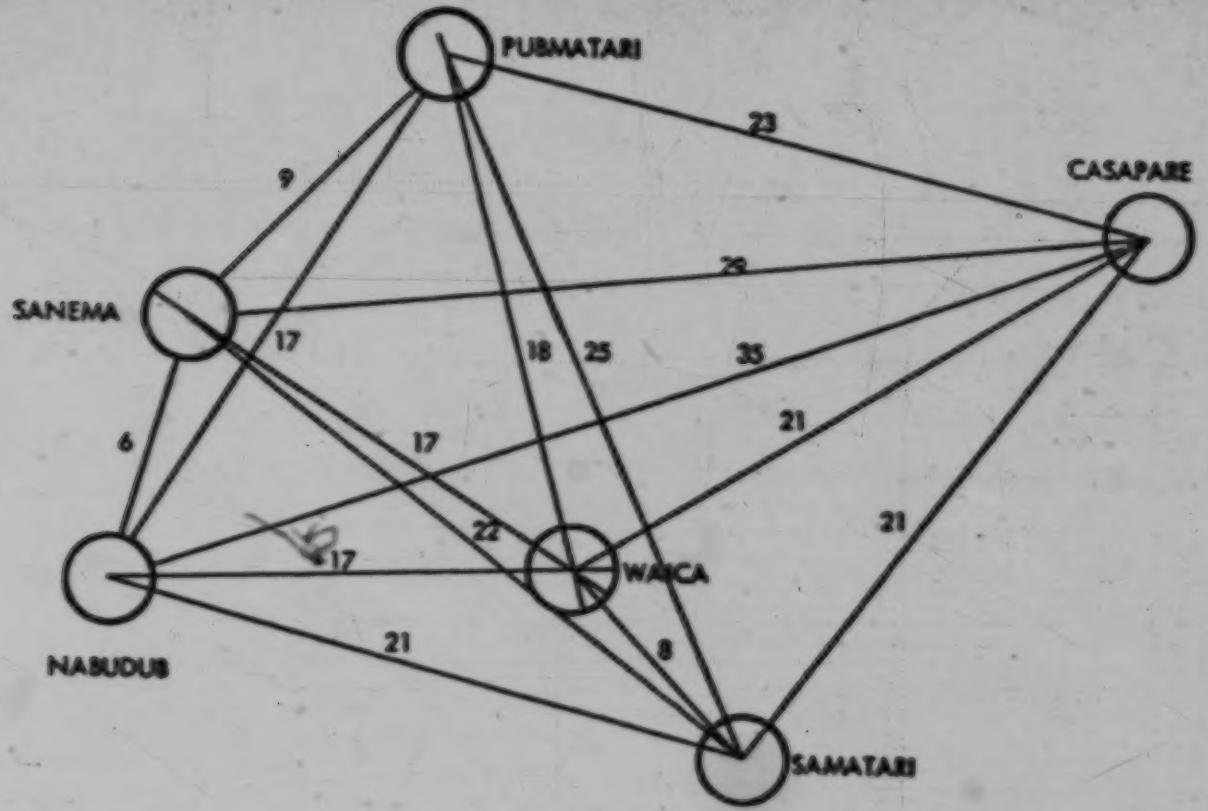
4. Pubmatari	69	54	78	9
5. Nabudub	82	69	84	6
6. Waica	89	53	60	17

4. PUBMATARI (Casiquiare)

5. Nabudub	65	40	65	17
6. Waica	71	43	61	18

5. NABUDUB (Ventuari)

6. Waica	86	51	59	17



YANOAMA STOCK

(6 - 35 mc)

Escala: 0.5 cm = 1 mc

4: Wilbert SOTO Yanoama

[P 19]

A principios del año 1961 nos, con el Dr. Layrisse, la oportunidad de visitar a los Waica del alto Orinoco, donde fuimos con el propósito de tomar *muestras de la sangre de ese grupo*. Obtuvimos 140 muestras individuales, las cuales, con toda probabilidad, son representativas para los Yanoama en general. Vamos ahora a referirnos a un hallazgo genético interesante.

Los Waica mostraron una ausencia completa del gen Diego (Di^a). Como informamos anteriormente (Layrisse, Wilbert, 1960), el antígeno Diego es un marcador genético exclusivamente mongoloide, pero, a pesar de que ocurre solamente en poblaciones llamadas "mongoloides", no aparece en todas ellas. Hay mongoloides Diego-positivo y mongoloides Diego-negativo. También se han observado diferencias graduales de frecuencia entre una población mongoloide y la otra. Hasta ahora la escala de frecuencias oscila entre 0 y 50%.

Los Waica pertenecen a las poblaciones mongoloides Diego-negativo, y figuran en la misma categoría las tribus de Suramérica: los Tunebo, Bari (Motilones bravos) y Warao. Otros grupos con incidencia muy baja podrían ser incluidos en esta categoría también, ya que la baja frecuencia que muestran para el gen se puede explicar mejor por la mezcla de una población originalmente negativa con otra altamente positiva. Un representante del último grupo es la tribu de los Yaruro.

Durante los seis años de investigación del gen Diego llegamos a una observación que creemos de importancia y es: las diferentes grupos de frecuencias del antígeno Diego corresponden a distintas afinidades lingüísticas. El caso mejor estudiado es el de los Caribe. Examinamos más de diez tribus y subtribus y muestran todas un promedio de 28% del gen Di^a. En este caso la afinidad lingüística caribe es indicadora para una incidencia positiva del gen Di^a. Se entiende, naturalmente, que entre ambos datos no existe ninguna relación causal y que esta observación no debe interpretarse en el sentido de que tratamos de hacer responsable a un cromosoma para un determinado rasgo cultural. Ambos factores son esencialmente distintos, pero su aparición paralela es un hecho interesante.

Se ha observado una conexión lingüística entre los Tunebo, Bari, Warao y Yanoama; una relación que parece ser *más íntima* que la que existe generalmente entre todas las lenguas indígenas de América y, por eso, resulta interesante que este grupo de tribus ocupe un puesto común y al mismo tiempo extremo en la escala de la distribución del gen Di^a. No se trata, en

este caso, de una diferencia gradual como la de 12% Arawak y 20% Caribe. En este caso se trata de una diferencia principal entre "positividad" y "negatividad". Las tribus mencionadas se encuentran diametralmente opuestas a las tribus Piaroa, Jca y otras con 45% de frecuencia, y éste quiere decir que los Tunebo, Bari, Warao y Yanoama son genéticamente diversos de sus vecinos Arawak, Caribe y de los Chibcha de Colombia (Piaroa, Jca), pero idénticos entre sí (siempre hablando de un solo gen).

Otra observación, igualmente interesante, es que en términos generales el patrón cultural de las tribus marcadas con el Diego negativo es relativamente uniforme: son esencialmente recolectores y no productores en cuanto a la alimentación se refiere, pero también su estructura social y sus conceptos religiosos parecen tener muchos rasgos comunes que son, al mismo tiempo, muy distintos de los de otras tribus indígenas de Venezuela y de Suramérica. No podemos ahora explayarnos en más amplios detalles sobre este interesante punto. Para resumir, diremos que los Waica (Yanoama) son genéticamente parecidos a los Warao, Bari y Tunebo. Como todas estas tribus muestran rasgos culturales muy primitivos, opinamos que la ausencia del gen Di[a] es una característica de las poblaciones antiguas de Suramérica; ya que está generalmente aceptado que las llamadas tribus Marginales pertenecen a una invasión temprana de inmigración indígena. Llama la atención que todas las tribus hablan idiomas con rasgos Chibcha.

En la discusión anterior tuvimos que incluir las varias subtribus Yanoama para tratar de ubicar a los Sanemá dentro de un marco étnico-geográfico más amplio. Ahora nos concretaremos más especialmente en los Sanemá, debido al estudio que sobre el terreno hemos hecho de esa subtribu. Muchos de los datos acumulados podrían atribuirse a las demás subtribus también, pero no juzgamos conveniente hacer una generalización indiscriminada, máxime si tomamos en cuenta que las subtribus parecen ser portadoras de diferencias subculturas.

Los Sanemá viven en el alto Ventuari, el Erebato y el Caura. Se trata pues de los Sanemadub, Nabudub y Pabenaari y sus varios grupos locales, ya mencionados en la introducción. Podemos, en principio, dividir estos Sanemá en dos grupos: unos que viven en estrecha fusión con los Makiritare y los que, aunque habitan la tierra de los Makiritare, no han logrado establecer nexos permanentes con ellos. Por lo cual resulta difícil apuntar, de manera definitiva y absoluta, datos demográficos exactos, y los que aquí publicamos lo hacemos con ciertas reservas.

A. *Sanemá del alto Caure (Padamatari)*

Localidad	*Nº Habitantes*	*Observaciones*
1. Casiracuni	300	En la zona limítrofe existen varias hordas mixtas con nombres particulares, que aceptan el nombre "Sanemá" como nombre genérico de ellos. Cambian con frecuencia sus parajeros entre Brasil y Venezuela.
2. Wanaba	200	
3. Yanahami	300	
4. Cabecera Caure	100	
5. Hordas mixtas	500	
Total	1.400	individuos estimados

B. *Sanemá del alto Erebato (Sanemalab)*

1. Karima-edi	40	
2. Wanaba	62	
3. Udehababa	125	
4. Kayabiba	143	
Total	370	individuos censados 1960

C. *Sanemá del alto Ventuari (Nahalab)*

1. Wewetia	50	Los Nahalab de Ibababa cambian frecuentemente entre el Ventuari y el Erebato.
2. Wadekaba	80	
3. Mahanaba	50	
4. Ibababa	200	
Total	380	individuos estimados

Según esta estimación demográfica, se cuenta con 2.150 Sanemá aproximadamente, en la zona del alto Ventuari, Erebato y Caure. No obstante el número de Sanemá que vive en el Padamo.

Hemos visto cuatro tipos diferentes de *casas* entre los Sanemá: (a) tipo paraviense, (b) de forma triangular y sistema Makiritare, (c) rectangular y (d) oblongo. Los tipos (a) y (b) los hemos encontrado juntos en el mismo campamento en el Ventuari, en frente al Caño Mosquito.

En nuestra excursión por aquel sitio, vimos dos balsas Sanemá estacionadas a la orilla del Ventuari. Subimos luego a un barranco y seguimos un pequeño sendero que nos condujo a un conuco de los Sanemá. A uno de los extremos había un algarrobo gigantesco cargado de frutas. Por las cáscaras regadas en el piso nos dimos cuenta de que los Sanemá habían ingerido gran cantidad. Cerca del árbol que estaba les preparó su primera

4: Wilbert 5Q18 Yanoama

sumbra, encontramos un campamento Sanemá deshabitado. Estaba constituido por cinco chozas triangulares y dos del tipo puevientos. Ambas construcciones parecen ser típicas de los Yanoama, y se destacan por su tamaño, más bien pequeño. Para la construcción de una cabaña triangular se necesitan seis palos de 1,60 m de largo que sirven de postes o soportes. Con ellos se hacen tres pares, amarrando cada uno por su extremo superior con un bejuco y dejando unos 30 cm de modo a formar una horquera. Las partes inferiores de los palos se clavan en el suelo a una distancia de medio metro. Esas horqueras en forma típica con una separación de dos metros forman un triángulo regular. Después se colocan encima de las horquetas tres palos, que soportarán la techumbre, hecha de hojas de platanillo. Un rancho similar fue descrito por Koch-Grünberg (1923, tabla 43).

Los dos puevientos tenían dos postes clavados superficialmente en el suelo a una distancia de dos metros uno del otro. Consigue al poste había una estaca más pequeña, amarrada a aquél por un bejuco. El techo de ese puevientos estaba tapizado con ramas entrelazadas y cubiertas con hojas de platanillo,y sostenido con ligera inclinación contra dos postes. El techo sobresale de los postes unos 40 cm y toca la tierra por su parte inferior. En estas casas los Sanemá cuelgan sus chinchorros de bejuco o mujagua. En algunos ranchos encontramos vestigios de fuego.

Las casas del tipo Makiriware (rectangular y oblongo) son imitaciones, en miniatura, y tienen un solo cuarto. Los techos de hojas de palma son de dos aguas rectangulares y levantados encima de 4 ó 6 postes. Los extremos del techo son rectos o redondeados. Las paredes consisten en corteza de palo o palos yuxtapuestos. Tienen una dimensión media de 4 m de largo, por 2 m de ancho y aproximadamente 3 de alto. Cada casa está provista de una o dos puertas bastante estrechas. Dentro de la casa (del tipo Makiriware) reina el mayor desorden: del techo y de las paredes cuelgan cestas, sarumas, armas, bolsas de cuero, cabuyo, frutos de palmera, chinchorros de bejuco, mujagua y algodón. En tierra están fogones, leña, utensilios de cocina, guapas con huso y algodón, rallos de yuca, los perros y los niños, todo revuelto sin orden ni concierto. Se nota que no están acostumbrados a vivir bajo techo y la casa es un depósito más bien que una vivienda.

La *tecnología* de los Sanemá está muy poco desarrollada, y precisamente por eso se puede clasificar a los Sanemá (y a los Yanoama en general) como representantes de los pueblos más atrasados de América y del mundo entero. Parece que el ideal de estos indios semi-nómadas corresponde al: *omnia mea mecum porto* — ¡todo lo mío lo llevo conmigo! y, aparte de sus armas, algunos implementos y una cesta, es rara la vez que llevan algo más consigo en sus caminatas. Ni siquiera transportan sus chin-

chozas de bejuco o mujeres de un campamento al otro, sino que los fabrican de nuevo cada vez que los necesitan.

El *fuego* lo producen por el sistema de rotación y los palitos que usan en ese proceso los llevan atados al cuezuj (cf. Barber, 1953, p. 462, fig. 6). Si el campamento está situado a una distancia relativamente corta, las mujeres llevan un rollo de leña perdida que soplan en el camino para que no se apague. El fuego es fuente de luz y de calor en las rancherías y lo mantienen encendido durante toda la noche para defenderse del frío, de los espíritus malos y de los animales peligrosos.

Las mujeres Sanemá *hilan* el algodón por medio de un huso que ruedan en el muslo. El cordel tiene enrollados tres hilos.

No *tejen* y emplean el hilo solamente para hacer adornos, guayucos y algunas veces hamacas y güenepes. Las *cestas* que fabrican están bien hechas y son muy prácticas para acarrear productos del conuco, leña y a veces ollas grandes de barro cocido; el método que emplean para hacer cestas *(twining)* es primitivo, propio de los pueblos marginales de Suramérica. Los Sanemá fabrican ollas *de alfarería* en forma cónica pero su sistema es muy elemental. El recipiente más común es la sarama.

Un implemento cortante *(gouging tool)* muy usado es el *cuchillo* hecho con dientes de agutí. Es exclusivo de los hombres, y se hace adhiriendo un incisivo del roedor a un palito de 10 cm mediante goma y un hilo vegetal fino. Los hombres lo llevan en el cuezuj, bajo el ornamento del brazo o, como vimos en el alto Ventuari, en el hueco del lóbulo de la oreja. Con ese instrumento preparan las flechas; se usa para moscar la punta o para abrir la parte inferior del asa donde se inserta la clavija, provista de una ranura para el tendón. La ranura se prepara también con el cuchillo de diente. Barber (1960, p. 54) informa que los hombres celosos de los Surará y Pakidai, a veces lo usan para herir a sus esposas y un informante del Erebato nos dijo que también lo emplearon para extraer los ojos de hombres enemigos que habían sido capturados e identificados como asesinos de un miembro del grupo. Dijo el indio que una vez que les han sacado los ojos dejan sueltas a las víctimas, quienes mueren a los pocos días en el monte. El cuchillo se afila con una piedra. Este tipo de cuchillo primitivo ha sido encontrado en la mayoría de las subtribus Yanoama: Waika (Zerries, 1956a), Casapáre (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 y tabla 47), Karimé (Salzmann, 1931-32, p. 306 y figura 16), Surará y Pakidai (Barber, 1960, p. 54). El mango del cuchillo, relativamente corto, puede ser de madera o de un simple pedazo de hueso; se cuida también entre los Guayaki (Hitte,

1897, tabla III, figuras 4 y 6) y los Sicinó (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), ambas tribus con una cultura primitiva.

Para aliar sus arcos, los Sanemá usan el colmillo de un báquiro. Antes de la introducción del hacha de hierro usaron *hachas de piedra*, que todavía suelen encontrarse entre ellos, aunque raramente.

El *arma* más importante de los Sanemá es el arco y la flecha. El arco, plano-convexo, de 2-2,10 m se fabrica de la madera de macanilla. En su centro mide 2-3 cm, anchura que se reduce a 0,5 cm hacia los extremos. El tendón se hace de fibra vegetal. Las diversas clases de flechas que utilizan se distinguen por las diferentes puntas que llevan. Sus longitudes usuales oscilan entre 1,60 m y 2,40 m (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). Este último rango, de tener flechas de esa longitud, es otra característica de los indios nómadas de la Selva Tropical. Las puntas de flecha varían según la pieza que quieren cazar. La punta de bambú, de forma lanceolar, es para piezas grandes; para animales medianos y pequeños se emplean flechas cuya punta está hecha con huesos de mono. Hay otra punta de madera que envenenan con curare y que usan como arma de guerra (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, tabla 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). La parte inferior de la flecha está provista de dos mitades de una pluma de pava, en la forma típica para las tribus de Guayana.

Otra arma de combate es la macana de 1,50-2,50 m de largo y de madera pesada que utilizan para dirimir conflictos locales, y que es una reminiscencia de la maza de los Botocudos del Brasil.

El vestido de los Sanemá es de lo más simple. Ambos sexos usan un cordel atado en derredor de la cintura. Los hombres llevan el pene arriba sujeto por el prepucio. Entre los Nahuduh hemos visto varias mujeres que no llevan otro vestido que el mencionado cordel, sin embargo, la mayoría de las Sanemá usan un guayuco de hilos de algodón, tejido con onoto y en forma igual al tipo que presenta Becher (1960, fig. 11) de los Surará y Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, tabla 43). Como adorno, llevan a veces los muchachos cordeles en los brazos y piernas o bandas cruzadas al pecho. Atados a estos cordeles y bandas llevan con frecuencia, tanto las mujeres como los hombres, plumas blancas y multicolores. Las mujeres se pintan en el cuerpo varios dibujos geométricos y observamos un dibujo típico en forma zigzagueante que las mujeres llevaban en las mejillas. La pintura era roja (del onoto) o azul proveniente de una fruta que los Sanemá llaman *tarimo*; con que las mujeres se colorean mutuamente las mejillas. El dibujo es igual al que pintan a veces en las piedras que circundan el campamento y que se identificó con el camino del sol y de la luna. Dicen que el sol se alegra

viendo unos dibujos. Un dibujo muy similar que observamos en la cara de una mujer nos fue interpretado como "camino de la luna". No pudimos verificar con certeza si existe para ellos alguna relación entre la menstruación y ese dibujo.

Antes de entrar en *relaciones bélicas* con un enemigo, los guerreros se pintan el cuerpo con onoto. Creen que esa práctica asegura la buena puntería y les protege de las flechas del enemigo. Como hemos mencionado antes, en tiempos de guerra los Sanemá respetan a un jefe de guerra que es distinto al que manda en tiempo de paz.

Un guerrero que mata a un enemigo regresa muy lentamente a su casa, porque el "muerto pesa mucho en su pecho". Cree que la *hékula* del muerto se encuentra en el pecho de su vencedor. Allí trata de persuadir al hombre que "cuesta mucho". Pero el guerrero se resiste y ayuna durante varias semanas, porque de lo contrario la *hékula* del muerto lo mataría también. Después de ese tiempo la *hékula* del enemigo sale hacia su destino. Parece que la táctica guerrera más efectiva es la de sorprender al enemigo en horas de la madrugada cuando duerme. No vimos rancherías Sanemá fortificadas con palizadas, como apreciamos en otras sub-tribus Yanoama.

Los Sanemá, como los Yanoama, son, en general, *excelentes cazadores* y muchos rasgos de su cultura denuncian una profunda tradición en ese sentido.

También pescan, pero la pesca juega un papel secundario, de mucha menor importancia que la caza.

Fuentes importantes en su alimentación son también las frutas y los vegetales silvestres, que se procuran con frecuencia. Muchos grupos locales se dedican a la agricultura, que explotan de manera rudimentaria y que adquieren de sus vecinos los Caribe, pero para muchos grupos los productos de la tierra constituyen actualmente una base alimenticia de primer orden.

Los hombres prefieren salir de *caza* por la madrugada temprano o por la tarde, antes de la puesta del sol. Por la mañana espían la pista cuando viene a tomar agua o a buscar su alimento en los sitios conocidos por el cazador. Por la tarde, el Sanemá caza aves y pájaros cuando regresan a los árboles para pasar la noche ocultos entre las hojas.

Los hombres suelen salir solos, a veces con un compañero o formando pequeños grupos. Andan cuidadosamente, sin hacer ruido, y creen que en un momento de gran peligro pueden desarrollar tal fuerza en el cuello que les levanta sobre el suelo y vuelan a lo alto de los árboles.

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

Los cazadores se preparan de varias formas para su faena. Si uno ha tenido mala suerte trata de sacarse la "sangre oscura", causa de su pésima puntería. Esto lo logra perforando, por medio de un aguijón de raya, los músculos del brazo, o haciéndose pequeñas incisiones en el antebrazo. La "sangre oscura" se produce en el cuerpo del hombre cuando una mujer en estado de menstruación toca al cazador o alguna de sus armas, o también si una mujer, en ese estado, comió de la perra por él cazada.

Un buen cazador no come de su propia perra para no perder la suerte ni errar su puntería. Come de la caza de su compañero; de los animales cazados por él pide solamente el cráneo y las costillas, que guarda cuidadosamente en ciertos lugares cerca de la ranchería o en su casa. Allí se exhibe para aumentar su prestigio de diestro cazador, de lo cual dependen muchos aspectos de su vida social, como por ejemplo, el de conseguir una segunda mujer.

Es también peligroso perder una flecha cuando se está cazando. Por eso sólo disparan la flecha cuando, de no dar en el blanco, pueden fácilmente recogerla. A pesar de estas precauciones, a veces, la flecha se extravía o queda colgada de un árbol inaccesible. Entonces, el hombre, para no perder la puntería, la pone bajo la protección de Omao, a quien se dirige diciendo: *";Omaowan ipa lalaka nalilapala!"*, lo que significa: "¡Omao, guarda mi flecha!".

El perder la puntería o la suerte en la caza puede provenir de una razón técnica o de una causa sobrenatural. La primera se debe a un debilitamiento del cuerpo, ocasionado por enfermedad u otras causas que influyen sobre la vista o la fuerza del brazo. Si es debido a esta última causa, el cazador conoce el remedio. Va al monte, busca un árbol de madera dura y pesada; corta un trozo al que luego prende fuego y recoge las cenizas que se aplicará a las cortaduras inferidas en el brazo. Si aguanta el dolor sin llevarse la otra mano al brazo lastimado y no grita recuperará nuevamente los músculos las fuerzas perdidas y el cazador recobra su suerte y su puntería.

Si el cazador regresa sin ninguna presa puede ser porque Omao no le favoreció y esta es la razón sobrenatural de su fracaso.

Según nuestros informantes del Erebato, un buen cazador habla frecuentemente con Omao, pues sin su protección no tendrá suerte. Por eso, le dice: *";Omao awayi ipa lalewa hada kapilama!"*, que se traduce por: "¡Omao, saca mi presa para afuera!".

Peor que no tener suerte es perder la vida en un accidente de caza y para implorar la protección del más allá reza el cazador: *";Omao sawoia palii!"*, es decir: "¡Omao, protégeme!".

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

Naturalmente todas estas precauciones resultan inútiles si el cazador no aprendió el arte de la caza. Tiene que saber cómo viven los diversos animales e identificar sus huellas. Si estás cerca mandá a su perro que siga la pista de la presa; el éxito de un cazador Sanemá depende, en gran parte, de su perro. El cazador debe conocer también una gran variedad de llamadas para atraer a los animales y a las aves y, sobre todo, saber la flecha que tiene que disparar para matar el animal que acuda a su reclamo.

Todo esto y mucho más que nosotros ignoramos tiene que aprender el cazador Sanemá para disfrutar de sus conocimientos no sólo en la tierra sino también en el mundo de Omao, después de su muerte. Un diestro cazador sigue viviendo en el "cielo" y allí tendrá la oportunidad de recompensar la benevolencia que Omao le otorgó durante su vida terrenal.

Los Sanemá cazan con arco y flechas. Por lo general, cada hombre lleva consigo, además del arco, cinco flechas y un carcaj con diversos tipos de puntas.

El carcaj, hecho de bambú, lo llevan colgando por medio de un bejuco, ya sea del cuello, al pecho o arrollado a la espalda. En la mayoría de los casos llevan atados al mismo carcaj unos palitos con que encienden fuego. En el monte, hacen con extraordinaria rapidez la punta más indicada para matar al animal que se les pone al alcance, y sorprende la habilidad y la prisa con que tiran una o varias flechas.

Si hay varios cazadores rodeando una manada de báquiros o un grupo de monos, la presa pertenece al que la mató.

Parece que los Sanemá del Erebato también usan una especie de trampa (*Sobo<ippzalgenfalle*) sobre todo para capturar a la lapa o al venado (20).

Para coger aves y pájaros, el cazador se sube a un árbol muy alto y allí se esconde detrás de unas ramas dobladas. Arroja a los pájaros con algún alimento y, cuando están próximos los tira; un compañero espera, al tronco del árbol, la caída de la presa para recogerla. A fuer de experto cazador, conoce los árboles donde acostumbran los pájaros para pasar la noche. El hombre, valiéndose de hojas de palma y de bejucos, prepara cuidadosamente un escondite con la esperanza cierta de que, mediante esta emboscada, el botín será abundante.

La caza en grupos es frecuente entre los Sanemá y lo hacen, sobre todo, para cazar un grupo de monos, de báquiros o para matar un felino.

---

(20) Parece que en ciertas regiones un primitivo cultivo entre los Sanemá, ya que los Sanemá Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 77) y Waica (Zerries, 1954c, p. 151) de la misma.

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

La carne de tigre no se come, pero guardan los colmillos en el techo de la casa. A los báquiros que consiguen les atan las manos con las patas, los cargan en la espalda y los llevan a casa. La carne del báquiro es muy apreciada y toda la ranchería se congrega para comer de la presa, excepto los jóvenes solteros quienes, por orden del capitán, no deben probar la carne a fin de que no se mueran los cazadores que han matado a los animales. Pueden, sin embargo, comer otra carne y la comida que más les apetezca.

Hay algunos animales cuya caza está vedada a los Sanemá; así, no comen culebras, matan al caimán pero no prueban su carne. Nos dijeron los Sanemá del Erebato que incineran a los caimanes como a los hombres, pues, en realidad, para ellos los caimanes habían sido hombres. Es tabú matar a un morrocoy o a una tortuga. Antes fueron personas y Omao no permite que se las mate. Hay otros animales a los cuales matan y comen solamente bajo ciertas condiciones, entre ellos el águila (21).

Si un cazador se encuentra con un águila, cree hallarse ante el ejemplar de una especie de animal que anteriormente fue gente. Puede hallarse delante de un amigo o un enemigo. Por eso, antes de tirar pregunta al animal si es amigo o enemigo y solamente si contesta que es enemigo debe matarlo. En la mayoría de los casos, se trata de un enemigo y el cazador lo mata con doble fin: tener carne y hacer desaparecer a un enemigo. El cazador lleva el águila a su casa y la mujer la prepara para la comida. Los que comen de la carne no deberán defecar en la tierra, sino solamente en el agua. El mismo cazador no debe comer de esa carne y guarda ayuno durante dos meses. El águila "pesa mucho" en su pecho y solamente cuando "salió para arriba" el cazador se mejora y empieza a sentirse bien otra vez. De ahora en adelante quienes comieron de la carne, pueden vivir sin tomar las precauciones antes mencionadas (22).

Se diría que para cada ranchería Sanemá existe una ranchería de águilas y de *hanekasi*. Esa creencia tiene características de la idea del *alter ego* y los Sanemá aplican a esos animales, cuando hablan con ellos, los términos de parentesco. Lo mismo sucede con respecto a los tigres y a otros animales que nos indicaron vagamente.

La *pesca* juega un papel muy secundario en la economía Sanemá. Pescan con barbasco, con arco y flecha, pero no hemos visto flechas especiales para este fin. Ultimamente han adoptado el anzuelo que hoy usan con bastante frecuencia.

(21) Los Sanemá y Pakidai matan al águila, pero botan su carne. Dicen que transmite enfermedades (Becher, 1960, p. 77). (Cf. el capítulo sobre "la muerte" del presente estudio).

(22) Ver el capítulo que trata de "guerra".

De segunda importancia, figurando después de la caza, es la recolección de varias clases de animales pequeños, insectos, frutas silvestres, así como miel y huevos. Las cogollos de palmeras forman parte importante en la dieta, pero sobre todo la fruta de la palmera pijiguao (*Guilielma* sp.) cuya cosecha, durante los primeros tres meses del año, marca la fecha de fiestas y otras actividades sociales. No logramos averiguar mucho de los Sanemá sobre este asunto, pero Barker (1953, pp. 447-48), Zerries (1955b) y Becher (1960) se refieren a esta fiesta con más detalles, según la presenciaron entre los Waica, Pakidai y Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

Entre los Sanemá, debido sin duda al contacto con sus vecinos Macú y Caribe, la *agricultura* ha adquirido cada vez mayor incremento. El sistema de cultivo es todavía muy rudimentario, el de "corta y quema". Los productos principales son: plátanos, cambures, yuca dulce y amarga, ocumo, y algunas hierbas que tienen importancia mágica (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 444, plantas similares entre los Waica). Entre las plantas mágicas de los Sanemá hay una que cuidan con sumo esmero. Un informante nos contó el espanto general que se apoderó de todos cuando un día, un grupo de enemigos arrancó, de noche, todas las plantas mágicas de sus conucos. Creían que iban a morir o, por lo menos, a enfermarse y el "*tabli* tuvo mucho trabajo" para salvar a su gente. Existe aquí una creencia similar que ya hemos observado en conexión con las águilas y *hanekasi*.

La agricultura ha dado cierta estabilidad a los subgrupos Sanemá y ha introducido cambios en su sistema social tradicional. No todos los grupos han adoptado esta nueva economía y con frecuencia surgen pleitos y peleas porque los recolectores se apropian indiscriminadamente de los productos de un conuco del grupo agricultor. Ese fue el motivo que indujo a los Mahiriwe a pelearse con los Sanemá, quienes, todavía, en aquella época, no habían adoptado la agricultura que florecía entre sus vecinos.

Los Sanemá no tienen *animales domésticos*, y hasta los perros son contados. Es posible que los Yanoama los hayan adoptado recientemente. Todavía no han encontrado un nombre específico para ese animal y lo llaman como al tigre *póliuwa*. Algunos informantes insistieron en que existe una diferencia fonética entre la palabra *pólewa* = tigre y *póliuwa* = perro, pero no cabe la menor duda de que se trata de la misma palabra. Crían los perros para que les sirvan como ayudantes en la caza.

En una ranchería Sanemá se encuentran con frecuencia animales de diferentes especies pero ya domesticados. Los cazadores llevan a la casa pichones de pavas, grullas, guacamayos y loros, así como acures, lapas y monos para regalárselos a sus esposas o niños.

[P-208-A]

Indios Nahuduh
al frente de su casa.
Entrada de la casa Mahekoto

Una familia nuclear Nahuduh «Sanema»
delante de su casa.
Las hamacas son de fibra vegetal

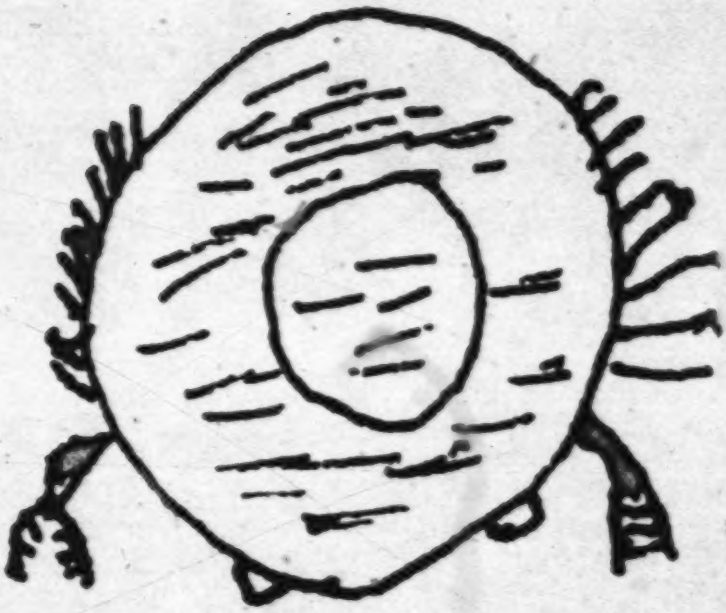
[P.208-B]

Mujeres y niños Makushi (Kamarang)

Pueblo Makushi armado en busqueda de alguien hecho por la noche

[P.208-C]

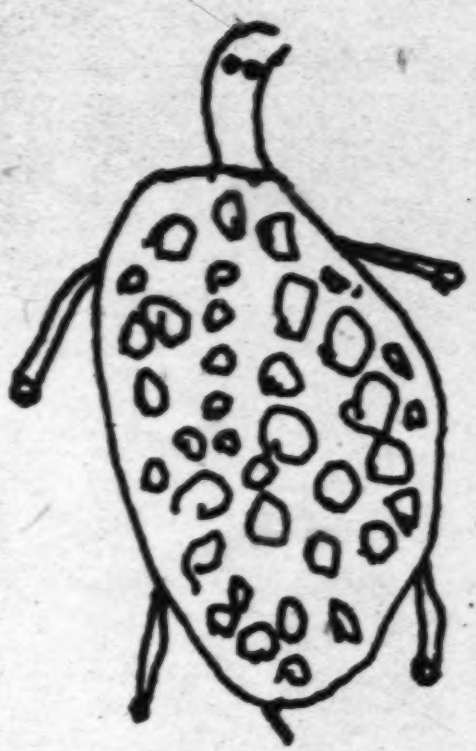
Hombre en su cayuco llegando a la casa. Dibujo de un indio Xamoal



El cazquejo. Dibujo de un indio Xamoal

[P-208-D]

Palma. Dibujo de un indio Sanema



Hi'manamy o tortuga. Dibujo de un indio Sanema

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

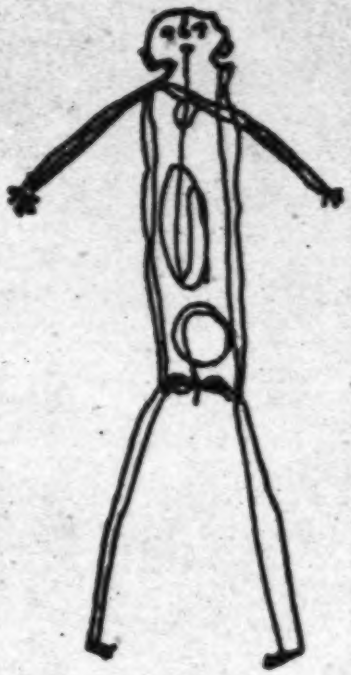
[P. 208-E]

El sapo hombre que sabió los sitios bárcos de la persecución del Gran Tigre. Dibujo de un indio Yanomá

Oso hormiguero. Dibujo de un indio Yanomá

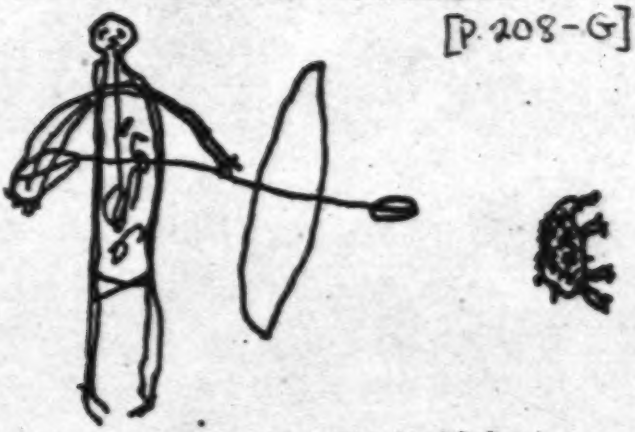
[P208-F]

El shaxbo. Dibujo de un indio Xavante



Un hombre, un animal, chimpu, mika, Dibujo de un indio Xavante

[P. 208-G]



Indio cazando bisquiera con arco y flecha. Dibujo de un indio *Sanema*

La *hilozhidi* del acordeon. Dibujo de un indio *Sanema*

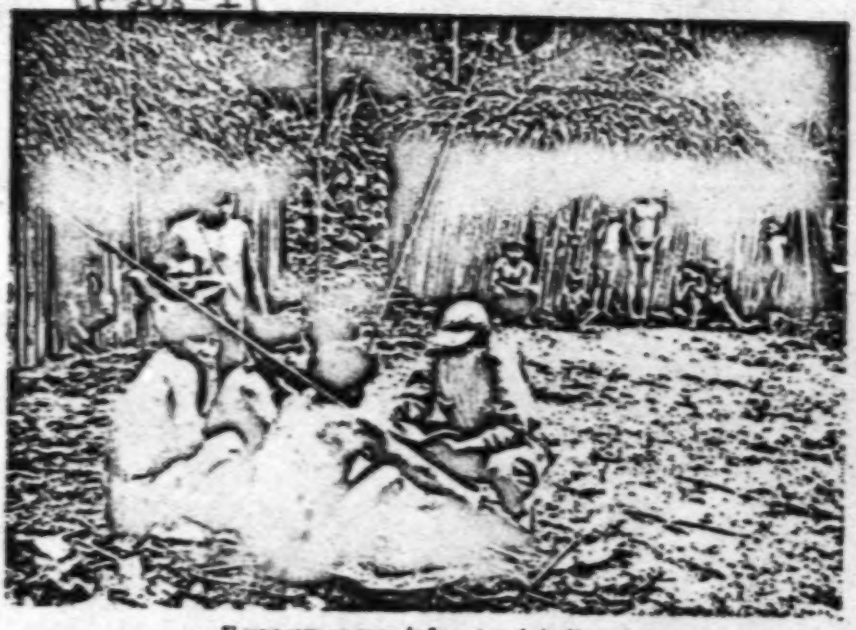
[P. 208-H]

Quemando un monte. La cenizas hacen explotar de humo y el cielo aparece cubierto del mismo. Dibujo de un indio Yanomá

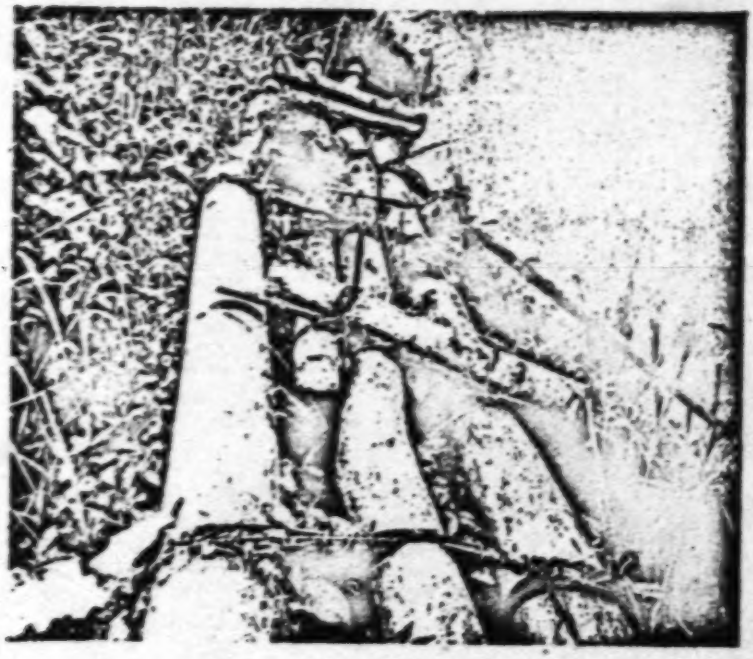
Comunidad. Dios creator del cosmos del sol y de la tierra. El "yaupi" creando en un hueco de hule de la tierra con animales. Dibujo de un indio Yanomá

4: Wilbert
[P. 208 - I]

SQ18 Yanoama



El autor entre un grupo de Xamañ en el río Ventuari



Bebe Xamañ

[P. 208-J]

Grupo de mujeres y niños Sanema del río Orinoco. En el fondo la pared de una casa comunal de los indios Makiritare

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

[p.208-K]

Grupo de indios Sanema del alto Ventuari en su casa. La muchacha (de pie) lleva unos adornos de plumas blancas

[P.208-L]

Indio Sanema del alto Ventuari preparando el asta de una flecha utilizando de un "cuchillo" rústico hecho de un diente de un roedor montado en un palito

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

[P.208-M]

Machacha Wein del río Orinoco

Cuenta: Luisana Sanoma

[P-208-N]

Una joven Waiu del alto Orinoco. Las pulseras se mantienen en pantorrillas de los bebés

Cortesía: Luciano Romano

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

[P. 208-0]

Fratello Wilco del cho Orinoco

Cornelio: Luciano Bonzani

[P 208-P]

Ranchería de indios Cashibo en la misión "La Virgen de Cocayan", cerca de Puerto Ayacucho

Ranchería de Piapoco aculturados cerca de Puerto Ayacucho

La *bebida* de los Sanemá es el agua. No preparan bebidas alcohólicas. Recientemente los Sanemá que viven relacionados con los Makiritare han aprendido a preparar cashiri y empiezan a tomarla con cierta frecuencia. Sin embargo, preparar bebidas alcohólicas es desusado en general entre los Sanemá y los Yanoama.

La *mayoría* de los alimentos son tomados o usados en las brasas. No consumen sal, propiamente dicha, pero utilizan las cenizas de leña yají. También limpian arcilla seca y se la comen.

Como *estimulantes* tienen el tabaco y el yopo. No fuman sino que arrollan las hojas del tabaco y preparadas con cenizas las colocan detrás del labio inferior. El yopo lo hacen con ciertas hojas y cenizas de corteza. Parece que tienen varias clases, según sus grados de fuerza. Nos mostraron una clase gris y otra negra. El que quiere tomar una dosis coloca el polvo embriagante en un tubo y un compañero se lo sopla en la nariz. Por lo general el yopo tiene relación con conceptos religiosos. Parece que lo toman en las fiestas exequiales cuando acompañan a un difunto y su "*bihula* hacia arriba". Los wurgas también lo utilizan, con frecuencia, en sus diversos ritos. Se conocen casos en que un hombre "salió volando" con una dosis fuerte de yopo y, perdiendo la dirección, ¡no volvió a la tierra!

Fundar una familia es el anhelo de todos los jóvenes de la tribu. Observamos cierta *irregularidad* en la costumbre de determinar la *residencia* matrimonial. En el grupo Sanemá del Erebato ésta parece ser bilocal como entre los Waica del alto Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), mientras en el Venezuari notamos una tendencia hacia una unilocalidad. No tenemos certeza, pero parece ser que la residencia normal es inicialmente matrilocal con servicio de noviazgo postmatrimonial y luego cambia en bilocal. Ese arreglo da lugar a la formación de *familias extensivas bilocales* en la sociedad Yanoama.

Sociedades con *familias extensivas bilocales* son relativamente raras, pero su existencia entre los Sanemá no nos sorprende si tenemos en cuenta que la situación económica de la tribu se presta a un arreglo en esta forma. En su estado seminómada no parecen existir factores económicos suficientemente decisivos para exigir una regla residencial unilocal, que impediría, en cierto modo, que un joven quedase, después de su matrimonio, en el grupo de su familia de orientación o que saliese para fundar su familia de procreación matrilocalmente, con arreglo a circunstancias particulares. Pero lo que sí creemos es que las *irregularidades* observadas se deben, precisamente, a los cambios económicos y tecnológicos que, a través del proceso de aculturación, están sufriendo actualmente los Sanemá de las zonas adya-

cuanto con los *Makiritare*. El cultivo de la tierra, aunque de manera sólo rudimentaria, y las posibilidades de aumentar sus propiedades, mujeres, como natural consecuencia, no solamente mayor estabilidad y quizás un aumento demográfico considerable sino también el impulso que rompe el balanceado equilibrio existente en la costumbre de seleccionar la residencia postnupcial, que es fundamental para la familia extensiva bilocal (cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 35). Así es que uno de los factores que más contribuyó a provocar cierto desequilibrio entre los Sanemá fue la adopción del sistema agrícola Caribe. El traslado postmatrimonial de un grupo local para el otro no tenía mayor trascendencia en una sociedad nómada, pero hoy reviste dificultades antes no sospechadas siquiera, pues ahora un hombre tiene que dejar, si sigue a su mujer, sus tierras cultivadas. Abrigamos la seguridad de que las tendencias hacia la costumbre unilocal tienen sus raíces, precisamente, en ese cambio económico. Finalmente, la existencia de la familia extensiva bilocal entre los Yanoama está en completo acuerdo con el tipo hawaiano de la organización social que estamos describiendo como típica para esta tribu.

Sin conocer íntimamente a una familia nuclear Sanemá resulta complicado agrupar, con certeza, a los integrantes de un grupo local, basándonos sólo en sus nexos familiares, sobre todo en una comunidad donde se practica la poliginia, el sororato, el levirato y un sistema hawaiano de parentesco. Hay ocasiones, sin embargo, en las cuales los miembros de una familia nuclear se reunen: para la comida, para dormir, etc., y, a pesar de que aún no tenemos un conocimiento exacto de la sociedad Sanemá, podemos, con todo, decir que la *familia nuclear* existe como célula definitiva en esa tribu, asumiendo todas las funciones y todas las responsabilidades específicas de esa entidad social. Así existe el arreglo formal del matrimonio que sanciona el contacto sexual entre los esposos y garantiza la procreación. Existe una colaboración económica entre los miembros de la familia nuclear que arregla el trabajo y proporciona la subsistencia necesaria y, de esa manera, inyecta persistencia en la convivencia familiar. Prácticamente no existen trabajos que excedan la capacidad de la familia nuclear y los pequeños aprenden el modo de vivir directamente de sus padres y de los mayores.

El centro más visible de la familia nuclear es el fogón a cuyo alrededor comen y duermen. De aquí salen a sus labores y, al regresar, se reunen de nuevo al amor de la lumbre. Después de un largo caminar, el hombre saca los palillos de su carcaj y prende fuego; hay un nuevo fogón; se establece un nuevo hogar.

Cada individuo Sanemá pertenece también a una *familia extensiva* compuesta, según las reglas de residencia ya explicadas. El grupo local con-

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

sisre en dos o más de esas familias extensivas de una misma parentela bilateral y forman una *banda*. Este grupo local o banda es la unidad social más grande a la cual pertenece un Sanemá. Los términos "suberibus" y "tribus" que nosotros utilizamos son denominaciones artificiales carentes de sentido auténtico para el Sanemá. Pero la banda sí es para él un concepto familiar que conoce muy bien y con la que se identifica. La banda garantiza estabilidad económica y social y su bienestar redunda en beneficio del miembro individual, que se tiene ligado a ella por multitud de nexos familiares.

Cada grupo local cuenta con un sinnúmero de enemigos mientras que el círculo de los amigos es sumamente reducido. El contacto de todo un grupo con el grupo vecino es raro, aunque suele ocurrir. A veces se reunen por razones comerciales o en las ceremonias fúnebres, pero su amistad es débil e inestable.

No logramos, por falta de informante, obtener la lista de los *términos de parentesco*. Nuestra impresión es de que se trata de un sistema hawaiano. No se permite casarse con una prima cruzada o paralela. Existen nombres personales que recibe el individuo por el teurgo, pero el término de parentesco parece ser el más usado en el tratamiento diario de las personas. Se considera una ofensa el mencionar el nombre de un difunto en presencia de alguno de sus familiares y, como mencionamos antes, los términos de parentesco están extendidos incluso para hablar con ciertos animales durante la cacería.

En general, el trato de las personas entre sí es muy liberal, con excepción del fuerte *tabú prohibitivo* que existe entre el yerno y su suegro y suegra. Generalmente no debe acercarse uno a los padres de la esposa. Sólo puede hacerse en casos de emergencia rompiendo así la costumbre. Estos casos de emergencia se presentan, por ejemplo, durante un combate, cuando una de las personas está herida.

La *adopción* de un huérfano ocurre de modo informal, cuando se trata de un niño pequeño. Se le recibe en la familia, que le adopta, como un miembro propio más. Niños de más edad viven también en una familia del grupo, pero no son adoptados propiamente, pues no se les atribuyen denominaciones específicas de parentesco. No creemos existan términos especiales para expresar una relación de adopción.

En lo que se refiere a la *estructura social* parece que las distinciones principales son las del sexo y de la edad. El hombre que ejecuta sus trabajos diarios con maestría goza de gran prestigio entre sus semejantes; y quienes logran pleno éxito en sus labores escalan la máxima figuración en la jerar-

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

quía social. En la sociedad Sanemá ganan de elevado rango los tres teurgos que indicaremos más adelante; pero, hacemos hincapié en el hecho de que los datos que aquí presentamos, respecto a este punto, son provisionales y, por lo tanto, sujetos a posible modificación.

Como veremos, la sociedad Sanemá parece tener tres teurgos distintos: un "mago", un *shamán* y un *sacerdote*. Este último reviste características de un auténtico especialista, ya que, en gran parte, vive de su oficio. No cabe la menor duda de que los teurgos, en general, y el shamán y el sacerdote en particular, figuran en posición más encumbrada en la sociedad Sanemá; sobre todo si los dos oficios los ejerce una misma persona. Nuestra sorpresa fue grande al encontrar esa estratificación entre los nómadas Sanemá, aunque no nos cogió de espanto, pues ya conocíamos una situación similar entre los Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).

La opinión más en boga entre los etnólogos que se han abocado a este asunto es que se trata de un rasgo circuncaribe y andino, en lo que se refiere a la trilogía: *sacerdote, templo, ídolo*, y que la existencia de ese complejo cultural entre los Warao sería índice de su decadencia, debido a circunstancias adversas a su cultura. En lo tocante al culto del templo en sí mismo, también creemos que es un rasgo propio de culturas formativas y civilizaciones indígenas, pero es muy probable que ese culto del templo se asiente sobre una plataforma muy antigua de la cultura paleo-india suramericana y que, por sus condiciones específicas, se prestó al desarrollo o a la adopción del culto.

No creemos que a alguien le agrade argumentar que los Yanoama representen un pueblo degenerado porque, si admitimos Marginales auténticos, los Yanoama forman parte de ellos. Tienen, sin embargo, el concepto de un Héroe Cultural deificado, autor de todo y que se preocupa constantemente de su creación. Es la causa, el principio y el fin de todos los hombres y se sirve de un sacerdote como intermedio entre la tierra y el cielo. Este personaje es distinto al shamán y su mundo.

Los Sanemá no tienen un culto del templo pero sus conceptos de magia y de religión son casi idénticos a los de los Warao donde estos conceptos primitivos sirven de base al culto. Esa base, como lo hemos comprobado a través de nuestros estudios, es primitiva y propia de los Marginales y la identificación de la sobre-estructura como préstamo cultural entre los Warao nos facilita la comprensión del culto entre esa tribu. Resulta seguramente también más fácil explicar el culto del templo de los Warao considerándolo como préstamo que como vestigios culturales de una sociedad en decadencia.

Con respecto a los caracteres Chibcha en los idiomas Warao y Yanouma, se trata probablemente de un substrato que provisionalmente llamamos proto-Chibcha. Los rasgos Chibcha que en ellos se advierten no parecen representar elementos adquiridos debidos al contacto sino a un antiguo estrato común de los idiomas que se identifican hoy día como Chibcha. Finalmente falta por indicar que, al juzgar por la constitución genética (el antígeno Diego) de algunas tribus Chibcha, se puede pensar en que la cultura altamente formativa, fue introducida por gente genéticamente distinta a los Chibcha Marginales como Tunebo, Barí, Warao, Yanouma, cuya cultura estaba condicionada favorablemente hacia la adopción y el incremento de las culturas formativas y de las civilizaciones indígenas. Algunas tribus fueron absorbidas por los invasores; otras, como las tribus que acabamos de mencionar, mantuvieron su independencia. Quizás tengamos que tratar en el futuro, con más énfasis, de reminiscencias primitivas en las culturas formativas, en vez de hablar tanto de rasgos y préstamos occidentales entre los Marginales de Guayana y otros. Tenemos la impresión de que estamos poniendo más de relieve un complejo de cultura antigua en Suramérica, del cual ha sobrevivido un número de rasgos en las culturas más desarrolladas.

Los *cargos políticos* los ejercen un jefe y un líder de guerra. Creemos que el sacerdote puede ser al mismo tiempo el jefe de un grupo local. No podríamos, sin embargo, dar una afirmación categórica, debido a una confusión que existe entre la gente como consecuencia de la fuerte corriente cultural que está invadiendo ese núcleo Sanemá. Entre el mismo grupo del Ventuari observamos que el oficio de jefe se hereda patrilinealmente. El viejo jefe había dejado sus oficios al hijo mayor, de unos 28 años de edad, y era fácil darse cuenta que su hermano menor, de unos 20 años, también era respetado como un posible jefe futuro (cf. Becher, 1960, pp. 60-61). No existen jefaturas de más de un grupo local.

Por razones de índole religiosa que explicamos más adelante, el sacerdote (que quizás es el jefe en muchos casos) no puede participar activamente en una guerra; manda, en esos casos, el "jefe de la guerra" quien, en tiempo de paz es uno de tantos en la sociedad, pero automáticamente asume su poder en los peligros bélicos.

Existe un hombre a quien todo el mundo tiene miedo. Es el *"guapo"*. No entendimos su función dentro de la sociedad, pero sus actuaciones son violentas y pasivas de sanción en casos extremos.

Durante los primeros días de nuestra visita, nos causó la impresión de un auténtico enajenado, pero luego nos dimos cuenta que, aunque mental-

4: Wilbert 2018 Yanoama

mismo sano, llega su servicialismo hasta el extremo. Para saludar nos apuntó con la flecha en la garganta, bailaba como un energúmeno y, durante un día completo, se dirigió caminando en nuestro alrededor siempre con la flecha lista para disparar. De medio día en adelante estuvo bajo la influencia embriagante del yopo y su conducta era aplaudida por unos y censurada por los demás. El jefe, con quien estuvimos casi todo el día, no hizo ningún caso de lo que nos sucedía y no prestó mayor atención.

En el grupo del Erebato también había un *guapo* y uno de nuestros informantes nos explicó que esa "gente" está predestinada para vivir con ciertas especies de animales bajo la tierra, después de su muerte. Allí se quedarán sólos en compañía de las mujeres que ocultaron su menstruación y fueron, por eso, tragadas por la tierra. Un muchacho de Canaracuni nos trazó un dibujo de *Omao* encima del camino del sol y de la luna y de la tierra. Por debajo de la tierra pintó a un hombre sentado en una piedra rodeado de animales: era el *guapo*.

De cuanto llevamos apuntado, deducimos la posibilidad de que no se trata de casos aislados sino que el *guapo*, quizás, representa un tipo social que desempeña un cargo institucional con sus respectivos deberes y funciones fijos. A un *guapo* del Erebato no le permitieron participar en la ceremonia de recoger los huesos de su padre, porque a la muerte de su progenitor había matado a un niño y temían que el dolor le podría llevar, otra vez, a semejante exceso. En sus tradicionales duelos nadie se atreve a pelear con el *guapo* pues temen que en el ardor del encuentro pierda su dominio personal y mate a su contrincante. Parece existir solamente un *guapo* en cada grupo local y, por lo que se ve, puede tener por misión social eliminar los elementos débiles del grupo, a pesar de que no se da cuenta de tal función. Nos explicaron, por ejemplo, que, a veces, se invita al grupo vecino a la fiesta de los muertos cuando, reducidas las cenizas a menudo polvo, ingieren las de los compañeros difuntos. Esa invitación se extiende también al grupo enemigo máxime si se conoce con certeza que entre los difuntos, cuyas cenizas van a tomar, hay uno que murió por *intervención mágica* de un miembro de la banda enemiga. Durante la ceremonia el *sabli-shamán*, antes de abrir la totuma que contiene las cenizas, indica al *guapo* de su grupo el probable asesino del bando contrario, quien para evitar complicaciones resulta ser siempre el hombre más débil del grupo. La fiesta se desliza como si nada hubiera sucedido, pero los enemigos que perdieron al hombre durante la fiesta invitan a sus adversarios para celebrar la fiesta de sus muertos también.

Los viejos, por su parte, no parecen estar muy seguros ante ese elemento

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

y unos Sanemá del Venezuari explicaron que el *guapo* tiene que tratar a los visitantes de esa manera para probar su valentía. Sería interesante conocer con más detalles la función del *guapo* Sanemá y saber si se trata de unos casos aislados o es un fenómeno tradicional.

Los Sanemá creen que el niño existe en el padre, quien lo pasa a la madre para que crezca y nazca. En las comunidades Sanemá que conocimos en nuestra expedición, nos llamó la atención el escaso número de niños que había en la población. Los padres manifiestan mucho cariño a los niños y cuando éstos están crecidos participan, en la medida de su edad y sus fuerzas, en todas las actividades de los adultos.

Parece que conocen ritos indicadores de la entrada de un joven o de una muchacha en la pubertad. La primera menstruación indica que ya el hombre puede tener relaciones sexuales con la esposa que le fue prometida cuando aún era niña. A veces una muchacha se niega a casarse con el hombre a quien fue prometida por esposa, pero tiene miedo en ocultar sus primeras menstruaciones por razones mitológicas.

Cuentan los Sanemá, en su literatura oral, un caso muy triste y que ocurrió en tiempos remotos porque una muchacha ocultó su primera menstruación. *Oincitib*, un enano de escasas carnes, se enteró de lo sucedido y dejó caer durante una temporada copiosa lluvia que arrasó con la ranchería donde vivía la moza. Todos los hombres se murieron. La joven salió y se fue a vivir con el grupo vecino, donde la acogieron con inequívocas muestras de amistad. El mismo día de su llegada, un hombre fue al río para pescar, cuando, de repente, vio flotando sobre las aguas los cadáveres de la gente de la ranchería recientemente destruída por los aguaceros. Inmediatamente se dio cuenta de lo que había sucedido. Regresó a la ranchería y mató a la muchacha. El enano se comió a la joven y a toda la gente que habitaba la ranchería destruída por la lluvia. Sin embargo, ésto sucede muy rara vez, por eso el enano está tan delgadito.

Desconocemos el contenido de los ritos de la pubertad, pero parece que a ambos sexos se les corta el pelo y, tanto los varones como las hembras tienen la comida racionada a cazabe y agua, y eso en poca cantidad. No prueban la carne. Un informante del Erebato nos habló de una choza especial donde las mujeres permanecen mientras les dura la regla. Si le entendimos bien, esa choza es redonda en forma de cúpula y fabricada con hojas de palmera clavadas en la tierra. En la choza hay un círculo hecho con palillos yuxtapuestos, dentro del cual se encuentran dos palos clavados en la tierra a un metro de distancia. Entre estos palos se fija un bejuco.

4: Wilbert 3918 Yanoama

La mujer, que no debe acostarse durante la menstruación, se sienta y el bejuco le sirve de espaldar. No vimos ninguna casa de este tipo.

El arreglo de un *matrimonio* empieza con la difusión íntima entre los dos jóvenes amantes. El muchacho indica a su novia que desea tomarla por esposa y le dice: *"¡péwa pisaye!"* = ¡yo te quiero! Si la muchacha está de acuerdo, contesta con la proposición más temida a par que anhelada por los novios Sanemá: *"¡ipabáwana'a wabáhalone!"* = ¡habla con mi papá!

Sorprende la ansiedad que experimentan los jóvenes amantes debido a esta costumbre que prescribe que, antes de casarse, tienen que hablar con su futuro suegro. Lo vimos de una manera palpable, en uno de nuestros informantes. A veces hay que esperar hasta que la muchacha tome la iniciativa y dé muestras de amor. En ese caso es ella quien trata directamente el asunto con su papá. Pero parece prevalecer la costumbre de que sea el muchacho quien vaya a la casa de su futuro suegro, quien, previo aviso, le espera al declinar la tarde. El futuro yerno viene apresuradamente pero sin dar muestras de precipitación o nerviosismo para no atraer la atención del pueblo. Se sienta en frente del papá de su novia, la mirada perdida en lontananza y dice con voz muy baja: *"anbīwana sabīip kobitob' ible"* = yo necesito, quiero tu hija. Todo el mundo sabe, en la ranchería, que pronto llegará un hombre para casarse con una de sus muchachas más bonitas, y todos anhelan conocer a ese hombre. Si el joven logró entrar en la ranchería de incógnito, ahora todos están al corriente de su llegada, porque el suegro da un grito de sorpresa y repite en alta voz, la frase del muchacho. El joven queda impasible, sin moverse, mientras todo el pueblo se congrega para mirarle preguntando: ¿qué dices, qué dices? Todos están a la expectativa de lo que diga el suegro. Pero el suegro no tiene prisa. Habla de que le faltarían tres buenos conucos, que la hija solicitada tiene una hermana más joven que también quiere casarse... etc. Todas esas sugerencias equivalen a auténticas condiciones que el joven recapacita cuidadosamente, pero cuando el suegro por fin dice: *"wabīspa kukéne"* toma la mujer, sale el joven corriendo hacia el monte ya bien informado de lo que tiene que hacer.

Si la muchacha no tuviese padre, estaría representada entonces por su hermano mayor o por su tío.

Ocurren casos en que un hermano o un amigo del novio quiere servir de intermediario y se ofrece para hablar con el suegro. El gesto es muy bien recibido y altamente apreciado.

Los primeros dos o tres días, el joven marido se queda en el monte

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

casando; la mujer cuelga su chinchorro cerca del de su marido en la casa de la familia de orientación, o sea, en donde siempre ha vivido. Transcurrido ese tiempo el hombre procura reunir a unos veinte amigos para que le ayuden a rozar el terreno para los tres conucos solicitados por su suegro. Generalmente no tiene dificultad en encontrar esa ayuda. El padre del muchacho y sus hermanos se esmeran en dar bien de comer a los trabajadores y, cuando la faena está terminada, el joven marido les ofrece, como regalos, flechas, arcos, etc., que ellos se niegan a aceptar. Después, el hombre empieza a limpiar unos conucos para su propia familia.

Insistió nuestro informante del alto Caura que, una vez obtenido el consentimiento la entrega es definitiva y la muchacha no puede aceptar después a ningún otro joven. Para darnos un ejemplo, narró lo que había sucedido a un hombre de su grupo.

Una muchacha le había aceptado como marido, pero, por circunstancias imprevistas, no había tenido tiempo para hablar con el suegro. Entonces, la muchacha se entregó a otro joven y se casó. El suegro no sabía nada de la primera oferta. Un día la gente del pueblo encontró en su chinchorro a la joven pareja atravesados por dos flechas envenenadas con curare. El asesino informó al suegro y a los habitantes de la ranchería del motivo que le había impulsado a perpetrar el crimen. Ni el suegro, ni la gente intervinieron en el asunto porque, según ellos, el joven amante tenía razón de castigar a los dos que le habían dejado burlado de esa manera.

A veces los padres casan a sus hijos antes de haber llegado éstos a la madurez. También algunos hombres toman a una segunda mujer cuando es todavía menor de edad; pero las respetan y no tienen contacto sexual con ellas sino después de pasadas las primeras menstruaciones.

El marido ayuda económicamente a la familia de orientación de sus mujeres, les suministra los productos del conuco, pero el trato con los padres de su esposa está reducido a lo más indispensable. Cuando encuentra en su camino a su suegra cambia en seguida de dirección, no la saluda y, por nada, se atrevería a dirigirle la palabra. Entre suegro y yerno existe una fría amistad ajena a toda manifestación de cordialidad. El mismo tabú existe entre nuera y suegros.

Los Sanemá del Erebato nos aseguraron que un joven soltero podría tener relaciones sexuales con todas las muchachas libres de su grupo y que, muchas veces, son ellas quienes, a ese respecto, toman la iniciativa. Cuando el muchacho es agraciado se une con una o dos muchachas, quienes,

con toda franqueza y confianza, le piden se quede con ellas unas noches más; le brindan comida y esperan que se resuelva a unirse con una de ellas en vínculo matrimonial.

Parece que la mujer, por lo general, no abandona a su marido y espera confiada que su esposo corresponda y no tenga contacto sexual fuera del matrimonio.

Con frecuencia se suscitan enconadas peleas en la familia por motivos pasionales, hasta que el hombre no aguanta más y abandona la ranchería para siempre y, eventualmente, se casa con otra mujer en un pueblo más lejano.

Por lo general, solamente los hombres de edad tienen varias mujeres; no se permite la poliandria. Las viudas se casan, por regla general, con un hermano de su difunto marido, quien toma bajo su protección a sus sobrinos. Esa costumbre no acarrea grandes problemas, ya que el hermano del difunto ha tenido contactos sexuales con sus cuñadas ya antes de casarse, pues siempre las consideró como sus posibles *cónyuges*. Tampoco los niños encuentran dificultad en aceptar a su nuevo papá a quien siempre han llamado "padre" y él a ellos "hijos". De esta manera los Sanemá (y también los Waica, Surará y Pakidai) son una sociedad que permite la poligamia, el sororato y el levirato.

Hemos dicho que un adulto puede casarse con una muchacha muy joven todavía, pero con quien no puede tener relaciones sexuales hasta después de las primeras menstruaciones. No basamos nuestra observación en la práctica de la poliginia entre los Sanemá en casos aislados sino en el hecho de que varios hombres tienen a la vez varias mujeres adultas. No parece que la poliginia sea un privilegio exclusivo del *status* o rango sino que es cosa admitida, ya que todos los adultos pueden casarse con dos o más mujeres. Como parece existir cierta escasez de muchachas casaderas, la costumbre de comprometerse con una niña puede considerarse como una medida de previsión, tomada por el hombre, con vistas al futuro. Muchos matrimonios polígínicos, sin embargo, deben provenir de la costumbre del levirato.

Hay viudas que se casan muy corto tiempo después de la muerte de su marido; otras, sin embargo, esperan muchos meses. Viven en la casa de su cuñado o en la de sus padres y parece que el futuro marido no exige que se quiten el luto ya que la persona llorada y por quien lo llevan no era solamente su marido sino también el hermano de su nuevo pretendiente.

Si el hermano (que muchas veces es el menor) no quiere o no puede

casarse con todas las viudas de su hermano difunto, les permite que vivan con otro hombre. Estos matrimonios ocurren sólo después de algún tiempo, durante el cual el hermano del difunto y las mujeres viven alejados de la sociedad en una especie de aislamiento.

No existen reglas diferenciales para los matrimonios secundarios, pero el padre de las muchachas hermanas tiene el derecho de impedir que ambas se casen con el mismo varón, sobre todo, si el hombre por su escasa preparación o deficiencia no le puede asegurar la ayuda económica que de él espera. Esta razón explica el por qué solamente los hombres maduros y con mayor experiencia de la vida logran, con facilidad, casarse con varias mujeres.

Las esposas de un hombre, pueden vivir bajo el mismo techo o en varias casas y, a pesar de que no existe un turno fijo, el esposo tiene que dedicar el mismo tiempo, más o menos, a cada uno de sus hogares.

Los matrimonios en contra de la extensión bilateral de la ley del incesto son criticados y están prohibidos y cualquiera que contraviniere esta ley queda automáticamente fuera de la sociedad. Los solteros son contados y, solamente el sacerdote, dicen, practica el celibato.

El número de personas de edad avanzada es muy reducido entre los Sanemá. Entre los Nabudub vimos solamente a un viejo.

Las enfermedades tienen, en su mayoría, una causa mágica y los teurgos tratan de curar a quienes están bajo su campo de acción. No penetramos en esta esfera íntima de la cultura Sanemá y lo poco que oímos queda expuesto en el capítulo que versa sobre aspectos religiosos y mágicos de estos indios.

No presenciamos ningún funeral entre los Sanemá, pero nuestro joven informante del alto Erebato nos contó, pormenorizada, la muerte de su padre.

Había salido al monte. Allí encontró a un águila. Como las águilas son hombres, sólo se las puede matar si son enemigos del pueblo de uno. El padre preguntó al águila si era Waica o Sanemá y cuando le contestó que era Waica, el hombre Sanemá la mató con su flecha. Naturalmente observó todos los tabúes que obligan a un cazador que mata a un águila. Pocos días después se enfermó. Tenía una fiebre muy alta y recordó que cuando cogió el águila le dio la impresión de que tenía fiebre y, como a las aves de rapiña muchas veces las envía un teurgo de los enemigos vecinos para matar a la gente, eso explicaba todo. No había pues que dar más vueltas, el diagnóstico era claro, el águila había transmitido su enfermedad al cazador. Fue empeorándose a medida que transcurrían los días hasta que

murió; pero antes había explicado a sus familiares la causa de su enfermedad y la razón de su segura defunción.

Inmediatamente después de la muerte, toda la familia se anegó en lágrimas y se puso a gritar, mientras tanto unos hombres se entregaron a la búsqueda del material necesario para el levantamiento del cadáver. Para eso se necesita una cantidad de estacas y de hojas con las que se hace una especie de ataúd cilíndrico y, después de haber metido al muerto se ata todo con lianas. Luego llevan el cadáver al monte donde lo depositan, a unos kilómetros de distancia, sobre el ramaje de un árbol, para que allí se descomponga la carne. Muchas veces los familiares no dejan solo al muerto en el monte pues tienen miedo que vengan animales y lo devoren. Los muertos tienen mucho miedo a los animales y gritan cuando el tigre se aproxima a ellos.

El felino respeta solamente a un sablí muerto porque si se acerca se muere a su vez.

Nuestro informante pasó varias noches junto al cadáver de su padre teniendo siempre mucho cuidado de no pisar la tierra mojada debajo del muerto porque quienes la pisan pierden los pies.

La tristeza de los familiares es tan intensa que muchas veces algunos no aguantan el dolor y se van al monte para morir. Sobre todo las mujeres se lamentan mucho durante la noche y los hombres las retienen para que no huyan al monte. El informante se recordó que el más fuerte de su tribu se comportó como loco después de la muerte de su padre y quería matar a todo el mundo. Los hombres no le dejaron que les acompañase al monte para recoger los huesos de su padre por miedo de que, dado su comportamiento, cometiese algún crimen.

Después de un mes, más o menos, los hombres de la tribu van al monte y recogen los huesos de su compañero; la carne se descompone por completo durante ese tiempo. Algunos hombres bajan el ataúd y otros envuelven los restos del muerto en unas hojas grandes, haciendo de esa manera un bulto de huesos que llevan consigo a la ranchería. Allí lo depositan en un chinchorro y lo dejan por unos cuatro días, mientras que los familiares siguen llorando en una lamentación ininterrumpida.

Después, el sablí lleva los huesos a un fogón preparado en la plaza y los pone encima del montón de leña. Dijo también nuestro informante que el sablí al hacer eso pronuncia una fórmula ya consabida que significa: "tú vas bien", pues de no decirla la hikula no encontraría su camino. Después prende la candela, sopla al par que levanta los brazos por sobre su

cabeza y en el humo que sube asciende la parte no material del hombre, su hikula y su alma y, quizás, algo más que nosotros no entendemos todavía. A veces, se oye al dueño de la hikula que viene silbando para llevarse la hikula del muerto al sitio donde se encuentran todas las demás.

Los hombres toman grandes cantidades de yopo y bailan alrededor de la candela que inmisericorde consume los huesos. Cantan y danzan toda la noche mientras los familiares gritan contra sus enemigos vecinos. La ceremonia termina por la mañana, cuando el sabí saca los huesos para pulverizarlos en una totuma.

Un familiar guarda dentro de su casa la totuma tapada con una hoja y que contiene las cenizas que serán consumidas en la próxima fiesta de los muertos, en un caldo de bananos.

Nuestro conocimiento acerca de la *religión* y de la *mitología* de los Sanemá es insuficiente, pues para estudiar el mundo sobrenatural de una tribu se necesitaría conocer a fondo su cultura ya que ésta, en múltiples actividades, es un trasunto de aquella y, además, gozar de la confianza absoluta del indio para que exponga sin artificio cuanto interesa al investigador. Sin embargo, tomando como punto de partida los datos que pudimos obtener y los que han sido publicados por diversos autores de indiscutible solvencia, osamos abordar el asunto de la vida religiosa de los Sanemá, porque, a pesar de los muchos rasgos de semejanza con las demás subtribus Yanoama, en general, se destacan algunos elementos específicos que nos darán una mejor comprensión del mundo metafísico Yanoama.

La sociedad Yanoama parece tener tres teurgos o practicantes religiosos, pero cada uno pertenece y actúa en una esfera sobrenatural distinta.

El primero de los tres es el *hwiawin*, o el sacerdote medianero entre la comunidad humana y Omao. Pertenece tanto al pueblo que representa como a la corte de Omao. Vive en ambos mundos y cambia, con frecuencia, de residencia.

Como el pueblo Sanemá no puede existir en buenas condiciones sin el contacto íntimo y continuado con la casa de Omao, *táiyawin*, el sacerdote se hace imprescindible en la agrupación de una banda, cuya existencia está vinculada en gran parte a la cualidad del sacerdote.

El hwiawán de los Sanemá se dedica exclusivamente al desempeño de su alto oficio. Por eso no puede trabajar, ni cazar, ni pescar, etc., como un hombre corriente y vive de los beneficios que le proporciona la comunidad, en compensación de los servicios que presta a ésta.

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

En sus frecuentes vuelos entre la tierra y el cielo, suele matar a algún zamuro o gavilán y con esto explica que muchas veces regresa con la boca ensangrentada trayendo algunos pajúes y, alguna que otra vez, hasta una pierna humana, trofeos que logró matando al enemigo (23).

Antes de explicar la naturaleza del poder del hʷïawán vamos, primero, a narrar la génesis del primer hʷïawán de los Sanemá y que nos explicará el por qué el hʷïawán puede volar y por qué va siempre levantado unos 30 cm del suelo cuando está en la tierra.

Había un hombre que fue un día al monte a cazar. Allí le encontró un Gran Tigre, *omanháhe*, que es un tigre gigantesco, dueño de los demás felinos y que camina en posición erecta como un hombre. El tigre agarró al hombre y se comió toda la carne, dejando el esqueleto limpio pero sin quebrar ningún hueso. El hombre se quedó vivo y pidió al Gran Tigre que le diese otra carne. El Tigre le dio otra carne pero le dijo que en adelante sería *hʷï* (murciélago). Y desde entonces el hombre hʷïawán es murciélago también. Es un hombre muy manso, los niños le quieren mucho porque nunca se enoja y no regaña. Cuando está entre los hombres pasa su tiempo entonando canciones, cantos *wäsimo*, que los hombres los aprenden por la frecuencia con que los entona. Canta durante el día, pero sobre todo de noche. De pronto interrumpe su canto y vuela al cielo, donde se reune con otros hʷïawán para cenar con Omao.

El hʷïawán tiene que guardar celosamente cierto número de tabúes y del esmero con que los guarde depende, no solamente su potencia como sacerdote, sino también la existencia de todo su pueblo. Así, por ejemplo, no debe comer cangrejos u otros animales que, en realidad, son para ellos hombres: tales como águilas, etc.

Si llega a hacerlo el "peso del muerto" mata a su hikulaḍ, desastre que, a su vez, causa la muerte tanto del sacerdote como de gran parte de su congregación. Por la misma razón, el hʷïawán nunca participa en la guerra ni en ningún combate porque, aunque es invulnerable y ninguna flecha ni maza le puede matar, su hikulaḍ no podría aguantar el "peso" de un hombre muerto por sus armas. De aquí la necesidad que tiene cada grupo local Sanemá de contar con un jefe especial para el tiempo de guerra.

El hʷïawán, que pertenece más a la corte de Omao que a la comunidad Sanemá, no se casa con determinada mujer. Puede tener relaciones sexuales con todas las mujeres solteras del grupo, pero se despreocupa completamente de ellas y de los niños. No tiene deberes ni de esposo ni de padre.

(23) Es probable que todo esto represente el hábitos ideal más que real del sacerdote.

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

Si se muere un hwiawán, cualquier mujer del grupo puede tener un niño predestinado a ser hwiawán. No se sabe quien de los niños nacidos en el tiempo inmediato que sigue a la muerte de un sacerdote puede ser el hwiawán del futuro; pero, un día, ya hombre, el verdadero hwiawán regresa de la selva donde se encontró con el Gran Tigre, quien le cambió en sacerdote, reemplazando su carne de hombre por otra más digna de sus huesos; la carne de un sacerdote-murciélago.

Informa entonces a la gente de lo sucedido y, como esa elección sucede poco tiempo después de la muerte de un sacerdote, el nuevo hwiawán procura tomar a tiempo el puesto vacante, asegurando, de esta manera, la continuación del contacto ininterrumpido que han tenido generación tras generación los Sanemá con Omao.

El Gran Tigre tiene ciertas relaciones con Omao, el héroe deificado de los Sanemá, ya que su nombre "Omao-kóhe", indica tal relación, y se puede, quizás, hablar de una vocación para el oficio de sacerdote ya que el Ser Supremo Sanemá le admite, después de su encuentro con el Gran Tigre, en la corte de Omao.

Según la etnología suramericana sorprende encontrar un "especialista" en una sociedad nómada pre-agricultora, pero, como diremos más adelante, ésta es la segunda vez que encontramos un caso semejante en Venezuela; el otro fue el del *wíriáto* Warao.

El sacerdote Sanemá es miembro de la corte de Omao no sólo porque el Gran Tigre le cambió en murciélago sino también porque Omao le dió una hikulad- que es invisible aunque tiene forma esférica como una pelota, y mientras más grande sea la hikulad- más poderoso es el sacerdote.

La hikulad- del sacerdote, explicó el informante, es como un globo que el hwiawán guarda en su pecho. Ya veremos luego que el otro practicante religioso de los Sanemá también tiene una hikulad- pero esencialmente distinta. Tenemos la impresión de que la hikulad- del sacerdote contiene "las almas" de los antepasados quienes fueron destinados por Omao a vivir allí y ayudar al sacerdote. Como los datos obtenidos los juzgamos insuficientes no queremos aventurarnos en afirmaciones rotundas, pero parece cierto que el sacerdote Sanemá, cura también a los enfermos sobre todo a quienes sufren de fiebre. Nos explicó nuestro informante que los antepasados (hikula-dib), la gente de la hikulad- del sacerdote, son quienes curan de la fiebre cuando el sacerdote extrae la hikulad- de su pecho y la deposita, por algún tiempo, en el cuerpo del paciente.

A veces no se logra el efecto apetecido, eso indica que el alma de la

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

víctima ya abandonó el cuerpo y no quiere regresar. Los hîkula constituyen algo así como un "pueblecito" sobrenatural dentro de la comunidad Sanemá en que vive el sacerdote y no quieren ninguna comunicación con los hîkula-dîb del pueblo vecino. Los sacerdotes de los pueblos cercanos no se visitan, pues empezarían a pelearse hasta que uno de ellos quedara inerte en el suelo, agotado y rendido. Pero no se matan. Sólo en la casa de Omao pueden reunirse todos los hwiawán con sus hîkula-dîb.

Los hîkula-dîb de un sacerdote actúan exclusivamente en su ranchería, es decir en la ranchería del sacerdote que figura en la casa de Omao como representante de su comunidad terrestre particular y, por esa razón, no necesitan más que un sacerdote. En la parte gráfica puede observarse la hikulad*r* de un sacerdote, dibujada por uno de nuestros informantes. Allí se ven cinco hîkula-dîb, o almas de los antepasados del grupo en cuyo seno actúa el sacerdote. La figura más alta representa la fiebre. En el centro se nota una imagen cuadrangular que es una casa. Uno de los seres que se encuentra adentro de la misma es el sacerdote, pero lo que se ve al lado izquierdo es un coleóptero, el escarabajo. Por debajo de la casa se nota el corazón del sacerdote.

El informante después de haber dibujado la figura insistió mucho en que la rompiésemos y padecía cierta angustia por habérnosla dado. Transcurridos unos días le llevé el dibujo para solicitar nuevos detalles, estaba ya en calma y tranquilo. La razón de sufrir esa angustia se basaba en la creencia de que un Sanemá no debe hablar del insecto de la casa del hikulad*r*. De hecho nuestro informante nunca mencionó su nombre. Yo identifiqué el insecto como escarabajo, fundamentándome en las descripciones que nos daba y porque no era la primera vez que oía mencionar el escarabajo u otro coleóptero como un ser sobrenatural en la etnología suramericana.

Tal es la creencia de los *Lengua* del Gran Chaco quienes afirman que el Gran Escarabajo creó el universo y lo pobló con espíritus y hombres. Los *Toba*, también del Chaco, lo llaman *payak*, nombre que significa espíritu; y es interesante respecto a la hikulad*r* del sacerdote Sanemá la costumbre de los *Mataco* de atribuir un poder mágico excepcional a una maraca con coleópteros sagrados (Métraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). La semejanza entre la hikulad*r* de los Sanemá y la "maraca sagrada" de muchas tribus suramericanas es muy sinsomática.

La función del escarabajo en el proceso de una curación es la siguiente: Si el hwiawán quiere curar a un enfermo, saca la hîkula de su pecho y la coloca sobre el enfermo. Para efectuar la cura el escarabajo abre un hueco invisible en el pecho del paciente y por ahí entra la hikulad*r* del sacerdote.

Ya en el pecho del enfermo, los hikula-dib salen de la hikuladr para combatir y arrojar al exterior la causa de la enfermedad. Después de un rato, el sacerdote se apodera otra vez de su hikuladr y la curación ha tenido pleno éxito. El informante no quiso mencionar el nombre del coleóptero, ni siquiera hablar de él, temiendo que al hacerlo, si luego llegara a enfermar, el sacerdote no podría curarle, ya que el insecto no abriría un hueco en el pecho del enfermo.

Es nuestra impresión que el sacerdote solo cura las enfermedades que resultan de la presencia, en el cuerpo del enfermo, del alma de un difunto errante que se acerca a las rancherías y cuya sola presencia causa dolor.

Si interpretamos que la parte del Sanemá que va a la casa de Omao es el alma, podemos decir que el sacerdote se preocupa del bienestar de la [illegible] en el cuerpo de sus compañeros, y que representa el principio actuante entre el sujeto "alma del hombre" y el objeto "Omao", quienes entran en comunicación por medio de la intervención del sacerdote. Para el alma, que va a vivir en la casa de Omao como hikula-dib, anotamos el nombre de henpirtib, que en su carácter esencial parece corresponder al "bole" de los Waica (Zerries, 1958b).

El hewiawán puede mandar un hikula-dib al pueblo vecino para que [illegible]e enfermedades entre sus habitantes, pero su función primordial es garantizar el bienestar de las almas de su comunidad y presentarles eventualmente a Omao al morir. Resulta interesante al respecto mencionar que los Surara y Pakidai, subgrupos de los Yanoama del Brasil, consideran que las enfermedades las transmite un shamán del pueblo vecino valiéndose de gavilanes y murciélagos. Los Sanemá dicen que el hewiawán en sus viajes mata gavilanes y zamuros (Becher, 1960, p. 96). Como ya explicamos en otra parte de este capítulo, creen los Sanemá que tanto el águila como otras aves de rapiña son "hombres" a quienes se puede matar solamente si pertenecen a una tribu enemiga.

La hikuladr brinda al sacerdote la posibilidad de volar a la casa de Omao. Para que yo le entendiese mejor y no dudase de su veracidad, el dibujante indígena fijó una hélice a la esfera misteriosa. Diríase que el hewiawán lleva el alma de un difunto a la casa de Omao.

El segundo practicante religioso de los Sanemá es un shamán que se llama *sablí*. El mundo sobrenatural que él domina es distinto del mundo del sacerdote y, por consiguiente, su función difiere de la del primero.

Para hacerse shamán, el candidato tiene que someterse a un entrenamiento muy riguroso, bajo la dirección de un viejo sablí que sabe cantar el "Gran Kor".

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

Durante el tiempo de aprendizaje, que dura varias semanas, el candidato toma el yopo constantemente a través de un tubo o simplemente con la mano, come muy poco y sólo la comida prescrita; no se baña y casi no habla. Entre los Waica del Alto Orinoco vi un grupo de estos candidatos que me dejaron una impresión deprimente pues denunciaban un prolongado sufrimiento por el consumo de la droga. No pudimos hablar con ellos y no nos permitieron sacarles muestras de sangre como hicimos con los demás miembros de la ranchería.

Parece que todos los hombres son sablés en potencia, pero entre ellos hay unos muy fuertes y otros débiles y, solamente los más fuertes saben cantar bien el "*kei*". Este canto lo ejecuta el sablí al clausurar el período de enseñanza, cuando los candidatos están preparados y dispuestos a recibir las híkulas, o "principios vitales específicos" de las especies de la fauna y de la flora, con excepción de los peces. Tan pronto como oyen el llamado de su maestro, obedecen y van hacia su paradero, allí encuentran al candidato a sablí, esperándoles para que entren en su pecho. Entran, sin pérdida de tiempo, por las extremidades del cuerpo y por la cabeza. Acuden por el orden nominal que va cantando el maestro sablí quien, en esa forma, "construye un pueblo" o un micro-cosmos en el cuerpo del hombre. Mientras más poderoso sea el maestro, mayor será el "pueblo" y mientras mayor sea ese "pueblo" mejor ocasión tiene de que en su vida aumente el sablí su mundo interno y su poder.

La hikulade del sablí es esencialmente distinta de la del sacerdote, en el sentido de que está habitada por el principio vital de las especies vegetales y animales y no por las almas de los antepasados. El hombre también tiene una híkula específica, distinta de su alma y que, como las del reino vegetal y animal, parece ser inmortal y espiritual unida esencialmente a la materia animada hasta la muerte. Cada ejemplar de una especie posee una híkula específica; después de la muerte, el ejemplar va a un sitio luminoso, en el monte. Mientras que el alma de un hombre puede abandonar el cuerpo humano en el sueño, etc., sin que resulte perjudicial para el mismo hombre, la híkula nunca sale sino a la hora de la muerte. Además el alma es típicamente humana, mientras que la híkula se encuentra tanto en el hombre como en las plantas y en los animales. Algunos nos informaron, con insistencia, que las mujeres y los niños pequeños no tienen híkula.

He aquí el cuento que explica el origen y la naturaleza de la híkula en el mundo animado.

Chinanidmawan es un demonio gigantesco de forma espantosa, con largas y afiladas garras. Tiene una piel impenetrable y tan dura como piedra.

Un día Chinanidmawan vino para atacar a los Sanemá. Estos se aprestaron con sus armas para hacerle frente. Pronto, sin embargo, los Sanemá se dieron cuenta de que las flechas y las lanzas no hacían mella sobre el demonio quien agarró a la mayoría de sus enemigos. Chinanidmawan descuartizó y devoró a las víctimas, pero guardó las pieles que clavó en estacas, alrededor y dentro de su casa. (Es de sumo interés que esa práctica de guardar la piel del enemigo se haya conservado en la mitología Sanemá, ya que es reminiscente de algunas tribus del Cauca, en Colombia, de los *Manta* del Ecuador, de los *Huanca* del Perú, y de los Inca. También recuerda el culto de *Xipe* de América Central).

Los Sanemá se amedrentaron ante la fiereza del monstruo y esperaban el día en que Chinanidmawan volviera a maltratarlos y matarlos.

Por aquellos días vivía entre los Sanemá un gran sabií, muy famoso y en extremo poderoso, que se puso a pensar cómo podría deshacerse de ese demonio. Se fue el gran sabií al monte y allí encontró una liana que le pareció muy a propósito. Cortó un pedazo del bejuco y regresó. Por la noche fue a la casa de Chinanidmawan para sorprenderlo mientras dormía rodeado de sus horribles trofeos. En efecto le encontró sumido en profundo sueño, entonces el sabií le introdujo por el ano un pedazo de liana. El demonio se despertó sobresaltado. Se dió cuenta de que un poderoso sabií había hallado el modo de matarlo. En efecto, poco tiempo después Chinanidmawan murió y los Sanemá expusieron su cadáver al sol para que se pudriese la carne. Pero como el demonio tenía la piel tan dura se secó la carne y la piel quedó intacta; quisieron, entonces, prenderle fuego, pero fue imposible quemarla, entonces la arrojaron a la selva y huyeron del lugar.

La piel de Chinanidmawan, abandonada en la selva, se introdujo en las plantas, en los animales y en los hombres. Por eso todos los hombres varones, los animales y las plantas tienen dentro de su cuerpo un Chinanidmawan duro e indestructible que se llama híkula.

La híkula es la parte del varón que se queda en la tierra después de su muerte. Cuando se quema el cadáver de una persona, su híkula, al ver la nube negra que se desprende del fuego, se reune con todas las demás híkulas y permanecen allí por largo tiempo... escuchando y escuchando lo que proviene del mundo donde viven los hombres.

El tamaño de la híkula de un hombre corresponde a la medida de su torso, y cuanto más grande es la híkula más fuerte es la persona.

Durante los ritos funerarios, los hombres, bajo la influencia del yopo, cantan de su híkula giganteca y, para poner a prueba su enorme fuerza,

se inclina rápidamente al suroeste, y se aprietan fuertemente con los brazos o con palos. Entre los hombres, solamente el sacerdote, hekúrawa, no tiene hikula, porque ya es ciudadano del cielo.

El sublí Sanemá tiene gran influencia sobre los animales y las plantas representadas en su hikulado, con quienes se comunica durante el sueño. Si sueña con un animal peligroso, con un tigre por ejemplo, lo hace temerse para emprender su cuarto duhumú contra los tigres. Ese canto aleja al tigre de la ranchería, pero, cuando está huyendo cerca, la hikulado del sublí sale para matar el tigre en el monte, donde los cazadores lo encontrarían muerto al día siguiente. Pero si los hombres enviados por el sublí no encuentran el cuerpo del tigre, todo el mundo, al día siguiente, se queda en la ranchería pues temen que el Gran Tigre esté en la selva y mate a cualquiera que encuentre en su camino.

Los sublíes cantan casi cada noche y cuanto más grande es el animal que se les representa en sueños más intenso es su canto. En el canto, el sublí puede mandar a cualquier hikula de su pecho que vaya a matar a un hombre de una ranchería extraña por lejos que esté. Por lo general, lo hace por la noche y, al día siguiente, los compañeros de la víctima lo encuentran muerto en su chinchorro.

Tengo la impresión de que las hikulas propias de las diferentes especies son, de por sí, absolutamente pasivas y que se comportan en forma activa solamente por mandato y voluntad del sublí. La mayoría de las enfermedades e incluso la muerte las produce una hikula introducida en el cuerpo del hombre por intervención del sublí y de su fuerza mágica.

El sublí sacerdote influenciado por los efectos del yopo grita, canta y baila alrededor del paciente. Con ésto trata de alejar la hikula dañina que pugna por entrar en el cuerpo del hombre. Está personificada, muchas veces, por un hombre que es simbólicamente combatido por la hikula del sublí y otras seleccionadas de su "pueblo de hikula" del pecho. El arte curativo del sublí depende mucho de su diagnóstico, según el cual selecciona de su gran hikula en el pecho quienes, por su habilidad pueden combatir la hikula o las hikulas causantes de la enfermedad. Se sobreentiende que un sublí joven e inexperto se equivoca en su diagnóstico de identificar, de todos los miles posibles, la hikula que produce la enfermedad, enviada por un enemigo. También puede suceder que un sublí con un "pueblo" pequeño de hikulas en el pecho, no tenga a su disposición una hikula adecuada para producir el resultado apetecido. En ese caso, hay que acudir a un sublí más experto quien recibirá por sus servicios regalos en comida, etc. A un sublí joven le queda la esperanza de que crezca su "pueblo" hikula en el pecho. Pero cuanto

4: Wilbert SC18 Yanoama

más viejo se hace el hombre, menos oportunidad tiene para aumentar su poder.

La potencialidad de la hikula del sublí le hace invulnerable y a quien arroja una flecha contra él, le rompe la mano y las armas. Por eso, el sublí es el hombre indicado para dirigir como jefe de guerra, o, por lo menos, inspira y ayuda con su poder mágico y su canto por el camino.

Un sublí de gran fuerza no se muere hasta que todas las hikulas de las plantas, de los animales y, algunos dicen, de las estrellas, no han venido para vivir en su pecho y cuando lo han logrado crece el poder de su hikula y le va a matar. Entonces, el sublí avisa a su gente, se despide de quienes ha protegido durante todo el tiempo de su vida adulta y, como último servicio, promete matar al grupo enemigo vecino tan pronto como su hikula esté libre del cuerpo. Al morir, la piedra roja que tenía y la cual bajó con gran ruido del cielo, sube otra vez al lugar de su procedencia (24).

La hikula de un hombre, animal o planta, después de la muerte no va al cielo sino que se congrega en un sitio determinado. Dijo nuestro informante que las hikulas de los hombres varones se cambian después de un tiempo determinado en tigres mariposas. En esta forma continúan la vida que han tenido en el hombre, reconocen a los amigos y enemigos y a los hombres del mismo grupo al que pertenecían y también a los hombres enemigos contra quienes combatieron. A veces el hombre se encuentra en el monte con un tigre mariposa; se da cuenta de que se enfrenta con una hikula de su grupo o con la de un sublí muerto. No lo mata y deja que pase tranquilamente el tigre sin amenazarle siquiera con el arma.

El mundo de los hikulas "específicos" se encuentra al otro lado del horizonte y en contraposición del mundo de las almas. Allí los sublíes viven para siempre con los animales y plantas muertos.

Vale la pena referirnos otra vez a la insistencia de nuestro informante Sanemá del Alto Caura sobre el hecho de que las mujeres no tienen hikula específica. Nos afirmó, por otra parte, que las mujeres tienen un origen distinto del hombre y que todavía existe un mundo netamente femenino, y que cada pueblo Sanemá tiene su correspondiente *hamekasi*. El informante no quiso identificar al animal de que hablaba, pero supimos que se trataba de una especie muy conocida. De la mitología se puede deducir que los primeros varones fueron hechos de un árbol seco por los hermanos héroes culturales, mientras que la primera mujer la pescaron en un caudaloso río.

Omao quería metamorfosear en mujeres a las mariposas que bailaban

(24) No he logrado conocer más detalles de esa piedra, ni la he visto.

como grasa en la grupa de un río, porque los *hamekasi* son un pueblo de hombres donde sólo hay unas vaginas para asegurar la reproducción. Este pueblo de amazonas es una réplica exacta de la población femenina de la ranchería vecina de un pueblo en cuyas características encontramos un concepto de *alter ego* para las mujeres Sanemá.

Es posible que entre la hilula y el varón exista alguna relación, porque se dice que los hombres se mueren por el "peso" de la hilula de ciertos animales; pero no estamos seguros en este punto (cf. Zerries, 1958b; Becher, 1960, p. 92). Mayor seguridad tenemos de la relación existente entre las mujeres y el animal *hamekasi:* ya que se muere una mujer (de la ranchería vecina) por cada *hamekasi* cazado. Aquí también pueden existir otros conceptos religiosos de difícil interpretación por el momento.

Un tercer tipo de mundo que parece existir en la sociedad Sanemá es el mago, el *hâilala*. No causa como el ahlî y no tiene ninguna influencia sobre las hilulas específicas, ni sobre las almas. Es el curandero del organismo, del cuerpo del hombre. Cura emitiendo tremendos gritos, dando masajes en los miembros enfermos y doloridos de sus pacientes. De repente sorprende a todos al sacar de debajo de su lengua piedras, palillos, alimañas, etc. Las "flechas" salen en forma de un líquido negro, de tabaco, etc. Escupe y pita lo que ha logrado extraer. También el *hâilala* de los Sanemá tiene a la vez poder benéfico y maligno y puede disparar las flechas mágicas a la ranchería enemiga causando así la enfermedad o la muerte. Si comparamos este complejo religioso de los Sanemá con el de los Warao, encontramos tan gran parecido que no queda la menor duda que ambos tienen un origen idéntico.

Entre los Warao, el culto del templo es estrictamente local y no puede verificarse en un sitio donde no haya sacerdote, que puede ser un hombre o una mujer, aunque para este oficio existe una categoría especial en la sociedad de los Warao. No es hereditario y puede obtenerse por el llamamiento especial del Ser Supremo, Kanobo.

Al hijo del sacerdote se le considera generalmente como más idóneo —por nacimiento— para desempeñar el oficio de su padre, pero aunque el hijo sea capaz de suceder a su padre en un puesto político no le da derecho necesariamente a sucederle como sacerdote, como sucede entre los *Taino*, donde el hijo hereda el oficio de sacerdote conjuntamente con la jefatura.

El culto del templo Warao está además completamente *separado del shamanismo y la magia;* los asuntos religiosos están a cargo de personas especialmente designadas y que sólo actúan dentro de su propio ámbito.

El hecho de que el sacerdote pueda curar las enfermedades no debe llevar al observador a falsas conclusiones, ya que es lógico, según la mentalidad de los Warao, que el sacerdote demine —a través del poder de Dios— a los espíritus del cielo, cuyo deseo es llevar a todo el mundo al lado de Dios, a quien deben obediencia y cuyas dádivas les son transmitidas por medio del sacerdote. Son espíritus objetivamente buenos pero que se vuelven subjetivamente malos cuando con su capacidad metafísica penetran en el cuerpo del hombre, físicamente limitado, provocándole una presión, es decir, una enfermedad. En la terminología Warao el sacerdote cura "suavizando esa presión", dando por resultado enfermedades típicas, tales como fiebres de cualquier clase, las cuales cura al expulsar los espíritus sólo con su presencia, pero en casos particularmente críticos y difíciles puede también emplear una maraca propia.

Este último instrumento en manos del sacerdote-médico puede inducir también a error identificando a éste con el *shamán*, aunque realmente la maraca de un sacerdote y la de un shamán son consideradas por los Warao como esencialmente distintas. Los poderes de la maraca del sacerdote están garantizados por las piedras de *hawáo* que lleva dentro, una segunda clase de espíritus que pertenecen a la corte de Dios. Las piedras de la maraca del shamán representan otras fuerzas. Luego, aunque morfológicamente ambos instrumentos tienen el mismo origen, funcionalmente han sido especializados, probablemente de manera distinta, por nuestros indios. El shamanismo Warao está basado en la concepción de la existencia de una esencia inmanente en todos los objetos y que sólo puede ser liberada gracias al poder del shamán, con el fin de ser dirigida hacia el cuerpo de alguno. Cada shamán tiene también el poder de extraer esta especie de esencia de la persona, es decir, curarla de su enfermedad. El shamán cura fumando, shamando y soplando y, cuando lo hace, debe apoyar su mano sobre la parte dolorida, mientras deja pasar por su mente numerosas imágenes de objetos, hasta que pone atención en uno especial, que es el objeto que provocó la enfermedad, del cual el espíritu debe saltar instantáneamente a su mano o a la maraca. El mago, finalmente, saca del cuerpo de una persona o introduce en él objetos materiales, [illegible]nes de un mal.

Los sacerdotes Warao son especializados en alto grado. Tienen que observar tabúes especiales respecto a los alimentos, que deben ser cocinados sólo por sus mujeres, en un fuego nuevo encendido para ello y en una olla especial. Comen separados de los demás, viven en su propia casa y no deben realizar ningún trabajo arduo. Viven idealmente de su oficio (Wilbert, 1957a, 1960a).

Publicamos a continuación unos detalles mitológicos que logramos anotar.

OMAO Y SOMO

Al principio había una mujer embarazada. Un día llegó el Gran Tigre y se comió a esa mujer. Cuando encontró el útero quiso comérselo también, pero en ese preciso momento se presentó un sapo que le dijo que esa cosa no se comía. El Tigre dejó el útero abandonado en el monte y se fué.

El sapo cogió el útero y se lo llevó a su casa. Después de unos meses salieron de él dos varones mellizos a quienes dió los nombres de *Omao y Somo*. Los dos muchachos eran hermanos pero el sapo no era su "madre", a pesar de que los había alimentado y protegido de todos los peligros.

Un día el Tigre regresó de nuevo y oyó hablar a los dos jóvenes. Entonces se dió cuenta de lo que había sucedido y trató de matar a los dos hermanos. Pero ellos dieron un gran salto y se encaramaron en un gigantesco árbol. Allí permanecieron mucho tiempo alimentándose de las frutas del árbol. El Tigre no dejaba de acecharles y de codiciar su deliciosa comida. Se propuso pues, trepar también al árbol, pero cuando estaba cerca de ellos se lanzaron al vacío. El Tigre les siguió pero, con tan mala suerte que, al caer se dió tan duro golpe contra el suelo que murió.

Los dos hermanos se fueron al monte. Estaban solos. La soledad les abrumaba. Decidieron crear al hombre. Quisieron hacer a los varones de madera muy dura de manera que no murieran. Empezaron pues a vagar por la selva en busca del árbol más resistente. Encontraron muchos pero Omao no se daba por satisfecho y continuó la búsqueda. Su hermano Somo se desanimó y perdió por completo la paciencia; sacó su hacha, tumbó el árbol más próximo y se puso a hacer a los hombres. Cuando llegó Omao y vió el árbol que había derribado su hermano le sobrecogió intensa tristeza porque presentía que los hombres morirían jóvenes por falta de fuerza. Se enfureció con su hermano y agarrándole por el brazo le derribó en tierra sobre un nido de avispas que le picaron tanto que huyó despavorido corriendo y gritando por el monte.

A veces se encuentran hachas pulidas en el monte, son las de Omao, con las que cortó cuatro árboles muy fuertes. Pero no hizo de ellos a los hombres sino a las culebras, las cuales no mueren ya que al cambiar de piel rejuvenecen constantemente.

Después Omao y Somo quisieron crear a las mujeres y, como Somo era un excelente pescador, Omao le hizo un anzuelo para que fuese a pescar al río. Pero Somo perdió el anzuelo y regresó sin pesca. Omao le hizo otro anzuelo más fuerte. Esta vez Somo sacó un enorme pez. Omao lo puso en

una cesta diciendo que era su mujer y que Soso no la tocase. Soso no la tocó a pesar de que era muy hermosa.

Un día, Omao dijo a su hermano que quería hacer una mujer para él y también para las demás hombres; que se iba a la playa y que guardara muy bien a su cuñada cuidándose mucho de tocarla.

Omao se alejó y después de caminar largo trecho llegó a la ribera de un caudaloso río. Allí encontró gran cantidad de hermosas mariposas. De ellas quiso crear la esposa de su hermano y las mujeres de los demás hombres. Las mariposas se mostraron muy esquivas y huían cada vez que Omao se acercaba a ellas. Entonces Omao se cambió en una mosca y puso una carnada dulce para atraer a la pesa. Pero todo se echó a perder porque en el momento preciso de agarrar a la mariposa más hermosa, oyó Omao un grito que identificó como el de su mujer. En efecto, Soso, cansado de esperar a su hermano y a su mujer, perdió la paciencia, abrió la cesta donde estaba su cuñada y quiso cohabitar con ella. Pero ésta dió un tremendo grito y se escapó. Las mariposas se espantaron y huyeron de la playa.

Omao, contrariado, dejó a su hermano solo en la tierra y él se fué al cielo.

EL SOL Y LA LUNA

El sol es un hombre y la luna es también un hombre. Ambos se consideran como enemigos debido al suceso que voy a narrar.

Un día la luna dijo a un hombre que fuese a buscar leña. Este se fué a buscarla. Cuando la trajo no complació a la luna que quería mucho más. Nuevamente volvió a mandarle al monte. Entonces el hombre se dió cuenta de que lo que quería la luna era comérselo. Entonces el hombre huyó. Salió corriendo hacia el sol en solicitud de asilo y protección. El sol le escondió. Cuando se presentó la luna que iba en su búsqueda, le dijo el sol que no le había visto. La luna enojada insistió y hasta quiso registrar la casa del sol. Entonces el sol la quemó la cara y de ahí las cicatrices que muestra en su rostro.

La luna se fue al otro lado del mundo y mientras el sol selló su amistad con el hombre, la luna fue su enemigo irreconciliable. Cuando la luna aparece roseda es porque, junto con su familia, está comiendo a los hombres. El sol también tiene familia, pero no come carne humana. A veces la luna se oculta en su casa para planear una nueva campaña. En esa época las mujeres tienen mucho miedo y, para protegerse, pintan el dibujo del sol en las mejillas; también suelen pintarlo en las piedras grandes que encuentran en el camino.

ODNEHÎB

Más abajo de la tierra existe el mundo de los enanos, quienes se llaman Odnehîb. Viven como los hombres, pero hablan y comen muy rápido. No tienen intestinos ni ano y cuando comen carne u otro alimento, lo cortan en pedazos y se lo tragan crudo, sin masticar (25). A veces también se comen las mujeres que ocultan la menstruación. En una circunstancia el río subterráneo creció tanto que adquirió un inmenso caudal y cobró tanta fuerza que revesó la tierra por debajo del piso de la ranchería en la que vivía una mujer que había ocultado su estado. Se desplomaron las casas y los habitantes se ahogaron, excepto las mujeres, que fueron devoradas por los enanos y sus almas fueron a vivir para siempre con el *guepo*, que tampoco puede subir al cielo y vivir con Omao.

Los enanos como no tienen intestinos siempre padecen hambre y, por eso, devoran la comida con tanta avidez. A veces uno de estos enanos viene a la tierra para visitar a un hombre, pero nunca a una mujer. El hombre no puede ver a su huésped pero siente su presencia porque le asca un hambre devoradora. Al darse cuenta de lo que ocurre se pone a comer con avidez y, en seguida, sale a visitar al *sablí* para que aleje al enano importuno.

LA MUJER QUE SE VOLVIO BAQUIRO

Un hombre quiso *ir* a cazar báquiros y pidió a su mujer que lo acompañase. Pero la mujer estaba en el período de menstruación y no dijo nada a su marido. Ambos se encontraron en la selva con un pequeño rebaño de báquiros. El hombre hizo subir a su esposa a un árbol mientras él se disponía a matar al jabalí. Apenas el cazador se había alejado del sitio, cuando apareció un báquiro al pie del árbol. Este se transformó en un hombre y subió al palo para llevarse a la mujer. Cuando regresó el cazador se puso a buscar afanosamente a su esposa, pero no la encontró. Corrió a la ranchería e informó de lo acaecido a sus compañeros. Estos decidieron seguir las pisadas de la mujer. El *sablí* se puso al frente de la comitiva que avanzaba en fila india.

Pronto el grupo se encontró frente a un hombre que se llamó a sí mismo *Aremá* y quien despedía unas llamas de fuego de su vientre. Le preguntaron si no había visto a una mujer por aquellos contornos. El hombre contestó que había visto una mujer cuya parte superior se había convertido en báquiro al querer pasar en cuatro patas por debajo de un tronco caído y que iba acompañada de muchos hombres y mujeres.

Los Sanemá continuaron la búsqueda y el hombre *Aremá* les acompañó.

---

(25) Ver también el mito correspondiente a los indios Yupa de Venezuela (Wilbert, 1994).

Al caer la tarde colgaron los hombres sus chinchorros unos muy cerca de los otros porque había frío. Uno de ellos, medio dormido todavía, quiso avivar el fuego soplando con fuerza, pero se equivocó y sopló la candela del *hasmá* quien se transformó en una gallinota y salió volando.

Al día siguiente, muy de mañana, los hombres continuaron buscando a la mujer robada. Después de caminar un buen rato, oyeron el ruido de un hacha; alguien cortaba árboles. Era *pólawan*, el tigre que siempre sigue a los báquiros. Estaba cortando leña para asar un báquiro que acababa de matar. Había visto la mujer transformada casi por completo en báquiro, solamente los pies eran todavía de un ser humano. Todos los que la acompañaban pertenecían a una gran manada de báquiros. El pólawan se ofreció a indicar el camino, y, muy temprano, al día siguiente, les ayudó a atacar el campamento enemigo. Durante el ataque el hombre encontró a su esposa, la reconoció por los pies que no habían perdido todavía la forma humana. Se acercó a ella y, por detrás, le agarró el labio superior con la mano derecha y con la izquierda el labio inferior, tiró con violencia y la despojó de la piel de báquiro, librándola, de esa manera, de ese disfraz tan repugnante. La piel se levantó y salió huyendo hacia la selva. Los Sanemá mataron a todos los jabalíes, a los hombres, a las mujeres y a los niños. Pólawan se despidió y la mujer regresó jubilosa, con los hombres, a la ranchería.

LAS HANEKASA

Las *hanekasá* son un pueblo compuesto, en su inmensa mayoría de mujeres. Existe entre ellas solamente un hombre de edad viril que asegura la reproducción. Nacen únicamente niñas y cuando el progenitor es de avanzada edad viene un niño que reemplazará a su padre en este pueblo de amazonas. El número de varones no puede exceder a tres: un niño, un hombre maduro y un anciano.

Las hanekasá se alimentan, de preferencia, de lapa.

A cada población Sanemá corresponde una hanekasá. Cuando dos de estos grupos se encuentran en el camino luchan como varones. Las hanekasá combaten también contra los hombres. Si un hombre, en su cacería, mata a una hanekasá, muere una mujer en la tribu vecina.

HARAMI

Un día un joven Sanemá se encontró solo en la selva. Iba en busca de comida. Después de haber caminado un buen trecho sin matar un solo

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

animal se enojó sobremanera quejándose amargamente porque los animales permanecían en su cremallera (26).

El padre del joven cazador estaba en casa sentado frente al fuego. Era un sabií. De repente vio un enjambre de mariposas que se acercaban para apagar la llama. Se levantó una gran humareda. El sabií oyó los alaridos prolongados y penetrantes del Gran Zorro que, en el río, tiene varios miembros de su familia. Cuando salen de las aguas no matan solamente al cazador que les hizo abandonar su "casa" sino también a toda su familia. Las mariposas viven también en el río y son las amigas del Gran Zorro a quien ayudan a matar a los cazadores malos y culpables. Después de extinguir el fuego atacan a los familiares del mal cazador y si éste se encuentra en casa le chupan la sangre por los rincones de los ojos. El sabií sabía todo eso y el grave peligro que corría su hijo y la familia, pero también conocía el medio de defenderse de las mariposas. Agarró algunas de ellas y las escupió encima. Inmediatamente las mariposas cesaron de atacarle y se murieron. El Gran Zorro se quedó quieto porque sabía que su víctima estaba en el monte bajo la protección de un poderoso shamán. Así se salvó el joven cazador de los dientes del Gran Zorro, que devora a sus víctimas y se las traga sin masticar.

KASMAI

Kasmái es un hombre que vive en el río. Cada seis meses, cuando hay luna nueva, sale del agua para vivir, por tres días, entre los hombres. Esto les agrada y lo festejan con una fiesta bailable. Kasmái se divierte mucho en estas fiestas. Sale del río pintado su cuerpo con rojo de onoto. Sus hijos le pintan en el río al que llaman "su casa". Los hombres le obsequian con suculentas comidas, pero Kasmái no come mucho porque está harto y le sobra comida en su casa. No permanece mucho tiempo en la tierra. Después de tres días invita a sus compañeros a bañarse en el río y súbitamente desaparece a la merced de las aguas.

WAU

Wau vive en el río, pero es un caimán. Sin embargo no es un caimán vulgar, ya que es el dueño de los peces. Corre tan rápido como la brisa y persigue a los hombres que pescan con barbasco o que tiran al río las espinas de los peces que han comido. Wau lleva siempre una maza enorme y el hombre a quien persigue sólo puede salvarse si logra trepar rápidamente a un árbol alto y corpulento.

(26) Tomando en cuenta lo ya asentado como una emoción dirigida a Omao para que deje salir los animales que juegan como de niños en el mismo animal, se puede identificar el comportamiento del joven cazador como una ofensa contra Dios por no conformarse a su voluntad.

[pp. 237–246 not processed]

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

BARKER, James
1953 —Memoria sobre la cultura Guaica. *Boletín Indigenista Venezolano*, nos. 3-4, pp. 433-489. Caracas.

BARRAL, Basilio de
1957 —Diccionario Guarao-Español, Español-Guarao. *Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle. Monografías*, nº 3. Caracas.

BAUMGARTNER, Hans
1950 —Leyenda Piaroa sobre "El Diluvio". *Revista de la Misión del Alto Orinoco*, año I, nº 2, pp. 27-29. Caracas.
1953 —Noticia acerca de la microfilaria por *Mansonella Ozzardi* en el Territorio Federal Amazonas, Venezuela. *Boletín Indigenista Venezolano*, vol. I, nos. 3-4, pp. 379-397. Caracas.
1954 —Apuntes de un médico indigenista sobre los Piaroa de Venezuela. *Boletín Indigenista Venezolano*, vol. II, nos. 1-4, pp. 111-124. Caracas.

BECHER, Hans
1956 —Tribos existentes entre o Rio Catrimani e o Rio Negro. *Revista de Antropologia*, vol. 4, nº 2, pp. 158-159. São Paulo.
1957 —Die Yanoáma. (Ein Beitrag zur Völkergruppierung zwischen Rio Branco, Uraricoéra, Serra Parima und Rio Negro). *Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen*, vol. 5, pp. 13-20. Viena.
1960 —Die Surára und Pakidái. Zwei Yanoáma-Stämme in Nordwestbrasilien. *Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg*, vol. XXVI. Hamburgo.

BENDRAT, T. A.
1910 —Im Herzen von Venezuela (Studien in der Umgebung von Caicara am Orinoco). *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, vol. 56, nº 5, pp. 259-260.

BERGE, Francois
1951 —Les Légendes de Déluge. L'Histoire Générale des Religions. M. M. Gorce y Mortier, Ed., vol. V. París.
1955 —Conclusions d'une Etude comparative des Légendes de Déluges. *Actas del 4º Congreso Internacional de las ciencias de antropología y etnología*, pp. 60-62. Viena.

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL
s.f. —"Relación de los descubrimientos del Alto Orinoco, ríos que en él entran y particularidades de todo el país". Sección de manuscritos; 11265. Madrid.
s.f. —"Relación de otro Viage, que de orden de dho. Sr. Dn. Joseph Solano hizo a los Cacahuates del Orinoco y Paddamo a reducir a los Yadiss Maquiritares, a hacer Pueblo en Parage conveniente, y a sacar a los Conococonas para poblarlos en el Orinoco, proximos a dho. Rio". Sección de manuscritos; 11265. Madrid.

BOLINDER, Gustaf
1957 —Indiansommar. Estocolmo.

OBRAS CONSULTADAS

[P. 247]

ACOSTA-SAIGNES, M.
1933 —Zona Circunscribe, período indígena. *Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia*, nº 60. México.
1954 —Estudios de etnología antigua de Venezuela. Caracas.

ADELUNG, JOHANN CH.
1806-17 —Mithridates oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde, mit dem Vater Unser als Sprachprobe in beynahe fünf hundert Sprachen und Mundarten. Berlín.

AGUADO, FR. PEDRO
1930 —Historia de la provincia de Santa Marta y Nuevo Reino de Granada. 3 vols. Madrid.

AGUIRRE ELORRIAGA, M.
1941 —La Compañía de Jesús en Venezuela. Caracas.

ALVARADO, LISANDRO
1945 —Datos etnográficos de Venezuela. Caracas.
1953 —Glosario de voces indígenas de Venezuela. Caracas.

ANDUZE, PABLO J.
s.f. (1958?) —Shalili-ko. Caracas.

ANTOLINEZ, GILBERTO
1944 —Características típicas de la vivienda Panare. *Anales Indígena*, vol. IV, nº 3, pp. 201-210. México.

ARMELLADA, C. DE, B. DE MATALLANA
1942 —Exploración del Paragua. *Boletín de la Sociedad Venezolana de Ciencias Naturales*, vol. 8, nº 53, pp. 61-110. Caracas.

BALDUS, HERBERT
1958 —Die Jaguarwillinge. Mythen und Heilbringergeschichten, Ursprungsagen und Märchen brasilianischer Indianer. Eisenach und Kassel.

BARANDIARAN, DANIEL
1961 —Santa María de Erebato o la fundación de un nuevo pueblo en el Estado Bolívar. *Natura, Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle*, año III, nos. 15-16, pp. 14-24. Caracas.

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

BOSCH GIMPERA, D. P.
1945 —Las razas humanas. Seg. ed. vol. II. Barcelona.

BRINTON, DANIEL G.
1892 —Study in South American native languages. Philadelphia.
1901 —The American Race: a linguistic classification and ethnographic description of the native tribes of North and South America. Nueva York. Seg. ed., Filadelfia.
1946 —La raza americana. Buenos Aires.

BUENO, RAMON
1933 —Apuntes sobre la provincia misionera del Orinoco e indígenas de su territorio, con algunas otras particularidades. Caracas.

CANALS FRAU, SALVADOR
1939 —Prehistoria de América. Buenos Aires.

CARDONA-PUIG, FELIX
1945 —Vocabulario del dialecto Kárro del río Guainía. *Acta Venezuelana*, vol. I, nº 2, pp. 221-230. Caracas.

CARVAJAL, JACINTO DE
1956 —Descubrimiento del río Apure. Caracas-Madrid.

CASANI, JOSE
1741 —Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús del Nuevo Reyno de Granada en la América. Madrid.

CASTELLANOS, JUAN DE
1859 —Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias. Madrid.

CAUDMONT, JEAN
1954 —Fonología Puinave. *Revista Colombiana de Antropología*, vol. 2, nº 2, pp. 265-276. Bogotá.

CAULIN, ANTONIO
1841, 1958 —Historia coro-gráfica natural y evangélica de la Nueva Andalucía, provincias de Cumaná, Guayana, y vertientes del río Orinoco. *Biblioteca de autores españoles desde la formación del lenguaje hasta nuestros días. Estudio preliminar y edición de Don Guillermo Morón*, pp. 243-556. Madrid (1779).

CENSO NACIONAL
1952 —Censo Nacional de 1950. Caracas.

CHAFFANJON, JEAN
1889 —L'Orénoque et le Caura. París.

CHAMBERLAIN, ALEXANDER DE
1910 —Sur quelques familles linguistiques peu connues ou presques inconnues de l'Amérique du Sud. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, n. s., vol. 7, pp. 179-202. París.

4: Wilbert 3Q18 Yanoama

CIVRIEUX, MARC DE
1959 —Datos antropológicos de los indios Kamsháes. *Antropológica*, nº 8, pp. 85-146. Caracas.
1960 —Leyendas Maquiritares. *Memoria de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle*, vol. XX, nos. 56, 57, pp. 103-125, 175-188. Caracas.

CIVRIEUX, M. DE, R. LICHY
1951 —Vocabularios de cuatro dialectos Arawak del río Guainía. *Boletín de la Sociedad Venezolana de Ciencias Naturales*, vol. XIII, nº 77, pp. 121-159. Caracas.

CODAZZI, AGUSTIN
1841 —Resumen de la geografía de Venezuela. Caracas (Seg. ed. 1940, Caracas).

COMAS, JUAN
1960 —¿Pigmeos en América? Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. *Cuadernos del Instituto de Historia. Serie Antropológica*, nº 9. México.

COON, C. S., S. M. GARN, J. B. BIRDSELL
1950 —Races. A study of the problems of Race Formation in Man. Springfield.

COOPER, JOHN
1949 —Stimulants and narcotics. *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 5, pp. 525-558. Washington.

COUDREAU, HENRY A.
1887 —La France Équinoxiale. Paris.

CREVAUX, JULES N.
1883 —Voyage dans l'Amérique du Sud. Paris.

CREVAUX, J. N., P. SAGOT, LUCIEN ADAM
1882 —Grammaires et vocabulaires Roucouyenne, Arrouague, Piapoco et d'autres langues de la region des Guyanes. *Bibl. Ling. Amér. Paris*, vol. 8.

CRUXENT, JOSE M.
1947 —Algunas actividades explotativas de los indios Piaroa del Río Parguaza (Guayana venezolana). *El Agricultor Venezolano*, vol. 11, nº 121, pp. 12-15. Caracas.

CRUXENT, J. M., M. KAMEN-KAYE
1949-50 —Reconocimientos del área del Alto Orinoco, ríos Sipapo y Autana, en el Territorio Federal Amazonas. *Memoria de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle*, años IX, X, Nos. 25, 26, pp. 271-317, 11-23. Caracas.

CRUXENT, J. M., I. ROUSE
1958-59 —An archeological chronology of Venezuela. 2 vols. *Pan American Union. Soc. Science Monographs*, VI. Washington.

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

CUERVA, A. B.
1891-94 —Colección de Documentos inéditos sobre la Geografía y la Historia de Colombia y Venezuela. Bogotá (?)

DALL'IGNA RODRIGUES, A.
1960 —Ueber die Sprache der Suriára und Pakidái. *In:* Hans Becher, *Die Surára und Pakidái, Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg*, vol. XXVI. Hamburgo.

DEFERRARI, ENRIQUE DE
1945 —Tribus indígenas de la Prefectura Apostólica del Alto Orinoco. *Tercera Conferencia Interamericana de Agricultura*, Nº 40. Caracas.

DELGADO, RAFAEL
1949 —Notas etnográficas de los Panare de Las Vegas. *Memoria de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle*, año IX, Nº 23, pp. 11-22. Caracas.

DUPOUY, WALTER
1952 —El Piaroa, hombre de la Selva. *Tierra Firme*, Nº 8. Caracas.
1954 —Ciclo bio-genético de la vivienda. *Boletín Indigenista Venezolano*, vol. II, Nos. 1-4, pp. 3-14. Caracas (Separata, 1956).

EHRENREICH, PAUL
1910 —Die allgemeine Mythologie und ihre ethnologischen Grundlagen. Leipzig.

ERNST, ADOLF
1891 —Ueber einige wenig bekannte Sprachen aus der Gegend des Meta und oberen Orinoco. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 23, pp. 1-13.
1895 —Upper Orinoco vocabulary. *American Anthropologist*, vol VIII, pp. 393-401.

ESCORIAZA, DAMIAN DE
1959 —Datos lingüísticos de la lengua Makiritare. *Antropológica*, Nº 6, pp. 7-46. Caracas.
1960 —Algunos datos lingüísticos más sobre la lengua Makiritare. *Antropológica*, Nº 10. Caracas.

FABO, FR. PEDRO
1911 —Idiomas y etnografía de la región oriental de Colombia. Barcelona.
1919-20 —Etnografía y lingüística de Casanare. *Anthropos*, vol. XIV-XV, pp. 21-32.

FEBRES-CORDERO, JULIO
1945 —Tribus independientes. *Revista Nacional de Cultura*, vol. 49, pp. 52-69. Caracas.
1946 —El mundo indígena. *Panorama Histórico de Venezuela*, pp. 5-12. Maturín.

FERNANDEZ DE SAN JOSE, BARTOLOMÉ M.
1895 —Ensayo de gramática hispano-guahiva, por los RR. PP. misioneros de Casanare Manuel Fernández y Marcos Bartolomé. Bogotá.

: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

FERNANDEZ DURO
1890 —Ríos de Venezuela y de Colombia. *Boletín de la Sociedad de Geografía*, vol. XXVIII, Bogotá.

FUCHS, HELMUTH
1959 —Die Völkerverhältnisse am Oberlauf des Río Venezuela, T. F. A., Venezuela. *Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen*, año VII, n.s., vol. II, Nos. 1-4, pp. 45-62. Viena.

GHEERBRANDT, ALAIN
1952 —La expedición Orinoco-Amazonas, 1948-50. Buenos Aires (1955).
1954 —Journey to the far Amazon. Nueva York.
1955 —Welt ohne Weisse. Segunda Ed., Wiesbaden.

GILII, FILIPPO S.
1780-84 —Saggio di storia americana. Roma.

GILLIN, JOHN
1948 —Tribes of the Guianas and the left Amazon tributaries. *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 3, pp. 799-860. W[illegible]

GINES, HNO., J. WILBERT
1960 —Una corta expedición a tierras Motilonas. *Memoria de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle*, vol. XX, N° 57, pp. 159-174. Caracas.

GORJE, C. H. DE
1943 —Philosophy, initiations and myths of the Indians of Guiana and the adjacent countries. *Internationales Archiv für Ethnologie*, vol. XLIV. Leiden.

GOLDMANN, IRVING
1948 —Tribes of Uaupés-Caquetá region. *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 3, pp. 763-798. Washington.

GREENBERG, JOSEPH
1956 —Linguistic classification of South America. *En:* Steward, J. H., L. C. Faron (1959): *Native Peoples of South America*. Nueva York.

GRELIER, JOSEPH
1953a —Los indios Piaroa de la región de Puerto Ayacucho. *Boletín Indigenista Venezolano*, año I, vol. I, N° 2, pp. 253-263. Caracas.
1953b —La vivienda Piaroa. *Revista "a"*. Caracas.
1955a —Curare, monnaie d'échange chez les Piaroas. *Mayo Pulo*, n° 6, pp. 8-17. París.
1955b —Les Indiens Guaharibos et Waikas. *Géographie*, n° 42, pp. 7-13. París.
1957a —To the source of the Orinoco. Londres.
1957b —Les Indiens Piaroa et le curare. *L'Ethnographie*, n. s., n° 52, pp. 78-86. París.
1959a —La route du poison. París.
1959b —Une monnaie inattendue: Le curare. *Géographie*, n° 89, pp. 35-38. St.-Ouen.

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

GRUPE y THODE, G.
1890 —Ueber den Rio Blanco und die ansässigen Indianer. *Globus*, vol. 57, pp. 251-254.

GUMILLA, Joseph
1745 —El Orinoco ilustrado y defendido. Historia natural, civil y geográfica de este gran río, y de sus caudalosas vertientes. Seg. ed., 2 pts. Madrid (Barcelona, 1791).

HAEKEL, Joseph
1955 —Zur Problematik des heiligen Pfeils bei den Indianern Brasiliens. *Anais do XXXI Congresso Internacional de Americanistas*, vol. I, pp. 229-243. São Paulo.

HAMY, E. T.
1889 —Notes sur les collections éthnographiques du Dr. Joseph Munéray (Orénoque e Rio Negro), conservées au Musée Colonial de Marseille. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, nº 6. Paris.

HERNANDEZ DE ALBA, G.
1948 —The Achuara and their neighbours. *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 4, pp. 399-412. Washington.

HITCHCOCK, Charles B.
1948 —La región Orinoco-Ventuari, Venezuela. *Boletín de la Sociedad Venezolana de Ciencias Naturales*, Nº 72, pp. 131-179. Caracas.

HITTE, Ch. de la
1897 —Notes éthnographiques sur les Indiens Guayaqui. *Anales del Museo de la Plata. Sección antropológica*, vol. II, pp. 7-23.

HOLDRIDGE, Donald
1933 —Exploration between the Rio Branco and the Serra Parima. *The Geographical Review*, vol. XXIII, pp. 372-384.

HOLMBERG, Allan
1950 —Nomads of the Long Bow. The Siriono Indians of Eastern Bolivia. *Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology*, publication No. 10. Washington.

HUECK, Kurt
1960 —Texto explicativo para el mapa de la vegetación de Venezuela. *Inst. Forestal Latino Americano de Investigación y Capacitación*, Bol. 7. Mérida.

HUMBOLDT, Alexander v.
1861-62 —Alexander von Humboldts Reise in die Aequinoctial-Gegenden des neuen Continents. Stuttgart.
1956 —Viaje a las regiones equinocciales del Nuevo Continente. 5 vols. Caracas (1941).

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

HUMBOLDT, A., A. BONPLAND
1807-35 —Voyage aux régions équinoxiales du nouveau continent, fait en 1799-1804, 23 vols. París.

JIJON Y CAAMAÑO, JACINTO
1941-43 —El Ecuador interandino y occidental... 3 vols. Quito.

KAMEN-KAYE, M.
1957 —Geological succession of Central Venezuela. *American Association Pet. Geol. Bull.*, vol. 22, Nº 9, pp. 1224-1230.

KARSTEN, RAFAEL
1920 —Zeremonielle Spiele unter den Indianern Südamerikas. *Acta Academiae Aboensis Humaniora*, vol. I, Abo, Finlandia.

KIRCHHOFF, PAUL
1948 —Food-gathering tribes of the Venezuelan Llanos. *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 4, pp. 445-468. Washington.

KLEINECKE, D. C.
1952 —Classification of the Panare Language. M. S. Berkeley.

KOCH-GRUENBERG, THEODOR
1906 —Die Makú. *Anthropos*, vol. I, pp. 877-906.
1909-10 —Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern. Reisen in Nordwest-Brasilien, 1903-05, 2 vols. Berlín.
1913 —Abschluss meiner Reise durch Nordbrasilien zum Orinoco, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der von mir besuchten Indianerstämme. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 45, pp. 448-474.
1917-28 —Vom Roroima zum Orinoco. 4 vols. Stuttgart.
1921 —Zwei Jahre bei den Indianern Nordwest-Brasiliens. Stuttgart.
1922 —Die Völkergruppierung zwischen Rio Branco, Rio Negro und Yapura. Festschrift Eduard Seler, pp. 205-266. Stuttgart.

KOK, P.
1925-26 —Quelques notices sur les Indiens du Rio Paguri. *Anthropos*, vol. XX, pp. 624-637, XXI, pp. 921-937.

KRICKEBERG, WALTER
1946 —Etnología de América. México.

LAYRISSE M., T. ARENDS, R. DOMINGUEZ SISCO
1955 —Investigación del factor Diego en indios venezolanos. Importancia clínica y antropológica. *Memorias del VI Congreso Venezolano de Ciencias Médicas*, p. 773. Caracas.

LAYRISSE, M., T. ARENDS
1958 —Estado actual de las investigaciones sobre el factor Diego. *Antropológica*, Nº 4, pp. 17-26. Caracas.

LAYRISSE, M., T. ARENDS, J. WILBERT
1958 —Peculiar distribution of the Diego factor among the Warrau. *Nature*, vol. 181, pp. 118-119. Londres.

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

LAYRISSE, M., J. WILBERT, T. ARENDS
1958 —Frequency of blood group antigens in the descendants of Guayquerí Indians. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, vol. 16, n.s., No. 3, pp. 307-318.

LAYRISSE, M., J. WILBERT
1960 —El antígeno del sistema sanguíneo Diego. Caracas.
1961 —Absence of the Diego antigen, a genetic characteristic of early immigrants to South America. *Science*, vol. 134, pp. 1077-1078.

LEHMANN, WALTER
1920 —Zentral Amerika. Die Sprachen Zentral-Amerikas. 2 vols. Berlín.

LICHY, R., M. DE CIVRIEUX
1950(?) —Exploración por la región amazónica de Venezuela. *Tercera Conferencia Interamericana de Agricultura*. Caracas.

LODARES, BALTASAR DE
1929-31 —Los Franciscanos Capuchinos en Venezuela. 3 vols. Caracas.

LOPEZ DE GOMARA
1853 —Historia de las Indias. Madrid.

LOPEZ-RAMIREZ, TULIO
1944 —Visita a los indios Panare en Venezuela. *Acta Americana*, vol. II, No. 3, pp. 254-255.

LOUKOTKA, ČESTMÍR
1929-30 —Vocabularios inéditos o poco conocidos de los Idiomas Rankelche, Guahibo, Piaroa, Toba, Pilagá, Tumanahá, Kachuvcio, etc. *Revista del Instituto Etnológico de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*, vol. I, pp. 75-106.
1935 —Clasificación de las lenguas sudamericanas. *Edición: "Lingüística Sudamericana"*, No. 1. Praga.
1938 —Observaciones sobre la lengua de los indios Guayabero. *Idearium*, año II, pp. 15-17. Pasto, Colombia.
1944 —Klassifikation der südamerikanischen Sprachen. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 74, pp. 1-69.

MARCANO, G.
1889 —Ethnographie précolombienne du Vénézuéla. Vallées d'Aragua et de Caracas. *Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 2da. serie, vol. 4, pp. 1-86. París.
1889-90 —Ethnographie précolombienne du Venezuela. *Bulletin et Mémoires de l'Académie Anthropologique de París*, y *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, 3ra. serie, vol. 12, pp. 391-402. París.

MASON, J. ALDEN
1950 —The Languages of South American Indians. *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 6, pp. 157-317. Washington.

4: Wilbert 8Q18 Yanoama

MATOS ARVELO, MARTIN
1938 —Algo sobre la etnografía del Territorio Amazonas de Venezuela: los Baniba. Ciudad Bolívar.
1942 —Vida indiana. Barcelona.

MCQUOWN, NORMAN A.
1955 —The indigenous languages of Latin America. *American Anthropologist*, vol. 57, pp. 501-570.

MENDEZ-AROCHA, ALBERTO
1959 —Un vocabulario Yaboana con apuntes lexicales. *Antropológica*, Nº 7, pp. 63-84. Caracas.
1960 —Curvas de construcción en fechas indígenas. *Antropológica*, nº 10, pp. 54-60. Caracas.

METRAUX, ALFRED
1928 —La religion des Tupinamba et ses rapports avec celles des autres tribus Tupi-Guarani. *Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, Sciences religieuses*, vol. 45. París.
1946a —Twin Heroes in South American Mythology. *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 49.
1946b —El Dios Supremo, los Creadores y Héroes Culturales en la mitología sudamericana. *América Indígena*, vol. VI, No. 1, pp. 9-23. México.
1946c —La civilisation Guayano-Amazonienne et ses provinces culturelles. *Acta Americana*, vol. IV, Nº 3. Ann Arbor, Michigan.
1946d —Ethnography of the Chaco. *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. I, pp. 197-370. Washington.
1947 —Mourning rites and burial forms in South America. *América Indígena*, vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 7-44. México.
1948 —The Macú of the Rio Negro and the Caiarí-Uaupés River. *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 3, pp. 865-867. Washington.

MICHELENA Y ROJAS, FR.
1867 —Exploración oficial por la primera vez desde el norte de la América del Sur siempre por ríos, entrando por las bocas del Orinoco, de los valles de este mismo y del Meta, Casiquiare, Río Negro o Guaynía y Amazonas, hasta Nauta en el alto Marañón o Amazonas arriba de las bocas del Ucayali bajando del Amazonas hasta el Atlántico. Bruselas.

MILLER, LEO V.
1917 —The land of the Maquiritare. *Geographical Review*, vol. 3, pp. 356-374.

MONTOLIEU, P.
1913 —Viaje al Inírida (una página del viaje; recuerdos de Amores). *Revista Técnica del Ministerio de Obras Públicas*, No. 33. Caracas.

MONTOYA LIROLA, C.
1958 —Expedición al Río Paragua. *Ministerio de Minas e Hidrocarburos, Dirección de Investigaciones Químicas*. Caracas.

MUELLER, Sofia
1959 —El Nuevo Testamento de Nuestro Señor y Salvador Jesucristo en Curipaco (Con ayudas para pastores). *Brown Gold Publications*, Woodworth, Wisconsin.

MURDOCK, George P.
1949 —Social structure. Nueva York.
1951a —Outline of South American cultures. *Behaviour Science Outlines*, vol. II. New Haven.
1951b —South American culture areas. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 415-436.
1957 —World ethnographic sample. *American Anthropologist*, vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 664-687.

NAVARRO, Nicolás E.
1951 —Anales eclesiásticos venezolanos. Caracas.

NIMUENDAJU, Curt
1915 —Sagen der Tembé-Indianer. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 47, pp. 281-301.
1919-20 —Bruchstücke aus Religion und Ueberlieferung der Shipái-Indianer. *Anthropos*, vols. 14-15, pp. 1002-1039.
1952 —The Tukuna. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 45, p. 209, Berkeley.

ORAMAS, Luis R.
1912 —Contribución al estudio de los dialectos Puinabe y Maquiritare. *Gaceta de los Museos Nacionales*, vol. I, Nº 1, pp. 20-27. Caracas.
1914 —Gramática, diccionario y catecismo de la lengua ariána según manuscrito inédito, con anotaciones comparativas en el diccionario. *Gaceta de los Museos Nacionales*, vol. II, Nos. 10-12. Caracas.

ORTIZ, Sergio E.
1943 —Lingüística Colombiana. Familia Guahibo. *Universidad Católica Bolivariana*, vol. 9, Nos. 30-31, pp. 155-181. Medellín, Colombia.
1944 —Lingüística Colombiana. Familia Guahibo. *Revista de Historia*, Nos. 3, 4, pp. 39-62. Colombia.

OSSA V., Peregrino
1938 —Vocabulario de los indios Guayaberos. *Idearium*, año I, Nos. 11-12, pp. 537-538. Pasto, Colombia.

PASSARGE, Siegfried
1933 —Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse einer Reise im Gebiet des Orinoco, Caura und Cuchivero im Jahre 1901-1902. *Hamburgische Universitäts Abhandlungen, Auslandskunde*, vol. 33, *Serie C, Naturwissenschaften*, vol. 12.

PEREZ, Manuel C.
1935 —Vocabulario del dialecto guahibo del Vichada. *Anales de la Universidad Central de Venezuela*, vol. 23, pp. 209-237. Caracas. Idem: *Idearium*, vol. I, pp. 453-456. Pasto, Colombia.

PERICOT Y GARCIA, L.
1936 —El hombre americano. Las razas de América. En: Ballesteros, A. *Historia de América*, vol. I. Madrid.

PLASSARD, LOUIS
1868 —Les Guarounos et le delta de l'Orénoque. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Paris*, vol. 15, pp. 568-592. París.

PREUSS, THEODOR
1921 —Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto. Goettingen.

RAMOS PEREZ, DEMETRIO
1946 —El tratado de los límites de 1750 y la expedición de Iturriaga al Orinoco. *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas*, Madrid.

REICHEL-DOLMATOFF, GERARDO
1944 —La cultura material de los indios Guahibos. *Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional*, vol. I, pp. 437-506. Bogotá.
1946 —Las zonas culturales de Colombia y sus elementos constitutivos. *Boletín de Arqueología*, vol. II, No. 1, pp. 3-17.
1959 —Indígenas de Colombia. *América Indígena*, vol. XIX, Nº 4, pp. 245-253. México.

RELATORIO DA REPARTICAO DOS NEGOCIOS ESTRANGEIROS. RIO DE JANEIRO
1884

RILEY, CARROL L.
1952a —The blowgun in the New World. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 8, Nº 3, pp. 297-319.
1952b —Trade Spanish of the Piaroan Panare. (*Trager's*) *Studies in Linguistics*, vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 6-11.
1953 —Noticias sobre los indios Panare de Venezuela. *Boletín Indigenista Venezolano*, vol. I, Nº 2, pp. 3-23 (Separata). Caracas.
1954 —Notes on the Panare Indians of Venezuela. *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers*, No. 10, pp. 10-24.
1959 —Some observations on the Panare language. *Boletín del Museo de Ciencias Naturales de Caracas*, vols. IV, V, Nos. 1-4 (1958-59), pp. 87-96. Caracas.

RIVERO, JUAN
1883 —Historia de las misiones de los llanos de Casanare y de los ríos Orinoco y Meta (1736). Bogotá.

RIVET, PAUL
1921 —Affinités du Saliba et du Piaroa. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, n. s., vol. 13, pp. 11-20. París.
1924 —Langues Américaines: Langues de l'Amérique du Sud et des Antilles. *En*: Meillet, A., M. Cohen, *Les Langues du Monde. Coll. Ling. Paris*, vol. 16, pp. 639-712. París.
1959 —Lisandro Alvarado y las lenguas indígenas de Venezuela. *Revista Nacional de Cultura*, año XXI, No. 135, pp. 35-48. Caracas.

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

RIVET, P., P. KOK, C. TASTEVIN
1924-25 —Nouvelle contribution a l'étude de la langue Mobá. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol. 3, núm. 3-4, pp. 133-192.

RIVET, P., C. LOUKOTKA
1952 —Langues de l'Amérique du Sud et des Antilles. En: Meillet, A., M. Cohen, *Les Langues du Monde*, Coll. *Ling. Paris*, seg. edición, pp. 1099-1160. París.

RIVET, P., C. TASTEVIN
1920 —Affinités du Mobá et du Puinave. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, n. s., vol. 12, pp. 69-82. París.

ROSTLUND, ERLAND
1952 —Freshwater fish and fishing in native North America. *University of California Publications in Geography*, vol. 9. Berkeley. Los Angeles.

ROTH, WALTER
1924 —An introductory study of the arts, crafts, and customs of Guiana Indians. *38th Annual Report Bureau of American ethnology* (1916-17), pp. 25-745. Washington.

ROTTMAYER, LUIS
1950 —Noticias sobre los Piaroa. *Revista de la Misión del Alto Orinoco*, año I, nº 2, pp. 15-17. Caracas.

ROUSE, IRVING
1960 —The entry of early man into the West Indies. *Papers in Caribbean Anthropology*, compiled by S. W. Mintz. *Yale University Publications in Anthropology*, nº 61. Editor I. Rouse.

ROZO, JOSE M.
1945 —La fiesta del diablo entre los Puinave. *Boletín de Arqueología*, vol. 1, nº 3, pp. 241-247. Bogotá.

RUIZ MALDONADO, R.
1939 —Viaje por los ríos Casanare, Meta, y Orinoco, de Santa Fe de Bogotá a Guayana y Trinidad, 1638-39. *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia*, vol. XXI, Enero-Marzo, nº 165, pp. 3-30. Caracas.

SAENZ, NICOLAS
1876 —Memoria sobre algunas tribus del territorio de San Martín en los Estados Unidos de Colombia. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 8, pp. 336-342.

SALAS, JULIO C.
1908 —Etnología e historia de Tierra-Firme (Venezuela y Colombia). Biblioteca de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales. Madrid.
1921 —Etnografía Americana. Los indios Caribes, estudio del origen del mito de la antropofagia. Barcelona. Madrid. (1920).

SALATHÉ, GERHARD
1953 —Los Indios Karinä. *Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*, vol. 2: 2, pp. 297-316.

SCHMIDT, P. WILHELM
1926 —Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachen-Kreise der Erde. Heidelberg.
1954 —Gebräuche des Ehemannes bei Schwangerschaft und Geburt. *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, vol. X. Viena.

SCHOMBURGK, O. A.
1841 —Robert Hermann Schomburgks Reisen in Guiana und am Orinoko während der Jahre 1835-39. Nach seinen Berichten und Mitteilungen an die Geographische Gesellschaft in London. Herausgegeben von O. A. Schomburgk. Leipzig.

SCHOMBURGK, ROBERT H.
1841 —Journey from Fort San Joaquin to Roraima. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Institute*, vol. 10, pp. 191-247. Londres.

SCHOMBURGK, ROBERT H.
1849 —Remarks to accompany a vocabulary of eighteen languages and dialects of Indian tribes inhabiting Guiana. *Report British Association Advance Science, 18th meeting, Swansea, 1848*, pp. 96-99. Londres.

SCHUELLER, RUDOLF R.
1912 —Hallazgo de documentos acerca de la lengua otomaca. *Anthropos*, vol. 7, pp. 761-764.

SCHUSTER, MEINHARD
1956 —Die Soziologie der Waika. *Proceedings 32. International Congress of Americanists, 1956*, pp. 114-122. Copenhague.

SEITZ, GUSTAV
1960 —Hinter dem grünen Vorhang. Wiesbaden.

SIMÓN, PEDRO
1882-92 —Noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias Occidentales. 5 vols. Bogotá. (Escrito en el año 1623).

SOLANO, JOSEF
1771 —Viaje del Excmo. Señor D. Josef Solano Marqués del Socorro en la provincia de Guayana; siendo Capitan de Fragata de la Real Armada, y comisionado por Estado con D. Josef de Iturriaga Jefe de Escuadra, D. Eugenio de Alvarado Marqués de Tavalosa; Coronel de Infantería y D. Antonio de Urrutia Capitan de Navío, para efectuar los arreglados límites de los Dominios del Rey y del Rey Fidelísimo, en la parte septentrional de la America Meridional. En: Alsedo y Herrera, A. de, *Relaciones geográficas de la gobernación de Venezuela*, 1767-68, pp. 243-283. Caracas.

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

SPRUCE, RICHARD
1908 —Notes of a botanist on the Amazon and Andes 1849-1864. *Ed.:* Alfred Russel Wallace, vol. I. London.

STEWARD, J. H., L. C. FARON
1959 —Native Peoples of South America. Nueva York.

STRADELLI, ERMANNO
1888 —Nell'Alto Orenoco. *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana.* Roma.

SWADESH, MAURICE
1958 —La lingüística de las regiones entre las civilizaciones mesoamericana y andinas. *XXXIII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas.* San José de Costa Rica.
1959 —Mapa de clasificación lingüística de México y las Américas. *Cuadernos del Instituto de Historia. Serie Antropológica, nº 8. Universidad Nacional de México.* México.

TASTEVIN, CONSTANT
1923 —Les Mahé du Japurí. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris,* n. s., vol. 15, pp. 99-108. París.

TAVERA ACOSTA, BARTOLOMÉ
1903 —El cacho en Venezuela. Caracas.
1907 —En el Sur. Ciudad Bolívar.
1954 —Riosucio (3ª edición). Caracas.

TESCH, HEINZ K.
1953 —Viajando con los indios Piaroa. *Revista Shell,* año III, nº 6, pp. 67-71. Caracas.

TYLER, S. F.
1929 —Children of the Orinoco Plains. *Natural History,* vol. 29, pp. 273-282. Nueva York.

VASQUEZ DE ESPINOSA
1942 —Compendium and description of the West-Indies. Washington.

VILA, MARCO-AURELIO
1959 —Geografía de Venezuela. Caracas.

VINCI, ALFONSO
1956 —Samatari. Bari.
1959 —Red cloth and green forest. London.

WALDEGG, HERMANN VON
1942 —Indians of the upper Orinoco. *Proceedings of the 8th American Scientific Congress,* vol. II, *Anthropological Science,* pp. 189-197. Washington.

WAVRIN, MARQUIS DE
1948 —Les Indiens sauvages de l'Amérique du Sud. Vie sociale. París.

WILBERT, Johannes

1954a —Aguacas sobre el parentesco y la estructura social de los Guahibo. *Acta Científica Venezolana*, vol. 7, nº 7, pp. 146-151. Caracas.

1954b —Problemática de algunos términos de parentesco de los indios Sanemá-Yanoama. *Memoria de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle*, vol. XV, nº 41, pp. 114-131. Caracas.

1957a —Rasgos culturales circunscritos entre los Warao y sus informantes. *Memoria de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle*, vol. XVI, nº 45, pp. 237-257. Caracas.

1957b —Notes on the Guahibo kinship and social organization. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 13, nº 1, pp. 88-98.

1958a —Kinship and social organization of the Yaruma and Guajibo. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 14, nº 1, pp. 51-60.

1958b —Mitos de los indios Yaruma. *Antropológica*, nº 5, pp. 58-67. Caracas.

1959a —Zur Kenntnis der Yaruma. *Suplemento nº 1, Antropológica*. Caracas.

1959b —Aspectos sociales de la cultura Panare. *Antropológica*, nº 7, pp. 47-62. Caracas.

1959c —Zur Sozialstruktur der Parenjano. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 84, Heft 1, pp. 81-87.

1959d —Puertos del sexto. *Memoria de la Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle*, vol. XIX, nº 54, pp. 161-175. Caracas.

1960a —Die Warrau. MS. Caracas.

1960b —Nachrichten über die Caripuna. *Festschrift M. Heydrich*, pp. 508-521. Colonia.

1960c —El antiguo dal sinonimo antiguano Diego. Caracas. (Cf. Layrisse, Wilbert).

1961a —Unos indios Maci en Venezuela. MS. Caracas.

1961b —Notes on a Sanumá vocabulary. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*. (En prensa). Paris.

WILLIAMS, Llewelyn

1941 —The Cauca valley and its forests. *Geographical Review*, vol. 31, pp. 414-429.

ZERRIES, Otto

1954a —Wild- und Buschgeister in Südamerika. Wiesbaden.

1954b —Los indios Guaica y su situación cultural. *Boletín Indigenista Venezolano*, vol. II, nos. 1-4, pp. 61-76. Caracas.

1955a —Some aspects of Waica culture. *Anais do XXXI Congresso Internacional de Americanistas*, 1954, pp. 73-88. São Paulo.

1955b —Das Lanka-Fest der Waika-Indianer. *Die Umschau*, año 55, vol. 21, pp. 662-665. Frankfurt.

1956a —Verlauf und vorläufige Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expedition 1954, 55 nach Süd-Venezuela. *Paideuma*, vol. VI, Heft 3. Frankfurt-Wiesbaden.

1956b —Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Guahibo-Indianer des Territorio Amazonas, Venezuela. *Paideuma*, vol. VI, Heft 4. Frankfurt-Wiesbaden.

1956c —Zur Frage der ursprünglichen Wirtschaftsform der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoko (Venezuela). (Ergebnisse einer völkerkundlichen Forschungsreise 1954/55). *Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen*, vol. 4, nº 2, pp. 148-156. Viena.

1958a —Einige völkerkundliche Notizen über die Peinave Indianer. *Paul Rivet, Octogenario Dicta*, vol. 2, pp. 585-598. Idem.

1958b —Die Vorstellungen der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoko (Venezuela) über die menschliche Seele. *Proceedings 32. International Congress of Americanists*, pp. 105-113. Copenhagen.

1958c —Schöpfung und Urzeit im Denken der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoko (Venezuela). *Proceedings 32. International Congress of Americanists*, pp. 288-288. Copenhagen.

1959 —Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Shiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien. *Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie*, vol. 50, pp. 31-41. Stuttgart.

4: Wilbert SQ18 Yanoama

[P.265]
[P.264 is blank]

INDICE

	Página
Agradecimiento	7
Prefacio	9
Introducción	11
Los Panare	21
Los Piaroa	45
Los Guahibo	75
Los Piapoco	89
Los Puinave	101
Los Curipaco	115
Los Yaburana	125
Los Makiritare	161
Los Sanema	177
Glosa final	237
Obras consultadas	247

Schaeffer et al. D.E-6 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Tanoama SQ18
Waica

SOUTHWESTERN JOURNAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY

OCC

THE CURRENT ISSUE WAS EDITED BY
LESLIE SPIER

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
ALBUQUERQUE

[Title Page]

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS OF THE WAICA INDIANS OF VENEZUELA.[1]

MIGUEL LAYRISSE, ZULAY LAYRISSE, AND JOHANNES WILBERT

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

128 INTRODUCTION: For the purpose of the present paper we would like to classify the Waica as a subtribe of the Yanoama tribe, the ethnic identification and the internal composition of which appears to be but little understood. Although the actual blood group study will be concerned with the Waica Indians most particularly, we shall, nevertheless, include as well some information on the Yanoama tribe in general. This, we trust, will not only serve to locate the specific Waica data within a wider frame of reference, but also to facilitate the comprehension of the theoretical considerations based thereon.

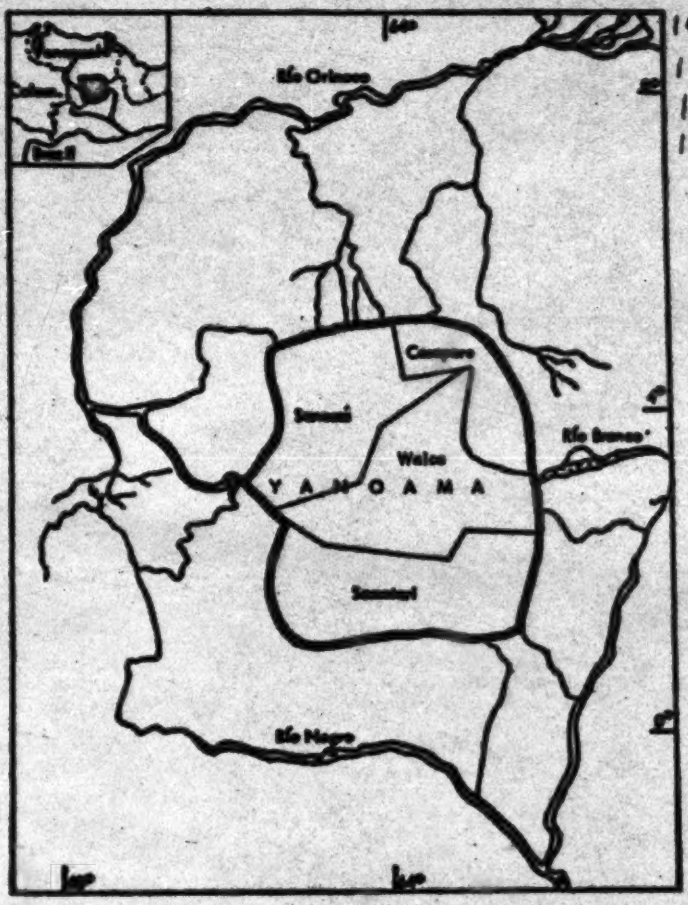
131 *Ethnic identification.* The Yanoama inhabit a very extensive area between 0°30'-5° N and 62°-65° W, which includes the headwaters of the Paragua, Caura, Ventuari, Padamo, Ocamo, Mavaca, and Orinoco rivers of Venezuela, as well as those of the Uraricuera, Catrimani, Dimini, and Aratá rivers of Brazil. The Sierra Parima crosses this heavily forested territory like a vertebral column, so to speak, and marks at the same time the frontier between the Venezuelan and the Brazilian parts of the Yanoama land (see map, Fig. 1).

101 The Yanoama are surrounded by Tropical Forest Indians with Neo-Indian culture types; Cariban tribes enclose them in a semi-circle to the northeast, while Arawakan peoples bound them in a semicircle to the southwest. Thus, the Yanoama seem to have been functioning as a buffer between the Caribs and the Arawak, [648] successfully resisting any attempt of intrusion by such groups as the Soto (Makiritare), the Pemon, and others. In recent years, after their Carib neighbours had suffered a marked decline in numbers and in strength, the Yanoama ventured northward into the Ventuari, Caura, and Paragua drainage area, intruding into Carib territory for more than 100 km.

114 Although sporadic and rather casual information on the several Yanoama groups have been published by various authors since early Colonial time, it is only

122 1 We wish to thank Dr A. Berti and Ovidio Castellani (División de Malariología, Ministerio de Sanidad, Venezuela) and the Misión Salesiana of the Territorio Federal Amazonas for their collaboration in collecting the blood samples. We are also indebted to Esperanza García for her technical assistance. We are greatly indebted to J. P. O'Riordan (The National Blood Transfusion Association, Dublin), M. Shapiro (The South African Blood Transfusion Service, Johannesburg), R. E. Rosenfield (The Mount Sinai Hospital, New York), and Albin Moore (The Minneapolis Memorial Blood Bank, Minnesota) for supplying us with critical anti-sera.

St.Leyrissa et al. D. E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica



102
101
131
133

FIG. 1. Preliminary map of Yanoama distribution. (Wilbert, 1961b).

St Laurine et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1990)1982 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

since Koch-Grünberg's contact with two Yanoama groups, in 1911, that more substantial information on this interesting tribe has been collected and in parts been published.[2]

Emerging from these data are the names and descriptions of a number of distinguishable tribal units, e.g., Sanemá (Guaharibo, Shirishana), Casapare, Waica, Samatari, Surara, Pakidái, and others. It also has become quite obvious that the Yanoama subtribes are not unified by socio-political authority, but rather by a general and specific culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and culture variants, carried by the different subtribes and local groups respectively. The various local groups and subtribes occupy a coherent territory, they speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious forms.

Taken as a whole, the Yanoama were found to be a very numerous tribe and they belong, in fact, to the most numerous of all the autochtonous populations of lowland South America, but previously published figures of 30-50,000 individuals appear to represent very generous overestimations of the demographic strength of the Yanoama groups known so far.

Linguistic classification. Several authors have attempted a linguistic classification of the Yanoama although most of them did not have at their disposal the more recent material.[3] Taking advantage of this material, we have attempted a glottochronological analysis, the results of which allow us some interesting insight into the internal correlation of the Yanoama languages.[4]

According to this result, the several Yanoama languages, as known today, constitute the Yanoama linguistic stock of 6-35 mc of internal separation. The two more or less clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: *A. Sanemá:* (a) Sanemá, (b) Nabudíb, (c) Pubunatari, [6-17 mc of internal divergencies: Sanemá-Nabudíb = 6 mc, Sanemá-Pubunatari = 17 mc, Nabudíb-Pubunatari = 17 mc]; *B. Casapare:* (a) Casapare, (b) Carime (?), (c) Waica, (d) Sanatari (Surara and Pakidái), [8-21 mc of internal divergencies, excepting Carime (for lack of vocabulary material): Casapare-Waica = 21 mc, Casapare-Sanatari = 21 mc, Waica-Sanatari = 8 mc].

2 Sanema-Pakidái, by Becher, 1960; Waica, by Becher, 1953; Schauer, 1958; Zerries, 1955, 1956, 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1960; Sanemá, by Vinci, 1959; Wilbert, 1961a, 1961b.

3 Rivet, 1924, p. 678; Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9; Mason, 1950, p. 234; Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140; McQuown, 1955, p. 525; Greenberg, 1956; Swadesh, 1959, p. 20; Dall' Igna Rodrigues, 1958, pp. 136-137.

4 We are indebted to Dra H. Becher and O. Zerries for having us have a basic vocabulary of Sanema-Pakidái and Waica respectively. Complete information on source material has been presented by Wilbert, 1961a.

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shirianá" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Sirionó*" with an internal separation of 30 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirionó (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Sirionó*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanumá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanumá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 493-498.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 28.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanoama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Cuura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hïwïawan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kïïlala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shabolïwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hïwïawan* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Samatari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, stout, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barker, 1953, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 33.
11 Wilbert, 1981a.
12 Vinal, 1934, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1939.

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS

BLOOD GROUP STUDIES

The Material

Blood samples were taken from 142 less closely related individuals living in six settlements situated along the banks of the upper Orinoco and Mavaca rivers in the Territorio Amazonas of southern Venezuela. We started to take samples at the Mission of Boca del Ocamo and continued along the Orinoco until we reached the confluence with the Mavaca River and then continued up the Mavaca until we arrived at the settlements called Boca Mavaca and Laguna Mavaca.

The blood samples were analyzed for the following antibodies:

(1) anti-A, anti-A_1, and anti-B for the A_1 A_2 BO system
(2) anti-M, anti-N, anti-S, and anti-s for the MNSs systems
(3) Anti-P_1 (previously called anti-P), and anti-P, anti-P_1 (previously called anti-Tj^a) for the P system
(4) anti-D, anti-C, anti-c, anti-E, anti-e, and anti-$hr^{'rh}$ for the Rh system
(5) anti-Lu^a for the Lutheran system
(6) anti-K and anti-k for the Kell system
(7) anti-Le^a for the Lewis system
(8) anti-Fy^a for the Duffy system. Anti-Fy^b was only used in cases Fy ($^{a-}$)
(9) anti-Jk^a and Jk^b for the Kidd system
(10) anti-Di^a for the Diego system

Electrophoretic studies of the hemoglobins and haptoglobins were performed by Dr Tulio Arends who will report the results separately.

Results

A_1A_2BO: All samples were group O as was expected, because of the recency of contact with White and Negro.

MNSs: The gene M showed a high frequency (79%) as is usual for the majority of Indian tribes. The gene S was relatively low (19%) travelling mostly with the gene M.

Rh: The outstanding finding in this system was the high frequency of the chromosome R_o (DCE), (18%), and the low frequency of the chromosome R_2 (DcE), (6%), of which no homozygous sample was found; the frequency was deduced from the phenotype samples DCcEe. As expected, all cases were Rho(±) and no sample was found in which the presence of the chromosomes r or Ro could be presumed. Absence of the rh^s was observed in all

13a Shapiro, 1960.

Table 1

Frequency of blood group antigens in Waica Indians

143

Phenotypes						Genes or chromosomes	
Observed			Expected		χ^2		
Absolute Number	Frequency %		Frequency %	Absolute Number			%
A_1A_2BO system							
A_1	0.	0.00					
A_2	0.	0.00					
B	0.	0.00					
O	141	100.00					
MNSs system							
MMSS	1	0.71	1.63	2.30	0.15		
MMSs	27	19.15	16.84	23.74		MS	12.76
MMss	62	43.97	43.52	61.36	0.01		
MNSS	1	0.71	1.54	2.17	0.04		
MNSs	17	12.06	11.85	16.71		Ms	65.97
MNss	24	17.02	20.09	28.33	0.66		
NNSS	1	0.71	0.37	0.52	0.25	NS	6.04
NNSs	3	2.13	1.84	2.59		Ns	15.23
NNss	5	3.54	2.32	3.27	0.91		
	141	100.00	100.00	140.99	2.02		100.00
					n = 5		
					0.90>P>0.80		
Rh system*							
DCCEE	6	4.26	3.40	4.79	0.06	DCE	18.44
DCCEe	36	25.52	27.72	39.09			
DCCee	81	57.45	56.51	79.68	0.02	DCe	75.17
DCcEE	4	2.84	2.36	3.32	0.08		
DCcEe	14	9.93	9.60	13.54			
DCcee	0	0.00	0.00	0.00		DcE	6.39
DccEE	0	0.00	0.41	0.58	0.58		
DccEe	0	0.00	0.00	0.00			
Dccee	0	0.00	0.00	0.00			
	141	100.00	100.00	141.00	0.76		
					n = 3		
					0.70>P>0.50		

* Six samples of the phenotype DCCEE, four samples DCcEE, and one sample DCcEe were not agglutinated with anti-e[6].

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS

143

TABLE 1 (cont'd)

Frequency of blood group antigens in Waica Indians

Phenotypes	Observed Absolute Number	Observed Frequency %	Expected Frequency %	Expected Absolute Number	x^2	Genes or chromosomes	%
P system							
P_1	81	57.45	–	–	–		34.77
P_2	60	42.55	–	–	–		65.23
p	0	0.00					0.00
	141	100.00					100.00
Duffy system							
Fy(a+)	117	82.98				Fy^a	58.73
Fy(a—)	24	17.02				Fy^b	41.25
	141	100.00					
Kell system							
KK	0	0.00	–	–	–	K	0.00
Kk	0	0.00	–	–	–		
kk	141	100.00	–	–	–	k	100.00
Lewis system							
Le(a+)	0	0.00					
Le(a—)	141	100.00					
Kidd system							
Jk(a+b—)	34	24.11	31.39	44.26	2.38		
Jk(a+b+)	90	63.83	49.28	69.48	6.06	Jk^a	56.03
Jk(a—b+)	17	12.06	19.33	27.26	3.86	Jk^b	43.97
	141	100.00	100.00	141.00	12.30		100.00
					>P>0.001		
Diego system							
Di(a+)	0	0.00					
Di(a—)	141	100.00				Di^a	0.00
						Di	100.00

phenotype samples but one of which failed to react with the common anti-e. The absence of the chromosome Dce and dce and the high frequency of the chromosome DCE is apparently against the crossing-over hypothesis of Fisher[14] which presumes that the occasional crossing-over of the high fre-

[14] Race and Sanger, 1950.

143

quency chromosomes DCe and DcE in Indians could maintain the low frequency of the chromosomes Dce or dce and DCE.

P: As in all South American tribes the gene P_1 was below 40%.

Lutheran, Kell and *Lewis:* All cases were Lu (a—), K (—) and Le (a—) confirming the lack of admixture with White and Negro populations.

Duffy: Twenty four samples were Fy(a—) but all of them were agglutinated by anti-Fy^b, ruling out the presence of the gene Fy. The Fy^a frequency, although low (38%), is on the range found in other South American aborigines.[16]

Kidd: The Jk^a frequency (56%) is on the usual range observed in American Indians.

Diego: All samples were Di(a—). We will comment fully on this finding in the discussion.

Frequency of Antigens of the Ten Blood Group Systems in Marginal Tribes

Tribes on a Paleo/Meso-Indian level of culture development have conventionally been designated by the term "Marginals." Physical anthropologists[18] have called *Marginal American Indians* such groups who are predominantly dolichocephalic, somewhat Mongoloid, and predominantly non-agricultural.

So far we have analyzed three of the above defined Marginal tribes: the Warao,[17] the Yaruro,[18] and the Waica. Comparing the blood group antigens tested in these tribes, we found the following results in each blood group system:

ABO: As had been expected of almost isolated tribes, all individuals tested were group O.

MNSs: The Warao were aberrant, showing a very low frequency of M (42%), as compared with Yaruro (78%) and Waica (79%). The Ss antigens were tested only in Yaruro and Waica, showing similar results.

P: This system was tested only in Yaruro and Waica which showed low frequencies of the gene P_1 (38% and 35% respectively), as is observed in the majority of South American Indians.

Rh: They showed a similar frequency for the chromosome R_1 (DCe), ranging from 63% to 78%, but the frequencies of the R_2 (DcE) and R_0 (DCE) were quite different. While at R_2 the Waica were aberrant in showing only 0%, the Yaruro and Warao showed 26% and 27% respectively; at R_0 the aberrants were the Yaruro who lacked this chromosome while the Warao and Waica had an incidence of 3% and 18% respectively.

15 Layrisse, Layrisse, and Wilbert, 1960, 1961; Layrisse, Layrisse, Garcia, and Wilbert, 1961.
16 Coon, Garn, and Birdsell, 1950.
17 Layrisse, Arends, and Wilbert, 1958.
18 Layrisse, Layrisse, Garcia, and Wilbert, 1961.

StLoyrlaus et al. D.B-S (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Duffy: The Fy (a+) ranged in these tribes from 77% to 92%, which is the usual range found in Indian tribes. 143

Kidd: The gene Jk^a showed comparable results in Yaruro 49% and in Waica 56%. The Warao were not tested for this gene.

Diego: As was mentioned before, the Waica showed absence of the gene Di^a; the Warao had a negative frequency among the Winikina sub-tribe and 1.9% among the Guayo sub-tribe; the Yaruro showed five Diego-positive cases out of 102 samples, but four of them were derived from eleven samples taken from a single band. For reasons mentioned elsewhere, the authors suggested that the Warao as well as the Yaruro were originally Diego-negative, and that their low Di^a frequencies are due to admixture with neighboring tribes exhibiting a relatively high frequency of the gene.

Other Blood Groups

The tribes tested for Lutheran, Kell, and Lewis showed negative frequency for Lu^a, K, and Le^a, as is seen also in other Indian tribes with non-Indian admixture.

As can be gathered from these comparisons, it is mainly on the basis of the Di^a gene that we could establish a sharply contrasting difference between the Marginal tribes and other South American tribes tested so far (Goajiro 8%, Paraujano 10%, Munduruku 12%, Guahibo 14%, Caingang 17-46%, Aymara 17%, Caribe [Cariña 29%, Pemon 28%, Yupa 27%]), etc. . .

DISCUSSION

In a previous section we have tried to indicate that the absence or a very low frequency of the Diego gene appears to coincide with a culture pattern typical for hunting, fishing and gathering tribes of South America. On several other occasions[19] it has been pointed out as well that there seems to exist a coincidence of certain levels of cultural developments with characteristic ranges of Diego frequencies, and that these frequencies tend to be quantitatively similar or identical between tribes of "genetic" linguistic affiliation, in the sense Greenberg[20] uses the term. For Venezuela we have, in particular, made mention of the low frequency or absence of the Diego gene among the Waica, Warao, and Yaruro who exhibit a Marginal or Paleo/Meso-Indian type of culture. 143 114 104

We have also indicated that this parallel occurrence of Diego gene distribution and the culture pattern of its bearers coincides to a certain extent with a similar

19 Layrisse and Wilbert, 1960.
20 Greenberg, 1959.

St Layrisse et al. D, E-8 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

classification, based on somatological and phenotypical characteristics of the American Indians as proposed by Coon, Garn, and Birdsell,[21] who distinguished between dolicephalic and somewhat mongoloid *Marginal American Indians*, and broader headed less mongoloid *Central American Indians. As a parallel and, of course, not as a causal phenomenon*, the cited authors (very much like the present authors) record that the *Marginal American Indians* include largely non-agricultural Indians of the Americas, while the latter are agricultural peoples of North and South America, especially of the central part. This observation receives substantial support from the recorded facts of the Diego gene distribution, and its importance for migration theory and culture history of South America may be significant. In the given frame of the present paper we shall restrict ourselves to the discussion of the importance of the absence of the Diego gene mainly among two Marginal tribes of Venezuela, the Waica and the Warao, trying to indicate a possible direction for future Diego research.[21a]

In a recent study, Canals Frau [22] observed that the oldest stratum of *Homo sapiens* in America was composed of five distinct racial types, i.e., the *Silvidos*, the *Sonóridos*, the *Láguidos*, the *Patagónidos*, and the *Huárpidos*, and that the last three were of South American distribution. It is interesting to recall in this connection that Canals Frau includes the Waica and the Piaroa in this antique stratum within which great phenotypical variation has been observed by Vinci, for the Yanoama, and by Baumgartner for the Piaroa.[23] It would seem that the actual occurrence of this variation in one and the same group could best be interpreted by fusion and interbreeding of the different racial types of Paleo-American Man.

Because of his early appearance, the culture of this Paleo-American Man will necessarily have been on a Paleo-Indian (hunters), and later Meso- Indian (fishermen) level of development.[24] Kirchhoff,[25] in referring to the hunting and fishing Marginals of Venezuela, observed that the "differences in subsistence are correlated with other cultural differences, indicating that there was not one basic culture type, but two, the Hunting Culture and the Fishing Culture;" that "Each in turn was divided into at least two subtypes," and that "Without further comparative research, it is impossible to say whether these subtypes were simply local variants of the two basic types or whether they too sprang from different origins."

21 Coon, Garn, and Birdsell, 1950.
21a Layrisse and Wilbert, 1961.
22 Canals Frau, 1959.
23 Vinci, 1956; Zawisa, 1959; Baumgartner, 1954.
24 Cf. Bennett, 1948.
25 Kirchhoff, 1948, p. 443.

StLaytinen et al. D.E-S (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

The most typical representative of the Hunters among modern Venezuelan Indians are the Yanoama, while the most typical example of a people of Fishermen culture can be seen in the Warao. It is interesting for the discussion of Kirchhoff's problem that Swadesh (personal communication) suggests a linguistic affiliation between Yanoaman and Waraoan; interesting, because it is generally accepted that "genetic" linguistic relationship is most likely to have biological significance, since the ancestors of the speakers of genetically related languages[26] once belonged to the same gene pool.

In following up Swadesh's suggestion, the present authors have compared (a) the basic vocabularies of Yanoaman and Waraoan, and (b) all available pairs of about 1000 Yanoama (Sanemá) words with their equivalents in the Warao dictionary recently published by Barral.[27] As a result of this comparison, more than twenty percent of the total pairs compared appeared to be cognate; a percentage certainly high enough to encourage further research. A preliminary glottochronological calculation resulted in 43 mc of separation, which corresponds to twenty six percent of common retentions. Accepting this result as a strong *prima facie* case, it would suggest that the *Yanoama* and *Warao* originally united, separated from each other some 4,500 years ago.[28]

If we compare the blood group phenotype frequencies found in these two tribes, we see that only the frequencies at Diego are very similar, whereas MN, Rh, and Duffy showed statistically significant variations. It is generally accepted that significant differences of gene frequencies in two populations are indicative of different origin, but in comparing small isolated populations, such as most Indian tribes, this statement may not be applicable without allowing for certain restrictions. The gene frequencies in these populations may, for instance, reflect the fortuitous results of gene drift, since in a population with an effective size of 200, an allele would require a selective advantage of 0.01 to avoid the action of drift.[29]

In our case, we are comparing the gene frequencies of blood groups, the majority of which have, until now, been considered to be of neutral selective value. Although the Waica and the Warao belong to the most numerous Indian tribes of Venezuela and lowland South America (8-10,000), they have been living in smaller isolated groups which might have favored the production of gene drift. On this basis, then, one could consider gene drift as the most probable explanation for the phenotype differences of the Rh, MN, and Duffy systems, especially, if we take into consideration a possible 4,500 years lapse of time since their separation.

26 Greenberg, 1953.
27 Barral, 1957.
28 Wilbert, 1961b.
29 Glass, Sacks, Jahn, and Hess, 1952.

St Layrisse et al. D, E-8 (cn. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

We would best interpret our general culture historic problem in the sense of suggesting that there exists a high probability for the two different populations and culture types to represent simply variants of basically the same people and the same culture type. Archaeologists[20] have proved that the Meso-Indian culture type dates back to 4150 ± 80 BP (Manicuare), so that the *Warao* Meso-Indian culture type could actually date back to the time of their splitting off from the *Yanoama* who, for their part, continued to live in the Paleo-Indian tradition, and which, in turn, may date back to its most original form in Venezuela to 16,000 ± 300 BP and more.

In our particular case, then, the establishment of the genetic identity of two tribes with respect to the Diego blood gene has led us to assume that Paleo-American Man in Venezuela, although phenotypically different, is homogeneous for the Diego gene. Probably, in response to a changing environment, he developed two different culture types still traceable among his modern descendants. A detailed analysis of the contents of both cultures would greatly substantiate this hypothesis, but in the limited frame of the present paper we shall have to refrain from doing so.

In closing this discussion, we would like to underline the preliminary character of our hypothesis. The culture content of the Waica and of the Warao has not been fully described as yet; the linguistic affiliation of the two tribes remains to be confirmed by profound linguistic analysis; and genetically we have little more to go by than the behavior of mainly one gene. Nevertheless, taken together this kind of threefold evidence, in spite of all the existing limitations, appears to be much stronger than the single evidence available for any one of them, and it would be highly desirable to test similar cases along the lines described above.

Bibliography

Baker, James
1953 *Memoria sobre la cultura Guaika* (Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, nos. 3-4, pp. 433-489, Caracas).

Barral, Basilio de
1957 *Diccionario Guarao-Español, Español-Guarao* (Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales, La Salle, Monografías, no. 3, Caracas).

Baumgartner, Hans
1954 *Apuntes de un médico indigenista sobre los Piaroa de Venezuela* (Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, vol. 2, nos. 1-4, pp. 111-124, Caracas).

Becher, Hans
1960 *Die Surára und Pakidái. Zwei Yanoami-Stämme in Nordwestbrasilien.* (Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, vol. 26, Hamburg).

[20] Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-59, vol. 1, tables 2 and 3.

StLayrisse et al. D.E-S (ca. 1960)1962 8Q18 Tanoama 8Q18
Waica

CAMALS FRAU, SALVADOR
1959 *Prehistoria de América* (Buenos Aires).

COON, C. S., S. M. GARN, AND J. B. BIRDSELL
1950 *Races: a Study of the Problems of Race Formation in Man* (Springfield).

CRUXENT, J. M., AND I. ROUSE
1958-59 *An Archeological Chronology of Venezuela* (Pan American Union, Social Sciences Monographs, no. 6, 2 vols., Washington).

DALL'IGNA RODRIGUES, A.
1960 "Über die Sprache der Surára und Pakidái" (in H. Becher, *Die Surára und Pakidái*, Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, vol. 26, Hamburg).

GLASS, B., M. S. SACKS, E. F. JAHN, AND C. HESS
1952 *Genetic Drift in a Religious Isolate: an Analysis of the Causes of Variation in Blood Groups and Other Gene Frequencies in a Small Population* (The American Naturalist, vol. 86, pp. 145-159).

GREENBERG, JOSEPH
1955 *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (New Haven: Compass Publishing Co.).
1956 "Linguistic Classification of South America," (in J. H. Steward, and L. C. Faron, *Native Peoples of South America*, New York [1959]).

KIRCHHOFF, PAUL
1948 "Food-gathering Tribes of the Venezuelan Llanos" (in *Handbook of South American Indians*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 143, vol. 4, pp. 445-468, Washington).

KOCH-GRÜNBERG, THEODOR
1913 *Abschluss meiner Reise durch Nordbrasilien zum Orinoco, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der von mir besuchten Indianer-stämme* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. 45, pp. 448-474).

LAYRISSE, M., T. ARENDS, AND J. WILBERT
1959 *Peculiar Distribution of the Diego Factor among the Warao* (Nature, vol. 181, p. 118).

LAYRISSE, M., Z. LAYRISSE, E. GARCÍA, AND J. WILBERT
1961 *Blood Group Antigen Tests of the Yaruro Indians* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 17, pp. 198-204).

LAYRISSE, M., Z. LAYRISSE, AND J. WILBERT
1960 *Blood Group Antigens in the Yupa Indians of Venezuela* (American Anthropologist, vol. 62, pp. 418-436).
1961 *Blood Group Antigen Studies of Four Chibcha Tribes* (American Anthropologist, in press).

St Layrisse et al. D.E-S (en. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Wales

113

LAYRISSE, M. AND J. WILBERT
1960 *El antígeno del sistema sanguíneo Diego* (Caracas).
1961 *Absence of Diego Antigen, a Genetic Characteristic of Early Immigrants to South America* (Science, vol. 134, no. 3483, pp. 1077-1078).

LOUKOTKA, ČESTMIR
1944 *Klassifikation der südamerikanischen Sprachen* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. 74, pp. 1-69).

MASON, J. ALDEN
1950 "The Languages of South American Indians" (in *Handbook of South American Indians*, Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 143, vol. 6, pp. 157-317, Washington).

MCQUOWN, NORMAN A.
1955 *The Indigenous Languages of Latin America* (American Anthropologist, vol. 57, pp. 501-570).

MURDOCK, GEORGE P.
1949 *Social Structure* (New York).

RACE, R. R. AND R. SANGER
1958 *Blood Groups in Man* (Blackwell Scientific Publications, Oxford).

RIVET, PAUL
1924 "Langues Américaines. Langues de l'Amérique du Sud et des Antilles" (in A. Meillet and A. M. Cohen, *Les Langues du Monde*, Coll. Ling. Paris, vol. 16, pp. 639-712, Paris).

RIVET, P. AND Č. LOUKOTKA
1952 "Langues de l' Amérique du Sud et des Antilles (in A. Meillet and M. Cohen, *Les Langues du Monde*, Coll. Ling. Paris, second edition, pp. 1099-1160, Paris).

ROUSE, IRVING
1960 *The Entry of Man into the West Indies* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, no. 61, New Haven).

SCHUSTER, MEINHARD
1958 *Die Sociologie der Waika* (Proceedings, 32nd International Congress of Americanists, 1956, pp. 114-122, Copenhagen).

SHAPIRO, M.
1960 *Serology and Genetics of the New Blood Factor: hr°* (Journal of Forensic Medicine, vol. 7, pp. 96-107).

SWADESH, MAURICE
1959 *Mapas de clasificación lingüística de México y las Américas* (Cuadernos del Instituto de Historia, Serie Antropológica, no. 8, Universidad Nacional de México, México).

InLaytine et al. D.E-6 (ca. 1980)1982 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18
Waica

VENCI, ALFONSO
1956 *Samatari* (Bari).
1959 *Red Cloth and Green Forest* (London).

WILBERT, JOHANNES
1961a *Indios de la Región Orinoco Ventuari* (In press).
1961b *Notes on a Sanema Vocabulary* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes, in press).

ZERRIES, OTTO
1955 *Some Aspects of Waica Culture* (Anais do 31. Congresso Internacional de Americanistas, 1954, pp. 73-88. São Paulo).
1956 *Zur Frage der ursprünglichen Wirtschaftsform der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoco (Venezuela), (Ergebnisse einer völkerkundlichen Forschungsreise 1954/55)* (Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 148-156, Vienna).
1958a *Die Vorstellungen der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoco (Venezuela) über die menschliche Seele* (Proceedings, 32nd International Congress of Americanists, pp. 105-113, Copenhagen).
1958b *Schöpfung und Urzeit im Denken der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoco (Venezuela)* (Proceedings 32nd International Congress of Americanists, pp. 280-288, Copenhagen).
1959 *Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Shiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie und Anthropologie, vol. 84, pp. 31-41, Stuttgart).
1960 *Medizinmannswesen und Geisterglaube der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoco* (Ethnologica n. f., vol. 2, pp. 483-507, Köln).

INSTITUTO VENEZOLANO DE INVESTIGACIONES CIENTÍFICAS
FUNDACIÓN LA SALLE DE CIENCIAS NATURALES
CARACAS, VENEZUELA

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Red Cloth and Green Forest

ALFONSO VINCI

Translated from the Italian by
JAMES CADELL

HUTCHINSON OF LONDON

[Title Page]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Suuema

411
291
137

The Silent Hunters

[Frontispiece - facing title page]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

approaching, and barked in astonishment: the Indians made signs, urging us not to shoot them. The otter is an animal with a strong dose of magic in his veins, and to kill him would be asking for prolonged rain.

From the Mari we passed into its smallest tributary, the Uaina, and thence into the insignificant Moné—a yellow, stagnant stream, perpetually overgrown, like a green tunnel. Great tree-trunks blocked our passage and the Indians clambered out armed with axes to deal with them. Sometimes a trunk would lie just a few inches under the surface, so that it was impossible to hack through it. With the motor at full throttle we would literally skip over such obstacles, taking care to hoist up the outboard just in time to avoid smashing it against the submerged trunk. Each time we rounded a curve the Indians waved their arms and announced the Moné landing ahead; but when, on the second evening of our journey up the Moné, the landing did come into view at last, no one noticed. It was only by pure chance that we didn't overshoot the spot.

Old ruined huts, mouldering and full of spiders, crickets, and beetles, littered the Moné beach. We had to build fresh ones. The others we burned as firewood. The next day we set out through the forest with the first boat. But for all the vast local knowledge of the Sape men, we went up the wrong stream! And after a long day of gruelling effort the canoe ended up in a dry little stream-bed where, so far as we could judge, we were at least two kilometres further up the Kupãpaipà.

Our plight was serious. A boat weighing a thousand pounds couldn't possibly be got down this sandy ditch. Far the better plan would be to turn back and retrace our steps, in spite of the difficulty, and lose two days. But for the moment we decided to do nothing, leaving the craft where she was, wedged between a tree-trunk and a mudbank.

The *Pinta*, without the misleading help of the Sape guides, made her way triumphantly straight to the right beach without any loss of time at all.

While we were coming back from the Kupãpaipà to the hut on the Moné the Sape men heard something in the distance which alarmed them: other Indians were approaching from the direction of the Mari. We very soon met them. They were hauling a little canoe, the common small boat of Guiana known as a *curiara*. It was a flimsy affair, which slipped along over the poles we had laid down for our own boat as if it was on water. Sitting in it was a girl with a child like some horrible spider clinging to her back. The boy was a mere

[pp. 1-24 not processed]

6: Vinci T-S (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 skeleton, darker in colour than the others, with big, wet eyes like a dog's. When the canoe came to a standstill in front of us and the woman got out, we could see the little monster in all his horror. These Indians were Shirians, and one of them, a plump fellow with a mild, softly smiling manner, proclaimed himself a Guayca—the most ferocious of the Shirians, savages of savages.

'But these are harmless,' said the Sape men. 'They won't do us any harm'—and they surveyed the strangers as if they were just well-trained dogs. Agustin had spent a lot of time with the Shirians from his youth up, and spoke their language well. We thought we might turn this chance meeting to good account by engaging these Indians as guides for the descent of the Caura, the Sape men having made it clear that this was outside their beat and that they couldn't come any further. After a rapid palaver and the exchange of some furtive glances, the Shirians refused. According to Agustin the men might have been ready to agree, but the child was afraid of us. He 'didn't want'. We gave them two boxes of matches and they made off, swift and silent, like ghosts.

Indeed, there was something ghost-like about this whole encounter here on the Moné. We had bumped into the dreaded Shirians, inhabitants of the far-off cordillera—and were they not the ape-men themselves, the howling Guaharibos, the monsters everyone spoke of with terror, though no one knew them? One of them was thin, one was plump, one was darker-skinned and one lighter than average; and with them a child so hideously reduced by disease that when the girl took him off her back it looked horribly like pulling off a little polyp. Yet in point of actual fact these were just Indians like any others, the Sape or the Arekuna. It was just our romanticism which had situated them beyond the bounds of the possible world—not only in space, but in time, as if here were some prehistoric race as ancient as the origin of our dreams.

The meeting with the Shirians seemed to have had some effect upon our Sapes, for that evening, when we were baling up our goods and chattels into bundles ready for carrying across the portage—which would take us quite two days—Antonio informed us that the men would quit unless we increased the rates of pay. It wasn't the first time we had received such an ultimatum, and we had resolved that henceforth we would take no notice. To increase the rate of pay would mean denuding ourselves of supplies of goods which would be very precious when we came to the Upper Caura and the Branco river. Even a small knife, in those parts, would have a very definite value.

'Doctor,' said Antonio, on the morning which should have seen everybody

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

screaming loudly and the *Pirata* making no headway at all. She only reared and plunged, and we began to ship water. We should have to go back—a highly delicate operation. Huge rocks prevented us from getting to a quieter reach on our left. Manuera had turned pale and was working away furiously with his paddle to get the craft in nearer the bank. In the end we found a patch of slack water and were able to jump in and drag the boat on to a gravel bank. She was full of water by now and we did some hasty baling with a bucket. Even Manuera had seen the light: he knew now that the Caura and its rapids are stronger than any man-made motors, and that the world of the great forest is still stronger than the world of work.

Alas, the rapids very soon had their full revenge, just as we were hauling the two boats into another arm of the river where the water tumbled more steeply down, but with less force. The *Pirata* was already through and in safety higher up. The *Rumbera* too was successfully over the first bad patch, and Giovanni was running along the rocks to take the cable to Momi, who was further on. Artur was still on board, probably because he wanted a ride and didn't feel like taking a bath. While Giovanni was jumping from one rock to another the rope slipped out of his grasp, and being greasy slid away over the rocks. The current swung the boat round and she began to go downstream sideways, with a sort of violent skipping motion. She struck on a rocky shelf and shipped some water. The motor, its arm now raised, hit against a boulder and broke off at the clamp, plunging straight into the river. Artur hadn't moved: but he was looking round wildly. After a few more hair-raising turns the boat finished up rocking in a patch of dead water, and that was the end of the adventure. The motor was at the bottom of the deepest pocket on the Caura, and its future would be limited to the process of gradual chemical dissolution. We continued on our way with the *Rumbera* in tow. But our greatest loss was not the outboard engine. It was the good humour and the carefree spirits of Manuera himself.

XI

In the neighbourhood of the Camaracuni the great mountains had already begun again: ahead of us the Uana-Coco and to the left, the Araua range presented their high grey sandstone walls, patterned with the white stripes of the cascades. Neither the Makiritari nor the Shirians fear the Magnanimon, and no

[pp. 27-40 not processed]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manuera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shirians.'

We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uana-Coco, Canaua, and Uagna. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

Manuera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Branco river in Brazil. They considered an agricultural life a peasant's life, and a dull one at that, with no possible appeal to the imagination. There were a few palavers about it, but it is well-known that among primitive peoples the old are listened to least: wisdom favours the youths and the boys, who have their whole lives in front of them—not behind them like a stream flowing away. The young men prevailed, and burned the forest. The first big hut was built according to Manuera's ideas, and served as a pattern for all the Shirians when they came to build.

So we too arrived at this 'big hut', which Manuera showed us with a pride that was scarcely justified, and here too the Shirians fled away into the woods, much to the amusement of our guides. We could hear them there, uttering their guttural cries of terror and wonderment.

Inside the hut there was no one, with the exception of two old folk stretched out in their liana hammocks. They didn't stir: it was as if they didn't even see us. One of them was a woman whose body was reddened nearly all over with *chrate*—a skin disease frequent among the Indians. A macaw, scared by the sight of our beards, set up a howl on his perch and started biting through the cord which attached him to it. Manuera went off into the woods, calling the others, and the thick green swallowed him up for a good hour. We were rather afraid he would want to stop here for the night, for our stomachs were turning at the filth around us, but we had misjudged our man: Manuera was now engaged in more important business and had no desire for more than a brief, benevolent survey of his kinsfolk. We very soon got back to the boat and at last were able to take deep breaths of the fresh river and forest air.

Manuera told us that the Shirians had not been really so scared by our arrival. Indeed, they had been expecting us. But they couldn't quite pluck up the courage to look close. Our stature, our beards, our clothes and our guns, in the eyes of primitive people, turned us into supermen—dread figures, terrifying as monsters and above all, essentially evil.

The news that we were on the way had been bruited abroad by the party we had met at the Mont pass—and *à propos* of this, we learned from Manuera that the spider-child had died soon afterwards, somewhere on the Sabaru. It was a relief to hear this, even if the poor little monstrosity's death had been caused by the sight of us, as the Shirians thought. Manuera's gestures became wild, and his speech difficult to follow, as he tried to explain their attitude.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20

A little above Pulipuli we came to a large stream of clear, coffee-coloured water: the Canaracuni.

We slept in a sound Makiritari hut near the confluence of the two rivers that night, and the next day found us at the foot of some powerful rapids. To get up through these was a tricky business, calling for a highly specialized technique beyond our experience. We had had some eventful hours even before we reached this point, and a hilarious progress, for at every bend in the river we had encountered whole boatfuls of Indians, both Shirians and Makiritari, who mobbed us and wanted to clamber on board. The delights of an outboard engine were more than they could resist! And so it happened that at one time we counted twenty-eight of them, squatting and lying about all over our baggage. It was a heady thought that all this crowd was proceeding up the swift brown waters of the Canaracuni by virtue of one motor!

When we got to the Kumpaki rapids, as they were apparently called, Manuera tried to make us understand, by the aid of his sweeping gestures, the manœuvres which were called for. We couldn't follow, but next morning the difficulty resolved itself. There came into view, in startling silence, a big canoe of fine workmanship paddled by a number of athletic-looking Makiritari who had the air of being very sure of themselves. Amidships there sat an old fellow who in addition to his loincloth was wearing a dirty shirt, and with him another old man of more modest bearing, one or two women, and some children and dogs, all mixed up together in a silent huddle. The steersman was a thin and very ugly customer with only one eye, dressed in trousers and shirt. Our camp was struck dumb at the sight. It was like watching some religious ceremony. The modest-looking old man—in point of fact it was Benito, the owner of the Ceiba property—addressed Momi in passable Spanish, asking him if he was the chief. Momi gestured towards me, and the old fellow turned to me at once, saying:

'Here, Chief Pancho—Makiritari Chief.'

Only later did we discover that Pancho was the one with the squint, not the old man in the shirt: the latter had been chief in his time, but had now handed the sceptre to his son.

Pancho spoke no Spanish, but somehow or other he had picked up exactly seven words of second-hand Portuguese: they dated from a trip to Boa Vista some few years back. Pancho could say: *tarabalo, bom, dia, filio, magnã, agua,* and *matto*. That is, work, good, day, son, tomorrow, water, and forest. And he

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20

M
622
123
Y
123*
M

certainly knew how to command the Indians; all of them, Shirians and Makiritari, held him in respect and did his bidding without question. He would lie in his hammock, with the watchful dogs lying underneath, in a kind of thoughtful somnolence. Then all at once he would sit up and call all the men, in a voice with a strident edge to it, and set them to work. He altered his tone of voice according to whether he was dealing with his own people or with the Shirians. For the latter he reserved a range of almost animal cries. You would have thought he was trying to rouse a herd of pigs.

[186]

Y
[133]

We put our trust in him and his renown, and three days later, hardly believing our eyes, we came out on to the Kitisochi savannah to see in front of us the dramatic rocky walls of the rosy Sariasiñama mountains. It was December 25th. Our trip from La Paragua to the Upper Canaracuni had lasted pretty well two months.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
MaKiritare SS 20

2

The Earthly Paradise

1

Y
N
342 THERE are various ways of living in the forest, and as many ways of building one's dwelling there. There are men who are wary of the forest and to defend themselves build a big hut which is virtually a forest in itself: the doors will shut tight, the roofs hold out against the storms of years. While others, with no such precise ideas, will be content with a roof of palm leaves held up by four posts. Others again, with an instinctive feeling for the open air, will just take two forked branches and prop them up against a tree, so as to be able to sling up hammocks of bark or liana, perhaps adding a few leaves of the wild banana, should they feel it necessary, for a roof.

N
342 The big hut is a real masterpiece of native architecture, and an imposing
N sight, while the frail shelter is rather touching. The Makiritari, like the
[171] Pemontòn and the Makushi from the Rio Branco, are adept at building the large-scale clan-dwelling—the 'big hut'—which is circular with a pointed roof. They level off the site, stamp it down, and plant the central stake or pole—the heart of the whole building and its symbol. The other poles are ranged round it at precise intervals determined and checked by the chief himself. The outer wall, whose framework consists of more slender poles, is eventually plastered with coloured clay. Once this has dried it cracks, so that it comes to resemble certain ancient dry wall constructions.

The masterpiece of the whole edifice is the roof. The highly skilful inter-
N weaving of thick and thin poles, with their liana latticework reinforcement,
[824] allows for a window opening upwards like a postern gate. The outer covering is done with San Paulo palm—a dwarf tree which grows in swampy land. But
[484] the high peak of the roof is finished off with the feathery leaves of the *manaca*—a rarer palm. When the roof has reached the stage at which it is ready to be closed in, a great deal of *manaca* is needed. Everyone sets off by boat along the river,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Pemon SS16
Makiritare SS20

perhaps for a trip of several days, to look for it. These excursions have a festive air: the Indians hunt, fish and swim, and shoot the rapids with gleeful yells—to come home with their canoes loaded high with these soft palm fronds. Within a radius of several kilometres, all the trees will have been stripped.

Smaller communities of Makiritari, without the means or the enthusiasm to build the 'big hut', will content themselves with a rectangular structure. This has a single-span roof sloping down from the back to the front, with rough walls of stakes driven into the ground and bound with lianas. The roof will still consist of San Paulo leaves, but these are less intricately woven than in the case of the 'big hut', being made on the ground like a hurdle and then hoisted into place and firmly secured.

The Pemontòn, on the other hand, have adopted an entirely different pattern of hut, for temporary purposes or for housing a small number only. Taller and less graceful than the Makiritari type, it is roofed most ingeniously with alternating layers of poles of gradually decreasing lengths set upon each other so as to form a pyramid. This is finished off with whole fronds of *sehe* or *maripa* palm—fair sized trees found in profusion near all the rivers of the Amazon-Guiana region.

The Shirians—the real Shirians, that is to say the Samatari and the Guayca—build nothing at all. Those of them who do adapt themselves to the humiliating labour of house-building are just keeping up with their neighbours, the Makiritari. The forest bristles with so many trees, big and little, and all so straight that they might have been placed there on purpose; going up and down them is a grand game and one that always provides something to eat: a grub, a wasps' nest with honey in it, fruit. . . . So why shut oneself off from it all, away from this forest that provides food? One should clearly do the opposite. Why build huts from dead trees, when one can use the live ones? All it needs is two crossed Y-shaped boughs propped against a trunk so as to make a triangle, and there is a place to sling one's hammock!

Sometimes, in the forest, the traveller comes across an abandoned Shirian camp: just some heaps of ashes and a goodly number of these triangular 'bedsteads'—a true forest within a forest. The rotting hammocks are still hanging where they were put.

We couldn't quite accept any of these indigenous architectural patterns for our own purposes, however, since we felt ourselves to be the heirs of a nobler tradition. We had to find our own answer to the problem. We opted for a big

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

0100 themselves off from their kinsfolk. They had settled at a point much used for a crossing-place and therefore convenient for trading. On the Upper Caura there remained only Benito's place at the Ceiba and Pancho's in the Canaracuni district. On the Merevari—the name given by the Indians to the higher reaches of the Caura—the Makiritari were comparatively numerous: they reached as far as Yemecuni and the Brazilian frontier. Not that Pancho used the word 'frontier', which is unknown to the Indians; he simply referred to 'the rivers which run through the other parts, to the south'. In these 'other parts' only one single Makiritari tribe remained. Its chief was called Frenario, and from Pancho's description, eked out with little touches from Benito, Frenario emerged a figure quite as extraordinary as his name, to say the least of it. On the Upper Ventuari, which follows a westward course towards the Orinoco, there were a few settlements, inhabited by close kinsfolk of the Erebato, whose chief, Carlos, according to this midnight saga, was another redoubtable warrior. Finally, there were other Makiritari on the Upper and Lower Cunucunuma and the Padamo—tributary streams of the Orinoco in its first reaches, girdling the Marahuaca uplands where cane, suitable for making blowpipes, was to be found.

Pancho knew the exact strength of every one of these settlements—in terms of able-bodied men, women and children. Raising his hands, he would stick up a thumb for 'man'. Then it would be 'women'—just as if he were referring to manioc or hunting dogs. The fingers would come into action for the younger generation, as he ticked them off saying: 'Boy, boy, boy,' as if each face verily passed before his mind's eye in the process. Pancho's discourse continued far into the night, dying down at last with the flames of the fires we had lit to keep out the damp.

III

* 123 At last we were alone, we could collect our thoughts and enjoy a little purer air. The Shirians and the Makiritari had gone running off to display to their kith and kin the goods that they had received as wages: their vanity, on such occasions, exceeds that of civilized people.

Our solitude lasted twenty-four hours. Then through the long grass of the savannah there came a huge, motley crew of Indians unknown to us—very tiny

[pp. 48–51 not processed]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

men, painted a terrifying red. Momi took up his position behind the palisade of our hut, found a gap and thrust the barrel of the gun through it. We were at a loss to know what to do with the other gun. It scared us more than it ever scared the savages.

I'd always been sceptical of tales about the ferocity of primitive peoples. This was the moment to display my scepticism. We therefore let things take their course, as if the arrival at our hut of a horde of naked dwarfs, all painted red and armed with long bows and arrows, was the most natural event in the world, the sort of thing we'd been used to from childhood days in our own homeland. The Indians adopted just this tactic towards us! The moment came when we were surrounded by a mass of revelling, skipping little monsters, like goats at pasture. The womenfolk hung behind, hesitating to show themselves: many of them had children at the breast, and they feared the very sight of our beards would terrify them, and even cause their death through the 'evil eye'. Gathering them protectively to their bosoms, they laughed rather nervously and echoed the tongue-clicking that punctuated the chatter and the bewildering howls of the male Shirians. For these *were* the Shirians—the real thing, unlike Pancho's hewers of wood who lived now as mere vassals and had adopted the customs of the Soto.

One old fellow stood out among the rest. His hair was ruffled; he wore a perpetual smile and dangling testicles. '*Auai*,' he declared, '*auai, auai*,' ending up with a clicking of his tongue and grunting deeply and explosively from his chest. We didn't then know that '*auai*' meant simply 'yes' in Shirian; we therefore called the old man Auai. Later we came to know him for the chief of the Uana-Dildep tribe, whose camp lay one day's march east of Kirisochi. Auai was intelligent and quick-witted, but his people were plunderers, infinitely resourceful. While the chief was smiling at the magazine photographs of actresses we had brought with us—he didn't understand what they were, but they drew his interest—his men and women, with methodical efficiency, were attempting to slip their pilfering hands through the cracks between the stakes that formed our back wall and make off with what they could. If the gap was too narrow for the grown-ups' hands, they maliciously urged on the children to try theirs. This innocent little game was one which it would have been interesting to observe from start to finish; unfortunately there was our dignity to be considered, as well as the old chief's integrity of character to be reckoned with. Laughing, he joined in as we chased off the women and children, and

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

speeded them with threats of dubious efficacy as they retreated to a safe distance.

'*Ausi*,' said the old man. We took him up in chorus and by evening the merriment reached its height, punctuated by the howls of the Shirians as they sampled our food supplies, grimacing over them like apes. The howling and shouting gradually gave place to something a little more musical; soon they were singing, and this in its turn excited them to dancing and stylized movements that were of great interest to us. Ausi repeated anything we said, without hesitation. Sometimes the imitation was perfect, but for the most part our barbarous language tied his tongue up, so that he would be saying '*genestre*' for '*stregone*' (wizard) and '*chiribichappa*' for '*aeroplano*', amid general hilarity.

By the time the Great Bear had appeared in the cold sky over the Sarisariñama, a certain madness had invaded us too, and in an innocent, untropical sort of way we ran mildly amok. We got hold of the gun and fired shots into the air. This made the Indians jump for joy. Some of them started dancing and howling in a fine frenzy round and round the hut, sweating like pigs and led by Momi armed with a big aluminium saucepan on which he kept up a rhythmic beat with a machete. The song and dance finished when the performers had no strength left, and no voice. The most dogged of them, however, even after they had flung themselves down on the benches, or on the ground, or lay stretched out on the table, still managed a last raucous imitation of the refrain they had learned from us: '*Paracatepparache, che, che, che.*'

When morning came the men of Ausi went off promising to return with bananas and sugar-cane: we undertook to purchase these, giving them in exchange those things which the women had vainly tried to lift from us. Then the long file of dirty dwarfs vanished among the trees, and with them our windsock which they had taken off its pole at some stage of the proceedings and were now carrying off as a trophy.

[115] We learned more that same day about the 'windsock' from Luis Antonio, a Shirian speaking perfect Spanish who had come up the river with two other Indians: they didn't exactly inspire confidence, though he presented them as brothers.

'I saw one of the Olsiini Shirians wearing it,' he told us, giving the Ausi men their proper name. 'He was running about in the woods with one leg on and one off.'

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Ma Kiri'tare SS20

IV

Had Luis Antonio been wearing clothes, we should have pronounced him very well turned out, for he looked dark and perfectly groomed in his nudity, which was enhanced in very smart fashion by a loincloth of fiery red and a ruffle of white feathers on his right arm. In addition to his name and his knowledge of Spanish there was one other thing about him that suggested that his story might not be quite the usual one: his rotten teeth. All the Indian peoples have teeth that are very strong and brilliantly white. They are used to hard exertions on the meat the savage eats, while his fruits provide the necessary minerals, and keep their strength and colour well into old age. Luis Antonio was an exception—his teeth were no longer good: there was a long history to them, and we soon got to know it.

Uarema—Uarma, Ualema, Uadma, or Uademe were alternative forms, all very close in the Shirian pronunciation—had been a Guayca boy from the Uagna tribe. They were real warriors, forever at war with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. Battles were a regular feature of tribal life. When the arsenal of long-range weapons had been exhausted the armies would come to grips with clubs and sticks. During one such engagement the young Uarema disappeared into the forest and, finding himself lost, stayed all alone on the bank of the Merevari, living on fruit and worms. At the time he was probably no more than four or five years old, but the Guayca Indians are savages among the savages, and four or five is old enough for a boy to know what is good to eat in the forest and what isn't; where to find it; and how to catch it. While he was all by himself on a beach, getting a few little fish by striking at them with a stick, a Makiritari party came along, found him there, and took him with them. They were going down the Caura to sell canoes to the people on the rubber plantations at Maripa (which is almost on the Orinoco). The child, travelling with them, soon accustomed himself to their language and their Cassava bread.

At Maripa, one Martin Visdo, a rubber man who knew Guiana like the palm of his hand, saw the boy and prodded him as you would prod a spring chicken or a sucking-pig in a shop.

'A fine boy this,' he declared. 'But wicked. Wicked and obstinate, like all

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

159
177 his tribe. You can see it in his eyes. . . .' Uarema kept them down all the time . . . 'but I want to keep him here. He'll be the first Shirian to go to school, and if he doesn't go, he'll be the first to get his bottom kicked by a civilized boot.'

Uarema stayed behind, while the Makiritari went back with an extra few yards of the good old red cloth.

Martin Viudo was a collector—of human beings. Around him, like one big family, lived Indians of every race: Taurepàn from the Gran Sabana, Arekuna from the Caroni, Makiritari from the Caura, Piaroa from the Orinoco, Cuiba from the Guaviare lands and finally one Bare from Rio Negro. The only one he hadn't got was a Shirian—the prize monster of the whole Indian scene. And now he'd found him too!

He began by calling him Luis Antonio, after a friend of his who had died of fever on the Atabapo. He clothed him and entrusted him to Donna Josefa, the village schoolma'm. At school the boys called him a cannibal, and he hit out at them whenever he could, as 'his wicked instincts' prompted him. At any rate, that was Donna Josefa's opinion: she couldn't stand the little savage. Very soon, he started to play truant from that narrow world bounded by the alphabet and the primer with its abstruse explanations of the catechism—A for Adam, B for Bible, C for Christ and so on. It was all beyond his understanding, and one day he hit the schoolmistress and went back to his home, where the wife of Martin Viudo promptly hit him. Having cried off school, Luis Antonio went to work for his adopted father. He was growing fast now, and strong enough to paddle and steer boat-loads of balata and zarape through the Caura estuary. He soon learned to handle a motor too; on Sundays he would go off to Maripa and get drunk, begging tots of white rum off the peons who were merry enough to regale him freely. 'Drink up, Man-Eater, and then go back to your cannibals and spit in their faces!' they would shout. Then with a laugh they would pour him whole glasses of brandy. By the time he was twenty his teeth were rotting away with alcohol and iced drinks—and he couldn't stand civilization any longer.

159 No one knows why or how, least of all himself—but something called him back to the forest under the rocky cordillera which had nurtured the young child. He saw his chance when a boat-load of Makiritari put in at Maripa, and returned with them to the Merevari, where he had no difficulty in getting in touch with his own people—for in intervals between battles they explored the Merevari, the Curutu and all the streams rising on the Uana-Coco watershed.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'I am Uarema,' he declared to his Guayca kinsmen, who looked on him with hostile eyes because he was wearing trousers, 'Uarema, son of Meusi. I was here as a boy. A long time I have been with "the rationals" [the civilized men] and I have grown to manhood. You are my people.'

His turning up in this fashion had a touch of the fabulous about it, and his kinsmen took him along without ill-treating him. When they found him to be a man of many accomplishments, and the old men remembered how he had disappeared during Uagna's time, after an encounter with the Samatari from the Aracosa lands, they kept him with them as their rightful chief, giving him unlimited freedom of action. As his obedient subjects they left it all to him.

Uarema had never taken to civilization. For him, it had lacked something. What it had lacked, we cannot guess: the civilization of the Lower Guiana rivers may be bounded by the cloth hammock and the bottle of rum, the loose woman and the pack of cards, but it cannot be ranked any lower than the barbarianism of the Guayca, eaters of worms and snakes. But now, after his experience of life with 'the rationals', neither could the young man endure the ceaseless warfare which engaged his own peoples. The broken heads he saw round the fire in the evenings, the howls of the medicine-men at their exorcisings—all this was anathema to him. He told his kinsfolk they had better put it all aside, and grow something. From the Soto they could obtain seeds and roots. Much manioc was needed, because without it one was always hungry. Sugar-cane was a pleasant thing to suck at any time, and the children loved it. Above all, there must be bananas, as far as eye could see—the forest must be transformed into a huge garden of fruits, there for the picking. Thus, with his head full of ideas which owed their origin to the years he had spent in civilization, Luis Antonio founded a new Guayca people. They were Guayca Indians no longer, but peasants—peasants who cared for the tilling of the soil and a sure supply of food. These Guayca called themselves after him, Uaremas. They inhabited two big homesteads an hour distant from the Merevari river—a little above the mouth of the Canaracuni.

Now Luis Antonio wanted to stay with us and work, because he needed cloth for his people. We gave him what little we had been able to save from the greedy hands of Pancho's men, and he went off for a brief visit to his tribe, intending to return to Kirisochi in four days' time.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20

M
123 Once more we were left on our own, waiting for the plane and making plans for a documentary film we wanted to take back. In the meanwhile a Makiritari showed up. He was a middle-aged man, muscular like a statue, and his skin was the colour of copper. Our visitor had a doleful little voice which contrasted oddly with his athletic appearance. It hovered somewhere behind a perpetual smile, like the crowing of a cock screened off by a flowering hedge. Pedro was the name. He had made his way through the Ventuari and the lower Caura, with *molto sarnasho*—much work, much exertion. . . .

M
[186] Pedro would have come to see us before, but he had been put off by the
M
[952] presence of the Shirians. 'Shirians—bad men,' he told us. 'Me, Pedro, good,
[177] not bad man.' His wife had a mastoid, and he had operated on her with a splinter of glass that had originally been part of a medicine bottle from Las Trinqueras—everything civilized came from Las Trinqueras, the hub of the world. And the woman, a dried-up thirty-year-old, had in fact a deep cut behind her ear which was suppurating. A few injections of penicillin soon put that right, and such was the patient's gratitude that whenever she saw us coming or going she would give us the same meek, piteous look as a lamb about to be slaughtered, and then turn to the others saying: 'What good men, what good men. . .!'

Pedro was a very able fisherman, and when we had supplied him with hooks he went off to the Upper Canaracuni with a child whom we took to be his daughter. But when he came back, he was ashamed of his catch. He thought it wouldn't find favour in our eyes.

'Soto eat them,' he declared, 'Shirians eat them too, but you eat other fish.'

We never could make out whether this was really diffidence on Pedro's part, or whether it was astuteness: so far were we from fully understanding the mentality of primitive men.

Y
*123 We were to hear more about fish and fishing when Auai came back with his
[139] horde of ruffians, bringing us the promised bananas and sugar-cane and receiving in exchange the few goods we still possessed. Auai went fishing in the
Y
[226] Canaracuni headwaters with barbasco, a vegetable poison frequently used for this purpose. Artur and I decided to go along with him, leaving the others to wait at Kirisochi.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Barbasco is a kind of liana which can grow to impressive dimensions—attaining a stem up to eight inches thick. The Indians cut it in the forest and collect a large pile together at a convenient place for pressing. Their press is made from one of those dead trunks of hardwood which are found in such quantity in the forest and some wooden clubs specially cut for the purpose. The liana stems are pounded and then done up into bundles so that they can be easily taken to the place to be fished, which may be some way off. Here they are immersed several times in the river, releasing a milky juice which gives the water a whitish opalescence. The juice of the liana reduces the air content of the water through oxidization, and the fish very soon come floating up to the surface—asphyxiated but not poisoned.

This procedure is a very common one among the Indians, whose fishing follows a two-year cycle—this being the minimum time needed for each stretch of water to become repopulated after the use of barbasco. It goes without saying that this extract of liana loses its efficacy in anything bigger than a small stream. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity the Indians will attempt to fish medium-sized rivers in this way, banding together to collect huge quantities of liana. The fish taken are then smoked and wrapped in banana leaves, after which they will keep for months.

Auai and his men had to go far afield with their barbasco before they found a suitable place. The probability was that the Shirians had already been at work, unknown to anyone, near the source of the Canaracuni. We therefore left him to it after all, and returned to camp early one morning, just in time to meet the plane that was circling the field.

VI

On Sunday, the 24th June, a big plane came into sight over the rim of the Sarisariñama mountains—towards the east where they merge into the Socsoc range. It swooped down to about three hundred feet and then went off without giving any signal. The excitement among the Indians on the spot—Luis Antonio was one of them and he explained the nature of the machine to his kinsfolk—was doomed to disappointment. And time and again this story of the aeroplane continued to arouse our hopes, only to dampen them once more.

A week later it appeared, at the same time—so suddenly and unexpectedly

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

that it might have shot up into the air out of the towering rocks of the sierra. This time it almost skimmed the treetops, but once again it did not land. A plane of such size—it had two motors—would never have been able to touch down on the Kirisochi strip, and certainly would not have been able to take off from it again. It flew over the camp a second time and dropped a bottle containing a laconic message to the effect that a landing was out of the question, but that the following week a single-engined plane would pay us a visit instead. For the present, the note added, the pilot would make one more flight over the camp. If we were in dire need of anything, we were to raise both hands. If not, only one.

The main point of the plane's coming was really only to bring us supplies —and at the moment we were suffering no particular shortage—and to provide transport back for Jean, our American girl, and eventually for Artur, the German. When it made the third run in, we raised one hand only, and the pilot dropped us a bag of comforts, our mail, and a sack containing twenty pounds of potatoes. No doubt this was meant as compensation for his inability to land. It certainly helped to break the monotony of our diet.

All this time, Enrico and I were getting on with the scenario of our film. We took a few background scenes and shots of Indians, who were now coming and going daily. Our film was to be a documentary, about an expedition similar to our own which encountered the Makiritari and the Shirians: it then proceeded, following some darkly mysterious hints dropped by these tribes, to the Valley of Death—or the Valley of Cold, or maybe the Valley of the Devil —in which there was a stream full of diamonds. These duly gathered in we brought our expedition back via the Merevari rapids through all the glories of a Technicolor sunset. Of course there was hunting, fishing, canoeing and nature in the raw. This should have lent a certain interest quite independently of the diamonds, but the diamonds were a cinema 'must', and so we got to work on the bottle dropped by the plane. We ground it up between two stones, and there was our fabulous heap of precious, gleaming stones. But we weren't altogether satisfied with the results of this grinding process, and began to wonder whether our 'diamonds' would pass muster. The Canaracuni must have shared our doubts, for a month later we had an accident with the boat and the canisters of film we had shot went to the bottom, where they were washed clean.

Pedro had settled for quarters near us, but not inside the hut itself, which

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

Pedro had settled for quarters near us, but not inside the hut

was periodically invaded by Shirians: he erected a little roof among the trees 115
between us and the river, where there were less insects than elsewhere. He
would come over in the evening and chat to us, sitting on the table, by the
light of the hurricane lamp which Giovanni managed to get going after a V
struggle. Pedro came in useful. It was thanks to him that we were able to set up 123*
a price list, or a list of exchange values, putting a definite value on any work the 435
Indians cared to do for us and the little fruit and greenstuff they could provide. M
The list showed, for instance, that a whole hand of bananas was worth one small [115]
looking-glass, and that five looking-glasses would buy one tapir. One pine-
apple was exchangeable for one box of matches; four sewing needles for one
sugar-cane; and one little tin of salt was the reward of a day's labour—that is,
a day spent with us, stretched out in a hammock and singing, with requests for
a share of our food every time one of us got busy near the fire. In most cases
our price was a theoretical one, our actual supplies of goods being exhausted
until the plane dropped us more. Nevertheless, we took care to make our price
list known to all with the most eloquent explanations.

In spite of this, some funny things happened. The rate for an antelope was
five bolivars—a rather theoretical sum, equivalent in practice, for example, to
one lima. We were also interested in the skin of any animal, part of our purpose
being to collect them. For a whole antelope skin, we paid one bolivar or its
equivalent in a reel of cotton, or a spoonful of lead shot, or two small hooks,
etc. As a consequence, we would have an Indian come to give us a day's work,
at the regular rate. During the day, paid by us, he would shoot, with our gun,
an antelope which he expected us to pay for while he kept the skin. The skin
was sold to us separately, while the meat would provide meals which he or his
friends and relations shared with us.

On the Kirisochi savannah there thus arose some very complicated auditing
problems. We decided to burn our price list and put our trust in our powers of
improvisation.

VII

When Luis Antonio came back, we set out with him to climb the Sari- V
surilama, the deity that watched over the source of the Camaracumi. Enrico, 123*
Giovanni, and I were in the party. Luis brought a kinsman, and there was also

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Saneema

123 Sempronio—this was the name we had given to an Auai boy who had elected to stay with us.

123 776 773 We made our way up the river of the same name which plunges down from the highlands, with wonderful falls, into a ravine thick with vegetation. The Shirianas were strongly disinclined to go anywhere near the falls. It took us three days to overcome their objections and they only decided to go along with us when we told them we should otherwise set off by ourselves. Luis Antonio explained that the deep pool formed by the waterfall was the home of an enormous watersnake, *Lalakilpara*—a monster which lay coiled in readiness to devour anyone or anything it saw looking over the edge of the pool.

We laughed, but as far as the Indians were concerned our laughter fell on deaf ears. Luis Antonio was no exception, and he warned us not to jest about certain things. Numerous trails made by tapir and peccary were pointed out to us as paths the serpent had taken. One curious thing about the monster which remained unexplained was that he came regularly along the river-bank to the Kirisochi savannah for his excretions. But at last the Indians overcame their reluctance enough to make an inspection of the pool. Dumbfounded, they had to admit that Lalakilpara didn't exist, except as a highly coloured fiction among their older kinsfolk, who could recount the monster's whole history. It seemed to us that the power of fancy had transformed a few cross-currents driven furiously against the walls of the gorge by the whirlpool set up by the tumbling water, into this gigantic serpent whose breath—the air-disturbance—could suck down any man or beast who went too near the edge of the precipice. As to the distance the monster covered for purposes of nature, the symbolism here was even clearer: what it sought to explain was the way in which the river's alluvial matter found its way to the Kirisochi plain. The water was calmer by the time it reached this point, and the detritus carried along with it tended to be deposited here. This fable of the serpent was an example of a natural phenomenon stated in terms of myth—the only such example we found among the Shiriana. After we had exploded the legend, Lalakilpara slowly died away in the Indian mind, his place being taken by the aeroplane and the outboard motor—monsters no less fantastic, and no less dread.

123 (136) The slopes of the Sariscriiama range were very poor in wild life, as is often the case with these mountains, and Luis Antonio, to whom we had given a gun after he had proved himself to be a better shot than we were, was only able to get a Capuchin monkey or two. We boiled them—the result being a murky

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

broth with a strong tang. Little Sempronio was the cook—Sempronio with the small eyes and fierce, sharp teeth, ever ready to crunch anything edible there was to be found. We didn't worry too much about hygiene, because out in the blue it is hardly practical. Nor did we dwell on the question of Indian tastes in meat: they prefer the intestines and all the peculiar parts, to the flesh. Enrico and I, up on the Gran Sabana, had once lived for months at a time on monkeys and even worse things, and we weren't squeamish. But while Artur was fastidiously eating his helping of monkey-meat, his face contorted with disgust and he opened his mouth to let fall a little black thing, half chewed. This proved upon examination to be a real Shirian titbit, but Artur said a good many things with exclamation marks, ending up with: 'I'd never have believed that things would come to this.' 123*

'Nor would the monkey,' I replied philosophically, while Sempronio retrieved the mouthful and it disappeared with a strong sucking noise, as if he was taking a drink.

When we had finished our meal of monkey, Luis Antonio and his brothers sang some Shirian airs, with a grace and phrasing that surprised us. We soon joined in with our own renderings: a deep chorus echoed through the mountain gorges. Then, for something to do, we chopped down some trees which fell with a huge crashing tumult. Luis Antonio took his axe and heroically tackled a giant *guacamaia*, and four hours later a vast mass of wood toppled down, bringing with it in its thunderous fall other trees fifty or sixty yards away. But The 24 ants, rudely disturbed, poured ferociously out of their nests, making us flee to our hammocks, where we lay waiting for the night. [533]

Before we tackled the higher part of the climb (where the way led steeply upwards between treeless slopes and vertical sandstone cliffs) we set fire to the undergrowth. This is a means of clearing the crevices between rocks, and makes for an easier ascent. We waited one day after the fire, and then set out. Halfway through the climb we found ourselves black as chimney-sweeps—thanks to the ash and charcoal which covered our path. It was easier going than we'd reckoned on, and soon after midday we were all on the summit—all of us with the exception of Artur, who had found the pace too hot for him.

The Sarisariñama heights form part of the vast system of table-topped mountains (or sierra) which rise in isolated massifs over the whole region bounded by the Rio Negro, the Rio Branco, the Atlantic, and the Orinoco and known geographically as Guiana. These mountains tower up suddenly from 133

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

133 the forest lands, and their tops are so high and so difficult of access that this has helped to preserve a biological world completely distinct not only from that of the surrounding lowlands of the Caroni, Paragua, Caura, and Orinoco valleys but also from that common to all other valleys in the American [114] continent. A few decades ago, when the aeroplane first enabled us to study these regions and their geological peculiarities, some observers proceeded to formulate wild theories which aroused more legitimate emotions in the breasts of explorers and scientists.

The formation of sandstone and conglomerate which overlays the original basic rock of this region to a depth of 2,500 metres was eroded almost completely on the periphery of these uplands, leaving the great flat-topped mountains isolated. This geological phenomenon began in the Secondary Era, when the plant and animal life on our planet was appreciably different from what it is today. The process of erosion continued right down to the ancient granite crust, while on the uplands flora and fauna continued as hitherto, restricted now to their new isolation. Communication between the heights and the plain became impossible. The pressure at 2,500 metres is very different from what it is at four hundred, and creates peculiar physiological changes in the organisms that adapt themselves to it.

13 It seemed possible that the flat tops of these mountains, which from the air 114 appeared to be covered with bush, would not only reveal unknown vegetable species but also animals which scientists believed to be extinct. Perhaps certain monsters from the Mesozoic age—the Saurians, it might be, the inspiration of so many fantasies—still lived and pastured in deep chasms scooped out by the waters of ages. Speculation wove many a scientific fantasy.

In reality, the monsters remained well and truly buried in their geological strata and no mountain could preserve forms of life surviving through a radical 137 change of atmospheric and geological conditions. What did come as a surprise, however, on these mountains—and the Sarisariñama itself proved the point—was an entirely individual flora: orchids, epiphytes, bromeliads and lianas of hitherto unknown types, which are likely to keep botanical students busy for a long time all over the world.

136 The usual fly-catchers, merry little birds I had already known closely on other high Guiana mountains, came to greet us. Never having seen animals bigger than themselves, these birds took us for strange trees with two big humid flowers distilling honey at the top: our eyes. First one of them came

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

along by himself and hopped round us twittering. Then he flew off, to return a little while later with another in tow—perhaps the hen bird. Twittering again, he presented us to her as a fabulous discovery. They twittered a commentary and flew off, returning a little later, this time with a whole flock of friends. Then, with the courage that comes with numbers, they all made for our eyes to get at the honey. We were forced to disillusion them.

VIII

The Shirians have tobacco, *pihni* as they call it: even the most primitive and savage of them, the Samatari, cultivate two things in some hidden corner of the forest known only to themselves—tobacco, and the cane from which they make their arrows. Vice and war!

We were highly attracted towards the Uagna river lands, which, according to Luis Antonio, was country rich in game and inhabited, or at least occasionally crossed, by the Samatari, who inspired terror all round them. Enrico, Momi, and I set out on an expedition there, leaving Jean and Artur to wait for the plane.

We stopped on the way at the Uarema settlement; Luis Antonio wanted to show us off to his people, who had never seen men with beards and wearing clothes.

That night we slept in a crowded hut, and our curiosity was drawn towards a young woman who had strung her hammock between those of Uarema's two nephews (whose persons were adorned with feathers and plumes). She stayed in all day as well, a coseted Shirian Cleopatra, continually looking at herself in the little glass we had given her and adjusting the white feather boa which covered her ears and her shoulders. During the course of the day other women came to help her with her toilet, painting her cheeks and forehead with certain precise geometrical designs: they used red and black colouring matter which when dry shone like enamel. Even her little quid of tobacco was smaller and daintier than others used. Uarema told us that she was the public woman of the tribe.

Next morning, when we were stepping into our boats again, Pancho and Benito came along in a big canoe. They wanted salt from us. We had very little, and had to refuse them. They went off in silence. When they were two hundred yards away, they shouted something in our direction. Luis Antonio

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 replied. Another shout was hurled at us. This repartee continued for some time, till Pancho and his brothers disappeared round a bend in the river. Our guide gave us a rough and ready translation of the insults exchanged.

'Let go these bad men,' Pancho had advised. 'These bad men who won't give us salt.'

'I won't let them go, because they give me salt right enough,' Luis Antonio had replied.

'Let go of them. They're bad men.'

'No, I won't let go. They're good.'

'Let them go, or else next time I see you, you and your people, I'll put an arrow in your belly.'

'And I'll call up their aeroplane, and see your whole village goes up in smithereens with the Catholic Bomb!'

A certain linguistic confusion led the Shirians to call the '*bomba atomica*' the '*bomba cattolica*'.

[136] Our return journey was a triumph of navigation, and our boats were full of smoked venison. We saw many deer grazing in shallows where the tobacco-coloured waters were flecked with patches of green. A little while before we came out on to the Merevari, Uarema pointed out to us a gap or hole in the wall of forest. He said it was the 'gateway to the Samatari'. The river at once took on an atmosphere of mystery: through the smooth green cliffs of bamboo and kapok trees which towered up from the banks there breathed the chill wind of legendary evil.

We got back to our savannah to find the American girl, Jean, suffering from hysterical fits. Heavy rains had begun. Mountain and forest were veiled in greenish grey. Kirisochi became a swamp. From the Sarisariñama falls came a thunder that was like the voice of lands unexplored, an invitation to new voyages. A great project began to take shape in my mind.

Jean and Artur might wish to get back to civilization: Momi and Giovanni too. But Enrico and I had no intention of returning. For us, the expedition wouldn't really have begun until we were on our own, free to follow any course that took our fancy. An irresistible goal now lay before us: the land of the Samatari.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20

belonging to those who set out to save humanity. In the mass of the people, traditions linger long after they are forgotten by others: the more they are opposed, the more deep-seated, the more intimately part of the ancestral soul, as it were, do they become. Yet even the people themselves, the unsophisticated and unspoilt people, have abandoned all love for the serpent.

I remember in the Alps as a boy, hearing old ladies come out with a proverb: 'If the viper could smell and the blindworm could see, far fewer people there would be.' This heinous proverb sums up our supreme ignorance of everything connected with reptiles. The viper can smell very well, and the blindworm can see us, and there are plenty of people still—too many, most of them seem to think. And then again, fancy coupling the proud, the superb, the triumphant viper with that humble, unschooled nondescript, the blindworm!

II

We had need of our old guide, Pancho, again, and we set off up river to see him in the *Pinata*. But we capsized in the rapids, losing our motor, our guns, cameras, cine-cameras, drinking vessels, and everything heavy. We retrieved nearly all of it in the end, but our crockery and hardware had gone for good. From that day forth, to make the smallest quantity of coffee, we were forced to resort to a three-gallon petrol can. A few days later Pancho came to us.

He didn't seem angry now. He had forgotten the incident at Usarema, and Luis Antonio's threat to kill him with the 'Catholic Bomb'. The fact that this time we needed his help had given him a chance to be magnanimous, while he couldn't fail to note that our obstinate willingness to employ Shirians had brought us to the brink of ruin. This gave him additional self-assurance. He had emerged the victor from the long silence between us. The Soto Indians are very touchy about navigation: being conscious of their outstanding prowess they tend to dismiss all other aspirants as inept and ridiculous amateurs.

Artur watched over Pancho as though the latter was a wild animal that might escape at any moment. The shipwreck had been the last straw for Artur, who was so anxious to get away that he promised the chief anything he wanted if he would set out at once. He announced, with loud and dramatic gestures, that Pancho could have the hammock, the groundsheet, trousers, shirt, the breech-loader gun, machetes, knives, and in addition, if Pancho would take him

[pp. 69–70 "not" processed]
[see pp. 65–66 ... Analyst]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 to Las Trinqueras he would buy him red cloth, flowered dresses for his womenfolk, and that supreme Indian luxury, powder and shot for the gun, and so on.

Pancho listened with a smile, every now and then giving a little scornful laugh, which might have meant rich contentment or just plain scepticism. He winked at us—mere neutral observers—with his horribly burnt eye.

Two days later a crew was ready. Pancho himself was not going, but our three travellers were to leave in two big canoes. In twenty days they would reach Las Trinqueras and from that point the rubber planters' launch would take them on to Ciudad Bolivar. We gave them a letter for the pilots of the air charter company with whom we had an agreement. They had failed us badly. We had made it clear to the plane when it had paid us its last visit, by putting a big notice on the strip, that we had one passenger to be taken off. Jean couldn't face the thought of the journey back by water. But they had not come for her, so she stayed with us. We told them that we would be expecting a plane on the Kirisochi field on either the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth of April.

After the three had gone, a vast silence seemed to settle on the forest, touching us as well. It was sad to have said good-bye to friends like Momi and Giovanni, but by way of compensation we now had a much better balanced party. I felt free, gloriously free. The field was mine now. I could push ahead with our work to the limit, with no ethical question marks bothering me, and no remorse.

We went off with the Shirians to pay a visit to Pulipuli and to look up a [387] valuable fellow named Cesare. The Valley of the Moon can also be entered by way of the Canaracuni, along another valley which runs down from the same [362] heights and is linked with the Canaracuni by a maze of paths. On every side there [361] are Shirian huts, tiny dilapidated affairs, each in a little clearing threatened by the advance of the forest.

Cesare was not at home. In his stead we found a crowd of old acquaintances, one of them being an old Indian of great dignity whom we had nicknamed 'The Senator'. He had come to Kirisochi on our arrival there, he had been present while we were building our hut, and never had he done a hand's turn. He would watch others at work with a fine air of detachment which was really [413] remarkable. He was truly sufficient unto himself. Most of the time he spent stretched out in a hammock—a very small one made of liana—with his feet higher than his head. Periodically he scratched his back with a stick prepared and reserved for just that purpose. One of those ivory back-scratchers with a

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

little hand, once fashionable in Europe, would probably have made an ideal present for him. 123*

One day, however, a boy passed in front of him, dragging a great sheaf of palm leaves. The Senator stretched out his hand to touch them, as if making sure they were of good quality.

'The Senator has touched the leaves!' I shouted to the others, and from that moment anything The Senator did marked a red-letter day in our calendar.

But at home he was not a figure of quite the same dignity. His back-scratching stick was now replaced by one of the machetes which his tribe had received in payment from us. However, his smile when he saw us again made up for everything—even for that rash behaviour when he had broken the mystic spell of his immobility by stretching out his hand to touch the palm leaves. [439]

We treated the usual cases of worms among the children and one or two not very serious sores, and then returned to the beach, where Jean was waiting for us with Caio and Sempronio. Two days later we were once more at Llantarigña, on our way to the Uarema settlement to make a retake of some film shots we thought we had lost in our recent shipwreck. [126]

The *mereis* were beautifully ripe on the Merevari banks, and at Llantarigña there was a gigantic tree, which Sempronio climbed like a monkey. From his perch on high he threw the fruit down to us, but not before he had sampled the best of them, chuckling and exclaiming in his delight. The *merei* is the red and fleshy fruit of the cashew nut tree. Common in tropical America, it is known on the lower Amazon as the *maraõa*. Besides the juicy pulp, there is also the kernel which once freed from the bitter oil which impregnates it can be made into an excellent almond cake, as it is in Guiana. 123* 262 126

When we had eaten our fill of these fruits, we decided to sacrifice the tree in order to re-take a scene for our film. We had been puzzling over it and so far had found no satisfactory solution. The scene called for a beautiful tree falling into still water. A tree with fiery red fruits, which would make a tremendous splash. Several Indians would then jump in after the fruits as the current began to sweep them away. This venerable *merei* tree at Llantarigña seemed ideal for the purpose, both in its structure and its position, and we worked on it with our axes for an hour, while I myself, strategically placed with the camera, waited for the big scene. But when the tree did come down the Indians were all on top of me, hurrying out of the way of its fall, so that the foreground of the picture was thick with figures dancing about in clumsy 123* 126

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 agitation. This experience decided us to scrap the whole scene and to substitute
126 for it one of an explorer gazing into the blue.

At the *malocas*, as the settlement of a native tribe is called in Venezuela, we should be able to re-take some of the scenes we had lost. It would be a two or three days' job. But unexpected difficulties cropped up. In the first place we had nothing left to give the 'cast' and even the most primitive Indian will not do anything for nothing. Then there was a fresh difficulty. When we opened the cases to set up our cine-camera the Indians held a brief discussion among themselves and then went off as if they were all suddenly afraid. We called together all our old actors who had taken part so enthusiastically the time before, but even they refused with a 'but'—which meant 'no', very curtly and decisively pronounced. Luis Antonio explained how matters stood, wearing that malicious smile which he assumed as a defensive mask every time the occasion arose for him to state an Indian opinion which contrasted with our own. We realized that he was for ever on tenterhooks between our own 'rationality' and assurance and the ideas of his own race, which may have been ridiculous at times, but were nevertheless deep-seated and instinctive.

By looking into the sights of a cine-camera, people can see themselves so reduced in size that they are smaller than insects. This fact was not lost on the Guayca Indians. At first, it amused them: sending them into savage shrieks of laughter. But then a great thought had occurred to somebody: if the machine could so reduce them in size, it would have the same effect on their strength too —and they would be left defenceless.

It was now clear that we were up to no good. We were turning them into tinies, so as to be able to conquer them with no trouble at all. This was an unexpected blow to us. We could do nothing but give up and move on, much to the amusement of the youngsters who thronged round us—if there was any fun to be had, trust them never to be far away, even if they didn't know what all the excitement was about.

Convincing them that the cinema apparatus was harmless took a long, long time. We showed them that we ourselves were not haunted by the fear of being dwarfed: one of us would strike a pose in front of the camera while another operated it, and go right up close enough to touch the lens. Gradually the air cleared, their spirits rose and they began to grin and laugh, until even the suspicions of the most grudging were lulled. Luis Antonio, always capricious but nevertheless ready and willing to help when we were really in need of him,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

not only let us take his picture but begged us to take it again, with his wife beside him. Then he caused general merriment by posing beside the 'public woman' who was painted and doiled up like a bird of paradise. In a third take, he stood between the two women, caressing their breasts in an excess of zeal. At this, enthusiasm knew no bounds. Even Uarema's brother, a venerable figure with his head crowned with the scars of old battles, burst into such a vehement laugh that he lost his horrible quid of tobacco. This change of mood enabled us to get on with our job. But our takes were often interrupted, for Uarema had started a vogue and couples would come along and insist on being photographed in their full feather rig.

123* 126 [548]

III

For our forthcoming river trips we were anxious to engage one of Luis Antonio's many brothers, who was apparently of the same age and had the reputation of being the tribe's most experienced traveller. To a certain extent he was even familiar with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. But his wife was expecting a child, so that he was prevented from going very far away from home. This seemed to us the most natural thing in the world. The wife was a tiny little lady, her only sign of maturity being her enormous belly, which very clearly did not owe its size to the swelling caused by internal parasites, the privileged possession of these women and children. Without this evidence of pregnancy she might have been taken for a girl of ten.

'The birth will come any day now,' Luis Antonio told us. 'But my brother won't be able to start straight away. He'll have to rest.' [846]

We were reminded of the ritual of childbirth which with a few variations here and there is practised by all the Indians of tropical America. It affects the husbands as well as the wives and at bottom, in its way, contains a certain realism, characteristic of primitive peoples. Like us, they accept the principle of cause and effect and they do not really ascribe the pregnancy to strange half-magic phenomena. They know its cause for what it is—man, and his erotic acts. The effect, for them, is not in the woman herself: she is only a means, a vehicle. The true effect is the child. Up to this point, their attitude is no different from ours. The different point of view comes with the valuation placed by the Indians upon the cause after the effect has been produced. They see the role of

842 846 [562]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

842
846 the male as continuing in importance not only after conception—at which stage, in our own positivist scientific view, the male role ceases to count—but for a certain period after the actual birth. The male, the cause, is still in the picture, according to the Indian mind, when the mother and child are living a normal life.

843
844
[128]
[115] I had known other native peoples, and in regard to these Indian beliefs on the subject of childbirth, Luis Antonio confirmed what had already come to my knowledge.

[225] 'In order for the birth to be a success,' he told me, 'when the wife is five months gone, the husband should stop eating peccary, snake or *caribe* (the name given in Venezuela to the carnivorous fish known in Brazil as *piranha*), and the flesh of any animal of an aggressive nature.' (Here, principles of hygiene were mingled with elements of magic, as happens also in the more advanced [846] religions.) 'Then, before the birth, during the birth and after, the man must stay in the hammock without stirring, because any strain on his part, or any mishap that came his way, would affect the child and might have dire results.'

[562] The explanation sounds quite normal and natural once one admits the principle of continued causation in the man, the woman being regarded simply as a means. In fact there is no need for her to obey the injunction to stay in the hammock. She will continue her daily round until she feels 'something break inside her'. Then, with the midwife, she will hurry to the appointed place on the river-bank.

*123
844 I once had the chance of being present at a birth. I was with the Taurepan Indians of the Gran Sabana, and I watched hidden behind a cluster of Mauritius palm, where I could follow the principal stages of the proceedings. The woman, with her head tilted back, was seated on the clay bank in a sort of arm-chair shaped hollow which had been scooped out—whether naturally or made for the purpose I do not know. The midwife knelt at her feet, waiting. For some time both remained in this position. The woman kept giving little cries—but not really cries of pain. After a brief labour, the mother uttered one long howl which sounded to me like an 'u . . . u . . . uh' of rapture, and the midwife rose to her feet, holding up a tiny, mottled infant head downwards by the heels.

Still holding the baby by the feet, the old lady washed him in the river—
—with exactly the motions you might expect from a washerwoman giving the final rinsing to some heavy garment. I couldn't see the next step, but a few

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

minutes later the two women were quietly walking home with the baby, who appeared to be dead.

While the mother goes about her normal tasks, with the child tied on her back all the time, the father stays in the hammock, absolutely motionless, eating nothing but fruit and palm-hearts—'they don't heat the blood,' Luis Antonio assured us.

Among the Guiana-Amazon Indians I have never heard of the father himself suffering from birth-pangs during this period of rest. Such reports, however, have come from travellers and observers of the Indian tribes inhabiting the southern regions of the lower Amazon. Before one can believe them one must accept a little more than the theory of the inter-relation of cause and effect. A good dose of barefaced auto-suggestion would also be needed to account for this phenomenon, and only the most undeveloped of the Indians would be capable of it.

IV

Of kindred interest, while we are on the subject of childbirth, is the organization of Indian society. It has been asked whether the pattern is patriarchal or matriarchal, and what part is played by the individual family.

If the question is limited to the Shiriana, the answer is simple: they have reached no stage of organization above the rudimentary animal level. The family has the sole function of producing life and protecting it until the offspring is capable of fending for itself. Their society is not patriarchal, because the role of the family ceases where its physical functions cease, at the point where, in civilized societies, moral functions begin. Nor is the pattern matriarchal, because the women are held in a form of slavery, though the very lack of an exact social system means that they sometimes emerge from this to become the companions of the men—a state of affairs which may be regarded as more emancipated, or less.

The children of both sexes, while they are young, remain the exclusive responsibility of the women, but when the boys reach an age at which they can do without their mothers (this generally means as soon as they cease to be breast-fed) they become independent males and do not belong to anybody in particular. Up to a certain point the father is free to pick out one who may be

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

especially strong and intelligent, and keep him at his side, adopting him, as it were, as his successor. The little girls continue to live in the feminine world of their tribe. Shy and submissive, they take on the humblest tasks, fetching water, making the fire and helping in the preparation—highly problematical—of food.

Such definitions of customs have, however, only a relative value, like any attempt to estimate the Shirian way of life: for Shirians are to be found spread over wild territory of vast extent. Their customs are less well defined than one might suppose after reading certain tracts about primitive peoples—the Pacific islanders, for instance. These give the impression that with slight formal changes only, Western culture might have much to learn from the degree of social organization they have attained to. The Shirian tribes, cut off from one another as they are by physical barriers such as mountains and rivers, and moral barriers like the ceaseless state of war which exists between the various branches of this race of 'howling Indians', have developed their own customs in their own sporadic fashion. Sometimes they have been weakened by contact with foreigners, such as the Makiritari in the north-west and the Makushi in the east. More often they have been weakened by a lack of strong traditions, which do not spring easily from such an excessively low level of culture, where mere survival calls for an unending struggle against the tremendous power of the eternally hostile forest.

The most primitive races are those most affected by their geographical setting. Their environment conditions them. Only by adapting themselves continually to their surroundings, only by the long process of response to the determining factor of geography, can they create that growing racial identity which at last succeeds in reversing the process—that is, in conditioning the surroundings instead of being conditioned by them. But we are here touching on the larger question of the development of civilization generally.

Where the Shirians are concerned, we are still at the beginning of the beginning, when geography is the absolute determining factor. Here environment is the master of man—a creature inferior, qualitatively and quantitatively, to the region which it is his fate to inhabit.

The territory they occupy is immense. Divided though it may be by great cordilleras, which make it the breeding ground for various rivers rushing north, west and south, it possesses one marked characteristic throughout its whole extent: the sources and the headwaters of the rivers are contained in a sort of

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

island of unbroken forest, which is not crossed by any formidable water barrier. If this were the case, the Shirians, who are pre-eminently a land people, would be presented with an insurmountable obstacle.

North of the Brazilian frontier live the Shirians of the Canaracuni and the Merevari. These are divided into various clans, the most important being the Uana-Dildep, the Haruao, the Oukadeli, the Kopali, the Hana-Dildep, the Ukumatari, the Kona-Kona—they swarm like ants. Then there are the Guayca Shirians of Uarema, lately established on the Merevari, but originally from the Upper Uagna. Along the mountain watershed which extends, with frequent interruptions, from the Uagna to the centre of the highlands where the Uraricoera, the Ventuari and the Padamo rivers rise, one encounters the nomadic Samatari—the 'people of the pineapple'—a fierce and savage race of howling creatures that run in packs like animals.

The general term used by the Shirians to designate their most savage tribes is 'Guayca' (in their language, 'wild'). By the Guayca they sometimes mean the Samatari and sometimes the Ukumatari. On the Padamo and in the lowlands enclosed by the great mountains of Marahuaca and Duida—that is, to the south of the central ridge—they have spread right beyond the upper reaches of the Orinoco; though in these regions there are also many of the more peaceful Shirian peoples such as the Uaka on the Uesete, the Faricete, the Matacuni, the Kologli, the Haue, and the Ish'tich—the 'people of flowers and bananas'. The Guayca and the Samatari are also to be found east of the Padamo-Orinoco-Rio Parima watershed, in the wildest and least-known territory. Isolated groups, with a touch of the legendary about them, inhabit the fringe of this region: for instance, the Kasarape, credited by all Shirians with unparalleled ferocity and cruelty. The Kasarape inhabit the right bank of the Lower Uraricoera in Brazil, and no traveller appears to have visited them yet.

How numerous are the Shirians? No one can state a figure with any certainty, but it may be accepted that they run into many thousands, and taken together represent a block that outnumbers all other races and tribes inhabiting the Orinoco and Rio Branco basin.

I had asked Luis Antonio whether it would be possible for me to be present during the confinement of his kinswoman, presuming the happy event took place during our stay, but all I got for an answer was a doubtful 'I don't know'—the formula in which the Indian takes refuge when he does not know what to say. This did not quite deny the possibility, even if it did not encourage the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123 ides, so I kept my eye on the lady in case developments came quicker than was expected.

The day arrived when I believed my silent surveillance would be crowned with success. Actually I had fallen into an innocent error. By way of compensation, I certainly got a good laugh out of it. I had tailed the woman along a path fairly new to me, which she had taken as if she had no wish to advertise her whereabouts. I knew the path in its early stages, but had always assumed that it ended in a thick clump of bushes, progress being further discouraged by a big fallen tree-trunk. But when I reached this obstacle I saw no sign of my quarry. I then saw that the tree-trunk could be pushed aside, to reveal a fork in the path. From this point the track was well-worn, leading a good distance away from the hut. It didn't need much mental effort for me to realize what a clumsy mistake I had made. Behind a tree an Indian was attending to Nature's needs. I had ended up in the Guaycas' privy. The old man sent up a growl of protest at this intrusion of a bearded one in the sacred retreat. The only thing left to me was to turn back, with the air of having wandered there by chance.

514 It is interesting to observe that the Indians, while generally immodest to the point of indecency, regard the bodily functions as a matter for reticence and secrecy. They squat like women to urinate and for other purposes seek some remote and hidden place, as if well aware of the defencelessness of their situation at these moments. Thus they obey not only the all-important principles of hygiene, but those of security: and in a world like theirs, security is the more important.

*123 That same day we witnessed another interesting operation, if one of a [122] different nature. On the morrow we were to start for Llantariña and the Shirians had already prepared a good supply of bananas and *mapuei* which they were bringing up in another boat. On the eve of this expedition every man jack we had engaged for it had disappeared—except Luis Antonio, who was [302] swinging in his hammock with the public woman at his side.

'They've gone to get their hair cut in the other hut,' he told me, when I asked where they all could be—for all the world as if he was saying: 'They're at the barber's shop round the corner.'

*302 We went off to the other hut, anxious to see the fun. It was Caio's turn. He *123 was squatting on the ground in front of a pimply young woman who must have been his wife. She was giving him a perfect pudding-basin haircut, using instead of scissors the nails of her thumb and forefinger, which with the Indians

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

are extremely strong. One quick nip did all that was necessary, and the nails worked with the precision of a pair of hairclippers. Beside her she had a little heap of fine ash, into which she dipped her fingers after every two or three nips. Hairs which interfered with the desired style were plucked out in a manner which might have been expected to bring cries of pain from the patient, but Caio only smiled his usual sweet smile, as if he was apologizing for causing so much trouble.

This operation went on for a good many hours, and we didn't see the end of it. But that evening Caio, Sempronio, and Narciwa trooped into the big hut, proudly displaying haircuts of an enviable perfection.

V

Delay appeared to be the order of the day on the island. Uarema's brother, the elderly one, failed to show up. We were waiting for him because we hoped he might prove a source of further information, and there was also a possibility that he might come with us, taking the place of the expectant father. We passed the time swimming, and walking through the Soto plantations, which had now been almost strangled by the forest. After turning over practically every leaf, we found a few ripe pawpaws and plenty of *tapi*. The first-named is almost a wild fruit in this region: the Indians cultivate a small type no bigger than an orange but full of flavour. The second is the doubtful fruit of one of the solanaceæ, in shape, colour and flavour halfway between a tomato and a melon. We cooked these sometimes with salt, sometimes with sugar, and turned them into a kind of marmalade. At the first tasting it aroused our enthusiasm, but at the next it made us sick. We were forced to find some substitute for our provisions, now reduced to very small quantities: we had no rice, tinned meat or white flour left, besides being out of other more important commodities, but we still had plenty of coffee—though not sugar—and salt and powdered milk.

All our expeditions from now on, especially the Samatari venture which we were silently preparing, would have to rely on hunting and fishing for supplies. All we could take with us was coffee, which Enrico and I could drink unsweetened, and plenty of salt, with a little powdered milk 'in case of sickness', we told each other cheerfully. For this contingency, we didn't lack for medical supplies. As always, we had more than we could comfortably carry.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

In the place of Hashimo, Uarema's elderly brother, we received an unexpected visit from two Sotos from the Upper Merevari. One was a mere youth, the other a good deal older, both of them as elegant as two young ladies, but with the bearing of true mountain folk for all that. The older was called Murucuyo—Morrocoy, that is, or Turtle. He was a chief from the headwaters of the Merevari, and the first Indian we encountered who gave us his real name quite openly. The Makiritari are always very reticent about their names, as if they are half-ashamed of them, and will sooner tell you they have no name at all, if they cannot lay claim to something 'rational' like Ramon or Pedro.

Murucuyo wasn't much of a talker, while the younger man spent most of the time beautifying himself. His face painting was highly elaborate and his coiffure was so impeccably styled that it would have made a statue sigh with envy. These two had come from their home on the upper Merevari to see about a little business to do with boats for Pancho. The Shirians assailed them with questions, demanding answers with a rudely aggressive authority that was partly derived from our own presence among them, and Murucuyo grew quite frightened, shouting '*Taimà, taimà*'—the Shirian for 'I don't know, I don't understand.'

What we fortunately did succeed in making them understand was that they should take Jean with them, so that she could go to Pancho's place, and our heavy baggage could go with her. The girl could wait for us at the chief's hut, where there would be the Makiritari womenfolk, as inquisitive and full of chatter as monkeys, but kind and friendly, especially towards another woman. The two men were quite willing to take her, especially when we tried to make up for the linguistic poverty which hampered our conversation by adding a little gift or two. We summed up the two pilgrims and decided on a few things which would appeal to their vanity most: two mirrors, a comb and a lipstick. The lipstick was Jean's, and the Guayca marled with greed when they saw it.

We advised Jean to stay quietly with Pancho, studying the Makiritari language and treating the women and children's ailments. And when the three of them disappeared round the river-bend, where the island ends and the Llantara rapids begin, Enrico and I looked at each other: we felt absolutely free. Guiana and the Amazon, with all their forests, with all their howling populace of men and apes, were open to us. Only then could we be quite sure that the Samatari venture, which we'd dreamed of and dreaded too, would actually take shape.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

122

It did not take us a great deal of time to organize the expedition. The question of food supplies didn't arise. We had given the little we had left to Jean. We were going among the Samatari like Samatari ourselves. The forest land of Uagna and the Rio Branco was waiting for us with its tapirs and its deer, serenely at pasture in the rich water-grass; with its ripened fruits falling from the trees into streams of dark water; with its birds whose crops were full of that fruit, and its fish which no barbasco had threatened for decades now, ever since the Guayca migrated to the north; with its fat grubs forming white silken cocoons in the trees. In the sharpness of our longing for the uncharted scene and for peoples still unknown, we saw ourselves already, in our imagination, plunging into the hidden depths of the forest, and the forest, in its turn, taking us to its bosom like a mother, boundlessly wise, providing for all our needs.

Hashimo arrived the next day and so far as we could judge from the preparations he had made and the quantity of arrows he was carrying, he had decided to come with us. So began the palavers between the four of us—Enrico and I on one side, Uarema and Hashimo on the other. We went into everything. Hashimo had lived as a boy in the region we wanted to explore; he knew the Samatari and at times he claimed to be on friendly terms with them, so that it was he more than anyone who knew the problems we might have to face. From the Samatari 'gate', which we had already seen on the Uagna, our path lay over exactly thirty-two hills. The Indian made the same gesture as he would have used to greet us and numbered them off with his hand, his eyes closed and the whole scene passing in front of his mind's eye. Thirty-two—not one less—and some so high that the speaker groaned with exhaustion as he enumerated them, as if he were trying to push some great stone over the top. After these hills, which would mean a six days' march from the landing, one reached the River Aracoa. After descending that, there was the Pacima (the Shiriai name for the Upper Uraricoera), as far as a big falls. Then more *pilidzio* and *mamaki* —daily stages and night stops—and landmarks on the way, until the traveller came to the Samatari. [103]

Considering that this people ranged like monkeys over a region which extended for hundreds of miles, we could not understand how he could be so definite about their present whereabouts—especially since he hadn't seen the place himself for many years. But the Indian mind is capable of subtleties beyond our imagining.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

Aracosa. There was something about the ring of the name. At last I pinned it down. I had seen it in an account of the journeys made by a certain Theodor Koch-Grünberg—a German who from 1911 to 1913 made a long trip from the Roraima savannah to the Upper Orinoco. He left a record of it in a famous five-volume work—a worthy monument to his venture. In Makiritari, *arocse* means 'gun': it is a corruption of the old Spanish word *arcabuso*—arquebus. Koch-Grünberg had reached its mouth, and it was here that he made his first contact with the Shirians. Unfortunately he was unable to keep in touch with them for any length of time and only visited the isolated elements he met with in the course of his journey.

This German explorer naturally made the expedition in the company of Makushi and Makiritari Indians, who live in holy terror of the tribes they call Guaharibo. Their fear may not always be justified, for a good many Guaharibo have now settled down to a mild and perfectly harmless way of life. But they still arouse a rancorous contempt in other tribes. Koch-Grünberg returned to the same region eleven years later, when he made the journey up the Rio Branco, irresistibly drawn towards these people whom he could not understand and whom he described in his book as forming an '*isolierte Gruppe*'—an isolated group, with no affinities to other races. But at the very gateway of their world he died of fever, and his expedition (which had been organized by Hamilton-Rice) after losing its chief, packed its bags and turned south again.

VI

We left for the Samatari country on March 16th, accompanied by Ururema, Sempronio, and Hashimo, the latter's fee as guide being nothing less than my own fur jacket. Caio, for some inexplicable reason, had quietly declined to come with us. We embarked in a canoe acquired from Pancho's father, and in this swift, light craft we made easy progress up the flooded Merevari.

Heavy rain set in, for whole days at a time. Progress slowed down. The Indians grew weary and there was no more singing and laughter from them. The second evening out, when we had slung our hammocks in a hut we had made on an earlier trip, Luis Antonio told us that his brother wanted to quit: there was not enough cassava—we had brought about twenty pounds.

'You had time to prepare as much as you wanted,' I answered him shortly,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

for I had half-expected some such excuse. 'That means that if you only prepared a little, you thought everything would go well and it would be enough. We are going on.' 123*

Luis Antonio said no more. The expedition continued next day, if not with the same goodwill.

In the evening we expected further opposition to our plans on the part of the capricious Guayca, but we didn't know what form the new protest would take.

'Hashimo says the canoe is too small. With the river in spate, we risk going under.' So the pretext had been found: but it was too puerile, and easy enough to refute.

'We've got so far in this canoe,' I said, 'and everything has gone well. However high the river, we've kept on it and not under it.' (This was putting it in a very simple way, but it went down with the Indians.) 'Besides,' I added, 'to turn back now is more dangerous than going on. You know well enough that in going down river there's a far greater danger of capsizing. When we return, you will see that the waters will have fallen.'

'I don't know,' said Uarema finally, jumping into his hammock.

That 'when we return' seemed to me to echo hollowly from a very long way off: I had the impression that time was stretching out before us into an infinity from which there was no return. When we return, the waters will have fallen. . . .

Under the steady hiss of the rain, which veiled the river in driving sheets of cold spray, we reached the mouth of the Uagna. But before turning into it, to our great amazement we saw a canoe paddled by three Indians we knew well: Narcisus, Luis Antonio's nephew, Solitum and a boy we had already seen in Uarema's hut. Swirling down with the current, they shouted a greeting and with some difficulty drew in under a tree and stopped to talk to us.

'Will you ask where this lot have come from and where they're going?' I asked Uarema, for this surprise meeting in such a craft in such a hurry seemed to me somehow connected with the discontent of our own crew and their reluctance to continue; and Enrico and I were beginning to lose patience.

'These three went ahead to wait for us and then go on with us. But they were afraid of the flooded state of the river, and turned back.'

I seized the opportunity to hammer home our firm intention to continue. It was a delicate moment, for if all the Indians had taken it into their heads to

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123 turn back at this point, for fear of the swollen river, we could not have stopped them.

'Tell them to turn their canoe and come along with us,' I shouted, with a confidence I was far from feeling. 'We'll all go and see the Samatari.'

There was a moment's silence, and then the three newcomers suddenly turned round and went ahead of us in their canoe. It was so dilapidated and out of shape that to tell the truth I was surprised it had stood up to the Merevari's fury till now.

'Solitum is a Samatari who has lived with us for a long, long time. We sent him ahead so that he could prepare his people for our coming, so as not to take them by surprise. But he was afraid of the Merevari and turned back.'

We now began to understand: the Indians, behaving in their usual way, had done everything in absolute secrecy. Solitum was a Samatari who lived with the Guayca. His very name, when once we came to think of it, meant in a general sense 'cousin or kinsman'. It indicated clearly that he was a guest, a friend. Narcissus was not a Guayca either, as Uarema now went on to tell us. He belonged to one of the Shirian tribes who live still further south than the Samatari, the Quadu-Dildep. He knew the region we should have to cross.

Thus the Uarema Indians had shown a perfect talent for organization in preparing for the trip. They had sent ahead a party uniquely qualified to smooth the way for us and advise the Samatari of our visit—thus averting the danger of the bearded visitors being ill-received because they'd appeared out of the blue. Yet in spite of all this wonderful staff work, these same Uarema had abandoned the journey without compunction, and were ready to leave the exploring party to its own fate in the forest, all for a caprice, because a sudden bout of lassitude coincided with the rainstorm. This fickle veering from 'let's go' at one minute to 'let's turn back' at the next is typical of primitive peoples. They act upon impulse, not conviction.

[126] We had just turned into the Uagna stream and I was filming the scene as our canoe advanced under the trailing lianas when the cine-camera gave a strange click and stopped. Water had seeped into the works at the time of our shipwreck and by now one of the springs had rusted away. Our hopes of bringing back a film of the Samatari had to be abandoned.

The dread gateway to the Samatari lands proved to be nothing more than a clearing which stopped short and led nowhere, for a heavy curtain of bamboo had come down on it, blocking the ancient path used by the savages. We had

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

to use our machetes to open up a fair-sized space so that we could drag the canoes up on to dry ground beyond the reach of possible floods. Behind the bamboos we could see traces in the undergrowth of an old track, which after crossing thirty-two hills and the length of the Aracoa river would lead us to a horde of howling ape-men, who cultivated cane for their arrows, and nothing else.

Uarema had a young dove which he had caught alive on the way along the Merevari, and was looking after it. He gave it the affectionate name of Pipa. Sempronio helped him by looking for little berries, which the pretty little bird took greedily. The others were meanwhile busy putting up a shelter for the night and clearing a little more space around it, while Hashimo and Solituan went off to make a brief reconnaissance of the all but vanished track. Uarema paid no attention to anything but his Pipa, calling its name softly and fondling it like a child.

A love for animals always seems strange among these Indians, and when it exists it is subject to the wildest caprice. For instance, a monkey, after being brought up among them with every sign of affection, will suddenly become a comic target for their blunt arrows and die a slow death from its wounds.

For the moment Uarema was lavishing all his affection on Pipa, and when I accidentally trod on the bird, squashing it flat as a pancake, he turned on me instinctively, as if he was going to throw himself on me: the Guayca Indian in him had suddenly come out, roused by this offence against his love for the poor little dove crushed under the foreigner's foot. But suddenly his mood changed and without a word he picked up the squashed bird, under whose wings there was still a flutter of life, and threw it far off, with an air of disgust.

Sempronio watched the incident, laughing very quietly as he always did and looking up at me: he seemed to regard me as some sort of personal protector of his own. Then he went off in search of Pipa. Rolled up in a few leaves, the bird was put aside for his private cuisine.

Sempronio came from Auai stock. He was a mere boy, not fully developed, and he had joined us in this Samatari venture simply because I had told him to come. 'He doesn't want to come, but you want him to, so he comes'—these were the exact words into which Uarema had translated Sempronio's brief remarks. And he came everywhere with us, even to the Samatari, who were considered by his own people—a good, *smiling* people, whose only remaining primitive trait lay in their inordinate passion for theft—to be monsters ready at

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

any moment to fall on human beings and devour them. With us Sempronio knew no fear, and he always wore a smile. He would run round our legs like a puppy, and was always ready to do things, taking on the heaviest tasks under the worst conditions. He ate with us. He ate purposefully and he went on eating. His voracity had to be seen to be believed, when you considered his slim delicate build. He ate our rations. Then he ate the special ones which the Indians prepared for themselves, and on top of that he ate an endless number of things which with great foresight he had collected on the way: grubs, honeycomb with brood cells, honey and all, small fish, worms, birds' eggs taken from the nest, frogs, young snakes, palm hearts from young palm trees—he ate everything with rapid and relentless mastication, cooking what could be cooked on the fire, and devouring the rest raw.

When he had eaten everything he would start a regular licking of his fingers, and of the leaves which might still be wet with the juices of whatever strange meats he had wrapped in them. Then he would prepare fresh delights with the innards of any game we ourselves had cooked, adding heads, claws, wing-sinews and any other odd tit-bits he could find. With a knife he would work on them like lightning. Each little delicacy was attacked at full speed, entrails were devoured, heads were crunched right up to the beak, claws cleaned of every shred of meat. Then came the time to inspect the bones we had thrown away. He split them with a knife, and if there was any marrow he could be trusted to suck it out. Finally, after a last careful lick of each finger in turn, Sempronio, the little fellow from the Shirian metropolis of Anui, would go to roost in his hammock over the fire which wrapped him in its warm blanket of heat.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

4

Captured by the Samatari

1

WE HAD been trudging up and down the thirty-two hills for two days now, and we could hardly believe there could be so many in these parts, though Hashimo had been very definite on the point. But every time we asked him how many were left we got the same reply: without a word, he gave a grin that was half bored, half mischievous, and his characteristic gesture with all its morphological variations. The total indicated, allowing for the number of hills we had already climbed (and we kept a strict account) always came to thirty-two.

Without the old man's unerring instinct it would have been impossible to find the track the Samatari had once made use of in the course of their wars. It was covered with fallen trees, bamboo thickets had grown over it and rivulets and swampy patches obscured it since it had been abandoned, but he smelt it out. He climbed straight uphill where the trees were tallest and straightest, wound his way around and between the impacted trunks of the banyans, crossed valleys dense with undergrowth, wielding his machete with a will in great sweeps to right and left. He went up mountain streams and down them, losing them and finding them again at some point further on, beyond a clump of thick roots or on the other side of a thorny bush of Iriartea—and woe betide the unwary traveller who grabbed at this to help him up the slope!

Climbing a wooded hill is hard work and there is no compensation such as there is in open high country where one can see the landscape unfolding as one climbs. In front of us there was nothing but a mass of trees in the shape of a tilted, narrowing triangle, completely dark in its midst with slips of a brilliant sky to be seen towards the edges. Up on the summit, the triangle would disappear and the slips of sky would widen to form a bright horizon all around, as a kind of prelude to the blue bedazzlement of the whole sky. But no such heavens opened up overhead. It was just a case of going down again into the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

next valley, along spurs which inexplicably began to rise again between streams rushing madly in all directions, now away from us, now towards us, now to one side, now to the other, as if we had lost our sense of balance and were spinning round and round.

Game was extremely scarce and the gun which Luis Antonio had brought went, alas, unused. This was a serious state of affairs: we had nothing in the way of rations but a little salt and were relying on hunting and finding fruit. Fishing in these tiny rushing streams was not likely to yield much. We had hardly anything with us except the gun, a hundred cartridges, our hammocks for the night and a few medical supplies—not so much for ourselves as for any Indians we met with, for experience had taught us that even the most ferocious of them would respond in friendly fashion and be grateful if we cured the sick. So there we were with our few rags of clothes, carrying our mystic handful of salt, humbly and nakedly challenging the great world of the wilds—those thirty-two hills, inhabited perhaps by strange creatures and criss-crossed with clear streams running in all directions. And out of the very humility of our position in the face of such tremendous odds we drew our hopes for the success of our undertaking, as if we were instinctively conscious of a fundamental justice in the life of the forest, which would not deny us its bounty.

Some touch of enchantment, as in a legend, there must have been about us: the animals themselves seemed sensitive to it—those few at least who roamed these hills. The first morning we woke among the trees—we had camped on the bank of a sizeable stream which according to Hashimo flowed into the Uagna—I looked out of our rough shelter to see a lead-grey puma start silently by the water. The creature had the same contented look in his eyes as a dog has when going for a walk. I felt no alarm. I just watched quietly, with no thought of grabbing my gun or calling the others. After giving me a long, brotherly, understanding look, the puma crossed a little clear space and went off slowly, as he had come, through the cane-brake.

So-called fierce wild animals see in man a dangerous competitor and they don't want anything to do with him. We often chanced to strike a region across which there never had been any paths or trails. The first night as we settled down to sleep we could hear the screaming of wildcats, the roar of jaguars and the odd cry of the puma which sounds something like a night-bird's call. But by the next day all sound from the wild beasts had ceased. The scent of man had driven them away.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Among the Indians generally, and the northern Guayca tribes, there is a curious method of keeping wild animals at a distance which is based on this knowledge. They search round the streams for traces of the path the animals use when they go to drink. Then they scatter it with human excrement. If one of the creatures comes back that way, he will suddenly go bounding off across the width of the valley to seek refuge in the rocky heart of the mountain, such is his terror of the very traces of man.

Before we reached one table-topped hill which we had glimpsed from the last high point, Uarema killed an agouti. We ate it straight away, with a few palm hearts from San Paulo palm trees which Semproncio and Solituan—the youngest and oldest members of our expedition—gathered as we went along, and carried with them like bunches of flowers. We camped on the sandstone heights, where the vegetation had thinned out and was soft and mossy, with great clusters of Spanish moss, drenched with water, clinging to the tree-trunks, orchids growing on the ground and curtains of lichen hanging from the trees instead of the lianas found at lower levels.

And with the change of vegetation at this altitude, there was a change of atmosphere also. From the warm, heavy air of the plain, where one could feel a lush exuberance of life swelling the sap of every plant and setting a myriad little animals in motion, you passed to a region of cold silence, only broken at regular intervals by the lugubrious chant of the bell-bird, a bird with an astoundingly long white tail which, from concealment among the bushes, gives a call of long, mournful, metallic ring.

After our high spirits of the first day out, which the luxuriant life of the forest had sent even higher, now, on the heights, we were invaded by a sort of melancholy acceptance of these cool solitudes and their touch of death. We wanted to drop down again, to camp in some little valley where the chances of encountering animals were always greater; but the hour was very late, and we had to stay where we were for the night, on the south side. From here, as far as the eye could see, the humps of the mountains stretched out before us as we peered through the trees. They were covered with a thick dark green vegetation, absolutely uniform, and underneath it a hundred little streams drained into marshy depressions. Hashimo pointed out the hills with his usual gesture. Before we reached the Samatari, there were still eighteen more, or so we thought.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123 All this time there was a certain difference between our own three guides and the party we had run into on the Merevari. The latter's attitude towards us remained one of dignified reserve. Narcissus alone would address us with an occasional word, or rather a chant. All he could say was a little jingle he had learned from us when we'd spent an evening dancing at Uarema's hut: '*Pera-ponzi, ponzi, pà.*'

Then, in my recollections of this trip, came a period of complete chaos. We were overtaken by such a swift series of events, quite out of the blue, that their exact sequence is blurred: for memory seizes not on the whole picture but on a detail here and a detail there. Perhaps these details are unconsciously selected as having an ulterior value which we don't understand.

I was in my hammock, and Enrico was in his. He was looking at something on the other side of our camp. Solituan and the others were some distance away, round a fire of their own, over which they were tossing panfuls of eggs (from wild hens) and dollops of grubs. From where I was lying I could only see Sempronio, who was getting the smoke in his eyes while he waited his turn to cook the agouti's innards. There wasn't any talking at all. Everyone was preoccupied with his own hunger.

In front of me something moved among a thick clump of clusia and sword-grass. There were Indians there. For a moment I thought they were our own men who had perhaps gone off a little way into the trees and were coming back. But behind me too, now, I was alarmingly conscious of movement. Without leaving my hammock I took a count: all our own men were present and correct. Other Indians appeared, without a word, without a sound. Sempronio had left his pan on the fire. A fixed, cold stare had come into his eyes.

Pushing aside a branch with his bow, his other hand pulling back an arrow ready to let it fly from the stretched cord, a young Indian came forward. He looked extraordinarily strong, but the only other extraordinary thing about him was something I did not take in at the time, though in that silence it cried out like a false note. Only some time later did I get the point clear in my memory: this Indian's youthful body was covered in whitish mud, as if he'd

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123*

been blanco'ed. Behind him, in the half light where the dusk was already creeping round the trunks of the trees, there were three or four more figures, moving slowly and keeping out of sight. The arrow appeared to be pointed at me, but I couldn't be sure of this, while the Indian's stealthy advance brought him within a few feet of the fire. The silence continued. I wondered what the others would do. I couldn't see them: my eyes were fixed on the red point of that arrow. Even the gun was outside the range of my vision, nor did I think of it at the time, being too busy composing my features into an expression which might persuade the arrow to stop pointing right in my face! But at a certain point in that eternity, when the whole scene was as if frozen by the threatening weapon, I recollect seeing, out of the corner of my eye, over on the right where Narcissus was, another such silent figure with just another such arrow in his taut bow. Then from the same quarter, all hell broke loose. It was as if a dozen dogs had been trodden on in their sleep and were howling with rage and pain. Above the general pandemonium could be heard one strident voice: Solitum was trying to establish friendly relations with the strangers.

But I had an enemy all my own. He had come up from the other side of the fire now, and was holding the arrow just about level with Sempronio's scalp. It was trained on him and me equally: I was still motionless in my hammock. Then the arrow began slowly pointing downwards and the bow-string relaxed. The moment passed, and instead of the arrow it was my crowding fears that took flight, stampeding away into the past like a herd of wild cattle.

The man was on top of me in no time. In one movement, he tore off my shirt, and the buttons danced off it as he ripped. I had automatically got out of my hammock. My trousers fell out too, and the Indian grabbed them immediately. He had put his bow down near Sempronio, who stood as still as a statue. Then the brute got hold of my shoes. Now that there was nothing left to excite his greed, I waited, expecting from one moment to another to see some change in these aggressive tactics. And then, suddenly, after he had grabbed the shoes, he let out the howl which the Shirians utter when they are thunderstruck, or in the grip of strong emotion, and left me alone for a while. He went behind the hammock. I heard nothing, but the same thing was probably happening all over again. Not daring to move, I craned my neck till I could see Enrico. He was completely nude, so white that for the moment he seemed phosphorescent in the half dark beneath our roof of leaves. A few minutes later our own men were stripped too, Sempronio among them: in the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123 manner of Indians used to wearing a loincloth, he was holding one hand round his genitals. His head was bent down over the fire, where the eternal panful of grubs was now burnt beyond recall.

Then there began a really wild hurly-burly. The two of us, Enrico and I, naked but apparently free, didn't know what to be about. We looked all round us, trying as far as we could to keep track of our assailants. There were ten or twelve of them in all, howling and waving our clothes and the plundered red loincloths in the air, and brandishing their bows and arrows. Luis Antonio had prudently left the gun on the cross-poles of our roof, but the savages had soon discovered it. They were looking up at it, not daring to touch it, with excited cries of '*Bombamadé, bombamadé-epare*'—'Big gun!'

For all the crazy excitement of both Guayca and Samatari, there were no acts of violence, and our alarm slowly dwindled to mere shame at our nudity, for which our beards provided about as much cover as a tuft of grass on a cliff-face. Luis Antonio made no reply to our questions, nor did he reply to anyone, unlike his brother-tribesmen who were howling and cursing and trying to make our attackers understand how friendly our intentions were, slipping in an occasional threat now and then, because among primitive peoples offers of friendship may very well be accompanied by hints as to the inadvisability of refusing it. This was emphasized by Hashimo and Solituan, whose 'bombamadé' was a real verbal explosion: it crashed out of their mouths, at the end of every sentence—but by the way it set them dancing about it might have been bursting under their feet.

My own man, the one covered with clay, had put on my things: the shirt inside out and open because the buttons had been torn off, although even if they had still been there, he would not have had the skill to make use of them.

We were in terror of our lives no longer, but there were other terrors, less mortal but no less intense, to fill our minds. After us, our hammocks: they had been examined, but for some mysterious reason left alone—almost with contempt. The main worry was the gun. 'Bombamadé' was the word we heard most as that particular night fell on the highlands, accompanied by the bell-bird's spacing song and the excited antics of the half-clad Samatari, torn between their bows and arrows and their plunder, between merriment and ferocity, between friendship and hatred for this strange crew they had met on their hunting expedition.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

When things calmed down and Solituan, skipping round the fire, could be heard putting our case for friendly relations, Enrico and I could take note of the realities of the situation. We had been attacked by a dozen Samatari, savages who gave little sign of being any different from other Shirians, if you allowed for their greater squalor and a suggestion of something that might be called ferocity. This quality was most clearly to be read in the corners of their mouths and their bloodshot eyes: they had something of the look of a man coming out of a fit after foaming at the mouth. Their attention may have been drawn to us by the smell of smoke, to which Indians are acutely sensitive: more probably the sound of the shot which had killed the agouti had reached their ears. Unless our reading of events was mistaken, these twelve devils had been moved more by cupidity and fear than by downright savagery. 123*

Cupidity and fear spring directly from poverty and ignorance, and it didn't need the Samatari—the most savage people in the world—to prove this to us. The thing to do, if this was how matters stood, was to try and find some way of dealing with them. Their cupidity was satisfied now, and as a result we ourselves were stripped naked—rather horribly so, as if they'd stripped off our skins, too. As for their fear—this represented difficulties still to be overcome, chiefly that concerning the gun, which as yet no one had dared to touch. But the Samataris' eyes were never off the weapon for long. They were well aware of the danger that lurked there, and it was unlikely that they would allow our own men to get hold of it.

'Keep an eye on the gun,' I'd told Luis Antonio. But this was only stressing the painfully obvious. I deserved no answer and I got none.

But the problem was shelved for the time being when two Samatari hung their hammocks underneath the fire-arm, to keep guard on it.

Gathering up their loot, the rest of the Samatari took their places methodically enough in the two shelters we had put up. The more numerous group hung their hammocks near Solituan: we kept hoping that he would be recognized for what he was and his proffered friendship accepted. Sempronio had disappeared into his own little swinging bed. He lay face downwards, and it was a fair guess that he was weeping, while he waited, with the fatalism of primitive races, for time to pass and take his fears with it.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

III

123 As suddenly as it had fallen, the darkness lifted from the tree-tops and we stood revealed more naked still, among a gathering of people who looked as tired, dirty, and worn-out as we did ourselves.

'We go to the Samatari,' Luis Antonio announced, holding his genitals in his hands like the rest of our men. 'It is one day from here, towards the Parima.' But he would say nothing more, refusing to answer our rapid stream of questions, which voiced the anxieties that had crowded in upon us during the quiet interval.

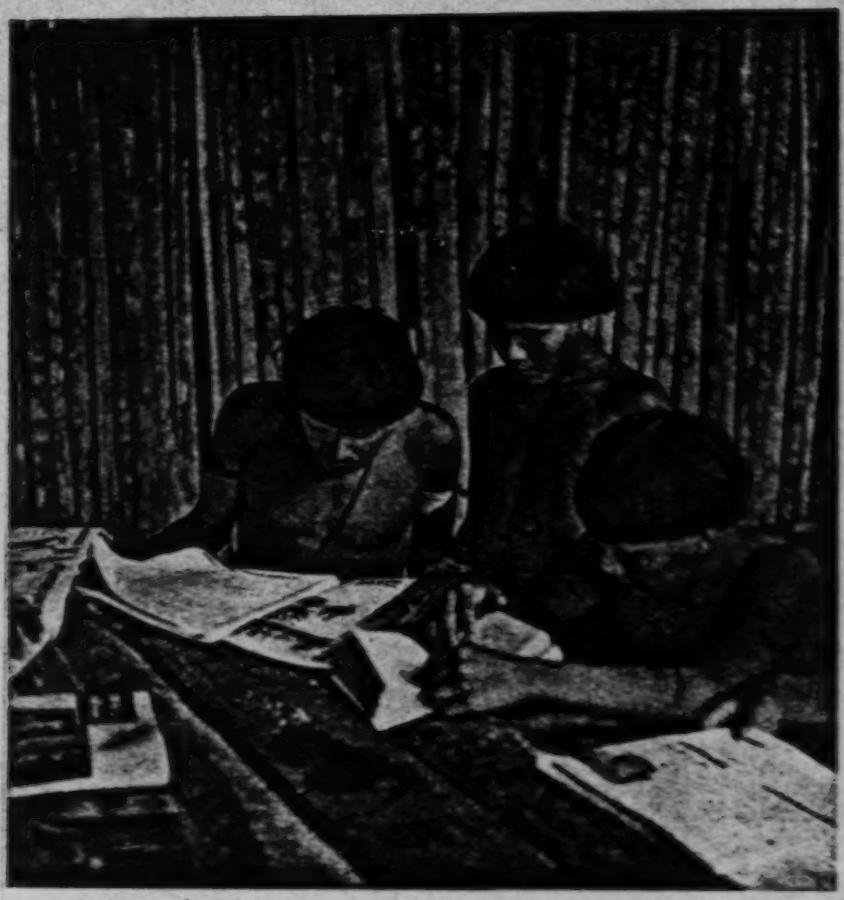
Our shoes had been abandoned by the Indians, who couldn't stand the pinch on their enormous feet. This meant one change for the better for us. We set off in the wake of the Samatari, who had decided to take the gun. One dwarfish creature was carrying it quite nonchalantly along with his own bow and arrows. Perhaps they had really come to believe that we were friendly after all, and the *bombamadé* quite inoffensive. After a few minutes my own man, who seemed to be the chief of the little party (in any case he was the strongest and the darkest skinned) stopped to let his trousers drop. Till now he had been holding them with one hand underneath his billowing shirt. Clearly, such exotic garments had a certain prestige value which pleased his pride, but beyond that he had no use for them. He let them drop and just stepped out of them as if he was stepping out of a patch of mud. His colleague followed suit with the very long trousers he had taken off Enrico. I screwed up my courage and with no trouble from them at all put them back on. We now felt more ourselves.

The march went on all day without food and without any pause for rest. We managed to get a furtive drink now and then as we forded a stream. The geography of the country we were traversing offered nothing new. We climbed up and down the hills which we already knew from Hashimo's rather over-picturesque description, and we forded a whole network of streams littered with all the rocks in the mountain. No, the details of that march were not its geographical features but its psychological ones: fears, anxieties, despair, hope, and sudden bursts of optimism that shone like a lamp in a storm, and above all else the rising, silent tide of hunger.

With evening, when darkness was already blurring the boles of the trees,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123
302
142
301



9. Reading-master reaches the Anal Skyline.

[p. 96 - A]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
302
296

10. Luis Antonio prefers the head scissors as our men did. Head hunch.

11 & 12. Women's hairdress in use.

142
291
302

[301]

[P.96-B]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

139
291
481

11. *For the Shipibos, lianas provide a continuation of the forest trail.*

[P.96-C]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123
142
136
291
302
501

14. On the river Paguo: a sick.

[P. 96 - 3]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Tanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
302
264
516

15. *Crabs make a tasty dish!*

16. *The fourth type of Sanemari - the girlish.*

17. *The 'bad type' - playing a whistle made from a deer's skin-bone. Note the tribal signs on his stomach*

142
302

142
302
534
531

[p. 96 - E]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

322
291
142
516

18. *Pancho makes his oars at home: the final smoothing stage.*

226
* 123

19. *Enrico and Pedro make a good catch in the Mari.*

[p. 96 - F]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Tanoama SQ18
Skaema

136
501
123*

[p. 96-G]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanama
MaKiri'tare SS 20
M
115
291
Y
115
291
*123

21. *The Indians of La Perapan have lost all but a shadow of their old proud personalities. Left to right: - Sapuli, Pedro, Sako, Pedro's wife, Sanapanio, Thomaso. Enrico in background.*

[p 96 - H]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

we found traces of a big encampment: here were the forked branches with the rudimentary hammocks still slung from them. There had been fires here too, but the ashes were now cold. Bones and scraps of all sorts were scattered everywhere and in the centre of the area there was shining the great armoured back of an armadillo. This aroused everyone's curiosity, not least the Samataris'. They were probably thinking of the sumptuous banquet which this carcass had afforded, and we were very glad to see that the pangs of hunger were at that moment very real and very urgent for them, too.

The fact that the fires were cold convinced our captors that it would be a good idea to set up their own camp: there would be no likelihood tonight of catching up with the tribe that had passed this way. Things went so quietly that at times we forgot that we were prisoners: automatically we looked on the Samataris as our friends and guides, just like the Guayca Indians. But the illusion was brief: that evening we ate nothing, while our sharp-eyed hosts tucked into a mound of grubs they had collected en route. Then they belched their way to their hammocks, from which the odours of their further digestion wafted down.

I thought of Sempronio who had had nothing to eat either, and wondered what had happened to his pannful of agouti entrails which had been left burning the night before when we were attacked. It was really the thought of all those tit-bits being burnt and wasted which stopped me going to sleep.

Next day, a little before noon, while I was watching Enrico plodding along with set jaw, sweating copiously (I might have been looking at my own image in a glass) we heard a distant howling that sounded like monkeys. No one said anything. Our march continued until the howls became more distinct; and then, confused as we were, it dawned on us that the noise was being made by men and not by monkeys at all. Still we did not stop. The sounds were still coming from a long way off. Then, rounding the bend of a stream, we sensed that it was suddenly quite near: it was as if some monster were just ahead of us, peering at us through the trees on our immediate horizon. The howling went on. It was now close at hand, coming from ground level and from the trees—a sharp, disorderly confusion of noise.

The Samataris had come to a sudden standstill. They were discussing something among themselves. Every time this happened, our alarm quickened: some dark fate was surely being prepared for us. We were all in perfect Indian file, with Enrico and I in the middle, with the Guaycas behind us and three or

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

* 123 203 four of the Samatari bringing up the rear. Without warning, the Indians let out a powerful howl, pitched at the very top of the register, which silenced all the background forest noises for good and all. They kept up this ululation as they marched on, like a steamer coming into port, and we found ourselves joining in without realising it, like men shouting in open country at night to keep their spirits up.

On the other side of the stream the Indians fell silent for a moment, as if intent on listening. Then they exploded with an exactly similar performance—this time in strict unison and on the same high note. Both parties were now howling together—in alarm, in friendship, in hate, in sorrow, in some mixture of human feelings which, for good or ill, must lift up a voice in protest against the hostile world that lay in silence all around. And this howling in unison that Enrico and I, lost in the forest, shared with a pack of savages of various and uncertain temper, filled us with emotions of unbearable intensity.

I remember that when we talked about it later on, when the danger was a thing of the past and only an absurd nostalgia remained, we agreed that this had been the most emotional moment of our lives—or at any rate, the moment in which our emotions had erupted more violently and more irresistibly than at any other time, to find expression in that universal howl.

* 123 It would be hard to describe the scene which followed when we came to that encampment, or to find words which would do it justice.

Apo-men came down from the trees and ran towards the camp centre, crowding together there in a wild tumult which immediately surged forward in a threatening advance towards us. Behind came the women carrying supplies of arrows and out-howling the men. When we appeared from behind the grimy backs of our captors the howling broke off momentarily and then began again in an altered tone, this time a medley of a hundred different individual yells.

When our column stopped we found ourselves surrounded by a mass of shrieking, dirty, malodorous humanity that leapt on us from all sides. My trousers were again stripped off me, from the rear. Once more they disappeared into a forest of legs, while the more persistent among the crowd first touched me tentatively as if I might bite, and then grew bolder and started putting their hands on me, rather as if I were a fish that was trying to dart away. My principal attraction for them lay in my beard and the hairs on my chest. A few—the lucky ones who managed to press to the front of this surging tide—went

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

into action and stripped off tufts of this wonderful hair, exhibiting it triumphantly to the luckless ones behind, and sometimes passing it back to them while they themselves returned to mow the meadow for a little more. 123*

The more intimate parts of our anatomy they regarded with amazement, but it was our beards and our chests which really provoked their curiosity most. One of them, taller than the rest, brought his face very close to mine so as to get the feel of it better. Then began the process of rubbing faces. Every greasy millimetre of these Samatari visages was rubbed against mine, in what seemed some grotesque dance where my partner was continually changing and which went on for hours in the midst of a general uproar, till in the end I all but fainted away with weariness, hunger, and the animal stench that enveloped me. Enrico was nowhere to be seen. He was undergoing the same treatment somewhere else.

The behaviour of these savages was beyond our understanding. Some of them would hurl themselves at me and with an angry snarl grab hold of my beard as if they wanted to strangle me with it, or tear it off, skin and all, while others were gentler and content to utter their shrieks of wild excitement, joining in the attacks on my beard in much milder fashion, and only stroking it.

Then it was the turn of other details of our anatomies, so wonderfully strange to them. Each had its brief moment of celebrity—and danger. A metal tooth which they happened to catch sight of filled them with amazement. Very soon after they had discovered it, along came one of them with a pointed stick: he wanted to extract it. I was saved from this fate not so much by any action of my own as by the general commotion, which made the chances of performing any such delicate operation very remote.

Last on the list of wonders came our eyes, and the fact that our clear pupils could turn within an orbit. (I don't know what atrophy of the eye-muscles prevents the Samatari from doing the same, but their pupils remain motionless in the middle of the whites.) We had to turn our eyes this way and that way, up and down, until they were acutely painful and unable to focus correctly. [147]

They had treated my wrist-watch with some respect, believing it to be completely adherent to my arm, like some bodily organ; but now the catch of the strap sprang loose. It was stripped off at once and passed from hand to hand till it was lost to sight in the throng.

Behind the front ranks of the men were their womenfolk, urging them on

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123 to bolder measures against our bodies—indeed, they appeared to be giving their respective husbands peremptory orders to gain possession of our superhuman faculties, so that their own families should have the benefit. In which they were behaving like mothers of families and ambitious wives of every level of society all the world over! However, by the time they had begun to intervene, the whole orgy was beginning to slow down: now the Samatari were making first for Enrico, then for me, in the hope of finding some new marvel, having exhausted them nearly all.

The spectators were beginning to thin out when the Samatari I have called 'my own man' reappeared among them. He was no longer wearing my shirt, and his whitened skin looked like powdered chalk. There was really something about his face which gave it a strange resemblance to my own—in the general bone structure if nothing else: he was of a type which differed slightly from the usual Mongolian-faced Shirian. It is no rare thing to come across these fundamental resemblances to somatic types common in Europe—even among the most remote and primitive races. [142]

But this resemblance now suddenly assumed a terrifying significance when my own man started measuring his features against mine, spanning both with thumb and finger: he was trying to prove the similarity to make sure that my beard would fit him.

I was familiar enough with the tales the Makiritari Indians told about the Shirians. According to them, when the Shirians got hold of a bearded man they removed the beard, flesh and all, dried it out and stuck it on their own faces like a mask so as to appear in the guise of a white man. I'd always put this quaint tale down as just another Makiritari legend, since they were always eager to credit their neighbours with horrifying habits and most unlikely deeds. But here was 'my own man' with his plastered complexion and his ugly face and his strange resemblance to a white man who had come all the way from Italy, a quiet innocent land whose inhabitants need no such masks and are unacquainted with the Shirians.

Everyone round about was laughing. The man's intentions were becoming clearer all the time. Perhaps he, too, knew the story of the white-man's-mask, perhaps the Samatari told it about still more savage people—the white men themselves, for example? But no one will ever know for certain, for at that moment I developed some strong inventive faculty: face to face with death, I found a way back to life that was both safe and honourable! With gestures of

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

great-hearted generosity, I pulled some hairs out of my beard and my chest (though there were few enough left after the harvest!) and dabbed them on 'my own man's' disgusting chin, trying to make them stick there. He understood, and said something to the others, which resulted in the arrival on the scene of some *pesmen*. This is a vegetable gum, with which they set to work to glue firmly on to his chin these 'seeds' of human beard, which, I explained as best I could by howling, would spread and flourish in a short time.

'One Pulipuli,' I shouted, at the same time trying to manage a confident, hopeful laugh. 'In one month. Pulipuli.' Everyone took up the word with satisfaction, and the rest of them began to stick snippets of hairs on their own faces, trusting that they would become bearded men within a month!

All this time my trousers, as interesting exhibits, had gone the round of the whole tribe, meeting Enrico's on the way. In the space of a few hours, every pair of bronzed Sanatari buttocks had been inserted into them.

Among these savages, various somatic types could be observed. They repeated themselves with a striking uniformity in various individuals. Among the odd hundred beings howling round us, I saw four that were basic: the pygmy, with clear skin, fine and well-marked features, a lively look and very small, nervous hands and feet; this type rarely exceeds four foot ten inches in height. The comparatively tall—a good example being my own man, with skin darker than any of the Makiritari, strong and thick-set, expression fierce. Then the Sanatari of medium height and slightly muddy pigmentation, soft, almost feminine features, very small nose, tiny mouth and round head—a really girlish appearance altogether, this being even more strongly emphasized where the hair style showed a curious wave, and in two extremely exceptional cases where the eyes were brown and not black. Finally there was a fourth type, Mongolian or, perhaps, more accurately, Tartar—a type frequently met with in the basic physiognomy of the Brazilian half-breed: of medium height, and lean, the face ending in a pointed chin so that it looks like an isosceles triangle upside down. The expression is grim. Protruding cheekbones, almond eyes, and—exclusive to this type alone—a beard, even if it is only composed of a dozen hairs on the chin, left to grow in Chinese-Mandarin style.

The womenfolk were not attractive in appearance, as we had found those of other Shirian tribes—notably the Uarema and the Auxi. Their short—very short—stature and lack of any womanly grace, together with their grim, almost evil, expression, gave them a general appearance that was more masculine than

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 feminine. The hard struggle for existence is naturally reflected more strongly
142 in the women, the bearers of the race.

On the whole the Samatari, just as they speak much the same language, differ very little in other ways from the rest of the Shirians, except in so far as they are, so to speak, more typical. They represent the nearest approximation to the ideal Shirian, the physical symbol of the whole race. And paradoxically this 'ideal' quality could be seen in all four somatic varieties: each seemed the prototype of its kind.

As regards the pygmies, who were very much in the minority, it seems to me that here we have an ancient, autochthonous race, formerly conquered and then later assimilated by the Shirians, on an equal footing. To infer the reverse of this process would be absurd.

123 The women were completely naked. Combined with their hairlessness and
[291] their filth, this hardly increased their feminine charm. The men went naked too, but following the custom of such Indians as wear no loincloth, their genitals were gathered up and bound tight to the lower belly with a string of liana wound round the body. However strange it may seem, this usage has nothing to do with modesty, being simply a device to keep one's unmentionables from getting caught on thorny undergrowth in the woods.

IV

The Samatari gradually retired to the shelter of the palm leaves, leaving only the roughest customers still hanging round Enrico and me. We were together again at last, while our Guayca guides had mysteriously disappeared into some hidden quarter of the encampment. As a last straw, parties who had been out hunting began to straggle back, a few at a time, while it was still daylight. Each little band of newcomers had no idea we were there, and each time we had to go through the same near-massacre.

Those who had already inspected us and qualified as experts on the nature of bearded men shouted the news to those who came later, well before they reached the camp-fire zone. These late-comers would run up to us and when they saw us, stop suddenly, with an expression of bemused cupidity filling their eyes. Then, uttering sharp little howls that reminded me of the jubilant yapping of a beast that has cornered its prey, they would hurl themselves on us

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

—and in order to make friends (or so we hoped!) we showered them with embraces and caresses and solemnly rubbed our beards into their dirty faces. 123*

Our worst fears were over. But hunger remained, and there was no sort of solution for this. We were prisoners, and prisoners are given nothing to eat until the gears of bureaucracy have duly enmeshed. Our fear of dying by arrows had become a dread of dying from starvation, and this latter, all things considered, seemed the worse fate by a long way.

It was dark now. Dozens of fires were glowing among the trees, and the Samatari were bawling all round them. We were still coping with the last late arrivals, and with a mournful old man who had besieged me from the very first with a petulant insistence that was all his own. Now he wanted my trousers, which had taken a walk for a destination totally unknown; now he wanted my beard—and on top of that, something mysterious which was inside me. Apparently he could make use of it in his own body. He probably meant my health and strength, because later his attention was fixed on my loins, and he prodded them again and again, with endless lamentations.

Then, like two apparitions, Luis Antonio and Solitman arrived on the scene; the former had adopted the Samatari style for his genitals. They were followed by the usual comet's tail of gaolers, who escorted us to the far side of the encampment, where there was a sight more miraculous still—our own hammocks. They had been slung in the middle of a forest of others, small affairs made of liana and bark. These were all empty. The fact that our own were occupied by two or three Indians apiece, joking and laughing and cleaning up their dirty, greasy bodies, far from distressing us, sent our spirits still higher. For it meant that we were now part of the family The danger had passed.

The occupants obligingly got out and we flopped in, on our faces. Utter exhaustion had prevailed even over the pangs of hunger.

'There is nothing to eat,' said Luis Antonio in a most normal tone of voice, as if making a statement of purely academic interest, which did not have any personal application at all. We plied him with questions, but all we got out of him was his usual relentless 'I don't know'—and with that our first day among the Samatari came to an end, with the smoke of a hundred fires and the unbroken jabber of the Indians discussing us from the depths of their improbable hammocks. We had begun our term of captivity in the hands of the Samatari, but we couldn't foresee its ending, or guess when that would be. The rising tide of hunger engulfed us, and the future became vague and shapeless. . . .

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

The Samatari were eating all sorts of things: there were stacks of little green bundles, which would have made the smiling Sempronio die with envy. (Where he had disappeared to, we did not know.) These provisions were piled up under tiny roofs of leaves, beside little pyramids of nuts, green fruit, variegated fruit, hard fruit and soft fruit. The grown-ups and children were tucking in without more ado. There were white grubs, a little on the hairy side, that had the exquisite savour of crayfish; putrid worms from the Mauritia Palm, looking like *guarači*; earthworms, squeezed and cleaned, their flesh the colour of loin of pork, or when they were served in heaps, rosy like spaghetti and tomato sauce. There were whole honeycombs taken from the wild bees, the cells full of brood; the look and smell of them was like rich pine-kernels;[1] bags of honey, which when mixed with water gave a cool, slightly heady drink; small snake-cutlets, like fleshy eels; gigantic Maripa Palm hearts broken into chunks, like crumbly Parmesan cheese; mounds of cut tapir meat and smoked slices of peccary, which were black as coal outside but all rosy and fragrant within, like the heart of a spring lamb. There were bundles of fish dried and toasted over the fire, which ate with something of the flavour of almond cake, though it was more exotic. . . .

The leaf-wrapped viands hovered sizzling over the flames, and the greasy savours breathed out into the night air, so that the animal-lair atmosphere of the camp was wreathed in a homely smell of cooking. But for our part there was only hunger, stretching like a wide sea whose tides beat against the fertile shore of the Samatari land, with its sweet-smelling mountains and fruit and game and its propitiation to the gods of plenty—the duly gnawed bones hung up over the fire lest the smell of them should warn off the next day's bag.

But we, in our ocean of hunger, had at least one satisfaction—our hammocks, our warm and welcoming hammocks, made of stout cloth. They swung like glorious battleships over the wretched little flotilla of the tiny Samatari contraptions.

The Samatari, whose possessions are so simple as to be almost non-existent, have three types of hammock, depending upon the resources of the country round about, since they never carry their sleeping gear with them but always improvise it on the spot, except in very special cases where the rich and great affect a snobbish luxury. The most elementary model is composed of three or four strips of the flexible bark of the Annona which is known in Guiana as

[1] Used in Indian cooking.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Yara-Yara. These strips are a few centimetres wide, their ends being twisted into a rope and tied to two trees. Less common is the hammock made from the rootstock of an Iriartea, the palm which tends to cling slyly to the traveller with its thorns, lurking on the young shoots. The rootstock often lies above ground, twice the length of a man's arm and almost as thick. It is carefully stripped of its spines, which come off easily, and then clubbed to a pulp. In this way the very strong fibres are easily removed. They spread open very readily, and the Samatari are careful not to pulp the ends, leaving seven or eight inches of the rootstock intact so that it can be hung on to any convenient spur on a tree.

Finally there is the hammock de luxe, the one the snobs carry with them because it takes a certain amount of time to make and its more select raw material cannot be found everywhere. This is a superlatively strong liana known in Spanish as *alambrito*, or wire, because of its strength and its habit of growth. Quite apart from its use for hammocks among the Shirians, this liana is one of the main forest products, being used for all sorts of purposes by all the inhabitants, from the most civilized to the most primitive. It serves for binding the walls of huts, for weaving and basketwork and, as we have said, for hammocks of a superior quality.

This liana is about as thick as a pencil and easy to peel and slip open into a number of pliable white strands rounded on one side and flat on the other. About a hundred of these strands, banded together halfway between the two ends with twisted bark rope, make the hammock. It is strong and springy, but alas, like all Shirian hammocks, unstable, uncomfortable, and very small. Stretched out in them, with the imprint cutting deeply into their skin, the Samatari pass their nights without stirring, their feet on a higher level than their heads as if they were following the most modern therapeutic principles, smoking themselves in the piquant fumes of their fire, which is kept continually burning and replenished by the more youthful members of the tribe. The fire is their blanket—'the blanket of the night'—as they themselves call it.

V

At some point during the night, Solimun turned up wearing *my* trousers. After they had made their mysterious rounds, it seemed, they had fallen to

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 his lot. At any rate, it was a sign for the better, since it meant that our old friend had been recognized for the Samatari he was. He restored my property, smiling his usual rather foolish smile, by simply letting them fall from his waist, and I saw that he had also got the red woollen drawers which Moemi had bequeathed to me when he left us. Enrico's trousers were dawdling somewhere on the way, but they arrived in similar fashion in time for him to put them on in the morning.

'Do you think we can soon leave these people?' I asked Luis Antonio, who was lying awake nearby.

'Nothing doing,' came the answer. 'We've got to stay with them, otherwise they'll shoot every arrow they've got into our backs.'

'What about the gun?' I said at once.

'The gun is hanging up in an empty hut, with the chief watching it.'

So there was a chief, though he'd given no sign of himself: such a deep sense of dignity could not but do him honour.

'The chief has got your watch, too. He ordered your trousers to be given back to you, because he didn't want the Samatari women falling in love with you if they saw your genitals.'

Jealousy had been stronger than greed. This too was a good sign. It added one more grain of sand towards the foundations of our security.

The torrid night passed. The smoke of the fires was now enriched with the odours of burnt ants. Morning was born to the vociferous cries of the Samatari who were up and about before dawn, hunting and gathering fruit and supplies. Along came the chief, a man of middle age belonging to the Tartar type, with six long hairs sprouting on his dirty chin. In his hand he had the watch, still unharmed. He handed it to me without ceremony, seeming glad to get rid of it.

Later on I got to know the story connected with the watch.

Someone had noticed that not only were there parts of this golden object which most mysteriously went round and round, a strange tick-tick-tick came out of it too. There was a heart inside it. The watch was the animal, a potent animal of dubious powers, belonging to me and standing in some magical relationship to me. Wonderment was tinged now with fear, and the wise chief had therefore hurried to restore it to me before anything happened to him and his people.

On a sudden impulse, some inner prompting that could not be withstood,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

I proceeded to show my gratitude to the chief by offering him the red woollen drawers which I had not yet put on. He studied them carefully, and then got into them as to the manner born. They fitted him well, and their colour being red, which Indians find irresistible, convinced him of the prestige value of this little scrap of clothing. Without a word he walked away with the solemn gait of a man who has had a pot of gold revealed to him in a vision. He made a tour of the encampment in stately fashion, and when he returned to us he was followed by a train of Samatari who were all clicking their tongues and emitting little deep-throated grunts. He stopped when he reached us, just beside me.

I carried on with the good work of thawing him. The watch was still in my hand, and I showed it to him, with signs that I was willing and anxious to explain the true nature of this metallic animal. The twelve figures for the hours, I told him, with sweeping gestures eked out by a few words of Shirian, represented the fixed stars of the sky. The big hand was the sun, and the little one the moon. They followed each other through the firmament, among the stars. This explanation found the mark straight away—perhaps because it only went to confirm their own suppositions about the little animal which had been worrying them during the night.

'*Pilawo, pilawokaow,*' shouted the chief, and his followers danced about, echoing him, which seemed to mean that they had identified the watch with the sun and its circular motion. '*Pilawo, sepulie, lakallat*'—magic, big magic.

Then we were aware of some fresh surge of movement. It came mainly from the women. They had gathered for an animated discussion, which might have something to do with what Luis Antonio had said about the trousers. Indian women find white men an irresistible attraction and their menfolk, in all tribes, have one favourite tactic to prevent their being deceived: they tell their wives that these damnable white men possess such gigantic, nay monstrous, organs that they cause laceration and death. This legend is half-believed by the men themselves, partly by reason of the Europeans' actual superiority in regard to this important anatomical detail.

For once, however, it seemed that the Shirian ladies were not quite convinced. One of them could attest by the evidence of her own eyes that this dreaded enormity was a disingenuous exaggeration. But the point had not been generally confirmed, and it had started a discussion among the womenfolk. Men who had been listening to the explanation of the watch now joined in with much jeering and laughter. Enrico was obliged to yield his person to the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

#123
829
831

general curiosity, and it was he who dispelled for ever the belief that white men were a danger in themselves, apart from their guns and other terrifying adjuncts. The women fell on him. In a frenzy of excitement they insisted on seeing everything: they might have been doctors. His trousers dropped and feminine curiosity was slowly appeased; to the accompaniment of wondering cries and deep howls from the men, Enrico had to turn about and bend backwards and forwards. One woman, whose curiosity outdid all the rest, even touched him so that she could measure the normality of the dimensions with her hand. Then they began to eye me, perhaps wondering if I might not be a giant in this respect, but fortunately nothing more happened, the conversation became general and excited, and the inspection was over. Luis Antonio and Solitrum joined in the talk, their excitement tinged with a certain sly amusement.

#123

The children were kept very strictly some distance away from us, although the grown-ups did not find this easy, curiosity being always strongest in the young, and especially so among primitive races where the youngsters are particularly active and intelligent and enjoy a life of perfect freedom within the bosom of the tribe. The parents kept an eye on them all the time, and if they came near us they were scolded and sent off with a sound smacking. There was every likelihood that their mothers didn't want them to come under our magic influence, which might be an evil magic all too potent against the weak and defenceless little ones. We afterwards learned that this had been a very real factor in the hostility with which we and our Guayca companions had been received, though the latter should have been known to them as friends.

The fresh morning air brought our hunger back in full force, and at last Ueruma succeeded in getting hold of a piece of burned meat for us: it came from a nearby hut, and heaven only knew what it was. The charred fibres of it went down our throats like splinters of glass. Then, beyond the smoke of the first row of hammocks, I made out the roof which sheltered the chief, just as he came out with a modest throng around him. He had the gun in his hand, holding it like a bow and firing imaginary arrows by pulling at an invisible string, to the accompaniment of boom-booms that were taken up and echoed by the chorus of his followers.

I asked Luis Antonio the meaning of this pantomime. He hadn't seen what was happening and he didn't take the trouble to look, since he knew all about it already: he said the gun was looked on as a kind of bow that fired arrows with an explosion.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'So long as they don't break it!' I laughed cheerfully. But the Indian's doleful look discouraged my levity.

Luis Antonio told me that the existence of guns was no secret to the Samatari. They knew they were weapons, but had no idea how they worked. It all went back to a story we had heard on the Canaracuni, which had the clear ring of truth, though we had been unable to establish the date of the events.

A Brazilian expedition, possibly *garimpeiros* or diamond seekers, had once gone up the Ururicoera river in a boat with a motor. They were probably about as far up from the mouth as we were now on the Samatari river—the Aracoa. These were the first civilized men ever to venture into the region, and they were well armed, as Brazilians living in forested areas generally are—in this respect differing greatly from the Venezuelans who never bother to carry more than some old gun and a stick. The four of them were going up the river with this outboard motor craft when they were hailed from the bank by a group of Indians. They brought the boat round, and as the bows touched the shore the Indians sent a well-aimed volley of arrows which struck the three Brazilians sitting for'ard. The man at the motor then fired a few shots, with what weapon I don't know, and in his turn laid low a number of Indians—four, to be exact, according to the version we heard. He then managed to swing the boat round and went back down river at full speed, eventually getting away to safety.

This was the occasion on which the Indians had got to know of guns and firearms in general, in all their terrible efficiency. But their knowledge was not to be limited to this. After a hair-raising trip the survivor reached Boa Vista, the capital of the Federal Territory of Rio Branco. There he told his tale, and authority very soon decided to take measures—and when Brazil takes such measures they are very stern. They sent out two planes, with the survivor to do the path-finding, and when they reached the approximate scene of the affray they looked for traces of Indian camps. These they bombed and machine-gunned, 'many times killing the hands and feet of the Shirianas' as we were told by the Makiritari at Canaracuni, these latter being obviously quite pleased about it. From that time onwards, guns and bombs from the air were awe-inspiring bogeys, and in this connection I found myself thinking of Uaruma's threats to Pancho at the Llanturigán landing. And in our hearts we couldn't but feel grateful towards the Brazilians whose stern measures had seen to it that the voice of the clothes-wearing men had reached as far as these strange ape-men we were with now.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123
829

Naturally it wasn't our present hosts who had attacked the Brazilians. They denied it themselves. It was other Samatari 'along that way' (a vaguely south-westward direction was indicated): very bad men they were, very savage, they were really the true, dyed-in-the-wool Kaxarape—monsters who took prisoners in their battles and then split them in two on a stake driven into the earth, and afterwards made a meal of them.

Anyone who has the least idea of Indians will know how much faith to put in their tales that they themselves are so good and the other tribes 'over there' so bad: precious little. The Indians one meets are always harmless, hardworking and peaceable—according to their own account: it is the neighbouring tribe that is so bad, harrying them and laying waste their fields and robbing them and exercising their wicked magic through their medicine men, causing their children—the strength and hope of the tribe—to die of the evil eye.

You can take a region in which acts of barbarism have been committed, and make a tour right round it, and if you believe the Indians it is always the tribe further on who are the bad men responsible for the outrage. And then there are those super-bad-men, the quintessence of badness, always right outside the closed circle, the dregs of the dregs in wickedness—the super-savages, the Guaikiri. But this time, so we were led to infer by our hosts, the tribe to blame were the Kaxarape who lived on the right bank of the Uraricoera, fiercest of all the outcasts and intent on chopping up every Samatari's spine to suck the marrow out.

123
754

Luis Antonio had told me, some time during the night, that the Samatari were no longer friends of his. The Samatari and the Uaxema Guayca were enemies now, the one having accused the other of the evil eye. Many Samatari babies had died lately, and if you followed out some tortuous paths of thought it apparently became clear that their deaths had been caused by the perversity of the elders of the Guayca tribe. These in their turn attributed the deaths of certain Guayca children who had been ill in recent years to the Samatari. The magic score was thus settled, but it left a remnant of hostility which had fallen upon Enrico and me. We stood in some danger between the opposing occult powers.

I learned, too, that the wretched little infant we had seen at the Mont landing—a scion of the Uaxema tribe—had died mysteriously, so the Guayca thought, owing to Samatari magic. The excursion on which he was being taken at the time when we had seen him was made with the object of taking

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

him outside the range of the magic influence which had reduced him to such a hideous condition. But evidently they had only escaped the Samatari magic to fall straight into another, which was too much for the sick child. He died, sacrificed in a duel between two magic powers.

VI

The great 'provisioning-march' of the Samatari now began. We went along with them. We were prisoners, we were guests, we were tolerated visitors—a bit of everything. The main body, with the women and children, led the way along a track that was years old and had been opened up again the day before by the younger members of the tribe, who possessed the one metal weapon used by the Samatari: a piece of a knife-blade stuck into a stick and firmly bound with bark soaked in vegetable gum. What story could this scrap of steel have told when it finally reached the headwaters of the Amazon!

The track was by no means straight, but for all its meanderings led vaguely towards the south-east. It lay for the most part through the dense thickets of fruit-bearing trees, which probably harboured other sorts of foodstuffs of which we knew nothing. The main body arrived to find that the young men had already picked nuts and fruit of all kinds and made piles of them at the foot of the trees. All the women had to do was take them up.

When meat of any sort is found and killed on these occasions, a couple of youngsters stay behind with it. They sling a hammock and light a fire and watch while it is slowly smoking on the spit. When the women come up, they pull off pieces of the flesh, put them into the rough hampers they carry on their shoulders and go on with the march, their babies jogging up and down on their backs, tied there with a strap made of bark. Some, like peripatetic vestal virgins, take fire with them, in the form of glowing brands, chewing on them as they go along lest the embers should grow cold. Thus the march of the Samatari leaves a trail of nutshells, rinds, ash, and little bits of charcoal. It suggests not so much an ordinary nomadic people on the move but rather a very special tribe composed of itinerant cooks.

With evening, or strictly speaking some time before the end of the afternoon, we found ourselves in a vast clearing where all the small plants, shrubs, bushes and grass had been cut away and swept and raked aside. All round this

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

open space ran a belt of rattan palms with their notoriously dangerous black spines. There were just two openings: a way in, and a way out. This was a defence work against any enemy that might come along. An aggressor had little chance of bringing off a surprise attack against the Sanumari over this open ground, and if he made a frontal attack he would find 'bread for his teeth'—that is, thorns for his feet.

At night, while the Indians were all chattering heedlessly in their hammocks or sleeping the light sleep of the savage, the two gaps in the cordon were closed and the camp became a fortress difficult to storm. If they stay for several days in one place, as sometimes happens during the rainy season when they are visiting their plantations of tobacco and cane (for arrows), they will put up a palisade round the camp, on the Guayca model. This is composed of the trunks of a very tough palm, driven into the ground as close together as possible. Thus entrenched they can withstand whole days of attack from a position of strength.

In the course of our march, one Sanumari not only devoured the larvae of bees, neatly excavating them from their cells in the smoked honeycomb, but every now and then he would stop at a dead tree-trunk, seamed with subgalleries or lanes, and run his thumb and forefinger along the groove as far as possible, pressing out the damp earthy substance, which he conveyed to his mouth like some rare [illegible]. Smacking his lips, he carried on until he had demolished the whole network of these arboreal thoroughfares, and the ants fled away over the surface of the tree-trunk, lamenting the cataclysm that had overtaken them.

Even we tried this ant-hill diet, but a mixture of earth and sawdust hardly appeased our hunger. Sometimes, as we crossed a stream, a few of the Sanumari bent down rapidly and picked out of the water some little white stones that were soft like lumps of lime. These they chewed as they went along, apparently swallowing them. They will also eat mud, the dirty, soft, puce-coloured mud which is found with the detritus of vegetable matter thrown up on the banks of a river after a flood. For on top of all this varied diet of theirs, the Sanumari are also geophagists—earth-eaters. The reason for this is probably an instinctive prompting which leads them to acquire in this way the minerals their normal food—which they eat without salt or spices—does not supply.

Our great consolation was the fruit: meat being very precious to the savages, they were willing to give us any, and we had no means of hunting for ourselves. The gun had simply disappeared. For the Sanumari too, fruit is the main

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

source of nourishment, especially at this time of the year when every variety is ripe. We were able to experiment on ourselves and try out some of the widely discussed theories of modern dietetics, which amid the general clamour set up by more or less interested parties claims to be able to discover the original foost of humanity, and to arrive at the exact diet on which man in his natural state can exist.

The fruit here was of all kinds, unlimited in quantity and of every size and shape—and there it was, high up on the trees! True, there were piles of it along the path of this victualling tour, but Enrico and I weren't allowed to touch them. So I climbed, and fought off the ants. When I reached the fruit I broke off branches—the Samatari had my machete—and threw them down to Enrico, who gathered in the treasure, though not without an immediate attack on the choicest specimens 'in case they got lost' as he put it. Then I would make a hurried descent, sliding and ripping and skinning myself, to arrive on the ground covered with pestilential insects, my heart thumping with the effort. We stuffed ourselves till our cheeks were bursting, while the Samatari looked on, laughing and shouting out the name of the fruit.

Who else has ever had the chance to study the fruits of the Amazon forests, at the same time making himself the subject of experiments to determine their nutritive value? The Samatari, who are cut off from the waters of the Orinoco by thirty-two mountains, have likewise thirty-two varieties of fruit—there must be some magic in this number. The names of them all are well known and even the tiny tots learn them almost as soon as they can say 'Mama'. Every type of fruit imaginable is represented here, from nuts to acorns, from fruits as soft as tomatoes to others as dry and hard as bone, from single berries to huge bunches, and in addition to them all, a crowning delicacy of such beauty that it has more than food value alone, the white flowering heart of the palm. There are, too, a few conspicuously choice kinds, eagerly sought after by the Indians, which furnish a really substantial food and not just a few pleasant mouthfuls.

Podoimos, olashi, humoshi, lahm, sopah, monama and pukma—seven of the known fruits—are the ones that give you a meal, not merely refreshment, and they make magnificent eating.

Solitaun specialized in podoimos, gathering them as he went along, without stopping. Good as they are, these chestnuts were not much sought after by the Samatari, at least at this season when there was other fruit available which they liked better. But Solitaun, who was a sensible old fellow and worldly wise

6: Vinci T-S (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

But Solitaire, who was a sensible old fellow and worldly

wise, picked them and put them in a 'bag' like a big open calyx made of leaves. This chestnut is encased in a green rind, soft and spongy. He tore this off with his teeth and spat it out. The actual nut was no bigger than a billiard ball, and this he stowed away in his bag. In the evening, round a fire whose glowing ash was neatly raked to form a series of little ovens, the expatriate Sanumari roasted his chestnuts, scooping them out with his bare hand when they were done. He even offered them round, if somewhat parsimoniously: the ratio was three for him and one for us.

To us, who still had our own sense of the fitness of things, it hardly seemed possible at first that humble berries and fruits of such unimpressive appearance could be of such highly nutritive value. We turned therefore to the fruit that had most eye-appeal—the ones the Indians scarcely bothered with as they went along and did not consider worth collecting for the meal at nightfall. By the Arucoua river cashew trees were plentiful, their fruits red as fire, and there was another species we hadn't seen before, orange in colour and enormous. Some of the fruits that had fallen with the weight of their ripe juice were the size of a man's fist, and to eat three or four of them gave a pleasant sense of well-being, even if it didn't last long.

The great trees must have been bearing a crop of thousands of pounds in weight, because all around the forest floor was glowing with fallen fruit and clouds of buzzing insects of every colour were busy glorifying the decay as they settled on it.

But when we had devoured our comforting quantities of these cashew fruits, some of them already over-ripe, there was a roughness on our teeth and we began to feel sick. It was now that we were ready to appreciate the wisdom of these primitive people, who left the florid purple fruits severely alone, to bury their sharp teeth in more modest-looking fare that was a good deal kinder to the human stomach.

No one can know the thrill of excitement that comes to the Sanumari—and other Indians too—when they find themselves underneath a big *kelpoo* tree that brushes the waters of some little stream with the mass of its seed pods, long and round like those of the senna tree. Many such pods are used exactly like the ordinary French or kidney beans, but for this particular delicacy it is neither the bean nor the pod itself that is eaten, but the white tender pulp in which the beans are set. We ourselves found it far too sweet and sickly. But in spite of all the excitement here, we had still not come to the fruit which was thought

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanama

123 T
262
484

worthy of being packed up and carried with us. For this purpose, *kalpan* beans were too bulky and the white pulp over-delicate and inclined to go rotten too soon.

The *manama* and its little brother the *pakwa* are the fruits that really rouse the collector's instinct in the Samatari, and they rely on these for a good part of the whole tribe's food supplies. The first time we saw them they seemed to us like olives, green when immature, brown when ripe, the rarer *pakwa* being also the darker in colour. It was difficult for us to distinguish the trees that bore this fruit among all the rest, but the Samatari possess a more highly trained eye for this, and always stopped and skipped about, staring upwards through a mass of leaves that all looked alike to us. Sometimes fallen fruit on the ground gave them a clue, and they fell on it with excited cries to see how ripe it was, or, as it often proved, how worm-eaten. The youngest would be already up the tree—not the one in question, as a rule, but a neighbouring one easier to climb, from the top of which he would more easily be able to get at the fruiting branches.

Sempronio walked in silence. He was still haunted by fear. It had come as a shock to the Samatari (though they made a few jokes about it) when they learned that he was not a Guayca but a Shirian from the Cinarcuni. The Valley of the Moon, to them, was the very heart of enemy territory, and had it not been for the protective magic invested in our two beards, they might easily have put him to death. After this came out, they had put him to work. The boy was pleased because this meant that he could eat. He helped them gather the food supplies, and by the time it came to eating them, he was friends with everybody and everybody was friends with him.

No Samatari could see Sempronio's smile and resist it. He displayed a prodigious agility up in the trees, even winning the admiration of those who might well have been his executioners. The *manama* soon began tumbling down and the human monkeys scrambled to collect it. None was eaten. This berry matures slowly, giving strength to the men and abundant milk to the women. Actually this is the berry of one of the Lauraceae, and has something of the tartness, the bitterness, of that aromatic shrub so reminiscent of the Mediterranean lands. But the pulp is rich and oily and sweet as butter. After a few minutes over the fire it is not only cooked through, but mashed as well; and if you are hungry during the day's march it can be eaten without being cooked at all if you hold it in your mouth for ten minutes or so, when the warmth and saliva will render it deliciously tender.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

There were often piles of *kumuki* heaped up underneath trees much too big and too tall for me to have climbed, even had I been dying of hunger. The *kumuki* is a queer, oval-shaped nut with a big, woody husk enclosed in a compact mass of tiny, needle-sharp spines that resemble the crystals of certain mineral forms of asbestos. It takes some opening, but once open offers man the rich enjoyment of a soft white nut running with a creamy milk.

The consumption of these nuts sets a real problem in logistics and psychology. Transport over any distance is hampered by the exorbitant weight of the shells, a weight which the Indians with their extremely practical minds consider to be out of proportion to the food value of the nut, high though this is. But once the nuts are shelled, there are the piles of gleaming white grains, so attractive that no one can resist them and they are devoured without a thought for the mothers' milk or the strength of the children's blood. Without a doubt, this matter of the *kumuki* represents one of the outstanding problems of the Samatari provisioning-march and still awaits a satisfactory solution.

VII

The difference in taste between the two races—Shiriana and bearded men—comes out most emphatically in their appreciation of the various fruits. There is one particular kind which the Shiriana adore—in fact, deify: they will even go to war over the picking of it and those who fall on the battlefield are deemed martyrs and saints.

For the Shiriana, Saint Carpoforo lives incarnate in the miraculous, the almost mythical *lakar*; while we, the bearded ones, would sooner identify him with the *sapak*, which is a blend of fig, strawberry and mulberry. The *lakar* grows on the Corozo palm, one of the tallest of the palm trees, which is covered with long and terrible thorns that keep the monkeys far away from its forbidden fruit. Beneath the thorns there is a sweet liquid—palm wine. It can be obtained by lighting a fire at the base of the tree, so that all the juices collect together towards the top of the palm, near the growing part. The tree is then felled, and a little skilful surgery will drain the liquid, which ferments readily. But the Samatari do not indulge in this practice: some deep and ancient wisdom, though they are scarcely conscious of it, has given them the simplest possible commandment about drinking: thou shalt drink only water. Nor does

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the usefulness of the Corozo palm and here: it furnishes a hard, black wood that gives the Indians their finest bows, real masterpieces treasured with pride by their owners and only bought and sold with a great deal of ceremony.

The *lakua* represents the Indian food-ideal. It grows in bunches up to eighty pounds or more in weight, each fruit being the size of an egg and in shape and colour not unlike a small, ripe cheese. Cooking it takes a long time. The outside is a thick starchy layer, orange-coloured and rich-tasting without being over-sweet or sickly. It is better than any of our starchy foods such as bread or potatoes or chestnuts or *gwarikí*. The whole of it is edible right down to the little stone itself. This is a kind of delicious almond which crumbles pleasantly under one's teeth and leaves nothing but an insatiable desire for more—hence its name, *lakua*.

Lakua can be carried: there are no doubts about this, as in the case of the kumoshi. Its golden bunches are big enough to cover up a man, and the carrier protects himself from the thorns on the branches with a good thick cushion of leaves. In the evening they are cooked, so that the grim-faced women of the tribe are able to produce their milk after all and tirelessly pass it on to the scabby, drooling mouths of their infants, who in their turn convert it into blood and yield it up to the clouds of flies and mosquitoes which wrap them round with a perpetual dark veil like an aura of evil and accursed spirits.

In recompense for its fabulous generosity, the *lakua* tree has been accorded one great privilege that sets it apart from all the other fruit-bearing trees of the forest: it is never cut down for the easier harvesting of the crop. The fruit is brought down by some clever manipulation of a long pole, for no climber's hands and feet could withstand the thorns. If in very special circumstances the tree has to be cut down, then its upper stem is opened so that its last, secret riches can be cut out—the ten pounds of sweet, crisp, chestnut-flavoured tenderness that is its growing point, the heart. Then the tree will weep out its tears from its torn breast, tears of wine that are lost.

Certainly the tribes living nearest to the forest and the forest's deep anti-human mysteries have chosen the *lakua* as their god of food: but we, a hybrid mixture of natural fears and supernatural thunderings, chose to set up opposite it our own saint, the yellow and most luscious *sapak*. When the marching horde reached a gnarled tree which evoked the quick cry '*Sapak!*' they flung themselves at it—such is their agility in tree-climbing that they literally seem to fling themselves up—and began a feast that reduced them to silence because

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

262
484 they were eating so fast. The weighty mass of the fruit soon began to distend their stomachs and later on the little seeds began to settle and give rise to belching noises which had to be heard to be believed. But for all that, it was apparent that they did not take the *sopah* altogether seriously and were not able to accept the primacy which we were only too ready to award it, in the same way as some religions, while recognizing the prophets of another, will consider them inferior to their own.

This was the Samatari's attitude over the *sopah*. They held it in a very mild contempt—and it is worth noting that this contempt sprang from sources too prejudiced to be quite sincere. It is the womenfolk who put a smoke-screen round the *sopah* tree and divert their men's attention towards the *monama* and its satellites. The women cannot climb the *sopah* trees burdened with their babies on their backs, and if they left them on the ground they would be eaten alive by ants. For the women, too, there is always the risk of leaving their pendulous breasts on the thorns. Thus they are never exactly on the spot when the *sopah* fruits are being gathered and can never eat their fill because their men consider the *sopah* a divinity whose tender fleshly form cannot survive if transported. The women, therefore, mere starving gleaners on the ground, have to be content with the fallen fruit, usually the unripe and worm-eaten specimens which their menfolk have rejected. Hence their stubborn propaganda against what we considered the finest fruit in the forest.

262 The *sopah*, like all especially good things, has a flavour that cannot easily be defined: it has all the good points of other fruits, and none of the disadvantages. It is like a fig, but better than a fig—there is no skin. It is like a mulberry, but sweeter. Its flavour outdoes the strawberry, which in shape it somewhat resembles. It offers perfection to the taste-buds, a luscious, fleshly perfection which properly belongs to the sphere of the erotic.

We saw ourselves dwelling for a long, long time in these gardens of sopah and lahsa, far from the arrows of the Samatari and the guns of civilized men. But this was just an empty dream. Because without an Indian to help us gather them, when we wearied of losing our blood on the trees, we should come down to eating the windfalls crawling with worms, while the monkeys made fun of us, pelting us with the sopah stones—vain relics of our chosen saint.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

5

At Home with the Samatari

1

Soon we had some friends among the Samatari: a group of young boys who behaved as though they were members of our private levy. They were also a privileged band within the tribe itself, because they had made themselves loincloths out of scraps of our shirts—abandoned by our original despoilers. They were with us at all times except during the actual marching periods, which did not last too long. They hung their hammocks near ours—indeed, we had at first taken them to be our guards. But their attitude very soon became clear: they were our friends and admirers. Young and full of life, they saw in us the representatives of an unknown world, the wide world of their yearnings. 123*

With their appearance on the scene, the worst of our hunger was over. True, there was always a chronic desire for something to eat gnawing at us, deep down, probably owing to the poor quality of the diet, the excessive proportion of fruit and the lack of meat (which came only rarely and then was either half-raw or burned)—but this unacknowledged hunger was an old acquaintance of ours in forest conditions: it even plagues the explorer with ample provisions and the means of cooking them to his liking. With nightfall, the boys put a fire—'the blanket of the night'—under our hammocks. It consisted mostly of slow-burning termite nests, where the fat ants fried slowly, wreathing the air with a heavy smell which we got used to after a time.

The provisioning march continued along the banks of the Aracoa, through a forest region of huge, closely packed trees where the going was drier and cleaner than it had been before. Fruit trees were plentiful and the nomadic horde of Samatari went along in high glee. We were now reunited with all our old friends, from Uarema to Sempronio, who moved about as freely among these unpredictable hosts of ours as they would have done at home on the Merevari. 123* 484

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 At one point, Luis Antonio got the gun back. The cartridges, in some unknown fashion, had got lost, except for a dozen which bore every appearance of having been soaked and chewed. But we might still be able to fire a shot or two, 'on our way back'. Unfortunately, though we were looking forward to it as our day of salvation, that time seemed to grow more distant with every day that passed. We were on our way south now, and the forest of the Uagna where our canoe was waiting for us seemed a mere memory of another world.

Only later did I come to know what had happened about the gun. The Samatari could not get used to the idea of having a fire-arm with them. Partly because they knew it was dangerous, and were afraid that one day it might automatically turn on them, partly because they thought that if their enemies got hold of such a weapon they would be able to attack them and wipe them out. Luis Antonio had helped them out of their dilemma, cleverly inducing them to give up the gun by a manœuvre which didn't enhance our prestige, but improved our position considerably by establishing the fact that we weren't really dangerous at all. Luis Antonio had given a demonstration of the gun's powers—at a time when Enrico and I were too far away to hear the shot. He had chosen for his target a termites' nest hanging down from a tree and fired some spread-shot at it. As might have been expected, nothing happened—apart from the fact that all the Samatari took flight. A few leaves fluttered down, the spectators returned, and everyone was disappointed. The *bombamalé* was no good at all! They had expected to see the whole tree, not just the termites' nest, destroyed—they had the same faith in the unlimited powers of the gun as the Makiritari had in the outboard motor. From that moment on they left the gun to Luis Antonio and didn't bother any more about it, though they may have wondered, being naturally suspicious of Guayca tricks, whether Luis Antonio had left out of the weapon something that he ought to have put in. But very likely they had connected the idea of the gun with the air bombardment of the Kasarape, and in this case they must have been even more mystified still.

II

411 Samatari weapons are much more efficient than our guns, in their own hands, at any rate, and they have one advantage: the raw material for them is

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

there for the taking in the forest and the supply, from both animal and vegetable sources, is inexhaustible.

The bow is of surprising dimensions. It is six feet six inches long, this being equivalent, considering the height of the archer, to nine feet nine inches for us. The simplest pattern is made from the *seke* palm. They also use a hardwood—from a tree known in Venezuela as the 'golden pole'. This is very rare, almost as rare among the Indians as metal. But the finest bows of all, possessed by the few and worth a fortune, are made from the corozo tree, the *lakse* of the Shirians. This wood is extremely hard but very fibrous, with the elasticity of a steel spring. The shaping and fining down of these bows, and the making of the arrows, is the one form of craftsmanship known to the Samatari. With this they occupy themselves during the rainy season, under rough roofs of palm leaves. A tree belonging to the Moraceae family furnishes the very tough fibre for the bowstrings: it is found all along the river-banks and in the forest glades.

The slender arrows, six foot six inches long, are made from a cane cultivated in the secret depths of the forest, though it grows naturally on any of the river creeks which flood regularly. Curassow or guan feathers, split in half, are bound on to the cane.

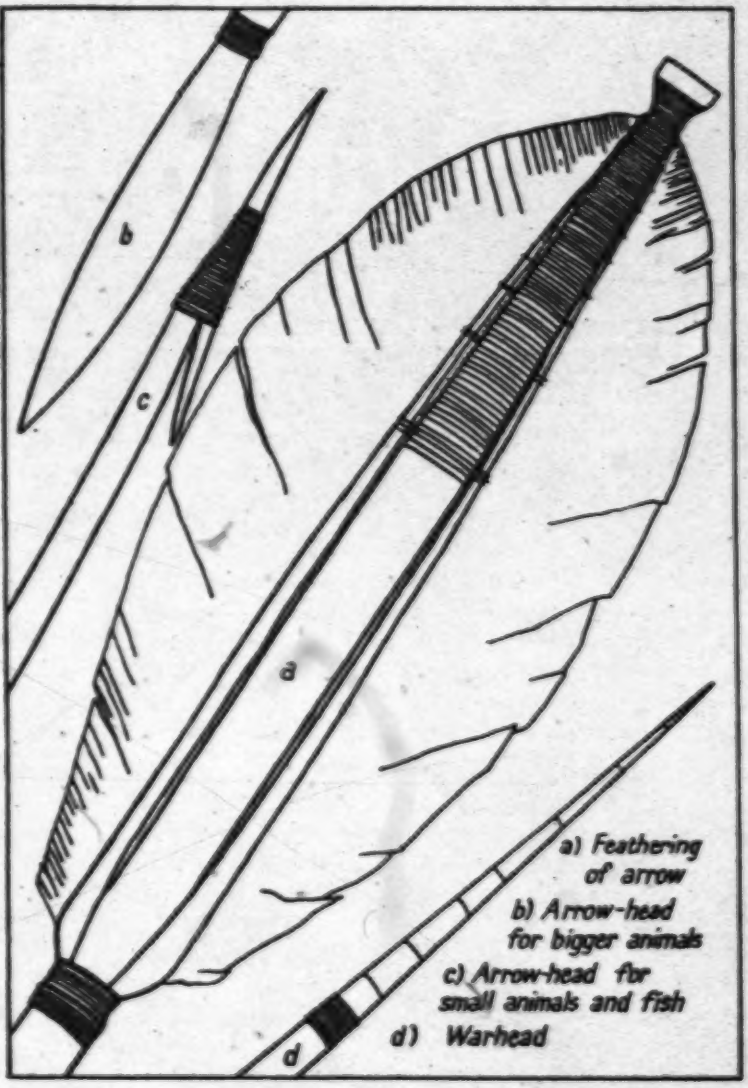
There are three types of arrow-head, according to the purpose for which they are to be used. The lightest is a splinter cut from the shinbone of a monkey, firmly fixed to the end of a short stick, in such a way as to form a sharp-pointed prong. This is used on small animals, and especially for birds and fish. There are numbers of big fish, like the *pampano* and *surapiri*, which lie near the surface so that a slight rippling of the water betrays their presence. The arrow which pierces them cannot be shaken out, and its length and weight make it difficult for the wounded fish to get very far.

Another kind of point is virtually a miniature spear fashioned out of a very hard bamboo cane. Very sharp, and razor-edged, it will strike deep into the most resistant flesh, the toughest hide. The Samatari use this on the bigger game, such as tapir, and also for war—though for the latter purpose it is superseded by a specialized warhead. This is a sharpened splinter of palm wood—the same as goes to the making of the bows—dipped in a red poison made from the bark of a certain tree. A series of rings, four or five of them, are notched out round the arrow-tip, so that it is weakened at these places. If the tip strikes bone on entering the body, or if the arrow is pulled out, it snaps at one of these weakened parts, leaving the broken tip embedded in the flesh so that

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Saniema

[P.122]

411
284



6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the poison has time to spread and enter the bloodstream. The Samatari go off to war with masses of these poisoned arrows and a cane quiver slung across their shoulders. This contains spare arrow-heads which can be quickly attached to the arrows arriving in a stream from the enemy. Every fighter carries his own ammunition, but the weapons are really the common property of friend and foe alike.

There is one other widely used weapon, and a deadly one it is—a heavy wooden club for use on the cranium in close-combat conditions, such as usually arise at the end of the battle when the ammunition is exhausted and the antagonists have worked themselves up into a fine frenzy. Then the hand-to-hand fighting excels in ferocity, but the blood scattered on the ground is misleading—the actual mortality rate is very low. Tremendous whacks on the head are exchanged, that lay the scalp open right down to the bone. But cracking the cranium itself is not so easy: Samatari heads are harder than Coroso palm.

One may well ask why the Indians are forever fighting these wars, but this is to put the question a little too ingenuously. The answer can only be that it is their mode of life—just as it is other people's mode of life not to keep on fighting. There are vendettas as old as their race itself, fanned by their belief in the evil eye of the witch doctors who can cause the death of children and spread sickness through the tribe. Fear is the underlying cause, at the origin of these vendettas and at the origin of all origins; fear that is the very condition, the very breath of existence for primitive man in the inhuman, unhuman forest regions that set their stamp on all who live in them. Fear gives birth to these bloody encounters, which a little cool-headedness could transform into the meeting of friends. We ourselves owed our salvation to the fact that we hadn't fought back. We had a certain confidence too, over and above the passing moment of fear, a certain faith in the essential goodness of man.

But apart from fear and the vendettas which grow out of it, there is one native activity which just as easily leads to war: theft. Theft is the activity in which the Shirians excel, their way of living. Everything that can further their nomadic existence is torn out of the earth, the trees and the animals. The process means effort and struggle, always more or less exhausting and unsafe. It follows logically that if anything they basically need belongs to other men, they will take it from them, too. The tribe on the river so-and-so possesses a machete, or a knife—perhaps the result of long bargaining with their neighbours, or, more often, of a highly successful bit of burglary and some

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

skirmishing. After several days' howling and shrieking, an expedition is decided on. It is not certain that a battle will yield the desired utensil or object, but then, it is never certain that a hunt will fill the pot, and many a tree looks promising and then turns out to be barren, or to have no ripe fruit. But a good, just war, the Samatari think—and all their wars are just—always produces something worth fighting for, even if the immediate result isn't one that would strike the impartial observer as advantageous. For even if the encounter produces only negative results, the enemy will henceforth go in fear and it will be a long time before their witch-doctors or magic-men dare to strike at the children again with their black arts of death.

And in addition to all these lines of reasoning, savages cannot grasp, as we can, the notion of victory or defeat, for this means first differentiating war from ordinary normal modes of life and treating it as a special occasion with its own scale of values. For the Indians, war is just one of the facts of life, like the harvest. Its result has no direct value, in so far as that result can always be changed by another war, and so on, *ad infinitum*.

III

When we were not on the march I attended to the sick—an activity which soon grew to such dimensions that I found myself in charge of a full-scale open-air clinic, with a meek queue of patients waiting their turn to see the doctor, and an orderly to help me. The start of it all was the mournful bent old man who came along to us morning, noon and night, pointing to his kidneys and wailing '*Nini, nini*'—'Bad, bad.' We had fortunately succeeded in getting back the three or four tins containing our medical supplies, which included a good deal of terramycin presented to us by the manufacturers in exchange for the samples of earth we were to bring back. I imagined that in the case of people like the Samatari, who were completely unaccustomed to any drug at all, an antibiotic should have a very positive effect. In fact, the old fellow definitely improved after taking a few capsules. He was far less bent as he walked and no longer complained that he felt '*nini*'.

This must have been an excellent advertisement for us, because a great many patients began to come forward—most of them not showing any sign of suffering from anything at all. Then they began to understand that we treated wounds

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

with disinfectant, and from that time on examined their bodies carefully for the slightest little scratch. I daubed on a little red methylate, which thrilled them, as anything red does, and when I threw away the piece of cottonwool I had been using there was a regular fight for it, the winner using it to paint himself as he fancied.

But once I had started using the terramycin for the old man's benefit, an unforeseen problem arose. When I displayed the tablet, this panacea for all ills, the patient (backed by all the crowd of onlookers) would make me a sign to swallow it myself, and then give another to him. In the beginning I thought that this indicated a lack of faith in the benign effect of the medicine, and some fear of poison. But I afterwards learned that it was something quite different, arising out of their peculiar conception of illness, which to them was virtually magic. Sickness was an evil something which got into a man's body and then did all its bad things. So it had to be chased out, by fair means or foul. You could frighten it away, as the magic-men did with their nocturnal exorcisms; or, by putting some substance in the body which irked it, you could make it take itself off. This was what the men-that-wear-clothes did. Either way set the sufferer free from the evil thing.

But if you chase a mouse from under one piece of furniture, it will run under another. In the same way, this evil thing, chased out of the sufferer's body, will straightway take refuge in the body of the man effecting the cure! Therefore the medicament must be ready in two equal doses, to protect both doctor and patient. I must have had to swallow untold numbers of tablets of that nauseating terramycin when treating the Samarati! Fortunately, I could always go a little way off on my own, with a call of nature as an excuse, and insert a finger in my throat to make myself vomit.

Indians as a rule present few cases of sickness: the process of natural selection has been at work among them from their infancy, destroying the weak and the handicapped and leaving the better endowed to survive. They do, however, suffer a good deal from intestinal infections; stomach parasites are present owing to the eating of rotten or windfall fruit; and there are various skin diseases due to a fungus growth of the type the Brazilians call 'bicho geographico' because of the resemblance of the infected part to a map. Mange, and sores of various kinds, complete the range of skin troubles.

But there remains that queen of epidemics, which I have not mentioned till now—tuberculosis. Its victims are of all ages. Living naked, night and day, with

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

a torrid sun or the cold dankness of the forest after dark, the Indians are especially subject to respiratory troubles, bronchitis and chronic catarrh being common. It must be a short step from these to tuberculosis, to judge by the widespread incidence of the latter, though it is worth recording that among the Samatari themselves the disease does not appear to have reached the same alarming proportions as among the Taurepàn of the Eastern uplands, where it [192] is a real scourge. Their name for it is an onomatapoeic one—*tectecmòh*—suggesting the coughing and catarrhal effects of any malady of the respiratory system, to which the word is applied.

[784] They are more afraid of tuberculosis than of any war, or any surprise [721] attack at night. Tribes infected with *tectecmòh* become taboo, and by the same token immune from attack, because their enemies are more afraid of their tuberculosis than their arrows. I was told this by Uarema, who said that some time ago a party of their enemies (of unspecified origin) set out to attack them. They had already been several days on the march when they learned that the Guayca were suffering from a bad epidemic of colds and catarrh. They gave up their idea of attacking them, and returned to their own lands.

952 Wounds infected by insects can be quickly cured, the reason being that with 164 these primitive Indians the defence-mechanism is vigorous and reacts immediately when assisted by antibiotics or sulphonamides. In this connection I have often determined by experiment the relative healthiness of the forest compared with the unhealthiness of the grasslands or savannah lying open to the sun. In the forest, damp and mouldering like some subterranean world, wounds rarely become infected, even if they are not kept clean.

* 123 I once fell down on a clay hillside, in the Upper Cuyuni country, with a 164 machete in my hand. It was pouring with rain and everything was covered with 752 mud and very slippery. The machete stuck into the ground as I fell forward, and my hand—as happens in the case of a fall like this—automatically tightened on the tool to help me regain my balance and slid along the blade, which was always kept razor-sharp. I had three fingers cut open right through the middle joint, the muscles and tendons being severed. We had nothing with us, not even a clean handkerchief. I at once closed my hand and bound up the fist with a bit of old rag. We then spent some days making our way down to the base-camp where we had our medicines and disinfectants. There I opened my fist, to find the cuts miraculously closed up, without the slightest sign of any infection. A

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

few days later my hand was completely healed, even though the tendons had been severed and the fingers partially paralysed.

Some antibiotic substance must surely be produced in great quantities in the soil of the dank forest regions: while in the grasslands the cycle of growth is altered owing to the effect of the sun's direct rays, which either destroy the culture or impede its development.

The most dangerous diseases are those which attack the young children and are naturally reflected in their mothers, too. Intestinal worms are the scourge of primitive populations and I have constantly observed that while among the Makiritari they affect the grown men as well, among the more primitive Shirians they are limited exclusively to the women and children, whose bellies are often swollen to an enormous size. Many of the children die at an early age from this, and from colics, intestinal obstruction, and suffocation.

Indians don't live long, even if they manage to survive the dangers that beset them in their early years. Like all primitive races, they develop precociously—the girls reaching womanhood at ten—and old age descends quickly upon them, their bodies being worn out by hard work, exposure to the extremes of weather, and anchylosis. Ancients are few and far between in any tribe: not more than one or two among some scores of men and women. The Indians whom we usually call old are not, in most cases, much more than forty.

In spite of this I have always believed in the existence of some super-ancient, some Methuselah of the Forest, an altogether exceptional individual whose organism has battled with and overcome every ill, achieving a high degree of immunity and resistance, and living on indefinitely. Certain experiences of mine with tribes of various races have led me to this conclusion.

IV

The Aracoa is a river of white water flowing over a bed of large granite stones. Near its mouth are huge falls where it pours over a solid sandstone shelf on its way to join the even clearer waters of the Uaraticoera, a little above the confluence of its sister stream the Quadu.

After a descent lasting several days, we were in camp on this sandstone shelf, with the roar of the falls in our ears, enjoying a feast of sunshine that everyone seemed to appreciate. Our chief preoccupations were the louse and the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

• Our chief occupations were the louse and the

flea—the penetrating variety, *Afroamericana nigua*, which keeps everybody's feet busy in the equatorial zones of our globe every bit as effectively as the dances that originate there. Americana is not such a bad animal as his African brother, the jigger, though he is more plentiful. Indian feet are full of him, and the open craters in the horny, almost bony patches forming the ball of the foot are evidence of the constant care they take to keep open the little insects' snug lairs and prevent him from taking up permanent residence.

The eradication of lice is carried out at a family or social gathering in a spirit of mutual aid. Men and women will all sit round together in a circle making a thorough inspection of one another's thick hair till they come upon the black louse crouching there silently, like a peccary surprised in the forest, among the roots of the hairs. He is taken between two fingers and disposed of in the simplest fashion: he is eaten. The same privilege is accorded to the eggs, which like all eggs must taste delicious. The nigua can be dealt with by oneself but female collaboration is nevertheless appreciated. A soft, gentle hand—Samatari ladies have exceedingly small hands and feet—introduces a pin (presented by us) or a splinter of Corozo palm (presented by the forest) into the little nest. The white grub of this accursed insect then emerges into the light of day, but the fate reserved for it is not a human end. It is thrown to the fish, which come along in shoals for the fat tit-bit.

We had no soap, and during these halts the best we could do was to splash water over ourselves. The Samatari were not interested in following our example: rain gave them the only baths they ever took. We couldn't even swim to get clean, as we had done in the 'black water' rivers higher up, because there was danger lurking here beneath the harmless-looking surface.

The perils of tropical rivers are five in number—five major perils, that is, because the minor ones, like the amoeba and other parasites, may loom large among the fads and fancies of medical men but do not form part of the psychological baggage of the explorer.

The cayman is king of these perils. His reign is uncontested. His body may be anything up to thirteen feet long, solid and impregnable as a crest of rock. Almost equal in rank is peril number two—the anaconda or water-serpent: if the cayman is king, the anaconda is certainly queen. She is a wonderful monster, up to ten yards in length, with all the force of a hurricane. And being a reptile, the anaconda has all the virtues of the reptiles, enhanced by her aquatic habits, which make her cleaner and nobler than them all.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

The poisonous ray with the sting in its tail lies crouched on the bottom, 136
scarcely distinguishable in colour from the sand. The incautious man who puts his foot on it is immediately stung and suffers the most acute pain he has ever felt. In this connection, we may mention an interesting cure which the natives of Guiana resort to for ray-stings. They poultice the affected region with a (752)
compress soaked in water used for washing the intimate parts of a woman during her menstrual period. This cure has yet to be verified scientifically, but we hope matters will remain as they are. Why should the people be deprived of a remedy at once so cheap, so exotic—and so successful?

That freshwater electric eel, *gimnoto americano*, awaits its prey in the hopes of transmitting some of its excess electricity, which accumulates in its belly-batteries, charged during its periods of rest by the current passing from the anode of the rocky bottom to its own cathode. It is a short, thick eel with an ugly expression as though it had a set of false teeth, probably due to its compressed energy, a nervous force denied an outlet, and also undeniably caused by the glaring injustice of Man. For Man has raised monuments to Volta and Faraday which would more fittingly have honoured the electric eel.

Last—and most frequent—of the five classic perils, is that carnivorous fish known in Brazil as the *piraña* and in Venezuela as the *caribe*. In seething, ant-like swarms it will lie impatiently waiting for its bloody prey: and while waiting, just to keep in training, it will devour its own kind. Carnivorous fish are not all of the same species: actually almost all freshwater fish in the tropics are carnivorous, even the most innocent of them, and I recall now that the best way to clean up certain wound or infected places is to dip the part into a shallow stretch of river water. Crowds of the most sympathetic little fish will come along sniffing and nibbling, and they will clean up the wound in such a way as to strike envy into any surgeon's heart. But there are also fish that will nip off a finger, or any soft part, at one fell swoop—as often happens to the diamond workers when they dive into deep pockets in search of diamonds.

Generally speaking, the five perils we have mentioned, evil genii of the plain, are not met with in waters at a higher altitude. These they cannot reach because of the rapids which bar the way, and they would be unable to survive there in any case, the water being too cold for them. Only the king of them all, the cayman, permits himself to send his more modest envoys up into the higher regions—alligators of tranquil character and appetizing flesh. And the anaconda will, from time to time, allow her little ones, who are eager to get to

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

136 know the world, a few excursions into those terrible waters where the very absence of peril means, for these lowland monsters, the greatest peril of all.

V

* 123 The Samatari had now got quite used to having us in their midst and their primitive fear of us—the emotion which gives rise to an instinctive urge to [609] kill—had disappeared utterly. The fear strangers evoke in them is twofold: they are afraid of being killed, and of having their womenfolk raped. We hadn't killed anybody, and the women did not attract us. We left them in peace, even when they were driven by their insatiable professional curiosity to inspect our private parts.

From being merely tolerated, therefore, we soon passed quite naturally to the stage of having a rather more positive value placed upon us. Soon we were superior beings who had chosen their tribe as the privileged recipients of our friendship. This was without a doubt an auspicious sign for them, and one they must profit by. For the moment the profit which the medicine-man had in mind related only to matters appertaining to magic and moral spheres and had nothing to do with our persons. We ourselves, indeed, were not called upon to play an active part.

* 123 Ceremonies of propitiation were enacted at night. The medicine-man would 756 sit in his hammock with his feet dangling over the fire, invoking prosperity for 789 his own people and ruin and death for their enemies (who were doing the same 982 thing, in the same spirit, at the same moment, in some other corner of the forest). But the Samatari had us with them: the effect of their invocations would travel far and fast, like the explosion of the *bombamadé*.

* 123 The medicine-man would suddenly sit up in his hammock as if he was cold, 533 and after burbling something incomprehensible, slowly shout out the name of 756 a fruit—for instance, *monama*. The last syllable was held for some time, with 789 modulations that reminded me of an echo rebounding from hill to hill. When this solo was over the men's chorus—they were all sitting round the fire in their hammocks, too—would take up the refrain, reciting a long litany full of mournful verses. According to the brief explanations given by Luis Antonio, the gist of it was: much *monama* for the Samatari and none for their enemies. Let hunger strike them down. They are bad men. A moment's silence would

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

follow. Then, in the same fashion, the medicine-man would announce the name of another fruit, let us say *olashi*. The chorus would repeat the same formula. And so on, through all the thirty-two fruits of the forest, the litany was sung. Then it was the animals' turn—those that provided meat. From the noble tapir right down to the worm: might he pass serenely from his muddy lair into the tomb of the Samatari stomach.

When the victualling business had thus been settled, the time was ripe for more general songs and prayers. One little song that turned up I had already heard among the Guayca and other Shirians. The tune was easily recognizable, catchy, even, but the words were strange, and probably not understood by the singers themselves. Then came isolated songs, and broken snatches of tunes that went on all night till the first gleam of dawn, when the priest and his flock gradually dropped off to sleep. The ceremony was over.

It might appear from a hasty glance at their ceremonies of propitiation and exorcism that the Shirians believe in the supernatural, but this is not so.

We often questioned Uarema on the subject, but his reply was always in the negative, and he laughed at the Makiritari's Canaima and the other tribes' Maguaritòn. 'We don't believe in those stories,' he answered, invariably, in his picaroon Spanish. The Shirians do not believe in supernatural beings such as gods, devils and their intermediaries. Certain ceremonies of theirs, it is true, are addressed to powers which we should not consider as belonging to the material world, but to the Shirian mind they do belong to this world, like other evident natural forces.

For instance, the medicine-man's cures for the sick possess a value and a methodology corresponding to medicine as we practise it. The sickness—the bad thing—is clearly visible. The medicine-man is a man with a powerful voice, which frightens the bad thing as it might frighten a man. The bad thing is forced to take flight, leaving the sufferer free. Magic, as we conceive it, is not involved.

Another example will emphasize the Shirian viewpoint even better. When the Shirians are shooting the rapids, anyone on board without a definite job, such as steering or paddling, will make a gesture with his hand to keep the swirling waters well away. For us, such a gesture would imply some sort of superstitious idea, for there is no physical connection between the hand that is trying to ward off the water and the water itself. But to the Indians it is rather an example of a purely physical phenomenon arising out of the man's will-power and his determination that the boat shall not be swamped, which his

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

771
789 gesture adequately expresses. The point is that the primitive has not yet clarified his ideas on the exact relationship between cause and effect, between the wish and its realization—which is to say, between will and reality, subjective and objective. Another clear proof of this lies in the attitude towards pregnancy and childbirth, which we had already noticed among Uarema's people.

789 Even the belief in amulets is one aspect of the complete naturalness of the
831 supernatural! Shirian amulets are made from the dust of a dried leaf or piece of wood, wrapped into a tiny parcel inside a banana leaf, and tied round the arm.
[832] Some of these have the power to attract love, if not quite in the same sense as the love philtres of Medieval Europe. It should be borne in mind that what we call love—for us, the cultural refinement of a physical attraction—does not exist for the Indians. For them, nothing is involved but the physiological relationship, together with the satisfaction of fulfilling an individual need, a sharing of erotic excitement and as a result, the future increase of their stock. Thus the phenomenon of 'falling in love' is not present: it is simply the taking of a man, or a woman. There is no courtship, only the act itself. In the light of this it becomes clear that what the Indian hopes for from the amulet is not success in wooing a man or a woman already known and selected, but a happy outcome of all things sexual, upon which so much depends—the woman, the family and the continuance of his race.

789 The amulet is not a 'charm' such as we imagine it: it consists simply of a
757 substance which possesses the required power by virtue of its own nature—not by virtue of our belief in it—in exactly the same way as some vegetable extracts have the power to produce diarrhoea, and others the power to stop it. As a cure for diarrhoea the Indians take something prepared from a liana, which puts a stop to the trouble and restores the system to its normal state. The virtue of this substance and the way in which it acts is no more and no less occult than in the case of the amulet worn to attract success in love. The curative pill disappears into the mouth and its effects are felt elsewhere. The relation between the two regions is no more and no less mysterious than in the case of the love amulet: the human body is just as real, just as complex and just as unknown as the external world and other human beings.

756 The medicine-man is to be found in all Shirian tribes. He is the witch-doctor
793 and the physician for all general purposes. His superior is the *lahalla*, a kind of high priest, and a very, very rare bird, who possesses wonder-working powers of an unheard-of degree of effectiveness. Uarema assured me that the *lahalla* at

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Pulipuli—the only one then known to exist—could pick out an assassin from a group of ten men gathered for his ceremonies of exorcism. After a few passes made by the wizard, the guilty man lost his hair at one fell swoop, and was thus unmasked.

Endowed as I was with unimaginable powers, I became the *lahalla*. I was called 'Lahallatuan'. My watch, by the aid of which I could see the passing of the hours, predict the weather, foretell the course of journeys and cure certain ills (by applying it to the affected part) had also been promoted. No longer was it mere medicine-man's magic, but lahalla's magic.

VI

We were now an integral part of the Samatari tribe and in certain respects their moral leaders. The chief, glorying in his (our) red drawers, gave us the benefit of strange daily discourses in which he seemed to be inviting us to take part in his councils and share in the planning of tribal activities. I had begun to learn the language, which had already interested me in the Casiquiare days, and was able to reply with a few more or less appropriate words, hoping that they would fit in with what I imagined he was talking about. My efforts were generally crowned with success and everyone shouted with glee at the sight of a white man speaking Shirian.

The world the Indians know, within the limits of their primitive conception, is a boundless forest criss-crossed by rivers and water-courses flowing in every direction. The final destination of these streams is not understood, or even thought of. In the centre of this forest is the tribe itself. Over there are other Indians, known only to few and spoken of from time to time. Somewhere in the same forest there are Indians with beards and clothes, outboard motors and guns—terrible Indians, tall in stature and always bad, angry men: such is the first impression occidentals make on these more apathetic wild peoples. The two of us, envoys of these distant Indians, had shown that we were not such bad men, and not in such a perpetual rage. In all humility and simplicity, we had become part and parcel of the Samatari themselves, and they on their side did not lack a real and disinterested friendliness towards us, as witness the behaviour of the boys, our admirers, who never lost a chance of overwhelming us with their kindness. That I should speak their language was the most wonderful

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

thing they could ever have imagined. It was the first time a stranger had learned to articulate the explosive vocables of their savage, noisy tribe.

Unlike Makiritari and Pemontón, languages of Carib origin with very frequent aspirates, the Shirian tongue is chanted rather than spoken and possesses few aspirates. In all probability it is close to the fountain-head of all language—that is, a common-sense arrangement of sounds and chants—and it is more adapted to forest conditions, being 'howled', with the accent on the last syllable of the word, so that the sound echoes over a considerable distance.

The language is richer than might be supposed from the backwardness of the Indians who speak it. Later on, with Luis Antonio's help, I was able to complete a vocabulary of more than eight hundred words. The most surprising feature is that many of the words have an undeniable affinity with the Malayan language. One example is 'tuan', the word (indifferently prefixed or suffixed) by which the Shirian refers to a man as such, differentiated from other forms of life or other things, and therefore implying a certain superiority, as in 'sir'. This is its exact equivalent in Malayan. Another example is '*pulipuli*' (moon), which is too close to the Malayan '*pulang*' for the similarity to be accidental. And so on.

I profited from my stay with the Shirians by analysing some of their mental processes, their psychical reflexes and their reactions to conditioned phenomena such as come under the general heading of 'psychotechnics'. I had with me a few sheets of cardboard from the wrappings of my medical supplies, and a stub of pencil (lost for some time, this turned up in the possession of a good lady who was using it—with results that were hard to discern—as a cosmetic). I would write a word in very clear block letters, or I would draw a face, on one side of the sheet. Then I would give the pencil to a Samatari who had been following my actions with the closest interest and ask him to copy exactly what I had written or drawn.

I repeated this test several times, and some curious results were produced. They may contribute something of value towards the analysis of primitive mentalities, and I reproduce them opposite.

With this test, even at a first glance, we can make some contribution towards a definition of the Indians' mental processes, which are still at the stage where their intelligence is wholly analytical. They have not yet developed the power of synthesis, which comes later. This is clearly shown by the Shirian copies of the face. They render all the details, without, however, being able to unite them

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

into the proper shape, which means without the logical synthesis which gives them their definitive value. As with his analytical copy of the face, so the Shirian analyses the world in his thoughts about it, but forms no judgment on it, because to form a judgment would necessitate a higher power of synthesis that he possesses.

We now discovered that the Indians had chosen two very fine names for us, by which we were henceforth known. Enrico's was Iöbb—howling monkey, on account of his red beard and its obvious resemblance to the alouata's tawny coat. Mine was Walé—wild boar: my hide was apparently somewhat similar to the peccary's. We had a good laugh over the names and were pleased to be known by them, because it meant that at any rate we had been accepted as men like themselves, our beards being so much superstructure; we were just Indians or 'Sanemá', which means 'people', to use the word the Shirians apply to themselves, the equivalent of the Makiritari 'Sota'.

The fact that I was accepted by the Samatari as one of themselves has

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

always filled me with pride. By acting about it in the right way we can always manage to make ourselves acceptable to our superiors, but no such effort will ensure the same result with people more lowly placed than we are: for this, the all-important thing is to possess a natural bent, a certain humility of spirit and a sympathetic understanding. One must possess the faculty of becoming, up to a certain point, 'primitive' oneself, adopting all the healthiest attributes of the primitive state, without at the same time losing one's own value as a civilized being: one must be primitive and something more—not just the 'something more' alone, which rather amounts to something less.

It often happens that scientific expeditions, or explorers of one sort or another, venture into regions inhabited by primitive men with the intention of studying them. They approach them with all the preconceived and presumptuous notions of men who have read up all there is on the subject, and every single human being who shows up on the river-bank becomes a savage and must be catalogued like a butterfly. Thus the Shirians in all their slightly different types and sub-divisions are all called 'Guaharibos'—a name which means nothing and which the Shirians themselves have never heard. These scientific explorers may indeed take measurements of their faces and calculate the number of red corpuscles in their blood: the Shirians remain Sanemá for all that—people living in their own forest land, fighting their battles for their own special reasons, but ready to become men just like any others—because with a completeness and a simplicity that surpasses our own, they are men already. But scientific records lump the Sanemá and the Soto together under the barbarian headings of Guaharibo and Magnungbo, both contemptuous epithets, and humanity learns nothing from these explorers with their solar topees, who have scarcely got back to civilization after spending a few months in the forest and learning all there is to be known about the savages before they start writing books about it. If these books could be read and understood by the primitive people they treat with, the authors would be rewarded with a volley of arrows.

VII

Living improved considerably and there was meat now in abundance: the banks of the Uracoera were full of game. The best cuts were reserved for us,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

and brought to us already cooked, in a wrapping of some appropriate green stuff—a dish beyond compare. At times there was so much meat (cooked and eaten without salt or spices) that we willingly turned to fruit again. There was no lack of that either.

When a tapir or a number of peccaries have been killed and there is too much meat to be eaten up at once, the Samatari smoke it on a hurdle supported by four stakes driven into the ground. A fire is lit underneath and kept going all night—to the accompaniment of the medicine-man's ceaseless chanting. In the morning the pieces of meat, looking completely charred, are wrapped in wild banana leaves and entrusted for transport to some little woman who hoists them up along with the babies on her back.

I have also seen a sloth being smoked. No gentler animal exists in the world. She moves at a speed which never exceeds a few yards a day, and lives hanging on the trees with her young ones clinging to the hairs of her back. They captured one alive, and with the machete chopped off the three nails of its hands and feet, to make scrapers and 'bodkins' for various uses. Deprived of her only means of defence, the sloth kept moving slowly along, with a resigned, human expression which quickly won our sympathy. But not the Samatari's. To them, a sloth is an excellent target for archery practice, because it will remain in the same position—clasping a pole, for instance, without moving—just the sort of thing you want for a target. The arrows whistled past the sloth's wet nose, but its face showed no change of expression; then some struck it, but not in a vital part, and its fur reddened with blood. The arrows did not penetrate deeply because they were only practice ones, with worn tips. Had I had a gun I would have shot it, for there was such a look of gentle reproof in the little animal's eyes that it became unendurable. But the gun was a long way off, and our five remaining cartridges had been the subject of so much calculation, that perhaps after all I wouldn't have ventured to expend one on this four-legged Saint Sebastian. Soon, however, too many arrows had struck, and before the youngsters could get it to play with and drag it about in the dust, still alive, I asked for the machete. Laughing, in order to evade Samatari susceptibilities, I struck it one hard blow on the head which sent it straight to the smoking-tray.

We now had a definite plan laid and were spreading propaganda to make it possible, Uxuema and the Guayca Indians being our agents. We had now made the descent of the entire Aracoa and part of the Uraricoera, and before reaching

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 the Quadu confluence we had wheeled round somewhat to the north, towards more uneven country where fruit was scarce, its place being filled by palm-hearts, a slightly laxative diet.

[802] It was night and Uarema was sitting underneath my hammock in the camp, counting the days. First on his fingers, then on his toes: three times altogether, which meant sixty days, or two moons, 'two pulipuli'.

The Samatari were listening, slowly taking in the idea and its implication: because now we had a plan of action for taking our departure, and it was based on these 'two pulipuli'. Our story had been thoroughly rehearsed in a council of war, with Uarema, Hashimo and Solituan in addition to our two selves. Sempronio was still with the boys. By now he was so well and truly Samatari-ized as to be unrecognizable. Narcissus and his companion had mysteriously disappeared.

The Guayca had approved of the plan, which was after all a simple one with no devious machinations about it. On the Merevari, from which we had come, we had a dump of merchandise, including everything anyone could possibly want. There was red cloth, which would make loincloths for the Samatari, and machetes, knives, axes, even dresses for the ladies, long lengths of cloth, shirts, and numerous remedies for sickness, besides something that counted even more—a big stack of guns. We would go to the Merevari accompanied by the Samatari, recover our store of goods, distribute it to them, and then altogether in a band, dressed, armed and equipped in all this finery, return to the Aracosa to live, making war on all their enemies, who would soon be laid low with the help of the guns.

Such was the story which the Guayca—interested parties themselves—undertook to spread among the Samatari. The latter thought it over well, and decided that it was reasonable enough. Every now and then, somebody passing would ask: 'Two pulipuli?'—just as if he was greeting us, or saying 'Good night'. Certainly, one must not hurry with Indians—one of the things they reproach us for is, in fact, our haste. This, combined with our hairy faces and our grim expressions, our stature and our superhuman air, makes us bad Indians, terrible as thunderstorms.

In a few days everyone was convinced that the plan was a good one. Fingers were counted to determine the length of the journey to the Merevari—which no one knew, though they had a general idea of its course. If we went direct, without retracing the steps we had taken on this provisioning march, or only

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the last part of it, we should take about eight days to reach the Uagna, where we had the canoe. Our only worry was lest everybody should want to come along with us—as we had invited them to, in the hope that they wouldn't accept! However, if we found ourselves in the company of more of them than we could shake off, we could ask them all to wait for us on the Uagna, where it should be evident that the two canoes at our disposal could only carry three or four each.

But the Samatari understood this better than we did, being very sensible about such problems of logistics. If they came with us, they risked the well-being of their women and children in more or less unknown country where fruit was scarce. This they saw clearly, and after a discussion with the chief the majority of them dropped the idea. The medicine-man himself, who had put aside all false pride and professional dignity, came along to ask me to cure him of the intestinal pains that were troubling him, and spoke of the 'two pulipuli', but he let it be clearly understood that the auguries for such a journey were not good, and that the Uagna was bad—there must be something about this river, for unquestionably rich as the region is in game, it is no longer frequented by the Indians. The Sanemà, came the verdict, would not accompany us on the journey, except for a few, to the number of the fingers of one hand, or maybe one or two more—presumably the medicine-man meant our special boys who caressed us in the evening, full of love and admiration for our two bearded selves.

The tribe also performed a ritual ceremony at the chief's direction, and this showed them that the day of our departure was not far distant. A group of men arrived, followed by their womenfolk: they chased off the young children who were being too inquisitive, and then approached Enrico. The chief had a long pole in his hand. He put it beside my companion and asked him to raise his hand as high as possible. Suddenly we understood. The Indians wanted some permanent record of this giant's height (Enrico stood about six foot three) which to them was phenomenal. This gave a certain official touch to the proceedings. Enrico limbered up, coughed, and holding himself erect, touched the highest point he could on the pole. The Samatari watched in the utmost amazement. Then they wanted Enrico to stand on tiptoe so that he could reach still higher. Then they notched the pole to his measure and ran through the camp howling in a random dance around it, jumping up like monkeys to see who could reach as high. No one succeeded, and after many jokes and sallies,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

* 123

this record of gigantic height was taken under the chief's roof. He was a proud man as he threw himself into his hammock that night.

VIII

One morning, after the medicine-man had been tossing about in his hammock all night, surrounded by his chorus of the faithful intoning the names of fruit, game and fish, the Samatari started shouting before they had stirred from their lairs. The light of dawn had scarcely filtered into the forest depths.

Something must be happening. Very soon our hearts swelled with joy and with hope. That howling, which seemed to come with one voice, though it was not exactly in unison, was giving us our marching orders. No doubt about it: '*Pulleke, pulleke*' meant 'go', and the only going in prospect was our own. Before long, Uarema confirmed this and Sempronio showed up in a lot of red war-paint, with a broad smile on his little woodland-devil's face. We said nothing. But we took our hammocks down rapidly and rolled them up, tying them with the usual liana cords.

We set out without any formal sign of farewell. Our boys, armed to the teeth, were ahead of us. Uarema was the first of the Guayca men to start. Hashimo and Solituan stayed behind to collect a few arrows, and came on after us. Sempronio skipped along at my side, looking up at me as if he wanted to let me know how happy he was now that the Canaracuni and the soft hammocks of Anai had entered his thoughts again.

Instead of taking the track we'd arrived by, we cut a new one to the north-west. This was fresh territory, but the boys crossed it without hesitating. We had ample provisions of smoked meat, two of our own machetes, five cartridges —they were in shocking condition but we hoped they would fire if the need arose—and we made good going, considering the nature of the country, which was bristling with a chaotic jumble of hills, and very deeply forested.

With dusk, just as we were cursing the Samatari and wondering when they were going to stop, we came out into a vast encampment which seemed somehow familiar. By opening up a direct path, our guides had rejoined the route we had taken on the provisioning march. We were now not far off the mouth of the Aracoas, a point we had passed a few days before. When the whole tribe

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

When the whole tribe
is moving, weighed down with all its goods and chattels, progress is slow. A stage that takes it a day can be covered by an hour's quick marching. 123* [484]

Hashimo, with all his old gestures, and with all those grimaces which looked so expressive and meant nothing at all, slung his hammock cheerfully on to the same stake as he had used previously, and we followed his example. Sempronio, whose eyes were as quick as a ferret's and always on the ground (that is, the immediate food-horizon), had discovered a most curious thing. Somewhere near, there was fire. For a while, this alarmed us, and we sighed with relief when we discovered what it was. The Samatari, on our earlier visit, had set fire to one end of a large tree-trunk. It was very hard wood, but completely hollow inside. The fire had continued to burn slowly inside the trunk, which acted like a chimney and kept up a steady draught. I have seen fires of this kind last for weeks and then, when nearly all the wood has been consumed, burst into leaping flames.

Our own night-fires were quickly lit from this natural hearth, and silent from weariness we slept through our first night of almost complete freedom.

Hashimo and Solituan slipped away at dawn and returned a little later with a fish they had killed with an arrow in the Aracosa. It weighed no more than a pound and they cooked it hastily and ate it furtively—leaving poor Sempronio the bones, which he found on the ground later and sucked with a rather puzzled expression.

Our boy guides were in the middle of a palaver with Uarema. Something seemed to be amiss. They were making signs towards the Uraricoera—that is, in the direction of the tribe. A chill of fear stole over us: it looked as if we were being ordered back. If this turned out to be the case, however, all things considered we had a good chance of refusing the order and getting away with it. We had a gun with five shots, two machetes, four bows and a number of arrows. If necessary we could shoot once, to create an atmosphere of terror and then quietly slip away. They wouldn't dare follow us. But while Enrico and I were standing there planning these tactics, Uarema came up.

'The boys are off home,' he told us. 'Home' sounds an exotic and quite meaningless word in the Aracosa forest. 'We'll go on by ourselves. They say it's too far. There's nothing to eat on the Uagna, and nothing even before you get to it.'

The Samatari themselves had come up to us in the meanwhile, and were making signs towards their 'home' in the south-west.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'*Anai*,' I said. '*Anaisi*, yes' (where in a European tongue one would say 'no'). 'Yes, there is nothing to eat on the Uagna. People die there of hunger....' and I gave a burlesque performance of a person dying of hunger.

This tickled them, and the first three of them went off—in these parts there are no greetings and no farewells. The remaining Samatari stayed looking at us without a word, and in his expression there seemed to be a longing—to follow us, to live with us, among all our marvels, over there on the Merevari and even further, along the great river with its rapids. But still he said nothing. We were putting our things together. He followed us with his eyes. Then, after peering at Enrico and me, he went over to Uarema and said something which made all the Shirians smile. In a second, he was gone, running off with his bow and arrows at the trail, to catch up with his comrades.

'What did the boy say?' I asked Uarema, who had started off along the well-beaten track.

'Nothing. He said he'd never have thought he would see men like you.'

Once more we were on our own. We had regained our liberty, but in place of the happiness it should have brought a certain melancholy descended upon us. We felt that we had left something behind, over there on the Uraricoera, and more especially among the Samatari themselves, that howling tribe of pygmies, bad men, Mongolians, and girlish types (our own definitions for the four groups into which they could be divided)—among whom we had left a little of ourselves. And that last youngster's phrase stuck in our minds. It was like the whole burden of a speech we had interrupted before it was finished—or rather, when it was scarcely begun.

Hashimo set the pace. It was a steady one, and infernally fast—he wanted to get home without losing a second, so that we were left with no time for sadness. We were kept far too busy. We footslogged all that day, finishing up what little meat we had left, and eking it out with a little fruit now and then.

Once more we slept in a familiar camp, on the river-bank, where the Guayca made a vain attempt to catch fish. No wild life was to be seen: the recent march of the Samatari had destroyed, or disturbed, all the animals in the district and the survivors would have fled up into the surrounding heights. Hunger began to rise in us like a tide, threatening to submerge us: and all the time Enrico was suffering from some explosive intestinal worms he had contracted from some rotten fruit he had eaten. This worried us because we had no remedy for it, and the sufferer's signs of distress were so evident that the Guayca were highly amused.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

But for all this bad luck, we had one undeniable stroke of good: the weather, extraordinarily enough, remained fine. We were now in April, when the dry season is at its height, but we knew that in these parts 'dry season' is a somewhat theoretical term. In some years, there just isn't one at all, and now that it was supposed to be at its height the rains might burst over our heads at any moment and reduce us to a sorry plight, on these clay hills, with hundreds of streams to cross. In fair weather the forest floor was clean, the air fresh and visibility excellent. Marching was easy, and had an excellent psychological effect.

At the first of the hills, when the track turned aside from the Aracosa banks, we came into a chaos of fallen trees. They stayed with us the whole day, all along the ridge where the path led. Enrico and I were ahead, and at one point we lost the track. Taking our bearings as best we could, we turned back, but found ourselves once more among fallen trees. The havoc must have been caused by a tornado. This is a rare phenomenon, and one we had never encountered in forest country, where the dank and the constant rain keep the atmosphere in a state of equilibrium, which tends to ward off the storm. It must have been the genuinely dry season we were enjoying which had encouraged the hurricane. We were fortunate not to have walked into the middle of it ourselves: with trees being torn up and hurled down we should have been running new and serious risks to life and limb.

For the rest of that day we were trying to find the track, keeping our direction hopefully to the north. But it was late in the afternoon before we saw the Guayca again—thanks to a shot we heard quite close. Great was our relief. The sound of Uarema's gun had raised our hopes, and when at last we caught sight of the Indians from a distance we noticed that they were carrying something wrapped in leaves. But it wasn't game. Uarema had fired at a crane, but missed it. The parcels contained honey which they had found in the tree-trunks blown down by the wind. We gave silent thanks to the storm for strewing honey in our path, as in the old myths, and that night we drank a mixture of honey and water like the warriors of long ago and ate nothing but a handful of *podoimos* gathered on the way. Wild honey, very runny and slightly acid, is sometimes fermented already if it has been stored in the hollow trees for very long. To drink it gives one a certain alcoholic euphoria which with weak, starving men such as we were results in a state of complete prostration. We slept the clock round from dusk to dawn—twelve hours.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*
123

IX

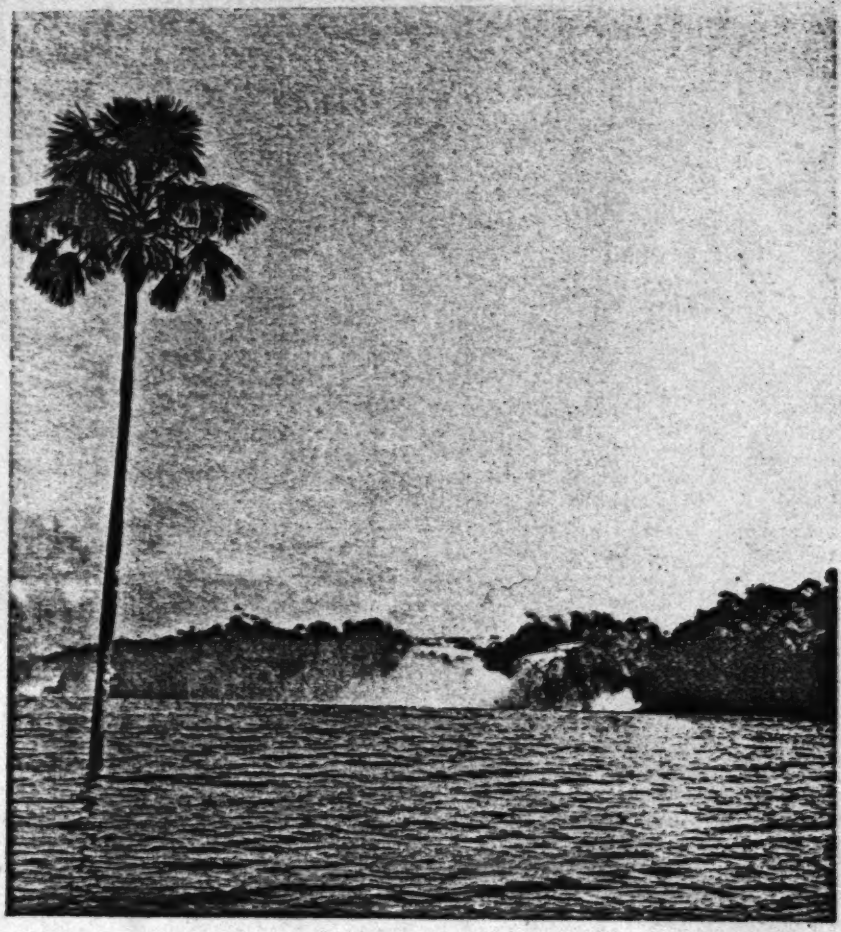
Soon after we had started off again, Hashimo and Solituan struck off to one side of the track, following a little stream down its now waterless course. Uarema and Sempronio sat on a tree-trunk, and we did likewise. No one had the strength left to ask questions, and the reasons behind this pause were lost in a general indifference. Half an hour might have passed. From sitting down, I started lying down, heedless of the ants that were beginning to explore my malodorous body. From down the stream there came the sound of excited chattering—in a voice we did not know. Uarema, grabbing the gun, got to his feet. Enrico and I, sceptical that anything worse than the hunger we already knew could happen to us, didn't move a muscle.

Then, followed by the two Guayca, a creature came towards us, a grotesque creature who defied the imagination. A human being, whose degradation from man to monkey, from man to wild boar or tapir even, was complete. His wrinkled skin was covered all over with a sort of crust, which gave him the colour of a tamarind, in places almost a reddish violet. His hair was tangled like a lion's mane. He came towards us skipping and jumping, and then suddenly, on actually seeing us, fell on his knees on the ground, howling with astonishment. Then he leapt up, taking his hair in his hands and pulling at it, letting out an 'oh-oh-oh' of bewilderment that rose higher and higher up the scale. But he did not dare to come near us. The two oldest of our party surveyed him with a touch of complacency, as if our presence in itself entitled them to triumph over him. We now saw that he had a wound in his side still covered with scabs and clotted filth, and another in the knee which made him look strangely deformed.

Uarema, after a few words with his own people, explained what had happened. Hashimo and Solituan had gone off in search of an old tobacco and cane plantation which they remembered from their childhood as being somewhere about here. They had not found it, but they had found this man, alone, hidden in a tree watching them. He only came down after they had threatened him with their arrows.

He was a Samatari living alone in the forest, hunted by all; more than once the others had tried unsuccessfully to kill him. His wounds were the result of

133
137



22. *The great Cassima Falls.*

[p. 144-A]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

342

23. *Kirisochi's house - a year later.*

[p. 144-B]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yancama SQ18
Sanema

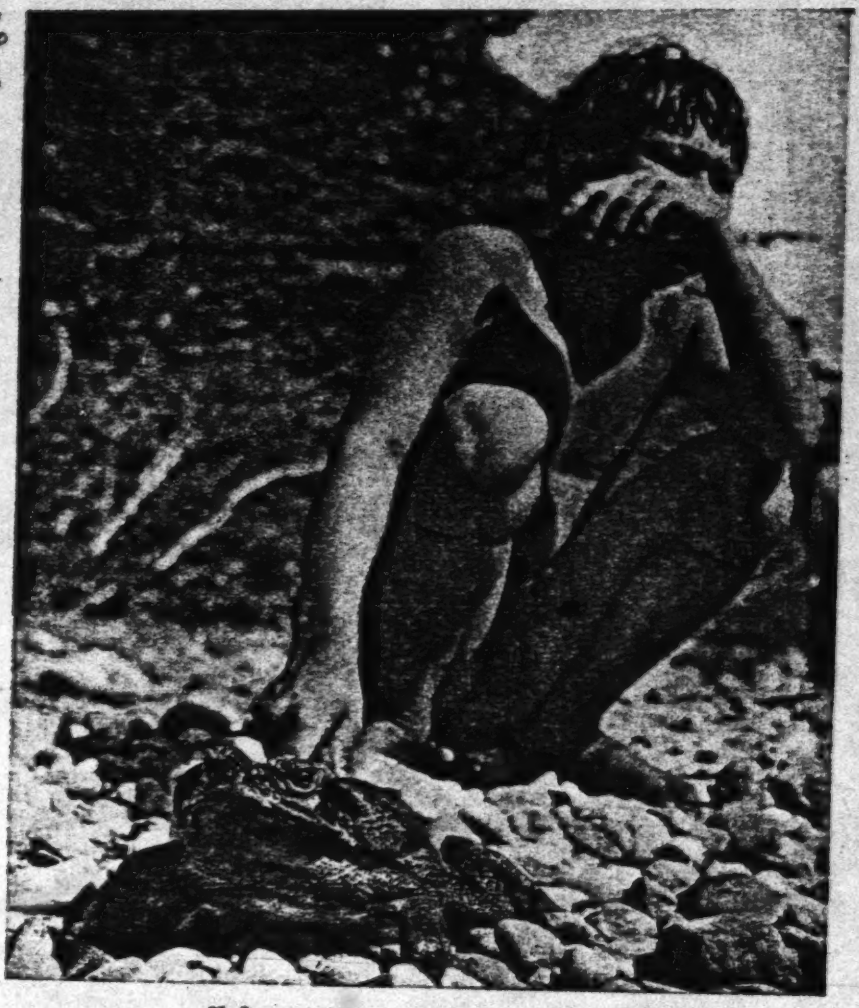
291
133

24. Carmine undergoes anatomical inspection at Shyrion hands.

[p. 144-C]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Saneema

136
516

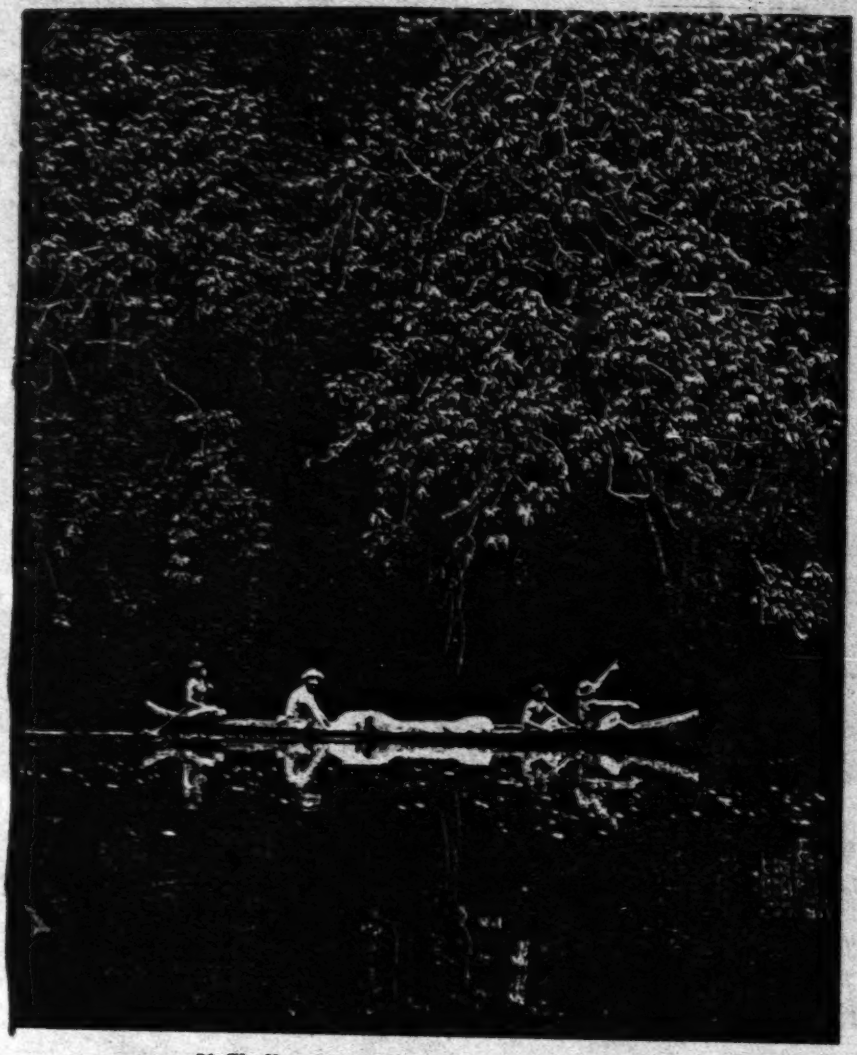


25. Sempronio brings his grand gift - a poisonous toad!

[p. 144 -)]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

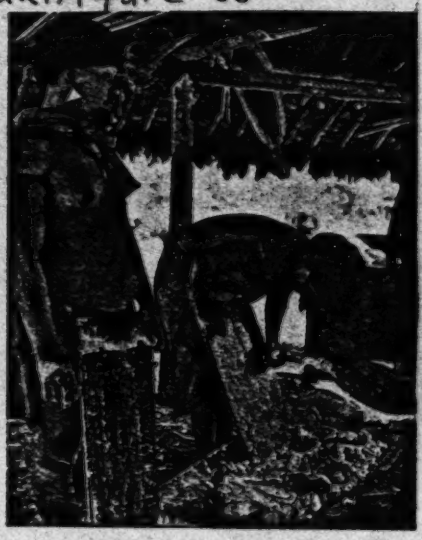
133
501



26. *The Mereuwi is quiet enough in its upper reaches.*

[p. 144 -E]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20
142
302
252
291
301
516

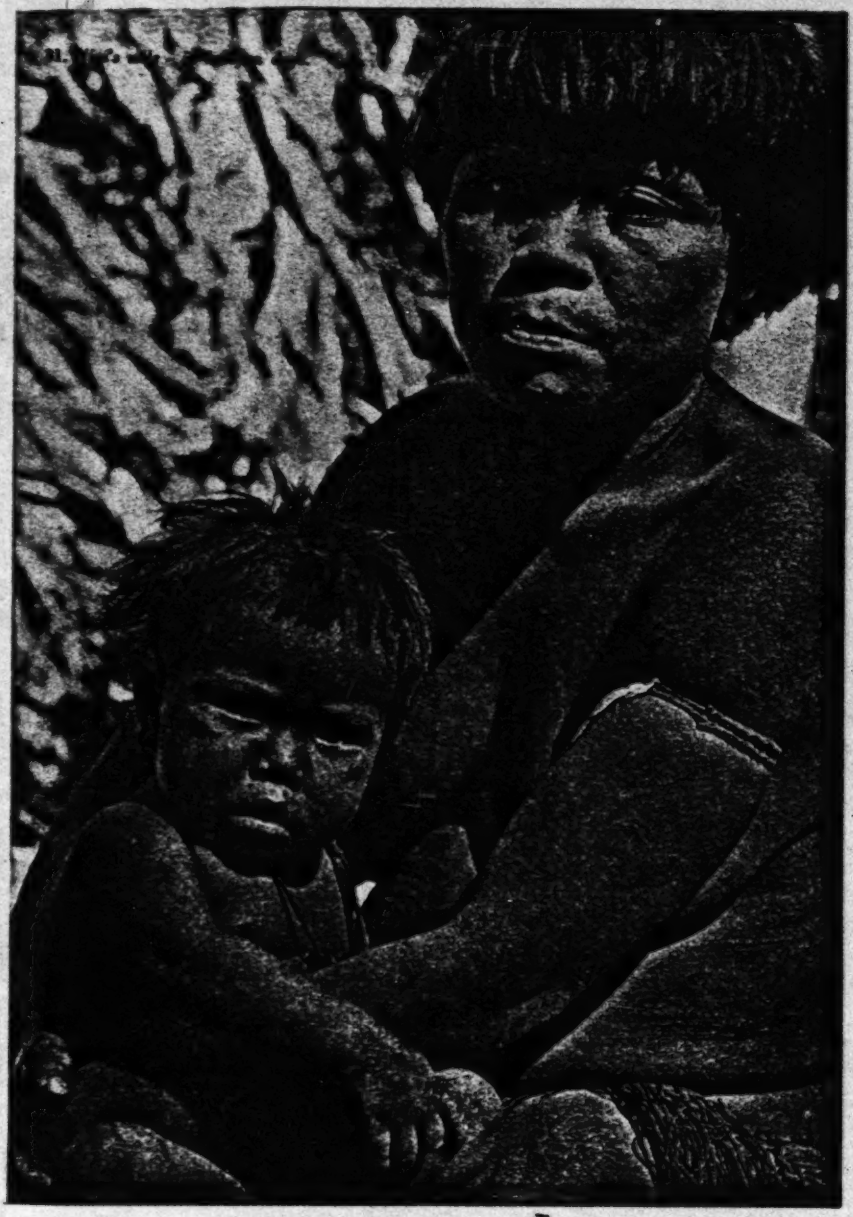


27, 28, 29, 30. *Cassava, the bread of the Makiritari, at various stages.*

[p. 144- F]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
302
301



[p. 144-G]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123*
516

32. *A mouth-organ concert: the Sapuli children, the two brothers and the Capouin's wife.*

33. *The elder of the brothers has a troubled, cloudy look.*

142
302
←

34. *Sad days for Carmine.*

[p. 144- H]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

these encounters with his own kind, the one in his side being quite recent. Flight had saved him. Bitterest of all his enemies were the Samatari we ourselves had met with, the tribe to which he had no doubt originally belonged. 123*

There was something almost unreal about this meeting with the unfortunate creature, and it was a little while before we could make any sense of it at all. The monster crept a little nearer, but his courage failed him. He stopped then, and looked at us, his mouth open in a long howl—or rather low gurgling sound—of amazement. Squatting down—the posture most natural to him, as if he had forgotten man's distinguishing feature, his upright stance—he hopped about to get a better view of us, every now and then howling something in the nature of a commentary to Hashimo—on whom he seemed to have made little enough impression. Sempronio, however, had instinctively drawn nearer to Enrico and me and I could tell he was frightened by the way he kept his eyes on the ground. The poor monster then told us, with a mixture of gestures and shrieks, about the last attack on him. It had been at night. He'd got an arrow in his ribs and a blow on the head with a club which had felled him to the ground, unconscious. So far as we could make out, he attributed his escape to the fact that his assailants had thought he was dead, while on coming round he had managed to get away without being seen.

But the most surprising thing of all came when he started inviting us to go along with him. With a broad sweep of his arm he pointed towards the east, where according to Uarema's version, after he and his brother had consulted together, he had a wife and child, living in hiding. Our urge to see a whole family like this was so strong that we would certainly have gone with him, had we not been starving. When we left him the Samatari stayed where he was, watching us with sad eyes. All the horrors of his life seemed to colour his despair. That man, hounded by all the humanity he knew living in the hostile forest in whose depths he had concealed his wife and son, with nothing but a wooden club to get their food with and fight off the attackers who were threatening his own life, stayed in our memories as the true symbol of the forest—that silent, secret place of unknown territories and lost epochs, of human beings yet to be born and monsters, conscious of their own despair, dying their mournful, lonely deaths.

I gave the solitary one a last tube of sulphonamide ointment for his wound. Behind me, as we left him, I could feel the presence of a bitter reproach for the uselessness of my gift, and for all those things which my better nature told me I

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

ought to have done. But there was nothing I could do about it: we, too, were monsters, wallowing in the mire, and suffering like him our own despair.

X

Uaruma and his Guayca men speeded up the pace so that it was difficult for us to keep up with them. In one little valley we saw a peccary galloping along and grunting. I hoped they would go after him: then the food problem would be solved, at least until we came to the Uagna. But Luis Antonio took no notice of the beast and went straight on. An hour later he told me the reason for this.

'The Samatari said that round here there are some bands of very bad Indians. They're the enemies of the Aracosa people, and they are trying to locate them to fight them. If we shoot, they will hear. We risk more trouble. That's why we set such a fast pace.'

So it was fear and famine all the way, over all the thirty-two hills of that borderland—and we were still two days' march from the Uagna. That same evening Sempronio left the camp, puffing and panting in a strange fashion. He returned with a crane. Sempronio had it plucked and cooking over the fire in no time at all. There wasn't much meat on the bird, and a couple of pounds of string and gristle was scarcely a meal for six spent men with an appetite several days old! But it was something to send down besides the eternal nuts and the worm-eaten bit of *sopah* we'd found on one sickly looking tree.

It was obvious that there was no hope of finding trees with fruit on them, or berries, or game of any kind, unless we got off the track the Samatari had been following. Where a horde of those voracious creatures had passed, there isn't even a snake to be found.

During the last stage of our journey, down to the canoes we'd left by the Uagna, hunger played the chief part. As we went up and down those interminable hills, hunger seemed to me to have an objective shape of its own, walking in front of me and beckoning me onwards with it, while behind us there walked another being, no less real: Fear. Fear took the form of a thousand Samatari arrows stalking us, driving us on through the boundless forest. We ourselves had no volition at all.

But at last, up on the heights where we had been captured, it seemed to us

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

that we could shake off this fear of a Samatari attack. The drought of the dry season had rendered this area more desolate still. A dominant, well-defined mountain, it is tacitly assumed to mark the furthest limit to the wanderings of the nomadic tribes. Beyond lies the Uagna, which no Indian will cross or even live near, for reasons we cannot understand but which have something to do with its being an evil place. So now the driving force of fear fell away: but hunger remained, beckoning us forward.

Up on those heights we heard the mournful song of the bell-bird, but found no fruit. There was only the manaca palm, which offered its little growing shoots, bitter as gall, for us to munch as we went along: at least it gave the illusion of having something to eat. We made our way down to lower ground through a big chimney-like cleft where there were ledges for a foothold, leading to the bottom of the cliffs. Then we were in lush forest again and at least we had the old accustomed *podoimos*, and now and then some more highly prized fruit, to fall back on.

We were getting our breath back on a little hillock when Uarema and Hashimo, after exchanging a few rapid mutterings, got to work on a pile of old tree-trunks as if they had seen something underneath. At the same time Sempronio fanned the smouldering brand which we always carried with us and coaxed it into flame. Solituan cut two long sticks. It looked as if we had come upon a naguti's lair and were going to drive the animal out. Enrico and I, straddling a tree-trunk, looked on wearily. We had no hope of results. In the distance macaws screamed out their derision, taking themselves off, with their useless flesh, into the air above.

Fire was introduced into one end of the burrow and the other end was shut off by a fencing of stakes driven into the ground to bar the animal's way out. The smoke was blown in as far as possible and a long prodding pole went with it. At the farthest point reached by the pole, more stakes were driven in to form another fence across the burrow. The animal would now be trapped between the first and the second row of stakes. The burrow sloped slightly downwards, and water was now poured into it to drive the quarry still further along, and the fencing was accordingly advanced. But next time the stakes were moved they encountered solid earth—which meant that there was no animal there after all. Hunger had probably weakened the Guayca men's powers of reasoning so that they were expecting some miraculous intervention which would turn the aguti's lair into the aguti itself.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Automatically we set out again on the march. And now there wasn't so much as a bird fluttering near—with the sole exception of a very small species of sparrow, an accursed bird that follows the traveller and twitters now from one tree, now from another in the opposite direction, so that before long you lose all sense of direction unless you can shut the song out of your ears.

The last camp! Before we stopped, we happened to find a *holosili* bush. This is a kind of plum. The stone is big, and there is little actual flesh on it, but the flavour is perfect. Uarema was the only one of us with enough strength left to climb the tree. Once up, he started calmly helping himself, quite oblivious of those down below. When his brothers reproached him for this, he shook down a branch or two. The Indians fell on it, devouring the fruit. Enrico and I waited, just as if we were at table, not liking to serve ourselves first. The result was that we had to go without. We couldn't believe it. And there was our dignity to consider. When they realized that we had none, we announced that we didn't eat *holosili*. It wasn't good. It upset you. Heroically, we tore ourselves away.

Our last evening brought us a novelty diet: a bunch of flowers. Sempronio went off to the stream and soon came back with armfuls of yellow flowers like the tufted ears of corn. This was the flowering plant whose leaves had been wrapped round such wonderful meat delicacies in the good old days of plenty. They were put over the fire, a bunch of three or four at a time, and toasted. When they were done, you tore off the top of the calyx and sucked at the lower part. The flavour was nothing very much, and there was very little to get your teeth into. But we were innocents at the game. This flower is the refuge of a myriad white worms a few millimetres in length, and it is these which give it its real alimentary interest. The worms are sucked out of the base of the calyx in a sweet pulp, and when a series of gurgling noises from Sempronio put us wise to this fact, we didn't hesitate for a moment to follow his example. The worms were really as sweet as butter, and if we needed any justification we could claim that they were the poor relations of protein.

XI

Our famine ended the next morning in a mighty bang which brought down a gigantic curassow. The bird, as big as a good-sized turkey, was soon roasted

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanama

and devoured. The rumblings of Indian bellies paid deep organic tribute to a new world of flesh and blood. 123* [262]

The boats were where we had left them and the river was a little lower. Many of the rocks, green with moss, were now above water-level. The camara was there too, under its leafy roof, along with a quantity of salt, matches and some coffee-extract. The place was rather inconvenient and dirty for a bivouac and we decided to press on straight away in the hopes of reaching a hut, about two hours' journey downstream, which we had run up when we were there last.

As we reached it, however, there was a contretemps. The Indians didn't want to stop. When we asked them to land, they took no notice and went on down river. We hadn't the slightest inclination to go any further that evening, because we knew that there were no huts waiting for us between this point and the Merevari itself—half a day's journey away. But the Guayca, by one of their mental processes which we often found unfathomable, had taken it into their heads to go on. They were Samatari-ized now, and flying the flag of rebellion. A good many times they had imposed their will on us, but now we didn't feel at all disposed to shrug our shoulders and let them get away with it. The day before they had treated us badly over the *kolosidi*, but we'd been too weary and too famished then to do anything about it. But this latest attempt to tyrannize over us, however innocent the motive behind it, was the last straw. Grabbing a paddle, I smacked it into the water and brought her head round with a force that almost overturned the canoe in the swift current, making for the shore. The Guayca were flabbergasted.

'We're stopping here,' I said calmly, picking up the gun so as to be ready for any eventuality. 'Unload your stuff. . . .' Since they made no move, Enrico and I threw their arrows, bows and paddles on to the bank.

Without any further fuss, we went off to sling our hammocks under a ready and waiting roof. The Guayca stayed where they were for over an hour, shouting and muttering their complaints over our decision, but the onset of night convinced them that it might be better to join forces with us. They came along with a bewildered, sheep-like air, and slung their hammocks under the hut too. After that everything was merry and bright again, and the incident was forgotten. Our dignity had suffered somewhat in Guayca eyes during the time we were in Samatari hands, but this gave it a substantial lift. There was less likelihood now of any disconcerting pranks on the part of the Indians,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

who are always capable of taking it into their heads to walk out just when the expedition has reached the most dangerous point in the whole forest.

Among races less advanced than our own, it is memory, rather than intelligence, that is defective. Indians forget very quickly indeed. Two hours later, Luis Antonio asked for the gun so that he could go and get something for the pot. We still had three cartridges, and the river-bank, at night, is the haunt of a good many unsuspecting animals. I gave him the gun, and the three shots went on a lapa. The beast was far from cleanly killed, but its arrival was providential. It weighed over twenty pounds. We cooked it and ate it that same night, before dawn.

Going down the Merevari in the sunshine was a most pleasant experience and brightened our spirits considerably. When we came to broken water, Solituan, who was just a 'passenger' with no paddle, held back the water with his hands. We tried not to smile: the old fellow was a reclaimed Samatari, a fine type, and we were very fond of him. He still looked on us as superhuman beings and delighted in our physical presence. One or twice, when he thought we weren't looking, we saw him eyeing us with admiration, and expressing it in little guttural grunts.

A few hours above Llantarilla there are some big rapids where the river takes one roaring plunge down over a granite shelf, while to the left a side-stream makes its way more quietly through a rocky channel where the current is extremely swift but without any sudden falls. Uarema irritably made up his mind: after inspecting both ways of getting down, he decided on the secondary channel, claiming that he and his brother had shot it on one occasion. We disembarked and went down to the foot of the rapids where the rushing waters were swallowed up with a dull rumbling noise in a wide pool of whirling foam. Here we waited for our more daring companions.

Now, as never before, we cursed the accident to our cine-camera. We had no chance of filming that hair-raising descent. The canoe looked quite insignificant at first, up there on the lip of the falls. Then it came on as if it was flying, growing larger with every split second. Halfway down, with Uarema and Hashimo howling in imitation of the Makiritari on similar crazy ventures, the craft began to swing round till it was broadside on to the stream. We gave it up for lost, but as it swept on it glanced past a small rock and righted itself again, bows forward. Seizing their opportunity immediately, the two Indians

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

brought the canoe shooting past us like an arrow, to finish up in the big pool, where some hard paddling brought them to the bank.

At Llantarifia we found many signs of Guayca occupation, but there was no one about. Luis Antonio urged us on, as usual, explaining that we should catch up with his people further down, at what he called 'Wide-Beach River'. As it turned out, we found them there, in a rough encampment on Samatari lines—if it hadn't been for the fact that some of the faces were half familiar, and that a few of the men were wearing loincloths of red material we had provided, we might have taken them for Samatari.

'They've come here after the fruit, because it's the dry season.' Such was Luis Antonio's explanation, but it contradicted what he had said not long before, when he had assured us that his people had crossed the river because they feared an enemy attack. 'Much war,' he had told us then. Our man had been trying to give a heroic touch to what was very simple fact: his people were out looking for provisions, they weren't on the war-path at all. But this betrayed their nomadic origin, which Uaremu, who knew civilization and knew how far removed the Samatari were from it, was anxious to disclaim and conceal. He had reached that stage of sophistication where he preferred to accept and admit the barbarism of war but not that of hunger.

When we slept with the Uaremu Indians that night it was just like being back among the Samatari, such was the resemblance between these tribes and so similar their behaviour. Once more we ate the sacred *coyab* and a whole series of fruits we were familiar with, and went round sampling little leaf-parcels which the Guayca, with genuine hospitality, were pleased to offer us. There was tapir, deer, lapa, guan, curassow, all sizes of fish, bananas, cassava-bread in the Makiritari style, fine pawpaws and little pineapples—the kind that burn the lips.

The effect of such abundance on us was euphoric. Did our euphoria then spread to the Indians, or was it the other way about? A general dance started, with all the old songs, but for us at any rate it was soon over. In our weak state everything began to go round and round before our eyes, and we felt slightly sick. Hashimo was grinning. He looked rather like an animal let out of its cage, as he went about talking to his kinsfolk, who were crowding round like monkeys to listen. He was making gestures towards Enrico and me, evidently telling about various incidents of our captivity. Then I shouted out, in the Samatari medicine-man's tone, and imitating his vocal effects:

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 'Samatari, okaki . . .'

Everybody laughed, and called me Lahalla, lahallatum. My fame as a magic-man had accompanied me across the cordillera and was rapidly spreading down the Mereyari.

XII

We had made our rendezvous with the aeroplane (in a letter I had managed to send on) for the 15th, 16th, or 17th of April. It was now the 13th. We should have to hurry to be at Kirisochi in time, calling at Pancho's on the way, to collect Jean, the American girl we had left there. Uarema didn't want to come along. He said he had too many things to do. We thought it might be his irritability again, or perhaps some woman was involved. We filled the gap he left in our crew, which now numbered Romolo and Caio in addition to the ever-faithful Sempronio, and set off for the Canaracumi.

At the junction with the Indians' river-elect there is a little island whose grassy surface rises above water in the dry season. Then, after a few bends, one passes the mouth of the side-stream which leads to the Pulipuli settlement. Further on still, the Uana runs in, marked by Pancho's big hut, surrounded by the low roofs belonging to his Shirian workers, about an hour's journey away.

We were rounding the last of the bends when we saw two boat-loads of Makiritari pushing out of the Uana into the main stream. Then a little later a third appeared, slightly behind them. In it sat Jean, towering over a crew of very small Indians. Screened off by the vegetation of the river-bank, we paddled on in silence. We weren't seen by the other canoe until we had come very close. There were the usual impersonal grunts from the Indians—and then Jean, who had been staring at us, thunderstruck, with a strange, fixed look and dilated eyes, got to her feet in the canoe and started walking towards us. The laws of physics came into operation immediately, and the girl who had begun to walk on the water only succeeded in taking an impromptu bath. The Indians looked on unmoved: the incident did not appear to interest them. Jean could swim, and her walk hadn't taken her very far from the craft. She was fished out and hoisted on board again, where she burst into a flood of tears. Enrico did his best to comfort her, but his success was incomplete, on that day, or any of the three that followed. After that the plane took Jean away.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

He handed his uniform of shirt and trousers back to us and returned to the same state of humble nudity as all those cousins of his who were looking on in silence. 100

Olatiri came back when night was well advanced, using a burning brand for a torch. He was the bearer of five machetes. The final three were beyond recovery, because the Shirians further up the river had gone on a journey to the westward and it was not possible to catch them up. Auai was so anxious for us to believe in the story of the up-river Shirians that he must have been rushing about the forest like a wild boar. We felt quite sorry for the old chap. We threw away five red seeds and gave him a tin of sardines to eat with his cassava bread.

We solemnly declared, to everyone's great relief, that although three machetes were still missing, we would not call up the aeroplane. The three remaining seeds were thrown away, and we all went off to sleep like brothers.

V

With the matter of the theft cleared up, the population of Kirisochi continued to swell, and one day Sempronio too arrived. He came alone, looking most diminutive, with his hair cut *à la* Guayca. His father, who was already with us, announced his coming when he was still a long way off in the long grass of the savannah. The old man took me by the arm, repeating 'Sprr, Sprr' and pointing to the boy. Not till I recognized who it was did it dawn on me that '*Sprr*' was the Shirian for 'Sempronio'. 123*

The year before we had made a vain search for a giant toad of the type that spouts poison from its cheeks. Sempronio had remembered this, and had one with him now. It was enormous. He must have caught it somewhere on the way here, and now he made his offering with his usual half-animal smile. He had certainly brought in an extraordinary specimen. The poison, which is simply a highly caustic secretion, not dangerous to man, had been removed. I quickly photographed the toad, on the gravelly bank of the river. Sempronio and Nero were also in the photograph, but the latter hid his eyes. He didn't want to be reduced to the same dimensions as the animal. 123* 126

Another visitor was Manuera. His child, according to his own idea, had an eye infection, though it was very difficult to discern. He wanted us to cure it, and we used some ophthalmic drops containing terramycin, with which the father seemed satisfied. 123*

[pp. 153–184[185] not processed]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

When I showed Manuera how to start a fire with a big magnifying glass he understood immediately that the process must involve some direct relationship with the sun, but the others missed this point. They tried to make the big magic work indoors, in the shade. Our old guide therefore became the lens-expert, and amused himself for a whole day burning off the savannah—until he endangered the hut itself by firing some freshly cut straw which we had piled up on the south side.

We had already made some tentative and tactful inquiries of Pedro about forming a Makiritari crew to take us at least as far as the higher reaches of the Merevari, where we might find other Indians with whose help we could reach Frenario, on the Yevarehuri. The Makiritari were ready to start off at once—though this was highly unusual for them—and a crew got together quickly, with Pedro as steersman. Tomasso, his son, and four other strong Soto would paddle. Recruiting proceeded rapidly—too rapidly, and therefore obviously prearranged. Pedro naïvely confirmed our suspicions when he told us we should move off quickly and not wait for Pancho. Now we had expressly said that we wanted to send for Pancho to accompany us, because we knew that to have a chief with us would increase the prestige of the expedition in the eyes of other tribes.

'Not wait for Pancho,' declared Pedro. 'Pancho has much merchandise because he stopped so long to work at La Paragua. I, Pedro, know the way and have no merchandise.' Whereupon Pedro's discourse began to centre on the good old red cloth, and it appeared that our man wanted a whole piece. 'Much cloth, yes, little cloth no use. Pedro wants a whole piece of cloth, then he will start for the Merevari, long trip, we need to sleep many times.'

If the Makiritari had been quick off the mark to accept the assignment, they were equally tough when it came to terms. We closed the door of the hut, to avoid misunderstandings, and began a big hand-out: red cloth, machetes, fish-hooks, knives, rope and so on and so on. . . all in amazing quantities, the like of which had never been seen in these parts.

Silently the Makiritari surveyed the rising piles of merchandise on the earth floor. With their usual dourness they asked for more still, while the Shirians outside tried to see what was going on through the gaps in the wall, howling with deep emotion at the sight of such vast acreages of red cotton passing into the Soto's rapacious hands. A store of goods like that would have set in motion every Shirian from the Caura to the Orinoco and enough battles would have

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20

been fought over it to destroy the entire race. But all the Uana-Dildep and the Kologli could do about it now was to howl out loud in their complete helplessness, and cling to the walls of the hut like monkeys.

We should certainly have liked to give them something, but apart from the fact that the length of our trip and all the unforeseen things that might happen made it advisable for us to be as careful as possible with the goods we needed for wages, we couldn't take more porters than were necessary: the expedition would be top-heavy. Besides this, to introduce Shirians into the crew would have put the others in a bad humour. They were the superior race, and could not allow the others to compete with them in their work.

We packed our baggage with care, painting the tins with a special red varnish to keep them waterproof. There was some of the varnish left over, so we painted our straw hats too, and they emerged from the treatment with a proud and martial aspect which made a strong impression on the Indians. With the final scrapings of the paint tin the Shirians painted themselves and then went off in triumph to their homes, with enough tales to last them a whole year—all about aeroplanes, machete-thefts, varnish, and those accursed Makiritari who'd taken all the red cloth and left the Sanema, as ever, in dire want.

Carmine set out first in a light dug-out canoe, and I followed him next day in Pedro's big craft. A little below the landing-beach we met with a canoe coming up river, labouring against the stream. It was loaded with Guayca: Luis Antonio, with his brothers and cousins. They had only just heard of our arrival and were coming to find us. It would have been embarrassing to have to refuse their services, but Uarema himself broached the subject first and saved us from any awkwardness by telling us that he would have been most willing to come, but had work on hand, burning off and clearing a *conuco*, that would keep him busy for a month. He would come along on the next trip. He wanted to know who else was taking part in the Shirian Expedition, and he kept on our tail all day, saying that he would like to be of any help he could. But I knew very well he was after some little gift—our stores were new, and made his mouth water. In fact that evening, when we had joined up with the advance party (they were in camp on the headwaters of the Turucuma, a right-bank tributary of the Canaracuni which runs very close to the Upper Merevari)—that evening, Luis Antonio got up to his old tricks and asked for presents outright. I had to get rid of him, so, next day, without anybody else knowing, I

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20

M
123
Y
+123
Y
#123
502
M
123
502
M
Y
[648]

gave him nine metres of cotton cloth and sent him home, highly delighted, with all his companions.

To cross from the Turucuma to the Merevari, according to our reckoning, should take us two days, along a well-beaten track much used by the Indians in their frequent comings and goings between the two rivers. But owing to the excessive weight of our baggage the two days became five, because we had to cover each stage of the journey twice. The Makiritari played another trick on us here: at the last minute they produced a number of Shirians from Pulipuli out of a hat, by some conjuring trick, and made them do the work for them. Naturally the Shirians claimed that we ought to pay them, even if payment only amounted to a small piece of cloth and one machete. Any attempt on our part to put this injustice right would have been over-optimistic, and would probably have had unpleasant consequences: there was nothing to do but submit ourselves once again to the caprice of the 'superior race'.

On the last lap of the portage, when we were waiting for the Indians to come up from the previous halt with the last of the baggage, a horde of savage Shirians came along. At first we were alarmed. To judge by their hair they were Guayca or Samatari, but they presented an extraordinarily squalid appearance. Nevertheless, they must have had some gleam of humanity in them, because the leaders—including two old fellows who looked more like champion cattle than anything else—came forward unarmed, after making a great show of laying their bows and arrows on the ground so that the gesture shouldn't be lost on us. They were Ukumatari, a tribe living in these parts: they had sent their emissaries on a courtesy visit to Kirisochi last year. Little by little they came crowding up on us in our little hut-shelter: we had a job to keep a clear space for ourselves and prevent them from surrounding us completely. At last Pedro came along, having out-distanced the main body of porters, and at the sight of this invasion he looked badly scared.

'Samatari?' he asked, setting down the load he was carrying on his back, and keeping his eyes averted.

'Ukumatari!'—the response came in a chorus from those nearest us, as if they were anxious to make a good impression.

At that, Pedro looked more himself again, and began to eye the Ukumatari-Shirians carefully, searching for a familiar face. He had lived round the Turucuma for a long time and must have had some previous contacts with these

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare 5520

people. But he didn't seem to recognize anyone in particular, and once more he hung his head and stared down at his feet.

No one seemed to know quite what to do next, so I decided to get what advantage I could out of the situation and suggested to the Ukumatari that they should help carry our baggage as far as the Merevari—which would save us a whole day and night. Their chief—who needed no encouragement to show off his battle scars—agreed to this readily enough, and a few hours later the straggling caravan of the Guayca Expedition arrived on the Upper Merevari bank, near a *maloca* that the Soto Indians occasionally used.

VI

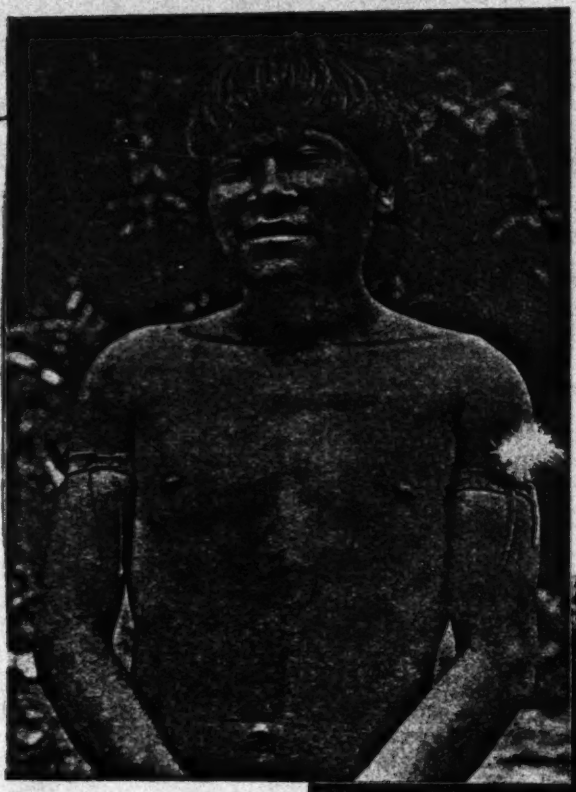
Long and laborious were our attempts to get the loan of three canoes. We had to start by doctoring all the invalids in the area: one of our patients was an old fellow with a terrible sore—evidence of Leishman's Disease—on the back of his hand. The fame of the riches we were carrying was soon spread by our guides, who were quite willing to bask in the reflected glory of it in front of the local people, but at the same time didn't want the Shirians to know too much. The Ukumatari served us well, like the good-natured, willing savages they were, but all they got out of it were two boxes of matches for the whole job: this being what they came along and asked for, after consulting with our own men. We were forced to buy two of the canoes we wanted, although we should only be using them for three days. The Makiritari were after our goods at all costs, and a loan didn't suit their purpose so well.

We were two days on the Merevari and one on the Yemecuni, the right-bank tributary stream whose upper reaches run very close to the Yevarehuri and therefore to the Amazon basin, there being no mountains to intervene. There was nothing of any great interest to record on this part of our journey, as far as the mouth of the Camacuni, a tributary flowing in on the right bank of the Yemecuni. Here there was a Makiritari hut, totally abandoned by its people. It was a big round hut, like Pancho's but better finished, its outer clay wall decorated with geometrical designs painted in red, based on the patterns of some of the basket-work. The *conuco* was a big one, and the tracks leading to it still clear and not overgrown. Pedro told us something about these inhabitants of the Camacuni region. From what we could make out, it seemed they

[PP. 190 - 192 NOT Processed]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
301
302



35. *Doljuss was pale and handsome.*

142
411
516

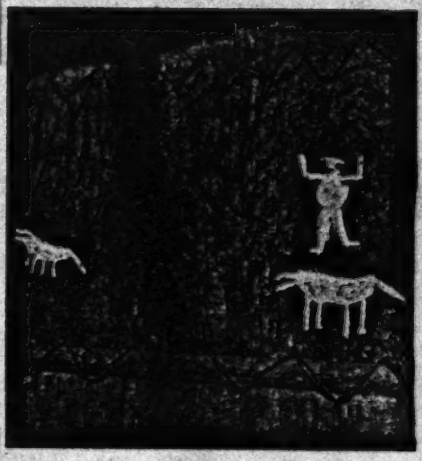
36. *A typical primitive: a man of good will, ugly as he is.*

[p. 192-A]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama .
Sanema
Makirritare SS20
342

353
532

37, 38, 39. *A Makiritari house. The interior shows murals based on Indian myths: cows and the clothed figure of a man appear in this design.*



353
532
342

[p. 192 -B]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama Saneema

Makiritare SSLO

40. *La Boriotta.*

41. *Captain Cooke' son.*

142
301
302
531
[415]
→

42. *Makiritari drums: Pedro and Tiziano.*

43. *Waraka Pedro wearing a basket for the Guayan Expedition.*

142
534
301
←
285
302
142
301
531
→

[p. 192-C]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

137
411

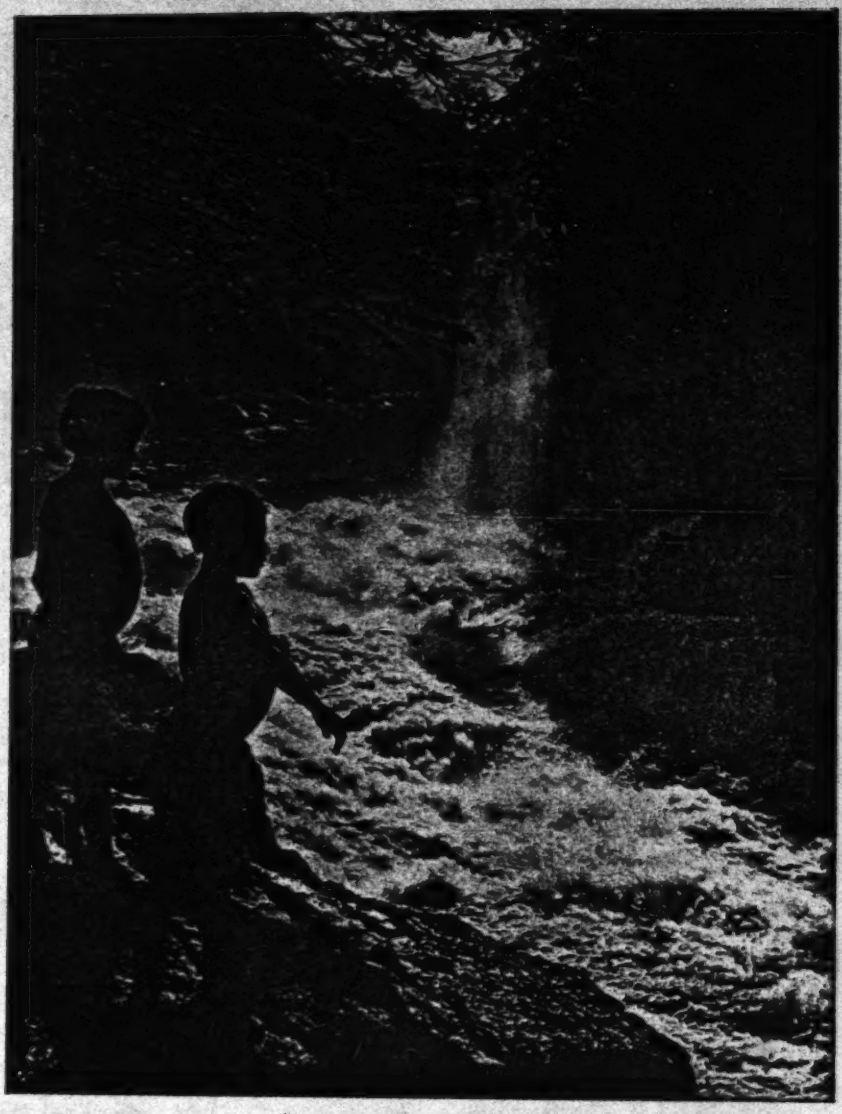
411
342
→

44. *The charge goes into the blow-pipe: a demonstration by Mahanahana.*

45. *The blow-pipe in action.*

[no. 192-D]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Saneema

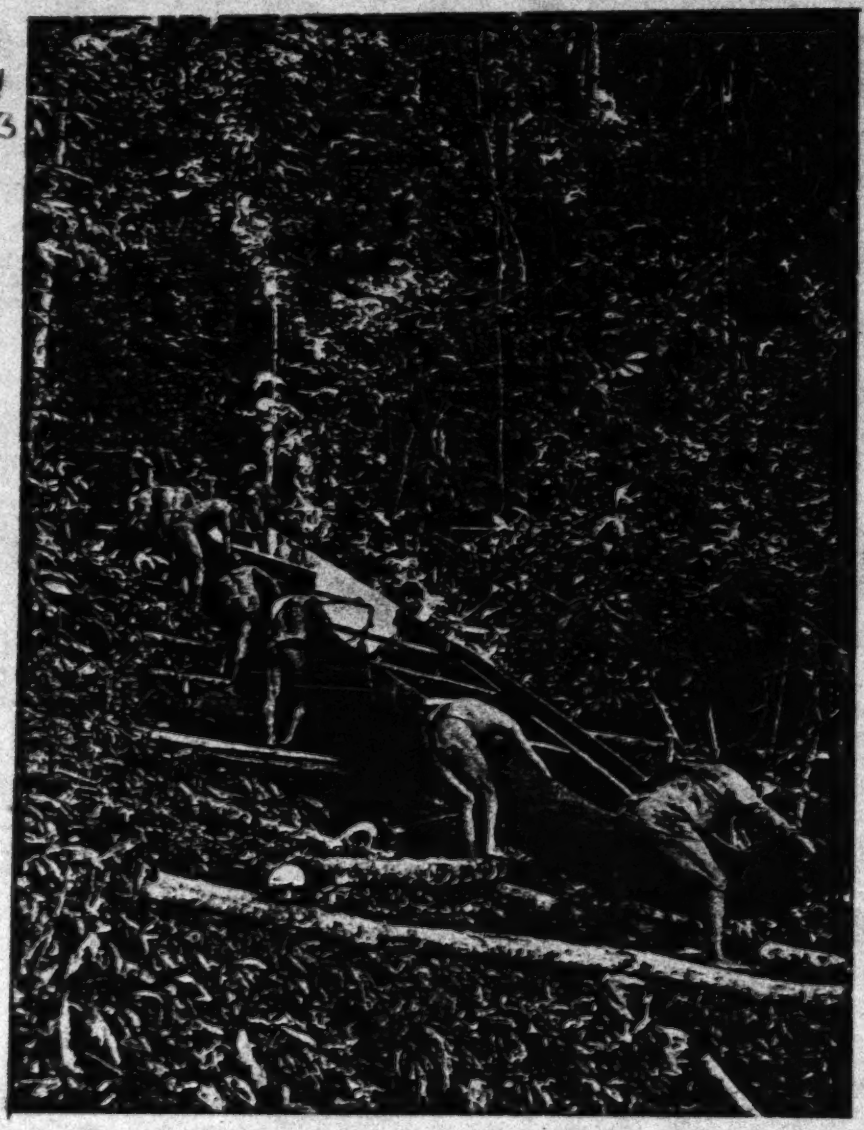


46. *The Mmo Falls.*

[p. 192 - E]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

501
483



47. A masterpiece of boat design takes the mountain road.

[p. 192 - F]

4: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

502
133

68. A dramatic moment on the Venturi.

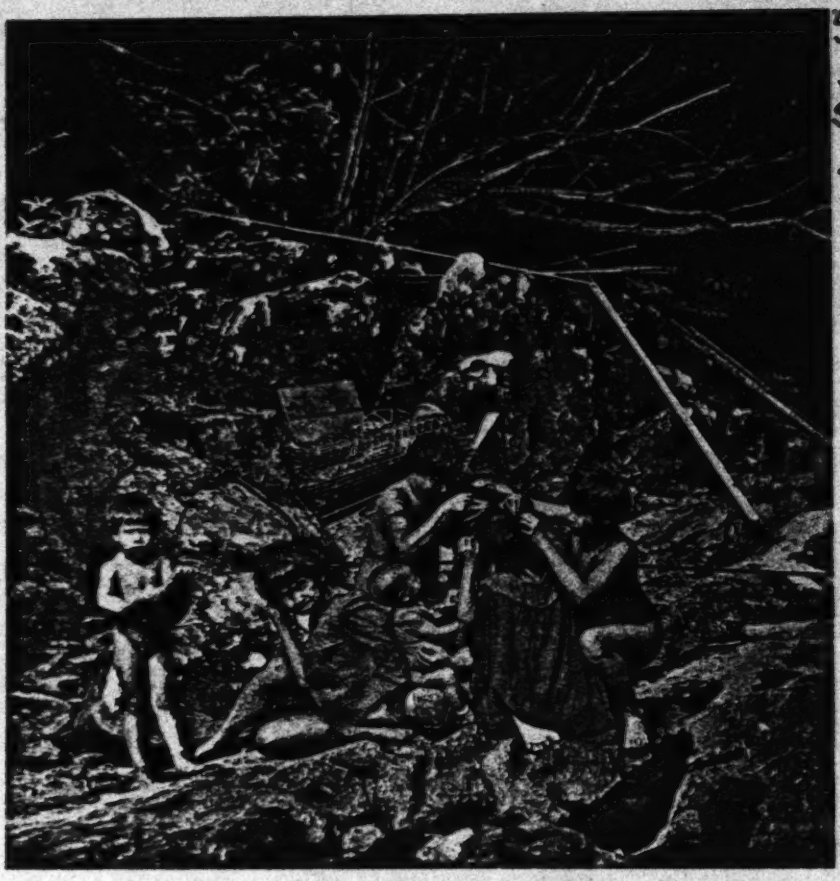
69. The end of the rapids.

501
502
133

[p. 192 - G]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

515
302
516
291



50. *While the men brave the falls, their women-folk pause for hygiene.*

[p. 192 - H]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

8

The Tang of the Earth

1

CARMINE had hoped to benefit from the Guayca Expedition in one particular way: he wanted to give up smoking. He had only brought twenty packets of cigarettes with him, and they had gone even before we left the Merevari. Now he was gritting his teeth. I had tried to talk him out of his praiseworthy resolution, having seen many a man—even less heavy smokers than he—go quite frantic and risk poisoning himself sooner than have nothing burning between his lips. I was once out in the blue with two companions who started insulting each other when the last packet of cigarettes had gone, accusing one another of having stolen them. They were in anguish, trying to find some substitute for tobacco. I got them some leaves which had a strong nutty flavour. Mad for something to smoke, they tried them eagerly. 123*

The leaves smoked well—they even called the flavour superb. Indeed, they swore they wouldn't leave the forest without a good supply, because after smoking anything with that wonderful aroma they'd never be able to get used to ordinary tobacco again! Two hours later, headaches and vomiting started. They showed symptoms of poisoning for the whole of that night.

I didn't want my new friend to submit himself to such dangerous experiments, so I advised him to try tobacco *à la* Shirian. As a joke, I got them to roll him up a huge quid. I was hoping thus to kill two birds with one stone. With this monstrous plug between his teeth, Carmine would not only satisfy his craving, he'd be incapable of talking about it! But he wouldn't have anything to do with the suggestion. Gritting his teeth, he clinched the matter with one succinct phrase:

'Everything or nothing—that's me.'

And that was his last reference to tobacco.

[pp. 193 – 197 196 not processed]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

RED CLOTH AND GREEN FOREST

The day after our Makiritari crew had gone we betook ourselves and all our bags and baggage into a Shirian settlement. They were friendly people, somewhat scared of us, and attentive to our every move. All in all, we weren't sorry to have missed Frenario, who would undoubtedly have turned out to be some mangy and pretentious imbecile, lording it over everybody like some Asiatic despot. In talking about it to my companion, I summed up my attitude thus: 'If you're going among the Makiritari, take Makiritari with you. If you're going among Shirians, take Shirians.'

The itinerary we wanted to cover wasn't perfectly clear, even to ourselves: after all, our journey was taking us through one of the least explored parts of the world. But it was certain, at any rate, that we should be crossing territory inhabited by Shirians (especially Samatari and Guayca). It was even more certain that we should meet with no Makiritari or other people full of sweetness and light.

That same evening we picked out the men we wanted to take with us—though it would be more correct to say that we had them wished on us, because in this settlement, which lay hidden on the left bank of the Yevarehuri, five or six bends down, there weren't a great many Indians fit for the job. These were peaceable Shirians, but their living conditions were some of the most wretched we'd ever seen. It was really as if by the very fact of having given up their warlike habits, these people had forfeited their right to live as well as possible. From warriors, these people had gone to the extreme and become anchorites.

One man didn't want to come without bringing his wife and child—and the medicine-man!—along too. What was more, as crew-leader we had a man of middle age who was morally head of the little clan, and something more. His wife, with a baby boy at her breast, would also be coming. Then there were two boys, one of fifteen or so, the other of more tender years. Altogether it was the queerest crew two explorers of unknown territories could ever have put their faith in.

To gain time, we wanted to set out straight away, but our people gave us to understand that we must wait a day because they had something important to do. In the meantime, while ostensibly preparing the loads, they were anxious to have a good look at the equipment we were carrying. We let them get on with it, until they came to the pack containing the good old red cloth and other objects which might have been too much of a temptation for them: at this

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

point, we pronounced that magic word 'work'—so potent that in the very act of pilfering, their hands were stayed.

We had brought with us a flask of mercury, for amalgamating metals, which aroused their curiosity—curiosity which turned to absolute amazement when they picked it up and became aware of its inordinate weight. By some dark and labyrinthine thought-processes, no doubt, they deduced that this terrible liquid constituted a bomb, and they drew back in horror shouting '*Bombs Amio*'.[1]

We didn't disillusion them. A little fear and dread disseminated among our porters might not be entirely without point, considering all the uncertain aspects of the journey and the curious make-up of these Indians. Yes, we said, that is the aeroplane bomb, and it would blow to pieces all the Samatari from the Parima, if they dared show themselves on our route. This greatly reassured the Shirians. At first they had been rather scared of meeting with an enemy, but now they could count on this terrifying weapon we had at our disposal, which would also increase their own prestige in the eyes of the nomad tribes.

That night, there were some strange noises in the hut, about thirty yards away from our hammocks. Something interesting seemed to be happening, so we put out our candle and, through our mosquito nets, watched a curious scene.

The medicine-man was surrounded by the rest of the Shirians. He was in his usual position for exorcism ceremonies—sitting in his hammock with his legs dangling over either side. The chief's wife had a bowl of water and was dissolving something in it—something she was taking from a cluster of banana leaves in her lap. When she had put in enough, she passed the bowl to her husband, who held it firmly, slightly raised. Then he waited. Suddenly, on an unexpectedly powerful note, a chant came from the medicine-man. Then the chief drank long draughts out of the bowl, came down from his hammock, and began to walk with a rhythmic, solemn step, round the fire. All the men then drank in turn: then the women. Then the babies at their breasts were made to touch the bowl with their lips. Now they were all marching behind the chief, with rapid, tiny steps that covered very little ground, while the medicine-man himself jumped from his hammock and brought up the rear.

We were watching the Drinking of the Ashes—a ceremony symbolic of

[1] Their rendering of the Spanish 'avion' (aeroplane bomb).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

cannibalism. When someone dies in battle, or through some other violence—when he dies, that is, in the full prime of manhood—the body is cremated on a pyre and the ashes scrupulously gathered. Mixing these to a paste with water, they make a block which is wrapped in banana leaves and kept for the ceremony of the Drinking, by which they believe that the dead man's strength can enter their own bodies. Such ceremonies generally take place at large assemblies, people from neighbouring tribes also being present, and the festivities may last several days. Our Indians, however, wanting to assure a good augury for the voyage they were about to undertake with us, had limited themselves to a shortened version of the usual ceremony, since in these particular circumstances there was neither the time nor the opportunity for more.

II

In three little canoes, two of them the property of Frenario's people, we went down the Yevarehuri, making for the point where it is joined by a slightly smaller, darker stream flowing from the south—the Matahuri. It had been raining ceaselessly for days and the rivers were overflowing their banks, which made it difficult to find a camping-place for the night.

On the second day we had two fair-sized falls to negotiate. The third day's paddling brought us to the Marahuri, but we left it to the right of us, its mouth being apparently quite blocked by fallen trees, and entered a smaller stream just to the south of it, which offered quiet water and a clearly defined course between the giant vegetation of both banks. The Shirians told us that this new waterway was called the Toroli—that is, the Turtle—and that we had only to go up to the source to find the track crossing the cordillera which led to the north side of the Upper Parima river.

Our crew was hardly sufficient and progress was exasperatingly slow. Happily, there was plenty of game. Guans and curassow were plentiful, as well as monkeys and sloths—the Indians' favourite dish.

Our head man was a real lead-swinger. From the first day onwards he complained of a pain in his foot which made him draw the line at heavy work. Under the drenching rains that fell with every interminable afternoon, he would sit in the middle of the canoe, and also in the middle of the bananas we were carrying, holding a palm frond over his head. If we urged him to do

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

something to help us put on a little speed, he would only smile, show us his foot, and say 'Nini, nini'—hurt, pain. So we called him Nini, but it did not rouse him from his lethargy. Finally we took him into our own boat, which was the heaviest, and put his wife as steersman. [123*]

We were five days on the water altogether, and on the fifth we had a curious encounter. Rounding a curve of the stream, we came upon an absolutely diminutive canoe. Three young Shirians were sitting in it, silently waiting for us. Two of them we knew already from the Yevarehuri landing, where unknown Shirians had often come to have a look at our baggage when Elia was guarding it. There must have been some understanding between these three young fellows and our crew, because the encounter caused nobody any surprise, and the new boat joined our expedition.

I had seen more reassuring sights than these three vagabonds, but we weren't altogether sorry to have met them, all the same. It meant that at last we had a crew with a decent proportion of fit men. Physically fit, at any rate: what their morale was like the future would show—and the future was a very unknown quantity in the valleys of Parime.

The three youths were magnificent specimens of savages. They had impenetrable eyes, a fierce aspect and wonderful muscles. Authentic brigands, they looked, or soldiers of fortune ready to go anywhere and do anything—especially if it was anything bad. Carmine swore that two of them bore a striking resemblance to two brothers of his whom he had left behind in Italy—a pronouncement which led to our calling them 'The Brothers'.

They were prodigiously active and agile, and their entry into the picture put new life into our expedition, which so far had been moving with the slow and stumbling pace of Nini himself. But how the three brigands happened to turn up like that we never did get clear. They had started before us, and we rather suspected that they had not only been all along the river already, but had made their way over the cordillera too, and were coming back when we met them.

Indians by nature are essentially false, their falsity consisting in a trick of believing—and asserting—not what is true, but what is desirable or even just convenient. This intrinsic falsity made us wonder now. Had the brothers gone ahead to the cordillera to warn some Guayca tribe, who were even now preparing to ambush us and steal our goods? It looked very suspicious, but whatever they had in store for us we should have to accept, because there was no [181]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 other way for us to get through this unknown forest region and somewhere, some day, come out alive.

But for the moment our three adventurers were only suffering from an enormous hunger. The last pieces of our tapir soon disappeared. So did our bananas. As we got near the uplands, game grew scarcer. Hungry days began again. Whenever, as a rare treat, we were eating some small bird—having fried it so as to eke out the food value with fats—the three of them would stand round us, watching us chew in silence. Every tiny bone we threw away, after picking it absolutely clean, was promptly seized upon and sucked as if there was honey in it! One evening, when I threw a mountain-hen's leg-bone into the river, one of the brothers jumped in after it with no hesitation at all.

In the Toroli there were a few small fish, the kind the Guayca call 'the old ones' on account of the rather pessimistic expression on their flat faces. The two women were expert fishermen. Carmine, who was always hungry, used to urge them on to begin as soon as we made a halt, his gestures eloquently describing the catching, frying and eating of the fish. But what really made the women co-operative was the reward he promised them, with further gestures indicating how beautiful they would look with their bosoms and their bellies draped in that lovely red cloth.

III

After one last day of tricky navigation—we'd encountered one obstacle after another, with the rain beating down all the time—we came to the final landing. As we rounded the last bend in the river, we saw a few curassow fluttering up into the trees. The medicine-man was first out after the birds. He didn't get one, but he killed a snake and flung it into the boat for his evening meal. I was just behind him, taking aim at a bird. I brought one down from a very tall tree, and hit another which flew crookedly down over the river and fell somewhere on the opposite bank. One of the dogs followed it up, barking. Carmine brought down another bird, while Nini followed the dog. He had the child on his shoulders, since his wife was already busy plucking the first curassow I had shot.

We started building our shelter for the night. Every now and then the Indians gave a shout across the river, calling Nini. Then something odd

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123*

happened: the chief's answering shouts seemed to grow more and more distant, and at last ceased altogether.

Night fell. Nini had stopped answering. He was lost.

When the rough hut was finished, we gave the three brothers our torches and sent them out after the chief. His wife had started weeping in her hammock. Every now and again we fired off a few shots, hoping the Indian would hear them. But some hours later the three brothers came back again, with the torch-batteries used up. They hadn't seen a sign of him.

An oppressive gloom now hung over the Guayca Expedition. The wife was lying on her face now, crying more and more bitterly.

In the morning we arranged three search parties: two of the three brothers went south-east—the direction in which our camp was facing. The third brother and one of the husbands went south-west, along the track we intended the expedition to follow. The two boys went west along the right bank of the Toroli. The medicine-man didn't feel called upon to make any move at all, probably because by virtue of his holy calling he felt that he ought to remain, morally speaking, the central pillar of the expedition. He went on eating make and chanting exorcisms, as he had been doing all night long.

The day passed wearily, with the woman crying all the time. Every now and then I tried to comfort her, telling her that Nini would be found any moment now. The various parties came back bringing grubs, honey and palm-hearts, but no news of the man, the child and the dog. That night too the medicine-man went on with his exorcisms and the widow with her weeping. Parties went out next day again, and came back empty-handed, though they claimed to have found, south of the camp, a place where there were signs that Nini had spent the night. Somewhere in this direction, it appeared, there should be a track leading eastwards, which would bring one to the neighbourhood of some Shirian tribes, and from their territory, by making a wide sweep still further east—so the brothers explained—one could reach other tracks leading to the lower Yevarehuri or one of its affluents.

It was useless to go on with the search. Even the wife had wearied of her tears. Grey-faced and unbelieving, she listened while the men gabbled excitedly on about tracks which might exist or might not, through forest reaches ever more remote. We convinced her (and after an effort we even convinced ourselves) that Nini would get home safe and sound, with the baby and the dog too, that he must have met a good many Sanema friends at some point or other

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

F
123

on these uplands, and that when she got back to her hut on the Yevarchuri she would find him sleeping in his hammock with lots of cassava and no more *nini*—no more pain in his foot. There was much that was laughable in this explanation of ours, but the widow didn't laugh: she was most serious when she accepted some cloth and a few corals which we gave her as a first instalment of the compensation for the loss of her family.

We had wondered if these events would cause our people to desert us, but to our great relief there was no sign of this happening. The expedition could now get under way again, even without Nini.

But the track that should have led us over the cordillera suddenly played us a trick. After leading us over one small hill, it took us down to the same river again: and so it went on, merely following the same general direction as the Toroli. This meant difficult going, over a rain-sodden clayey terrain and through thick, suffocating vegetation, putrescent now in the flooded depressions. That first day we crossed and recrossed the Toroli seventeen times, and instead of growing any smaller, it became a strongly flowing stream once more. Some of the crossings were highly dangerous, with the water breast-high.

Night always seemed to overtake us suddenly, when we were half dead with the effort of it all. After missing two curassow the first night, we doled out a little rice for supper, cooked with salt and butter, which everyone shared. The Shirians apparently liked it, and saved half for breakfast. All night it rained again, turning the camp-site into a marsh. In a dryer season the Toroli, at this height, would hardly have amounted to anything at all, but now we began to use fallen trees as bridges in order to get across it. The Shirians, with the three brothers as leaders, acquitted themselves remarkably well.

The next night, just after we had camped, the beam of my torch caught two little eyes that shone white like magnesium flares among the trees. I didn't know what it could be, and fired quickly. A shower of flesh spattered down on the leaves over a radius of four yards or so, and half an opossum fell to the ground. This little marsupial is called '*rabo pelado*' in Venezuela on account of its shiny, hairless tail. Need I say that in a very short time this scrap of meat had been devoured by the brothers—nor did they offer even a mouthful to anyone else, not even their fellow-Shirians.

Next day brought more hills, more natural bridges, more drenching rain. Once more we slipped and slid, through the mouldering vegetation, once more

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

we ate rice with butter. Evening found us a little higher up, in a featureless region. There were no streams, only dirty pools of mud and water tinged red with the clay. The track, inexplicably, was now taking us south-west, across lofty hills which grouped together were almost a cordillera in themselves.

The absence of game was typical of the higher altitudes, marked too by the coldness of the nights and the incessant rain which fell both then and for the greater part of the day.

From one steep slope, we suddenly saw the lowlands—a great valley lay spread before us, full of cloud. On its far border rose two enormously high peaks, conical in shape and completely covered with a greenish-black fuzz of forest. Over the leafy surface drifted soft veils of cloud, wafted on the rising breath of the valley. Through the trees nearer to me, I caught a glimpse of another, isolated, mountain almost lost in the clouds behind the two wooded peaks.

For a moment I had a deep awareness of the vast size of the forest: I absorbed it, as the roots of all growing things absorb the tang and savour of the very earth itself. Regions vaster than the life of a man! But more terrible than the vastness of the jungle was the vegetable life it supported—the expression of its universal power.

Euphorbia trees, with their soft wood and the nuts beloved of macaws, transforming that same tang of the earth, within their secret filters, into the white milky sap that rises like a tide to swell their bark. Giant *guarumbo* trees, generously scattering their legions of seeds on the earth to kill them forthwith by their own shade—so that the hope of seeing some new young tree rise up to keep the old one company must go ever unfulfilled—a blind orgy of creation that leads only to the death of the young: until at last the old tree crashes down and a great patch of sky is thrown open and the sun's rays pour through, to nurse the little ones and raise them up to look out over the tossing waves of the forest surface. Sandalwoods, sweet-smelling as incense. *Tacamacha*, distilling crystalline balsams in the chilly night. Cedars that the lightning splits as cleanly as an axe. Kapoks and Cecropiae, rapid in growth as if the very earth itself was swelling upwards to explode into the sun: light-timbered scatterers of seeds that are launched on the wind to bear the fecund message of their light-limbed race to every corner of the forest. *Annonaceae*, springy as steel, soured by their own store of bitter sap that holds back the milder, more insipid water. Ebony trees, secure in the hardness of their wood, the living outcrop of the mountain's

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

187 mineral core. *Miconiae*, afraid of the dark and only conquering their fear by shooting out their branches like fists against the throng that hems them in. *Clusiae* with their poisonous spirit, embracing their frank and upright neighbours with their green endearments and smothering them in their coils like the parasites they are.

Tall and mighty Cassias, glorious verdant mountains decked with gardens of flowers, heavy with the great weight of their fruit, the hollows of their trunks a sanctuary for bees, a splendid challenge to storm and tempest and a safe refuge for the young disciples at their feet. The twisted Ficus with its strangely buttressed roots, a Gothic monument with its arches, ribs and tracery; an athlete, a contortionist in a world of trees geometrically straight; bountiful of its fruit and its soft gums. A whole eager population of *vochysiae*, *rubiaceae*, *cealpiniae*, *bonnetiae*, *sapindaceae*, *mimosae*, *sapotaceae*. Palms like hypertrophic grasses, swelling their stems up into the proud semblance of tree-trunks: old as the origin of the world, and offering at every season a branch laden with sweet fruit, hard and heavy as the days of its life on the wind-tossed heights.

A population of cellulose and chlorophyll, mighty, awesome, endless—besieged by a vast army of the halt, the maimed and the blind; by parasites and procuresses, forgers, poisoners, physical and moral invertebrates, strumpets and swindlers of every shape and size. For these, too, have their place in the forest and their assault has a violence and intensity which only the great trees, standing clear and four-square, can resist. Liana enwreaths them and writhes round them, to their peril, in all its varied, fatal forms: wire-liana, tying the tree to the ground: chain-liana, manacling it: climbing plants, coiling round it like snakes: passiflora, whose evil flowers are like nails driven into the quick of the tree: curare and barbasco that foul the air with the reek of their death-dealing purpose. Mould that creeps slowly round the trunks and lichens that seep into the cracks and fissures of age. Ferns brush round the base of the trees where the tusks of the peccaries have torn wounds in the bark. Fungi, the pansies of the mouldering earth, colonize the great low-sweeping boughs. Bromeliads spread over the remoter branches and there discharge their content of foetid water imbued with insect remains. Orchids cling to the soft bark, and their evil flowers put out mocking tongues. While mistletoe growths of parasites plunge their steely darts into the very heart of the tree and draw out the sticky gums that link their destinies with the mightier growth.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

A vast and multiform horde it is that besieges the trees; a people millions strong, each one of whom wages its own small war and combines with the rest in the greater struggle.

IV

In the three brothers, all that was best in this wild region could truly be said to have found some form of expression. Their reactions were at times incomprehensible—sudden reflexes resulting from a life utterly different in every way from our own and in some degree akin to the animals'. They were always together, not mixing with the other Shirians and building their own little separate shelter. Every night, when work was finished, they came to us, rubbing themselves against us and indicating by gestures what goods they would like for their pay.

They had certain phobias, the most interesting being a fear of nails. Carmine always had a long nail handy, and each evening he would hammer it into one of the hut-poles to hang up his gun and cartridge-case. This produced a terrible effect on one of the brothers. He would stand and watch as it paralysed, for all the world as though the nail was being driven into his own forehead. If Carmine showed him the nail, holding it out to him, he would cry '*Ma, ma*' and run off to hide in his little hut. Generally, however, he was most friendly, even affectionate, towards us. Carmine had once rashly promised to cut his hair for him, and since a haircut for one meant a haircut for everybody and the expedition's only pair of scissors was precious, we lost a whole day while my companion gained some experience of the barber's trade. The Indians spent their time looking at themselves in the glass and examining each other's coiffure for defects which they wanted attended to at once.

In imitation of the tales the Shirians told, Carmine had invented a terrifying personage called Barabàn, a kinsman of his, who lived somewhere over the mountains. Barabàn made such an impression on everyone that the myth became a real moral weapon and came in very useful when the Indians needed a little prodding. When Carmine told his tale, in a mixture of Shirian, Makiritari, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian, they would listen with eyes like saucers, in curiosity and fear: 'Barabàn and a hundred robbers and a hundred fierce dogs—they live in the trees like monkeys—eat women and children, cooked—

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 drink blood . . .'—'. . . and sand,' I added humorously on one occasion. After that, every time he told the story, the two final phrases came out religiously. Whenever Carmine, with appropriate gestures, arrived at the point where he said 'Drink blood', I would look round at the audience and a chorus of Indian voices would chime in: '. . . and sand!'

V

The rains continued and the track brought us nowhere near the Parime, or any navigable tributary. The Indians had no reasonable explanation to give, and only offered a string of strange names that might have been rivers, or mountains, or tribes of Shirians that we might meet. On the tenth day we reached a little stream which seemed to run in the right direction, but the Indians assured us that this was not so. No one on earth had ever explored this area, and we had to take the Shirians' word for everything. We coaxed them along all the time by promising their wages when we reached the banks of the Parime river: we were half afraid they might decide to leave us in the lurch halfway.

To cross the little stream we had to cut down a big kapok tree for a bridge. Once across, the Indians went forward on the next stage, according to our usual method while on the march: first the Indians took the less valuable part of the equipment a stage further, then they came back for the packs containing the trade-goods and the rations, so that these were always under our control. On this particular day, they returned very late in the afternoon. They were nearly exhausted, and from their garbled accounts we gathered that they had had to cross a big mountain. Next morning shed a little more light on things. The Indians made signs to us that we should stay where we were, with some of the packs. The going was too hard and an extra journey would be necessary this time to transport everything.

So we stayed by the stream, and so did the two women, though they usually went off loaded just like the men. The medicine-man and the younger of the boys (an apprentice-sapuli) stayed, too. We puzzled our brains all day long, wondering exactly what was going on and convinced that things were not quite what they seemed.

Contrary to their usual custom, the men had gone off with every arrow

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

they could lay their hands on, while the fact that the women and the medicine-man had stayed behind with us was very odd. At the same time, this was in itself reassuring, because with Indians a woman is something too valuable to be abandoned. We therefore waited quite calmly for our people to come back, hoping that the 'big mountain' that had to be crossed was the focal point of the watershed between the Matahuri-Yevarehuri basin and that of the Parime proper (the sources of this river are up near those of the Orinoco).

While we were resting in our hammocks, early in the afternoon, we heard a noise from some way off. It was our men running along the track, which followed the bank of the stream just here. The three brothers came first. They had their bows in their hands, but were out of arrows, and as they ran they kept jumping about, with gestures of fighting some enemy. The sapuli ran up to them, uttering deep howls that sounded like the plopping of heavy stones into a pool. The brothers pointed towards the highlands, plucking at their bow-strings in imitation of a battle, or something mighty like it.

For a moment our whole world seemed to crumble silently, engulfing us in its ruins. Now someone else came along the track from the forest, but the Indians were so excited about the tale they had to tell that they scarcely noticed him. It was one of the husbands. The boy was with him, and they also had no arrows left. The two of them joined the general discussion, and the women, too. It was quite obvious now that a battle had taken place somewhere in the hills. The men's pantomime, and the fact that they had no arrows left, made it only too plain. But at least they were safe and sound. There was one ugly possibility left, though: what had happened to our baggage?

We shouted to the brothers to ask them. They dismissed the matter with a rapid shake of their heads, making it clear that they knew nothing about it, or else that they just wanted us to keep quiet. When they had calmed down and were talking a little less wildly, we gathered (or so we thought) that the baggage had been safely stowed away under some palm fronds, a long way off the beaten track, just as it always was when they left it at the end of the stage. Not that this explanation satisfied us: it meant that whatever had happened, the baggage had been left there, and if there were any Samatari or Guayca moving about in the area, as the Indians said there were, they would end up by finding all our goods and pillaging them. Every now and again one of the brothers came up to us and touched the gun, with signs of approval that made their meaning quite clear.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*
123

So we passed one of those anxious forest nights, our thoughts torn between the fate of our equipment and fear of an attack. But there were two aspects of the matter which reassured us, and bearing them in mind we managed to get some sleep towards morning. One was the comparative serenity of our Indians, who had made no alteration in their habitual way of spending the night—long spells of sleep, interrupted occasionally for a brief moment to attend to the fire. The other was the mental inventory we made of the items of equipment we still had with us, enough, certainly, for us to live on until we could get out of this region on to some Brazilian or Venezuelan river. One doubt still lingered: suppose the Indians refused to go on with us? They had been badly scared by whatever it was that had happened up on the hills, and rather than face it again they might want to change the route.

We set off next morning without any breakfast. But the fact that the Indians came along too, without making any bones about it, was very comforting. We went over two hills, and then the track crossed a stream of milky water running in a south-easterly direction. Its rocky bed was strewn with great jagged blocks of quartz. A little while later, on steadily rising ground, we turned aside into territory where there was no track at all, and reached a forest clearing which had been formed by the fall of a group of trees of the *cesalpinae* family. They were lying on the mouldering forest floor. And there, under a regular stockade of tree-trunks, was our baggage that the men had left on yesterday's trip. Our porters took some of the most-needed medical supplies and the best of the tinned stuff from this dump, to add to the burdens they were already carrying, and we went on towards the heart of the mystery.

The slope became gradually steeper and we finished up against a rocky sandstone cliff—a blank wall that we should have to climb. We followed along the foot of it to the right for perhaps two hundred yards till we came to a landslip, overgrown with bamboos and bromeliads, which offered an open view over the valley. We climbed up and found ourselves on a high plateau, among vegetation of a different order—poorer, thinner stuff. This plateau soon began to tilt downwards towards the farther side, at a steadily increasing angle, till we came to a stream of black water which ran in the same direction as the last we had seen.

[756]
[515]

As if performing some rite, the medicine-man took a bath here. There really was something extraordinary about this character. A purely voluntary

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

bath like this—we had never seen him take one before—seemed to prove the point.

Between the sandstone of the high plateau and the usual granite of this region there was here an unexpected intermediary layer white with kaolin. After another hour of hard going we once more found ourselves in the lush vegetation of the lowlands. To the left of the track at one point, in a cavity formed by the collapse of a big tree whose roots had been torn out of the earth, we found the light baggage carried here and stowed the day before. It was apparently unharmed, even if literally covered with a revolting army of termites. We had the packs taken out of the hole (with the greatest caution for fear of a hidden snake), piled them all up together and covered them with palm leaves—because now the Indians didn't seem to be in any hurry to cover more mileage that day, nor did they lift a finger to start putting up the usual shelter for the night.

The baggage was untouched: the possibility of seeing our expedition through to the end was therefore open to us once more. Such a satisfactory state of affairs filled us with enthusiasm, and we decided to sacrifice no less than four tins of corned beef. We shared it out among the porters. This extra meal put some heart into the Indians, and picking up their machetes again they beckoned us to follow them along the track once more, where it veered to the south, through the forest. We could make out from their gestures that we were close to the heart of the great mystery now, and so took plenty of ammunition with us in case we should need it. The gradient stiffened. The track turned to the right, into a thick maze of wild banana and thorny iriartease, and then through a little swamp where there were numerous prints of bare feet, to end up in front of a stockade of thorny palm, freshly piled up for some defensive purpose.

A sweet, heavy smell hung in the air—the typical smell of an Indian camp after it has been abandoned for a few days, which comes from rotting remains of meat and game, and decaying vegetable matter. The barrier of thorny palm was an insuperable obstacle for bare Indian feet. We followed it along to the right till we found a break, half hidden by a few tree-trunks, which led us inside the camp. At first sight it seemed no different from the usual Samatari pattern. Here and there—all over the place, in fact—were piles of ashes and vegetable refuse of all kinds. But this encampment had one particular feature which, although the conscious part of our minds missed it at first, made us feel

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

strangely uneasy. At last we realized what it was: all the poles to which the hammocks had been slung had been torn up and thrown on the ground. In one far corner, where the site sloped more steeply downhill, a cloud of insects had gathered. The brothers exchanged a look and we all went over. Without realizing it, we had our guns ready.

Right up against the barrier of thorny palm there was a little cleared patch, and here, in line, face downwards, lay four bodies. They were horribly covered with ants and termites, and around them hung swarms of flies, insects and butterflies of every colour. We could see no wounds, except in the neck of one corpse (it seemed very fat for an Indian). This man's head might have been smashed in, but the insects made it impossible for us to see exactly what had happened to him.

Our Indians didn't seem greatly impressed by this sight. They just kept at a distance, away from the smell and the insects, which flew up from the bodies of the dead men and swarmed rapidly over our own. The brothers, when I put a question to them, replied briefly '*tai*'—'we know', and held up seven fingers. Seven, not four. So there were seven dead, but a search of the whole area of the abandoned camp produced no sign of any more bodies. In spite of all our efforts to discover the truth, we never did know what had really happened. There were seven dead, and four of them lay here, inside the camp. Our Indians knew about the affray, and may have taken part in it—though this point was never cleared up—or possibly they had heard the story from some survivors they had met with. In any case, they did not seem to be very worried about it, and behaved as though it did not directly concern them, or rather as though they themselves were in a position of complete security, owing to some powerful protection. With a secret fear gnawing at me, I muttered to Carmine that this powerful protection, this secure defence, might well be the guns: the guns, in our men's eyes, had never ceased to possess magical powers of annihilating the enemy.

In this one remote corner of its vastness, the forest had seen one of its intimate tragedies played out. We had seen the result, but the rest we should never know. And the result was the eternal loneliness of human things abandoned: the sweet strong smell of putrefaction: and four men, veiled in a swarm of insects, lying on their faces with the taste of the earth between their teeth.

A shock such as this can have an insidiously weakening effect on one's morale. To avoid this, it was best to do something straight away. Action is

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123*

always an irresistible spur to optimism, in moments of crisis. I therefore wrapped myself in one of our waterproof sheets, to keep the insects off and went close to the corpses to examine their wounds. The fat one—it looked as if he had been dead longer than the others, since his body had already swelled up—had the nape of his neck split open, which meant that he had been killed by the classic Samatari *stangata*, while the others had arrow wounds in the belly and throat. The smallest, who was almost a pygmy, had had his face completely smashed in by what must have been tremendous blows.

The Indians had lit a very smoky fire and we piled up the corpses two by two, covering them with a big mound of iriartea and manaca leaves. We thought we could go now. We had 'done something'. But there was still one further detail: all our instincts demanded some expression of our feelings in the presence of this forest tragedy. Some human touch, some gesture that would set us apart from the savagery all round us: not only for ourselves, but for our own Indians too. We cut the tops off four little trees and fixed cross-bars to them to make four rough crosses. We got the brothers to stand in front of the funeral mound with their machetes at the present, and stood beside them with our guns. This ceremony, crude as it was, had a striking effect upon our men, and even we ourselves, who had arranged it, were not unmoved.

I got the camera ready, though the scene was particularly difficult to photograph because of the failing light—it was dusk already—and for the first time in the whole trip the Indians agreed to come into the picture without showing a trace of fear.

Night found us on the track on the way back to the place we had previously halted at. We could only find our way with the help of some burning brands taken from the bonfire. When we came to our dumped baggage we had a shock: we hadn't put up a roof for the night, and in our present mood no one felt like setting about the job now. The day's events had left our nerves in such a state that the slightest noise from a machete would have finished us. We wondered whether we ought to keep awake and set guards, in case there were still Samatari in the neighbourhood ready to attack. But it didn't take us long to come to a decision.

'Let's pretend we're going to live for ever,' I said ironically to Carmine.

There were no Samatari any more, no Guayca, no snakes, no insects, no tarantulas. We wrapped ourselves in our waterproof sheets, threw ourselves on top of the luggage, and waited for morning.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123

VI

Four days later—four days of forced marches, with heavy loads for all of us, ourselves included—we reached the banks of a little river which would have been navigable only by poling a small canoe. Between here and the scene of the battle (which the Shirians had christened '*Uasutép*'—'war') we had completely abandoned our intended route. We had headed first south-west and then, according to the compass, for the last two days directly west. The hoped-for Parime-Orinoco crossing could never be made now. But the Uasutép incident had had its effect upon us as well as our Indians, who were only too anxious to get back home, and we had not argued the point.

We had scarcely put up our roof for the night before the three brothers asked to be paid off. On this matter we stood firm. We wanted all our baggage here, and if our Shirians wished to leave us, they must first put us in touch with another tribe willing to furnish guides. The medicine-man and his brother set off westwards, across the stream, in search of one. As we watched them going off into dense forest, armed only with their machetes, we wondered if this would be one more journey without a return.

But thanks to the women (Nini's widow proved to be the heroine of the expedition) all our baggage was brought up in two days, and the two-man party returned from the west with a smoked leg of deer and some fresh tobacco. This was a sure sign that they had found some inhabited area. They had met with some 'good Shirians' who would arrive next day to take us on to the Ocamo and the Matacuni (which according to signs from the three brothers lay directly east). Thus we were saved from having to take the short cut home, and the Guayca Expedition was assured of a certain future after all.

We were therefore now only too happy to pay off our Shirians and release them. They were still very uneasy over Uasutép. We doled out cloth, knives, machetes and strings of coral (a luxury prohibited to the Shirians) with a generous hand. One day the Soto were bound to see what we had given them, and we wanted to show that we had learned to appreciate very highly the 'thieving Guahatibos' and had remunerated them with the generosity they deserved.

One of the brothers, after he had neatly wrapped his things in a parcel of

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

leaves, wanted one thing more: the nail, the nail that had been his perpetual bane! We had plenty with us, and gave him half a dozen.

We sat around big festive fires (though, alas, we had no fine beast to cook on them!) and the medicine-man exorcised their new possessions with his chants. That night we slept tighter than we had ever done since the time when we had drunk cacire on the Yevarehuri.

VII

The next morning's dawn was silent as the tomb, and drowsily we sensed a strange difference. Then, all of a sudden, we woke to the realization that the Shirians were gone. Men, women, children and dogs had vanished into the depths of the night. The fires hadn't been made up for some time and were nearly all out. The hammocks were still swinging in their places—it was not unusual for them to be abandoned and it had happened before, because being simply lianas and tree-bark they were very easily replaced.

Carmine fired off a few shots. The forest swallowed them up without even an echo. Our enthusiasm had betrayed us once more. We should have postponed the pay-off until the arrival of the promised Shirians, and then our men would not have shot the moon. As it was, we could only wait in the hope that the others would turn up, though it might well be that the medicine-man and his brother had invented them so that they could satisfy us and be off. . . . Dear, damnable brigand brother, with the gentle, brooding look that was like the cloudy sweetness of fermenting wine, off and away through the forest, leading his little band back over the familiar path, back to the river on the other side of the mountain—laden with our goods, and proud owner of the nail! The greatest experience of his lifetime was over now, and he was hardly to be blamed for having gone off in the middle of the night, without saying good-bye. How could anyone guess what reasons prompted him—a rebel, an anarchist, a wild savage from the Amazon mountains, who in a moment of weakness had joined up with an expedition of flat-foots, men incapable of keeping alive without a mountain of tins!

There was nothing to be done about it, because the situation itself was without remedy. If the new Shirians really did come, the departure of the old ones might even prove to be an advantage. The baggage was all here with us,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 · SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 on the spot, and our losses had been reduced to a minimum. In fact, the only things the Indians had taken along with them on their nocturnal flight were the cooking pots, a pair of trousers that had been drying, and ten pounds of arsenic wrapped up in an old shirt. We had brought it to cure animal skins. There wasn't the slightest risk of any of the fugitives getting poisoned, because time and time again, with all the eloquence gestures and mimicry could command, we had told them about the terrible effects of this white powder.

We spent the first day playing Casino. I had had time by now to become a champion at this game: I almost invariably beat Carmine, the vaunted ex-ace. When I saw that things—particularly the lack of tobacco—were getting on my companion's nerves, I purposely played badly, so as to lose. This was at least some satisfaction for Carmine in these sad days.

At night we took it in turn to stay on guard, after building a rough defence-work of tree-trunks on the forest side—where its tentacles stretched out almost into our very hammocks; the river side we left open, to give us a clear field of vision. The left flank was bounded by the curving course of the stream, and on the right a little tributary came in—dry now, after the last few fine days. From this direction we heard the croaking of toads, loud enough to deafen us to any other noise. This right flank was our weak point. At intervals of an hour or even less we shot off a few rounds, which silenced the croakings for a while, until they started off again more stridently than ever, with the chirping of crickets too. It was New Year's Eve 1954.

The second day passed in absolute silence: we didn't talk, and there was no longer any wind in the trees, the weather having taken a turn for the worse. Even cards had palled by now. I jotted down a few notes in my log, which I hadn't touched since leaving Frenario's, and we took it in turns to try to sleep, without much success. The very precariousness of our situation made it pointless to hoard our food supplies and we treated ourselves to double and treble meals, combining meat, ham and rice-and-butter and drinking coffee, tea and milk by the bucketful.

The second night was more eventful than the first: over beyond that ditch full of toads something certainly seemed to be happening. We didn't doubt but that an ambush, or something of the sort, was being prepared for us. Or was it just a tapir after all? We didn't spare the cartridges. Some of them had got wet and we weren't very confident of hitting whatever target it was that we were aiming at. We must have fired a hundred shots too into the toads.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123*

But between one bullet and the next, and between one possibly human footfall and the next, the creatures made as much noise as machine-guns—just at those very moments when we were sure someone was creeping up to the camp. Neither of us slept that night. Dawn on the river found us shuddering with nervous exhaustion.

The Indians still didn't arrive. To fill in the time, we prepared a plan of action down to every minute detail. Next day, if there was still no sign of anybody, we would shift our baggage across the river and hide it somehow or other a good way off. Then, with a hammock and provisions for three or four days, we would start off towards the westward, trying to find the track the medicine-man had used. There must be someone living somewhere over there. The deer's leg and the tobacco were proof of it. When we found these Indians we would persuade them, by hook or by crook, to help us get *somewhere*.

What if we found nobody? Then we would fall back on our alternative programme: though even to consider it at all made our hair stand on end. We would build a raft (I'd already had a little experience in such matters) and go down the river till we were well away from this region. Rapids and falls would be serious obstacles, since a raft can't easily be hauled over rocks. But there was no other way.

VIII

If I had to describe the Indian who suddenly confronted us on the evening of the third day—he was coming downstream and we saw him at the bend—I could only use the word 'pale'.

He was young and handsome, stark naked except for a tuft of white feathers tied round his arm, and very pale. He stopped at the bend to look round. He seemed at first to be alone, but behind him there were others. We had our guns pointed at the visitor, because we had jumped to the conclusion that we were being attacked. Then we saw that the man was unarmed. This left us in no doubt. His intentions were peaceful. He stayed where he was, watching us, probably scared of our weapons: and who knows by what obscure mental processes, by what association of ideas, I found a name for him?

'Come along, Dolfus,' I called.

6: Vinci T-3 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Uaca

123

This fantastic appellation sounded quite harmonious in the forest, even to Indian ears, and brought Dolfuss' followers out of their concealment, splashing through the water towards us.

[131] [101] Dolfuss belonged to the Shirians of the Uaka tribe. These are scattered over the territory bounded by the Matacuni, the Padamo and the tributary streams of the Upper Ventuari. They are similar in appearance to the Pulipuli people, though rather more savage. They were very timid, and full of references to the Guayca, who they said were very active in this area, particularly in the parts we had just come from.

With Dolfuss there was an old man who was always either squatting down or else propping himself up on one leg; and two dour, surly-looking boys, who kept well away from our guns with a gleam of terror in their eyes. The next morning brought a whole host, along with women and children too, and of course we had to let them all examine our beards and rub themselves against them, and investigate other more detailed peculiarities of our anatomy. By urging the whole crowd of them on with sweeping gestures, we managed to get on our way very quickly, and a few hours later arrived on the banks of the Ocamo, a smallish river but strangely resembling the Upper Merevari. From the last high point we had been able to make out some huge flat-topped massifs, blue in the haze of distance, which must certainly have belonged to the Duida-Marahuaca group. For a moment, we hoped to come out on a patch of savannah land where we should be able to dry the damp forest mould out of ourselves and our belongings. But the Shirians told us there was no savannah in these parts.

[361] [501] [342] [162] [165] The Uaka huts were on the side of a hill, a hundred yards from the right bank of the river, which we crossed by means of a length of rotten wood, shaped like a canoe. There were three buildings, each with the single-span sloping roof, very humble affairs, so low-pitched that inside them one risked getting a beam in one's eye at any moment. There were about fifty of these people, and among them we noticed many who had reached a considerable age, which is unusual. There must have been some aspect of the Ocamo region which favoured longevity in the inhabitants. There was an 'ape-man' too—an old, solitary fellow, almost dumb, who came up to us with gurgles of amazement, not daring to touch us. However, he took one of the axes when we gave it to him and with the aid of some of the youngsters started making us a cabin.

Life with the Shirians was made extremely difficult by their petulant ways

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20
Uaca

Y
123*

and by their squalor—which we just had to accept. However, better that than our last two lonely nights over again, and our two days' rest here did us good.

Plans for continuing our journey did not go as smoothly as we should have wished. Not one of the Uaca was inclined to go down the Ocamo with us. It seemed there were a lot of Guayca Indians along the river, and that there weren't sufficient canoes. Apart from the old log which had enabled us to cross the river, there was only one little craft, and this had a gaping hole in the bows, stopped up with a great lump of clay to make it watertight. The only way open to us otherwise lay westwards towards the Matacuni: the Uaka declared that we could get there with only one *maneshi* (overnight stop). We should have to climb a mountain, but it was not high and there was a pass. On the Matacuni there were other Uaka, and then, higher up—if we understood them correctly—there were some Ukumatari, savage and suspicious, but not bad men. It didn't take us long to come to a decision, and we started out for the Matacuni.

Y
[501]

The first day's march brought us, in the evening, to a col between two great round humps of granite, from which we could make out, to the west, the vertical wall of the Duida mountains. We looked longingly in their direction, knowing that at their foot lay the savannah land of Esmeralda and the great Orinoco.

But the Matacuni Uaka seemed equally reluctant to take us down their river as far as the Orinoco, and they too gave as a reason the eternal fear of the Guayca. To go any further westwards, relying on the problematical tracks, seemed too difficult a project, and one that held out little hope of success. True, we might reach the Padamo, but if no-one was willing to take us down that river either, where were we to make for then? We couldn't keep trekking over the whole of the *Territorio Amazonas* (the southern tip of Venezuela) from river to river until we got to the Orinoco. There was only one thing to do, however paradoxical it sounded: follow the Matacuni right up to its source. The Uaka were prepared, for a suitable fee, to escort us there, doing the trip in ten days. We could then cross the mountains, which seemed to be inhabited by other Uaka, and descend one or other of the tributaries of the Ventuari watershed. This route bristled with difficulties: from the Matacuni rapids to the problems we should have to face on the northern cordilleras, but these caused the Uaka no sinking of the heart and they were ready to tackle them. They told us too that when we reached the highlands by this route we should run into the Makiritari tracks leading from the Ventuari-Erbato-Merevari territory to the

Y
[484]
M
[487]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
UQCR
Makiritare 3320

*Y
123
M
[487]
[314]

Marahuaca mountains. These tracks were known to the Indians as the '*Marahuaca pilisho*' that is, roads of the blow-pipe mountains, regularly traversed by the Makiritari when they needed supplies of cane, the precious raw material for making their weapons.

We knew from experience that the Indians always magnify the difficulties and dangers of any journey, and we quite expected that our trip would be like walking round the garden. We decided upon it therefore with light hearts, putting our trust once more in our guardian angel.

809

[For information on the capture and subsequent treatment of the author and his party by a nomadic group of the Yanoama, called by the author "Samatari," see category 123, pp. 92-140.]

123

[For information on the author's personal experiences in the field and his relationship with the various Yanoama Indian groups with whom he came in contact, see category 116, pp. 25-26, 41-45, 52-54, 58-66, 71-81, 84-116, 119-120, 123-152, 185-189 and 197-220.]

?: Barker M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Memoir on the Culture of the Waica
[Memoria sobre la cultura de los Guaika]

by James Barker

Caracas: 1953
Boletín Indigenista Venezolano
Vol. 1, pp. 433-489

Translated from the Spanish by Sydney Muirden

Human Relations Area Files

1967

[Title page]

/433/ Memoir on the Culture of the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

114 * The author of this work is a missionary of a North American mission, the "New Tribes Mission," who has lived for several years among the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. Without presuming to be an ethnologist, Mr. Barker has prepared this report containing his observations, and, having kindly sent it to the Ministro de Justicia for his information and for publication, the Comisión Indigenista has accepted it for these pages of the Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, considering its importance as firsthand information concerning a remote tribe scarcely studied up to now. Direct observations made over a period of several years, such as those revealed to us by Mr. Barker in a simple and objective fashion, are of positive utility for
[128] ethnologists and ethnographers. In the translation of the original from English to Spanish, we tried to adhere as closely as possible to the words and expressions of the author himself, without having recourse to technical terms. -- (Note by the translator, Walter
MDO Dupouy.) /It is to be noted that Mr. Dupouy was the original translater from the English to Spanish, but not the HRAF translator from the Spanish to English./

121 Most of the data included in this memoir are the result of my own observations. Observations made by other members of the staff of the "New Tribes" Mission, who have also collaborated, are included as well. They are: Mr. Edwin Killam and his wife,

/433 cont./

121 Messrs. Eugene Higdem, Byron Reihart, and Joe Jenkins, and the late Flora Troxel.

124 The information concerning the area of Brazil inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ has been gathered from oral reports made to me by several men who said that they had worked upstream /434/ on the rivers of Brazil, within or near Guaika Territory. This information, although fragmentary and not absolutely certain, has helped us nevertheless to form a more complete picture of the Guaika tribe as a whole.

Orientation

101
131 The Guaika /Waica/ tribe inhabits the region of the Upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the outlet of the Ocamo River, including also the south bank of the Ocamo itself. In addition, the Guaika tribe extends into the territory of Brazil, occupying the headwaters of several tributaries of the Branco and Negro rivers (see the map /see p. 6 /).

The tribe located to the north, the Guajaribo /Guaharibo/, inhabits the north bank of the Ocamo River, the valley of the Padamo River, and the headwaters of the Caura River, and is also found in Brazil on the headwaters of the Uraricoera River, a tributary of the Branco River. The Guajaribo come downriver frequently as far as La Esmeralda, and on occasion even come as far as the mouth of the Cunucunuma River. It has been reported that they have been seen as far to the east as the Paragua River in the state of Bolívar (see map).

197 The Guaika and Guajaribo Indians speak the same language, but there are several observable dialectical differences which make it possible to distinguish immediately by their speech whether they belong to the one group or to the other. I make this observation on the basis of my studies of the Guaika language spoken in El Platanal and its comparison with samples of the Guajaribo dialect collected by Flora Troxel and by me in La Esmeralda and Ioeitedi.

[121]
[122]

Waica
Guaharibo

/434 cont./

197 101 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 197 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted [248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they cultivate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton hammocks [352] and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version [342] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos [484] with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 192 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/ [114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 628 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/435 cont./

126 628 rancherías. For anyone who might be preparing to travel or work in Guaika territory, these relations can be as important as the geographical location of the settlements. If a group of Guaika should be engaged to carry out certain tasks, they might be inclined to work well in certain areas, but doubtless would refuse to enter areas inhabited by their enemies.

126 /436/ On the map of the whole area inhabited by the Guaika and Guajaribo, I have tried to show the approximate limits of the two tribes. The areas which are shaded on the said map correspond to the zones where we have had contact with these (114) tribes on several occasions. The settlements whose names appear underlined, that is to say, El Platanal and Ioeitedi, are native rancherías where we have lived and worked for long periods of time. These settlements continue to be our principal bases of operation.

103 The native names of the principal rivers are as follows:

Orinoco River	Majekodo-ko
Cunucunuma River	Ami-ko
Padamo River	Jaiyama-ko
Metacuni River	Wakawaka-ko
Ocamo River	Kia-ko
Mavaca River	Wachewa-ko
Manavichi River	Mata-ko

The native name of the Raudal de Guajaribos /Guaharibo Torrent/ is Kalebakbola.

I have not been able to discover even one name for the hill of Guaiaribo, but the most important peaks, starting below and going up the river, are: Wanidi-mak, Yabitao-mak, Kacholaoa-mak, and Wadubaoa-mak.

Geography

361 A few Guaika /Waica/ settlements are located along the principal rivers and are accessible by means of small boats or canoes with outboard motors. Nevertheless, most of the Guaika settlements are inland and can only be reached after one or more days of travel.

/436 cont./

132 The rains at El Platanal are copious, and there is no true dry season there. There is never a day when one can feel safe from rain if he does not have a roof over him. The longest dry period which I have heard of was ten /maps appear here/ /437/ days. Droughts are so unknown that nobody thinks about the fact that rain is necessary for the crops. In El Platanal, almost all of the winds and the rainstorms come from the east.

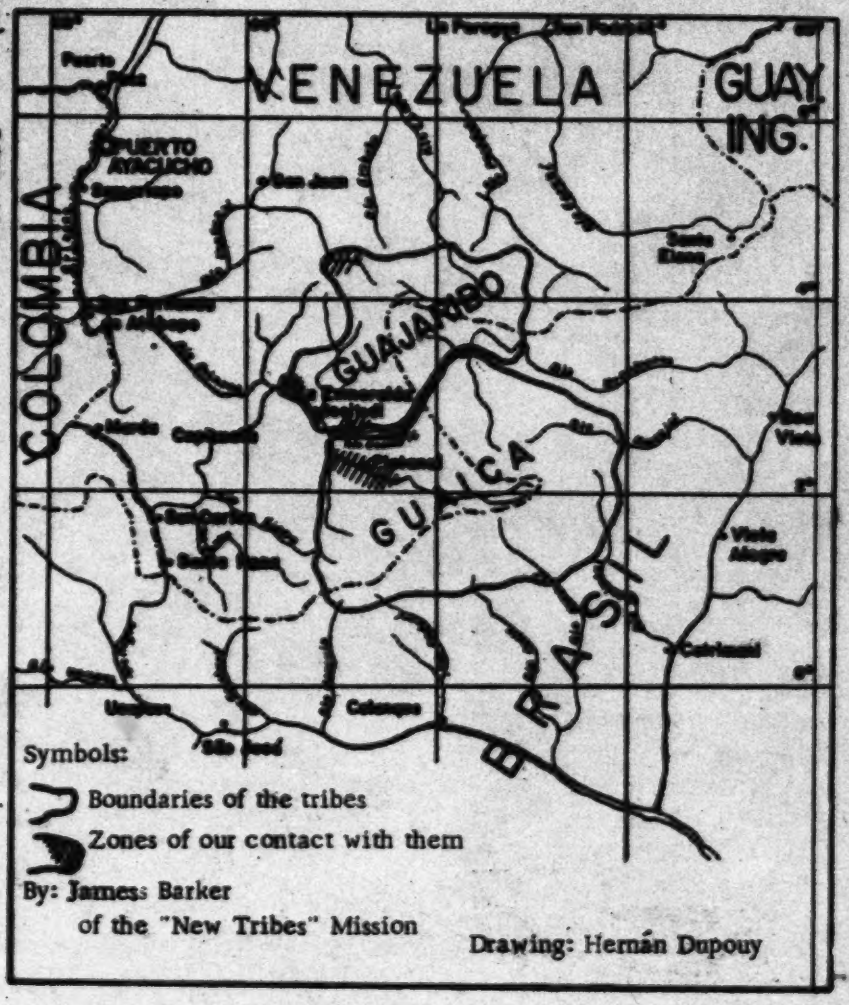
137 The basin of the Upper Orinoco is covered by a tropical forest. Above the savanna at La Esmeralda, meadows are virtually nonexistent. There is one hillside on the north bank of the Upper Ocama which is covered with grass, but aside from this, and a few rocky slopes where not even grass grows, the tree cover is practically uninterrupted, with the exception of the clearings opened by the currents of water and the hand of man.

133 If one climbs the hill at El Platanal on a clear day, he will see an extensive plain toward the north. On the northwestern horizon rise the distant peaks of Duida and Marahuaca. These seem to blend into the even more distant montañas of the Upper Padamo and the Ventuari River farther to the north. Following these mountains toward the east with the eyes, one almost believes that he can make out the boundaries of Brazil from the headwaters of the Ventuari River down to the headwaters of the Ocamo. Then, looking toward the east, one can see the entire area between the Ocamo and Orinoco rivers, full of mountains which are not very high, but which are impressive because they are no near. But the north and northwest of Platanal between the Ocamo and Orinoco rivers is the part nearest to the plain described above.

Toward the south there is a narrow plain along the Orinoco River, then hills which are combined with the mountains of the headwaters of the Orinoco to the east and the mountains of the Upper Mavaca to the south. Then, looking toward the southwest and the west, there is the extensive plain of the Mavaca River, interrupted only by a few isolated mountains. Beyond this plain are the mountain ranges which, beginning at the headwaters of the Mavaca, extend toward the west and then toward the north, almost as far as the Orinoco itself.

7: Barker--6 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

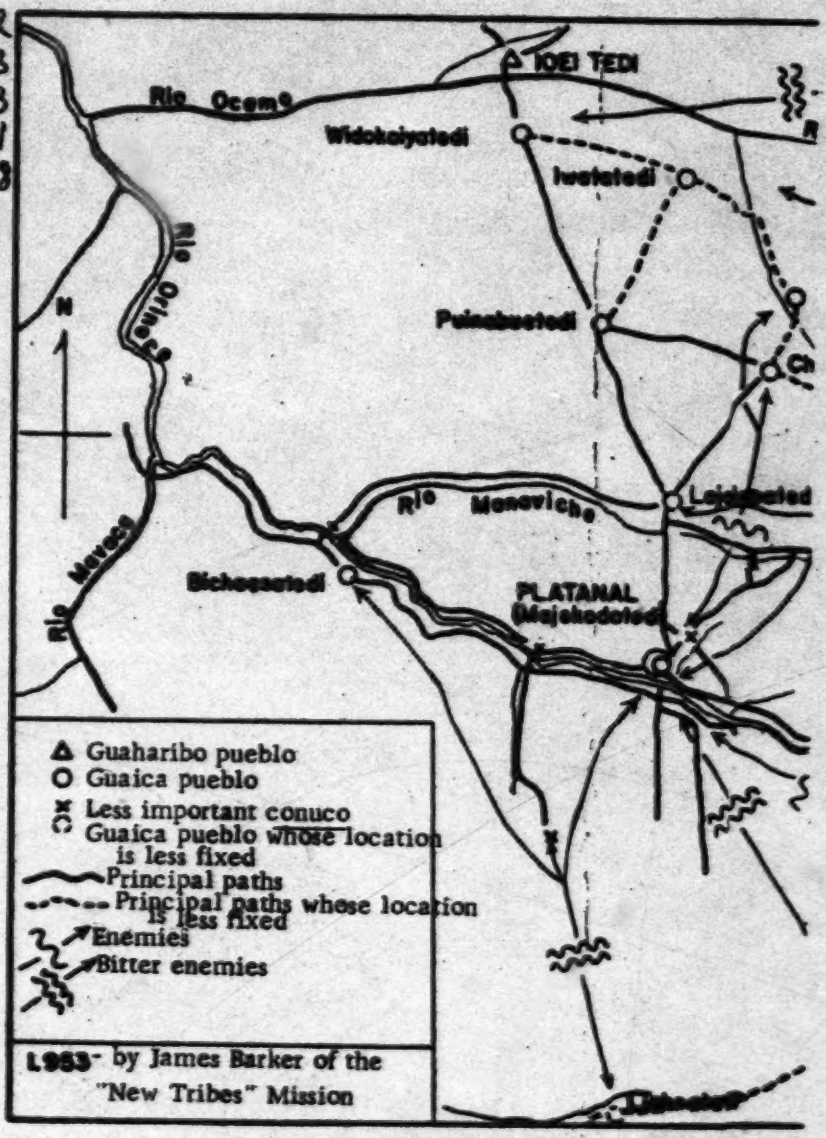
102
101
131
133
114
361



7: Barker--7 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

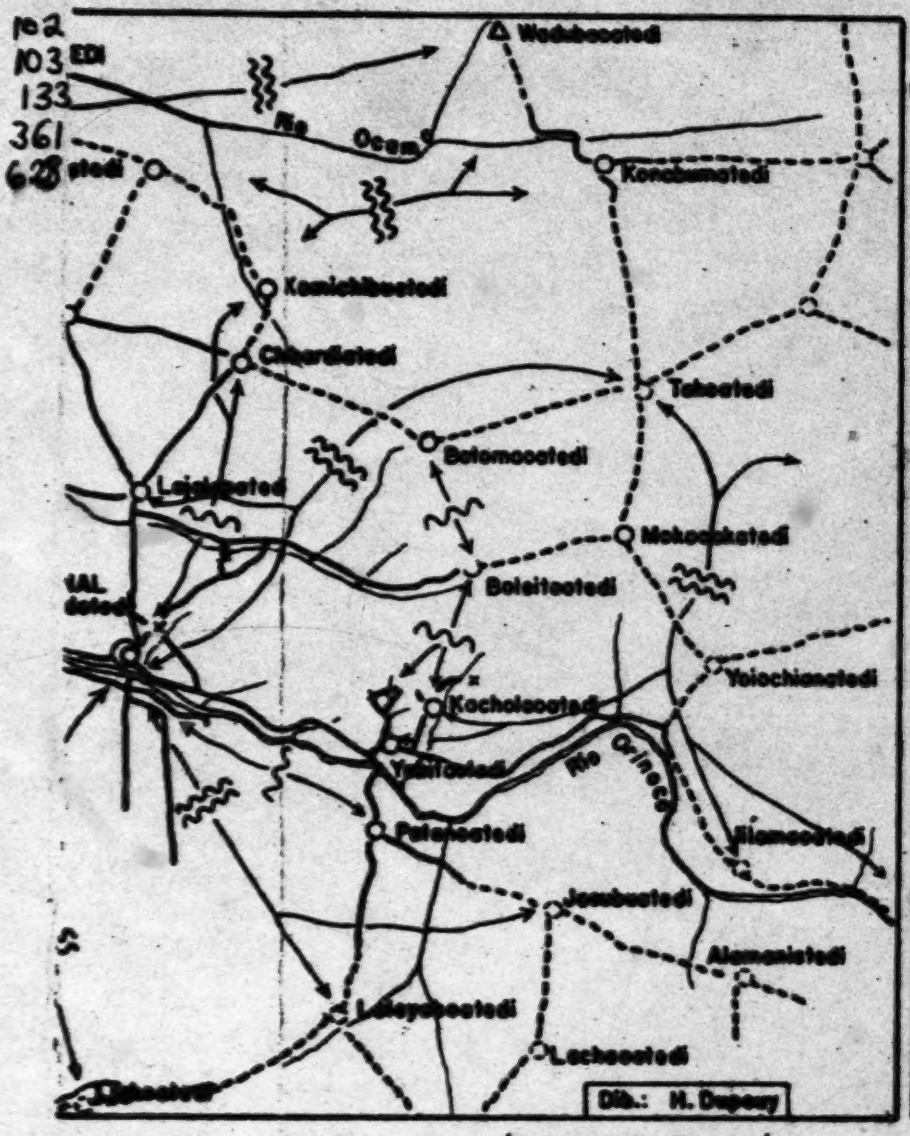
Waica
Guaharibo

102
103
133
361
628



7: Barker--8 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica
Guaharibo



/Drawing: H. Dupouy/

/437 cont./

Population -- 1953

361 It is known that there are about 23 Guaika /Waica/ settlements between the Orinoco and the Ocamo rivers and in the region of the Brazilian frontier to the north of the Orinoco River.

/438/ It is known that there are at least 28 other Guaika settlements to the south of the Orinoco River.

103 162 The approximate population of the Guaika settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Majekodotedi (Platanal)	100	Kacholaotedi	100
Bichaasatedi	100	Boleitaotedi	100
Lajalaowatedi	100	Patanaotedi	120
Yabitaotedi	75	Chibardiatedi	60

361 At least eight Guajaribo settlements are known to exist in the region of the Ocamo and Lower Padamo rivers. It is known that there are others on the Upper Padamo, a few others on the Ventuari River, and still others on the Upper Caura (also called the Merevari River).

103 162 [114] The approximate population of the Guajaribo settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Ioeitedi	60
Wakawakatedi	100
Kwaisitedi	100

162 The population of El Platanal can be divided by age and sex approximately as follows:

	Men	Women	Total
Great-grandparents	0	1	1
Grandparents	6	6	12
Parents	8	15	23
Newlyweds (childless)	5	6	11
Unmarried adolescents and children	33	21	54
	52	49	101

/439/

582 [163] Girls are usually around 14 or 15 years of age when they have their first child. The husband is perhaps between 16 and 18 years of age, if this is his first marriage.

The adult men frequently take as new wives girls who have just reached puberty.

A boy 15 years old is commonly not considered capable of taking a wife, especially if he has not yet sown his first conuco /a clearing for cultivation/ in order to be able to feed his wife. But even if the planting had been prepared, it is often the case that he has to wait while the older men pick over the girls whom he might have wished to marry.

584 582 Nevertheless, in marriages prearranged with the consent of all before the husband and the wife are of age, it is very probable that the age of both would be almost the same. As a result a boy might marry at an age younger than usual.

162 163 Here are some examples of the number of living children per wife among Guaika families. The parentheses indicate the probability that no more children will be born. (Not all of the fathers of the families enumerated are still alive.)

Living children of families of a single wife:

(6) (5) (4) (4) (4) (3) (3) 5 4 4 2 2 2 1 0 0 0 0 0

Living children of polygamous families and families in which a second wife has been taken after the death of the first:

	First Wife	Other Wives
Family "A"	(12)	1
Family "B"	6	2 -- 1 -- 1
Family "C"	(4)	2
Family "D"	(3)	4
Family "E"	2	0

/440/

Communications

202 195 Messages are memorized and carried by a messenger.

All official messages are communicated to the messenger and transmitted by him in a crooned form to the addressee. The addressee of the message repeats the words which are communicated to him or responds by answering them.

/440 cont./

202 484 Generally the messengers travel only during the day and communicate the message at night, after having rested from the trip. Nevertheless, in times of war, messengers may travel during the night, and urgent messages are communicated immediately upon the arrival of the messenger, be it day or night. [416] A messenger who travels at night carries with him two or three pieces of firewood tied together in torch fashion.

195 Official dealings are frequently carried out in the same form of crooning. A man might in this way request official authorization [584] to take a certain girl as his wife. These dealings are generally carried on at night.

437 Nevertheless, business dealings are generally carried out during the day, so that both participants in the negotiation may have ample opportunity to see and examine what they are getting.

142 Human Biology

The hair of the Guaika /Waica/ is lighter than that of the other Indians and of most of the Creoles who live in the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

The hair of the majority of the individuals is fine, but some of them have quite stiff hair. The color of the hair is black or chestnut, and a few have hair with a slightly reddish tone. Some of the children have hair that is very light in color, which seems to become darker as they grow. Few of the older persons have gray hair.

The majority of men either have a very thin beard or none at all. The arms, legs, and chest are generally free of hair.

/441/ The eyes of the majority of them are brown, and some of them have black eyes. Some of the children have blue eyes. A few individuals have the inner corner of the eye rounded in a way somewhat similar to that of certain Oriental peoples.

Their noses are short and wide.

The Guaika are well fed, but in general do not show any excess muscle or fat. The Guaika to the south of the Orinoco tend to be fatter and plumper, it would seem, than those of El Platanal or those who live to the north of this locality.

/441 cont./

Obtaining Food

224 Hunting.

Hunting is done with bows and arrows.

A broad arrow-point of bamboo is used against larger land game, such as the danta, the váquiros /peccaries/, and the large [411] rodents. Poisoned points are used against monkeys and occasionally against dantas. Bone points are used principally to hunt birds. Small birds are hunted with arrows with a blunt point or forked point.

[231] Dogs are used in hunting, and in the case of the smallest wild pigs, these dogs frequently do more killing than the hunters.

The hunters hunt together and surround the game. The one who succeeds in killing it is the owner of the animal. He might make a gift of a few pieces to those who have helped him, but in general he carries the entire animal to his house, where it is cooked. A danta, of course, must be divided up on the spot in order to be transported.

262 Almost all the mammals are eaten, felines being the principal exception. A few snakes are eaten; others are not. The babilla /an amphidious reptile/ is also eaten. Birds of prey, such as hawks, eagles, vultures, and turkey buzzards and others, are not eaten. Almost all the other birds are eaten, even the little humming birds.

/442/ Meat is considered an essential part of the diet and perhaps occupies the second place of importance after platanos.

226 Fishing.

Several types of toxins are used to poison fish in the small currents of water. One of these is a bejuco. Another is the shell of an edible nut with a prickly husk. Another is the bark of a certain tree of great size.

226 462 857 When the waters lower in streams and swamps (generally around the months of January and February), women and children go out armed with clubs and come back with baskets full of fish.

/442 cont./

221 462 When the larger river is low, the men wade into the current and shoot at the fish with their arrows with bone points. Then, since the arrow lacks a string with which one could pull in the fish, they must run after the game in order to finish it off with blows of the machete or club.

226 For fishing they are beginning to use hook and line with increasing skill.

262 Almost all species of fish and aquatic animals are eaten.

222 262 Honey.

To obtain honey, the usual method is to cut down the trunk in which the hive is found, using the ax. Nevertheless, they sometimes manage to climb it and obtain the honey without needing to knock it down. There is also a species of bee which lives in the ground, and its honey must be dug up. They possibly eat the honey of some ten or more varieties of bees.

Eggs.

The eggs of the majority of the wild birds are collected and cooked. They wrap them in leaves and place them on the embers of a wood fire. They are cooked in a short time. Some prefer to eat the eggs when /443/ the chick has begun to form. Turtle eggs are also eaten, but they are scarce, except downriver.

Insects.

Bees are eaten when they are still in the larval form in their nest. Wasps are chased away by means of a torch of dry leaves, which kills or chases away the adult wasps. Then they take down the wasp's nest, which they place for a short time over the hot embers. Roasted wasp larvae are then eaten with pleasure.

Wild fruits and seeds.

It seems that there is not a time without at least a few types of wild fruits and seed in season. Most of these are eaten raw, although a few are cooked. During its harvest, the wabu -- a large seed similar to the frijol -- can be very important, especially when other foods are scarce.

/443 cont./

Domestic Animals

231 Dogs are raised and generally used in hunting.

Birds of almost all types are captured when they are found before leaving the nest. Most of these only survive a few days. It seems that the parrots manage to survive in captivity much better than the other birds, so that almost all the settlements have a domesticated parrot. Turkeys and cranes are included among the other birds which can survive and reach the adult state.

Domesticated monkeys are also favorite animals. It is interesting to observe that almost without exception the monkey is the property of a woman. Doubtless this is related to the fact that women nurse the little monkeys until they are weaned. The mother monkey must be killed in order to be able to capture the little monkey.

Small rodents, such as squirrels and vesper mice, are brought to the house sometimes to be domesticated. One family even went so far as to raise a wild pig (chácharo).

231 766 /444/ When a domestic animal dies, it is incinerated outside the settlement, near some path. Its bones are left in the same spot where they were when the fire consumed them.

241 ## Agriculture

Platanos and banana trees occupy nearly 90 per cent of the cultivated lands. Other fruits include sweet yuca, bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, mapuey /yams/, sugar cane, maize the pijiguao palm /peach palm/, pepper, the papaya, and the sweet potato.

241 524 302 [781] 302 [276] Tobacco, cotton, and onoto /annatto/ are the principal nonedible products. Other nonedible products include a grass whose stem is dried and used for cutting the hair; a variety of root similar to the wild onion is used in magic for hunting, for obtaining a wife, etc.; especially fragrant leaves are used by the women in their ears; and the ingredients used in the processing of "yopo," a narcotic which is blown into the nose.

/444 cont./

241 The land is cleared by first pulling out all the small plants and stems; then the trees which reach a trunk diameter of around 25 centimeters are cut with a machete, and finally the large trees are cut down with an axe.

[313] Sometimes they climb the tree and attach a liana to it so as to be able to pull it to direct its fall.

After the trees have had sufficient time to dry out on the ground, they cut off the branches and pile them up with the underbrush in order finally to burn them. Owing to the abundance of rainfall, it is impossible for them to wait for a dry period. I have seen them burn the weeds in their conuco after it had rained heavily the night before. Sometimes they must bring dry firewood in order to make the damp weeds burn.

An old woman told me one day: "These people of today [412] have it easy. We did not have machetes and axes in former [178] times. Fire was our principal tool. /445/ We had to carry a lot of firewood to pile up around the trees in order to bring them down by fire."

412 There is an indication in their language that at one time they 174 used stone axes before being able to acquire metal axes and [92] machetes. They use the same word, "boo," to designate both the machete and a certain stone which they use for grinding the "yopo" powder. This stone has the proper form for making an ax out of it, if a handle were attached to it. Nevertheless, the relationship between these objects, if there was one at one time, is unknown to the present generation of El Platanal.

241 A bow without a string or a similar stick is the principal 412 instrument which they use for planting. They use it both to loosen the small banana stems for replanting and to open holes in the ground for holding practically any kind of seed.

249 Tobacco is planted first in a garden bed and then transplanted. The small plants are protected from the sun for a few days by means of platano leaves put on a covering for shade.

241 Sometimes a few stakes are fixed in the ground to indicate plantings near the paths, thus keeping the seeds or young plants from being stepped on.

/445 cont./

241 Many of the Guaika /Waica/ are very careful with regard to weeding their plantings, especially when the plants are small. Later, when the plants have reached a good development, they weed the plantings less frequently. Then, perhaps three or more years later, when the land has begun to yield less produce, they cease weeding it altogether and harvest only what has managed to grow by hard efforts.

222 Generally, there is found in these "conucos," at least in the abandoned ones, the "pijiguao" palm. This is because the "pijiguao" begins to produce about the time the earth has become too poor for other produce.

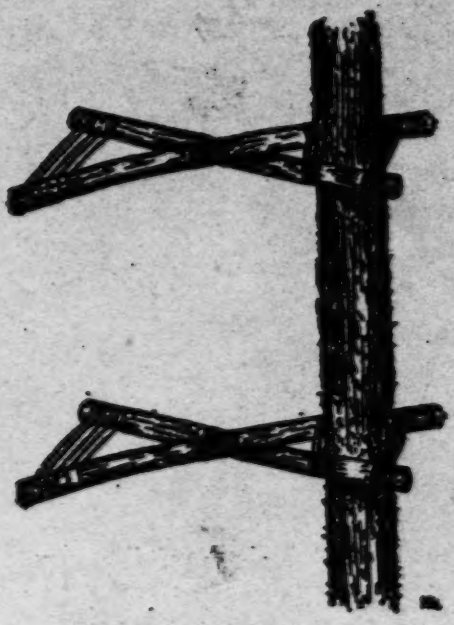
222 481 The fruit of the "pijiguao" palm is harvested by loosening the bunches by means of a long pole with a hook. When the palm has grown too much to perform /446/ this operation from the ground, the Guaika climb it, using two devices, each one made out of a pair of sticks tied together in the form of an X, which, although being adjusted to the thorny trunk of the palm, can be slid up or down while the climber keeps his foot on one of these platforms (see Fig. 1). Once the bunch has been reached and loosened, it is carefully lowered to the ground, tied to a liana to prevent the fruit from being damaged by a fall from such a height. /I [illegible] Fig. 1 appears here./

241 [462] The men are the ones who clear the "conucos." The women go to the "conucos" more than anything in order to transport the harvests to their homes.

241 859 [423] Every family has its own "conuco." Frequently the boys begin to prepare their own "conucos" at an early age (at about 11 years old). Even boys seven years old succeed in having a few of their own plants in the "conuco" of their father or of their older brother. Other boys only help their father in the plantings and have little or nothing until they reach 18 years of age or more.

/446 cont./

222
481



/Fig. 1 / See p. 16 for explanation./

/447/

The Fiesta of the Harvest of "Pijiguao"

527 The fiesta of the harvest of the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm
574 (Bactris gasipaës) is perhaps the most important event of the year. During this harvest everybody has food to spare and consequently
[484] can receive all those who want to visit them. As a result of this there is a great deal of traveling during this period.

[628] Frequently two or three settlements gather in order to celebrate the fiesta. Then one part will go to celebrate the same fiesta in other friendly settlements.

The hosts, and sometimes the visitors as well, go out on a hunting trip, which lasts for several days, until they collect a sufficient quantity of meat. This meat is smoked and preserved for the fiesta.

527 When the hunters come back, the fiesta begins at night with considerable joy and singing. The hunters gather and march around the interior patio of the settlement several times. Then
[526] there begins a mock battle with cudgels. Those who have axes or machetes use these in place of cudgels. They are waved about in the air in a way similar to an attack in fencing or fighting with cudgels. The weapons clash together, but blows are not struck at the body.

After this comes the fire procession. Every man takes a burning torch from the fire and joins the others who go around and around the periphery of the great circular patio formed by the huts. From time to time, when passing in front of one of the surrounding ranchos, they rap with the torch on one of the straight supports which hold up the roof, scattering sparks in the air.

[526] Afterwards, they do what is known as "golpeo al pecho" /hitting the chest/. The boys and a few men pair off against those of another settlement and carry out a duel of blows on the chest. One will present his chest while the other hits it with the side of the fist.

[533] All of these acts are carried out amidst much jubilation and singing. Sometimes this is repeated on the following night.

/448/

527 After this comes the daytime ceremony. A great deal of
276 "yopo" is prepared and placed near the center of the group of huts. Some six or eight boys of the "host" settlement march around the patio and then toward the place where the "yopo" is. Another group of boys follows them rapidly. As each group arrives at the center, the boys receive a puff of "yopo" in the nose. After each and every one of the boys has taken the "yopo" through the nasal passage, the men follow them in the same way, in groups of six or eight. And when all of the "hosts" are in the center, the ones representing the "guest" or visiting settlement, follow them in the same "yopo" ceremony.

527 When each and every one has received his portion of "yopo,"
526 the group of men begins to march around in the center of the
276 circular patio of the settlement. After a few minutes have passed, the men begin to separate off in pairs. The most violent of them begin having duels of blows on the chest. Others, seated by pairs on the ground, talk among themselves in the manner of the crooned messages.

The duels of blows on the chest receive the greatest attention. All those who are not paired off are watching. Also many of the women come to watch them. The group of onlookers approaches so close that only a part of them can manage to see what is actually happening.

527 Some of the men who have taken too much "yopo" lie im-
276 potently on their backs and are dragged out of the sun into the shade of the houses by the women.

And others who have taken a certain excess of "yopo" keep walking around, and their wives have great difficulty in keeping them inside the settlement. If they manage to get into the woods with no one watching over them, they may find themselves in grave danger.

[574] After a while, everything begins to quiet down. Meat and
[484] as much "pijiguao" as it is possible to carry are given to the guests for their return trip. Thus they may take as long as a week on the trip to their settlement without running out of provisions.

/449/

Preparation of Food

251 To keep meat from spoiling, it is first dried directly over the fire. Then it is kept on a rack over the fire, perhaps for several hours, but frequently all night. After this, it is placed a bit farther from the fire, but where the air will keep it dry, although not necessarily warm. I have seen meat kept for some ten days in this way, and doubtless it would have lasted longer had it not been eaten.

252 Meat preserved in this way is still regarded as raw and must be cooked in a pot before being eaten.

Small animals are cleaned, washed, and then boiled whole in a pot. If the animal is large, it is cut up into pieces small enough to fit into the pot. The custom of leaving the skin and [194] hair on them while they cook is perhaps a survival from the time when they did not have knives for skinning them. A string or piece of bark is tied to each piece of meat in order to be able to take it out of the pot to turn it. From time to time they take the meat out in order to prick it many times with a stick so that it will cook more quickly.

When it is finally ready, the head of the family, or the owner of the meat, shares it or divides it into portions which he distributes among his relatives or friendly families.

462 The task of cooking the meat is man's work. He is the
252 owner of the pot, does the hunting, looks for the firewood, and divides and distributes the cooked meat. (Sometimes he sends a boy to deliver the meat to some family on the other side of the circle of dwellings.)

313 The gathering of firewood for cooking food other than meat
462 and for keeping the family warm at night is woman's work. For
[412] this reason the women use the ax much more than the men do.

252 Green platanos are generally peeled and placed directly over the embers, turned a few times, and /450/ taken off when they are found ready to eat. Or they may be placed on a live fire to be cooked, but without being peeled, in order that they may not be blackened. If it is necessary to cook a large quantity of green platanos quickly, they are peeled and boiled in a pot.

/450 cont./

252 Ripe platanas are eaten raw or are boiled and mashed in the form of a soup to be drunk. Half-ripe platanos are placed on the fire with their skin.

The fruit of the "pijiguao" is preferred boiled, although it may be cooked directly on the fire when a pot is not available.

"Sweet yuca," the "mapuey," the "ocumo," the sweet potato, and other edible roots are boiled or roasted directly over the fire.

"Bitter yuca" is pounded on a stone. The juice is squeezed out between the hands, and balls are made with the pulp, or dough, and hung in a basket in such a way that the breeze caused by the fire strikes it. The poisonous juice is preserved with strong peppers and ashes to prepare a liquid which they call "yubu," in which certain foods are dipped and eaten. The cooking of the yuca "dough" is done on a piece of broken pottery. First a layer of this yuca is spread out, being left there until it is to be eaten. This cake is not turned, but is taken off altogether in order to put another one in its place. Then the first cake is placed on top of the second one in such a way that its uncooked side is joined to the latter, and they are left to cook until both are stuck together, then being considered ready. Cakes of some 15 to 20 centimeters in diameter and from one-half to one centimeter in thickness are made in this fashion.

Fish and little birds, larvae, and certain insects are wrapped in leaves and cooked over the embers. Small pieces of meat are also frequently cooked in this fashion.

[222] A large seed in the shape of a frijol, called "wabu," is gathered and eaten. The Indians believe that this seed is poisonous, for which reason they prepare it in the following fashion. It is cooked and thinly sliced. Then it is placed in baskets and put under running water. After remaining for three or /451/ more [262] days under the water, it is considered edible. This seed serves as a reserve in case of a shortage of platanos in the conucos. On such an occasion the whole group moves to live in a place where there is an abundance of "wabu," until the platanos ripen.

/451 cont./

251 The Guaika /Waica/ do not keep reserves of food. All of their foods are cooked fresh or at least within a period of two weeks from the time they are ready. Therefore, in case their conucos have a scarcity of produce, they must go to live in the forest, gathering seeds, fruits, and roots, and devoting more [628] time than usual to hunting and fishing. When another settlement has an abundance of food in a time of scarcity, it would be very fortunate to be able to live completely from this settlement instead of having to subsist from the forest.

Consumption of Food

263 No salt is consumed as such, that is, as salt properly speak- [824] ing. They eat wood ashes, especially the ashes of a tree called "kololi." The ashes may be eaten as they are or with hot water poured over them to obtain a tasty liquid. To this liquid, called "ubu," is added strong peppers. Platanos and other foods are dipped in the resulting sauce to flavor and ingest them.

261 Clay is also dried and eaten, especially the clay from certain nests of insects.

[862] No child may be weaned until it has learned to eat the said ashes and clay.

Earth and clean dust are also eaten. They are considered clean if they are taken from a place where a fire has recently burned, from a river bed, or from a bare spot or bank of sand which the sun has been able to purify.

264 Their hours for eating are as follows: Breakfast is taken shortly after sunrise, and the second turn when they come back from work in their "conucos," generally at some time near midday. They eat again near /452/ sunset. This schedule varies, being adjusted for hunting trips, moving from the settlement, etc. They eat quite a lot between meals, especially wild fruits and bananas and ripe platanos.

/452 cont./

252 Women generally roast the platanos for everyone's breakfast. At noon and in the evening, everyone cooks his own platanos. To a child of seven they might give three green platanos in
[866] their skins, telling him: "Here is your dinner." The child then proceeds to cook them.

264 The Guaika /Waica/ in general have abundant food and eat it with pleasure. They do not look kindly upon remains of food being left. Anyone who does not lick his bowl clean after having drunk his soup of platanos is considered a prodigal.

266 The mere idea of cannibalism is rejected with horror, al-
765 though they do eat the pulverized bones of a cremated relative, after having kept them in a hermetically sealed gourd for about six months.

262 They do not eat carnivorous birds and animals, but carnivorous fish, even the caribe (piranha), are eaten with pleasure. Some
[252] snakes are eaten, others not. They boil them or else they cook them wrapped in leaves upon the embers.

271 Drink, Drugs, and Excesses

The Guaika /Waica/ take extreme care concerning the water they drink. The supply of water for a settlement must be obtained upstream from all the fords which cross the stream or brook. If a Guaika finds it necessary to drink water in a place below a ford, he makes a hole in the sand of the beach and waits until water which has filtered through it gushes up. The water of the current is considered dirty, just as the water from the hole dug
[415] in the beach is clean. Water is transported in gourds by the women for use in the settlement.

273 The Guaika do not prepare any alcoholic beverage.

276 Tobacco leaves are rolled up with ashes and placed in the mouth behind the lower lip. When there is a shortage of tobacco, /453/ they obtain a certain bitter root in the forest, strip the bark from it, and place it behind the lip to diminish the desire for tobacco.

/453 cont./

276 Several varieties of "yupo," of different degrees of strength, are prepared with leaves, bark, and ashes of bark. In the form of powder, it is blown by another into the nose of the one using it. The helper is the one who blows it, but the one using it fills the little tube and consequently is the one responsible with regard to the amount taken.

The "yopo" is connected with their religion and must be taken in order to carry out most of the sorcery, magic, or spells. Nevertheless, some become so addicted to the drug that they take it in great quantities and remain under its influence from midday until evening almost every day.

"Yopo" greatly enlarges the pupil, to the point of almost covering the entire iris of the eye.

The intoxication which it produces is similar to that caused by alcohol, but the effect passes sooner. An excessive dose may leave a person flat on his back, foaming at the mouth, and without strength enough to get up or to resist anything which might be done to him.

291 Clothing

The item of clothing which is fundamental for both men and women is a cord tied around the waist. Men are not considered decently dressed if they do not have the penis held up by the foreskin by the aforementioned cord.

([177]) There is a desire to obtain trousers and shirts for protection against insects.

302 Ornaments

The predominant style of cutting the hair is that of shaving the upper part of the cranium, leaving a border of hair about five centimeters wide around it. The lower edge of /454/ this border of hair should come exactly to the upper edge of the ears and a short space above the eyebrows. The straighter and more abrupt the lines of the hair, the better is the haircut. Sometimes they let the hair grow over the whole head. Sometimes, in order to rid themselves of lice, they shave the entire head. The whole head may be shaved for other reasons as well.

/454 cont./

304 All have the ears pierced. A good number of men and women also have the center of the lower lip pierced. Some women have the corners of the mouth pierced, and a few have the nose pierced.

304 The boys and men wear sticks through their ears, sometimes
301 feathers or also little sticks with feathers. Those who have the lip pierced keep a little stick or a feather there all the time.

The women wear flowers or leaves in their ears. The perforations in the lips and the nose generally have sticks in them. On gala occasions, the little stick which goes through the nasal septum may be as long as the face is wide.

301 In addition to the cords tied around the waist, they frequently
291 wear similar cords around the arms and legs.

The men may also wear a heavy cotton belt and similar bands on a smaller scale on the arms. They may wear feathers fixed on the shoulders and a monkey tail around the head, to emphasize the border of hair, or they may adorn the hair with down.

The women also use a heavy cotton belt, clearly different from the one which the men use.

Girls wear a band at the waist, woven of cotton, with decorations on its front part. They also customarily cross the chest with bands of cotton.

302 Onoto, charcoal, and several other paints are used for body
53 designs. They do not seem to have any religious meaning, but
[386] simply an ornamental purpose. These designs include dots, stripes, wavy lines, and circles. Sometimes they paint a wide strip and then make the design by scraping off the paint. They also imprint upon the skin /455/ ornamental designs by using a "mapire" or the hand, or some combination of these. It seems that some of them have their favorite designs.

Hides, Textiles, and Weaving

239 The skin of the jaguar or of another mammal rarely reaches the settlement in a single piece. But even if it did, it is immediately cut into small pieces so that each one may have a little piece to cover his quiver, or at least a band to wear tied to the arm.

/455 cont./

283 Cotton is spun by means of a hand spindle. This thread is then twisted into three-thread cords.

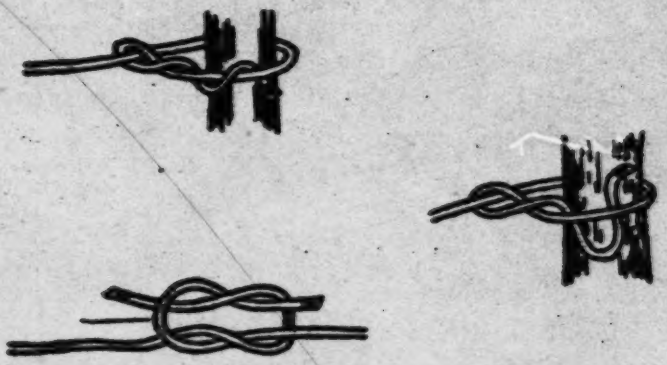
Various fibers of bark are twisted to make bowstrings or fishing lines. These same fibers of bark are frequently plaited to make hammock strings.

The fiber of a certain plant similar to the pineapple is also extracted and twisted, producing a very tough cord.

284 The knots which the Guaika /Waica/ make are very simple and practical. The timber hitch is employed in all cases in [411] which a flexible cord is used. This includes the stringing of the [352] bows. The hammock is hung using a timber slipknot. This knot is made in such a way that it can be instantly untied by a pull. The square knot is used to join the ends of two cords. In the accompanying Fig. 2, we show drawings of the three knots concerned.

287 /456/ A band of bark is made for carrying children. First
854 they obtain a stick of the right size, which is beaten with another stick for several days. The scaly outer bark comes off. Finally, the smaller end of the cylindrical bark is inserted into the larger end (of greater diameter), and the two are then firmly sewed together. The result is a band or strip without rough or cutting edges, which remains flexible and useful for many months.

284



/Fig. 2/

/456 cont./

Preparation of Basic Materials

411
321 The Guaika /Waica/ make their arrow points out of bone. When they obtain a small piece of bone, they quickly transform it into a good arrow-point for killing birds. The long bones of legs and arms of monkeys are broken, and the sharp points which generally result have a form similar to that of arrowheads, are worked and finished, with the rest being thrown away. To give them shape, the points are scraped with knives or machetes and rubbed on some stone.

534
321 I also saw a whistle or a flute which seemed to be made out of bone or out of a quill of large size.

411
322
[824]
[239]
[412] The Guaika make their bows out of wood. They generally select the wood of the "pijiguao" palm. They give it a rough shape, using the machete. They achieve the final form by scraping the piece with the jawbone of a wild pig, the teeth constituting the cutting edges.

322
412
[239] They do wood carving with a small knife, which consists of the tooth of a rodent. With this tooth they manage the fine work of putting notches in the arrows. They also shape bamboo arrow-points and the oblong lower part of the apparatus for making fire.

They devote as much as half a day to carving the handles *for their axes and machetes. They use the machete to shape them.*

323 The Guaika make their pots of mud. The clay is obtained in specific places. This frequently requires a day or more of travel. Once the clay has been brought to the settlement, /457/ they go about extracting the stones from it while kneading it, moistened, for several hours. The pot is begun by taking a ball of mud which is given the shape of a bowl. Then they go on adding rings of mud which they join to the pot. The vessel is scraped and shaped with a piece of broken totuma /fruit of the calabash tree/. During the process of the scraping, they go on increasing the size of the pot. They keep the clay damp and plastic, spitting on it from time to time. After this they put the pot out to dry in the sun and finally bake it in the fire. The vessel comes out of

/457 cont./

323 [114] the fire quite blackened when well baked. On my last trip up-river I had the good luck to see how one of these pots was made, except for the baking in the fire. In spite of being very fragile, these pots are highly esteemed for cooking.

Constructions

342 335 The Guaika /Waica/ dwelling is a roof with only one slope and no walls. The basic structure is a triangle of beams supported at its vertices by uprights. The highest angle is supported by a long upright, while the two lower angles are held up by two short crossed stakes at each corner. Or one of these lower corners might be fixed to a living tree for greater stability.

The uprights are pointed at their lower end and stuck into the ground repeatedly until they are quite firm. Then the main beam, or bearing beam, is tied in place horizontally between the short uprights on which the roof is supported. Then the two diagonal beams which form a triangle with the mainbeam are put in place, and on this basic triangle are added four beams inclined toward both sides. Then the small beams which form the framework which will bear the leaves are put on top. (Fig. 3./see p. 29/.)

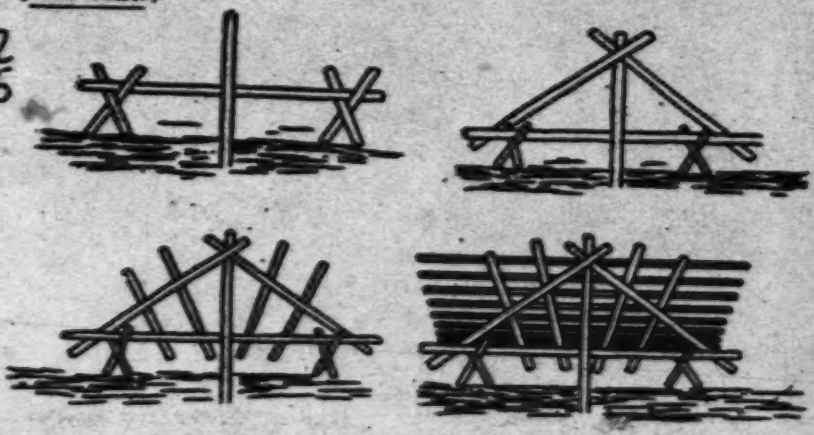
342 [824] The leaves are placed on top like tiles, but are not tied in place. Brush /breñas/ and sticks are put over the leaves so that the wind will not blow them off. Sometimes palm leaves and brush are drawn up against the back eaves so as to form a sort of back wall. /458/ /[illegible]/Fig. 3 appears here./

This basic structure may vary, two or more ranchos being joined laterally and their roofs united.

On sites more suitable for more stable constructions (that is to say, where there is considerable clayey ground and consequently fewer fleas or "niguas"), the Guaika build dwellings with the palm leaves of the roof fixed in place. These dwellings are similar to the more temporary constructions, but are generally larger, and the small beams of the framework are replaced by strings of vine stretched lengthwise across the inclined beams. The palm leaves are fixed to these strings, their stems being bent backwards and down, thus piercing the lower layer of leaves.

/458 cont./

342
335



/Fig. 3/

342

The drawings of Fig. 4 show the two systems of fixing the palm leaves on top of the framework of the roof.

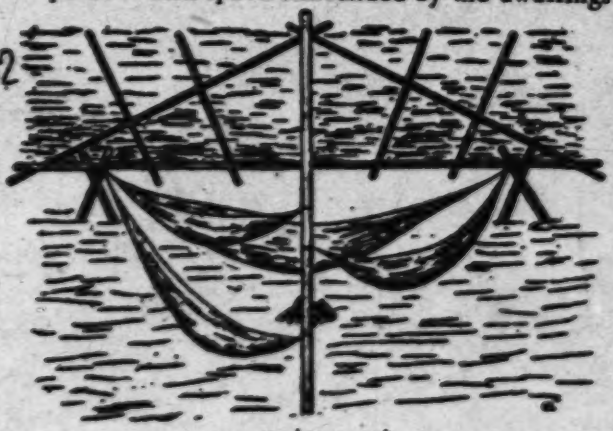
/Fig. 4/

/459/

352 [364] Hammocks are hung triangularly from the posts which support the roof, and a fire is lighted in the center. If it is necessary, one hammock may be hung above another, in such a way that this triangle of two meters may shelter six persons (Fig. 5).

351 [361] These dwellings are located so as to form a circle, with their high and open fronts oriented toward the center of the patio. This space surrounded by the dwellings may or may not

352



/Fig. 5/

351 be completely cleared, but at least all of the small brush is removed from the front and immediate sides. Sometimes they also clear the ground of weeds for space of one meter behind the houses.

356 The dirt floor is cleaned by sweeping or scraping it at least once a day (although between one cleaning and another there might well accumulate on it many platano skins and other objects). The rubbish is piled up, using the hands or a piece of firewood; then it is carried and thrown outside of the central patic Great piles of rubbish and waste accumulate at the edge of these cleared areas. Sometimes they use a flat basket for carrying the rubbish, and very frequently it is carried with nothing but the hands, since they do not always have a basket available, or it might be in use for other jobs.

/460/ Hygienic Measures

514 Toilets for the elimination of excrement are absent. They consider the edge of the patio sufficiently far away for urination. To defecate they go into the forest at some distance from the settlement and away from the paths. An old fallen tree trunk is the preferred site for squatting down, and dry sticks take the place of toilet paper.

No one is capable of intentionally touching dung with the hand or foot. It is considered very dirty, and if one did touch it, his hand or foot must be cleaned and washed immediately.

The dung of dogs and of infants is removed from the patio by pushing it onto leaves with a stick and then throwing these leaves some distance into the forest.

For their nocturnal movements, they put a few leaves on the ground, with which they then make a package; on the following morning they throw them away at some distance from the settlement.

[136] In El Platanal there is a green beetle which buries hard dung. Half an hour after a movement all evidence disappears.

Sites

361 The center of the area in which the Guaika /Waica/ live is the "conuco." In the forest which surrounds the conuco are located their temporary or semipermanent settlements, this depending on the type of terrain, whether it is sandy or clayey.

342 361 [136] Very simple temporary dwellings are used in areas where the fleas or "niguas" are a problem. This type of house consists of a framework of beams for a roof, with leaves placed on top and held down. These same leaves can easily be taken to the site of a new settlement when the Indians move to another, uninfested area.

A more semipermanent type of construction is preferred where the "niguas" do not present a problem and make it impossible to return to the same site. These houses are of /461/ similar construction, but are larger and more durable, and the leaves of the roof are fixed in place. This type of dwelling or shelter takes about five times longer to build in comparison with the temporary type of dwelling.

/461 cont./

361 166 Regardless of what type of dwelling has been built in the settlement near the "conuco," it is the custom of the Guaika that all leave the settlement after a stay of three to six weeks, when they go off either to visit other settlements or to build another temporary seat within the forest, several miles away from their "conuco."

The groups which have semipermanent dwellings return to the same site and to their same dwellings, while those who use only temporary dwellings settle down in another new locality and build new dwellings, for which they have brought the leaves which roofed the ranchos abandoned on the former site. After an old settlement has not been occupied for at least six months the Indians who return from one of these trips in the forest will sometimes stay in such settlements. The "niguas" will have disappeared during this period of six months.

On any site to which the Guaika habitually return, the trees are sooner or later destroyed, leaving the area of the settlement completely cleared.

342 The Guaika build temporary shelters during their hunting trips, and also when they stop overnight while traveling to visit other settlements or on the return trips from such visits. The type of construction is the same as that of the temporary dwellings built on the sites near the "conuco," except that the covering of the roofs consists of easily found large leaves, such as those of the wild platano.

241 361 The Guaika are continually preparing new "conucos." After a new "conuco" some distance away begins to produce, they may divide their time between both "conucos" in proportion to the quantity of platanos which the old and new "conuco" are producing. Then, as the old "conuco" ceases to produce, they begin to live almost entirely on the new site. But during the harvest /462/ the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm, they spend some time near the "conucos" which have stopped producing platanos, where in contrast, the "pijiguao" palm is at its best time.

If a Guaika family wants to change its place of residence for another settlement, all of the new "conucos" of this family will be prepared in or near that settlement. Thus, after a few years, this family can spend all of its time in its new place of residence, in the other settlement, if this is desired.

/462 cont./

Fire

372 The Guaika /Waica/ use the system of simple rotation to make fire. This consists of a piece of soft wood, flattened on one side and rounded on the other, about four centimeters wide at one end, and whose tapering shape ends in a blunt point at the other end. With the tooth of a large rodent they make a circular cut in it near its broader end, and in this is inserted a slender stick (from 30 to 40 centimeters /sic/ in diameter at its base). This stick is held between the palms of the hands and given a rotating movement until a spark burns in the wood dust which has been formed by the rotation of the stick in the hole made in the board. (See Fig. 6.)

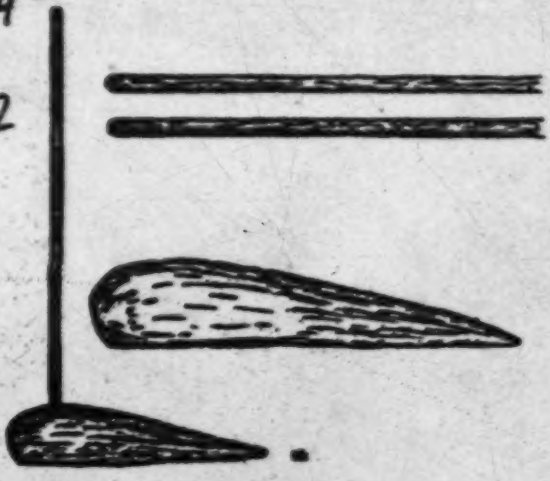
[237] [412]

[824] /463/ The tapered piece of soft wood is of cacao, in which several successive holes can be made, and each hole can be used several times for lighting a fire.

In general there is someone in the settlement who has a fire lighted, so that when some native needs fire he obtains it there. In order to carry fire a short distance, two or three lighted sticks are tied together, forming a fagot. When they travel at night, they carry lighted torches to protect themselves against animals

373 417 484

372



/Fig. 6/

/463 cont./
373 as well as to light the path. Torches of gum and resin are also
416 used sometimes on the paths during the night. but the common
484 type of torch is the fagot of tied pieces of wood. A group which travels at night (as occurs when they are returning after nightfall from the work of fishing) may carry only one torch. Then they stop from time to time to arrange the joined sticks and to revive the fire. keeping it from going out.

373 The wood fire is the principal source of light and heat in the
374 settlements. The fires are kept lighted during the entire night. both to produce warmth and for protection against predatory animals and the spirits of human beings which have returned.

372 There do not seem to be any beliefs or ceremonies related to the production and maintenance of fire.

Weapons

411 The principal weapon of the Guaica /Waica/ is the bow and arrow. They also use macanas.

[824] The bow is made of palm wood. generally of "pijiguao," with a strong string made of threads of bark. This string has [283] three or more threads of twisted bark. which give it great strength.

[249] The shafts of their arrows are made of the festooned part of a certain wild cane. which they cultivate in their "conucos." [237] They feather them with the points of wing feathers of wild turkeys.

Arrow points vary according to the type of game which is to be the target. The wide bamboo point is used /464/ principally against large land animals; the bone one for shooting large and medium-sized birds. and the poisoned points principally for monkeys. Any of these points might be used against man in the event of war. Against small birds they shoot the shaft. first removing the point. or they use a point ramified at the end. made out of a small branch quickly broken off some nearby plant. The accompanying Fig. 7 /see p. 35/ shows the different types of arrow points of the Guaika. /Fig. 7 appears here./

/464 cont./

411 The children make small bows, generally for their games, but
857 they also shoot lizards, which are good bait for fishing. These
[824] bows may be made of several types of wood, but rarely of palm.
The bows of the men are always made of palm.

411 Macanas are used by women for fishing. They are also used
[226] by men in their attacks on other settlements with which they have had more or less friendly relations, for the purpose of recovering the wife or daughter held captive there.

[531]

/Fig. 7/

Poisons

278
[226] A variety of poisons for fishing are used by the Guaika /Waica/. One comes from a vine, another from the husk of a prickly nut, and the third from the bark of a certain thick tree.

[411] Arrow points are poisoned with the poison from the bark of a vine. They scrape the bark, and the scrapings, /465/ wrapped in leaves, are kept dry by hanging them over the current of air from a fire until they are needed.

On the day when an Indian is going to prepare poison, every man of the settlement gets ready to prepare a set of arrow points to be poisoned.

The preparer of the poison begins by pulverizing the scrapings of bark between the palms of his hands. He constantly utters a
[415] series of shouts and grunts while doing this. Then he places the pulverized bark in a funnel made of leaves, into which hot water

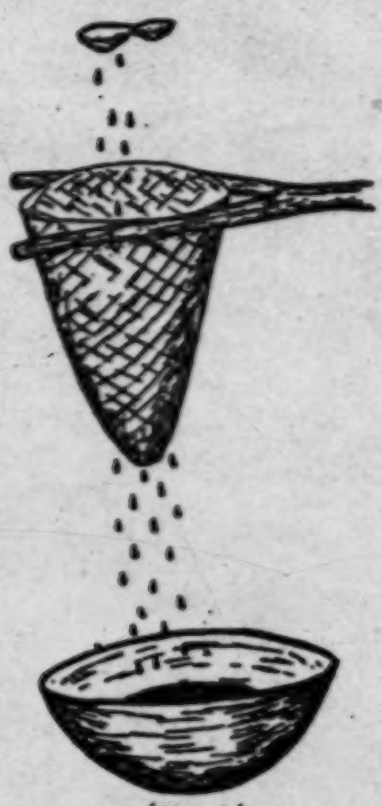
/465 cont./

278 [415] /466/ is poured, a few drops at a time. The liquid which seeps through is collected in a toruma. Fig. 8 shows the procedure.

Several fires are lighted around, and after a short time the firewood is scattered so that there will be no flames, but only burning embers.

278 411 Then the sets of arrowheads which are to be poisoned are stuck into bundles made of leaves and placed in such a way that the points remain over the embers. The poisonous liquid is then smeared on the points, in small quantities each time, drying immediately. All the poison is smeared on the points on the day it is prepared. The accompanying Fig. 9 /see p. 37/ shows the procedure. /Fig. 9 appears here./

278 415



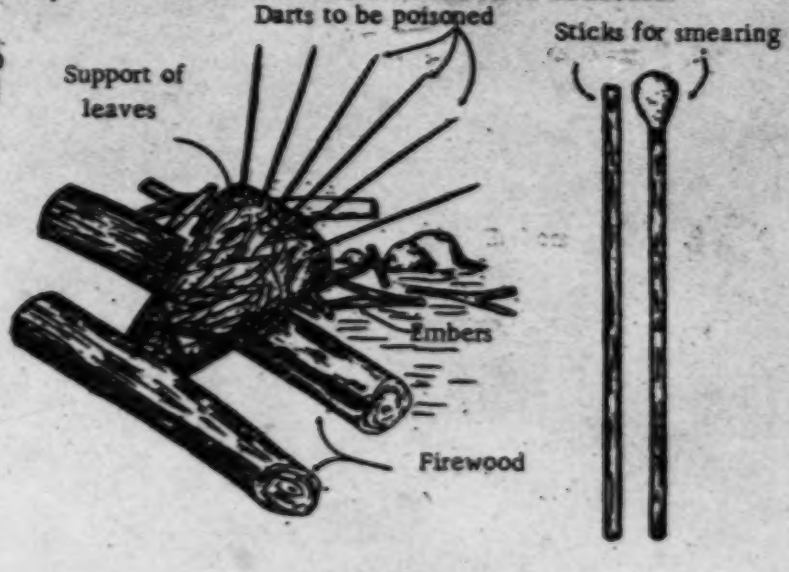
/Fig. 8/

/466 cont./

298
411 Some of the sticks used for applying the poison to the arrow-heads are of palm and have a hole near one of the ends for holding poison. Others have a wad of cotton or of any absorbent material tied to the end in order to be saturated with the poison.

411 When the poison has dried on the arrow points, the latter are kept in the quiver, which consists of a bamboo tube, always ready to be attached to the shaft of the arrow as needed.

298
411



/Fig. 9/

/487/

Property and Ownership

423 Every man has property rights over the land which he has cleared for the planting of the "conuco," until he has abandoned it.

When a settlement returns to a former site, every man has the right to build his new dwelling in the same place where the previous one was, if he should so desire, even when the place might have been covered by the forest, as frequently occurs.

422 Every person possesses his own hammock and ornaments.

[423] The men are owners of the "conucos," the dwellings, the clay pots, hunting and fishing equipment, and that for making fire, and the machetes.

Women possess the baskets, the spinning equipment, the totumas for water, the bands for carrying children, the firewood, and the leaves of the roof.

Both the men and the women may possess axes, knives, mirrors, beads, or other objects which they might have made or acquired.

437 Objects change ownership either by gift or by barter. Bartered objects are generally those which cannot be made or obtained by everyone. These include foreign articles (e.g., machetes, matches, etc.) and also domestic articles which are made only by certain persons or products which everyone does not have the ability to make successfully (e.g., clay pots for cooking, the strongest type of "yopo," totumas for water, and shafts for arrows).

431 Articles to which each and every person has access, such as foodstuffs, water, baskets, and small totumas or gourds, are generally given away when they are divided up. Sometimes even scarce articles are given to intimate friends.

[572]

/467 cont./

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.
[241] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in
[482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the house. They may call upon the women to help them when the game has been brought into the vicinity.

[226] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The women fish with macanas and with baskets.

[499] The men build the bridges.

[342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the
[482] settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family. For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own platanos. The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

/468 cont./

Traveling and Transportation

487 They make almost all their trips on foot by paths and trails. Bridges are built over the largest rivers. Other rivers are waded or crossed on tree trunks.

/469/ New paths are marked by breaking branches in passing. On old roads they indicate the path or paths which have not been taken, leaving some object or a little pile of leaves at the entrance of same. A stick may be tied to an abandoned dwelling to indicate in what direction the former occupant has moved.
621 (A settlement may split up into groups when it abandons the
166 site in the area of the "conuco," and therefore this sign does not necessarily mean that the entire settlement has gone off in that direction.)

166 The Guaika /Waica/ travel frequently, but generally not
628 very far. The nearest settlement -- perhaps a day away -- is usually as far as they go. The settlement beyond this might be an enemy settlement, or at least not very friendly. Even neighboring settlements have such bad relations with one another that
698 they rarely visit among themselves. But the settlements which
574 are on friendly terms visit each other very frequently, and, when both live in the areas of the conucos, visitors come and go between them every few days.

574 The reasons for visiting are principally to see friends or to stay until their own "conuco" (which might be in a period of little production) begins to produce again.

Standards of Living

513
[345] The Guaika /Waica/ consider it essential to sleep every night under a roof. Thus, they always build some sort of shelter.

[354] A fire is also essential. A Guaika will not sleep without a fire at night. He needs it to obtain heat and to protect himself from animals, and with the fire he feels safer from evil spirits.

/469 cont./

513 352 The third essential thing is the hammock. The Guaika must have a hammock in order to sleep at night. In his dwelling he has a cotton hammock or a hammock made of vines split longitudinally. On a hunting trip he may travel with his hammock made out of cords of vine or without carrying any. In this latter case, each night he will make a temporary hammock /470/ out of cords of bark, and, in case he stays in the same general area, he will use it for several nights. Then, in order to travel light, he will abandon this hammock of cords of bark and will go to his home, where his good hammock awaits him.

262 594 [251] The supply of food which the Guaika have is generally good and apparently quite nutritious. From time to time there is a shortage, and they do not accumulate reserves. Shortages are generally not too serious, for which reason they can usually bear the period of privation, subsisting from a neighboring settlement, which will be paid back for the visit when in its turn bad times come to it.

261 726 The complete loss of a "conuco" as a result of being constantly driven out of the area by an enemy is a quite serious matter. We observed a settlement (that of Bichaasatedi) subsisting with great difficulty for a year until its new "conuco" began to produce, after having been driven out of their former area by a hostile group (the one from Liakoatedi).

352 The Guaika do not make seats, but they rarely sit on the ground if they can avoid it. Generally they sit in a hammock or on a piece of firewood.

512 On an ordinary day the Guaika awake with the dawn. The wife prepares the roasted platanos for the whole family. Around 7:30 or 8:00 the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement go to work in the "conuco." Those who remain in the settlement in general rest the entire morning. Some few women gather in a party and go out to make firewood out of a dead tree, recently fallen. Those who work in the conuco begin to come back at noon. On the way to the settlement they bathe in the stream. After a brief rest each person roasts a few platanos for his lunch. Then, around 2:00 in the afternoon, the [276] "yopo" is prepared, and it is blown up the noses of many of the

/470 cont./

512 [276] men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] [721] [196] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

[535] [533] [203] [594] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 551 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Until the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

/471 cont./

551 When a person is called by his own name, he frequently returns the insult by calling the offender by his own name.

/472/ The names of persons are distinguished by their masculine or feminine suffixes, in such a way that he can always be sure to which sex the person referred to belongs, even though this might not have been known. The names which end in "-wa" are masculine, and those which end in "-mi" or in "-ma" are feminine.

552 Dogs are also given proper names. Their names are distinguished by the endings for the gender. Other domestic animals rarely receive a proper name and rather are called monkey, parrot, etc.

Relations between Persons

576 The greatest compliment which can generally be made to another person who has acquired a new object is to say: "Give me that." The usual reply is: "No." Such a person is highly pleased to know that he has acquired something desired by another.

574 When a visitor (or group of visitors) comes to visit a settle-
572 ment, he stays outside and decorates himself with painting, feathers, etc. Then, when the inhabitants of the settlement see him coming, they break out in applause. The visitor enters the interior patio of the settlement and stands with his head thrown back, holding his bow and arrows out in front, resting vertically on the ground. When he is invited to enter a house, he goes to it and lies down in a hammock on his back, with his head back, remaining motionless for ten to twenty minutes. (A person who frequently visits the settlement knows the house in which he will be well received and goes to it without waiting to be invited.)

574 Once the visitor has rested, he is offered some food. As soon as he finishes eating, and sometimes even before, he breaks his silence and begins to talk with the group which has gathered around him in order to watch him. Then he remains in this same house, where he is given food as long as his visit lasts. They never think of charging him for the food, but an undesirable visitor is either not invited or advised to leave.

/472 cont./

574 A visitor who comes to a settlement where only one family is friendly with him can expect a very different reception. He can certainly expect the welcome of his friends, /473/ but the rest of the settlement, rather than applauding him, will shout at him: "Enemy group attacking! Enemy group attacking!" And at the same time they will point at him with their bows and arrows and also point all around as if they were going to fight an attacking enemy group. Quite a chilly reception, to say the least!

865 When two lads become angry with each other and fight, each one must be prepared to receive a blow equal to the one which he has given. If one hits the other on the chest with the fist it is expected that the former will present his chest to the latter to receive a like blow, and so forth. The scuffle continues until one of the two considers that he has received enough and refuses to return the blow which he has just received, or until one of the two combatants really gets angry and loses his temper. Then, in general, the others intervene. Frequently, when two boys are fighting, they are encouraged to keep hitting each other until both come to wish that they had never started the fight. The boys quickly learn to be careful not to start a scuffle.

If someone maltreats a lad smaller than he, he can be sure that he will be paid back for it by one of the relatives of the little one or by some spectator.

Marriage and War

584 A matrimonial union can be arranged considerably in advance with the consent of all who are interested. A girl nine years old may already be engaged to some boy.

But more frequently the girl reaches puberty without any arrangement having been made for her future marriage. Then the suitors not only have to solicit the favor of the girl, but also that of the whole settlement where she lives. Frequently it respects the selection made by the girl and rejects the suitors whom she does not want, but the settlement might give her in marriage against her wishes.

/473 cont./

583 628 To a suitor who does not obtain the consent of the girl's settlement there is no other path but to look for a wife elsewhere or to try to abduct the girl in order to make her his /474/ wife. If he decides to do this latter, he gathers together his sympathizers; these are mostly men of the suitor's own settlement, although other friends may also help him. The group attempts to take the girl prisoner at a careless moment, carrying her off by force. The friends of the girl come to help her, starting a hand-to-hand fight. If the suitor manages to flee with the girl, she becomes his wife, but if he fails, he cannot make another attempt at abduction without then being considered a real enemy, and as such he will run the risk of being shot with an arrow and not simply have to put on a fight.

If a settlement decides not to accept the abduction committed for one of its girls for matrimonial purposes, a call for help can be made to a neighboring settlement, all of the men [411] gathering in a band, ready to recover her. The weapons used on such a raid are smooth poles about six feet long, intended not to kill the opponent, but to knock him down, leaving him hors de combat. If such a raid is successful, the girl is returned to her parents. And if the raid fails, any new attempt to recover the girl involves the risk of the attackers' being shot with arrows, since they would then be considered as true enemies. Both the men and the women can fight on the defense in case of such a raid.

A suitor alone or with the help of a few friends may succeed in carrying out the abduction of a wife, generally by finding the girl practically alone and carrying her off to his own settlement. In such cases the settlement of the abductor cannot back him, obliging him to return the woman to her parents rather than to lose their friends in her settlement.

721 302 When a raid to a truly hostile settlement is planned for the purpose of abducting a wife or other objects of value, each one of the members of the attacking band paints himself entirely 726 [411] black or dark maroon. For such raids the weapons are the bow and arrows, and, when the fight starts, both groups shoot to kill. Should the attacking band be small, it can only hope to capture some girl or woman who is alone in her "conuco" or /475/ cutting wood in the forest. Then it will try to escape with the

/475 cont./

726 booty without being discovered, because if they were, they would generally have to abandon the prisoner and flee in order to save their lives.

If the invading band is large, that is to say, made up of several settlements, it might be sufficiently strong to attack all of a full settlement. If an entire settlement can be put into disordered flight, many of the women and girls are easy prey for the attackers. Girls between 12 and 18 years of age are regarded as the best booty. It is almost certain that some of the men, especially of the settlement being attacked, will lose their lives or be wounded in the attack. Not always are women the only booty; every kind of object of value is abandoned in the hasty retreat. Such raids do not occur very frequently, but their possibility keeps the population in constant fear of them.

727 After having thus been attacked, the settlement can decide to abandon the entire area and found a new "conuco" in another area, or all of the friendly settlements might be called on to help in the reprisal raids.

712 When the enemy camps near a settlement at a distance closer
726 than usual, or if there is some other reason to fear a raid, stockades or palisades are built. Posts and poles about 15 centimeters in diameter and two or more meters in length are tied in a vertical position, closing off all the approaches, particularly the pathways. Palm leaves and weeds are piled up against these walls to prevent the enemy from looking through the interstices. On the outside of these palisades, for a distance of 30 to 50 meters, all the trees are cut and left lying in thick underbrush as one more obstacle for the enemy intruders. Furthermore, under the eaves, at the back part of each and every house, they make an additional wall of sticks of firewood longer than usual. Should an attack occur, the women and children throw themselves against these walls of firewood in the back of the houses, while the men take their defensive positions and shout vigorous war cries, making their bows rattle in order to impress the enemy with their number and preparation.

726 /476/ In general prolonged sieges are not attempted, out of fear that someone who came to visit the besieged settlement might have seen the attackers and gone in search of help. As a result of this the source that supplies them with water is generally not defended.

Frequently, before carrying out a larger attack, the attacking settlement moves into the forest so that the families may be sheltered while the men go out to battle.

583 628 If two young persons wish to marry, but one or both of their settlements do not favor their matrimonial union, they may flee to a settlement where they will be accepted and establish their home there. If they do not find a settlement that will shelter them, they must separate and try to contract marriage by the usual means, or they have to abandon their plan altogether.

586 628 A wife maltreated by her husband may flee from him by going to a settlement prepared to defend her, or to one where her husband would not dare go because of being considered an enemy there.

If a wife runs off alone or with another man, the husband may organize an expedition armed with macanas or clubs to regain her, but in this case, too, he can only make one single attempt. If she has taken the children with her, he can try to recover both the wife and the children or only the children, or some of them.

586 If a man abandons his wife, in general nothing can be done about it.

If the man and the woman separate by mutual agreement, the former generally keeps the children. Sometimes the smaller children remain at the side of the mother until they are of sufficient age to cook their own platanos (perhaps five or six years old).

587 The second marriage differs very little from the first marriage. In the majority of cases a virgin is preferred to a widow or to a married fugitive.

581 No man remains unmarried by his own will. If he is unmarried, it is because he has not been able to obtain a wife.

/477/

582 A young woman cannot remain unmarried for a long time, but some manage to reject all their suitors for several years
587 after puberty. A widow, especially a widow with children, sometimes remains alone forever after the death of her husband.

Making Peace

628 When one settlement wishes closer friendship with another,
202 it sends a messenger to offer more friendly terms.

628 If the settlements are only "macana enemies," a messenger
202 of the very settlement that takes the initiative might go, but if
728 the settlements are "arrow enemies," then it is necessary to send a messenger from a settlement which is friendly with both of the settlements in question. The messenger who is a member of a settlement that is an "arrow enemy" would run the danger of being shot with an arrow before giving the message.

628 Thus, two very hostile settlements might manage to suspend
728 the raids between them. Later, they might agree not to fight any more should they see one another in a friendly settlement. Until they arrive at this accord, a neutral settlement friendly to both, when it is visited by people from one of these settlements hostile to each other, must send a message to the other, warning that they should not come so long as there are visitors from the hostile settlement in it. Still later they might agree to receive the visit of a small group of visitors from the other
[572] enemy settlement, for commercial purposes. From this time on the two settlements can undertake their negotiations directly, and friendships begin to form among their respective members.
[582] Then, when one settlement, out of good will, gives its own girls as wives to the men of the other settlement, it can be said that they have recovered; they have truly become good friends.

While the greater the number of persons involved in a dispute or a fight, the less the probability that the opposing bands will reach an understanding after a short time, the disputes within a settlement itself are in general settled quickly. Within a few months all will have been forgotten. /478/ Disputes between settlements which have not gone beyond macana fights are usually forgotten in a year or two. Disputes between settlements which have occasion to use arrows, especially if someone has

/478 cont./

628 728 been killed, might require a greater number of years to be reconciled. Disputes which have reached the proportions of regional wars are rarely forgotten within the same generation, since there is hardly any neutral settlement left by means of which peace negotiations can be made.

The Family

591 606 A newly married couple may live in the settlement of the wife's parents or in that of the husband's parents. But if they decide to live in the settlement of the wife's parents, they cannot live in the same dwelling with them, because it is prohibited (taboo) for the husband to approach his mother-in-law. He can enter her house only when she is outside. He would not dare to come any closer to her than three or four meters. If the couple decides to live with the husband's parents, there are no such restrictions, since there is no prohibition against the daughter-in-law approaching her mother-in-law. Even suitors customarily lodge on the side opposite that of the house of their future mother-in-law, in their town.

595 [578] The majority of the men have but one wife. Those who wish to, and are able to, may have two or more wives. This practice makes more acute the shortage of marriageable women and may be one of the principal causes of the fights over wives which are started by men who have remained without any.

When a man has more than one wife, his wives may live in the same house or in several houses in a row. They work together, but each one has her own property. Frequently they are sisters since a man is more likely to marry the sister of his wife than to find another wife elsewhere.

593 Within the family it is the man who exercises authority. I only know of one case where the woman gives orders in the house, and this because her husband is mentally deficient.

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621 [62] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and therefore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups soon split up, owing to internal frictions. [578]

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

/479 cont./

75 If a child is frightened, the mother or guardian quickly
774 takes a handful of leaves and sweeps the place where the little creature was frightened. They do this so that the child's soul will not run off in fear and the child become sick.

/480/ Sometimes when a child is sick, they believe that the soul of the little creature has abandoned its body. Then they dispatch commissions in pursuit of it, which pass through the sites where they suspect that the child has been, and they come back sweeping the path with some branches and calling aloud for the little creature. If the child improves, it is because its soul was found; otherwise they must have missed the site where it was.

755 They believe that some sicknesses are due to the spirit or
[753] spirits which have got into the body of the sick person. In order
[776] for the sick person to recover his health, the harmful spirit must be cast out of his body. The one who tries to remove this spirit from the body of a sick person first takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage. He then intones a crooning song, while he marches to and fro in front of the patient. Then, from time to time he approaches the latter and rubs the affected part, which he pinches and hits, pulling on it, threatening the spirit and asking it to go away, making all sorts of noises in order to frighten the spirit (or spirits) so that they will go away. After being with his patient for a few minutes, he resumes the crooning. This practice is repeated many times, and if the desired outcome is not obtained, other men will test their forces, trying to cast out from there the harmful spirit.

[776] They might then come to the conclusion that this is not a matter of a sickness caused by a spirit hidden in the body of the sick person, but rather by one which has hidden in some part of the settlement. Thus a group of men organizes a "hunt for the spirit." Each of them takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage, and, after crooning for a short time in front of the sick person, they begin to make an inspection throughout the settlement, house by house, inspecting every basket and corner, swinging machetes and axes, pointing with the arrows, blowing through the "yopo" tubes as if they were blowguns, continuing the whole

/480 cont./

755 time their croonings and threats directed at the harmful spirit. From time to time they pick up some object which they take with them. Sometimes they finish by inspecting the whole circle of houses, but more frequently the one who heads the "hunt for the spirit" points with his finger at some object, which one of them picks up, the whole group suddenly rushing toward the hut where the sick person is.

755 /481/ Frequently one of those who participate in the "hunt
787 for the spirit" falls into a paroxysm, which he generally ends with a tremendous leap into the air, to fall unconscious on the ground. The women immediately bring water and after a while manage to revive him.

On one occasion a man who was crooning before a sick child suddenly lost his mind and began to say strange things. It seemed as though a strange power had seized him, to the point where it was necessary for six men to hold him so that the women could throw water on him to bring him out of his spell.

754 They also believe that a man can "send" a sickness or misfortune to another. Frequently the majority of the croonings which they intone in the evenings when they have taken "yopo" are designed to "send" calamities to their enemies.

754 On a certain occasion, when all were camped about two
752 hours of travel from the settlement, a girl was bitten by a poison-
123 ous snake. Her father came to get me to treat her. He told me that he was very angry, and he asked me if it were I who had sent the snake. He was very pleased when I assured him that I had not sent it.

754 They believe that a person can cause an enemy great harm, sickness, and even death, by gathering up "the track" of the enemy and rubbing it between the palms of the hands. For this reason the Guaika /Waica/ do not like to walk in front of somebody who is not in all certainty his friend, especially over soft earth.

The Guaika prepare certain powders which, when they are thrown in the air or blown in the direction of an enemy, can cause him annoyances or harm, according to what they believe, although the said enemy might be many miles away in another settlement.

/481 cont./

832 They believe that another substance is effective against women, especially if it is thrown at them. They use it to frighten them, and it also forms a part of the ceremony in which a man shows his preference for a woman whom he wishes to make his wife.

784 753 There is a taboo with respect to the burning of cloth or paper. The burning of cloth or paper, according to what they believe, causes sickness and /482/ perhaps death. The Guaika do not dare to do it "against an enemy," since they are afraid that they might die also.

753 705 Men cannot see a "bole" -- the spirit or soul of a dead person which has returned -- but women can see them on occasion, and, when they do, it is almost certain that the "bole" will make them sick. The "bole" has two eyes like embers, a cold skin, and in general has human forms. It customarily passes by way of the paths, especially at night, and frequently returns to abandoned settlements. They can talk and shout like a man; and many strange noises which are heard in the woods are attributed to the nearness of a "bole." The fall of a tree by itself is also attributed to a "bole."

[781] Once a woman told us about her encounter with a "bole." She had been awakened by something which touched her and hit her in the ribs. When she woke up, a voice said to her: "There are enemies outside." She became very frightened and did not go back to sleep for the rest of the night.

The mere presence of a "bole" is considered sufficient to cause an acute pain in some part of the body.

Frequently we were asked by the Indians if there were "boles" the night before in the surroundings.

It is believed that the "boles" travel alone in open country. Thus, they assume that a few palm leaves obstructing the entrance to the path are usually sufficient to block their way. It is also believed that fire is an effective weapon against the "boles" whereas an arrow would be useless.

751 There is a belief that a certain seed is efficacious for keeping danger away from the children. They string these seeds as if they were beads and hang them around the child's neck.

/482 cont./

753 Any strange or rare object can be considered to have given rise to an epidemic. According to their knowledge and understanding, it might be some kind of foreign sorcery.

755 The Guaika appreciate our medicine for the treatment of
177 sores and sicknesses, but for them this medicine is simply another enchanted or magical substance.

752 /483/ The treatment which they use for a bee sting is to tie the member thus hurt with a piece of vine or string above the sting. They also suck the poison out of the wound.

The treatment for the bite of a spider or snake is similar, tying and sucking. Later, the croonings are considered appropriate for driving away evil forces.

If a man is wounded by a poisoned dart, the wound is sucked and he will live. If he is wounded where the poison cannot be sucked out, he will quickly die. When an animal or a man is mortally wounded by a poisoned arrow, he falls, loses control of his muscles, and then dies, shuddering, perhaps when the poison reaches the heart or lungs.

751 One who has killed an enemy on a raid must sit down on
757 the ground and, taking a little piece of vine (perhaps some two centimeters in length), has to scrape one side of his own head in different places. If he fails to do this, some evil may overtake him.

755 Sick persons receive all possible care, in addition to all the
758 incantations and exorcisms which are cast against the opposing forces of the spirits.

758 A sick person is well fed. If it is not possible for him to take certain foods, the Guaika will make every possible effort to get for him what he can eat.

An old woman who had an infection in her mouth and a throat so large that it was almost impossible for her to swallow anything was given honey as food. They tipped her head back and poured the honey into her mouth. They had a fire lighted for her all the time, and someone was with her constantly. When the settlement moved, she was carried on a man's back by means of a strap or cord such as is customarily used for loads or small children.

/483 cont./

758 515 They bathe sick persons. If the patient cannot go to the stream, they bathe him part by part at home and even in his own hammock.

/484/ Death

763 They are generally afraid of death and make every effort to keep a dying person alive for a while longer. When someone is in danger of dying, the relatives and friends hold meetings for lamentations at least once a day.

764 [302] When a dying person expires, a time of mourning begins. Then, at about 3:00 in the afternoon, the funeral begins. The relatives and friends begin to paint themselves. There is much [535] crying and lamentation. The women dance forward and backward, groaning and carrying several poisoned darts in one hand. If there are young children, they are frequently carried also. If the deceased is a little one, its little body may be carried during the final part of this mourning dance. A few closely related men and the intimate friends also participate in the dance.

After the lamentations have continued for a quarter of an hour more or less, the men go out in search of firewood and light a fire of two meters in front of the dwelling where the corpse is lying. When the fire reaches an adequate size, the body is carried there in a hammock made of cords of vine and placed on the fire. Then they put more wood on top of the [766] corpse. If the deceased is an infant, they place it in the fire in a flat basket rather than a hammock. They keep the fire burn- [765] ing until around ten at night. Then they gather up the bones, wrap them in leaves, and hang them in the house.

If someone should die far from the settlement, his body is wrapped in leaves tied with vines and carried to the settlement to be cremated.

765 About three days after the cremation, the bones are pulverized in a small trough and then kept hermetically in a gourd capped with beeswax. The trough is made by using a machete to carve out the hole, burning its interior. They use it only once. After it is used, both the trough and the pestle are burned. Much weeping accompanies the process of pulverization and sealing the remains in the gourd.

/485/ cc./

765 This funerary gourd which contains the remains is kept with the other objects that belong to the family. Then, one [766] fine day, they prepare a soup of platanos in which they mix the powdered bone. The near relatives drink this soup. All weep at this moment, as at the first funeral.

795 The Guaika believe that the correct observance of these practices has much to do with the life of the person after his death. If they do not manage to recover the body of a man killed in war and cremate it, his death is considered a doubly great calamity. A statement such as that of "We shall not cremate you when you die" consequently means a powerful threat.

Religion

[772] The Guaika /Waica/ have an idea that one ascends into heaven when one dies. This heaven is a good place, but less desirable than the present life. They also have an idea of hell, a place even less desirable to go to when one dies.

774 A person is for them body, soul, and spirit. The word to 775 designate soul also means "shadow" or "reflection." And the 828 word to designate spirit also means "cloud." Thus, the soul retains the form of the body, but the spirit can be formless.

The soul can abandon the body and return later. A seriously sick person in general loses consciousness while his soul is [753] absent. This is why they frequently go looking for the soul of a sick child, to return it to his body. The soul of an adult, on the other hand, should know how to find its way back.

The spirit abandons the body only with death.

775 A formal cremation and the rites which follow cremation help to ensure that the deceased, upon dying, will go to the most desirable place of the other life.

The Guaika believe that the spirits in heaven eat certain wild fruits. They are afraid that an enemy might /486/ return after death and cause sicknesses and other calamities to the people still corporeal. Many of these incorporeal spirits wander about the paths, especially at night. As we have said before, they are called "<u>boles</u>."

/486 cont./

825 821 [774] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame," "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 776 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

[753] "Soliliwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 754 Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are re- [756] ligious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them.

802 Numbers and Measures

The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

/487 cont./

804 They determine measures by comparing one thing with another. Thus, a man lies down on the ground to determine the distance which separates the posts which he is going to plant for setting up his hammock. In the same way the Indian measures the size of his belt by means of a string before making himself a woven cotton belt of the same length as that obtained with the string.

Weights are determined by lifting the object and mentally comparing its weight with that of other objects which have been lifted previously.

805 Time Reckoning

The Guaika /Waica/ divide the solar day as follows: morning, while the sun rises; the period of midday, while the sun is high in the heavens; afternoon, until the rapid setting of the sun; and night. A more precise time of day is indicated by pointing to where the sun is at the moment, where it was, or where it will be when a certain event will occur.

A period of time is correlated approximately with the distance that can be covered during this time. For example, they say: "We shall arrive at the house when the sun reaches that height (and they point to it)." Or they would say: "He will be back in the time that it would take you to go from here to the river."

The Guaika do keep count of the days. They count the weeks by the phases of the moon. They also count the lunar months. The seasons of the year are reckoned according to the cycle of the fruits. A year is the time that passed between two similar harvests.

1/4 Birth

This part of my essay has been kindly written for me by Mr. Edwin Killam, to whom we must express our thanks for his esteemed collaboration.

/488/

844 [123] James Barker (author of the essay) and I (Killam) were invited to witness the birth of a child. Our house was about 200 meters away from the Guaika settlement. We were able to hear the moans of the woman in confinement. When we arrived at the settlement, the father-in-law of the Indian woman was performing a stimulating dance in front of the dwelling which he shared with his son and his daughter-in-law.

At a short distance behind the house, in a clearing made in the woods and away from the path, there were several women, including the woman in confinement. We were taken along a path near to the place where the women were. There were several other persons observing the event along with us: a couple [123] of men and some children. They seemed to be only slightly interested, the children trying to make us go away from there in order to play with them.

The woman in confinement was walking incessantly from one side to the other, complaining about her pains, until she finally settled down on the ground among some weeds. We waited for some 15 minutes. Then, after having heard the cry of the infant, one of the women assisting called us. The child, a little girl, had just been born. The mother received us with a smile. She had squatted down, holding the baby upright in her lap. Two of the women proceeded to cut the umbilical cord, using a piece of cane, and then they stuffed it with some green leaves.

The mother gathered up the afterbirth with her hands, wrapping it in green leaves which a girl brought her. Another person later took it away. Then the mother rubbed mud and [825] humus over the place where the afterbirth had been. They said that this is done for protection against wild animals.

Meanwhile, someone brought water in a gourd. The mother took a mouthful, which she then squirted gently over her little creature, bathing it with the water warmed in her mouth.

After the little girl had been bathed, they placed her on green, clean leaves, covering her with a few branches. Several of the women walked back and forth above her several /489/ times.

844 123 /489 cont./ They also invited us to do this, but, not knowing the meaning of the practice, we declined to do so.

846 After this, the mother took the little creature and went off to her house. There she rested for two or three days before resuming her work in the "conuco."

844 Later, another child was born at night. We were not there, but we were informed that it had been born in the house, to which green leaves were brought for the birth.

Puberty

881 To reach puberty is an important event, especially for the girls. It is considered that the girl has reached puberty at her first menstruation. Her mother, older sister, or another woman who might be her guardian gathers leaves and builds a wall around her hammock to isolate her from everything. For approximately one week, the girl never leaves this area. Her mother brings her food, water, firewood, and any other things which might be needed.

At the end of this retirement, the girl comes out, adorned with flowers, leaves, cotton belts, strings of beads, and feathers.

Maturity

885 622 A man is considered mature when he has marriageable children. The head of a settlement is frequently a grandfather, but sometimes the settlement may be governed by a somewhat younger man.

Old Age

888 Retirement from active life is somewhat gradual, depending upon the strength of the individual.

Old persons are respected, but they are no longer leaders in the affairs of the settlement. They are cared for even when they are no longer capable of contributing to their own support. /Plates I-V follow./

7: Barker--61 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate I

342
361

The primitive huts of the Guaika, roof-on-posts type, lined up in a broad circle, have their fronts toward the great central patio free of vegetation. (Photo. by the author.)

616
854

Guaika women with their babies. Note the manner of sitting, in El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

7: Barker--62 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Plate II

Waica

A Guaika woman carrying her child by means of a band or strap of bark. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

The women carry great weights hanging from the head and shoulders. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

7: Barker--63 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate III

291
252
302
415

The men cook the meat from hunting. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

372
516
302

They produce fire by making a little stick rotate between the palms of the hands, with the friction end resting on a piece of soft wood. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

7: Barber--64 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate IV

302

The Guaika--women and men--shave the head, leaving only a ring of hair all around. Notice the scars on this warrior. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

342
262
516

Interior of a Guaika hut, in El Platanal. The platano is one of the principal foods in their diet. (Photo. by the author.)

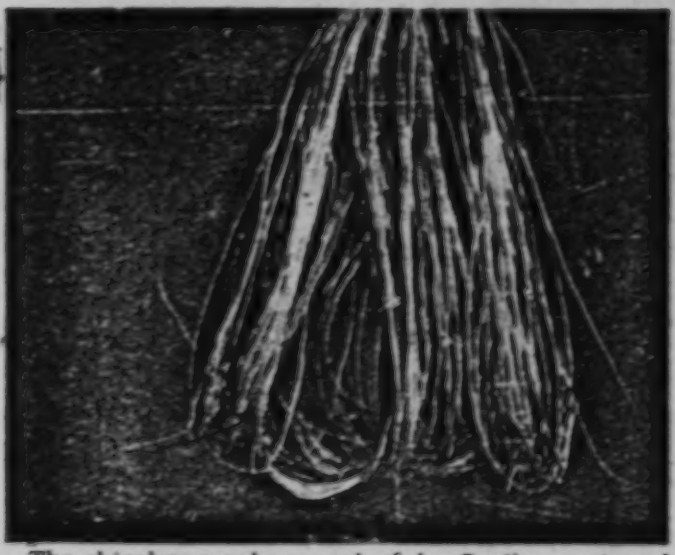
7: Barker--65 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate V

342
411
291

Interior of a Guaika hut in El Platanal. Note the extraordinary length of their powerful arrows. (Photo. by the author.)

352
824



The chinchorro or hammock of the Guaika consists of vegetable fibers joined at both ends, without any transversal weaving. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

REPUBLICA DE VENEZUELA

MINISTERIO DE JUSTICIA

Boletín Indigenista Venezolano

ORGANO DE LA COMISION INDIGENISTA

PUBLICACION TRIMESTRAL

Año I - Tomo I - Caracas, Junio-Diciembre 1953 - Nos. 3-4

[Title Page]

7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

[P. 433]

MEMORIA SOBRE LA CULTURA DE LOS GUAIKA

Por *James Barker* (*)

FUENTES DE INFORMACION

La mayoría de los datos suministrados en esta memoria, son el resultado de mis propias observaciones. También se incluyen observaciones hechas por otros miembros del personal de la Misión "Nuevas Tribus", que han colaborado también. Ellos son: el señor Edwin Killam y su esposa, los señores Eugene Higdem, Byron Reihart y Joe Jenkins y la finada Flora Tronzi.

La información referente al área del Brasil habitada por los Guaika, ha sido recogida de relatos orales que me fueron hechos por diversos hombres que dijeron haber trabajado corriente

---

(*) El autor de este trabajo es un misionero de la Misión norteamericana "New Tribes Mission", quien lleva algunos años conviviendo entre los indios *Guaika* del Alto Orinoco, Venezuela. Sin presumir de etnólogo, el señor Barker ha preparado este informe contentivo de sus observaciones, y habiéndolo enviado amablemente al señor Ministro de Justicia para su conocimiento y publicación, la Comisión Indigenista lo ha acogido en estas páginas del *Boletín Indigenista Venezolano* dada su importancia como información de primera mano respecto a una tribu remota y escasamente estudiada hasta ahora. Observaciones directas hechas en el curso de algunos años, como las que nos revela el señor Barker de manera sencilla y objetiva, son de positiva utilidad para etnólogos y etnógrafos. En la traducción del original del inglés al castellano, hemos procurado sujetarnos en lo posible a las propias palabras y expresiones del autor, sin recurrir a tecnicismos académicos. — (Nota del traductor, Walter Dupouy).

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

arriba en los ríos del Brasil, dentro o cerca del territorio Guaika. Esta información, aunque fragmentaria y no completamente segura, nos ayuda sin embargo para formarnos un panorama más completo de la tribu Guaika en conjunto.

ORIENTACIÓN

La tribu Guaika habita la región del Alto Orinoco y sus tributarios, más arriba de la desembocadura del río Ocamo, incluyendo también el margen sur del propio Ocamo. La tribu Guaika, además, se extiende en territorio del Brasil, ocupando las cabeceras de diversos afluentes de los ríos Branco y Negro (véase el mapa).

La tribu ubicada al norte, los Guajaribo, habitan el margen norte del río Ocamo, la hoya del río Padamo, las cabeceras del río Caura, y también se hallan en el Brasil en las cabeceras del río Uraricoera, tributario del río Branco. Los guajaribo descienden río abajo, frecuentemente, hasta La Esmeralda, y en ocasiones llegan aun hasta la boca del río Cunucunuma. Se informa que han sido vistos tan al oriente como el río Paragua en el Estado Bolívar (véase mapa).

Los indios Guaika y Guajaribo hablan la misma lengua, pero hay varias diferencias dialectales observables que prontamente permiten distinguirlos al hablar, como pertenecientes a uno u otro de los grupos. Hago esta observación basado en mis estudios de la lengua Guaika hablada en El Platanal y su comparación con muestras de dialecto Guajaribo recogidas por Flora Trunal y por mí en La Esmeralda e Iocitedi.

Sin embargo, lo que distingue a los Guajaribo como grupo separado de los Guaika, más aún que las pequeñas diferencias del lenguaje, son ciertas diferencias en sus hábitos y cultura material.

Los Guajaribo comparten una buena porción de su zona de habitación con los indios Maquiritare, que viven al norte. Como resultado de ello, parece que han adoptado muchas cosas de la cultura Maquiritare; por ejemplo, cultivan más la yuca que los

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

Guaika. Sus hamacas de algodón y las de los Guaika, parecen ser una versión simplificada de las que elaboran los Maquiritare. También construyen unos pocos ranchos con techos de dos vertientes. Y al igual que los Maquiritare, viajan mucho más lejos que los Guaika.

Cierto número de los Guajaribo son bilingües, y hablan el Maquiritare en sus relaciones comerciales. También han adoptado cierto número de palabras españolas, a través de los Maquiritare y en sus contactos fuera, que han sido más numerosos que los contactos que los Guaika del Orinoco han tenido con forasteros.

El gentilicio "Guajaribo" parece ser un nombre dado a esta tribu por forasteros y adoptado por ellos para fines de comercio. Los Maquiritare llaman a los Guajaribo "Shidiahana" o "Shiriana". Estas denominaciones de Shidiahana y Shiriana son las que los mismos Guajaribo emplean cuando hablan entre sí o cuando hablan con los Guaika y los Maquiritare.

MAPAS

No he podido hallar un mapa exacto del territorio habitado por las tribus Guaika y Guajaribo. Por ejemplo, en la mayoría de los mapas figura el río Ocamo corriendo casi paralelamente al río Padamo, cuando en realidad corre casi paralelamente al río Orinoco. He hecho correcciones a algunos de esos errores, pero mis mapas todavía son sólo aproximados.

En el mapa del área local de El Platanal, he tratado de mostrar las relaciones amistosas y de enemistad que hay entre los pobladores, como también la ubicación aproximada de las rancherías Guaika. Para cualquiera que se disponga a viajar o trabajar en el territorio Guaika, estas relaciones pueden ser tan importantes como la ubicación geográfica de los poblados. Si un grupo de Gaikas fuere contratado para realizar ciertas labores, podrían estar dispuestos a trabajar bien en algunas áreas, pero sin duda rehusarían penetrar en áreas habitadas por sus enemigos.

En el mapa de toda el área habitada por los Guaika y Guajaribo, he tratado de mostrar los límites aproximados de las dos tribus. Las áreas que en dicho mapa figuran sombreadas corresponden a las zonas donde hemos tenido contacto con estas tribus en diversas ocasiones. Los poblados cuyos nombres aparecen subrayados, es decir, El Platanal e Iceitedi, son rancherías indígenas donde hemos vivido y trabajado durante largos períodos de tiempo. Estos poblados siguen siendo nuestras principales bases de operación.

Los nombres indígenas de los principales ríos, son los siguientes:

Río Orinoco	Majekodo-ko
Río Cunucunuma	Ami-ko
Río Padamo	Jaiyama-ko
Río Metacuni	Wakawaka-ko
Río Ocamo	Kia-ko
Río Mavaca	Wachewa-ko
Río Manavichi	Mata-ko

El nombre indígena del Raudal de Guajaribos, es Kalebakbola.

No he podido conocer ni un nombre para el cerro Guajaribo, pero los picos más importantes partiendo desde abajo y remontando el río, son: Wanidi-mak, Yabitac-mak, Kacholaca-mak y Wadubaca-mak.

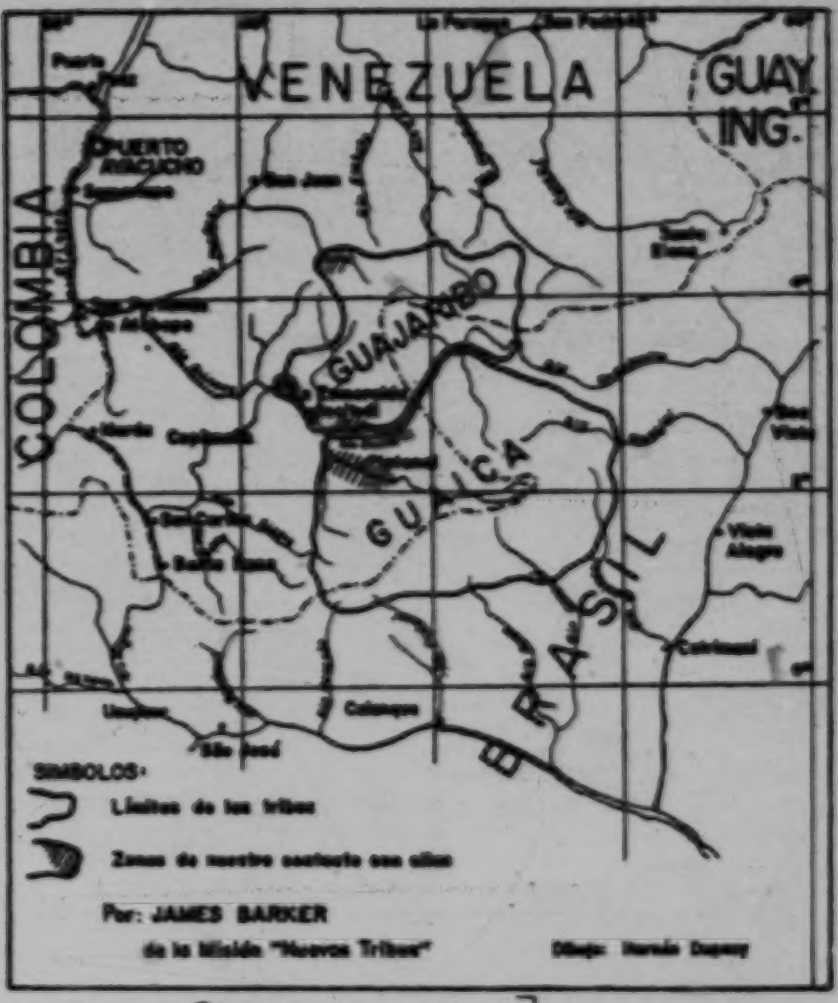
GEOGRAFIA

Unos pocos poblados Guaika están localizados a lo largo de los principales ríos y son accesibles por medio de pequeños botes o curiaras con motor fuera de borda. No obstante, la mayor parte de los poblados Guaika se encuentran tierra adentro y sólo puede llegarse hasta ellos después de un día o más de camino.

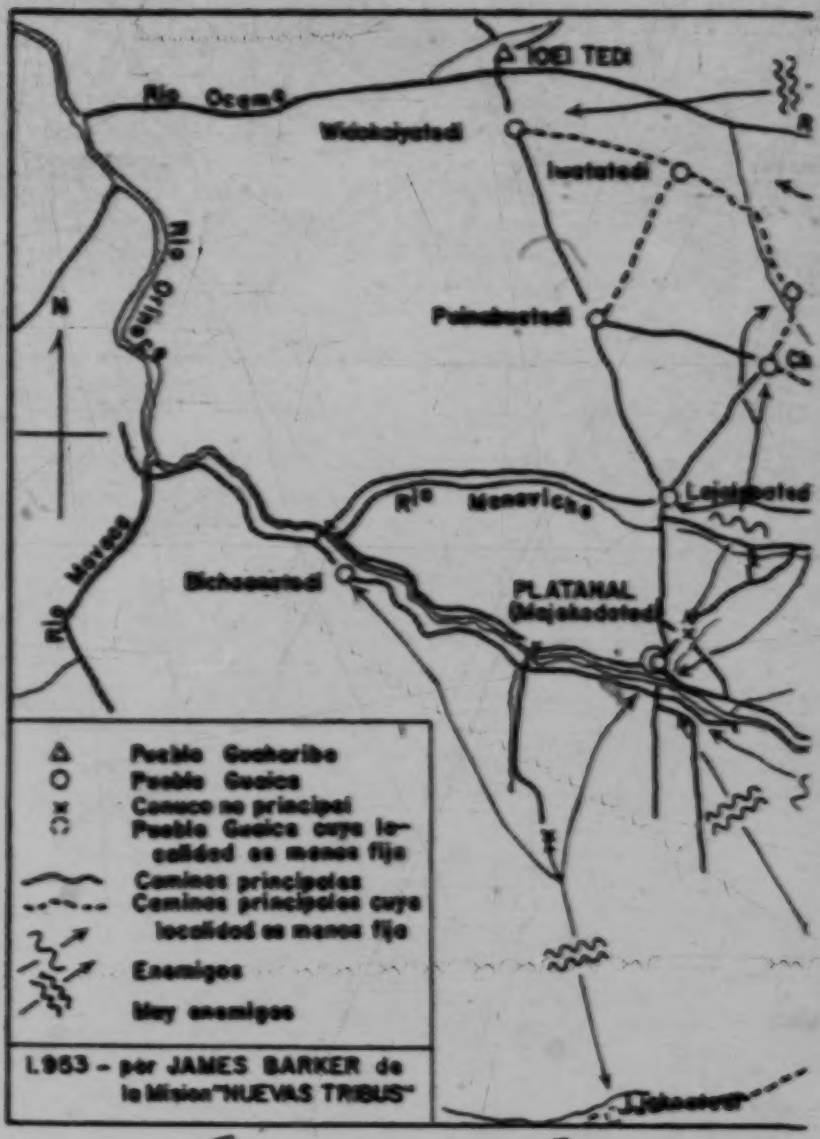
Las lluvias en El Platanal son copiosas y no hay allí ninguna verdadera estación seca. Jamás hay un día en que uno pueda sentirse protegido de la lluvia si no se cuenta con un techo. El período seco más largo que he conocido, fué de diez

VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
PUERTO AYACUCHO
GUAJARIBO
BRASIL
SIMBOLOS:
Límites de las tribus
Zonas de nuestro contacto con ellos
Por: JAMES BARKER
de la Misión "Nuevos Tribus"
Dibujo: Horacio Dupuy

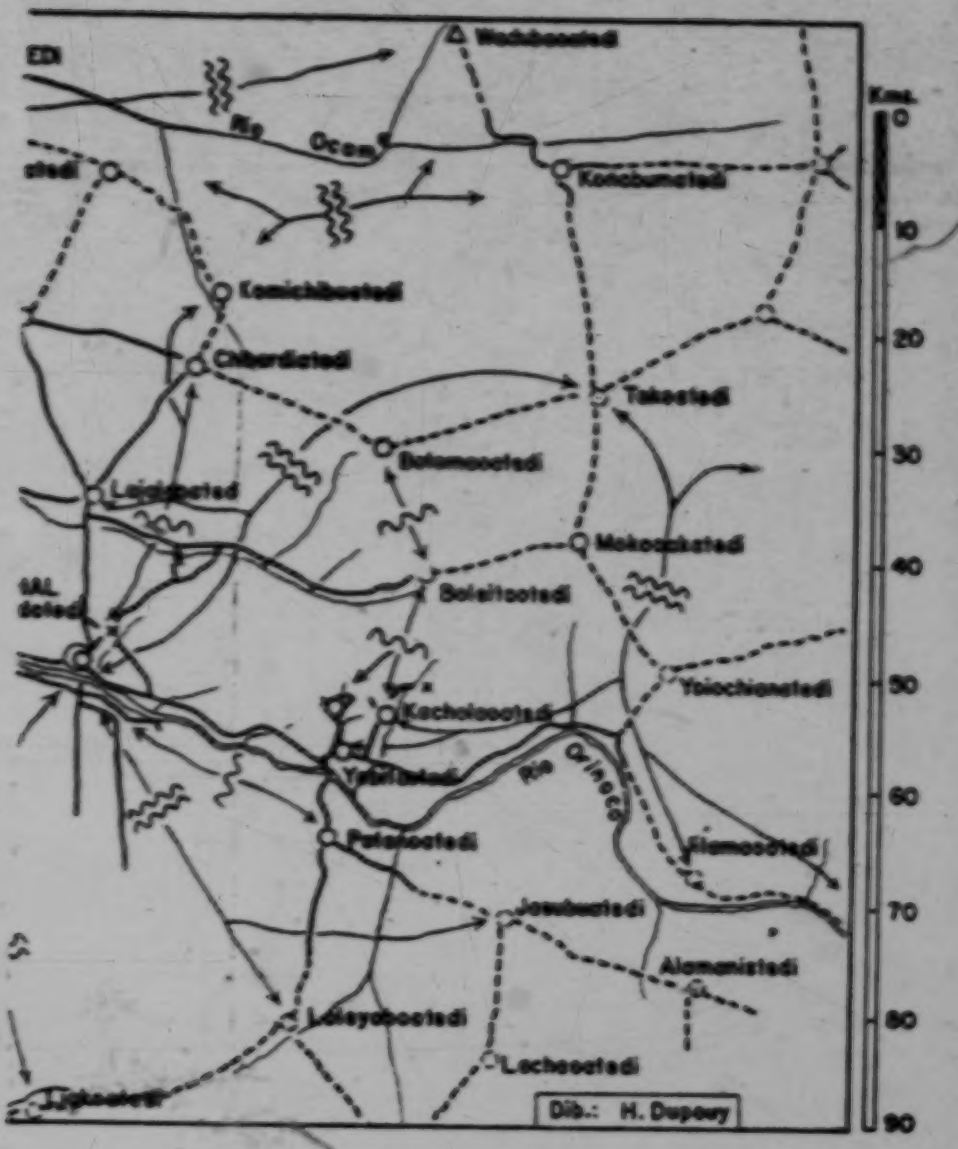
[Facing P. 436,



[facing P. 436, A]



[facing P. 436, B1]



[Facing P. 436, B2]

días. Las sequías son tan desconocidas, que nadie piensa en que las lluvias son necesarias para las cosechas. En El Platanal, casi todos los vientos y tormentas de lluvia provienen del este.

La haya del Alto Orinoco está cubierta por una selva tropical. Más arriba de la sabana en La Esmeralda, prácticamente no existen praderas. Hay una ladera de cerro en el margen norte del Alto Ocamo que está cubierta de hierba, pero fuera de esto y de unas pocas laderas rocosas donde ni siquiera crece la hierba, la cubierta de árboles es prácticamente ininterrumpida, a excepción de los claros abiertos por las corrientes de agua y la mano del hombre.

Si uno escala el cerro en El Platanal en un día claro, se contemplará una extensa llanura hacia el norte. En el horizonte noroccidental se elevan los picos distantes del Duida y Marahuaca. Parecen esfumarse en las montañas aún más distantes del Alto Padamo y el río Venturi, más al norte. Siguiendo estas montañas con la vista hacia el Este, uno casi cree poder distinguir los límites del Brasil de las cabeceras del Venturi río abajo hasta las cabeceras del Ocamo. Entonces, mirando hacia el Este, se puede observar todo el área entre los ríos Ocamo y Orinoco lleno de montañas, no muy altas pero impresionantes por hallarse tan cercanas. Pero el norte y noroeste de Platanal entre los ríos Ocamo y Orinoco, es la parte más próxima de la llanura arriba descrita.

Hacia el sur hay una llanura angosta a lo largo del río Orinoco, luego colinas que se combinan con las montañas de las cabeceras del Orinoco al este y las montañas del Alto Mavaca hacia el sur. Entonces, mirando hacia el suroeste y el oeste, está la extensa llanura del río Mavaca sólo interrumpida por algunas montañas aisladas. Más allá de esta llanura se hallan las serranías que comenzando en las cabeceras del Mavaca se extienden hacia el oeste y luego hacia el norte casi hasta el propio Orinoco.

POBLACION - 1963

Se sabe que existen alrededor de 23 poblados Guaika entre los ríos Orinoco y Ocamo y en la región fronteriza con el Brasil al norte del río Orinoco.

Se sabe que por lo menos hay otros 28 poblados Guaika al sur del río Orinoco.

La población aproximada de los poblados Guaika con los que hemos tenido mayor contacto, es la siguiente:

Majekodotedi (Platanal)	100	Kacholaotedi	100
Bichasaatedi	100	Boleitaotedi	100
Lajalaowatedi	100	Patanaotedi	120
Yabitaotedi	75	Chibardiatedi	60

Por lo menos 8 poblados Guajaribo se sabe existen en la región de los ríos Ocamo y Bajo Padamo. Se sabe que existen otros en el Alto Padamo, otros varios en el río Ventuari, y aún otros más en el Alto Caura (también llamado río Merevari).

La población aproximada de los poblados Guajaribo con los que tenemos mayor contacto, es la siguiente:

Ioeitedi	60
Wakawakatedi	100
Kwaisitedi	100

La población de El Platanal puede ser dividida aproximadamente por edad y sexo, como sigue:

	Varones	*Hembras*	*Totales*
Bisabuelos	0	1	1
Abuelos	6	6	12
Padres	8	15	23
Recién casados (sin hijos)	5	6	11
Adolescentes solteros y niños	33	21	54
Totales	52	49	101

7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

Las mozas suelen tener generalmente alrededor de 14 ó 15 años cuando tienen su primer hijo. El marido tal vez oscila entre los 16 y los 18 años de edad si se trata de su primer matrimonio.

Los hombres adultos frecuentemente toman por nuevas esposas a muchachas que acaban de alcanzar la pubertad.

Frecuentemente no se considera a un muchacho de 15 años capacitado para tomar esposa, especialmente si todavía no ha sembrado su primer conuco como para poder alimentar a su esposa. Pero aun si hubiere preparado el sembradío, es frecuente que tenga que esperar mientras los hombres mayores desposan a las muchachas que él hubiera querido tomar por esposa.

Sin embargo, en matrimonios preconvenidos con el consentimiento de todos, antes que el marido y la mujer sean de edad, es muy probable que la edad de ambos sea casi igual. De ahí que un muchacho pueda llegar a casarse a una edad menor de la usual.

He aquí ejemplos del número de hijos vivos por esposa, entre familias Guaika. Los paréntesis indican la probabilidad de que no nacerán más niños. (No todos los padres de las familias enumeradas viven todavía).

Niños vivos de familias de una sola esposa:

(6) (5) (4) (4) (4) (3) (3) 5 4 4 2 2 2 1 0 0 0 0

Niños vivos de familias polígamicas y familias en las que se tomó una segunda esposa después de la muerte de la primera:

	De la primera esposa:	*De otras esposas:*
Familia "A"	(12)	1
Familia "B"	6	2—1—1
Familia "C"	(4)	2
Familia "D"	(3)	4
Familia "E"	2	0

7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

COMUNICACIONES

Los mensajes son memorizados y llevados por un mensajero.

Todos los mensajes oficiales son comunicados al mensajero y trasmitidos por éste al destinatario en forma canturreada. El destinatario del mensaje repite las palabras que le son comunicadas o responde contestando a ellas.

Generalmente los mensajeros viajan solamente durante el día y comunican el mensaje en la noche, después de haber descansado del viaje. Sin embargo, en tiempos de guerra el mensajero puede viajar durante la noche y los mensajes urgentes son comunicados prontamente a la llegada del mensajero, sea de día o de noche. Un mensajero que viaja de noche porta consigo dos o tres trozos de leña atados a manera de antorcha.

Los tratos oficiales son frecuentemente llevados a cabo en la misma forma de canturreo. De esa manera puede un hombre pedir autorización oficial para tomar por esposa a determinada muchacha. Estos tratos son efectuados generalmente de noche.

Sin embargo, los trueques de mercancías generalmente se realizan durante el día para que ambos participantes en la negociación puedan tener amplia oportunidad para ver y examinar lo que reciben.

BIOLOGIA HUMANA

La piel de los Guaika es más clara que la de otros indios y de la mayoría de los criollos que habitan en el Territorio Federal Amazonas.

El cabello de la mayoría de los individuos es fino, pero algunos lo tienen moderadamente áspero. El color del cabello es negro o castaño y algunos pocos lo tienen con un ligero matiz rojizo. Algunos de los niños tienen el color del cabello muy claro, que parece ir tornándose más oscuro a medida que crecen. Pocas de las personas más viejas tienen el cabello gris.

La mayoría de los hombres tienen o una barba muy rala o ninguna en absoluto. Los brazos, piernas y pecho están generalmente libres de pelos.

7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

Los ojos de la mayoría de ellos son pardos y algunos los tienen negros. Algunos de los niños tienen ojos azules. Unos pocos individuos tienen redondeado el ángulo interno del ojo semejándose casi a ciertos pueblos orientales.

Las narices son cortas y anchas.

Los Guaika están bien alimentados, pero generalmente no muestran exceso muscular o graso. Los Guaika al sur del Orinoco tienden a ser más gordos y rechonchos, según parece, que los de El Platanal o los que moran al norte de esta localidad.

OBTENCION DE ALIMENTOS

Caza.

La caza es realizada con arco y flechas.

La ancha punta de flecha de bambú se emplea contra la caza mayor terrestre como la danta, los váquiros y los grandes roedores. Las puntas emponzoñadas se emplean contra los monos y algunas veces contra las dantas. Las puntas de hueso se usan principalmente para cazar aves. Los pajarillos son cazados con flechas de punta roma o de punta ahorquillada.

Son empleados perros en la cacería y en el caso de los puercos salvajes más pequeños, estos perros realizan con frecuencia mayor matanza que los cazadores.

Los cazadores cazan juntos y rodean a la presa. El que logra matarla, es dueño de la pieza. Puede llegar a regalar algunos trozos a quienes le ayudaron, pero por lo general carga con todo el animal hasta su casa, donde lo cuece. Una danta, por supuesto, tiene que ser compartida en el lugar para fines de transportación.

Casi todos los mamíferos son comidos, siendo la principal excepción los felinos. Algunas culebras son comidas, otras no. La babilla también es comida. Las aves de presa, como gavilanes, águilas, buitres y zamuros y otras, no se comen. Casi todos los demás pájaros son comidos; hasta los diminutos chupaflores.

La carne es considerada como parte esencial de la dieta y tal vez ocupa el segundo lugar de importancia después de los plátanos.

Peces.

Varias clases de tóxicos se emplean para envenenar los peces en las pequeñas corrientes de agua. Uno de ellos es un bejuco. Otro es la cáscara de una nuez comestible de envoltura espinosa. Otro es la corteza de cierto árbol de gran tamaño.

Cuando bajan las aguas en riachuelos y pantanos (generalmente alrededor de los meses de enero y febrero), las mujeres y los niños salen armados de mazas y regresan con los cestos llenos de pescado.

Cuando el río mayor está bajo, los hombres vadean la corriente y disparan contra los peces sus flechas con puntas de hueso. Entonces, como la flecha carece de cordel para poder halar el pez, tienen que correr tras la presa para ultimarla a machetazos o perrazos.

Para la pesca vienen empleando el cordel y anzuelo, con creciente destreza.

Casi todas las especies de peces y animales acuáticos son comidos.

Miel.

Para obtener la miel, el método usual es tumbar la mata en que está la colmena, empleando el hacha. Sin embargo, algunas veces logran trasparla y obtener la miel sin necesidad de derribarla. También hay una especie de abeja que habita en la tierra y su miel tiene que ser desenterrada. Posiblemente comen la miel de unas diez o más variedades de abejas.

Huevos.

Los huevos de la mayoría de las aves silvestres son recolectados y cocinados. Los envuelven en hojas y los colocan sobre los carbones de un fuego de leña. En corto tiempo están cocidos. Algunos prefieren comer los huevos cuando ha comenzado a

7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

formarse el polluelo. Los huevos de tortuga también son comidos, pero son escasos, excepto río abajo.

Insectos.

Las abejas son comidas cuando todavía tienen la forma larval en su nido. Los aviseperos son chamuscados mediante una tea de hojas secas, que mata o hace huir las avispas adultas. Entonces quitan el avispero, que colocan durante corto tiempo sobre las brasas. Las larvas asadas de avispa son entonces comidas con fruición.

Frutas y semillas silvestres.

Parece que no hay tiempo alguno sin que haya por lo menos unas cuantas clases de frutas y semillas silvestres en sazón. La mayoría es comida cruda, aunque algunas pocas son cocidas. Durante su cosecha, el *wabu* —una semilla grande semejante al frijol— puede ser de mucha importancia, especialmente cuando escasean otros alimentos.

ANIMALES DOMESTICOS

Los perros son criados y empleados generalmente en la caza.

Aves de casi todas las clases son capturadas cuando las hallan antes de abandonar el nido. La mayoría de ellas sólo sobreviven unos pocos días. Parece que los loros logran sobrevivir en cautividad mucho más que las otras aves, de modo que casi todos los poblados tienen un loro domesticado. Pavas y grullas se cuentan entre las otras aves que pueden sobrevivir y llegar al estado adulto.

Los monos domesticados también son animales favoritos. Es interesante observar que casi sin excepción el mono es propiedad de una mujer. Sin duda esto se relaciona con el hecho de que las mujeres amamantan a los monitos hasta su destete. A la mona madre hay que matarla para poder capturar el monito.

Pequeños roedores, como arditas y ratas de monte, son traídas a la casa algunas veces para su domesticación. Una familia llegó hasta a criar un puerco de monte (chácharo).

7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

Cuando muere un animal doméstico, es incinerado fuera del poblado, cerca de algún sendero. Sus huesos son dejados en el mismo sitio en que se hallaban al consumirse el fuego.

AGRICULTURA

Los plátanos y los cambures ocupan cerca del noventa por ciento de las tierras cultivadas. Otros frutos incluyen la yuca dulce, la yuca amarga, el ocumo, el mapuey, la caña dulce, el maíz, la palma de Pijiguao, el ají, la lechosa y la batata dulce.

El tabaco, el algodón y el onoto, son los principales frutos no comestibles. Otros frutos no comestibles, incluyen una hierba cuyo tallo es secado y empleado para cortar el cabello; una variedad de raíces semejante a la cebolla silvestre, es empleada en la magia para la cacería, lograr esposa, etcétera; hojas especialmente fragantes son usadas por las mujeres en sus orejas; y los ingredientes empleados en la elaboración del "yopo", que es un narcótico que les es soplado en la nariz.

El terreno es despejado arrancándose primeramente todas las pequeñas plantas y tallos, luego son cortados a machete los árboles que alcanzan un diámetro troncal de alrededor de 25 centímetros, y finalmente los árboles grandes son derribados por el hacha.

Algunas veces escalan el árbol y le amarran una liana de modo de poderlo halar, para dirigir su caída.

Después de que los árboles han tenido tiempo suficiente para secarse en el suelo, les cortan las ramas y las amontonan con las brozas, para finalmente quemarlas. Debido a la abundancia de las lluvias, se les hace imposible aguardar un tiempo seco. Los he visto quemar las malezas en su conuco después de haber llovido intensamente la noche anterior. Algunas veces tienen que traer leña seca para lograr que las malezas húmedas se enciendan.

Una anciana me dijo un día: "Estas gentes de hoy lo tienen *fácil*: Nosotros no teníamos antes machetes y hachas. El *fuego* era nuestro principal instrumento de trabajo. Tenía-

7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

mos que cargar mucha leña para amontonarla en derredor de los árboles, con el fin de derribarlos por el fuego".

En su lengua hay un indicio de que alguna vez usaron hachas de piedra antes de haber podido adquirir las hachas y machetes de metal. Usan la misma palabra "boo" para designar tanto el machete como cierta piedra que emplean para moler el polvo de "yopo". Esta piedra tiene la forma adecuada como para hacer de ella un hacha si se le amarra un mango. Sin embargo, la relación entre estos objetos, si es que la hubo alguna vez, es desconocida de la actual generación de El Platanal.

Un arco sin cuerda o palo análogo, es el instrumento principal que emplean para sembrar. Lo utilizan tanto para desprender los pequeños vástagos del cambur para su replante, como para abrir hoyos en la tierra destinados a recibir prácticamente cualquier clase de semilla.

El tabaco es plantado primeramente en un macizo, y luego es replantado. Las plantitas son protegidas del sol durante algunos días mediante hojas de plátano colocadas sobre una enramada.

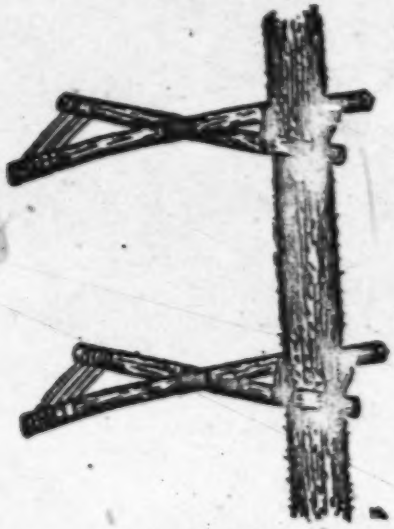
Algunas veces son fijados en el suelo algunos palos para señalar los plantíos cercanos a los senderos, evitando así que las semillas o plantas tiernas sean pisadas.

Muchos de los Guaika son muy solícitos respecto a desmalezar sus plantíos, en especial cuando las plantas están pequeñas. Más tarde, cuando las plantas han alcanzado buen desarrollo, desmalezan los plantíos con menos frecuencia. Entonces, acaso tres o más años más tarde, cuando la tierra ha comenzado a rendir menos frutos, dejan de desmalezarla del todo y cosechan sólo lo que a duras fuerzas ha logrado crecer.

Generalmente se hallada en estos "conucos", por lo demás abandonados, la palma "pijiguao". Es porque el "pijiguao" comienza a producir aproximadamente cuando la tierra se ha empobrecido para otros frutos.

La fruta de la palma "pijiguao" es cosechada desprendiendo los racimos mediante una larga pértiga con garfio. Cuando la palmera ha crecido demasiado como para realizar

esta operación desde el suelo, los Guaika trepan a ella valiéndose de dos aparatos, formado cada uno de un par de palos atados en forma de X, que no obstante ajustarse al tronco espinoso de la palmera, pueden ser deslizados hacia arriba o hacia abajo mientras el trepador se mantiene de pie en una de dichas plataformas (véase la Fig. 1). Una vez alcanzado y desprendido el racimo, es cuidadosamente bajado a tierra atado a una liana para evitar que se dañen las frutas con la caída desde tanta altura.



Los hombres son quienes limpian los "conucos". Las mujeres van a los "conucos" más que todo para transportar las cosechas a sus casas.

Cada familia posee su propio "conuco". Con frecuencia los muchachos comienzan a preparar sus propios "conucos" en temprana edad (a los 11 años aproximadamente). Aun muchachos de 7 años de edad llegan a tener algunas pocas plantas propias en el "conuco" de su padre o de su hermano mayor. Otros muchachos sólo ayudan a su padre en los plantíos y poseen poco o nada hasta alcanzar los 18 años de edad o más.

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

LA FIESTA DE LA COSECHA DE "PIJIGUAO"

La fiesta de la cosecha del fruto de la palma "pijiguao" *(Bactris gasipaës)*, es tal vez el más importante acontecimiento del año. Durante esta cosecha, todo el mundo tiene alimentos de sobra y por consiguiente se puede recibir a todos los que quieran visitarlos. Como resultado de ello, durante esa época se viaja mucho.

Con frecuencia se reúnen dos o tres poblados para celebrar la fiesta. Luego, una parte se va a celebrar la misma fiesta en otros poblados amigos.

Los huéspedes, y en veces también los visitantes, salen a realizar una expedición de caza, que dura varios días, hasta reunir suficiente cantidad de carne. Esta carne es ahumada y conservada para la fiesta.

Cuando regresan los cazadores, comienza la fiesta en la noche con mucha alegría y cantos. Los cazadores se reúnen y desfilan varias veces alrededor del patio interior del poblado. Entonces comienza un simulacro de batalla con garrotes. Los que poseen hachas o machetes, los usan en vez de garrotes. Son blandidos en el aire en forma análoga a como se esgrimen en un ataque o lucha con garrotes. Las armas chocan entre sí, pero no se lanzan golpes al cuerpo.

Después de esto, viene el desfile del fuego. Cada hombre toma una tea encendida de una hoguera y se une a los otros que van dando vueltas en la periferia del gran patio circular formado por las chozas. De rato en rato, al pasar ante uno de los ranchos circundantes, golpean con la antorcha uno de los pies derechos que soportan el techo, esparciéndose las chispas por el aire.

Después, practican lo que se conoce por "golpeo al pecho". Los muchachos y algunos hombres se aparean con los de otro poblado y efectúan un duelo de golpes al pecho. Uno presenta el pecho, mientras el otro lo golpea con el flanco del puño.

Todos estos actos son realizados en medio de mucho júbilo y cantos. Algunas veces ello se repite en la noche siguiente.

7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

Después de esto viene la ceremonia diurna. Se prepara mucho "yopo" que es colocado cerca del centro del grupo de chozas. Unos 6 u 8 muchachos del poblado "anfitrión" desfilan en derredor del patio y luego hacia donde está el "yopo". Otro grupo de muchachos les sigue rápidamente. A medida que cada grupo llega al centro, reciben los muchachos un soplo de "yopo" en la nariz. Después de que todos y cada uno de los muchachos ha tomado el "yopo" por la vía nasal, les siguen los hombres de igual manera, en grupos de 6 u 8. Y cuando todos los "anfitriones" se hallan en el centro, los integrantes del poblado "huésped" o visitante les siguen en la misma ceremonia del "yopo".

Cuando todos y cada uno han recibido su porción de "yopo", el grupo de hombres comienza a girar en fila en el centro del patio circular del poblado. Después de transcurrir algunos minutos, los hombres comienzan a separarse de dos en dos. Los más violentos se entraban en los duelos de golpes al pecho. Otros, sentados por parejas en el suelo, hablan entre sí a la manera de mensajes canturreados.

La mayor atención la reciben los duelos de golpes al pecho. Todos los que no están apareados, observan. También muchas de las mujeres vienen a presenciarlos. El grupo de los que miran se acerca tanto, que sólo una parte logra ver lo que en realidad está sucediendo.

Algunos de los hombres que han tomado demasiado "yopo" yacen impotentes de espaldas, y son arrastrados fuera de la solana hacia la sombra de las casas, por las mujeres.

Y otros que han tomado cierto exceso de "yopo" se mantienen caminando y sus mujeres confrontan gran dificultad en retenerlos dentro del poblado. Si llegan a internarse solos en el bosque sin nadie que los cuide, pueden hallarse en grave peligro.

Después de un tiempo, todo se va aquietando. La carne y tanto "pijiguao" como es posible cargar, les es regalado a los huéspedes para su viaje de regreso. Así, pueden permanecer hasta una semana en viaje a su poblado sin que se les agoten las provisiones.

PREPARACION DE LOS ALIMENTOS

Para impedir que la carne se descomponga, es primeramente secada directamente al fuego. Luego es mantenida en una troje sobre el fuego, acaso durante algunas horas, pero frecuentemente toda la noche. Después de esto, se coloca aún más distante del fuego, pero donde la brisa la mantenga seca, aunque no necesariamente caliente. He visto conservar la carne por unos 10 días de esta manera, y sin duda habría durado más tiempo de no haber sido comida.

La carne que es conservada de esta manera, todavía es considerada como cruda y deberá ser cocida en una olla antes de ser comida.

Los animales pequeños son limpiados, lavados y luego hervidos enteros en una olla. Si el animal es grande, se le corta en trozos suficientemente pequeños como para que quepan en la olla. La costumbre de dejarlos con la piel y el pelo mientras se cocinan es tal vez una remanencia de los tiempos en que no tenían cuchillos para desollarlos. Un hilo o trozo de corteza es amarrado a cada trozo de carne para poderlo sacar de la olla con el fin de revolverla. De rato en rato sacan la carne para punzarla muchas veces con un palo a fin de que se cocine con mayor rapidez.

Cuando finalmente está lista, el cabeza de familia o el dueño de la carne la parte o divide en porciones, que distribuye entre sus familiares o familias amigas.

La tarea de cocer la carne es trabajo del hombre. El es el dueño de la olla, realiza la cacería, busca la leña y divide y distribuye la carne cocida. (Algunas veces envía a un niño para entregar la carne a alguna familia de enfrente en el círculo de viviendas).

La recolección de leña para cocinar comida distinta de la carne, y para mantener el calor de la familia durante la noche, es tarea de la mujer. De modo que las mujeres utilizan el hacha mucho más que los hombres.

Los plátanos verdes son generalmente pelados y colocados directamente sobre las brasas, volteados unas cuantas veces y

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

retirados cuando se hallan listos para comer. O pueden ser colocados en un fuego vivo para ser cocidos, pero sin pelar para que no se ennegrezcan. Si es necesario cocinar prontamente una gran cantidad de plátanos verdes, entonces son pelados y hervidos en una olla.

Los plátanos maduros son comidos crudos o son hervidos y majados en forma de sopa para ser tomada. Los plátanos semimaduros son puestos al fuego con su concha.

La fruta del "pijiguao" se prefiere hervida, aunque puede ser cocida directamente al fuego cuando no se tiene una olla a mano.

La "yuca dulce", el "mapuey", el "ocumo", la "batata dulce", y otras raíces comestibles, son hervidas o asadas directamente al fuego.

La "yuca amarga" es majada en una piedra. El jugo es exprimido entre las manos y con la pulpa o masa se hacen pelotas que se cuelgan en un cesto de modo que le dé la brisa originada por el fuego. El jugo tóxico es conservado con ají fuerte y cenizas para preparar un líquido que llaman "yubu", en el cual algunos alimentos son mojados y comidos. El cocido de la "masa" de la yuca es hecho sobre un trozo de olla roto. Primero se esparce una capa de esa yuca, dejándola allí hasta que ha de ser consumida. Esta torta no es volteada sino quitada del todo para colocar otra en su lugar. Entonces la primera torta es colocada sobre la segunda en forma que su lado no cocido se une a ésta y se dejan cocer hasta que ambas quedan pegadas, considerándoselas entonces listas. De esta manera son hechas tortillas de unos 15 a 20 centímetros de diámetro y de ½ a 1 centímetro de espesor.

Pescados y pajaritos, larvas y ciertos insectos son envueltos en hojas y cocidos sobre brasas. Pequeños trozos de carne también son cocidos con frecuencia, de esta manera.

Una semilla grande en forma de frijol, llamada "Wabu", es recolectada y comida. Los indios creen que esta semilla es venenosa, de ahí que la preparen de la siguiente manera. Es cocida y rebanada finamente. Luego es colocada en cestos y prensada bajo agua corriente. Después de permanecer tres o

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

más días bajo el agua, se la considera comible. Esta semilla sirve de reserva para el caso de haber escasez de plátanos en los conucos. En tal ocasión todo el grupo se traslada a vivir donde hay abundancia de "Wabu", hasta tanto maduren los plátanos.

Los Guaika no guardan reservas de alimentos. Todos sus alimentos son comidos frescos o cuando menos dentro del plazo de dos semanas desde que han quedado listos. De modo que en el caso de que sus "conucos" resulten escasos de frutos, tienen que salir a vivir del bosque, recolectando semillas, frutas y raíces y dedicando mayor tiempo que el usual a la caza y la pesca. Cuando otro poblado tiene abundancia de comida en época de escasez, resultará bastante afortunado poder vivir completamente de ese poblado en vez de tener que subsistir del bosque.

CONSUMO DE ALIMENTOS

Ninguna sal es consumida como tal, es decir, propiamente como sal. Comen cenizas de leña, especialmente las cenizas de un árbol llamado "kololi". Las cenizas pueden ser comidas al natural o echándoles agua caliente para obtener así un líquido gustoso. A este líquido llamado "ubu" se le añade ají fuerte. Los plátanos y otros alimentos son mojados en esa salsa resultante para su condimentación e ingestión.

La arcilla también es secada y comida, especialmente arcilla proveniente de ciertos nidos de insectos.

Ningún niño puede ser destetado, hasta tanto haya aprendido a comer dichas cenizas y la arcilla.

Tierra y polvo limpio también son comidos. Se les considera limpios si son tomados del sitio donde recientemente ardiera una fogata, de un lecho de río o de un claro o banco de arena que el sol haya podido purificar.

Sus horas de comida son las siguientes: El desayuno es tomado poco tiempo después de la salida del sol, y el siguiente turno cuando regresan del trabajo en sus "conucos", generalmente algún tiempo cerca del mediodía. Comen otra vez cerca

de la caída del sol. Este horario varía adaptándolo a las salidas de caza, mudanza del poblado, etc. Comen bastante entre comidas, en especial frutas silvestres y cambures y plátanos maduros.

Las mujeres generalmente asan los plátanos para el desayuno de todos. A mediodía y al atardecer, cada quien asa sus propios plátanos. A un chico de 7 años le pueden ser entregados 3 plátanos verdes en su concha, diciéndosele: "Aquí tienes tu comida". El chico entonces procede a cocerlos.

Los Guaika por lo general tienen abundante comida y la ingieren con fruición. No miran con buenos ojos que se dejen restos de comida. A quien no lama hasta dejar limpia su escudilla después de haber tomado su sopa de plátanos, se le considera desperdiciador.

La mera idea de canibalismo es rechazada con horror, aunque ellos sí ingieren los huesos pulverizados de un pariente incinerado, después de haber sido guardados en una calabaza herméticamente tapada, durante unos seis meses.

Las aves y animales carnívoros no los comen, pero peces carnívoros, aun el caribe (piranha), son comidos con placer. Algunas culebras son comidas, otras no. Las hierven o bien las cuecen envueltas en hojas sobre las brasas.

BEBIDA, DROGAS Y EXCESOS

Los Guaika ponen sumo cuidado en el agua que han de beber. La provisión de agua para un poblado debe ser obtenida más arriba de todos los pasos que cruzan la quebrada o riachuelo. Si un Guaika se ve precisado a beber agua en un lugar más abajo de un paso de río, hace un hoyo en la arena del margen y aguarda a que brote el agua que se filtra a través de ella. El agua de la corriente la consideran sucia, en tanto que el agua de la cacimba es limpia. El agua es transportada en calabazas por las mujeres, para ser usada en el poblado.

Los Guaika no preparan ninguna bebida alcohólica.

Las hojas de tabaco se enrollan con cenizas y se colocan en la boca detrás del labio inferior. Cuando escasea el tabaco, ob-

tienen cierta raíz amarga en el bosque, la descortezan y la colocan detrás del labio para disminuir el deseo por el tabaco.

Diversas variedades de "yopo", de distintos grados de fuerza, son preparados con hojas, corteza y cenizas de corteza. En forma de polvo, es soplado por otro en la nariz de quien lo usa. Un ayudante es quien lo sopla, pero quien lo usa es quien llena el canutillo y es por consiguiente el responsable respecto a la cantidad tomada.

El "yopo" está relacionado con su religión y debe ser tomado para realizar la mayor parte de las brujerías, magias o encantamientos. Sin embargo, algunos se tornan tan adictos a la droga, que la toman en grandes porciones y permanecen bajo su acción desde el mediodía hasta la caída de la tarde, casi todos los días.

El "yopo" agranda mucho la pupila, al extremo de casi llegar a cubrir todo el iris del ojo.

La embriaguez que produce es similar a la que origina el alcohol, pero pasa más pronto el efecto. Una dosis excesiva dejaría a la persona tirada de espaldas, echando espuma por la boca, y sin fuerzas para levantarse o resistirse a cualquier cosa que se le quiera hacer.

VESTIDOS

La prenda de vestir fundamental tanto para hombres como mujeres, es un cordel atado en derredor de la cintura. A los hombres no se les considera decorosamente vestidos, si no llevan el pene sujeto hacia arriba por el prepucio, por el mencionado cordel.

Hay deseos de obtener pantalones y camisas para protegerse contra los insectos.

ADORNOS

El estilo de corte de pelo, que predomina, es el de rasurarse la parte superior del cráneo dejando un cerco de cabellos como de 5 centímetros de ancho en derredor. El margen inferior de

7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

este cerco de pelo debe llegar justamente hasta el extremo superior de las orejas y corto espacio más arriba de las cejas. Mientras más recta y abrupta sean las líneas del cabello, mejor ha resultado el corte. Algunos pocos dejan crecer el cabello en toda la cabeza. Algunas veces, para librarse de los piojos, se rasuran toda la cabeza. También puede ser rasurada toda la cabeza por otras causas.

Todos tienen las orejas perforadas. Buen número de hombres y mujeres también tienen el centro del labio inferior perforado. Algunas mujeres se han perforado las comisuras de la boca y unas pocas se han perforado la nariz.

Los muchachos y los hombres llevan palitos atravesados en las orejas, algunas veces plumas o también palitos con plumas. Los que tienen perforado el labio mantienen todo el tiempo allí un palillo o una pluma.

Las mujeres portan flores u hojas en sus orejas. Las perforaciones en los labios y la nariz generalmente llevan palillos. En ocasiones de gala, el palillo que atraviesa el tabique nasal puede tener una longitud igual a la anchura de la cara.

Además de los cordeles atados a la cintura, portan frecuentemente cordeles similares alrededor de los brazos y las piernas.

Los hombres también pueden llevar un grueso cinturón de algodón y bandas similares a menor escala en los brazos. Pueden llevar plumas fijadas en los hombros y una cola de mono alrededor de la cabeza, para destacar el cerco de cabellos, o pueden adornarse el cabello con plumones.

Las mujeres también usan un grueso cinturón de algodón claramente distinto del que usan los hombres.

Las muchachas usan una banda en la cintura, tejida de algodón, con adornos en su parte anterior. También suelen cruzar el pecho con bandas de algodón.

Onoto, carbón y diversas otras tinturas son usados para dibujos corporales. Estos no parecen tener ninguna significación religiosa, sino simplemente un fin ornamental. Estos dibujos incluyen pintas, rayas, líneas onduladas y círculos. Algunas veces se pintan una ancha faja y luego hacen el dibujo raspando la pintura. También se imprimen sobre la piel di

bujos ornamentales empleando un "mapire" o la mano, o cualesquiera combinaciones de éstos. Parece ser que algunos tienen sus dibujos favoritos.

CUERO, TEXTILES Y TEJIDOS

La piel del jaguar o de otro mamífero raras veces llega al poblado en una sola pieza. Pero aun si llegare, inmediatamente es cortada en pequeños trozos, de modo que cada quien pueda tener un trocito para cubrir su carcaj, o por lo menos una banda que llevar ceñida al brazo.

El algodón es hilado mediante un huso de mano. Este hilo es entonces torcido en cordones de tres hilos.

Diversas fibras de corteza son torcidas para formar cuerdas de arco, o cuerdas de pescar. Estas mismas fibras de corteza frecuentemente son trenzadas para formar cuerdas de hamaca.

La fibra de cierta planta semejante a la piña también es extraída y torcida, produciendo una cuerda muy resistente.

Los nudos que hacen los Guaika son muy sencillos y prácticos. La atadura a un madero se emplea en todos los casos en que se usa una cuerda flexible. Ello incluye el encordado de los arcos. La hamaca se cuelga empleando un nudo escurridizo para maderos. Dicho nudo está hecho de modo que puede ser instantáneamente desatado mediante un tirón. El nudo cuadrado se emplea para unir los extremos de dos cuerdas. En la Fig. 2 que se acompaña, mostramos los dibujos de los tres nudos referidos.

Una banda de corteza es hecha para cargar niños. Primeramente obtienen una vara de tamaño adecuado, la cual es golpeada con otro palo, durante varios días. La corteza externa escamosa, se desprende. Finalmente el extremo menor de la corteza cilíndrica es insertado en el extremo mayor (de mayor diámetro), que son luego firmemente cosidos entre sí. Esto resulta en una banda o faja sin orillas toscas o cortantes, que se mantiene flexible y útil por muchos meses.

PREPARACION DE MATERIALES BASICOS

Los Guaika hacen sus puntas de flecha de hueso. Cuando obtienen un pequeño trozo de hueso, prontamente lo transforman en una buena punta de flecha para matar pájaros. Los huesos largos de piernas y brazos de los monos, son quebrados y las astillas que por lo general resultan tener una forma semejante a la de puntas de flecha, son trabajadas y perfeccionadas, descartándose lo demás. Para darles forma, las astillas son raspadas con cuchillos o machetes y frotadas en alguna piedra.

También ví un pito o flauta que parecía ser de hueso o de un cañón de pluma de gran tamaño.

Los Guaika hacen sus arcos de madera. Generalmente escogen la madera de la palma "Pijiguao". Le dan una forma tosca usando el machete. La forma acabada la logran raspando la pieza con la quijada de un puerco de monte, constituyendo los dientes los filos cortantes.

La talla de madera la hacen con un pequeño cuchillo que consiste en el diente de un roedor. Con este diente logran el fino trabajo de sacar muescas a las flechas. También dan formas a las puntas de flecha de bambú y a la porción inferior oblonga del equipo para hacer fuego.

Dedican tanto como medio día para tallar los mangos para sus hachas y machetes. Emplean el machete para darles forma.

Los Guaika hacen sus ollas de barro. La arcilla es obtenida en lugares determinados. Frecuentemente ello requiere un día o más de viaje. Una vez que la arcilla es traída al poblado, le

7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

van extrayendo las piedras mientras la van amasando húmeda durante muchas horas. Se comienza a hacer el pote, tomando una pelota de barro a la que dan la forma de cuenco. Luego le van añadiendo aros de barro que unen al pote. La vasija es raspada y conformada mediante un troso de totuma rota. Durante el proceso del raspado, van aumentando el tamaño de la olla. Mantienen húmeda y dóctil la arcilla, escupiendo en ella de vez en cuando. Después de esto, ponen a secar la olla al sol y finalmente la hornean al fuego. La vasija sale del fuego bien ennegrecida como bien cocida. Tuve la suerte de observar en mi último viaje río arriba, como fué hecha una de estas ollas, con excepción de la cocción al fuego. No obstante ser muy frágiles, tienen en mucha estimación a estas vasijas para cocinar.

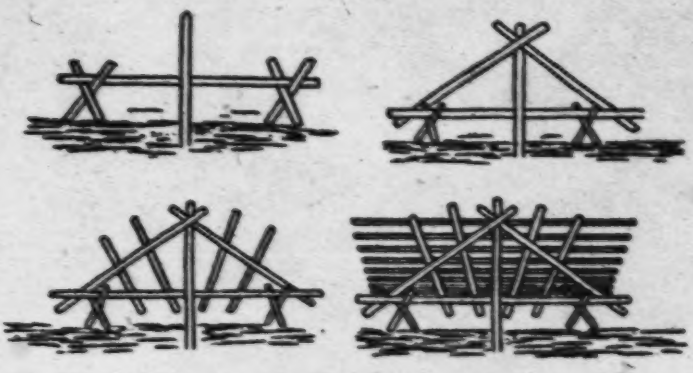
CONSTRUCCIONES

La vivienda Guaika es un techo de una sola vertiente, sin paredes. La estructura básica es un triángulo de vigas soportadas en sus vértices por pies-derechos. El ángulo más alto es soportado por un largo pie derecho, en tanto que los dos ángulos inferiores están sostenidos por dos palos cortos entrecruzados en cada esquina. O una de estas esquinas bajas puede quedar fijada a un árbol vivo, para mayor estabilidad.

Los pie-derechos son aguzados en su extremo inferior y clavados en la tierra, repetidas veces, hasta dejarlos bien firmes. Entonces se ata la viga carrera o maestra en su lugar, horizontalmente entre los pies cortos en que se apoyará la techumbre. Luego se colocan las dos vigas diagonales que con la viga maestra forman un triángulo, y sobre éste triángulo básico se añaden cuatro vigas inclinadas hacia ambos lados. Después se colocan encima las pequeñas viguetas que forman el entramado, que sostendrá las hojas. (Fig. 3).

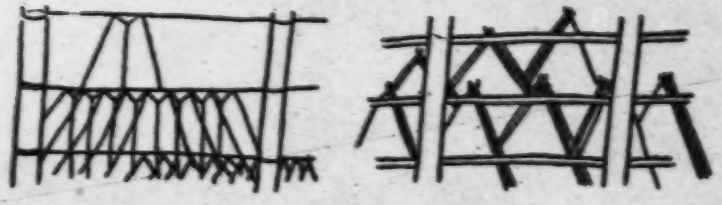
Las hojas son colocadas encima a manera de tejas, pero no se atan en su lugar. Breñas y palos se ponen sobre las hojas para que no las vuele el viento. Algunas veces se arriman hojas de palma y breñas al alero posterior, como para formar una especie de pared de fondo.

7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama



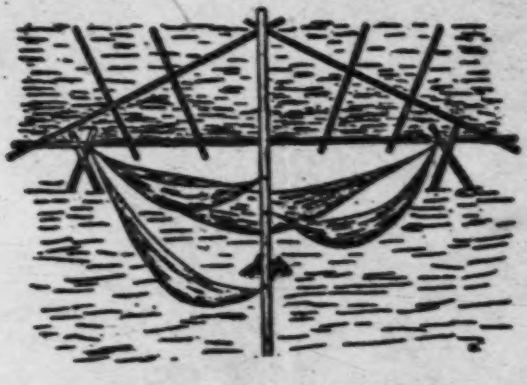
Esta estructura básica puede variar, juntándose dos o más ránchos lateralmente y uniendo sus techos.

En sitios más adecuados para construcciones más estables (es decir, donde hay mucho terreno arcilloso y por consiguiente menos pulgas o "niguas"), los Guaikas construyen viviendas con las hojas de palma del techo fijadas en su lugar. Estas viviendas son similares a las construcciones más temporarias, pero generalmente son más amplias y las viguetas del entramado son sustituidas por hilos de enredadera tendidos a lo largo a través de las vigas inclinadas. Las hojas de palma son fijadas a estos hilos, doblando sus tallos hacia atrás y por debajo, perforando en esta operación la capa inferior de hojas. Los dibujos de la Fig. 4 muestran los dos sistemas de fijar las hojas de palma sobre el entramado de la techumbre.



7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

Las hamacas son colgadas triangularmente de los postes que soportan el techo y una hoguera es encendida en el centro. Si es necesario, una hamaca puede ser colgada encima de otra, de modo que este triángulo de dos metros pueda albergar a seis personas (Fig. 5).



Estas viviendas son situadas formando un círculo, con sus frentes altos y abiertos orientados hacia el centro del patio. Este espacio circundado por las viviendas puede o no estar completamente desbrozado, pero por lo menos todas las breñas menudas son quitadas de su frente y lados inmediatos. Algunas veces también se limpia el piso de malezas en un espacio de un metro detrás de las casas.

El piso de tierra lo limpian estregándolo o raspándolo por lo menos una vez al día (aunque entre una y otra limpieza pueden llegar a acumularse en él muchas conchas de plátano y otros objetos). La basura es amontonada usando las manos o un trozo de leña, luego es llevada y botada fuera del patio central. Grandes montones de basuras y desperdicios llegan a acumularse al margen de esos espacios despejados. Algunas veces emplean un cesto llano para cargar la basura, y muy frecuentemente es cargada con las manos nada más, pues no siempre tienen a mano un cesto o éste puede estar ocupado en otros menesteres.

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

MEDIDAS HIGIENICAS

Carecen de retretes para la eliminación de excretas. La orilla del patio la consideran suficientemente alejada para la micción. Para excretar van al bosque a distancia del poblado y fuera de los senderos. Algún viejo tronco caído es sitio preferido para acuclillarse y palitos secos hacen las veces de papel higiénico.

Nadie es capaz de tocar intencionalmente el estiércol con la mano o el pie. Se lo considera muy sucio, y si llegare a tocarlo, su mano o pie tiene que ser limpiado y lavado inmediatamente.

El estiércol de perros y de infantes lo quitan del patio pasándolo sobre una hojas valiéndose de un palito, botando luego esas hojas a distancia en el bosque.

Para sus deposiciones nocturnas, colocan unas hojas en el suelo, con las que luego hacen un bojote. A la mañana siguiente, las botan a distancia fuera del poblado.

En El Platanal hay un escarabajo verde que entierra el estiércol duro. Media hora después de una deposición, toda evidencia desaparece.

LOS ASIENTOS

El centro del área en que moran los Guaika es el "conuco". En la selva que rodea al conuco están localizados sus poblados temporarios o semipermanentes, dependiendo ello de la clase de terreno, si es arenoso o arcilloso.

Viviendas temporarias muy simples son usadas en las áreas donde las pulgas o "niguas" constituyen un problema. Este tipo de casa consiste en un entramado de vigas para el techo, con hojas colocadas encima y pisadas. Estas mismas hojas pueden ser fácilmente llevadas al asiento de un nuevo poblado cuando los indios se mudan a otro terreno no infestado.

Un tipo de construcción más semipermanente es preferido donde quiera que las "niguas" no sean un problema y hagan imposible regresar al mismo asiento. Estas casas son de estruc-

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

tura similar pero más amplias, más resistentes y las hojas del techo están fijadas en su sitio. Se requiere como cinco veces mayor tiempo para construir este tipo de vivienda o abrigo en comparación con el tipo de vivienda temporaria.

No importa qué tipo de vivienda han instalado en el poblado cercano al "conuco", es costumbre de los Guaika que todos abandonen el poblado después de una permanencia de tres a seis semanas, cuando se marchan, bien para visitar otros poblados o para construir otro asiento temporario selva adentro, a varias millas de distancia de su "conuco".

Los grupos que poseen viviendas semipermanentes, regresan al mismo asiento y a sus mismas viviendas, en tanto que aquellos que usan sólo viviendas temporarias se asientan en otra localidad nueva, y construyen nuevas viviendas para las que han traído las hojas que techaban los ranchos que habían abandonado en el asiento anterior. Después de que un viejo poblado no ha sido ocupado durante por lo menos seis meses, los indios que regresan de uno de esos viajes por la selva, se instalan algunas veces en tales poblados. Las "niguas" habrán desaparecido durante ese período de seis meses.

En cualquier asiento adonde habitualmente regresan los Guaika, son destruidos tarde o temprano los árboles, quedando el espacio completamente despejado del poblado.

Los Guaika construyen abrigos temporarios durante sus excursiones de caza, y también cuando pernoctan en viaje de visita a otros poblados o en los viajes de regreso de tales visitas. El tipo de construcción es el mismo de las viviendas temporarias levantadas en los asientos cercanos al "conuco", excepto que la cubierta de los techos consiste en hojas grandes tales como del plátano silvestre, fácilmente hallables.

Los Guaika están contínuamente preparando nuevos "conucos". Después de que un "conuco" nuevo, a cierta distancia, comienza a producir, pueden compartir su tiempo entre ambos "conucos" en forma proporcional a la cantidad de plátanos que el viejo y nuevo "conuco" están produciendo. Entonces, a medida que el "conuco" viejo cesa de producir, pasan a vivir casi por completo en el nuevo asiento. Pero durante la cosecha de

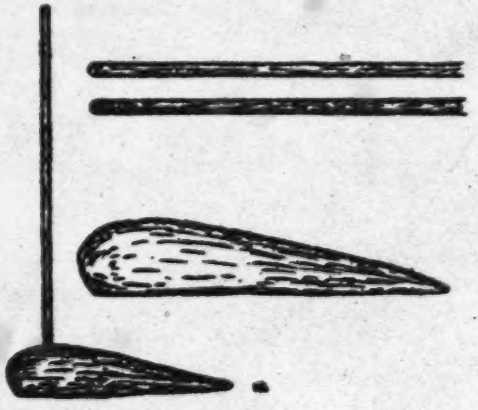
7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

la fruta de la palma "pijiguao", pasan cierto tiempo cerca de los "conucos" que han dejado de producir plátanos, donde en cambio la palma "pijiguao" se halla en mejor época.

Si una familia Guaika desea cambiar su lugar de residencia para otro poblado, todos los nuevos "conucos" de esa familia serán preparados en o cerca de ese poblado. Así, después de pocos años, esta familia puede pasar todo el tiempo en su nuevo lugar de residencia, en el otro poblado, si así lo desea.

EL FUEGO

Los Guaika usan el sistema de rotación simple para hacer fuego. Consiste en un trozo de madera blanda, aplanada en una cara y redondeada en la otra, de unos 4 centímetros de anchura en un extremo y cuya forma ahusada remata en una punta roma en el otro extremo. Con el diente de un gran roedor le hacen un corte circular cerca de su extremo más ancho, y en el que se inserta una varita delgada (de 30 a 40 centímetros de diámetro en su base). Esta varita es sostenida entre las palmas de las manos, dándosele un movimiento rotatorio, hasta que se enciende una chispa en el polvillo de la madera originada por la rotación de la varita en el agujero hecho en el madero. (Véase la Fig. 6).



7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

La pieza ahusada de madera blanda es de cacao, en la que pueden hacerse varios agujeros sucesivos, y cada agujero puede ser usado varias veces para encender fuego.

Por lo general hay alguien en el poblado que tiene algún fuego encendido, de modo que cuando algún indígena necesita fuego, lo obtiene allí. Para llevar fuego por corta distancia, se atan dos o tres palos encendidos, formando un haz. Cuando viajan de noche, portan teas encendidas para protegerse contra los animales como también para alumbrar el sendero. Antorchas de goma y de resina también son usadas algunas veces en los senderos durante la noche, pero el tipo común de antorcha es el haz de leños atados. Un grupo que viaja por la noche (como ocurre cuando regresan después del atardecer de la faena de la pesca), puede portar sólo una antorcha. Entonces se detienen de vez en cuando para acomodar los palos juntos y reavivar el fuego, evitando que se apague.

El fuego de la leña es la fuente principal productora de luz y calor, en los poblados. Las hogueras se mantienen encendidas durante toda la noche tanto para producir calor como para protegerse contra los animales de rapiña y los espíritus de los seres humanos, que han retornado.

No parece haber creencias ni ceremonias relacionadas con la producción y el mantenimiento del fuego.

ARMAS

El arma principal de los Guaica es el arco y la flecha. También usan macanas.

El arco es hecho de madera de palma, generalmente de "pijiguao", con cuerda fuerte de hilos de corteza. Dicha cuerda tiene 3 o más hilos de corteza torcidos, que le dan grandísima resistencia.

Las astas de sus flechas son hechas de la porción festonada de cierta caña silvestre, la cual cultivan en sus "conucos". Las empluman con puntas de plumas de alas de pavas de monte.

Las puntas de flecha varían según las clases de piezas que han de servir de blanco. La punta ancha de bambú es usada

principalmente contra animales terrestres grandes, la de hueso para disparar contra aves grandes y medianas, y las puntas emponzoñadas principalmente contra monos. Cualquiera de estas puntas pueden ser usadas contra el hombre, en caso de guerra. Contra los pájaros pequeños disparan la saeta quitándole antes la punta o emplean una punta de extremo ramificado, hecha de alguna ramita arrancada rápidamente de alguna mata cercana. La Fig. 7 que se acompaña muestra los distintos tipos de puntas de flecha de los Guaika.

Los chiquillos hacen pequeños arcos generalmente para jugar, pero también disparan contra lagartijas que son buena carnada para pescar. Estos arcos pueden ser hechos de diversas clases de maderas, pero raras veces de palma. Los arcos de los hombres sí son siempre de palma.

Las macanas las emplean las mujeres para pescar. También son usadas por los hombres en sus ataques a otros poblados con los que se ha tenido relaciones más o menos amistosas, con el fin de recuperar a la esposa o la hija allí cautiva.

VENENOS

Una diversidad de venenos para pescar son usados por los Guaika. Uno proviene de una enredadera, otro de la cáscara de una nuez espinosa, y el tercero de la corteza de cierto árbol corpulento.

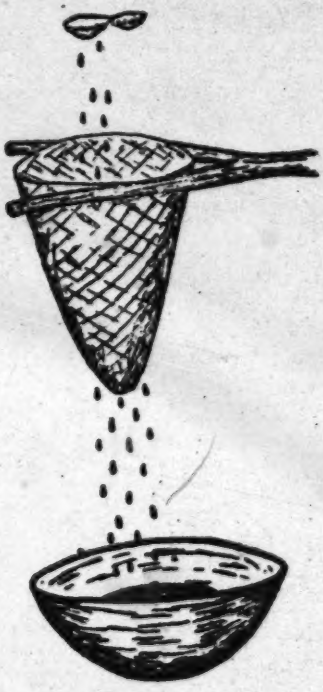
Las puntas de flechas las emponzoñan con el veneno de la corteza de una enredadera. Raspan la corteza y las raspaduras

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

envueltas en hojas las mantienen secas colgándolas sobre la corriente de aire de un fuego, hasta necesitarlas .

El día en que un indio va a preparar veneno, cada hombre del poblado se prepara para preparar un juego de puntas de flecha para ser emponzoñadas.

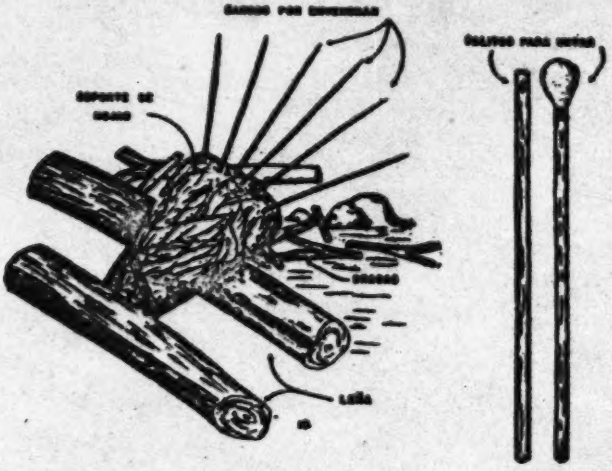
El preparador del veneno comienza pulverizando las raspaduras de corteza entre las palmas de las manos. Emite constantemente una serie de gruñidos y gritos mientras lo hace. Luego coloca la corteza pulverizada en un embudo hecho de hojas, en el que echa agua caliente, varias gotas cada vez. El líquido que se cuela a través es recogido en una totuma. La Fig. 8 muestra el procedimiento.



7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

Varias fogatas son encendidas en derredor, y después de corto tiempo, se esparcen los leños a fin de que no haya llamas, sino brasas encendidas.

Entonces, los juegos de puntas de flecha que han de ser emponzoñadas, son clavados en bojotes hechos con hojas, y colocados en forma de quedar las puntas sobre el rescoldo. El líquido venenoso es untado luego en las puntas, en pequeñas cantidades cada vez, secándose inmediatamente. Todo el veneno es untado en las puntas en el mismo día en que es preparado. La Fig. 9 que se acompaña, muestra el procedimiento.



Algunos de los palitos empleados para aplicar el veneno a las puntas de flecha, son de palma y tienen un hoyuelo cerca de uno de los extremos para contener veneno. Otros tienen una mota de algodón o de cualquier materia absorbente amarrada al extremo para saturarse del veneno.

Cuando el veneno ha secado en las puntas de flecha, éstas son guardadas en el carcaj, que consiste en un tubo de bambú, quedando siempre listas para ser fijadas al asta de flecha al necesitarse.

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

BIENES Y PROPIEDAD

Cada hombre tiene derecho de propiedad sobre la tierra que ha despejado para la siembra del "conuco", hasta que la haya abandonado.

Cuando un poblado regresa a un antiguo asiento, cada hombre tiene el derecho de construir su nueva vivienda en el mismo sitio en que se hallaba la anterior, si así lo desea, aun cuando el lugar ha sido cubierto por la selva, como ocurre frecuentemente.

Cada persona posee su propia hamaca y adornos.

Los hombres son dueños de los "conucos", las viviendas, las ollas de barro, los equipos de caza y de pesca, y el de hacer fuego y los machetes.

Las mujeres poseen los cestos, los equipos de hilar, las totumas para el agua, las fajas para cargar niños, la leña y las hojas de la techumbre.

Tanto los hombres como las mujeres pueden poseer hachas, cuchillos, espejos, cuentas u otros objetos que hayan elaborado o adquirido.

Los objetos cambian de dueño bien por regalo o por trueques. Los objetos trocados son generalmente los que no pueden ser hechos u obtenidos por cualquiera. Estos incluyen artículos extraños (v. g. machetes, fósforos, etc.), y también artículos domésticos que son elabodaros sólo por ciertas personas o productos que no todos tienen la habilidad de elaborar con éxito (v. g., ollas de barro para cocinar, el tipo de "yopo" más fuerte, totumas para agua y astas para las flechas).

Los artículos a los que todos y cada uno tienen acceso, como los alimentos, el agua, cestos y pequeñas totumas o calabazas, son generalmente cedidos cuando se comparten. En veces hasta artículos escasos son dados a los amigos íntimos.

DIVISION DEL TRABAJO

Los hombres despejan los "conucos", los siembran y los limpian. Las mujeres cargan la mayor parte de las cosechas a sus

casas, en sus cestos de carga. Los hombres ayudan algunas veces a cargar las cosechas cuando hay más de lo que pueden cargar aquéllas, o cuando los hombres van solos al "conuco".

Los hombres realizan la cacería y cargan con las presas hasta la casa. Pueden llamar a las mujeres a ayudarles cuando la pieza ha sido cobrada en la cercanía.

Los hombres pescan con arco y flecha, anzuelos y veneno. Las mujeres pescan con macanas y con cestos.

Los hombres construyen los puentes.

Los hombres construyen las estructuras o armazones de las viviendas y ayudan a construir los techos. Las mujeres colectan las hojas para cubrir los techos y ayudan a techar.

Las mujeres cortan la mayor parte de la leña y la llevan al poblado. La cortan en el lugar y la cargan a sus casas en los cestos de carga, lista para ser usada. Los hombres cargan los palos a la casa, para asar la carne y si requieren ser cortados en trozos, lo hacen una vez que han llegado.

Las mujeres por lo general cocinan el desayuno para toda la familia. Para las otras comidas, cada persona cocina por lo general sus propios plátanos. Las mujeres hornean el "casabe". Los hombres cocinan todo lo que tenga que ser hervido en las ollas de barro, como las carnes de la caza que han cobrado, y la fruta de la palma "pijiguao".

Cuando el poblado se muda, las mujeres cargan casi todas las pertenencias de la familia y toda la comida posible en sus cestos de carga, que llevan colgados de la cabeza por medio de bandas o tirantes. Los hombres portan sus arcos, las ollas de barro y cualquier comida que las mujeres no puedan llevar. Los hombres emplean tirantes o bandas para colgar del hombro o de la cabeza, pero sin cestos.

VIAJES Y TRANSPORTACION

Casi todos los viajes los realizan a pie por senderos y veredas. Se construyen puentes sobre los ríos más caudalosos. Otros ríos son vadeados o cruzados sobre troncos.

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

Los senderos nuevos son señalados quebrando ramas al paso. En los caminos viejos señalan el sendero o los senderos que no fueron tomados, dejando algún objeto o un montoncito de hojas a la entrada de los mismos. Un palo puede ser atado a una vivienda abandonada para señalar hacia qué lado se mudó el antiguo ocupante. (Un poblado puede dividirse en grupos cuando abandona el asiento en el área del "conuco", por lo cual esa señal no significa necesariamente que todo el poblado se ha dirigido hacia ese lado).

Los Guaika viajan con frecuencia, pero generalmente no muy lejos. El siguiente poblado —tal vez a un día de camino— suele ser el límite hasta donde han ido. El poblado que queda pasando a éste, podría ser un poblado enemigo, o cuando menos poco amistoso. Aun poblados vecinos uno al otro se mantienen en tan malas relaciones, que raras veces se visitan entre sí. Pero los poblados que se hallan en buenos términos de amistad se visitan con mucha frecuencia, y cuando ambos viven en sus áreas de los conucos, los visitantes van y vienen entre ellos cada tantos días.

Los motivos para visitarse son principalmente ver a los amigos o permanecer allí hasta que su propio "conuco" (que se halla en período de poca producción) comienza a producir otra vez.

NORMAS DE VIDA

Los Guaika consideran cosa esencial dormir todas las noches bajo techo. Así, siempre construyen algún tipo de abrigo.

Una fogata también es esencial. Un Guaika no dormirá sin un fuego de noche. Lo necesita para obtener calor y para protegerse de los animales y con el fuego se siente más seguro contra los espíritus malos.

La tercera cosa esencial es la hamaca. El Guaika tiene que tener una hamaca para dormir de noche. En su vivienda tiene una hamaca de algodón o una hamaca hecha de enredaderas partidas longitudinalmente. En una excursión de cacería puede viajar con su hamaca de hilo de enredadera o sin portar ninguna. En este último caso elabora cada noche una hamaca temporaria

7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

de hilos de corteza, y en caso de permanecer en la misma área general, la usa durante varias noches. Luego, para viajar liviano, abandona esta hamaca de hilos de corteza y se marcha a su casa donde le espera su buena hamaca.

La provisión de comida que tienen los Guaika es por lo general buena y aparentemente bien nutritiva. De tiempo en tiempo hay escasez, ellos no acumulan reservas. La escasez generalmente no es demasiado seria, por cuanto usualmente pueden soportar el período de privación subsistiendo de un poblado vecino, que retribuirá la visita cuando a su vez le lleguen malos tiempos.

La pérdida completa de un "conuco" como resultado de ser echados constantemente del área por un enemigo, es cosa bastante seria. Nosotros observamos a un poblado (el de Bichaasatedi) subsistiendo a duras penas durante un año hasta que su nuevo "conuco" comenzó a producir, después de que habían sido echados de su antigua área por un grupo hostil (el de Liakoatedi).

Los Guaika no hacen asientos, pero raras veces se sientan en el suelo si pueden evitarlo. Usualmente se sientan en una hamaca o en un trozo de leña.

En un día ordinario, los Guaika despiertan con la aurora. La esposa prepara los plátanos asados para toda la familia. Alrededor de las 7:30 o las 8:00 a. m., la mayoría de los habitantes del poblado se van a trabajar al "conuco". Los que permanecen en el poblado, por lo general descansan toda la mañana. Unas pocas mujeres se reunen en un bando y salen a hacer leña de un árbol muerto, recientemente caído. Los que trabajaban en el conuco, comienzan a regresar al mediodía. En camino al poblado, toman un baño en la quebrada. Después de un breve descanso, cada persona asa algunos plátanos para su almuerzo. Después, alrededor de las dos de la tarde, se prepara el "yopo" y a muchos de los hombres les es soplado por la nariz. Algunos de ellos cantan sonsonetes para influenciar a los espíritus mientras otros vagan en derredor como ebrios. Unos pocos no toman en absoluto ningún "yopo". Estas cantilenas de yopo generalmente duran unas dos horas.

Por la tarde, algunas mujeres más, incluyendo algunas de las que en la mañana estuvieron en el conuco, salen en busca de

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

leña. Otras mujeres se dedican a hilar el algodón. Como a las 5 de la tarde, las mujeres y las muchachas bajan a la quebrada para llenar todas las calabazas o totumas.

Poco antes de oscurecer, concluye la cena. Se colocan hojas de palma para obstruir las entradas de los senderos contra la llegada de los espíritus errantes y también para dar mayor dificultad a cualquier bando atacante procedente de un poblado enemigo. Cada casa enciende su propia fogata y se prepara para la noche. Como a las 7:00 p. m., todo queda en silencio.

Pero si sale la luna, las mujeres y los niños pueden permanecer cantando y bailando hasta muy entrada la noche. O cuando hay visitantes llegados durante el día, puede haber canturreos noticiosos durante toda la noche hasta que la salida del sol les pone fin.

NOMBRES

Cada individuo recibe un nombre dado por sus padres. Hasta tanto el niño recibe un nombre, se le llama por cualquiera de los nombres standard que se aplica a los niños pequeños. El uso de estos nombres standard usualmente se prolonga durante varios años después de que el niño o la niña hayan recibido su nombre propio. Es tabú asignar a una persona el nombre de otra. No hay homónimos o tocayos. Al individuo se le puede dar el nombre de una planta, un animal, una acción, un aspecto, o en veces simplemente se le puede dar algún nombre inventado por sus padres.

Los sobrenombres son dados libremente. Algunos arraigan, otros no. Usualmente son muy descriptivos y frecuentemente muy mordaces.

No está en las buenas maneras llamar a una persona por su nombre, si ello puede evitarse. Siempre es mejor decir: el hermano mayor de fulano, la hermana mayor de zutano, el marido de fulana, el padre de mengano, o la madre de perencejo.

Cuando a una persona se la llama por su nombre propio, frecuentemente ésta devuelve el insulto llamando al ofensor también por su propio nombre.

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

Los nombres de personas se distinguen por sus sufijos masculinos o femeninos, de modo que siempre podemos estar seguros a qué sexo pertenece la persona aludida, aunque no se la conozca. Los nombres que terminan en "-wa" son masculinos y los que terminan en "-mi" o en "-ma" son femeninos.

A los perros también se les da nombres propios. Sus nombres también se distinguen por las terminaciones del género. Otros animales domésticos raras veces reciben un nombre propio, y se les llama más bien por mono, loro, etcétera.

RELACIONES ENTRE PERSONAS

El mejor cumplido que por lo general puede hacerse a otro que haya adquirido un objeto nuevo, es decirle: "Dame eso". La respuesta usual, es "No". Tal persona queda altamente complacida de saber que ha adquirido algo deseado por otro.

Cuando un visitante (o grupo de visitantes), llega de visita a un poblado, se detiene afuera y se decora a sí mismo con pintura, plumas, etcétera. Entonces, cuando los habitantes del poblado lo ven llegar, prorrumpen en aclamaciones. El visitante entra al patio interior del poblado y se detiene tirando hacia atrás la cabeza y sosteniendo su arco y flechas adelante, apoyados verticalmente en el suelo. Cuando se le invita a entrar a una casa, va a ella y se echa en la hamaca de espaldas, con la cabeza hacia atrás, permaneciendo inmóvil de 10 a 20 minutos. (Una persona que visita con frecuencia el poblado, sabe en qué casa es bien recibido y a ella se dirige sin aguardar a que se le invite).

Una vez que el visitante ha descansado, se le obsequia algo de comida. Tan pronto como termina de comer y algunas veces aun antes, él rompe su silencio y comienza a hablar con el grupo que se ha reunido en su derredor para observarlo. Entonces permanece en esa misma casa, donde se le da de comer mientras dure su visita. Jamás se piensa en cobrarle por la comida, pero a un visitante indeseable no se le invita o se le aconseja retirarse.

Un visitante que llega a un poblado donde sólo una familia tiene amistad con él, puede esperar un recibimiento muy diferente. Con seguridad puede esperar la bienvenida de sus amigos,

pero el resto del poblado, en vez de aclamarle, le gritarán: "Bando enemigo al ataque! Bando enemigo al ataque!", y al mismo tiempo le apuntan con sus arcos y flechas y también apuntan en todas direcciones como si fuesen a luchar con un bando enemigo atacante. Recibimiento harto frío, por decir lo menos!

Cuando dos chicos se disgustan entre sí y pelean, cada cual debe disponerse a recibir un golpe igual al que ha dado. Si uno pega al otro en el pecho con el puño, se espera que aquél presentará a éste el pecho para recibir un golpe igual, y así en cada caso. La riña continúa hasta que uno de los dos considera haber recibido bastante y se niegue a devolver el golpe acabado de recibir, o hasta que uno de los contricantes se enfurece de veras y le da un arrebato de cólera. Entonces, por lo general intervienen los demás. Con frecuencia, cuando dos muchachos pelean, se les estimula a continuar pegándose hasta que ambos llegan a desear no haber empezado jamás la pelea. Los muchachos prontamente se cuidan de no iniciar una riña.

Si alguien maltrata a un chico más pequeño que él mismo, puede estar seguro de que sufrirá una represalia por parte de los familiares del pequeño o de algún espectador.

MATRIMONIO Y GUERRA

Una unión matrimonial puede ser arreglada con muchísima anticipación con el consentimiento de todos los interesados. Una chica de 9 años puede estar ya prometida a algún muchacho.

Pero más frecuentemente llega la muchacha a la pubertad sin que haya sido hecho ningún arreglo para su futuro matrimonio. Entonces, los pretendientes no sólo tienen que solicitar el favor de la muchacha, sino también el de todo el poblado donde élla vive. Con frecuencia éste respeta la elección hecha por la muchacha y rechaza a los pretendientes que élla no quiere, pero el poblado podría darla en matrimonio en contra de su consentimiento.

A un pretendiente que no logra el consentimiento del poblado de la muchacha, no le queda otro camino que buscar esposa en otra parte o tratar de raptar a la muchacha para hacerla su

7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

esposa. Si opta por esto último, reúne a sus simpatizantes; estos son en su mayoría hombres del propio poblado del pretendiente, aunque otros amigos pueden ayudarle también. El grupo procura apresar a la muchacha en un momento de descuido, llevándosela a la fuerza. Los amigos de la muchacha se presentan en su socorro, entablándose una lucha a brazo partido. Si el pretendiente logra huir con la muchacha, ella se torna en su esposa, pero si fracasa no podrá hacer una nueva tentativa de rapto sin que sea entonces considerado un enemigo verdadero, y como tal, correría el peligro de ser flechado y no simplemente tener que entablar una lucha.

Si un poblado decide no aceptar el rapto cometido en una de sus muchachas para fines matrimoniales, un llamado por ayuda puede ser hecho a un poblado vecino, reuniéndose todos los hombres en un bando, dispuestos a recuperarla. Las armas empleadas en semejante incursión son varas lisas de unos seis pies de longitud, destinadas no a matar al oponente sino a tumbarlo dejándolo fuera de combate. Si semejante incursión tiene éxito, la muchacha es devuelta a sus padres. Y si fracasa la incursión, cualquier nueva tentativa para recuperar a la muchacha envuelve el peligro de ser flechados los atacantes, entonces considerados como enemigos verdaderos. Tanto los hombres como las mujeres pueden luchar a la defensiva en caso de tal incursión.

Un pretendiente solo o con la ayuda de unos pocos amigos puede llegar a realizar un rapto de esposa, generalmente al hallar a la muchacha casi sola, llevándosela a su propio poblado. En tales casos, el poblado del raptor puede no apoyarlo, obligándolo a devolver la mujer a sus padres, antes que perder a sus amigos en el poblado de ella.

Cuando es proyectada una incursión a un poblado realmente enemigo, con el fin de raptar una esposa u otros objetos de valor, cada uno de los miembros del bando atacante se pinta todo de negro o marrón oscuro. Para tales incursiones, las armas son el arco y las flechas, y de entablarse la lucha, ambos bandos disparan para matar.

De ser pequeño el bando atacante, sólo puede aspirar a capturar alguna muchacha o mujer que esté sola en su "conuco" o

SQ18 Yanoama

cortando leña en el bosque. Entonces tratará de huir con la presa sin ser descubierto, pues de serlo, generalmente tiene que abandonar a la cautiva y escapar para salvar las vidas.

Si el bando incursor es grande, es decir, formado por varios poblados, pueden llegar a tener el valor suficiente como para atacar todo un poblado completo. Si a un poblado entero se logra poner en fuga desordenada, muchas de las mujeres y muchachas son fácil presa de los atacantes. Las muchachas entre los 12 y los 18 años de edad son consideradas como el mejor botín. Es casi seguro que algunos de los hombres, especialmente del poblado atacado, pierdan la vida o resulten heridos en el ataque. No siempre son las mujeres el único botín; toda suerte de objetos estimados son abandonados en una retirada precipitada. Semejantes incursiones no se realizan con mucha frecuencia, pero su posibilidad mantiene a la población en constante temor de ellas.

Después de haber sido atacado así, el poblado puede decidir el abandono de todo el área y fundar un nuevo "conuco" en otra parte, o todos los poblados amigos pueden ser llamados a ayudar en las incursiones de represalia.

Cuando el enemigo acampa cerca de un poblado a una distancia más cercana de la usual, o si hay alguna otra causa para temer una incursión, se construyen palizadas o palenques. Postes y varas de unos 15 centímetros de diámetro y de 2 o más metros de longitud son atados en posición vertical, cerrando todos los accesos, en especial los senderos. Hojas de palma y malezas son amontonadas contra estas paredes para impedir que el enemigo pueda mirar a través de los intersticios. Del lado fuera de estas palizadas, hasta una distancia de 30 a 50 metros, son cortados todos los árboles, dejándolos tumbados en tupida maraña como un obstáculo más para los intrusos enemigos. Además, bajo los aleros, en la parte posterior de todas y cada una de las casas, hacen una pared más de palos de leña de longitud mayor a la usual. En el caso en que se produce un ataque, las mujeres y los niños se echan contra esas paredes leñosas detrás de las casas, mientras los hombres ocupan las posiciones defensivas y lanzan vigorosos gritos de guerra haciendo chocar sus arcos para impresionar al enemigo con su número y preparación.

Por lo general, no se intentan sitios prolongados por temor de que alguien que llegue a visitar al poblado sitiado haya visto a los atacantes y marchado en busca de socorros. De ahí que por lo general no sea defendida la fuente que les suple el agua.

Con frecuencia, antes de realizar un ataque mayor, el poblado atacante se muda selva adentro para que las familias queden guarecidas mientras los hombres salen en campaña.

Si dos jóvenes quieren casarse, pero uno o ambos de sus poblados no favorecen su unión matrimonial, pueden escapar a un poblado donde sean acogidos y establecer allí su casa. Si no hallan un poblado que los guarezca, tienen que separarse y tratar de contraer matrimonio por los medios usuales o tienen que abandonar del todo su propósito.

Una esposa maltratada por el marido puede escapar de éste yéndose a un poblado dispuesto a defenderla o a uno adonde el marido no se atrevería a ir por ser considerado allí como enemigo.

Si una esposa huye sola o con otro hombre, el marido puede organizar una incursión armada de macanas o mazas para recuperarla, pero también en este caso él sólo podrá efectuar una sola tentativa. Si ella se ha llevado consigo a los niños, él podrá tratar de recuperar la mujer como a los niños, o sólo los niños o algunos de ellos.

Si un hombre abandona a su mujer, por lo general nada se puede hacer.

Si el hombre y la mujer se separan de mutuo acuerdo, el primero generalmente se queda con los niños. Algunas veces los niños más pequeños permanecen al lado de la madre hasta que tengan edad suficiente para cocinar sus propios plátanos (acaso 5 ó 6 años de edad).

La segunda nupcia difiere muy poco del primer matrimonio. En la mayoría de los casos se prefiere a una virgen en vez de una viuda o de una casada fugitiva.

Ningún hombre permanece soltero por propia voluntad. Si es soltero, ello se debe a que él mismo no ha podido conseguir una esposa.

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

Una mujer joven no puede permanecer soltera por mucho tiempo, pero algunas logran rechazar a todos sus pretendientes durante varios años después de su pubertad. Una viuda, en especial una viuda con hijos, algunas veces permanece sola para siempre desde la muerte del marido.

CONCERTACION DE LA PAZ

Cuando un poblado quiere estrechar más la amistad con otro, envía un mensajero para ofrecer términos más amistosos.

Si los poblados sólo son "enemigos a macanas", puede ir un mensajero del propio poblado que toma la iniciativa, pero si los poblados son "enemigos a flecha" entonces tiene que enviar un mensajero de un poblado que sea amigo con los dos poblados en cuestión. El mensajero miembro de un poblado que es "enemigo a flecha" correría el peligro de ser flechado antes de llegar a dar el mensaje.

Así, dos poblados muy enemistados pueden llegar a suspender las incursiones entre sí. Más tarde pueden convenir en no pelear más si llegan a verse en un poblado amigo. Hasta tanto lleguen a este acuerdo, un poblado neutral amigo de ambos, cuando es visitado por gentes de uno de esos poblados enemigos entre sí, tiene que enviar un mensaje al otro advirtiendo que no deben venir mientras estén en él los visitantes del poblado hostil. Todavía más tarde, pueden convenir en recibir la visita de un grupo pequeño de visitantes del otro poblado enemigo, para fines comerciales. Desde ese momento, en adelante, los dos poblados pueden emprender directamente sus negociaciones, y comenzarán a formarse las amistades entre sus respectivos miembros. Entonces, cuando un poblado cede de buena voluntad sus propias muchachas como esposas a los hombres del otro poblado, es que puede decirse se han recuperado; en verdad, se han tornado en buenos amigos.

Mientras mayor sea el número de personas envueltas en una disputa o pelea, menos probabilidades habrá de que los bandos opuestos vuelvan a entenderse después de corto tiempo. Las disputas dentro del seno de un poblado por lo general se arreglan prontamente. Dentro de pocos meses todo habrá quedado olvi-

7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

dado. Las disputas entre poblados que no han llegado más allá de peleas a macana, usualmente son olvidadas en el término de uno o dos años. Las disputas entre poblados que han ocasionado el uso de las flechas, en especial cuando alguien ha sido muerto, pueden requerir un mayor número de años para ser conciliadas. Las disputas que han alcanzado las proporciones de guerras regionales, raras veces son olvidadas dentro de la misma generación, pues casi no ha quedado ningún poblado neutral por medio del cual puedan efectuarse negociaciones de paz.

LA FAMILIA

Una pareja recién casada puede vivir en el poblado de los padres de la esposa, o bien en el de los padres del marido. Pero si optan por vivir en el poblado de los padres de la esposa no podrán habitar en la misma vivienda con ellos, porque está prohibido (tabú) al marido acercarse a la suegra. El puede entrar en su casa sólo cuando ella se halla fuera. No se atreverá a acercarse a ella a menos de 3 o 4 metros. Pero si la pareja decide vivir con los padres del marido no hay tales restricciones, pues no hay ninguna prohibición para que la nuera se acerque a su suegra. Aun los pretendientes suelen hospedarse en el lado opuesto al de la casa de la futura suegra, en su poblado.

La mayoría de los hombres sólo tiene una esposa. Los que lo deseen y puedan hacerlo, pueden tener dos o más esposas. Esta práctica hace más aguda la escasez de mujeres casaderas y puede ser una de las causas principales de las peleas respecto a las esposas, que surgen por parte de los hombres que se han quedado sin ninguna.

Cuando un hombre tiene más de una esposa, sus mujeres pueden vivir en la misma casa, o en varias casas en hilera. Ellas trabajan juntas, pero cada cual tiene sus bienes propios. Con frecuencia son hermanas entre sí, pues un hombre tiene mayores probabilidades de casarse con una hermana de su esposa, que de hallar otra esposa en otra parte.

En la familia, es el hombre quien ejerce la autoridad. Sólo conozco un caso en que la mujer manda en la casa, y esto, porque su marido es un débil mental.

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

Los huérfanos por lo general son cuidados por parientes, pero cuando no los tienen, suelen ser adoptados. Jamás he sabido de ninguno que haya quedado en el desamparo.

LA COMUNIDAD

La población de un asiento o poblado, varía entre 60 y tal vez 120, pero la mayoría de los poblados tienen alrededor de 100 habitantes. Los grupos más pequeños temen vivir separados, por lo que se unen para protegerse. Los grupos más grandes prontamente se dividen debido a fricciones internas.

Dentro del poblado, generalmente hay uno o dos individuos más influyentes, que no sólo dirigen su propia familia, sino a varias otras. Cuando estos grupos crecen lo suficiente, entonces se dividen y forman sus propios poblados. Estos grupos se hallan unidos en un solo poblado por el temor.

El grupo mayor y más influyente manda en el poblado. De ahí que cualquier pelea por el mando no viene a ser necesariamente una prueba de fuerza entre dos hombres, sino que puede fácilmente tornarse en una lucha entre los partidarios de cada uno de ellos. La máxima gravedad alcanzada por estas contiendas es la "pelea a macana", generalmente.

La opinión pública es una fuerza poderosa y aun los hombres de mayor influencia tienen que plegarse, en muchas ocasiones, a la voluntad del público.

Cada poblado, usualmente tiene dos nombres, el de la localidad actual y el nombre de una de las localidades anteriormente ocupadas.

ENFERMEDAD Y MAGIA

Algunos accidentes son atribuidos a descuidos, pero muchos accidentes y todas las enfermedades son atribuidos a causas sobrenaturales o espíritus.

Si un niño se asusta, la madre o el guardián prontamente toma un manojo de hojas y barre el lugar donde se asustó la criatura. Hacen esto para que el alma del niño no haya espantada y el niño enferme.

Algunas veces, cuando un niño enferma, creen que el alma de la criatura ha abandonado su cuerpo. Entonces despachan comisiones en su búsqueda, que pasan por los sitios en los que sospechan que el niño haya estado antes, y regresan barriendo el sendero con unas ramas y llamando a voces a la criatura. Si el niño mejora, es porque su alma fué hallada, de lo contrario, debieron haber equivocado el sitio donde estaba.

Ellos creen que algunas enfermedades se deben al espíritu o los espíritus que se han introducido en el cuerpo del enfermo. Para que el enfermo recobre la salud, hay que echar de su cuerpo el espíritu dañino. Quien ha de procurar sacar dicho espíritu del cuerpo del enfermo, toma primeramente un poco de "yopo", por vía nasal. Luego entona un canturreo mientras marcha hacia adelante y hacia atrás ante el paciente. Entonces, de rato en rato, se acerca a éste y le frota la parte afectada, a la que pellizca y golpea, tirando de ella, amenazando al espíritu y pidiéndole que se aleje, emitiendo toda suerte de ruidos para asustar al espíritu (o los espíritus) de modo que se vayan. Después de estar unos pocos minutos con su paciente, reanuda el canturreo. Esta práctica la repite muchas veces, y si no logra el éxito buscado, otros hombres probarán sus fuerzas procurando echar de allí al espíritu dañino.

Entonces pueden llegar a la conclusión de que no se trata de una enfermedad causada por un espíritu oculto en el cuerpo del enfermo, sino por uno que se ha ocultado en alguna parte del poblado. Así, un grupo de hombres organiza una "caza del espíritu". Cada uno de ellos toma un poco de "yopo" por la vía nasal, y después de canturrear durante corto tiempo ante el enfermo, comienzan a efectuar un registro por todo el poblado, casa por casa, registrando cada cesto y rincón, lanzando machetazos y hachazos, puyando con las flechas, soplando a través de los tubos del "yopo" cual si fuese una cerbatana, continuando durante todo el tiempo sus canturreos y amenazas dirigidas al espíritu dañino. De rato en rato toman algún objeto, que se llevan consigo. Algunas veces terminan por registrar todo el círculo de casas, pero con más frecuencia el que encabeza la "caza del espíritu" apunta con el dedo hacia un objeto, con lo cual alguien se apodera del mismo, lanzándose todo el grupo precipitadamente hacia la choza donde está el enfermo.

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

Es frecuente que uno de los que participan en la "caza del espíritu" caiga en un paroxismo, que por lo general termina dando un tremendo brinco en el aire, hasta caer inconsciente al suelo. Las mujeres traen seguidamente agua y después de un rato logran revivirlo.

En una ocasión un hombre que canturreaba ante un niño enfermo perdió súbitamente la razón y comenzó a decir cosas extrañas. Parecía como si un poder extraño se hubiera apoderado de él, al extremo de que se necesitó seis hombres para sostenerlo a fin de que las mujeres le echasen el agua para sacarlo de su acceso.

También creen que un hombre puede "enviar" a otro una enfermedad o desgracia. Con frecuencia la mayoría de los canturreos que entonan por las tardes cuando han tomado "yopo", están destinados a "enviar" calamidades a sus enemigos.

En cierta ocasión, cuando todos se hallaban acampando como a dos horas de camino del poblado, una muchacha fué mordida por una serpiente venenosa. Su padre vino a buscarme para que la curase. Me dijo que estaba muy enojado y me preguntó si era yo quien había enviado la culebra. Se contentó mucho cuando le aseguré que yo no la había enviado.

Creen que una persona puede causar al enemigo un gran daño, una enfermedad y aun la muerte, recogiendo "la huella" del enemigo y restregándola entre las palmas de las manos. Por esta razón a los Guaika no les gusta caminar delante de alguien que con seguridad no sea su amigo, en especial sobre suelos blandos.

Los Guaika preparan ciertos polvos que, al ser lanzados al aire o soplados hacia donde está un enemigo, pueden ocasionarle molestias o daño, según creen, aunque dicho enemigo se halle a muchas millas de distancia en otro poblado.

Creen que otra substancia es eficaz contra las mujeres, en especial si es lanzada contra ellas. La usan para amedrentarlas y también forma parte de la ceremonia en la que un hombre manifiesta su preferencia por la mujer que él quiere hacer su esposa.

Hay un tabú respecto a la quema de tela o papel. El quemar una tela o un papel, según creen, causa enfermedad y tal

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

vez la muerte. Los Guaika no se atreven a hacerlo "contra un enemigo", pues temen que podrían morir también.

Los hombres no pueden ver un "bole" —el espíritu o alma de un difunto, que ha retornado— pero las mujeres sí pueden verlos algunas veces, y cuando lo hacen, es casi seguro que el "bole" las enferma. El "bole" tiene dos ojos como ascuas, una piel fría y en general tiene las formas del hombre. Suele pasar por los senderos, especialmente de noche, y con frecuencia regresa a los poblados abandonados. Pueden hablar y gritar como un hombre; y tantos ruidos extraños que se oyen en el bosque son atribuidos a la cercanía de un "bole". La caída de un árbol por sí mismo, la achacan también a un "bole".

Cierta vez una mujer nos contó sobre su encuentro con un "bole". Había sido despertada por alguien que la tocaba y daba puñadas en las costillas. Cuando despertó, una voz la dijo: "Hay enemigos afuera". Ella se asustó mucho y no volvió a dormir en el resto de la noche.

La mera presencia de un "bole" es considerada suficiente para originar un agudo dolor en alguna parte del cuerpo.

Con frecuencia somos preguntados por los indios si había "boles" la noche antes en los alrededores.

Se cree que los "boles" viajan sólo en campo abierto. Así, suponen que algunas pocas hojas de palma obstruyendo la entrada al sendero bastan usualmente para impedirles el paso. También se cree que el fuego es un arma eficaz contra los "boles", en tanto que una flecha resulta inútil.

Hay la creencia de que cierta semilla es eficaz para alejar de los niños el peligro. Ensartan dichas semillas como si fueran cuentas y las cuelgan en derredor del cuello del niño.

A cualquier objeto raro o extraño se le puede achacar el haber dado origen a una epidemia. Según su saber y entender, puede ser alguna forma de brujería extraña.

Los Guaika aprecian nuestra medicina para el tratamiento de llagas y enfermedades, pero para ellos esta medicina es sencillamente otra sustancia encantada o mágica.

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

El tratamiento que usan para una picada de abeja, es amarrar el miembro así herido más arriba de la picada, con un trozo de enredadera o cordón. También chupan el veneno de la herida.

El tratamieno para una picada de araña o culebra es similar, amarrando y chupando. Más luego, son oportunos los canturreos para alejar a las fuerzas malignas.

Si un hombre resulta herido por un dardo venenoso, se chupará la herida y vivirá. Si es herido donde no puede chupar el veneno, morirá prontamente. Cuando un animal u hombre es herido de muerte por una flecha ponzoñosa, cae, pierde el deminio de sus músculos y luego muere estremeciéndose, acaso cuando el veneno llega al corazón o los pulmones.

El que haya matado a un enemigo en una incursión tiene que sentarse en el suel,o y tomando un trocito de enredadera (tal vez de unos 2 centímetros de longitud), ha de rascarse un lado de su propia cabeza en distintos sitios. Si deja de hacerlo, puede sobrevenirle algún mal.

Las personas enfermas reciben todo el cuidado posible además de todos los ensalmos y exorcismos que son lanzados contra las fuerzas opuestas de los espíritus.

A un enfermo se le alimenta bien. Si no le es posible ingerir ciertos alimentos, los Guaika no escatiman esfuerzo alguno para procurarle lo que puede comer.

A una anciana que tenía una infección en la boca y garganta tan grande que le resultaba poco menos que imposible tragar algo, le dieron como alimento la miel. Le inclinaron la cabeza hacia atrás y le vertieron la miel en la boca. Le tenían encendida una fogata todo el tiempo y constantemente tenía a alguien acompañándola. Cuando el poblado se mudó, fué cargada a espaldas de un hombre, mediante una faja o tirante, tal como suelen llevar la carga o niños pequeños.

A las personas enfermas las bañan. Si el paciente no puede ir a la quebrada, lo bañan por partes en su casa y aun en su propia hamaca.

7: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

LA MUERTE

Generalmente sienten temor por la muerte y hacen todo esfuerzo por mantener al moribundo con vida por un tiempo más. Cuando alguien está en peligro de morir, los parientes y amigos efectúan reuniones de plañimiento por lo menos una vez por día.

Al expirar un moribundo, se da comienzo a una sesión plañidera. Entonces, como a las tres de la tarde, comienza el funeral. Los parientes y amigos comienzan a pintarse. Hay muchos llantos y lamentos. Las mujeres danzan hacia adelante y hacia atrás gimiendo y portando varios dardos ponzoñosos en una mano. Si tienen niños pequeños, con frecuencia los cargan también. Si el difunto es un pequeñuelo, su cuerpecito puede ser cargado durante la parte final de esta danza plañidera. Unos pocos hombres de cercano parentesco y los amigos íntimos también participan en la danza.

Después de que los plañidos han continuado durante un cuarto de hora más o menos, los hombres salen en busca de leña y encienden una fogata de 2 metros frente a la vivienda donde se halla el cadáver. Cuando el fuego alcanza una proporción adecuada, el cuerpo es llevado allí en una hamana hecha de hilos de enredadera y colocado en la hoguera. Luego colocan más leña sobre el cadáver. Si el difunto es un infante, lo colocan en el fuego en un cesto plano en vez de una hamaca. Mantienen viva la hoguera hasta cerca de las 10 de la noche. Después se reúnen los huesos, se les envuelve en hojas y se cuelgan en la casa.

Si alguien muere lejos del poblado, su cadáver es envuelto en hojas atadas con enredaderas y llevado al poblado para ser incinerado.

Unos tres días después de su cremación, los huesos son pulverizados en una pequeña artesa y luego guardados herméticamente en una calabaza tapada con cera de abejas. La artesa es hecha utilizándose un machete para labrar el cuenco, quemando su interior. La usan por una sola vez. Después de usada, tanto la artesa como el majadero son quemados. Mucho llanto acompaña el proceso de la pulverización y de la sellada de los restos en la calabaza.

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

Esta calabaza funeraria que contiene los restos es llevada entre los demás objetos que pertenecen a la familia. Entonces, un buen día, preparan una sopa de plátanos a la que mezclan el polvo de huesos. Los parientes cercanos se beben esta sopa. Todos lloran en este momento, como en el primer funeral.

Los Guaika creen que el justo cumplimiento de estas prácticas tiene mucho que ver con la vida de la persona después de su muerte. Si no lograren recuperar el cadáver de un hombre muerto en acción de guerra y quemarlo, su muerte es considerada como una calamidad doblemente mayor. Una declaración, como la de "No te quemaremos cuando mueras", envuelve por consiguiente una poderosa amenaza.

RELIGION

Los Guaika tienen una idea de que se sube al cielo cuando uno muere. Este cielo es un lugar bueno, pero menos deseable que la vida presente. También tienen una idea del infierno, lugar todavía menos deseable para ir cuando se muere.

Una persona es para ellos cuerpo, alma y espíritu. La palabra para designar alma, significa también "sombra" o "reflejo". Y la palabra para designar espíritu también significa "nube". Así, el alma retiene la forma del cuerpo, pero el espíritu puede ser informe.

El alma puede abandonar el cuerpo, para retornar más tarde. La persona enferma seriamente, perdiendo por lo general el conocimiento, mientras se halla ausente su alma. Es así por lo que frecuentemente salen en busca del alma de un niño enfermo para devolverla a su cuerpo. El alma de un adulto, en cambio, debe saber encontrar su camino de regreso.

El espíritu abandona el cuerpo sólo con la muerte.

Una cremación formal y los ritos que siguen a la cremación, ayudan a asegurar que el difunto, al morir, irá al lugar más deseable de la otra vida.

Los Guaika creen que los espíritus en el cielo comen ciertas frutas silvestres. Tienen el temor de que un enemigo pueda re-

gresar después de muerto y causar enfermedades y otras calamidades a las gentes todavía corpóreas. Muchos de esos espíritus incorpóreos vagan por los senderos, especialmente de noche. Como antes lo dijimos, son los llamados "boles".

Los animales no tienen espíritu. El trueno es la voz de ciertas criaturas que moran en las nubes. Con frecuencia he oído a los Guaika decir: "Escucha cuántos son!"

El relámpago es una criatura parecida a una llama que durante las tormentas salta a la tierra para comer árboles.

"Ekoa" y "Koje" son ríos en el cielo. "Omoa" es quien vierte sobre la tierra el agua de estos ríos. Los "amajini" son como seres humanos, pero más pequeños, que viven bajo la superficie de la tierra.

"Sulliliwa" puede esconderse en los poblados y causar las enfermedades. "Wakaliwa" puede introducirse en el cuerpo humano y originar una enfermedad.

El viento es considerado como un enemigo muy terrible y creen que es enviado por un enemigo. Cuando se aproxima una tormenta, los hombres salen y tratan de desviarla hacia un poblado enemigo, o cuando menos, esperan poder desviarla alejándola de su propio poblado.

La brujería y la magia son practicadas por la mayoría de los hombres. Tienen la creencia de que tomando un poco de "yopo" por la vía nasal, logran tener mayor influencia sobre los espíritus. Hay consejeros religiosos que aparentemente conocen a los espíritus y recomiendan las medidas que han de ser tomadas en su contra.

NUMEROS Y MEDIDAS

Los Guaika tienen palabras para designar el "uno" y el "dos". Sobre estas cantidades, tienen que decir "pocos", "varios", "muchos", "muchísimos", "todos", etcétera. Pueden decir 2 y 1, o 2 y 2 más, pero generalmente no lo hacen. Números exactos superiores a 2, los manifiestan levantando los dedos. Los he visto cruzar la habitación para cerciorarse si una persona mantenía levantados tres o cuatro dedos, en la semioscuridad.

7: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

He pedido hasta 12 objetos, recibiendo la cantidad exacta, mostrándoles 4 dedos de mi mano por tres veces consecutivas. Esto lo comprenden, pero expresar la idea de 11 resulta de difícil comprensión para ellos.

Las medidas las determinan comparando una cosa con otra. Así, un hombre se echa en el suelo para determinar la distancia que separará los postes que plantará para hacerse una hamaca. Del mismo modo, el indio mide el grueso de su cintura mediante un cordel, para entonces hacerse un cinturón tejido de algodón, de igual longitud a la obtenida con el cordel.

Los pesos son determinados levantando el objeto y comparando mentalmente su peso con los de otros objetos que habían sido levantados antes.

LA ORDENACION DEL TIEMPO

Los Guaika dividen el día solar de la siguiente manera: la mañana, hasta levantar el sol; el período del mediodía, mientras el sol se halla alto en el firmamento; la tarde, a la caída rápida del sol; y la noche. Un tiempo más preciso, del día, se indica apuntando hacia donde se halla el sol en el momento, donde estuvo, o donde estará cuando ocurrirá cierto hecho.

Un período de tiempo es correlacionado aproximadamente con la distancia que puede ser recorrida durante ese tiempo. Por ejemplo, dicen: "Nosotros llegaremos a la casa cuando el sol llegue a esa altura (y la señalan)". O dirían: "El estará de regreso en el tiempo que necesitas tú para ir de aquí al río".

Los Guaika llevan la cuenta de los días. Las semanas las cuentan por las fases de la luna. También llevan la cuenta de los meses lunares. Las estaciones del año las calculan de acuerdo con el ciclo de las frutas. Un año es el tiempo transcurrido entre dos cosechas similares.

EL NACIMIENTO

Esta parte de mi ensayo la ha escrito amablemente para mí, el señor Edwin Killam, a quien debemos agradecer su estimada colaboración.

James Barker (autor del ensayo) y yo (Killam), fuimos invitados para presenciar el nacimiento de un niño. Nuestra casa se hallaba como a unos 200 metros de distancia del poblado Gualka. Podíamos escuchar los quejidos de la parturienta. Cuando llegamos al poblado, el suegro de dicha india realizaba una danza estimulante frente a la vivienda que compartía con su hijo y su nuera.

A corta distancia detrás de la casa, en un claro hecho en el bosque y fuera del sendero, había varias mujeres, incluyendo a la parturienta. Fuimos llevados por un sendero hasta cerca de donde se hallaban las mujeres. Allí había varias otras personas observando el caso junto con nosotros: un par de hombres y algunos niños. Parecían estar sólo ligeramente interesados, los niños procurando que nos fuésemos de allí para jugar con ellos.

La parturienta se hallaba caminando incesantemente de un lado para el otro, quejándose de sus dolores, hasta que finalmente se acomodó en el suelo entre unas malezas. Aguardamos por todo unos quince minutos. Luego, después de haber escuchado el grito del infante, una de las mujeres asistentes nos llamó. El bebé, una niña, acababa de nacer. La madre nos recibió con una sonrisa. Ella se hallaba acuclillada, sosteniendo al bebé derecho en su regazo. Dos de las mujeres procedieron a cortarle el ombligo empleando una caña y luego lo rellenaron con algunas hojas verdes.

La madre reunió con sus manos las secundinas, envolviéndolas en hojas verdes que una muchacha le trajo. Otra persona se las llevó luego. Entonces, la madre restregó el lugar donde se hallaban las secundidas, con lodo y mantillo. Dijeron que esto lo hace para protección contra los animales salvajes.

Mientras tanto, alguien trajo agua en una calabaza. La madre tomó una buchada que luego echó suavemente sobre su criatura, bañándola con el agua tibiada en su boca.

Después de que la niña fué bañada, la colocaron sobre hojas verdes y limpias, cubriéndola con algunas ramitas. Varias de las mujeres pasaron por encima en uno y otro sentido, varias

veces. A nosotros también se nos invitó a hacerlo, pero ignorando el significado de la práctica, declinamos hacerlo.

Después de esto, la madre tomó a la criatura y se marchó a su casa. Allí descansó durante dos o tres días antes de reanudar su trabajo en el "conuco".

Más tarde otro niño nació de noche. No nos hallábamos allí, pero fuimos informados de que había nacido en la casa, a la que fueron llevadas hojas verdes para el parto.

LA PUBERTAD

Llegar a la pubertad es un evento importante, en especial para las muchachas. A su primera menstruación, se considera que la muchacha ha llegado a la pubertad. Su madre, hermana mayor u otra mujer que sea su guardián, reúne hojas y construye un tabique en derredor de su hamaca para aislarla del todo. Durante aproximadamente una semana, la muchacha jamás abandona ese recinto. Su madre le trae comida, agua, leña y cualesquiera otras cosas que sean necesarias.

Al final de este retiro, emerge la joven adornada de flores, hojas, cinturones de algodón, sartas de cuenta y plumas.

LA MADUREZ

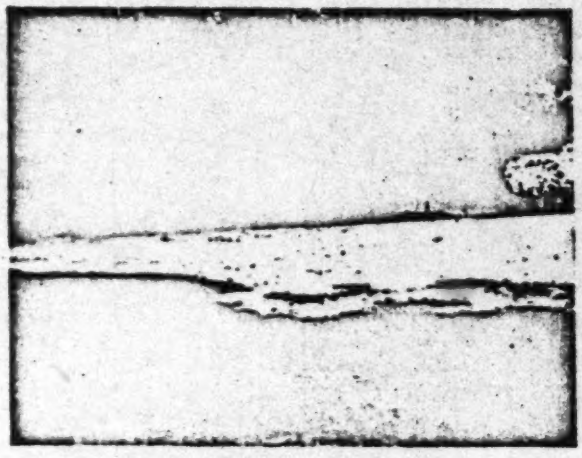
A un hombre se le considera en su madurez cuando tiene ya hijos casaderos. El jefe de un poblado frecuentemente es abuelo, pero algunas veces el poblado puede ser regido por un hombre algo más joven.

LA VEJEZ

El retiro de la vida activa es algo gradual, de acuerdo con las fuerzas del individuo.

Las personas ancianas son respetadas, pero ya no son dirigentes en los asuntos del poblado. Se las cuida aun cuando ya no están capacitadas para contribuir a su propio mantenimiento.

LAMINA I

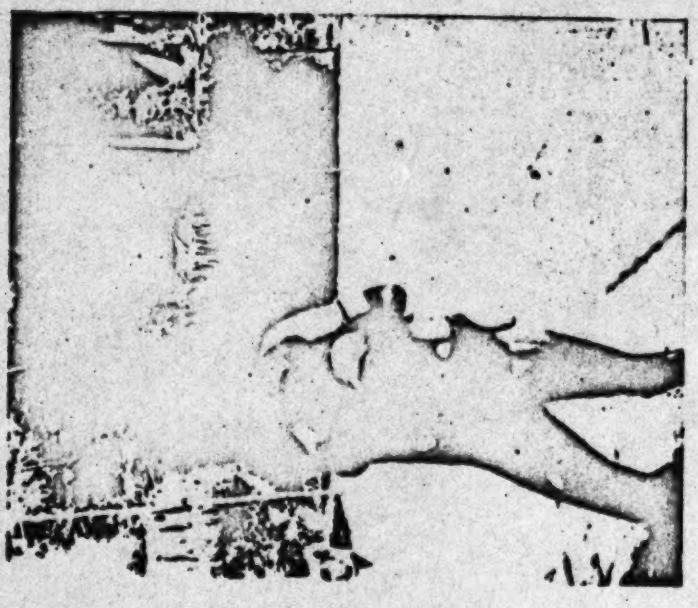


Las primitivas chozas de los Guaika, tipo beehive-or-igloo, alrededor de amplio circulo, llevan sus techos hasta el gran patio central libre de vegetación. (Foto del autor).

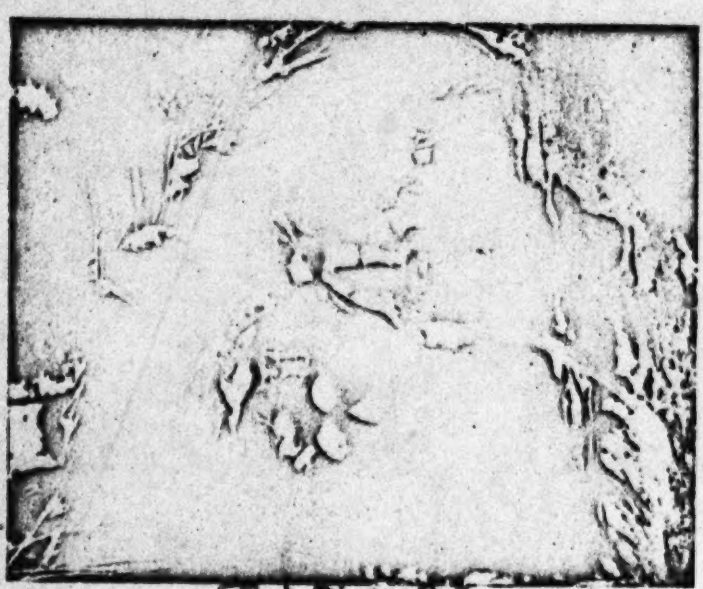
Mujeres Guaika con sus bebés. Obsérvese la forma de sombrero, en El Platanal. (Foto del autor).

[End Plate I]

LAMINA II



Indio Ocaina cargando un hijo mediante una faja a través de su frente. El Putumayo. (Foto del autor).



Las mujeres cargan grandes pesos colgados de la cabeza y los hombros. El Putumayo. (Foto del autor).

[End Plate 2]

LAMINA III

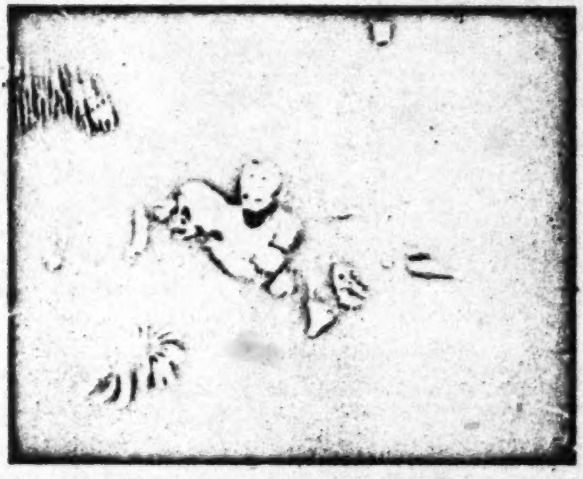
Los hombres cocinan la carne de carrera. El Platanal. (Foto del autor).

Predicaro el fuego haciendo rotar una varita entre las palmas de la mano, con el extremo de fricción apoyado en un trozo de madera blanda. El Platanal. (Foto. del autor).

[End Plate 3]

LAMINA IV

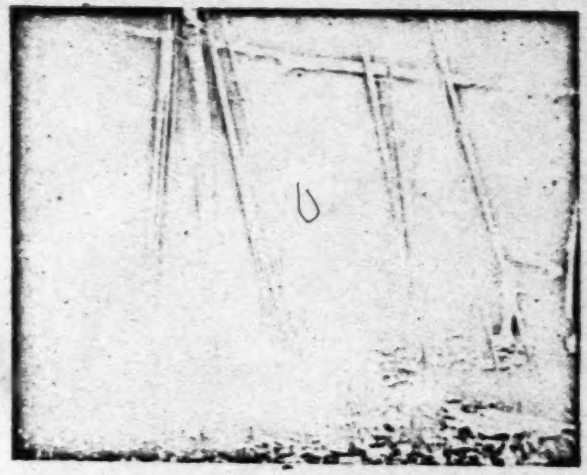
Los Guaika —mujeres y hombres— se visten la cabeza dejando sólo un círculo de cabellos en derredor. Obsérvese los círculares de este corrovo, El Pintoni. (Foto del autor).



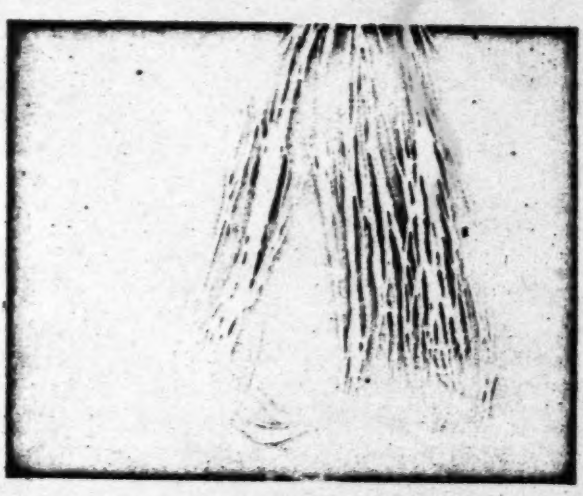
Interior de una choza Guaika, en El Pintoni. El último es uno de los principales alimentos en su dieta. (Foto del autor).

[End Plate 4]

LAMINA V



Interior de una choza Guaica, en El Platanal. Obsérvese la extraordinaria longitud de sus poderosas fibras. (Foto. del autor).



El chinchorro o hamaca de los Guaica, confeccionado de fibras vegetales unidas en nudos cuadrados, sin lugar homocromal alguno. El Platanal. Foto. del autor).

[End Plate 5]

8: Barker M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Raids among the Waica
[Las incursiones entre los Guaika]

by James Barker

Caracas: 1959
Boletín Indigenista Venezolano
Vol. 7, pp. 151-167

Translated from the Spanish by Sydney Muirden

Human Relations Area Files
1966

[Title page]

/151/

Raids among the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

114

* Mr. James Barker has prepared this work as a result of his many years with the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. In this Boletín (Year I, Vol. I, Caracas, June-December, 1953, Nos. 3-4, pp. 433-489 /see 7: Barker, this file/) he presented a report of his observations under the title of "Memoria sobre la cultura Guaika /Memoir on the Culture of the Waica/." The present work is the result of his observations, which, revealed in an objective and simple manner, are of positive value for ethnologists and ethnographers.

121 I have been asked for more information about the raid. As I am not sure of which one I am asked about, I will tell about several, especially those about which I have quite detailed information.

574 628 In February of 1951 the aldea of Liacoatjeti invited the aldea of Bisheasetjeti to a Pijiguao or palm festival. The men of Liacoatjeti had gone on a special hunt to get a supply of meat. There was to have been an abundance of every type of food. There were to have been special dances, the taking of yopo, and other things which they do on such festive occasions.

574 628 721 But the invitation was a trick which those of Liatcoatjeti /sic/ had planned in order to be able to kill, if possible, all of the men of Bisheasetjeti and capture their women. Batanoetjeti and other aldeas which were enemies of Bisheasetjeti were invited to hide outside of the aldea and shoot at any man who tried to get away. Since they did not need to feed anybody, the Liacoatjeti did not bother to go hunting.

/cont./
/152/

574 The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti ac-
628 cepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their
721 hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made
[262] of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with
[411] axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food.
731 They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to
[499] make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about
411 six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one
721 carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and
166 ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was aban-
722 doned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them
628 to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest
000 near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

722 /152 cont. /One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,
499 the Bisheasetjeti also crossed; the bridge was /153/ cut by them near the bank. Guards were placed to keep a lookout for the enemy, should he try to repair the bridge and cross it.

727 Much after this, a raid was made on Liacoatjeti by some
[721] of the Bisheasetjeti and the Majecotjeti /sic/: "Jaiyoota," one of the Majecototjeti, shot one of them and killed him. A boy of four or five years of age was captured. One of the men from Majecototjeti, "Ushiu," took the boy and cared for him. All of the children were bothering the little one, calling him enemy and acting as if they were going to shoot him. One day, after this had gone on for a while, a young man from Bisheasetjeti shot the child near the water spring. He shot the arrow so hard that it passed through him. Ushiu gave the child a funeral, but none of the other inhabitants of the aldea came to the "lloro" /weeping/, because they said, "After all, he was an enemy."

628 The two aldeas had some bad times together. Often, when
721 they were in the forest, they had to come running back, feeling
578 sick. Frequently their ribs were showing. During this time
[164] several died of a strange fever which kept the victim hot day and
[361] night without relief. Others were very sick with the fever, and it was feared that they would also die. The two aldeas of Bisheasetjeti and Majecototjeti lived together for a year, until those of Bisheasetjeti made a new "farm" /granja/ down the Orinoco, on the other side of the Manaviche River. When they separated, friction caused by some women had reached such a point that the Majecototjeti summoned the Macolimutjeti, and both of them made a raid on Bisheasetjeti to recover the wife of a Majecototjeti who had gone to live with a Bisheasetjeti. One family did not take part in this raid and by its friendly and frequent visits prevented the two aldeas from shooting at each other.

628 Another incident of friction was that a young man from
578 Majecototjeti stole a Bisheasetjeti woman from her husband.
837 When the husband had almost persuaded his wife to come back with him, the Majecototjeti man shot him in the back with a bone-pointed arrow and kept the woman. The Bisheasetjeti man was seriously wounded, but recovered.

/153 cont./

628 In January of 1952, while many of those from the aldea of
584 Yoeitjeti were visiting in Majecototjeti, a group of men from
/154/ Shibaatía-tjeti came and inquired about "Macluma," about giving her in matrimony to a man from Shibaatía-tjeti, who was already married to her older sister. "Macluma" had just passed puberty, and "Yajicocoue," the husband of the other older sister of "Macluma," also wanted her. The grandmother of "Macluma" persuaded her not to go off with the man from Shibaatía-tjeti unless she never wanted to see her again.

That night the Shibaatía-tjeti suitor asked for Macluma in "singing" fashion, while talking with "Shinaocaoue," the chief /capitán/ of Majecototjeti. The chief called him "old man." He told the chief that if he obtained her, he would be good to her, he would not put fire on her or beat her. I am not sure what conclusion they reached, although I suspect that the chief refused to give her to him.

628 On the following afternoon the men of Shibaatía-tjeti
583 caught "Macluma" outside of the aldea and tried to take her off
584 by force, in what the Yonomama /Yanoama/ call a "shaimau." The Majecototjeti women came to rescue her, and a group got into a fight and into a "rope fight" /lucha de cuerda/ over "Macluma." This lasted for several hours. The men of Yoeitjeti and I myself stood to one side and watched, but did not take part. Finally, the women managed to carry "Macluma" back to her house, and things quieted down.

The men of Shibaatía-tjeti said that they would come back for "Macluma." The men of Majecototjeti said, "If you do, we will shoot you."

After that, when the Shibaatía-tjeti visited them, at most there were groups of two or three.

721 In October of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came one evening
[411] at nightfall and shot a poisoned arrow at a boy, "Bosalima," who was standing at the entrance to the aldea. The wound was not very deep, but was several inches long.

123 /154 cont./

721 At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/ bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look, raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the [752] men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pour- [755] ing water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood, since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the 726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In some way the chief and "Yelequei-jûu" managed to pass some of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were 763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a 183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also state the brave words which he would say.)

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to [764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had recovered.

/156 cont./

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

[302] [574] [822] [412] [361]

166 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called
361 "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could
721 live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at
361 their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was
[114] calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
[226] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having
411 fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows
[857] of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

/157 cont./

726 628 But when they returned, none seemed overly alarmed. The men commented that it had probably been the Batanoatjeti or Bisheasetjeti on the way to make a raid on the other aldea, since they were the most bitter enemies and we were camped between them.

(The Majecototjeti were more or less friends of both aldeas at this time.)

726 But about three hours later some came saying that they had found the bow of "Valooboue" and the basket of one of the women lying near the tracks in disorderly fashion. The group had been attacked. Then the men prepared their bows and went out in every direction. There was a discussion concerning who had gone out with one of those already mentioned. "Etemi" (the wife of "Botai"), three of the wives of "Olami-Juu," an old man (the father of the three wives), and "Valooboue" had gone out together to gather moriche fruit. Two other women who had gone out with this group, but who had separated from them and gone back upstream, had already returned to the encampment. They said that they had heard an argument or a shout in the early part of the afternoon, but, not having heard anything else, had thought little of it.

A group of men went out to try to follow the tracks, but the tracks seemed to disappear or turn back on themselves. It was not clear what route the raiders had taken. Probably they had divided up to join forces and reassemble at some point. Finally, it was decided that they had gone back, toward the river, in the same direction that the tracks came from. Toward night-
[123] fall the men went to cross the Orinoco River and asked our men as well, who still lived on the north bank of the Orinoco, to look for more tracks at the wharf (only I accompanied them on the trip south of the Orinoco on this occasion).

That night the people who stayed in the camp speculated considerably concerning who the raiders might have been /158/ and how things had happened. Some said that it might be that David London had carried the Shibaatía-tjeti across the river in his boat. "Oh, that David," they said. Others were of the opinion that David would not have done such a thing.

/158 cont./

726 That night some of our missionaries were camped outside in a
114 casa abierta /"open house"/. Suddenly they were awakened by
a group of Yanomama men, who were standing and looking at
our missionaries, without saying anything. They all were painted
[302] black, as though to make it impossible to recognize them by
the light of the evening, or in the lesser light of the night.
Finally the silence was broken, and the men of Majecototjeti
told them that they were looking for the raiders who had killed
the man and the boy and had carried off the four women. Our
people had seen nothing of the raiders and were enormously sur-
prised at the news.

726 The following morning the men went to the place of the
attack and brought the arrows which were there. They did not
bring back the complete arrows, but only the ends with the feathers.
The arrows were not cut, but burned in two. The poisoned
points were brought also. The men carefully examined the arrows
and tried to make out from what aldea the raiders had come.
The arrows looked like those of the Liacoatjeti, but they had
seen a machete in that place, and who could imagine a
Liacoatjeti leaving a machete, even in a moment of danger.

There was also a rumor that a bark canoe had been found
some distance down the river. Probably the Shibaatfa-tjeti had
crossed the river in this canoe. (This rumor later turned out
to be false.)

A search was carried out in a large circle in every direction
to try to find out what direction the raiders had taken. Finally
the track was found, and the Liacoatjeti were then recognized
as the raiders, and they had come from the south. Their path had
been made so as to cover the tracks, leaving the formation one
by one and reassembling farther on.

721 The Majecototjeti planned, in turn, a raid of /159/ re-
venge. First a banquet was held with tapir meat and cassava to
eat with the meat. A day or so later the men marched off on a
raid of revenge against the Liacoatjeti. The Majecototjeti had
gone off two weeks before, but had not found the Liacoatjeti in
their houses.

727 "Jolocoiue," a boy with a broken leg who had stayed with
[123] us, asked us to pray to God to send "Etemi" (one of the abducted
women) home safe and sound.

/159 cont./

727 women) home safe and sound. A few days after the Majecototjeti returned from their attempted raid, "Etemi" returned. When she returned, the whole aldea went back to the north bank of the Orinoco River, in case they were being followed.

She told how it was that she had had a chance to walk in front of an old woman, and, getting somewhat out in front along the way, she was able to get off the path without being seen and had returned.

We marveled at our little faith. Why had we not prayed to God to bring them all back?

721 The chief repeatedly called meetings for raids to get revenge on the Liatcoatjeti. Usually the aldeas of Bisheasetjeti
[628] and Macolimutjeti accompanied the Majecototjeti on their raids. Our missionaries and some of the believers and the Yanomama prayed together that the raiders would not kill anybody or lose any of their own. Once they did not find anybody in the houses. Another time they became lost and for lack of food had to return home. Another time the whole group was so sick that they had to return, having covered only a few days of travel from their point
721 of departure. When a Yanomama aldea or several aldeas are about to
726 to go on a raid, they hold an impressive ceremony. They make one or several effigies which represent the enemy. Then a simulated raid is acted out, in which these effigies are wounded, broken in two, and then thrown down. If the enemy is far away, they can do this at home and several times on the way to the enemy. Sometimes the simulated raid is carried to the point of dividing the group into two parts: one group which shoots at the effigies and then escapes (flees) with several girls from the aldea; the other group comes along a little later, /160/ finds that the women are gone, and pursues the raiders until it finds them hidden, sometimes out in the forest, with the girls. When the raiders are found, each one gives a loud war-cry and the ceremony ends.

114
721 In December of 1954 all our missionaries went down the river for our field conference, leaving the Frobenius expedition alone in Platanal. One night a man from Shibaatía-tjeti slipped

/160 cont./
114 into the aldea of Platanal and shot at one of the men. His shot
721 wounded "Lublo-juu" in the thigh. Nevertheless, since he recovered, there was no gathering for a raid. The men of the Frobenius expedition treated his leg and prevented complications, since the wound was quite deep.

574
628 At the beginning of February 1955 the Macolimutjeti and the Bisheasetjeti were invited to a Pijiguao or palm (Peach) festival among the Majecototjeti. The Macolimutjeti all came, men, women, and children. But the Bisheasetjeti were somewhat afraid. The Majecototjeti had been somewhat friendly with the Batanoatjeti, bitter enemies of the Bisheasetjeti, and the Bisheasetjeti feared a trick. (Years before, in 1951, they had been tricked by the Liacoatitjeti.) But so as not to show their bad faith, the men came (or at least a few of them), but none of the women, in order thus to reduce the "desirability" of a trick to steal them.

726 In March of 1955 the men of Platanal had gone for a new attempt at a raid, leaving the rest of the people in the principal aldea, located to the north of the Orinoco. One day, when /illustration appears here/ /161/ all of them except the lame boy were out of the aldea, the Shibaatfa-tjeti returned. They found "Joashimocaoue," who was returning from the farm at the head of the others who had gone to take advantage of the Pijiguao, or palm festival. The raiders shot him twice in the back, since he ran toward the refuge of the aldea. He was wounded by one bamboo point, not deeply, and by one point poisoned with curare, which caused a rather deep wound. In the aldea he told the lame
[123] boy to hide himself from the raiders who had killed him, and then, finding no help in the aldea, he ran to our house, about 200 to 300 meters away.

142
114
291
302
516

Mr. James Barker, in Mahekodotedi, accompanied by a group of Guaica Indians. (Photo Frobenius Expedition, 1954.)

/161 cont./

726
123 Some women had passed by our house on their way to the aldea. Upon hearing his cries, they turned around and ran toward our house; terrified, they came in and closed the door. Then they told us that a raid was taking place and to go to see if we could help. At first we thought that it would be better to stay in the house also, but then we heard a cry for help not far from our house. Upon hearing this, we opened the door. I went out and found a wounded man who had managed to get to about 20 meters from our house, but could come no farther.

He said, "Please, take out the poisoned arrow." I picked him up and brought him into our house.

I had heard that salt is good against the poison of the curare, but I had no idea of how to administer the salt. Since he was still conscious, I told David to try to take out the arrowhead while I had him drink all the salt water and try to keep it down before he became unconscious. It must have tasted terrible to him, since the Yanomama usually do not eat salt, but he was so desperate that he consented. He was unconscious before David managed to remove the arrowhead, so I gave him artificial respiration, while David finished extracting the arrowhead, because he had stopped breathing. We were never able to find the tip of the point. In spite of this, we put salt in the wound, hoping that it would help somewhat, since he was now unconscious and we did not know with certainty how to administer the salt.

/162/ David went to the aldea to see if anything had happened there to the lame boy or to anyone. I continued with the artificial respiration while he was gone. When David returned, about 20 minutes had passed, and from then on we took turns for almost two hours. His pulse remained good during the whole time. A little before two hours were up, he recovered consciousness and began to talk. He was soon breathing by himself, and we did not continue the treatment, because it hurt him. We stopped and found that he was breathing regularly enough by himself.

During all of this time the women were there looking on (one of them was a believer) and David and I were praying.

/162 cont./

726 123 Then the inhabitants of the aldea began to come back from the forest. Seeing him lying motionless in a puddle of blood, each group that came supposed that he was dead, and they were mourning greatly for a few minutes, lamenting him, before those who knew what had happened were able to quiet them. Finally, one of the older men with sufficient presence of mind said that he wanted to take him to the aldea, if this were possible.

First the man tried to walk on his own feet to the aldea, but "Joashimocaoue" was very weak and in much pain, and he could not do this at all. Therefore a hammock was sent for. They tied this to a post before rolling up the wounded man in it; two men carried him to the aldea. That night he again became unconscious. Two women came and told us, "We are weeping again." I recommended to David that he stay and pray while I went to see what could be done.

Upon arriving in the aldea, I found him unconscious in his hammock. They wanted me to put some medicine on his wounds, but there he was, unconscious. I said, "Let us pray first." Almost all of the believers who were there, and even those who had never professed to be believers, prayed with me for him. I prayed first and then they all repeated it together, asking God to spare his life. I had never seen a gathering of Yonomama praying so fervently before or since then. I do not know exactly how long we were praying, but it must have been about an hour.

/163/ When all had finished praying, we looked over and there he was, conscious again. He sat up and asked me if they had treated his wounds. I put sulfa powder on them and bandaged them. After this he did not lose consciousness again, and although his wounds were very painful, he went along well without any complications arising, although the tip of the poisoned point must still have been stuck in some part of his back.

721 The men of Majecototjeti returned from their raid on the Liacoatjeti without finding anyone in their houses.

123 75 [609] A little before this an old woman from Shibaatía-tjeti visited some of her Majecototjeti relatives and told them how in her aldea they did not like foreigners, because they were always curing people. When someone in the aldea was wounded, they

123 /163 cont./
75 wanted that person to die. I assured them that we alone had not cured the boy. The whole aldea had asked God to cure him, and God had answered. The people of the aldea affirmed that this was the case. They had prayed sufficiently, and God had spared his life.

726 The chief's brother came to Yabitjaotjeti and told the chief that the Liacoatjeti had been visiting upriver and that now they were on their way to their homes in their own aldea.

The chief called a meeting for another raid. First the
[622] whole aldea moved across the river in order to get away from the bank that was easy for the Shibaatía-tjeti to attack. David and I picked up our hammocks and went with them across the river. On the following day the men set off on the raid, or, more properly, they went down to the Bisheasetjeti to depart from there. Only the adult men went; the boys and children 17 years old or less remained at home.

This time David and I were able to pray that they might not fight. We asked, rather, that the Lord might protect the believers from danger. He did it. The raiders /164/ were gone
727 about three weeks. When they returned, the chief came to the aldea and had an official colloquy, briefly, with the most important man who was left in the aldea. At most the chanted colloquy lasted about half a minute. Then they all began to cry. Someone had been killed. We looked to see who had come back
[302] and, if possible, to see who was missing. Some of the men had red marks on their cheeks and on the forehead as a sign that they had killed someone or had "hecho" /done, finished/ much in the fight, for they did not know whether they had killed anyone or not.

I later learned that three of the enemy had been killed, and that one of those of the party, a man from Macolimutjeti, had been wounded in the chest and had died.

727 The underbrush had been cleared away at the site of our
783 temporary aldea, which thus would not serve for the matadores /killers/ to fulfill the rites of a matador as they should be done in thick underbrush. Therefore within an hour we moved to a

/164 cont./

729 new place located several hundred meters away. The matadores
783 went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained some distance away. They could not touch anything that they
[413] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the
[352] trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days, until the matadores thought the ciclo /cycle, term/ completed.

726 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place. The first aldea into which they penetrated was empty, and so was the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the principal aldea. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bisheasetjeti began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed. /Illustration appears here./

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

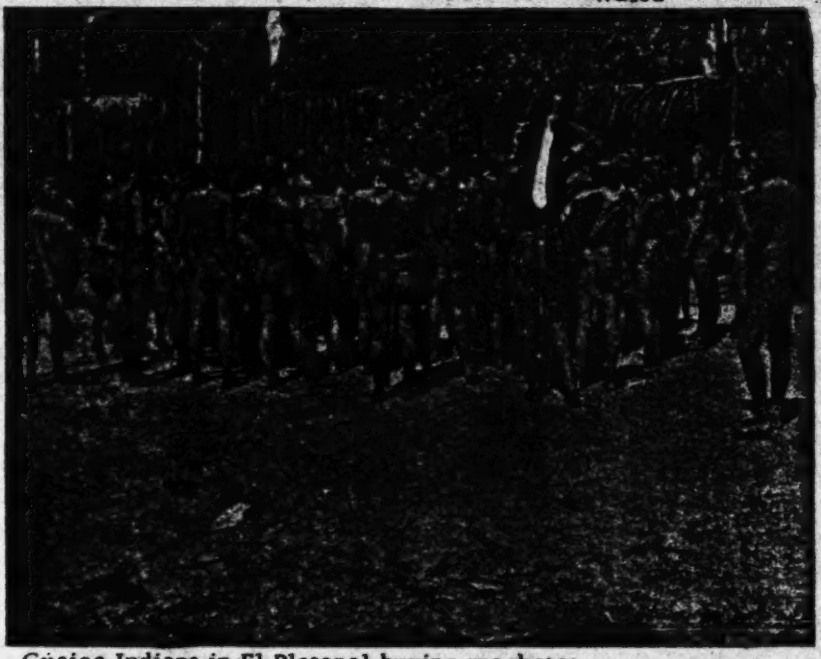
The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River. The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

166 Since they had fallen out with the Liacoatjeti, the
361 Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north side.

8: Barker--16 M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

291
439



Guaica Indians in El Platanal buying machetes.

114
291
516
302
142

A group of Guaica natives surrounding James Barker.

/165 cont./

921 In April of 1955 I found that the Bisheasetjeti had taken a girl from Vitocaiyetjeti, contrary to the desires of her aldea. Not long after this the Vitocaiyetjeti made a raid on the Bisheasetjeti to recapture the girl. The raiders managed to go
926 up the river as far as the Mavaca River, with one of the "Ceder" outfits which was working in the Yanomama territory. In the battle which followed there were a few banged heads and an abundance of broken arms, but nobody was killed. Nor did they manage to get the girl back. Now the two aldeas are threatening to shoot at each other.

623 The Vitacoiyetjeti, expecting to get help, told the Yoeitjeti that the Bisheasetjeti were also angry at them and were planning raids against them as well. They /166/ also told the Macolimutjeti that the Yoeitjeti were angry with the Bisheasetjeti, and, of course, the news reached the Bisheasetjeti.

628 On a trip of mine up the river I would stop in Bisheasetjeti.
123 The chief asked me to find out from the Bisheasetjeti whether the report was true. But the Bisheasetjeti were not at home when I passed. Nevertheless, the Majecototjeti did not know of any such intentions on the part of the Bisheasetjeti, in spite of having had several visits recently from the Bisheasetjeti.

I told this to the chief of the Yoeitjeti on my way back.

Now, in March 1956, the men and boys of Bisheasetjeti have gone down to Tamatama in canoes. But they did not stop in Yoeitjeti. The Yoeitjeti wanted to pursue them at once, but they lacked sufficient boats. Nineteen (19) men and two women from Yoeitjeti arrived at Tamatama a few days after the men of Bisheasetjeti had arrived there.

The Bisheasetjeti wanted to keep their bows when they arrived, in case their enemies might also come. But I told them to give us their bows and I would give them back when they were ready to leave.

If some other Yanomamas had come, I would also have taken their bows at the wharf in order to keep them from fighting. When the men of Bisheasetjeti saw the boat of the Yoeitjeti at a distance, they were afraid. I told them to go into my house and

/166 cont./

628 close the door. I was able to take the bows and arrows from the
123 newcomers at the wharf. When the Yoeitjeti arrived, their chief
asked me about the Bisheasetjeti. I told him that the
628 Bisheasetjeti did not wish to fight and that I already had their
123 bows. He let me take the bows of his men, and I shut them up
728 in one of our houses. Then the men of Yoeitjeti and Bisheasetjeti came together at my house, without weapons, and assured each other that they wished to be friends. All 31 of them slept together in my house (a little crowded, but comfortably). I offered them the empty house next to mine, but they did not want to have anything to do with it. (My house is well ventilated, /167/ having Venetian blinds all around and two shutter-doors.)

[437] On the following day the Yoeitjeti left, after exchanging their hammocks and bows with the Bisheasetjeti for machetes, clothing, matches, and other things. I was happy to see the two aldeas come together and become friends, because neither one of them wanted to fight.

8: Barker SQ 18 Yanoama

REPUBLICA DE VENEZUELA

MINISTERIO DE JUSTICIA

Boletín Indigenista Venezolano

ORGANO DE LA COMISION INDIGENISTA

★

PUBLICACION TRIMESTRAL

AÑO VII - TOMO VII - CARACAS, Enero-Dicbre. 1949 - Nos. 1-4

[Title Page]

[P. 151]

LAS INCURSIONES ENTRE LOS GUAIKA

Por *James Barker* (*)

Se me ha pedido más información sobre la incursión. Como no estoy seguro de cuál se me habla, a continuación narro varias. Especialmente aquellas de las cuales tengo información bien detallada.

En febrero de 1951, la aldea de Liacoatjeti invitó a la aldea de Bisheasetjeti a un Pijiguao o festival de la palma. Los hombres de Liacoatjeti habían ido a una cacería especial, para abastecerse de carne. Deberían tener abundancia de toda clase de comida. Habrían danzas especiales, la toma del yopo y otras cosas que hacen ellos en tales festivales.

Pero la invitación era una treta que habían planeado los de Liatcoatjeti para matar, si era posible, a todos los hombres de Bisheasetjeti y capturar sus mujeres. Batanoetjeti y otras aldeas que eran enemigos de Bisheasetjeti, fueron invitadas a esconderse fuera de la aldea y disparar a cualquier hombre que tratara de huir. Puesto que no tenían que alimentar a nadie, los Liacoatjeti no se molestaron en ir de cacería.

(*) El señor James Barker ha preparado este trabajo como resultado de su larga convivencia entre los indios Guaika del Alto Orinoco, Venezuela. En este Boletín (año I, tomo I, Caracas, junio-diciembre 1953, números 3-4, páginas 433-488) presentó el informe de sus observaciones denominado "Memoria sobre la cultura Guaika". El presente trabajo es el resultado de sus observaciones, que, revelado de manera objetiva y sencilla, son de positiva utilidad para etnólogos y etnógrafos.

8: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

La mayoría de los de la aldea de Bisheasetjeti aceptó la invitación. Hicieron su entrada en Liatcoatjeti enarbolando sus hamacas y les fué servida una sopa hecha de plátanos maduros hervidos. Entonces, de improviso, fueron atacados con hachas, machetes y otras armas. Los dirigentes y los de más edad fueron atacados primero y murieron en su mayoría, pero muchos de los más jóvenes lograron huir, dejando caer todo y corriendo para salvarse. Los enemigos que yacían en espera, afuera, tomaron también el camino de los que habían huido de la aldea.

La mayoría de las mujeres fueron capturadas, pero en la primera oportunidad todas las mayores se escaparon y volvieron a Bisheasetjeti. Pero las muchachas más jóvenes tuvieron miedo de huir, y por eso hoy la mayoría de ellas son esposas de los hombres de Liacoatjeti o también de los amigos de éstos.

La aldea de Majecototjeti (Platanal) estaba escasa de comida. Ellos construyeron un puente sobre el Orinoco y lo cruzaron, para hacer una visita a Bisheasetjeti y quedarse hasta que su propia granja pudiera producir más comida. La gente de Majecototjeti llegó a Bisheasetjeti, justo en el momento en que aquéllos que habían podido escapar estaban llegando y reuniéndose.

Se envió un mensajero a Yabitjaotjeti por flechas, y cerca de seis o siete muchachos de Yabitjaotjeti se vinieron con él, cada uno cargando un gran paquete de dardos. Estos fueron pronto armados y sus puntas fijadas. Bisheasetjeti fué rearmada y Majecototjeti mejor armada que antes y lista para atacar. El sitio de la aldea de Bisheasetjeti fué abandonado esta vez, por miedo de que los enemigos los persiguieran hasta allí. Ambas aldeas vivían de lo que producía la de los Majecotatjeti. Ellos cruzaban el Orinoco cada tres días, para obtener una carga de plátanos de la granja situada en la ribera norte.

Una de las veces que vinieron a buscar comida, se encontraron que el río había arrastrado el puente. Ninguno tenía bote y no pudieron atravesar. Cerca de tres días más tarde los hombres de Majecototjeti volvieron al río y construyeron sus casas en el despejado lugar de la aldea. Mientras tanto vivían en los bosques cerca de allí. Un día, o sea después que la aldea estuvo lista, los Bisheasetjeti también cruzaron; el puente fué

cortado por ellos, cerca de la orilla. Se colocaron guardias para avistar al enemigo, si trataba de reparar el puente y cruzarlo.

Mucho después de esto se efectuó una incursión sobre Liacoatjeti, por parte de los Bisheasetjeti y los Majecotjeti, "Jaiyeota", de los Majecototjeti, disparó sobre uno y lo mató. Un muchacho de cuatro o cinco años fué capturado. Uno de los hombres de Majecototjeti, "Ushiu", tomó al muchacho y fué cuidando de él. Todos los muchachos molestaban al pequeño, llamándole enemigo y haciendo como si le iban a disparar. Un día, después de algún tiempo de esto, un joven de Bisheasetjeti disparó al niño cerca del pozo de agua. Le disparó la flecha tan duro, que ésta le atravesó. Ushiu le dió un funeral al muchacho, pero ninguno de los otros habitantes de la aldea acudió al "lloro", porque dijeron: "Después de todo, era un enemigo".

Las dos aldeas pasaron juntas algunos malos tiempos. A menudo, estando en la selva, tenían que regresar corriendo, sintiéndose enfermos. Con frecuencia se les marcaban las costillas. Durante este tiempo murieron varios de una extraña fiebre que mantenía a la víctima caliente noche y día, sin tregua. Otros estaban muy enfermos con la fiebre y se tenía miedo de que también murieran. Las dos aldeas Bisheasetjeti y Majecototjeti vivieron juntas durante un año, hasta que los de Bisheasetjeti hicieron una nueva "granja", Orinoco abajo, al otro lado del río Manaviche. Cuando se separaron, los roces ocasionados por unas mujeres habían llegado a tal punto, que los Majecototjeti llamaron a los Macolimutjeti y ambos efectuaron una incursión en Bisheasetjeti, para rescatar a la mujer de un Majecototjeti que se había ido a vivir con un Bisheasetjeti. Una familia no se asoció a esta incursión y por sus amistosas y frecuentes visitas impidió que las dos aldeas se disparasen una a otra.

Otro incidente de roce fué que un joven de Majecototjeti se robó a una mujer Bisheasetjeti, de su marido. Cuando el marido había casi persuadido a su esposa de que volviera con él, el hombre Majecototjeti le disparó por la espalda con una flecha de punta de hueso y se quedó con la mujer. El hombre de Bisheasetjeti fué gravemente herido, pero se repuso.

En enero 1952, mientras muchos de la aldea de Yoeitjeti estaban de visita en Majecototjeti, un grupo de hombres de

Shibeatia-tjeti vino e inquirió sobre "Macluma" para ser dada en matrimonio a un hombre de Shibeatia-tjeti que ya estaba casado con su hermana mayor. "Macluma" había justamente pasado la pubertad y "Yajicocoma", el esposo de la otra hermana mayor de "Macluma", también la deseaba. La abuela de "Macluma" la persuadió de que no se marchara con el hombre de Shibeatia-tjeti, a menos que no quisiera verla más nunca.

Aquella noche el pretendiente Shibeatia-tjeti pidió a "Macluma" en forma "cantante", hablando con "Shinacocoma", el capitán de Majecototjeti. El capitán lo llamó "viejo". El le dijo al capitán que si él la obtenía, sería bueno con ella, no podría fuego sobre ella ni le pegaría. No estoy seguro a qué conclusión llegaron, aunque sospecho que el capitán se negó a dársela a él.

La tarde siguiente los hombres de Shibeatia-tjeti atraparon a "Macluma" fuera de la aldea y trataron de arrastrarla por la fuerza, en lo que los Yanomama llaman un "shabmaa". Las mujeres de Majecototjeti vinieron a rescatarla y un grupo se trabó en lucha y en una "lucha de cuerda" sobre "Macluma". Esto duró varias horas. Los hombres de Yositjeti y yo mismo nos paramos a un lado y observamos, pero sin tomar parte. Finalmente, las mujeres consiguieron llevar a "Macluma" a su casa y las cosas se tranquilizaron.

Los hombres de Shibeatia-tjeti dijeron que volverían por "Macluma". Los hombres de Majecototjeti dijeron: "Si lo hacen les dispararemos".

Después de esto, cuando los Shibeatia-tjeti los visitaban, a lo sumo eran grupos de dos o tres.

En octubre de 1953, los Shibeatia-tjeti vinieron una tarde al obscurecer y dispararon una flecha envenenada a un muchacho "bosalima" que estaba parado a la entrada de la aldea. La herida no era muy profunda, pero de varias pulgadas de largo.

En ese momento Dave London y yo estábamos tomando un

baño en un arroyo a unos 100 metros de la aldea. Nosotros oímos una cantidad de lamentos y Boros. Momentos más tarde una pareja de hombres de Majecototjeti vino hacia nosotros diciendo: "Miren, incursionistas", mientras señalaban hacia la aldea. Estos hombres no pasaron, cargando solamente un haz de plátanos y sus armas.

Nosotros nos vestimos rápidamente y fuimos a la aldea. La mayoría de los hombres habían partido a perseguir a los incursionistas. Las mujeres derramaban agua sobre la herida, mientras el hechicero cantaba sobre él. Pronto se agotó toda la reserva de agua de la aldea. Ellos nos preguntaron si podíamos ayudarlos. Llamamos a Ed Killiam, quien llevó su avío de mordedura de serpiente y succionó la herida con ello, hasta que no nos arriesgamos a más, por miedo a que perdiera demasiada sangre, ya que sangraba abundantemente. Nosotros rezamos también.

El muchacho casi dejó de respirar, pero después de una hora y media comenzó a volver en sí. Pronto, después de esto, se levantó y caminó hacia su casa; el efecto paralizante del curare sobre los pulmones había pasado. La persecución de los incursionistas continuó toda la noche, y a través de la parte más alta del río Manaviche. De alguna forma, el capitán y "Yelequei-jéu" consiguieron pasar algunos de los incursionistas. Dos muchachos volvieron atrás, hambrientos y buscando frutas silvestres. Ellos encontraron algunos cacaos silvestres y se pararon para comerlos. En ese momento el capitán hirió a "Dujuse" en el abdomen con una ancha punta de flecha de bambú. Su compañero hirió al otro joven en el brazo.

(Si usted le pregunta a un Yanomama qué haría si fuera herido y supiera que iba a morir, él mostraría una pose que se supone representa valentía y también emitiría las bravas palabras que él diría).

Pero "Dujuse" no hizo esto. Sabiendo que iba a morir, se sentó llamando a su madre. Más tarde los Shibeatis-tjeti recuperaron su cuerpo corrompido y lo llevaron a la aldea para quemarlo. El otro joven herido se recobró. Los Majecototjeti les informaron a ellos que ambos habían muerto, hasta que

8: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

visitantes de Boletjaotjeti vinieron e informaron que el otro joven se había recuperado.

En diciembre 1953, los Shibaatia-tjeti volvieron para hacer otra incursión, acompañados por los Comishibaeitjeti. Pero los Majecototjeti habían acampado fuera, al otro lado del río. Algunos de los Shibaatia-tjeti se nos acercaron cargando una flecha, pero dejando sus arcos en la selva con los otros hombres. Ellos explicaron que eran amigables visitantes y preguntaron dónde estaban los Majecototjeti, porque ellos debían visitarlos. Pero su pintura negra de guerra demostró que venían de incursión. (Los visitantes se pintan de rojo o morado, negro no). Cuando ellos vieron que no conseguían que les dijésemos dónde estaba la gente, nos rogaron les diésemos fósforos y anzuelos. Ellos nos dieron a cambio algunas navajas de diente. Después de esto las cosas se calmaron, pero desde esta vez la gente de Majecototjeti vivía dentro de su empalizada cuando estaban cerca de su granja principal.

La gente de Majecototjeti comenzó una nueva granja llamada "Joitja-tjeca", al sur del Orinoco, donde podían vivir sin empalizada y sentirse seguros contra una incursión de los Shibaatia-tjeti. Los Majecototjeti no planearon volver de incursión, porque ellos dijeron: "Ninguno de nuestros hombres ha sido muerto".

En septiembre 1954, yo había acampado con los Majecototjeti en su nueva granja, al sur del río Orinoco. Allí cada uno estaba más tranquilo y parecían sentirse más libres que en ningún otro tiempo desde que la primera incursión de los Shibaatia-tjeti los puso alerta, casi un año antes.

Cualquiera que quisiera hacerlo, podía ir afuera y recoger frutas, pescar o cazar cangrejos, aun en pequeños grupos. Los muchachos se divertían disparando a los peces, en muchos riachuelos, con sus menudas flechas de cogollos de palma rajada y arcos hechos de un garrote curvado y un pedazo de cortaza retorcida. Era la temporada de frutas del moriche, y las muje-

res salían casi a diario y volvían cargando cestos llenos de esta fruta. Una tarde, cerca de la 1 p.m., algunos vinieron a la aldea e informaron que un gran número de huellas se veía no lejos de la aldea. Un grupo de hombres salió a investigar. Pero cuando regresaron, ninguno parecía demasiado alarmado. Los hombres comentaban que era probable más bien que fueran los Batanoatjeti o Bisheasetjeti en camino para efectuar una incursión en la otra aldea, ya que ellos eran enemigos acérrimos y nosotros estábamos acampando entre las dos.

(Los Majecototjeti eran más o menos amigos de ambas aldeas en este tiempo).

Pero cerca de tres horas más tarde, algunos vinieron diciendo que habían encontrado el arco de "Valooboue" y el cesto de una de las mujeres yaciendo cerca de las huellas, en forma desordenada. El grupo había sido atacado. Entonces los hombres prepararon sus arcos y salieron en todas las direcciones. Hubo una discusión sobre quién había salido con uno de los ya mencionados. "Etemi" (la esposa de "Botai"), tres de las esposas de "Olami-Juu", un anciano (el padre de las tres esposas) y "Valooboue" habían ido juntos a recolectar frutas de moriche. Otras dos mujeres que habían salido con este grupo, pero se habían separado y remontado el riachuelo, habían vuelto ya al campamento. Estas dijeron que habían oído un quejido o un grito, al comienzo de la tarde, pero no habiendo oído más, habían pensado poco en ello.

Un grupo de hombres salió para tratar de seguir los rastros, pero los rastros parecían desaparecer o devolverse. No estaba claro qué ruta habían tomado los incursionistas. Probablemente se habían dividido para reunir fuerzas de nuevo y reunirse en un punto. Finalmente se decidió que ellos habían ido atrás, hacia el río, en la misma dirección que traían las huellas. Hacia el anochecer, los hombres se fueron para cruzar el río Orinoco y preguntar a nuestros hombres, que todavía vivían en la ribera norte del Orinoco, como también buscar más rastros en el embarcadero (sólo yo los acompañé, en marcha al sur del Orinoco, esta vez).

Esa noche la gente que permanecía en el campamento especulaba mucho sobre quiénes habían sido los incursionistas

8: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

y cómo habían sucedido las cosas. Algunos decían que podía ser que David London había llevado en su bote a los Shibaatía-tjeti, a través del río. "Oh, ese David", decían. Otros opinaban que David no había hecho tal cosa.

Esa noche algunos de nuestros misioneros estaban acampando afuera, en una casa *abierta*. De repente fueron despertados por un grupo de hombres Yanomama, quienes estaban parados, mirando a nuestros misioneros, sin decir nada. Estos estaban todos pintados de negro, como para hacer imposible un reconocimiento en la luz del anochecer o en la tenue luz de la noche. Finalmente el silencio fué quebrado y los hombres de Majecototjeti les dijeron que estaban buscando a los incursionistas, quienes habían matado al hombre y al niño y se habían llevado a las cuatro mujeres. Nuestra gente no había visto nada de los incursionistas y fueron enormemente sorprendidos con las noticias.

La siguiente mañana los hombres fueron al lugar del ataque y trajeron las flechas que estaban allí. No trajeron las flechas completas, sino solamente los extremos que tienen las plumas. Las flechas no estaban cortadas, sino quemadas en dos. Las puntas envenenadas las trajeron también. Los hombres examinaron cuidadosamente las flechas y trataron de aclarar de qué aldea habían sido los incursionistas. Las flechas se parecían a las de los Liacoatjeti, pero habían visto un machete en el lugar, y quién podía imaginar a un Liacoatjeti dejando un machete aun en un momento de peligro.

Hubo también un rumor de que se había encontrado una canoa de corteza, alguna distancia río arriba. Probablemente los Shibaatía-tjeti habían cruzado el río en esta canoa. (Este rumor resultó falso más tarde).

Se realizó una búsqueda en un amplio círculo en todas las direcciones para tratar de encontrar qué dirección habían tomado los incursionistas. Finalmente se encontró el camino y los Liacoatjeti fueron entonces conocidos como los incursionistas y que venían del sur. Su camino había sido hecho para desvanecer los rastros, dejando la formación uno por uno y reuniéndose más adelante.

Los Majecototjeti planearon, a su vez, una incursión de re-

vancha. Primero se celebró un banquete con carne de tapir y casabe para comer con la carne. Un día o más tarde los hombres marcharon a una incursión de revancha, sobre los Liacoatjeti. Los Majecototjeti se habían marchado hace dos semanas, pero no encontraron a los Liacoatjeti en sus casas.

"Jolocoiue", un muchacho con una pierna quebrada, que había permanecido con nosotros, nos pidió que rogáramos a Dios que devolviera a "Etemi" (una de las mujeres raptadas) a casa sana y salva. Unos pocos días después los Majecototjeti regresaron de su intento de incursión; "Etemi" regresó. Cuando ella regresó, la aldea completa volvió a la ribera norte del río Orinoco, por si la estaban persiguiendo.

Ella contó cómo era que había tenido oportunidad de caminar delante de una anciana, y adelantándosele algo, por el camino, pudo salirse del camino, sin ser vista, y regresado.

Nos maravillamos de nuestra escasa fe. ¿Por qué no habíamos rogado a Dios que los condujera a todos de regreso?

El capitán convocó repetidas veces a incursiones, a fin de lograr una revancha sobre los Liatcoatjeti. Usualmente las aldeas de Bisheasetjeti y Macolimutjeti acompañaron a los Majecototjeti en sus incursiones. Nuestros misioneros y algunos de lo screyentes e los Yanomama rezamos juntos, para que los incursionistas no mataran a nadie ni perdieran alguno de los suyos. Una vez no encontraron a nadie en las casas. Otra vez, ellos se perdieron, y por falta de comida tuvieron que volver a la casa. Otra vez el grupo entero estuvo tan enfermo, que tuvieron que volver, habiendo recorrido sólo unos pocos días de jornadas desde su punto de partida. Cuando una aldea o varias aldeas Yanomama están por salir de incursión, realizan una impresionante ceremonia. Se hacen una o varias efigies que representan a los enemigos. Entonces es puesta en escena una incursión simulada, en la cual estas efigies son heridas, quebradas en dos y entonces arrojadas. Si el enemigo está lejos, ellos pueden hacer esto en la casa y varias veces en el camino hacia sus enemigos. A veces el simulacro de incursión es tomado hasta el punto de dividir el grupo en dos partes, un grupo que dispara a las efigies y entonces (huye) escapa con varias jóvenes de la aldea. El otro grupo viene un poco más tarde,

8: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

encuentra que las mujeres se han ido y persigue a los incursionistas hasta encontrarlos escondidos, a veces fuera en la selva, con las muchachas. Cuando los incursionistas son hallados, cada uno da un estrepitoso grito de guerra y acaba la ceremonia.

En diciembre 1954, todos nuestros misioneros fueron río abajo para nuestra conferencia de campo, dejando la expedición Frobenius sola en Platanal. Una noche un hombre de Shibaatiatjeti se deslizó dentro de la aldea de Platanal y disparó a uno de los hombres. Su disparo hirió a "Lubio-juu" en el muslo. Sin embargo, puesto que él se recuperó, no se convocó a una incursión. Los hombres de la expedición Frobenius le curaron la pierna y evitaron que hubiera complicaciones, ya que la herida era bastante profunda.

A principios de febrero 1955, los Macolimutjeti y los Bisheasetjeti fueron invitados a un Pijiguao o festival de la palma (Peach) en los Majecototjeti. Los Macolimutjeti vinieron todos, hombres, mujeres y niños. Pero los Bisheasetjeti tenían un poco de miedo. Los Majecototjeti habían sido un poco amigos de los Batanoatjeti, enemigos acérrimos de los Bisheasetjeti, y los Bisheasetjeti temían una treta. (Años atrás, en 1951, ellos habían sido engañados por los Liacoatitjeti). Pero para no demostrar su mala fe, los hombres vinieron (o por lo menos algunos), pero ninguna de las mujeres, para así reducir la "descabilidad" de una treta para robárselas.

En marzo 1955, los hombres de Platanal habían salido para nuevo intento de incursión, dejando el resto de la gente en la aldea principal, situada al norte del Orinoco. Un día, cuan-

[facing P. 160]

El señor James Barker, en Mahekodotedi, acompañado de un grupo de indios guaica. (Foto Expedición Protestante, 1931.)

do todos, excepto el muchacho cojo, estaban fuera de la aldea, los Shibaatia-tjeti regresaron. Ellos encontraron a "Joashimocaoue" que regresaba de la granja a la cabeza de los otros que habían ido a aprovechar el Pijiguao o festival de la palma. Los incursionistas le dispararon dos veces, por la espalda, ya que él corrió hacia el refugio de la aldea. Fué herido por una punta de bambú, no profundamente, y por una punta envenenada con curare, que le ocasionó una herida bastante profunda. En la aldea él le dijo al muchacho cojo de esconderse de los incursionistas que lo habían matado a él, y entonces no encontrando ayuda en la aldea, corrió hacia nuestra casa, a unos 200 ó 300 metros distante.

Unas mujeres habían pasado por nuestra casa en camino hacia la aldea. Al oír sus gritos, ellas dieron vuelta y corrieron hacia nuestra casa; aterradas, entraron y cerraron la puerta. Entonces nos dijeron de efectuar una incursión e ir a ver si podíamos ayudar. Al principio pensamos que sería mejor permanecer en la casa también. Pero entonces oímos un grito de auxilio, no lejos de nuestra casa. Al oír esto, abrimos la puerta. Yo salí y encontré a un hombre lesionado que había conseguido llegar a 20 metros de nuestra casa, pero no podía ir más allá.

El dijo: "Por favor, saque la punta envenenada". Yo lo alcé y lo llevé dentro de nuestra casa.

Yo había oído que la sal es buena contra el veneno del curare, pero no tenía idea de cómo administrar la sal. Puesto que él estaba aún consciente, le dije a David que tratara de sacar la punta mientras yo le hacía beber toda el agua con sal y conseguir bajarlo antes de que se volviera inconsciente. Debía saberle terrible, ya que los Yanomama usualmente no comen sal, pero estaba tan desesperado, que accedió. Quedó inconsciente antes de que David lograra sacar la punta, así que yo le di respiración artificial, mientras David terminaba de extraer la punta, porque había dejado de respirar. Nunca pudimos encontrar el extremo de la punta. A pesar de esto, pusimos sal en su herida, esperando que ayudaría en algo, ya que él estaba inconsciente y no sabíamos con certeza cómo administrar la sal.

David fué a la aldea para ver si le había sucedido algo al muchacho cojo o a alguien. Yo continué con la respiración artificial, mientras él iba. Cuando David volvió, habían pasado cerca de veinte minutos. Y desde entonces nos turnamos durante casi dos horas. Su pulso permanecía bien todo el tiempo. Un poco antes de que terminaran las dos horas, recobró el conocimiento y comenzó a hablar. Pronto estuvo respirando por sí mismo y no continuamos el tratamiento, porque le dolía. Paramos y encontramos que estaba respirando bastante regularmente por sí mismo.

Durante todo este tiempo las mujeres estaban allí mirando (una de las cuales era creyente), y David y yo rezando.

Entonces los habitantes de la aldea comenzaron a llegar de los bosques. Viéndolo yacer inmóvil en un charco de sangre, cada grupo que llegaba suponía que estaba muerto y se deshacían en llanto, lamentándose por pocos minutos, antes que los que conocían lo sucedido pudieran tranquilizarlos. Finalmente uno de los más ancianos, con bastante presencia de ánimo, dijo que quería trasladarlo a la aldea, si esto fuera posible.

Primero el hombre trató de que caminara por sus propios pies hasta la aldea. Pero "Joashimocaoue" estaba muy débil y dolorido y no podía hacer nada de esto. Así que envió por una hamaca. Amarraron ésta a un poste antes de enrrollar al herido en ella; dos hombres lo llevaron a la aldea. Esa noche volvió a caer inconsciente. Dos mujeres vinieron y nos dijeron: "Estamos llorando otra vez". Yo recomendé a David que se quedara y rezara mientras yo iba a ver qué se podía hacer.

Llegando a la aldea lo encontré inconsciente en su hamaca. Ellos querían que yo le pusiera alguna medicina en sus heridas, pero allí estaba él inconsciente. Yo dije: "Vamos a rezar primero". Casi todos los creyentes que estaban allí, y aun quienes nunca habían profesado para ser creyentes, rogaron conmigo por él. Yo rezaba primero y entonces ellos repetían a un tiempo, suplicando a Dios le perdonara la vida. Yo nunca había visto una reunión de Yonomama rezando tan fervorosamente, antes ni desde entonces. No sé exacto qué tiempo estuvimos rezando, pero debe de haber sido cerca de una hora.

Cuando todos hubieron terminado de rezar, miramos arriba y allí estaba él consciente una vez más. Se incorporó y me preguntó si habían curado sus heridas. Yo puse polvo de sulfa en ellas y las vendé. Después de esto, no perdió más el conocimiento, y aunque sus heridas eran muy dolorosas, él siguió bien sin que surgieran complicaciones, aunque la extremidad de la punta envenenada aún debía estar encajada en alguna parte de su espalda.

Los hombres de Majecototjeti volvieron de su incursión sobre los Liacoatjeti sin encontrar a ninguno en sus casas.

Poco antes de esto una anciana de Shibaatía-tjeti visitó algunos de sus parientes de Majecototjeti y les dijo cómo en su aldea no les gustaban los extranjeros, porque ellos estaban todo el tiempo curando gente. Cuando en la aldea herían a alguien, ellos querían que muriese. Yo le aseguré que nosotros solamente no habíamos curado al muchacho. Toda la aldea había pedido a Dios que lo curase y Dios había respondido. Los aldeanos afirmaron que era así. Ellos habían rezado bastante, y Dios había perdonado su vida.

El hermano del capitán llegó a Yabitjaotjeti y dijo al capitán que los Liacoatjeti habían estado visitando río arriba y que ahora se encaminaban hacia sus hogares en su propia aldea.

El capitán convocó a otra incursión. Primero la aldea entera se movió a través del río, para salir de un margen de ataque fácil para los Shibaatía-tjeti. David y yo cogimos nuestras hamacas y fuimos con ellos a través del río. Al día siguiente los hombres deshecharon la incursión, o más bien fueron abajo a los Biaheasetjeti para partir de allí. Sólo fueron los hombres adultos; los niños y muchachos de 17 años o menos se quedaron en casa.

Esta vez David y yo podíamos rogar que no peleasen. Nosotros pedimos, más bien, que el Señor los protegiera del peligro a los creyentes. El lo hizo. Los incursionistas estu-

8: Barker SQ18 Yanoama

vieron fuera cerca de tres semanas. Cuando ellos volvieron el capitán penetró en la aldea y tuvo un coloquio oficial, corto, con el hombre más importante que se había quedado en la aldea. A lo sumo el coloquio canturreado duró como medio minuto. Entonces todos empezaron a llorar. Alguien había sido muerto. Miramos a ver quién había vuelto y si era posible ver quién faltaba. Algunos de los hombres tenían marcas rojas en sus mejillas y en la frente como señal de que ellos habían matado algunos o había "hecho" mucho en la pelea, que ellos no pudieron saber si habían matado alguno o no.

Después supe que tres de los enemigos habían sido muertos y que uno de los de la partida, un hombre de Macolimutjeti, había sido herido en el pecho y había muerto.

La maleza había sido clareada en el sitio de nuestra transitoria aldea, así que no serviría a los *matadores* para llenar los ritos de un *matador* como deberán hacerlo en una maleza espesa. Así que dentro de una hora nos mudamos a un nuevo lugar situado cientos de metros más allá. Los matadores acamparon en la maleza más densa y la demás gente quedaron más afuera. No podían tocar nada que fuera a comer, sino más bien lo alcanzaban con un palo. Tenían un palo especial con el cual se rascaban. (Más tarde sus hamacas fueron colgadas en cierto tipo de árbol, amarradas al tronco y aseguradas en el sitio con lianas. Cuando las viejas hamacas fueron descartadas, ellos yacían en nuevas hamacas de lianas hechas especialmente para este propósito y pintadas y adornadas con plumas). Permanecimos en este campamento por cerca de tres días, hasta que los matadores creyeron el *ciclo* completado.

Más tarde yo supe los detalles de cómo se había desarrollado la incursión. La primera aldea en que penetraron estaba vacía. Así la segunda, y aparentemente igual al lugar de la aldea principal. Para lograr al menos alguna revancha, los Bisheasetjeti comenzaron a derribar todas las cosechas que encontraron en aquella granja. Los otros se unieron a la destrucción. Todos los platanales fueron arrasados, todas las cosechas de tubérculos fueron arrancadas, tanto que tendría que pasar un año para que la granja produjera de nuevo tanta comida. Sin embargo, la otra granja no fué destruída.

[facing P. 164]

Indios guaicas en el Pintamal comprando machetes.

Un grupo de indígenas guaicas rodeando a James Barker.

Pero, aun así, el capitán no estaba satisfecho. "La revancha por sangre derramada debe ser con sangre derramada". Así que los incursionistas avanzaron y encontraron huellas recientes, al fin. Los Liacoatjeti estaban acampando, afuera en el bosque. Ellos se encontraron a un hombre solo y lo mataron. En esto el capitán dió la orden de regresar a casa.

Los Liacoatjeti persiguieron a los incursionistas y finalmente los encontraron acampando en la ribera del sur-oeste del río Mavaca. Los Liacoatjeti atacaron y mataron a un hombre. Ellos informaron haber perdido a dos hombres en esto.

La semana extra se fueron; necesitaban ir a alguna distancia y quemar el cuerpo del guerrero muerto. Era demasiado lejos para cargar con él y quemarlo en la casa.

Como se disgustaron con los Liacoatjeti, los Majecototjeti habían abandonado su granja del sur del Orinoco y hecho una nueva, esta vez más bien río abajo y al lado norte.

En abril 1955 encontré que los Bisheasetjeti habían tomado a una muchacha de Vitocaiyetjeti, luchando en contra de los deseos de su aldea. No mucho después de esto los Vitocaíyetjeti hicieron una incursión sobre los Bisheasetjeti para rescatar a la muchacha. Los incursionistas lograron remontar el río hasta el río Mavaca, con uno de los equipos "Ceder" que trabajaba en el territorio Yanomama. En la batalla que siguió hubo unos pocos cráneos maltratados y abundancia de brazos rotos, pero ninguno fué muerto. Ni consiguieron regresar a la muchacha. Ahora las dos aldeas se amenazan con dispararse una a otra.

Los Vitacoiyetjeti, esperando conseguir una ayuda, dijeron a los Yositjeti que los Bisheasetjeti estaban enojados también con ellos y planeaban incursionarles también a ellos. Ellos

también dijeron a los Macolimutjeti que los Yocitjeti estaban bravos con los Bisheasetjeti y, por supuesto, la noticia llegó a los Bisheasetjeti.

En un viaje mío, río arriba, me paré en Bisheasetjeti. El capitán me pidió que constatara con los Bisheasetjeti si el asunto era verdad. Pero los Bisheasetjeti no estaban en casa cuando yo pasé. Sin embargo, los Majecototjeti no sabían de tales intenciones por parte de los Bisheasetjeti, a pesar de haber tenido varias visitas recientemente de los Bisheasetjeti.

Yo dije esto al capitán de los Yocitjeti, en mi camino de regreso.

Ahora, en marzo 1956, los hombres y niños de Bisheasetjeti bajaron a Tamatama en canoa. Pero no se pararon en Yocitjeti. Los Yocitjeti querían perseguirlos en seguida, pero carecían de suficientes canaletes. Diecinueve (19) hombres y dos mujeres de Yocitjeti arribaron a Tamatama, unos pocos días después que los hombres de Bisheasetjeti llegaron allí.

Los Bisheasetjeti querían guardar sus arcos cuando llegaron, no sea que sus enemgios también vinieran. Pero yo les dije de darnos sus arcos y yo se los devolvería cuando estuvieran listos para partir.

Si algunos otros Yanomamas vinieran, yo podría tomar sus arcos también en el embarcadero, para evitar que se pelearan. Cuando los hombres de Bisheasetjeti vieron el bote de los Yocitjeti a distancia, tuvieron miedo. Yo les dije de llegarse a mi casa y cerrar la puerta. Yo podía tomar los arcos y flechas de los recién llegados en el embarcadero. Cuando los Yocitjeti llegaron, su capitán me preguntó por los Bisheasetjeti. Yo le dije que los Bisheasetjeti no querían pelear y que yo ya tenía sus arcos. El me dejó tomar los arcos de sus hombres y los encerró a ellos en una de nuestras casas. Entonces los hombres de Yocitjeti y Bisheasetjeti llegaron juntos a mi casa sin armas y aseguraron unos a los otros que querían ser amigos. Todos los 31 durmieron juntos en mi casa (un poco apretados, pero cómodos). Yo les ofrecí la casa vacía, próxima a la mía, pero no quisieron saber nada de ello. (Mi casa es bien

ventilada, teniendo persianas y todo alrededor y dos puertas-persianas).

Al día siguiente los Yoaitjeti se fueron después de cambiar sus hamacas y arcos a los Bisheasetjeti por machetes, ropa, fósforos y otras cosas. Yo estaba contento de ver las dos aldeas llegar juntas y hacerse amigas, porque ni una ni otra querían pelearse.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

TO THE SOURCE OF THE ORINOCO

by

JOSEPH GRELIER

Translated from the French by H. A. G. Schmuckler

LONDON: HERBERT JENKINS

[Title Page]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

142
302
301
411

Guahariho Indian of the Padamo river. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 64 – A]
[pp. 1-64 not processed]

Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SC 18

501
516

142
482
411
291
←

142
302
291
→

TOP: One evening, thirteen Guaharibos from the Padamo arrived. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM LEFT: Guaharibo Indian. Notice the length of his bow and arrows. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Guaharibo woman. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[n.64-B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQi8 Yanoama
Makiritare SS 20

133

342
291

TOP: The River Cunucununa, domain of the Makiritare Indians.
(*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

BOTTOM: Community hut of the Makiritares at Jakaré on the Cunucununa.
(*Photograph by J. M. Cruxent*)

[p. 64-C]

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama

Makiritare SS 20

142
302
[292]

Young Makiritare woman in festive dress.
(Photograph by J. M. Cruxent)

[291]

Makiritare Indian of the Cunucunuma river.
(Photograph by J. M. Cruxent)

[p. 64-D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Venezuelan Indians 554

4

The Indians of the Upper Orinoco—Guaharibos and Makiritares

Y
121

SINCE Theodor Koch-Grünberg's pronouncements on the subject, anthropologists and ethnologists are agreed that the Indians inhabiting the Guiana *massif* fall into three distinct " layers " of population. Differentiation between the layers is relatively easy as each represents a different stage of development, and there has been no marked overlapping of territory. The newly-arrived groups thrust back the original occupants either violently or gradually and then infiltrated themselves among the earlier arrivals. The vastness of the region and the thinness of the ever-shifting population made such occupation simple. Indeed, the great Guiano-Amazonian forests support fewer human beings than some parts of the world where there is an almost complete lack of vegetation. Paul Lecointe estimated in 1920 that the population density was about one inhabitant for every twenty-seven square miles.

Trade and war have brought about some racial mixing, but strong racial customs and the barriers of language have done much to retain the individual characteristics of the groups. Thus ethnologically the region is like a jig-saw puzzle with pieces of changing outline, fast, slow, sporadic, seasonal, but each playing its part in the final picture.

V
101
[241]
V
[174]
000

Arawaks

The Arawaks are farmers on an extremely moderate scale, and excellent watermen. They inhabit the country adjacent to the rivers Negro, Guainia and Atabapo; the principal tribes being the Banibas, the Barés, the Kuripakos and the Piapocos. Coming from the west and south-west they seem to have occupied the regions gradually and peacefully, advancing eastwards as far as the River Merevari. They have imposed their

[pp. 65-71 not processed]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Venezuelan Indians SS4
Makiritare SS20
S

they have imposed their
mark in the names of the rivers, the word-endings -ari, -uni, -eni, meaning river or water. The ending -ari, often altered to -are, is ubiquitous west and north-west of the Orinoco as far as the foothills of the Andes—evidence of the former extent of the Arawak race. Most of the boatmen we recruited

MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN TRIBES IN THE AREA OF THE UPPER ORINOCO

in the Orinoco basin and on the Amazonas slopes were Arawaks. As a result of countless voyages up and down the great rivers and as a consequence of many an invasion they are, anthropologically, a very mixed lot, even showing traces of Negro blood.

Caribs

Caribs were the late-comers to the territory. They include the Arekuna, the Yauarana, the Mapayo, the Yekuana and the Bekuana.
[i.e. The Arawaks -- Analyst]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SG 18
Makiritare SS 20

M 648 175 [101] the Bekuana. The last-named[1] are better known by the name *Makiritare*, an Arawak word meaning "River Folk" or "Those of the River". The date of their arrival can be placed at about a century before the Spanish conquest. They came from the north, probably from the Antilles, conquering, pillaging and well-organized. They hustled the peaceable Arawaks, who were ill-prepared to defend themselves, southwards and to some extent intermingled with them. Their southward drive stopped short at the Upper Orinoco, for it is here that the domain of the unconquered Arawaks begins, extending south and west of the Casiquiare and the upper Rio Negro. Their advance was halted by the resistance of the Guaharibos, Shirianas and Waïkas, who have ever since remained their implacable enemies. The Caribs adopted none of the manners and culture of the Arawaks, preferring to impose their own customs on their victims. They ferociously resisted the Conquistadores who were frequently compelled to procure their victuals by force and whose morals and methods in doing so did not often accord with the Christian ideal on which they prided themselves. The early Spanish chroniclers described the Caribs as "proud, brave and warlike".

M [177]

In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, English, Dutch and French adventurers all made use of the Caribs in their smuggling activities along the coast or up the big rivers between the Essequibo and the Orinoco, and even in their affrays against the Spanish hegemony. The Caribs are great travellers, fine sailors and boat-builders. They are invariably chosen as guides by explorers and are ever ready to boast of the services they have rendered in this capacity.

M [181]

Detached Groups

131 The oldest of the peoples of the area is the great family of Guaharibos, Waïkas, Shirishanas (or Shirianas), who occupy a vast part of the Upper Orinoco and its tributaries the Padamo, Ocamo, Manaviche and Mavaca. They are to be found in the mountainous region, wrongly known as Sierra Parima; on

[1] [i.e. the Bekuana -- Analyst]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Saliva SS 15

the upper reaches of the Caura and Caroni rivers; and on the tributaries of the upper reaches of the rivers Negro and Branco in Brazil.

In his classification based on families of language, Koch-Grünberg includes these scattered groups under the heading "Detached Groups", a term he uses for all linguistic groups that do not belong to either of the main families, though he acknowledges their anthropological and linguistic kinship. The fact that they inhabit the most distant and least accessible regions, that they are dispersed over so wide an area, and that they are subdivided into clans which frequently number no more than a dozen individuals, strongly suggests that these people are a "residual population" that has doubtless been thrust farther and farther back by successive waves of invasion.

The four or five thousand Piaroas and Guaharibos who inhabit the territory of the Middle Orinoco, between Puerto Ayacucho and San Fernando de Atabapo, are also classified as "Detached" by Koch-Grünberg. Anthropologically it would seem that these two peoples are comparatively remote from each other. As we have no information as to the time of their emergence and settlement in their present zone of habitation, we may perhaps assume that all of these groups constitute, or did once constitute, the original stratum of population, without necessarily coming from the same stem.

Three small clans, tiny pockets of people geographically isolated from each other which cannot as yet be related to any of the big families already mentioned, also appear on Koch-Grünberg's ethnological map. These are the Makus. They occur on the River A[illegible]ri, where they occupy no more than a single hut; on the Ventuari, where they number about eighty; and on the Iñirida, where they are known as Puinabes. It has been suggested that these last could conceivably be the descendants of the Guaypunabis whose chief, Ceseru, joined with Solano in founding San Fernando de Atabapo and Santa Bárbara.

Thus the classification of the Indian peoples of the

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

101 Guiano-Amazonas district of Venezuela, is neither so simple nor clear-cut as it at first appears. None of the Indians of the Guianian highlands are natural settlers. The more primitive groups, who live entirely from cropping the forest, fishing and hunting, are compelled to lead wandering lives; and those who practise agriculture and live in villages are ever ready for [167] a change of scene. These things, allied to an ingrained migratory instinct, lead them to keep moving about the country throughout their lives.

More Guaharibos from the Padamo

123 On the afternoon of May 25th another party of Guaharibos arrived at Esmeralda. I was approaching the jetty in one of the boats when I heard Francisco shouting from the other bank. It was nothing new to hear Francisco's bellowing; whenever he had killed a tapir that was too heavy for him to carry alone, or when the day's bag was too big to be loaded on his minute *curiara*, he would give tongue in this manner. I turned back to join him and as I did so he pointed with a paddle to an Indian craft which till then had been hidden from me by the bank-side vegetation. I steered towards it, standing up in the boat and making gestures of welcome and friendship. For an answer two men stood up timidly in their [501] boat as I went over to them and circled round them. Their craft, which rocked buoyantly in my wash, was built of a single strip of bark. It was similar to the one the children had left behind them, but bigger and contained thirteen people. Then I led them back to the landing-stage.

The official reception of these people we left to Butrón, who had a wonderful gift for this sort of thing. He quickly had some machetes brought out as gift-offerings. Of the boat's crew nine were young men in their teens, two of whom had their faces blackened with charcoal. Among them was Mopare, the eldest of our first visitors. Two children of about six and two young women tried to efface themselves against the bottom [291] of the boat. The youths wore some cotton material round their middles which was secured back and front by a belt of string. The women wore a sort of fringed apron no more than a few inches across.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

than a few inches across. All had their ears pierced by sticks slightly thicker and longer than a cigarette. Their paddles were short and as crudely constructed as the boat itself, some being roughly rounded and others no more than discs lashed with lianas to a pole handle.

To these primitives we must have appeared a strange collection. Who are these beings—they must have asked themselves—who go about dressed, shod and bearded, and who point queer things at us which go "click"? And the many boats lined up there, that go so fast and make much noise! Mopare had probably told them wonderful tales, but since he had left the camp when it was still in embryo, he was doubtless as much amazed by its present size as the others. There was a moment of hesitancy and then Butrón held out a machete and said: "*Shori! Shori! Noji!*" He told us this meant "friend" or "relative". In exchange for the machete, he demanded the man's bow and arrows. The size of the bow surprised me, since it was taller than the man himself. One by one the Indians disembarked and surrendered their arms in exchange for machetes. All except a fine, well-built brave who seemed to be their leader and who remained sitting in the stern of the boat, watchful and silent. The women, still cowering, stayed near him. At last, seeing his companions on shore and our attitude giving no cause for mistrust, he was reassured. Courteously and with dignity he held out a hand to the women, who were still apprehensive.

"Padamo?" we asked him.

"Padamu, Padamu," he replied.

The final vowel, nasal and strongly accentuated, lies between "o" and "ou". The word is indigenous and has been the river's official nomenclature since the time of Diez de la Fuente.

"Guaharibo?"

Another nasal sound which cannot be transcribed followed. It was a sort of grunt and could have meant "Yes". And then: "Guaharibo".

"Waïka?"

A worried look, followed by the gesture of bending a bow.

"Waïka—pfft! Waïka—pfft!"

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123 [648] From this we deduced that the Waïkas and the Guaharibos, although belonging to the same racial group, do not always live together in complete harmony.

142 Generally speaking, the Guaharibo is not as tall as the average white man. Though he is of slender build, his chest is thick-set and his arms are muscular and we attributed this to his regular use of his immensely powerful bow. His skin is lighter than that of the Makiritares and his eyes are brighter. His hair, too, is less dark and is cut with a fringe all round the head. Body hair is but feebly developed and the men are [302] practically beardless. The two women in the boat were delicately made and quite pretty; they adopted a similar hairstyle to the men but rather longer. Their breasts, small and conical, contrasted with the opulent, hemispherical breasts of the [302] Makiritare women. One of them was clearly the wife of the leader of the party; the other appeared to belong to one of the men with the charcoal-blackened face.

123 Our Guaharibos very quickly became less suspicious, though they still kept close together. Each grasped his machete as though it were treasure, the women and children doing so, [136] too. Hardly had they disembarked than they were assaulted by the *plaga*, which were always at their worst at this time of day. The unfortunate Guaharibos in their nakedness fell an easy prey to them and were soon hopping about and slapping themselves with their hands and the flat blades of the machetes. Obviously they had come from a less infested country, probably from the banks of a black water river.

"General" Butrón, who had several times had contact with the Padamo Guaharibos—or at least with their cousins the Waïkas—suddenly produced a bundle of incredible rags which he had picked up God-knows-where, and began to distribute them. The scene that followed was quite grotesque. The women were no more capable of putting on a dress than the men were of donning trousers. We had to dress them as if they were infants, and replace missing buttons by string. As soon as night fell and the *jejenes* left us in peace, they promptly discarded these embarrassing and tawdry impediments.

We made over to them a newly-built *rancho* situated in the

9:Greller K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guahariba

middle of the camp, but they preferred to sleep under a simple palm roof resting on four poles which had been erected near the river as a temporary measure when the first advanced party arrived. There they hung their hammocks, made of the same pliable liana threads as their loin-cloths. Apart from their bows and arrows, these hammocks were the only possessions they brought with them. Thus they passed the night close to the river and their boat. They lighted fires and kept them burning all night. Not all of them slept in hammocks. Some squatted on the bare ground close to the fires, but those who used hammocks slung them low to get the maximum benefit of the fire's heat, for all slept naked.

The next morning they came over to the empty *rancho* where we gave them *manioc*, which they knew and appreciated as a special treat. But they refused the cooked food we offered them. One or two of them tasted it, but quickly spat it out. We offered them meat and learned that they cook their game without first skinning it. We gave them salt, which was new to them and which they spat out with dreadful grimaces. It was probably the salt that made them refuse our cooked food. They never tired of *manioc*, and we discovered that *manioc* and *machete* were the only two Spanish words they knew.

The Guaharibos have a curious and revolting habit of secreting in their mouths between the lower gums and the lip a roll of green tobacco as big as the stump of a fat cigar. They do not chew it; it remains there unbroken all day while two streams of greenish juice continuously trickle from the corners of their mouths. Even the children and sometimes the women indulge. The lump, which horribly deforms the lower part of the face, making it look hideous, may have contributed to their reputation for ferocity and savagery. The preparation of the tobacco quids is the duty of the women. The fresh tobacco leaf is rolled with wood-ash, and then the women chew and soak it in spittle until it reaches the right proportions and consistency before passing it on to their mates. Cardona told us this was the universal practice.

The Indians' fear and suspicion of us quickly dispersed.

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123 From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dixies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their [152] fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One [758] of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

595 As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous
162 and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by
578 means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males
684 whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of
838 quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought
201 that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We
123 had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of gestures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

123 In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of
411 ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama 5520
Makiritare

252
415
516

252
285
291
302
142
404
417

TOP: Makiritare woman grating yucca roots, an ingredient in the preparation of manioc. (*Photograph by J. M. Cruxent*)

BOTTOM: The poisonous juice of the yucca is extracted by means of a "sebucan", a large piece of expansible basket-work. (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

[p. 30 -A]

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama

Makiritare 5520

291
302
285
482

Makiritare Indian making a back-basket.
(Photograph by J. M. Cruxent)

285
482
532

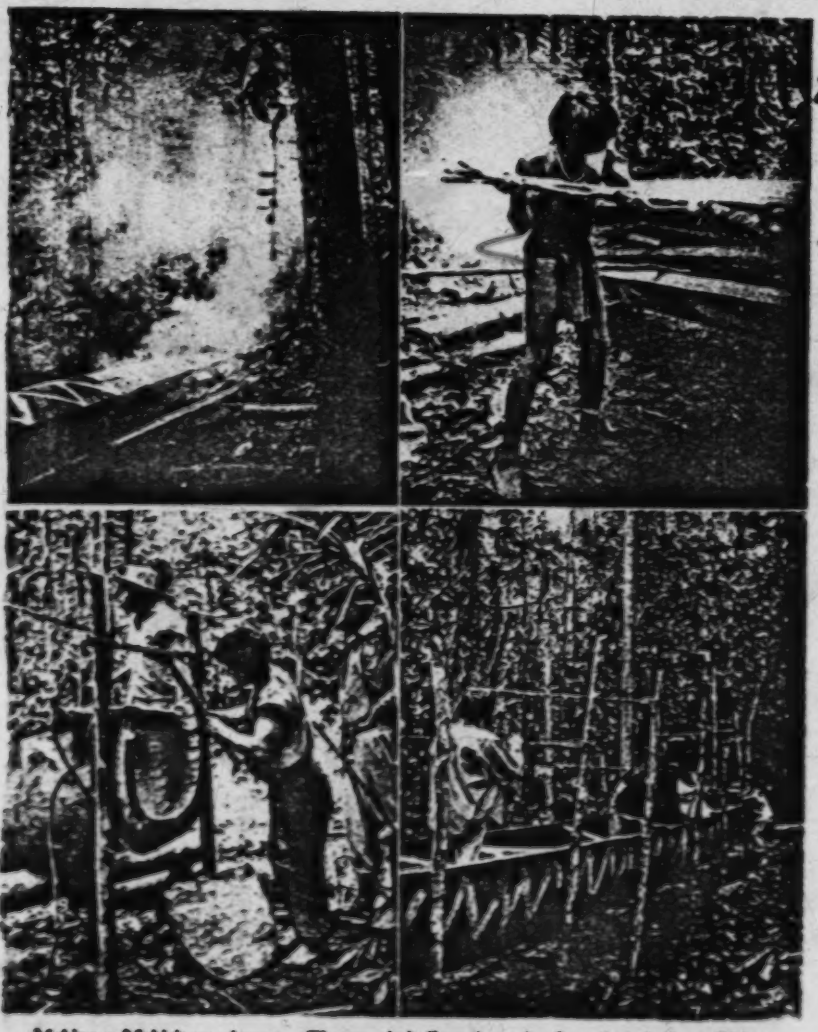
This basket of thin, carefully-chosen lianas, is decorated with the same pattern—a stylised frog—nine times repeated.
(Photograph by J. M. Cruxent)

[p. 80—B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama

Makiritare SS20

396
291



Making a Makiritare pirogue. The tree is hollowed out by fire where it lies. This pirogue is being built for us and is to have a transom stern to take an outboard motor.
(Photographs by J. M. Cruxent)

[p. 80-C]

9:Grolier K-S (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

133

Cerro Yapacana dominates the river from a distance of almost a mile. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

114

Our three "lanchas" lashed together tow a retinue of *curiaras*. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

080

Raymond Pélégri aboard the radio-pirogue. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 80-D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Makiritare SS20
Guaharibo

V 123 [411]

vertically into the air was particularly spectacular. The bowman stood with his left arm extended holding the bow over his head, his back arched and body relaxed. Then, pulling on the bow-string slowly to keep the arrow steady, he would let fly, his body dead-still as he watched the arrow climb upwards, spinning like a top.

As happened on the occasion of their first visit, our Guaharibos took themselves off one morning before dawn. Our cook, Evaristo, pointed westwards across the savannah where we could see them outlined in the tall grass as they walked with their backs to the sun.

The Makiritares of the Cunucunuma

M 114

In 1886, Jean Chaffanjon, the French explorer, visited the Makiritares of the middle Cunucunuma and wrote an enlightening account of them, saying that they spoke tolerable Spanish. In 1949 de Civrieux and Lichy also went up the Cunucunuma; accompanied by Makiritares, they reached Mount Marahuaca. More recently still Dr. Hans Baumgartner, former head of the Health Department of the Amazon Federal Territory, visited them. Although they are generally known as Makiritares, these Caribs prefer to call themselves Dekuanas. "Makiritare" means "River Man" in Arawak, and at one time must have rung out like an alarm call when the pillaging conquering hordes were on the march. To-day, though the number of Makiritares in Venezuela does not exceed seven hundred, their influence still dominates the Upper Caura, the Upper Padamo and the Cunucunuma rivers, where they are to be found in greatest concentration.

M 101
M [648]
M [161]

M 133

The Cunucunuma flows into the Orinoco some thirty-five miles below Esmeralda, its waters making good some of the loss sustained at the Casiquiare fork, where some of the Orinoco's water drains into the Amazonian Rio Negro. It is a beautiful river, whose black and white waters intermingle. It receives the torrents that pour down Duida's western flank and from Marahuaca, the two tallest monuments to the former sandstone expanse of the Guianan *massif*. Two hundred yards from its mouth the Cunucunuma is broken by rapids which

M [502]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama
Makiritare 5520

133 [502] the Makiritares delight in shooting in their fine canoes. Upstream it flows past huge flat-surfaced rocks that either break the surface of the water or lie just below it. Beyond its banks, hills and rounded granite knolls intrude on the forest and occasional sandstone peaks, their porous terraces around them overgrown with savannah grass, are also to be seen.

361 342 Six villages line the banks of the Middle Cunucunuma, of which the most important, Jakare and La Culebra, are above four sets of rapids. They are built on the savannah surrounding the towering wall of Cerro Piapoco and each has a tribal house looking like a cylinder with a conical head-dress of palm leaves. The other houses of the village are rectangular in shape, some having an apse-like projection at one end and a few 342 at both ends. The tribal house at La Culebra measures thirty-six feet across and twenty-seven feet high. Its walls are made of perpendicular stakes retained inside and out by horizontal branches. The cavity between the inner and outer walls is filled with a mixture of mud and dry grass. Finally, the outer surface is plastered with mud which, when it dries, cracks along the length of the branches beneath, and gives it the appearance of a brick wall. The circular wall is pierced by a single door just about the height of a Makiritare, so that the average European has to duck his head to enter. The steep-to palm roof extends well beyond the walls to make wide eaves. High up near the top there is a sort of pigeon-hole window.

The door is always kept carefully shut and semi-darkness prevails within. Each family has its own place against the wall and its own fire. Thus the centre remains open and common property. It is to the centre of the house that the villagers go after the day's work of grating cassava tubers to [574] make *manioc* is over. It is also the part reserved for visitors, whether friends or strangers.

241 [361] Unlike the Guaharibos and the Waikas, the Makiritares are not nomadic. Agriculture has settled them as it has settled the Piaroas. Every Makiritare village has its plantations located about some distance away in the forest. Cassava is the main

[see plate, bottom of p. 64-C.. Am.]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama
Makiri'tare SS 20

crop, but maize, bananas, pineapples and sugar-cane are also grown. The preparation of *manioc* from cassava is the work of the women as, also, is the cultivation of the plantations themselves. The bitter cassava contains prussic acid and so the juice must be extracted from the pulp before the pulp itself is grated. This is done in compressible cigar-shaped baskets. The upper end of the basket is hung by a ring from a horizontal beam and a wooden lever is passed through another ring at the other end. When the pressure is applied the juice is forced through the interstices of the basket work. The gibbet for this press is usually erected close to the big hut and not far from a wall-less structure, which houses the communal hearth. There the granulated meal is baked into large flat cakes of cassava on iron pans bartered from Fajardo. The cassava cakes are afterwards put out to dry on wattles or simply on the roofs.

The Makiritares also enjoy the fruits of the forest and river which they harvest by hunting and fishing, particularly during the dry season from November to April. When hunting they use either a bow or the blow-pipe. The bows they obtain mostly from the Guaharibos in exchange for machetes, knives and thread for angling, which itinerant Guaharibo dealers peddle from dug-out canoes. The blow-pipes they make themselves, but the precious, much-feared curare, which they use for poisoning their arrow-tips, comes from the Piaroas. The Piaroas in exchange use Makiritare blow-pipes. Thus it is that no native, no matter how primitive and remote from his fellows, is independent of his fellows in other tribes, and the Makiritares are at the centre of these exchanges.

The dry season, when the water holes are few, is the principal hunting season and *barbascos* provide bountiful fishing when the rivers are low. Poisonous vegetable alkalis from crushed bundles of plant stalks are drawn through the water by the women, while the men wait downstream in their canoes or on the banks to harpoon the drugged fish as they come to the surface. Many of the fish thus caught are dried, and sometimes ground into fish-meal, to provide iron-rations or a commodity for barter.

[see plate, facing p. 80, bottom -- Analyst]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama
Makiritare 5520

731 In spite of their plantations and their skill in hunting and
262 fishing, the Makiritares occasionally experience periods of famine. At such times, when the children cry from hunger, they will dig up the foot-long earth-worms which abound in the humus under the undergrowth and eat them either raw or boiled. Frogs, too, then become part of the daily menu. I have seen Makiritares away from their village, when food was hard to come by, carrying no other provisions than dried frogs threaded like beads on a string.

123 We knew we should have to increase our flotilla of canoes, and to add more Makiritare boatmen to our strength as we proceeded up the Orinoco and the Rio Negro, but it was a necessity calling for discretion since we dare not risk the success of our enterprise by entering the territory of the Guaharibos with too many Makiritares in our company.
[122] Furthermore, we were counting on obtaining from the Cunucunuma villages the greater part of our *manioc* supplies; this formed not only the staple diet of our men, but also became an important part of our own diet. Frantz Laforest was most anxious to be *persona grata* with the Makiritares, so that he could observe and study the building of their fine Carib canoes at each phase of construction.

396 The method, he discovered, was to select a suitable tree, usually a variety of mahogany, and remove all branches for a considerable length of its trunk. Then followed the stripping of the bark and the rough shaping of the ends of the boat. Next the trunk was deeply hollowed out, first by means of a machete along its entire length, and then by fire which slowly enlarged the trough started by the hatchet. The longest operation, which took several days, was opening up the trough by means of wooden wedges, the growing hull being meanwhile
[531] held in position by means of cross-members. When all was complete the boat's sides were made waterproof by scorching, and decorations in the form of geometrical drawings were added. The vessel was eventually introduced to its natural element by hauling it from its place of building over wooden
[123] rollers to the water's edge.
[177] In spite of their skill in building the traditional type of

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama
Makiritare SS20

canoe, the Makiritares were less successful when it came to replacing the customary pointed stern with a transom to take our outboard motors. Makiritare canoe-paddles are heart-shaped and are decorated with arabesques engraved with a red-hot iron. Since sawn wood or boards are unknown, the paddle has to be shaped from the limb of a tree or, more commonly, from the " above-ground " roots of the giant silk-cotton tree. This is a delicate wood, easy to work, but brittle.

A paddle is the Makiritare child's first toy. From the overgrown streams, which are no more than tunnels of greenery, to the turbulent rapids of the big rivers, both sexes navigate their craft with equal skill. Though every vessel is hollowed from a single tree-trunk, many of the larger *curiaras* measure up to forty-five feet in length. One which was built for us carried a load of five tons and needed a crew of from six to eight men to handle it.

All craft-work—whether it is building houses, boats, baskets or weapons—is essentially the work of men. Basket-making is rated high on the list. Some of the panniers, wattles and *manioc* presses, made of the slenderest lianas, were among the finest basket-work I have seen. The quality of the material and the high standard of workmanship clearly showed the close relationship between basket-work and weaving. The round, shallow baskets on which the Makiritare offers his guest a variety of dishes are invariably made up in at least two colours, either by previously dyeing the lianas or by using lianas of different natural hues. The designs are either geometric, or human- or animal-shaped. The latter are markedly stylized but the same motif is never identically repeated. The frog is by far the most frequently represented. The artistry displayed showed a keen sense of observation and an inherent love of natural animal beauty. When, later, at Esmeralda, a number of Makiritare families came to collect the " chicle " resin from which chewing-gum is made, I was surprised to see the men devote their leisure hours to the manufacture of these elegant little baskets purely for the pleasure of creating something beautiful.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama
Makiritare 5520

533 Every Makiritare group seemed to have its own musician,
[534] whose functions were to some extent ritual. Each evening
he would play his bone flute in the big hut, producing
534 not unpleasant sounds. Another instrument, known as the
[755] *maraca*, Cordona said was sacred, being used in conjunction
with incantations to cure the sick. It is a rattle made
from a hollow gourd containing special stones from the
[778] river bed. The Indians believe that these stones, strangely
shaped by nature, have some beneficent power, and they guard
them jealously. Cardona recorded some of the chants and
incantations.

301 Like all Indians, the Makiritares have a love of bright
[302] colours and finery. Many of the men and women paint their
[437] faces and most wear cotton bracelets round their wrists, knees
and ankles. They make great display of the multi-coloured
[531] glass beads which are highly valued in the barter trade. The
women decorate small lozenge-shaped aprons with them,
usually favouring blue with geometrical patterns in contrast-
[304] ing colours. The men make ear-rings of reed the thickness of
[292] a pencil and push them through holes pierced in their ears,
and on special occasions they wear head-dresses of big macaw
[237] feathers. Their loin-cloths are made of the brightest cotton
materials. Coins, which they have come to know only recently,
[177] they fashion into ornaments by beating them against flat
stones; the women make ear-rings of them.

* * *

648 Though the Makiritares trade with their primitive and
[439] troublesome Guaharibo neighbours—whom they call "Shiri-
shanas", meaning "monkey men"—their relationships are
not always friendly. Wandering Guaharibo tribes often
pillage the Makiritares plantations and, indeed, the father of
one of our Makiritares had been killed during such a raid.
And for their part the Makiritares are not above forcibly
carrying off the Guaharibo women. The wife of the chief of
La Culebra—quite a pretty woman—was Guaharibo. These
women have much finer features than the Makiritare women
and many of them are bi-lingual, speaking the Makiritare

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama
Makiritare S520

tongue almost as well as their own. The two languages are quite different and distinct.

We wondered how true was the statement that at the end of the eighteenth century many Makiritares could speak Spanish with some fluency. If there were any truth in it at all, there had obviously been considerable backsliding since, as less than half a dozen of the Cunucunuma Makiritares we met could speak more than a word or so of the language of the Conquistadores and the early Jesuit priests.

The Salesian missionaries, most of whom are Italian, pay only infrequent visits to the Cunucunuma and none has ever settled there. The North-American missionaries, on the other hand, actually live with the Indians, learn their language and adopt many of their customs. One of them, an indomitable woman named Flora Trutel, lived for years with the Makiritares, wrote a grammar of their language, and became an authority on their rites and beliefs. She died quite recently at the Protestant mission at San Fernando de Atabapo, worn out by missionary work.

The Indian is shy of giving his real Makiritare name to a stranger and very seldom does so. One of our boatmen, for instance, we knew by the exotic name of Watiti, but one day we learned that he had been baptized Juan Baptista. Baptista had soon become corrupted to Watita, which eventually he changed to W'atiti as being prettier.

Though the Makiritares trade regularly with merchant firms, they do so only through the pedlars who visit them, since they will have no dealings with civilized villages—called "rationals" in Venezuela. Moreover, San Fernando, the nearest and most important village, is several hundred miles away and the Indians have no outboard motors. Nevertheless, they cover enormous distances by boat and on foot, crossing from one river basin to the next and bartering trumpery wares in the most remote regions. Many of them know the territory they cover so well that with distances expressed as "day's journeys" they are able to draw maps in the sand and even correct our maps. Their stocks for barter are so varied that many a Guaharibo who has never seen a

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama
Makiritare SS20

439 white man is nevertheless quite familiar with packets of
[177] aspirins.

On meeting other Indians who have reached a stage of
186 advancement similar to their own, the Makiritares show a fine pride of race and this pride is one of their most engaging characteristics.

[p. 89 not processed]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
[P.90] Makiritare SS20
Guaharibo
Y 439
M 439
438

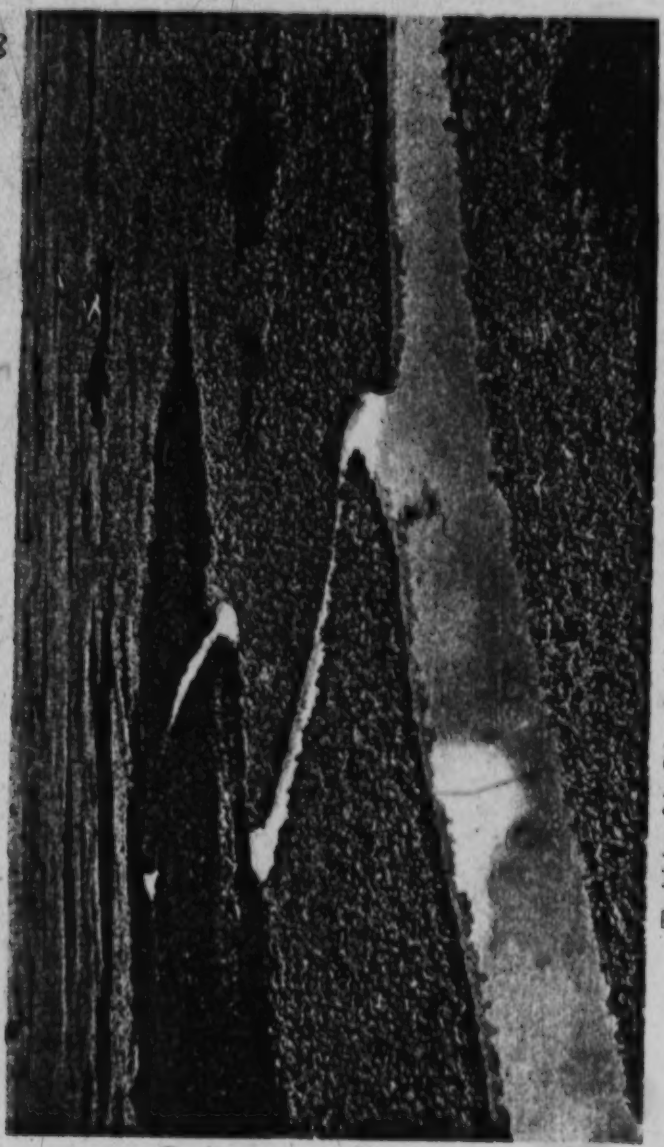
Pedlars trading with Advanced Makiritares		Advanced Makiritares trading with Pedlars		Advanced Makiritares trading with Less Advanced Makiritares		Less Advanced Makiritares trading with Advanced Makiritares		Less Advanced Makiritares trading with Guaharibos		Guaharibos trading with Less Advanced Makiritares	
Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy
Nails Adzes Hatchets Machetes Pots Knives Glassware Cotton Goods Aspirin Rum Mirrors Combs Sewing Thread Fishing Line Fish Hooks	Dug-out Canoes *Manioc* Casabe Baskets Finery Blow-pipes Resins Gum (Chicle)	Nails Adzes Aspirin Rum	Hatchets Machetes Pots Knives Glassware Cotton Goods Mirrors Combs Sewing Thread Fishing Line Fish Hooks		Baskets Finery Blow-pipes Resins Bows and Arrows		Pots Glassware Mirrors Combs		Hatchets Machetes Knives Sewing Thread Fishing Line Fish Hooks	Bows and Arrows	Hatchets Machetes Knives Sewing Thread Fishing Line Fish Hooks

Table drawn up by J. M. Cruxent showing the barter objects in most common use among the Cunucunuma Makiritare Indians. It will be noticed that hatchets, machetes, knives, threads, and fish hooks are the only goods of industrial manufacture to reach certain of the Guaharibo Indians, who, for their part, offer nothing but bows and arrows in exchange.

[P. 91 - 105 not processed]

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

133



The joining of the Orinoco and the Casiquiare. (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

[p. 96-A]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

133

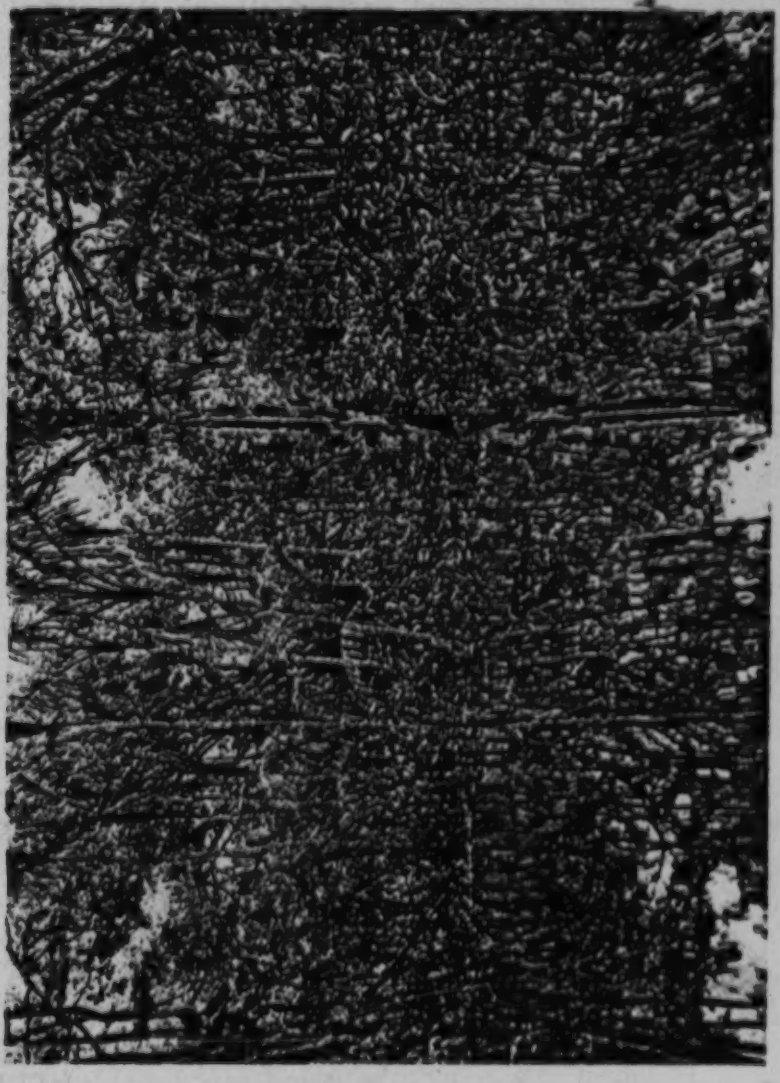
291
516
137

TOP: The famous Piedra del Cocuy juts upwards from the forest.
(Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)

BOTTOM: The first Waikas appear between the trees and hail us.
(Photograph by J. Grelier)

[p. 96 – B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18



133
137

Flooded forest. (Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)

[p. 96 - C]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SA 18
Waica
142
302
301

TOP: The Waikas jump aboard as soon as we touch the shore. Notice lower lip extended by a quid of tobacco. *(Photograph by J. Grelier)*

BOTTOM: This one has just received the gift of a pencil. Notice the shaven skull and the scars on the scalp. *(Photograph by J. Grelier)*

[p. 96—D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Venezuelan Indians SS4
Makiritare SS20

6

Esmeralda to the Guaharibo Rapids

V
123
M
[361]

EXPEDITIONS above Esmeralda differ from those elsewhere on the Orinoco in that no experienced guides are available. Native boatmen, wherever they may come from, are boatmen and not guides. In de la Fuente's time, the Makiritares frequented and sometimes inhabited the upper reaches of the river and its tributaries as far as the Padamo, but beyond that limit they were scared to go for fear of the terrible Guaharibos. It was the same with the Baré Indians who accompanied Chaffanjon in 1886 and who several times tried to desert. More recently, in 1931, Spencer Dickey's men were equally apprehensive. But none of these expeditions ever left the river.

On the Sipapo the Piaroas make excellent guides, and Guahibos on the Vichada are equally ready to assist. Going up the Ventuari several explorers have recorded how they were handed from one settlement of Makiritares to another when they were crossing territory shared with the Guaharibos. The watershed between the Ventuari, Merevari and Auari rivers is a traditional cross-roads where Makiritares have established villages and plantations at each intersection.

M
[361]
Y
123

Cardona Puig is the only explorer I know of who has been guided by Guaharibos, Waikas or Shirishanas and he was repeatedly up against taboos, forbidden paths and places from which he was compelled to retrace his steps—not always unscathed.

• • •

At noon on July 13th Pablo Anduze, the entomologist who is known throughout Venezuela as "Dr Mosquito", Butrón and I left Esmeralda for the Guaharibo Rapids where we were to set up Base Camp No. 2. Like Esmeralda it was also to be a research centre. Twelve natives accompanied us of whom

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

one, a Guahibo, refused to be parted from his wife. Butrón 123
christened her Ana-Maria and she stayed with the expedition as cook and mascot almost to the end.

The Guaharibo Rapids are the first major barrier on the [133]
Upper Orinoco and only Chaffanjon, Dickey, and Butrón with his wood-cutters had ever got beyond them. Even the precise location of the rapids themselves was open to question since what one has called the Guaharibo Rapids another did not.

Butrón was in command of our convoy, his old launch towing half a dozen *curiaras* and *falcas*. Though the river was in spate there was water enough for the launch only as far as the foot of the rapids. From there on we should have to man-handle our native craft up the rapids as best we could.

Our cargo consisted of heavy cases of reserve foodstuffs and the greater part of the expedition's *manioc* supply. We also carried petrol in forty-four gallon drums and four-and-half gallon cans, and a great mound of newspapers and blotting paper for drying plants which Croizat and Couret had entrusted to our care. Finally we had a considerable quantity of knives, machetes and other barter-ware. Our job was to prepare the way for the main body of the expedition who would follow as soon as their work at Esmeralda, particularly the archaeological diggings, was completed.

The heavily-laden launch made slow progress against the fast-running current. With the river full to its maximum, the banks, undermined by the rush of water, kept caving in under the weight of their vegetation. Forest trees came spinning and turning downstream. We passed many small tributary streams often without noticing them, so closely knit were the enveloping trees whose lower branches were washed by the water. There seemed no chink in the impenetrable wall of vegetation and I caught myself repeating de Civricux's phrase: "No way but the river, no horizon but the forest." There could be no question of sailing by night through such waters and so we made good use of the last remaining daylight by slinging our hammocks in tiers one above the other so that all fifteen of us could spend a comfortable night under the launch's awning.

The next day we passed the Padamo and its flood waters

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

123 were, if anything, even more violent than those of the Orinoco. At its mouth it is about three hundred yards wide compared to the four hundred yards of the Orinoco just below the juncture. Chaffanjon, doubtless influenced by wishful thinking and his growing proximity to the river's source, stated these widths to be only eighty and one hundred yards respectively. He similarly exaggerated his description of the ruggedness of the river-bed. But inaccuracies of this kind were by no means uncommon among explorers of the last century, as Jean Hurault showed of Anatole Coudreau's account of his exploration of the rivers of French Guiana.

123 The Padamo comes down Marahuaca—probably the highest
133 massif of the Guianan mountains—in a series of waterfalls. It is fed by two major tributaries, the Voltamo and the Matacuni, the last named rising in that remarkable "water tower" formed by the junction of the Sierra Parima and the Sierra Pacaraima; here rise the Ventuari, the Erebato, the Merevari, the Auari and the Ocamo.

Three hours later we reached the Ocamo, above which the Orinoco becomes noticeably narrower, for only the Mavaca now remains as a tributary of importance. The Mavaca, whose upper reaches were explored by Cardona in 1941, runs practically parallel to the Orinoco in a generally westerly direction until it is diverted northwards where it meets the mountains and joins the main river. These mountains are shown in Diez de la Fuente's sketch-maps and are the cause of the Orinoco's north-western change of course as far as Esmeralda. Formed of layers of sandstone, their summits tower high above the forest. We had not realized that the sandstone Roraima Formation extended so far east nor, for that matter, so far south. Until then, we had accepted the generally-held belief that the granite mass of Piedra del Cocuy was typical of the mountains east and south of Duida. Observing from the river, it seemed to me that the sandstone beds were not horizontal, though it was not possible to observe either the angle or direction of their dip.

[27] We were using Hamilton Rice's sketch-map (scale 1–750,000) embracing the Rio Negro, the Casiquiare, and the Upper

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

Orinoco to the Guaharibo Rapids. On this the river's course is given in great detail, showing not only the major tributaries but a great many minor ones as well, though there is no indication of their size. From first-hand experience it was clear to us that the contribution of some of the lesser tributaries was anything but negligible. There are, for instance, the Iguapo, which joins the Orinoco from the right ten miles above Esmeralda after itself being joined by a river its own size, and another river, unnamed as far as I know, which has its mouth midway between the Padamo and the Ocamo. And entering from the other bank come the Lipe and the Icipe, of which the latter is eighty yards wide at the confluence. Of these four only the Iguapo has been explored and that by Diez de la Fuente.

Above the Mavaca the Orinoco's mean width is less than two hundred yards. Its general direction of flow is east to west with a slight northern tendency and surprisingly, since it nowhere else does so in its thousand miles journey from Mavaca to the sea, it twists and turns pronouncedly.

Since we had left Esmeralda the only birds we had seen were single specimens of black ibis, large kingfishers and droves of white egrets. The egrets would sit craning their necks in the trees and, as we approached, would fly up only to settle down a little farther away. It was as though no human being had ever disturbed their forests. Once or twice we saw a pair of otters diving from a rock or dead tree stump and once we shot at an anaconda which was placidly coiled round a tree. We watched as it slowly unwound and disappeared into the murky water.

That evening we took one of the *curiaras* up a small tributary and fished, but the spate was too strong. Instead of fish we gathered some forest cocoa whose pulp is a refreshing drink when newly made.

The First Waikas

The Padamo and Ocamo rivers are inhabited by Guaharibos. Above the Ocamo, the inhabitants of the Orinoco's banks call themselves Waikas. They closely resemble the Guaharibos we had met at Esmeralda but are, perhaps, a little more primitive. Some had had previous contact with Butrón's wood-cutters.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

[P. 110]

411
284
531
482
372

ARROW HEADS

1. Notched point designed to break off in the wound. These points measure from eight to twelve inches in length. 2. Bamboo blade pointed at both ends and therefore reversible. 3. Harpoon point. The bone barb is skilfully bound in position. 4. Small knife; made from the incisor of the capybara and fixed to a wooden handle. The whole measures about six inches. 5. The Waika is rarely separated from his quiver made from the stem of a bamboo in which he also carries his firestick.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waikas. We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows, they motioned us to come closer.

"*Shori! Shori!*" they shouted.

"*Shori! Shori!*" we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and *manioc* and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying "*Shori! Shori!*" and we responded as in a litany, "*Shori!*".

Physically the Waika is no different from the Guaharibo. He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waika's only weapon. Made of strong,

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

supple wood and well over six feet long, it is very powerful. With it the Waika can shoot an arrow more than a hundred yards and can hit a *panjil*—a bird about the size of a turkey—at forty yards. Normally two or three arrows are carried and they are as long as, if not longer than, the bow itself. The shafts are made of reed which, Cardona said, is specially grown for the purpose on their plantations, and are feathered by falcon's feathers. The feathers are meticulously tied in a near-perfect spiral with thread of forest cotton or morisco palm fibre. Each arrow has a different head specially adapted to a particular purpose. Spare arrow-heads are carried in a quiver in which also is carried fire-making material to protect it from the damp.

The quiver is a simple bamboo case to which are also tied a firestick and a number of little knives made from the incisors of a large rodent called a capybara. It is carried on the back by means of a string slung round the forehead.

Such comprise the simple impedimenta of the Waika on his journeys through the forest. The women, who accompany their mates on their many ceaseless wanderings, presumably have their own burdens to carry, but we saw nothing of them until we visited our first native village on the next day.

As we went up-river we came across the remains of a rude bridge which had formerly spanned the two hundred yards of river and which had been carried away by the flood waters. It was the biggest bridge we had seen although we had passed a number of lesser ones fashioned of lianas spanning the tributaries. On the bank where the bridge had been were some twenty natives and a handful of children.

"*Apo! Shori! Apo!*" they greeted us.

We knew from Butrón that, though his men were accustomed to replenish their banana stocks at this place, they had so far never been allowed to visit the village hidden somewhere in the forest.

The Waika lives on wild fruits, fish, meat and the produce of plantations adjacent to his villages. Most of his time he spends wandering in the forest and his fleeting appearances at his village occur usually only when natural resources fail or when he has to defend himself against an enemy horde. He knows

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

142
291
302
576

Waika Indian of the "Pianoai". (Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)

[p. 112-A]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

142
302
291
546

Waika family of the "Planana". (Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)

[p. 112 - 8]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

352
415
142
516

439
123

TOP: Women of the "Parauna". Notice the household goods. The two types of hammock are clearly shown. *(Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)*

BOTTOM: Swapping. The little things we brought excited curiosity and greed. *(Photograph by J. Grelier)*

[P. 112-C]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Wa'Ca

302
482
412
237

The Waika always carries with him his little knives made of a rodent's incisors. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

Below: Pierre Ivanoff and one of our Waika friends. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

142
302
→

[p. 112-D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama 5918

his jungle intimately—where to find palm dates, cocoa and brazil nuts in their season, and where game birds are most plentifully found. He hunts the herds of peccary, his ear, versed in all the sounds of the forest, detecting his prey before they detect him. When the water in the rivers is low he shoots his fish with arrows and when the sand banks are uncovered he hunts tortoise eggs buried in the sand. His interminable wanderings are limited only by his forest lore; he lives only for the day, his sole reserve of food being a small store of bananas brought from the village plantation.

Platanal

As we closed the shore our reception was tumultuous. From the high bank above us the Indians leaped yelling into the water and clambered on board, shaking themselves like wet dogs. Laughing and gesticulating they took hold of our mooring lines. Though some of us were a little overcome by this display of exuberance, Butrón was not in the least disconcerted. He knew that the Indians had long learned to associate him with machetes and *manioc*. As soon as it was possible to do so, Butrón had a basket of *manioc* and a dozen machetes carried ashore, and the Indians who had already begun to ransack our cargo left it and hurried ashore.

"*Shori! Manioco! Oji!*" they cried striking their bellies. They jostled round the basket, stuffing handfuls of the coarse flour into their mouths, their heads thrown back in ecstasy.

As the Waika have no knowledge of contriving the simplest of iron tools, or of grinding *manioc*, all such articles were highly valued objects of barter. So were matches, once they had been shown how to use them.

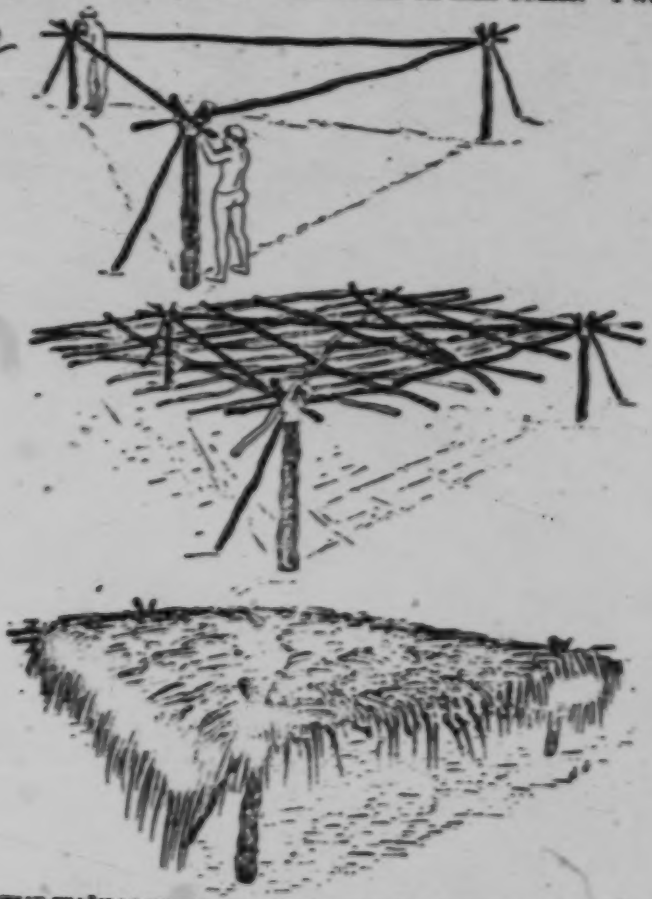
Butrón told them we wanted the large green bananas which are eaten cooked; the accepted tariff is three hands of bananas for one machete. Before long, we heard some of the natives making merry in the plantation, and made as if to follow them. But at once the others became suspicious and gestured to us to return to the river bank. We insisted and they became menacing, finally refusing to go on gathering the bananas if we did not desist.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Wai'ca

797
123

On the riverside where the bananas were being stacked, we came across a strange character. He was a white man, young and prematurely bald, who watched the proceedings calmly, almost diffidently. His trousers and shirt were impregnated with the violet dye the Indians smear on their bodies. I went

342



THE WAÏKAS BUILD THEIR HUTS IN A MATTER OF A FEW MINUTES. THE HUTS ARE ALWAYS BUILT TO THE SAME PATTERN

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

forward to meet him and he introduced himself as James Barker of the Evangelist Mission of San Fernando de Atabapo. He told me that he and a companion now up at the village had been living with the Waikas for the past seven months. He added that the Indians had sunk the boat in which they had come so that they were now quite isolated. He spoke their language fluently and his attitude to them was that of an indulgent schoolmaster.

I told him of our desire to see the village and he spoke about it to the Waikas. They were at once suspicious and reluctant; even when they eventually agreed, agreement was far from unanimous. Nevertheless, we fell in behind Barker and marched up a slippery path so muddy that I began to envy the forest people their nakedness. We came to a recently made clearing which had been cleared by fire and I tried to slip away up a little-used path. At once the Indians objected, their vehemence suggesting that the plantation to which the path probably led hid many wonderful secrets.

After twenty minutes of marching we came to a fence in a clearing. The fence was made of stakes lashed together forming a perfect circle. I thought this must be the village but we passed it by. A hundred yards beyond we came to another similar enclosure and this time our guides led us inside. As we entered I remembered what Pierre Ivanoff had told me of an earlier occasion when he and three companions had succeeded in reaching a Waika village. The first enclosure we had just seen was undoubtedly the counterpart of the one in which he had been forced to dance with his hosts before being allowed to go on to the second. In the present instance the dance was omitted from our programme.

Inside the enclosure, which was some thirty yards across, huts were built with their backs to the palisade, leaving a circular space in the middle shaded by a big tree. The corner of each hut consisted of three stakes in the form of a tripod supporting horizontal rafters of green wood tied in place by lianas. Wide-eaved roofs were thatched with banana leaves. The circle of fencing was unbroken except for the single entry. A pungent, musty smell pervaded the place as we

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waick

361
123
(609)
entered. It was deserted ; the women and children had doubtless fled at our approach and were now probably hiding in the forest or the plantation. This would explain why the men had been unwilling to allow me to wander off on my own.

123
[291]
After a time they began to filter back. The boys were the

361
342

WAÏKA FORTIFIED VILLAGE, "PLATANAL"

123
[291]
first to return, the younger ones wearing nothing but an armlet above the elbow, and the older ones wearing the string round their hips and knotted to the prepuce. Then came the women, the oldest first, followed by the younger ones with their babies.

[302]
All were completely naked and all wore their hair cut in the pudding-basin fashion favoured by the men. They kept close together, chattering ; some began idly swinging in their hammocks in their houses. When we tried to approach them the men followed close on our steps.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

I tried to take some photographs of them, but they cowered back behind each other, clucking like frightened chickens, and the men gestured to me to stop. One of them, a one-eyed old man, despatched a stream of spittle from his quid into my face. 123

"*Shori! Noji!*" I protested, and laughed. I got out my comb and combed my hair and beard. He came over and examined the comb and my hair and stroked my beard. Then he, too, laughed.

"*Shori!*" he repeated.

I set about combing his crown of short bristly hair. He laughed louder and spat heartily. I slipped my arm round his shoulders and placed the view-finder of my camera against his good eye. He groaned and hopped from one foot to another, and I pressed the release. Then he laughed again and allowed himself to be photographed but he would not allow me to take pictures of the women until we had made further gifts of knives.

In the missionaries' hut, which was identical with the others, we saw the beginnings of the first Waika dictionary. While we were there a native came up and led me to a hut where his wife was suckling a few-week's-old baby. The baby's two-year-old brother was playing in the dust with two mangy dogs as thin as a skeleton and of no recognizable breed. The child's [164] body was covered with scabs about the size of threepenny bits. Quite obviously the father expected me to do something about the affliction, and I made up my mind to give Barker some tubes of sulphonamide. Barker told me that infant mortality [165] was high among the Waikas, adding that he had never known a child to be born or to die within the village enclosure. Since the sojourns of these people within the village were invariably brief, birth and death invariably occurred in the course of their peregrinations.

The men and youths all had deep scars on their scalps, made 142 the more conspicuous by their shaven crowns. In answer to our inquiries we were told in gestures that these came from some sort of stick or club, but whether in battle or ritual, we could not discover. (The following year King Leopold III's [114] expedition to the same area saw similar long head-scars among Waika women.)

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama 5218
Waica

302 Both men and women and even the small children paint their
[386] faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not
302 seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which
531 it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred, either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red, while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken themselves.

123 Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or
302 war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company with some whose paint was paling and some who were not even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

• • •

352 The furnishing of Waika huts is very simple and orderly, each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one
[286] above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from
[283] threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades, while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their
[287] ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of
592 a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when the village is crowded.

162 In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people, which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

He told us that the

499 building of their crude bridges is a lengthy and laborious business and quite impossible when the river was in spate.

123 We returned to the river to find that those we had left behind had removed the boats to a safe distance—a wise precaution, since it was desirable not to excite the greed of the natives. Many an expedition, we knew, had failed through being looted because this elementary precaution had [648] been overlooked. Furthermore, such incidents can lead to serious conflict, as Cardona had learnt on more than one occasion. When dealing with such primitives, caution, good humour and nursery diplomacy are the essential safeguards.

As we pressed on up-river other Waikas hailed us from the banks. We did not stop, nor did we make any presents of manioc, knives and machetes to those who followed us, running through the undergrowth, and gesticulating and shouting as they ran. We spent the night in the shelter of a rocky island they could not reach.

The Guaharibo Rapids

123 By now the river's width was no more than a hundred and 133 fifty yards. Though its course no longer wound as it had, the current was no less strong. Rocky banks that plunged steeply into the water and boulders across the river-bed created violent currents and our engines had to go full out to give us the least headway. If the water had been low we should have been able to pass only with the greatest of difficulty. We passed through one such rocky race which Butrón said was the Guaharibo Rapids. Actually they were the Yamaraquin Rapids marked on Hamilton Rice's map and characterized by a huge pyramid-shaped reef. Butrón called the rapids, where we intended setting up Base Camp 2, the Waika Rapids, distinguished, so he said, by a group of islands of rock and sand, of which two were comparatively large. These were mentioned by both Rice and Dickey, who called them the Gua- [131] haribo Rapids. Rice gave their precise position as Latitude 2° 18′ 18″ N., Longitude 64° 38′ 46″ W. We arrived there at eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

The Guaharibo Rapids are caused by the presence of a barrier of extra-hard rock—granite diorite or diabase—which sand and water cannot erode so easily as the granite base. The water meets this barrier and either pours over it in a waterfall or descends less precipitously through a race strewn with rocks and reefs which mark the slow recession of the fall. Sand worn from the rock also accumulates to form islands. The main race from its crest is about two hundred yards long, secondary channels being set up by the presence of islands. On the largest of these islands we set up camp. 133 123

Here the river again ceases to be navigable, but we hoped by using the greater depth of the flood waters to be able to push our way up through one of the secondary channels. If this failed, the only alternative would be to haul the boats overland. Whatever happened, these rapids marked the end of a phase. Once passed, they would cease to be an objective, becoming instead no more than a stage in our progress to the river's source.

[pp. 122-169 not processed]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

133 But ibis in immense droves refused to be disturbed as they
123 covered each new sandbank that was born.
(136) The water was as clear as if it had been filtered, its reflection of the sun blinding. Dark patches of smooth water amid the rippled surface elsewhere betrayed the next sandbanks to uncover.

We left behind the Padamo, Ocamo and the Mavaca, and all the time the river got narrower. We passed the nights on great flat platforms of rock which got larger as the water went down; with machetes we killed fish trapped in the rocky pools left by the receding stream. A dish of ananas and fish, half-soup, half-stew, is very tasty. It is called sancoco and from now on became our staple diet.

123 From Esmeralda we had brought supplies of sugar, coffee, salt, some oil and four big baskets of manioc from which we [136] made coarse bread at all hours of the day. Several times we saw fresh water turtles clinging to the rocks and once or twice succeeded in catching one. But they are wily creatures and usually they dived before we could get near them. One we caught was handicapped by an injured foot which the men asserted was the work of a caribe. Unfortunately, it was too early for the females to be laying their eggs in the sand—they would have been manna, indeed.

123 We arrived at Platanal on November 21st to find that the
721 bridge had been cut down and learned that this had been deliberately done "for strategic reasons". The Indians greeted us like old friends and unhesitatingly took us to the village. There we found feverish activity on all sides. A boy had been kidnapped from the plantation and another killed [764] by an arrow through the chest. The corpse had been cremated amid ritual weeping and the ashes stored by the family in an urn sealed by wax. Not until the death had been avenged could they be mixed with the dust of the lad's ancestors.

[712] The men had strengthened and consolidated the fortified enclosure and cut down the screen of trees round the village. Sentries had been posted and the entry through the fortification had been concealed by palm-leaves. Women were

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

123
721

bringing in supplies from the plantation and distributing them among the huts. They were obviously preparing for a long siege.

Barker, the missionary, told us he had thrown his shot-gun into the river to save him from having to take part. Rape, he said, was at the root of every conflict—the kidnapping of boys or girls according to whether a clan had a surplus of men or women without mates. Sometimes a young warrior had to [555] prove himself and in such cases rape is the best method, since it tests endurance, patience, resource and skill no less than strength.

On this occasion, the women had lost all their earlier bashfulness—a group of six of them never leaving us. We had seen the eldest of them twice before, and three of the others had been in the village when we had passed through on our downstream trip. It seemed they must have vouched for our friendliness for nobody asked us for machetes and matches. 123

On returning to our boat we found six stalks of bananas had been put in it for us. We were sorry that we had nothing but a little *manioc* to offer in return. As we left we met three Waikas from a neighbouring clan. In honour of their hosts [302] and doubtless to cut a good figure, each had painted himself all over with violet dye.

• • •

We passed the Guaharibo Rapids at dawn on November 22nd and by the following day were at the foot of the rapids at Perlascal. We had brought lifting tackle to use where necessary, but with only four of us—and somewhat tired at that—we were anxious to avoid overland portering wherever we could.

The falling water had uncovered acres of rocks with little channels running between, offering a safe passage through. At other times we had to assault the main channel knowing that if the engine gave out we must lose boat, provisions and equipment, if not our lives. For this reason, if ever there was enough water to float us in any subsidiary channel, we took it every time.

[pp 172 to end of book not processed]

10:Chagnon B-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

000 PLEASE NOTE:
Figure pages are not original copy.
They tend to "curl". Filmed in the
best possible way.
University Microfilms, Inc.

[Introductory, p. i]

10xChagnon B-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Ijxomamx Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Ijxomamx in their language.

Census data on five Ijxomamx villages are presented to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is complicated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter-village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii]

[Introductory, P. iii]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yanomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yanomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yanomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

* * *

000 This is an authorized facsimile and was produced by microfilm-xerography in 1971 by University Microfilms, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.

* * *

[p. i]

©

Napoleon Alphonseeu Chagnon 1967

All Rights Reserved

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YĘNOMAMÖ WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

by
Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Michigan
1966

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Eric R. Wolf, Chairman
Professor Marvin J. Meggitt
Professor James V. Neel
Professor Elman R. Service
Professor Leslie A. White

[Title Page]

[P ii-A]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS[1]

000 I am indebted to a number of the faculty members of the Anthropology Department for their guidance, counsel and personal attention during the course of my undergraduate and graduate program. In particular, I wish to express my gratitude to Professors Mervin J. Meggitt, Marshall D. Sahlins, Elman R. Service, Leslie A. White, and Eric R. Wolf for all they have done to assist me in planning and carrying out my curriculum and field work. Whatever may prove to be of worth in this dissertation derives ultimately from the training I received from them.

I owe special thanks to Dr. Robert L. Carneiro and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole for assisting me in particular phases of my field preparations and for the innumerable personal kindnesses they showed me before, during and after my field work among the Yanomamö.

114 122 During the seventeen months I spent in Venezuela planning and conducting my field work, a large number of people rendered me invaluable assistance. I wish to express my gratitude to the Staff of the Venezuelan Air Force Transport Group No. 6 for transporting me and my equipment into

[122] [1]This investigation was supported in part by a Public Health Service Predoctoral Fellowship F1 MH-25, 052, and an attached Research Grant MH 10575-01 BEH R04 from the National Institute of Mental Health.

114 and out of the Federal Territory of Amazonas, and to
122 Commander Dr. David Capriles of the Medical Section for assisting me in making these arrangements. I also wish to thank Dr. Armando Caballín T. of the Amazonas District of the Venezuelan Malaria Control Service (Malarialogía) for generously placing the facilities of that organization at my disposal, and for arranging the purchase and transportation of many of my supplies.

I am personally indebted to Dr. Marcel Roche, Director of the Venezuelan Institute of Scientific Research (I.V.I.C.), and to Dr. Miguel Layrisse, Chairman of the Physiopathology Department of that institute, for their cooperation in and assistance to my field work.

122 A number of Missionaries gave me invaluable assistance in the Yąnomamö language and generously placed the resources of their missions at my disposal. I particularly wish to thank Mr. James P. Barker and Mr. Cecil Neese of the New Tribes Mission, and Padre Luiz Cocco and Padre José Berno of the Salesian Mission for their generous aid.

118 I thank Kąobäwä, headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for
124 his assistance and cooperation in the collection of some of the genealogical data; without his aid my data would have serious gaps.

I wish to thank Dr. James V. Neel, Chairman of the Department of Human Genetics at the University of Michigan, for encouraging and personally supporting my field work, and for generously making departmental office space available

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

to me while I wrote this dissertation.

I am most indebted to my wife, Carlene, for her patience and encouragement during the course of my graduate training, and I express my gratitude and admiration for her ability to cheerfully sustain the numerous inconveniences brought about by the nature of my profession.

Finally, I thank the members of my Doctoral Committee, Professors Eric R. Wolf, Chairman, Mervin J. Meggitt, James V. Neel, Elman R. Service, and Leslie A. White for their cooperation and counsel. In particular, I wish to thank Professors Wolf and Meggitt for their patient and exhaustive criticisms of earlier drafts of the text, and for their numerous helpful suggestions regarding the organization of the thesis.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

[Frontispiece]

Plate 1: Members of Allied Villages Chest-Pounding During a Feast.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
LIST OF PLATES, TABLES, FIGURES AND MAPS	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
A. Statement of Thesis	1
B. Data and Field Techniques	14
Chapter	
I. YĄNOMAMÖ CULTURE AND EARLIER ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK	26
A. Yąnomamö Culture	26
B. Anthropological Work on the Yąnomamö.	45
II. THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN.	53
A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding	53
B. The Effects of Warfare on Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices.	70
III. DESCENT, MARRIAGE, KINSHIP AND IDEOLOGY	80
A. Yąnomamö Corporate Lineal Descent Groups and Marriage.	80
B. Yąnomamö Kinship.	89
1. Marriage Ties	91
2. Agnatic Ties.	97
C. Ferocity and Bellicosity.	109
IV. VILLAGE COMPOSITION, STRUCTURE, AND SIZE.	115
A. Village Composition and Structure	115
B. Village Size and Warfare.	133

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1987 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Chapter		Page
V.	THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES . . .	144
	A. The History of the Namowei-tedi	149
	B. The History of the Paruritawĕ-tedi. . .	165
	C. The Warfare Pattern from November 1964 to February 1966.	174
VI.	CONCLUSIONS	192
APPENDIX A.	Village Composition and Genealogy of Lower Bisaasi-tedi	209
BIBLIOGRAPHY	. . . . .	216

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

LIST OF PLATES, TABLES, FIGURES, AND MAPS

Page

Plates:

1. Frontispiece: A Yąnomamö Feud vi
2. Bisaasi-tedi Warriors Lining Up Before a Raid on Patanowä-tedi. 135

Tables:

1. Village Size, Sex Ratios, and Excess Males. . 58
2. Causes of Death of 240 Adult Ancestors of Namowei-tedi. 62
3. Components of Agnatic Solidarity. 107
4. Age and Sex Distribution of the Yąnomamö Population 136
5. History of the Namowei-tedi 146
6. History of the Paruritawä-tedi. 147

Figures:

1. Ideal Yąnomamö Village Composition 118
2. Faction Structure by Kinship Ties in Lower Bisaasi-tedi 122
3. Lineage Structure 130

Appendix A--Genealogy of Lower Bisaasi-tedi . . . 215

Maps:

A. Yąnomamö Area of Southern Venezuela and Northern Brazil 28
B. Yąnomamö Villages of the Mavaca and Orinoco Basins 54
C. History of Namowei-tedi and Paruritawä-tedi . 148
D. The Location of Uraricaá and Mavaca Yąnomamö. 194

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of Thesis

121 583 582 183 This is a functional study of one form of marriage practiced by the Yąnomamö Indians of southern Venezuela. The form of marriage considered here--recruitment of wives from other villages for the purpose of initiating and maintaining political alliances--constitutes a departure by the Yąnomamö from their preferred form of marriage. I wish to emphasize the point that these marriages constitute a predictable and necessary departure from the ambilateral cross-cousin preferences. I will show in the space below how a number of variables are related to each other to bring about the exceptional marriages.

The fact that normative rules of behavior and actual behavior differ considerably from each other in most societies has received little theoretical attention, particular in regard to analyses of marriage systems. For the most part we presume that exceptions to stated marriage preferences represent a measure of the breakdown of the society under consideration, due to contacts with other societies. Yąnomamö exceptional marriages[1] cannot be dismissed with this line of

[648]

[1] Of 56 recently contracted marriages in three of the villages investigated, 31 cases were breaches of the preferred ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules for the purpose of establishing political ties between the groups of the spouses.

121 reasoning, as most of the Yąnomamö villages are presently
583 uncontacted, and those that are in contact with foreigners
582 have only recently (since 1951) entered into these contacts.
183
648

583 Yąnomamö marriages, even the preferred form, are
582 influenced by the milieu of inter-village hostility within
*628 which they are contracted. Marriages in this milieu have as
613 their major function the promotion of social ties between the descent groups represented in the exchange and are best understood as the deployment of women between groups with the purpose of promoting political and military alliances. The groups in question may be of two kinds: the local patrilineages comprising a particular village, or the members of different villages as such. As the only corporate group among the Yąnomamö is the local lineage, marriages within and between villages are to be understood as alliances between different corporate groups.[1]

583 The variables affecting marriage practice--weakness
582 of descent as a solidarity-promoting medium, village size
183
*621 and instability, the chronic nature of warfare, the shortage
921 of women, attitudes about aggressiveness and demonstration
152 of ferocity by individuals, and economic practices--are such that some deviation from the normative marriage rules is necessary to insure maximum survival chances for the resi-
583 dents of the various autonomous villages. Because marriage
582
*621 exchanges in general have political and military implications,

*[621]

[1]Yąnomamö villages are not corporate groups.

583
582
*621 actual marriage practices reflect the immediate political and military needs of a given village. If it is more
583
582
183
*623 advantageous to dispose of a woman in a way that promotes greater solidarity between allies, the marriage rule is not followed.[1] An eligible female, therefore, is given to a man (perhaps unrelated) in another village if her kinsmen have reason to believe that they may be required to take refuge in or request military aid from that other village.

*628 An ally's demands are not to be taken lightly, for
574
726
562 to fail in an obligation to an ally may have the gravest consequences for survival; one tactic of Yąnomamö warfare is invitations to feasts during which a disgruntled group kills the male guests and seizes their women. These treacherous feasts (nomohoni) occur often enough, so that local groups
*628 are always suspicious of their allies. A dependable ally
583
582 is won at the expense of women. Failure to hand over enough women creates a frustrated ally who is extremely dangerous. Yąnomamö political behavior has largely to do with disposing of enough women to make the ally loyal, but not to give more women than is necessary to achieve this end; miscalculation in this respect has serious consequences. As it is imperative for local groups, for reasons to be outlined below, to have allies, it is likewise necessary for them to enter into marriage exchanges with other groups.

[1] When women are given to men from other villages, the men rarely, if ever, are related to them as FaSiSo or MoBrSo. The exchange of women for purposes of alliance usually establishes the initial kinship ties between the groups of the wife receivers and wife givers.

000 marriage exchanges with other groups.

*621 *628 613 The weakness of kinship[1]

Few institutions promote solidarity between the local lineages of a village on the one hand and between *602 *628 allied villages on the other. Consanguineal kinship ties are weak; so weak, that the most bitter fighting usually takes place between villages comprised of closely related *621 602 578 kinsmen. The roles of leaders are poorly defined, and headmen can rarely reconcile dissident factions within their own *621 578 villages. Moreover, there are a number of factors constantly *[628] threatening the stability of local groups, and these factors likewise weaken political relationships between allied villages. Within villages fighting frequently breaks out [411] over food thefts and over sexual liaisons. In the latter [241] case the fighting takes the form of dueling with clubs, and [361] usually the result is that the village splits; one of the factions establishes a garden elsewhere and becomes an independent village. As the histories of selected villages *361 *621 will show (see below, Chapter 5), the settlement pattern of Yanomamö villages is cyclical; it results from the splitting of larger villages, the renewed growth of the splinter groups into large villages, followed by recurrent splitting and growth ad infinitum. Kinship as a medium for promoting *621 602 solidarity within villages loses its efficacy when villages

[1] It is difficult to discuss each variable affecting marriage alliances as operating by itself, for they are intimately interconnected, and I list them separately only to point out their major features.

attain a certain size; beyond this point the causes of internal fighting are too numerous for peace to be maintained effectively by kinship ties, and the village breaks up into smaller, more cohesive units. This affects the degree to which deviations from the marriage norm occur: first, the female cross-cousins of an eligible bachelor are usually in villages that are hostile to his own, and he is obliged to seek a spouse in another, currently friendly, village. Secondly, as his own village is now more vulnerable because of its small size, some of its eligible females must be given to men in other villages in order to promote military alliances.

Village size and demography

The significance of demographic data has only recently received recognition in analyses of social systems. The importance of such data in the analysis of marriage practices has been most tellingly illustrated by F. G. Rose's study of the Groote Eylandt Aborigines (1960). Rose was able to show that where men marry women who are considerably younger than themselves, two important consequences follow: primary marriages with father's sister's daughter is effectively prevented, as is the practice of sister exchange.

Similarly, Ackerman (1964), in a critique of Needham's analysis of Purum marriage, showed that demography-dependent data such as frequency of 'marriage acts' (ibid., p. 60) do not support Needham's contention that the Purum

121 have a prescriptive marriage system. What the Purum say they do and what they actually do are two distinct things.

*621 578 922 As I mentioned above, after Yąnomamö villages reach a certain, critical size, they tend to fragment into smaller groups. The internal tensions that promote this instability are to some extent offset by external military pressures: members of a faction within a larger village may want to establish their own independent village to avoid club-fighting and to suppress more severe forms of violence; but if their village is being raided by members of other villages, [241] it may be impossible for them to do so. Occasionally a village splits into several factions, each establishing its own garden apart from the other, but the factions are forced to reunite because of raids mounted by other groups. Gen- *621 *628 722 583 582 978 B02] erally, the process of village splitting precludes a later recombination of the same factions because these remain hostile to each other. Thus, the small, vulnerable villages that result from the fragmentation of a larger village are constrained to make marriage alliances with other villages, both to insure military assistance and because it is difficult to obtain women from their kinsmen with whom they are now at war. Village size and the balance of marriage exchanges between villages indicate that numerically weak villages are *621 *628 722 583 582 438 coerced by their stronger partners to give up women. In some cases, the disposition of desirable trade goods may affect the balance in the exchange of women between two villages. In general it may be said that, when one village

621 is allied to another which can provide it with more military
628 assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can
722 give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women
583 will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for
582 reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least
438 needs the military aid of the other.

621 The character of Yanomamö warfare is not as inti-
628 mately related to village size as might be expected, although,
722 of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare
724 successfully over a long period of time from one location.
583 Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their
582 location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas
smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect.
Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand
successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller,
allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages
seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alli-
ances are based on the exchange of women.

621 Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size
562 of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males
162 to females, for example, is high, partly because of the
583 practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of
582 women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is
182 prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing
[347] children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the
[834] available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the
[515] consequences for Yanomamö social organization of this single
621
578
628
722
562
182

phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the result of the shortage of women.

Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and this frequently causes the village to split. The larger the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion. Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each group establishes an independent village and enters into marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yanomamö village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

*621 White's generalization that

> every society tends to behave in such a way as to achieve that balance between size and solidarity that will give it the maximum effectiveness in carrying on its life-sustaining activities. (1959:104)

*621 *628 562 583 582 721 Belligerent ideology and aggressive behavior

Village size plays an important role in the nature of the political relationships between groups that are not linked by kinship ties. As mentioned above, larger villages tend to use their strength and dominance to upset the exchange balance of women. But the degree to which a powerful group is able to force a dependent ally to cede women is limited by the ability of the smaller group to raid the *621 *628 721 152 181 larger village successfully. In ideological terms the Yanomamö express this capacity to wage war by placing emphasis on and valuing aggressive behavior. It is considered both proper and desirable to act ferociously, as this informs neighbors of the group's capacity to wage war and warns them that the group is willing to resort to war in political dealings.

*621 *628 526 574 152 Members of small villages are consequently constrained to behave militantly toward larger neighbors to limit the coercion that the larger group may be tempted to try. Their fierce behavior takes the form of threat, bluff, chicanery in trading and, most important, challenges to duels. Frequently, when villagers are invited to feast with an allied group, the invitation includes a challenge to a chest-pounding

621 duel. Such a duel functions to remind the allies that the host is strong and willing to display his strength to protect his sovereignty.

628 The practical effect of this kind of behavior is that the solidarity of political alliances is constantly threatened. Allies are always suspicious of each other's intentions, and political ties between them are tenuous.

628 Although the giving of women in marriage between allies serves to promote solidarity, the capacity for marriage to achieve this end in itself is limited by the constant displays of hostility and aggressiveness by both groups.

621 The display of ferocity is manifest at the local, village level also. No insult is too slight to go unnoticed and unchallenged. Indeed, most individuals seize upon these opportunities to display strength. Thus, a legitimate way for men to display aggressiveness is for them to beat their errant wives, to burn them with fire brands, to cut their arms and legs with machetes or to shoot them in a non-vital part of the body with a barbed arrow. Men constantly intimidate their wives and respond cruelly to the slightest provocations, such as the wife's failure to act quickly on a husband's demand for food. Men who are brutal to their wives are feared and respected by other men, for the implication of this behavior is that the man will behave equally fiercely if insulted by another man.

[602] Men often prefer to have a wife from another village, upon whom it is easier--and safer--to vent ferocity and

621 cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are
593 brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number
152 of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly
602 brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data, the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is
[520 not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel
579] husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to split.

181 Ideological considerations, therefore, promote
152 friction and fighting within villages and lead to village
621 splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek
688 marriage alliances with other groups.
583
582

Economic practices

361 Local groups abandon residential and horticultural
241 sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of
922 their enemies. For the most part, the Yanomamö are able to predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance
621 from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop
579 within the village and it is expected that these will
241

escalate, the factions involved usually use the interlude between a club-fight and actual killings to establish separate gardens.

Occasionally, however, a village suddenly becomes embroiled in a war that it has not expected, or fighting within the village immediately involves shooting to kill. Then the only recourse for the group is to take refuge with an ally and subsist on the produce of the ally's garden. If the critical situation develops out of an intra-village dispute, the smaller of the contesting factions is forced to flee to another village where it has friends or relatives.

If all the members of a village are forced to take refuge in another village, they proceed to make their own garden apart from that of their hosts; then, when the garden begins to produce, the refugee group moves to that site to live. They do this because the price of protection is always measurable in terms of the hosts' demanding access to the women of the guests, either as spouses for their own men or simply as temporary sexual partners.

Twice during the lifetime of my oldest Bisaasi-tedi informants their group was obliged to flee to an allied village to escape the raids of powerful neighbors, raids that resulted from the development of intensive hostilities before the group could establish a new garden of its own elsewhere. On both occasions the refugees lost a number of women to their protectors, and in neither case did they receive wives in return. Indeed, on the second occasion, the hosts planned

*628 926 574 to kill all the male guests and to abduct the women, but the hosts themselves unexpectedly became involved in a war and required the aid of their guests.

*628 241 922 361 Yąnomamö dependency on cultivated foods, then, promotes political alliances with other villages; the warfare pattern is such that the members of a village may have to flee from their site to avoid the raids of their enemies. If they have not had time to establish a new garden, they need the support of an ally until they are able to support themselves.

.-.-.-.-.-.

121 583 582 The variables that affect Yąnomamö marriage practices are numerous and diverse and combine with each other in complex ways. I shall show in the chapters that follow how these variables actually affect Yąnomamö marriage practices. At this juncture the point to be made is that Yąnomamö social practice in real life can not be completely isomorphic with the stated marriage preferences because the milieu within which marriages take place simply precludes such a neat fit. A functional, rather than a structural analysis seems to be demanded by the nature of the variables in question. I shall also show the degree to which we can predict actual marriage behavior, given specific information about the variables.

[926] [182] Finally, I should add that the Yąnomamö constitute a significant case for ethnological inquiry: this society offers

121 us the opportunity to estimate the effects of warfare on the
583 nature of marriage practices among a people who are chroni-
582 cally at war, a situation not frequently found in the present
182 ethnographic world.
726

128 B. The Data and Field Techniques

Several kinds of data are required to illustrate Yąnomamö marriage practices and the variables affecting them. The most important data are those I obtained from genealogies and the historical relationships between villages.

In total, I have genealogical data on some 3,000 individuals, living and dead, from 15 villages. Not all the data are comparable in quality and I shall confine my discussion to the populations of the five villages for which
128 my data are most complete. These five villages fall into
*621 two groups with regard to their historical origins. Three
*628 of them have a common history, separating initially about 1943 at which time two villages were formed.[1] One of these split again about 1954 to form two villages, giving a total of 3 separate but closely related villages. The other two of the five selected for this study also have a common history, but are distinct from the first three. For purposes of clarity I will refer to these two villages as Shamatari (see Chapter 5 for discussion). About 1960 the two Shamatari villages split from each other and are presently on good terms.

---

[1]See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the historical relationships of these villages.

I did not attempt to collect data on all aspects of Yąnomamö culture. Hans Becher (1960) and Otto Zerries (1964) had already done this. I concentrated, rather, on Yąnomamö social organization, settlement pattern, warfare and ideology and gathered data that would permit me to analyze these aspects of Yąnomamö culture and how they were related to each other in determining marriage practices.

The collection of genealogies proved to be the most important and the most difficult task of my field work. The widespread taboo against saying the names of both the living and the dead found in South America, particularly in the Guiana area, was carried to an extreme by the Yąnomamö. Consequently, much of my time was spent trying to discover which of my informants were giving me erroneous information, a frustrating and time consuming task. It was not unusual to discover after I had spent weeks on particular genealogies working with data provided by crafty informants that I had to disregard most, if not all, of those data. The Indians soon discovered my interest and set about inventing names for everybody in the village--and learning them, making my task all the more difficult when I checked my genealogies with informants from other villages. Thus, I would arrive at what I considered an accurate genealogy for the members of the village I lived in only to be advised by an Indian from another village that most of the names were inventions. I was therefore unable to check the accuracy of the stated relationships between individuals with outside informants

until I devised techniques to overcome this informant reaction. I had ultimately to resort to using informants from other villages to get much of the information, particularly names, about the people with whom I spent most of my time, or, to employ informants who had grudges against individuals within the village; the greatest insult a Yanomamö can give is to say the name of a person's dead ancestor, and I capitalized on this custom at every opportunity.

Once I obtained accurate names,[1] the task became easier and I was able to use local informants once again, although rarely would they mention names of their dead relatives. Toward the end of my field work I managed to gain the confidence of several older individuals who verified and expanded on information I had collected by more devious means; even so, they themselves would not mention the names of many of the individuals in the genealogies, and I was constrained by my bargain with these informants not to mention the names of any of their closely related dead kinsmen. By utilizing several informants who were not closely related I managed to verify and correct the genealogies of the people with whom I lived, and I am reasonably sure that the information is accurate as far as it goes, although there are probably

---

[1] I was satisfied that the name was accurate when I obtained the same name from several of my most trusted informants. The best proof, however, was the reaction of an informant who was related to the deceased. If this informant became angry or upset when I whispered the name in his presence while checking a genealogy, I was reasonably sure that I had the right name.

omissions in ascending generations. The genealogies of individuals from other villages were easier to collect, particularly if my informants had grudges against the members of those villages, but I employed the same techniques in these cases as well.

After I had established the genealogical relationships, I visited the various villages to make estimates of the ages of the individuals, as well as to collect other kinds of information. This was always a touchy business, as the Yąnomamö resent being called by their names, particularly older and more influential individuals. Occasionally I would say the name of an individual who had recently been killed in a raid; this always resulted in an unpleasant and possibly dangerous situation, as most of them were unable to understand why a complete stranger should want to possess such knowledge unless it were for harmful magical purposes. My guides were constantly reminding me not to mention the names of dead people of the villages I visited and of the disastrous consequences that would follow should I fail to heed this advice.

In short, the collection of the genealogies was an unpleasant, full-time task and left very little time for intensive study of other aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

The two monographs dealing with the Yąnomamö mentioned above are quite superficial in their treatment of social organization; to date no intensive analysis of Yąnomamö social organization has been attempted using data

similar to that presented here, and I regard my own efforts in this area as supplemental to the generally excellent ethnographic work of Zerries (1964) and Schuster (1958). Without genealogical data it is not possible to estimate the degree to which marriage practices deviate from stated preference, nor to grasp the importance of these deviant cases in Yąnomamö politics.

The histories of the five villages are equally important, as they illustrate the role of warfare in determining settlement pattern, the development of political ties between villages, and the process of village splitting. These factors provide the matrix within which the genealogical data become meaningful.

Piecing together the history of these groups of villages proved to be a difficult task. The geographical area under discussion is unexplored and unmapped. Not even major rivers are accurately known in their upper courses, so that of two published versions of the Siapa River I have had to choose the one most consistent with the account given to me by the Indians. The major problem in this regard has been the identification of a large river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u, whose headwaters lie near the source of the Orinoco River. According to my Yąnomamö informants (people who have either lived on this river or have visited or raided villages located on it), the Shukumöna-u, in its middle course, is nearly as large as the Orinoco at its junction with the Mavaca River. It flows in a westerly

direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of mountains. At a few points the Shukumöna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extending nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the Indians claim the Shukumöna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the Shukumöna-u of the Yąnomamö. I have used more recent maps, also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

In reconstructing the history of the village movements, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimöwi-bora in Yąnomamö) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karöbä-bora in Yąnomamö) near the present village of Kashorawä-tedi.

I employed three sources of information to locate present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages I personally visited. Second, information from James P.

126 36 [116] [199] Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he has lived among the Yąnomamö. Finally, on information [124] obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yąnomamö have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants' accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi or Patanowä-tedi, I had the residents point in the direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps" required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain [102] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was the poverty of the Yąnomamö language in indicating numbers. The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu, dahiabä), two (porakëbä), and more-than-two (bruka). In establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to estimate the length of time each site was occupied before being abandoned.

175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five villages I have been guided by two historically known events. One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahekodo-tedi in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

175 contact with a Yąnomamö village on the upper Orinoco. Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, has been living continuously with the Yąnomamö since 1950, except for an occasional furlough to the United States. Three months after Barker arrived at Mahekodo-tedi, the members of that village took in a group of refugees from another village, a village that had just been the victim of a treacherous feast. Those refugees were the present residents of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, the two groups with whom I spent most of my time in the field. The treacherous feast invitation and the subsequent events will be outlined in detail below; suffice it to say at this point that the event was an important one in the history of these villages and its date is known (1951).

175 The second dated event was the abduction of a
649 Brazilian girl from her home in the upper Cauabury area by
726 the members of two Yąnomamö villages, Kohoroshi-tedi and Karawatari-urihi-tedi. The history of Nabëyoma ("woman of the foreigners"), as she was called by the Yąnomamö, may be told briefly. The members of the village of Kohoroshi-tedi, a splinter group from Karawatari's village, moved down the Shukumöna-u and began to hunt in the area southwest of their new village site. Occasionally they came across signs of foreigners, whom they were interested in locating in the hope of acquiring steel tools. On one hunt the Yąnomamö saw the foreigners and discovered their house. The Indians returned to Kohoroshi-tedi and the headman of the village, Ohiriwë, organized a raiding party, which also included men from

175 Karawatari's village.
648
[726] The raiders attacked the foreigners at dawn but were driven off by gunfire; a number of the Indians were killed, among them a man called Hokohenawë, and some of the foreigners were allegedly hit with arrows. The Indians managed to capture a young girl, taking her back to Karawatari's village on the Shukumöna-u. Shortly after arriving at Karawatari's village, the abductors were in turn raided by another Shamatari village, then on the Upper Mavaca River under the leadership of Matakuwë, one of the two "original" Shamatari men. Karawatari's group had split from Matakuwë's group and was on hostile terms with it. The girl was taken by Matakuwë's men on this raid and brought to the Mavaca River. Matakuwë's village was on a branch of the Mavaca River called Kedebaböwei-u when Nabëyoma was abducted from Karawatari's
[114] group. Zerries (1964:14) gives 1934 as the date of the abduction of Nabëyoma, whereas Seitz (1963:21) places it a little earlier.

[593] In Matakuwë's village, Nabëyoma was given to Yoyonahi's
952 son; he shot her with a barbed arrow for disobeying him and the girl fled into the woods to nurse her wound. At this time Matakuwë's group was on friendly terms with the residents of Patanowë-tëka (who are now living in three distinct villages and constitute the groups from whom most of my data were
[828] taken). On one of their visits, the residents of Patanowë-
[574] tëka found Nabëyoma in the woods outside Matakuwë's village and took her home with them when they left after visiting.

175 648 At Patanowë-tëka she was given to Husiwë, by whom she had two sons (Orakuwë and Kariunawë). The approximate date of * [629] [926] her move to Patanowë-tëka is 1935; it could not be much later, because a war broke out between Matakuwë's group and the group at Patanowë-tëka shortly after this date, and no visitors went between these two villages after hostilities commenced.

* [621] * [628] [926] When the Patanowë-tëka group separted into two villages, Nabëyoma remained with the group that is presently called Patanowë-tedi. The two splinter groups entered into hostilities with each other shortly after they separated, and Nabëyoma's husband, Husiwë, was one of the first casualties. Nabëyoma, her co-wife (Shǫrökoma), and all their children fled from Husiwë's group and joined the other, cognate, group. Shǫrökoma, originally abducted from yet another Shamatari village, later returned to Patanowë-tedi, but Nabëyoma stayed with Patanowë-tedi's enemies. In 1951 [583] [628] when the treacherous feast was pulled on the group to which Nabëyoma belonged and the group fled to Mahekodo-tedi for protection, Nabëyoma was given to a man in Mahekodo-tedi, Remoriwë, as part of the cost of the alliance.

[777] While Nabëyoma lived at Mahekodo-tedi, Barker and his colleague, David Landon, discovered that she still remembered how to write her name (Elena Valero). They informed the authorities in Puerto Ayacucho that a Brazilian woman was living with the Yąnomamö, presumable abducted by them from one of the settlements across the border, but

175 before action could be taken, Nabëyoma's new husband left
648 Mahekodo-tedi for his own village (Buinaböwei-tedi), taking with him Nabëyoma, her two sons by Husiwë, and his own son by Nabëyoma.

[997] The Salesian Mission in Puerto Ayacucho was authorized to handle the affair and they sent a party of men to Buinaböwei-tedi. The Indians did not wish to lose one of their women and the Salesian Mission party had to resort to forceful but prudent measures to recover Nabëyoma. She was returned to her family in Brazil in late 1956. Remoriwë subsequently made two unsuccessful trips to Brazil to find her.

174 As indicated above, the histories as I have recon-
175 structed them are no more than approximations as far as geographical locations and dates of occupation of the various sites are concerned. I am fairly certain, however, that the events themselves are accurately reported, especially those having to do with the warfare and raiding, because I obtained virtually identical versions from several informants on dif-
173 ferent occasions. The Yanomamö are good historians when it
726 comes to warfare. They have to be, lest they accept invi-
*628 tations to visit villages that have old grudges against them. All of them, even young children, know who killed their relatives and the circumstances in which the killings took place. These are the subject of constant discussion in the villages.

124 The first few descriptions I recorded of the 1950-51 feast
173 in which my group was victimized by a Shamatari village were obtained from young men who could not possibly have witnessed

what happened. The later descriptions obtained from much older informants were virtually identical with those I originally recorded from the younger informants. I believe, accordingly, that the accounts of the time period antecedent to the life-span of even my oldest informants are accurate in so far as their major features are concerned.

That the histories are filled with treachery, great violence, and much bloodshed will be apparent. The nature of Yąnomamö warfare, however, has not changed. It was being conducted as vigorously and in similar ways in 1964-1966 while I conducted my field-work.

CHAPTER I

YĄNOMAMÖ CULTURE AND EARLIER ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK[1]

101

A. Yąnomamö Culture

The Yąnomamö are discussed in the literature under such tribal designations as Guaica, Waika, Guaharibo, Maku, Schiriana, Xiriana, Kirischana, Shidishana, Shamatari, Sanema, and Yanoama. Most of the terms are derogatory names applied to the Yąnomamö by their neighbors and characterize the people as being monkey-like or as savages.[2]

[114] In the upper Orinoco and the Mavaca basin where I conducted my field work, the Indians referred to themselves as Yąnomamö, which at once defines their mode of life, language, origin, and includes all people who share this mode of life, language and origin. All non-Yąnomamö are collectively

---

[114] [1]As there are very few reliable English sources describing Yąnomamö social organization and culture, I give a brief description of them here. The best source in English to date is Zerries' 1955 publication, but it deals only with particular traits of Yąnomamö culture.

[128] [2]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized on every syllable,
[194] but for ease of typing this manuscript, I have not indicated all
the nasalization. The vowel /-ą-/ is written /-ö-/. I have writ-
[104] ten the /- ə -/ as "-ë-" and have indicated nasalization
by /-,-/; whenever a Yąnomamö word has one nasalized syllable,
all syllables in that word are nasalized.

[101] called nabä--"stranger" or "foreigners." Nabä have degenerated from an original Yąnomamö stock and are regarded, therefore, with some contempt by the Yąnomamö, an attitude that is further manifested in the language; Yąnomamö in linguistic usage requires an honorific pronoun whereas nabä takes the common pronouns.

[128] I adopt the term Yąnomamö to refer to the entire group whose geographical distribution is shown in Map A,[1] using the term in a linguistic-cultural sense to define the tribe. Others have adopted the same usage with minor differences in spelling.

Several of the above-mentioned terms, Sanema, Waika, and Shamatari deserve further discussion, as they are used either as self-designations or in reference to local groups of Yąnomamö occupying specific geographical areas.

The term Sanema (Wilbert, 1963) is used in the upper Caura River as a self-designation. In this dialect the [194] initial phone /y/ has been replaced throughout the language by /s/, Sanema thus being a local pronunciation of Yąnomamö.[2]

The term Shamatari is used by all the Yąnomamö Indians on the upper Orinoco River to refer to the congeries of villages that occupy the large area south of the Orinoco River and adjacent portions of Brazil. Zerries (1964:19)

---

[1] See next page.

[115] [2] Ernesto Migliazza, personal communication. According to Migliazza, the word Sanema is pronounced /Sanöma/.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

102
131
183

MAP (A)

YąNOMAMÖ AREA OF SOUTHERN VENEZUELA AND NORTHERN BRAZIL

10:Chagnon E-4,5 : (1964-1966) 1967 SO18 Yanoama SO18

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Zerries (1964:19) has included the groups I studied in the Shamatari classification on the basis of information taken from Mahekodotedi informants. The members of these groups, however, deny the Shamatari identity and distinguish themselves from their southern neighbors, some of whom visit them regularly and are married into their villages.

The Shamatari,[1] according to my Bisaasi-tedi informants, take their name from one of the headmen, Kayabawë ("big tree"), who lived north of the Orinoco River in a village then called Shǐhowë-tedi. Kayabawë was an unusually corpulent man and bore a second name, Shamatari, derived from their word (Shama) for the tapir, a large ungulate found throughout tropical South America. Shamatari, when Shǐhowë-tedi split, led his faction south of the Orinoco River and settled in the headwaters of the river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u (see above), where his village became known as Mokayëaba-tedi. Other villages, related to Shǐowë-tedi, moved into the Shukumöna River and Mavaca River basins after Shamatari's village was established, ultimately spreading as far southwest as the Cauabury headwaters in Brazil. The Shamatari expansion into this area took place around the turn of the century, according to my reconstruction of Shamatari history (see below). This is also supported by meagre

---

[1] There is another "Shamatari" group in the tributaries of the Upper Parima River of Brazil; these are not to be confused with the Shamatari under discussion here, although both groups are Yąnomamö. See Vinci, 1959, for an impressionistic account of his brief contact with the Parima Shamatari.

This is also supported by meagre historical evidence bearing on the aboriginal inhabitants of this area. Several distinguished Europeans explored portions of the area under consideration and all of them were familiar with the existence of the Yąnomamö in the Orinoco headwaters. None of them, however, reported that Yąnomamö Indians were living in the Mavaca Basin. Alexander Humboldt, who ascended the Casiquiare Canal in 1800, discussed the area of the Mavaca headwaters as one frequently used by Indians of the 'Portuguese Missions' as the route between the Cauabury headwaters to Esmeralda (on the Orinoco River) by way of the Mavaca River. The aromatic seeds of the puchery laurel were seasonally gathered near Esmeralda and sold in Brazil (Humboldt, 1281, Vol. 5, pt. 1, pp. 308-9).

So well known was this route that Robert Schomburgk intended to follow it in 1839 to reach the Rio Negro from Esmeralda, hoping to avoid the 200 miles that the Casiquiare route would have added to his journey. He was dissuaded from doing so by the residents of Esmeralda, who, knowing both the route and the seasonal variations in the river, assured him that the trip would be impossible at that time of the year (Schomburgk, 1840 :244).

Richard Spruce ascended the Paciba River, a branch of the Casiquiare Canal that has its source near the Mavaca River, in 1854 and found the upper reaches of the river inhabited by several Aruak-speaking tribes (1908:425, 427).

The first evidence that the Yąnomamö had penetrated

? [i.e. Shamatari expansion south of the Orinoco R. - Analyst]

101
175 The first evidence that [31] the Yąnomamö had penetrated the Mavaca Basin comes from a brief comment in Rice's account (1921) of his exploration of the Upper Orinoco. His guide, a Baré Indian, told him that the 'Guaharibos' had killed his brother ". . . near the sources of the Umauaca."[1] There is no historical evidence that the Yąnomamö occupied the Mavaca basin any earlier than this date (ca. 1915-20), save for scattered reports of unidentified 'wild tribes' alleged to dwell in these regions. My own data support this.

By 1925 the Yąnomamö were reported to be raiding settlements along the upper Cauabury River and soon were raiding the north bank of the Rio Negro itself. The Brazilian (E-98) settlers eventually abandoned this area because of the raids (Seitz, 1963:19, 20, 21; Zerries, 1964:14).

The historical evidence suggests, then, that the Yąnomamö have entered this large area only recently. This is supported by the accounts given to me by the Yąnomamö, who further describe the occupants of the area as Shamatari, a usage based in part on the historical interconnectedness of the villages that spread into the area, and in part on geographical considerations. Yąnomamö villages unrelated to the original group led by Kayabawë (Shamatari) have entered this area, and their northern neighbors refer to them as Shamatari, even though these villages are not historically related to Kayabawë's and their members deny being Shamatari.

---

[1] Ibid., p. 341.

101 The term Waika or Guaica is used in much the same way as the term Shamatari, i.e., in reference to a geographical bloc of villages that have a common history. I have no knowledge concerning the origin of the term except its etymological derivation from the verb waikaõ: "to kill something that is already wounded," "to finish off an animal that is dying."[1]

The term Waika, or variants of it (Guaica, Uaica), has been in the literature the longest, appearing in Caulin's 1779 work. Zerries has adopted its usage, along with the term Schiriana, to refer to the entire Yąnomamõ group; ironically, members of the village in which he conducted his field work, Mahekodo-tedi, denied to me that they were Waika, explaining that the Waika lived further up the Orinoco River and inland.

Insofar as designations more precise than Yąnomamõ are required, the Indians themselves simply use their village names. The terms Shamatari and Waika do not refer to political entities, and the boundaries of the geographical zones including so-called Waika or Shamatari villages are difficult to fix. Only the members of those villages that are related historically to Kayabawë's group are properly designated as Shamatari. All of the Indians of this large area, however, regard themselves as Yąnomamõ, no matter what others call them, and I adopt this term to refer to the entire group.

000 Numerically, the Yąnomamõ are one of the largest

[114]

[1]Zerries, 1964:3, gives the same derivation for the term.

Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

---

[1] Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[2] The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

161 and as many as 250, but the lower extreme is uncommon because
162 of military vulnerability and the upper extreme occurs only
*621 when particularly intense warfare retards village splitting or leads to the coalition of several related villages.

361 Villages that are on peaceful terms may be found
*628 living within a few miles of each other, whereas mutually
922 hostile villages rarely are located less than a day's march apart; even then, one of the villages may move to reduce the possibility of raiding.

361 The village itself is circular or oval in plan, is generally surrounded by a palisade of upright logs and, depending on the number of people living in the village, has a diameter ranging from 15 to 70 yards.

361 The village is hardly more than a continuous, circular
342 lean-to roof, open at the center. The roof starts at ground level (occasionally one or two feet above ground level), rises at an angle of 30° to 40°, reaching a maximum height of about 25 feet. The un-partitioned segments of the continuous roof are built by the families who occupy them, brothers and their dependents living next to each other. The materials used in construction are long, slender poles, vines to secure the pole frame and a thatch made from leaves.

351 There are usually several entrances to the village, each located at a point marking the boundary of one segment of the roof with another, and are merely un-thatched sections of the otherwise continuous roof. Most of the entrances are only 3 feet high, although there usually is at least one

35| large entrance, that leading to the river or stream. All entrances are covered with dry leaves and brush in the evening and the slightest movement of the covering creates sufficient noise to alert the dogs.

133 [139] The Yąnomamö occupy a relatively homogeneous geographical region of low-lying tropical jungle interrupted by densely-wooded hills that sometimes reach an altitude of 2,500 feet, some 2,000 feet above the elevation of the general

36| [133] [484] terrain. Larger hills are more common in the headwaters of the Orinoco and along the boundaries separating Brazil from Venezuela, but the Indians prefer to make their villages in the lowlands on small streams, as all of their travelling is

[179] done on foot. Only recently have the Yąnomamö begun moving to the larger rivers, where they may obtain canoes and steel tools from foreigners. In 1950 there was only one Yąnomamö village, Mahekodo-tedi, on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River; since then at least seven or eight villages have moved to the Orinoco or one of its larger tributaries in order to gain access to trade goods (axes and machetes) foreign to their culture. The overwhelming number of Yąnomamö villages,

[221] [381] however, can only be reached by walking to them. During the wet season (April-September) travel all but ceases between villages because the trails linking villages are inundated.

24| The Yąnomamö are slash-and-burn horticulturists, subsisting mainly on plantains and bananas, of which they cultivate four or five varieties each. Following these crops in economic importance are several root crops, including taro,

241 sweet-potatoes, bitter and sweet yucca (manioc), and two varieties of another root crop known in Venezuela as mapuey. Next in importance is the seasonal crop of peach palm fruits (pijiguao), groves of which are cultivated by the Yąnomamö. [222] Contrary to some accounts, the Yąnomamö never collect this crop from wild trees, although they do return to abandoned gardens to collect the fruit. Other economically significant crops include maize, sugar cane, papaya, pineapples, avocados, peppers and gourds. Also grown are cotton, tobacco, arrow cane, drugs, pigment (bixa), and a large assortment of plants used for magical purposes only. Both their feasting practices [133] [527] and their warfare pattern[1] stimulate the Yąnomamö to grow more [722] than they require for subsistence purposes alone.

241 361 Occasionally the gardens of a particular village may have a preponderance of yucca (manioc) and maize as compared to plantains and bananas. This is usually the result of the distance between the last occupied site and the new one; it is easier to carry seeds and cuttings of maize and yucca than the heavier plantain and banana shoots, and a village that moves any distance usually establishes its new garden largely from cuttings and seeds of these plants taken from the old [242] garden. Eventually, however, the plantains and bananas spread, and a mature garden will always have a preponderance of these crops, the preferred staple of Yąnomamö diet.

222 Wild palm fruits are important additions to the diet

[528] [1] The Yąnomamö are occasionally obliged to take in refugee members of an allied village, and they plan their gardens accordingly.

222 in particular seasons; the most important are manaca, seje, moriche and yagua. The hearts as well as the fruits are eaten, and the Indians usually return to trees they have felled to collect the large, fat, white grubs that mature in
222 the decayed pith. In general, a great deal of energy goes
241 into the collection of these palm fruits in proportion to
146 the caloric return and, even during the peak of the wild fruit harvest, the Yąnomamö still depend heavily on their cultivated foods.

224 Two kinds of hunting techniques provide the Yąnomamö with most of their meat; the occasional kills made by their dogs provide the rest. The first, called rama, is the desultory individual hunting that goes on around the villages. These hunts rarely last more than one day. The second kind of hunting, called heniyomou, involves as many as a dozen hunters who set up a temporary camp a day's walk or more away from the village and use it as the base of operations. This
529
574 kind of hunting may last five days or more and occurs immediately before a feast, as the etiquette of feasting requires that guests be given fresh meat to eat on their way home after the feast.

Game animals most commonly taken include several species of monkeys, two species of wild pig, tapir, armadillo, agouti, anteaters, wild turkeys, and a small alligator-like reptile (babilla, Spanish). Other game animals taken with less enthusiasm and less frequency include deer, turtles, parrots, snakes, capibara, guinea-hens and a large rodent (lapa, Spanish).

000(lapa, Spanish).

222 The collection of small fruits, spiders, ant grubs, wild honey, crabs, mushrooms and fish also contributes variety to the Yąnomamö diet.

24] 262 [146] (177) Cultivated foods contribute the greater proportion of calories to the Yąnomamö diet, probably upwards of 85%, although this figure would vary seasonally. Again, those Yąnomamö villages living close to Makiritare settlements cultivate much more yucca (manioc) than platanos, refining it in some cases to meal as do the Makiritares. Elsewhere [252] the Yąnomamö eat their yucca roasted or boiled or make cassave bread by a technique quite distinct from that employed by the Makiritare.

722 [122] Yąnomamö material culture is very much attenuated by comparison with, for example, Makiritare. The Yąnomamö like to limit their possessions to an amount that is readily transported by the women, because the entire village may be obliged at any given moment to abandon its site to avoid raiders, or may be invited to a feast at another village. [422] [574] They do not like to leave possessions in their village when they leave it, as visitors from other villages would take them. And, their warfare pattern precludes the possibility of leaving a few people behind to guard the village, as they [341] would be easily overwhelmed by a raiding party. When just a portion of the village leaves to visit another group, those that stay behind move into the jungle some distance from the village and live in well-concealed huts until their co-

722 villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch
361 food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the
women and children are concealed in these temporary sites
221 until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and
361 feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the
574
722 men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding
in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yąnomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yąnomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

422
484 All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow,
[411] arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire
[415] drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the
[372] agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine
[237] hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner
[352] on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to
[123] accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having
484 to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

462 935 Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that 888 958 older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, 955 children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired 84 473 clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, 462 422 562 which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the 199 manufacture of cassave bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

---

[1]The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
179 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[439] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[438] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[164] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[591] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yąnomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

which is tied a bundle of feathers.[1]

Besides shamans, of which there are several in every village, there are influential 'big men.' The number of big men in a village depends, on the one hand, on the size of the village and the number of local patrilineages comprising it, and, on the other, on the number of men who are personally qualified to lead. The qualities that determine leadership are personal courage, fierceness, the ability to be outraged by even the slightest insult, marksmanship, diplomacy in trading with representatives from other villages, the ability to arrange marriages for male supporters with females from other villages, cunning and intel[illegible] in dealings with allies, the ability to attract young men to live permanently in the village by promising them wives, and the defense of group members who get into difficulties with other village members.

Individuals who possess all these attributes are considered leaders only if they have a large natural following, i.e., brothers and sons living with them in their village. Otherwise, such men have only just a little more

---

[1] To give a more comparative statement on the poverty of Yąnomamö culture, they possess only 11 traits of the 354 listed in the 4th edition of Carneiro and Tobias' "Trait List to be Used for the Study of Cultural Evolution by Means of Scale Analysis," (1963, mimeograph). By contrast, the Siriono have 8, the Andamanese 10, the Jivaro 22, the Nuer 28, the Siuai 39, the Iroquois 64, the Bemba 100 and the Tahitians 140. (Carneiro and Tobias, 1963:201.) In the classification developed by E. R. Service (1962), the Yąnomamö are "tribal."

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the entire group has already decided to undertake. His major [701] function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently [527] [574] initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often super- [439] vises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [527] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in [241] initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food given away during the feast. During club-fights within the [578] [621] village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting [629] stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

622 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion 92 to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek 554 to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

[522 [654] women. During relatively peaceful times headmen are hardly more than equals among their followers and their ability to command respect and issue orders diminishes accordingly. [523] Political commitments to aid other villages in raiding, however, usually precludes long periods of peace and, should a village fail in such an obligation, its allies quickly turn on it and force it to participate. Thus, political circumstances are continually forcing villages into situations that require leadership.

114 B. Anthropological Work On the Yąnomamö

So far four anthropological expeditions have had an opportunity to study Yąnomamö groups, but only two of these spent an adequate amount of time in the field to collect data that substantially increase our knowledge of Yąnomamö culture. I refer to the expeditions of the Frobenius Institute in 1954-55 which brought Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster to the village of Mahekodo-tedi for some 10 months, and the expedition of Hans Becher in 1955-56 to the upper Demini River in Brazil, where he studied two villages for 9 months. The expeditions of Koch-Grünberg in 1911-12 and Johannes Wilbert in 1958 and 1960 made only brief contacts with Yąnomamö.

The results of Koch-Grünberg's contact with two groups of Yąnomamö are summarized in his Vom Rorima zum Orinoco. He met two "hordes" of "Schiriana" in 1911 on the upper Uraricuera (Parima) River of Brazil. One group, whose

114 village was on the upper Uraricapará, a left tributary of the Uraricuera, visited his camp on the Purumamé Rapids of the Uraricuera.[1] The second group, which he met about a month later, was settled on a small stream (Motomotó) off the Parima River near the Marutani Mountains. The latter group fled shortly after he contacted them; they feared the photographic equipment and firearms carried by the members of the expedition. Most of Koch-Grünberg's material comes from his contact with the first group and is limited to brief descriptions of physical type, material culture, house styles, body decorations, and a short vocabulary of the language (1923: 300ff; 1928). He was the first to conclude that the Guaica, Kirishana, Guaharibo, and Schiriana were in all probability the same group:

> We can admit with great probability that the Guaharibo are very closely related to, if not the same tribe as, the Schirianá of the Uraricuéra, just as the Waikas of the Parima Mountains may not be a group distinct from the tribe bearing that same name on the upper Uraricuéra. (My translation. 1923:299. See also pp. 290, 291 and his 1922 work, p. 225.)

As significant as this accurate conclusion in the development of Yanomamö ethnography is his inaccurate vignette of the economy and settlement pattern of this large group:

> In view of entire culture content (Habitus) I should like to consider the Schirianá and Waika as an extremely old population layer of these areas that, similar to the more primitive Makú of the Rio Negro area, is found scattered in small, mutually hostile bands having no fixed habitation site in the headwaters of the upper Uraricuéra tributaries and beyond to the upper Orinoco, and lives only on hunting,

---

[1] This is the group studied more recently by Migliazza, 1964.

114 fishing and collecting forest fruits. (1923: 299-300. My translation. See also 1922:226.)

[224 226 227] His assertion that the Yąnomamö lived only on hunting, fishing, and collecting wild forest fruit was unsupported not only by the existing accounts but also by his own observations; and it has never been verified by any field worker who has spent more than a few days with the Yąnomamö.[1] Nor was the conclusion warranted that the Yąnomamö had no fixed habitation sites; Koch-Grünberg was visited by one of the groups and the other had a garden site a short distance from where he met them. Finally, the antiquity of the group as a "population layer" is something that can only be speculated about at best; indeed, the concept 'population layer' is itself an analytic construct presupposing a considerable amount of knowledge concerning tribal distributions over a period of time which, at least for this area, is entirely lacking.

The expedition of the Frobenius Institute in 1954-55 conducted the first anthropological inquiry in this area that concentrated exclusively on the study of the Yąnomamö. The members of the expedition, Otto Zerries and his assistant, Meinhard Schuster, spent 10 months in the village of Mahekodotedi. They selected the Yąnomamö because of their interest in hunters and gatherers; the literature, especially the work of Koch-Grünberg, described the Yąnomamö as such. They

---

[1] "It is surprising to notice, that the Waica, formerly reported as a hunting and gathering tribe by visitors who had only superficial contact with them, are actually horticulturists." (Zerries, 1955:78.)

114 initiated their work among this group, in Zerries' words, ". . . to come a step closer to the problem of the world's oldest cultural layer of the hunter and collector."[1] On arriving at Mahekodo-tedi, however, Zerries was surprised to discover that the Yąnomamö were not in fact hunters and gatherers, but horticulturists:

> To our great surprise we were obliged to conclude right from the start of our investigations that the Waika are above all dependent on the cultivation of the plantain (platano) to a considerable degree. (1958:177. My translation.)

114 174 224 222 241 Although Zerries acknowledges the current horticultural status of the Yąnomamö, his work is frequently characterized by attempts to portray the Yąnomamö as hunting and gathering people who have only recently adopted cultivation and are still in transition from a pure hunting and gathering stage to a purely horticultural one. Thus, Zerries argues that the Yąnomamö divide their year into seasons fixed by the ripening of individual species of wild fruits (which I have not been able to verify), implies that peach palm (pijiguao) was recently a collected rather than a cultivated fruit, describes the Yąnomamö settlement pattern and annual cycle as half-nomadic or semi-nomadic, and generally emphasizes the role of hunting and collecting in determining the cultural status of the Yąnomamö in South American culture history, all of which detract, I believe, from an understanding of their culture as it exists at the present time and probably has

---

[1] 1964:1. My translation.

existed for the past several hundred years. At many points the data used by Zerries to infer that they were until recently hunters and gatherers lend themselves to other interpretations:

> Finally, the Waika connect the general word for food, "ni," with the word for archery, "niai," out of which results that in their conceptual world, subsistence itself in the last analysis results from hunting--which is symptomatic of the way of life of the hunting and gathering heritage of the Waika. (1958:180. My translation.)

The word nii (not ni) usually refers to vegetable food, most of which is cultivated by the Yąnomamö and generally does not include meat. The word for the latter, yąro, conversely, does not apply to vegetable food. Again, there are two words to describe hunger; ohi refers to that kind of hunger that can be satisfied by eating vegetable food, whereas naiiki is a kind of hunger that can only be satisfied by eating meat or fish. And, it is possible for individuals not to be ohi but be naiiki. One could easily argue that subsistence and cultivation are intimately linked, as their word for one form of hunger (ohi) is similar to their word for taro: ohina. The similarity, then, between the word for archery (niaö) and vegetable food (nii, not ni) tells us nothing about the cultural status of the Yąnomamö either in the past or at the present.

In general, Zerries' data are excellent and his conclusions sound; and his major work (1964) will remain the basic ethnographic source on the Yąnomamö for many years.

The Frobenius Expedition was followed by the work of

114 Hans Becher, who conducted field work in two Yąnomamö villages on the upper Demini and the Aracá rivers (Pakidái and Surára) from October 1955 to June 1956. His results are summarized in his 1960 monograph, a general description of all aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

114 619 His analysis of Yąnomamö social organization is inadequate and misleading, particularly his treatment of the political organization about which he asserts that the Yąnomamö are divided into two large, antagonistic political blocs:

> The suggestion of the Surára headman is significant in this connection, according to which there are, within the Yanonámi People, two powerful tribes that constantly make war upon each other; first, the Xiriána, whose name for themselves is "Harateri," and, secondly, the Waiká. All of the smaller tribes are on the side of one or the other, but are at the same time liable to them for tribute and war duty. (1960:6. See also p. 73 and his 1957a:119 and 1957b:115 comments. Zerries [1964:1] expresses his dissatisfaction with this interpretation also. My translation.)

114 In 1958 and 1960 Johannes Wilbert briefly visited Yąnomamö (Sanema) villages in the upper Ventuari River and upper Caura River, summarizing his results in his 1963 publication.

Although Wilbert regards the villages he visited as representative of the Yąnomamö villages described in the works of Zerries and Becher, his reports are somewhat at variance with the accounts of the latter, particularly with respect to economy and aspects of social organization. On these topics Wilbert tends to accept Koch-Grünberg's state-

114 ments rather uncritically, largely because they support his own theory that 'Paleo-Indian' culture, Chibchan language, and low Diego gene frequency are correlated in South America. In treating Yąnomamö economy as 'Paleo-Indian' in nature, Wilbert ignores the only data based on field work bearing on Yąnomamö economic life--that reported by Zerries and Becher in the two monographs mentioned above.

Again, it is difficult to determine when Wilbert is reporting facts, when he is making theoretical conclusions, or when he is guessing. This is particularly true of his 114 601 comments on social organization and data relevant to analyzing it:

> We did not succeed, for lack of an informant, in obtaining a list of kinship terms. Our impression is that it would be an Hawaiian System. (1963:211. My translation. [His statements in other publications are quite emphatic on this point: "The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type." Layrisse, Layrisse, and Wilbert, 1962:82.])

The kinship terminology of the groups in the area visited by Wilbert is bifurcate-merging (Iroquois) in type (Migliazza, 1964), as it is in the upper Orinoco area.[1]

114 In addition to the field work conducted by these ethnologists, numerous travelers, adventurers, botanists,

---

[1] Migliazza's publication was not available to Wilbert when the latter concluded that the Yąnomamö have an Hawaiian kinship terminology. A part of the discrepancy between Wilbert's data and that reported by Zerries (1964) and Becher (1960) stems from the fact that Wilbert's Sanema differ appreciably from the more southerly Yąnomamö groups. Wilbert, however, intends his generalizations on the Sanema to apply to all the Yąnomamö. I might point out that my own analysis applies to the Upper Orinoco and Mavaca River Yąnomamö. See Conclusions, Chapter 6.

114 geographers and explorers have from time to time passed through or near the Yąnomamö area. Their observations have not materially increased our knowledge or understanding of Yąnomamö culture except, in a few instances, in a geographic-distributional sense. Koch-Grünberg (1922) and Otto Zerries (1964:7 ff.) have summarized the results. Finally, a number of missionaries or linguists employed by missions have made significant contributions to Yąnomamö ethnography. Of major importance are the works of James P. Barker (1953, 1959) and Ernesto Migliazza (1964, Migliazza and Grimes, 1961).

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide. There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice. First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 65]

[1] The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, listed in Table 1, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

MAP B:
SOME
MAVACA & ORINOCO
YANOMAMÖ VILLAGES
N
OCAMO R.
MAATA R.
ORINOCO RIVER
MAVACA RIVER
Buisabowä-tedi
Salpariwä-tedi
Mahekoda-tedi
Shashanawä-tedi
Yahitawä-tedi
Kashorawä-tedi
Moson-tedi
Patanowä-tedi
Hasabowä-tedi
Ashadowä-tedi
Iwahikoroba-tedi
Möwärooba-tedi
scale in miles:
0 10 20
N.A. Chagnon 1968

847 two to three years, as women nurse their children until they
834 are at least two years old. Faced with this prospect, young
853 couples may decide to kill their child, irrespective of its sex.[1]

847 Infanticide is effected by a number of techniques. Most commonly, a woman strangles her child with a vine as soon as it is delivered. In other cases the child is allowed to suffocate if it does not begin breathing spontaneously. If the child begins to breathe, the mother may simply abandon it where it is born, or throw it into the jungle. A case of attempted infanticide came to my attention by way of the New Tribes Mission. A woman in one of the villages on the Padamo [197] River threw a new-born daughter into the jungle. The missionary living with the woman's village found the baby and took it into his own home. The woman had either struck the child on the head with an instrument, or the child had hit something when the mother threw it into the jungle, as there was a severe bruise on the side of the baby's face.[2]

[848] In another instance, a husband forced his wife to kill a child because he was certain that he did not sire the

---

[1] Occasionally the woman will arrange to have an abortion when the foetus is in an advanced state of development. The most common practice consists of rupturing the amnion by trauma: a pregnant woman will lie on her back and have someone, usually a female friend or kinswoman, jump on her abdomen. More rarely, she will have her husband rupture the amnion by squeezing her around the abdomen by an arm lock.

[2] The missionary ultimately adopted the infant and brought her to England when he left Venezuela.

847 [848] child: he had scrupulously observed the coitus taboo during lactation--the wife had not.

Most cases of infanticide take place when a couple already has a small child. Sickness takes a heavy toll during the early months of a child's life, and women are reluctant to jeopardize a child that has already survived the first two years. So, they frequently kill the new-born so that their older child will have no competition for milk. Bahimi, a woman of some 30 years, killed a new male baby shortly after I started my fieldwork in Bisassi-tedi. She explained, tearfully, that she did not feel that she could successfully raise the new child because she still had a son that was nursing.

847 562 162 These cases do not, however, explain why there is a consistent bias to kill females rather than males. When I discovered how significantly the sex ratio diverged from the expected value of 1.0 in some villages, I tried to get an explanation from the Yąnomamö. I was surprised to find out that they were ignorant of their own bias in killing children. [842] What did come to light, however, was the fact that Yąnomamö prefer to have a male baby for their first child and, if it turns out that the first child is a girl, they will frequently kill her. If, however, a couple prefers to have a girl and the first child is a boy, they generally do not kill the boy.[1]

[114] [582] [1]Whatever the reason may be for the preference toward males as eldest children, there is one structural effect that deserves further enquiry. Rose (1960) effectively showed that where males tend to marry females that are younger than them-

847 562 162 Several kinds of demographic data suggest that the rate of female infanticide is high. Table 1 gives the sex ratios of five Yąnomamö villages. The sex ratio for the total population sample (576 individuals) gives a more meaningful estimate of the rate of female infanticide, as there is considerable variation by village in the value of the sex ratio. The excess of males in the total population (8%) gives a first 562 approximation of the frequency of female infanticide. The 162 628 722 variation in the sex ratio by the village, on the other hand, expresses the political relationships of the villages to [583] their allies. That is, the distribution of women in these five villages is a function of the military requirements of the particular villages in the marriage alliance network. Thus, the cline in sex ratio from Reyabobŏwei-tedi to Bisaasi-tedi (ignoring the Patanowĕ-tedi, who are not allied to the other groups) reflects a dominance gradient in politico- 125 military requirements of each village. The total sample of 847 162 576 individuals must be considered in order to estimate the 628 562 frequency of female infanticide among the Yąnomamö, but the political relationships between the villages must be understood to account for the variation by village of the value

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 69]

847 562 162 114 982 selves, it is highly unlikely that men will marry a FaSiDa, despite the kinship terminology. Rose did not, however, consider the possibility that sibships may have a systematic bias in their composition; if males tend to be older than their sisters considering all sibships, the probability that a FaSiDa is of marriageable age is increased. I specifically questioned the relationship between female infanticide and FaSiDa marriage, and the Yąnomamö denied any correlation between the two practices. There can be no doubt, however, that the occurrence of FaSiDa marriage among the Yąnomamö is made more probable by female infanticide.

161
162
621
576

Table 1: Village Size, Male/Female Sex-ratio, and Percentage of Excess Males.

Village Name	Size	Males	Females	Sex-Ratio	% Excess Males
Reyaboböwei-tedi	77	47	30	1.6	22
Mömariböwei-tedi	85	47	38	1.2	11
Patanowä-tedi	212	122	90	1.4	15
Monou-tedi	66	34	32	1.1	3
Bisaasi-tedi	136	62	74	0.8	-9
Totals:	576	312	264		

$\frac{312}{264}$ .....1.2 Total Male/Female Sex-ratio

$\frac{48}{576}$ .....8% Excess of Males

125
849
162
*628
562

of the sex ratio, and the distribution of the women among them.

*629
629
594
726
361

In Chapter 5 I will show how the two Shamatari villages, Reyabobŏwei-tedi and Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, participated in a treacherous feast during which they killed a number of their kinsmen from Mŏwäraoba-tedi. This feast committed the two Shamatari villages to an alliance with the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi in which the latter two villages were, in a political-military sense, less dependent on the support of the Shamatari than the Shamatari were on them. The Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi and the Reyabobŏwei-tedi represented the front of the Shamatari expansion into the unoccupied Mavaca River area. The territory they abandoned as they expanded to the west was subsequently occupied by other Shamatari villages, the members of which were historically related to them.[1] By participating in the treacherous feast and becoming enemies to their congeners, the two Shamatari villages subordinated themselves to the interests of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Since they formed a buffer between the villages of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi on the one hand, and the Shamatari village of Mŏwäraoba-tedi on the other, they bore the brunt of the raids mounted by the latter in revenge for the treachery. In short, they had only two dependable allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an im-

*628
583
162
562
*621

[1]See Chapter 5, "The History of Paruritawä-tedi."

Their dependence
*628 on these allies was transformed into an im- 60
583 balance in the exchange of women between the two groups of
162 villages, accounting for the variation in sex-ratio given for
562
*621 the villages in Table 1.

*628 The degree to which each village is dependent on its
583 allies is roughly indicates in Table 1. The Reyabobŏwei-tedi,
726 being closer, geographically, to the MŏwÄraoba-tedi, suffered
722 more from the revenge raids of the latter. In other words, they needed military aid from their own allies to a greater extent, and have, accordingly, lost far more women to their allies as a consequence. But the true situation is even more remarkable than suggested by the sex ratio for the Reyabobŏwei-tedi; a large percentage of the women in their village have been abducted by them in raids against the MŏwÄraoba-tedi, i.e., they have actually lost more women to their allies in exchanges than is suggested by the sex-ratio alone.

*621 Again, the sex ratios for the Bisaasi-tedi and the
162
*628 Monou-tedi are misleading without additional information.
583 These two villages would seem, from Table 1, to have gained a remarkable number of women in the political alliances they
162 made with their Shamatari friends. This, however, is not the
*628 only reason they have such a high percentage of women in
*621 their populations. In 1950 these villages were victimized
726 by the MŏwÄraoba-tedi and the Iwahikoroba-tedi in a treacher-
627 ous feast. They lost approximately 15 men. Were two-thirds
165 of these men alive today, for example, the resultant sex ratios for the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi population would more accurately reflect the dominance gradient, measured

in terms of women ceded to them by the Shamatari, that they maintain over their Shamatari allies.

The sex ratio data give a rough idea, then, of the extent of female infanticide and, in addition, reflect the political relationships of the villages to each other in terms of the flow of women. Other demographic data, however, suggest that the practice of female infanticide is even higher than the sex ratios alone indicate. Table 2 gives the stated cause of death of 240 adult individuals. These individuals are related to the living members of the three villages of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi. It is immediately apparent that more men die in warfare than women,[1] implying that the frequency of female infanticide is substantially higher than the 8% suggested by sex ratio data.

There are several ways the Yąnomamö remedy their woman shortage. Young bachelors, for example, practice sodomy (bei kä bosi kuwemou, bei kä bosi waumou) with each other. These relationships develop into a 'buddy' system (ãawä) and promote ties of friendship that extend into adult life. Some of my informants confidentially told me that particular young men had been known to copulate with dogs in estrus, but this was regarded with contempt by all who knew about it. Homosexuality, however, was not considered despicable, but it was thought to be infantile. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[1] Twenty-two per cent (31/138) of all male deaths were due to warfare, while only 6% (6/102) of female deaths were due to this cause.

Table 2: Causes of death of 240 (adult) ancestors of the Namowei-tedi.

165
164

Stated Cause of Death[1]	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
Malaria & Epidemics	58	72	130	54.2
Dysentery, Diarrhea	16	5	21	8.8
Warfare	31	6	37	15.4
Clubfights	2	0	2	0.8
Snakebite	2	3	5	2.1
Sorcery (2)	15	10	25	10.4
Tigers	1	0	1	0.4
Chest infections	3	1	4	1.7
Hayaheri[3]	1	2	3	1.2
"Old age"	4	0	4	1.7
Pains in groin	3	0	3	1.2
Childbirth	0	3	3	1.2
Other	2	0	2	0.8
Totals:	138	102	240	99.9

[115]

1. These diagnoses were made by the Yanomamö. Some of the biological implications of these statistics have been brought to my attention by Dr. James V. Neel; I intend to discuss them in a later publication.

[731]
[753]

2. These deaths were probably due to such pathological causes as malaria. When malaria first reached epidemic proportions in some of the Yanomamö villages in the middle 1950's most of the deaths were attributed to the practice of harmful magic on the part of enemies.

3. This is a peculiar sickness associated with intense pains in the upper abdominal region; the pains may last several days. In most cases the Indians recover from this illness.

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
883 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[564] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[578] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[104] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[554] measure of his sexual prowess.

593 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mõmaribõwei-tedi
732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwë. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwë), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

595 in the family. The transfer of the woman from the older to
593 the younger brother was, in some of the cases, quite gradual. Thus, Kąobawë gave Hantoami to his younger brother, Shadadama, because his other two wives complained about not having enough game to eat. Kąobawë continued to have sexual relationships with Hantoami after she had become Shadadama's wife, and sired two of her children.

*629 Another form of permitted affair is called nohimou--
722 "to befriend" or "act like a friend" to a woman. This type
836 of relationship might occur, for example, when the members
837 of a village have to take refuge with an ally. The allies invariably enter into nohimou relationships with the women of the refugees. The refugees are reluctant to give their women as wives to the men of the host village, but they are obliged to permit them to have sexual access to the women. These kinds of affairs also develop within a village between a man and the wife of a friend, or, with single girls. Again,
*629 when men go on visits to other villages and bring trade goods,
574 they frequently are permitted to have affairs with the hosts'
438 women, particularly if the men have brought goods that are
837 highly prized by the hosts.
836

835 Incestuous affairs between classificatory siblings are quite common.[1] One of my female informants used husband

[1]Incest, to the (male ego) Yąnomamö, is any sexual relationship with a member of one's lineage or with mother, mother's sister, mother's mother, and mother's sister's daughter. Failure to avoid a woman of the mother-in-law category is also incestuous in the eyes of the Yąnomamö, but only if the woman is sexually active. Menopausal women of

835 terms for a number of men that were, genealogically, her distant agnates. She explained the usage by the fact that she had incestuous relationships with several of them when she was a young woman. Kaobawë told me that he had incestuous relationships with Hayamamasimi, his FaBrDa, but did not want the others in the village to know about it. In another case, a man married three girls who were his FaBrSoSoDa, i.e., his 'granddaughters.' The Yanomamö explanation of this case illustrates the relationship of the woman shortage to warfare
*621 and alliance. The people in question all live in Patanowë-
*628 tedi, a village that has numerous enemies, only one ally,
168
562 and a serious woman shortage. The parents of the girls in
*628 question did not want them to marry into the village of the
584 allies, as they had given a number of women to the allies
582
601 already. The man, Ishiweiwë, had no spouse and could not
835 get one from the allies. So, the parents of the girls stopped
183 calling Ishiweiwë by the appropriate consanguineal terms and began calling him by affinal terms suited to the marriage of the three girls to him. The girls, in turn, stopped calling him grandfather. Ishiweiwë married just one of the girls at first; after she died, he married the other two, as he already called them 'wife' by virtue of the fact that he had married their sister. The initial marriage was the major hurdle. After he married the first girl and the kinship terms were

---

835 the mother-in-law category are not avoided, nor are FaSi or MoBrWi. The implications of this last fact for Homans and Schneider's work are obvious.

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, Kɵobäwä was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, Krämömi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The Yɵnomamö rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the Yɵnomamö avoid incestuous affairs, according to Kɵobawä, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. Kɵobawä himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yaweremou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

835 investigated discrepant kinship usage I found that the termi-
601 nology changed because of incestuous relationships between my
183 informant (or his close kinsman) and the members of the local lineage in question. I have not investigated all discrepant usages, but the high incidence of the terminological aberrations suggests that incest is widely practiced.

835 Incestuous affairs and marriages occur largely because
601 of the woman shortage. I have already mentioned that Ishiweiwä
183 of Patanowä-tedi married his three 'granddaughters' because he
582 [162] could not find a wife of the appropriate category. A similar
[562] situation occurred in Bisaasi-tedi. Reromawä, one of the important men in the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi, has redefined a number of his classificatory daughters as sisters,[1] thereby making it possible for his sons to marry their children, otherwise incestuous marriages. His oldest son, Bäkäböwä, technically married his FaDaDa, but because his father had redefined the mother of Bäkäböwä's wife as 'sister,' the marriage was appropriate within their marriage rules.

937 The woman shortage is remedied by illicit affairs
*621 within the village. These affairs are the major cause of
578 feuds and village splits. During the 15 months covered by
[721] my field work five club-fights occurred. Four of them were over women who had been caught in illicit affairs, and in one case, the village split into hostile factions that began

---

[1] See Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of this.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1987 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

raiding each other.[1]

That the shortage of women is the basis of internal feuding is illustrated by a practice recently adopted by members of the New Tribes Mission working in the village of Kosholowä-tedi, a small village on the Padamo River. The missionaries had a major problem with club-fighting within the village, most of which developed out of sexual liasons between married women and married men. The missionaries began an active campaign aimed at changing the coitus taboos during pregnancy and lactation. They were successful in their efforts, and the major result was that fighting was almost completely stopped. (Another result was a sharp increase in births.)

Village size and composition have an effect on the number of sexual liaisons within a village, as illicit affairs are more difficult to discover in large villages. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, as can be seen from Table 1, have less of a woman shortage than the other villages. Nevertheless, fights over women do break out in these villages. One of the clubfights I witnessed took place between two groups of Monou-tedi men in the village of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the Monou-tedi men had wanted to carry on an affair with the wife of Konoreiwä, another man of his village, but was unable to do so while the Monou-tedi lived in their own village. Once when the Monou-tedi moved to Bisaasi-tedi to

---

[1] See Chapter 5, Tables 5 and 6, for a summary of the causes of village splits and hostilities.

avoid the raids from the Patanowä-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with Konoreiwä's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by Konoreiwä. The entire village participated in the club fight. Konoreiwä punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the Patanowä-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the Patanowä-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the Patanowä-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

926 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time in-
114 volved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

*621 When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved
628 peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's
837 lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the
572 establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The
721 timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of
[241] Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens
separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the
feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village
926 warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an
722 extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare
241 necessitates the formation of political alliances with other
36 groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in
a situation where they have no choice except to move into the
village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's
garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

---

[241] [361] [171] [128] [1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory. In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

10xChagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

these situations[1] by establishing new gardens as new wars develop; occasionally, however, the wars take on unpredictable intensity before new gardens can be established, and the members of the villages concerned necessarily seek refuge with their allies.

To the Yanomamö, gardens (hikari) are the fount of subsistence. They acknowledge the relationship between chronic warfare and village relocation by being constantly on the lookout for new lands to settle. Men are always discussing the agricultural merits of the forested areas in which they hunt, and most new sites are selected on the basis of information collected by hunters. Thus, when the Namowei-tedi split up at Patanowä-tëka, the Bisaasi-tedi faction moved to Shihota, an area they knew well because they customarily hunted there.[2] In 1965 the Monou-tedi cleared a new garden at Moyanaböwei for the same reason. I accompanied hunting parties from Bisaasi-tedi on several occastions to new areas not normally frequented by these hunters, and the topic of agriculture invariably came up during the evening résumé of the day's experiences.

Other factors besides density of jungle, type of floral association, and general topography are considered by

[1] They avoid these situations because the hosts usually demand either sexual access to the women of the refugees, or wives for their bachelors. The refugees, of course, are reluctant to do either, but are frequently obliged to do both. The cost of the alliance, once again, is measured in terms of women lost.

[2] See Map C, and Chapter 5.

628 the Yąnomamö when they make new gardens. The relative
361 location of friendly and hostile villages with respect to the
241 new site is very important. The Monou-tedi moved west in 1965, clearing their new site in the direction away from their major enemies, the Patanowä-tedi. Their allies, the Mąmariböwei-tedi and the Reyaboböwei-tedi, lived to their west. Furthermore, their old enemies, the Möwäraoba-tedi and Iwahikoroba-tedi, lived to their southeast, a direction the Monou-tedi wished to avoid. Finally, by moving to the west, the Monou-tedi crossed a large river (Mavaca), a natural barrier that would interfere with the retreat of raiding parties that initiated in the east.

361 Another factor influences the choice of site when the
241 members of a village must abandon their existing garden: the
245 location of a previously cultivated site. Old gardens are desirable sites because they continue to produce peach palm long after they are deserted. As the fruit of this palm seasonally provides an important and desirable addition to the diet of the Yąnomamö, they prefer to move into an old garden rather than start a new peach palm grove from seedlings. The Yąnomamö frequently return to their old, abandoned sites
361 in order to harvest the peach palm crop. This is usually a
241 dangerous undertaking, as their old enemies are also aware of
245 the fruit, and exploit it themselves. In February 1965 I
114 accompanied a group of Bisaasi-tedi men to Barawä-tëka,[1]
628

---

[1]See Map C, and Chapter 5.

abandoned in about 1959, to harvest the peach palm of that garden. We approached the site with great caution lest we run into a group of Patanowë-tedi. We discovered that somebody, probably the Patanowë-tedi, had beaten us to the garden and harvested the fruit.

During 1965 raids were so intense on the Patanowë-tedi that they were forced to abandon their site at Patanowë-tëka. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi predicted that the Patanowë-tedi would make their new site at one of two possible locations: Shihota or Shamata, two abandoned gardens. Their predictions were right on both counts, for the Patanowë-tedi began utilizing both sites because peach palm was to be found at either. By occupying two sites, the Patanowë-tedi were also better able to avoid their enemies by moving frequently from one to the other.

The several variables to be considered in re-locating villages during especially hostile wars may be briefly summarized: (1) the members of a village will make their new garden site in a direction away from their major enemy; (2) if the members of a village have allies, they tend to make their new garden in the direction of these allies, provided that the direction brings them no closer to their enemies; (3) if abandoned villages whose gardens contain producing groves of peach palm are to be found in a suitable direction from the old site, these will be the ideal choices for new garden sites.

The cultivation practices of the Monou-tedi in 1965

illustrate how village shifts are related to warfare, and how foresight in establishing new gardens serves to facilitate village movement in anticipation of wars. The Monou-tedi planned to raid the Patanowë-tedi after the latter had recovered five of the seven women abducted by the Monou-tedi in November 1964. The Monou-tedi, of course, expected to be raided in turn by the Patanowë-tedi, so they began making a new garden in a direction away from their enemies, anticipating the revenge raids they knew would follow. In short, the Monou-tedi prepared for the war by initiating work on a new garden in a more defensible area--closer to their allies and across a large river--an action they hoped would permit them to remain completely independent of the largesse of their allies.

The graded violence pattern[1] of the Yąnomamö may be viewed from the standpoint that such a pattern facilitates the establishment of new gardens while villages split. Thus, grievances may be temporarily settled by club-fighting, and the estranged factions may utilize the interval between club fighting and more violent hostilities to establish new gardens. This is also consistent with the political philosophy of the Yąnomamö: chest pounding duels and club fights function to permit the aggrieved to demonstrate their ferocity in acts of violence, while the existence of several levels of

[1]The forms of fighting, in increasing degree of violence, are: side-slapping duels, chest-pounding duels, slapping of either the side or the chest with the flat side of a machete, club-fighting duels, spear-fighting duels, raiding with the tactic of ambush, and treacherous feasts. I have discussed this pattern elsewhere. Chagnon, 1967.

violence simultaneously permits the expression of hostility in such a way that the groups can split from each other on relatively peaceful terms. The particular form of violence employed in settling grievances is determined by a number of considerations, one of which is the likelihood that the resulting factions will be victimized by the raids of a powerful enemy. Thus, in the splitting of villages, the gradations in forms of violence permit of settlement patterns suited to given military situations. Villages torn by internal conflicts may find it easier to split into two relatively peaceful factions and remain geographically close to each other. In this way, they can réunite into a single unit should either be attacked. Conversely, the violence pattern may also facilitate the separation of a large village into hostile groups that have no intention of reuniting: it permits suitable means for the temporary solution of a feud that will be carried to further ends after the two groups have separate gardens. The separation of the Monou-tedi from the Bisaasi-tedi is an example of the former, and the separation, at an earlier date, of both of these groups from the Patanowë-tedi is an example of the latter. Thus, while the bellicose behavior and values constrain co-residential groups to respond violently to affronts perpetrated on them by their co-villagers, their agricultural requirements can be accomodated by a graded system of violence that permits temporary solutions, albeit violent, while new gardens are cleared by the principals in a feud.

The politico-military situation in which the Patanowä-tedi found themselves during 1965 dramatically illustrates the importance of allies, i.e., neighbors upon whom one can depend for both military and subsistence items in times of crises. The Patanowä-tedi had been at war with a number of groups to their east and north for several years prior to my arrival in 1964. They managed, however, to hold their own in the wars against these villages, as they were a large group.[1] Earlier wars, and the latent hostilities resulting from these, precluded alliances with the Shamatari villages to their south. Their congeners, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, lived to the west of them, but the nature of the circumstances leading to their separation prevented alliances with these groups. Nevertheless, the Patanowä-tedi made peace overtures to the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi from time to time, and sporadic visiting between them began after 1955. In late 1964 the Patanowä-tedi managed to convince the Bisaasi-tedi of their sincerity to renew friendship and visited them, but the Monou-tedi shattered this attempted rapprochement by abducting seven women from the Patanowä-tedi. The events subsequent to this incident drew the Patanowä-tedi into yet another war, the proportions of which exceeded the defense capabilities of the Patanowä-tedi: they could no longer remain at one site and prosecute both wars effectively. They were surrounded on all

[1] They had attempted to split into three small groups before getting into the war with their northern and eastern neighbors, but the war forced the three groups to re-unite for defense purposes. See Chapter 5.

726 sides by villages that were actively raiding them. Fortunately,
*628 however, they had one ally, the Ashadowä-tedi, a large group (ca. 200-250 people) living two days' walk to their south.
[722] The Ashadowä-tedi allied themselves to the Patanowä-tedi because of their own interest in raiding the Hasaböwä-tedi, from whom they themselves separated on hostile terms in the recent past. Furthermore, the Ashadowä-tedi had penetrated Shamatari territory, and needed allies in the event that the Shamatari villages began hostilities against them.

721 The abduction of the seven Patanowä-tedi women by
726 the Monou-tedi precipitated a war of such intensity that the
361 Patanowä-tedi were immediately obliged to abandon their site.
*628 Under 'normal' circumstances, the Patanowä-tedi would have been able to resist a small group like the Monou-tedi, but their other war against the Hasaböwä-tedi detracted from their capacity to do so. When the Monou-tedi initiated raiding against the Patanowä-tedi, the allies of <u>all</u> the villages hostile to the Patanowä-tedi jumped, so to speak, on the
726 'band-wagon.' These allies were supporting Patanowä-tedi's
*628 enemies only half-heartedly up to the entry of the Monou-tedi into the war, for prior to this, the Patanowä-tedi were able to threaten these villages. When, however, the Monou-tedi and their allies (the Bisaasi-tedi, the Mõmariböwei-tedi, and the Reyaboböwei-tedi) began raiding the Patanowä-tedi, it became immediately apparent that the offensive potential of the Patanowä-tedi was greatly reduced. Thus, villages at some distance from the Patanowä-tedi began to raid the latter,

726 +628 knowing that they would not be raided in return; the Patanowä-tedi simply could not conduct the war on that immense a scale. The participation of these peripheral villages in the war against the Patanowä-tedi conferred three advantages on them. First, the probability was good that they would benefit materially in the raiding by capturing women. Secondly, they demonstrated their solidarity to their allies at little cost or danger to themselves, thereby putting these allies under obligation to reciprocate the favor at a later time. Finally, the peripheral villages were able to demonstrate their ferocity to their neighbors by going to war, although the danger to themselves was almost negligible. In total, about 726 722 +628 36 24 a dozen villages began raiding the Patanowä-tedi in mid 1965, forcing them to abandon their garden before they could establish a new one elsewhere. The Patanowä-tedi had no alternative but to take refuge in the village of their allies, the Ashadowä-tedi. Without the aid of the Ashadowä-tedi, the Patanowä-tedi would have been forced to colonize from their single site and sustain very heavy losses from the incessant raids of their enemies. As the situation turned out, the Patanowä-tedi lost a large number of people in the raiding, despite having this ally, but the losses would have been much heavier without them.

162 582 [847] [83] Summary

The practice of female infanticide leads to a shortage of women. The Yanomamö attempt to overcome the shortage,

162 562 83 sexually, by the practices of sodomy, wife sharing, incest, and permitted affairs. However, two ways in which the problem 162 562 583 is resolved--clandestine affairs within villages and raiding to abduct women between villages--create political situations 847 721 722 *628 that favor the development of political alliances for the purposes of defense. Since these involve the transfer of women between the allies, the practice of female infanticide constitutes a functional component in the marriage alliance system.

*621 *628 578 241 722 The process of village splitting, growing out of feuds over women, results in the establishment of small, militarily vulnerable villages. The timing of the split is conditioned by the agricultural requirements of the village on the one hand, and the nature of its politico-military relationships with other villages on the other. The graded system of violence permits flexibility in the settlement pattern and the precise conditions of a village split. Because the Yanomamö rely heavily on cultivated foods, alliances may be interpreted as an attempt to maximize the chances of survival of groups of kinsmen as independent groups; the possibility always exists that a given group may be forced by its enemies to seek protection and provisions in the village of an ally.

CHAPTER III

DESCENT, MARRIAGE, KINSHIP AND IDEOLOGY

*621 *628 As noted in the introduction, the largest Yąnomamö political unit, the village, is structurally unstable and tends to fragment into hostile factions once the population of the village reaches a certain size.[1] Village splitting [583] results in the establishment of smaller villages the members of which, for considerations of defense, make alliances with other villages, basing the political ties on the exchange of *621 women. The dynamics of village splitting can be illustrated 128 in a number of ways. In Chapter V the histories of particular villages are set down in some detail, illustrating the nature of the causes of internal struggles. In this chapter, however, I shall discuss the aspects of Yąnomamö descent, marriage, kinship and political ideology that illustrate the role each plays in determining the nature of feuds. This will provide the background for the next chapter, the analysis of village splitting in terms of the genealogical composition of recently established villages.

613 421 ### A. Yąnomamö Corporate Lineal Descent Groups and Marriage

Corporate lineal descent groups tend to be closely

[128] [1]Village size is discussed in the next chapter.

associated with control over real property in most tribal societies. Among the Yąnomamö the corporate estate consists of rights in disposing of females; property does not play any role in the functioning of the descent group.

The relationship between males in regulating the disposition of the descent group's women is ambiguous, for their rights in particular women vary, largely with genealogical distance and the size of the descent group in question. And, rights in women are intangible. Thus, local descent groups[1] among the Yąnomamö, despite the fact that they are corporate, are not cohesive, solidary units because of the ambiguous way male members are related to each other.

Patrilineal descent is virtually non-functional outside the local descent group. There are no corporate descent groups other than those that exist at the village level, i.e., the Yąnomamö do not have clans or moieties. Hence, agnates not only enter into competition with each other because of the nature of their rights in the women of their group, there are no other institutions based on agnatic descent that promote amity and solidarity among them.

---

[1] "The core of such a group is composed of the adult males of a kin group all resident in one place . . . the corporate group of persons who have the most decisive say in bringing about an arranged marriage is always a group of co-resident males representing, as a rule, three genealogical generations, namely: the old men or grandfathers, the normal adults or fathers, and the young adults or sons." E. R. Leach, 1963:56. Among the Yąnomamö, the generation of grandfathers is only rarely represented in the local descent group.

613
162 In addition to genealogical distance and size of descent groups, demographic factors promote ambiguity in the relationships between males within a local descent group. For reasons of differential fertility, infanticide, warfare mortality, or chance, some local descent groups are larger than others (contain more males) and are, therefore, more powerful. Others may be relatively large, but contain more females than males. Still others may be very small and contain either all males or
613 all females. Since Yąnomamö kinship terminology is classificatory
601 (Iroquois), all agnatically related males of the same generation
602 call each other 'brother'; parallel cousins, no matter how remote genealogically, are not terminologically distinguished from brothers. Despite the terminological usage, relationships between such agnates varies considerably.

613
602 Problems of agnatic priority in the disposition of
*621 females arise, for example, when a man with no actual brothers
584 gives his daughters away in marriage. If he has sons, the
582 sons would prefer that the girls be given to members of other local descent groups who are most likely able to reciprocate with women. As the father has no actual brothers, his more distant agnates put pressure on him to give the girls to a descent group to which they themselves are linked by marriage ties, for they stand to benefit by future reciprocities. Situations such as this arise when a single man finds himself in the same village with a group of agnates that are distantly related to him, but who themselves constitute an important political bloc within the village. Although the agnates are

613 his brothers, terminologically, they have more in common with
602
*621 each other than they do with him. As he depends on them for
584
582 support within the village, he is under obligation to them and can not take their suggestions lightly.[1]

*621 Again, if there are two politically important descent
613 groups of the same lineage within a large village, and if
602
562 there are, in addition, a number of agnatically related
584 females not belonging unambiguously to either one, problems
736 arise over the disposition of the women; there will be rivalry between the two descent groups concerning the marriages (or remarriages) of these women. Situations like these arise when the father and brothers of the women are killed in raids or die of other causes, or when the woman's first husband dies after her (deceased) agnates arranged her marriage. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, split into two villages, each led by members of the same lineage. They had been victimized by a Shamatari group which killed a large number of men during a treacherous feast. There were a number of women, consequently, who were ambiguously related to the surviving males of the Upper and Lower halves of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the descent groups in what is now Lower Bisaasi-tedi managed to gain the upper hand in the

---

[583] [1]There seems to be a marked tendency for the daughters of such men to be given to men in other villages when alliances are made. I am unable to say, on the basis of my present data, whether such alliances are forced on these men by their agnates, or whether these men in fact prefer to dispose of their daughters in this way. This practice tends to keep such men more isolated from their agnates and prevents them from establishing strong affinal ties within the village.

613
*621
602
562
584
736

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

582
584
593
*621

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

583
591
584
602
921
*628

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

---

[128] [1]See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[601] [2]By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

584 602 721 *628 the Namowei-tedi and the Boreta-tedi (Chapter V) developed out of a case such as this.

*628 628 583 584 593 613 When women are given to men in allied villages, the local descent group of the girl (her father and adult brothers and, to a lesser extent, the girl's more distant agnates) decides which patrilineage of the foreign village should

*628 583 have her. Smaller villages are more prone to enter into alliances based on marriage exchanges than are larger villages, since smaller villages require allies to a greater extent

*621 613 593 602 *628 than larger ones.[1] Local descent groups in small villages are more cohesive than descent groups in larger villages because they usually comprise a man and his adult sons; if there are distantly related agnates in small villages, these are incorporated into the local descent group. In small villages, therefore, local descent groups are more corporate because all the adult agnates of the girl have a say in her marriage. Ideally, they give the girl to a member of the politically strongest descent group of the allied village, for this group is the one from which aid will come or, conversely, the one most likely to make the decision to initiate hostilities against the smaller village.

*628 682 583 613 The longer an alliance endures, the more likely it is that the exchange of women balances. The two largest

---

[1] Larger Yanomamö villages can make visiting alliances (574) with other groups that do not lead to marriage exchanges, as it is relatively unimportant to them to stabilize such alliances by ceding women to militarily inferior groups.

628 lineages in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi have
582 exchanged women with each other for a number of generations.
583 Male members of the Hor lineage entered into 29 marriage acts[1]
613 with women of the Sha lineage.[2] An identical number of acts involving Sha men with Hor women also took place. In the exchanges between Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi and their two allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, there is presently an imbalance in the exchange of women, although reciprocity appears to be developing; a number of women from the latter two villages are promised to members of Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi--to members of lineages that have already given women to the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi.

628 An imbalance in the exchange of women implies a dif-
613 ference in political strength between the two groups that
582 exchange women, and the mechanics of the exchange are shaped
583 by this difference in political strength. Post marital resi-
591 dence is viri-patrilocal after the groom performs bride service, but the length of the bride service is determined by the relative political strength of the two villages concerned. If the village of the groom is more powerful than that of the bride, the groom may be able to return to his village with his wife after just a few months of bride service. If the

---

[1] See Ackerman, 1964, for a definition of marriage act.

[2] Yąnomamǫ lineages are not named. I have named them for expediency of analysis after the oldest identifiable member of the lineage, abbreviating the name to three letters. "Sha" lineage, therefore, is the name I have adopted for the patrilineal descendents of a long since dead individual called Shamashiadima.

[128]

*628 613 582 583 591 bride's village is stronger, the girl's parents may be able to press the groom into a prolonged bride service--five or six years. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, are politically stronger than the Reyabobŏwei-tedi, one of their Shamatari allies. They have obtained a number of women from this group, and the men involved all returned with their brides after brief periods of bride service. So far, not a single Bisaasi-tedi woman has gone to live in Reyabobŏwei-tedi, although one girl is married to a man from that village. The man has already spent several years in Bisaasi-tedi, and will probably spend at least as many more before being permitted to return home with his Bisaasi-tedi wife. The military and political superiority of the Bisaasi-tedi is so conspicuous in this alliance that one Bisaasi-tedi man literally dragged a woman, previously promised to him, out of the Reyabobŏwei-tedi village, against the wishes of both the woman and the woman's agnates. He was not prevented from doing this because the Reyabobŏwei-tedi need the political and military support of the Bisaasi-tedi and could not afford to react violently [721] to the affront. Had the two villages been politically equal, the incident would have resulted in a war.

*628 583 584 Women involved in exchanges between villages have no say whatsoever in their fate. Most of them abhor the possibility of moving to a strange village, largely because they fear that they will be mistreated by their husbands. Should a girl refuse to abide by the decision of her agnates, she has no alternative but to flee the village. Koima, a girl of

88

*628 Koima, a girl of
613 some 15 years, was promised to Rerebawä, a young man from
591
583 Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawä had
606 already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom he had two children. Rerebawä wished to return to his own village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawä began making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effectively, and Rerebawä was growing impatient. His parents-in-law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter,
584 provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however,
583
591 refused to go to Rerebawä, suspecting that he would not keep
578 his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead,
835
613 Bäkotawä, her classificatory FaSiSo. She began an affair with
*621 Bäkotawä, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated
627 Rerebawä, who challenged Bäkotawä to a club fight. Bäkotawä belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi and was cognatically related to the members of the headman's
[626] descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment was on Bäkotawä's side, but the girl belonged to a descent group over whose affairs Bäkotawä's supporters had no claims. Rerebawä's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was promised to him by her agnates: Bäkotawä was, in effect, having an

584 affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawä's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawä threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawä shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawä, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bäkotawä, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawä discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawä, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

602 The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

602 of social organization,[1] and in analyses of particular societies.[2] It is not assumed here that the nature of the [114] social organization itself stems from the nature of the sentiments associated with particular dyadic kin ties, as was implied in Homans and Schneider's work (1955). Dyadic ties are a product of political, military, ideological and economic forces that shape Yąnomamö social organization, and reflect, rather than cause, that organization.

Of the large number of logically possible kinship dyads, only a few have structural relevance to this analysis. In particular, ties between agnates and ties between brothers-in-law must be considered to render intelligible the mechanics of Yąnomamö social organization.

602 +62 578 Ties between distantly related agnates are the most ambiguous, and the ones that usually break when villages split. Conversely, ties between closely related agnates are strong and less likely to be severed in village splits.

609 Of the affinal ties, those linking brothers-in-law to each other are of the greatest structural importance and are often stronger than ties between distantly related agnates.

606 601 Secondarily, ties between a man and his son-in-law are strong, but have fewer structural consequences than either brother-in-law (shoriwë) or brother (aiwë, osheya) ties.

---

[1] Levi-Strauss, 1963, Ch. 2; Needham, 1962, Ch. 2.

[2] Leach, 1957.

I. Marriage Ties

602 593 581 583 [609] Marriages bind the groups of the spouses to each other in a system of exchanges involving goods, services, and the promise to reciprocate women at a later date. Yąnomamö marriage is peculiar in that the ties between husband and wife are very weak, but that ties between a man and his sister's husband are strong. The significance of marriage as an institution that initiates (or continues) alliances between non-agnatic groups stems, therefore, from the nature of the ties that it creates between the male members of the allied groups.

593 Ties between spouses are usually very tenuous, due largely to the fact that men are constantly suspicious of their wives' motives whenever the women leave the village unescorted. Men always suspect their wives of infidelity, and will even beat them if there is the slightest suspicion that the women have been seeing other men. A certain amount of 839 593 trysting goes on in all villages, but it is more frequent and more easily accomplished in larger villages. Discovery of [578] liaisons by the cuckold inevitably leads to club fighting between the factions of the lover and the husband. The woman 593 684 involved usually suffers more than either of the male principals in the fighting that follows, as women are severely punished by their husbands. The punishment usually consists of a beating with a club, but men frequently shoot their unfaithful wives with barbed arrows in a non-vital area of the body, such as the buttocks or leg. In one instance I witnessed,

593 684 the enraged husband struck his wife in the face with a burning log, severely burning her mouth. Burning is a common punishment, and many women bear immense scars from wounds inflicted by enraged husbands. Just before I left the field [578] a fight developed in Patanowä-tedi between a man and his wife's lover. The lover was killed in the fight and the woman's husband punished her by cutting off her ears with a [165] machete. Some women have been killed by enraged husbands, but in most of these cases, the deaths resulted from wounds that were not intended to be fatal.

607 613 *621 *628 [593] Despite the fact that the tie between spouses is weak, marriages create strong ties between a man and his sister's husband. This tie is of great significance in the social organization of the Yąnomamö, as it is stable, well defined, non-ambiguous and politically important. The brother-in-law (shoriwä) tie is the key link in alliances between local descent groups, both within and between villages.

607 601 The term shoriwä (brother-in-law, MoBrSo, FaSiSo, friend) is used constantly by Yąnomamö men when they address any new male acquaintance. Shoriwä implies a set of obligations and duties between the speakers. One can depend on his shoriwä for material goods and gifts, and a request for such items from a shoriwä is not easily denied: shoriwä is, in addition to goods-giver, wife-giver. The Yąnomamö use this [799] [609] [101] term for foreigners as well; they use it so frequently that the Salesian Missionaries who have recently contacted a few

groups of Yąnomamö have begun referring to the entire tribe as "Los Shori." The Yąnomamö address the missionaries with this term hoping to maximize their chances of obtaining desirable manufactured goods such as machetes and axes.

Men who are not related by blood constantly remind each other of obligations when they use this kinship term. A brother-in-law deserves respect, fair treatment, and gratitude. As the term is reciprocal, a conversation between two shoriwä is punctuated frequently by these constant reminders that each owes the other goods, services and respect by virtue of the fact that they stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other. Such conversations, usually about material goods or women, strike the outsider as something of verbal contests to determine which of the two speakers is more of a shoriwä than the other, i.e., who owes the other more goods, services, gratitude and generosity. One who has actually given a sister to the other's group has an advantage, in a trading sense, as he can more legitimately claim goods from the wife receiver.

When men visit the village of an ally to beg, trade or participate in feasts, they call all non-related men of that village 'brother-in-law,' emphasizing the fact that they stand in wife-giver relationship to them, and deserve, therefore, the generosity of the hosts.

Alliances between villages involve, in addition to military aid, mutual feasting and trading. It must be remembered that alliances, no matter how many marriage ex-

*628 574 527 [573] [581] changes bind the villages to each other, are weak and unstable. The more frequently allies visit and feast with each other, the less likely treachery will take place, as a certain amount of trust and friendship is generated by visiting and feasting.

*628 438 433 The tendency for Yąnomamö villages to create artificial shortages of certain manufactured items is related to feasting and the creation of organic solidarity of a sort. After Yąnomamö villages enter into alliances, they tend to adjust their economic production of such items as bows, arrow cane, spun cotton, tobacco, baskets, cultivated drugs, dogs and clay cooking pots. Any village is capable of producing all of these goods, but allied villages create shortages of some of these items so that they can become dependent on the productivity of their allies, thereby having excuses to visit and trade.

*628 438 527 574 607 One of the most significant relationship in trading between villages is the shoriwë tie, and these men trade with each other whenever they visit. As a trade frequently involves feasting, the specialization in production of specific items leads to greater solidarity between allied villages. Although it would be an error simply to identify the role of shoriwë with that of trading partner, this aspect of the shoriwë tie, particularly between men of different villages, is by no means negligible in accounting for the solidarity this relationship promotes in inter-village political ties.

*629 438 527 574 The way the trading is conducted also contributes to

inter-village visiting and solidarity, for one trade is usually the prelude to another. For example, the Bisaasi-tedi obtain much of their spun cotton and curare arrow points from their Shamatari allies. It takes considerable time and labor to accumulate these items. When the Shamatari are visited by the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter make known their desire to have these items, and their hosts promise to produce them. When the items are accumulated, the Shamatari visit the Bisaasi-tedi to inform them their cotton and arrow points are ready. A feast is arranged and the items are given over to the Bisaasi-tedi after the celebration terminates. The Shamatari then request specific items from their hosts, and the cycle continues. Neither village is completely 'paid up' regarding goods it owes to the other, so that each exchange as Mauss (1954) argued, brings forth another.[1] The imporant point is that Yąnomamö trading is not stimulated by naturally occuring shortages or monopolies on resources; artificial shortages are <u>created</u> and these promote visiting between allies. In Durkheimian terms, the division of labor, irrespective of the causes, promotes organic solidarity between allied villages. And, the kinship category most intimately involved in the trading is the brother-in-law.

... Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their

---

[1] The parallel between this and bride price payment in Burma is striking. See Leach, 1957. It is worth noting at this point that the Yąnomamö have no word for 'free' or 'gift'; the closest they can come to it is: "something given without cause." But nothing is given without cause, and they shrewdly keep track of all debts.

628 581 607 Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their ability to promote solidarity between the allies to the obligations, duties and trading relationships that marriages impose on brothers-in-law.

607 602 621 591 Within villages, brothers-in-law have similar obligations to each other. The strength of the co-residential shoriwĕ ties, however, is influenced by other factors besides promises to exchange goods, women, and services. First, co-residence itself promotes a certain amount of amity between all classes of kin. Second, co-residential shoriwĕ are usually cognatically related because their respective agnatic groups have exchanged women in ascending generations, i.e., many of them are related to each other as MoBrSo or FaSiSo. So, in addition to mere promises to give women to each other, co-residential shoriwĕ ties are strengthened by ties of cognatic kinship and co-residence.

609 602 621 613 582 584 The strength of the ties between co-residential shoriwĕ is best illustrated by contrasting it to the weakness of the agnatic tie between two local descent groups of the same lineage. In anticipation of the discussion of agnatic relationship, I will point out here that the political interests of local descent groups focus on acquisition of women from other descent groups within the village. When a village has two or more agnatically related descent groups, the men in these respective groups are de facto rivals for the women in the village. Simultaneously, these distantly related agnates are frequently competitors in the disposition of some female agnates who do not belong unambiguously to one or the other local descent groups.

groups. In a large village comprised of two large lineages, each having two or more local descent groups, the particular local descent groups of each lineage will have stronger ties with non-agnatic descent groups within that village than with groups of distantly related agnates. When there are feuds within the village, the groups that have most in common with each other are those linked by affinal rather than agnatic ties, and these affinally linked groups stick together should the feud lead to a village split.[1] While the tie between closely related agnates is stronger than that between brothers-in-law, the latter are usually stronger than the ties between distantly related agnates.

Finally, the son-in-law tie complements the brother-in-law tie in binding local descent groups to each other within villages. Older adult males of local descent groups can depend on the support of brothers, brothers-in-law, and sons-in-law in village feuds, more so than on the support of distantly related agnates. In the competition for women, affines in a faction exchange women rather than compete for them; just the opposite is true of the relationships between distantly related agnates.

2. Agnatic ties

. One of the two most important consanguineal ties having structural concomitants among the Yanomamö is the tie between siblings of the opposite sex. These are not as

[1] See Chapter IV for a detailed discussion of the structure of village factions.

593 +621 important in the organization of village life as ties between male agnates, but a man's sisters prefer to stay in his faction when the village splits.

593 601 Males consider their role as sister's protector with some seriousness, and are prompt to defend her against sever mistreatment. The amity between siblings of the opposite sex is reflected in kinship usage. A man will frequently refer to his sister, despite her age, as owasimi, a term that may be translated as 'darling little female relative.' The term is used by both sexes to refer to their female children, nieces, sisters, daughters and granddaughters. There is a corresponding term for younger male kinsmen, owasiwã, but a man never uses it to refer to post-pubescent brothers, with whom he is generally reserved and whom he treats with coolness.

593 561 Brothers are close to each other, in an affective sense, only when their relative ages are considerably different. A man is indulgent to very young brothers, but as they enter into manhood, behavior toward them changes gradually to reserve and respect. Although there is no rite de passage for males, one can tell when a boy is approaching manhood; the first indication is the young man's display of anger when someone uses his name. The surest indication that a boy has entered manhood is name avoidance; when no one dares use his name in reference or address, the boy is an adult. Young men tend to be touchy and impulsive, as they are obliged to demonstrate their manhood by their ability to coerce others with threats of fierceness, and the use of

884 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

593 521 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yąnomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [583] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi [595] obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

*621 602 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed *[628] as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be affectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other *621 villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kąobawä 613 of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one 602 591 degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were [622]

[1]See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kaobawä's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwä, 18). Whenever Kaobawä organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Nadesiwä, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kaobawä. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawä, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kaobawä's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 6 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kaobawä's nephew, Bäkotawä, 18 years old.

Kaobawä's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kaobawä to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

622 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I
602
613 asked Kąobawë what he had done about it. He said he had
561 spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He
123
554 will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ulti-
571 mately had to resort to my own means to recover the flash-
light, as Kąobawë could not force Shiimima to return it.
When I questioned Kąobawë about this ineffectiveness, he
explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order
him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest
siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion
622 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every
613 feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scrap-
602
529 ing up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them
574 out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy prepar-
351
554 ing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing.
591 Kąobawë usually goes to the center of the village and begins
561 cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older
agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They
would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if
Kąobawë requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this
regard implies that one is being bossed around.

*621 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative
613 age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group
602
561 and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of
593 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the
602
613 group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the
solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult

593 agnates of similar age tend to compete, rather than cooperate,
602
613 with each other in the affairs of the group. Each behaves in such a way that it is obvious to all that he is not being
*[621] bossed around by his equals. Finally, this competition and lack of solidarity is even more pronounced when there are two or more local descent groups of the same lineage within the village.

*621 Co-residence as a factor in promoting solidarity can
601 be illustrated by kinship usage. One of my female informants,
*628
591 Kaobawä's wife, used affinal terms for a number of Patanowä-
124 tedi men who were technically her agnates. I was certain that my genalogies were correct, so I re-investigated the usage. I discovered that she used 'distant' kinship terms for these 'brothers' because they lived in a different village, but that she had called them by brother terms when they lived together in Patanowä-tedi. She explained that she would again use brother terms if the two villages were to re-unite. Although the terms for agnates normally do not change when a distant agnate joins a local descent group, the co-efficient of solidarity does.

*628 The weakness of the tie between distantly related
602 agnates can also be demonstrated with data on fighting. After
613 the Patanowä-tedi separated from the Bisaasi-tedi and the
726 Monou-tedi in the early '40s, hostilities between the two groups developed. Each group, however, was similar in composition[1] in that each comprised local descent groups of the

[1] See Figure 3, Chapter IV, and Appendix A for the breakdown of the populations of these villages by lineage membership.

628 602 613 726 same lineages. The warfare between the two groups, therefore, was largely a struggle between groups of distantly related agnates. Kɨobawɨ, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, participated in the raiding against the Patanowɨ-tedi. In one [622] skirmish, he shot his classificatory brother, Rakoiwɨ, but Rakoiwɨ survived the wound. This man is as closely related to Kɨobawɨ as most of the men that presently constitute his agnatic following in Upper Bisaasi-tedi, again illustrating the significance of co-residence in determining the strength [583] of the agnatic tie. Two young men from Patanowɨ-tedi recenlty joined the Bisaasi-tedi to obtain wives. After they arrived, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Patanowɨ-tedi resumed their old [606] hostilities. The fathers-in-law of the two men recruited [583] both of them into raiding parties that attacked the Patanowɨ-tedi, and both men participated willingly, despite the fact that their actual fathers and brothers live in Patanowɨ-tedi. One of the young men, Sirorowɨ, told me that he would have avoided shooting his own father (Yoyosiwɨ) and actual brothers, but would have shot more distant agnates.

628 726 602 607 622 That the brother-in-law tie is stronger than the tie between distantly related agnates is also illustrated in the history of a war between Mahekodo-tedi and Yabitawɨ-tedi. These two villages are led by men who are classificatory brothers. The war stated when a man from Boreta-tedi, a brother-in-law of the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, was killed by the Yabitawɨ-tedi headman in a club fight. As the slain man's sisters were married to the Mahekodo-tedi headman, the

728
726 latter felt obliged to revenge the man's death by raiding
602
607 his classificatory brother's village.
622

Similar cases occur in internal village fighting.
*624 Hunobawä, an Upper Bisaasi-tedi man of some 50 years, gathered
578
593 a stalk of bananas from his garden and hung them in the roof of his hut to ripen. His son, Dikawä, 18 years old, discovered the ripening bananas and ate a large number of them without the consent of his father. When Hunobawä discovered the loss, he went into a rage and attacked Dikawä with a club. Dikawä got his own club and began assailing the old man. This precipitated a general free-for-all in the village, as large numbers of men took one side or the other in the melee.

*628 Club fights between historically related but separate
602
578 villages also pit agnates against each other. When Bisaasi-
613
583 tedi's Lower Group seized a girl that the Monou-tedi had abducted from the Patanowä-tedi, a club fight was arranged to settle the dispute. But, the most important factions in Monou-tedi and the two Bisaasi-tedi groups were local descent groups of the same lineage, and their headmen were classificatory brothers. Although the dispute and club fight *ultimately involved all the able-bodied men* of each village, the fight was initiated by distantly related agnatic groups of the same lineage.

602
578 Some dyadic kinship ties are more stable than others. It is not possible to say, however, that any one in particular is so inherently stable that fighting between such kinsmen can not occur. Certain kinds of violence, however, are not

602 likely to take place between agnates of a certain degree of
578 blood relationship, or between affines that are cognatically
593 related. While a father and son may club each other, it is not likely that the fight will escalate to spear thrusting or shooting with arrows. The same may be said of full brothers,
593 but with less conviction. That is, full brothers occasionally
*621 end up in different villages when a larger village splits,
*628 particularly if they are the only males in the sibship. Should
726 a war develop between the two villages, there is a possibility that they might kill each other in the raiding; it is not always possible, in Yąnomamö warfare tactics, to pick a victim out of a crowd of people, as the Yąnomamö occasionally shower a village with arrows in raids. Chances are that brothers would not deliberately kill each other, but the fact that one has a brother in an enemy village by no means constitutes sufficient reason to desist in raiding that village.

*621 Club fights within villages frequently pit close
602 agnates against each other, but when club fights escalate to
578 killing by spear thrust, it is not likely that such agnates
*628 will fight against each other. Distantly related agnates,
613 however, occasionally do fight against each other with the
726 intent to kill. Much of Yąnomamö warfare involved hostilities between villages that contain as the dominant political bloc local descent groups of the same lineage.

602 Perhaps the most important structural difference between agnatic and affinal ties is that the former tend to grow weaker as the kinsmen get older, whereas the latter are

602 capable of becoming stronger in time. When two descent groups
602 exchange women with each other over several generations, the
618 cognatically related members of the two groups have strong
582 ties with each other. Further exchanges between these groups
583 is largely a validation of the previously existing implicit
60 obligations to exchange women. MoBrSo is, whether or not you
582 marry his sister, a shoriwã. When the marriage rule is followed,
and it is a number of times each generation, the ties between
shoriwã are correspondingly strengthened by the exchange.
602 Agnatic ties do not have the potential of increasing in soli-
darity; the tendency seems, in fact, to be just the opposite.

602 The major components in the variation of the strength
561 of agnatic solidarity are genealogical closeness, relative
621 age, and co-residence. To provide a crude measure of the
128 relative importance of these variables, I have arbitrarily
591 assigned values to the components in Table 3. A strong tie
is scored as "***" and a weak tie as "---". By adding the
number of asterisks in each possible combination,
a rough measure of relative solidarity of agnatic type is
given. For example, agnates who are closely related genea-
logically (A_1: "***"), who differ significantly in age
(B_2: "***") and who live in the same village (C_1: "**-") rep-
resent a class of agnates having the greatest relative
solidarity. The sum of the asterisks for this combination
is 8.

In Table 3, combinations whose scores are 3 and 4
respectively constitute the class of agnates having the least

Table 3: Components of Agnatic Solidarity.

602
561
+621
128
591

Genealogical		Age		Residence	
close	remote	similar	discrep.	same	different
A_1	A_2	B_1	B_2	C_1	C_2
•••	•—	•—	•••	••—	•—

Possible Combinations	Associated Value
$A_2B_1C_2$	3
$A_2B_1C_1$	4
$A_1B_1C_2$; $A_2B_2C_2$	5
$A_1B_1C_1$; $A_2B_2C_1$	6
$A_1B_2C_1$	7
$A_1B_2C_1$	8

amount of relative solidarity and are the groups most likely to enter into conflicts with each other. The combinations whose scores are 5 and 6 respectively potentially have more solidarity in the agnatic class, but the agnates represented by these combinations are ambiguously related to each other regarding rights in women. The combinations whose scores are 7 and 8 respectively characterize the groups of agnates have the strongest ties.[1]

+[628]

[1]It will be noted that the combination whose score is 7 involves the component of non-co-residence, i.e., that the agnates are in different villages. This is a possibility when, for example, a man goes to another village to obtain a wife. Such possibilities also occur when members of two different villages trace their origin back to a common group but went to separate villages to obtain spouses, or ended up in separate villages when their common group split.

602 561 *621 *628 It is not easy to represent affinal ties in this fashion, as there are too many factors that determine the strength of the relationship between such kin types. A few observations, however, will provide a contrast with the analysis given in Table 3 above. Among affines, age differential is relatively meaningless so far as internal village stability and strength of inter-village alliance is concerned. [604] When the age differential corresponds to a difference in genealogical level, the affines, such as son-in-law, tend to be related by stable roles based on avoidance, bride service obligations, etc., but these derive not from age differential, [606] but from the generation difference. A son-in-law is subordinate to a father-in-law despite his age, and inter-personal behavior between such kinsmen is not greatly influenced by [591] age differentials. Second, co-residence is largely irrelevent unless it reflects cognatic ties that came about through previous marriages in ascending generations. Again, current political relationships between the two villages of the affines is important in determining the strength of the tie, or whether the affine intends to return to his own village. *628 Affinal ties do not necessarily imply previous historical *621 relationships between the groups of the affines, whereas 602 583 agnatic ties presume a common history. When members of two historically distinct villages enter into marriage alliances with each other, affinal ties between the respective villages are weaker than affinal ties between members of two villages that have a common history and have exchanged women in the

*628 past. Finally, there is no way of scoring 'promises' to
*621 exchange women, and the strength of the shoriwã tie between
602 members of two distinct villages is largely a function of
583 such promises.

*621 Summarizing the difference in agnatic and affinal
602 ties, the important point is that affinal ties have the
613 potential of changing in their coefficient of solidarity when exchanges between two descent groups continues over time. It is largely for this reason that villages reduce to clusters of affinally related dual organizations (paired patrilineal local descent groups) that have exchanged women in the past and will probably continue to do so in the future.

C. Ferocity and Bellicosity

773 According to the Yąnomamö Moon Myth, Uhudima, a
828 Spirit, shot Moon with an arrow. The drop of blood that fell to the earth flowed over the surface, causing all Yąnomamö to become fierce. Ever since that time the Yąnomamö have behaved fiercely, because they were born in blood.

828 The Yąnomamö regard themselves as being violent,
577 coercive, crafty and quick to display aggressiveness; they
829 value this behavior. Yąnomamö contacts with other tribes
648 and with civilized foreigners have been consistently hostile until about 1955. They have succeeded in exterminating one tribe,[1] and have caused a number of villages of another tribe to relocate in order to avoid the attacks mounted on them by

[1]The Makú; see Migliazza, 1965.

829
648 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

704
152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three
[753] parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leav-
[761] ing the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females.
[825] Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

[754] Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö
[756] shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

*621 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence
156 in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior de-
152 tracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

*621 156 152 593 Most of the displays of [111] ferocity have to do with cruelties inflicted on women, particularly wives, as this is both a safe and a legitimate way of displaying aggressiveness.

*628 721 562 One of the corollaries of this ideology is to take advantage of weak neighbors, for in so doing one can display ferocity and gain materially (by abducting women). Villages that have many enemies are particularly good targets, for other villages can participate in the raiding against these disadvantaged villages with little fear of retaliation (see Chapter V). This attitude is also manifest in the political dealings with allies. Whenever allied villages differ markedly in size and strength, the weaker of the two is at a disadvantage, for the larger village will coerce it out of women. Since women are greatly prized, there is the constant threat that an ally will turn against its friends if the circumstances indicate that a substantial number of women can be abducted. Members of allied villages that have recently entered into alliance never really trust each other, as each fears that the other may turn on it to seize women. Whenever the men of the village go on raids, they conceal their women and children in the jungle in case a group of men from an allied village unexpectedly visit and find the poorly guarded women too much of a temptation to pass by.

*623 Political dealings between allies are such that each attempts to demonstrate to the other that it is completely sovereign and capable of defending itself. No group can afford to permit the notion among allies that it is weak and

628 can be pushed around. Thus, even the strongest alliances are tenuous at best, as the possibility is ever present that one of the allies will treacherously turn on the other.

628 In February 1965 the Bisaasi-tedi held a feast for
152 the Mahekodo-tedi and Boreta-tedi. The visitors arrived
57
627 earlier than scheduled, ate excessively, stole food from the gardens at night, and refused to go home after the feast terminated. The Bisaasi-tedi had not alternative but to challenge the guests to a chest-pounding duel; failure to have done so would have implied that they could be easily coerced. When the guests were challenged, they packed and departed. For a while the Bisaasi-tedi felt that they had successfully coerced their guests into leaving, presuming that their guests departed out of fear. However, the guests returned that evening to meet the challenge, lest the rumor spread that they themselves were weak and could be intimidated. Just before I left the field a rumor was circulated that the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi had accused the Bisaasi-tedi of weakness, and wanted to fight them to show them they were stronger. The rumor asserted that the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi intended to challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a chest-pounding duel. The Bisaasi-tedi were enraged when they heard of this rumor, and immediately sent a delegation of men to Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi to challenge the men of that village to a fight. But, to show that they were not only not cowards but exceptionally fierce as well, they challenged the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi to a duel with axes! The Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi denied the rumor and the duel never took place.

000 never took place.

*621 *628 One of the functions served by the levels of violence in Yąnomamö fighting is that the Yąnomamö are able to exhibit their ferocity in relatively benign forms and thereby live up to their claims of fierceness. But, since any form of violence can escalate to a more serious form of fighting, the system of violence itself constitutes a strain on the solidarity of relationships between and within villages.

One peculair feature of this syndrome of fierceness is that smaller villages tend to be the most aggressive in their dealings with outsiders and with allies. The reason seems to be that smaller villages are more compelled to display their tenacity, as they are more obviously the weaker members in alliances. The expression of violence by members of allied villages, ironically enough, takes place during feasts. Thus, grievances that may have developed between members of allied villages since they last feasted together are satisfied during the course of the next feast. Thus, during the situations most likely to promote solidarity, allies frequently display their capacity to fight, informing their allies that they are sovereign, friendly, but fierce. The form of violence associated with feasting is usually chest pounding, but if someone is injured, the duel may escalate to side-slapping with the flat side of a machete. It smacks of the ridiculous to witness groups of men beating each other violently in such duels, and shortly thereafter embrace each other around the neck and chant, each man

156
152
*628
527
574
578

promising the other to be a faithful friend, to give goods, and to provide the other with women.

*628
+621
182
152
156
721

Thus, canons of political behavior and the high value placed on ferocity have the effect of creating a considerable amount of tension both within and between villages. In short, Yanomamö philosophy regarding ferocity and the associated behavior reduces internal village solidarity and weakens political alliances between villages. Indirectly, it promotes village splitting and warfare.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER IV

VILLAGE COMPOSITION, STRUCTURE, AND SIZE

*621
*628
602
121
182

A. Village Composition and Structure

This thesis deals specifically with Yąnomamö marriage alliances. However, village structure and the dynamics of village splitting must be discussed before alliances as such can be understood; we must comprehend the nature of the groups that ally themselves to each other before attempting to make sense of the 'alliances.' In many respects, the process of village splitting provides the circumstances under which alliances are both desirable and necessary, for the circumstances of village splitting usually result in military situations whose solutions are best effected by the creation of affinal (marriage) ties with new groups. Newly-established villages are usually militarily vulnerable because they are invariably small, and the members of such groups are constrained, by defense requirements, to enter into alliances with their new neighbors after they split from their agnates. In most instances, the agnates from whom small groups split are in fact the group posing the military threat.[1] Yąnomamö village dynamics over time (the process of village splitting and establishing alliances) is, therefore, a function of

[1] See Chapter V on the histories of particular villages.

*621 *628 602 121 182 internal feuding that promotes splitting, and threat of raids from other groups that inhibits village splitting and/or promotes the establishment of alliances with other groups. These two forces shape the composition and structure of Yąnomamö villages; that is, these two forces impinge on kinship relationships and together with these latter determine the nature of the Yąnomamö village.

*621 *628 722 I will show in Chapter V that larger villages fragment into smaller groups when internal feuding becomes particularly intense, but are occasionally forced to re-unite when warfare threatens the splinter groups. Yąnomamö villages would remain small if there were no military forces working on them. The Patanowë-tedi, for example, attempted to split into three groups after separating from the Bisaasi-tedi;[1] the three factions re-combined, however, when one of them was attacked by the Hasaböwë-tedi. Similarly, the non-Patanowë-tedi faction of the split (Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi) likewise split into smaller factions after the threat of raids from the outside subsided. Again, these recombined when threat of raids was imminent.

*621 582 Irrespective of the conditions of the splitting, the newly formed villages approximate a dual organization of inter-marrying moieties in structure. This form of organization is implicit in the Iroquois kinship terminology, sister exchange, and ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules. Dual

[Bo1] *621

---

[1] See Map C and Chapter V.

organization is only approximated, however, as an examination of the genealogies given in Appendix A will show. The smaller the village, the more conspicuous is the tendency for the composition to approach a moiety-like structure. Larger villages are more composite and may contain as many as four or five distinct lineage segments.[1]

The tendency for small villages to be characterized by two (and only two) dominant lineage segments, each linked to the other by marriage ties, recurs with sufficient frequency to permit me to use a simple dual organization model as the basis of the analysis of village structure. The model given in Figure 1 should be taken as only a heuristic device in the discussion of Yanomamö village structure that follows; the Yanomamö do not conceive of their villages as being bifurcated into two groups, for in most instances they are not. And, small villages soon lose their moiety-like structure as they begin to include males and females from villages with which marriage ties are made.

The relationships between kin discussed in the previous chapter are all given in Figure 1. The adult males in Generation 1 exchange sisters[2] and are, therefore, related to each other as shoriwä (brother-in-law). This is a well-defined, stable, non-ambiguous relationship; the males in

---

[1] See Appendix A for a discussion of village composition. Details of one small village are given in the Appendix, but the composition by lineage is summarized for three other villages.

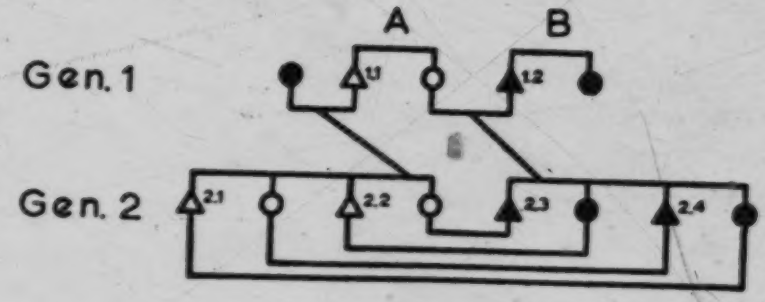
[2] In Figure 1, $A_{1.1}$'s wife is the sister of $B_{1.2}$.

602 607 582 583 Generation 1 have essentially solidary relationships to each other, at least in terms of the model.

The males of Generation 1 are related to the females *[621] of that generation as either husband or brother. Ties between siblings of the opposite sex are affective and promote village solidarity.

613 602 Males of lineage A in the second generation are simultaneously sister's sons and daughter's husbands of male $B_{1.2}$, both relationships being conducive to solidarity. They are [583] bound to $B_{1.2}$ by affective ties and obligations to perform bride service. An analogous set of relationships binds the Generation 2, lineage B males to $A_{1.1}$. The males of both lineages in the second generation are related to each other as either brother or brother-in-law, both relationships being stable within the assumptions of this model (see below). The

*[621] FIG.1: Ideal Yanomamö Village Composition



413
602 ties between males of opposite generations within each lineage, father and son, are stable and affective; in short, the males of the village are linked to each other by relationships that are non-ambiguous and essentially amicable. Similarly, the relationships between males and females between and within generations are, excepting the husband-wife tie, well-defined by the incest taboo and/or affective ties that contribute to the solidarity of the group.

128 Certain assumptions are made about the Yanomamö by reducing their social organization to a model of this sort. First, I have drawn the model with a sex-ratio of 1.0. Second, sibships are shown to be equal in size and identical in composition, i.e., each contains an equal number of males and females. Third, all individuals are married to a single person. Fourth, no deaths and remarriages have taken place. Fifth, the model does not specify whether or not any of the women are pregnant or nursing. Sixth, no military pressures from the outside are shown, nor are political commitments to cede women to allies. Seventh, all males are presumed to have similar political ability and do not compete for village leadership. The list of assumptions could be extended, but would not add to the point made by the seven already given: factors external to the model constantly impinge upon the relationships described in the model, causing the relationships to alter according to the stresses brought about by the external forces.

By adding a few more individuals to Generation 1 and

extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yanomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0. I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relationship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

128 +621 Thus, while Figure 1 serves as a rough model of the ideal Yanomamö village, it does so to only a very limited degree; we are obliged to make faulty assumptions concerning the factors that influence the relationships between individuals included in the model.

128 +621 613 Figure 2 gives the simplified genealogical structure of Lower Bisaasi-tedi, the smallest village for which I have adequate genealogical data.[1] This village is divided into two factions, shown as A and B in Figure 2.[2] Faction A is comprised of a local segment of the Sha lineage, a man and his adult children (4 sons and 1 living daughter), and the individuals or families that are attached to this group. Faction B, similarly, is a composite group consisting of the descendents of a man who married into the Sha lineage in the distant past. For sake of convenience, I will call the core political group of Faction B a local segment of the Tom patrilineage, for it behaves as such.[3] It should be noted

[Text Continued on Page 123]

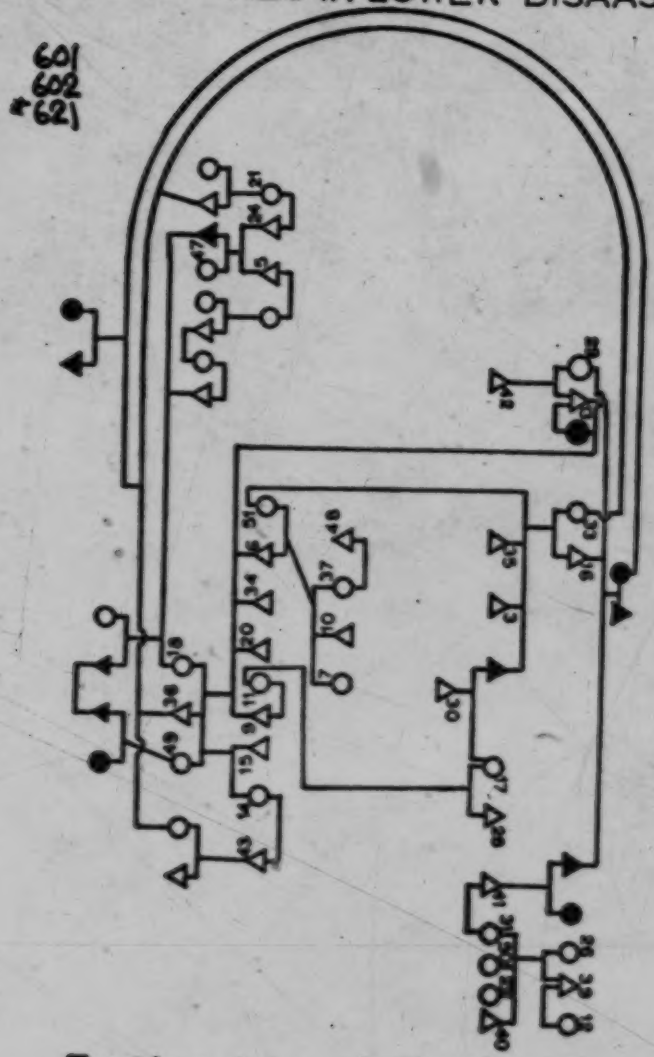
[1] Not all individuals of this village are shown in Figure 2. Appendix A gives the complete genealogies of all individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi. The numbers shown on Figure 2 correspond to the numbers given in the list of residents and genealogy in Appendix A.

[2] Figure 2 takes into consideration classificatory aspects of the kinship system. That is, some of the relationships indicated in the figure are biologically incorrect. The reader will have to refer to the genealogy in Appendix A for purely biological relationships among the individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.

+628 [3] The Tom (from Tomorowä) is not represented in any other Namowei-tedi village, although females of this lineage have married men who are presently living in other Namowei-tedi villages such as Patanowä-tedi, where their living descendents are presently found. (See Appendix A geneа-

[Footnote 3 Continued on Page 123]

FIG. 2 FACTION STRUCTURE BY KINSHIP TIES IN LOWER BISAASI-TEDI



128 that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of
*621
613 two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.

162 There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is
*621 not representative of the typical Yąnomamö village: the sex
*628 ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as
562
583 there are males in the village, and the group is politically stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mąsaribąwei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises
[529] two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed
[574] in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of
[726] Bisaasi-tedi.

*621 The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a
622 number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More
613 importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to
602 each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawë, has astutely manipulated

---

128 logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a
*621 number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity
*628 of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace
613 their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawë-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

*621 622 613 602 the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absense of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Keromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-[156] in-law. Keromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the [593] village. He has four adult sons to support his position. [601] Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system [554] and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so [183] as to advance his position as leader. [582] He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children [736] of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[593] [1]His son, Bëkëbowë, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Keromawë is getting old.

621 actual brothers of these women were killed in the 1950-51
622 treacherous feast,[1] and the women therefore had few agnates
613 to contest Reromawë's actions; his rights to dispose of these
[736] women increased after their brothers were killed in the feast.
601 Because of the previous marriages between the members of the
557 Sha and Tom lineages, Reromawë was already MoBr to the
183 politically most important males in the Tom lineage, and he
582 could command respect from them by virtue of the fact that he
was of the ascending generation and principal wife-giver to
583 them. He in fact gave two daughters to one of these men.
601 When he re-defined one of his classificatory daughters as
183 sister, he advanced his position in two ways. First, he
582 then became shoriwë to the man that was married to this
sister (the man was already SiSo to Reromawë), compounding
the cognatic tie (SiSo) that links them with an important
affinal tie (shoriwë). Second, he was able then to claim a
daughter of this 'sister' as a wife for his own son (despite
the fact that it was incestuous), creating additional stable
ties between the two lineages on another generational level.

601 In another, similar, case, Reromawë re-defined a
183 different classificatory daughter as 'sister,' making it
582 possible for her son to marry his daughter. This was a
strategic move, for the man involved was of the Hor lineage,
a dominant political group in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-
tedi. Thus, by manipulating the kinship system, Reromawë
advanced his own position as village leader and managed to

[1] See Chapter V.

621
622
613
602 subordinate his potential competitors by the way in which he disposed of the women and/or their children.

621
613
602
562
582
583 There are a number of individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi who are not related agnatically to either the Sha or the Ton lineages. These individuals do not, however, constitute a political bloc; each is tied by marriage to the two lineages, and are therefore subordinate (by virtue of obligations to their wife-givers) to the members of that lineage. Most of these individuals are females, and do not represent a political factor in the affairs of the village. Some of them were abducted from Shamatari villages in the past, and a larger number of them were obtained in marriage alliances from other Shamatari recently. The six adult males of this non-agnatic group who might pose a threat to the stability of the village by making liaisons with married women are all married themselves. With the exception of two brothers, they are unrelated to each other. One of them is married to Reromawë's daughter, another is married to his son's daughter, and the two brothers (actual WiBrSo to Reromawë) are married, respectively, to Reromawë's classificatory son's daughter in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and will move there while he does his bride service, and a classificatory brother's daughter.[1] The remaining two men are in Faction B. One of these joined Reromawë's group before 1945 to get revenge against the

[1] This woman is one of the seven abducted by the Monou-tedi from the Patanowë-tedi and taken, in turn, by Reromawë's group from the Monou-tedi. Technically, then, Reromawë is her 'father' and the man to whom she was given is 'son-in-law' to Reromawë. See Chapter V.

*621 613 602 562 582 583 members of his own village, Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, who killed his father. Reromawĕ's group was then actively raiding Hasabŏwĕ-tedi. The man was given a wife in Reromawĕ's village, the widow of a Tom man killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast. The man's two daughters are married to Sha men.[1] The last man and his family joined Reromawĕ's group in 1965 to take refuge from his own villagers, the MǪmaribŏwei-tedi, some of whom wanted to take his wives away from him for being brutal. He had previously given a daughter to a Tom man and when he was forced to flee from his own village, took refuge with his son-in-law. Appendix A gives more details on each individual discussed above.

*628 582 583 Lower Bisaasi-tedi has political ties with a number of villages. It has recently (since 1960) entered into alliance with two Shamatari villages, Reyabobŏwei-tedi and MǪmaribŏwei-tedi, and has managed to obtain a number of women from the latter village as wives for young bachelors in the group. The MǪmaribŏwei-tedi visit them frequently to feast and trade, and the members of Lower Bisaasi-tedi reciprocate the visits. The ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and the MǪmaribŏwei-tedi are nearly as strong as the ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and any of its cognate villages to whose members the Lower Bisaasi-tedi are agnatically related. Of the villages that are cognate to Lower Bisaasi-tedi, Moncu-tedi is perhaps the most dependable ally, because the

*628 527 574 438 602

*628 602

[1] Reromawĕ's actual son, and Reromawĕ's classificatory son in Upper Bisaasi-tedi.

*628 [602] Lower Bisaasi-tedi gave its members refuge during the times when the Monou-tedi were threatened by raids from the Patanowë-tedi. The closest neighbor, geographically, to Lower Bisaasi-tedi [361] [613] is Upper Bisaasi-tedi (a mere 400 meters upstream), the dominant political group of that village being a segment of the Sha lineage. The two villages, however, behave quite independently in their alliance patterns. Lower Bisaasi-tedi's political interests are in the Mõnaribõwei-tedi at the present time, whereas Upper Bisaasi-tedi's interests are in the *628 722 Reyabobõwei-tedi, Karohi-tedi, and Widokaiya-tedi. In the war against the Patanowë-tedi, both the Lower and Upper Bisaasi-tedi aid the Monou-tedi by providing warriors for the raiding parties, and by giving refuge to the Monou-tedi when raiding is particularly intense.

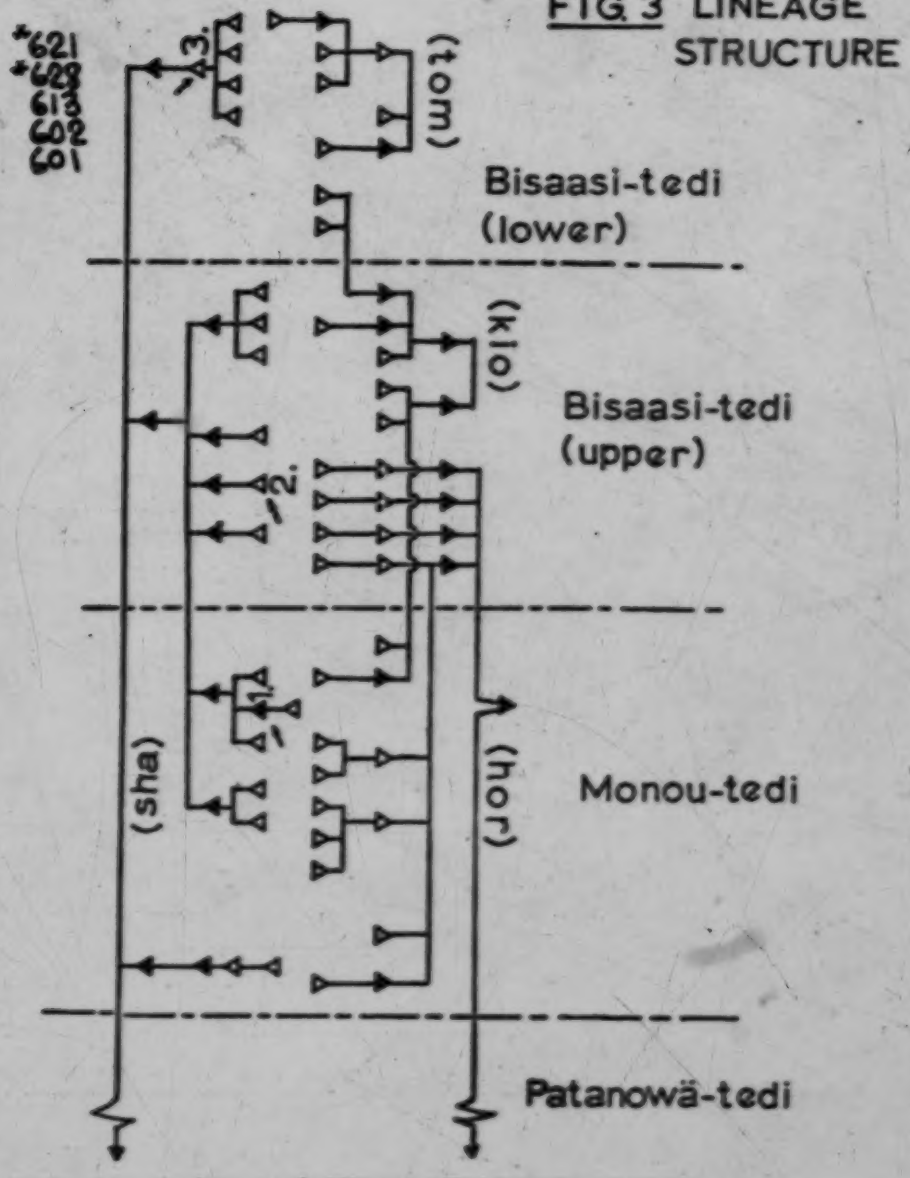
*621 162 562 571 Lower Bisaasi-tedi is a cohesive, well-integrated, stable village. Much of the stability and cohesiveness derives from the fact that there is not a shortage of women and there are well-defined patterns of behavior for all members *628 722 vis-à-vis others. But, Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not a militarily viable group. It could not last long as an independent village if the warfare situation became intense; the group is not completely independent of the Upper Bisaasi-tedi village. At least once during my field work the Lower Bisaasi-tedi group coalesced with the Upper group when a raid from the Patanowë-tedi seemed imminent. And, if raiding from the Patanowë-tedi began, the group would have to merge with Upper Bisaasi-tedi for defense purposes. When I began my field work in 1964,

*628 722 the Upper Bisaasi-tedi had a large village and two small villages. The two smaller villages were occupied by the two factions of the Upper group; the large village was unoccupied. It was used only when threat of raid existed, during which time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi re-joined their group and all moved into the large village. In 1965 the large village was rebuilt, but for the first time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi did not participate in the reconstruction of the common village. A few individuals who feared raids, however, did build a section in the village for themselves.

Lower Bisaasi-tedi, then, would re-unite with Upper Bisaasi-tedi in time of war, although each group pursues its own political ends and remains independent of the other in times of peace. One of the major reasons this is so can be explained in terms of the dyadic relationships discussed in [128] the last chapter. Figure 3 gives the simplified lineage structure of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Lower Bisaasi-tedi, and *621 Monou-tedi. These three villages were one in 1954; Monou- *628 tedi split from the group to found their own village. In 578 1960 Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Lower Bisaasi-tedi split from each other, but remained geographically close to each other. The reasons given for the splits were that the groups were always fighting over women and, to reduce the frequency of club fighting, they simply parted before hostilities became intense. Even at the present time there is considerably more fighting in the village when the groups coalesce for defense [602] [622] purposes. In terms of the kinship dyads, the problem can be

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

FIG. 3 LINEAGE STRUCTURE



reduced to the weakness of the tie between remotely related agnates of the same age, and their rivalry for both women and leadership. The leaders of the three villages are all members of the same lineage.[1] It can be seen in Figure 3 that the headmen of the villages (indicated as 1, 2, and 3) are all agnates, each belonging to a different local segment of the lineage.[2]

As was shown in the last chapter, the ties between distantly related agnates of the same age are probably the most ambiguous and weakest ties in Yanomamö kinship. The feuds that developed within the large, composite village could not be satisfactorily resolved by the leaders of the village, as each leader's segment had more important and stronger ties with local segments of other lineages, and local segments of the same lineage aligned themselves with their affines in disputes against the factions of their agnates. When the village split, it separated along the weakest lines: agnates that were distantly related dispersed to different villages with the groups to which they were more closely bound, their affines. The same is true of the separation of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi from the Patanowë-tedi. Factions A and B of Lower Bisaasi-tedi, when put into the larger,

---

[1] In 1965 the Sha headman of Monou-tedi was killed by the Patanowë-tedi in a raid.

[2] The Sha lineage is shown on the left half of the diagram; it extends to Patanowë-tedi, as does the Hor lineage shown on the right side. Patanowë-tedi's composition is simply an enlarged version of any of the other villages shown in the diagram, and its headmen come from the Sha and Hor lineages.

10cChagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

composite group shown in Figure 3, would behave as a single faction as opposed to all other groups in the composite village, for the ties that unite them to each other by marriage are more stable and better defined than the ties that unite the Sha portion of Lower Bisaasi-tedi to the Sha portions of Upper Bisaasi-tedi or Monou-tedi. In structural terms, large villages are congeries of dual organizations each with separate political interests that have largely to do with maximizing their own access to women. Individuals in any particular dual organization are more closely related, consanguineally, to members in other dual organizations, but their political fate is tied up in their relationships to affines, not agnates. They are supported in internal feuds by their close agnates only, and their brothers-in-law; distant agnates are potential rivals for the women in the village, and relationships between such men is restrained and potentially hostile. Leaders of local segments of one lineage cannot expect political support from agnates of the same age; for these reasons, local segments of the same lineage tend to separate from each other when the village splits.

The histories of the villages show that hostility between recently established cognate villages is a common feature of the settlement dynamics and social organization of the Yanomamö. Appendix A gives the composition of all Namowei-tedi villages by patrilineage affiliation; it is apparent that the war between the Patanowä-tedi and the Monou-tedi is largely a war between agnatically related kinsmen.

*621 It is more than coincidental that the composition of both
*628 Monou-tedi and Patanowë-tedi is more similar in terms of Sha
613 and Hor lineages than the similarity between any other two
602 Namowei-tedi villages. Patanowë-tedi is merely an enlarged version of Monou-tedi in composition, there being more agnatic ties between these two groups in the Hor and Sha lineages than between any other pair of Namowei-tedi villages. Yet the hostilities between them are very intense.

*621 B. Village Size and Warfare
162 Yanomamö villages range in size from 40 to 250 individuals. Both limits are determined by the nature of Yanomamö warfare, but the upper limit is set in large measure by the capacity of kinship and leadership to organize the internal affairs of the village. This capacity diminishes as village size increases.

*621 The largest Yanomamö village for which I have complete
162 census data is Patanowë-tedi, a group comprising 212 indi-
722 viduals. The Patanowë-tedi assert that their southern neighbors and allies, the Ashadowë-tedi, are even more numerous, and that a number of Shamatari villages are, in turn, larger than Ashadowë-tedi. It is doubtful, however, that the numbers involved exceed 250 per village. Villages of this size, as we have mentioned for Patanowë-tedi, tend to fragment into smaller groups when threat of war subsides, and these smaller groups re-combine to form a larger village when warfare again threatens one or all of the colonies. The reason villages

*621 722 162 never get larger than 250 seems to lie in the fact that there is no military advantage to be gained in increasing village size beyond this point, while at the same time, further increase in size creates organizational difficulties that threaten the internal stability of the village.

*621 722 721 701 Size of raiding parties and tactics of warfare must be understood to appreciate why villages of 250 do not gain military advantages by increasing in size, and why village size can not drop below 40. The median size of Yanomamö villages lies between 80 and 100 people. A village of this size can organize raiding parties ranging in size from about 20 to 30 men, as approximately one-third of the village residents are males between the ages of 14 and 50, the group from which the raiding parties are recruited. As no village leaves the women unguarded when it mounts a raid on its enemies, the size of raiding parties tends to be lower than the number of *621 162 eligible men able to raid.[1] Table 4 gives the population break-down of five Yanomamö villages by age and sex. The males between the ages of 14 and 50 comprise 32.5% of the *621 701 721 population (19.6 plus 12.9). Thus, a raiding party comprised exclusively of men from a single village having a total population of 100 will not exceed 33 men; but, the raiding party would include a large number of youths who have no raiding experience, and older men who are not able to move rapidly. These men constitute more of a handicap than an asset to the

[1]See Plate 2. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 136]

Plate 2: Bisaasi-tedi Warriors Lining Up Before a Raid on Patanowã-tedi.

Table 4: Age and Sex Distribution of the Yanomamö Population.[1]

*62|162

Frequency Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	55	48	103	68	14	288
Females	36	42	77	60	23	238
Totals:	91	90	190	128	37	526

Percentage Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	10.5	9.1	19.6	12.9	2.7	54.8
Females	6.8	8.0	14.6	11.4	4.4	45.2
Totals:	17.3	17.1	34.2	24.3	7.1	100.0

[114] [128] [1]Based on residents of Moncu-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, Patanowë-tedi, Mämariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi. I was not able to get age estimates on a number of individuals in Reyaboböwei-tedi and Patanowë-tedi, accounting for the difference in total population given in Table 5, Chapter IV. The sex ratio for the above population is 1.22, and male excess is 9.5%, compared to 1.19 and 8.35% in Table 5.

*62 70 72 [122] effectiveness of the raiding party. As someone must stay home to guard the women, the guards usually come from the too young and too old. Usually, however, one or two '<u>waitedi</u>' (fierce ones), men who have a great deal of experience in warfare and who would bravely defend the village, also remain behind. Thus, a village of 100 people could, at best,

78
78
*[62] organize a raiding party of approximately 20 to 25 men.[1]

The smallest raiding party I saw during my field work comprised 10 men. This seems to be the lower limit to the size of an effective raiding party; most raiding parties are of the order of 35-40 men, although I have seen as many as 60 men leave on a raid.[2] There are several reasons why raiding parties require ten or more men. First, the Yanomamö are not brave warriors; in a party of 10 men, a significant fraction of them would rather remain in the village where it is safer, and these men always look for excuses to drop out of the raiding party before the party meets and joins the enemy. The usual excuses given are sickness or sore feet. Thus, even in small raiding parties there is considerable dissent among the men, particularly the younger ones. Such problems would be insurmountable if the party contained fewer than ten men, as even the most determined of the raiders would lose his enthusiasm by listening to the complaints and pessimistic comments of the more reluctant members of the raiding party. I accompanied one Monou-tedi raiding party a portion of the way to their objective; most of the younger men in the raiding party complained of having dysentery, malaria, or sore feet. I had promised to give them malaria

701 703 721

701 703 721 123 114

[1]This presumes that there are no sick or injured men in the village; there are always some.

*[628] [2]The larger raiding parties are always composite, involving the members of two or more villages.

701 pills before the raiding party left, but I forgot them.
703 This almost ended the raiding party, as the younger men
721 jumped on this as an excuse to stay home. The older men,
123 however, forced them into line and severly chastized them for
114 being cowardly.

701 Raiding tactics also require that approximately ten
721 men be included in the raiding party. The raiding party
725 usually splits into two or more groups when it approaches the village of the enemy. This increases the probability that the raid will be successful; two groups are more likely to confront individuals of the enemy village while at the same time splitting up reduces the possibility that the raiders will be accidentally discovered by the enemy. After the raiders shoot one or more of the enemy, they retreat in a standardized pattern. Groups of two men retreat a specified distance, their retreat being covered by two men who lie in ambush along the trail most likely to be taken by pursuers. The guarding pair then retreats, being covered by the first pair who lie in ambush. If the raiding party has separated into two groups, retreat tactics will necessitate at least 8 men.

721 The purpose of a raid is to kill one or more of the
727 enemy and retreat before being discovered. A raid is successful only if one or more of the enemy is killed and none of the raiders is wounded or killed. When a joint raiding party from Mahekodo-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi raided Riakowi's village in the early '50s to revenge the deaths of two

721 Mahekodo-tedi men and the victims of the 1950-51 treacherous
922 feast, they succeeded in destroying Riakowë's village and garden, recapturing two of the women abducted by the Shamatari, killing three men, and abducting Riakowë's son.[1] They did not consider the raid a success because the Shamatari succeeded in killing one of the raiders. Again, in 1965 a joint raiding party comprised of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi men raided the Patanowë-tedi, killing one man. One of the Monou-tedi, Konoreiwë, was badly wounded by the Patanowë-tedi and almost died. The raid was only partially successful according to the raiders.

701 The tactic of ambush and retreat does not require the
705 participation of large numbers of men. Raiding parties of
721 60 men, therefore, are somewhat less effective than raiding
*[628] parties of 25-30 men, because raiding parties of this size usually involve the cooperation of two or more villages.
701 Then, the organization of such large numbers of men is a
*628 problem, as each village will have its own leader, and there-
721 fore the contingency of raiders provided by allied villages in a joint raid has its own leadership. Thus, joint raids are invariably less effective because of the numbers of men involved and the difficulty of organizing them properly. The contingency of allies in a joint raiding party is less enthusiastic about the raid than the group from the aggrieved village, and if the enemy is not to be found at the site being

[115] [1]Both Barker and my informants gave me an account of this raid. The two versions were identical.

raided, the allies usually insist on returning home rather than pursue the enemy further. In 1965 a joint raid involving men from Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Mŝmaribŵei-tedi, and Beyabobŵei-tedi failed to locate the Patanowŝ-tedi at their village. The two Shamatari groups refused to go further in pursuit of the Patanowŝ-tedi, and the entire raiding party returned home, against the wishes of the Monou-tedi, whose dead headman was being avenged by this raid. Occasionally, however, the raiders are all enthusiastic about the raid and the possibility exists that an enraged raiding party may attempt to drive the enemy from the village. This partially accounts for the fact that warfare promotes the re-combination of smaller villages into larger, more defensible ones. If a raiding party of 60 men descended on the inhabitants of a village, the village could defend itself adequately only if there were approximately an equal number of adult men in the village. This would require that the village be at least as large as 180 people. Another factor, however, accounts for the fact that some villages have large populations. When a group has several enemies, it can raid them more effectively if it is able to send out raiding parties recruited from different factions within the village. The same raiders cannot return all the raids mounted against them and carry on the business of making a living as well. Again, larger numbers of men are required to defend the village while some of the men are away on raids, as the probability is higher that the village will be raided in the interim if the village has several enemies.

000 has several enemies.

*621 *628 701 721 722 [162] I pointed out that Lower Bisaasi-tedi was not a militarily viable village, although its total population falls within the range of such villages. An examination of the village composition given in Appendix A will show that there are only 12 men between the ages of 18 and 50, and not all of these would be effective in a raiding party. Some of these men would have to remain home to guard the women, reducing the capability of the village to mount raids against enemies even more, as the size of the raiding party would have to be smaller than ten men. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-tedi depends on assistance from its allies in their warfare and could not survive as an independent village. Should their enemies (the Patanowä-tedi) begin raiding them frequently, they would have to reunite with their agnates, the Upper Bisaasi-tedi. As a matter of fact, they did exactly this whenever raids from the Patanowä-tedi threatened them. The [162] Monou-tedi have 21 males between the ages of 18 and 50, but two of these are cripples. Nevertheless, they are much more capable of maintaining a separate existence than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, despite the fact that the difference in size of the two villages is not great. The significant fact is that they have a larger number of men capable of conducting *621 *628 782 [36] raids. However, their size has not permitted them to effectively withstand the raids mounted against them by the Patanowä-tedi, and the Monou-tedi were forced to move to a new site by the raids stemming from their enemies. Without the

*621 722 *628 aid of allies such as the two Bisaasi-tedi groups, the Monou-tedi probably could not survive as an independent village because of the size differential between themselves and their enemies. It is noteworthy, however, that the Monou-tedi are more independent than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, for they moved to a new site rather than recombine (permanently) with their agnates in Bisaasi-tedi. This avoidance pattern is not a probable alternative for the Lower Bisaasi-tedi because of their relative lack of potential to conduct effective warfare, even considering the fact that their allies would aid them. Lower Bisaasi-tedi would invite raiding by moving further away from Upper Bisaasi-tedi, as their erstwhile neighbors and allies, from whom they have managed to obtain so many women, would be more equal in strength and would demand more women from them. Or, other neighbors, such as the Widokaiya-tedi, would descend on them hoping to abduct women, of which the Lower Bisaasi-tedi have many. They have managed to obtain these women from a position of strength, but a large factor in their strength is the fact that they are still dependent on Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Without the latter, they would be in a serious military situation.

*621 722 *628 *621 722 361 *628

Summary

*621 578 562 602 583 Village splitting develops out of feuding over women; the kinship lines along which villages split reflect the strength of the tie linking descent groups to each other by marriage or promises to exchange women, while at the same time illustrates the weakness of the agnatic bonds.

COO time illustrates the weakness of the agnatic bonds.

*C21 *C28 C13 T22 S83 When villages split, large lineages are redistributed by local descent group affiliation among the several newly established villages. These new groups tend to be quite small, but never fall below a population size of about 40 people for reasons having to do with the successful conduct of raiding. These small villages tend to approximate a dual organization of intermarrying local descent groups. Newly formed villages enter into military alliances with other villages and exchange women with them. Over time, such exchanges alter the homogeneity of the respective villages and promote the development of new lineage segments within each village. As the village grows in size and as new segments emerge over time, internal village stability reduces and the village then splits again. Village splitting is frequently delayed or inhibited by the existence of an active group of enemies, and even after such a split the newly-established villages may reunite when threat of raid is imminent. When military pressures decrease, the village again fragments into smaller groups. The minimum size of these groups is set by the number of adult men required to effectively conduct raiding. It appears that these small villages would fragment into even smaller groups if warfare were to cease.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Moncu-tedi, Patanowë-tedi, Mąmariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Mamowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called Paruritawë-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

10:Chagnon B-4.8 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

historical relationships between villages to properly interpret marriage ties between them. With regard to the last point, I found that numerous individuals in Bisaasi-tedi claimed to be from Patanowë-tedi; my initial conclusions concerning their marriage to individuals from Bisaasi-tedi was that the marriages were village-exogamic. I was obliged to reassess these marriages after I learned that the two villages were at one time one village, and most of the marriages between the two groups were contracted while the groups were living together. I therefore investigated in detail the historical relationships between all the villages in the Mavaca area, a portion of the results constituting the subject of this chapter.

I have summarized the village movements in Tables 5 and 6 and have indicated these movements graphically on Map C. The reader may, if he wishes, skip the details of the histories and turn at this point to the concluding remarks of this chapter. I can make the four points by using only Tables 5 and 6, in conjunction with Map C. However, I cannot illustrate Yanomamö political behavior without recourse to details of the village movements and the wars that caused them and, accordingly, I include the details of the histories in this chapter. The political relationships that presently obtain between the two Shamatari villages (Mö̈ariböwei-tedi and Rayaboböwei-tedi) and their allies, the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, can not be completely understood without knowing their respective histories in some detail. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

100Chagnon N-4.6 (1964-1965) 1967 ECHS Yanomamo ECHS

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Table 5: History of Namowei-tedi, Summarised.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Konata	1875-1900	Raids from Obotawë-tedi, Boreta-tedi, Bokpoiwë-urihi-tedi and Aramata-tedi	None	---
Wareta	1900-1910	Raids from Shihowë- and Husirawë-urihi-tedi	None	---
Namowei	1910-1920	Raids from Boreta-tedi	None	---
Mahoyeoba	1920-1925	Poor Soil	None	---
Patanowë	1925-1943 (1966)	Internal feud led to split and raiding between factions; site still occupied	Village size and frequent fighting within village	Strained at first, then hostile
Shihota	1943-1949	Raids from Patanowë-tedi	None	---
Mahekodo	1951-1952	Suspicion that their hosts planned to kill them	None	---
Kobou	1952-1953	Fear of Shamatari raids	Internal feuds over women	Friendly
Monou and Barawë	1954-1966 1954-1959	Barawë abandoned because foreigners invited Indians to move to Mavaca; Monou still occupied	None	---
Bisaasi	1959-1966	---	Village size and frequent arguments	Friendly

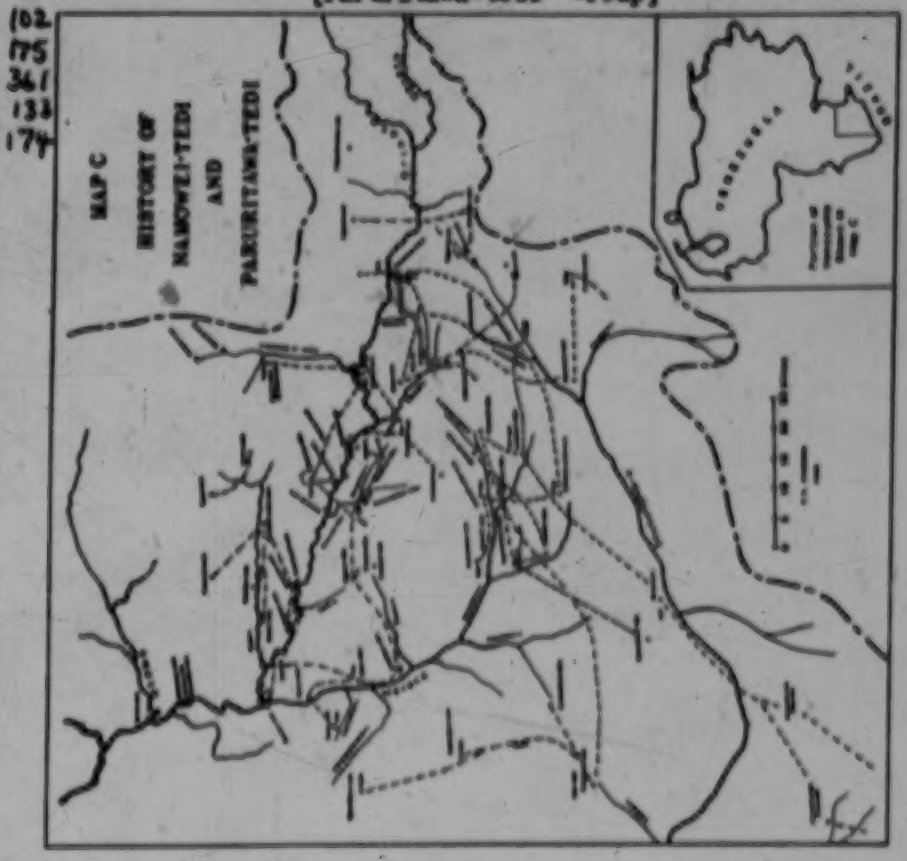
Table 6: History of Paruritawë-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Pre-Aramamisi	? - 1880	Raids from Shihowë- and Mokayëaba-tedi	None	---
Aramamisi	1880-1900	Raids from Shihowë-, Konabuma and Mokayëaba-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Shirakobëwei	1900-1910 [1900-1966]	Internal feuds led to separation of several factions that raided parent group: Karohewë-, Matakuwë-, and previous enemies, Shihowë- and Mokayëaba-tedi. Aramamisi-tedi group remained at Shirakobëwei after other factions left	a. 1900: Karohewë's faction left because of a feud over a woman. b. 1900: Waiyahowë's faction left for unknown causes. c. 1910: Matakuwë's faction left to aid Karohewë and to avoid raids from Shihowë-tedi.	a. Hostile b. Friendly; Waiyahowë's group was decimated by an epidemic and no longer exists. c. Hostile
Borabëwei	1910-1935	Raids from Karawatari- and Aramamisi-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Kayurewë	1935-1940	Raids from Aramamisi- and Hamowei-tedi	None	---
Konabuma	1940-1945	See next column	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Paruritawë	1945-1960	Raids from Sibarariwë's village (Mëwëracoba-tedi)	Minor internal feud	Friendly
Mëmaribëwei Reyabobëwei	1960-1965	Present locations	None	---

174 175 176 201 261 262 272 273 [Paruritawë-tedi Group] 147

10:Chagnon S-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 8010 Yanoama 8010

[Namowei-tedi Group]
[Paruritawë-tedi Group]



128 marriage alliances on which I have complete data have taken
361
174 place between the Shamatari and the two villages of Monou-
+628
583 tedi and Bisaasi-tedi. Over 50% of recently contracted marriages[1] that represent breaches of the marriage rule preferences were the result of alliances between the villages whose histories are given here. It is, accordingly, important to understand the political and historical circumstances that led to these alliances.

174 A. The History of the Namowei-tedi Group
175
361
+128 The Namowei-tedi lived in four different areas between
[621] ca. 1880 and 1943, splitting into two villages in 1943 shortly after they moved to their fifth location. I outline below the events that led to the abandoning of the first four areas and discuss in more detail the activities of the villages after they established their fifth location. I will treat the Paruritawë-tedi group similarly in Part B of this chapter.

174 Area 1: Konata-tedi (See Map C)
175
+628 While living in this area the Naomwei-tedi were on
+621 friendly terms with several Shamatari villages, numbering them among their allies. The Shamatari as a distinct group were
[582] just coming into being between 1880 and 1900. Intermarriages
[583] between the Namowei-tedi and members of several Shamatari villages occurred and a number of individuals in the present villages of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi trace descent back to Shamatari ancestors.

[1] These data on marriages are taken from the villages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 175 *628 *621 descent back to Shamatari ancestors. ShihowÃ-tedi and its splinter village, MokayÃaba-tedi, were two Shamatari allies of the Namowei-tedi in this period of the latter's history.

174 175 *628 721 583 The Namowei-tedi got into a war with a cluster of villages allied to ObotawÃ-tedi over a woman from the latter village. The woman joined the Namowei-tedi against the wishes of her own people. This led to a club fight between the two groups and, later, to a shooting war. ObotawÃ-tedi recruited aid from their allies, the BokçoiwÃ-Urihi-tedi, Boreta-tedi, and Aramata-tedi while the Namowei-tedi were supported by the two Shamatari villages mentioned above. A number of men from each of the two groups were killed in the raiding that developed and several Namowei-tedi women were abducted. ObotawÃ-

174 175 *628 721 241 722 tedi and their allies forced Namowei-tedi to abandon their garden and take refuge with the Wareta-tedi, a group that had just abandoned the area (ca. 1890-1900) occupied by the Namowei-tedi because of a war with the Boreta-tedi. As the Namowei-tedi had not had time to make a new garden when the raiding became intense enough to force them to move, they moved into the village of Wareta-tedi and lived off the produce of the latter's garden.

Area 2: Wareta-tedi

*174 628 726 The residents of Wareta-tedi had their own war with ShihowÃ-tedi when they were joined by the Namowei-tedi, but were on friendly terms with HusirawÃ-urihi-tedi, a village 000 to their north. The headman of Wareta-tedi, ShamaiyowÃ,

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Husirawë's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowë and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowë-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-këkë--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakë), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hahoyaoba-tëka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hahoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasabëwë-tedi and Ashadowë-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The new garden at Hahoyaoba-tedi did not produce satisfactorily so the Namowei-tedi established a new one south of the Orinoco River, Patanowä-täka, and moved there about 1925-30.[1]

Area 5: Patanowä-täka

This site has a complicated history. The Namowei-tedi lived here as one group, abandoned it, split into two villages, and each faction returned to it only to abandon it again. Ultimately the site was reoccupied by one of these factions, and that faction presently lives there.

Most of the present generation of adults in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi were born at Patanowä-täka.

Three important events took place while the Namowei-tedi lived at Patanowä-täka. The first of these was the development of hostilities between the Namowei-tedi and a Shamatari village. As this Shamatari village figures prominently in the later history of one faction of the Namowei-tedi, I make a point of identifying it here: Sibarariwä's village, located on the Mavaca River. The approximate date of the initiation of these hostilities was 1938-40, an estimate based on the ages of older children born at Patanowä-täka of women abducted from Sibarariwä's village. Up to the start of the war with Sibarariwä's group, the Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with all of the Shamatari villages and visited a number of them regularly. Several marriage

---

[1] This is the only case I have of a garden being abandoned for soil-fertility reasons.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 Several marriage alliances were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one
*628 of the Shamatari villages (Konabuma-tedi) when the war with
726 Sibarariwë's group started, but these eventually broke down
583 before any women were actually exchanged.

The second important event was the secession of a
174 section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the
*621 development of hostilities between these cognate villages.
*628

The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the ini-
194 tiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi
361 sections (Patanowë-tedi) and villages to its north; this
*628 war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and
796 has dictated the movements of the Patanowë-tedi from the time it began until now.

In order, the particulars of these three events are,
174 briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with
*628 the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a
781 number of years after they moved to Patanowë-tëka. However,
721 several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria)
(175) about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called Ruwahiwë, Sibarariwë's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Mamikininiwë, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered Ruwahiwë with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

Shortly after Ruwahiwë was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded

only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service. The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Hekurama, and Hikarima) and the Patanowë-tedi (Ishinarima, Rubrobemi, Rokuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in Patanowë-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

(2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions, each making a new garden further up the Shanishani-u River and abandoned Patanowë-tëka. The move was stimulated by the frequency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were always fighting with each other," said one of my informants, "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at Patanowë-tëka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller (Brararaböwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fearing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

174 and returned to Patanowã-tëka. A segment of the group that
361 returned to Patanowã-tëka immediately began making a new
628 garden (Shihota) about a day's walk to the west of Patanowã-
[241] tëka, anticipating that further hostilities with the
174 Wanidima group would develop. Within a year of the club
628 fight the Wanidima group attacked the group at Patanowã-
726 tëka while the latter were having a feast, but the raiders'
574 arrows missed their marks and no one was injured. The group
529 at Patanowã-tëka abandoned their village and rejoined their
602 agnates at the latter's new garden, Shihota-tëka, whence
[361] they began raiding the Wanidima-tedi. On one raid the group from Shihota found Wanidima-tedi deserted and followed the trail the villagers had taken. The Wanidima-tedi were found at Hasabõwã-tedi, feasting. The raiders killed one of the Wanidima-tedi men, but in doing so angered both the Hasabõwã-tedi and their cognate group, the Ashadowã-tedi.

174 With the aid of the last two villages, the Wanidima-
628 tedi raided the Shihota-tedi and killed a younger brother of
726 Makuwã. The Shihota-tedi reciprocated by raiding the Wanidima-tedi, killing Husiwã (Nabëyoma's husband), Hoari, and Siayeikema. This in turn was followed by raids from the Wanidima-tedi in which the Shihota-tedi lost Ushuenawã and the two younger brothers of Paruriwã, and had one of their women, Buhiomi, seized.

174 Eventually the superior numbers of the Wanidima-tedi
628 and their allies decided the fighting, and the Shihota-tedi
726 were forced to abandon their garden and make a new one else-
361 where.
24

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174
*628
709
32
24
[175] where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tëka to Kreibëwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawë and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowë-tëka, and became known as the Patanowë-tedi.

174
194
175
*621
*628
361
241

174
*628
721
578
726
602
[622]
[583]
[591] The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawë-tedi and Kashorawë-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawë, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowë-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowë-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawë-tedi visited Patanowë-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowë-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawë-tedi. Hasabëwë-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowë-tedi and Yabitawë-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

174
726
*628
722

174 the Patanowã-tedi.[1] Thus, the Patanowã-tedi were surrounded
726 on all sides by enemies; only one village, Ashadowã-tedi,
*628 remained on friendly terms with them. Beyond the Ashadowã-
722 tedi were the Shamatari villages, bitter enemies of the Patanowã-tedi since the killing of Ruwahiwã.

174 By the time the Patanowã-tedi had gotten into this
*628 situation, the war with their agnates had subsided. So the
361 Patanowã-tedi moved west, into the area abandoned by their
602 agnates, whence they harried the Hasabõwã-tedi and the groups
722 north of the Orinoco. They attempted with some success to effect a reprochement with their agnates, and a few individuals from the Kreibõwei-tedi group visited the Patanowã-tedi. One of these individuals was able to obtain a wife in Patanowã-tedi, whom he subsequently took back to Monou-tedi with him.

361 The Patanowã-tedi are presently living between two
*628 sites: Patanowã-tëka and Shamata-tëka, a situation forced on
722 them by the hostile relationships they have with all their neighbors except the Ashadowã-tedi.

128 Area 6: Shihota-tëka

See "Area 5" point (2) above.

174 Area 7: Kreibõwei-tedi
175
361 This site was established in 1949. After fleeing
722 from Shihota to avoid the raids of the Patanowã-tedi, the
*628

[1] At this point the Patanowã-tedi returned to Patanowã-tëka from their three sites of Wanidima, Waiyari, and Rashawã.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's village and entered into feasting relationships with his followers.

Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's village. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother, Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tĕka.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

men for the Kreibŏwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari, and a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi managed to escape. These fled to a mountain called Wadubadidiobakĕkŏ where they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-tĕka. Here, the Kreibŏwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreibŏwei-tĕka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly after the treacherous feast the Kreibŏwei-tedi were visited by Shinanokawĕ, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the Kreibŏwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreibŏwei-tedi undertook a revenge raid against Riakowĕ's group. They killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collecting their women and children at Kreibŏwei-tĕka as they proceeded from Riakowĕ's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was early in 1951.

For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreibŏwei-tedi worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before Kobou-tĕka was producing, however, the Kreibŏwei-tedi decided

to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There had been a number of club fights between the two factions over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started (Monou-tëka and Barawë-tëka) before the Kreiböwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other considerations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here that considerable fighting took place among the men when the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to the survivors.

The Kreiböwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as they could. It was rumored that their protectors were planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women. This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed the Kreiböwei-tedi several years later of the details of the plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariwë-tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that the Kreiböwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the two men killed by the Kreiböwei-tedi after the treacherous feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

Mahekodo-tedi became directly involved in the war against the Shamatari and needed the assistance of the Kreibŏwei-tedi. This prevented them from killing the Kreibŏwei-tedi men and seizing their women.

Makolima-tedi and Karohi-tedi, two allies of Mahekodo-tedi, assisted the latter in the revenge raids against the Shamatari; the Kreibŏwei-tedi, of course, participated in these raids. On one raid they found Riakowë's village abandoned so they burned down the houses and destroyed the garden: the plantains were cut down and the root crops dug up. The raiders pushed on, following Riakowë's trail, and caught up with their enemies on the Shukumŏna-u River near the village of Karawatari-urihi-tedi where the followers of Riakowë had fled to avoid the revenge raids from the Mahekodo-tedi. The raiders found Riakowë swimming in the river, together with his son, a boy about 7 years old, and two of the girls, Kayoma and Waiimi, abducted during the treacherous feast. They killed Riakowë and took all the children. On their way back to Mahekodo-tedi, however, the raiders were chased by the Shamatari, who managed to get ahead of them. The Shamatari surprised them the following morning, killing one man from Makolima-tedi while he slept. In the fighting that followed, the Shamatari lost another man.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi and the Mahekodo-tedi unsuccessfully raided the Shamatari a number of times after this raid, but eventually discontinued the raiding when they concluded that they had chased the Shamatari out of the area.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Area 9: Kobou-tëka

The Kreibŏwei-tedi parted with their protectors as soon as this garden began producing. They lived at this site only long enough to complete their two new gardens at Monou and Barawë, moving into the latter when they, in turn, began producing. "Kobou" in Yanomamŏ means "let it go at that," or, in more vernacular terms, "to hell with that garden." Kobou was abandoned shortly after it was made, having served as a temporary base for the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they completed their split. It would not have been necessary to complete the splitting of the village by making two new gardens had there been no war with the Shamatari. But, as one faction of the group made their garden elsewhere, the others were reluctant to remain at Kobou and bear the brunt of the revenge raids from the Shamatari. Thus, they too made a new garden. Again, it would not have been necessary to make Kobou-tëka had Mahekodo-tedi been a dependable ally. But as the Kreibŏwei-tedi suspected that their erstwhile protectors were plotting against them, they followed that course of action most expedient at the time. As they had already started Kobou, it was simply more practicable to complete that garden and move out of Mahekodo-tedi as soon as possible, rather than begin making two gardens and delay their move until these gardens began producing.

Areas 10 and 11: Monou-tedi and Barawë-tedi

After separating into two groups the Kreibŏwei-tedi

174 175 *621 *628 remained on good terms with each other. Their split occurred in 1954, perhaps a year earlier.

361 241 114 922 When I initiated my field work in 1964 Monou-teka was still occupied, but its population, the Monou-tedi, was in the process of making a new garden (Moyanabŏwei) west of Monou to avoid the raids of the Patanowĕ-tedi, with whom they had entered into a new war in 1964.

175 177 361 648 *[621] The faction that moved to Barawĕ remained at that site about five years. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River, taking the name Bisaasi-tedi, in 1959, splitting into two villages, each located on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. By 1958 the Venezuelan Government had initiated a malaria-control program in this area of Amazonas and had established a small field station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Venezuelans associated with this field station invited the Barawĕ-tedi to move to the Mavaca River; the Indians accepted the invitation, hoping to gain access to steel tools. This was the beginning of contact with outsiders for the Kreibŏwei-tedi; prior to 1959 the only foreigners they had known were the missionary at Mahekodo-tedi, James P. Barker, and the members of the Frobenius Institute Expedition, Meinhard Schuster and Otto Zerries, who they visited occasionally at Mahekodo-tedi.

174 175 *628 361 Area 12: Bisaasi-tedi

The Bisaasi-tedi began friendly contacts with a Shamatari village, Paruritawĕ-tedi, after they moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River.

000 174 125 628 537 514 202 726 [620]

[Namowei-tedi Group]

mouth of the Mavaca River. The Paruritawë-tedi had split from Sibarariwë's village about 1945, and had not been involved in the treacherous feast of 1950 in which the Kreibëwei-tedi lost so many men. The Paruritawë-tedi were still on good terms with Sibarariwë's followers, and the members of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi persuaded them to invite Sibarariwë and his group to a feast. Using their agnatic ties and existing friendship, the Paruritawë-tedi succeeded in getting the followers of Sibarariwë to accept the invitation, but a malaria epidemic prevented all but a handful of people from actually attending the feast: five men and four women. With the assistance of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the Paruritawë-tedi killed three of the guests and seized all four of the women.

628 583

By participating in this treachery, the Paruritawë-tedi subordinated themselves to the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. At the present time the Paruritawë-tedi live in two villages, and are intimately involved in a bride-exchange network with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter two villages receiving more women (and men doing bride service) than they give. The Paruritawë-tedi have no other allies, as they are the front of the expansion into this region and the only villages to their east are allies of Sibarariwë. Despite the fact that they would like to make friendly contact with Sibarariwë's group again, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, as we shall see, prevent them from doing so by chicane and threat. Thus, Monou-tedi and the

628 583 Bisaasi-tedi are the dominant partners in the bride-exchange network with their Shamatari allies, a dominance that is reflected in the disproportionate number of women they have managed to coerce out of their allies.

361 621 114 While I conducted my field work the Bisaasi-tedi lived in two villages on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. The group on the east bank was beginning to split by the time I left the field, and the split took place a few months later,[1] one of the factions moving to the north bank of the Orinoco River, but still within view of the other group.

B. The History of the Paruritawë-tedi

174 621 The Shamatari came into being as an identifiable group shortly before 1900. The Shamatari identity, as I have shown above (p. 28 ff.), is a function of the historical connections between the villages that split off from Shihowë-tedi's parental group, as well as geographical considerations.

My informants consistently spoke of two 'true' Shamatari men: Kayabawë (Shamatari) and Matakuwë. The villages of these two men have a common origin, but I was unable to get data on the nature of the events that led to the separation of these two groups. This event took place long before the life-span of my oldest informants, and none of them knew any details of the splitting. By 1875, however, there were two distinct Shamatari groups north of the Orinoco headwaters, one of which bore the name Shihowë-tedi. Kayabawë

195 101 361

[1] Personal communication, James P. Barker.

174 175 62 32 [101] (Shamatari) lived in this village and, when the village split, led his faction into the Shukumöna-u basin, becoming known as the Mokayëaba-tedi. This move took place about 1900.

The second village also moved to the south side of the Orinoco, but remained on that river. They settled near [103] a mountain called Aramamisi-këkë, and named their village after the mountain. My historical data on the Shamatari village movements is sparce up to this point.

Between 1900 and 1950 the Mavaca and Shukumöna drainages were populated by the descendents of these two 'original' Shamatari groups, and the process of village splitting that led to the occupation of this large area continues at the present time.

174 195 128 607 36 Although there are two Shamatari groups (Kayabawë's and Matakuwë's), I outline the details of the movements of Matakuwë's group, mentioning Kayabawë's only in so far as it relates to the history of Paruritawë-tedi. Militarily, Kayabawë's group plays a prominent role in the movements of Matakuwë's followers up to 1920, illustrating once again that cognate villages enter into hostile relationships with each other after they separate. Thus, this section deals with the historical movements of the group that ultimately gave rise to Paruritawë-tedi; as this group also gave rise to a number of other villages, I shall have to briefly sketch the movements of these villages after their separation from the main group.

068 It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari village histories are more complicated than the one outlined for the Namowei-tedi. This stems from the fact that the Shamatari villages had reached a large size by 1900 and began splitting into smaller groups earlier, in terms of the data I collected, than did the Namowei-tedi. In other words, the splitting that characterized Namowei-tedi's population from about 1940 to 1955 was occurring in the Shamatari population in 1900. Although I do not have census data on the numerous Shamatari villages that subsequently emerged from the two initial groups, I suspect that the numbers of people involved are significantly larger for the Shamatari village histories. Two factors seem to be the cause of this phenomenon. First, the Shamatari villages had access to steel tools in considerable numbers before Namowei-tedi's ancestral population did; my informants asserted that their first source of steel tools was the group called Shihowä-tedi. Presumably the size of the populations involved is a function of their agricultural potentials, and the Shamatari apparently expanded earlier than the Namowei-tedi because they had access to steel tools sooner. Secondly, the Shamatari population expanded unopposed into virgin territory, whereas the Namowei-tedi expanded into territory already occupied by other Yanomamö; it is significant to note that when the Namowei-tedi ultimately moved into unoccupied territory, their population seems to have increased, and the first split occurred only after virgin territory was colonized.[1]

[1] I am unable to explain how this affects demographic variables, but my data suggest that Yanomamö populations expand more rapidly when they colonize virgin land.

168

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 1: Aramamisi-këkö

174 36 722 *62 [124] Matakuwë's group settled here after abandoning their site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawë's group. The village at Aramamisi-këkö, according to my informants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Yeisi-tedi, Makiaiyoaba-tedi, Aramamisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, Mëwëraoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawë-tedi, Kohoroshi-tedi, Mëmariböwei-tedi, and Rayaboböwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

174 175 36 *62 *628 972 721 726 A large segment of the population broke away from the main group and moved to the Rahuawë-u River, splitting into two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from the Aramamisi-këkö population developed out of a feud over a woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Yeisi-tedi, Makiaiyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from the original faction that separated from Matakuwë's group. The first three of these groups presently live in the Shukumöna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

174 175 *621 *628 361

---

[103] [1] There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

others. Matakuwë's group was being raided by Kayabawë's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-këkö. These raids forced Matakuwë and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-këkö and settle at Shirakoböwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakoböwei

Matakuwë's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawë's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewë and Orakawë. During the fighting a young man from Karehewë's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewë moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewë's followers raided the group at Shirakoböwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewë to move further north. Karehewë's son, Riakowë, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowë's son, Börösöwë. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Börösöwë's group. They feared Börösöwë would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyahowë, split off from

174 Matakuwë's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An
621 epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors
361 were absorbed by other villages.
[731]

Finally, Matakuwë and his group separated from Orakawë and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Mavaca basin. The group that remained at Shirakobŏwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakuwë and his followers separated from Orakawë's group for two reasons. First, Matakuwë decided to support Karehewë in the dispute over the death of a member of the
[722] latter's group. Secondly, Matakuwë and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shihowë-tedi, who continued
*[628] to harrass them. By taking the side of Karehewë, Matakuwë
[726] and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawë's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

Area 3: Borabŏwei

174 Matakuwë and his followers moved here about 1910.
195 Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi,
361 forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a
*628 number of years Matakuwë's group lived alternatively between
602 these two sites. Another garden was established at Kaurewë
726 after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the
241 Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Borabŏwei, and Matakuwë's group fled to Kayurewë, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

000 rarily abandoning Konabuma.

174 Matakuwä's group had three factions. Oroshowä, a
175 man belonging to Matakuwä's faction, took a woman away from
*621 her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an
578 internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and
361 Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village of his own on the Shukumöna-u River. This split took place
174 about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwä's vil-
175 lages to avenge the death of Biawawä, the man killed in the
*629 feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was un-
722 able to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's
174 group to found their own villages: Warabawä-tedi, led by
175 Hewariwä, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwä. These last two
*621 villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time,
361 as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded
[622] foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Mis-
[799] sionaries on the Cauabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group
361 lived on the Shukumöna-u River, as men from Reyaboböwei-tedi
[504] danced there that year. When the Reyaboböwei-tedi left
*[628] Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with
[792] them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174 In about 1935 Matakuwä and his group moved to Kayurewä
36 to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.
722

---

*[628] [1] Warabawä-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabäyoma.

Area 4: Kayurewë

174 175 +628 726 861 The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. Matakuwë's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwë, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowë-tëka. Ruwahiwë was Matakuwë's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, Matakuwë moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174 +621 361 (622) (101) About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by Matakuwë's group, the group split into two villages. One of them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwë's son, Sibarariwë. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumöna-u River and took the name Paruritawë-tedi, led by (578) (721) Weiamamowë. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

174 36 +628 722 175 Sibarariwë's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the Paruritawë-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Armamisi-tedi and the Paruritawë-tedi themselves forced Sibarariwë's group to abandon Konabuma

and move to Kakamoba. This site was occupied for just a few years, and by 1950 Sibarariwä's group was living at Amąrokobŏ-wei: the 1950 treacherous feast for the Kreibŏwei-tedi was conducted while Sibarariwä's group was here. After 1950 Sibarariwä's group fled south to avoid the raids of the survivors of that treacherous feast, establishing the garden of Dądamobŏwei. This garden was abandoned because of raids mounted by the Paruritawä-tedi, and Sibarariwä returned to Amąrokobŏwei about 1955. The Paruritawä-tedi eventually became friendly to Sibarariwä's group and were able to lure some of them, at the instigation of the Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, to a treacherous feast in 1960, during which three men were murdered and four women captured. In 1964 Sibarariwä's group moved to the headwaters of the Mavaca River, being known as the Mŏwäraoba-tedi. Monou-tedi and Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi sent a raiding party against them at this location about the time I started my field work, and killed one man.

Area 6: Paruritawä-tedi

The Paruritawä-tedi made friendly contact with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi about 1960, and have entered into alliance with these groups. The Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi persuaded the Paruritawä-tedi to invite members of Sibarariwä's group to a feast in 1960 and, with the aid of the Paruritawä-tedi, murdered three men and seized four women. Sibarariwä's group avenged this by mounting raids

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

against the Paruritawä-tedi, and the latter abandoned their site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Mõmaribõwei and Reyabobõwei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyabobõwei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965 the Reyabobõwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawä-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966

The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowä-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowä-tedi to venture away from the village.

721 The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives
722 they claimed, was that the PatanowÃ-tedi had to move fre-
361 quently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the PatanowÃ-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both
*[628] groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the
[132] dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense.
[221] It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages
[241] that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural
726 practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events
602 discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consan-
*628 guineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

*628 The war between Monou-tedi and PatanowÃ-tedi

726 After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of
*[621] PatanowÃ in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a
[361] period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

728 In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two
*574 factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi
628 began visiting PatanowÃ-tedi, and one of them, TorokoiwÃ, was
[58] given two wives by the PatanowÃ-tedi. The rapprochement, how-
[583] ever, was never effected and the political relationships between

628 728 574 Patanowä-tedi and her two colonies, Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, were generally of a suspicious nature; only a few individuals trusted the members of the other group enough to visit their village.

786 628 By 1964 the Patanowä-tedi had become involved in a particularly vicious war with a number of neighboring villages, and were badly in need of military assistance. Their only allies were the Ashadowä-tedi, a large group living two days' walk south of them. Consequently, the Patanowä-tedi 728 628 529 574 informed the Bisaasi-tedi that they were willing to make peace with them. The Bisaasi-tedi extended a feast invitation to the Patanowä-tedi to demonstrate their interest in making peace and, in late November 1964 the entire village of Patanowä-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in the feast. This marked the first time since 1940 that the two groups as groups visited each other.

726 728 628 529 574 The Monou-tedi were not involved in the feast, but a number of men from that village came to Bisaasi-tedi intending to abduct Patanowä-tedi women. They succeeded in capturing seven women the day that the Patanowä-tedi arrived, and took them back to Monou-tedi without being discovered. The Patanowä-tedi men, enraged at the loss of seven women, sent a party of men to Monou-tedi the following morning to recover the women. The Patanowä-tedi men entered Monou-tedi and forcibly took five of the seven women away from their captors. The Patanowä-tedi retreated before actual shooting broke out and returned to Bisaasi-tedi. The Monou-tedi were furious

726 728 *628 527 514 over the loss of the five women, and Yąnomamö canons of ferocity dictated that this loss would have to be avenged. The Monou-tedi informed the Patanowä-tedi that they were going to shoot them on sight the next time they met.

After the Patanowä-tedi returned to Bisaasi-tedi they packed their possessions and left for home. The feast was cancelled, as the Patanowä-tedi feared being ambushed by a Monou-tedi raiding party if they remained at Bisaasi-tedi. Before departing, the Patanowä-tedi assured their hosts that they still wanted peace with them, no matter what the Monou-tedi eventually did.

*628 721 723 This illustrates dramatically the Yąnomamö political philosophy that it is legitimate to take advantage of a weak village. The Monou-tedi, knowing that the Patanowä-tedi were politically in need of allies, took advantage of this situation when they abducted the women. They also knew that the Bisaasi-tedi would not take Patanowä-tedi's side in the dispute that was bound to follow, as too many of the Bisaasi-tedi had personal grudges against the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi also knew that the Patanowä-tedi were not likely to begin a war over this incident, as they already had more enemies than they could successfully withstand without allies. In short, the Monou-tedi knew that they stood a good chance of gaining women by abducting them from the Patanowä-tedi without great risk of being shot by the latter. As the conclusion shows, they managed to obtain two women and did not get into a shooting war with the Patanowä-tedi. However, their anger at *628 721

628 721 the Patanowä-tedi for managing to overwhelm their own force led them to declare war on the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi 722 241 immediately began making a new garden at Moyenaböwei, across 726 the Mavaca River from their village and several hours inland, anticipating the war that they knew would follow. After they had cleared the large trees from their new garden site, they raided the Patanowä-tedi in the last week of January 1965, and succeeded in killing Bosibrei.

727 581 582 593 628 Another important event took place while the Monou-tedi were clearing the trees from their new garden site, an event that illustrates the same principle of political philosophy. One of the stolen women, Kakoma, was given to a young man, Karidimö, who had only one leg. Karidimö could not do heavy work, and when his village moved inland to clear their new site Karidimö moved to Bisaasi-tedi with his new wife. Kakoma, however, was not pleased with her new husband, and asked the Bisaasi-tedi if she could stay with them, hoping that she would be permitted to rejoin the Patanowä-tedi if they returned to Bisaasi-tedi to visit. The Bisaasi-tedi men obligingly took her away from Karidimö by force and gave her to a bachelor in their own village. Karidimö, enraged at this, returned to Monou-tedi to recruit aid.

628 721 578 This put the Monou-tedi in a difficult position. They were planning to raid the Patanowä-tedi and would have to maintain good relations with the Bisaasi-tedi if the revenge raids from the Patanowä-tedi became intense. They could not, however, overlook the insult to Karidimö, for this

*628 would have been a display of weakness. They decided to
721
578 challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a club fight and settle their grievances by that means. Ten days after Kakoma was taken from Karidimõ, the Monou-tedi men arrived at Bisaasi-tedi and settled the dispute in a club fight. The Monou-tedi were thoroughly trounced by the larger number of Bisaasi-tedi, but they nevertheless demonstrated their potential and willingness to fight, thereby warning the Bisaasi-tedi that they better not attempt to seize more women in the future.

The Bisaasi-tedi clearly had taken advantage of the Monou-tedi numerical weakness and political needs to advance their own ends.

726 In the first week of March 1965 the PatanowÃ-tedi raided the Monou-tedi. They found the village site on the Mavaca River deserted, so they crossed the river and followed the trail taken by the Monou-tedi to their new garden. They
[522] caught the Monou-tedi headman outside the new garden and killed him.

*628 This attack brought about an immediate rapprochement
728 between the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi. Even KaobÃwÃ, leader of one of Bisaasi-tedi's main factions, was furious over this killing. Up to this point he was still interested in making peace with the PatanowÃ-tedi, but this even tempo-
726 rarily changed his mind. KaobÃwÃ ultimately led the revenge raid against the PatanowÃ-tedi.

[764] The Monou-tedi burned the corpse of the slain headman and sent small gourds of his ground bones to members of allied

villages (Bisaasi-tedi, Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi, and Karohi-tedi). These ashes were to be consumed prior to revenge raids on the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi then set about transporting plantain cuttings to their new garden and spent the next several weeks working on the garden. They intended to delay their revenge raid until the beginning of the rainy season in order to make it difficult for the Patanowä-tedi to raid them in return. The Monou-tedi moved into Bisaasi-tedi at the end of March both for military protection and for respite from their heavy agricultural labors. They stayed with the Bisaasi-tedi until the end of April, fearing that they would be raided by the Patanowä-tedi if they returned to their own village before the rains started. They also planned to raid the Patanowä-tedi from Bisaasi-tedi at the beginning of the wet season, knowing that a revenge raid from Patanowä-tedi would be difficult once the rains started. They could return to their own village during the rainy season, as the jungle separating their village from the Patanowä-tedi is inundated at this time of the year and cannot be traversed.

On April 19th the Bisaasi-tedi sponsored a mortuary feast for the slain Monou-tedi headman in preparation for the revenge raid. The participants in the revenge raid were to include the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi, but they did not arrive as scheduled, so the raid was delayed until the 21st. Only a few Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi arrived to participate in the raid, and the Bisaasi-tedi immediately suspected that the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi were plotting to abduct women from them after

726 the men left on the raid. One faction of Bisaasi-tedi did
[122] not participate in the raid in order to protect the women while the others were gone.

The raiding party left on the 21st and returned on
[361] the 2nd of May. They killed one Patanowä-tedi at Shihota, a site abandoned in 1949 by the Bisaasi-tedi now being used by the Patanowä-tedi. The Patanowä-tedi chased the raiders, outflanking them at one point, and shot one of the Monou-tedi, badly wounding him. The man, Konoreiwä, was pierced with a bamboo point just above his heart. Although the tip of the point protruded out his back, he recovered.

726 The Patanowä-tedi could not avenge this killing until
36 the rains subsided. Accordingly, the Monou-tedi returned to
*628 their own village after they retreated to Bisaasi-tedi on
[221] May 2. They remained in their village until June 20, at
[132] which time they rejoined the Bisaasi-tedi; they did so because travel through the jungle was becoming possible by that date, as the rains subsided early in 1965. On July 10 the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, assisted by their allies, the Mämariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi, raided the Patanowä-tedi again, leaving from Bisaasi-tedi. The raid proved to be unsuccessful, as the Patanowä-tedi had moved into the village of their only ally, the Ashadowä-tedi. All the raiders except those from Monou-tedi wanted to turn back, as the trail to Ashadowä-tedi was a poor one and retreat would have been difficult. The raiding party did turn back, but the Monou-tedi were angry with their allies for forcing them to

726 return.

The Monou-tedi returned to their own village after this raid, angry because their allies refused to prosecute the war more vigorously. They collected food from their [241] garden and moved into their new site at Moyenabŏwei, extending their garden. For the next two months the Monou-tedi lived alternately at Bisaasi-tedi, their old village, and their new garden, to which they carried food from their old one as needed. By now the Patanowä-tedi were raiding them frequently to avenge the attack of April 21, and signs of the Patanowä-tedi raiders were found numerous times at the old site of Monou-tedi.

The Patanowä-tedi were also moving between several gardens to avoid raids from their enemies. They lived alternately between Patanowä-tëka, with the Ashadowä-tedi, and their new garden, Shihota. Moreover, they were actively engaged in another war at the same time. So effective were the Patanowä-tedi raids against the Hasabŏwä-tedi that, in mid 1965, the latter had to abandon their site south of the Orinoco River and move to the north side near the village of one of their allies, Kashorawä-tedi. They made a new garden near Kashorawä-tedi and abandoned their old one.

726 The war between the Patanowä-tedi and the Hasabŏwä-tedi had taken some unusual turns. On one raid in July, the Patanowä-tedi fired a volley of arrows into Hasabŏwä-tedi's village, killing two women. A few weeks later the Hasabŏwä-tedi deliberately waited for a woman, Huhuma, to come out of

726 the Patanowã-tedi village and killed her. In subsequent raids both villages resorted to killing even young children.

Thus, the Patanowã-tedi and the Monou-tedi had similar military problems and were solving them in essentially the same way. Both groups made new gardens, but were unable to move to them because the gardens could not support the populations until the plants matured and bore fruit. Both groups were being raided actively by enemies and could not remain at their producing sites. Therefore, each had to rely on aid from an ally. Of the two military situations, that of the Patanowã-tedi was the more critical; they were being raided actively by a dozen villages, whereas the Monou-tedi were being raided by only one enemy. Of the dozen villages raiding the Patanowã-tedi, only five had legitimate revenge reasons for doing so. The remaining villages were participating in the raiding with the hope that their raiders would be able to capture women. The members of these latter villages knew that the Patanowã-tedi could not possibly raid them in return, as there were too many villages enemy to the Patanowã-tedi in the path. Hence, they had women to gain and were almost completely immune to possible revenge raids.

726 621 Kinship ties mitigating the hostility of the war between the Monou-tedi and the Patanowã-tedi

Up to the middle of 1965, the upper group of Bisaasi-tedi behaved as a single political unit with respect to the war between the Monou-tedi and the Patanowã-tedi. There were,

726 There were,
*621 however, two recognizable factions within this group; one
622 was led by Kąobɨ̈wɨ̈, who had many relatives in both Patanowɨ̈-
602 tedi and Monou-tedi, and the other was led by Paruriwɨ̈, who had no consanguineal relatives in Patanowɨ̈-tedi, but many in Monou-tedi. Paruriwɨ̈'s group was linked to Kąobɨ̈wɨ̈'s by a number of marriage ties.

*621 Kąobɨ̈wɨ̈ was the acknowledged leader of the entire
622 upper section of Bisaasi-tedi, including Paruriwɨ̈'s group, although Paruriwɨ̈ had some influence in the affairs of the village. After the middle of the year, Paruriwɨ̈ began to emerge as leader in his own right, and began duplicating many of the activities normally the prerogative of the village
[521] headman. Thus, when Kąobɨ̈wɨ̈ initiated a feast for members
[574] of an allied village, Paruriwɨ̈ duplicated his efforts by sending out his own hunters to provide meat for the guests, and furnished an equal amount of cultivated food, which he disposed of from his own section of the village. Normally, the headman sends out the hunters and disposes of the cultivated food from his own house. Paruriwɨ̈, by duplicating Kąobɨ̈wɨ̈'s efforts in these activities, announced that he was a headman.

726 The emergence of Paruriwɨ̈ as an important leader was
622 largely the result of his active prosecution of the war
*628 against the Patanowɨ̈-tedi. Kąobɨ̈wɨ̈, after he led one revenge
[728] raid against the Patanowɨ̈-tedi, decided that he wanted to remain neutral in the fighting and wanted to make peace with the Patanowɨ̈-tedi. This led to a political vacuum within

726 Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid
*628
622 from them. Paruriwë seized upon this as his opportunity to
[564] advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated several raids against the Patanowë-tedi without the support of Kɐobëwë. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi.
[602] As Paruriwë was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman (consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

156 Paruriwë's behavior in other respects changed after
622 the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he
[123] was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again,
[593] he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwë was entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a
*621 force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field,
622 Paruriwë and his group separated from Kɐobëwë's and moved
361 across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house
529 on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This
574 move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up until the time he moved, visitors from other villages consistently sought out Kɐobëwë as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how much effort Paruriwë spent in emphasizing his own role in the feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

one real headman, KąobËwË. Thus, ParuriwË had to separate from KąobËwË's group to achieve a status equal to that of KąobËwË.

In July 1965 KąobËwË sent his brother-in-law, KumamawË, to PatanowË-tedi to inform them that his group did not intend to raid the PatanowË-tedi in the future. When KumamawË returned to Bisaasi-tedi, he brought two older people with him, demonstrating that the PatanowË-tedi trusted KąobËwË and were anxious to promote good relations with his group. The older couple brought the message that three young men from PatanowË-tedi were coming on a visit soon. Three days later the young men, HąrokoiwË, MasiwË, and KoiyeiwË, arrived. ParuriwË's group was visiting the WidokaiyA-tedi, and when word reached him that a delegation of PatanowË-tedi had arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to visit KąobËwË, he and a group of men from Monou-tedi immediately returned to Bisaasi-tedi, intending to murder the three visitors. KąobËwË, however, warned ParuriwË and the Monou-tedi that should they attempt to harm the visitors, he and his followers would defend them with force. A crisis developed out of this situation, and for a whole day ParuriwË and his Monou-tedi supporters debated the wisdom of their plan. Finally, ParuriwË decided to desist from the murders and even participated in a news chant with one of the PatanowË-tedi--the father of his youngest wife. This emphasized KąobËwË's influence as a leader, and ParuriwË decided to move away from KąobËwË's group after this incident. The Monou-tedi who were to participate in the murder of the three

visitors were enraged because Paruriwë failed to execute the plan, and they returned to Monou-tedi to recruit a raiding party, hoping to intercept the visitors on their way back to Patanowë-tedi.[1] Paruriwë placated the Monou-tedi by organizing a series of raids against the Patanowë-tedi, and by inviting the Monou-tedi to stay in his section of the village when they fled from their other two sites. Prior to this, the Monou-tedi had been staying with the members of the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi. By early November, the Monou-tedi had begun raiding the Patanowë-tedi with great frequency, supported by members of Paruriwë's group. Paruriwë himself sent three raiding parties against the Patanowë-tedi between November and February, all of which included men from Monou-tedi. Kaobëwë did not participate in or encourage these raids, but some of his followers took part in them.

This split was not the outcome of an internal feud. Rather, it developed out of the different political interests of two leaders, one of whom was ambitiously striving to improve his status as a headman. The other refused to prosecute the war against the Patanowë-tedi, as he had a large number of kinsmen there. The existence of these ties, however, did not preclude the war, as the Bisaasi-tedi are in fact raiding the Patanowë-tedi. The kin ties at best mitigate the intensity of the raiding. The situation is a problem for the Patanowë-tedi, as they do not want to kill the few Bisaasi-tedi friends

[1] Their plan failed, as I took the Patanowë-tedi back to their village part way in my boat, and we went the remainder of the way on a trail the Monou-tedi could not reach.

*62 they have, but they must revenge raids coming from Bisaasi-
62
*623 tedi. Now that Paruriwë and his followers have moved away
602 from Kaobëwë's group, the Patanowë-tedi can raid Paruriwë
726 without having to 'look twice' before shooting. As Paruriwë's
978 faction is a small one, it is vulnerable; one raid from the Patanowë-tedi will force it to rejoin Kaobëwë's group. The internal stability of the reunited groups will suffer if this happens, as Paruriwë will be obliged to demonstrate his leadership capacity. This will involve making an issue out of an incident that probably would have been overlooked prior to the separation of the two groups, and internal friction will be high.

The split within Patanowë-tedi

726
*62 The incessant raiding from Hasabëwë-tedi, Kashorawë-
*628 tedi, Yabitawë-tedi, Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and their
152 respective allies brought about a high degree of tension among
[922] the Patanowë-tedi. It was not safe to leave the village at
*621 any time. The Patanowë-tedi had attempted to split into
578 three groups several years earlier, as the population had
726 reached a large size and internal fighting was a nuisance.
[161] The development of the war with the Hasabëwë-tedi forced them
[152] to reunite. Factionalism, however, was pronounced within the village, and the added tension brought about by the new war with Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and the latter's two Shamatari allies ultimately led to an internal split within Patanowë-tedi a month before I left the field.

*621 595 581 578 [592] Moiyoawë had two wives, Borehima and her older sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with another man, Makerawë. Moiyoawë attempted to get his wife back from Makerawë, precipitating a club fight between two factions of the village. During the club fight, Makerawë stabbed Moiyoawë with the sharp end of his club, wounding him badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyoawë's faction, Rakoiwë, who then attacked Makerawë, running him through with a sharp-

* [628] [361] ened club, killing him. Makerawë's faction fled from Patanowë-tedi and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids against the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the

*726 628 Patanowë-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowë-tedi two times shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid they caught two Patanowë-tedi men hunting outside the village.

[602] They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was Kaabëwë's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man,

[115] Shinahewë. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

The woman over whom the internal feud started was

[593] [684] taken away from Makerawë's group. Moiyoawë cut both her ears off to punish her.

105
36
[128] Summary

Tables 5 and 6 broadly summarize the movements of the five villages. As the details of the text indicate, considerably more village movement goes on than can be included in tables of this sort. The micro-movements, however, [722] merely express in greater detail what is immediately apparent from an examination of Tables 5 and 6: the Yąnomamö abandon their gardens and move to new locations because of raids from [134] other groups. In only one instance was the movement of a village stimulated by economic considerations: site 4 was abandoned by the Namowei-tedi because of poor soil. Another exception was the abandoning of Barawë (site 10) by the [412] Bisaasi-tedi in 1959. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca [777] River to gain access to steel tools, marking the beginning of their sustained contact with foreigners.

105
*621
578
*628
722 The tables also show that there were ten village splits relevant to explaining the origins of the five villages considered in this chapter. Five of these splits were due to feuds over women. In four of the cases the factions that were involved immediately entered into hostilities with each other. The recent split within Patanowë-tedi, discussed in the text (pp. 188-89), again over a woman, is not included in Table 5, as the refugee group did not form a new village of their own. Three village splits in Tables 5 and 6 developed out of minor feuds, usually over women, brought about by large village size. In one case, the factions ultimately entered into hostilities with each other, whereas in two cases the factions still remain on friendly terms.

000 the factions still remain on friendly terms.

*621 *628 598 726 105 Material presented in the discussion above--details of the movements of factions that are not relevant to the origin of the five villages considered here--also support the contention that villages split over internal feuds. That villages are structurally unstable is evidenced by the sheer number of village splits and the fact that the related factions enter into hostilities with each other after separating. Data I collected on village movements for other Yanomamö groups support the conclusions I reach here.

*621 *628 602 582 583 105 [613] One can see that the process of village splitting leads to the formation of independent villages that comprise closely-related kinsmen. Intuitively, one can also see that marriages "between" such villages, i.e., between spouses that each claim to be of different villages, do not necessarily represent political alliances between those villages, for in many cases the marriages were contracted between the local lineages involved before they separated. This is not to say that all the cases of this sort can be dismissed in this fashion. Some marriages between ambilateral cross-cousins are in fact properly interpreted as marriage alliances between villages, for occasionally related villages enter into alliances with each other. In these cases, the marriages between them come about for essentially the same reasons that the exogamic marriages between unrelated groups occur. In short, the existence of the marriage rule alone does not account for alliances between related groups that enter into politico-military pacts.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

128 In the body of this dissertation I have attempted to demonstrate that two variables in particular exert an overriding effect on Yąnomamö social structure. These are, respectivley, the shortage of women and the intensity of actual warfare. In this final chapter, I should like to accomplish two ends. First, I should like to set my conclusions against different material recently gathered among the Yąnomamö in northern Brazil.[1] Second, I should like to bring my material to bear on the discussion between Leach (1957) and Fortes (1959a, 1959b) regarding the relationship of kinship, marriage ties, descent and politics.

121 721 582 183 Let us turn first to comparative Yąnomamö ethnology. If it is true, as I have argued, that warfare enhances the

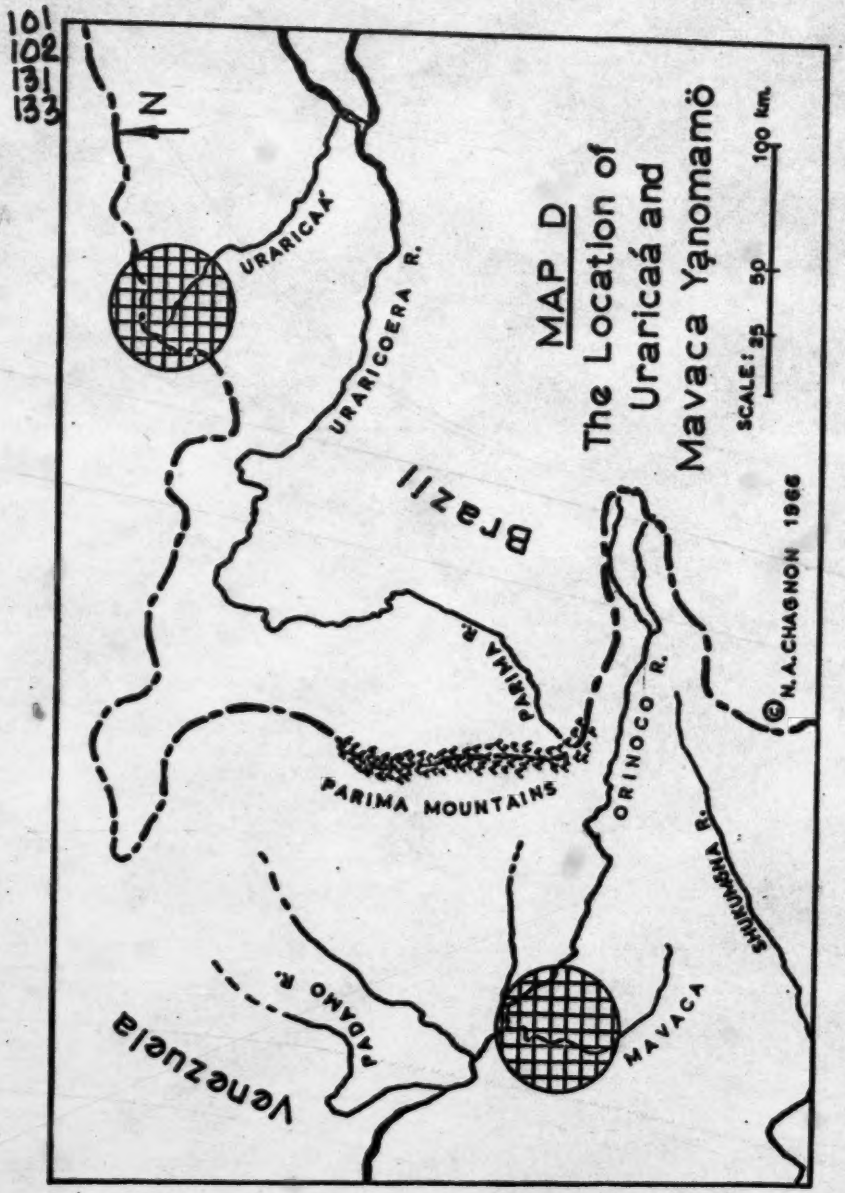
[1]After I had completed the text of the thesis I had an opportunity to discuss with Ernesto Migliazza the social organization of a number of Brazilian Yąnomamö groups. [114] Migliazza, a linguist, spent nearly six years among the Uraricaá Yąnomamö, working for a Baptist Mission and, more recently, for the Goeldi Museum in Belém. I thank him for permission to use much of the comparative material presented below; some of it has already been published in his 1964 work. I introduce this new data because it very effectively demonstrates the interrelationships between the variables discussed in the thesis. I would have arrived at the same conclusions, by employing arguments similar to those used by Meggitt (1965), but the contrast provided by this new material makes the conclusions more defensible.

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1]Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]


101
102
131
133
N
URARICAÁ
URARICOERA R.
Brazil
PARIMA R.
PARIMA MOUNTAINS
ORINOCO R.
SHIKUARNA R.
MAVACA
PADAMO R.
Venezuela
MAP D
The Location of
Uraricaá and
Mavaca Yąnomamö
SCALE: 25 50 100 km.
© N.A.CHAGNON 1966

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

occupying five different sites, each having its own house and garden. These five groups recombined into a single unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the southwest of the Uraricaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated. On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than on the Uraricaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of Yąnomamö from those whose social organization is described in this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Corresponding to this increase in intensity is a change in type of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically or not at all to the northeast.

There is likewise an apparent cline in population density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity. Yąnomamö villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However, another factor complicates the picture: the Yąnomamö have more contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also

contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

---

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

121
*621 fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women
*628 carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which
578
562 increases the sexual activity of females or increases the
831
721 female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.
[837]

121 The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö mar-
183 riage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the
58
721 conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity
*628 of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

121 We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion.
58 Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties,
602
613 Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

121 58 602 613 two major structural problems: the lack of corporate functions of the local descent groups due to the nature of the corporation's estate, and the ambiguous nature of agnatic kinship ties. Within a framework such as this, affinal ties are capable of promoting solidarity between corporate groups because marriages among the Yąnomamö are political alliances that involve military obligations. Local descent groups enter into marriage alliances to advance their military status; the context, therefore, within which marriages are contracted decidely influences the relationships between the corporate groups in question.

121 The debate between Fortes and Leach arose out of the interpretation of the importance of matrilateral kinship ties in patrilineal societies, as these ties are the focal points in any analysis of the means by which solidarity is achieved between corporate descent groups. Briefly, Fortes maintained that the solidarity between lineal descent groups was ultimately due to the inherent tendency of kinship to promote amity. Leach, on the other hand, argues that such an analysis confuses affinal relationships with descent and fails to take notice of the effects of the economic and political contexts within which marriages take place.

Leach drew attention to the fact that ethnological perspectives developed from analyses of patrilineal societies such as the Nuer, Tiv, and Tallensi have biased later workers to focus their attention on lineal corporations and on the common descent ties between corporations when they analyze

12| societies characterized by lineal descent. The result has been that structural ties between different lineal corporations that are based on marriage have largely been ignored, or have been assimilated into the discussion of descent:

> Thus Fortes (1953), while recognizing that ties of affinity have comparable importance to ties of descent, disguises the former under his expression of 'complementary filiation.' . . . marriage ties, as such, do not form part of the structural system. They are of interest only because they serve to distinguish the individuals from one another. (Leach, 1957:54.)

Leach then argues that his data from Burma demonstrate that affinal ties are in fact a part of the social structure; the issue then is whether the existence of important matrilateral kinship ties in these societies can best be understood by treating the social organization as a 'double-unilineal descent' system, or by examining the relationship between 'corporateness' and 'descent.' He pursues the second alternative, showing that the Burmese natives do not conceive of the matrilateral ties as descent and pointing out that marriage alliances between the corporate groups result in economic relationships that bind them to each other. These economic relationships, Leach shows, are the real bases of solidarity between the groups. He then concludes that the context--economic and political--within which marriage operates is critical to an analysis of the stability brought about between lineal descent groups by the marriages.

Fortes (1959b:209) recognizes the importance of explaining the ties between corporate descent groups, but

121 emphasizes the importance of the inherent qualities of kinship in effecting this solidarity:

> It seems to me that a social structure based on an association of exogamous, corporate patrilineal descent groups is not likely to hold together in a permanent political system unless it is either subject to some form of overriding, centralized government, or is knit together in the field of dyadic social relations by a web of kinship ties that counter-balance the centrifugal tendencies of the descent groups; and the main mechanism involved is complementary filiation, not marriage as such.

To Fortes, the ties that unite lineal descent groups arise out of the 'web of kinship' and the inherent properties of cognatic kinship itself. Inter-group stability

> . . . is the result, not of marriage, but of ties of cognatic kinship mediated by combinations of links of matrilateral filiation operating in a complementary way to patrilateral filiation and patrilineal descent. (1959a:195)

The reason that cognatic kinship, rather than affinal ties, is capable of bringing about the stability between corporate descent groups is that

> . . . kinship, being an irreducible factor in social structure, has an axiomatic validity as a sanction of amity and solidarity. (1959b:209)

Thus, we have two distinct interpretations regarding the source of solidarity that stabilizes relationships between lineal descent groups. Leach maintains that we must examine the context within which marriages between corporate groups are contracted to see if the relationship between descent and corporateness itself constitutes part of the stability. Fortes, arguing from first principles, attributes the stability to inherent properties of the 'web of kinship.'

114 -- Among the Yąnomamö consanguineal kinship does not
121 have the quality attributed to kinship in general by Fortes,
602 and we therefore cannot explain the stability that exists in terms of these alleged properties. The fact that affinal ties do promote a certain amount of stability between Yąnomamö descent groups supports Leach's arguments, and, for the reasons implied by Leach: Yąnomamö marriages occur within a political context that promotes military obligations and concomitants not predictable from first principles regarding the putative nature of kinship itself. Descent groups exchange
(613) women with an eye toward maximizing military advantage in a
(583) milieu of hostile political relationships. The stability
(582) brought about by such marriages is, therefore, largely a
(782) function of the politico-military ends served by marriage
(681) and is only tangentially, if at all, a result of kinship.

121 I would also like to discuss the nature of the relationship between corporation and descent from another point of view, for the nature of the estate of the Yąnomamö descent corporation gives a particular quality to the corporation. Most corporate lineal descent groups have as one of their major functions the control over and disposition of property. The property is usually real property. Pastoralists, of course, have as their estates, herds and use rights to forage areas. Some Northwest Coast and northern California tribes have corporate groups whose estates are acorn groves and portions of salmon streams.

In addition to real property, corporate groups

12| frequently include as elements of their estates, exclusive rights to myths, ritual functions, names and emblems. Finally, rights over persons with respect to their relationships to both property and other persons constitute the last category of elements commonly found in most lineal descent group corporations.[1]

Ethnological discussions of corporate lineal descent groups and of their principle of recruitment by descent usually focus on property. This has been characteristic of the re-examination of Polynesian social organization (Goodenough, 1955; Firth, 1957; Davenport, 1959) and of cognatic kinship systems (Murdock, 1960). Thus Davenport redefines descent in such a way that cognatic societies may be said to have corporate descent groups (ibid., p. 558). He was prompted to define descent in this way by the fact that these cognatic groups function like lineal descent groups with regard to regulating the relationships between group members and real estate.[2]

It is important, however, to recognize that estates may consist of rights <u>other</u> than those involving control of real property and that special problems arise in societies

---

[1]See Radcliffe-Brown, 1935 and Befu and Plotnicov, 1962, for a general discussion of estates and corporate lineal descent group types.

[2]See also Goodenough, 1955. Note that Fried (1957) has established a classification of corporate lineal descent groups that is based in large measure on the relationships of members of the groups to 'strategic resources.' For the most part, these resources are real property.

121 having such estates, particularly in those societies to
613 which real estate is totally irrelevant. The Yąnomamö
562 corporate estate consists entirely of rights in disposing
421 of female members belonging to that corporation. As such, males and females have different kinds of shares in the corporation. Males, on the average, tend to inherit more rights, while females tend to inherit more duties and obli-
[423] gations. Land to the Yąnomamö is not a scarce item, as they
[241] are pioneer slash-and-burn horticulturists expanding into
[424] virgin territory.[1] Myths, names and ritual functions do not comprise elements in these corporations.[2]

121 It would seem important to distinguish between lineal descent corporations which control property and those which do not, as Befu and Plotnicov (1962) have done. A further distinction, however, seems warranted on the basis of the data presented here: between <u>societies</u> having any corporate groups that control real property and societies that have corporate descent groups, none of which have control over property as their estate. The possession of real estate tends to reinforce the lineality of corporate descent groups in both dogma and composition,[3] and invites the addition of

---

[184] [1]This is true of the Mavaca Basin Yąnomamö. Elsewhere the Yąnomamö may not be pioneers, but land is not scare in those areas either.

[2]I am aware that the Yąnomamö have lineally transmitted totems; these have nothing to do with the descent group recruitment or its estate.

[3]See Meggitt, 1965, for an excellent account of the relationship of agnatic kinship, real property, and lineage

new functions for the corporation, thus leading to greater integration among its members. These qualities are weak or absent in descent corporations which lack real property. The Yanomamö descent group corporation, therefore, presents a number of theoretical problems not encountered in the study of societies having corporations whose estate consists, above all, of real property.[1]

One of the problems is the definition of the group by a criteria other than descent alone; both descent and residence are critical in recruiting members to the corporation. The factor of residence as a criterion of recruiting members into corporate groups has been dealt with by Firth (1957). He showed how residence was critical in establishing affiliation to 'ambilateral' (ramage) descent groups among the Tikopians, and how individuals, in some cases, have a choice ('option') in affiliating with one of a number of lines of descent in, for example, the Maori hapu. Although Firth argued that property alone was not the basis of the individual choices,

---

dynamics and Sahlins (1963) for a discussion of the important difference between group dogma and group composition.

[1] I do not think that the problems raised can be satisfactorily solved by classifying corporations by function. The Yanomamö have a solidarity problem largely, I feel, because the descent groups compete rather than cooperate. It would seem that the overall integration of this or any society would be enhanced by the existence of additional corporate group functions besides the disposition of marriageable females. In order to appreciate the contribution land controlling corporations have in total social integration, we must distinguish landed societies from others.

121 he acknowledged that the corporation did in fact function in the context of property control as well, suggesting once again that the nature of the estate (land) accounts for the quality of the corporation: that is, that the functions of the corporation are seen to lie largely in the regulation of real estate.

Leach (1963)[1] drew attention to the analytical significance of the local descent group in terms of its function in arranging marriages. He argued that the social groups that arrange marriages in tribal societies are essentially the same in all such societies: they comprise local males of three generations who live together. Membership in these social groups necessarily depends on residence. Yąnomamö descent groups are of this type: to participate in the disposition of local females, one must be related to the patrilineally, as well as live in the same village with them. Both the importance of the marriage arranging functions of the Yąnomamö descent group and the lack of other corporate functions seems to account for the fact that affinal ties promote inter-group solidarity in a way that consanguineal ties can not.

121 613 602 [611] *[621] [584]

121 On the basis of these findings, Leach's approach to the analysis of social organization would seem to hold more promise in the analysis of marriage alliance systems. To the extent that cultural variables such as warfare and the nature of marriage ties demonstrably affect the outcome of

---

[1] The article to which I refer, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," was originally published in 1951.

121 marriage practice, these necessarily constitute components of the social structure and must be considered in the analysis. By the same token, structural analyses that fail to take into account these kinds of variables should be permitted to fall by the wayside, for they can never lead us to adequate description let alone prediction. Leach's summary of his analysis of Sinhalese social organization applies also to this exercise:

> The study of social structure in societies organized according to unilineal descent has not only thrown the emphasis on kinship but has given the impression that kinship structures can be considered in isolation, without reference to the economic [and political, N.C.] background. It has also suggested that social structure is a matter of clearly defined rules, e.g., of descent, of inheritance, and of preferential marriage. In the society considered in this essay social structure is likewise a matter of kinship, but kinship arrangements are not clearly constrained by rules. . . . Although, as in other primitive and peasant societies, the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the expression of social relationships, social behavior is not constrained by the existence of kinship corporations. (1960:123)

Although Leach's summary came in a paper dealing with a society characterized by cognatic kinship and social organization, his observations likewise hold for a large number of societies organized along lineal descent principles.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

APPENDIX A

F621
G13
162

VILLAGE COMPOSITION AND GENEALOGY OF LOWER BISAASI-TEDI

1. Lower Bisaasi-tedi

Lineage	Male	Female	Totals
Sha	9	7	16
Tom	9	3	12
Kor	1	2	3
Kio	2	4	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	1	1	2
Total	25	26	51

2. Upper Bisaasi-tedi

Sha	11	13	24
Kor	8	5	13
Kio	5	11	16
Kah	5	3	8
Shamatari	3	7	10
Rob	0	1	1
Other	5	8	13
Total	37	48	85

3. Monou-tedi

Sha	11	9	20
Kor	15	8	23
Kio	3	3	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	2	3	5
Total	34	32	66

209

P621 613 162

4. Patanowë-tedi

Lineage	Male	Female	Total
Kor	58	33	91
Sha	25	14	39
Rob	14	15	29
Kah	17	8	25
Kar	1	3	4
Shamatari	2	6	8
Ashadowë-tedi	0	5	5
Other	5	6	11
Total	122	90	212

*621 162 551 213 Lower Bisaasi-tedi inhabitants. (Numbers preceding names correspond to those next to individuals given in genealogies.)

Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
1. Ahimi	Hor	F	20	
2. Ahimi's son	Sha	M	0.2	
3. Auhewë	Tom	M	25	
4. Auhewë's son	Tom	M	1	
5. Auma	Kio	M	21	
6. Bëkëbëwë	Sha	M	29	Becoming headman
7. Bëkëbëwë's da.	Sha	F	1	
8. Boarama	Shamatari	F	6	Alliance
9. Bokosiwë	Sha	M	23	
10. Caraca-tedi	Sha	M	3	
11. Didihoma	-	F	5	See p. 213
12. Dimörama	Shamatari	F	20	See p. 213
13. Dodoiwë	Tom	M	52	
14. Heihunioma	Sha	F	19	
15. Hekëwaiyowë	Sha	M	2	
16. Hesiwë	Tom	M	65	
17. Hikarima	Shamatari	F	36	Abducted
18. Hoahemi	Kio	F	52	
19. Huimashima	Sha	F	6	
20. Irokaweikë	Sha	M	20	
21. Kakoma	Sha	F	19	Abducted, see p. 213
22. Kakoma's da.	Kio	F	0.1	
23. Katabema	Shamatari	F	3	See p. 213
24. Kqobauwë	Kio	M	26	
25. Krëëmi	Kio	F	20	
26. Mamorakomi	Shamatari	F	34	See p. 214
27. Mamoshiklabema	Tom	M	4	
28. Manasinawë	-	M	56	See p. 214
29. Mioremi	Sha	F	28	
30. Monokoiwë	Tom	M	13	
31. Monomi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance

	Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
32.	Monomi's Da.	Tom	F	0.2	
33.	Wakakami	Sha	F	56	
34.	NiaiyowÃ	Sha	M	14	
35.	ÕmonoiwÃ	Tom	M	28	
36.	NeromawÃ	Sha	M	53	Headman
37.	Rosa	Sha	F	8	
38.	Ruwisa	Tom	F	7	
39.	ShiborowÃ	Shamatari	M	35	See p. 214
40.	TiabÕwÃ	Shamatari	M	5	See p. 214
41.	TomahewÃ	Tom	M	21	
42.	Tomasi	Tom	M	6	
43.	Ugushi	Hor	M	22	
44.	Waiimi	Hor	F	21	
45.	Waiyamobemi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance
46.	Waiyamobemi's son	Sha	M	0.5	
47.	Waiyuruma	Shamatari	F	50	Abducted
48.	WakarabewÃ	Shamatari	M	16	Son-in-law to #6
49.	YÃbÃnÃma	Kio	F	33	
50.	Yareama	Shamatari	F	2	See p. 214
51.	Yotoma	Tom	F	24	

Comments on particular individuals

1. Ahimi. Her present husband (BokosiwÃ) visited the PatanowÃ-tedi within the past 5 years. Ahimi then lived in PatanowÃ-tedi and was married to a Sha man there (MakoakuwÃ), by whom she had already had one daughter (Huimashima). When BokosiwÃ returned to Bisaasi-tedi, Ahimi followed him, taking her daughter with her, and became BokosiwÃ's wife. As the PatanowÃ-tedi were technically at war with the Bisaasi-tedi, there was not much they could do to recover the woman. As they also wanted to make peace with Bisaasi-tedi, they did not press the matter.

000 11. Didihoma. See #28, Manasinawë, below.

159 12. Dimörama. This girl was abducted from a distant Shamatari
583 village (Kohoroshi-tedi, probably in Brazil, on the Upper
587 Cauabury River) by the Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mömariböwei-
▶621 tedi. Her husband--the man to whom she was given after
578 being abducted--shot her in the stomach with a barbed
arrow, wounding her gravely (see Shiborowë, below). The
man was forced to flee from the village and take refuge
in Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as other men in the village
planned to use this incident as an excuse to take his
159 wives from him. In late 1965 a party of men from Lower
*628 Bisaasi-tedi, including Shiborowë, set off for Mömariböwei-
123 tedi to 'visit.' I accompanied them on their invitation.
721 They were going to Mömariböwei-tedi to take Dimörama away
from her protectors by force, if necessary, and asked me
to come along knowing that I always travelled with a gun,
presuming that my presence, with a gun, would aid in
their objective. The girl was very nearly dead when we
arrived (four months had passed since she was shot, and
the wound was badly inflected). As the Bisaasi-tedi were
one of the only allies of the Mömariböwei-tedi, they gave
[197] up the girl without much argument, since she would have
died anyway. (The New Tribes Missionaries took the girl
to the Territorial Capital by canoe for surgery in
January 1966. She recovered from the wound and is
presently living in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.)

159 21. Kakoma. This is one of the seven women abducted from the
583 Patanowë-tedi in late 1964 by the Monou-tedi. She was
587 taken from her Monou-tedi husband by force by the Lower
*628 Bisaasi-tedi and given to Kǫobauwë, one of the village
721 bachelors.

000 23. Katabema. See Shiborowë, below.

000 26. Mamorakomi. See Shiborowä, below.

159 28. Manasinawä. This man is originally from Hasaböwä-tedi,
593 but he moved to Bisaasi-tedi around 1940-45, along with
586 a brother, a wife, and a daughter. His wife deserted
589 him in Bisaasi-tedi, fleeing to Shibariwä-tedi. After
*628 the treacherous feast of 1950-51, in which Manasinawä's
brother was killed, he was given Hikarima, one of the
widows of that incident. He had one daughter by this
woman (Didihoma, above); she is promised to Bokosiwä.
His other daughter, by his first wife, is married to
Kpobäwä, headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Manasinawä's
[921] father was killed by Husiwä of Patanowä-tedi, so he
joined the Bisaasi-tedi to take revenge on the Patanowä-
tedi, as the two villages were at war then.

159 39. Shiborowä. He fled from his native village, Mömariböwei-
593 tedi, to avoid a fight and the possible loss of his
*621 wives. He shot one of his wives in a fit of rage
*628 (Dimörama, above), and his rivals took the girl away
from him. To avoid a fight in which he had no supporters,
he fled to Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as he had given one of his
daughters (Monomi) to a man in that village. He brought
his second wife (Mamorakomi) and his three juvenile
children with him (Tiaböwä, Yareama, and Katabema). The
Lower Bisaasi-tedi welcomed him, as he had two daughters
to claim as wives; they assisted him in recovering his
second wife.

000 40. Tiaböwä. See Shiborowä, above.

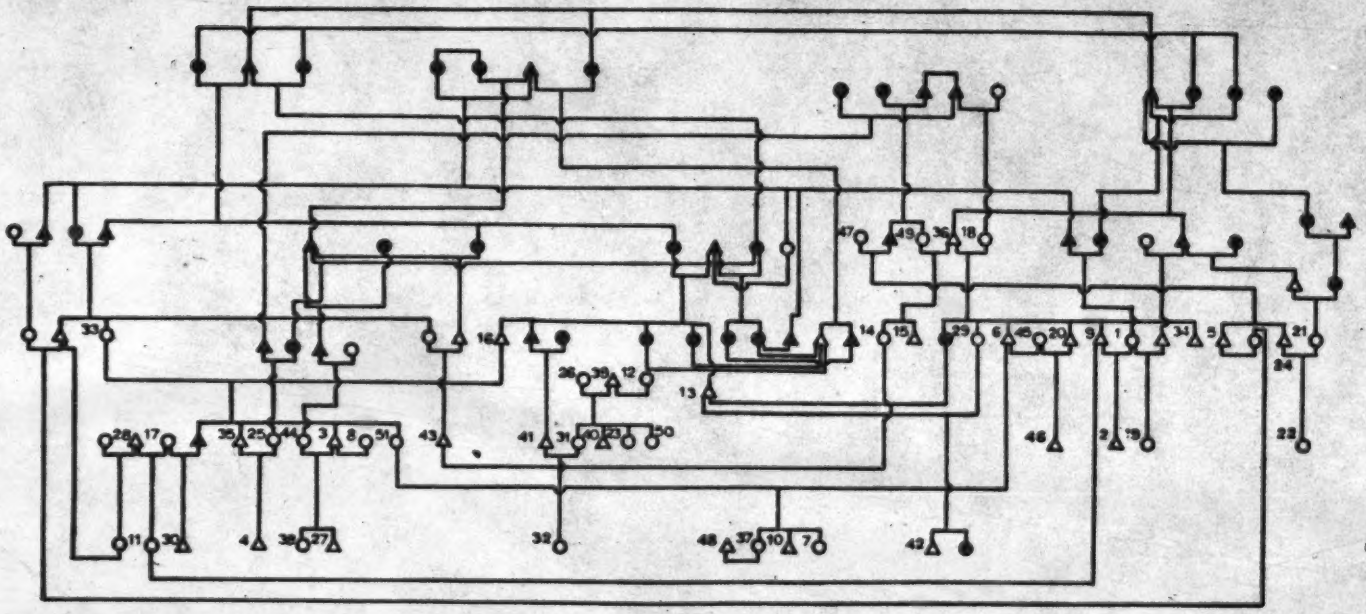
50. Yareama. See Shiborowä, above.

APPENDIX A

[I-216] Genealogy of Lower Bisaasi-tedi

© N.A. CHAGNON | 1967

609
602
621



10:Chagnon F-4.6 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ16 Yanoama SQ16

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Ackerman, Charles
1964 "Structure and Statistics: The Purum Case," American Anthropologist, Vol. 66, pp. 53-65

Barker, James P.
1953 "Memoria sobre la cultura de los Guaika," Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, Año 1, Tomo 1, Nos. 3-4

1959 "Las incursiones entre los Guaika," Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, Año 7, Tomo 7, Nos. 1-4

Becher, Hans
1957a "Bericht über eine Forschungsreise nach Nordbrasilien in das Gebeit der Flüsse Demini und Aracá," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Band 82, Heft 1, pp. 112-20

1957b "Die Yanonami," Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen, Jahrgang 5, Nr. 1, pp. 13-20

1960 Die Surára und Pakidái: Zwei Yanonámi-Stämme in Nordwestbrasiliens, Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde. Hamburg.

Befu, Harumi, and Plotnicov, Leonard
1962 "Types of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, Vol. 64, pp. 313-27

Carneiro, Robert L.
1956 "Slash-and-burn Agriculture: A Closer Look at its Implications for Settlement Patterns," in: Men and Cultures, Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Anthony F. C. Wallace, editor. Philadelphia.

Carneiro, Robert L., and Tobias, Stephen F.
1963 "The Application of Scale Analysis to the Study

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

113

of Cultural Evolution," Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, Ser. II, Vol. 26, pp. 196-207

Caulin, Antonio

1779 Historia corographica natural y evangelica de la Nueva Andalucia, provincias de Cumaná, Guayana, y vertientes del rio Orinoco. Madrid.

Chagnon, Napoleon A.

1967 "The Fierce Yanomamö," (in press) Natural History Magazine, American Museum of Natural History

Conklin, Harold C.

1961 "The Study of Shifting Cultivation," Current Anthropology, Vol. 2, pp. 27-61

Davenport, William

1959 "Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, Vol. 61, pp. 557-72

Firth, Raymond

1957 "A Note on Descent Groups in Polynesia," Man, Vol. LVII, pp. 4-8

Fortes, Meyer

1953 "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," American Anthropologist, Vol. 55, pp. 17-51

1959a "Descent, Filiation and Affinity: A Rejoinder to Dr. Leach: Part I," Man, LIX, pp. 193-7

1959b "Descent, Filiation and Affinity: A Rejoinder to Dr. Leach: Part II," Man, LIX, pp. 206-12

Freeman, J. D.

1955 Iban Agriculture, A Report on the Shifting Cultivation of Hill Rice by the Iban of Sarawak. Colonial Research Studies, Vol. 18. London.

Fried, Morton

1957 "The Classification of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 87, pp. 1-29

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

113 Goodenough, Ward H.
1955 "A Problem in Malayo-Polynesian Social Organization," American Anthropologist, Vol. 57, pp. 71-83

Homans, George C., and Schneider, David M.
1955 Marriage, Authority, and Final Causes: A Study of Unilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage. Glencoe.

Humboldt, Alexander
1821 Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, During the Years 1799-1804, Vol. 5, Pt. 1. (Translated from the French by H. M. Williams) London.

Koch-Grünberg, Theodor
1922 "Die Völkergruppierung zwischen Rio Branco, Orinoco, Rio Negro und Yapurá," in: Festschrift Eduard Seler. Stuttgart.

1923 Vom Roroima Zum Orinoco, Vol. III; Ethnographie. Stuttgart.

1928 Vom Roroima zum Orinoco, Vol. IV; Sprachen. Stuttgart.

Layrisse, Miguel, Layrisse, Zulay, and Wilbert, Johannes
1962 "Blood Group Antigen Tests of the Waica Indians of Venezuela," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 18, pp. 78-93

Leach, E. R.
1957 "Aspects of Bridewealth and Marriage Stability Among the Kachin and Lakher," Man, Vol. LVII, pp. 50-5

1960 "The Sinhalese of the Dry Zone of Northern Ceylon," in: Social Structure in Southeast Asia, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology No. 29. George P. Murdock, ed. Chicago.

1963 Rethinking Anthropology. London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 22. London.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

113 Lévi-Strauss, Claude
1963 Structural Anthropology. (Translated from the French by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf.) New York.

Mauss, Marcel
1954 The Gift. (Translated from the French by Ian Cunnison.) London.

Meggitt, Mervyn J.
1965 The Lineage System of the Mae-Enga of New Guinea. Barnes & Noble, Inc. New York.

Migliazza, Ernesto
1964 "Notas Sôbre A Organização Social dos Xiriâna do Rio Uraricaá," Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, Antropologia, pp. 1-22

1965 "Fonologia Máku," Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, Antropologia, pp. 1-19

Migliazza, Ernesto, and Grimes, Joseph
1961 "Shiriana Phonology," Anthropological Linguistics, Vol. 3, pp. 31-41

Murdock, George P., ed.
1960 Social Structure in Southeast Asia. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology No. 29. Chicago.

Needham, Rodney
1962 Structure and Sentiment: A Test Case in Social Anthropology. Chicago.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.
1935 "Patrilineal and Matrilineal Succession," Iowa Law Review, Vol XX, No. 2

Rice, A. Hamilton
1921 "The Rio Negro, the Casiquiare Canal, and the Upper Orinoco, September 1919-April 1920," The Geographical Journal, Vol. LVIII, pp. 321-43

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

113 Rose, F. G. G.
1960 Classification of Kin, Age Structure, and Marriage amongst the Groote Eylandt Aborigines. Berlin.

Sahlins, Marshall D.
1963 "Remarks on Social Structure in Southeast Asia," Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 72, pp. 39-50

Schomburgk, Robert H.
1840 "Journey from Fort San Joaquim on the Rio Branco to Roraima, and thence by the Rivers Parima and Merewari to Esmeralda on the Orinoco, in 1838-9," Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. X, pp. 191-247

Schuster, Meinhard
1958 "Die Soziologie der Waika," Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress of Americanists, pp. 114-22. Copenhagen.

Seitz, Georg
1963 People of the Rain-Forests. (Translated from the German by Arnold J. Pomerans.) London.

Service, Elman R.
1962 Primitive Social Organization: An Evolutionary Perspective. New York.

Spruce, Richard
1908 Notes of a Botanist on the Amazon & Andes. Edited by Alfred Russel Wallace. London.

Vinci, Alfonso
1959 Red Cloth and Green Forest. (Translated from the Italian by James Cadell.) London.

White, Leslie A.
1959 The Evolution of Culture. New York.

Wilbert, Johannes
1963 Indios de la Region Orinoco-Ventuari. Monogra-

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

113

fía No. 8, Fundación La Salle de Ciencias Naturales. Caracas.

Zerries, Otto

1955 "Some Aspects of Waika Culture," Proceedings of the 31st International Congress of Americanists, pp. 73-88, São Paulo.

1958 "Kultur im Übergang: Die Waika-Indianer des Oberen Orinoco---Wildbeuter oder Pflanzer?" Die Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik, LVIII, pp. 177-80

1964 Waika: Die kulturgeschichtliche Stellung der Waika-Indianer des oberen Orinoco im Rahmen der Völkerkunde Südamerikas. Band I. Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expedition 1954/55 nach Südost-Venezuela. Munich.

10: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

621

[For information on Yanoama community structure including data on the community population, tendency to exogamy or endogamy, cohesive and fissive tendencies, socio-political and economic structure and organization, etc., see category 116, Introductory p. ii-Introductory p. iii, pp. 2-14, 23, 33-34, 43-44, 53, 58-61, 64-70, 74-76, 79-85, 88-90, 92, 96-118, 121-137, 140-156, 159-175, 183-199, and 207-215.]

10: Chagnon

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628

[For information on relationships between various Yanoama communities, see category 116, Introductory, p. iii, and pp. 2-14, 22-24, 34, 53, 57-61, 64-66, 69-80, 84-88, 92-96, 99, 102-109, 111-116, 123, 127-133, 137, 139-165, 168-199, and 213-214.]

627
579
411
526
541

[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

[P. i]

000

CASE STUDIES IN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

GENERAL EDITORS

George and Louise Spindler

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

[P. ii is blank]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

[p. iii]

000

YĄNOMAMÖ

The Fierce People

[p. iv]

LOCATION OF YANOMAMÖ
IN SOUTH AMERICA

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

[P.V]

YĄNOMAMÖ

The Fierce People

∞

By

NAPOLEON A. CHAGNON

University of Michigan and
University of Michigan Medical School

[Title Page]

HOLT, RINEHART AND WINSTON

NEW YORK CHICAGO SAN FRANCISCO ATLANTA
DALLAS MONTREAL TORONTO LONDON

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

[P. vi]

ooo

Copyright © 1968 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
All rights reserved
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 68-22310
03-071070-7
Printed in the United States of America
98123 3 047685432

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Foreword

About the Series

These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

Napoleon Chagnon was born the second of twelve children in Port Austin, Michigan, in 1938. He is married and has two children. At present he is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology and holds a joint appointment as Research Associate in the Department of Human Genetics, University of Michigan Medical School. This department has developed a long-term project for the study of the Yąnomamö from a medical-genetics viewpoint in a team approach involving specialists in several fields. Dr. Chagnon is the ethnological member of the team. He began his academic training in the Michigan College of Mining and Technology, but switched to anthropology, receiving a B.A. in anthropology at the University of Michigan in 1961, an M.A. in 1963, and a Ph.D. in 1966. He has spent nineteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö of Venezuela and Brazil, studying demography, social organization, and warfare, and about one month with the Carib-speaking Makiritare of Brazil and Venezuela, studying social organization. He has published several articles in *Natural History* and *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* and has presented papers at meetings of the American Anthropological Association and the National Academy of Science. He plans to return to the Yąnomamö in several field trips over the next three years, having completed two cooperative trips with members of the Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Cientificas.

About the Book

This is indeed a book about a fierce people. Yąnomamö culture, in its major focus, reverses the meanings of "good" and "desirable" as phrased in the ideal postulates of the Judaic-Christian tradition. A high capacity for rage, a quick flash point, and a will-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

181 ingness to use violence to obtain one's ends are considered desirable traits. Much of the behavior of the Yąnomamö can be described as brutal, cruel, treacherous, in the value-
[114] laden terms of our own vocabulary. The Yąnomamö themselves, however, as Napoleon Chagnon came to intimately know them in the year and a half he lived with them, do not all appear to be mean and treacherous. As individuals, they seem to be people playing their own cultural game, with internal feelings that at times may be quite divergent from
[121] the demands placed upon them by their culture. This case study furnishes valuable data for phrasing questions about the relationship between the individual and his culture.

[276] The Yąnomamö appear to be constantly on the verge of extranormal behavior, as we define it, and their almost daily use of hallucinogenic drugs reinforces these drives to what might seem to the outside observer to be the limits of human capacity. Life in their villages is noisy, punctuated by outbursts of violence, threatened by destruction by enemies. To the ethnographer it is frightening, frustrating, disgusting, exciting, and rewarding, and in this case study the ethnographer lets the reader know how he feels. His honest reactions help us, as interested outsiders, to know the Yąnomamö.

121 This is a study of a fierce people who engage in chronic warfare. It is also a study
926 of a system of controls that usually hold in check the drive toward annihilation. Conflict among the Yąnomamö is regulated through a series of graded escalations, from chest-pounding and side-slapping duels, through club fighting, spear throwing, to raiding in a state of war, to the ultimate—the *nomoboni*—massacre by treachery. The processes of avoidance, settlement, or escalation of disputes are discussed in detail in this case study. There are implications that range beyond the Yąnomamö, and beyond primitive peoples, to the "civilized" world in which we live, for we too live in a state of chronic warfare and are threatened by annihilation.

121 The Yąnomamö goad each other, within their own villages, to the brink of an
578 explosion (and they goaded the ethnographer in the same way). This hostility is
[123] projected on a larger scale in the negotiating of alliances between villages. Each principal must establish the credibility of his own threats, as well as discover the point at which the opposite party's bluffing will dissolve into action. It is, as the author says, a politics of brinksmanship, all too familiar to us.

128 The study is, however, not confined to a description of regulated violence. Dr. Chagnon provides us with an unusually clear chapter on social organization, with the genealogical details of kinship. The models he produces in his analysis are cast in sharper relief because he also discusses deviations from these models in actual behavior. He links social organization with the processes of fission that produce new villages and the alliances that are created in response to the threat of annihilation, reinforced and validated by the mutual ceding of women between villages. Social organization is presented not as an abstraction but as a dynamic process interrelated with other significant dimensions of life. The anthropological novice will find the analysis of social organization detailed but, with close attention, entirely understandable. The more experienced anthropological reader will grasp the full theoretical implications of the analysis and will find the author's references to various debates in the anthropological literature stimulating.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

This case study is given fuller treatment in respect to both the number of photographs and diagrams and text length than is typical in the case study series, due to the unusual nature of the material. 128

GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Phlox, Wisconsin
May 1968

[P. X is blank]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Acknowledgments

The research on which this monograph is based was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health Predoctoral Fellowship Fl MH-25-052 and attached grant MH 10575-01 BEH RO4 and an Atomic Energy Commission Area Grant AT(11-1)-1552. I am also indebted to the faculty and administration of Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas (I.V.I.C.) for their cooperation and support. I wish also to thank the members of the Staff of the Air Force of Venezuela and Brazil for transporting me and my equipment into and out of the Yąnomamö area. I am equally indebted to the Venezuelan Malariałogía personnel who arranged for the purchase and transportation of many of my supplies. My sincere thanks also to the members of the New Tribes Mission and Salesian Mission, whose kindness and cooperation made my field work more pleasant than it might otherwise have been. I am grateful to Professors Eric Wolf, Mervyn Meggitt, James Neel, Elman Service, and Leslie White of my Ph.D. committee for many useful suggestions; this monograph is based in part on my doctoral thesis, and their criticisms have been incorporated into the present work. I wish to thank Professors Marshall Sahlins, Eric Wolf, and Lévi-Strauss for reading earlier drafts of some of the chapters in the present monograph. I thank my wife Carlene for her patience in reading portions of the text and offering her helpful criticisms. Finally, I wish to thank my brother, Verdun P. Chagnon, for his artistic rendition of Figure 2-4.

NAPOLEON A. CHAGNON

Ann Arbor, Michigan
May 1968

122

128

[P. xii is blank]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Contents

Foreword vii 000

Acknowledgments xi

1. Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö 1

2. Adaptation 18

The Physical Environment, 18
Trails and Travel, 19
Technology, 20
Weapons, 21
Hallucinogenic Drugs, 23
Troughs and Canoes, 24
Shelter, 25
Food and Its Gathering, 29
Gardening, 33
Garden Products, 35
Conclusion, 39
Adaptation to the Sociopolitical Environment, 39
Alliances and Village Size, 39
Fission and Settlement, 40
Intellectual Environment, 44
The Cosmos, 44
The First Beings, 45
The Soul, 48
Noreshi, 48
Treatment of the Dead, 50
Shamans, 52
Conclusion, 52

3. Social Organization 54

Social Structure, 54
The Lineage, 65
The Local Descent Group, 68
Village Fissioning, 70
Discrepancies in the Marriage Pattern, 72
Demographic Basis, 74
Political Basis, 76

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

000

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life, 81
Male-Female Division, 81
Child-Adult Division, 84
Relatives by Blood and by Marriage, 86
Daily Activities, 88
Status Differences and Activities, 92

4. Political Alliance, Trading and Feasting 97

General Features of Alliance, 97
Trading and Feasting in Alliance Formation, 99
Historical Background to a Particular Feast, 102
The Feast, 105
The Chest-pounding Duel, 113

5. Yąnomamö Warfare 118

Levels of Violence, 119
The Raid and Nomoboni, 122
A Specific War, 124

Glossary 139

References 141

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

[P. XV]

000

YĄNOMAMÖ

The Fierce People

[P. XVi is blank]

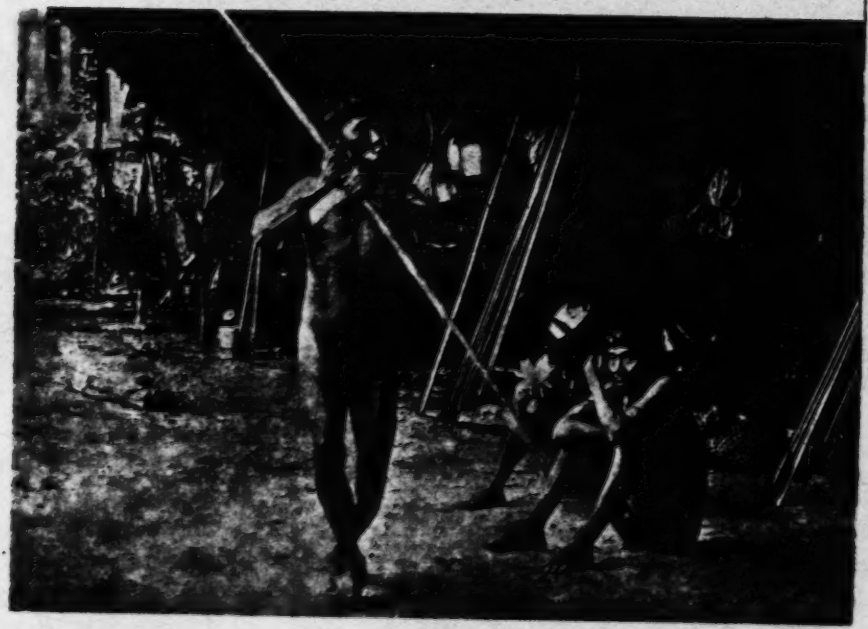
[P. xvii]

142
291
301
411
137
574

Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekura (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).

142
302
291
411
516
755
342
415



11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
516
251
262
415
352
353

Clays pots and banana (plantain) pulings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Monou-teri men shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

142
291
516
411
342
726

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and way of life.

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ɨ] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ä] vowel are pronounced at that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąobawä would be pronounced "cow-ba-wuh," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
516
578

Fig. 1-1. Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast.

000
181
152
721
123

way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1-1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

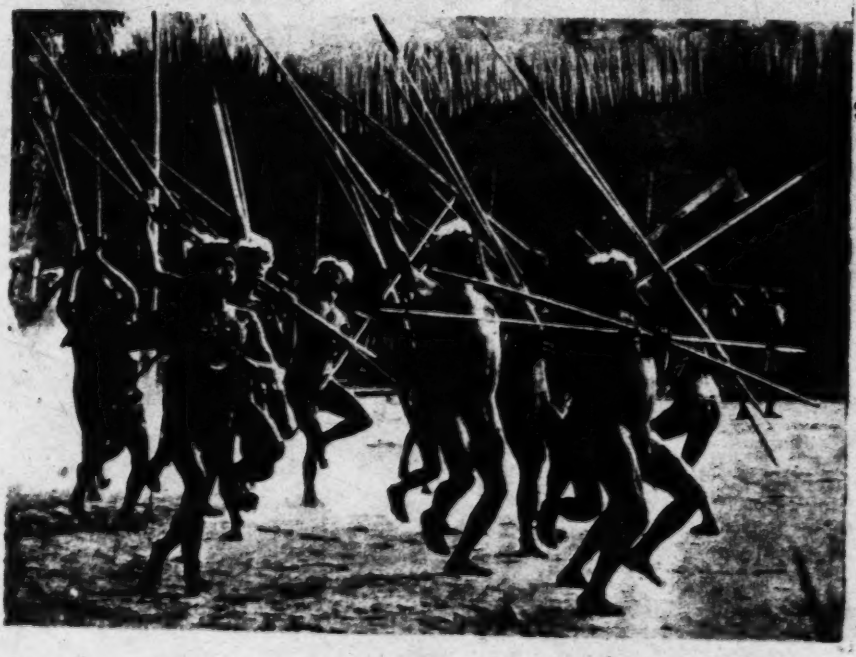
721
181
128
114

The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnamamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1–2).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere is unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1–2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnomamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their hosts' village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.



142
301
411
535
623*
578
291

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of them anxious to help me and honor bound to show any visitor the numerous courtesies of their system of etiquette. In short, they approached the image of primitive man that I had conjured up, and it was sheer pleasure to work with them. The recent work by Colin Turnbull (1966) brings out dramatically the contrast in personal characteristics of two African peoples he has studied.

Hence, what I say about some of my experiences is probably equally true of the experiences of many other fieldworkers. I write about my own experiences because there is a conspicuous lack of fieldwork descriptions available to potential fieldworkers. I think I could have profited by reading about the private misfortunes of my own teachers; at least I might have been able to avoid some of the more stupid errors I made. In this regard there are a number of recent contributions by fieldworkers describing some of the discomforts and misfortunes they themselves sustained.[3] Students planning to conduct fieldwork are urged to consult them.

My first day in the field illustrated to me what my teachers meant when they spoke of "culture shock." I had traveled in a small, aluminum rowboat propelled by a large outboard motor for two and a half days. This took me from the Territorial capital, a small town on the Orinoco River, deep into Yąnomamö country. On the morning of the third day we reached a small mission settlement, the field "headquarters" of a group of Americans who were working in two Yąnomamö villages. The missionaries had come out of these villages to hold their annual conference on the progress of their mission work, and were conducting their meetings when I arrived. We picked up a passenger at the mission station, James P. Barker, the first non-Yąnomamö to make a sustained, permanent contact with the tribe (in 1950). He had just returned from a year's furlough in the United States, where I had earlier visited him before leaving for Venezuela. He agreed to accompany me to the village I had selected for my base of operations to introduce me to the Indians. This village was also his own home base, but he had not been there for over a year and did not plan to join me for another three months. Mr. Barker had been living with this particular group about five years.

We arrived at the village, Bisaasi-teri, about 2:00 PM and docked the boat along the muddy bank at the terminus of the path used by the Indians to fetch their drinking water. It was hot and muggy, and my clothing was soaked with perspiration. It clung uncomfortably to my body, as it did thereafter for the remainder of the work. The small, biting gnats were out in astronomical numbers, for it was the beginning of the dry season. My face and hands were swollen from the venom of their numerous stings. In just a few moments I was to meet my first Yąnomamö, my first primitive man. What would it be like? I had visions of entering the village and seeing 125 social facts running about calling each other kinship terms and sharing food, each waiting and anxious to have me collect his genealogy. I would wear them out in turn. Would they like me? This was important to me; I wanted them to be so fond of me that they would adopt me into their kinship system and way of life, because I had heard that successful anthropologists always get adopted by their people. I had learned during my seven years of

[3]Maybury-Lewis 1967, "Introduction," and 1965*b*; Turnbull, 1966; L. Bohannan, 1964. Perhaps the most intimate account of the tribulations of a fieldworker is found in the posthumous diary of Bronislaw Malinowski (1967). Since the diary was not written for publication, it contains many intimate, very personal details about the writers' anxieties and hardships.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

anthropological training at the University of Michigan that kinship was equivalent to society in primitive tribes and that it was a moral way of life, "moral" being something "good" and "desirable." I was determined to work my way into their moral system of kinship and become a member of their society.

My heart began to pound as we approached the village and heard the buzz of activity within the circular compound. Mr. Barker commented that he was anxious to see if any changes had taken place while he was away and wondered how many of them had died during his absence. I felt into my back pocket to make sure that my notebook was still there and felt personally more secure when I touched it. Otherwise, I would not have known what to do with my hands.

The entrance to the village was covered over with brush and dry palm leaves. We pushed them aside to expose the low opening to the village. The excitement of meeting my first Indians was almost unbearable as I duck-waddled through the low passage into the village clearing.

I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous, and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses. We arrived at the village while the men were blowing a hallucinogenic drug up their noses. One of the side effects of the drug is a runny nose. The mucus is always saturated with the green powder and the Indians usually let it run freely from their nostrils. My next discovery was that there were a dozen or so vicious, underfed dogs snapping at my legs, circling me as if I were going to be their next meal. I just stood there holding my notebook, helpless and pathetic. Then the stench of the decaying vegetation and filth struck me and I almost got sick. I was horrified. What sort of a welcome was this for the person who came here to live with you and learn your way of life, to become friends with you? They put their weapons down when they recognized Barker and returned to their chanting, keeping a nervous eye on the village entrances.

We had arrived just after a serious fight. Seven women had been abducted the day before by a neighboring group, and the local men and their guests had just that morning recovered five of them in a brutal club fight that nearly ended in a shooting war. The abductors, angry because they lost five of the seven captives, vowed to raid the Bisasi-teri. When we arrived and entered the village unexpectedly, the Indians feared that we were the raiders. On several occasions during the next two hours the men in the village jumped to their feet, armed themselves, and waited nervously for the noise outside the village to be identified. My enthusiasm for collecting ethnographic curiosities diminished in proportion to the number of times such an alarm was raised. In fact, I was relieved when Mr. Barker suggested that we sleep across the river for the evening. It would be safer over there.

As we walked down the path to the boat, I pondered the wisdom of having decided to spend a year and a half with this tribe before I had even seen what they were like. I am not ashamed to admit, either, that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next day when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever decided to switch from civil en-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114 123 gineering to anthropology in the first place. I had not eaten all day, I was soaking wet from perspiration, the gnats were biting me, and I was covered with red pigment, the result of a dozen or so complete examinations I had been given by as many burly Indians. [515] These examinations capped an otherwise grim day. The Indians would blow their noses into their hands, flick as much of the mucus off that would separate in a snap of the wrist, wipe the residue into their hair, and then carefully examine my face, arms, legs, hair, and the contents of my pockets. I asked Mr. Barker how to say "Your hands are dirty"; my comments were met by the Indians in the following way: They would "clean" their hands by spitting a quantity of slimy tobacco juice into them, rub them together, and then proceed with the examination.

Mr. Barker and I crossed the river and slung our hammocks. When he pulled his hammock out of a rubber bag, a heavy, disagreeable odor of mildewed cotton came with it. "Even the missionaries are filthy," I thought to myself. Within two weeks, everything I owned smelled the same way, and I lived with that odor for the remainder of the fieldwork. My own habits of personal cleanliness reached such levels that I didn't even mind being examined by the Indians, as I was not much cleaner than they were after I had adjusted to the circumstances.

So much for my discovery that primitive man is not the picture of nobility and sanitation I had conceived him to be. I soon discovered that it was an enormously time-consuming task to maintain my own body in the manner to which it had grown accustomed in the relatively antiseptic environment of the northern United States. Either I could be relatively well fed and relatively comfortable in a fresh change of clothes and do very little fieldwork, or, I could do considerably more fieldwork and be less well fed and less comfortable.

114 122 It is appalling how complicated it can be to make oatmeal in the jungle. First, I had to make two trips to the river to haul the water. Next, I had to prime my kerosene stove with alcohol and get it burning, a tricky procedure when you are trying to mix powdered milk and fill a coffee pot at the same time: the alcohol prime always burned out before I could turn the kerosene on, and I would have to start all over. Or, I would turn the kerosene on, hoping that the element was still hot enough to vaporize the fuel, and start a small fire in my palm-thatched hut as the liquid kerosene squirted all over the table and walls and ignited. It was safer to start over with the alcohol. Then I had to boil the oatmeal and pick the bugs out of it. All my supplies, of course, were carefully stored in Indian-proof, rat-proof, moisture-proof, and insect-proof containers, not one of which ever served its purpose adequately. Just taking things out of the multiplicity of containers and repacking them afterward was a minor project in itself. By the time I had hauled the water to cook with, unpacked my food, prepared the oatmeal, milk, and coffee, heated water for dishes, washed and dried the dishes, repacked the food in the containers, stored the containers in locked trunks and cleaned up my mess, the ceremony of preparing breakfast had brought me almost up to lunch time!

Eating three meals a day was out of the question. I solved the problem by eating a single meal that could be prepared in a single container, or, at most, in two containers, washed my dishes only when there were no clean ones left, using cold river water, and wore each change of clothing at least a week to cut down on my laundry problem, a courageous undertaking in the tropics. I was also less concerned about sharing my provisions with the rats, insects, Indians, and the elements, thereby eliminating the need

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

for my complicated storage process. I was able to last most of the day on *café con leche*, heavily sugared espresso coffee diluted about five to one with hot milk. I would prepare this in the evening and store it in a thermos. Frequently, my single meal was no more complicated than a can of sardines and a package of crackers. But at least two or three times a week I would do something sophisticated, like make oatmeal or boil rice and add a can of tuna fish or tomato paste to it. I even saved time by devising a water system that obviated the trips to the river. I had a few sheets of zinc roofing brought in and made a rain-water trap; I caught the water on the zinc surface, funneled it into an empty gasoline drum, and then ran a plastic hose from the drum to my hut. When the drum was exhausted in the dry season, I hired the Indians to fill it with water from the river.

I ate much less when I traveled with the Indians to visit other villages. Most of the time my travel diet consisted of roasted or boiled green plantains (see Glossary) that I obtained from the Indians, but I always carried a few cans of sardines with me in case I got lost or stayed away longer than I had planned. I found peanut butter and crackers a very nourishing food, and a simple one to prepare on trips. It was nutritious and portable, and only one tool was required to prepare the meal, a hunting knife that could be cleaned by wiping the blade on a leaf. More importantly, it was one of the few foods the Indians would let me eat in relative peace. It looked too much like animal feces to them to excite their appetites.

I once referred to the peanut butter as the dung of cattle. They found this quite repugnant. They did not know what "cattle" were, but were generally aware that I ate several canned products of such an animal. I perpetrated this myth, if for no other reason than to have some peace of mind while I ate. Fieldworkers develop strange defense mechanisms, and this was one of my own forms of adapeation. On another occasion I was eating a can of frankfurters and growing very weary of the demands of one of my guests for a share in my meal. When he asked me what I was eating, I replied: "Beef." He then asked. "What part of the animal are you eating?" to which I replied, "Guess!" He stopped asking for a share.

Meals were a problem in another way. Food sharing is important to the Yąnomamö in the context of displaying friendship. "I am hungry," is almost a form of greeting with them. I could not possibly have brought enough food with me to feed the entire village, yet they seemed not to understand this. All they could see was that I did not share my food with them at each and every meal. Nor could I enter into their system of reciprocities with respect to food; every time one of them gave me something "freely," he would dog me for months to pay him back, not with food, but with steel tools. Thus, if I accepted a plantain from someone in a different village while I was on a visit, he would most likely visit me in the future and demand a machete as payment for the time that he "fed" me. I usually reacted to these kinds of demands by giving a banana, the customary reciprocity in their culture—food for food—but this would be a disappointment for the individual who had visions of that single plantain growing into a machete over time.

Despite the fact that most of them knew I would not share my food with them at their request, some of them always showed up at my hut during mealtime. I gradually became accustomed to this and learned to ignore their persistent demands while I ate. Some of them would get angry because I failed to give in, but most of them accepted

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

it as just a peculiarity of the subhuman foreigner. When I did give in, my hut quickly filled with Indians, each demanding a sample of the food that I had given one of them. If I did not give all a share, I was that much more despicable in their eyes.

A few of them went out of their way to make my meals unpleasant, to spite me for not sharing; for example, one man arrived and watched me eat a cracker with honey on it. He immediately recognized the honey, a particularly esteemed Yąnomamö food. He knew that I would not share my tiny bottle and that it would be futile to ask. Instead, he glared at me and queried icily, "Shaki![6] What kind of animal semen are you eating on that cracker?" His question had the desired effect, and my meal ended.

Finally, there was the problem of being lonely and separated from your own kind, especially your family. I tried to overcome this by seeking personal friendships among the Indians. This only complicated the matter because all my friends simply used my confidence to gain privileged access to my cache of steel tools and trade goods, and looted me. I would be bitterly disappointed that my "friend" thought no more of me than to finesse our relationship exclusively with the intention of getting at my locked up possessions, and my depression would hit new lows every time I discovered this. The loss of the possession bothered me much less than the shock that I was, as far as most of them were concerned, nothing more than a source of desirable items; no holds were barred in relieving me of these, since I was considered something subhuman, a non-Yąnomamö.

The thing that bothered me most was the incessant, passioned, and aggressive demands the Indians made. It would become so unbearable that I would have to lock myself in my mud hut every once in a while just to escape from it: Privacy is one of Western culture's greatest achievements. But I did not want privacy for its own sake; rather, I simply had to get away from the begging. Day and night for the entire time I lived with the Yąnomamö I was plagued by such demands as: "Give me a knife, I am poor!"; "If you don't take me with you on your next trip to Widokaiya-teri I'll chop a hole in your canoe!"; "Don't point your camera at me or I'll hit you!"; "Share your food with me!"; "Take me across the river in your canoe and be quick about it!"; "Give me a cooking pot!"; "Loan me your flashlight so I can go hunting tonight!"; "Give me medicine . . . I itch all over!"; "Take us on a week-long hunting trip with your shotgun!"; and "Give me an axe or I'll break into your hut when you are away visiting and steal one!" And so I was bombarded by such demands day after day, months on end, until I could not bear to see an Indian.

It was not as difficult to become calloused to the incessant begging as it was to ignore the sense of urgency, the impassioned tone of voice, or the intimidation and aggression with which the demands were made. It was likewise difficult to adjust to the fact that the Yąnomamö refused to accept "no" for an answer until or unless it seethed with passion and intimidation—which it did after six months. Giving in to a demand always established a new threshold; the next demand would be for a bigger item or favor, and the anger of the Indians even greater if the demand was not met. I soon learned

[6] "Shaki," or, rather, "Shakiwä," is the name they gave me because they could not pronounce "Chagnon." They like to name people for some distinctive feature when possible. *Shaki* is the name of a species of noisome bee; they accumulate in large numbers around ripening bananas and make pests of themselves by eating into the fruit, showering the people below with the debris. They probably adopted this name for me because I was also a nuisance, continuously prying into their business, taking pictures of them, and, in general, being where they did not want me.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that I had to become very much like the Yąnomamö to be able to get along with them on their terms: sly, aggressive, and intimidating. 114 123

Had I failed to adjust in this fashion I would have lost six months of supplies to them in a single day or would have spent most of my time ferrying them around in my canoe or hunting for them. As it was, I did spend a considerable amount of time doing these things and did succumb to their outrageous demands for axes and machetes, at least at first. More importantly, had I failed to demonstrate that I could not be pushed around beyond a certain point, I would have been the subject of far more ridicule, theft, and practical jokes than was the actual case. In short, I had to acquire a certain proficiency in their kind of interpersonal politics and to learn how to imply subtly that certain potentially undesirable consequences might follow if they did such and such to me. They do this to each other in order to establish precisely the point at which they cannot goad an individual any further without precipitating retaliation. As soon as I caught on to this and realized that much of their aggression was stimulated by their desire to discover my flash point; I got along much better with them and regained some lost ground. It was sort of like a political game that everyone played, but one in which each individual sooner or later had to display some sign that his bluffs and implied threats could be backed up. I suspect that the frequency of wife beating is a component of this syndrome, since men can display their ferocity and show others that they are capable of violence. Beating a wife with a club is considered to be an acceptable way of displaying ferocity and one that does not expose the male to much danger. The important thing is that the man has displayed his potential for violence and the implication is that other men better treat him with respect and caution. 114 123 152 [573]

After six months, the level of demand was tolerable in the village I used for my headquarters. The Indians and I adjusted to each other and knew what to expect with regard to demands on their part for goods, favors, and services. Had I confined my fieldwork to just that village alone, the field experience would have been far more enjoyable. But, as I was interested in the demographic pattern and social organization of a much larger area, I made regular trips to some dozen different villages in order to collect genealogies or to recheck those I already had. Hence, the intensity of begging and intimidation was fairly constant for the duration of the fieldwork. I had to establish my position in some sort of pecking order of ferocity at each and every village. 114 121 125

For the most part, my own "fierceness" took the form of shouting back at the Yąnomamö as loudly and as passionately as they shouted at me, especially at first, when I did not know much of their language. As I became more proficient in their language and learned more about their political tactics, I became more sophisticated in the art of bluffing. For example, I paid one young man a machete to cut palm trees and make boards from the wood. I used these to fashion a platform in the bottom of my dugout canoe to keep my possessions dry when I traveled by river. That afternoon I was doing informant work in the village; the long-awaited mission supply boat arrived, and most of the Indians ran out of the village to beg goods from the crew. I continued to work in the village for another hour or so and went down to the river to say "hello" to the men on the supply boat. I was angry when I discovered that the Indians had chopped up all my palm boards and used them to paddle their own canoes[5] across the river. I knew that if 114 123 [799]

[5]The canoes were obtained from missionaries, who, in turn, got them from a different tribe. [501] [439]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

I overlooked this incident I would have invited them to take even greater liberties with my goods in the future. I crossed the river, docked amidst their dugouts, and shouted for the Indians to come out and see me. A few of the culprits appeared, mischievous grins on their faces. I gave a spirited lecture about how hard I had worked to put those boards in my canoe, how I had paid a machete for the wood, and how angry I was that they destroyed my work in their haste to cross the river. I then pulled out my hunting knife and, while their grins disappeared, cut each of their canoes loose, set it into the current, and let them float away. I left without further ado and without looking back.

They managed to borrow another canoe and, after some effort, recovered their dugouts. The headman of the village later told me with an approving chuckle that I had done the correct thing. Everyone in the village, except, of course, the culprits, supported and defended my action. This raised my status.

Whenever I took such action and defended my rights, I got along much better with the Yąnomamö. A good deal of their behavior toward me was directed with the forethought of establishing the point at which I would react defensively. Many of them later reminisced about the early days of my work when I was "timid" and a little afraid of them, and they could bully me into giving goods away.

Theft was the most persistent situation that required me to take some sort of defensive action. I simply could not keep everything I owned locked in trunks, and the Indians came into my hut and left at will. I developed a very effective means for recovering almost all the stolen items. I would simply ask a child who took the item and then take that person's hammock when he was not around, giving a spirited lecture to the others as I marched away in a faked rage with the thief's hammock. Nobody ever attempted to stop me from doing this, and almost all of them told me that my technique for recovering my possessions was admirable. By nightfall the thief would either appear with the stolen object or send it along with someone else to make an exchange. The others would heckle him for getting caught and being forced to return the item.

With respect to collecting the data I sought, there was a very frustrating problem. Primitive social organization is kinship organization, and to understand the Yąnomamö way of life I had to collect extensive genealogies. I could not have deliberately picked a more difficult group to work with in this regard: They have very stringent name taboos. They attempt to name people in such a way that when the person dies and they can no longer use his name, the loss of the word in the language is not inconvenient. Hence, they name people for specific and minute parts of things, such as "toenail of some rodent," thereby being able to retain the words "toenail" and "(specific) rodent," but not being able to refer directly to the toenail of that rodent. The taboo is maintained even for the living. One mark of prestige is the courtesy others show you by not using your name. The sanctions behind the taboo seem to be an unusual combination of fear and respect.

I tried to use kinship terms to collect genealogies at first, but the kinship terms were so ambiguous that I ultimately had to resort to names. They were quick to grasp that I was bound to learn everybody's name and reacted, without my knowing it, by inventing false names for everybody in the village. After having spent several months collecting names and learning them, this came as a disappointment to me: I could not cross-check the genealogies with other informants from distant villages.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanòama SQ18

They enjoyed watching me learn these names. I assumed, wrongly, that I would get the truth to each question and that I would get the best information by working in public. This set the stage for converting a serious project into a farce. Each informant tried to outdo his peers by inventing a name even more ridiculous than what I had been given earlier, or by asserting that the individual about whom I inquired was married to his mother or daughter, and the like. I would have the informant whisper the name of the individual in my ear, noting that he was the father of such and such a child. Everybody would then insist that I repeat the name aloud, roaring in hysterics as I clumsily pronounced the name. I assumed that the laughter was in response to the violation of the name taboo or to my pronunciation. This was a reasonable interpretation, since the individual whose name I said aloud invariably became angry. After I learned what some of the names meant, I began to understand what the laughter was all about. A few of the more colorful examples are: "hairy vagina," "long penis," "feces of the harpy eagle," and "dirty rectum." No wonder the victims were angry.

I was forced to do my genealogy work in private because of the horseplay and nonsense. Once I did so, my informants began to agree with each other and I managed to learn a few new names, real names. I could then test any new informant by collecting a genealogy from him that I knew to be accurate. I was able to weed out the more mischievous informants this way. Little by little I extended the genealogies and learned the real names. Still, I was unable to get the names of the dead and extend the genealogies back in time, and even my best informants continued to deceive me about their own close relatives. Most of them gave me the name of a living man as the father of some individual in order to avoid mentioning that the actual father was dead.

The quality of a genealogy depends in part on the number of generations it embraces, and the name taboo prevented me from getting any substantial information about deceased ancestors. Without this information, I could not detect marriage patterns through time. I had to rely on older informants for this information, but these were the most reluctant of all. As I became more proficient in the language and more skilled at detecting lies, my informants became better at lying. One of them in particular was so cunning and persuasive that I was shocked to discover that he had been inventing his information. He specialized in making a ceremony out of telling me false names. He would look around to make sure nobody was listening outside my hut, enjoin me to never mention the name again, act very nervous and spooky, and then grab me by the head to whisper the name very softly into my ear. I was always elated after an informant session with him, because I had several generations of dead ancestors for the living people. The others refused to give me this information. To show my gratitude, I paid him quadruple the rate I had given the others. When word got around that I had increased the pay, volunteers began pouring in to give me genealogies.

I discovered that the old man was lying quite by accident. A club fight broke out in the village one day, the result of a dispute over the possession of a woman. She had been promised to Rerebawä, a particularly aggressive young man who had married into the village. Rerebawä had already been given her older sister and was enraged when the younger girl began having an affair with another man in the village, making no attempt to conceal it from him. He challenged the young man to a club fight, but was so abusive in his challenge that the opponent's father took offense and entered the village circle with his son, wielding a long club. Rerebawä swaggered out to the duel and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114 hurled insults at both of them, trying to goad them into striking him on the head with
123 their clubs. This would have given him the opportunity to strike them on the head. His
124 opponents refused to hit him, and the fight ended. Rerebawä had won a moral victory
578 because his opponents were afraid to hit him. Thereafter, he swaggered around and in-
839 sulted the two men behind their backs. He was genuinely angry with them, to the point of calling the older man by the name of his dead father. I quickly seized on this as an opportunity to collect an accurate genealogy and pumped him about his adversary's ancestors. Rerebawä had been particularly nasty to me up to this point, but we became staunch allies: We were both outsiders in the local village. I then asked about other dead ancestors and got immediate replies. He was angry with the whole group and not afraid to tell me the names of the dead. When I compared his version of the genealogies to that of the old man, it was obvious that one of them was lying. I challenged his information, and he explained that everybody knew that the old man was deceiving me and bragging about it in the village. The names the old man had given me were the dead ancestors of the members of a village so far away that he thought I would never have occasion to inquire about them. As it turned out, Rerebawä knew most of the people in that village and recognized the names.

114 I then went over the complete genealogical records with Rerebawä, genealogies I
124 had presumed to be in final form. I had to revise them all because of the numerous lies and falsifications they contained. Thus, after five months of almost constant work on the genealogies of just one group, I had to begin almost from scratch!

114 Discouraging as it was to start over, it was still the first real turning point in my
123 fieldwork. Thereafter, I began taking advantage of local arguments and animosities in
124 selecting my informants, and used more extensively individuals who had married into the group. I began traveling to other villages to check the genealogies, picking villages that were on strained terms with the people about whom I wanted information. I would then return to my base camp and check with local informants the accuracy of the new information. If the informants became angry when I mentioned the new names I acquired from the unfriendly group, I was almost certain that the information was accurate. For this kind of checking I had to use informants whose genealogies I knew rather well: they had to be distantly enough related to the dead person that they would not go into a rage when I mentioned the name, but not so remotely related that they would be uncertain of the accuracy of the information. Thus, I had to make a list of names that I dared not use in the presence of each and every informant. Despite the precautions, I occasionally hit a name that put the informant into a rage, such as that of a dead brother or sister that other informants had not reported. This always terminated the day's work with that informant, for he would be too touchy to continue any further, and I would be reluctant to take a chance on accidentally discovering another dead kinsman so soon after the first.

114 These were always unpleasant experiences, and occasionally dangerous ones, de-
123 pending on the temperament of the informant. On one occasion I was planning to visit
124 a village that had been raided about a week earlier. A woman whose name I had on my
551 list had been killed by the raiders. I planned to check each individual on the list one by one to estimate ages, and I wanted to remove her name so that I would not say it aloud in the village. I knew that I would be in considerable difficulty if I said this name aloud so soon after her death. I called on my original informant and asked him to tell

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

me the name of the woman who had been killed. He refused, explaining that she was a close relative of his. I then asked him if he would become angry if I read off all the names on the list. This way he did not have to say her name and could merely nod when I mentioned the right one. He was a fairly good friend of mine, and I thought I could predict his reaction. He assured me that this would be a good way of doing it. We were alone in my hut so that nobody could overhear us. I read the names softly, continuing to the next when he gave a negative reply. When I finally spoke the name of the dead woman he flew out of his chair, raised his arm to strike me, and shouted: "You son-of-a-bitch![6] If you ever say that name again, I'll kill you!" He was shaking with rage, but left my hut quietly. I shudder to think what might have happened if I had said the name unknowingly in the woman's village. I had other, similar experiences in different villages, but luckily the dead person had been dead for some time and was not closely related to the individual into whose ear I whispered the name. I was merely cautioned to desist from saying any more names, lest I get people angry with me.

I had been working on the genealogies for nearly a year when another individual came to my aid. It was Kąobawä, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri, the group in which I spent most of my time. He visited me one day after the others had left the hut and volunteered to help me on the genealogies. He was poor, he explained, and needed a machete. He would work only on the condition that I did not ask him about his own parents and other very close kinsmen who were dead. He also added that he would not lie to me as the others had done in the past. This was perhaps the most important single event in my fieldwork, for out of this meeting evolved a very warm friendship and a very profitable informant-fieldworker relationship.

Kąobawä's familiarity with his group's history and his candidness were remarkable. His knowledge of details was almost encyclopedic. More than that, he was enthusiastic and encouraged me to learn details that I might otherwise have ignored. If there were things he did not know intimately, he would advise me to wait until he could check things out with someone in the village. This he would do clandestinely, giving me a report the next day. As I was constrained by my part of the bargain to avoid discussing his close dead kinsmen, I had to rely on Rerebawä for this information. I got Rerebawä's genealogy from Kąobawä.

Once again I went over the genealogies with Kąobawä to recheck them, a considerable task by this time: they included about two thousand names, representing several generations of individuals from four different villages. Rerebawä's information was very accurate, and Kąobawä's contribution enabled me to trace the genealogies further back in time. Thus, after nearly a year of constant work on genealogies, Yąnomamö demography and social organization began to fall into a pattern. Only then could I see how kin groups formed and exchanged women with each other over time, and only then did the fissioning of larger villages into smaller ones show a distinct pattern. At this point I was able to begin formulating more intelligent questions because there was now some sort of pattern to work with. Without the help of Rerebawä and Kąobawä I could not have made very much sense of the plethora of details I had collected from dozens of other informants.

[6]This is the closest English translation of his actual statement, the literal translation of which would be nonsensical in our language.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
516

Fig. 1-3. Kąobawä, the wise leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

114
123
124

Kąobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kąobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kąobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

115
[802]
[595]
[837]
[835]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąobawë had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąobawë's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąobawë have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kąobawë is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

Fig. 1-4. Kuamabima, Kąobawë's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers
[622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village,
[156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the
[582] villages to which Kąobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kąobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kąobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relation-
[622] ships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[583] He does not intend to stay in Kąobawä's group and has not made a garden. He
[591] feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an
[837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked
[593] him with a club. Rerebawa was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother
[578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kąobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kąobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good
[522] side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yąnomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too. 115

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be. [156] [829]

142
291
301
302
516
352
276

Fig. 1-5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

2

Adaptation

128 THE YANOMAMÖ ADAPTATION to their physical, social, and intellectual environments is dealt with in this chapter.

The Physical Environment

131 Kaobawä's village[1] is Upper Bisaasi-teri, located at the confluence of the Mavaca
133 and Orinoco Rivers. Like most of the villages in this area, it lies at an altitude of about
361 450 feet. While some villages in Brazil reach 3000 feet in altitude, most Yanomamö villages are located at much lower elevations (Fig. 2–1).

137 The general area around Kaobawä's village is a low, flat plain interrupted occasionally by gently rolling hills and, more rarely, by a few low mountain ridges. The land is entirely covered with jungle, even the tops of the mountain ridges.

The jungle is relatively dense and characterized by numerous species of palm and hardwood trees. The forest canopy keeps the sunlight from penetrating to the ground, but scrub brush and vines manage to grow in relatively great abundance in most places, making it difficult to walk along the trails. Thorny brush is especially heavy along the banks of streams, where adequate sunlight and a constant supply of water provide ideal circumstances for its growth.

---

128 [1]See map, Fig. 2–8. Villages other than Kaobawä's have been included because they are discussed in this
126 and also in a later chapter. Presently occupied villages are indicated in upper-case lettering and by shading. The area shown in this map is unexplored, except for the zone immediately adjacent to the Orinoco River. The map is, therefore, largely calculated guesswork. To establish dates of occupation I estimated ages of individuals and obtained their stated places of birth. Distance and geographical location were determined by compass readings and measured in sleeps required to reach the location from a given point. I also visited many of the locations shown. While I was in Brazil in 1967, I checked the map locations with informants there, being encouraged by the fact that they independently gave approximately the same information. Fig. 2–8 is a simplified version of the more detailed map c in my doctoral thesis (Chagnon 1966). For more information regarding the techniques used in making the map, consult the thesis.

133
139
361
342
245

Fig. 2-1. A Yąnomamö village and plantain garden, aerial view (Toototobi River, Brazil).

487

TRAILS AND TRAVEL. Trails lead out from the village in several directions. Some of them terminate in the gardens that surround the village, but a few of them continue on into the jungle and lead eventually to other villages. The unexperienced eye would not recognize them as trails, as they are hardly more than winding paths through brush, over or around logs, through streams and swamps, and up hills. The Yąnomamö take the most direct route to their destination, regardless of the terrain. A foreigner learns how to recognize a trail only after considerable experience. The most telltale signs are the numerous broken twigs at about knee height left by Yąnomamö travelers who compulsively keep their hands occupied snapping off brush and twigs as they walk. Another sign is the occasional log that is worn smooth from the tread of numerous travelers who prefer to walk along a log rather than go around it.

The most commonly used trail from Kąobawä's village leads to the two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-teri and Mǫmariböwei-teri, southwest of Upper Bisasi-teri. Hardly a week goes by in the dry season without a few individuals making a trip from one of these villages to Bisasi-teri or vice versa. A group of young men can make this trip in one day if they walk rapidly and leave early in the morning. Older men, women, and children must plan on a two day journey, as they walk more slowly and rest more frequently. There are a number of temporary shelters along the trail built by previous visitors, so the traveler does not have to spend much time putting one of these into repair should he decide to camp overnight.

[484]

[342]
[485]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The jungle provides a number of hazards to the barefoot traveler in that most species of palm have long, sharp spines protruding from their trunks or leaf stems. The most common and recurrent injury the Yąnomamö sustain is thorns in the feet. A party of ten men can rarely travel an hour without one of them stopping to extract a thorn from his foot. This is always accompanied by hisses and clicks of pain on the part of the victim, who gouges the thorn out with either an arrow point or another thorn. Their feet have thick calluses on them, but because the trails frequently cross streams and swamps, the calluses soften and are easily pierced by thorns.

Another, but rarer, hazard is snakes.[2] There are always a few cases of snake bite in each village every year, although few of them are fatal. Most snake-bite victims recover from the wound with no ill side effects. I treated two cases of snake bite that were like this. But a few bites are severe enough to cause the loss of a limb. One of my better acquaintances, a young man of some thirty years, lost a leg because of a snake bite when he was about fifteen years old, and will spend the rest of his life hopping on one leg, a form of locomotion he has mastered so thoroughly that he almost manages to keep up with the group when they visit other villages.

Most of the intervillage traveling is done from September through April, the dry season. For the remainder of the year the trails, or substantial portions of them, are underwater. At this time the rains are frequent and heavy, and the small streams that can be easily crossed on foot in the dry season become impassable torrents. Small lakes replace the marshy low ground, and communication between villages all but ceases. As the Yąnomamo are an inland people and avoid locating their villages near large streams, all travel is done on foot, and each village becomes an isolated entity at the peak of the wet season (June).[3] If the group must travel, it will make simple vine and pole bridges over the smaller streams. A pair of slender poles is stuck into the river and crossed to form an X-frame. Vines are used to lash the poles together where they intersect, and another pole is laid from the bank to the X-frame, also secured by vines. Then another pair of poles is stuck into the stream and lashed to form another X-frame. The long pole is then extended out further from the bank, and so on, until the stream is bridged. A vine railing is attached to the protruding members of the X-frames. The bridges usually last only a short time. The first heavy rain will swell the stream and the current will wash it away.

TECHNOLOGY Much of Yąnomamö technology is like the pole-and-vine bridge: crude, but very effective, and not destined to last for any great period of time. The only durable artifact produced is a crude, poorly fired clay pot. It is nearly an inch thick at the bottom and tapers to almost nothing at the brim. Consequently, it breaks very easily. For this reason, women, regarded as clumsy, are rarely allowed to touch or handle them. When the clay pots are used, the men do the cooking, as, for example, during feasts. The pot is made by the coil technique: The untempered clay is kneaded to the proper consistency by hand, rolled into long, slender ropes, and these, in turn, placed on top of each other to form a continuous rope of clay. The coils are then scraped flat so that the interior and exterior of the pot are smooth. The conical-shaped pot is allowed to dry in the shade, then fired by placing brush and wood over it. The end product is

[2]Two percent of all adult deaths are due to snake bites; 34 percent are due to malaria, and other epidemic diseases (Chagnon 1966) and 24 percent of adult males die in warfare.

[3]The Yąnomamö began moving their villages out to navigable rivers after 1955. Up to that time there was only one village, Mahekodo-teri, located on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4]For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5]The cultivated palm, *pïjïgaao*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

278 layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curare point after it has been attached to the arrow.

415 411 [824] [438] [239] Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches. The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

372 [824] The Yąnomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

412 [237] The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yąnomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

[314] [284] 226 The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yąnomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

302
824
412

"Razor grass"—a reed—also grows wild in the jungle. It is used by the Yanomamö to cut their hair and to keep their tonsures cleanly shaved. A sliver of this reed is wrapped around the index finger in such a way that the sharp edge is exposed. The practiced hand can shave a head bald in a matter of minutes and with no more pain than would come from using a dull steel razor blade. This grass is also found around some of the villages, but appears not to be cultivated.

276

HALLUCINOGENIC DRUGS Another useful plant provided by the jungle is the ebene tree. The inner bark of this tree is used in the manufacture of one kind of hallucinogenic drug. The bark is scraped from the trunk after the exterior layer of bark is removed, or is scraped from the inside of the bark surface itself. This material, which is fairly moist, is then mixed with wood ashes and kneaded between the palms of the hands. Additional moisture is provided by spitting periodically into the pliable wad of drug. When the drug has been thoroughly mixed with saliva and ashes, it is placed on a hot piece of broken clay pot and the moisture driven out with heat. It is ground into a

[412]

Fig. 2-2. Women fishing in a dammed stream that has been poisoned by the juice of a wild liana. The poison is introduced upstream by the men, and the stunned fish are collected in baskets by the women.

224
139
415
516

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

276 [412] powder as it dries, the flat side of a stone axe[6] serving as the grinding pestle. The dried, green powder, no more than several tablespoons full, is then swept onto a leaf with a stiff feather. The men then gather around the leaf containing the drug, usually in the late afternoon, and take it by blowing the powder into each other's nostrils (see Fig. 2-3). A small quantity of the powder is introduced into the end of a hollow cane tube some 3 feet long. The tube is then flicked with the forefinger to scatter the powder along its length. One end of the tube is put into the nostril of the man taking the drug, and his helper then blows a strong blast of air through the other end, emitting his breath in such a fashion that he climaxes the delivery with a hard burst of air. Both the recipient and the blower squat on their haunches to do this. The man who had the drug blown into his nostrils grimaces, groans, chokes, coughs, holds his head from the pain of the air blast, and duck-waddles off to some leaning post. He usually receives two doses of the drug, one in each nostril. The recipient usually vomits, gets watery eyes, and develops a runny nose. Much of the drug comes back out in the nasal mucus that begins to run freely after the drug has been administered. Within minutes after the drug has been blown into a man's nose, he begins having difficulties focusing his eyes and starts to act intoxicated. The drug allegedly produces colored visions, especially around the periphery [787] of the visual field, and permits the user to enter into contact with his particular *bekura*, miniature demons that dwell under rocks and on mountains. The man begins to chant to the *bekura* when the drug takes effect, inviting them to come and live in his chest.

245 276 The Yąnomamö also cultivate a tree, *hisoma*, that produces hallucinogenic seeds. These are prepared in exactly the same manner as the noncultivated drug.

322 396 TROUGHS AND CANOES. The Yąnomamo use the bark of another kind of tree to make a trough and a crude canoe, both of which are nearly identical in shape, size, and method of construction. The tree is beaten with clubs to loosen the bark. The bark is then removed in one piece and hauled back to the village. The ends are heated in a fire to make them pliable and folded back to make the ends of the container. They are held firm by lashing two sticks together, pinching the folded bark into a flat-nosed basin. The interior bark surface becomes the exterior surface of the soup container. If the container is to be used as a canoe, a crude framework of sticks is added to the inside, giving 501 it more stability. The craft is so crude and heavy that the Yąnomamo generally do not use it for any purpose other than the trip for which it was intended, usually a downstream trip, since it would be almost impossible to move against a current in this rough craft. It is easier to walk than to try to pole the canoe upstream. The canoe, hence, is usually discarded after it makes its maiden voyage. Another will be made when it is needed.

415 574 264 The container is pinioned to the ground with stakes if it is to be used as a soup trough. Each time a feast is held, one or more of these bark containers is made in front of the headman's house, filled with the boiled ripe plantain soup, and frequented by the hungry guests, who dip out the soup with gourd spoons. The trough is thrown on the village rubbage heap after the feast is over.

---

[172] [6]They find the stone axes when they make new gardens, explaining that the spirits left them behind for the Yąnomamö to use. This area was occupied in the distant past by tribes whose relationship to the present Yąnomamö is uncertain.

142
301
302
296

Fig. 2-3. Man blowing ebene, a hallucinogenic drug, into each other's nostrils by means of a hollow tube.

342

SHELTER All house materials likewise come from the jungle: poles, vines, and leaves. The Yąnomamö permanent house—*shabono*—is probably the most sophisticated manufacture produced by these people. Its construction requires considerable cooperation, planning, labor, and patience. Unfortunately, the *shabono* only lasts one or two years because the leaves begin to leak, or the entire village is burned to the ground in order to destroy the cockroaches, scorpions, spiders, and other vermin that infest the house. These can become such a nuisance that the roof is literally alive with bugs. Kąoke'ri's house was so badly infested at one point that the noise of thousands of scurrying roaches produced a constant, noticeable din in the village. Whenever someone got out of his hammock, the roof just above his head would suddenly come alive with roaches, disturbed by the movement below. As they scurried to safety, many of them would fall off, producing a shower of bugs on the occupants below. There were so many bugs that the increased activity above the moving person also increased the din, as if a sudden gust of wind had disturbed the dried leaves.

[136]

Each individual builds his own section of the *shabono*. The man usually does all the heavy work of locating and fetching poles for the frame, placing them into the ground or tying them overhead, and weaving the numerous leaves into the roof thatch. The wife helps by gathering the leaves and [illegible] construction.

[462]

[351]

The first step in building a new *shabono* is the selection of the site. This is usually some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump.

342 some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump. The four main posts of the individual house are then sunk into the ground, two short ones about 5 feet high at the back, and two longer ones about 10 feet high at the front (see Fig. 2-4, a and c). The rear posts are placed about 8 or 9 feet away from the front posts, and both pairs are approximately the same distance from each other as well. After these have been tamped securely into the holes, cross poles are lashed to the tops of them, and then long, slender saplings some 20 to 30 feet long are laid about a foot apart from each other on top of the cross poles and secured with vine lashings. Since the two rear posts are only about half as high as those at the front, the long roof poles protrude upward at an angle of 25 to 30 degrees toward the village clearing. A vine is then strung along the bottom of the long, protruding saplings, looped around each pole, and run the entire length of the house. The leaves used in the thatch have a long stem; the individual leaves are bent over the vine where the stem joins the leaf, and the first row of thatching goes on. When this row is completed, another vine, about 8 inches above the first one, is again strung along the entire length of the house and secured to each of the long saplings where it crosses them. The next row of thatch is then put in place; the leaf is inserted into the thatch of the first row of leaves and bent over the second vine. It overlaps the first row of leaves when it is bent down (see Fig. 2-5). The leaves are placed about an inch apart, resulting in a thoroughly impermeable roof. When the rows of leaves reach the two front main posts, a scaffolding is erected, and the roofing is extended to completely cover the entire length of the 30 foot saplings. A fringe of palm leaves is then hung from the top of the roof, adding a little decoration to the structure. An upright pole from the scaffolding is left to support the overhang, since the weight of the leaves might break the slender poles. These uprights, some 20 feet high, are spaced every 15 feet or so around the village.

361 At this point the village looks like a series of individual houses arranged in a more or less neat circle, a gap of about 3 feet separating the individual houses from each other. These gaps are roofed over by the men whose houses are adjacent to them, and the village then looks like a continuous roof surrounding an open plaza. Some of the gaps are not completely roofed over in order to leave additional exits; the roofing is started at the lower crossbeams, giving an exit about 3 to 5 feet high.

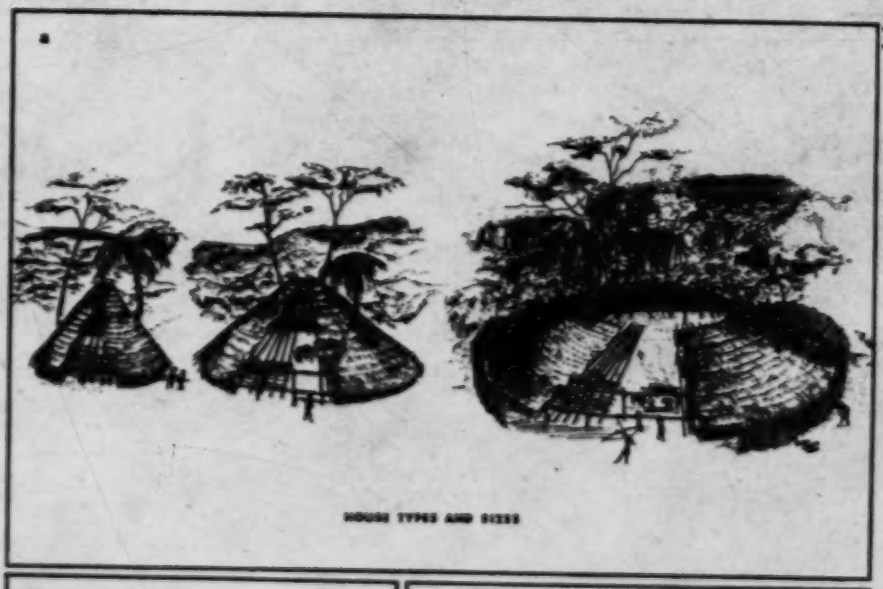
354 Small houses in some areas are simply round structures with a smoke hole at the top, such as the first house shown in Fig. 2-4a. The Yanomamö *shabono* appears to have developed from such a structure by simply pulling the roof away from the center until the smoke hole grew so large that it, in effect, became a center plaza. Fig. 2-4a shows three house types that are found in Yanomamö country. They are not so much distinct types as different sizes of a single type, the size being a function of the number of people the house shelters.

354 Where the village is located at a relatively high elevation, palm fronds or banana leaves are placed in front of the house to keep the smoke, and, hence, the heat, in the house. At lower elevations these palm fronds are usually found only at the east end of the *shabono*; they are used to keep the bright rays of the afternoon sun out of the house.

A new *shabono* is very attractive; it smells of freshly cut leaves, looks clean and tidy, and is cooled by the breeze as it drops down into this tiny hole in the otherwise uninterrupted canopy of the forest.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

342



772

342

Fig. 2-4.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

342
302
301
824
142

Fig. 2-5. Thatching a new roof with leaves.

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwä, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof.

342
821
756
189

The Yąnomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about

342
484

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4 feet off the ground at the rear and 6 feet off the ground at the front. Shorter sticks are then laid crossways on the major roof poles and these, in turn, covered with several layers of long, broad, wild "banana" leaves (see Glossary, under "Banana, wild"). It is quite small, but can sleep three individuals. Frequently, the traveler finds the remains of one of these houses and has merely to put a new layer of leaves on the roof to make it waterproof; occasionally, he takes a chance that it won't rain that night and does not improve the hut at all.

When the Yąnomamö settle a new area, they erect temporary villages of these crude huts and live in them until they can build a *shabono*. They also live in huts like these while they are re-roofing the old *shabono*.

The permanent village is complete when the palisade of logs is erected around its circumference. This is placed some 3 or 4 feet behind the roof, allowing space for a path around the village inside the palisade. The palisade itself is about 10 feet high and usually made of a mixture of palm and hardwood logs. It is kept in repair only when there is some reason to suspect raiders. Otherwise, people pilfer logs from it for use as firewood. The entrance to the village, as well as the palisade entrance, is covered with brush and logs at night to keep out intruders. Anyone trying to enter will inevitably make the brush move and alarm the village dogs.

FOOD AND ITS GATHERING The jungle provides numerous varieties of food, both animal and vegetable. The most commonly taken game includes several species of monkeys, two varieties of wild "turkey," two species of wild pig, armadillos, anteaters, tapir, deer, a small alligator, small rodents, and several species of smaller birds. Wild vegetable foods commonly exploited by the Yąnomamö are: palm fruits of several species, hardwood fruits, brazil nuts, tubers, and the seed pods of the feral banana. Of these, the palm fruits are by far the most significant.

These occur seasonally and, for brief periods of time, produce large quantities of fruits. Unfortunately, there is very little edible substance in each fruit, so that in order to get filled, one must eat the edible portion of enormous quantities of fruit. The Yąnomamö extensively exploit two closely related palms, *yei* and *kawabi*. The *yei* fruits are about the size of small hen's eggs and occur in large clusters, weighing 80 pounds and more, near the tops of the palm trees. The *kawabi* fruits are about half that size. The exterior portion of the fruit is a leathery shell which is peeled with the teeth. Inside there is a thin layer of very bitter, white flesh. This is chewed and sucked off. The taste resembles that of a poor grade of bath soap. Of the two, I found *kawabi* the more repugnant. My throat burned when I ate them.

Another commonly exploited palm is the *adiwabi*. It is tangerine red in color and covered with a leather-like skin that consists of hundreds of small scales. They are about the size of large hen's eggs and resemble small hand grenades. When the fruit is dry, as, for example, when it is first cut from the tree, it is almost impossible to get the leathery scales off. The Yąnomamö overcome this difficulty by throwing the fruit bunches into water and letting them soak for several days, after which the scales can be easily scraped off with the fingernails, exposing a thin layer of yellowish, soft flesh that tastes very much like cheese. The fruits begin to ferment after they have soaked, producing a slightly pungent taste. I enjoyed eating *adiwabi* with the Yąnomamö; the fruit was good, and the technique of eating it was very sociable. We would wade into the swamp where the fruit had been submerged and grope around in the murky water to locate it. After

222 262 we had each accumulated a half bushel or so, we would then proceed to eat them. In general, it takes a lot of work to get filled up on palm fruits.

The Yąnomamö also collect wild honey in considerable quantities. Nothing excites them more than locating a dead tree in which a swarm of bees has built a nest. They will halt everything and, if need be, spend the entire day chopping the tree down [123] to get at the honey. When I began my fieldwork I hired about a dozen men to cut trees for me so that I could build a mud hut. They would be gone all day and return with just a few poles, demanding a full day's pay for their efforts. I decided to accompany them one day to see what they were up to. We spent the entire day wandering through the jungle, eyes glued to the tree tops above. Each time I spotted a suitable tree, they talked me out of cutting it down because "it would rot" or "it is too far away from the river." By mid-afternoon we had not cut a single tree, but had walked over a large area of jungle. Finally, one of the men shouted for the rest of us to come. All the men descended on the large, dead tree he had located, and set about chopping it down with the axes I had provided. It took about an hour to get it down. They then spent another hour chopping holes along the length of the tree trunk to get at the honey inside. When it was exposed, they gleefully tore the combs out, dunked them into the amber liquid, and gorged themselves on the larvae-filled combs. After they had eaten their fill of this, they collected a large pile of leaves and made a crude bowl. Then they stuck handfuls of leaves into the honey and squeezed them out into the leaf bowl. When they had gotten all the honey they could reach, they scoured the nest with leaves and licked them off after each plunge [123] of the hand into the bowels of the trunk. They borrowed the aluminum kettle I had brought along and used to cook our lunch in. As we were some distance from the river [292] and they were impatient, one of them filled the kettle with muddy water he found in a swamp a short distance away. Some of the honey from the bowl was poured into the kettle, along with dead adult bees, twigs, leaves, dirt, and several dozen larvae. They passed this around among themselves, each man drinking about a quart or so of the mead after blowing the debris off the surface in order to expose the water. The remainder [251] of the honey was wrapped up in its leaf bowl, tightly bound with vines, and carried back [123] to the village. On the way back to the canoe we cut a few light trees for my mud hut. They had gotten what they were looking for all day, and I managed to get a few logs. They demanded a full day's pay when we reached home. Thereafter, I paid them by the log rather than by the day.

222 231 262 Finally, several varieties of insects are collected. Perhaps the most desirable food in this category is the grub of an insect that lays its eggs in the decaying pith of dead palm trees. The Yąnomamö come very close to practicing "animal domestication" in their techniques of exploiting this food. They deliberately cut the palm tree down in order to provide fodder for the insect. When they cut the tree, they also eat the heart of the palm, a very delicious, crunchy vegetable that slightly resembles the taste of celery hearts. One palm we cut yielded an edible heart of about 50 pounds. After the pith has been allowed to decay for several months, it contains numerous large, fat, white grubs. The pith is dug out of the tree with sticks, broken open by hand, and the grubs extracted. Each grub is bitten behind his squirming head, and the head and intestines removed simply by pulling the body away from the teeth. If a grub gets damaged in the process of extracting it, the parts are eaten raw on the spot. A fair-sized palm tree will yield three or four pounds of grubs, some of them as large as a mouse. The grubs

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Fig. 2-6. Rerohamõi climbing a rasha *tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamõ use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.*

The grubs are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in a smoky fire tastes like bacon.

The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. The Yąnomamõ break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare it in the above manner.

Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

They have much less fat on them than grubs, and become dry and crunchy during the cooking, having a texture and form like cheese pone when prepared.

Large spiders are also collected; they are simply placed directly on the hot coals and roasted alive. The legs and thorax are eaten.

Another common insect food is the larvae of a species of large ant. Only the head of the squirming larvae is eaten. It is very crunchy and has a nutty taste, but one must exercise caution in eating them since they are equipped with sharp pincers and can inflict a painful wound on the tongue or lip.

The game animals are all shot with arrows. The curare palm points are usually used for monkey hunting, while the lanceolate bamboo points are used for large game, such as deer, tapir, and wild pigs. A third kind of point is used for birds. It consists of a long, slender stick to the end of which has been bound a splinter of gently curved monkey bone. This serves as the penetrating point and the barb; it is difficult to extract the point once the barb enters the animal.

The Yąnomamö also fashion a fourth kind of arrow point as they need it. It is simply a stick that has numerous twigs branching in a close cluster. The twigs are cut off an inch or so from the main branch, and the stem is inserted into the end of the arrow shaft that usually contains the curare-tipped point. This fourth type of point is used to kill small birds whose feathers are desired for decoration purposes. On one occasion I saw a young man fashion one of these points in a few seconds. He saw a small bird, located a shrub a few feet away, bit off a branch with his teeth, bit the twigs off, and stuck the point into his arrow shaft—without taking his eyes off the small bird for a second. This type of point is discarded after it serves its temporary purpose.

The Yąnomamö do not employ traps or compounds when hunting. They frequently use dogs to run tapir, pigs, and deer, but most hunting is merely the individual stalking and shooting whatever game is available. As men always carry their weapons with them when they leave the village, they are, in effect, hunting continuously. A communal type of hunting trip invariably precedes a feast; this is described in Chapter 4.

The technique for capturing armadillos is very interesting. Armadillos live in burrows deep underground, and the Yąnomamö are always investigating the entrances of these burrows to see if any signs of recent occupation can be found. If the burrow is occupied, the hunters quickly cover the entrance with combustible materials and start a fire. After the fire is blazing strongly, they find a dried termite nest, which produces large quantities of smoke, and put it onto the fire. When this is ignited, they fan the smoke into the burrow, cover the fire with sand, and look for other openings to the armadillo den. These are quickly spotted when smoke begins to emerge from them and covered with sand to keep the smoke in. Then the men crawl around with their ears held to the ground. The armadillo will sometimes start burrowing in order to escape the smoke; when he does, he is heard and his location immediately established. A stick is used to dig into the ground and find the animal, usually 2 or 3 feet below the surface. On one occasion the men had difficulty locating the animal and dug several holes without hitting the burrow. One of them then uncovered the entrance, obtained a thick vine from a nearby tree, and tied a knot in the end of it. He then introduced the knot into the burrow by spinning the vine rapidly between his hands, pushing it in gently as it twirled. When he could not get the vine to go any further, the men listened on the ground to locate the spinning knot. When they found it, they marked the spot. The vine was

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

removed and laid along the ground in the direction of the burrow to measure the distance from the entrance. The men began digging at the end of the vine and located the asphyxiated armadillo on the first attempt.

The jungle provides many other kinds of foods and products too numerous to mention. Some, like vines and lianas, are very useful and commonly employed in basket-making; others, such as edible mushrooms, crabs, pigments, and decorative plant products, are less significant, and exploited only sporadically. Despite the amazing variety of food products to be found in the jungle, however, the Yąnomamö could not exist for any substantial period of time on collected foods only: they rely heavily on their cultivated crops. The tropical forest is much less productive and reliable than one would imagine. The most abundant foods, palm fruits, are seasonal—a group of people could only rely on them for a few months of the year, during which time some 80 group members would have to forage over a wide area to obtain sufficient palm fruits to keep everybody well fed.

Game animals are not abundant, and an area is rapidly hunted out, so that a group must keep constantly on the move. Furthermore, hunting depends as much on luck as it does on skill and is not a very reliable way to supply nourishment. I have gone on five-day hunting trips with the Yąnomamö in areas that had not been hunted for decades, and had we not brought cultivated foods along, we would have been extremely hungry at the end of this time—we did not collect even enough meat to feed ourselves. On other trips, we often managed to collect enough game in one day to feed the entire village.

GARDENING Although the Yąnomamö spend almost as much time hunting as they do gardening, the bulk of their diet comes from foods that are cultivated. Perhaps 85 percent or more of the diet consists of domesticated rather than wild foods—plantains are by far the most important food in the diet.

The Yąnomamö are constantly looking for potential garden sites. When I hunted with them, the topic of conversation that evening would eventually drift over to the merits of the area as a possible site for a new garden. Most new garden sites are, in fact, discovered by hunters.

The land for a new site should not be heavily covered with brush, which is difficult to remove. The larger trees should not be too numerous either, as it takes a good deal of work to chop them down. Ideally, the new site should have very light jungle cover, should be well drained, near a source of drinking water, and relatively free of thorny underbrush. The Yąnomamö call a garden *hikari täka;* jungle that has the potential of being a good garden is likewise called *hikari täka.*

The first operation in making a new garden is to cut the smaller trees and brush; the bigger trees, *kayaka hi,* are left standing until the underbrush is removed. Then the big trees are felled with axes and left lying on the ground to dry out in the sun.

My older informants claimed that they did not have steel tools when they were younger and had to kill the big trees by cutting a ring of bark off around the base of the stump, using a crude stone axe, piling brush around them, and burning them. The trees rarely fell, but the fire usually killed them, and their leaves dropped off, permitting the sunlight to reach the ground.

They also claimed that making a garden was more arduous in those days because a large area would have to be searched for the necessary quantities of kindling used to kill the big trees. Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a newly planted sucker, the more quickly it will bear fruit. Hence, if the Yąnomamö wish to establish a garden that will produce a crop in the shortest period of time, they must plant large cuttings. These can weigh up to 10 pounds each, and transportation of the cuttings becomes a tremendous task.

As will be made clear later, most long moves are usually stimulated by warfare, and the group is under some pressure to establish a new garden as quickly as possible. The Yąnomamö can speed up their schedule of abandoning an area by taking temporary refuge in the village of an ally, by planting crops other than plantains that mature quickly and produce high yields, or by anticipating a serious war and getting an early start on their new garden. When Kąobawä's group was forced to abandon one of its locations because of a war, the group took refuge with an ally and established its new garden near the ally's village. One of the consequences of these factors is that newly established gardens produce their crops in cycles so that there will be periods of plenty interrupted by periods of hunger. After a few years, the garden will mature and produce constantly. The periods of hunger are eased by planting rapidly developing crops such as maize and by working constantly at transplanting the secondary plantain shoots as they appear. Thus, gardening activities vary largely with the relative maturity of the garden and the length of time the people have been living at that site. Once the plantains are producing constantly, other crops are not cultivated as intensively as before. But whatever the Yąnomamö are eating in a given village, they are striving to get their gardens to produce a constant supply of plantains. The fact that a given village may be relying very heavily on maize at some point in time may reflect no more than the fact that the garden is relatively new and the plantains have not yet begun producing constantly.

After a site has been occupied a few years, gardening activities take on a more regular pattern. The "rectum" (*hei kä hoi*) of the garden is gradually abandoned, and a new "nose" (*hei kä hushihö*) is added by clearing adjacent land and transplanting crops. Thus, a garden has a direction—it moves, little by little. Sometimes there will be as many as three or four discrete gardens around a village, all of them producing more or less continuously. The older ones are gradually abandoned because it is simply easier to clear new land than to attempt to weed the thorny underbrush out of the old site. If you have ever attempted to clear prickly brush without wearing protective clothing, you should immediately see the wisdom of the Yąnomamö choice.

In an established garden site, labor follows a more regular pattern. The dry season is usually the time for feasting, visiting, trading, and warfare. Gardening activities are at a minimum at this time of year, but the ambitious will try to work a few hours each day at weeding, transplanting, and burning brush. Most of the heavy labor of felling large trees is restricted to the wet season, when it is cloudy and generally cooler, and the demands of feasting and dancing do not interfere with the work. Still, practical considerations are more important than a fixed schedule of work, and if the gardens are producing insufficient quantities of food, the Yąnomamö will expand their gardens at any time of the year.

GARDEN PRODUCTS Each man's garden contains three or four varieties of both plantains and bananas. The larger portion of the cultivated land will contain plantains, as they produce a higher yield than bananas. The garden will also have a sizeable patch of sweet manioc, a root crop that is boiled or refined into a rough flour by grinding it on a rock and then converting the flour into thick, round cakes of baked cassava bread.

244 [179] [252] [799] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians-and by rural Venezuelans-and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] [284] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome [531] piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] [437] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in the trading network.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2–7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *hixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
531
286

Fig. 2–7. Orusimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

241
254
[329]
[184]

nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

[101]
[114]

[8]The Yanomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xiriana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yanomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikoi*, is a Yanomamö world meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yanomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yanomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yanomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yanomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

guishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö. Many wild plants are also said to have magical properties.

CONCLUSION The Yąnomamö have adapted to their jungle environment with a very simple technology. Exploiting both the naturally occurring foods and domesticated crops is relatively easy with this technology, and the resources of both the jungle and the garden provide the people with the two basic necessities of life: food and shelter. Although the resources are extremely varied and numerous, the diet is largely dominated by one food item: plantains. Techniques of manufacturing are so simple and direct that each individual can produce any item he needs from the resources immediately around him. The material aspect of the culture is decidedly rudimentary by comparison with other tropical forest tribes; the Yąnomamö appear to deliberately limit their possessions to an amount that can be easily transported in case the group is obliged to abandon its site on short notice.

Adaptation to the Sociopolitical Environment

The adaptation of the Yąnomamö to their environment can be only partially expressed in terms of how they make a living in the tropical forest with specific kinds of tools, plants, and techniques, for the forest is only one aspect of the external world to which they must adjust. Their adaptation also takes place in a social and political environment. This likewise affects the way in which the Yąnomamö are distributed over the land, how their villages are moved from one location to another, and the kinds of relationships each village has with its neighbors. In short, the Yąnomamö must relate themselves to each other as well as to nature.

ALLIANCES AND VILLAGE SIZE I spoke of the considerations that must be met when a new garden site is selected. However, the area within which the new site is selected is determined almost exclusively by political factors. A Yąnomamö group would remain indefinitely in the area it settled were it not for the threat of raids from warring neighbors. To be sure, the group would move its garden little by little each year, but the general area would be abandoned only if the people were driven out by stronger groups around them. Again, dissident factions of the village might leave the area if a particularly serious fight developed within the group, but because a garden is necessary for the group to survive as a group, the Yąnomamö abandon them only when faced with disaster. To establish a new garden at a great distance from the old one, a Herculean effort is required just to transport the necessary plantain cuttings and seed, not to mention carrying provisions for eating while the work of clearing the garden and planting the crops progresses. Then, since a new garden produces sporadically for the first year, the people are frequently faced with food shortage. They are, therefore, reluctant to sacrifice the predictability of subsistence at the established garden for insecurity, periods of hunger, and hard work at some distant location.

Instead, they develop political alliances with neighboring villages, thereby adjusting to their social environment. The nature of these alliances is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but at this point I will make some general statements about the relationships between villages to show why, on the one hand, the social environment calls forth the alliances, and why on the other hand, when alliances fail, a group must abandon its area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*621 *628 Village size is an important factor in determining the degree to which a Yąnomamö group must depend on its neighbors for military support in the face of raids. Small villages must make alliances to survive. Village size, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, ranges *621 from 40 to 250 inhabitants. Approximately one-third of the village consists of males who 701 are able to participate in the raiding, that is, men who are between 17 and 40 years old. 722 The tactics of warfare are such that a village must be able to field a raiding party of approximately 10 men in order to be able to raid effectively. In addition, when the raiders are away, there must always be a few men at home to protect the women and children. Thus, the military requirements alone seem to demand that a village have at least 15 able-bodied men. As these represent about a third of the group, the minimum village size required by the raiding techniques is 40 to 50 people. I have never seen a village fall below this size in an area where raiding is active, and virtually every village split I investigated took place only when each of the resulting groups contained 40 or more people.

*621 The upper limit to village size is also determined in large measure by the intensity 721 of warfare. The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has over 200 people. It was being .726 raided actively by about a dozen different groups while I conducted my fieldwork, groups that raided it about twenty-five times in a period of fifteen months. The Patanowä-teri at one time had split into three groups of about equal size, but raids from their enemies forced them to reunite for common defense. In general, a village will fission after it [578] reaches a population of about 150 because internal feuds and fights are so frequent that peace can only be maintained with great difficulty. A village of 100 individuals, for example, can fission to produce two militarily viable groups of about 50 people each. Only the threat of raids from powerful neighbors will, as in the case of the Patanowä-teri, inhibit the fissioning, and frequently the fission groups will reunite in a single village to fend off the raids of their enemies.

[628] But a small group of 40 to 50 people is not as viable as a group twice that size. Consequently, it enters into alliances with its neighbors.

*621 FISSION AND SETTLEMENT There is a tendency for the group to attempt to 582 maximize its size after it becomes an independent entity. This is done by trying to keep 166 all marriages within the group so that there is very little migration of young men and women to other villages after marriage. A small group also welcomes the addition of families from other villages, families that have gotten into fights in their own group and who prefer to leave rather than attempt to patch up their grievances with their kinsmen. Finally, the group tries to attract young men and women from other villages, encouraging them to settle permanently in the group. Rerebawä, for example, is under considerable pressure to remain permanently in Kąobawä's group.

*621 As the village grows in size and varies in composition, it becomes increasingly 578 difficult to keep order and peace. Extramarital sexual liaisons are more frequent in larger 837 villages, because the probability is lower that the affairs will be discovered. When the Monou-teri rejoined Kąobawä's group to avoid the raids of their enemies, a bloody club fight developed between two men of that village over an affair one of them had with the other's wife. The culprit waited until the group joined Kąobawä's village before approaching the woman, thinking that with so many people in one village he would not be caught.

By the time a village approaches 100 to 150 people, such fights over women are

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

so frequent that the group elects to fission rather than attempt to keep an uneasy internal peace. Although a larger village has an advantage in terms of its capacity to raid other groups and is better able to defend itself from raids, the internal fights often lead to killings within the group. Then, there is no alternative but for one of the factions to leave. Its members may anticipate a situation like this and begin making a new garden long before the fighting becomes violent enough to lead to deaths, or a fight can develop unexpectedly and result immediately in bloodshed. The guilty faction must then seek refuge in the village of an ally until it can establish its own garden. Usually, however, the larger group fissions while its members are on relatively peaceable terms, and the two resulting villages remain in the same general area so that they can reunite when raids threaten them. This is the situation that prevails between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri; all three have a common history as a single village, but the members of each live in separate villages because of the numerous fights that took place within the group while they were still a single village. They continue, however, to rely on each other for protection when raids threaten. The Monou-teri (see Fig. 2-8), in fact, spent about a third of their time in either Lower Bisaasi-teri or in Kaobawë's group while I conducted my fieldwork. They were being raided by the Patanowë-teri and had not completed the new garden they were making. The Patanowë-teri forced them to abandon their producing site and move west.

The Patanowë-teri themselves were forced to establish a new garden because of the incessant raids by a number of villages. In addition to keeping always on the move between their two gardens, they also sought periodic refuge in the village of one of their own allies, a village two days travel to the south of their primary garden.

The raids against the Patanowë-teri by about a dozen villages illustrate a cardinal strategy of Yąnomamö warfare: attack a group when it is beleaguered and weakened by other enemies. When I first arrived, the Patanowë-teri were fighting only three groups. The Monou-teri then entered into the conflict by abducting a number of women from them, an act that ultimately led to raiding and killing. When the Monou-teri entered the conflict, they also persuaded their own allies to participate, bringing four other villages into the war. These, in turn, were joined by some of their allies so that the total number of belligerent villages rapidly grew to about a dozen. Many of them joined the hostilities because they knew that the Patanowë-teri could not defend themselves against a host of enemies. The new belligerents, therefore, stood a good chance of abducting women while being relatively immune to punitive raids. They could also discharge obligations to their allies by supporting their raids against the Patanowë-teri without exposing themselves to great danger.

In Fig. 2-8 the movements of Kaobawë's village over the past seventy-five years is summarized. The village originated at the site of Konata, occupied prior to 1900 by Kaobawë's grandfather. This site was abandoned because several villages (not indicated on the map) began raiding the people with such frequency that they were forced to flee south, cross the Orinoco River, and take refuge with allies at a place called Waseta. Similarly, Waseta was abandoned because of new wars, so the group again crossed the Orinoco River and settled at Nimowei. Here, their old enemies again drove them out of the area, so the group migrated to Hąhoyaoba. Kaobawë was born at this location, some forty years ago. This site was abandoned because the soil in that area was very poor; even to this day, there are no Yąnomamö villages located in that general area.

361 578 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowã. By this time their numbers had increased to such a level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village [101] that remained behind took the name Patanowã-teri and has remained to the present at that site. Kąobawã's group fled to Shĩhoca, but was driven from there to Kreibõwei by the Patanowã-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a 361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take 726 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had 721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they *628 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab- [841] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kąobawã's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954, *621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they [721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of [722] renewed raids from the Patanowã-teri. Kąobawã's group moved to the Orinoco again, [101] to the site called Barauwã. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kąobawã [648] and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to establish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an [101] upstream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2-8, have a settlement *621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being 578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away 722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more 184 complicated than the history of Kąobawã's group, since village fissioning began much earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2-8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above two groups of villages.

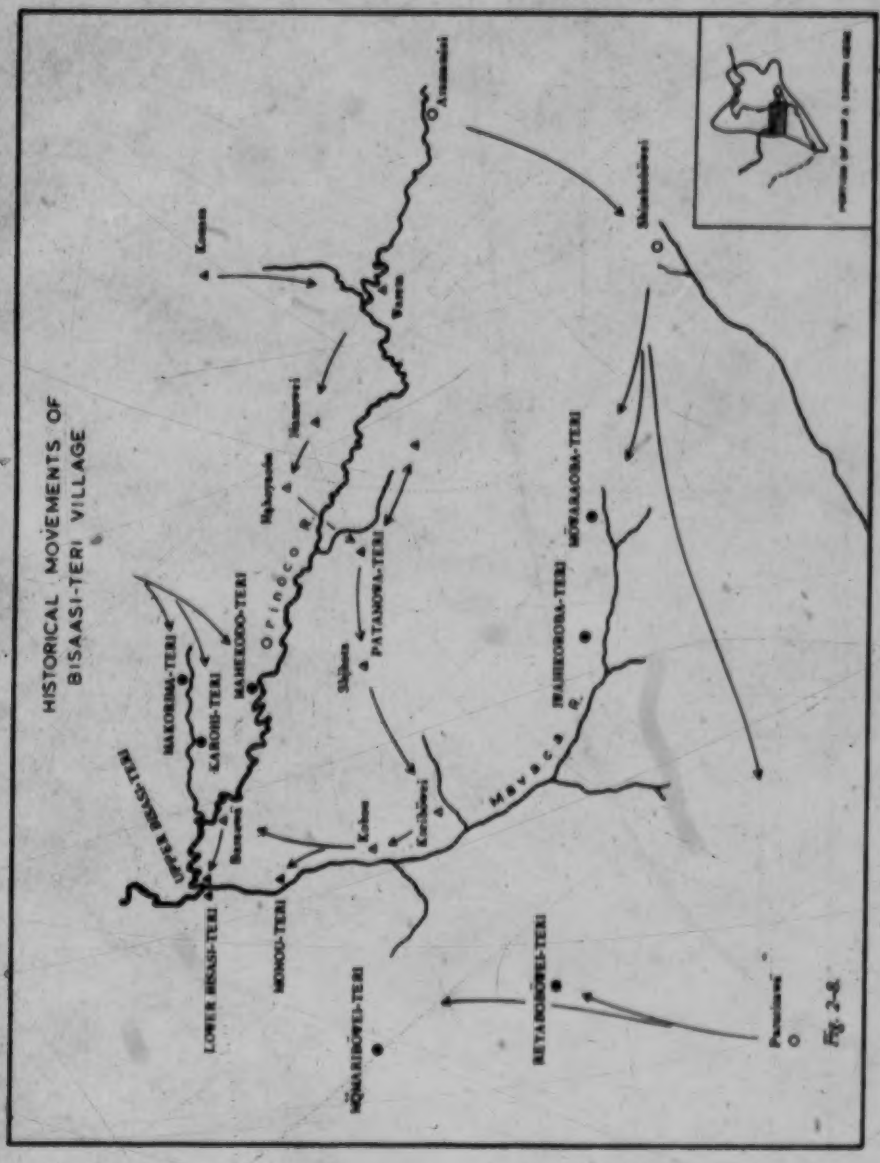
361 Kąobawã's group and the two Shamatari villages of Mąmaribõwei-teri and Reyabobõwei-teri (see Fig. 2-8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the [134] past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by [648] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The [722] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neigh- [578] bors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yąnomamõ. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Tanoama SQ18

102
133
36
166



11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

villages have a profound effect on the nature of the settlement pattern of Yąnomamö villages, and that this same milieu influences the rate at which larger villages fission into smaller, vulnerable groups.

Finally, I emphasize the importance of cultivation in this pattern of village movement and relocation, particularly in the context of relying on allies. Twice during the history of Kąobawä's group they were obliged to take refuge in the village of an ally. All during my fieldwork the Monou-teri also relied on hospitality of this sort from Kąobawä's group, as they were beleaguered by raids from the Patanowä-teri and had not yet completed their new garden. In short, the fact that the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated food has led to specific obligations between members of allied villages: a good ally is one who will take you in when you are driven from your gardens by enemy raids. The essence of political life, therefore, is to develop stable alliances with neighboring villages so as to create a social network that potentially allows a local group to rely for long periods of time on the gardens of neighboring villages. I will describe the politics of alliance formation in Chapter 4, as it intimately bound up with feasting, trading, and marriage.

Intellectual Environment

The comparative poverty of Yąnomamö material culture is more than compensated for by the richness and complexity of their theological concepts, myths, and legends.

One of the distinctive features of Yąnomamö cosmology and theology is the opportunity it provides for inventiveness. Individuals can and do modify concepts, embellish them, improve on them and, in general, use their imaginations when trafficking in myths or concepts of the soul and afterlife. In short, there is room for thinkers in Yąnomamö culture.

The result of this is that many variants of the same basic myth can be found over a relatively small area. Indeed, each village will contain people who tell the myth a slightly different way; the basic elements remain the same each time, but personal views are interjected and reflect the idiosyncracies of the narrator. The Yąnomamö appear to enjoy these intellectual exercises, for in myth and cosmology they are able to demonstrate their personal abilities as users of their language, the true language of man.

THE COSMOS The Yąnomamö conceive of the external world as having an origin, boundaries, supernatural beings, and a specific nature.

The cosmos is comprised of four parallel layers, lying horizontally and located one on top of the other (see Fig. 2–4b). They are like inverted platters: gently curved, thin, circular, rigid, and having two surfaces, top and bottom.

The uppermost layer is the "tender" plane: *shaka kä mini*. At the present time, it is "empty" or "void" (*hwaka*), but some things had their origins there in the distant past. These moved down to other layers. Today, the uppermost layer is sometimes described as being "an old woman" (*sua pata*), a phrase used to describe an abandoned garden or a female who is no longer capable of producing offspring. This layer does not figure prominently in the everyday life of the Yąnomamö; it is merely something that is there and once had a function.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The next layer is called *hada hã mini*: sky layer. It is made of earth on the top surface and provides the eternal home for the souls of the departed. A complete replica of life on earth is to be found on top of *hada*, except that the inhabitants are spirits of men, not real men. They garden, make witchcraft, hunt, eat, and in general do what living man does. Everything that exists on earth has a counterpart on *hada*, a sort of mirror image, although the activities of the two groups of objects and beings are independent of each other.

The bottom surface of *hada* is the visible portion of the sky. The celestial beings are attached to this surface and move across it. It is not thought to be very far above the earth, since many of my informants asked me if I had crashed into it when I flew in an airplane.

Man dwells below the sky on "this layer": *hei hã mini*. It originated when a piece of *hada* broke off and fell to a lower level. This layer is a vast jungle, sprinkled with innumerable Yąnomamö villages. These are conceived to be located on earth, as shown in Fig. 2-4c. Even foreigners are thought to live in a type of house that resembles the Yąnomamö dwelling; after all, foreigners derived from the Yąnomamö by a process of degeneration.

Finally, the plane underneath this layer is almost barren. A single village of spirit-men is found here, the Amahiri-teri. A long time ago, after the earth layer was formed by a piece of *hada*, another chunk of *hada* fell down and crashed through earth. It hit earth at a place where the Amahiri-teri lived, carrying their village down to the bottom layer. Unfortunately, only their *shabono* and gardens were carried with the piece of *hada*. Hence, the Amahiri-teri have no neighborhood (*arubi*) in which to hunt for game, and so they send their spirits up to earth to capture the souls of living children and eat them. There is a constant struggle between the evil spirits of Amahiri-teri shamans and the evil spirits of shamans on this layer, earth: They send malevolent demons against each other and preoccupy themselves with defending their respective villages from evil spirits.

The Amahiri-teri people lived at the time of the *no hadabö*, the first men. These original Yąnomamö were distinct from living man in that they were part spirit (*pei*) and part human. When they died, they became *pei*, spirits. *No hadabö* means, literally, "those who are now dead"; in a cosmological context, it refers to the time of the first beings.

THE FIRST BEINGS The first beings cannot be accounted for. The Yąnomamö simply presume that the cosmos originated with these people. Most of them, and there were many, had a specific function, such as creating a useful plant or object. They figure prominently in mythology. Many of them bear the names of plants and animals that are important in the Yąnomamö economy, and the first beings are considered to be the spirits of these. I will relate a few specific tales about some of these first beings, retaining where possible the Yąnomamö narrative style.

One of the first beings was called Borewä, or simply Bore. He was the first to acquire plantains, the staple of the Yąnomamö diet. Because he had plantains first, he was the headman (*pata dadiburi*) of the first beings. Borewä did not tell the others that he had plantains, as he did not want to share them. At that time, the first beings ate only dirt and animals, as there was no domesticated food. One day another of the first beings, Horonama, got caught in a rain so he took refuge in a sheltered place in the jungle. He was lost and did not know whose neighborhood he was in. By luck, he took refuge in the very place where Borewä had hidden his cultivated plantains. Horonama, a dirt eater,

[173] wondered what kind of strange vegetable food this was, so he stole some. At first he just peeled them and examined them, afraid to eat one. Horonama then sought out Borerwï and asked him how to produce these strange plants and what to do with them after they grew. Borerwï then instructed him in their use, the techniques of cutting jungle with stone axes, burning the fallen logs and brush, and planting the shoots of the young plants. Thus, because Horonama stole the plant from Borerwï, the others learned how to make gardens and no longer had to eat dirt.

Borerwï had a monopoly on many other cultivated crops, but one by one these were taken over by the others until all of the first beings were familiar with their use. [172] Today, when the Yąnomamö find stone axes in the jungle, as they usually do when they clear a new site for cultivation, they explain the axes as something that the first beings, Borerwï in particular, left behind for present man to discover and use.

Another of the first beings was Iwï (alligator). He and his wife, Bruwabëiyoma, were accustomed to go hunting together in the jungle. This was in the days before fire was known to Yąnomamö. Iwï, however, knew about fire and kept some hidden in his mouth. He refused to give fire to the others, so they had to eat their meat and insects raw. Only Iwï and his wife cooked their food in those days. The others decided to make Iwï laugh so that they could steal the fire when he opened his mouth. They made pranks to get Iwï to laugh, but he would not be amused. Finally, Dohomamoriwï did something funny and caused Iwï to laugh. When he opened his mouth, Kanaboriwï, a bird, flew into his mouth, snatched the fire, and took it up with him into a tree. After that, everybody had fire.

Haya (deer) also lived among the first beings. His daughter was married to Aiyakorari. One day Haya sent Aiyakorari out of the village to fetch him some *manaa* fruit from the jungle. Haya was at that time the only one who ate this fruit. He did not know, however, that Aiyakorari had a grove of peach palm, which he cultivated. Thus, Aiyakorari fetched some of his own fruit instead of the *manaa*. His father-in-law, Haya, was very angry over this, so he inhaled a pinch of snuff and began pulling the flesh from his calves up to his thighs. After this had been accomplished, he pulled the flesh of his forearms up to his shoulders and transformed himself into a deer. His wife did the same thing, as this was a propitious moment. Haya's daughter started to do the same thing, but Aiyakorari grabbed her by the hair and prevented her from doing so. Haya and his wife then bounded off into the jungle and became deer.

Omawë is one of the first beings who figures prominently in a number of Yąnomamö myths. He and his brother Yoawë lived when Öra (jaguar) lived. Öra had a young son who was unable to speak. One day Aiyakorari's mother, Mamokoriyoma, cooked some of her son's peach-palm fruit and fed it to Öra's child. He got sick from eating the fruit and died. After he died, a sister of Omawë then asked Mamokoriyoma if she could eat the dead child. "Mother-in-law, should I eat the dead child?" she asked. Mamokoriyoma then said, "Eat him." She took the body of the child, pulled a leaf out of the roof of the house, and used it for a dish on which to consume the child's body. When Öra discovered this, he was angry. As he himself was hungry for meat, he in turn ate Moyoimaiyoma, the mother of Omawë and Yoawë, to get revenge. After he had done so, Yoawë shot him with an arrow and killed him.

Soon after that, the daughter of Raharaiyoma went to fetch water at the river where Omawë and Yoawë were accustomed to catch fish. The two brothers found her

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

there, so they copulated with her. After they quenched their desire for sex, Omauwë caused the girls vagina to be changed into a mouth with teeth.[10] Howashiriwë, another of the first beings, was sitting on the trail at this time, very hungry for sex. When Raharariyoma's daughter walked by, he seduced her, but in so doing, lost his penis: her vagina bit it off. It was when this happened that Omauwë's son became very thirsty. Both Omauwë and Yoawë began digging a hole to find water to quench the boy's thirst. They dug the hole so deep that when water did gush forth, it caused a large lake to form and covered he jungle. Then some of the first beings cut down trees, and floated on them to escape the flood. Because this was such a strange thing to do, they changed into foreigners and floated away. Their language also changed into the tongue of foreigners, and gradually became unintelligible to the Yąnomamö. This is why foreigners have canoes and cannot be understood.

Many of the first beings were drowned in this flood. Those who managed to escape and remain Yąnomamö did so by climbing mountains. They climbed Maiyo, Howashiwë, and Homahewë mountains to escape the flood, Maiyo being a peak near the area where Kąobawë's village had its origin. Then Raharariyoma, the mother of the girl whose vagina was changed into a mouth,[11] took a piece of red pigment and painted dots all over her own body. After she was completely covered with red dots, she plunged into the lake and caused it to recede. Omauwë then caused her to be changed into a *naharu*, a snake-like monster that lives in large rivers. After that, she caused Yąnomamö to drown when they tried to cross large rivers, either by eating them or by splashing large waves on them. Omauwë then went downstream and became an enemy to the Yąnomamö. Today he sends hiccups, sickness, and epidemics to the Yąnomamö.

It is because the foreigners refused to climb the mountains to escape the flood that they became enemies to the Yąnomamö. The foreigners tried to make friends with the Yąnomamö after the flood, but because their language was so different, the Yąnomamö refused to be friends. Today, however, the Yąnomamö are becoming friends with foreigners.

After the flood, there were very few original beings left. Periboriwë (Spirit of the Moon) was one of the few who remained. He had a habit of coming down to earth to eat the soul parts of children. On his first descent, he ate one child, placing his soul between two pieces of cassava bread and eating it. He returned a second time to eat another child, also with cassava bread. Finally, on his third trip, Uhudima and Suhirina, two brothers, became angry and decided to shoot him. Uhudima, the poorer shot of the two, began letting h:- arrows fly. He shot at Periboriwë many times as he ascended to *kade*, but missed. People say he was a very poor shot. Then Suhirina took one bamboo-tipped arrow (*nahaka*) and shot at Periboriwë when he was directly overhead, hitting him in the abdomen. The tip of the arrow barely penetrated Periboriwë's flesh, but the wound bled profusely. Blood spilled to earth in the vicinity of a village called Hõõ-teri, near the mountain called Maiyo. The blood changed into men as it hit the earth, causing a large population to be born. All of them were males; the blood of Periboriwë did not change into females. Most of the Yąnomamö who are alive today are descended from the

[10] In some versions of this myth she put *piranha* fish in her vagina. These fish bit off Howashiriwë's penis.

[11] There are many linguistic parallels between eating and copulating in the Yąnomamö language. The verb "to eat" also means "to copulate", the verb "to eat like a pig" also means "to copulate excessively", the adjective meaning "satiated, full" also means "to be pregnant." The context of the statement decides the meaning.

blood of Periboriwä. *Because they have their origin in blood, they are fierce and are continuously making war on each other.* This myth seems to be the "charter" of Yąnomamö society. It is the only one they repeatedly told me without my asking about it.

Where his blood was thickest, in the areas directly underneath the spot where Periboriwä was shot, the wars were so intense that the Yąnomamö in that area exterminated themselves. Where the blood had an opportunity to thin out, the Yąnomamö were less fierce and therefore did not become extinct, although they, too, fought continuously.

After this, there were only men. One of the men, a descendant of the blood of Periboriwä, was called Kanaboroma, not to be confused with Kanabororiwä, the bird who stole fire from Alligator's (Iwï's) mouth. One day his legs became pregnant. Women came out of the left leg, and men out of the right. These Yąnomamö were very *kirii* (docile, afraid) when compared to the ones who were derived from the blood. They rapidly multiplied and also contributed to the present population of Yąnomamö. All the present Yąnomamö came from the blood of Periboriwä or from the leg of Kanaboroma, or from a combination of both. The original beings all changed into *yai* spirits.

THE SOUL. Yąnomamö concepts of the soul are elaborate and complicated. The true or real portion of living man is his "will" or "self" (*hadöi*). At death, this changes into a *no hawäkë* and travels from this layer to *hada*, the place above where the souls of the departed continue to exist in an ethereal state, much in the same fashion as do the people on earth: gardening, hunting, and practicing magic.

The trail along which the *no hawäkë* travel forks after it reaches *hada*. Sometimes, the Yąnomamö will point to the sky and explain that such and such a cloud is the *no hawäkë* of a Yąnomamö who is just reaching *hada*. After the soul reaches the fork in the trail, a spirit, the son of Thunder (Yąru), Wadawdariwä, asks the *no hawäkë* if it had been generous during its life on earth. If it had been stingy, Wadawdariwä directs the soul along the path that leads to *shokori waka*, a place on *hada* where souls of stingy Yąnomamö burn eternally. Most of the Yąnomamö I questioned on this asserted that they planned to lie to Wadawdariwä and avoid going to *shokori waka*. In general, they did not fear this place and were convinced that they would not be sent there. They expect Wadawdariwä to direct them to the trail that leads into *hada* proper.

Another portion of the soul, the *no ashudi* or *bore*, is released at cremation. This part of the soul remains on earth and wanders about in the jungle. The children who die always change into this, as they do not have the *no hawäkë* portion that goes to *hada*: It must be acquired. The reason that children do not change into *no hawäkë* is that their "wills" (*hadöi*) are ignorant or innocent (*mahadö*). Thus, one has a character only after a certain amount of knowledge and experience are gained; with this, one develops a knowledgeable "will" and can expect to enter *hada* in the form of a *no hawäkë*. Apart from this, one is born with an *ashudi* (*bore*), which is invariably released at cremation and wanders eternally in the jungle after death. Some of these wandering *ashudi* are malevolent and attack travelers in the jungle at night. When they do so, they use sticks and clubs. The Yąnomamö usually use the name *bore* when describing the attacks of these malevolent spirits, although this is just an alternate name for the *no ashudi*.

NOAMIKE. Finally, each individual has a *noamiki*. This is a dual concept: One has a *noamiki* within his being, a sort of spirit or portion of the soul, and, in addition, an animal that lives in the jungle and corresponds to this soul. The *noamiki* animals are inher-

11? Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kąobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kąobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kąobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kąobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kąobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kąobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kąobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*hekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *hekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kąobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *hekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *hekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yąnomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12]The inheritance of these "totem animals" has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

I, in effect, was capturing the *nowahi* of the child: A photograph was called *nowahi*.[13] Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no ahudibi*, the part of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *nowahi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter. For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment. The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of ceremonies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[13]Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
291
302
516
956
276
342

Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura*—demons.*

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *hedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yąnomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

769
264
628

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *hekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *hekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *hekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawë told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *hekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *hekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *hekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *hekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

have chronic warfare, results in a distinctive settlement pattern and system of alliances that permits groups of people to exploit a given area over a relatively long period of time. Finally, the Yąnomamö explain the nature of man's ferocity and origin in myth and legend, articulating themselves intellectually with the observable, real world.

Thus, each individual Yąnomamö enters the world with the physical, social, and ideological traditions at his disposal that will permit him to confront and adjust to the jungle, his neighbors, and the demons that cause sickness. The cosmos is ordered and orderly, in *heaven* as it is on earth.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

3

Social Organization

128 THREE ASPECTS of Yąnomamö social organization will be dealt with: the ideal rules about marriage and the logical consequence of these rules—actual cases of Yąnomamö marriage are compared to the pattern of ideal marriage to justify the use of a model to describe Yąnomamö social structure; the demographic and political factors that bring about discrepancies between actual behavior and ideal behavior; the more important aspects of the division of labor and of ordinary daily life in the society.

Social Structure

121 128 This section is the most technical portion of the chapter; careful study of the diagrams is required as the text is read. Kinship is the heart of primitive social structure, and it must be understood in detail rather than through generalities. The rules governing [582] [602] marriage, along with the kinship system, together comprise and delineate the structure of Yąnomamö society. There is no simple way to present the data, which itself is frequently boring to even accomplished anthropologists, and students of anthropology must sooner or later come to grips with this important topic. Fortunately, the Yąnomamö kinship system is the type most commonly found among the world's primitives and it is, comparatively speaking, quite easy to grasp once the patterns in the diagram are spotted.

128 The important features of Yąnomamö social structure are represented in the model shown in Fig. 3–1. This diagram is based on an analysis of Yąnomamö marriage rules, kinship terminology, and other social and ideological features characteristic of their behavior. The symbols given in the legend of Fig. 3-1 will also be used in the diagrams that follow. It should be borne in mind that the model is only an ideal representation of Yąnomamö society; we shall see below how closely actual behavior conforms to this model. One of the objectives of structural anthropology is to attempt comparisons of different kinds of societies by using models of this type. In the discussions that follow I shall present some actual field data to justify the use of this model to represent Yąnomamö social structure.

11: Chagon B-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

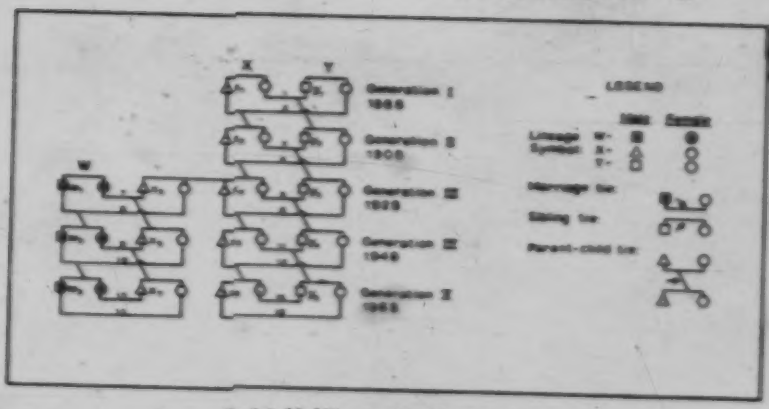


Fig. 5-1. Ideal Yanomamö marriage pattern.

Fig. 5-1 can be patterned to represent the organization of a particular village over five generations, starting in the year 1888. Let us assume that the village originated in that year when individuals x_1 (and his sister, not numbered) and y_1 (and his sister) broke away from a larger village and established their own garden at some new location. Thus, in the year 1888, the village was comprised of two groups of kinsmen, X and Y. These two kinship groups are called lineages, the distinctive features of which I will discuss later.

In generation I, x_1 married the sister of y_1 and, in exchange, gave his own sister to y_1 as wife. This marriage practice is called *brother-sister exchange* and characterizes Yanomamö marriage behavior. A man is under considerable obligation to reciprocate a woman to the kinship group from which he has taken one. In Fig. 5-1, x_1 married y_1's sister and reciprocated the exchange by giving his own sister to y_1. Because of this obligation of reciprocity, kinship groups become interdependent socially and form pairs of woman-exchanging kin groups. These paired kinship groups are discussed below in the context of village fissioning.

In generation II of Fig. 5-1, the village still contains only two groups of marrying kinsmen. These are the children of the individuals who founded the village. The reciprocal exchanges *of* women between the two groups of kinsmen (lineages X and Y) continue in the second generation, x_2 getting his wife from lineage Y and vice versa. Like their fathers, x_2 and y_2 exchanged sisters. It will be noted at this point that x_2 has married his mother's brother's daughter, who is simultaneously his father's sister's daughter.[1] This is a logical consequence of the fact that there are only *two* lineages in

[1]This is called bilateral cross-cousin marriage. See glossary for definitions. Hereafter the following abbreviations will be used, following Murdock (1949: 94)—mo—mother, Fa—father, Br—brother, Si—sister, So—son, and Da—daughter. Thus, "mother's brother's daughter" = simply MoBrDa.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the village, the members of which being related to each other as brother and sister, and the fact that individuals must marry outside their own lineages.

The important features of the lineages X and Y are now clearly visible in generation II: The lineages are patrilineal and exogamous. That is, males and females belong to the lineage of their father (patrilineality), and individuals must marry people who belong to a different lineage (exogamy). This can be seen more clearly in the symbols used in Fig. 3-1. All males of lineage X are designated by triangles (x_1, x_2, x_3 x_9), and all females of lineage X are designated by hexagons. Similarly, all males of lineage Y are designated as squares and all females by circles. Males of lineage X marry females of lineage Y. Their children belong to lineage X because their *father* (patrilineality) is of lineage X.

The Yąnomamö kinship system also reflects the rules of lineage exogamy, brother-sister exchange and reciprocity. Their kinship system is called the "bifurcate merging" type with "Iroquois" cousin terms (see Glossary). Within each generation, all the males of one lineage call each other "brother," and all the women call each other "sister." Males of lineage X call males of lineage Y "brother-in-law" and are eligible to marry their sisters. In fact, the males of lineage X call the females of lineage Y "wife" *whether or not they marry them*. This is likewise true for the males of lineage Y with respect to the females of lineage X. This brings us to another important Yąnomamo marriage rule: A male must marry a woman of the category called *nashëya*—"wife." This is called a *prescriptive* marriage rule.[9] To state it more precisely, Yąnomamö society is characterized by a rule that enjoins a man to marry a woman of a specific kinship category; he has no choice with respect to the category.

There is an important controversy over the meaning and implications of the term "prescriptive." I have given the definition held by British anthropologists generally, by Needham (1962a:9) in particular. This definition emphasizes the fact that men have no choice with respect to the category of women from which their wives must come, that men are forbidden to marry women of other categories, and that the society itself is said to be characterized by the prescriptive rule. The opposition to this definition comes largely from certain American anthropologists, who maintain that a society can only be said to have a prescriptive marriage rule when a high percentage (close to 100 percent) of the people marry according to the rule (see Coult and Hammel 1963:291). The issues involved are not quite as simple as this, but a glimmering of the area of concernion can be seen in an example provided by Leach (1965). Rephrasing his example, the rule (in our society) "thou shalt not kill" is like the rule (among, say, the Yąnomamö) "thou shalt marry a woman of category A." These rules can be said to exist in the respective societies irrespective of the homocide rate in New York or the frequency of aberrant marriages in a Yąnomamö village. That is, Leach (and Needham) maintain that one cannot discover such a rule by counting examples of murder (or, rather, "non-murder") or marriages of men to women of category A. The more basic issue, however, is the

[9]Professor Lévi-Strauss, who read an earlier draft of this chapter, quite correctly pointed out that to say a marriage system is "prescriptive" is to say no more than "a man must marry a marriageable female," which is a tautology. Nevertheless, we must have some way to distinguish a system that permits marriage with only a single category of women from those that permits marriage with women of several categories. By showing what is meant by the Yąnomamö category *nashëya*, as I have attempted to do in Fig. 3-2, the reader will gain some idea of what is meant by that marriage type. I have used the term "prescriptive" because it is the current usage.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 . SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

meaning of, in this case, "category A." It is customary to represent primitive kinship categories in models (for example, Fig. 3-1) by their closest biological equivalents in *our own kinship system*. Many critics of Needham's definition of prescription fail to appreciate the fact that *FaSiDa* and *MoBrDa* in a model like the one given in Fig. 3-1 represent just *two* of several kinds of kinswomen who fall into the prescribed category. That is, they interpret the native's kinship category from the narrow point of view of one of that category's biological meanings in *our own kinship system*. (I have given ten examples of actual Yąnomamö marriages in Fig. 3-2, discussed later, to illustrate what the categories FaSiDa and MoBrDa mean to the Yąnomamö.) The use of Needham's definition of prescription to characterize Yąnomamö marriage rules can be justified, therefore, on several grounds. First, the Yąnomamö assert that a man must marry a woman of the *nabäkya* category. Second, of the six primary categories used by men to classify female relatives, five of them embrace women who stand in incestuous relationship to the male speaker, and he is forbidden to marry any woman that falls into any of these five additional categories. Third, we will see below how closely the alternative definition of prescription fits the Yąnomamö, using their own notions of kinship to reckon relationships between males and females.[3]

In Fig. 3-1, marriageable women are related to their husbands as both FaSiDa and MoBrDa; this is an artifact of the way in which the model is drawn. These two kinds of kinswomen are the closest biological equivalents in our kinship system for the Yąnomamö term "*nabäkya*" "wife." It must be emphasized, however, that given the classificatory nature of the Yąnomamö kinship system (for example, men of the same generation and of the same lineage are "brothers"), there are several ways to be related to a woman as "wife."

Something new has happened in generation III. A man (w_1) from a distant village, along with his sister, has joined the group. Both he and his sister have married into lineage X. Thus, there are three lineages represented in the village (W, X, and Y), and the *dual organization* characterizing generations I and II is now lost.[4] A Yąnomamö village can incorporate new lineages into its social life by an extension of marriage ties to its members. As can be seen from Fig. 3-1, the same rules—exogamy, reciprocity, patrilineal descent, and brother-sister exchange—that characterize the behavior of the members of lineages X and Y also hold for the members of the new lineage, W. The incorporation of lineage W takes place this way. W_1 joined the village in 1928 (generation III) because x_3 and x_4 promised him one of their sisters. As shown in Fig. 3-1, he did, in fact, marry one of their sisters and gave, in exchange, one of his sisters to x_3.

This (potentially) brings about an important structural change in the village with

---

[3]For an excellent summary of the various arguments concerning "prescriptive alliance," see Maybury-Lewis 1965a.

[4]A society is said to have dual organization when, for example, it is comprised of two) intermarrying kinship groups, such as lineages X and Y in generations I and II of Fig. 3-1. In some societies the intermarrying kin groups are named, for example, "Bear Clan (or Moiety)" and "Thunderbird Clan (or Moiety)." The Yąnomamö do not have named kinship groups such as this. Dual organization is, however, implied in their kinship terminology and marriage rules and, as will be seen, villages tend to have two (and only two) politically dominant lineages that intermarry. In short, the Yąnomamö village tends to be comprised *in fact* of two dominant kinship groups but lacks some of the ideology, such as named pairs of intermarrying kin groups, of classical dual organization. See: Maybury-Lewis, 1960 and 1967; Lévi-Strauss, 1963, Chapter VIII; Nimuendajú and Lowie, 1937; and Malinowski, 1936, for further descriptions and analyses of societies having dual organization.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

128 582 621 613 respect to the male members of lineage X. Generation III shows that individuals x_3 and x_4 are full brothers. The individuals x_5 and x_6 of generation IV, however, are not shown as brothers, although in Yąnomamö kinship usage they would be such.

128 582 602 611 613 I have not indicated them as being related as brothers in order to draw attention to a fault line that may develop when the members of a single lineage (X in this case) marry into more than one other lineage (W and Y in this case). x_3 and one of his sisters married into lineage W, whereas x_4 and one of his sisters continued to exchange with members of lineage Y. In the following generation the kinship tie of "brother" between x_5 and x_6 is considerably weaker than the same "brother" tie between their fathers (x_3 and x_4). In generation V, the "brother" tie between x_7 and x_8 is weaker still. One of the reasons that *agnatic* ties[8] weaken in this case is that the men in question are drawn into intimate relationship with the kinship groups from which they obtain their wives and assume, because of the principle of reciprocity, obligations to their affinally related (that is, by marriage) kinsmen.

128 582 602 611 613 621 Secondly, because agnates of the same generation are "brothers," they can marry the same women and are, hence, competitors. In other words, the obligations to exchange women (reciprocity) can link the members of affinally related groups to each other more intimately than ties of blood between males of the same lineage. (This can be more readily seen in Figs. 3–5 and 3–6, discussed later, but it can also be partially illustrated here.) If the village shown in Fig. 3–1 were to split in generation V and form two new villages, lineage X would pull apart along the fault line shown. That is, parts of lineage X would end up in each of the two new groups because the affinal (marriage) ties between its members and their wife-givers are stronger than the agnatic ties within the lineage. Individual x_7 and his sister would form a new village with w_3 (and his sister) while x_8, his "brother" (agnate), would remain paired with lineage Y. Lineage X would therefore be represented in both of the two new villages; individuals x_7 and x_8 would "feel" even more remotely related because they now live in different villages, although they would continue to call each other "brother." Finally, the two new villages would again demonstrate the dual organization that characterized generations I and II of the original village of Fig. 3–1. For the sake of simplicity I have shown each married pair with only two children (except in generation III) so that the village remains constant in size, growing only by the addition of new members. In an actual village lineages X and Y might comprise up to 80 percent of the population so that the addition of a few new members such as w_3 would not appreciably alter the dual composition.

128 613 582 602 607 In Fig. 3–1, lineage X stands as wife-giver and wife-receiver with respect to the other two lineages. The significance of this relationship cannot be exaggerated in the analysis of Yąnomamö social organization. Its strength derives from the obligations kinship groups have toward each other once they enter into reciprocal marriage exchanges. The wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship is also reflected in the attitudes men have toward their affines, such as brothers-in-law, as opposed to attitudes toward distant agnates. A man is on very intimate terms with his brother-in-law, jokes with him, gives him possessions, and protects him; a man treats an agnate of the same age with great reserve and coolness and tends to be jealous of him. He cannot, for example, directly ask

[8]Kinship ties between patrilineally related kinsmen.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him to do a favor, whereas he could ask this of a brother-in-law.[6] As shall presently be seen, the dynamics of Yąnomamö social organization originate in the politics of obtaining a wife. Within this context, agnates are competitors and affines are allies. This has an important effect on the manner in which villages fission and form new groups. The point to remember at this juncture is that ties of marriage are in many cases stronger than ties of blood.

I emphasize this because many anthropologists argue from "first principles" that ties of blood are—by definition—more capable of promoting solidarity and amity than ties by marriage. The controversy over "complementary filiation" between E. R. Leach (1957) and M. Fortes (1959), still not satisfactorily resolved, was essentially a debate about the analytical significance of marriage ties. Focusing on only one of the issues and rephrasing the arguments so as to apply to Fig. 3-1, the debate ran something like this: Both Leach and Fortes seemed to agree that in societies having lineal descent groups (lineages), the descent groups would tend to fall apart unless some kind of tie bound the members to each other. That is, lineages X and Y of Fig. 3-2 would, in short, pull away from each other unless they were held together by some special social tie. Fortes argued that this special tie was the solidarity and amity that grew out of the cognatic (see Glossary) kinship ties between the two lineages which arise when individuals marry blood relatives. Looking at generation V, for example, Fortes would argue that lineages X and Y are bound to each other because x_5 and y_5 married women to whom they are related by blood (as FaSiDa and MoBrDa). He argues from first principles that solidarity emanates from the blood ties. Leach, however, states that in generation V the two lineages are bound to each other by obligations to reciprocate goods, services, and women and that the solidarity of the two lineages derives from the affinal ties themselves (shown as "15" and "16" in Fig. 3-2). If we look only at generation V, the argument cannot be resolved, since the data support both arguments equally well, or at least do not convincingly support one rather than the other. I might add that both arguments can be supported by data not given in Fig. 3-2; Fortes' arguments are supported, for example, by the additional fact that Yąnomamö men do not stringently have to avoid their mothers-in-law when they are related to them in the fashion shown in Fig. 3-2, whereas the avoidance taboo is very onerous when a man's mother-in-law is not a blood relative. If, however, attention is focused on the events of generation III and their consequences examined, it can readily be seen that the affinal (marriage) ties in generation V are stronger than some of the agnatic (blood) ties, and the latter break when the village fissions. (This can be even more readily seen in Fig. 3-4 and 3-5, discussed later.) Thus, it cannot be argued that Yąnomamö lineage solidarity derives exclusively from blood ties and "complementary filiation." There is another issue. Structural analyses depend in large measure on a sharp distinction between marriage (affinal) ties and blood (consanguineal) ties. Fortes seems to deny that affinal ties as such exist independently of blood ties, and he has "subsumed" them into his concept of "complementary filiation." If there is no such thing as affinal ties between lineal descent groups, then structural

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

[6] In addition, it is by no means rare for agnates to get into club fights over women. I even have recorded a number of cases of men shooting and killing a "brother" during raids. This happened on two occasions during my first stay in the field, and I have reports of several additional cases obtained from informants who were describing past raids.

Fig. 3-2. Selected genealogies illustrating actual Yaseuma marriage rules.

128
582
601

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

analysis of reciprocal marriage exchanges between such groups and the obligations implied in such exchange is seriously hampered. In short, if Yąnomamö marriage exchanges over a number of generations and the kinship basis of village fissioning are examined, the data support Leach's arguments. They do not, however, invalidate Fortes' argument that blood ties create some solidarity, but they do call into question the contention that blood ties by definition, or, rather, on "first principles," account exclusively for the solidarity occurring between lineages.

In summary, Fig. 3-1 represents a number of important features of Yąnomamö social organization. First, people reckon descent through males and are grouped into exogamous, patrilineal lineages. These are called *mashi* by the Yąnomamö, although none of them bear distinctive names.[7] Second, members of these lineages tend to intermarry with the members of a second lineage over a number of generations, being bound to them by obligations to reciprocate women in marriage. This results in a dual organization of kinsmen within the village, whose residents fall into one or the other of the two lineages. Third, new lineages can be incorporated into the village by an extension of marriage ties, potentially bringing about "structural faults" within the lineages of that village. Fourth, men are obliged to marry a woman of a single, specific category, *naabiya*. This category defines a variety of women, two subcategories of which can be translated into the English biological equivalents MoBrDa and FaSiDa. Yąnomamö men prefer to marry women of these subcategories because they are relieved of much of the discomfort of avoiding their mothers-in-law.[8]

The ten partial genealogies shown in Fig. 3-2 show how the Yąnomamö actually marry. The genealogies have been selected with the intention of illustrating how the Yąnomamö reckon relationships between kinsmen in general, and between husband and wife in particular. All ten exemplify prescriptive marriage. They are more or less arranged in decreasing order of correspondence to our own biological concepts of kinship and illustrate the classificatory nature of their kinship system.

The people shown on these genealogies are (or were) real people. Many of the individuals in the examples are related to each other in such ways that all ten of the examples could be drawn as a single, unified genealogy.

The first eight examples are drawn from the village of Patanowä-teri; the last two are from Bisasi-teri. In case J, for example, the fifth individual of the second generation is Kąobawä. To give a rough idea of the incompleteness of each genealogy, only one of Kąobawä's four marriages is shown and only one of his four children. None of his brothers and sisters are shown either, nor is the fact that he married a MoBrDa indicated.

Case A illustrates the identification procedure to be used in relating the genealogies to the text. There are three generations shown in case A; the first is symbolized by the Roman numeral I, the second, by II, the third, by III. Each individual in each generation is given a number; the number series runs from left to right and begins anew with 1 in each generation. Hence, every individual bears a generation number and a position-within-generation number. Case A illustrates the marriage of individuals III-1 to III-2;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[7] *Mashi* means "species," "group," "cluster of similar things," and, in the context of kinship, "that group of people to whom I am related through males;" that is, "patrilineal kinsmen."

[8] I draw attention to the fact that the category is *prescribed*, but within it there are *preferences*. There are very few analyses of societies that have a prescriptive rule within which there are preferences, although Needham has devoted some attention to this interesting phenomenon (1962a, 1962b, and 1968).

11: Chagnon 8-6 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

142
302
352
855
251

Fig. 1-1. Arimawei, Kaobawä's son, being fondled by his mother's brother. This is a very intimate kinship relationship in Yąnomamö society.

11: Chagnon I-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yąnomamö category *naabiya* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III–1) would have called the woman *naabiya* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *ihamiya*.

The marriage of III–1 to III–2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II–1 and II–4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I–2 was an *adopted* brother to I–3, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin*. Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kąobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kąobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Aiwari, Kąobawä's son. Aiwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3–3). Aiwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kąobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.)

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yąnomamö do not distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A.

Case B also illustrates *several polygyny*: III–1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters.

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II–3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent.

606 123 (951) The avoidance taboo prohibits a man from saying his mother-in-law's name. My informants would be extremely embarrassed when I would say the name of their mother-in-law while collecting genealogies. Kaobawë, for example, would grin sheepishly and hide his head. Men must also avoid their mothers-in-law physically and should not look at them. If I took a group of people for a ride in my canoe, there would always be considerable shuffling of bodies so that the men could be situated in the canoe as far away from their mothers-in-law as possible.

128 602 595 Finally, case C illustrates another kind of sororal polygyny: Individuals III-1 and III-3 are sisters to each other because their mothers are sisters. (The equation stating that children of siblings of the same sex are themselves siblings extends indefinitely in the case of males, but breaks down in the case of females after two generations. This is because descent is patrilineal.)

128 582 602 *Case D:* This also is a case of FaSiDa marriage: I-2 and I-3 were brothers, so one of the parents of each of the third generation individuals were brother and sister to each other. Hence, III-1 married his FaSiDa.

128 595 602 *Case E:* The marriage of III-1 to III-2 is similar to the marriage in case D, but his marriage to the second wife, III-3, illustrates the use of another kinship equation. She is an actual sister to the first wife, but does not stand in the FaSiDa relationship to her husband. If one of the sisters is FaSiDa, however, then all of them are in Yanomamö kinship usage.

128 582 602 (601) *Case F:* This illustrates how affinal ties replace consanguineal ties should the two conflict. III-1 can trace a blood tie to his wife, one that would prevent him from marrying her, but the affinal ties between his own father and the father of his wife permit him to marry according to the prescription. Individual III-1 would call all of his father's wives "mother." Hence, his own wife is, technically, MoBrDa.

128 582 589 602 (597) *Case G:* This illustrates a number of marriage rules stated in the preceding examples. I present it as a sort of exercise to reinforce the logic of the Yanomamö kinship equations given above. Individual II-6 married two brothers, II-5 and II-7, illustrating the *levirate* the marriage between a man and his brother's widow. Individual II-9 married his FaSiDa (as in case F). Individuals III-3 and III-4 can marry because their fathers were cross-cousins (see case H, below). Individual III-5 married his FaSiDa, as was shown for the similar marriage in case E. Individual IV-1 married two women, each of whom is his FaSiDa. This is so because I-2 and I-4 were adopted brothers, so that their sons (II-2 and II-4) were also siblings. Hence, IV-1 married his FaSiDa (IV-3) and, as in case E, her sister. His second wife is also FaSiDa because her mother (III-6) was a sister to III-2, since their respective fathers (II-9 and II-2) were (adopted) brothers.

128 582 601 602 *Case H:* This illustrates a very powerful marriage rule: The children of men who call each other *shawasi* (brother-in-law) can marry. Practically speaking, in our kinship terms, the rule is that the children of cross-cousins stand in marriageable relationship to each other. II-2 and II-3 stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and could exchange sisters in marriage. Their sons stand in the same relationship. Another important feature of Yanomamö kinship and marriage rules is illustrated here. While III-1 married a woman of the prescribed category, he does not reckon his relationship to her patrilaterally or matrilaterally. That is, she is neither FaSiDa nor MoBrDa, but she is both! This emphasizes the fact that they marry primarily in terms of categories rather than by tracing biological ties, as I have done in the above examples. To the Yanomamö,

11: Chagnon R-5 (1964-1969) 1969 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

FaSiDa is the same as MoBrDa, and both are called by the same term, *naakëya*. Hence, to present the above examples as the Yąnomamö would explain them I would not have had to distinguish MoBrDa from FaSiDa, but rather would have had to use just one term; in every case presented, men married their *naakëya*. (This can be seen in the model shown in Fig. 3-1; each male married a woman who was simultaneously FaSiDa and MoBrDa, that is, *naakëya*, to him.)

Cases I and J: These are a little unusual, but I include them to give some idea of both the potentials of the Yąnomamö kinship system and the people who use it.

In case I, individual II-2 is the headman of Lower Bisasi-teri, Kąbawë's "father." He has considerable authority in the group. He arbitrarily redefined some of his classificatory daughters as sisters *so that his sons could marry their daughters*. Thus, the marriage of IV-1 to IV-2 is now considered to be legitimate because IV-1 could call his wife's mother his mother-in-law (FaSi), since his father redefined her as sister. Otherwise, it would be incest. Most of the people adjusted their kinship usage to fit the circumstances, but Kąbawë, who gave me the details of the manipulation, refused to adjust his own terms. The redefined women in question are his sisters, and he refused to call them FaSi.

I came upon this, and several identical cases, when I learned that the kinship usage between specific individuals did not reflect the equations implied by genealogies. (After I had collected extensive genealogies on four villages, I spent a considerable amount of time collecting kinship terms from specific individuals for every one of the some two thousand individuals included in the genealogies. This served as a cross-check on the genealogies, but uncovered a large number of incestuous and other interesting marriages that I might not have pinpointed otherwise.)

Case J brings out the full potential of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship. The man (III-1) married his *naakëya* according to the Yąnomamö, although he was not related to her by any blood ties. The justification for the marriage is the fact that III-1 calls all the women to whom his father and his father's brothers are married by the term for mother. Hence, he married his MoBrDa.

THE LINEAGE It was shown in Chapter 1 that villages fission to produce new groups. One of the consequences of this pattern is that in a given area there will be a number of villages whose members can trace genealogical ties to each other because they have common male ancestors. Because of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship, the interrelated members of two different villages will use kinship terms for each other that imply a closeness of relationship. Thus, Kąbawë has "brothers" in all of the villages that have a common history with his own. These men are usually parallel cousins one or two degrees removed, but brothers in terminological categories. (The lineage to which Kąbawë belongs is shown on Fig. 3-5, discussed later as the *Shu* lineage.)

The Yąnomamö do not name their lineages. I have named all the significant lineages after particular male individuals, usually a long-since-dead male whose generation is the last for which I have meaningful genealogies. Thus, the *Shu* lineage is named after a man called *Shawashiwëwa*, long dead. He and his brothers left many male descendants who today are distributed in several villages. In the history of the movements of Kąbawë's village, the *Shu* lineage has figured prominently in the affairs of the group. Similarly, the *Hor* lineage is named after a man called *Horokowëtëwë*. The *Shu* and *Hor* lineages have a long history of marriage alliance and the living members of these two lineages constitute the greater fraction of the populations of Patanowë-teri, Monou-teri,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

Upper Bisasi-teri, and Lower Bisasi-teri (see Table 1). Politically, they are either the two dominant lineages in each of the above-named villages or one of the two dominant lineages. For example, the headmen of Upper and Lower Bisasi-teri, Kaobawä and Reromawä, respectively, came from the *Shu* lineage. In Patanowä-teri there are two headmen, one from the *Shu* lineage and one from the *Her* lineage. Finally, in Monou-teri, the headmanship shifted from the *Shu* lineage to the *Her* lineage in 1965 because the *Shu* headman was killed in a raid by men from Patanowä-teri. I might add that he was killed by men of his own lineage to whom he was related as "brother." After he died, his brother-in-law, of the *Her* lineage, assumed the leadership. It is not surprising that the headmanship shifted to this large, important group. In terms of sheer numbers, the *Her* lineage (see Table 3–1) was stronger than the *Shu* lineage in Monou-teri. The distribution of political power within these two lineages underscores the dual organization of most Yanomamö villages.

It is apparent from the foregoing example that the ties between agnates who live in different villages are not necessarily amicable. The most bitter fighting, in fact, takes place between members of different villages who are related to each other agnatically. It is not uncommon for men to kill their classificatory brothers in the ensuing raids. As a consequence of the killing of the Monou-teri headman, for example, the raiders from Monou-teri avenged his death by shooting Boaiberi of Patanowä-teri. The two men who actually killed Boaiberi were related to their victim as brothers. Similarly, Kaobawä himself shot Rakoiwä, the present *Shu* headman of Patanowä-teri, wounding him badly. He had shot to kill even though Rakoiwä was his older (classificatory) brother.

Once the lineage splits up and is redistributed in several villages, the ties between the men of that lineage weaken dramatically. And, as we shall see below, the fissioning of a village is frequently the result of a bitter club fight within the village over the possession of women. The result is that many villages that have a common history are at war with each other due to the nature of the feuds that led to their splitting away from the common village. The Patanowa-teri, for example, are at war with all three of the villages from which they originally separated (see Fig. 3-5, discussed later).

The kinship ties between agnates who live in the same village are likewise quite weak. They are strongest between a man and his younger brothers, for the age differences alone call forth a certain amount of respect and amity. An older man can be expected to aid his younger brothers in fights and help them to secure wives. In some cases, the younger man obtains his wife from a polygynous older brother; some men appear to accumulate extra wives with the intention of passing them on to their younger brothers. Kaobawä, for example, gave one of his wives to a younger brother and will probably give another wife to a second younger brother. (He is presently permitting the brother to share her sexual services.) Kaobawä's older wife, Bahimi, is quite jealous of the co-wives because they can command some of the tasty morsels of food that would otherwise be her own prerogative. And, since the younger wives are more attractive physically, Kaobawä does pay considerable attention to them. In Lower Bisasi-teri, one of Kaobawä's classificatory brothers was forced by his older wife to get rid of his young, attractive second wife. The man gave her to an unmarried younger brother. He himself had acquired the younger wife as part of a political alliance he had made with the members of an allied village, knowing at the time that his first wife would object strenuously to the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

TABLE 3-1

VILLAGE COMPOSITION BY LINEAGE MEMBERSHIP*

Lineage	Male	Female	Total
A. Lower Bisaasi-teri			
Sha	9	7	16
Tom	9	3	12
Hor	1	2	3
Kio	2	4	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	1	1	2
	25	26	51
B. Upper Bisaasi-teri (Kaobawä's group)			
Sha	11	14	25
Hor	8	5	13
Kio	5	11	16
Kah	5	3	8
Shamatari	3	7	10
Other	5	8	13
	37	48	85
C. Monou-teri			
Sha	11	9	20
Hor	15	8	23
Kio	3	3	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	2	3	5
	34	32	66
D. Patanowä-teri			
Hor	58	33	91
Sha	39	29	68
Kah	17	8	25
Kar	1	3	4
Shamatari	2	6	8
Other	5	11	16
	122	90	212

*Revised version of Appendix A, Chagnon 1966.

transaction. Still, he took the girl. When domestic tranquility could no longer be maintained, he passed her on to his younger brother.

The relationship between a man and his brothers of approximately the same age are generally not amicable. Brothers of the same approximate age tend to be jealous of each other and treat one another with considerable reserve and respect. A man can directly ask an immature younger brother to execute some task for him, but he can

593 561 only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally true should one of them be the village headman. Kaobawä can ask his youngest brothers to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask 593 561 his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village plaza to prepare the dance site, Kaobawä himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion 622 that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will join him, but only on their own initiative. He could not directly ask them to do this [123] work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a younger brother to Kaobawä, but already a mature adult. I asked Kaobawä to help me get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around. [554] By contrast, Kaobawä could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight, since the latter was not yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence, anxious to display personal autonomy.

Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many 622 circumstances. Kaobawä continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his 628 brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other 602 man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary) his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar account.

621 613 602 In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers. That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage begins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogically more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Generation V of Fig. 3–1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.[9] Local descent groups have three [611] characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a member of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live [591] in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife elsewhere, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

[9] Leach, 1951. Yanomamö local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yanomamö such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yanomamö local descent groups closely fit Leach's definition.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

father. He can rejoin them later and again become an active member, but while he lives in a different village he does not participate in the political affairs of that group. Third, the group is *corporate* with respect to the functions of arranging the marriages of the female members. This is the most important single feature of the local descent group: its *function*. The first two characteristics of the group dealt only with the manner in which members can be recruited to the group (birth in the group and coresidence of such kinsmen). In anthropological usage, a corporation is a group of people who share some *estate* and have *rights* and *obligations* with respect to each other and to the estate. There are definite rules for recruiting new members into the corporation. Most studies of primitive corporations have dealt with those societies in which *land* is the estate of the corporation. (See, for example, Fried 1957.) Among the Yąnomamö, land has nothing to do with the functions of the corporate group. Women and rights to dispose of women in marriage constitute the estate of the Yąnomamö corporate groups. Leach is the first anthropologist to draw attention to the analytical importance of this kind of corporation (1961, Chapter 5), although Radcliffe-Brown (1953), in one of the first theoretical discussions of primitive corporations, emphasized the importance of rights over *persons* in some kinds of corporations.

Marriages are arranged by the male members of the local descent group. It cannot be supposed, for example, that the marriage rules automatically dictate the manner in which a woman is disposed in marriage; there are always some negotiations brought about by the situation. For example, a small village may require alliances with larger villages for purposes of defense, and the men of the small village may promise to give daughters to men in the larger village; or there may be a number of men within the village that stand in wife-receiving relationship to the girl, and a decision must be made regarding her ultimate disposition. In some cases a woman's daughters are promised to young men even before they are born. Generally, the girls are near puberty age by the time they are definitely given to a specific male, and they begin cohabiting with the man shortly after the puberty ceremony is over. In some situations a woman must be reassigned to an appropriate mate because her first husband died or abandoned her; or she might run away from a cruel husband and seek refuge among her brothers, bringing about a situation in which they must decide what to do with her.

Women abhor the possibility of being given to men in distant villages, since their fate is much less certain. Men in general are cruel to their wives, and the women rely on the protection of their brothers. A woman who is given to a man in a distant village, therefore, will generally have no brothers to protect her.

A man has considerably more say about the disposition of his daughters when he is young and has immature sons. As the sons grow older, they can overrule the father and insist that the girl be given to a man from some lineage that is likely to reciprocate with a sister. Ideally, women like to be given to men within their natal village. In this fashion the women can remain close to their own kinsmen and rely on the support of their brothers should the husband be particularly cruel. The best arrangement for everyone concerned is for the girl to be given to a man to whom she is related as FaSiDa or MoBrDa in the biological sense. Marriages of this kind exempt the husband from the onerous duty of stringently avoiding his parents-in-law, whereas they at the same time bind the wife-giving and wife-receiving groups more closely together in the system of reciprocities. As Kąobawä stated it, "It is good for groups to exchange women back and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Makiritare SS20

Y 582 602 *621

forth in this fashion. They will be good friends because of it."[10] If the girl marries a man of this category, the probability is high that she will remain in the village with her parents and brothers, since exchanges of this kind keep affinally linked local descent groups bound to each other.

*Y 621 582 613 602

The consequences of the corporate marriage-arranging functions of the local descent group can be most easily seen in the lineage basis for village fissioning, shown in Fig. 3–4. Briefly, the politics of arringing marriages are such that local descent groups of lineage X will pair with similar groups of lineage Y, and largely confine their marriage exchanges to those groups. Putting it more simply, each local descent group of lineage X will pair off with one local descent group of lineage Y, and stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to that group. When the village fisions, the paired local descent groups will be more strongly bound to each other by marriage ties than each is to the other local descent groups of its own lineage.

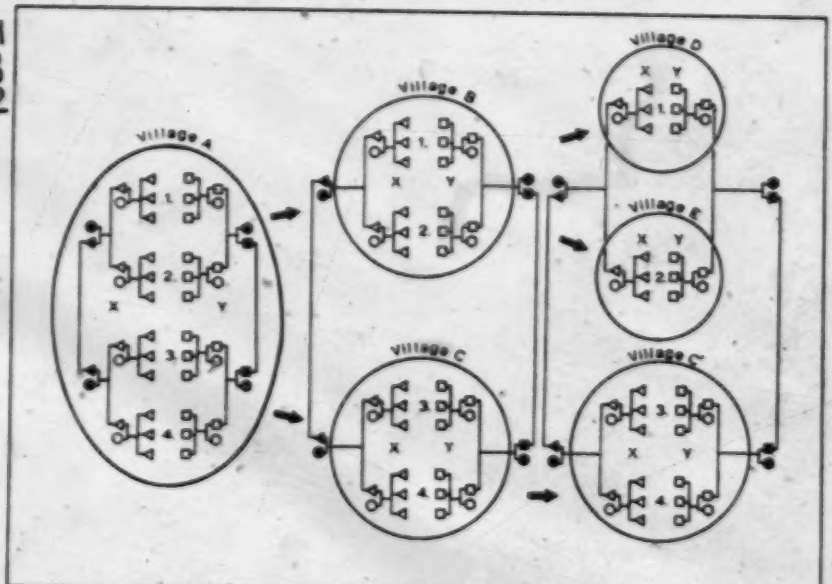
VILLAGE FISSIONING Fig. 3–4 presents the structural basis of village fissioning in terms of paired local descent groups. Village A contains two lineages, X and Y. Each lineage has four local descent groups. For simplicity of presentation, only the male

M 582 602 601

[10] I obtained a nearly identical explanation of reciprocal marriage exchanges of this kind from one of the Makiritare Indians, northern neighbors to the Yąnomamö. The Carib-speaking Makiritare have a prescriptive bilateral cross-cousin marriage rule like the Yąnomamö. My informant told me, in Spanish: "It is necessary for a man to marry his *yaitamade* [their equivalent to the Yąnomamö category of *mokõya*]. In this fashion families become good friends because they marry with each other time after time. When you marry this way, you are good friends with your *mãnya* [brother-in-law] and can play and joke with him. You are also good friends with your *uudima* [father-in-law]. If you marry a different way, you must be careful around your *uudima* and respect him."

Fig. 3–4. Distribution of paired local descent groups in village fissioning.

Y *621 613 582



11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

members are shown. Each group is paired off with an equivalent local descent group of the opposite lineage, giving the four numbered pairs. When village A fissions to form villages B and C, lineages X and Y will break at the weakest points, resulting in the formation of two new villages that have an identical composition: Village B is like village C in size and contains two local descent groups of lineages X and Y; the two local descent groups of each lineage in both new villages are paired with the analogous group of the opposite lineage. Fig. 3–4 can be viewed as a diagram of the physical organization of the village. Thus, in village A the male members of lineage X would tend to live on one side of the village, while the males of lineage Y would live on the opposite side. In actual distribution, then, the village has a "diametric dual organization" (Lévi-Strauss, 1961, Chapter 8). The Yąnomamö, however, do not conceive of the village as having discrete halves. That is, they do not have formal rules enjoining the male members of lineage X to live on one side of the village. There are always residential exceptions to the arrangement shown in Fig. 3–4.

Village B fissions again, resulting in the further breakdown of lineages X and Y. The outcome, villages D and E, is essentially like the outcome of the fission in village A; that is, the resulting new villages are alike in composition, size, and structure. Village C has not fissioned and continues to exist as it did after separating from village B. A comparison of the three villages shown in the last step of Fig. 3–4 will reveal that D, E, and C′ are interrelated villages because patrilineages X and Y occur in each of them. The members of the patrilineages would still continue to call each other brother and sister, although they would be distributed in three different villages. The genealogical ties connecting villages D, E, and C′ have been drawn in to emphasize this relationship.

The reason that lineages break down in this fashion stems from the fact that remote agnatic ties are weaker than the marriage ties that link the paired local descent groups to each other. The strength of the affinal ties between paired local descent groups derives from the obligations of reciprocity in marriage exchanges. Thus, when village B fissioned, local descent group X–1 had stronger ties to Y–1 than it did to X–2. The result was that X–1 and Y–1 separated from X–2 and Y–2 to form their own village, D.[11]

Fig. 3–4 describes the "ideal" pattern of village fissioning. Fig. 3–5 shows the structure and composition of three actual Yąnomamö villages for comparison. As in Fig. 3–4, only the adult males are shown. The incomplete triangles of Upper Bisaasi-teri in Fig. 3–5 signify that the men in question do not live in that village, but they must be included in the diagram to show that their sons live in Upper Bisaasi-teri. The two men actually live in Paranowä-teri, the composition of which is not shown in Fig. 3–5. What has been shown is that the lineages *Hor* and *Sha* extend into Paranowä-teri. In fact, the population of that village is comprised largely of members of these two lineages. See Table 3–1. Only the adult male members of the villages are shown for the three villages in Fig. 3–5, since it is this class of men that dominates the political affairs of the village. For those interested in *all* the genealogical relationships between *all* the members of one of the villages (Lower Bisaasi-teri), see Chagnon, 1966, Figure 2 and Appendix A. As can be seen from Fig. 3–5, each village is characterized by a dual organization of intermarrying lineages. In 1960, Lower Bisaasi-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri were, in fact, a single village. It can be seen how local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage, for example,

[11]The pair "X–1 and Y–1" is represented on Fig. 3–4 simply by the numeral "1".

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

621
G13
582
602

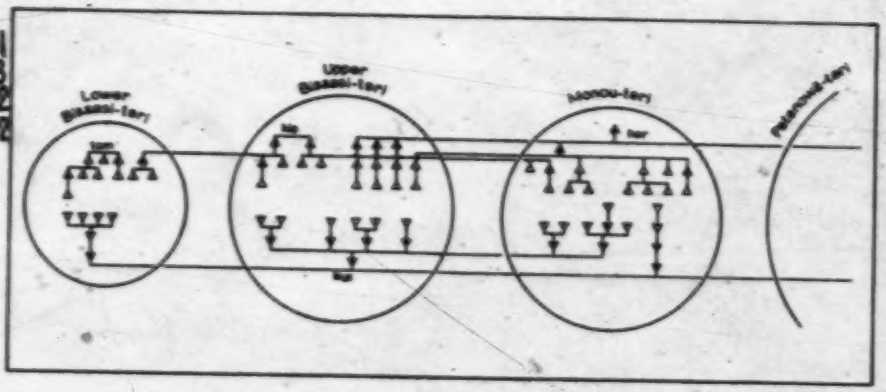


Fig. 3-5. Actual village fissioning.

separated from each other because of the ties each had to affinally linked descent groups of other lineages. Thus, Lower Bisasi-teri is comprised essentially of two groups: a local descent group of the *Sha* lineage and a local descent group of the *Tow* lineage. Their members have exchanged women with each other for several generations, creating strong bonds of reciprocal obligations to continue to exchange in the future (Chagnon 1966). Similarly, the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in the two remaining villages shown in the figure are linked by affinal ties to other lineages.

Further back in history—1954—Monou-teri also constituted a portion of the village that included Upper and Lower Bisasi-teri (see Fig. 2-4, Chapter 2). Finally, the three villages shown on Fig. 3-5 constituted a single village with Patanowä-teri about 1940. The fissioning of the original village (and subsequent village fissioning) resulted in the distribution of local descent groups according to pairs, as shown in Fig. 3-4.[12]

Discrepancies in the Marriage Pattern

128
582
621*

I presented in considerable detail the relationship between actual behavior and ideal rules about behavior from a qualitative point of view. This was accomplished by comparing genealogical diagrams describing some actual examples to ideal models of marriage and village fissioning. I will now give some of the quantitative aspects of marriage behavior and the demographic and political bases of the actual marriage pattern.

Table 3-2 shows the distribution of marriage types found in two related villages.

[191]

[12]In some areas of Brazil the pattern of village fissioning is slightly different. There, a local descent group may even establish its own house, separated from the wife-giving/wife-receiving member of the pair by as much distance as several miles. What I have been calling the "village" in this discussion breaks down, in portions of Brazil, into several "part-villages" that are not capable of carrying on an independent social existence. That is, members of the "part-village," the composition of which is essentially a single local descent group of one lineage, must obtain their wives from some other nonlocal group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

These figures represent a *sample* of marriages in the two villages. The sample consists of all married males who are thirty-five years old or younger. The sample was chosen in this fashion because the analysis of the marriage types depends on genealogical information covering several generations. By selecting only the younger men the analysis can be quite easily undertaken. In Patanowã-teri there were 38 men of this category, many of whom had multiple wives. A man with four wives, therefore, represents four marriages. In Lower Bisaasi-teri only 10 married men were below thirty-five years of age and accounted for the seventeen marriages. If all the men were included, the analysis would be inaccurate because I do not have adequately long genealogies for some of the oldest men. Up to 1940, the villages of Patanowã-teri and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not separate entities; they separated from each other at about that time. Patanowã-teri is a large and powerful village, containing 212 people. Lower Bisaasi-teri, with only 51 people, is militarily dependent on several of its allies.

Four types of marriages are shown in Table 3–2. The term prescriptive refers to the kinds of marriages described in Fig. 3–2. An incestuous marriage is defined as a man marrying a woman of his own patrilineage (or his mother or niece reckoned through his mother's side of the family). Marriages resulting from either alliance or abduction have been lumped into a single category because they represent the recruitment of spouses from outside the group. Finally, a few marriages are unexplainable in terms of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage equations; these represent marriages between members of distinct lineages that have recently entered into exchanges with each other.

As can be seen from Table 3–2, there is a major difference between the two villages in the proportion of prescriptive marriages on the one hand and alliance marriages on the other. In short, the Patanowã-teri follow their marriage prescriptions far more rigorously than do the Lower Bisaasi-teri. This is so because Patanowã-teri, a much larger village, does not need to enter into marriage alliances with its neighbors; it is politically and militarily capable of an autonomous existence. Most of the alliance-abduction marriages in Patanowã-teri are, in fact, abductions; in Bisaasi-teri most of them are alliance marriages. Therefore, the relative frequency of alliance-type marriages is much lower for Patanowã-teri than for Lower Bisaasi-teri. This difference in marriage behavior stems from the relative abilities of the two groups to maintain military autonomy in a milieu of chronic warfare, a quality that is largely a function of the size of the group. The members of a militarily vulnerable village will breach the marriage prescriptions in order to establish political alliances with neighboring groups by ceding women to them.

TABLE 3–2
MARRIAGE TYPES IN PATANOWÃ-TERI AND LOWER BISAASI-TERI

	Patanowã-teri	Lower Bisaasi-teri
1. Prescriptive	37	7
2. Incestuous	4	1
3. Alliance and/or abduction	8	9
4. Unexplained	3	0
Totals:	52	17

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

TABLE 3-3
SEX-RATIO DATA ON SELECTED VILLAGES

	Males	Females	Totals
Upper Bisaasi-teri	37	48	85
Lower Bisaasi-teri	25	26	51
Monou-teri	34	32	66
Reyaboböwei-teri	52	46	98
Möxmariböwei-teri	50	46	96
Patanowä-teri	122	90	212
Aikam-teri and Roko-teri	129	103	232
	449	391	840

Table 3-3 gives sex-ratio data on seven groups of Yąnomamö. The first three villages are not truly representative of the population in general, but are included because they have been frequently discussed in the text.

They are not representative because some 15 men from these villages were killed in a single treacherous feast in 1950, a significant fraction of the adult male population. These feasts are not very frequent. The three groups are allied to each other and have been extremely successful at coercing two neighboring Shamatari villages out of women; a surprisingly high proportion of their women come from these allies. As we shall see, they have been successful because of the geographical and historical relationships that characterize the alliance network in this area.

DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS As is apparent, there are more males in the Yąnomamö population than females. This demographic fact results from the practice of selectively killing female babies: *female infanticide*. The Yąnomamö also practice male infanticide, but because of the preference to have a male as their first child, they unknowingly kill more females than males. The Yąnomamö have only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. They are, accordingly, poor statisticians. They are quite unaware of the fact that they do kill more female babies, and every time I questioned them about it, they insisted that they killed both kinds—"more-than-two" of both kinds.

A child is killed at birth, irrespective of its sex, if the mother already has a nursing baby. They rationalize the practice by asserting that the new infant would probably die anyway, since its older sibling would drink most of the milk. They are most reluctant to jeopardize the health and safety of a nursing child by weaning it before it is three years old or so, preferring to kill the competitor instead. Kąobawä's wife, Bahimi, killed a newborn male shortly after I began my fieldwork. She later told me, quite tearfully, that it would have taken milk away from Ariwari, Kąobawä's favorite child. Ariwari at the time was over two years old, but Bahimi refused to wean him. Sometimes a child is killed simply because the mother doesn't feel that she can care for it properly and that it would be an inconvenience to have to tend a baby. I once saw a plump, well-fed, young mother eating a large quantity of food that would have been suitable to give to an older infant. Her emaciated, filthy, and nearly starved child—about two years old—kept reaching out for the food. The mother explained that the baby had gotten a bad case of diarrhea some time ago and had stopped eating. As a consequence, her milk dried up. She refused to attempt to feed it other foods because "it did not know how to eat other foods." When

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3-3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebawä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3-3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawã, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisaasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yąnomamõ marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kąobawã's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kąobawã's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowã-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2-8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowã-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowã-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowã-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwã, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowã-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowã-teri fissioned into two groups: They relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kaobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kaobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kaobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kaobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kaobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December–January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kaobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kaobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kaobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kaobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kaobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kaobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yanomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kaobawä's group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[18] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowī's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąbowī's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąbowī and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąbowī's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąbowī's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąbowī's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąbowī's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąbowī's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąbowī and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąbowī's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąbowī and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[18] James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąbowī and his group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Kąobawä's group. All their other neighbors, allied to the victims of the treacherous feast, relentlessly raided them. They were, in short, extremely dependent on Kąobawä's group and the two other villages related to Kąobawä's group.

Kąobawä and his followers have astutely finessed this situation in two ways. First, they have managed to coerce the two Shamatari villages into ceding women without reciprocating an equal number of their own in return. The men who have obtained Shamatari wives have, as well, managed to cut short their period of bride service in the Shamatari village. Conversely, Shamatari men who have been promised women of Kąobawä's group are pressed into very lengthy bride service, sometimes up to three years. Secondly, Kąobawä's group has prevented the two Shamatari allies from re-establishing friendly contacts with the other Shamatari to their southeast by chicane, threat, and intimidation. One of the two Shamatari allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri, has attempted a rapprochement with the Shamatari enemies of Kąobawä's group. In 1965, several months after I had been living in Kąobawä's village, Kąobawä's group managed to stage another treacherous feast for the old enemies by taking advantage of the renewed ties between the Reyaboböwei-teri and the enemies. They learned that the Reyaboböwei-teri planned to invite one of the villages to a feast, so they, along with the Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Mǫmariböwei-teri, went to the feast in order to ambush the guests. The Reyaboböwei-teri, however, were reluctant to go through with the plan and warned the visitors about it. The visitors were en route to the village when word of the treachery reached them. This had the effect of creating even more difficulties for the Reyaboböwei-teri, for it is highly unlikely that they will succeed in gaining the confidence of their neighbors to the southeast. Nevertheless, some visiting between the groups still continues.[17]

The historical relationships between the villages helps account for the reasons behind contemporary alliance patterns. The discrepancy between marriage rules and actual marriage practice in Lower Bisaasi-teri is a result of the political advantages that group enjoys over one of its allies. It has used this advantage to gain a favorable imbalanced marriage exchange pattern, but one that is only temporary. The Shamatari are also shrewd in their alliance practices, and have succeeded in neutralizing their disadvantages by capitalizing on schisms between Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. This has been done largely by confining their marriage exchanges to important men in the dominant lineages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri. One of the Shamatari villages, Mǫmaribowei-teri, has restricted its exchanges to Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri, while completely ignoring Upper Bisaasi-teri. The other Shamatari village has given its women only to Upper Bisaasi-teri. This has resulted in the weakening of ties between the three villages of Upper Bisaasi-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Monou-teri, whose members are

[17] I plan to use these visiting ties to establish contact with the Shamatari villages in that area, none of which have had contact with outsiders. These uncontacted Shamatari, however, know who I am because I attempted to reach them in 1965. They subsequently sent a message out urging me to visit them, angry because my guides forced me to turn back on my first attempt. In 1966 they even sent an old man to Kąobawä's village by way of Reyaboböwei-teri with an invitation for me to visit them. I had already left Venezuela by that time. Most of the men in the two contacted Shamatari villages tried to prevent me from going by telling horrible tales of the treachery that awaited my visit, describing how the Shamatari will kill me. The truth of the matter is that they know that I will bring the uncontacted Shamatari machetes and axes that might otherwise be given to them. The headman of one of the uncontacted villages has a brother in Mǫmariböwei-teri. He privately conceded that no harm would befall me and offered to take me to visit in 1967. He was, unfortunately, bitten by a snake just before I arrived in March of 1967, and my plans were deferred until 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*628 related agnatically to each other, and who share a common history. That is, they have
581 lost solidarity as a network of allied villages and, therefore, some of the advantages they
582 enjoyed as wife receivers with respect to the Shamatari villages. They are less able to behave as a single political entity and force the Shamatari to cede women because the Shamatari have given them women in such a way so as to make them competitors with each other. This has also weakened the ties between the two Shamatari villages, which are also related to each other by agnatic ties and common history because each group has linked its political fate with the affairs of different allies. Nevertheless, the two Shamatari villages have, by exchanging women in this fashion, reduced the solidarity of the group of villages that once stood as a unified political bloc that coerced them out of women.

*621 This can be demonstrated in two ways. During the period 1964–1966, Upper and
*628 Lower Bisaasi-teri still maintained a common village and entertained visitors as a group.
581 Near the end of this period, after the marriage exchanges had begun to show their effects,
582 they abandoned the common village and began to entertain allies independently of each other. At that time they had together managed to acquire two dozen or so women from the Shamatari while having given or promised only a half-dozen in return. When I returned in 1967, the situation had changed appreciably. There were many more Shamatari men living in the group because they had been given women; that is, the exchanges were more balanced. Moreover, the relationships between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not as amicable as they had been the previous year; each group was becoming more involved in the obligations it had acquired by entering into marriage exchanges with
[126] one of the two Shamatari villages. Just before I returned, there was a club fight involving all of the villages: The Upper Bisaasi-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri fought, as a group, against the Lower Bisaasi-teri and Mõmariböwei-teri; that is, the groups that had entered into marriage exchanges with each other behaved as a unit and fought against their close agnates and erstwhile allies. A group of men from Mõmariböwei-teri forcefully took a woman from the Reyaboböwei-teri, thereby precipitating a challenge to a club fight. The Monou-teri participated in the club fight as well, taking the side of the Mõmariböwei-teri, from whom they had taken several women and to whom they had promised several.

*628 Finally, the political situation altered somewhat. When the alliance first developed
726 between Kaobawã's group and the two Shamatari villages in 1960, the political milieu
581 was quite serene. The treacherous feast resulted in a bloody war, but the two Shamatari
582 villages sustained most of the losses. Therefore, the Shamatari allies required the assistance of Kaobawã's group more than the latter needed their help, since Kaobawã's group had no active wars at the time. In 1965, however, the Monou-teri renewed their old war with the Patanowã-teri and it subsequently involved Kaobawã's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. Only then did they require military assistance from the Shamatari, and only then did the marriage exchanges tend to balance. I will discuss the development of this war in Chapter 4.

*628 Marriage in Yanomamö society is the result, therefore, of many considerations.
581 It is not merely the outcome of a blind subscription to a rule that enjoins males to marry
582 women of a specific category, for in many cases the political affairs of the group oblige people to give their daughters to men in other villages. The Yanomamö are practical and enterprising in this regard, particularly those in small villages. The capacity to exist
[183] as an independent but small group is greatly enhanced by creating alliances with members

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yąnomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18]Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yąnomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shawasi* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19]Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

137
142
281
301
462
482
313

Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers.

462 313 [482]

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity.

573 462 [252] 593 164 [197]

11: Chagnon E-5 - (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kąobewä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

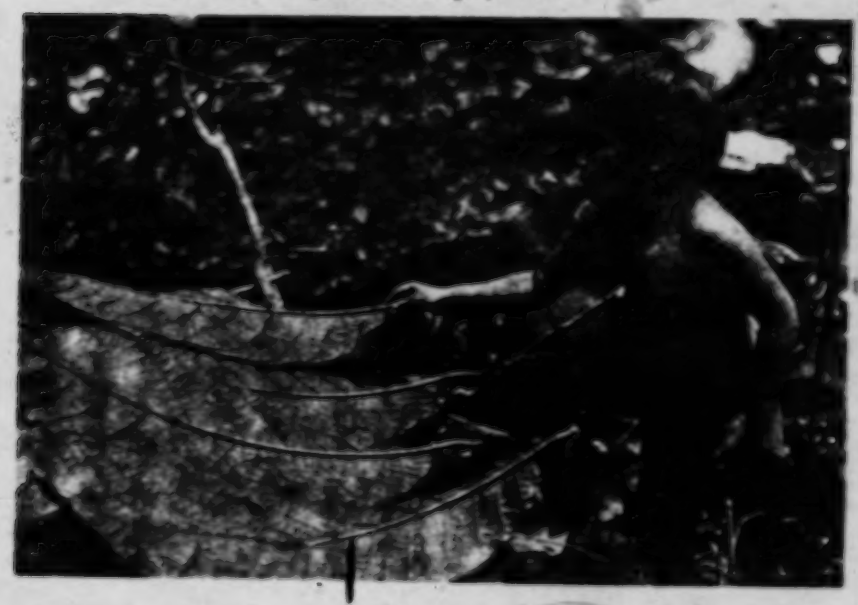
Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

Ill Chagnon 8-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ10 Tenesma SQ18

Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by ceaselessly accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kaplawä, for example, lets Ariwari beat him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwari is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flash of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of interest from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

Fig. 3-2. Ariwari, Kaplawä's favorite son, building a male-fashion house while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.



11:' Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kaobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yaiwaw*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*ro*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kaobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kaobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekawa*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*nowahi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

853 753 854 856 123 most common way for a child's soul to escape is to leave by way of the mouth when the child cries. Thus, mothers are quick to hush a bawling baby in order to prevent its soul from escaping. The child's soul can be recovered by sweeping the ground in the vicinity where it most probably escaped, calling for it while sweeping the area with a particular kind of branch. I once helped gather up the soul of a sick child in this fashion, luring it back into the sick baby. One of the contributions I made, in addition to helping with the calling and sweeping, was a dose of medicine for the child's diarrhea. A consequence of this set of attitudes about the vulnerability of children is that much of the village's activity with respect to shamanism and curing is directed toward the children.

602 601 RELATIVES BY BLOOD AND BY MARRIAGE Many forms of interpersonal behavior stem largely from the social roles implied in the kinship system. To be sure, some kinship behavior reflects the two distinctions of age and sex discussed above, for the terminology of kinship itself employs discriminations of this kind. For example, there are terms to distinguish older siblings from younger siblings and terms used by members of one sex only in reference to those of the opposite sex.

The relationship between kinship terms and biological parentage is not the same in the Yąnomamö language as it is in our own. As was shown in the first section of this chapter, people may stand in a child relationship to a number of individuals; that is, it is possible to have multiple "mothers" and "fathers" in Yąnomamö society. The term for mother and father conveys as much of a social as a biological relationship between individuals, and in the daily activities of the Yąnomamö it is the social implications of kinship roles that are most important.

193 192 What is implied in the kinship roles can best be seen in the way the kinship terms themselves are formed. All primary kinship terms take the ending "*-mou*" when used to describe the relationship between individuals. Thus, *oshejo* means "my younger sibling," but *oshemou* means that individual X *behaves* toward individual Y *as a younger sibling*. This ending, *-mou*, also occurs in nonkinship usage to express "a way of behaving," "to execute a particular activity in a specified manner," or "to perform the activity that is implied by the word to which *-mou* is affixed." For example, *oko* means fresh-water crab and *okomou* means "to go hunting for crabs"; *hawaki* means "a mischievous white monkey" and *hawakimou* means "to act mischievously, to monkey around"; *moxu naka* means "enemy," and *moxu nakamou* means "to become an enemy by behaving objectionably"; *waiyei* means "fierce" and *waiyeimou* means "to behave ferociously."

Whenever I would ask the Yąnomamö a question such as, "What do you call Kąobawä?" the answers would always be in the form of a kinship term to which "*-mou*" was affixed, but rarely in the form "I say such-and-such to him." Calling an individual by a specific term is, however, implied in the "way of behaving" toward that individual. But despite the fact that the Yąnomamö can say, literally, "I call him father" (*kama kä iha, haya ya kou*), they invariably say "*ya kąimou*"—"I behave toward him as a child."[20] Thus, they express their relationships to others in terms of *ways of behavior*. Each kinship category implies a set of these behavioral norms, and one's social life in the community is established with respect to all other individuals by the kinship terminology employed in each particular case.

[20] Although the word *kąi* translates literally as "father," the expression *ya kąimou* can best be understood with the translation given above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

New individuals are incorporated into the community by an extension of kinship ties. Unless one is incorporated into the village in this fashion, there is no basis for social behavior vis-à-vis others, for the kinship system defines one's role in society. An orphaned teen-ager joined Kąobawä's group shortly before I began my fieldwork. He was from a distant Shamatari village and had no blood relatives in Kąobawä's group. He established his position in the community by calling Kąobawä "father." This defined his relationship to all of Kąobawä's kinsmen as well. As an exercise in kinship, I had the young man give me his relationship term for everyone in the village. He not only had specific terms for every member of the group, but he had also extended them to all the residents of Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri as well, since Kąobawä was related to these people. In short, the boy learned how Kąobawä was related to all the members of three different villages and logically extended his own assumed relationship to Kąobawä outward to the others; and he behaved toward them accordingly: He avoided women he called mother-in-law and refrained from sexual activities with women he called sister.

To emphasize the fact that the kinship categories do not always correspond to biological relationships, let me give an example of an incestuous marriage. Kąobawä's younger brother, Shiimima, recently (1966) took a young girl for his wife, outraging most of the community because he "behaved toward her as brother" before the marriage. The girl's mother had been abducted some twenty years earlier from a distant village and was given to a man who stood in a father relationship to Kąobawä and Shiimima. Thus, both Kąobawä and Shiimima called the abducted woman "mother" and called her daughter "sister." The abducted woman's husband died of malaria; after this, she had a number of temporary affairs with other men before being officially taken as a wife by another man in the village. Her daughter is the issue of a temporary affair she had with the headman of Mahekodo-teri, the group that gave Kąobawä refuge after the treacherous feast in 1950. She is, therefore, biologically unrelated to Kąobawä and Shiimima, but since they behaved toward her as brothers, Shiimima's marriage to her is a blatant case of incest. The matter was as disgusting to my informants as it would have been had Shiimima married his own biological sister.

There are many important kinship distinctions in Yąnomamö social life, but the one between relatives by marriage and agnatic relatives should particularly be emphasized. This distinction is at the basis of Yąnomamö political behavior and village fissioning. This point was emphasized in the discussion of village fissioning and marriage rules in the first section of this chapter.

One of the most important characteristics of affinal ties is that they are capable of growing in strength over time because they can be solidified and reinforced by marriage exchanges between the groups. Ties between agnates, on the other hand, tend to weaken over time. For example, Kąobawä's local descent group could renew its friendship to similar affinally related groups in the village of Patanowä-teri by entering into marriage exchanges with them once again. There is no way, however, in which his own descent group could reinforce or strengthen the agnatic ties with the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in Patanowä-teri. By marrying into the affinally related Patanowä-teri descent groups, Kąobawä's group would enter into direct competition with agnatic counterparts in that village, further straining the relationships between the two communities.

There is another way of looking at this situation. Men who are related to each other as agnates (for example, brothers and parallel cousins) get along well with each

602 other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old
571 enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competi-
602 tion with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their per-
571 sonal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older.
578 They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kąobawī, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

602 The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows
607 more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas
571 agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their
581 fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely
582 promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

602 Kąobawī's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction be-
[601] tween agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowā-teri some time after Kąobawī's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwā, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were
[613] half-brothers. Nadesiwā is in Kąobawī's local descent group, but is not quite on a par
[581] with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the
[582] group—Kąobawī and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwā to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the
[591] completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwā will
[606] have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kąobawī and Nadesiwā treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

602 The other man, Kumamawā, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kąobawī is related to
607 him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first
[591] cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawā is a
[613] frequent visitor in Kąobawī's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kąobawī asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kąobawī's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

361 Kąobawī's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his
342 agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharaiwä, Kąobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kąobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kąobawä's younger wife. Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kąobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yąnomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *bahimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kąobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kąobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

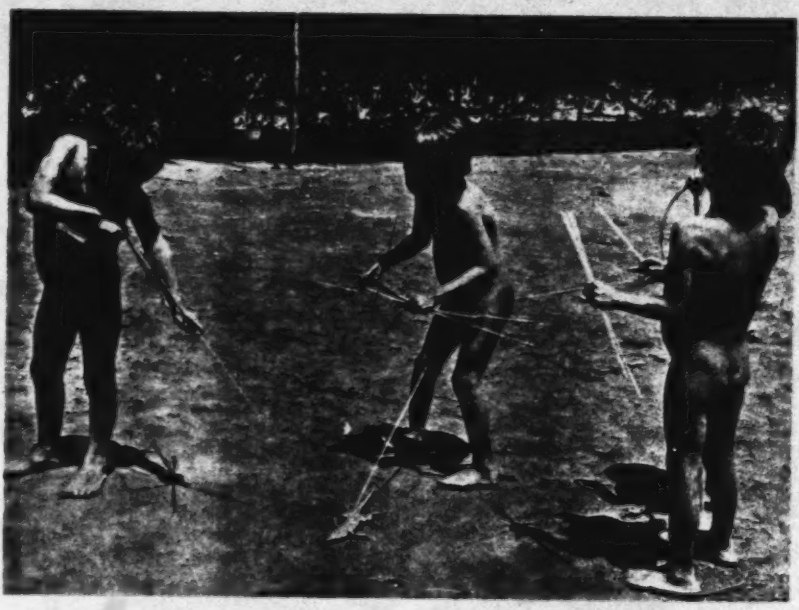


Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

512 At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he [224] appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He [564] preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship [264] or stinginess.

[123] Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share [462] of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or para- [252] phernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree [263] are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

[264] Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around [252] the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them [264] in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

[252] Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, [262] particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

[354] By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the [447] village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an [515] alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe [513] the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

[155] Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should [765] anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others [593] have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and [578] soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, [537] loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

512 221 561 562 Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Shararaiwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Shararaiwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Shararaiwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

156 622 *628 607 574 721 [123] [714] [123] 156 622 593 578

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with Kąobawä the possibility of peace between their two villages. They were brothers-in-law to him and were fairly certain that he would protect them from the village hotheads. One of the ambitious men in Kąobawä's group saw in this an opportunity to enhance his prestige and made plans to murder the three visitors. This man, Paruriwä, was a very cunning, treacherous fellow and quite jealous of Kąobawä's position as headman. He wanted to be the village leader and privately told me to address him as the headman. On this occasion Kąobawä let it be known that he intended to protect the visitors. For the better part of the day the village was in a state of suspense. Paruriwä and his followers were not to be found anywhere; a rumor spread that they had painted themselves black and were well armed. Kąobawä and his supporters, mostly his own brothers and brothers-in-law, remained in the village all day, their weapons close at hand. Late in the afternoon Paruriwä and his men appeared in their black paint and took up strategic posts around the village. He himself held an axe. He strutted arrogantly up to the visitors holding his axe as if he were ready to strike. The village became very quiet, and most of the women and children left. Neither Kąobawä nor the Patanowä-teri visitors batted an eyelash when Paruriwä approached, although the others were visibly nervous and sat up in their hammocks. Instead of striking the visitors with the axe as he appeared to suggest he was going to do, he invited one of them out to chant with him. Within seconds all three of the visitors had paired off with members of Paruriwä's group and were chanting passionately with them, explaining the reasons for their visit and giving their justification for the state of hostilites.

The crisis has been averted because of Kąobawä's implied threat that he would defend the visitors with force. A number of men in Paruriwä's group were visitors from Monou-teri; their headman had been killed a few months earlier by the Patanowä-teri. When Paruriwä failed to go through with his plan, they left the village in a rage, hoping to recruit a raiding party in their own village and ambush the visitors when they left.

Kąobawä realized that the visitors would not be safe until they got back home, since the Monou-teri would attempt to intercept them. He visited me that night and asked me to take the visitors back to their village at dawn in my canoe, knowing that I had already planned a trip there for the immediate future. After I agreed to accelerate my own plans, he proceeded to give me instructions about the trip: I was not to stop at any of the villages along the Orinoco River to visit, for all of them were at war with the Patanowä-teri and would shoot my companions on sight. The Patanowä-teri men lay on the floor of my canoe and covered themselves with a tarp when we passed these villages. The people on the bank shouted curses at me for not stopping to visit and give them trade goods. At this time the Patanowä-teri were being raided by about a dozen different villages. We had to cover part of the distance to their village on foot, proceeding very cautiously because of the danger of raiders. At one point the men showed me the spot where a Hasaböwä-teri raiding party had killed a Patanowä-teri woman a week earlier. Thus, Kąobawä not only protected the visitors while they were in his village but he also arranged a "safe-conduct" for their return.

Kąobawä keeps order in the village when people get out of hand. Paruriwä, for example, is particularly cruel to his four wives and beats them mercilessly for even slight provocations. None of his wives have brothers in the village, and few people are courageous enough to interfere with Paruriwä when he is angry. On one occasion Kąobawä was holding a feast for the members of an allied village. His preparations were being

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

156
622
593
578

duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwã, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwã's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwã went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwã recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kąobawã had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwã before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kąobawã disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

156
622
578
[276]

On another occasion one of Kąobawã's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kąobawã managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kąobawã stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3–9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

142
291
302
578
411
622

Fig. 3–9. Kąobawã (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been hashed on the head and blood is streaming down his neck.

156 his group was being trounced by their opponents, largely because only a few of the men
622 were doing all the fighting for Kąobawä's group. These men were forced to take several
578 turns in rapid succession, while a large number of men stood by and watched. The fighters wanted to escalate the battle to a duel with axes, hoping to intimidate their opponents into conceding. Kąobawä quickly forced the idle men to participate in the chest pounding, thereby distributing the punishment a little more evenly and reducing the possibility of a bloodier confrontation.

After the duel was over, Kąobawä coolly discussed the fight with the leaders in the opponents' group, explaining that he did not intend to raid them unless they raided first. A number of men in the village, notably Paruriwä and some of his followers, shouted threats at the departing opponents that they would shoot them on sight should they meet again. Paruriwä frequently boasted like this, but rarely put himself in a position that was potentially dangerous. He later ran into a party of hunters from the above-mentioned group while he was leading a raid against the Patanowä-teri. Instead of shooting them on sight as he threatened to do (they could have shot back, as they were armed), he traded arrows with them and rapidly retreated. He boasted in the village how he had terrified these men. I later visited their village and learned that Paruriwä was the one who was terrified. They themselves continued to hunt, while Paruriwä fled for home.

156 Kąobawä's personality differs considerably from Paruriwä's. Where the former is
622 unobtrusive, calm, modest, and perceptive, the latter is belligerent, aggressive, ostenta-
602 tious, and rash. Kąobawä has an established status in the village and numerous supporters,
[157] whose loyalties are in part determined by their kinship ties and in part because he is a wise leader. Paruriwä is attempting to share in the leadership and does not have a well-established position in this respect. It is obvious who the real leader is: When visitors come to Upper Bisaasi-teri, they seek out Kąobawä and deal with him, no matter how ambitiously Paruriwä attempts to emulate his position. Paruriwä does not have as many living brothers in his group as Kąobawä has, so his "natural following" is somewhat limited. In addition, two of his brothers are married to actual sisters of Kąobawä and have some loyalty to him. Paruriwä, therefore, has very little means with which to establish his position, so he is given over to using bluff, threat, chicanery, and treachery. This he does well, and many of the young men in the village admire him for it. He has gained the support of some of these men by promising them his wives' yet unborn daughters. Remarkably enough, some of them cling to these promises and do his bidding.

622 Finally, one of Kąobawä's most unpleasant tasks is to scout the village neighbor-
726 hood when signs of raiders have been found. This he does alone, since it is a dangerous task and one that is avoided by the other men. Not even Paruriwä participates in this.

Kąobawä has definite responsibilities as the headman and is occasionally called upon by the nature of the situation to exercise his authority. He is usually distinguishable in the village as a man of some authority only for the duration of the incident that calls forth his leadership capacity. After the incident is over, he goes about his own business like the other men in the group. But even then, he sets an example for the
[574] others, particularly in his ambitions to produce large quantities of food for his family and for the guests he must entertain. Most of the time he leads only by example and the others follow if it pleases them to do so. They can ignore his example if they wish, but most of the people turn to him when a difficult situation arises.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4

Political Alliances, Trading and Feasting

YANOMAMÖ FEASTS take place only when one sovereign group entertains the members of another, allied group. Feasts, in brief, are political events. To be sure, economic and ceremonial implications are also significant, but these are relatively minor when compared to the functions of the feast in the context of forming alliances. The chief purpose of entertaining allies is to reaffirm and cultivate intervillage solidarity in the intimate, sociable context of food presentations, thereby putting the ally under obligation to reciprocate the feast in his own village at a later date, bringing about another feast and even more solidarity.

I will describe in this chapter some of the relationships between trade, economic specialization, historical ties between groups, warfare, and intervillage marriage exchanges, all of which are intimately connected and interact with each other in the process of developing political alliances.

I described in Chapter 2 how the members of independent villages cultivated friendships with each other in the process of establishing themselves in a loose network of allied villages. I then showed in Chapter 3 how Kaobawä's followers were related to him and how he, in turn, was related to the members of several other villages. Now I will take up some of the political consequences of the historical ties and how they shape and mould the nature of specific contemporary relationships between Kaobawä's group and those which have political dealings with it. To illustrate this, I will describe the details of a particular feast in the context of the political ties, both historical and contemporary, existing between Kaobawä's group and the guests at the feast. First, however, I will comment on Yanomamö alliances in general.

General Features of Alliances

One of the expectations and implications of alliance is that the partners are under obligation to provide shelter and sustenance to each other whenever one of them is driven from his village and garden by a powerful enemy. The beleaguered partner may be

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*628 The beleaguered partner may be
722 obliged to remain in the village of his host for a year or longer, approximately the length
241 of time required to establish a new plantation and productive base from which an inde-
562 pendent existence is possible. Twice in the recent history of Kąobawä's group they were
581 driven from their gardens by more powerful enemies and were forced to take refuge in
582 the village of an ally. In each case the group remained with the ally for a year or so, moving away only after their new garden began producing. In both cases, the hosts demanded and received a number of women from Kąobawä's group without reciprocating in kind, a prerogative they exercised from their temporary position of strength. The longer the group takes advantage of a hosts' protection, the higher is the cost in terms of women, so visitors always make an attempt to establish their gardens as quickly as possible and move into them as soon as they begin producing. Without allies, therefore, the members of a village would either have to remain at their single garden and sustain the attacks of their enemies or disband into several smaller groups and join larger villages on a permanent basis, losing many of their women to their protectors. The jungle simply does not produce enough wild foods to sustain larger groups, and the threat of warfare is such that smaller groups would soon be discovered by their enemies and exterminated.

Because of the ever-present risk of being driven from one's garden, therefore, no Yąnomamö village can continue to exist as a sovereign entity without establishing alliances with other groups. Warfare is attended by a bellicose ideology which asserts that strong villages should take advantage of weaker ones and coerce them out of women; to prevent this, all villages should therefore behave as if they were strong. Thus, the military threat creates a situation in which intervillage alliance is desirable, but at the same time spawns a military ideology that inhibits the formation of such alliances: Allies need but cannot trust each other. They are obliged to behave aggressively in order to display their respective strength.

*628 Alliances between villages are the product of a developmental sequence that in-
438 volves casual trading, mutual feasting, and finally the exchange of women. The most
574 intimate allies are those who, in addition to trading and feasting, exchange women. Any
581 developing alliance may stabilize at the trading or feasting stage without proceeding to
582 the woman-exchange phase. These are weak alliances, but serve to limit the degree of
602 war that might possibly obtain between the villages so related: The Yąnomamö tend to avoid attacking those villages with which they trade and feast, unless some specific incident, such as the abduction of a woman, provokes them. Allies that are linked by trade and feasting ties, for example, rarely accuse each other of practicing harmful magic. Allies bound to each other by affinal kinship ties, however, are more interdependent because they are under obligation to each other to continue to exchange women. It is, in fact, by the exchange of women that independent villages extend kinship ties to each other.

*628 Members of allied villages are usually reluctant to take the final step in alliance
562 formation and cede women to their partners, for they are always worried that the latter
581 might not reciprocate as promised. This attitude is especially conspicuous in smaller
582 villages, for their larger partners in defense pressure them into demonstrating their solidarity by ceding women; the strong can and do coerce the weak in Yąnomamö politics. The weak, therefore, are compelled to exaggerate their strength by bluff and intimidation and by attempting in general to appear to be stronger, militarily, than they really are, thereby hoping to convince their partners that they are equals, capable of an independent

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

existence. By so doing, they also inform their partners that any attempt to coerce them out of women will be met with the appropriate reaction, such as a chest-pounding duel or club fight. Nevertheless, each ally expects to gain women in the alliance and enters it with this in mind; and each hopes to gain more women than it cedes in return.

Hence, in order for an occasional nervous meeting of groups of men from different villages to evolve into a stable intervillage alliance based on the reciprocal exchange of women, the long and difficult road of feasting and trading must be traversed. Suspicion must give way to relative confidence, and this must develop into reciprocal feasting during the dry season. Only then has the intervillage relationship reached a point where the partners begin ceding women to each other; and even then, it is done reluctantly.

This is, however, only the ideal pattern in the development of an alliance. Rarely does it develop far enough to reach the stage where women change hands, particularly if the two villages concerned are of approximately the same military strength. Fights and arguments over women or food develop, and the principals withdraw temporarily on semihostile terms, perhaps attempting a rapprochement sometime in the future. Or, if the principals are obviously different military potential, the stronger of the two will coerce its weaker partner into ceding women early in the alliance development, taking advantage of its own military strength, thus altering the course of alliance development in the opposite direction.

Whatever the specific developmental sequence leading to the woman-exchange phase, the milieu within which these developments take place is not conducive to the establishment of warm ties of friendship. Each of the principals attempts to demonstrate his own sovereignty in order to convince the other that he does not really require political alliance to keep his enemies in check. This is accomplished by bragging about past military victories and fierceness in past club fights and chest-pounding duels, and by insinuating that one's group is always on the verge of exploding into a force so great that no combination of allies could overcome its terrible might. The smaller the village and more obvious its vulnerability, the greater is the pressure to insinuate or to demonstrate this potential.

Political maneuvering in this milieu is both a tricky and potentially hazardous undertaking. Each principal in the negotiation must establish the credibility of his own threats, while discovering the point at which his partner's bluff will dissolve abruptly into action; he must discover the point beyond which he must not goad his ally, lest he himself is prepared to suffer the possibly violent outcome. It is a politics of brinkmanship, a form of political behavior in which each negotiator is compelled to expose his opposite's threats as bluffs at the risk of inciting him to violence—a club fight, immediately and honorably, or, later and treacherously, a feast in which the hosts descend on their guests to kill their men and abduct their women.

Trading and Feasting in Alliance Formation

Because an ally is not beyond taking advantage of his weaker partner, especially when the alliance is just developing, there is very little in the way of natural attraction to encourage the two groups to visit each other. Considerations of pride and canons of ferocity preclude obvious attempts to develop stable and predictable alliances and military

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*628 interdependency. The Yąnomamö cannot simply arrive at the village of a potential ally and declare that they need military assistance because of the raids of a superior enemy. Doing so would admit vulnerability and perhaps invite predation from the potential ally. Instead, they conceal and subsume the true motive for the alliance in the vehicles [438] of *trading* and *feasting*, developing these institutions over months and even years. In this [574] manner they retain an apparent modicum of sovereignty and pride, while simultaneously attaining the true objectives: intervillage solidarity and military interdependence.

*628 Three distinct features of Yąnomamö trading practices are important in the context 438 of alliance formation. First, each item must be repaid with a different kind of item: The 574 recipient is under an *obligation* to repay his partner in a type of exchange called *no mraiba*. [437] Secondly, the payment is delayed, a temporal factor in the trading techniques that is likewise implied by the *no mraiba*. The consequence of these two trading features is that one trade always calls forth another and gives the members of different villages both the excuse and the opportunity to visit each other; and once the trading starts, it tends to continue, for one village in an alliance always owes the other trade goods from their last confrontation. The third significant trade feature is the peculiar specialization in the production of trade items. Each village has one or more special products that it provides to its allies. These include such items as dogs, hallucinogenic drugs (both cultivated and collected), arrow points, arrow shafts, bows, cotton yarn, cotton and vine hammocks, baskets of several varieties, clay pots, and, in the case of the several contacted villages, steel tools and aluminum pots.

This specialization in production cannot be explained in terms of the distribution of natural resources. Each village is, economically speaking, capable of self-sufficiency. [177] (The steel tools and other products from civilization constitute the major exceptions.) The explanation of the specialization must be sought, rather, in the sociological aspects of alliance formation. Trade functions as the social catalyst, the "starting mechanism," through which mutually suspicious allies are repeatedly brought together in direct confrontation. Without these frequent contacts with neighbors, alliances would be much slower in formation and would be even more unstable once formed: A prerequisite to stable alliance is repetitive visiting and feasting, and the trading mechanism serves to bring about these visits.

*628 Clay pots are a good example of the specialization in labor that characterizes 438 Yąnomamö production and trade. The Mõmariböwei-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8) are allied 323 to both Kąobawä's group and the people of a distant Shamatari village, the latter being mortal enemies of Kąobawä. When I first began my fieldwork, I visited the Mõmari- [114] böwei-teri, specifically asking them if they knew how to make clay pots. They all vigor- [124] ously denied knowledge of pot-making, explaining that they once knew how to make them but had long since forgotten. They explained that their allies, the Möwaraoba-teri, made them in quantities and provided all they needed, and therefore they did not have to make them anymore. They also added that the clay in the area of their village was not of the proper type for making pots. Later in the year their alliance with the pot makers grew cool because of a war, and their source of pots was shut off. At the same time, Kąobawä's group began asking them for clay pots. The Mõmariböwei-teri promptly responded by "remembering" how pots were made and "discovering" that the clay in their neighborhood was indeed suitable for pot manufacturing. They had merely created

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a local shortage of the item in order to have to rely on an ally for it, giving sufficient cause to visit them.

Often the specialization is less individualized than in the case of clay pot manufacture. Kąobawä's group, for example, exports cotton yarn to one ally, but imports it from another. The exported cotton frequently is brought back in the form of manufactured hammocks, the importer merely contributing labor to the process. In some cases, the shortages are merely seasonal; Kąobawä's group may import cotton from a particular ally at one time of the year, but export it at another. Most of the trade, however, involves items that are readily manufactured by or raised by any group, underscoring the fact that trade is the stimulus to visit. Food does not enter the trading system, although hospitality dictates that it must be given to friendly groups. Occasionally, a village will run short of plantains because of a particularly long hot spell, and its members may visit an ally to borrow food to last a week or so. This hospitality is usually reciprocated, but it is not a part of the trading network.

Alliances between villages may stabilize at any one of three points: sporadic reciprocal trading, mutual feasting, or reciprocal women exchange. These are cumulative levels in the sense that the third phase implies the first two: Allies that exchange women also feast and trade with each other. Likewise, allies that merely feast together also trade, but do not exchange women. At the lower end of this scale of solidarity lie those villages with which one fights to kill, while at the upper end are those villages from whom one's group has recently separated. Frequently, the scale is circular rather than linear: A village's mortal enemy is the group from which it has recently split. By way of example, Kąobawä's group trades sporadically with the Makorima-teri, Daiyari-teri, Widokaiya-teri, Mahekodo-teri, and Iyawei-teri. These are fairly weak alliances and even permit limited fighting. His group has more intimate ties with the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mǫmariböwei-teri, with whom it feasts regularly. The alliance with the Reyaboböwei-teri has even reached the point at which they are exchanging women with each other. Finally, at the other end of the scale, Kąobawä's group is at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, Möwaraoba-teri, and Patanowä-teri. The first two of these groups are historically unrelated to Kąobawä's group, although they have a common history with two of his staunchest allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mǫmaribowei-teri, from whom they separated in the past. The Patanowä-teri are related to Kąobawä and his followers, as was shown in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, they are bitter enemies and are at present raiding each other.

Although there is no rigid geographical correlation of the village settlement pattern to the degree of alliance solidarity, neighboring villages usually are at least on trading terms and are not actively conducting war on each other. Should war develop between neighbors, one of the two principals will abandon its site and move to a new location. Whether the ties between neighboring villages will be one of blood, marriage exchange, reciprocal feasting, or casual trading depends on a large number of factors, particularly on village size, current warfare situation with respect to more distant groups, and the precise historical ties between the neighboring villages. Whatever the nature of the ties beween neighbors, each strives to maintain its sovereignty and independence from the others.

The Yąnomamö do not openly regard trade as a mechanism the ulterior function of which is to bring people repeatedly together, thus establishing an amicable basis from

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

which more stable types of alliance can develop. Nor do they overtly acknowledge the relationships between trading and feasting cycles to village interdependency. In this regard they are like the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia: They have a "functional ignorance" of the more significant adaptive aspects of their trading institutions. To both the Yąnomamö and the Trobrianders, the mechanisms by which peoples from different groups are compelled to visit each other are ends in themselves and are not conceived to be related to the establishment of either economic or political interdependency. For the Yąnomamö participant in a feast, the feast itself has its significance in the marvelous quantities of food, the excitement of the dance, and the satisfaction of having others admire and covet the fine decorations he wears. The enchantment of the dance issues from the dancer's awareness that, for a brief moment, he is a glorious peacock that commands the admiration of his fellows, and it is his responsibility and desire to present a spectacular display of his dance steps and gawdy accouterments. In this brief, ego-building moment, each man has an opportunity to display himself, spinning and prancing about the village periphery, chest puffed out, while all watch, admire, and cheer wildly.

The hosts, too, have an opportunity to display themselves and strut before their guests. Moreover, the very fact that they have given the feast is in itself a display of affluence and surfeit apparently calculated to challenge the guests to reciprocate with an equally grandiose feast at a later date.[1] Each good feast deserves and calls forth another, and in this way allies become better acquainted with each other as they reciprocate feasts during the dry season and over the years.

Historical Background to a Particular Feast

One of the feasts I witnessed exhibited all the features of intervillage politics. Before describing this feast, I will give the historical antecedents to the event, recapitulating a number of points discussed in Chapter 3 in the context of the history of Kąobawä's village. The significance of the events will then become clear, for Kąobawä's prior relationships to the guests at the feast had a great deal to do with the outcome.

In 1950 Kąobawä's group, almost friendless, beleaguered by enemies, and somewhat isolated, began cultivating an alliance with the Iwahikoroba-teri (see map, Fig. 2-8), a Shamatari village, some two days' traveling distance southeast of their own village at Kreiböwei. The Iwahikoroba-teri were on friendly terms with another Shamatari group, the Möwaraoba-teri, from whom they had separated some years before. Kąobawä's group, on the other hand, was at war with this village because members of his own group murdered a friendly Möwaraoba-teri visitor in 1940, touching off a series of raids between them. Anxious to develop an alliance, Kąobawä's group accepted a feast invitation from the Iwahikoroba-teri and visited that village to participate in the feast. Up to that point they were only on trading terms with them.

The Iwahikoroba-teri, however, had made a prior arrangement with their friends, the Möwaraoba-teri, to help them massacre Kąobawä's men and abduct his group's women. The Möwaraoba-teri were hidden in the jungle outside the village when Kąo-

[1]The competitive aspects of feasting in many primitive societies has been dealt with at length by Marcel Mauss, whose essay *The Gift* is now an anthropological classic.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

bawā's group arrived. The men of Kąobawā's group danced both singly and en masse and were invited into the homes of their hosts. At this point their hosts fell upon them with axes and staves, killing about a dozen men before the visitors could break through the palisade and escape. Kąobawā's father was among the victims. Once outside, they were shot from ambush by the Mŏwaraoba-teri, who managed to kill a few more and wound many others with arrows. A number of women and girls were captured by the hosts, though some were later recaptured by Kąobawā's group in revenge raids. It was probably their host's greed for the women that permitted any survivors at all, as my informants asserted that the Iwahikoroba-teri began chasing the women while the men were still vulnerable. A few of the Iwahikoroba-teri refused to participate in the slaughter and even helped some of Kąobawā's group escape.

The survivors fled to Kobou, a site they had begun clearing for a new garden. Here they removed the arrow points and nursed their wounds before reluctantly returning to Kreibŏwei, their only producing garden. Kobou was still too new to support the group, and hunger forced them to return to Kreibŏwei. As this location was well known to their treacherous allies, they wished to abandon it as soon as possible, knowing that their enemies could easily kill the rest of the men and abduct the remaining women.

Within a week or so of the treacherous feast, the Mahekodo-teri, a visiting ally of Kąobawā's group, learned of the massacre and offered aid. The Mahekodo-teri headman himself visited Kąobawā's village and invited the entire group to his village to take refuge. They accepted the offer, and in January of 1951, after conducting one revenge raid on the enemies, moved to Mahekodo-teri.

The Mahekodo-teri had been allied to Kąobawā's group a generation earlier, but after Kąobawā's group moved away from the Orinoco River, alliance activity had dwindled to just sporadic trading. True to Yąnomamŏ political behavior, the Mahekodo-teri, being in an obviously stronger bargaining position, offered their protection and aid with gain in mind: they demanded and received a number of their guests' women. Again, the members of Kąobawā's group suspected further treachery from their new protectors and assiduously worked at establishing a new garden. They were forced to stay with the Mahekodo-teri until their new garden could totally support them—about a year. Even during this time, however, they spent weeks on end away from their host's village, carrying their food with them and working on their new plantations. They would return to obtain new food supplies, rest for a few weeks, and leave again. When Mahekodo-teri later split into three factions, Kąobawā and his group learned from one of them the details of a plot in which the Mahekodo-teri were going to kill the men and abduct the women. The only thing that prevented them from doing so was the development of a new war between Mahekodo-teri and another village, one that required the assistance of Kąobawā and his group.

For a few years after the separation from Mahekodo-teri, Kąobawā's group was invited to feast there. Because they suspected that the Mahekodo-teri were plotting against them, however, usually the men alone would attend the feast, thereby reducing the probability of another massacre. The women and children were concealed in the jungle during the time the men were away at the feast. Gradually, the alliance cooled off again and the two groups remained relatively indifferent towards each other, but at peace.

By 1960, Kąobawā's group had regained some of its military strength and had

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

begun cultivating an alliance with a third Shamatari group, one that was related to the two that conducted the massacre in 1950. The new Shamatari group, Paruritawä-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8), was at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, but on feasting terms with the Möwaraoba-teri. Kaobawä's group persuaded their new Shamatari allies to invite the Möwaraoba-teri to a feast and planned a massacre similar to that of 1950, but with the tables reversed: Kaobawä's group would lie in ambush, while the Paruritawä-teri attacked the guests within the village. The Möwaraoba-teri were being ravished by a malaria epidemic at this time, and only a handful of them actually came to the feast: The others were too sick to travel. With the aid of their newly found allies, Kaobawä's group managed to kill three of the five men and abducted four of their women. The other two visitors escaped to tell of the treachery. This revenge feast was only considered to be partially successful, and Kaobawä's group was not satisfied with the outcome. Their Shamatari allies, Paruritawä-teri, were obliged to abandon their site to avoid the revenge raids, splitting into two groups in the process: Mömariböwei-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri, both continuing to remain friendly to Kaobawä's group.

In early 1965, just a few months after I began my fieldwork, Kaobawä and his supporters left to visit Reyaboböwei-teri, one of the two Shamatari allies, hoping to conduct another treacherous feast for the Möwaraoba-teri. They left a few men behind to protect the women and children. The men were gone almost two weeks. All during this time, those who remained behind flocked to my mud hut at dawn and remained in it the whole day, not permitting me to leave. Every hour or so they asked to see my shotgun. I soon discovered that they were frightened and suspected that the Widokaiya-teri were going to raid them to abduct women, for they knew of the plot. My hut lay on the path most likely to be taken by Widokaiya-teri raiders, and the few remaining men stood guard next to my door, hoping to intercept the raiders should they attack at night.

I, unknowingly, guarded the women and children by day with my shotgun, while the men did the same at night with their own weapons. This incident indelibly underscores the almost complete lack of trust between allies; the members of Kaobawä's group expected a raid from their friends and allies rather than from their enemies!

About ten days after the men had left, six visitors from another allied village passed through Upper Bisaasi-teri hoping to trade. It was obvious to them that the men were away and that the women were frightened. They carried word of the situation up the Orinoco River to their own allies, one of which was the Mahekodo-teri.

The evening before the men returned from their trip, one of the Salesian Missionaries, Padre Luiz Cocco, visited me, having traveled up the Orinoco River by dark—a dangerous undertaking at that time of the year. Padre Cocco had just received word by short-wave radio from the mission at Mahekodo-teri that a large party of men had left for Bisaasi-teri intent on capturing women. They had learned of the poorly guarded women from the six visitors and were determined to take advantage of the situation.

My house was full of women and children at dawn the following day, and the raiders were probably en route. I was in a difficult situation. On the one hand, if I told the Indians of the rumor, it would have been sufficient cause to start a war between Kaobawä's group and the Mahekodo-teri. This would have been most unfortunate if the story proved to be false. On the other hand, I dared not remain silent. If raiders were indeed coming, they would probably kill the defenders to capture the women. Fortunately, Kaobawä and the men returned early in the afternoon, and I was able to remain

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

neutral. The treacherous feast for their Shamatari enemies proved to be unsuccessful: The intended victims had accepted the invitation, but were informed of the plot just before they arrived. One of the Reyabobŏwei-teri who had close kinsmen among them had misgivings about the matter and warned them.

Late in the afternoon it was learned that the Mahekodo-teri were, in fact, in the vicinity of the village, allegedly on a "camping trip." Kaobawä, of course, suspected their story, but to demonstrate his friendship he invited them to be his guests at a feast. As he and his men had been away for nearly two weeks, there was an abundance of food in their gardens and they could easily afford to entertain the Mahekodo-teri and their traveling companions, the Boreta-teri. Together, the guests numbered about 100—after they fetched their women and children.

This sets the stage for the feast in the kind of context that makes it more intelligible: The specific historical relationships between the participants and the nature of their mutual mistrust. Now I will give the details of the events that followed.

The Feast

Perhaps because he suspected the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri of intimidation, Kaobawä also invited the Karohi-teri to attend the feast. They are a small but dependable ally and had themselves separated from the Mahekodo-teri many years ago. This established a balance of power at the projected feast should any trouble arise, for the combination of both Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri was of sufficient strength to worry any host. With the aid of the Karohi-teri, Kaobawä's group was more of a match for the visitors.

The feast started out on a sour note. It is the custom of the Yanomamö visitors to arrive only after an invitation from their hosts, sent by messenger on the day of the feast. The Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri, however, arrogantly arrived nearly a week before Kaobawä's group was prepared to receive them and set up a large, temporary camp a short distance from the village. They were guests and could legitimately demand to be fed. Because of this, Kaobawä and his covillagers were under obligation to feed them, some hundred or so people, and took them to the gardens to supply them with enough plantains to last a week. Kaobawä was a little disturbed that they would be so impolite as to arrive uninvited, but took the situation quite philosophically. After all, they had fed his group for the better part of a year.

He and several other men cut a large quantity of plantains, which were hung in his house and allowed to ripen for a week, to be boiled into *dasi*, a thick, sweet soup, on the day of the feast. That afternoon Kaobawä and a few of the older men commissioned a hunting party comprised of young men, several of whom were Kaobawä's brothers, whose responsibility would be to obtain a large quantity of fresh meat to give to the visitors on the day after the feast. Most of them were reluctant to go, as their feet were still sore from the trip to the Shamatari village. A few of them claimed to be sick and managed to escape recruitment into the hunting party in this way. This hunt, with the hanging of the plantains in the headman's house, initiated the feast. The excitement that usually attends a feast began at this time.

That evening the young men danced and sang in the village, an institution called *amoamo*, thereby insuring themselves with luck on the hunt. (The Yanomamö also

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

Fig. 4-1. Kpakowë, headman, unpacking some of the meat his hunters have just collected for the feast.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

amaamo on other occasions, but invariably do so on the day the plantains are hung in the village in anticipation of a feast.) Every evening the men are away on their *honiomou*, the week-long hunt, the young women and girls sing and dance in the village to insure them success.

The hunters left at dawn the following morning, carrying a large supply of roasted and green plantains with them to eat while they hunted. They had picked a site some 25 miles up the Mavaca River for their hunt, as game was known to abound there. Their task was to obtain monkeys, armadillos, wild turkeys, wild pig, tapir or sloth, the only meat deemed worthy to give to guests. They would not be permitted to eat any of this game, but could consume any other game they captured, such as deer, small birds, a small species of wild turkey, or insects and fish they happened to come upon. The feast meat, however, was earmarked for the guests and could not be eaten by the hunters. On this particular hunting trip the men miscalculated the amount of food they would need to sustain them during the hunt, and one of them returned after four days to fetch more plantains. He also gave Kąobawä a report on the hunt's success, creating a small sensation in the village: They had already killed a large number of *haabe*, a particularly large and very desirable monkey. They had also come upon a quantity of turtle eggs at a sand bar and were eating as many as they could. When they returned later, they cached the remaining eggs in my house, so as not to have to share them with the visitors.

Meanwhile, the visitors were making gluttons of themselves, and the hosts started to grumble about the large number of plantains they had already eaten. The week's supply they originally provided had been consumed in half that time, and the guests had been given permission a second time to harvest more from their hosts' gardens. This was no way for guests to behave, and it soon became apparent that they were intimidating Kąobawä's group. Still, he and his followers continued to supply them with all the food they needed, keeping their complaints to themselves. They did not want it to be known that they were worried about running short of food. Instead, they planned to conduct the feast on a scale that would be difficult to reciprocate.

The hunters returned and presented their catch to Kąobawä. It was brought to his house and placed on the ground, wrapped up in leaves. Kąobawä ignored it for a while and then slowly began to unpack it (see Fig. 4-1) while everybody watched—especially the hunters, who were quite proud of the quantity of meat they had obtained: seventeen *haabe* monkeys, seven wild turkeys, and three large armadillos. Hunting trips are not usually this successful, but the hunters had fortunately stumbled into a large band of *haabe* and had nearly wiped it out.

Kąobawä and his group were anxious to conduct the feast for their visitors and present them with the food, because by so doing the visitors would be obliged to leave for home, thereby ending the drain on the gardens.[2]

The feast was scheduled for the day following the return of the hunters, even though the Karohi-teri had not yet arrived. Kąobawä and his group were so anxious to rid themselves of their ravenous guests by this time that they decided to hold a separate feast for the Karohi-teri on the day following the departure of the Mahekodo-teri. This would involve a considerable amount of extra work, but they were more than willing to

[2] I have seen several instances of Yąnomamö groups getting rid of visitors who have joined them semipermanently by holding a feast in their honor; when the ceremonial food is presented, the visitors are obliged to leave.

[628] [574] undertake it if it meant getting rid of their first group of visitors, who, by this time, had spent nearly a week eating Kaobawä's produce.

[824] [415] [852] On the morning of the feast three large pieces of bark from the *araçuri* tree were cut and brought to the village. These were made into troughs to contain the boiled, ripe plantain soup. All day long Kaobawä's younger brothers, who had returned from the hunt the day before, labored at cooking the enormous quantity of ripe plantains, pouring each boiling containerful into the trough as it was prepared.[5]

[851] [852] The plantains that Kaobawä had hung in his *shabono* roof a week before were now ripe. The young men who were preparing the soup would cut the bunches of plantains from the roof, split each fruit with their thumb, throw the two halves of the flesh into a cooking pot, and toss the skins onto a pile. They worked at this task from early morning until late afternoon, in addition to boiling a nearly equal quantity of green plantains, which provided the green vegetable food that customarily accompanies the presentation [824] of meat. Yąnomamö etiquette dictates that meat must be accompanied by vegetable food and vice versa.[6] It is an insult, for example, to offer someone meat without simultaneously offering a vegetable food with it. Peeling green plantains is a little more difficult [858] than peeling ripe ones, which are very tough and brittle. The Yąnomamö solve this problem, like they solve so many others, by using their teeth. Each plantain is bitten along its length several times, cracking the peel, which in turn is removed with the fingernails and further application of the dentition. On this particular occasion, two young men peeled, with their thumbs, enough ripe plantains to make approximately 95 gallons of soup, and, with their teeth, a sufficiently large quantity of green plantains to fill a dozen large pack-baskets.

[622] [351] In the morning on the day of the feast, Kaobawä went to the center of the village clearing where all could see him and proceeded to pull weeds. The clearing has to look presentable to the visitors, as it functions as the dancing plaza. As noted before, since Yąnomamö headmen cannot directly order their followers to execute tasks such as these, they usually initiate them and hope that others will follow. By and by, a number of older men joined him, as well as a few women, and when a sufficient number of workers were pulling weeds and hauling them out, Kaobawä quietly retired to his hammock, from which he oversaw the food preparations and calculated the distribution of meat.

Excitement in the village grew conspicuously as the hours passed, and by noon there was a constant din of laughter and chatter, punctuated now and then with a shrill scream from some young man overcome with the thrill of the feast. Occasionally, the visitors would reply to the shouts, setting off a brief contest of screaming between hosts

---

[415] [779] [5]Kaobawä's group has access to aluminum pots now and uses them extensively in food preparations. Most Yąnomamö groups still use crude clay pots, although these are being rapidly replaced by aluminum ware, which is traded inland to the more remote villages.

[862] [114] [6]The three vegetable foods considered to be suitable accompaniments for the meat presentation are: boiled green plantains, boiled *ruuhe* fruit, and cassava bread. A number of missionaries and a few scientific observers have identified the Yąnomamö feast strongly with the *ruuhe* fruit (Zerries 1957; de Barandiaran 1966). If it is to be identified with any food, it should be called the "plantain feast," but to identify the feast with a food that sometimes (*ruuhe*) or invariably (plantains) accompanies it is to overlook the sociopolitical causes of the feast. *Ruuhe* is so unnecessary to the feast that it was served at only two of six feasts I attended. In short, the Yąnomamö feast is a social and political event, not a harvest ceremony, and occurs independently of the abundance or availability of *ruuhe* fruit. *Ruuhe* fruit ripens in February, the peak of the dry season. It is only in the dry season that feasts can be held, because travel is difficult or impossible at other times of the year. The conclusion of the ripening of *ruuhe* and feasting is rather more frenzied than usual.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and guests that gradually died off as each group busied itself in preparation for the dance.

Shortly after noon a rumor circulated through the village that the visitors had been raiding the gardens at night and stealing plantains. A number of people, particularly older men, were visibly upset by this new information, giving rise to another rumor that there would be a chest-pounding duel to set the matter straight. The guests had already worn their welcome thin by arriving uninvited a week in advance and by eating excessively. Their hosts were becoming angry with them, as it was all too obvious that they were deliberately taxing their hosts' patience; they were intimidating them.

The men of the host group had finished their preparations for the feast; they were all painted in red and black, bearing colorful feathers. They had cleaned the debris from their houses, had finished hauling out the weeds they had picked from the village clearing, and had brought in quantities of food to give their guests. Now, it was time for them to take *ebene*, their hallucinogenic drug. They separated into several groups and began blowing the brownish-green powder up each other's nostrils with 3-foot long hollow tubes. As the drug would be administered, each recipient would reel from the concussion of air, groan, and stagger off to some convenient post to vomit. Within ten minutes of taking the drug, the men would be bleary-eyed and wild, prancing around in front of their houses, stopping occasionally to vomit or to catch their breath. In each group there would be one man particularly adept at chanting to the *hekuru*, the mountain demons, and he would soon take over the show, while the others retired to the sidelines in a stupor, green slime dripping from their nostrils. Should there be sick people in the village, the adept chanters—the *shabori*—would cure them by chanting, massaging, sucking, and vomiting out the evil spirit that caused the sickness. Otherwise, they would chant about other things, perhaps sending their *hekuru* to enemy villages to eat the souls of children, or enjoining them to prevent their enemies from doing the same. Occasionally, one of the men takes too much of the drug and become violent. On this particular occasion, Shiimima, one of Kąobawï's brothers, grabbed his bow and arrows and ran to the center of the village. This caused a minor sensation for a moment, but one of the men managed to catch and disarm him, hiding his weapons so he could not find them. Things returned to normal again, and the other participants in the drug-taking began chanting to Shiimima to restore him to his senses. The chanting lasted for an hour or so, and the participants, one by one, returned to their houses to clean up their paint jobs; most of them had smeared their careful work by vomiting all over themselves.

While the men were taking their drugs, the women were busy painting and decorating themselves with feathers and red pigment. The visitors, also, were busy at the same tasks, and the excitement of the feast reached fever proportions by mid-afternoon. A few women were still busy finishing trade baskets, while Kąobawï's younger brothers continued with the monotonous cooking of what seemed to them an endless number of plantains.

Finally, an old man from the visiting group entered the village and marched unceremoniously across the clearing while the members of Kąobawï's group cheered him. He was too old to join the dancing, but too respected to wait behind with the women and children while the younger men put on their display. This was evidence that the visitors were about to send in their delegate to accept the feast invitation at Kąobawï's house.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The members of Lower Bisaasi-teri had joined Kąobawä's group for the feast, as they, too, were on friendly terms with the Mahekodo-teri and had benefited from the latter's hospitality after the treacherous feast in 1950. Before Kąobawä's group had separated from the Lower Bisaasi-teri, there had been one headman over the entire composite village. This was a brother to Kąobawä's father; when the groups split, the older man led the faction of Lower Bisaasi-teri, leaving Kąobawä to lead the Upper group. On this particular day, when the two groups had temporarily coalesced for the feast, the older man was conceded the honor of chanting with the visitor's delegate, Asiawä, the son of the Mahekodo-teri headman.

Ten minutes after the old visitor entered the village, Asiawä entered the clearing, touching off an explosion of wild cheering that marked the opening of the dance. He was spectacular in his bright new loin cloth, long red parrot feathers streaming from his armbands, and black monkey-tail headband covered with white buzzard down. He marched dramatically to the center of the village clearing, while all of Kąobawä's followers cheered, and struck the visitor's pose: motionless, head upward, and weapons held vertically next to his face. He stood there two or three minutes so his hosts could admire him. This gesture signified that he had come in peace and was announcing his benevolent intentions by standing where all could see him. If they bore him malice, they had to shoot him then or not at all.[5] He then marched to Kąobawä's house and was met by Kąobawä's father's brother, the temporary leader of the combined host group, and the two men immediately began to chant. This was the formal acceptance of the feast invitation by Asiawä on behalf of his entire group. They chanted for five minutes or so, bouncing up and down from the knees, now face to face, now side to side, but always lively and loud. Suddenly, they stopped, and Asiawä squatted, his back to the sun, while the host's representative retired to his hammock. The cheering died down. Asiawä squatted for several minutes before one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought a half-gourd full of plantain soup to him and set it on the ground. He ignored it politely for several minutes, staring into the distance, holding his weapons horizontally next to his mouth. Presently, he put his weapons down, picked up the container of soup, and drained it in one draft before setting it back down. As soon as he had set it down, one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought him a large pack-basket filled with boiled green plantains and smoked armadillo meat. Asiawä stood while the strap of the basket was placed over his head and adjusted across his shoulders so as to not crumple his headdress. Trying to look dramatic, he staggered rapidly out of the village under his burden of food, while the hosts again cheered wildly. This food was eaten by the visitors while they finished their decorating, each receiving a small portion.

Within a half-hour of Asiawä's departure the visitors had completed their decorating and had assembled just outside the entrance to the village. The men, all finely decorated, stood at the front of the gathering, while the women, girls, and young boys, also decorated, but each carrying a load of family possessions, brought up the rear. At the signal of Asiawä's father, the first two dancers burst into the village, separated, and danced around the periphery of the clearing in opposite directions, while Kąobawä's group welcomed them enthusiastically with shouts and shrill screams. Two at a time,

[5] I have a number of informants' accounts of visitors being shot down while standing in the clearing to announce their visit. Whenever I accompanied visitors to strange villages for the first time I, too, was obliged to participate in this rite and always had an uneasy feeling about it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the visiting dancers entered, pranced around the village periphery, wildly showing off their decorations and weapons and then returning to the group. Each dancer had unique decorations and a unique dance step, something personal that he could exhibit. He would burst into the village screaming a memorized phrase, wheel and spin, stop in his tracks, dance in place, throw his weapons down, pick them up again, aim them at the line of hosts with a wild expression on his face, prance ahead a few steps, repeat his performance, and continue on around the village in this manner, while the hosts cheered wildly. When everyone had had an individual turn, the entire group entered, danced single file around the periphery several times, and gathered at the center of the clearing, where they formed a tightly knit group. They stood motionless, except for the heaving of their chests, holding their weapons vertically. After they had stood there a few moments—in a final display of decorations—Kąobawä's followers emerged from their houses and approached the center of the village, each man inviting one or more of the visitors to his house, leading him away from the village center by the arm. As each visitor was led away, his family, watching from the village entrance, unceremoniously joined him at the host's house, bringing the family possessions along. Within a few minutes the dance plaza was deserted and the visitors were resting comfortably in their hosts' hammocks. Even in the hammocks, the Yąnomamö visitors are able to put on a silent display of their finery as they lay with their legs crossed, one arm behind their head, staring at the ceiling, waiting for their hosts to feed them ripe plantain soup from the bark troughs—it is almost as if they are strutting from a reclining position.

After the guests had been given their first round of soup, the men of Kąobawä's village assembled outside the entrance and came in to dance around the village for their guests. They, too, had an opportunity to put on a display of their own decorations, after which they retired to entertain the guests.

There were three troughs full of soup in the village. The first one was emptied in the process of bringing numerous gourdsful to the some one hundred visitors (see Fig. 4-2). After they had consumed this, the guests then assembled at the second trough and began eating there. Before this trough was finished, they moved as a group to the third trough and repeated their ceremonial consumption, before returning to their hammocks to rest and regain their appetites. Approximately two hours had passed from the time the first dancers entered the village until the guests retired from the third trough of soup. They had not yet eaten all of the contents—all in all, some 95 gallons of it—but managed to do so by morning.[6]

Shortly after dark the marathon chanting (*waiyamou*) began—it continued until dawn. At dawn the visitors conducted their trade and were given the baskets of "going-home food": boiled green plantains with smoked meat. The women and children departed with the food, leaving the men behind to trade. The visitors made requests through their headman, and Kąobawä would produce the item by enjoining one of the local men to give it. The item would be thrown at the feet of the man who wanted it. He would ignore it for a while and then give it a cursory examination, throwing it back on the ground. His peers would then examine it in greater detail and extol its virtues, while the

[6]During some feasts, the ashes of the dead are mixed with the boiled, ripe plantain soup and eaten by friends and relatives of the deceased. The feast also serves as a preliminary to a raid that involves two or more villages. The sponsor of the raid will entertain his allies in a feast the day before the raiding party departs. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the raid.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628*
574
437
438

giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *so wnaiha*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4-2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, arapuri.

628*
574
301
302
516
411
415
342
264
262
291

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

By 8:00 A.M. the going-home food had been presented to the visitors, and the trade had been conducted. Had the visitors been polite, they would have left for home at that time. Instead, they decided to stay and witness the second, smaller, feast that Kąobawä was going to conduct for the Karohi-teri, who had not arrived in time for the major event. This capped the series of insults the visitors had heaped upon Kąobawä's group. The visitors were warned that if they should stay, the would be expected to fight in a chest-pounding duel.

It was obvious now that the visitors were looking for trouble, and Kąobawä's group was obliged to react or be subject to even further intimidation. Hence, the challenge to pound chests. At this point the visitors broke camp and departed, much to the relief and joy of Kąobawä's group. In fact, they were pleased that they had been successful in intimidating their guests into leaving, and the men gloated over this accomplishment the rest of the day. They were convinced that their threats were credible enough to force their potential adversaries to withdraw, presumably because the Mahekodo-teri felt they were inferior in strength.

Kąobawä and his group held another feast for the Karohi-teri that same day, but without the assistance of the Lower Bisaasi-teri who left shortly after the previous feast terminated.

The Chest-pounding Duel

The feast for Karohi-teri was essentially the same as the one for the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri. When the dancing was over and darkness fell, the men began to chant again. The first pair of chanters had not completed their rhythmic presentation when the jungle around the village erupted with hoots and screams, causing all of the people in the village to jump from their hammocks and arm themselves. When the men had found their arrows and were prepared, they began yelling back at the unseen guests, rattling the shafts of their arrows together or against their bows and/or pounding the heads of axes against pieces of firewood or on the ground to make noise. The Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri had returned to accept the chest-pounding challenge and entered the village, each man brandishing his axe, club, or bow and arrows. They circled the village once, feinting attack on particular men among the hosts, then grouped at the center of the village clearing. The hosts surrounded them excitedly, dancing with their weapons poised to strike, then entering into the mass of bodies. Heated arguments about food theft and gluttony developed, and the hosts and guests threateningly waved their weapons in each other's faces. Within minutes the large group had bifurcated and the chest-pounding began. The Karohi-teri aided Kąobawä and his followers, whose joint numbers were even further swelled when the Lower Bisaasi-teri rushed to the village after hearing the commotion. There were about sixty adult men on each side in the fight, divided into two arenas, each comprised of hosts and guests. Two men, one from each side, would step into the center of the milling, belligerent crowd of weapon-wielding partisans, urged on by their comrades. One would step up, spread his legs apart, bare his chest, and hold his arms behind his back, daring the other to hit him. The opponent would size him up, adjust the man's chest or arms so as to give himself the greatest advantage when he struck, and then step back to deliver his close-fisted blow. The striker would painstakingly adjust

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

291
411
*628
578

Fig. 4-3. Chest-pounding duel about to be escalated.

*628
578

his own distance from his victim by measuring his arm length to the man's chest, taking several dry runs before delivering his blow. He would then wind up like a baseball pitcher, but keeping both feet on the ground, and deliver a tremendous wallop with his fist to the man's left pectoral muscle, putting all of his weight into the blow. The victim's knees would often buckle and he would stagger around a few moments, shaking his head to clear the stars, but remain silent. The blow invariably raised a "frog" on the recipient's pectoral muscle where the striker's knuckles bit into his flesh. After each blow, the com-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

rades of the deliverer would cheer and bounce up and down from the knees, waving and clacking their weapons over their heads. The victim's supporters, meanwhile, would urge their champion on frantically, insisting that he take another blow. If the delivery were made with sufficient force to knock the recipient to the ground, the man who delivered it would throw his arms above his head, roll his eyes back, and prance victoriously in a circle around his victim, growling and screaming, his feet almost a blur from his excited dance. The recipient would stand poised and take as many as four blows before demanding to hit his adversary. He would be permitted to strike his opponent as many times as the latter struck him, provided that the opponent could take it. If not, he would be forced to retire, much to the dismay of his comrades and the delirious joy of their opponents. No fighter could retire after delivering a blow. If he attempted to do so, his adversary would plunge into the crowd and roughly haul him back out, sometimes being aided by the man's own supporters. Only after having received his just dues could he retire. If he had delivered three blows, he had to receive three or else be proven a poor fighter. He could retire with less than three only if he were injured. Then, one of his comrades would replace him and demand to hit the victorious opponent. The injured man's two remaining blows would be canceled, and the man who delivered the victorious blow would have to receive more blows than he delivered. Thus, good fighters are at a disadvantage, since they receive disproportionately more punishment than they deliver. Their only reward is status: they earn the reputation of being fierce.

Some of the younger men in Kąobawä's group were reluctant to participate in the fighting because they were afraid of being injured. This put more strain on the others, who were forced to take extra turns in order to preserve the group's reputation. At one point Kąobawä's men, sore from the punishment they had taken and worried that they would ultimately lose the fight, wanted to escalate the contest to an axe duel (see Fig. 4–3). Kąobawä was vigorously opposed to this, as he knew it would lead to bloodshed. He therefore recruited the younger men into the fighting, as well as a few of the older ones who had done nothing but demand the others to step into the arena, thereby reducing the strain on those who wanted to escalate the level of violence. A few of the younger men retired after a single blow, privately admitting to me later that they pretended to be injured to avoid being forced to fight more. The fighting continued in this fashion for nearly three hours, tempers growing hotter and hotter. Kąobawä and the headman from the other group stood by with their weapons, attempting to keep the fighting innocuous, but not participating in it. Some of the fighters went through several turns of three or four blows each, their pectoral muscles swollen and red from the number of blows each had received. The fight had still not been decided, although Kąobawä's group seemed to be getting the worst of it. They then insisted on escalating the fighting to side slapping, partly because their chests were too sore to continue in that fashion, and partly because their opponents seemed to have an edge on them.

The side slapping duel is nearly identical in form to chest pounding, except that the blow is delivered with an open hand across the flanks of the opponent, between his rib-cage and pelvis bone. It is a little more severe than chest pounding because casualties are more frequent and tempers grow hotter more rapidly when a group's champion falls to the ground, gasping for wind, and faints. The side slapping only lasted fifteen minutes or so; one of the more influential men in Kąobawä's group was knocked unconscious, enraging the others. The fighting continued for just a few minutes after this, but during

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

301
516
291

[57]

Fig. 4-4. Many feasts end in prearranged chest-pounding duels; this permits the allies to display the fact that they are friendly but capable of defending their sovereignty. These two men were pounding each other's chests a few minutes before this photo was taken. Here, they embrace each other intimately, vowing eternal friendship, and ask each other for specific trade goods.

*C28
578

these few minutes the men were rapidly changing the points of their arrows to war tips: curare and lanceolate bamboo. The women and children began to cry, knowing that the situation was getting serious, and they grouped into the farthest corners of their houses near the exits. One by one the men withdrew, returned to their houses, and drew their bows. The visitors pulled back and formed a protective circle around their own women and children, also fitting arrows into their bows and drawing them. The village grew almost silent. The leaders of the respective groups stepped into the no man's land separating the two groups of armed men and began arguing violently, waving axes and clubs at each other. Suddenly, the spokesmen from the visiting group surged toward Kąobawä and his supporters, swinging their axes and clubs wildly at them, forcing them back to the line of men whose bowstrings were drawn taut. Kąobawä and his followers regained their footing and repelled their adversaries at this point, while the women and children from both groups began fleeing from the village, screaming and wailing. It looked as if

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

they were about to release their arrows point-blank at Kąobawä's attackers, but when he and his aides turned them back, the crisis was over. The leaders of the visiting group rejoined the other men, some of whom had picked up glowing brands of firewood, and they backed out of the village, weapons still drawn, their way illuminated by those who were waving the brands.[7]

Kąobawä's group took no further action in this affair and was not invited to feast at Mahekodo-teri. Later in the year, their relationships worsened because of a club fight in yet another village, and for a while both groups threatened to shoot each other on sight. A temporary rapprochement developed after the club fight, when a group of raiders from Kąobawä's group met a group of hunters from Mahekodo-teri while en route to attack the village of one of their enemies. The men from both villages traded with each other and departed on friendly terms, the raiders abandoning their raid and returning to their village lest they be later ambushed on the way home by the Mahekodo-teri. They are presently on trading terms with each other, but their relationship is still somewhat strained and potentially hostile.

In general, feasts are exciting for both the hosts and the guests and contribute to their mutual solidarity. Under normal circumstances, allies that customarily feast with each other do not fight. Nevertheless, even the best allies occasionally agree beforehand to terminate their feast with a chest-pounding duel, thereby demonstrating to each other that they are friends, but capable of maintaining their sovereignty and willing to fight if necessary (Fig. 4–4). Kąobawä's group had a chest-pounding duel with one of its staunchest allies in 1966, as each had heard that the other was spreading rumors that it was cowardly. Of the six feasts I witnessed during the nineteen months I spent with the Yąnomamö, two of them ended in fighting.

Any Yąnomamö feast can potentially end in violence because of the nature of the attitudes the participants hold regarding canons of behavior and obligations to display ferocity.

Still, the feast and its attendant trade serve to reduce the possibility of neighbors fighting with each other at a more serious level of violence, and they contribute to intervillage solidarity and mutual interdependence.

[7] At this time, I was crouched in the house behind the line of bowmen, trembling in my boots.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

5

Yąnomamö Warfare

Levels of Violence

*628 THE FEAST AND ALLIANCE can and often do fail to establish stable, amicable relationships between sovereign villages. When this happens, the groups may coexist for a period of time without any overt expressions of hostility. This, however, is an unstable situation, and no two villages that are within comfortable walking distance from each other can maintain such a relationship indefinitely: They must become allies,
*628 or hostility is likely to develop between them. Indifference leads to ignorance or suspi-
721 cion, and this soon gives way to accusations of sorcery. Once the relationship is of this
754 sort, a death in one of the villages will be attributed to the malevolent *bekura* sent by shamans in the other village, and raids will eventually take place between them.

726 Yąnomamö warfare proper is the raid. That is, not all of their feuding and squabbles can be considered as war, although the values associated with war—bellicosity, ferocity, and violence—undoubtedly increase the amount of all kinds of fighting.

*628 War is only one form of violence in a graded series of aggressive activities (Chag-
578 non 1967). Indeed, some of the other forms of fighting, such as the formal chest-pounding
152 duel, may even be considered as the antithesis of war, for it provides an alternative to kill-
154 ing. Duels are formal and are regulated by stringent rules about proper ways to deliver and receive blows. Much of Yąnomamö fighting is kept innocuous by these rules so that the concerned parties do not have to resort to drastic means to resolve their grievances. The three most innocuous forms of violence, chest pounding, side slapping, and club fights, permit the contestants to express their hostilities in such a way that they can continue to remain on relatively peaceful terms with each other after the contest is settled. Thus, Yąnomamö culture calls forth aggressive behavior, but at the same time provides a regulated system in which the expressions of violence can be controlled.

*628 The most innocuous form of fighting is the chest-pounding duel described in the
578 last chapter. These duels usually take place between the members of different villages and are precipitated by such minor affronts as malicious gossip, accusations of cowardice, stinginess with food, or niggardliness in trading.

If such a duel is escalated, it usually develops into a side-slapping contest. Occasionally, the combatants will sue for the use of machetes and axes, but this is rare. If machetes are used, the object of the contest still remains the same: Injure your opponent seriously enough so that he will withdraw from the contest, but try not to draw blood. Hence, opponents strike each other with only the flat of the blade when they resort to machetes.

In some areas the Yąnomamö modify the chest-pounding duel in another way: The opponents hold rocks in their clenched fists and strike their adversaries on the chest with an even more stunning blow. They try not to let the stone itself touch the flesh of the man they are fighting. Even without the use of stones, however, they are able to deliver their blows with such force that some of the participants cough up blood for days after having been in a duel.

Club fights represent the next level of violence. These can take place both within and between villages. Most of the club fights result from arguments over women, but a few of them develop out of disputes associated with food theft. Dikawä, a young man about twenty years old, came home one day and discovered a bunch of eating bananas his father, about fifty-five years old, had hung up in his house, above his hearth, to ripen in the smoke. Dikawä, however, ate a number of them without his father's permission. When his father discovered the theft, he ripped a pole out of his house and began clubbing Dikawä. Dikawä armed himself with a similar club and attacked his father, precipitating a general melee that soon involved most of the men in the village, each taking the side of the father or son, as they saw fit. In brawls such as these, many individuals join in the fighting just to keep the sides even; if a group is badly outnumbered, they will be joined by friends whose sense of fairness stimulates them to take sides, no matter what the issue is. The net result of the above fight was a number of lacerated skulls, bashed fingers, and sore shoulders. The contestants try to hit each other on the top of the head, but when the fight gets out of hand, the participants swing wildly and rarely hit their opponents on the skull. More frequently, the blow lands on the shoulder or arm.

The clubs used in these fights are, ideally, 8 to 10 feet long. They are very wiry, quite heavy, and deliver a tremendous wallop. In general shape and dimensions, they resemble pool cues, but are nearly twice as long. The club is held at the thin end, which is frequently sharpened to a long point in case the fighting escalates to spear thrusting, in which case the club is inverted and used as a pike.

Most duels start between two men, usually after one of them has been caught *en flagrante* trysting with the other's wife. The enraged husband challenges his opponent to strike him on the head with a club. He holds his own club vertically, leans against it and exposes his head for his opponent to strike. After he has sustained a blow on the head, he can then deliver one on the culprit's skull. But as soon as blood starts to flow, almost everybody rips a pole out of the house frame and joins in the fighting, supporting one or the other of the contestants.

Needless to say, the tops of most men's heads are covered with long, ugly scars of which their bearers are immensely proud. Some of them, in fact, keep their head cleanly shaved on top to display these scars, rubbing red pigment on their bare scalps to define them more precisely. Viewed from the top, the skull of an accomplished man of forty years looks like a road map, for it is criss-crossed by as many as twenty large scars (see

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Fig. 5–1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the village, a brother of Kąobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

Spears are not commonly used by the Yąnamanö. A rare form of fighting, however, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the headman of one of the villages north of Kąobawä's area, took her away from him by force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
164
S15

Fig. 5-1. Karõma, one of Kąobawä's daughters, picking lice out of her grandfather's battered head—his scars are from club fights. She wears decorative sticks inserted in the corners of her mouth as a beauty aid. These were inserted at about age five, together with one in the lower lip and another in the nasal septum.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited aid from their allies. Kąobawä's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that took the woman away from the cruel husband.

When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yąnomamö had deceived the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.[1] Thereafter, the two groups were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered. If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebawä told me of a raid he went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebawä, the raid was not a good one because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by Torokoiwä, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwä got sick of seeing this, so he shot the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

---

[1] The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yąnomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yąnomamö villages, as the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yąnomamö, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women. One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomohoni*, is the ultimate form of violence. Kąobawä's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kąobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yąnomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Säsëwä, coveted my British commando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinsmen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doubt my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yąnomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kąobawä's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggressive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *unaiteri* (fierce one) of the group.

Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatari girl. Damowä seduced her, thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the final club fight that led to the separation of Kąobawä's group from the Monou-teri. Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kąobawä then organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kąobawä's raiders. Nobody

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

was killed in the incident. Manasinawä, his wife, and his daughter remained with Kąobawä's group, and he ultimately gave the daughter to Kąobawä for a second wife. Kąobawä still has her.

At this time, the groups, of Damowä and Kąobawä, respectively, were still at war with the Patanowä-teri, from whom they separated some fifteen years earlier. Damowä's group, after separating from Kąobawä's, attempted to make peace with the Patanowä-teri, as they were now vulnerable and could ill afford to remain on hostile terms with them. Damowä's group also made an alliance with the two Shamatari villages, which had given them cooperation when they staged the revenge treacherous feast discussed in the last chapter. For about five years relationships between Damowä's group and the Patanowä-teri were relatively amicable, but as the former's alliances with the Shamatari grew in strength, their relationship to the Patanowä-teri grew cool once again.

The Patanowä-teri then became embroiled in new wars with several villages on the Orinoco River and turned to Kąobawä's group for aid, hoping to patch up their old grievances and remain at peace. The first day I began my fieldwork marked the initiation of complete peace between Kąobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri: They were having a feast together in Bisaasi-teri. Damowä's group, the Monou-teri, were not participating in the feast, but a large number of men came anyway. They discovered a group of seven Patanowä-teri females outside the main village and could not resist the temptation: They forcefully took them back to Monou-teri. Later that day the Patanowä-teri men discovered that the women were missing, so they searched the neighborhood and found the tracks of the Monou-teri men at the site of the abduction, where signs of struggling abounded. The next morning they went to Monou-teri armed with clubs: They were bound to get their women back, but did not care to start another shooting war with the Monou-teri. They took five of the women away from the Monou-teri in a heated struggle, but had to pull back without the remaining two, unless they were willing to shoot to kill: The Monou-teri were determined to keep the other women at all costs.

The significance of this incident is this: The headman of Monou-teri realized that the Patanowä-teri would not risk getting into a shooting war with them since they already had more enemies than they could comfortably handle. Hence, this provided an excellent opportunity for the Monou-teri to abduct women with relatively little chance of getting shot in retaliation.

Damowä, the headman of Monou-teri, was angry because the Patanowä-teri had recovered so many of their women. He then threatened to ambush the Patanowä-teri when they left for home after the feast at Bisaasi-teri was over. The Patanowä-teri, in view of this, cut their stay short and left for home before the feast was over, hoping to avoid trouble with the Monou-teri.

Damowä was not satisfied, however, that he forced the Patanowä-teri to capitulate, leave for home, and not attempt to recover the two remaining women. He decided to raid them. In January of 1966 he and a party of men from Monou-teri raided the Patanowä-teri at the latter's village. They caught Bosibrei climbing a *naika* tree, a prickly, cultivated palm that must be climbed slowly and with the aid of a pair of moveable stick frames in order to avoid getting pierced by the needle-sharp thorns that protrude from the tree's trunk (see Fig. 2–6). Bosibrei was almost to the top of the tree when the raiders caught him—he made an excellent target silhouetted against the sky. They shot and killed him with one volley of arrows as he reached for the fruits of the palm. One of

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

One of Damowī's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowā-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowā-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowī's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowī outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewī, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowī, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kąobawā and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowī's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowī were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowā-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowī the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowī's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kąobawā, a classificatory brother to Damowī, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowī's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwā, the oldest and most competent member of the *Haw* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Shu* lineage to the *Haw* lineage.

Kąobawā delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2] See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-5 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1988) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

burning it, and Kaobawï's village, where they took occasional rests to regain their energy. They returned to their old site only to collect plantains, which they carried to the new site. Kaobawï's group then built a new *shabono* and fortified it, anticipating the war they knew would be inevitable. Up to this point, Kaobawï's group, Upper Bisasi-teri, maintained two small *shabonos* a few yards apart from each other, but they coalesced into a single, larger group and moved into the new *shabono* when it was completed. The visiting Monou-teri also helped them work on the new structure.

Meanwhile, the Patanowä-teri, knowing that they would be raided by the Monou-teri and their allies, also began clearing a new garden. They selected a site abandoned by Kaobawï's group many years ago, knowing that the peach-palm trees were still producing there. By this time the Patanowä-teri were in rather desperate straits. Their old enemies, the several groups on the Orinoco River, began raiding them with even greater frequency, as they had learned that the Monou-teri and Bisasi-teri were again at war with the Patanowä-teri. A few additional villages began raiding the Patanowä-teri to settle old grudges, realizing that the Patanowä-teri had so many enemies that they could not possibly retaliate against all of them.

The Patanowä-teri then began moving from one location to another, hoping to avoid and confuse their enemies. They spent the dry season in turns at their main producing garden, with the Ashadowä-teri, their only ally, and at their new garden. Each group that raided them passed the word to other villages concerning the location of the Patanowä-teri. If they were not at one place, then they had to be at one of the other two. The raids were frequent and took a heavy toll. At least eight people were killed by raiders, and a number of others were wounded. Some of the dead were women and children, a consequence of the fact that the Patanowä-teri themselves sent a heavy volley of arrows into the village of one of their enemies and killed two women. To revenge this, the enemy began deliberately shooting Patanowä-teri women. Females are normally not the target of raiders' arrows. The Patanowä-teri were raided at least twenty-five times while I conducted my fieldwork. They themselves retaliated as frequently as possible, but could not return tit for tat. They managed to drive their main enemies, the Hasuböwä-teri, away from their garden, forcing them to flee across the Orinoco. They concentrated on raiding this group until they had killed most of the *waiteri* (fierce ones). They were so successful at doing this that the Hasuböwä-teri ultimately withdrew from the war. Several of my informants claimed that they did so because their fierce ones were all dead, and nobody was interested in prosecuting the war any further.

When the Hasuböwä-teri withdrew from the raiding, the Patanowä-teri then concentrated on raiding the Monou-teri. Every time the Monou-teri returned to their main site they found the tracks of numerous men who had visited the village, tracks that always came from the direction of Patanowä-teri. Consequently, the Monou-teri moved into Kaobawï's group for protection, fearing to return to their old site until the jungle was completely inundated by the rains.

Kaobawï's group resented this somewhat and made no bones about reminding the Monou-teri that they were eating large quantities of food from the gardens. When complaining became intense, the Monou-teri moved into the village of the Lower Bisasi-teri and lived off their produce until the latter also began to complain. Then they traveled to the Mömariböwä-teri and lived with them for a while, returning to Kaobawï's village when these allies wearied of the visitors. When the hosts, the Lower

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Bisaasi-teri, for example, wanted to get rid of the Monou-teri, they would hold a feast in their honor. When the going-home food was presented to them, they had no alternative but to leave: It would have been insulting to remain after the food was presented. In between their moves they returned to their own producing site to collect plantains and carry them to their new garden. They subsisted there off the food they carried with them.

The Monou-teri soon resented being treated like pariahs by their allies and began to regain their courage. Much of this treatment was due to the fact that they failed to chase the raiders when Damowã was slain, displaying cowardice instead of ferocity. Many of the men in the Bisaasi-teri groups resented the Monou-teri for this and were not timid about displaying their disgust. The Monou-teri were a burden, as they rarely helped at expanding Bisaasi-teri's gardens and ate a good deal of the time.

The raid Kąobawã organized to revenge Damowã's death took place late in April. The Shamatari allies—Mõmaribõwei-teri and Reyabõwei-teri—were invited to participate, but they failed to send a contingency. As allies never really trust each other, the raid was delayed because some of the Bisaasi-teri suspected that their allies were waiting for the raiders to leave so that they could descend on the poorly protected women and make off with captives. Finally, a few of them did arrive and the *suyu itou* (warrior line-up) got under way. Still, the Bisaasi-teri feared treachery on the part of their Shamatari friends, so the men of Lower Bisaasi-teri decided to stay home and protect the women left behind by the Monou-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri raiders. A small feast was held to entertain the visiting Shamatari allies.

On the afternoon of the feast a grass dummy was set up in the village, and the men who were to participate in the raid conducted a mock attack on the dummy, which was supposed to represent the body of a Patanowã-teri man. They painted themselves black, crept slowly around the village with bows and arrows ready, searching for the tracks of the enemy. They converged at one point, spread out, crept toward the dummy, and, at Kąobawã's signal, let fly with a volley of arrows. The Yąnomamö are good archers. None of the arrows missed its mark, and the dummy, looking like a pincushion, toppled ominously to the ground, a dozen or more bamboo-tipped arrows protruding from it. Then the raiders screamed and ran out of the village, simulating their retreat from the enemy. They drifted back into the village, one at a time or in small groups, and retired to their hammocks to wait for darkness.

The village became unusually quiet shortly after dark. Suddenly, the stillness was pierced by an animal-like noise, half-scream and half-growl, as the first raider marched slowly out to the center of the village, clacking his arrows against his bow, growling his individualized fierce noise, usually a mimic of a carnivore: a wasp, or a buzzard. At this signal—not knowing fully what to expect and a little nervous—I crept from my own hammock and went to the center of the village with my tape recorder. The other raiders joined the first man, coming one at a time after short intervals, each clacking his arrows and growling some hideous noise. Kąobawã stood by and made sure the line was straight and faced the direction of the enemy; he would push or pull the individual warriors until they formed a perfectly straight line, joining them after the last one took his place.

The procession to the line-up took about twenty minutes, as about 30 or so men participated (see Fig. 5–2). When the last one was in line, the murmurs among the

11: Chagnon F-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

411
516
291
303
137
726

Fig. 5-2. Kaobawä's men and their allies lining up (wayu itou) to raid the Patanowä-teri.

726
[123]
[533]
[325]

children and women died down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording a sacred rite. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep baritone voice: "I am most hungry! I am most hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kaobawä calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowä. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5–3). Some even put on bright red loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which the younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kaobawä to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *waya itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them and left for Patanowä-teri. Kaobawä had been complaining all year of severe pains in his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked. Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *waya itou*, for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
226
726

Fig. 5-3. One of Kaobawä's Shamatari allies, painted black, vines the warriors lining up through his boustring. He waits his turn to join them, a wad of tobacco protruding from his mouth.

at some point between their own village and the enemy's. These smaller groups must 726
contain at least four men, six, if possible. This is so because the raiders retreat in a pattern. While the others flee, two men will lie in ambush, shooting any pursuers that might follow. They, in turn, flee, while their comrades lie in ambush to shoot at their pursuers.

726 If there are novices in the raiding party, the older men will conduct mock raids, showing
701 them how they are to participate. A grass dummy or soft log is frequently employed in
702 this, as was the case in the *wayu itou* held in the village the day before the raiders left. Particularly young men will be positioned in the marching party somewhere in the middle of the single file of raiders so they will not be the first ones to be exposed to danger should the raiders themselves be ambushed. These young men will also be permitted to retreat first. Damowï had a twelve-year-old son when he was killed. This boy, Matarawï, was recruited into the raiding party to give him an opportunity to avenge his father's death. The older men made sure he would be exposed to minimum danger, as this was his first raid.

726 The separated groups of raiders approach the village at dawn and conceal themselves near the commonly used paths to the source of drinking water. They wait for the enemy to come to them. A good many of the victims of raids are shot while fetching water.

Frequently, the enemy is wary and acts defensively at all times when there is an [722] active war going on. Only large groups of people can leave the village, and these are well armed. Raiders will not attack a large group such as this. When the enemy is found to be this cautious, the raiders have no choice but to retreat or to shoot volleys of arrows blindly into the village, hoping to strike someone at a distance. They retreat after they release their arrows, depending on the gossip of other villages to learn if their arrows did find their marks. Rarely, one of the raiders will attempt to enter the village during the night and kill someone while he sleeps. Damowï's younger brother allegedly accomplished this on one raid, but few men are brave enough to try it. Most of the time the raiders manage to ambush a single individual, kill him, and retreat before they are discovered. This is considered to be the most desirable outcome of the raid.

722 The women were nervous, frightened, and irritable while the men were away,
[562] and they were constantly on the lookout for raiders from other villages. This is always
[628] a time to suspect raiders, since allies occasionally turn on their friends when the women are poorly guarded, abducting as many as possible while their husbands are away.

After several days the women were so frustrated and anxious that fights began to [578] break out among them. One woman got angry because another one, her sister and co-wife, [543] left her to tend a small baby. When the mother returned, the angry one picked up a piece of firewood and bashed her on the side of her head with it, knocking her unconscious and causing her ear to bleed profusely.

726 The raiders had been gone almost a week when Kąobawï and his youngest brother
484 staggered into the village, nearly dead from exhaustion. Kąobawï's pains had gotten
[641] so bad that he decided to turn back just before they reached the Patanowï-teri village. He could barely walk by that time and would not have been able to elude pursuers should the enemy have given chase. Shararaiwï, his brother, decided to accompany him back lest he run into a group of Patanowï-teri hunters, or his condition grow even more severe. Shortly after they had dropped out of the raiding party, Shararaiwï stepped on a snake and was bitten. The rains had started, and the snakes were beginning to concentrate on the higher grounds, making walking a hazard. His leg began to swell immedi- [758] ately, and he could not walk. Hence, Kąobawï had to carry him out on his back, despite the fact that he could barely walk himself. Carrying him for nearly two days, he managed to reach the Orinoco River. Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,[3] so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Shararaiwä had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kąobawä was very exhausted from the trip.

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chanted briefly with Kąobawä, explaining that they had reached Patanowä-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowä-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwä of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart.

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwä with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound.

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yąnomamö have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwä was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered.

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowä-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowä. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *unokaimou* ceremony.

They were given spaces in Kąobawä's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kąobawä felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowä's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwä of Kąobawä's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowä-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowä-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they

[3] The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kąobawä's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Bisaasi-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Bisaasi-teri would not borrow it.

11: Chagnon F-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ13 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
514
411
365
276
926

Fig. 5–4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Damowã, slain Monou-teri headman.*

726
701
726
114
722
628
726
[465]

located the enemy, but Paruriwã refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

The Monou-teri and Bisasi-teri raided against the Patanowã-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowã-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Damowã were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Everyone in the village gathered around the ashes and wept aloud. The bamboo quiver of the dead man was brought to the gourds, smashed, the points taken out, and the quiver itself burned. While this was going on, the mourners were in a state of frenzy, pulling at their hair and striking themselves, screaming and wailing. One of his brothers took a snuff tube and blew some of the drug into the gourds containing the ashes (see Fig. 5–4). The tube was then cut in half, one of the dead man's arrow points being used to measure the point at which the snuff tube was cut. I was never able to determine whether the arrow points taken from the quiver were possessions of the dead man or were, in fact, the points removed from his body. There were ten of them, and my informants were too touchy about the matter to be questioned in detail: I received affirmative nods to both questions. In any event, the ten bamboo points were distributed to the raiders, who fondled them and examined them carefully. Each man brought one with him on the raid that followed this ceremony. The severed snuff tube and the gourds of ashes were wrapped in leaves and put back in the thatch of the brother's house.

That night I think I became emotionally close to the Yąnomamö for the first time. I remained in my hammock and gave up collecting genealogies. As darkness fell Damowä's brothers began weeping in their hammocks. I lay there and listened, not bothering to tape record it or photograph it or write notes. One of the others asked me why I was not making a nuisance of myself as usual, and I told him that my innermost being (*bubii*) was cold—that is, I was sad. This was whispered around the village, and as each person heard it, he looked over at me. The children who inevitably accumulate around my hammock were told by their elders to go home and not bother me anymore. I was *bubuo*, in a state of emotional disequilibrium, and had finally begun to act like a human being as far as they were concerned.

The next day the raiders lined up, shouted in the direction of the Patanowä-teri, heard the echo come back, and left the village to collect their provisions and hammocks. I allowed them to talk me into taking the entire raiding party up the Mavaca River in my canoe. There, they could find high ground and reach the Patanowä-teri without having to cross the numerous swamps that lay between the two villages. There were only ten men in the raiding party, the smallest the war party can get and still have maximum effectiveness. As we traveled up the river, the younger men began complaining. One had sore feet, and two or three others claimed to have malaria. They wanted to turn back because I had forgotten to bring my malaria pills with me as I had promised. Hukoshikuwä (Fig. 5–5), a brother of the slain headman, silenced their complaints with an angry lecture on cowardice. I let them all out at the mouth of a stream they intended to follow. They unloaded their seemingly enormous supply of plantains and politely waited for me to leave. I sat among them and chatted, thinking that they were doing essential tasks as they fiddled with arrows and retied their provisions. Finally, one of them hinted that I should be leaving because I had a long trip and might not get home before dark. It was then that I discovered they were dallying, trying to be polite to me. They all thanked me for taking them upstream in my canoe, the only time Yąnomamö ever expressed gratitude to me, and I got in my canoe to leave. Hukoshikuwä came down to untie my rope for me and shove me off the bank. He watched, silently, as my canoe got caught up in the current and drifted away. He looked frightened, reluctant, anxious, but determined. After I had gotten my motor started and was under way, I looked back to see him turn, pick up his plantains and weapons, and disappear into the jungle. Even

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 137]

11: Chagnon R-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
714
291
926
302

Fig. 5-5. Hukoshikawä leading a raiding party against the Patanowä-teri.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwä probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen–even Kaobawä–implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowä. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwä's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwä failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwä and his raiders did not locate the Patanowä-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowä-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowä-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowä-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowä-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisaasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisaasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisaasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowä-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisaasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

[P. 138 is blank]

Glossary

AFFINES: Relatives by marriage. These can also include blood relatives when, for example, a man marries his mother's brother's daughter. The word "cognate" is used to describe those blood relatives who are related by marriage. Cognates also include kinsmen who have a common ancestor. 104

AGNATES: Persons who trace their relationships to each other through males. This is distinct from cognatic kinship, where the relationship may be traced through either males or females.

BANANA, WILD: A distant relative to the common banana, but producing a fruit pod that is very different from the banana. The pod contains seeds that taste like maize. It is the only American member of the Musaceae family. Plantains and bananas now cultivated by the Yąnomamö were probably introduced to the Americas after Columbus.

BIFURCATING MERGING: A term used to describe the widespread type of kinship system in which an individual's paternal relatives are distinguished (bifurcated) from maternal relatives in the terminology. Furthermore, a single term is used in reference to, for example, father and father's brother; that is, they are merged terminologically into the same kinship category. The Yąnomamö have the most commonly found variant of this type, the Iroquois system. *See* Iroquois kinship terms.

BILATERAL CROSS-COUSINS: In practical terms, an individual's mother's brother's children *together with* his father's sister's children. Unilateral cross-cousins are mother's brother's children *or* father's sister's children, but not both. These two terms are frequently ued in discussions of types of marriage rules found in primitive societies. Mother's brother's daughter is a *uni*lateral cross-cousin; properly speaking, she is a *matri*lateral cross-cousin. In Yąnomamö (Iroquois) kinship this person is simultaneously father's sister's daughter. Some societies have rules forbidding marriage with the latter type of cousin, that is, they have a *uni*lateral cross-cousin marriage rule. *See* Cross-cousins.

COGNATES: Individuals who are related to each other through either males or females. *See* Affines, Agnates.

CORPORATION: A group of people sharing some estate, having definite rights with respect to each other and to the estate, and able to demonstrate their membership to that group by citing a recognized rule concerning recruitment.

CROSS-COUSINS: The children of a man and his sister are cross-cousins to each other. The children of a man and his brother are *parallel* cousins to each other. Similarly, the children of a woman and her sister are parallel cousins.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

104 DEMOGRAPHY: The study of populations with the intention of gathering certain kinds of vital statistics, such as birth rate, death rate, and family size.

DEMONSTRATED KINSHIP: Tracing relationships to kinsmen by citing the putative biological links. *See* Lineage.

IROQUOIS KINSHIP TERMS: Classifying both kinds of cross-cousins (matrilateral and patrilateral) into the same kinship category and distinguishing them from brothers and sisters and parallel cousins. In most Iroquois systems the parallel cousins are called by the same terms that are used for brothers and sisters.

LEVIRATE: A rule enjoining a man to marry the widow of his dead brother.

LINEAGE: A kinship group comprised of people who trace relationships to each other through either males or females, but not both. If the relationship is traced through males, as among the Yąnomamö, the group so defined is a *patri*lineage. The distinctive feature of the lineage is that the relationships are demonstrated by citing genealogical links. In a clan, relationships are merely *stipulated* by citing the fact that the two individuals in question belong to the same named kinship group. In short, a clan is a *named lineage* the members of which do not remember or do not care how they are related to each other biologically. *See* Demonstrated kinship.

LOCAL DESCENT GROUP: Among the Yąnomamö, a group of people who are related to each other patrilineally, who live in the same village, and one of whose major functions is to arrange marriages for the younger members of the group. It is usually the older males of the group who arrange the marriages.

MACHETE: A broad-bladed, long knife commonly used throughout South America for cutting brush. The closest English equivalent is the cutlass.

MATRILATERAL: Tracing relationships on the mother's side.

PATRILATERAL: Tracing relationships on the father's side.

PLANTAIN: A member of the banana family. The fruit looks like the common banana, but is considerably larger. When ripe, the fruit resembles the common banana in taste, but differs in that its texture is crude and stringy. Plantains are usually eaten cooked. Green plantains resemble raw potatoes in taste, even after cooking. Plantains appear to have been introduced to the Americas after the arrival of Europeans, but they spread with such rapidity that many early travelers described them as being native crops. (*See* References, Reynolds, 1927.)

SIBLINGS: One's brothers and sisters.

SORORAL POLYGYNY: A type of marriage in which a man marries two or more women who are related to each other as sisters.

TEKNONYMY: The practice of addressing an individual by the name of one of his children rather than by his own personal name. A kinship term is used in combination with the child's name, such as *father* of so-and-so.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

References

ARENDS, TULIO, *et al.*, 1967, "Intratribal Genetic Differentiation among the Yanomama Indians of Southern Venezuela," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, Vol. 57, pp. 1252–1259.

DE BARANDIARAN, DANIEL, 1966, "La fiesta del Pijiguao entre los Indios Waikas," *El Farol*, Vol. 219, pp. 8–15.

BECHER, HANS, 1960, *Die Surára und Pakidái: Zwei Yanomámi-Stämme in Nordwest-Brasilien*, Vol. 26, Hamburg: Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde.

BOHANNAN, LAURA, 1964, *Return to Laughter*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc.

CHAGNON, NAPOLEON A., 1966, *Yąnomamö Warfare, Social Organization and Marriage Alliances*, doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan.

———, 1967, "Yąnomamö—The Fierce People," *Natural History*, Vol. 76, pp. 22–31.

COULT, ALLAN D., and A. E. HAMMEL, 1963, "A Corrected Model for Patrilateral Cross-cousin Marriage," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 19, pp. 287–296.

FORTES, MEYER, 1959. "Descent, Filiation and Affinity: A Rejoinder to Dr. Leach," *Man*, Vol. 59, No. 309, pp. 193–197 and No. 331, pp. 206–212.

FRIED, MORTON, 1957, "The Classification of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britian and Ireland*, Vol. 87, pp. 1–29.

LEACH, EDMUND R., 1961, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-cousin Marriage," reprinted in *Rethinking Anthropology*. London: The Athlone Press.

———, 1957, "Aspects of Bridewealth and Marriage Stability among the Kachin and Lakher," *Man*, Vol. 57, No. 59, pp. 50–55.

———, 1965, Letter, *Man*, Vol. 65, No. 12, p. 25.

LÉVI-STRAUSS, CLAUDE, 1963, *Structural Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

MALINOWSKI, BRONISLAW, 1922, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd.

———, 1926, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd.

———, 1967, *A Dairy in the Strict Sense of the Term*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

MAUSS, MARCEL, 1954, *The Gift*. New York: The Free Press.

MAYBURY-LEWIS, DAVID, 1960, "The Analysis of Dual Organizations: A Methodological Critique," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Vol. 116, pp. 17–44.

———, 1965*a*, "Prescriptive Marriage Systems," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 21, pp. 207–230.

113

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

113 ——, 1965*b*, *The Savage and the Innocent*. London: Evans Bros.

——, 1967, *Akwē-Shavante Society*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

MEGGITT, MERVYN J., 1962, *Desert People: A Study of the Walbiri Aborigines of Central Australia*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

MURDOCK, GEORGE P., 1949, *Social Structure*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

NEEDHAM, RODNEY, 1962*a*, *Structure and Sentiment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

——, 1962*b*, "Genealogy and Category in Wikmunkan Society," *Ethnology*, Vol. 1, pp. 223–264.

——, 1963, "Some Disputed Points in the Study of Prescriptive Alliance," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 19, pp. 186–207.

NEEL, JAMES V., and NAPOLEON A. CHAGNON, 1968, "The Demography of Two Tribes of Primitive, Relatively Unacculturated American Indians," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, Vol. 59, pp. 680–689.

NIMUENDAJÚ, CURT and ROBERT LOWIE, 1927, "The Dual Organization of the Ramko' kamekra (Canella) of Southern Brazil," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 39, pp. 565–582.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R., 1965, "Patrilineal and Matrilineal Succession," reprinted in *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. New York: The Free Press.

REYNOLDS, PHILIP KEEP, 1927, *The Banana: Its History, Cultivation and Place among Staple Foods*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

TURNBULL, COLIN M., 1966, "Report from Africa: A People Apart," *Natural History*, Vol. 75, pp. 8–14.

ZERRIES, OTTO, 1955, "Das Lashafest der Waika-Indianer," *Die Umschau in Wissenshaft und Technik*, Vol. 55, pp. 662–665.

——, 1964, *Waika: Die Kulturgeschichtliche Stellung der Waika-Indianer des Oberen Orinoco im Rahmen der Völkerkunde Südamerikas*. Munich: Klaus Renner Verlag.

Film

An ethnographic film with synchronous sound in color will be available for classroom use late in 1968. It will illustrate Yąnomamö trading and feasting practices as described in Chapter 4. The movie was filmed by Timothy Asch, Director of the Center for Ethnographic Film Studies of the Department of Anthropology, Brandeis University, and Napoleon A. Chagnon, in conjunction with the Program in Ethnographic Films (P.I.E.F.) of Harvard University.

In addition, 8 mm film loops depicting various aspects of Yąnomamö behavior are currently available through the Ealing Corporation of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

627
579
411
526
541

[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

11: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

621

[For intracommunity relations, passim, see category 116, pp. 40-137.]

11: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628

[For intercommunity relations, passim, see category 116, pp. 39-137.]

shabori--shaman
shobariwaka--hell
shoriwae--brother-in-law
suaboeya--"wife": group from which a man takes his wife
waiteri--fierce one
yai--spirits
yobõmou--girl's first menses

amoamo--dancing and singing of Yanoama men at feasts
basho--a large monkey, very desirable as food
broke--empty or void
buhii--one kind of human soul; will; self
date--a thick, sweet soup made from boiled plantains
ebene--a hallucinogenic drug
hashimo--a type of grouse hunted
hearoya--"husband"; the group from which a woman gets a husband
hekura--demons used by the shaman
heniomou--the week-long hunting trip of the men
hikari thka--a garden or jungle that has the potential for becoming a garden
hushou--state of emotional disequilibrium
mashi--exogamous patrilineal lineages; species, group; cluster of similar things
no borehoe--buhii after death
nomohoni--treachery
noreshi--a sort of spirit or portion of the soul, and in addition an animal that lives in the jungle and corresponds to this soul.
no uhudi (or bore)--the portion of the soul released after cremation
roo--"squatting"; menstruation
shabono--permanent house made out of wood material

/114/

121 I shall describe to you in the following some aspects of the social structure of the same Indian tribe whose conceptions about the soul Herr Dr. Zerries has just discussed. The title, "Sociology," is too presumptuous, insofar as today I intend to deal with only the larger social units and thus touch upon only a small sector of the sociological field. I shall be able to present to you only raw expedition-material; the comparative arrangement of these data in South American cultural history will be the work of the next few months.

101 131 The Waika /Waica/ inhabit the upper Orinoco river region in southern Venezuela; their area of habitation, however, is not limited by the Sierra Parima, in which the Orinoco rises and which forms the mountain border with Brazil, but rather extends into Brazilian soil far beyond this mountain chain, about to the middle of the northern tributaries of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco. [161] The Sierra Parima therefore is more the backbone of the living space of this Indian group, which, according to the best estimates, contains about fifty thousand persons and an area of about half 137 the size of West Germany. According to external appearances, [132] this region is counted as tropical rain forest; seasonal differences are only slight and are practically without influence on the life 101 and culture of the people. The critical cultural importance of the 179 forest lies in its isolating effect: between the habitation area of [137] the Waika and the first mixed settlement there extends an almost [487] uninhabited forest-belt several hundred kilometers wide, and since there is very little river traffic and as other means of transportation there are only onerously traversable Indian paths, the culture of the Waika has been able to remain almost completely pure. Only a [197] few material things from our world have as yet found their way to them: a few machetes and axes, a few matches and fishhooks, which an American mission working from 1947 to 1955 under very difficult conditions and we ourselves brought along; since the Waika do not maintain any contacts of their own downriver, however, the barely begun acculturation process does not go on /115/ by itself, but ebbs away the moment the visiting whites leave Waika country.

2: Becher--i E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/V/

Foreword

114 101 This monograph contains the results of a nine-month investigation which I conducted from October 1955 to June 1956 among two Indian tribes of northwest Brazil which are as yet unknown to science.

● 121 My journey and the analysis of its results were made possible through the generous support of the Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft /German Research Association/, for which I am deeply indebted to it.

114 I should like cordially to thank my esteemed teacher, Herr Prof. Dr. Franz Termer, for regarding this work, the completion of which he supported actively and in an advisory capacity, worthy of inclusion in the series of reports of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/.

I was encouraged by Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, head of the study division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, to seek out these as yet uninvestigated tribes north of the middle Rio Negro. [122] Through his efforts I also obtained the approval of the Director and was given all possible assistance by this organization founded by Marshal Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, as well as a free flight with a military plane from Rio de Janeiro to Manaus. Hence I feel a sincere desire to express my gratitude to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, especially to Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro and the Brazilian Air Force.

122 I thank the University of São Paulo, above all the Dean, Herr Dr. Paulo Sawaya, and the Assistant Dean Herr Prof. Dr. Antonio Soares Amora, for granting me a stipend from June 1954 to September 1955, which made it possible for me to broaden my knowledge of Brazilian ethnology under such outstanding scholars as Herr Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and Herr Prof. Dr. Egon Schaden and to prepare myself thoroughly for the subsequent work in the field. To these two gentlemen I shall remain deeply indebted.

114 Valuable advice which was very useful to me on my expedition was given me by Herr Prof. Dr. med. Henrique da Rocha Lima (†),

/212 cont./ We were greatly surprised to find this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).

The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists who have studied this matter[1] is that it is a matter of a Circum-Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence, owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient platform of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its specific conditions, lent itself to the development or to the adoption of the cult.

We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have, however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause, the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This personage is different from the shaman and his sphere.

The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

[1] [i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

/221 cont./

765 775 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĭkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĭkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 [276] The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their [756] neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablf pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

● 121 771 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of [184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 756 791 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a different supernatural sphere.

793 776 The first of the three is the hɛwĭawán, or the priest, who is the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

especially strong and intelligent, and keep him at his side, adopting him, as it were, as his successor. The little girls continue to live in the feminine world of their tribe. Shy and submissive, they take on the humblest tasks, fetching water, making the fire and helping in the preparation—highly problematical—of food.

Such definitions of customs have, however, only a relative value, like any attempt to estimate the Shirian way of life: for Shirians are to be found spread over wild territory of vast extent. Their customs are less well defined than one might suppose after reading certain tracts about primitive peoples—the Pacific islanders, for instance. These give the impression that with slight formal changes only, Western culture might have much to learn from the degree of social organization they have attained to. The Shirian tribes, cut off from one another as they are by physical barriers such as mountains and rivers, and moral barriers like the ceaseless state of war which exists between the various branches of this race of 'howling Indians', have developed their own customs in their own sporadic fashion. Sometimes they have been weakened by contact with foreigners, such as the Makiritari in the north-west and the Makushi in the east. More often they have been weakened by a lack of strong traditions, which do not spring easily from such an excessively low level of culture, where mere survival calls for an unending struggle against the tremendous power of the eternally hostile forest.

The most primitive races are those most affected by their geographical setting. Their environment conditions them. Only by adapting themselves continually to their surroundings, only by the long process of response to the determining factor of geography, can they create that growing racial identity which at last succeeds in reversing the process—that is, in conditioning the surroundings instead of being conditioned by them. But we are here touching on the larger question of the development of civilization generally.

Where the Shirians are concerned, we are still at the beginning of the beginning, when geography is the absolute determining factor. Here environment is the master of man—a creature inferior, qualitatively and quantitatively, to the region which it is his fate to inhabit.

The territory they occupy is immense. Divided though it may be by great cordilleras, which make it the breeding ground for various rivers rushing north, west and south, it possesses one marked characteristic throughout its whole extent: the sources and the headwaters of the rivers are contained in a sort of

/433/ Memoir on the Culture of the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

114 * The author of this work is a missionary of a North American mission, the "New Tribes Mission," who has lived for several years among the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. Without presuming to be an ethnologist, Mr. Barker has prepared this report containing his observations, and, having kindly sent it to the Ministro de Justicia for his information and for publication, the Comisión Indigenista has accepted it for these pages of the Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, considering its importance as firsthand information concerning a remote tribe scarcely studied up to now. Direct observations made over a period of several years, such as those revealed to us by Mr. Barker in a simple and objective fashion, are of positive utility for
[128] ethnologists and ethnographers. In the translation of the original from English to Spanish, we tried to adhere as closely as possible to the words and expressions of the author himself, without having recourse to technical terms. -- (Note by the translator, Walter
MDO Dupouy.) /It is to be noted that Mr. Dupouy was the original translater from the English to Spanish, but not the HRAF translator from the Spanish to English./

121 Most of the data included in this memoir are the result of my own observations. Observations made by other members of the staff of the "New Tribes" Mission, who have also collaborated, are included as well. They are: Mr. Edwin Killam and his wife,

/433 cont./

121 Messrs. Eugene Higdem, Byron Reihart, and Joe Jenkins, and the late Flora Troxel.

124 The information concerning the area of Brazil inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ has been gathered from oral reports made to me by several men who said that they had worked upstream /434/ on the rivers of Brazil, within or near Guaika Territory. This information, although fragmentary and not absolutely certain, has helped us nevertheless to form a more complete picture of the Guaika tribe as a whole.

Orientation

101
131 The Guaika /Waica/ tribe inhabits the region of the Upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the outlet of the Ocamo River, including also the south bank of the Ocamo itself. In addition, the Guaika tribe extends into the territory of Brazil, occupying the headwaters of several tributaries of the Branco and Negro rivers (see the map /see p. 6 /).

The tribe located to the north, the Guajaribo /Guaharibo/, inhabits the north bank of the Ocamo River, the valley of the Padamo River, and the headwaters of the Caura River, and is also found in Brazil on the headwaters of the Uraricoera River, a tributary of the Branco River. The Guajaribo come downriver frequently as far as La Esmeralda, and on occasion even come as far as the mouth of the Cunucunuma River. It has been reported that they have been seen as far to the east as the Paragua River in the state of Bolívar (see map).

197 The Guaika and Guajaribo Indians speak the same language, but there are several observable dialectical differences which make it possible to distinguish immediately by their speech whether they belong to the one group or to the other. I make this observation on the basis of my studies of the Guaika language spoken in El Platanal and its comparison with samples of the Guajaribo dialect collected by Flora Troxel and by me in La Esmeralda and Ioeitedi.

[121]
[122]

/151/

Raids among the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

114

* Mr. James Barker has prepared this work as a result of his many years with the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. In this Boletín (Year I, Vol. I, Caracas, June-December, 1953, Nos. 3-4, pp. 433-489 /see 7: Barker, this file/) he presented a report of his observations under the title of "Memoria sobre la cultura Guaika /Memoir on the Culture of the Waica/." The present work is the result of his observations, which, revealed in an objective and simple manner, are of positive value for ethnologists and ethnographers.

121 I have been asked for more information about the raid. As I am not sure of which one I am asked about, I will tell about several, especially those about which I have quite detailed information.

574 628 In February of 1951 the aldea of Liacoatjeti invited the aldea of Bisheasetjeti to a Pijiguao or palm festival. The men of Liacoatjeti had gone on a special hunt to get a supply of meat. There was to have been an abundance of every type of food. There were to have been special dances, the taking of yopo, and other things which they do on such festive occasions.

574 628 721 But the invitation was a trick which those of Liatcoatjeti /sic/ had planned in order to be able to kill, if possible, all of the men of Bisheasetjeti and capture their women. Batanoetjeti and other aldeas which were enemies of Bisheasetjeti were invited to hide outside of the aldea and shoot at any man who tried to get away. Since they did not need to feed anybody, the Liacoatjeti did not bother to go hunting.

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Venezuelan Indians SS4

4

The Indians of the Upper Orinoco—Guaharibos and Makiritares

Y
• 121 SINCE Theodor Koch-Grünberg's pronouncements on the subject, anthropologists and ethnologists are agreed that the Indians inhabiting the Guiana *massif* fall into three distinct " layers " of population. Differentiation between the layers is relatively easy as each represents a different stage of development, and there has been no marked overlapping of territory. The newly-arrived groups thrust back the original occupants either violently or gradually and then infiltrated themselves among the earlier arrivals. The vastness of the region and the thinness of the ever-shifting population made such occupation simple. Indeed, the great Guiano-Amazonian forests support fewer human beings than some parts of the world where there is an almost complete lack of vegetation. Paul Lecointe estimated in 1920 that the population density was about one inhabitant for every twenty-seven square miles.

Trade and war have brought about some racial mixing, but strong racial customs and the barriers of language have done much to retain the individual characteristics of the groups. Thus ethnologically the region is like a jig-saw puzzle with pieces of changing outline, fast, slow, sporadic, seasonal, but each playing its part in the final picture.

V *Arawaks*

101 The Arawaks are farmers on an extremely moderate scale,
[241] and excellent watermen. They inhabit the country adjacent to the rivers Negro, Guainia and Atabapo; the principal tribes being the Banibas, the Barés, the Kuripakos and the Piapocos.
V Coming from the west and south-west they seem to have
[174] occupied the regions gradually and peacefully, advancing east-
000 wards as far as the River Merevari. They have imposed their

[pp. 65-71 not processed]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

121 The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yąnomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data 114 covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the 124 field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yąnomamö in their language.

162 Census data on five Yąnomamö villages are presented 847 to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage 595 of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is compli- 834 cated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos 721 and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter- 182 village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

* 621 The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the 613 basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal 598 descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves 562 to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal 000 descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii]

[Introductory, P. iii]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis [114] shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of Thesis

121 583 582 183 This is a functional study of one form of marriage practiced by the Yąnomamö Indians of southern Venezuela. The form of marriage considered here--recruitment of wives from other villages for the purpose of initiating and maintaining political alliances--constitutes a departure by the Yąnomamö from their preferred form of marriage. I wish to emphasize the point that these marriages constitute a predictable and necessary departure from the ambilateral cross-cousin preferences. I will show in the space below how a number of variables are related to each other to bring about the exceptional marriages.

The fact that normative rules of behavior and actual behavior differ considerably from each other in most societies has received little theoretical attention, particular in regard to analyses of marriage systems. For the most part we presume that exceptions to stated marriage preferences represent a measure of the breakdown of the society under consideration, due to contacts with other societies. Yąnomamö exceptional marriages[1] cannot be dismissed with this line of

[648]

[1] Of 56 recently contracted marriages in three of the villages investigated, 31 cases were breaches of the preferred ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules for the purpose of establishing political ties between the groups of the spouses.

121 reasoning, as most of the Yąnomamö villages are presently
583 uncontacted, and those that are in contact with foreigners
582 have only recently (since 1951) entered into these contacts.
183
648

583 Yąnomamö marriages, even the preferred form, are
582 influenced by the milieu of inter-village hostility within
628 which they are contracted. Marriages in this milieu have as
613 their major function the promotion of social ties between the descent groups represented in the exchange and are best understood as the deployment of women between groups with the purpose of promoting political and military alliances. The groups in question may be of two kinds: the local patrilineages comprising a particular village, or the members of different villages as such. As the only corporate group among the Yąnomamö is the local lineage, marriages within and between villages are to be understood as alliances between different corporate groups.[1]

583 The variables affecting marriage practice--weakness
582 of descent as a solidarity-promoting medium, village size
183 and instability, the chronic nature of warfare, the shortage
621 of women, attitudes about aggressiveness and demonstration
921 of ferocity by individuals, and economic practices--are such
152 that some deviation from the normative marriage rules is necessary to insure maximum survival chances for the resi-
583 dents of the various autonomous villages. Because marriage
582 exchanges in general have political and military implications,
621

[621]

[1]Yąnomamö villages are not corporate groups.

attain a certain size; beyond this point the causes of internal fighting are too numerous for peace to be maintained effectively by kinship ties, and the village breaks up into smaller, more cohesive units. This affects the degree to which deviations from the marriage norm occur: first, the female cross-cousins of an eligible bachelor are usually in villages that are hostile to his own, and he is obliged to seek a spouse in another, currently friendly, village. Secondly, as his own village is now more vulnerable because of its small size, some of its eligible females must be given to men in other villages in order to promote military alliances.

Village size and demography

The significance of demographic data has only recently received recognition in analyses of social systems. The importance of such data in the analysis of marriage practices has been most tellingly illustrated by F. G. Rose's study of the Groote Eylandt Aborigines (1960). Rose was able to show that where men marry women who are considerably younger than themselves, two important consequences follow: primary marriages with father's sister's daughter is effectively prevented, as is the practice of sister exchange.

Similarly, Ackerman (1964), in a critique of Needham's analysis of Purum marriage, showed that demography-dependent data such as frequency of 'marriage acts' (ibid., p. 60) do not support Needham's contention that the Purum

121 have a prescriptive marriage system. What the Purum say they do and what they actually do are two distinct things.

*621 578 922 As I mentioned above, after Yąnomamö villages reach a certain, critical size, they tend to fragment into smaller groups. The internal tensions that promote this instability are to some extent offset by external military pressures: members of a faction within a larger village may want to establish their own independent village to avoid club-fighting and to suppress more severe forms of violence; but if their village is being raided by members of other villages, [241] it may be impossible for them to do so. Occasionally a village splits into several factions, each establishing its own garden apart from the other, but the factions are forced *621 *628 722 583 582 918 [602] to reunite because of raids mounted by other groups. Generally, the process of village splitting precludes a later recombination of the same factions because these remain hostile to each other. Thus, the small, vulnerable villages that result from the fragmentation of a larger village are constrained to make marriage alliances with other villages, both to insure military assistance and because it is difficult to obtain women from their kinsmen with whom they are now at war. Village size and the balance of marriage exchanges between villages indicate that numerically weak villages are *621 *628 722 583 582 438 coerced by their stronger partners to give up women. In some cases, the disposition of desirable trade goods may affect the balance in the exchange of women between two villages. In general it may be said that, when one village

*623 926 574 to kill all the male guests and to abduct the women, but the hosts themselves unexpectedly became involved in a war and required the aid of their guests.

*623 24 922 361 Yąnomamö dependency on cultivated foods, then, promotes political alliances with other villages; the warfare pattern is such that the members of a village may have to flee from their site to avoid the raids of their enemies. If they have not had time to establish a new garden, they need the support of an ally until they are able to support themselves.

.-.-.-.-.-.

a 121 583 582 The variables that affect Yąnomamö marriage practices are numerous and diverse and combine with each other in complex ways. I shall show in the chapters that follow how these variables actually affect Yąnomamö marriage practices. At this juncture the point to be made is that Yąnomamö social practice in real life can not be completely isomorphic with the stated marriage preferences because the milieu within which marriages take place simply precludes such a neat fit. A functional, rather than a structural analysis seems to be demanded by the nature of the variables in question. I shall also show the degree to which we can predict actual marriage behavior, given specific information about the variables.

[926] 182 Finally, I should add that the Yąnomamö constitute a significant case for ethnological inquiry: this society offers

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

us the opportunity to estimate the effects of warfare on the nature of marriage practices among a people who are chronically at war, a situation not frequently found in the present ethnographic world.

B. The Data and Field Techniques

Several kinds of data are required to illustrate Yąnomamö marriage practices and the variables affecting them. The most important data are those I obtained from genealogies and the historical relationships between villages.

In total, I have genealogical data on some 3,000 individuals, living and dead, from 15 villages. Not all the data are comparable in quality and I shall confine my discussion to the populations of the five villages for which my data are most complete. These five villages fall into two groups with regard to their historical origins. Three of them have a common history, separating initially about 1943 at which time two villages were formed.[1] One of these split again about 1954 to form two villages, giving a total of 3 separate but closely related villages. The other two of the five selected for this study also have a common history, but are distinct from the first three. For purposes of clarity I will refer to these two villages as Shamatari (see Chapter 5 for discussion). About 1960 the two Shamatari villages split from each other and are presently on good terms.

---

[1] See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the historical relationships of these villages.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

121 I did not attempt to collect data on all aspects of Yąnomamö culture. Hans Becher (1960) and Otto Zerries (1964) had already done this. I concentrated, rather, on Yąnomamö social organization, settlement pattern, warfare and ideology and gathered data that would permit me to analyze these aspects of Yąnomamö culture and how they were related to each other in determining marriage practices.

124 The collection of genealogies proved to be the most important and the most difficult task of my field work. The widespread taboo against saying the names of both the living and the dead found in South America, particularly in the Guiana area, was carried to an extreme by the Yąnomamö. Consequently, much of my time was spent trying to discover which of my informants were giving me erroneous information, a frustrating and time consuming task. It was not unusual to discover after I had spent weeks on particular genealogies working with data provided by crafty informants that I had to disregard most, if not all, of those data. The Indians soon discovered my interest and set about inventing names for everybody in the village--and learning them, making my task all the more difficult when I checked my genealogies with informants from other villages. Thus, I would arrive at what I considered an accurate genealogy for the members of the village I lived in only to be advised by an Indian from another village that most of the names were inventions. I was therefore unable to check the accuracy of the stated relationships between individuals with outside informants

similar to that presented here, and I regard my own efforts in this area as supplemental to the generally excellent ethnographic work of Zerries (1964) and Schuster (1958). Without genealogical data it is not possible to estimate the degree to which marriage practices deviate from stated preference, nor to grasp the importance of these deviant cases in Yąnomamö politics.

The histories of the five villages are equally important, as they illustrate the role of warfare in determining settlement pattern, the development of political ties between villages, and the process of village splitting. These factors provide the matrix within which the genealogical data become meaningful.

Piecing together the history of these groups of villages proved to be a difficult task. The geographical area under discussion is unexplored and unmapped. Not even major rivers are accurately known in their upper courses, so that of two published versions of the Siapa River I have had to choose the one most consistent with the account given to me by the Indians. The major problem in this regard has been the identification of a large river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u, whose headwaters lie near the source of the Orinoco River. According to my Yąnomamö informants (people who have either lived on this river or have visited or raided villages located on it), the Shukumöna-u, in its middle course, is nearly as large as the Orinoco at its junction with the Mavaca River. It flows in a westerly

19:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1965) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

CHAPTER IV

VILLAGE COMPOSITION, STRUCTURE, AND SIZE

A. Village Composition and Structure

*621
*628
602
121
182

This thesis deals specifically with Yąnomamö marriage alliances. However, village structure and the dynamics of village splitting must be discussed before alliances as such can be understood; we must comprehend the nature of the groups that ally themselves to each other before attempting to make sense of the 'alliances.' In many respects, the process of village splitting provides the circumstances under which alliances are both desirable and necessary, for the circumstances of village splitting usually result in military situations whose solutions are best effected by the creation of affinal (marriage) ties with new groups. Newly-established villages are usually militarily vulnerable because they are invariably small, and the members of such groups are constrained, by defense requirements, to enter into alliances with their new neighbors after they split from their agnates. In most instances, the agnates from whom small groups split are in fact the group posing the military threat.[1] Yąnomamö village dynamics over time (the process of village splitting and establishing alliances) is, therefore, a function of

[1] See Chapter V on the histories of particular villages.

internal feuding that promotes splitting, and threat of raids from other groups that inhibits village splitting and/or promotes the establishment of alliances with other groups. These two forces shape the composition and structure of Yąnomamö villages; that is, these two forces impinge on kinship relationships and together with these latter determine the nature of the Yąnomamö village.

I will show in Chapter V that larger villages fragment into smaller groups when internal feuding becomes particularly intense, but are occasionally forced to re-unite when warfare threatens the splinter groups. Yąnomamö villages would remain small if there were no military forces working on them. The Patanowä-tedi, for example, attempted to split into three groups after separating from the Bisaasi-tedi;[1] the three factions re-combined, however, when one of them was attacked by the Hasaböwä-tedi. Similarly, the non-Patanowä-tedi faction of the split (Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi) likewise split into smaller factions after the threat of raids from the outside subsided. Again, these recombined when threat of raids was imminent.

Irrespective of the conditions of the splitting, the newly formed villages approximate a dual organization of inter-marrying moieties in structure. This form of organization is implicit in the Iroquois kinship terminology, sister exchange, and ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules. Dual

---

[1] See Map C and Chapter V.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, PatanowĘ-tedi, MŌmaribŌwei-tedi and Reyabobŏwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Namowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called ParuritawĘ-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

*722
*621
*628
• 121
361
602
*628
174
582
583

historical relationships between villages to properly interpret marriage ties between them. With regard to the last point, I found that numerous individuals in Bisaasi-tedi claimed to be from Patanowä-tedi; my initial conclusions concerning their marriage to individuals from Bisaasi-tedi was that the marriages were village-exogamic. I was obliged to reassess these marriages after I learned that the two villages were at one time one village, and most of the marriages between the two groups were contracted while the groups were living together. I therefore investigated in detail the historical relationships between all the villages in the Mavaca area, a portion of the results constituting the subject of this chapter.

174
128

128
361

I have summarized the village movements in Tables 5 and 6 and have indicated these movements graphically on Map C. The reader may, if he wishes, skip the details of the histories and turn at this point to the concluding remarks of this chapter. I can make the four points by using only Tables 5 and 6, in conjunction with Map C. However, I cannot illustrate Yanomamö political behavior without recourse to details of the village movements and the wars that caused them and, accordingly, I include the details of the histories in this chapter. The political relationships that presently obtain between the two Shamatari villages (Mõmaribõwei-tedi and Reyabobõwei-tedi) and their allies, the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, can not be completely understood without knowing their respective histories in some detail. Most of the

128
361
174
*628
583

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

128 In the body of this dissertation I have attempted to demonstrate that two variables in particular exert an overriding effect on Yąnomamö social structure. These are, respectivley, the shortage of women and the intensity of actual warfare. In this final chapter, I should like to accomplish two ends. First, I should like to set my conclusions against different material recently gathered among the Yąnomamö in northern Brazil.[1] Second, I should like to bring my material to bear on the discussion between Leach (1957) and Fortes (1959a, 1959b) regarding the relationship of kinship, marriage ties, descent and politics.

121 721 582 183 Let us turn first to comparative Yąnomamö ethnology. If it is true, as I have argued, that warfare enhances the

[1]After I had completed the text of the thesis I had an opportunity to discuss with Ernesto Migliazza the social organization of a number of Brazilian Yąnomamö groups. Migliazza, a linguist, spent nearly six years among the Uraricaá Yąnomamö, working for a Baptist Mission and, more recently, for the Goeldi Museum in Belém. I thank him for permission to use much of the comparative material presented below; some of it has already been published in his 1964 work. I introduce this new data because it very effectively demonstrates the interrelationships between the variables discussed in the thesis. I would have arrived at the same conclusions, by employing arguments similar to those used by Meggitt (1965), but the contrast provided by this new material makes the conclusions more defensible.

[114]

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1]Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

---

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

121 two major structural problems: the lack of corporate functions
58 of the local descent groups due to the nature of the corpor-
602 ation's estate, and the ambiguous nature of agnatic kinship
613 ties. Within a framework such as this, affinal ties are capable of promoting solidarity between corporate groups because marriages among the Yanomamö are political alliances that involve military obligations. Local descent groups enter into marriage alliances to advance their military status; the context, therefore, within which marriages are contracted decidely influences the relationships between the corporate groups in question.

121 The debate between Fortes and Leach arose out of the interpretation of the importance of matrilateral kinship ties in patrilineal societies, as these ties are the focal points in any analysis of the means by which solidarity is achieved between corporate descent groups. Briefly, Fortes maintained that the solidarity between lineal descent groups was ultimately due to the inherent tendency of kinship to promote amity. Leach, on the other hand, argues that such an analysis confuses affinal relationships with descent and fails to take notice of the effects of the economic and political contexts within which marriages take place.

Leach drew attention to the fact that ethnological perspectives developed from analyses of patrilineal societies such as the Nuer, Tiv, and Tallensi have biased later workers to focus their attention on lineal corporations and on the common descent ties between corporations when they analyze

• 121 societies characterized by lineal descent. The result has been that structural ties between different lineal corporations that are based on marriage have largely been ignored, or have been assimilated into the discussion of descent:

> Thus Fortes (1953), while recognizing that ties of affinity have comparable importance to ties of descent, disguises the former under his expression of 'complementary filiation.' . . . marriage ties, as such, do not form part of the structural system. They are of interest only because they serve to distinguish the individuals from one another.
> (Leach, 1957:54.)

Leach then argues that his data from Burma demonstrate that affinal ties are in fact a part of the social structure; the issue then is whether the existence of important matrilateral kinship ties in these societies can best be understood by treating the social organization as a 'double-unilineal descent' system, or by examining the relationship between 'corporateness' and 'descent.' He pursues the second alternative, showing that the Burmese natives do not conceive of the matrilateral ties as descent and pointing out that marriage alliances between the corporate groups result in economic relationships that bind them to each other. These economic relationships, Leach shows, are the real bases of solidarity between the groups. He then concludes that the context--economic and political--within which marriage operates is critical to an analysis of the stability brought about between lineal descent groups by the marriages.

Fortes (1959b:209) recognizes the importance of explaining the ties between corporate descent groups, but

• 121 emphasizes the importance of the inherent qualities of kinship in effecting this solidarity:

> It seems to me that a social structure based on an association of exogamous, corporate patrilineal descent groups is not likely to hold together in a permanent political system unless it is either subject to some form of overriding, centralized government, or is knit together in the field of dyadic social relations by a web of kinship ties that counter-balance the centrifugal tendencies of the descent groups; and the main mechanism involved is complementary filiation, not marriage as such.

To Fortes, the ties that unite lineal descent groups arise out of the 'web of kinship' and the inherent properties of cognatic kinship itself. Inter-group stability

> . . . is the result, not of marriage, but of ties of cognatic kinship mediated by combinations of links of matrilateral filiation operating in a complementary way to patrilateral filiation and patrilineal descent. (1959a:195)

The reason that cognatic kinship, rather than affinal ties, is capable of bringing about the stability between corporate descent groups is that

> . . . kinship, being an irreducible factor in social structure, has an axiomatic validity as a sanction of amity and solidarity. (1959b:209)

Thus, we have two distinct interpretations regarding the source of solidarity that stabilizes relationships between lineal descent groups. Leach maintains that we must examine the context within which marriages between corporate groups are contracted to see if the relationship between descent and corporateness itself constitutes part of the stability. Fortes, arguing from first principles, attributes the stability to inherent properties of the 'web of kinship.'

114 121 602 Among the Yąnomamö consanguineal kinship does not have the quality attributed to kinship in general by Fortes, and we therefore cannot explain the stability that exists in terms of these alleged properties. The fact that affinal ties do promote a certain amount of stability between Yąnomamö descent groups supports Leach's arguments, and, for the reasons implied by Leach: Yąnomamö marriages occur within a political context that promotes military obligations and concomitants not predictable from first principles regarding the putative nature of kinship itself. Descent groups exchange [613] [583] [582] [724] [631] women with an eye toward maximizing military advantage in a milieu of hostile political relationships. The stability brought about by such marriages is, therefore, largely a function of the politico-military ends served by marriage and is only tangentially, if at all, a result of kinship.

121 I would also like to discuss the nature of the relationship between corporation and descent from another point of view, for the nature of the estate of the Yąnomamö descent corporation gives a particular quality to the corporation. Most corporate lineal descent groups have as one of their major functions the control over and disposition of property. The property is usually real property. Pastoralists, of course, have as their estates, herds and use rights to forage areas. Some Northwest Coast and northern California tribes have corporate groups whose estates are acorn groves and portions of salmon streams.

In addition to real property, corporate groups

121 frequently include as elements of their estates, exclusive rights to myths, ritual functions, names and emblems. Finally, rights over persons with respect to their relationships to both property and other persons constitute the last category of elements commonly found in most lineal descent group corporations.[1]

Ethnological discussions of corporate lineal descent groups and of their principle of recruitment by descent usually focus on property. This has been characteristic of the re-examination of Polynesian social organization (Goodenough, 1955; Firth, 1957; Davenport, 1959) and of cognatic kinship systems (Murdock, 1960). Thus Davenport redefines descent in such a way that cognatic societies may be said to have corporate descent groups (ibid., p. 558). He was prompted to define descent in this way by the fact that these cognatic groups function like lineal descent groups with regard to regulating the relationships between group members and real estate.[2]

It is important, however, to recognize that estates may consist of rights other than those involving control of real property and that special problems arise in societies

---

[1] See Radcliffe-Brown, 1935 and Befu and Plotnicov, 1962, for a general discussion of estates and corporate lineal descent group types.

[2] See also Goodenough, 1955. Note that Fried (1957) has established a classification of corporate lineal descent groups that is based in large measure on the relationships of members of the groups to 'strategic resources.' For the most part, these resources are real property.

121 having such estates, particularly in those societies to
613 which real estate is totally irrelevant. The Yąnomamö
562 corporate estate consists entirely of rights in disposing
421 of female members belonging to that corporation. As such,
males and females have different kinds of shares in the
corporation. Males, on the average, tend to inherit more
rights, while females tend to inherit more duties and obli-
[423] gations. Land to the Yąnomamö is not a scarce item, as they
[341] are pioneer slash-and-burn horticulturists expanding into
[424] virgin territory.[1] Myths, names and ritual functions do
not comprise elements in these corporations.[2]

121 It would seem important to distinguish between lineal descent corporations which control property and those which do not, as Befu and Plotnicov (1962) have done. A further distinction, however, seems warranted on the basis of the data presented here: between <u>societies</u> having any corporate groups that control real property and societies that have corporate descent groups, none of which have control over property as their estate. The possession of real estate tends to reinforce the lineality of corporate descent groups in both dogma and composition,[3] and invites the addition of

---

[184] [1]This is true of the Mavaca Basin Yąnomamö. Elsewhere the Yąnomamö may not be pioneers, but land is not scare in those areas either.

[2]I am aware that the Yąnomamö have lineally transmitted totems; these have nothing to do with the descent group recruitment or its estate.

[3]See Meggitt, 1965, for an excellent account of the relationship of agnatic kinship, real property, and lineage

new functions for the corporation, thus leading to greater integration among its members. These qualities are weak or absent in descent corporations which lack real property. The Yanomamö descent group corporation, therefore, presents a number of theoretical problems not encountered in the study of societies having corporations whose estate consists, above all, of real property.[1]

One of the problems is the definition of the group by a criteria other than descent alone; both descent and residence are critical in recruiting members to the corporation. The factor of residence as a criterion of recruiting members into corporate groups has been dealt with by Firth (1957). He showed how residence was critical in establishing affiliation to 'ambilateral' (ramage) descent groups among the Tikopians, and how individuals, in some cases, have a choice ('option') in affiliating with one of a number of lines of descent in, for example, the Maori hapu. Although Firth argued that property alone was not the basis of the individual choices,

---

dynamics and Sahlins (1963) for a discussion of the important difference between group dogma and group composition.

[1] I do not think that the problems raised can be satisfactorily solved by classifying corporations by function. The Yanomamö have a solidarity problem largely, I feel, because the descent groups compete rather than cooperate. It would seem that the overall integration of this or any society would be enhanced by the existence of additional corporate group functions besides the disposition of marriageable females. In order to appreciate the contribution land controlling corporations have in total social integration, we must distinguish landed societies from others.

12 he acknowledged that the corporation did in fact function in the context of property control as well, suggesting once again that the nature of the estate (land) accounts for the quality of the corporation: that is, that the functions of the corporation are seen to lie largely in the regulation of real estate.

Leach (1963)[1] drew attention to the analytical significance of the local descent group in terms of its function in arranging marriages. He argued that the social groups that arrange marriages in tribal societies are essentially the same in all such societies: they comprise local males of three generations who live together. Membership in these social groups necessarily depends on residence. Yanomamö descent groups are of this type: to participate in the disposition of local females, one must be related to the patrilineally, as well as live in the same village with them. Both the importance of the marriage arranging functions of the Yanomamö descent group and the lack of other corporate functions seems to account for the fact that affinal ties promote inter-group solidarity in a way that consanguineal ties can not.

12 On the basis of these findings, Leach's approach to the analysis of social organization would seem to hold more promise in the analysis of marriage alliance systems. To the extent that cultural variables such as warfare and the nature of marriage ties demonstrably affect the outcome of

[1] The article to which I refer, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," was originally published in 1951.

• 121 marriage practice, these necessarily constitute components of the social structure and must be considered in the analysis. By the same token, structural analyses that fail to take into account these kinds of variables should be permitted to fall by the wayside, for they can never lead us to adequate description let alone prediction. Leach's summary of his analysis of Sinhalese social organization applies also to this exercise:

> The study of social structure in societies organized according to unilineal descent has not only thrown the emphasis on kinship but has given the impression that kinship structures can be considered in isolation, without reference to the economic [and political, N.C.] background. It has also suggested that social structure is a matter of clearly defined rules, e.g., of descent, of inheritance, and of preferential marriage. In the society considered in this essay social structure is likewise a matter of kinship, but kinship arrangements are not clearly constrained by rules. . . . Although, as in other primitive and peasant societies, the language of kinship plays a dominating role in the expression of social relationships, social behavior is not constrained by the existence of kinship corporations. (1960:123)

Although Leach's summary came in a paper dealing with a society characterized by cognatic kinship and social organization, his observations likewise hold for a large number of societies organized along lineal descent principles.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Foreword

About the Series

These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

Napoleon Chagnon was born the second of twelve children in Port Austin, Michigan, in 1938. He is married and has two children. At present he is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology and holds a joint appointment as Research Associate in the Department of Human Genetics, University of Michigan Medical School. This department has developed a long-term project for the study of the Yąnomamö from a medical-genetics viewpoint in a team approach involving specialists in several fields. Dr. Chagnon is the ethnological member of the team. He began his academic training in the Michigan College of Mining and Technology, but switched to anthropology, receiving a B.A. in anthropology at the University of Michigan in 1961, an M.A. in 1963, and a Ph.D. in 1966. He has spent nineteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö of Venezuela and Brazil, studying demography, social organization, and warfare, and about one month with the Carib-speaking Makiritare of Brazil and Venezuela, studying social organization. He has published several articles in *Natural History* and *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* and has presented papers at meetings of the American Anthropological Association and the National Academy of Science. He plans to remain in the Yąnomamö in several field trips over the next three years, having completed two cooperative trips with members of the Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Cientificas.

About the Book

This is indeed a book about a fierce people. Yąnomamö culture, in its major focus, reverses the meanings of "good" and "desirable" as phrased in the ideal postulates of the Judaic-Christian tradition. A high capacity for rage, a quick flash point, and a will-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

ingness to use violence to obtain one's ends are considered desirable traits. Much of the behavior of the Yąnomamö can be described as brutal, cruel, treacherous, in the value-ladened terms of our own vocabulary. The Yąnomamö themselves, however, as Napoleon Chagnon came to intimately know them in the year and a half he lived with them, do not all appear to be mean and treacherous. As individuals, they seem to be people playing their own cultural game, with internal feelings that at times may be quite divergent from the demands placed upon them by their culture. This case study furnishes valuable data for phrasing questions about the relationship between the individual and his culture.

The Yąnomamö appear to be constantly on the verge of extranormal behavior, as we define it, and their almost daily use of hallucinogenic drugs reinforces these drives to what might seem to the outside observer to be the limits of human capacity. Life in their villages is noisy, punctuated by outbursts of violence, threatened by destruction by enemies. To the ethnographer it is frightening, frustrating, disgusting, exciting, and rewarding, and in this case study the ethnographer lets the reader know how he feels. His honest reactions help us, as interested outsiders, to know the Yąnomamö.

This is a study of a fierce people who engage in chronic warfare. It is also a study of a system of controls that usually hold in check the drive toward annihilation. Conflict among the Yąnomamö is regulated through a series of graded escalations, from chest-pounding and side-slapping duels, through club fighting, spear throwing, to raiding in a state of war, to the ultimate—the *nomohomi*—massacre by treachery. The processes of avoidance, settlement, or escalation of disputes are discussed in detail in this case study. There are implications that range beyond the Yąnomamö, and beyond primitive peoples, to the "civilized" world in which we live, for we too live in a state of chronic warfare and are threatened by annihilation.

The Yąnomamö goad each other, within their own villages, to the brink of an explosion (and they goaded the ethnographer in the same way). This hostility is projected on a larger scale in the negotiating of alliances between villages. Each principal must establish the credibility of his own threats, as well as discover the point at which the opposite party's bluffing will dissolve into action. It is, as the author says, a politics of brinkmanship, all too familiar to us.

The study is, however, not confined to a description of regulated violence. Dr. Chagnon provides us with an unusually clear chapter on social organization, with the genealogical details of kinship. The models he produces in his analysis are cast in sharper relief because he also discusses deviations from these models in actual behavior. He links social organization with the processes of fission that produce new villages and the alliances that are created in response to the threat of annihilation, reinforced and validated by the mutual ceding of women between villages. Social organization is presented not as an abstraction but as a dynamic process interrelated with other significant dimensions of life. The anthropological novice will find the analysis of social organization detailed but, with close attention, entirely understandable. The more experienced anthropological reader will grasp the full theoretical implications of the analysis and will find the author's references to various debates in the anthropological literature stimulating.

of them anxious to help me and honor bound to show any visitor the numerous courtesies of their system of etiquette. In short, they approached the image of primitive man that I had conjured up, and it was sheer pleasure to work with them. The recent work by Colin Turnbull (1966) brings out dramatically the contrast in personal characteristics of two African peoples he has studied.

Hence, what I say about some of my experiences is probably equally true of the experiences of many other fieldworkers. I write about my own experiences because there is a conspicuous lack of fieldwork descriptions available to potential fieldworkers. I think I could have profited by reading about the private misfortunes of my own teachers; at least I might have been able to avoid some of the more stupid errors I made. In this regard there are a number of recent contributions by fieldworkers describing some of the discomforts and misfortunes they themselves sustained.[3] Students planning to conduct fieldwork are urged to consult them.

My first day in the field illustrated to me what my teachers meant when they spoke of "culture shock." I had traveled in a small, aluminum rowboat propelled by a large outboard motor for two and a half days. This took me from the Territorial capital, a small town on the Orinoco River, deep into Yąnomamö country. On the morning of the third day we reached a small mission settlement, the field "headquarters" of a group of Americans who were working in two Yąnomamö villages. The missionaries had come out of these villages to hold their annual conference on the progress of their mission work, and were conducting their meetings when I arrived. We picked up a passenger at the mission station, James P. Barker, the first non-Yąnomamö to make a sustained, permanent contact with the tribe (in 1950). He had just returned from a year's furlough in the United States, where I had earlier visited him before leaving for Venezuela. He agreed to accompany me to the village I had selected for my base of operations to introduce me to the Indians. This village was also his own home base, but he had not been there for over a year and did not plan to join me for another three months. Mr. Barker had been living with this particular group about five years.

We arrived at the village, Bisaasi-teri, about 2:00 PM and docked the boat along the muddy bank at the terminus of the path used by the Indians to fetch their drinking water. It was hot and muggy, and my clothing was soaked with perspiration. It clung uncomfortably to my body, as it did thereafter for the remainder of the work. The small, biting gnats were out in astronomical numbers, for it was the beginning of the dry season. My face and hands were swollen from the venom of their numerous stings. In just a few moments I was to meet my first Yąnomamö, my first primitive man. What would it be like? I had visions of entering the village and seeing 125 social facts running about calling each other kinship terms and sharing food, each waiting and anxious to have me collect his genealogy. I would wear them out in turn. Would they like me? This was important to me; I wanted them to be so fond of me that they would adopt me into their kinship system and way of life, because I had heard that successful anthropologists always get adopted by their people. I had learned during my seven years of

[3] Maybury-Lewis 1967, "Introduction," and 1965*b*; Turnbull, 1966; L. Bohannan, 1964. Perhaps the most intimate account of the tribulations of a fieldworker is found in the posthumous diary of Bronislaw Malinowski (1967). Since the diary was not written for publication, it contains many intimate, very personal details about the writers' anxieties and hardships.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

anthropological training at the University of Michigan that kinship was equivalent to society in primitive tribes and that it was a moral way of life, "moral" being something "good" and "desirable." I was determined to work my way into their moral system of kinship and become a member of their society.

My heart began to pound as we approached the village and heard the buzz of activity within the circular compound. Mr. Barker commented that he was anxious to see if any changes had taken place while he was away and wondered how many of them had died during his absence. I felt into my back pocket to make sure that my notebook was still there and felt personally more secure when I touched it. Otherwise, I would not have known what to do with my hands.

The entrance to the village was covered over with brush and dry palm leaves. We pushed them aside to expose the low opening to the village. The excitement of meeting my first Indians was almost unbearable as I duck-waddled through the low passage into the village clearing.

I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous, and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses. We arrived at the village while the men were blowing a hallucinogenic drug up their noses. One of the side effects of the drug is a runny nose. The mucus is always saturated with the green powder and the Indians usually let it run freely from their nostrils. My next discovery was that there were a dozen or so vicious, underfed dogs snapping at my legs, circling me as if I were going to be their next meal. I just stood there holding my notebook, helpless and pathetic. Then the stench of the decaying vegetation and filth struck me and I almost got sick. I was horrified. What sort of a welcome was this for the person who came here to live with you and learn your way of life, to become friends with you? They put their weapons down when they recognized Barker and returned to their chasing, keeping a nervous eye on the village entrances.

We had arrived just after a serious fight. Seven women had been abducted the day before by a neighboring group, and the local men and their guests had just that morning recovered five of them in a brutal club fight that nearly ended in a shooting war. The abductors, angry because they lost five of the seven captives, vowed to raid the Bisiasi-teri. When we arrived and entered the village unexpectedly, the Indians feared that we were the raiders. On several occasions during the next two hours the men in the village jumped to their feet, armed themselves, and waited nervously for the noise outside the village to be identified. My enthusiasm for collecting ethnographic curiosities diminished in proportion to the number of times such an alarm was raised. In fact, I was relieved when Mr. Barker suggested that we sleep across the river for the evening. It would be safer over there.

As we walked down the path to the boat, I pondered the wisdom of having decided to spend a year and a half with this tribe before I had even seen what they were like. I am not ashamed to admit, either, that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next day when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever decided to switch from civil en-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that I had to become very much like the Yąnomamö to be able to get along with them on their terms: sly, aggressive, and intimidating.

Had I failed to adjust in this fashion I would have lost six months of supplies to them in a single day or would have spent most of my time ferrying them around in my canoe or hunting for them. As it was, I did spend a considerable amount of time doing these things and did succumb to their outrageous demands for axes and machetes, at least at first. More importantly, had I failed to demonstrate that I could not be pushed around beyond a certain point, I would have been the subject of far more ridicule, theft, and practical jokes than was the actual case. In short, I had to acquire a certain proficiency in their kind of interpersonal politics and to learn how to imply subtly that certain potentially undesirable consequences might follow if they did such and such to me. They do this to each other in order to establish precisely the point at which they cannot goad an individual any further without precipitating retaliation. As soon as I caught on to this and realized that much of their aggression was stimulated by their desire to discover my flash point, I got along much better with them and regained some lost ground. It was sort of like a political game that everyone played, but one in which each individual sooner or later had to display some sign that his bluffs and implied threats could be backed up. I suspect that the frequency of wife beating is a component of this syndrome, since men can display their ferocity and show others that they are capable of violence. Beating a wife with a club is considered to be an acceptable way of displaying ferocity and one that does not expose the male to much danger. The important thing is that the man has displayed his potential for violence and the implication is that other men better treat him with respect and caution.

After six months, the level of demand was tolerable in the village I used for my headquarters. The Indians and I adjusted to each other and knew what to expect with regard to demands on their part for goods, favors, and services. Had I confined my fieldwork to just that village alone, the field experience would have been far more enjoyable. But, as I was interested in the demographic pattern and social organization of a much larger area, I made regular trips to some dozen different villages in order to collect genealogies or to recheck those I already had. Hence, the intensity of begging and intimidation was fairly constant for the duration of the fieldwork. I had to establish my position in some sort of pecking order of ferocity at each and every village.

For the most part, my own "fierceness" took the form of shouting back at the Yąnomamö as loudly and as passionately as they shouted at me, especially at first, when I did not know much of their language. As I became more proficient in their language and learned more about their political tactics, I became more sophisticated in the art of bluffing. For example, I paid one young man a machete to cut palm trees and make boards from the wood. I used these to fashion a platform in the bottom of my dugout canoe to keep my possessions dry when I traveled by river. That afternoon I was doing informant work in the village; the long-awaited mission supply boat arrived, and most of the Indians ran out of the village to beg goods from the crew. I continued to work in the village for another hour or so and went down to the river to say "hello" to the men on the supply boat. I was angry when I discovered that the Indians had chopped up all my palm boards and used them to paddle their own canoes[8] across the river. I knew that if

[8]The canoes were obtained from missionaries, who, in turn, got them from a different tribe.

114 I overlooked this incident I would have invited them to take even greater liberties with
123 my goods in the future. I crossed the river, docked amidst their dugouts, and shouted for the Indians to come out and see me. A few of the culprits appeared, mischievous grins on their faces. I gave a spirited lecture about how hard I had worked to put those boards in my canoe, how I had paid a machete for the wood, and how angry I was that they destroyed my work in their haste to cross the river. I then pulled out my hunting knife and, while their grins disappeared, cut each of their canoes loose, set it into the current, and let them float away. I left without further ado and without looking back.

They managed to borrow another canoe and, after some effort, retrieved their dugouts. The headman of the village later told me with an approving chuckle that I had done the correct thing. Everyone in the village, except, of course, the culprits, supported and defended my action. This raised my status.

Whenever I took such action and defended my rights, I got along much better with the Yąnomamö. A good deal of their behavior toward me was directed with the forethought of establishing the point at which I would react defensively. Many of them later reminisced about the early days of my work when I was "timid" and a little afraid of them, and they could bully me into giving goods away.

Theft was the most persistent situation that required me to take some sort of defensive action. I simply could not keep everything I owned locked in trunks, and the Indians came into my hut and left at will. I developed a very effective means for recovering almost all the stolen items. I would simply ask a child who took the item and then take that person's hammock when he was not around, giving a spirited lecture to the others as I marched away in a faked rage with the thief's hammock. Nobody ever attempted to stop me from doing this, and almost all of them told me that my technique for recovering my possessions was admirable. By nightfall the thief would either appear with the stolen object or send it along with someone else to make an exchange. The others would heckle him for getting caught and being forced to return the item.

121 With respect to collecting the data I sought, there was a very frustrating problem.
124 Primitive social organization is kinship organization, and to understand the Yąnomamö
55 way of life I had to collect extensive genealogies. I could not have deliberately picked
114 a more difficult group to work with in this regard: They have very stringent name taboos. They attempt to name people in such a way that when the person dies and they can no longer use his name, the loss of the word in the language is not inconvenient. Hence, they name people for specific and minute parts of things, such as "toenail of some rodent," thereby being able to retain the words "toenail" and "(specific) rodent," but not being able to refer directly to the toenail of that rodent. The taboo is maintained even for the living. One mark of prestige is the courtesy others show you by not using your name. The sanctions behind the taboo seem to be an unusual combination of fear and respect.

114 I tried to use kinship terms to collect genealogies at first, but the kinship terms
123 were so ambiguous that I ultimately had to resort to names. They were quick to grasp
124 that I was bound to learn everybody's name and reacted, without my knowing it, by
60 inventing false names for everybody in the village. After having spent several months
55 collecting names and learning them, this came as a disappointment to me: I could not cross-check the genealogies with other informants from distant villages.

3

Social Organization

128 THREE ASPECTS of Yąnomamö social organization will be dealt with: the ideal rules about marriage and the logical consequence of these rules—actual cases of Yąnomamö marriage are compared to the pattern of ideal marriage to justify the use of a model to describe Yąnomamö social structure; the demographic and political factors that bring about discrepancies between actual behavior and ideal behavior; the more important aspects of the division of labor and of ordinary daily life in the society.

Social Structure

121 128 [582] [602] This section is the most technical portion of the chapter; careful study of the diagrams is required as the text is read. Kinship is the heart of primitive social structure, and it must be understood in detail rather than through generalities. The rules governing marriage, along with the kinship system, together comprise and delineate the structure of Yąnomamö society. There is no simple way to present the data, which itself is frequently boring to even accomplished anthropologists, and students of anthropology must sooner or later come to grips with this important topic. Fortunately, the Yąnomamö kinship system is the type most commonly found among the world's primitives and it is, comparatively speaking, quite easy to grasp once the patterns in the diagram are spotted.

128 The important features of Yąnomamö social structure are represented in the model shown in Fig. 3-1. This diagram is based on an analysis of Yąnomamö marriage rules, kinship terminology, and other social and ideological features characteristic of their behavior. The symbols given in the legend of Fig. 3-1 will also be used in the diagrams that follow. It should be borne in mind that the model is only an ideal representation of Yąnomamö society; we shall see below how closely actual behavior conforms to this model. One of the objectives of structural anthropology is to attempt comparisons of different kinds of societies by using models of this type. In the discussions that follow I shall present some actual field data to justify the use of this model to represent Yąnomamö social structure.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4

Political Alliances, Trading and Feasting

YĄNOMAMÖ FEASTS take place only when one sovereign group entertains the members of another, allied group. Feasts, in brief, are political events. To be sure, economic and ceremonial implications are also significant, but these are relatively minor when compared to the functions of the feast in the context of forming alliances. The chief purpose of entertaining allies is to reaffirm and cultivate intervillage solidarity in the intimate, sociable context of food presentations, thereby putting the ally under obligation to reciprocate the feast in his own village at a later date, bringing about another feast and even more solidarity.

I will describe in this chapter some of the relationships between trade, economic specialization, historical ties between groups, warfare, and intervillage marriage exchanges, all of which are intimately connected and interact with each other in the process of developing political alliances.

I described in Chapter 2 how the members of independent villages cultivated friendships with each other in the process of establishing themselves in a loose network of allied villages. I then showed in Chapter 3 how Kąobawä's followers were related to him and how he, in turn, was related to the members of several other villages. Now I will take up some of the political consequences of the historical ties and how they shape and mould the nature of specific contemporary relationships between Kąobawä's group and those which have political dealings with it. To illustrate this, I will describe the details of a particular feast in the context of the political ties, both historical and contemporary, existing between Kąobawä's group and the guests at the feast. First, however, I will comment on Yąnomamö alliances in general.

General Features of Alliances

One of the expectations and implications of alliance is that the partners are under obligation to provide shelter and sustenance to each other whenever one of them is driven from his village and garden by a powerful enemy. The beleaguered partner may be

2: Becher--i E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/V/

Foreword

114. 101 This monograph contains the results of a nine-month investigation which I conducted from October 1955 to June 1956 among two Indian tribes of northwest Brazil which are as yet unknown to science.

121 My journey and the analysis of its results were made possible through the generous support of the Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft /German Research Association/, for which I am deeply indebted to it.

114 I should like cordially to thank my esteemed teacher, Herr Prof. Dr. Franz Termer, for regarding this work, the completion of which he supported actively and in an advisory capacity, worthy of inclusion in the series of reports of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/.

I was encouraged by Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, head of the study division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, to seek out these as yet uninvestigated tribes north of the middle Rio Negro. [122] Through his efforts I also obtained the approval of the Director and was given all possible assistance by this organization founded by Marshal Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, as well as a free flight with a military plane from Rio de Janeiro to Manaus. Hence I feel a sincere desire to express my gratitude to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, especially to Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro and the Brazilian Air Force.

122 I thank the University of São Paulo, above all the Dean, Herr Dr. Paulo Sawaya, and the Assistant Dean Herr Prof. Dr. Antonio Soares Amora, for granting me a stipend from June 1954 to September 1955, which made it possible for me to broaden my knowledge of Brazilian ethnology under such outstanding scholars as Herr Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and Herr Prof. Dr. Egon Schaden and to prepare myself thoroughly for the subsequent work in the field. To these two gentlemen I shall remain deeply indebted.

114 Valuable advice which was very useful to me on my expedition was given me by Herr Prof. Dr. med. Henrique da Rocha Lima (†).

/V cont./

114 as well as by Herr Prof. Dr. José Antonio Benton, Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Saake, S.V.D., Herr Harald Schultz and Frau Wilma, all of São Paulo.

I found helpful assistance in Manaus on the part of Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, the head of the I. Inspetoria Regional do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as in the small German colony there on the part of the families of Prof. Dr. Harald Sioli, Kurt Polack, and Gerhard Lindenberg.

122 With profound gratitude I mention my kind friends, the
123 Surára and Pakidái Indians, who were so hospitable to me and indefatigably helpful in my work; they are primarily the ones who deserve credit for the successful outcome of the undertaking.
[115] Above all the Surára chief Hewemão and his brothers Kurikayawõ and Inxinemá, my little interpreter Jibeauwõ (see p. 258), and the Pakidái chief Karenauõ and the war chief Porẽhiwõ deserve special mention here.

I also owe much to my faithful servant, the Tukano /Tucano/ Indian Mateus Dias, a member of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Rio Demini. He was an indispensable helper to me in all emergencies during these nine months.

/VI/ I am likewise very much indebted, however, to the Brazilian country people on the Rio Negro and on the Demini and Aracá rivers, as well as to the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini and the mission station of the Salesians in Barcelos. No matter where I went, I was shown such hospitality as is scarcely imaginable. Mention should be made here above all of the Spanish planter, Manuel Antonio Gómez, of the Rio Aracá, and the German nun, Klara Jakob, of the Salesian mission in Barcelos, who devotedly nursed me during my attacks of malaria. Equal thanks are due the physicians and sisters in the Hospital de Isolamento "Emilio Ribas" in São Paulo, where, after my return, I was treated without charge for two months and cured of a serious liver infection.

114 I thank Herr Dr. Koch and Herr Müller of the Bayer branch
122 in Rio de Janeiro for the medicines they donated. This made it possible for me to help many sick Indians and caboclos and to alleviate my own sufferings.

/135 cont./

114 however, Čiriana and Čapakura are still to be regarded as two
197 independent linguistic groups.

128 In the following, only a small selection of Surára words
197 are offered, along with the corresponding words of Waika (according to Schuster) (16), Karimé (according to Salathé, 1932),

• [122]

16. My sincerest thanks are due Herr Dr. Meinhard Schuster, Frankfurt, for the willingness with which he put at my disposal an excerpt of the Waika linguistic material that he is working on.

Širianá (according to Koch-Grünberg, 1928), and Warema (according to Visci, 1956), in order to illustrate the close relationship that exists between these languages. The chief criterion for the selection was the availability of documented forms in the five languages; moreover, care was also taken to draw on words of a "non-cultural" nature for the most part, that is, /136/ those that are not so frequently taken over by neighboring languages and thus -- if agreeing morphologically and in meaning -- represent stronger proof of the genetic relationship of the languages compared. Becher's linguistic notes were made chiefly with Surára
114 informants; for the designations of body parts, however, there were also additional forms (marked by P) which a Pakidái informant gave him.

104 The transcription of the five lists has been standardized;
194 that of Karimé has also been simplified somewhat by the fact that two h̲ and ʃ̲ sounds not adequately described by Salathé have been reproduced simply as h̲ and ʃ̲. With respect to the transcription, the following should be noted: ə̲ = middle, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ɨ̲ = high, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ã̲, etc. = nasal vowel; ɛ = open e̲; š̲ = unvoiced, alveopalatal fricative; x̲ = unvoiced, palatal fricative; ? = glottal stop; : = length for the previous sound.

Guahibo SC14 Sanema
Yabarana 5522 Saliva 5515
Makiritare 5520 Panare 5521

/13 cont./ searching primarily for a new source of food and not so much for a better means of communication. The typical Venezuelan Caribe, at least at the present time, is a man who loves land (Pemón, Cariña, Panare, Yabarana, Yupa), and the Makiritare, river men, represent an exception among them.

According to the relative importance which the river has among the different tribes, nuclei of them are found along the principal aquatic arteries, such as those of the Makiritare, or at a distance from them, on the tributaries and headwaters, as among the Panare, Yabarana, Guahibo, and Sanemá. This circumstance is of the utmost importance for the study of these Indians. The farther away they live from the river, the more difficult it is to make contact and to live with them. Thus the Panare are even less known than are the Makiritare and the Piaroa, and we are presenting in the present report the first relatively ample information on the Sanemá and Yabarana. /14/ /Map appears here./

/15/ The three weeks which we spent among the Panare were very laborious, and the time among the Sanemá was very hard physically.

In spite of these difficulties, which in comparison with those of a voyage at the beginning of the century are insignificant, the zone is open for any type of communication. One can go by airplane to Caicara, Puerto Ayacucho, San Juan de Manapiare, and Cucurí (between the Tenqua and Oso Falls). Thus, for a special study of the Panare one can go from Caracas to Caicara on a flight of a few hours and then continue by jeep and arrive on the same day at the first bohio of the Panare. In order to study the Piaroa, one goes by airplane as far as Puerto Ayacucho and then on by foot or by curiara. The Yabarana can be visited in the dry season, going by regular flight to Puerto Ayacucho and from there to San Juan de Manapiare by a flight lasting 30 minutes in a small plane. One reaches the houses of the Yabarana on the same say, and in two days more the "Monteros," the most autochthonous of this tribe. In order to reach Makiritare territory and the Sanemá of the upper Ventuari, one goes by airplane to Puerto Ayacucho on a regular flight and then on to Cacurí on a flight lasting 50 minutes more or less in a small plane. In

[text continues on p. 6]

Y /15 cont./

● 122 no case are more than three or four days needed in order to get
M to the site of study, and the cost is relatively low. The Waica
[122] and Samatari live in a remote corner of Venezuela. On a recent trip, however, we left Caracas at seven in the morning and were among the Waica of the Padamo at five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. We spent five hours flying and three in a fast curiara.

On a reconnaissance trip of long duration, such as the one we made for this present report, one needs to go more slowly in a curiara, stopping among the tribes, streams, and mountains. The only zone difficult to reach is that of the "Monteros" and
Y Chicano of the Sierra Guamapí.

The Orinoco-Ventuari region represents the secondary
133 western massif /macizo/ of the Macizo de Guayana, with eleva-
122 tions above 2,000 meters. The most difficult ascent in the region was the zone south of the Raudal Alto on the Cuchivero, toward the Sierra Guamapí, and the ford of the Salto Mono on the Upper Ventuari, where the level rises to more than 1,500 meters (cf. physical map /see p. 7 /). The traversing of the Salto Mono, particularly the ascent during the rainy season, is an extremely
M dangerous stretch, and one must spend at least a whole day to
[482] go and six hours to return. The Makiritare go up in six hours and
[482] come down in four hours with a load of 20-30 kilograms on their backs. We came down with 20 Sanemá and 30 Makiritare in only five hours, but such a marathon is extremely tiring. On the other hand, to cross the Mono in two days is an extraordinarily beautiful excursion because of the characteristics of this mountain and its gigantic forest, which at times allows an open view /16/ /map
M appears here/ /17/ and one can gaze on an enchanting panorama.
122 The Makiritare keep the wide path (over two meters) always open
[487] and in good repair, and at the upper port they built a house in
[485] which to rest and spend the night. There one finds curiaras with
[501] which one can follow the river to the Makiritare and Sanemá rancherías located on the headwaters of the same. From the port of Mono upriver as far as the headwaters there are no further obstacles for navigation, and the river permits easy access to all the Makiritare villages of the Upper Ventuari. We call Upper

[text continues on p. 8]

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS OF THE WAICA INDIANS OF VENEZUELA.[1]

MIGUEL LAYRISSE, ZULAY LAYRISSE, AND JOHANNES WILBERT

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

128 INTRODUCTION: For the purpose of the present paper we would like to classify the Waica as a subcribe of the Yanoama tribe, the ethnic identification and the internal composition of which appears to be but little understood. Although the actual blood group study will be concerned with the Waica Indians most particularly, we shall, nevertheless, include as well some information on the Yanoama tribe in general. This, we trust, will not only serve to locate the specific Waica data within a wider frame of reference, but also to facilitate the comprehension of the theoretical considerations based thereon.

131 *Ethnic identification.* The Yanoama inhabit a very extensive area between 0°30'-5° N and 62°-65° W, which includes the headwaters of the Paragua, Caura, Venturi, Padamo, Ocamo, Mavaca, and Orinoco rivers of Venezuela, as well as those of the Uraricuera, Catrimani, Dimini, and Araçá rivers of Brazil. The Sierra Parima crosses this heavily forested territory like a vertebral column, so to speak, and marks at the same time the frontier between the Venezuelan and the Brazilian parts of the Yanoama land (see map, Fig. 1).

101 The Yanoama are surrounded by Tropical Forest Indians with Neo-Indian culture types; Cariban tribes enclose them in a semi-circle to the northeast, while Arawakan peoples bound them in a semicircle to the southwest. Thus, the Yanoama seem to have been functioning as a buffer between the Caribs and the Arawak, successfully resisting any attempts of intrusion by such groups as the Sanz (Maiongong), the Pemon, and others. In recent years, after their Carib neighbours had suffered a marked decline in numbers and in strength, the Yanoama ventured northward into the Venturi, Caura, and Paragua drainage area, intruding into Carib territory for more than 100 km.

114 Although sporadic and rather casual information on the several Yanoama groups have been published by various authors since early Colonial time, it is only

122 1 We wish to thank Dr A. Bori and Odilo Castillo (División de Malariología, Ministerio de Sanidad, Venezuela) and the Misión Salesiana of the Territorio Federal Amazonas for their collaboration in collecting the blood samples. We are also indebted to Esperanza García for her technical assistance. We are greatly indebted to J. P. O'Riordan (The National Blood Transfusion Association, Dublin), M. Shapiro (The South African Blood Transfusion Service, Johannesburg), R. R. Rosenfield (The Mount Sinai Hospital, New York), and Alvin Mauer (The Minneapolis Memorial Blood Bank, Minnesota) for supplying us with critical anti-sera.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 idea, so I kept my eye on the lady in case developments came quicker than was expected.

The day arrived when I believed my silent surveillance would be crowned with success. Actually I had fallen into an innocent error. By way of compensation, I certainly got a good laugh out of it. I had tailed the woman along a path fairly new to me, which she had taken as if she had no wish to advertise her whereabouts. I knew the path in its early stages, but had always assumed that it ended in a thick clump of bushes, progress being further discouraged by a big fallen tree-trunk. But when I reached this obstacle I saw no sign of my quarry. I then saw that the tree-trunk could be pushed aside, to reveal a fork in the path. From this point the track was well-worn, leading a good distance away from the hut. It didn't need much mental effort for me to realise what a clumsy mistake I had made. Behind a tree an Indian was attending to Nature's needs. I had ended up in the Guaycas' privy. The old man sent up a growl of protest at this intrusion of a bearded one in the sacred retreat. The only thing left to me was to turn back, with the air of having wandered there by chance.

514 It is interesting to observe that the Indians, while generally immodest to the point of indecency, regard the bodily functions as a matter for reticence and secrecy. They squat like women to urinate and for other purposes seek some remote and hidden place, as if well aware of the defencelessness of their situation at these moments. Thus they obey not only the all-important principles of hygiene, but those of security: and in a world like theirs, security is the more important.

123 That same day we witnessed another interesting operation, if one of a different nature. On the morrow we were to start for Llanturilla and the Shirians had already prepared a good supply of bananas and *mapuri* which they were bringing up in another boat. On the eve of this expedition every man jack we had engaged for it had disappeared—except Luis Antonio, who was swinging in his hammock with the public woman at his side.

[122] [302] 'They've gone to get their hair cut in the other hut,' he told me, when I asked where they all could be—for all the world as if he was saying: 'They're at the barber's shop round the corner.'

302 123 We went off to the other hut, anxious to see the fun. It was Caio's turn. He was squatting on the ground in front of a pimply young woman who must have been his wife. She was giving him a perfect pudding-basin haircut, using instead of scissors the nails of her thumb and forefinger, which with the Indians

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

are extremely strong. One quick nip did all that was necessary, and the nails worked with the precision of a pair of hairclippers. Beside her she had a little heap of fine ash, into which she dipped her fingers after every two or three nips. Hairs which interfered with the desired style were plucked out in a manner which might have been expected to bring cries of pain from the patient, but Caio only smiled his usual sweet smile, as if he was apologizing for causing so much trouble.

This operation went on for a good many hours, and we didn't see the end of it. But that evening Caio, Sempronio, and Narcissus trooped into the big hut, proudly displaying haircuts of an enviable perfection.

V

Delay appeared to be the order of the day on the island. Uarema's brother, the elderly one, failed to show up. We were waiting for him because we hoped he might prove a source of further information, and there was also a possibility that he might come with us, taking the place of the expectant father. We passed the time swimming, and walking through the Sooo plantations, which had now been almost strangled by the forest. After turning over practically every leaf, we found a few ripe pawpaws and plenty of *tapi*. The first-named is almost a wild fruit in this region: the Indians cultivate a small type no bigger than an orange but full of flavour. The second is the doubtful fruit of one of the solanaceæ, in shape, colour and flavour halfway between a tomato and a melon. We cooked these sometimes with salt, sometimes with sugar, and turned them into a kind of marmalade. At the first tasting it aroused our enthusiasm, but at the next it made us sick. We were forced to find some substitute for our provisions, now reduced to very small quantities: we had no rice, tinned meat or white flour left, besides being out of other more important commodities, but we still had plenty of coffee—though not sugar—and salt and powdered milk.

All our expeditions from now on, especially the Samatari venture which we were silently preparing, would have to rely on hunting and fishing for supplies. All we could take with us was coffee, which Enrico and I could drink unsweetened, and plenty of salt, with a little powdered milk 'in case of sickness', we told each other cheerfully. For this contingency, we didn't lack for medical supplies. As always, we had more than we could comfortably carry.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

122 ●

It did not take us a great deal of time to organize the expedition. The question of food supplies didn't arise. We had given the little we had left to Jean. We were going among the Samatari like Samatari ourselves. The forest land of Uagna and the Rio Branco was waiting for us with its tapirs and its deer, serenely at pasture in the rich water-grass; with its ripened fruits falling from the trees into streams of dark water; with its birds whose crops were full of that fruit, and its fish which no barbasco had threatened for decades now, ever since the Guayca migrated to the north; with its fat grubs forming white silken cocoons in the trees. In the sharpness of our longing for the uncharted scene and for peoples still unknown, we saw ourselves already, in our imagination, plunging into the hidden depths of the forest, and the forest, in its turn, taking us to its bosom like a mother, boundlessly wise, providing for all our needs.

Hashimo arrived the next day and so far as we could judge from the preparations he had made and the quantity of arrows he was carrying, he had decided to come with us. So began the palavers between the four of us—Enrico and I on one side, Uarema and Hashimo on the other. We went into everything. Hashimo had lived as a boy in the region we wanted to explore; he knew the Samatari and at times he claimed to be on friendly terms with them, so that it was he more than anyone who knew the problems we might have to face. From the Samatari 'gate', which we had already seen on the Uagna, our path lay over exactly thirty-two hills. The Indian made the same gesture as he would have used to greet us and numbered them off with his hand, his eyes closed and the whole scene passing in front of his mind's eye. Thirty-two—not one less—and some so high that the speaker groaned with exhaustion as he enumerated them, as if he were trying to push some great stone over the top. After these hills, which would mean a six days' march from the landing, one reached the River Araccua. After descending that, there was the Parima (the Shirian name for the Upper Uraricoera), as far as a big falls. Then more *pilikio* and *manoshi* —daily stages and night stops—and landmarks on the way, until the traveller came to the Samatari. [103]

Considering that this people ranged like monkeys over a region which extended for hundreds of miles, we could not understand how he could be so definite about their present whereabouts—especially since he hadn't seen the place himself for many years. But the Indian mind is capable of subtleties beyond our imagining.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare 55 20

Arecoa. There was something about the ring of the name. At last I pinned it down. I had seen it in an account of the journeys made by a certain Theodor Koch-Grünberg—a German who from 1911 to 1913 made a long trip from the Roraima savannah to the Upper Orinoco. He left a record of it in a famous five-volume work—a worthy monument to his venture. In Makiritari, *awarra* means 'gum': it is a corruption of the old Spanish word *arcabuco*—arquebus. Koch-Grünberg had reached its mouth, and it was here that he made his first contact with the Shirianas. Unfortunately he was unable to keep in touch with them for any length of time and only visited the isolated elements he met with in the course of his journey.

This German explorer naturally made the expedition in the company of Makushi and Makiritari Indians, who live in holy terror of the tribes they call Guaharibo. Their fear may not always be justified, for a good many Guaharibo have now settled down to a mild and perfectly harmless way of life. But they still arouse a rancorous contempt in other tribes. Koch-Grünberg returned to the same region eleven years later, when he made the journey up the Rio Branco, irresistibly drawn towards these people whom he could not understand and whom he described in his book as forming an '*isolierte Gruppe*'—an isolated group, with no affinities to other races. But at the very gateway of their world he died of fever, and his expedition (which had been organized by Hamilton-Rice) after losing its chief, packed its bags and turned south again.

VI

We left for the Samatari country on March 16th, accompanied by Ucerma, Sempronio, and Hashimo, the latter's fee as guide being nothing less than my own fur jacket. Caio, for some inexplicable reason, had quietly declined to come with us. We embarked in a canoe acquired from Pancho's father, and in this swift, light craft we made easy progress up the flooded Merevari.

Heavy rain set in, for whole days at a time. Progress slowed down. The Indians grew weary and there was no more singing and laughter from them. The second evening out, when we had slung our hammocks in a hut we had made on an earlier trip, Luis Antonio told us that his brother wanted to quit: there was not enough curare—we had brought about twenty pounds.

"You had time to prepare as much as you wanted," I answered him shortly,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Pulipuli—the only one then known to exist—could pick out an assassin from a group of ten men gathered for his ceremonies of exorcism. After a few passes made by the wizard, the guilty man lost his hair at one fell swoop, and was thus unmasked.

Endowed as I was with unimaginable powers, I became the *labalia*. I was called 'Labalieman'. My watch, by the aid of which I could see the passing of the hours, predict the weather, forestall the course of journeys and cure certain ills (by applying it to the affected part) had also been promoted. No longer was it mere medicine-man's magic, but labalia's magic.

VI

We were now an integral part of the Samatari tribe and in certain respects their moral leaders. The chief, glorying in his (our) red drawers, gave us the benefit of strange daily discourses in which he seemed to be inviting us to take part in his counsels and share in the planning of tribal activities. I had begun to learn the language, which had already interested me in the Casiraouni days, and was able to reply with a few more or less appropriate words, hoping that they would fit in with what I imagined he was talking about. My efforts were generally crowned with success and everyone shouted with glee at the sight of a white man speaking Shirian.

The world the Indians know, within the limits of their primitive conception, is a boundless forest criss-crossed by rivers and water-courses flowing in every direction. The final destination of these streams is not understood, or even thought of. In the centre of this forest is the tribe itself. Over there are other Indians, known only to few and spoken of from time to time. Somewhere in the same forest there are Indians with beards and clothes, outboard motors and guns—terrible Indians, tall in stature and always bad, angry men: such is the first impression occidentals make on these more apathetic wild peoples. The two of us, envoys of these distant Indians, had shown that we were not such bad men, and not in such a perpetual rage. In all humility and simplicity, we had become part and parcel of the Samatari themselves, and they on their side did not lack a real and disinterested friendliness towards us, as witness the behaviour of the boys, our admirers, who never lost a chance of overwhelming us with their kindness. That I should speak their language was the most wonderful

/433 cont./

121 Messrs. Eugene Higdem, Byron Reihart, and Joe Jenkins, and the late Flora Troxel.

124 The information concerning the area of Brazil inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ has been gathered from oral reports made to me by several men who said that they had worked upstream /434/ on the rivers of Brazil, within or near Guaika Territory. This information, although fragmentary and not absolutely certain, has helped us nevertheless to form a more complete picture of the Guaika tribe as a whole.

Orientation

101
131 The Guaika /Waica/ tribe inhabits the region of the Upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the outlet of the Ocamo River, including also the south bank of the Ocamo itself. In addition, the Guaika tribe extends into the territory of Brazil, occupying the headwaters of several tributaries of the Branco and Negro rivers (see the map /see p. 6 /).

The tribe located to the north, the Guajaribo /Guaharibo/, inhabits the north bank of the Ocamo River, the valley of the Padamo River, and the headwaters of the Caura River, and is also found in Brazil on the headwaters of the Uraricoera River, a tributary of the Branco River. The Guajaribo come downriver frequently as far as La Esmeralda, and on occasion even come as far as the mouth of the Cunucunuma River. It has been reported that they have been seen as far to the east as the Paragua River in the state of Bolívar (see map).

197 The Guaika and Guajaribo Indians speak the same language, but there are several observable dialectical differences which make it possible to distinguish immediately by their speech whether they belong to the one group or to the other. I make this observation on the basis of my studies of the Guaika language spoken in El Platanal and its comparison with samples of the Guajaribo dialect collected by Flora Troxel and by me in La Esmeralda and Ioeitedi.

[121]
[122]

9:Grellier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

forward to meet him and he introduced himself as James Barker of the Evangelist Mission of San Fernando de Atabapo. He told me that he and a companion now up at the village had been living with the Waikas for the past seven months. He added that the Indians had sunk the boat in which they had come so that they were now quite isolated. He spoke their language fluently and his attitude to them was that of an indulgent schoolmaster.

I told him of our desire to see the village and he spoke about it to the Waikas. They were at once suspicious and reluctant; even when they eventually agreed, agreement was far from unanimous. Nevertheless, we fell in behind Barker and marched up a slippery path so muddy that I began to envy the forest people their nakedness. We came to a recently made clearing which had been cleared by fire and I tried to slip away up a little-used path. At once the Indians objected, their vehemence suggesting that the plantation to which the path probably led hid many wonderful secrets.

After twenty minutes of marching we came to a fence in a clearing. The fence was made of stakes lashed together forming a perfect circle. I thought this must be the village but we passed it by. A hundred yards beyond we came to another similar enclosure and this time our guides led us inside. As we entered I remembered what Pierre Ivanoff had told me of an earlier occasion when he and three companions had succeeded in reaching a Waika village. The first enclosure we had just seen was undoubtedly the counterpart of the one in which he had been forced to dance with his hosts before being allowed to go on to the second. In the present instance the dance was omitted from our programme.

Inside the enclosure, which was some thirty yards across, huts were built with their backs to the palisade, leaving a circular space in the middle shaded by a big tree. The corner of each hut consisted of three stakes in the form of a tripod supporting horizontal rafters of green wood tied in place by lianas. Wide-eaved roofs were thatched with banana leaves. The circle of fencing was unbroken except for the single entry. A pungent, musty smell pervaded the place as we

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS[1]

OOO I am indebted to a number of the faculty members of the Anthropology Department for their guidance, counsel and personal attention during the course of my undergraduate and graduate program. In particular, I wish to express my gratitude to Professors Marvin J. Meggitt, Marshall D. Sahlins, Elman R. Service, Leslie A. White, and Eric R. Wolf for all they have done to assist me in planning and carrying out my curriculum and field work. Whatever may prove to be of worth in this dissertation derives ultimately from the training I received from them.

I owe special thanks to Dr. Robert L. Carneiro and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole for assisting me in particular phases of my field preparations and for the innumerable personal kindnesses they showed me before, during and after my field work among the Yanomamö.

114 a 122 During the seventeen months I spent in Venezuela planning and conducting my field work, a large number of people rendered me invaluable assistance. I wish to express my gratitude to the Staff of the Venezuelan Air Force Transport Group No. 6 for transporting me and my equipment into

[122] [1]This investigation was supported in part by a Public Health Service Predoctoral Fellowship F1 MH-25, 052, and an attached Research Grant MH 10575-01 BEH R04 from the National Institute of Mental Health.

114 and out of the Federal Territory of Amazonas, and to
122 Commander Dr. David Capriles of the Medical Section for assisting me in making these arrangements. I also wish to thank Dr. Armando Caballín T. of the Amazonas District of the Venezuelan Malaria Control Service (Malariología) for generously placing the facilities of that organization at my disposal, and for arranging the purchase and transportation of many of my supplies.

I am personally indebted to Dr. Marcel Roche, Director of the Venezuelan Institute of Scientific Research (I.V.I.C.), and to Dr. Miguel Layrisse, Chairman of the Physiopathology Department of that institute, for their cooperation in and assistance to my field work.

122 A number of Missionaries gave me invaluable assistance in the Yąnomamö language and generously placed the resources of their missions at my disposal. I particularly wish to thank Mr. James P. Barker and Mr. Cecil Neese of the New Tribes Mission, and Padre Luiz Cocco and Padre José Berno of the Salesian Mission for their generous aid.

115 I thank Kąobɨwä, headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for
124 his assistance and cooperation in the collection of some of the genealogical data; without his aid my data would have serious gaps.

I wish to thank Dr. James V. Neel, Chairman of the Department of Human Genetics at the University of Michigan, for encouraging and personally supporting my field work, and for generously making departmental office space available

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Acknowledgments

The research on which this monograph is based was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health Predoctoral Fellowship Fl MH-25-052 and attached grant MH 10575-01 BEH RO4 and an Atomic Energy Commission Area Grant AT(11-1)-1552. I am also indebted to the faculty and administration of Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Cientificas (I.V.I.C.) for their cooperation and support. I wish also to thank the members of the Staff of the Air Force of Venezuela and Brazil for transporting me and my equipment into and out of the Yanomamö area. I am equally indebted to the Venezuelan Malariologia personnel who arranged for the purchase and transportation of many of my supplies. My sincere thanks also to the members of the New Tribes Mission and Salesian Mission, whose kindness and cooperation made my field work more pleasant than it might otherwise have been. I am grateful to Professors Eric Wolf, Mervyn Meggitt, James Neel, Elman Service, and Leslie White of my Ph.D. committee for many useful suggestions; this monograph is based in part on my doctoral thesis, and their criticisms have been incorporated into the present work. I wish to thank Professors Marshall Sahlins, Eric Wolf, and Lévi-Strauss for reading earlier drafts of some of the chapters in the present monograph. I thank my wife Carlene for her patience in reading portions of the text and offering her helpful criticisms. Finally, I wish to thank my brother, Verdun P. Chagnon, for his artistic rendition of Figure 2-4.

NAPOLEON A. CHAGNON

Ann Arbor, Michigan
May 1968

[P. xii is blank]

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and way of life.

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ə] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-i] vowel are pronounced as that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąshowë would be pronounced "cow-ha-wuh," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114 123 gineering to anthropology in the first place. I had not eaten all day, I was soaking wet from perspiration, the gnats were biting me, and I was covered with red pigment, the result of a dozen or so complete examinations I had been given by as many burly Indians. [5x5] These examinations capped an otherwise grim day. The Indians would blow their noses into their hands, flick as much of the mucus off that would separate in a snap of the wrist, wipe the residue into their hair, and then carefully examine my face, arms, legs, hair, and the contents of my pockets. I asked Mr. Barker how to say "Your hands are dirty"; my comments were met by the Indians in the following way: They would "clean" their hands by spitting a quantity of slimy tobacco juice into them, rub them together, and then proceed with the examination.

Mr. Barker and I crossed the river and slung our hammocks. When he pulled his hammock out of a rubber bag, a heavy, disagreeable odor of mildewed cotton came with it. "Even the missionaries are filthy," I thought to myself. Within two weeks, everything I owned smelled the same way, and I lived with that odor for the remainder of the fieldwork. My own habits of personal cleanliness reached such levels that I didn't even mind being examined by the Indians, as I was not much cleaner than they were after I had adjusted to the circumstances.

So much for my discovery that primitive man is not the picture of nobility and sanitation I had conceived him to be. I soon discovered that it was an enormously time-consuming task to maintain my own body in the manner to which it had grown accustomed in the relatively antiseptic environment of the northern United States. Either I could be relatively well fed and relatively comfortable in a fresh change of clothes and do very little fieldwork, or, I could do considerably more fieldwork and be less well fed and less comfortable.

114 122 It is appalling how complicated it can be to make oatmeal in the jungle. First, I had to make two trips to the river to haul the water. Next, I had to prime my kerosene stove with alcohol and get it burning, a tricky procedure when you are trying to mix powdered milk and fill a coffee pot at the same time: the alcohol prime always burned out before I could turn the kerosene on, and I would have to start all over. Or, I would turn the kerosene on, hoping that the element was still hot enough to vaporize the fuel, and start a small fire in my palm-thatched hut as the liquid kerosene squirted all over the table and walls and ignited. It was safer to start over with the alcohol. Then I had to boil the oatmeal and pick the bugs out of it. All my supplies, of course, were carefully stored in Indian-proof, rat-proof, moisture-proof, and insect-proof containers, not one of which ever served its purpose adequately. Just taking things out of the multiplicity of containers and repacking them afterward was a minor project in itself. By the time I had hauled the water to cook with, unpacked my food, prepared the oatmeal, milk, and coffee, heated water for dishes, washed and dried the dishes, repacked the food in the containers, stored the containers in locked trunks and cleaned up my mess, the ceremony of preparing breakfast had brought me almost up to lunch time!

Eating three meals a day was out of the question. I solved the problem by eating a single meal that could be prepared in a single container, or, at most, in two containers, washed my dishes only when there were no clean ones left, using cold river water, and wore each change of clothing at least a week to cut down on my laundry problem, a courageous undertaking in the tropics. I was also less concerned about sharing my provisions with the rats, insects, Indians, and the elements, thereby eliminating the need

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

for my complicated storage process. I was able to last most of the day on *café con leche*, heavily sugared espresso coffee diluted about five to one with hot milk. I would prepare this in the evening and store it in a thermos. Frequently, my single meal was no more complicated than a can of sardines and a package of crackers. But at least two or three times a week I would do something sophisticated, like make oatmeal or boil rice and add a can of tuna fish or tomato paste to it. I even saved time by devising a water system that obviated the trips to the river. I had a few sheets of zinc roofing brought in and made a rain-water trap; I caught the water on the zinc surface, funneled it into an empty gasoline drum, and then ran a plastic hose from the drum to my hut. When the drum was exhausted in the dry season, I hired the Indians to fill it with water from the river.

I ate much less when I traveled with the Indians to visit other villages. Most of the time my travel diet consisted of roasted or boiled green plantains (see Glossary) that I obtained from the Indians, but I always carried a few cans of sardines with me in case I got lost or stayed away longer than I had planned. I found peanut butter and crackers a very nourishing food, and a simple one to prepare on trips. It was nutritious and portable, and only one tool was required to prepare the meal, a hunting knife that could be cleaned by wiping the blade on a leaf. More importantly, it was one of the few foods the Indians would let me eat in relative peace. It looked too much like animal feces to them to excite their appetites.

I once referred to the peanut butter as the dung of cattle. They found this quite repugnant. They did not know what "cattle" were, but were generally aware that I ate several canned products of such an animal. I perpetrated this myth, if for no other reason than to have some peace of mind while I ate. Fieldworkers develop strange defense mechanisms, and this was one of my own forms of adaptation. On another occasion I was eating a can of frankfurters and growing very weary of the demands of one of my guests for a share in my meal. When he asked me what I was eating, I replied: "Beef." He then asked, "What part of the animal are you eating?" to which I replied, "Guess!" He stopped asking for a share.

Meals were a problem in another way. Food sharing is important to the Yąnomamö in the context of displaying friendship. "I am hungry," is almost a form of greeting with them. I could not possibly have brought enough food with me to feed the entire village, yet they seemed not to understand this. All they could see was that I did not share my food with them at each and every meal. Nor could I enter into their system of reciprocities with respect to food; every time one of them gave me something "freely," he would dog me for months to pay him back, not with food, but with steel tools. Thus, if I accepted a plantain from someone in a different village while I was on a visit, he would most likely visit me in the future and demand a machete as payment for the time that he "fed" me. I usually reacted to these kinds of demands by giving a banana, the customary reciprocity in their culture—food for food—but this would be a disappointment for the individual who had visions of that single plantain growing into a machete over time.

Despite the fact that most of them knew I would not share my food with them at their request, some of them always showed up at my hut during mealtime. I gradually became accustomed to this and learned to ignore their persistent demands while I ate. Some of them would get angry because I failed to give in, but most of them accepted

/V cont./

114 as well as by Herr Prof. Dr. José Antonio Benton, Herr Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Saake, S.V.D., Herr Harald Schultz and Frau Wilma, all of São Paulo.

I found helpful assistance in Manaus on the part of Herr Alípio Edmundo Lage, the head of the I. Inspetoria Regional do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as in the small German colony there on the part of the families of Prof. Dr. Harald Sioli, Kurt Polack, and Gerhard Lindemberg.

122 With profound gratitude I mention my kind friends, the
123 Surára and Pakidái Indians, who were so hospitable to me and indefatigably helpful in my work; they are primarily the ones who deserve credit for the successful outcome of the undertaking.
[115] Above all the Surára chief Hewemão and his brothers Kurikayawõ and Inxinemá, my little interpreter Jíbeauwõ (see p. 258), and the Pakidái chief Karenauõ and the war chief Porêhiwõ deserve special mention here.

I also owe much to my faithful servant, the Tukano /Tucano/ Indian Mateus Dias, a member of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Rio Demini. He was an indispensable helper to me in all emergencies during these nine months.

/VI/ I am likewise very much indebted, however, to the Brazilian country people on the Rio Negro and on the Demini and Aracá rivers, as well as to the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini and the mission station of the Salesians in Barcelos. No matter where I went, I was shown such hospitality as is scarcely imaginable. Mention should be made here above all of the Spanish planter, Manuel Antonio Gómez, of the Rio Aracá, and the German nun, Klara Jakob, of the Salesian mission in Barcelos, who devotedly nursed me during my attacks of malaria. Equal thanks are due the physicians and sisters in the Hospital de Isolamento "Emílio Ribas" in São Paulo, where, after my return, I was treated without charge for two months and cured of a serious liver infection.

114 I thank Herr Dr. Koch and Herr Müller of the Bayer branch
122 in Rio de Janeiro for the medicines they donated. This made it possible for me to help many sick Indians and caboclos and to alleviate my own sufferings.

283 /26 cont./
191 Up to now there has been only one parallel to this, namely
184 a Quechua spindle (124). The spindle of the Karimé, on the
114

124. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

basis of the drawing in Salathé s article, seems to resemble those of the Surára and Pakidái (125). Unfortunately, Salathé does

125. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305, Fig. 14.

not indicate whether the whorl is held in position by a wrapping put on below it or perhaps by means of resin or wax, as is the case, for example, for the spindles of the Chama and Pauserna (126).

126. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

283 This already exhausts the comparisons with regard to the securing of the whorl by means of a wrapping, wood, or wax, so that no conclusions about origin and distribution can as yet be drawn about it.

283 During the time I lived with the Surára and Pakidái, I
123 found that many women preferred to use the lids of my empty powder-boxes and skin-cream jars as whorls, /27/ and they preferred to spin the surgical cotton which I carried with me rather than their cultivated cotton, because, they said, the threads spun from it were stronger and more durable.

283 Spinning is done in the following way: The woman sits on a thin tree trunk with the lower part of her legs bent back. The cotton that is to be worked hangs over her left shoulder and from there the thread is fed out with the fingers of the left hand. She first rolls the spindle, on the barb of which she has fastened the thread, in a horizontal position with the palm of her right hand on her slightly sloping right thigh, moving her hand rapidly from the knee upwards. This gives the thread a

/35 cont./

291 On the basis of my field work, however, I have reached different conclusions with respect to the Surára, Pakidái, Pusheweteri, Aramamesteri, Xirián̈a, and Karauateri. Protection of the genital organs is completely eliminated for the women of these tribes, and for the men it is at most of secondary, if not tertiary importance. The thin hip-cord gives them, in fact, the same outward security that the article of clothing gives the civilized person. Though nothing is covered by it, except the glans penis, the absence of it immediately arouses a feeling of modesty in them, which, however, differs from that which has been instilled in us in that it has nothing to do with their nakedness. Clothing, shirts and trousers which I brought along as gifts, was donned by them, to be sure, as a joke, in somewhat the way we might dress up for a carnival, but they were glad when they could take it off again. Yet these Indians never showed the least shyness or embarrassment before me in their unclothed state, and when I had won their friendship and convinced them of the harmlessness of my photographic equipment, men, women, and children let themselves be photographed in relaxed and natural poses.

291 123

292 In contrast to the important hip-cord, the belts of the Surára and Pakidái are expressly ornamental objects. Since they are worn not only for festivals, however, but also on all ceremonial occasions, magical motives may likewise play a part. At the same time, they are a distinguishing mark for specific tribes and age classes. They differ from all the other belts of South American Indians, as do the men's belts of the Waikí (186) (187), in that they are open in front

186. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

187. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

[114] and positively accentuate the pubic parts. Thus, they seem to represent striking evidence for the view of Brosse (188) and

188. Grosse, 1894, p. 96.

Surára
Pakidái

/35 cont./

292
114 Westermarck (189), who regard the belts as a sexual stimulus,

189. Westermarcj, 1901, pp. 195/96, 211.

by means of which the eyes are supposed to be drawn to the pubic parts. For the Surára and Pakidái, however, /36/ this hypothesis does not apply, in spite of their open belts, for the naked body does not provide any sensual stimulation for them, but rather solely the sexual act. According to Krause, among the Karajá /Caraja/ the feeling of modesty of the girls is supposed to have led to the development of the types of belts. As evidence for this, he gives the following observation: "Women never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and small girls from whom I bought belts went behind the nearest mat wall in order to put on a new one there before they brought
291
123 me the worn belt" (190). My experiences among the Surára

190. Krause, 1911, pp. 208/09.

and Pakidái were the same with respect to the hip cords, among men as well as among women and children, but they always untied their belts without shyness and gave them to me in exchange
292
184 for trade goods. This was also true of the Pusheweterf women, which shows that their little fringed aprons do not represent, say, a pubic covering, but merely ornamentation. Moreover, they also tie on their belts only for festive occasions.

291
171 The situation with respect to the children's belt made of the skin of the maracajá is unique. It should be noted, however, that in Guiana, one of the chief South American areas of distribution of the skin belt (191) (192), specimens made of jaguar skin have

191. Becher, 1951, I, p. 82; II, plate and Map No. 4.

192. Becher, 1955, p. 72.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica
Karime

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 marakâ. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.
415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- habokâ -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriâna (293).

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.
323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waikâ and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

• 123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenâke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301]

296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

/57 cont./

551
162
[802]

Estimated Age (315)

315. These Indians count only to three, so I could only estimate the ages given.

Hewemão (316) -- chief and medicine man — 42 years

[123]

316. I was able to learn all the names only after my adoption into the tribe, for they are kept a strict secret from outsiders. But even then the individual men and women themselves never told them to me; I learned the names only from other members of the tribe, and, to be sure, always in a whisper. If they call each other in a loud voice, they use Portuguese names which they have heard from palm-fiber gatherers. I too had to give names to several members of the tribe.

Koentemá -- his first wife (from the Pakidá tribe) — 24 years
Kanikawõ -- son — 8 years
Daughter (has no name yet (317) — 1 year

[553]

317. Children are given their names only after the completion of their third year (see pp. 201 ff.).

Yaripanamá -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe) (She had a daughter who died in infancy.) — 35 years
Maxiuamá -- daughter of Hewemão and his former wife Taímakána, who died in childbirth — 9 years

Saráya
Pakidái

/58 c[illegible]/

	Estimated Age
55| 162 Xeramí -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe)	25 years
Xaniwõ -- son	12 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	2 years
Xutumí -- widow	59 years
Halkiamí -- her daughter (likewise a widow)	40 years
Yarikoawõ -- son of Halkiamí (bachelor)	17 years
Katarauwõ -- solitary bachelor	17 years
/59/	
Ikoawõ -- solitary bachelor	16 years
Jibeauwõ -- orphan boy	9 years
Manahemí -- orphan boy	8 years
Nikeromí -- female captive (from the hostile tribe of the Karanaterí)	15 years

[161] There are somewhat more Pakidái, for they numbered 89.
[123] Since my association with them was not quite as close as with the Surára, however, I was able to learn considerably fewer given names. In the following I am presenting those that became known to me:

	Estimated Age
Karenauõ -- chief and medicine man	26 years
Poroamí -- his wife (from the Surára tribe)	20 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Porêhiwõ -- war chief	32 years
Ruxoyetemí -- his first wife (from the Surára tribe)	30 years
Yanetoiwõ -- son	13 years
Xarafma -- daughter	7 years
Daughter (has no name yet). She was born during my stay	1 month
The second wife of Porêhiwõ left him because of ill treatment and was presumably drowned	
Kaxiribewõ -- warrior (brother of Porêhiwõ)	39 years
Monamí -- his wife	36 years

854 514 /64 cont./ If the child's nose is not clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women [123] found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

856 593 The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, hãpe-mother and hãpe-father.

862 e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, [851] which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

851 846 114 171 842 325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

008 553 776 [182] has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

/71 cont./

765 Shortly before sundown a bright, blazing fire was kindled with the help of the fire-drill, and the funeral pyre was set afire 765 with it. Then the men blew the snuff into each other's noses, 787 and after a few minutes they were in a state of intoxication, dur- 296 ing which they danced, singing and screaming, around the flames that leaped up over the dead man. This was the appeal to the hekurá who are supposed to help the soul of the dead on its journey [782] to the moon (see pp.199/201). The chief uttered his prayers of supplication in a loud voice, and all the other men joined in the chorus. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff into each other's noses, so that their ecstasy constantly increased and finally reached an unimaginable climax when the fire took possession of the skeleton. It no longer seemed to be human beings who, howling, stamping, and gesticulating, now stormed around the pyre. They seemed to have taken leave of their senses, and, as a result of the snuff-intoxication, probably actually were in another world. To me, the sight was like a nightmare and made me think [794] of paintings by Hieronymus Bosch. The wandering of the soul of [795] the dead existing in the bones, accompanied by the tree-soul, had begun, and the hekurá paved the way for them. Meanwhile, night had fallen, and the moon, which I suddenly noticed in the sky in its full size between the crowns of the trees, seemed to be waiting for its new inhabitant. In spite of the heat, which was increased [123] by the fire of the funeral pyre, cold shudders ran down my spine, and an indescribable feeling of terror clutched at my heart. Though I had not taken any snuff-powder at this ceremony, I, too, was in a veritable drunken fever. Never before, neither in church nor in a theater, had I experienced a scene as grandiose as the one here in the nocturnal forest of Amazonia.

This death ceremony continued until dawn. After midnight, however, only a few men, whose duty it was at the same time to keep the funeral pyre burning, were still dancing and singing. The other warriors lay exhausted on the ground and slept. Occasionally one of the dancers was nudged. He got up immediately, had snuff blown into his nose, and danced around the pyre, singing, while another lay down to sleep. Finally, only two men were still

Suruí Q
Pakidái

/83 cont./

252
262

394. (cont.)
nourishment during their first and second menstruation (see p. 142), and it represents the most important item of food for pregnant women, and for several months after confinement. Among the Tapirapé, on the other hand, where the banana also represents a basic part of the diet, parents must refrain from eating this fruit after a birth. "They believe that the child would die if they disregarded this rule" /cited in English/ (Baldus, 1956b, p. 601).

[191]

252 raw. -- The mealy, nourishing fruits of the pupunha palm are primarily boiled. Then the soup is allowed to cool and a refreshing drink is obtained in this way. Before festivals all the [415] women pour it into a large, wooden trough, which is found in every maloka, so that there will be enough on hand. By means of steaming or roasting, a solid food is also prepared from them (395). --

[114]
[139]

395. Alexander von Humboldt, by the way designates the pupunha or pihiguao palm as "Pfirsich-palme" /peach palm/ and praises the delicious taste of its fruit (Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 281 f., 300; IV, p. 145). I cannot agree with the great scholar in this, for to me it tasted like slightly bitter potatoes. Zerries, by the way, is of the same opinion (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

Taioba, carí, sweet potatoes, and sweet manioc are steamed in a pot or roasted in hot ashes without being previously washed or
252 peeled. -- Bitter manioc is scraped by the women with the
412 lancet-shaped bamboo knife (see p. 118) and then grated on a rough slab of granite, for they do not have grating boards (396) (397).

[177]
[123]

396. My servant Mateus, however, made them

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/83 cont./

252
412
[177]
[123]
[192]

398. (cont.) a few graters out of the sides of our empty gasoline cans by boring numerous holes in them with a nail. They were very happy over these and maintained that it was considerably more agreeable to grate on them. They also immediately had a name for this grater -- kabaricinamó.

252
184
412

397. The Xiriâna, too, grate the manioc roots on rough slabs of granite (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

252 The grated pulp is then pressed out by hand with the help of small, square strips of plaiting (see p. 112), which are rolled up (398).

398. The poison is removed from the manioc pulp in the same way among the Xiriâna (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

Among the Surára I found three tube presses and among the Pakidái five, which they had obtained from the Xiriâna (see p. 112). With the flour the women bake, on large, flat granite stones under which a fire is kindled, manioc flat-cakes, which are consumed with pleasure. This food, which appeared among them only a comparatively short time ago, seems to become
273 more and more popular. The preparation of kaschirí is unknown (399).

[114]
[177]

399. Since, however, my servant, a pure-blooded Tukano /Tucano/ Indian, felt a great desire for a slight alcoholic intoxication at the sight of the manioc flat-cakes, he taught the Surára how to make kaschirí. At first they tried this unknown drink very critically. But after the first swallow their eyes shone, and they slapped Mateus on the shoulder enthusiastically and assured him again and again how good it tasted to them.

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

262 Great popularity was also enjoyed among the Surára and Pakidái
439 by the roasted manioc flour which they occasionally obtain from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter or from the Indian protection post on the Demini as a gift. They are unable to make it themselves because they do not have the large iron pans for it.

252 Various fruits of wild plants also need special preparation. The white seeds found in the pods of the pacova-sororoca (see p. 168) must be roasted before they are eaten. The taste, by the way, corresponds exactly to roasted maize. /84/ -- The fruits of the pot-tree (see p. 168) are first boiled, for which the women particularly liked to use my empty gasoline cans, and then cut open with the knife of tortoise shell (see p. 118). They are then poured into one or more of the large plaited baskets -- uaramá -- (see p. 107) and hung for four days in the water on the bank of a stream, in order to remove the bitter substances. After that they are thoroughly rubbed by the women with their feet. These fruits, to be sure, occupy only a second-rank position in the favor of the "gourmets," but at least they fill the stomach. Moreover, I was assured that in olden times, that is, before the introduction of the banana, this fruit played a much greater role in the food economy.

263 All the foods mentioned are, as a rule, eaten without spices. Only now and then do some men and women add a little of their cultivated pepper, which is roasted beforehand. Not a single [123] tribesman developed a taste for my salt, of which I had brought along several kilograms, assuming that the Indians would be pleased about it, and they had no interest whatsoever in acquiring any of it (400).

[46] 400. The amount of salt required by the body is supplied by the wood ashes with which the tobacco roll (see p.190) is mixed.

171 This aversion to salt is also found among many other tribes,
175 and in a report as early as the sixteenth century one can read the
263 following remark: "The forest people cannot use any salt, because it makes them ill, for they are not used to it; if they eat it, they

Surára
Pakidái

/84 cont./

272 are kneaded and pulverized in calabashes filled with water. This produces a grayish-brown, greasy juice which, after the fleshy husks have been fished out and thrown away, reminds one of cacao in appearance and flavor and is extremely filling. This drink tasted even better to me when I added a little sugar. [123] [263] The Indians who tasted this, however, were not enthusiastic about the addition, since they like sugar just as little as salt. I was unable to please either children or adults with my bonbons. The fruit of the bacu buriti, curauá, piaçaba, and ubim palms (see p. 166) is made into beverages in the same way, while that of the inaja palm is cooked beforehand. The juice obtained from this tastes quite insipid, to be sure, but likewise has a high food value.

One should also mention that a drink is prepared from the [114] [184] [197] gathered honey by mixing it with water. I never saw it eaten, as has been confirmed for the Waiká (407) and various /85/ other

407. Zerries, 1956b, p. 150.

tribes of Guiana (408) (409).

408. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 55.

409. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 169.

271 184 As the above account shows, the Surára and Pakidái do not lack variety with regard to beverages, so that only in the rarest instances need they resort to plain water, as is the case, according to Zerries' accounts, among the Waiká (410). As among

273 184

410. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

the latter (411), however, alcoholic beverages are completely

411. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

unknown to the Surára and Pakidái too.

Surára
Pakidái

/86 cont./

231 Dogs are never killed; they are allowed to live until they
[262] die of old age. When I asked whether dog meat was ever eaten
in former times, men and women, with horrified faces, answered
in the negative. Yet this custom is supposed to have prevailed
[973] at one time among various tribes of Guiana (414). There do not

414. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 189.

seem to be any myths about dogs.

● 123 I should also like to mention that during my months-long,
231 extremely friendly stay with the Surára and Pakidái, and in
[114] spite of great efforts, in which the Indians helped me, I never
231 succeeded in winning the affection of their dogs. It meant a
[114] good deal that in time I was tolerated by them. I can agree
perfectly with Friederici when he writes: "The Indian dog has
always hated the white man, and, conversely, the dog of the
European, the Indian. The odors given off by the races are so
different that even a human nose can usually tell the difference,
how much more a dog. If a white man walked through an Indian
camp he usually had a whole pack of growling and teeth-baring
dogs behind him" (415). But I also found that the opposite was

415. Friederici, 1899, p. 365.

true. The dogs kept at the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini, mongrels of the most diverse breeds, but among them also former Indian dogs, behaved, in their hatred, as though they were mad when Pakidái families came to visit (416).

[191]

416. Baldus, on the occasion of his Chaco expedition, also observed that Indian dogs, once they are in the hands of whites, become the bitterest enemies of their former masters (Baldus, 1931, p. 18).

Surára
Pakidái

/88 cont./

276 and Pakidái I was unable to learn anything with reference to this, although there, too, the consumption of tobacco is uncommonly
[249] great. They plant plenty of tobacco in all the forest clearings, however, and if it were entirely harvested in the fields where they were living at the time, the men fetch it from other distant rocas or in emergencies they obtain it from friendly tribes by barter.

[184] [114] Koch-Grünberg reports that the Xiriána and Waiká hordes visited by him chew the tobacco (430). From his description, how-

430. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

276 171 114 ever, it is to be seen that actually a sucking of the tobacco is also involved. The Arekuná on the Roroima probably also did the same thing, although Richard Schomburgk (431) and Appun (432)

431. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 239.

432. Appun, 1871, p. 521.

agree in speaking of "tobacco chewing." It is noteworthy that Koch-Grünberg (433) did not observe this form of tobacco enjoyment

433. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 57.

among any other tribe in the Roroima region, for on the occasion of his visits the men smoked the tobacco as cigarettes or in short English pipes which were imported from British Guiana; he never saw women smoke.

123 276 If I offered the Surára and Pakidái cigarettes, they first always removed the paper and enjoyed the tobacco in the same way as their cultivated tobacco. Yet they were not very enthusiastic about it, for in their opinion the cigarette tobacco was much too weak. In time, however, men and children became accustomed to smoking (434), but not the women.

434. As a result of this, our supply of cigarettes rapidly dwindled, and my

/88 cont./

123
276

434. (cont.)
servant Mateus and I were thereafter dependent on the cultivated tobacco of the Indians, which, however, was so strong that we simply could not enjoy it. Mateus, however, had the happy idea of washing the tobacco several times and then he let it dry in the sun. Since we had plenty of cigarette paper with us, we were not obliged to give up our customary enjoyment of cigarettes. We could never have become accustomed to sucking out the tobacco, for every attempt resulted in retching.

276 The narcotic snuff powder, similar to yopo or paricá, is made up of various ingredients, of which I was able to identify, besides the roasted and pulverized paricá seed (Piptadenia peregrina Benth.), the ashes of the burned bark of a wild species of mimosa (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekuráhihená -- (435), as

[192]
[776]
[787]

435. This, it should be noted, contains the word with which the gigantic animal and plant spirits are called -- hekurá -- with which the men are able to make contact only by means of the snuff powder.

well as a cultivated pepper plant /89/ (Piperacea sp.) -- maxaraháa -- (436) (437).

[192]
[184]

436. Zerries found the same combination among the Waiká, and even the names for the pepper plant are almost identical; the Waiká call it "masho hara." The bark of the mimosa, in which Zerries suspects there is an alkaloid, is, however, used only in the dried or roasted state (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

[26]

437. Herr Prof. Dr. Klaus Soehring of the

/89 cont./

276
126

437. (cont.)
Pharmakologischen Institut der Universität Hamburg is at present still analyzing the powder that I brought back. The result is to be published later in an article.

276
[463]
[415]

Exactly like the arrow poison, this powder is made only by certain men. It is stored in bamboo tubes -- tõra -- (Fig. 28a) which are closed with leaves. Before prayers, on the occasion of big festivals, and before curing the sick, in which several men take part, besides the chief, the powder is poured on a large clay plate left by the Xiriâna. From here it is then packed into the bamboo snuff-tube 60-70 centimeters long, on one end of which is glued by means of tree resin a perforated, longish palm nut (Fig. 28b). At the free end the nut is sharpened to a point so that the man wishing to take snuff can insert it into one nostril. From the other end /Fig. 28 appears here/ of the tube, a friendly fellow-tribesman, with partly bent knees, blows the powder with all of his might into the man's nose (Ill. 44).

123
276

After only a few minutes the snuff-taker falls into an inconceivable state of intoxication, in which he rages, screams, sings, dances, and leaps about (Ills. 45, 46). Since I was obliged, after my adoption into the tribe of the Surára, to submit to this usage also, I am in a position to describe the effect in detail. I should like to point out briefly here that immediately afterwards I developed a splitting headache and felt a strong desire to vomit, exactly like the youths making their first acquaintance with this drug. But shortly after that a strange reaction took place within me, for I felt myself to be a giant among giants. All the human beings near me, as well as dogs and parrots, suddenly seemed to be giants. This effect, which is caused by the alkaloids in the powder, is closely connected with the conceptions of gigantic animal and plant spirits (see pp. 201/201).

Surára
Pakidái

/89 cont./

12. Hygiene

515 Regular bathing, washing of the face and hands, and cleaning the finger and toe nails are unknown; this is also true for babies, who are often covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Nor do they /90/ brush their teeth or ever rinse their mouths. Yet I [147] [145] was never aware of an unpleasant body odor or bad breath on the Indians, and until an advanced age their teeth are dazzlingly white and sound. While hunting or gathering, however, if men and women are obliged to cross a brook or small river, they gladly utilize the opportunity to take a refreshing bath, and the same is true when female members of the tribe fetch water. A bath is greatly appreciated by children and young people, but [481] not at all by older persons. Most men can swim quite well and teach their sons also; women and girls who swim are exceptions.

177 515 As a result of occasional contacts with the palm-fiber gatherers on the Rio Aracá or with the personnel of the Indian protection post on the Demini, the Surára and Pakidái have for some time been acquainted with soap, and various Indians, predominantly children and young men and women, like to lather themselves when they take a bath. Several women had even taken to washing their hammocks now and then with soap. Thus, the cakes of soap [123] that I carried with me were very much in demand, as were perfume and hair tonic.

264 Eating is done only with the hands (see p. 184). If the meat was very greasy and the hands are smeared all over with dirt and grease, they are rubbed off somewhat against a post and then run through the hair a few times. The eating bowls and pots, with the remains of the meal, are then put down for the dogs, who at the same time take over the work of cleaning; eating utensils are seldom washed. When they are needed for the next meal, the woman passes them over her hair a few times. If there are still a few crusts of dirt present, she spits on them and rubs them with her hand.

Surára
Pakidái

/90 cont./

514 [264] There is frequent belching during and after eating, and it happens not infrequently that a member of the family breaks wind, often with a loud noise, which, however, is received with happy laughter, without any damage to the appetite. Both sexes also spit a great deal as a result of the tobacco rolls which they have in the mouth almost constantly (see p. 190).

Urination is done in the immediate vicinity of the maloka during the day and in the hearth at night. Men and boys always urinate in a squatting position, just like women and girls. For their other needs they all go a bit deeper into the forest clearing during the day, or even to the edge of the forest. When they have finished, they rub the seat back and forth a few times on the ground or against a tree trunk. The mother holds small children, in case she happens to be lying in the hammock, over the edge of it. Then she wipes her hand or lower arm across its seat a few times, or, if necessary, she uses a little stick to clean it. The little heap is covered with ashes or earth and stamped into the ground by the mother. If an adult has more important business to attend to at night, he digs a small hole beside the hammock and subsequently covers it with ashes or earth. Old or sick persons do this during the day as well. The reason that [825] [776] the Surára and Pakidái do not leave the maloka at night for the aforementioned purpose is because they are afraid of snakes and jaguars, as well as of nonexí, the evil spirit which transmits sickness (see p. 211). Persistent unpleasant odors are not noticeable even in closed malokas, however, since they are dispelled by the ascending smoke of the constantly burning fire.

841 During their menstruation the women do not use anything to absorb the blood (see pp. 142/143). Pools of blood that remain on the ground are obliterated by them with their feet.

356 123 291 In general, however, the communal house is kept quite clean. One always sees men and women sweeping with a broom made of piaçaba fibers. For this work both sexes liked to put on the shirts and trousers or clothing which I had brought them as gift articles and which were otherwise not at all appreciated.

Surára
Pakidái

/97 cont./

755
759
171

498. (cont.)
I should like to mention the Kaskihá Indians in the northeastern Chaco, among whom the witch doctqr tries to heal the sick in the same way (Baldus, 1931, p. 143).

164

During my nine-months' stay among the Surára and Pakidái the following sicknesses occurred there: grippe, pneumonia, malaria, chicken pox, and a gastric fever; fortunately, none was fatal (499). But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,

000

[165]
[752]

499. Only the Pakidái youth Hokotómarimá died after a fall from a pupunha palm, which probably caused internal injuries (see p. 149).

123 But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,
755
759
171

first a young woman, Xunamí, the wife of Kurikayawõ, the younger brother of the chief, and later an older woman, Xanimá, the approximately 47-year-old mother of Anyarawõ (see pp. 123/125), and a boy, Xaniwõ (see p. 127), about 12 years old, would probably not have survived without the penicillin that I had brought along, for, in spite of untiring treatment by the chief and his helpers, their condition grew worse from day to day. In the first instance, the chief, Hewemãõ, and the husband, Kurikayawõ, finally permitted me to give Xunamí a penicillin injection in the upper arm on two successive days, whereupon she improved dramatically (500). In the second and third cases,

500. This cure increased my reputation tremendously, so that afterward I was properly adopted into the tribe of the Surára and, on the occasion of the great festival in memory of the dead, was also permitted to drink the banana soup mixed with the bone ashes of deceased relatives (see p. 231). If the woman had died after the injection, however, the intervention could have had grave consequences for me.

/97 cont./

[755] [957] [123] [177] the chief even asked me to give the patients "penicilina" after his healing efforts had again brought no success.

Of the various cures at which I was allowed to be present, I should like to describe in detail the following two treatments:

b) Magic cure (rekurá) for Xunamí:

Xunamí, the young, pretty wife of Kurikayawõ, fell ill quite suddenly. She had a high fever, lay apathetically in her hammock, and complained of severe chest pains. Her husband, who, with touching devotion, remained with her throughout the [593] [757] first day, that is, he sat beside her or lay in his hammock, led her several times to the nearby small river, in which she always remained for some time and drank copious amounts. She was not permitted to eat anything, but she had no desire to do so. During the night, the fever seemed to climb, for she was quite delirious and unable to sleep soundly. The next day she felt [757] even worse. Three times in the forenoon and as often in the afternoon her husband took her to the river, but there was no improvement after the baths and the drinking. At noon on the third day the husband, together with two other men, began [302] the first special cure. First of all, Kurikayawõ and the second participant painted serpentine lines on their faces and bodies with urucú, while the third one rubbed himself all over with soot. Then they all three blew snuff-powder into each other's noses and in a few minutes they were in a state of ecstasy in which they leaped wildly about the sick woman lying in her hammock, shouted loudly, and gesticulated. Then, however, the cure followed very definite directions. The man painted completely black symbolically represented the spirit of sickness -- nonexí -- whom a hostile medicine man had conjured into the body of the sick woman, and the other two men, who now identified themselves with the hekurá (see p. 200), staged a sham battle against him. At first they were armed with large sticks and beat "nonexí" in order to kill him. But he defended himself with all his might. Then he hurled arrows at him, which, however, he threw back. After that the /98/ spirit of sickness stuck a carrying basket on his head, and this suddenly fell off. At once, the other two men

/100 cont./

755 was much worse, that this time the power of the Waikâ medicine
• 123 men was extraordinarily great. I then proposed to him that I
177 should give Xunamî penicillin injections. After lengthy consultations with the husband and other male members of the tribe he consented, though with misgivings, and luck was with the patient as well as with me. From this moment on the name penicilina (Portuguese spelling) became a magic word, for it had helped to cast away the sickness. Hewemãõ even asked me to bring him a great deal of it on my next visit.

755 c) Magic cure (rekurâ) for Xanimâ:

Xanimâ, the approximately 47-year-old mother of
[164] Anyarawõ (see p. 126), had been ill for five days with chicken
pox and had had persistently high fever. At first she, too, was
[159] given the water cures, that is, she constantly had to take baths in the river and drink a great deal of water; as her weakness increased, she remained lying in her hammock and was doused with cold water. After that there were sham battles between two "hekurâ" and the bad, black-colored spirit of sickness, "nonexî."

When there was no improvement, Chief Hewemãõ and eight helpers again arranged a large, nocturnal rekurâ, but this time a somewhat different one, because, of course, a different
[302] sickness was involved (502). At first the men, eight with red

502. As has been mentioned above (see p. 212), every sickness has very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps.

serpentine lines painted on their faces and bodies and one colored black, in the light of the hearth, again formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the middle, on which snuff-
[296] powder had been poured. They filled their snuff tubes with generous amounts of it and blew it into each other's noses, whereupon, after a few minutes, the state of ecstasy set in. The men hopped around their own axis several times, and, after a hissing sound on the part of the chief and with prolonged shrill

Surára
Pakidái

/102 cont./

755
[123] I was allowed to take part as a spectator in all the cures, and each rekurá was a new, great experience for me. I was
755 amazed at the devotion, passion, and fervor with which the
756 chief and his helpers interceded with all their physical and
622 psychic powers to ward off the sicknesses of their fellow-tribesmen (504). This explains why the Surára and Pakidái

[123]

504. The same care was bestowed upon me, the stranger. If I had an attack of malaria, the chief and his helpers likewise danced around me, and they sang in chorus while Hewemão stroked my body, massaged it, and sucked at it. He was of the opinion that the Waiká had poisoned my blood because I lived in friendship with the Surára and had brought them so many beautiful gifts.

have such boundless confidence in their chiefs and are absolutely convinced of their magic powers. It is doubtless due to this unshakable faith that so many of the sick can be cured (505).

[431]

505. I never saw the chiefs demand a fee for their cures. The members of the tribe show their appreciation, however, by continuously offering their chiefs larger or smaller gifts (see p. 130).

755
756
114 In this context I should like to cite the following very revealing description by Herbert Baldus: "The witch doctors were simply called imposters by early travelers, and even today all whites who are incapable of understanding the mentality of the Indian are of the same opinion. One forgets that, as a result of the suggestibility of the primitive, the magic practices not only essentially help the sick person and rid his relatives of their fears, but also weave such a spell around the practitioner himself that it is impossible to decide to what extent he is acting in good

Surára
Pakidái

769
535
[533]

/103 cont./Then they sat down in a circle and started singing a song in chorus. Soon afterwards five warriors, holding arrows in both hands, arose and danced around the singers. Now and then they made huge leaps and shouted in a high, shrill voice. All this was enacted on a cool, cloudy, full-moon night, but the numerous hearths added some light. All the women and girls, as well as my servant Mateus and I, lay in the hammocks and watched the unique spectacle. Toward 1:00 in the morning the male participants in the festival arose and now danced, again one behind the other, around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard. They were arranged in such a way that a man with two arrows was always followed by one who held his hands crossed behind his head.

[622]
● [123]

Suddenly Chief Hewemãõ, who was sleeping in his hammock next to me, was tapped lightly by a warrior with an arrow. He got up at once, removed shirt and trousers (he had been given the two articles of clothing by me as gifts), took a bow without a bowstring in his hand, had snuff-powder blown into his nose, and mixed with the dancers, who, however, immediately after his entrance formed the following new formation: Ten men arranged themselves in rhombus form at the head of the dance procession, one at the very front, two behind to one side, and two more behind and to one side of these; two stood directly opposite the latter, then followed two who stood somewhat inward and finally one who was in the middle behind these (Fig. 29). The first five warriors, who had blackened themselves with soot, symbolized the nonexí (evil spirits or spirits of sickness, see p. 211) and were obliged to dance backwards. The five dancers following them embodied hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits who /104/ /Fig. 29 appears here/ Pakidái; see pp. 199, 214 ff.). Between these two groups of five, the participants of which each held two arrows in their hands, a sham battle was being carried out during the dance (see also pp. 214 ff.). Each of the men of the first group danced two steps back and one forward, and those of the second, two steps forward and one back. In between, wild leaps and turns were executed, the men threatened each other with the arrows and screamed in the highest key. The "nonexí" were constantly in

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769
266 On the next day, April 6, 1956, the festival reached its climax. Toward 9:00 the Surára chief, his brother Kurikayawõ, and the chief and war chief of the Pakidái sat down around the pots of banana soup, in front of which also stood the two jamaru vessels with the bone ashes of the deceased, and all the other male members of the tribe sat around them. The Surára chief started to pray loudly, whereupon a rather long choral song was struck up. Then he poured the bone ashes into all the soup pots, mixed them thoroughly with his hands, and scooped out a calabash full for himself, which he emptied hastily and to the last drop. Thereupon the Pakidái chief, the brother of Hewemão, and the war chiefs of both tribes drank, followed by all the older and younger men, including the larger boys, who drank last (514). As a result of this ceremonial drinking of the

[533]

[123]

514. Hewemão also offered my servant and me a full calabash each, along with the war chiefs. When we had drunk them, he slapped our backs appreciatively and said that we were now true Sarára.

bone ashes, it is believed, the strength and spirit of the deceased will remain within the tribe and contribute to its vigor.

769
[533]
[782]
[262] Following this drink, a prayer of thanksgiving was sung. Then the men, youths, and boys together ate large quantities /107/ of the roasted tapir meat, as well as manioc flat-cakes, and after that the women handed them calabashes full of the refreshing drink made of pupunha fruits.

Invigorated and fortified with the powers of the deceased, the men were now able to proceed with the most strenuous part
[302] of the festival. But before this began, half of them blackened their faces and bodies with soot, which they scraped off of their
769 cooking pots. Meanwhile others had again set in the center of
276 the maloka circle the large clay plate upon which they poured the brownish snuff-powder -- epená --, out of bamboo containers, and in front of the plate they laid a large number of

/115 cont./

X. Character and Way of Thinking

157 [179] In spite of insignificant contacts with the caboclos (rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, planters, and the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini), the Surára and Pakidái have preserved throughout the character of unspoiled primitive peoples who have not yet been alienated from such traditional Indian virtues as hospitality, moderation, and honesty. I discovered this even on the occasion of my first contact with them. When I, together with my servant Mateus, met nine Surára warriors on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, they gazed in wonder at our boat, the outboard motor, and the numerous gifts and trade articles in the form of knives, axes, pots, glass beads, etc., but they did not touch anything. They were also immediately willing to take us to their maloka, about 70 kilometers away, and carried the trunks, boxes and bags weighing 50-60 kilograms (555) (556), which, to

123 157

555. Becher, 1957a, p. 115.

556. Becher, 1958, p. 153.

their minds, contained tremendous treasures. During the strenuous three-day march, a definite feeling of harmony prevailed; there was constant laughing and jesting. When the Indians heard that Mateus called me "doutor" /doctor/, they burst into particularly hearty laughter and told us that totoré (jabuti /land turtle/) was a fitting name for me. The name remained with me until my departure and was brilliantly appropriate for me, for, in comparison with the free Forest Indians, anyone from civilization presents a very clumsy picture in the forest regions.

These nine warriors could easily have murdered us and departed alone with the gifts and trade articles. But not for a moment was I aware of any danger, for there could not have been more gracious or thoughtful companions. How great their honesty was I should like to document with the following example: During the march on the impassable Indian paths in the eternal

Surára
Pakidái

/115 cont./

123 157 twilight of the forest, a packet of cigarettes fell out of my trousers pocket. Who can describe my astonishment when in the evening at a halting place an Indian brought back to me the packet with the contents intact. Naturally, I gave the honest finder the cigarettes and a knife in addition.

Similarly, during my months-long stay with the two tribes I always had all the trunks, boxes, and bags standing open, and yet nothing was ever stolen from me. Even the barter of ethnographic objects always took place, usually under the supervision of the chiefs, in perfect peace and tranquilly. When I presented knives, pots, glass beads, and other objects to men, women, or children, /116/ they always took them with impassive faces, [192] but without expressing gratitude. There is no word for "thanks" in their language, any more than there is in the other Indian languages. In their shining eyes, however, I could read that they were pleased.

152 157 Before the departure of a member of the family there are never any sentimental scenes between relatives, let alone endearments, and even at the return one can see aroused emotion only in the shining eyes.

123 In the presence of strangers, women and girls in particular are at first timid and grave, but when one has gained their confidence, they are gay and unrestrained. I very quickly gained the affection of the children and with it also that of their parents and the other adults. One's behavior, of course, plays an important part in relations with the Indians. If one approaches the Surára and Pakidái in a friendly and courteous manner, one can accomplish anything with them. On the other hand, if one expressed himself disapprovingly with regard to their customs and habits, scolded them, or beat a child, he would be inviting their antagonism. Thus, a visit to the malokas of these Indians is not to be recommended to nervous people, for one does not find any rest throughout the entire day, and it is often lacking at night as well. There were always men, women, and children standing or sitting around me. In the beginning, they tirelessly pronounced the words of their language for me, but they never laughed at me if I repeated them with the wrong accent. At first they even

Surára
Pakidái

/116 cont./

123 touched me all over my body, and they examined my spectacles with particular interest (557) and were very astonished at my

557. The Surára chief was so enthusiastic about my spectacles that he asked me to be sure to bring him a pair on my next visit.

blond hair and blue eyes. When I shaved, I was likewise surrounded by a circle of spectators (558). Even when I had to relieve myself, I was asked where I was going, and often I was joined by companions.

558. Similar experiences were had by Chaffanjon among the Kunuaná (Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 267/68), Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipang and Makuxí /Macusi/ (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 360), and Baldus among the Tapirapé (Baldus, 1956b, p. 606).

191 When the Surára and Pakidái see something new for the first time or if they like an object particularly well, they
521 manifest their approval by loud clickings. They love conversa-
[576] tion above all else, and even at night they go on talking for hours. They never interrupt each other, however.

593 Though the man is the head of the family, the wife is
692 regarded as his partner with equal rights, without whose advice he does not undertake anything important. If he has two or
595 more wives, the youngest usually leads a princess's existence,
593 for which even the older ones must contribute. Mistreatment of women occurs only on account of adultery and for reasons of jealousy. But if a man beats his wife or draws blood on her body with the little cutia-tooth knife, several companions of her own sex immediately hasten to her aid. They try to pin down the arms of the angry man, and one woman will attempt to seize his scrotum and squeeze it with all her might, so that

Surára, Pakidái

/117 cont./

888 [171]

559. (cont.)
no longer able to work for the family is regarded like a banana tree that has already produced the fruit, and no one pities them.../" (P. Giacone, 1949, p. 25).

no longer able to take part in the general migrations, however, they were killed, in accordance with the tribal custom (see pp. 153/154).

829 [159] The friendly, open nature of all Surára and Pakidái is coupled with a very strongly marked self-assurance. Along with their allies, above all the mighty Xiriána, they feel like rulers of the world, which, in their opinion, consists only of virgin forest, mountains, rivers, and lakes. The caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers), the only members of civilization whom they know, are therefore always treated with a certain compassionate condescension by them, for they are of the opinion that all civilized persons, whites, blacks, and mixed, are weak and powerless and owe their lives solely to the benevolent 000 forbearance of the Indians (560). When I told them about cities

[171]

560. Baldus found similar conceptions among tribes of the northeastern Chaco (Baldus, 1931, p. 114), as did Métraux among the Kayapó /Cayapo/. (Herr Prof. Métraux told me this during the meeting of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde in Berlin, 1957.)

123 When I Told Them about Cities
829 in which many white and black people live, of the sea and the big ships sailing on it, they could not grasp this at first and then became very thoughtful. Later, at my departure, they urged me not to travel too far out on the ocean so that I would not fall off the earth-disk (see p. 197).

Surára
Pakidái

/117 cont./

XI. Reasoning Abilities

153 Among the Surára and Pakidái the memory is especially keen, both with respect to the myths and songs, religion, and tribal history, as well as with respect to the flora and fauna and the peculiarities of a landscape (561). Their imitative

[114]

561. In this connection I should like to refer to a remark by Baldus: "By and large as far as the Indian's memory is concerned, he retains only what is useful on the phenominal level accessible to him. He will note each peculiarity of a landscape which he crosses, for that is necessary in order to find the way again and to be able to describe it to his companions. The much lauded 'sense of orientation' of the Indian is nothing but memory" (Baldus, 1931, p. 118).

123 Their imitative
153 talent is also noteworthy. For example, upon my arrival, writing and drawing seemed new and mysterious to the Indians. When I handed them my fountain pen and pencils and asked them to draw something, neither the children nor men and women managed to produce anything but the customary serpentine lines, circles, and dots which they otherwise draw with urucú on their bodies, faces, and utilitarian objects. But as soon as I drew trees, houses, and animals for them, they were able to copy these figures after a few attempts. They proved indefatigable in this, and once they had started, they did not want to stop at all. Nor was it long before they /118/ were able to copy letters and finally entire words (562) (563).

153
171

562. Baldus reports the same thing about the Indian tribes in the northeastern Chaco: "Once one has taught the Indians

/118 cont./

159
734
752

564. (cont.)
Manoel Antonio Gómez, who succeeded in saving his life. The chief was said to have been very angry at first over the arbitrary action of the grandmother, but then, when he saw that the little one had recovered, he calmed down.

123 Most men, after but a short time, had no difficulty handling
153 our two guns; a few were soon even operating the outboard
[177] motor, and the Surára chief Hewemão, who showed great interest in my camera, took very acceptable pictures with it.
153 The reasoning power seems to be somewhat more strongly developed among the men than among the women (565).

[114]
[171]

565. This conclusion agrees with an observation by Baldus among the Tumerehã, and the scholar adds a remark which could also be applied to the Surára and Pakidái: "The differences in the talents of the sexes are perhaps the result of their way of life and division of labor. Thus, among the Tumerehã, the man's way of acquiring food has probably developed his acuteness, for he does not merely gather fruits, like the woman, but also goes hunting..." (Baldus, 1931, p. 119).

802 /119/ XII. Counting and Conception of Time

The Surára and Pakidái count only to three:

1 -- mahón

2 -- porokabõ

3 -- prukatabõ.

/213 cont./

793 For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain
624 later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may
[622] not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the im-
● 123 pression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly
[276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our
775 informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after
[841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a
[126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made
[532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals: he was the guapo. 7/7

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. 71-An.]

/225 cont./ The Sanemá say that the
793 hɛwĩawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikulaɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[796] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
[126] propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[795] hɛwĩawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablĩ. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablĩ who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
• 123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablĩes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
974 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablĩ at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the hĩkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablĩ candidate waiting for them to enter his

● 123

[For information on the author's personal experiences in the field and his relationship with the various Yanoama Indian groups with whom he came in contact, see category 116, pp. 25-26, 41-45, 52-54, 58-66, 71-81, 84-116, 119-120, 123-152, 185-189 and 197-220.]

/480 cont./

755 time their croonings and threats directed at the harmful spirit. From time to time they pick up some object which they take with them. Sometimes they finish by inspecting the whole circle of houses, but more frequently the one who heads the "hunt for the spirit" points with his finger at some object, which one of them picks up, the whole group suddenly rushing toward the hut where the sick person is.

755 /481/ Frequently one of those who participate in the "hunt
787 for the spirit" falls into a paroxysm, which he generally ends with a tremendous leap into the air, to fall unconscious on the ground. The women immediately bring water and after a while manage to revive him.

On one occasion a man who was crooning before a sick child suddenly lost his mind and began to say strange things. It seemed as though a strange power had seized him, to the point where it was necessary for six men to hold him so that the women could throw water on him to bring him out of his spell.

754 They also believe that a man can "send" a sickness or misfortune to another. Frequently the majority of the croonings which they intone in the evenings when they have taken "yopo" are designed to "send" calamities to their enemies.

754 On a certain occasion, when all were camped about two
752 hours of travel from the settlement, a girl was bitten by a poison-
●123 ous snake. Her father came to get me to treat her. He told me that he was very angry, and he asked me if it were I who had sent the snake. He was very pleased when I assured him that I had not sent it.

754 They believe that a person can cause an enemy great harm, sickness, and even death, by gathering up "the track" of the enemy and rubbing it between the palms of the hands. For this reason the Guaika /Waica/ do not like to walk in front of somebody who is not in all certainty his friend, especially over soft earth.

The Guaika prepare certain powders which, when they are thrown in the air or blown in the direction of an enemy, can cause him annoyances or harm, according to what they believe, although the said enemy might be many miles away in another settlement.

/488/

844 [123] James Barker (author of the essay) and I (Killam) were invited to witness the birth of a child. Our house was about 200 meters away from the Guaika settlement. We were able to hear the moans of the woman in confinement. When we arrived at the settlement, the father-in-law of the Indian woman was performing a stimulating dance in front of the dwelling which he shared with his son and his daughter-in-law.

At a short distance behind the house, in a clearing made in the woods and away from the path, there were several women, including the woman in confinement. We were taken along a path near to the place where the women were. There were several other persons observing the event along with us: a couple [123] of men and some children. They seemed to be only slightly interested, the children trying to make us go away from there in order to play with them.

The woman in confinement was walking incessantly from one side to the other, complaining about her pains, until she finally settled down on the ground among some weeds. We waited for some 15 minutes. Then, after having heard the cry of the infant, one of the women assisting called us. The child, a little girl, had just been born. The mother received us with a smile. She had squatted down, holding the baby upright in her lap. Two of the women proceeded to cut the umbilical cord, using a piece of cane, and then they stuffed it with some green leaves.

The mother gathered up the afterbirth with her hands, wrapping it in green leaves which a girl brought her. Another person later took it away. Then the mother rubbed mud and [825] humus over the place where the afterbirth had been. They said that this is done for protection against wild animals.

Meanwhile, someone brought water in a gourd. The mother took a mouthful, which she then squirted gently over her little creature, bathing it with the water warmed in her mouth.

After the little girl had been bathed, they placed her on green, clean leaves, covering her with a few branches. Several of the women walked back and forth above her several /489/ times.

/489 cont./
844 They also invited us to do this, but, not knowing the meaning
123 of the practice, we declined to do so.

846 After this, the mother took the little creature and went off to her house. There she rested for two or three days before resuming her work in the "conuco."

844 Later, another child was born at night. We were not there, but we were informed that it had been born in the house, to which green leaves were brought for the birth.

Puberty

881 To reach puberty is an important event, especially for the girls. It is considered that the girl has reached puberty at her first menstruation. Her mother, older sister, or another woman who might be her guardian gathers leaves and builds a wall around her hammock to isolate her from everything. For approximately one week, the girl never leaves this area. Her mother brings her food, water, firewood, and any other things which might be needed.

At the end of this retirement, the girl comes out, adorned with flowers, leaves, cotton belts, strings of beads, and feathers.

Maturity

885 A man is considered mature when he has marriageable chil-
622 dren. The head of a settlement is frequently a grandfather, but sometimes the settlement may be governed by a somewhat younger man.

Old Age

888 Retirement from active life is somewhat gradual, depending upon the strength of the individual.

Old persons are respected, but they are no longer leaders in the affairs of the settlement. They are cared for even when they are no longer capable of contributing to their own support. /Plates I-V follow./

123 /154 cont./
721 At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/ bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look, raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the [752] men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pour- [755] ing water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood, since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the 726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In some way the chief and "Yelequei-jûu" managed to pass some of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were
763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a
183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also state the brave words which he would say.)

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to [764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had recovered.

/156 cont./

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make
•123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

[302] [574] [822] [412] [361]

166 361 721 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 361 [114] In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit, fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

[226] [411] [857] 726

/157 cont./

726 628 But when they returned, none seemed overly alarmed. The men commented that it had probably been the Batanoatjeti or Bisheasetjeti on the way to make a raid on the other aldea, since they were the most bitter enemies and we were camped between them.

(The Majecototjeti were more or less friends of both aldeas at this time.)

726 But about three hours later some came saying that they had found the bow of "Valooboue" and the basket of one of the women lying near the tracks in disorderly fashion. The group had been attacked. Then the men prepared their bows and went out in every direction. There was a discussion concerning who had gone out with one of those already mentioned. "Etemi" (the wife of "Botai"), three of the wives of "Olami-Juu," an old man (the father of the three wives), and "Valooboue" had gone out together to gather moriche fruit. Two other women who had gone out with this group, but who had separated from them and gone back upstream, had already returned to the encampment. They said that they had heard an argument or a shout in the early part of the afternoon, but, not having heard anything else, had thought little of it.

A group of men went out to try to follow the tracks, but the tracks seemed to disappear or turn back on themselves. It was not clear what route the raiders had taken. Probably they had divided up to join forces and reassemble at some point. Finally, it was decided that they had gone back, toward the river, in the same direction that the tracks came from. Toward night- [123] fall the men went to cross the Orinoco River and asked our men as well, who still lived on the north bank of the Orinoco, to look for more tracks at the wharf (only I accompanied them on the trip south of the Orinoco on this occasion).

That night the people who stayed in the camp speculated considerably concerning who the raiders might have been /158/ and how things had happened. Some said that it might be that David London had carried the Shibaatía-tjeti across the river in his boat. "Oh, that David," they said. Others were of the opinion that David would not have done such a thing.

/158 cont./

726 That night some of our missionaries were camped outside in a
114 casa abierta /"open house"/. Suddenly they were awakened by a group of Yanomama men, who were standing and looking at our missionaries, without saying anything. They all were painted
[302] black, as though to make it impossible to recognize them by the light of the evening, or in the lesser light of the night. Finally the silence was broken, and the men of Majecototjeti told them that they were looking for the raiders who had killed the man and the boy and had carried off the four women. Our people had seen nothing of the raiders and were enormously surprised at the news.

726 The following morning the men went to the place of the attack and brought the arrows which were there. They did not bring back the complete arrows, but only the ends with the feathers. The arrows were not cut, but burned in two. The poisoned points were brought also. The men carefully examined the arrows and tried to make out from what aldea the raiders had come. The arrows looked like those of the Liacoatjeti, but they had seen a machete in that place, and who could imagine a Liacoatjeti leaving a machete, even in a moment of danger.

There was also a rumor that a bark canoe had been found some distance down the river. Probably the Shibaatía-tjeti had crossed the river in this canoe. (This rumor later turned out to be false.)

A search was carried out in a large circle in every direction to try to find out what direction the raiders had taken. Finally the track was found, and the Liacoatjeti were then recognized as the raiders, and they had come from the south. Their path had been made so as to cover the tracks, leaving the formation one by one and reassembling farther on.

721 The Majecototjeti planned, in turn, a raid of /159/ revenge. First a banquet was held with tapir meat and cassava to eat with the meat. A day or so later the men marched off on a raid of revenge against the Liacoatjeti. The Majecototjeti had gone off two weeks before, but had not found the Liacoatjeti in their houses.

727 "Jolocoiue," a boy with a broken leg who had stayed with
[123] us, asked us to pray to God to send "Etemi" (one of the abducted women) home safe and sound.

/160 cont./
114 into the aldea of Platanal and shot at one of the men. His shot
721 wounded "Lublo-juu" in the thigh. Nevertheless, since he recovered, there was no gathering for a raid. The men of the Frobenius expedition treated his leg and prevented complications, since the wound was quite deep.

574
628 At the beginning of February 1955 the Macolimutjeti and the Bisheasetjeti were invited to a Pijiguao or palm (Peach) festival among the Majecototjeti. The Macolimutjeti all came, men, women, and children. But the Bisheasetjeti were somewhat afraid. The Majecototjeti had been somewhat friendly with the Batanoatjeti, bitter enemies of the Bisheasetjeti, and the Bisheasetjeti feared a trick. (Years before, in 1951, they had been tricked by the Liacoatitjeti.) But so as not to show their bad faith, the men came (or at least a few of them), but none of the women, in order thus to reduce the "desirability" of a trick to steal them.

726 In March of 1955 the men of Platanal had gone for a new attempt at a raid, leaving the rest of the people in the principal aldea, located to the north of the Orinoco. One day, when /illustration appears here/ /161/ all of them except the lame boy were out of the aldea, the Shibaatía-tjeti returned. They found "Joashimocaoue," who was returning from the farm at the head of the others who had gone to take advantage of the Pijiguao, or palm festival. The raiders shot him twice in the back, since he ran toward the refuge of the aldea. He was wounded by one bamboo point, not deeply, and by one point poisoned with curare, which caused a rather deep wound. In the aldea he told the lame
[123] boy to hide himself from the raiders who had killed him, and then, finding no help in the aldea, he ran to our house, about 200 to 300 meters away.

/161 cont./

726
•123 Some women had passed by our house on their way to the aldea. Upon hearing his cries, they turned around and ran towards our house; terrified, they came in and closed the door. Then they told us that a raid was taking place and to go to see if we could help. At first we thought that it would be better to stay in the house also, but then we heard a cry for help not far from our house. Upon hearing this, we opened the door. I went out and found a wounded man who had managed to get to about 20 meters from our house, but could come no farther.

He said, "Please, take out the poisoned arrow." I picked him up and brought him into our house.

I had heard that salt is good against the poison of the curare, but I had no idea of how to administer the salt. Since he was still conscious, I told David to try to take out the arrowhead while I had him drink all the salt water and try to keep it down before he became unconscious. It must have tasted terrible to him, since the Yanomama usually do not eat salt, but he was so desperate that he consented. He was unconscious before David managed to remove the arrowhead, so I gave him artificial respiration, while David finished extracting the arrowhead, because he had stopped breathing. We were never able to find the tip of the point. In spite of this, we put salt in the wound, hoping that it would help somewhat, since he was now unconscious and we did not know with certainty how to administer the salt.

/162/ David went to the aldea to see if anything had happened there to the lame boy or to anyone. I continued with the artificial respiration while he was gone. When David returned, about 20 minutes had passed, and from then on we took turns for almost two hours. His pulse remained good during the whole time. A little before two hours were up, he recovered consciousness and began to talk. He was soon breathing by himself, and we did not continue the treatment, because it hurt him. We stopped and found that he was breathing regularly enough by himself.

During all of this time the women were there looking on (one of them was a believer) and David and I were praying.

/162 cont./

726 Then the inhabitants of the aldea began to come back from
• 123 the forest. Seeing him lying motionless in a puddle of blood, each group that came supposed that he was dead, and they were mourning greatly for a few minutes, lamenting him, before those who knew what had happened were able to quiet them. Finally, one of the older men with sufficient presence of mind said that he wanted to take him to the aldea, if this were possible.

First the man tried to walk on his own feet to the aldea, but "Joashimocaoue" was very weak and in much pain, and he could not do this at all. Therefore a hammock was sent for. They tied this to a post before rolling up the wounded man in it; two men carried him to the aldea. That night he again became unconscious. Two women came and told us, "We are weeping again." I recommended to David that he stay and pray while I sent to see what could be done.

Upon arriving in the aldea, I found him unconscious in his hammock. They wanted me to put some medicine on his wounds, but there he was, unconscious. I said, "Let us pray first." Almost all of the believers who were there, and even those who had never professed to be believers, prayed with me for him. I prayed first and then they all repeated it together, asking God to spare his life. I had never seen a gathering of Yonomama praying so fervently before or since then. I do not know exactly how long we were praying, but it must have been about an hour.

/163/ When all had finished praying, we looked over and there he was, conscious again. He sat up and asked me if they had treated his wounds. I put sulfa powder on them and bandaged them. After this he did not lose consciousness again, and although his wounds were very painful, he went along well without any complications arising, although the tip of the poisoned point must still have been stuck in some part of his back.

721 The men of Majecototjeti returned from their raid on the Liacoatjeti without finding anyone in their houses.

123 A little before this an old woman from Shibaatía-tjeti
75 visited some of her Majecototjeti relatives and told them how in
[609] her aldea they did not like foreigners, because they were always curing people. When someone in the aldea was wounded, they

123 /163 cont./
75 wanted that person to die. I assured them that we alone had not cured the boy. The whole aldea had asked God to cure him, and God had answered. The people of the aldea affirmed that this was the case. They had prayed sufficiently, and God had spared his life.

726 The chief's brother came to Yabitjaotjeti and told the chief that the Liacoatjeti had been visiting upriver and that now they were on their way to their homes in their own aldea.

The chief called a meeting for another raid. First the [622] whole aldea moved across the river in order to get away from the bank that was easy for the Shibaatía-tjeti to attack. David and I picked up our hammocks and went with them across the river. On the following day the men set off on the raid, or, more properly, they went down to the Bisheasetjeti to depart from there. Only the adult men went; the boys and children 17 years old or less remained at home.

This time David and I were able to pray that they might not fight. We asked, rather, that the Lord might protect the believers from danger. He did it. The raiders /164/ were gone 727 about three weeks. When they returned, the chief came to the aldea and had an official colloquy, briefly, with the most important man who was left in the aldea. At most the chanted colloquy lasted about half a minute. Then they all began to cry. Someone had been killed. We looked to see who had come back [302] and, if possible, to see who was missing. Some of the men had red marks on their cheeks and on the forehead as a sign that they had killed someone or had "hecho" /done, finished/ much in the fight, for they did not know whether they had killed anyone or not.

I later learned that three of the enemy had been killed, and that one of those of the party, a man from Macolimutjeti, had been wounded in the chest and had died.

727 The underbrush had been cleared away at the site of our
783 temporary aldea, which thus would not serve for the matadores /killers/ to fulfill the rites of a matador as they should be done in thick underbrush. Therefore within an hour we moved to a

/165 cont./

721 In April of 1955 I found that the Bisheasetjeti had taken a girl from Vitocaiyetjeti, contrary to the desires of her aldea. Not long after this the Vitocaiyetjeti made a raid on the Bisheasetjeti to recapture the girl. The raiders managed to go [726] up the river as far as the Mavaca River, with one of the "Ceder" outfits which was working in the Yanomama territory. In the battle which followed there were a few banged heads and an abundance of broken arms, but nobody was killed. Nor did they manage to get the girl back. Now the two aldeas are threatening to shoot at each other.

628 The Vitacoiyetjeti, expecting to get help, told the Yoeitjeti that the Bisheasetjeti were also angry at them and were planning raids against them as well. They /166/ also told the Macolimutjeti that the Yoeitjeti were angry with the Bisheasetjeti, and, of course, the news reached the Bisheasetjeti.

628 On a trip of mine up the river I would stop in Bisheasetjeti.
● 123 The chief asked me to find out from the Bisheasetjeti whether the report was true. But the Bisheasetjeti were not at home when I passed. Nevertheless, the Majecototjeti did not know of any such intentions on the part of the Bisheasetjeti, in spite of having had several visits recently from the Bisheasetjeti.

I told this to the chief of the Yoeitjeti on my way back.

Now, in March 1956, the men and boys of Bisheasetjeti have gone down to Tamatama in canoes. But they did not stop in Yoeitjeti. The Yoeitjeti wanted to pursue them at once, but they lacked sufficient boats. Nineteen (19) men and two women from Yoeitjeti arrived at Tamatama a few days after the men of Bisheasetjeti had arrived there.

The Bisheasetjeti wanted to keep their bows when they arrived, in case their enemies might also come. But I told them to give us their bows and I would give them back when they were ready to leave.

If some other Yanomamas had come, I would also have taken their bows at the wharf in order to keep them from fighting. When the men of Bisheasetjeti saw the boat of the Yoeitjeti at a distance, they were afraid. I told them to go into my house and

/166 cont./

628 close the door. I was able to take the bows and arrows from the
123 newcomers at the wharf. When the Yoeitjeti arrived, their chief
asked me about the Bisheasetjeti. I told him that the
628 Bisheasetjeti did not wish to fight and that I already had their
123 bows. He let me take the bows of his men, and I shut them up
728 in one of our houses. Then the men of Yoeitjeti and Bisheasetjeti
came together at my house, without weapons, and assured each
other that they wished to be friends. All 31 of them slept to-
gether in my house (a little crowded, but comfortably). I offered
them the empty house next to mine, but they did not want to
have anything to do with it. (My house is well ventilated, /167/
having Venetian blinds all around and two shutter-doors.)

[437] On the following day the Yoeitjeti left, after exchanging
their hammocks and bows with the Bisheasetjeti for machetes,
clothing, matches, and other things. I was happy to see the
two aldeas come together and become friends, because neither
one of them wanted to fight.

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

101 Guiano-Amazonas district of Venezuela, is neither so simple nor clear-cut as it at first appears. None of the Indians of the Guianian highlands are natural settlers. The more primitive groups, who live entirely from cropping the forest, fishing and hunting, are compelled to lead wandering lives; and those who practise agriculture and live in villages are ever ready for [167] a change of scene. These things, allied to an ingrained migratory instinct, lead them to keep moving about the country throughout their lives.

More Guaharibos from the Padamo

123 On the afternoon of May 25th another party of Guaharibos arrived at Esmeralda. I was approaching the jetty in one of the boats when I heard Francisco shouting from the other bank. It was nothing new to hear Francisco's bellowing; whenever he had killed a tapir that was too heavy for him to carry alone, or when the day's bag was too big to be loaded on his minute *curiara*, he would give tongue in this manner. I turned back to join him and as I did so he pointed with a paddle to an Indian craft which till then had been hidden from me by the bank-side vegetation. I steered towards it, standing up in the boat and making gestures of welcome and friendship. For an answer two men stood up timidly in their [501] boat as I went over to them and circled round them. Their craft, which rocked buoyantly in my wash, was built of a single strip of bark. It was similar to the one the children had left behind them, but bigger and contained thirteen people. Then I led them back to the landing-stage.

The official reception of these people we left to Butrón, who had a wonderful gift for this sort of thing. He quickly had some machetes brought out as gift-offerings. Of the boat's crew nine were young men in their teens, two of whom had their faces blackened with charcoal. Among them was Mopare, the eldest of our first visitors. Two children of about six and two young women tried to efface themselves against the bottom [291] of the boat. The youths wore some cotton material round their middles which was secured back and front by a belt of string. The women wore a sort of fringed apron no more than a few inches across.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123 [301] [501]

than a few inches across. All had their ears pierced by sticks slightly thicker and longer than a cigarette. Their paddles were short and as crudely constructed as the boat itself, some being roughly rounded and others no more than discs lashed with lianas to a pole handle.

To these primitives we must have appeared a strange collection. Who are these beings—they must have asked themselves—who go about dressed, shod and bearded, and who point queer things at us which go " click "? And the many boats lined up there, that go so fast and make much noise! Mopare had probably told them wonderful tales, but since he had left the camp when it was still in embryo, he was doubtless as much amazed by its present size as the others. There was a moment of hesitancy and then Butrón held out a machete and said: " *Shori! Shori! Noji!* " He told us this meant " friend " or " relative ". In exchange for the machete, he demanded the man's bow and arrows. The size of the bow surprised me, since it was taller than the man himself. One by one the Indians disembarked and surrendered their arms in exchange for machetes. All except a fine, well-built brave who seemed to be their leader and who remained sitting in the stern of the boat, watchful and silent. The women, still cowering, stayed near him. At last, seeing his companions on shore and our attitude giving no cause for mistrust, he was reassured. Courteously and with dignity he held out a hand to the women, who were still apprehensive.

" Padamo? " we asked him.

" Padamu, Padamu," he replied.

[194]

The final vowel, nasal and strongly accentuated, lies between " o " and " ou ". The word is indigenous and has been the river's official nomenclature since the time of Diez de la Fuente.

" Guaharibo? "

Another nasal sound which cannot be transcribed followed. It was a sort of grunt and could have meant " Yes ". And then: " Guaharibo ".

" Waïka? "

[648]

A worried look, followed by the gesture of bending a bow.

" Waïka—pfft! Waïka—pfft! "

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123
[648] From this we deduced that the Waïkas and the Guaharibos, although belonging to the same racial group, do not always live together in complete harmony.

142 Generally speaking, the Guaharibo is not as tall as the average white man. Though he is of slender build, his chest is thick-set and his arms are muscular and we attributed this to his regular use of his immensely powerful bow. His skin is lighter than that of the Makiritares and his eyes are brighter. His hair, too, is less dark and is cut with a fringe all round the head. Body hair is but feebly developed and the men are [302] practically beardless. The two women in the boat were delicately made and quite pretty; they adopted a similar hairstyle to the men but rather longer. Their breasts, small and conical, contrasted with the opulent, hemispherical breasts of the [302] Makiritare women. One of them was clearly the wife of the leader of the party; the other appeared to belong to one of the men with the charcoal-blackened face.

123 Our Guaharibos very quickly became less suspicious, though they still kept close together. Each grasped his machete as though it were treasure, the women and children doing so, [136] too. Hardly had they disembarked than they were assaulted by the *plaga*, which were always at their worst at this time of day. The unfortunate Guaharibos in their nakedness fell an easy prey to them and were soon hopping about and slapping themselves with their hands and the flat blades of the machetes. Obviously they had come from a less infested country, probably from the banks of a black water river.

"General" Butrón, who had several times had contact with the Padamo Guaharibos—or at least with their cousins the Waïkas—suddenly produced a bundle of incredible rags which he had picked up God-knows-where, and began to distribute them. The scene that followed was quite grotesque. The women were no more capable of putting on a dress than the men were of donning trousers. We had to dress them as if they were infants, and replace missing buttons by string. As soon as night fell and the *jejenes* left us in peace, they promptly discarded these embarrassing and tawdry impediments.

We made over to them a newly-built *rancho* situated in the

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guahariho

middle of the camp, but they preferred to sleep under a simple palm roof resting on four poles which had been erected near the river as a temporary measure when the first advanced party arrived. There they hung their hammocks, made of the same pliable liana threads as their loin-cloths. Apart from their bows and arrows, these hammocks were the only possessions they brought with them. Thus they passed the night close to the river and their boat. They lighted fires and kept them burning all night. Not all of them slept in hammocks. Some squatted on the bare ground close to the fires, but those who used hammocks slung them low to get the maximum benefit of the fire's heat, for all slept naked.

The next morning they came over to the empty *rancho* where we gave them *manioc*, which they knew and appreciated as a special treat. But they refused the cooked food we offered them. One or two of them tasted it, but quickly spat it out. We offered them meat and learned that they cook their game without first skinning it. We gave them salt, which was new to them and which they spat out with dreadful grimaces. It was probably the salt that made them refuse our cooked food. They never tired of *manioc*, and we discovered that *manioc* and *machete* were the only two Spanish words they knew.

The Guaharibos have a curious and revolting habit of secreting in their mouths between the lower gums and the lip a roll of green tobacco as big as the stump of a fat cigar. They do not chew it; it remains there unbroken all day while two streams of greenish juice continuously trickle from the corners of their mouths. Even the children and sometimes the women indulge. The lump, which horribly deforms the lower part of the face, making it look hideous, may have contributed to their reputation for ferocity and savagery. The preparation of the tobacco quids is the duty of the women. The fresh tobacco leaf is rolled with wood-ash, and then the women chew and soak it in spittle until it reaches the right proportions and consistency before passing it on to their mates. Cardona told us this was the universal practice.

The Indians' fear and suspicion of us quickly dispersed.

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dixies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of gestures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Makiritare SS20
Guahariba

vertically into the air was particularly spectacular. The bowman stood with his left arm extended holding the bow over his head, his back arched and body relaxed. Then, pulling on the bow-string slowly to keep the arrow steady, he would let fly, his body dead-still as he watched the arrow climb upwards, spinning like a top.

As happened on the occasion of their first visit, our Guaharibos took themselves off one morning before dawn. Our cook, Evaristo, pointed westwards across the savannah where we could see them outlined in the tall grass as they walked with their backs to the sun.

The Makiritares of the Cunucunuma

In 1886, Jean Chaffanjon, the French explorer, visited the Makiritares of the middle Cunucunuma and wrote an enlightening account of them, saying that they spoke tolerable Spanish. In 1949 de Civrieux and Lichy also went up the Cunucunuma; accompanied by Makiritares, they reached Mount Marahuaca. More recently still Dr. Hans Baumgartner, former head of the Health Department of the Amazon Federal Territory, visited them. Although they are generally known as Makiritares, these Caribs prefer to call themselves Dekuanas. "Makiritare" means "River Man" in Arawak, and at one time must have rung out like an alarm call when the pillaging conquering hordes were on the march. To-day, though the number of Makiritares in Venezuela does not exceed seven hundred, their influence still dominates the Upper Caura, the Upper Padamo and the Cunucunuma rivers, where they are to be found in greatest concentration.

The Cunucunuma flows into the Orinoco some thirty-five miles below Esmeralda, its waters making good some of the loss sustained at the Casiquiare fork, where some of the Orinoco's water drains into the Amazonian Rio Negro. It is a beautiful river, whose black and white waters intermingle. It receives the torrents that pour down Duida's western flank and from Marahuaca, the two tallest monuments to the former sandstone expanse of the Guianan *massif*. Two hundred yards from its mouth the Cunucunuma is broken by rapids which

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Venezuelan Indians SS4
Makiritare SS20

6

Esmeralda to the Guaharibo Rapids

U
123
M
[361]

EXPEDITIONS above Esmeralda differ from those elsewhere on the Orinoco in that no experienced guides are available. Native boatmen, wherever they may come from, are boatmen and not guides. In de la Fuente's time, the Makiritares frequented and sometimes inhabited the upper reaches of the river and its tributaries as far as the Padamo, but beyond that limit they were scared to go for fear of the terrible Guaharibos. It was the same with the Baré Indians who accompanied Chaffanjon in 1886 and who several times tried to desert. More recently, in 1931, Spencer Dickey's men were equally apprehensive. But none of these expeditions ever left the river.

On the Sipapo the Piaroas make excellent guides, and Guahibos on the Vichada are equally ready to assist. Going up the Ventuari several explorers have recorded how they were handed from one settlement of Makiritares to another when they were crossing territory shared with the Guaharibos. The watershed between the Ventuari, Merevari and Auari rivers is a traditional cross-roads where Makiritares have established villages and plantations at each intersection.

M
[361]
Y
123

Cardona Puig is the only explorer I know of who has been guided by Guaharibos, Waikas or Shirishanas and he was repeatedly up against taboos, forbidden paths and places from which he was compelled to retrace his steps—not always unscathed.

• • •

At noon on July 13th Pablo Anduze, the entomologist who is known throughout Venezuela as "Dr Mosquito", Butrón and I left Esmeralda for the Guaharibo Rapids where we were to set up Base Camp No. 2. Like Esmeralda it was also to be a research centre. Twelve natives accompanied us of whom

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

one, a Guahibo, refused to be parted from his wife. Butrón christened her Ana-Maria and she stayed with the expedition as cook and mascot almost to the end. 123

The Guaharibo Rapids are the first major barrier on the Upper Orinoco and only Chaffanjon, Dickey, and Butrón with his wood-cutters had ever got beyond them. Even the precise location of the rapids themselves was open to question since what one has called the Guaharibo Rapids another did not. [133]

Butrón was in command of our convoy, his old launch towing half a dozen *curiaras* and *falcas*. Though the river was in spate there was water enough for the launch only as far as the foot of the rapids. From there on we should have to manhandle our native craft up the rapids as best we could.

Our cargo consisted of heavy cases of reserve foodstuffs and the greater part of the expedition's *manioc* supply. We also carried petrol in forty-four gallon drums and four-and-half gallon cans, and a great mound of newspapers and blotting paper for drying plants which Croizat and Couret had entrusted to our care. Finally we had a considerable quantity of knives, machetes and other barter-ware. Our job was to prepare the way for the main body of the expedition who would follow as soon as their work at Esmeralda, particularly the archaeological diggings, was completed.

The heavily-laden launch made slow progress against the fast-running current. With the river full to its maximum, the banks, undermined by the rush of water, kept caving in under the weight of their vegetation. Forest trees came spinning and turning downstream. We passed many small tributary streams often without noticing them, so closely knit were the enveloping trees whose lower branches were washed by the water. There seemed no chink in the impenetrable wall of vegetation and I caught myself repeating de Civricux's phrase: "No way but the river, no horizon but the forest." There could be no question of sailing by night through such waters and so we made good use of the last remaining daylight by slinging our hammocks in tiers one above the other so that all fifteen of us could spend a comfortable night under the launch's awning.

The next day we passed the Padamo and its flood waters

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

123 were, if anything, even more violent than those of the Orinoco. At its mouth it is about three hundred yards wide compared to the four hundred yards of the Orinoco just below the juncture. Chaffanjon, doubtless influenced by wishful thinking and his growing proximity to the river's source, stated these widths to be only eighty and one hundred yards respectively. He similarly exaggerated his description of the ruggedness of the river-bed. But inaccuracies of this kind were by no means uncommon among explorers of the last century, as Jean Hurault showed of Anatole Coudreau's account of his exploration of the rivers of French Guiana.

123 133 The Padamo comes down Marahuaca—probably the highest massif of the Guianan mountains—in a series of waterfalls. It is fed by two major tributaries, the Voltamo and the Matacuni, the last named rising in that remarkable " water tower " formed by the junction of the Sierra Parima and the Sierra Pacaraïma ; here rise the Ventuari, the Erebato, the Merevari, the Auari and the Ocamo.

Three hours later we reached the Ocamo, above which the Orinoco becomes noticeably narrower, for only the Mavaca now remains as a tributary of importance. The Mavaca, whose upper reaches were explored by Cardona in 1941, runs practically parallel to the Orinoco in a generally westerly direction until it is diverted northwards where it meets the mountains and joins the main river. These mountains are shown in Diez de la Fuente's sketch-maps and are the cause of the Orinoco's north-western change of course as far as Esmeralda. Formed of layers of sandstone, their summits tower high above the forest. We had not realized that the sandstone Roraïma Formation extended so far east nor, for that matter, so far south. Until then, we had accepted the generally-held belief that the granite mass of Piedra del Cocuy was typical of the mountains east and south of Duida. Observing from the river, it seemed to me that the sandstone beds were not horizontal, though it was not possible to observe either the angle or direction of their dip.

[127] We were using Hamilton Rice's sketch-map (scale 1–750,000) embracing the Rio Negro, the Casiquiare, and the Upper

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

Orinoco to the Guaharibo Rapids. On this the river's course is given in great detail, showing not only the major tributaries but a great many minor ones as well, though there is no indication of their size. From first-hand experience it was clear to us that the contribution of some of the lesser tributaries was anything but negligible. There are, for instance, the Iguapo, which joins the Orinoco from the right ten miles above Esmeralda after itself being joined by a river its own size, and another river, unnamed as far as I know, which has its mouth midway between the Padamo and the Ocamo. And entering from the other bank come the Lipe and the Icipe, of which the latter is eighty yards wide at the confluence. Of these four only the Iguapo has been explored and that by Diez de la Fuente.

Above the Mavaca the Orinoco's mean width is less than two hundred yards. Its general direction of flow is east to west with a slight northern tendency and surprisingly, since it nowhere else does so in its thousand miles journey from Mavaca to the sea, it twists and turns pronouncedly.

Since we had left Esmeralda the only birds we had seen were single specimens of black ibis, large kingfishers and droves of white egrets. The egrets would sit craning their necks in the trees and, as we approached, would fly up only to settle down a little farther away. It was as though no human being had ever disturbed their forests. Once or twice we saw a pair of otters diving from a rock or dead tree stump and once we shot at an anaconda which was placidly coiled round a tree. We watched as it slowly unwound and disappeared into the murky water.

That evening we took one of the *curiaras* up a small tributary and fished, but the spate was too strong. Instead of fish we gathered some forest cocoa whose pulp is a refreshing drink when newly made.

The First Waikas

The Padamo and Ocamo rivers are inhabited by Guaharibos. Above the Ocamo, the inhabitants of the Orinoco's banks call themselves Waikas. They closely resemble the Guaharibos we had met at Esmeralda but are, perhaps, a little more primitive. Some had had previous contact with Butrón's wood-cutters.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waïkas. We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows, they motioned us to come closer.

"*Shori! Shori!*" they shouted.

"*Shori! Shori!*" we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and *manioc* and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying "*Shori! Shori!*" and we responded as in a litany, "*Shori!*"

Physically the Waïka is no different from the Guaharibo. He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waïka's only weapon. Made of strong,

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

352
415
142
516
439
123

TOP: Women of the " Platanal ". Notice the household goods. The two types of hammock are clearly shown. (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

BOTTOM: Swapping. The little things we brought excited curiosity and greed. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[P. 112-C]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

his jungle intimately—where to find palm dates, cocoa and brazil nuts in their season, and where game birds are most plentifully found. He hunts the herds of peccary, his ear, versed in all the sounds of the forest, detecting his prey before they detect him. When the water in the rivers is low he shoots his fish with arrows and when the sand banks are uncovered he hunts tortoise eggs buried in the sand. His interminable wanderings are limited only by his forest lore; he lives only for the day, his sole reserve of food being a small store of bananas brought from the village plantation.

Platanal

As we closed the shore our reception was tumultuous. From the high bank above us the Indians leaped yelling into the water and clambered on board, shaking themselves like wet dogs. Laughing and gesticulating they took hold of our mooring lines. Though some of us were a little overcome by this display of exuberance, Butrón was not in the least disconcerted. He knew that the Indians had long learned to associate him with machetes and *manioc*. As soon as it was possible to do so, Butrón had a basket of *manioc* and a dozen machetes carried ashore, and the Indians who had already begun to ransack our cargo left it and hurried ashore.

"*Shori! Manioco! Oji!*" they cried striking their bellies. They jostled round the basket, stuffing handfuls of the coarse flour into their mouths, their heads thrown back in ecstasy.

As the Waïka have no knowledge of contriving the simplest of iron tools, or of grinding *manioc*, all such articles were highly valued objects of barter. So were matches, once they had been shown how to use them.

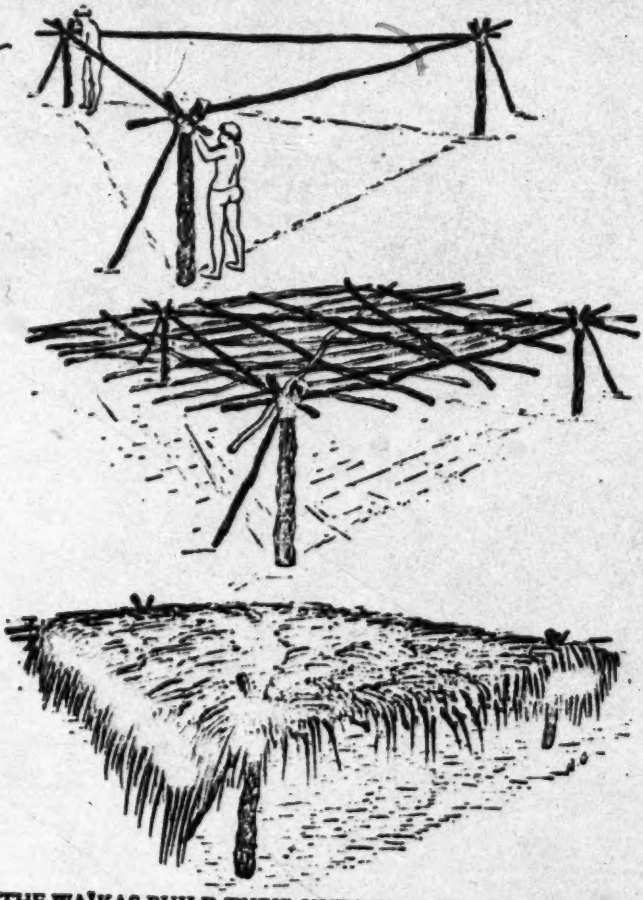
Butrón told them we wanted the large green bananas which are eaten cooked; the accepted tariff is three hands of bananas for one machete. Before long, we heard some of the natives making merry in the plantation, and made as if to follow them. But at once the others became suspicious and gestured to us to return to the river bank. We insisted and they became menacing, finally refusing to go on gathering the bananas if we did not desist.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Wai'ca

797
123

On the riverside where the bananas were being stacked, we came across a strange character. He was a white man, young and prematurely bald, who watched the proceedings calmly, almost diffidently. His trousers and shirt were impregnated with the violet dye the Indians smear on their bodies. I went

342



THE WAÏKAS BUILD THEIR HUTS IN A MATTER OF A FEW MINUTES. THE HUTS ARE ALWAYS BUILT TO THE SAME PATTERN

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

forward to meet him and he introduced himself as James Barker of the Evangelist Mission of San Fernando de Atabapo. He told me that he and a companion now up at the village had been living with the Waikas for the past seven months. He added that the Indians had sunk the boat in which they had come so that they were now quite isolated. He spoke their language fluently and his attitude to them was that of an indulgent schoolmaster.

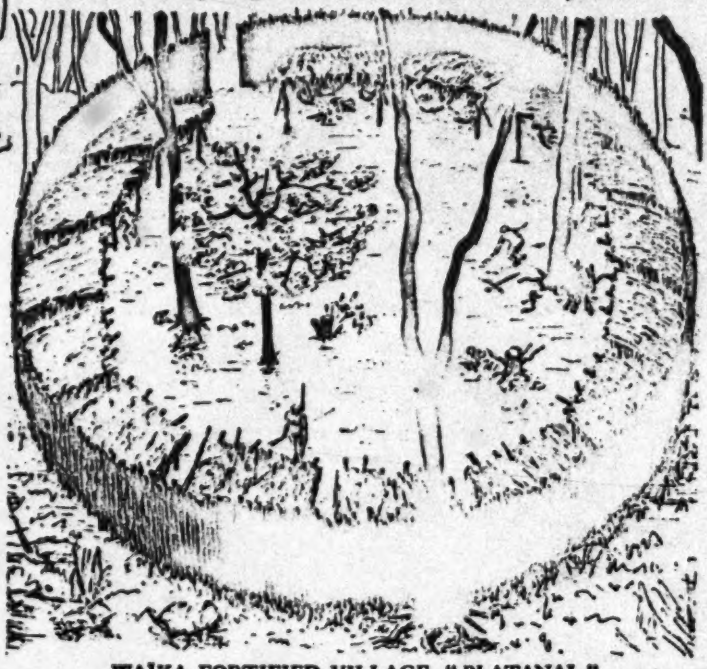
I told him of our desire to see the village and he spoke about it to the Waikas. They were at once suspicious and reluctant; even when they eventually agreed, agreement was far from unanimous. Nevertheless, we fell in behind Barker and marched up a slippery path so muddy that I began to envy the forest people their nakedness. We came to a recently made clearing which had been cleared by fire and I tried to slip away up a little-used path. At once the Indians objected, their vehemence suggesting that the plantation to which the path probably led hid many wonderful secrets.

After twenty minutes of marching we came to a fence in a clearing. The fence was made of stakes lashed together forming a perfect circle. I thought this must be the village but we passed it by. A hundred yards beyond we came to another similar enclosure and this time our guides led us inside. As we entered I remembered what Pierre Ivanoff had told me of an earlier occasion when he and three companions had succeeded in reaching a Waika village. The first enclosure we had just seen was undoubtedly the counterpart of the one in which he had been forced to dance with his hosts before being allowed to go on to the second. In the present instance the dance was omitted from our programme.

Inside the enclosure, which was some thirty yards across, huts were built with their backs to the palisade, leaving a circular space in the middle shaded by a big tree. The corner of each hut consisted of three stakes in the form of a tripod supporting horizontal rafters of green wood tied in place by lianas. Wide-eaved roofs were thatched with banana leaves. The circle of fencing was unbroken except for the single entry. A pungent, musty smell pervaded the place as we

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

entered. It was deserted; the women and children had doubtless fled at our approach and were now probably hiding in the forest or the plantation. This would explain why the men had been unwilling to allow me to wander off on my own. After a time they began to filter back. The boys were the



WAÏKA FORTIFIED VILLAGE, "PLATANAL"

first to return, the younger ones wearing nothing but an armlet above the elbow, and the older ones wearing the string round their hips and knotted to the prepuce. Then came the women, the oldest first, followed by the younger ones with their babies. All were completely naked and all wore their hair cut in the pudding-basin fashion favoured by the men. They kept close together, chattering; some began idly swinging in their hammocks in their houses. When we tried to approach them the men followed close on our steps.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

I tried to take some photographs of them, but they cowered back behind each other, clucking like frightened chickens, and the men gestured to me to stop. One of them, a one-eyed old man, despatched a stream of spittle from his quid into my face. 123

"*Shori! Noji!*" I protested, and laughed. I got out my comb and combed my hair and beard. He came over and examined the comb and my hair and stroked my beard. Then he, too, laughed.

"*Shori!*" he repeated.

I set about combing his crown of short bristly hair. He laughed louder and spat heartily. I slipped my arm round his shoulders and placed the view-finder of my camera against his good eye. He groaned and hopped from one foot to another, and I pressed the release. Then he laughed again and allowed himself to be photographed but he would not allow me to take pictures of the women until we had made further gifts of knives.

In the missionaries' hut, which was identical with the others, we saw the beginnings of the first Waïka dictionary. While we were there a native came up and led me to a hut where his wife was suckling a few-week's-old baby. The baby's two-year-old brother was playing in the dust with two mangy dogs as thin as a skeleton and of no recognizable breed. The child's body was covered with scabs about the size of threepenny bits. Quite obviously the father expected me to do something about the affliction, and I made up my mind to give Barker some tubes of sulphonamide. Barker told me that infant mortality was high among the Waïkas, adding that he had never known a child to be born or to die within the village enclosure. Since the sojourns of these people within the village were invariably brief, birth and death invariably occurred in the course of their peregrinations. [164] [165]

The men and youths all had deep scars on their scalps, made the more conspicuous by their shaven crowns. In answer to our inquiries we were told in gestures that these came from some sort of stick or club, but whether in battle or ritual, we could not discover. (The following year King Leopoid II's expedition to the same area saw similar long head-scars among Waïka women.) 142 [114]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

302 Both men and women and even the small children paint their
[386] faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not
302 seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which
531 it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred, either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red, while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken themselves.

123 Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or
302 war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company with some whose paint was paling and some who were not even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

* * *

352 The furnishing of Waïka huts is very simple and orderly, each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one
[286] above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from
[283] threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades, while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their
[287] ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of
592 a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when the village is crowded.

162 In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people, which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waïka musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waïkas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waïkas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

He told us that the

499 building of their crude bridges is a lengthy and laborious business and quite impossible when the river was in spate.

123 We returned to the river to find that those we had left behind had removed the boats to a safe distance—a wise precaution, since it was desirable not to excite the greed of the natives. Many an expedition, we knew, had failed through being looted because this elementary precaution had [648] been overlooked. Furthermore, such incidents can lead to serious conflict, as Cardona had learnt on more than one occasion. When dealing with such primitives, caution, good humour and nursery diplomacy are the essential safeguards.

As we pressed on up-river other Waïkas hailed us from the banks. We did not stop, nor did we make any presents of *manioc*, knives and machetes to those who followed us, running through the undergrowth, and gesticulating and shouting as they ran. We spent the night in the shelter of a rocky island they could not reach.

The Guaharibo Rapids

123 By now the river's width was no more than a hundred and 133 fifty yards. Though its course no longer wound as it had, the current was no less strong. Rocky banks that plunged steeply into the water and boulders across the river-bed created violent currents and our engines had to go full out to give us the least headway. If the water had been low we should have been able to pass only with the greatest of difficulty. We passed through one such rocky race which Butrón said was the Guaharibo Rapids. Actually they were the Yamaraquin Rapids marked on Hamilton Rice's map and characterized by a huge pyramid-shaped reef. Butrón called the rapids, where we intended setting up Base Camp 2, the Waïka Rapids, distinguished, so he said, by a group of islands of rock and sand, of which two were comparatively large. These were mentioned by both Rice and Dickey, who called them the Gua- [13] haribo Rapids. Rice gave their precise position as Latitude 2° 18′ 18″ N., Longitude 64° 38′ 46″ W. We arrived there at eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

The Guaharibo Rapids are caused by the presence of a barrier of extra-hard rock—granite diorite or diabase—which sand and water cannot erode so easily as the granite base. The water meets this barrier and either pours over it in a waterfall or descends less precipitously through a race strewn with rocks and reefs which mark the slow recession of the fall. Sand worn from the rock also accumulates to form islands. The main race from its crest is about two hundred yards long, secondary channels being set up by the presence of islands. On the largest of these islands we set up camp.

Here the river again ceases to be navigable, but we hoped by using the greater depth of the flood waters to be able to push our way up through one of the secondary channels. If this failed, the only alternative would be to haul the boats overland. Whatever happened, these rapids marked the end of a phase. Once passed, they would cease to be an objective, becoming instead no more than a stage in our progress to the river's source.

[pp. 122-169 not processed]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Wa'ica

133 But ibis in immense droves refused to be disturbed as they
123 covered each new sandbank that was born.
[136] The water was as clear as if it had been filtered, its reflection of the sun blinding. Dark patches of smooth water amid the rippled surface elsewhere betrayed the next sandbanks to uncover.

We left behind the Padamo, Ocamo and the Mavaca, and all the time the river got narrower. We passed the nights on great flat platforms of rock which got larger as the water went down; with machetes we killed fish trapped in the rocky pools left by the receding stream. A dish of ananas and fish, half-soup, half-stew, is very tasty. It is called *sancoco* and from now on became our staple diet.

123 From Esmeralda we had brought supplies of sugar, coffee,
salt, some oil and four big baskets of *manioc* from which we
[136] made coarse bread at all hours of the day. Several times we saw fresh water turtles clinging to the rocks and once or twice succeeded in catching one. But they are wily creatures and usually they dived before we could get near them. One we caught was handicapped by an injured foot which the men asserted was the work of a caribe. Unfortunately, it was too early for the females to be laying their eggs in the sand—they would have been manna, indeed.

123 We arrived at Platanal on November 21st to find that the
721 bridge had been cut down and learned that this had been deliberately done "for strategic reasons". The Indians greeted us like old friends and unhesitatingly took us to the village. There we found feverish activity on all sides. A boy had been kidnapped from the plantation and another killed
[764] by an arrow through the chest. The corpse had been cremated amid ritual weeping and the ashes stored by the family in an urn sealed by wax. Not until the death had been avenged could they be mixed with the dust of the lad's ancestors.

[712] The men had strengthened and consolidated the fortified enclosure and cut down the screen of trees round the village. Sentries had been posted and the entry through the fortification had been concealed by palm-leaves. Women were

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

123
721

bringing in supplies from the plantation and distributing them among the huts. They were obviously preparing for a long siege.

Barker, the missionary, told us he had thrown his shot-gun into the river to save him from having to take part. Rape, he said, was at the root of every conflict—the kidnapping of boys or girls according to whether a clan had a surplus of men or women without mates. Sometimes a young warrior had to prove himself and in such cases rape is the best method, since it tests endurance, patience, resource and skill no less than strength. [555]

On this occasion, the women had lost all their earlier bashfulness—a group of six of them never leaving us. We had seen the eldest of them twice before, and three of the others had been in the village when we had passed through on our downstream trip. It seeemed they must have vouched for our friendliness for nobody asked us for machetes and matches. 123

On returning to our boat we found six stalks of bananas had been put in it for us. We were sorry that we had nothing but a little *manioc* to offer in return. As we left we met three Waïkas from a neighbouring clan. In honour of their hosts and doubtless to cut a good figure, each had painted himself all over with violet dye. [302]

* * *

We passed the Guaharibo Rapids at dawn on November 22nd and by the following day were at the foot of the rapids at Peñascal. We had brought lifting tackle to use where necessary, but with only four of us—and somewhat tired at that—we were anxious to avoid overland porterage wherever we could.

The falling water had uncovered acres of rocks with little channels running between, offering a safe passage through. At other times we had to assault the main channel knowing that if the engine gave out we must lose boat, provisions and equipment, if not our lives. For this reason, if ever there was enough water to float us in any subsidiary channel, we took it every time.

[pg 172 to end of book not processed]

124 omissions in ascending generations. The genealogies of
123 individuals from other villages were easier to collect, particularly if my informants had grudges against the members of those villages, but I employed the same techniques in these cases as well.

124 After I had established the genealogical relationships, I visited the various villages to make estimates of the ages of the individuals, as well as to collect other
124 kinds of information. This was always a touchy business, as
123 the Yąnomamö resent being called by their names, particularly
551 older and more influential individuals. Occasionally I would
554 say the name of an individual who had recently been killed in
769 a raid; this always resulted in an unpleasant and possibly dangerous situation, as most of them were unable to understand why a complete stranger should want to possess such knowledge unless it were for harmful magical purposes. My guides were constantly reminding me not to mention the names of dead people of the villages I visited and of the disastrous consequences that would follow should I fail to heed this advice.

124 In short, the collection of the genealogies was an unpleasant, full-time task and left very little time for intensive study of other aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

114 The two monographs dealing with the Yąnomamö mentioned above are quite superficial in their treatment of social organization; to date no intensive analysis of Yąnomamö social organization has been attempted using data

722 361 villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the women and children are concealed in these temporary sites 221 361 574 922 until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yanomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yanomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

422 484 [411] [415] [372] [237] [352] [123] All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow, arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having 484 to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, Kɑobäwä was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, Krähömi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The Yɑnomamö rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the Yɑnomamö avoid incestuous affairs, according to Kɑobawä, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. Kɑobawä himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yaweremou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kaobawë's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwë, 18). Whenever Kaobawë organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Madesiwë, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kaobawë. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawë, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kaobawë's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kaobawë's nephew, Bïkotawë, 18 years old.

Kaobawë's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kaobawë to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

622 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I
602 asked Kaobawë what he had done about it. He said he had
613 spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He
561 will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ulti-
123 mately had to resort to my own means to recover the flash-
554 light, as Kaobawë could not force Shiimima to return it.
591 When I questioned Kaobawë about this ineffectiveness, he
explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order
him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest
siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion
622 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every
613 feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scrap-
602 ing up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them
529 out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy prepar-
574 ing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing.
351 Kaobawë usually goes to the center of the village and begins
554 cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older
591 agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They
561 would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if
Kaobawë requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this
regard implies that one is being bossed around.

*621 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative
613 age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group
602 and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of
561 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the
593 group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the
602 solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult
613

organize a raiding party of approximately 20 to 25 men.[1]

The smallest raiding party I saw during my field work comprised 10 men. This seems to be the lower limit to the size of an effective raiding party; most raiding parties are of the order of 35-40 men, although I have seen as many as 60 men leave on a raid.[2] There are several reasons why raiding parties require ten or more men. First, the Yąnomamö are not brave warriors; in a party of 10 men, a significant fraction of them would rather remain in the village where it is safer, and these men always look for excuses to drop out of the raiding party before the party meets and joins the enemy. The usual excuses given are sickness or sore feet. Thus, even in small raiding parties there is considerable dissent among the men, particularly the younger ones. Such problems would be insurmountable if the party contained fewer than ten men, as even the most determined of the raiders would lose his enthusiasm by listening to the complaints and pessimistic comments of the more reluctant members of the raiding party. I accompanied one Monou-tedi raiding party a portion of the way to their objective; most of the younger men in the raiding party complained of having dysentery, malaria, or sore feet. I had promised to give them malaria

[1] This presumes that there are no sick or injured men in the village; there are always some.

[2] The larger raiding parties are always composite, involving the members of two or more villages.

701 pills before the raiding party left, but I forgot them.
703 This almost ended the raiding party, as the younger men
721 jumped on this as an excuse to stay home. The older men,
123 however, forced them into line and severly chastized them for
114 being cowardly.

701 Raiding tactics also require that approximately ten
721 men be included in the raiding party. The raiding party
725 usually splits into two or more groups when it approaches the village of the enemy. This increases the probability that the raid will be successful; two groups are more likely to confront individuals of the enemy village while at the same time splitting up reduces the possibility that the raiders will be accidentally discovered by the enemy. After the raiders shoot one or more of the enemy, they retreat in a standardized pattern. Groups of two men retreat a specified distance, their retreat being covered by two men who lie in ambush along the trail most likely to be taken by pursuers. The guarding pair then retreats, being covered by the first pair who lie in ambush. If the raiding party has separated into two groups, retreat tactics will necessitate at least 8 men.

721 The purpose of a raid is to kill one or more of the
727 enemy and retreat before being discovered. A raid is successful only if one or more of the enemy is killed and none of the raiders is wounded or killed. When a joint raiding party from Mahekodo-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi raided Riakowë's village in the early '50s to revenge the deaths of two

726 Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid
*628 from them. Paruriwë seized upon this as his opportunity to
622 advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated
[564] several raids against the Patanowë-tedi without the support
of Kaobëwë. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi.
[602] As Paruriwë was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman
(consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen
as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

156 Paruriwë's behavior in other respects changed after
622 the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he
• [123] was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again,
[593] he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one
occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she
responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwë was
entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the
visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a
*621 force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field,
622 Paruriwë and his group separated from Kaobëwë's and moved
361 across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house
529 on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This
574 move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could
initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up
until the time he moved, visitors from other villages con-
sistently sought out Kaobëwë as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during
the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how
much effort Paruriwë spent in emphasizing his own role in the
feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

visitors were enraged because Paruriwä failed to execute the plan, and they returned to Monou-tedi to recruit a raiding party, hoping to intercept the visitors on their way back to Patanowä-tedi.[1] Paruriwä placated the Monou-tedi by organizing a series of raids against the Patanowä-tedi, and by inviting the Monou-tedi to stay in his section of the village when they fled from their other two sites. Prior to this, the Monou-tedi had been staying with the members of the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi. By early November, the Monou-tedi had begun raiding the Patanowä-tedi with great frequency, supported by members of Paruriwä's group. Paruriwä himself sent three raiding parties against the Patanowä-tedi between November and February, all of which included men from Monou-tedi. Kaobäwä did not participate in or encourage these raids, but some of his followers took part in them.

This split was not the outcome of an internal feud. Rather, it developed out of the different political interests of two leaders, one of whom was ambitiously striving to improve his status as a headman. The other refused to prosecute the war against the Patanowä-tedi, as he had a large number of kinsmen there. The existence of these ties, however, did not preclude the war, as the Bisaasi-tedi are in fact raiding the Patanowä-tedi. The kin ties at best mitigate the intensity of the raiding. The situation is a problem for the Patanowä-tedi, as they do not want to kill the few Bisaasi-tedi friends

[1] Their plan failed, as I took the Patanowä-tedi back to their village part way in my boat, and we went the remainder of the way on a trail the Monou-tedi could not reach.

000 11. Didihoma. See #28, Manasinawä, below.

159 12. Dimörama. This girl was abducted from a distant Shamatari
583 village (Kohoroshi-tedi, probably in Brazil, on the Upper
587 Cauabury River) by the Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mömariböwei-
▶621 tedi. Her husband--the man to whom she was given after
578 being abducted--shot her in the stomach with a barbed
arrow, wounding her gravely (see Shiborowä, below). The
man was forced to flee from the village and take refuge
in Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as other men in the village
planned to use this incident as an excuse to take his
159 wives from him. In late 1965 a party of men from Lower
*628 Bisaasi-tedi, including Shiborowä, set off for Mǫmariböwei-
● 123 tedi to 'visit.' I accompanied them on their invitation.
721 They were going to Mǫmariböwei-tedi to take Dimörama away
from her protectors by force, if necessary, and asked me
to come along knowing that I always travelled with a gun,
presuming that my presence, with a gun, would aid in
their objective. The girl was very nearly dead when we
arrived (four months had passed since she was shot, and
the wound was badly inflected). As the Bisaasi-tedi were
one of the only allies of the Mǫmariböwei-tedi, they gave
up the girl without much argument, since she would have
[997] died anyway. (The New Tribes Missionaries took the girl
to the Territorial Capital by canoe for surgery in
January 1966. She recovered from the wound and is
presently living in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.)

159 21. Kakoma. This is one of the seven women abducted from the
583 Patanowä-tedi in late 1964 by the Monou-tedi. She was
587 taken from her Monou-tedi husband by force by the Lower
*628 Bisaasi-tedi and given to Kǫobauwä, one of the village
721 bachelors.

000 23. Katabema. See Shiborowä, below.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

181 ingness to use violence to obtain one's ends are considered desirable traits. Much of the behavior of the Yąnomamö can be described as brutal, cruel, treacherous, in the value-
[114] laden terms of our own vocabulary. The Yąnomamö themselves, however, as Napoleon Chagnon came to intimately know them in the year and a half he lived with them, do not all appear to be mean and treacherous. As individuals, they seem to be people playing their own cultural game, with internal feelings that at times may be quite divergent from
[121] the demands placed upon them by their culture. This case study furnishes valuable data for phrasing questions about the relationship between the individual and his culture.

[276] The Yąnomamö appear to be constantly on the verge of extranormal behavior, as we define it, and their almost daily use of hallucinogenic drugs reinforces these drives to what might seem to the outside observer to be the limits of human capacity. Life in their villages is noisy, punctuated by outbursts of violence, threatened by destruction by enemies. To the ethnographer it is frightening, frustrating, disgusting, exciting, and rewarding, and in this case study the ethnographer lets the reader know how he feels. His honest reactions help us, as interested outsiders, to know the Yąnomamö.

121 This is a study of a fierce people who engage in chronic warfare. It is also a study
926 of a system of controls that usually hold in check the drive toward annihilation. Conflict among the Yąnomamö is regulated through a series of graded escalations, from chest-pounding and side-slapping duels, through club fighting, spear throwing, to raiding in a state of war, to the ultimate—the *nomoboni*—massacre by treachery. The processes of avoidance, settlement, or escalation of disputes are discussed in detail in this case study. There are implications that range beyond the Yąnomamö, and beyond primitive peoples, to the "civilized" world in which we live, for we too live in a state of chronic warfare and are threatened by annihilation.

121 The Yąnomamö goad each other, within their own villages, to the brink of an
578 explosion (and they goaded the ethnographer in the same way). This hostility is
[123] projected on a larger scale in the negotiating of alliances between villages. Each principal must establish the credibility of his own threats, as well as discover the point at which the opposite party's bluffing will dissolve into action. It is, as the author says, a politics of brinksmanship, all too familiar to us.

128 The study is, however, not confined to a description of regulated violence. Dr. Chagnon provides us with an unusually clear chapter on social organization, with the genealogical details of kinship. The models he produces in his analysis are cast in sharper relief because he also discusses deviations from these models in actual behavior. He links social organization with the processes of fission that produce new villages and the alliances that are created in response to the threat of annihilation, reinforced and validated by the mutual ceding of women between villages. Social organization is presented not as an abstraction but as a dynamic process interrelated with other significant dimensions of life. The anthropological novice will find the analysis of social organization detailed but, with close attention, entirely understandable. The more experienced anthropological reader will grasp the full theoretical implications of the analysis and will find the author's references to various debates in the anthropological literature stimulating.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and way of life.

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ë] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ï] vowel are pronounced as that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąobawä would be pronounced "cow-ba-wuh," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
516
578

Fig. 1-1 Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast.

way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1-1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

000
181
152
721
123

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of them anxious to help me and honor bound to show any visitor the numerous courtesies of their system of etiquette. In short, they approached the image of primitive man that I had conjured up, and it was sheer pleasure to work with them. The recent work by Colin Turnbull (1966) brings out dramatically the contrast in personal characteristics of two African peoples he has studied.

Hence, what I say about some of my experiences is probably equally true of the experiences of many other fieldworkers. I write about my own experiences because there is a conspicuous lack of fieldwork descriptions available to potential fieldworkers. I think I could have profited by reading about the private misfortunes of my own teachers; at least I might have been able to avoid some of the more stupid errors I made. In this regard there are a number of recent contributions by fieldworkers describing some of the discomforts and misfortunes they themselves sustained.[3] Students planning to conduct fieldwork are urged to consult them.

My first day in the field illustrated to me what my teachers meant when they spoke of "culture shock." I had traveled in a small, aluminum rowboat propelled by a large outboard motor for two and a half days. This took me from the Territorial capital, a small town on the Orinoco River, deep into Yąnomamö country. On the morning of the third day we reached a small mission settlement, the field "headquarters" of a group of Americans who were working in two Yąnomamö villages. The missionaries had come out of these villages to hold their annual conference on the progress of their mission work, and were conducting their meetings when I arrived. We picked up a passenger at the mission station, James P. Barker, the first non-Yąnomamö to make a sustained, permanent contact with the tribe (in 1950). He had just returned from a year's furlough in the United States, where I had earlier visited him before leaving for Venezuela. He agreed to accompany me to the village I had selected for my base of operations to introduce me to the Indians. This village was also his own home base, but he had not been there for over a year and did not plan to join me for another three months. Mr. Barker had been living with this particular group about five years.

We arrived at the village, Bisaasi-teri, about 2:00 PM and docked the boat along the muddy bank at the terminus of the path used by the Indians to fetch their drinking water. It was hot and muggy, and my clothing was soaked with perspiration. It clung uncomfortably to my body, as it did thereafter for the remainder of the work. The small, biting gnats were out in astronomical numbers, for it was the beginning of the dry season. My face and hands were swollen from the venom of their numerous stings. In just a few moments I was to meet my first Yąnomamö, my first primitive man. What would it be like? I had visions of entering the village and seeing 125 social facts running about calling each other kinship terms and sharing food, each waiting and anxious to have me collect his genealogy. I would wear them out in turn. Would they like me? This was important to me; I wanted them to be so fond of me that they would adopt me into their kinship system and way of life, because I had heard that successful anthropologists always get adopted by their people. I had learned during my seven years of

[3] Maybury-Lewis 1967, "Introduction," and 1965b; Turnbull, 1966; L. Bohannan, 1964. Perhaps the most intimate account of the tribulations of a fieldworker is found in the posthumous diary of Bronislaw Malinowski (1967). Since the diary was not written for publication, it contains many intimate, very personal details about the writers' anxieties and hardships.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

anthropological training at the University of Michigan that kinship was equivalent to society in primitive tribes and that it was a moral way of life, "moral" being something "good" and "desirable." I was determined to work my way into their moral system of kinship and become a member of their society.

My heart began to pound as we approached the village and heard the buzz of activity within the circular compound. Mr. Barker commented that he was anxious to see if any changes had taken place while he was away and wondered how many of them had died during his absence. I felt into my back pocket to make sure that my notebook was still there and felt personally more secure when I touched it. Otherwise, I would not have known what to do with my hands.

The entrance to the village was covered over with brush and dry palm leaves. We pushed them aside to expose the low opening to the village. The excitement of meeting my first Indians was almost unbearable as I duck-waddled through the low passage into the village clearing.

I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous, and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses. We arrived at the village while the men were blowing a hallucinogenic drug up their noses. One of the side effects of the drug is a runny nose. The mucus is always saturated with the green powder and the Indians usually let it run freely from their nostrils. My next discovery was that there were a dozen or so vicious, underfed dogs snapping at my legs, circling me as if I were going to be their next meal. I just stood there holding my notebook, helpless and pathetic. Then the stench of the decaying vegetation and filth struck me and I almost got sick. I was horrified. What sort of a welcome was this for the person who came here to live with you and learn your way of life, to become friends with you? They put their weapons down when they recognized Barker and returned to their chanting, keeping a nervous eye on the village entrances.

We had arrived just after a serious fight. Seven women had been abducted the day before by a neighboring group, and the local men and their guests had just that morning recovered five of them in a brutal club fight that nearly ended in a shooting war. The abductors, angry because they lost five of the seven captives, vowed to raid the Bisaasi-teri. When we arrived and entered the village unexpectedly, the Indians feared that we were the raiders. On several occasions during the next two hours the men in the village jumped to their feet, armed themselves, and waited nervously for the noise outside the village to be identified. My enthusiasm for collecting ethnographic curiosities diminished in proportion to the number of times such an alarm was raised. In fact, I was relieved when Mr. Barker suggested that we sleep across the river for the evening. It would be safer over there.

As we walked down the path to the boat, I pondered the wisdom of having decided to spend a year and a half with this tribe before I had even seen what they were like. I am not ashamed to admit, either, that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next day when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever decided to switch from civil en-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114 123 gineering to anthropology in the first place. I had not eaten all day, I was soaking wet from perspiration, the gnats were biting me, and I was covered with red pigment, the result of a dozen or so complete examinations I had been given by as many burly Indians. [515] These examinations capped an otherwise grim day. The Indians would blow their noses into their hands, flick as much of the mucus off that would separate in a snap of the wrist, wipe the residue into their hair, and then carefully examine my face, arms, legs, hair, and the contents of my pockets. I asked Mr. Barker how to say "Your hands are dirty"; my comments were met by the Indians in the following way: They would "clean" their hands by spitting a quantity of slimy tobacco juice into them, rub them together, and then proceed with the examination.

Mr. Barker and I crossed the river and slung our hammocks. When he pulled his hammock out of a rubber bag, a heavy, disagreeable odor of mildewed cotton came with it. "Even the missionaries are filthy," I thought to myself. Within two weeks, everything I owned smelled the same way, and I lived with that odor for the remainder of the fieldwork. My own habits of personal cleanliness reached such levels that I didn't even mind being examined by the Indians, as I was not much cleaner than they were after I had adjusted to the circumstances.

So much for my discovery that primitive man is not the picture of nobility and sanitation I had conceived him to be. I soon discovered that it was an enormously time-consuming task to maintain my own body in the manner to which it had grown accustomed in the relatively antiseptic environment of the northern United States. Either I could be relatively well fed and relatively comfortable in a fresh change of clothes and do very little fieldwork, or, I could do considerably more fieldwork and be less well fed and less comfortable.

114 122 It is appalling how complicated it can be to make oatmeal in the jungle. First, I had to make two trips to the river to haul the water. Next, I had to prime my kerosene stove with alcohol and get it burning, a tricky procedure when you are trying to mix powdered milk and fill a coffee pot at the same time: the alcohol prime always burned out before I could turn the kerosene on, and I would have to start all over. Or, I would turn the kerosene on, hoping that the element was still hot enough to vaporize the fuel, and start a small fire in my palm-thatched hut as the liquid kerosene squirted all over the table and walls and ignited. It was safer to start over with the alcohol. Then I had to boil the oatmeal and pick the bugs out of it. All my supplies, of course, were carefully stored in Indian-proof, rat-proof, moisture-proof, and insect-proof containers, not one of which ever served its purpose adequately. Just taking things out of the multiplicity of containers and repacking them afterward was a minor project in itself. By the time I had hauled the water to cook with, unpacked my food, prepared the oatmeal, milk, and coffee, heated water for dishes, washed and dried the dishes, repacked the food in the containers, stored the containers in locked trunks and cleaned up my mess, the ceremony of preparing breakfast had brought me almost up to lunch time!

Eating three meals a day was out of the question. I solved the problem by eating a single meal that could be prepared in a single container, or, at most, in two containers, washed my dishes only when there were no clean ones left, using cold river water, and wore each change of clothing at least a week to cut down on my laundry problem, a courageous undertaking in the tropics. I was also less concerned about sharing my provisions with the rats, insects, Indians, and the elements, thereby eliminating the need

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

for my complicated storage process. I was able to last most of the day on *café con leche*, heavily sugared espresso coffee diluted about five to one with hot milk. I would prepare this in the evening and store it in a thermos. Frequently, my single meal was no more complicated than a can of sardines and a package of crackers. But at least two or three times a week I would do something sophisticated, like make oatmeal or boil rice and add a can of tuna fish or tomato paste to it. I even saved time by devising a water system that obviated the trips to the river. I had a few sheets of zinc roofing brought in and made a rain-water trap; I caught the water on the zinc surface, funneled it into an empty gasoline drum, and then ran a plastic hose from the drum to my hut. When the drum was exhausted in the dry season, I hired the Indians to fill it with water from the river.

I ate much less when I traveled with the Indians to visit other villages. Most of the time my travel diet consisted of roasted or boiled green plantains (see Glossary) that I obtained from the Indians, but I always carried a few cans of sardines with me in case I got lost or stayed away longer than I had planned. I found peanut butter and crackers a very nourishing food, and a simple one to prepare on trips. It was nutritious and portable, and only one tool was required to prepare the meal, a hunting knife that could be cleaned by wiping the blade on a leaf. More importantly, it was one of the few foods the Indians would let me eat in relative peace. It looked too much like animal feces to them to excite their appetites.

I once referred to the peanut butter as the dung of cattle. They found this quite repugnant. They did not know what "cattle" were, but were generally aware that I ate several canned products of such an animal. I perpetrated this myth, if for no other reason than to have some peace of mind while I ate. Fieldworkers develop strange defense mechanisms, and this was one of my own forms of adaptation. On another occasion I was eating a can of frankfurters and growing very weary of the demands of one of my guests for a share in my meal. When he asked me what I was eating, I replied: "Beef." He then asked, "What part of the animal are you eating?" to which I replied, "Guess!" He stopped asking for a share.

Meals were a problem in another way. Food sharing is important to the Yąnomamö in the context of displaying friendship. "I am hungry," is almost a form of greeting with them. I could not possibly have brought enough food with me to feed the entire village, yet they seemed not to understand this. All they could see was that I did not share my food with them at each and every meal. Nor could I enter into their system of reciprocities with respect to food; every time one of them gave me something "freely," he would dog me for months to pay him back, not with food, but with steel tools. Thus, if I accepted a plantain from someone in a different village while I was on a visit, he would most likely visit me in the future and demand a machete as payment for the time that he "fed" me. I usually reacted to these kinds of demands by giving a banana, the customary reciprocity in their culture—food for food—but this would be a disappointment for the individual who had visions of that single plantain growing into a machete over time.

Despite the fact that most of them knew I would not share my food with them at their request, some of them always showed up at my hut during mealtime. I gradually became accustomed to this and learned to ignore their persistent demands while I ate. Some of them would get angry because I failed to give in, but most of them accepted

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

it as just a peculiarity of the subhuman foreigner. When I did give in, my hut quickly filled with Indians, each demanding a sample of the food that I had given one of them. If I did not give all a share, I was that much more despicable in their eyes.

A few of them went out of their way to make my meals unpleasant, to spite me for not sharing; for example, one man arrived and watched me eat a cracker with honey on it. He immediately recognized the honey, a particularly esteemed Yąnomamö food. He knew that I would not share my tiny bottle and that it would be futile to ask. Instead, he glared at me and queried icily, "Shaki![6] What kind of animal semen are you eating on that cracker?" His question had the desired effect, and my meal ended.

Finally, there was the problem of being lonely and separated from your own kind, especially your family. I tried to overcome this by seeking personal friendships among the Indians. This only complicated the matter because all my friends simply used my confidence to gain privileged access to my cache of steel tools and trade goods, and looted me. I would be bitterly disappointed that my "friend" thought no more of me than to finesse our relationship exclusively with the intention of getting at my locked up possessions, and my depression would hit new lows every time I discovered this. The loss of the possession bothered me much less than the shock that I was, as far as most of them were concerned, nothing more than a source of desirable items; no holds were barred in relieving me of these, since I was considered something subhuman, a non-Yąnomamö.

The thing that bothered me most was the incessant, passioned, and aggressive demands the Indians made. It would become so unbearable that I would have to lock myself in my mud hut every once in a while just to escape from it: Privacy is one of Western culture's greatest achievements. But I did not want privacy for its own sake; rather, I simply had to get away from the begging. Day and night for the entire time I lived with the Yąnomamö I was plagued by such demands as: "Give me a knife, I am poor!"; "If you don't take me with you on your next trip to Widokaiya-teri I'll chop a hole in your canoe!"; "Don't point your camera at me or I'll hit you!"; "Share your food with me!"; "Take me across the river in your canoe and be quick about it!"; "Give me a cooking pot!"; "Loan me your flashlight so I can go hunting tonight!"; "Give me medicine . . . I itch all over!"; "Take us on a week-long hunting trip with your shotgun!"; and "Give me an axe or I'll break into your hut when you are away visiting and steal one!" And so I was bombarded by such demands day after day, months on end, until I could not bear to see an Indian.

It was not as difficult to become calloused to the incessant begging as it was to ignore the sense of urgency, the impassioned tone of voice, or the intimidation and aggression with which the demands were made. It was likewise difficult to adjust to the fact that the Yąnomamö refused to accept "no" for an answer until or unless it seethed with passion and intimidation—which it did after six months. Giving in to a demand always established a new threshold; the next demand would be for a bigger item or favor, and the anger of the Indians even greater if the demand was not met. I soon learned

[6] "Shaki," or, rather, "Shakiwä," is the name they gave me because they could not pronounce "Chagnon." They like to name people for some distinctive feature when possible. *Shaki* is the name of a species of noisome bee; they accumulate in large numbers around ripening bananas and make pests of themselves by eating into the fruit, showering the people below with the debris. They probably adopted this name for me because I was also a nuisance, continuously prying into their business, taking pictures of them, and, in general, being where they did not want me.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that I had to become very much like the Yąnomamö to be able to get along with them on their terms: sly, aggressive, and intimidating.

Had I failed to adjust in this fashion I would have lost six months of supplies to them in a single day or would have spent most of my time ferrying them around in my canoe or hunting for them. As it was, I did spend a considerable amount of time doing these things and did succumb to their outrageous demands for axes and machetes, at least at first. More importantly, had I failed to demonstrate that I could not be pushed around beyond a certain point, I would have been the subject of far more ridicule, theft, and practical jokes than was the actual case. In short, I had to acquire a certain proficiency in their kind of interpersonal politics and to learn how to imply subtly that certain potentially undesirable consequences might follow if they did such and such to me. They do this to each other in order to establish precisely the point at which they cannot goad an individual any further without precipitating retaliation. As soon as I caught on to this and realized that much of their aggression was stimulated by their desire to discover my flash point, I got along much better with them and regained some lost ground. It was sort of like a political game that everyone played, but one in which each individual sooner or later had to display some sign that his bluffs and implied threats could be backed up. I suspect that the frequency of wife beating is a component of this syndrome. since men can display their ferocity and show others that they are capable of violence. Beating a wife with a club is considered to be an acceptable way of displaying ferocity and one that does not expose the male to much danger. The important thing is that the man has displayed his potential for violence and the implication is that other men better treat him with respect and caution.

After six months, the level of demand was tolerable in the village I used for my headquarters. The Indians and I adjusted to each other and knew what to expect with regard to demands on their part for goods, favors, and services. Had I confined my fieldwork to just that village alone, the field experience would have been far more enjoyable. But, as I was interested in the demographic pattern and social organization of a much larger area, I made regular trips to some dozen different villages in order to collect genealogies or to recheck those I already had. Hence, the intensity of begging and intimidation was fairly constant for the duration of the fieldwork. I had to establish my position in some sort of pecking order of ferocity at each and every village.

For the most part, my own "fierceness" took the form of shouting back at the Yąnomamö as loudly and as passionately as they shouted at me, especially at first, when I did not know much of their language. As I became more proficient in their language and learned more about their political tactics, I became more sophisticated in the art of bluffing. For example, I paid one young man a machete to cut palm trees and make boards from the wood. I used these to fashion a platform in the bottom of my dugout canoe to keep my possessions dry when I traveled by river. That afternoon I was doing informant work in the village; the long-awaited mission supply boat arrived, and most of the Indians ran out of the village to beg goods from the crew. I continued to work in the village for another hour or so and went down to the river to say "hello" to the men on the supply boat. I was angry when I discovered that the Indians had chopped up all my palm boards and used them to paddle their own canoes[5] across the river. I knew that if

[5]The canoes were obtained from missionaries, who, in turn, got them from a different tribe.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

I overlooked this incident I would have invited them to take even greater liberties with my goods in the future. I crossed the river, docked amidst their dugouts, and shouted for the Indians to come out and see me. A few of the culprits appeared, mischievous grins on their faces. I gave a spirited lecture about how hard I had worked to put those boards in my canoe, how I had paid a machete for the wood, and how angry I was that they destroyed my work in their haste to cross the river. I then pulled out my hunting knife and, while their grins disappeared, cut each of their canoes loose, set it into the current, and let them float away. I left without further ado and without looking back.

They managed to borrow another canoe and, after some effort, retovered their dugouts. The headman of the village later told me with an approving chuckle that I had done the correct thing. Everyone in the village, except, of course, the culprits, supported and defended my action. This raised my status.

Whenever I took such action and defended my rights, I got along much better with the Yąnomamö. A good deal of their behavior toward me was directed with the forethought of establishing the point at which I would react defensively. Many of them later reminisced about the early days of my work when I was "timid" and a little afraid of them, and they could bully me into giving goods away.

Theft was the most persistent situation that required me to take some sort of defensive action. I simply could not keep everything I owned locked in trunks, and the Indians came into my hut and left at will. I developed a very effective means for recovering almost all the stolen items. I would simply ask a child who took the item and then take that person's hammock when he was not around, giving a spirited lecture to the others as I marched away in a faked rage with the thief's hammock. Nobody ever attempted to stop me from doing this, and almost all of them told me that my technique for recovering my possessions was admirable. By nightfall the thief would either appear with the stolen object or send it along with someone else to make an exchange. The others would heckle him for getting caught and being forced to return the item.

With respect to collecting the data I sought, there was a very frustrating problem. Primitive social organization is kinship organization, and to understand the Yąnomamö way of life I had to collect extensive genealogies. I could not have deliberately picked a more difficult group to work with in this regard: They have very stringent name taboos. They attempt to name people in such a way that when the person dies and they can no longer use his name, the loss of the word in the language is not inconvenient. Hence they name people for specific and minute parts of things, such as "toenail of some rodent," thereby being able to retain the words "toenail" and "(specific) rodent," but not being able to refer directly to the toenail of that rodent. The taboo is maintained even for the living: One mark of prestige is the courtesy others show you by not using your name. The sanctions behind the taboo seem to be an unusual combination of fear and respect.

I tried to use kinship terms to collect genealogies at first, but the kinship terms were so ambiguous that I ultimately had to resort to names. They were quick to grasp that I was bound to learn everybody's name and reacted, without my knowing it, by inventing false names for everybody in the village. After having spent several months collecting names and learning them, this came as a disappointment to me: I could not cross-check the genealogies with other informants from distant villages.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

They enjoyed watching me learn these names. I assumed, wrongly, that I would get the truth to each question and that I would get the best information by working in public. This set the stage for converting a serious project into a farce. Each informant tried to outdo his peers by inventing a name even more ridiculous than what I had been given earlier, or by asserting that the individual about whom I inquired was married to his mother or daughter, and the like. I would have the informant whisper the name of the individual in my ear, noting that he was the father of such and such a child. Everybody would then insist that I repeat the name aloud, roaring in hysterics as I clumsily pronounced the name. I assumed that the laughter was in response to the violation of the name taboo or to my pronunciation. This was a reasonable interpretation, since the individual whose name I said aloud invariably became angry. After I learned what some of the names meant, I began to understand what the laughter was all about. A few of the more colorful examples are: "hairy vagina," "long penis," "feces of the harpy eagle," and "dirty rectum." No wonder the victims were angry.

I was forced to do my genealogy work in private because of the horseplay and nonsense. Once I did so, my informants began to agree with each other and I managed to learn a few new names, real names. I could then test any new informant by collecting a genealogy from him that I knew to be accurate. I was able to weed out the more mischievous informants this way. Little by little I extended the genealogies and learned the real names. Still, I was unable to get the names of the dead and extend the genealogies back in time, and even my best informants continued to deceive me about their own close relatives. Most of them gave me the name of a living man as the father of some individual in order to avoid mentioning that the actual father was dead.

The quality of a genealogy depends in part on the number of generations it embraces, and the name taboo prevented me from getting any substantial information about deceased ancestors. Without this information, I could not detect marriage patterns through time. I had to rely on older informants for this information, but these were the most reluctant of all. As I became more proficient in the language and more skilled at detecting lies, my informants became better at lying. One of them in particular was so cunning and persuasive that I was shocked to discover that he had been inventing his information. He specialized in making a ceremony out of telling me false names. He would look around to make sure nobody was listening outside my hut, enjoin me to never mention the name again, act very nervous and spooky, and then grab me by the head to whisper the name very softly into my ear. I was always elated after an informant session with him, because I had several generations of dead ancestors for the living people. The others refused to give me this information. To show my gratitude, I paid him quadruple the rate I had given the others. When word got around that I had increased the pay, volunteers began pouring in to give me genealogies.

I discovered that the old man was lying quite by accident. A club fight broke out in the village one day, the result of a dispute over the possession of a woman. She had been promised to Rerebawä, a particularly aggressive young man who had married into the village. Rerebawä had already been given her older sister and was enraged when the younger girl began having an affair with another man in the village, making no attempt to conceal it from him. He challenged the young man to a club fight, but was so abusive in his challenge that the opponent's father took offense and entered the village circle with his son, wielding a long club. Rerebawä swaggered out to the duel and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114 hurled insults at both of them, trying to goad them into striking him on the head with
123 their clubs. This would have given him the opportunity to strike them on the head. His
124 opponents refused to hit him, and the fight ended. Rerebawä had won a moral victory
918 because his opponents were afraid to hit him. Thereafter, he swaggered around and in-
839 sulted the two men behind their backs. He was genuinely angry with them, to the point of calling the older man by the name of his dead father. I quickly seized on this as an opportunity to collect an accurate genealogy and pumped him about his adversary's ancestors. Rerebawä had been particularly nasty to me up to this point, but we became staunch allies: We were both outsiders in the local village. I then asked about other dead ancestors and got immediate replies. He was angry with the whole group and not afraid to tell me the names of the dead. When I compared his version of the genealogies to that of the old man, it was obvious that one of them was lying. I challenged his information, and he explained that everybody knew that the old man was deceiving me and bragging about it in the village. The names the old man had given me were the dead ancestors of the members of a village so far away that he thought I would never have occasion to inquire about them. As it turned out, Rerebawä knew most of the people in that village and recognized the names.

114 I then went over the complete genealogical records with Rerebawä, genealogies I
124 had presumed to be in final form. I had to revise them all because of the numerous lies and falsifications they contained. Thus, after five months of almost constant work on the genealogies of just one group, I had to begin almost from scratch!

114 Discouraging as it was to start over, it was still the first real turning point in my
123 fieldwork. Thereafter, I began taking advantage of local arguments and animosities in
124 selecting my informants, and used more extensively individuals who had married into the group. I began traveling to other villages to check the genealogies, picking villages that were on strained terms with the people about whom I wanted information. I would then return to my base camp and check with local informants the accuracy of the new information. If the informants became angry when I mentioned the new names I acquired from the unfriendly group, I was almost certain that the information was accurate. For this kind of checking I had to use informants whose genealogies I knew rather well: they had to be distantly enough related to the dead person that they would not go into a rage when I mentioned the name, but not so remotely related that they would be uncertain of the accuracy of the information. Thus, I had to make a list of names that I dared not use in the presence of each and every informant. Despite the precautions, I occasionally hit a name that put the informant into a rage, such as that of a dead brother or sister that other informants had not reported. This always terminated the day's work with that informant, for he would be too touchy to continue any further, and I would be reluctant to take a chance on accidentally discovering another dead kinsman so soon after the first.

114 These were always unpleasant experiences, and occasionally dangerous ones, de-
123 pending on the temperament of the informant. On one occasion I was planning to visit
124 a village that had been raided about a week earlier. A woman whose name I had on my
551 list had been killed by the raiders. I planned to check each individual on the list one by one to estimate ages, and I wanted to remove her name so that I would not say it aloud in the village. I knew that I would be in considerable difficulty if I said this name aloud so soon after her death. I called on my original informant and asked him to tell

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

me the name of the woman who had been killed. He refused, explaining that she was a close relative of his. I then asked him if he would become angry if I read off all the names on the list. This way he did not have to say her name and could merely nod when I mentioned the right one. He was a fairly good friend of mine, and I thought I could predict his reaction. He assured me that this would be a good way of doing it. We were alone in my hut so that nobody could overhear us. I read the names softly, continuing to the next when he gave a negative reply. When I finally spoke the name of the dead woman he flew out of his chair, raised his arm to strike me, and shouted: "You son-of-a-bitch![6] If you ever say that name again, I'll kill you!" He was shaking with rage, but left my hut quietly. I shudder to think what might have happened if I had said the name unknowingly in the woman's village. I had other, similar experiences in different villages, but luckily the dead person had been dead for some time and was not closely related to the individual into whose ear I whispered the name. I was merely cautioned to desist from saying any more names, lest I get people angry with me.

I had been working on the genealogies for nearly a year when another individual came to my aid. It was Kąobawä, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri, the group in which I spent most of my time. He visited me one day after the others had left the hut and volunteered to help me on the genealogies. He was poor, he explained, and needed a machete. He would work only on the condition that I did not ask him about his own parents and other very close kinsmen who were dead. He also added that he would not lie to me as the others had done in the past. This was perhaps the most important single event in my fieldwork, for out of this meeting evolved a very warm friendship and a very profitable informant-fieldworker relationship.

Kąobawä's familiarity with his group's history and his candidness were remarkable. His knowledge of details was almost encyclopedic. More than that, he was enthusiastic and encouraged me to learn details that I might otherwise have ignored. If there were things he did not know intimately, he would advise me to wait until he could check things out with someone in the village. This he would do clandestinely, giving me a report the next day. As I was constrained by my part of the bargain to avoid discussing his close dead kinsmen, I had to rely on Rerebawä for this information. I got Rerebawä's genealogy from Kąobawä.

Once again I went over the genealogies with Kąobawä to recheck them, a considerable task by this time: they included about two thousand names, representing several generations of individuals from four different villages. Rerebawä's information was very accurate, and Kąobawä's contribution enabled me to trace the genealogies further back in time. Thus, after nearly a year of constant work on genealogies, Yąnomamö demography and social organization began to fall into a pattern. Only then could I see how kin groups formed and exchanged women with each other over time, and only then did the fissioning of larger villages into smaller ones show a distinct pattern. At this point I was able to begin formulating more intelligent questions because there was now some sort of pattern to work with. Without the help of Rerebawä and Kąobawä I could not have made very much sense of the plethora of details I had collected from dozens of other informants.

[6] This is the closest English translation of his actual statement, the literal translation of which would be nonsensical in our language.

11: Chagnon E-6 (1964-1968) 1968 8Q18 Yanomama 8Q18

142
301
302
516

Fig. 1-3. Kąobawä, the area leader, listens to identify a spirit noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

114
123
124

Kąobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kąobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kąobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

115
302
595
839
835

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

222 262 we had each accumulated a half bushel or so, we would then proceed to eat them. In general, it takes a lot of work to get filled up on palm fruits.

The Yąnomamö also collect wild honey in considerable quantities. Nothing excites them more than locating a dead tree in which a swarm of bees has built a nest. They will halt everything and, if need be, spend the entire day chopping the tree down to get at the honey. When I began my fieldwork I hired about a dozen men to cut trees [123] for me so that I could build a mud hut. They would be gone all day and return with just a few poles, demanding a full day's pay for their efforts. I decided to accompany them one day to see what they were up to. We spent the entire day wandering through the jungle, eyes glued to the tree tops above. Each time I spotted a suitable tree, they talked me out of cutting it down because "it would rot" or "it is too far away from the river." By mid-afternoon we had not cut a single tree, but had walked over a large area of jungle. Finally, one of the men shouted for the rest of us to come. All the men descended on the large, dead tree he had located, and set about chopping it down with the axes I had provided. It took about an hour to get it down. They then spent another hour chopping holes along the length of the tree trunk to get at the honey inside. When it was exposed, they gleefully tore the combs out, dunked them into the amber liquid, and gorged themselves on the larvae-filled combs. After they had eaten their fill of this, they collected a large pile of leaves and made a crude bowl. Then they stuck handfuls of leaves into the honey and squeezed them out into the leaf bowl. When they had gotten all the honey they could reach, they scoured the nest with leaves and licked them off after each plunge [123] of the hand into the bowels of the trunk. They borrowed the aluminum kettle I had brought along and used to cook our lunch in. As we were some distance from the river [272] and they were impatient, one of them filled the kettle with muddy water he found in a swamp a short distance away. Some of the honey from the bowl was poured into the kettle, along with dead adult bees, twigs, leaves, dirt, and several dozen larvae. They passed this around among themselves, each man drinking about a quart or so of the mead after blowing the debris off the surface in order to expose the water. The remainder [251] of the honey was wrapped up in its leaf bowl, tightly bound with vines, and carried back [123] to the village. On the way back to the canoe we cut a few light trees for my mud hut. They had gotten what they were looking for all day, and I managed to get a few logs. They demanded a full day's pay when we reached home. Thereafter, I paid them by the log rather than by the day.

222 231 262 Finally, several varieties of insects are collected. Perhaps the most desirable food in this category is the grub of an insect that lays its eggs in the decaying pith of dead palm trees. The Yąnomamö come very close to practicing "animal domestication" in their techniques of exploiting this food. They deliberately cut the palm tree down in order to provide fodder for the insect. When they cut the tree, they also eat the heart of the palm, a very delicious, crunchy vegetable that slightly resembles the taste of celery hearts. One palm we cut yielded an edible heart of about 50 pounds. After the pith has been allowed to decay for several months, it contains numerous large, fat, white grubs. The pith is dug out of the tree with sticks, broken open by hand, and the grubs extracted. Each grub is bitten behind his squirming head, and the head and intestines removed simply by pulling the body away from the teeth. If a grub gets damaged in the process of extracting it, the parts are eaten raw on the spot. A fair-sized palm tree will yield three or four pounds of grubs, some of them as large as a mouse. The grubs

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kaobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kaobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kaobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kaobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kaobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kaobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kaobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*hekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *hekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kaobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *hekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *hekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yanomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

794 I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi*.[13]
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
177 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
• 123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no uhudibö*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noreshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After
[387] several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yąnomamö fear the smoke that is produced
[153] when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on
[183] contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones
[783] are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and
[562] women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe
[858] carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.
[237] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the
[531] circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment.
[562] The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a
[531] long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and
[266] sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere-
[786] monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[13] Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be
[849] reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *hekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *hekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *hekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawë told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *hekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *hekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *hekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *hekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2–9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

606 The avoidance taboo prohibits a man from saying his mother-in-law's name. My
• 123 informants would be extremely embarrassed when I would say the name of their mother-
[551] in-law while collecting genealogies. Kaobawä, for example, would grin sheepishly and hide his head. Men must also avoid their mothers-in-law physically and should not look at them. If I took a group of people for a ride in my canoe, there would always be considerable shuffling of bodies so that the men could be situated in the canoe as far away from their mothers-in-law as possible.

128 Finally, case C illustrates another kind of sororal polygyny: Individuals III-1 and
602 III-3 are sisters to each other because their mothers are sisters. (The equation stating
595 that children of siblings of the same sex are themselves siblings extends indefinitely in the case of males, but breaks down in the case of females after two generations. This is because descent is patrilineal.)

128 *Case D:* This also is a case of FaSiDa marriage: I-2 and I-3 were brothers, so one
582 of the parents of each of the third generation individuals were brother and sister to each
602 other. Hence, III-1 married his FaSiDa.

Case E: The marriage of III-1 to III-2 is similar to the marriage in case D, but his
128 marriage to the second wife, III-3, illustrates the use of another kinship equation. She
595 is an actual sister to the first wife, but does not stand in the FaSiDa relationship to her
602 husband. If one of the sisters is FaSiDa, however, then all of them are in Yąnomamö kinship usage.

128 *Case F:* This illustrates how affinal ties replace consanguineal ties should the two
582 conflict. III-1 can trace a blood tie to his wife, one that would prevent him from marry-
602 ing her, but the affinal ties between his own father and the father of his wife permit him
[601] to marry according to the prescription. Individual III-1 would call all of his father's wives "mother." Hence, his own wife is, technically, MoBrDa.

128 *Case G:* This illustrates a number of marriage rules stated in the preceding ex-
582 amples. I present it as a sort of exercise to reinforce the logic of the Yąnomamö kinship
587 equations given above. Individual II-6 married two brothers, II-5 and II-7, illustrating
602 the *levirate:* the marriage between a man and his brother's widow. Individual II-9 married his FaSiDa (as in case F). Individuals III-3 and III-4 can marry because their fathers were cross-cousins (see case H, below). Individual III-5 married his FaSiDa, as was shown for the similar marriage in case E. Individual IV-1 married two women, each of
[597] whom is his FaSiDa. This is so because I-2 and I-4 were adopted brothers, so that their sons (II-2 and II-4) were also siblings. Hence, IV-1 married his FaSiDa (IV-2) and, as in case E, her sister. His second wife is also FaSiDa because her mother (III-6) was a sister to III-2, since their respective fathers (II-9 and II-2) were (adopted) brothers.

128 *Case H:* This illustrates a very powerful marriage rule: The children of men who
582 call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law) can marry. Practically speaking, in our kinship
601 terms, the rule is that the children of cross-cousins stand in marriageable relationship to
602 each other. II-2 and II-3 stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and could exchange sisters in marriage. Their sons stand in the same relationship. Another important feature of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage rules is illustrated here. While III-1 married a woman of the prescribed category, he does not reckon his relationship to her patrilaterally or matrilaterally. That is, she is neither FaSiDa nor MoBrDa, but she is both! This emphasizes the fact that they marry primarily in terms of categories rather than by tracing biological ties, as I have done in the above examples. To the Yąnomamö,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

593 561 only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally true should one of them be the village headman. Kąobawä can ask his youngest brothers to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask 593 561 his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village plaza to prepare the dance site, Kąobawä himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion 622 that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will join him, but only on their own initiative. He could not directly ask them to do this [123] work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a younger brother to Kąobawä, but already a mature adult. I asked Kąobawä to help me get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around. [554] By contrast, Kąobawä could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight, since the latter was not yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence, anxious to display personal autonomy.

622 628 602 Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many circumstances. Kąobawä continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary) his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar account.

621 613 602 In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers. That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage begins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogically more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Generation V of Fig. 3-1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.[9] Local descent groups have three [611] characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a member of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live [591] in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife elsewhere, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

[9]Leach, 1951. Yąnomamö local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yąnomamö such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yąnomamö local descent groups closely fit Leach's definition.

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3–3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebawä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3–3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Kąobawä's group. All their other neighbors, allied to the victims of the treacherous feast, relentlessly raided them. They were, in short, extremely dependent on Kąobawä's group and the two other villages related to Kąobawä's group.

Kąobawä and his followers have astutely finessed this situation in two ways. First, they have managed to coerce the two Shamatari villages into ceding women without reciprocating an equal number of their own in return. The men who have obtained Shamatari wives have, as well, managed to cut short their period of bride service in the Shamatari village. Conversely, Shamatari men who have been promised women of Kąobawä's group are pressed into very lengthy bride service, sometimes up to three years. Secondly, Kąobawä's group has prevented the two Shamatari allies from re-establishing friendly contacts with the other Shamatari to their southeast by chicane, threat, and intimidation. One of the two Shamatari allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri, has attempted a rapprochement with the Shamatari enemies of Kąobawä's group. In 1965, several months after I had been living in Kąobawä's village, Kąobawä's group managed to stage another treacherous feast for the old enemies by taking advantage of the renewed ties between the Reyaboböwei-teri and the enemies. They learned that the Reyaboböwei-teri planned to invite one of the villages to a feast, so they, along with the Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri, went to the feast in order to ambush the guests. The Reyaboböwei-teri, however, were reluctant to go through with the plan and warned the visitors about it. The visitors were en route to the village when word of the treachery reached them. This had the effect of creating even more difficulties for the Reyaboböwei-teri, for it is highly unlikely that they will succeed in gaining the confidence of their neighbors to the southeast. Nevertheless, some visiting between the groups still continues.[17]

The historical relationships between the villages helps account for the reasons behind contemporary alliance patterns. The discrepancy between marriage rules and actual marriage practice in Lower Bisaasi-teri is a result of the political advantages that group enjoys over one of its allies. It has used this advantage to gain a favorable imbalanced marriage exchange pattern, but one that is only temporary. The Shamatari are also shrewd in their alliance practices, and have succeeded in neutralizing their disadvantages by capitalizing on schisms between Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. This has been done largely by confining their marriage exchanges to important men in the dominant lineages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri. One of the Shamatari villages, Mǫ̈mari-bowei-teri, has restricted its exchanges to Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri, while completely ignoring Upper Bisaasi-teri. The other Shamatari village has given its women only to Upper Bisaasi-teri. This has resulted in the weakening of ties between the three villages of Upper Bisaasi-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Monou-teri, whose members are

[17] I plan to use these visiting ties to establish contact with the Shamatari villages in that area, none of which have had contact with outsiders. These uncontacted Shamatari, however, know who I am because I attempted to reach them in 1965. They subsequently sent a message out urging me to visit them, angry because my guides forced me to turn back on my first attempt. In 1966 they even sent an old man to Kąobawä's village by way of Reyaboböwei-teri with an invitation for me to visit them. I had already left Venezuela by that time. Most of the men in the two contacted Shamatari villages tried to prevent me from going by telling horrible tales of the treachery that awaited my visit, describing how the Shamatari will kill me. The truth of the matter is that they know that I will bring the uncontacted Shamatari machetes and axes that might otherwise be given to them. The headman of one of the uncontacted villages has a brother in Mǫmariböwei-teri. He privately conceded that no harm would befall me and offered to take me to visit in 1967. He was, unfortunately, bitten by a snake just before I arrived in March of 1967, and my plans were deferred until 1968.

most common way for a child's soul to escape is to leave by way of the mouth when the child cries. Thus, mothers are quick to hush a bawling baby in order to prevent its soul from escaping. The child's soul can be recovered by sweeping the ground in the vicinity where it most probably escaped, calling for it while sweeping the area with a particular kind of branch. I once helped gather up the soul of a sick child in this fashion, luring it back into the sick baby. One of the contributions I made, in addition to helping with the calling and sweeping, was a dose of medicine for the child's diarrhea. A consequence of this set of attitudes about the vulnerability of children is that much of the village's activity with respect to shamanism and curing is directed toward the children.

RELATIVES BY BLOOD AND BY MARRIAGE Many forms of interpersonal behavior stem largely from the social roles implied in the kinship system. To be sure, some kinship behavior reflects the two distinctions of age and sex discussed above, for the terminology of kinship itself employs discriminations of this kind. For example, there are terms to distinguish older siblings from younger siblings and terms used by members of one sex only in reference to those of the opposite sex.

The relationship between kinship terms and biological parentage is not the same in the Yąnomamö language as it is in our own. As was shown in the first section of this chapter, people may stand in a child relationship to a number of individuals; that is, it is possible to have multiple "mothers" and "fathers" in Yąnomamö society. The term for mother and father conveys as much of a social as a biological relationship between individuals, and in the daily activities of the Yąnomamö it is the social implications of kinship roles that are most important.

What is implied in the kinship roles can best be seen in the way the kinship terms themselves are formed. All primary kinship terms take the ending *"-mou"* when used to describe the relationship between individuals. Thus, *osheya* means "my younger sibling," but *asheamou* means that individual X *behaves* toward individual Y *as a younger sibling*. This ending, *-mou*, also occurs in nonkinship usage to express "a way of behaving," "to execute a particular activity in a specified manner," or "to perform the activity that is implied by the word to which *-mou* is affixed." For example, *oko* means fresh-water crab and *okomou* means "to go hunting for crabs"; *howaishi* means "a mischievous white monkey" and *howaishimou* means "to act mischievously, to monkey around"; *nowa naba* means "enemy," and *nowa nabamou* means "to become an enemy by behaving objectionably"; *waiteri* means "fierce" and *waiterimou* means "to behave ferociously."

Whenever I would ask the Yąnomamö a question such as, "What do you call Kąobawä?" the answers would always be in the form of a kinship term to which *"-mou"* was affixed, but rarely in the form "I say such-and-such to him." Calling an individual by a specific term is, however, implied in the "way of behaving" toward that individual. But despite the fact that the Yąnomamö can say, literally, "I call him father" (*kama kä iba, haya ya kuu*), they invariably say *"ya hõmou"*—"I behave toward him as a child."[20] Thus, they express their relationships to others in terms of *ways of behavior*. Each kinship category implies a set of these behavioral norms, and one's social life in the community is established with respect to all other individuals by the kinship terminology employed in each particular case.

[20] Although the word *hõ* translates literally as "father," the expression *ya hõmou* can best be understood with the translation given above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Sharaiwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Sharaiwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Sharaiwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

156 622 628 607 574 721 [123] [714] [123] 156 622 593 578

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with Kąobawä the possibility of peace between their two villages. They were brothers-in-law to him and were fairly certain that he would protect them from the village hotheads. One of the ambitious men in Kąobawä's group saw in this an opportunity to enhance his prestige and made plans to murder the three visitors. This man, Paruriwä, was a very cunning, treacherous fellow and quite jealous of Kąobawä's position as headman. He wanted to be the village leader and privately told me to address him as the headman. On this occasion Kąobawä let it be known that he intended to protect the visitors. For the better part of the day the village was in a state of suspense. Paruriwä and his followers were not to be found anywhere; a rumor spread that they had painted themselves black and were well armed. Kąobawä and his supporters, mostly his own brothers and brothers-in-law, remained in the village all day, their weapons close at hand. Late in the afternoon Paruriwä and his men appeared in their black paint and took up strategic posts around the village. He himself held an axe. He strutted arrogantly up to the visitors holding his axe as if he were ready to strike. The village became very quiet, and most of the women and children left. Neither Kąobawä nor the Patanowä-teri visitors batted an eyelash when Paruriwä approached, although the others were visibly nervous and sat up in their hammocks. Instead of striking the visitors with the axe as he appeared to suggest he was going to do, he invited one of them out to chant with him. Within seconds all three of the visitors had paired off with members of Paruriwä's group and were chanting passionately with them, explaining the reasons for their visit and giving their justification for the state of hostilites.

The crisis has been averted because of Kąobawä's implied threat that he would defend the visitors with force. A number of men in Paruriwä's group were visitors from Monou-teri; their headman had been killed a few months earlier by the Patanowä-teri. When Paruriwä failed to go through with his plan, they left the village in a rage, hoping to recruit a raiding party in their own village and ambush the visitors when they left.

Kąobawä realized that the visitors would not be safe until they got back home, since the Monou-teri would attempt to intercept them. He visited me that night and asked me to take the visitors back to their village at dawn in my canoe, knowing that I had already planned a trip there for the immediate future. After I agreed to accelerate my own plans, he proceeded to give me instructions about the trip: I was not to stop at any of the villages along the Orinoco River to visit, for all of them were at war with the Patanowä-teri and would shoot my companions on sight. The Patanowä-teri men lay on the floor of my canoe and covered themselves with a tarp when we passed these villages. The people on the bank shouted curses at me for not stopping to visit and give them trade goods. At this time the Patanowä-teri were being raided by about a dozen different villages. We had to cover part of the distance to their village on foot, proceeding very cautiously because of the danger of raiders. At one point the men showed me the spot where a Hasaböwä-teri raiding party had killed a Patanowä-teri woman a week earlier. Thus, Kąobawä not only protected the visitors while they were in his village but he also arranged a "safe-conduct" for their return.

Kąobawä keeps order in the village when people get out of hand. Paruriwä, for example, is particularly cruel to his four wives and beats them mercilessly for even slight provocations. None of his wives have brothers in the village, and few people are courageous enough to interfere with Paruriwä when he is angry. On one occasion Kąobawä was holding a feast for the members of an allied village. His preparations were being

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

begun cultivating an alliance with a third Shamatari group, one that was related to the two that conducted the massacre in 1950. The new Shamatari group, Paruritawä-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8), was at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, but on feasting terms with the Möwaraoba-teri. Kaobawä's group persuaded their new Shamatari allies to invite the Möwaraoba-teri to a feast and planned a massacre similar to that of 1950, but with the tables reversed: Kaobawä's group would lie in ambush, while the Paruritawä-teri attacked the guests within the village. The Möwaraoba-teri were being ravished by a malaria epidemic at this time, and only a handful of them actually came to the feast: The others were too sick to travel. With the aid of their newly found allies, Kaobawä's group managed to kill three of the five men and abducted four of their women. The other two visitors escaped to tell of the treachery. This revenge feast was only considered to be partially successful, and Kaobawä's group was not satisfied with the outcome. Their Shamatari allies, Paruritawä-teri, were obliged to abandon their site to avoid the revenge raids, splitting into two groups in the process: Mõmariböwei-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri, both continuing to remain friendly to Kaobawä's group.

In early 1965, just a few months after I began my fieldwork, Kaobawä and his supporters left to visit Reyaboböwei-teri, one of the two Shamatari allies, hoping to conduct another treacherous feast for the Möwaraoba-teri. They left a few men behind to protect the women and children. The men were gone almost two weeks. All during this time, those who remained behind flocked to my mud hut at dawn and remained in it the whole day, not permitting me to leave. Every hour or so they asked to see my shotgun. I soon discovered that they were frightened and suspected that the Widokaiya-teri were going to raid them to abduct women, for they knew of the plot. My hut lay on the path most likely to be taken by Widokaiya-teri raiders, and the few remaining men stood guard next to my door, hoping to intercept the raiders should they attack at night.

I, unknowingly, guarded the women and children by day with my shotgun, while the men did the same at night with their own weapons. This incident indelibly underscores the almost complete lack of trust between allies; the members of Kaobawä's group expected a raid from their friends and allies rather than from their enemies!

About ten days after the men had left, six visitors from another allied village passed through Upper Bisaasi-teri hoping to trade. It was obvious to them that the men were away and that the women were frightened. They carried word of the situation up the Orinoco River to their own allies, one of which was the Mahekodo-teri.

The evening before the men returned from their trip, one of the Salesian Missionaries, Padre Luiz Cocco, visited me, having traveled up the Orinoco River by dark—a dangerous undertaking at that time of the year. Padre Cocco had just received word by short-wave radio from the mission at Mahekodo-teri that a large party of men had left for Bisaasi-teri intent on capturing women. They had learned of the poorly guarded women from the six visitors and were determined to take advantage of the situation.

My house was full of women and children at dawn the following day, and the raiders were probably en route. I was in a difficult situation. On the one hand, if I told the Indians of the rumor, it would have been sufficient cause to start a war between Kaobawä's group and the Mahekodo-teri. This would have been most unfortunate if the story proved to be false. On the other hand, I dared not remain silent. If raiders were indeed coming, they would probably kill the defenders to capture the women. Fortunately, Kaobawä and the men returned early in the afternoon, and I was able to remain

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

neutral. The treacherous feast for their Shamatari enemies proved to be unsuccessful: The intended victims had accepted the invitation, but were informed of the plot just before they arrived. One of the Reyaboböwei-teri who had close kinsmen among them had misgivings about the matter and warned them.

Late in the afternoon it was learned that the Mahekodo-teri were, in fact, in the vicinity of the village, allegedly on a "camping trip." Kąobawä, of course, suspected their story, but to demonstrate his friendship he invited them to be his guests at a feast. As he and his men had been away for nearly two weeks, there was an abundance of food in their gardens and they could easily afford to entertain the Mahekodo-teri and their traveling companions, the Boreta-teri. Together, the guests numbered about 100—after they fetched their women and children.

This sets the stage for the feast in the kind of context that makes it more intelligible: The specific historical relationships between the participants and the nature of their mutual mistrust. Now I will give the details of the events that followed.

The Feast

Perhaps because he suspected the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri of intimidation, Kąobawä also invited the Karohi-teri to attend the feast. They are a small but dependable ally and had themselves separated from the Mahekodo-teri many years ago. This established a balance of power at the projected feast should any trouble arise, for the combination of both Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri was of sufficient strength to worry any host. With the aid of the Karohi-teri, Kąobawä's group was more of a match for the visitors.

The feast started out on a sour note. It is the custom of the Yąnomamö visitors to arrive only after an invitation from their hosts, sent by messenger on the day of the feast. The Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri, however, arrogantly arrived nearly a week before Kąobawä's group was prepared to receive them and set up a large, temporary camp a short distance from the village. They were guests and could legitimately demand to be fed. Because of this, Kąobawä and his covillagers were under obligation to feed them, some hundred or so people, and took them to the gardens to supply them with enough plantains to last a week. Kąobawä was a little disturbed that they would be so impolite as to arrive uninvited, but took the situation quite philosophically. After all, they had fed his group for the better part of a year.

He and several other men cut a large quantity of plantains, which were hung in his house and allowed to ripen for a week, to be boiled into *datu*, a thick, sweet soup, on the day of the feast. That afternoon Kąobawä and a few of the older men commissioned a hunting party comprised of young men, several of whom were Kąobawä's brothers, whose responsibility would be to obtain a large quantity of fresh meat to give to the visitors on the day after the feast. Most of them were reluctant to go, as their feet were still sore from the trip to the Shamatari village. A few of them claimed to be sick and managed to escape recruitment into the hunting party in this way. This hunt, with the hanging of the plantains in the headman's house, initiated the feast. The excitement that usually attends a feast began at this time.

That evening the young men danced and sang in the village, an institution called *amoamo*, thereby insuring themselves with luck on the hunt. (The Yąnomamö also

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

amaamo on other occasions, but invariably do so on the day the plantains are hung in the village in anticipation of a feast.) Every evening the men are away on their *henimou*, the week-long hunt, the young women and girls sing and dance in the village to insure them success.

The hunters left at dawn the following morning, carrying a large supply of roasted and green plantains with them to eat while they hunted. They had picked a site some 25 miles up the Mavaca River for their hunt, as game was known to abound there. Their task was to obtain monkeys, armadillos, wild turkeys, wild pig, tapir or sloth, the only meat deemed worthy to give to guests. They would not be permitted to eat any of this game, but could consume any other game they captured, such as deer, small birds, a small species of wild turkey, or insects and fish they happened to come upon. The feast meat, however, was earmarked for the guests and could not be eaten by the hunters. On this particular hunting trip the men miscalculated the amount of food they would need to sustain them during the hunt, and one of them returned after four days to fetch more plantains. He also gave Kąobawä a report on the hunt's success, creating a small sensation in the village: They had already killed a large number of *huibo*, a particularly large and very desirable monkey. They had also come upon a quantity of turtle eggs at a sand bar and were eating as many as they could. When they returned later, they cached the remaining eggs in my house, so as not to have to share them with the visitors.

Meanwhile, the visitors were making gluttons of themselves, and the hosts started to grumble about the large number of plantains they had already eaten. The week's supply they originally provided had been consumed in half that time, and the guests had been given permission a second time to harvest more from their hosts' gardens. This was no way for guests to behave, and it soon became apparent that they were intimidating Kąobawä's group. Still, he and his followers continued to supply them with all the food they needed, keeping their complaints to themselves. They did not want it to be known that they were worried about running short of food. Instead, they planned to conduct the feast on a scale that would be difficult to reciprocate.

The hunters returned and presented their catch to Kąobawä. It was brought to his house and placed on the ground, wrapped up in leaves. Kąobawä ignored it for a while and then slowly began to unpack it (see Fig. 4-1) while everybody watched—especially the hunters, who were quite proud of the quantity of meat they had obtained: seventeen *huibo* monkeys, seven wild turkeys, and three large armadillos. Hunting trips are not usually this successful, but the hunters had fortunately stumbled into a large band of *huibo* and had nearly wiped it out.

Kąobawä and his group were anxious to conduct the feast for their visitors and present them with the food, because by so doing the visitors would be obliged to leave for home, thereby ending the drain on the gardens.[2]

The feast was scheduled for the day following the return of the hunters, even though the Karohi-teri had not yet arrived. Kąobawä and his group were so anxious to rid themselves of their ravenous guests by this time that they decided to hold a separate feast for the Karohi-teri on the day following the departure of the Mahekodo-teri. This would involve a considerable amount of extra work, but they were more than willing to

[2] I have seen several instances of Yąnomamö groups getting rid of visitors who have joined them semipermanently by holding a feast in their honor; when the ceremonial food is presented, the visitors are obliged to leave.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The members of Lower Bisaasi-teri had joined Kąobawä's group for the feast, as they, too, were on friendly terms with the Mahekodo-teri and had benefited from the latter's hospitality after the treacherous feast in 1950. Before Kąobawä's group had separated from the Lower Bisaasi-teri, there had been one headman over the entire composite village. This was a brother to Kąobawä's father; when the groups split, the older man led the faction of Lower Bisaasi-teri, leaving Kąobawä to lead the Upper group. On this particular day, when the two groups had temporarily coalesced for the feast, the older man was conceded the honor of chanting with the visitor's delegate, Asiawä, the son of the Mahekodo-teri headman.

Ten minutes after the old visitor entered the village, Asiawä entered the clearing, touching off an explosion of wild cheering that marked the opening of the dance. He was spectacular in his bright new loin cloth, long red parrot feathers streaming from his armbands, and black monkey-tail headband covered with white buzzard down. He marched dramatically to the center of the village clearing, while all of Kąobawä's followers cheered, and struck the visitor's pose: motionless, head upward, and weapons held vertically next to his face. He stood there two or three minutes so his hosts could admire him. This gesture signified that he had come in peace and was announcing his benevolent intentions by standing where all could see him. If they bore him malice, they had to shoot him then or not at all.[5] He then marched to Kąobawä's house and was met by Kąobawä's father's brother, the temporary leader of the combined host group, and the two men immediately began to chant. This was the formal acceptance of the feast invitation by Asiawä on behalf of his entire group. They chanted for five minutes or so, bouncing up and down from the knees, now face to face, now side to side, but always lively and loud. Suddenly, they stopped, and Asiawä squatted, his back to the sun, while the host's representative retired to his hammock. The cheering died down. Asiawä squatted for several minutes before one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought a half-gourd full of plantain soup to him and set it on the ground. He ignored it politely for several minutes, staring into the distance, holding his weapons horizontally next to his mouth. Presently, he put his weapons down, picked up the container of soup, and drained it in one draft before setting it back down. As soon as he had set it down, one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought him a large pack-basket filled with boiled green plantains and smoked armadillo meat. Asiawä stood while the strap of the basket was placed over his head and adjusted across his shoulders so as to not crumple his headdress. Trying to look dramatic, he staggered rapidly out of the village under his burden of food, while the hosts again cheered wildly. This food was eaten by the visitors while they finished their decorating, each receiving a small portion.

Within a half-hour of Asiawä's departure the visitors had completed their decorating and had assembled just outside the entrance to the village. The men, all finely decorated, stood at the front of the gathering, while the women, girls, and young boys, also decorated, but each carrying a load of family possessions, brought up the rear. At the signal of Asiawä's father, the first two dancers burst into the village, separated, and danced around the periphery of the clearing in opposite directions, while Kąobawä's group welcomed them enthusiastically with shouts and shrill screams. Two at a time,

[5] I have a number of informants' accounts of visitors being shot down while standing in the clearing to announce their visit. Whenever I accompanied visitors to strange villages for the first time I, too, was obliged to participate in this rite and always had an uneasy feeling about it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

they were about to release their arrows point-blank at Kąobawä's attackers, but when he and his aides turned them back, the crisis was over. The leaders of the visiting group rejoined the other men, some of whom had picked up glowing brands of firewood, and they backed out of the village, weapons still drawn, their way illuminated by those who were waving the brands.[7]

Kąobawä's group took no further action in this affair and was not invited to feast at Mahekodo-teri. Later in the year, their relationships worsened because of a club fight in yet another village, and for a while both groups threatened to shoot each other on sight. A temporary rapprochement developed after the club fight, when a group of raiders from Kąobawä's group met a group of hunters from Mahekodo-teri while en route to attack the village of one of their enemies. The men from both villages traded with each other and departed on friendly terms, the raiders abandoning their raid and returning to their village lest they be later ambushed on the way home by the Mahekodo-teri. They are presently on trading terms with each other, but their relationship is still somewhat strained and potentially hostile.

In general, feasts are exciting for both the hosts and the guests and contribute to their mutual solidarity. Under normal circumstances, allies that customarily feast with each other do not fight. Nevertheless, even the best allies occasionally agree beforehand to terminate their feast with a chest-pounding duel, thereby demonstrating to each other that they are friends, but capable of maintaining their sovereignty and willing to fight if necessary (Fig. 4–4). Kąobawä's group had a chest-pounding duel with one of its staunchest allies in 1966, as each had heard that the other was spreading rumors that it was cowardly. Of the six feasts I witnessed during the nineteen months I spent with the Yąnomamö, two of them ended in fighting.

Any Yąnomamö feast can potentially end in violence because of the nature of the attitudes the participants hold regarding canons of behavior and obligations to display ferocity.

Still, the feast and its attendant trade serve to reduce the possibility of neighbors fighting with each other at a more serious level of violence, and they contribute to intervillage solidarity and mutual interdependence.

[7] At this time, I was crouched in the house behind the line of bowmen, trembling in my boots.

Bisaasi-teri, for example, wanted to get rid of the Monou-teri, they would hold a feast in their honor. When the going-home food was presented to them, they had no alternative but to leave. It would have been insulting to remain after the food was presented. In between their moves they returned to their own producing site to collect plantains and carry them to their new garden. They subsisted there off the food they carried with them.

The Monou-teri soon resented being treated like pariahs by their allies and began to regain their courage. Much of this treatment was due to the fact that they failed to chase the raiders when Damowä was slain, displaying cowardice instead of ferocity. Many of the men in the Bisaasi-teri groups resented the Monou-teri for this and were not timid about displaying their disgust. The Monou-teri were a burden, as they rarely helped at expanding Bisaasi-teri's gardens and ate a good deal of the time.

The raid Kąobawä organized to revenge Damowä's death took place late in April. The Shamatari allies—Mǫmariböwei-teri and Reyaböwei-teri—were invited to participate, but they failed to send a contingency. As allies never really trust each other, the raid was delayed because some of the Bisaasi-teri suspected that their allies were waiting for the raiders to leave so that they could descend on the poorly protected women and make off with captives. Finally, a few of them did arrive and the *waya itou* (warrior line-up) got under way. Still, the Bisaasi-teri feared treachery on the part of their Shamatari friends, so the men of Lower Bisaasi-teri decided to stay home and protect the women left behind by the Monou-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri raiders. A small feast was held to entertain the visiting Shamatari allies.

On the afternoon of the feast a grass dummy was set up in the village, and the men who were to participate in the raid conducted a mock attack on the dummy, which was supposed to represent the body of a Patanowä-teri man. They painted themselves black, crept slowly around the village with bows and arrows ready, searching for the tracks of the enemy. They converged at one point, spread out, crept toward the dummy, and, at Kąobawä's signal, let fly with a volley of arrows. The Yąnomamö are good archers. None of the arrows missed its mark, and the dummy, looking like a pincushion, toppled ominously to the ground, a dozen or more bamboo-tipped arrows protruding from it. Then the raiders screamed and ran out of the village, simulating their retreat from the enemy. They drifted back into the village, one at a time or in small groups, and retired to their hammocks to wait for darkness.

The village became unusually quiet shortly after dark. Suddenly, the stillness was pierced by an animal-like noise, half-scream and half-growl, as the first raider marched slowly out to the center of the village, clacking his arrows against his bow, growling his individualized fierce noise, usually a mimic of a carnivore: a wasp, or a buzzard. At this signal—not knowing fully what to expect and a little nervous—I crept from my own hammock and went to the center of the village with my tape recorder. The other raiders joined the first man, coming one at a time after short intervals, each clacking his arrows and growling some hideous noise. Kąobawä stood by and made sure the line was straight and faced the direction of the enemy; he would push or pull the individual warriors until they formed a perfectly straight line, joining them after the last one took his place.

The procession to the line-up took about twenty minutes, as about 50 or so men participated (see Fig. 5-2). When the last one was in line, the murmurs among the

11: Chagnon E-S (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

411
516
291
342
132
726

Fig. 5-2. Kaobawä's men and their allies lining up (wayu itou) *to raid the Patanowä-teri.*

726
[123]
[533]
[825]

children and women died down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording a sacred rite. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep baritone voice: "I am meat hungry! I am meat hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kaobawä calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke,

726 and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

[765] They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowĩ. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

[302] [291] [023] The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5-3). Some even put on bright red loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which the younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kąobawã to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *sueyu itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them and left for Patanowã-teri. Kąobawã had been complaining all year of severe pains in his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked. Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *sueyu itou*, for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

[822] [164] [701] [703] [157]

[484] The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

[372] The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

[703]

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,[3] so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Sharariwä had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kaobawä was very exhausted from the trip.

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chanted briefly with Kaobawä, explaining that they had reached Patanowä-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowä-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwä of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart.

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwä with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound.

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yanomamö have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwä was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered.

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowä-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowä. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *unokaimou* ceremony.

They were given spaces in Kaobawä's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kaobawä felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowä's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwä of Kaobawä's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowä-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowä-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they

[3] The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kaobawä's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Bisaasi-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Bisaasi-teri would not borrow it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Everyone in the village gathered around the ashes and wept aloud. The bamboo quiver of the dead man was brought to the gourds, smashed, the points taken out, and the quiver itself burned. While this was going on, the mourners were in a state of frenzy, pulling at their hair and striking themselves, screaming and wailing. One of his brothers took a snuff tube and blew some of the drug into the gourds containing the ashes (see Fig. 5-4). The tube was then cut in half, one of the dead man's arrow points being used to measure the point at which the snuff tube was cut. I was never able to determine whether the arrow points taken from the quiver were possessions of the dead man or were, in fact, the points removed from his body. There were ten of them, and my informants were too touchy about the matter to be questioned in detail: I received affirmative nods to both questions. In any event, the ten bamboo points were distributed to the raiders, who fondled them and examined them carefully. Each man brought one with him on the raid that followed this ceremony. The severed snuff tube and the gourds of ashes were wrapped in leaves and put back in the thatch of the brother's house.

That night I think I became emotionally close to the Yąnomamö for the first time. I remained in my hammock and gave up collecting genealogies. As darkness fell Damowĩ's brothers began weeping in their hammocks. I lay there and listened, not bothering to tape record it or photograph it or write notes. One of the others asked me why I was not making a nuisance of myself as usual, and I told him that my innermost being (*bubui*) was cold—that is, I was sad. This was whispered around the village, and as each person heard it, he looked over at me. The children who inevitably accumulate around my hammock were told by their elders to go home and not bother me anymore. I was *bushwo*, in a state of emotional disequilibrium, and had finally begun to act like a human being as far as they were concerned.

The next day the raiders lined up, shouted in the direction of the Patanowã-teri, heard the echo come back, and left the village to collect their provisions and hammocks. I allowed them to talk me into taking the entire raiding party up the Mavaca River in my canoe. There, they could find high ground and reach the Patanowã-teri without having to cross the numerous swamps that lay between the two villages. There were only ten men in the raiding party, the smallest the war party can get and still have maximum effectiveness. As we traveled up the river, the younger men began complaining. One had sore feet, and two or three others claimed to have malaria. They wanted to turn back because I had forgotten to bring my malaria pills with me as I had promised. Hukoshikuwã (Fig. 5-5), a brother of the slain headman, silenced their complaints with an angry lecture on cowardice. I let them all out at the mouth of a stream they intended to follow. They unloaded their seemingly enormous supply of plantains and politely waited for me to leave. I sat among them and chatted, thinking that they were doing essential tasks as they fiddled with arrows and retied their provisions. Finally, one of them hinted that I should be leaving because I had a long trip and might not get home before dark. It was then that I discovered they were dallying, trying to be polite to me. They all thanked me for taking them upstream in my canoe, the only time Yąnomamö ever expressed gratitude to me, and I got in my canoe to leave. Hukoshikuwã came down to untie my rope for me and shove me off the bank. He watched, silently, as my canoe got caught up in the current and drifted away. He looked frightened, reluctant, anxious, but determined. After I had gotten my motor started and was under way, I looked back to see him turn, pick up his plantains and weapons, and disappear into the jungle. Even

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 137]

Surára
Waiká
Shiriana
Pakidái

412 /55 cont./

[432] [439] The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their occasional contacts with the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) on the Rio Aracá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors [124] had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always 412 given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the 192 ax -- hanhokomá. The blade alone is named synonymously, 437 whereas the shaft is called -- hanhokomáhitohí. Most probably 174 the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according to Schuster, for the Waiká (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the 412 Xiriána seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg 174 writes: "They (the Xiriána) in former times apparently had no axes 114 at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. *Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.*

481

12. Equipment for Climbing

[137] [192] To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the açai (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus or Oenocarpus /56/ bacaba Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), tucuma palm (Astrocaryum sp.), and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring -- horohoromá --, which consists of a split liana (cipó-titica) rolled up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears here./

/118 cont./

563. (cont.)
Steinen about the Suya on the Xingú, in which he declares that these Indians knew how to use the pencil very well and drew beautiful motifs in his notebook, although he was the first white man they had seen (Karl von den Steinen, 1886, p. 212).

153 Younger people are distinguished by a gift for rapid comprehension and an astonishing learning capacity. Although these Indians very rarely come in contact with caboclos, and in most cases only the men, both sexes have at their command a rather large store of Portuguese words and figures of speech. One little Surára boy about nine years old, Jubeauwõ, also called Mandú, who had spent almost two years in the hut of the palm-fiber gatherer Manuel Antonio Gómez on the Rio Aracá, had a nearly perfect command of the Portuguese language and performed unique service as my interpreter. I owe it to him alone that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the mental culture of the Surára and Pakidái and put together a complete vocabulary (564).

564. Three years ago the little boy suffered dangerous burns on the abdomen by an upset vessel containing boiling tree resin. Since the chief had given up hope that he would recover, he wanted to have him given the deathblow. The custom of this tribe, as well as that of the Pakidái, decrees that all old and seriously ill persons who are no longer able to take part in the general migrations must be killed (see pp. 153/154). The grandmother of the little boy, who is an orphan took him secretly one night to the hut of the Spanish palm-fiber gatherer,

142
302
304

142
291
302
516

Ill. 19. Yaxoíma, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing

Ill. 20. Yaxoíma (left) and Rokoahíma, two Surára girls

124
137
142
291
302
516

142
291
302
237
516

Ill. 21. Jibeauwõ, my little interpreter (right), and Mauahemá (two orphan boys from the tribe of the Surára)

Ill. 22. Two Surára boys. Xaniwõ (right) and Mauahemá, who holds a monkey bladder between his leg

/433 cont./

121 Messrs. Eugene Higdem, Byron Reihart, and Joe Jenkins, and the late Flora Troxel.

124 The information concerning the area of Brazil inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ has been gathered from oral reports made to me by several men who said that they had worked upstream /434/ on the rivers of Brazil, within or near Guaika Territory. This information, although fragmentary and not absolutely certain, has helped us nevertheless to form a more complete picture of the Guaika tribe as a whole.

Orientation

101
131 The Guaika /Waica/ tribe inhabits the region of the Upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the outlet of the Ocamo River, including also the south bank of the Ocamo itself. In addition, the Guaika tribe extends into the territory of Brazil, occupying the headwaters of several tributaries of the Branco and Negro rivers (see the map /see p. 6 /).

The tribe located to the north, the Guajaribo /Guaharibo/, inhabits the north bank of the Ocamo River, the valley of the Padamo River, and the headwaters of the Caura River, and is also found in Brazil on the headwaters of the Uraricoera River, a tributary of the Branco River. The Guajaribo come downriver frequently as far as La Esmeralda, and on occasion even come as far as the mouth of the Cunucunuma River. It has been reported that they have been seen as far to the east as the Paragua River in the state of Bolívar (see map).

197 The Guaika and Guajaribo Indians speak the same language, but there are several observable dialectical differences which make it possible to distinguish immediately by their speech whether they belong to the one group or to the other. I make this observation on the basis of my studies of the Guaika language spoken in El Platanal and its comparison with samples of the Guajaribo dialect collected by Flora Troxel and by me in La Esmeralda and Ioeitedi.

[121]
[122]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

121 The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yąnomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military
114 milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the
124 field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yąnomamö in their language.

162 Census data on five Yąnomamö villages are presented
847 to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage
595 of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is compli-
834 cated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos
721 and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter-
182 village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

621 The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the
613 basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal
578 descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves
562 to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal
000 descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii]

121 I did not attempt to collect data on all aspects of Yąnomamö culture. Hans Becher (1960) and Otto Zerries (1964) had already done this. I concentrated, rather, on Yąnomamö social organization, settlement pattern, warfare and ideology and gathered data that would permit me to analyze these aspects of Yąnomamö culture and how they were related to each other in determining marriage practices.

124 The collection of genealogies proved to be the most important and the most difficult task of my field work. The 551 091 964 widespread taboo against saying the names of both the living and the dead found in South America, particularly in the Guiana area, was carried to an extreme by the Yąnomamö. Con- 124 128 sequently, much of my time was spent trying to discover which of my informants were giving me erroneous information, a frustrating and time consuming task. It was not unusual to discover after I had spent weeks on particular genealogies working with data provided by crafty informants that I had to disregard most, if not all, of those data. The Indians soon discovered my interest and set about inventing names for everybody in the village--and learning them, making my task all the more difficult when I checked my genealogies with informants from other villages. Thus, I would arrive at what I considered an accurate genealogy for the members of the village I lived in only to be advised by an Indian from another village that most of the names were inventions. I was therefore unable to check the accuracy of the stated relationships between individuals with outside informants

124 until I devised techniques to overcome this informant re-
[128] action. I had ultimately to resort to using informants from
124 other villages to get much of the information, particularly
561 names, about the people with whom I spent most of my time, or,
969 to employ informants who had grudges against individuals with-
578 in the village; the greatest insult a Yąnomamö can give is to say the name of a person's dead ancestor, and I capitalized on this custom at every opportunity.

124 Once I obtained accurate names,[1] the task became
551 easier and I was able to use local informants once again,
969 although rarely would they mention names of their dead relatives. Toward the end of my field work I managed to gain the confidence of several older individuals who verified and expanded on information I had collected by more devious means; even so, they themselves would not mention the names of many of the individuals in the genealogies, and I was constrained by my bargain with these informants not to mention the names
124 of any of their closely related dead kinsmen. By utilizing
128 several informants who were not closely related I managed to verify and correct the genealogies of the people with whom I lived, and I am reasonably sure that the information is accurate as far as it goes, although there are probably

---

[129] [1]I was satisfied that the name was accurate when I obtained the same name from several of my most trusted informants. The best proof, however, was the reaction of an informant who was related to the deceased. If this informant became angry or upset when I whispered the name in his presence while checking a genealogy, I was reasonably sure that I had the right name.

124 omissions in ascending generations. The genealogies of
128 individuals from other villages were easier to collect, particularly if my informants had grudges against the members of those villages, but I employed the same techniques in these cases as well.

124 After I had established the genealogical relationships, I visited the various villages to make estimates of the ages of the individuals, as well as to collect other
124 kinds of information. This was always a touchy business, as
123 the Yąnomamö resent being called by their names, particularly
551 older and more influential individuals. Occasionally I would
554 say the name of an individual who had recently been killed in
769 a raid; this always resulted in an unpleasant and possibly dangerous situation, as most of them were unable to understand why a complete stranger should want to possess such knowledge unless it were for harmful magical purposes. My guides were constantly reminding me not to mention the names *of dead people of the villages I visited and of the disastrous* consequences that would follow should I fail to heed this advice.

124 In short, the collection of the genealogies was an unpleasant, full-time task and left very little time for intensive study of other aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

114 The two monographs dealing with the Yąnomamö mentioned above are quite superficial in their treatment of social organization; to date no intensive analysis of Yąnomamö social organization has been attempted using data

similar to that presented here, and I regard my own efforts in this area as supplemental to the generally excellent ethnographic work of Zerries (1964) and Schuster (1958). Without genealogical data it is not possible to estimate the degree to which marriage practices deviate from stated preference, nor to grasp the importance of these deviant cases in Yąnomamö politics.

The histories of the five villages are equally important, as they illustrate the role of warfare in determining settlement pattern, the development of political ties between villages, and the process of village splitting. These factors provide the matrix within which the genealogical data become meaningful.

Piecing together the history of these groups of villages proved to be a difficult task. The geographical area under discussion is unexplored and unmapped. Not even major rivers are accurately known in their upper courses, so that of two published versions of the Siapa River I have had to choose the one most consistent with the account given to me by the Indians. The major problem in this regard has been the identification of a large river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u, whose headwaters lie near the source of the Orinoco River. According to my Yąnomamö informants (people who have either lived on this river or have visited or raided villages located on it), the Shukumöna-u, in its middle course, is nearly as large as the Orinoco at its junction with the Mavaca River. It flows in a westerly

126 Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a
36 larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he
[46] has lived among the Yąnomamö. Finally, on information
[199] obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yąnomamö
[124] have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants'
accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the
villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mömariböwei-
tedi or Patanowä-tedi, I had the residents point in the
direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass
readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps"
required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was
somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of
those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain
[802] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was
the poverty of the Yąnomamö language in indicating numbers.
The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu,
dahiabä), two (porakëbä), and more-than-two (bruka). In
establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have
relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the
Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to
estimate the length of time each site was occupied before
being abandoned.

175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five
villages I have been guided by two historically known events.
One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahekodo-tedi
in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

175 before action could be taken, Nabëyoma's new husband left
648 Mahekodo-tedi for his own village (Buinabëwei-tedi), taking with him Nabëyoma, her two sons by Husiwë, and his own son by Nabëyoma.

[999] The Salesian Mission in Puerto Ayacucho was authorized to handle the affair and they sent a party of men to Buinabëwei-tedi. The Indians did not wish to lose one of their women and the Salesian Mission party had to resort to forceful but prudent measures to recover Nabëyoma. She was returned to her family in Brazil in late 1956. Remoriwë subsequently made two unsuccessful trips to Brazil to find her.

174 As indicated above, the histories as I have recon-
175 structed them are no more than approximations as far as geographical locations and dates of occupation of the various sites are concerned. I am fairly certain, however, that the events themselves are accurately reported, especially those having to do with the warfare and raiding, because I obtained virtually identical versions from several informants on dif-
173 ferent occasions. The Yąnomamë are good historians when it
726 comes to warfare. They have to be, lest they accept invi-
*628 tations to visit villages that have old grudges against them. All of them, even young children, know who killed their relatives and the circumstances in which the killings took place. These are the subject of constant discussion in the villages.

• 124 The first few descriptions I recorded of the 1950-51 feast
173 in which my group was victimized by a Shamatari village were obtained from young men who could not possibly have witnessed

what happened. The later descriptions obtained from much older informants were virtually identical with those I originally recorded from the younger informants. I believe, accordingly, that the accounts of the time period antecedent to the life-span of even my oldest informants are accurate in so far as their major features are concerned.

That the histories are filled with treachery, great violence, and much bloodshed will be apparent. The nature of Yanomamö warfare, however, has not changed. It was being conducted as vigorously and in similar ways in 1964-1966 while I conducted my field-work.

593 agnates of similar age tend to compete, rather than cooperate,
602
613 with each other in the affairs of the group. Each behaves in such a way that it is obvious to all that he is not being
*[621] bossed around by his equals. Finally, this competition and lack of solidarity is even more pronounced when there are two or more local descent groups of the same lineage within the village.

*621 Co-residence as a factor in promoting solidarity can
601 be illustrated by kinship usage. One of my female informants,
*628
591 Kaobawë's wife, used affinal terms for a number of Patanowë-
• 124 tedi men who were technically her agnates. I was certain that my genalogies were correct, so I re-investigated the usage. I discovered that she used 'distant' kinship terms for these 'brothers' because they lived in a different village, but that she had called them by brother terms when they lived together in Patanowë-tedi. She explained that she would again use brother terms if the two villages were to re-unite. Although the terms for agnates normally do not change when a distant agnate joins a local descent group, the co-efficient of solidarity does.

*628 The weakness of the tie between distantly related
602 agnates can also be demonstrated with data on fighting. After
613
726 the Patanowë-tedi separated from the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi in the early '40s, hostilities between the two groups developed. Each group, however, was similar in composition[1] in that each comprised local descent groups of the

[1]See Figure 3, Chapter IV, and Appendix A for the breakdown of the populations of these villages by lineage membership.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 1: Aramamisi-kähkö

174 36 722 *62 • [124]

Matakuwä's group settled here after abandoning their site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawä's group. The village at Aramamisi-kähkö, according to my informants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, Aramamisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, Möwäraoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawä-tedi, Kohoroshi-tedi, Möwariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

174 175 36 *62 978 *628 72 726

A large segment of the population broke away from the main group and moved to the Rahuawä-u River, splitting into two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from the Aramamisi-kähkö population developed out of a feud over a woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from the original faction that separated from Matakuwä's group. The first three of these groups presently live in the Shukumöna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

174 175 *621 • 628 361

[103]

[1] There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114 I overlooked this incident I would have invited them to take even greater liberties with
123 my goods in the future. I crossed the river, docked amidst their dugouts, and shouted for the Indians to come out and see me. A few of the culprits appeared, mischievous grins on their faces. I gave a spirited lecture about how hard I had worked to put those boards in my canoe, how I had paid a machete for the wood, and how angry I was that they destroyed my work in their haste to cross the river. I then pulled out my hunting knife and, while their grins disappeared, cut each of their canoes loose, set it into the current, and let them float away. I left without further ado and without looking back.

They managed to borrow another canoe and, after some effort, recovered their dugouts. The headman of the village later told me with an approving chuckle that I had done the correct thing. Everyone in the village, except, of course, the culprits, supported and defended my action. This raised my status.

Whenever I took such action and defended my rights, I got along much better with the Yąnomamö. A good deal of their behavior toward me was directed with the forethought of establishing the point at which I would react defensively. Many of them later reminisced about the early days of my work when I was "timid" and a little afraid of them, and they could bully me into giving goods away.

Theft was the most persistent situation that required me to take some sort of defensive action. I simply could not keep everything I owned locked in trunks, and the Indians came into my hut and left at will. I developed a very effective means for recovering almost all the stolen items. I would simply ask a child who took the item and then take that person's hammock when he was not around, giving a spirited lecture to the others as I marched away in a faked rage with the thief's hammock. Nobody ever attempted to stop me from doing this, and almost all of them told me that my technique for recovering my possessions was admirable. By nightfall the thief would either appear with the stolen object or send it along with someone else to make an exchange. The others would heckle him for getting caught and being forced to return the item.

121 With respect to collecting the data I sought, there was a very frustrating problem.
124 Primitive social organization is kinship organization, and to understand the Yąnomamö
551 way of life I had to collect extensive genealogies. I could not have deliberately picked
114 a more difficult group to work with in this regard: They have very stringent name taboos. They attempt to name people in such a way that when the person dies and they can no longer use his name, the loss of the word in the language is not inconvenient. Hence, they name people for specific and minute parts of things, such as "toenail of some rodent," thereby being able to retain the words "toenail" and "(specific) rodent," but not being able to refer directly to the toenail of that rodent. The taboo is maintained even for the living. One mark of prestige is the courtesy others show you by not using your name. The sanctions behind the taboo seem to be an unusual combination of fear and respect.

114 I tried to use kinship terms to collect genealogies at first, but the kinship terms
123 were so ambiguous that I ultimately had to resort to names. They were quick to grasp
124 that I was bound to learn everybody's name and reacted, without my knowing it, by
60 inventing false names for everybody in the village. After having spent several months
55 collecting names and learning them, this came as a disappointment to me: I could not cross-check the genealogies with other informants from distant villages.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

They enjoyed watching me learn these names. I assumed, wrongly, that I would get the truth to each question and that I would get the best information by working in public. This set the stage for converting a serious project into a farce. Each informant tried to outdo his peers by inventing a name even more ridiculous than what I had been given earlier, or by asserting that the individual about whom I inquired was married to his mother or daughter, and the like. I would have the informant whisper the name of the individual in my ear, noting that he was the father of such and such a child. Everybody would then insist that I repeat the name aloud, roaring in hysterics as I clumsily pronounced the name. I assumed that the laughter was in response to the violation of the name taboo or to my pronunciation. This was a reasonable interpretation, since the individual whose name I said aloud invariably became angry. After I learned what some of the names meant, I began to understand what the laughter was all about. A few of the more colorful examples are: "hairy vagina," "long penis," "feces of the harpy eagle," and "dirty rectum." No wonder the victims were angry.

I was forced to do my genealogy work in private because of the horseplay and nonsense. Once I did so, my informants began to agree with each other and I managed to learn a few new names, real names. I could then test any new informant by collecting a genealogy from him that I knew to be accurate. I was able to weed out the more mischievous informants this way. Little by little I extended the genealogies and learned the real names. Still, I was unable to get the names of the dead and extend the genealogies back in time, and even my best informants continued to deceive me about their own close relatives. Most of them gave me the name of a living man as the father of some individual in order to avoid mentioning that the actual father was dead.

The quality of a genealogy depends in part on the number of generations it embraces, and the name taboo prevented me from getting any substantial information about deceased ancestors. Without this information, I could not detect marriage patterns through time. I had to rely on older informants for this information, but these were the most reluctant of all. As I became more proficient in the language and more skilled at detecting lies, my informants became better at lying. One of them in particular was so cunning and persuasive that I was shocked to discover that he had been inventing his information. He specialized in making a ceremony out of telling me false names. He would look around to make sure nobody was listening outside my hut, enjoin me to never mention the name again, act very nervous and spooky, and then grab me by the head to whisper the name very softly into my ear. I was always elated after an informant session with him, because I had several generations of dead ancestors for the living people. The others refused to give me this information. To show my gratitude, I paid him quadruple the rate I had given the others. When word got around that I had increased the pay, volunteers began pouring in to give me genealogies.

I discovered that the old man was lying quite by accident. A club fight broke out in the village one day, the result of a dispute over the possession of a woman. She had been promised to Rerebawä, a particularly aggressive young man who had married into the village. Rerebawä had already been given her older sister and was enraged when the younger girl began having an affair with another man in the village, making no attempt to conceal it from him. He challenged the young man to a club fight, but was so abusive in his challenge that the opponent's father took offense and entered the village circle with his son, wielding a long club. Rerebawä swaggered out to the duel and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

hurled insults at both of them, trying to goad them into striking him on the head with their clubs. This would have given him the opportunity to strike them on the head. His opponents refused to hit him, and the fight ended. Rerebawä had won a moral victory because his opponents were afraid to hit him. Thereafter, he swaggered around and insulted the two men behind their backs. He was genuinely angry with them, to the point of calling the older man by the name of his dead father. I quickly seized on this as an opportunity to collect an accurate genealogy and pumped him about his adversary's ancestors. Rerebawä had been particularly nasty to me up to this point, but we became staunch allies: We were both outsiders in the local village. I then asked about other dead ancestors and got immediate replies. He was angry with the whole group and not afraid to tell me the names of the dead. When I compared his version of the genealogies to that of the old man, it was obvious that one of them was lying. I challenged his information, and he explained that everybody knew that the old man was deceiving me and bragging about it in the village. The names the old man had given me were the dead ancestors of the members of a village so far away that he thought I would never have occasion to inquire about them. As it turned out, Rerebawä knew most of the people in that village and recognized the names.

I then went over the complete genealogical records with Rerebawä, genealogies I had presumed to be in final form. I had to revise them all because of the numerous lies and falsifications they contained. Thus, after five months of almost constant work on the genealogies of just one group, I had to begin almost from scratch!

Discouraging as it was to start over, it was still the first real turning point in my fieldwork. Thereafter, I began taking advantage of local arguments and animosities in selecting my informants, and used more extensively individuals who had married into the group. I began traveling to other villages to check the genealogies, picking villages that were on strained terms with the people about whom I wanted information. I would then return to my base camp and check with local informants the accuracy of the new information. If the informants became angry when I mentioned the new names I acquired from the unfriendly group, I was almost certain that the information was accurate. For this kind of checking I had to use informants whose genealogies I knew rather well: they had to be distantly enough related to the dead person that they would not go into a rage when I mentioned the name, but not so remotely related that they would be uncertain of the accuracy of the information. Thus, I had to make a list of names that I dared not use in the presence of each and every informant. Despite the precautions, I occasionally hit a name that put the informant into a rage, such as that of a dead brother or sister that other informants had not reported. This always terminated the day's work with that informant, for he would be too touchy to continue any further, and I would be reluctant to take a chance on accidentally discovering another dead kinsman so soon after the first.

These were always unpleasant experiences, and occasionally dangerous ones, depending on the temperament of the informant. On one occasion I was planning to visit a village that had been raided about a week earlier. A woman whose name I had on my list had been killed by the raiders. I planned to check each individual on the list one by one to estimate ages, and I wanted to remove her name so that I would not say it aloud in the village. I knew that I would be in considerable difficulty if I said this name aloud so soon after her death. I called on my original informant and asked him to tell

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

me the name of the woman who had been killed. He refused, explaining that she was a close relative of his. I then asked him if he would become angry if I read off all the names on the list. This way he did not have to say her name and could merely nod when I mentioned the right one. He was a fairly good friend of mine, and I thought I could predict his reaction. He assured me that this would be a good way of doing it. We were alone in my hut so that nobody could overhear us. I read the names softly, continuing to the next when he gave a negative reply. When I finally spoke the name of the dead woman he flew out of his chair, raised his arm to strike me, and shouted: "You son-of-a-bitch![6] If you ever say that name again, I'll kill you!" He was shaking with rage, but left my hut quietly. I shudder to think what might have happened if I had said the name unknowingly in the woman's village. I had other, similar experiences in different villages, but luckily the dead person had been dead for some time and was not closely related to the individual into whose ear I whispered the name. I was merely cautioned to desist from saying any more names, lest I get people angry with me.

I had been working on the genealogies for nearly a year when another individual came to my aid. It was Kąobawä, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri, the group in which I spent most of my time. He visited me one day after the others had left the hut and volunteered to help me on the genealogies. He was poor, he explained, and needed a machete. He would work only on the condition that I did not ask him about his own parents and other very close kinsmen who were dead. He also added that he would not lie to me as the others had done in the past. This was perhaps the most important single event in my fieldwork, for out of this meeting evolved a very warm friendship and a very profitable informant-fieldworker relationship.

Kąobawä's familiarity with his group's history and his candidness were remarkable. His knowledge of details was almost encyclopedic. More than that, he was enthusiastic and encouraged me to learn details that I might otherwise have ignored. If there were things he did not know intimately, he would advise me to wait until he could check things out with someone in the village. This he would do clandestinely, giving me a report the next day. As I was constrained by my part of the bargain to avoid discussing his close dead kinsmen, I had to rely on Rerebawä for this information. I got Rerebawä's genealogy from Kąobawä.

Once again I went over the genealogies with Kąobawä to recheck them, a considerable task by this time: they included about two thousand names, representing several generations of individuals from four different villages. Rerebawä's information was very accurate, and Kąobawä's contribution enabled me to trace the genealogies further back in time. Thus, after nearly a year of constant work on genealogies, Yąnomamö demography and social organization began to fall into a pattern. Only then could I see how kin groups formed and exchanged women with each other over time, and only then did the fissioning of larger villages into smaller ones show a distinct pattern. At this point I was able to begin formulating more intelligent questions because there was now some sort of pattern to work with. Without the help of Rerebawä and Kąobawä I could not have made very much sense of the plethora of details I had collected from dozens of other informants.

[6] This is the closest English translation of his actual statement, the literal translation of which would be nonsensical in our language.

142
301
302
516

Fig. 1-3. Kąobawä, the war leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village. 114 123 124

Kąobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kąobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kąobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two 115 [802] [595] [837] [835]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1988) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

FaSiDa is the same as MoBrDa, and both are called by the same term, *suabŏya*. Hence, to present the above examples as the Yąnomamŏ would explain them I would not have had to distinguish MoBrDa from FaSiDa, but rather would have had to use just one term; in every case presented, men married their *suabŏya*. (This can be seen in the model shown in Fig. 3–1; each male married a woman who was simultaneously FaSiDa and MoBrDa, that is, *suabŏya*, to him.)

Cases I and J: These are a little unusual, but I include them to give some idea of both the potentials of the Yąnomamŏ kinship system and the people who use it.

In case I, individual II–2 is the headman of Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawä's "father." He has considerable authority in the group. He arbitrarily redefined some of his classificatory daughters as sisters *so that his sons could marry their daughters*. Thus, the marriage of IV–1 to IV–2 is now considered to be legitimate because IV–1 could call his wife's mother his mother-in-law (FaSi), since his father redefined her as sister. Otherwise, it would be incest. Most of the people adjusted their kinship usage to fit the circumstances, but Kąobawä, who gave me the details of the manipulation, refused to adjust his own terms. The redefined women in question are his sisters, and he refused to call them FaSi.

I came upon this, and several identical cases, when I learned that the kinship usage between specific individuals did not reflect the equations implied by genealogies. (After I had collected extensive genealogies on four villages, I spent a considerable amount of time collecting kinship terms from specific individuals for every one of the some two thousand individuals included in the genealogies. This served as a cross-check on the genealogies, but uncovered a large number of incestuous and other interesting marriages that I might not have pinpointed otherwise.)

Case J brings out the full potential of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamŏ kinship. The man (III–1) married his *suabŏya* according to the Yąnomamŏ, although he was not related to her by any blood ties. The justification for the marriage is the fact that III–1 calls all the women to whom his father and his father's brothers are married by the term for mother. Hence, he married his MoBrDa.

THE LINEAGE It was shown in Chapter 1 that villages fission to produce new groups. One of the consequences of this pattern is that in a given area there will be a number of villages whose members can trace genealogical ties to each other because they have common male ancestors. Because of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamŏ kinship, the interrelated members of two different villages will use kinship terms for each other that imply a closeness of relationship. Thus, Kąobawä has "brothers" in all of the villages that have a common history with his own. These men are usually parallel cousins one or two degrees removed, but brothers in terminological categories. (The lineage to which Kąobawä belongs is shown on Fig. 3–5, discussed later as the *Sha* lineage.)

The Yąnomamŏ do not name their lineages. I have named all the significant lineages after particular male individuals, usually a long-since-dead male whose generation is the last for which I have meaningful genealogies. Thus, the *Sha* lineage is named after a man called *Shamathiadima*, long dead. He and his brothers left many male descendants who today are distributed in several villages. In the history of the movements of Kąobawä's village, the *Sha* lineage has figured prominently in the affairs of the group. Similarly, the *Hor* lineage is named after a man called *Horokwäwä*. The *Sha* and *Hor* lineages have a long history of marriage alliance and the living members of these two lineages constitute the greater fraction of the populations of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

These figures represent a *sample* of marriages in the two villages. The sample consists of all married males who are thirty-five years old or younger. The sample was chosen in this fashion because the analysis of the marriage types depends on genealogical information covering several generations. By selecting only the younger men the analysis can be quite easily undertaken. In Patanowä-teri there were 38 men of this category, many of whom had multiple wives. A man with four wives, therefore, represents four marriages. In Lower Bisaasi-teri only 10 married men were below thirty-five years of age and accounted for the seventeen marriages. If all the men were included, the analysis would be inaccurate because I do not have adequately long genealogies for some of the oldest men. Up to 1940, the villages of Patanowä-teri and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not separate entities; they separated from each other at about that time. Patanowä-teri is a large and powerful village, containing 212 people. Lower Bisaasi-teri, with only 51 people, is militarily dependent on several of its allies.

Four types of marriages are shown in Table 3–2. The term prescriptive refers to the kinds of marriages described in Fig. 3–2. An incestuous marriage is defined as a man marrying a woman of his own patrilineage (or his mother or niece reckoned through his mother's side of the family). Marriages resulting from either alliance or abduction have been lumped into a single category because they represent the recruitment of spouses from outside the group. Finally, a few marriages are unexplainable in terms of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage equations; these represent marriages between members of distinct lineages that have recently entered into exchanges with each other.

As can be seen from Table 3–2, there is a major difference between the two villages in the proportion of prescriptive marriages on the one hand and alliance marriages on the other. In short, the Patanowä-teri follow their marriage prescriptions far more rigorously than do the Lower Bisaasi-teri. This is so because Patanowä-teri, a much larger village, does not need to enter into marriage alliances with its neighbors; it is politically and militarily capable of an autonomous existence. Most of the alliance-abduction marriages in Patanowä-teri are, in fact, abductions; in Bisaasi-teri most of them are alliance marriages. Therefore, the relative frequency of alliance-type marriages is much lower for Patanowä-teri than for Lower Bisaasi-teri. This difference in marriage behavior stems from the relative abilities of the two groups to maintain military autonomy in a milieu of chronic warfare, a quality that is largely a function of the size of the group. The members of a militarily vulnerable village will breach the marriage prescriptions in order to establish political alliances with neighboring groups by ceding women to them.

TABLE 3–2
MARRIAGE TYPES IN PATANOWÄ-TERI AND LOWER BISAASI-TERI

	Patanowä-teri	Lower Bisaasi-teri
1. Prescriptive	37	7
2. Incestuous	4	1
3. Alliance and/or abduction	8	9
4. Unexplained	3	0
Totals:	52	17

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yąnomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18] Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yąnomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shaiwã* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19] Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

interdependency. The Yąnomamö cannot simply arrive at the village of a potential ally and declare that they need military assistance because of the raids of a superior enemy. Doing so would admit vulnerability and perhaps invite predation from the potential ally. Instead, they conceal and subsume the true motive for the alliance in the vehicles of *trading* and *feasting*, developing these institutions over months and even years. In this manner they retain an apparent modicum of sovereignty and pride, while simultaneously attaining the true objectives: intervillage solidarity and military interdependence.

Three distinct features of Yąnomamö trading practices are important in the context of alliance formation. First, each item must be repaid with a different kind of item: The recipient is under an *obligation* to repay his partner in a type of exchange called *no mraiha*. Secondly, the payment is delayed, a temporal factor in the trading techniques that is likewise implied by the *no mraiha*. The consequence of these two trading features is that one trade always calls forth another and gives the members of different villages both the excuse and the opportunity to visit each other; and once the trading starts, it tends to continue, for one village in an alliance always owes the other trade goods from their last confrontation. The third significant trade feature is the peculiar specialization in the production of trade items. Each village has one or more special products that it provides to its allies. These include such items as dogs, hallucinogenic drugs (both cultivated and collected), arrow points, arrow shafts, bows, cotton yarn, cotton and vine hammocks, baskets of several varieties, clay pots, and, in the case of the several contacted villages, steel tools and aluminum pots.

This specialization in production cannot be explained in terms of the distribution of natural resources. Each village is, economically speaking, capable of self-sufficiency. (The steel tools and other products from civilization constitute the major exceptions.) The explanation of the specialization must be sought, rather, in the sociological aspects of alliance formation. Trade functions as the social catalyst, the "starting mechanism," through which mutually suspicious allies are repeatedly brought together in direct confrontation. Without these frequent contacts with neighbors, alliances would be much slower in formation and would be even more unstable once formed: A prerequisite to stable alliance is repetitive visiting and feasting, and the trading mechanism serves to bring about these visits.

Clay pots are a good example of the specialization in labor that characterizes Yąnomamö production and trade. The Mõmariböwei-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8) are allied to both Kąobawä's group and the people of a distant Shamatari village, the latter being mortal enemies of Kąobawä. When I first began my fieldwork, I visited the Mõmariböwei-teri, specifically asking them if they knew how to make clay pots. They all vigorously denied knowledge of pot-making, explaining that they once knew how to make them but had long since forgotten. They explained that their allies, the Möwaraoba-teri, made them in quantities and provided all they needed, and therefore they did not have to make them anymore. They also added that the clay in the area of their village was not of the proper type for making pots. Later in the year their alliance with the pot makers grew cool because of a war, and their source of pots was shut off. At the same time, Kąobawä's group began asking them for clay pots. The Mõmariböwei-teri promptly responded by "remembering" how pots were made and "discovering" that the clay in their neighborhood was indeed suitable for pot manufacturing. They had merely created

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women. One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomoboni,* is the ultimate form of violence. Kąobawä's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kąobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yąnomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Sisäwä, coveted my British commando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinsmen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doubt my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yanomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kaobawä's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggressive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *waiteri* (fierce one) of the group.

Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatari girl. Damowä seduced her, thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the final club fight that led to the separation of Kaobawä's group from the Monou-teri. Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kaobawä then organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kaobawä's raiders. Nobody

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

thing they could ever have imagined. It was the first time a stranger had learned to articulate the explosive vocables of their savage, noisy tribe.

Unlike Makiritari and Pemontòn, languages of Carib origin with very frequent aspirates, the Shirian tongue is chanted rather than spoken and possesses few aspirates. In all probability it is close to the fountain-head of all language—that is, a common-sense arrangement of sounds and chants—and it is more adapted to forest conditions, being 'howled', with the accent on the last syllable of the word, so that the sound echoes over a considerable distance.

The language is richer than might be supposed from the backwardness of the Indians who speak it. Later on, with Luis Antonio's help, I was able to complete a vocabulary of more than eight hundred words. The most surprising feature is that many of the words have an undeniable affinity with the Malayan language. One example is '*tuan*', the word (indifferently prefixed or suffixed) by which the Shirian refers to a man as such, differentiated from other forms of life or other things, and therefore implying a certain superiority, as in 'sir'. This is its exact equivalent in Malayan. Another example is '*pulipuli*' (moon), which is too close to the Malayan '*pulang*' for the similarity to be accidental. And so on.

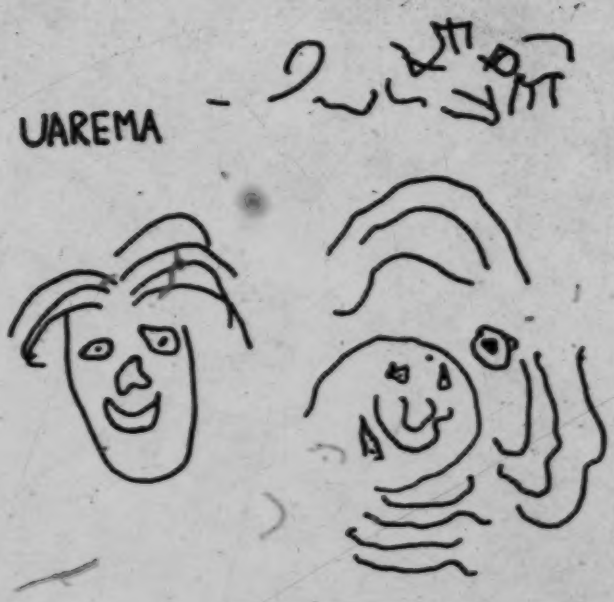
I profited from my stay with the Shirians by analysing some of their mental processes, their psychical reflexes and their reactions to conditioned phenomena such as come under the general heading of 'psychotechnics'. I had with me a few sheets of cardboard from the wrappings of my medical supplies, and a stub of pencil (lost for some time, this turned up in the possession of a good lady who was using it—with results that were hard to discern—as a cosmetic). I would write a word in very clear block letters, or I would draw a face, on one side of the sheet. Then I would give the pencil to a Samatari who had been following my actions with the closest interest and ask him to copy exactly what I had written or drawn.

I repeated this test several times, and some curious results were produced. They may contribute something of value towards the analysis of primitive mentalities, and I reproduce them opposite.

With this test, even at a first glance, we can make some contribution towards a definition of the Indians' mental processes, which are still at the stage where their intelligence is wholly analytical. They have not yet developed the power of synthesis, which comes later. This is clearly shown by the Shirian copies of the face. They render all the details, without, however, being able to unite them

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

into the proper shape, which means without the logical synthesis which gives them their definitive value. As with his analytical copy of the face, so the Shirian analyses the world in his thoughts about it, but forms no judgment on it, because to form a judgment would necessitate a higher power of synthesis that he possesses.



We now discovered that the Indians had chosen two very fine names for us, by which we were henceforth known. Enrico's was Ilòh—howling monkey, on account of his red beard and its obvious resemblance to the alouata's tawny coat. Mine was Walé—wild boar: my hide was apparently somewhat similar to the peccary's. We had a good laugh over the names and were pleased to be known by them, because it meant that at any rate we had been accepted as men like themselves, our beards being so much superstructure; we were just Indians or '*Sanemá*', which means 'people', to use the word the Shirians apply to themselves, the equivalent of the Makiritari '*Sota*'.

The fact that I was accepted by the Samateri as one of themselves has

847 562 162 Several kinds of demographic data suggest that the rate of female infanticide is high. Table 1 gives the sex ratios of five Yąnomamö villages. The sex ratio for the total population sample (576 individuals) gives a more meaningful estimate of the rate of female infanticide, as there is considerable variation by village in the value of the sex ratio. The excess of males in the total population (8%) gives a first 562 approximation of the frequency of female infanticide. The 162 628 722 variation in the sex ratio by the village, on the other hand, expresses the political relationships of the villages to [583] their allies. That is, the distribution of women in these five villages is a function of the military requirements of the particular villages in the marriage alliance network. Thus, the cline in sex ratio from Reyaboböwei-tedi to Bisaasi-tedi (ignoring the Patanowä-tedi, who are not allied to the other groups) reflects a dominance gradient in politico- • 125 847 162 628 562 military requirements of each village. The total sample of 576 individuals must be considered in order to estimate the frequency of female infanticide among the Yąnomamö, but the political relationships between the villages must be understood to account for the variation by village of the value

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

847 562 162 114 982 selves, it is highly unlikely that men will marry a FaSiDa, despite the kinship terminology. Rose did not, however, consider the possibility that sibships may have a systematic bias in their composition; if males tend to be older than their sisters considering all sibships, the probability that a FaSiDa is of marriageable age is increased. I specifically questioned the relationship between female infanticide and FaSiDa marriage, and the Yąnomamö denied any correlation between the two practices. There can be no doubt, however, that the occurrence of FaSiDa marriage among the Yąnomamö is made more probable by female infanticide.

10:Chagnon E-4,5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of the sex ratio, and the distribution of the women among them.

In Chapter 5 I will show how the two Shamatari villages, Reyabobŏwei-tedi and Mǫmaribŏwei-tedi, participated in a treacherous feast during which they killed a number of their kinsmen from Mŏwŭraoba-tedi. This feast committed the two Shamatari villages to an alliance with the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi in which the latter two villages were, in a political-military sense, less dependent on the support of the Shamatari than the Shamatari were on them. The Mǫmaribŏwei-tedi and the Reyabobŏwei-tedi represented the front of the Shamatari expansion into the unoccupied Mavaca River area. The territory they abandoned as they expanded to the west was subsequently occupied by other Shamatari villages, the members of which were historically related to them.[1] By participating in the treacherous feast and becoming enemies to their congeners, the two Shamatari villages subordinated themselves to the interests of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Since they formed a buffer between the villages of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi on the one hand, and the Shamatari village of Mŏwŭraoba-tedi on the other, they bore the brunt of the raids mounted by the latter in revenge for the treachery. In short, they had only two dependable allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an im-

[1] See Chapter 5, "The History of Paruritawŭ-tedi."

These figures represent a *sample* of marriages in the two villages. The sample consists of all married males who are thirty-five years old or younger. The sample was chosen in this fashion because the analysis of the marriage types depends on genealogical information covering several generations. By selecting only the younger men the analysis can be quite easily undertaken. In Patanowã-teri there were 38 men of this category, many of whom had multiple wives. A man with four wives, therefore, represents four marriages. In Lower Bisaasi-teri only 10 married men were below thirty-five years of age and accounted for the seventeen marriages. If all the men were included, the analysis would be inaccurate because I do not have adequately long genealogies for some of the oldest men. Up to 1940, the villages of Patanowã-teri and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not separate entities; they separated from each other at about that time. Patanowã-teri is a large and powerful village, containing 212 people. Lower Bisaasi-teri, with only 51 people, is militarily dependent on several of its allies.

Four types of marriages are shown in Table 3–2. The term prescriptive refers to the kinds of marriages described in Fig. 3–2. An incestuous marriage is defined as a man marrying a woman of his own patrilineage (or his mother or niece reckoned through his mother's side of the family). Marriages resulting from either alliance or abduction have been lumped into a single category because they represent the recruitment of spouses from outside the group. Finally, a few marriages are unexplainable in terms of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage equations; these represent marriages between members of distinct lineages that have recently entered into exchanges with each other.

As can be seen from Table 3–2, there is a major difference between the two villages in the proportion of prescriptive marriages on the one hand and alliance marriages on the other. In short, the Patanowã-teri follow their marriage prescriptions far more rigorously than do the Lower Bisaasi-teri. This is so because Patanowã-teri, a much larger village, does not need to enter into marriage alliances with its neighbors; it is politically and militarily capable of an autonomous existence. Most of the alliance-abduction marriages in Patanowã-teri are, in fact, abductions; in Bisaasi-teri most of them are alliance marriages. Therefore, the relative frequency of alliance-type marriages is much lower for Patanowã-teri than for Lower Bisaasi-teri. This difference in marriage behavior stems from the relative abilities of the two groups to maintain military autonomy in a milieu of chronic warfare, a quality that is largely a function of the size of the group. The members of a militarily vulnerable village will breach the marriage prescriptions in order to establish political alliances with neighboring groups by ceding women to them.

TABLE 3–2
MARRIAGE TYPES IN PATANOWÃ-TERI AND LOWER BISAASI-TERI

	Patanowã-teri	Lower Bisaasi-teri
1. Prescriptive	37	7
2. Incestuous	4	1
3. Alliance and/or abduction	8	9
4. Unexplained	3	0
Totals:	52	17

/VI cont./

I thank my friend and colleague, Dr. Dall'Igna Rodrigues, for important suggestions given to me in connection with completing this monograph and for the appendix of comparative linguistic material /see 3: Rodrigues, this file/.

I am also deeply grateful to my co-workers at the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, who contributed so much to the fashioning of the present work. They are Herr Dr. Herbert Tischner, who helped me with advice and experience in the printing, Fräulein Dascha Detering, who made the drawings and the map with great care and who independently worked out the textile techniques presented in this work; also Herr Hans Cantzler, who photographed a number of objects and made enlargements of my photographs.

In conclusion I should like to thank Herr Prof. Dr. Herbert Freudenthal and my wife for their tireless help in reading proof, and the printing firm J. J. Augustin for their excellent technical work on the present book.

The ethnographic collections are in the possession of the Museu Paulista, São Paulo, and the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte. All the inventory numbers in the index of figures and illustrations are those of the specimens in the Hamburg Museum.

Hamburg, Christmas 1959. Hans Becher

/VII/

Table of Contents

		Page
Foreword		i
I.	Geographical introduction	1
II.	The civilized inhabitants of the Demini-Aracá region	5
III.	The ethnic affiliation of the Surára and Pakidái	8
IV.	Historical data	14
V.	Physical characteristics	20
VI.	Technology and material culture	23

Surára Pakidái

/81/

Designation of the Surára and Pakidái:	Designation of the regional caboclo population:
pakatarimã	pacovão
kuratś pauximí	inajś
nakaximí	São Tomé roxa
rokojś	São Tomé branca
rokomã	banana maçã (?)
parauś	caité
roćrenvõkʔkõ	banana bajé
xiahíma	Banana govêrno (375)

375. Unfortunately, I could not carry out a botanical classification of these varieties.

With the help of a digging stick made from the wood of the pupunha palm and 1.60-1.80 meters long, which has a flattened point at the lower end (Ill. 38), or a broken bow-staff, cuttings of banana trees are planted in the clearing, and after only a few months they are full-grown and bear fruit. The work of planting as well as the care of the plants falls to the men, while the women help only with the harvest (376).

376. Among the Waikś, the plants are cared for by men and women (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Besides the banana, the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) -- komunamś -- is cultivated to a considerable extent. Cuttings are used for planting, but occasionally seeds as well. These palms, which always stand between the bananas, give the clearings of the Surára and Pakidái a characteristic stamp (Ill. 37). The trunk, 18-20 meters tall, which is covered with pointed thorns -- mímicibś -- and can therefore be climbed only

Surára
Pakidái

/88 cont./

123
276

434. (cont.)
servant Mateus and I were thereafter dependent on the cultivated tobacco of the Indians, which, however, was so strong that we simply could not enjoy it. Mateus, however, had the happy idea of washing the tobacco several times and then he let it dry in the sun. Since we had plenty of cigarette paper with us, we were not obliged to give up our customary enjoyment of cigarettes. We could never have become accustomed to sucking out the tobacco, for every attempt resulted in retching.

276 The narcotic snuff powder, similar to yopo or paricá, is made up of various ingredients, of which I was able to identify, besides the roasted and pulverized paricá seed (Piptadenia peregrina Benth.), the ashes of the burned bark of a wild species of mimosa (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurâhihenâ -- (435), as

[192]
[776]
[787]

435. This, it should be noted, contains the word with which the gigantic animal and plant spirits are called -- hekurâ -- with which the men are able to make contact only by means of the snuff powder.

well as a cultivated pepper plant /89/ (Piperacea sp.) -- maxarahâ -- (436) (437).

[192]
[184]

436. Zerries found the same combination among the Waikâ, and even the names for the pepper plant are almost identical; the Waikâ call it "masho hara." The bark of the mimosa, in which Zerries suspects there is an alkaloid, is, however, used only in the dried or roasted state (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

• [126]

437. Herr Prof. Dr. Klaus Soehring of the

/89 cont./

276
• 126

437. (cont.)
Pharmakologischen Institut der Universität Hamburg is at present still analyzing the powder that I brought back. The result is to be published later in an article.

276
[463]
[415]

Exactly like the arrow poison, this powder is made only by certain men. It is stored in bamboo tubes -- tõra -- (Fig. 28a) which are closed with leaves. Before prayers, on the occasion of big festivals, and before curing the sick, in which several men take part, besides the chief, the powder is poured on a large clay plate left by the Xiriâna. From here it is then packed into the bamboo snuff-tube 60-70 centimeters long, on one end of which is glued by means of tree resin a perforated, longish palm nut (Fig. 28b). At the free end the nut is sharpened to a point so that the man wishing to take snuff can insert it into one nostril. From the other end /Fig. 28 appears here/ of the tube, a friendly fellow-tribesman, with partly bent knees, blows the powder with all of his might into the man's nose (Ill. 44).

123
276

After only a few minutes the snuff-taker falls into an inconceivable state of intoxication, in which he rages, screams, sings, dances, and leaps about (Ills. 45, 46). Since I was obliged, after my adoption into the tribe of the Surára, to submit to this usage also, I am in a position to describe the effect in detail. I should like to point out briefly here that immediately afterwards I developed a splitting headache and felt a strong desire to vomit, exactly like the youths making their first acquaintance with this drug. But shortly after that a strange reaction took place within me, for I felt myself to be a giant among giants. All the human beings near me, as well as dogs and parrots, suddenly seemed to be giants. This effect, which is caused by the alkaloids in the powder, is closely connected with the conceptions of gigantic animal and plant spirits (see pp. 201/201).

/101 cont./

755 me, contact with the hekurá would not be broken. Toward 4:30, the rain had stopped in the meantime, the nine men once more gathered around the sick woman and continued the cure for another two hours in the manner described above. By forenoon the fever was gone and the woman was on the way to recovery. She and every other member of the tribe were convinced that Hewemão had hurled the evil spirit of sickness, nonexí, back to the Waikâ. Even Hewemão himself firmly believes that in the snuff-powder intoxication and with the help of the hekurá and the moon he is able to ward off sickness and accidents and to cast them out.

/102/ The two above-described magic performances for warding off two different diseases show a certain external pattern. Each cure begins with the taking of snuff-powder, which causes the chief and his helpers to fall into a state of ecstasy and to identify themselves with the hekurá. There follows the invocation of the hekurá, which is reinforced by wild gestures, then the sham struggle between two or more "hekurá" and the spirit of sickness, "nonexí." After that, very definite texts, melodies, and dances are used for each sickness. Unforgettable [533] for me are the choral part-songs which contain the requests to the hekurá and the serras, who, in turn, relay them to Porê/Perimbó (see pp. 197 ff.) (503).

• [126]

503. I deeply regret that I was unable to record these songs on a sound track. Unfortunately, the tape recorder which the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft had sent by courier to the German Consulate in São Paulo before the start of my expedition was damaged by an employee there. Without permission, he had unpacked it and tinkered with it. Thus, I can only hope that on a subsequent expedition I shall have an opportunity to record these songs.

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as
114 Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have con-
128 sidered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Xamatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

● 126 The linguistic material which the author of the present
192 work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 In order to classify this material within the different
192 Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others
174 belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we
197 established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabu-
197 laries were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the
174 Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956,
126 pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73
127 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

4: Wilbert--50 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Chibcha SC11 Sanema Warao SS18 Bari SS 13

/198/ Cariban Ind. SR7

Y 114 ● 126 143

At the beginning of the year 1961 I had an opportunity, together with Dr. Layrisse, to visit the Waica of the upper Orinoco, where we went with the intention of taking blood samples of that group. We obtained 140 individual samples, which, in all probability, are representative for the Yanoama in general. We shall now report an interesting genetic discovery.

Y 143

The Waica showed a complete absence of the gene Diego (Di^a). As we reported before (Layrisse, Wilbert, 1960), the antigen Diego is an exclusively Mongoloid genetic marker, but, in spite of the fact that it occurs solely in populations called "Mongoloid," it does not appear in all of them. There are Diego-positive Mongoloids and Diego-negative Mongoloids. Gradual differences of frequency between one Mongoloid population and another have also been observed. Up to the present the scale of frequency varies between 0 and 50%.

4C 8 [143]

The Waica are one of the Diego-negative Mongoloid populations, and the tribes of South America in the same category are: the Tunebo, Barí (Motilones Bravos), and Warao. Other groups with very low incidence could be included in this category also, since the low frequency they showed for the gene can be better explained by the crossing of a population originally negative with another one highly positive. A representative of the latter group is the tribe of the Yaruro.

Y CI 143 197

During the six years of research on the Diego gene we made an observation which we consider to be of importance, which is: the various frequency groups of the Diego antigen correspond to different linguistic affinities. The most carefully studied case is that of the Caribe. We examined more than ten tribes and subtribes and they all show an average of 28% of the Di^a gene. In this case the Caribe lingnistic affinity is indicatory for a positive incidence of the Di^a gene. It is understood, of course, that there is no causal relationship between these two facts and that its observation is not to be interpreted in the sense that we are trying to make a chromosome responsible for a given cultural trait. The two factors are essentially different, but their parallel appearance is an interesting fact.

/213 cont./

793 624 [622] For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 123 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the impression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly [276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 775 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after [841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a [126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made [532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals: he was the guapo. 1/1

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. 71-An.]

/224 cont./

793 778 628 [776] other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the hɛ̃wĩawán gather with their hĩkula-dĩb.

793 778 775 The hĩkula-dĩb of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria, in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial community, and for this reason more than one priest is unnecessary. In the section of the illustrations one can see the

532 793 778 775 126 hikuladɛ̃ of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees there five hĩkula-dĩb, or souls of ancestors of the group in which the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him

532 793 778 775 126 825 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is based on the belief that a Sanemá must never speak of the insect of the house of the hikuladɛ̃. As a matter of fact our informant never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American ethnology.

171 773 825 778 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it payak, a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to the hĩkuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá priest to note the Mataco custom of attributing a supernatural power to a maraca /gourd rattle/ with sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The similarity between the hikuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá and the "sacred maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

7 [See p. 70 - -Analyst]

/225 cont./ The Sanemá say that the
793 hɛwīawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikulaɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[796] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
[126] propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[795] hɛwīawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
794 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the híkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

BLOOD GROUP STUDIES

The Material

Blood samples were taken from 142 less closely related individuals living in six settlements situated along the banks of the upper Orinoco and Mavaca rivers in the Territorio Amazonas of southern Venezuela. We started to take samples at the Mission of Boca del Ocamo and continued along the Orinoco until we reached the confluence with the Mavaca River and then continued up the Mavaca until we arrived at the settlements called Boca Mavaca and Laguna Mavaca.

The blood samples were analyzed for the following antibodies:

(1) anti-A, anti-A_1, and anti-B for the A_1 A_2 BO system
(2) anti-M, anti-N, anti-S, and anti-s for the MNSs systems
(3) Anti-P_1 (previously called anti-P), and anti-P, anti-P_1 (previously called anti-Tj^a) for the P system
(4) anti-D, anti-C, anti-c, anti-E, anti-e, and anti-$hr^{'}$ for the Rh system
(5) anti-Lu^a for the Lutheran system
(6) anti-K and anti-k for the Kell system
(7) anti-Le^a for the Lewis system
(8) anti-Fy^a for the Duffy system. Anti-Fy^b was only used in cases Fy(-)
(9) anti-Jk^a and Jk^b for the Kidd system
(10) anti-Di^a for the Diego system

Electrophoretic studies of the hemoglobins and haptoglobins were performed by Dr Tulio Arends who will report the results separately.

Results

A_1A_2BO: All samples were group O as was expected, because of the recency of contact with White and Negro.

MNSs: The gene M showed a high frequency (79%) as is usual for the majority of Indian tribes. The gene S was relatively low (19%) travelling mostly with the gene M.

Rh: The outstanding finding in this system was the high frequency of the chromosome R_o (DCE), (18%), and the low frequency of the chromosome R_2 (DcE), (6%), of which no homozygous sample was found; the frequency was deduced from the phenotype samples DCcEe. As expected, all cases were Rho(±) and no sample was found in which the presence of the chromosomes *r* or Ro could be presumed. Absence of the rh^o was observed in all

13a Shapiro, 1960.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 that it might have shot up into the air out of the towering rocks of the sierra. This time it almost skimmed the treetops, but once again it did not land. A plane of such size—it had two motors—would never have been able to touch down on the Kirisochi strip, and certainly would not have been able to take off from it again. It flew over the camp a second time and dropped a bottle containing a laconic message to the effect that a landing was out of the question, but that the following week a single-engined plane would pay us a visit instead. For the present, the note added, the pilot would make one more flight over the camp. If we were in dire need of anything, we were to raise both hands. If not, only one.

The main point of the plane's coming was really only to bring us supplies —and at the moment we were suffering no particular shortage—and to provide transport back for Jean, our American girl, and eventually for Artur, the German. When it made the third run in, we raised one hand only, and the pilot dropped us a bag of comforts, our mail, and a sack containing twenty pounds of potatoes. No doubt this was meant as compensation for his inability to land. It certainly helped to break the monotony of our diet.

123 All this time, Enrico and I were getting on with the scenario of our film. 126 We took a few background scenes and shots of Indians, who were now coming and going daily. Our film was to be a documentary, about an expedition similar to our own which encountered the Makiritari and the Shirians: it then proceeded, following some darkly mysterious hints dropped by these tribes, to the Valley of Death—or the Valley of Cold, or maybe the Valley of the Devil —in which there was a stream full of diamonds. These duly gathered in we brought our expedition back via the Merevari rapids through all the glories of a Technicolor sunset. Of course there was hunting, fishing, canoeing and nature in the raw. This should have lent a certain interest quite independently of the diamonds, but the diamonds were a cinema 'must', and so we got to work on the bottle dropped by the plane. We ground it up between two stones, and there was our fabulous heap of precious, gleaming stones. But we weren't altogether satisfied with the results of this grinding process, and began to wonder whether our 'diamonds' would pass muster. The Casaracuni must have shared our doubts, for a month later we had an accident with the boat and the canisters of film we had shot went to the bottom, where they were washed clean.

120 Pedro had settled for quarters near us, but not inside the hut itself, which

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

little hand, once fashionable in Europe, would probably have made an ideal present for him.

One day, however, a boy passed in front of him, dragging a great sheaf of palm leaves. The Senator stretched out his hand to touch them, as if making sure they were of good quality.

'The Senator has touched the leaves!' I shouted to the others, and from that moment anything The Senator did marked a red-letter day in our calendar.

But at home he was not a figure of quite the same dignity. His back-scratching stick was now replaced by one of the machetes which his tribe had received in payment from us. However, his smile when he saw us again made up for everything—even for that rash behaviour when he had broken the mystic spell of his immobility by stretching out his hand to touch the palm leaves.

We treated the usual cases of worms among the children and one or two not very serious sores, and then returned to the beach, where Jean was waiting for us with Caio and Sempronio. Two days later we were once more at Llantarigña, on our way to the Uarema settlement to make a retake of some film shots we thought we had lost in our recent shipwreck.

The *meris* were beautifully ripe on the Merevari banks, and at Llantarigña there was a gigantic tree, which Sempronio climbed like a monkey. From his perch on high he threw the fruit down to us, but not before he had sampled the best of them, chuckling and exclaiming in his delight. The *meri* is the red and fleshy fruit of the cashew nut tree. Common in tropical America, it is known on the lower Amazon as the *maraõa*. Besides the juicy pulp, there is also the kernel which once freed from the bitter oil which impregnates it can be made into an excellent almond cake, as it is in Guiana.

When we had eaten our fill of these fruits, we decided to sacrifice the tree in order to re-take a scene for our film. We had been puzzling over it and so far had found no satisfactory solution. The scene called for a beautiful tree falling into still water. A tree with fiery red fruits, which would make a tremendous splash. Several Indians would then jump in after the fruits as the current began to sweep them away. This venerable *meri* tree at Llantarigña seemed ideal for the purpose, both in its structure and its position, and we worked on it with our axes for an hour, while I myself, strategically placed with the camera, waited for the big scene. But when the tree did come down the Indians were all on top of me, hurrying out of the way of its fall, so that the foreground of the picture was thick with figures dancing about in clumsy

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

agitation. This experience decided us to scrap the whole scene and to substitute for it one of an explorer gazing into the blue.

At the *malocs*, as the settlement of a native tribe is called in Venezuela, we should be able to re-take some of the scenes we had lost. It would be a two or three days' job. But unexpected difficulties cropped up. In the first place we had nothing left to give the 'cast' and even the most primitive Indian will not do anything for nothing. Then there was a fresh difficulty. When we opened the cases to set up our cine-camera the Indians held a brief discussion among themselves and then went off as if they were all suddenly afraid. We called together all our old actors who had taken part so enthusiastically the time before, but even they refused with a 'but'—which meant 'no', very curtly and decisively pronounced. Luis Antonio explained how matters stood, wearing that malicious smile which he assumed as a defensive mask every time the occasion arose for him to state an Indian opinion which contrasted with our own. We realized that he was for ever on tenterhooks between our own 'rationality' and assurance and the ideas of his own race, which may have been ridiculous at times but were nevertheless deep-seated and instinctive.

By looking into the sights of a cine-camera, people can see themselves so reduced in size that they are smaller than insects. This fact was not lost on the Guayca Indians. At first, it amused them: sending them into savage shrieks of laughter. But then a great thought had occurred to somebody: if the machine could so reduce them in size, it would have the same effect on their strength too —and they would be left defenceless.

It was now clear that we were up to no good. We were turning them into tinies, so as to be able to conquer them with no trouble at all. This was an unexpected blow to us. We could do nothing but give up and move on, much to the amusement of the youngsters who thronged round us—if there was any fun to be had, trust them never to be far away, even if they didn't know what all the excitement was about.

Convincing them that the cinema apparatus was harmless took a long, long time. We showed them that we ourselves were not haunted by the fear of being dwarfed: one of us would strike a pose in front of the camera while another operated it, and go right up close enough to touch the lens. Gradually the air cleared, their spirits rose and they began to grin and laugh, until even the suspicions of the most grudging were lulled. Luis Antonio, always capricious but nevertheless ready and willing to help when we were really in need of him,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

not only let us take his picture but begged us to take it again, with his wife beside him. Then he caused general merriment by posing beside the 'public woman' who was painted and dolled up like a bird of paradise. In a third take, he stood between the two women, caressing their breasts in an excess of zeal. At this, enthusiasm knew no bounds. Even Uaremu's brother, a venerable figure with his head crowned with the scars of old battles, burst into such a vehement laugh that he lost his horrible quid of tobacco. This change of mood enabled us to get on with our job. But our takes were often interrupted, for Uaremu had started a vogue and couples would come along and insist on being photographed in their full feather rig.

III

For our forthcoming river trips we were anxious to engage one of Luis Antonio's many brothers, who was apparently of the same age and had the reputation of being the tribe's most experienced traveller. To a certain extent he was even familiar with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. But his wife was expecting a child, so that he was prevented from going very far away from home. This seemed to us the most natural thing in the world. The wife was a tiny little lady, her only sign of maturity being her enormous belly, which very clearly did not owe its size to the swelling caused by internal parasites, the privileged possession of these women and children. Without this evidence of pregnancy she might have been taken for a girl of ten.

'The birth will come any day now,' Luis Antonio told us. 'But my brother won't be able to start straight away. He'll have to rest.'

We were reminded of the ritual of childbirth which with a few variations here and there is practised by all the Indians of tropical America. It affects the husbands as well as the wives and at bottom, in its way, contains a certain realism, characteristic of primitive peoples. Like us, they accept the principle of cause and effect and they do not really ascribe the pregnancy to strange half-magic phenomena. They know its cause for what it is—man, and his erotic acts. The effect, for them, is not in the woman herself: she is only a means, a vehicle. The true effect is the child. Up to this point, their attitude is no different from ours. The different point of view comes with the valuation placed by the Indians upon the cause after the effect has been produced. They see the role of

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123 turn back at this point, for fear of the swollen river, we could not have stopped them.

'Tell them to turn their canoe and come along with us,' I shouted, with a confidence I was far from feeling. 'We'll all go and see the Samatari.'

There was a moment's silence, and then the three newcomers suddenly turned round and went ahead of us in their canoe. It was so dilapidated and out of shape that to tell the truth I was surprised it had stood up to the Merevari's fury till now.

'Solituan is a Samatari who has lived with us for a long, long time. We sent him ahead so that he could prepare his people for our coming, so as not to take them by surprise. But he was afraid of the Merevari and turned back.'

We now began to understand: the Indians, behaving in their usual way, had done everything in absolute secrecy. Solituan was a Samatari who lived with the Guayca. His very name, when once we came to think of it, meant in a general sense 'cousin or kinsman'. It indicated clearly that he was a guest, a friend. Narcissus was not a Guayca either, as Uarema now went on to tell us. He belonged to one of the Shirian tribes who live still further south than the Samatari, the Quadu-Dildep. He knew the region we should have to cross.

Thus the Uarema Indians had shown a perfect talent for organization in preparing for the trip. They had sent ahead a party uniquely qualified to smooth the way for us and advise the Samatari of our visit—thus averting the danger of the bearded visitors being ill-received because they'd appeared out of the blue. Yet in spite of all this wonderful staff work, these same Uarema had abandoned the journey without compunction, and were ready to leave the exploring party to its own fate in the forest, all for a caprice, because a sudden bout of lassitude coincided with the rainstorm. This fickle veering from 'let's go' at one minute to 'let's turn back' at the next is typical of primitive peoples. They act upon impulse, not conviction.

[126] We had just turned into the Uagua stream and I was filming the scene as our canoe advanced under the trailing lianas when the cine-camera gave a strange click and stopped. Water had seeped into the works at the time of our shipwreck and by now one of the springs had rusted away. Our hopes of bringing back a film of the Samatari had to be abandoned.

The dread gateway to the Samatari lands proved to be nothing more than a clearing which stopped short and led nowhere, for a heavy curtain of bamboo had come down on it, blocking the ancient path used by the savages. We had

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

thing they could ever have imagined. It was the first time a stranger had learned to articulate the explosive vocables of their savage, noisy tribe.

Unlike Makiritari and Pemontòn, languages of Carib origin with very frequent aspirates, the Shirian tongue is chanted rather than spoken and possesses few aspirates. In all probability it is close to the fountain-head of all language—that is, a common-sense arrangement of sounds and chants—and it is more adapted to forest conditions, being 'howled', with the accent on the last syllable of the word, so that the sound echoes over a considerable distance.

The language is richer than might be supposed from the backwardness of the Indians who speak it. Later on, with Luis Antonio's help, I was able to complete a vocabulary of more than eight hundred words. The most surprising feature is that many of the words have an undeniable affinity with the Malayan language. One example is '*man*', the word (indifferently prefixed or suffixed) by which the Shirian refers to a man as such, differentiated from other forms of life or other things, and therefore implying a certain superiority, as in 'sir'. This is its exact equivalent in Malayan. Another example is '*pulipuli*' (moon), which is too close to the Malayan '*pulang*' for the similarity to be accidental. And so on.

I profited from my stay with the Shirians by analysing some of their mental processes, their psychical reflexes and their reactions to conditioned phenomena such as come under the general heading of 'psychotechnics'. I had with me a few sheets of cardboard from the wrappings of my medical supplies, and a stub of pencil (lost for some time, this turned up in the possession of a good lady who was using it—with results that were hard to discern—as a cosmetic). I would write a word in very clear block letters, or I would draw a face, on one side of the sheet. Then I would give the pencil to a Samatari who had been following my actions with the closest interest and ask him to copy exactly what I had written or drawn.

I repeated this test several times, and some curious results were produced. They may contribute something of value towards the analysis of primitive mentalities, and I reproduce them opposite.

With this test, even at a first glance, we can make some contribution towards a definition of the Indians' mental processes, which are still at the stage where their intelligence is wholly analytical. They have not yet developed the power of synthesis, which comes later. This is clearly shown by the Shirian copies of the face. They render all the details, without, however, being able to unite them

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Saneroma

He handed his uniform of shirt and trousers back to us and returned to the same state of humble nudity as all those cousins of his who were looking on in silence. 600

Olatiri came back when night was well advanced, using a burning brand for a torch. He was the bearer of five machetes. The final three were beyond recovery, because the Shirians further up the river had gone on a journey to the westward and it was not possible to catch them up. Auai was so anxious for us to believe in the story of the up-river Shirians that he must have been rushing about the forest like a wild boar. We felt quite sorry for the old chap. We threw away five red seeds and gave him a tin of sardines to eat with his cassava bread.

We solemnly declared, to everyone's great relief, that although three machetes were still missing, we would not call up the aeroplane. The three remaining seeds were thrown away, and we all went off to sleep like brothers.

V

With the matter of the theft cleared up, the population of Kirisochi continued to swell, and one day Sempronio too arrived. He came alone, looking most diminutive, with his hair cut *à la* Guayca. His father, who was already with us, announced his coming when he was still a long way off in the long grass of the savannah. The old man took me by the arm, repeating 'Sper, Sper' and pointing to the boy. Not till I recognized who it was did it dawn on me that '*Spvr*' was the Shirian for 'Sempronio'. 123*

The year before we had made a vain search for a giant toad of the type that spouts poison from its cheeks. Sempronio had remembered this, and had one with him now. It was enormous. He must have caught it somewhere on the way here, and now he made his offering with his usual half-animal smile. He had certainly brought in an extraordinary specimen. The poison, which is simply a highly caustic secretion, not dangerous to man, had been removed. I quickly photographed the toad, on the gravelly bank of the river. Sempronio and Nero were also in the photograph, but the latter hid his eyes. He didn't want to be reduced to the same dimensions as the animal. 123* 126 ●

Another visitor was Manuera. His child, according to his own idea, had an eye infection, though it was very difficult to discern. He wanted us to cure it, and we used some ophthalmic drops containing terramycin, with which the father seemed satisfied. 123*

[pp. 153 - 184[185] not processed]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

point, we pronounced that magic word 'work'—so potent that in the very act of pilfering, their hands were stayed.

We had brought with us a flask of mercury, for amalgamating metals, which aroused their curiosity—curiosity which turned to absolute amazement when they picked it up and became aware of its inordinate weight. By some dark and labyrinthine thought-processes, no doubt, they deduced that this terrible liquid constituted a bomb, and they drew back in horror shouting '*Bomba Amio*'.[1]

We didn't disillusion them. A little fear and dread disseminated among our porters might not be entirely without point, considering all the uncertain aspects of the journey and the curious make-up of these Indians. Yes, we said, that is the aeroplane bomb, and it would blow to pieces all the Samatari from the Parima, if they dared show themselves on our route. This greatly reassured the Shirians. At first they had been rather scared of meeting with an enemy, but now they could count on this terrifying weapon we had at our disposal, which would also increase their own prestige in the eyes of the nomad tribes.

That night, there were some strange noises in the hut, about thirty yards away from our hammocks. Something interesting seemed to be happening, so we put out our candle and, through our mosquito nets, watched a curious scene.

The medicine-man was surrounded by the rest of the Shirians. He was in his usual position for exorcism ceremonies—sitting in his hammock with his legs dangling over either side. The chief's wife had a bowl of water and was dissolving something in it—something she was taking from a cluster of banana leaves in her lap. When she had put in enough, she passed the bowl to her husband, who held it firmly, slightly raised. Then he waited. Suddenly, on an unexpectedly powerful note, a chant came from the medicine-man. Then the chief drank long draughts out of the bowl, came down from his hammock, and began to walk with a rhythmic, solemn step, round the fire. All the men then drank in turn: then the women. Then the babies at their breasts were made to touch the bowl with their lips. Now they were all marching behind the chief, with rapid, tiny steps that covered very little ground, while the medicine-man himself jumped from his hammock and brought up the rear.

We were watching the Drinking of the Ashes—a ceremony symbolic of

[1] Their rendering of the Spanish 'avion' (aeroplane bomb).

/434 cont./

199 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a
101 separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation
199 zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted
[248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they culti-
[352] vate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton ham-
[342] mocks and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version
[484] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they
192 speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

● 126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/
[114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried
628 to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/435 cont./

126 628 rancherias. For anyone who might be preparing to travel or work in Guaika territory, these relations can be as important as the geographical location of the settlements. If a group of Guaika should be engaged to carry out certain tasks, they might be inclined to work well in certain areas, but doubtless would refuse to enter areas inhabited by their enemies.

126 /436/ On the map of the whole area inhabited by the Guaika and Guajaribo, I have tried to show the approximate limits of the two tribes. The areas which are shaded on the said map correspond to the zones where we have had contact with these tribes on several occasions. The settlements whose names appear underlined, that is to say, El Platanal and Ioeitedi, are native rancherias where we have lived and worked for long periods of time. These settlements continue to be our principal bases of operation. [114]

103 The native names of the principal rivers are as follows:

Orinoco River	Majekodo-ko
Cunucununa River	Ami-ko
Padamo River	Jaiyama-ko
Metacuni River	Wakawaka-ko
Ocamo River	Kia-ko
Mavaca River	Wachewa-ko
Manavichi River	Mata-ko

The native name of the Raudal de Guajaribos /Guaharibo Torrent/ is Kalebakbola.

I have not been able to discover even one name for the hill of Guaiaribo, but the most important peaks, starting below and going up the river, are: Wanidi-mak, Yabitao-mak, Kacholaoa-mak, and Wadubaoa-mak.

Geography

361 A few Guaika /Waica/ settlements are located along the principal rivers and are accessible by means of small boats or canoes with outboard motors. Nevertheless, most of the Guaika settlements are inland and can only be reached after one or more days of travel.

18 Chagnon B-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and out of the Federal Territory of Amazonas, and to Commander Dr. David Capriles of the Medical Section for assisting me in making these arrangements. I also wish to thank Dr. Armando Caballín T. of the Amazonas District of the Venezuelan Malaria Control Service (Malariología) for generously placing the facilities of that organization at my disposal, and for arranging the purchase and transportation of many of my supplies.

I am personally indebted to Dr. Marcel Roche, Director of the Venezuelan Institute of Scientific Research (I.V.I.C.), and to Dr. Miguel Layrisse, Chairman of the Physiopathology Department of that institute, for their cooperation in and assistance to my field work.

A number of Missionaries gave me invaluable assistance in the Yąnomamö language and generously placed the resources of their missions at my disposal. I particularly wish to thank Mr. James P. Barker and Mr. Cecil Neese of the New Tribes Mission, and Padre Luiz Cocco and Padre José Berno of the Salesian Mission for their generous aid.

I thank Kąobąwä, headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for his assistance and cooperation in the collection of some of the genealogical data; without his aid my data would have serious gaps.

I wish to thank Dr. James V. Neel, Chairman of the Department of Human Genetics at the University of Michigan, for encouraging and personally supporting my field work, and for generously making departmental office space available

direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of mountains. At a few points the Shukumõna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extending nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the Indians claim the Shukumõna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the Shukumõna-u of the Yąnomamõ. I have used more recent maps, also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

In reconstructing the history of the village movements, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimõwi-bora in Yąnomamõ) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karĩbã-bora in Yąnomamõ) near the present village of Kashorawã-tedi.

I employed three sources of information to locate present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages I personally visited. Second, information from James P.

126 36 [46] [144] Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he has lived among the Yąnomamö. Finally, on information [124] obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yąnomamö have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants' accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mąmaribŏwei-tedi or Patanowä-tedi, I had the residents point in the direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps" required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain [102] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was the poverty of the Yąnomamö language in indicating numbers. The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu, dahiabä), two (porakëbä), and more-than-two (bruka). In establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to estimate the length of time each site was occupied before being abandoned.

175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five villages I have been guided by two historically known events. One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahekodo-tedi in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

10=Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YANOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Patanowë-tedi, Mŋaribŏwei-tedi and Reyabobŏwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Mapowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called Paruritawë-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

2

Adaptation

128 THE YĄNOMAMÖ ADAPTATION to their physical, social, and intellectual environments is dealt with in this chapter.

The Physical Environment

131 Kąobawä's village[1] is Upper Bisasi-teri, located at the confluence of the Mavaca
133 and Orinoco Rivers. Like most of the villages in this area, it lies at an altitude of about
361 450 feet. While some villages in Brazil reach 3000 feet in altitude, most Yąnomamö villages are located at much lower elevations (Fig. 2–1).

137 The general area around Kąobawä's village is a low, flat plain interrupted occasionally by gently rolling hills and, more rarely, by a few low mountain ridges. The land is entirely covered with jungle, even the tops of the mountain ridges.

The jungle is relatively dense and characterized by numerous species of palms and hardwood trees. The forest canopy keeps the sunlight from penetrating to the ground, but scrub brush and vines manage to grow in relatively great abundance in most places, making it difficult to walk along the trails. Thorny brush is especially heavy along the banks of streams, where adequate sunlight and a constant supply of water provide ideal circumstances for its growth.

---

128 [1]See map, Fig. 2-8. Villages other than Kąobawä's have been included because they are discussed in this
126 and also in a later chapter. Presently occupied villages are indicated in upper-case lettering and by shading. The area shown in this map is unexplored, except for the zone immediately adjacent to the Orinoco River. The map is, therefore, largely calculated guesswork. To establish dates of occupation I estimated ages of individuals and obtained their stated places of birth. Distance and geographical location were determined by compass readings and measured in steps required to reach the location from a given point. I also visited many of the locations shown. While I was in Brazil in 1967, I checked the map locations with informants there, being encouraged by the fact that they independently gave approximately the same information. Fig. 2-8 is a simplified version of the more detailed map c in my doctoral thesis (Chagnon 1966). For more information regarding the techniques used in making the map, consult the thesis.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[13] Kaobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kaobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kaobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kaobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kaobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kaobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kaobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*hekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *hekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who said to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kaobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *hekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *hekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yanomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[13]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

I, in effect, was capturing the *nowahi* of the child: A photograph was called *nowahi*.[13] Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no ahaahiki*, the part of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *nowahi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yąnomamö fear the smoke that is produced when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter. For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment. The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of ceremonies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[13]Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsmen, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

FaSiDa is the same as MoBrDa, and both are called by the same term, *suaböya*. Hence, to present the above examples as the Yąnomamö would explain them I would not have had to distinguish MoBrDa from FaSiDa, but rather would have had to use just one term; in every case presented, men married their *suaböya*. (This can be seen in the model shown in Fig. 3-1; each male married a woman who was simultaneously FaSiDa and MoBrDa, that is, *suaböya*, to him.)

Cases I and J: These are a little unusual, but I include them to give some idea of both the potentials of the Yąnomamö kinship system and the people who use it.

In case I, individual II-2 is the headman of Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawä's "father." He has considerable authority in the group. He arbitrarily redefined some of his classificatory daughters as sisters *so that his sons could marry their daughters*. Thus, the marriage of IV-1 to IV-2 is now considered to be legitimate because IV-1 could call his wife's mother his mother-in-law (FaSi), since his father redefined her as sister. Otherwise, it would be incest. Most of the people adjusted their kinship usage to fit the circumstances, but Kąobawä, who gave me the details of the manipulation, refused to adjust his own terms. The redefined women in question are his sisters, and he refused to call them FaSi.

I came upon this, and several identical cases, when I learned that the kinship usage between specific individuals did not reflect the equations implied by genealogies. (After I had collected extensive genealogies on four villages, I spent a considerable amount of time collecting kinship terms from specific individuals for every one of the some two thousand individuals included in the genealogies. This served as a cross-check on the genealogies, but uncovered a large number of incestuous and other interesting marriages that I might not have pinpointed otherwise.)

Case J brings out the full potential of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship. The man (III-1) married his *suaböya* according to the Yąnomamö, although he was not related to her by any blood ties. The justification for the marriage is the fact that III-1 calls all the women to whom his father and his father's brothers are married by the term for mother. Hence, he married his MoBrDa.

THE LINEAGE It was shown in Chapter 1 that villages fission to produce new groups. One of the consequences of this pattern is that in a given area there will be a number of villages whose members can trace genealogical ties to each other because they have common male ancestors. Because of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship, the interrelated members of two different villages will use kinship terms for each other that imply a closeness of relationship. Thus, Kąobawä has "brothers" in all of the villages that have a common history with his own. These men are usually parallel cousins one or two degrees removed, but brothers in terminological categories. (The lineage to which Kąobawä belongs is shown on Fig. 3-5, discussed later as the *Shs* lineage.)

The Yąnomamö do not name their lineages. I have named all the significant lineages after particular male individuals, usually a long-since-dead male whose generation is the last for which I have meaningful genealogies. Thus, the *Shs* lineage is named after a man called *Shamathiadima*, long dead. He and his brothers left many male descendants who today are distributed in several villages. In the history of the movements of Kąobawä's village, the *Shs* lineage has figured prominently in the affairs of the group. Similarly, the *Hor* lineage is named after a man called *Horokorishiwä*. The *Shs* and *Hor* lineages have a long history of marriage alliance and the living members of these two lineages constitute the greater fraction of the populations of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri,

722 *728 662 976 Bisaasi-teri, for example, wanted to get rid of the Monou-teri, they would hold a feast in their honor. When the going-home food was presented to them, they had no alternative but to leave. It would have been insulting to remain after the food was presented. In between their moves they returned to their own producing site to collect plantains and carry them to their new garden. They subsisted there off the food they carried with them.

The Monou-teri soon resented being treated like pariahs by their allies and began to regain their courage. Much of this treatment was due to the fact that they failed to chase the raiders when Damowã was slain, displaying cowardice instead of ferocity. Many of the men in the Bisaasi-teri groups resented the Monou-teri for this and were not timid about displaying their disgust. The Monou-teri were a burden, as they rarely helped at expanding Bisaasi-teri's gardens and ate a good deal of the time.

721 726 *728 The raid Kąobawã organized to revenge Damowã's death took place late in April. The Shamatari allies—Mõmaribõwei-teri and Reyabõwei-teri—were invited to participate, but they failed to send a contingency. As allies never really trust each other, the raid was delayed because some of the Bisaasi-teri suspected that their allies were waiting for the raiders to leave so that they could descend on the poorly protected women and make off with captives. Finally, a few of them did arrive and the *unyu itow* (warrior line-up) got under way. Still, the Bisaasi-teri feared treachery on the part of their Shamatari friends, so the men of Lower Bisaasi-teri decided to stay home and protect the women 579 left behind by the Monou-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri raiders. A small feast was held to entertain the visiting Shamatari allies.

726 On the afternoon of the feast a grass dummy was set up in the village, and the men who were to participate in the raid conducted a mock attack on the dummy, which was supposed to represent the body of a Patanowã-teri man. They painted themselves black, crept slowly around the village with bows and arrows ready, searching for the tracks of the enemy. They converged at one point, spread out, crept toward the dummy, and, at Kąobawã's signal, let fly with a volley of arrows. The Yąnomamö are good archers. None of the arrows missed its mark, and the dummy, looking like a pincushion, toppled ominously to the ground, a dozen or more bamboo-tipped arrows protruding from it. Then the raiders screamed and ran out of the village, simulating their retreat from the enemy. They drifted back into the village, one at a time or in small groups, and retired to their hammocks to wait for darkness.

825 The village became unusually quiet shortly after dark. Suddenly, the stillness was pierced by an animal-like noise, half-scream and half-growl, as the first raider marched slowly out to the center of the village, clacking his arrows against his bow, growling his individualized fierce noise, usually a mimic of a carnivore: a wasp, or a buzzard. At 123 this signal—not knowing fully what to expect and a little nervous—I crept from my own 126 hammock and went to the center of the village with my tape recorder. The other raiders joined the first man, coming one at a time after short intervals, each clacking his arrows and growling some hideous noise. Kąobawã stood by and made sure the line was straight and faced the direction of the enemy; he would push or pull the individual warriors until they formed a perfectly straight line, joining them after the last one took his place.

The procession to the line-up took about twenty minutes, as about 50 or so men participated (see Fig. 5–2). When the last one was in line, the murmurs among the

/5 cont./

114 culture, along with a word list (12), while the latter describes his

12. Salathé, 1931/32.

visits in the Xiriâna (Shiriana) and Waikâ (Uaika) maloka which were still on the Demini, or rather a branch, in 1932 (13).

13. Holdridge, 1933.

101 114 On the basis of a perusal of the research reports of Zerries (14) (15)

• 127 14. Zerries, 1956a.

15. Zerries, 1956b.

and Schuster (16), as well as comparisons with ethnographic data

16. Schuster, 1958a.

and word lists which Salathé gathered among the Karimé (17),

17. Salathé, 1931/32.

Vinci among the Shiriana, Waika, and Samatari (18), and

18. Vinci, 1956.

Koch-Grünberg among the /6/ Xiriâna (Schirianâ) groups, which he describes as linguistically isolated, and a few Waikâ (Waika) (19) (20),

19. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 454-456; 1923a, pp. 284 ff.

20. Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 302-308.

it was possible to determine that the societies investigated belong to a relatively uniform culture group and even linguistically differ

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/6 cont./

114
101
[127]
[[97]]

from each other only slightly in dialectal deviations (see the appendix /see 3: Rodrigues, this file/) (21). How great their

21. Loukotka and Rivet already established the relationship of a few of these languages and grouped them under the general term "Širianá linguistic family," in which they include Širianá, Karimé, Wafka, and Pusárakaú. (Loukotka, 1942, pp. 8/9; Rivet et Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140).

homogeneity is may be seen by the fact that the Surára and Pakidái call themselves Yanonámi and the Waiká and Xiriána, according to Zerries and Schuster, call themselves Yanoáma (22) (23).

22. Zerries, 1956a, p. 187.

23. Schuster, 1958a, pp. 115/16.

However, members of the Aramamesterí, Karauaterí, Puseheweterí, and even of the Xiriána, whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái as wives, visitors, and captives, said that they were Yanonámi. Furthermore, the Surára chief Hewemão enumerated for me 42 more tribes between Catrimani and Rio Negro (24), friendly and hostile, pointing out that these

24. Becher, 1956.

must likewise be included.

In view of this and on the basis of the linguistic and cultural relationship, it would seem to be appropriate to adopt into South American ethnology Yanonámi or Yanoáma as a new designation for the linguistic and culture group made up of these small-sized and light-colored Indians of the northern Amazon. According to the investigations up to now, they occupy a relatively compact area which is bounded in the east and south by the Rio Branco and the Rio Negro, respectively, but in the north and west extends

Surára
Pakidái

/40 cont./

304 small pieces of reed 1-2 centimeters long, from which hang, on
301 one or two short chains of beads, small triangular pieces of silver leaf, shiny silver coins, or particularly large glass beads. Women also have a special preference for these objects. The teeth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which the men use as a knife (see p.115, are a typical feminine ear ornament.
[314] To prevent them from slipping out of the perforation, a small lump of tree resin is stuck on the back end. The perforations of the ear lobes are also adorned now and then with blossoms.

In the perforations of the lower lip and the corners of the mouth on either side the women now and again have delicate little reed rods -- tunhabaácre -- 15-17 and 12-15 centimeters
[184] long, respectively. Among the Xiriána women married to Surára and Pakidái men I observed that they wear, in addition, two little reed rods 30-35 centimeters long in the pierced nasal septum -- huxibéka -- (Ill. 16). This piercing I was told, is reserved for only the female members of this large, mighty tribe.
[184] This also explains why the perforations of the Pusheweteri and Aramamesteri women correspond perfectly to those of their Surára and Pakidái "sisters," that is to say, there is no piercing of the nasal septum. The same applies for Nikeromá, the little captive from the hostile tribe of the Karauateri.

301 All the ornamental objects named are made by the male
422 and female wearers themselves and are regarded as personal property.

304 Due to Koch-Grünberg's research among the Xiriána
301 (Schirianá), Waiká (Waika), and various Karaiben /Carib/ tribes,
184 abundant comparative and supplementary material is available
[171] to me. Thus, the great investigator writes with regard to the
[127] Xiriána (Schirianá): "Nasal septum, /41/ ear lobes, and lower lip were pierced among the men and in many cases adorned with little reed rods almost as long as a hand. On special occasions they also wear a jaguar tooth in the lower lip.

"The women had long reed rods in the pierced ear-lobes, the lower lip, and the corners of the mouth. Three narrow strips of reed, spread out fan-shaped at both ends, adorned the nasal septum (Ill. 12)" (213).

213. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

V /19 cont./
137 traveler, they usually indicate an obstacle, even in dry seasons.
[133] The hygrophilous selvas, constantly green (tropical rain forest), are made up of trees from 20-50 meters in height, intertwined with lianas and epiphytes. The trunks on occasion measure over two meters in diameter, and once in a while they have tabular roots. Among the characteristic species are found: Anacardium rhinocarpus, Terminalia amazonica, Philodendron bipinnatum, Sterculia apetala, Basiloxylon brasiliensis, Astronium graveolens, Brosinum spec., Pouteria spec., Guarea spec., Carapa guianensis, Mora excelsa, Bertholletia excelsa, Hevea benthamiana, and Ochroma lagopus.

In the Venezuelan region of Guayana it is difficult to make a distinction between the zones of hygrophilous selvas and the deciduous mesophilous forests. In Venezuela the deciduous mesophilous forests occupy the most extensive part of all the forest zones. Owing to the dry season, this type of forest has a smaller number of species than the hygrophilous selvas. The trees attain a height between 20-40 meters, and lianas are less abundant than in the hygrophilous forests. Among the important species in the deciduous forests of our region are found: Cedrela mexicana (cedar), Swietenia macrophylla (mahogany), Anacardium rhinocarpus (mijao) Mombacopsis sepium (saquisaqui), Spondias mombin (jobo), Samanea saman (saman) and Tabebuia pentaphylla (apamate) (Hueck, 1960).

V 114 ● 127 As we have already indicated in the preface /untranslated/, the present book is the result of a report on two trips and of a bibliographical study of the extant data on the zone visited (cf. map: Route of the expedition /see p. 3 /). Although it is true that no monographic work has yet been written for any of the tribes of the Orinoco-Ventuari region, it is also true that the great number of articles which have been published on the Indians of that zone is surprising. The material is primarily descriptive, but since they often describe for us aspects of native life which have now disappeared or changed, the general material of these authors is of great value and interest.

/19 cont./

In the present report we use most of the extant data, and their compilation, ordering, and selection, together with our own personal contribution, constitute the study which we present here on the Indians of this part of Venezuela.

For our purpose we followed the footsteps of the great Venezuelan ethnologist, Lisandro Alvarado, who, with the publication of his book, Datos Etnográficos de Venezuela /Ethnographic Data of Venezuela/, took a firm step toward the great task of compiling /20/ all the objective material written over the course of many decades regarding the native tribes of this part of the world (2).

2. Obras completas de Lisandro Alvarado /Complete Works of Lisandro Alvarado/, Vol. 4 (Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura y Bellas Artes). Caracas, 1956.

Our report lacks uniformity with regard to the character and volume of material on the various tribes to which we refer, but this fact reflects precisely our present sporadic knowledge concerning the tribes, which, in the last phase of their autochthonous life, urgently invite the competent ethnologist to leave testimony of a human conglomerate of our ancient American continent. /Maps 5 and 6 appear here. Pages 21-176 are not included in the translation./

/179 cont./

619 [624] [596] Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local groups which form a band of extended families and provide the peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclaudub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

[184] [194] From what has been published up to the present regarding the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

● 127 128 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to [797] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

Bari SS 13
Makiritare SS 20
Sanema
Warao SS 18
Saliva SS 15

/179 cont./

Y 131 ● 127 128 We have knowledge of the distribution of the Sanemá on the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura from our own expedition's personnel, while we took the data on the Casapare from the excellent cartographic work of Montoya (1958), who visited the zone over a period of several months.

Y [101] /180/ The name Casapare is employed by the Sanemá to designate their neighbors to the east. Koch-Grünberg (1923) had already mentioned the group of the Upper Uraricapará, a tributary of the Uraricuera and the one that occupied the right shore of the Uraricuera River, facing the Marutani range, on the Motomotó River. The broken lines indicate, approximately, the territory occupied by each Yanoama subtribe. The location of the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma comes from the map published by Civrieux (1959), and that of the other settlements of that tribe was verified by the personnel of our expedition.

M 131 127

Y 131 161 According to this map, the territory inhabited at the present time by the Yanoama is located between 0° 30' – 5° N and 62° – 65° 30' W. If we grant that the total Yanoama population reaches the figure of 20,000 individuals spread out over an area of 150,000 square kilometers, we recognize as the density index of the population that of one person per 7.5 square kilometers. There are authors who, being overly generous, raise the Yanoama population to 30,000 and even 50,000 inhabitants, but this number seems exaggerated to us.

B C 161 177 It is interesting to point out that the highest figures for the native population correspond to the primitive tribes of hunters and fishermen or to those who had an incipient or rudimentary agriculture, such as: the Barí (Motilones, Mapé), 2,000; the Piaroa, 4,000; and the Warao, 8,000.

They are also the tribes which have had least contact with the white man. There is an interesting and instructive relation between the demographic datum of a native population and the number of years that it has had contact with Whites: the higher the latter, the lower the former.

/181 cont./

101 name. We included the Casapare among the Yanoama on the basis of information from the Sanemá of the Erebato, who assured us that they speak a language similar to theirs.

101 The limited scientific data at our disposal and which refer
● 127 to the Casapare all come from the northern group, and their interpretation is relatively difficult because of the fact that on the Uraricuera River the Waica and Sanemá zones of distribution come together with that of the Casapare, and the chroniclers were unable to distinguish with precision and clarity the representatives of the different subtribes.

101 The ethnic differentiation which appeared very early in the respective biographical sources was that of the Shirishana and Guaharibo (with their multiple orthographic variations). At the present time there is not the slightest doubt that we are dealing with Yanoama Indians, but we do not think that it is proper to identify the Guaharibo and Shirishana as a single group with two distinct names. It is our opinion, on the contrary, that each name designates a more or less distinct group of the Yanoama, and that "Shirishana" refers to the Casapare, and "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá. The Sanemá of the Territorio Amazonas of Venezuela have been known from the beginning by the name Guaharibo. The confusion of the two terms originates precisely in the northern zone under discussion, where the two subtribes live in close geographic proximity. Thus, we believe that among the Yanoama of the Paragua there are Sanemá in the west or on the headwaters of the Paragua itself, while the Casapare /182/ occupy the territory toward the east and are established principally along the length and on the banks of the Paramichi.

This close contact between the representatives of the two subtribes is recent, as we shall point out later on, and it is almost certain that today there is some genetic and cultural fusion between the two groups. To the south of the Sierra Pacarima they also have some relations, but more sporadically, since they occupy two distinct zones: the Casapare (Shirishana) on the Uraricuera to the north of Maraça Island; and the Sanemá (Guaharibo) and the Waica, the territory farther to the southwest.

Sanema
Casapare
Makiritare SS 20
Pemon SS 16

Y
101
[127]

/182 cont./

With regard to the Casapare of the Uraricuera River, we have the data supplied us by Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 284-319), and a comparison of his "Shirishana" vocabulary with the "Shirishana" vocabulary of Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108) gives us the impression that both are very much alike, but differ greatly from the Sanemá family (cf. glotto-chronological sketch see p. 49 /). In spite of the fact that they now occupy adjacent geographic zones, we prefer to make a clear distinction in the literature between the "Shirishana" (Casapare) and "Guaharibo" (Sanemá), considering them as two different subtribes of the Yanoama tribe. According to their linguistic separation, they represent, in fact, the two extreme poles of maximum distance (18).

18. Note that this does not mean that we also continue with the old nomenclature, but rather that the name "Shirishana" of the literature corresponds to the Casapare subtribe, and the name "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá subtribe, of this work.

Y
648
P
M
648
361

From their center of distribution in Brazil, the Casapare harassed their neighbors, the Pemón and the Makiritare, with continuous raiding from the time that the latter arrived at the northern slope of the Serranía. It seems that the Taurepán (Pemón) were never able to establish a pueblo farther west than the eastern point of Maraca Island on the Uraricuera and that the Makiritare maintained their advanced posts at the cost of great losses and sacrifices, until finally they were forced to abandon them in the face of the constant threat and the imminent danger of losing their lives.

Y
M
648
361

The Makiritare began to lose ground at least some 120 years ago, when the Yanoama killed a number of Makiritare Indians (Schomburgk, 1841, pp. 437-8, 444), and it would seem that at the present time Tarakuñiña on the upper Yararejuri is the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía.

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as
114 Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have con-
128 sidered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 The linguistic material which the author of the present
192 work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 In order to classify this material within the different
192 Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others
174 belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we
197 established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabu-
197 laries were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the
174 Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956,
126 pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73
127 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

/192 cont./

127
192
197
174

The Casapare vocabulary was taken from Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308). It has 303 entries in all, 65 of which corresponds to the basic vocabulary. There is another Casapare vocabulary compiled by Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108), which has a total of 232 entries, 54 words of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. From the expedition's itinerary we know that the last-mentioned authors visited the Shirianá of the Paramichí River (tributary of the headwaters of the Paragua), a zone considered in the present work as an extension of the Casapare territory of Brazil.

Koch-Grünberg obtained his vocabulary among the Schirianá of the Uraricapará (1923, p. 288), and a comparison of the two vocabularies seems to indicate a closer affinity between them than that which exists with any other Yanoama language. The glottochronological calculation is based on Koch-Grünberg's material.

The Waica vocabulary comes from Dr. Zerries, who generously furnished us a basic one of 96 words of the Waica of the upper Orinoco.

Recently another vocabulary of the same language was published by /map appears here/ /193/ Anduze (1958, pp. 258-267), which contains 369 entries. The present calculation is based on the material provided by Zerries.

We give the "Samatari" vocabulary this name provisionally, for more precisely it is the idiom of the Surara and Pakidai of the Demini River in Brazil. The material was given to us by Dr. Becher in the form of a basic vocabulary which contains 85 words. Between the Surara and Pakidai there exist only slight dialectal differences. A vocabulary of 40 words of the same idiom was published in the monograph on these Indians by Becher (1960, pp. 136-137). Another vocabulary of the southern Yanoama was published by Seitz (1960, p. 306) and contains 40 entries. The few words which permit making a semantic comparison with other similar languages indicate that the Araraibo-Xamatari of Seitz is closer to the Surara, Pakidai, Waica, and Karimé than to the Sanemá and Casapare.

[text continues on p. 44]

/193 cont./

174 197 [192] [127] We were not able to obtain the vocabulary of the Karimé published by Salathé (1932, pp. 314-316). Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 134-138) places it between the Waica and the Casapare (Schirianá of Koch-Grünberg).

According to the results of the lexico-statistical calculation (cf. p. 47), it can be said that the idioms compared form a linguistic conglomerate whose internal divergences date from 6-35 minimal centuries (mc). By their temporal distribution they constitute two more or less distinct groups: a) a Sanemá family with Nabudub, Sanemá, and Pubmatari, with an internal divergence of 6-17 mc., and b) a Casapare family with Samatari, Waica, and Casapare and with an internal divergence of 8-21 mc. The extreme languages are Nabudub (of the Sanemá) and Casapare. The distance of the Waica from the three Sanemá idioms corresponds to 17 mc., which is the same as the maximum internal distance of the Sanemá family, and the Nabudub have the same difficulty in understanding a Pubmatari or a Waica; they should, however, understand each other, although with some difficulty. The Waica has greater ties with the Samatari, with whom he can communicate orally without any great difficulty.

Other classifications of the Yanoama idioms were made by Rivet (1924, p. 678), Loukotka (1944, pp. 8-9), Mason (1950, p. 254), Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140), McQuown (1955), Swadesh (1959), and Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137).

Koch-Grünberg (1913, pp. 455-458) had established by 1913 the independence of the Yanoama idiom (Shiriana) from the Caribe and added that the idiom apparently represented an isolated language. Rivet (1924, p. 678) and W. Schmidt (1926, p. 211) shared the opinion of Koch-Grünberg regarding the affiliation and independence of the "Shirishana" family. /194/ The classification of the "Shirishana Family" by Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140) includes the following idioms:

Shirishana Family

[101] a) Shirishana (or Guaharibo), who live dispersed in small groups in the interior, along the tributaries of the

/194 cont./

174 197 101 Uraricuera and on the southern slopes of the Sierra de Parima;

b) Karime (or Shaufri), on the Catemany River in the same region;

c) Waika, who live on the upper Ocamo and Mocajahy, right tributaries of the upper Orinoco;

d) Pusírakáu, an unknown wild tribe which lives in the Sierra Parima.

174 197 As we mentioned above, we are inclined to differentiate between Shirishana (Casapare) and Guaharibo (Sanemá), which would seem to be linguistically justified by the distance of 23-35 mc between them. Rivet bases his opinion, it would seem, on Koch-Grünberg's material (1928), which we have also used in our comparison. The Pusírakáu idiom (d), which also appears in Loukotka's classification (1944, pp. 8-9), is a completely unknown idiom and therefore does not figure in Mason's classification (1950, p. 254), which presented the following Shirishaná grouping:

[127] [101] SHIRISHANÁ

A.--Waharibo (Guaharibo)

1. Shirianá

a) Waicá (Guaica, Uaica)

B.--Carimé (Karimé)

174 197 114 According to Mason, Shirianá and the less important Carimé are the principal idioms of the family. This observation is based upon Koch-Grünberg's material (1928, Shiriana), which was identified in our comparison as Casapare, and, as the greater separation of the Yanoama stock corresponds to that language, we must admit the value of Mason's opinion. Carimé does not figure in our classification.

Furthermore, Mason is of the opinion that the Waica idiom is, possibly, a dialect of Shirianá (Casapare), but, according to the glottochronological calculation, he does not seem to be on firm ground. The distance between the two idioms is 21 mc, which is much greater than a dialectal difference of 5-7 mc. Waica appears on the graph as closer to Sanemá (17-18mc). The opinion of /195/ many researchers that Shirianá (Casapare) and Waica are descended from the Guaharibo (Sanemá) seems to have some justification.

St Layrisse et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

since Koch-Grünberg's contact with two Yanoama groups, in 1911, that more substantial information on this interesting tribe has been collected and in parts been published.[2]

Emerging from these data are the names and descriptions of a number of distinguishable tribal units, e.g., Sanemá (Guaharibo, Shirishana), Casapare, Waica, Samatari, Surara, Pakidái, and others. It also has become quite obvious that the Yanoama subtribes are not unified by socio-political authority, but rather by a general and specific culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and culture variants, carried by the different subtribes and local groups respectively. The various local groups and subtribes occupy a coherent territory, they speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious forms.

Taken as a whole, the Yanoama were found to be a very numerous tribe and they belong, in fact, to the most numerous of all the autochtonous populations of lowland South America, but perviously published figures of 30-50,000 individuals appear to represent very generous overestimations of the demographic strength of the Yanoama groups known so far.

Linguistic classification. Several authors have attempted a linguistic classification of the Yanoama although most of them did not have at their disposal the more recent material.[3] Taking advantage of this material, we have attempted a glottochronological analysis, the results of which allow us some interesting insight into the internal correlation of the Yanoama languages.[4]

According to this result, the several Yanoama languages, as known today, constitute the Yanoama linguistic stock of 6-35 mc of internal separation. The two more or less clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: *A. Sanemá*: (a) Sanemá, (b) Nabudíb, (c) Pubenatari, [6-17 mc of internal divergencies: Sanemá-Nabudíb = 6 mc, Sanemá-Pubenatari = 17 mc, Nabudíb-Pubenatari = 17 mc]; *B. Casapare*: (a) Casapare, (b) Carime (?), (c) Waica, (d) Samatari (Surara and Pakidái), [8-21 mc of internal divergencies, excepting Carime (for lack of vocabulary material): Casapare-Waica = 21 mc, Casapare-Samatari = 21 mc, Waica-Samatari = 8 mc].

2 Surara-Pakidái, by Becher, 1960; Waica, by Baker, 1953; Schauer, 1938; Zerries, 1955, 1956, 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1960; Sanemá, by Vinci, 1939; Wilbert, 1961a, 1961b.

3 Rivet, 1924, p. 678; Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9; Mason, 1950, p. 254; Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140; McQuown, 1955, p. 323; Greenberg, 1956; Swadesh, 1959, p. 20; Dell' Igua Rodrigues, 1960, pp. 136-137.

4 We are indebted to Drs H. Becher and O. Zerries for having us have a basic vocabulary of Surara-Pakidái and Waica respectively. Complete information on source material has been presented by Wilbert, 1961a.

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

123 were, if anything, even more violent than those of the Orinoco. At its mouth it is about three hundred yards wide compared to the four hundred yards of the Orinoco just below the juncture. Chaffanjon, doubtless influenced by wishful thinking and his growing proximity to the river's source, stated these widths to be only eighty and one hundred yards respectively. He similarly exaggerated his description of the ruggedness of the river-bed. But inaccuracies of this kind were by no means uncommon among explorers of the last century, as Jean Hurault showed of Anatole Coudreau's account of his exploration of the rivers of French Guiana.

123 The Padamo comes down Marahuaca—probably the highest
133 massif of the Guianan mountains—in a series of waterfalls. It is fed by two major tributaries, the Voltamo and the Matacuni, the last named rising in that remarkable " water tower " formed by the junction of the Sierra Parima and the Sierra Pacaraima ; here rise the Ventuari, the Erebato, the Merevari, the Auari and the Ocamo.

Three hours later we reached the Ocamo, above which the Orinoco becomes noticeably narrower, for only the Mavaca now remains as a tributary of importance. The Mavaca, whose upper reaches were explored by Cardona in 1941, runs practically parallel to the Orinoco in a generally westerly direction until it is diverted northwards where it meets the mountains and joins the main river. These mountains are shown in Diez de la Fuente's sketch-maps and are the cause of the Orinoco's north-western change of course as far as Esmeralda. Formed of layers of sandstone, their summits tower high above the forest. We had not realized that the sandstone Roraima Formation extended so far east nor, for that matter, so far south. Until then, we had accepted the generally-held belief that the granite mass of Piedra del Cocuy was typical of the mountains east and south of Duida. Observing from the river, it seemed to me that the sandstone beds were not horizontal, though it was not possible to observe either the angle or direction of their dip.

[127] We were using Hamilton Rice's sketch-map (scale 1–750,000) embracing the Rio Negro, the Casiquiare, and the Upper

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

Orinoco to the Guaharibo Rapids. On this the river's course is given in great detail, showing not only the major tributaries but a great many minor ones as well, though there is no indication of their size. From first-hand experience it was clear to us that the contribution of some of the lesser tributaries was anything but negligible. There are, for instance, the Iguapo, which joins the Orinoco from the right ten miles above Esmeralda after itself being joined by a river its own size, and another river, unnamed as far as I know, which has its mouth midway between the Padamo and the Ocamo. And entering from the other bank come the Lipe and the Icipe, of which the latter is eighty yards wide at the confluence. Of these four only the Iguapo has been explored and that by Diez de la Fuente.

Above the Mavaca the Orinoco's mean width is less than two hundred yards. Its general direction of flow is east to west with a slight northern tendency and surprisingly, since it nowhere else does so in its thousand miles journey from Mavaca to the sea, it twists and turns pronouncedly.

Since we had left Esmeralda the only birds we had seen were single specimens of black ibis, large kingfishers and droves of white egrets. The egrets would sit craning their necks in the trees and, as we approached, would fly up only to settle down a little farther away. It was as though no human being had ever disturbed their forests. Once or twice we saw a pair of otters diving from a rock or dead tree stump and once we shot at an anaconda which was placidly coiled round a tree. We watched as it slowly unwound and disappeared into the murky water.

That evening we took one of the *curiaras* up a small tributary and fished, but the spate was too strong. Instead of fish we gathered some forest cocoa whose pulp is a refreshing drink when newly made.

The First Waikas

The Padamo and Ocamo rivers are inhabited by Guaharibos. Above the Ocamo, the inhabitants of the Orinoco's banks call themselves Waikas. They closely resemble the Guaharibos we had met at Esmeralda but are, perhaps, a little more primitive. Some had had previous contact with Butrón's wood-cutters.

similar to that presented here, and I regard my own efforts in this area as supplemental to the generally excellent ethnographic work of Zerries (1964) and Schuster (1958).

Without genealogical data it is not possible to estimate the degree to which marriage practices deviate from stated preference, nor to grasp the importance of these deviant cases in Yąnomamö politics.

The histories of the five villages are equally important, as they illustrate the role of warfare in determining settlement pattern, the development of political ties between villages, and the process of village splitting. These factors provide the matrix within which the genealogical data become meaningful.

Piecing together the history of these groups of villages proved to be a difficult task. The geographical area under discussion is unexplored and unmapped. Not even major rivers are accurately known in their upper courses, so that of two published versions of the Siapa River I have had to choose the one most consistent with the account given to me by the Indians. The major problem in this regard has been the identification of a large river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u, whose headwaters lie near the source of the Orinoco River. According to my Yąnomamö informants (people who have either lived on this river or have visited or raided villages located on it), the Shukumöna-u, in its middle course, is nearly as large as the Orinoco at its junction with the Mavaca River. It flows in a westerly

827 direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of
128 mountains. At a few points the Shukumõna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

128 Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extend-
131 ing nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the
133 Indians claim the Shukumõna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from
128 Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map
133 published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for
129 the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the
[128] Shukumõna-u of the Yąnomamõ. I have used more recent maps,
[114] also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

126 In reconstructing the history of the village move-
174 ments, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have
361 relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the
133 Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimõwi-bora in Yąnomamõ) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karõbõ-bora in Yąnomamõ) near the present village of Kashorawõ-tedi.

126 I employed three sources of information to locate
361 present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages
[115] I personally visited. Second, information from James P.
[197]

/135 cont./

114 197 however, Čiriana and Čapakura are still to be regarded as two independent linguistic groups.

128 197 In the following, only a small selection of Surára words are offered, along with the corresponding words of Waika (according to Schuster) (16), Karimé (according to Salathé, 1932),

[122]

16. My sincerest thanks are due Herr Dr. Meinhard Schuster, Frankfurt, for the willingness with which he put at my disposal an excerpt of the Waika linguistic material that he is working on.

Širiana (according to Koch-Grünberg, 1928), and Warema (according to Vinci, 1956), in order to illustrate the close relationship that exists between these languages. The chief criterion for the selection was the availability of documented forms in the five languages; moreover, care was also taken to draw on words of a "non-cultural" nature for the most part, that is, /136/ those that are not so frequently taken over by neighboring languages and thus -- if agreeing morphologically and in meaning -- represent stronger proof of the genetic relationship of the languages compared. 114 Becher's linguistic notes were made chiefly with Surára informants; for the designations of body parts, however, there were also additional forms (marked by P) which a Pakidái informant gave him.

104 194 The transcription of the five lists has been standardized; that of Karimé has also been simplified somewhat by the fact that two h and š sounds not adequately described by Salathé have been reproduced simply as h and š. With respect to the transcription, the following should be noted: ë = middle, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ï = high, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ã, etc. = nasal vowel; ɛ = open e; š = unvoiced, alveopalatal fricative; x = unvoiced, palatal fricative; ? = glottal stop; : = length for the previous sound.

/137/

192
197

	Surára and Pakidái	Waika	Karimé	Širiana	Warema
Deer	*hayá*	*háya*	*hdia*	*haitxa*	*aʔsá*
Maracajá	*yaó*	*gidandni*	*yauesẽ*	*txáo*	*hiʔdanani* (puma)
Cutia	*tómã*	*tómĩ*	*naškóro*	*tó:mẽ*	
Paca	*amutá*	*amóta*		*amõta*	*amotá*
Mutum	*paruri*	*báluli*	*pá:ri*	*bá:li*	*paluli*
Jacamim	*nyapín*	*yápi*	*yá:pĩ*		
Jácaré	*iwá*	*iwa*	*nẽri*	*wé:li*	*iwadamá*
Fish	*yu:ri*	*yúli*	*yúri*	*mayteli-tép(i)na*	*žõmá:*
Crayfish	*ohó*	*óho*		*ó:ho*	
Banana	*kuratá*	*kuratá*	*kura:tá*	*kalatá:he*	*ukumatadé*

192
197
128 The languages have been arranged in such a way that those which seem to be nearest to the Šurára lexically follow it directly, and those which differ from it the most come last. This gradation of similarity with respect to the Surára is given here, however, only on the basis of impressionistic findings, which, furthermore, rest only on an examination of language samples containing the above 40 words. It is therefore not a reliable basis for a linguistic classification of the entire group, though one may see in it an indication of the relationships of the individual languages to each other. In any case, support for the classifications of Mason and McQuown (pp. 1-3) cannot be drawn from it. /The bibliography on pp. 137-138 of the original source is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

[114]
000

/11/

Introduction

101
131
[133]

The native tribes that are discussed in the present report inhabit the northwest zone of the Escudo Guayanés, located in the southern part of the Republic of Venezuela. As the natural boundaries of this region, which we call "the Orinoco-Ventuari region," one may point out the rivers: the Orinoco in the north and west; the Ventuari in the south, and the Caura in the east. Geographically the zone is enclosed between 64°-68°W. and 4°-8° N. approximately. The northern part of it corresponds to the Distrito Cedeño of Bolivar state, while the southern part, as Departamento Atures, belongs to the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

133
101

Hydrographically speaking, the region includes five river basins which carry off its water and which at the same time set off the various areas of native distribution (1).

●[128]

1. We do not include here the small native groups who recently arrived (Guahibo, Piapoco, Puinave, Curipaco). They live along the periphery of the region, except the Guahibo, who advanced a few years ago to the Manapiare river.

a) The basin of the Cuara, with the Mayoncon /Maioncon/, a subgroup of the Makiritare, the Yecuana, and with some Sanemá groups;
b) The basin of the Cuchivero, with the Panare Indians and some unknown groups on the headwaters;
c) The basin of the Suapure, which, with the exception of some Panare nuclei, does not at the present time have any native populations;
d) The basin of the Sipapo, with the Piaroa and Macó Indians;
e) The basin of the Ventuari, with the Yabarana Indians on the Manapiare River, the Yecuana (Decuana) subtribe of the Makiritare, and the Nabudub, a Sanemá subgroup (cf. hydrographic map /see p.12/).

Guahibo SC14 Sanema
Yabarana 5522 Saliva 5515
Makiritare 5520 Panare 5521

M /13 cont./
101 searching primarily for a new source of food and not so much for a better means of communication. The typical Venezuelan Caribe, at least at the present time, is a man who loves land (Pemón, Cariña, Panare, Yabarana, Yupa), and the Makiritare, river men, represent an exception among them.

I & Y/a M 361 According to the relative importance which the river has among the different tribes, nuclei of them are found along the principal aquatic arteries, such as those of the Makiritare, or at a distance from them, on the tributaries and headwaters, as among the Panare, Yabarana, Guahibo, and Sanemá. This circumstance is of the utmost importance for the study of these Indians. The Y/a farther away they live from the river, the more difficult it is to ● [128] make contact and to live with them. Thus the Panare are even less known than are the Makiritare and the Piaroa, and we are presenting in the present report the first relatively ample information on the Sanemá and Yabarana. /14/ /Map appears here./

D Y 114 /15/ The three weeks which we spent among the Panare were very laborious, and the time among the Sanemá was very hard physically.

Y 122 In spite of these difficulties, which in comparison with those of a voyage at the beginning of the century are insignificant, the zone is open for any type of communication. One can P 122 go by airplane to Caicara, Puerto Ayacucho, San Juan de Manapiare, and Cucurí (between the Tenqua and Oso Falls). Thus, for a special study of the Panare one can go from Caracas to Caicara S 122 on a flight of a few hours and then continue by jeep and arrive on the same day at the first bohio of the Panare. In order to Ya 122 study the Piaroa, one goes by airplane as far as Puerto Ayacucho and then on by foot or by curiara. The Yabarana can be visited in the dry season, going by regular flight to Puerto Ayacucho and from there to San Juan de Manapiare by a flight lasting 30 minutes Y M 122 in a small plane. One reaches the houses of the Yabarana on the same say, and in two days more the "Monteros," the most autochthonous of this tribe. In order to reach Makiritare territory and the Sanemá of the upper Ventuari, one goes by airplane to Puerto Ayacucho on a regular flight and then on to Cacurí on a flight lasting 50 minutes more or less in a small plane. In

[Text continues on p. 6]

/19 cont./

In the present report we use most of the extant data, and their compilation, ordering, and selection, together with our own personal contribution, constitute the study which we present here on the Indians of this part of Venezuela.

For our purpose we followed the footsteps of the great Venezuelan ethnologist, Lisandro Alvarado, who, with the publication of his book, Datos Etnográficos de Venezuela /Ethnographic Data of Venezuela/, took a firm step toward the great task of compiling /20/ all the objective material written over the course of many decades regarding the native tribes of this part of the world (2).

2. Obras completas de Lisandro Alvarado /Complete Works of Lisandro Alvarado/, Vol. 4 (Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura y Bellas Artes). Caracas, 1956.

Our report lacks uniformity with regard to the character and volume of material on the various tribes to which we refer, but this fact reflects precisely our present sporadic knowledge concerning the tribes, which, in the last phase of their autochthonous life, urgently invite the competent ethnologist to leave testimony of a human conglomerate of our ancient American continent. /Maps 5 and 6 appear here. Pages 21-176 are not included in the translation./

/177/

The Sanemá

101 The word Sanemá appears here as the designation for a subtribe of the Yanoama. The Sanemá were called Guaharibo and were sometimes confused also with the Shirishana /Shiriana/.

The terms Guaharibo and Shirishana (written with abusive orthographic freedom) lack proper sense when applied to the Sanemá, and they must not, as has heretofore happened, be applied to this tribe or to the peripheral bands, who accepted them as designations used by the Whites (Guaharibo) and by the Makiritare (Shirishana).

The name Guaharibo, like Macú and Tapuya, is a vague and collective designation which includes many primitive tribes and which, therefore, has little classificatory value and will not stand up to scientific and impartial criticism.

The term Shirishana, for its part, seems to us to be a nickname rather than a generic denomination, since it means "araguato monkey" and is used by the Caribe in a contemptuous tone when they refer to the Sanemá, whom they consider to be subhuman beings born from the dust of their shadows. The name also lends itself easily to confusion with the Crichaná of the Ianaperi River and of Caribe affiliation.

For the above-mentioned reasons we prefer the term Sanemá, which means "people," to that of Guaharibo, which is equivalent to "savage," or to Shirishana, "araguato monkey." This preference has more scientific aspects and more human respect.

[114] It would seem that the term Yanoamá was introduced into ethnographic literature by Zerries (1956a, p. 187) and was accepted, quite rightly, by Schuster (1958, p. 115) and Becher (1960, p. 6) as a generic name for the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, Samatari, Surara, and Pakidai.

• 128 101 In the present treatise we shall consider the Yanoama as a tribe, not so much in the politico-social sense, as in the linguistic-cultural sense, since the Yanoama, in general, represent a specific culture made up /178/ /map appears here/ /179/ of the various peculiar subcultures of the diverse subtribes which live in a coherent territory, which speak closely related languages, and possess essentially similar economic and sociological forms.

/179 cont./

619 [621] [596] Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local groups which form a band of extended families and provide the peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclaudub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

[184] [194] From what has been published up to the present regarding the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

127 ● 128 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to [799] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

Bari SS 13 Sanema
Makiritare SS 20 Warao SS 18
Saliva SS 15

/179 cont./

Y 131 127 128 We have knowledge of the distribution of the Sanemá on the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura from our own expedition's personnel, while we took the data on the Casapare from the excellent cartographic work of Montoya (1958), who visited the zone over a period of several months.

Y [101] /180/ The name Casapare is employed by the Sanemá to designate their neighbors to the east. Koch-Grünberg (1923) had already mentioned the group of the Upper Uraricaparã, a tributary of the Uraricuera and the one that occupied the right shore of the Uraricuera River, facing the Marutani range, on the Motomotõ River. The broken lines indicate, approximately, the territory occupied by each Yanoama subtribe. The location of the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma comes from the map published by Civrieux (1959), and that of the other settlements of that tribe was verified by the personnel of our expedition.

M 131 127

Y 131 161 According to this map, the territory inhabited at the present time by the Yanoama is located between 0° 30' – 5° N and 62° – 65° 30' W. If we grant that the total Yanoama population reaches the figure of 20,000 individuals spread out over an area of 150,000 square kilometers, we recognize as the density index of the population that of one person per 7.5 square kilometers. There are authors who, being overly generous, raise the Yanoama population to 30,000 and even 50,000 inhabitants, but this number seems exaggerated to us.

B S U 161 177 It is interesting to point out that the highest figures for the native population correspond to the primitive tribes of hunters and fishermen or to those who had an incipient or rudimentary agriculture, such as: the Barí (Motilones, Mapé), 2,000; the Piaroa, 4,000; and the Warao, 8,000.

They are also the tribes which have had least contact with the white man. There is an interesting and instructive relation between the demographic datum of a native population and the number of years that it has had contact with Whites: the higher the latter, the lower the former.

Warao SS18

Sanema

Chibcha SC11

Bari' SS13

CBV 197 143

/198 cont./

A linguistic connection has been observed between the Tunebo, Barí, Warao, and Yanoama, a relationship which appears to be closer than that which usually exists among all the indigenous languages of America, and, therefore, it is interesting that that group of tribes should occupy a common position and at the same time an extreme one on the distribution scale of the Di^a gene. In this case it is not a matter /199/ of a gradual difference, such as that of 12% Arawak and 28% Caribe. In this case it is a matter of an important difference between "positive" and "negative." The tribes mentioned are diametrically opposed to the Páez, Ica, and other tribes with frequencies of 45%, and this means that the Tunebo, Barí, Warao, and Yanoama are genetically distinct from their Arawak and Caribe neighbors and from the Chibcha of Colombia (Páez, Ica), but identical among themselves (speaking always of a single gene).

CBV 143

Another observation, equally interesting, is that in general terms the cultural pattern of the tribes marked with the negative Diego is relatively uniform: they are essentially gatherers and not producers with regard to obtaining food, but their social structure and their religious concepts also seem to have many common traits which at the same time are very different from those of other native tribes of Venezuela and South America. We cannot at the present time go into this interesting point in greater detail. To sum up, we shall say that the Waica (Yanoama) are genetically similar to the Warao, Barí, and Tunebo. As all these tribes show very primitive cultural traits, it is our opinion that the absence of the Di^a gene is a characteristic of the ancient populations of South America, since it is generally accepted that the tribes called Marginal belong to an early invasion of native immigration. It is noteworthy that all the tribes speak idioms with Chibcha characteristics.

CBV [197] Y

• 128

In the foregoing discussion we had to include the several Yanoama subtribes in order to try to locate the Sanemá within a larger ethnogeographic framework. We shall now concentrate more specifically on the Sanemá, due to the study of this subtribe which we made in the field. Many of the data gathered could be

/199 cont./

128 attributed to the other subtribes also, but we do not believe it proper to make an indiscriminate generalization, particularly if we bear in mind that the subtribes seem to be carriers of different subcultures.

101 The Sanemá live on the upper Ventuari, the Erebato, and the Caura. It is therefore a matter of the Sanemadub, Nabadub, and Pubmatari and their various local groups already mentioned in the introduction. We can, to begin with, divide these Sanemá into two groups: those who live in close association with the Makiritare, and those who, although living in the land of the Makiritare, have not been able to establish permanent relationships with them. For which reason it is difficult to record in a definitive and absolute fashion precise demographic data, and we view those which we publish here with certain reservations.

/200/

101 A. Sanemá of the upper Caura (Pubmatari)

162

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Canaracuni	300	In the border zone there are several nomadic bands with specific names, who accept the term "Sanemá" as a generic name of theirs. They frequently change their stopping places between Brazil and Venezuela.
2. Wanaña	200	
3. Yemekuni	300	
4. Caura source	100	
5. Nomadic bands	500	
Total	1,400 estimated individuals	

162 B. Sanemá of the upper Erebato (Sanemadub)

1. Kariana-sodi	40
2. Wasaña	62
3. Udehuduña	125
4. Kuyuhiña	143
Total	370 individuals counted 1960

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 114 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 128 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have considered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 192 The linguistic material which the author of the present work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 192 174 197 In order to classify this material within the different Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 197 174 126 127 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabularies were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956, pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS OF THE WAICA INDIANS OF VENEZUELA.[1]

MIGUEL LAYRISSE, ZULAY LAYRISSE, AND JOHANNES WILBERT

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

128 INTRODUCTION: For the purpose of the present paper we would like to classify the Waica as a subtribe of the Yanoama tribe, the ethnic identification and the internal composition of which appears to be but little understood. Although the actual blood group study will be concerned with the Waica Indians most particularly, we shall, nevertheless, include as well some information on the Yanoama tribe in general. This, we trust, will not only serve to locate the specific Waica data within a wider frame of reference, but also to facilitate the comprehension of the theoretical considerations based thereon.

131 *Ethnic identification.* The Yanoama inhabit a very extensive area between 0°30'-5° N and 62°-65° W, which includes the headwaters of the Paragua, Caura, Ventuari, Padamo, Ocamo, Mavaca, and Orinoco rivers of Venezuela, as well as those of the Uraricuera, Catrimani, Dimini, and Araçá rivers of Brazil. The Sierra Parima crosses this heavily forested territory like a vertebral column, so to speak, and marks at the same time the frontier between the Venezuelan and the Brazilian parts of the Yanoama land (see map, Fig. 1).

101 The Yanoama are surrounded by Tropical Forest Indians with Neo-Indian culture types; Cariban tribes enclose them in a semi-circle to the northeast, while Arawakan peoples bound them in a semicircle to the southwest. Thus, the Yanoama seem to have been functioning as a buffer between the Caribs and the Arawak, successfully resisting any attempt of intrusion by such groups as the Soto (Makiritare), the Pemon, and others. In recent years, after their Carib neighbours had suffered a marked decline in numbers and in strength, the Yanoama ventured northward into the Ventuari, Caura, and Paragua drainage area, intruding into [648] Carib territory for more than 100 km.

114 Although sporadic and rather casual information on the several Yanoama groups have been published by various authors since early Colonial time, it is only

122 1 We wish to thank Dr A. Berti and Ovidio Castellani (División de Malariología, Ministerio de Sanidad, Venezuela) and the Misión Salesiana of the Territorio Federal Amazonas for their collaboration in collecting the blood samples. We are also indebted to Esperanza García for her technical assistance. We are greatly indebted to J. P. O'Riordan (The National Blood Transfusion Association, Dublin), M. Shapiro (The South African Blood Transfusion Service, Johannesburg), R. E. Rosenfield (The Mount Sinai Hospital, New York), and Albin Messer (The Minneapolis Memorial Blood Bank, Minnesota) for supplying us with critical anti-sera.

St Layrisse et al. D,E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18
Waica

since Koch-Grünberg's contact with two Yanoama groups, in 1911, that more substantial information on this interesting tribe has been collected and in parts been published.[2]

Emerging from these data are the names and descriptions of a number of distinguishable tribal units, e.g., Sanemá (Guaharibo, Shirishana), Casspare, Waica, Samatari, Surara, Pakidái, and others. It also has become quite obvious that the Yanoama subtribes are not unified by socio-political authority, but rather by a general and specific culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and culture variants, carried by the different subtribes and local groups respectively. The various local groups and subtribes occupy a coherent territory, they speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious forms.

Taken as a whole, the Yanoama were found to be a very numerous tribe and they belong, in fact, to the most numerous of all the autochtonous populations of lowland South America, but previously published figures of 30-50,000 individuals appear to represent very generous overestimations of the demographic strength of the Yanoama groups known so far.

Linguistic classification. Several authors have attempted a linguistic classification of the Yanoama although most of them did not have at their disposal the more recent material.[3] Taking advantage of this material, we have attempted a glottochronological analysis, the results of which allow us some interesting insight into the internal correlation of the Yanoama languages.[4]

According to this result, the several Yanoama languages, as known today, constitute the Yanoama linguistic stock of 6-35 mc of internal separation. The two more or less clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: *A. Sanemá:* (a) Sanemá, (b) Nabudíb, (c) Pubmatari, [6-17 mc of internal divergencies: Sanemá-Nabudíb = 6 mc, Sanemá-Pubmatari = 17 mc, Nabudíb-Pubmatari = 17 mc]; *B. Casspare:* (a) Casspare, (b) Carime (?), (c) Waica, (d) Samatari (Surara and Pakidái), [8-21 mc of internal divergencies, excepting Carime (for lack of vocabulary material): Casspare-Waica = 21 mc, Casspare-Samatari = 21 mc, Waica-Samatari = 8 mc].

2 Sanema-Pakidái, by Becher, 1960; Waica, by Baker, 1953; Schmuse, 1958; Zerries, 1955, 1956, 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1960; Sanemá, by Vinci, 1959; Wilbert, 1961a, 1961b.

3 Rivet, 1924, p. 678; Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9; Mason, 1950, p. 254; Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140; McQuown, 1955, p. 325; Greenberg, 1956; Swadesh, 1959, p. 28; Dall' Igna Rodrigues, 1958, pp. 136-137.

4 We are indebted to Dra H. Becher and O. Zerries for having us have a basic vocabulary of Sanema-Pakidái and Waica respectively. Complete information on source material has been presented by Wilbert, 1961a.

St Laurine et al. D, E-8 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

classification, based on somatological and phenotypical characteristics of the American Indians as proposed by Coon, Garn, and Birdsell,[21] who distinguished between dolicephalic and somewhat mongoloid *Marginal American Indians*, and broader headed less mongoloid *Central American Indians. As a parallel and, of course, not as a causal phenomenon*, the cited authors (very much like the present authors) record that the *Marginal American Indians* include largely non-agricultural Indians of the Americas, while the latter are agricultural peoples of North and South America, especially of the central part. This observation receives substantial support from the recorded facts of the Diego gene distribution, and its importance for migration theory and culture history of South America may be significant. In the given frame of the present paper we shall restrict ourselves to the discussion of the importance of the absence of the Diego gene mainly among two Marginal tribes of Venezuela, the Waica and the Warao, trying to indicate a possible direction for future Diego research.[21a]

In a recent study, Canals Frau[22] observed that the oldest stratum of *Homo sapiens* in America was composed of five distinct racial types, i.e., the *Silvidos*, the *Sonóridos*, the *Láguidos*, the *Patagónidos*, and the *Huárpidos*, and that the last three were of South American distribution. It is interesting to recall in this connection that Canals Frau includes the Waica and the Piaroa in this antique stratum within which great phenotypical variation has been observed by Vinci, for the Yanoama, and by Baumgartner for the Piaroa.[23] It would seem that the actual occurrence of this variation in one and the same group could best be interpreted by fusion and interbreeding of the different racial types of Paleo-American Man.

Because of his early appearance, the culture of this Paleo-American Man will necessarily have been on a Paleo-Indian (hunters), and later Meso- Indian (fishermen) level of development.[24] Kirchhoff,[25] in referring to the hunting and fishing Marginals of Venezuela, observed that the "differences in subsistence are correlated with other cultural differences, indicating that there was not one basic culture type, but two, the Hunting Culture and the Fishing Culture;" that "Each in turn was divided into at least two subtypes," and that "Without further comparative research, it is impossible to say whether these subtypes were simply local variants of the two basic types or whether they too sprang from different origins."

21 Coon, Garn, and Birdsell, 1950.
21a Laurine and Wilbert, 1961.
22 Canals Frau, 1959.
23 Vinci, 1934; Zerries, 1959; Baumgartner, 1934.
24 Cf. Bennett, 1948.
25 Kirchhoff, 1948, p. 443.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

842
846 the male as continuing in importance not only after conception—at which stage, in our own positivist scientific view, the male role ceases to count—but for a certain period after the actual birth. The male, the cause, is still in the picture, according to the Indian mind, when the mother and child are living a normal life.

843
844 I had known other native peoples, and in regard to these Indian beliefs on
● [128] the subject of childbirth, Luis Antonio confirmed what had already come to my
[115] knowledge.

'In order for the birth to be a success,' he told me, 'when the wife is five
[825] months gone, the husband should stop eating peccary, snake or *caribe* (the name given in Venezuela to the carnivorous fish known in Brazil as *piranha*), and the flesh of any animal of an aggressive nature.' (Here, principles of hygiene were mingled with elements of magic, as happens also in the more advanced
[846] religions.) 'Then, before the birth, during the birth and after, the man must stay in the hammock without stirring, because any strain on his part, or any mishap that came his way, would affect the child and might have dire results.'

[562] The explanation sounds quite normal and natural once one admits the principle of continued causation in the man, the woman being regarded simply as a means. In fact there is no need for her to obey the injunction to stay in the hammock. She will continue her daily round until she feels 'something break inside her'. Then, with the midwife, she will hurry to the appointed place on the river-bank.

* 123
844 I once had the chance of being present at a birth. I was with the Taurepan Indians of the Gran Sabana, and I watched hidden behind a cluster of Mauritius palm, where I could follow the principal stages of the proceedings. The woman, with her head tilted back, was seated on the clay bank in a sort of arm-chair shaped hollow which had been scooped out—whether naturally or made for the purpose I do not know. The midwife knelt at her feet, waiting. For some time both remained in this position. The woman kept giving little cries—but not really cries of pain. After a brief labour, the mother uttered one long howl which sounded to me like an 'u . . . u . . . uh' of rapture, and the midwife rose to her feet, holding up a tiny, mottled infant head downwards by the heels.

Still holding the baby by the feet, the old lady washed him in the river—
—with exactly the motions you might expect from a washerwoman giving the final rinsing to some heavy garment. I couldn't see the next step, but a few

/433/ Memoir on the Culture of the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

114 * The author of this work is a missionary of a North American mission, the "New Tribes Mission," who has lived for several years among the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. Without presuming to be an ethnologist, Mr. Barker has prepared this report containing his observations, and, having kindly sent it to the Ministro de Justicia for his information and for publication, the Comisión Indigenista has accepted it for these pages of the Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, considering its importance as firsthand information concerning a remote tribe scarcely studied up to now. Direct observations made over a period of several years, such as those revealed to us by Mr. Barker in a simple and objective fashion, are of positive utility for ethnologists and ethnographers. In the translation of the original from English to Spanish, we tried to adhere as closely as possible to the words and expressions of the author himself, without having recourse to technical terms. -- (Note by the translator, Walter Dupouy.) /It is to be noted that Mr. Dupouy was the original translater from the English to Spanish, but not the HRAF translator from the Spanish to English./

• [128]

HDO

121 Most of the data included in this memoir are the result of my own observations. Observations made by other members of the staff of the "New Tribes" Mission, who have also collaborated, are included as well. They are: Mr. Edwin Killam and his wife,

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

[Introductory, p. iii:]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yanomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yanomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yanomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

121 us the opportunity to estimate the effects of warfare on the
583 nature of marriage practices among a people who are chroni-
582 cally at war, a situation not frequently found in the present
182 ethnographic world.
726

• 128 B. The Data and Field Techniques

Several kinds of data are required to illustrate Yanomamö marriage practices and the variables affecting them. The most important data are those I obtained from genealogies and the historical relationships between villages.

In total, I have genealogical data on some 3,000 individuals, living and dead, from 15 villages. Not all the data are comparable in quality and I shall confine my discussion to the populations of the five villages for which
128 my data are most complete. These five villages fall into
*621 two groups with regard to their historical origins. Three
*628 of them have a common history, separating initially about 1943 at which time two villages were formed.[1] One of these split again about 1954 to form two villages, giving a total of 3 separate but closely related villages. The other two of the five selected for this study also have a common history, but are distinct from the first three. For purposes of clarity I will refer to these two villages as Shamatari (see Chapter 5 for discussion). About 1960 the two Shamatari villages split from each other and are presently on good terms.

---

[1] See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the historical relationships of these villages.

121 I did not attempt to collect data on all aspects of Yąnomamö culture. Hans Becher (1960) and Otto Zerries (1964) had already done this. I concentrated, rather, on Yąnomamö social organization, settlement pattern, warfare and ideology and gathered data that would permit me to analyze these aspects of Yąnomamö culture and how they were related to each other in determining marriage practices.

124 The collection of genealogies proved to be the most important and the most difficult task of my field work. The widespread taboo against saying the names of both the living and the dead found in South America, particularly in the Guiana area, was carried to an extreme by the Yąnomamö. Consequently, much of my time was spent trying to discover which of my informants were giving me erroneous information, a frustrating and time consuming task. It was not unusual to discover after I had spent weeks on particular genealogies working with data provided by crafty informants that I had to disregard most, if not all, of those data. The Indians soon discovered my interest and set about inventing names for everybody in the village--and learning them, making my task all the more difficult when I checked my genealogies with informants from other villages. Thus, I would arrive at what I considered an accurate genealogy for the members of the village I lived in only to be advised by an Indian from another village that most of the names were inventions. I was therefore unable to check the accuracy of the stated relationships between individuals with outside informants

124 until I devised techniques to overcome this informant re-
• [128] action. I had ultimately to resort to using informants from
124 other villages to get much of the information, particularly
551 names, about the people with whom I spent most of my time, or,
969 to employ informants who had grudges against individuals with-
578 in the village; the greatest insult a Yanomamö can give is to say the name of a person's dead ancestor, and I capitalized on this custom at every opportunity.

124 Once I obtained accurate names,[1] the task became
551 easier and I was able to use local informants once again,
969 although rarely would they mention names of their dead relatives. Toward the end of my field work I managed to gain the confidence of several older individuals who verified and expanded on information I had collected by more devious means; even so, they themselves would not mention the names of many of the individuals in the genealogies, and I was constrained by my bargain with these informants not to mention the names
124 of any of their closely related dead kinsmen. By utilizing
128 several informants who were not closely related I managed to verify and correct the genealogies of the people with whom I lived, and I am reasonably sure that the information is accurate as far as it goes, although there are probably

---

[128] [1] I was satisfied that the name was accurate when I obtained the same name from several of my most trusted informants. The best proof, however, was the reaction of an informant who was related to the deceased. If this informant became angry or upset when I whispered the name in his presence while checking a genealogy, I was reasonably sure that I had the right name.

124 omissions in ascending generations. The genealogies of
• 123 individuals from other villages were easier to collect, particularly if my informants had grudges against the members of those villages, but I employed the same techniques in these cases as well.

124 After I had established the genealogical relationships, I visited the various villages to make estimates of the ages of the individuals, as well as to collect other
124 kinds of information. This was always a touchy business, as
123 the Yąnomamö resent being called by their names, particularly
551 older and more influential individuals. Occasionally I would
554 say the name of an individual who had recently been killed in
764 a raid; this always resulted in an unpleasant and possibly dangerous situation, as most of them were unable to understand why a complete stranger should want to possess such knowledge unless it were for harmful magical purposes. My guides were constantly reminding me not to mention the names of dead people of the villages I visited and of the disastrous consequences that would follow should I fail to heed this advice.

124 In short, the collection of the genealogies was an unpleasant, full-time task and left very little time for intensive study of other aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

114 The two monographs dealing with the Yąnomamö mentioned above are quite superficial in their treatment of social organization; to date no intensive analysis of Yąnomamö social organization has been attempted using data

similar to that presented here, and I regard my own efforts in this area as supplemental to the generally excellent ethnographic work of Zerries (1964) and Schuster (1958). Without genealogical data it is not possible to estimate the degree to which marriage practices deviate from stated preference, nor to grasp the importance of these deviant cases in Yąnomamö politics.

The histories of the five villages are equally important, as they illustrate the role of warfare in determining settlement pattern, the development of political ties between villages, and the process of village splitting. These factors provide the matrix within which the genealogical data become meaningful.

Piecing together the history of these groups of villages proved to be a difficult task. The geographical area under discussion is unexplored and unmapped. Not even major rivers are accurately known in their upper courses, so that of two published versions of the Siapa River I have had to choose the one most consistent with the account given to me by the Indians. The major problem in this regard has been the identification of a large river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u, whose headwaters lie near the source of the Orinoco River. According to my Yąnomamö informants (people who have either lived on this river or have visited or raided villages located on it), the Shukumöna-u, in its middle course, is nearly as large as the Orinoco at its junction with the Mavaca River. It flows in a westerly

direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of mountains. At a few points the Shukumõna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extending nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the Indians claim the Shukumõna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the Shukumõna-u of the Yąnomamõ. I have used more recent maps, also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148 are based on these sources.

In reconstructing the history of the village movements, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimõwi-bora in Yąnomamõ) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karĩbã-bora in Yąnomamõ) near the present village of Kashorawã-tedi.

I employed three sources of information to locate present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages I personally visited. Second, information from James P.

CHAPTER I

YĘNOMAMÖ CULTURE AND EARLIER ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK[1]

A. Yąnomamö Culture

101 The Yąnomamö are discussed in the literature under such tribal designations as Guaica, Waika, Guaharibo, Makù, Sohiriana, Xiriana, Kirischana, Shidishana, Shamatari, Sanema, and Yanoama. Most of the terms are derogatory names applied to the Yąnomamö by their neighbors and characterize the people as being monkey-like or as savages.[2]

[114] In the upper Orinoco and the Mavaca basin where I conducted my field work, the Indians referred to themselves as Yąnomamö, which at once defines their mode of life, language, origin, and includes all people who share this mode of life, language and origin. All non-Yąnomamö are collectively

---

[114] [1]As there are very few reliable English sources describing Yąnomamö social organization and culture, I give a brief description of them here. The best source in English to date is Zerries' 1955 publication, but it deals only with particular traits of Yąnomamö culture.

[128] [94] [104] [2]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized on every syllable, but for ease of typing this manuscript, I have not indicated all the nasalization. The vowel /-ɨ-/ is written /-ö-/. I have written the /- ə -/ as "-ë-" and have indicated nasalization by /-,-/; whenever a Yąnomamö word has one nasalized syllable, all syllables in that word are nasalized.

called nabä--"stranger" or "foreigners." Nabä have degenerated from an original Yąnomamö stock and are regarded, therefore, with some contempt by the Yąnomamö, an attitude that is further manifested in the language; Yąnomamö in linguistic usage requires an honorific pronoun whereas nabä takes the common pronouns.

I adopt the term Yąnomamö to refer to the entire group whose geographical distribution is shown in Map A,[1] using the term in a linguistic-cultural sense to define the tribe. Others have adopted the same usage with minor differences in spelling.

Several of the above-mentioned terms, Sanema, Waika, and Shamatari deserve further discussion, as they are used either as self-designations or in reference to local groups of Yąnomamö occupying specific geographical areas.

The term Sanema (Wilbert, 1963) is used in the upper Caura River as a self-designation. In this dialect the initial phone /y/ has been replaced throughout the language by /s/, Sanema thus being a local pronunciation of Yąnomamö.[2]

The term Shamatari is used by all the Yąnomamö Indians on the upper Orinoco River to refer to the congeries of villages that occupy the large area south of the Orinoco River and adjacent portions of Brazil. Zerries (1964:19)

---

[1] See next page.

[2] Ernesto Migliazza, personal communication. According to Migliazza, the word Sanema is pronounced /Sanöma/.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

---

[1] Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[2] The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide. There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice. First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

[1]The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, listed in Table 1, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

726 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time in-
114 volved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

*621 When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved
628 peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's
237 lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the
578 establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The
721 timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of
[241] Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens
separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the
feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village
726 warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an
722 extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare
241 necessitates the formation of political alliances with other
36 groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in
a situation where they have no choice except to move into the
village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's
garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

---

[1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as
[241] certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-
[36] burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory.
[171] In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and dif-
[128] ferences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also
Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation).
For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned
only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic
practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices
affect Yąnomamö social organization.

10:Chagnon F[illegible].5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER III

DESCENT, MARRIAGE, KINSHIP AND IDEOLOGY

*621 *628 As noted in the introduction, the largest Yąnomamö political unit, the village, is structurally unstable and tends to fragment into hostile factions once the population of the village reaches a certain size.[1] Village splitting [583] results in the establishment of smaller villages the members of which, for considerations of defense, make alliances with other villages, basing the political ties on the exchange of *621 women. The dynamics of village splitting can be illustrated • 128 in a number of ways. In Chapter V the histories of particular villages are set down in some detail, illustrating the nature of the causes of internal struggles. In this chapter, however, I shall discuss the aspects of Yąnomamö descent, marriage, kinship and political ideology that illustrate the role each plays in determining the nature of feuds. This will provide the background for the next chapter, the analysis of village splitting in terms of the genealogical composition of recently established villages.

A. Yąnomamö Corporate Lineal Descent Groups and Marriage

613 421 Corporate lineal descent groups tend to be closely

[928] [1]Village size is discussed in the next chapter.

613 621 608 568 584 726

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

582 584 593 621

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can [illegible]nd on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

583 591 584 602 721 623

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

---

[128] [1]See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[601] [2]By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

*628 lineages in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowã-tedi have
592 exchanged women with each other for a number of generations.
683 Male members of the Hor lineage entered into 29 marriage acts[1]
613 with women of the Sha lineage.[2] An identical number of acts involving Sha men with Hor women also took place. In the exchanges between Mõmaribõwei-tedi and their two allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, there is presently an imbalance in the exchange of women, although reciprocity appears to be developing; a number of women from the latter two villages are promised to members of Mõmaribõwei-tedi--to members of lineages that have already given women to the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi.

*628 An imbalance in the exchange of women implies a dif-
613 ference in political strength between the two groups that
592 exchange women, and the mechanics of the exchange are shaped
583 by this difference in political strength. Post marital resi-
591 dence is viri-patrilocal after the groom performs bride service, but the length of the bride service is determined by the relative political strength of the two villages concerned. If the village of the groom is more powerful than that of the bride, the groom may be able to return to his village with his wife after just a few months of bride service. If the

---

[1] See Ackerman, 1964, for a definition of marriage act.

[2] Yanomamõ lineages are not named. I have named them for expediency of analysis after the oldest identifiable member of the lineage, abbreviating the name to three letters. "Sha" lineage, therefore, is the name I have adopted for the patrilineal descendents of a long since dead individual called Shamashiadima.

[128]

affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawä's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawä threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawä shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawä, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bäkotawä, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawä discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawä, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

000 groups. In a large village comprised of two large lineages,
*621 each having two or more local descent groups, the particular
613 local descent groups of each lineage will have stronger ties
602 with non-agnatic descent groups within that village than with
598 groups of distantly related agnates. When there are feuds within the village, the groups that have most in common with each other are those linked by affinal rather than agnatic ties, and these affinally linked groups stick together should the feud lead to a village split.[1] While the tie between [607] closely related agnates is stronger than that between brothers-in-law, the latter are usually stronger than the ties between distantly related agnates.

606 Finally, the son-in-law tie complements the brother-
609 in-law tie in binding local descent groups to each other
*621 within villages. Older adult males of local descent groups
613 can depend on the support of brothers, brothers-in-law, and
578 sons-in-law in village feuds, more so than on the support of
582 distantly related agnates. In the competition for women, affines in a faction exchange women rather than compete for them; just the opposite is true of the relationships between distantly related agnates.

2. Agnatic ties

593 *621 . One of the two most important consanguineal ties having structural concomitants among the Yanomamö is the tie between siblings of the opposite sex. These are not as

[128] [1]See Chapter IV for a detailed discussion of the structure of village factions.

602 capable of becoming stronger in time. When two descent groups
602 exchange women with each other over several generations, the
612 cognatically related members of the two groups have strong
582 ties with each other. Further exchanges between these groups
583 is largely a validation of the previously existing implicit
60 obligations to exchange women. MoBrSo is, whether or not you
582 marry his sister, a shoriwä. When the marriage rule is followed, and it is a number of times each generation, the ties between shoriwä are correspondingly strengthened by the exchange.
602 Agnatic ties do not have the potential of increasing in solidarity; the tendency seems, in fact, to be just the opposite.

602 The major components in the variation of the strength
561 of agnatic solidarity are genealogical closeness, relative
621 age, and co-residence. To provide a crude measure of the
128 relative importance of these variables, I have arbitrarily
591 assigned values to the components in Table 3. A strong tie is scored as "***" and a weak tie as "---". By adding the number of asterisks in each possible combination, a rough measure of relative solidarity of agnatic type is given. For example, agnates who are closely related genealogically (A_1: "***"), who differ significantly in age (B_2: "***") and who live in the same village (C_1: "**-") represent a class of agnates having the greatest relative solidarity. The sum of the asterisks for this combination is 8.

In Table 3, combinations whose scores are 3 and 4 respectively constitute the class of agnates having the least

Table 3: Components of Agnatic Solidarity.

Genealogical		Age		Residence	
close	remote	similar	discrep.	same	different
A_1	A_2	B_1	B_2	C_1	C_2
•••	•—	•—	•••	••—	•—

Possible Combinations	Associated Value
$A_2B_1C_2$	3
$A_2B_1C_1$	4
$A_1B_1C_2$; $A_2B_2C_2$	5
$A_1B_1C_1$; $A_2B_2C_1$	6
$A_1B_2C_1$	7
$A_1B_2C_1$	8

amount of relative solidarity and are the groups most likely to enter into conflicts with each other. The combinations whose scores are 5 and 6 respectively potentially have more solidarity in the agnatic class, but the agnates represented by these combinations are ambiguously related to each other regarding rights in women. The combinations whose scores are 7 and 8 respectively characterize the groups of agnates have the strongest ties.[1]

[1] It will be noted that the combination whose score is 7 involves the component of non-co-residence, i.e., that the agnates are in different villages. This is a possibility when, for example, a man goes to another village to obtain a wife. Such possibilities also occur when members of two different villages trace their origin back to a common group but went to separate villages to obtain spouses, or ended up in separate villages when their common group split.

*621 organization is only approximated, however, as an examination of the genealogies given in Appendix A will show. The smaller the village, the more conspicuous is the tendency for the composition to approach a moiety-like structure. Larger [613] villages are more composite and may contain as many as four or five distinct lineage segments.[1]

*621 The tendency for small villages to be characterized 613 by two (and only two) dominant lineage segments, each linked to the other by marriage ties, recurs with sufficient frequency to permit me to use a simple dual organization model as the [829] basis of the analysis of village structure. The model given in Figure 1 should be taken as only a heuristic devise in the discussion of Yąnomamö village structure that follows; the Yąnomamö do not conceive of their villages as being bifurcated into two groups, for in most instances they are not. And, small villages soon lose their moiety-like structure as they begin to include males and females from villages with which marriage ties are made.

602 The relationships between kin discussed in the pre-
607 vious chapter are all given in Figure 1. The adult males in
582 Generation 1 exchange sisters[2] and are, therefore, related to
583 each other as shoriwë (brother-in-law). This is a well-defined, stable, non-ambiguous relationship; the males in

[128] [1]See Appendix A for a discussion of village composition. Details of one small village are given in the Appendix, but the composition by lineage is summarized for three other villages.

[2]In Figure 1, $A_{1.1}$'s wife is the sister of $B_{1.2}$.

613
602 ties between males of opposite generations within each lineage, father and son, are stable and affective; in short, the males of the village are linked to each other by relationships that are non-ambiguous and essentially amicable. Similarly, the relationships between males and females between and within generations are, excepting the husband-wife tie, well-defined by the incest taboo and/or affective ties that contribute to the solidarity of the group.

128 Certain assumptions are made about the Yąnomamö by reducing their social organization to a model of this sort. First, I have drawn the model with a sex-ratio of 1.0. Second, sibships are shown to be equal in size and identical in composition, i.e., each contains an equal number of males and females. Third, all individuals are married to a single person. Fourth, no deaths and remarriages have taken place. Fifth, the model does not specify whether or not any of the women are pregnant or nursing. Sixth, no military pressures from the outside are shown, nor are political commitments to cede women to allies. Seventh, all males are presumed to have similar political ability and do not compete for village leadership. The list of assumptions could be extended, but would not add to the point made by the seven already given: factors external to the model constantly impinge upon the relationships described in the model, causing the relationships to alter according to the stresses brought about by the external forces.

By adding a few more individuals to Generation 1 and

128 extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yanomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0. I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relationship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

10xChagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

Thus, while Figure 1 serves as a rough model of the ideal Yanomamö village, it does so to only a very limited degree; we are obliged to make faulty assumptions concerning the factors that influence the relationships between individuals included in the model.

Figure 2 gives the simplified genealogical structure of Lower Bisaasi-tedi, the smallest village for which I have adequate genealogical data.[1] This village is divided into two factions, shown as A and B in Figure 2.[2] Faction A is comprised of a local segment of the Sha lineage, a man and his adult children (4 sons and 1 living daughter), and the individuals or families that are attached to this group. Faction B, similarly, is a composite group consisting of the descendents of a man who married into the Sha lineage in the distant past. For sake of convenience, I will call the core political group of Faction B a local segment of the Tom patrilineage, for it behaves as such.[3] It should be noted

[Text Continued on Page 125]

[1] Not all individuals of this village are shown in Figure 2. Appendix A gives the complete genealogies of all individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi. The numbers shown on Figure 2 correspond to the numbers given in the list of residents and genealogy in Appendix A.

[2] Figure 2 takes into consideration classificatory aspects of the kinship system. That is, some of the relationships indicated in the figure are biologically incorrect. The reader will have to refer to the genealogy in Appendix A for purely biological relationships among the individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.

[3] The Tom (from Tomorowä) is not represented in any other Namowei-tedi village, although females of this lineage have married men who are presently living in other Namowei-tedi villages such as Patanowä-tedi, where their living descendents are presently found. (See Appendix A genea-

[Footnote 3 Continued on Page 125]

that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.

There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not representative of the typical Yąnomamö village: the sex ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as there are males in the village, and the group is politically stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mąmariböwei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of Bisaasi-tedi.

The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawä, has astutely manipulated

---

logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawä-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

the Upper Bisaasi-tedi had a large village and two small villages. The two smaller villages were occupied by the two factions of the Upper group; the large village was unoccupied. It was used only when threat of raid existed, during which time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi re-joined their group and all moved into the large village. In 1965 the large village was rebuilt, but for the first time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi did not participate in the reconstruction of the common village. A few individuals who feared raids, however, did build a section in the village for themselves.

Lower Bisaasi-tedi, then, would re-unite with Upper Bisaasi-tedi in time of war, although each group pursues its own political ends and remains independent of the other in times of peace. One of the major reasons this is so can be explained in terms of the dyadic relationships discussed in the last chapter. Figure 3 gives the simplified lineage structure of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Lower Bisaasi-tedi, and Monou-tedi. These three villages were one in 1954; Monou-tedi split from the group to found their own village. In 1960 Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Lower Bisaasi-tedi split from each other, but remained geographically close to each other. The reasons given for the splits were that the groups were always fighting over women and, to reduce the frequency of club fighting, they simply parted before hostilities became intense. Even at the present time there is considerably more fighting in the village when the groups coalesce for defense purposes. In terms of the kinship dyads, the problem can be

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

Table 4: Age and Sex Distribution of the Yanomamö Population.[1]

*62
162

Frequency Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	55	48	103	68	14	288
Females	36	42	77	60	23	238
Totals:	91	90	190	128	37	526

Percentage Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	10.5	9.1	19.6	12.9	2.7	54.8
Females	6.8	8.0	14.6	11.4	4.4	45.2
Totals:	17.3	17.1	34.2	24.3	7.1	100.0

[1] Based on residents of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, Patanowë-tedi, Mõmaribõwei-tedi, and Reyabobõwei-tedi. I was not able to get age estimates on a number of individuals in Reyabobõwei-tedi and Patanowë-tedi, accounting for the difference in total population given in Table 5, Chapter IV. The sex ratio for the above population is 1.22, and male excess is 9.5%, compared to 1.19 and 8.35% in Table 5.

[114]
[128]

*62
70
72
[722]

effectiveness of the raiding party. As someone must stay home to guard the women, the guards usually come from the too young and too old. Usually, however, one or two 'waitedi' (fierce ones), men who have a great deal of experience in warfare and who would bravely defend the village, also remain behind. Thus, a village of 100 people could, at best,

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, PatanowĘ-tedi, MĘmaribŏwei-tedi and Reyabobŏwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Namowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called ParuritawĘ-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

722
*621
*628
121
361
602
*628
174
582
583

historical relationships between villages to properly interpret marriage ties between them. With regard to the last point, I found that numerous individuals in Bisaasi-tedi claimed to be from Patanowë-tedi; my initial conclusions concerning their marriage to individuals from Bisaasi-tedi was that the marriages were village-exogamic. I was obliged to reassess these marriages after I learned that the two villages were at one time one village, and most of the marriages between the two groups were contracted while the groups were living together. I therefore investigated in detail the historical relationships between all the villages in the Mavaca area, a portion of the results constituting the subject of this chapter.

174
128

I have summarized the village movements in Tables 5 and 6 and have indicated these movements graphically on Map C. The reader may, if he wishes, skip the details of the histories and turn at this point to the concluding remarks of this chapter. I can make the four points by using only Tables 5 and 6, in conjunction with Map C. However, I cannot illustrate Yąnomamö political behavior without recourse to details of the village movements and the wars that caused them and, accordingly, I include the details of the histories in this chapter. The political relationships that presently obtain between the two Shamatari villages (Mõmariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi) and their allies, the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, can not be completely understood without knowing their respective histories in some detail. Most of the

128
361
128
361
174
*628
583

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

128 marriage alliances on which I have complete data have taken
361 place between the Shamatari and the two villages of Monou-
174 tedi and Bisaasi-tedi. Over 50% of recently contracted
+628 marriages[1] that represent breaches of the marriage rule
583 preferences were the result of alliances between the villages whose histories are given here. It is, accordingly, important to understand the political and historical circumstances that led to these alliances.

174 A. The History of the Namowei-tedi Group
175
361 The Namowei-tedi lived in four different areas between
+128 ca. 1880 and 1943, splitting into two villages in 1943 shortly
[624] after they moved to their fifth location. I outline below the events that led to the abandoning of the first four areas and discuss in more detail the activities of the villages after they established their fifth location. I will treat the Paruritawë-tedi group similarly in Part B of this chapter.

174 Area 1: Konata-tedi (See Map C)
175
+628 While living in this area the Naomwei-tedi were on
+621 friendly terms with several Shamatari villages, numbering them among their allies. The Shamatari as a distinct group were
[582] just coming into being between 1880 and 1900. Intermarriages
[583] between the Namowei-tedi and members of several Shamatari villages occurred and a number of individuals in the present villages of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi trace descent back to Shamatari ancestors.

[1] These data on marriages are taken from the villages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi.

174 the Patanowã-tedi.[1] Thus, the Patanowã-tedi were surrounded
726
*628 on all sides by enemies; only one village, Ashadowã-tedi,
722 remained on friendly terms with them. Beyond the Ashadowã-tedi were the Shamatari villages, bitter enemies of the Patanowã-tedi since the killing of Ruwahiwã.

174 By the time the Patanowã-tedi had gotten into this
*628 situation, the war with their agnates had subsided. So the
361
602 Patanowã-tedi moved west, into the area abandoned by their
722 agnates, whence they harried the Hasabõwã-tedi and the groups north of the Orinoco. They attempted with some success to effect a rapprochement with their agnates, and a few individuals from the Kreibõwei-tedi group visited the Patanowã-tedi. One of these individuals was able to obtain a wife in Patanowã-tedi, whom he subsequently took back to Monou-tedi with him.

361 The Patanowã-tedi are presently living between two
*628 sites: Patanowã-tëka and Shamata-tëka, a situation forced on
722 them by the hostile relationships they have with all their neighbors except the Ashadowã-tedi.

128 Area 6: Shihota-tëka

See "Area 5" point (2) above.

174 Area 7: Kreibõwei-tedi
175
361 This site was established in 1949. After fleeing
722 from Shihota to avoid the raids of the Patanowã-tedi, the
*628

[1] At this point the Patanowã-tedi returned to Patanowã-tëka from their three sites of Wanidima, Waiyari, and Rashawã.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

(Shamatari) lived in this village and, when the village split, led his faction into the Shukumöna-u basin, becoming known as the Mokayëaba-tedi. This move took place about 1900.

The second village also moved to the south side of the Orinoco, but remained on that river. They settled near a mountain called Aramämisi-këkö, and named their village after the mountain. My historical data on the Shamatari village movements is sparce up to this point.

Between 1900 and 1950 the Mavaca and Shukumöna drainages were populated by the descendents of these two 'original' Shamatari groups, and the process of village splitting that led to the occupation of this large area continues at the present time.

Although there are two Shamatari groups (Kayabawä's and Matakuwä's), I outline the details of the movements of Matakuwä's group, mentioning Kayabawä's only in so far as it relates to the history of Paruritawä-tedi. Militarily, Kayabawä's group plays a prominent role in the movements of Matakuwä's followers up to 1920, illustrating once again that cognate villages enter into hostile relationships with each other after they separate. Thus, this section deals with the historical movements of the group that ultimately gave rise to Paruritawä-tedi; as this group also gave rise to a number of other villages, I shall have to briefly sketch the movements of these villages after their separation from the main group.

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari

Summary

Tables 5 and 6 broadly summarize the movements of the five villages. As the details of the text indicate, considerably more village movement goes on than can be included in tables of this sort. The micro-movements, however, merely express in greater detail what is immediately apparent from an examination of Tables 5 and 6: the Yanomamö abandon their gardens and move to new locations because of raids from other groups. In only one instance was the movement of a village stimulated by economic considerations: site 4 was abandoned by the Namowei-tedi because of poor soil. Another exception was the abandoning of Barawä (site 10) by the Bisaasi-tedi in 1959. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River to gain access to steel tools, marking the beginning of their sustained contact with foreigners.

The tables also show that there were ten village splits relevant to explaining the origins of the five villages considered in this chapter. Five of these splits were due to feuds over women. In four of the cases the factions that were involved immediately entered into hostilities with each other. The recent split within Patanowä-tedi, discussed in the text (pp. 188-89), again over a woman, is not included in Table 5, as the refugee group did not form a new village of their own. Three village splits in Tables 5 and 6 developed out of minor feuds, usually over women, brought about by large village size. In one case, the factions ultimately entered into hostilities with each other, whereas in two cases the factions still remain on friendly terms.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1984-1986) 1987 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

• 128 In the body of this dissertation I have attempted to demonstrate that two variables in particular exert an overriding effect on Yąnomamö social structure. These are, respectivley, the shortage of women and the intensity of actual warfare. In this final chapter, I should like to accomplish two ends. First, I should like to set my conclusions against different material recently gathered among the Yąnomamö in northern Brazil.[1] Second, I should like to bring my material to bear on the discussion between Leach (1957) and Fortes (1959a, 1959b) regarding the relationship of kinship, marriage ties, descent and politics.

121 721 582 183 Let us turn first to comparative Yąnomamö ethnology. If it is true, as I have argued, that warfare enhances the

[1]After I had completed the text of the thesis I had an opportunity to discuss with Ernesto Migliazza the social organization of a number of Brazilian Yąnomamö groups. [114] Migliazza, a linguist, spent nearly six years among the Uraricaá Yąnomamö, working for a Baptist Mission and, more recently, for the Goeldi Museum in Belém. I thank him for permission to use much of the comparative material presented below; some of it has already been published in his 1964 work. I introduce this new data because it very effectively demonstrates the interrelationships between the variables discussed in the thesis. I would have arrived at the same conclusions, by employing arguments similar to those used by Meggitt (1965), but the contrast provided by this new material makes the conclusions more defensible.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

ingness to use violence to obtain one's ends are considered desirable traits. Much of the behavior of the Yąnomamö can be described as brutal, cruel, treacherous, in the value-laden terms of our own vocabulary. The Yąnomamö themselves, however, as Napoleon Chagnon came to intimately know them in the year and a half he lived with them, do not all appear to be mean and treacherous. As individuals, they seem to be people playing their own cultural game, with internal feelings that at times may be quite divergent from the demands placed upon them by their culture. This case study furnishes valuable data for phrasing questions about the relationship between the individual and his culture.

The Yąnomamö appear to be constantly on the verge of extranormal behavior, as we define it, and their almost daily use of hallucinogenic drugs reinforces these drives to what might seem to the outside observer to be the limits of human capacity. Life in their villages is noisy, punctuated by outbursts of violence, threatened by destruction by enemies. To the ethnographer it is frightening, frustrating, disgusting, exciting, and rewarding, and in this case study the ethnographer lets the reader know how he feels. His honest reactions help us, as interested outsiders, to know the Yąnomamö.

This is a study of a fierce people who engage in chronic warfare. It is also a study of a system of controls that usually hold in check the drive toward annihilation. Conflict among the Yąnomamö is regulated through a series of graded escalations, from chest-pounding and side-slapping duels, through club fighting, spear throwing, to raiding in a state of war, to the ultimate—the *nomoboni*—massacre by treachery. The processes of avoidance, settlement, or escalation of disputes are discussed in detail in this case study. There are implications that range beyond the Yąnomamö, and beyond primitive peoples, to the "civilized" world in which we live, for we too live in a state of chronic warfare and are threatened by annihilation.

The Yąnomamö goad each other, within their own villages, to the brink of an explosion (and they goaded the ethnographer in the same way). This hostility is projected on a larger scale in the negotiating of alliances between villages. Each principal must establish the credibility of his own threats, as well as discover the point at which the opposite party's bluffing will dissolve into action. It is, as the author says, a politics of brinksmanship, all too familiar to us.

The study is, however, not confined to a description of regulated violence. Dr. Chagnon provides us with an unusually clear chapter on social organization, with the genealogical details of kinship. The models he produces in his analysis are cast in sharper relief because he also discusses deviations from these models in actual behavior. He links social organization with the processes of fission that produce new villages and the alliances that are created in response to the threat of annihilation, reinforced and validated by the mutual ceding of women between villages. Social organization is presented not as an abstraction but as a dynamic process interrelated with other significant dimensions of life. The anthropological novice will find the analysis of social organization detailed but, with close attention, entirely understandable. The more experienced anthropological reader will grasp the full theoretical implications of the analysis and will find the author's references to various debates in the anthropological literature stimulating.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

This case study is given fuller treatment in respect to both the number of photographs and diagrams and text length than is typical in the case study series, due to the unusual nature of the material. 128

GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Phlox, Wisconsin
May 1968

[p. x is blank]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Acknowledgments

The research on which this monograph is based was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health Predoctoral Fellowship Fl MH-25-052 and attached grant MH 10575-01 BEH RO4 and an Atomic Energy Commission Area Grant AT(11-1)-1552. I am also indebted to the faculty and administration of Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas (I.V.I.C.) for their cooperation and support. I wish also to thank the members of the Staff of the Air Force of Venezuela and Brazil for transporting me and my equipment into and out of the Yąnomamö area. I am equally indebted to the Venezuelan Malariałogía personnel who arranged for the purchase and transportation of many of my supplies. My sincere thanks also to the members of the New Tribes Mission and Salesian Mission, whose kindness and cooperation made my field work more pleasant than it might otherwise have been. I am grateful to Professors Eric Wolf, Mervyn Meggitt, James Neel, Elman Service, and Leslie White of my Ph.D. committee for many useful suggestions; this monograph is based in part on my doctoral thesis, and their criticisms have been incorporated into the present work. I wish to thank Professors Marshall Sahlins, Eric Wolf, and Lévi-Strauss for reading earlier drafts of some of the chapters in the present monograph. I thank my wife Carlene for her patience in reading portions of the text and offering her helpful criticisms. Finally, I wish to thank my brother, Verdun P. Chagnon, for his artistic rendition of Figure 2-4.

NAPOLEON A. CHAGNON

Ann Arbor, Michigan
May 1968

[P. xii is blank]

11: Chagnon 8-5 (1984-1988) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

721
131
128
114

The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnamamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1–2).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere *is* unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1–2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnomamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their hosts' village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.

142
301
411
535
629*
578
291

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

2

Adaptation

128 THE YANOMAMÖ ADAPTATION to their physical, social, and intellectual environments is dealt with in this chapter.

The Physical Environment

131 Kaobawä's village[1] is Upper Bisaasi-teri, located at the confluence of the Mavaca
133 and Orinoco Rivers. Like most of the villages in this area, it lies at an altitude of about
361 450 feet. While some villages in Brazil reach 3000 feet in altitude, most Yanomamö villages are located at much lower elevations (Fig. 2-1).

137 The general area around Kaobawä's village is a low, flat plain interrupted occasionally by gently rolling hills and, more rarely, by a few low mountain ridges. The land is entirely covered with jungle, even the tops of the mountain ridges.

The jungle is relatively dense and characterized by numerous species of palm and hardwood trees. The forest canopy keeps the sunlight from penetrating to the ground, but scrub brush and vines manage to grow in relatively great abundance in most places, making it difficult to walk along the trails. Thorny brush is especially heavy along the banks of streams, where adequate sunlight and a constant supply of water provide ideal circumstances for its growth.

---

128 [1]See map, Fig. 2-8. Villages other than Kaobawä's have been included because they are discussed in this
126 and also in a later chapter. Presently occupied villages are indicated in upper-case lettering and by shading. The area shown in this map is unexplored, except for the zone immediately adjacent to the Orinoco River. The map is, therefore, largely calculated guesswork. To establish dates of occupation I estimated ages of individuals and obtained their stated places of birth. Distance and geographical location were determined by compass readings and measured in sleeps required to reach the location from a given point. I also visited many of the locations shown. While I was in Brazil in 1967, I checked the map locations with informants there, being encouraged by the fact that they independently gave approximately the same information. Fig. 2-8 is a simplified version of the more detailed map c in my doctoral thesis (Chagnon 1966). For more information regarding the techniques used in making the map, consult the thesis.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4] For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5] The cultivated palm, *pijiguao*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

3

Social Organization

128 THREE ASPECTS of Yąnomamö social organization will be dealt with: the ideal rules about marriage and the logical consequence of these rules—actual cases of Yąnomamö marriage are compared to the pattern of ideal marriage to justify the use of a model to describe Yąnomamö social structure; the demographic and political factors that bring about discrepancies between actual behavior and ideal behavior; the more important aspects of the division of labor and of ordinary daily life in the society.

Social Structure

121 128 This section is the most technical portion of the chapter; careful study of the diagrams is required as the text is read. Kinship is the heart of primitive social structure, and it must be understood in detail rather than through generalities. The rules governing [582] marriage, along with the kinship system, together comprise and delineate the structure (602) of Yąnomamö society. There is no simple way to present the data, which itself is frequently boring to even accomplished anthropologists, and students of anthropology must sooner or later come to grips with this important topic. Fortunately, the Yąnomamö kinship system is the type most commonly found among the world's primitives and it is, comparatively speaking, quite easy to grasp once the patterns in the diagram are spotted.

128 The important features of Yąnomamö social structure are represented in the model shown in Fig. 3-1. This diagram is based on an analysis of Yąnomamö marriage rules, kinship terminology, and other social and ideological features characteristic of their behavior. The symbols given in the legend of Fig. 3-1 will also be used in the diagrams that follow. It should be borne in mind that the model is only an ideal representation of Yąnomamö society; we shall see below how closely actual behavior conforms to this model. One of the objectives of structural anthropology is to attempt comparisons of different kinds of societies by using models of this type. In the discussions that follow I shall present some actual field data to justify the use of this model to represent Yąnomamö social structure.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

611 the village, the members of which being related to each other as brother and sister, and
602 the fact that individuals must marry outside their own lineages.
582 The important features of the lineages X and Y are now clearly visible in genera-
613 tion II: The lineages are patrilineal and exogamous. That is, males and females belong to the lineage of their father (patrilineality), and individuals must marry people who belong to a different lineage (exogamy). This can be seen more clearly in the symbols
601 used in Fig. 3-1. All males of lineage X are designated by triangles (x_1, x_2, x_3 . . . x_8), and all females of lineage X are designated by hexagons. Similarly, all males of lineage Y are designated as squares and all females by circles. Males of lineage X marry females of lineage Y. Their children belong to lineage X because their *father* (patrilineality) is of lineage X.

601 The Yąnomamö kinship system also reflects the rules of lineage exogamy, brother-
613 sister exchange and reciprocity. Their kinship system is called the "bifurcate merging"
582 type with "Iroquois" cousin terms (see Glossary). Within each generation, all the males of one lineage call each other "brother," and all the women call each other "sister." Males of lineage X call males of lineage Y "brother-in-law" and are eligible to marry their sisters. In fact, the males of lineage X call the females of lineage Y "wife" *whether or not they marry them*. This is likewise true for the males of lineage Y with respect to the females of lineage X. This brings us to another important Yąnomamö marriage rule: A male must marry a woman of the category called *suaböya*—"wife." This is called a *prescriptive* marriage rule.[2] To state it more precisely, Yąnomamö society is characterized by a rule that enjoins a man to marry a woman of a specific kinship category; he has no choice with respect to the category.

582 There is an important controversy over the meaning and implications of the term
114 "prescriptive." I have given the definition held by British anthropologists generally,
128 by Needham (1962*a*:9) in particular. This definition emphasizes the fact that men have no choice with respect to the category of women from which their wives must come, that men are forbidden to marry women of other categories, and that the society itself is said to be characterized by the prescriptive rule. The opposition to this definition comes largely from certain American anthropologists, who maintain that a society can only be said to have a prescriptive marriage rule when a high percentage (close to 100 percent) of the people marry according to the rule (see Coult and Hammel 1963:291). The issues involved are not quite as simple as this, but a glimmering of the area of contention can be seen in an example provided by Leach (1965). Rephrasing his example, the rule (in our society) "thou shalt not kill" is like the rule (among, say, the Yąnomamö) "thou shalt marry a woman of category A." These rules can be said to exist in the respective societies irrespective of the homocide rate in New York or the frequency of aberrant marriages in a Yąnomamö village. That is, Leach (and Needham) maintain that one cannot discover such a rule by counting examples of murder (or, rather, "non-murder") or marriages of men to women of category A. The more basic issue, however, is the

[2]Professor Lévi-Strauss, who read an earlier draft of this chapter, quite correctly pointed out that to say a marriage system is "prescriptive" is to say no more than "a man must marry a marriageable female," which is a tautology. Nevertheless, we must have some way to distinguish a system that permits marriage with only a single category of women from those that permit marriage with women of several categories. By showing what is meant by the Yąnomamö category *suaböya*, as I have attempted to do in Fig. 3-2, the reader will gain some idea of what is meant by that marriage type. I have used the term "prescriptive" because it is the current usage.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

meaning of, in this case, "category A." It is customary to represent primitive kinship categories in models (for example, Fig. 3–1) by their closest biological equivalents in *our own kinship system*. Many critics of Needham's definition of prescription fail to appreciate the fact that *FaSiDa* and *MoBrDa* in a model like the one given in Fig. 3–1 represent just *two* of several kinds of kinswomen who fall into the prescribed category. That is, they interpret the native's kinship category from the narrow point of view of one of that category's biological meanings in *our own kinship system*. (I have given ten examples of actual Yąnomamö marriages in Fig. 3–2, discussed later, to illustrate what the categories FaSiDa and MoBrDa mean to the Yąnomamö.) The use of Needham's definition of prescription to characterize Yąnomamö marriage rules can be justified, therefore, on several grounds. First, the Yąnomamö assert that a man must marry a woman of the *tuaböya* category. Second, of the six primary categories used by men to classify female relatives, five of them embrace women who stand in incestuous relationship to the male speaker, and he is forbidden to marry any woman that falls into any of these five additional categories. Third, we will see below how closely the alternative definition of prescription fits the Yąnomamö, using their own notions of kinship to reckon relationships between males and females.[3]

In Fig. 3–1, marriageable women are related to their husbands as both FaSiDa and MoBrDa; this is an artifact of the way in which the model is drawn. These two kinds of kinswomen are the closest biological equivalents in our kinship system for the Yąnomamö term "*tuaböya*" "wife." It must be emphasized, however, that given the classificatory nature of the Yąnomamö kinship system (for example, men of the same generation and of the same lineage are "brothers"), there are several ways to be related to a woman as "wife."

Something new has happened in generation III. A man (w_1) from a distant village, along with his sister, has joined the group. Both he and his sister have married into lineage X. Thus, there are three lineages represented in the village (W, X, and Y), and the *dual organization* characterizing generations I and II is now lost.[4] A Yąnomamö village can incorporate new lineages into its social life by an extension of marriage ties to its members. As can be seen from Fig. 3–1, the same rules—exogamy, reciprocity, patrilineal descent, and brother-sister exchange—that characterize the behavior of the members of lineages X and Y also hold for the members of the new lineage, W. The incorporation of lineage W takes place this way. W_1 joined the village in 1928 (generation III) because x_3 and x_4 promised him one of their sisters. As shown in Fig. 3–1, he did, in fact, marry one of their sisters and gave, in exchange, one of his sisters to x_3.

This (potentially) brings about an important structural change in the village with

[3]For an excellent summary of the various arguments concerning "prescriptive alliance," see Maybury-Lewis 1965*a*.

[4]A society is said to have dual organization when, for example, it is comprised of two intermarrying kinship groups, such as lineages X and Y in generations I and II of Fig. 3–1. In some societies the intermarrying kin groups are named, for example, "Bear Clan (or Moiety)" and "Thunderbird Clan (or Moiety)." The Yąnomamö do not have named kinship groups such as this. Dual organization is, however, implied in their kinship terminology and marriage rules and, as will be seen, villages tend to have two (and only two) politically dominant lineages that intermarry. In short, the Yąnomamö village tends to be comprised *in fact* of two dominant kinship groups but lacks some of the ideology, such as named pairs of intermarrying kin groups, of classical dual organization. See: Maybury-Lewis, 1960 and 1967; Lévi-Strauss, 1963, Chapter VIII; Nimuendajú and Lowie, 1927; and Malinowski, 1926, for further descriptions and analyses of societies having dual organization.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

respect to the male members of lineage X. Generation III shows that individuals x_3 and x_4 are full brothers. The individuals x_5 and x_6 of generation IV, however, are not shown as brothers, although in Yąnomamö kinship usage they would be such.

I have not indicated them as being related as brothers in order to draw attention to a fault line that may develop when the members of a single lineage (X in this case) marry into more than one other lineage (W and Y in this case). x_3 and one of his sisters married into lineage W, whereas x_4 and one of his sisters continued to exchange with members of lineage Y. In the following generation the kinship tie of "brother" between x_5 and x_6 is considerably weaker than the same "brother" tie between their fathers (x_3 and x_4). In generation V, the "brother" tie between x_7 and x_8 is weaker still. One of the reasons that *agnatic* ties[5] weaken in this case is that the men in question are drawn into intimate relationship with the kinship groups from which they obtain their wives and assume, because of the principle of reciprocity, obligations to their affinally related (that is, by marriage) kinsmen.

Secondly, because agnates of the same generation are "brothers," they can marry the same women and are, hence, competitors. In other words, the obligations to exchange women (reciprocity) can link the members of affinally related groups to each other more intimately than ties of blood between males of the same lineage. (This can be more readily seen in Figs. 3–5 and 3–6, discussed later, but it can also be partially illustrated here.) If the village shown in Fig. 3–1 were to split in generation V and form two new villages, lineage X would pull apart along the fault line shown. That is, parts of lineage X would end up in each of the two new groups because the affinal (marriage) ties between its members and their wife-givers are stronger than the agnatic ties within the lineage. Individual x_7 and his sister would form a new village with w_3 (and his sister) while x_8, his "brother" (agnate), would remain paired with lineage Y. Lineage X would therefore be represented in both of the two new villages; individuals x_7 and x_8 would "feel" even more remotely related because they now live in different villages, although they would continue to call each other "brother." Finally, the two new villages would again demonstrate the dual organization that characterized generations I and II of the original village of Fig. 3–1. For the sake of simplicity I have shown each married pair with only two children (except in generation III) so that the village remains constant in size, growing only by the addition of new members. In an actual village lineages X and Y might comprise up to 80 percent of the population so that the addition of a few new members such as w_1 would not appreciably alter the dual composition.

In Fig. 3–1, lineage X stands as wife-giver and wife-receiver with respect to the other two lineages. The significance of this relationship cannot be exaggerated in the analysis of Yąnomamö social organization. Its strength derives from the obligations kinship groups have toward each other once they enter into reciprocal marriage exchanges. The wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship is also reflected in the attitudes men have toward their affines, such as brothers-in-law, as opposed to attitudes toward distant agnates. A man is on very intimate terms with his brother-in-law, jokes with him, gives him possessions, and protects him; a man treats an agnate of the same age with great reserve and coolness and tends to be jealous of him. He cannot, for example, directly ask

[5]Kinship ties between patrilineally related kinsmen.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him to do a favor, whereas he could ask this of a brother-in-law.[6] As shall presently be seen, the dynamics of Yąnomamö social organization originate in the politics of obtaining a wife. Within this context, agnates are competitors and affines are allies. This has an important effect on the manner in which villages fission and form new groups. The point to remember at this juncture is that ties of marriage are in many cases stronger than ties of blood.

I emphasize this because many anthropologists argue from "first principles" that ties of blood are—by definition—more capable of promoting solidarity and amity than ties by marriage. The controversy over "complementary filiation" between E. R. Leach (1957) and M. Fortes (1959), still not satisfactorily resolved, was essentially a debate about the analytical significance of marriage ties. Focusing on only one of the issues and rephrasing the arguments so as to apply to Fig. 3-2, the debate ran something like this: Both Leach and Fortes seemed to agree that in societies having lineal descent groups (lineages), the descent groups would tend to fall apart unless some kind of tie bound the members to each other. That is, lineages X and Y of Fig. 3-2 would, in short, pull away from each other unless they were held together by some special social tie. Fortes argued that this special tie was the solidarity and amity that grew out of the cognatic (see Glossary) kinship ties between the two lineages which arise when individuals marry blood relatives. Looking at generation V, for example, Fortes would argue that lineages X and Y are bound to each other because x_8 and y_5 married women to whom they are related by blood (as FaSiDa and MoBrDa). He argues from first principles that solidarity emanates from the blood ties. Leach, however, states that in generation V the two lineages are bound to each other by obligations to reciprocate goods, services, and women and that the solidarity of the two lineages derives from the affinal ties themselves (shown as "15" and "16" in Fig. 3-2). If we look only at generation V, the argument cannot be resolved, since the data support both arguments equally well, or at least do not convincingly support one rather than the other. I might add that both arguments can be supported by data not given in Fig. 3-2; Fortes' arguments are supported, for example, by the additional fact that Yąnomamö men do not stringently have to avoid their mothers-in-law when they are related to them in the fashion shown in Fig. 3-2, whereas the avoidance taboo is very onerous when a man's mother-in-law is not a blood relative. If, however, attention is focused on the events of generation III and their consequences examined, it can readily be seen that the affinal (marriage) ties in generation V are stronger than some of the agnatic (blood) ties, and the latter break when the village fissions. (This can be even more readily seen in Fig. 3-4 and 3-5, discussed later.) Thus, it cannot be argued that Yąnomamö lineage solidarity derives exclusively from blood ties and "complementary filiation." There is another issue. Structural analyses depend in large measure on a sharp distinction between marriage (affinal) ties and blood (consanguineal) ties. Fortes seems to deny that affinal ties as such exist independently of blood ties, and he has "subsumed" them into his concept of "complementary filiation." If there is no such thing as affinal ties between lineal descent groups, then structural

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

[6] In addition, it is by no means rare for agnates to get into club fights over women. I even have recorded a number of cases of men shooting and killing a "brother" during raids. This happened on two occasions during my first stay in the field, and I have reports of several additional cases obtained from informants who were describing past raids.

Fig. 3-2. Selected genealogies illustrating actual Yanomamö marriage rules.

123
SS82
901

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

analysis of reciprocal marriage exchanges between such groups and the obligations implied in such exchange is seriously hampered. In short, if Yąnomamö marriage exchanges over a number of generations and the kinship basis of village fissioning are examined, the data support Leach's arguments. They do not, however, invalidate Fortes' argument that blood ties create some solidarity, but they do call into question the contention that blood ties by definition, or, rather, on "first principles," account exclusively for the solidarity occurring between lineages.

In summary, Fig. 3–1 represents a number of important features of Yąnomamö social organization. First, people reckon descent through males and are grouped into exogamous, patrilineal lineages. These are called *mahi* by the Yąnomamö, although none of them bear distinctive names.[7] Second, members of these lineages tend to intermarry with the members of a second lineage over a number of generations, being bound to them by obligations to reciprocate women in marriage. This results in a dual organization of kinsmen within the village, whose residents fall into one or the other of the two lineages. Third, new lineages can be incorporated into the village by an extension of marriage ties, potentially bringing about "structural faults" within the lineages of that village. Fourth, men are obliged to marry a woman of a single, specific category, *suaböya*. This category defines a variety of women, two subcategories of which can be translated into the English biological equivalents MoBrDa and FaSiDa. Yąnomamö men prefer to marry women of these subcategories because they are relieved of much of the discomfort of avoiding their mothers-in-law.[8]

The ten partial genealogies shown in Fig. 3–2 show how the Yąnomamö actually marry. The genealogies have been selected with the intention of illustrating how the Yąnomamö reckon relationships between kinsmen in general, and between husband and wife in particular. All ten exemplify prescriptive marriage. They are more or less arranged in decreasing order of correspondence to our own biological concepts of kinship and illustrate the classificatory nature of their kinship system.

The people shown on these genealogies are (or were) real people. Many of the individuals in the examples are related to each other in such ways that all ten of the examples could be drawn as a single, unified genealogy.

The first eight examples are drawn from the village of Patanowä-teri; the last two are from Bisaasi-teri. In case J, for example, the fifth individual of the second generation is Kąobawä. To give a rough idea of the incompleteness of each genealogy, only one of Kąobawä's four marriages is shown and only one of his four children. None of his brothers and sisters are shown either, nor is the fact that he married a MoBrDa indicated.

Case A illustrates the identification procedure to be used in relating the genealogies to the text. There are three generations shown in case A; the first is symbolized by the Roman numeral I, the second, by II, the third, by III. Each individual in each generation is given a number; the number series runs from left to right and begins anew with 1 in each generation. Hence, every individual bears a generation number and a position-within-generation number. Case A illustrates the marriage of individuals III–1 to III–2;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[7] *Mahi* means "species," "group," "cluster of similar things," and, in the context of kinship, "that group of people to whom I am related through males;" that is, "patrilineal kinsmen."

[8] I draw attention to the fact that the category is *prescribed*, but within it there are *preferences*. There are very few analyses of societies that have a prescriptive rule within which there are preferences, although Needham has devoted some attention to this interesting phenomenon (1962*a*, 1962*b*, and 1963).

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yąnomamö category *suaböya* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III–1) would have called the woman *suaböya* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *bąroya*.

The marriage of III–1 to III–2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II–1 and II–4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I–2 was an *adopted* brother to I–3, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin*. Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kąobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kąobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Ariwari, Kąobawä's son. Ariwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3–3). Ariwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kąobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.)

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yąnomamö do not distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A.

Case B also illustrates *sororal polygyny:* III–1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters.

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II–3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent.

606 123 [551] The avoidance taboo prohibits a man from saying his mother-in-law's name. My informants would be extremely embarrassed when I would say the name of their mother-in-law while collecting genealogies. Kaobawä, for example, would grin sheepishly and hide his head. Men must also avoid their mothers-in-law physically and should not look at them. If I took a group of people for a ride in my canoe, there would always be considerable shuffling of bodies so that the men could be situated in the canoe as far away from their mothers-in-law as possible.

128 602 595 Finally, case C illustrates another kind of sororal polygyny: Individuals III–1 and III–3 are sisters to each other because their mothers are sisters. (The equation stating that children of siblings of the same sex are themselves siblings extends indefinitely in the case of males, but breaks down in the case of females after two generations. This is because descent is patrilineal.)

128 582 602 *Case D:* This also is a case of FaSiDa marriage: I–2 and I–3 were brothers, so one of the parents of each of the third generation individuals were brother and sister to each other. Hence, III–1 married his FaSiDa.

128 595 602 *Case E:* The marriage of III–1 to III–2 is similar to the marriage in case D, but his marriage to the second wife, III–3, illustrates the use of another kinship equation. She is an actual sister to the first wife, but does not stand in the FaSiDa relationship to her husband. If one of the sisters is FaSiDa, however, then all of them are in Yąnomamö kinship usage.

128 582 602 [601] *Case F:* This illustrates how affinal ties replace consanguineal ties should the two conflict. III–1 can trace a blood tie to his wife, one that would prevent him from marrying her, but the affinal ties between his own father and the father of his wife permit him to marry according to the prescription. Individual III–1 would call all of his father's wives "mother." Hence, his own wife is, technically, MoBrDa.

128 582 587 602 *Case G:* This illustrates a number of marriage rules stated in the preceding examples. I present it as a sort of exercise to reinforce the logic of the Yąnomamö kinship equations given above. Individual II–6 married two brothers, II–5 and II–7, illustrating the *levirate:* the marriage between a man and his brother's widow. Individual II–9 married his FaSiDa (as in case F). Individuals III–3 and III–4 can marry because their fathers were cross-cousins (see case H, below). Individual III–5 married his FaSiDa, as was shown for the similar marriage in case E. Individual IV–1 married two women, each of whom is his FaSiDa. This is so because I–2 and I–4 were adopted brothers, so that their [597] sons (II–2 and II–4) were also siblings. Hence, IV–1 married his FaSiDa (IV–2) and, as in case E, her sister. His second wife is also FaSiDa because her mother (III–6) was a sister to III–2, since their respective fathers (II–9 and II–2) were (adopted) brothers.

128 582 601 602 *Case H:* This illustrates a very powerful marriage rule: The children of men who call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law) can marry. Practically speaking, in our kinship terms, the rule is that the children of cross-cousins stand in marriageable relationship to each other. II-2 and II-3 stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and could exchange sisters in marriage. Their sons stand in the same relationship. Another important feature of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage rules is illustrated here. While III–1 married a woman of the prescribed category, he does not reckon his relationship to her patrilaterally or matrilaterally. That is, she is neither FaSiDa nor MoBrDa, but she is both! This emphasizes the fact that they marry primarily in terms of categories rather than by tracing biological ties, as I have done in the above examples. To the Yąnomamö,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

FaSiDa is the same as MoBrDa, and both are called by the same term, *suaböya*. Hence, to present the above examples as the Yąnomamö would explain them I would not have had to distinguish MoBrDa from FaSiDa, but rather would have had to use just one term; in every case presented, men married their *suaböya*. (This can be seen in the model shown in Fig. 3–1; each male married a woman who was simultaneously FaSiDa and MoBrDa, that is, *suaböya*, to him.)

Cases I and J: These are a little unusual, but I include them to give some idea of both the potentials of the Yąnomamö kinship system and the people who use it.

In case I, individual II–2 is the headman of Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawä's "father." He has considerable authority in the group. He arbitrarily redefined some of his classificatory daughters as sisters *so that his sons could marry their daughters*. Thus, the marriage of IV–1 to IV–2 is now considered to be legitimate because IV–1 could call his wife's mother his mother-in-law (FaSi), since his father redefined her as sister. Otherwise, it would be incest. Most of the people adjusted their kinship usage to fit the circumstances, but Kąobawä, who gave me the details of the manipulation, refused to adjust his own terms. The redefined women in question are his sisters, and he refused to call them FaSi.

I came upon this, and several identical cases, when I learned that the kinship usage between specific individuals did not reflect the equations implied by genealogies. (After I had collected extensive genealogies on four villages, I spent a considerable amount of time collecting kinship terms from specific individuals for every one of the some two thousand individuals included in the genealogies. This served as a cross-check on the genealogies, but uncovered a large number of incestuous and other interesting marriages that I might not have pinpointed otherwise.)

Case J brings out the full potential of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship. The man (III–1) married his *suaböya* according to the Yąnomamö, although he was not related to her by any blood ties. The justification for the marriage is the fact that III–1 calls all the women to whom his father and his father's brothers are married by the term for mother. Hence, he married his MoBrDa.

THE LINEAGE It was shown in Chapter 1 that villages fission to produce new groups. One of the consequences of this pattern is that in a given area there will be a number of villages whose members can trace genealogical ties to each other because they have common male ancestors. Because of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship, the interrelated members of two different villages will use kinship terms for each other that imply a closeness of relationship. Thus, Kąobawä has "brothers" in all of the villages that have a common history with his own. These men are usually parallel cousins one or two degrees removed, but brothers in terminological categories. (The lineage to which Kąobawä belongs is shown on Fig. 3–5, discussed later as the *Sbs* lineage.)

The Yąnomamö do not name their lineages. I have named all the significant lineages after particular male individuals, usually a long-since-dead male whose generation is the last for which I have meaningful genealogies. Thus, the *Sbs* lineage is named after a man called *Sbamabiadima*, long dead. He and his brothers left many male descendants who today are distributed in several villages. In the history of the movements of Kąobawä's village, the *Sbs* lineage has figured prominently in the affairs of the group. Similarly, the *Hor* lineage is named after a man called *Horiborböwä*. The *Sbs* and *Hor* lineages have a long history of marriage alliance and the living members of these two lineages constitute the greater fraction of the populations of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

members are shown. Each group is paired off with an equivalent local descent group of the opposite lineage, giving the four numbered pairs. When village A fissions to form villages B and C, lineages X and Y will break at the weakest points, resulting in the formation of two new villages that have an identical composition: Village B is like village C in size and contains two local descent groups of lineages X and Y; the two local descent groups of each lineage in both new villages are paired with the analogous group of the opposite lineage. Fig. 3–4 can be viewed as a diagram of the physical organization of the village. Thus, in village A the male members of lineage X would tend to live on one side of the village, while the males of lineage Y would live on the opposite side. In actual distribution, then, the village has a "diametric dual organization" (Lévi-Strauss, 1961, Chapter 8). The Yąnomamö, however, do not conceive of the village as having discrete halves. That is, they do not have formal rules enjoining the male members of lineage X to live on one side of the village. There are always residential exceptions to the arrangement shown in Fig. 3–4.

Village B fissions again, resulting in the further breakdown of lineages X and Y. The outcome, villages D and E, is essentially like the outcome of the fission in village A; that is, the resulting new villages are alike in composition, size, and structure. Village C has not fissioned and continues to exist as it did after separating from village B. A comparison of the three villages shown in the last step of Fig. 3–4 will reveal that D, E, and C′ are interrelated villages because patrilineages X and Y occur in each of them. The members of the patrilineages would still continue to call each other brother and sister, although they would be distributed in three different villages. The genealogical ties connecting villages D, E, and C′ have been drawn in to emphasize this relationship.

The reason that lineages break down in this fashion stems from the fact that remote agnatic ties are weaker than the marriage ties that link the paired local descent groups to each other. The strength of the affinal ties between paired local descent groups derives from the obligations of reciprocity in marriage exchanges. Thus, when village B fissioned, local descent group X-1 had stronger ties to Y-1 than it did to X-2. The result was that X-1 and Y-1 separated from X-2 and Y-2 to form their own village, D.[11]

Fig. 3–4 describes the "ideal" pattern of village fissioning. Fig. 3–5 shows the structure and composition of three actual Yąnomamö villages for comparison. As in Fig. 3–4, only the adult males are shown. The incomplete triangles of Upper Bisaasi-teri in Fig. 3–5 signify that the men in question do not live in that village, but they must be included in the diagram to show that their sons live in Upper Bisaasi-teri. The two men actually live in Patanowä-teri, the composition of which is not shown in Fig. 3–5. What has been shown is that the lineages *Hor* and *Sha* extend into Patanowä-teri. In fact, the population of that village is comprised largely of members of these two lineages. See Table 3–1. Only the adult male members of the villages are shown for the three villages in Fig. 3–5, since it is this class of men that dominates the political affairs of the village. For those interested in *all* the genealogical relationships between *all* the members of one of the villages (Lower Bisaasi-teri), see Chagnon, 1966, Figure 2 and Appendix A. As can be seen from Fig. 3–5, each village is characterized by a dual organization of intermarrying lineages. In 1960, Lower Bisaasi-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri were, in fact, a single village. It can be seen how local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage, for example,

[11]The pair "X-1 and Y-1" is represented on Fig. 3–4 simply by the numeral "1".

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

621
623
582
602

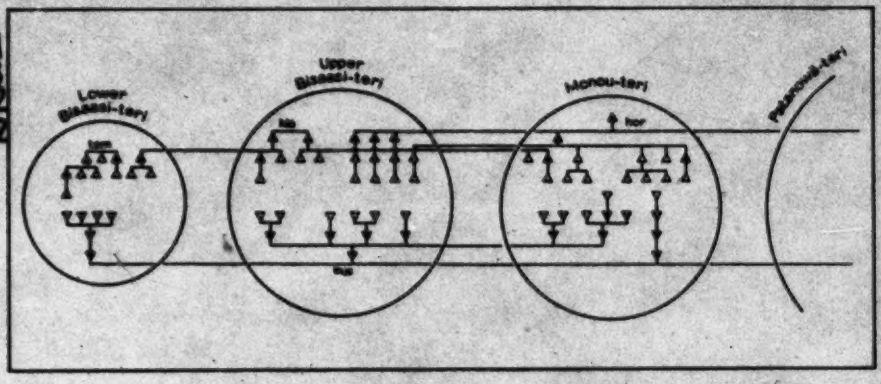


Fig. 3-5. Actual village fissioning.

separated from each other because of the ties each had to affinally linked descent groups of other lineages. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-teri is comprised essentially of two groups: a local descent group of the *Sha* lineage and a local descent group of the *Tam* lineage. Their members have exchanged women with each other for several generations, creating strong bonds of reciprocal obligations to continue to exchange in the future (Chagnon 1966). Similarly, the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in the two remaining villages shown in the figure are linked by affinal ties to other lineages.

Further back in history—1954—Monou-teri also constituted a portion of the village that included Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Fig. 2-4, Chapter 2). Finally, the three villages shown on Fig. 3-5 constituted a single village with Patanowã-teri about 1940. The fissioning of the original village (and subsequent village fissioning) resulted in the distribution of local descent groups according to pairs, as shown in Fig. 3-4.[12]

Discrepancies in the Marriage Pattern

128
582
621*

I presented in considerable detail the relationship between actual behavior and ideal rules about behavior from a qualitative point of view. This was accomplished by comparing genealogical diagrams describing some actual examples to ideal models of marriage and village fissioning. I will now give some of the quantitative aspects of marriage behavior and the demographic and political bases of the actual marriage pattern.

Table 3-2 shows the distribution of marriage types found in two related villages.

[191]

[12]In some areas of Brazil the pattern of village fissioning is slightly different. There, a local descent group may even establish its own house, separated from the wife-giving/wife-receiving member of the pair by as much distance as several miles. What I have been calling the "village" in this discussion breaks down, in portions of Brazil, into several "part-villages" that are not capable of carrying on an independent social existence. That is, members of the "part-village," the composition of which is essentially a single local descent group of one lineage, must obtain their wives from some other nonlocal group.

These figures represent a *sample* of marriages in the two villages. The sample consists of all married males who are thirty-five years old or younger. The sample was chosen in this fashion because the analysis of the marriage types depends on genealogical information covering several generations. By selecting only the younger men the analysis can be quite easily undertaken. In Patanowä-teri there were 38 men of this category, many of whom had multiple wives. A man with four wives, therefore, represents four marriages. In Lower Bisaasi-teri only 10 married men were below thirty-five years of age and accounted for the seventeen marriages. If all the men were included, the analysis would be inaccurate because I do not have adequately long genealogies for some of the oldest men. Up to 1940, the villages of Patanowä-teri and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not separate entities; they separated from each other at about that time. Patanowä-teri is a large and powerful village, containing 212 people. Lower Bisaasi-teri, with only 51 people, is militarily dependent on several of its allies.

Four types of marriages are shown in Table 3–2. The term prescriptive refers to the kinds of marriages described in Fig. 3–2. An incestuous marriage is defined as a man marrying a woman of his own patrilineage (or his mother or niece reckoned through his mother's side of the family). Marriages resulting from either alliance or abduction have been lumped into a single category because they represent the recruitment of spouses from outside the group. Finally, a few marriages are unexplainable in terms of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage equations; these represent marriages between members of distinct lineages that have recently entered into exchanges with each other.

As can be seen from Table 3–2, there is a major difference between the two villages in the proportion of prescriptive marriages on the one hand and alliance marriages on the other. In short, the Patanowä-teri follow their marriage prescriptions far more rigorously than do the Lower Bisaasi-teri. This is so because Patanowä-teri, a much larger village, does not need to enter into marriage alliances with its neighbors; it is politically and militarily capable of an autonomous existence. Most of the alliance-abduction marriages in Patanowä-teri are, in fact, abductions; in Bisaasi-teri most of them are alliance marriages. Therefore, the relative frequency of alliance-type marriages is much lower for Patanowä-teri than for Lower Bisaasi-teri. This difference in marriage behavior stems from the relative abilities of the two groups to maintain military autonomy in a milieu of chronic warfare, a quality that is largely a function of the size of the group. The members of a militarily vulnerable village will breach the marriage prescriptions in order to establish political alliances with neighboring groups by ceding women to them.

TABLE 3–2
MARRIAGE TYPES IN PATANOWÄ-TERI AND LOWER BISAASI-TERI

	Patanowä-teri	Lower Bisaasi-teri
1. Prescriptive	37	7
2. Incestuous	4	1
3. Alliance and/or abduction	8	9
4. Unexplained	3	0
Totals:	52	17

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4

Political Alliances, Trading and Feasting

YĄNOMAMÖ FEASTS take place only when one sovereign group entertains the members of another, allied group. Feasts, in brief, are political events. To be sure, economic and ceremonial implications are also significant, but these are relatively minor when compared to the functions of the feast in the context of forming alliances. The chief purpose of entertaining allies is to reaffirm and cultivate intervillage solidarity in the intimate, sociable context of food presentations, thereby putting the ally under obligation to reciprocate the feast in his own village at a later date, bringing about another feast and even more solidarity.

I will describe in this chapter some of the relationships between trade, economic specialization, historical ties between groups, warfare, and intervillage marriage exchanges, all of which are intimately connected and interact with each other in the process of developing political alliances.

I described in Chapter 2 how the members of independent villages cultivated friendships with each other in the process of establishing themselves in a loose network of allied villages. I then showed in Chapter 3 how Kąobawä's followers were related to him and how he, in turn, was related to the members of several other villages. Now I will take up some of the political consequences of the historical ties and how they shape and mould the nature of specific contemporary relationships between Kąobawä's group and those which have political dealings with it. To illustrate this, I will describe the details of a particular feast in the context of the political ties, both historical and contemporary, existing between Kąobawä's group and the guests at the feast. First, however, I will comment on Yąnomamö alliances in general.

General Features of Alliances

One of the expectations and implications of alliance is that the partners are under obligation to provide shelter and sustenance to each other whenever one of them is driven from his village and garden by a powerful enemy. The beleaguered partner may be

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

which more stable types of alliance can develop. Nor do they overtly acknowledge the relationships between trading and feasting cycles to village interdependency. In this regard they are like the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia: They have a "functional ignorance" of the more significant adaptive aspects of their trading institutions. To both the Yąnomamö and the Trobrianders, the mechanisms by which peoples from different groups are compelled to visit each other are ends in themselves and are not conceived to be related to the establishment of either economic or political interdependency. For the Yąnomamö participant in a feast, the feast itself has its significance in the marvelous quantities of food, the excitement of the dance, and the satisfaction of having others admire and covet the fine decorations he wears. The enchantment of the dance issues from the dancer's awareness that, for a brief moment, he is a glorious peacock that commands the admiration of his fellows, and it is his responsibility and desire to present a spectacular display of his dance steps and gawdy accouterments. In this brief, ego-building moment, each man has an opportunity to display himself, spinning and prancing about the village periphery, chest puffed out, while all watch, admire, and cheer wildly.

The hosts, too, have an opportunity to display themselves and strut before their guests. Moreover, the very fact that they have given the feast is in itself a display of affluence and surfeit apparently calculated to challenge the guests to reciprocate with an equally grandiose feast at a later date.[1] Each good feast deserves and calls forth another, and in this way allies become better acquainted with each other as they reciprocate feasts during the dry season and over the years.

Historical Background to a Particular Feast

One of the feasts I witnessed exhibited all the features of intervillage politics. Before describing this feast, I will give the historical antecedents to the event, recapitulating a number of points discussed in Chapter 3 in the context of the history of Kąobawä's village. The significance of the events will then become clear, for Kąobawä's prior relationships to the guests at the feast had a great deal to do with the outcome.

In 1950 Kąobawä's group, almost friendless, beleaguered by enemies, and somewhat isolated, began cultivating an alliance with the Iwahikoroba-teri (see map, Fig. 2-8), a Shamatari village, some two days' traveling distance southeast of their own village at Kreiböwei. The Iwahikoroba-teri were on friendly terms with another Shamatari group, the Möwaraoba-teri, from whom they had separated some years before. Kąobawä's group, on the other hand, was at war with this village because members of his own group murdered a friendly Möwaraoba-teri visitor in 1940, touching off a series of raids between them. Anxious to develop an alliance, Kąobawä's group accepted a feast invitation from the Iwahikoroba-teri and visited that village to participate in the feast. Up to that point they were only on trading terms with them.

The Iwahikoroba-teri, however, had made a prior arrangement with their friends, the Möwaraoba-teri, to help them massacre Kąobawä's men and abduct his group's women. The Möwaraoba-teri were hidden in the jungle outside the village when Kąo-

[1] The competitive aspects of feasting in many primitive societies has been dealt with at length by Marcel Mauss, whose essay *The Gift* is now an anthropological classic.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

133 the forest lands, and their tops are so high and so difficult of access that this has helped to preserve a biological world completely distinct not only from that of the surrounding lowlands of the Caroni, Paragua, Caura, and Orinoco valleys but also from that common to all other valleys in the American [114] continent. A few decades ago, when the aeroplane first enabled us to study these regions and their geological peculiarities, some observers proceeded to formulate wild theories which aroused more legitimate emotions in the breasts of explorers and scientists.

The formation of sandstone and conglomerate which overlays the original basic rock of this region to a depth of 2,500 metres was eroded almost completely on the periphery of these uplands, leaving the great flat-topped mountains isolated. This geological phenomenon began in the Secondary Era, when the plant and animal life on our planet was appreciably different from what it is today. The process of erosion continued right down to the ancient granite crust, while on the uplands flora and fauna continued as hitherto, restricted now to their new isolation. Communication between the heights and the plain became impossible. The pressure at 2,500 metres is very different from what it is at four hundred, and creates peculiar physiological changes in the organisms that adapt themselves to it.

●13 It seemed possible that the flat tops of these mountains, which from the air
114 appeared to be covered with bush, would not only reveal unknown vegetable species but also animals which scientists believed to be extinct. Perhaps certain monsters from the Mesozoic age—the Saurians, it might be, the inspiration of so many fantasies—still lived and pastured in deep chasms scooped out by the waters of ages. Speculation wove many a scientific fantasy.

In reality, the monsters remained well and truly buried in their geological strata and no mountain could preserve forms of life surviving through a radical
137 change of atmospheric and geological conditions. What did come as a surprise, however, on these mountains—and the Sarisariñama itself proved the point—was an entirely individual flora: orchids, epiphytes, bromeliads and lianas of hitherto unknown types, which are likely to keep botanical students busy for a long time all over the world.

136 The usual fly-catchers, merry little birds I had already known closely on other high Guiana mountains, came to greet us. Never having seen animals bigger than themselves, these birds took us for strange trees with two big humid flowers distilling honey at the top: our [illegible]es. First one of them came

/114/

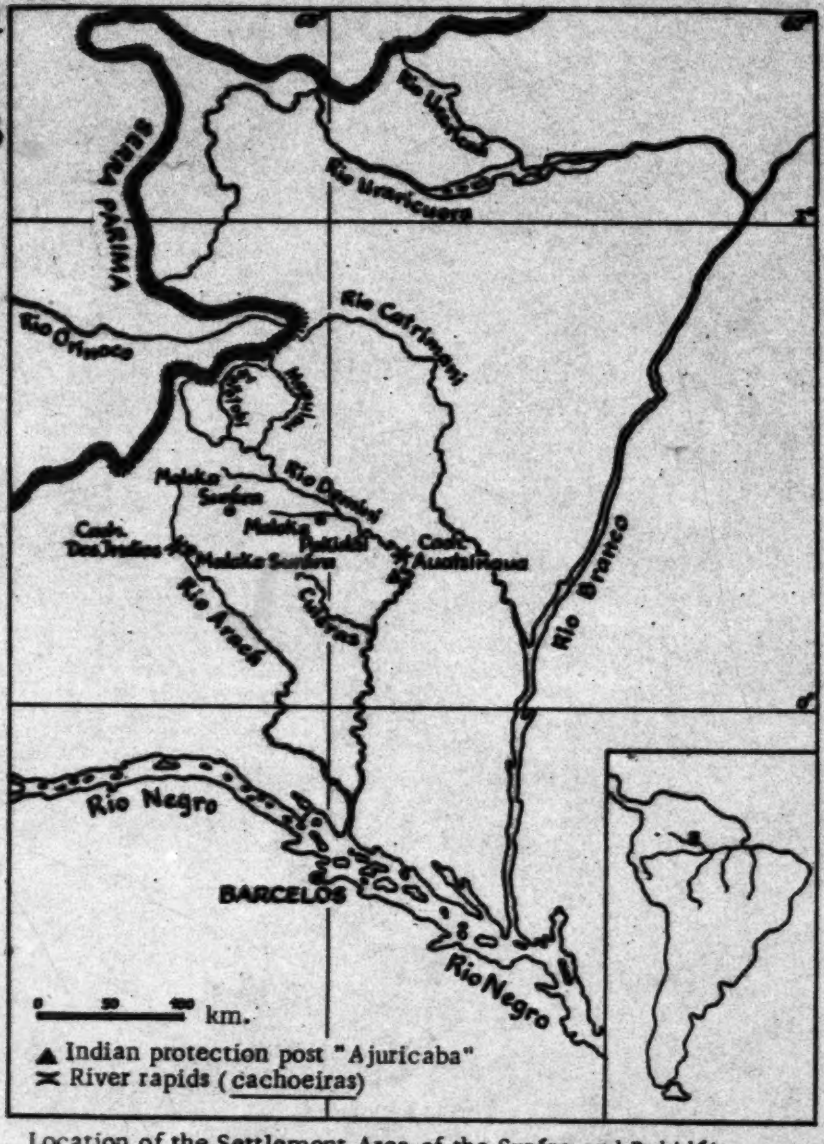
121 I shall describe to you in the following some aspects of the social structure of the same Indian tribe whose conceptions about the soul Herr Dr. Zerries has just discussed. The title, "Sociology," is too presumptuous, insofar as today I intend to deal with only the larger social units and thus touch upon only a small sector of the sociological field. I shall be able to present to you only raw expedition-material; the comparative arrangement of these data in South American cultural history will be the work of the next few months.

101 The Waika /Waica/ inhabit the upper Orinoco river region
131 in southern Venezuela; their area of habitation, however, is not limited by the Sierra Parima, in which the Orinoco rises and which forms the mountain border with Brazil, but rather extends into Brazilian soil far beyond this mountain chain, about to the middle of the northern tributaries of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco.
[161] The Sierra Parima therefore is more the backbone of the living space of this Indian group, which, according to the best estimates, contains about fifty thousand persons and an area of about half
137 the size of West Germany. According to external appearances,
[132] this region is counted as tropical rain forest; seasonal differences are only slight and are practically without influence on the life
101 and culture of the people. The critical cultural importance of the
199 forest lies in its isolating effect: between the habitation area of
[137] the Waika and the first mixed settlement there extends an almost
[487] uninhabited forest-belt several hundred kilometers wide, and since there is very little river traffic and as other means of transportation there are only onerously traversable Indian paths, the culture of the Waika has been able to remain almost completely pure. Only a
[199] few material things from our world have as yet found their way to them: a few machetes and axes, a few matches and fishhooks, which an American mission working from 1947 to 1955 under very difficult conditions and we ourselves brought along; since the Waika do not maintain any contacts of their own downriver, however, the barely begun acculturation process does not go on /115/ by itself, but ebbs away the moment the visiting whites leave Waika country.

Surára
Pakidái

/X/

102
101
131
133



Location of the Settlement Area of the Surára and Pakidái

Surára
Pakidái

/1/

I. Geographical Introduction

131 The habitation and roaming area of the Surára and Pakidái lies between the Demini and Aracá rivers -- a terra incognita within the large area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, which up to now has been so little opened up ethnologically and geographically.

133 The Rio Demini is a left tributary of the middle Rio Negro. Its source is in the Serra Parima, in the Brazilian-Venezuelan border area, and its mouth is just above Barcelos, the former capital of "Capitania do Rio Negro." The water of this river is 133 white, whereas the numerous lakes along its banks and all its 134 tributaries, such as the Aracá, a right tributary of the lower Demini, have black water. The tributaries of the Aracá, on the other hand, are characterized by clear water. This peculiarity is connected with soil conditions, soil erosion, and the topography of the catchment areas. Thus, soil erosion in very mountainous terrain causes a light coloring, whereas in a very flat, swampy region dark humus substances overflow into the water and darken it. It is further noteworthy that black water is healthier and 133 tastier and, in standing, does not leave a dirty sediment. Even 136 water turtles and fish that have lived in black water are tastier than the same animals taken from white-water rivers or lakes. Moreover, it should be pointed out that mosquitoes appear in considerably smaller numbers along black water than along white. On the Rio Demini one can scarcely defend oneself from the small piuns (Simulium sp., day gnats) and the large carapanãs (Anopheles); the latter are the dangerous malaria-carriers. The lower course and part of the middle course are therefore completely fever-infested.

137 The two types of water also result in different kinds of vegetation. Characteristic for the Rio Demini are the igapós (inundated forests with tall trees standing close together), between which there is very seldom any terra firma. On the higher banks of the Aracá, however, one finds primarily low scrub-forest. The

/7 cont./
114 inhabited by an old population living in a wholly primitive state.
174 The Aruak were said to have been subjugated later by the Karaiben /Carib/, who, in turn, met powerful resistance on the part of the warlike Xiriâna and Waiká (36). Elsewhere the same

36. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 15/16.

investigator writes: "On the Merewari and upper Orinoco Karaiben live together with Arowaken, whereas the upper Uraricuéra and the Parima Range are entirely in the hands of the allophylian Schirianá and Waika" (37). I, too, met neither Karaiben nor

37. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 233.

Aruak tribes in the Demini-Aracá region.
114 On a tribal map of that region drawn by Nimuendajú (38),
●131
174

38. This map is in the possession of the scientific division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro.

Xiriâna are given as the inhabitants of the Rio Demini, along with the date 1874. Rodrigues also reports that at the end of the nineteenth century members of this tribe lived both along the banks of that stream and along its tributaries, the Cuieiras and Mamimêu; from there they extended their roving expeditions as far as the Catrimani (39).

39. Rodrigues, 1885, p. 136.

173 /8/ Today only one civilized Xiriâna family is living on the
115 lower Demini as planters, but it no longer has any connection
[131] at all with its original, living fellow-tribesmen. This family, whose members speak Portuguese exclusively, told me that the region of the Demini has been the land of the Xiriâna from olden times. On account of frequent attacks on the part of the Waiká,

/11/ Introduction

101
131
[133] The native tribes that are discussed in the present report inhabit the northwest zone of the Escudo Guayanés, located in the southern part of the Republic of Venezuela. As the natural boundaries of this region, which we call "the Orinoco-Ventuari region," one may point out the rivers: the Orinoco in the north and west; the Ventuari in the south, and the Caura in the east. Geographically the zone is enclosed between 64°-68°W. and 4°-8° N. approximately. The northern part of it corresponds to the Distrito Cedeño of Bolivar state, while the southern part, as Departamento Atures, belongs to the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

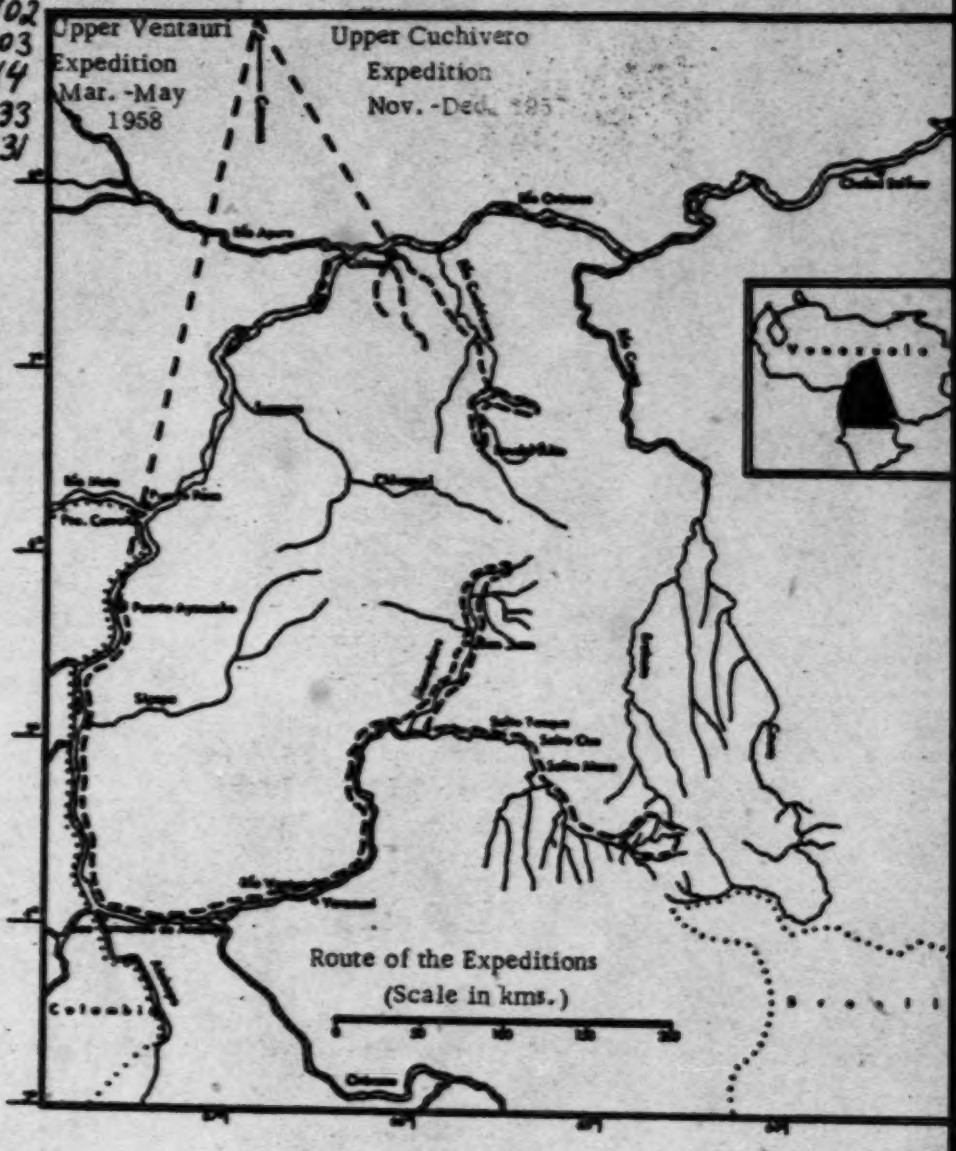
133
101 Hydrographically speaking, the region includes five river basins which carry off its water and which at the same time set off the various areas of native distribution (1).

[128] 1. We do not include here the small native groups who recently arrived (Guahibo, Piapoco, Puinave, Curipaco). They live along the periphery of the region, except the Guahibo, who advanced a few years ago to the Manapiare river.

a) The basin of the Cuara, with the Mayoncon /Maioncon/, a subgroup of the Makiritare, the Yecuana, and with some Sanemá groups;
b) The basin of the Cuchivero, with the Panare Indians and some unknown groups on the headwaters;
c) The basin of the Suapure, which, with the exception of some Panare nuclei, does not at the present time have any native populations;
d) The basin of the Sipapo, with the Piaroa and Macó Indians;
e) The basin of the Ventuari, with the Yabarana Indians on the Manapiare River, the Yecuana (Decuana) subtribe of the Makiritare, and the Nabudub, a Sanemá subgroup (cf. hydrographic map /see p.12/).

4: Wilbert--3 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

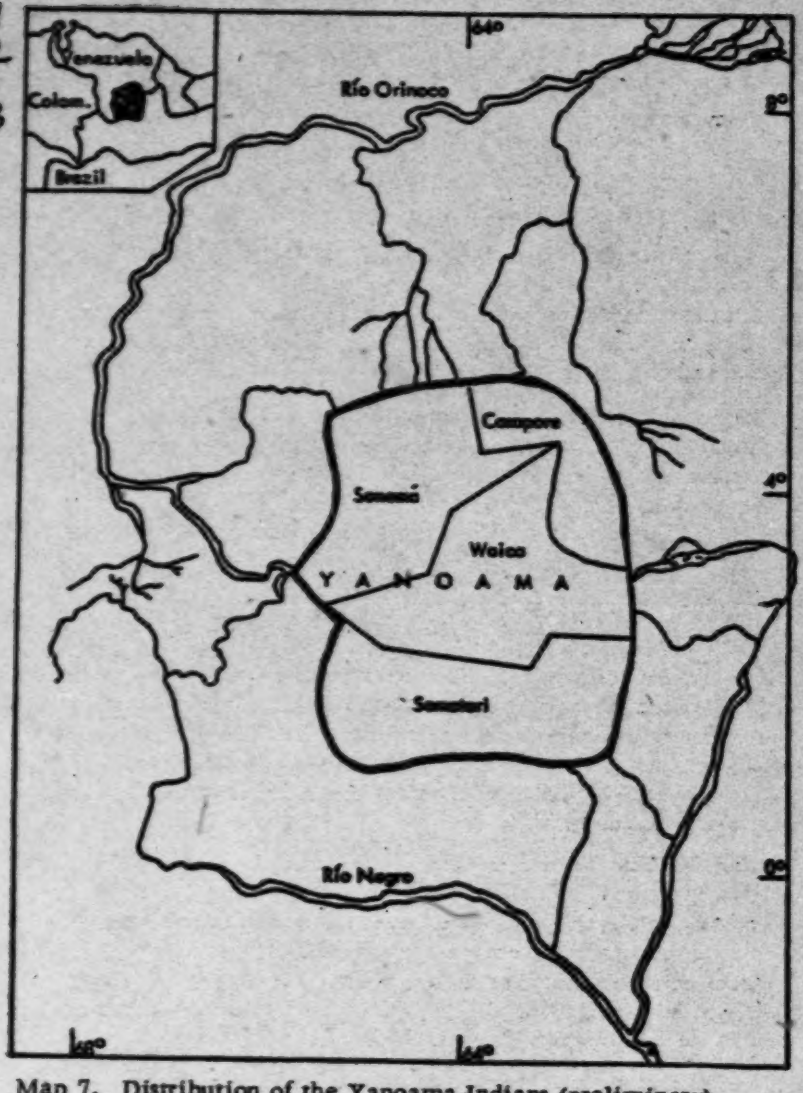
102
103
114
133
131



Map 1. Route of the expeditions.

4: Wilbert--21 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

101
102
131
133



Map 7. Distribution of the Yanoama Indians (preliminary).

Bari SS 13 Sanema
Makiritare SS 20 Warao SS 18
Saliva SS 15

/179 cont./

Y
● 131 We have knowledge of the distribution of the Sanemá on
127 the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura from our own expedition's
128 personnel, while we took the data on the Casapare from the excellent cartographic work of Montoya (1958), who visited the zone over a period of several months.

Y
[101] /180/ The name Casapare is employed by the Sanemá to designate their neighbors to the east. Koch-Grünberg (1923) had already mentioned the group of the Upper Uraricapará, a tributary of the Uraricuera and the one that occupied the right shore of the Uraricuera River, facing the Marutani range, on the
M Motomotó River. The broken lines indicate, approximately, the
131 territory occupied by each Yanoama subtribe. The location of the
127 Makiritare of the Cunucunuma comes from the map published by Civrieux (1959), and that of the other settlements of that tribe was verified by the personnel of our expedition.

Y
131 According to this map, the territory inhabited at the pres-
161 ent time by the Yanoama is located between 0° 30' – 5° N and 62° – 65° 30' W. If we grant that the total Yanoama population reaches the figure of 20,000 individuals spread out over an area of 150,000 square kilometers, we recognize as the density index of the population that of one person per 7.5 square kilometers. There are authors who, being overly generous, raise the Yanoama population to 30,000 and even 50,000 inhabitants, but this number seems exaggerated to us.

B
S
U It is interesting to point out that the highest figures for the native population correspond to the primitive tribes of hunters
161 and fishermen or to those who had an incipient or rudimentary
177 agriculture, such as: the Barí (Motilones, Mapé), 2,000; the Piaroa, 4,000; and the Warao, 8,000.

They are also the tribes which have had least contact with the white man. There is an interesting and instructive relation between the demographic datum of a native population and the number of years that it has had contact with Whites: the higher the latter, the lower the former.

Sanema
Warao 5518
Saliva 5515
Bari 5513

/180 cont./

The Barí suffered greatly from the Yupa, the Piaroa and Warao from the Caribe, but these sufferings were minimal compared to the oppression to which other tribes were subjected by the Whites. The Yanoama have been attacked for hundreds of years by the Caribe, who surrounded their territory with a semicircle along the north; the Yanoama endured something similar from the Arawak, who surrounded them in a semicircle along the south. But all in all, the White has not been very successful so far in approaching this primitive population and his destructive influence has not affected their ancestral customs. The Caribe and Arawak have declined gradually in vigor and numbers; now we are witnesses of the triumph of the Yanoama over their neighbors of a more refined culture, for not only did they defend their territory, but were successful in spreading to the north and west.

The strongest and most efficaceous ally of the Yanoama has been the Cordillera de Parima, together with the dense tropical selva of the Territorio Amazonas. In the /181/ fateful period of persecution they have always found a safe refuge in the protecting selva. Nevertheless, as of relatively recent times, the different Yanoama subtribes are beginning to realize that the space beyond the conventional boundaries of their tribal territory is sparsely populated, almost deserted. The number of their traditional enemies has diminished considerably, and the invasions of their territory have had practically no consequences. In this manner they have gained almost 100 kilometers to the north of the Sierra de Pacarima, where the Casapare now live on the Upper Paragua, and the northern group of the Sanemá on the headwaters of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura rivers.

The center of distribution of the Casapare is located to the south of the Sierra Pacarima in the basin of the Rio Branco. We know this Yanoama subtribe only through a few sporadic superficial contacts, and the people, as well as their territory, remain practically unknown. For this reason we consider the name Casapare with which we designated all the Yanoama in the zone of study as strictly preliminary, and we would not be surprised if we had to change it in the future for a more exact and adequate name.

/182 cont./ the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía. The Yanoama, however, by their own strength, were able to contain the advance of the Caribe in the northeastern part of their territory.

The massacre of the Indians to which we have made reference above was pointed out by Schomburgk (1841), who visited this land around 1839, /183/ and his data constitute the first report regarding the Yanoama of the north. Schomburgk had crossed the Sierra Pacarima when, on the way to the sources of the Orinoco, he found the Makiritare in the grip of great panic. The Yanoama, possibly a group of Waica, had killed a number of Makiritare who had been on their way to the Yanoama rancherías in order to establish commercial relations with them. A short time after that horrible massacre, the same Yanoama attacked a Makiritare rancheria with the intent of exterminating all its inhabitants. This event marked the date of the withdrawal of all the Makiritare south of this zone. Even the Caribe companions who were with Schomburgk accompanied them on their flight, abandoning him with his baggage a short distance from the sources of the Orinoco. It is easy to understand Schomburgk's emotional state, bordering on desperation, on finding himself so close to his goal without being able to reach it.

On the upper Uraricuera, in the region of the Sierra Marutani, Schomburgk came upon a conuco /cultivated area/ of the "Kirishanas," whom he described as nomad Indians who depended primarily on hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild fruits for their basic sustenance; some, however, cultivated small plantings of bitter yuca and peppers (Schomburgk, 1841, p. 417). Seventy-two years after this first report, Koch-Grünberg, in December of 1911, once again established brief communication with the Yanoama of this zone, and his information constituted, until a few years ago, the most important material on the Yanoama in general. Koch-Grünberg met representatives of two distinct groups. The first group (Casapare), which he found at the Purumamé Falls, lived at that time on the upper Uraricapará, although it had only recently arrived in that region from the Uraricuera, above the island of Maraca. That was the place where they took by surprise all the Indians whom they robbed and killed.

Sanema
Casapare
Pemon 55/6

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auarí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

4: Wilbert
Y
M
102
103
131
133
361

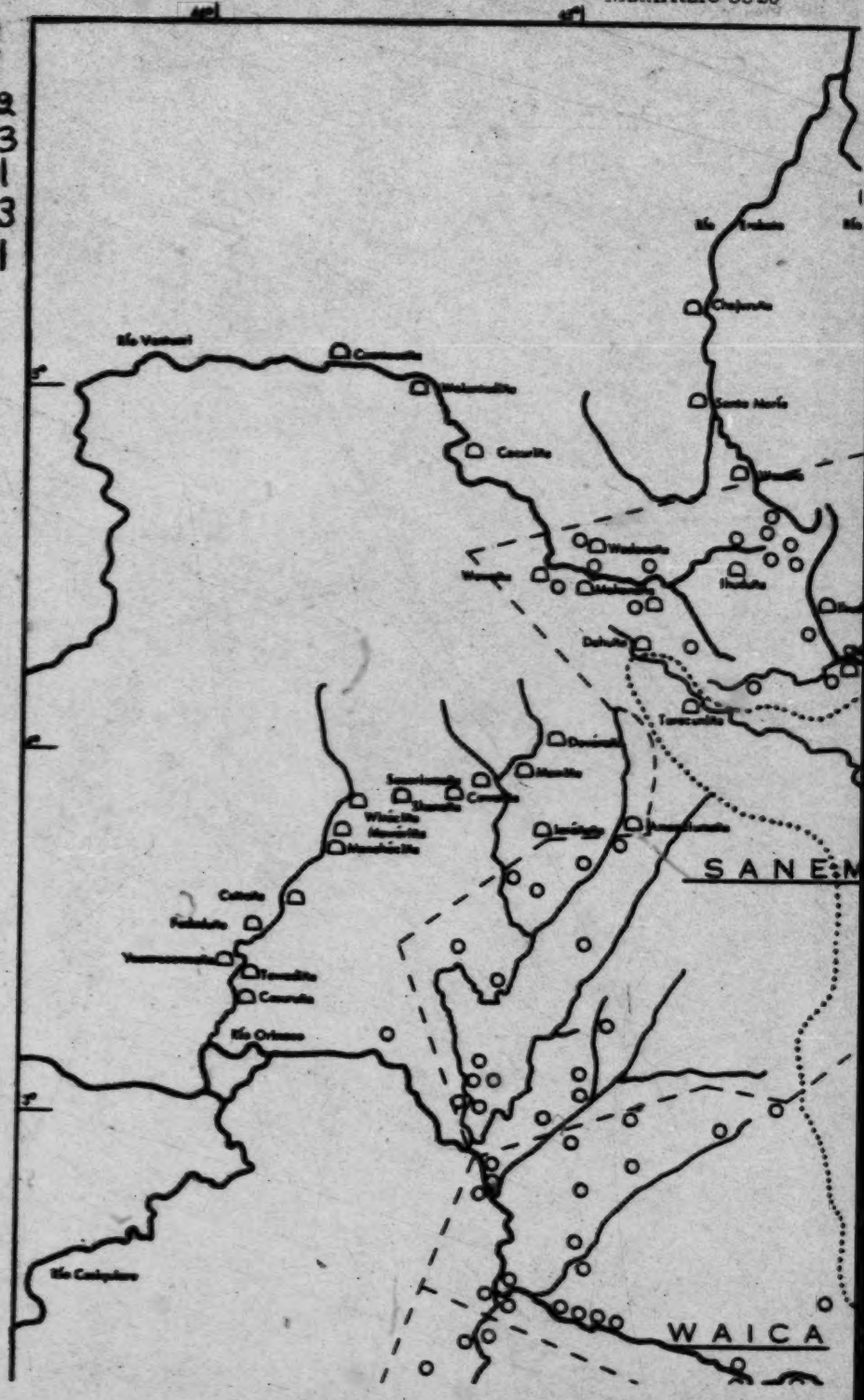
SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Makiritare SS20

p. 40	p. 41
p. 42	p. 43

Chart of Positions of Tribal Distribution Map (foldout). /facing p. 39/

4: Wilbert--40 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Sanama
Makiritare SS20

M
Y
102
103
●131
133
361



4: Wilbert--41 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

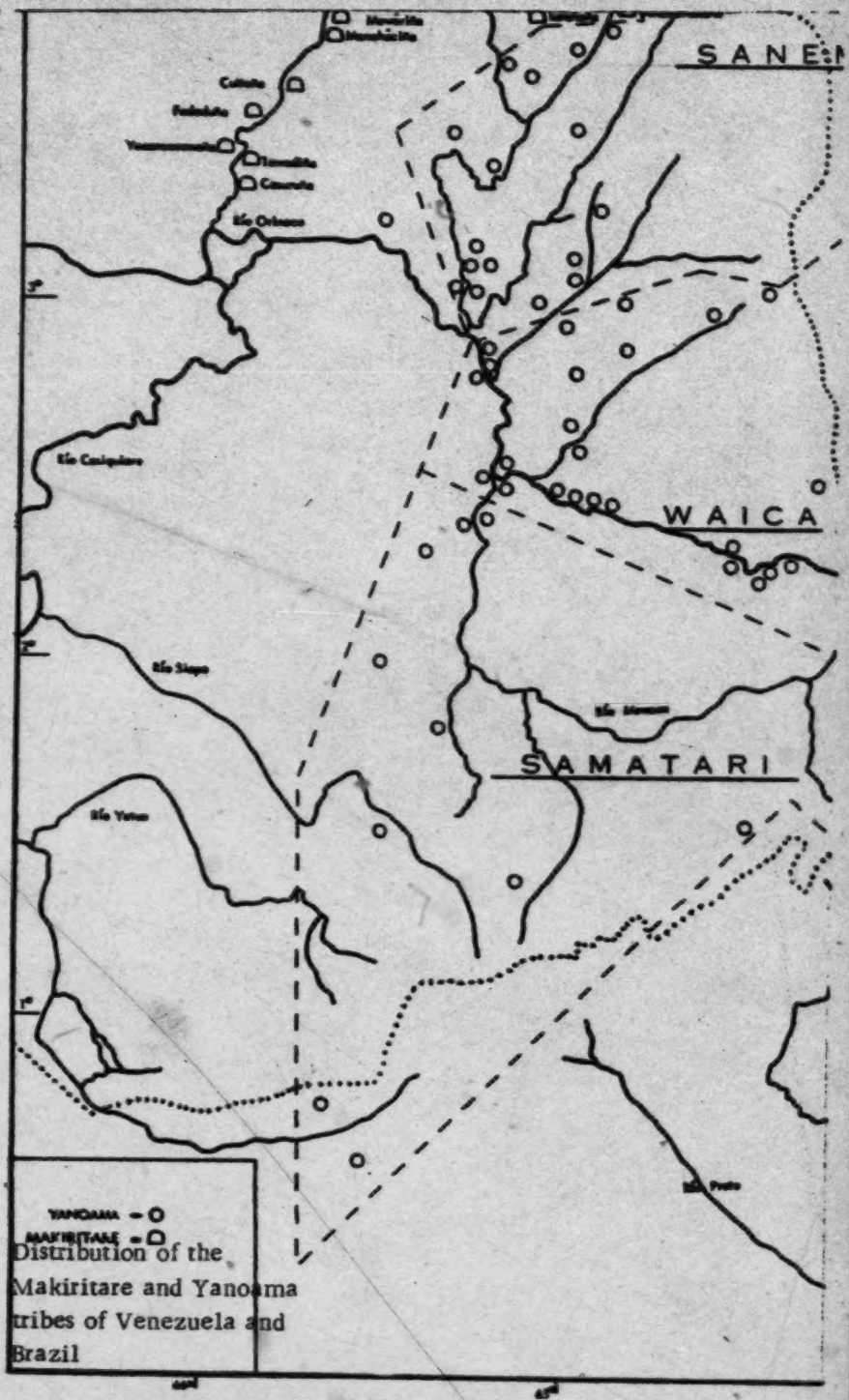
Makiritare SS20 Sanema

M
Y
102
103
● 131
133
161

4: Wilbert--42 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Makiritare SS 2 ● Sanema

M
Y
102
103
● 131
133
361

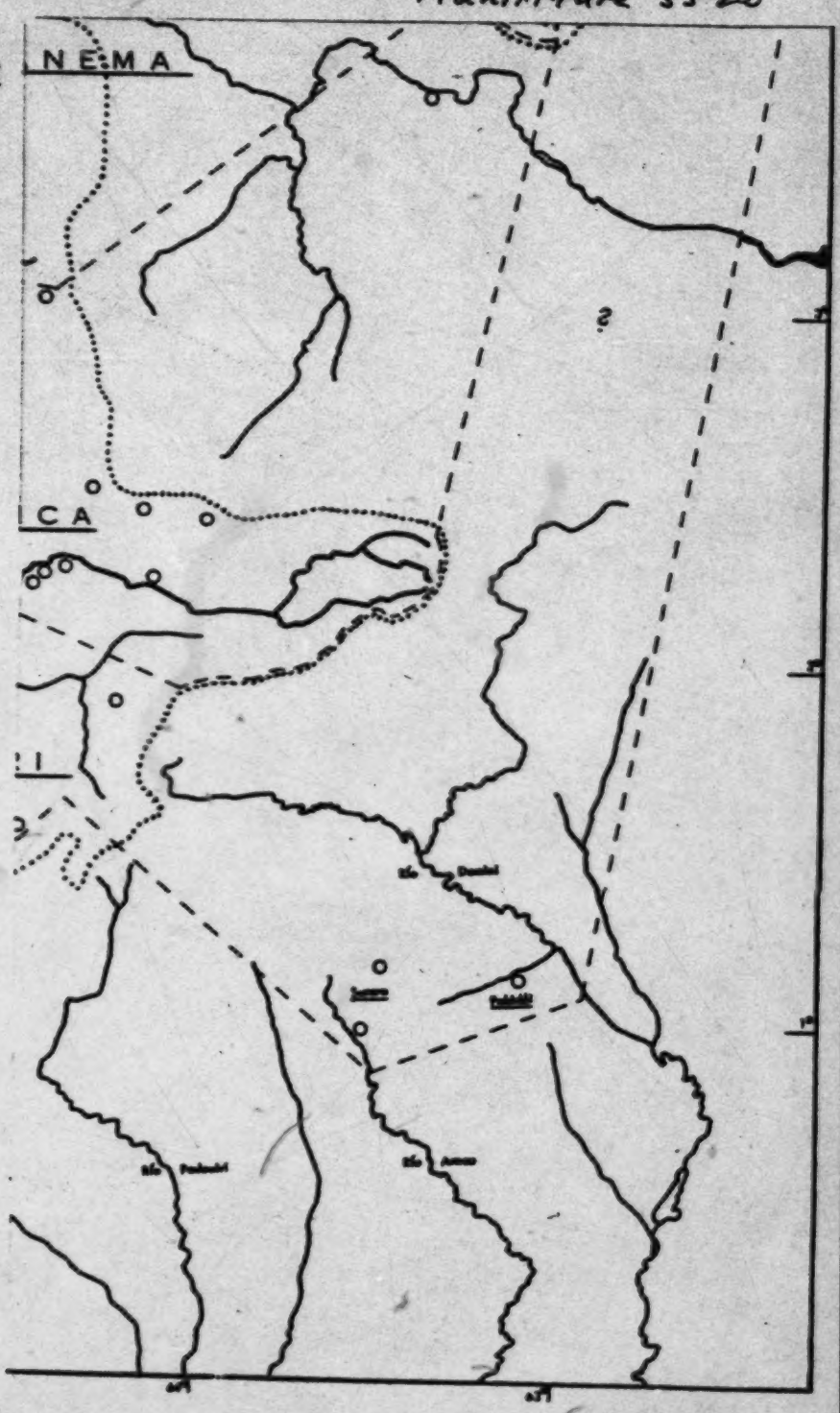


Distribution of the Makiritare and Yanoama tribes of Venezuela and Brazil

4: Wilbert--43 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

My
102
103
● 131
133
361



BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS OF THE WAICA INDIANS OF VENEZUELA.[1]

MIGUEL LAYRISSE, ZULAY LAYRISSE, AND JOHANNES WILBERT

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

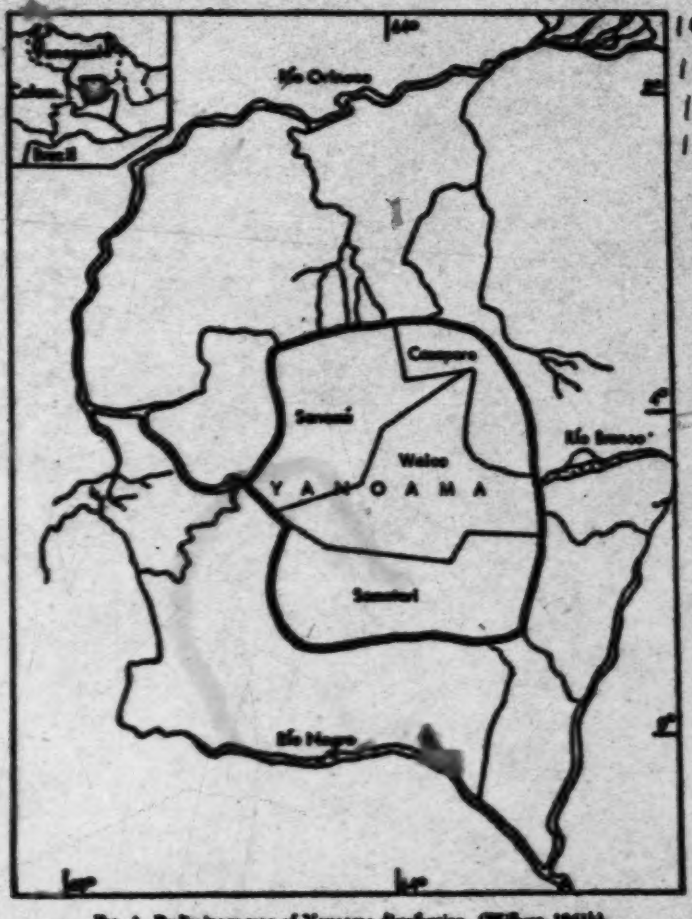
128 INTRODUCTION: For the purpose of the present paper we would like to classify the Waica as a subtribe of the Yanoama tribe, the ethnic identification and the internal composition of which appears to be but little understood. Although the actual blood group study will be concerned with the Waica Indians most particularly, we shall, nevertheless, include as well some information on the Yanoama tribe in general. This, we trust, will not only serve to locate the specific Waica data within a wider frame of reference, but also to facilitate the comprehension of the theoretical considerations based thereon.

131 *Ethnic identification.* The Yanoama inhabit a very extensive area between 0°30'-5° N and 62°-65° W, which includes the headwaters of the Paragua, Caura, Ventuari, Padamo, Ocamo, Mavaca, and Orinoco rivers of Venezuela, as well as those of the Uraricuera, Catrimani, Dimini, and Araçá rivers of Brazil. The Sierra Parima crosses this heavily forested territory like a vertebral column, so to speak, and marks at the same time the frontier between the Venezuelan and the Brazilian parts of the Yanoama land (see map, Fig. 1).

101 The Yanoama are surrounded by Tropical Forest Indians with Neo-Indian culture types; Cariban tribes enclose them in a semi-circle to the northeast, while Arawakan peoples bound them in a semicircle to the southwest. Thus, the Yanoama seem to have been functioning as a buffer between the Caribs and the Arawak, successfully resisting any attempt of intrusion by such groups as the Soto (Makiritare), the Pemon, and others. In recent years, after their Carib neighbours had suffered a marked decline in numbers and in strength, the Yanoama ventured northward into the Ventuari, Caura, and Paragua drainage area, intruding into Carib territory for more than 100 km.

114 Although sporadic and rather casual information on the several Yanoama groups have been published by various authors since early Colonial time, it is only

122 1 We wish to thank Dr A. Berti and Ovidio Castellani (División de Malariología, Ministerio de Sanidad, Venezuela) and the Misión Salesiana of the Territorio Federal Amazonas for their collaboration in collecting the blood samples. We are also indebted to Esperanza García for her technical assistance. We are greatly indebted to J. P. O'Riordan (The National Blood Transfusion Association, Dublin), M. Shapiro (The South African Blood Transfusion Service, Johannesburg), R. E. Rosenfield (The Mount Sinai Hospital, New York), and Albin Munson (The Minneapolis Memorial Blood Bank, Minnesota) for supplying us with critical anti-sera.



102
101
131 ●
133

FIG. 1. Preliminary map of Yanoama distribution. (Wilbert, 1961b).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manuera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shirians.'

We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uana-Coco, Canama, and Uagna. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

Manuera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

6: Vinci T-S (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanama
Uaica

This fantastic appellation sounded quite harmonious in the forest, even to Indian ears, and brought Dolfuss' followers out of their concealment, splashing through the water towards us.

Dolfuss belonged to the Shirians of the Uaka tribe. These are scattered over the territory bounded by the Matacuni, the Padamo and the tributary streams of the Upper Ventuari. They are similar in appearance to the Pulipuli people, though rather more savage. They were very timid, and full of references to the Guayca, who they said were very active in this area, particularly in the parts we had just come from.

With Dolfuss there was an old man who was always either squatting down or else propping himself up on one leg, and two dour, surly-looking boys, who kept well away from our guns with a gleam of terror in their eyes. The next morning brought a whole host, along with women and children too, and of course we had to let them all examine our beards and rub themselves against them, and investigate other more detailed peculiarities of our anatomy. By urging the whole crowd of them on with sweeping gestures, we managed to get on our way very quickly, and a few hours later arrived on the banks of the Ocamo, a smallish river but strangely resembling the Upper Merevari. From the last high point we had been able to make out some huge flat-topped massifs, blue in the haze of distance, which must certainly have belonged to the Duida-Marahuaca group. For a moment, we hoped to come out on a patch of savannah land where we should be able to dry the damp forest mould out of ourselves and our belongings. But the Shirians told us there was no savannah in these parts.

The Uaka huts were on the side of a hill, a hundred yards from the right bank of the river, which we crossed by means of a length of rotten wood, shaped like a canoe. There were three buildings, each with the single-span sloping roof, very humble affairs, so low-pitched that inside them one risked getting a beam in one's eye at any moment. There were about fifty of these people, and among them we noticed many who had reached a considerable age, which is unusual. There must have been some aspect of the Ocamo region which favoured longevity in the inhabitants. There was an 'ape-man' too—an old, solitary fellow, almost dumb, who came up to us with gurgles of amazement, not daring to touch us. However, he took one of the axes when we gave it to him and with the aid of some of the youngsters started making us a cabin.

Life with the Shirians was made extremely difficult by their petulant ways

/433 cont./

121 Messrs. Eugene Higdem, Byron Reihart, and Joe Jenkins, and the late Flora Troxel.

124 The information concerning the area of Brazil inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ has been gathered from oral reports made to me by several men who said that they had worked upstream /434/ on the rivers of Brazil, within or near Guaika Territory. This information, although fragmentary and not absolutely certain, has helped us nevertheless to form a more complete picture of the Guaika tribe as a whole.

Orientation

101
131 The Guaika /Waica/ tribe inhabits the region of the Upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the outlet of the Ocamo River, including also the south bank of the Ocamo itself. In addition, the Guaika tribe extends into the territory of Brazil, occupying the headwaters of several tributaries of the Branco and Negro rivers (see the map /see p. 6 /).

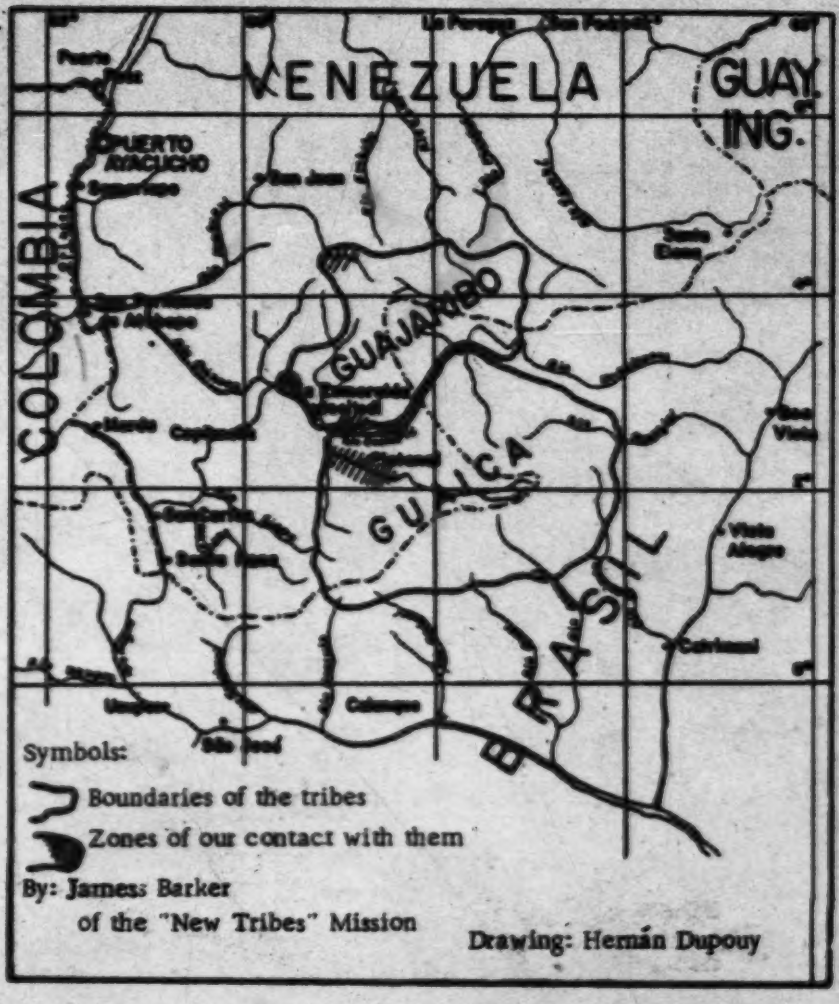
The tribe located to the north, the Guajaribo /Guaharibo/, inhabits the north bank of the Ocamo River, the valley of the Padamo River, and the headwaters of the Caura River, and is also found in Brazil on the headwaters of the Uraricoera River, a tributary of the Branco River. The Guajaribo come downriver frequently as far as La Esmeralda, and on occasion even come as far as the mouth of the Cunucunuma River. It has been reported that they have been seen as far to the east as the Paragua River in the state of Bolívar (see map).

197 The Guaika and Guajaribo Indians speak the same language, but there are several observable dialectical differences which make it possible to distinguish immediately by their speech whether they belong to the one group or to the other. I make this observation on the basis of my studies of the Guaika language spoken in El Platanal and its comparison with samples of the Guajaribo dialect collected by Flora Troxel and by me in La Esmeralda and Ioeitedi.

[121]
[122]

7: Barker--6 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

102
101
131
133
114
361



9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Venezuelan Indians 554
Makiritare 5120
5

they have imposed their
mark in the names of the rivers, the word-endings -ari, -uni, -eni, meaning river or water. The ending -ari, often altered to -are, is ubiquitous west and north-west of the Orinoco as far as the foothills of the Andes—evidence of the former extent of the Arawak race. Most of the boatmen we recruited

MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN TRIBES IN THE AREA OF THE UPPER ORINOCO

in the Orinoco basin and on the Amazonas slopes were Arawaks. As a result of countless voyages up and down the great rivers and as a consequence of many an invasion they are, anthropologically, a very mixed lot, even showing traces of Negro blood.

Caribs

Caribs were the late-comers to the territory. They include the Arekuna, the Yauarana, the Mapayo, the Yekuana and the Bekuana.

[i.e. The Arawaks -- Analyst]

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Mallsiritare SS 20

M 648 175 [101] the Bekuana.[1] The last-named are better known by the name *Maiciritare*, an Arawak word meaning "River Folk" or "Those of the River". The date of their arrival can be placed at about a century before the Spanish conquest. They came from the north, probably from the Antilles, conquering, pillaging and well-organized. They hustled the peaceable Arawaks, who were ill-prepared to defend themselves, southwards and to some extent intermingled with them. Their southward drive stopped short at the Upper Orinoco, for it is here that the domain of the unconquered Arawaks begins, extending south and west of the Casiquiare and the upper Rio Negro. Their advance was halted by the resistance of the Guaharibos, Shirianas and Waïkas, who have ever since remained their implacable enemies. The Caribs adopted none of the manners and culture of the Arawaks, preferring to impose their own customs on their victims. They ferociously resisted the Conquistadores who were frequently compelled to procure their victuals by force and whose morals and methods in doing so did not often accord with the Christian ideal on which they prided themselves. The early Spanish chroniclers described the Caribs as "proud, brave and warlike".

M [177]

In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, English, Dutch and French adventurers all made use of the Caribs in their smuggling activities along the coast or up the big rivers between the Essequibo and the Orinoco, and even in their affrays against the Spanish hegemony. The Caribs are great travellers, fine sailors and boat-builders. They are invariably chosen as guides by explorers and are ever ready to boast of the services they have rendered in this capacity.

M [181]

Detached Groups

4 131 The oldest of the peoples of the area is the great family of Guaharibos, Waïkas, Shirishanas (or Shirianas), who occupy a vast part of the Upper Orinoco and its tributaries the Padamo, Ocamo, Manaviche and Mavaca. They are to be found in the mountainous region, wrongly known as Sierra Parima; on

[1] [i.e. the Bekuana -- Analyst]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Saliva SS 15

the upper reaches of the Caura and Caroni rivers; and on the tributaries of the upper reaches of the rivers Negro and Branco in Brazil.

In his classification based on families of language, Koch-Grünberg includes these scattered groups under the heading "Detached Groups", a term he uses for all linguistic groups that do not belong to either of the main families, though he acknowledges their anthropological and linguistic kinship. The fact that they inhabit the most distant and least accessible regions, that they are dispersed over so wide an area, and that they are subdivided into clans which frequently number no more than a dozen individuals, strongly suggests that these people are a "residual population" that has doubtless been thrust farther and farther back by successive waves of invasion.

The four or five thousand Piaroas and Guaharibos who inhabit the territory of the Middle Orinoco, between Puerto Ayacucho and San Fernando de Atabapo, are also classified as "Detached" by Koch-Grünberg. Anthropologically it would seem that these two peoples are comparatively remote from each other. As we have no information as to the time of their emergence and settlement in their present zone of habitation, we may perhaps assume that all of these groups constitute, or did once constitute, the original stratum of population, without necessarily coming from the same stem.

Three small clans, tiny pockets of people geographically isolated from each other which cannot as yet be related to any of the big families already mentioned, also appear on Koch-Grünberg's ethnological map. These are the Makus. They occur on the River Auari, where they occupy no more than a single hut; on the Ventuari, where they number about eighty; and on the Iñirida, where they are known as Puinabes. It has been suggested that these last could conceivably be the descendants of the Guaypunabis whose chief, Ceseru, joined with Solano in founding San Fernando de Atabapo and Santa Bárbara.

Thus the classification of the Indian peoples of the

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

Orinoco to the Guaharibo Rapids. On this the river's course is given in great detail, showing not only the major tributaries but a great many minor ones as well, though there is no indication of their size. From first-hand experience it was clear to us that the contribution of some of the lesser tributaries was anything but negligible. There are, for instance, the Iguapo, which joins the Orinoco from the right ten miles above Esmeralda after itself being joined by a river its own size, and another river, unnamed as far as I know, which has its mouth midway between the Padamo and the Ocamo. And entering from the other bank come the Lipe and the Icipe, of which the latter is eighty yards wide at the confluence. Of these four only the Iguapo has been explored and that by Diez de la Fuente.

Above the Mavaca the Orinoco's mean width is less than two hundred yards. Its general direction of flow is east to west with a slight northern tendency and surprisingly, since it nowhere else does so in its thousand miles journey from Mavaca to the sea, it twists and turns pronouncedly.

Since we had left Esmeralda the only birds we had seen were single specimens of black ibis, large kingfishers and droves of white egrets. The egrets would sit craning their necks in the trees and, as we approached, would fly up only to settle down a little farther away. It was as though no human being had ever disturbed their forests. Once or twice we saw a pair of otters diving from a rock or dead tree stump and once we shot at an anaconda which was placidly coiled round a tree. We watched as it slowly unwound and disappeared into the murky water.

That evening we took one of the *curiaras* up a small tributary and fished, but the spate was too strong. Instead of fish we gathered some forest cocoa whose pulp is a refreshing drink when newly made.

The First Waikas

The Padamo and Ocamo rivers are inhabited by Guaharibos. Above the Ocamo, the inhabitants of the Orinoco's banks call themselves Waikas. They closely resemble the Guaharibos we had met at Esmeralda but are, perhaps, a little more primitive. Some had had previous contact with Butrón's wood-cutters.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

He told us that the

499 building of their crude bridges is a lengthy and laborious business and quite impossible when the river was in spate.

123 We returned to the river to find that those we had left behind had removed the boats to a safe distance—a wise precaution, since it was desirable not to excite the greed of the natives. Many an expedition, we knew, had failed through being looted because this elementary precaution had [648] been overlooked. Furthermore, such incidents can lead to serious conflict, as Cardona had learnt on more than one occasion. When dealing with such primitives, caution, good humour and nursery diplomacy are the essential safeguards.

As we pressed on up-river other Waikas hailed us from the banks. We did not stop, nor did we make any presents of *manioc*, knives and machetes to those who followed us, running through the undergrowth, and gesticulating and shouting as they ran. We spent the night in the shelter of a rocky island they could not reach.

The Guaharibo Rapids

123 By now the river's width was no more than a hundred and 133 fifty yards. Though its course no longer wound as it had, the current was no less strong. Rocky banks that plunged steeply into the water and boulders across the river-bed created violent currents and our engines had to go full out to give us the least headway. If the water had been low we should have been able to pass only with the greatest of difficulty. We passed through one such rocky race which Butrón said was the Guaharibo Rapids. Actually they were the Yamaraquin Rapids marked on Hamilton Rice's map and characterized by a huge pyramid-shaped reef. Butrón called the rapids, where we intended setting up Base Camp 2, the Waika Rapids, distinguished, so he said, by a group of islands of rock and sand, of which two were comparatively large. These were mentioned by both Rice and Dickey, who called them the Guaharibo Rapids. Rice gave their precise position as Latitude 2° 18′ 18″ N., Longitude 64° 38′ 46″ W. We arrived there at eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th.

direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of mountains. At a few points the Shukumɔ̈na-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extending nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the Indians claim the Shukumɔ̈na-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the Shukumɔ̈na-u of the Yąnomamɔ̈. I have used more recent maps, also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

In reconstructing the history of the village movements, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimɔ̈wi-bora in Yąnomamɔ̈) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karɔ̈bɛ̈-bora in Yąnomamɔ̈) near the present village of Kashorawɛ̈-tedi.

I employed three sources of information to locate present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages I personally visited. Second, information from James P.

102
131
133

GUYANA
BRAZIL
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
MAP (A)
YANOMAMÖ AREA OF
SOUTHERN VENEZUELA
AND NORTHERN BRAZIL
SCALE IN MILES
R.A.Chagnon
1966

Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

---

[1] Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[2] The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

102
1236
1238

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1] Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 8Q10 Yanoama 8Q10

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

---

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

184 occupying five different sites, each having its own house
361 and garden. These five groups recombined into a single
*62 unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the south-
*128 west of the Ururicaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima
[122] River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated.
On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized
site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when
184 raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than
72 on the Ururicaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of
[131] Ynomamõ from those whose social organization is described in
[133] this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of
warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Cor-
[361] responding to this increase in intensity is a change in type
of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of
the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically
or not at all to the northeast.

124 There is likewise an apparent cline in population
361 density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity.
131 Ynomamõ villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and
72 more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the
161 Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction
in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However,
[177] another factor complicates the picture: the Ynomamõ have more
contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the
northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they
184 live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that
648 the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also
72

[p. iv]

LOCATION OF YANOMAMÖ
IN SOUTH AMERICA

102
131
133

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and _____ way of life.

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ə] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ö] vowel are pronounced as that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąobawä would be pronounced "cow-ba-wah," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

2

Adaptation

THE YĄNOMAMÖ ADAPTATION to their physical, social, and intellectual environments is dealt with in this chapter.

The Physical Environment

Kąobawä's village[1] is Upper Bisaasi-teri, located at the confluence of the Mavaca and Orinoco Rivers. Like most of the villages in this area, it lies at an altitude of about 450 feet. While some villages in Brazil reach 3000 feet in altitude, most Yąnomamö villages are located at much lower elevations (Fig. 2-1).

The general area around Kąobawä's village is a low, flat plain interrupted occasionally by gently rolling hills and, more rarely, by a few low mountain ridges. The land is entirely covered with jungle, even the tops of the mountain ridges.

The jungle is relatively dense and characterized by numerous species of palm and hardwood trees. The forest canopy keeps the sunlight from penetrating to the ground, but scrub brush and vines manage to grow in relatively great abundance in most places, making it difficult to walk along the trails. Thorny brush is especially heavy along the banks of streams, where adequate sunlight and a constant supply of water provide ideal circumstances for its growth.

---

[1] See map, Fig. 2-8. Villages other than Kąobawä's have been included because they are discussed in this and also in a later chapter. Presently occupied villages are indicated in upper-case lettering and by shading. The area shown in this map is unexplored, except for the zone immediately adjacent to the Orinoco River. The map is, therefore, largely calculated guesswork. To establish dates of occupation I estimated ages of individuals and obtained their stated places of birth. Distance and geographical location were determined by compass readings and measured in sleeps required to reach the location from a given point. I also visited many of the locations shown. While I was in Brazil in 1967, I checked the map locations with informants there, being encouraged by the fact that they independently gave approximately the same information. Fig. 2-8 is a simplified version of the more detailed map c in my doctoral thesis (Chagnon 1966). For more information regarding the techniques used in making the map, consult the thesis.

/114/

121 I shall describe to you in the following some aspects of the social structure of the same Indian tribe whose conceptions about the soul Herr Dr. Zerries has just discussed. The title, "Sociology," is too presumptuous, insofar as today I intend to deal with only the larger social units and thus touch upon only a small sector of the sociological field. I shall be able to present to you only raw expedition-material; the comparative arrangement of these data in South American cultural history will be the work of the next few months.

101 131 The Waika /Waica/ inhabit the upper Orinoco river region in southern Venezuela; their area of habitation, however, is not limited by the Sierra Parima, in which the Orinoco rises and which forms the mountain border with Brazil, but rather extends into Brazilian soil far beyond this mountain chain, about to the middle of the northern tributaries of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco. [161] The Sierra Parima therefore is more the backbone of the living space of this Indian group, which, according to the best estimates, contains about fifty thousand persons and an area of about half 137 the size of West Germany. According to external appearances, [132] this region is counted as tropical rain forest; seasonal differences are only slight and are practically without influence on the life 101 and culture of the people. The critical cultural importance of the 179 forest lies in its isolating effect: between the habitation area of [137] the Waika and the first mixed settlement there extends an almost [487] uninhabited forest-belt several hundred kilometers wide, and since there is very little river traffic and as other means of transportation there are only onerously traversable Indian paths, the culture of the Waika has been able to remain almost completely pure. Only a [197] few material things from our world have as yet found their way to them: a few machetes and axes, a few matches and fishhooks, which an American mission working from 1947 to 1955 under very difficult conditions and we ourselves brought along; since the Waika do not maintain any contacts of their own downriver, however, the barely begun acculturation process does not go on /115/ by itself, but ebbs away the moment the visiting whites leave Waika country.

/2 cont./

• 132 Because of the nearness of the equator, it is very hot, humid, and oppressive in this region, yet not unbearable. For, on account [164] of the high moisture content of the air, there is, for example, no heat prostration and no sunstroke here. One can also sleep quite well at night, since the temperature then drops several degrees and is accompanied by a refreshing breeze. During the day the temperature of the air comes to 32-36° and at night 24-28°, whereas that of the water is usually between 29-32°.

136 As a result of the scarcity of human beings that prevails here, there are a great many wild animals and birds in the forests, in addition to the abundance of water turtles, caymans, and fish in the rivers, several species of which will be enumerated in the following:

a) Mammals: spotted jaguar (Felis onca L.), black jaguar (Panthera onca L.), puma (Felis concolor), maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.), tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.), deer (Cervidae sp.), wild pig (Pecari tajacu), capybara (Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris Erxl.) paca (Cuniculus paca L.), cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.), armadillo (Dasypodidae sp.), sloth (Bradypus sp.), ant bear (Myrmecophaga sp.) monkeys, such as the howling monkey (Alouatta sp.), cuxiú-negro (Chiroptes satanas Humb.), cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.), macaco-da-noite (Aotus infulatus), etc., sea cow (Trichechus inunguis Desmaret), etc.

b) Birds: mutum (Crax sp.), urumutum (Crax sp.), mutum-cavalo (Mitu mitu L.), jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.), cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.), jacu (Penelope sp.), japim (Cacicus cela L.), inambu (Crypturellus sp.), inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.), toucan (Rhamphastus /3/ sp.), arara vermelha (Ara macao L.), arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.), papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.), papagaio curica (Amazona sp.), garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm.), gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.), gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.), urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.), etc.

c) Water turtles: tracajá (Emys sp.), cabeçuda (Podocnemis dumeriliana), etc.

d) Land turtles: jabuti (Testudo tabulata Woelb.), etc.

/66 cont./

000 and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women
841 do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during these days, and, if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the bank of the nearby river or brook.

i) Initiation rites for young men

884 All young men who have reached the age of approximately
●132 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December, halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and cele-
884 brate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an inter-
86 mediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate camp of the Surára, see p. 23) two young men are always trained for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemão and his brother Kurikayawõ among the Surára; Karenauõ and the war chief Porẽhiwõ among the Pakidái) in all matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only after that are they regarded as full members of their community and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers. It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite
[782] melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and plant spirits (hekurá, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clear-
[276] ing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices, however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication (see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead
884 and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely ex-
302 ternally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting,
825 which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú
86 on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representation of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

Surárq
Pakidai

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying [361] and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka [622] is erected. This roça (forest clearing) -- hikarf --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, carâ, cotton, [462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

[184]

368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since [134] the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132]

369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

241 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond
366 the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka
245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

But for all this bad luck, we had one undeniable stroke of good: the weather, extraordinarily enough, remained fine. We were now in April, when the dry season is at its height, but we knew that in these parts 'dry season' is a somewhat theoretical term. In some years, there just isn't one at all, and now that it was supposed to be at its height the rains might burst over our heads at any moment and reduce us to a sorry plight, on these clay hills, with hundreds of streams to cross. In fair weather the forest floor was clean, the air fresh and visibility excellent. Marching was easy, and had an excellent psychological effect.

At the first of the hills, when the track turned aside from the Aracosa banks, we came into a chaos of fallen trees. They stayed with us the whole day, all along the ridge where the path led. Enrico and I were ahead, and at one point we lost the track. Taking our bearings as best we could, we turned back, but found ourselves once more among fallen trees. The havoc must have been caused by a tornado. This is a rare phenomenon, and one we had never encountered in forest country, where the dank and the constant rain keep the atmosphere in a state of equilibrium, which tends to ward off the storm. It must have been the genuinely dry season we were enjoying which had encouraged the hurricane. We were fortunate not to have walked into the middle of it ourselves: with trees being torn up and hurled down we should have been running new and serious risks to life and limb.

For the rest of that day we were trying to find the track, keeping our direction hopefully to the north. But it was late in the afternoon before we saw the Guayca again—thanks to a shot we heard quite close. Great was our relief. The sound of Uarema's gun had raised our hopes, and when at last we caught sight of the Indians from a distance we noticed that they were carrying something wrapped in leaves. But it wasn't game. Uarema had fired at a crane, but missed it. The parcels contained honey which they had found in the tree-trunks blown down by the wind. We gave silent thanks to the storm for strewing honey in our path, as in the old myths, and that night we drank a mixture of honey and water like the warriors of long ago and ate nothing but a handful of *poloimos* gathered on the way. Wild honey, very runny and slightly acid, is sometimes fermented already if it has been stored in the hollow trees for very long. To drink it gives one a certain alcoholic euphoria which with weak, starving men such as we were results in a state of complete prostration. We slept the clock round from dusk to dawn—twelve hours.

/436 cont./

• 132 The rains at El Platanal are copious, and there is no true dry season there. There is never a day when one can feel safe from rain if he does not have a roof over him. The longest dry period which I have heard of was ten /maps appear here/ /437/ days. Droughts are so unknown that nobody thinks about the fact that rain is necessary for the crops. In El Platanal, almost all of the winds and the rainstorms come from the east.

137 The basin of the Upper Orinoco is covered by a tropical forest. Above the savanna at La Esmeralda, meadows are virtually nonexistent. There is one hillside on the north bank of the Upper Ocama which is covered with grass, but aside from this, and a few rocky slopes where not even grass grows, the tree cover is practically uninterrupted, with the exception of the clearings opened by the currents of water and the hand of man.

133 If one climbs the hill at El Platanal on a clear day, he will see an extensive plain toward the north. On the northwestern horizon rise the distant peaks of Duida and Marahuaca. These seem to blend into the even more distant montañas of the Upper Padamo and the Ventuari River farther to the north. Following these mountains toward the east with the eyes, one almost believes that he can make out the boundaries of Brazil from the headwaters of the Ventuari River down to the headwaters of the Ocamo. Then, looking toward the east, one can see the entire area between the Ocamo and Orinoco rivers, full of mountains which are not very high, but which are impressive because they are no near. But the north and northwest of Platanal between the Ocamo and Orinoco rivers is the part nearest to the plain described above.

Toward the south there is a narrow plain along the Orinoco River, then hills which are combined with the mountains of the headwaters of the Orinoco to the east and the mountains of the Upper Mavaca to the south. Then, looking toward the southwest and the west, there is the extensive plain of the Mavaca River, interrupted only by a few isolated mountains. Beyond this plain are the mountain ranges which, beginning at the headwaters of the Mavaca, extend toward the west and then toward the north, almost as far as the Orinoco itself.

Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's village and entered into feasting relationships with his followers.

Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's village. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother, Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tĕka.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

721 The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives
722 they claimed, was that the Patanowë-tedi had to move fre-
361 quently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the Patanowë-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both
*[528] groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the
• [32] dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense.
[221] It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages
[141] that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural
726 practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events
602 discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consan-
*628 guineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

The war between Monou-tedi and
*628 Patanowë-tedi

922 After the Mamowei-tedi group split at the site of
*[621] Patanowë in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a
[361] period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

728 In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two
*624 factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi
628 began visiting Patanowë-tedi, and one of them, Torokoiwë, was
[58] given two wives by the Patanowë-tedi. The rapprochement, how-
[583] ever, was never effected and the political relationships between

villages (Bisaasi-tedi, Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi, and Karohi-tedi). These ashes were to be consumed prior to revenge raids on the Patanowǟ-tedi. The Monou-tedi then set about transporting plantain cuttings to their new garden and spent the next several weeks working on the garden. They intended to delay their revenge raid until the beginning of the rainy season in order to make it difficult for the Patanowǟ-tedi to raid them in return. The Monou-tedi moved into Bisaasi-tedi at the end of March both for military protection and for respite from their heavy agricultural labors. They stayed with the Bisaasi-tedi until the end of April, fearing that they would be raided by the Patanowǟ-tedi if they returned to their own village before the rains started. They also planned to raid the Patanowǟ-tedi from Bisaasi-tedi at the beginning of the wet season, knowing that a revenge raid from Patanowǟ-tedi would be difficult once the rains started. They could return to their own village during the rainy season, as the jungle separating their village from the Patanowǟ-tedi is inundated at this time of the year and cannot be traversed.

On April 19th the Bisaasi-tedi sponsored a mortuary feast for the slain Monou-tedi headman in preparation for the revenge raid. The participants in the revenge raid were to include the Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi, but they did not arrive as scheduled, so the raid was delayed until the 21st. Only a few Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi arrived to participate in the raid, and the Bisaasi-tedi immediately suspected that the Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi were plotting to abduct women from them after

726 the men left on the raid. One faction of Bisaasi-tedi did
[122] not participate in the raid in order to protect the women while the others were gone.

The raiding party left on the 21st and returned on
[36] the 2nd of May. They killed one Patanowë-tedi at Shihota, a site abandoned in 1949 by the Bisaasi-tedi now being used by the Patanowë-tedi. The Patanowë-tedi chased the raiders, outflanking them at one point, and shot one of the Monou-tedi, badly wounding him. The man, Konorelwë, was pierced with a bamboo point just above his heart. Although the tip of the point protruded out his back, he recovered.

726 The Patanowë-tedi could not avenge this killing until
36 the rains subsided. Accordingly, the Monou-tedi returned to
*628 their own village after they retreated to Bisaasi-tedi on
[221] May 2. They remained in their village until June 20, at
[32] which time they rejoined the Bisaasi-tedi; they did so because travel through the jungle was becoming possible by that date, as the rains subsided early in 1965. On July 10 the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, assisted by their allies, the Mamaribëwei-tedi and Reyabobëwei-tedi, raided the Patanowë-tedi again, leaving from Bisaasi-tedi. The raid proved to be unsuccessful, as the Patanowë-tedi had moved into the village of their only ally, the Ashadowë-tedi. All the raiders except those from Monou-tedi wanted to turn back, as the trail to Ashadowë-tedi was a poor one and retreat would have been difficult. The raiding party did turn back, but the Monou-tedi were angry with their allies for forcing them to

The jungle provides a number of hazards to the barefoot traveler in that most species of palm have long, sharp spines protruding from their trunks or leaf stems. The most common and recurrent injury the Yąnomamö sustain is thorns in the feet. A party of ten men can rarely travel an hour without one of them stopping to extract a thorn from his foot. This is always accompanied by hisses and clicks of pain on the part of the victim, who gouges the thorn out with either an arrow point or another thorn. Their feet have thick calluses on them, but because the trails frequently cross streams and swamps, the calluses soften and are easily pierced by thorns.

Another, but rarer, hazard is snakes.[2] There are always a few cases of snake bite in each village every year, although few of them are fatal. Most snake-bite victims recover from the wound with no ill side effects. I treated two cases of snake bite that were like this. But a few bites are severe enough to cause the loss of a limb. One of my better acquaintances, a young man of some thirty years, lost a leg because of a snake bite when he was about fifteen years old, and will spend the rest of his life hopping on one leg, a form of locomotion he has mastered so thoroughly that he almost manages to keep up with the group when they visit other villages.

Most of the intervillage traveling is done from September through April, the dry season. For the remainder of the year the trails, or substantial portions of them, are underwater. At this time the rains are frequent and heavy, and the small streams that can be easily crossed on foot in the dry season become impassable torrents. Small lakes replace the marshy low ground, and communication between villages all but ceases. As the Yąnomamö are an inland people and avoid locating their villages near large streams, all travel is done on foot, and each village becomes an isolated entity at the peak of the wet season (June).[3] If the group must travel, it will make simple vine and pole bridges over the smaller streams. A pair of slender poles is stuck into the river and crossed to form an X-frame. Vines are used to lash the poles together where they intersect, and another pole is laid from the bank to the X-frame, also secured by vines. Then another pair of poles is stuck into the stream and lashed to form another X-frame. The long pole is then extended out further from the bank, and so on, until the stream is bridged. A vine railing is attached to the protruding members of the X-frames. The bridges usually last only a short time. The first heavy rain will swell the stream and the current will wash it away.

TECHNOLOGY Much of Yąnomamö technology is like the pole-and-vine bridge: crude, but very effective, and not destined to last for any great period of time. The only durable artifact produced is a crude, poorly fired clay pot. It is nearly an inch thick at the bottom and tapers to almost nothing at the brim. Consequently, it breaks very easily. For this reason, women, regarded as clumsy, are rarely allowed to touch or handle them. When the clay pots are used, the men do the cooking, as, for example, during feasts. The pot is made by the coil technique: The untempered clay is kneaded to the proper consistency by hand, rolled into long, slender ropes, and these, in turn, placed on top of each other to form a continuous rope of clay. The coils are then scraped flat so that the interior and exterior of the pot are smooth. The conical-shaped pot is allowed to dry in the shade, then fired by placing brush and wood over it. The end product is

[2] Two percent of all adult deaths are due to snake bite; 54 percent are due to malaria, and other epidemic diseases (Chagnon 1966) and 24 percent of adult males die in warfare.

[3] The Yąnomamö began moving their villages out to navigable rivers after 1955. Up to that time there was only one village, Mahekodo-teri, located on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River.

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

2: Becher--vii E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/X/

102
101
131
● 133

Location of the Settlement Area of the Surára and Pakidái

2: Becher--1 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/1/

1. Geographical Introduction

131 The habitation and roaming area of the Surára and Pakidái lies between the Demini and Aracá rivers -- a terra incognita within the large area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, which up to now has been so little opened up ethnologically and geographically.

133 The Rio Demini is a left tributary of the middle Rio Negro. Its source is in the Serra Parima, in the Brazilian-Venezuelan border area, and its mouth is just above Barcelos, the former capital of "Capitania do Rio Negro." The water of this river is 133 white, whereas the numerous lakes along its banks and all its 134 tributaries, such as the Aracá, a right tributary of the lower Demini, have black water. The tributaries of the Aracá, on the other hand, are characterized by clear water. This peculiarity is connected with soil conditions, soil erosion, and the topography of the catchment areas. Thus, soil erosion in very mountainous terrain causes a light coloring, whereas in a very flat, swampy region dark humus substances overflow into the water and darken it. It is further noteworthy that black water is healthier and 133 tastier and, in standing, does not leave a dirty sediment. Even 136 water turtles and fish that have lived in black water are tastier than the same animals taken from white-water rivers or lakes. Moreover, it should be pointed out that mosquitoes appear in considerably smaller numbers along black water than along white. On the Rio Demini one can scarcely defend oneself from the small piuns (Simulium sp., day gnats) and the large carapanãs (Anopheles); the latter are the dangerous malaria-carriers. The lower course and part of the middle course are therefore completely fever-infested.

137 The two types of water also result in different kinds of vegetation. Characteristic for the Rio Demini are the igapós (inundated forests with tall trees standing close together), between which there is very seldom any terra firma. On the higher banks of the Aracá, however, one finds primarily low scrub-forest. The

/1 cont./

137 most important useful plants along the middle course of the Demini are the seringueiras (rubber trees -- Hevea brasiliensis Muell. Arg.), and along the Aracá and its tributaries the piaçaba palms (Attalea funifera Mart. and Leopoldinia piassaba Wal.). The chestnut forests that occur in the area around the mouth of the Demini and on the lower course of the Aracá also have economic significance. The chestnut, or more precisely, the chestnut of Pará (Bertholletia excelsa H.B.K. -- its fruits are known in Germany as Pará nuts), is regarded as the queen of the Amazonian primeval forests on account of its tall crown, with which it towers over all the other trees. On the lower Aracá the itaúba tree (Silvia itaüba Pax.) is of special importance because it furnishes the best lumber in that region. Finally, a few other species of trees and palms, which occur along the Demini as well as along the Aracá, should be mentioned:

a) Trees: imbauba (Cecropia palmata Wild.), angelin-amargoso (Andira vermifuga Mart.), macaranduba (Mimusops sp.), embireira (Anonaceae sp.), matamatazeiro (Eschweilera matamata Hub.), taxizeiro (Cesalpenaceae sp.), ingàzeiro (Inga sp.), abiurana (Lucuma sp.), cajueiro (Anacardium sp.), lucuma (Lucuma /2/ macrocarpa Hub.), wild cacao tree (Theobroma sp.), wild lemon tree (Rubiacea sp.), and cedars (Meliaceae sp.).

b) Palms: açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus Mart. or Oenocarpus bacaba Mart.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), curua (Attalea spectabilis Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), patauá (Oenocarpus bataua Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), pupunha (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), tucuma (Astrocaryum sp.), and ubim (Geonoma sp.).

• 133 The two rivers have many bends and during the summer months, October to March, flow relatively sluggishly. Their water level during this time is extremely low, so that numerous sandbanks [134] stand out. On the Demini the color of the sand is yellowish, whereas on the Aracá it is gleaming white. The average width of the Demini along its lower and middle course is 200-300 meters,

/2 cont./

133 that of the Aracá 300-400 meters. This may be why, on old maps, the Aracá is erroneously designated as the main river; the course of the Demini, however, is considerably longer. In the middle and upper courses of the aforementioned rivers there are rapids, the crossing of which often endangers life.

The area lying between the rivers represents one of those inselberg landscapes which are so characteristic for the region
133 of the middle and upper Rio Negro. Cone-, dome-, or ridge-
139 shaped granite mountains which individually or occasionally in groups rise up to 400 meters in the form of small massifs or short mountain chains offer a conspicuous contrast to the plain covered with dense primeval forest. Their relatively flat peaks and the gently sloping alluvial cones at the foot are likewise
133 densely forested. At the middle height, however, there appear steep, smooth granite walls looking fluted because of the many rain furrows.

Morphologically these elevations belong to a type which Passarge discusses in his Kalahari work (1) and elsewhere (2) and

1. Passarge, 1904a.

2. Passarge, 1904b.

which he has defined, following Bornhardt, as inselberge. These granite mountains in the Rio Negro region have already been strikingly described by Spruce (3). According to Brandt, who dealt

3. Spruce, 1908, p. 383.

in detail with the morphogenesis of isolated granite mountains, their cone-shaped appearance may be traced back to a "peeling process" of periclinal granite folds (4).

4. Brandt, 1917, pp. 52 ff.

2: Becher--266 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sutaia
Pakidai

/1/

137
133
648

Ill. 1. Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" on the middle Rio Demini

2: Becher--267 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sutáta
Pakidái
/2/
133
137

Ill. 2. Cachoeira (rapids) dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá (during the dry season)

Ill. 3. Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá (during the rainy season)

2: Becher--268 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/3/

342

Ill. 4. Construction of family overnight quarters during migrations of the tribe

133
137
361

Ill. 5. View of the large open Surára maloka in the region between the Demini and Aracá

/11/ Introduction

101 131 [133] The native tribes that are discussed in the present report inhabit the northwest zone of the Escudo Guayanés, located in the southern part of the Republic of Venezuela. As the natural boundaries of this region, which we call "the Orinoco-Ventuari region," one may point out the rivers: the Orinoco in the north and west; the Ventuari in the south, and the Caura in the east. Geographically the zone is enclosed between 64°-68°W. and 4°-8° N. approximately. The northern part of it corresponds to the Distrito Cedeño of Bolivar state, while the southern part, as Departamento Atures, belongs to the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

133 101 Hydrographically speaking, the region includes five river basins which carry off its water and which at the same time set off the various areas of native distribution (1).

[128] 1. We do not include here the small native groups who recently arrived (Guahibo, Piapoco, Puinave, Curipaco). They live along the periphery of the region, except the Guahibo, who advanced a few years ago to the Manapiare river.

a) The basin of the Cuara, with the Mayoncon /Maioncon/, a subgroup of the Makiritare, the Yecuana, and with some Sanemá groups;
b) The basin of the Cuchivero, with the Panare Indians and some unknown groups on the headwaters;
c) The basin of the Suapure, which, with the exception of some Panare nuclei, does not at the present time have any native populations;
d) The basin of the Sipapo, with the Piaroa and Macó Indians;
e) The basin of the Ventuari, with the Yabarana Indians on the Manapiare River, the Yecuana (Decuana) subtribe of the Makiritare, and the Nabudub, a Sanemá subgroup (cf. hydrographic map /see p.12/).

Guahibo SC14
Yabarana 5522
Panare 5521
Sanema
Saliva 5515
Makiritare 5520

/11 cont./

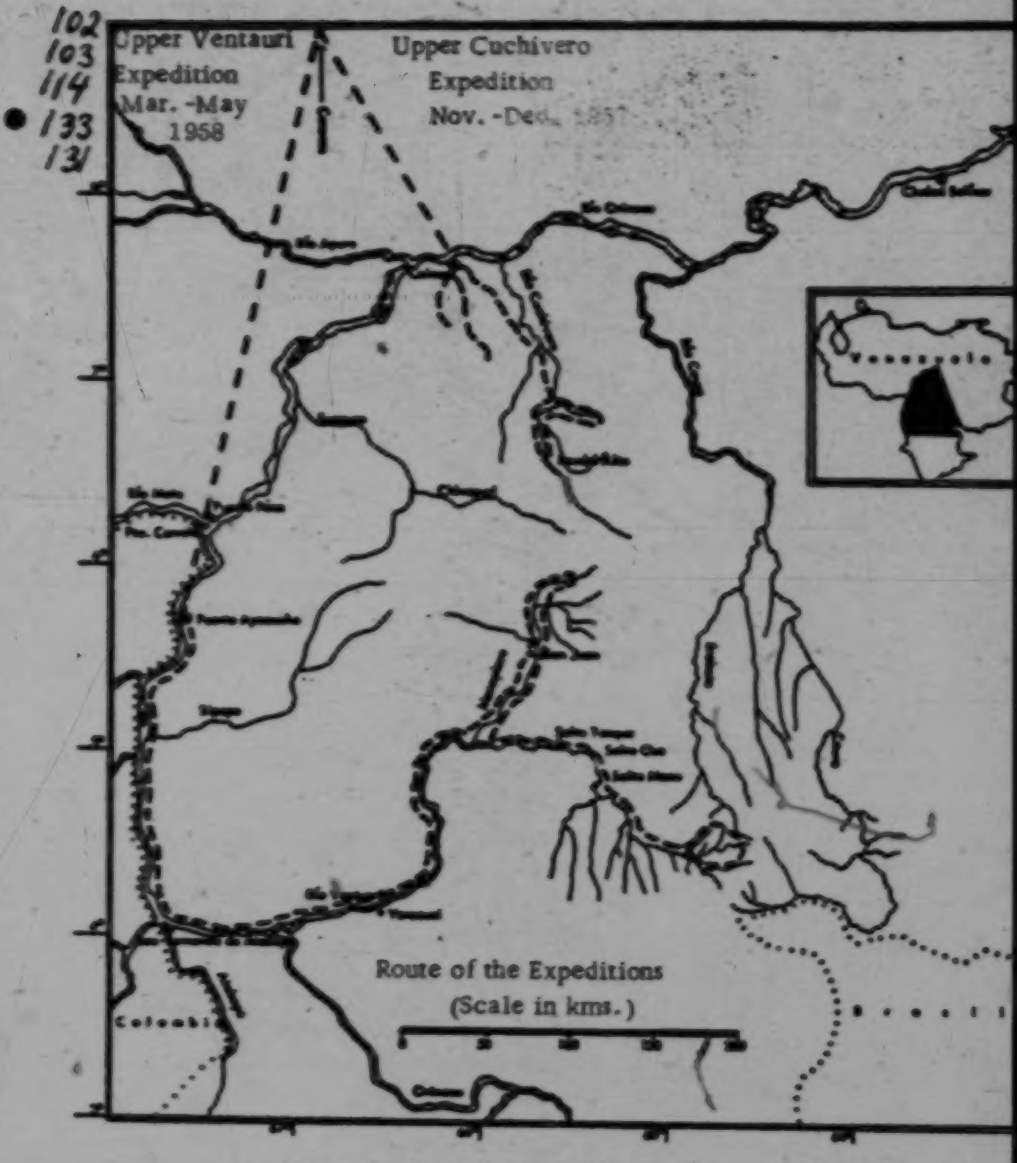
All these basins, without exception, pour their great volumes of water into the Orinoco, which, like a gigantic arc, runs across the north of the Escudo de Guayana, thus enclosing all the native tribes studied here and marking the farthermost boundary and end of their primitive world (cf. ethnic map /see p. 5 /). /12/ /Map appears here./

/13/ It is interesting to point out that the extensive fluvial network of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone does not serve the majority of the tribes as a means of communication or as an outstanding source of food. The Panare of the basin of the Cuchivero do not travel by river, and on the Cuchivero we found only one dugout /bongo/, which was used solely for crossing the river. In general the curiara /dugout canoe/ seems to be a foreign element in Panare culture, introduced recently by the Creoles. Nor did the Yabarana of the basin of the Ventuari use the curiara, and they recently learned from their neighbors, the Makiritare, the art of making them. For the Sanemá the river represents an obstacle rather than a means of communication, and they use rafts in order to cross it. At the present time, only the groups who live in symbiosis with the Makiritare make curiaras, but there is not the slightest doubt that this industry was adopted recently. The Sanemá spend less time at fishing than do the Panare, Yabarana, and Guahibo, since the latter too are among those Indians oriented toward the land, with its roads, rather than toward the rivers and navigation. The only real voyagers of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone are the Piaroa and the Makiritare, and the fame of the latter exceeds that of the former.

Culturally, the Makiritare belong to a Neo-Indian level, as do their cousins of the same linguistic affiliation, the Panare and the Yabarana. It is interesting, however, to call attention to the fact that to speak of Caribe /Carib/ Indians is not the same eo ipso as speaking of voyaging Indians. There are Neo-Indians who are ignorant of the curiara and who developed agriculture, not in a Meso-Indian culture (of fishermen and voyagers), but basically on top of a Paleo-Indian culture (of hunters). Meso-Indian cultures, such as that of the Warao, for example, and possibly that of the Piaroa, represent a specialization of the Paleo-American who was

[Text continues on P. 4]

4: Wilbert--3 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema



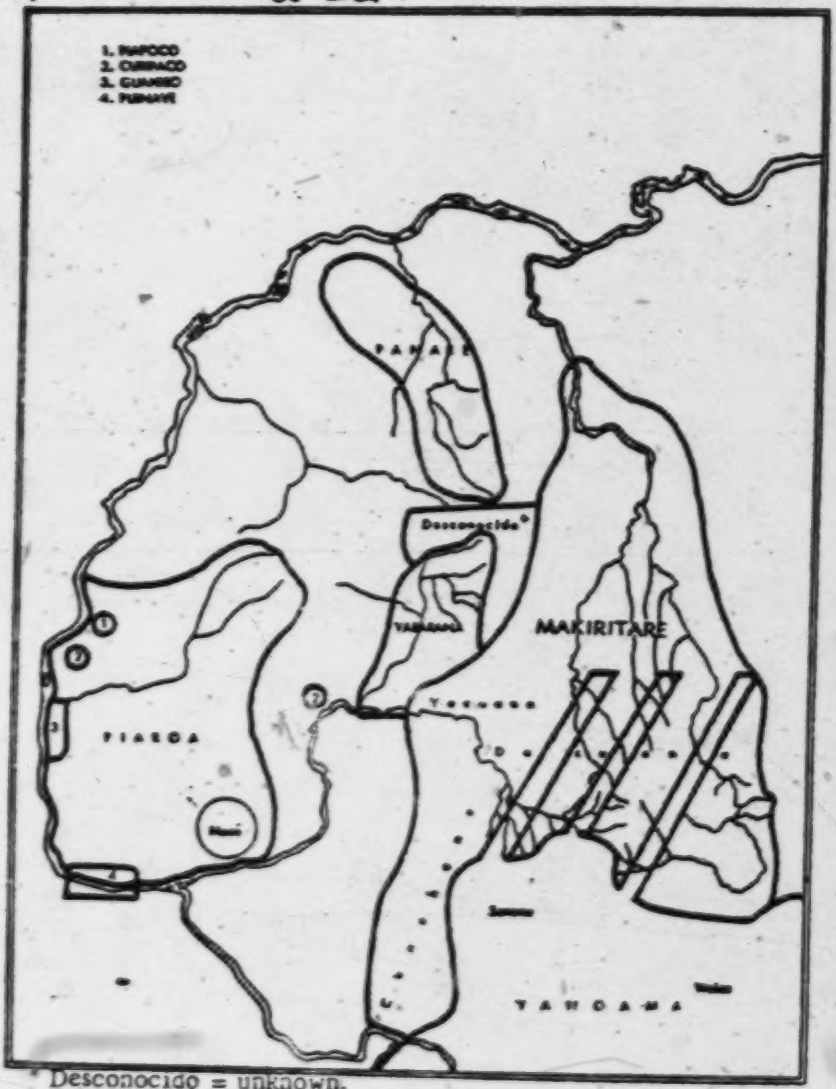
Map 1. Route of the expeditions.

4 Wilbert--5 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Achagua SC5
Saliva SS15
Panare SS21
Makiritare SS20
Yabarana SS22

Sanema
Puinave SC18
Barauna SQ27
Guahibo SC14

Ya Sanema Mya 101 102 133 ●



* Desconocido = unknown.

Map 2. Distribution of the native tribes of the Orinoco-Ventuari region.

Y /15 cont./
122 no case are more than three or four days needed in order to get
M to the site of study, and the cost is relatively low. The Waica
[122] and Samatari live in a remote corner of Venezuela. On a recent trip, however, we left Caracas at seven in the morning and were among the Waica of the Padamo at five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. We spent five hours flying and three in a fast curiara.

On a reconnaissance trip of long duration, such as the one we made for this present report, one needs to go more slowly in a curiara, stopping among the tribes, streams, and mountains. The only zone difficult to reach is that of the "Monteros" and Chicano of the Sierra Guamapí.

Y The Orinoco-Ventuari region represents the secondary
• 133 western massif /macizo/ of the Macizo de Guayana, with eleva-
122 tions above 2,000 meters. The most difficult ascent in the region was the zone south of the Raudal Alto on the Cuchivero, toward the Sierra Guamapí, and the ford of the Salto Mono on the Upper Ventuari, where the level rises to more than 1,500 meters (cf. physical map /see p. 7 /). The traversing of the Salto Mono, particularly the ascent during the rainy season, is an extremely
M dangerous stretch, and one must spend at least a whole day to
[482] go and six hours to return. The Makiritare go up in six hours and
[482] come down in four hours with a load of 20-30 kilograms on their backs. We came down with 20 Sanemá and 30 Makiritare in only five hours, but such a marathon is extremely tiring. On the other hand, to cross the Mono in two days is an extraordinarily beautiful excursion because of the characteristics of this mountain and its gigantic forest, which at times allows an open view /16/ /map
M appears here/ /17/ and one can gaze on an enchanting panorama.
122 The Makiritare keep the wide path (over two meters) always open
[487] and in good repair, and at the upper port they built a house in
[485] which to rest and spend the night. There one finds curiaras with
[501] which one can follow the river to the Makiritare and Sanemá rancherías located on the headwaters of the same. From the port of Mono upriver as far as the headwaters there are no further obstacles for navigation, and the river permits easy access to all the Makiritare villages of the Upper Ventuari. We call Upper

[text continues on p. 8]

4: Wilbert--9 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians
SS4
V
Y
102
●133

0-200 m.

200-1000 m.

More than 1000 m.

Physical Map

Map 4. Physical map of the southern part of Venezuela (according to Vila, 1959).

4: Wilbert--12 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians
554

V
Y
102
● 133

4; Wilbert--13 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians
SS4
V
102
133

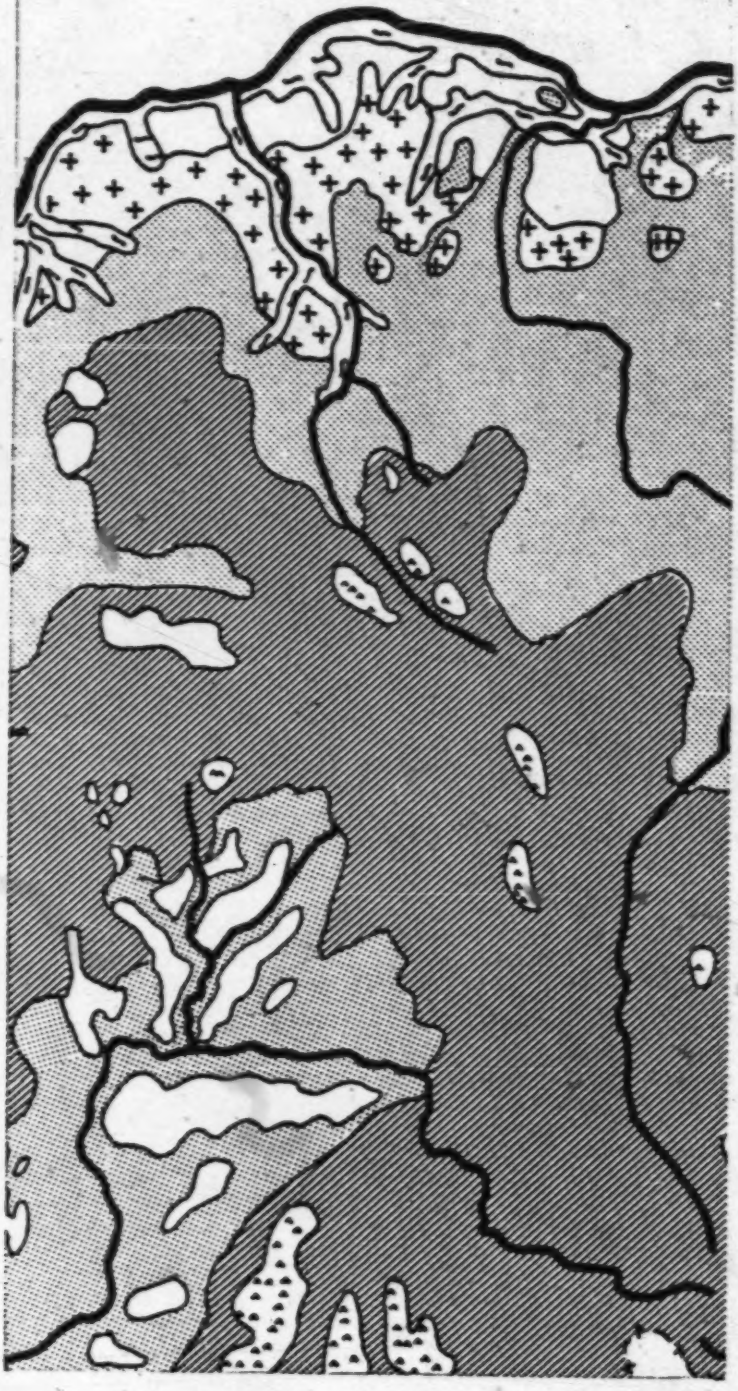
Map 5. Hydrographic map of the southern part of Venezuela (according to Vila, 1959).

Colombia

4; Wilbert--15 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Sanema

Venezuelan Indians SS4

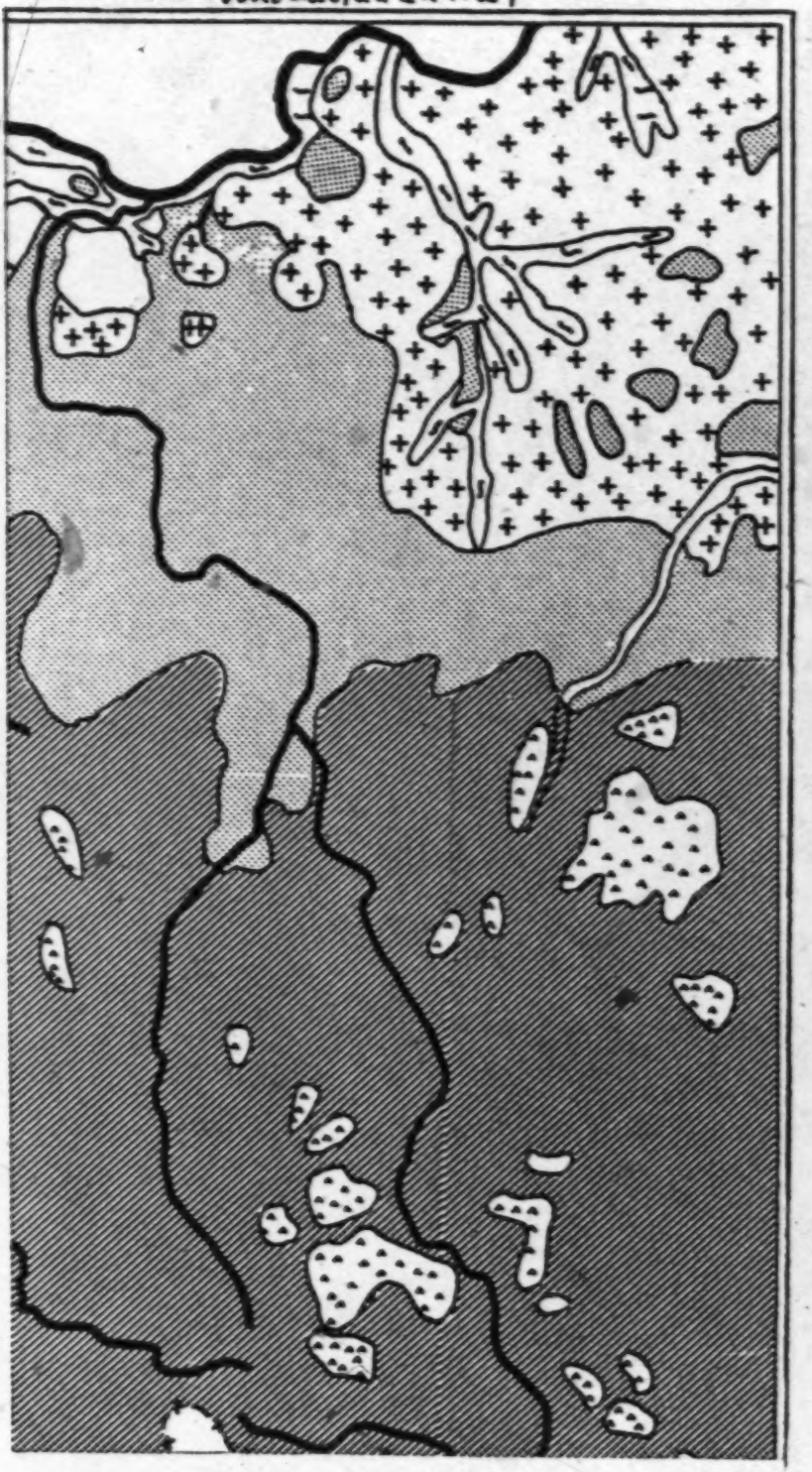
V
102
● 133
137



4: Wilbert--16 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Venezuelan Ind. 554 Sanema

V
Y
102
● 133
137



4: Wilbert

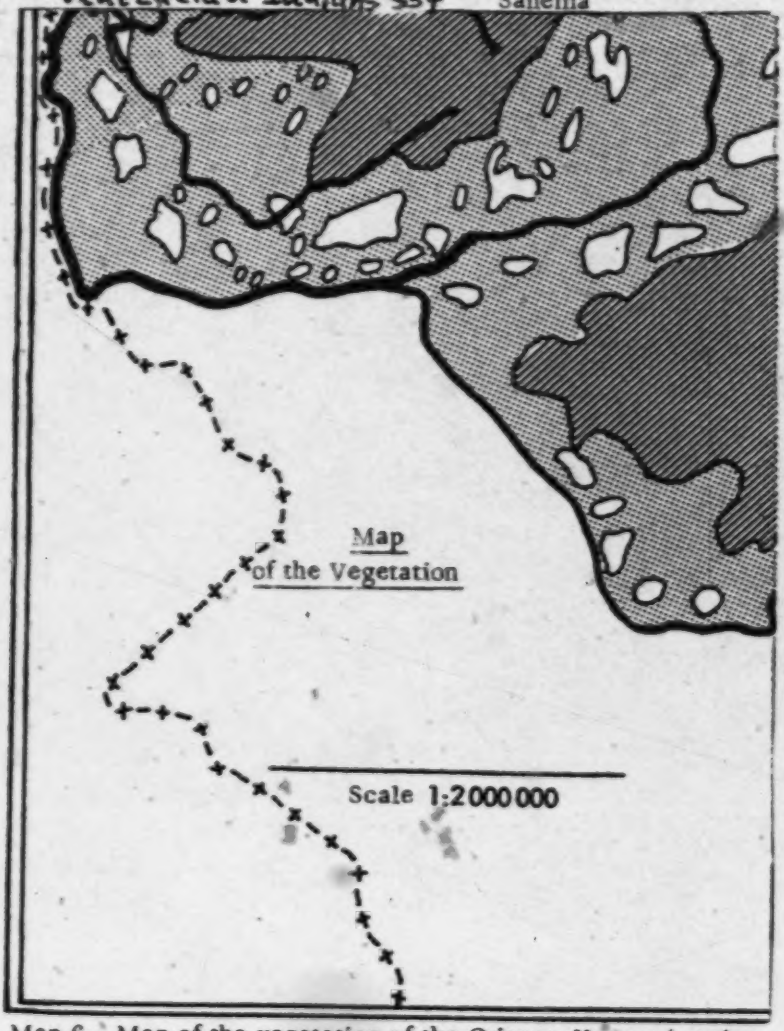
SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians 884

Y
V
102
133
137

p. 14	p. 15	p. 16
p. 17	p. 18	p. 19

Chart of Positions of Map 6.
/facing Map 6/

4: Wilbert--17 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Venezuelan Indians 554 Sanema
Y
V
102
● 133
137



Map 6. Map of the vegetation of the Orinoco-Ventuari region (according to Hueck, 1960).

Chaparrals

Hygrophilous and mesophilous forests in the region of Guayanesa, locally interrupted by savannas

Mesophilous and hygrophilous deciduous forests, in part evergreen, of Guayana, in the low regions

Gramineous steppes of the upper Orinoco

4: Wilbert--18 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Venezuelan Indians 554 Sanema

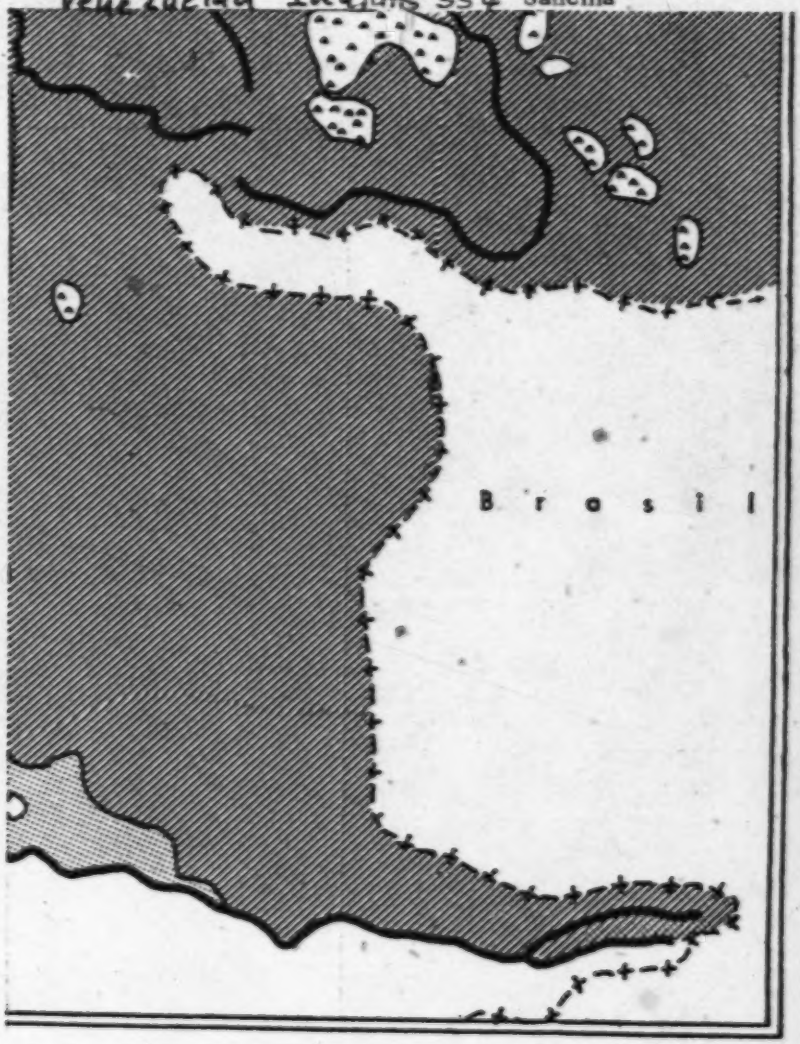
X
V
102
● 133
137

Steppes and savannas of the high sierras of Guayana

Gramineous steppes of the llanos, with other isolated woody elements

Gallery forests, marked only in dry regions

4: Wilbert--19 E-4,5 (1958) 1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Venezuelan Indians SS4 Sanema
Y
V
102
133
137



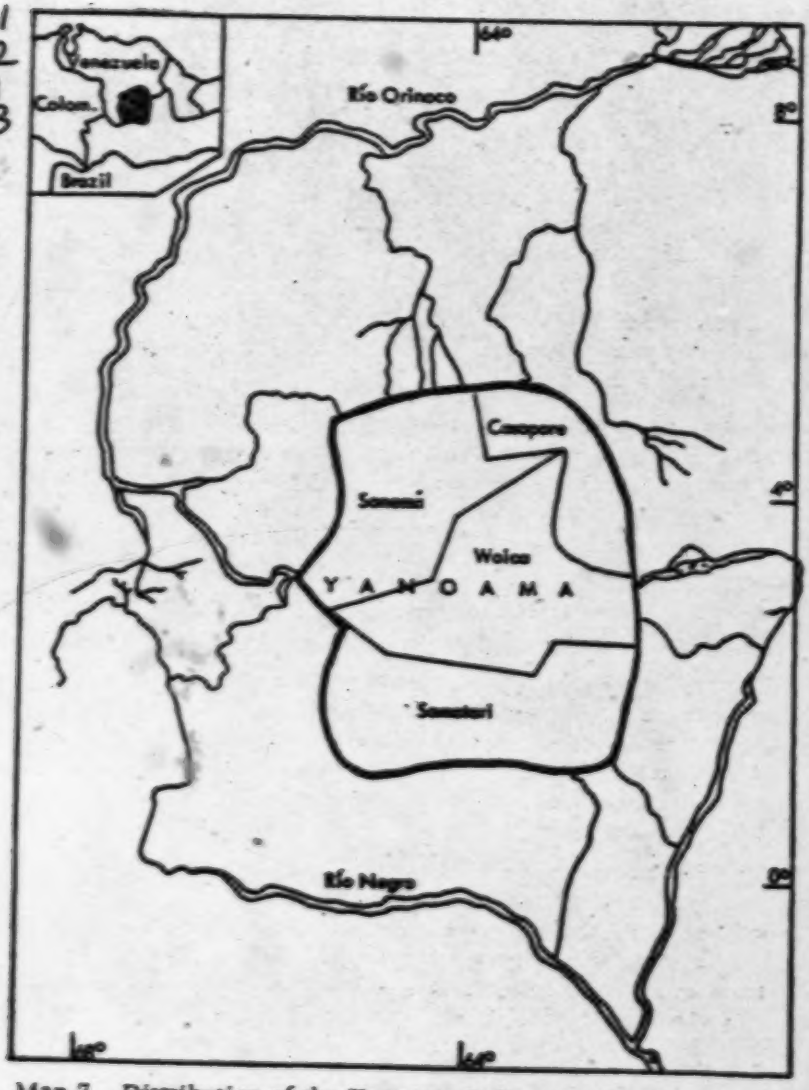
Steppes and savannas of the high sierras of Guayana

Gramineous steppes of the llanos, with other isolated woody elements

Gallery forests, marked only in the dry regions

4: Wilbert--21 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

101
102
131
● 133



Map 7. Distribution of the Yanoama Indians (preliminary).

4: Wilbert
Y
M
102
103
131
● 133
361

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Makiritare SS20

p. 40	p. 41
p. 42	p. 43

Chart of Positions of Tribal Distribution Map (foldout). /facing p. 39/

4: Wilbert--40 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Sanama
Makiritare SS20

M
Y
102
103
131
●133
361

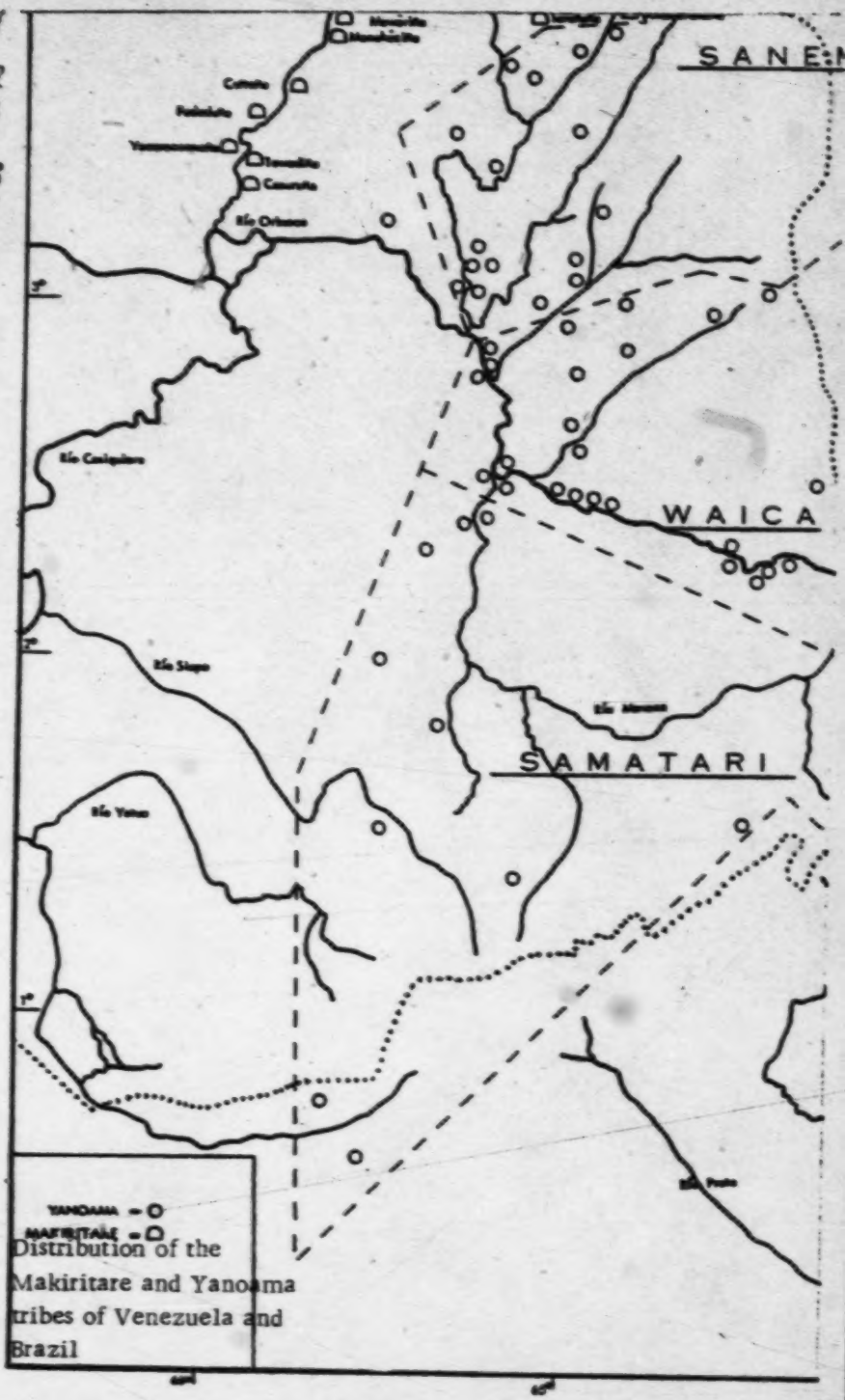
4: Wilbert--41 E-4.5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Makoritare SS20 Sanema

M
Y
102
103
131
● 133
161

4: Wilbert--42 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Makiritare SS 2 ● Sanema

M
Y
102
103
131
● 133
361



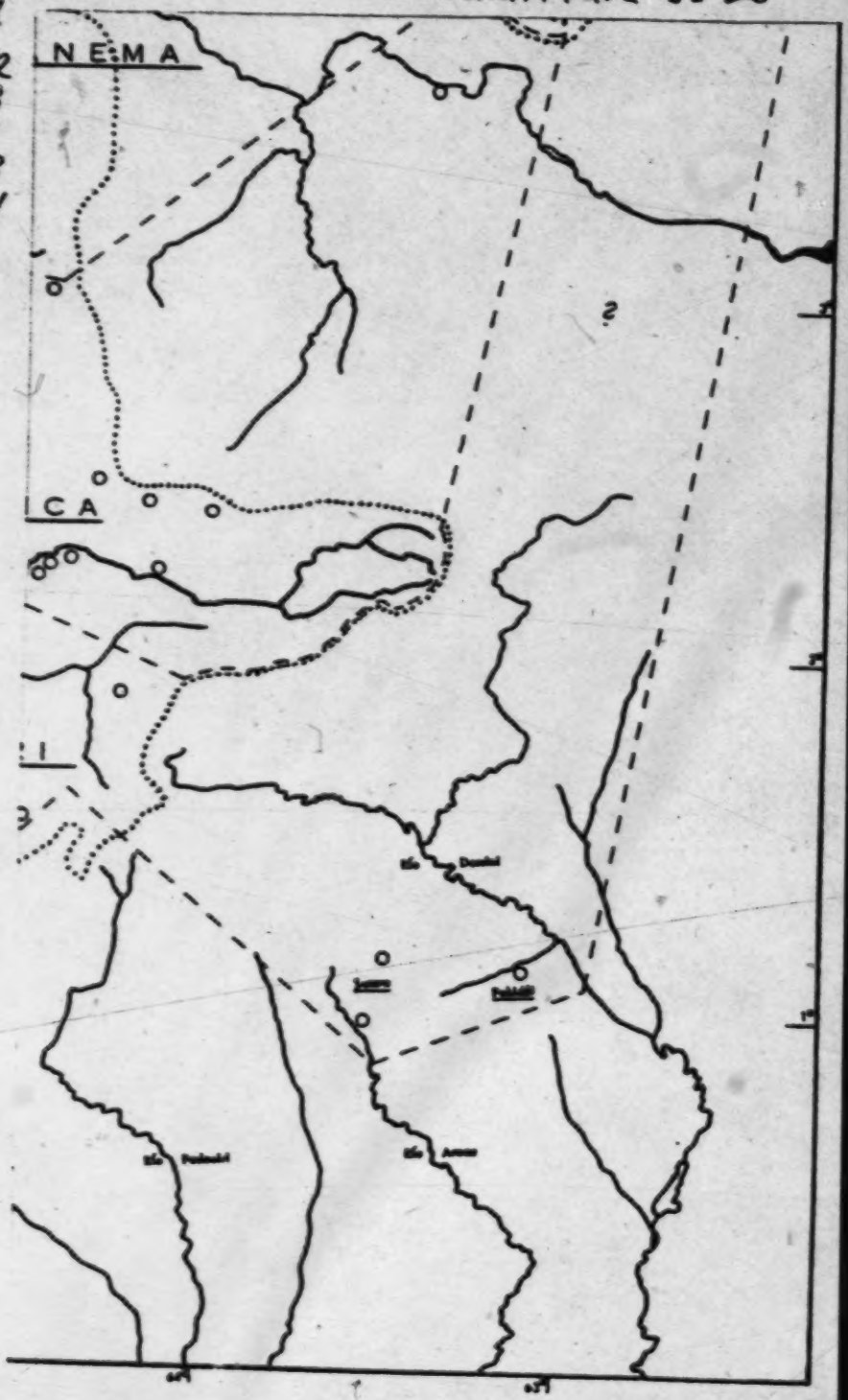
Distribution of the Makiritare and Yanoama tribes of Venezuela and Brazil

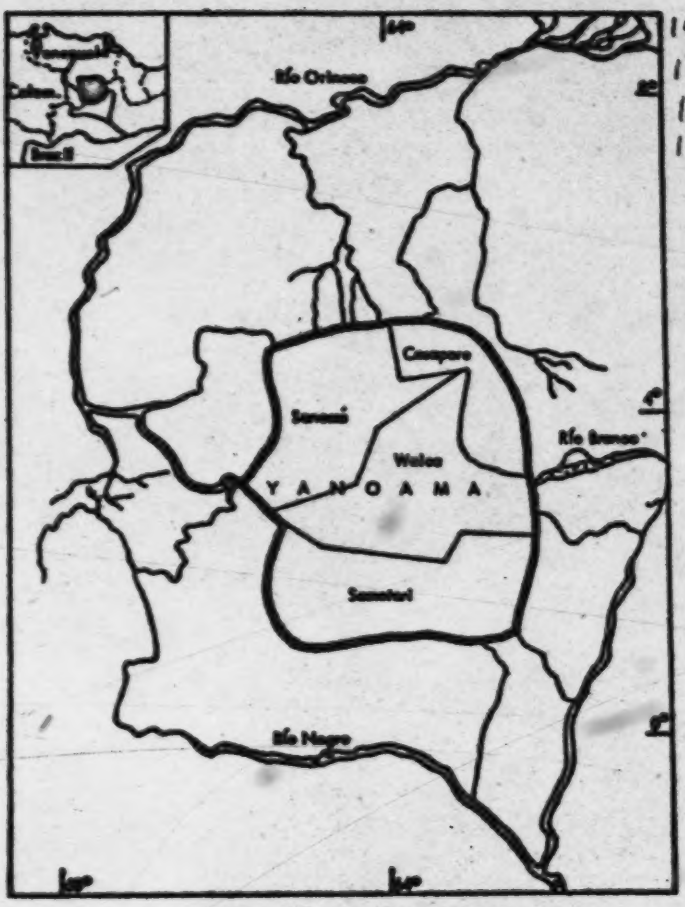
4: Wilbert--43 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Sanema

Makiritare SS 20

M
Y
102
103
131
● 133
361





102
101
131
133

FIG. 1. Preliminary map of Yanoama distribution. (Wilbert, 1961b).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

screaming loudly and the *Pirata* making no headway at all. She only reared and plunged, and we began to ship water. We should have to go back—a highly delicate operation. Huge rocks prevented us from getting to a quieter reach on our left. Manuera had turned pale and was working away furiously with his paddle to get the craft in nearer the bank. In the end we found a patch of slack water and were able to jump in and drag the boat on to a gravel bank. She was full of water by now and we did some hasty baling with a bucket. Even Manuera had seen the light: he knew now that the Caura and its rapids are stronger than any man-made motors, and that the world of the great forest is still stronger than the world of work.

Alas, the rapids very soon had their full revenge, just as we were hauling the two boats into another arm of the river where the water tumbled more steeply down, but with less force. The *Pirata* was already through and in safety higher up. The *Rumbera* too was successfully over the first bad patch, and Giovanni was running along the rocks to take the cable to Momi, who was further on. Artur was still on board, probably because he wanted a ride and didn't feel like taking a bath. While Giovanni was jumping from one rock to another the rope slipped out of his grasp, and being greasy slid away over the rocks. The current swung the boat round and she began to go downstream sideways, with a sort of violent skipping motion. She struck on a rocky shelf and shipped some water. The motor, its arm now raised, hit against a boulder and broke off at the clamp, plunging straight into the river. Artur hadn't moved: but he was looking round wildly. After a few more hair-raising turns the boat finished up rocking in a patch of dead water, and that was the end of the adventure. The motor was at the bottom of the deepest pocket on the Caura, and its future would be limited to the process of gradual chemical dissolution. We continued on our way with the *Rumbera* in tow. But our greatest loss was not the outboard engine. It was the good humour and the carefree spirits of Manuera himself.

XI

In the neighbourhood of the Canaracuni the great mountains had already begun again: ahead of us the Uana-Coco and to the left, the Araua range presented their high grey sandstone walls, patterned with the white stripes of the cascades. Neither the Makiritari nor the Shirians fear the Magnaritón, and no

[pp. 27-40 not processed]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manuera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shirians.'

We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uana-Coco, Canaua, and Uagna. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

Manuera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20

A little above Pulipuli we came to a large stream of clear, coffee-coloured water: the Canaracuni.

We slept in a sound Makiritari hut near the confluence of the two rivers that night, and the next day found us at the foot of some powerful rapids. To get up through these was a tricky business, calling for a highly specialized technique beyond our experience. We had had some eventful hours even before we reached this point, and a hilarious progress, for at every bend in the river we had encountered whole boatfuls of Indians, both Shirians and Makiritari, who mobbed us and wanted to clamber on board. The delights of an outboard engine were more than they could resist! And so it happened that at one time we counted twenty-eight of them, squatting and lying about all over our baggage. It was a heady thought that all this crowd was proceeding up the swift brown waters of the Canaracuni by virtue of one motor!

When we got to the Kumpakà rapids, as they were apparently called, Manuera tried to make us understand, by the aid of his sweeping gestures, the manœuvres which were called for. We couldn't follow, but next morning the difficulty resolved itself. There came into view, in startling silence, a big canoe of fine workmanship paddled by a number of athletic-looking Makiritari who had the air of being very sure of themselves. Amidships there sat an old fellow who in addition to his loincloth was wearing a dirty shirt, and with him another old man of more modest bearing, one or two women, and some children and dogs, all mixed up together in a silent huddle. The steersman was a thin and very ugly customer with only one eye, dressed in trousers and shirt. Our camp was struck dumb at the sight. It was like watching some religious ceremony. The modest-looking old man—in point of fact it was Benito, the owner of the Ceiba property—addressed Momi in passable Spanish, asking him if he was the chief. Momi gestured towards me, and the old fellow turned to me at once, saying:

'Here, Chief Pancho—Makiritari Chief.'

Only later did we discover that Pancho was the one with the squint, not the old man in the shirt: the latter had been chief in his time, but had now handed the sceptre to his son.

Pancho spoke no Spanish, but somehow or other he had picked up exactly seven words of second-hand Portuguese: they dated from a trip to Boa Vista some few years back. Pancho could say: *tarabalo*, *bom*, *dia*, *filio*, *magnà*, *agua*, and *matto*. That is, work, good, day, son, tomorrow, water, and forest. And he

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20

M
822
123
Y
123*
M
[186]
Y
[133]

certainly knew how to command the Indians; all of them, Shirians and Makiritari, held him in respect and did his bidding without question. He would lie in his hammock, with the watchful dogs lying underneath, in a kind of thoughtful somnolence. Then all at once he would sit up and call all the men, in a voice with a strident edge to it, and set them to work. He altered his tone of voice according to whether he was dealing with his own people or with the Shirians. For the latter he reserved a range of almost animal cries. You would have thought he was trying to rouse a herd of pigs.

We put our trust in him and his renown, and three days later, hardly believing our eyes, we came out on to the Kirisochi savannah to see in front of us the dramatic rocky walls of the rosy Sarisariñama mountains. It was December 25th. Our trip from La Paragua to the Upper Canaracuni had lasted pretty well two months.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

broth with a strong tang. Little Sempronio was the cook—Sempronio with the small eyes and fierce, sharp teeth, ever ready to crunch anything edible there was to be found. We didn't worry too much about hygiene, because out in the blue it is hardly practical. Nor did we dwell on the question of Indian tastes in meat: they prefer the intestines and all the peculiar parts, to the flesh. Enrico and I, up on the Gran Sabana, had once lived for months at a time on monkeys and even worse things, and we weren't squeamish. But while Artur was fastidiously eating his helping of monkey-meat, his face contorted with disgust and he opened his mouth to let fall a little black thing, half chewed. This proved upon examination to be a real Shirian titbit, but Artur said a good many things with exclamation marks, ending up with: 'I'd never have believed that things would come to this.'

'Nor would the monkey,' I replied philosophically, while Sempronio retrieved the mouthful and it disappeared with a strong sucking noise, as if he was taking a drink.

When we had finished our meal of monkey, Luis Antonio and his brothers sang some Shirian airs, with a grace and phrasing that surprised us. We soon joined in with our own renderings: a deep chorus echoed through the mountain gorges. Then, for something to do, we chopped down some trees which fell with a huge crashing tumult. Luis Antonio took his axe and heroically tackled a giant *guaramán*, and four hours later a vast mass of wood toppled down, bringing with it in its thunderous fall other trees fifty or sixty yards away. But The 24 ants, rudely disturbed, poured ferociously out of their nests, making us flee to our hammocks, where we lay waiting for the night.

Before we tackled the higher part of the climb (where the way led steeply upwards between treeless slopes and vertical sandstone cliffs) we set fire to the undergrowth. This is a means of clearing the crevices between rocks, and makes for an easier ascent. We waited one day after the fire, and then set out. Halfway through the climb we found ourselves black as chimney-sweeps—thanks to the ash and charcoal which covered our path. It was easier going than we'd reckoned on, and soon after midday we were all on the summit—all of us with the exception of Artur, who had found the pace too hot for him.

The Sarisariñama heights form part of the vast system of table-topped mountains (or sierra) which rise in isolated massifs over the whole region bounded by the Rio Negro, the Rio Branco, the Atlantic, and the Orinoco and known geographically as Guiana. These mountains tower up suddenly from

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

especially strong and intelligent, and keep him at his side, adopting him, as it were, as his successor. The little girls continue to live in the feminine world of their tribe. Shy and submissive, they take on the humblest tasks, fetching water, making the fire and helping in the preparation—highly problematical—of food.

Such definitions of customs have, however, only a relative value, like any attempt to estimate the Shirian way of life: for Shirians are to be found spread over wild territory of vast extent. Their customs are less well defined than one might suppose after reading certain tracts about primitive peoples—the Pacific islanders, for instance. These give the impression that with slight formal changes only, Western culture might have much to learn from the degree of social organization they have attained to. The Shirian tribes, cut off from one another as they are by physical barriers such as mountains and rivers, and moral barriers like the ceaseless state of war which exists between the various branches of this race of 'howling Indians', have developed their own customs in their own sporadic fashion. Sometimes they have been weakened by contact with foreigners, such as the Makiritari in the north-west and the Makushi in the east. More often they have been weakened by a lack of strong traditions, which do not spring easily from such an excessively low level of culture, where mere survival calls for an unending struggle against the tremendous power of the eternally hostile forest.

The most primitive races are those most affected by their geographical setting. Their environment conditions them. Only by adapting themselves continually to their surroundings, only by the long process of response to the determining factor of geography, can they create that growing racial identity which at last succeeds in reversing the process—that is, in conditioning the surroundings instead of being conditioned by them. But we are here touching on the larger question of the development of civilization generally.

Where the Shirians are concerned, we are still at the beginning of the beginning, when geography is the absolute determining factor. Here environment is the master of man—a creature inferior, qualitatively and quantitatively, to the region which it is his fate to inhabit.

The territory they occupy is immense. Divided though it may be by great cordilleras, which make it the breeding ground for various rivers rushing north, west and south, it possesses one marked characteristic throughout its whole extent: the sources and the headwaters of the rivers are contained in a sort of

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

island of unbroken forest, which is not crossed by any formidable water barrier. If this were the case, the Shirians, who are pre-eminently a land people, would be presented with an insurmountable obstacle.

North of the Brazilian frontier live the Shirians of the Canaracuni and the Merevari. These are divided into various clans, the most important being the Uana-Dildep, the Haruao, the Oskadeli, the Kopali, the Hana-Dildep, the Ukumatari, the Kona-Kona—they swarm like ants. Then there are the Guayca Shirians of Uarema, lately established on the Merevari, but originally from the Upper Uagna. Along the mountain watershed which extends, with frequent interruptions, from the Uagna to the centre of the highlands where the Uraricoera, the Ventuari and the Padamo rivers rise, one encounters the nomadic Samatari—the 'people of the pineapple'—a fierce and savage race of howling creatures that run in packs like animals.

The general term used by the Shirians to designate their most savage tribes is 'Guayca' (in their language, 'wild'). By the Guayca they sometimes mean the Samatari and sometimes the Ukumatari. On the Padamo and in the lowlands enclosed by the great mountains of Marahuaca and Duida—that is, to the south of the central ridge—they have spread right beyond the upper reaches of the Orinoco: though in these regions there are also many of the more peaceful Shirian peoples such as the Uaka on the Uesete, the Faricete, the Matacuni, the Kologli, the Haue, and the Ish'tich—the 'people of flowers and bananas'. The Guayca and the Samatari are also to be found east of the Padamo-Orinoco-Rio Parima watershed, in the wildest and least-known territory. Isolated groups, with a touch of the legendary about them, inhabit the fringe of this region: for instance, the Kasarape, credited by all Shirians with unparalleled ferocity and cruelty. The Kasarape inhabit the right bank of the Lower Uraricoera in Brazil, and no traveller appears to have visited them yet.

How numerous are the Shirians? No one can state a figure with any certainty, but it may be accepted that they run into many thousands, and taken together represent a block that outnumbers all other races and tribes inhabiting the Orinoco and Rio Branco basin.

I had asked Luis Antonio whether it would be possible for me to be present during the confinement of his kinswoman, presuming the happy event took place during our stay, but all I got for an answer was a doubtful 'I don't know' —the formula in which the Indian takes refuge when he does not know what to say. This did not quite deny the possibility, even if it did not encourage the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123* 164 752

few days later my hand was completely healed, even though the tendons had been severed and the fingers partially paralysed.

Some antibiotic substance must surely be produced in great quantities in the soil of the dank forest regions: while in the grasslands the cycle of growth is altered owing to the effect of the sun's direct rays, which either destroy the culture or impede its development.

164

The most dangerous diseases are those which attack the young children and are naturally reflected in their mothers, too. Intestinal worms are the scourge of primitive populations and I have constantly observed that while among the Makiritari they affect the grown men as well, among the more primitive Shirians they are limited exclusively to the women and children, whose bellies are often swollen to an enormous size. Many of the children die at an early age from this, and from colics, intestinal obstruction, and suffocation.

165

Indians don't live long, even if they manage to survive the dangers that beset them in their early years. Like all primitive races, they develop precociously—the girls reaching womanhood at ten—and old age descends quickly upon them, their bodies being worn out by hard work, exposure to the extremes of weather, and anchylosis. Ancients are few and far between in any tribe: not more than one or two among some scores of men and women. The Indians whom we usually call old are not, in most cases, much more than forty.

In spite of this I have always believed in the existence of some super-ancient, some Methuselah of the Forest, an altogether exceptional individual whose organism has battled with and overcome every ill, achieving a high degree of immunity and resistance, and living on indefinitely. Certain experiences of mine with tribes of various races have led me to this conclusion.

IV

123* [133]

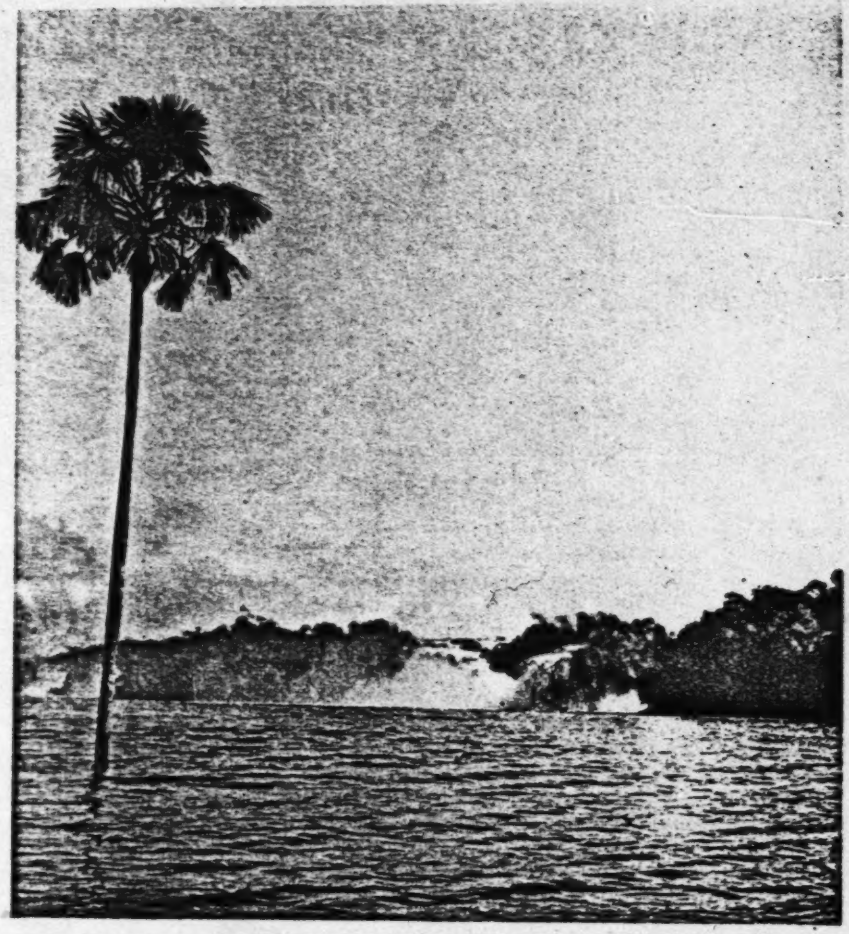
The Aracoa is a river of white water flowing over a bed of large granite stones. Near its mouth are huge falls where it pours over a solid sandstone shelf on its way to join the even clearer waters of the Uaraticoera, a little above the confluence of its sister stream the Quadu.

After a descent lasting several days, we were in camp on this sandstone shelf, with the roar of the falls in our ears, enjoying a feast of sunshine that everyone seemed to appreciate. Our chief preoccupations were the louse and the

100

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

133
137



22. *The great Cassima Falls.*

[p. 144-A]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

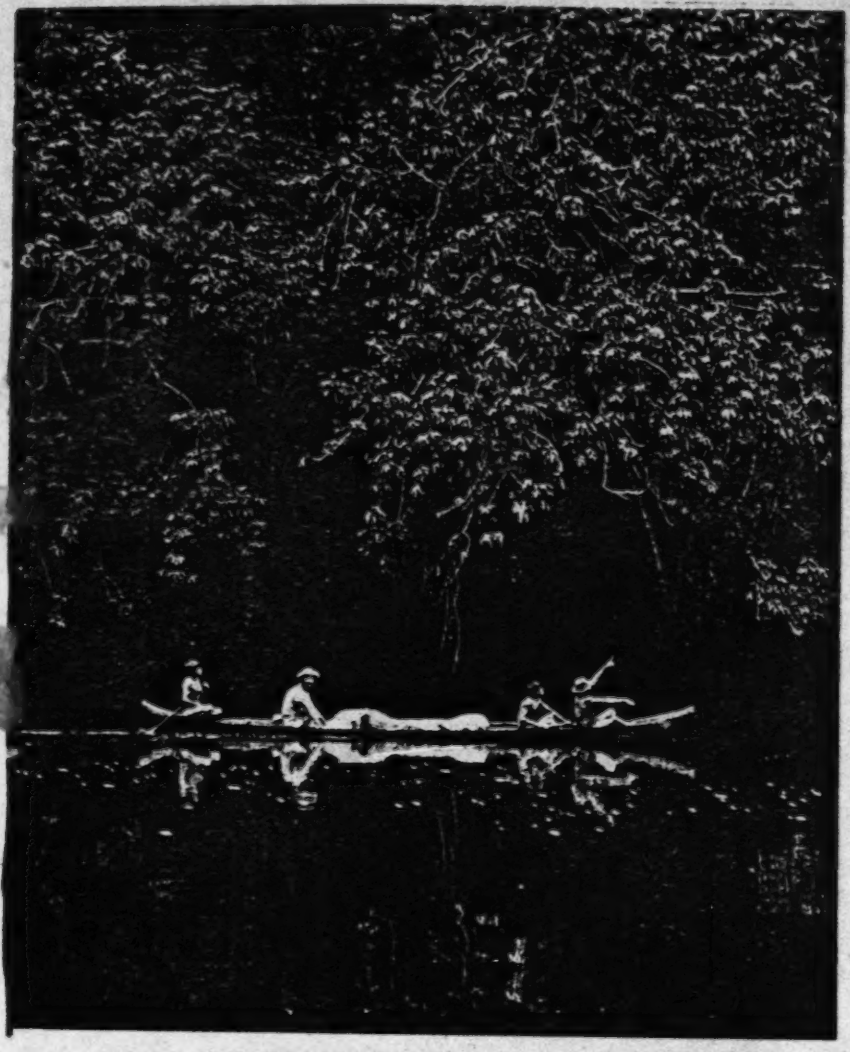
291
133

24. *Carmine undergoes anatomical inspection at Shyrian hands.*

[p. 144-C]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

133
501



26. *The Mavaari is quiet enough in its upper reaches.*

[p. 144 -E]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

who are always capable of taking it into their heads to walk out just when the expedition has reached the most dangerous point in the whole forest.

Among races less advanced than our own, it is memory, rather than intelligence, that is defective. Indians forget very quickly indeed. Two hours later, Luis Antonio asked for the gun so that he could go and get something for the pot. We still had three cartridges, and the river-bank, at night, is the haunt of a good many unsuspecting animals. I gave him the gun, and the three shots went on a lapa. The beast was far from cleanly killed, but its arrival was providential. It weighed over twenty pounds. We cooked it and ate it that same night, before dawn.

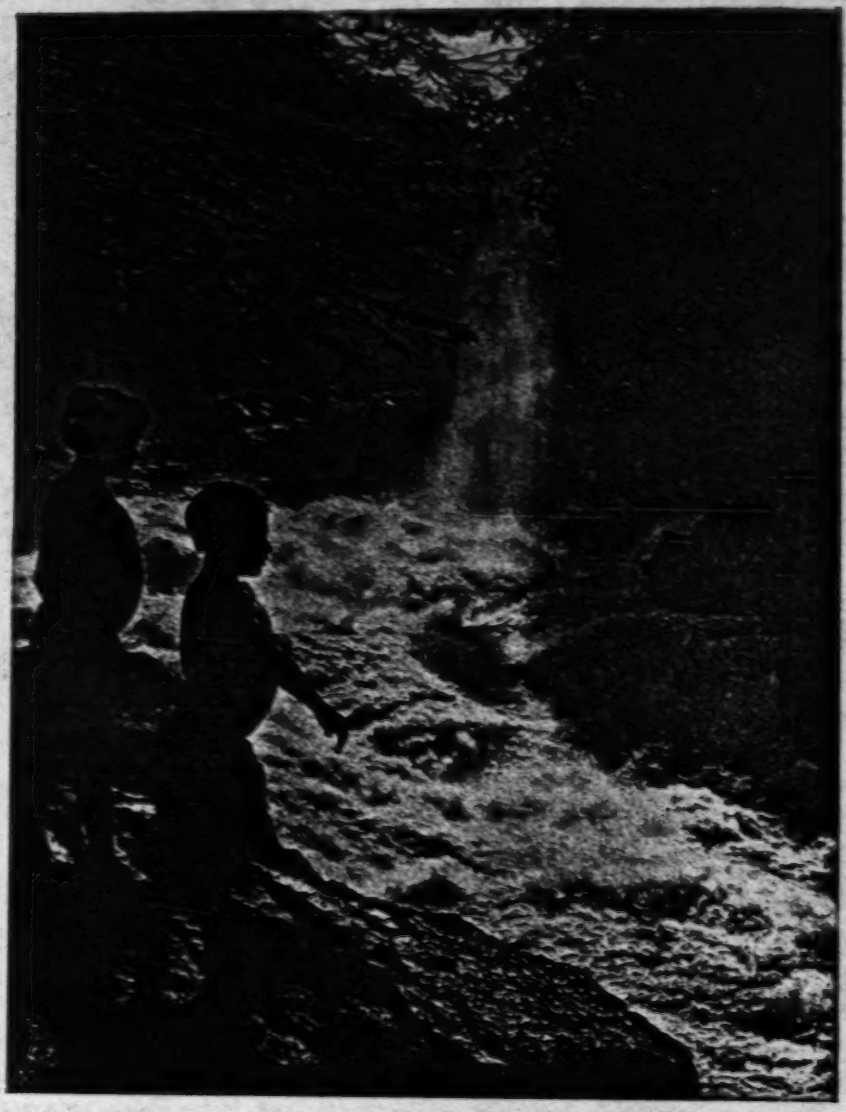
Going down the Mereyari in the sunshine was a most pleasant experience and brightened our spirits considerably. When we came to broken water, Solituan, who was just a 'passenger' with no paddle, held back the water with his hands. We tried not to smile: the old fellow was a reclaimed Samatari, a fine type, and we were very fond of him. He still looked on us as superhuman beings and delighted in our physical presence. One or twice, when he thought we weren't looking, we saw him eyeing us with admiration, and expressing it in little guttural grunts.

A few hours above Llantariña there are some big rapids where the river takes one roaring plunge down over a granite shelf, while to the left a side-stream makes its way more quietly through a rocky channel where the current is extremely swift but without any sudden falls. Uarema irritably made up his mind: after inspecting both ways of getting down, he decided on the secondary channel, claiming that he and his brother had shot it on one occasion. We disembarked and went down to the foot of the rapids where the rushing waters were swallowed up with a dull rumbling noise in a wide pool of whirling foam. Here we waited for our more daring companions.

Now, as never before, we cursed the accident to our cine-camera. We had no chance of filming that hair-raising descent. The canoe looked quite insignificant at first, up there on the lip of the falls. Then it came on as if it was flying, growing larger with every split second. Halfway down, with Uarema and Hashimo howling in imitation of the Makiritari on similar crazy ventures, the craft began to swing round till it was broadside on to the stream. We gave it up for lost, but as it swept on it glanced past a small rock and righted itself again, bows forward. Seizing their opportunity immediately, the two Indians

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Tanzania SQ18
Sanema

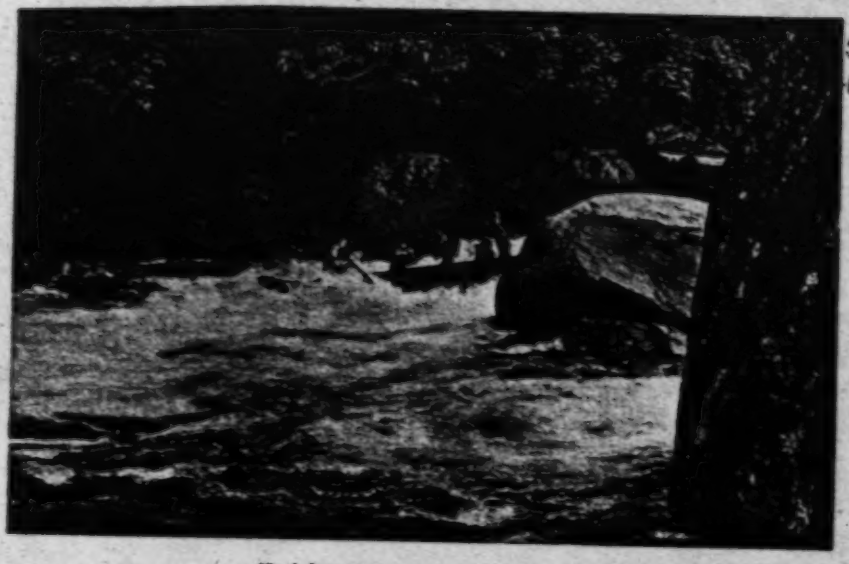
133



46. *The Mona Falls.*

[p. 192-E]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema



502
133

48. *A dramatic moment on the Venturi.*

49. *The end of the rapids.*

501
502
133

[b. 192 - G]

/436 cont./

132 The rains at El Platanal are copious, and there is no true dry season there. There is never a day when one can feel safe from rain if he does not have a roof over him. The longest dry period which I have heard of was ten /maps appear here/ /437/ days. Droughts are so unknown that nobody thinks about the fact that rain is necessary for the crops. In El Platanal, almost all of the winds and the rainstorms come from the east.

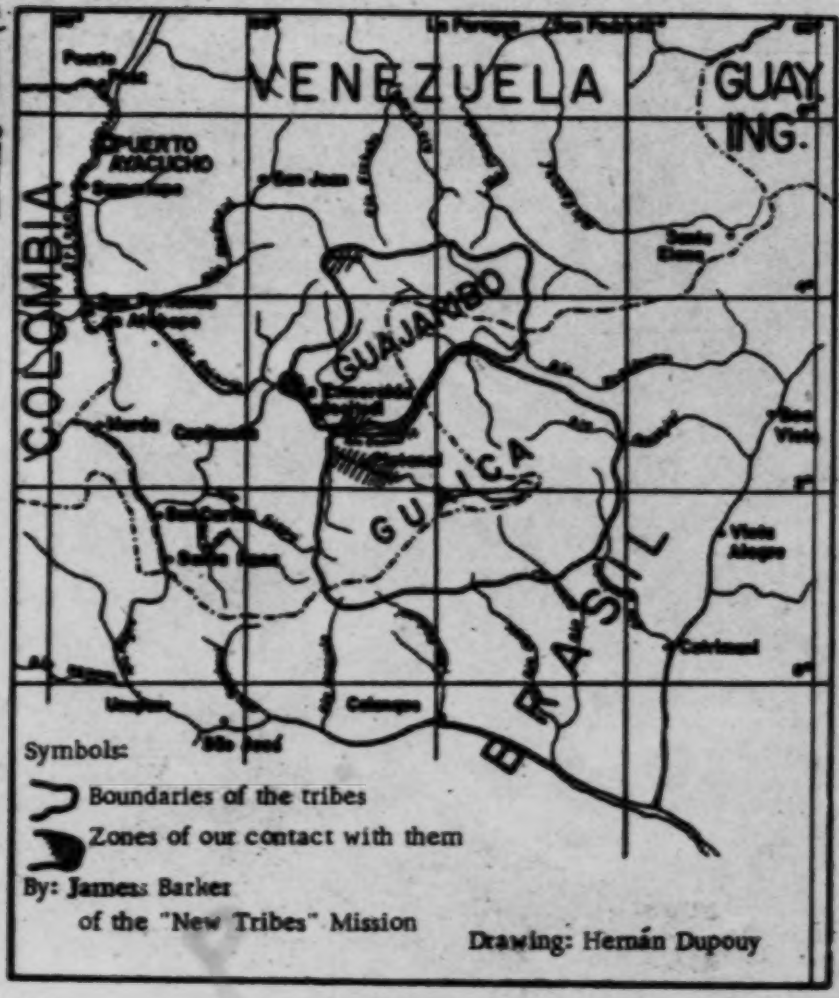
137 The basin of the Upper Orinoco is covered by a tropical forest. Above the savanna at La Esmeralda, meadows are virtually nonexistent. There is one hillside on the north bank of the Upper Ocama which is covered with grass, but aside from this, and a few rocky slopes where not even grass grows, the tree cover is practically uninterrupted, with the exception of the clearings opened by the currents of water and the hand of man.

● 133 If one climbs the hill at El Platanal on a clear day, he will see an extensive plain toward the north. On the northwestern horizon rise the distant peaks of Duida and Marahuaca. These seem to blend into the even more distant montañas of the Upper Padamo and the Ventuari River farther to the north. Following these mountains toward the east with the eyes, one almost believes that he can make out the boundaries of Brazil from the headwaters of the Ventuari River down to the headwaters of the Ocamo. Then, looking toward the east, one can see the entire area between the Ocamo and Orinoco rivers; full of mountains which are not very high, but which are impressive because they are no near. But the north and northwest of Platanal between the Ocamo and Orinoco rivers is the part nearest to the plain described above.

Toward the south there is a narrow plain along the Orinoco River, then hills which are combined with the mountains of the headwaters of the Orinoco to the east and the mountains of the Upper Mavaca to the south. Then, looking toward the southwest and the west, there is the extensive plain of the Mavaca River, interrupted only by a few isolated mountains. Beyond this plain are the mountain ranges which, beginning at the headwaters of the Mavaca, extend toward the west and then toward the north, almost as far as the Orinoco itself.

7: Barker--6 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

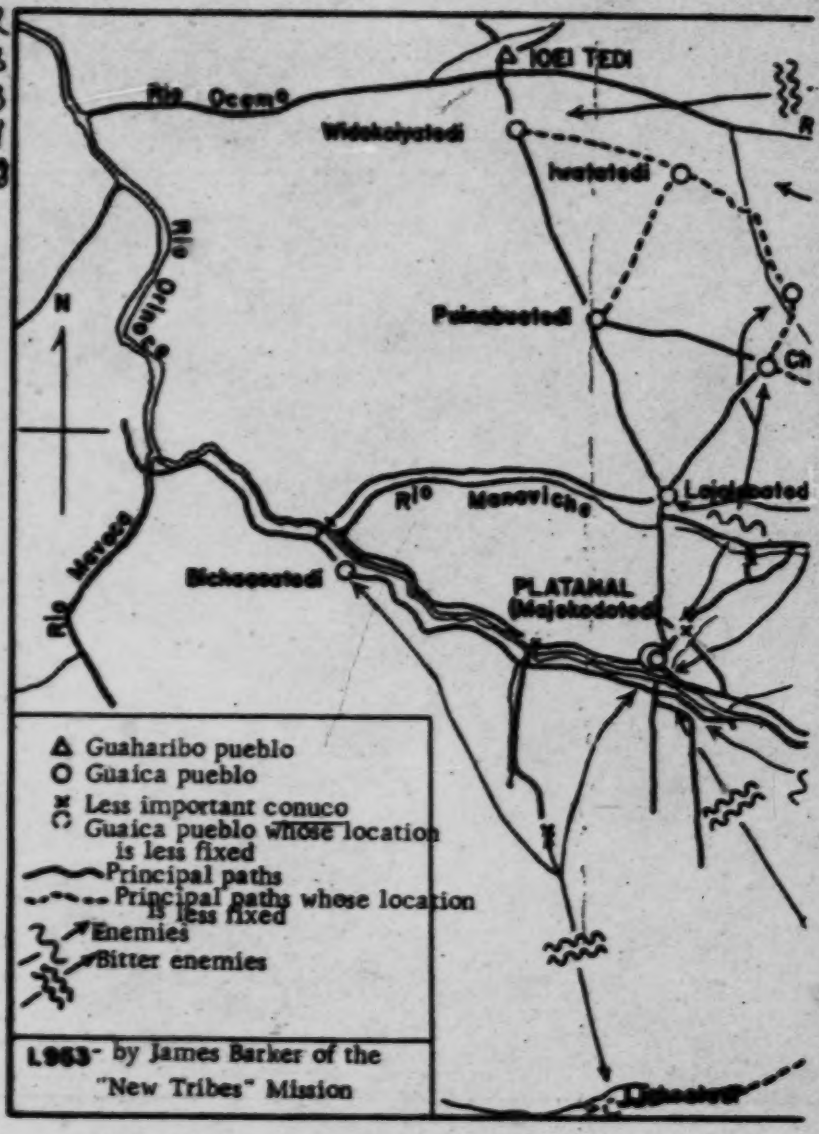
102
101
131
133
114
361



7: Barker--7 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

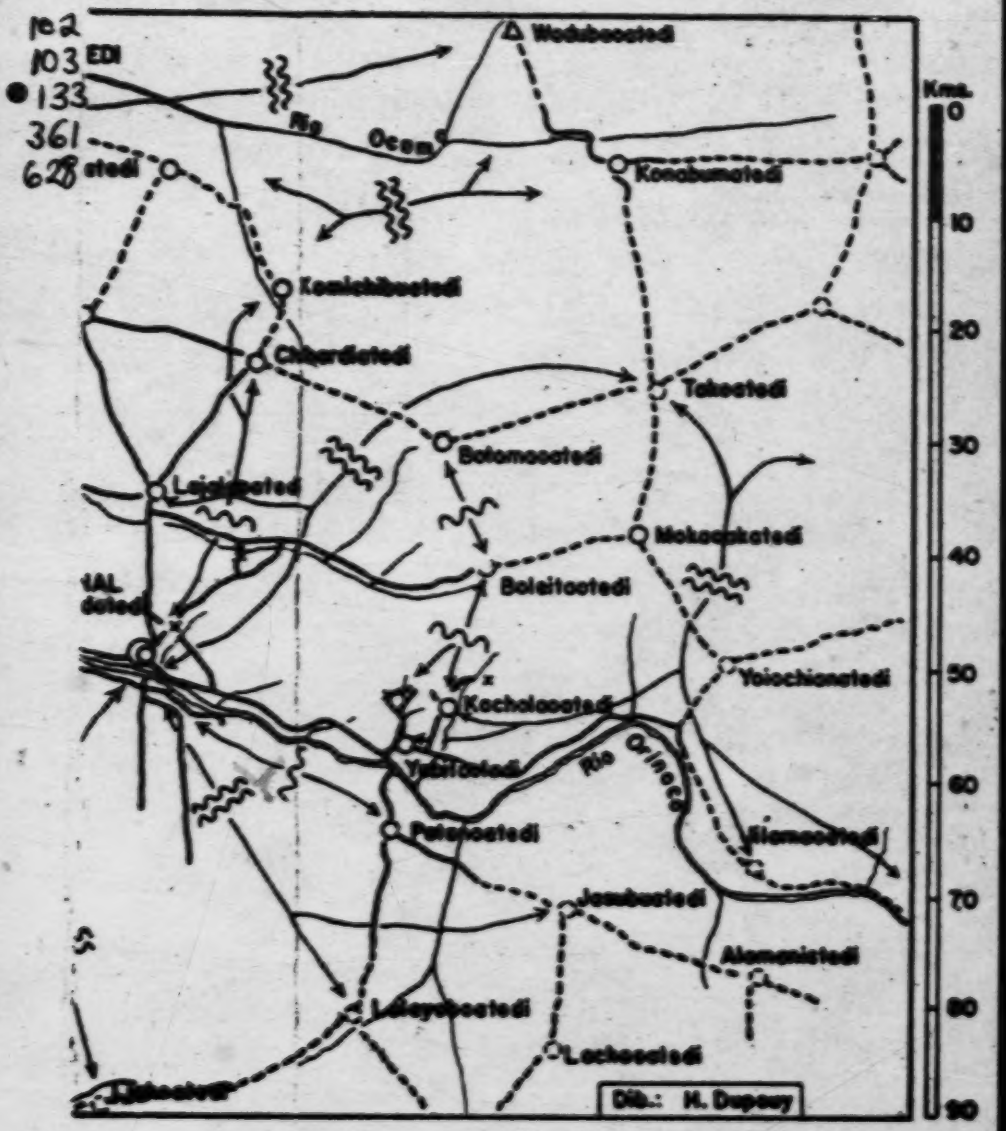
Waica
Guaharibo

102
103
● 133
361
623



7: Barker--8 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica
Guaharibo



/Drawing: H. Dupouy/

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

● 133

Cerro Yapacana dominates the river from a distance of almost a mile. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

114

Our three "lanchas" lashed together tow a retinue of *curiaras*. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

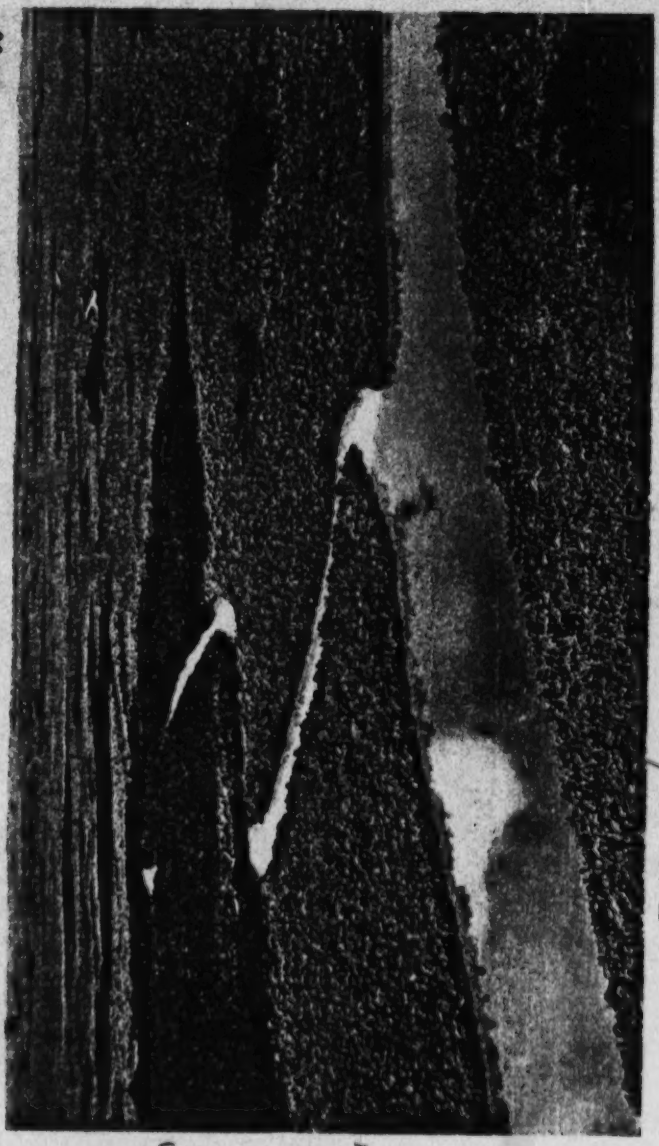
080

Raymond Pélegri aboard the radio-pirogue. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 80 - D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

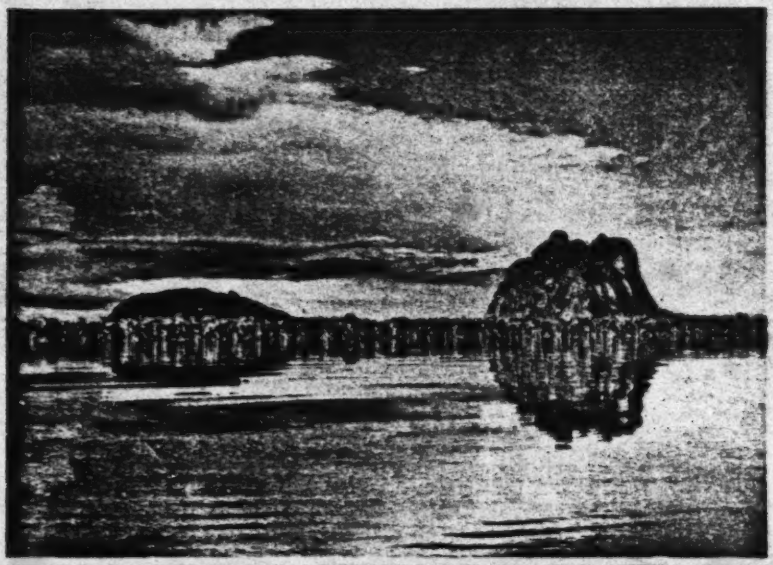
133



The joining of the Orinoco and the Casiquiare. (Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)

[p. 96-A]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica
●133
291
516
137



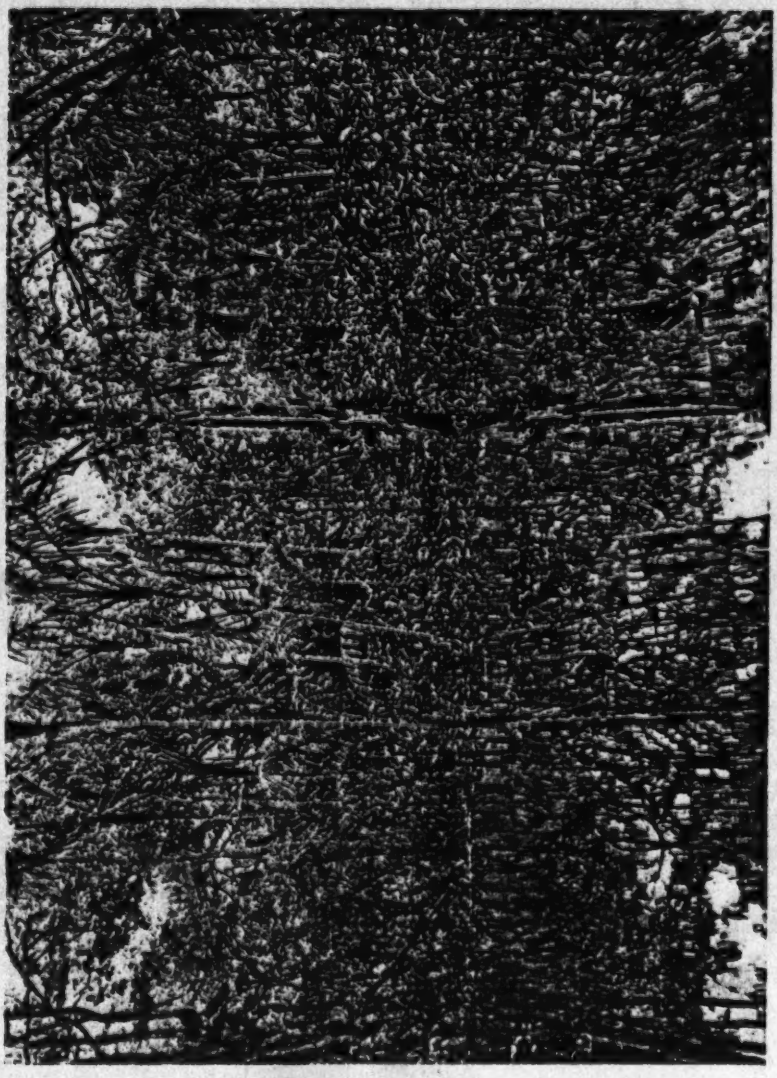
TOP: The famous Piedra del Cocuy juts upwards from the forest.
(*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

BOTTOM: The first Waikas appear between the trees and hail us.
(*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 96 - B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

133
137



Flooded forest. (Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)

[p. 96-E]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

one, a Guahibo, refused to be parted from his wife. Butrón 123
christened her Ana-Maria and she stayed with the expedition as cook and mascot almost to the end.

The Guaharibo Rapids are the first major barrier on the [133] •
Upper Orinoco and only Chaffanjon, Dickey, and Butrón with his wood-cutters had ever got beyond them. Even the precise location of the rapids themselves was open to question since what one has called the Guaharibo Rapids another did not.

Butrón was in command of our convoy, his old launch towing half a dozen *curiaras* and *falcas*. Though the river was in spate there was water enough for the launch only as far as the foot of the rapids. From there on we should have to manhandle our native craft up the rapids as best we could.

Our cargo consisted of heavy cases of reserve foodstuffs and the greater part of the expedition's *manioc* supply. We also carried petrol in forty-four gallon drums and four-and-half gallon cans, and a great mound of newspapers and blotting paper for drying plants which Croizat and Couret had entrusted to our care. Finally we had a considerable quantity of knives, machetes and other barter-ware. Our job was to prepare the way for the main body of the expedition who would follow as soon as their work at Esmeralda, particularly the archaeological diggings, was completed.

The heavily-laden launch made slow progress against the fast-running current. With the river full to its maximum, the banks, undermined by the rush of water, kept caving in under the weight of their vegetation. Forest trees came spinning and turning downstream. We passed many small tributary streams often without noticing them, so closely knit were the enveloping trees whose lower branches were washed by the water. There seemed no chink in the impenetrable wall of vegetation and I caught myself repeating de Civricux's phrase: "No way but the river, no horizon but the forest." There could be no question of sailing by night through such waters and so we made good use of the last remaining daylight by slinging our hammocks in tiers one above the other so that all fifteen of us could spend a comfortable night under the launch's awning.

The next day we passed the Padamo and its flood waters

9:Grolier K-5 (1991) 1997 8Q18 Yanomama

123 were, if anything, even more violent than those of the Orinoco. At its mouth it is about three hundred yards wide compared to the four hundred yards of the Orinoco just below the juncture. Chaffanjon, doubtless influenced by sudden widening and his growing proximity to the river's source, estimated these widths to be only eighty and one hundred yards respectively. He similarly exaggerated his descriptions of the magnitude of the river-bed. But inaccuracies of this kind were by no means uncommon among explorers of the late century. As Jean Hurault showed of Aristide Coudreau's account of the exploration of the rivers of French Guiana.

123 133 The Padamo comes down Hamilton—probably the highest massif of the Guiana mountains—in a series of waterfalls. It is fed by two major tributaries, the Volcano and the Manicuni, the last named rising in that remarkable "water tower" formed by the junction of the Sierra Parima and the Sierra Pacaraima; here rise the Ventuari, the Erebato, the Mavaca, the Auari and the Orinoco.

Three hours later we reached the Ocamo, above which the Orinoco becomes noticeably narrower, for only the Mavaca now remains as a tributary of importance. The Mavaca, whose upper reaches were explored by Cardona in 1941, runs practically parallel to the Orinoco in a generally westerly direction until it is diverted northwards where it meets the mountains and joins the main river. These mountains are shown in Díez de la Fuente's sketch-maps and are the cause of the Orinoco's north-western change of course as far as Esmeralda. Formed of layers of sandstone, their summits tower high above the forest. We had not realized that the sandstone Roraima Formation extended so far west, for that matter, so far south. Until then, we had accepted the generally-held belief that the granite mass of Pacaba and Cocuy was typical of the mountains east and south of Esmeralda. Observing from the river, it seemed to us that the sandstone beds were not horizontal, though it was not possible to observe either the angle or direction of their dip.

[27] We were using Harrison Rice's sketch-map [illegible] embracing the Río Negro, the Casiquiare, and the Upper

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

Orinoco to the Guaharibo Rapids. On this the river's course is given in great detail, showing not only the major tributaries but a great many minor ones as well, though there is no indication of their size. From first-hand experience it was clear to us that the contribution of some of the lesser tributaries was anything but negligible. There are, for instance, the Iguapo, which joins the Orinoco from the right ten miles above Esmeralda after itself being joined by a river its own size, and another river, unnamed as far as I know, which has its mouth midway between the Padamo and the Ocamo. And entering from the other bank come the Lipe and the Icipe, of which the latter is eighty yards wide at the confluence. Of these four only the Iguapo has been explored and that by Diez de la Fuente.

Above the Mavaca the Orinoco's mean width is less than two hundred yards. Its general direction of flow is east to west with a slight northern tendency and surprisingly, since it nowhere else does so in its thousand miles journey from Mavaca to the sea, it twists and turns pronouncedly.

Since we had left Esmeralda the only birds we had seen were single specimens of black ibis, large kingfishers and droves of white egrets. The egrets would sit craning their necks in the trees and, as we approached, would fly up only to settle down a little farther away. It was as though no human being had ever disturbed their forests. Once or twice we saw a pair of otters diving from a rock or dead tree stump and once we shot at an anaconda which was placidly coiled round a tree. We watched as it slowly unwound and disappeared into the murky water.

That evening we took one of the *curiaras* up a small tributary and fished, but the spate was too strong. Instead of fish we gathered some forest cocoa whose pulp is a refreshing drink when newly made.

The First Waïkas

The Padamo and Ocamo rivers are inhabited by Guaharibos. Above the Ocamo, the inhabitants of the Orinoco's banks call themselves Waïkas. They closely resemble the Guaharibos we had met at Esmeralda but are, perhaps, a little more primitive. Some had had previous contact with Butrón's wood-cutters.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

He told us that the

499 building of their crude bridges is a lengthy and laborious business and quite impossible when the river was in spate.

123 We returned to the river to find that those we had left behind had removed the boats to a safe distance—a wise precaution, since it was desirable not to excite the greed of the natives. Many an expedition, we knew, had failed through being looted because this elementary precaution had [648] been overlooked. Furthermore, such incidents can lead to serious conflict, as Cardona had learnt on more than one occasion. When dealing with such primitives, caution, good humour and nursery diplomacy are the essential safeguards.

As we pressed on up-river other Waïkas hailed us [illegible] banks. We did not stop, nor did we make any presents of *manioc*, knives and machetes to those who followed us, running through the undergrowth, and gesticulating and shouting as they ran. We spent the night in the shelter of a rocky island they could not reach.

The Guaharibo Rapids

123 By now the river's width was no more than a hundred and
● 133 fifty yards. Though its course no longer wound as it had, the current was no less strong. Rocky banks that plunged steeply into the water and boulders across the river-bed created violent currents and our engines had to go full out to give us the least headway. If the water had been low we should have been able to pass only with the greatest of difficulty. We passed through one such rocky race which Butrón said was the Guaharibo Rapids. Actually they were the Yamaraquin Rapids marked on Hamilton Rice's map and characterized by a huge pyramid-shaped reef. Butrón called the rapids, where we intended setting up Base Camp 2, the Waïka Rapids, distinguished, so he said, by a group of islands of rock and sand, of which two were comparatively large. These were mentioned by both Rice and Dickey, who called them the Gua- [13] haribo Rapids. Rice gave their precise position as Latitude 2° 18′ 18″ N., Longitude 64° 38′ 46″ W. We arrived there at eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

The Guaharibo Rapids are caused by the presence of a barrier of extra-hard rock—granite diorite or diabase—which sand and water cannot erode so easily as the granite base. The water meets this barrier and either pours over it in a waterfall or descends less precipitously through a race strewn with rocks and reefs which mark the slow recession of the fall. Sand worn from the rock also accumulates to form islands. The main race from its crest is about two hundred yards long, secondary channels being set up by the presence of islands. On the largest of these islands we set up camp.

Here the river again ceases to be navigable, but we hoped by using the greater depth of the flood waters to be able to push our way up through one of the secondary channels. If this failed, the only alternative would be to haul the boats overland. Whatever happened, these rapids marked the end of a phase. Once passed, they would cease to be an objective, becoming instead no more than a stage in our progress to the river's source.

[pp. 122-169 not processed]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

But ibis in immense droves refused to be disturbed as they covered each new sandbank that was born.

The water was as clear as if it had been filtered, its reflection of the sun blinding. Dark patches of smooth water amid the rippled surface elsewhere betrayed the next sandbanks to uncover.

We left behind the Padamo, Ocamo and the Mavaca, and all the time the river got narrower. We passed the nights on great flat platforms of rock which got larger as the water went down; with machetes we killed fish trapped in the rocky pools left by the receding stream. A dish of ananas and fish, half-soup, half-stew, is very tasty. It is called *sancoco* and from now on became our staple diet.

From Esmeralda we had brought supplies of sugar, coffee, salt, some oil and four big baskets of *manioc* from which we made coarse bread at all hours of the day. Several times we saw fresh water turtles clinging to the rocks and once or twice succeeded in catching one. But they are wily creatures and usually they dived before we could get near them. One we caught was handicapped by an injured foot which the men asserted was the work of a caribe. Unfortunately, it was too early for the females to be laying their eggs in the sand—they would have been manna, indeed.

We arrived at Platanal on November 21st to find that the bridge had been cut down and learned that this had been deliberately done "for strategic reasons". The Indians greeted us like old friends and unhesitatingly took us to the village. There we found feverish activity on all sides. A boy had been kidnapped from the plantation and another killed by an arrow through the chest. The corpse had been cremated amid ritual weeping and the ashes stored by the family in an urn sealed by wax. Not until the death had been avenged could they be mixed with the dust of the lad's ancestors.

The men had strengthened and consolidated the fortified enclosure and cut down the screen of trees round the village. Sentries had been posted and the entry through the fortification had been concealed by palm-leaves. Women were

similar to that presented here, and I regard my own efforts in this area as supplemental to the generally excellent ethnographic work of Zerries (1964) and Schuster (1958). Without genealogical data it is not possible to estimate the degree to which marriage practices deviate from stated preference, nor to grasp the importance of these deviant cases in Yąnomamö politics.

The histories of the five villages are equally important, as they illustrate the role of warfare in determining settlement pattern, the development of political ties between villages, and the process of village splitting. These factors provide the matrix within which the genealogical data become meaningful.

Piecing together the history of these groups of villages proved to be a difficult task. The geographical area under discussion is unexplored and unmapped. Not even major rivers are accurately known in their upper courses, so that of two published versions of the Siapa River I have had to choose the one most consistent with the account given to me by the Indians. The major problem in this regard has been the identification of a large river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u, whose headwaters lie near the source of the Orinoco River. According to my Yąnomamö informants (people who have either lived on this river or have visited or raided villages located on it), the Shukumöna-u, in its middle course, is nearly as large as the Orinoco at its junction with the Mavaca River. It flows in a westerly

direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of mountains. At a few points the Shukumõna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extending nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the Indians claim the Shukumõna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the Shukumõna-u of the Yąnomamõ. I have used more recent maps, also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

In reconstructing the history of the village movements, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimõwi-bora in Yąnomamõ) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karãbã-bora in Yąnomamõ) near the present village of Kashorawã-tedi.

I employed three sources of information to locate present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages I personally visited. Second, information from James P.

102
131
132

10:Chagnon E-4.6 (1964-1966) 1967 SO18 Yanoama SO18

351 large entrance, that leading to the river or stream. All entrances are covered with dry leaves and brush in the evening and the slightest movement of the covering creates sufficient noise to alert the dogs.

133 [137] The Yąnomamö occupy a relatively homogeneous geographical region of low-lying tropical jungle interrupted by densely-wooded hills that sometimes reach an altitude of 2,500 feet, some 2,000 feet above the elevation of the general

361 terrain. Larger hills are more common in the headwaters of [133] [484] the Orinoco and along the boundaries separating Brazil from Venezuela, but the Indians prefer to make their villages in the lowlands on small streams, as all of their travelling is [179] done on foot. Only recently have the Yąnomamö begun moving to the larger rivers, where they may obtain canoes and steel tools from foreigners. In 1950 there was only one Yąnomamö village, Mahekodo-tedi, on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River; since then at least seven or eight villages have moved to the Orinoco or one of its larger tributaries in order to gain access to trade goods (axes and machetes) foreign to their culture. The overwhelming number of Yąnomamö villages, [221] however, can only be reached by walking to them. During the [181] wet season (April-September) travel all but ceases between villages because the trails linking villages are inundated.

241 The Yąnomamö are slash-and-burn horticulturists, subsisting mainly on plantains and bananas, of which they cultivate four or five varieties each. Following these crops in economic importance are several root crops, including taro,

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 6Q18 Yanoama 6Q18

54

[Namowei-tedi Group]
[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

182
175
341
138
174

MAP C
HISTORY OF
NAMOWEI-TEDI
AND
PARURITAWA-TEDI

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowä, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Musirawä's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowä and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowä-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-käkö--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakö), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hąhoyaoba-täka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hąhoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasaböwä-tedi and Ashadowä-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

MAP D
The Location of
Uraricaá and
Mavaca Yąnomamö

occupying five different sites, each having its own house and garden. These five groups recombined into a single unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the southwest of the Uraricaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated. On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than on the Uraricaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of Yąnomamö from those whose social organization is described in this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Corresponding to this increase in intensity is a change in type of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically or not at all to the northeast.

There is likewise an apparent cline in population density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity. Yąnomamö villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However, another factor complicates the picture: the Yąnomamö have more contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also

[p. iv]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1966) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

2

Adaptation

128 THE YANOMAMÖ ADAPTATION to their physical, social, and intellectual environments is dealt with in this chapter.

The Physical Environment

131 Kaobawä's village[1] is Upper Bisaasi-teri, located at the confluence of the Mavaca
133 and Orinoco Rivers. Like most of the villages in this area, it lies at an altitude of about
361 450 feet. While some villages in Brazil reach 3000 feet in altitude, most Yanomamö villages are located at much lower elevations (Fig. 2-1).

137 The general area around Kaobawä's village is a low, flat plain interrupted occasionally by gently rolling hills and, more rarely, by a few low mountain ridges. The land is entirely covered with jungle, even the tops of the mountain ridges.

The jungle is relatively dense and characterized by numerous species of palm and hardwood trees. The forest canopy keeps the sunlight from penetrating to the ground, but scrub brush and vines manage to grow in relatively great abundance in most places, making it difficult to walk along the trails. Thorny brush is especially heavy along the banks of streams, where adequate sunlight and a constant supply of water provide ideal circumstances for its growth.

---

128 [1]See map, Fig. 2-8. Villages other than Kaobawä's have been included because they are discussed in this
126 and also in a later chapter. Presently occupied villages are indicated in upper-case lettering and by shading. The area shown in this map is unexplored, except for the zone immediately adjacent to the Orinoco River. The map is, therefore, largely calculated guesswork. To establish dates of occupation I estimated ages of individuals and obtained their stated places of birth. Distance and geographical location were determined by compass readings and measured in sleeps required to reach the location from a given point. I also visited many of the locations shown. While I was in Brazil in 1967, I checked the map locations with informants there, being encouraged by the fact that they independently gave approximately the same information. Fig. 2-8 is a simplified version of the more detailed map c in my doctoral thesis (Chagnon 1966). For more information regarding the techniques used in making the map, consult the thesis.

133
137
361
342
245

Fig. 2-1. A Yąnomamö village and plantain garden, aerial view (Toototobi River, Brazil).

487

TRAILS AND TRAVEL. Trails lead out from the village in several directions. Some of them terminate in the gardens that surround the village, but a few of them continue on into the jungle and lead eventually to other villages. The unexperienced eye would not recognize them as trails, as they are hardly more than winding paths through brush, over or around logs, through streams and swamps, and up hills. The Yąnomamö take the most direct route to their destination, regardless of the terrain. A foreigner learns how to recognize a trail only after considerable experience. The most telltale signs are the numerous broken twigs at about knee height left by Yąnomamö travelers who compulsively keep their hands occupied snapping off brush and twigs as they walk. Another sign is the occasional log that is worn smooth from the tread of numerous travelers who prefer to walk along a log rather than go around it.

The most commonly used trail from Kąobawä's village leads to the two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-teri and Mǫmariböwei-teri, southwest of Upper Bisaasi-teri. Hardly a week goes by in the dry season without a few individuals making a trip from one of these villages to Bisaasi-teri or vice versa. A group of young men can make this trip in one day if they walk rapidly and leave early in the morning. Older men, women, and children must plan on a two day journey, as they walk more slowly and rest more frequently. There are a number of temporary shelters along the trail built by previous visitors, so the traveler does not have to spend much time putting one of these into repair should he decide to camp overnight.

[484]

[342]
[485]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

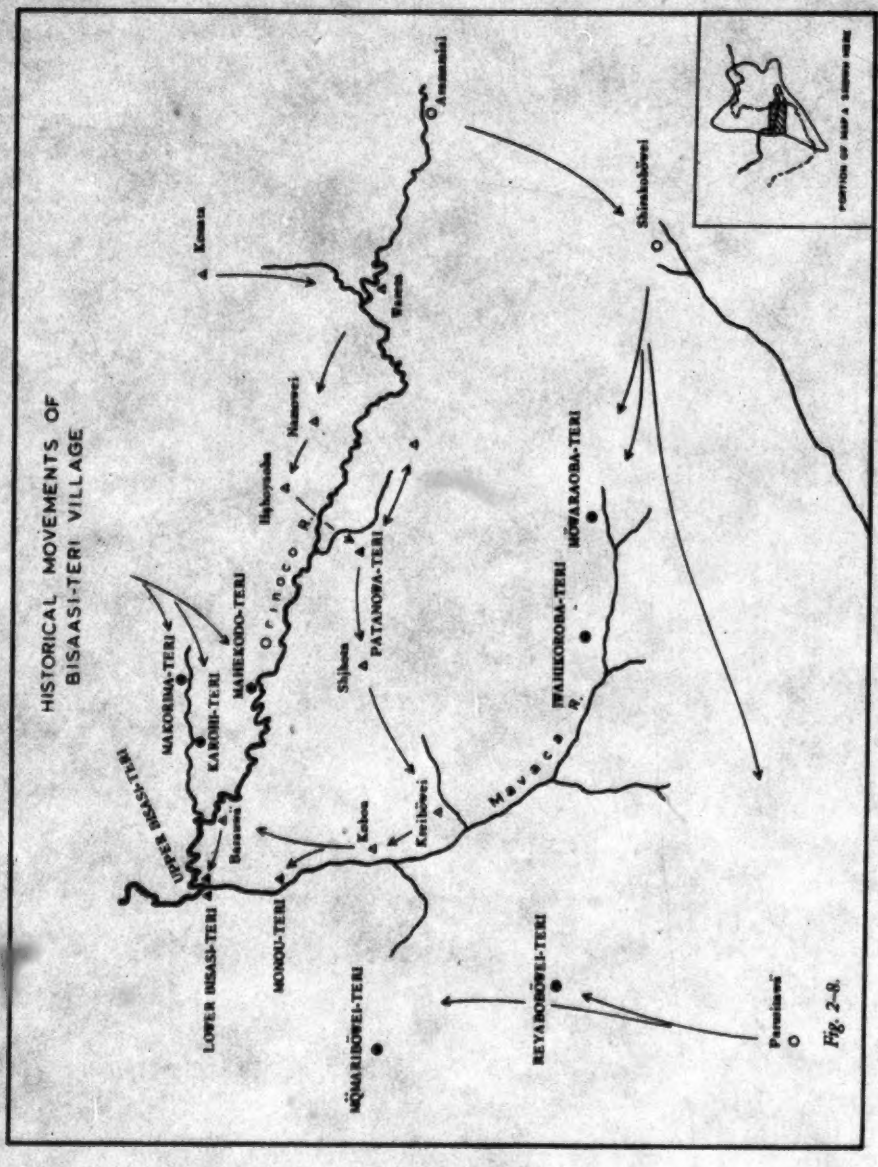


Fig. 2-8.

102
133
361
166

/1/

I. Geographical Introduction

131 The habitation and roaming area of the Surára and Pakidái lies between the Demini and Aracá rivers -- a terra incognita within the large area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, which up to now has been so little opened up ethnologically and geographically.

133 The Rio Demini is a left tributary of the middle Rio Negro. Its source is in the Serra Parima, in the Brazilian-Venezuelan border area, and its mouth is just above Barcelos, the former capital of "Capitania do Rio Negro." The water of this river is
133 white, whereas the numerous lakes along its banks and all its
● 134 tributaries, such as the Aracá, a right tributary of the lower Demini, have black water. The tributaries of the Aracá, on the other hand, are characterized by clear water. This peculiarity is connected with soil conditions, soil erosion, and the topography of the catchment areas. Thus, soil erosion in very mountainous terrain causes a light coloring, whereas in a very flat, swampy region dark humus substances overflow into the water and darken it. It is further noteworthy that black water is healthier and
133 tastier and, in standing, does not leave a dirty sediment. Even
136 water turtles and fish that have lived in black water are tastier than the same animals taken from white-water rivers or lakes. Moreover, it should be pointed out that mosquitoes appear in considerably smaller numbers along black water than along white. On the Rio Demini one can scarcely defend oneself from the small piuns (Simulium sp., day gnats) and the large carapanãs (Anopheles); the latter are the dangerous malaria-carriers. The lower course and part of the middle course are therefore completely fever-infested.

137 The two types of water also result in different kinds of vegetation. Characteristic for the Rio Demini are the igapós (inundated forests with tall trees standing close together), between which there is very seldom any terra firma. On the higher banks of the Aracá, however, one finds primarily low scrub-forest. The

/1 cont./

137 most important useful plants along the middle course of the Demini are the seringueiras (rubber trees -- Hevea brasiliensis Muell. Arg.), and along the Aracá and its tributaries the piaçaba palms (Attalea funifera Mart. and Leopoldinia piassaba Wal.). The chestnut forests that occur in the area around the mouth of the Demini and on the lower course of the Aracá also have economic significance. The chestnut, or more precisely, the chestnut of Pará (Bertholletia excelsa H.B.K. -- its fruits are known in Germany as Pará nuts), is regarded as the queen of the Amazonian primeval forests on account of its tall crown, with which it towers over all the other trees. On the lower Aracá the itaúba tree (Silvia itaiúba Pax.) is of special importance because it furnishes the best lumber in that region. Finally, a few other species of trees and palms, which occur along the Demini as well as along the Aracá, should be mentioned:

a) Trees: imbauba (Cecropia palmata Wild.), angelin-amargoso (Andira vermifuga Mart.), maçaranduba (Mimusops sp.), embireira (Anonaceae sp.), matamatazeiro (Eschweilera matamata Hub.), taxizeiro (Cesalpenaceae sp.), ingàzeiro (Inga sp.), abiurana (Lucuma sp.), cajueiro (Anacardium sp.), lucuma (Lucuma /2/ macrocarpa Hub.), wild cacao tree (Theobroma sp.), wild lemon tree (Rubiacea sp.), and cedars (Meliaceae sp.).

b) Palms: açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus Mart. or Oenocarpus bacaba Mart.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), curua (Attalea spectabilis Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), patauá (Oenocarpus bataua Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), pupunha (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), tucuma (Astrocaryum sp.), and ubim (Geonoma sp.).

133 The two rivers have many bends and during the summer months, October to March, flow relatively sluggishly. Their water level during this time is extremely low, so that numerous sandbanks
● [134] stand out. On the Demini the color of the sand is yellowish, whereas on the Aracá it is gleaming white. The average width of the Demini along its lower and middle course is 200-300 meters,

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying [361] and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka [622] is erected. This roça (forest clearing) -- hikarí --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, cará, cotton, [462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

[184]

368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since [134] the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132]

369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

241 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond
36 the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several
166 times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka
245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The new garden at Nahoyaoba-tedi did not produce satisfactorily so the Namowei-tedi established a new one south of the Orinoco River, Patanowä-tëka, and moved there about 1925-30.[1]

Area 5: Patanowä-tëka

This site has a complicated history. The Namowei-tedi lived here as one group, abandoned it, split into two villages, and each faction returned to it only to abandon it again. Ultimately the site was reoccupied by one of these factions, and that faction presently lives there.

Most of the present generation of adults in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi were born at Patanowä-tëka.

Three important events took place while the Namowei-tedi lived at Patanowä-tëka. The first of these was the development of hostilities between the Namowei-tedi and a Shamatari village. As this Shamatari village figures prominently in the later history of one faction of the Namowei-tedi, I make a point of identifying it here: Sibarariwä's village, located on the Mavaca River. The approximate date of the initiation of these hostilities was 1938-40, an estimate based on the ages of older children born at Patanowä-tëka of women abducted from Sibarariwä's village. Up to the start of the war with Sibarariwä's group, the Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with all of the Shamatari villages and visited a number of them regularly. Several marriage

[1] This is the only case I have of a garden being abandoned for soil fertility reasons.

105
36
[128] Summary

Tables 5 and 6 broadly summarize the movements of the five villages. As the details of the text indicate, considerably more village movement goes on than can be included in tables of this sort. The micro-movements, however, merely express in greater detail what is immediately apparent from an examination of Tables 5 and 6: the Yanomamö abandon their gardens and move to new locations because of raids from other groups. In only one instance was the movement of a village stimulated by economic considerations: site 4 was abandoned by the Namowei-tedi because of poor soil. Another exception was the abandoning of Barawä (site 10) by the Bisaasi-tedi in 1959. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River to gain access to steel tools, marking the beginning of their sustained contact with foreigners.

105
*621
578
*628
721 The tables also show that there were ten village splits relevant to explaining the origins of the five villages considered in this chapter. Five of these splits were due to feuds over women. In four of the cases the factions that were involved immediately entered into hostilities with each other. The recent split within Patanowä-tedi, discussed in the text (pp. 188-89), again over a woman, is not included in Table 5, as the refugee group did not form a new village of their own. Three village splits in Tables 5 and 6 developed out of minor feuds, usually over women, brought about by large village size. In one case, the factions ultimately entered into hostilities with each other, whereas in two cases the factions still remain on friendly terms.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

so frequent that the group elects to fission rather than attempt to keep an uneasy internal peace. Although a larger village has an advantage in terms of its capacity to raid other groups and is better able to defend itself from raids, the internal fights often lead to killings within the group. Then, there is no alternative but for one of the factions to leave. Its members may anticipate a situation like this and begin making a new garden long before the fighting becomes violent enough to lead to deaths, or a fight can develop unexpectedly and result immediately in bloodshed. The guilty faction must then seek refuge in the village of an ally until it can establish its own garden. Usually, however, the larger group fissions while its members are on relatively peaceable terms, and the two resulting villages remain in the same general area so that they can reunite when raids threaten them. This is the situation that prevails between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri; all three have a common history as a single village, but the members of each live in separate villages because of the numerous fights that took place within the group while they were still a single village. They continue, however, to rely on each other for protection when raids threaten. The Monou-teri (see Fig. 2–8), in fact, spent about a third of their time in either Lower Bisaasi-teri or in Kąobawä's group while I conducted my fieldwork. They were being raided by the Patanowä-teri and had not completed the new garden they were making. The Patanowä-teri forced them to abandon their producing site and move west.

The Patanowä-teri themselves were forced to establish a new garden because of the incessant raids by a number of villages. In addition to keeping always on the move between their two gardens, they also sought periodic refuge in the village of one of their own allies, a village two days travel to the south of their primary garden.

The raids against the Patanowä-teri by about a dozen villages illustrate a cardinal strategy of Yąnomamö warfare: attack a group when it is beleaguered and weakened by other enemies. When I first arrived, the Patanowä-teri were fighting only three groups. The Monou-teri then entered into the conflict by abducting a number of women from them, an act that ultimately led to raiding and killing. When the Monou-teri entered the conflict, they also persuaded their own allies to participate, bringing four other villages into the war. These, in turn, were joined by some of their allies so that the total number of belligerent villages rapidly grew to about a dozen. Many of them joined the hostilities because they knew that the Patanowä-teri could not defend themselves against a host of enemies. The new belligerents, therefore, stood a good chance of abducting women while being relatively immune to punitive raids. They could also discharge obligations to their allies by supporting their raids against the Patanowä-teri without exposing themselves to great danger.

In Fig. 2–8 the movements of Kąobawä's village over the past seventy-five years is summarized. The village originated at the site of Konata, occupied prior to 1900 by Kąobawä's grandfather. This site was abandoned because several villages (not indicated on the map) began raiding the people with such frequency that they were forced to flee south, cross the Orinoco River, and take refuge with allies at a place called Wareta. Similarly, Wareta was abandoned because of new wars, so the group again crossed the Orinoco River and settled at Namowei. Here, their old enemies again drove them out of the area, so the group migrated to Hąhoyaoba. Kąobawä was born at this location, some forty years ago. This site was abandoned because the soil in that area was very poor; even to this day, there are no Yąnomamö villages located in that general area.

361 578 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village [101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at that site. Kąobawä's group fled to Shijhoca, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a 361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take 726 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had 721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they *688 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab- [241] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kąobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954, *621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they [721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of [722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again, [101] to the site called Baraiwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kąobawä [648] and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to establish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an up- [101] stream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2–8, have a settlement *621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being 578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away 722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more 184 complicated than the history of Kąobawä's group, since village fissioning began much earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2–8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above two groups of villages.

361 Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Mąnariböwei-teri and Reya- böböwei-teri (see Fig. 2–8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the [134] past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by [648] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The [722] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neigh- [578] bors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yąnomamö. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of these.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

bath like this—we had never seen him take one before—seemed to prove the point.

Between the sandstone of the high plateau and the usual granite of this region there was here an unexpected intermediary layer white with kaolin. After another hour of hard going we once more found ourselves in the lush vegetation of the lowlands. To the left of the track at one point, in a cavity formed by the collapse of a big tree whose roots had been torn out of the earth, we found the light baggage carried here and stowed the day before. It was apparently unharmed, even if literally covered with a revolting army of termites. We had the packs taken out of the hole (with the greatest caution for fear of a hidden snake), piled them all up together and covered them with palm leaves—because now the Indians didn't seem to be in any hurry to cover more mileage that day, nor did they lift a finger to start putting up the usual shelter for the night.

The baggage was untouched: the possibility of seeing our expedition through to the end was therefore open to us once more. Such a satisfactory state of affairs filled us with enthusiasm, and we decided to sacrifice no less than four tins of corned beef. We shared it out among the porters. This extra meal put some heart into the Indians, and picking up their machetes again they beckoned us to follow them along the track once more, where it veered to the south, through the forest. We could make out from their gestures that we were close to the heart of the great mystery now, and so took plenty of ammunition with us in case we should need it. The gradient stiffened. The track turned to the right, into a thick maze of wild banana and thorny iriartease, and then through a little swamp where there were numerous prints of bare feet, to end up in front of a stockade of thorny palm, freshly piled up for some defensive purpose.

A sweet, heavy smell hung in the air—the typical smell of an Indian camp after it has been abandoned for a few days, which comes from rotting remains of meat and game, and decaying vegetable matter. The barrier of thorny palm was an insuperable obstacle for bare Indian feet. We followed it along to the right till we found a break, half hidden by a few tree-trunks, which led us inside the camp. At first sight it seemed no different from the usual Samaeari pattern. Here and there—all over the place, in fact—were piles of ashes and vegetable refuse of all kinds. But this encampment had one particular feature which, although the conscious part of our minds missed it at first, made us feel

/1/

I. Geographical Introduction

131 The habitation and roaming area of the Surára and Pakidái lies between the Demini and Aracá rivers -- a terra incognita within the large area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, which up to now has been so little opened up ethnologically and geographically.

133 The Rio Demini is a left tributary of the middle Rio Negro. Its source is in the Serra Parima, in the Brazilian-Venezuelan border area, and its mouth is just above Barcelos, the former capital of "Capitania do Rio Negro." The water of this river is
133 white, whereas the numerous lakes along its banks and all its
134 tributaries, such as the Aracá, a right tributary of the lower Demini, have black water. The tributaries of the Aracá, on the other hand, are characterized by clear water. This peculiarity is connected with soil conditions, soil erosion, and the topography of the catchment areas. Thus, soil erosion in very mountainous terrain causes a light coloring, whereas in a very flat, swampy region dark humus substances overflow into the water and darken it. It is further noteworthy that black water is healthier and
133 tastier and, in standing, does not leave a dirty sediment. Even
136 water turtles and fish that have lived in black water are tastier than the same animals taken from white-water rivers or lakes. Moreover, it should be pointed out that mosquitoes appear in considerably smaller numbers along black water than along white. On the Rio Demini one can scarcely defend oneself from the small piuns (Simulium sp., day gnats) and the large carapanãs (Anopheles); the latter are the dangerous malaria-carriers. The lower course and part of the middle course are therefore completely fever-infested.

137 The two types of water also result in different kinds of vegetation. Characteristic for the Rio Demini are the igapós (inundated forests with tall trees standing close together), between which there is very seldom any terra firma. On the higher banks of the Aracá, however, one finds primarily low scrub-forest. The

/2 cont./

132 Because of the nearness of the equator, it is very hot, humid, and oppressive in this region, yet not unbearable. For, on account [164] of the high moisture content of the air, there is, for example, no heat prostration and no sunstroke here. One can also sleep quite well at night, since the temperature then drops several degrees and is accompanied by a refreshing breeze. During the day the temperature of the air comes to 32-36° and at night 24-28°, whereas that of the water is usually between 29-32°.

• 136 As a result of the scarcity of human beings that prevails here, there are a great many wild animals and birds in the forests, in addition to the abundance of water turtles, caymans, and fish in the rivers, several species of which will be enumerated in the following:

a) Mammals: spotted jaguar (Felis onca L.), black jaguar (Panthera onca L.), puma (Felis concolor), maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.), tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.), deer (Cervidae sp.), wild pig (Pecari tajacu), capybara (Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris Erxl.) paca (Cuniculus paca L.), cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.), armadillo (Dasypodidae sp.), sloth (Bradypus sp.), ant bear (Myrmecophaga sp.) monkeys, such as the howling monkey (Alouatta sp.), cuxiú-negro (Chiroptes satanas Humb.), cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.), macaco-da-noite (Aotus infulatus), etc., sea cow (Trichechus inunguis Desmaret), etc.

b) Birds: mutum (Crax sp.), urumutum (Crax sp.), mutum-cavalo (Mitu mitu L.), jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.), cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.), jacu (Penelope sp.), japim (Cacicus cela L.), inambu (Crypturellus sp.), inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.), toucan (Rhamphastus /3/ sp.), arara vermelha (Ara macao L.), arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.), papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.), papagaio curica (Amazona sp.), garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm.), gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.), gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.), urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.), etc.

c) Water turtles: tracajá (Emys sp.), cabeçuda (Podocnemis dumeriliana), etc.

d) Land turtles: jabuti (Testudo tabulata Woelb.), etc.

/3 cont./

●136 e) Caymans: jacaretinga or jacaré-de-óculos (Caiman sclerpos Schneid.), etc.

f) Fish: aracu (Leporinus copelandi Steind.), piranha (Pygocentrus sp. and Serrasalmus sp.), pirarucu (largest fresh-water fish, reaches a length of over three meters; belongs to the family of the bone-tongues (Osteoglossidae). The hard tongue serves as a grater for Indians and whites), piraíba (Brachyplatystoma filamentosa), surubim (Platystoma sp.), jandiá (Scilurídae sp.), mandi (Rhamdia sp.), curimatã (Prochilodus sp.), pescada (Gadus sp.), dourado (Salminus brevidens), tambaquí (Characinidae sp.), mandubi (Auchenipteridae sp.), anujá (Trachycoristes sp.), cuiúcuiú (Oxidorus niger Vall.), etc.

There are also snakes in large numbers:

a) Nonpoisonous snakes: sucuriju (Eunectes murinus), jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris), etc.

b) Poisonous snakes: surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), cascavel (Crotalus terrificus terrificus), jararaca (Lachesis sp.), jararacussu (Bothrops jararacussu Lacerda), cobra-coral (Elaps corallinus Wied.), etc.

II. The Civilized Inhabitants of the Demini-Aracá Region

162 In the case of the civilized population, which lives along the lower and middle course, there is a mixture of Indians, whites, Negroes, and mulattoes who make a living as rubber gatherers, palm-fiber gatherers, woodcutters, fishermen, and planters.

Rubber gatherers work exclusively in the Demini river basin, palm-fiber gatherers and woodcutters only in the Aracá region. Planters, fishermen, and a few ambulant traders may be found on terra firma along both rivers. While the rubber gatherers on the Demini live in families far apart from one another, the distances are 10-20 kilometers and more, the woodcutters and palm-fiber gatherers along the Aracá have joined together in small settlements.

Surára
Pakidái

/78 cont./

222 carrying baskets. -- Of the fruits of the wild cacao tree (Theobroma sp.) -- boroŝ --, which has many branches and whose foliage is dense and dark, only the sweet pith of the husks is sucked out, while the beans, which played such an important part among the high-culture peoples of Central America, are carelessly thrown away (363). -- The apple-like fruit of the lucuma tree

[184] [192] [114]

363. Zerries reports the same thing of the Waikâ, and here the names are "loa" or "boholoa" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 150; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177).

(Lucuma macrocarpa Hub.) -- kumatô -- is valued for its sweetish, gelatinous pulp that surrounds the pit; the /79/ outer meat of the fruit and the shell, on the other hand, has a very bitter, unpleasant taste. -- The fruit of the wild pineapple, which only reaches the size of a medium-sized apple, is also eaten with relish.

The pods of the pacova sororoca, a Musaceae species (Ravenala guianensis Benth.) -- mokohé -- (364), gathered espe-

364. The pacova-sororoca is often erroneously called "wild banana" because its large leaves, which resemble those of the banana trees.

cially frequently, contribute more to the everyday food. -- When there is an occasional food shortage during the rainy season, the flat brown fruits of the pot tree (Lecythia longifolia), which are called uapû by the Surára and kurupû by the Pakidái, are appreciated to this day (365).

365. The Waikâ have the name "wabu" for them (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177); Barker, 1953, p. 443).

Besides these most important vegetable products that are gathered, there are also a great many animal ones. To be named here above all is the honey of several species of small bees (366)

● [36]

366. There are said to be more than 20 different varieties of them.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Sempronio—this was the name we had given to an Auai boy who had elected to stay with us.

We made our way up the river of the same name which plunges down from the highlands, with wonderful falls, into a ravine thick with vegetation. The Shirians were strongly disinclined to go anywhere near the falls. It took us three days to overcome their objections and they only decided to go along with us when we told them we should otherwise set off by ourselves. Luis Antonio explained that the deep pool formed by the waterfall was the home of an enormous watersnake, *Lalakilpara*—a monster which lay coiled in readiness to devour anyone or anything it saw looking over the edge of the pool.

We laughed, but as far as the Indians were concerned our laughter fell on deaf ears. Luis Antonio was no exception, and he warned us not to jest about certain things. Numerous trails made by tapir and peccary were pointed out to us as paths the serpent had taken. One curious thing about the monster which remained unexplained was that he came regularly along the river-bank to the Kirisochi savannah for his excretions. But at last the Indians overcame their reluctance enough to make an inspection of the pool. Dumbfounded, they had to admit that Lalakilpara didn't exist, except as a highly coloured fiction among their older kinsfolk, who could recount the monster's whole history. It seemed to us that the power of fancy had transformed a few cross-currents driven furiously against the walls of the gorge by the whirlpool set up by the tumbling water, into this gigantic serpent whose breath—the air-disturbance—could suck down any man or beast who went too near the edge of the precipice. As to the distance the monster covered for purposes of nature, the symbolism here was even clearer: what it sought to explain was the way in which the river's alluvial matter found its way to the Kirisochi plain. The water was calmer by the time it reached this point, and the detritus carried along with it tended to be deposited here. This fable of the serpent was an example of a natural phenomenon stated in terms of myth—the only such example we found among the Shirians. After we had exploded the legend, Lalakilpara slowly died away in the Indain mind, his place being taken by the aeroplane and the outboard motor—monsters no less fantastic, and no less dread.

The slopes of the Sarisariñama range were very poor in wild life, as is often the case with these mountains, and Luis Antonio, to whom we had given a gun after he had proved himself to be a better shot than we were, was only able to get a Capuchin monkey or two. We boiled them—the result being a murky

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

133 the forest lands, and their tops are so high and so difficult of access that this has helped to preserve a biological world completely distinct not only from that of the surrounding lowlands of the Caroni, Paragua, Caura, and Orinoco valleys but also from that common to all other valleys in the American [114] continent. A few decades ago, when the aeroplane first enabled us to study these regions and their geological peculiarities, some observers proceeded to formulate wild theories which aroused more legitimate emotions in the breasts of explorers and scientists.

The formation of sandstone and conglomerate which overlays the original basic rock of this region to a depth of 2,500 metres was eroded almost completely on the periphery of these uplands, leaving the great flat-topped mountains isolated. This geological phenomenon began in the Secondary Era, when the plant and animal life on our planet was appreciably different from what it is today. The process of erosion continued right down to the ancient granite crust, while on the uplands flora and fauna continued as hitherto, restricted now to their new isolation. Communication between the heights and the plain became impossible. The pressure at 2,500 metres is very different from what it is at four hundred, and creates peculiar physiological changes in the organisms that adapt themselves to it.

13 It seemed possible that the flat tops of these mountains, which from the air 114 appeared to be covered with bush, would not only reveal unknown vegetable species but also animals which scientists believed to be extinct. Perhaps certain monsters from the Mesozoic age—the Saurians, it might be, the inspiration of so many fantasies—still lived and pastured in deep chasms scooped out by the waters of ages. Speculation wove many a scientific fantasy.

In reality, the monsters remained well and truly buried in their geological strata and no mountain could preserve forms of life surviving through a radical 137 change of atmospheric and geological conditions. What did come as a surprise, however, on these mountains—and the Sarisariñama itself proved the point—was an entirely individual flora: orchids, epiphytes, bromeliads and lianas of hitherto unknown types, which are likely to keep botanical students busy for a long time all over the world.

136 The usual fly-catchers, merry little birds I had already known closely on other high Guiana mountains, came to greet us. Never having seen animals bigger than themselves, these birds took us for strange trees with two big humid flowers distilling honey at the top: our eyes. First one of them came

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

along by himself and hopped round us twittering. Then he flew off, to return a little while later with another in tow—perhaps the hen bird. Twittering again, he presented us to her as a fabulous discovery. They twittered a commentary and flew off, returning a little later, this time with a whole flock of friends. Then, with the courage that comes with numbers, they all made for our eyes to get at the honey. We were forced to disillusion them.

VIII

The Shirians have tobacco, *pihni* as they call it: even the most primitive and savage of them, the Samatari, cultivate two things in some hidden corner of the forest known only to themselves—tobacco, and the cane from which they make their arrows. Vice and war!

We were highly attracted towards the Uagna river lands, which, according to Luis Antonio, was country rich in game and inhabited, or at least occasionally crossed, by the Samatari, who inspired terror all round them. Enrico, Momi, and I set out on an expedition there, leaving Jean and Artur to wait for the plane.

We stopped on the way at the Uarema settlement; Luis Antonio wanted to show us off to his people, who had never seen men with beards and wearing clothes.

That night we slept in a crowded hut, and our curiosity was drawn towards a young woman who had strung her hammock between those of Uarema's two nephews (whose persons were adorned with feathers and plumes). She stayed in all day as well, a coseted Shirian Cleopatra, continually looking at herself in the little glass we had given her and adjusting the white feather boa which covered her ears and her shoulders. During the course of the day other women came to help her with her toilet, painting her cheeks and forehead with certain precise geometrical designs: they used red and black colouring matter which when dry shone like enamel. Even her little quid of tobacco was smaller and daintier than others used. Uarema told us that she was the public woman of the tribe.

Next morning, when we were stepping into our boats again, Pancho and Benito came along in a big canoe. They wanted salt from us. We had very little, and had to refuse them. They went off in silence. When they were two hundred yards away, they shouted something in our direction. Luis Antonio

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 replied. Another shout was hurled at us. This repartee continued for some time, till Pancho and his brothers disappeared round a bend in the river. Our guide gave us a rough and ready translation of the insults exchanged.

'Let go these bad men,' Pancho had advised. 'These bad men who won't give us salt.'

'I won't let them go, because they give me salt right enough,' Luis Antonio had replied.

'Let go of them. They're bad men.'

'No, I won't let go. They're good.'

'Let them go, or else next time I see you, you and your people, I'll put an arrow in your belly.'

'And I'll call up their aeroplane, and see your whole village goes up in smithereens with the Catholic Bomb!'

A certain linguistic confusion led the Shirians to call the '*bomba atomica*' the '*bomba cattolica*'.

[136] Our return journey was a triumph of navigation, and our boats were full of smoked venison. We saw many deer grazing in shallows where the tobacco-coloured waters were flecked with patches of green. A little while before we came out on to the Merevari, Uarema pointed out to us a gap or hole in the wall of forest. He said it was the 'gateway to the Samatari'. The river at once took on an atmosphere of mystery: through the smooth green cliffs of bamboo and kapok trees which towered up from the banks there breathed the chill wind of legendary evil.

We got back to our savannah to find the American girl, Jean, suffering from hysterical fits. Heavy rains had begun. Mountain and forest were veiled in greenish grey. Kirisochi became a swamp. From the Sarisariñama falls came a thunder that was like the voice of lands unexplored, an invitation to new voyages. A great project began to take shape in my mind.

Jean and Artur might wish to get back to civilization: Momi and Giovanni too. But Enrico and I had no intention of returning. For us, the expedition wouldn't really have begun until we were on our own, free to follow any course that took our fancy. An irresistible goal now lay before us: the land of the Samatari.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

next valley, along spurs which inexplicably began to rise again between streams rushing madly in all directions, now away from us, now towards us, now to one side, now to the other, as if we had lost our sense of balance and were spinning round and round.

Game was extremely scarce and the gun which Luis Antonio had brought went, alas, unused. This was a serious state of affairs: we had nothing in the way of rations but a little salt and were relying on hunting and finding fruit. Fishing in these tiny rushing streams was not likely to yield much. We had hardly anything with us except the gun, a hundred cartridges, our hammocks for the night and a few medical supplies—not so much for ourselves as for any Indians we met with, for experience had taught us that even the most ferocious of them would respond in friendly fashion and be grateful if we cured the sick. So there we were with our few rags of clothes, carrying our mystic handful of salt, humbly and nakedly challenging the great world of the wilds—those thirty-two hills, inhabited perhaps by strange creatures and criss-crossed with clear streams running in all directions. And out of the very humility of our position in the face of such tremendous odds we drew our hopes for the success of our undertaking, as if we were instinctively conscious of a fundamental justice in the life of the forest, which would not deny us its bounty.

Some touch of enchantment, as in a legend, there must have been about us: the animals themselves seemed sensitive to it—those few at least who roamed these hills. The first morning we woke among the trees—we had camped on the bank of a sizeable stream which according to Hashimo flowed into the Uagna—I looked out of our rough shelter to see a lead-grey puma start silently by the water. The creature had the same contented look in his eyes as a dog has when going for a walk. I felt no alarm. I just watched quietly, with no thought of grabbing my gun or calling the others. After giving me a long, brotherly, understanding look, the puma crossed a little clear space and went off slowly, as he had come, through the cane-brake.

So-called fierce wild animals see in man a dangerous competitor and they don't want anything to do with him. We often chanced to strike a region across which there never had been any paths or trails. The first night as we settled down to sleep we could hear the screaming of wildcats, the roar of jaguars and the odd cry of the puma which sounds something like a night-bird's call. But by the next day all sound from the wild beasts had ceased. The scent of man had driven them away.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

CAPTURED BY THE SAMATARI

Among the Indians generally, and the northern Guayca tribes, there is a curious method of keeping wild animals at a distance which is based on this knowledge. They search round the streams for traces of the path the animals use when they go to drink. Then they scatter it with human excrement. If one of the creatures comes back that way, he will suddenly go bounding off across the width of the valley to seek refuge in the rocky heart of the mountain, such is his terror of the very traces of man.

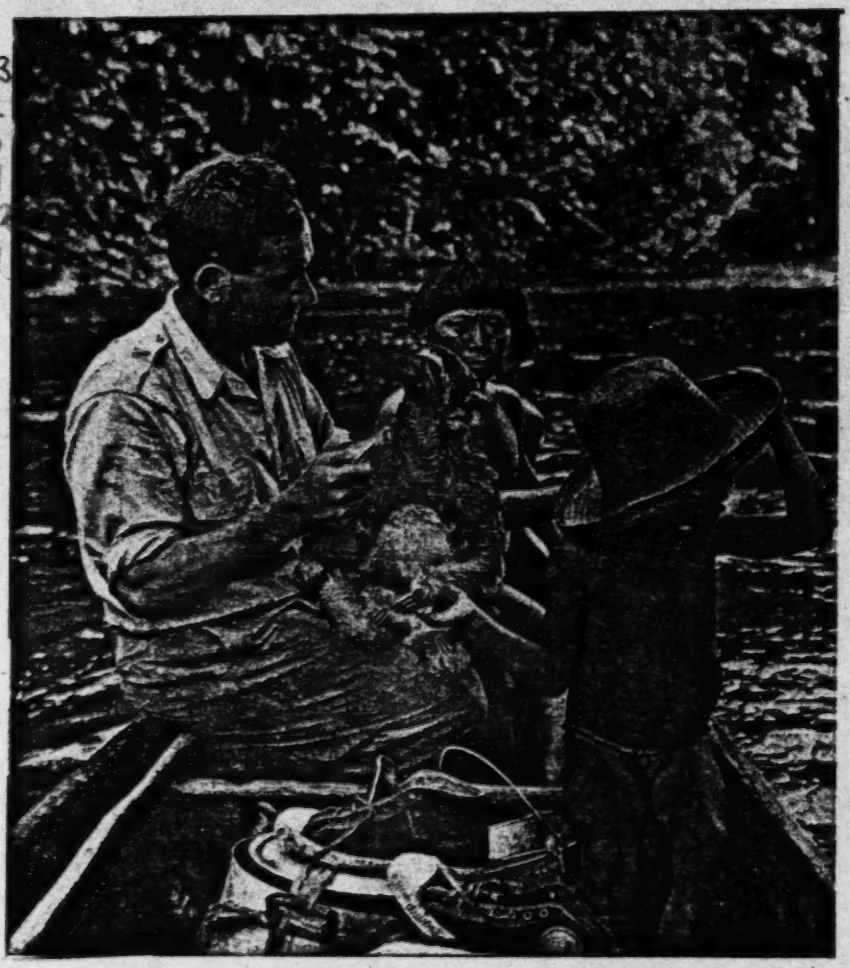
Before we reached one table-topped hill which we had glimpsed from the last high point, Uarema killed an agouti. We ate it straight away, with a few palm hearts from San Paulo palm trees which Sempronio and Solituan—the youngest and oldest members of our expedition—gathered as we went along, and carried with them like bunches of flowers. We camped on the sandstone heights, where the vegetation had thinned out and was soft and mossy, with great clusters of Spanish moss, drenched with water, clinging to the tree-trunks, orchids growing on the ground and curtains of lichen hanging from the trees instead of the lianas found at lower levels.

And with the change of vegetation at this altitude, there was a change of atmosphere also. From the warm, heavy air of the plain, where one could feel a lush exuberance of life swelling the sap of every plant and setting a myriad little animals in motion, you passed to a region of cold silence, only broken at regular intervals by the lugubrious chant of the bell-bird, a bird with an astoundingly long white tail which, from concealment among the bushes, gives a call of long, mournful, metallic ring.

After our high spirits of the first day out, which the luxuriant life of the forest had sent even higher, now, on the heights, we were invaded by a sort of melancholy acceptance of these cool solitudes and their touch of death. We wanted to drop down again, to camp in some little valley where the chances of encountering animals were always greater; but the hour was very late, and we had to stay where we were for the night, on the south side. From here, as far as the eye could see, the humps of the mountains stretched out before us as we peered through the trees. They were covered with a thick dark green vegetation, absolutely uniform, and underneath it a hundred little streams drained into marshy depressions. Hashimo pointed out the hills with his usual gesture. Before we reached the Samatari, there were still eighteen more, or so we thought.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123
142
136
291
302
501

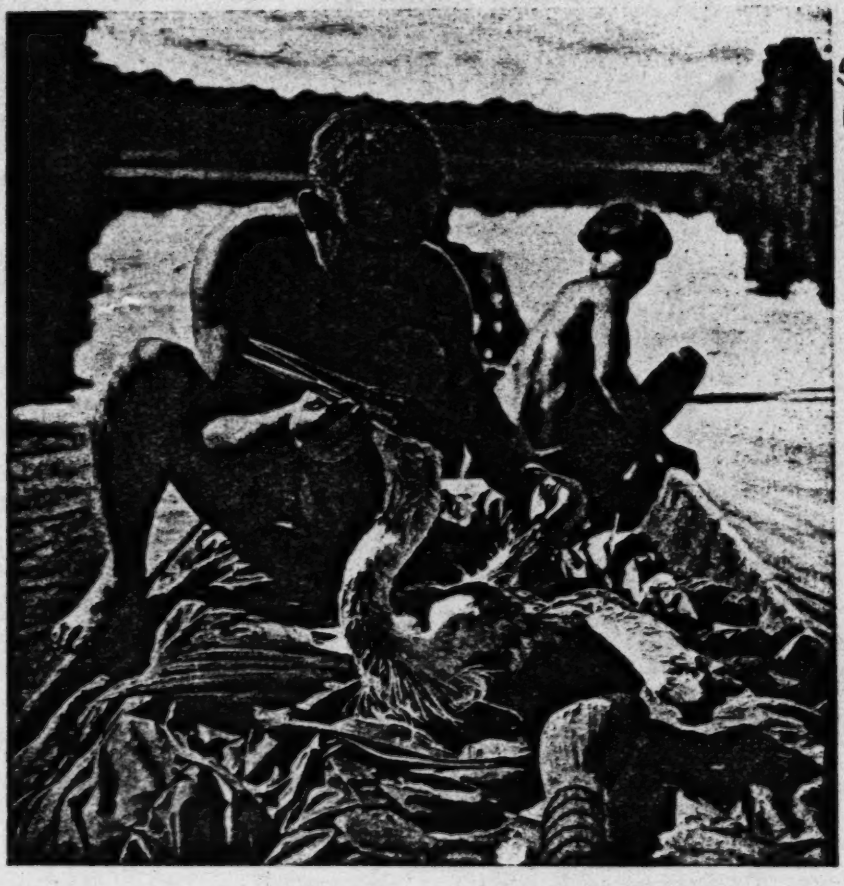


14. *On the river Wagua: a sloth.*

[p. 96 - D]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

136
501
123



20. *The heron.*

[p. 96-G]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Our chief occupations were the louse and the

flea—the penetrating variety, *Afroamericana nigua*, which keeps everybody's feet busy in the equatorial zones of our globe every bit as effectively as the dances that originate there. Americana is not such a bad animal as his African brother, the jigger, though he is more plentiful. Indian feet are full of him, and the open craters in the horny, almost bony patches forming the ball of the foot are evidence of the constant care they take to keep open the little insects' snug lairs and prevent him from taking up permanent residence.

The eradication of lice is carried out at a family or social gathering in a spirit of mutual aid. Men and women will all sit round together in a circle making a thorough inspection of one another's thick hair till they come upon the black louse crouching there silently, like a peccary surprised in the forest, among the roots of the hairs. He is taken between two fingers and disposed of in the simplest fashion: he is eaten. The same privilege is accorded to the eggs, which like all eggs must taste delicious. The nigua can be dealt with by oneself but female collaboration is nevertheless appreciated. A soft, gentle hand—Samatari ladies have exceedingly small hands and feet—introduces a pin (presented by us) or a splinter of Corozo palm (presented by the forest) into the little nest. The white grub of this accursed insect then emerges into the light of day, but the fate reserved for it is not a human end. It is thrown to the fish, which come along in shoals for the fat tit-bit.

We had no soap, and during these halts the best we could do was to splash water over ourselves. The Samatari were not interested in following our example: rain gave them the only baths they ever took. We couldn't even swim to get clean, as we had done in the 'black water' rivers higher up, because there was danger lurking here beneath the harmless-looking surface.

The perils of tropical rivers are five in number—five major perils, that is, because the minor ones, like the amoeba and other parasites, may loom large among the fads and fancies of medical men but do not form part of the psychological baggage of the explorer.

The cayman is king of these perils. His reign is uncontested. His body may be anything up to thirteen feet long, solid and impregnable as a crest of rock. Almost equal in rank is peril number two—the anaconda or water-serpent: if the cayman is king, the anaconda is certainly queen. She is a wonderful monster, up to ten yards in length, with all the force of a hurricane. And being a reptile, the anaconda has all the virtues of the reptiles, enhanced by her aquatic habits, which make her cleaner and nobler than them all.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

The poisonous ray with the sting in its tail lies crouched on the bottom, scarcely distinguishable in colour from the sand. The incautious man who puts his foot on it is immediately stung and suffers the most acute pain he has ever felt. In this connection, we may mention an interesting cure which the natives of Guiana resort to for ray-stings. They poultice the affected region with a compress soaked in water used for washing the intimate parts of a woman during her menstrual period. This cure has yet to be verified scientifically, but we hope matters will remain as they are. Why should the people be deprived of a remedy at once so cheap, so exotic—and so successful?

That freshwater electric eel, *gimnoto americano*, awaits its prey in the hopes of transmitting some of its excess electricity, which accumulates in its belly-batteries, charged during its periods of rest by the current passing from the anode of the rocky bottom to its own cathode. It is a short, thick eel with an ugly expression as though it had a set of false teeth, probably due to its compressed energy, a nervous force denied an outlet, and also undeniably caused by the glaring injustice of Man. For Man has raised monuments to Volta and Faraday which would more fittingly have honoured the electric eel.

Last—and most frequent—of the five classic perils, is that carnivorous fish known in Brazil as the *piraña* and in Venezuela as the *caribe*. In seething, ant-like swarms it will lie impatiently waiting for its bloody prey: and while waiting, just to keep in training, it will devour its own kind. Carnivorous fish are not all of the same species: actually almost all freshwater fish in the tropics are carnivorous, even the most innocent of them, and I recall now that the best way to clean up certain wound or infected places is to dip the part into a shallow stretch of river water. Crowds of the most sympathetic little fish will come along sniffing and nibbling, and they will clean up the wound in such a way as to strike envy into any surgeon's heart. But there are also fish that will nip off a finger, or any soft part, at one fell swoop—as often happens to the diamond workers when they dive into deep pockets in search of diamonds.

Generally speaking, the five perils we have mentioned, evil genii of the plain, are not met with in waters at a higher altitude. These they cannot reach because of the rapids which bar the way, and they would be unable to survive there in any case, the water being too cold for them. Only the king of them all, the cayman, permits himself to send his more modest envoys up into the higher regions—alligators of tranquil character and appetizing flesh. And the anaconda will, from time to time, allow her little ones, who are eager to get to

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

know the world, a few excursions into those terrible waters where the very absence of peril means, for these lowland monsters, the greatest peril of all.

V

The Samatari had now got quite used to having us in their midst and their primitive fear of us—the emotion which gives rise to an instinctive urge to kill—had disappeared utterly. The fear strangers evoke in them is twofold: they are afraid of being killed, and of having their womenfolk raped. We hadn't killed anybody, and the women did not attract us. We left them in peace, even when they were driven by their insatiable professional curiosity to inspect our private parts.

From being merely tolerated, therefore, we soon passed quite naturally to the stage of having a rather more positive value placed upon us. Soon we were superior beings who had chosen their tribe as the privileged recipients of our friendship. This was without a doubt an auspicious sign for them, and one they must profit by. For the moment the profit which the medicine-man had in mind related only to matters appertaining to magic and moral spheres and had nothing to do with our persons. We ourselves, indeed, were not called upon to play an active part.

Ceremonies of propitiation were enacted at night. The medicine-man would sit in his hammock with his feet dangling over the fire, invoking prosperity for his own people and ruin and death for their enemies (who were doing the same thing, in the same spirit, at the same moment, in some other corner of the forest). But the Samatari had us with them: the effect of their invocations would travel far and fast, like the explosion of the *bombamadé*.

The medicine-man would suddenly sit up in his hammock as if he was cold, and after burbling something incomprehensible, slowly shout out the name of a fruit—for instance, *monama*. The last syllable was held for some time, with modulations that reminded me of an echo rebounding from hill to hill. When this solo was over the men's chorus—they were all sitting round the fire in their hammocks, too—would take up the refrain, reciting a long litany full of mournful verses. According to the brief explanations given by Luis Antonio, the gist of it was: much *monama* for the Samatari and none for their enemies. Let hunger strike them down. They are bad men. A moment's silence would

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

always filled me with pride. By setting about it in the right way we can always manage to make ourselves acceptable to our superiors, but no such effort will ensure the same result with people more lowly placed than we are: for this, the all-important thing is to possess a natural bent, a certain humility of spirit and a sympathetic understanding. One must possess the faculty of becoming, up to a certain point, 'primitive' oneself, adopting all the healthiest attributes of the primitive state, without at the same time losing one's own value as a civilized being: one must be primitive and something more—not just the 'something more' alone, which rather amounts to something less.

It often happens that scientific expeditions, or explorers of one sort or another, venture into regions inhabited by primitive men with the intention of studying them. They approach them with all the preconceived and presumptuous notions of men who have read up all there is on the subject, and every single human being who shows up on the river-bank becomes a savage and must be catalogued like a butterfly. Thus the Shirians in all their slightly different types and sub-divisions are all called 'Guaharibos'—a name which means nothing and which the Shirians themselves have never heard. These scientific explorers may indeed take measurements of their faces and calculate the number of red corpuscles in their blood: the Shirians remain Sanemà for all that—people living in their own forest land, fighting their battles for their own special reasons, but ready to become men just like any others—because with a completeness and a simplicity that surpasses our own, they are men already. But scientific records lump the Sanemà and the Soto together under the barbarian headings of Guaharibo and Magnungòn, both contemptuous epithets, and humanity learns nothing from these explorers with their solar topees, who have scarcely got back to civilization after spending a few months in the forest and learning all there is to be known about the savages before they start writing books about it. If these books could be read and understood by the primitive people they treat with, the authors would be rewarded with a volley of arrows.

VII

Living improved considerably and there was meat now in abundance: the banks of the Uraricoera were full of game. The best cuts were reserved for us,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

and brought to us already cooked, in a wrapping of some appropriate green stuff—a dish beyond compare. At times there was so much meat (cooked and eaten without salt or spices) that we willingly turned to fruit again. There was no lack of that either.

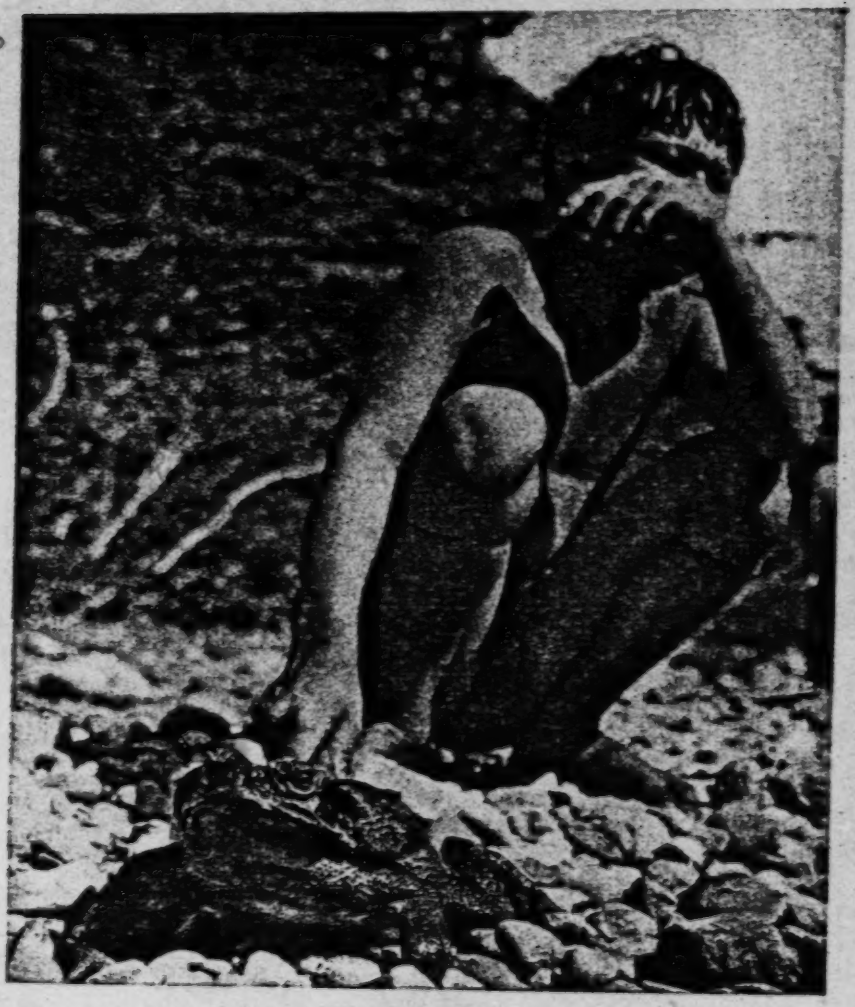
When a tapir or a number of peccaries have been killed and there is too much meat to be eaten up at once, the Samatari smoke it on a hurdle supported by four stakes driven into the ground. A fire is lit underneath and kept going all night—to the accompaniment of the medicine-man's ceaseless chanting. In the morning the pieces of meat, looking completely charred, are wrapped in wild banana leaves and entrusted for transport to some little woman who hoists them up along with the babies on her back.

I have also seen a sloth being smoked. No gentler animal exists in the world. She moves at a speed which never exceeds a few yards a day, and lives hanging on the trees with her young ones clinging to the hairs of her back. They captured one alive, and with the machete chopped off the three nails of its hands and feet, to make scrapers and 'bodkins' for various uses. Deprived of her only means of defence, the sloth kept moving slowly along, with a resigned, human expression which quickly won our sympathy. But not the Samatari's. To them, a sloth is an excellent target for archery practice, because it will remain in the same position—clasping a pole, for instance, without moving—just the sort of thing you want for a target. The arrows whistled past the sloth's wet nose, but its face showed no change of expression; then some struck it, but not in a vital part, and its fur reddened with blood. The arrows did not penetrate deeply because they were only practice ones, with worn tips. Had I had a gun I would have shot it, for there was such a look of gentle reproof in the little animal's eyes that it became unendurable. But the gun was a long way off, and our five remaining cartridges had been the subject of so much calculation, that perhaps after all I wouldn't have ventured to expend one on this four-legged Saint Sebastian. Soon, however, too many arrows had struck, and before the youngsters could get it to play with and drag it about in the dust, still alive, I asked for the machete. Laughing, in order to evade Samatari susceptibilities, I struck it one hard blow on the head which sent it straight to the smoking-tray.

We now had a definite plan laid and were spreading propaganda to make it possible, Uaremu and the Guayca Indians being our agents. We had now made the descent of the entire Aracoas and part of the Uraricoera, and before reaching

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

● 136
516



25. Sempronio brings his grand gift - a poisonous toad!

[p. 144 - J]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

cannibalism. When someone dies in battle, or through some other violence—when he dies, that is, in the full prime of manhood—the body is cremated on a pyre and the ashes scrupulously gathered. Mixing these to a paste with water, they make a block which is wrapped in banana leaves and kept for the ceremony of the Drinking, by which they believe that the dead man's strength can enter their own bodies. Such ceremonies generally take place at large assemblies, people from neighbouring tribes also being present, and the festivities may last several days. Our Indians, however, wanting to assure a good augury for the voyage they were about to undertake with us, had limited themselves to a shortened version of the usual ceremony, since in these particular circumstances there was neither the time nor the opportunity for more.

II

In three little canoes, two of them the property of Frenario's people, we went down the Yevarehuri, making for the point where it is joined by a slightly smaller, darker stream flowing from the south—the Matahuri. It had been raining ceaselessly for days and the rivers were overflowing their banks, which made it difficult to find a camping-place for the night.

On the second day we had two fair-sized falls to negotiate. The third day's paddling brought us to the Marahuri, but we left it to the right of us, its mouth being apparently quite blocked by fallen trees, and entered a smaller stream just to the south of it, which offered quiet water and a clearly defined course between the giant vegetation of both banks. The Shirians told us that this new waterway was called the Toroli—that is, the Turtle—and that we had only to go up to the source to find the track crossing the cordillera which led to the north side of the Upper Parima river.

Our crew was hardly sufficient and progress was exasperatingly slow. Happily, there was plenty of game. Guans and curassow were plentiful, as well as monkeys and sloths—the Indians' favourite dish.

Our head man was a real lead-swinger. From the first day onwards he complained of a pain in his foot which made him draw the line at heavy work. Under the drenching rains that fell with every interminable afternoon, he would sit in the middle of the canoe, and also in the middle of the bananas we were carrying, holding a palm frond over his head. If we urged him to do

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

we ate rice with butter. Evening found us a little higher up, in a featureless region. There were no streams, only dirty pools of mud and water tinged red with the clay. The track, inexplicably, was now taking us south-west, across lofty hills which grouped together were almost a cordillera in themselves.

The absence of game was typical of the higher altitudes, marked too by the coldness of the nights and the incessant rain which fell both then and for the greater part of the day.

From one steep slope, we suddenly saw the lowlands—a great valley lay spread before us, full of cloud. On its far border rose two enormously high peaks, conical in shape and completely covered with a greenish-black fuzz of forest. Over the leafy surface drifted soft veils of cloud, wafted on the rising breath of the valley. Through the trees nearer to me, I caught a glimpse of another, isolated, mountain almost lost in the clouds behind the two wooded peaks.

For a moment I had a deep awareness of the vast size of the forest: I absorbed it, as the roots of all growing things absorb the tang and savour of the very earth itself. Regions vaster than the life of a man! But more terrible than the vastness of the jungle was the vegetable life it supported—the expression of its universal power.

Euphorbia trees, with their soft wood and the nuts beloved of macaws, transforming that same tang of the earth, within their secret fibers, into the white milky sap that rises like a tide to swell their bark. Giant *guarumah* trees, generously scattering their legions of seeds on the earth to kill them forthwith by their own shade—so that the hope of seeing some new young tree rise up to keep the old one company must go ever unfulfilled—a blind orgy of creation that leads only to the death of the young: until at last the old tree crashes down and a great patch of sky is thrown open and the sun's rays pour through, to nurse the little ones and raise them up to look out over the tossing waves of the forest surface. Sandalwoods, sweet-smelling as incense. *Tacamacha*, distilling crystalline balsams in the chilly night. Cedars that the lightning splits as cleanly as an axe. Kapoks and Cecropiae, rapid in growth as if the very earth itself was swelling upwards to explode into the sun: light-timbered scatterers of seeds that are launched on the wind to bear the fecund message of their light-limbed race to every corner of the forest. *Ammonitae*, springy as steel, soured by their own store of bitter sap that holds back the milder, more insipid water. Ebony trees, secure in the hardness of their wood, the living outcrop of the mountain's

/460/ Hygienic Measures

514 Toilets for the elimination of excrement are absent. They consider the edge of the patio sufficiently far away for urination. To defecate they go into the forest at some distance from the settlement and away from the paths. An old fallen tree trunk is the preferred site for squatting down, and dry sticks take the place of toilet paper.

No one is capable of intentionally touching dung with the hand or foot. It is considered very dirty, and if one did touch it, his hand or foot must be cleaned and washed immediately.

The dung of dogs and of infants is removed from the patio by pushing it onto leaves with a stick and then throwing these leaves some distance into the forest.

For their nocturnal movements, they put a few leaves on the ground, with which they then make a package; on the following morning they throw them away at some distance from the settlement.

● [136] In El Platanal there is a green beetle which buries hard dung. Half an hour after a movement all evidence disappears.

Sites

361 The center of the area in which the Guaika /Waica/ live is the "conuco." In the forest which surrounds the conuco are located their temporary or semipermanent settlements, this depending on the type of terrain, whether it is sandy or clayey.

342 361 [136] Very simple temporary dwellings are used in areas where the fleas or "niguas" are a problem. This type of house consists of a framework of beams for a roof, with leaves placed on top and held down. These same leaves can easily be taken to the site of a new settlement when the Indians move to another, uninfested area.

A more semipermanent type of construction is preferred where the "niguas" do not present a problem and make it impossible to return to the same site. These houses are of /461/ similar construction, but are larger and more durable, and the leaves of the roof are fixed in place. This type of dwelling or shelter takes about five times longer to build in comparison with the temporary type of dwelling.

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123 [648] From this we deduced that the Waïkas and the Guaharibos, although belonging to the same racial group, do not always live together in complete harmony.

142 Generally speaking, the Guaharibo is not as tall as the average white man. Though he is of slender build, his chest is thick-set and his arms are muscular and we attributed this to his regular use of his immensely powerful bow. His skin is lighter than that of the Makiritares and his eyes are brighter. His hair, too, is less dark and is cut with a fringe all round the head. Body hair is but feebly developed and the men are [302] practically beardless. The two women in the boat were delicately made and quite pretty; they adopted a similar hairstyle to the men but rather longer. Their breasts, small and conical, contrasted with the opulent, hemispherical breasts of the [302] Makiritare women. One of them was clearly the wife of the leader of the party; the other appeared to belong to one of the men with the charcoal-blackened face.

123 Our Guaharibos very quickly became less suspicious, though they still kept close together. Each grasped his machete as though it were treasure, the women and children doing so, [136] too. Hardly had they disembarked than they were assaulted by the *plaga*, which were always at their worst at this time of day. The unfortunate Guaharibos in their nakedness fell an easy prey to them and were soon hopping about and slapping themselves with their hands and the flat blades of the machetes. Obviously they had come from a less infested country, probably from the banks of a black water river.

"General" Butrón, who had several times had contact with the Padamo Guaharibos—or at least with their cousins the Waïkas—suddenly produced a bundle of incredible rags which he had picked up God-knows-where, and began to distribute them. The scene that followed was quite grotesque. The women were no more capable of putting on a dress than the men were of donning trousers. We had to dress them as if they were infants, and replace missing buttons by string. As soon as night fell and the *jejenes* left us in peace, they promptly discarded these embarrassing and tawdry impediments.

We made over to them a newly-built *rancho* situated in the

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

Orinoco to the Guaharibo Rapids. On this the river's course is given in great detail, showing not only the major tributaries but a great many minor ones as well, though there is no indication of their size. From first-hand experience it was clear to us that the contribution of some of the lesser tributaries was anything but negligible. There are, for instance, the Iguapo, which joins the Orinoco from the right ten miles above Esmeralda after itself being joined by a river its own size, and another river, unnamed as far as I know, which has its mouth midway between the Padamo and the Ocamo. And entering from the other bank come the Lipe and the Icipe, of which the latter is eighty yards wide at the confluence. Of these four only the Iguapo has been explored and that by Diez de la Fuente.

Above the Mavaca the Orinoco's mean width is less than two hundred yards. Its general direction of flow is east to west with a slight northern tendency and surprisingly, since it nowhere else does so in its thousand miles journey from Mavaca to the sea, it twists and turns pronouncedly.

Since we had left Esmeralda the only birds we had seen were single specimens of black ibis, large kingfishers and droves of white egrets. The egrets would sit craning their necks in the trees and, as we approached, would fly up only to settle down a little farther away. It was as though no human being had ever disturbed their forests. Once or twice we saw a pair of otters diving from a rock or dead tree stump and once we shot at an anaconda which was placidly coiled round a tree. We watched as it slowly unwound and disappeared into the murky water.

That evening we took one of the *curiaras* up a small tributary and fished, but the spate was too strong. Instead of fish we gathered some forest cocoa whose pulp is a refreshing drink when newly made.

The First Waïkas

The Padamo and Ocamo rivers are inhabited by Guaharibos. Above the Ocamo, the inhabitants of the Orinoco's banks call themselves Waïkas. They closely resemble the Guaharibos we had met at Esmeralda but are, perhaps, a little more primitive. Some had had previous contact with Butrón's wood-cutters.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

133 But ibis in immense droves refused to be disturbed as they
123 covered each new sandbank that was born.

[136] The water was as clear as if it had been filtered, its reflection of the sun blinding. Dark patches of smooth water amid the rippled surface elsewhere betrayed the next sandbanks to uncover.

We left behind the Padamo, Ocamo and the Mavaca, and all the time the river got narrower. We passed the nights on great flat platforms of rock which got larger as the water went down; with machetes we killed fish trapped in the rocky pools left by the receding stream. A dish of ananas and fish, half-soup, half-stew, is very tasty. It is called *sancoco* and from now on became our staple diet.

123 From Esmeralda we had brought supplies of sugar, coffee,
salt, some oil and four big baskets of *manioc* from which we
[136] made coarse bread at all hours of the day. Several times we saw fresh water turtles clinging to the rocks and once or twice succeeded in catching one. But they are wily creatures and usually they dived before we could get near them. One we caught was handicapped by an injured foot which the men asserted was the work of a caribe. Unfortunately, it was too early for the females to be laying their eggs in the sand—they would have been manna, indeed.

123 We arrived at Platanal on November 21st to find that the
721 bridge had been cut down and learned that this had been deliberately done "for strategic reasons". The Indians greeted us like old friends and unhesitatingly took us to the village. There we found feverish activity on all sides. A boy had been kidnapped from the plantation and another killed
[764] by an arrow through the chest. The corpse had been cremated amid ritual weeping and the ashes stored by the family in an urn sealed by wax. Not until the death had been avenged could they be mixed with the dust of the lad's ancestors.

[712] The men had strengthened and consolidated the fortified enclosure and cut down the screen of trees round the village. Sentries had been posted and the entry through the fortification had been concealed by palm-leaves. Women were

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of them anxious to help me and honor bound to show any visitor the numerous courtesies of their system of etiquette. In short, they approached the image of primitive man that I had conjured up, and it was sheer pleasure to work with them. The recent work by Colin Turnbull (1966) brings out dramatically the contrast in personal characteristics of two African peoples he has studied.

Hence, what I say about some of my experiences is probably equally true of the experiences of many other fieldworkers. I write about my own experiences because there is a conspicuous lack of fieldwork descriptions available to potential fieldworkers. I think I could have profited by reading about the private misfortunes of my own teachers; at least I might have been able to avoid some of the more stupid errors I made. In this regard there are a number of recent contributions by fieldworkers describing some of the discomforts and misfortunes they themselves sustained.[3] Students planning to conduct fieldwork are urged to consult them.

My first day in the field illustrated to me what my teachers meant when they spoke of "culture shock." I had traveled in a small, aluminum rowboat propelled by a large outboard motor for two and a half days. This took me from the Territorial capital, a small town on the Orinoco River, deep into Yąnomamö country. On the morning of the third day we reached a small mission settlement, the field "headquarters" of a group of Americans who were working in two Yąnomamö villages. The missionaries had come out of these villages to hold their annual conference on the progress of their mission work, and were conducting their meetings when I arrived. We picked up a passenger at the mission station, James P. Barker, the first non-Yąnomamö to make a sustained, permanent contact with the tribe (in 1950). He had just returned from a year's furlough in the United States, where I had earlier visited him before leaving for Venezuela. He agreed to accompany me to the village I had selected for my base of operations to introduce me to the Indians. This village was also his own home base, but he had not been there for over a year and did not plan to join me for another three months. Mr. Barker had been living with this particular group about five years.

We arrived at the village, Bisaasi-teri, about 2:00 PM and docked the boat along the muddy bank at the terminus of the path used by the Indians to fetch their drinking water. It was hot and muggy, and my clothing was soaked with perspiration. It clung uncomfortably to my body, as it did thereafter for the remainder of the work. The small, biting gnats were out in astronomical numbers, for it was the beginning of the dry season. My face and hands were swollen from the venom of their numerous stings. In just a few moments I was to meet my first Yąnomamö, my first primitive man. What would it be like? I had visions of entering the village and seeing 125 social facts running about calling each other kinship terms and sharing food, each waiting and anxious to have me collect his genealogy. I would wear them out in turn. Would they like me? This was important to me; I wanted them to be so fond of me that they would adopt me into their kinship system and way of life, because I had heard that successful anthropologists always get adopted by their people. I had learned during my seven years of

[3] Maybury-Lewis 1967, "Introduction," and 1965*b*; Turnbull, 1966; L. Bohannan, 1964. Perhaps the most intimate account of the tribulations of a fieldworker is found in the posthumous diary of Bronislaw Malinowski (1967). Since the diary was not written for publication, it contains many intimate, very personal details about the writers' anxieties and hardships.

142
301
302
296

Fig. 2-3. Men blowing ebene, a hallucinogenic drug, into each other's nostrils by means of a hollow tube.

342

[136]

SHELTER All house materials likewise come from the jungle: poles, vines, and leaves. The Yąnomamö permanent house—*shabono*—is probably the most sophisticated manufacture produced by these people. Its construction requires considerable cooperation, planning, labor, and patience. Unfortunately, the *shabono* only lasts one or two years because the leaves begin to leak, or the entire village is burned to the ground in order to destroy the cockroaches, scorpions, spiders, and other vermin that infest the house. These can become such a nuisance that the roof is literally alive with bugs. Kąobawä's house was so badly infested at one point that the noise of thousands of scurrying roaches produced a constant, noticeable din in the village. Whenever someone got out of his hammock, the roof just above his head would suddenly come alive with roaches, disturbed by the movement below. As they scurried to safety, many of them would fall off, producing a shower of bugs on the occupants below. There were so many bugs that the increased activity above the moving person also increased the din, as if a sudden gust of wind had disturbed the dried leaves.

[462]

Each individual builds his own section of the *shabono*. The man usually does all the heavy work of locating and fetching poles for the frame, placing them into the ground or tying them overhead, and weaving the numerous leaves into the roof thatch. The wife helps by gathering the leaves and vines used in the construction.

[351]

The first step in building a new *shabono* is the selection of the site. This is usually some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump.

/114/

121 I shall describe to you in the following some aspects of the social structure of the same Indian tribe whose conceptions about the soul Herr Dr. Zerries has just discussed. The title, "Sociology," is too presumptuous, insofar as today I intend to deal with only the larger social units and thus touch upon only a small sector of the sociological field. I shall be able to present to you only raw expedition-material; the comparative arrangement of these data in South American cultural history will be the work of the next few months.

101 131 The Waika /Waica/ inhabit the upper Orinoco river region in southern Venezuela; their area of habitation, however, is not limited by the Sierra Parima, in which the Orinoco rises and which forms the mountain border with Brazil, but rather extends into Brazilian soil far beyond this mountain chain, about to the middle of the northern tributaries of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco. [161] The Sierra Parima therefore is more the backbone of the living space of this Indian group, which, according to the best estimates, contains about fifty thousand persons and an area of about half 137 the size of West Germany. According to external appearances, [132] this region is counted as tropical rain forest; seasonal differences are only slight and are practically without influence on the life 101 and culture of the people. The critical cultural importance of the 179 forest lies in its isolating effect: between the habitation area of [137] the Waika and the first mixed settlement there extends an almost [487] uninhabited forest-belt several hundred kilometers wide, and since there is very little river traffic and as other means of transportation there are only onerously traversable Indian paths, the culture of the Waika has been able to remain almost completely pure. Only a [797] few material things from our world have as yet found their way to them: a few machetes and axes, a few matches and fishhooks, which an American mission working from 1947 to 1955 under very difficult conditions and we ourselves brought along; since the Waika do not maintain any contacts of their own downriver, however, the barely begun acculturation process does not go on /115/ by itself, but ebbs away the moment the visiting whites leave Waika country.

/1/

1. Geographical Introduction

131 The habitation and roaming area of the Surára and Pakidái lies between the Demini and Aracá rivers -- a terra incognita within the large area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, which up to now has been so little opened up ethnologically and geographically.

133 The Rio Demini is a left tributary of the middle Rio Negro. Its source is in the Serra Parima, in the Brazilian-Venezuelan border area, and its mouth is just above Barcelos, the former capital of "Capitania do Rio Negro." The water of this river is
133 white, whereas the numerous lakes along its banks and all its
134 tributaries, such as the Aracá, a right tributary of the lower Demini, have black water. The tributaries of the Aracá, on the other hand, are characterized by clear water. This peculiarity is connected with soil conditions, soil erosion, and the topography of the catchment areas. Thus, soil erosion in very mountainous terrain causes a light coloring, whereas in a very flat, swampy region dark humus substances overflow into the water and darken it. It is further noteworthy that black water is healthier and
133 tastier and, in standing, does not leave a dirty sediment. Even
136 water turtles and fish that have lived in black water are tastier than the same animals taken from white-water rivers or lakes. Moreover, it should be pointed out that mosquitoes appear in considerably smaller numbers along black water than along white. On the Rio Demini one can scarcely defend oneself from the small piuns (Simulium sp., day gnats) and the large carapanãs (Anopheles); the latter are the dangerous malaria-carriers. The lower course and part of the middle course are therefore completely fever-infested.

● 137 The two types of water also result in different kinds of vegetation. Characteristic for the Rio Demini are the igapós (inundated forests with tall trees standing close together), between which there is very seldom any terra firma. On the higher banks of the Aracá, however, one finds primarily low scrub-forest. The

/1 cont./

•137 most important useful plants along the middle course of the Demini are the seringueiras (rubber trees -- Hevea brasiliensis Muell. Arg.), and along the Aracá and its tributaries the piaçaba palms (Attalea funifera Mart. and Leopoldinia piassaba Wal.). The chestnut forests that occur in the area around the mouth of the Demini and on the lower course of the Aracá also have economic significance. The chestnut, or more precisely, the chestnut of Pará (Bertholletia excelsa H.B.K. -- its fruits are known in Germany as Pará nuts), is regarded as the queen of the Amazonian primeval forests on account of its tall crown, with which it towers over all the other trees. On the lower Aracá the itaúba tree (Silvia itaiuba Pax.) is of special importance because it furnishes the best lumber in that region. Finally, a few other species of trees and palms, which occur along the Demini as well as along the Aracá, should be mentioned:

a) Trees: imbauba (Cecropia palmata Wild.), angelin-amargoso (Andira vermifuga Mart.), macaranduba (Mimusops sp.), embireira (Anonaceae sp.), matamatazeiro (Eschveilera matamata Hub.), taxizeiro (Cesalpenaceae sp.), ingàzeiro (Inga sp.), abiurana (Lucuma sp.), cajueiro (Anacardium sp.), lucuma (Lucuma /2/ macrocarpa Hub.), wild cacao tree (Theobroma sp.), wild lemon tree (Rubiacea sp.), and cedars (Meliaceae sp.).

b) Palms: açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus Mart. or Oenocarpus bacaba Mart.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), curua (Attalea spectabilis Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), patauá (Oenocarpus bataua Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), pupunha (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), tucuma (Astrocaryum sp.), and ubim (Geonoma sp.).

133 The two rivers have many bends and during the summer months, October to March, flow relatively sluggishly. Their water level during this time is extremely low, so that numerous sandbanks
[134] stand out. On the Demini the color of the sand is yellowish, whereas on the Aracá it is gleaming white. The average width of the Demini along its lower and middle course is 200-300 meters,

/2 cont./

133 that of the Aracá 300-400 meters. This may be why, on old maps, the Aracá is erroneously designated as the main river; the course of the Demini, however, is considerably longer. In the middle and upper courses of the aforementioned rivers there are rapids, the crossing of which often endangers life.

The area lying between the rivers represents one of those inselberg landscapes which are so characteristic for the region
133 of the middle and upper Rio Negro. Cone-, dome-, or ridge-
137 shaped granite mountains which individually or occasionally in groups rise up to 400 meters in the form of small massifs or short mountain chains offer a conspicuous contrast to the plain covered with dense primeval forest. Their relatively flat peaks and the gently sloping alluvial cones at the foot are likewise
133 densely forested. At the middle height, however, there appear steep, smooth granite walls looking fluted because of the many rain furrows.

Morphologically these elevations belong to a type which Passarge discusses in his Kalahari work (1) and elsewhere (2) and

1. Passarge, 1904a.

2. Passarge, 1904b.

which he has defined, following Bornhardt, as inselberge. These granite mountains in the Rio Negro region have already been strikingly described by Spruce (3). According to Brandt, who dealt

3. Spruce, 1908, p. 383.

in detail with the morphogenesis of isolated granite mountains, their cone-shaped appearance may be traced back to a "peeling process" of periclinal granite folds (4).

4. Brandt, 1917, pp. 52 ff.

Surára
Waiká
Shiriana
Pakidái

/55 cont./ The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their occasional contacts with the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) on the Rio Aracá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the ax -- hanhokomá. The blade alone is named synonymously, whereas the shaft is called -- hanhokomáhitohí. Most probably the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according to Schuster, for the Waiká (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the Xiriána seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg writes: "They (the Xiriána) in former times apparently had no axes at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

12. Equipment for Climbing

To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus or Oenocarpus /56/ bacaba Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), tucuma palm (Astrocaryum sp.), and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring -- horohoromá --, which consists of a split liana (cipó-titica) rolled up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears here./

/56 cont./

481 The man, sometimes also the woman, puts this ring around the feet and presses them, with the hollow between the ball of the foot and the heel, in the form of a prehensile foot, firmly against the trunk so that they are fairly sucked against the bark. He assumes a squatting position and then hoists his body upward.

Fig. 27. Climbing ring.

Although he embraces the trunk with his arms and hands, for climbing he uses only his feet, which, because of the ring, always have a firm grip. This grip becomes particularly important after the man has reached the top where he now uses both hands to cut off the fruits.

[191] Such climbing rings are known in many parts of South America and are also used by the caboclos (Brazilian country people). The invention, however, seems to be of Indian origin.

481 222 [137] The pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), however, which plays such an important role in the economic life of the Surára and Pakidái, cannot be climbed in this fashion, because its trunk, the diameter of which is 60-80 centimeters, is covered with long, pointed thorns. In order to be able to harvest its fruits [184] in spite of this, these Indians use a climbing apparatus -- kanaáke -- which is also familiar to the Waiká (311b).

311b. Barker, 1953, p. 446 and Fig. 1.

Surára
Pakidái

/81 cont./

245
[481]

with a specially constructed apparatus (see p. 120), bears very narrow, pinnate leaves that are curly at the tips and are always gently swaying in the wind. They stand around the community house like sentinels and seem to be perpetually nodding benevolently and reassuringly to the inhabitants of the large, open maloka (Ill. 6). Their fruits -- maraxá -- (377),

377. The name among the Waiká is very similar -- "lasha" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149).

50-80 of which form a cluster, are noteworthy. They can be harvested only once a year, between September-April, but each palm has at least three, and sometimes four clusters, that is to say, approximately 200-300 fruits. At first they look yellow, but after ripening they take on a bright red color. In contrast to other palm fruits, they are characterized by especially abundant meat.

● 137
245
114

As to the question of whether or not the pupunha fruit has seeds, there are various opinions. Zerries did not find any seedless ones (378). On the other hand, I saw fruits with

378. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

seeds and without. This observation is confirmed by statements by Sauer, who writes: "In many cases it has lost the capacity to produce fertile seeds..." /cited in English/ (379).

379. Sauer, 1950 p. 525.

And even Alexander von Humboldt (380) and Vinci (381)

380. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 281.

381. Vinci, 1956 pp. 370-375.

245
•137
114
[104]
[184]

/81 cont./
mention such seedless fruits (382).

382. Zerries, moreover, thinks it is possible that among the Waiká the pupunha fruit was the predecessor of the mealy banana (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

244 The cultivation of tubers, which is always done separately from the banana plantings, has hitherto been practiced on only a very modest scale. It includes the cultivation of taioba or taro (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.) -- ohĩná -- (383), cará or yams (Dioscorea

383. Among the Waiká the corresponding name is "ohina" (Zerries, 1956b p. 153).

sp.) -- cabiromá -- sweet manioc, known in Brazil as macaxeira aipim or mandioca doce (Manihot palmata Muell. Arg.) -- mihitarima -- bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima Pohl) -- kuamirimakóke --, and sweet potatoes (Ipomoea batatas Lam.) -- hikarí -- (384). Worth mentioning

249
243

384. The Waiká call the sweet potato "higalí" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

also are the sugar cane plantings (sugar cane (Saccharum officinale) -- bukí -- (385)) and the absence of maize (386).

385. The Waiká have the same word for sugar cane (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

[184]

386. Zerries, to be sure, found evidence of its cultivation by the Waiká. But, he adds, maize "is little more than a rare delicacy" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

252
262

394. (cont.)
nourishment during their first and second menstruation (see p. 142), and it represents the most important item of food for pregnant women, and for several months after confinement. Among the Tapirapé, on the other [171] hand, where the banana also represents a basic part of the diet, parents must refrain from eating this fruit after a birth. "They believe that the child would die if they disregarded this rule" /cited in English/ (Baldus, 1956b, p. 601).

252 raw. -- The mealy, nourishing fruits of the pupunha palm are primarily boiled. Then the soup is allowed to cool and a refreshing drink is obtained in this way. Before festivals all the [415] women pour it into a large, wooden trough, which is found in every maloka, so that there will be enough on hand. By means of steaming or roasting, a solid food is also prepared from them (395). --

[114]
• [137]

395. Alexander von Humboldt, by the way designates the pupunha or pihiguao palm as "Pfirsich-palme" /peach palm/ and praises the delicious taste of its fruit (Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 281 f., 300; IV, p. 145). I cannot agree with the great scholar in this, for to me it tasted like slightly bitter potatoes. Zerries, by the way, is of the same opinion (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

Tubaba, cará, sweet potatoes, and sweet manioc are steamed in a pot or roasted in hot ashes without being previously washed or 252 peeled. -- Bitter manioc is scraped by the women with the 412 lancet-shaped bamboo knife (see p. 118) and then grated on a rough slab of granite, for they do not have grating boards (396) (397).

[177]
[123]

396. My servant Mateus, however, made them

2: Becher--266 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidái

/1/

137
133
648

Ill. 1. Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" on the middle Rio Demini

2: Becher--267 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sutáṛa
Pakidái
/2/
133
•139

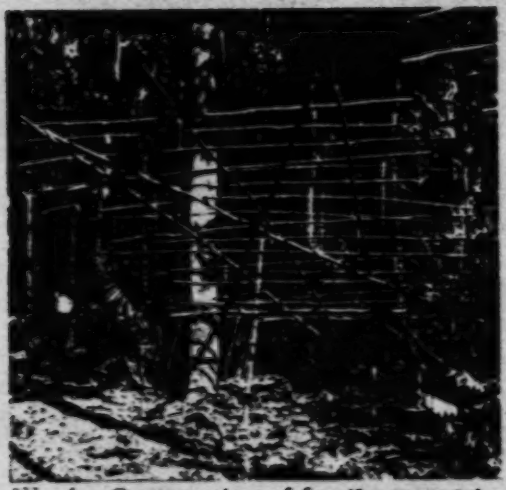
Ill. 2. Cachoeira (rapids) dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá (during the dry season)

Ill. 3. Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá (during the rainy season)

2: Becher--268 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/3/

342



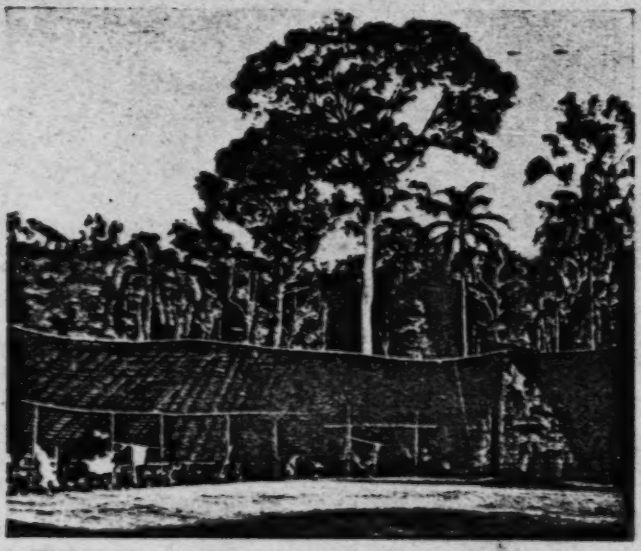
Ill. 4. Construction of family overnight quarters during migrations of the tribe

133
137
361

Ill. 5. View of the large open Surára maloka in the region between the Demini and Aracá

2: Becher--269 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

14/
139
342
361



Ill. 6. A section of the large, open Surára maloka

342
361
231
343
622

Ill. 7. Chief's hut (right) and rooster pen inside the Surára maloka

2: Becher-- 272 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Shiriana
Karauateri
Pusehewéteri

/7/

Ill. 15. Surára family. (The woman is a member of the Pusehewéteri and wears the characteristic fringed belt of this tribe)

142
291
302
516
854
←

142
301
302
→

Ill. 16. Xiriána woman, Ironasteri, with deforming facial adornment

Ill. 17. Nikeromá, a girl of the hostile Karauateri. (She is a captive of the Surára)

137
142
291
302

Ill. 18. Nikeromá (rear view)

2: Becher--273 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

142
302
304

142
291
302
516

Ill: 19. Yaxoíma, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing

Ill. 20. Yaxoíma (left) and Rokoahíma, two Surára girls

124
137
142
291
302
516

142
291
302
237
516

Ill. 21. Jibeauwõ, my little interpreter (right), and Mauahemá (two orphan boys from the tribe of the Surára)

Ill. 22. Two Surára boys. Xaniwõ (right) and Mauahemá, who holds a monkey bladder between his leg

2: Becher--274 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/9/

Ill. 23. The Surára boy Xaniwõ

139
142
291
302
516
142
302
304

Ill. 24. Pakidái woman, Riopemí

Ill. 25. The two oldest Surára women: Rokomá (right and Cinapemí

142
302
516

Ill. 26. Hammock of embira

352

Ill. 27. Liana hammock

Ill. 28. Plaited hammock of cotton

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/12/

137
241
622
516
412

Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

137
481

114
142
302
291
516
624

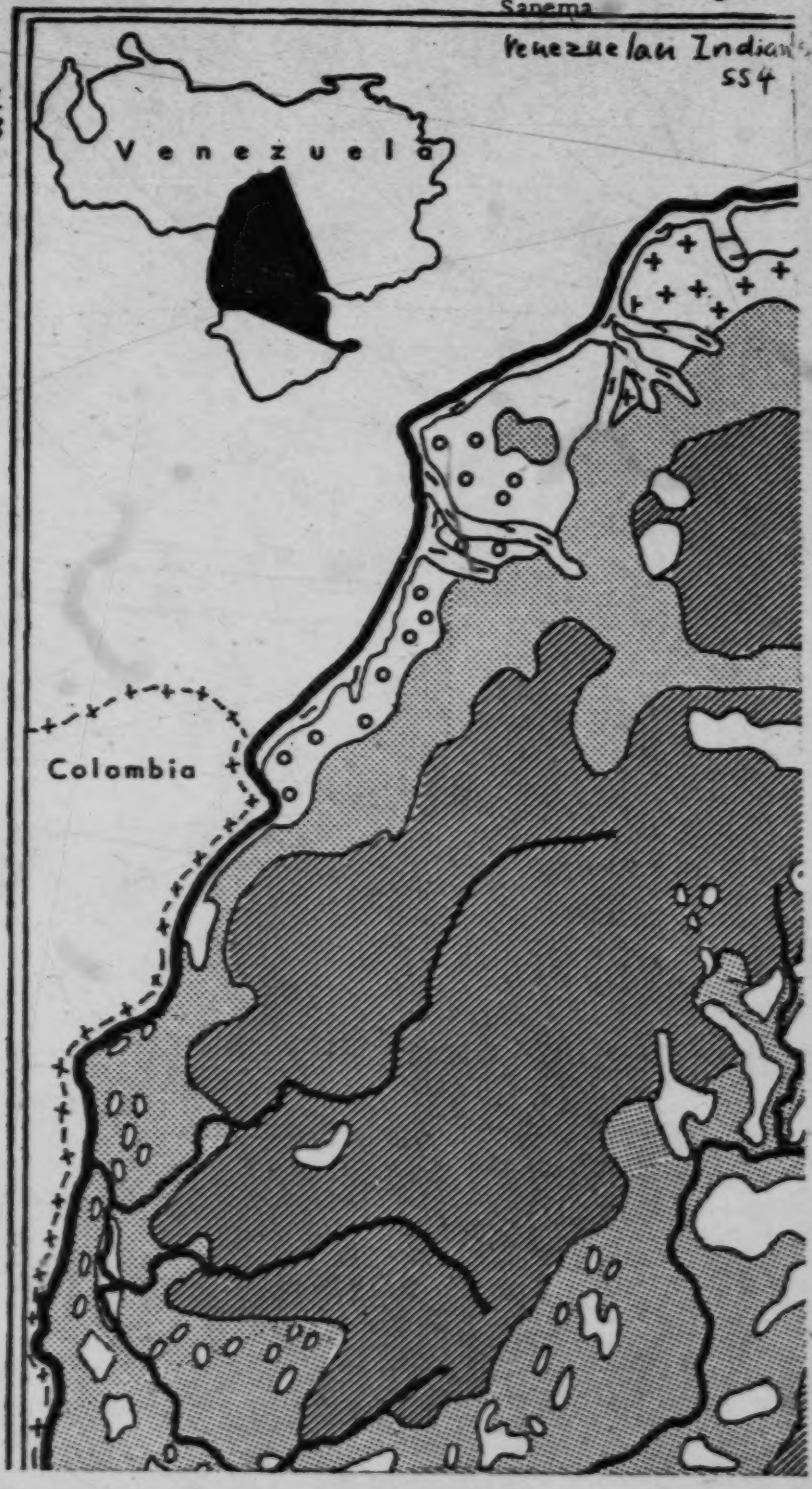
Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

4: Wilbert--14 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Sanema

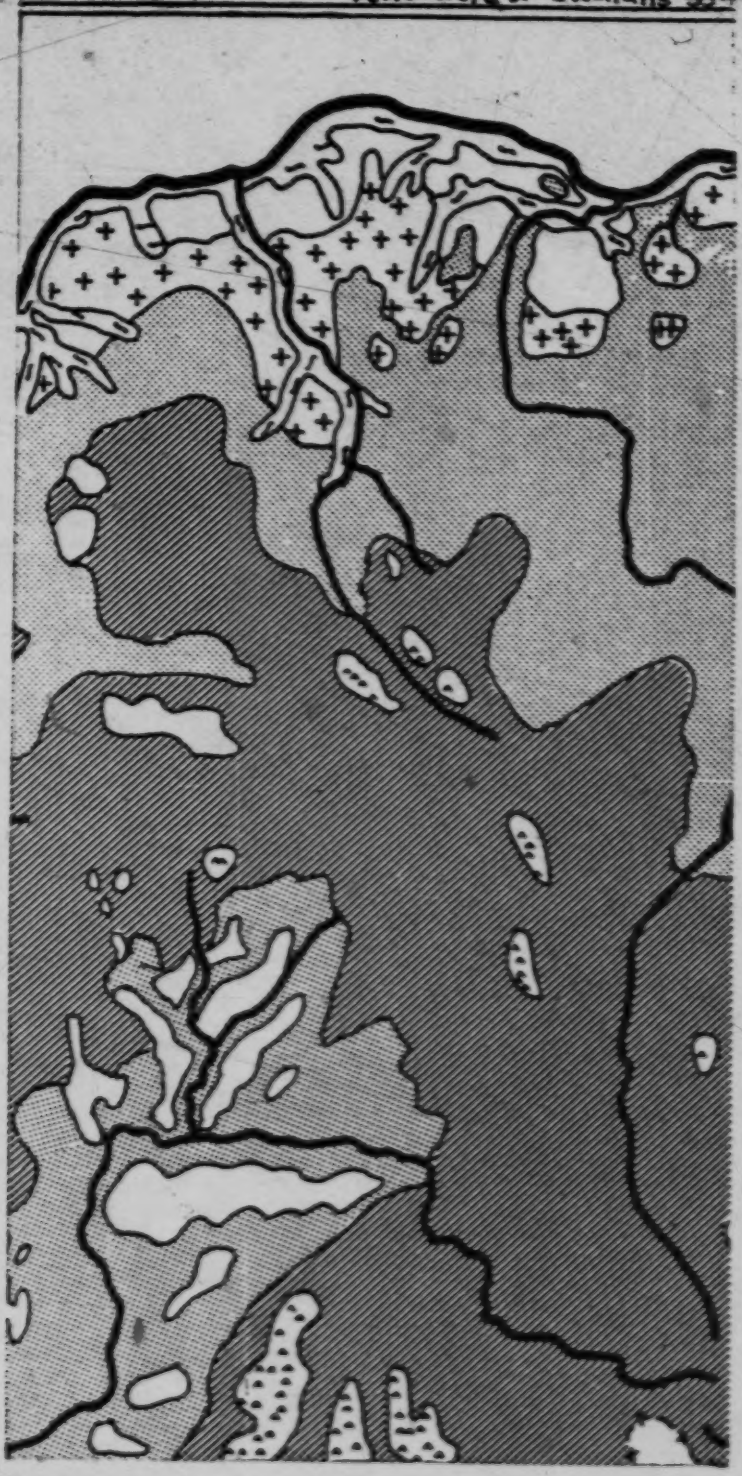
Venezuelan Indians
554

V
Y
102
133
● 137



4; Wilbert--15 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians SS4

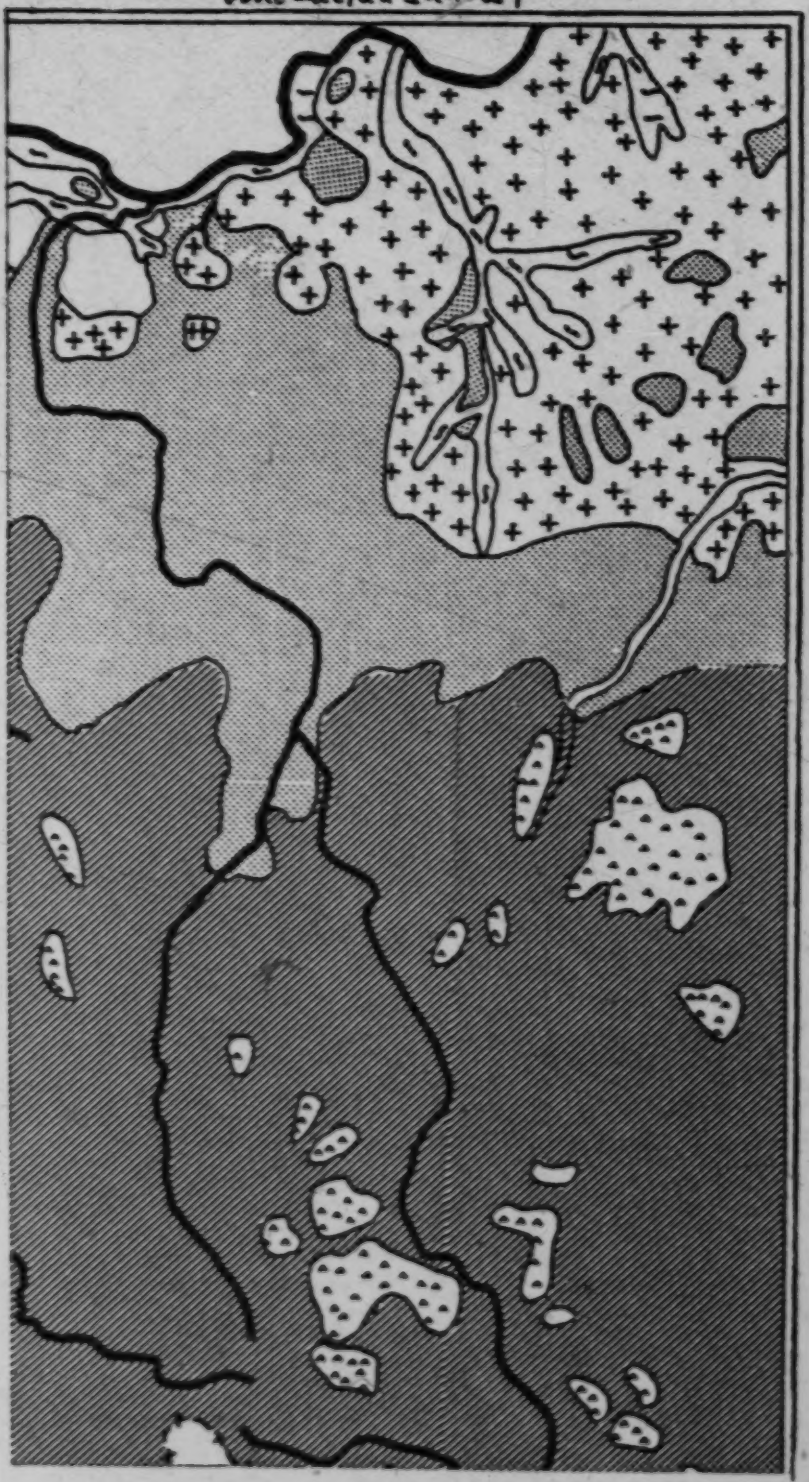
V
102
133
● 137



4: Wilbert--16 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Venezuelan Ind. 554 Sanema

V
Y
102
133
● 137



4: Wilbert

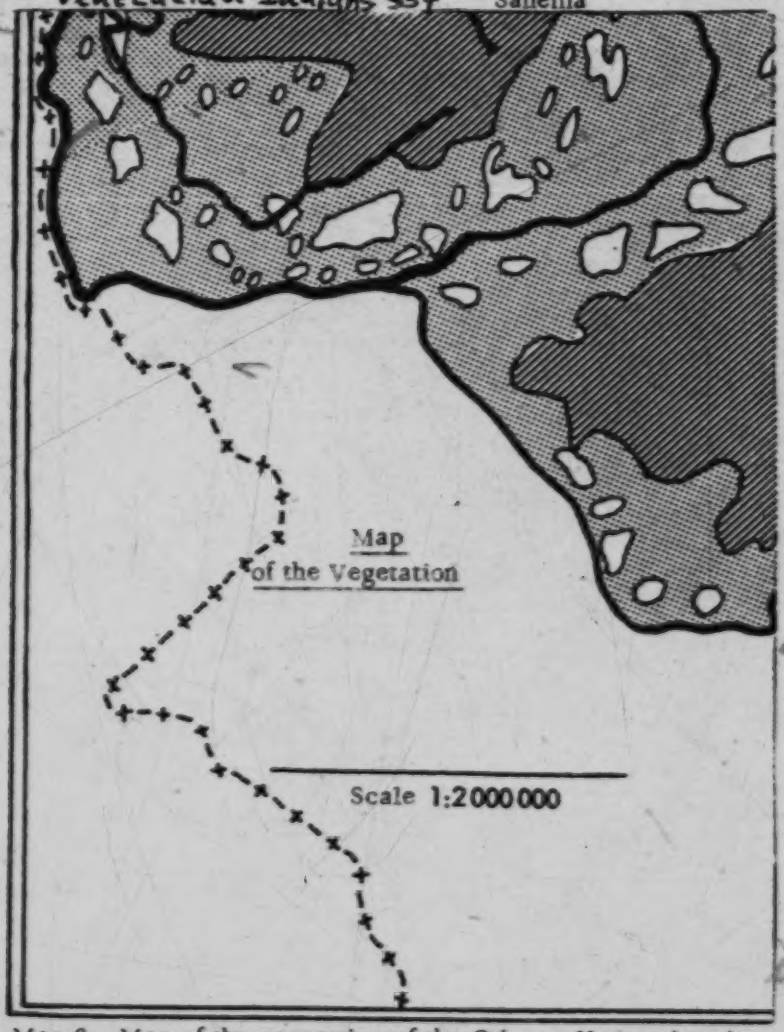
Y
V
102
133
137

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Venezuelan Indians SS4

p. 14	p. 15	p. 16
p. 17	p. 18	p. 19

Chart of Positions of Map 6.
/facing Map 6/

4: Wilbert--17 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Venezuelan Indians 554 Sanema
Y
V
102
133
137



Map 6. Map of the vegetation of the Orinoco-Ventuari region (according to Hueck, 1960).

Chaparrals

Hygrophilous and mesophilous forests in the region of Guayanesa, locally interrupted by savannas

Mesophilous and hygrophilous deciduous forests, in part evergreen, of Guayana, in the low regions

Gramineous steppes of the upper Orinoco

4: Wilbert--18 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Venezuelan Indians 56# Sanema

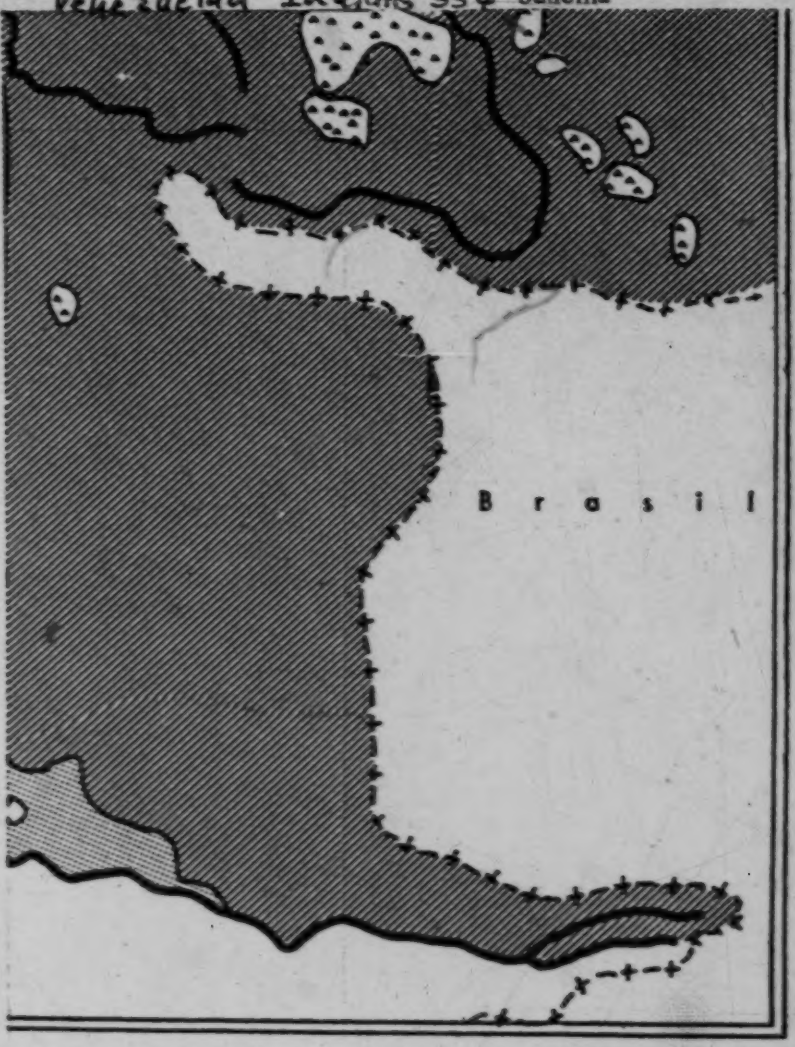
Y
V
102
133
●137

Steppes and savannas of the high sierras of Guayana

Gramineous steppes of the llanos, with other isolated woody elements

Gallery forests, marked only in dry regions

4; Wilbert--19 E-4,5 (1958) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Venezuelan Indians SS4 Sanema
YV
102
133
● 137



Steppes and savannas of the high sierras of Guayana

Gramineous steppes of the llanos, with other isolated woody elements

Gallery forests, marked only in the dry regions

Sanema
Warao 5518
Saliva 5515
Bari 5513

/180 cont./

The Barí suffered greatly from the Yupa, the Piaroa and Warao from the Caribe, but these sufferings were minimal compared to the oppression to which other tribes were subjected by the Whites. The Yanoama have been attacked for hundreds of years by the Caribe, who surrounded their territory with a semicircle along the north; the Yanoama endured something similar from the Arawak, who surrounded them in a semicircle along the south. But all in all, the White has not been very successful so far in approaching this primitive population and his destructive influence has not affected their ancestral customs. The Caribe and Arawak have declined gradually in vigor and numbers; now we are witnesses of the triumph of the Yanoama over their neighbors of a more refined culture, for not only did they defend their territory, but were successful in spreading to the north and west.

The strongest and most efficaceous ally of the Yanoama has been the Cordillera de Parima, together with the dense tropical selva of the Territorio Amazonas. In the /181/ fateful period of persecution they have always found a safe refuge in the protecting selva. Nevertheless, as of relatively recent times, the different Yanoama subtribes are beginning to realize that the space beyond the conventional boundaries of their tribal territory is sparsely populated, almost deserted. The number of their traditional enemies has diminished considerably, and the invasions of their territory have had practically no consequences. In this manner they have gained almost 100 kilometers to the north of the Sierra de Pacarima, where the Casapare now live on the Upper Paragua, and the northern group of the Sanemá on the headwaters of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura rivers.

The center of distribution of the Casapare is located to the south of the Sierra Pacarima in the basin of the Rio Branco. We know this Yanoama subtribe only through a few sporadic superficial contacts, and the people, as well as their territory, remain practically unknown. For this reason we consider the name Casapare with which we designated all the Yanoama in the zone of study as strictly preliminary, and we would not be surprised if we had to change it in the future for a more exact and adequate

name.

/200 cont./

162 C. Sanemá of the upper Ventuari (Nabudub)

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Weweña	50	The Nabudub of Ihuduña
2. Wadekuña	80	frequently move between
3. Mahanaña	50	the Ventuari and the
4. Ihuduña	200	Erebato.
Total	380 estimated individuals.	

161 According to this demographic estimation there are approximately 2,150 Sanemá in the zone of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura. We do not know how many Sanemá live on the Padamo.

342 We have seen four different types of houses among the Sanemá: (a) windscreen type, (b) triangular in shape and Makiritare system, (c) rectangular, and (d) oblong. We have found types (a) and (b) together in the same encampment on the Ventuari, facing Caño Mosquito.

342 361 [501] [137] [262] On our trip through that place we saw two Sanemá rafts moored on the bank of the Ventuari. We later climbed a cliff and followed a path which led us to a conuco of the Sanemá. At one end there was a gigantic algarroba tree laden with fruit. Judging from the skins scattered on the ground, we realized that the Sanemá had consumed a great quantity. Near the tree, which in times past offered them /201/ its generous shade, we found a desolate Sanemá encampment. It was made up of five

342 triangular huts and two of the windscreen type. Both types of construction seem to be typical of the Yanoama and are remarkable for their size, somewhat small. For the construction of a triangular cabin six poles 1.60 meters long are needed to serve as posts or supports. Three pairs are made out of them, each bound at the upper end with a bejuco, and with some 30 centimeters left free in order to form a fork. The lower parts of the poles are stuck into the ground at a distance of half a meter. These forks in tepee form with a separation of two meters form a [824] regular triangle. Three sticks are later placed on the forks, and these support the roof made of platanillo /Musaceae/ leaves. A similar rancho was described by Koch-Grünberg (1923, Pl. 43).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

411
291
●137

The Silent Hunters

[Frontispiece - facing title page]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

133 the forest lands, and their tops are so high and so difficult of access that this has helped to preserve a biological world completely distinct not only from that of the surrounding lowlands of the Caroni, Paragua, Caura, and Orinoco valleys but also from that common to all other valleys in the American [114] continent. A few decades ago, when the aeroplane first enabled us to study these regions and their geological peculiarities, some observers proceeded to formulate wild theories which aroused more legitimate emotions in the breasts of explorers and scientists.

The formation of sandstone and conglomerate which overlays the original basic rock of this region to a depth of 2,500 metres was eroded almost completely on the periphery of these uplands, leaving the great flat-topped mountains isolated. This geological phenomenon began in the Secondary Era, when the plant and animal life on our planet was appreciably different from what it is today. The process of erosion continued right down to the ancient granite crust, while on the uplands flora and fauna continued as hitherto, restricted now to their new isolation. Communication between the heights and the plain became impossible. The pressure at 2,500 metres is very different from what it is at four hundred, and creates peculiar physiological changes in the organisms that adapt themselves to it.

13 It seemed possible that the flat tops of these mountains, which from the air
114 appeared to be covered with bush, would not only reveal unknown vegetable species but also animals which scientists believed to be extinct. Perhaps certain monsters from the Mesozoic age—the Saurians, it might be, the inspiration of so many fantasies—still lived and pastured in deep chasms scooped out by the waters of ages. Speculation wove many a scientific fantasy.

In reality, the monsters remained well and truly buried in their geological strata and no mountain could preserve forms of life surviving through a radical
● 137 change of atmospheric and geological conditions. What did come as a surprise, however, on these mountains—and the Sarisariñama itself proved the point—was an entirely individual flora: orchids, epiphytes, bromeliads and lianas of hitherto unknown types, which are likely to keep botanical students busy for a long time all over the world.

136 The usual fly-catchers, merry little birds I had already known closely on other high Guiana mountains, came to greet us. Never having seen animals bigger than themselves, these birds took us for strange trees with two big humid flowers distilling honey at the top: our eyes. First one of them came

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

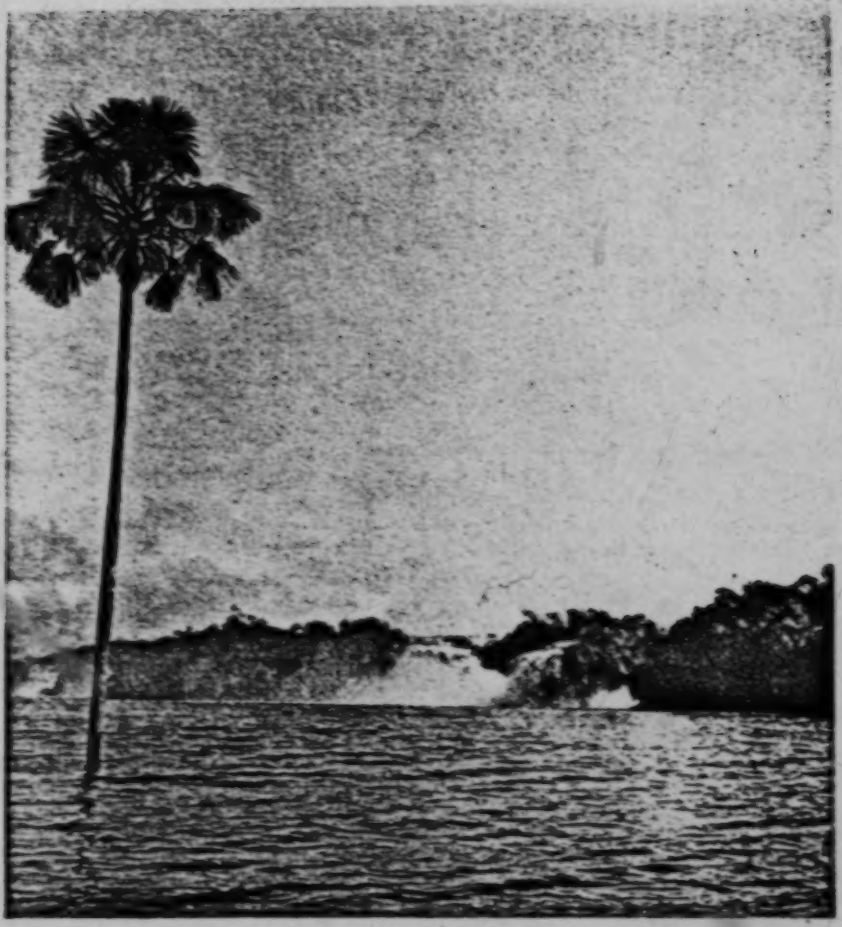
139
291
481

13. *For the Shyriana, lianas provide a continuation of the forest road.*

[P.96-C]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

133
137



22. The great Canaima Falls.

[p. 144-A]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yancama SQ18
Sanema

137
411

411
342
→

44. *The charge goes into the blow-pipe: a demonstration by Mahamakana.*

45. *The blow-pipe in action.*

[no. 192-D]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

we ate rice with butter. Evening found us a little higher up, in a featureless region. There were no streams, only dirty pools of mud and water tinged red with the clay. The track, inexplicably, was now taking us south-west, across lofty hills which grouped together were almost a cordillera in themselves.

The absence of game was typical of the higher altitudes, marked too by the coldness of the nights and the incessant rain which fell both then and for the greater part of the day.

From one steep slope, we suddenly saw the lowlands—a great valley lay spread before us, full of cloud. On its far border rose two enormously high peaks, conical in shape and completely covered with a greenish-black fuzz of forest. Over the leafy surface drifted soft veils of cloud, wafted on the rising breath of the valley. Through the trees nearer to me, I caught a glimpse of another, isolated, mountain almost lost in the clouds behind the two wooded peaks.

For a moment I had a deep awareness of the vast size of the forest: I absorbed it, as the roots of all growing things absorb the tang and savour of the very earth itself. Regions vaster than the life of a man! But more terrible than the vastness of the jungle was the vegetable life it supported—the expression of its universal power.

Euphorbia trees, with their soft wood and the nuts beloved of macaws, transforming that same tang of the earth, within their secret filters, into the white milky sap that rises like a tide to swell their bark. Giant *guarumbo* trees, generously scattering their legions of seeds on the earth to kill them forthwith by their own shade—so that the hope of seeing some new young tree rise up to keep the old one company must go ever unfulfilled—a blind orgy of creation that leads only to the death of the young: until at last the old tree crashes down and a great patch of sky is thrown open and the sun's rays pour through, to nurse the little ones and raise them up to look out over the tossing waves of the forest surface. Sandalwoods, sweet-smelling as incense. *Tarumarchi*, distilling crystalline balsams in the chilly night. Cedars that the lightning splits as cleanly as an axe. Kapoks and Cecropiae, rapid in growth as if the very earth itself was swelling upwards to explode into the sun: light-timbered scatterers of seeds that are launched on the wind to bear the fecund message of their light-limbed race to every corner of the forest. *Aimoumou*, springy as steel, soured by their own store of bitter sap that holds back the milder, more insipid water. Ebony trees, secure in the hardness of their wood, the living outcrop of the mountain's

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

137 mineral core. *Miconiae*, afraid of the dark and only conquering their fear by shooting out their branches like fists against the throng that hems them in. *Clusiae* with their poisonous spirit, embracing their frank and upright neighbours with their green endearments and smothering them in their coils like the parasites they are.

Tall and mighty Cassias, glorious verdant mountains decked with gardens of flowers, heavy with the great weight of their fruit, the hollows of their trunks a sanctuary for bees, a splendid challenge to storm and tempest and a safe refuge for the young disciples at their feet. The twisted Ficus with its strangely buttressed roots, a Gothic monument with its arches, ribs and tracery; an athlete, a contortionist in a world of trees geometrically straight; bountiful of its fruit and its soft gums. A whole eager population of *vochysiae*, *rubiaceae*, *cesalpiniae*, *bonnetiae*, *sapindaceae*, *mimosae*, *sapotaceae*. Palms like hypertrophic grasses, swelling their stems up into the proud semblance of tree-trunks: old as the origin of the world, and offering at every season a branch laden with sweet fruit, hard and heavy as the days of its life on the wind-tossed heights.

A population of cellulose and chlorophyll, mighty, awesome, endless—besieged by a vast army of the halt, the maimed and the blind; by parasites and procureuses, forgers, poisoners, physical and moral invertebrates, strumpets and swindlers of every shape and size. For these, too, have their place in the forest and their assault has a violence and intensity which only the great trees, standing clear and four-square, can resist. Liana enwreaths them and writhes round them, to their peril, in all its varied, fatal forms: wire-liana, tying the tree to the ground: chain-liana, manacling it: climbing plants, coiling round it like snakes: passiflora, whose evil flowers are like nails driven into the quick of the tree: curare and barbasco that foul the air with the reek of their death-dealing purpose. Mould that creeps slowly round the trunks and lichens that seep into the cracks and fissures of age. Ferns brush round the base of the trees where the tusks of the peccaries have torn wounds in the bark. Fungi, the pansies of the mouldering earth, colonise the great low-sweeping boughs. Bromeliads spread over the remoter branches and there discharge their content of foetid water imbued with insect remains. Orchids cling to the soft bark, and their evil flowers put out mocking tongues. While mistletoe growths of parasites plunge their steely darts into the very heart of the tree and draw out the sticky gums that link their destinies with the mightier growth.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

A vast and multiform horde it is that besieges the trees; a people millions strong, each one of whom wages its own small war and combines with the rest in the greater struggle.

IV

In the three brothers, all that was best in this wild region could truly be said to have found some form of expression. Their reactions were at times incomprehensible—sudden reflexes resulting from a life utterly different in every way from our own and in some degree akin to the animals'. They were always together, not mixing with the other Shirians and building their own little separate shelter. Every night, when work was finished, they came to us, rubbing themselves against us and indicating by gestures what goods they would like for their pay.

They had certain phobias, the most interesting being a fear of nails. Carmine always had a long nail handy, and each evening he would hammer it into one of the hut-poles to hang up his gun and cartridge-case. This produced a terrible effect on one of the brothers. He would stand and watch as if paralysed, for all the world as though the nail was being driven into his own forehead. If Carmine showed him the nail, holding it out to him, he would cry '*Ma, ma!*' and run off to hide in his little hut. Generally, however, he was most friendly, even affectionate, towards us. Carmine had once rashly promised to cut his hair for him, and since a haircut for one meant a haircut for everybody and the expedition's only pair of scissors was precious, we lost a whole day while my companion gained some experience of the barber's trade. The Indians spent their time looking at themselves in the glass and examining each other's coiffure for defects which they wanted attended to at once.

In imitation of the tales the Shirians told, Carmine had invented a terrifying personage called Barabàn, a kinsman of his, who lived somewhere over the mountains. Barabàn made such an impression on everyone that the myth became a real moral weapon and came in very useful when the Indians needed a little prodding. When Carmine told his tale, in a mixture of Shirian, Makiritari, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian, they would listen with eyes like saucers, in curiosity and fear: 'Barabàn and a hundred robbers and a hundred fierce dogs—they live in the trees like monkeys—eat women and children, cooked—

/436 cont./

132 The rains at El Platanal are copious, and there is no true dry season there. There is never a day when one can feel safe from rain if he does not have a roof over him. The longest dry period which I have heard of was ten /maps appear here/ /437/ days. Droughts are so unknown that nobody thinks about the fact that rain is necessary for the crops. In El Platanal, almost all of the winds and the rainstorms come from the east.

• 137 The basin of the Upper Orinoco is covered by a tropical forest. Above the savanna at La Esmeralda, meadows are virtually nonexistent. There is one hillside on the north bank of the Upper Ocama which is covered with grass, but aside from this, and a few rocky slopes where not even grass grows, the tree cover is practically uninterrupted, with the exception of the clearings opened by the currents of water and the hand of man.

133 If one climbs the hill at El Platanal on a clear day, he will see an extensive plain toward the north. On the northwestern horizon rise the distant peaks of Duida and Marahuaca. These seem to blend into the even more distant montañas of the Upper Padamo and the Ventuari River farther to the north. Following these mountains toward the east with the eyes, one almost believes that he can make out the boundaries of Brazil from the headwaters of the Ventuari River down to the headwaters of the Ocamo. Then, looking toward the east, one can see the entire area between the Ocamo and Orinoco rivers, full of mountains which are not very high, but which are impressive because they are no near. But the north and northwest of Platanal between the Ocamo and Orinoco rivers is the part nearest to the plain described above.

Toward the south there is a narrow plain along the Orinoco River, then hills which are combined with the mountains of the headwaters of the Orinoco to the east and the mountains of the Upper Mavaca to the south. Then, looking toward the southwest and the west, there is the extensive plain of the Mavaca River, interrupted only by a few isolated mountains. Beyond this plain are the mountain ranges which, beginning at the headwaters of the Mavaca, extend toward the west and then toward the north, almost as far as the Orinoco itself.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

133

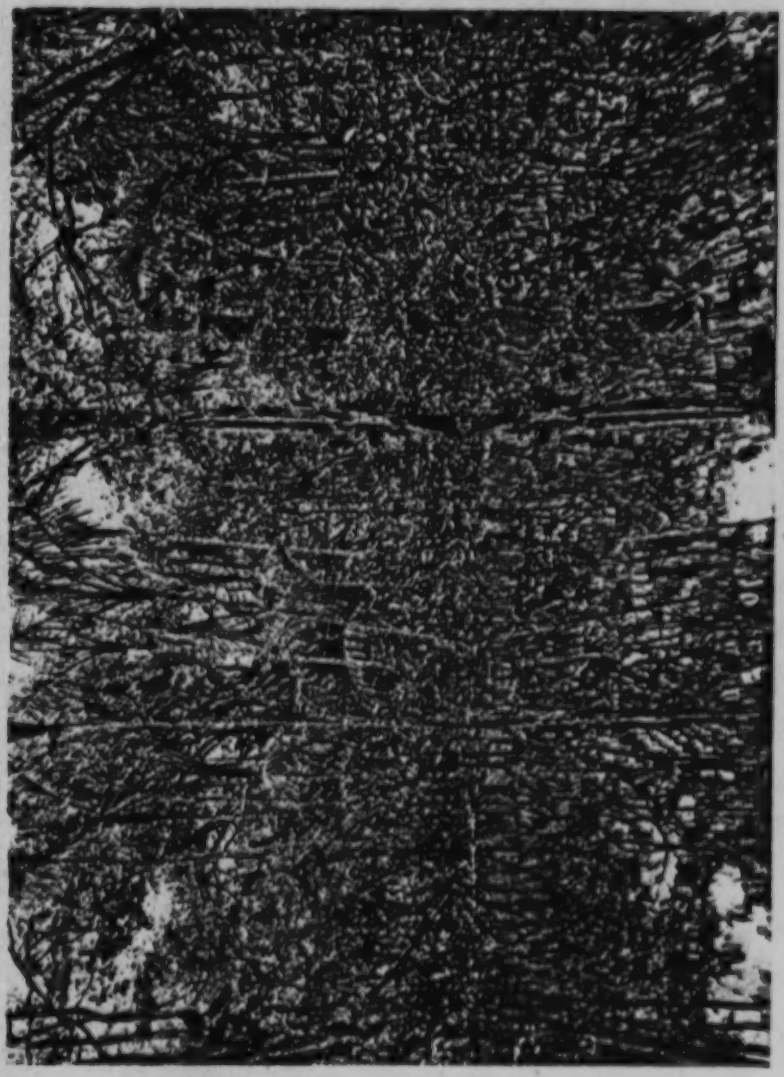
291
516
●137

TOP: The famous Piedra del Cocuy juts upwards from the forest.
(*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

BOTTOM: The first Waikas appear between the trees and hail us.
(*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 96 – B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18



Flooded forest. (Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)

133
137

[p. 96 - C]

large entrance, that leading to the river or stream. All entrances are covered with dry leaves and brush in the evening and the slightest movement of the covering creates sufficient noise to alert the dogs.

The Yąnomamö occupy a relatively homogeneous geographical region of low-lying tropical jungle interrupted by densely-wooded hills that sometimes reach an altitude of 2,500 feet, some 2,000 feet above the elevation of the general terrain. Larger hills are more common in the headwaters of the Orinoco and along the boundaries separating Brazil from Venezuela, but the Indians prefer to make their villages in the lowlands on small streams, as all of their travelling is done on foot. Only recently have the Yąnomamö begun moving to the larger rivers, where they may obtain canoes and steel tools from foreigners. In 1950 there was only one Yąnomamö village, Mahekodo-tedi, on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River; since then at least seven or eight villages have moved to the Orinoco or one of its larger tributaries in order to gain access to trade goods (axes and machetes) foreign to their culture. The overwhelming number of Yąnomamö villages, however, can only be reached by walking to them. During the wet season (April-September) travel all but ceases between villages because the trails linking villages are inundated.

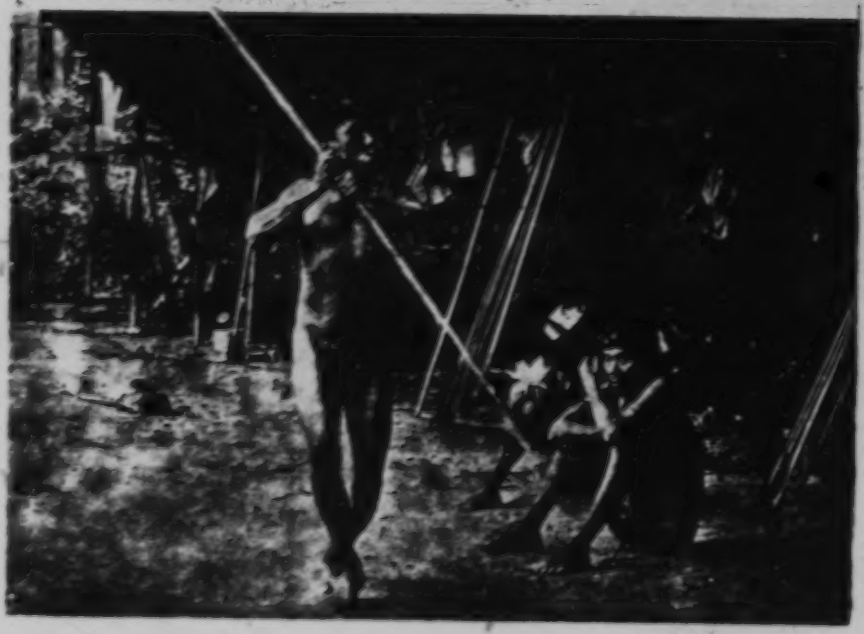
The Yąnomamö are slash-and-burn horticulturists, subsisting mainly on plantains and bananas, of which they cultivate four or five varieties each. Following these crops in economic importance are several root crops, including taro,

[p. xvii]

142
291
301
411
137
574

Visitors coming to village circle for ballet to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shamans (carrying club) chanting to Hekura (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).



142
302
291
411
516
755
342
415

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

2

Adaptation

THE YANOMAMÖ ADAPTATION to their physical, social, and intellectual environments is dealt with in this chapter.

The Physical Environment

Kaobawä's village[1] is Upper Bisaasi-teri, located at the confluence of the Mavaca and Orinoco Rivers. Like most of the villages in this area, it lies at an altitude of about 450 feet. While some villages in Brazil reach 3000 feet in altitude, most Yanomamö villages are located at much lower elevations (Fig. 2-1).

The general area around Kaobawä's village is a low, flat plain interrupted occasionally by gently rolling hills and, more rarely, by a few low mountain ridges. The land is entirely covered with jungle, even the tops of the mountain ridges.

The jungle is relatively dense and characterized by numerous species of palm and hardwood trees. The forest canopy keeps the sunlight from penetrating to the ground, but scrub brush and vines manage to grow in relatively great abundance in most places, making it difficult to walk along the trails. Thorny brush is especially heavy along the banks of streams, where adequate sunlight and a constant supply of water provide ideal circumstances for its growth.

---

[1] See map, Fig. 2-8. Villages other than Kaobawä's have been included because they are discussed in this and also in a later chapter. Presently occupied villages are indicated in upper-case lettering and by shading. The area shown in this map is unexplored, except for the zone immediately adjacent to the Orinoco River. The map is, therefore, largely calculated guesswork. To establish dates of occupation I estimated ages of individuals and obtained their stated places of birth. Distance and geographical location were determined by compass readings and measured in sleeps required to reach the location from a given point. I also visited many of the locations shown. While I was in Brazil in 1967, I checked the map locations with informants there, being encouraged by the fact that they independently gave approximately the same information. Fig. 2-8 is a simplified version of the more detailed map c in my doctoral thesis (Chagnon 1966). For more information regarding the techniques used in making the map, consult the thesis.

133
139
341
342
345

Fig. 2-1. A Yąnomamö village and plantain garden, aerial view (Toototobi River, Brazil).

487

TRAILS AND TRAVEL. Trails lead out from the village in several directions. Some of them terminate in the gardens that surround the village, but a few of them continue on into the jungle and lead eventually to other villages. The unexperienced eye would not recognize them as trails, as they are hardly more than winding paths through brush, over or around logs, through streams and swamps, and up hills. The Yąnomamö take the most direct route to their destination, regardless of the terrain. A foreigner learns how to recognize a trail only after considerable experience. The most telltale signs are the numerous broken twigs at about knee height left by Yąnomamö travelers who compulsively keep their hands occupied snapping off brush and twigs as they walk. Another sign is the occasional log that is worn smooth from the tread of numerous travelers who prefer to walk along a log rather than go around it.

The most commonly used trail from Kąobawä's village leads to the two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwä-teri and Mąmariböwä-teri, southwest of Upper Bisaasi-teri. Hardly a week goes by in the dry season without a few individuals making a trip from one of these villages to Bisaasi-teri or vice versa. A group of young men can make this trip in one day if they walk rapidly and leave early in the morning. Older men, women, and children must plan on a two day journey, as they walk more slowly and rest more frequently. There are a number of temporary shelters along the trail built by previous visitors, so the traveler does not have to spend much time putting one of these into repair should he decide to camp overnight.

[484]

[342]
[485]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1969 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

"Razor grass"—a reed—also grows wild in the jungle. It is used by the Yąnomamö to cut their hair and to keep their tonsures closely shaved. A sliver of this reed is wrapped around the index finger in such a way that the sharp edge is exposed. The practiced hand can shave a head bald in a matter of minutes and with no more pain than would come from using a dull steel razor blade. This grass is also found around some of the villages, but appears not to be cultivated.

HALLUCINOGENIC DRUGS Another useful plant provided by the jungle is the ebene tree. The inner bark of this tree is used in the manufacture of one kind of hallucinogenic drug. The bark is scraped from the trunk after the exterior layer of bark is removed, or is scraped from the inside of the bark surface itself. This material, which is fairly moist, is then mixed with wood ashes and kneaded between the palms of the hands. Additional moisture is provided by spitting periodically into the pliable wad of drug. When the drug has been thoroughly mixed with saliva and ashes, it is placed on a hot piece of broken clay pot and the moisture driven out with heat. It is ground into a

Fig. 2-2. Women fishing in a downed stream that has been poisoned by the juice of a wild liana. The poison is introduced upstream by the men, and the stunned fish are collected in baskets by the women.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Fig. 2-6. Rerahawä climbing a rasha *tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamö use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.*

The grubs

are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in a smoky fire tastes like bacon.

The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. The Yąnomamö break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare it in the above manner.

Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

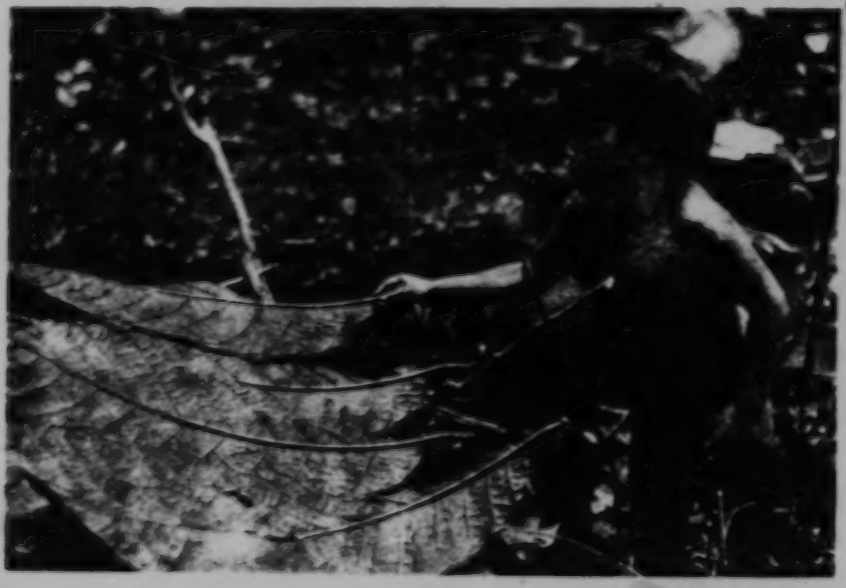
for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply *in* the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers.

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband *is* within his rights to beat her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity.

Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by cruelly accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kajabwiri, for example, lets Ariwasi beat him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwasi is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flash of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

Fig. 5-7. Ariwasi, Kajabwiri's favorite son, building the male-hollow house while romping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.



11: Chagnon 8-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

411
516
291
342
137
926

Fig. 5-2. Kaobawā's men and their allies lining up (wayu iroa) *to raid the Patanowā-wei.*

926
[123]
[533]
[325]

children and women died down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording a sacred rite. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep baritone voice: "I am most hungry! I am most hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kaobawā calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke,

/9 cont./

114 This shows that nothing has changed since 1948, when Métraux,
178 following the accounts of Koch-Grünberg and other investigators
181 traveling through this region, quite justifiably wrote: "The
648 Shirianá are very warlike people who succeeded in dominating several weaker tribes" /cited in English/ (42).

42. Métraux, 1948, p. 861.

141 V. Physical Characteristics

With regard to physical characteristics, the Surára and Pakidái are identical. Their height is below average, for the men are only 1.50-1.60 meters tall and the women 1.40-1.50 meters.
142 Both sexes have soft but muscular body forms, yet frequently a protruding abdomen and often relatively thin legs. Since they
[291] always go barefoot, their feet have retained the ability to serve as prehensile organs for climbing tree trunks, and their toes are not squeezed together as much as in the case of civilized persons who wear shoes all the time. The considerable gap between the great toe and the second toe is striking (Ill. 14) (43). The color

43. Crevaux has already pointed this out in connection with the Oyampí Indians in French Guiana: "The great toe, very much set apart, always turns inward, while the third, fourth, and fifth are turned outward" /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, p. 76 and ill., left).

of their skin is very light, almost white. The forehead of the dolicocephalic head is often flat. Their broad noses with the nostrils directed slightly upward are noteworthy; the root of the nose, on the other hand, is narrow. The Mongoloid strain is clearly evident in the prominent cheekbones and the slanting, dark-brown, almost black-looking eyes. Between the slightly

Surára, Pakidái, Waica Shiriana

/9 cont./

142 pouting lips of a mouth that is never too large, there are always two gleaming rows of sound teeth. Their beautiful, always straight hair is a very dark brown. They all have a thick head of hair, but lose it in old age. No bald spot appears, however; the hair then simply looks as though it had been cut very short all over the head. Individual men have a thin growth of beard on [302] either side of the lips and on the chin; occasionally they pluck out the beard hair. The rest of their body hair is limited to the pubic region. Women pluck out their pubic hair, as well as their eyebrows and lashes. Young girls usually have well-formed, hemispherical, firm breasts, which, however, become slack and pendulous after the first child, although at that time the women have often not even reached the age of 18 or 19 years old.

114 142 These observations parallel the descriptions which Alexander von Humboldt gives of the Waikâ (Guaicas) and Guaharibo. He also describes them as tribes "with whitish skin color and very small stature." He adds, however, "the shortness of the Guaicas and the whiteness of the Guaharibos, /10/ whom P. Caulín calls [141] Guaharibos blancos, are equally exaggerated" (44). The Guaicas

44. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 113 ff.

measured by Alexander von Humboldt were "on the average four feet seven inches to four feet eight inches (according to the old French measurement)" (44) /see footnote above/, in other words, about 1.52-1.55 meters. Koch-Grünberg gives the same body height for the Waikâ (Waika) whom he met in Motomotó on the Uraricuera and whom he likewise describes as very light-skinned (45). In

45. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 293.

[141] another place Koch-Grünberg writes: "The Schirianâ and Waika of Motomotó were small people, on the average about 1.52 meters tall. In no case did the height exceed 1.55 meters... Older people had distended abdomens and thin legs... These people, who were by nature ugly almost throughout, were even more

Surára
Pakidái
Waica
Shiriana

/10 cont./

114 repellent because of the lack of any kind of body care" (46).
142

46. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 304.

Chaffanjon expressed himself in a similar manner, but even more disapprovingly, with regard to the Guaharibos: "Small and puny, thin limbs, a stomach enormously distended, hair long and dirty, a bestial countenance make them look repulsive. [291] They are absolutely naked; two men have a long and scraggly [411] beard; their complexion is lighter than that of all the Indians whom I have thus far mentioned; their only weapon is a stick" 114 /translated from the French/ (47). Finally, it should be men- 141

47. Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 308-311.

tioned that, of approximately 40 adult Waikâ, Zerries established an average figure of 151.5 centimeters for men and 142 centimeters for women (48a).

48a. Zerries, 1956a, p. 186.

114 Comparisons show that the Surára and Pakidái have the same
142 physical characteristics as the Guaharibo, Xirišna, and Waikâ (48b).

48b. Only recently there appeared a work by the same author, "Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Schiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien /Contributions to the Anthropology of the Waica and Schiriana Indians in the Border Region Between Venezuela and Brazil/," which is supplemented by excellent illustrative material (Zerries, 1959, pp. 31-41).

It is therefore astonishing that Chaffanjon and Koch-Grünberg describe the Indians that they studied as so strikingly ugly. It

/16 cont./

484 season, or in case their banks are steep, a tree trunk is simply
491 laid across as a footbridge. To cross small rivers, for example, the Rio Deminisinho, a left tributary of the upper Aracá which empties into it one kilometer beyond the Cachoeira dos Índios, the Surára even use a regular bridge. The Rio Deminisinho is 38 meters wide at the place where it is crossed, and on either side
499 there are steep banks eight meters high. The bridge, which was built here during the summer, when the riverbed was relatively shallow, consists of 12 crossed tree-trunks 12-14 meters long, which were rammed into the riverbed. Over the places where they crossed, two thinner trunks were laid next to each other and fastened with liana lashings. At the projecting ends of the supporting posts, lianas form a sort of railing. Since they hang very loosely, however, they can scarcely offer a grip. To secure the bridge, both ends have been additionally anchored to thick trees by means of lianas. Because of this, the construction looks like a hanging bridge at first glance. Since it is one meter higher than the banks, however, small rung-ladders 60 centimeters wide are attached at either side and fastened with liana lashings.

484 While I always had to fight with great difficulty to keep my
491 balance in crossing this and other tree-trunk bridges, the Indians,
[481] men, women, and children, always strode across effortlessly, even when they were carrying a great deal of baggage. This may be connected with the fact that they hardly place their feet outward at all, so that one might almost believe them parallel (Ill. 17) (59).

[114]
• [141]

59. There are similar accounts by Crevaux with regard to the Oiana /Oyana/ (Rukuien /Rucuyen/, Roucouyennes). The investigator sought the reasons for this and believed he found them in the pelvis. The white women, too, he said, more than the men, walk with their feet placed inward, because their pelvis is wider. On account of the foot position, he concludes that the Indians also have a wider pelvis (Crevaux, 1875, p. 255).

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanomama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hăwiawan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kăilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hăwiawan* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Sematari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, stout, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barker, 1953, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 35.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vlasi, 1956, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1958.

/9 cont./

114 This shows that nothing has changed since 1948, when Métraux,
178 following the accounts of Koch-Grünberg and other investigators
181 traveling through this region, quite justifiably wrote: "The
648 Shirianá are very warlike people who succeeded in dominating several weaker tribes" /cited in English/ (42).

42. Métraux, 1948, p. 861.

141 V. Physical Characteristics

With regard to physical characteristics, the Surára and Pakidái are identical. Their height is below average, for the men are only 1.50-1.60 meters tall and the women 1.40-1.50 meters.
● 142 Both sexes have soft but muscular body forms, yet frequently a protruding abdomen and often relatively thin legs. Since they
[291] always go barefoot, their feet have retained the ability to serve as prehensile organs for climbing tree trunks, and their toes are not squeezed together as much as in the case of civilized persons who wear shoes all the time. The considerable gap between the great toe and the second toe is striking (Ill. 14) (43). The color

43. Crevaux has already pointed this out in connection with the Oyampí Indians in French Guiana: "The great toe, very much set apart, always turns inward, while the third, fourth, and fifth are turned outward" /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, p. 76 and ill., left).

of their skin is very light, almost white. The forehead of the dolicocephalic head is often flat. Their broad noses with the nostrils directed slightly upward are noteworthy; the root of the nose, on the other hand, is narrow. The Mongoloid strain is clearly evident in the prominent cheekbones and the slanting, dark-brown, almost black-looking eyes. Between the slightly

Suráre, Pakidái, Waica Shiriana

/9 cont./

142 pouting lips of a mouth that is never too large, there are always two gleaming rows of sound teeth. Their beautiful, always straight hair is a very dark brown. They all have a thick head of hair, but lose it in old age. No bald spot appears, however; the hair then simply looks as though it had been cut very short all over the head. Individual men have a thin growth of beard on [302] either side of the lips and on the chin; occasionally they pluck out the beard hair. The rest of their body hair is limited to the pubic region. Women pluck out their pubic hair, as well as their eyebrows and lashes. Young girls usually have well-formed, hemispherical, firm breasts, which, however, become slack and pendulous after the first child, although at that time the women have often not even reached the age of 18 or 19 years old.

114 142 These observations parallel the descriptions which Alexander von Humboldt gives of the Waikâ (Guaicas) and Guahariho. He also describes them as tribes "with whitish skin color and very small stature." He adds, however, "the shortness of the Guaicas and the whiteness of the Guahariбos, /10/ whom P. Caulín calls [141] Guahariбos blancos, are equally exaggerated" (44). The Guaicas

44. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 113 ff.

measured by Alexander von Humboldt were "on the average four feet seven inches to four feet eight inches (according to the old French measurement)" (44) /see footnote above/, in other words, about 1.52-1.55 meters. Koch-Grünberg gives the same body height for the Waiká (Wafka) whom he met in Motomotó on the Uraricuera and whom he likewise describes as very light-skinned (45). In

45. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 293.

[141] another place Koch-Grünberg writes: "The Schirianá and Wafka of Motomotó were small people, on the average about 1.52 meters tall. In no case did the height exceed 1.55 meters... Older people had distended abdomens and thin legs... These people, who were by nature ugly almost throughout, were even more

Surára
Pakidái
Waica
Shiriana

/10 cont./

114 repellent because of the lack of any kind of body care" (46).
142

46. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 304.

Chaffanjon expressed himself in a similar manner, but even more disapprovingly, with regard to the Guaharibos: "Small and puny, thin limbs, a stomach enormously distended, hair long and dirty, a bestial countenance make them look repulsive. [291] [411] They are absolutely naked; two men have a long and scraggly beard; their complexion is lighter than that of all the Indians whom I have thus far mentioned; their only weapon is a stick" 114 /translated from the French/ (47). Finally, it should be men- 141

47. Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 308-311.

tioned that, of approximately 40 adult Waiká, Zerries established an average figure of 151.5 centimeters for men and 142 centimeters for women (48a).

48a. Zerries, 1956a, p. 186.

114 Comparisons show that the Surára and Pakidái have the same 142 physical characteristics as the Guaharibo, Xiriána, and Waiká (48b).

48b. Only recently there appeared a work by the same author, "Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Schiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien /Contributions to the Anthropology of the Waica and Schiriana Indians in the Border Region Between Venezuela and Brazil/," which is supplemented by excellent illustrative material (Zerries, 1959, pp. 31-41).

It is therefore astonishing that Chaffanjon and Koch-Grünberg describe the Indians that they studied as so strikingly ugly. It

/10 cont./

114 142 is true, the related Surára and Pakidái, as well as the Waiká in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco, embody a type that is strange to us (see Ills. 9-24 /see pp. 270-274/ and ills. in Zerries, 1959), but certainly not one that is repulsive to that extent.

342

VI. Technology and Material Culture

1. House Forms

The Surára and Pakidái are familiar with four different house-forms. The simplest and probably the earliest form, which at present, however, is used only as overnight quarters by one family during the expeditions in the virgin forest, is similar to a wind-screen /Windschirm/ (Ill. 4). It is built in the following way: In front, one or two supports, 2-2.50 meters long, are set into the ground at intervals as long as a hammock; about three meters behind these there are two weaker supports, 1-1.50 meters long, at somewhat longer intervals. The upper ends are joined together with poles; cipó-titca (a type of liana) serves as lashing material. The poles are also frequently tied to trees standing a short distance apart, instead of the rear supports. Over this 12 to 15 thinner poles are placed crosswise, and on top of these four to six are placed lengthwise. This results in a more or less steep frame-work which has the shape of a lean-to roof (Ill. 4). Palm leaves [824] are laid on this so that the hut gives secure protection against the rain; even the most severe tropical thunderstorms cannot [352] harm the Indians sleeping under it. The hammocks are fastened [354] in the form of a triangle around the fire burning in the center; In the case of larger families, two hammocks often hang one above the other.

361 /11/ If the entire tribe is on the march, the huts of the individual families are always placed in a circle around the chief's hut standing in the center, after the virgin forest has been hastily cleared to a certain extent beforehand. The space between the huts is five to eight meters.

/62 cont./ The father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confinements which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
● [142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[622] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

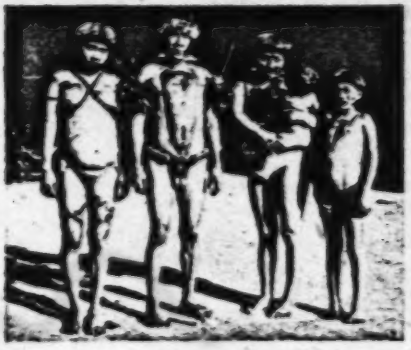
2: Becher--270 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

/5/

342
361
142
301
302
291
622
142
291
301
302
854
622
142
301
302

Ill. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)

Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)



Ill. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children

Ill. 11. Kurikayawo, the younger brother of the Surára chief

2: Becher--271 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/6/

142
411
302
291
516

Ill. 12. Surára warriors

142
291
411
516

142
411
301
302
342
291
624

Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow

Ill. 14. Porëhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

2: Becher-- 272 E-5 (1955-1956) 1980 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Shiriána
Karauateri
Pusehewéteri

/7/

Ill. 15. Surára family. (The woman is a member of the Pusehewéteri and wears the characteristic fringed belt of this tribe)

142
291
302
516
854

142
301
302

Ill. 16. Xiriána woman, Ironasteri, with deforming facial adornment

Ill. 17. Nikeromá, a girl of the hostile Karauateri. (She is a captive of the Surára)

137
142
291
302

Ill. 18. Nikeromá (rear view!)

142
302
304

142
291
302
516

Ill. 19. Yaxoíma, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing

Ill. 20. Yaxoíma (left) and Rokoahíma, two Surára girls

124
137
142
291
302
516

142
291
302
237
516

Ill. 21. Jibeauwõ, my little interpreter (right), and Mauahemá (two orphan boys from the tribe of the Surára)

Ill. 22. Two Surára boys. Xaniwõ (right) and Mauahemá, who holds a monkey bladder between his leg

Surára, Pakidái

/9/

Ill. 23. The Surára boy Xaniwõ

139
142
291
302
516

142
302
304

Ill. 24. Pakidái woman, Riopemí

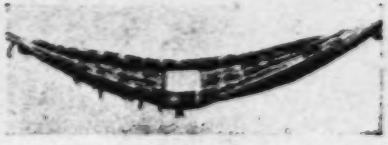
Ill. 25. The two oldest Surára women: Rokomá (right and Cinapemí

142
302
516

Ill. 26. Hammock of embira

352

Ill. 27. Liana hammock



Ill. 28. Plaited hammock of cotton

Surára.
Pakidái

352
516
854
593

Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

342
231

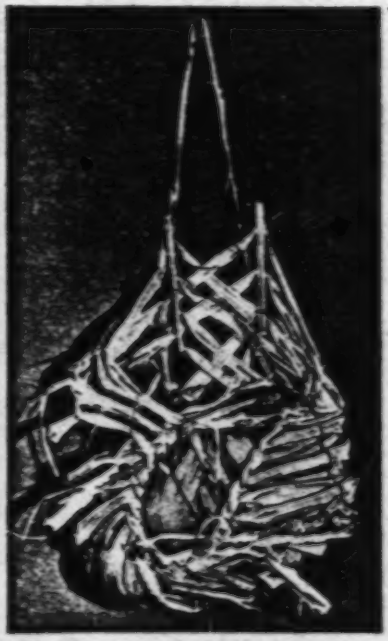
●142
302
291
516
372

Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

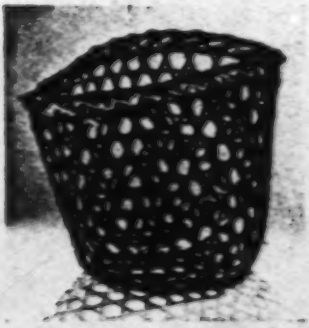
/11/

Surára
Pakidái



Ill. 32. Temporary carrying basket of palm leaves

415
285



Ill. 33. Carrying basket of bast strips from the curaua plant

531 →

Ill. 34. Woman's large carrying-basket made of liana strips

Ill. 35. Surára woman plaiting a woman's large carrying-basket

142 ●
302
516
285 ←

415
285 →

Ill. 36. Small basket with handle, made of liana strips

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/12/

137
←

137
24
622
516
412
→

Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

137
481
←

114
142
302
291
516
624
→

Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Porčhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/13/

Surára
Pakidái

142
302
276

Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

769
142
291
516
302
342
415
266

Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

516
342
411
535

Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

2: Becher--279 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

142
516
276
769
291

Ill. 44. Surára and Pakidái men blow snuff-powder into each other's noses

769
276

Ill. 45. Beginning of the state of ecstasy after the taking of the snuff-powder

2: Becher--280 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidai

769
276
142
291
302

Ill. 46. Height of ecstasy

Ill. 47. Circle dance in the state of ecstasy

769
276
535
769
526

Ill. 48. Petapoanhamũ -- the embracing-combat performed in a sitting position

*4: Wilbert--64 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Nabudub

291
142
516
854

Nabudub Indians in front of their house, an imitation of a Makiritare house.

142
291
352
516
594
283

A Nabudub (Sanemá) nuclear family in front of its house. The hammocks are of vegetal fiber.

Nabudub

4: Wilbert--65 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 Sanema

142
291
516
854
302

Nabudub (Sanemá) women and children.

142
302
291
352
516

Nabudub couple seated on hammocks of cotton made by the woman.

/187 cont./

105 The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista." They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

114 101 The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648 Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

114
342
516
291
142
302

The author with a group of Sanemá on the upper Ventuari.

501

Sanemá raft.

4: Wilbert--73 ' E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 ' SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

Y
142
291
302
854
516

M
[344]

Group of Sanemá women and children of the upper Orinoco. In the background the wall of a communal house of the Makiritare Indians.

4. Wilbert--74 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ1
Sanema

142
302
291
501
352
516

Group of Sanemá Indians of the upper Ventuari in their house. The girl (standing) is wearing ornaments of white feathers.

4: Wilbert--76 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

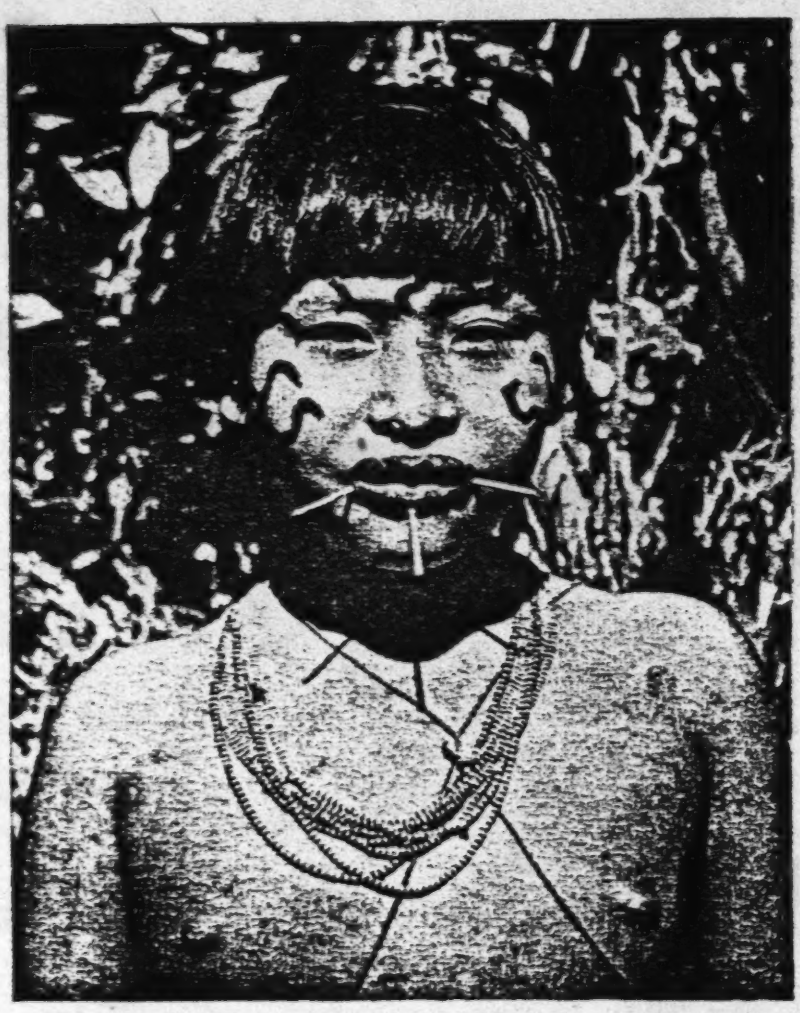
142
302
301

Waica boy of the upper Orinoco.
Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi.

4: Wilbert--77 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

•142
302
301



[304]

A Waica girl of the upper Orinoco. The little sticks are held in perforations of the lips.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi

4: Wilbert--78 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
291
301
411
516

Waica family of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi

St Layrisse et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanoama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hāwīawan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kāilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hāwīawan* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Samatari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

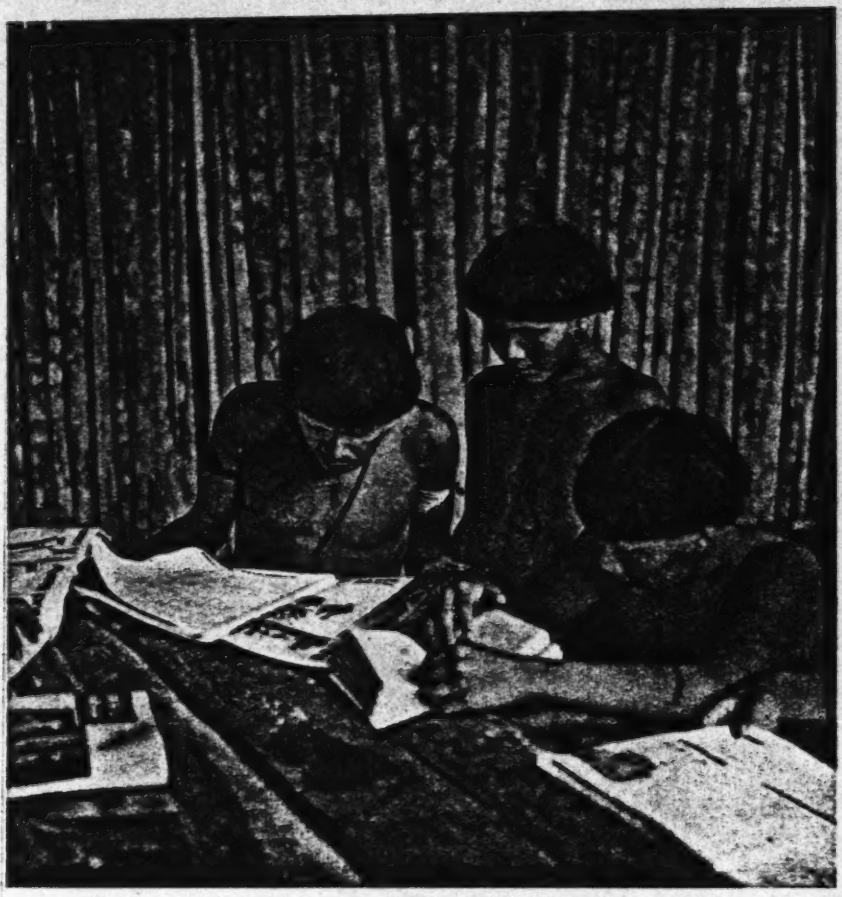
a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, stout, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barker, 1953, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 35.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vinci, 1936, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1959.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123
302
●142
301



9. *Reading-matter reaches the Anai Shyriana.*

[p. 96 - A]

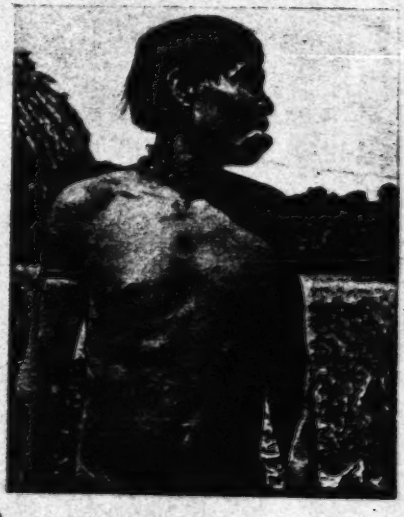
6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
302
296

10. *Luis Antonio prefers the local tobacco to our own civilized brands.*

11 & 12. *Waveno's brothers-in-law.*

142
291
302

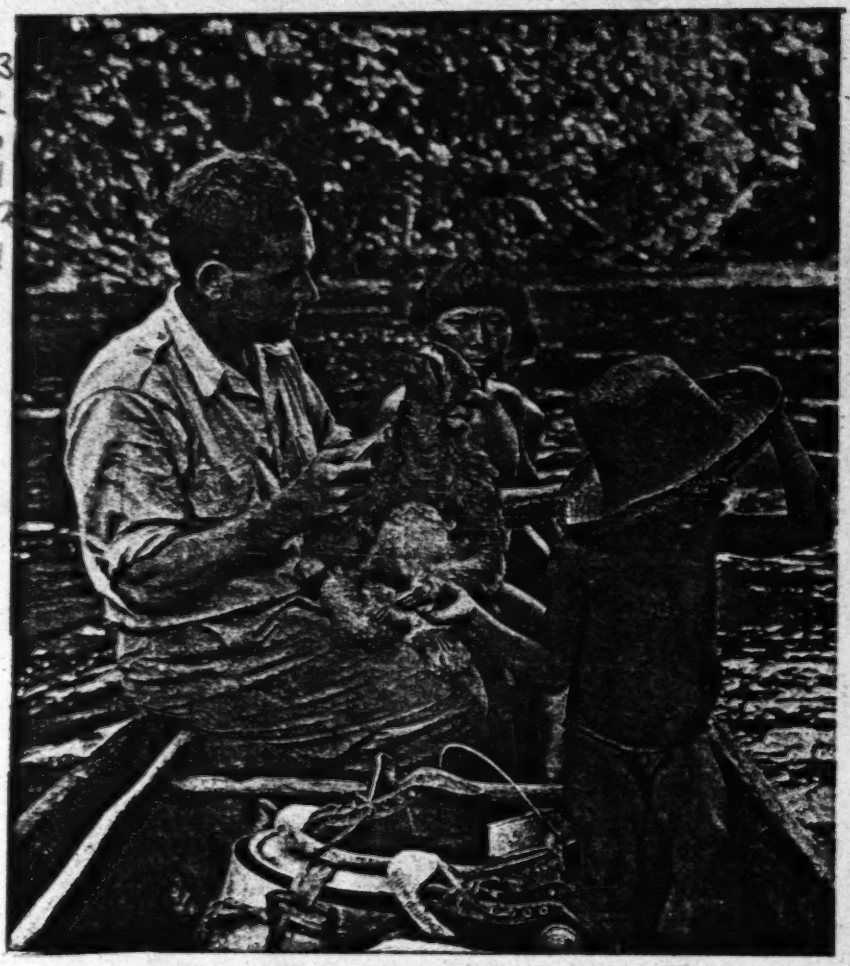


[301]
→

[P.96-B]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123
●142
136
291
302
501



14. On the river Wagua: a sloth.

[p. 96 - D]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
302
264
516

15. *Grubs make a tasty dish!*

16. *The fourth type of Samatari - the girlish.*

17. *The 'bad type' - playing a whistle made from a deer's shin-bone. Note the tribal signs on his stomach*

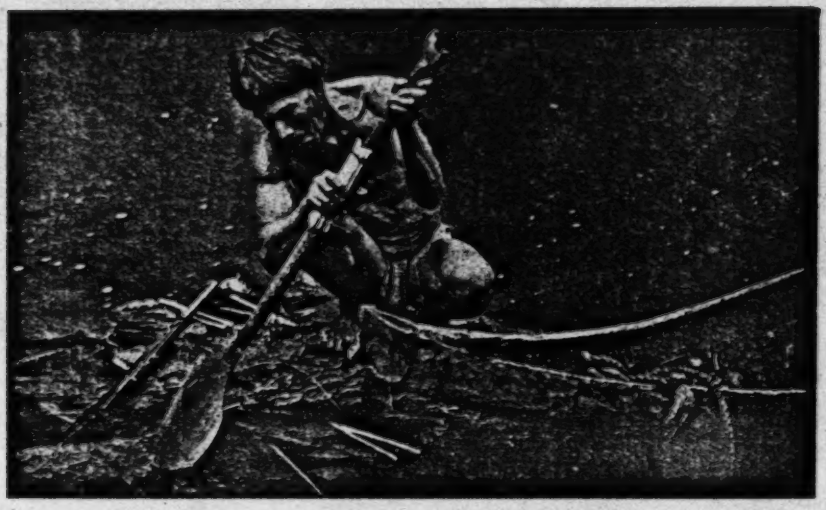
142
302

142
302
534
531

[p. 96 - E]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

322
291
● 142
516



18. *Pancho makes his oars at home: the final smoothing stage.*

226
* 123

19. *Enrico and Pedro make a good catch in the Mari.*

[p. 96 – F]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123 to bolder measures against our bodies—indeed, they appeared to be giving their respective husbands peremptory orders to gain possession of our superhuman faculties, so that their own families should have the benefit. In which they were behaving like mothers of families and ambitious wives of every level of society all the world over! However, by the time they had begun to intervene, the whole orgy was beginning to slow down: now the Samatari were making first for Enrico, then for me, in the hope of finding some new marvel, having exhausted them nearly all.

The spectators were beginning to thin out when the Samatari I have called 'my own man' reappeared among them. He was no longer wearing my shirt, and his whitened skin looked like powdered chalk. There was really something about his face which gave it a strange resemblance to my own—in the general bone structure if nothing else: he was of a type which differed slightly from the usual Mongolian-faced Shirian. It is no rare thing to come across these fundamental resemblances to somatic types common in Europe—even among the most remote and primitive races.

[142]

But this resemblance now suddenly assumed a terrifying significance when my own man started measuring his features against mine, spanning both with thumb and finger: he was trying to prove the similarity to make sure that my beard would fit him.

I was familiar enough with the tales the Makiritari Indians told about the Shirians. According to them, when the Shirians got hold of a bearded man they removed the beard, flesh and all, dried it out and stuck it on their own faces like a mask so as to appear in the guise of a white man. I'd always put this quaint tale down as just another Makiritari legend, since they were always eager to credit their neighbours with horrifying habits and most unlikely deeds. But here was 'my own man' with his plastered complexion and his ugly face and his strange resemblance to a white man who had come all the way from Italy, a quiet innocent land whose inhabitants need no such masks and are unacquainted with the Shirians.

Everyone round about was laughing. The man's intentions were becoming clearer all the time. Perhaps he, too, knew the story of the white-man's-mask, perhaps the Samatari told it about still more savage people—the white men themselves, for example? But no one will ever know for certain, for at that moment I developed some strong inventive faculty: face to face with death, I found a way back to life that was both safe and honourable! With gestures of

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

great-hearted generosity, I pulled some hairs out of my beard and my chest (though there were few enough left after the harvest!) and dabbed them on 'my own man's' disgusting chin, trying to make them stick there. He understood, and said something to the others, which resulted in the arrival on the scene of some *peroman*. This is a vegetable gum, with which they set to work to glue firmly on to his chin these 'seeds' of human beard, which, I explained as best I could by howling, would spread and flourish in a short time.

'One Pulipuli,' I shouted, at the same time trying to manage a confident, hopeful laugh. 'In one month. Pulipuli.' Everyone took up the word with satisfaction, and the rest of them began to stick snippets of hairs on their own faces, trusting that they would become bearded men within a month!

All this time my trousers, as interesting exhibits, had gone the round of the whole tribe, meeting Enrico's on the way. In the space of a few hours, every pair of bronzed Samatari buttocks had been inserted into them.

Among these savages, various somatic types could be observed. They repeated themselves with a striking uniformity in various individuals. Among the odd hundred beings howling round us, I saw four that were basic: the pygmy, with clear skin, fine and well-marked features, a lively look and very small, nervous hands and feet; this type rarely exceeds four foot ten inches in height. The comparatively tall—a good example being my own man, with skin darker than any of the Makiritari, strong and thick-set, expression fierce. Then the Samatari of medium height and slightly muddy pigmentation, soft, almost feminine features, very small nose, tiny mouth and round head—a really girlish appearance altogether, this being even more strongly emphasized where the hair style showed a curious wave, and in two extremely exceptional cases where the eyes were brown and not black. Finally there was a fourth type, Mongolian or, perhaps, more accurately, Tartar—a type frequently met with in the basic physiognomy of the Brazilian half-breed: of medium height, and lean, the face ending in a pointed chin so that it looks like an isosceles triangle upside down. The expression is grim. Protruding cheekbones, almond eyes, and—exclusive to this type alone—a beard, even if it is only composed of a dozen hairs on the chin, left to grow in Chinese-Mandarin style.

The womenfolk were not attractive in appearance, as we had found those of other Shirian tribes—notably the Uarema and the Auai. Their short—very short—stature and lack of any womanly grace, together with their grim, almost evil, expression, gave them a general appearance that was more masculine than

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123 ●142

feminine. The hard struggle for existence is naturally reflected more strongly in the women, the bearers of the race.

On the whole the Samatari, just as they speak much the same language, differ very little in other ways from the rest of the Shirians, except in so far as they are, so to speak, more typical. They represent the nearest approximation to the ideal Shirian, the physical symbol of the whole race. And paradoxically this 'ideal' quality could be seen in all four somatic varieties: each seemed the prototype of its kind.

As regards the pygmies, who were very much in the minority, it seems to me that here we have an ancient, autochthonous race, formerly conquered and then later assimilated by the Shirians, on an equal footing. To infer the reverse of this process would be absurd.

*123 [291]

The women were completely naked. Combined with their hairlessness and their filth, this hardly increased their feminine charm. The men went naked too, but following the custom of such Indians as wear no loincloth, their genitals were gathered up and bound tight to the lower belly with a string of lianas wound round the body. However strange it may seem, this usage has nothing to do with modesty, being simply a device to keep one's unmentionables from getting caught on thorny undergrowth in the woods.

IV

The Samatari gradually retired to the shelter of the palm leaves, leaving only the roughest customers still hanging round Enrico and me. We were together again at last, while our Guayca guides had mysteriously disappeared into some hidden quarter of the encampment. As a last straw, parties who had been out hunting began to straggle back, a few at a time, while it was still daylight. Each little band of newcomers had no idea we were there, and each time we had to go through the same near-massacre.

Those who had already inspected us and qualified as experts on the nature of bearded men shouted the news to those who came later, well before they reached the camp-fire zone. These late-comers would run up to us and when they saw us, stop suddenly, with an expression of bemused cupidity filling their eyes. Then, uttering sharp little howls that reminded me of the jubilant yapping of a beast that has cornered its prey, they would hurl themselves on us

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Our chief occupations were the louse and the

flea—the penetrating variety, *Afroamericana nigua*, which keeps everybody's feet busy in the equatorial zones of our globe every bit as effectively as the dances that originate there. Americana is not such a bad animal as his African brother, the jigger, though he is more plentiful. Indian feet are full of him, and the open craters in the horny, almost bony patches forming the ball of the foot are evidence of the constant care they take to keep open the little insects' snug lairs and prevent him from taking up permanent residence.

The eradication of lice is carried out at a family or social gathering in a spirit of mutual aid. Men and women will all sit round together in a circle making a thorough inspection of one another's thick hair till they come upon the black louse crouching there silently, like a peccary surprised in the forest, among the roots of the hairs. He is taken between two fingers and disposed of in the simplest fashion: he is eaten. The same privilege is accorded to the eggs, which like all eggs must taste delicious. The nigua can be dealt with by oneself but female collaboration is nevertheless appreciated. A soft, gentle hand—Samatari ladies have exceedingly small hands and feet—introduces a pin (presented by us) or a splinter of Corozo palm (presented by the forest) into the little nest. The white grub of this accursed insect then emerges into the light of day, but the fate reserved for it is not a human end. It is thrown to the fish, which come along in shoals for the fat tit-bit.

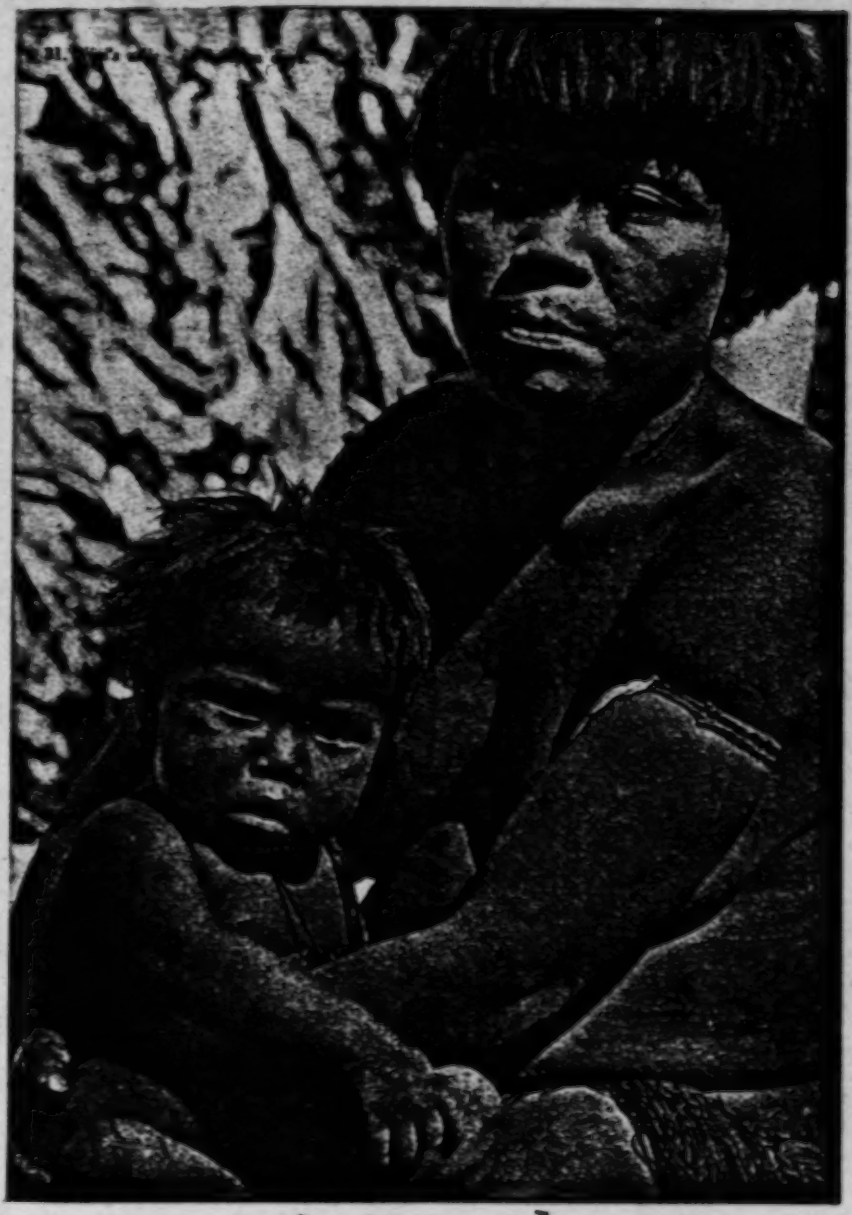
We had no soap, and during these halts the best we could do was to splash water over ourselves. The Samatari were not interested in following our example: rain gave them the only baths they ever took. We couldn't even swim to get clean, as we had done in the 'black water' rivers higher up, because there was danger lurking here beneath the harmless-looking surface.

The perils of tropical rivers are five in number—five major perils, that is, because the minor ones, like the amoeba and other parasites, may loom large among the fads and fancies of medical men but do not form part of the psychological baggage of the explorer.

The caiman is king of these perils. His reign is uncontested. His body may be anything up to thirteen feet long, solid and impregnable as a crest of rock. Almost equal in rank is peril number two—the anaconda or water-serpent: if the caiman is king, the anaconda is certainly queen. She is a wonderful monster, up to ten yards in length, with all the force of a hurricane. And being a reptile, the anaconda has all the virtues of the reptiles, enhanced by her aquatic habits, which make her cleaner and nobler than them all.

da Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Tanzania SQ18
Sanzania

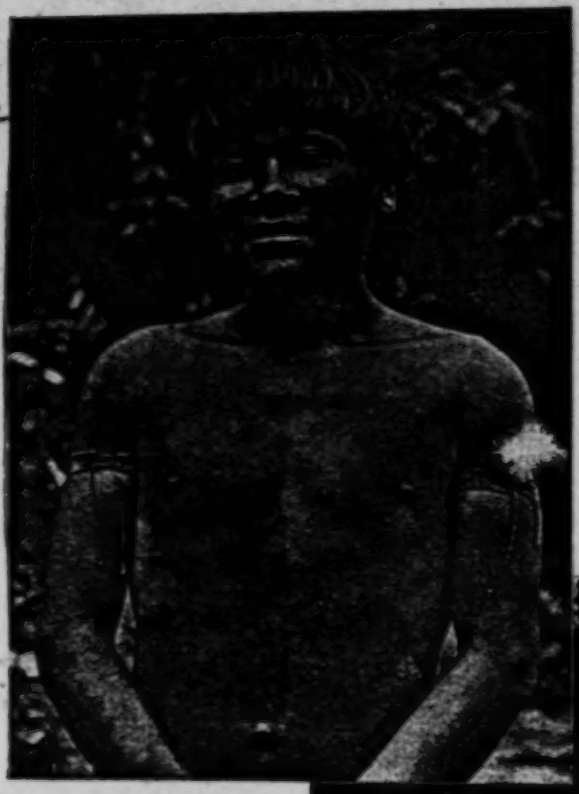
142
302
301



[p. 144-G]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Tanoama SQ18
Sanoma

142
301
502



35. Dalfino was pale and handsome.

142
411
516

36. A typical primitive: a man of great skill, ugly as he is.

[p. 192-A]

/440 cont./

202 484 Generally the messengers travel only during the day and communicate the message at night, after having rested from the trip. Nevertheless, in times of war, messengers may travel during the night, and urgent messages are communicated immediately upon the arrival of the messenger, be it day or night. [416] A messenger who travels at night carries with him two or three pieces of firewood tied together in torch fashion.

195 Official dealings are frequently carried out in the same form of crooning. A man might in this way request official authorization [584] to take a certain girl as his wife. These dealings are generally carried on at night.

437 Nevertheless, business dealings are generally carried out during the day, so that both participants in the negotiation may have ample opportunity to see and examine what they are getting.

• 142 Human Biology

The hair of the Guaika /Waica/ is lighter than that of the other Indians and of most of the Creoles who live in the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

The hair of the majority of the individuals is fine, but some of them have quite stiff hair. The color of the hair is black or chestnut, and a few have hair with a slightly reddish tone. Some of the children have hair that is very light in color, which seems to become darker as they grow. Few of the older persons have gray hair.

The majority of men either have a very thin beard or none at all. The arms, legs, and chest are generally free of hair.

/441/ The eyes of the majority of them are brown, and some of them have black eyes. Some of the children have blue eyes. A few individuals have the inner corner of the eye rounded in a way somewhat similar to that of certain Oriental peoples.

Their noses are short and wide.

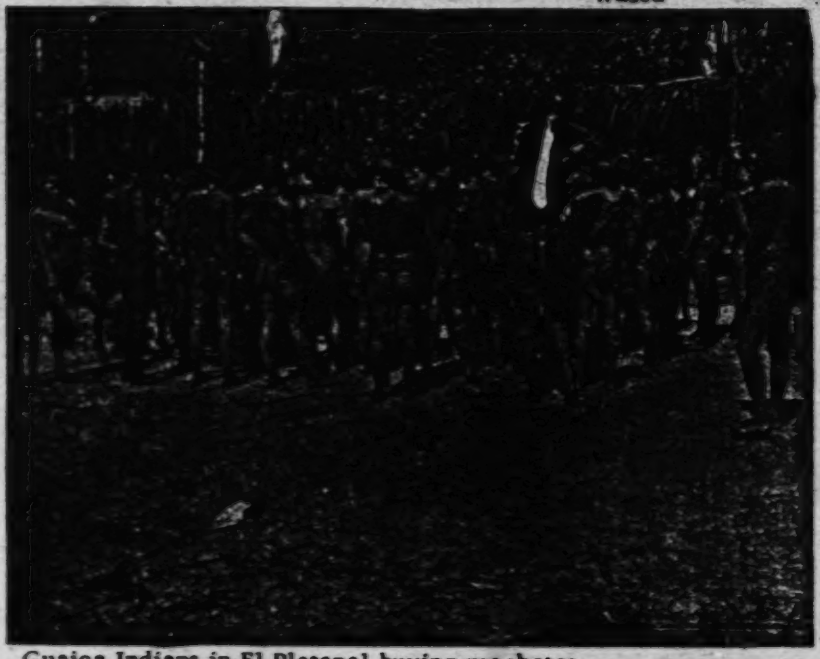
The Guaika are well fed, but in general do not show any excess muscle or fat. The Guaika to the south of the Orinoco tend to be fatter and plumper, it would seem, than those of El Platanal or those who live to the north of this locality.

142
114
291
302
516

Mr. James Barker, in Mahekodotedi, accompanied by a group of Guaica Indians. (Photo Frobenius Expedition, 1954.)

8: Barker--16 M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

291
439



Guaica Indians in El Platanal buying machetes.

114
291
512
302
142

A group of Guaica natives surrounding James Barker.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

142
302
301
411

Guahariho Indian of the Padamo river. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 64 – A]

[pp. 1-64 not processed]

%Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

501
516

142
482
411
291
←

142
302
291
→

TOP: One evening, thirteen Guaharibos from the Padamo arrived. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM LEFT: Guahariboo Indian. Notice the length of his bow and arrows. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Guahariboo woman. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[n.64-B]

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123
[648] From this we deduced that the Waïkas and the Guaharibos, although belonging to the same racial group, do not always live together in complete harmony.

142 Generally speaking, the Guaharibo is not as tall as the average white man. Though he is of slender build, his chest is thick-set and his arms are muscular and we attributed this to his regular use of his immensely powerful bow. His skin is lighter than that of the Makiritares and his eyes are brighter. His hair, too, is less dark and is cut with a fringe all round the head. Body hair is but feebly developed and the men are [302] practically beardless. The two women in the boat were delicately made and quite pretty; they adopted a similar hairstyle to the men but rather longer. Their breasts, small and conical, contrasted with the opulent, hemispherical breasts of the [302] Makiritare women. One of them was clearly the wife of the leader of the party; the other appeared to belong to one of the men with the charcoal-blackened face.

123 Our Guaharibos very quickly became less suspicious, though they still kept close together. Each grasped his machete as though it were treasure, the women and children doing so, [136] too. Hardly had they disembarked than they were assaulted by the *plaga*, which were always at their worst at this time of day. The unfortunate Guaharibos in their nakedness fell an easy prey to them and were soon hopping about and slapping themselves with their hands and the flat blades of the machetes. Obviously they had come from a less infested country, probably from the banks of a black water river.

"General" Butrón, who had several times had contact with the Padamo Guaharibos—or at least with their cousins the Waïkas—suddenly produced a bundle of incredible rags which he had picked up God-knows-where, and began to distribute them. The scene that followed was quite grotesque. The women were no more capable of putting on a dress than the men were of donning trousers. We had to dress them as if they were infants, and replace missing buttons by string. As soon as night fell and the *jejenes* left us in peace, they promptly discarded these embarrassing and tawdry impediments.

We made over to them a newly-built *rancho* situated in the

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

142
302
301

TOP: The Waikas jump aboard as soon as we touch the shore. Notice lower lip extended by a quid of tobacco. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM: This one has just received the gift of a pencil. Notice the shaven skull and the scars on the scalp. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 96—D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waikas. We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows, they motioned us to come closer.

" *Shori ! Shori !* " they shouted.

" *Shori ! Shori !* " we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and *manioc* and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying " *Shori ! Shori !* " and we responded as in a litany, " *Shori !* "

Physically the Waika is no different from the Guaharibo. He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waika's only weapon. Made of strong,

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

142
291
302
516

Waika Indian of the " Platanal ". (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

[p. 112-A]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

142
302
291
546

Waika family of the " Platanal ". *(Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)*

[p. 112 - B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

352
415
142
516
439
123

TOP: Women of the " Platanal ". Notice the household goods. The two types of hammock are clearly shown. (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

BOTTOM: Swapping. The little things we brought excited curiosity and greed. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[P. 112-C]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Wa'Ca

302
482
412
237

The Waika always carries with him his little knives made of a rodent's incisors. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

Below: Pierre Ivanoff and one of our Waika friends. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

142
302
→

[p. 112-D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

I tried to take some photographs of them, but they cowered back behind each other, clucking like frightened chickens, and the men gestured to me to stop. One of them, a one-eyed old man, despatched a stream of spittle from his quid into my face. 123

"*Shori! Noji!*" I protested, and laughed. I got out my comb and combed my hair and beard. He came over and examined the comb and my hair and stroked my beard. Then he, too, laughed.

"*Shori!*" he repeated.

I set about combing his crown of short bristly hair. He laughed louder and spat heartily. I slipped my arm round his shoulders and placed the view-finder of my camera against his good eye. He groaned and hopped from one foot to another, and I pressed the release. Then he laughed again and allowed himself to be photographed but he would not allow me to take pictures of the women until we had made further gifts of knives.

In the missionaries' hut, which was identical with the others, we saw the beginnings of the first Waïka dictionary. While we were there a native came up and led me to a hut where his wife was suckling a few-week's-old baby. The baby's two-year-old brother was playing in the dust with two mangy dogs as thin as a skeleton and of no recognizable breed. The child's body was covered with scabs about the size of threepenny bits. Quite obviously the father expected me to do something about the affliction, and I made up my mind to give Barker some tubes of sulphonamide. Barker told me that infant mortality was high among the Waïkas, adding that he had never known a child to be born or to die within the village enclosure. Since the sojourns of these people within the village were invariably brief, birth and death invariably occurred in the course of their peregrinations. [164] [165]

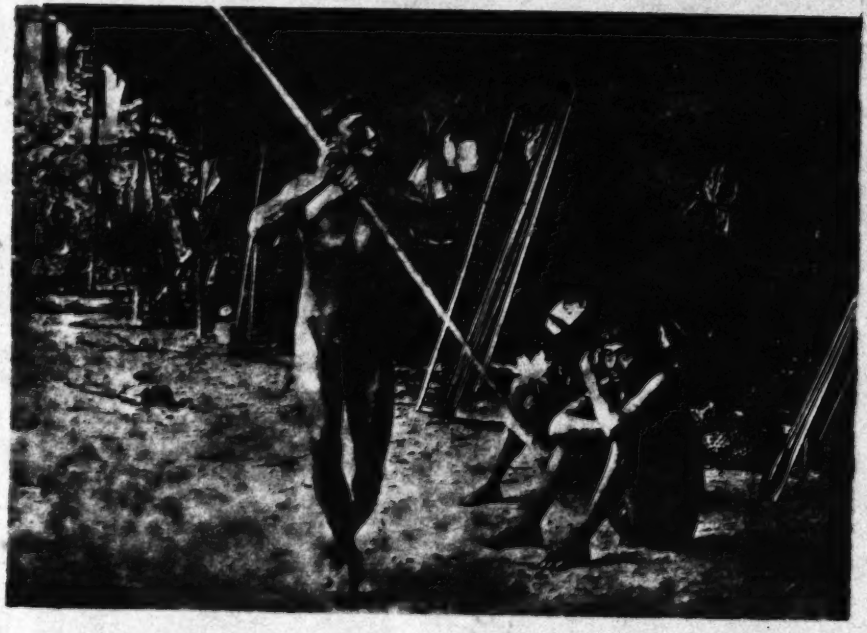
The men and youths all had deep scars on their scalps, made the more conspicuous by their shaven crowns. In answer to our inquiries we were told in gestures that these came from some sort of stick or club, but whether in battle or ritual, we could not discover. (The following year King Leopoid II's expedition to the same area saw similar long head-scars among Waïka women.) 142 [114]

[P. xvii]

142
291
301
411
137
574

Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekura (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).



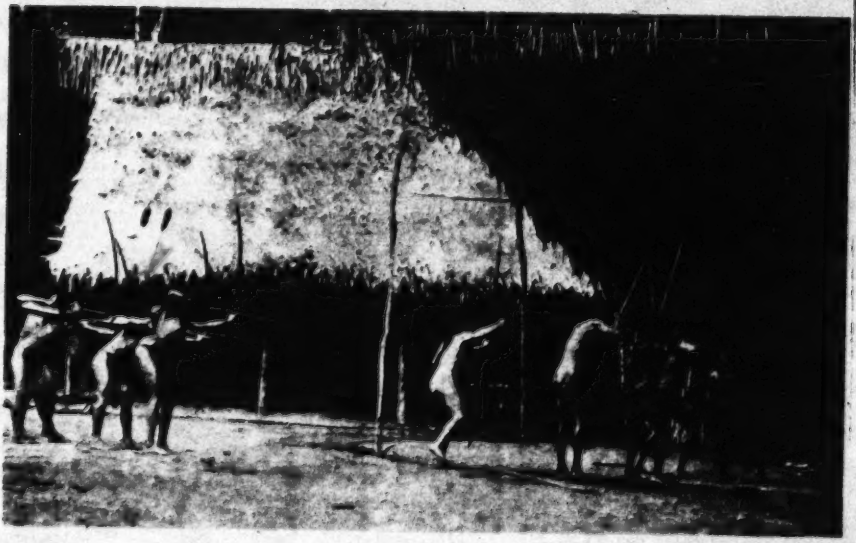
142
302
291
411
516
755
342
415

[P. xviii]

142
302
516
251
262
415
352
353

Clay pots and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Mishimishimi men shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).



142
291
516
411
342
726

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
516
572

Fig. 1–1. Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast.

000
181
152
721
123

way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1–1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

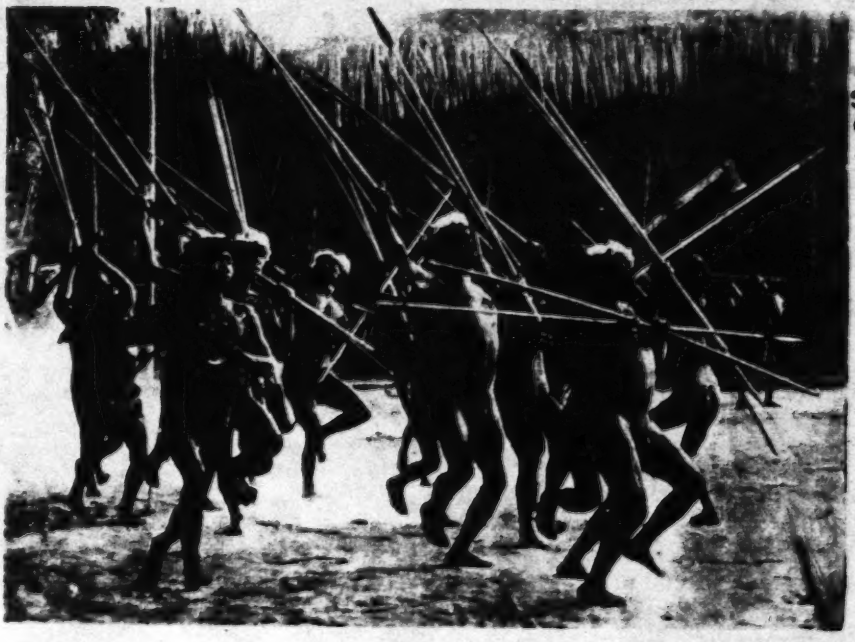
721
181
128
114

The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnamamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1–2).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere is unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1–2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnomamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their hosts' village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.



142
301
411
535
623*
578
271

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

142
301
302
516

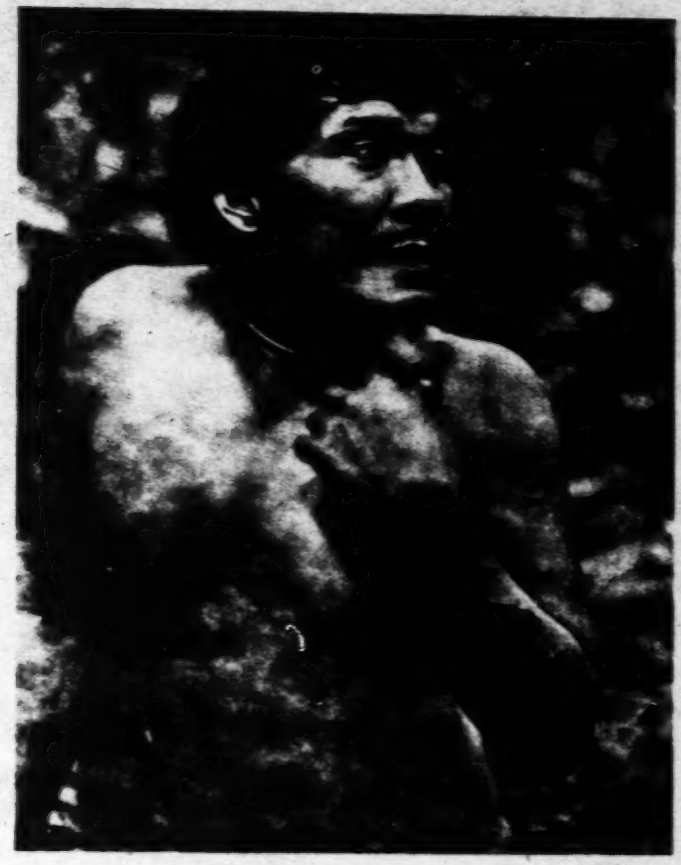


Fig. 1–3. Kaobawä, the wise leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yanomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

Kaobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1–3). I say "about" because the Yanomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1–4). Kaobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kaobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąobawä's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

[399] [393] [939] [822] [196]

Kąobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

142 301 302 516 291 854

Fig. 1-4. Kaomakima, Kąobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1-5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sideline in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

11: Chagnon F-S (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
296

Fig. 2-3. Man blowing cheese, a hallucinogenic drug, into each other's nostrils by means of a hollow tube.

342

SHELTER All house materials likewise come from the jungle: poles, vines, and leaves. The Yąnomamö permanent house—*shabono*—is probably the most sophisticated manufacture produced by these people. Its construction requires considerable cooperation, planning, labor, and patience. Unfortunately, the *shabono* only lasts one or two years because the leaves begin to leak, or the entire village is burned to the ground in order to destroy the cockroaches, scorpions, spiders, and other vermin that infest the house. These can become such a nuisance that the roof is literally alive with bugs. Kąbawë's house was so badly infested at one point that the noise of thousands of scurrying roaches produced a constant, noticeable din in the village. Whenever someone got out of his hammock, the roof just above his head would suddenly come alive with roaches, disturbed by the movement below. As they scurried to safety, many of them would fall off, producing a shower of bugs on the occupants below. There were so many bugs that the increased activity above the moving person also increased the din, as if a sudden gust of wind had disturbed the dried leaves.

[136]

Each individual builds his own section of the *shabono*. The man usually does all the heavy work of locating and fetching poles for the frame, placing them into the ground or tying them overhead, and weaving the numerous leaves into the roof thatch. The wife helps by gathering the leaves and vines used in the construction.

[862]

[351]

The first step in building a new *shabono* is the selection of the site. This is usually some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Tanoama SQ18

342
302
301
824
142

Fig. 2-5. Thatching a new roof with leaves.

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwä, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof.

342
821
756
789

The Yąnomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about

342
484

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Fig. 2-6. Rerebawä climbing a rasha *tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamö use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.*

The grubs

are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in a smoky fire tastes like bacon.

The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. The Yąnomamö break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare it in the above manner.

Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
531
286

Fig. 2-7. Onusimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

241
254
[829]
[184]

nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

[101]
[14]

[8]The Yanomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xiriana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yanomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikaä*, is a Yanomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yanomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yanomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yanomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yanomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142 ♠
291
302
516
756
276
342

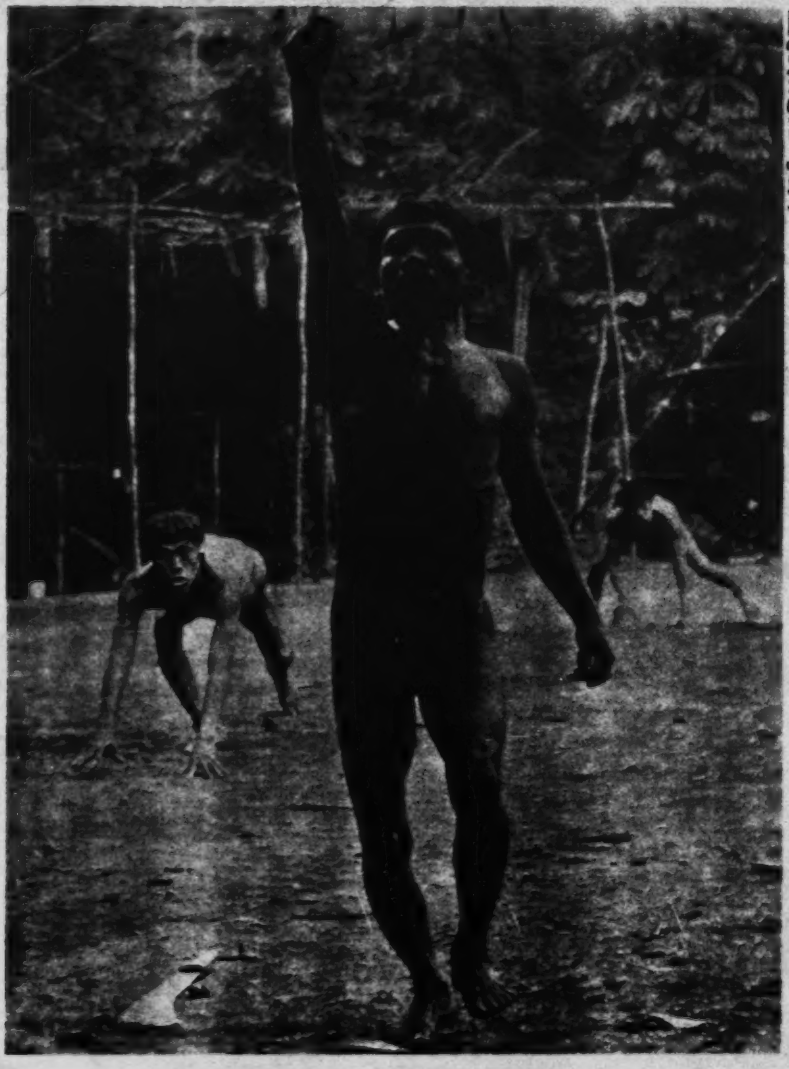


Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura*—demons.*

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *hedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yąnomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

769
266
628 ★

11: Chagnon E-S (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
352
855
251

Fig. 1–5. Armuam, Kaobawä's son, being fondled by his mother's brother. This is a very intimate kinship relationship in Yąnomamö society.

137
142
291
301
462
482
313

Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of 462
the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage 313
further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the [482]
village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers.

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they 593
must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior 462
of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter [252]
what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most 593
reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a 164
piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's [537]
shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by caustically accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

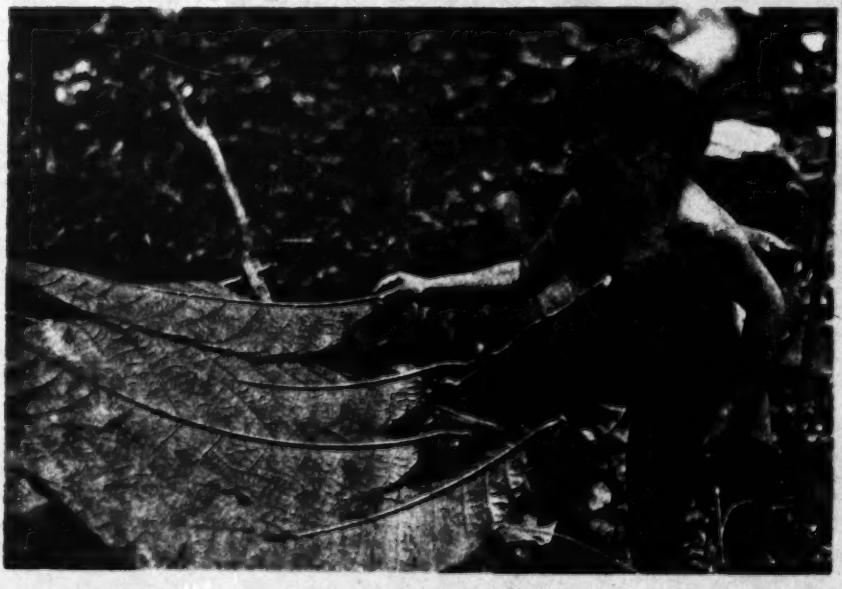
562 721 [855]

CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kaobawä, for example, lets Ariwari beat him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwari is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flash of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

858 865 [593]

Fig. 3-7. Ariwari, Kaobawä's favorite son, building a male-bolima house while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.

142 302 859 139



11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

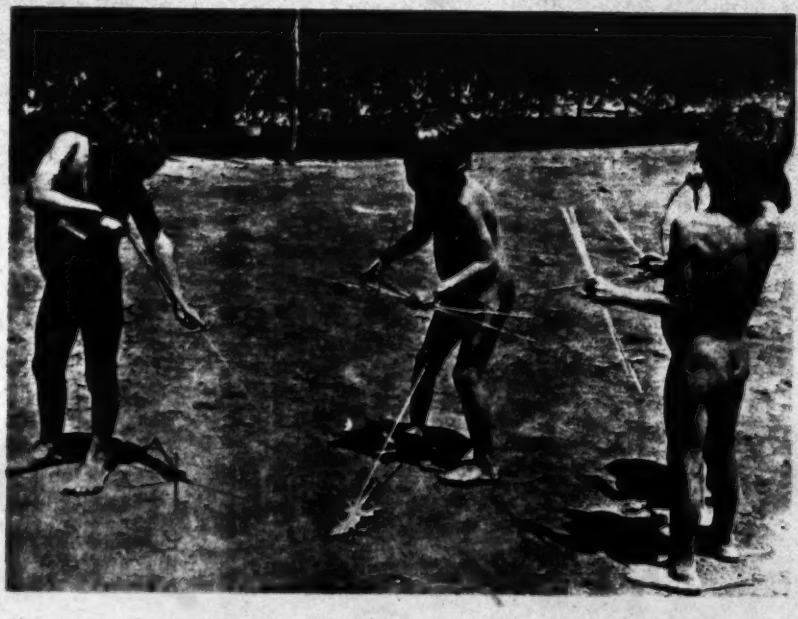


Fig. 3-8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwã, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwã's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwã went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwã recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kaobawã had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwã before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kaobawã disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

On another occasion one of Kaobawã's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kaobawã managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kaobawã stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3-9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

Fig. 3-9. Kaobawã (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been bashed on the head and blood is streaming down his back.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
516
415
622

Fig. 4–1. Kaobawë, headman, unpacking some of the meat his hunters have just collected for the feast.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
164
515

Fig. 5–1. Karöma, one of Kaobawä's daughters, picking lice out of her grandfather's battered head—his scars are from club fights. She wears decorative sticks inserted in the corners of her mouth as a beauty aid. These were inserted at about age five, together with one in the lower lip and another in the nasal septum.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
296
726

Fig. 5–3. One of Kaobawä's Shamatari allies, painted black, views the warriors lining up through his bowstring. He waits his turn to join them, a wad of tobacco protruding from his mouth.

at some point between their own village and the enemy's. These smaller groups must 726
contain at least four men, six, if possible. This is so because the raiders retreat in a pattern. While the others flee, two men will lie in ambush, shooting any pursuers that might follow. They, in turn, flee, while their comrades lie in ambush to shoot at their pursuers.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
516
411
965
276
926

Fig. 5–4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Damowã, slain Monou-teri headman.*

726
901

located the enemy, but Paruriwã refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

726
114

The Monou-teri and Bisiasi-teri raided against the Patanowã-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

722
*628

726

The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowã-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

[965]

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Damowã were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
714
291
726
302

Fig. 5-5. Hakoubikawä leading a raiding party against the Patanowä-teri.

4: Wilbert--50 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Chibcha SC11 Sanema
Warao SS18
Bari SS 13

/198/ Cariban Ind. SR7

Y
114
126
● 143

At the beginning of the year 1961 I had an opportunity, together with Dr. Layrisse, to visit the Waica of the upper Orinoco, where we went with the intention of taking blood samples of that group. We obtained 140 individual samples, which, in all probability, are representative for the Yanoama in general. We shall now report an interesting genetic discovery.

Y
143

The Waica showed a complete absence of the gene Diego (Di^a). As we reported before (Layrisse, Wilbert, 1960), the antigen Diego is an exclusively Mongoloid genetic marker, but, in spite of the fact that it occurs solely in populations called "Mongoloid," it does not appear in all of them. There are Diego-positive Mongoloids and Diego-negative Mongoloids. Gradual differences of frequency between one Mongoloid population and another have also been observed. Up to the present the scale of frequency varies between 0 and 50%.

4E
B
[143]

The Waica are one of the Diego-negative Mongoloid populations, and the tribes of South America in the same category are: the Tunebo, Barí (Motilones Bravos), and Warao. Other groups with very low incidence could be included in this category also, since the low frequency they showed for the gene can be better explained by the crossing of a population originally negative with another one highly positive. A representative of the latter group is the tribe of the Yaruro.

Y
CI
143
197

During the six years of research on the Diego gene we made an observation which we consider to be of importance, which is: the various frequency groups of the Diego antigen correspond to different linguistic affinities. The most carefully studied case is that of the Caribe. We examined more than ten tribes and subtribes and they all show an average of 28% of the Di^a gene. In this case the Caribe lingnistic affinity is indicatory for a positive incidence of the Di^a gene. It is understood, of course, that there is no causal relationship between these two facts and that its observation is not to be interpreted in the sense that we are trying to make a chromosome responsible for a given cultural trait. The two factors are essentially different, but their parallel appearance is an interesting fact.

Warao SS18

Sanema

Chibcha SC11

Bari' SS13

CBWY 197 ●143

/198 cont./

A linguistic connection has been observed between the Tunebo, Barí, Warao, and Yanoama, a relationship which appears to be closer than that which usually exists among all the indigenous languages of America, and, therefore, it is interesting that that group of tribes should occupy a common position and at the same time an extreme one on the distribution scale of the Di^a gene. In this case it is not a matter /199/ of a gradual difference, such as that of 12% Arawak and 28% Caribe. In this case it is a matter of an important difference between "positive" and "negative." The tribes mentioned are diametrically opposed to the Páez, Ica, and other tribes with frequencies of 45%, and this means that the Tunebo, Barí, Warao, and Yanoama are genetically distinct from their Arawak and Caribe neighbors and from the Chibcha of Colombia (Páez, Ica), but identical among themselves (speaking always of a single gene).

CBWY 143

Another observation, equally interesting, is that in general terms the cultural pattern of the tribes marked with the negative Diego is relatively uniform: they are essentially gatherers and not producers with regard to obtaining food, but their social structure and their religious concepts also seem to have many common traits which at the same time are very different from those of other native tribes of Venezuela and South America. We cannot at the present time go into this interesting point in greater detail. To sum up, we shall say that the Waica (Yanoama) are genetically similar to the Warao, Barí, and Tunebo. As all these tribes show very primitive cultural traits, it is our opinion that the absence of the Di^a gene is a characteristic of the ancient populations of South America, since it is generally accepted that the tribes called Marginal belong to an early invasion of native immigration. It is noteworthy that all the tribes speak idioms with Chibcha characteristics.

CBWY [197] Y 128

In the foregoing discussion we had to include the several Yanoama subtribes in order to try to locate the Sanemá within a larger ethnogeographic framework. We shall now concentrate more specifically on the Sanemá, due to the study of this subtribe which we made in the field. Many of the data gathered could be

/213/

197 174 Regarding the Chibcha characteristics in the Warao and Yanoama idioms, it is probably a substratum which we shall provisionally call proto-Chibcha. The Chibcha traits which are perceived in them do not seem to represent elements acquired owing to contact, but rather an ancient stratum common to the idioms which are at the present time identified as Chibcha.

● 143 174 Finally, it is necessary to point out that, judging from the genetic constitution (the Diego antigen) of some Chibcha tribes, it might be surmised that the highly formative culture was introduced by people genetically different from the Marginal Chibcha such as Tunebo, Barí, Warao, Yanoama, whose culture was favorably conditioned in the direction of the adoption and the increment of formative cultures and indigenous civilizations. Some tribes were absorbed by the invaders; others, such as the tribes that we have just mentioned, maintained their independence. Perhaps we shall have to deal with greater emphasis in the future with primitive reminiscences in the formative cultures instead of talking so much about traits and loans from the west among the Marginals of Guayana /Guiana/ and others. We have the impression that we are bringing out a complex of ancient culture in South America, from which a number of traits have survived in the more highly developed cultures.

622 [624] [793] Political duties are performed by a chief /jefe/ and a military leader. We are of the opinion that the priest can at the same time be the chief of a local group. We cannot, however, make a categorical affirmation, owing to the confusion which exists among the people as a consequence of the strong cultural current which is invading this Sanemá nucleus. In the same group on the Ventuari we observed that the office of chief is inherited patrilineally. The old chief had left his duties to his eldest son, about 28 years old, and it was easy to see that his younger brother, about 20 years old, was also respected as a possible future chief (cf. Becher, 1960, pp. 60-61. Chieftainships over more than a local group do not exist.

BLOOD GROUP STUDIES

The Material

Blood samples were taken from 142 less closely related individuals living in six settlements situated along the banks of the upper Orinoco and Mavaca rivers in the Territorio Amazonas of southern Venezuela. We started to take samples at the Mission of Boca del Ocamo and continued along the Orinoco until we reached the confluence with the Mavaca River and then continued up the Mavaca until we arrived at the settlements called Boca Mavaca and Laguna Mavaca.

The blood samples were analyzed for the following antibodies:

(1) anti-A, anti-A_1, and anti-B for the A_1 A_2 BO system
(2) anti-M, anti-N, anti-S, and anti-s for the MNSs systems
(3) Anti-P_1 (previously called anti-P), and anti-P, anti-P_1 (previously called anti-T_j^a) for the P system
(4) anti-D, anti-C, anti-c, anti-E, anti-e, and anti-$hr^{'}$ $hr^{''}$ for the Rh system
(5) anti-Le^a for the Lutheran system
(6) anti-K and anti-k for the Kell system
(7) anti-Le^a for the Lewis system
(8) anti-Fy^a for the Duffy system. Anti-Fy^b was only used in cases Fy ($^-$)
(9) anti-Jk^a and Jk^b for the Kidd system
(10) anti-Di^a for the Diego system

Electrophoretic studies of the hemoglobins and haptoglobins were performed by Dr Tulio Arends who will report the results separately.

Results

A_1A_2BO: All samples were group O as was expected, because of the recency of contact with White and Negro.

MNSs: The gene M showed a high frequency (79%) as is usual for the majority of Indian tribes. The gene S was relatively low (19%) travelling mostly with the gene M.

Rh: The outstanding finding in this system was the high frequency of the chromosome R_o (DCE), (18%), and the low frequency of the chromosome R_2 (DcE), (6%), of which no homozygous sample was found; the frequency was deduced from the phenotype samples DCcEe. As expected, all cases were Rho(±) and no sample was found in which the presence of the chromosomes r or R_o could be presumed. Absence of the rh^o was observed in all

13a Shapiro, 1968.

143

TABLE 1

Frequency of blood group antigens in Waica Indians

Phenotypes / Genes or chromosomes	Observed		Expected		χ^2		
	Absolute Number	Frequency %	Frequency %	Absolute Number			%
A_1A_2BO system							
A_1	0.	0.00					
A_2	0.	0.00					
B	0.	0.00					
O	141	100.00					
MNSs system							
MMSS	1	0.71	1.63	2.30	0.15		
MMSs	27	19.15	16.84	23.74		MS	12.76
MMss	62	43.97	43.51	61.36	0.01		
MNSS	1	0.71	1.34	2.17	0.09	Ms	63.97
MNSs	17	12.06	11.85	16.71			
MNss	24	17.02	20.09	28.33	0.66		
NNSS	1	0.71	0.37	0.52	0.25	NS	6.04
NNSs	3	2.13	1.84	2.59		Ns	15.23
NNss	5	3.54	2.32	3.27	0.91		
	141	100.00	100.00	140.99	2.02		100.00
					n = 5		
					0.90>P>0.80		
Rh system*							
DCCEE	6	4.26	3.40	4.79	0.08	DCE	18.44
DCCEe	36	25.52	27.72	39.09			
DCCee	81	57.45	56.51	79.68	0.02	DCe	75.17
DCcEE	4	2.84	2.36	3.32	0.08		
DCcEe	14	9.95	9.80	13.54			
DCcee	0	0.00	0.00	0.00		DcE	6.39
DccEE	0	0.00	0.41	0.58	0.58		
DccEe	0	0.00	0.00	0.00			
Dccee	0	0.00	0.00	0.00			
	141	100.00	100.00	141.00	0.76		
					n = 3		
					0.70>P>0.50		

* Six samples of the phenotype DCCEE, four samples DCcEE, and one sample DCcEe were not agglutinated with anti-hr'.

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS

Table 1 (cont'd)

Frequency of blood group antigens in Wales Indians

143

Phenotype	Observed Absolute Number	Observed Frequency %	Expected Frequency %	Expected Absolute Number	χ^2	Gene or chromosome	%
P system							
P_1	81	57.45	–	–	–		34.77
P_2	60	42.55	–	–	–		65.23
P	0	0.00					0.00
	141	100.00					100.00
Duffy system							
Fy(a+)	117	82.98				Fy^a	58.75
Fy(a–)	24	17.02				Fy^b	41.25
	141	100.00					
Kell system							
KK	0	0.00	–	–	–	K	0.00
Kk	0	0.00	–	–	–		
kk	141	100.00	–	–	–	k	100.00
Lewis system							
Le(a+)	0	0.00					
Le(a–)	141	100.00					
Kidd system							
Jk(a+b–)	34	24.11	31.39	44.26	2.38		
Jk(a+b+)	90	63.83	49.28	69.48	6.06		
Jk(a–b+)	17	12.06	19.33	27.26	3.86	Jk^a	56.03
	141	100.00	100.00	141.00	12.30	Jk^b	43.97
					>P>0.001		100.00
Diego system							
Di(a+)	0	0.00				D^a	0.00
Di(a–)	141	100.00				Di	100.00

phenotype samples but one of which failed to react with the common anti-e. The absence of the chromosome Dce and dce and the high frequency of the chromosome DCE is apparently against the crossing-over hypothesis of Fisher[14] which presumes that the occasional crossing-over of the high fre-

14 Race and Sanger, 1950.

St Layrisse et al. D, E-S (ca. 1960)1961 SQ18 Taxonomy SQ18
Wales

143

quency chromosomes DCe and DcE in Indians could maintain the low frequency of the chromosomes Dce or dce and DCE.

P: As in all South American tribes the gene P_1 was below 40%.

Lutheran, Kell and *Lewis:* All cases were Lu (a—), K (—) and Le (a—) confirming the lack of admixture with White and Negro populations.

Duffy: Twenty four samples were Fy(a—) but all of them were agglutinated by anti-Fy^b, ruling out the presence of the gene Fy. The Fy^a frequency, although low (38%), is on the range found in other South American aborigines.[16]

Kidd: The Jk^a frequency (36%) is on the usual range observed in American Indians.

Diego: All samples were Di(a—). We will comment fully on this finding in the discussion.

Frequency of Antigens of the Ten Blood Group Systems in Marginal Tribes

Tribes on a Paleo/Meso-Indian level of culture development have conventionally been designated by the term "Marginals." *Physical anthropologists*[16] have called *Marginal American Indians* such groups who are predominantly dolichocephalic, somewhat Mongoloid, and predominantly non-agricultural.

So far we have analyzed three of the above defined Marginal tribes: the Warao,[17] the Yaruro,[18] and the Waica. Comparing the blood group antigens tested in these tribes, we found the following results in each blood group system:

ABO: As had been expected of almost isolated tribes, all individuals tested were group O.

MNSs: The Warao were aberrant, showing a very low frequency of M (42%), as compared with Yaruro (78%) and Waica (79%). The Ss antigens were tested only in Yaruro and Waica, showing similar results.

P: This system was tested only in Yaruro and Waica which showed low frequencies of the gene P_1 (38% and 33% respectively), as is observed in the majority of South American Indians.

Rh: They showed a similar frequency for the chromosome R_1 (DCe), ranging from 63% to 78%, but the frequencies of the R_2 (DcE) and R_o (DCE) were quite different. While at R_2 the Waica were aberrant in showing only 6%, the Yaruro and Warao showed 26% and 27% respectively; at R_o the aberrants were the Yaruro who lacked this chromosome while the Warao and Waica had an incidence of 5% and 18% respectively.

13 Layrisse, Layrisse, and Wilbert, 1960, 1961; Layrisse, Layrisse, Garcia, and Wilbert, 1961.
16 Coon, Garn, and Birdsell, 1950.
17 Layrisse, Arends, and Wilbert, 1958.
18 Layrisse, Layrisse, Garcia, and Wilbert, 1961.

StLaytine et al. D.B-S (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Tanoama SQ18
Waica

Duffy: The Fy (a+) ranged in these tribes from 77% to 92%, which is the usual range found in Indian tribes. 143

Kidd: The gene Jk^a showed comparable results in Yaruro 49% and in Waica 56%. The Warao were not tested for this gene.

Diego: As was mentioned before, the Waica showed absence of the gene Di^a; the Warao had a negative frequency among the Winikina sub-tribe and 1.9% among the Guayo sub-tribe; the Yaruro showed five Diego-positive cases out of 102 samples, but four of them were derived from eleven samples taken from a single band. For reasons mentioned elsewhere, the authors suggested that the Warao as well as the Yaruro were originally Diego-negative, and that their low Di^a frequencies are due to admixture with neighboring tribes exhibiting a relatively high frequency of the gene.

Other Blood Groups

The tribes tested for Lutheran, Kell, and Lewis showed negative frequency for Lu^a, K, and Le^a, as is seen also in other Indian tribes with non-Indian admixture.

As can be gathered from these comparisons, it is mainly on the basis of the Di^a gene that we could establish a sharply contrasting difference between the Marginal tribes and other South American tribes tested so far (Goajiro 8%, Paraujano 10%, Mundurukú 12%, Guahibo 14%, Caingang 17-46%, Aymara 17%, Caribs [Cariña 29%, Pemon 28%, Yupa 27%]), etc. . .

DISCUSSION

In a previous section we have tried to indicate that the absence or a very low frequency of the Diego gene appears to coincide with a culture pattern typical for hunting, fishing and gathering tribes of South America. On several other occasions [19] it has been pointed out as well that there seems to exist a coincidence of certain levels of cultural developments with characteristic ranges of Diego frequencies, and that these frequencies tend to be quantitatively similar or identical between tribes of "genetic" linguistic affiliation, in the sense Greenberg [20] uses the term. For Venezuela we have, in particular, made mention of the low frequency or absence of the Diego gene among the Waica, Warao, and Yaruro who exhibit a Marginal or Paleo/Meso-Indian type of culture. 143 114 104

We have also indicated that this parallel occurrence of Diego gene distribution and the culture pattern of its bearers coincides to a certain extent with a similar

19 Layrisse and Wilbert, 1966.
20 Greenberg, 1959.

St Layrisse et al. D, E-8 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

classification, based on somatological and phenotypical characteristics of the American Indians as proposed by Coon, Garn, and Birdsell,[21] who distinguished between dolicephalic and somewhat mongoloid *Marginal American Indians*, and broader headed less mongoloid *Central American Indians*. *As a parallel and, of course, not as a causal phenomenon*, the cited authors (very much like the present authors) record that the *Marginal American Indians* include largely non-agricultural Indians of the Americas, while the latter are agricultural peoples of North and South America, especially of the central part. This observation receives substantial support from the recorded facts of the Diego gene distribution, and its importance for migration theory and culture history of South America may be significant. In the given frame of the present paper we shall restrict ourselves to the discussion of the importance of the absence of the Diego gene mainly among two Marginal tribes of Venezuela, the Waica and the Warao, trying to indicate a possible direction for future Diego research.[21a]

In a recent study, Canals Frau[22] observed that the oldest stratum of *Homo sapiens* in America was composed of five distinct racial types, i.e., the *Silvidos*, the *Sonóridos*, the *Láguidos*, the *Patagónidos*, and the *Huárpidos*, and that the last three were of South American distribution. It is interesting to recall in this connection that Canals Frau includes the Waica and the Piaroa in this antique stratum within which great phenotypical variation has been observed by Vinci, for the Yanoama, and by Baumgartner for the Piaroa.[23] It would seem that the actual occurrence of this variation in one and the same group could best be interpreted by fusion and interbreeding of the different racial types of Paleo-American Man.

Because of his early appearance, the culture of this Paleo-American Man will necessarily have been on a Paleo-Indian (hunters), and later Meso- Indian (fishermen) level of development.[24] Kirchhoff,[25] in referring to the hunting and fishing Marginals of Venezuela, observed that the "differences in subsistence are correlated with other cultural differences, indicating that there was not one basic culture type, but two, the Hunting Culture and the Fishing Culture;" that "Each in turn was divided into at least two subtypes," and that "Without further comparative research, it is impossible to say whether these subtypes were simply local variants of the two basic types or whether they too sprang from different origins."

21 Coon, Garn, and Birdsell, 1950.
21a Layrisse and Wilbert, 1963.
22 Canals Frau, 1959.
23 Vinci, 1936; Zamora, 1939; Baumgartner, 1954.
24 Cf. Rouse, 1960.
25 Kirchhoff, 1948, p. 449.

The most typical representative of the Hunters among modern Venezuelan Indians are the Yanoama, while the most typical example of a people of Fishermen culture can be seen in the Warao. It is interesting for the discussion of Kirchhoff's problem that Swadesh (personal communication) suggests a linguistic affiliation between Yanoaman and Waraoan; interesting, because it is generally accepted that "genetic" linguistic relationship is most likely to have biological significance, since the ancestors of the speakers of genetically related languages[26] once belonged to the same gene pool.

In following up Swadesh's suggestion, the present authors have compared (a) the basic vocabularies of Yanoaman and Waraoan, and (b) all available pairs of about 1000 Yanoama (Sanemá) words with their equivalents in the Warao dictionary recently published by Barral.[27] As a result of this comparison, more than twenty percent of the total pairs compared appeared to be cognate; a percentage certainly high enough to encourage further research. A preliminary glottochronological calculation resulted in 45 mc of separation, which corresponds to twenty six percent of common retentions. Accepting this result as a strong *prima facie* case, it would suggest that the *Yanoama* and *Warao* originally united, separated from each other some 4,500 years ago.[28]

If we compare the blood group phenotype frequencies found in these two tribes, we see that only the frequencies at Diego are very similar, whereas MN, Rh, and Duffy showed statistically significant variations. It is generally accepted that significant differences of gene frequencies in two populations are indicative of different origin, but in comparing small isolated populations, such as most Indian tribes, this statement may not be applicable without allowing for certain restrictions. The gene frequencies in these populations may, for instance, reflect the fortuitous results of gene drift, since in a population with an effective size of 200, an allele would require a selective advantage of 0.01 to avoid the action of drift.[29]

In our case, we are comparing the gene frequencies of blood groups, the majority of which have, until now, been considered to be of neutral selective value. Although the Waica and the Warao belong to the most numerous Indian tribes of Venezuela and lowland South America (8-10,000), they have been living in smaller isolated groups which might have favored the production of gene drift. On this basis, then, one could consider gene drift as the most probable explanation for the phenotype differences of the Rh, MN, and Duffy systems, especially, if we take into consideration a possible 4,500 years lapse of time since their separation.

26 Greenberg, 1955.
27 Barral, 1957.
28 Wilbert, 1961b.
29 Glass, Sacks, Jahn, and Hess, 1952.

St Layrisse et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

We would best interpret our general culture historic problem in the sense of suggesting that there exists a high probability for the two different populations and culture types to represent simply variants of basically the same people and the same culture type. Archaeologists[30] have proved that the Meso-Indian culture type dates back to 4150 ± 80 BP (Manicuare), so that the *Warao* Meso-Indian culture type could actually date back to the time of their splitting off from the *Yanoama* who, for their part, continued to live in the Paleo-Indian tradition, and which, in turn, may date back to its most original form in Venezuela to 16,000 ± 300 BP and more.

In our particular case, then, the establishment of the genetic identity of two tribes with respect to the Diego blood gene has led us to assume that Paleo-American Man in Venezuela, although phenotypically different, is homogeneous for the Diego gene. Probably, in response to a changing environment, he developed two different culture types still traceable among his modern descendants. A detailed analysis of the contents of both cultures would greatly substantiate this hypothesis, but in the limited frame of the present paper we shall have to refrain from doing so.

In closing this discussion, we would like to underline the preliminary character of our hypothesis. The culture content of the Waica and of the Warao has not been fully described as yet; the linguistic affiliation of the two tribes remains to be confirmed by profound linguistic analysis; and genetically we have little more to go by than the behavior of mainly one gene. Nevertheless, taken together this kind of threefold evidence, in spite of all the existing limitations, appears to be much stronger than the single evidence available for any one of them, and it would be highly desirable to test similar cases along the lines described above.

Bibliography

Baker, James
1953 *Memoria sobre la cultura Guaika* (Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, nos. 3-4, pp. 433-489, Caracas).

Barral, Basilio de
1957 *Diccionario Guarao-Español, Español-Guarao* (Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales, La Salle, Monografías, no. 3, Caracas).

Baumgartner, Hans
1954 *Apuntes de un médico indigenista sobre los Piaroa de Venezuela* (Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, vol. 2, nos. 1-4, pp. 111-124, Caracas).

Becher, Hans
1960 *Die Surára und Pakidái. Zwei Yanoama-Stämme in Nordwestbrasilien.* (Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, vol. 26, Hamburg).

30 Crossen and Kraus, 1950-59, vol. 1, tables 2 and 3.

/89 cont./

12. Hygiene

515 Regular bathing, washing of the face and hands, and cleaning the finger and toe nails are unknown; this is also true for babies, who are often covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Nor do they /90/ brush their teeth or ever rinse their mouths. Yet I [147] was never aware of an unpleasant body odor or bad breath on the [145] Indians, and until an advanced age their teeth are dazzlingly white and sound. While hunting or gathering, however, if men and women are obliged to cross a brook or small river, they gladly utilize the opportunity to take a refreshing bath, and the same is true when female members of the tribe fetch water. A bath is greatly appreciated by children and young people, but [481] not at all by older persons. Most men can swim quite well and teach their sons also; women and girls who swim are exceptions.

177 515 As a result of occasional contacts with the palm-fiber gatherers on the Rio Aracá or with the personnel of the Indian protection post on the Demini, the Surára and Pakidái have for some time been acquainted with soap, and various Indians, predominantly children and young men and women, like to lather themselves when they take a bath. Several women had even taken to washing their hammocks now and then with soap. Thus, the cakes of soap [123] that I carried with me were very much in demand, as were perfume and hair tonic.

264 Eating is done only with the hands (see p. 184). If the meat was very greasy and the hands are smeared all over with dirt and grease, they are rubbed off somewhat against a post and then run through the hair a few times. The eating bowls and pots, with the remains of the meal, are then put down for the dogs, who at the same time take over the work of cleaning; eating utensils are seldom washed. When they are needed for the next meal, the woman passes them over her hair a few times. If there are still a few crusts of dirt present, she spits on them and rubs them with her hand.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Ma Kiri'tare SS20

IV

Had Luis Antonio been wearing clothes, we should have pronounced him very well turned out, for he looked dark and perfectly groomed in his nudity, which was enhanced in very smart fashion by a loincloth of fiery red and a ruffle of white feathers on his right arm. In addition to his name and his knowledge of Spanish there was one other thing about him that suggested that his story might not be quite the usual one: his rotten teeth. All the Indian peoples have teeth that are very strong and brilliantly white. They are used to hard exertions on the meat the savage eats, while his fruits provide the necessary minerals, and keep their strength and colour well into old age. Luis Antonio was an exception—his teeth were no longer good: there was a long history to them, and we soon got to know it.

Uarema—Uarma, Ualema, Uadma, or Uadema were alternative forms, all very close in the Shirian pronunciation—had been a Guayca boy from the Uagna tribe. They were real warriors, forever at war with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. Battles were a regular feature of tribal life. When the arsenal of long-range weapons had been exhausted the armies would come to grips with clubs and sticks. During one such engagement the young Uarema disappeared into the forest and, finding himself lost, stayed all alone on the bank of the Merevari, living on fruit and worms. At the time he was probably no more than four or five years old, but the Guayca Indians are savages among the savages, and four or five is old enough for a boy to know what is good to eat in the forest and what isn't; where to find it; and how to catch it. While he was all by himself on a beach, getting a few little fish by striking at them with a stick, a Makiritari party came along, found him there, and took him with them. They were going down the Caura to sell canoes to the people on the rubber plantations at Maripa (which is almost on the Orinoco). The child, travelling with them, soon accustomed himself to their language and their Cassava bread.

At Maripa, one Martin Viudo, a rubber man who knew Guiana like the palm of his hand, saw the boy and prodded him as you would prod a spring chicken or a sucking-pig in a shop.

'A fine boy this,' he declared. 'But wicked. Wicked and obstinate, like all

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kąobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

262 Great popularity was also enjoyed among the Surára and Pakidái
439 by the roasted manioc flour which they occasionally obtain from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter or from the Indian protection post on the Demini as a gift. They are unable to make it themselves because they do not have the large iron pans for it.

252 Various fruits of wild plants also need special preparation. The white seeds found in the pods of the pacova-sororoca (see p. 168) must be roasted before they are eaten. The taste, by the way, corresponds exactly to roasted maize. /84/ -- The fruits of the pot-tree (see p. 168) are first boiled, for which the women particularly liked to use my empty gasoline cans, and then cut open with the knife of tortoise shell (see p. 118). They are then poured into one or more of the large plaited baskets -- uaramá -- (see p. 107) and hung for four days in the water on the bank of a stream, in order to remove the bitter substances. After that they are thoroughly rubbed by the women with their feet. These fruits, to be sure, occupy only a second-rank position in the favor of the "gourmets," but at least they fill the stomach. Moreover, I was assured that in olden times, that is, before the introduction of the banana, this fruit played a much greater role in the food economy.

263 All the foods mentioned are, as a rule, eaten without spices. Only now and then do some men and women add a little of their cultivated pepper, which is roasted beforehand. Not a single
[123] tribesman developed a taste for my salt, of which I had brought along several kilograms, assuming that the Indians would be pleased about it, and they had no interest whatsoever in acquiring any of it (400).

• [146]

400. The amount of salt required by the body is supplied by the wood ashes with which the tobacco roll (see p.190) is mixed.

171 This aversion to salt is also found among many other tribes,
175 and in a report as early as the sixteenth century one can read the
263 following remark: "The forest people cannot use any salt, because it makes them ill, for they are not used to it; if they eat it, they

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 269

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491 494

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boa Vista." They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 411

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

222 in particular seasons; the most important are manaca, seje, moriche and yagua. The hearts as well as the fruits are eaten, and the Indians usually return to trees they have felled to collect the large, fat, white grubs that mature in the decayed pith. In general, a great deal of energy goes into the collection of these palm fruits in proportion to the caloric return and, even during the peak of the wild fruit harvest, the Yąnomamö still depend heavily on their cultivated foods.

222
241
146

224 Two kinds of hunting techniques provide the Yąnomamö with most of their meat; the occasional kills made by their dogs provide the rest. The first, called rama, is the desultory individual hunting that goes on around the villages. These hunts rarely last more than one day. The second kind of hunting, called heniyomou, involves as many as a dozen hunters who set up a temporary camp a day's walk or more away from the village and use it as the base of operations. This kind of hunting may last five days or more and occurs immediately before a feast, as the etiquette of feasting requires that guests be given fresh meat to eat on their way home after the feast.

529
574

Game animals most commonly taken include several species of monkeys, two species of wild pig, tapir, armadillo, agouti, anteaters, wild turkeys, and a small alligator-like reptile (babilla, Spanish). Other game animals taken with less enthusiasm and less frequency include deer, turtles, parrots, snakes, capibara, guinea-hens and a large rodent (lapa, Spanish).

000(lapa, Spanish).

222 The collection of small fruits, spiders, ant grubs, wild honey, crabs, mushrooms and fish also contributes variety to the Yąnomamö diet.

241 268 [146] (177) Cultivated foods contribute the greater proportion of calories to the Yąnomamö diet, probably upwards of 85%, although this figure would vary seasonally. Again, those Yąnomamö villages living close to Makiritare settlements cultivate much more yucca (manioc) than platanos, refining it in some cases to meal as do the Makiritares. Elsewhere [252] the Yąnomamö eat their yucca roasted or boiled or make cassave bread by a technique quite distinct from that employed by the Makiritare.

722 [422] Yąnomamö material culture is very much attenuated by comparison with, for example, Makiritare. The Yąnomamö like to limit their possessions to an amount that is readily transported by the women, because the entire village may be obliged at any given moment to abandon its site to avoid raiders, or may be invited to a feast at another village. [422] [574] They do not like to leave possessions in their village when they leave it, as visitors from other villages would take them. And, their warfare pattern precludes the possibility of leaving a few people behind to guard the village, as they [361] would be easily overwhelmed by a raiding party. When just a portion of the village leaves to visit another group, those that stay behind move into the jungle some distance from the village and live in well-concealed huts until their co-

Surára
Pakidái

/66 cont./

595 The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the Pakidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Various other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies, these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

587

835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do not call them uncle, but likewise father.

881 h) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl, [302] on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú, a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may 881 speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. During 304 the second day her mother or another woman applies a pinpoint tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either [413] side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a [824] pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty- [386] gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured, leaves a dark blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the ● [147] little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears, and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysterious forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life.

881 With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated, and after that a small celebration takes place.

/89 cont./

12. Hygiene

515 Regular bathing, washing of the face and hands, and cleaning the finger and toe nails are unknown; this is also true for babies, who are often covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Nor do they /90/ brush their teeth or ever rinse their mouths. Yet I [147] [145] was never aware of an unpleasant body odor or bad breath on the Indians, and until an advanced age their teeth are dazzlingly white and sound. While hunting or gathering, however, if men and women are obliged to cross a brook or small river, they gladly utilize the opportunity to take a refreshing bath, and the same is true when female members of the tribe fetch water. A bath is greatly appreciated by children and young people, but [481] not at all by older persons. Most men can swim quite well and teach their sons also; women and girls who swim are exceptions. 177 515 As a result of occasional contacts with the palm-fiber gatherers on the Rio Aracá or with the personnel of the Indian protection post on the Demini, the Surára and Pakidái have for some time been acquainted with soap, and various Indians, predominantly children and young men and women, like to lather themselves when they take a bath. Several women had even taken to washing their hammocks now and then with soap. Thus, the cakes of soap [123] that I carried with me were very much in demand, as were perfume and hair tonic.

264 Eating is done only with the hands (see p. 184). If the meat was very greasy and the hands are smeared all over with dirt and grease, they are rubbed off somewhat against a post and then run through the hair a few times. The eating bowls and pots, with the remains of the meal, are then put down for the dogs, who at the same time take over the work of cleaning; eating utensils are seldom washed. When they are needed for the next meal, the woman passes them over her hair a few times. If there are still a few crusts of dirt present, she spits on them and rubs them with her hand.

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/107 cont./

769 in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted
526 one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs
[622] and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this
[624] type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with
● [147] five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other, who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexí (see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After
[262] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed themselves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and maniec flat-
[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in connection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

769 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká,
114 which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds
184

515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

into action and stripped off tufts of this wonderful hair, exhibiting it triumphantly to the luckless ones behind, and sometimes passing it back to them while they themselves returned to mow the meadow for a little more. 123*

The more intimate parts of our anatomy they regarded with amazement, but it was our beards and our chests which really provoked their curiosity most. One of them, taller than the rest, brought his face very close to mine so as to get the feel of it better. Then began the process of rubbing faces. Every greasy millimetre of these Samatari visages was rubbed against mine, in what seemed some grotesque dance where my partner was continually changing and which went on for hours in the midst of a general uproar, till in the end I all but fainted away with weariness, hunger, and the animal stench that enveloped me. Enrico was nowhere to be seen. He was undergoing the same treatment somewhere else.

The behaviour of these savages was beyond our understanding. Some of them would hurl themselves at me and with an angry snarl grab hold of my beard as if they wanted to strangle me with it, or tear it off, skin and all, while others were gentler and content to utter their shrieks of wild excitement, joining in the attacks on my beard in much milder fashion, and only stroking it.

Then it was the turn of other details of our anatomies, so wonderfully strange to them. Each had its brief moment of celebrity—and danger. A metal tooth which they happened to catch sight of filled them with amazement. Very soon after they had discovered it, along came one of them with a pointed stick: he wanted to extract it. I was saved from this fate not so much by any action of my own as by the general commotion, which made the chances of performing any such delicate operation very remote.

Last on the list of wonders came our eyes, and the fact that our clear pupils could turn within an orbit. (I don't know what atrophy of the eye-muscles prevents the Samatari from doing the same, but their pupils remain motionless in the middle of the whites.) We had to turn our eyes this way and that way, up and down, until they were acutely painful and unable to focus correctly. [147] ●

They had treated my wrist-watch with some respect, believing it to be completely adherent to my arm, like some bodily organ; but now the catch of the strap sprang loose. It was stripped off at once and passed from hand to hand till it was lost to sight in the throng.

Behind the front ranks of the men were their womenfolk, urging them on

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

his jungle intimately—where to find palm dates, cocoa and brazil nuts in their season, and where game birds are most plentifully found. He hunts the herds of peccary, his ear, versed in all the sounds of the forest, detecting his prey before they detect him. When the water in the rivers is low he shoots his fish with arrows and when the sand banks are uncovered he hunts tortoise eggs buried in the sand. His interminable wanderings are limited only by his forest lore; he lives only for the day, his sole reserve of food being a small store of bananas brought from the village plantation.

Platanal

As we closed the shore our reception was tumultuous. From the high bank above us the Indians leaped yelling into the water and clambered on board, shaking themselves like wet dogs. Laughing and gesticulating they took hold of our mooring lines. Though some of us were a little overcome by this display of exuberance, Butrón was not in the least disconcerted. He knew that the Indians had long learned to associate him with machetes and *manioc*. As soon as it was possible to do so, Butrón had a basket of *manioc* and a dozen machetes carried ashore, and the Indians who had already begun to ransack our cargo left it and hurried ashore.

"*Shori! Manioco! Oji!*" they cried striking their bellies. They jostled round the basket, stuffing handfuls of the coarse flour into their mouths, their heads thrown back in ecstasy.

As the Waïka have no knowledge of contriving the simplest of iron tools, or of grinding *manioc*, all such articles were highly valued objects of barter. So were matches, once they had been shown how to use them.

Butrón told them we wanted the large green bananas which are eaten cooked; the accepted tariff is three hands of bananas for one machete. Before long, we heard some of the natives making merry in the plantation, and made as if to follow them. But at once the others became suspicious and gestured to us to return to the river bank. We insisted and they became menacing, finally refusing to go on gathering the bananas if we did not desist.

/65 cont./

000 children (see pp. 64 ff.). A thin cord of cotton or plant fibers,
301 which is occasionally worn below the knees, is supposed to
856 strengthen the legs, and corresponding upper-arm cords, the muscles (in the case of boys) and the arms (in the case of girls). Moreover, small girls wear strings crossed over their chests so that they will have well-shaped breasts later on.

f) Childhood

593 Even in boyhood and girlhood the family bears the chief
859 responsibility for all educational measures. The boy, to be sure, is now drawn to the father somewhat more and gradually begins to free himself from his mother. With his bow, which his father has made for him, he daily practices shooting small birds, for it is believed that a boy who kills many birds will later become a good hunter. They are cleaned and prepared by the girls, however, and together the children then have a meal, to which the girls often contribute cooked bananas or manioc flat-cakes. In play the children are properly prepared for their future duties and responsibilities as adults. Thus, the girls occasionally also help their mothers and fetch their water or wood, or they assume the care of their younger siblings.

861 The modest, thoughtful nature of these Indian children
[157] should be emphasized. Yet they are never beaten and they never hear a harsh word either from their parents or from other adults. Gentle admonishment suffices to reprove a child if it is really
857 naughty on occasion. Even in their play, however, there are
● 152 seldom such quarrels as are so frequent among civilized children. It would be quite unthinkable, for example, for a Surára or Pakidái child to run to its mother in order to complain about a playmate.

524 Boys and girls grow up together quite naturally and without constraint, as is shown by the fact that group games are preferred to solitary games. A great favorite, among others, is a game of ball which they play with a monkey bladder. It is batted upward with the palm of the hand (see also p. 246). They also play a sort of tug-of-war with lianas (see p.244). Moreover, the boys
[868] often imitate the dances of the men, while the girls are very fond of string games. It is especially popular to play "mother and

Surára
Pakidái

/115 cont./

123 157 twilight of the forest, a packet of cigarettes fell out of my trousers pocket. Who can describe my astonishment when in the evening at a halting place an Indian brought back to me the packet with the contents intact. Naturally, I gave the honest finder the cigarettes and a knife in addition.

Similarly, during my months-long stay with the two tribes I always had all the trunks, boxes, and bags standing open, and yet nothing was ever stolen from me. Even the barter of ethnographic objects always took place, usually under the supervision of the chiefs, in perfect peace and tranquilly. When I presented knives, pots, glass beads, and other objects to men, women, or children, /116/ they always took them with impassive faces, [92] but without expressing gratitude. There is no word for "thanks" in their language, any more than there is in the other Indian languages. In their shining eyes, however, I could read that they were pleased.

● 152 157 Before the departure of a member of the family there are never any sentimental scenes between relatives, let alone endearments, and even at the return one can see aroused emotion only in the shining eyes.

123 In the presence of strangers, women and girls in particular are at first timid and grave, but when one has gained their confidence, they are gay and unrestrained. I very quickly gained the affection of the children and with it also that of their parents and the other adults. One's behavior, of course, plays an important part in relations with the Indians. If one approaches the Surára and Pakidái in a friendly and courteous manner, one can accomplish anything with them. On the other hand, if one expressed himself disapprovingly with regard to their customs and habits, scolded them, or beat a child, he would be inviting their antagonism. Thus, a visit to the malokas of these Indians is not to be recommended to nervous people, for one does not find any rest throughout the entire day, and it is often lacking at night as well. There were always men, women, and children standing or sitting around me. In the beginning, they tirelessly pronounced the words of their language for me, but they never laughed at me if I repeated them with the wrong accent. At first they even

/220 cont./

159 764 inside, it is tied with lianas. Then they take the corpse into the forest where it is deposited, at a distance of some kilometers, on the branches of a tree in order for the flesh to decompose there. Often the members of the family will not leave the corpse alone in the forest for fear that animals will come and [775] devour it. The dead are very much afraid of animals and shout when a jaguar approaches them.

[825] The feline respects only a dead sablí, because he will die [756] in turn if he approaches.

Our informant spent several nights next to his father's [784] corpse, always being very careful not to step on the damp ground beneath the dead man, because those who step there lose their feet.

● 152 764 The grief of the relatives is so intense that very often some of them can not endure the pain and go to the forest to die. Above all the women lament a great deal during the night and the men hold them back so that they will not run away to the forest. The informant remembered that the strongest man of his tribe behaved as though he were mad after the death of his father and wanted to kill everybody. The men did not allow him to go with them into the forest to gather up the bones of his father for fear that, given his behavior, he might commit some crime.

765 After one month, more or less, the men of the tribe go to the forest and gather up the bones of their companion; the flesh decomposes completely during this period. Some of the men let down the coffin and others wrap the remains of the deceased in some large leaves, making in this way a bundle of bones which they take back with them to the rancheria. There they place it in a hammock and leave it for about four days, while the relatives continue to weep in uninterrupted lamentation.

765 775 [756] Later the sablí carries the bones to a fire prepared in the plaza and places them on top of the pile of firewood. Our informant also said that as the sablí did this he pronounced a well-known formula which means: "you are getting along well," for, if he did not say this, the hĩkula would not be able to find its way. Afterwards he lights the fire, blows upon it at the same time as he raises his arms /221/ above his head, and in the smoke

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

to use our machetes to open up a fair-sized space so that we could drag the canoes up on to dry ground beyond the reach of possible floods. Behind the bamboos we could see traces in the undergrowth of an old track, which after crossing thirty-two hills and the length of the Aracosa river would lead us to a horde of howling ape-men, who cultivated cane for their arrows, and nothing else.

Uarema had a young dove which he had caught alive on the way along the Merevari, and was looking after it. He gave it the affectionate name of Pipa. Sempronio helped him by looking for little berries, which the pretty little bird took greedily. The others were meanwhile busy putting up a shelter for the night and clearing a little more space around it, while Hashimo and Solituan went off to make a brief reconnaissance of the all but vanished track. Uarema paid no attention to anything but his Pipa, calling its name softly and fondling it like a child.

A love for animals always seems strange among these Indians, and when it exists it is subject to the wildest caprice. For instance, a monkey, after being brought up among them with every sign of affection, will suddenly become a comic target for their blunt arrows and die a slow death from its wounds.

For the moment Uarema was lavishing all his affection on Pipa, and when I accidentally trod on the bird, squashing it flat as a pancake, he turned on me instinctively, as if he was going to throw himself on me: the Guayca Indian in him had suddenly come out, roused by this offence against his love for the poor little dove crushed under the foreigner's foot. But suddenly his mood changed and without a word he picked up the squashed bird, under whose wings there was still a flutter of life, and threw it far off, with an air of disgust.

Sempronio watched the incident, laughing very quietly as he always did and looking up at me: he seemed to regard me as some sort of personal protector of his own. Then he went off in search of Pipa. Rolled up in a few leaves, the bird was put aside for his private cuisine.

Sempronio came from Auai stock. He was a mere boy, not fully developed, and he had joined us in this Samatari venture simply because I had told him to come. 'He doesn't want to come, but you want him to, so he comes'—these were the exact words into which Uarema had translated Sempronio's brief remarks. And he came everywhere with us, even to the Samatari, who were considered by his own people—a good, *smiling* people, whose only remaining primitive trait lay in their inordinate passion for theft—to be monsters ready at

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

A vast and multiform horde it is that besieges the trees; a people millions strong, each one of whom wages its own small war and combines with the rest in the greater struggle.

IV

In the three brothers, all that was best in this wild region could truly be said to have found some form of expression. Their reactions were at times incomprehensible—sudden reflexes resulting from a life utterly different in every way from our own and in some degree akin to the animals'. They were always together, not mixing with the other Shirians and building their own little separate shelter. Every night, when work was finished, they came to us, rubbing themselves against us and indicating by gestures what goods they would like for their pay.

They had certain phobias, the most interesting being a fear of nails. Carmine always had a long nail handy, and each evening he would hammer it into one of the hut-poles to hang up his gun and cartridge-case. This produced a terrible effect on one of the brothers. He would stand and watch as it paralysed, for all the world as though the nail was being driven into his own forehead. If Carmine showed him the nail, holding it out to him, he would cry '*Ma, ma*' and run off to hide in his little hut. Generally, however, he was most friendly, even affectionate, towards us. Carmine had once rashly promised to cut his hair for him, and since a haircut for one meant a haircut for everybody and the expedition's only pair of scissors was precious, we lost a whole day while my companion gained some experience of the barber's trade. The Indians spent their time looking at themselves in the glass and examining each other's coiffure for defects which they wanted attended to at once.

In imitation of the tales the Shirians told, Carmine had invented a terrifying personage called Barabàn, a kinsman of his, who lived somewhere over the mountains. Barabàn made such an impression on everyone that the myth became a real moral weapon and came in very useful when the Indians needed a little prodding. When Carmine told his tale, in a mixture of Shirian, Makiritari, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian, they would listen with eyes like saucers, in curiosity and fear: 'Barabàn and a hundred robbers and a hundred fierce dogs—they live in the trees like monkeys—eat women and children, cooked—

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123 From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dixies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their [152] fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One [758] of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

595 As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous
162 and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by
578 means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males
684 whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of
838 quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We
201 had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of ges-
123 tures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

123 In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of
411 ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

Yanoama 5818

Bari 5513

/25 cont./

know of several cases. Neither do we deny proven and concrete cases of attacks by the Indians on Creoles; we have certain proof of several. But, does not this same thing also occur among us in every city, town, or village?

53. In particular there is talk of the untamable wildness of the Sirianá of the Paragua River and of the Motilón of the Zulia. As for the former, there is no doubt whatsoever that such butchers do not exist, as we were able to prove in the expedition made in the year 1940 and we reported this in an article published in the Boletín de la Sociedad Venezolana de Ciencias Naturales, Volume VIII, No. 53, to which we refer now.

As for the latter, what is certain is that they have trade relations with the Indians of the Tukuku River, with which statement at least half of the legend is destroyed, that part which says that the Motilón did not permit even dealing with or the approach of other tribes. And regarding their hate of Creoles and their aggressiveness, I refer to the judgment of Mr. Gsell, quoted by A. Jahn in his book, Los Aborígines del Occidente de Venezuela /The Aborigines of Western Venezuela/, page 99, where he says: "As for the temperament of the Motilón, Gsell's opinion is that he does not consider them dangerous whilst they have not been molested by the Creoles; so that their hostility towards the whites is always motivated by a spirit of revenge."

He himself says: "Creole peons are too cowardly and imprudent to be able to enter into dealings with the Motilón and when they have had the fortune to run across a plantation of yucca and plantain trees, made by the Indians, they pull up the tubers and cut the ripe fruit, in this way provoking their ire." While holding the same ideas as Mr. Gsell, we can add that, as we well know from the not short time spent living among the Indians and the not narrow circle of our observations, the abuses he denounces are the least; other much more important ones, which it is not necessary to name, have caused and do cause reprisal; and what is remarkable is

121 reasoning, as most of the Yąnomamö villages are presently
583 uncontacted, and those that are in contact with foreigners
582 have only recently (since 1951) entered into these contacts.
183
648

583 Yąnomamö marriages, even the preferred form, are
582 influenced by the milieu of inter-village hostility within
*628 which they are contracted. Marriages in this milieu have as
613 their major function the promotion of social ties between the descent groups represented in the exchange and are best understood as the deployment of women between groups with the purpose of promoting political and military alliances. The groups in question may be of two kinds: the local patrilineages comprising a particular village, or the members of different villages as such. As the only corporate group among the Yąnomamö is the local lineage, marriages within and between villages are to be understood as alliances between different corporate groups.[1]

583 The variables affecting marriage practice--weakness
582 of descent as a solidarity-promoting medium, village size
183
*621 and instability, the chronic nature of warfare, the shortage
921 of women, attitudes about aggressiveness and demonstration
• 152 of ferocity by individuals, and economic practices--are such that some deviation from the normative marriage rules is necessary to insure maximum survival chances for the resi-
583 dents of the various autonomous villages. Because marriage
582
*621 exchanges in general have political and military implications,

*[621]

[1]Yąnomamö villages are not corporate groups.

*621 White's generalization that

> every society tends to behave in such a way as to achieve that balance between size and solidarity that will give it the maximum effectiveness in carrying on its life-sustaining activities. (1959:104)

*621 Belligerent ideology and aggressive behavior
*628
562
583
582
721

Village size plays an important role in the nature of the political relationships between groups that are not linked by kinship ties. As mentioned above, larger villages tend to use their strength and dominance to upset the exchange balance of women. But the degree to which a powerful group is able to force a dependent ally to cede women is limited by the ability of the smaller group to raid the
*621 larger village successfully. In ideological terms the
*628 Yanomamö express this capacity to wage war by placing
721 emphasis on and valuing aggressive behavior. It is consid-
• 152 ered both proper and desirable to act ferociously, as this
181 informs neighbors of the group's capacity to wage war and warns them that the group is willing to resort to war in political dealings.

*621 Members of small villages are consequently constrained
*628 to behave militantly toward larger neighbors to limit the
526 coercion that the larger group may be tempted to try. Their
574 fierce behavior takes the form of threat, bluff, chicanery
152 in trading and, most important, challenges to duels. Frequently, when villagers are invited to feast with an allied group, the invitation includes a challenge to a chest-pounding

duel. Such a duel functions to remind the allies that the host is strong and willing to display his strength to protect his sovereignty.

The practical effect of this kind of behavior is that the solidarity of political alliances is constantly threatened. Allies are always suspicious of each other's intentions, and political ties between them are tenuous.

Although the giving of women in marriage between allies serves to promote solidarity, the capacity for marriage to achieve this end in itself is limited by the constant displays of hostility and aggressiveness by both groups.

The display of ferocity is manifest at the local, village level also. No insult is too slight to go unnoticed and unchallenged. Indeed, most individuals seize upon these opportunities to display strength. Thus, a legitimate way for men to display aggressiveness is for them to beat their errant wives, to burn them with fire brands, to cut their arms and legs with machetes or to shoot them in a non-vital part of the body with a barbed arrow. Men constantly intimidate their wives and respond cruelly to the slightest provocations, such as the wife's failure to act quickly on a husband's demand for food. Men who are brutal to their wives are feared and respected by other men, for the implication of this behavior is that the man will behave equally fiercely if insulted by another man.

Men often prefer to have a wife from another village, upon whom it is easier--and safer--to vent ferocity and

cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data, the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to split.

Ideological considerations, therefore, promote friction and fighting within villages and lead to village splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek marriage alliances with other groups.

Economic practices

Local groups abandon residential and horticultural sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of their enemies. For the most part, the Yanomamö are able to predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop within the village and it is expected that these will

illustrate how village shifts are related to warfare, and how foresight in establishing new gardens serves to facilitate village movement in anticipation of wars. The Monou-tedi planned to raid the PatanowÃ-tedi after the latter had recovered five of the seven women abducted by the Monou-tedi in November 1964. The Monou-tedi, of course, expected to be raided in turn by the PatanowÃ-tedi, so they began making a new garden in a direction away from their enemies, anticipating the revenge raids they knew would follow. In short, the Monou-tedi prepared for the war by initiating work on a new garden in a more defensible area--closer to their allies and across a large river--an action they hoped would permit them to remain completely independent of the largesse of their allies.

The graded violence pattern[1] of the YąnomamÖ may be viewed from the standpoint that such a pattern facilitates the establishment of new gardens while villages split. Thus, grievances may be temporarily settled by club-fighting, and the estranged factions may utilize the interval between club fighting and more violent hostilities to establish new gardens. This is also consistent with the political philosophy of the YąnomamÖ: chest pounding duels and club fights function to permit the aggrieved to demonstrate their ferocity in acts of violence, while the existence of several levels of

[1] The forms of fighting, in increasing degree of violence, are: side-slapping duels, chest-pounding duels, slapping of either the side or the chest with the flat side of a machete, club-fighting duels, spear-fighting duels, raiding with the tactic of ambush, and treacherous feasts. I have discussed this pattern elsewhere. Chagnon, 1967.

578 violence simultaneously permits the expression of hostility
*621
241 in such a way that the groups can split from each other on
182 relatively peaceful terms. The particular form of violence
* 152 employed in settling grievances is determined by a number of considerations, one of which is the likelihood that the resulting factions will be victimized by the raids of a powerful
578 enemy. Thus, in the splitting of villages, the gradations in
*621
*628 forms of violence permit of settlement patterns suited to
241 given military situations. Villages torn by internal con-
361
722 flicts may find it easier to split into two relatively peaceful
182 factions and remain geographically close to each other. In
152 this way, they can reunite into a single unit should either be attacked. Conversely, the violence pattern may also facilitate the separation of a large village into hostile groups that have no intention of reuniting: it permits suitable means for the temporary solution of a feud that will be carried to further ends after the two groups have separate gardens. The separation of the Monou-tedi from the Bisaasi-tedi is an example of the former, and the separation, at an earlier date, of both of these groups from the Patanowã-tedi is an example of the latter. Thus, while the bellicose behavior and values constrain co-residential groups to respond violently to affronts perpetrated on them by their co-villagers, their agricultural requirements can be accomodated by a graded system of violence that permits temporary solutions, albeit violent, while new gardens are cleared by the principals in a feud.

829
648 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

794
152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three
753 parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leav-
761 ing the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females.
825 Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

754 Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö
756 shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

221
156 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence
152 in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

111
Most of the displays of ferocity have to do with cruelties inflicted on women, particularly wives, as this is both a safe and a legitimate way of displaying aggressiveness.

One of the corollaries of this ideology is to take advantage of weak neighbors, for in so doing one can display ferocity and gain materially (by abducting women). Villages that have many enemies are particularly good targets, for other villages can participate in the raiding against these disadvantaged villages with little fear of retaliation (see Chapter V). This attitude is also manifest in the political dealings with allies. Whenever allied villages differ markedly in size and strength, the weaker of the two is at a disadvantage, for the larger village will coerce it out of women. Since women are greatly prized, there is the constant threat that an ally will turn against its friends if the circumstances indicate that a substantial number of women can be abducted. Members of allied villages that have recently entered into alliance never really trust each other, as each fears that the other may turn on it to seize women. Whenever the men of the village go on raids, they conceal their women and children in the jungle in case a group of men from an allied village unexpectedly visit and find the poorly guarded women too much of a temptation to pass by.

Political dealings between allies are such that each attempts to demonstrate to the other that it is completely sovereign and capable of defending itself. No group can afford to permit the notion among allies that it is weak and

628 can be pushed around. Thus, even the strongest alliances are tenuous at best, as the possibility is ever present that one of the allies will treacherously turn on the other.

*628 In February 1965 the Bisaasi-tedi held a feast for
• 152 the Mahekodo-tedi and Boreta-tedi. The visitors arrived
57
527 earlier than scheduled, ate excessively, stole food from the gardens at night, and refused to go home after the feast terminated. The Bisaasi-tedi had not alternative but to challenge the guests to a chest-pounding duel; failure to have done so would have implied that they could be easily coerced. When the guests were challenged, they packed and departed. For a while the Bisaasi-tedi felt that they had successfully coerced their guests into leaving, presuming that their guests departed out of fear. However, the guests returned that evening to meet the challenge, lest the rumor spread that they themselves were weak and could be intimidated. Just before I left the field a rumor was circulated that the Mõmaribõwei-tedi had accused the Bisaasi-tedi of weakness, and wanted to fight them to show them they were stronger. The rumor asserted that the Mõmaribõwei-tedi intended to challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a chest-pounding duel. The Bisaasi-tedi were enraged when they heard of this rumor, and immediately sent a delegation of men to Mõmaribõwei-tedi to challenge the men of that village to a fight. But, to show that they were not only not cowards but exceptionally fierce as well, they challenged the Mõmaribõwei-tedi to a duel with axes! The Mõmaribõwei-tedi denied the rumor and the duel never took place.

000 never took place.

*621 *623 156 152 One of the functions served by the levels of violence in Yąnomamö fighting is that the Yąnomamö are able to exhibit their ferocity in relatively benign forms and thereby live up to their claims of fierceness. But, since any form of violence can escalate to a more serious form of fighting, the system of violence itself constitutes a strain on the solidarity of relationships between and within villages.

*628 527 574 578 152 156 One peculair feature of this syndrome of fierceness is that smaller villages tend to be the most aggressive in their dealings with outsiders and with allies. The reason seems to be that smaller villages are more compelled to display their tenacity, as they are more obviously the weaker members in alliances. The expression of violence by members of allied villages, ironically enough, takes place during feasts. Thus, grievances that may have developed between members of allied villages since they last feasted together are satisfied during the course of the next feast. Thus, during the situations most likely to promote solidarity, allies frequently display their capacity to fight, informing their allies that they are sovereign, friendly, but fierce. The form of violence associated with feasting is usually chest pounding, but if someone is injured, the duel may escalate to side-slapping with the flat side of a machete. It smacks of the ridiculous to witness groups of men beating each other violently in such duels, and shortly thereafter embrace each other around the neck and chant, each man

156
• 152
*628
527
579
578

promising the other to be a faithful friend, to give goods, and to provide the other with women.

*628
*621
182
152
156
921

Thus, canons of political behavior and the high value placed on ferocity have the effect of creating a considerable amount of tension both within and between villages. In short, Yanomamö philosophy regarding ferocity and the associated behavior reduces internal village solidarity and weakens political alliances between villages. Indirectly, it promotes village splitting and warfare.

they have, but they must revenge raids coming from Bisaasi-tedi. Now that Pararuriwë and his followers have moved away from Kaobëwë's group, the Patanowë-tedi can raid Pararuriwë without having to 'look twice' before shooting. As Pararuriwë's faction is a small one, it is vulnerable; one raid from the Patanowë-tedi will force it to rejoin Kaobëwë's group. The internal stability of the reunited groups will suffer if this happens, as Pararuriwë will be obliged to demonstrate his leadership capacity. This will involve making an issue out of an incident that probably would have been overlooked prior to the separation of the two groups, and internal friction will be high.

The split within Patanowë-tedi

The incessant raiding from Hasabëwë-tedi, Kashorawë-tedi, Yabitawë-tedi, Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and their respective allies brought about a high degree of tension among the Patanowë-tedi. It was not safe to leave the village at any time. The Patanowë-tedi had attempted to split into three groups several years earlier, as the population had reached a large size and internal fighting was a nuisance. The development of the war with the Hasabëwë-tedi forced them to reunite. Factionalism, however, was pronounced within the village, and the added tension brought about by the new war with Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and the latter's two Shamatari allies ultimately led to an internal split within Patanowë-tedi a month before I left the field.

[For the functional aspects of chest-pounding as a means of resolving conflict situations involving a high degree of emotions, see category 578.]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

142
302
291
516
578

Fig. 1-1 Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast.

000
181
152
721
123

way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1-1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that I had to become very much like the Yąnomamö to be able to get along with them on their terms: sly, aggressive, and intimidating. 114 123

Had I failed to adjust in this fashion I would have lost six months of supplies to them in a single day or would have spent most of my time ferrying them around in my canoe or hunting for them. As it was, I did spend a considerable amount of time doing these things and did succumb to their outrageous demands for axes and machetes, at least at first. More importantly, had I failed to demonstrate that I could not be pushed around beyond a certain point, I would have been the subject of far more ridicule, theft, and practical jokes than was the actual case. In short, I had to acquire a certain proficiency in their kind of interpersonal politics and to learn how to imply subtly that certain potentially undesirable consequences might follow if they did such and such to me. They do this to each other in order to establish precisely the point at which they cannot goad an individual any further without precipitating retaliation. As soon as I caught on to this and realized that much of their aggression was stimulated by their desire to discover my flash point, I got along much better with them and regained some lost ground. It was sort of like a political game that everyone played, but one in which each individual sooner or later had to display some sign that his bluffs and implied threats could be backed up. I suspect that the frequency of wife beating is a component of this syndrome, since men can display their ferocity and show others that they are capable of violence. Beating a wife with a club is considered to be an acceptable way of displaying ferocity and one that does not expose the male to much danger. The important thing is that the man has displayed his potential for violence and the implication is that other men better treat him with respect and caution. 114 123 152 [593]

After six months, the level of demand was tolerable in the village I used for my headquarters. The Indians and I adjusted to each other and knew what to expect with regard to demands on their part for goods, favors, and services. Had I confined my fieldwork to just that village alone, the field experience would have been far more enjoyable. But, as I was interested in the demographic pattern and social organization of a much larger area, I made regular trips to some dozen different villages in order to collect genealogies or to recheck those I already had. Hence, the intensity of begging and intimidation was fairly constant for the duration of the fieldwork. I had to establish my position in some sort of pecking order of ferocity at each and every village. 114 121 123

For the most part, my own "fierceness" took the form of shouting back at the Yąnomamö as loudly and as passionately as they shouted at me, especially at first, when I did not know much of their language. As I became more proficient in their language and learned more about their political tactics, I became more sophisticated in the art of bluffing. For example, I paid one young man a machete to cut palm trees and make boards from the wood. I used these to fashion a platform in the bottom of my dugout canoe to keep my possessions dry when I traveled by river. That afternoon I was doing informant work in the village; the long-awaited mission supply boat arrived, and most of the Indians ran out of the village to beg goods from the crew. I continued to work in the village for another hour or so and went down to the river to say "hello" to the men on the supply boat. I was angry when I discovered that the Indians had chopped up all my palm boards and used them to paddle their own canoes[5] across the river. I knew that if 114 123 [799]

[5]The canoes were obtained from missionaries, who, in turn, got them from a different tribe. [501] [439]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

5

Yąnomamö Warfare

Levels of Violence

*628 THE FEAST AND ALLIANCE can and often do fail to establish stable, amicable relationships between sovereign villages. When this happens, the groups may coexist for a period of time without any overt expressions of hostility. This, however, is an unstable situation, and no two villages that are within comfortable walking distance from each other can maintain such a relationship indefinitely: They must become allies,
*628 or hostility is likely to develop between them. Indifference leads to ignorance or suspi-
721 cion, and this soon gives way to accusations of sorcery. Once the relationship is of this
754 sort, a death in one of the villages will be attributed to the malevolent *hekura* sent by shamans in the other village, and raids will eventually take place between them.

726 Yąnomamö warfare proper is the raid. That is, not all of their feuding and squabbles can be considered as war, although the values associated with war—bellicosity, ferocity, and violence—undoubtedly increase the amount of all kinds of fighting.

*628 War is only one form of violence in a graded series of aggressive activities (Chag-
578 non 1967). Indeed, some of the other forms of fighting, such as the formal chest-pounding
• 152 duel, may even be considered as the antithesis of war, for it provides an alternative to kill-
154 ing. Duels are formal and are regulated by stringent rules about proper ways to deliver and receive blows. Much of Yąnomamö fighting is kept innocuous by these rules so that the concerned parties do not have to resort to drastic means to resolve their grievances. The three most innocuous forms of violence, chest pounding, side slapping, and club fights, permit the contestants to express their hostilities in such a way that they can continue to remain on relatively peaceful terms with each other after the contest is settled. Thus, Yąnomamö culture calls forth aggressive behavior, but at the same time provides a regulated system in which the expressions of violence can be controlled.

*628 The most innocuous form of fighting is the chest-pounding duel described in the
578 last chapter. These duels usually take place between the members of different villages and are precipitated by such minor affronts as malicious gossip, accusations of cowardice, stinginess with food, or niggardliness in trading.

/117 cont./

XI. Reasoning Abilities

153 Among the Surára and Pakidái the memory is especially keen, both with respect to the myths and songs, religion, and tribal history, as well as with respect to the flora and fauna and the peculiarities of a landscape (561). Their imitative

114

561. In this connection I should like to refer to a remark by Baldus: "By and large as far as the Indian's memory is concerned, he retains only what is useful on the phenominal level accessible to him. He will note each peculiarity of a landscape which he crosses, for that is necessary in order to find the way again and to be able to describe it to his companions. The much lauded 'sense of orientation' of the Indian is nothing but memory" (Baldus, 1931, p. 118).

123 Their imitative
153 talent is also noteworthy. For example, upon my arrival, writing and drawing seemed new and mysterious to the Indians. When I handed them my fountain pen and pencils and asked them to draw something, neither the children nor men and women managed to produce anything but the customary serpentine lines, circles, and dots which they otherwise draw with urucú on their bodies, faces, and utilitarian objects. But as soon as I drew trees, houses, and animals for them, they were able to copy these figures after a few attempts. They proved indefatigable in this, and once they had started, they did not want to stop at all. Nor was it long before they /118/ were able to copy letters and finally entire words (562) (563).

153
171

562. Baldus reports the same thing about the Indian tribes in the northeastern Chaco: "Once one has taught the Indians

Surára
Pakidái

/118 cont./

• 153
171

562. (cont.)
'to see with our eyes,' they do not lag behind us in penmanship and copying" (Baldus, 1931, p. 118).

563. The experiences of two more investigators should also be cited. First Crevaux, whose following description concerns the Oyampf: "I enjoy reproducing the figures and arabesques with which the people of the village are covered. They are very similar to the carvings in the rock Timéri of the Maroni. It then gives me the idea of cutting a piece of charcoal and giving it to the captain Jean-Louis and asking him to draw in my notebook, which he calls caréta, whereas he calls the drawings that he makes coussiouar. Jean-Louis does not know how to draw very well. On the other hand, young Yami soon makes for me, no longer with charcoal, but with a pencil, drawings of a man, a dog, a tiger, finally all the animals and devils of the country.

"Another Indian reproduces all sorts of arabesques which he is in the habit of painting with genipap.

"Having given some needles to my draftsmen, the question is who will ask me for a pencil in order to blacken the paper. I see that these savages who are accused of being absolutely ignorant of the fine arts drav everything with extraordinary facility;..." /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, pp. 76/77). -- No less interesting is the statement by Karl von den

/118 cont./

153
191

563. (cont.)
Steinen about the Suya on the Xingú, in which he declares that these Indians knew how to use the pencil very well and drew beautiful motifs in his notebook, although he was the first white man they had seen (Karl von den Steinen, 1886, p. 212).

153
[177]
[191]
124
159
[191]

Younger people are distinguished by a gift for rapid comprehension and an astonishing learning capacity. Although these Indians very rarely come in contact with caboclos, and in most cases only the men, both sexes have at their command a rather large store of Portuguese words and figures of speech. One little Surára boy about nine years old, Jubeauwõ, also called Mandú, who had spent almost two years in the hut of the palm-fiber gatherer Manuel Antonio Gómez on the Rio Aracá, had a nearly perfect command of the Portuguese language and performed unique service as my interpreter. I owe it to him alone that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the mental culture of the Surára and Pakidái and put together a complete vocabulary (564).

159
734
752
[888]

564. Three years ago the little boy suffered dangerous burns on the abdomen by an upset vessel containing boiling tree resin. Since the chief had given up hope that he would recover, he wanted to have him given the deathblow. The custom of this tribe, as well as that of the Pakidái, decrees that all old and seriously ill persons who are no longer able to take part in the general migrations must be killed (see pp. 153/154). The grandmother of the little boy, who is an orphan took him secretly one night to the hut of the Spanish palm-fiber gatherer,

Surára
Pakidái

/118 cont./

159
734
752

564. (cont.) Manoel Antonio Gómez, who succeeded in saving his life. The chief was said to have been very angry at first over the arbitrary action of the grandmother, but then, when he saw that the little one had recovered, he calmed down.

123
153
[177]
153

Most men, after but a short time, had no difficulty handling our two guns; a few were soon even operating the outboard motor, and the Surára chief Hewemão, who showed great interest in my camera, took very acceptable pictures with it. The reasoning power seems to be somewhat more strongly developed among the men than among the women (565).

[114]
[171]

565. This conclusion agrees with an observation by Baldus among the Tumerehã, and the scholar adds a remark which could also be applied to the Surára and Pakidái: "The differences in the talents of the sexes are perhaps the result of their way of life and division of labor. Thus, among the Tumerehã, the man's way of acquiring food has probably developed his acuteness, for he does not merely gather fruits, like the woman, but also goes hunting..." (Baldus, 1931, p. 119).

802 /119/ XII. Counting and Conception of Time

The Surára and Pakidái count only to three:

1 -- mahón

2 -- porokabõ

3 -- prukatabõ.

[For the functional aspects of chest-pounding as a means of resolving conflict situations involving a high degree of emotions, see category 578.]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

5

Yąnomamö Warfare

Levels of Violence

*628 THE FEAST AND ALLIANCE can and often do fail to establish stable, amicable relationships between sovereign villages. When this happens, the groups may coexist for a period of time without any overt expressions of hostility. This, however, is an unstable situation, and no two villages that are within comfortable walking distance from each other can maintain such a relationship indefinitely: They must become allies, *628 or hostility is likely to develop between them. Indifference leads to ignorance or suspi- 721 cion, and this soon gives way to accusations of sorcery. Once the relationship is of this 954 sort, a death in one of the villages will be attributed to the malevolent *hekura* sent by shamans in the other village, and raids will eventually take place between them.

726 Yąnomamö warfare proper is the raid. That is, not all of their feuding and squabbles can be considered as war, although the values associated with war—bellicosity, ferocity, and violence—undoubtedly increase the amount of all kinds of fighting.

*628 War is only one form of violence in a graded series of aggressive activities (Chag- 578 non 1967). Indeed, some of the other forms of fighting, such as the formal chest-pounding 152 duel, may even be considered as the antithesis of war, for it provides an alternative to kill- 154 ing. Duels are formal and are regulated by stringent rules about proper ways to deliver and receive blows. Much of Yąnomamö fighting is kept innocuous by these rules so that the concerned parties do not have to resort to drastic means to resolve their grievances. The three most innocuous forms of violence, chest pounding, side slapping, and club fights, permit the contestants to express their hostilities in such a way that they can continue to remain on relatively peaceful terms with each other after the contest is settled. Thus, Yąnomamö culture calls forth aggressive behavior, but at the same time provides a regulated system in which the expressions of violence can be controlled.

*628 The most innocuous form of fighting is the chest-pounding duel described in the 578 last chapter. These duels usually take place between the members of different villages and are precipitated by such minor affronts as malicious gossip, accusations of cowardice, stinginess with food, or niggardliness in trading.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kąobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

754 784 which is tied a bundle of feathers.[1]

* 621 622 613 [956] Besides shamans, of which there are several in every village, there are influential 'big men.' The number of big men in a village depends, on the one hand, on the size of the village and the number of local patrilineages comprising it, and, on the other, on the number of men who are personally qualified to lead. The qualities that determine leadership are personal courage, fierceness, the ability to be outraged by even the slightest insult, marksmanship, diplomacy in trading with representatives from other villages, the ability to arrange marriages for male supporters with females from other villages, cunning and intelligence in dealings with allies, the ability to attract young men to live permanently in the village by promising them wives, and the defense of group members who get into difficulties with other village members.

622 [502] Individuals who possess all these attributes are considered leaders only if they have a large natural following, i.e., brothers and sons living with them in their village. Otherwise, such men have only just a little more

---

[171] [1]To give a more comparative statement on the poverty of Yanomamö culture, they possess only 11 traits of the 354 listed in the 4th edition of Carneiro and Tobias' "Trait List to be Used for the Study of Cultural Evolution by Means of Scale Analysis," (1963, mimeograph). By contrast, the Siriono have 8, the Andamanese 10, the Jivaro 22, the Nuer 28, the Siuai 39, the Iroquois 64, the Bemba 100 and the Tahitians 140. (Carneiro and Tobias, 1963:201.) In the classification developed by E. R. Service (1962), the Yanomamö are "tribal."

829
648 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

794
152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three
[753] parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leav-
[761] ing the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females.
[825] Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

[754] Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö
[756] shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

*621
• 156
152 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

*621 *157 152 593 Most of the displays of ferocity have to do with cruelties inflicted on women, particularly wives, as this is both a safe and a legitimate way of displaying aggressiveness.

*628 721 562 One of the corollaries of this ideology is to take advantage of weak neighbors, for in so doing one can display ferocity and gain materially (by abducting women). Villages that have many enemies are particularly good targets, for other villages can participate in the raiding against these disadvantaged villages with little fear of retaliation (see Chapter V). This attitude is also manifest in the political dealings with allies. Whenever allied villages differ markedly in size and strength, the weaker of the two is at a disadvantage, for the larger village will coerce it out of women. Since women are greatly prized, there is the constant threat that an ally will turn against its friends if the circumstances indicate that a substantial number of women can be abducted. Members of allied villages that have recently entered into alliance never really trust each other, as each fears that the other may turn on it to seize women. Whenever the men of the village go on raids, they conceal their women and children in the jungle in case a group of men from an allied village unexpectedly visit and find the poorly guarded women too much of a temptation to pass by.

*629 Political dealings between allies are such that each attempts to demonstrate to the other that it is completely sovereign and capable of defending itself. No group can afford to permit the notion among allies that it is weak and

000 never took place.

*621 *623 a 156 152 One of the functions served by the levels of violence in Yąnomamö fighting is that the Yąnomamö are able to exhibit their ferocity in relatively benign forms and thereby live up to their claims of fierceness. But, since any form of violence can escalate to a more serious form of fighting, the system of violence itself constitutes a strain on the solidarity of relationships between and within villages.

*628 527 574 578 152 156 One peculair feature of this syndrome of fierceness is that smaller villages tend to be the most aggressive in their dealings with outsiders and with allies. The reason seems to be that smaller villages are more compelled to display their tenacity, as they are more obviously the weaker members in alliances. The expression of violence by members of allied villages, ironically enough, takes place during feasts. Thus, grievances that may have developed between members of allied villages since they last feasted together are satisfied during the course of the next feast. Thus, during the situations most likely to promote solidarity, allies frequently display their capacity to fight, informing their allies that they are sovereign, friendly, but fierce. The form of violence associated with feasting is usually chest pounding, but if someone is injured, the duel may escalate to side-slapping with the flat side of a machete. It smacks of the ridiculous to witness groups of men beating each other violently in such duels, and shortly thereafter embrace each other around the neck and chant, each man

promising the other to be a faithful friend, to give goods, and to provide the other with women.

Thus, canons of political behavior and the high value placed on ferocity have the effect of creating a considerable amount of tension both within and between villages. In short, Yanomamö philosophy regarding ferocity and the associated behavior reduces internal village solidarity and weakens political alliances between villages. Indirectly, it promotes village splitting and warfare.

the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absense of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Reromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-in-law. Reromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the village. He has four adult sons to support his position. Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[1] His son, Bëkëbowë, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Reromawë is getting old.

726 Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid
*628 from them. Paruriwë seized upon this as his opportunity to
622 advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated
[564] several raids against the Patanowë-tedi without the support
of Kɨobëwë. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi.
[602] As Paruriwë was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman
(consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen
as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

• 156 Paruriwë's behavior in other respects changed after
622 the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he
[123] was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again,
[593] he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one
occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she
responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwë was
entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the
visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a
*621 force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field,
622 Paruriwë and his group separated from Kɨobëwë's and moved
361 across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house
529 on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This
574 move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could
initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up
until the time he moved, visitors from other villages con-
sistently sought out Kɨobëwë as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during
the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how
much effort Paruriwë spent in emphasizing his own role in the
feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ19

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kaobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kaobawä's oldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kaobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kaobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

Fig. 1-6. Kaemashima, Kaobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a paw frog.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers [622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village, [156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karobi-teri, one of the [582] villages to which Kąobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kąobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kąobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relation- [622] ships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[583] He does not intend to stay in Kąobawä's group and has not made a garden. He [591] feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an [837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked [593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother [578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kąobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kąobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good [522] side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yąnomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

11: Chagnon F-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1-5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

11: Chagnon E-S (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

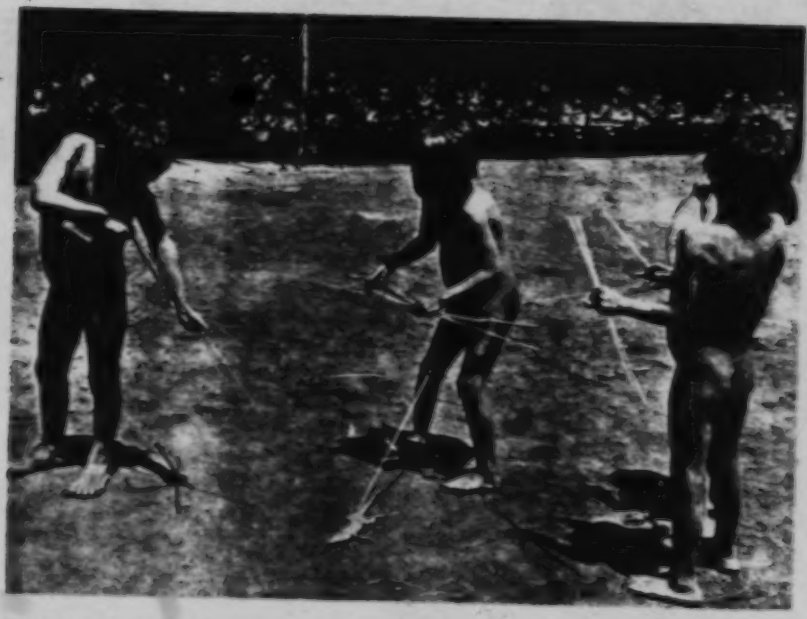


Fig. 3-8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kaobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yanomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kaobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kaobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kaobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kaobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kaobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Sharaiwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kaobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Sharaiwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Sharaiwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kaobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

156 622 621 607 579 721 [123] [914] [123] 156 622 593 578

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowã-teri arrived to explore with Kąobuwã the possibility of peace between their two villages. They were brothers-in-law to him and were fairly certain that he would protect them from the village hotheads. One of the ambitious men in Kąobuwã's group saw in this an opportunity to enhance his prestige and made plans to murder the three visitors. This man, Paruriwã, was a very cunning, treacherous fellow and quite jealous of Kąobuwã's position as headman. He wanted to be the village leader and privately told me to address him as the headman. On this occasion Kąobuwã let it be known that he intended to protect the visitors. For the better part of the day the village was in a state of suspense. Paruriwã and his followers were not to be found anywhere; a rumor spread that they had painted themselves black and were well armed. Kąobuwã and his supporters, mostly his own brothers and brothers-in-law, remained in the village all day, their weapons close at hand. Late in the afternoon Paruriwã and his men appeared in their black paint and took up strategic posts around the village. He himself held an axe. He strutted arrogantly up to the visitors holding his axe as if he were ready to strike. The village became very quiet, and most of the women and children left. Neither Kąobuwã nor the Patanowã-teri visitors batted an eyelash when Paruriwã approached, although the others were visibly nervous and sat up in their hammocks. Instead of striking the visitors with the axe as he appeared to suggest he was going to do, he invited one of them out to chant with him. Within seconds all three of the visitors had paired off with members of Paruriwã's group and were chanting passionately with them, explaining the reasons for their visit and giving their justification for the state of hostilities.

The crisis has been averted because of Kąobuwã's implied threat that he would defend the visitors with force. A number of men in Paruriwã's group were visitors from Monou-teri; their headman had been killed a few months earlier by the Patanowã-teri. When Paruriwã failed to go through with his plan, they left the village in a rage, hoping to recruit a raiding party in their own village and ambush the visitors when they left.

Kąobuwã realized that the visitors would not be safe until they got back home, since the Monou-teri would attempt to intercept them. He visited me that night and asked me to take the visitors back to their village at dawn in my canoe, knowing that I had already planned a trip there for the immediate future. After I agreed to accelerate my own plans, he proceeded to give me instructions about the trip: I was not to stop at any of the villages along the Orinoco River to visit, for all of them were at war with the Patanowã-teri and would shoot my companions on sight. The Patanowã-teri men lay on the floor of my canoe and covered themselves with a tarp when we passed these villages. The people on the bank shouted curses at me for not stopping to visit and give them trade goods. At this time the Patanowã-teri were being raided by about a dozen different villages. We had to cover part of the distance to their village on foot, proceeding very cautiously because of the danger of raiders. At one point the men showed me the spot where a Hasubõwã-teri raiding party had killed a Patanowã-teri woman a week earlier. Thus, Kąobuwã not only protected the visitors while they were in his village but he also arranged a "safe-conduct" for their return.

Kąobuwã keeps order in the village when people get out of hand. Paruriwã, for example, is particularly cruel to his four wives and beats them mercilessly for even slight provocations. None of his wives have brothers in the village, and few people are courageous enough to interfere with Paruriwã when he is angry. On one occasion Kąobuwã was holding a feast for the members of an allied village. His preparations were being

11: Chagnon S-5 (1966-1968) 1966 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Panaiwä, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Panaiwä's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Panaiwä went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Panaiwä recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kaobawä had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Panaiwä before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kaobawä disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

On another occasion one of Kaobawä's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kaobawä managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kaobawä stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 5-9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

Fig. 5-9. Kaobawä (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been hacked on the head and blood is streaming down his neck.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

his group was being trounced by their opponents, largely because only a few of the men were doing all the fighting for Kąobawä's group. These men were forced to take several turns in rapid succession, while a large number of men stood by and watched. The fighters wanted to escalate the battle to a duel with axes, hoping to intimidate their opponents into conceding. Kąobawä quickly forced the idle men to participate in the chest pounding, thereby distributing the punishment a little more evenly and reducing the possibility of a bloodier confrontation.

After the duel was over, Kąobawä coolly discussed the fight with the leaders in the opponents' group, explaining that he did not intend to raid them unless they raided first. A number of men in the village, notably Paruriwä and some of his followers, shouted threats at the departing opponents that they would shoot them on sight should they meet again. Paruriwä frequently boasted like this, but rarely put himself in a position that was potentially dangerous. He later ran into a party of hunters from the above-mentioned group while he was leading a raid against the Patanowä-teri. Instead of shooting them on sight as he threatened to do (they could have shot back, as they were armed), he traded arrows with them and rapidly retreated. He boasted in the village how he had terrified these men. I later visited their village and learned that Paruriwä was the one who was terrified. They themselves continued to hunt, while Paruriwä fled for home.

Kąobawä's personality differs considerably from Paruriwä's. Where the former is unobtrusive, calm, modest, and perceptive, the latter is belligerent, aggressive, ostentatious, and rash. Kąobawä has an established status in the village and numerous supporters, whose loyalties are in part determined by their kinship ties and in part because he is a wise leader. Paruriwä is attempting to share in the leadership and does not have a well-established position in this respect. It is obvious who the real leader is: When visitors come to Upper Bisasi-teri, they seek out Kąobawä and deal with him, no matter how ambitiously Paruriwä attempts to emulate his position. Paruriwä does not have as many living brothers in his group as Kąobawä has, so his "natural following" is somewhat limited. In addition, two of his brothers are married to actual sisters of Kąobawä and have some loyalty to him. Paruriwä, therefore, has very little means with which to establish his position, so he is given over to using bluff, threat, chicanery, and treachery. This he does well, and many of the young men in the village admire him for it. He has gained the support of some of these men by promising them his wives' yet unborn daughters. Remarkably enough, some of them cling to these promises and do his bidding.

Finally, one of Kąobawä's most unpleasant tasks is to scout the village neighborhood when signs of raiders have been found. This he does alone, since it is a dangerous task and one that is avoided by the other men. Not even Paruriwä participates in this.

Kąobawä has definite responsibilities as the headman and is occasionally called upon by the nature of the situation to exercise his authority. He is usually distinguishable in the village as a man of some authority only for the duration of the incident that calls forth his leadership capacity. After the incident is over, he goes about his own business like the other men in the group. But even then, he sets an example for the others, particularly in his ambitions to produce large quantities of food for his family and for the guests he must entertain. Most of the time he leads only by example and the others follow if it pleases them to do so. They can ignore his example if they wish, but most of the people turn to him when a difficult situation arises.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwë probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen-even Kaobawë-implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowë. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwë's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwë failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwë and his raiders did not locate the Patanowë-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowë-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowë-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowë-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowë-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisaasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisaasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisaasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowë-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisaasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

[P. 138 is blank]

/65 cont./

000 children (see pp. 64 ff.). A thin cord of cotton or plant fibers,
501 which is occasionally worn below the knees, is supposed to
856 strengthen the legs, and corresponding upper-arm cords, the muscles (in the case of boys) and the arms (in the case of girls). Moreover, small girls wear strings crossed over their chests so that they will have well-shaped breasts later on.

f) Childhood

593 Even in boyhood and girlhood the family bears the chief
859 responsibility for all educational measures. The boy, to be sure, is now drawn to the father somewhat more and gradually begins to free himself from his mother. With his bow, which his father has made for him, he daily practices shooting small birds, for it is believed that a boy who kills many birds will later become a good hunter. They are cleaned and prepared by the girls, however, and together the children then have a meal, to which the girls often contribute cooked bananas or manioc flat-cakes. In play the children are properly prepared for their future duties and responsibilities as adults. Thus, the girls occasionally also help their mothers and fetch their water or wood, or they assume the care of their younger siblings.

861 The modest, thoughtful nature of these Indian children
● [157] should be emphasized. Yet they are never beaten and they never hear a harsh word either from their parents or from other adults. Gentle admonishment suffices to reprove a child if it is really
857 naughty on occasion. Even in their play, however, there are
152 seldom such quarrels as are so frequent among civilized children. It would be quite unthinkable, for example, for a Surára or Pakidái child to run to its mother in order to complain about a playmate.

524 Boys and girls grow up together quite naturally and without constraint, as is shown by the fact that group games are preferred to solitary games. A great favorite, among others, is a game of ball which they play with a monkey bladder. It is batted upward with the palm of the hand (see also p. 246). They also play a sort of tug-of-war with lianas (see p.244). Moreover, the boys
[868] often imitate the dances of the men, while the girls are very fond of string games. It is especially popular to play "mother and

2: Becher--251 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Paxidái

/115 cont./

X. Character and Way of Thinking

•157 In spite of insignificant contacts with the caboclos (rubber
[177] and palm-fiber gatherers, planters, and the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini), the Surára and Paxidái have preserved throughout the character of unspoiled primitive peoples who have not yet been alienated from such traditional Indian virtues as hospitality, moderation,
123 and honesty. I discovered this even on the occasion of my first
157 contact with them. When I, together with my servant Mateus, met nine Surára warriors on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, they gazed in wonder at our boat, the outboard motor, and the numerous gifts and trade articles in the form of knives, axes, pots, glass beads, etc., but they did not touch anything. They were also immediately willing to take us to their maloka, about 70 kilometers away, and carried the trunks, boxes and bags weighing 50-60 kilograms (555) (556), which, to

555. Becher, 1957a, p. 115.

556. Becher, 1958, p. 153.

their mind, contained tremendous treasures. During the strenuous three-day march, a definite feeling of harmony prevailed; there was constant laughing and jesting. When the Indians heard that Mateus called me "doutor" /doctor/, they burst into particularly hearty laughter and told us that totorí (jabuti /land turtle/) was a fitting name for me. The name remained with me until my departure and was brilliantly appropriate for me, for, in comparison with the free Forest Indians, anyone from civilization presents a very clumsy picture in the forest regions.

These nine warriors could easily have murdered us and departed alone with the gifts and trade articles. But not for a moment was I aware of any danger, for there could not have been more gracious or thoughtful companions. How great their honesty was I should like to document with the following example: During the march on the impassable Indian paths in the eternal

/115 cont./

123 twilight of the forest, a packet of cigarettes fell out of my
157 trousers pocket. Who can describe my astonishment when in the evening at a halting place an Indian brought back to me the packet with the contents intact. Naturally, I gave the honest finder the cigarettes and a knife in addition.

Similarly, during my months-long stay with the two tribes I always had all the trunks, boxes, and bags standing open, and yet nothing was ever stolen from me. Even the barter of ethnographic objects always took place, usually under the supervision of the chiefs, in perfect peace and tranquility. When I presented knives, pots, glass beads, and other objects to men, women, or children, /116/ they always took them with impassive faces,
[192] but without expressing gratitude. There is no word for "thanks" in their language, any more than there is in the other Indian languages. In their shining eyes, however, I could read that they were pleased.

152 Before the departure of a member of the family there are
157 never any sentimental scenes between relatives, let alone endearments, and even at the return one can see aroused emotion only in the shining eyes.

123 In the presence of strangers, women and girls in particular are at first timid and grave, but when one has gained their confidence, they are gay and unrestrained. I very quickly gained the affection of the children and with it also that of their parents and the other adults. One's behavior, of course, plays an important part in relations with the Indians. If one approaches the Surára and Pakidái in a friendly and courteous manner, one can accomplish anything with them. On the other hand, if one expressed himself disapprovingly with regard to their customs and habits, scolded them, or beat a child, he would be inviting their antagonism. Thus, a visit to the malokas of these Indians is not to be recommended to nervous people, for one does not find any rest throughout the entire day, and it is often lacking at night as well. There were always men, women, and children standing or sitting around me. In the beginning, they tirelessly pronounced the words of their language for me, but they never laughed at me if I repeated them with the wrong accent. At first they even

Surára
Pakidái

/117 cont./

888
[171]

559. (cont.)
no longer able to work for the family is regarded like a banana tree that has already produced the fruit, and no one pities them.../" (P. Giacone, 1949, p. 25).

no longer able to take part in the general migrations, however, they were killed, in accordance with the tribal custom (see pp. 153/154).

829
[159]

The friendly, open nature of all Surára and Pakidái is coupled with a very strongly marked self-assurance. Along with their allies, above all the mighty Xirifna, they feel like rulers of the world, which, in their opinion, consists only of virgin forest, mountains, rivers, and lakes. The caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers), the only members of civilization whom they know, are therefore always treated with a certain compassionate condescension by them, for they are of the opinion that all civilized persons, whites, blacks, and mixed, are weak and powerless and owe their lives solely to the benevolent
000 forbearance of the Indians (560). When I told them about cities

[171]

560. Baldus found similar conceptions among tribes of the northeastern Chaco (Baldus, 1931, p. 114), as did Métraux among the Kayapó /Cayapo/. (Herr Prof. Métraux told me this during the meeting of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde in Berlin, 1957.)

123 when I told them about cities
829 in which many white and black people live, of the sea and the big ships sailing on it, they could not grasp this at first and then became very thoughtful. Later, at my departure, they urged me not to travel too far out on the ocean so that I would not fall off the earth-disk (see p. 197).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

thing they could ever have imagined. It was the first time a stranger had learned to articulate the explosive vocables of their savage, noisy tribe.

Unlike Makiritari and Pemonsón, languages of Carib origin with very frequent aspirates, the Shirian tongue is chanted rather than spoken and possesses few aspirates. In all probability it is close to the fountain-head of all language—that is, a common-sense arrangement of sounds and chants—and it is more adapted to forest conditions, being 'howled', with the accent on the last syllable of the word, so that the sound echoes over a considerable distance.

The language is richer than might be supposed from the backwardness of the Indians who speak it. Later on, with Luis Antonio's help, I was able to complete a vocabulary of more than eight hundred words. The most surprising feature is that many of the words have an undeniable affinity with the Malayan language. One example is 'nasa', the word (indifferently prefixed or suffixed) by which the Shirian refers to a man as such, differentiated from other forms of life or other things, and therefore implying a certain superiority, as in 'sir'. This is its exact equivalent in Malayan. Another example is '*pulipuli*' (moon), which is too close to the Malayan '*puleng*' for the similarity to be accidental. And so on.

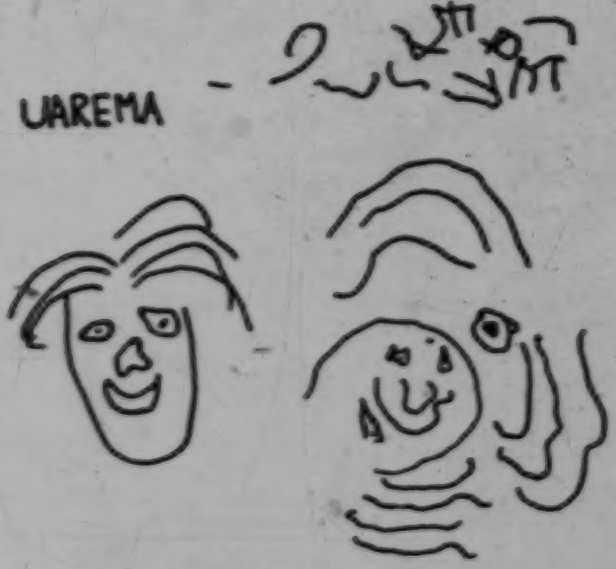
I profited from my stay with the Shirians by analysing some of their mental processes, their psychical reflexes and their reactions to conditioned phenomena such as come under the general heading of 'psychotechnics'. I had with me a few sheets of cardboard from the wrappings of my medical supplies, and a stub of pencil (lost for some time, this turned up in the possession of a good lady who was using it—with results that were hard to discern—as a cosmetic). I would write a word in very clear block letters, or I would draw a face, on one side of the sheet. Then I would give the pencil to a Samatari who had been following my actions with the closest interest and ask him to copy exactly what I had written or drawn.

I repeated this test several times, and some curious results were produced. They may contribute something of value towards the analysis of primitive mentalities, and I reproduce them opposite.

With this test, even at a first glance, we can make some contribution towards a definition of the Indians' mental processes, which are still at the stage where their intelligence is wholly analytical. They have not yet developed the power of synthesis, which comes later. This is clearly shown by the Shirian copies of the face. They render all the details, without, however, being able to unite them

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

into the proper shape, which means without the logical synthesis which gives them their definitive value. As with his analytical copy of the face, so the Shirian analyses the world in his thoughts about it, but forms no judgment on it, because to form a judgment would necessitate a higher power of synthesis that he possesses.



We now discovered that the Indians had chosen two very fine names for us, by which we were henceforth known. Enrico's was Iibb—howling monkey, on account of his red beard and its obvious resemblance to the alouatta's tawny coat. Mine was Waïé—wild boar: my hide was apparently somewhat similar to the peccary's. We had a good laugh over the names and were pleased to be known by them, because it meant that at any rate we had been accepted as men like themselves, our beards being so much superstructure; we were just Indians or 'Sawosi', which means 'people', to use the word the Shirians apply to themselves, the equivalent of the Makiritari '*Sanö*'.

The fact that I was accepted by the Samatari as one of themselves has

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

his group was being trounced by their opponents, largely because only a few of the men were doing all the fighting for Kąobawä's group. These men were forced to take several turns in rapid succession, while a large number of men stood by and watched. The fighters wanted to escalate the battle to a duel with axes, hoping to intimidate their opponents into conceding. Kąobawä quickly forced the idle men to participate in the chest pounding, thereby distributing the punishment a little more evenly and reducing the possibility of a bloodier confrontation.

After the duel was over, Kąobawä coolly discussed the fight with the leaders in the opponents' group, explaining that he did not intend to raid them unless they raided first. A number of men in the village, notably Paruriwä and some of his followers, shouted threats at the departing opponents that they would shoot them on sight should they meet again. Paruriwä frequently boasted like this, but rarely put himself in a position that was potentially dangerous. He later ran into a party of hunters from the above-mentioned group while he was leading a raid against the Pasanowä-teri. Instead of shooting them on sight as he threatened to do (they could have shot back, as they were armed), he traded arrows with them and rapidly retreated. He boasted in the village how he had terrified these men. I later visited their village and learned that Paruriwä was the one who was terrified. They themselves continued to hunt, while Paruriwä fled for home.

Kąobawä's personality differs considerably from Paruriwä's. Where the former is unobtrusive, calm, modest, and perceptive, the latter is belligerent, aggressive, ostentatious, and rash. Kąobawä has an established status in the village and numerous supporters, whose loyalties are in part determined by their kinship ties and in part because he is a wise leader. Paruriwä is attempting to share in the leadership and does not have a well-established position in this respect. It is obvious who the real leader is: When visitors come to Upper Bisasi-teri, they seek out Kąobawä and deal with him, no matter how ambitiously Paruriwä attempts to emulate his position. Paruriwä does not have as many living brothers in his group as Kąobawä has, so his "natural following" is somewhat limited. In addition, two of his brothers are married to actual sisters of Kąobawä and have some loyalty to him. Paruriwä, therefore, has very little means with which to establish his position, so he is given over to using bluff, threat, chicanery, and treachery. This he does well, and many of the young men in the village admire him for it. He has gained the support of some of these men by promising them his wives' yet unborn daughters. Remarkably enough, some of them cling to these promises and do his bidding.

Finally, one of Kąobawä's most unpleasant tasks is to scout the village neighborhood when signs of raiders have been found. This he does alone, since it is a dangerous task and one that is avoided by the other men. Not even Paruriwä participates in this.

Kąobawä has definite responsibilities as the headman and is occasionally called upon by the nature of the situation to exercise his authority. He is usually distinguishable in the village as a man of some authority only for the duration of the incident that calls forth his leadership capacity. After the incident is over, he goes about his own business like the other men in the group. But even then, he sets an example for the others, particularly in his ambitions to produce large quantities of food for his family and for the guests he must entertain. Most of the time he leads only by example and the others follow if it pleases them to do so. They can ignore his example if they wish, but most of the people turn to him when a difficult situation arises.

and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bubububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowë. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5-3). Some even put on bright red loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which the younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kaobawë to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *unya itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them and left for Patanowë-teri. Kaobawë had been complaining all year of severe pains in his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked. Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *unya itou*, for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

/59 cont./

595 From this list of families one gains the impression that monogamy predominates. But I was assured by my informants that those warriors who thus far have only one wife would be glad to take a second or even a third one, as was customary among their forefathers. The small number of persons in the tribes, however, has caused a shortage of women, so that most of the men are forced to be content with one spouse.

/60/ 3. Political Structure

619 These low population figures could, moreover, arouse the suspicion that it is not tribes, but only tribal divisions that are involved here, especially on account of the connubium in which they live, or merely groups. The chiefs and war chiefs named, however, told me emphatically that the Surára as well as the Pakidái were formerly large and mighty and distributed in many malokas. [185] They regard achieving this size again as a goal worth striving for.

622 An institutional chiefdom with a definitely established succession prevails in both tribes. If the chief dies, his next younger brother automatically takes his place. Only if the youngest brother is dead may the first-born son of the oldest brother, who by that time is usually an older man, occupy the office of chief.

624 701 In addition there is the war chief. This position is not hereditary; rather, the bravest warrior is chosen for it. During peacetimes he has no prerogatives whatever and lives like an ordinary member of the tribe. Only during military encounters does he take over the [622] leadership, while the real chief, as religious head, doctor, and teacher, is protected and does not take part; the same is true for his brothers.

622 159 The Surára chief Hewemão, very bold and intelligent, is a truly great personality; his orders are respected by all members of the tribe without opposition. When he was still a youth, his father, Xoromão, was killed with two arrow shots by Makuxí /Macusi/ Indians. Hewemão eldest brother, Xaraíma, assumed the succession, but he died of a fever about eight years ago.

/60 cont./

622 Since that time Hewemão has been chief and at the same time,
●159 like his predecessor, a medicine man who instructs all the male Surára in religion, mythology, magic, curing the sick, and tribal traditions (see pp. 143f.). He also, however, assigns them to occasional communal projects, supervises their activity in the roças (forest clearings), gives instructions for the building of a maloka, and selects the participants for curing the sick and for magic per-
[224] formances. If a large animal was killed, a tapir, for example, he supervised the fair distribution of the meat so that every family obtained its piece. In the case of smaller game, the hunters usually give their chief a choice piece, and the women bring him and his family fruits and berries or brimming calabashes
[554] of refreshing palm drinks. He is thus honored in every way. He and his wives too, however, willingly and freely give up some of their hunting or gathering spoils.

[342] In the large, open maloka he and his two wives and children occupy a special hut (see pp. 24 ff.). During migrations of
622 the tribe he determines when they are to rest and to set out again.
484 Moreover, each morning he arranges for regular march-protection,
159 4-5 warriors who form the advance guard and set out two hours
484 before the departure. They have only their bows and arrows with them and reconnoiter in both directions from the Indian path, in order to be on the lookout for enemies. The bulk of the tribe, which travels in single-file formation, always presented the following picture during the time I lived among the Surára: 3-4
484 warriors armed only with bows and arrows. They carry their
482 weapons longitudinally over their heads or over one shoulder. After them came men with my baggage, the younger brothers of the chief, and finally the latter himself. I walked behind him, my servant Mateus followed me, and the boys and girls with little baskets, then the women with their large, cylindrical baskets, which contain all the household goods. Mothers with babies carried them, in addition, in a carrying band on their left hips. On top of the basket there often sat a little dog, a monkey, or a parrot. Then behind the women there marched 4-5 more warriors as a rear guard.

/68 cont./

835 Younger, unmarried brothers have the right to unite physically with the wives of their older brothers. Nevertheless the jealousy of the latter often prevents the realization, which, however, is made up for on a suitable occasion, for the women are altogether in favor of this custom (331).

331. This polyandrous feature is also found in the myth about the origin of human beings (see p. 247).

727 Among the Surára I found a pretty, delicate girl about
83 15 or 16 years old, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the
●159 Karauateri (Ills. 17 and 18), who was held as a captive and was the common property of all the men, the unmarried as well as the married. When her maloka was raided, she fell into the hands of the Surára. She lived with the old widow Xututumí and her daughter Haikiamá, likewise widowed. During the day she occasionally took care of little children, deloused the wives of the chiefs, grated manioc or squeezed out the grated mass; she also strung beads or made a belt. When it grew dark, she always fetched wood for the night, just like the other female members of the tribe. She was the only woman who took a bath several times a day and played childish games with other small girls. Now and then she also went into the forest with other women to gather fruits. I never saw her inactive. When she works, however, she does so of her own free will. Yet at the same time she must always be ready for all the men, at any hour of the day or night. A man scarcely ever comes alone, but rather four, five, or more usually join him. They do not ask whether she has any desire for it, is sleeping, working, or is perhaps ill. One of them seizes her by the arm or the hair and sets out with her into /69/ the forest, and the others follow. Especially if the men have communal tasks to do in the forest, that is, felling trees for house construction, gathering palm leaves and lianas, Nikeromá is regularly taken along, whether or not she is willing. If she resists or raises objections, one of the men, with a big stick, will

/69 cont./

727 give her a blow on her tonsure, which is already full of scars, or
83 he will scratch her body bloody with the sharp little cutia-tooth
● 159 knife (see p. 117).

It is worth noting that the married men do not go furtively into the forest with Nikeromá, but quite openly. When I was wandering about with the tribe, I was often able to observe during the midday rest that a married man would suddenly go up to the little captive, take her by the arm, and go off with her a short distance, while five or six other men followed. The others present, men, women, and children, would laugh about it. The
[593] wives, to be sure, were somewhat angry and would now and then throw a piece of wood after their husbands, but then they would make the best of it and likewise join in the laughter, though it was somewhat bittersweet. When the men returned with Nikeromá, after about an hour, we resumed our march. The women put up with this behavior of their spouses and, for their part, enjoy themselves with other men at a suitable opportunity. They never vent their wrath on the little captive, however. There is nothing defamatory about her actions, into which she is, of course, forced, for various wives were obliged to submit in the same way before their marriage. Little Nikeromá, however, found it hard to bear her fate; she was always grave and sad, in fact, almost melancholy, and suffered very much from homesickness. Yet one day, when other women and girls are captured from a hostile tribe, a Surára man will marry her.

It should be mentioned further that the Surára chief rigorously sees to it that Nikeromá is always supplied with plenty of meat and other food. He himself and his brothers treat the little captive very well, and I never saw them go into the forest with her.

The Pakidái had two captive Makuxí women.

727 In this connection I should like to refer to a very similar
83 observation by Ehrenreich with regard to the Šambioa /Shambioa/
171 (Karajá /Caraja/), which the investigator describes as follows:
"Moreover, unmarried men who wish to turn to the female sex may only have intercourse with the captive Kayapo /Cayapo/ women held in semislavery, a few of whom, at least among the Šambioa,

/118 cont./

153
191

563. (cont.)
Steinen about the Suya on the Xingú, in which he declares that these Indians knew how to use the pencil very well and drew beautiful motifs in his notebook, although he was the first white man they had seen (Karl von den Steinen, 1886, p. 212).

153
[177]
[191]

Younger people are distinguished by a gift for rapid comprehension and an astonishing learning capacity. Although these Indians very rarely come in contact with caboclos, and in most cases only the men, both sexes have at their command a rather large store of Portuguese words and figures of speech. One little
124 Surára boy about nine years old, Jubeauwõ, also called Mandú,
● 159 who had spent almost two years in the hut of the palm-fiber
[191] gatherer Manuel Antonio Gómez on the Rio Aracá, had a nearly perfect command of the Portuguese language and performed unique service as my interpreter. I owe it to him alone that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the mental culture of the Surára and Pakidái and put together a complete vocabulary (564).

159
734
752

564. Three years ago the little boy suffered dangerous burns on the abdomen by an upset vessel containing boiling tree resin. Since the chief had given up hope that he would recover, he wanted to have
[888] him given the deathblow. The custom of this tribe, as well as that of the Pakidái, decrees that all old and seriously ill persons who are no longer able to take part in the general migrations must be killed (see pp. 153/154). The grandmother of the little boy, who is an orphan took him secretly one night to the hut of the Spanish palm-fiber gatherer,

Surára
Pakidái

/118 cont./

159
734
752

564. (cont.)
Manoel Antonio Gómez, who succeeded in saving his life. The chief was said to have been very angry at first over the arbitrary action of the grandmother, but then, when he saw that the little one had recovered, he calmed down.

123 Most men, after but a short time, had no difficulty handling
153 our two guns; a few were soon even operating the outboard
[177] motor, and the Surára chief Hewemão, who showed great interest in my camera, took very acceptable pictures with it.
153 The reasoning power seems to be somewhat more strongly developed among the men than among the women (565).

[114]
[171]

565. This conclusion agrees with an observation by Baldus among the Tumerehã, and the scholar adds a remark which could also be applied to the Surára and Pakidái: "The differences in the talents of the sexes are perhaps the result of their way of life and division of labor. Thus, among the Tumerehã, the man's way of acquiring food has probably developed his acuteness, for he does not merely gather fruits, like the woman, but also goes hunting..." (Baldus, 1931, p. 119).

802 /119/ XII. Counting and Conception of Time

The Surára and Pakidái count only to three:

1 -- mahón

2 -- porokabõ

3 -- prukatabõ.

/219 cont./

588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.

589 993 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá, 159 but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle. 753 As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies 825 of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a 763 Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica, the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle. A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people, that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for 159 his certain death.

764 Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

/220 cont./

159 764 inside, it is tied with lianas. Then they take the corpse into the forest where it is deposited, at a distance of some kilometers, on the branches of a tree in order for the flesh to decompose there. Often the members of the family will not leave the corpse alone in the forest for fear that animals will come and [775] devour it. The dead are very much afraid of animals and shout when a jaguar approaches them.

[825] The feline respects only a dead sablf, because he will die [756] in turn if he approaches.

Our informant spent several nights next to his father's [784] corpse, always being very careful not to step on the damp ground beneath the dead man, because those who step there lose their feet.

152 764 The grief of the relatives is so intense that very often some of them can not endure the pain and go to the forest to die. Above all the women lament a great deal during the night and the men hold them back so that they will not run away to the forest. The informant remembered that the strongest man of his tribe behaved as though he were mad after the death of his father and wanted to kill everybody. The men did not allow him to go with them into the forest to gather up the bones of his father for fear that, given his behavior, he might commit some crime.

765 After one month, more or less, the men of the tribe go to the forest and gather up the bones of their companion; the flesh decomposes completely during this period. Some of the men let down the coffin and others wrap the remains of the deceased in some large leaves, making in this way a bundle of bones which they take back with them to the rancheria. There they place it in a hammock and leave it for about four days, while the relatives continue to weep in uninterrupted lamentation.

765 775 [756] Later the sablf carries the bones to a fire prepared in the plaza and places them on top of the pile of firewood. Our informant also said that as the sablf did this he pronounced a well-known formula which means: "you are getting along well," for, if he did not say this, the hĩkula would not be able to find its way. Afterwards he lights the fire, blows upon it at the same time as he raises his arms /221/ above his head, and in the smoke

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Ma Kiri'tare SS20

Had Luis Antonio been wearing clothes, we should have pronounced him very well turned out, for he looked dark and perfectly groomed in his nudity, which was enhanced in very smart fashion by a loincloth of fiery red and a ruffle of white feathers on his right arm. In addition to his name and his knowledge of Spanish there was one other thing about him that suggested that his story might not be quite the usual one: his rotten teeth. All the Indian peoples have teeth that are very strong and brilliantly white. They are used to hard exertions on the meat the savage eats, while his fruits provide the necessary minerals, and keep their strength and colour well into old age. Luis Antonio was an exception—his teeth were no longer good: there was a long history to them, and we soon got to know it.

Uarema—Uarma, Ualema, Uadma, or Uadema were alternative forms, all very close in the Shirian pronunciation—had been a Guayca boy from the Uagna tribe. They were real warriors, forever at war with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. Battles were a regular feature of tribal life. When the arsenal of long-range weapons had been exhausted the armies would come to grips with clubs and sticks. During one such engagement the young Uarema disappeared into the forest and, finding himself lost, stayed all alone on the bank of the Merevari, living on fruit and worms. At the time he was probably no more than four or five years old, but the Guayca Indians are savages among the savages, and four or five is old enough for a boy to know what is good to eat in the forest and what isn't; where to find it; and how to catch it. While he was all by himself on a beach, getting a few little fish by striking at them with a stick, a Makiritari party came along, found him there, and took him with them. They were going down the Caura to sell canoes to the people on the rubber plantations at Maripa (which is almost on the Orinoco). The child, travelling with them, soon accustomed himself to their language and their Cassava bread.

At Maripa, one Martin Viudo, a rubber man who knew Guiana like the palm of his hand, saw the boy and prodded him as you would prod a spring chicken or a sucking-pig in a shop.

'A fine boy this,' he declared. 'But wicked. Wicked and obstinate, like all

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

● 159
177 his tribe. You can see it in his eyes. . . .' Uarema kept them down all the time . . . 'but I want to keep him here. He'll be the first Shirian to go to school, and if he doesn't go, he'll be the first to get his bottom kicked by a civilized boot.'

Uarema stayed behind, while the Makiritari went back with an extra few yards of the good old red cloth.

Martin Viudo was a collector—of human beings. Around him, like one big family, lived Indians of every race: Taurepàn from the Gran Sabana, Arekuna from the Caroni, Makiritari from the Caura, Piaroa from the Orinoco, Cuiba from the Guaviare lands and finally one Bare from Rio Negro. The only one he hadn't got was a Shirian—the prize monster of the whole Indian scene. And now he'd found him too!

He began by calling him Luis Antonio, after a friend of his who had died of fever on the Atabapo. He clothed him and entrusted him to Donna Josefa, the village schoolma'm. At school the boys called him a cannibal, and he hit out at them whenever he could, as 'his wicked instincts' prompted him. At any rate, that was Donna Josefa's opinion: she couldn't stand the little savage. Very soon, he started to play truant from that narrow world bounded by the alphabet and the primer with its abstruse explanations of the catechism—A for Adam, B for Bible, C for Christ and so on. It was all beyond his understanding, and one day he hit the schoolmistress and went back to his home, where the wife of Martin Viudo promptly hit him. Having cried off school, Luis Antonio went to work for his adopted father. He was growing fast now, and strong enough to paddle and steer boat-loads of balata and zarape through the Caura estuary. He soon learned to handle a motor too; on Sundays he would go off to Maripa and get drunk, begging tots of white rum off the peons who were merry enough to regale him freely. 'Drink up, Man-Eater, and then go back to your cannibals and spit in their faces!' they would shout. Then with a laugh they would pour him whole glasses of brandy. By the time he was twenty his teeth were rotting away with alcohol and iced drinks—and he couldn't stand civilization any longer.

159 No one knows why or how, least of all himself—but something called him back to the forest under the rocky cordillera which had nurtured the young child. He saw his chance when a boat-load of Makiritari put in at Maripa, and returned with them to the Merevari, where he had no difficulty in getting in touch with his own people—for in intervals between battles they explored the Merevari, the Curutu and all the streams rising on the Uana-Coco watershed.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'I am Uarema,' he declared to his Guayca kinsmen, who looked on him with hostile eyes because he was wearing trousers, 'Uarema, son of Measi. I was here as a boy. A long time I have been with "the rationals" [the civilized men] and I have grown to manhood. You are my people.'

His turning up in this fashion had a touch of the fabulous about it, and his kinsmen took him along without ill-treating him. When they found him to be a man of many accomplishments, and the old men remembered how he had disappeared during Uagna's time, after an encounter with the Samatari from the Aracosa lands, they kept him with them as their rightful chief, giving him unlimited freedom of action. As his obedient subjects they left it all to him.

Uarema had never taken to civilization. For him, it had lacked something. What it had lacked, we cannot guess: the civilization of the Lower Guiana rivers may be bounded by the cloth hammock and the bottle of rum, the loose woman and the pack of cards, but it cannot be ranked any lower than the barbarianism of the Guayca, eaters of worms and snakes. But now, after his experience of life with 'the rationals', neither could the young man endure the ceaseless warfare which engaged his own peoples. The broken heads he saw round the fire in the evenings, the howls of the medicine-men at their exorcisings—all this was anathema to him. He told his kinsfolk they had better put it all aside, and grow something. From the Soto they could obtain seeds and roots. Much manioc was needed, because without it one was always hungry. Sugarcane was a pleasant thing to suck at any time, and the children loved it. Above all, there must be bananas, as far as eye could see—the forest must be transformed into a huge garden of fruits, there for the picking. Thus, with his head full of ideas which owed their origin to the years he had spent in civilization, Luis Antonio founded a new Guayca people. They were Guayca Indians no longer, but peasants—peasants who cared for the tilling of the soil and a sure supply of food. These Guayca called themselves after him, Uarema. They inhabited two big homesteads an hour distant from the Merevari river—a little above the mouth of the Canaracuni.

Now Luis Antonio wanted to stay with us and work, because he needed cloth for his people. We gave him what little we had been able to save from the greedy hands of Pancho's men, and he went off for a brief visit to his tribe, intending to return to Kirisochi in four days' time.

	Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
32.	Monomi's Da.	Tom	F	0.2	
33.	Makakasi	Sha	F	56	
34.	Miaiyowë	Sha	M	14	
35.	Omonoiwë	Tom	M	28	
36.	Keromawë	Sha	M	53	Headman
37.	Kosa	Sha	F	8	
38.	Ruwisa	Tom	F	7	
39.	Shiborowë	Shamatari	M	35	See p. 214
40.	Tiaböwë	Shamatari	M	5	See p. 214
41.	Tomahewë	Tom	M	21	
42.	Tomasi	Tom	M	6	
43.	Ughshi	Hor	M	22	
44.	Waiimi	Hor	F	21	
45.	Waiyamobemi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance
46.	Waiyamobemi's son	Sha	M	0.5	
47.	Waiyuruma	Shamatari	F	50	Abducted
48.	Wakarabewë	Shamatari	M	16	Son-in-law to #6
49.	Yäbinima	Kio	F	33	
50.	Yareama	Shamatari	F	2	See p. 214
51.	Yotoma	Tom	F	24	

Comments on particular individuals

1. Ahimi. Her present husband (Bokosiwë) visited the Patanowë-tedi within the past 5 years. Ahimi then lived in Patanowë-tedi and was married to a Sha man there (Makoakuwë), by whom she had already had one daughter (Huimashima). When Bokosiwë returned to Bisaasi-tedi, Ahimi followed him, taking her daughter with her, and became Bokosiwë's wife. As the Patanowë-tedi were technically at war with the Bisaasi-tedi, there was not much they could do to recover the woman. As they also wanted to make peace with Bisaasi-tedi, they did not press the matter.

000 11. Didihoma. See #28, Manasinawä, below.

159 583 583 621 578 12. Dimörama. This girl was abducted from a distant Shamatari village (Kohoroshi-tedi, probably in Brazil, on the Upper Cauabury River) by the Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mömariböwei-tedi. Her husband--the man to whom she was given after being abducted--shot her in the stomach with a barbed arrow, wounding her gravely (see Shiborowä, below). The man was forced to flee from the village and take refuge in Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as other men in the village planned to use this incident as an excuse to take his wives from him. In late 1965 a party of men from Lower Bisaasi-tedi, including Shiborowä, set off for Mömariböwei-tedi to 'visit.' I accompanied them on their invitation. They were going to Mömariböwei-tedi to take Dimörama away from her protectors by force, if necessary, and asked me to come along knowing that I always travelled with a gun, presuming that my presence, with a gun, would aid in their objective. The girl was very nearly dead when we arrived (four months had passed since she was shot, and the wound was badly inflected). As the Bisaasi-tedi were one of the only allies of the Mömariböwei-tedi, they gave up the girl without much argument, since she would have died anyway. (The New Tribes Missionaries took the girl to the Territorial Capital by canoe for surgery in January 1966. She recovered from the wound and is presently living in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.)

159 583 583 628 721 21. Kakoma. This is one of the seven women abducted from the Patanowä-tedi in late 1964 by the Monoa-tedi. She was taken from her Monou-tedi husband by force by the Lower Bisaasi-tedi and given to Kaobauwä, one of the village bachelors.

000 23. Katabema. See Shiborowä, below.

000 26. Mamorakomi. See Shiborowä, below.

159 28. Manasinawä. This man is originally from Hasaböwä-tedi,
593 but he moved to Bisaasi-tedi around 1940-45, along with
586 a brother, a wife, and a daughter. His wife deserted
589 him in Bisaasi-tedi, fleeing to Shibariwä-tedi. After
*628 the treacherous feast of 1950-51, in which Manasinawä's
brother was killed, he was given Hikarima, one of the
widows of that incident. He had one daughter by this
woman (Didihoma, above); she is promised to Bokosiwä.
His other daughter, by his first wife, is married to
Kaobäwä, headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Manasinawä's
(921) father was killed by Husiwä of Patanowä-tedi, so he
joined the Bisaasi-tedi to take revenge on the Patanowä-
tedi, as the two villages were at war then.

159 39. Shiborowä. He fled from his native village, Mömariböwei-
593 tedi, to avoid a fight and the possible loss of his
*621 wives. He shot one of his wives in a fit of rage
*628 (Dimörama, above), and his rivals took the girl away
from him. To avoid a fight in which he had no supporters,
he fled to Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as he had given one of his
daughters (Monomi) to a man in that village. He brought
his second wife (Mamorakomi) and his three juvenile
children with him (Tiaböwä, Yareama, and Katabema). The
Lower Bisaasi-tedi welcomed him, as he had two daughters
to claim as wives; they assisted him in recovering his
second wife.

000 40. Tiaböwä. See Shiborowä, above.

50. Yareama. See Shiborowä, above.

/114/

121 I shall describe to you in the following some aspects of the social structure of the same Indian tribe whose conceptions about the soul Herr Dr. Zerries has just discussed. The title, "Sociology," is too presumptuous, insofar as today I intend to deal with only the larger social units and thus touch upon only a small sector of the sociological field. I shall be able to present to you only raw expedition-material; the comparative arrangement of these data in South American cultural history will be the work of the next few months.

101 131 The Waika /Waica/ inhabit the upper Orinoco river region in southern Venezuela; their area of habitation, however, is not limited by the Sierra Parima, in which the Orinoco rises and which forms the mountain border with Brazil, but rather extends into Brazilian soil far beyond this mountain chain, about to the middle of the northern tributaries of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco. [161] The Sierra Parima therefore is more the backbone of the living space of this Indian group, which, according to the best estimates, contains about fifty thousand persons and an area of about half 137 the size of West Germany. According to external appearances, [132] this region is counted as tropical rain forest; seasonal differences are only slight and are practically without influence on the life 101 and culture of the people. The critical cultural importance of the 177 forest lies in its isolating effect: between the habitation area of [137] the Waika and the first mixed settlement there extends an almost [487] uninhabited forest-belt several hundred kilometers wide, and since there is very little river traffic and as other means of transportation there are only onerously traversable Indian paths, the culture of the Waika has been able to remain almost completely pure. Only a [197] few material things from our world have as yet found their way to them: a few machetes and axes, a few matches and fishhooks, which an American mission working from 1947 to 1955 under very difficult conditions and we ourselves brought along; since the Waika do not maintain any contacts of their own downriver, however, the barely begun acculturation process does not go on /115/ by itself, but ebbs away the moment the visiting whites leave Waika country.

/116 cont./

361 scanty knowledge, their population varies between 200 and 300.
161 Whereas there in the unexplored south organizational forms for
[621] larger numbers of people have evidently developed, the socio-
logical system of the Waika is organized for only the above-named
figure of a hundred village inhabitants; a surplus of births is
answered by village partition.

628 The politically independent villages are partners in war and
peace and for trading and visiting, and the momentary, frequently
changing relationships of the villages to one another give the
political situation in Waika territory its stamp. Let us first look
721 at the hostile relationships. Affairs involving women are for the
[583] most part the cause of war; if a wife is sought in other villages,
and if the offer is turned down, one resorts to abducting a woman.
Once there has been bloodshed in quarrels originating from this,
the war is self-perpetuating; the original cause has not been for-
gotten, to be sure, but because of its slight intensity in the con-
ceptual world it in no way suffices as a motive for the continuation
726 of the war. Rather, what does not permit breaking the chain of
attacks repeated at intervals of a few months, in which the enemy
men are killed, but the women abducted, /117/ is ideas and analogous
728 to blood revenge. Concluding peace is possible only when there has
been no bloodshed for a long period of time, and hostile relations
628 often last for generations. Thus Waika country is covered with a
network of hostile relationships of varying degrees, and, picking
a village at random, one can distinguish a series of villages that
are friendly, benevolently indifferent, neutral, sympathetic with
[726] the enemy, and, finally, completely hostile. For no two villages,
however, is this series completely identical; there are no ex-
tensive alliances; war is an affair of the individual village, and a
friendly village is aided only if there are personal reasons for
hostility. No Waika village is without an enemy, and because
of the many crisscrossings of the degrees of relationships the
political situation is extremely complicated. We therefore see
that even on the broadest social plane -- that of the people as
a cultural and linguistic whole -- there is a very pronounced

/120 cont./

621 166 241 These periodically recurring radial movements from a fixed center (the village with its planting) do not affect, in sociological respects, the substance of the village: normally the whole village migrates. In this respect, however, it is different with regard to a second type of village movement, which is not characterized by the going back and forth of the short forest-sojourns, but rather takes place over longer periods of time and only in one direction. The Waika live only about five years from one planting and then move to a new one laid out beforehand, which is usually about a day's journey away. Practically every village known to us has an old and a new planting, for since the chonta palm (Guilielma gasipaes), still cultivated today and useful in many ways, has a different life span than the various types of bananas, overlapping in the utilization of the plantings cannot be [173] avoided. If a newly established planting is bearing enough bananas, the whole village is moved to the new planting: the names and the site of earlier plantings are remembered exactly, however, so that from this the history of each individual village, i.e., its shifting in Waika territory, and consequently the history of the Waika themselves in their territorial aspect, can be reconstructed 621 for two to three generations. Such a move to a new place, how- 166 ever, is also the occasion for changes in the composition of the • 161 village, for a split as a rule, for in the meantime, because of the 173 enormous /121/ surplus of births, which the Waika have to register today, the village has grown far beyond the limit of the number of persons that can be governed well under their institution-poor system. The partition of the village is not done at discretion, but exactly along the lines of separation indicated by the above- [431] mentioned composition by groups of families. One or more groups [182] of families are the bearers of the new villages, and the memory of the way the new village was founded by the union of several groups of families is ceremonially represented as shown, in the gift-exchange.

/3 cont./

648 On the Rio Demini, slightly below the Cachoeira (rapids)
484 Auatsinaua, is the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" (Ill. 1).
From the mouth to that point is a six-day journey in a small boat
● 161 with a four-horsepower outboard motor. On this long stretch
178 there are only two dozen families. Fifty years ago the banks
along the lower third were more densely settled than they are
164 today. But malaria and a terrible beriberi epidemic, 1907/08,
165 carried off the majority of the inhabitants. After the great forest
fire which raged along the Demini in 1926, health conditions
648 improved temporarily. In the most recent times a motor boat
164 of the National Malaria Service travels up the Demini and Aracá
once a year, and the palm-straw huts of the inhabitants are sprayed
with DDT. Nevertheless, malaria still takes its toll. Often it
also leads to a protracted liver ailment; above all, there is a
164 lack of any kind of medication. A second scourge is tuberculosis,
262 the cause of which, aside from the humid, hot climate, may
probably be traced to the poor and unbalanced diet. It consists
predominantly of manioc meal, small fish, the salted, sun-dried
meat of the pirarucu, salted wild-pig meat, and, to a considerably
smaller extent, birds and game, for the men generally do not
have time to hunt. In addition, /4/ for rubber and palm-fiber
gatherers, fruit and vegetables are practically unknown luxuries.
164 As a result of the crowded life of the individual families and the
lack of hygiene, children too are not free from tuberculosis.
Moreover, mention must be made of a dangerous eye infection
which often leads to blindness. This comes about because a fine
dust is constantly trickling down from the palm-straw roofs of the
huts, in which there are many insects, and it gets into the eyes of
the people asleep in their hammocks. An infectious skin disease
that causes light spots on the skin is also widespread. Worm and
intestinal ailments occur frequently, as does syphilis. Finally,
it is noteworthy that adults and children have very poor teeth.
[162] The reason for this may again probably be sought in the unbalanced
diet, for all of the free Forest Indians who have more variety in
165 their meals, have excellent teeth. Mortality is highest among
the children, and next come the women, a relatively large num-
ber of whom die in childbirth since there is, of course, no medical
assistance.

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Pusheweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648
161
842
164
165
126

Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of la. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

115

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551
162
16

The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

114

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

Surára
Pakidái

/58 cont./

	Estimated Age
55| 162 Xeramí -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe)	25 years
Xaniwõ -- son	12 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	2 years
Xutumí -- widow	59 years
Haikiamá -- her daughter (likewise a widow)	40 years
Yarikoawõ -- son of Haikiamá (bachelor)	17 years
Katarauwõ -- solitary bachelor	17 years
/59/	
Ikoauwõ -- solitary bachelor	16 years
Jibeauwõ -- orphan boy	9 years
Manahemá -- orphan boy	8 years
Nikeromí -- female captive (from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí)	15 years

● [161] [123] There are somewhat more Pakidái, for they numbered 89. Since my association with them was not quite as close as with the Surára, however, I was able to learn considerably fewer given names. In the following I am presenting those that became known to me:

	Estimated Age
Karenauõ -- chief and medicine man	26 years
Poroamá -- his wife (from the Surára tribe)	20 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Porêhiwõ -- war chief	32 years
Ruxoyetemí -- his first wife (from the Surára tribe)	30 years
Yauetoiwõ -- son	13 years
Xaraíma -- daughter	7 years
Daughter (has no name yet). She was born during my stay	1 month
The second wife of Porêhiwõ left him because of ill treatment and was presumably drowned	
Kaxiribewõ -- warrior (brother of Porêhiwõ)	39 years
Monamí -- his wife	36 years

Barí SS 13 Sanema
Makiritare SS 20 Warao SS 18
Saliva SS 15

/179 cont./

We have knowledge of the distribution of the Sanemá on the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura from our own expedition's personnel, while we took the data on the Casapare from the excellent cartographic work of Montoya (1958), who visited the zone over a period of several months.

/180/ The name Casapare is employed by the Sanemá to designate their neighbors to the east. Koch-Grünberg (1923) had already mentioned the group of the Upper Uraricapará, a tributary of the Uraricuera and the one that occupied the right shore of the Uraricuera River, facing the Marutaní range, on the Motomotó River. The broken lines indicate, approximately, the territory occupied by each Yanoama subtribe. The location of the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma comes from the map published by Civrieux (1959), and that of the other settlements of that tribe was verified by the personnel of our expedition.

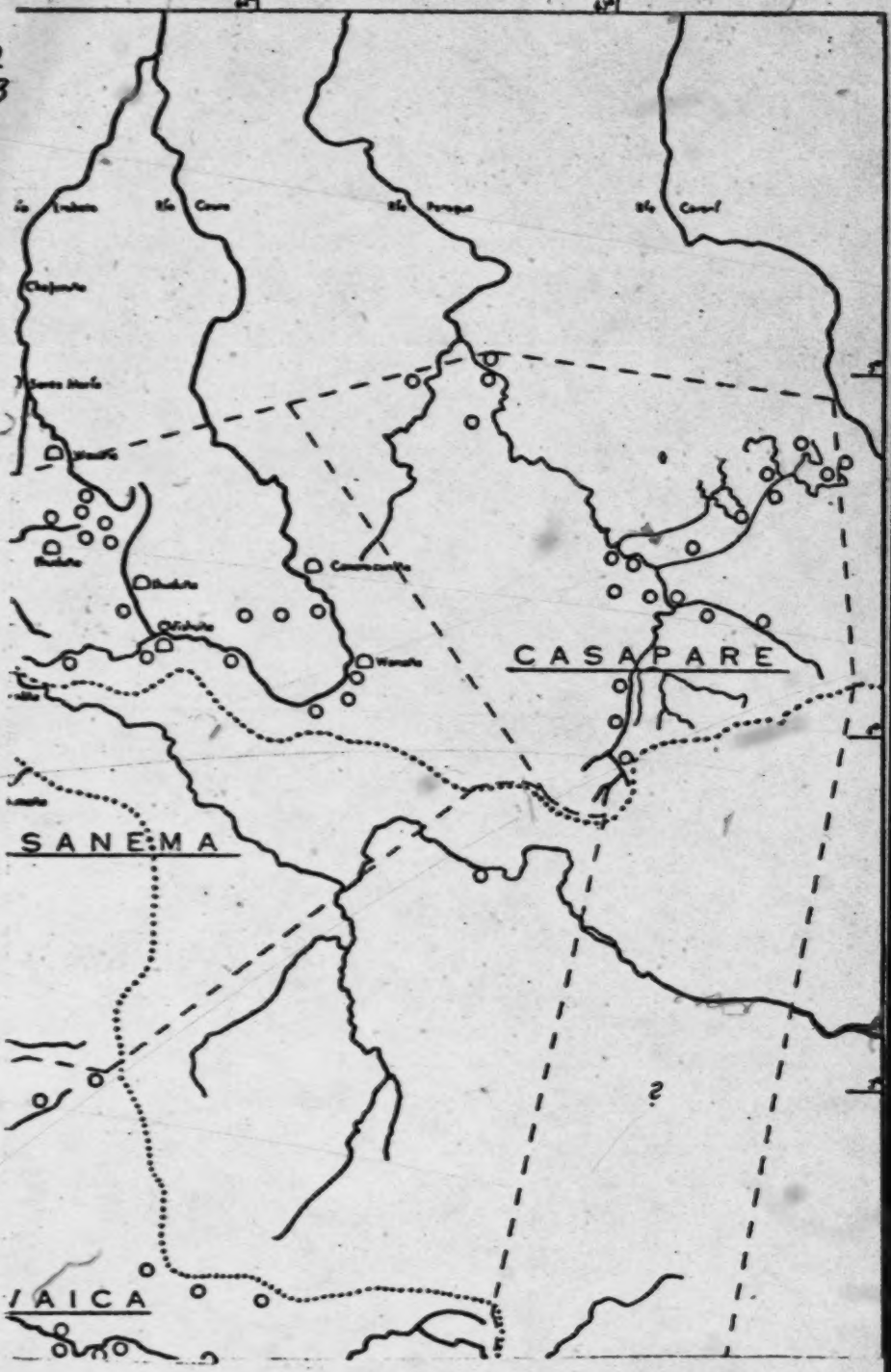
According to this map, the territory inhabited at the present time by the Yanoama is located between 0° 30' – 5° N and 62° – 65° 30' W. If we grant that the total Yanoama population reaches the figure of 20,000 individuals spread out over an area of 150,000 square kilometers, we recognize as the density index of the population that of one person per 7,5 square kilometers. There are authors who, being overly generous, raise the Yanoama population to 30,000 and even 50,000 inhabitants, but this number seems exaggerated to us.

It is interesting to point out that the highest figures for the native population correspond to the primitive tribes of hunters and fishermen or to those who had an incipient or rudimentary agriculture, such as: the Barí (Motilones, Mapé), 2,000; the Piaroa, 4,000; and the Warao, 8,000.

They are also the tribes which have had least contact with the white man. There is an interesting and instructive relation between the demographic datum of a native population and the number of years that it has had contact with Whites: the higher the latter, the lower the former.

4: Wilbert--41 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Makoritare SS20 Sanema

M
Y
102
103
131
133
161



/200 cont./

162 C. Sanemá of the upper Ventuari (Nabudub)

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Weweña	50	The Nabudub of Ihuduña
2. Wadekuña	80	frequently move between
3. Mahanaña	50	the Ventuari and the
4. Ihuduña	200	Erebato.
Total	380 estimated individuals.	

● 161 According to this demographic estimation there are approximately 2,150 Sanemá in the zone of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura. We do not know how many Sanemá live on the Padamo.

342 We have seen four different types of houses among the Sanemá: (a) windscreen type, (b) triangular in shape and Makiritare system, (c) rectangular, and (d) oblong. We have found types (a) and (b) together in the same encampment on the Ventuari, facing Caño Mosquito.

342 On our trip through that place we saw two Sanemá rafts
361 moored on the bank of the Ventuari. We later climbed a cliff
[501] and followed a path which led us to a conuco of the Sanemá.
[137] At one end there was a gigantic algarroba tree laden with fruit.
[262] Judging from the skins scattered on the ground, we realized that the Sanemá had consumed a great quantity. Near the tree, which in times past offered them /201/ its generous shade, we found a desolate Sanemá encampment. It was made up of five
342 triangular huts and two of the windscreen type. Both types of construction seem to be typical of the Yanoama and are remarkable for their size, somewhat small. For the construction of a triangular cabin six poles 1.60 meters long are needed to serve as posts or supports. Three pairs are made out of them, each bound at the upper end with a bejuco, and with some 30 centimeters left free in order to form a fork. The lower parts of the poles are stuck into the ground at a distance of half a meter. These forks in tepee form with a separation of two meters form a
[824] regular triangle. Three sticks are later placed on the forks, and these support the roof made of platanillo /Musaceae/ leaves. A similar rancho was described by Koch-Grünberg (1923, Pl. 43).

St Layrisse et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

since Koch-Grünberg's contact with two Yanoama groups, in 1911, that more substantial information on this interesting tribe has been collected and in parts been published.[2]

Emerging from these data are the names and descriptions of a number of distinguishable tribal units, e.g., Sanemá (Guaharibo, Shirishana), Casapare, Waica, Samatari, Surara, Pakidái, and others. It also has become quite obvious that the Yanoama subtribes are not unified by socio-political authority, but rather by a general and specific culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and culture variants, carried by the different subtribes and local groups respectively. The various local groups and subtribes occupy a coherent territory, they speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious forms.

Taken as a whole, the Yanoama were found to be a very numerous tribe and they belong, in fact, to the most numerous of all the autochtonous populations of lowland South America, but previously published figures of 30-50,000 individuals appear to represent very generous overestimations of the demographic strength of the Yanoama groups known so far.

Linguistic classification. Several authors have attempted a linguistic classification of the Yanoama although most of them did not have at their disposal the more recent material.[3] Taking advantage of this material, we have attempted a glottochronological analysis, the results of which allow us some interesting insight into the internal correlation of the Yanoama languages.[4]

According to this result, the several Yanoama languages, as known today, constitute the Yanoama linguistic stock of 6-35 mc of internal separation. The two more or less clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: *A. Sanemá:* (a) Sanemá, (b) Nabudíb, (c) Pubmatari, [6-17 mc of internal divergencies: Sanemá-Nabudíb = 6 mc, Sanemá-Pubmatari = 17 mc, Nabudíb-Pubmatari = 17 mc]; *B. Casapare:* (a) Casapare, (b) Carime (?), (c) Waica, (d) Samatari (Surara and Pakidái), [8-21 mc of internal divergencies, excepting Carime (for lack of vocabulary material): Casapare-Waica = 21 mc, Casapare-Samatari = 21 mc, Waica-Samatari = 8 mc].

2 Surara-Pakidái, by Becher, 1960; Waica, by Baker, 1953; Schauer, 1958; Zerries, 1955, 1956, 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1960; Sanemá, by Vinci, 1959; Wilbert, 1961a, 1961b.

3 Rivet, 1924, p. 678; Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9; Mason, 1950, p. 254; Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140; McQuown, 1955, p. 525; Greenberg, 1956; Swadesh, 1959, p. 20; Dall' Igna Rodrigues, 1960, pp. 136-137.

4 We are indebted to Dra H. Becher and O. Zerries for letting us have a basic vocabulary of Surara-Pakidái and Waica respectively. Complete information on source material has been presented by Wilbert, 1961a.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

island of unbroken forest, which is not crossed by any formidable water barrier. If this were the case, the Shirians, who are pre-eminently a land people, would be presented with an insurmountable obstacle.

North of the Brazilian frontier live the Shirians of the Canaracuni and the Merevari. These are divided into various clans, the most important being the Uasa-Dildep, the Haruso, the Oskadeli, the Kopali, the Hana-Dildep, the Ukumatari, the Kona-Kona—they swarm like ants. Then there are the Guayca Shirians of Uarema, lately established on the Merevari, but originally from the Upper Uagna. Along the mountain watershed which extends, with frequent interruptions, from the Uagna to the centre of the highlands where the Uraricoera, the Ventuari and the Padamo rivers rise, one encounters the nomadic Samatari—the 'people of the pineapple'—a fierce and savage race of howling creatures that run in packs like animals.

The general term used by the Shirians to designate their most savage tribes is 'Guayca' (in their language, 'wild'). By the Guayca they sometimes mean the Samatari and sometimes the Ukumatari. On the Padamo and in the lowlands enclosed by the great mountains of Marahuaca and Duida—that is, to the south of the central ridge—they have spread right beyond the upper reaches of the Orinoco: though in these regions there are also many of the more peaceful Shirian peoples such as the Uaka on the Ueaete, the Faricete, the Matacumi, the Kologli, the Haue, and the Ish'tich—the 'people of flowers and bananas'. The Guayca and the Samatari are also to be found east of the Padamo-Orinoco-Rio Parima watershed, in the wildest and least-known territory. Isolated groups, with a touch of the legendary about them, inhabit the fringe of this region: for instance, the Kasarape, credited by all Shirians with unparalleled ferocity and cruelty. The Kasarape inhabit the right bank of the Lower Uraricoera in Brazil, and no traveller appears to have visited them yet.

How numerous are the Shirians? No one can state a figure with any certainty, but it may be accepted that they run into many thousands, and taken together represent a block that outnumbers all other races and tribes inhabiting the Orinoco and Rio Branco basin.

I had asked Luis Antonio whether it would be possible for me to be present during the confinement of his kinswoman, presuming the happy event took place during our stay, but all I got for an answer was a doubtful 'I don't know'—the formula in which the Indian takes refuge when he does not know what to say. This did not quite deny the possibility, even if it did not encourage the

Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

---

[1] Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[2] The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

161 and as many as 250, but the lower extreme is uncommon because
162
*621 of military vulnerability and the upper extreme occurs only when particularly intense warfare retards village splitting or leads to the coalition of several related villages.

361 Villages that are on peaceful terms may be found
*628 living within a few miles of each other, whereas mutually
722 hostile villages rarely are located less than a day's march apart; even then, one of the villages may move to reduce the possibility of raiding.

361 The village itself is circular or oval in plan, is generally surrounded by a palisade of upright logs and, depending on the number of people living in the village, has a diameter ranging from 15 to 70 yards.

361 The village is hardly more than a continuous, circular
342 lean-to roof, open at the center. The roof starts at ground level (occasionally one or two feet above ground level), rises at an angle of 30° to 40°, reaching a maximum height of about 25 feet. The un-partitioned segments of the continuous roof are built by the families who occupy them, brothers and their dependents living next to each other. The materials used in construction are long, slender poles, vines to secure the pole frame and a thatch made from leaves.

351 There are usually several entrances to the village, each located at a point marking the boundary of one segment of the roof with another, and are merely un-thatched sections of the otherwise continuous roof. Most of the entrances are only 3 feet high, although there usually is at least one

Table 1: Village Size, Male/Female Sex-ratio, and Percentage of Excess Males.

Village Name	Size	Males	Females	Sex-Ratio	% Excess Males
Reyaboböwei-tedi	77	47	30	1.6	22
Mämariböwei-tedi	85	47	38	1.2	11
Patanowä-tedi	212	122	90	1.4	15
Monou-tedi	66	34	32	1.1	3
Bisaasi-tedi	136	62	74	0.8	-9
Totals:	576	312	264		

$\frac{312}{264}$ .....1.2 Total Male/Female Sex-ratio

$\frac{48}{576}$ .....8% Excess of Males.

[Paruritawë-tedi Group]

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari village histories are more complicated than the one outlined for the Namowei-tedi. This stems from the fact that the Shamatari villages had reached a large size by 1900 and began splitting into smaller groups earlier, in terms of the data I collected, than did the Namowei-tedi. In other words, the splitting that characterized Namowei-tedi's population from about 1940 to 1955 was occurring in the Shamatari population in 1900. Although I do not have census data on the numerous Shamatari villages that subsequently emerged from the two initial groups, I suspect that the numbers of people involved are significantly larger for the Shamatari village histories. Two factors seem to be the cause of this phenomenon. First, the Shamatari villages had access to steel tools in considerable numbers before Namowei-tedi's ancestral population did; my informants asserted that their first source of steel tools was the group called Shihowë-tedi. Presumably the size of the populations involved is a function of their agricultural potentials, and the Shamatari apparently expanded earlier than the Namowei-tedi because they had access to steel tools sooner. Secondly, the Shamatari population expanded unopposed into virgin territory, whereas the Namowei-tedi expanded into territory already occupied by other Yanomamö; it is significant to note that when the Namowei-tedi ultimately moved into unoccupied territory, their population seems to have increased, and the first split occurred only after virgin territory was colonized.[1]

[1] I am unable to explain how this affects demographic variables, but my data suggest that Yanomamö populations expand more rapidly when they colonize virgin land.

*62 they have, but they must revenge raids coming from Bisaasi-
628 *628 tedi. Now that Paruriwä and his followers have moved away
628 from Kaobäwä's group, the Patanowä-tedi can raid Paruriwä
726 978 without having to 'look twice' before shooting. As Paruriwä's faction is a small one, it is vulnerable; one raid from the Patanowä-tedi will force it to rejoin Kaobäwä's group. The internal stability of the reunited groups will suffer if this happens, as Paruriwä will be obliged to demonstrate his leadership capacity. This will involve making an issue out of an incident that probably would have been overlooked prior to the separation of the two groups, and internal friction will be high.

726 The split within Patanowä-tedi

*62 *628 152 The incessant raiding from Hasaböwä-tedi, Kashorawä-tedi, Yabitawä-tedi, Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and their respective allies brought about a high degree of tension among [722] the Patanowä-tedi. It was not safe to leave the village at *62 578 any time. The Patanowä-tedi had attempted to split into 726 three groups several years earlier, as the population had [161] reached a large size and internal fighting was a nuisance. The development of the war with the Hasaböwä-tedi forced them [152] to reunite. Factionalism, however, was pronounced within the village, and the added tension brought about by the new war with Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and the latter's two Shamatari allies ultimately led to an internal split within Patanowä-tedi a month before I left the field.

occupying five different sites, each having its own house and garden. These five groups recombined into a single unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the southwest of the Uraricaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated. On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than on the Uraricaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of Yąnomamö from those whose social organization is described in this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Corresponding to this increase in intensity is a change in type of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically or not at all to the northeast.

There is likewise an apparent cline in population density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity. Yąnomamö villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However, another factor complicates the picture: the Yąnomamö have more contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and way of life.

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ɨ] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ą] vowel are pronounced at that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąobawą would be pronounced "cow-ba-wuh," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

/115 cont./

101 the language of the Waika, Shidishana, or Shamatairi, therefore the neighboring Indians as well.

Thus the term "Yanoama" refers to the cultural and linguistic identity; it does not have the least political aspect. There is no tribe of the Yanoama, nor is there any tribe of the Waika, the Shidishana, or the Shamatairi. At most one can speak of the "people"; but one must bear in mind that there is no institution, no office, that is representative of this people. Also the cognizance of this term in the thinking of the natives /116/ remains general and therefore inevitably vague, parallel to the small amount of geographical knowledge, which is limited to what they themselves have traversed, that is, as a rule, to the circle of the nearest villages, which are about one to two days' journey away from one's own.
101 Geopolitical thought, which would find expression in a more
621 extensive political organization, is unknown to the Yanoama; their conceptual world revolves around the village.

The village is the unit in which one thinks and after which one names himself: when questioned a Waika will never answer that he is a Waika or a Yanoama, but rather will give his village name, say, "Bolitaotedi," whereby "tedi" (village), like the Spanish "pueblo," refers less to the settlement and more to the
829 people who live in it. It seems obvious that one is a Waika, for the slight contact with civilization has not yet led in their thinking to distinguishing their own culture from that of foreigners; the foreigner has remained an individual guest with peculiar habits and has not yet become the representative of a large, strange
101 world. It is not obvious, however, to which village one belongs;
621 village membership is the decisive political and sociological characteristic of the individual.

361 Externally the village is a clearing in the virgin forest, usually oval in ground plan, with a large diameter from 30 to 100 meters;
[162] the houses line the edge of this clearing. On the average a village is inhabited by about 100 persons. The villages of the Shamatairi south of the Orinoco, however, are much larger; according to our

/121 cont./

166 Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each
221 other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism
241 of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today
182 as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun planting, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

162 The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually
621 made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new
182 plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the
174 working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

105 Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social
621 units of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural
182

/3 cont./

136 e) Caymans: jacaretinga or jacaré-de-óculos (Caiman sclerpos Schneid.), etc.

f) Fish: aracu (Leporinus copelandi Steind.), piranha (Pygocentrus sp. and Serrasalmus sp.), pirarucu (largest fresh-water fish, reaches a length of over three meters; belongs to the family of the bone-tongues (Osteoglossidae). The hard tongue serves as a grater for Indians and whites), piraíba (Brachyplatystoma filamentosa), surubim (Platystoma sp.), jandiá (Sciluridae sp.), mandi (Rhamdia sp.), curimatã (Prochilodus sp.), pescada (Gadus sp.), dourado (Salminus brevidens), tambaquí (Characinidae sp.), mandubi (Auchenipteridae sp.), anujã (Trachycoristes sp.), cuiúcuiú (Oxidorus niger Vall.), etc.

There are also snakes in large numbers:

a) Nonpoisonous snakes: sucuriju (Eunectes murinus), jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris), etc.

b) Poisonous snakes: surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), cascavel (Crotalus terrificus terrificus), jararaca (Lachesis sp.), jararacussu (Bothrops jararacussu Lacerda), cobra-coral (Elaps corallinus Wied.), etc.

II. The Civilized Inhabitants of the Demini-Aracá Region

● 162 In the case of the civilized population, which lives along the lower and middle course, there is a mixture of Indians, whites, Negroes, and mulattoes who make a living as rubber gatherers, palm-fiber gatherers, woodcutters, fishermen, and planters.

Rubber gatherers work exclusively in the Demini river basin, palm-fiber gatherers and woodcutters only in the Aracá region. Planters, fishermen, and a few ambulant traders may be found on terra firma along both rivers. While the rubber gatherers on the Demini live in families far apart from one another, the distances are 10-20 kilometers and more, the woodcutters and palm-fiber gatherers along the Aracá have joined together in small settlements.

Sandra Pakidai

/3 cont./

648 On the Rio Demini, slightly below the Cachoeira (rapids)
484 Auatsinaua, is the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" (Ill. 1).
From the mouth to that point is a six-day journey in a small boat
161 with a four-horsepower outboard motor. On this long stretch
198 there are only two dozen families. Fifty years ago the banks
along the lower third were more densely settled than they are
164 today. But malaria and a terrible beriberi epidemic, 1907/08,
165 carried off the majority of the inhabitants. After the great forest
fire which raged along the Demini in 1926, health conditions
648 improved temporarily. In the most recent times a motor boat
164 of the National Malaria Service travels up the Demini and Aracá
once a year, and the palm-straw huts of the inhabitants are sprayed
with DDT. Nevertheless, malaria still takes its toll. Often it
also leads to a protracted liver ailment; above all, there is a
164 lack of any kind of medication. A second scourge is tuberculosis,
262 the cause of which, aside from the humid, hot climate, may
probably be traced to the poor and unbalanced diet. It consists
predominantly of manioc meal, small fish, the salted, sun-dried
meat of the pirarucu, salted wild-pig meat, and, to a considerably
smaller extent, birds and game, for the men generally do not
have time to hunt. In addition, /4/ for rubber and palm-fiber
gatherers, fruit and vegetables are practically unknown luxuries.
164 As a result of the crowded life of the individual families and the
lack of hygiene, children too are not free from tuberculosis.
Moreover, mention must be made of a dangerous eye infection
which often leads to blindness. This comes about because a fine
dust is constantly trickling down from the palm-straw roofs of the
huts, in which there are many insects, and it gets into the eyes of
the people asleep in their hammocks. An infectious skin disease
that causes light spots on the skin is also widespread. Worm and
intestinal ailments occur frequently, as does syphilis. Finally,
it is noteworthy that adults and children have very poor teeth.
• [162] The reason for this may again probably be sought in the unbalanced
diet, for all of the free Forest Indians who have more variety in
165 their meals, have excellent teeth. Mortality is highest among
the children, and next come the women, a relatively large num-
ber of whom die in childbirth since there is, of course, no medical
assistance.

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Puseheweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726] Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. [115] (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of la. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551 162 [160] The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

/57 cont./

551
162
[802]

Estimated Age (315)

315. These Indians count only to three, so I could only estimate the ages given.

Hewemãõ (316) -- chief and medicine man — 42 years

[123]

316. I was able to learn all the names only after my adoption into the tribe, for they are kept a strict secret from outsiders. But even then the individual men and women themselves never told them to me; I learned the names only from other members of the tribe, and, to be sure, always in a whisper. If they call each other in a loud voice, they use Portuguese names which they have heard from palm-fiber gatherers; I too had to give names to several members of the tribe.

Koentemá -- his first wife (from the Pakidá tribe) — 24 years
Kanikawõ -- son — 8 years
Daughter (has no name yet (317) — 1 year

[553]

317. Children are given their names only after the completion of their third year (see pp. 201 ff.).

Yaripanamá -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe) (She had a daughter who died in infancy.) — 35 years
Maxiuamá -- daughter of Hewemãõ and his former wife Tafmakána, who died in childbirth — 9 years

/57 cont./

551
•162

	Estimated Age
Kurikayawõ -- brother of the chief and later his successor	37 years
Xunamĩ -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe) (She had a son who died as a small child.)	18 years
/58/	
Xomirawõ -- war chief	40 years
Uitimá -- his wife (from the Xamatári tribe)	38 years
Moramanamá -- daughter (married to the Surára Uaxianauwõ)	18 years
Yaxoĩma -- daughter	13 years
Xinarĩ -- his first wife (from the Pakidái tribe, sister of Koentemá)	20 years
Inxinemá -- youngest brother of the chief (bachelor)	19 years
Hemahemá -- son of the deceased eldest brother of Hewemão	25 years
Hanohomá -- warrior	43 years
Unhamĩ -- his wife	24 years
Matuwõ -- son of Hanohomá and his first wife, who died. (Matuwõ is married to Maxiuamá, the nine-year-old daughter of Chief Hewemão.)	17 years
Unariwõ -- warrior	38 years
Yanauemá -- his wife (from the Puseheweterĩ tribe)	35 years
Komitimá -- daughter (second wife of the Surára Hemahemá)	18 years
Rokoahĩma -- daughter	8 years
Cinapemĩ -- mother of Unariwõ	54 years
Toabewõ -- warrior	28 years
Uainomĩ -- his wife (mother of Unhamĩ, see above)	43 years
Raxakewõ -- warrior	32 years
Amarokomá -- his first wife (from the Xiriána tribe) (Two children, a boy and girl, have died.)	24 years
Yaxuramá -- his second wife (from the Puseheweterĩ tribe)	22 years

/58 cont./	Estimated Age
951 Daughter (has no name yet)	3 years
•162 Orateú -- warrior	32 years
Posioubemí -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	23 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 months
Uaxianauwõ -- warrior	24 years
Moramanamá -- his wife (daughter of the war chief)	18 years
Rarorauwõ -- warrior	36 years
Tanyakomí -- his wife (from the Puseheweterí tribe) (Three children, two boys and a girl, died.)	30 years
Rokomá -- mother of Rarorauwõ (oldest Surára woman)	63 years
Anyarawõ -- warrior	29 years
Ranomá -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	20 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	2 years
Xanimá, mother of Anyarawõ	47 years
Poxewõ -- warrior	28 years
Riopemí -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	21 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Hunkawá -- warrior	29 years
Xororimá -- his wife	21 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Koroyewõ -- warrior	31 years
Natororomá -- his wife (from the Puseheweterí tribe)	23 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 years
Werewõ -- warrior	30 years
Makanamá -- his wife (from the Puseheweterí tribe)	22 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	1 year
Ixobewõ -- warrior	31 years
Oikoçimá -- his first wife (from the Xiriána tribe)	28 years
Daughter (has no name yet). The twin brother died.	3 years

Surára
Pakidái

/58 cont./

	Estimated Age
55] 162 Xeramí -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe)	25 years
Xaniwõ -- son	12 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	2 years
Xutumí -- widow	59 years
Haikiamá -- her daughter (likewise a widow)	40 years
Yarikoawõ -- son of Haikiamá (bachelor)	17 years
Katarauwõ -- solitary bachelor	17 years
/59/	
Ikoauwõ -- solitary bachelor	16 years
Jibeauwõ -- orphan boy	9 years
Mauahemá -- orphan boy	8 years
Nikeromá -- female captive (from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí)	15 years

[161] [123] There are somewhat more Pakidái, for they numbered 89. Since my association with them was not quite as close as with the Surára, however, I was able to learn considerably fewer given names. In the following I am presenting those that became known to me:

	Estimated Age
Karenauõ -- chief and medicine man	26 years
Poroamá -- his wife (from the Surára tribe)	20 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Poréhiwõ -- war chief	32 years
Ruxoyetemí -- his first wife (from the Surára tribe)	30 years
Yauetoiwõ -- son	13 years
Xaraíma -- daughter	7 years
Daughter (has no name yet). She was born during my stay	1 month
The second wife of Poréhiwõ left him because of ill treatment and was presumably drowned	
Kaxiribewõ -- warrior (brother of Poréhiwõ)	39 years
Monamí -- his wife	36 years

Pakidái

/59 cont./

	Estimated Age
551 Kuyaromá -- daughter	19 years
●162 Bixewõ -- son	15 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 years
Son (has no name yet). He was born during my visit	1 month
Ironasterí (from the Xiriána tribe) -- wife of Bixewõ	22 years
Yururauwõ -- warrior	28 years
Xekoreimá -- his wife (from the Surára tribe)	28 years
Tenxoyahibewõ -- son. (He is the only Pakidái boy attending the mission school of the Salesians in Barcelos (Rio Negro) and speaks Portuguese well. A river trader took him there. Now he is ashamed of his fellow tribesmen and was not to be persuaded to give any information about them).	14 years
Mihemehumá -- son	5 years
Son (has no name yet)	1 year
Kuatoxemão -- warrior	33 years
Toreheíma -- his first wife (from the Puseheweterí tribe)	26 years
Xiahomá -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe)	21 years
Daughter of Xiahomá (has no name yet)	2 years
Karemouá -- warrior	29 years
Xitiporimá -- his first wife	26 years
Tokorá -- son	8 years
Nyarimá -- daughter	4 years
Kirixoíma -- his second wife (from the Xiriána tribe)	20 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	6 months
Prexemí -- widow (mother of Karemouá)	50 years
Hokotõmarimá -- bachelor (brother of Karemouá; died as the result of an accident during my stay)	19 years
Xoronauwõ -- solitary bachelor	17 years

Casapare
Cariban Indians SR7
Auake 555

A /186 cont./
131 cf. idem, 1922, p. 226) was visited on the Urumamy Falls by
175 a small group of Auaké (Arutani), who pointed out to the explorer that their land was on the source of the Paragua, where
A [[67] they had a communal house. But even by that time the Auaké
A Y [619] (Arutani) had left their southern haunts to the Casapare and had migrated to the north. But a large number merged with the Casapare, and it is very likely that the Arutani of the upper Paragua represent the last vestiges of the Auaké.

A It is useful to stress the fact that both tribes, the Sapé and
101 the Arutani, belong among the primitive groups of South
174 America, and that their idioms constitute independent languages.
648 They have very probably served as buffers between the Caribe
[[99] and the Yanoama, and while the former pushed them from the Paragua to the south, the latter absorbed them or displaced them
C 648 toward the north. The Caribe have had the same function in more recent times, when they were destroyed between the frontiers of white civilization and that of the Yanoama, and today only a few vestiges of these tribes remain.

A Regarding the idioms of the Sapé (Kaliana) and Arutani
197 (Auaké), it is interesting to point out that Loukotka (1935) found
1914 Chibcha vestiges in the Auaké and the Kaliana. If we consider that the Yanoama are related to the Warao and that both have a relatively low cultural level, it is possible to believe in a substratum of marginal tribes with a Chibcha linguistic affiliation, to which the present Warao, Sapé, Arutani, and Yanoama tribes may possibly belong. We shall go into this interesting topic in the section which describes some of the linguistic aspects of the Yanoama /see pp. 38 ff./.

Y The most recent information that we have regarding the
114 Casapare was submitted by the previously mentioned Capuchin fathers, Armellada and Matallana (1942), by Gheerbrandt (1955), and by Montoya (1958).

Y The expedition of the Capuchin fathers was undertaken in
114 1940 with the intention of completing a missionary report on
797 the river and its native population. They went out in search of
● 162 men, and their conclusion that the Paraguá, apart from being a dangerous river and difficult to navigate, did not have large

Avake 555

/186 cont./ indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1942, p. 87) they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

/187/ This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history of the Yanoama. Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Pumpirí, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present volume only in the last decades. The marginal tribes, such as the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Uraricuera River starts.

According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail.

/199 cont./

128 attributed to the other subtribes also, but we do not believe it proper to make an indiscriminate generalization, particularly if we bear in mind that the subtribes seem to be carriers of different subcultures.

101 The Sanemá live on the upper Ventuari, the Erebato, and the Caura. It is therefore a matter of the Sanemadub, Nabadub, and Pubmatari and their various local groups already mentioned in the introduction. We can, to begin with, divide these Sanemá into two groups: those who live in close association with the Makiritare, and those who, although living in the land of the Makiritare, have not been able to establish permanent relationships with them. For which reason it is difficult to record in a definitive and absolute fashion precise demographic data, and we view those which we publish here with certain reservations.

/200/

101 A. Sanemá of the upper Caura (Pubmatari)

●162

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Canaracuni	300	In the border zone there are several nomadic bands with specific names, who accept the term "Sanemá" as a generic name of theirs. They frequently change their stopping places between Brazil and Venezuela.
2. Wanaña	200	
3. Yemekuni	300	
4. Caura source	100	
5. Nomadic bands	500	
Total	1,400 estimated individuals	

162 B. Sanemá of the upper Erebato (Sanemadub)

1. Kariana-sodi	40
2. Wasaña	62
3. Udehuduña	125
4. Kuyuhiña	143
Total	370 individuals counted 1960

/200 cont./

● 162 C. Sanemá of the upper Ventuari (Nabudub)

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Weweña	50	The Nabudub of Ihuduña frequently move between the Ventuari and the Erebato.
2. Wadekuña	80	
3. Mahanaña	50	
4. Ihuduña	200	
Total	380 estimated individuals.	

161 According to this demographic estimation there are approximately 2,150 Sanemá in the zone of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura. We do not know how many Sanemá live on the Padamo.

342 We have seen four different types of houses among the Sanemá: (a) windscreen type, (b) triangular in shape and Makiritare system, (c) rectangular, and (d) oblong. We have found types (a) and (b) together in the same encampment on the Ventuari, facing Caño Mosquito.

342 361 [501] [137] [262] On our trip through that place we saw two Sanemá rafts moored on the bank of the Ventuari. We later climbed a cliff and followed a path which led us to a conuco of the Sanemá. At one end there was a gigantic algarroba tree laden with fruit. Judging from the skins scattered on the ground, we realized that the Sanemá had consumed a great quantity. Near the tree, which in times past offered them /201/ its generous shade, we found a desolate Sanemá encampment. It was made up of five

342 triangular huts and two of the windscreen type. Both types of construction seem to be typical of the Yanoama and are remarkable for their size, somewhat small. For the construction of a triangular cabin six poles 1.60 meters long are needed to serve as posts or supports. Three pairs are made out of them, each bound at the upper end with a bejuco, and with some 30 centimeters left free in order to form a fork. The lower parts of the poles are stuck into the ground at a distance of half a meter. These forks in tepee form with a separation of two meters form a

[824] regular triangle. Three sticks are later placed on the forks, and these support the roof made of platanillo /Musaceae/ leaves. A similar rancho was described by Koch-Grünberg (1923, Pl. 43).

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill
[621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite
554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us,
769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to
628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder,
[266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablf shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be-
[888] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex-
[574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father,
• 162 who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition
855 we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of
000 the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Uaica

This fantastic appellation sounded quite harmonious in the forest, even to Indian ears, and brought Dolfus' followers out of their concealment, splashing through the water towards us.

Dolfus belonged to the Shirians of the Uaka tribe. These are scattered over the territory bounded by the Matacuni, the Padamo and the tributary streams of the Upper Venturari. They are similar in appearance to the Pulipuli people, though rather more savage. They were very timid, and full of references to the Guayca, who they said were very active in this area, particularly in the parts we had just come from.

With Dolfus there was an old man who was always either squatting down or else propping himself up on one leg; and two dour, surly-looking boys, who kept well away from our guns with a gleam of terror in their eyes. The next morning brought a whole host, along with women and children too, and of course we had to let them all examine our beards and rub themselves against them, and investigate other more detailed peculiarities of our anatomy. By urging the whole crowd of them on with sweeping gestures, we managed to get on our way very quickly, and a few hours later arrived on the banks of the Ocamo, a smallish river but strangely resembling the Upper Merevari. From the last high point we had been able to make out some huge flat-topped massifs, blue in the haze of distance, which must certainly have belonged to the Duida-Marahuaca group. For a moment, we hoped to come out on a patch of savannah land where we should be able to dry the damp forest mould out of ourselves and our belongings. But the Shirians told us there was no savannah in these parts.

The Uaka huts were on the side of a hill, a hundred yards from the right bank of the river, which we crossed by means of a length of rotten wood, shaped like a canoe. There were three buildings, each with the single-span sloping roof, very humble affairs, so low-pitched that inside them one risked getting a beam in one's eye at any moment. There were about fifty of these people, and among them we noticed many who had reached a considerable age, which is unusual. There must have been some aspect of the Ocamo region which favoured longevity in the inhabitants. There was an 'ape-man' too—an old, solitary fellow, almost dumb, who came up to us with gurgles of amazement, not daring to touch us. However, he took one of the axes when we gave it to him and with the aid of some of the youngsters started making us a cabin.

Life with the Shirians was made extremely difficult by their petulant ways

Waica
Guaharibo

/437 cont./

Population -- 1953

361 It is known that there are about 23 Guaika /Waica/ settlements between the Orinoco and the Ocamo rivers and in the region of the Brazilian frontier to the north of the Orinoco River.

/438/ It is known that there are at least 28 other Guaika settlements to the south of the Orinoco River.

103 162 The approximate population of the Guaika settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Majekodotedi (Platanal).	100	Kacholaotedi	100
Bichaasatedi	100	Boleitaotedi	100
Lajalaowatedi	100	Patanaotedi	12
Yabitaotedi	75	Chibardiatedi	60

361 At least eight Guajaribo settlements are known to exist in the region of the Ocamo and Lower Padamo rivers. It is known that there are others on the Upper Padamo, a few others on the Ventuari River, and still others on the Upper Caura (also called the Merevari River).

103 162 [114] The approximate population of the Guajaribo settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Ioeitedi	60
Wakawakatedi	100
Kwaisitedi	100

162 The population of El Platanal can be divided by age and sex approximately as follows:

	Men	Women	Total
Great-grandparents	0	1	1
Grandparents	6	6	12
Parents	8	15	23
Newlyweds (childless)	5	6	11
Unmarried adolescents and children	33	21	54
	52	49	101

/439/

582 [163] Girls are usually around 14 or 15 years of age when they have their first child. The husband is perhaps between 16 and 18 years of age, if this is his first marriage.

The adult men frequently take as new wives girls who have just reached puberty.

A boy 15 years old is commonly not considered capable of taking a wife, especially if he has not yet sown his first conuco /a clearing for cultivation/ in order to be able to feed his wife. But even if the planting had been prepared, it is often the case that he has to wait while the older men pick over the girls whom he might have wished to marry.

584 582 Nevertheless, in marriages prearranged with the consent of all before the husband and the wife are of age, it is very probable that the age of both would be almost the same. As a result a boy might marry at an age younger than usual.

● 162 163 Here are some examples of the number of living children per wife among Guaika families. The parentheses indicate the probability that no more children will be born. (Not all of the fathers of the families enumerated are still alive.)

Living children of families of a single wife:

(6) (5) (4) (4) (4) (3) (3) 5 4 4 2 2 2 1 0 0 0 0 0

Living children of polygamous families and families in which a second wife has been taken after the death of the first:

	First Wife	Other Wives
Family "A"	(12)	1
Family "B"	6	2 -- 1 -- 1
Family "C"	(4)	2
Family "D"	(3)	4
Family "E"	2	0

/440/

Communications

202 195 Messages are memorized and carried by a messenger.

All official messages are communicated to the messenger and transmitted by him in a crooned form to the addressee. The addressee of the message repeats the words which are communicated to him or responds by answering them.

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621 [162] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and therefore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups [578] soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123 From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dixies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their [152] fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One [758] of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

595 As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous
162 and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by
578 means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males
684 whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of
838 quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought
201 that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We
123 had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of gestures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

123 In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of
41 ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

302 Both men and women and even the small children paint their
[386] faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not
302 seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which
531 it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred, either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red, while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken themselves.

123 Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or
302 war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company with some whose paint was paling and some who were not even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

* * *

352 The furnishing of Waïka huts is very simple and orderly, each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one
[286] above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from
[283] threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades, while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their
[287] ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of
592 a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when the village is crowded.

162 In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people, which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

121 The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yąnomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data 114 covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the 194 field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yąnomamö in their language.

• 162 Census data on five Yąnomamö villages are presented 847 to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage 595 of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is compli- 834 cated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos 721 and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter- 182 village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

* 621 The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the 613 basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal 578 descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves 562 to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal 000 descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, P. ii]

[Introductory, p. iii;]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

[14]

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yąnomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yąnomamö social organization of this single

Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

---

[1]Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[2]The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

and as many as 250, but the lower extreme is uncommon because of military vulnerability and the upper extreme occurs only when particularly intense warfare retards village splitting or leads to the coalition of several related villages.

Villages that are on peaceful terms may be found living within a few miles of each other, whereas mutually hostile villages rarely are located less than a day's march apart; even then, one of the villages may move to reduce the possibility of raiding.

The village itself is circular or oval in plan, is generally surrounded by a palisade of upright logs and, depending on the number of people living in the village, has a diameter ranging from 15 to 70 yards.

The village is hardly more than a continuous, circular lean-to roof, open at the center. The roof starts at ground level (occasionally one or two feet above ground level), rises at an angle of 30° to 40°, reaching a maximum height of about 25 feet. The un-partitioned segments of the continuous roof are built by the families who occupy them, brothers and their dependents living next to each other. The materials used in construction are long, slender poles, vines to secure the pole frame and a thatch made from leaves.

There are usually several entrances to the village, each located at a point marking the boundary of one segment of the roof with another, and are merely un-thatched sections of the otherwise continuous roof. Most of the entrances are only 3 feet high, although there usually is at least one

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide. There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice. First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

[1] The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, listed in Table 1, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

847 [846] child: he had scrupulously observed the coitus taboo during lactation--the wife had not.

Most cases of infanticide take place when a couple already has a small child. Sickness takes a heavy toll during the early months of a child's life, and women are reluctant to jeopardize a child that has already survived the first two years. So, they frequently kill the new-born so that their older child will have no competition for milk. Bahimi, a woman of some 30 years, killed a new male baby shortly after I started my fieldwork in Bisasi-tedi. She explained, tearfully, that she did not feel that she could successfully raise the new child because she still had a son that was nursing.

847 562 162 These cases do not, however, explain why there is a consistent bias to kill females rather than males. When I discovered how significantly the sex ratio diverged from the expected value of 1.0 in some villages, I tried to get an explanation from the Yąnomamö. I was surprised to find out that they were ignorant of their own bias in killing children. [812] What did come to light, however, was the fact that Yąnomamö prefer to have a male baby for their first child and, if it turns out that the first child is a girl, they will frequently kill her. If, however, a couple prefers to have a girl and the first child is a boy, they generally do not kill the boy.[1]

[114] [582] [1] Whatever the reason may be for the preference toward males as eldest children, there is one structural effect that deserves further enquiry. Rose (1960) effectively showed that where males tend to marry females that are younger than them-

847 562 162 Several kinds of demographic data suggest that the rate of female infanticide is high. Table 1 gives the sex ratios of five Yąnomamö villages. The sex ratio for the total population sample (576 individuals) gives a more meaningful estimate of the rate of female infanticide, as there is considerable variation by village in the value of the sex ratio. The excess of males in the total population (8%) gives a first approximation of the frequency of female infanticide. The variation in the sex ratio by the village, on the other hand, expresses the political relationships of the villages to their allies. That is, the distribution of women in these five villages is a function of the military requirements of the particular villages in the marriage alliance network. Thus, the cline in sex ratio from Reyabobŏwei-tedi to Bisaasi-tedi (ignoring the Patanowä-tedi, who are not allied to the other groups) reflects a dominance gradient in politico-military requirements of each village. The total sample of 576 individuals must be considered in order to estimate the frequency of female infanticide among the Yąnomamö, but the political relationships between the villages must be understood to account for the variation by village of the value

562 162 628 922 [583] 125 847 162 628 562

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 59]

847 562 162 114 582 selves, it is highly unlikely that men will marry a FaSiDa, despite the kinship terminology. Rose did not, however, consider the possibility that sibships may have a systematic bias in their composition; if males tend to be older than their sisters considering all sibships, the probability that a FaSiDa is of marriageable age is increased. I specifically questioned the relationship between female infanticide and FaSiDa marriage, and the Yąnomamö denied any correlation between the two practices. There can be no doubt, however, that the occurrence of FaSiDa marriage among the Yąnomamö is made more probable by female infanticide.

Table 1: Village Size, Male/Female Sex-ratio, and Percentage of Excess Males.

Village Name	Size	Males	Females	Sex-Ratio	% Excess Males
Bayaboböwei-tedi	77	47	30	1.6	22
Mämariböwei-tedi	85	47	38	1.2	11
Patanowä-tedi	212	122	90	1.4	15
Monou-tedi	66	34	32	1.1	3
Bisaasi-tedi	136	62	74	0.8	-9
Totals:	576	312	264		

$\frac{312}{264}$ .....1.2 Total Male/Female Sex-ratio

$\frac{48}{576}$ .....8% Excess of Males

of the sex ratio, and the distribution of the women among them.

In Chapter 5 I will show how the two Shamatari villages, Reyabobŏwei-tedi and Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, participated in a treacherous feast during which they killed a number of their kinsmen from Mŏwäraoba-tedi. This feast committed the two Shamatari villages to an alliance with the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi in which the latter two villages were, in a political-military sense, less dependent on the support of the Shamatari than the Shamatari were on them. The Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi and the Reyabobŏwei-tedi represented the front of the Shamatari expansion into the unoccupied Mavaca River area. The territory they abandoned as they expanded to the west was subsequently occupied by other Shamatari villages, the members of which were historically related to them.[1] By participating in the treacherous feast and becoming enemies to their congeners, the two Shamatari villages subordinated themselves to the interests of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Since they formed a buffer between the villages of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi on the one hand, and the Shamatari village of Mŏwäraoba-tedi on the other, they bore the brunt of the raids mounted by the latter in revenge for the treachery. In short, they had only two dependable allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an im-

[1]See Chapter 5, "The History of Paruritawë-tedi."

Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an imbalance in the exchange of women between the two groups of villages, accounting for the variation in sex-ratio given for the villages in Table 1.

The degree to which each village is dependent on its allies is roughly indicates in Table 1. The Reyabobŏwei-tedi, being closer, geographically, to the Mŏwŏraoba-tedi, suffered more from the revenge raids of the latter. In other words, they needed military aid from their own allies to a greater extent, and have, accordingly, lost far more women to their allies as a consequence. But the true situation is even more remarkable than suggested by the sex ratio for the Reyabobŏwei-tedi; a large percentage of the women in their village have been abducted by them in raids against the Mŏwŏraoba-tedi, i.e., they have actually lost more women to their allies in exchanges than is suggested by the sex-ratio alone.

Again, the sex ratios for the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi are misleading without additional information. These two villages would seem, from Table 1, to have gained a remarkable number of women in the political alliances they made with their Shamatari friends. This, however, is not the only reason they have such a high percentage of women in their populations. In 1950 these villages were victimized by the Mŏwŏraoba-tedi and the Iwahikoroba-tedi in a treacherous feast. They lost approximately 15 men. Were two-thirds of these men alive today, for example, the resultant sex ratios for the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi population would more accurately reflect the dominance gradient, measured

in terms of women ceded to them by the Shamatari, that they maintain over their Shamatari allies.

The sex ratio data give a rough idea, then, of the extent of female infanticide and, in addition, reflect the political relationships of the villages to each other in terms of the flow of women. Other demographic data, however, suggest that the practice of female infanticide is even higher than the sex ratios alone indicate. Table 2 gives the stated cause of death of 240 adult individuals. These individuals are related to the living members of the three villages of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi. It is immediately apparent that more men die in warfare than women,[1] implying that the frequency of female infanticide is substantially higher than the 8% suggested by sex ratio data.

There are several ways the Yanomamö remedy their woman shortage. Young bachelors, for example, practice sodomy (bei kä bosi kuwemou, bei kä bosi waumou) with each other. These relationships develop into a 'buddy' system (äawä) and promote ties of friendship that extend into adult life. Some of my informants confidentially told me that particular young men had been known to copulate with dogs in estrus, but this was regarded with contempt by all who knew about it. Homosexuality, however, was not considered despicable, but it was thought to be infantile. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[1] Twenty-two per cent (31/138) of all male deaths were due to warfare, while only 6% (6/102) of female deaths were due to this cause.

835 terms for a number of men that were, genealogically, her distant agnates. She explained the usage by the fact that she had incestuous relationships with several of them when she was a young woman. KaobawÄ told me that he had incestuous relationships with Hayamamasimi, his FaBrDa, but did not want the others in the village to know about it. In another case, a man married three girls who were his FaBrSoSoDa, i.e., his 'granddaughters.' The YanomamÖ explanation of this case illustrates the relationship of the woman shortage to warfare and alliance. The people in question all live in PatanowÄ-tedi, a village that has numerous enemies, only one ally, and a serious woman shortage. The parents of the girls in question did not want them to marry into the village of the allies, as they had given a number of women to the allies already. The man, IshiweiwÄ, had no spouse and could not get one from the allies. So, the parents of the girls stopped calling IshiweiwÄ by the appropriate consanguineal terms and began calling him by affinal terms suited to the marriage of the three girls to him. The girls, in turn, stopped calling him grandfather. IshiweiwÄ married just one of the girls at first; after she died, he married the other two, as he already called them 'wife' by virtue of the fact that he had married their sister. The initial marriage was the major hurdle. After he married the first girl and the kinship terms were

---

835 the mother-in-law category are not avoided, nor are FaSi or MoBrWi. The implications of this last fact for Homans and Schneider's work are obvious.

835 investigated discrepant kinship usage I found that the termi-
601 nology changed because of incestuous relationships between my
183 informant (or his close kinsman) and the members of the local lineage in question. I have not investigated all discrepant usages, but the high incidence of the terminological aberrations suggests that incest is widely practiced.

835 Incestuous affairs and marriages occur largely because
601 of the woman shortage. I have already mentioned that Ishiweiwä
183 of Patanowä-tedi married his three 'granddaughters' because he
582 could not find a wife of the appropriate category. A similar
[162] situation occurred in Bisaasi-tedi. Reromawä, one of the
[562] important men in the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi, has redefined a number of his classificatory daughters as sisters,[1] thereby making it possible for his sons to marry their children, otherwise incestuous marriages. His oldest son, Bäkäböwä, technically married his FaDaDa, but because his father had redefined the mother of Bäkäböwä's wife as 'sister,' the marriage was appropriate within their marriage rules.

837 The woman shortage is remedied by illicit affairs
621 within the village. These affairs are the major cause of
578 feuds and village splits. During the 15 months covered by
[721] my field work five club-fights occurred. Four of them were over women who had been caught in illicit affairs, and in one case, the village split into hostile factions that began

---

[1] See Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of this.

raiding each other.[1]

That the shortage of women is the basis of internal feuding is illustrated by a practice recently adopted by members of the New Tribes Mission working in the village of Kosholowä-tedi, a small village on the Padamo River. The missionaries had a major problem with club-fighting within the village, most of which developed out of sexual liasons between married women and married men. The missionaries began an active campaign aimed at changing the coitus taboos during pregnancy and lactation. They were successful in their efforts, and the major result was that fighting was almost completely stopped. (Another result was a sharp increase in births.)

Village size and composition have an effect on the number of sexual liaisons within a village, as illicit affairs are more difficult to discover in large villages. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, as can be seen from Table 1, have less of a woman shortage than the other villages. Nevertheless, fights over women do break out in these villages. One of the clubfights I witnessed took place between two groups of Monou-tedi men in the village of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the Monou-tedi men had wanted to carry on an affair with the wife of Konoreiwä, another man of his village, but was unable to do so while the Monou-tedi lived in their own village. Once when the Monou-tedi moved to Bisaasi-tedi to

---

[1] See Chapter 5, Tables 5 and 6, for a summary of the causes of village splits and hostilities.

avoid the raids from the PatanowÃ-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with KonoreiwÃ's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by KonoreiwÃ. The entire village participated in the club fight. KonoreiwÃ punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the PatanowÃ-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the PatanowÃ-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the PatanowÃ-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

726 628 knowing that they would not be raided in return; the Patanowä-tedi simply could not conduct the war on that immense a scale. The participation of these peripheral villages in the war against the Patanowä-tedi conferred three advantages on them. First, the probability was good that they would benefit materially in the raiding by capturing women. Secondly, they demonstrated their solidarity to their allies at little cost or danger to themselves, thereby putting these allies under obligation to reciprocate the favor at a later time. Finally, the peripheral villages were able to demonstrate their ferocity to their neighbors by going to war, although the danger to themselves was almost negligible. In total, about a dozen villages began raiding the Patanowä-tedi in mid 1965, forcing them to abandon their garden before they could establish a new one elsewhere. The Patanowä-tedi had no alternative but to take refuge in the village of their allies, the Ashadowä-tedi. Without the aid of the Ashadowä-tedi, the Patanowä-tedi would have been forced to colonize from their single site and sustain very heavy losses from the incessant raids of their enemies. As the situation turned out, the Patanowä-tedi lost a large number of people in the raiding, despite having this ally, but the losses would have been much heavier without them.

726 922 628 361 241

162 552 [847] [83] Summary

The practice of female infanticide leads to a shortage of women. The Yanomamö attempt to overcome the shortage,

162 562 83 sexually, by the practices of sodomy, wife sharing, incest, and permitted affairs. However, two ways in which the problem 162 562 583 847 721 722 *628 is resolved--clandestine affairs within villages and raiding to abduct women between villages--create political situations that favor the development of political alliances for the purposes of defense. Since these involve the transfer of women between the allies, the practice of female infanticide constitutes a functional component in the marriage alliance system.

*621 *628 578 241 722 The process of village splitting, growing out of feuds over women, results in the establishment of small, militarily vulnerable villages. The timing of the split is conditioned by the agricultural requirements of the village on the one hand, and the nature of its politico-military relationships with other villages on the other. The graded system of violence permits flexibility in the settlement pattern and the precise conditions of a village split. Because the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated foods, alliances may be interpreted as an attempt to maximize the chances of survival of groups of kinsmen as independent groups; the possibility always exists that a given group may be forced by its enemies to seek protection and provisions in the village of an ally.

613 In addition to genealogical distance and size of
• 162 descent groups, demographic factors promote ambiguity in the relationships between males within a local descent group. For reasons of differential fertility, infanticide, warfare mortality, or chance, some local descent groups are larger than others (contain more males) and are, therefore, more powerful. Others may be relatively large, but contain more females than males. Still others may be very small and contain either all males or
613 all females. Since Yanomamö kinship terminology is classificatory
601 (Iroquois), all agnatically related males of the same generation
602 call each other 'brother'; parallel cousins, no matter how remote genealogically, are not terminologically distinguished from brothers. Despite the terminological usage, relationships between such agnates varies considerably.

613 Problems of agnatic priority in the disposition of
602 females arise, for example, when a man with no actual brothers
*621 gives his daughters away in marriage. If he has sons, the
584 sons would prefer that the girls be given to members of other
582 local descent groups who are most likely able to reciprocate with women. As the father has no actual brothers, his more distant agnates put pressure on him to give the girls to a descent group to which they themselves are linked by marriage ties, for they stand to benefit by future reciprocities. Situations such as this arise when a single man finds himself in the same village with a group of agnates that are distantly related to him, but who themselves constitute an important political bloc within the village. Although the agnates are

128 extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yanomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0. I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relationship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

128 that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of
*621 two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.
613

* 162 There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is
*621 not representative of the typical Yąnomamö village: the sex
*628 ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as
562 there are males in the village, and the group is politically
583 stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mąmariböwei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises
[529] two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed
[574] in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of
[726] Bisaasi-tedi.

*621 The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a
622 number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More
613 importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to
602 each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawä, has astutely manipulated

---

128 logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a
*621 number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity
*628 of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace
613 their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawä-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

*628 [602] Lower Bisaasi-tedi gave its members refuge during the times when the Monou-tedi were threatened by raids from the Patanowä-tedi. The closest neighbor, geographically, to Lower Bisaasi-[361] [613] tedi is Upper Bisaasi-tedi (a mere 400 meters upstream), the dominant political group of that village being a segment of the Sha lineage. The two villages, however, behave quite independently in their alliance patterns. Lower Bisaasi-tedi's political interests are in the Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi at the present time, whereas Upper Bisaasi-tedi's interests are in the *628 726 Reyabobǫwei-tedi, Karohi-tedi, and Widokaiya-tedi. In the war against the Patanowä-tedi, both the Lower and Upper Bisaasi-tedi aid the Monou-tedi by providing warriors for the raiding parties, and by giving refuge to the Monou-tedi when raiding is particularly intense.

*621 162 562 571 Lower Bisaasi-tedi is a cohesive, well-integrated, stable village. Much of the stability and cohesiveness derives from the fact that there is not a shortage of women and there are well-defined patterns of behavior for all members *628 722 vis-à-vis others. But, Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not a militarily viable group. It could not last long as an independent village if the warfare situation became intense; the group is not completely independent of the Upper Bisaasi-tedi village. At least once during my field work the Lower Bisaasi-tedi group coalesced with the Upper group when a raid from the Patanowä-tedi seemed imminent. And, if raiding from the Patanowä-tedi began, the group would have to merge with Upper Bisaasi-tedi for defense purposes. When I began my field work in 1964,

*621 It is more than coincidental that the composition of both
*628 Monou-tedi and Patanowë-tedi is more similar in terms of Sha
613 and Hor lineages than the similarity between any other two
602 Namowei-tedi villages. Patanowë-tedi is merely an enlarged version of Monou-tedi in composition, there being more agnatic ties between these two groups in the Hor and Sha lineages than between any other pair of Namowei-tedi villages. Yet the hostilities between them are very intense.

*621 B. Village Size and Warfare
• 162

Yąnomamö villages range in size from 40 to 250 individuals. Both limits are determined by the nature of Yąnomamö warfare, but the upper limit is set in large measure by the capacity of kinship and leadership to organize the internal affairs of the village. This capacity diminishes as village size increases.

*621 The largest Yąnomamö village for which I have complete
162 census data is Patanowë-tedi, a group comprising 212 indi-
722 viduals. The Patanowë-tedi assert that their southern neighbors and allies, the Ashadowë-tedi, are even more numerous, and that a number of Shamatari villages are, in turn, larger than Ashadowë-tedi. It is doubtful, however, that the numbers involved excede 250 per village. Villages of this size, as we have mentioned for Patanowë-tedi, tend to fragment into smaller groups when threat of war subsides, and these smaller groups re-combine to form a larger village when warfare again threatens one or all of the colonies. The reason villages

*621 722 162 never get larger than 250 seems to lie in the fact that there is no military advantage to be gained in increasing village size beyond this point, while at the same time, further increase in size creates organizational difficulties that threaten the internal stability of the village.

*621 722 721 701 Size of raiding parties and tactics of warfare must be understood to appreciate why villages of 250 do not gain military advantages by increasing in size, and why village size can not drop below 40. The median size of Yąnomamö villages lies between 80 and 100 people. A village of this size can organize raiding parties ranging in size from about 20 to 30 men, as approximately one-third of the village residents are males between the ages of 14 and 50, the group from which the raiding parties are recruited. As no village leaves the women unguarded when it mounts a raid on its enemies, the size of raiding parties tends to be lower than the number of *621 162 eligible men able to raid.[1] Table 4 gives the population break-down of five Yąnomamö villages by age and sex. The males between the ages of 14 and 50 comprise 32.5% of the *621 701 721 population (19.6 plus 12.9). Thus, a raiding party comprised exclusively of men from a single village having a total population of 100 will not excede 33 men; but, the raiding party would include a large number of youths who have no raiding experience, and older men who are not able to move rapidly. These men constitute more of a handicap than an asset to the

[1]See Plate 2. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 136]

Table 4: Age and Sex Distribution of the Yanomamö Population.[1]

*62
162

Frequency Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	55	48	103	68	14	288
Females	36	42	77	60	23	238
Totals:	91	90	190	128	37	526

Percentage Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	10.5	9.1	19.6	12.9	2.7	54.8
Females	6.8	8.0	14.6	11.4	4.4	45.2
Totals:	17.3	17.1	34.2	24.3	7.1	100.0

[114] [128] [1]Based on residents of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, Patanowä-tedi, Mämariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi. I was not able to get age estimates on a number of individuals in Reyaboböwei-tedi and Patanowä-tedi, accounting for the difference in total population given in Table 5, Chapter IV. The sex ratio for the above population is 1.22, and male excess is 9.5%, compared to 1.19 and 8.35% in Table 5.

*62
70
72
[122] effectiveness of the raiding party. As someone must stay home to guard the women, the guards usually come from the too young and too old. Usually, however, one or two '<u>waitedi</u>' (fierce ones), men who have a great deal of experience in warfare and who would bravely defend the village, also remain behind. Thus, a village of 100 people could, at best,

000 has several enemies.

*621 *628 701 721 722 [162] I pointed out that Lower Bisaasi-tedi was not a militarily viable village, although its total population falls within the range of such villages. An examination of the village composition given in Appendix A will show that there are only 12 men between the ages of 14 and 50, and not all of these would be effective in a raiding party. Some of these men would have to remain home to guard the women, reducing the capability of the village to mount raids against enemies even more, as the size of the raiding party would have to be smaller than ten men. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-tedi depends on assistance from its allies in their warfare and could not survive as an independent village. Should their enemies (the Patanowä-tedi) begin raiding them frequently, they would have to reunite with their agnates, the Upper Bisaasi-tedi. As a matter of fact, they did exactly this whenever raids from the Patanowä-tedi threatened them. The [162] Monou-tedi have 21 males between the ages of 14 and 50, but two of these are cripples. Nevertheless, they are much more capable of maintaining a separate existence than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, despite the fact that the difference in size of the two villages is not great. The significant fact is that they have a larger number of men capable of conducting *621 *628 722 [361] raids. However, their size has not permitted them to effectively withstand the raids mounted against them by the Patanowä-tedi, and the Monou-tedi were forced to move to a new site by the raids stemming from their enemies. Without the

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

---

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticising the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

10:Chagnon B-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

APPENDIX A

F621
C13
.162

VILLAGE COMPOSITION AND GENEALOGY OF LOWER BISAASI-TEDI

1. Lower Bisaasi-tedi

Lineage	Male	Female	Totals
Sha	9	7	16
Tom	9	3	12
Mor	1	2	3
Kio	2	4	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	1	1	2
Total	25	26	51

2. Upper Bisaasi-tedi

Sha	11	13	24
Mor	8	5	13
Kio	5	11	16
Kah	5	3	8
Shamatari	3	7	10
Rob	0	1	1
Other	5	8	13
Total	37	48	85

3. Monou-tedi

Sha	11	9	20
Mor	15	8	23
Kio	3	3	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	2	3	5
Total	34	32	66

209

*621
613
162

4. Patanowë-tedi

Lineage	Male	Female	Total
Hor	58	33	91
Sha	25	14	39
Rob	14	15	29
Kah	17	8	25
Kar	1	3	4
Shamatari	2	6	8
Ashadowë-tedi	0	5	5
Other	5	6	11
Total	122	90	212

*621 162 561 613 Lower Bisaasi-tedi inhabitants. (Numbers preceding names correspond to those next to individuals given in genealogies.)

Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
1. Ahimi	Hor	F	20	
2. Ahimi's son	Sha	M	0.2	
3. Auhewë	Tom	M	25	
4. Auhewë's son	Tom	M	1	
5. Auma	Kio	M	21	
6. Bäkëböwë	Sha	M	29	Becoming headman
7. Bäkëböwë's da.	Sha	F	1	
8. Boarama	Shamatari	F	6	Alliance
9. Bokosiwë	Sha	M	23	
10. Caraca-tedi	Sha	M	3	
11. Didihoma	-	F	5	See p. 213
12. Dimörama	Shamatari	F	20	See p. 213
13. Dodoiwë	Tom	M	52	
14. Heihunioma	Sha	F	19	
15. Hekëwaiyowë	Sha	M	2	
16. Hesiwë	Tom	M	65	
17. Hikarima	Shamatari	F	36	Abducted
18. Hoahemi	Kio	F	52	
19. Huimashima	Sha	F	6	
20. Irokaweikë	Sha	M	20	
21. Kakoma	Sha	F	19	Abducted, see p. 213
22. Kakoma's da.	Kio	F	0.1	
23. Katabema	Shamatari	F	3	See p. 213
24. Kpobauwë	Kio	M	26	
25. Krëömi	Kio	F	20	
26. Mamorakomi	Shamatari	F	34	See p. 214
27. Mamoshiklabema	Tom	M	4	
28. Manasinawë	-	M	56	See p. 214
29. Mioremi	Sha	F	28	
30. Monokoiwë	Tom	M	13	
31. Monomi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance

	Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
32.	Monomi's Da.	Tom	F	0.2	
33.	Makakami	Sha	F	56	
34.	Miaiyowä	Sha	M	14	
35.	Ömonoiwä	Tom	M	28	
36.	Reromawä	Sha	M	53	Headman
37.	Rosa	Sha	F	8	
38.	Ruwisa	Tom	F	7	
39.	Shiborowä	Shamatari	M	35	See p. 214
40.	Tiaböwä	Shamatari	M	5	See p. 214
41.	Tomahewä	Tom	M	21	
42.	Tomasi	Tom	M	6	
43.	Ugushi	Hor	M	22	
44.	Waiimi	Hor	F	21	
45.	Waiyamobemi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance
46.	Waiyamobemi's son	Sha	M	0.5	
47.	Waiyuruma	Shamatari	F	50	Abducted
48.	Wakarabewä	Shamatari	M	16	Son-in-law to #6
49.	Yäbänäma	Kio	F	33	
50.	Yareama	Shamatari	F	2	See p. 214
51.	Yotoma	Tom	F	24	

Comments on particular individuals

1. Ahimi. Her present husband (Bokosiwä) visited the Patanowä-tedi within the past 5 years. Ahimi then lived in Patanowä-tedi and was married to a Sha man there (Makoakuwä), by whom she had already had one daughter (Huimashima). When Bokosiwä returned to Bisaasi-tedi, Ahimi followed him, taking her daughter with her, and became Bokosiwä's wife. As the Patanowä-tedi were technically at war with the Bisaasi-tedi, there was not much they could do to recover the woman. As they also wanted to make peace with Bisaasi-tedi, they did not press the matter.

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and way of life.

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ə] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ö] vowel are pronounced as that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąobewä would be pronounced "cow-bo-wuh," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

TABLE 3-1

VILLAGE COMPOSITION BY LINEAGE MEMBERSHIP*

Lineage	Male	Female	Total
A. Lower Bisaasi-teri			
Sha	9	7	16
Tom	9	3	12
Hor	1	2	3
Kio	2	4	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	1	1	2
	25	26	51
B. Upper Bisaasi-teri (Kaobawä's group)			
Sha	11	14	25
Hor	8	5	13
Kio	5	11	16
Kah	5	3	8
Shamatari	3	7	10
Other	5	8	13
	37	48	85
C. Monou-teri			
Sha	11	9	20
Hor	15	8	23
Kio	3	3	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	2	3	5
	34	32	66
D. Patanowä-teri			
Hor	58	33	91
Sha	39	29	68
Kah	17	8	25
Kar	1	3	4
Shamatari	2	6	8
Other	5	11	16
	122	90	212

*Revised version of Appendix A, Chagnon 1966.

transaction. Still, he took the girl. When domestic tranquility could no longer be maintained, he passed her on to his younger brother.

The relationship between a man and his brothers of approximately the same age are generally not amicable. Brothers of the same approximate age tend to be jealous of each other and treat one another with considerable reserve and respect. A man can directly ask an immature younger brother to execute some task for him, but he can

TABLE 3–3
SEX-RATIO DATA ON SELECTED VILLAGES

	Males	Females	Totals
Upper Bisaasi-teri	37	48	85
Lower Bisaasi-teri	25	26	51
Monou-teri	34	32	66
Reyaboböwei-teri	52	46	98
Mõmariböwei-teri	50	46	96
Patanowä-teri	122	90	212
Aikam-teri and Roko-teri	129	103	232
	449	391	840

Table 3–3 gives sex-ratio data on seven groups of Yąnomamö. The first three villages are not truly representative of the population in general, but are included because they have been frequently discussed in the text.

They are not representative because some 15 men from these villages were killed in a single treacherous feast in 1950, a significant fraction of the adult male population. These feasts are not very frequent. The three groups are allied to each other and have been extremely successful at coercing two neighboring Shamatari villages out of women; a surprisingly high proportion of their women come from these allies. As we shall see, they have been successful because of the geographical and historical relationships that characterize the alliance network in this area.

DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS As is apparent, there are more males in the Yąnomamö population than females. This demographic fact results from the practice of selectively killing female babies: *female infanticide.* The Yąnomamö also practice male infanticide, but because of the preference to have a male as their first child, they unknowingly kill more females than males. The Yąnomamö have only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. They are, accordingly, poor statisticians. They are quite unaware of the fact that they do kill more female babies, and every time I questioned them about it, they insisted that they killed both kinds—"more-than-two" of both kinds.

A child is killed at birth, irrespective of its sex, if the mother already has a nursing baby. They rationalize the practice by asserting that the new infant would probably die anyway, since its older sibling would drink most of the milk. They are most reluctant to jeopardize the health and safety of a nursing child by weaning it before it is three years old or so, preferring to kill the competitor instead. Kąobawä's wife, Bahimi, killed a newborn male shortly after I began my fieldwork. She later told me, quite tearfully, that it would have taken milk away from Ariwari, Kąobawä's favorite child. Ariwari at the time was over two years old, but Bahimi refused to wean him. Sometimes a child is killed simply because the mother doesn't feel that she can care for it properly and that it would be an inconvenience to have to tend a baby. I once saw a plump, well-fed, young mother eating a large quantity of food that would have been suitable to give to an older infant. Her emaciated, filthy, and nearly starved child—about two years old—kept reaching out for the food. The mother explained that the baby had gotten a bad case of diarrhea some time ago and had stopped eating. As a consequence, her milk dried up. She refused to attempt to feed it other foods because "it did not know how to eat other foods." When

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3-3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebawä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3-3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawä, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisaasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yąnomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kąobawä's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kąobawä's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2–8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowä-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowä-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowä-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwä, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowä-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowä-teri fissioned into two groups: They relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

/62 cont./

4. Life Cycle

842 862 [63] [65] a) Birth control

The number of children among both the Surára and the Pakidái is very small; no woman has more than three at most. Aside from the high infant mortality rate as a result of the lack of hygiene, however, this is bound up with the fact that the women must observe an interval of at least three years after each birth, as long as a child is fed with mother's milk, which, in the opinion of these Indians, prevents conception to a considerable extent. If a woman nevertheless becomes pregnant, the medicine men know how to prepare an abortive medicine from plant juices. The reason for birth control, I was told, is that if a child were born during the period of restriction, it would not be healthy and able to cope with life, because the mother's body would still be too weak.

842 847

843 b) Food taboos during pregnancy

Before the birth the mother must observe many food taboos in order not to harm her child. Her diet then consists primarily of the tender meat of the mutum (Crax sp.), cooked bananas, manioc flat-cakes, and a drink that is made from the nourishing, very oily pupunha fruits. If she were to eat wild-pig meat, for example, the child would be born dead; the meat of the pirarucu (Osteoglossidae, the largest fresh-water fish), which carries inside it the bad breath of the river, would make it blind, and parrot meat would make it cry constantly later on.

844 c) Birth

While giving birth, the woman kneels in front of a tree and embraces the trunk with both arms. The ground has been sprinkled with water beforehand so that it is slimy and soft. Several female members of the tribe assist the woman in labor. After the birth, two women, each with a cotton thread, tie off the umbilical cord, and a third one then bites it off. The father

/439/

582 Girls are usually around 14 or 15 years of age when they
● [163] have their first child. The husband is perhaps between 16 and 18 years of age, if this is his first marriage.

The adult men frequently take as new wives girls who have just reached puberty.

A boy 15 years old is commonly not considered capable of taking a wife, especially if he has not yet sown his first conuco /a clearing for cultivation/ in order to be able to feed his wife. But even if the planting had been prepared, it is often the case that he has to wait while the older men pick over the girls whom he might have wished to marry.

584 Nevertheless, in marriages prearranged with the consent of
582 all before the husband and the wife are of age, it is very probable that the age of both would be almost the same. As a result a boy might marry at an age younger than usual.

162 Here are some examples of the number of living children
163 per wife among Guaika families. The parentheses indicate the probability that no more children will be born. (Not all of the fathers of the families enumerated are still alive.)

Living children of families of a single wife:

(6) (5) (4) (4) (4) (3) (3) 5 4 4 2 2 2 1 0 0 0 0 0

Living children of polygamous families and families in which a second wife has been taken after the death of the first:

	First Wife	Other Wives
Family "A"	(12)	1
Family "B"	6	2 -- 1 -- 1
Family "C"	(4)	2
Family "D"	(3)	4
Family "E"	2	0

/440/ Communications

202 Messages are memorized and carried by a messenger.
195 All official messages are communicated to the messenger and transmitted by him in a crooned form to the addressee. The addressee of the message repeats the words which are communicated to him or responds by answering them.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

raiding each other.[1]

That the shortage of women is the basis of internal feuding is illustrated by a practice recently adopted by members of the New Tribes Mission working in the village of Kosholowä-tedi, a small village on the Padamo River. The missionaries had a major problem with club-fighting within the village, most of which developed out of sexual liasons between married women and married men. The missionaries began an active campaign aimed at changing the coitus taboos during pregnancy and lactation. They were successful in their efforts, and the major result was that fighting was almost completely stopped. (Another result was a sharp increase in births.)

Village size and composition have an effect on the number of sexual liaisons within a village, as illicit affairs are more difficult to discover in large villages. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, as can be seen from Table 1, have less of a woman shortage than the other villages. Nevertheless, fights over women do break out in these villages. One of the clubfights I witnessed took place between two groups of Monou-tedi men in the village of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the Monou-tedi men had wanted to carry on an affair with the wife of Konoreiwä, another man of his village, but was unable to do so while the Monou-tedi lived in their own village. Once when the Monou-tedi moved to Bisaasi-tedi to

---

[1] See Chapter 5, Tables 5 and 6, for a summary of the causes of village splits and hostilities.

Surára
Pakidái

/2 cont./

132 Because of the nearness of the equator, it is very hot, humid, and oppressive in this region, yet not unbearable. For, on account [164] of the high moisture content of the air, there is, for example, no heat prostration and no sunstroke here. One can also sleep quite well at night, since the temperature then drops several degrees and is accompanied by a refreshing breeze. During the day the temperature of the air comes to 32-36° and at night 24-28°, whereas that of the water is usually between 29-32°.

136 As a result of the scarcity of human beings that prevails here, there are a great many wild animals and birds in the forests, in addition to the abundance of water turtles, caymans, and fish in the rivers, several species of which will be enumerated in the following:

a) Mammals: spotted jaguar (Felis onca L.), black jaguar (Panthera onca L.), puma (Felis concolor), maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.), tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.), deer (Cervidae sp.), wild pig (Pecari tajacu), capybara (Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris Erxl.) paca (Cuniculus paca L.), cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.), armadillo (Dasypodidae sp.), sloth (Bradypus sp.), ant bear (Myrmecophaga sp.) monkeys, such as the howling monkey (Alouatta sp.), cuxiú-negro (Chiroptes satanas Humb.), cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.), macaco-da-noite (Aotus infulatus), etc., sea cow (Trichechus inunguis Desmaret), etc.

b) Birds: mutum (Crax sp.), urumutum (Crax sp.), mutum-cavalo (Mitu mitu L.), jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.), cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.), jacu (Penelope sp.), japim (Cacicus cela L.), inambu (Crypturellus sp.), inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.), toucan (Rhamphastus /3/ sp.), arara vermelha (Ara macao L.), arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.), papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.), papagaio curica (Amazona sp.), garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm.), gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.), gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.), urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.), etc.

c) Water turtles: tracajá (Emys sp.), cabeçuda (Podocnemis dumeriliana), etc.

d) Land turtles: jabuti (Testudo tabulata Woelb.), etc.

Sandra
Pakidai

/3 cont./

648 On the Rio Demini, slightly below the Cachoeira (rapids)
484 Auatsinaua, is the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" (Ill. 1).
From the mouth to that point is a six-day journey in a small boat
161 with a four-horsepower outboard motor. On this long stretch
178 there are only two dozen families. Fifty years ago the banks
along the lower third were more densely settled than they are
● 164 today. But malaria and a terrible beriberi epidemic, 1907/08,
165 carried off the majority of the inhabitants. After the great forest
fire which raged along the Demini in 1926, health conditions
648 improved temporarily. In the most recent times a motor boat
164 of the National Malaria Service travels up the Demini and Aracá
once a year, and the palm-straw huts of the inhabitants are sprayed
with DDT. Nevertheless, malaria still takes its toll. Often it
also leads to a protracted liver ailment; above all, there is a
164 lack of any kind of medication. A second scourge is tuberculosis,
262 the cause of which, aside from the humid, hot climate, may
probably be traced to the poor and unbalanced diet. It consists
predominantly of manioc meal, small fish, the salted, sun-dried
meat of the pirarucu, salted wild-pig meat, and, to a considerably
smaller extent, birds and game, for the men generally do not
have time to hunt. In addition, /4/ for rubber and palm-fiber
gatherers, fruit and vegetables are practically unknown luxuries.
164 As a result of the crowded life of the individual families and the
lack of hygiene, children too are not free from tuberculosis.
Moreover, mention must be made of a dangerous eye infection
which often leads to blindness. This comes about because a fine
dust is constantly trickling down from the palm-straw roofs of the
huts, in which there are many insects, and it gets into the eyes of
the people asleep in their hammocks. An infectious skin disease
that causes light spots on the skin is also widespread. Worm and
intestinal ailments occur frequently, as does syphilis. Finally,
it is noteworthy that adults and children have very poor teeth.
[162] The reason for this may again probably be sought in the unbalanced
diet, for all of the free Forest Indians who have more variety in
165 their meals, have excellent teeth. Mortality is highest among
the children, and next come the women, a relatively large num-
ber of whom die in childbirth since there is, of course, no medical
assistance.

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Puseheweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726]

Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. [115] (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of la. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551 162 [16[

The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

Surára
Pakidái

/97 cont./

755
759
171

498. (cont.)
I should like to mention the Kaskihá Indians in the northeastern Chaco, among whom the witch doctor tries to heal the sick in the same way (Baldus, 1931, p. 143).

164

During my nine-months' stay among the Surára and Pakidái the following sicknesses occurred there: grippe, pneumonia, malaria, chicken pox, and a gastric fever; fortunately, none was fatal (499). But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,

000

(165)
(752)

499. Only the Pakidái youth Hokotómarimá died after a fall from a pupunha palm, which probably caused internal injuries (see p. 149).

123
755
759
177

But the two Surára women who had pneumonia, first a young woman, Xunamí, the wife of Kurikayawõ, the younger brother of the chief, and later an older woman, Xanimá, the approximately 47-year-old mother of Anyarawõ (see pp. 123/125), and a boy, Xaniwõ (see p. 127), about 12 years old, would probably not have survived without the penicillin that I had brought along, for, in spite of untiring treatment by the chief and his helpers, their condition grew worse from day to day. In the first instance, the chief, Hewemão, and the husband, Kurikayawõ, finally permitted me to give Xunamí a penicillin injection in the upper arm on two successive days, whereupon she improved dramatically (500). In the second and third cases,

500. This cure increased my reputation tremendously, so that afterward I was properly adopted into the tribe of the Surára and, on the occasion of the great festival in memory of the dead, was also permitted to drink the banana soup mixed with the bone ashes of deceased relatives (see p. 231). If the woman had died after the injection, however, the intervention could have had grave consequences for me.

/100 cont./

755 was much worse, that this time the power of the Waikâ medicine
123 men was extraordinarily great. I then proposed to him that I
179 should give Xunamî penicillin injections. After lengthy consultations with the husband and other male members of the tribe he consented, though with misgivings, and luck was with the patient as well as with me. From this moment on the name penicilina (Portuguese spelling) became a magic word, for it had helped to cast away the sickness. Hewemãõ even asked me to bring him a great deal of it on my next visit.

755 c) Magic cure (rekurâ) for Xanimâ:

Xanimâ, the approximately 47-year-old mother of
● [164] Anyarawõ (see p. 126), had been ill for five days with chicken
pox and had had persistently high fever. At first she, too, was
[159] given the water cures, that is, she constantly had to take baths in the river and drink a great deal of water; as her weakness increased, she remained lying in her hammock and was doused with cold water. After that there were sham battles between two "hekurâ" and the bad, black-colored spirit of sickness, "nonexî."

When there was no improvement, Chief Hewemãõ and eight helpers again arranged a large, nocturnal rekurâ, but this time a somewhat different one, because, of course, a different
[302] sickness was involved (502). At first the men, eight with red

502. As has been mentioned above (see p. 212), every sickness has very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps.

serpentine lines painted on their faces and bodies and one colored black, in the light of the hearth, again formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the middle, on which snuff-
[296] powder had been poured. They filled their snuff tubes with generous amounts of it and blew it into each other's noses, whereupon, after a few minutes, the state of ecstasy set in. The men hopped around their own axis several times, and, after a hissing sound on the part of the chief and with prolonged shrill

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Branco river in Brazil. They considered an agricultural life a peasant's life, and a dull one at that, with no possible appeal to the imagination. There were a few palavers about it, but it is well-known that among primitive peoples the old are listened to least: wisdom favours the youths and the boys, who have their whole lives in front of them—not behind them like a stream flowing away. The young men prevailed, and burned the forest. The first big hut was built according to Manuera's ideas, and served as a pattern for all the Shirians when they came to build.

So we too arrived at this 'big hut', which Manuera showed us with a pride that was scarcely justified, and here too the Shirians fled away into the woods, much to the amusement of our guides. We could hear them there, uttering their guttural cries of terror and wonderment.

Inside the hut there was no one, with the exception of two old folk stretched out in their liana hammocks. They didn't stir: it was as if they didn't even see us. One of them was a woman whose body was reddened nearly all over with *ebate*—a skin disease frequent among the Indians. A macaw, scared by the sight of our beards, set up a howl on his perch and started biting through the cord which attached him to it. Manuera went off into the woods, calling the others, and the thick green swallowed him up for a good hour. We were rather afraid he would want to stop here for the night, for our stomachs were turning at the filth around us, but we had misjudged our man: Manuera was now engaged in more important business and had no desire for more than a brief, benevolent survey of his kinsfolk. We very soon got back to the boat and at last were able to take deep breaths of the fresh river and forest air.

Manuera told us that the Shirians had not been really so scared by our arrival. Indeed, they had been expecting us. But they couldn't quite pluck up the courage to look close. Our stature, our beards, our clothes and our guns, in the eyes of primitive people, turned us into supermen—dread figures, terrifying as monsters and above all, essentially evil.

The news that we were on the way had been bruited abroad by the party we had met at the Moné pass—and *à propos* of this, we learned from Manuera that the spider-child had died soon afterwards, somewhere on the Sabaru. It was a relief to hear this, even if the poor little monstrosity's death had been caused by the sight of us, as the Shirians thought. Manuera's gestures became wild, and his speech difficult to follow, as he tried to explain their attitude.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Ma Kiri'tare $$20

IV

Had Luis Antonio been wearing clothes, we should have pronounced him very well turned out, for he looked dark and perfectly groomed in his nudity, which was enhanced in very smart fashion by a loincloth of fiery red and a ruffle of white feathers on his right arm. In addition to his name and his knowledge of Spanish there was one other thing about him that suggested that his story might not be quite the usual one: his rotten teeth. All the Indian peoples have teeth that are very strong and brilliantly white. They are used to hard exertions on the meat the savage eats, while his fruits provide the necessary minerals, and keep their strength and colour well into old age. Luis Antonio was an exception—his teeth were no longer good: there was a long history to them, and we soon got to know it.

Uarema—Uarma, Ualema, Uadma, or Uadema were alternative forms, all very close in the Shirian pronunciation—had been a Guayca boy from the Uagna tribe. They were real warriors, forever at war with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. Battles were a regular feature of tribal life. When the arsenal of long-range weapons had been exhausted the armies would come to grips with clubs and sticks. During one such engagement the young Uarema disappeared into the forest and, finding himself lost, stayed all alone on the bank of the Merevari, living on fruit and worms. At the time he was probably no more than four or five years old, but the Guayca Indians are savages among the savages, and four or five is old enough for a boy to know what is good to eat in the forest and what isn't; where to find it; and how to catch it. While he was all by himself on a beach, getting a few little fish by striking at them with a stick, a Makiritari party came along, found him there, and took him with them. They were going down the Caura to sell canoes to the people on the rubber plantations at Maripa (which is almost on the Orinoco). The child, travelling with them, soon accustomed himself to their language and their Cassava bread.

At Maripa, one Martin Viudo, a rubber man who knew Guiana like the palm of his hand, saw the boy and prodded him as you would prod a spring chicken or a sucking-pig in a shop.

'A fine boy this,' he declared. 'But wicked. Wicked and obstinate, like all

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Saneema

with disinfectant, and from that time on examined their bodies carefully for the slightest little scratch. I daubed on a little red methylate, which thrilled them, as anything red does, and when I threw away the piece of cottonwool I had been using there was a regular fight for it, the winner using it to paint himself as he fancied.

But once I had started using the terramycin for the old man's benefit, an unforseen problem arose. When I displayed the tablet, this panacea for all ills, the patient (backed by all the crowd of onlookers) would make me a sign to swallow it myself, and then give another to him. In the beginning I thought that this indicated a lack of faith in the benign effect of the medicine, and some fear of poison. But I afterwards learned that it was something quite different, arising out of their peculiar conception of illness, which to them was virtually magic. Sickness was an evil something which got into a man's body and then did all its bad things. So it had to be chased out, by fair means or foul. You could frighten it away, as the magic-men did with their nocturnal exorcisms; or, by putting some substance in the body which irked it, you could make it take itself off. This was what the men-that-wear-clothes did. Either way set the sufferer free from the evil thing.

But if you chase a mouse from under one piece of furniture, it will run under another. In the same way, this evil thing, chased out of the sufferer's body, will straightway take refuge in the body of the man effecting the cure! Therefore the medicament must be ready in two equal doses, to protect both doctor and patient. I must have had to swallow untold numbers of tablets of that nauseating terramycin when treating the Samarati! Fortunately, I could always go a little way off on my own, with a call of nature as an excuse, and insert a finger in my throat to make myself vomit.

Indians as a rule present few cases of sickness: the process of natural selection has been at work among them from their infancy, destroying the weak and the handicapped and leaving the better endowed to survive. They do, however, suffer a good deal from intestinal infections; stomach parasites are present owing to the eating of rotten or windfall fruit; and there are various skin diseases due to a fungus growth of the type the Brazilians call 'bicho geographico' because of the resemblance of the infected part to a map. Mange, and sores of various kinds, complete the range of skin troubles.

But there remains that queen of epidemics, which I have not mentioned till now—tuberculosis. Its victims are of all ages. Living naked, night and day, with

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

a torrid sun or the cold dankness of the forest after dark, the Indians are especially subject to respiratory troubles, bronchitis and chronic catarrh being common. It must be a short step from these to tuberculosis, to judge by the widespread incidence of the latter, though it is worth recording that among the Samatari themselves the disease does not appear to have reached the same alarming proportions as among the Taurepàn of the Eastern uplands, where it is a real scourge. Their name for it is an onomatapoeic one—*tectecolò*—suggesting the coughing and catarrhal effects of any malady of the respiratory system, to which the word is applied.

They are more afraid of tuberculosis than of any war, or any surprise attack at night. Tribes infected with *tectecolò* become taboo, and by the same token immune from attack, because their enemies are more afraid of their tuberculosis than their arrows. I was told this by Uarema, who said that some time ago a party of their enemies (of unspecified origin) set out to attack them. They had already been several days on the march when they learned that the Guayca were suffering from a bad epidemic of colds and catarrh. They gave up their idea of attacking them, and returned to their own lands.

Wounds infected by insects can be quickly cured, the reason being that with these primitive Indians the defence-mechanism is vigorous and reacts immediately when assisted by antibiotics or sulphonamides. In this connection I have often determined by experiment the relative healthiness of the forest compared with the unhealthiness of the grasslands or savannah lying open to the sun. In the forest, damp and mouldering like some subterranean world, wounds rarely become infected, even if they are not kept clean.

I once fell down on a clay hillside, in the Upper Cuyuni country, with a machete in my hand. It was pouring with rain and everything was covered with mud and very slippery. The machete stuck into the ground as I fell forward, and my hand—as happens in the case of a fall like this—automatically tightened on the tool to help me regain my balance and slid along the blade, which was always kept razor-sharp. I had three fingers cut open right through the middle joint, the muscles and tendons being severed. We had nothing with us, not even a clean handkerchief. I at once closed my hand and bound up the fist with a bit of old rag. We then spent some days making our way down to the base-camp where we had our medicines and disinfectants. There I opened my fist, to find the cuts miraculously closed up, without the slightest sign of any infection. A

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

few days later my hand was completely healed, even though the tendons had been severed and the fingers partially paralysed.

Some antibiotic substance must surely be produced in great quantities in the soil of the dank forest regions: while in the grasslands the cycle of growth is altered owing to the effect of the sun's direct rays, which either destroy the culture or impede its development.

The most dangerous diseases are those which attack the young children and are naturally reflected in their mothers, too. Intestinal worms are the scourge of primitive populations and I have constantly observed that while among the Makiritari they affect the grown men as well, among the more primitive Shirians they are limited exclusively to the women and children, whose bellies are often swollen to an enormous size. Many of the children die at an early age from this, and from colics, intestinal obstruction, and suffocation.

Indians don't live long, even if they manage to survive the dangers that beset them in their early years. Like all primitive races, they develop precociously—the girls reaching womanhood at ten—and old age descends quickly upon them, their bodies being worn out by hard work, exposure to the extremes of weather, and anchylosis. Ancients are few and far between in any tribe: not more than one or two among some scores of men and women. The Indians whom we usually call old are not, in most cases, much more than forty.

In spite of this I have always believed in the existence of some super-ancient, some Methuselah of the Forest, an altogether exceptional individual whose organism has battled with and overcome every ill, achieving a high degree of immunity and resistance, and living on indefinitely. Certain experiences of mine with tribes of various races have led me to this conclusion.

IV

The Aracoa is a river of white water flowing over a bed of large granite stones. Near its mouth are huge falls where it pours over a solid sandstone shelf on its way to join the even clearer waters of the Uaraticoera, a little above the confluence of its sister stream the Quadu.

After a descent lasting several days, we were in camp on this sandstone shelf, with the roar of the falls in our ears, enjoying a feast of sunshine that everyone seemed to appreciate. Our chief preoccupations were the louse and the

722 /152 cont. /One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,
499 the Bisheasetjeti also crossed; the bridge was /153/ cut by them near the bank. Guards were placed to keep a lookout for the enemy, should he try to repair the bridge and cross it.

727 Much after this, a raid was made on Liacoatjeti by some
[721] of the Bisheasetjeti and the Majecotjeti /sic/; "Jaiyeota," one of the Majecototjeti, shot one of them and killed him. A boy of four or five years of age was captured. One of the men from Majecototjeti, "Ushiu," took the boy and cared for him. All of the children were bothering the little one, calling him enemy and acting as if they were going to shoot him. One day, after this had gone on for a while, a young man from Bisheasetjeti shot the child near the water spring. He shot the arrow so hard that it passed through him. Ushiu gave the child a funeral, but none of the other inhabitants of the aldea came to the "lloro" /weeping/, because they said, "After all, he was an enemy."

628 The two aldeas had some bad times together. Often, when
722 they were in the forest, they had to come running back, feeling
578 sick. Frequently their ribs were showing. During this time
[164] several died of a strange fever which kept the victim hot day and night without relief. Others were very sick with the fever, and it
[361] was feared that they would also die. The two aldeas of Bisheasetjeti and Majecototjeti lived together for a year, until those of Bisheasetjeti made a new "farm" /granja/ down the Orinoco, on the other side of the Manaviche River. When they separated, friction caused by some women had reached such a point that the Majecototjeti summoned the Macolimutjeti, and both of them made a raid on Bisheasetjeti to recover the wife of a Majecototjeti who had gone to live with a Bisheasetjeti. One family did not take part in this raid and by its friendly and frequent visits prevented the two aldeas from shooting at each other.

628 Another incident of friction was that a young man from
578 Majecototjeti stole a Bisheasetjeti woman from her husband.
837 When the husband had almost persuaded his wife to come back with him, the Majecototjeti man shot him in the back with a bone-pointed arrow and kept the woman. The Bisheasetjeti man was seriously wounded, but recovered.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

I tried to take some photographs of them, but they cowered back behind each other, clucking like frightened chickens, and the men gestured to me to stop. One of them, a one-eyed old man, despatched a stream of spittle from his quid into my face. 123

"*Shori! Noji!*" I protested, and laughed. I got out my comb and combed my hair and beard. He came over and examined the comb and my hair and stroked my beard. Then he, too, laughed.

"*Shori!*" he repeated.

I set about combing his crown of short bristly hair. He laughed louder and spat heartily. I slipped my arm round his shoulders and placed the view-finder of my camera against his good eye. He groaned and hopped from one foot to another, and I pressed the release. Then he laughed again and allowed himself to be photographed but he would not allow me to take pictures of the women until we had made further gifts of knives.

In the missionaries' hut, which was identical with the others, we saw the beginnings of the first Waïka dictionary. While we were there a native came up and led me to a hut where his wife was suckling a few-week's-old baby. The baby's two-year-old brother was playing in the dust with two mangy dogs as thin as a skeleton and of no recognizable breed. The child's [164] body was covered with scabs about the size of threepenny bits. Quite obviously the father expected me to do something about the affliction, and I made up my mind to give Barker some tubes of sulphonamide. Barker told me that infant mortality [165] was high among the Waïkas, adding that he had never known a child to be born or to die within the village enclosure. Since the sojourns of these people within the village were invariably brief, birth and death invariably occurred in the course of their peregrinations.

The men and youths all had deep scars on their scalps, made 142 the more conspicuous by their shaven crowns. In answer to our inquiries we were told in gestures that these came from some sort of stick or club, but whether in battle or ritual, we could not discover. (The following year King Leopoid II's [114] expedition to the same area saw similar long head-scars among Waïka women.)

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
179 [439] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[438] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[164] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[591] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

Table 2: Causes of death of 240 (adult) ancestors of the Namowei-tedi.

165
164

Stated Cause of Death[1]	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
Malaria & Epidemics	58	72	130	54.2
Dysentery, Diarrhea	16	5	21	8.8
Warfare	31	6	37	15.4
Clubfights	2	0	2	0.8
Snakebite	2	3	5	2.1
Sorcery (2)	15	10	25	10.4
Tigers	1	0	1	0.4
Chest infections	3	1	4	1.7
Hayaheri[3]	1	2	3	1.2
"Old age"	4	0	4	1.7
Pains in groin	3	0	3	1.2
Childbirth	0	3	3	1.2
Other	2	0	2	0.8
Totals:	138	102	240	99.9

[115]

1. These diagnoses were made by the Yanomamö. Some of the biological implications of these statistics have been brought to my attention by Dr. James V. Neel; I intend to discuss them in a later publication.

[73]
[163]

2. These deaths were probably due to such pathological causes as malaria. When malaria first reached epidemic proportions in some of the Yanomamö villages in the middle 1950's most of the deaths were attributed to the practice of harmful magic on the part of enemies.

3. This is a peculiar sickness associated with intense pains in the upper abdominal region; the pains may last several days. In most cases the Indians recover from this illness.

838 883 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their 836 837 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women, [554] [627] [578] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's status depends on his ability to successfully carry on clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into [104] [554] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a measure of his sexual prowess.

593 835 732 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual relations with his wife. In the village of Mõmaribõwei-tedi there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwã. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwã), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers 595 593 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

avoid the raids from the Patanowä-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with Konoreiwä's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by Konoreiwä. The entire village participated in the club fight. Konoreiwä punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the Patanowä-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the Patanowä-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the Patanowä-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

137
142
291
301
462
482
313

Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers.

462 313 [482]

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity.

593 462 [252] 593 164 [197]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kaobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yanomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yanomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

If such a duel is escalated, it usually develops into a side-slapping contest. Occasionally, the combatants will sue for the use of machetes and axes, but this is rare. If machetes are used, the object of the contest still remains the same: Injure your opponent seriously enough so that he will withdraw from the contest, but try not to draw blood. Hence, opponents strike each other with only the flat of the blade when they resort to machetes.

In some areas the Yanomamö modify the chest-pounding duel in another way: The opponents hold rocks in their clenched fists and strike their adversaries on the chest with an even more stunning blow. They try not to let the stone itself touch the flesh of the man they are fighting. Even without the use of stones, however, they are able to deliver their blows with such force that some of the participants cough up blood for days after having been in a duel.

Club fights represent the next level of violence. These can take place both within and between villages. Most of the club fights result from arguments over women, but a few of them develop out of disputes associated with food theft. Dikawä, a young man about twenty years old, came home one day and discovered a bunch of eating bananas his father, about fifty-five years old, had hung up in his house, above his hearth, to ripen in the smoke. Dikawä, however, ate a number of them without his father's permission. When his father discovered the theft, he ripped a pole out of his house and began clubbing Dikawä. Dikawä armed himself with a similar club and attacked his father, precipitating a general melee that soon involved most of the men in the village, each taking the side of the father or son, as they saw fit. In brawls such as these, many individuals join in the fighting just to keep the sides even; if a group is badly outnumbered, they will be joined by friends whose sense of fairness stimulates them to take sides, no matter what the issue is. The net result of the above fight was a number of lacerated skulls, bashed fingers, and sore shoulders. The contestants try to hit each other on the top of the head, but when the fight gets out of hand, the participants swing wildly and rarely hit their opponents on the skull. More frequently, the blow lands on the shoulder or arm.

The clubs used in these fights are, ideally, 8 to 10 feet long. They are very wiry, quite heavy, and deliver a tremendous wallop. In general shape and dimensions, they resemble pool cues, but are nearly twice as long. The club is held at the thin end, which is frequently sharpened to a long point in case the fighting escalates to spear thrusting, in which case the club is inverted and used as a pike.

Most duels start between two men, usually after one of them has been caught *en flagrante* trysting with the other's wife. The enraged husband challenges his opponent to strike him on the head with a club. He holds his own club vertically, leans against it and exposes his head for his opponent to strike. After he has sustained a blow on the head, he can then deliver one on the culprit's skull. But as soon as blood starts to flow, almost everybody rips a pole out of the house frame and joins in the fighting, supporting one or the other of the contestants.

Needless to say, the tops of most men's heads are covered with long, ugly scars of which their bearers are immensely proud. Some of them, in fact, keep their head cleanly shaved on top to display these scars, rubbing red pigment on their bare scalps to define them more precisely. Viewed from the top, the skull of an accomplished man of forty years looks like a road map, for it is criss-crossed by as many as twenty large scars (see

Fig. 5–1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the village, a brother of Kąobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

Spears are not commonly used by the Yąnamanö. A rare form of fighting, however, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the headman of one of the villages north of Kąobawä's area, took her away from him by force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
164
515

Fig. 5–1. Karïma, one of Kaobawä's daughters, picking lice out of her grandfather's battered head—his scars are from club fights. She wears decorative sticks inserted in the corners of her mouth as a beauty aid. These were inserted at about age five, together with one in the lower lip and another in the nasal septum.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowä. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5-3). Some even put on bright red loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which the younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kąobawä to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *waya itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them and left for Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä had been complaining all year of severe pains in his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked. Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *waya itou*, for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

If there are novices in the raiding party, the older men will conduct mock raids, showing them how they are to participate. A grass dummy or soft log is frequently employed in this, as was the case in the *waya itou* held in the village the day before the raiders left. Particularly young men will be positioned in the marching party somewhere in the middle of the single file of raiders so they will not be the first ones to be exposed to danger should the raiders themselves be ambushed. These young men will also be permitted to retreat first. Damowĩ had a twelve-year-old son when he was killed. This boy, Matarawĩ, was recruited into the raiding party to give him an opportunity to avenge his father's death. The older men made sure he would be exposed to minimum danger, as this was his first raid.

The separated groups of raiders approach the village at dawn and conceal themselves near the commonly used paths to the source of drinking water. They wait for the enemy to come to them. A good many of the victims of raids are shot while fetching water.

Frequently, the enemy is wary and acts defensively at all times when there is an active war going on. Only large groups of people can leave the village, and these are well armed. Raiders will not attack a large group such as this. When the enemy is found to be this cautious, the raiders have no choice but to retreat or to shoot volleys of arrows blindly into the village, hoping to strike someone at a distance. They retreat after they release their arrows, depending on the gossip of other villages to learn if their arrows did find their marks. Rarely, one of the raiders will attempt to enter the village during the night and kill someone while he sleeps. Damowĩ's younger brother allegedly accomplished this on one raid, but few men are brave enough to try it. Most of the time the raiders manage to ambush a single individual, kill him, and retreat before they are discovered. This is considered to be the most desirable outcome of the raid.

The women were nervous, frightened, and irritable while the men were away, and they were constantly on the lookout for raiders from other villages. This is always a time to suspect raiders, since allies occasionally turn on their friends when the women are poorly guarded, abducting as many as possible while their husbands are away.

After several days the women were so frustrated and anxious that fights began to break out among them. One woman got angry because another one, her sister and co-wife, left her to tend a small baby. When the mother returned, the angry one picked up a piece of firewood and bashed her on the side of her head with it, knocking her unconscious and causing her ear to bleed profusely.

The raiders had been gone almost a week when Kąobewĩ and his youngest brother staggered into the village, nearly dead from exhaustion. Kąobewĩ's pains had gotten so bad that he decided to turn back just before they reached the Patanowa-teri village. He could barely walk by that time and would not have been able to elude pursuers should the enemy have given chase. Shararaiwĩ, his brother, decided to accompany him back lest he run into a group of Patanowĩ-teri hunters, or his condition grow even more severe. Shortly after they had dropped out of the raiding party, Shararaiwĩ stepped on a snake and was bitten. The rains had started, and the snakes were beginning to concentrate on the higher grounds, making walking a hazard. His leg began to swell immediately, and he could not walk. Hence, Kąobewĩ had to carry him out on his back, despite the fact that he could barely walk himself. Carrying him for nearly two days, he managed to reach the Orinoco River. Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

/3 cont./

On the Rio Demini, slightly below the Cachoeira (rapids) Auatsinaua, is the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" (Ill. 1). From the mouth to that point is a six-day journey in a small boat with a four-horsepower outboard motor. On this long stretch there are only two dozen families. Fifty years ago the banks along the lower third were more densely settled than they are today. But malaria and a terrible beriberi epidemic, 1907/08, carried off the majority of the inhabitants. After the great forest fire which raged along the Demini in 1926, health conditions improved temporarily. In the most recent times a motor boat of the National Malaria Service travels up the Demini and Aracá once a year, and the palm-straw huts of the inhabitants are sprayed with DDT. Nevertheless, malaria still takes its toll. Often it also leads to a protracted liver ailment; above all, there is a lack of any kind of medication. A second scourge is tuberculosis, the cause of which, aside from the humid, hot climate, may probably be traced to the poor and unbalanced diet. It consists predominantly of manioc meal, small fish, the salted, sun-dried meat of the pirarucu, salted wild-pig meat, and, to a considerably smaller extent, birds and game, for the men generally do not have time to hunt. In addition, /4/ for rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, fruit and vegetables are practically unknown luxuries. As a result of the crowded life of the individual families and the lack of hygiene, children too are not free from tuberculosis. Moreover, mention must be made of a dangerous eye infection which often leads to blindness. This comes about because a fine dust is constantly trickling down from the palm-straw roofs of the huts, in which there are many insects, and it gets into the eyes of the people asleep in their hammocks. An infectious skin disease that causes light spots on the skin is also widespread. Worm and intestinal ailments occur frequently, as does syphilis. Finally, it is noteworthy that adults and children have very poor teeth. The reason for this may again probably be sought in the unbalanced diet, for all of the free Forest Indians who have more variety in their meals, have excellent teeth. Mortality is highest among the children, and next come the women, a relatively large number of whom die in childbirth since there is, of course, no medical assistance.

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Puseheweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726]

Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of la. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

[115]

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551 162 [160]

The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

/62 cont./

4. Life Cycle

842 a) Birth control

862 The number of children among both the Surára and the [63] Pakidái is very small; no woman has more than three at most. [65] Aside from the high infant mortality rate as a result of the lack of hygiene, however, this is bound up with the fact that the women must observe an interval of at least three years after each birth, as long as a child is fed with mother's milk, which, in the opinion of these Indians, prevents conception to a considerable 842 extent. If a woman nevertheless becomes pregnant, the medicine 847 men know how to prepare an abortive medicine from plant juices. The reason for birth control, I was told, is that if a child were born during the period of restriction, it would not be healthy and able to cope with life, because the mother's body would still be too weak.

843 b) Food taboos during pregnancy

Before the birth the mother must observe many food taboos in order not to harm her child. Her diet then consists primarily of the tender meat of the mutum (Crax sp.), cooked bananas, manioc flat-cakes, and a drink that is made from the nourishing, very oily pupunha fruits. If she were to eat wild-pig meat, for example, the child would be born dead; the meat of the pirarucu (Osteoglossidae, the largest fresh-water fish), which carries inside it the bad breath of the river, would make it blind, and parrot meat would make it cry constantly later on.

844 c) Birth

While giving birth, the woman kneels in front of a tree and embraces the trunk with both arms. The ground has been sprinkled with water beforehand so that it is slimy and soft. Several female members of the tribe assist the woman in labor. After the birth, two women, each with a cotton thread, tie off the umbilical cord, and a third one then bites it off. The father

Surára
Pakidái

/97 cont./

755
759
171

498. (cont.)
I should like to mention the Kaskihá Indians in the northeastern Chaco, among whom the witch doctor tries to heal the sick in the same way (Baldus, 1931, p. 143).

164

During my nine-months' stay among the Surára and Pakidái the following sicknesses occurred there: grippe, pneumonia, malaria, chicken pox, and a gastric fever; fortunately, none was fatal (499). But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,

000

165
152

499. Only the Pakidái youth Hokotómarimá died after a fall from a pupunha palm, which probably caused internal injuries (see p. 149).

123 But the two Surára women who had Pneumonia,
755
759
171

first a young woman, Xunamí, the wife of Kurikayawõ, the younger brother of the chief, and later an older woman, Xanimá, the approximately 47-year-old mother of Anyarawõ (see pp. 123/125), and a boy, Xaniwõ (see p. 127), about 12 years old, would probably not have survived without the penicillin that I had brought along, for, in spite of untiring treatment by the chief and his helpers, their condition grew worse from day to day. In the first instance, the chief, Hewemão, and the husband, Kurikayawõ, finally permitted me to give Xunamí a penicillin injection in the upper arm on two successive days, whereupon she improved dramatically (500). In the second and third cases,

500. This cure increased my reputation tremendously, so that afterward I was properly adopted into the tribe of the Surára and, on the occasion of the great festival in memory of the dead, was also permitted to drink the banana soup mixed with the bone ashes of deceased relatives (see p. 231). If the woman had died after the injection, however, the intervention could have had grave consequences for me.

/219 cont./

588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.

589 793 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 159 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá, but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 753 825 763 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle. As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica, the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle. A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people, that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for his certain death.

159 764 Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

few days later my hand was completely healed, even though the tendons had been severed and the fingers partially paralysed.

Some antibiotic substance must surely be produced in great quantities in the soil of the dank forest regions: while in the grasslands the cycle of growth is altered owing to the effect of the sun's direct rays, which either destroy the culture or impede its development.

The most dangerous diseases are those which attack the young children and are naturally reflected in their mothers, too. Intestinal worms are the scourge of primitive populations and I have constantly observed that while among the Makiritari they affect the grown men as well, among the more primitive Shirians they are limited exclusively to the women and children, whose bellies are often swollen to an enormous size. Many of the children die at an early age from this, and from colics, intestinal obstruction, and suffocation.

Indians don't live long, even if they manage to survive the dangers that beset them in their early years. Like all primitive races, they develop precociously—the girls reaching womanhood at ten—and old age descends quickly upon them, their bodies being worn out by hard work, exposure to the extremes of weather, and anchylosis. Ancients are few and far between in any tribe: not more than one or two among some scores of men and women. The Indians whom we usually call old are not, in most cases, much more than forty.

In spite of this I have always believed in the existence of some super-ancient, some Methuselah of the Forest, an altogether exceptional individual whose organism has battled with and overcome every ill, achieving a high degree of immunity and resistance, and living on indefinitely. Certain experiences of mine with tribes of various races have led me to this conclusion.

IV

The Aracoa is a river of white water flowing over a bed of large granite stones. Near its mouth are huge falls where it pours over a solid sandstone shelf on its way to join the even clearer waters of the Uaxaricoera, a little above the confluence of its sister stream the Quadu.

After a descent lasting several days, we were in camp on this sandstone shelf, with the roar of the falls in our ears, enjoying a feast of sunshine that everyone seemed to appreciate. Our chief preoccupations were the louse and the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Ua Ca

*123

This fantastic appellation sounded quite harmonious in the forest, even to Indian ears, and brought Dolfuss' followers out of their concealment, splashing through the water towards us.

[131] [101] Dolfuss belonged to the Shirians of the Uaka tribe. These are scattered over the territory bounded by the Matacuni, the Padamo and the tributary streams of the Upper Venturari. They are similar in appearance to the Pulipuli people, though rather more savage. They were very timid, and full of references to the Guayca, who they said were very active in this area, particularly in the parts we had just come from.

With Dolfuss there was an old man who was always either squatting down or else propping himself up on one leg; and two dour, surly-looking boys, who kept well away from our guns with a gleam of terror in their eyes. The next morning brought a whole host, along with women and children too, and of course we had to let them all examine our beards and rub themselves against them, and investigate other more detailed peculiarities of our anatomy. By urging the whole crowd of them on with sweeping gestures, we managed to get on our way very quickly, and a few hours later arrived on the banks of the Ocamo, a smallish river but strangely resembling the Upper Merevari. From the last high point we had been able to make out some huge flat-topped massifs, blue in the haze of distance, which must certainly have belonged to the Duida-Marahuaca group. For a moment, we hoped to come out on a patch of savannah land where we should be able to dry the damp forest mould out of ourselves and our belongings. But the Shirians told us there was no savannah in these parts.

[361] [501] [342] [162] [165] The Uaka huts were on the side of a hill, a hundred yards from the right bank of the river, which we crossed by means of a length of rotten wood, shaped like a canoe. There were three buildings, each with the single-span sloping roof, very humble affairs, so low-pitched that inside them one risked getting a beam in one's eye at any moment. There were about fifty of these people, and among them we noticed many who had reached a considerable age, which is unusual. There must have been some aspect of the Ocamo region which favoured longevity in the inhabitants. There was an 'ape-man' too—an old, solitary fellow, almost dumb, who came up to us with gurgles of amazement, not daring to touch us. However, he took one of the axes when we gave it to him and with the aid of some of the youngsters started making us a cabin.

Life with the Shirians was made extremely difficult by their petulent ways

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

I tried to take some photographs of them, but they cowered back behind each other, clucking like frightened chickens, and the men gestured to me to stop. One of them, a one-eyed old man, despatched a stream of spittle from his quid into my face. 123

"*Shori! Noji!*" I protested, and laughed. I got out my comb and combed my hair and beard. He came over and examined the comb and my hair and stroked my beard. Then he, too, laughed.

"*Shori!*" he repeated.

I set about combing his crown of short bristly hair. He laughed louder and spat heartily. I slipped my arm round his shoulders and placed the view-finder of my camera against his good eye. He groaned and hopped from one foot to another, and I pressed the release. Then he laughed again and allowed himself to be photographed but he would not allow me to take pictures of the women until we had made further gifts of knives.

In the missionaries' hut, which was identical with the others, we saw the beginnings of the first Waïka dictionary. While we were there a native came up and led me to a hut where his wife was suckling a few-week's-old baby. The baby's two-year-old brother was playing in the dust with two mangy dogs as thin as a skeleton and of no recognizable breed. The child's [164] body was covered with scabs about the size of threepenny bits. Quite obviously the father expected me to do something about the affliction, and I made up my mind to give Barker some tubes of sulphonamide. Barker told me that infant mortality [165] was high among the Waïkas, adding that he had never known a child to be born or to die within the village enclosure. Since the sojourns of these people within the village were invariably brief, birth and death invariably occurred in the course of their peregrinations.

The men and youths all had deep scars on their scalps, made 142 the more conspicuous by their shaven crowns. In answer to our inquiries we were told in gestures that these came from some sort of stick or club, but whether in battle or ritual, we could not discover. (The following year King Leopoid II's [114] expedition to the same area saw similar long head-scars among Waïka women.)

Their dependence
*628 on these allies was transformed into an im- 60
583 balance in the exchange of women between the two groups of
162
562 villages, accounting for the variation in sex-ratio given for
*624 the villages in Table 1.

*628 The degree to which each village is dependent on its
583 allies is roughly indicates in Table 1. The Reyaboböwei-tedi,
726 being closer, geographically, to the Möwäraoba-tedi, suffered
722 more from the revenge raids of the latter. In other words, they needed military aid from their own allies to a greater extent, and have, accordingly, lost far more women to their allies as a consequence. But the true situation is even more remarkable than suggested by the sex ratio for the Reyaboböwei-tedi; a large percentage of the women in their village have been abducted by them in raids against the Möwäraoba-tedi, i.e., they have actually lost more women to their allies in exchanges than is suggested by the sex-ratio alone.

*621 Again, the sex ratios for the Bisaasi-tedi and the
162
*628 Monou-tedi are misleading without additional information.
583 These two villages would seem, from Table 1, to have gained a remarkable number of women in the political alliances they
162 made with their Shamatari friends. This, however, is not the
*628 only reason they have such a high percentage of women in
*621 their populations. In 1950 these villages were victimized
726 by the Möwäraoba-tedi and the Iwahikoroba-tedi in a treacher-
627 ous feast. They lost approximately 15 men. Were two-thirds
* 165 of these men alive today, for example, the resultant sex ratios for the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi population would more accurately reflect the dominance gradient, measured

in terms of women ceded to them by the Shamatari, that they maintain over their Shamatari allies.

The sex ratio data give a rough idea, then, of the extent of female infanticide and, in addition, reflect the political relationships of the villages to each other in terms of the flow of women. Other demographic data, however, suggest that the practice of female infanticide is even higher than the sex ratios alone indicate. Table 2 gives the stated cause of death of 240 adult individuals. These individuals are related to the living members of the three villages of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi. It is immediately apparent that more men die in warfare than women,[1] implying that the frequency of female infanticide is substantially higher than the 8% suggested by sex ratio data.

There are several ways the Yąnomamö remedy their woman shortage. Young bachelors, for example, practice sodomy (bei kä bosi kuwemou, bei kä bosi waumou) with each other. These relationships develop into a 'buddy' system (äawä) and promote ties of friendship that extend into adult life. Some of my informants confidentially told me that particular young men had been known to copulate with dogs in estrus, but this was regarded with contempt by all who knew about it. Homosexuality, however, was not considered despicable, but it was thought to be infantile. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[1] Twenty-two per cent (31/138) of all male deaths were due to warfare, while only 6% (6/102) of female deaths were due to this cause.

Table 2: Causes of death of 240 (adult) ancestors of the Namowei-tedi.

• 165
164

Stated Cause of Death[1]	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
Malaria & Epidemics	58	72	130	54.2
Dysentery, Diarrhea	16	5	21	8.8
Warfare	31	6	37	15.4
Clubfights	2	0	2	0.8
Snakebite	2	3	5	2.1
Sorcery (2)	15	10	25	10.4
Tigers	1	0	1	0.4
Chest infections	3	1	4	1.7
Hayaheri[3]	1	2	3	1.2
"Old age"	4	0	4	1.7
Pains in groin	3	0	3	1.2
Childbirth	0	3	3	1.2
Other	2	0	2	0.8
Totals:	138	102	240	99.9

[115]

1. These diagnoses were made by the Yanomamö. Some of the biological implications of these statistics have been brought to my attention by Dr. James V. Neel; I intend to discuss them in a later publication.

[731]
[758]

2. These deaths were probably due to such pathological causes as malaria. When malaria first reached epidemic proportions in some of the Yanomamö villages in the middle 1950's most of the deaths were attributed to the practice of harmful magic on the part of enemies.

3. This is a peculiar sickness associated with intense pains in the upper abdominal region; the pains may last several days. In most cases the Indians recover from this illness.

593 684 the enraged husband struck his wife in the face with a burning log, severely burning her mouth. Burning is a common punishment, and many women bear immense scars from wounds inflicted by enraged husbands. Just before I left the field [578] a fight developed in Patanowä-tedi between a man and his wife's lover. The lover was killed in the fight and the woman's husband punished her by cutting off her ears with a machete. Some women have been killed by enraged husbands, [165] but in most of these cases, the deaths resulted from wounds that were not intended to be fatal.

607 613 *621 *628 [578] Despite the fact that the tie between spouses is weak, marriages create strong ties between a man and his sister's husband. This tie is of great significance in the social organization of the Yąnomamö, as it is stable, well defined, non-ambiguous and politically important. The brother-in-law (shoriwä) tie is the key link in alliances between local descent groups, both within and between villages.

607 601 The term shoriwä (brother-in-law, MoBrSo, FaSiSo, friend) is used constantly by Yąnomamö men when they address any new male acquaintance. Shoriwä implies a set of obligations and duties between the speakers. One can depend on his shoriwä for material goods and gifts, and a request for such items from a shoriwä is not easily denied: shoriwä is, in addition to goods-giver, wife-giver. The Yąnomamö use this [997] [609] [101] term for foreigners as well; they use it so frequently that the Salesian Missionaries who have recently contacted a few

The jungle provides a number of hazards to the barefoot traveler in that most species of palm have long, sharp spines protruding from their trunks or leaf stems. The most common and recurrent injury the Yąnomamö sustain is thorns in the feet. A party of ten men can rarely travel an hour without one of them stopping to extract a thorn from his foot. This is always accompanied by hisses and clicks of pain on the part of the victim, who gouges the thorn out with either an arrow point or another thorn. Their feet have thick calluses on them, but because the trails frequently cross streams and swamps, the calluses soften and are easily pierced by thorns.

Another, but rarer, hazard is snakes.[2] There are always a few cases of snake bite in each village every year, although few of them are fatal. Most snake-bite victims recover from the wound with no ill side effects. I treated two cases of snake bite that were like this. But a few bites are severe enough to cause the loss of a limb. One of my better acquaintances, a young man of some thirty years, lost a leg because of a snake bite when he was about fifteen years old, and will spend the rest of his life hopping on one leg, a form of locomotion he has mastered so thoroughly that he almost manages to keep up with the group when they visit other villages.

Most of the intervillage traveling is done from September through April, the dry season. For the remainder of the year the trails, or substantial portions of them, are underwater. At this time the rains are frequent and heavy, and the small streams that can be easily crossed on foot in the dry season become impassable torrents. Small lakes replace the marshy low ground, and communication between villages all but ceases. As the Yąnomamö are an inland people and avoid locating their villages near large streams, all travel is done on foot, and each village becomes an isolated entity at the peak of the wet season (June).[3] If the group must travel, it will make simple vine and pole bridges over the smaller streams. A pair of slender poles is stuck into the river and crossed to form an X-frame. Vines are used to lash the poles together where they intersect, and another pole is laid from the bank to the X-frame, also secured by vines. Then another pair of poles is stuck into the stream and lashed to form another X-frame. The long pole is then extended out further from the bank, and so on, until the stream is bridged. A vine railing is attached to the protruding members of the X-frames. The bridges usually last only a short time. The first heavy rain will swell the stream and the current will wash it away.

TECHNOLOGY Much of Yąnomamö technology is like the pole-and-vine bridge: crude, but very effective, and not destined to last for any great period of time. The only durable artifact produced is a crude, poorly fired clay pot. It is nearly an inch thick at the bottom and tapers to almost nothing at the brim. Consequently, it breaks very easily. For this reason, women, regarded as clumsy, are rarely allowed to touch or handle them. When the clay pots are used, the men do the cooking, as, for example, during feasts. The pot is made by the coil technique: The untempered clay is kneaded to the proper consistency by hand, rolled into long, slender ropes, and these, in turn, placed on top of each other to form a continuous rope of clay. The coils are then scraped flat so that the interior and exterior of the pot are smooth. The conical-shaped pot is allowed to dry in the shade, then fired by placing brush and wood over it. The end product is

[2] Two percent of all adult deaths are due to snake bite; 54 percent are due to malaria, and other epidemic diseases (Chagnon 1966) and 24 percent of adult males die in warfare.

[3] The Yąnomamö began moving their villages out to navigable rivers after 1951. Up to that time there was only one village, Mahekodo-teri, located on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3-3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebawä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3-3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Shaneaiwi, Kaobawi's youngest brother, helped build Kaobawi's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kaobawi's younger wife. Kaobawi's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kaobawi's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yanomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the pervious evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hushiwa* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kaobawi's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

/119 cont./

000 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the
621 multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation --
431 is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but, on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance.
621 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion,
166 namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements, which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a
[361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their
[342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried children. The new place is chosen according to the
262 possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting;
245 nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this
194 migration, for even during this period they continue to live from
166 the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent
[222] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on
[224] gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the past.

/120 cont./

621 166 241 These periodically recurring radial movements from a fixed center (the village with its planting) do not affect, in sociological respects, the substance of the village: normally the whole village migrates. In this respect, however, it is different with regard to a second type of village movement, which is not characterized by the going back and forth of the short forest-sojourns, but rather takes place over longer periods of time and only in one direction. The Waika live only about five years from one planting and then move to a new one laid out beforehand, which is usually about a day's journey away. Practically every village known to us has an old and a new planting, for since the chonta palm (Guilielma gasipaes), still cultivated today and useful in many ways, has a different life span than the various types of bananas, overlapping in the utilization of the plantings cannot be [173] avoided. If a newly established planting is bearing enough bananas, the whole village is moved to the new planting: the names and the site of earlier plantings are remembered exactly, however, so that from this the history of each individual village, i.e., its shifting in Waika territory, and consequently the history of the Waika themselves in their territorial aspect, can be reconstructed 621 for two to three generations. Such a move to a new place, how- 166 ever, is also the occasion for changes in the composition of the 161 village, for a split as a rule, for in the meantime, because of the 173 enormous /121/ surplus of births, which the Waika have to register today, the village has grown far beyond the limit of the number of persons that can be governed well under their institution-poor system. The partition of the village is not done at discretion, but exactly along the lines of separation indicated by the above- [431] mentioned composition by groups of families. One or more groups [182] of families are the bearers of the new villages, and the memory of the way the new village was founded by the union of several groups of families is ceremonially represented as shown, in the gift-exchange.

/121 cont./

166 221 241 182 Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun planting, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

162 621 182 174 The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

105 621 182 Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social unit of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural

Pakidái
Surára

/61 cont./

622 together for several years, both in the sierra during the dry season
619 and at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá during the
624 rainy season. In the long run, however, the war chief Porõhiwõ did not like this, and there were also differences of opinion with the young chief, so he and his brother Kaxiribewõ, with their families temporarily withdrew from the tribe and remained alone in Taraquá, the Pakidái maloka on the middle Demini.

As a result of the youthful exuberance of the not yet fully mature Pakidái chief Karenauõ, the previously good relationship between the Surára and Pakidái was unfortunately slightly disturbed. Yet Karenauõ really had every reason to be grateful to Hewemão.

769 The discord began in March 1956 during the great festival
619 in memory of the dead, which the Surára as hosts and the Pakidái
622 as guests always celebrate together, and in which some friendly Pusheweteri and Xiriána families also took part. During this gathering it is customary for Hewemão to be acknowledged as the head by the guests, even by their chiefs, and for his orders to be followed. Young Karenauõ, however, refused to do this. He suddenly felt himself very strong because the member of Pakidái, of course, is considerably larger than that of the Surára. The rivalry between the chiefs increased from day to day and extended even to the members of the two tribes. It was only thanks to the magnanimous, wise attitude of Hewemão and the mediation of the chief of the Pakidái, Porõhiwõ, who returned to his tribe and exerted great influence, that greater tensions or even military encounters could be avoided. This was only to be welcomed, for there is a long, traditional friendship between the two tribes, which has deepened consanguineously as a result of intermarriages.

●(166) When the festival was over, at the end of March 1956, the Pakidái again moved to /62/ Taraquá on the middle Demini and the Surára to the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá. But at this point I was to experience a great surprise. Three Pakidái men, with their families, no longer followed their chief Karenauõ, but joined Hewemão and thus actually emigrated to the Surára.

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center [361] of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka [622] is erected. This roca (forest clearing) -- hikarf --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, carš, cotton, [462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

[184]

368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since [134] the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132]

369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

241 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond
36 the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several
166 times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka 245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

241 166 361 It is worth mentioning that at present in the course of one year the Surára as well as the Pakidái regularly carry on their field work in two places that are far apart. During the rainy season, April-September, the Surára, as is well known, live at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá and the Pakidái on a right tributary of the middle Demini, where they also own fields. On the other hand, they spend the summer season together in the large, open Surára maloka (between the Demini and Aracá rivers), around which was laid out a roça which was large enough to be divided among the Surára and Pakidái families. Thus, both tribes always have the benefit of abundant harvests at their permanent dwelling sites. In addition, there are the bananas and pupunha fruits of the abandoned fields, to which the entire tribe travels at the time of this harvest, or gathering expeditions are undertaken to bring in chestnuts, inga, and other kinds of wild fruits.

241 423 Since, however, on account of the seminomadic way of life of these Indians, one forest clearing or another is left untended for shorter or longer periods, there is the danger that in the meantime members of hostile tribes will break in and take possession of the produce there. Provision is made for this, however. Before the tribe leaves one of its clearings, a few men commissioned by the chief stick several wooden arrow points and thorns of the pupunha palm, coated with poison, into the ground and put leaves over them. Hostile Indians with plunder in view therefore risk the danger of running these into their legs (370).

[291] 370. All Indians of this region go barefoot.

[184] As I was told, this custom is resorted to by all Yanomámi tribes, and for this reason no Indian would ever think of setting foot on the deserted clearing of another tribe (371).

[114] 371. This hint may be of the greatest importance for research travelers who want to work in this region.

/461 cont./

361 Regardless of what type of dwelling has been built in the set-
• 166 tlement near the "conuco," it is the custom of the Guaika that all leave the settlement after a stay of three to six weeks, when they go off either to visit other settlements or to build another temporary seat within the forest, several miles away from their "conuco."

The groups which have semipermanent dwellings return to the same site and to their same dwellings, while those who use only temporary dwellings settle down in another new locality and build new dwellings, for which they have brought the leaves which roofed the ranchos abandoned on the former site. After an old settlement has not been occupied for at least six months the Indians who return from one of these trips in the forest will sometimes stay in such settlements. The "niguas" will have disappeared during this period of six months.

On any site to which the Guaika habitually return, the trees are sooner or later destroyed, leaving the area of the settlement completely cleared.

342 The Guaika build temporary shelters during their hunting trips, and also when they stop overnight while traveling to visit other settlements or on the return trips from such visits. The type of construction is the same as that of the temporary dwellings built on the sites near the "conuco," except that the covering of the roofs consists of easily found large leaves, such as those of the wild platano.

241 The Guaika are continually preparing new "conucos." After a
361 new "conuco" some distance away begins to produce, they may divide their time between both "conucos" in proportion to the quantity of platanos which the old and new "conuco" are producing. Then, as the old "conuco" ceases to produce, they begin to live almost entirely on the new site. But during the harvest /462/ the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm, they spend some time near the "conucos" which have stopped producing platanos, where in contrast, the "pijiguao" palm is at its best time.

If a Guaika family wants to change its place of residence for another settlement, all of the new "conucos" of this family will be prepared in or near that settlement. Thus, after a few years, this family can spend all of its time in its new place of residence, in the other settlement, if this is desired.

/468 cont./

Traveling and Transportation

487 They make almost all their trips on foot by paths and trails. Bridges are built over the largest rivers. Other rivers are waded or crossed on tree trunks.

/469/ New paths are marked by breaking branches in passing. On old roads they indicate the path or paths which have not been taken, leaving some object or a little pile of leaves at the entrance of same. A stick may be tied to an abandoned dwelling to indicate in what direction the former occupant has moved. 621 (A settlement may split up into groups when it abandons the 166 site in the area of the "conuco," and therefore this sign does not necessarily mean that the entire settlement has gone off in that direction.)

• 166 The Guaika /Waica/ travel frequently, but generally not 628 very far. The nearest settlement -- perhaps a day away -- is usually as far as they go. The settlement beyond this might be an enemy settlement, or at least not very friendly. Even neighboring settlements have such bad relations with one another that 628 they rarely visit among themselves. But the settlements which 574 are on friendly terms visit each other very frequently, and, when both live in the areas of the conucos, visitors come and go between them every few days.

574 The reasons for visiting are principally to see friends or to stay until their own "conuco" (which might be in a period of little production) begins to produce again.

Standards of Living

513 The Guaika /Waica/ consider it essential to sleep every [349] night under a roof. Thus, they always build some sort of shelter.

A fire is also essential. A Guaika will not sleep without [354] a fire at night. He needs it to obtain heat and to protect himself from animals, and with the fire he feels safer from evil spirits.

/152/

574 628 721 [262] [411] The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti accepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 731 [499] The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food. They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 411 721 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was abandoned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

166 722 628

One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

000

/156 cont./

721 123 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. [302] [574] [822] But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and [412] fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people [361] of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

166 361 721 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 361 [114] In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit, fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having [226] [411] [859] fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /187/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying 726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

/164 cont./

729 new place located several hundred meters away. The matadores
783 went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained some distance away. They could not touch anything that they
[413] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the
[352] trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days, until the matadores thought the ciclo /cycle, term/ completed.

726 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place. The first aldea into which they penetrated was empty, and so was the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the principal aldea. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bishbasetjeti began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed. /Illustration appears here./

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River. The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

● 166 Since they had fallen out with the Liacoatjeti, the
361 Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north side.

a newly planted sucker, the more quickly it will bear fruit. Hence, if the Yąnomamö wish to establish a garden that will produce a crop in the shortest period of time, they must plant large cuttings. These can weigh up to 10 pounds each, and transportation of the cuttings becomes a tremendous task.

As will be made clear later, most long moves are usually stimulated by warfare, and the group is under some pressure to establish a new garden as quickly as possible. The Yąnomamö can speed up their schedule of abandoning an area by taking temporary refuge in the village of an ally, by planting crops other than plantains that mature quickly and produce high yields, or by anticipating a serious war and getting an early start on their new garden. When Kąobawä's group was forced to abandon one of its locations because of a war, the group took refuge with an ally and established its new garden near the ally's village. One of the consequences of these factors is that newly established gardens produce their crops in cycles so that there will be periods of plenty interrupted by periods of hunger. After a few years, the garden will mature and produce constantly. The periods of hunger are eased by planting rapidly developing crops such as maize and by working constantly at transplanting the secondary plantain shoots as they appear. Thus, gardening activities vary largely with the relative maturity of the garden and the length of time the people have been living at that site. Once the plantains are producing constantly, other crops are not cultivated as intensively as before. But whatever the Yąnomamö are eating in a given village, they are striving to get their gardens to produce a constant supply of plantains. The fact that a given village may be relying very heavily on maize at some point in time may reflect no more than the fact that the garden is relatively new and the plantains have not yet begun producing constantly.

After a site has been occupied a few years, gardening activities take on a more regular pattern. The "rectum" (*hei kä hasi*) of the garden is gradually abandoned, and a new "nose" (*hei kä hashibö*) is added by clearing adjacent land and transplanting crops. Thus, a garden has a direction—it moves, little by little. Sometimes there will be as many as three or four discrete gardens around a village, all of them producing more or less continuously. The older ones are gradually abandoned because it is simply easier to clear new land than to attempt to weed the thorny underbrush out of the old site. If you have ever attempted to clear prickly brush without wearing protective clothing, you should immediately see the wisdom of the Yąnomamö choice.

In an established garden site, labor follows a more regular pattern. The dry season is usually the time for feasting, visiting, trading, and warfare. Gardening activities are at a minimum at this time of year, but the ambitious will try to work a few hours each day at weeding, transplanting, and burning brush. Most of the heavy labor of felling large trees is restricted to the wet season, when it is cloudy and generally cooler, and the demands of feasting and dancing do not interfere with the work. Still, practical considerations are more important than a fixed schedule of work, and if the gardens are producing insufficient quantities of food, the Yąnomamö will expand their gardens at any time of the year.

GARDEN PRODUCTS Each man's garden contains three or four varieties of both plantains and bananas. The larger portion of the cultivated land will contain plantains, as they produce a higher yield than bananas. The garden will also have a sizeable patch of sweet manioc, a root crop that is boiled or refined into a rough flour by grinding it on a rock and then converting the flour into thick, round cakes of baked cassava bread.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*621 *623 Village size is an important factor in determining the degree to which a Yąnomamö group must depend on its neighbors for military support in the face of raids. Small villages must make alliances to survive. Village size, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, ranges *621 701 722 from 40 to 250 inhabitants. Approximately one-third of the village consists of males who are able to participate in the raiding, that is, men who are between 17 and 40 years old. The tactics of warfare are such that a village must be able to field a raiding party of approximately 10 men in order to be able to raid effectively. In addition, when the raiders are away, there must always be a few men at home to protect the women and children. Thus, the military requirements alone seem to demand that a village have at least 15 able-bodied men. As these represent about a third of the group, the minimum village size required by the raiding techniques is 40 to 50 people. I have never seen a village fall below this size in an area where raiding is active, and virtually every village split I investigated took place only when each of the resulting groups contained 40 or more people.

*621 721 .726 The upper limit to village size is also determined in large measure by the intensity of warfare. The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has over 200 people. It was being raided actively by about a dozen different groups while I conducted my fieldwork, groups that raided it about twenty-five times in a period of fifteen months. The Patanowä-teri at one time had split into three groups of about equal size, but raids from their enemies forced them to reunite for common defense. In general, a village will fission after it [578] reaches a population of about 150 because internal feuds and fights are so frequent that peace can only be maintained with great difficulty. A village of 100 individuals, for example, can fission to produce two militarily viable groups of about 50 people each. Only the threat of raids from powerful neighbors will, as in the case of the Patanowä-teri, inhibit the fissioning, and frequently the fission groups will reunite in a single village to fend off the raids of their enemies.

[628] But a small group of 40 to 50 people is not as viable as a group twice that size. Consequently, it enters into alliances with its neighbors.

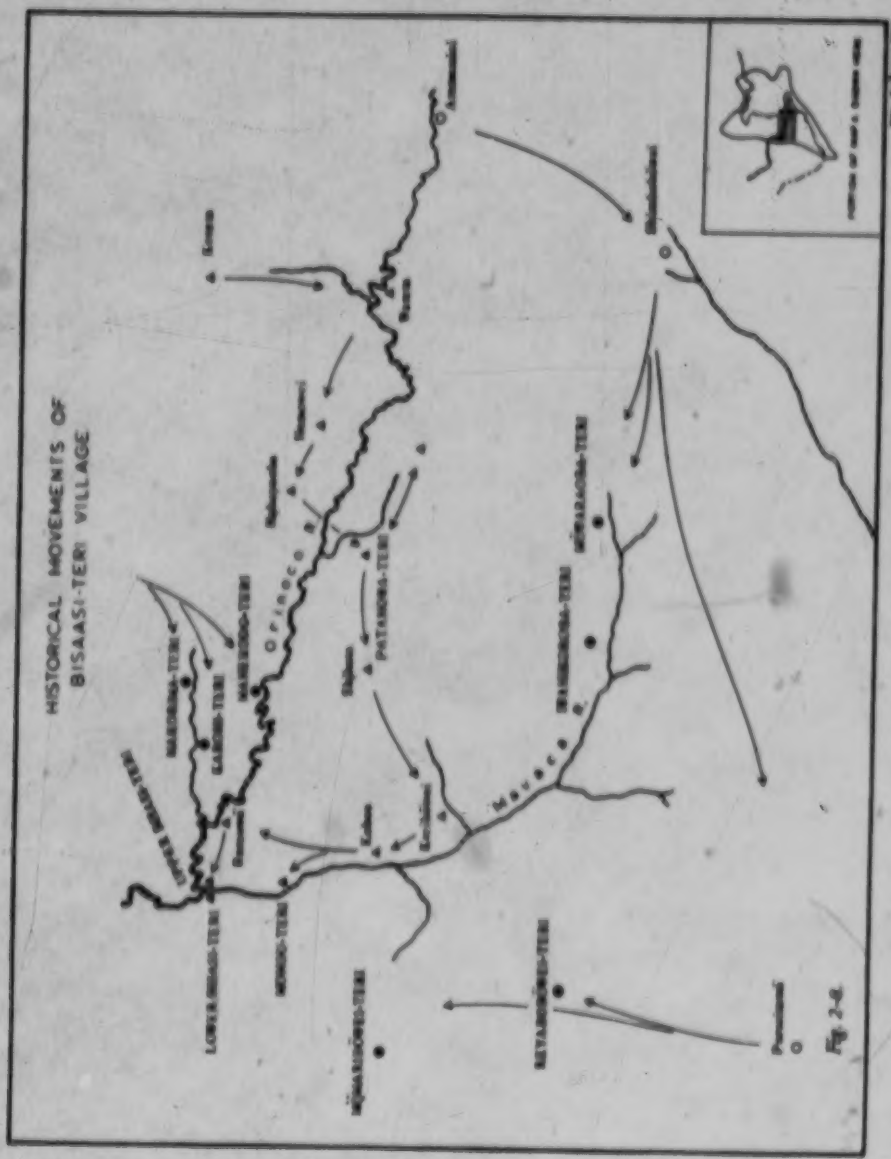
*621 582 166 FISSION AND SETTLEMENT There is a tendency for the group to attempt to maximize its size after it becomes an independent entity. This is done by trying to keep all marriages within the group so that there is very little migration of young men and women to other villages after marriage. A small group also welcomes the addition of families from other villages, families that have gotten into fights in their own group and who prefer to leave rather than attempt to patch up their grievances with their kinsmen. Finally, the group tries to attract young men and women from other villages, encouraging them to settle permanently in the group. Rerebawä, for example, is under considerable pressure to remain permanently in Kąobawä's group.

*621 578 837 As the village grows in size and varies in composition, it becomes increasingly difficult to keep order and peace. Extramarital sexual liaisons are more frequent in larger villages, because the probability is lower that the affairs will be discovered. When the Monou-teri rejoined Kąobawä's group to avoid the raids of their enemies, a bloody club fight developed between two men of that village over an affair one of them had with the other's wife. The culprit waited until the group joined Kąobawä's village before approaching the woman, thinking that with so many people in one village he would not be caught.

By the time a village approaches 100 to 150 people, such fights over women are

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ16 Yanoama SQ18

102
138
361
166



Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/8 cont./

114
174
101

41. (cont.)

pp. 8, 24, 52; Ribeiro, 1957, p. 99) have already become current. Nevertheless, I incline to the view that in the case of the Xiriána it is a matter of one and the same large, widely scattered Yanonámi tribe. The material and spiritual culture of the Xiriána with whom the Surára and Pakidái are allied (the latter and the Xiriána whom I met among them themselves regularly accent the first a) corresponds perfectly with the one that Koch-Grünberg calls "Schirianá." The latter points out in one work that "Schirianá" is their self-designation, while "Schirischána" is a name which their neighbors and mortal enemies, the "Maquiritáres," gave them (Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 454). It should also be mentioned that the designation "Shrirana," according to Vinci, is a Makuxí /Macusi/ word (Vinci, 1956, p. 107).

160 In 1939, the
648 Waiká, too, gave up this maloka and moved to the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini. Here, at the beginning of the year 1956, at the time of my stay among the Surára, they were attacked by a Xiriána tribe and destroyed. Surára warriors told me that all the Waiká men were killed and the women and girls were taken captives.

101
114 As inhabitants of the Rio Aracá, Nimuendajú entered on the above-mentioned map of this region (see p. 16), with the date of 1874, the Bahuana, an Aruak tribe. With reference to this, the Surára chief remarked that this tribe also goes by the proper name of Pootarí and was an enemy of the Surára, Pakidái, Xiriána, etc.; at the present time it lives in the source region of the Aracá.

Sanema
Warao 5518
Saliva 5515
Bari 5513

/180 cont./

The Barf suffered greatly from the Yupa, the Piaroa and Warao from the Caribe, but these sufferings were minimal compared to the oppression to which other tribes were subjected by the Whites. The Yanoama have been attacked for hundreds of years by the Caribe, who surrounded their territory with a semicircle along the north; the Yanoama endured something similar from the Arawak, who surrounded them in a semicircle along the south. But all in all, the White has not been very successful so far in approaching this primitive population and his destructive influence has not affected their ancestral customs. The Caribe and Arawak have declined gradually in vigor and numbers; now we are witnesses of the triumph of the Yanoama over their neighbors of a more refined culture, for not only did they defend their territory, but were successful in spreading to the north and west.

The strongest and most efficacious ally of the Yanoama has been the Cordillera de Parima, together with the dense tropical selva of the Territorio Amazonas. In the /181/ fateful period of persecution they have always found a safe refuge in the protecting selva. Nevertheless, as of relatively recent times, the different Yanoama subtribes are beginning to realize that the space beyond the conventional boundaries of their tribal territory is sparsely populated, almost deserted. The number of their traditional enemies has diminished considerably, and the invasions of their territory have had practically no consequences. In this manner they have gained almost 100 kilometers to the north of the Sierra de Pacarima, where the Casapare now live on the Upper Paragua, and the northern group of the Sanemá on the headwaters of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura rivers.

The center of distribution of the Casapare is located to the south of the Sierra Pacarima in the basin of the Río Branco. We know this Yanoama subtribe only through a few sporadic superficial contacts, and the people, as well as their territory, remain practically unknown. For this reason we consider the name Casapare with which we designated all the Yanoama in the zone of study as strictly preliminary, and we would not be surprised if we had to change it in the future for a more exact and adequate

name.

000
Y
648 /182 cont./ the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía. The Yanoama, however, by their own strength, were able to contain the advance of the Caribe in the northeastern part of their territory.

M
Y
114
648 The massacre of the Indians to which we have made reference above was pointed out by Schomburgk (1841), who visited this land around 1839, /183/ and his data constitute the first report regarding the Yanoama of the north. Schomburgk had crossed the Sierra Pacarima when, on the way to the sources of the Orinoco, he found the Makiritare in the grip of great panic. The Yanoama, possibly a group of Waica, had killed a number of Makiritare who had been on their way to the Yanoama rancherías in order to establish commercial relations with them. A short time after that horrible massacre, the same Yanoama attacked a Makiritare rancheria with the intent of exterminating all its inhabitants. This event marked the date of the withdrawal of all the Makiritare south of this zone. Even the Caribe companions who were with Schomburgk accompanied them on their flight, abandoning him with his baggage a short distance from the sources of the Orinoco. It is easy to understand Schomburgk's emotional state, bordering on desperation, on finding himself so close to his goal without being able to reach it.

M
[361]
[167]

Y
114 On the upper Uraricuera, in the region of the Sierra Marutani, Schomburgk came upon a conuco /cultivated area/ of the "Kirishanas," whom he described as nomad Indians who depended primarily on hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild fruits for their basic sustenance; some, however, cultivated small plantings of bitter yuca and peppers (Schomburgk, 1841, p. 417). Seventy-two years after this first report, Koch-Grünberg, in December of 1911, once again established brief communication with the Yanoama of this zone, and his information constituted, until a few years ago, the most important material on the Yanoama in general. Koch-Grünberg met representatives of two distinct groups. The first group (Casapare), which he found at the Purumamé Falls, lived at that time on the upper Uraricaparú, although it had only recently arrived in that region from the Uraricuera, above the island of Maraca. That was the place where they took by surprise all the Indians whom they robbed and killed.

Y
[131]
[167]

Y
[121]

Sanema
Casapare
Pemon 5516

/[illegible] cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricaparú River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Marí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

Avake 555

/186 cont./
Y 114 797 162 indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1944, p. 87) they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

/187/ This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled Y 162 •167 114 over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history Y [361] of the Yanoama. Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Pumpiví, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent A date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present [167] volume only in the last decades. The marginal tribes, such as [648] the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Y 101 Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Uraricuera River starts.

Y 491 241 According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail.

Y /189 cont./
174
101 The expansion of the Sanemá to the north, that is, from the Padamo to the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, is relatively recent, but, to judge from the data given us by glottochronology, the separation of the various groups of the subcribe corresponds to 600-1,700 years. We established contact with three northern groups of the Sanemá: the Nabudub of the upper Ventuari, the Taclaudub of the upper Caura, and the Pubmatari of the Canaracuni. They apparently represent Sanemá groups which are quite well established, and the internal distance of this linguistic family is, in a way, surprising.

Y
101 The Sanemá of the Padamo and of the upper Orinoco are
184 practically unknown to science, and it is expected that the cultural difference between them and their brothers who live north of 4° and in close contact with the Makiritare is relatively pronounced.

Y
101 The geographic separation of the Sanemá into a southern
648 group and another northern one is recent and is due to the fact
167 that in 1947 Captain Cardona had to make a landing field on the Canaracuni (personal communication), and, since there were no Indians in the zone to help him in his venture, he went to Brazil and brought the first Sanemá to this region of Venezuela.

Y
167 This date marks the beginning of the infiltration of the Yanoama element on a larger scale into the land of the Makiritare, their
Y M
643 neighbors on the northwest, with whom they have lived in deep enmity from remote times. While the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma still do not tolerate large groups of Yanoama in their territory, those of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura live in close contact
Y M
[179] with large groups of the Sanemá subtribe. This was the way in which Makiritare culture of the tropical selva type penetrated to that essentially /190/ preagricultural tribe composed of hunters
Y M
648 and gatherers with a very rudimentary culture. The Sanemá received extremely bad treatment at the hands of the Makiritare, comparable to that received by a slave at the hands of his master, for which reason toward the year 1950 the Sanemá revolted against
4 the Makiritare and declared a war without quarter against them.
[411] It was then that the different Makiritare subtribes united to repulse the Sanemá, whom they conquered in various encounters, thanks to their fire-arms.

Makiritare SS 20

M Y 648 /190 cont./ scorn them, and, at first sight, they seemed to be unworried, but the knowledge that they no longer live alone in the land of their fathers, and the fact of having heard that four days prior to our arrival /191/ at the conuco an Indian who had sought refuge by climbing a tree was shot by a Sanemá arrow and fell lifeless into the river, constantly tortured them.

M 7 582 563 177 648 M [186] A powerful stimulus which always encouraged the Makiritare on their numerous trips was to get a wife among their neighbors of the same tribe. Nowadays, despite the intense scorn which the Makiritare profess toward the Yanoama, taking a wife from that tribe is not considered an impossible or degrading thing: there are many Yanoama women who have married Makiritare men (cf. Grelier, 1955b, p. 10). This matrimonial interchange inevitably carries with it an assimilation of cultures between the two tribes, a process in which the Makiritare cultural pattern will dominate that of the Yanoama and the Yanoama genes will infiltrate the Makiritare gene pool. There is not the least doubt but that the Sanemá, who were brought in for a short time, arrived at the upper Ventuari and Caura where they took up residence to stay, and that the present fusion between the Caribe and the Yanoama ought not to be explained so much by the good will of the former as by the vitality of the latter.

Y ● 167 563 177 648 Y 101 The Waica subtribe occupies the central part of the present Yanoama territory, that of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the mouth of the Ocamo, including also the southern bank of the river (Barker, 1953, p. 434). As we have already mentioned, they appear to live also in the general arc of the upper Rio Branco and its western tributaries, and Schuster (1958, p. 114) is very probably right when he says that the Sierra Parima does not bound the Waica zone, but that it extends to Brazilian territory.

Y [77] 797 We have already mentioned the first contacts which the Whites had with the Waica, and, after a somewhat unfruitful effort by Hamilton Rice at the beginning of the present century, the Waica world went without contact with science until the New Tribes Mission was able to start peaceful relations with the Waica through the missionary James Paul Barker. Y 114 Some ethnographic data were also published on this Yanoama subtribe by several

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manuera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shiriana.'

We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uasa-Coco, Canaua, and Uagua. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

Manuera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

Guiano-Amazonas district of Venezuela, is neither so simple nor clear-cut as it at first appears. None of the Indians of the Guianian highlands are natural settlers. The more primitive groups, who live entirely from cropping the forest, fishing and hunting, are compelled to lead wandering lives; and those who practise agriculture and live in villages are ever ready for a change of scene. These things, allied to an ingrained migratory instinct, lead them to keep moving about the country throughout their lives.

More Guaharibos from the Padamo

On the afternoon of May 25th another party of Guaharibos arrived at Esmeralda. I was approaching the jetty in one of the boats when I heard Francisco shouting from the other bank. It was nothing new to hear Francisco's bellowing; whenever he had killed a tapir that was too heavy for him to carry alone, or when the day's bag was too big to be loaded on his minute *curiara*, he would give tongue in this manner. I turned back to join him and as I did so he pointed with a paddle to an Indian craft which till then had been hidden from me by the bank-side vegetation. I steered towards it, standing up in the boat and making gestures of welcome and friendship. For an answer two men stood up timidly in their boat as I went over to them and circled round them. Their craft, which rocked buoyantly in my wash, was built of a single strip of bark. It was similar to the one the children had left behind them, but bigger and contained thirteen people. Then I led them back to the landing-stage.

The official reception of these people we left to Butrón, who had a wonderful gift for this sort of thing. He quickly had some machetes brought out as gift-offerings. Of the boat's crew nine were young men in their teens, two of whom had their faces blackened with charcoal. Among them was Mopare, the eldest of our first visitors. Two children of about six and two young women tried to efface themselves against the bottom of the boat. The youths wore some cotton material round their middles which was secured back and front by a belt of string. The women wore a sort of fringed apron no more than a few inches across.

343 /11 cont./ Moreover, it should be mentioned that
342 between the chief's house and the windscreen that is 24.80 meters
361 long there stands a four-meter-long, rectangular, open gabled-hut, the rooster coop (Ill. 7). /12/ /Fig. 1 appears here./

342 /13/ The three windscreens are built as follows: Toward the interior, posts 3.30-3.60 meters high are set up at irregular intervals. Behind them, at intervals of 2.60 meters, stand smaller posts which are about 1.20 meters high. The front and rear posts are joined by strips which are allowed to project about two
[824] meters at the top. Here, too, cipó-titica, a type of liana, serves for fastening them. Over these strips, at intervals of 50-70 centimeters, 31-35 thinner cross-strips are laid, which produces a windscreen construction. In contrast to the lean-to type of hut described above, these are genuine, albeit specially large windscreens, for they touch the ground on one side. They are about seven meters deep and the height of the roof is up to six meters.
[824] For roof covering the leaves of the ubim palm (Geonoma sp.) are
[171] used, the "tiles" of the Amazon. The rubber gatherers, the palm-fiber gatherers, the planters, and woodcutters also use these leaves as roof and wall covering, the durability of which is four to five years.

824 The ubim palm, which is very common in the Demini-Aracá area, reaches a height of only 1.50-2 meters. The leaves are 80 centimeters to one meter long and from 25 to 30 centimeters
[461] wide. The gathering of these is quite strenuous and demands four to five hours of hard work. They are cut off or broken off and at first laid on top of one another in piles. When the Indian has gathered enough leaves, he clears a small rectangular place in the forest for a distance of about four meters. At this distance he thrusts three sticks, one meter high, into the ground on either side directly opposite one another. These are joined together with lianas. Then piles of eight to ten leaves are placed next to one another over the three liana strips. When he comes to the end, the Indian places additional piles of eight to ten leaves in the interspaces, but this time with the stem pointing toward the opposite side. He repeats this several times until finally all the gathered

[Text Continues on P. 28]

342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters. In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
354 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc.,
231 are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
342 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50 centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
[174] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
[171] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Prikel, of Santarem, similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Prikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[177] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is 9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

/15 cont./

342 large posts. On each of the two narrow sides of the three tall middle posts, 11 thin sticks are attached, organ-fashion, between the supported horizontal poles and form the two gable faces. [824] Here, too, cipó-titica is used exclusively as the lashing material. To the right on the front broad-side and to the left on the rear one there is a small entrance only one meter high and one meter wide. After the framework is completed (Ill. 8), the panos (rectangular mats made out of the leaves of the ubim palm) are again laid over one another on the roof, like shingles, and fastened to the rafters. It is the same technique as has already been described in the construction of the large, open maloka. The upper part of the two gable sides is left open so that light may penetrate into the interior of the house and the smoke be carried off. The walls, too, are completely covered with panos, and in front of the entrances palm-leaf mats that can be drawn back are hung by means of lianas. Inside the house, the center part is left free for holding festivals and dances, while the families, in the same way as in the open maloka, live comparatively close to the wall, one [622] family beside the other. For the chief and his family a particularly large space is reserved on the side toward the river.

342 • 171 114 The astonishing fact in this form of house is that the ground plan is circular whereas the roof is gable-shaped. Ordinarily for houses with a circular ground-plan, the conical roof is characteristic, as Olga Coudreau (54) and Koch-Grünberg (55) have shown

54. Olga Courdreau, 1903, p. 121.

55. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 18 and Pl. 2 (1a, 1b, 2a, 2b).

for Karaiben /Carib/ tribes. In this case, one or at most two center posts are used. Koch-Grünberg also mentions, to be sure, a construction with three and writes: "If the two center posts are set farther apart or if, instead of two center posts, three or more are used, /16/ the ridge is lengthened and the circular ground-plan gradually becomes an elliptical one" (56).

56. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22 and Pl. 2 (4).

491 499 184 These bridges are nothing new, for they were already mentioned in similar form by Alexander von Humboldt from the Raudal de Guaharibos (60). An absolutely classic description of

60. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 111, 112, 119.

this method of construction observed among the Guaharibo is given by Chaffanjon: "Finally, toward half-past four in the evening we discover a sort of lake with a rayol, at the end of which some branches, regularly placed across the stream, attract our attention; planted between crevices in the rocks, they form a foot-bridge. For constructions of this type, the Indians wait until the river is very low. They look for branches or young trunks of single growth, such as are often encountered in the forest. The thickness varies from 12 to 15 centimeters in diameter, the length differs according to the depth of the water. The posts which we examine do not exceed four meters in length; they are, like all the branches, either broken off or burned; none bears any trace of ax or knife. The supports in an X, set at intervals, have their forks joined by cross-pieces both at the lower part and at the upper part. The whole is firmly fastened with very resistant lianas. In order to make the supports planted in the crevices or between the rocks more secure, they are tied to trees along the bank, which gives them the appearance of a hanging bridge. The Indians walk along the two lower cross-pieces and use the upper one as a handrail" /translated from the French/ (61). Such bridges

491 184 ● 171

61. Chaffanjon, 1889, p. 311 and illustration, p. 309.

are further documented by Koch-Grünberg for the Taulipáng (62)

62. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 78, and Ill. 6.

and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Samatari

/17 cont./

411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 curatella (Cecropia peltata), which gives the bow a beautiful,
137 shiny appearance.
824 The bowstring -- penahitábe --, which consists of three
411 strands of curauá (Bromeliaceae) fiber strings twisted to the right,
283 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66).

66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semi-circular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also

67. Meyer, no date, p. 31.

devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here./ /19/ Uraricapara,
411 Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustra-
184
114

68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.

tions of the Xiriána bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[Text continues on p. 39]

Shiriana
Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./

411 184 114 [283] The lancet-shaped bamboo points of the Xiriâna investigated by Koch-Grünberg, on the other hand, have a somewhat different shape. Here the two ends do not come to a point, as among the Surára, Pakidái, Karimé, and Xamatári, but rather one end is thickened, hollowed out, and, wound with Bromelia fibers, is set on a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (79). Three such

79. Koch-Grünberg 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (5, 8).

Xiriana arrow points of the Koch-Grünberg Collection in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte have, moreover, the respectable length of 34 centimeters (12.25:37) and 35 centimeters (12.25:34-35).

Inasmuch as the Surára and Pakidái, according to their own statements, borrowed their lancet-shaped bamboo points from the Xiriâna, the ensuing alteration process is quite significant, since, indeed, the point is no longer mounted on a wooden shaft, but is inserted directly into the arrow cane.

Furthermore, lancet-shaped bamboo points have been confirmed for the Waiká by Zerries (80) and Schuster (81), but it is

80. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

81. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

not clear from their texts whether this is the same type as that of the Surára, Pakidái, etc. or that of the Xiriâna.

411 ● 171 How greatly the lengths and attachment possibilities of such bamboo points vary among South American Indians is very clearly shown by the comprehensive investigations of Meyer (82) and

82. Meyer, no date, pp. 18, 19, 25, 27, 30, 36, 37, 47, 48, 49, and Plates I, 11, 13; II, 16; III, 14; IV, 8, 15.

/20 cont./

Métraux (83).

83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

2. Rahaká -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the kantaná (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and cutias (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

3. Kantarím -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84). Meyer mentions that it is

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanoámi group, they have furthermore

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

been documented for the Xiriána (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88),

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

/21 cont./

411 184 there is a Xamatâri poisoned arrow in the possession of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:7).

411 171 114 [139] Métraux writes with reference to the poisoned arrows: "Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is commonly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is traded throughout wide regions" /cited in English/ (95). Among

95. Métraux, 1949, p. 242.

Karaiben /Carib/ tribes in Guiana, poisoned arrows which are shot with a bow are not very often encountered, for they are documented only for the Makuxí /Macusi/ by Richard Schomburgk (96) and for

96. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 428.

411 171 the Trio by de Goeje (97). It should be mentioned in this connec-

97. de Goeje, 1906, p. 15; Pl. V, Figs. 10-12; Pl. XI, Fig. 22.

tion, however, that many Karaiben, for example, the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, shoot small poisoned arrows with a blowgun; this weapon is unknown to the Surára and Pakidái.

278 Arrow poisons:

[192] [184] According to what my Surára informants reported to me, they use three kinds of poison of different strengths, all of which, however, they designate by the general name -- mamokôrimaunápe. This name is almost the same as the one which the Waiká, according to Zerries, use for arrow poison -- mamokordi (98).

98. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

Surára
Pakidái

/22 cont./

411
[482] In the forest the Surára and Pakidái as a rule carry their bows and arrows longwise with one or both hands above their heads, but occasionally also on the right or left shoulder.

In shooting, the bow is held in a horizontal position with the left hand. The arrow lies to the left of the bow, between thumb and index finger. The man holds the end of the arrow between the index finger and middle finger of the right hand and simultaneously stretches the bowstring with the second joints of these fingers (Fig. 3); occasionally he also adds the second joint of the ring finger, if the shot is to be reinforced. This is a form which, following Morse, is designated as the "Mediterranean release" /cited in English/. This practice has been documented also for Eskimo tribes and Siberian peoples (100), but never for

411
171
114

100. Morse, 1885, pp. 12-15 and Figs. 8 and 9.

South American Indians. Concerning the tribes on the Aiarý, Koch-Grünberg says that here the men hold the end of the arrow with thumb and index finger of the /23/ right hand, while they simply press the other three fingers against the palm of the hand (101).

101. Koch-Grünberg, 1909, p. 104 and Ill. 58.

The Yurakare /Yuracare/, too, hold the arrow with the thumb and index finger of the right hand, and they use the remaining three fingers for stretching the bow (102). These latter forms seem to be

102. von Holten, 1877, p. 111.

the most customary in South America, but unfortunately this cannot be definitely established because the information concerning this is too meager. Friederici has already justifiably complained: "With reference to the manner of grasping and stretching the bow and aiming and shooting the arrow, reports are unfortunately very scarce;

/23 cont./

411 the few that are available are not the type from which rules could
● 171 be deduced" (103). If the arrow is to be shot upward, the left arm
114

103. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

is stretched out and the bowstring is pulled up to the right eye with the right hand (Ill. 13). I did not meet any left-handed archers. Koch-Grünberg mentions one and remarks that he was assured there were many of them (104). Among the Mosquito

104. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 73.

Indians in Central America left-handedness seems even to be quite pronounced, for Sapper shows their typical handling of the bow and arrow in the photograph of a Mosquito boy shooting left-handed (105).

105. Sapper, 1903, p. 54.

411 The best shooting performances, which I tested with men and boys, were between 40-50 meters for the former, who shot straight through an empty gasoline can with the large, mounted, lancet-shaped arrow-point, and between 8-10 meters for the latter. Yet even at a distance of 100 meters, most of the men hit the target; the penetrating power, however, was considerably diminished. These figures agree very closely with the statements compiled from the literature by Friederici (106). Several warriors

106. Friederici, 1907, p. 326.

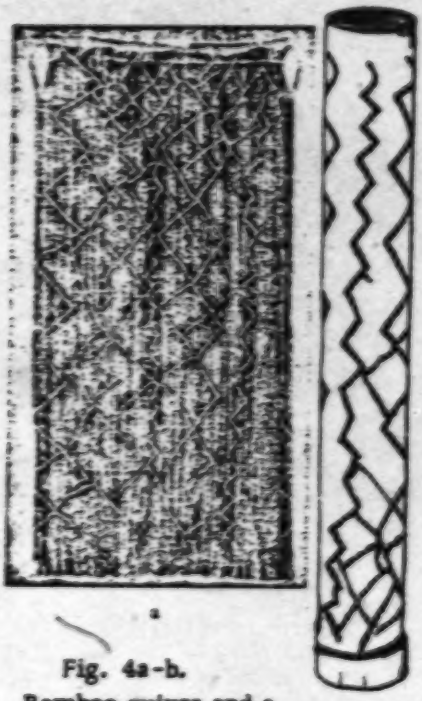
were also able to shoot indirectly, which is shown by the following experiment which I carried out with Hewemão, the chief of the Surára, his younger brother Kurikajawõ, the Surára man Brakaiwõ, and the warrior chief of the Pakidái, Porêhiwõ. I placed three white leaves of standard size on the ground, one behind the other, at a distance of 30, 28, and 26 meters from the

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

000 411 194 193 411 726 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would represent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waikâ, Zerries reports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them

411 415 531



a b

Fig. 4a-b.
Bamboo quiver and a rubbing of the incised design.

193 411 726 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hímo," which are made from the wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

411 171 578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled, which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

411 824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xirišana, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- 411 hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in 578 stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114); 191

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldus, 1939, p. 113.

they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the 411 Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be- 184

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

tween the poles or clubs of the Waikš and the sticks of the Surára and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is [174] therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed.

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tôra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the [581] most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b).

411 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrow- 482 points wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

372 /25 cont./
(see p.116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side. The hole is enlarged by the drilling. There is loosened a fine dust which slowly starts to smoke and glow and, by way of the groove, falls on tinder previously placed next to it (dry grass, leaves, or dry splinters of bamboo), which quickly catches fire. Cautiously the man blows upon it, and a short time later a flame leaps up. This requires a great deal of practice and skill, however; often he [171] has blisters on his hands after drilling. This is the most widely distributed method of producing fire in South America (120). In their malokas

120. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 118-125 and Map 13.

the Surára and Pakidái preserve the fire.

283

5. Twining and Spinning

[824] For making thread and cord the leaf fibers of a Bromeliaceae, curauá (121), and cotton are used, the latter, however, only in more recent times.

[114] [171]

121. Koch-Grünberg also verifies the use of this material for the northwestern Brazilian tribes (Koch-Grünberg, 1910, p. 210).

[462] While to this day the curauá fibers are worked, mostly by men and only occasionally by women, with the right hand against the right thigh in the direction of the knee, to produce thread twisted to the right (122), a spindle is used to make cotton thread,

[171]

122. Threads which are not spun with the spindle are twisted to the right among most of the South American tribes. There are exceptions, however, for among a few nations of northwestern South America threads twisted to the left are more prevalent, and

/26 cont./

283
[191]

122. (cont.)
in Guiana as well as in the Gran Chaco both thread twisted to the right and thread twisted to the left appear (Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 50).

[462] with which, however, a left twist is associated. The treatment of cotton -- xinarĩ --, starting with picking, then drying and bleaching, removal of the seeds, loosening and plucking apart, up to the spinning, is women's work.

The spindle -- xinarikã -- consists of a smoothed stick -- ruhũ -- 30-35 centimeters long, for which the rib of a palm leaf is also often used, on the upper end of which a small barb -- nhobanã -- of the same material is attached with a cotton thread.
[321] The disk-shaped whorl -- tankarã --, made by the men out of bone
[322] or wood, is slipped onto the stick from below and rests in the cen-
[462] ter of it. To prevent it from slipping off when the woman holds her spindle in a vertical position, there is a wrapping of cotton below the whorl.

283
191 From the description it may be seen that this is a typical Guianese variation of the "Bakaĩrĩ /Bacairi/ spindle." "Only in Guiana and on the Amazon River," Frödin and Nordenskiöld write in their study, "Uber Zwirnen und Spinnen bei den Indianern Südamerikas /On Twining and Spinning among the Indians of South America/, "do we find the spindles provided with barbs, which, however, differ from the other Bakaĩrĩ spindles only in that the spindle whorl rests near the center of the stick (Fig. 40)" (123).

123. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 24.

In two other respects, however, the spindles of the Surára and Pakidái differ somewhat, for among them the stick is not thickened at the bottom, and the whorl is held by a wrapping of cotton.

283 /26 cont./

171 Up to now there has been only one parallel to this, namely
184 a Quechua spindle (124). The spindle of the Karimé, on the
114

124. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

basis of the drawing in Salathé s article, seems to resemble those of the Surára and Pakidái (125). Unfortunately, Salathé does

125. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305, Fig. 14.

not indicate whether the whorl is held in position by a wrapping put on below it or perhaps by means of resin or wax, as is the case, for example, for the spindles of the Chama and Pauserna (126).

126. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

283 This already exhausts the comparisons with regard to the securing of the whorl by means of a wrapping, wood, or wax, so that no conclusions about origin and distribution can as yet be drawn about it.

283 During the time I lived with the Surára and Pakidái, I
123 found that many women preferred to use the lids of my empty powder-boxes and skin-cream jars as whorls, /27/ and they preferred to spin the surgical cotton which I carried with me rather than their cultivated cotton, because, they said, the threads spun from it were stronger and more durable.

283 Spinning is done in the following way: The woman sits on a thin tree trunk with the lower part of her legs bent back. The cotton that is to be worked hangs over her left shoulder and from there the thread is fed out with the fingers of the left hand. She first rolls the spindle, on the barb of which she has fastened the thread, in a horizontal position with the palm of her right hand on her slightly sloping right thigh, moving her hand rapidly from the knee upwards. This gives the thread a

Surára
Pakidái

/27 cont./

283 left twist. Then she lets the spindle fall to a vertical position between her legs and rotate on the ground.

[190] This method belongs to Variation I of the Bakaïri spinning (127), which is extraordinarily characteristic for the

127. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 34 and 46.

Guiana tribes and which is described in a similar manner by Koch-Grünberg (128), Frödin-Nordenskiöld (129), Im Thurn (130),

128. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

129. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 52 and 56.

130. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 282.

and Roth (131).

131. Roth, 1929, p. 23 and Pl. I and II.

283 436 437 The spun threads are wound into round balls, which in this form are used as tribute payment to the Xiriâna (see pp. 159/160) and also represent popular trade items, exactly as in the case of the Arekunâ-Taulipang and their neighbors (132).

132. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

283 174 The cotton, the spindle, and the technique of spinning it to the left presumably reached the Surára and Pakidái from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes by way of the Xiriâna. The fact that cotton and spindle represent imports becomes clear in particular from the technique of the left twist, since in the case of the original material, the curauá fibers, the threads are always twisted to the right. Im Thurn already points out that in Guiana

[191] [114]

283
191
194
114

/27 cont./

it is chiefly the Karaiben who spin thread out of cotton, and he believes that they also brought along cotton and the spindle when they immigrated into Guiana (133). The latter assumption

133. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 287.

has, however, not yet been proved, for on the upper Rio Negro Koch-Grünberg met Karaiben tribes who were acquainted with neither cotton nor the spindle. To an inquiry by Frödin and Nordenskiöld about this, he replied in a letter as follows: "It is an absolute mystery to me why the Indians on the upper Rio Negro do not plant cotton for spinning and have no spindles. It would be important to investigate how far this absence of spindles extends down the Rio Negro and into its tributaries, which, to be sure, from the Curicuriary downward, are almost completely unknown ethnographically" (134).

134. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 21, footnote 1.

283
184
174
114

Within the Yanomámi group, cotton and spinning are known, in addition to the Xiriána, Surára, and Pakidái, also to the Puseheweteri, Aramamateri, and Karauateri," members of whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái, and also to the Karimé (135) and the Waiká, who, according to Schuster,

135. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 14.

presumably became acquainted with cotton through the Karaiben Makiritare (136).

136. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

/27 cont./

6. Dress and Ornament

291 a) Hip cords and belts

From the age of four on both sexes constantly wear a hip cord -- nhamaaxf -- which is made by the women, but occasionally also by men, out of curauá fibers, the original material (see p. 55), or out of cotton. For the former, two strands are twisted to the right, and for the latter, to the left. The old technique of the right twist in the working of curauá fibers was thus retained, in spite of the adoption of cotton. There is, however, a further important difference. Whereas the hip cord of cotton represents the everyday dress, so to speak, /28/ the one made out of curauá fibers is at present used almost solely for ceremonial purposes.

All male Surára and Pakidái tie the penis up by means of the hip cord, which is done before donning it by tying a knot and drawing the foreskin through it.

With the hip cord these Indians feel clothed, and they therefore never take it off, not even for sleeping or bathing. Once when I was out hunting with the war chief of the Pakidái, Porêhiwõ, he happened to tear his hip cord. He modestly stepped behind the nearest tree immediately and tied it together again. Later he told me that it would be the most flagrant offense against good form to walk about without the hip cord. The women would then cover their faces and scream loudly. Hence a man may never appear with his penis hanging down, and it would be a positively execrable crime, which is punished by blows, if he exposed his glans to the eyes of women and girls.

This shows that among the Surára and Pakidái the hip cord in general, for women and girls also use it without covering anything with it, and the tying up of the penis in particular are associated with feelings of propriety (137). I am herewith able to

137. The hip cord is never used as a device for carrying utilitarian articles, as Baldus noted, for example, among the Tapirapé

/28 cont./

291
[97]
[482]

137. (cont.)
(Baldus, 1945, pp. 87/88), because there is the very likely danger that it might tear.

291
114
[97]

I am herewith able to confirm an opinion which Ehrenreich already holds with regard to the covered glans penis among the Xingú Indians (138), which,

138. Ehrenreich, 1890, p. 86.

however, is shared neither by Karl von den Steinen (139) nor by

139. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 195.

Koch-Grünberg (140). According to the opinion of these two

140. Koch-Grünberg, 1910b, p. 89.

scholars, and also of Nordenskiöld (141) and Krickeberg (142),

141. Nordenskiöld, 1922, p. 94.

142. Krickeberg, 1922, p. 251.

the tying up of the penis is supposed to protect the glans from penetrating insects, thorns, etc. This assumption, as far as the Surára and Pakidái are concerned, is at most of secondary importance, for the uncovered female vagina is, of course, equally threatened by penetrating insects. But magical conceptions, too, with which Karsten (143) tries to explain the tying up of the

143. Karsten, 1926, pp. 151/52.

penis, are not applicable in the case of the Indians investigated by me. Hence, the second conjecture expressed by Karl von den Steinen, in which he connects this custom directly with the sex life and points out that it might have the same purpose as

Surára
Pakidái

/29 cont./

291 Waiká use a hip cord to bind up the member, and, according to
184 a statement of the last-named author, the Xiriána too. There is further substantiation for the Karimé (147).

147. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

291 In connection with P. Schmidt (148) and Nordenskiöld (149),
171
184

148. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1047.

149. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 147/48.

I investigated this strange custom in my study, "Gürtel und Hüftschnüre südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Belts and Hip Cords of South American Primitive Peoples/," and found them verified for 39 tribes, to which six more are now added, the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweterf, Aramamesterf, Karauaterf, and Karimé. It is even to be suspected that among all the tribes or groups that belong to the ethnic unit of the Yanonámi the membrum is tied
291 up. Since this custom is likewise common among the Pano and
171 Tukano /Tucano/ tribes, as well as among the Makú /Macu/, and
174 three San Agustín statues prove the pre-Columbian occurrence (150).

150. Preuss, 1929, I, p. 79; II, Plates 1; 55 (1); 64 (1).

the northwestern part of South America clearly stands out as the nuclear area and probably the area of origin of this very old custom. On the other hand, the Karaibên /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes, which, according to the investigations up to now, did not immigrate into Guiana until later, do not observe it, with the exception of the Yanapery /Yanaperi/ (151), and

151. Hübner, 1907, p. 231.

the Tupi even regard the tying up of the penis as abominable

/29 cont./
291 and ridiculous (152) (153) (154).
171
174

152. Nimuendajú, 1914, pp. 321/22.

153. Becher, 1951, I, pp. 180/81; II, plate and Map No. 18.

154. Becher, 1955, pp. 144/45.

292 On festival and ceremonial occasions, men, women, and
[192] children from the age of four on also tie over the hip cord a cotton belt -- nyõ -- (155), which is always open in front. As

155. It is the same word that is used to designate the cotton hammock.

a rule, the belts are made by the women; bachelors, however, must make their own.
[171] These are the string belts typical for Guiana (156) (157),

156. Becher, 1951, I, p. 169.

157. Becher, 1955, p. 138.

which, however, take on an appearance somewhat different from the familiar form because of wrappings or cross-bindings. /Fig. 6 appears here./
292 All the men's and boys' belts are roll-shaped and have a
284 length of 70-80 centimeters and 40-50 centimeters, respectively. The diameter for the former is 4-5 centimeters, and for the latter, 2-3 centimeters. They are very simple to make, for around two small sticks thrust into the ground, the distance between them determining the length of the belt, a long cotton thread is looped until a thick layer is finally obtained. This is then simply tightly wound with a thin string of cotton or

Surára
Shiriana

/33 cont./

291
237

Fig. 12. Child's belt made out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.).

promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

292
171

From the above description of the cotton string-belts it may be seen that, in spite of certain differences with respect to technique and the way they are worn, they resemble the corresponding belts of the Xiriâna and several Karaiben tribes of Guiana. Thus, a bundle of red-dyed cotton strings serves as a hip belt for the Xiriâna men, under which they wedge the preputium of the upraised penis (163). Arekuná men often wear

163. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

a plaited string-belt of cotton, which, twisted together, takes on a sausage shape. This belt, also resembling in appearance the human- and monkey-hair belts in Guiana (164) (165), is

164. Becher, 1951, pp. 99 ff. and pp. 115 ff.

165. Becher, 1955, pp. 84 ff. and pp. 97 ff.

Surara
Pakidai

292
171

/34 cont./

mentioned by Martius (166), Richard Schomburgk (167), and Koch-

166. Martius, 1867, pp. 622/23.

167. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, p. 239.

Grünberg (168). Ule, shows in an illustration of two Arekuná men,

168. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 41.

shows how it is worn (169). It can be seen there that they use the

169. Ule, 1913, p. 283, Ill. 2.

belt for fastening their pubic apron, to which Appun likewise calls attention (170). Moreover, the cotton string-belt is documented

170. Appun, 1871, II, p. 307.

for the male Makuxí /Macusi/ (171) and for the Maionkong /Maioncon/,

171. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 77.

where it is worn by men (172) and women (173).

172. Rice, 1928, p. 220, illustration.

173. Stevens, 1926, p. 401, illustration.

The plaited, wide, flat women's belt of the Surára and Pakidái, however, also has its prototype among the Makuxí, where, to be sure, men wear it. Roth describes how it is made as follows: "The Makusi will plait a thick cotton cord upon two arrow thicks, and when completed will bend it twice upon itself in three equal parts and, by sewing, maintain it in this position to form what is now a broad flat belt" /cited in English/ (174).

174. Roth, 1924, p. 440.

Surára
Pakidái

/34 cont./

292 171 The neighboring Wapixana /Wapishana/ men (Aruak) /Arawak/), moreover, wear a very similar belt and attach to it a pubic band which is drawn between the legs (175).

175. Farabee, 1918, p. 29.

[648] [179] Since the Surára and Pakidái waged many wars with the Makuxí (the father of the Surára chief Hewemão is even supposed to have been killed by a Makuxí warrior), it would be entirely possible that they took over from this Karaiben /Carib/ tribe the form of the plaited, wide, flat belt, but then used it, not as men's, but as women's clothing.

179 191 194 184 The little fringed apron so typical for the Puseheweterí and Karimé women was also surely copied from Karaiben models, which, in turn, could have been borrowed from the Aruak, for Farabee confirms it also for Wapixana and Mapidian /Maopityan/ girls (176). According to Roth, a woven, red-dyed belt, the lower

292 171

176. Farabee, 1918, Pl. XXIX, A.

edge of which is fringed and, in addition, provided with three pendant tassels, is tied around young Makuxí and Wapixana girls on the occasion of their first menstruation. He designates this article of clothing as "apron belt" /cited in English/ (177). A

177. Roth, 1924, p. 437.

dyed belt provided with fringe is likewise documented for the Maiongkong (178) (179) and, /35/ according to Roth, resembles

178. R. H. Schomburgk, 1841, p. 215.

179. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, pp. 402/03.

000 the above-mentioned apron-belt (180). When Koch-Grünberg saw

180. Roth, 1924, p. 444.

/35 cont./

292 114 Westermarck (189), who regard the belts as a sexual stimulus,

189. Westermarcj, 1901, pp. 195/96, 211.

by means of which the eyes are supposed to be drawn to the pubic parts. For the Surára and Pakidái, however, /36/ this hypothesis does not apply, in spite of their open belts, for the naked body does not provide any sensual stimulation for them, but rather solely the sexual act. According to Krause, among the Karajá /Caraja/ the feeling of modesty of the girls is supposed to have led to the development of the types of belts. As evidence for this, he gives the following observation: "Women never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and small girls from whom I bought belts went behind the nearest mat wall in order to put on a new one there before they brought me the worn belt" (190). My experiences among the Surára

291 123

190. Krause, 1911, pp. 208/09.

and Pakidái were the same with respect to the hip cords, among men as well as among women and children, but they always untied their belts without shyness and gave them to me in exchange for trade goods. This was also true of the Puseheweterf women, which shows that their little fringed aprons do not represent, say, a pubic covering, but merely ornamentation. Moreover, they also tie on their belts only for festive occasions.

292 184

291 171 The situation with respect to the children's belt made of the skin of the maracajá is unique. It should be noted, however, that in Guiana, one of the chief South American areas of distribution of the skin belt (191) (192), specimens made of jaguar skin have

191. Becher, 1951, I, p. 82; II, plate and Map No. 4.

192. Becher, 1955, p. 72.

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
[192] xinarîke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarî -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
[824] out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
[531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
856 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
[824] busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
292 curauá fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xiriána, Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri,
184 and Karauateri whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
[114] said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xiriána (Schiriana). Among the Arekuná-
171 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
174 cord of curauá fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
[191] transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

301 /37 cont./
856 Thus, the upper-arm cord -- xinariũnko -- is supposed to impart greater muscular and arm power (198). The wrist cord used

[192] 198. It is noteworthy that the curauá-fiber cord is also called by the word Xinariũnko, although the name for cotton -- xinarí -- is contained in it.

only by women and girls, likewise called xinariũnko, strengthens the wrists, it is believed, and the cord worn below the knees -- hukuá -- the legs.

301 As an ornament for the upper arms, however, besides the
● 171 simple cord, bands of string -- nyöõmutimá -- the forms of which are exact miniature reproductions of the belts (199), a

[192] 199. In the word -- nyöõmutimá -- there is contained the name for belt, nyö, to which is appended the diminutive form õmutimá.

novelty /38/ for South America, since there are as yet no parallels for this. Thus, the string-bands of the men, 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5-2 centimeters in diameter (string-bands of boys: length, 12-15 centimeters; diameter, 0.5-1 centimeter), have the same roll-shaped appearance as their belts (Fig. 14a and b; Fig. 15a and b) and are made and painted or dyed by the women in the same way (see pp. 64/65). The wide, flat shape of the women's bands (length, 18-22 centimeters; width, 1-2.5 centimeters), however, corresponds perfectly with the belts worn by them, apart from the smaller size (Fig. 16a-c; Fig. 17), so that with regard to the manufacture and painting I can refer to the making of the women's belts (see p. 66). It should also be mentioned that the upper-arm /Figs. 14-16 appear here/ bands of younger women are narrower (1-1.5 centimeters) than those of older women (2-2.5 centimeters) (200).

200. An older Pakidái woman, by the way, wore a woven upper-arm band two and a half

/38 cont./

301
284

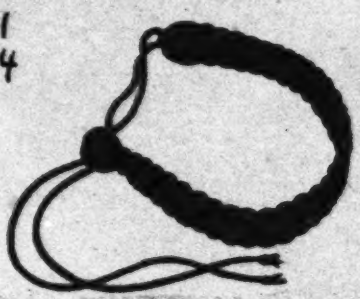


Fig. 17. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

184
301 According to Koch-Grünberg, too, among the Xiriâna (Schirianá) the men wrap long, red-dyed cotton cords around their upper arms, while women use "narrow bands," which, however, they tie so tightly that the marks of them are seen even when they
301 are removed (201). The women of the Maiongkong-Yekuaná bind
●171

201. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

their upper arms in the same tight fashion (202). With reference

202. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 151, 152, 170, 171, 172.

to the Arekuná-Taulipang, Koch-Grünberg writes: "Among the ornaments of the women, moreover, there are wide wrappings of strings of white beads below the knees, around the upper arms and the wrists. The men /39/ wear the same bead ornaments around the wrists, sometimes also around the ankles, but bind the legs below the knees with white cotton cords, the ends of which hang far down. Around the upper arms they usually wear only a string of white beads or a white cotton cord or, on festive days, a round disk of snail shells... The bindings around the legs are frequently pulled so tightly by young girls, out of vanity, that the calves bulge out tautly" (203) (204).

203. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 34.

204. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, Ills. 7, 8.

/39 cont./

301 171 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

301 789 832 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, [224] to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrë. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrë -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hiî -- (see p.243).

302 e) Hair style

Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around the head, including the tonsure -- hemôno. [462] Shaving the latter, but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp. --) (see p.119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

302 /39 cont./
593 husband beats his wife for reasons of jealousy, he may likewise choose only this marked part of the head. As a further, but
302 probably secondary reason, I was told that the short haircut and
825 the tonsure made it easier to control the plague of lice. People with long hair, they thought, were certainly unable to escape head lice.

302 The tonsure is also mentioned in religion and mythology.
538 Poré, the lord of the moon, is imagined as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red (see p.197).

302 As among many other South American tribes, the tonsure
191 is also a /40/ characteristic feature of all small-sized light-
184 skinned Indians between the Rio Negro and the upper Orinoco, for the members of both sexes of the Xirišna, Puseheweterî, Aramamesterî, and Karauaterî whom I met also wore it (206).

302
191
114

206. The Brazilian country people designate all Indians with tonsures as Coroados = crowned. Baldus and Willems, however, quite rightly demand that the use of this name be avoided in Brazilian ethnology: "Coroado- Várias tribus de indios no Brasil, por examplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Purí, Bororo, receberam do povo o nome de Coroados, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que êsse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou êste têrmo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada" /Coroado -- Various tribes of Indians in Brazil, for example, the Botocudo, Caingang, Puri, Bororo, are given the name of Coroado by people, owing to the manner of cutting the hair, even though this style is not the same among all of them. This term has caused great confusion in Brazilian ethnography, and for this reason it should be abandoned/ (Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 67).

/40 cont./

302 184 Furthermore, it has been documented for the Waikâ (207) (208),

207. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 198.

208. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Karime (209), and the Xiriâna men on the Motomotô (210). With

209. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

210. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

regard to the latter, Koch-Grünberg points out that in this case it is a male hair style (210) /see footnote above/. In the same work he goes on to describe the tonsure of a Karaiben woman: "The oldest woman on the Roroima had a strange hair style. Except for a narrow wreath of longer hair all around her head, which was cut in the customary fashion over the forehead, the head hair was cut short, like a monk's tonsure. (Cf. Vol. VI, Plate 86). I was unable to discover the reason for this differing hair style" (211). The remarks which Alexander von Humboldt devotes

302 171

211. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 27.

to this Indian hair style are also worthy of mention (212).

212. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 319.

304 f) Deforming facial ornamentation

The male as well as the female sex among the Surâra and Pakidâi have pierced ear-lobes -- nhimekakekâ -- (Surâra), -- nimukakuká -- (Pakidâi), a perforation of the lower lip -- husekahâ --, and, in addition, the women have such in the corners of the mouth -- kaskehâ.

304 The perforations are already made in babyhood (see p.135).
301 The men use them primarily as a place for feather ornaments (see p. 93). They sometimes also wear as ear ornaments, however,

Surára
Pakidái

/40 cont./

304 small pieces of reed 1-2 centimeters long, from which hang, on
301 one or two short chains of beads, small triangular pieces of silver leaf, shiny silver coins, or particularly large glass beads. Women also have a special preference for these objects. The teeth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which the men use as a knife (see p.115, are a typical feminine ear ornament.
[314] To prevent them from slipping out of the perforation, a small lump of tree resin is stuck on the back end. The perforations of the ear lobes are also adorned now and then with blossoms.

In the perforations of the lower lip and the corners of the mouth on either side the women now and again have delicate little reed rods -- tunhabaácre -- 15-17 and 12-15 centimeters
[184] long, respectively. Among the Xiriána women married to Surára and Pakidái men I observed that they wear, in addition, two little reed rods 30-35 centimeters long in the pierced nasal septum -- huxibéka -- (Ill. 16). This piercing I was told, is reserved for only the female members of this large, mighty tribe.
[184] This also explains why the perforations of the Puseheweterí and Aramamesterí women correspond perfectly to those of their Surára and Pakidái "sisters," that is to say, there is no piercing of the nasal septum. The same applies for Nikeromá, the little captive from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí.

301 All the ornamental objects named are made by the male
422 and female wearers themselves and are regarded as personal property.

304 Due to Koch-Grünberg's research among the Xiriána
301 (Schirianá), Waiká (Waíka), and various Karaiben /Carib/ tribes,
184 abundant comparative and supplementary material is available to me. Thus, the great investigator writes with regard to the
● [171] Xiriána (Schirianá): "Nasal septum, /41/ ear lobes, and lower
[127] lip were pierced among the men and in many cases adorned with little reed rods almost as long as a hand. On special occasions they also wear a jaguar tooth in the lower lip.

"The women had long reed rods in the pierced ear-lobes, the lower lip, and the corners of the mouth. Three narrow strips of reed, spread out fan-shaped at both ends, adorned the nasal septum (Ill. 12)" (213).

213. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

304 /41 cont./
301 This confirms the statements of my informants, who said
184 that a perforation of the nasal septum was characteristic for the Xiriâna. For the male and female Waikâ, too, there is confirmation of nose, ear, and lower-lip rods, and, in the case of women, such in the corners of the mouth (214).

214. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, pp. 198-200.

As for the use of nose-rods, it seems to be a privilege of the two hostile "great ones" (see p. 12), for their lesser allies do not use them.

The other perforations, however, are the same among all the Yanonâmi tribes mentioned, but it should be pointed out that pierced corners of the mouth are found only among women.

304 With reference to the Karaiben Arekuná-Taulipang, Koch-
301 Grünberg writes: "Ear lobes and lower lip are pierced, and in
●171 the case of some men the nasal septum as well" (215). According

215. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

to that, the perforation of the nasal septum is reserved for only the men, and perforations of the corners of the mouth are en-
301 tirely absent. In the ear lobes, however, male as well as female
171 members of the tribe likewise wear little reed rods with one or two short chains of beads hanging down, to which are fastened silver coins and crescent-shaped or triangular pieces of silver leaf (216). The latter are the same type of objects that I found

216. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.
Plate 5 (6).

as ornaments among the Surára and Pakidâi (see p. 85 and Ill. 9 /see p. 270/. Therefore, in this case, too, an adoption from the Karaiben, directly or indirectly, seems to be indicated. In reply to my question about the origin of these ornamental objects, the Xiriâna were mentioned, to be sure, but they for their part certainly

/41 cont./

301 did not make them themselves either, for they were made, by
•171 pounding and grinding, out of Brazilian silver coins which are no longer in circulation today. Moreover, for centuries the technical skill of the Karaiben with regard to gold, silver, and copper ornaments has been acclaimed. For example, Gumilla already mentions Karaiben tribes in the vicinity of the Orinoco who wore homemade plates of gold (217), and, according to de

217. Gumilla, 1745, I, p. 139.

Rochefort, the Island Karaiben used ear pendants of gleaming copper (218). Crescent-shaped silver leaf is used by the Makuxí

218. de Rochefort, 1658, p. 289.

men, but they wear it on a nose rod (219).

219. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 198, Figs. 2 and 4.

Further comparative material is to be found in the valuable work by Brigitte Menzel, "Deformierender Gesichtschmuck südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Deforming Facial Ornaments of South American Primitive Peoples/." Here it was shown that ear ornaments of metal occur especially frequently in northwest Amazonas as well as Guiana (220), and also ear ornaments of teeth are con-

220. Menzel, 1957, p. 38 and Map 14.

firmed in considerable quantity for the highlands of Guiana (221).

221. Menzel, 1957, p. 34.

With reference to the ornamentation of the corners of the mouth, the authoress writes: "From an accumulation in the source region of the Ucayali, the evidence extends over northwest Amazonas

Surára
Pakidái

/41 cont./

301 as far as Guiana; the Tapuya on the eastern horn of South
171 America remain isolated. The pattern of distribution coincides
301 in essential features with the multiple perforations of the upper
304 lip (these parts also merge into each other very much anatomi-
171 cally) and clearly rests on Andean prototypes" (222). The

222. Menzel, 1957, p. 33.

characteristic mouth-corner rods of the Yanonámi women may well fit into this area of distribution, but not in connection with perforations of the upper /42/ lip, for here instead of the latter, the lower lip is pierced.

304 g) Tattooing

[881] All women and girls have pin-point tattooing over the upper lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth (Ills. 19 and 24) and is punctured on the girls during the first menstrua-
[192] tion (see p. 66) (223). The designation for this among the Surára

[184]

223. This tattooing is also found among the female Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí who are married to Surára and Pakidái men. The little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí is an exception. She assured me, however, that in her maloka the girls are also tattooed. But she had fallen into the hands of the Surára before her first menstruation, and the tattooing was not put on her here. If later, however, she is married by a Surára man, the pin-point design must subsequently be punctured on her.

is -- uarabakoxík -- and among the Pakidái -- uarabakoxíbe.
[824] These words are derived from the name for the genipap fruit --
[386] uarabá --, the juice of which is used for puncturing the dots.

2: Becher--90 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/42 cont./

304 For the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ women of
● 171 Guiana, however, a puncture-tattooing in the mouth region is also characteristic, and occasionally one finds it even among male Karaiben. In this case, too, it is regarded as a sign of maturity and usually has a magical significance. The punctured patterns, however, differ entirely from those of the Surára and Pakidái. Among the Makuxí /Macusi/ they consist of numerous short, vertical, parallel lines, and the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/ prefer dots, dashes, and fishhook patterns (224). The

224. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45; Pl. 12 (3-16).

latter motifs have also been confirmed for the women of the Wapixana /Wapishana/ (225) (226) and other Aruak tribes in

225. Appun, 1871, p. 523.

226. Farabee, 1918, p. 82, Fig. 9.

British Guiana as well as Surinam (227) (228).

227. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 226.

228. Joest, 1893, p. 83 and Ill. a and b.

304 There are also slight differences with regard to the time of
171 tattooing. The Surára and Pakidái carry it out during the first
881 menstruation, the Arekuná-Taulipang and Makuxí, on the other
(184) hand, shortly before the onset of it, and, to be sure, in connection with the ant torture (229).

229. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 128.

/42 cont./

304 824 386 412 377 The former use the juice of the genipap fruit as coloring matter, the latter the ashes of burned honey bees (229) /see footnote p. 90/. The original instrument everywhere for the puncturing of the dots was a palm thorn. Koch-Grünberg, however, also saw the use of pointed fragments of glass among the above-mentioned Karaiben (230).

230. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45.

304 174 171 114 A decision about whether the tattooings in the mouth region developed independently among the aforementioned Yanonámi, Karaiben, and Aruak tribes or whether they were brought about by reciprocal or outside influences cannot be reached as yet, although Koch-Grünberg saw a young Xiriána woman who had the fishhook and dot tattooing of the Arekuná-Taulipang painted on her face (231). This may have been an exception, however,

231. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

for, strangely enough, he did not find any further tattooing among the Xiriána.

179 The designs of the Surára and Pakidái also seem to be more primitive than the basic motifs of the Karaiben and Aruaken in the form of fishhooks, which clearly point to borrowings from civilization. Moreover, the fact that among the Karaiben tribes of Guiana individual men and boys are tattooed in the region of the mouth leads one to conclude that there has been a leveling of this custom. For probably there, too, it was formerly reserved for only the women, just as it is today among the Surára and Pakidái.

In conclusion, reference is to be made to P. Schmidt and Nordenskiöld, from whom there are already available brief, summary studies about puncture-tattooing in South America. The first-named author differentiates two groups, which are reserved for men and women or only for women, respectively, and regards a western origin as probable (232). /43/ On the other

/43 cont./

304 174 171 114

232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A com-

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

prehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

301 h) Painting

The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is [531] very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

[824] For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- narú --, a [386] paste which is prepared from the red berries of Bixa orellana. Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (Genipa brasiliensis) -- uarabá --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

[413] The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

2: Becher--95 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/44 cont./

301 825 239 Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxí osuemekés --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- occasionally adorns the perfora- [554] tion of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be used by older as well as younger warriors.

[962] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men, who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but sometimes they are scattered through the hair at random. The ornamental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case, for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile tribes, above all from the Waikâ. They are caused by magical performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls. Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end (see also pp.211 and 229).

301 825 75

301 171 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá /Caraja/, Bororo, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé /Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G. Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

Surára
Pakidái

/44 cont./

301 South American tribal units developed their abilities and passed
171 on their traditions over the centuries from generation to generation.

301 For the Yanomámi the simple upper-arm ornament represents
184 a further external distinction, for Xiriána, Pusheweteri, and
114 Aramamesteri men whom I met wore it in the same manner. With regard to the Xiriána, my observations correspond with a statement by Koch-Grünberg: "The men," he says, "wrap around the upper arms long, red-dyed cotton strings, on the ends of which hang bird skins (Pl. 46, 2 and 2a). When they go to war, they stick bunches of tail feathers of the red arara in front under the arm bindings, so that they project above the /45/ shoulders" (239).

239. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

For the Waiká this upper-arm ornament is documented by photographs by Zerries (240) (241).

240. Zerries, 1955b, frontispiece.

241. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

301 As for ear and lip ornaments, parallels are found among
237 the Makuxi and Arekuná-Taulipang, but here the white down-
171 feathers of the king vulture or of the large hocco (mutum) are used (242).

242. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

301 j) Bead ornaments
436 European glass beads, especially small ones, are to this day the favorite trade items among the Surára and Pakidái.
(822) They value most of all white, blue, and red beads (243), and

243. In this respect the Surára and Pakidái are like many other South American tribes (Menzel, 1957, p. 23 and Pl. 3).

/45 cont./

301 only then come beads in the colors of orange, yellow, black, and
43 green (244).
822

[191]

244. Krause also notes with regard to the Karajá that they scorn green glass beads (Krause, 1911, p. 279), and among many other tribes there is likewise an aversion to this color (Menzel, 1957, pp. 17/18 and Pl. II and III). For this reason Brigitte Menzel asks the justifiable questions: "Could this rejection of green raw material among forest peoples be traced back to the predominance of green in their physical-geographical environment? Do they prefer other colors for reasons of contrast?" (Menzel, 1957, p. 18.)

301 They are strung by the women on cords of cotton or curauá
462 fibers, at which the men occasionally help, and are used as neck chains, upper-arm and wrist cords, and ear pendants.

301 I was able to observe the following ways of making them:
822 On a cord are strung, for example, only white, red, or blue beads. Depending on the taste of the person making it, however, a blue or red bead may always follow three white ones; others prefer the color combination of blue, white, red, or vice versa. There are many more variations, however, also in combination with other colors.

Moreover, chains are made of two strings, though less often. In this case, for example, a white bead is strung on both strings, then a red or blue one on one string, then again a white one on both, etc.

301 Women and girls like to wear several strings of beads, one over the other, as neck chains, whereas men and boys never tie on more than one. Only men wear upper-arm strings of glass beads and only boys and girls corresponding strings around their wrists. Short chains of beads which are fastened in the perforations of the ear lobes are worn by both sexes, though only rarely. Then,

2: Becher--100 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/46 cont./

352
171

Even highly civilized peoples, however, for example, the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that at present is still living on the Acre, Seruini, and Ituxí rivers in the Brazilian state of Amazonas (250), formerly used these hammocks without weft, as

250. Darcy Ribeiro, 1957, p. 75.

is confirmed by a specimen in the Berlin ethnological museum (VB 3758) (251). There were also some, however, that were bound

251. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

[114] by means of one or two rather long cross-strips. With respect to their purpose and manufacture, my observations among the Surára and Pakidái are almost identical with Ehrenreich's statements concerning the Ipurina. Thus, the investigator named writes: "The extremely primitive, but serviceable hammocks which the Ipurina use in an emergency on journeys, hunting expeditions, etc. clearly show how this useful implement may have been invented.

"Four or five strips of bast (embira) two meters long and 3-4 centimeters wide are simply loosened from the tree and gathered together at the ends, and sometimes bound together by one or two shorter cross-strips. In any case, lying in it requires no little skill and practice" (252).

252. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 63.

The Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, however, owns one hammock that is still more primitive. It comes from the Nahukuá (Nahuqua), a Karaiben /Carib/ tribe of the Xingú source region, and consists only of a bundle of grass, which, tied together at top and bottom, served as a sleeping arrangement for children (VB 2624) (253).

253. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

/48 cont./

352 286 174 171 According to the classification by Max Schmidt, who differentiates three groups for the plaiting technique in South America, the cotton hammocks made by the Surára and Pakidái would belong to the second

(284)

Fig. 19. End fastening of a liana hammock.

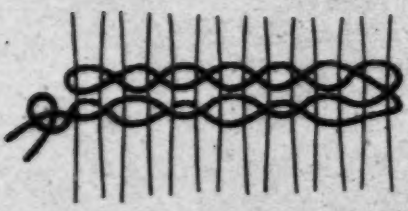


Fig. 20. Diagram of the interweaving of the end fastening of a liana hammock.

group, the double-thread plaiting, which the scholar characterizes as follows: "This plaiting method, which is widespread throughout America, North and South, is simply based, as the diagram in Fig. 115 shows, on two threads that are twisted around each other and are simultaneously, at each half twist around each other, wound around one of the bundles

Surára
Pakidái

/48 cont./

352 of rushes or fibers running parallel to one another" (259). "It is
286
174
171

259. Max Schmidt, 1905, p. 228.

this double-thread technique," Ruth Haebler writes in her work, "Die geflochtenen Hängematten der Naturvölker Südamerikas /The Plaited Hammocks of the Primitive Peoples of South America/," "which is used in the manufacture of the plaited hammocks. The essence of the two-ply technique thus consists of stretching parallel threads which form a warp, so to speak, and through which the double thread is passed as a weft. As a result of the manner in which the warp is stretched, two completely different groups of plaited hammocks are produced" (260).

260. Haebler, 1919, p. 3.

The Surára and Pakidái hammocks are to be assigned to group two, which leads over to weaving (261), for here there is already

261. Haebler, 1919, pp. 9/10.

regular shed-formation. My observations among the Surára and Pakidái also agree almost exactly with the descriptions by Im Thurn (262) Ehrenreich (263), and Krause (264). This proves an

262. Im Thurn, 1883, pp. 288 ff.

263. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 22.

264. Krause, 1911, pp. 259 ff.

adoption from the outside, most probably from the Karaiben tribes, which took place presumably by way of the Xiriána. It is noteworthy, however, that all the authors named say that the warp threads are stretched horizontally and that the weft is interlaced
000 from top to bottom or from bottom to top. From a photograph

/49 cont./

8. Basketry

285 462 [824] Basketry is carried on primarily by the women. The only exceptions are temporary carrying-baskets of natural palm leaves, which are made by both sexes, and carrying-baskets of curauá, the making of which falls to the men.

[824] If the Indians need a temporary carrying-basket in the forest, they simply place two pinnate palm leaves close together on the ground (most often they use for this the leaves of the patauá, açaí, and ubim palm) and interweave the inner sides to make a firm surface. Then both leaves are bent over at the upper end, which makes the bottom, and on the outside a braidlike rim is plaited 482 (Ill. 32). By means of a carrying-band of embira, very heavy loads can then be carried with this basket, called pakokêhe, above all fruits, but also pieces of large game, for example, tapir, which the hunter alone cannot carry into the maloka. Men always slip the carrying-band over upper arms and chest, while women prefer the forehead for this.

285 171 Similar baskets are found among the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana (269), as well as among the

269. Roth, 1924, p. 379 and Pl. 124.

Urubu in the Brazilian state of Maranhão (270). Similar specimens,

270. Lopes, 1932, p. 147 and Fig. 6.

however, are used by the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ and Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the Xingú source region (271), to mention only a few more

271. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 500 ff. and Figs. 13 and 14.

examples, which, however, could be augmented at will. It is seen from this that many tribes were in a position to make carrying devices out of natural palm leaves.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

285 462 [824] More highly developed is the carrying basket which consists of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) -- uaramá. It is made by the male members of the tribe in the following manner: Two groups of plaiting strips are laid on top of each other in different directions and then interwoven with a third group of strips running in still another direction (Ill. 33).

285 194 [071] This, according to Max Schmidt's classification, is the third principal type of South American plaiting (272) (273). This type

272. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

273. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

of basket (274), which is very widespread in South America, is

274. Abundant comparative material is to be found in Roth (Roth, 1924, pp. 321 ff. and Pl. 100 B and 102) and Mason (Mason, 1904, pp. 529 ff. and Pl. 240 (1, 2).

also regarded as very old, but today is seldom used any more by the Surára and Pakidái. Nothing concerning its origin is known any more among the tribes named. An autochthonous development is possible, but an adoption from Karaiben or Aruak tribes, who use similar baskets, is more probable. The same basket is likewise confirmed for the related Karimé (275).

[179] [184]

275. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Figs. 9 and 10.

285 824 192 The one most frequently used at present is the women's large carrying-basket made of liana strips (276) -- wuëka --, which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34).

276. Each individual liana is split with the teeth into several flat strips. (Cf. also p. 101).

/51 cont./

285
184

281. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

which serve for storing manioc cakes and fruits. Among the last-named Indians I also saw women's carrying-baskets in miniature form, which are meant for small girls, and some with covers -- [531] weẽ. All the objects named are usually painted with serpentine [386] lines, for which urucú is used. Finally, it should be mentioned [461] that the women, like best to lie comfortably in their hammocks while making such baskets and basket-bowls.

285
191
184

The women's large carrying-baskets and basket-bowls described above are likewise used by the Waikâ, and both Zerries and Schuster point out that in the manufacture the twining plaiting-technique is used (282) (283) (284). Similar basket-bowls

282. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

283. Zerries, 1955b, p. 663, Ill. 2.

284. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

are also documented for the Karimé (285), and small hanging

285. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 11.

baskets and basket-winnowers from Aruak and Tukano /Tucano/ tribes on the upper Rio Negro, as well as from the Makú /Macu/, exhibit further parallels, which differ only slightly in the external form (286).

286. Koch-Grüngerg, 1910a, pp. 220 ff. and Ills. 142e, 143a, 144.

/51 cont./

285 [192] [824] Then there are small baskets with handles and square bottoms -- yorohíkes -- (Ill. 36), in which women keep their ornaments, arm, leg, and chest cords, the spindle and balls of cotton. To make these, split lianas are again used. The technique employed is very primitive, for the plaiting strip is merely led [184] alternately over and under a plaiting strand (287). The shape of

287. Max Schmidt includes this technique in the first principal group of South American plaiting (Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 492/93).

these little baskets seems to be peculiar to the Surára and Pakidái, for in the literature I have not yet found a corresponding description with reference to other tribes.

285 824 372 Simple plaited fire-fans -- xuhéma -- are made of the leaf-stalk sheaths of the tucumã palm (Astrocaryum sp.). They have an elongated shape, and the ends of the strips are tied together to form a handle (Fig. 22).

285 372 174 171 Similar fans, but more evenly worked, were found by Koch-Grünberg among the Makiritare, Yekuaná /Yecuana/, and Guinaú in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco (288), from which one

288. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 345 and Pl. 24, 6.

might conclude that this object reached the Surára and Pakidái from here, probably by way of the Xiriána. The reverse route might also be possible, however, if only because most of the Karaiben and Aruak tribes of Guiana use fire-fans with a handle set crosswise (289).

289. Roth, 1924, pp. 291 ff., Pl. 78, 79, and Fig. 91.

/52 cont./

854
287
[824]
[413]
[412]
854
[171]
[184]
[114]
415
824
[192]

9. Band for Carrying Children

The band for carrying children -- okomakuá -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (Daphnopsis brasiliensis Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- xamotimá -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- uarimaxíke -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- pekehík -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little cutia-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

This carrying method is very widespread in South America and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying-band (292). Among the Xiriána Koch-Grünberg does not seem to

292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria Lin. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda = jamaru), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

These vessels in general are called -- horotoká --, except for those of the jamaru fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- nhapotofma.

Surára
Pakidái

/54 cont./ the lower part
412 of the tool is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[239] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatáz --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

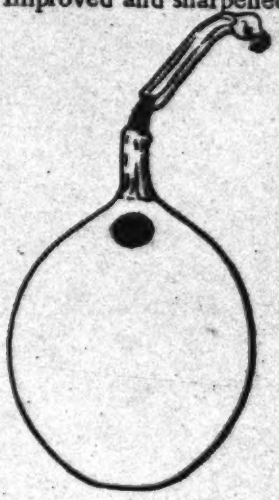


Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

Suraka Sariana
paki dai
waica

412 /54 cont./ In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise
171 mentions a knife with a bone handle which he acquired from an Arekuná who lived among the Guinaú on the Merewarí, but he adds: "Whether the subdivisions of the Arekuná who live deep in the interior still use such primitive tools I do not know" (302).

302. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 17 (3).

Outside Guiana this little knife is confirmed for the Guayakí (303)

303. de la Hitte, 1897, Pl. III, Figs. 4 and 6.

and Sirionó (304), among others. /Fig. 26 appears here./

304. Nordenskiöld, 1911, p. 193, Ill. 119.

412 /55/ The knife made of tortoise shell -- micí -- represents a
184 work tool for women. This is the ventral shell of the perema
[237] (small water turtle), sharpened on one long side (Fig. 26). Primarily the wild fruits of the pot tree (Lecythis longifolia) are cut with it after cooking (see p. 182).

This knife is also familiar to the Waiká and is used for the same purpose there (305).

305. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

For a third type of knife, which is likewise used only by women, there are the no longer serviceable lancet-shaped arrow points of bamboo -- kantaná and rahaká -- (see pp. 41/43). They are used primarily for peeling and scraping manioc tubers.

Koch-Grünberg also observed this among the Xiriána (Schirianá) (306). The investigator named also points out that the

306. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308 and Pl. 48 (6 and 7).

/55 cont./

412 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This
184 strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xiriâna, unlike the Surára and Pakidái, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly
462 women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side
302 (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

412 Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American
191 Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw
237 of the wild pig -- manacoauá --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waiká (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat
[192] flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long --
824 namunamutehf --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waiká (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm
462 should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimá (see also pp. 112/114).

412 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden
197 times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as terçados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

/56 cont./

481 The man, sometimes also the woman, puts this ring around the feet and presses them, with the hollow between the ball of the foot and the heel, in the form of a prehensile foot, firmly against the trunk so that they are fairly sucked against the bark. He assumes a squatting position and then hoists his body upward.

Fig. 27. Climbing ring.

Although he embraces the trunk with his arms and hands, for climbing he uses only his feet, which, because of the ring, always have a firm grip. This grip becomes particularly important after the man has reached the top where he now uses both hands to cut off the fruits.

[191] Such climbing rings are known in many parts of South America and are also used by the caboclos (Brazilian country people). The invention, however, seems to be of Indian origin.

481 222 [137] The pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), however, which plays such an important role in the economic life of the Surára and Pakidái, cannot be climbed in this fashion, because its trunk, the diameter of which is 60-80 centimeters, is covered with long, pointed thorns. In order to be able to harvest its fruits [184] in spite of this, these Indians use a climbing apparatus -- kanaáke -- which is also familiar to the Waiká (311b).

311b. Barker, 1953, p. 446 and Fig. 1.

/63 cont./

854 593 It is simply touching to see how lovingly and solicitously every mother treats her child. But the love of the father is no less great. He openly acknowledges the child and clearly shows his feelings of pride and fatherliness (318), though he is otherwise

[114] [171] 318. In contrast to this, Alexander von Humboldt, with reference to the Indians on the Orinoco, writes that fathers do not have any affection for their children (A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 155).

very reserved in his expressions of feeling. When he comes wearily into the communal house after a strenuous hunting expedition or from his field work, he never forgets to devote himself first of all to his little child for a while. He either takes it on his arm and goes walking with it, or he lays it beside him in the hammock. Even during migrations of the tribe he sometimes [858] carries the child for hours. Moreover, he loves a daughter just as much as a son.

854 304 During the first year of life the ear lobes and the lower lips of boys and girls are pierced by the mother with a sharp palm thorn, and, in addition, the girls are given perforations in the corners of the mouth. To prevent the wounds from healing, small wooden rods are stuck in temporarily and moved back and forth 304 frequently.

854 833 When a little girl has completed the first year of life, she is deflowered by the mother with her finger. This procedure is done in preparation for sexual intercourse later on.

114 171 854 833 304 Similar procedures were observed by von Feldner among the Machacarí /Mashacali/ Indians, and he describes them as follows: "Nulla inter illas invenitur virgo, quia mater inde a tenera aetate filiae maxima cum cura omnem vaginae constrictionem ingredimentumque amovere studet hoc quidem modo: manui dextrae imponitur folium arboris in infundibuli formam redactum, et dum index, in partes genitales immissus huc et illud movetur, per infundibulum aqua tepida immittitur" (319). In this connection

319. von Feldner, 1828, II, p. 149, footnote.

/63 cont./

114 171 854 833 304

Ploss and Bartels have already observed: "These manipulations probably serve not so much the purpose of cleanliness as preparation for the later sexual functions" (320).

320. Ploss and Bartels, 1927, p. 376.

171 304 854

A custom which is said to prevail in Paraguay should be mentioned in this connection. When a girl is born there, the midwife inserts her finger into the vagina and says: This is a woman (321). Unfortunately, there is no account of the origin

321. Written communication from Montegazza to Ploss (Ploss, 1912, p. 219).

of this custom. It is possible that it was taken over from Indians, because in Paraguay the Indian population is, of course, numerically the largest.

Among most South American tribes for whom there is evidence of an artificial destruction of the hymen, however, chiefly those of the Tukano /Tucano/ and Pano linguistic families, but also some of the Aruaken /Arawak/ and Tupi, it is done for ritualistic purposes at the onset of puberty (322).

322. Fuchs, 1956, pp. 79-81.

Among the Totonaken /Totonac/ in Mexico it is one of the duties of two priests to destroy with their fingers the hymen of female babies 28-29 days after birth. At the same time they ordered the mothers to repeat the defloration six years later with their fingers (323). Strebel regards this procedure as a castigation rite,

323. Krickeberg, 1918-1922, p. 47.

corresponding to the circumcision of male infants, which was also carried out by the priests. "Even the child was to pay its tribute to the gods, /64/ and the fact that the sexual parts were chosen for

/64 cont./
this is likewise understandable, considering their significance, though the least possible loss of blood may also have been a consideration" (324).

324. Strebel, 1885, p. 13.

On the other hand, with regard to the Surára and Pakidái it should be noted that there is no circumcision of boys among them and the defloration of small girls unequivocally serves for later sexual intercourse; there are no religious motives or hygienic reasons connected with it. Whether this was different in former times neither the chiefs nor older men and women were able to say (325a).

325a. It is an interesting fact that among the Itälmen on Kamchatka little girls are deflowered at a very tender age by their mothers in the same manner as among the Surára and Pakidái and for the same reason (Stellers, 1774, p. 346).

This type of body deformation has been documented for China and Indonesia too. It is done there, however, for hygienic purposes, in order to remove the mucus which gathers in the genitalia (Ploss, 1912, pp. 218/19).

It should be mentioned further that all Surára and Pakidái fathers often touch the vulva of their small daughters with the mouth and gently suck on it.

If a man has two or more wives, they help each other in caring for a baby. The grandmother, a sister, or the eldest daughter are also loving helpers. Infant care, of course, does not require much trouble, for regular baths are unknown. It is only when the crust of dirt is a little too thick that the mother washes it off a bit when she goes to fetch water from the river. The infrequent washing has the advantage that the skin is more nearly invulnerable to mosquito bites. If the child's nose is not

/64 cont./If the child's nose is not clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, nápe=mother and hápe=father.

e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

/64 cont./
553 776 [782] high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermediaries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris" [777] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 114 ● 191 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word nauálli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonálli = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 302 [412] [824] On the day of the name-giving the children are given a tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara -- Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in 553 291 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under [834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good [292] form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around children (See pp. 64ff.).

/68 cont./

755 884 86 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemãõ would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 171 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 884 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be sure, but mandatory.

834 833 j) Sex life

The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 837 [593] If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

/69 cont./

729 83 159 give her a blow on her tonsure, which is already full of scars, or he will scratch her body bloody with the sharp little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 117).

It is worth noting that the married men do not go furtively into the forest with Nikeromá, but quite openly. When I was wandering about with the tribe, I was often able to observe during the midday rest that a married man would suddenly go up to the little captive, take her by the arm, and go off with her a short distance, while five or six other men followed. The others present, men, women, and children, would laugh about it. The [593] wives, to be sure, were somewhat angry and would now and then throw a piece of wood after their husbands, but then they would make the best of it and likewise join in the laughter, though it was somewhat bittersweet. When the men returned with Nikeromá, after about an hour, we resumed our march. The women put up with this behavior of their spouses and, for their part, enjoy themselves with other men at a suitable opportunity. They never vent their wrath on the little captive, however. There is nothing defamatory about her actions, into which she is, of course, forced, for various wives were obliged to submit in the same way before their marriage. Little Nikeromá, however, found it hard to bear her fate; she was always grave and sad, in fact, almost melancholy, and suffered very much from homesickness. Yet one day, when other women and girls are captured from a hostile tribe, a Surára man will marry her.

It should be mentioned further that the Surára chief rigorously sees to it that Nikeromá is always supplied with plenty of meat and other food. He himself and his brothers treat the little captive very well, and I never saw them go into the forest with her.

The Pakidái had two captive Makuxí women.

727 83 ●171 In this connection I should like to refer to a very similar observation by Ehrenreich with regard to the Šambioa /Shambioa/ (Karajá /Caraja/), which the investigator describes as follows: "Moreover, unmarried men who wish to turn to the female sex may only have intercourse with the captive Kayapo /Cayapo/ women held in semislavery, a few of whom, at least among the Šambioa,

/69 cont./

727 are lodged in every village. They are regarded as common prop-
13 erty. Unfortunately, one also sees children used for similar pur-
● 171 poses. This clearly shows the dualism in the etiquette of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to members of their own tribe. This attitude, which is common to all primitive peoples, cannot, for this reason, alter our judgment concerning the morality of the Karaja in general" (332).

332. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 28.

844 k) Death and burial customs
585
764 As the previous comments have shown, there are neither birth nor marriage ceremonies among the Surára and Pakidái. The social and religious life is therefore dominated all the more by death practices.

764 If a human being who has completed the third year of life dies, the relatives are inconsolable. There is lamenting in the loudest tones, and the flood of tears among men, women, and children seems endless. Meanwhile, however, the customary occupations are not neglected. While the woman is fetching water from the river, for example, she weeps incessantly to herself and intermittently shrieks loudly; the same is true for the men at their work in the plantings and even for the children at their play. The other members of the tribe cast only an occasional compassionate glance at the mourners, and with this their interest is exhausted.

Immediately after a death it is the duty of the male relatives and /70/ friends to fell small trees in the forest, out of which they make a cylindrical wooden frame -- praotimá. This consists of 15 to 20 poles 1.60-1.80 meters long, which are tied with lianas a handbreadth apart. The corpse is slid into this, and liana ropes are drawn over the two open ends so that it is protected from the attack of birds, especially vultures.

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

766 The ceremony for an old person is entirely different. After death has set in, his head is chopped off and is hung, likewise in a little wooden rack, in the crown of a tree, again 15 or 20 minutes away from the maloka. The body, however, is buried in the ground in the jungle without ceremony, and, to be sure, in a squatting position, bound tightly with lianas. This is supposed to prevent its possible return, for it would have dire consequences for the tribe. The head, however, is burned on a small pyre, under [975] the same circumstances as described above, so that the soul may reach the moon in the ascending smoke; the remaining bone ashes are also kept.

769 888 266 The reason for the different obsequies for younger and older persons is the following: At the big annual ceremony in memory of the dead, which is held jointly with the Surára (see pp. 222 ff.), all the men drink the bone ashes of their deceased relatives, mixed with banana soup, because they believe that in this way the vigor and spirit of the dead remain within the tribes. In the case of old people, however, it is assumed that their bodies are already too leached out for their ashes to be able to transmit strength any more. Only the bone ashes of the head are still regarded as valuable.

888 If members of the tribe are very old or so seriously ill that, in spite of all efforts to cure them, they are no longer able to take part in the joint migrations, they are killed. For this purpose there takes place beforehand a gathering of the chief and older, more experienced men, at which they choose a participant who has to perform the killing. He uses a stick for this and, while the person in question is asleep, beats him hard on the head several times, until he has breathed his last (333). These tribal

• [971]

333. Old and sick people are killed in similar manner among the Ipurina. "Moribund persons," writes Ehrenreich, "are said to be dispatched to the other world not infrequently by sorcerers by means of club-blows" (Ehrenreich, 1891,

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

888
[191]

333. (cont.)
p. 70). Among the Piaroa Indians very weak old people are walled up alive in a cave. They are given food and drink for several more days and, when this has been used up, die of enervation (Marquis de Wavrin, 1944, pp. 191/98).

members destined for death are thus dispatched into the other world in an altogether humane manner, and even the killing itself is dictated by humane impulses. Since these old and sick persons can, of course, no longer take part in the customary seminomadic way of life, they would be obliged to remain helplessly behind when the tribe sets out on a new migration. This is to be prevented, however, /73/ and at the same time it is desired that the way to the moon, the paradise of the dead, be opened for them. After their death, they are cremated in the same way as all other deceased persons, that is to say, in the case of old people only the head is burned, and their ashes, too, are preserved and drunk at the festival in memory of the dead.

888
766

775 Greater than the fear of death among all Surára and Pakidái is the thought that they might one day die without being cremated, for example, during military actions, for then the entrance into the moon is barred for their soul (see p. 198).

766
[684]
[784]

Persons who commit incest are excluded from cremation after their demise, and they are not mourned, for incest is regarded as the greatest crime. Poré (see p. 197) does not want their souls on the moon, and partaking of their bone ashes would exert unfavorable influences on the male members of the tribe. They are therefore tied up in a squatting position and buried in a hole in the ground.

766
858
774

If children die before the completion of the third year of life, they are thrown into the river without any ceremony, since they belong to the flesh and blood of the mother and do not yet have their own soul (see p. 138).

Surára
Pakidái

/73 cont./

764
171

For the types of burial of the Surára and Pakidái, which are undoubtedly very old and original, there are no parallels thus far in South America (334). This is true of the combined tree- and

[184]

334. Among the Waikâ /Waica/, the corpse is cremated on the same day on the village square (Zerries, 1955b, p. 664).

fire-burial as well as of the earth burial of old people. A deceased member of the tribe, however, is only hung in a treetop for two or three weeks, so that his flesh will decay, before the bones are subsequently cremated.

765
171
175

The latter custom, albeit in the form of combined earth- and fire-burial, is, moreover, already mentioned in old sources. "Far inland," writes Barrère with regard to Guiana, "there are nations who assemble in order to dig out skeletons, when they think that the corpse is almost decayed, and after they have calcined these, they drink the ashes, which they soak in roucou, and they believe that they have thereby given their dead a more decent burial than if they left them to worms and putrefaction" (335).

335. Barrère, 1751, p. 172.

764
765
171
175

Similar reports are given by Froger about French Guiana (336)

336. "They have great respect for the old people, and when one of them dies, they inter him in the Carbet (Maloka) without any other ceremony than becoming very intoxicated: but when they believe that he is almost decayed, they assemble the Indians of the neighboring Carbets, dig out the bones, burn them, and take the ashes into their Oüicou in order to have a great feast" /translated from the French/ (Froger, 1715, p. 178).

Surára
Pakidái

175
764
765
191
[715]

/73 cont./
and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

619
648
721

5. War -- nĩányu --

The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood revenge -- noyú -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

Surára, Pakidái

619 /74 cont./
648 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.
721

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-
[835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára
● [171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriâna. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the
[171]

342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

Surára
Pakidái

726 /74 cont./

343 (cont.)
Richard Schomburgk points out that their body painting in wartime differs from that of peacetimes. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, page 322).

spend the night quietly, while a few scouts reconnoiter the position. At dawn the warriors blow large quantities of snuff into each other's noses and then, completely unfettered, but in all silence they storm the hostile maloka. Men and boys are killed ruthlessly with arrow shots, and the women and children are dragged off as captives. But the attackers, too, often have to suffer great losses, and it is said that they are sometimes put to flight.

726 727 During my stay among the Surára, I heard of an attack by the Xiriána and allied warriors on a maloka of the Waiká on the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini (see p. 16). On this occasion, as I was told, all the Waiká men were killed, and the women and girls were brought to the Xiriána maloka as captives. The head of the Waiká chief, as the war chief of the Surára added, was then adorned with feathers by the Xiriána and left standing in front of their community house for several days as a trophy; after that it was thrown away (344). The night after

727

344. The Hório and Ebidoso in the northeastern Chaco, who occasionally behave in a similar way, are to be referred to as a parallel (Baldus, 1931, p. 73).

the attack there was a big dance festival, in which all the men took part. Before that they took snuff and prayed to the hekurá (see p.199), in order to thank them for the victory.

Surára
Pakidái

/76 cont./ The
224 meat of all the animals mentioned is greatly prized. Smaller
[262] rodents, however, are regarded as decided delicacies: paca (Cuniculus paca L.) -- amutá -- and cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- toma --, which usually are killed with dogs or driven into a hole in the ground, as well as the armadillo (Dasypodidae sp.) -- obó. The latter is killed in the following way: When the Indian has discovered an inhabitated armadillo burrow, he examines it to see whether the animal is occupying it. If this is the case, he quickly fetches dry leaves and blocks the entrance. Then he kindles a fire with his fire apparatus, which he always carries on the quiver (see p. 53), sets fire to the leaves, and, with a palm leaf, fans the smoke into the burrow. This forces the animal to come out after a few minutes, whereupon the hunter is able to kill
[262] with an arrow or beat it to death with a stick (351). With some-

● [171]

351. Caspar describes the same method for the Tuparí Indians (Caspar, 1953, p. 96 and Pl. 3).

what less relish these Indians eat the meat of the capybara (Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris Erxl.) and the various monkey species, such as, for example, the howling monkey (Alouatta sp.) -- ihró --, cuxiú-negro (Chiroptes satanas Humb.) -- uixá --, cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.) -- paxó --, and macaco-da-noite (Aotus infulatus) -- makurutamão. A great deal of skill, however, is required for monkey hunting in particular, because these animals leap from limb to limb in the crowns of tall trees and swing from one treetop to another by means of lianas. -- Feline species (352) are shot

352. Spotted jaguar (Felis onca L.) -- ihrá --, black jaguar (Panthera onca L.) -- hukumarí --, puma (Felis concolor) -- uaquearimã --, maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yaó.

249 /82/ Besides the cultivated plants used for food, some are raised to be used for enjoyment. These are primarily tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) -- peenáke -- (387) and a pepper plant (Piperacea sp.) --

387. The Waiká word for this is "be" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

maxarahá -- (388) which is required for making the narcotic

[184] 388. This plant is also cultivated by the Waiká and is designated by almost the same name "masho hara" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

snuff-powder (see pp. 192), as well as -- perakí -- (389)

389. The Waiká call this pepper plant "blaki" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

(Piper caudatum Vahl.), Portuguese pimenta-dos-índios, with which they spice their food.

249 824 Finally, the cultivation of plants yielding important required articles should be mentioned. These are arrow cane (Sagittaria montevidensis Cham. et Schl.) -- xerekaíbe --, the urucuzeiro (Bixa orellana L.), from whose seeds, found in a thorny capsule, the red coloring matter urucú -- narâ -- is obtained (see p. 122), as well as a Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria L. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda), the fruits of which are used as vessels (see p. 114).

248 The cultivation of cotton (Gossypium barbadense or hirsutum) -- xinarí -- is of comparatively recent date.

252 [462] 8. Preparation of Food

The preparation of solid food is almost exclusively in the hands of the women, but the roasting of game is reserved for the men (390). There are two methods of doing this: The simplest

• [171] 390. According to Baldus, this prerogative

Suráta
Pakidái

/82 cont./

252
462
171

390. (cont.)
of the men is found among most Brazilian tribes: "Entre os povos naturais do Brasil, as grandes caças são assadas ou moqueadas, em geral, pelos homens /among the primitive peoples of Brazil, big game is, in general, roasted or smoked by men/" (Baldus, 1950, p. 7).

252 and most common consists of impaling a piece of meat on a pointed stick, sticking the latter into the ground obliquely toward the fire, and turning it from time to time, so that all sides are equally exposed to the heat. There are also square [171] roasting racks (Portuguese moquém) with grates of wooden rods which, in the same shape or in triangular form, are familiar to almost all primitive peoples of tropical South America (391).

391. These roasting racks are made in the following way: Four sticks, forked at the top, are stuck into the ground so that a square is formed, cross rods are placed in the forks, and over them are laid sticks which are fastened with lianas.

The men use the roasting rack mostly if the meat of large animals, such as tapirs and wild pigs, is to be prepared, because several pieces can be roasted at once. Now and then, however, I also saw a whole monkey lying on the grate. So that no fat will be lost during roasting, the skin is not removed beforehand, but only when one sits down to eat. The entrails, however, are removed from the animals before roasting or boiling. They are not discarded, however, but wrapped in palm leaves and steamed in the hot ashes, to be consumed afterwards with great relish. When the roasting rack is used, an even fire; not too hot, is kept burning under it day and night. Before festivals, when it is desired to preserve exceptionally large quantities of meat,

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

252
262

394. (cont.)
nourishment during their first and second menstruation (see p. 142), and it represents the most important item of food for pregnant women, and for several months after confinement. Among the Tapirapé, on the other hand, where the banana also represents a basic part of the diet, parents must refrain from eating this fruit after a birth. "They believe that the child would die if they disregarded this rule" /cited in English/ (Baldus, 1956b, p. 601).

•[191]

252 raw. -- The mealy, nourishing fruits of the pupunha palm are primarily boiled. Then the soup is allowed to cool and a refreshing drink is obtained in this way. Before festivals all the [415] women pour it into a large, wooden trough, which is found in every maloka, so that there will be enough on hand. By means of steaming or roasting, a solid food is also prepared from them (395). --

[114]
[139]

395. Alexander von Humboldt, by the way designates the pupunha or pihiguao palm as "Pfirsich-palme" /peach palm/ and praises the delicious taste of its fruit (Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 281 f., 300; IV, p. 145). I cannot agree with the great scholar in this, for to me it tasted like slightly bitter potatoes. Zerries, by the way, is of the same opinion (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

Taioba, carâ, sweet potatoes, and sweet manioc are steamed in a pot or roasted in hot ashes without being previously washed or
252 peeled. -- Bitter manioc is scraped by the women with the
412 lancet-shaped bamboo knife (see p. 118) and then grated on a rough slab of granite, for they do not have grating boards (396) (397).

[177]
[123]

396. My servant Mateus, however, made them

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

262 Great popularity was also enjoyed among the Surára and Pakidái
439 by the roasted manioc flour which they occasionally obtain from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter or from the Indian protection post on the Demini as a gift. They are unable to make it themselves because they do not have the large iron pans for it.

252 Various fruits of wild plants also need special preparation. The white seeds found in the pods of the pacova-sororoca (see p. 168) must be roasted before they are eaten. The taste, by the way, corresponds exactly to roasted maize. /84/ -- The fruits of the pot-tree (see p. 168) are first boiled, for which the women particularly liked to use my empty gasoline cans, and then cut open with the knife of tortoise shell (see p. 118). They are then poured into one or more of the large plaited baskets -- uaramá -- (see p. 107) and hung for four days in the water on the bank of a stream, in order to remove the bitter substances. After that they are thoroughly rubbed by the women with their feet. These fruits, to be sure, occupy only a second-rank position in the favor of the "gourmets," but at least they fill the stomach. Moreover, I was assured that in olden times, that is, before the introduction of the banana, this fruit played a much greater role in the food economy.

263 All the foods mentioned are, as a rule, eaten without spices. Only now and then do some men and women add a little of their cultivated pepper, which is roasted beforehand. Not a single
[123] tribesman developed a taste for my salt, of which I had brought along several kilograms, assuming that the Indians would be pleased about it, and they had no interest whatsoever in acquiring any of it (400).

[146] 400. The amount of salt required by the body is supplied by the wood ashes with which the tobacco roll (see p.190) is mixed.

● 171 This aversion to salt is also found among many other tribes,
175 and in a report as early as the sixteenth century one can read the
263 following remark: "The forest people cannot use any salt, because it makes them ill, for they are not used to it; if they eat it, they

263 /84 cont./
171
[175]
almost always die within a short time" (401). Reference should

401. Taunay, 1921, p. 166.

also be made to a statement by Roquette-Pinto, in which he says that the Indians of the Serra do Norte reject all salted food (402).

402. Roquette-Pinto, 1919, p. 243.

There are, however, tribes among whom salt is valued to a certain extent. For example, Herbert Baldus reports about a Boróro who complained that he never got enough salt from the mission kitchen. Yet salt was previously unknown to these Indians (403). The Tapirapé and Karajá /Caraja/ also like salt

403. Baldus, 1937, p. 287.

very much (404), whereas among the Tuparí only the men like

404. Baldus, 1950, p. 14.

to use it; several women, on the other hand, not at all (405).

405. Caspar, 1953, pp. 133/34.

The following statement by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang is noteworthy: "In general, the Indians salt their foods little, but like salt very much and are glad to take it in payment for services rendered" (406).

406. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 49.

272 The number of beverages which are prepared from the nourishing fruit-meat of wild palms is abundant. Especially popular are the bluish açaí and bacaba fruits (see p. 166) about as large as plums, which ripen between December-March. They

/84 cont./

292 are kneaded and pulverized in calabashes filled with water. This produces a grayish-brown, greasy juice which, after the fleshy husks have been fished out and thrown away, reminds one of cacao in appearance and flavor and is extremely filling. This drink tasted even better to me when I added a little sugar. [123] [263] The Indians who tasted this, however, were not enthusiastic about the addition, since they like sugar just as little as salt. I was unable to please either children or adults with my bonbons. The fruit of the bacu buriti, curauá, piaçaba, and ubim palms (see p. 166) is made into beverages in the same way, while that of the inaja palm is cooked beforehand. The juice obtained from this tastes quite insipid, to be sure, but likewise has a high food value.

One should also mention that a drink is prepared from the [114] [184] [171] gathered honey by mixing it with water. I never saw it eaten, as has been confirmed for the Waiká (407) and various /85/ other

407. Zerries, 1956b, p. 150.

tribes of Guiana (408) (409).

408. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 55.

409. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 169.

271 184 As the above account shows, the Surára and Pakidái do not lack variety with regard to beverages, so that only in the rarest instances need they resort to plain water, as is the case, according to Zerries' accounts, among the Waiká (410). As among

273 184

410. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

the latter (411), however, alcoholic beverages are completely

411. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

unknown to the Surára and Pakidái too.

/85 cont./

264 There is no feeling of modesty during eating, such as Karl von den Steinen, for example, describes for the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ (412).

412. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 66.

262 On the other hand, there are food taboos for sick people, pregnant women, for girls during their first and second menstruation, and for young men in connection with their two-months' training as medicine-man helpers.

231

10. Tame Animals

As the sole, true domestic animal, there is found among the Surára and Pakidái only the dog -- hiíma. In addition, for amusement and the pleasure in animals, European cocks are kept, as well as small monkeys, porpoise-like little hamsters (Cavia leucopyga), parrots, araras, and parakeets (Conuvidae).

As for the dogs, there are two barking varieties. One resembles the German shepherd dog, while the other, which is short- /86/ haired, white or spotted, looks very much like our fox terrier. [437] Well-trained hunting dogs, with which a profitable barter trade is carried on, are very lovingly cared for and are always given plenty of food, whereas the others are sometimes neglected. Basically, however, the Indians are attached to these animals also, which may be seen by the fact that every family that owns dogs, usually one or two, has made a "dog bed" behind their fire area, that is, a sleeping place for the loyal members of the household (Ill. 30) (see p. 29). Sometimes young dogs [552] are even nursed by women. If a bitch has brought forth young, all the relatives and friends ask to be given a young one later on and, upon receiving it, immediately give it a name. It may also be of interest to point out that the Indians mentioned never whistle to their dogs. Usually they call them by name or they hiss by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth (413).

• [171]

413. Many North American Indians behave in the same way (Friederici, 1899, p. 365).

/86 cont./

231 [262] [973] Dogs are never killed; they are allowed to live until they die of old age. When I asked whether dog meat was ever eaten in former times, men and women, with horrified faces, answered in the negative. Yet this custom is supposed to have prevailed at one time among various tribes of Guiana (414). There do not

414. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 189.

seem to be any myths about dogs.

123 23 [114] 23 [114] I should also like to mention that during my months-long, extremely friendly stay with the Surára and Pakidái, and in spite of great efforts, in which the Indians helped me, I never succeeded in winning the affection of their dogs. It meant a good deal that in time I was tolerated by them. I can agree perfectly with Friederici when he writes: "The Indian dog has always hated the white man, and, conversely, the dog of the European, the Indian. The odors given off by the races are so different that even a human nose can usually tell the difference, how much more a dog. If a white man walked through an Indian camp he usually had a whole pack of growling and teeth-baring dogs behind him" (415). But I also found that the opposite was

415. Friederici, 1899, p. 365.

true. The dogs kept at the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini, mongrels of the most diverse breeds, but among them also former Indian dogs, behaved, in their hatred, as though they were mad when Pakidái families came to visit (416).

• [191]

416. Baldus, on the occasion of his Chaco expedition, also observed that Indian dogs, once they are in the hands of whites, become the bitterest enemies of their former masters (Baldus, 1931, p. 18).

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

231 writes: "Whether the first hunter-gatherer hordes migrating to
174 America from northeastern and northern Asia by way of the Bering Strait brought the dog along has, apart from the Eskimo dog, not as yet been proved with certainty, even though it is probable. Whether the dogs of the New World can be traced back to such early dogs, that is, of the late glacial to early postglacial times, migrating in with human beings, or whether they have come from autochthonous ancestors of New World origin is a zoological problem that cannot be decided here. Opinions about it differ. In most recent times there seems to be more of a tendency to favor a Neotropical origin of Indian dogs" (420). In this last statement

420. Termer, 1957, p. 2.

Termer refers to comments by Gilmore (421).

421. Gilmore, 1950, p. 377.

235 [439] [197] In contrast to the obscure origin of the two breeds of dogs, there is no doubt about that of the cocks -- cacará --, for these were acquired from the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) by barter only a short time ago. Yet I was very much surprised when, on entering the Surára and Pakidái malokas, I found a large number of cocks but no hens (422), although they could

422. Incidentally, these are also called cacará.

obtain these as well. There is no interest in doing so, however, for they keep cocks only for their colorful plumage and their crowing at dawn (423). Most families have one or two, which they

[231] [171] 423. Ehrenreich reports of the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe, that they keep only dogs and cocks as domestic animals, and that the latter were very popular in particular as sentinels (Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 61).

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

235 also give names; they are fed by the women. During the day they
[552] run around freely, and at night they are confined in a common pen built out of thin trunks and sticks beside each maloka. When the tribe is traveling, it is the duty of the small boys to carry a rooster in the plaited carrying basket made from the bast strips of the curauá plant (see p. 106). When a temporary camp is set up in the afternoon, the cocks are set free. During the night they rest on the limbs of low trees, usually in the vicinity of their owners. Before the march is resumed the next morning, they are caught again and put in the baskets of the boys. I might also men-
[825] tion that the Surára and Pakidái never kill a cock, for it is a mem-
[262] ber of the household, and they believe furthermore that roosters and hens are unclean animals that eat any kind of filth. For this reason, eating their meat, including the eggs, would be very harmful for human beings (424).

235
● 171
262

424. Among various Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana, where many chickens are kept, neither the meat nor the eggs are eaten (Im Thurn, 1883, p. 265). Ehrenreich reports the same thing about the Karajá /Caraja/: "Even the domestic hen, which reached the Araguaya /Araguaia/ tribes a long time ago in the domestic state and has multiplied tremendously, is, as a member of the household, not used for food, nor are its eggs. In modern times, however, it serves as a trade item in dealings with travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Para at a high profit" (Ehrenreich, 1891, pp. 13/14).

231
[171] The tamed wild animals, such as monkeys, parrots, araras, and parakeets, also enjoy complete freedom. I never found them tied up, as is mentioned by Baldus, for example, for the Chaco tribes (425).

425. Baldus, 1931, p. 18.

Surára
Pakidái

/88 cont./

276 and Pakidái I was unable to learn anything with reference to this, although there, too, the consumption of tobacco is uncommonly
[249] great. They plant plenty of tobacco in all the forest clearings, however, and if it were entirely harvested in the fields where they were living at the time, the men fetch it from other distant rocas or in emergencies they obtain it from friendly tribes by barter.

[184] [114] Koch-Grünberg reports that the Xiriána and Waiká hordes visited by him chew the tobacco (430). From his description, how-

430. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

276 ever, it is to be seen that actually a sucking of the tobacco is also involved. The Arekuná on the Roroíma probably also did the
● 171 same thing, although Richard Schomburgk (431) and Appun (432)
114

431. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 239.

432. Appun, 1871, p. 521.

agree in speaking of "tobacco chewing." It is noteworthy that Koch-Grünberg (433) did not observe this form of tobacco enjoyment

433. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 57.

among any other tribe in the Roroíma region, for on the occasion of his visits the men smoked the tobacco as cigarettes or in short English pipes which were imported from British Guiana; he never saw women smoke.

123 If I offered the Surára and Pakidái cigarettes, they first
276 always removed the paper and enjoyed the tobacco in the same way as their cultivated tobacco. Yet they were not very enthusiastic about it, for in their opinion the cigarette tobacco was much too weak. In time, however, men and children became accustomed to smoking (434), but not the women.

434. As a result of this, our supply of cigarettes rapidly dwindled, and my

276
[184]

/89 cont./

Among the Waikâ, this taking of snuff is done in the same way (438). The Tuparí (439) and numerous other tribes of western

438. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

439. Caspar, 1953, pp. 151 ff.

South America (440) also indulge in this custom, though the com-

440. Gillin, 1948, p. 855.

[415]

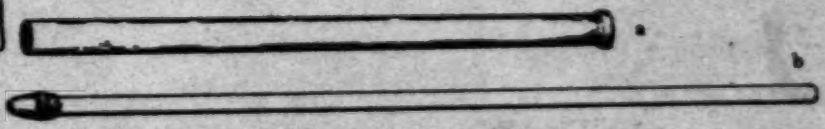


Fig. 28a. Bamboo tube for storing snuff-powder.

Fig. 28b. Bamboo snuff-tube.

position of the powder, except for the paricá or Piptadenia seeds, seems to differ from tribe to tribe. Cooper, moreover, in a comparative study of the taking of Piptadenia snuff, comes to the conclusion that this is a "western trait" /cited in English/ (441).

[114]

441. Cooper, 1949, pp. 536-538 and Map 10.

2: Becher--200 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Parídi

821 /92 cont./
796 danger. For the fact that it has chosen the serras as dwelling
794 places for the gigantic plant and animal spirits is injurious to their power if it is directed against Poré and Perimbó. In contrast to the serras, the hekurá are steadfastly faithful followers of the united moon deities and, together with the stars, protect them against any attacks on the part of the sun and its temporary allies. Sometimes, in an altercation which the serras wage with the moon or sun, an eclipse of the moon or sun appears, because the celestial body in question wishes to conceal itself from the other, so that it will not be drawn into the dispute (447). If, for example, it becomes dark before a thunderstorm and lightning begins to flash, then the sun is very thirsty, is hiding behind the serras and asking for rain. The latter relay the request to the moon. But it does not want to comply with the sun's wish, and already there is reason for the serras and the moon to quarrel. Then when it thunders, Poré has a headache out of anger, and he finally shakes the rain tree to put an end to the quarrel.

● [171]

447. The relationship of moon and sun also plays a special role in the religious and mythological ideas of various other Indian tribes. In the myth of the Yurakaré /Yuracare/, for example, it is treated in the sense of the Orpheus motif (Rodrigues, 1875, pp. 252 ff.; d'Orbigny, 1835/47, III, p. 210).

794 The hekurá are gigantic prototypes of all the species of plants and animals that live on certain serras that are taboo for human beings. These nature spirits are regarded as subordinate helpers of Poré and Perimbó. They are usually favorably disposed toward human beings, permit and facilitate hunting, gathering, and agriculture for them. The men, however, must always show their gratitude to them by prayers, and they may
794 not indiscriminately destroy animals and plants. This is also
55 related to the fact that all members of the tribe, men, women,

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

776
184
821 /93 cont./ Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon--
Perimbó -- and with the latter forms an inseparable unity (450),

[114]
[171]

450. This conception, which seems rather strange and in which Josef Haekel therefore thinks he sees a contradiction (Haekel, 1959, p. 40), is, however, also confirmed for the Uitoto /Witoto/, for Preuss writes about it, among other things: "We thus have here the rare instance in which, through a combination of the god of the earth and a moon demon, a single deity has arisen, a sort of monotheism, alongside of which there are only very insignificant demons" (Preuss, 1922, p. 176). And elsewhere he states: "The fact that moon and Supreme Being here coincide may therefore have come about later, but not necessarily. Today we have them as an inseparable unity" (Preuss, 1922, p. 184).

whereas "Omaua," together with a helper, "Yoaua," lives in the western sky, where they too produce rain, in that they pour the water out of the two celestial rivers (451). In contrast to this

451. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

among the Surára and Pakidái it is believed that Poré shakes the rain-tree of the moon (see p. 199).

821
184
773 Great significance is also attached to the moon by the Waiká, and, significantly enough, also in connection with the creation of human beings. This may be seen from their legend of primitive times (452), which, except for minor deviations,

452. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

corresponds to the one which the Surára chief Hewemão told me

2: Becher--203 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

821
184 /93 cont./
773 (see pp. 247-248) (453). As a further parallel, the leg-birth

453. With reference to this, however, among the Waiká there is a second conception that the first human beings came to the earth in the rain (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). Hence they must have come out of the western sky where, to be sure, Omaua lives and produces rain. Zerries, however, thinks it possible that this rain is identical with the blood of the wounded moon and refers to a Uitoto myth as a parallel (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). In this myth the monthly blood of the daughter of the organizer of the festival of the animals is seen as a fine, cold rain, which Preuss interprets as the flood in miniature, which appears with the dark of the moon; it corresponds to the menses (Preuss, 1921, pp. 113-115).

773 As a further parallel, the leg-birth
184 should be mentioned. According to the Surára and Pakidái version, the first four men and a woman came from the leg of a small bird at definite intervals (see p. 247), while, according to the one of the Waiká, the first woman came out of the pregnant leg of a man (454) (455). Both myths, however, have

454. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

773
● 191

455. Conceptions of leg-births are confirmed also for other South American tribes. Thus, among the Tukuna /Tucuna/ the tribal heroes Dyoí and Epí, together with their two sisters, spring from the knees, swollen by wasp stings, of the male Nutapa (Nimuendajú, 1952, p. 122), and among the Umutina, who unfortunately no

Surára Pakidái Waica

/93 cont./

773 191

455. (cont.)
longer exist as a tribal unit, it is believed that civilized people and hostile Indian tribes came out of the inflamed and swollen calves of the first man, Aipuku (Oberg, 1953, p. 108).

773 184 the polyandrous feature in common, for the woman had a boy (Surára and Pakidái) (see p. 247) or several children (Waiká)(456)

456. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

by the men.

776 174 184 /94/ In the religious world of thought of the Waiká one also finds ideas that are very contradictory. Thus, "Omaua" is regarded, on the one hand, as the Supreme Being and creator of the earth and of mankind, and, on the other hand, is thought of as an actual enemy of the Waiká who is closely linked with alien tribes in the west and with the whites, as well as with their pernicious influences, diseases, puzzling cultural possessions [782] (motor, gasoline, etc.) (457). Furthermore, it is noteworthy

457. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

that in white and black magic "Omaua" is directly invoked (458)

458. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

(the Surára and Pakidái communicate with Poré/Perimbó only through intermediaries), and that there lives with him a cannibalistic creature, "Omayali," which, according to Zerries, presumably represents a hypostasis of the former (459). He believes,

776 174 171

459. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

however, that "Omaua-Omayali" is an import from another culture

2: Becher--205 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
Waica

/94 cont./

776
194
[171]

area and cites corresponding parallels from Aruak /Arawak tribes of northwestern Brazil as well as from Karaiben /Carib/ of Guiana (460), which are augmented by Haekel (461). The last-

460. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

461. Haekel, 1959, p. 41.

named scholar then poses the question: "Did the Waika, prior to this foreign influence, lack the conception of a Supreme Being?" (462)

462. Haekel, 1959, p. 42.

He assumes that the idea of a Supreme Deity in the sense of the Surára and Pakidái related to them might have been familiar to them, since in the ethnic groups named the moon, or the lord of the moon, occasionally comes down to earth, and, as a further link, he mentions the idea of a heavenly paradise of the souls (463). Then Haekel points out that the Surára and Pakidái

[171]

463. Haekel, 1959, p. 42.

as well as the Waiká, in a religious-mythological respect, show remarkable similarity with the following Karaiben /Carib/ tribes (464), though it should be noted that some link the Supreme

464. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

Being with the moon and others with the sun (465): Kachuyana

465. Haekel, 1959, p. 35.

(Kashuiéna /Cashuena/) (even the name of the Supreme Being is very similar in this case, Purá) (466) (467), Barama (468),

466. Kruse, 1955, pp. 404 ff.

467. Polykrates, 1957, pp. 138 ff.

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

776
174
[171]

/94 cont./

468. Gillin, 1936, pp. 155 ff.

Kalina (469), Wajana (Oyana) (470), Makiritare (471).

469. de Goeje, 1943, pp. 26 ff.

470. Ahlbrinck, 1956, p. 26.

471. Cruxent, 1953, pp. 325 ff.

776
174
114
171

"The suggested parallels," Haekel goes on to say, "between Yanoama and Carib call attention, in any case, to a series of problems for which we are still far from a solution today. The probability of historical relationships can undoubtedly not be overlooked. But who were the 'givers,' who the 'receivers'? It is obvious that the Surara-Pakidai and Waika lie within the sphere of influence of Cariban tribes, but in my opinion there is no justification for thinking merely of influences from the Carib in connection with the similarities coming to light. One should also take into consideration the fact that Yanoama and Carib participated jointly in an older substratum" (472). On

472. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

this point I agree with Haekel completely. I also share certain reservations that he has with regard to the avowed western orientation of the Waiká or the Yanonámi culture (473), which

473. Haekel, 1959, pp. 43/44.

Zerries represents (474). True, there is much in favor of it,

474. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

among other things a definite form of endocannibalism and the ritual taking of a narcotic snuffpowder. Further proof might be seen in the fact that among the Ipurina on the Rio Purús the

/94 cont./
776 moon -- "pati" -- is venerated as Supreme Being and "father,"
174 who causes the fruits to grow (475). In this case, however,
● 171
114

475. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 72.

Ehrenreich believes that there has been Christian influence. Among the Sáliva in southern and eastern Colombia /95/ one also finds certain features in the religion and mythology which are reminiscent of those of the Yanonámi and Karaiben, and the Supreme Being worshiped by them is called "Puru" (476), a

476. H. v. Walde-Waldegg, 1936, pp. 40 ff.

name which sounds very similar to Poré and "Purá." Haekel further points out that the religion of the Sáliva shows marked agreement with the neighboring Aruak Achagua (477), which

477. Haekel, 1959, pp. 45/46.

was described by Hernandez de Alba (478). Moreover, it should

478. Hernandez de Alba, 1948, pp. 410 ff.

be mentioned that the Guahibo Indians on the Venzuelan banks of the Orinoco, according to Zerries, have taken over their deity, Purnaminali, from the Achagua or Sáliva (479).

479. Zerries, 1956c, p. 232.

776 But in the eastern regions of Guiana there are also signifi-
171 cant parallels with respect to the religious and mythological conceptions of the Yanonámi mentioned. Reference has already been made to the Kachuyana and their Supreme Being, Purá (see p. 205). They are even more strongly pronounced among the Warrau /Warao/. In their moon myth about "Aboré" and "Wowtáh" the moon has the character of a culture hero (480).

480. Brett, 1880, p. 76.

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/95 cont./

796 171 exactly as among the Surára and Pakidái; moreover, the correspondence between the names Aboré and Porê is especially great. The supplying of cultural possessions is also attributed to the deities in each case. In the Warrau myth it is even said that Aboré fled before Wowáh into the land of the whites, from whence he provided his fellow tribesmen with import articles (481).

481. Brett, 1880, pp. 84 ff.

794 191 The idea that there are gigantic prototypes of each animal and plant species also exists among other South American tribes. Zerries has already worked out the connections for this and has cited several investigators who confirmed identical or similar views for various Indian peoples, among them Arawak, Mura, tribes of the Chaco, Karaiben in Guiana (Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, Cavina and Tumupasa Indians of northeastern Bolivia, Cayapa in Ecuador, and Yaruro in Venezuela (482).

482. Zerries, 1951, pp. 149/50.

794 171 114 The conception of the Yaruro in particular shows corresponding parallels, according to Petrullo's description (483).

483. Petrullo, 1939, p. 237.

For the Karaiben tribe Arekuná, Koch-Grünberg, to be sure, does not find any evidence of gigantic plant spirits, but their idea of the animal spirits is very similar; here they are called "podole" = father (484).

484. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 187.

793 184 If one then compares the myths which deal with happenings on the already created earth, one is struck by the fact that among the Waiká the transformations of human beings into land animals cover a wide range (485). The same is true among the

485. Zerries, 1958b, p. 283.

Surára Pakidai Waica

/95 cont./

793 184 Surára and Pakidái, but here in addition there are also such for the animals themselves, and, to be sure, smaller ones are always transformed into larger ones (see p. 251). The myth of the creation of the ant bear, in which Omawa or Poré transforms a man who has committed incest with his mother-in-law into this animal by magic, is familiar to the Waiká (486), as well as to

486. Zerries, 1958b, p. 285.

the Surára and Pakidái, in the same version (see p. 250).

794 184 Likewise synonymous is the system of the species-spirits of animals and plants, hekurá (Surára and Pakidái), or "hekula" (Waiká) (487), which is closely connected with the medicine-man system.

487. Zerries, 1958b, pp. 286/87.

794 795 184 [124] Of interest, finally, are comparisons concerning the conception of the human soul. It can ascend to the moon (Surára and Pakidái) or to heaven (Waiká) (488) only if the corpse is

488. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

cremated, for its name, uwexík (Surára and Pakidái), or "nobolebe" (Waiká) (488) /see footnote above/, is identical with that of cloud, smoke. According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the soul exists in the bones (see p. 151) (489).

• [171]

489. In this respect they correspond to many other tribes, for in his essay "Die Antropophagie der südamerikanischen Indianer /The Anthropophagy of the South American Indians/," Koch (Grünberg) writes: "All these practices show that the Indian, incapable of separating the physical from the spiritual, regards the bones, which alone remain after the corpse has decomposed, as the actual and ultimate seat of the soul" (Koch (Grünberg), 1899, p. 83).

/96 cont./

2. Curing the Sick

754 825 [753] a) General

All sickness is attributed to hostile witch-doctors, especially those of the Waikâ (493). As carriers they use the gavião-real

[171]

493. The idea that sickness is caused by witch doctors is so widespread in South America that from the large number of examples I should like to quote only two authors for comparison: Roth, 1915, p. 346; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 192.

gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) and the bat. Both animals are therefore designated generally as -- nonexí --, that is, evil spirit or spirit of sickness (494) (495). If such an animal is sighted,

494. Nonexí, however, is also the specific name of the gavião-real.

495. Zerries documents the same name, "noneshi" or "nonish," for the Waikâ. With it, however, they designate the shadow-soul or the alter ago (Zerries, 1958a, p. 108).

it is immediately killed, in order to prevent a misfortune. Moreover, it is assumed that with its death a hostile medicine man, who, of course, temporarily inhabits it, has breathed his last. [239] The down feathers of the gavião-real are therefore glued into the hair for a few days as a trophy (see p. 95).

755 If a member of the tribe has fallen ill, he can be cured only by having the chief, who among the Surára and Pakidái is at the same time the medicine man, and his helpers try to hurl the sickness back to the enemies. This can be done, however, only in the snuff-powder intoxication and by invoking

Surára
Pakidai

/96 cont./

755 the hekurá, and best of all at night by moonlight (496). All

[774] [796]

496. The hekurá are the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being Poré/Perimbó (see pp. 199 ff.).

day long, usually one or two or sometimes even several men make preliminary attempts at healing. For all sicknesses there are very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps, which are taught the young men by their chief during a two-months' training course (see pp. 143/145). If the patient dies despite all efforts, the people yield to a certain fatalism, for in that case the power of the hostile medicine man was simply stronger (497).

• [191]

497. The same thing is reported by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 202), Richard Schomburgk about the Warrau (Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 172), and Barrère as well as Quandt about the Galibi and Arowaken (Barrère, 1743, pp. 216/17; Quandt, 1807, p. 260), to mention only a few parallels.

755 757 For the reasons mentioned, there is only suggestive therapy, supplemented by fasting and treatment with cold water. In the latter case a patient, even with the highest fever, must drink a great deal of water and take frequent baths in the nearby river or brook. He is also often exposed to pouring /97/ rain (Ill. 49), since it is assumed that it has healing powers because it comes from the rain tree of the moon (see p. 199). Sick persons who are already too weak and are unable to leave their hammocks are doused with cold water at regular intervals (498).

[191]

498. Treatment with cold water is widespread in South America. For comparison

Surára
Pakidái

/97 cont./

755
759
171

498. (cont.)
I should like to mention the Kaskihá Indians in the northeastern Chaco, among whom the witch doctor tries to heal the sick in the same way (Baldus, 1931, p. 143).

164

During my nine-months' stay among the Surára and Pakidái the following sicknesses occurred there: grippe, pneumonia, malaria, chicken pox, and a gastric fever; fortunately, none was fatal (499). But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,

000

165
152

499. Only the Pakidái youth Hokotõmarimã died after a fall from a pupunha palm, which probably caused internal injuries (see p. 149).

123 But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,
755 first a young woman, Xunamĩ, the wife of Kurikayawõ, the
759 younger brother of the chief, and later an older woman, Xanimã,
171 the approximately 47-year-old mother of Anyarawõ (see pp. 123/125), and a boy, Xaniwõ (see p. 127), about 12 years old, would probably not have survived without the penicillin that I had brought along, for, in spite of untiring treatment by the chief and his helpers, their condition grew worse from day to day. In the first instance, the chief, Hewemão, and the husband, Kurikayawõ, finally permitted me to give Xunamĩ a penicillin injection in the upper arm on two successive days, whereupon she improved dramatically (500). In the second and third cases,

500. This cure increased my reputation tremendously, so that afterward I was properly adopted into the tribe of the Surára and, on the occasion of the great festival in memory of the dead, was also permitted to drink the banana soup mixed with the bone ashes of deceased relatives (see p. 231). If the woman had died after the injection, however, the intervention could have had grave consequences for me.

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/108 cont./

769
184
266
114

and Zerries in several articles (523b) (524) (525). Moreover,

523b. Zerries, 1955a, p. 80.

524. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 664/65.

525. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

769
266
171

Moreover,

/109/ the latter author, on the basis of contributions to the first five volumes of the Handbook of South American Indians, drew up a distribution map for the occurrence of endocannibalism, which was supplemented by numerous examples (526). Accord-

526. Zerries, 1955a, pp. 80/81.

ing to this, endocannibalism occurs in South American primarily in the western parts of the continent and among the marginal and submarginal tribes of the Tropical zone. This custom is particularly frequent among the Pano and Tukano /Tucano/. In most cases, besides the pulverized bones, which are mixed with chicha (for example, Pano and Tukano), water (for example, Tapuya), or a mash of Pará chestnuts (Moré Indians), the flesh is also eaten. The practice of the Surára, Pakidái, and Waiká, on the other hand, who consume only the cremated, pulverized bones, is very rarely found. The corresponding custom of the Sáliba, Guayupe, and Saé in Colombia is the most similar one. But in eastern Guiana, too, endocannibalism is widespread, for example, among the Karaiben /Carib/ Parukotó (527) and

527. Frikel, 1957, pp. 520 and 545.

among the Arapium, a Tupi tribe in the vicinity of Santarem (528).

528. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

Moreover, it is reported of the Kalina, Palikur, and Arawak that they consume cremated bones of the dead (529). Of the latter

529. de Goeje, 1943, p. 11.

Surára
Parídá

/109 cont./

769 266 171

Ralegh also writes that they pound the bones to powder and consume them mixed with a beverage (530) (531), and the same has

530. Ralegh, 1848, p. 53.

531. Waitz, 1862, p. 388.

been attested to for the Mauhé (532).

532. von Martius, 1867, I, p. 404 A.

114 769 266 171

According to Whiffen, there is no endocannibalism at all in South America, for, according to his view, only vengeance against hostile tribes can be regarded as a motive for anthropophagy. "From all this," he continues, "it follows that intratribal cannibalism would be a criminal outrage by the tribe on itself, and therefore it could never occur that a member of the tribe was eaten, ... This disposes of any such thing as the eating of dead relatives as a sign of respect. These and similar statements are due to misapprehension /sic/ of facts by the writer, or a too hasty judgement on the part of the explorer" /cited in English/ (533). In conjunction with these devious

533. Whiffen, 1915, pp. 120/21.

statements by Whiffen with their completely unjustified criticism, I should like to cite a contribution concerning endocannibalism drawn up by Herbert Baldus and Emilio Willems (534):

534. This appeared in the eminently important, but long out of print, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, which came out shortly before World War II and is therefore, unfortunately, not available in most European libraries.

114 /109 cont./
769 /The long passage in Portuguese which follows on pp. 109-110
266 in the original source is omitted in the translation; see the
● 171 foreign text/ /110/ (535a).

535a. Baldus e Willems, 1939, pp. 40/41.

Most recently there appeared the commendable study by Boglár, "Ein endokannibalischer Ritus in Südamerika /An Endocannibalistic Rite in South America/," in which the author presents the material of several competent sources (535b). I

535b. Boglár, 1958, pp. 67-85.

cannot, however, agree with his interpretations in connection with them. The consumption of the bone powder of the deceased is by no means always to be associated with agricultural tribes, for, as my informants among the Surára and Pakidái explained to me, their forebears, who were pure hunters and gatherers, already practiced this custom. Also the author's view that the showing of respect, the magical transmission of good qualities, etc., can be regarded merely as secondary motives of the endocannibalistic rite (535c), do not apply to the

535c. Boglár, 1958, p. 83.

Surára and Pakidái; here they are decidedly primary. Among them the future life of the dead is assured by cremation, for with the ascending smoke the soul of the dead reaches the moon (see p. 151).

It should further be mentioned that endocannibalism is documented also for Central America, Mexico, and in one case in North America, but Beals regards it as a typical element of the South American Indians (536).

536. Beals, 1932, pp. 123/24.

Surára
Pakidái

/110 cont./

224 If the hunter accompanied by his wife has slain small game or a bird, the wife carries the hunting booty into the community /111/ house. If the man was alone, he brings the animal only to the entrance of his dwelling. It is taken inside by his wife or by another man. The same is true for big game, for example, a tapir, from which a few pieces of meat are first taken along; the rest is fetched later by friendly fellow tribesmen. Thus, the hunter may always carry his booty to the entrance of the maloka, but he may never go inside with it. He must also leave the evisceration of the animal to other men. Subsequently he may roast the meat, to be sure, but after it has been prepared, he is forbidden to eat the first morsel. When
[982] he has finished his meal, he is obliged to pray anew by way of the hekurá to Poré and Perimbó, for the latter demand that one thank them for the hunting booty. If the hunter observes all these rules, the united Supreme Being and the hekurá will always be well-disposed toward him and will always provide for a successful outcome of the hunt.

224 Among many other tribes of South America there are the
● 191 same or similar conceptions of hunting magic. I can here refer
114 to Zerries, who has gathered together the pertinent source material and made a comparative study of it (537) (538). This

537. Zerries, 1951.

538. Zerries, 1954a.

shows that urucú is almost always used for the red coloring before the hunt. Métraux, however, mentions that the ancient Mocoví in the Gran Chaco smeared the snouts of their dogs with jaguar blood (539). From this Zerries draws the justifiable

539. Métraux, 1944, p. 283.

conclusion that urucú is a substitute for blood (540), which

540. Zerries, 1954a, p. 22.

224 191 114

/111 cont./
Métraux also documents for the Chiriguano (541).

541. Métraux, 1931, p. 154, footnote 1.

It should also be pointed out that the hunting rule so strictly observed by the Surára and Pakidái men, which says that a hunter may never carry his game into the maloka himself, can probably be traced back to Karaiben /Carib/ influences. In this connection Zerries speaks of propitiatory rites relating to the killed animal (542). According to his investigations, the

542. Zerries, 1954a, p. 359.

northern region of South America emerges as the nuclear area, where they are found primarily among Karaiben tribes of the Venezuelan coast and its hinterland (543). The author cites

543. Zerries, 1954a, pp. 136/37, 359/60.

Roth (544) and Crévaux (545) as the most important sources, as

544. Roth, 1915, p. 294.

545. Crévaux, 1883, p. 283.

well as the very old report by Rochefort (546), which shows that

546. Rochefort, 1658, p. 451.

even the Island Karaiben were acquainted with this custom.

832 [824]

c) Love magic:

For the purpose of love magic, young men sometimes wear a curauá-fiber string around the neck, to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hamrẽ -- (see p. 83). If the

/111 cont./

832 wearer bites on it and holds it under the nose of a girl or a woman, he gains her favor through the fragrances emanating from it. In fact, I was told that love will then be so great that the woman or the girl would follow him everywhere (547).

547. This type of love magic is reminiscent of a myth of the Aruak /Arawak/ Manao: The Aromatic Root. (Baldus, 1958, pages 32 ff.)

In order to protect themselves from this love magic, married women use two kinds of neck chains. Younger ones [824] have tied to their string of curauá fibers numerous small pieces of tajá root, and older ones, small pieces of the camarau liana (Cipó sp.) -- hií -- (see p. 83). These many pieces of root or liana then counteract the effect of the young men's single piece of root.

754 If a man is angry at a woman because she does not give him a hearing, he can avenge himself in the following manner: [824] On a rainy day he tears off a leaf of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and goes with it into the forest. When he reaches a matamatá tree (Eschweilera matamata Hub.) from which /112/ drops are falling, he lays the palm leaf under the tree. He leaves it there until it has rotted. Out of it comes a worm which the man later fetches and then roasts. If he throws this upon the sleeping woman, she will have no more children.

789 d) Rain magic:
821 Although the Surára and Pakidái appreciate rain more than too strong a radiation from the sun (548), there are occasions when

●[171]

548. In contrast to this, I should like to point out that among the Taulipang, for example, there is great fear of rain (Koch-Grünberg, 1916, pp. 130/31).

/113 cont./

526

7. Types of Sports

[578] Aside from the stick duels -- xelekuhahé --, which are carried out for reasons of jealousy (549), all other types of sports

549. I have already described these stick duels in detail (Becher, 1959, pp. 162-167).

have a religious or magical character.

[237] Noteworthy above all is the game of ball with a monkey bladder -- yarobussí. Only male members of the tribe may take part in it, and for this purpose they always put on their cotton belts. Then they form a circle and keep hitting the bladder upward with the palm of the hand; it then represents both the sun and the moon (Ill. 50).

526 This game of ball is very similar to that of the Uítoto /Witoto/, even with respect to the lunar and solar conceptions associated with it (550a). Moreover, it should be mentioned

171 821

550a. Preuss, 1921, pp. 123, 133-136; 1923, pp. 644 to 659.

that in a myth of the Paressi both celestial bodies are thought of as feather balls (550b). Finally, reference is to be made to the

550b. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 435/36.

Aztec popular belief in which the flying ball is likewise identified with sun and moon (551).

551. Krickeberg, 1948, p. 139.

526 Three other types of sports of the Surára and Pakidái have already been described elsewhere: petapoanhamú, the fight

/116 cont./

593 he soon loses all desire for further mistreatment. The other members of the tribe watch such a spectacle with interest. Moreover, it is worth noting that most of the women are very energetic and can scold with persistence. If a woman is angry with her husband, perhaps because he was unfaithful or did not go hunting, she will often scold loudly to herself for hours, so that all the other occupants of the maloka hear every word.

[592] Meanwhile, however, the man being scolded remains lying in hammock in stoic calm, for a scolding woman may never be

598 interrupted. But between women, too, there are sometimes regular cannonades of vituperation carried on with the greatest vocal display. I always had the impression that at any moment they would come to blows. Sometimes this actually happens. Then they pull one another by the hair and strike each other in the face and on the rest of the body with the hands. /117/ In this case, other women do not interfere, nor do the men. Everybody watches calmly and waits until the scuffle is over.

855 Children are treated with special love and tenderness. In most cases, they show their gratitude to their parents by bestow-

888 ing upon them everlasting affection. I never saw old people neglected (559). If they became so weak and ill that they were

●[171]

559. Baldus also reports of the Tapirapé that the old people are very well treated there (Baldus, 1956, p. 603), whereas later Giacone paints a very gloomy picture in this respect about the Tukano: "Entre os índios dêsses rios, a condição dos velhos é das mais penosas .... Poderíamos dizer, sem medo de errar, que o velho ou a velha, quando não pode mais trabalhar para a família, é considerado como bananeira que já deu cacho, e ninguem terá compaixão deles... /Among the Indians of these rivers the situation of the old people is most painful .... We might say, without fear of error, that the old man or old woman, when

Surára
Pakidái

/117 cont./

888
[191]

559. (cont.)
no longer able to work for the family is regarded like a banana tree that has already produced the fruit, and no one pities them.../" (P. Giacone, 1949, p. 25).

no longer able to take part in the general migrations, however, they were killed, in accordance with the tribal custom (see pp. 153/154).

829
[159]

The friendly, open nature of all Surára and Pakidái is coupled with a very strongly marked self-assurance. Along with their allies, above all the mighty Xiriána, they feel like rulers of the world, which, in their opinion, consists only of virgin forest, mountains, rivers, and lakes. The caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers), the only members of civilization whom they know, are therefore always treated with a certain compassionate condescension by them, for they are of the opinion that all civilized persons, whites, blacks, and mixed, are weak and powerless and owe their lives solely to the benevolent
000 forbearance of the Indians (560). When I told them about cities

[171]

560. Baldus found similar conceptions among tribes of the northeastern Chaco (Baldus, 1931, p. 114), as did Métraux among the Kayapó /Cayapo/. (Herr Prof. Métraux told me this during the meeting of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde in Berlin, 1957.)

123 when I Told Them about Cities
829 in which many white and black people live, of the sea and the big ships sailing on it, they could not grasp this at first and then became very thoughtful. Later, at my departure, they urged me not to travel too far out on the ocean so that I would not fall off the earth-disk (see p. 197).

/117 cont./

XI. Reasoning Abilities

153 Among the Surára and Pakidái the memory is especially keen, both with respect to the myths and songs, religion, and tribal history, as well as with respect to the flora and fauna and the peculiarities of a landscape (561). Their imitative

[114]

561. In this connection I should like to refer to a remark by Baldus: "By and large as far as the Indian's memory is concerned, he retains only what is useful on the phenominal level accessible to him. He will note each peculiarity of a landscape which he crosses, for that is necessary in order to find the way again and to be able to describe it to his companions. The much lauded 'sense of orientation' of the Indian is nothing but memory" (Baldus, 1931, p. 118).

123 Their imitative
153 talent is also noteworthy. For example, upon my arrival, writing and drawing seemed new and mysterious to the Indians. When I handed them my fountain pen and pencils and asked them to draw something, neither the children nor men and women managed to produce anything but the customary serpentine lines, circles, and dots which they otherwise draw with urucú on their bodies, faces, and utilitarian objects. But as soon as I drew trees, houses, and animals for them, they were able to copy these figures after a few attempts. They proved indefatigable in this, and once they had started, they did not want to stop at all. Nor was it long before they /118/ were able to copy letters and finally entire words (562) (563).

153
●171

562. Baldus reports the same thing about the Indian tribes in the northeastern Chaco: "Once one has taught the Indians

Surára
Pakidái

/118 cont./

153
• 171

562. (cont.)
'to see with our eyes,' they do not lag behind us in penmanship and copying" (Baldus, 1931, p. 118).

563. The experiences of two more investigators should also be cited. First Crevaux, whose following description concerns the Oyampí: "I enjoy reproducing the figures and arabesques with which the people of the village are covered. They are very similar to the carvings in the rock Timéri of the Maroni. It then gives me the idea of cutting a piece of charcoal and giving it to the captain Jean-Louis and asking him to draw in my notebook, which he calls caréta, whereas he calls the drawings that he makes coussiouar. Jean-Louis does not know how to draw very well. On the other hand, young Yami soon makes for me, no longer with charcoal, but with a pencil, drawings of a man, a dog, a tiger, finally all the animals and devils of the country.

"Another Indian reproduces all sorts of arabesques which he is in the habit of painting with genipap.

"Having given some needles to my draftsmen, the question is who will ask me for a pencil in order to blacken the paper. I see that these savages who are accused of being absolutely ignorant of the fine arts draw everything with extraordinary facility;..." /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, pp. 76/77). -- No less interesting is the statement by Karl von den

/118 cont./

153
●171

563. (cont.)
Steinen about the Suya on the Xingú, in which he declares that these Indians knew how to use the pencil very well and drew beautiful motifs in his notebook, although he was the first white man they had seen (Karl von den Steinen, 1886, p. 212).

153
[171]
[191]
124
159
[191]

Younger people are distinguished by a gift for rapid comprehension and an astonishing learning capacity. Although these Indians very rarely come in contact with caboclos, and in most cases only the men, both sexes have at their command a rather large store of Portuguese words and figures of speech. One little Surára boy about nine years old, Jubeauwõ, also called Mandú, who had spent almost two years in the hut of the palm-fiber gatherer Manuel Antonio Gómez on the Rio Aracá, had a nearly perfect command of the Portuguese language and performed unique service as my interpreter. I owe it to him alone that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the mental culture of the Surára and Pakidái and put together a complete vocabulary (564).

159
734
752
[888]

564. Three years ago the little boy suffered dangerous burns on the abdomen by an upset vessel containing boiling tree resin. Since the chief had given up hope that he would recover, he wanted to have him given the deathblow. The custom of this tribe, as well as that of the Pakidái, decrees that all old and seriously ill persons who are no longer able to take part in the general migrations must be killed (see pp. 153/154). The grandmother of the little boy, who is an orphan took him secretly one night to the hut of the Spanish palm-fiber gatherer,

/118 cont./

159
734
752

564. (cont.)
Manoel Antonio Gómez, who succeeded in saving his life. The chief was said to have been very angry at first over the arbitrary action of the grandmother, but then, when he saw that the little one had recovered, he calmed down.

123 Most men, after but a short time, had no difficulty handling
153 our two guns; a few were soon even operating the outboard
[177] motor, and the Surára chief Hewemão, who showed great interest in my camera, took very acceptable pictures with it.
153 The reasoning power seems to be somewhat more strongly developed among the men than among the women (565).

[114]
[191]

565. This conclusion agrees with an observation by Baldus among the Tumerehã, and the scholar adds a remark which could also be applied to the Surára and Pakidái: "The differences in the talents of the sexes are perhaps the result of their way of life and division of labor. Thus, among the Tumerehã, the *man's way of acquiring food has* probably developed his acuteness, for he does not merely gather fruits, like the woman, but also goes hunting..." (Baldus, 1931, p. 119).

802 /119/ XII. Counting and Conception of Time

The Surára and Pakidái count only to three:

1 -- mahõn

2 -- porokabõ

3 -- prukatabõ.

/202 cont./

412 [184] (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl. 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surará and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife, [171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Sirionó (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] [199] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of 411 [324] macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The bowstring is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

[627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

554 791 793 756 171 194 793 771 121 191

/212 cont./ We were greatly surprised to find this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).

The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists who have studied this matter[1] is that it is a matter of a Circum-Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence, owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient platform of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its specific conditions, lent itself to the development or to the adoption of the cult.

121 773 793 756

We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have, however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause, the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This personage is different from the shaman and his sphere.

771 171 774

The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

[1] [i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

/223 cont./

776 The Great Jaguar has certain relations with Omao, the
793 deified hero of the Sanemá, since his name, "Omao-kõhe," indicates such a relationship, and it is possible perhaps to speak of a vocation for the office of priest, since the Sanemá Supreme Being admits him, after his encounter with the Great Jaguar, into the court of Omao.

793 According to South American ethnology, it is surprising
● 171 to find a "specialist" in a nomadic preagricultural society, but, as we shall state below, this is the second time that we have found a similar case in Venezuela; the other one was that of the Warao wiʃiráto.

793 The Sanema priest is a member of the court of Omao, not
776 only because the Great Jaguar changed him into a bat, but also
778 because Omao gave him a hikuladɛ which is invisible, although it has a spherical shape like a ball, and the larger the hikuladɛ, the more powerful the priest.

The hikuladɛ of the priest, the informant explained, is like a globe which the hɛwĩawãn keeps in his chest. We shall also see later that the other religious practitioner of the Sanema has a hikuladɛ too, but one which is essentially different. We
793 have the impression that the hikuladɛ of the priest contains "the
778 souls" of the ancestors who were destined by Omao to live there
775 and help the priest. Since the data obtained are, in our opinion,
793 insufficient, we do not want to hazard peremptory statements,
778 but it seems certain that the Sanemá priest also cures the sick,
755 particularly those who are suffering from fever. Our informant
[114] explained to us that the ancestors (hikula-dĩb), the people of the
[778] hikuladɛ of the priest, are the ones who cure the fever when the priest brings the hikuladɛ out of his chest and deposits it for a time on the body of the patient.

Sometimes the desired effect is not attained, and that indicates that the soul of the /224/ victim has already abandoned the
793 body and does not want to return. The hĩkula therefore constitute
778 a sort of supernatural "little pueblo" /pueblecito/ within the
628 Sanemá community in which the priest lives and do not wish to have any communication with the kĩkula-dib /sic/ of the neighboring pueblo. The priests from nearby pueblos do not visit each

/224 cont./

793 778 628 776 other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the hɛ̃wĩawã̂n gather with their hĩkula-dĩb.

793 778 775 The hĩkula-dĩb of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria, in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial community, and for this reason more than one priest is unnecessary. In the section of the illustrations one can see the 532 hikuladɛ̃ of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees 793 there five hĩkula-dĩb, or souls of ancestors of the group in which 778 the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the 775 center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One 126 of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him 532 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is 793 based on the belief that a Sanemã must never speak of the insect 778 of the house of the hikuladɛ̃. As a matter of fact our informant 775 never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab 126 on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it 825 was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American ethnology.

• 171 773 825 778 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it payak, a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to the hĩkuladɛ̃ of the Sanemã priest to note the Mataco custom of attributing a supernatural power to a maraca /gourd rattle/ with sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The similarity between the hikuladɛ̃ of the Sanemã and the "sacred maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

7 [see p. 70 - - Analyst]

/224 cont./

793 The function of the scarab in the curing process is as fol-
755 lows: If the hɛ̃wĩawán wishes to cure a patient, he takes the
825 hĩkula from his chest and places it upon the patient. In order to effect the cure, the scarab opens an invisible hole in the chest of the patient, and the hikuladɛ of the priest enters through there.
[175] /225/ Once within the patient's chest, the hĩkula-dĩb come out of the hikuladɛ in order to combat and bring to the exterior the cause of the sickness. After a while the priest again takes possession of his hikuladɛ, and the treatment is fully successful. The informant did not want to mention the name of the caleopteran or even to talk about it, fearing that if he were to do so and if he were then to become sick, the priest would not be able to cure him, since the insect would not open a hole in the chest of the patient.

793 It is our impression that the priest only cures the ailments
755 that result from the presence, in the body of the sick person,
775 of the soul of a wandering deceased person who has approached the rancherías and whose very presence causes pain.

If we understand that the part of the Sanemá which goes to the house of Omao is the soul, we may say that the priest is concerned with the well-being of the same in the bodies of his companions, and that he represents the actualizing principle between the subject "the soul of the man" and the object "Omao," who enter into communication by means of the intervention of the priest. For the soul, which goes to live in the house of Omao as hĩkula-dĩb, we noted down the name of hɛ̃npĩrtĩb, which essentially seems to correspond in its character to the "bole" of the Waica (Zerries, 1958b).

[171]

793 The hɛ̃wĩawán may send a hĩkula-dĩb to a neighboring
775 pueblo in order to cause sickness among its inhabitants, but his
754 primary function is to guarantee the well-being of the souls of his community and to present them eventually to Omao at death.
793 It is interesting in this respect to note that the Surara and Pakidai,
754 subgroups of the Yanoama of Brazil, are of the opinion that
825 sicknesses are transmitted by a shaman of a neighboring pueblo
050 by means of sparrow hawks and bats. The Sanemá say that the

/226 cont./

756 chest. They enter, without loss of time, through the extremi-
533 ties of the body and through the head. They arrive in the order
774 in which their names are sung by the master sablf, who in this way "builds a pueblo" of a microcosmos in the body of the man. The stronger the master, the greater will be the "pueblo," and the greater this "pueblo" is, the better chance the sablf will have to augment his inner world and his power during his life.

756 The hikuladi of the sablf is essentially different from that
774 of the priest, in the sense that it is inhabited by the vital prin-
[778] ciple of vegetable and animal species and not by the souls of departed ancestors. The man also has a specific hſkula, different from his soul and which, as is true of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, seems to be immortal and spiritual, essentially joined to animate matter until death. Each specimen of a species has a specific hſkula; after death, the speciman goes to a luminous place in the forest. While the soul of a man may abandon the body during sleep, etc., without its being detrimental for the man himself, the hſkula never leaves until the moment of death. Furthermore, the soul is typically human, while the hſkula is found in man and also in plants and animals. Some informed us with insistence that women and small children do not have hſkula.

773 Here is the story which explains the origin and the nature
774 of the hſkula in the animate world.

[776] Chinanſdmawan is a gigantic demon of dreadful shape, with long, sharp claws. He has skin which is impenetrable and as hard as rock.

/227/ One day Chinanſdmawan came to attack the Sanemá. The latter posted themselves with their weapons to face his attack. Soon, however, the Sanemá realized that arrows and lances had no effect on the demon, who captured most of his enemies. Chinanſdmawan quartered and devoured his victims, but kept the skins, which he nailed out on boards around and inside his house.

• [171] (It is extremely interesting that this custom of keeping the skin
[727] of enemies has been preserved in Sanemá mythology, since it is reminiscent of some tribes of the Cauca, in Colombia, of the Mauta of Ecuador, of the Huauca of Peru, and of the Inca. It also recalls the cult of Xipe in Central America.)

Y /230 cont./
791 present by taking out from under his tongue stones, small sticks,
[755] vermin, etc. "Arrows" come out in the form of a black liquid,
of tobacco, etc. He spits out and tramples on what he has been
Y able to extract. The káilala of the Sanemá also possesses power
[754] that is benevolent and malignant at the same time and can shoot
Y magic arrows at the enemy rancheria, thus causing sickness or
● [171] death. If we compare this religious complex of the Sanemá
with that of the Warao, we find such a great similarity that
there cannot be the least doubt but that both have the same origin.

W Among the Warao the temple cult is strictly local and
793 cannot be carried out in a place where there is no priest, who
[771] may be a man or a woman, although for this office there is
[787] a special category in the society of the Warao. It is not heredi-
[776] tary and can be obtained by the special calling of the Supreme
Being, Kanobo.

W The son of a priest is generally considered as more suitable --
[171] by birth -- to fill the office of his father, but although the son
may be competent to succeed his father in a political position,
he does not necessarily have the right to succeed him as priest,
as happens among the Taino, where the son inherits the office of
priest together with the chieftainship.

W The Warao temple cult is furthermore completely separate
793 from shamanism and magic; religious matters are the responsi-
755 bility of especially designated persons who act only within their
776 own domain. /231/ The fact that the priest may cure sickness
[771] must not lead the observer to false conclusions, since it is logical,
according to Warao mentality, that the priest controls -- through the
power of God -- the spirits of heaven, whose desire is to take
everyone to the side of God, to whom they owe obedience and
W whose orders are transmitted to them by the mediation of the
793 priest. These are spirits objectively good, but which become
755 subjectively bad when with their metaphysical capability they
776 enter the body of a man, physically limited, causing a pressure,
753 that is, a sickness. In Warao terminology the priest cures by
778 "alleviating this pressure," bringing about as a result typical
ailments, such as fevers of various kinds, which he cures by
frightening away the spirits with merely his presence, but in
particularly critical and difficult cases he may also use one of his
maraca /gourd rattle/.

/233 cont./

539 to search the sun's house. Then the sun burned its surface and from that came the scars which show on its face.

The moon went to the other side of the world, and, while the sun sealed its friendship with man, the moon was his ir-
539 reconcilable enemy. When the moon appears rose-colored, it
821 is because it, along with its family, is eating men. The sun also has a family, but does not eat human flesh. Sometimes the moon hides in its house in order to plan a new campaign.
[532] During that time women are very much afraid and, in order to
[751] protect themselves, paint a likeness of the sun on their cheeks; they also commonly paint it on large stones which they find on the path.

/234/

OINEITĨB

539 Beneath the earth there exists the world of the dwarfs, who
[772] are called Oineitĩb. They live like men, but eat and speak very rapidly. They have no intestines or anus, and when they eat meat or other food, they cut it in pieces and swallow it raw, without chewing (25). They sometimes also eat women who conceal

• [171] 25. See also the corresponding myth of the Yupa Indians of Venezuela (Wilbert, 1959d).

their menstruation. On one occasion the subterranean river grew so much that it acquired an enormous volume and gained so much strength that it blew out the earth beneath the ground of the rancheria in which there lived a woman who had tried to conceal her state. The houses collapsed and the inhabitants drowned, with the exception of the women, who were devoured by the dwarfs and their souls went to live forever with the guapo, who is also unable to go up to heaven and live with Omao.

Because the dwarfs have no intestines, they are always hungry and, for that reason, devour their food with much greediness. On occasion one of these dwarfs comes to earth to visit a man, but never a woman. The man cannot see his guest, but

I did not attempt to collect data on all aspects of Yąnomamö culture. Hans Becher (1960) and Otto Zerries (1964) had already done this. I concentrated, rather, on Yąnomamö social organization, settlement pattern, warfare and ideology and gathered data that would permit me to analyze these aspects of Yąnomamö culture and how they were related to each other in determining marriage practices.

The collection of genealogies proved to be the most important and the most difficult task of my field work. The widespread taboo against saying the names of both the living and the dead found in South America, particularly in the Guiana area, was carried to an extreme by the Yąnomamö. Consequently, much of my time was spent trying to discover which of my informants were giving me erroneous information, a frustrating and time consuming task. It was not unusual to discover after I had spent weeks on particular genealogies working with data provided by crafty informants that I had to disregard most, if not all, of those data. The Indians soon discovered my interest and set about inventing names for everybody in the village--and learning them, making my task all the more difficult when I checked my genealogies with informants from other villages. Thus, I would arrive at what I considered an accurate genealogy for the members of the village I lived in only to be advised by an Indian from another village that most of the names were inventions. I was therefore unable to check the accuracy of the stated relationships between individuals with outside informants

which is tied a bundle of feathers.[1]

Besides shamans, of which there are several in every village, there are influential 'big men.' The number of big men in a village depends, on the one hand, on the size of the village and the number of local patrilineages comprising it, and, on the other, on the number of men who are personally qualified to lead. The qualities that determine leadership are personal courage, fierceness, the ability to be outraged by even the slightest insult, marksmanship, diplomacy in trading with representatives from other villages, the ability to arrange marriages for male supporters with females from other villages, cunning and intelligence in dealings with allies, the ability to attract young men to live permanently in the village by promising them wives, and the defense of group members who get into difficulties with other village members.

Individuals who possess all these attributes are considered leaders only if they have a large natural following, i.e., brothers and sons living with them in their village. Otherwise, such men have only just a little more

---

[1] To give a more comparative statement on the poverty of Yąnomamö culture, they possess only 11 traits of the 354 listed in the 4th edition of Carneiro and Tobias' "Trait List to be Used for the Study of Cultural Evolution by Means of Scale Analysis," (1963, mimeograph). By contrast, the Siriono have 8, the Andamanese 10, the Jivaro 22, the Nuer 28, the Siuai 39, the Iroquois 64, the Bemba 100 and the Tahitians 140. (Carneiro and Tobias, 1963:201.) In the classification developed by E. R. Service (1962), the Yąnomamö are "tribal."

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

left the field in February 1966, and had by that time involved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

The situation is similar with respect to inter-village warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare necessitates the formation of political alliances with other groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

---

[1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory. In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

inter-village visiting and solidarity, for one trade is usually the prelude to another. For example, the Bisaasi-tedi obtain much of their spun cotton and curare arrow points from their Shamatari allies. It takes considerable time and labor to accumulate these items. When the Shamatari are visited by the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter make known their desire to have these items, and their hosts promise to produce them. When the items are accumulated, the Shamatari visit the Bisaasi-tedi to inform them their cotton and arrow points are ready. A feast is arranged and the items are given over to the Bisaasi-tedi after the celebration terminates. The Shamatari then request specific items from their hosts, and the cycle continues. Neither village is completely 'paid up' regarding goods it owes to the other, so that each exchange as Mauss (1954) argued, brings forth another.[1] The imporant point is that Yąnomamö trading is not stimulated by naturally occuring shortages or monopolies on resources; artificial shortages are <u>created</u> and these promote visiting between allies. In Durkheimian terms, the division of labor, irrespective of the causes, promotes organic solidarity between allied villages. And, the kinship category most intimately involved in the trading is the brother-in-law.

Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their

---

[1] The parallel between this and bride price payment in Burma is striking. See Leach, 1957. It is worth noting at this point that the Yąnomamö have no word for 'free' or 'gift'; the closest they can come to it is: "something given without cause." But nothing is given without cause, and they shrewdly keep track of all debts.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

621
623
582
602

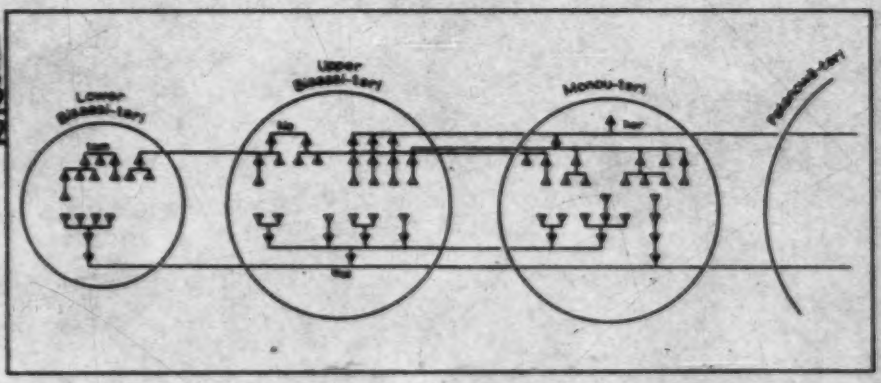


Fig. 3-3. Actual village fissioning.

separated from each other because of the ties each had to affinally linked descent groups of other lineages. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-teri is comprised essentially of two groups: a local descent group of the *Sha* lineage and a local descent group of the *Tow* lineage. Their members have exchanged women with each other for several generations, creating strong bonds of reciprocal obligations to continue to exchange in the future (Chagnon 1966). Similarly, the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in the two remaining villages shown in the figure are linked by affinal ties to other lineages.

Further back in history—1954—Monou-teri also constituted a portion of the village that included Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Fig. 2-4, Chapter 2). Finally, the three villages shown on Fig. 3-3 constituted a single village with Patanowä-teri about 1940. The fissioning of the original village (and subsequent village fissioning) resulted in the distribution of local descent groups according to pairs, as shown in Fig. 3-4.[12]

Discrepancies in the Marriage Pattern

128
582
621*

I presented in considerable detail the relationship between actual behavior and ideal rules about behavior from a qualitative point of view. This was accomplished by comparing genealogical diagrams describing some actual examples to ideal models of marriage and village fissioning. I will now give some of the quantitative aspects of marriage behavior and the demographic and political bases of the actual marriage pattern.

Table 3-2 shows the distribution of marriage types found in two related villages.

[191]

[12]In some areas of Brazil the pattern of village fissioning is slightly different. There, a local descent group may even establish its own house, separated from the wife-giving/wife-receiving member of the pair by as much distance as several miles. What I have been calling the "village" in this discussion breaks down, in portions of Brazil, into several "pan-villages" that are not capable of carrying on an independent social existence. That is, members of the "pan-village," the composition of which is essentially a single local descent group of one lineage, must obtain their wives from some other nonlocal group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

which more stable types of alliance can develop. Nor do they overtly acknowledge the relationships between trading and feasting cycles to village interdependency. In this regard they are like the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia: They have a "functional ignorance" of the more significant adaptive aspects of their trading institutions. To both the Yąnomamö and the Trobrianders, the mechanisms by which peoples from different groups are compelled to visit each other are ends in themselves and are not conceived to be related to the establishment of either economic or political interdependency. For the Yąnomamö participant in a feast, the feast itself has its significance in the marvelous quantities of food, the excitement of the dance, and the satisfaction of having others admire and covet the fine decorations he wears. The enchantment of the dance issues from the dancer's awareness that, for a brief moment, he is a glorious peacock that commands the admiration of his fellows, and it is his responsibility and desire to present a spectacular display of his dance steps and gawdy accouterments. In this brief, ego-building moment, each man has an opportunity to display himself, spinning and prancing about the village periphery, chest puffed out, while all watch, admire, and cheer wildly.

The hosts, too, have an opportunity to display themselves and strut before their guests. Moreover, the very fact that they have given the feast is in itself a display of affluence and surfeit apparently calculated to challenge the guests to reciprocate with an equally grandiose feast at a later date.[1] Each good feast deserves and calls forth another, and in this way allies become better acquainted with each other as they reciprocate feasts during the dry season and over the years.

Historical Background to a Particular Feast

One of the feasts I witnessed exhibited all the features of intervillage politics. Before describing this feast, I will give the historical antecedents to the event, recapitulating a number of points discussed in Chapter 3 in the context of the history of Kąobawä's village. The significance of the events will then become clear, for Kąobawä's prior relationships to the guests at the feast had a great deal to do with the outcome.

In 1950 Kąobawä's group, almost friendless, beleaguered by enemies, and somewhat isolated, began cultivating an alliance with the Iwahikoroba-teri (see map, Fig. 2-8), a Shamatari village, some two days' traveling distance southeast of their own village at Kreiböwei. The Iwahikoroba-teri were on friendly terms with another Shamatari group, the Möwaraoba-teri, from whom they had separated some years before. Kąobawä's group, on the other hand, was at war with this village because members of his own group murdered a friendly Möwaraoba-teri visitor in 1940, touching off a series of raids between them. Anxious to develop an alliance, Kąobawä's group accepted a feast invitation from the Iwahikoroba-teri and visited that village to participate in the feast. Up to that point they were only on trading terms with them.

The Iwahikoroba-teri, however, had made a prior arrangement with their friends, the Möwaraoba-teri, to help them massacre Kąobawä's men and abduct his group's women. The Möwaraoba-teri were hidden in the jungle outside the village when Kąo-

[1] The competitive aspects of feasting in many primitive societies has been dealt with at length by Marcel Mauss, whose essay *The Gift* is now an anthropological classic.

/7 cont./

114 103 Demini and Aracá were first introduced into the literature by João Barbosa Rodrigues, although he did not write Demini, but rather Demeune (32), and the Rio Aracá was called Uaraca by him (33).

32. On maps of that period one likewise finds the entry Demeney.

33. Rodrigues, 1885, pp. 136, 148.

179 184 103 With regard to the name Demini, it may be assumed that the ending "ini," according to the linguistic studies of Koch-Grünberg (34a), is derived from the Aruak /Arawak/ word "eni" =

34a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 15.

172 323 river, water. This assumption is confirmed by many very old finds of shards which I discovered on the entirely unpopulated terra firma on the riverine lakes of the Demini. They are yellowish gray shards, which are decorated with spiral lines, meanders, and other plaiting designs and resemble the earthenware vessels which Koch-Grünberg described for the Aruak tribes (34b).

34b. Koch-Grünberg,1910a, pp. 227/28 and Ills. 152-155.

The fact that I found only shards is undoubtedly linked with the custom of the Aruak described by Koch-Grünberg, according to which all the clay vessels that belonged to a deceased person must be broken to pieces, for otherwise the spirit of the dead would punish the greed of the relatives (35).

35. Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, p. 151.

This would also confirm the surmise of Koch-Grünberg that at one time Aruak tribes coming from the west and southwest penetrated into the region between Rio Branco and Orinoco, which was

276 [412] powder as it dries, the flat side of a stone axe[6] serving as the grinding pestle. The dried, green powder, no more than several tablespoons full, is then swept onto a leaf with a stiff feather. The men then gather around the leaf containing the drug, usually in the late afternoon, and take it by blowing the powder into each other's nostrils (see Fig. 2-3). A small quantity of the powder is introduced into the end of a hollow cane tube some 3 feet long. The tube is then flicked with the forefinger to scatter the powder along its length. One end of the tube is put into the nostril of the man taking the drug, and his helper then blows a strong blast of air through the other end, emitting his breath in such a fashion that he climaxes the delivery with a hard burst of air. Both the recipient and the blower squat on their haunches to do this. The man who had the drug blown into his nostrils grimaces, groans, chokes, coughs, holds his head from the pain of the air blast, and duck-waddles off to some leaning post. He usually receives two doses of the drug, one in each nostril. The recipient usually vomits, gets watery eyes, and develops a runny nose. Much of the drug comes back out in the nasal mucus that begins to run freely after the drug has been administered. Within minutes after the drug has been blown into a man's nose, he begins having difficulties focusing his eyes and starts to act intoxicated. The drug allegedly produces colored visions, especially around the periphery [187] of the visual field, and permits the user to enter into contact with his particular *hekura*, miniature demons that dwell under rocks and on mountains. The man begins to chant to the *hekura* when the drug takes effect, inviting them to come and live in his chest.

245 276 The Yąnomamö also cultivate a tree, *hisiwa*, that produces hallucinogenic seeds. These are prepared in exactly the same manner as the noncultivated drug.

322 396 TROUGHS AND CANOES The Yąnomamö use the bark of another kind of tree to make a trough and a crude canoe, both of which are nearly identical in shape, size, and method of construction. The tree is beaten with clubs to loosen the bark. The bark is then removed in one piece and hauled back to the village. The ends are heated in a fire to make them pliable and folded back to make the ends of the container. They are held firm by lashing two sticks together, pinching the folded bark into a flat-nosed basin. The interior bark surface becomes the exterior surface of the soup container. If the container is to be used as a canoe, a crude framework of sticks is added to the inside, giving 501 it more stability. The craft is so crude and heavy that the Yąnomamö generally do not use it for any purpose other than the trip for which it was intended, usually a downstream trip, since it would be almost impossible to move against a current in this rough craft. It is easier to walk than to try to pole the canoe upstream. The canoe, hence, is usually discarded after it makes its maiden voyage. Another will be made when it is needed.

418 574 264 The container is pinioned to the ground with stakes if it is to be used as a soup trough. Each time a feast is held, one or more of these bark containers is made in front of the headman's house, filled with the boiled ripe plantain soup, and frequented by the hungry guests, who dip out the soup with gourd spoons. The trough is thrown on the village rubbage heap after the feast is over.

---

[6] They find the stone axes when they make new gardens, explaining that the spirits left them behind for the Yąnomamö to use. This axe was occupied in the distant past by tribes whose relationship to the present Yąnomamö is uncertain.

[172]

wondered what kind of strange vegetable food this was, so he stole some. At first he just peeled them and examined them, afraid to eat one. Horonama then sought out Borerawĩ and asked him how to produce these strange plants and what to do with them after they grew. Borerawĩ then instructed him in their use, the techniques of cutting jungle with stone axes, burning the fallen logs and brush, and planting the shoots of the young plants. Thus, because Horonama stole the plant from Borerawĩ, the others learned how to make gardens and no longer had to eat dirt.

Borerawĩ had a monopoly on many other cultivated crops, but one by one these were taken over by the others until all of the first beings were familiar with their use. Today, when the Yąnomamö find stone axes in the jungle, as they usually do when they clear a new site for cultivation, they explain the axes as something that the first beings, Borerawĩ in particular, left behind for present man to discover and use.

Another of the first beings was Iwĩ (alligator). He and his wife, Bruwaheiyoma, were accustomed to go hunting together in the jungle. This was in the days before fire was known to Yąnomamö. Iwĩ, however, knew about fire and kept some hidden in his mouth. He refused to give fire to the others, so they had to eat their meat and insects raw. Only Iwĩ and his wife cooked their food in those days. The others decided to make Iwĩ laugh so that they could steal the fire when he opened his mouth. They made pranks to get Iwĩ to laugh, but he would not be amused. Finally, Dohomamoriwĩ did something funny and caused Iwĩ to laugh. When he opened his mouth, Kanaboriwĩ, a bird, flew into his mouth, snatched the fire, and took it up with him into a tree, After that, everybody had fire.

Haya (deer) also lived among the first beings. His daughter was married to Aiyakorari. One day Haya sent Aiyakorari out of the village to fetch him some *manaa* fruit from the jungle. Haya was at that time the only one who ate this fruit. He did not know, however, that Aiyakorari had a grove of peach palm, which he cultivated. Thus, Aiyakorari fetched some of his own fruit instead of the *manaa*. His father-in-law, Haya, was very angry over this, so he inhaled a pinch of snuff and began pulling the flesh from his calves up to his thighs. After this had been accomplished, he pulled the flesh of his forearms up to his shoulders and transformed himself into a deer. His wife did the same thing, as this was a propitious moment. Haya's daughter started to do the same thing, but Aiyakorari grabbed her by the hair and prevented her from doing so. Haya and his wife then bounded off into the jungle and became deer.

Omauwĩ is one of the first beings who figures prominently in a number of Yąnomamö myths. He and his brother Yoawĩ lived when Öra (jaguar) lived. Öra had a young son who was unable to speak. One day Aiyakorari's mother, Mamokoriyoma, cooked some of her son's peach-palm fruit and fed it to Öra's child. He got sick from eating the fruit and died. After he died, a sister of Omauwĩ then asked Mamokoriyoma if she could eat the dead child. "Mother-in-law, should I eat the dead child?" she asked. Mamokoriyoma then said, "Eat him." She took the body of the child, pulled a leaf out of the roof of the house, and used it for a dish on which to consume the child's body. When Öra discovered this, he was angry. As he himself was hungry for meat, he in turn ate Moycinaiyoma, the mother of Omauwĩ and Yoawĩ, to get revenge. After he had done so, Yoawĩ shot him with an arrow and killed him.

Soon after that, the daughter of Rahararíyoma went to fetch water at the river where Omauwĩ and Yoawĩ were accustomed to catch fish. The two brothers found her

/120 cont./

621 166 241 These periodically recurring radial movements from a fixed center (the village with its planting) do not affect, in sociological respects, the substance of the village: normally the whole village migrates. In this respect, however, it is different with regard to a second type of village movement, which is not characterized by the going back and forth of the short forest-sojourns, but rather takes place over longer periods of time and only in one direction. The Waika live only about five years from one planting and then move to a new one laid out beforehand, which is usually about a day's journey away. Practically every village known to us has an old and a new planting, for since the chonta palm (Guilielma gasipaes), still cultivated today and useful in many ways, has a different life span than the various types of bananas, overlapping in the utilization of the plantings cannot be [173] avoided. If a newly established planting is bearing enough bananas, the whole village is moved to the new planting; the names and the site of earlier plantings are remembered exactly, however, so that from this the history of each individual village, i.e., its shifting in Waika territory, and consequently the history of the Waika themselves in their territorial aspect, can be reconstructed 621 for two to three generations. Such a move to a new place, how- 166 ever, is also the occasion for changes in the composition of the 161 village, for a split as a rule, for in the meantime, because of the 173 enormous /121/ surplus of births, which the Waika have to register today, the village has grown far beyond the limit of the number of persons that can be governed well under their institution-poor system. The partition of the village is not done at discretion, but exactly along the lines of separation indicated by the above- [431] mentioned composition by groups of families. One or more groups [182] of families are the bearers of the new villages, and the memory of the way the new village was founded by the union of several groups of families is ceremonially represented as shown, in the gift-exchange.

/7 cont./

114 inhabited by an old population living in a wholly primitive state.
174 The Aruak were said to have been subjugated later by the Karaiben /Carib/, who, in turn, met powerful resistance on the part of the warlike Xiriśna and Waikś (36). Elsewhere the same

36. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 15/16.

investigator writes: "On the Merewari and upper Orinoco Karaiben live together with Arowaken, whereas the upper Uraricuéra and the Parima Range are entirely in the hands of the allophylian Schirianś and Waika" (37). I, too, met neither Karaiben nor

37. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 233.

Aruak tribes in the Demini-Aracś region.

114 On a tribal map of that region drawn by Nimuendajú (38),
131
174

38. This map is in the possession of the scientific division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro.

Xiriśna are given as the inhabitants of the Rio Demini, along with the date 1874. Rodrigues also reports that at the end of the nineteenth century members of this tribe lived both along the banks of that stream and along its tributaries, the Cuieiras and Mamimêu; from there they extended their roving expeditions as far as the Catrimani (39).

39. Rodrigues, 1885, p. 136.

173 /8/ Today only one civilized Xiriśna family is living on the
115 lower Demini as planters, but it no longer has any connection
[131] at all with its original, living fellow-tribesmen. This family, whose members speak Portuguese exclusively, told me that the region of the Demini has been the land of the Xiriśna from olden times. On account of frequent attacks on the part of the Waikś,

/8 cont./

however, they had withdrawn into regions remote from the river. Their last maloka on the Demini was taken over by a Waikâ tribe in 1934. This is the place where today the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" is located, on the right bank of the middle Demini, just below the Cachoeira Auatsinaua (40) (41). In 1939, the

40. Holdridge visited the Xiriâna here in 1932. (Holdridge, 1933, p. 380.)

41. According to information which Nimuendajú obtained in Manaus in 1927 from a man named Domingos Campos, Aruak-speaking Indians on the Demini were supposed to have been called Xiriâna (Nimuendajú, 1955, pp. 150/51). This brings up all kinds of questions which are yet to be solved. Thus, there could have been an Aruak tribe of this name, for the shards which I found on the Demini, as well as the name of this river, indicate that members of that linguistic group once lived here. It might also be possible, however, that Aruak groups, after their subjugation by the Xiriâna, became assimilated with the latter. On the other hand, it is not impossible that individual Xiriâna adopted the Aruak language, and finally there still remains open the surmise that the Indians mentioned by Domingos Campos are not identical with the actual Xiriâna, but were merely called that by the caboclo population.

In the literature, the two tribal designations "Xiriâna" (members of the Aruak linguistic family) and "Xiriană" (independent linguistic family) (Loukotka, 1942,

Surára Pakidái Shiriana Sanumani

/19 cont./

411 184 114 [173] almost identical with that of the Surára and Pakidái, except for the fact that the former is set off at the ends. This confirms the statements made by the Indians investigated by me who said that they obtained bows of this kind and the knowledge of how to make them themselves from the Xiriána. In reply to my question as to why their bows were not set off at the end, I was told that the Xiriána demand this deviation. In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/, there are two Xiriána bows which were collected by Koch-Grünberg (12.25:29, 12.25:31). They are relatively small specimens, however, for they are only 1.92 and 1.82 meters high, respectively. A bow which came from the Xamatári of the Rio Maiá, a left tributary of the Rio Cauaboris, and which is also in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:4) and is two meters high, has exactly the same shape as the Surára and Pakidái one, that is, without the offset ends. This is not surprising, for, according to the statement of the Surára chief Hewemão, the Xamatári are likewise satellites of the Xiriána (see p. 12). Finally, it should be mentioned that the same bow-form has also been documented for the Waiká in Venezuela (70).

70. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

411 249 824 The arrows -- xerêka --, whose total length comes to between 2-2.12 meters (shaft length 1.89-1.94 meters; weight, 60-90 grams) (71) (72), are made out of arrow cane -- xerekaîbe --

[114]

71. These measurements confirm Weule's statement when he says that the arrow must correspond in length, shape, and weight to the bow, in order to guarantee a certain accuracy of aim (Weule, 1899, p. 6).

72. Pertinent comparisons with other South American tribes are to be found in the chart by Ranke (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[746] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[156] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[437] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows
[764] for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

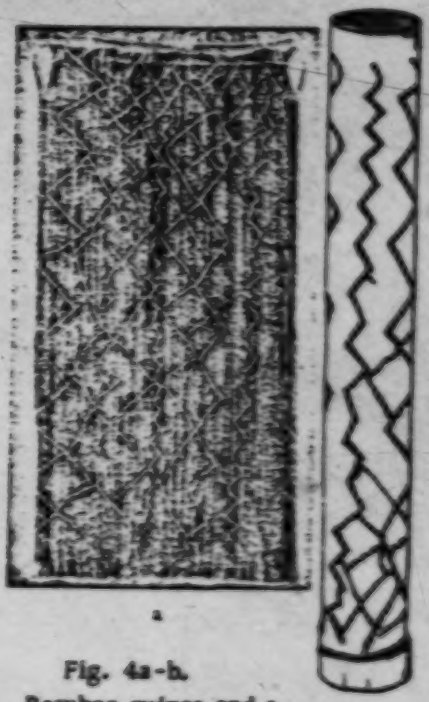
411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
●173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow

Sutára Pakidái

/24 cont./

000 411 194 173 411 726 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would represent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waikâ, Zerries reports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them

411 415 531



a b

Fig. 4a-b. Bamboo quiver and a rubbing of the incised design.

173 411 726 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hîmo," which are made from the wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

411 171 578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled, which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

111. Zerries, 1964b, p. 75.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/75 cont./ According to their own statements, both tribes regard the Xiriśna as their culture-bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larś -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norś -- (350). The latter,

359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

350. Among the Waikś, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Brisn.) -- xśma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajś. The

175 before action could be taken, NabËyoma'a new husband left
699 Mahekodo-tedi for his own village (Buinabŏwei-tedi), taking with him NabËyoma, her two sons by HusiwË, and his own son by NabËyoma.

[999] The Salesian Mission in Puerto Ayacucho was authorized to handle the affair and they sent a party of men to Buinabŏwei-tedi. The Indians did not wish to lose one of their women and the Salesian Mission party had to resort to forceful but prudent measures to recover NabËyoma. She was returned to her family in Brazil in late 1956. RemoriwË subsequently made two unsuccessful trips to Brazil to find her.

174 As indicated above, the histories as I have recon-
175 structed them are no more than approximations as far as geographical locations and dates of occupation of the various sites are concerned. I am fairly certain, however, that the events themselves are accurately reported, especially those having to do with the warfare and raiding, because I obtained virtually identical versions from several informants on dif-
• 173 ferent occasions. The Yanomamŏ are good historians when it
726 comes to warfare. They have to be, lest they accept invi-
628 tations to visit villages that have old grudges against them. All of them, even young children, know who killed their relatives and the circumstances in which the killings took place. These are the subject of constant discussion in the villages.
129 The first few descriptions I recorded of the 1950-51 feast
173 in which my group was victimized by a Shamatari village were obtained from young men who could not possibly have witnessed

what happened. The later descriptions obtained from much older informants were virtually identical with those I originally recorded from the younger informants. I believe, accordingly, that the accounts of the time period antecedent to the life-span of even my oldest informants are accurate in so far as their major features are concerned.

That the histories are filled with treachery, great violence, and much bloodshed will be apparent. The nature of Yanomamö warfare, however, has not changed. It was being conducted as vigorously and in similar ways in 1964-1966 while I conducted my field-work.

/119 cont./

000 621 431 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation -- is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but, on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance. 621 166 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion, namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements, which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a [361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their [342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried children. 262 245 194 166 The new place is chosen according to the possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting; nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this migration, for even during this period they continue to live from the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent [222] [224] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the past.

/121 cont./

166 Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each
22 other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism
241 of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today
182 as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun planting, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

162 The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually
621 made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new
182 plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the
● 174 working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

105 Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social
621 units of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural
182

/7 cont./

114 103 Demini and Aracá were first introduced into the literature by João Barbosa Rodrigues, although he did not write Demini, but rather Demeune (32), and the Rio Aracá was called Uaraca by him (33).

32. On maps of that period one likewise finds the entry Demeney.

33. Rodrigues, 1885, pp. 136, 148.

174 184 103 With regard to the name Demini, it may be assumed that the ending "ini," according to the linguistic studies of Koch-Grünberg (34a), is derived from the Aruak /Arawak/ word /eni" =

34a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 15.

172 323 river, water. This assumption is confirmed by many very old finds of shards which I discovered on the entirely unpopulated terra firma on the riverine lakes of the Demini. They are yellowish gray shards, which are decorated with spiral lines, meanders, and other plaiting designs and resemble the earthenware vessels which Koch-Grünberg described for the Aruak tribes (34b).

34b. Koch-Grünberg,1910a, pp. 227/28 and Ills. 152-155.

The fact that I found only shards is undoubtedly linked with the custom of the Aruak described by Koch-Grünberg, according to which all the clay vessels that belonged to a deceased person must be broken to pieces, for otherwise the spirit of the dead would punish the greed of the relatives (35).

35. Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, p. 151.

This would also confirm the surmise of Koch-Grünberg that at one time Aruak tribes coming from the west and southwest penetrated into the region between Rio Branco and Orinoco, which was

/7 cont./

114 inhabited by an old population living in a wholly primitive state.
● 174 The Aruak were said to have been subjugated later by the Karaiben /Carib/, who, in turn, met powerful resistance on the part of the warlike Xiriâna and Waikâ (36). Elsewhere the same

36. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 15/16.

investigator writes: "On the Merewari and upper Orinoco Karaiben live together with Arowaken, whereas the upper Uraricuéra and the Parima Range are entirely in the hands of the allophylian Schirianâ and Waika" (37). I, too, met neither Karaiben nor

37. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 233.

Aruak tribes in the Demini-Aracâ region.

114 131 174 On a tribal map of that region drawn by Nimuendajú (38),

38. This map is in the possession of the scientific division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro.

Xiriâna are given as the inhabitants of the Rio Demini, along with the date 1874. Rodrigues also reports that at the end of the nineteenth century members of this tribe lived both along the banks of that stream and along its tributaries, the Cuieiras and Mamimêu; from there they extended their roving expeditions as far as the Catrimani (39).

39. Rodrigues, 1885, p. 136.

173 115 [131] /8/ Today only one civilized Xiriâna family is living on the lower Demini as planters, but it no longer has any connection at all with its original, living fellow-tribesmen. This family, whose members speak Portuguese exclusively, told me that the region of the Demini has been the land of the Xiriâna from olden times. On account of frequent attacks on the part of the Waikâ,

/8 cont./

however, they had withdrawn into regions remote from the river. Their last maloka on the Demini was taken over by a Waikí tribe in 1934. This is the place where today the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" is located, on the right bank of the middle Demini, just below the Cachoeira Auatsinaua (40) (41). In 1939, the

40. Holdridge visited the Xirifna here in 1932. (Holdridge, 1933, p. 380.)

41. According to information which Nimuendajú obtained in Manaus in 1927 from a man named Domingos Campos, Aruak-speaking Indians on the Demini were supposed to have been called Xirifna (Nimuendajú, 1955, pp. 150/51). This brings up all kinds of questions which are yet to be solved. Thus, there could have been an Aruak tribe of this name, for the shards which I found on the Demini, as well as the name of this river, indicate that members of that linguistic group once lived here. It might also be possible, however, that Aruak groups, after their subjugation by the Xirifna, became assimilated with the latter. On the other hand, it is not impossible that individual Xirifna adopted the Aruak language, and finally there still remains open the surmise that the Indians mentioned by Domingos Campos are not identical with the actual Xirifna, but were merely called that by the caboclo population.

In the literature, the two tribal designations "Xirifna" (members of the Aruak linguistic family) and "Xirianá" (independent linguistic family) (Loukotka, 1942,

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/8 cont./

114
174
101

41. (cont.)
pp. 8, 24, 52; Ribeiro, 1957, p. 99) have already become current. Nevertheless, I incline to the view that in the case of the Xirišána it is a matter of one and the same large, widely scattered Yanonámi tribe. The material and spiritual culture of the Xirišána with whom the Surára and Pakidái are allied (the latter and the Xirišána whom I met among them themselves regularly accent the first a) corresponds perfectly with the one that Koch-Grünberg calls "Schirianá." The latter points out in one work that "Schirianá" is their self-designation, while "Schirischána" is a name which their neighbors and mortal enemies, the "Maquiritáres," gave them (Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 454). It should also be mentioned that the designation "Shrirana," according to Vinci, is a Makuxí /Macusi/ word (Vinci, 1956, p. 107).

167 In 1939, the
648 Waikí, too, gave up this maloka and moved to the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini. Here, at the beginning of the year 1956, at the time of my stay among the Surára, they were attacked by a Xirišána tribe and destroyed. Surára warriors told me that all the Waikí men were killed and the women and girls were taken captives.

101 As inhabitants of the Rio Aracá, Nimuendajú entered on the
114 above-mentioned map of this region (see p. 16), with the date of 1874, the Bahuana, an Aruak tribe. With reference to this, the Surára chief remarked that this tribe also goes by the proper name of Pootarí and was an enemy of the Surára, Pakidái, Xirišána, etc.; at the present time it lives in the source region of the Aracá.

342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters. In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
357 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc., are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
231 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the-
342 background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50 centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
• [194] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
[191] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem, similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[199] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is 9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

/14 cont./

342 622 posts are joined by crossbeams; in addition, horizontal strips lead to the tall posts, whereby a gable roof is formed. Over this again lie small, thin cross-strips, on which, exactly as in the case of the large windscreens, the panos, the rectangular palm-leaf mats, are fastened. In the same manner, the rear wall and the two side-walls are also provided with panos. Between the two ends of the front side there are fastened three poles half a meter high, which are often used as sitting places. The entrance, which is one meter wide, is on the right-hand narrow side. The fire burns in the center of the hut, and in a triangle around it are fastened the hammocks in which the chief, his two wives, and the children sleep. All the implements hang on the crossbeams and on the plaiting of the rear wall.

[354] [352] [353]

343 To the right, next to the chief's house, stands a small, open hut which is four meters long, two meters wide, and six meters high. Here, too, the roof has a gable-shape and is likewise covered with panos made of ubim leaves. Under the roof is found a latticework pen about 1.60 X 2 meters, which is used as a rooster coop.

342 From an architectural standpoint, this open, almost circular construction, in which, to be sure, the chief's hut and the coop for the roosters form two foreign bodies added later -- represents an unexcelled method of building, particularly for this hot, tropical region. The circular shape prevents the wind from entering, and the rain, too, cannot reach the families living in the dead angle under the roofs. Moreover, there is always pleasantly fresh air, so that even upon leaving this maloka there is no danger of catching cold. Tribes or groups living in closed malokas are much more subject to respiratory ailments when they leave the warm community house and step out into the cool morning or night air. This maloka of the Surára may doubtless be regarded as one of the oldest and most primitive types of construction of the South American Indians. Around the community house, plantings have been laid out (Ill. 37) and at the present time extend to the middle of the mountain slopes.

[174]

241

2: Becher--33 E-6 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/16 cont./

342 In the building method described by me, however, the
• 177 circular ground-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts./
177 According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical
ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obvi-
[114] ously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in com-

57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

plete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they modeled after the community house of the Xirifana, actually developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts of the cahoclos). This is also indicated by the construction of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka,
[184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy, however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show
342 a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why
825

58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

the Surára in the tierra occupy an open maloka and on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

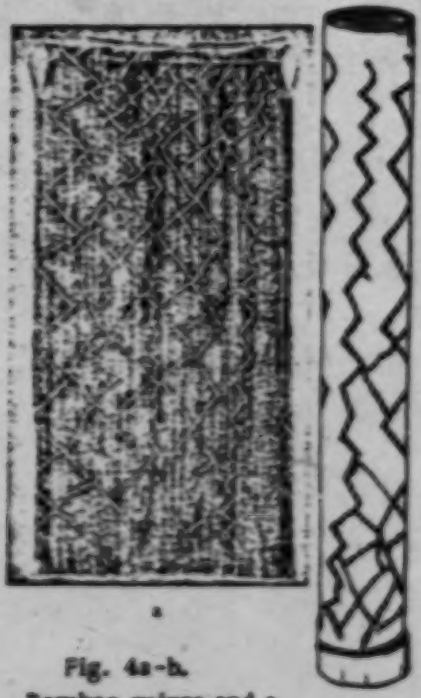
501 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on
484 their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our
491 eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

000 411 194 173 411 726 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would represent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waikâ, Zerries reports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them

411 415 531



a b

Fig. 4a-b.
Bamboo quiver and a rubbing of the incised design.

173 411 726 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hfmo," which are made from the wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

411 171 578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled, which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

411 824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xiriâna, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in 411 578 191 stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114);

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldus, 1939, p. 113.

they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the 411 184 Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be-

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

tween the poles or clubs of the Waiká and the sticks of the Surára and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is [174] therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed.

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tôra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the [581] most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b).

411 482 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrow-points wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

/27 cont./
283 left twist. Then she lets the spindle fall to a vertical position between her legs and rotate on the ground.

[191] This method belongs to Variation I of the Bakaïri spinning (127), which is extraordinarily characteristic for the

127. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 34 and 46.

Guiana tribes and which is described in a similar manner by Koch-Grünberg (128), Frödin-Nordenskiöld (129), Im Thurn (130),

128. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

129. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 52 and 56.

130. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 282.

and Roth (131).

131. Roth, 1929, p. 23 and Pl. I and II.

283 436 437 The spun threads are wound into round balls, which in this form are used as tribute payment to the Xiriâna (see pp. 159/160) and also represent popular trade items, exactly as in the case of the Arekunâ-Taulipang and their neighbors (132).

132. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

283 174 The cotton, the spindle, and the technique of spinning it to the left presumably reached the Surára and Pakidái from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes by way of the Xiriâna. The fact that cotton and spindle represent imports becomes clear in particular from the technique of the left twist, since in the case of the original material, the curauá fibers, the threads are always twisted to the right. Im Thurn already points out that in Guiana

[191] [114]

283
191
194
114

/27 cont./

it is chiefly the Karaiben who spin thread out of cotton, and he believes that they also brought along cotton and the spindle when they immigrated into Guiana (133). The latter assumption

133. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 287.

has, however, not yet been proved, for on the upper Rio Negro Koch-Grünberg met Karaiben tribes who were acquainted with neither cotton nor the spindle. To an inquiry by Frödin and Nordenskiöld about this, he replied in a letter as follows: "It is an absolute mystery to me why the Indians on the upper Rio Negro do not plant cotton for spinning and have no spindles. It would be important to investigate how far this absence of spindles extends down the Rio Negro and into its tributaries, which, to be sure, from the Curicuriary downward, are almost completely unknown ethnographically" (134).

134. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 21, footnote 1.

283
184
194
114

Within the Yanomámi group, cotton and spinning are known, in addition to the Xiriána, Surára, and Pakidái, also to the Pusheweteri, Aramamateri, and Karauateri, members of whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái, and also to the Karimé (135) and the Waiká, who, according to Schuster,

135. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 14.

presumably became acquainted with cotton through the Karaiben Makiritare (136).

136. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Surára
Pakidái

/29 cont./

291 Waikâ use a hip cord to bind up the member, and, according to
184 a statement of the last-named author, the Xirišna too. There is further substantiation for the Karimé (147).

147. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

291 In connection with P. Schmidt (148) and Nordenskiöld (149),
191
184

148. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1047.

149. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 147/48.

I investigated this strange custom in my study, "Gürtel und Hüftschnüre südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Belts and Hip Cords of South American Primitive Peoples/," and found them verified for 39 tribes, to which six more are now added, the Surára, Pakidái, Pusheweterf, Aramamesterf, Karauaterf, and Karimé. It is even to be suspected that among all the tribes or groups that belong to the ethnic unit of the Yanonámi the membrum is tied
291 up. Since this custom is likewise common among the Pano and
191 Tukano /Tucano/ tribes, as well as among the Makú /Macu/, and
● 184 three San Agustín statues prove the pre-Columbian occurrence (150).

150. Preuss, 1929, I, p. 79; II, Plates 1; 55 (1); 64 (1).

the northwestern part of South America clearly stands out as the nuclear area and probably the area of origin of this very old custom. On the other hand, the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes, which, according to the investigations up to now, did not immigrate into Guiana until later, do not observe it, with the exception of the Yauapery /Yauaperi/ (151), and

151. Hübner, 1907, p. 231.

the Tupí even regard the tying up of the penis as abominable

Surára
Pakidái

/29 cont./
and ridiculous (152) (153) (154).

152. Nimuendajú, 1914, pp. 321/22.

153. Becher, 1951, I, pp. 180/81;
II, plate and Map No. 18.

154. Becher, 1955, pp. 144/45.

On festival and ceremonial occasions, men, women, and children from the age of four on also tie over the hip cord a cotton belt -- nyõ -- (155), which is always open in front. As

155. It is the same word that is used to designate the cotton hammock.

a rule, the belts are made by the women; bachelors, however, must make their own.

These are the string belts typical for Guiana (156) (157),

156. Becher, 1951, I, p. 169.

157. Becher, 1955, p. 138.

which, however, take on an appearance somewhat different from the familiar form because of wrappings or cross-bindings. /Fig. 6 appears here./

All the men's and boys' belts are roll-shaped and have a length of 70-80 centimeters and 40-50 centimeters, respectively. The diameter for the former is 4-5 centimeters, and for the latter, 2-3 centimeters. They are very simple to make, for around two small sticks thrust into the ground, the distance between them determining the length of the belt, a long cotton thread is looped until a thick layer is finally obtained. This is then simply tightly wound with a thin string of cotton or

/34 cont./

292 171 The neighboring Wapixana /Wapishana/ men (Aruak) /Arawak/), moreover, wear a very similar belt and attach to it a pubic band which is drawn between the legs (175).

175. Farabee, 1918, p. 29.

[648] [179] Since the Surára and Pakidái waged many wars with the Makuxí (the father of the Surára chief Hewemão is even supposed to have been killed by a Makuxí warrior), it would be entirely possible that they took over from this Karaiben /Carib/ tribe the form of the plaited, wide, flat belt, but then used it, not as men's, but as women's clothing.

179 297 [714] 184 The little fringed apron so typical for the Pusheweterí and Karimé women was also surely copied from Karaiben models, which, in turn, could have been borrowed from the Aruak, for Farabee confirms it also for Wapixana and Mapidian /Maopityan/ girls (176). According to Roth, a woven, red-dyed belt, the lower

292 171

176. Farabee, 1918, Pl. XXIX, A.

edge of which is fringed and, in addition, provided with three pendant tassels, is tied around young Makuxí and Wapixana girls on the occasion of their first menstruation. He designates this article of clothing as "apron belt" /cited in English/ (177). A

177. Roth, 1924, p. 437.

dyed belt provided with fringe is likewise documented for the Maiongkong (178) (179) and, /35/ according to Roth, resembles

178. R. H. Schomburgk, 1841, p. 215.

179. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, pp. 402/03.

000 the above-mentioned apron-belt (180). When Koch-Grünberg saw

180. Roth, 1924, p. 444.

Surára
Pakidái
Pusheweteri

292 /35 cont./ when Koch-Grünberg saw
•174 Xiriána women dressed in a little fringed apron (181), he had
199

181. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305 and Plates 45, 48 (4, 5).

reason to suspect that they may have taken over and preserved the ancient dress of the Maiongkong (Yekuaná) women. Thus, he writes: "They, too, were surely not originally peculiar to these Indians, for some of them wore the little apron up on their stomachs, on others it had slipped down halfway to the knees" (182).

182. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305, footnote 1, and p. 306.

Comparative investigations show that the cotton belts of the Surára, Pakidái, and Pusheweteri reached them from the outside, that is, directly from the Karaiben or by way of the Xiriána (183), along with cotton. With regard to the way they

183. According to Métraux, the Xiriána took over their dress from the Karaiben (Métraux, 1948, p. 863).

297 With regard to the way they
292 were worn and the use they were put to, however, there followed
174 a transformation process, which is very informative. That is, when, on the basis of the statements in the literature, I had traced in my dissertation all the motives that might have induced the South American primitive peoples to tie on belts and hip cords, the result was as follows: "It has been possible to prove that the idea of adornment plays only a secondary role, as does the magical motive. The feeling of modesty is entirely eliminated as a cause, and also verification for a sexual stimulus is lacking. On the other hand, the investigations show that the belts and hip cords primarily have the purpose of protecting the genital organs from insects, thorns, etc. (as a holding device for the upward-placed penis, the uluri, the pubic apeons, etc.)" (184) (185).

184. Becher, 1951, p. 192.
185. Becher, 1955, p. 153.

Surára
Pakidái

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
852 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
[824] busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
292 curauí fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xirifna, Pusheweteri, Aramamateri,
134 and Karauateri whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
[114] said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xirifna (Schiriana). Among the Arekuná-
191 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
• 179 cord of curauí fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
[191] transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

/42 cont./

304 824 386 412 197 The former use the juice of the genipap fruit as coloring matter, the latter the ashes of burned honey bees (229) /see footnote p. 90/. The original instrument everywhere for the puncturing of the dots was a palm thorn. Koch-Grünberg, however, also saw the use of pointed fragments of glass among the above-mentioned Karaiben (230).

230. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45.

304 174 171 114 A decision about whether the tattooings in the mouth region developed independently among the aforementioned Yanomámi, Karaiben, and Aruak tribes or whether they were brought about by reciprocal or outside influences cannot be reached as yet, although Koch-Grünberg saw a young Xirifána woman who had the fishhook and dot tattooing of the Arekuná-Taulipang painted on her face (231). This may have been an exception, however,

231. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

for, strangely enough, he did not find any further tattooing among the Xirifána.

179 The designs of the Surára and Pakidái also seem to be more primitive than the basic motifs of the Karaiben and Aruaken in the form of fishhooks, which clearly point to borrowings from civilization. Moreover, the fact that among the Karaiben tribes of Guiana individual men and boys are tattooed in the region of the mouth leads one to conclude that there has been a leveling of this custom. For probably there, too, it was formerly reserved for only the women, just as it is today among the Surára and Pakidái.

In conclusion, reference is to be made to P. Schmidt and Nordenskiöld, from whom there are already available brief, summary studies about puncture-tattooing in South America. The first-named author differentiates two groups, which are reserved for men and women or only for women, respectively, and regards a western origin as probable (232). /43/ On the other

/43 cont./

232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

304 194 191 114 hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A com-

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

prehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

301 h) Painting

The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is [531] very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

[824] [386] For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- narú --, a paste which is prepared from the red berries of Bixa orellana. Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (Genipa brasiliensis) -- uarabé --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

[413] The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

/43 cont./

302 174 Since Koch-Grünberg also found only very little body painting among the Xirifna (Schirianá) (235), it is to be sus-

235. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

pected that originally it was not peculiar to the three Yanomámi tribes named, but is to be traced back to Karaiben influences. The following account by Alexander von Humboldt also points to this: "The custom," writes the great investigator, "of painting the body is not equally old among all the peoples on the Orinoco. It has only been since the frequent invasions by the mighty nation of the Caraiben into these lands that it has become more general. Victors and vanquished alike were naked, and in order to be agreeable to the victor, one was obliged to paint oneself as he did and to wear his color. Now the might of the Caraiben is past, they are confined to the region between the Carony, Cuyuni, and Paraguamuzi rivers, but the Caraiben custom of coloring the entire body has persisted; the practice is more enduring than the conquest" (236).

236. A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 92/93.

301 562 i) Feather ornaments

Feather ornaments -- pauxí -- are worn by men only and chiefly on the upper arms, but occasionally also in the perforations of the ear lobes and the lower lip.

301 825 237 Under the upper-arm cords and bands, which serve primarily as fastening devices for the upper-arm ornaments, individual or several tail feathers of the arara vermelha (Ara Macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- as well as small bunches of feathers, are wedged in front for war expeditions and festive occasions. The latter are always tied with a string of cotton or curauá fibers to a wooden stick 7-9 centimeters long (Ills. 9 and 14). The following list shows which birds are preferred as feather-suppliers for these objects:

/48 cont./

352 28 174 171 According to the clamification by Max Schmidt, who differentiates three groups for the plaiting technique in South America, the cotton hammocks made by the Surára and Pakidái would belong to the second

(284)

Fig. 19. End fanening of a liana hammock.

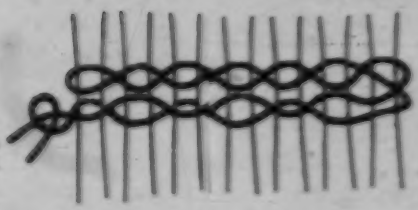


Fig. 20. Diagram of the interweaving of the end fanening of a liana hammock.

group, the double-thread plaiting, which the scholar characterizes as follows: "This plaiting method, which is widespread throughout America, North and South, is simply based, as the diagram in Fig. 115 shows, on two threads that are twisted around each other and are simultaneously, at each half twist around each other, wound around one of the bundles

2: Becher--104 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/48 cont./
352 of ribbons or fibers running parallel to one another" (259). "It is
286
174
171

259. Max Schmidt, 1905, p. 228.

this double-thread technique," Ruth Haebler writes in her work, "Die geflochtenen Hängematten der Naturvölker Südamerikas /The Plaited Hammocks of the Primitive Peoples of South America/," "which is used in the manufacture of the plaited hammocks. The essence of the two-ply technique thus consists of stretching parallel threads which form a warp, so to speak, and through which the double thread is passed as a weft. As a result of the manner in which the warp is stretched, two completely different groups of plaited hammocks are produced" (260).

260. Haebler, 1919, p. 3.

The Surára and Pakidái hammocks are to be assigned to group two, which leads over to weaving (261), for here there is already

261. Haebler, 1919, pp. 9/10.

regular shed-formation. My observations among the Surára and Pakidái also agree almost exactly with the descriptions by Im Thurn (262) Ehrenreich (263), and Krause (264). This proves an

262. Im Thurn, 1883, pp. 288 ff.

263. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 22.

264. Krause, 1911, pp. 259 ff.

adoption from the outside, most probably from the Karaiben tribes, which took place presumably by way of the Xirián. It is noteworthy, however, that all the authors named say that the warp threads are stretched horizontally and that the weft is interlaced
350 from top to bottom or from bottom to top. From a photograph

2: Becher--105 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
pakidái
waica

352 /48 cont./ From a photograph
286
●174
184
taken by Zerries (265) it may be seen that the Waikâ make their

265. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, bottom.

cotton hammocks in the same way. With regard to the origin and technique, he writes in another place: "The cotton hammock of the Waika was taken over, in simplified form, from the Marikitare /Makiritare/ and, like theirs, is not woven, but merely knotted" (266). Although Zerries uses the expression

266. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

"knotted" /geknüpft/, this is probably the same type which I described for the Surára and Pakidái (267). This is even further

267. The names, too, are very similar, -- "nu" -- among the Waikâ (Zerries, 1955a, p. 84; 1954b, p. 71), and -- nyõ -- among the Surára and Pakidái.

elucidated by the following remarks of Schuster: "The cotton hammock, following, as a more recent form, these types made of wild material, exhibits as an essential difference, aside from the cultivated raw material, longitudinal threads held parallel and close together by cross-bindings. Apparently this hammock, whose length is determined by the bow-staff used as a crosspiece on the tying framework, is a clumsy imitation of the far more carefully worked hammock of the Karaiben Makiritare, who live in the northern and northwestern part of the Waika /49/ region" (268).

268. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

This cotton hammock of the Waikâ, clearly taken over from the Karaiben, thus completely corresponds in form to the one used by the Surára and Pakidái. But what induced the latter in making it to put the warp threads vertically, instead of horizontally, as among the other tribes, cannot yet be explained.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

285 462 824 More highly developed is the carrying basket which consists of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) -- uaramá. It is made by the male members of the tribe in the following manner: Two groups of plaiting strips are laid on top of each other in different directions and then interwoven with a third group of strips running in still another direction (Ill. 33).

285 194 (191) This, according to Max Schmidt's classification, is the third principal type of South American plaiting (272) (273). This type

272. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

273. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

of basket (274), which is very widespread in South America, is

274. Abundant comparative material is to be found in Roth (Roth, 1924, pp. 321 ff. and Pl. 100 B and 102) and Mason (Mason, 1904, pp. 529 ff. and Pl. 240 (1, 2).

also regarded as very old, but today is seldom used any more by the Surára and Pakidái. Nothing concerning its origin is known any more among the tribes named. An autochthonous development is possible, but an adoption from Karaiben or Aruak tribes, who use similar baskets, is more probable. The same basket is likewise confirmed for the related Karimé (275).

(179) (184)

275. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Figs. 9 and 10.

285 824 192 The one most frequently used at present is the women's large carrying-basket made of liana strips (276) -- wuëka --, which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34).

276. Each individual liana is split with the teeth into several flat strips. (Cf. also p. 101).

/51 cont./

285 [192] [824] Then there are small baskets with handles and square bottoms -- yorohfkes -- (Ill. 36), in which women keep their ornaments, arm, leg, and chest cords, the spindle and balls of cotton. To make these, split lianas are again used. The technique employed is very primitive, for the plaiting strip is merely led [184] alternately over and under a plaiting strand (287). The shape of

287. Max Schmidt includes this technique in the first principal group of South American plaiting (Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 492/93).

these little baskets seems to be peculiar to the Surára and Pakidái, for in the literature I have not yet found a corresponding description with reference to other tribes.

285 824 372 Simple plaited fire-fans -- xuhéma -- are made of the leaf-stalk sheaths of the tucumã palm (Astrocaryum sp.). They have an elongated shape, and the ends of the strips are tied together to form a handle (Fig. 22).

285 372 174 171 Similar fans, but more evenly worked, were found by Koch-Grünberg among the Makiritare, Yekuaná /Yecuana/, and Guinaú in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco (288), from which one

288. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 345 and Pl. 24, 6.

might conclude that this object reached the Surára and Pakidái from here, probably by way of the Xiriána. The reverse route might also be possible, however, if only because most of the Karaiben and Aruak tribes of Guiana use fire-fans with a handle set crosswise (289).

289. Roth, 1924, pp. 291 ff., Pl. 78, 79, and Fig. 91.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

252
194
285
/51 cont./

The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curaua plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohí -- (290).

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in. Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any there, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karaiben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

Surára
Waiká
Shiriana
Parauí

/55 cont./

412 The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their
[430] occasional contacts with the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers)
[439] on the Rio Araçá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the
[124] middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors
412 had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always
192 given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the
439 ax -- hanhokomá. The blade alone is named synonymously,
194 whereas the shaft is called -- hanhokomáhitohí. Most probably the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according to Schuster, for the Waiká (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the
412 Xirixána seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg
194 writes: "They (the Xirixána) in former times apparently had no axes
114 at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

481

12. Equipment for Climbing

[139] To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the
[192] açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus or Oenocarpus /56/ bacaba Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), tucuma palm (Astrocaryum sp.), and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring -- horohoromá -- which consists of a split liana (cipó-titica) rolled up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears here./

Surára
Pakidái

/56 cont./

481 222 The apparatus consists of two devices completely alike, which are fastened and used in the following manner: Two sticks, 1.60-1.80 meters long, whose diameter is 12-15 centimeters, are tied to the trunk scissors-like and loosely with lianas. The downward-pointing rear part of these crossed sticks is also wound with lianas. Above this first climbing apparatus a second one is attached in the same manner. The Indian who wishes to climb the pupunha palm now stands on the rear end of the lower "scissors" and pushes the one above it upward a short distance. Then he climbs on the rear end of the upper "scissors" and pulls the lower one after him. Next he shifts back to the lower climbing device and pushes the top one up a bit farther. Thus, by constantly changing his position and pushing one apparatus up and drawing the other one after him, he reaches the crown in 4-5 minutes (Ill. 39). He picks the ripe fruits and lets them down one by one on a liana, where his fellow tribesmen receive them. The descent is the reverse of the ascent.

481 222 194 I venture to doubt that this magnificent technical invention was developed by the Waikâ, Surára, or Pakidái, above all because the rest of their material culture is extraordinarily poor. There is nothing to indicate an import, however. Influences of civilization are likewise out of the question, for the caboclo population (planters, rubber /57/ and palm-fiber gatherers) in the Demini-Aracá area is unfamiliar with the technique described; they knock down the pupunha fruits with long poles.

303 13. Preparation of Urucú

The red coloring urucú -- nará -- with which the Indians paint their bodies as well as their implements, is made by the women from the red seeds of the Bixa orellana which are found in thorny capsules. The seeds are cooked in a vessel until only a red sediment remains on the bottom, which is shaped into lumps and allowed to dry. With this the Indians are then able to paint themselves at any time; the color must first be moistened, however, with a little water or saliva.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/75 cont./

619 already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
651 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
576 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon
574 hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114]

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
178
241 At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had
622 been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in
000 all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[174]

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

/80 cont./

245 [262] Among the vegetable foods of the Surára and Pakidái, bananas, of which I found nine different varieties, occupy first place today. Of these, in turn, the most frequently cultivated is the mealy banana (Musa paradisiaca normalis; the regional caboclo population calls it pacovinha) -- kuratí -- (372).

[174]

372. With regard to its origin, Sauer writes: "The plantains and bananas (Musa paradisiaca) originated in southeastern Asia and were there bred into a great variety of seedless cultivated forms. Their presence in the New World is considered by many as due to post-Columbian introduction" /cited in English/ (Sauer, 1950, p. 526).

192 245 Kuratí, however, is also the general designation for all bananas (373). In addition, the following special names were

[184]

373. Zerries gives the same name with regard to the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956b, pp. 152, 155), and Koch-Grünberg gives the following names for the Karaiben Arekunâ-Taulipang /Arecuna/: "kurá:tana," "kura:tana'," or "kuratanâ" (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 47, 268). The corresponding Xiriâna designation, namely, "kalatá:ke," is very similar (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 306). This definitely proves that the banana, or at least one variety, reached the Waikâ, Xiriâna, Surára, and Pakidái from Karaiben tribes. The myth concerning the origin of the banana, which the Surára chief told me (see p.249), also shows that this fruit came from the outside only in very recent times.

[174]

given me for the other eight varieties (374):

[184]

374. The Waikâ, too, use very similar terms for certain varieties of bananas (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153):

245
139
114
[104]
[184]

/81 cont./
mention such seedless fruits (382).

382. Zerries, moreover, thinks it is possible that among the Waiká the pupunha fruit was the predecessor of the mealy banana (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

244

The cultivation of tubers, which is always done separately from the banana plantings, has hitherto been practiced on only a very modest scale. It includes the cultivation of taioba or taro (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.) -- ohĩná -- (383), cará or yams (Dioscorea

383. Among the Waiká the corresponding name is "ohina" (Zerries, 1956b p. 153).

sp.) -- cahiromá -- sweet manioc, known in Brazil as macaxeira aipim or mandioca doce (Manihot palmata Muell. Arg.) -- mihitarima -- bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima Pohl) -- kuamirimakõke --, and sweet potatoes
249
243
(Ipomoea batatas Lam.) -- hikarí -- (384). Worth mentioning

384. The Waiká call the sweet potato "higali" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

also are the sugar cane plantings (sugar cane (Saccharum officinale) -- bukĩ -- (385)) and the absence of maize (386).

385. The Waiká have the same word for sugar cane (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

[184]

386. Zerries, to be sure, found evidence of its cultivation by the Waiká. But, he adds, maize "is little more than a rare delicacy" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Surára
Pakidái

/86 cont./

231 But their enmity was expressed to an even greater degree between each other, that is to say, between the dogs of the post personnel and those of the Pakidái, for if they merely saw each other, they were immediately at each other's throats.

• 174 With regard to the origin of these two breeds of dogs, which
231 have probably been raised for centuries by the Surára and Pakidái, nothing definite can as yet be said. The first breed mentioned by me, which seems to resemble our shepherd dog, seems to be a quite typical Indian dog, for it corresponds exactly to the description which Friederici gives of a genuine Indian dog: "The general appearance of the pure Indian dog, so far as one can tell from descriptions and drawings, is a picture of the German shepherd dog, the so-called Thuringian strain, with somewhat more of the wild-dog character and with rough or bristly hair" (417). Friederici

417. Friederici, 1899, p. 362.

was concerned here, to be sure, with the Indian dog of North America, but, according to Alexander von Humboldt, this breed was already confirmed for Guiana in pre-Columbian times, as may be seen from the following quotation: "...nevertheless it has been confirmed that before the conquest in Peru, New Grenada and Guiana there was a breed of dog similar to our shepherd /87/
[184] dogs" (418). Among the Waiká, Zerries, strangely enough, did not

418. Alexander von Humboldt, 1890, IV, p. 189.

come across this type of dog, but only the small, short-haired one that resembles the fox terrier, and he suspects that they are in part still descended from the dogs that came with the first immigrants from Asia by way of the Bering Strait about 15,000 years ago (419).

419. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

The following account by Franz Termer, however, shows that definite proof is lacking for the latter assumption. The scholar

/87 cont./

231 writes: "Whether the first hunter-gatherer hordes migrating to
● 174 America from northeastern and northern Asia by way of the Bering Strait brought the dog along has, apart from the Eskimo dog, not as yet been proved with certainty, even though it is probable. Whether the dogs of the New World can be traced back to such early dogs, that is, of the late glacial to early postglacial times, migrating in with human beings, or whether they have come from autochthonous ancestors of New World origin is a zoological problem that cannot be decided here. Opinions about it differ. In most recent times there seems to be more of a tendency to favor a Neotropical origin of Indian dogs" (420). In this last statement

420. Termer, 1957, p. 2.

Termer refers to comments by Gilmore (421).

421. Gilmore, 1950, p. 377.

235 [439] [177] In contrast to the obscure origin of the two breeds of dogs, there is no doubt about that of the cocks -- cacará --, for these were acquired from the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) by barter only a short time ago. Yet I was very much surprised when, on entering the Surára and Pakidái malokas, I found a large number of cocks but no hens (422), although they could

422. Incidentally, these are also called cacará.

obtain these as well. There is no interest in doing so, however, for they keep cocks only for their colorful plumage and their crowing at dawn (423). Most families have one or two, which they

[231] [171]

423. Ehrenreich reports of the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe, that they keep only dogs and cocks as domestic animals, and that the latter were very popular in particular as sentinels (Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 61).

/93 cont./

773 171

455. (cont.)
longer exist as a tribal unit, it is believed that civilized people and hostile Indian tribes came out of the inflamed and swollen calves of the first man, Aipuku (Oberg, 1953, p. 108).

773 184 the polyandrous feature in common, for the woman had a boy (Surára and Pakidái) (see p. 247) or several children (Waiká)(456)

456. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

by the men.

776 174 184 /94/ In the religious world of thought of the Waiká one also finds ideas that are very contradictory. Thus, "Omaua" is regarded, on the one hand, as the Supreme Being and creator of the earth and of mankind, and, on the other hand, is thought of as an actual enemy of the Waiká who is closely linked with alien tribes in the west and with the whites, as well as with their pernicious influences, diseases, puzzling cultural possessions [782] (motor, gasoline, etc.) (457). Furthermore, it is noteworthy

457. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

that in white and black magic "Omaua" is directly invoked (458)

458. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

(the Surára and Pakidái communicate with Poré/Perimbó only through intermediaries), and that there lives with him a cannibalistic creature, "Omayali," which, according to Zerries, presumably represents a hypostasis of the former (459). He believes,

776 174 171

459. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

however, that "Omaua-Omayali" is an import from another culture

/94 cont./

area and cites corresponding parallels from Aruak /Arawak tribes of northwestern Brazil as well as from Karaiben /Carib/ of Guiana (460), which are augmented by Haekel (461). The last-

460. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

461. Haekel, 1959, p. 41.

named scholar then poses the question: "Did the Waika, prior to this foreign influence, lack the conception of a Supreme Being?" (462)

462. Haekel, 1959, p. 42.

He assumes that the idea of a Supreme Deity in the sense of the Surára and Pakidái related to them might have been familiar to them, since in the ethnic groups named the moon, or the lord of the moon, occasionally comes down to earth, and, as a further link, he mentions the idea of a heavenly paradise of the souls (463). Then Haekel points out that the Surára and Pakidái

463. Haekel, 1959, p. 42.

as well as the Waiká, in a religious-mythological respect, show remarkable similarity with the following Karaiben /Carib/ tribes (464), though it should be noted that some link the Supreme

464. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

Being with the moon and others with the sun (465): Kâchuyana

465. Haekel, 1959, p. 35.

(Kashuiéna /Cashuena/) (even the name of the Supreme Being is very similar in this case, Purá) (466) (467), Barama (468),

466. Kruse, 1955, pp. 404 ff.

467. Polykrates, 1957, pp. 138 ff.

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

/94 cont./

776
174
[171]

468. Gillin, 1936, pp. 155 ff.

Kalina (469), Wajana (Oyana) (470), Makiritare (471).

469. de Goeje, 1943, pp. 26 ff.

470. Ahlbrinck, 1956, p. 26.

471. Cruxent, 1953, pp. 325 ff.

776
174
114
171

"The suggested parallels," Haekel goes on to say, "between Yanoama and Carib call attention, in any case, to a series of problems for which we are still far from a solution today. The probability of historical relationships can undoubtedly not be overlooked. But who were the 'givers,' who the 'receivers'? It is obvious that the Surara-Pakidai and Waika lie within the sphere of influence of Cariban tribes, but in my opinion there is no justification for thinking merely of influences from the Carib in connection with the similarities coming to light. One should also take into consideration the fact that Yanoama and Carib participated jointly in an older substratum" (472). On

472. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

this point I agree with Haekel completely. I also share certain reservations that he has with regard to the avowed western orientation of the Waiká or the Yanonámi culture (473), which

473. Haekel, 1959, pp. 43/44.

Zerries represents (474). True, there is much in favor of it,

474. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

among other things a definite form of endocannibalism and the ritual taking of a narcotic snuffpowder. Further proof might be seen in the fact that among the Ipurina on the Rio Purús the

Surára
Pakidái

/94 cont./

776
174
171
114

moon -- "pati" -- is venerated as Supreme Being and "father," who causes the fruits to grow (475). In this case, however,

475. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 72.

Ehrenreich believes that there has been Christian influence. Among the Sáliva in southern and eastern Colombia /95/ one also finds certain features in the religion and mythology which are reminiscent of those of the Yanonámi and Karaiben, and the Supreme Being worshiped by them is called "Puru" (476), a

476. H. v. Walde-Waldegg, 1936, pp. 40 ff.

name which sounds very similar to Poré and "Purá." Haekel further points out that the religion of the Sáliva shows marked agreement with the neighboring Aruak Achagua (477), which

477. Haekel, 1959, pp. 45/46.

was described by Hernandez de Alba (478). Moreover, it should

478. Hernandez de Alba, 1948, pp. 410 ff.

be mentioned that the Guahibo Indians on the Venzuelan banks of the Orinoco, according to Zerries, have taken over their deity, Purnaminali, from the Achagua or Sáliva (479).

479. Zerries, 1956c, p. 232.

776
171

But in the eastern regions of Guiana there are also significant parallels with respect to the religious and mythological conceptions of the Yanonámi mentioned. Reference has already been made to the Kachuyana and their Supreme Being, Purá (see p. 205). They are even more strongly pronounced among the Warrau /Warao/. In their moon myth about "Aboré" and "Wowtáh" the moon has the character of a culture hero (480),

480. Brett, 1880, p. 76.

/179 cont./

619 Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local
[621] groups which form a band of extended families and provide the
[596] peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclandub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

[84] From what has been published up to the present regarding
[74] the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

127 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the
128 Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to
[799] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

Sanema

Casapare

Pemon 5516

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Urariçapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutaní. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auarí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

Y
• 174
101 /189 cont./ The expansion of the Sanemá to the north, that is, from the Padamo to the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, is relatively recent, but, to judge from the data given us by glottochronology, the separation of the various groups of the subtribe corresponds to 600-1,700 years. We established contact with three northern groups of the Sanemá: the Nabudub of the upper Ventuari, the Taclaudub of the upper Caura, and the Pubmatari of the Canaracuni. They apparently represent Sanemá groups which are quite well established, and the internal distance of this linguistic family is, in a way, surprising.

Y
101
184 The Sanemá of the Padamo and of the upper Orinoco are practically unknown to science, and it is expected that the cultural difference between them and their brothers who live north of 4° and in close contact with the Makiritare is relatively pronounced.

Y
101
648
167 The geographic separation of the Sanemá into a southern group and another northern one is recent and is due to the fact that in 1947 Captain Cardona had to make a landing field on the Canaracuni (personal communication), and, since there were no Indians in the zone to help him in his venture, he went to Brazil and brought the first Sanemá to this region of Venezuela.

Y
167 This date marks the beginning of the infiltration of the Yanoama
Y
M
643 element on a larger scale into the land of the Makiritare, their neighbors on the northwest, with whom they have lived in deep enmity from remote times. While the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma still do not tolerate large groups of Yanoama in their territory, those of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura live in close contact

Y
M
[197] with large groups of the Sanemá subtribe. This was the way in which Makiritare culture of the tropical selva type penetrated to that essentially /190/ preagricultural tribe composed of hunters

Y
M
648 and gatherers with a very rudimentary culture. The Sanemá received extremely bad treatment at the hands of the Makiritare, comparable to that received by a slave at the hands of his master, for which reason toward the year 1950 the Sanemá revolted against

4
[411] the Makiritare and declared a war without quarter against them. It was then that the different Makiritare subtribes united to repulse the Sanemá, whom they conquered in various encounters, thanks to their fire-arms.

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 114 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 128 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have considered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 192 The linguistic material which the author of the present work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 192 ●174 197 In order to classify this material within the different Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 197 174 126 127 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabularies were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956, pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

/192 cont./

127 192 197 174 The Casapare vocabulary was taken from Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308). It has 303 entries in all, 65 of which corresponds to the basic vocabulary. There is another Casapare vocabulary compiled by Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108), which has a total of 232 entries, 54 words of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. From the expedition's itinerary we know that the last-mentioned authors visited the Shirianá of the Paramichí River (tributary of the headwaters of the Paragua), a zone considered in the present work as an extension of the Casapare territory of Brazil.

Koch-Grünberg obtained his vocabulary among the Schirianá of the Uraricapará (1923, p. 288), and a comparison of the two vocabularies seems to indicate a closer affinity between them than that which exists with any other Yanoama language. The glottochronological calculation is based on Koch-Grünberg's material.

The Waica vocabulary comes from Dr. Zerries, who generously furnished us a basic one of 96 words of the Waica of the upper Orinoco.

Recently another vocabulary of the same language was published by /map appears here/ /193/ Anduze (1958, pp. 258-267), which contains 369 entries. The present calculation is based on the material provided by Zerries.

We give the "Samatari" vocabulary this name provisionally, for more precisely it is the idiom of the Surara and Pakidai of the Demini River in Brazil. The material was given to us by Dr. Becher in the form of a basic vocabulary which contains 85 words. Between the Surara and Pakidai there exist only slight dialectal differences. A vocabulary of 40 words of the same idiom was published in the monograph on these Indians by Becher (1960, pp. 136-137). Another vocabulary of the southern Yanoama was published by Seitz (1960, p. 306) and contains 40 entries. The few words which permit making a semantic comparison with other similar languages indicate that the Araraibo-Xamatari of Seitz is closer to the Surara, Pakidai, Waica, and Karimé than to the Sanemá and Casapare.

[text continues on p. 44]

/193 cont./

• 174 197 [192] 127]

We were not able to obtain the vocabulary of the Karimé published by Salathé (1932, pp. 314-316). Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 134-138) places it between the Waica and the Casapare (Schiriana of Koch-Grünberg).

According to the results of the lexico-statistical calculation (cf. p. 47), it can be said that the idioms compared form a linguistic conglomerate whose internal divergences date from 6-35 minimal centuries (mc). By their temporal distribution they constitute two more or less distinct groups: a) a Sanemá family with Nabudub, Sanemá, and Pubmatari, with an internal divergence of 6-17 mc., and b) a Casapare family with Samatari, Waica, and Casapare and with an internal divergence of 8-21 mc. The extreme languages are Nabudub (of the Sanemá) and Casapare. The distance of the Waica from the three Sanemá idioms corresponds to 17 mc., which is the same as the maximum internal distance of the Sanemá family, and the Nabudub have the same difficulty in understanding a Pubmatari or a Waica; they should, however, understand each other, although with some difficulty. The Waica has greater ties with the Samatari, with whom he can communicate orally without any great difficulty.

Other classifications of the Yanoama idioms were made by Rivet (1924, p. 678), Loukotka (1944, pp. 8-9), Mason (1950, p. 254), Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140), McQuown (1955), Swadesh (1959), and Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137).

Koch-Grünberg (1913, pp. 455-458) had established by 1913 the independence of the Yanoama idiom (Shiriana) from the Caribe and added that the idiom apparently represented an isolated language. Rivet (1924, p. 678) and W. Schmidt (1926, p. 211) shared the opinion of Koch-Grünberg regarding the affiliation and independence of the "Shirishana" family. /194/ The classification of the "Shirishana Family" by Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140) includes the following idioms:

Shirishana Family [101]

a) Shirishana (or Guaharibo), who live dispersed in small groups in the interior, along the tributaries of the

/194 cont./

174 197 101 Uraricuera and on the southern slopes of the Sierra de Parima;

b) Karime (or Shaufri), on the Catemany River in the same region;

c) Waika, who live on the upper Ocamo and Mocajahy, right tributaries of the upper Orinoco;

d) Pusárakáu, an unknown wild tribe which lives in the Sierra Parima.

174 197 [127] As we mentioned above, we are inclined to differentiate between Shirishana (Casapare) and Guaharibo (Sanemá), which would seem to be linguistically justified by the distance of 23-35 mc between them. Rivet bases his opinion, it would seem, on Koch-Grünberg's material (1928), which we have also used in our comparison. The Pusárakáu idiom (d), which also appears in Loukotka's classification (1944, pp. 8-9), is a completely unknown idiom and therefore does not figure in Mason's classification (1950, p. 254), which presented the following Shirishaná grouping:

SHIRISHANÁ

[101] A.--Waharibo (Guaharibo)

1. Shirianá

a) Waicá (Guaica, Uaica)

B.--Carimé (Karimé)

174 197 114 According to Mason, Shirianá and the less important Carimé are the principal idioms of the family. This observation is based upon Koch-Grünberg's material (1928, Shiriana), which was identified in our comparison as Casapare, and, as the greater separation of the Yanoama stock corresponds to that language, we must admit the value of Mason's opinion. Carimé does not figure in our classification.

Furthermore, Mason is of the opinion that the Waica idiom is, possibly, a dialect of Shirianá (Casapare), but, according to the glottochronological calculation, he does not seem to be on firm ground. The distance between the two idioms is 21 mc, which is much greater than a dialectal difference of 5-7 mc. Waica appears on the graph as closer to Sanemá (17-18mc). The opinion of /195/ many researchers that Shirianá (Casapare) and Waica are descended from the Guaharibo (Sanemá) seems to have some justification.

/195 cont./

●174 197 114 McQuown (1955) classified the "Chirianan" family in the following way:

a) Guahariban with Chirianan, Uaica and ? Guaharibo; b) Carime; c) Pusaracau.

A more recent classification of the Yanoama family was made by Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137). By their internal distances the author just mentioned brought together the various Yanoama idioms in the following manner: Surara and Pakidai (Samatari), Waika, Karimé, Shirianá (Casapare), Warema (Sanemá, Pubmatari) (19).

19. The names in parenthesis were added by the present author.

Dall'Igna Rodrigues arrived at this result on the basis of a comparison of 40 words of the idioms mentioned and explains that the idioms of his list were arranged according to the relative distance between each one of them with respect to Surara and Pakidai. He also emphasizes the provisional nature of his result, somewhat different from those presented by Mason and McQuown.

It is interesting, however, to observe that the classification of Dall'Igna Rodrigues coincides in its details with ours. On adding the lexico-statistical data, the classification would read as follows:

Surará-Pakidai (Samatari) 8 mc > Waica; 21mc > Shirishaná (Casapare); 21-25 mc > Warema (Sanemá).

Two American linguists, Greenberg and Swadesh, recently broke with the tradition established by Rivet, W. Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason, and McQuown, according to which the Yanoama had no close affiliation with any other South American linguistic family.

Greenberg (1956) classifies the Shirianá as a distinct group in the "Chibchan proper" subfamily of the "Macro Chibchan" family. The Tunebo also belong to the same category.

Swadesh (1959, p. 20) established a Macro-Siriana, with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc) and

/195 cont./

114 Sirisana (21 mc). According to what Dr. Swadesh said to me
● 174 personally, he also planned to include the Warao in Macro-
197 Siriana, which would magnify the internal divergence of the group to 72 mc of a microphylum. I took some interest in this suggestion by Swadesh and tried to compare Warao with Yanoama, particularly with the more extensive vocabulary which I collected among the Sanemá.

I made two comparisons: a) that of the basic vocabularies, and b) that of all the possible pairs between the Sanemá vocabulary and the Warao /196/ dictionary by Barral (1957). The results of these comparisons can be expressed in the following manner: More than 20% of all the pairs compared seem to be related, a sufficiently high percentage to stimulate a more thorough linguistic study. The result of the preliminary glottochronological calculation gave a separation between the two idioms of 45 mc corresponding to 26% of common retentions.

I have the impression that that mathematical result tends to diminish and not to become greater as one goes further into his study. We also observed certain relationships between the Yanoama and the Ye /Ge/ of Brazil. But these are of a different nature and more distant than the cases considered between the Warao and Sanemá.

As we have already mentioned, there are certain indications that the Tunebo, Warao, Yanoama, and Ye idioms seem to have a common root in Chibcha and are linguistically more closely related among themselves than with the majority of South American idioms.

4: Wilbert--48 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

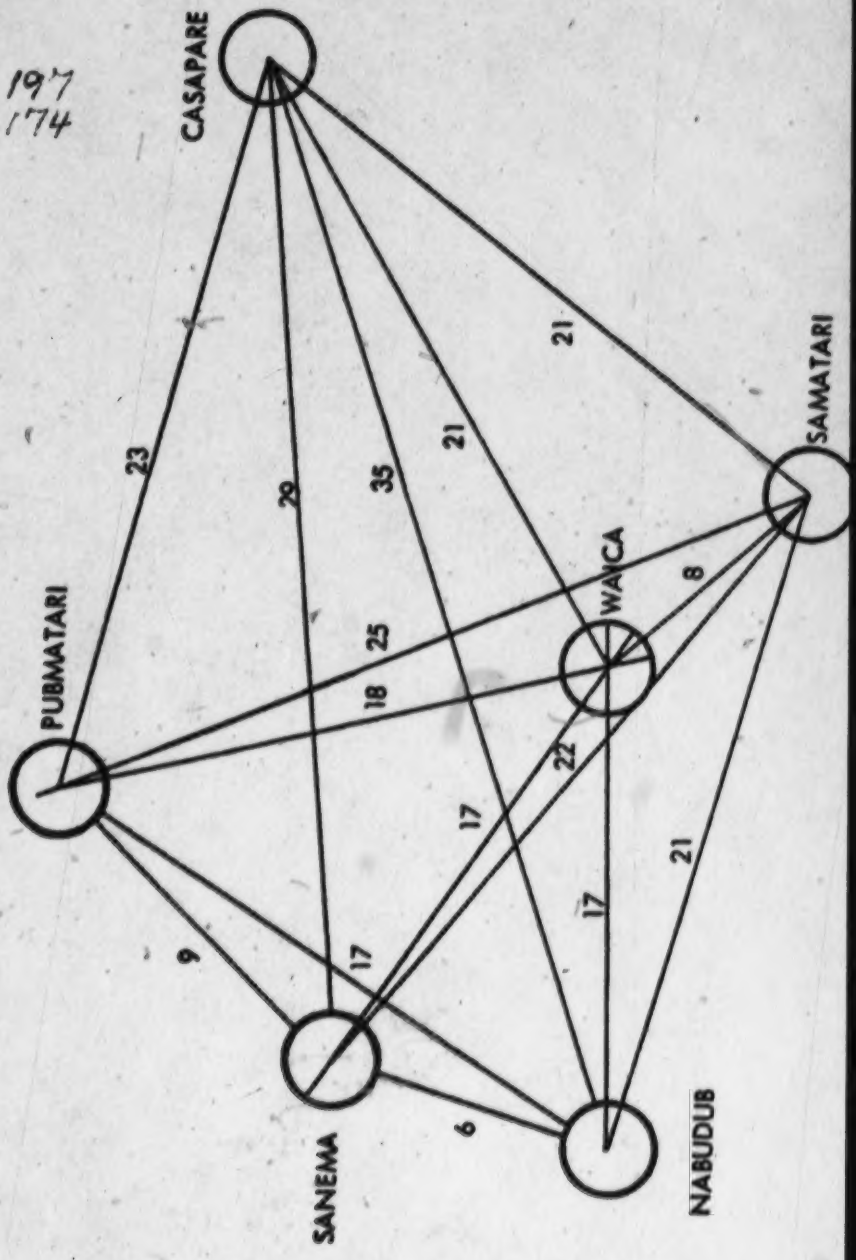
/196 cont./

197
174

Idioms	Pairs	Cognates	%	mc.
1. SAMATARI				
2. Casapare	62	35	56	21
3. Sanemá	81	42	52	22
4. Pubmatari	65	33	51	25
5. Nabudub	79	42	53	21
6. Waica	80	62	78	8
2. CASAPARE				
3. Sanemá	53	24	45	29
4. Pubmatari	57	30	53	23
5. Nabudub	61	23	38	35
6. Waica	54	30	56	21
3. SANEMA (Erebato)				
4. Pubmatari	69	54	78	9
5. Nabudub	82	69	84	6
6. Waica	89	53	60	17
4. PUBMATARI (Casaracuni)				
5. Nabudub	65	40	65	17
6. Waica	71	43	61	18
5. NABUDUB (Vennari)				
6. Waica	86	51	59	17

/197/

197
174


CASAPARE
SAMATARI
PUBMATARI
WAICA
SANEMA
NABUDUB
23
29
35
21
21
25
18
8
22
17
17
21
9
17
6

/212 cont./ We were greatly surprised to find this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).

The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists who have studied this matter is that it is a matter of a Circum-Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence, owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient platform of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its specific conditions, lent itself to the development or to the adoption of the cult.

We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have, however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause, the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This personage is different from the shaman and his sphere.

The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

[i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

/213/

197
• 174 Regarding the Chibcha characteristics in the Warao and Yanoama idioms, it is probably a substratum which we shall provisionally call proto-Chibcha. The Chibcha traits which are perceived in them do not seem to represent elements acquired owing to contact, but rather an ancient stratum common to the idioms which are at the present time identified as Chibcha.

143
174 Finally, it is necessary to point out that, judging from the genetic constitution (the Diego antigen) of some Chibcha tribes, it might be surmised that the highly formative culture was introduced by people genetically different from the Marginal Chibcha such as Tunebo, Barí, Warao, Yanoama, whose culture was favorably conditioned in the direction of the adoption and the increment of formative cultures and indigenous civilizations. Some tribes were absorbed by the invaders; others, such as the tribes that we have just mentioned, maintained their independence. Perhaps we shall have to deal with greater emphasis in the future with primitive reminiscences in the formative cultures instead of talking so much about traits and loans from the west among the Marginals of Guayana /Guiana/ and others. We have the impression that we are bringing out a complex of ancient culture in South America, from which a number of traits have survived in the more highly developed cultures.

622
[624]
[793] Political duties are performed by a chief /jefe/ and a military leader. We are of the opinion that the priest can at the same time be the chief of a local group. We cannot, however, make a categorical affirmation, owing to the confusion which exists among the people as a consequence of the strong cultural current which is invading this Sanemá nucleus. In the same group on the Ventuari we observed that the office of chief is inherited patrilineally. The old chief had left his duties to his eldest son, about 28 years old, and it was easy to see that his younger brother, about 20 years old, was also respected as a possible future chief (cf. Becher, 1960, pp. 60-61. Chieftainships over more than a local group do not exist.

Duffy: The Fy (a+) ranged in these tribes from 77% to 92%, which is the usual range found in Indian tribes. 143

Kidd: The gene Jk^a showed comparable results in Yaruro 49% and in Waica 56%. The Warao were not tested for this gene.

Diego: As was mentioned before, the Waica showed absence of the gene Di^a; the Warao had a negative frequency among the Winikina sub-tribe and 1.9% among the Guayo sub-tribe; the Yaruro showed five Diego-positive cases out of 102 samples, but four of them were derived from eleven samples taken from a single band. For reasons mentioned elsewhere, the authors suggested that the Warao as well as the Yaruro were originally Diego-negative, and that their low Di^a frequencies are due to admixture with neighboring tribes exhibiting a relatively high frequency of the gene.

Other Blood Groups

The tribes tested for Lutheran, Kell, and Lewis showed negative frequency for Lu^a, K, and Le^a, as is seen also in other Indian tribes with non-Indian admixture.

As can be gathered from these comparisons, it is mainly on the basis of the Di^a gene that we could establish a sharply contrasting difference between the Marginal tribes and other South American tribes tested so far (Goajiro 8%, Paraujano 10%, Munduruku 12%, Guahibo 14%, Caingang 17-46%, Aymara 17%, Caribs [Cariña 29%, Pemon 28%, Yupa 27%]), etc. . .

DISCUSSION

In a previous section we have tried to indicate that the absence or a very low frequency of the Diego gene appears to coincide with a culture pattern typical for hunting, fishing and gathering tribes of South America. On several other occasions [19] it has been pointed out as well that there seems to exist a coincidence of certain levels of cultural developments with characteristic ranges of Diego frequencies, and that these frequencies tend to be quantitatively similar or identical between tribes of "genetic" linguistic affiliation, in the sense Greenberg [20] uses the term. For Venezuela we have, in particular, made mention of the low frequency or absence of the Diego gene among the Waica, Warao, and Yaruro who exhibit a Marginal or Paleo/Meso-Indian type of culture. 143 114 104

We have also indicated that this parallel occurrence of Diego gene distribution and the culture pattern of its bearers coincides to a certain extent with a similar

19 Layrisse and Wilbert, 1960.
20 Greenberg, 1959.

St Laytime et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

classification, based on somatological and phenotypical characteristics of the American Indians as proposed by Coon, Garn, and Birdsell,[21] who distinguished between dolicephalic and somewhat mongoloid *Marginal American Indians*, and broader headed less mongoloid *Central American Indians. As a parallel and, of course, not as a causal phenomenon*, the cited authors (very much like the present authors) record that the *Marginal American Indians* include largely non-agricultural Indians of the Americas, while the latter are agricultural peoples of North and South America, especially of the central part. This observation receives substantial support from the recorded facts of the Diego gene distribution, and its importance for migration theory and culture history of South America may be significant. In the given frame of the present paper we shall restrict ourselves to the discussion of the importance of the absence of the Diego gene mainly among two Marginal tribes of Venezuela, the Waica and the Warao, trying to indicate a possible direction for future Diego research.[21a]

In a recent study, Canals Frau [22] observed that the oldest stratum of *Homo sapiens* in America was composed of five distinct racial types, i.e., the *Silvidos*, the *Sonóridos*, the *Láguidos*, the *Patagónidos*, and the *Huárpidos*, and that the last three were of South American distribution. It is interesting to recall in this connection that Canals Frau includes the Waica and the Piaroa in this antique stratum within which great phenotypical variation has been observed by Vinci, for the Yanoama, and by Baumgartner for the Piaroa.[23] It would seem that the actual occurrence of this variation in one and the same group could best be interpreted by fusion and interbreeding of the different racial types of Paleo-American Man.

Because of his early appearance, the culture of this Paleo-American Man will necessarily have been on a Paleo-Indian (hunters), and later Meso- Indian (fishermen) level of development.[24] Kirchhoff,[25] in referring to the hunting and fishing Marginals of Venezuela, observed that the "differences in subsistence are correlated with other cultural differences, indicating that there was not one basic culture type, but two, the Hunting Culture and the Fishing Culture;" that "Each in turn was divided into at least two subtypes," and that "Without further comparative research, it is impossible to say whether these subtypes were simply local variants of the two basic types or whether they too sprang from different origins."

21 Coon, Garn, and Birdsell, 1950.
21a Layrisse and Wilbert, 1961.
22 Canals Frau, 1959.
23 Vinci, 1956; Zerries, 1959; Baumgartner, 1954.
24 Cf. Rouse, 1960.
25 Kirchhoff, 1948, p. 443.

StLayrine et al. D.E-S (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

The most typical representative of the Hunters among modern Venezuelan Indians are the Yanoama, while the most typical example of a people of Fishermen culture can be seen in the Warao. It is interesting for the discussion of Kirchhoff's problem that Swadesh (personal communication) suggests a linguistic affiliation between Yanoaman and Waraoan; interesting, because it is generally accepted that "genetic" linguistic relationship is most likely to have biological significance, since the ancestors of the speakers of genetically related languages[26] once belonged to the same gene pool.

In following up Swadesh's suggestion, the present authors have compared (a) the basic vocabularies of Yanoaman and Waraoan, and (b) all available pairs of about 1000 Yanoama (Sanemá) words with their equivalents in the Warao dictionary recently published by Barral.[27] As a result of this comparison, more than twenty percent of the total pairs compared appeared to be cognate; a percentage certainly high enough to encourage further research. A preliminary glottochronological calculation resulted in 45 mc of separation, which corresponds to twenty six percent of common retentions. Accepting this result as a strong *prima facie* case, it would suggest that the *Yanoama* and *Warao* originally united, separated from each other some 4,500 years ago.[28]

If we compare the blood group phenotype frequencies found in these two tribes, we see that only the frequencies at Diego are very similar, whereas MN, Rh, and Duffy showed statistically significant variations. It is generally accepted that significant differences of gene frequencies in two populations are indicative of different origin, but in comparing small isolated populations, such as most Indian tribes, this statement may not be applicable without allowing for certain restrictions. The gene frequencies in these populations may, for instance, reflect the fortuitous results of gene drift, since in a population with an effective size of 200, an allele would require a selective advantage of 0.01 to avoid the action of drift.[29]

In our case, we are comparing the gene frequencies of blood groups, the majority of which have, until now, been considered to be of neutral selective value. Although the Waica and the Warao belong to the most numerous Indian tribes of Venezuela and lowland South America (8-10,000), they have been living in smaller isolated groups which might have favored the production of gene drift. On this basis, then, one could consider gene drift as the most probable explanation for the phenotype differences of the Rh, MN, and Duffy systems, especially, if we take into consideration a possible 4,500 years lapse of time since their separation.

26 Greenberg, 1955.
27 Barral, 1957.
28 Wilbert, 1961b.
29 Glass, Sanbo, Jahn, and Hsu, 1952.

St Layrisse et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

We would best interpret our general culture historic problem in the sense of suggesting that there exists a high probability for the two different populations and culture types to represent simply variants of basically the same people and the same culture type. Archaeologists[30] have proved that the Meso-Indian culture type dates back to 4150 ± 80 BP (Manicuare), so that the *Warao* Meso-Indian culture type could actually date back to the time of their splitting off from the *Yanoama* who, for their part, continued to live in the Paleo-Indian tradition, and which, in turn, may date back to its most original form in Venezuela to 16,000 ± 300 BP and more.

In our particular case, then, the establishment of the genetic identity of two tribes with respect to the Diego blood gene has led us to assume that Paleo-American Man in Venezuela, although phenotypically different, is homogeneous for the Diego gene. Probably, in response to a changing environment, he developed two different culture types still traceable among his modern descendants. A detailed analysis of the contents of both cultures would greatly substantiate this hypothesis, but in the limited frame of the present paper we shall have to refrain from doing so.

In closing this discussion, we would like to underline the preliminary character of our hypothesis. The culture content of the Waica and of the Warao has not been fully described as yet; the linguistic affiliation of the two tribes remains to be confirmed by profound linguistic analysis; and genetically we have little more to go by than the behavior of mainly one gene. Nevertheless, taken together this kind of threefold evidence, in spite of all the existing limitations, appears to be much stronger than the single evidence available for any one of them, and it would be highly desirable to test similar cases along the lines described above.

Bibliography

Baker, James
1953 *Memoria sobre la cultura Guaika* (Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, nos. 3-4, pp. 433-489, Caracas).

Barral, Basilio de
1957 *Diccionario Guarao-Español, Español-Guarao* (Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales, La Salle, Monografías, no. 3, Caracas).

Baumgartner, Hans
1954 *Apuntes de un médico indigenista sobre los Piaroa de Venezuela* (Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, vol. 2, nos. 1-4, pp. 111-124, Caracas).

Becher, Hans
1960 *Die Surára und Pakidái. Zwei Yanoama-Stämme in Nordwestbrasilien.* (Mitteilungen aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, vol. 26, Hamburg).

30 Crossen and Bueno, 1958-59, vol. 1, tables 2 and 3.

/444 cont./

241 The land is cleared by first pulling out all the small plants and stems; then the trees which reach a trunk diameter of around 25 centimeters are cut with a machete, and finally the large trees are cut down with an axe.

[313] Sometimes they climb the tree and attach a liana to it so as to be able to pull it to direct its fall.

After the trees have had sufficient time to dry out on the ground, they cut off the branches and pile them up with the underbrush in order finally to burn them. Owing to the abundance of rainfall, it is impossible for them to wait for a dry period. I have seen them burn the weeds in their conuco after it had rained heavily the night before. Sometimes they must bring dry firewood in order to make the damp weeds burn.

An old woman told me one day: "These people of today [412] have it easy. We did not have machetes and axes in former [178] times. Fire was our principal tool. /445/ We had to carry a lot of firewood to pile up around the trees in order to bring them down by fire."

412 There is an indication in their language that at one time they • 174 used stone axes before being able to acquire metal axes and [192] machetes. They use the same word, "boo," to designate both the machete and a certain stone which they use for grinding the "yopo" powder. This stone has the proper form for making an ax out of it, if a handle were attached to it. Nevertheless, the relationship between these objects, if there was one at one time, is unknown to the present generation of El Platanal.

241 A bow without a string or a similar stick is the principal 412 instrument which they use for planting. They use it both to loosen the small banana stems for replanting and to open holes in the ground for holding practically any kind of seed.

249 Tobacco is planted first in a garden bed and then transplanted. The small plants are protected from the sun for a few days by means of platano leaves put on a covering for shade.

241 Sometimes a few stakes are fixed in the ground to indicate plantings near the paths, thus keeping the seeds or young plants from being stepped on.

/449/

Preparation of Food

251 To keep meat from spoiling, it is first dried directly over the fire. Then it is kept on a rack over the fire, perhaps for several hours, but frequently all night. After this, it is placed a bit farther from the fire, but where the air will keep it dry, although not necessarily warm. I have seen meat kept for some ten days in this way, and doubtless it would have lasted longer had it not been eaten.

252 Meat preserved in this way is still regarded as raw and must be cooked in a pot before being eaten.

Small animals are cleaned, washed, and then boiled whole in a pot. If the animal is large, it is cut up into pieces small enough to fit into the pot. [174] The custom of leaving the skin and hair on them while they cook is perhaps a survival from the time when they did not have knives for skinning them. A string or piece of bark is tied to each piece of meat in order to be able to take it out of the pot to turn it. From time to time they take the meat out in order to prick it many times with a stick so that it will cook more quickly.

When it is finally ready, the head of the family, or the owner of the meat, shares it or divides it into portions which he distributes among his relatives or friendly families.

462 252 The task of cooking the meat is man's work. He is the owner of the pot, does the hunting, looks for the firewood, and divides and distributes the cooked meat. (Sometimes he sends a boy to deliver the meat to some family on the other side of the circle of dwellings.)

313 462 [412] The gathering of firewood for cooking food other than meat and for keeping the family warm at night is woman's work. For this reason the women use the ax much more than the men do.

252 Green platanos are generally peeled and placed directly over the embers, turned a few times, and /450/ taken off when they are found ready to eat. Or they may be placed on a live fire to be cooked, but without being peeled, in order that they may not be blackened. If it is necessary to cook a large quantity of green platanos quickly, they are peeled and boiled in a pot.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Saliva SS 15

the upper reaches of the Caura and Caroni rivers; and on the tributaries of the upper reaches of the rivers Negro and Branco in Brazil.

In his classification based on families of language, Koch-Grünberg includes these scattered groups under the heading "Detached Groups", a term he uses for all linguistic groups that do not belong to either of the main families, though he acknowledges their anthropological and linguistic kinship. The fact that they inhabit the most distant and least accessible regions, that they are dispersed over so wide an area, and that they are subdivided into clans which frequently number no more than a dozen individuals, strongly suggests that these people are a "residual population" that has doubtless been thrust farther and farther back by successive waves of invasion.

The four or five thousand Piaroas and Guaharibos who inhabit the territory of the Middle Orinoco, between Puerto Ayacucho and San Fernando de Atabapo, are also classified as "Detached" by Koch-Grünberg. Anthropologically it would seem that these two peoples are comparatively remote from each other. As we have no information as to the time of their emergence and settlement in their present zone of habitation, we may perhaps assume that all of these groups constitute, or did once constitute, the original stratum of population, without necessarily coming from the same stem.

Three small clans, tiny pockets of people geographically isolated from each other which cannot as yet be related to any of the big families already mentioned, also appear on Koch-Grünberg's ethnological map. These are the Makus. They occur on the River Auari, where they occupy no more than a single hut; on the Ventuari, where they number about eighty; and on the Iñirida, where they are known as Puinabes. It has been suggested that these last could conceivably be the descendants of the Guaypunabis whose chief, Ceseru, joined with Solano in founding San Fernando de Atabapo and Santa Bárbara.

Thus the classification of the Indian peoples of the

similar to that presented here, and I regard my own efforts in this area as supplemental to the generally excellent ethnographic work of Zerries (1964) and Schuster (1958). Without genealogical data it is not possible to estimate the degree to which marriage practices deviate from stated preference, nor to grasp the importance of these deviant cases in Yąnomamö politics.

The histories of the five villages are equally important, as they illustrate the role of warfare in determining settlement pattern, the development of political ties between villages, and the process of village splitting. These factors provide the matrix within which the genealogical data become meaningful.

Piecing together the history of these groups of villages proved to be a difficult task. The geographical area under discussion is unexplored and unmapped. Not even major rivers are accurately known in their upper courses, so that of two published versions of the Siapa River I have had to choose the one most consistent with the account given to me by the Indians. The major problem in this regard has been the identification of a large river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u, whose headwaters lie near the source of the Orinoco River. According to my Yąnomamö informants (people who have either lived on this river or have visited or raided villages located on it), the Shukumöna-u, in its middle course, is nearly as large as the Orinoco at its junction with the Mavaca River. It flows in a westerly

direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of mountains. At a few points the Shukumõna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extending nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the Indians claim the Shukumõna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the Shukumõna-u of the Yąnomamõ. I have used more recent maps, also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

In reconstructing the history of the village movements, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimõwi-bora in Yąnomamõ) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karõbã-bora in Yąnomamõ) near the present village of Kashorawã-tedi.

I employed three sources of information to locate present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages I personally visited. Second, information from James P.

126 36 [115] [199] Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he has lived among the Yąnomamö. Finally, on information [124] obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yąnomamö have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants' accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi or Patanowä-tedi, I had the residents point in the direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps" required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain [802] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was the poverty of the Yąnomamö language in indicating numbers. The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu, dahiabä), two (porakäbä), and more-than-two (bruka). In establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to estimate the length of time each site was occupied before being abandoned.

175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five villages I have been guided by two historically known events. One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahekodo-tedi in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

175 before action could be taken, Nabëyoma's new husband left
648 Mahekodo-tedi for his own village (Buinabŏwei-tedi), taking with him Nabëyoma, her two sons by Husiwë, and his own son by Nabëyoma.

[997] The Salesian Mission in Puerto Ayacucho was authorized to handle the affair and they sent a party of men to Buinabŏwei-tedi. The Indians did not wish to lose one of their women and the Salesian Mission party had to resort to forceful but prudent measures to recover Nabëyoma. She was returned to her family in Brazil in late 1956. Remoriwë subsequently made two unsuccessful trips to Brazil to find her.

• 174 As indicated above, the histories as I have recon-
175 structed them are no more than approximations as far as geographical locations and dates of occupation of the various sites are concerned. I am fairly certain, however, that the events themselves are accurately reported, especially those having to do with the warfare and raiding, because I obtained virtually identical versions from several informants on dif-
173 ferent occasions. The Yąnomamŏ are good historians when it
726 comes to warfare. They have to be, lest they accept invi-
*628 tations to visit villages that have old grudges against them. All of them, even young children, know who killed their relatives and the circumstances in which the killings took place. These are the subject of constant discussion in the villages.
124 The first few descriptions I recorded of the 1950-51 feast
173 in which my group was victimized by a Shamatari village were obtained from young men who could not possibly have witnessed

101 [014] Zerries (1964:19) has included the groups I studied in the Shamatari classification on the basis of information taken from Mahekodotedi informants. The members of these groups, however, deny the Shamatari identity and distinguish themselves from their southern neighbors, some of whom visit them regularly and are married into their villages.

101 361 [103] [551] The Shamatari,[1] according to my Bisaasi-tedi informants, take their name from one of the headmen, Kayabawä ("big tree"), who lived north of the Orinoco River in a village then [551] called Shihowä-tedi. Kayabawä was an unusually corpulent man and bore a second name, Shamatari, derived from their word (Shama) for the tapir, a large ungulate found throughout [103] tropical South America. Shamatari, when Shihowä-tedi split, led his faction south of the Orinoco River and settled in the headwaters of the river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u (see above), where his village became known as Mokayäaba-tedi. Other villages, related to Shihowä-tedi, moved into the Shukumöna River and Mavaca River basins after Shamatari's village was established, ultimately spreading as far southwest as the Cauabury headwaters in Brazil. The 101 [074] Shamatari expansion into this area took place around the turn of the century, according to my reconstruction of Shamatari history (see below). This is also supported by meagre

---

[1] There is another "Shamatari" group in the tributaries of the Upper Parima River of Brazil; these are not to be confused with the Shamatari under discussion here, although both groups are Yąnomamö. See Vinci, 1959, for an impressionistic account of his brief contact with the Parima Shamatari.

114 initiated their work among this group, in Zerries' words, ". . . to come a step closer to the problem of the world's oldest cultural layer of the hunter and collector."[1] On arriving at Mahekodo-tedi, however, Zerries was surprised to discover that the Yąnomamö were not in fact hunters and gatherers, but horticulturists:

> To our great surprise we were obliged to conclude right from the start of our investigations that the Waika are above all dependent on the cultivation of the plantain (platano) to a considerable degree. (1958:177. My translation.)

114 134 224 222 241 Although Zerries acknowledges the current horticultural status of the Yąnomamö, his work is frequently characterized by attempts to portray the Yąnomamö as hunting and gathering people who have only recently adopted cultivation and are still in transition from a pure hunting and gathering stage to a purely horticultural one. Thus, Zerries argues that the Yąnomamö divide their year into seasons fixed by the ripening of individual species of wild fruits (which I have not been able to verify), implies that peach palm (pijiguao) was recently a collected rather than a cultivated fruit, describes the Yąnomamö settlement pattern and annual cycle as half-nomadic or semi-nomadic, and generally emphasizes the role of hunting and collecting in determining the cultural status of the Yąnomamö in South American culture history, all of which detract, I believe, from an understanding of their culture as it exists at the present time and probably has

---

[1] 1964:1. My translation.

existed for the past several hundred years. At many points the data used by Zerries to infer that they were until recently hunters and gatherers lend themselves to other interpretations:

> Finally, the Waika connect the general word for food, "ni," with the word for archery, "niai," out of which results that in their conceptual world, subsistence itself in the last analysis results from hunting--which is symptomatic of the way of life of the hunting and gathering heritage of the Waika. (1958:180. My translation.)

The word nii (not ni) usually refers to vegetable food, most of which is cultivated by the Yąnomamö and generally does not include meat. The word for the latter, yąro, conversely, does not apply to vegetable food. Again, there are two words to describe hunger; ohi refers to that kind of hunger that can be satisfied by eating vegetable food, whereas naiiki is a kind of hunger that can only be satisfied by eating meat or fish. And, it is possible for individuals not to be ohi but be naiiki. One could easily argue that subsistence and cultivation are intimately linked, as their word for one form of hunger (ohi) is similar to their word for taro: ohina. The similarity, then, between the word for archery (niaö) and vegetable food (nii, not ni) tells us nothing about the cultural status of the Yąnomamö either in the past or at the present.

In general, Zerries' data are excellent and his conclusions sound; and his major work (1964) will remain the basic ethnographic source on the Yąnomamö for many years.

The Frobenius Expedition was followed by the work of

10:Chagnon E-4,5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Patanowë-tedi, Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi and Reyabobŏwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Namowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called Paruritawë-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

722
621
628
121
361
602
628
174
582
583

historical relationships between villages to properly interpret marriage ties between them. With regard to the last point, I found that numerous individuals in Bisaasi-tedi claimed to be from Patanowë-tedi; my initial conclusions concerning their marriage to individuals from Bisaasi-tedi was that the marriages were village-exogamic. I was obliged to reassess these marriages after I learned that the two villages were at one time one village, and most of the marriages between the two groups were contracted while the groups were living together. I therefore investigated in detail the historical relationships between all the villages in the Mavaca area, a portion of the results constituting the subject of this chapter.

174
128

I have summarized the village movements in Tables 5 and 6 and have indicated these movements graphically on Map C. The reader may, if he wishes, skip the details of the histories and turn at this point to the concluding remarks of this chapter. I can make the four points by using only Tables 5 and 6, in conjunction with Map C. However, I cannot illustrate Yanomamö political behavior without recourse to details of the village movements and the wars that caused them and, accordingly, I include the details of the histories in this chapter. The political relationships that presently obtain between the two Shamatari villages (Mŝmaribŏwei-tedi and Mayabobŏwei-tedi) and their allies, the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, can not be completely understood without knowing their respective histories in some detail. Most of the

128
361

128
361
174
628
583

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Table 5: History of Namowei-tedi, Summarised.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Konata	1875-1900	Raids from Obotawë-tedi, Boreta-tedi, Bokçoiwë-urihi-tedi and Aramata-tedi	None	---
Wareta	1900-1910	Raids from Shihowë- and Husirawë-urihi-tedi	None	---
Namowei	1910-1920	Raids from Boreta-tedi	None	---
Hahoyaoba	1920-1925	Poor Soil	None	---
Patanowë	1925-1943 (1966)	Internal feud led to split and raiding between factions; site still occupied	Village size and frequent fighting within village	Strained at first, then hostile
Shihota	1943-1949	Raids from Patanowë-tedi	None	---
Mahekodo	1951-1952	Suspicion that their hosts planned to kill them	None	---
Kobou	1952-1953	Fear of Shamatari raids	Internal feuds over women	Friendly
Monou and Barawë	1954-1966 1954-1959	Barawë abandoned because foreigners invited Indians to move to Mavaca; Monou still occupied	None	---
Bisaasi	1959-1966	---	Village size and frequent arguments	Friendly

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

• 174
175
103
361
421
428
578
602

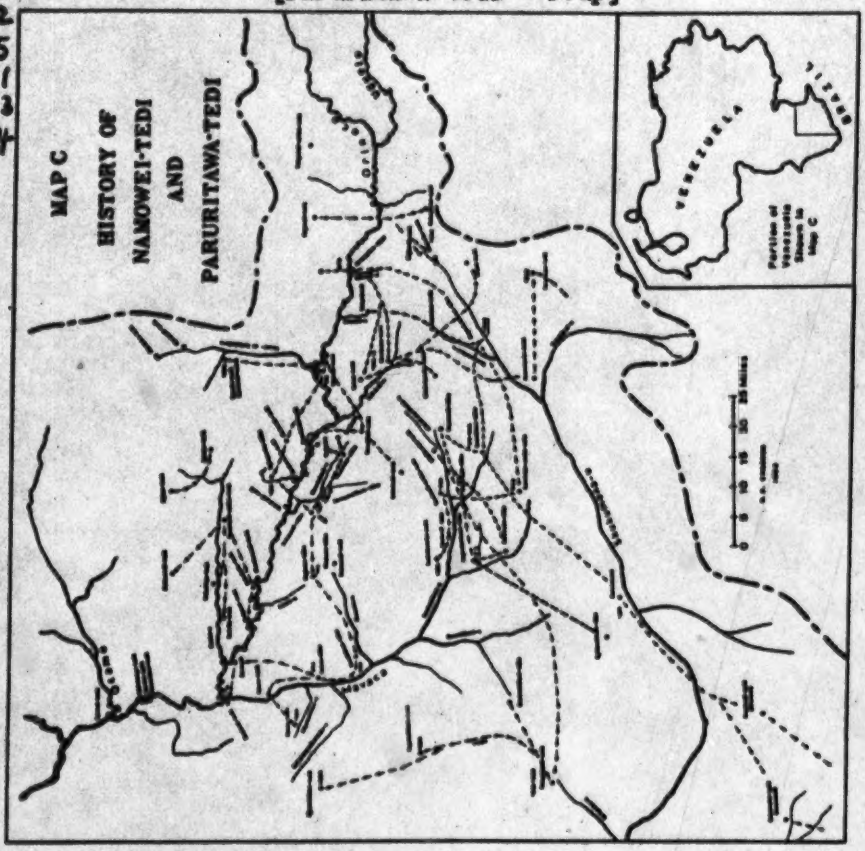
Table 6: History of Paruritawë-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Pre-Aramamisi	? - 1880	Raids from Shihowë- and Mokayëaba-tedi	None	---
Aramamisi	1880-1900	Raids from Shihowë-, Konabuma and Mokayëaba-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Shirakobŏwei	1900-1910 [1900-1966]	Internal feuds led to separation of several factions that raided parent group: Karehewë-, Matakuwë-, and previous enemies, Shihowë- and Mokayëaba-tedi. Aramamisi-tedi group remained at Shirakobŏwei after other factions left	a. 1900: Karehewë's faction left because of a feud over a woman. b. 1900: Waiyahowë's faction left for unknown causes. c. 1910: Matakuwë's faction left to aid Karehewë and to avoid raids from Shihowë-tedi.	a. Hostile b. Friendly; Waiyahowë's group was decimated by an epidemic and no longer exists. c. Hostile
Borabŏwei	1910-1935	Raids from Karawatari- and Aramamisi-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Kayurewë	1935-1940	Raids from Aramamisi- and Namowei-tedi	None	---
Konabuma	1940-1945	See next column	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Paruritawë	1945-1960	Raids from Sibarariwë's village (Mŏwëraoba-tedi)	Minor internal feud	Friendly
Mŏmaribŏwei Reyabobŏwei	1960-1965	Present locations	None	---

[Namowei-tedi Group]
[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

102
175
361
133
174

MAP C
HISTORY OF
NAMOWEI-TEDI
AND
PARURITAWA-TEDI



marriage alliances on which I have complete data have taken place between the Shamatari and the two villages of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi. Over 50% of recently contracted marriages[1] that represent breaches of the marriage rule preferences were the result of alliances between the villages whose histories are given here. It is, accordingly, important to understand the political and historical circumstances that led to these alliances.

A. The History of the Namowei-tedi Group

The Namowei-tedi lived in four different areas between ca. 1880 and 1943, splitting into two villages in 1943 shortly after they moved to their fifth location. I outline below the events that led to the abandoning of the first four areas and discuss in more detail the activities of the villages after they established their fifth location. I will treat the Paruritawë-tedi group similarly in Part B of this chapter.

Area 1: Konata-tedi (See Map C)

While living in this area the Naomwei-tedi were on friendly terms with several Shamatari villages, numbering them among their allies. The Shamatari as a distinct group were just coming into being between 1880 and 1900. Intermarriages between the Namowei-tedi and members of several Shamatari villages occurred and a number of individuals in the present villages of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi trace descent back to Shamatari ancestors.

[1] These data on marriages are taken from the villages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi.

descent back to Shamatari ancestors. Shihowë-tedi and its splinter village, Mokayëaba-tedi, were two Shamatari allies of the Namowei-tedi in this period of the latter's history.

The Namowei-tedi got into a war with a cluster of villages allied to Obotawë-tedi over a woman from the latter village. The woman joined the Namowei-tedi against the wishes of her own people. This led to a club fight between the two groups and, later, to a shooting war. Obotawë-tedi recruited aid from their allies, the Bokoiwë-Urihi-tedi, Boreta-tedi, and Aramata-tedi while the Namowei-tedi were supported by the two Shamatari villages mentioned above. A number of men from each of the two groups were killed in the raiding that developed and several Namowei-tedi women were abducted. Obotawë-tedi and their allies forced Namowei-tedi to abandon their garden and take refuge with the Wareta-tedi, a group that had just abandoned the area (ca. 1890-1900) occupied by the Namowei-tedi because of a war with the Boreta-tedi. As the Namowei-tedi had not had time to make a new garden when the raiding became intense enough to force them to move, they moved into the village of Wareta-tedi and lived off the produce of the latter's garden.

Area 2: Wareta-tedi

The residents of Wareta-tedi had their own war with Shihowë-tedi when they were joined by the Namowei-tedi, but were on friendly terms with Husirawë-urihi-tedi, a village to their north. The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë,

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Husirawë's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowë and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowë-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-kähö--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakö), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hąhoyaoba-täka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hąhoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasaböwë-tedi and Ashadowë-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The new garden at Mahoyaoba-tedi did not produce satisfactorily so the Namowei-tedi established a new one south of the Orinoco River, Patanowä-tëka, and moved there about 1925-30.[1]

Area 5: Patanowä-tëka

This site has a complicated history. The Namowei-tedi lived here as one group, abandoned it, split into two villages, and each faction returned to it only to abandon it again. Ultimately the site was reoccupied by one of these factions, and that faction presently lives there.

Most of the present generation of adults in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi were born at Patanowä-tëka.

Three important events took place while the Namowei-tedi lived at Patanowä-tëka. The first of these was the development of hostilities between the Namowei-tedi and a Shamatari village. As this Shamatari village figures prominently in the later history of one faction of the Namowei-tedi, I make a point of identifying it here: Sibarariwä's village, located on the Mavaca River. The approximate date of the initiation of these hostilities was 1938-40, an estimate based on the ages of older children born at Patanowä-tëka of women abducted from Sibarariwä's village. Up to the start of the war with Sibarariwä's group, the Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with all of the Shamatari villages and visited a number of them regularly. Several marriage

[1] This is the only case I have of a garden being abandoned for soil fertility reasons.

174 Several marriage alliances were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one of the Shamatari villages (Konabuma-tedi) when the war with Sibarariwë's group started, but these eventually broke down before any women were actually exchanged.

The second important event was the secession of a section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the development of hostilities between these cognate villages.

The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the initiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi sections (Patanowë-tedi) and villages to its [illegible]; this war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and has dictated the movements of the Patanowë-tedi from the time it began until now.

In order, the particulars of these three events are, briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a number of years after they moved to Patanowë-tëka. However, several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria) about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called Ruwahiwë, Sibarariwë's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Namikininiwë, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered Ruwahiwë with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

Shortly after Ruwahiwë was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded

only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service. The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Hekurama, and Hikarima) and the Patanowë-tedi (Ishinarima, Rubrobemi, Rǫkuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in Patanowë-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

(2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions, each making a new garden further up the Shanishani-u River and abandoned Patanowë-tëka. The move was stimulated by the frequency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were always fighting with each other," said one of my informants, "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at Patanowë-tëka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller (Brararabǫwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fearing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

and returned to Patanowä-tëka. A segment of the group that returned to Patanowä-tëka immediately began making a new garden (Shihota) about a day's walk to the west of Patanowä-tëka, anticipating that further hostilities with the Wanidima group would develop. Within a year of the club fight the Wanidima group attacked the group at Patanowä-tëka while the latter were having a feast, but the raiders' arrows missed their marks and no one was injured. The group at Patanowä-tëka abandoned their village and rejoined their agnates at the latter's new garden, Shihota-tëka, whence they began raiding the Wanidima-tedi. On one raid the group from Shihota found Wanidima-tedi deserted and followed the trail the villagers had taken. The Wanidima-tedi were found at Hasaböwä-tedi, feasting. The raiders killed one of the Wanidima-tedi men, but in doing so angered both the Hasaböwä-tedi and their cognate group, the Ashadowä-tedi.

With the aid of the last two villages, the Wanidima-tedi raided the Shihota-tedi and killed a younger brother of Makuwä. The Shihota-tedi reciprocated by raiding the Wanidima-tedi, killing Husiwä (Nabäyoma's husband), Hoari, and Siayeikema. This in turn was followed by raids from the Wanidima-tedi in which the Shihota-tedi lost Ushuenawä and the two younger brothers of Paruriwä, and had one of their women, Buhiomi, seized.

Eventually the superior numbers of the Wanidima-tedi and their allies decided the fighting, and the Shihota-tedi were forced to abandon their garden and make a new one elsewhere.

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-täka to Kreiböwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawä and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowä-täka, and became known as the Patanowä-tedi.

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawä-tedi and Kashorawä-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawä, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawä-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowä-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowä-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawä-tedi visited Patanowä-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowä-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawä-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawä-tedi. Hasaböwä-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowä-tedi and Yabitawä-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

174 the Patanowä-tedi.[1] Thus, the Patanowä-tedi were surrounded
726
*628 on all sides by enemies; only one village, Ashadowä-tedi,
722 remained on friendly terms with them. Beyond the Ashadowä-tedi were the Shamatari villages, bitter enemies of the Patanowä-tedi since the killing of Ruwahiwä.

174 By the time the Patanowä-tedi had gotten into this
*628 situation, the war with their agnates had subsided. So the
361
602 Patanowä-tedi moved west, into the area abandoned by their
722 agnates, whence they harried the Hasaböwä-tedi and the groups north of the Orinoco. They attempted with some success to effect a rapprochement with their agnates, and a few individuals from the Kreiböwei-tedi group visited the Patanowä-tedi. One of these individuals was able to obtain a wife in Patanowä-tedi, whom he subsequently took back to Monou-tedi with him.

361 The Patanowä-tedi are presently living between two
*628 sites: Patanowä-tëka and Shamata-tëka, a situation forced on
722 them by the hostile relationships they have with all their neighbors except the Ashadowä-tedi.

128 Area 6: Shihota-tëka

See "Area 5" point (2) above.

174 Area 7: Kreiböwei-tedi
175
361 This site was established in 1949. After fleeing
722 from Shihota to avoid the raids of the Patanowä-tedi, the
*628

[1] At this point the Patanowä-tedi returned to Patanowä-tëka from their three sites of Wanidima, Waiyari, and Rashawä.

Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's village and entered into feasting relationships with his followers.

Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's village. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother, Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tăka.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

174 men for the Kreibŏwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari,
175
727 and a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi managed to escape.
[726] These fled to a mountain called Wadubadidiobakĕkŏ where
[103] they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-tĕka.
[241] Here, the Kreibŏwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the
[752] wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreibŏwei-
tĕka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly
*[28] after the treacherous feast the Kreibŏwei-tedi were visited
by Shinanokawĕ, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his
followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the
Kreibŏwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them
to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made
a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

174
175 Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreibŏwei-tedi
721 undertook a revenge raid against Riakowĕ's group. They
*628 killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collect-
361 ing their women and children at Kreibŏwei-tĕka as they pro-
ceeded from Riakowĕ's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was
early in 1951.

174
175 For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreibŏwei-tedi
361 worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi
241 at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more
*621 plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the
Kreibŏwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before
Kobou-tĕka was producing, however, the Kreibŏwei-tedi decided

to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There had been a number of club fights between the two factions over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started (Monou-tëka and Barawë-tëka) before the Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other considerations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here that considerable fighting took place among the men when the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to the survivors.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as they could. It was rumored that their protectors were planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women. This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed the Kreibŏwei-tedi several years later of the details of the plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariwë-tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that the Kreibŏwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the two men killed by the Kreibŏwei-tedi after the treacherous feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

[Kamowei-tedi Group]

Mahekodo-tedi became directly involved in the war against the Shamatari and needed the assistance of the Kreibŏwei-tedi. This prevented them from killing the Kreibŏwei-tedi men and seizing their women.

Makolima-tedi and Karohi-tedi, two allies of Mahekodo-tedi, assisted the latter in the revenge raids against the Shamatari; the Kreibŏwei-tedi, of course, participated in these raids. On one raid they found Riakowë's village abandoned so they burned down the houses and destroyed the garden: the plantains were cut down and the root crops dug up. The raiders pushed on, following Riakowë's trail, and caught up with their enemies on the Shukumŏna-u River near the village of Karawatari-urihi-tedi where the followers of Riakowë had fled to avoid the revenge raids from the Mahekodo-tedi. The raiders found Riakowë swimming in the river, together with his son, a boy about 7 years old, and two of the girls, Kayoma and Waiimi, abducted during the treacherous feast. They killed Riakowë and took all the children. On their way back to Mahekodo-tedi, however, the raiders were chased by the Shamatari, who managed to get ahead of them. The Shamatari surprised them the following morning, killing one man from Makolima-tedi while he slept. In the fighting that followed, the Shamatari lost another man.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi and the Mahekodo-tedi unsuccessfully raided the Shamatari a number of times after this raid, but eventually discontinued the raiding when they concluded that they had chased the Shamatari out of the area.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Area 9: Kobou-tëka

The Kreibŏwei-tedi parted with their protectors as soon as this garden began producing. They lived at this site only long enough to complete their two new gardens at Monou and Barawë, moving into the latter when they, in turn, began producing. "Kobou" in Yanomamŏ means "let it go at that," or, in more vernacular terms, "to hell with that garden." Kobou was abandoned shortly after it was made, having served as a temporary base for the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they completed their split. It would not have been necessary to complete the splitting of the village by making two new gardens had there been no war with the Shamatari. But, as one faction of the group made their garden elsewhere, the others were reluctant to remain at Kobou and bear the brunt of the revenge raids from the Shamatari. Thus, they too made a new garden. Again, it would not have been necessary to make Kobou-tëka had Mahekodo-tedi been a dependable ally. But as the Kreibŏwei-tedi suspected that their erstwhile protectors were plotting against them, they followed that course of action most expedient at the time. As they had already started Kobou, it was simply more practicable to complete that garden and move out of Mahekodo-tedi as soon as possible, rather than begin making two gardens and delay their move until these gardens began producing.

Areas 10 and 11: Monou-tedi and Barawë-tedi

After separating into two groups the Kreibŏwei-tedi

remained on good terms with each other. Their split occurred in 1954, perhaps a year earlier.

When I initiated my field work in 1964 Monou-thka was still occupied, but its population, the Monou-tedi, was in the process of making a new garden (Moyanabŏwei) west of Monou to avoid the raids of the Patanowã-tedi, with whom they had entered into a new war in 1964.

The faction that moved to Barawã remained at that site about five years. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River, taking the name Bisaasi-tedi, in 1959, splitting into two villages, each located on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. By 1958 the Venezuelan Government had initiated a malaria-control program in this area of Amazonas and had established a small field station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Venezuelans associated with this field station invited the Barawã-tedi to move to the Mavaca River; the Indians accepted the invitation, hoping to gain access to steel tools. This was the beginning of contact with outsiders for the Kreibŏwei-tedi; prior to 1959 the only foreigners they had known were the missionary at Mahekodo-tedi, James P. Barker, and the members of the Frobenius Institute Expedition, Meinhard Schuster and Otto Zerries, who they visited occasionally at Mahekodo-tedi.

Area 12: Bisaasi-tedi

The Bisaasi-tedi began friendly contacts with a Shamatari village, Pararitawã-tedi, after they moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River.

mouth of the Mavaca River. The Paruritawä-tedi had split from Sibarariwä's village about 1945, and had not been involved in the treacherous feast of 1950 in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost so many men. The Paruritawä-tedi were still on good terms with Sibarariwä's followers, and the members of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi persuaded them to invite Sibarariwä and his group to a feast. Using their agnatic ties and existing friendship, the Paruritawä-tedi succeeded in getting the followers of Sibarariwä to accept the invitation, but a malaria epidemic prevented all but a handful of people from actually attending the feast: five men and four women. With the assistance of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the Paruritawä-tedi killed three of the guests and seized all four of the women.

By participating in this treachery, the Paruritawä-tedi subordinated themselves to the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. At the present time the Paruritawä-tedi live in two villages, and are intimately involved in a bride-exchange network with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter two villages receiving more women (and men doing bride service) than they give. The Paruritawä-tedi have no other allies, as they are the front of the expansion into this region and the only villages to their east are allies of Sibarariwä. Despite the fact that they would like to make friendly contact with Sibarariwä's group again, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, as we shall see, prevent them from doing so by chicane and threat. Thus, Monou-tedi and the

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Bisaasi-tedi are the dominant partners in the bride-exchange network with their Shamatari allies, a dominance that is reflected in the disproportionate number of women they have managed to coerce out of their allies.

While I conducted my field work the Bisaasi-tedi lived in two villages on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. The group on the east bank was beginning to split by the time I left the field, and the split took place a few months later,[1] one of the factions moving to the north bank of the Orinoco River, but still within view of the other group.

B. The History of the Paruritawë-tedi

The Shamatari came into being as an identifiable group shortly before 1900. The Shamatari identity, as I have shown above (p. 28 ff.), is a function of the historical connections between the villages that split off from Shihowë-tedi's parental group, as well as geographical considerations.

My informants consistently spoke of two 'true' Shamatari men: Kayabawë (Shamatari) and Matakuwë. The villages of these two men have a common origin, but I was unable to get data on the nature of the events that led to the separation of these two groups. This event took place long before the life-span of my oldest informants, and none of them knew any details of the splitting. By 1875, however, there were two distinct Shamatari groups north of the Orinoco headwaters, one of which bore the name Shihowë-tedi. Kayabawë

[1] Personal communication, James P. Barker.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

(Shamatari) lived in this village and, when the village split, led his faction into the Shukumöna-u basin, becoming known as the Mokayëaba-tedi. This move took place about 1900.

The second village also moved to the south side of the Orinoco, but remained on that river. They settled near a mountain called Aramamisi-këkö, and named their village after the mountain. My historical data on the Shamatari village movements is sparce up to this point.

Between 1900 and 1950 the Mavaca and Shukumöna drainages were populated by the descendents of these two 'original' Shamatari groups, and the process of village splitting that led to the occupation of this large area continues at the present time.

Although there are two Shamatari groups (Kayabawë's and Matakuwë's), I outline the details of the movements of Matakuwë's group, mentioning Kayabawë's only in so far as it relates to the history of Paruritawë-tedi. Militarily, Kayabawë's group plays a prominent role in the movements of Matakuwë's followers up to 1920, illustrating once again that cognate villages enter into hostile relationships with each other after they separate. Thus, this section deals with the historical movements of the group that ultimately gave rise to Paruritawë-tedi; as this group also gave rise to a number of other villages, I shall have to briefly sketch the movements of these villages after their separation from the main group.

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari village histories are more complicated than the one outlined for the Namowei-tedi. This stems from the fact that the Shamatari villages had reached a large size by 1900 and began splitting into smaller groups earlier, in terms of the data I collected, than did the Namowei-tedi. In other words, the splitting that characterized Namowei-tedi's population from about 1940 to 1955 was occurring in the Shamatari population in 1900. Although I do not have census data on the numerous Shamatari villages that subsequently emerged from the two initial groups, I suspect that the numbers of people involved are significantly larger for the Shamatari village histories. Two factors seem to be the cause of this phenomenon. First, the Shamatari villages had access to steel tools in considerable numbers before Namowei-tedi's ancestral population did; my informants asserted that their first source of steel tools was the group called Shihowä-tedi. Presumably the size of the populations involved is a function of their agricultural potentials, and the Shamatari apparently expanded earlier than the Namowei-tedi because they had access to steel tools sooner. Secondly, the Shamatari population expanded unopposed into virgin territory, whereas the Namowei-tedi expanded into territory already occupied by other Yąnomamö; it is significant to note that when the Namowei-tedi ultimately moved into unoccupied territory, their population seems to have increased, and the first split occurred only after virgin territory was colonized.[1]

[1] I am unable to explain how this affects demographic variables, but my data suggest that Yąnomamö populations expand more rapidly when they colonize virgin land.

168

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 1: Aramamisi-kähö

174 36 722 62 (124) Matakuwä's group settled here after abandoning their site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawä's group. The village at Aramamisi-kähö, according to my informants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, Aramamisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, Möwäraoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawä-tedi, Kohoroshi-tedi, Mömariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

174 175 36 62 976 628 72 726 A large segment of the population broke away from the main group and moved to the Rahuawä-u River, splitting into two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from the Aramamisi-kähö population developed out of a feud over a woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from the original faction that separated from Matakuwä's group. The first three of these groups presently live in the Shukumöna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

174 175 621 628 361

---

[103] [1] There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

others. Matakuwë's group was being raided by Kayabawë's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-këkö. These raids forced Matakuwë and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-këkö and settle at Shirakoböwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakoböwei

Matakuwë's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawë's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewë and Orakawë. During the fighting a young man from Karehewë's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewë moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewë's followers raided the group at Shirakoböwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewë to move further north. Karehewë's son, Riakowë, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowë's son, Börösöwë. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Börösöwë's group. They feared Börösöwë would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyahowë, split off from

174 Matakuwë's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An
221
361 epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors
[731] were absorbed by other villages.

Finally, Matakuwë and his group separated from Orakawë and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Mavaca basin. The group that remained at Shirakoböwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakuwë and his followers separated from Orakawë's group for two reasons. First, Matakuwë decided to support Karehewë in the dispute over the death of a member of the
[722] latter's group. Secondly, Matakuwë and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shihowë-tedi, who continued
[628] to harrass them. By taking the side of Karehewë, Matakuwë
[726] and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawë's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

Area 3: Boraböwei

174 Matakuwë and his followers moved here about 1910.
195
361 Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi,
628 forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a
602 number of years Matakuwë's group lived alternatively between
726 these two sites. Another garden was established at Kaurewë
241 after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Boraböwei, and Matakuwë's group fled to Kayurewë, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

000 rarily abandoning Konabuma.

• 174 Matakuwä's group had three factions. Oroshowä, a
175 man belonging to Matakuwä's faction, took a woman away from
*621 her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an
578 internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and
361 Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village of his own on the Shukumöna-u River. This split took place
174 about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwä's vil-
175 lage to avenge the death of Biawawä, the man killed in the
*621 feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was un-
722 able to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's
174 group to found their own villages: Warabawä-tedi, led by
175 Newariwä, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwä. These last two
*621 villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time,
361 as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded
[622] foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Mis-
[799] sionaries on the Cauabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group
361 lived on the Shukumöna-u River, as men from Reyaboböwei-tedi
[574] danced there that year. When the Reyaboböwei-tedi left
*[628] Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with
[721] them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174 In about 1935 Matakuwä and his group moved to Kayurewä
361 to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.
722

---

*[628] [1]Warabawä-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabäyoma.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 4: KayurewÄ

174 175 +622 926 861 The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid MatakuwÄ's group at KayurewÄ, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. MatakuwÄ's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of RuwahiwÄ, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at PatanowÄ-tëka. RuwahiwÄ was MatakuwÄ's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided MatakuwÄ's group at KayurewÄ, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, MatakuwÄ moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174 +621 361 (622) (101) About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by MatakuwÄ's group, the group split into two villages. One of them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by MatakuwÄ's son, SibarariwÄ. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumöna-u River and took the name ParuritawÄ-tedi, led by (578) (721) WeiamamowÄ. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

174 36 +628 722 175 SibarariwÄ's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the ParuritawÄ-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Aramamisi-tedi and the ParuritawÄ-tedi themselves forced SibarariwÄ's group to abandon Konabuma

and move to Kakamoba. This site was occupied for just a few years, and by 1950 Sibarariwä's group was living at Amąrokobö-wei: the 1950 treacherous feast for the Kreiböwei-tedi was conducted while Sibarariwä's group was here. After 1950 Sibarariwä's group fled south to avoid the raids of the survivors of that treacherous feast, establishing the garden of Dądamoböwei. This garden was abandoned because of raids mounted by the Paruritawä-tedi, and Sibarariwä returned to Amąrokoböwei about 1955. The Paruritawä-tedi eventually became friendly to Sibarariwä's group and were able to lure some of them, at the instigation of the Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, to a treacherous feast in 1960, during which three men were murdered and four women captured. In 1964 Sibarariwä's group moved to the headwaters of the Mavaca River, being known as the Möwäraoba-tedi. Monou-tedi and Mąmariböwei-tedi sent a raiding party against them at this location about the time I started my field work, and killed one man.

Area 6: Paruritawä-tedi

The Paruritawä-tedi made friendly contact with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi about 1960, and have entered into alliance with these groups. The Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi persuaded the Paruritawä-tedi to invite members of Sibarariwä's group to a feast in 1960 and, with the aid of the Paruritawä-tedi, murdered three men and seized four women. Sibarariwä's group avenged this by mounting raids

against the Paruritawä-tedi, and the latter abandoned their site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Mõmaribõwei and Reyabobõwei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyabobõwei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965 the Reyabobõwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawä-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966

The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowä-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowä-tedi to venture away from the village.

/8 cont./

175 According to statements of old palm-fiber gatherers on the
648 Aracá, no Indians appeared on this river from the end of the previous century to the end of the twenties of our century. During the months of October and November of the year 1927, palm-fiber gatherers on their way to their places of work saw for the first time small and relatively light-skinned Indians disappearing into the forest thickets. In December, 1927, and January/February, 1928, the settlements were attacked by Indians several times, but the palm-fiber gatherers always managed to put them to flight. During the forenoon of June 28, 1928, there was another attack during which two wives of rubber gatherers and a 12-year-old girl were abducted. After this abduction there was no further Indian attack. Not until 16 years later, in January, 1944, did six
[439] Indians appear, but this time with friendly intent. They called themselves Surára and wanted to barter for articles of civilization. Later they admitted that their tribe had carried out the earlier attacks. In reply to questions about the two abducted women and the girl, they said that they had died. /9/ The palm-fiber gatherers did not bear them any malice for their previous hostile attitude, for they were glad that they could now carry on their work without fear of the Indians.

439 The Surára cling to their old habits and customs and visit the palm-fiber gatherers only when they want to barter for knives,
[115] axes, pots, etc. According to the statements of the chief of the Surára, they are forced by the Xiriána to barter with the palm-fiber gatherers, for they are obliged to deliver to them all the articles obtained (see also pages 157/163); the Xiriána themselves never have any contact with the civilized inhabitants.

648 In August of the year 1944 the Indian protection post founded in 1940 on the Rio Demini was visited for the first time by some Pakidái. At rather long intervals there have been further visits
[619] by various families of this tribe up to the present time. They, too, however, come at the request of the Xiriána and must hand over to them all the gifts.

Surára
Pakidái

/73 cont./

764 171 For the types of burial of the Surára and Pakidái, which are undoubtedly very old and original, there are no parallels thus far in South America (334). This is true of the combined tree- and

[184] 334. Among the Waiká /Waica/, the corpse is cremated on the same day on the village square (Zerries, 1955b, p. 664).

fire-burial as well as of the earth burial of old people. A deceased member of the tribe, however, is only hung in a treetop for two or three weeks, so that his flesh will decay, before the bones are subsequently cremated.

765 171 175 The latter custom, albeit in the form of combined earth- and fire-burial, is, moreover, already mentioned in old sources. "Far inland," writes Barrère with regard to Guiana, "there are nations who assemble in order to dig out skeletons, when they think that the corpse is almost decayed, and after they have calcined these, they drink the ashes, which they soak in roucou, and they believe that they have thereby given their dead a more decent burial than if they left them to worms and putrefaction" (335).

335. Barrère, 1751, p. 172.

764 765 171 175 Similar reports are given by Froger about French Guiana (336)

336. "They have great respect for the old people, and when one of them dies, they inter him in the Carbet (Maloka) without any other ceremony than becoming very intoxicated: but when they believe that he is almost decayed, they assemble the Indians of the neighboring Carbets, dig out the bones, burn them, and take the ashes into their Oüicou in order to have a great feast" /translated from the French/ (Froger, 1715, p. 178).

Surára
Pakidái

175
764
785
191
[MS]

/73 cont./
and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

619
648
721

5. War -- nfanyu --

The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood-revenge -- noyú -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

600 /188 cont./
M but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard. It is interesting that Ghearbrandt (1955, p. 348) is of the opinion that the
184 Makiritare had left the Uraricuera some twenty years previously.
167
Y The Guadema seem to be different from the Casapare,
101 according to what one can deduce from the above-mentioned book; probably it is a matter of a local Sanemá or Waica group.

The center of distribution of the Sanemá is the basin of the Padamo River, a tributary of the upper Orinoco. Their territory is bounded on the south by Waica territory, on the west by the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma, on the north by the Makiritare of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, and on the east by the little known territory of the Casapare.

Y If we judge from the present situation of the distribution
101 of the Yanoama, it is quite probable that the first Yanoama
197 with whom the Whites had contact on their trips along the upper Orinoco were the Sanemá, who appear in historical sources as the Guaharibo. One finds the Guaharibo frequently mentioned together with the Waica, but it is interesting that from the very first reports authors made a distinction between Waica and Guaharibo.

Y /189/ Caulin (1958, pp. 305-306), writing in 1779, places
•175 the Guariba on the Maraca and its tributaries. According to him,
101 they are white in color like the Spaniards and are the same "uaribas" already mentioned by the "Expedición de Solano." Humboldt also speaks of Guaicas and of Guaharibos, having met representatives of them in the Esmeralda Mission. Spruce (1908: 1, pp. 396-398), who met an old Guaharibo man on his trip on the Casiquiare, is the first one to leave us the fullest and most authentic information regarding the Yanoama of the upper Orinoco. According to this author, the Guaharibo call themselves Kudé-Kubui, but it is difficult today to decide whether these are Guaharibo or Waica. We have a like opinion regarding the Guaharibo of Chaffanjon (1889). It is possible that the Sanemá may have occupied zones farther toward the Casiquiare and the Cunucunuma, but the Arawak and Caribe of this zone occupied these places before the arrival of the Whites, and the boundaries were established by the tribes interested in them.

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

262 Great popularity was also enjoyed among the Surára and Pakidái
439 by the roasted manioc flour which they occasionally obtain from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter or from the Indian protection post on the Demini as a gift. They are unable to make it themselves because they do not have the large iron pans for it.

252 Various fruits of wild plants also need special preparation. The white seeds found in the pods of the pacova-sororoca (see p. 168) must be roasted before they are eaten. The taste, by the way, corresponds exactly to roasted maize. /84/ -- The fruits of the pot-tree (see p. 168) are first boiled, for which the women particularly liked to use my empty gasoline cans, and then cut open with the knife of tortoise shell (see p. 118). They are then poured into one or more of the large plaited baskets -- uaramá -- (see p. 107) and hung for four days in the water on the bank of a stream, in order to remove the bitter substances. After that they are thoroughly rubbed by the women with their feet. These fruits, to be sure, occupy only a second-rank position in the favor of the "gourmets," but at least they fill the stomach. Moreover, I was assured that in olden times, that is, before the introduction of the banana, this fruit played a much greater role in the food economy.

263 All the foods mentioned are, as a rule, eaten without spices. Only now and then do some men and women add a little of their cultivated pepper, which is roasted beforehand. Not a single
[123] tribesman developed a taste for my salt, of which I had brought along several kilograms, assuming that the Indians would be pleased about it, and they had no interest whatsoever in acquiring any of it (400).

[46] 400. The amount of salt required by the body is supplied by the wood ashes with which the tobacco roll (see p.190) is mixed.

171 This aversion to salt is also found among many other tribes,
● 175 and in a report as early as the sixteenth century one can read the
263 following remark: "The forest people cannot use any salt, because it makes them ill, for they are not used to it; if they eat it, they

Surára
pakidái

263
171
[195]

/84 cont./
almost always die within a short time" (401). Reference should

401. Taunay, 1921, p. 166.

also be made to a statement by Roquette-Pinto, in which he says that the Indians of the Serra do Norte reject all salted food (402).

402. Roquette-Pinto, 1919, p. 243.

There are, however, tribes among whom salt is valued to a certain extent. For example, Herbert Baldus reports about a Boróro who complained that he never got enough salt from the mission kitchen. Yet salt was previously unknown to these Indians (403). The Tapirapé and Karajá /Caraja/ also like salt

403. Baldus, 1937, p. 287.

very much (404), whereas among the Tuparí only the men like

404. Baldus, 1950, p. 14.

to use it; several women, on the other hand, not at all (405).

405. Caspar, 1953, pp. 133/34.

The following statement by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang is noteworthy: "In general, the Indians salt their foods little, but like salt very much and are glad to take it in payment for services rendered" (406).

406. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 49.

272 The number of beverages which are prepared from the nourishing fruit-meat of wild palms is abundant. Especially popular are the bluish açaí and bacaba fruits (see p. 166) about as large as plums, which ripen between December-March. They

126 Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a
36 larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he
[116] has lived among the Yąnomamö. Finally, on information
[114] obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yąnomamö
[124] have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants'
accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the
villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mąmariböwei-
tedi or Patanowä-tedi, I had the residents point in the
direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass
readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps"
required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was
somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of
those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain
[102] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was
the poverty of the Yąnomamö language in indicating numbers.
The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu,
dahiabä), two (porakëbä), and more-than-two (bruka). In
establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have
relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the
Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to
estimate the length of time each site was occupied before
being abandoned.

175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five
villages I have been guided by two historically known events.
One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahekodo-tedi
in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

175 contact with a Yąnomamö village on the upper Orinoco. Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, has been living continuously with the Yąnomamö since 1950, except for an occasional furlough to the United States. Three months after Barker arrived at Mahekodo-tedi, the members of that village took in a group of refugees from another village, a village that had just been the victim of a treacherous feast. Those refugees were the present residents of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, the two groups with whom I spent most of my time in the field. The treacherous feast invitation and the subsequent events will be outlined in detail below; suffice it to say at this point that the event was an important one in the history of these villages and its date is known (1951).

175 648 726 The second dated event was the abduction of a Brazilian girl from her home in the upper Cauabury area by the members of two Yąnomamö villages, Kohoroshi-tedi and Karawatari-urihi-tedi. The history of NabËyoma ("woman of the foreigners"), as she was called by the Yąnomamö, may be told briefly. The members of the village of Kohoroshi-tedi, a splinter group from Karawatari's village, moved down the Shukumöna-u and began to hunt in the area southwest of their new village site. Occasionally they came across signs of foreigners, whom they were interested in locating in the hope of acquiring steel tools. On one hunt the Yąnomamö saw the foreigners and discovered their house. The Indians returned to Kohoroshi-tedi and the headman of the village, Ohiriwë, organised a raiding party, which also included men from

Karawatari's village.

The raiders attacked the foreigners at dawn but were driven off by gunfire; a number of the Indians were killed, among them a man called Hokohenawë, and some of the foreigners were allegedly hit with arrows. The Indians managed to capture a young girl, taking her back to Karawatari's village on the Shakumõne-u. Shortly after arriving at Karawatari's village, the abductors were in turn raided by another Shamatari village, then on the Upper Mavaca River under the leadership of Matakuwë, one of the two "original" Shamatari men. Karawatari's group had split from Matakuwë's group and was on hostile terms with it. The girl was taken by Matakuwë's men on this raid and brought to the Mavaca River. Matakuwë's village was on a branch of the Mavaca River called Kedebabõwei-u when Nabëyoma was abducted from Karawatari's group. Lerries (1964:14) gives 1934 as the date of the abduction of Nabëyoma, whereas Seitz (1963:21) places it a little earlier.

In Matakuwë's village, Nabëyoma was given to Yoyonahi's son; he shot her with a barbed arrow for disobeying him and the girl fled into the woods to nurse her wound. At this time Matakuwë's group was on friendly terms with the residents of Patanowë-tëka (who are now living in three distinct villages and constitute the groups from whom most of my data were taken). On one of their visits, the residents of Patanowë-tëka found Nabëyoma in the woods outside Matakuwë's village and took her home with them when they left after visiting.

At Patanowë-tëka she was given to Husiwë, by whom she had two sons (Orakuwë and Kariunawë). The approximate date of her move to Patanowë-tëka is 1935; it could not be much later, because a war broke out between Matakuwë's group and the group at Patanowë-tëka shortly after this date, and no visitors went between these two villages after hostilities commenced.

When the Patanowë-tëka group separted into two villages, Nabëyoma remained with the group that is presently called Patanowë-tedi. The two splinter groups entered into hostilities with each other shortly after they separated, and Nabëyoma's husband, Husiwë, was one of the first casualties. Nabëyoma, her co-wife (Shõrõkoma), and all their children fled from Husiwë's group and joined the other, cognate, group. Shõrõkoma, originally abducted from yet another Shamatari village, later returned to Patanowë-tedi, but Nabëyoma stayed with Patanowë-tedi's enemies. In 1951 when the treacherous feast was pulled on the group to which Nabëyoma belonged and the group fled to Mahekodo-tedi for protection, Nabëyoma was given to a man in Mahekodo-tedi, Nemoriwë, as part of the cost of the alliance.

While Nabëyoma lived at Mahekodo-tedi, Barker and his colleague, David Landon, discovered that she still remembered how to write her name (Elena Valero). They informed the authorities in Puerto Ayacucho that a Brazilian woman was living with the Yanomamö, presumable abducted by them from one of the settlements across the border, but

175 before action could be taken, Nabëyoma's new husband left
648 Mahekodo-tedi for his own village (Buinabŏwei-tedi), taking with him Nabëyoma, her two sons by Husiwë, and his own son by Nabëyoma.

[999] The Salesian Mission in Puerto Ayacucho was authorized to handle the affair and they sent a party of men to Buinabŏwei-tedi. The Indians did not wish to lose one of their women and the Salesian Mission party had to resort to forceful but prudent measures to recover Nabëyoma. She was returned to her family in Brazil in late 1956. Remoriwë subsequently made two unsuccessful trips to Brazil to find her.

174 As indicated above, the histories as I have recon-
175 structed them are no more than approximations as far as geographical locations and dates of occupation of the various sites are concerned. I am fairly certain, however, that the events themselves are accurately reported, especially those having to do with the warfare and raiding, because I obtained virtually identical versions from several informants on dif-
173 ferent occasions. The Yanomamŏ are good historians when it
726 comes to warfare. They have to be, lest they accept invi-
628 tations to visit villages that have old grudges against them. All of them, even young children, know who killed their relatives and the circumstances in which the killings took place. These are the subject of constant discussion in the villages.
129 The first few descriptions I recorded of the 1950-51 feast
173 in which my group was victimized by a Shamatari village were obtained from young men who could not possibly have witnessed

This is also supported by meagre historical evidence bearing on the aboriginal inhabitants of this area. Several distinguished Europeans explored portions of the area under consideration and all of them were familiar with the existence of the Yąnomamö in the Orinoco headwaters. None of them, however, reported that Yąnomamö Indians were living in the Mavaca Basin. Alexander Humboldt, who ascended the Casiquiare Canal in 1800, discussed the area of the Mavaca headwaters as one frequently used by Indians of the 'Portugueze Missions' as the route between the Causbury headwaters to Esmeralda (on the Orinoco River) by way of the Mavaca River. The aromatic seeds of the puchery laurel were seasonally gathered near Esmeralda and sold in Brazil (Humboldt, 1281, Vol. 5, pt. 1, pp. 308-9).

So well known was this route that Robert Schomburgk intended to follow it in 1839 to reach the Rio Negro from Esmeralda, hoping to avoid the 200 miles that the Casiquiare route would have added to his journey. He was dissuaded from doing so by the residents of Esmeralda, who, knowing both the route and the seasonal variations in the river, assured him that the trip would be impossible at that time of the year (Schomburgk, 1840 :244).

Richard Spruce ascended the Paciba River, a branch of the Casiquiare Canal that has its source near the Mavaca River, in 1854 and found the upper reaches of the river inhabited by several Aruak-speaking tribes (1908:425, 427).

The first evidence that the Yąnomamö had penetrated

[i.e. Shamatari expansion south of the Orinoco R. - Analyst]

101
175 The first evidence that [31] the Yąnomamö had penetrated the Mavaca Basin comes from a brief comment in Rice's account (1921) of his exploration of the Upper Orinoco. His guide, a Baré Indian, told him that the 'Guaharibos' had killed his brother ". . . near the sources of the Umauaca."[1] There is no historical evidence that the Yąnomamö occupied the Mavaca basin any earlier than this date (ca. 1915-20), save for scattered reports of unidentified 'wild tribes' alleged to dwell in these regions. My own data support this.

By 1925 the Yąnomamö were reported to be raiding settlements along the upper Cauabury River and soon were raiding the north bank of the Rio Negro itself. The Brazilian (548) settlers eventually abandoned this area because of the raids (Seitz, 1963:19, 20, 21; Zerries, 1964:14).

The historical evidence suggests, then, that the Yąnomamö have entered this large area only recently. This is supported by the accounts given to me by the Yąnomamö, who further describe the occupants of the area as Shamatari, a usage based in part on the historical interconnectedness of the villages that spread into the area, and in part on geographical considerations. Yąnomamö villages unrelated to the original group led by Kayabawë (Shamatari) have entered this area, and their northern neighbors refer to them as Shamatari, even though these villages are not historically related to Kayabawë's and their members deny being Shamatari.

---

[1] Ibid., p. 341.

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YÃNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, PatanowÃ-tedi, MÕmaribÕwei-tedi and Reyabobõwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Namowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called PaÃuritawÃ-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Table 5: History of Namowei-tedi, Summarised.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Konata	1875-1900	Raids from Obotawä-tedi, Boreta-tedi, Bokoiwä-urihi-tedi and Aramata-tedi	None	---
Wareta	1900-1910	Raids from Shihowä- and Husirawä-urihi-tedi	None	---
Namowei	1910-1920	Raids from Boreta-tedi	None	---
Hahoyaoba	1920-1925	Poor Soil	None	---
Patanowä	1925-1943 (1966)	Internal feud led to split and raiding between factions; site still occupied	Village size and frequent fighting within village	Strained at first, then hostile
Shihota	1943-1949	Raids from Patanowä-tedi	None	---
Mahekodo	1951-1952	Suspicion that their hosts planned to kill them	None	---
Kobou	1952-1953	Fear of Shamatari raids	Internal feuds over women	Friendly
Monou and Barawä	1954-1966 1954-1959	Barawä abandoned because foreigners invited Indians to move to Mavaca; Monou still occupied	None	---
Bisaasi	1959-1966	---	Village size and frequent arguments	Friendly

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
174
175
103
361-
762]
428
578
602

Table 6: History of Paruritawä-tedi, Summarized.

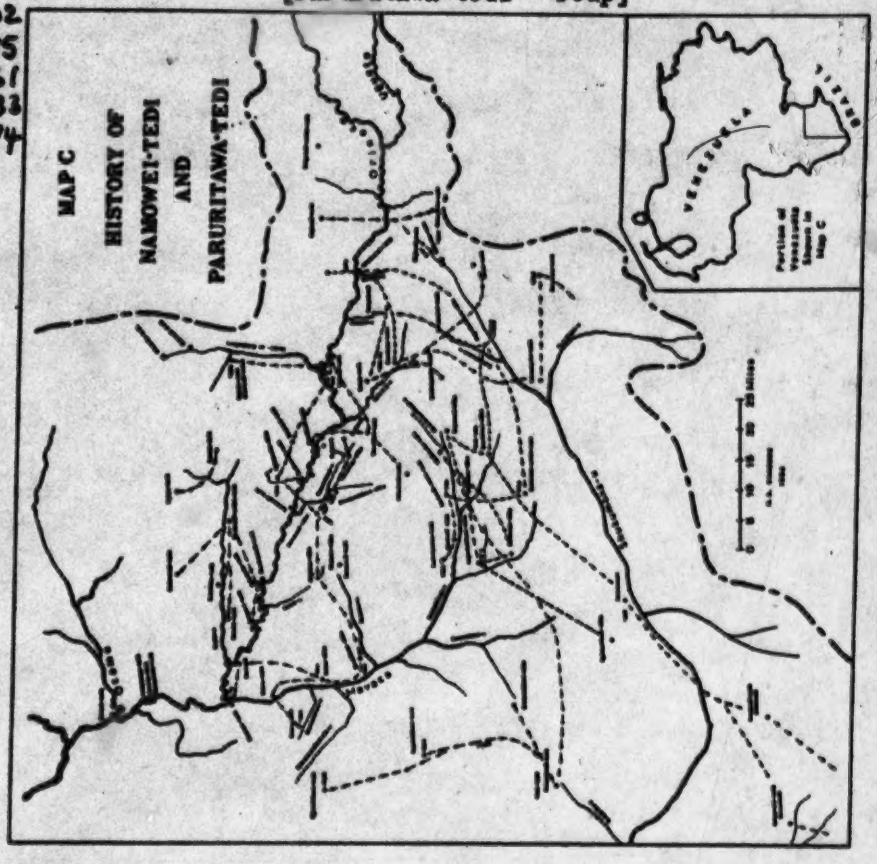
Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Pre-Aramamisi	? - 1880	Raids from Shihowä- and Mokayäaba-tedi	None	---
Aramamisi	1880-1900	Raids from Shihowä-, Konabuma and Mokayäaba-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Shirakoböwei	1900-1910 [1900-1966]	Internal feuds led to separation of several factions that raided parent group: Karehewä-, Matakuwä-, and previous enemies, Shihowä- and Mokayäaba-tedi. Aramamisi-tedi group remained at Shirakoböwei after other factions left	a. 1900: Karehewä's faction left because of a feud over a woman. b. 1900: Waiyahowä's faction left for unknown causes. c. 1910: Matakuwä's faction left to aid Karehewä and to avoid raids from Shihowä-tedi.	a. Hostile b. Friendly; Waiyahowä's group was decimated by an epidemic and no longer exists. c. Hostile
Boraböwei	1910-1935	Raids from Karawatari- and Aramamisi-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Kayurewä	1935-1940	Raids from Aramamisi- and Namowei-tedi	None	---
Konabuma	1940-1945	See next column	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Paruritawä	1945-1960	Raids from Sibarariwä's village (Möwäraoba-tedi)	Minor internal feud	Friendly
Mömariböwei Reyaboböwei	1960-1965	Present locations	None	---

147
[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

[Namowei-tedi Group]
[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

102
175
361
133
174



128 361 174 628 583 marriage alliances on which I have complete data have taken place between the Shamatari and the two villages of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi. Over 50% of recently contracted marriages[1] that represent breaches of the marriage rule preferences were the result of alliances between the villages whose histories are given here. It is, accordingly, important to understand the political and historical circumstances that led to these alliances.

174 175 361 128 621 A. The History of the Namowei-tedi Group

The Namowei-tedi lived in four different areas between ca. 1880 and 1943, splitting into two villages in 1943 shortly after they moved to their fifth location. I outline below the events that led to the abandoning of the first four areas and discuss in more detail the activities of the villages after they established their fifth location. I will treat the Paruritawä-tedi group similarly in Part B of this chapter.

174 175 628 621 Area 1: Konata-tedi (See Map C)

While living in this area the Naomwei-tedi were on friendly terms with several Shamatari villages, numbering them among their allies. The Shamatari as a distinct group were just coming into being between 1880 and 1900. Intermarriages between the Namowei-tedi and members of several Shamatari villages occurred and a number of individuals in the present villages of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi trace descent back to Shamatari ancestors.

[1] These data on marriages are taken from the villages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

descent back to Shamatari ancestors. ShihowÃ-tedi and its splinter village, NokayÃaba-tedi, were two Shamatari allies of the Namowei-tedi in this period of the latter's history.

The Namowei-tedi got into a war with a cluster of villages allied to ObotawÃ-tedi over a woman from the latter village. The woman joined the Namowei-tedi against the wishes of her own people. This led to a club fight between the two groups and, later, to a shooting war. ObotawÃ-tedi recruited aid from their allies, the BokçoiwÃ-Urihi-tedi, Boreta-tedi, and Aramata-tedi while the Namowei-tedi were supported by the two Shamatari villages mentioned above. A number of men from each of the two groups were killed in the raiding that developed and several Namowei-tedi women were abducted. ObotawÃ-tedi and their allies forced Namowei-tedi to abandon their garden and take refuge with the Wareta-tedi, a group that had just abandoned the area (ca. 1890-1900) occupied by the Namowei-tedi because of a war with the Boreta-tedi. As the Namowei-tedi had not had time to make a new garden when the raiding became intense enough to force them to move, they moved into the village of Wareta-tedi and lived off the produce of the latter's garden.

Area 2: Wareta-tedi

The residents of Wareta-tedi had their own war with ShihowÃ-tedi when they were joined by the Namowei-tedi, but were on friendly terms with HusirawÃ-urihi-tedi, a village to their north. The headman of Wareta-tedi, ShamaiyowÃ,

151

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowä, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Husirawä's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowä and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowä-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-kähö--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakö), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hąhoyaoba-täka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hąhoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasaböwä-tedi and Ashadowä-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The new garden at Mohoyaoba-tedi did not produce satisfactorily so the Namowei-tedi established a new one south of the Orinoco River, Patanowä-tëka, and moved there about 1925-30.[1]

Area 5: Patanowä-tëka

This site has a complicated history. The Namowei-tedi lived here as one group, abandoned it, split into two villages, and each faction returned to it only to abandon it again. Ultimately the site was reoccupied by one of these factions, and that faction presently lives there.

Most of the present generation of adults in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi were born at Patanowä-tëka.

Three important events took place while the Namowei-tedi lived at Patanowä-tëka. The first of these was the development of hostilities between the Namowei-tedi and a Shamatari village. As this Shamatari village figures prominently in the later history of one faction of the Namowei-tedi, I make a point of identifying it here: Sibarariwä's village, located on the Mavaca River. The approximate date of the initiation of these hostilities was 1938-40, an estimate based on the ages of older children born at Patanowä-tëka of women abducted from Sibarariwä's village. Up to the start of the war with Sibarariwä's group, the Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with all of the Shamatari villages and visited a number of them regularly. Several marriage

---

[1] This is the only case I have of a garden being abandoned for soil fertility reasons.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 *628 726 583 Several marriage alliances were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one of the Shamatari villages (Konabuma-tedi) when the war with Sibarariwä's group started, but these eventually broke down before any women were actually exchanged.

174 *621 *628 The second important event was the secession of a section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the development of hostilities between these cognate villages.

194 361 *628 796 The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the initiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi sections (Patanowä-tedi) and villages to its north; this war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and has dictated the movements of the Patanowä-tedi from the time it began until now.

174 *628 781 721 In order, the particulars of these three events are, briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a number of years after they moved to Patanowä-täka. However, (175) several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria) about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called Ruwahiwä, Sibarariwä's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Namikininiwä, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered Ruwahiwä with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

Shortly after Ruwahiwä was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded

only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service. The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Hekurama, and Hikarima) and the Patanowë-tedi (Ishinarima, Rubrobemi, Rokuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in Patanowë-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

(2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions, each making a new garden further up the Shanishani-u River and abandoned Patanowë-tëka. The move was stimulated by the frequency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were always fighting with each other," said one of my informants, "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at Patanowë-tëka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller (Brararaböwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fearing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

[Hamowei-tedi Group]

174 *628 709 32 24 [175] 194 *175 *621 *628 36 241

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tëka to Kreiböwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawë and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowë-tëka, and became known as the Patanowë-tedi.

174 *628 721 578 726 602 [622] [583] [591]

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawë-tedi and Kashorawë-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawë, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowë-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowë-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawë-tedi visited Patanowë-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowë-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawë-tedi. Hasaböwë-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowë-tedi and Yabitawë-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

174 726 *628 722

174 the Patanowë-tedi.[1] Thus, the Patanowë-tedi were surrounded
726
*628 on all sides by enemies; only one village, Ashadowë-tedi,
722 remained on friendly terms with them. Beyond the Ashadowë-tedi were the Shamatari villages, bitter enemies of the Patanowë-tedi since the killing of Ruwahiwë.

174 By the time the Patanowë-tedi had gotten into this
*628 situation, the war with their agnates had subsided. So the
361 Patanowë-tedi moved west, into the area abandoned by their
602 agnates, whence they harried the Hasaböwë-tedi and the groups
722 north of the Orinoco. They attempted with some success to effect a rapprochement with their agnates, and a few individuals from the Kreiböwei-tedi group visited the Patanowë-tedi. One of these individuals was able to obtain a wife in Patanowë-tedi, whom he subsequently took back to Monou-tedi with him.

361 The Patanowë-tedi are presently living between two
*628 sites: Patanowë-tëka and Shamata-tëka, a situation forced on
722 them by the hostile relationships they have with all their neighbors except the Ashadowë-tedi.

128 Area 6: Shihota-tëka

See "Area 5" point (2) above.

174 Area 7: Kreiböwei-tedi

• 175 This site was established in 1949. After fleeing
361 from Shihota to avoid the raids of the Patanowë-tedi, the
722
*628

[1] At this point the Patanowë-tedi returned to Patanowë-tëka from their three sites of Wanidima, Waiyari, and Rashawë.

174 Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in
• 175 their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved
361 to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari
722 village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on
• 628 the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's
[574] village and entered into feasting relationships with his followers.

174 Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari
• 175 with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's vil-
628 lage. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-
602 tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned
529 to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing
574 this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother,
[723] Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier
[721] by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tĕka.

174 The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and
• 175 went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December
628 through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along
529 with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the
574 jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at
722 the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's
[32] men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were
[48] killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large
174 number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were
175 seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari
722
727

men for the Kreibŏwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari, and a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi managed to escape. These fled to a mountain called Wadubadidiobakĕkŏ where they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-tĕka. Here, the Kreibŏwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreibŏwei-tĕka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly after the treacherous feast the Kreibŏwei-tedi were visited by Shinanokawĕ, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the Kreibŏwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreibŏwei-tedi undertook a revenge raid against Riakowĕ's group. They killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collecting their women and children at Kreibŏwei-tĕka as they proceeded from Riakowĕ's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was early in 1951.

For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreibŏwei-tedi worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before Kobou-tĕka was producing, however, the Kreibŏwei-tedi decided

to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There had been a number of club fights between the two factions over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started (Monou-tëka and Barawë-tëka) before the Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other considerations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here that considerable fighting took place among the men when the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to the survivors.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as they could. It was rumored that their protectors were planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women. This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed the Kreibŏwei-tedi several years later of the details of the plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariwë-tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that the Kreibŏwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the two men killed by the Kreibŏwei-tedi after the treacherous feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

Mahekodo-tedi became directly involved in the war against the Shamatari and needed the assistance of the Kreibŏwei-tedi. This prevented them from killing the Kreibŏwei-tedi men and seizing their women.

Makolima-tedi and Karohi-tedi, two allies of Mahekodo-tedi, assisted the latter in the revenge raids against the Shamatari; the Kreibŏwei-tedi, of course, participated in these raids. On one raid they found Riakowĕ's village abandoned so they burned down the houses and destroyed the garden: the plantains were cut down and the root crops dug up. The raiders pushed on, following Riakowĕ's trail, and caught up with their enemies on the Shukumŏna-u River near the village of Karawatari-urihi-tedi where the followers of Riakowĕ had fled to avoid the revenge raids from the Mahekodo-tedi. The raiders found Riakowĕ swimming in the river, together with his son, a boy about 7 years old, and two of the girls, Kayoma and Waiimi, abducted during the treacherous feast. They killed Riakowĕ and took all the children. On their way back to Mahekodo-tedi, however, the raiders were chased by the Shamatari, who managed to get ahead of them. The Shamatari surprised them the following morning, killing one man from Makolima-tedi while he slept. In the fighting that followed, the Shamatari lost another man.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi and the Mahekodo-tedi unsuccessfully raided the Shamatari a number of times after this raid, but eventually discontinued the raiding when they concluded that they had chased the Shamatari out of the area.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Area 9: Kobou-tĒka

The Kreibŏwei-tedi parted with their protectors as soon as this garden began producing. They lived at this site only long enough to complete their two new gardens at Monou and BarawĒ, moving into the latter when they, in turn, began producing. "Kobou" in Yanomamŏ means "let it go at that," or, in more vernacular terms, "to hell with that garden." Kobou was abandoned shortly after it was made, having served as a temporary base for the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they completed their split. It would not have been necessary to complete the splitting of the village by making two new gardens had there been no war with the Shamatari. But, as one faction of the group made their garden elsewhere, the others were reluctant to remain at Kobou and bear the brunt of the revenge raids from the Shamatari. Thus, they too made a new garden. Again, it would not have been necessary to make Kobou-tĒka had Mahekodo-tedi been a dependable ally. But as the Kreibŏwei-tedi suspected that their erstwhile protectors were plotting against them, they followed that course of action most expedient at the time. As they had already started Kobou, it was simply more practicable to complete that garden and move out of Mahekodo-tedi as soon as possible, rather than begin making two gardens and delay their move until these gardens began producing.

Areas 10 and 11: Monou-tedi and BarawĒ-tedi

After separating into two groups the Kreibŏwei-tedi

remained on good terms with each other. Their split occurred in 1954, perhaps a year earlier.

When I initiated my field work in 1964 Monou-tëka was still occupied, but its population, the Monou-tedi, was in the process of making a new garden (Moyanabŏwei) west of Monou to avoid the raids of the Patanowë-tedi, with whom they had entered into a new war in 1964.

The faction that moved to Barawë remained at that site about five years. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River, taking the name Bisaasi-tedi, in 1959, splitting into two villages, each located on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. By 1958 the Venezuelan Government had initiated a malaria-control program in this area of Amazonas and had established a small field station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Venezuelans associated with this field station invited the Barawë-tedi to move to the Mavaca River; the Indians accepted the invitation, hoping to gain access to steel tools. This was the beginning of contact with outsiders for the Kreibŏwei-tedi; prior to 1959 the only foreigners they had known were the missionary at Mahekodo-tedi, James P. Barker, and the members of the Frobenius Institute Expedition, Meinhard Schuster and Otto Zerries, who they visited occasionally at Mahekodo-tedi.

Area 12: Bisaasi-tedi

The Bisaasi-tedi began friendly contacts with a Shamatari village, Paruritawë-tedi, after they moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River.

mouth of the Mavaca River. The Paruritawë-tedi had split from Sibarariwë's village about 1945, and had not been involved in the treacherous feast of 1950 in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost so many men. The Paruritawë-tedi were still on good terms with Sibarariwë's followers, and the members of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi persuaded them to invite Sibarariwë and his group to a feast. Using their agnatic ties and existing friendship, the Paruritawë-tedi succeeded in getting the followers of Sibarariwë to accept the invitation, but a malaria epidemic prevented all but a handful of people from actually attending the feast: five men and four women. With the assistance of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the Paruritawë-tedi killed three of the guests and seized all four of the women.

By participating in this treachery, the Paruritawë-tedi subordinated themselves to the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. At the present time the Paruritawë-tedi live in two villages, and are intimately involved in a bride-exchange network with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter two villages receiving more women (and men doing bride service) than they give. The Paruritawë-tedi have no other allies, as they are the front of the expansion into this region and the only villages to their east are allies of Sibarariwë. Despite the fact that they would like to make friendly contact with Sibarariwë's group again, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, as we shall see, prevent them from doing so by chicane and threat. Thus, Monou-tedi and the

628 583 Bisaasi-tedi are the dominant partners in the bride-exchange network with their Shamatari allies, a dominance that is reflected in the disproportionate number of women they have managed to coerce out of their allies.

361 621 114 While I conducted my field work the Bisaasi-tedi lived in two villages on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. The group on the east bank was beginning to split by the time I left the field, and the split took place a few months later,[1] one of the factions moving to the north bank of the Orinoco River, but still within view of the other group.

B. The History of the Paruritawë-tedi

174 621 The Shamatari came into being as an identifiable group shortly before 1900. The Shamatari identity, as I have shown above (p. 28 ff.), is a function of the historical connections between the villages that split off from Shihowë-tedi's parental group, as well as geographical considerations.

My informants consistently spoke of two 'true' Shamatari men: Kayabawë (Shamatari) and Matakuwë. The villages of these two men have a common origin, but I was unable to get data on the nature of the events that led to the separation of these two groups. This event took place long before the life-span of my oldest informants, and none of them knew any details of the splitting. By 1875, however, [195 101 361] there were two distinct Shamatari groups north of the Orinoco headwaters, one of which bore the name Shihowë-tedi. Kayabawë

[1] Personal communication, James P. Barker.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

(Shamatari) lived in this village and, when the village split, led his faction into the Shukumöna-u basin, becoming known as the Mokayëaba-tedi. This move took place about 1900.

The second village also moved to the south side of the Orinoco, but remained on that river. They settled near a mountain called Aramamisi-këkö, and named their village after the mountain. My historical data on the Shamatari village movements is sparce up to this point.

Between 1900 and 1950 the Mavaca and Shukumöna drainages were populated by the descendents of these two 'original' Shamatari groups, and the process of village splitting that led to the occupation of this large area continues at the present time.

Although there are two Shamatari groups (Kayabawë's and Matakuwë's), I outline the details of the movements of Matakuwë's group, mentioning Kayabawë's only in so far as it relates to the history of Paruritawë-tedi. Militarily, Kayabawë's group plays a prominent role in the movements of Matakuwë's followers up to 1920, illustrating once again that cognate villages enter into hostile relationships with each other after they separate. Thus, this section deals with the historical movements of the group that ultimately gave rise to Paruritawë-tedi; as this group also gave rise to a number of other villages, I shall have to briefly sketch the movements of these villages after their separation from the main group.

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari village histories are more complicated than the one outlined for the Namowei-tedi. This stems from the fact that the Shamatari villages had reached a large size by 1900 and began splitting into smaller groups earlier, in terms of the data I collected, than did the Namowei-tedi. In other words, the splitting that characterized Namowei-tedi's population from about 1940 to 1955 was occurring in the Shamatari population in 1900. Although I do not have census data on the numerous Shamatari villages that subsequently emerged from the two initial groups, I suspect that the numbers of people involved are significantly larger for the Shamatari village histories. Two factors seem to be the cause of this phenomenon. First, the Shamatari villages had access to steel tools in considerable numbers before Namowei-tedi's ancestral population did; my informants asserted that their first source of steel tools was the group called Shihowä-tedi. Presumably the size of the populations involved is a function of their agricultural potentials, and the Shamatari apparently expanded earlier than the Namowei-tedi because they had access to steel tools sooner. Secondly, the Shamatari population expanded unopposed into virgin territory, whereas the Namowei-tedi expanded into territory already occupied by other Yąnomamö; it is significant to note that when the Namowei-tedi ultimately moved into unoccupied territory, their population seems to have increased, and the first split occurred only after virgin territory was colonized.[1]

[1] I am unable to explain how this affects demographic variables, but my data suggest that Yąnomamö populations expand more rapidly when they colonize virgin land.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 1: Aramamisi-kähö

Matakuwä's group settled here after abandoning their site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawä's group. The village at Aramamisi-kähö, according to my informants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, Aramamisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, Möwäraoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawä-tedi, Kohoroshi-tedi, Möariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

A large segment of the population broke away from the main group and moved to the Rahuawä-u River, splitting into two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from the Aramamisi-kähö population developed out of a feud over a woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from the original faction that separated from Matakuwä's group. The first three of these groups presently live in the Shukumöna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

[1] There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

others. Matakuwë's group was being raided by Kayabawë's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-kïkö. These raids forced Matakuwë and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-kïkö and settle at Shirakoböwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakoböwei

Matakuwë's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawë's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewë and Orakawë. During the fighting a young man from Karehewë's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewë moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewë's followers raided the group at Shirakoböwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewë to move further north. Karehewë's son, Riakowë, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowë's son, Börösöwë. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Börösöwë's group. They feared Börösöwë would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyahowë, split off from

Matakuwë's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors were absorbed by other villages.

Finally, Matakuwë and his group separated from Orakawë and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Mavaca basin. The group that remained at Shirakobŏwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakuwë and his followers separated from Orakawë's group for two reasons. First, Matakuwë decided to support Karehewë in the dispute over the death of a member of the latter's group. Secondly, Matakuwë and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shihowë-tedi, who continued to harrass them. By taking the side of Karehewë, Matakuwë and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawë's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

Area 3: Borabŏwei

Matakuwë and his followers moved here about 1910. Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi, forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a number of years Matakuwë's group lived alternatively between these two sites. Another garden was established at Kaurewë after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Borabŏwei, and Matakuwë's group fled to Kayurewë, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

000 rarily abandoning Konabuma.

174 Matakuwë's group had three factions. Oroshowë, a
*195 man belonging to Matakuwë's faction, took a woman away from
*621 her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an
578 internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and
361 Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village of his own on the Shukumöna-u River. This split took place
174 about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwë's vil-
175 lage to avenge the death of Biawawë, the man killed in the
*629 feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was un-
722 able to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's
174 group to found their own villages: Warabawë-tedi, led by
175 Hewariwë, and Koboroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwë. These last two
*621 villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time,
361 as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded
[622] foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Mis-
[999] sionaries on the Causabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group
361 lived on the Shukumöna-u River, as men from Reyaboböwei-tedi
[574] danced there that year. When the Reyaboböwei-tedi left
*[628] Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with
[722] them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174 In about 1935 Matakuwë and his group moved to Kayurewë
361 to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.
722

---

*[628] [1]Warabawë-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabiyoma.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 4: Kayurewë

174 175 +628 726 861

The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. Matakuwë's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwë, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowë-tëka. Ruwahiwë was Matakuwë's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, Matakuwë moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174 +621 361 (622) (101)

About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by Matakuwë's group, the group split into two villages. One of them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwë's son, Sibarariwë. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumëna-u River and took the name Paruritawë-tedi, led by Weiamamowë. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

(578) (721)

174 36 +628 722 175

Sibarariwë's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the Paruritawë-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Aramamisi-tedi and the Paruritawë-tedi themselves forced Sibarariwë's group to abandon Konabuma

and move to Kakamoba. This site was occupied for just a few years, and by 1950 Sibarariwä's group was living at Amąrokobö-wei: the 1950 treacherous feast for the Kreiböwei-tedi was conducted while Sibarariwä's group was here. After 1950 Sibarariwä's group fled south to avoid the raids of the survivors of that treacherous feast, establishing the garden of Dądamoböwei. This garden was abandoned because of raids mounted by the Paruritawä-tedi, and Sibarariwä returned to Amąrokoböwei about 1955. The Paruritawä-tedi eventually became friendly to Sibarariwä's group and were able to lure some of them, at the instigation of the Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, to a treacherous feast in 1960, during which three men were murdered and four women captured. In 1964 Sibarariwä's group moved to the headwaters of the Mavaca River, being known as the Möwäraoba-tedi. Monou-tedi and Möamariböwei-tedi sent a raiding party against them at this location about the time I started my field work, and killed one man.

Area 6: Paruritawä-tedi

The Paruritawä-tedi made friendly contact with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi about 1960, and have entered into alliance with these groups. The Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi persuaded the Paruritawä-tedi to invite members of Sibarariwä's group to a feast in 1960 and, with the aid of the Paruritawä-tedi, murdered three men and seized four women. Sibarariwä's group avenged this by mounting raids

against the Paruritawä-tedi, and the latter abandoned their site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Nämariböwei and Reyaboböwei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyaboböwei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965 the Reyaboböwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawä-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966

The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowä-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowä-tedi to venture away from the village.

/114/

121 I shall describe to you in the following some aspects of the social structure of the same Indian tribe whose conceptions about the soul Herr Dr. Zerries has just discussed. The title, "Sociology," is too presumptuous, insofar as today I intend to deal with only the larger social units and thus touch upon only a small sector of the sociological field. I shall be able to present to you only raw expedition-material; the comparative arrangement of these data in South American cultural history will be the work of the next few months.

101 131 The Waika /Waica/ inhabit the upper Orinoco river region in southern Venezuela; their area of habitation, however, is not limited by the Sierra Parima, in which the Orinoco rises and which forms the mountain border with Brazil, but rather extends into Brazilian soil far beyond this mountain chain, about to the middle of the northern tributaries of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco. [161] The Sierra Parima therefore is more the backbone of the living space of this Indian group, which, according to the best estimates, contains about fifty thousand persons and an area of about half 137 the size of West Germany. According to external appearances, [132] this region is counted as tropical rain forest; seasonal differences are only slight and are practically without influence on the life 101 and culture of the people. The critical cultural importance of the 170 forest lies in its isolating effect: between the habitation area of [137] the Waika and the first mixed settlement there extends an almost [487] uninhabited forest-belt several hundred kilometers wide, and since there is very little river traffic and as other means of transportation there are only onerously traversable Indian paths, the culture of the Waika has been able to remain almost completely pure. Only a [Fam.] few material things from our world have as yet found their way to them: a few machetes and axes, a few matches and fishhooks, which an American mission working from 1947 to 1955 under very difficult conditions and we ourselves brought along, since the Waika do not maintain any contacts of their own downriver, however, the barely begun acculturation process does not go on /115/ by itself, but ebbs away the moment the visiting whites leave Waika country.

/115 cont./

101 (191)

Thus the geographic situation of the Waika and their extremely limited contact with civilization are depicted in a few words. Because the name is simple and well-known, I have so far spoken only of the "Waika," but now it is time to make a more precise distinction when first we turn to the question of tribal organization. On Venezuelan soil this people is divided into three large groups, all of whom, disregarding slight differences, speak the same language and have the same culture. The Shidishana /Shiriana/ live north of the Ocamo, a northern tributary of the upper Orinoco; to the north their territory is bordered by the Cariban Makiritare, with whom the Shidishana have in many ways entered into a close economic and social symbiosis. Adjacent to the Shidishana on the south are the Waika proper (the name means "killer"); they inhabit the region between Ocamo and Orinoco and with a few of their villages extend over to the southern Orinoco bank. The large and completely unexplored region south of the Orinoco to the Brazilian border and beyond, however, belongs, at least in its northern part, to the Shamatairi /Samatari/, the "tapir people," who are one of the most primitive groups of this people, stand strictly inimically opposed to any contact, and thus do not show even the slight traces of acculturation that the Waika do. As far as I can see, there is no reliable information available concerning the population groups east of the Sierra Parima, and unquestionably the picture for the Venezuelan area from whose northeastern part another group, named Okomatairi, has been reported will be improved later. The terms Waika and Shidishana (or Shiriana) used in the literature as a collective designation for these culturally similar virgin-forest groups are not very suitable, since they refer to subgroups; on the other hand, the name Guaharibo used by foreigners does not belong to the language of this people and is recognized only by the Shidishana. The only name that encompasses all the subgroups and is understood by the natives themselves as a general term is the word "Yanoama," which means "voice of the house" and contrasts with "nabe," by which all foreigners are meant indiscriminately -- all who do not speak

342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters. In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
354 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc., are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
231 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the
342 background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50 centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
[174] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
[171] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem, similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[177] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is 9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

/16 cont./

342 In the building method described by me, however, the
177 circular ground-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts.
• 177 According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical
ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obvi-
[114] ously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in com-

57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

plete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they modeled after the community house of the Xiriána, actually developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts of the caboclos). This is also indicated by the construction of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka,
[184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy, however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show
342 a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why
825

58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

the Surára in the sierra occupy an open maloka and on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

501 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on
484 their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our
491 eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

Surára
Pakidái

/34 cont./

292 191 The neighboring Wapixana /Wapishana/ men (Aruak) /Arawak/, moreover, wear a very similar belt and attach to it a pubic band which is drawn between the legs (175).

175. Farabee, 1918, p. 29.

(648) (179) Since the Surára and Pakidái waged many wars with the Makuxí (the father of the Surára chief Hewemão is even supposed to have been killed by a Makuxí warrior), it would be entirely possible that they took over from this Karaiben /Carib/ tribe the form of the plaited, wide, flat belt, but then used it, not as men's, but as women's clothing.

179 292 194 184 The little fringed apron so typical for the Puseheweterí and Karimé women was also surely copied from Karaiben models, which, in turn, could have been borrowed from the Aruak, for Farabee confirms it also for Wapixana and Mapidian /Maopityan/ girls (176). According to Roth, a woven, red-dyed belt, the lower

292 191

176. Farabee, 1918, Pl. XXIX, A.

edge of which is fringed and, in addition, provided with three pendant tassels, is tied around young Makuxí and Wapixana girls on the occasion of their first menstruation. He designates this article of clothing as "apron belt" /cited in English/ (177). A

177. Roth, 1924, p. 437.

dyed belt provided with fringe is likewise documented for the Maiongkong (178) (179) and, /35/ according to Roth, resembles

178. R. H. Schomburgk, 1841, p. 215.

179. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, pp. 402/03.

000 the above-mentioned apron-belt (180). When Koch-Grünberg saw

180. Roth, 1924, p. 444.

Surara
Pakidái
Puseheweterí

292 /35 cont./ When Koch-Grünberg saw
174 Xiriána women dressed in a little fringed apron (181), he had
●179

181. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305 and Plates 45, 48 (4, 5).

reason to suspect that they may have taken over and preserved the ancient dress of the Maiongkong (Yekuaná) women. Thus, he writes: "They, too, were surely not originally peculiar to these Indians, for some of them wore the little apron up on their stomachs, on others it had slipped down halfway to the knees" (182).

182. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305, footnote 1, and p. 306.

Comparative investigations show that the cotton belts of the Surára, Pakidái, and Puseheweterí reached them from the outside, that is, directly from the Karaiben or by way of the Xiriána (183), along with cotton. With regard to the way they

183. According to Métraux, the Xiriána took over their dress from the Karaiben (Métraux, 1948, p. 863).

291 With regard to the way they
292 were worn and the use they were put to, however, there followed
174 a transformation process, which is very informative. That is, when, on the basis of the statements in the literature, I had traced in my dissertation all the motives that might have induced the South American primitive peoples to tie on belts and hip cords, the result was as follows: "It has been possible to prove that the idea of adornment plays only a secondary role, as does the magical motive. The feeling of modesty is entirely eliminated as a cause, and also verification for a sexual stimulus is lacking. On the other hand, the investigations show that the belts and hip cords primarily have the purpose of protecting the genital organs from insects, thorns, etc. (as a holding device for the upward-placed penis, the uluri, the pubic aprons, etc.)" (184) (185).

184. Becher, 1951, p. 192.
185. Becher, 1955, p. 153.

2: Becher--91 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/42 cont./

304 824 386 412 377 The former use the juice of the genipap fruit as coloring matter, the latter the ashes of burned honey bees (229) /see footnote p. 90/. The original instrument everywhere for the puncturing of the dots was a palm thorn. Koch-Grünberg, however, also saw the use of pointed fragments of glass among the above-mentioned Karaiben (230).

230. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45.

304 174 171 114 A decision about whether the tattooings in the mouth region developed independently among the aforementioned Yanonámi, Karaiben, and Aruak tribes or whether they were brought about by reciprocal or outside influences cannot be reached as yet, although Koch-Grünberg saw a young Xiriána woman who had the fishhook and dot tattooing of the Arekuná-Taulipang painted on her face (231). This may have been an exception, however,

231. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

for, strangely enough, he did not find any further tattooing among the Xiriána.

179 The designs of the Surára and Pakidái also seem to be more primitive than the basic motifs of the Karaiben and Aruaken in the form of fishhooks, which clearly point to borrowings from civilization. Moreover, the fact that among the Karaiben tribes of Guiana individual men and boys are tattooed in the region of the mouth leads one to conclude that there has been a leveling of this custom. For probably there, too, it was formerly reserved for only the women, just as it is today among the Surára and Pakidái.

In conclusion, reference is to be made to P. Schmidt and Nordenskiöld, from whom there are already available brief, summary studies about puncture-tattooing in South America. The first-named author differentiates two groups, which are reserved for men and women or only for women, respectively, and regards a western origin as probable (232). /43/ On the other

/49 cont./

285 462 [824] More highly developed is the carrying basket which consists of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) -- uaramá. It is made by the male members of the tribe in the following manner: Two groups of plaiting strips are laid on top of each other in different directions and then interwoven with a third group of strips running in still another direction (Ill. 33).

285 174 [171] This, according to Max Schmidt's classification, is the third principal type of South American plaiting (272) (273). This type

272. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

273. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

of basket (274), which is very widespread in South America, is

274. Abundant comparative material is to be found in Roth (Roth, 1924, pp. 321 ff. and Pl. 100 B and 102) and Mason (Mason, 1904, pp. 529 ff. and Pl. 240 (1, 2).

also regarded as very old, but today is seldom used any more by the Surára and Pakidái. Nothing concerning its origin is known any more among the tribes named. An autochthonous development is possible, but an adoption from Karaiben or Aruak tribes, who use similar baskets, is more probable. The same basket is likewise confirmed for the related Karimé (275).

[179] [184]

275. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Figs. 9 and 10.

285 824 192 The one most frequently used at present is the women's large carrying-basket made of liana strips (276) -- wuéka --, which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34).

276. Each individual liana is split with the teeth into several flat strips. (Cf. also p. 101).

Surára
pakidái
Shiriana

252
184
285 /51 cont./

The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only [192] three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-[438] 1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter [192] from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohí -- (290).

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

[178] Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in. [426] Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the 114 Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is 252 supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is 174 significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with 285 a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any there, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed [177] with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karaiben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

Xiriâna
Surára
Pakidái

/55 cont./

412 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This
184 strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xiriâna, unlike the Surára and Pakidái, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly
462 women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side
302 (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

412 Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American
171 Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw
237 of the wild pig -- manacoauâ --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waikâ (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat
[192] flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long --
[824] namunamutehî --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waikâ (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm
462 should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimâ (see also pp. 112/114).

412 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden
197 times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as terçados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/75 cont./ According to their own statements, both tribes regard the Xiriâna as their culture-bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larâ -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norâ -- (350). The latter, however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

350. Among the Waikâ, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xâma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajâ. The

Surára
Pakidái

/17 cont./

226 c) Fishing

Fishing plays a very subordinate part, and since olden times it has been carried on, with bow and arrow, only from the river-bank. Fishing by means of poison or landing nets, weirs, and similar implements is unknown. Recently, however, these Indians [179] have now and then used fishhooks of metal (354), which were

354. They fasten these to a line of cotton or Bromelia fibers.

given them by rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, as well as by the Indian protection post on the Rio Demini. Nevertheless, this 226 262 has not substantially increased their interest in fishing, for fish simply are not among their favorite foods. Moreover, only smaller species may be eaten (355), because all the large ones have the

355. Aracu (Leporinus copelandi Steind.), piranha (Pygocentrus sp. and Serrasalmus sp.), surubim (Platystoma sp.), jandiá (Sciluridae sp.), mandi (Rhamdia sp.), curimatá (Prochilodus sp.), pescada (Gadus sp.), dourado (Salmimus brevidens), tambaquí (Characinidae sp.), mandubi (Auchenipteridae sp.), anujá (Trachycoristes sp.), cuiú-cuiú (Oxidorus niger Vall.), etc.

evil breath of the river within them and thus cause sickness and other misfortune. Thus, they, of course, abhor the pirarucu (Osteoglossidae), over three meters long and the largest fresh-water fish, the dried meat of which represents practically the basic diet of the caboclo population (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers), and the delicious meat of the large water-turtles is also rejected by them for this reason.

Surára
Pakidái

/82 cont./

252 especially of the tapir, the pieces are left on the rack until they are black and as hard as bone.

• [172] Smaller pieces of meat are cooked or boiled in clay vessels (392) and occasionally also in aluminum pots (393), often

[438] 392. These come from the Xiriána.

[439] 393. These are trade articles of the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) or gifts from the Indian protection post on the Rio Demini.

together with green bananas, by the women. The pot is simply set between the burning logs. The women are very enthusiastic about my empty gasoline cans, in which they often cooked a whole cutia, paca, or monkey. Snake meat is eaten only in a cooked state. Fish are wrapped in leaves and steamed in the hot ashes.

/83/ Vegetables offer a variety of possibilities in the way of preparation. Bananas are predominantly roasted in hot ashes when they are still green, after the peeling has been removed beforehand (the taste always reminded me of a fresh roll), or cut into small pieces and boiled, in the latter case usually along with meat. A soup which is made out of ripe bananas is regarded as a special delicacy (394). Bananas are seldom eaten

252
262

394. The banana in general and this soup in particular play an important role in the religious and social life of the Surára and Pakidái. Young men, during their training period as medicine-man helpers, must be satisfied with a banana as their daily diet (see p. 144). At the festival in memory of the dead such a soup, mixed with the bone ashes of deceased tribesmen, is drunk by the men (see p. 230). Young girls are permitted to eat banana soup as their sole

Suráre
Pakidái

/83 cont./

252
262

394. (cont.)
nourishment during their first and second menstruation (see p. 142), and it represents the most important item of food for pregnant women, and for several months after confinement. Among the Tapirapé, on the other hand, where the banana also represents a basic part of the diet, parents must refrain from eating this fruit after a birth. "They believe that the child would die if they disregarded this rule" /cited in English/ (Baldus, 1956b, p. 601).

[171]

252 raw. -- The mealy, nourishing fruits of the pupunha palm are primarily boiled. Then the soup is allowed to cool and a refreshing drink is obtained in this way. Before festivals all the [415] women pour it into a large, wooden trough, which is found in every maloka, so that there will be enough on hand. By means of steaming or roasting, a solid food is also prepared from them (395). --

[114]
[137]

395. Alexander von Humboldt, by the way designates the pupunha or pihiguao palm as "Pfirsich-palme" /peach palm/ and praises the delicious taste of its fruit (Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 281 f., 300; IV, p. 145). I cannot agree with the great scholar in this, for to me it tasted like slightly bitter potatoes. Zerries, by the way, is of the same opinion (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

Taioba, carí, sweet potatoes, and sweet manioc are steamed in a pot or roasted in hot ashes without being previously washed or 252 peeled. -- Bitter manioc is scraped by the women with the 412 lancet-shaped bamboo knife (see p. 118) and then grated on a rough slab of granite, for they do not have grating boards (396) (397).

[177]
[123]

396. My servant Mateus, however, made them

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/83 cont./

252
412
[177]
[123]
[192]

396. (cont.)
a few graters out of the sides of our empty gasoline cans by boring numerous holes in them with a nail. They were very happy over these and maintained that it was considerably more agreeable to grate on them. They also immediately had a name for this grater -- kabaricinamó.

252
184
412

397. The Xiriâna, too, grate the manioc rooti on rough slabs of granite (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

252 The grated pulp is then pressed out by hand with the help of small, square strips of plaiting (see p. 112), which are rolled up (398).

398. The poison is removed from the manioc pulp in the same way among the Xiriâna (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

Among the Surâra I found three tube presses and among the Pakidâi five, which they had obtained from the Xiriâna (see p. 112). With the flour the women bake, on large, flat granite stones under which a fire is kindled, manioc flat-cakes, which are consumed with pleasure. This food, which appeared among them only a comparatively short time ago, seems to become
273 more and more popular. The preparation of kaschirí is unknown (399).

[114]
[177]

399. Since, however, my servant, a pure-blooded Tukano /Tucano/ Indian, felt a great desire for a slight alcoholic intoxication at the sight of the manioc flat-cakes, he taught the Surâra how to make kaschirí. At first they tried this unknown drink very critically. But after the first swallow their eyes shone, and they slapped Mateus on the shoulder enthusiastically and assured him again and again how good it tasted to them.

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

231 writes: "Whether the first hunter-gatherer hordes migrating to
174 America from northeastern and northern Asia by way of the Bering Strait brought the dog along has, apart from the Eskimo dog, not as yet been proved with certainty, even though it is probable. Whether the dogs of the New World can be traced back to such early dogs, that is, of the late glacial to early postglacial times, migrating in with human beings, or whether they have come from autochthonous ancestors of New World origin is a zoological problem that cannot be decided here. Opinions about it differ. In most recent times there seems to be more of a tendency to favor a Neotropical origin of Indian dogs" (420). In this last statement

420. Termer, 1957, p. 2.

Termer refers to comments by Gilmore (421).

421. Gilmore, 1950, p. 377.

235
[439]
[177] In contrast to the obscure origin of the two breeds of dogs, there is no doubt about that of the cocks -- cacarí --, for these were acquired from the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) by barter only a short time ago. Yet I was very much surprised when, on entering the Surára and Pakidái malokas, I found a large number of cocks but no hens (422), although they could

422. Incidentally, these are also called cacarí.

obtain these as well. There is no interest in doing so, however, for they keep cocks only for their colorful plumage and their crowing at dawn (423). Most families have one or two, which they

[231
171] 423. Ehrenreich reports of the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe, that they keep only dogs and cocks as domestic animals, and that the latter were very popular in particular as sentinels (Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 61).

Surára
Pakidái

/89 cont./

12. Hygiene

515 Regular bathing, washing of the face and hands, and cleaning the finger and toe nails are unknown; this is also true for babies, who are often covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Nor do they /90/ brush their teeth or ever rinse their mouths. Yet I [147] [145] was never aware of an unpleasant body odor or bad breath on the Indians, and until an advanced age their teeth are dazzlingly white and sound. While hunting or gathering, however, if men and women are obliged to cross a brook or small river, they gladly utilize the opportunity to take a refreshing bath, and the same is true when female members of the tribe fetch water. A bath is greatly appreciated by children and young people, but [481] not at all by older persons. Most men can swim quite well and teach their sons also; women and girls who swim are exceptions.

● 177 515 As a result of occasional contacts with the palm-fiber gatherers on the Rio Aracá or with the personnel of the Indian protection post on the Demini, the Surára and Pakidái have for some time been acquainted with soap, and various Indians, predominantly children and young men and women, like to lather themselves when they take a bath. Several women had even taken to washing their hammocks now and then with soap. Thus, the cakes of soap [123] that I carried with me were very much in demand, as were perfume and hair tonic.

264 Eating is done only with the hands (see p. 184). If the meat was very greasy and the hands are smeared all over with dirt and grease, they are rubbed off somewhat against a post and then run through the hair a few times. The eating bowls and pots, with the remains of the meal, are then put down for the dogs, who at the same time take over the work of cleaning; eating utensils are seldom washed. When they are needed for the next meal, the woman passes them over her hair a few times. If there are still a few crusts of dirt present, she spits on them and rubs them with her hand.

Surára
Pakidái

/97 cont./

755
759
171

498. (cont.)
I should like to mention the Kaskihá Indians in the northeastern Chaco, among whom the witch doctor tries to heal the sick in the same way (Baldus, 1931, p. 143).

164

During my nine-months' stay among the Surára and Pakidái the following sicknesses occurred there: grippe, pneumonia, malaria, chicken pox, and a gastric fever; fortunately, none was fatal (499). But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,

000

[165]
[752]

499. Only the Pakidái youth Hokotõmarimã died after a fall from a pupunha palm, which probably caused internal injuries (see p. 149).

123 But the two Surára women who had Pneumonia,
755 first a young woman, Xunamĩ, the wife of Kurikayawõ, the younger brother of the chief, and later an older woman, Xanimã,
757 the approximately 47-year-old mother of Anyarawõ (see pp. 123/
● 177 125), and a boy, Xaniwõ (see p. 127), about 12 years old, would probably not have survived without the penicillin that I had brought along, for, in spite of untiring treatment by the chief and his helpers, their condition grew worse from day to day. In the first instance, the chief, Hewemãõ, and the husband, Kurikayawõ, finally permitted me to give Xunamĩ a penicillin injection in the upper arm on two successive days, whereupon she improved dramatically (500). In the second and third cases,

500. This cure increased my reputation tremendously, so that afterward I was properly adopted into the tribe of the Surára and, on the occasion of the great festival in memory of the dead, was also permitted to drink the bãhana soup mixed with the bone ashes of deceased relatives (see p. 231). If the woman had died after the injection, however, the intervention could have had grave consequences for me.

/97 cont./

[955] [957] [123] [177] the chief even asked me to give the patients "penicilina" after his healing efforts had again brought no success.

Of the various cures at which I was allowed to be present, I should like to describe in detail the following two treatments:

b) Magic cure (rekurś) for Xunamf:

Xunamf, the young, pretty wife of Kurikayawõ, fell ill quite suddenly. She had a high fever, lay apathetically in her hammock, and complained of severe chest pains. Her husband, who, with touching devotion, remained with her throughout the [913] [957] first day, that is, he sat beside her or lay in his hammock, led her several times to the nearby small river, in which she always remained for some time and drank copious amounts. She was not permitted to eat anything, but she had no desire to do so. During the night, the fever seemed to climb, for she was quite delirious and unable to sleep soundly. The next day she felt [959] even worse. Three times in the forenoon and as often in the afternoon her husband took her to the river, but there was no improvement after the baths and the drinking. At noon on the third day the husband, together with two other men, began [302] the first special cure. First of all, Kurikayawõ and the second participant painted serpentine lines on their faces and bodies with urucũ, while the third one rubbed himself all over with soot. Then they all three blew snuff-powder into each other's noses and in a few minutes they were in a state of ecstasy in which they leaped wildly about the sick woman lying in her hammock, shouted loudly, and gesticulated. Then, however, the cure followed very definite directions. The man painted completely black symbolically represented the spirit of sickness -- nonexf -- whom a hostile medicine man had conjured into the body of the sick woman, and the other two men, who now identified themselves with the hekurś (see p. 200), staged a sham battle against him. At first they were armed with large sticks and beat "nonexf" in order to kill him. But he defended himself with all his might. Then he hurled arrows at him, which, however, he threw back. After that the /98/ spirit of sickness stuck a carrying basket on his head, and this suddenly fell off. At once, the other two men

/100 cont./
755 was much worse, that this time the power of the Waikâ medicine
123 men was extraordinarily great. I then proposed to him that I
• 177 should give Xunamî penicillin injections. After lengthy consultations with the husband and other male members of the tribe he consented, though with misgivings, and luck was with the patient as well as with me. From this moment on the name penicilina (Portuguese spelling) became a magic word, for it had helped to cast away the sickness. Hewemãõ even asked me to bring him a great deal of it on my next visit.

755 c) Magic cure (rekurâ) for Xanimâ:

Xanimâ, the approximately 47-year-old mother of
[164] Anyarawõ (see p. 126), had been ill for five days with chicken pox and had had persistently high fever. At first she, too, was
[159] given the water cures, that is, she constantly had to take baths in the river and drink a great deal of water; as her weakness increased, she remained lying in her hammock and was doused with cold water. After that there were sham battles between two "hekurâ" and the bad, black-colored spirit of sickness, "noxexî."

When there was no improvement, Chief Hewemãõ and eight helpers again arranged a large, nocturnal rekurâ, but this time a somewhat different one, because, of course, a different
[302] sickness was involved (502). At first the men, eight with red

502. As has been mentioned above (see p. 212), every sickness has very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps.

serpentine lines painted on their faces and bodies and one colored black, in the light of the hearth, again formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the middle, on which snuff-
[296] powder had been poured. They filled their snuff tubes with generous amounts of it and blew it into each other's noses, whereupon, after a few minutes, the state of ecstasy set in. The men hopped around their own axis several times, and, after a hissing sound on the part of the chief and with prolonged shrill

Surára Pakidái Waicá

114 /108 cont./ According To Zerries, Barker,
769 and Dupouy, there is also a similar combat among the Waikâ,
769 in which the partners alternately beat each other on the chest
526 with clenched fists (519a, b, c). I did not observe this among
184

519a. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

519b. Barker, 1953, p. 447.

519c. Dupouy, 1953, p. 495.

114 the Surára and Pakidái. Similarly unknown there is the custom,
769 also reported by Zerries, that the men, when they run about in
276 the snuff-powder intoxication, hit each other on the back with the palm of the hand (520). The author named regards this as a

520. Zerries 1955b, p. 665.

769 fertility rite. There seems to be involved here, however, out-
177 side influences of agricultural tribes, which is indicated also by the ceremonial gathering of pupunha fruits (521).

521. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

769 It is further noteworthy that among the Waikâ women and
184 girls actively participate in the festival in that they take part in
562 some dances and even drink some of the banana soup mixed with
[266] bone ashes (522). In contrast to this, the female members of

522. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662 ff.

the tribe act only as spectators among the Surára and Pakidái.

769 The endocannibalism should be regarded as a very signifi-
184 cant similar trait. It is documented for the Waikâ by Cruxent (523a)
266
114

523a. Cruxent, 1953a, pp. 149/50.

/115 cont./

X. Character and Way of Thinking

157 In spite of insignificant contacts with the caboclos (rubber
• [177] and palm-fiber gatherers, planters, and the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini), the Surára and Pakidái have preserved throughout the character of unspoiled primitive peoples who have not yet been alienated from such traditional Indian virtues as hospitality, moderation,
123 and honesty. I discovered this even on the occasion of my first
157 contact with them. When I, together with my servant Mateus, met nine Surára warriors on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, they gazed in wonder at our boat, the outboard motor, and the numerous gifts and trade articles in the form of knives, axes, pots, glass beads, etc., but they did not touch anything. They were also immediately willing to take us to their maloca, about 70 kilometers away, and carried the trunks, boxes and bags weighing 50-60 kilograms (555) (556), which, to

555. Becher, 1957a, p. 115.

556. Becher, 1958, p. 153.

their minds, contained tremendous treasures. During the strenuous three-day march, a definite feeling of harmony prevailed; there was constant laughing and jesting. When the Indians heard that Mateus called me "doutor" /doctor/, they burst into particularly hearty laughter and told us that totorí (jabuti /land turtle/) was a fitting name for me. The name remained with me until my departure and was brilliantly appropriate for me, for, in comparison with the free Forest Indians, anyone from civilization presents a very clumsy picture in the forest regions.

These nine warriors could easily have murdered us and departed alone with the gifts and trade articles. But not for a moment was I aware of any danger, for there could not have been more gracious or thoughtful companions. How great their honesty was I should like to document with the following example: During the march on the impassable Indian paths in the eternal

/118 cont./

153
191

563. (cont.)
Steinen about the Suyá on the Xingú, in which he declares that these Indians knew how to use the pencil very well and drew beautiful motifs in his notebook, although he was the first white man they had seen (Karl von den Steinen, 1886, p. 212).

153
[177]
[191]

Younger people are distinguished by a gift for rapid comprehension and an astonishing learning capacity. Although these Indians very rarely come in contact with caboclos, and in most cases only the men, both sexes have at their command a rather large store of Portuguese words and figures of speech. One little
124 Surára boy about nine years old, Jubeauwõ, also called Mandú,
159 who had spent almost two years in the hut of the palm-fiber
[191] gatherer Manuel Antonio Gómez on the Rio Aracá, had a nearly perfect command of the Portuguese language and performed unique service as my interpreter. I owe it to him alone that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the mental culture of the Surára and Pakidái and put together a complete vocabulary (564).

159
734
752

564. Three years ago the little boy suffered dangerous burns on the abdomen by an upset vessel containing boiling tree resin. Since the chief had given up hope that he would recover, he wanted to have
[888] him given the deathblow. The custom of this tribe, as well as that of the Pakidái, decrees that all old and seriously ill persons who are no longer able to take part in the general migrations must be killed (see pp. 153/154). The grandmother of the little boy, who is an orphan took him secretly one night to the hut of the Spanish palm-fiber gatherer,

Surára
Pakidái

/118 cont./

159
734
752

564. (cont.)
Manoel Antonio Gómez, who succeeded in saving his life. The chief was said to have been very angry at first over the arbitrary action of the grandmother, but then, when he saw that the little one had recovered, he calmed down.

123 Most men, after but a short time, had no difficulty handling
153 our two guns; a few were soon even operating the outboard
[177] motor, and the Surára chief Hewemão, who showed great interest in my camera, took very acceptable pictures with it.
153 The reasoning power seems to be somewhat more strongly developed among the men than among the women (565).

[114]
[191]

565. This conclusion agrees with an observation by Baldus among the Tumerehã, and the scholar adds a remark which could also be applied to the Surára and Pakidái: "The differences in the talents of the sexes are perhaps the result of their way of life and division of labor. Thus, among the Tumerehã, the man's way of acquiring food has probably developed his acuteness, for he does not merely gather fruits, like the woman, but also goes hunting..." (Baldus, 1931, p. 119).

802 /119/ XII. Counting and Conception of Time

The Surára and Pakidái count only to three:

1 -- mahõn

2 -- porokabõ

3 -- prukatabõ.

Sanema
Warao 5518
Saliva 5515
Bari 5513

8
52
648
177
Y
177
648

/180 cont./

The Barí suffered greatly from the Yupa, the Piaroa and Warao from the Caribe, but these sufferings were minimal compared to the oppression to which other tribes were subjected by the Whites. The Yanoama have been attacked for hundreds of years by the Caribe, who surrounded their territory with a semicircle along the north; the Yanoama endured something similar from the Arawak, who surrounded them in a semicircle along the south. But all in all, the White has not been very successful so far in approaching this primitive population and his destructive influence has not affected their ancestral customs. The Caribe and Arawak have declined gradually in vigor and numbers; now we are witnesses of the triumph of the Yanoama over their neighbors of a more refined culture, for not only did they defend their territory, but were successful in spreading to the north and west.

Y
[131]
[137]

The strongest and most efficaceous ally of the Yanoama has been the Cordillera de Parima, together with the dense tropical selva of the Territorio Amazonas. In the /181/ fateful period of persecution they have always found a safe refuge in the protecting selva. Nevertheless, as of relatively recent times, the different Yanoama subtribes are beginning to realize that the space beyond the conventional boundaries of their tribal territory is sparsely populated, almost deserted. The number of their traditional enemies has diminished considerably, and the invasions of their territory have had practically no consequences. In this manner they have gained almost 100 kilometers to the north of the Sierra de Pacarima, where the Casapare now live on the Upper Paragua, and the northern group of the Sanemá on the headwaters of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura rivers.

Y
167
648
131

Y
131

The center of distribution of the Casapare is located to the south of the Sierra Pacarima in the basin of the Rio Branco. We know this Yanoama subtribe only through a few sporadic superficial contacts, and the people, as well as their territory, remain practically unknown. For this reason we consider the name Casapare with which we designated all the Yanoama in the zone of study as strictly preliminary, and we would not be surprised if we had to change it in the future for a more exact and adequate

Y
[619]

Y
[101]

name.

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auarí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

P
197 /184 cont./ Casapare
799 Auake 555
161 Arecuna 55 16
expansionists, and their number at present is quite small; they number 1,800 individuals and show a density of 1:16.5 square kilometers.

Y
177 The Mayoncon and Arecuna, along the north, do not make
648 an effective barrier to Yanoama expansion. Here, however they are liable to clash with the already advanced civilization of these regions where they will meet the Indian, the Negro, and the White with individual cultures irreducible by the Paleo-Indian culture of the Yanoama.

Y
101 Among the tribes which have been absorbed by the Yanoama
619 are the Kaliana, Auakí, etc., about whose identification there is some confusion in the literature.

Y
A
104 Kaliana, however, is the name which the Casapare give to the Sapé. The latter were identified as Kaliana by a native companion of Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 12-13; cf. idem, 1922, p. 227), while Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 103) identify them with the name "Shirianá" (Casapare) as Karianapuik. In 1956 the Sapé (Kariana, Kaliana) were visited by Montoya, who classifies them as related to the "Shirishana" (1958, p. 168). "It is an isolated group," says Montoya, "which lives on the Antabarí River and upper Pao; in the zones of the upper Paragua and Pauré-Murán River.

A
241 /185/ "They devote themselves to agriculture, but produce
433 only as much as they consume or a little more for barter with the
439 Shirianna who are travelers and supply them with salt and other items which they lack.

A
501 "Some of them have learned to make curiaras in such a rudimentary manner as to make the Moñongón Indians, the masters of this art, smile. But they do make very fragile 'shells,' which allow them to travel to hunting and fishing zones, carrying

A
light loads.

512 "They marry frequently with the Shirianna groups and even
A with the Arekuna. They appear to be destined to disappear as
101 a differentiated ethnic group or to be totally absorbed by the Shirianna, more numerous and nearer than the Arekuna" (Montoya, ibid.).

4: Wilbert--34 E-4,5 (1358) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ19
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

/188 cont./

but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard. It is interesting that Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 348) is of the opinion that the Makiritare had left the Uraricuera some twenty years previously.

The Guadema seem to be different from the Casapare, according to what one can deduce from the above-mentioned book; probably it is a matter of a local Sanemá or Waica group.

The center of distribution of the Sanemá is the basin of the Padamo River, a tributary of the upper Orinoco. Their territory is bounded on the south by Waica territory, on the west by the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma, on the north by the Makiritare of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, and on the east by the little known territory of the Casapare.

If we judge from the present situation of the distribution of the Yanoama, it is quite probable that the first Yanoama with whom the Whites had contact on their trips along the upper Orinoco were the Sanemá, who appear in historical sources as the Guaharibo. One finds the Guaharibo frequently mentioned together with the Waica, but it is interesting that from the very first reports authors made a distinction between Waica and Guaharibo.

/189/ Caulin (1958, pp. 305-306), writing in 1779, places the Guaribe on the Maraca and its tributaries. According to him, they are white in color like the Spaniards and are the same "uaribas" already mentioned by the "Expedición de Solano." Humboldt also speaks of Guaicas and of Guaharibos, having met representatives of them in the Esmeralda Mission. Spruce (1908: 1, pp. 396-398), who met an old Guaharibo man on his trip on the Casiquiare, is the first one to leave us the fullest and most authentic information regarding the Yanoama of the upper Orinoco. According to this author, the Guaharibo call themselves Kud4-Kubui, but it is difficult today to decide whether these are Guaharibo or Waica. We have a like opinion regarding the Guaharibo of Chaffanjon (1889). It is possible that the Sanemá may have occupied zones farther toward the Casiquiare and the Cunucunuma, but the Arawak and Caribe of this zone occupied these places before the arrival of the Whites, and the boundaries were established by the tribes interested in them.

Y /189 cont./

Y 174 101 The expansion of the Sanemá to the north, that is, from the Padamo to the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, is relatively recent, but, to judge from the data given us by glottochronology, the separation of the various groups of the subtribe corresponds to 600-1,700 years. We established contact with three northern groups of the Sanemá: the Mabudub of the upper Ventuari, the Taclandub of the upper Caura, and the Pubmatari of the Canaracuni. They apparently represent Sanemá groups which are quite well established, and the internal distance of this linguistic family is, in a way, surprising.

Y 101 184 The Sanemá of the Padamo and of the upper Orinoco are practically unknown to science, and it is expected that the cultural difference between them and their brothers who live north of 4° and in close contact with the Makiritare is relatively pronounced.

Y 101 648 167 The geographic separation of the Sanemá into a southern group and another northern one is recent and is due to the fact that in 1947 Captain Cardona had to make a landing field on the Canaracuni (personal communication), and, since there were no Indians in the zone to help him in his venture, he went to Brazil and brought the first Sanemá to this region of Venezuela.

Y 167 This date marks the beginning of the infiltration of the Yanoama element on a larger scale into the land of the Makiritare, their

Y M 643 neighbors on the northwest, with whom they have lived in deep enmity from remote times. While the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma still do not tolerate large groups of Yanoama in their territory, those of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura live in close contact

Y M [179] with large groups of the Sanemá subtribe. This was the way in which Makiritare culture of the tropical selva type penetrated to that essentially /190/ preagricultural tribe composed of hunters and gatherers with a very rudimentary culture. The Sanemá re-

Y M 648 ceived extremely bad treatment at the hands of the Makiritare, comparable to that received by a slave at the hands of his master, for which reason toward the year 1950 the Sanemá revolted against

4 [411] the Makiritare and declared a war without quarter against them. It was then that the different Makiritare subtribes united to repulse the Sanemá, whom they conquered in various encounters, thanks to their fire-arms.

/190 cont./

thanks to their firearms. It seems that, as a result of this incident, the Makiritare and the northern group of the Sanemá lived together more peaceably, and today it is rare to find a Makiritare settlement in that zone of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, without a few Sanemá groups in the immediate vicinity.

The clash of the two cultures began a process of progressive acculturation, and the hunters and gatherers of wild plants adopted a superior culture: from then on they would be agriculturalists. Furthermore, the genetic constitution of the two tribes underwent profound changes, and that of the minority group will perhaps be absorbed by the Sanemá in a relatively short period of time.

This process of acculturation and genetic absorption is interesting, for one is in the habit of thinking that the Caribe have always been the victorious and dominant invaders. But in this concrete case the process seems to be working in the opposite direction. The advance of the Sanemá, who adopted, among other things, the art of navigation, has brought about the isolation of the two large Makiritare groups: the Yecuana (Decuana) of the Ventuari and Caura on the one hand, and the Cunuhana of the Cunucunuma on the other. Prior to this, these two groups used to visit each other frequently, their members were related to each other, and strong family ties existed between them. At the present time the Makiritare youths know only partially the rivers and routes of those regions traveled so many times by their fathers, and they travel in small groups, overcome with deep anguish every time that they have to cross the zone occupied by the Sanemá. What was observed on the trip on the upper Ventuari fully confirmed this opinion for us, for there is not the least doubt but that the Makiritare captain, who, together with our five traveling companions, had fought eight years previously against the Sanemá, felt ill at ease on leaving the Makiritare rancherías behind, and his nervousness suddenly increased when one day we came upon a Sanemá raft on the bank of the river. They could not hide their nervousness when inland, in the selva, we came across a conuco and seven houses recently vacated. They always

Makiritare SS 20

M
Y
648

/190 cont./

scorn them, and, at first sight, they seemed to be unworried, but the knowledge that they no longer live alone in the land of their fathers, and the fact of having heard that four days prior to our arrival /191/ at the conuco an Indian who had sought refuge by climbing a tree was shot by a Sanemá arrow and fell lifeless into the river, constantly tortured them.

M
Y
582
563
177
648
M
[186]

A powerful stimulus which always encouraged the Makiritare on their numerous trips was to get a wife among their neighbors of the same tribe. Nowadays, despite the intense scorn which the Makiritare profess toward the Yanoama, taking a wife from that tribe is not considered an impossible or degrading thing; there are many Yanoama women who have married Makiritare men (cf. Grelier, 1955b, p. 10). This matrimonial interchange inevitably carries with it an assimilation of cultures between the two tribes, a process in which the Makiritare cultural pattern will dominate that of the Yanoama and the Yanoama genes will infiltrate the Makiritare gene pool. There is not the least doubt but that the Sanemá, who were brought in for a short time, arrived at the upper Ventuari and Caura where they took up residence to stay, and that the present fusion between the Caribe and the Yanoama ought not to be explained so much by the good will of the former as by the vitality of the latter.

Y
167
563
177
648

Y
101

The Waica subtribe occupies the central part of the present Yanoama territory, that of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the mouth of the Ocamo, including also the southern bank of the river (Barker, 1953, p. 434). As we have already mentioned, they appear to live also in the general arc of the upper Rio Branco and its western tributaries, and Schuster (1958, p. 114) is very probably right when he says that the Sierra Parima does not bound the Waica zone, but that it extends to Brazilian territory.

Y
[77
797

We have already mentioned the first contacts which the Whites had with the Waica, and, after a somewhat unfruitful effort by Hamilton Rice at the beginning of the present century, the Waica world went without contact with science until the New Tribes Mission was able to start peaceful relations with the Waica through the missionary James Paul Barker. Some ethnographic data were also published on this Yanoama subtribe by several

Y
114

/201 cont./

342 The two windscreens had two posts stuck superficially into the ground at a distance of two meters apart. Contiguous to the post there was a smaller stake tied to it with a bejuco. The roof of this screen was covered with interlaced branches and roofed with platanillo leaves and supported with a slight inclination against two posts. The roof projects from the posts some 40 centimeters and touches the ground at its lower edge. In these houses the Sanemá hang their hammocks of bejuco or majagua. In some ranchos we found vestiges of fire.

[352]

● 177 342 The houses of Makiritare type (rectangular or oblong) are small-scale imitations and have only one room. The roofs, made of palm leaves, are of two rectangular slopes and are raised on four or six posts. The edges of the roof are straight or rounded. The walls consist of bark or juxtaposed sticks. They have an average dimension of four meters long by two meters wide and approximately three high. Each house has one or two quite narrow doors. Within the house (of the Makiritare type) the greatest disorder reigns: from the roof and from the walls hang baskets, gourds, weapons, leather bags, tobacco, palm fruit, hammocks /chinchorros/ of bejuco, majagua, and cotton. On the floor there are hearths, firewood, cooking utensils, guapas with spindle and cotton, yuca graters, dogs, and children, all in confusion without order or arrangement. It is clear that they are not used to living under a roof, and the house is a place for storing things rather than a habitation.

353 [177]

105 422 484 The technology of the Sanemá is very little-developed, and precisely for this reason one can classify the Sanemá (and the Yanoama in general) as representatives of the most backward peoples of America and of the whole world. It would seem that the ideal of these seminomadic Indians is: omnia mea mecum porto -- everything that is mine I carry with me! and, apart from their weapons, a few implements, and a basket, it is unusual for them to carry anything else on their travels. They do not even transport their hammocks /202/ of bejuco or majagua from one camp to another, but rather make new ones each time they need them.

[352]

/202 cont./

412 [184] (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl. 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surarí and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife, [171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Siriono (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a [197] peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of 411 [324] macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The bow-string is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

[627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

/208 cont./

241 Among the Sanemá, doubtless as a result of their contact
● [177] with their Macú and Caribe neighbors, agriculture has taken on increasing importance. The manner of cultivation is still very rudimentary, that of "slash and burn." The principal products are: plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, and certain herbs which have magical importance (cf. Barker, 824 1953, p. 444, similar plants among the Waica). Among the 241 magical plants of the Sanemá there is one on which they lavish great care. An informant told us about the general consternation which seized all of them one day when a band of enemies tore up, during the night, all the magical plants of their conucos. They believed that they were going to die or at least become sick, and the "sabif had much work" in order to save his people. There is here a similar belief which we have already noted in connection with the eagles and hanekasá.

241 Agriculture has given a degree of stability to the Sanemá
178 subgroups and has introduced changes in their traditional social
[628] system. Not all the groups have adopted this new economy and disputes and fights frequently arise because the gatherers indiscriminately appropriate the products of a conuco of the agricul-
[648] tural group. That was the motive which caused the Makiritare to fight with the Sanemá, who at that time had still not adopted the agriculture which flourished among their neighbors.

231 The Sanemá do not have domestic animals, and even dogs are uncommon. It is possible that the Yanoama have adopted
[192] them recently. They have still not found a specific name for this animal, and they call it póliawan, like the jaguar. Some informants insisted that there is a phonetic difference between the word póiawan = jaguar and póliawan = dog, but there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the same word is involved. They raise dogs so that they may serve them as helpers in hunting.

In a Sanemá rancheria there are frequently found animals of various species, but tame. The hunters take home young turkeys, cranes, macaws, and parrots, as well as guinea pigs, lapas, and monkeys, as presents for their wives or children. /Illustrations appear here./

/209/

273 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make
271 alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in
177 contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the
263 coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use
261 wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is re-
[764] lated to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the
183 young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity
591 in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the
184 Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We
591 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially
182 matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes
596 to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively
591 rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

/209 cont./

596 itself to an arrangement of this sort. In their seminomadic state
591 there do not seem to be any sufficiently decisive economic factors
[182] to require a unilocal residence rule, which in a way would hinder a young man, after his marriage, from remaining in the group of his family of orientation or from leaving in order to found his family of procreation matrilocally, according to the particular
591 circumstances. But what we are sure of is that the irregularities
596 observed are precisely a result of the economic and technologi-
197 cal changes which the Sanemá of the regions /210/ adjacent to
241 the Makiritare are undergoing via the process of acculturation. The cultivation of the land, although still rudimentary, and the possibility of augmenting their properties have brought about as a natural consequence, not only greater stability and possibly a considerable demographic increase, but also the impetus which disrupts the balanced equilibrium present in the custom of choosing the postnuptial residence which is fundamental for the bilocal extended family (cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 35). So it is that one of the factors which has most contributed to bringing about disequilibrium among the Sanemá was the adoption of the Caribe agricultural system. The postmatrimonial moving from one local group to another was not of any particular importance in a nomadic society, but nowadays it presents certain difficulties not even suspected previously, for a man now has to leave his cultivated fields if he is to go with his wife. We are sure that the tendencies in the direction of the unilocal custom have their
[601] roots precisely in this economic change. Finally, the existence of the bilocal extended family among the Yanoama is in complete accord with the Hawaiian type of social organization which we are describing as typical for this tribe.

594 Without knowing a Sanemá nuclear family intimately, it is
621 difficult to group with certainty the members of a local group solely on the basis of their family ties, particularly in a community in which polygamy, the sororate, the levirate, and a Hawaiian kinship system are practiced. There are occasions, however, on which the members of a nuclear family gather together: to eat, to sleep, etc., and, in spite of our not having full knowledge of Sanemá society, we can, with all this, say that the nuclear

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[6] had observed that Yanoama was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[8] classified "Shirianá" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Sirionó*" with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirionó (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Sirionó*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanumá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their neighbors (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanumá of the Ericbaru and from the

6 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 493-498.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 28.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Mannera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shiriana.'

We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uaua-Coco, Canana, and Uagua. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

Mannera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Branco river in Brazil. They considered an agricultural life a peasant's life, and a dull one at that, with no possible appeal to the imagination. There were a few palavers about it, but it is well-known that among primitive peoples the old are listened to least: wisdom favours the youths and the boys, who have their whole lives in front of them—not behind them like a stream flowing away. The young men prevailed, and burned the forest. The first big hut was built according to Manuera's ideas, and served as a pattern for all the Shiriana when they came to build.

So we too arrived at this 'big hut', which Manuera showed us with a pride that was scarcely justified, and here too the Shiriana fled away into the woods, much to the amusement of our guides. We could hear them there, uttering their guttural cries of terror and wonderment.

Inside the hut there was no one, with the exception of two old folk stretched out in their liana hammocks. They didn't stir: it was as if they didn't even see us. One of them was a woman whose body was reddened nearly all over with *sibeie*—a skin disease frequent among the Indians. A macaw, scared by the sight of our beards, set up a howl on his perch and started biting through the cord which attached him to it. Manuera went off into the woods, calling the others, and the thick green swallowed him up for a good hour. We were rather afraid he would want to stop here for the night, for our stomachs were turning at the filth around us, but we had misjudged our man: Manuera was now engaged in more important business and had no desire for more than a brief, benevolent survey of his kinsfolk. We very soon got back to the boat and at last were able to take deep breaths of the fresh river and forest air.

Manuera told us that the Shiriana had not been really so scared by our arrival. Indeed, they had been expecting us. But they couldn't quite pluck up the courage to look close. Our stature, our beards, our clothes and our guns, in the eyes of primitive people, turned us into supermen—dread figures, terrifying as monsters and above all, essentially evil.

The news that we were on the way had been bruited abroad by the party we had met at the Mené pan—and *à propos* of this, we learned from Manuera that the spider-child had died soon afterwards, somewhere on the Sabaru. It was a relief to hear this, even if the poor little monstrosity's death had been caused by the sight of us, as the Shiriana thought. Manuera's gestures became wild, and his speech difficult to follow, as he tried to explain their attitude.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Pemon SS16
Makiritare SS20

perhaps for a trip of several days, to look for it. These excursions have a festive air: the Indians hunt, fish and swim, and shoot the rapids with gleeful yells—so come home with their canoes loaded high with these soft palm fronds. Within a radius of several kilometres, all the trees will have been stripped.

Smaller communities of Makiritari, without the means or the enthusiasm to build the 'big hut', will content themselves with a rectangular structure. This has a single-span roof sloping down from the back to the front, with rough walls of stakes driven into the ground and bound with lianas. The roof will still consist of San Paulo leaves, but these are less intricately woven than in the case of the 'big hut', being made on the ground like a hurdle and then hoisted into place and firmly secured.

The Pemontón, on the other hand, have adopted an entirely different pattern of hut, for temporary purposes or for housing a small number only. Taller and less graceful than the Makiritari type, it is roofed most ingeniously with alternating layers of poles of gradually decreasing lengths set upon each other so as to form a pyramid. This is finished off with whole fronds of *seba* or *maripa* palm—fair sized trees found in profusion near all the rivers of the Amazon-Guiana region.

The Shirians—the real Shirians, that is to say the Samatari and the Guayca—build nothing at all. Those of them who do adapt themselves to the humiliating labour of house-building are just keeping up with their neighbours, the Makiritari. The forest bristles with so many trees, big and little, and all so straight that they might have been placed there on purpose; going up and down them is a grand game and one that always provides something to eat: a grub, a wasps' nest with honey in it, fruit. . . . So why shut oneself off from it all, away from this forest that provides food? One should clearly do the opposite. Why build huts from dead trees, when one can use the live ones? All it needs is two crossed Y-shaped boughs propped against a trunk so as to make a triangle, and there is a place to sling one's hammock!

Sometimes, in the forest, the traveller comes across an abandoned Shirian camp: just some heaps of ashes and a goodly number of these triangular 'bedsteads'—a true forest within a forest. The rotting hammocks are still hanging where they were put.

We couldn't quite accept any of these indigenous architectural patterns for our own purposes, however, since we felt ourselves to be the heirs of a nobler tradition. We had to find our own answer to the problem. We opted for a big

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Ma Kiri'tare $$20

IV

Had Luis Antonio been wearing clothes, we should have pronounced him very well turned out, for he looked dark and perfectly groomed in his nudity, which was enhanced in very smart fashion by a loincloth of fiery red and a ruffle of white feathers on his right arm. In addition to his name and his knowledge of Spanish there was one other thing about him that suggested that his story might not be quite the usual one: his rotten teeth. All the Indian peoples have teeth that are very strong and brilliantly white. They are used to hard exertions on the meat the savage eats, while his fruits provide the necessary minerals, and keep their strength and colour well into old age. Luis Antonio was an exception—his teeth were no longer good: there was a long history to them, and we soon got to know it.

Uaremu—Uarma, Ualema, Uadma, or Uademu were alternative forms, all very close in the Shirian pronunciation—had been a Guayca boy from the Uagua tribe. They were real warriors, forever at war with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. Battles were a regular feature of tribal life. When the arsenal of long-range weapons had been exhausted the armies would come to grips with clubs and sticks. During one such engagement the young Uaremu disappeared into the forest and, finding himself lost, stayed all alone on the bank of the Merevari, living on fruit and worms. At the time he was probably no more than four or five years old, but the Guayca Indians are savages among the savages, and four or five is old enough for a boy to know what is good to eat in the forest and what isn't; where to find it; and how to catch it. While he was all by himself on a beach, getting a few little fish by striking at them with a stick, a Makiritari party came along, found him there, and took him with them. They were going down the Caura to sell canoes to the people on the rubber plantations at Maripa (which is almost on the Orinoco). The child, travelling with them, soon accustomed himself to their language and their Casuva bread.

At Maripa, one Martin Viudo, a rubber man who knew Guiana like the palm of his hand, saw the boy and prodded him as you would prod a spring chicken or a sucking-pig in a shop.

'A fine boy this,' he declared. 'But wicked. Wicked and obstinate, like all

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

159
●177 his tribe. You can see it in his eyes. . . .' Uarema kept them down all the time . . . 'but I want to keep him here. He'll be the first Shirian to go to school, and if he doesn't go, he'll be the first to get his bottom kicked by a civilized boot.'

Uarema stayed behind, while the Makiritari went back with an extra few yards of the good old red cloth.

Martin Viudo was a collector—of human beings. Around him, like one big family, lived Indians of every race: Taurepán from the Gran Sabana, Arekuna from the Caroní, Makiritari from the Caura, Piaroa from the Orinoco, Cuiba from the Guaviare lands and finally one Baré from Río Negro. The only one he hadn't got was a Shirian—the prize monster of the whole Indian scene. And now he'd found him too!

He began by calling him Luis Antonio, after a friend of his who had died of fever on the Atabapo. He clothed him and entrusted him to Donna Josefa, the village schoolma'm. At school the boys called him a cannibal, and he hit out at them whenever he could, as 'his wicked instincts' prompted him. At any rate, that was Donna Josefa's opinion: she couldn't stand the little savage. Very soon, he started to play truant from that narrow world bounded by the alphabet and the primer with its obscure explanations of the catechism—A for Adam, B for Bible, C for Christ and so on. It was all beyond his understanding, and one day he hit the schoolmistress and went back to his home, where the wife of Martin Viudo promptly hit him. Having cried off school, Luis Antonio went to work for his adopted father. He was growing fast now, and strong enough to paddle and steer boat-loads of balata and sarape through the Caura estuary. He soon learned to handle a motor too; on Sundays he would go off to Maripa and get drunk, begging tots of white rum off the peons who were merry enough to regale him freely. 'Drink up, Man-Eater, and then go back to your cannibals and spit in their faces!' they would shout. Then with a laugh they would pour him whole glasses of brandy. By the time he was twenty his teeth were rotting away with alcohol and iced drinks—and he couldn't stand civilization any longer.

159 No one knows why or how, least of all himself—but something called him back to the forest under the rocky cordillera which had nurtured the young child. He saw his chance when a boat-load of Makiritari put in at Maripa, and returned with them to the Merevari, where he had no difficulty in getting in touch with his own people—for in intervals between battles they explored the Merevari, the Curutu and all the streams rising on the Uasa-Coco watershed.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'I am Uaremu,' he declared to his Guayca kinsmen, who looked on him with hostile eyes because he was wearing trousers, 'Uaremu, son of Mesmi. I was here as a boy. A long time I have been with "the rationals" [the civilized men] and I have grown to manhood. You are my people.'

His turning up in this fashion had a touch of the fabulous about it, and his kinsmen took him along without ill-treating him. When they found him to be a man of many accomplishments, and the old men remembered how he had disappeared during Uegna's time, after an encounter with the Samatari from the Aracoua lands, they kept him with them as their rightful chief, giving him unlimited freedom of action. As his obedient subjects they left it all to him.

Uaremu had never taken to civilization. For him, it had lacked something. What it had lacked, we cannot guess: the civilization of the Lower Guiana rivers may be bounded by the cloth hammock and the bottle of rum, the loose woman and the pack of cards, but it cannot be ranked any lower than the barbarianism of the Guayca, eaters of worms and snakes. But now, after his experience of life with 'the rationals', neither could the young man endure the ceaseless warfare which engaged his own peoples. The broken heads he saw round the fire in the evenings, the howls of the medicine-men at their exorcisings—all this was anathema to him. He told his kinsfolk they had better put it all aside, and grow something. From the Soto they could obtain seeds and roots. Much manioc was needed, because without it one was always hungry. Sugar-cane was a pleasant thing to suck at any time, and the children loved it. Above all, there must be bananas, as far as eye could see—the forest must be transformed into a huge garden of fruits, there for the picking. Thus, with his head full of ideas which owed their origin to the years he had spent in civilization, Luis Antonio founded a new Guayca people. They were Guayca Indians no longer, but peasants—peasants who cared for the tilling of the soil and a sure supply of food. These Guayca called themselves after him, Uaremu. They inhabited two big homesteads an hour distant from the Merevari river—a little above the mouth of the Canaracuni.

Now Luis Antonio wanted to stay with us and work, because he needed cloth for his people. We gave him what little we had been able to save from the greedy hands of Pancho's men, and he went off for a brief visit to his tribe, intending to return to Kiriochi in four days' time.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

especially strong and intelligent, and keep him at his side, adopting him, as it were, as his successor. The little girls continue to live in the feminine world of their tribe. Shy and submissive, they take on the humblest tasks, fetching water, making the fire and helping in the preparation—highly problematical—of food.

Such definitions of customs have, however, only a relative value, like any attempt to estimate the Shirian way of life: for Shiriana are to be found spread over wild territory of vast extent. Their customs are less well defined than one might suppose after reading certain tracts about primitive peoples—the Pacific islanders, for instance. These give the impression that with slight formal changes only, Western culture might have much to learn from the degree of social organization they have attained to. The Shirian tribes, cut off from one another as they are by physical barriers such as mountains and rivers, and moral barriers like the ceaseless state of war which exists between the various branches of this race of 'howling Indians', have developed their own customs in their own sporadic fashion. Sometimes they have been weakened by contact with foreigners, such as the Makiritari in the north-west and the Makushi in the east. More often they have been weakened by a lack of strong traditions, which do not spring easily from such an excessively low level of culture, where mere survival calls for an unending struggle against the tremendous power of the eternally hostile forest.

The most primitive races are those most affected by their geographical setting. Their environment conditions them. Only by adapting themselves continually to their surroundings, only by the long process of response to the determining factor of geography, can they create that growing racial identity which at last succeeds in reversing the process—that is, in conditioning the surroundings instead of being conditioned by them. But we are here touching on the larger question of the development of civilization generally.

Where the Shirians are concerned, we are still at the beginning of the beginning, when geography is the absolute determining factor. Here environment is the master of man—a creature inferior, qualitatively and quantitatively, to the region which it is his fate to inhabit.

The territory they occupy is immense. Divided though it may be by great cordilleras, which make it the breeding ground for various rivers rushing north, west and south, it possesses one marked characteristic throughout its whole extent: the sources and the headwaters of the rivers are contained in a sort of

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'So long as they don't break it!' I laughed cheerfully. But the Indian's doleful look discouraged my levity.

Luis Antonio told me that the existence of guns was no secret to the Samatari. They knew they were weapons, but had no idea how they worked. It all went back to a story we had heard on the Canaracuni, which had the clear ring of truth, though we had been unable to establish the date of the events.

A Brazilian expedition, possibly *garimpeiros*, or diamond seekers, had once gone up the Uraricoera river in a boat with a motor. They were probably about as far up from the mouth as we were now on the Samatari river—the Aracoça. These were the first civilized men ever to venture into the region, and they were well armed, as Brazilians living in forested areas generally are—in this respect differing greatly from the Venezuelans who never bother to carry more than some old gun and a stick. The four of them were going up the river with this outboard motor craft when they were hailed from the bank by a group of Indians. They brought the boat round, and as the bows touched the shore the Indians sent a well-aimed volley of arrows which struck the three Brazilians sitting for'ard. The man at the motor then fired a few shots, with what weapon I don't know, and in his turn laid low a number of Indians—four, to be exact, according to the version we heard. He then managed to swing the boat round and went back down river at full speed, eventually getting away to safety.

This was the occasion on which the Indians had got to know of guns and firearms in general, in all their terrible efficiency. But their knowledge was not to be limited to this. After a hair-raising trip the survivor reached Boa Vista, the capital of the Federal Territory of Rio Branco. There he told his tale, and authority very soon decided to take measures—and when Brazil takes such measures they are very stern. They sent out two planes, with the survivor to do the path-finding, and when they reached the approximate scene of the affray they looked for traces of Indian camps. These they bombed and machine-gunned, 'many times killing the hands and feet of the Shirians' as we were told by the Makiritari at Canaracuni, these latter being obviously quite pleased about it. From that time onwards, guns and bombs from the air were awe-inspiring bogeys, and in this connection I found myself thinking of Uaremu's threats to Pancho at the Llantarigña landing. And in our hearts we couldn't but feel grateful towards the Brazilians whose stern measures had seen to it that the voice of the clothes-wearing men had reached as far as these strange apo-men we were with now.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

When I showed Manuera how to start a fire with a big magnifying glass he understood immediately that the process must involve some direct relationship with the sun, but the others missed this point. They tried to make the big magic work indoors, in the shade. Our old guide therefore became the lens-expert, and amused himself for a whole day burning off the savannah—until he endangered the hut itself by firing some freshly cut straw which we had piled up on the south side.

We had already made some tentative and tactful inquiries of Pedro about forming a Makiritari crew to take us at least as far as the higher reaches of the Merevari, where we might find other Indians with whose help we could reach Frenario, on the Yevarehuri. The Makiritari were ready to start off at once—though this was highly unusual for them—and a crew got together quickly, with Pedro as steersman. Tomasso, his son, and four other strong Soto would paddle. Recruiting proceeded rapidly—too rapidly, and therefore obviously prearranged. Pedro naïvely confirmed our suspicions when he told us we should move off quickly and not wait for Pancho. Now we had expressly said that we wanted to send for Pancho to accompany us, because we knew that to have a chief with us would increase the prestige of the expedition in the eyes of other tribes.

'Not wait for Pancho,' declared Pedro. 'Pancho has much merchandise because he stopped so long to work at La Paragua. I, Pedro, know the way and have no merchandise.' Whereupon Pedro's discourse began to centre on the good old red cloth, and it appeared that our man wanted a whole piece. 'Much cloth, yes, little cloth no use. Pedro wants a whole piece of cloth, then he will start for the Merevari, long trip, we need to sleep many times.'

If the Makiritari had been quick off the mark to accept the assignment, they were equally tough when it came to terms. We closed the door of the hut, to avoid misunderstandings, and began a big hand-out: red cloth, machetes, fish-hooks, knives, rope and so on and so on... all in amazing quantities, the like of which had never been seen in these parts.

Silently the Makiritari surveyed the rising piles of merchandise on the earth floor. With their usual dourness they asked for more still, while the Shirians outside tried to see what was going on through the gaps in the wall, howling with deep emotion at the sight of such vast acreages of red cotton passing into the Soto's rapacious hands. A store of goods like that would have set in motion every Shirian from the Caura to the Orinoco and enough battles would have

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

The day after our Makiritari crew had gone we betook ourselves and all our bags and baggage into a Shirian settlement. They were friendly people, somewhat scared of us, and attentive to our every move. All in all, we weren't sorry to have missed Frenario, who would undoubtedly have turned out to be some mangy and pretentious imbecile, lording it over everybody like some Asiatic despot. In talking about it to my companion, I summed up my attitude thus: 'If you're going among the Makiritari, take Makiritari with you. If you're going among Shirians, take Shirians.'

The itinerary we wanted to cover wasn't perfectly clear, even to ourselves: after all, our journey was taking us through one of the least explored parts of the world. But it was certain, at any rate, that we should be crossing territory inhabited by Shirians (especially Samatari and Guayca). It was even more certain that we should meet with no Makiritari or other people full of sweetness and light.

That same evening we picked out the men we wanted to take with us—though it would be more correct to say that we had them wished on us, because in this settlement, which lay hidden on the left bank of the Yevarehuri, five or six bends down, there weren't a great many Indians fit for the job. These were peaceable Shirians, but their living conditions were some of the most wretched we'd ever seen. It was really as if by the very fact of having given up their warlike habits, these people had forfeited their right to live as well as possible. From warriors, these people had gone to the extreme and become anchorites.

One man didn't want to come without bringing his wife and child—and the medicine-man!—along too. What was more, as crew-leader we had a man of middle age who was morally head of the little clan, and something more. His wife, with a baby boy at her breast, would also be coming. Then there were two boys, one of fifteen or so, the other of more tender years. Altogether it was the queerest crew two explorers of unknown territories could ever have put their faith in.

To gain time, we wanted to set out straight away, but our people gave us to understand that we must wait a day because they had something important to do. In the meantime, while ostensibly preparing the loads, they were anxious to have a good look at the equipment we were carrying. We let them get on with it, until they came to the pack containing the good old red cloth and other objects which might have been too much of a temptation for them: at this

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

point, we pronounced that magic word 'work'—so potent that in the very act of pilfering, their hands were stayed.

We had brought with us a flask of mercury, for amalgamating metals, which aroused their curiosity—curiosity which turned to absolute amazement when they picked it up and became aware of its inordinate weight. By some dark and labyrinthine thought-processes, no doubt, they deduced that this terrible liquid constituted a bomb, and they drew back in horror shouting '*Bomba Amio*'.[1]

We didn't disillusion them. A little fear and dread disseminated among our porters might not be entirely without point, considering all the uncertain aspects of the journey and the curious make-up of these Indians. Yes, we said, that is the aeroplane bomb, and it would blow to pieces all the Samatari from the Parima, if they dared show themselves on our route. This greatly reassured the Shirians. At first they had been rather scared of meeting with an enemy, but now they could count on this terrifying weapon we had at our disposal, which would also increase their own prestige in the eyes of the nomad tribes.

That night, there were some strange noises in the hut, about thirty yards away from our hammocks. Something interesting seemed to be happening, so we put out our candle and, through our mosquito nets, watched a curious scene.

The medicine-man was surrounded by the rest of the Shirians. He was in his usual position for exorcism ceremonies—sitting in his hammock with his legs dangling over either side. The chief's wife had a bowl of water and was dissolving something in it—something she was taking from a cluster of banana leaves in her lap. When she had put in enough, she passed the bowl to her husband, who held it firmly, slightly raised. Then he waited. Suddenly, on an unexpectedly powerful note, a chant came from the medicine-man. Then the chief drank long draughts out of the bowl, came down from his hammock, and began to walk with a rhythmic, solemn step, round the fire. All the men then drank in turn: then the women. Then the babies at their breasts were made to touch the bowl with their lips. Now they were all marching behind the chief, with rapid, tiny steps that covered very little ground, while the medicine-man himself jumped from his hammock and brought up the rear.

We were watching the Drinking of the Ashes—a ceremony symbolic of

[1] Their rendering of the Spanish 'avion' (aeroplane bomb).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

A vast and multiform horde it is that besieges the trees; a people millions strong, each one of whom wages its own small war and combines with the rest in the greater struggle.

IV

In the three brothers, all that was best in this wild region could truly be said to have found some form of expression. Their reactions were at times incomprehensible—sudden reflexes resulting from a life utterly different in every way from our own and in some degree akin to the animals'. They were always together, not mixing with the other Shirians and building their own little separate shelter. Every night, when work was finished, they came to us, rubbing themselves against us and indicating by gestures what goods they would like for their pay.

They had certain phobias, the most interesting being a fear of nails. Carmine always had a long nail handy, and each evening he would hammer it into one of the hut-poles to hang up his gun and cartridge-case. This produced a terrible effect on one of the brothers. He would stand and watch as if paralysed, for all the world as though the nail was being driven into his own forehead. If Carmine showed him the nail, holding it out to him, he would cry '*Ma, ma*' and run off to hide in his little hut. Generally, however, he was most friendly, even affectionate, towards us. Carmine had once rashly promised to cut his hair for him, and since a haircut for one meant a haircut for everybody and the expedition's only pair of scissors was precious, we lost a whole day while my companion gained some experience of the barber's trade. The Indians spent their time looking at themselves in the glass and examining each other's coiffure for defects which they wanted attended to at once.

In imitation of the tales the Shirians told, Carmine had invented a terrifying personage called Barabàn, a kinsman of his, who lived somewhere over the mountains. Barabàn made such an impression on everyone that the myth became a real moral weapon and came in very useful when the Indians needed a little prodding. When Carmine told his tale, in a mixture of Shirian, Makiritari, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian, they would listen with eyes like saucers, in curiosity and fear: 'Barabàn and a hundred robbers and a hundred fierce dogs—they live in the trees like monkeys—eat women and children, cooked—

Waica
Guaharibo

/434 cont./

199 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a
101 separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation
• 197 zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted
[248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they culti-
[352] vate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton ham-
[342] mocks and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version
[484] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they
192 speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/
[114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried
628 to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/453 cont./

276 Several varieties of "yupo," of different degrees of strength, are prepared with leaves, bark, and ashes of bark. In the form of powder, it is blown by another into the nose of the one using it. The helper is the one who blows it, but the one using it fills the little tube and consequently is the one responsible with regard to the amount taken.

The "yopo" is connected with their religion and must be taken in order to carry out most of the sorcery, magic, or spells. Nevertheless, some become so addicted to the drug that they take it in great quantities and remain under its influence from midday until evening almost every day.

"Yopo" greatly enlarges the pupil, to the point of almost covering the entire iris of the eye.

The intoxication which it produces is similar to that caused by alcohol, but the effect passes sooner. An excessive dose may leave a person flat on his back, foaming at the mouth, and without strength enough to get up or to resist anything which might be done to him.

291 Clothing

The item of clothing which is fundamental for both men and women is a cord tied around the waist. Men are not considered decently dressed if they do not have the penis held up by the foreskin by the aforementioned cord.

([177]) There is a desire to obtain trousers and shirts for protection against insects.

302 Ornaments

The predominant style of cutting the hair is that of shaving the upper part of the cranium, leaving a border of hair about five centimeters wide around it. The lower edge of /454/ this border of hair should come exactly to the upper edge of the ears and a short space above the eyebrows. The straighter and more abrupt the lines of the hair, the better is the haircut. Sometimes they let the hair grow over the whole head. Sometimes, in order to rid themselves of lice, they shave the entire head. The whole head may be shaved for other reasons as well.

/482 cont./

753 Any strange or rare object can be considered to have given rise to an epidemic. According to their knowledge and understanding, it might be some kind of foreign sorcery.

755 The Guaika appreciate our medicine for the treatment of
• 177 sores and sicknesses, but for them this medicine is simply another enchanted or magical substance.

752 /483/ The treatment which they use for a bee sting is to tie the member thus hurt with a piece of vine or string above the sting. They also suck the poison out of the wound.

The treatment for the bite of a spider or snake is similar, tying and sucking. Later, the croonings are considered appropriate for driving away evil forces.

If a man is wounded by a poisoned dart, the wound is sucked and he will live. If he is wounded where the poison cannot be sucked out, he will quickly die. When an animal or a man is mortally wounded by a poisoned arrow, he falls, loses control of his muscles, and then dies, shuddering, perhaps when the poison reaches the heart or lungs.

751 One who has killed an enemy on a raid must sit down on
729 the ground and, taking a little piece of vine (perhaps some two centimeters in length), has to scrape one side of his own head in different places. If he fails to do this, some evil may overtake him.

755 Sick persons receive all possible care, in addition to all the
758 incantations and exorcisms which are cast against the opposing forces of the spirits.

758 A sick person is well fed. If it is not possible for him to take certain foods, the Guaika will make every possible effort to get for him what he can eat.

An old woman who had an infection in her mouth and a throat so large that it was almost impossible for her to swallow anything was given honey as food. They tipped her head back and poured the honey into her mouth. They had a fire lighted for her all the time, and someone was with her constantly. When the settlement moved, she was carried on a man's back by means of a strap or cord such as is customarily used for loads or small children.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

Orinoco to the Guaharibo Rapids. On this the river's course is given in great detail, showing not only the major tributaries but a great many minor ones as well, though there is no indication of their size. From first-hand experience it was clear to us that the contribution of some of the lesser tributaries was anything but negligible. There are, for instance, the Iguapo, which joins the Orinoco from the right ten miles above Esmeralda after itself being joined by a river its own size, and another river, unnamed as far as I know, which has its mouth midway between the Padamo and the Ocamo. And entering from the other bank come the Lipe and the Icipe, of which the latter is eighty yards wide at the confluence. Of these four only the Iguapo has been explored and that by Diez de la Fuente.

Above the Mavaca the Orinoco's mean width is less than two hundred yards. Its general direction of flow is east to west with a slight northern tendency and surprisingly, since it nowhere else does so in its thousand miles journey from Mavaca to the sea, it twists and turns pronouncedly.

Since we had left Esmeralda the only birds we had seen were single specimens of black ibis, large kingfishers and droves of white egrets. The egrets would sit craning their necks in the trees and, as we approached, would fly up only to settle down a little farther away. It was as though no human being had ever disturbed their forests. Once or twice we saw a pair of otters diving from a rock or dead tree stump and once we shot at an anaconda which was placidly coiled round a tree. We watched as it slowly unwound and disappeared into the murky water.

That evening we took one of the *curiaras* up a small tributary and fished, but the spate was too strong. Instead of fish we gathered some forest cocoa whose pulp is a refreshing drink when newly made.

The First Waikas

The Padamo and Ocamo rivers are inhabited by Guaharibos. Above the Ocamo, the inhabitants of the Orinoco's banks call themselves Waikas. They closely resemble the Guaharibos we had met at Esmeralda but are, perhaps, a little more primitive. Some had had previous contact with Butrón's wood-cutters.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

his jungle intimately—where to find palm dates, cocoa and brazil nuts in their season, and where game birds are most plentifully found. He hunts the herds of peccary, his ear, versed in all the sounds of the forest, detecting his prey before they detect him. When the water in the rivers is low he shoots his fish with arrows and when the sand banks are uncovered he hunts tortoise eggs buried in the sand. His interminable wanderings are limited only by his forest lore; he lives only for the day, his sole reserve of food being a small store of bananas brought from the village plantation.

Platanal

As we closed the shore our reception was tumultuous. From the high bank above us the Indians leaped yelling into the water and clambered on board, shaking themselves like wet dogs. Laughing and gesticulating they took hold of our mooring lines. Though some of us were a little overcome by this display of exuberance, Butrón was not in the least disconcerted. He knew that the Indians had long learned to associate him with machetes and *manioc*. As soon as it was possible to do so, Butrón had a basket of *manioc* and a dozen machetes carried ashore, and the Indians who had already begun to ransack our cargo left it and hurried ashore.

"*Shori! Manioco! Oji!*" they cried striking their bellies. They jostled round the basket, stuffing handfuls of the coarse flour into their mouths, their heads thrown back in ecstasy.

As the Waĩka have no knowledge of contriving the simplest of iron tools, or of grinding *manioc*, all such articles were highly valued objects of barter. So were matches, once they had been shown how to use them.

Butrón told them we wanted the large green bananas which are eaten cooked; the accepted tariff is three hands of bananas for one machete. Before long, we heard some of the natives making merry in the plantation, and made as if to follow them. But at once the others became suspicious and gestured to us to return to the river bank. We insisted and they became menacing, finally refusing to go on gathering the bananas if we did not desist.

Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

---

[1] Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[2] The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

35| large entrance, that leading to the river or stream. All entrances are covered with dry leaves and brush in the evening and the slightest movement of the covering creates sufficient noise to alert the dogs.

133 [137] The Yąnomamö occupy a relatively homogeneous geographical region of low-lying tropical jungle interrupted by densely-wooded hills that sometimes reach an altitude of 2,500 feet, some 2,000 feet above the elevation of the general

36| [133] [484] terrain. Larger hills are more common in the headwaters of the Orinoco and along the boundaries separating Brazil from Venezuela, but the Indians prefer to make their villages in the lowlands on small streams, as all of their travelling is done on foot. Only recently have the Yąnomamö begun moving [179] to the larger rivers, where they may obtain canoes and steel tools from foreigners. In 1950 there was only one Yąnomamö village, Mahekodo-tedi, on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River; since then at least seven or eight villages have moved to the Orinoco or one of its larger tributaries in order to gain access to trade goods (axes and machetes) foreign to their culture. The overwhelming number of Yąnomamö villages, [221] [181] however, can only be reached by walking to them. During the wet season (April-September) travel all but ceases between villages because the trails linking villages are inundated.

24| The Yąnomamö are slash-and-burn horticulturists, subsisting mainly on plantains and bananas, of which they cultivate four or five varieties each. Following these crops in economic importance are several root crops, including taro,

000(lapa, Spanish).

222 The collection of small fruits, spiders, ant grubs, wild honey, crabs, mushrooms and fish also contributes variety to the Yąnomamö diet.

241 268 [146] Cultivated foods contribute the greater proportion of calories to the Yąnomamö diet, probably upwards of 85%, [177] although this figure would vary seasonally. Again, those Yąnomamö villages living close to Makiritare settlements cultivate much more yucca (manioc) than platanos, refining it in some cases to meal as do the Makiritares. Elsewhere [252] the Yąnomamö eat their yucca roasted or boiled or make cassave bread by a technique quite distinct from that employed by the Makiritare.

722 [422] Yąnomamö material culture is very much attenuated by comparison with, for example, Makiritare. The Yąnomamö like to limit their possessions to an amount that is readily transported by the women, because the entire village may be obliged at any given moment to abandon its site to avoid raiders, or may be invited to a feast at another village. [422] [574] They do not like to leave possessions in their village when they leave it, as visitors from other villages would take them. And, their warfare pattern precludes the possibility of leaving a few people behind to guard the village, as they [361] would be easily overwhelmed by a raiding party. When just a portion of the village leaves to visit another group, those that stay behind move into the jungle some distance from the village and live in well-concealed huts until their co-

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

[468] [935] Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that [838] [458] [955] elder people and those who are sick travel very slowly, children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired [[84] [473] clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are [462] [422] [562] made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the [199] manufacture of cassave bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

---

[1] The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
177 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[439] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[438] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[514] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[599] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

raiding each other.[1]

That the shortage of women is the basis of internal feuding is illustrated by a practice recently adopted by members of the New Tribes Mission working in the village of Kosholowë-tedi, a small village on the Padamo River. The missionaries had a major problem with club-fighting within the village, most of which developed out of sexual liasons between married women and married men. The missionaries began an active campaign aimed at changing the coitus taboos during pregnancy and lactation. They were successful in their efforts, and the major result was that fighting was almost completely stopped. (Another result was a sharp increase in births.)

Village size and composition have an effect on the number of sexual liaisons within a village, as illicit affairs are more difficult to discover in large villages. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, as can be seen from Table 1, have less of a woman shortage than the other villages. Nevertheless, fights over women do break out in these villages. One of the clubfights I witnessed took place between two groups of Monou-tedi men in the village of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the Monou-tedi men had wanted to carry on an affair with the wife of Konoreiwë, another man of his village, but was unable to do so while the Monou-tedi lived in their own village. Once when the Monou-tedi moved to Bisaasi-tedi to

---

[1] See Chapter 5, Tables 5 and 6, for a summary of the causes of village splits and hostilities.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1984-1988) 1987 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

174 remained on good terms with each other. Their split occur-
175 *621 *628 red in 1954, perhaps a year earlier.

When I initiated my field work in 1964 Monou-tika was still occupied, but its population, the Monou-tedi, was in the process of making a new garden (Moyanabŏwei) east of Monou to avoid the raids of the Patanowä-tedi, with whom they had entered into a new war in 1964.

175 The faction that moved to Barawä remained at that
177 site about five years. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca
361 River, taking the name Bisaasi-tedi, in 1959, splitting into
648 two villages, each located on opposite banks of the Mavaca
[621] River. By 1958 the Venezuelan Government had initiated a malaria-control program in this area of Amazonas and had established a small field station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Venezuelans associated with this field station invited the Barawä-tedi to move to the Mavaca River; the Indians accepted the invitation, hoping to gain access to steel tools. This was the beginning of contact with outsiders for the Kreibŏwei-tedi; prior to 1959 the only foreigners they had known were the missionary at Mahekodo-tedi, James P. Barker, and the members of the Frobenius Institute Expedition, Meinhard Schuster and Otto Zerries, who they visited occasionally at Mahekodo-tedi.

174 Area 12: Bisaasi-tedi
175 *628 361

The Bisaasi-tedi began friendly contacts with a Shamatari village, Paruritawä-tedi, after they moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River.

[Paruritawë-tedi Group]

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari village histories are more complicated than the one outlined for the Namowei-tedi. This stems from the fact that the Shamatari villages had reached a large size by 1900 and began splitting into smaller groups earlier, in terms of the data I collected, than did the Namowei-tedi. In other words, the splitting that characterized Namowei-tedi's population from about 1940 to 1955 was occurring in the Shamatari population in 1900. Although I do not have census data on the numerous Shamatari villages that subsequently emerged from the two initial groups, I suspect that the numbers of people involved are significantly larger for the Shamatari village histories. Two factors seem to be the cause of this phenomenon. First, the Shamatari villages had access to steel tools in considerable numbers before Namowei-tedi's ancestral population did; my informants asserted that their first source of steel tools was the group called Shihowë-tedi. Presumably the size of the populations involved is a function of their agricultural potentials, and the Shamatari apparently expanded earlier than the Namowei-tedi because they had access to steel tools sooner. Secondly, the Shamatari population expanded unopposed into virgin territory, whereas the Namowei-tedi expanded into territory already occupied by other Yanomamö; it is significant to note that when the Namowei-tedi ultimately moved into unoccupied territory, their population seems to have increased, and the first split occurred only after virgin territory was colonized.[1]

[1] I am unable to explain how this affects demographic variables, but my data suggest that Yanomamö populations expand more rapidly when they colonize virgin land.

105
36
[128]

Summary

Tables 5 and 6 broadly summarize the movements of the five villages. As the details of the text indicate, considerably more village movement goes on than can be included in tables of this sort. The micro-movements, however, merely express in greater detail what is immediately apparent from an examination of Tables 5 and 6: the Yanomamö abandon their gardens and move to new locations because of raids from other groups. In only one instance was the movement of a village stimulated by economic considerations: site 4 was abandoned by the Namowei-tedi because of poor soil. Another exception was the abandoning of Barawä (site 10) by the Bisaasi-tedi in 1959. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River to gain access to steel tools, marking the beginning of their sustained contact with foreigners.

[722]
[134]
[412]
[177]

105
+621
578
+628
721

The tables also show that there were ten village splits relevant to explaining the origins of the five villages considered in this chapter. Five of these splits were due to feuds over women. In four of the cases the factions that were involved immediately entered into hostilities with each other. The recent split within Patanowä-tedi, discussed in the text (pp. 188-89), again over a woman, is not included in Table 5, as the refugee group did not form a new village of their own. Three village splits in Tables 5 and 6 developed out of minor feuds, usually over women, brought about by large village size. In one case, the factions ultimately entered into hostilities with each other, whereas in two cases the factions still remain on friendly terms.

10xChagnon E-4.8 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1] Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

occupying five different sites, each having its own house and garden. These five groups recombined into a single unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the southwest of the Uraricaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated. On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than on the Uraricaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of Yąnomamö from those whose social organization is described in this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Corresponding to this increase in intensity is a change in type of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically or not at all to the northeast.

There is likewise an apparent cline in population density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity. Yąnomamö villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However, another factor complicates the picture: the Yąnomamö have more contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also

184 648 721 contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. [411] [179] It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

184 562 * 62 * 628 578 721 Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered 721 * 628 562 926 799 177 [595] that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and way of life.

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ə] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ä] vowel are pronounced as that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąobawä would be pronounced "cow-ba-wuh," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

removed and laid along the ground in the direction of the burrow to measure the distance from the entrance. The men began digging at the end of the vine and located the asphyxiated armadillo on the first attempt.

The jungle provides many other kinds of foods and products too numerous to mention. Some, like vines and lianas, are very useful and commonly employed in basket-making; others, such as edible mushrooms, crabs, pigments, and decorative plant products, are less significant, and exploited only sporadically. Despite the amazing variety of food products to be found in the jungle, however, the Yąnomamö could not exist for any substantial period of time on collected foods only: they rely heavily on their cultivated crops. The tropical forest is much less productive and reliable than one would imagine. The most abundant foods, palm fruits, are seasonal—a group of people could only rely on them for a few months of the year, during which time some 80 group members would have to forage over a wide area to obtain sufficient palm fruits to keep everybody well fed.

Game animals are not abundant, and an area is rapidly hunted out, so that a group must keep constantly on the move. Furthermore, hunting depends as much on luck as it does on skill and is not a very reliable way to supply nourishment. I have gone on five-day hunting trips with the Yąnomamö in areas that had not been hunted for decades, and had we not brought cultivated foods along, we would have been extremely hungry at the end of this time—we did not collect even enough meat to feed ourselves. On other trips, we often managed to collect enough game in one day to feed the entire village.

GARDENING Although the Yąnomamö spend almost as much time hunting as they do gardening, the bulk of their diet comes from foods that are cultivated. Perhaps 85 percent or more of the diet consists of domesticated rather than wild foods—plantains are by far the most important food in the diet.

The Yąnomamö are constantly looking for potential garden sites. When I hunted with them, the topic of conversation that evening would eventually drift over to the merits of the area as a possible site for a new garden. Most new garden sites are, in fact, discovered by hunters.

The land for a new site should not be heavily covered with brush, which is difficult to remove. The larger trees should not be too numerous either, as it takes a good deal of work to chop them down. Ideally, the new site should have very light jungle cover, should be well drained, near a source of drinking water, and relatively free of thorny underbrush. The Yąnomamö call a garden *hikari täka;* jungle that has the potential of being a good garden is likewise called *hikari täka.*

The first operation in making a new garden is to cut the smaller trees and brush; the bigger trees, *kayaba hi,* are left standing until the underbrush is removed. Then the big trees are felled with axes and left lying on the ground to dry out in the sun.

My older informants claimed that they did not have steel tools when they were younger and had to kill the big trees by cutting a ring of bark off around the base of the stump, using a crude stone axe, piling brush around them, and burning them. The trees rarely fell, but the fire usually killed them, and their leaves dropped off, permitting the sunlight to reach the ground.

They also claimed that making a garden was more arduous in those days because a large area would have to be searched for the necessary quantities of kindling used to kill the big trees. Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians-and by rural Venezuelans-and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in the trading network.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kąobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kąobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kąobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kąobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kąobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kąobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kąobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*bekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *bekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kąobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *bekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *bekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yąnomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12] The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

774 I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi*.[13]
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
177 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no ubudibö*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noreshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After
[887] several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced
[563] when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on
[783] contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones
[783] are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and
[562] women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe
[858] carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.
[237] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the
[531] circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment.
[562] The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a
[531] long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and
[266] sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere-
[726] monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[13]Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.
[749]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December-January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yąnomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowä's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawä's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawä and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąobawä's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąobawä's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawä's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawä's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąobawä's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawä and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawä's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąobawä and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16] James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawä and his group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Shararaiwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Shararaiwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Shararaiwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*628 interdependency. The Yąnomamö cannot simply arrive at the village of a potential ally and declare that they need military assistance because of the raids of a superior enemy. Doing so would admit vulnerability and perhaps invite predation from the potential ally. Instead, they conceal and subsume the true motive for the alliance in the vehicles [438] of *trading* and *feasting*, developing these institutions over months and even years. In this [574] manner they retain an apparent modicum of sovereignty and pride, while simultaneously attaining the true objectives: intervillage solidarity and military interdependence.

*628 Three distinct features of Yąnomamö trading practices are important in the context 438 of alliance formation. First, each item must be repaid with a different kind of item: The 574 recipient is under an *obligation* to repay his partner in a type of exchange called *no mraiba*. [437] Secondly, the payment is delayed, a temporal factor in the trading techniques that is likewise implied by the *no mraiba*. The consequence of these two trading features is that one trade always calls forth another and gives the members of different villages both the excuse and the opportunity to visit each other; and once the trading starts, it tends to continue, for one village in an alliance always owes the other trade goods from their last confrontation. The third significant trade feature is the peculiar specialization in the production of trade items. Each village has one or more special products that it provides to its allies. These include such items as dogs, hallucinogenic drugs (both cultivated and collected), arrow points, arrow shafts, bows, cotton yarn, cotton and vine hammocks, baskets of several varieties, clay pots, and, in the case of the several contacted villages, steel tools and aluminum pots.

This specialization in production cannot be explained in terms of the distribution of natural resources. Each village is, economically speaking, capable of self-sufficiency. [177] (The steel tools and other products from civilization constitute the major exceptions.) The explanation of the specialization must be sought, rather, in the sociological aspects of alliance formation. Trade functions as the social catalyst, the "starting mechanism," through which mutually suspicious allies are repeatedly brought together in direct confrontation. Without these frequent contacts with neighbors, alliances would be much slower in formation and would be even more unstable once formed: A prerequisite to stable alliance is repetitive visiting and feasting, and the trading mechanism serves to bring about these visits.

*628 Clay pots are a good example of the specialization in labor that characterizes 438 Yąnomamö production and trade. The Mǫmariböwei-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8) are allied 323 to both Kąobawä's group and the people of a distant Shamatari village, the latter being mortal enemies of Kąobawä. When I first began my fieldwork, I visited the Mǫmari- [114] böwei-teri, specifically asking them if they knew how to make clay pots. They all vigor- [124] ously denied knowledge of pot-making, explaining that they once knew how to make them but had long since forgotten. They explained that their allies, the Möwaraoba-teri, made them in quantities and provided all they needed, and therefore they did not have to make them anymore. They also added that the clay in the area of their village was not of the proper type for making pots. Later in the year their alliance with the pot makers grew cool because of a war, and their source of pots was shut off. At the same time, Kąobawä's group began asking them for clay pots. The Mǫmariböwei-teri promptly responded by "remembering" how pots were made and "discovering" that the clay in their neighborhood was indeed suitable for pot manufacturing. They had merely created

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

undertake it if it meant getting rid of their first group of visitors, who, by this time, had spent nearly a week eating Kąobawä's produce.

On the morning of the feast three large pieces of bark from the *araṇuri* tree were cut and brought to the village. These were made into troughs to contain the boiled, ripe plantain soup. All day long Kąobawä's younger brothers, who had returned from the hunt the day before, labored at cooking the enormous quantity of ripe plantains, pouring each boiling containerful into the trough as it was prepared.[3]

The plantains that Kąobawä had hung in his *thabono* roof a week before were now ripe. The young men who were preparing the soup would cut the bunches of plantains from the roof, split each fruit with their thumb, throw the two halves of the flesh into a cooking pot, and toss the skins onto a pile. They worked at this task from early morning until late afternoon, in addition to boiling a nearly equal quantity of green plantains, which provided the green vegetable food that customarily accompanies the presentation of meat. Yąnomamö etiquette dictates that meat must be accompanied by vegetable food and vice versa.[4] It is an insult, for example, to offer someone meat without simultaneously offering a vegetable food with it. Peeling green plantains is a little more difficult than peeling ripe ones, which are very tough and brittle. The Yąnomamö solve this problem, like they solve so many others, by using their teeth. Each plantain is bitten along its length several times, cracking the peel, which in turn is removed with the fingernails and further application of the dentition. On this particular occasion, two young men peeled, with their thumbs, enough ripe plantains to make approximately 95 gallons of soup, and, with their teeth, a sufficiently large quantity of green plantains to fill a dozen large pack-baskets.

In the morning on the day of the feast, Kąobawä went to the center of the village clearing where all could see him and proceeded to pull weeds. The clearing has to look presentable to the visitors, as it functions as the dancing plaza. As noted before, since Yąnomamö headmen cannot directly order their followers to execute tasks such as these, they usually initiate them and hope that others will follow. By and by, a number of older men joined him, as well as a few women, and when a sufficient number of workers were pulling weeds and hauling them out, Kąobawä quietly retired to his hammock, from which he oversaw the food preparations and calculated the distribution of meat.

Excitement in the village grew conspicuously as the hours passed, and by noon there was a constant din of laughter and chatter, punctuated now and then with a shrill scream from some young man overcome with the thrill of the feast. Occasionally, the visitors would reply to the shouts, setting off a brief contest of screaming between hosts

---

[3]Kąobawä's group has access to aluminum pots now and uses them extensively in food preparations. Most Yąnomamö groups still use crude clay pots, although these are being rapidly replaced by aluminum ware, which is traded inland to the more remote villages.

[4]The three vegetable foods considered to be suitable accompaniments for the meat presentation are: boiled green plantains, boiled *ռaռa* fruit, and cassava bread. A number of missionaries and a few scientific observers have identified the Yąnomamö feast strongly with the *ռaռa* fruit (Zerries 1955; de Barandiaran 1966). If it is to be identified with any food, it should be called the "plantain feast," but to identify the feast with a food that sometimes (*ռaռa*) or invariably (plantains) accompanies it is to overlook the sociopolitical causes of the feast. *Ռaռa* is so unnecessary to the feast that it was served at only two of six feasts I attended. In short, the Yąnomamö feast is a social and political event, not a harvest ceremony, and occurs independently of the abundance or availability of *ռaռa* fruit. *Ռaռa* fruit ripens in February, the peak of the dry season. It is only in the dry season that feasts can be held, because travel is difficult or impossible at other times of the year. The correlation of the ripening of *ռaռa* and feasting is rather more fortuitous than causal.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited aid from their allies. Kąobawä's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that took the woman away from the cruel husband.

When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yąnomamö had deceived the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.[1] Thereafter, the two groups were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered. If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebawä told me of a raid he went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebawä, the raid was not a good one because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by Torokoiwä, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwä got sick of seeing this, so he shot the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

---

[1] The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yąnomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yąnomamö villages, as the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yąnomamö, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.

Sardra
Pakidai

/3 cont./

648 On the Rio Demini, slightly below the Cachoeira (rapids)
484 Auatsinaua, is the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" (Ill. 1).
From the mouth to that point is a six-day journey in a small boat
161 with a four-horsepower outboard motor. On this long stretch
198 there are only two dozen families. Fifty years ago the banks
along the lower third were more densely settled than they are
164 today. But malaria and a terrible beriberi epidemic, 1907/08,
165 carried off the majority of the inhabitants. After the great forest
fire which raged along the Demini in 1926, health conditions
648 improved temporarily. In the most recent times a motor boat
164 of the National Malaria Service travels up the Demini and Aracá
once a year, and the palm-straw huts of the inhabitants are sprayed
with DDT. Nevertheless, malaria still takes its toll. Often it
also leads to a protracted liver ailment; above all, there is a
164 lack of any kind of medication. A second scourge is tuberculosis,
262 the cause of which, aside from the humid, hot climate, may
probably be traced to the poor and unbalanced diet. It consists
predominantly of manioc meal, small fish, the salted, sun-dried
meat of the pirarucu, salted wild-pig meat, and, to a considerably
smaller extent, birds and game, for the men generally do not
have time to hunt. In addition, /4/ for rubber and palm-fiber
gatherers, fruit and vegetables are practically unknown luxuries.
164 As a result of the crowded life of the individual families and the
lack of hygiene, children too are not free from tuberculosis.
Moreover, mention must be made of a dangerous eye infection
which often leads to blindness. This comes about because a fine
dust is constantly trickling down from the palm-straw roofs of the
huts, in which there are many insects, and it gets into the eyes of
the people asleep in their hammocks. An infectious skin disease
that causes light spots on the skin is also widespread. Worm and
intestinal ailments occur frequently, as does syphilis. Finally,
it is noteworthy that adults and children have very poor teeth.
[162] The reason for this may again probably be sought in the unbalanced
diet, for all of the free Forest Indians who have more variety in
165 their meals, have excellent teeth. Mortality is highest among
the children, and next come the women, a relatively large num-
ber of whom die in childbirth since there is, of course, no medical
assistance.

/9 cont./

114 This shows that nothing has changed since 1948, when Métraux,
178 following the accounts of Koch-Grünberg and other investigators
181 traveling through this region, quite justifiably wrote: "The
648 Shirianá are very warlike people who succeeded in dominating several weaker tribes" /cited in English/ (42).

42. Métraux, 1948, p. 861.

141 V. Physical Characteristics

With regard to physical characteristics, the Surára and Pakidái are identical. Their height is below average, for the men are only 1.50-1.60 meters tall and the women 1.40-1.50 meters.
142 Both sexes have soft but muscular body forms, yet frequently a protruding abdomen and often relatively thin legs. Since they
[291] always go barefoot, their feet have retained the ability to serve as prehensile organs for climbing tree trunks, and their toes are not squeezed together as much as in the case of civilized persons who wear shoes all the time. The considerable gap between the great toe and the second toe is striking (Ill. 14) (43). The color

43. Crevaux has already pointed this out in connection with the Oyampí Indians in French Guiana: "The great toe, very much set apart, always turns inward, while the third, fourth, and fifth are turned outward" /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, p. 76 and ill., left).

of their skin is very light, almost white. The forehead of the dolicocephalic head is often flat. Their broad noses with the nostrils directed slightly upward are noteworthy; the root of the nose, on the other hand, is narrow. The Mongoloid strain is clearly evident in the prominent cheekbones and the slanting, dark-brown, almost black-looking eyes. Between the slightly

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

252
184
285
[192] /51 cont./ The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curauá plant [438] (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter [192] from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohí -- (290).

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

● [178] Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in. [426] Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the 114 Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is 252 supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is 174 significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with 285 a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any there, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed [177] with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karaiben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

619 /75 cont./
651 already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
576 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
574 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114]

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
178
241 At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had
622 been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in
600 all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[174]

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

/208 cont./

241 [177] Among the Sanemá, doubtless as a result of their contact with their Macú and Caribe neighbors, agriculture has taken on increasing importance. The manner of cultivation is still very rudimentary, that of "slash and burn." The principal products are: plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, and certain herbs which have magical importance (cf. Barker, 824 241 1953, p. 444, similar plants among the Waica). Among the magical plants of the Sanemá there is one on which they lavish great care. An informant told us about the general consternation which seized all of them one day when a band of enemies tore up, during the night, all the magical plants of their conucos. They believed that they were going to die or at least become sick, and the "sablf had much work" in order to save his people. There is here a similar belief which we have already noted in connection with the eagles and hanekasá.

241 ●178 [628] Agriculture has given a degree of stability to the Sanemá subgroups and has introduced changes in their traditional social system. Not all the groups have adopted this new economy and disputes and fights frequently arise because the gatherers indiscriminately appropriate the products of a conuco of the agricultural group. [648] That was the motive which caused the Makiritare to fight with the Sanemá, who at that time had still not adopted the agriculture which flourished among their neighbors.

231 [192] The Sanemá do not have domestic animals, and even dogs are uncommon. It is possible that the Yanoama have adopted them recently. They have still not found a specific name for this animal, and they call it póliawan, like the jaguar. Some informants insisted that there is a phonetic difference between the word póláwan = jaguar and póliawan = dog, but there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the same word is involved. They raise dogs so that they may serve them as helpers in hunting.

In a Sanemá rancheria there are frequently found animals of various species, but tame. The hunters take home young turkeys, cranes, macaws, and parrots, as well as guinea pigs, lapas, and monkeys, as presents for their wives or children. /Illustrations appear here./

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manoera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shirians.'

We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uana-Coco, Canana, and Uagna. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

Manoera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

The day after our Makiritari crew had gone we betook ourselves and all our bags and baggage into a Shirian settlement. They were friendly people, somewhat scared of us, and attentive to our every move. All in all, we weren't sorry to have missed Frenario, who would undoubtedly have turned out to be some mangy and pretentious imbecile, lording it over everybody like some Asiatic despot. In talking about it to my companion, I summed up my attitude thus: 'If you're going among the Makiritari, take Makiritari with you. If you're going among Shirians, take Shirians.'

The itinerary we wanted to cover wasn't perfectly clear, even to ourselves: after all, our journey was taking us through one of the least explored parts of the world. But it was certain, at any rate, that we should be crossing territory inhabited by Shirians (especially Samatari and Guayca). It was even more certain that we should meet with no Makiritari or other people full of sweetness and light.

That same evening we picked out the men we wanted to take with us—though it would be more correct to say that we had them wished on us, because in this settlement, which lay hidden on the left bank of the Yevarehuri, five or six bends down, there weren't a great many Indians fit for the job. These were peaceable Shirians, but their living conditions were some of the most wretched we'd ever seen. It was really as if by the very fact of having given up their warlike habits, these people had forfeited their right to live as well as possible. From warriors, these people had gone to the extreme and become anchorites.

One man didn't want to come without bringing his wife and child—and the medicine-man!—along too. What was more, as crew-leader we had a man of middle age who was morally head of the little clan, and something more. His wife, with a baby boy at her breast, would also be coming. Then there were two boys, one of fifteen or so, the other of more tender years. Altogether it was the queerest crew two explorers of unknown territories could ever have put their faith in.

To gain time, we wanted to set out straight away, but our people gave us to understand that we must wait a day because they had something important to do. In the meantime, while ostensibly preparing the loads, they were anxious to have a good look at the equipment we were carrying. We let them get on with it, until they came to the pack containing the good old red cloth and other objects which might have been too much of a temptation for them: at this

/444 cont./

241 The land is cleared by first pulling out all the small plants and stems; then the trees which reach a trunk diameter of around 25 centimeters are cut with a machete, and finally the large trees are cut down with an axe.

[313] Sometimes they climb the tree and attach a liana to it so as to be able to pull it to direct its fall.

After the trees have had sufficient time to dry out on the ground, they cut off the branches and pile them up with the underbrush in order finally to burn them. Owing to the abundance of rainfall, it is impossible for them to wait for a dry period. I have seen them burn the weeds in their conuco after it had rained heavily the night before. Sometimes they must bring dry firewood in order to make the damp weeds burn.

An old woman told me one day: "These people of today [412] have it easy. We did not have machetes and axes in former [178] times. Fire was our principal tool. /445/ We had to carry a lot of firewood to pile up around the trees in order to bring them down by fire."

412 There is an indication in their language that at one time they 174 used stone axes before being able to acquire metal axes and [192] machetes. They use the same word, "boo," to designate both the machete and a certain stone which they use for grinding the "yopo" powder. This stone has the proper form for making an ax out of it, if a handle were attached to it. Nevertheless, the relationship between these objects, if there was one at one time, is unknown to the present generation of El Platanal.

241 A bow without a string or a similar stick is the principal 412 instrument which they use for planting. They use it both to loosen the small banana stems for replanting and to open holes in the ground for holding practically any kind of seed.

249 Tobacco is planted first in a garden bed and then transplanted. The small plants are protected from the sun for a few days by means of platano leaves put on a covering for shade.

241 Sometimes a few stakes are fixed in the ground to indicate plantings near the paths, thus keeping the seeds or young plants from being stepped on.

what happened. The later descriptions obtained from much older informants were virtually identical with those I originally recorded from the younger informants. I believe, accordingly, that the accounts of the time period antecedent to the life-span of even my oldest informants are accurate in so far as their major features are concerned.

That the histories are filled with treachery, great violence, and much bloodshed will be apparent. The nature of Yanomamö warfare, however, has not changed. It was being conducted as vigorously and in similar ways in 1964-1966 while I conducted my field-work.

against the Paruritawä-tedi, and the latter abandoned their [Paruritawä-tedi Group]
site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Mämariböwei and Reyaboböwei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyaboböwei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965 the Reyaboböwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawä-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966.

The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowä-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowä-tedi to venture away from the village.

/9 cont./

114 This shows that nothing has changed since 1948, when Métraux,
178 following the accounts of Koch-Grünberg and other investigators
181 traveling through this region, quite justifiably wrote: "The
648 Shirianá are very warlike people who succeeded in dominating several weaker tribes" /cited in English/ (42).

42. Métraux, 1948, p. 861.

141 V. Physical Characteristics

With regard to physical characteristics, the Surára and Pakidái are identical. Their height is below average, for the men are only 1.50-1.60 meters tall and the women 1.40-1.50 meters.
142 Both sexes have soft but muscular body forms, yet frequently a protruding abdomen and often relatively thin legs. Since they
[291] always go barefoot, their feet have retained the ability to serve as prehensile organs for climbing tree trunks, and their toes are not squeezed together as much as in the case of civilized persons who wear shoes all the time. The considerable gap between the great toe and the second toe is striking (Ill. 14) (43). The color

43. Crevaux has already pointed this out in connection with the Oyampí Indians in French Guiana: "The great toe, very much set apart, always turns inward, while the third, fourth, and fifth are turned outward" /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, p. 76 and ill., left).

of their skin is very light, almost white. The forehead of the dolicocephalic head is often flat. Their broad noses with the nostrils directed slightly upward are noteworthy; the root of the nose, on the other hand, is narrow. The Mongoloid strain is clearly evident in the prominent cheekbones and the slanting, dark-brown, almost black-looking eyes. Between the slightly

/187 cont./

105 The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista." They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

114 101 The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648 Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoam SQ18
Sanema

men, painted a terrifying red. Momi took up his position behind the palisade of our hut, found a gap and thrust the barrel of the gun through it. We were at a loss to know what to do with the other gun. It scared us more than it ever scared the savages.

I'd always been sceptical of tales about the ferocity of primitive peoples. This was the moment to display my scepticism. We therefore let things take their course, as if the arrival at our hut of a horde of naked dwarfs, all painted red and armed with long bows and arrows, was the most natural event in the world, the sort of thing we'd been used to from childhood days in our own homeland. The Indians adopted just this tactic towards us! The moment came when we were surrounded by a mass of revelling, skipping little monsters, like goats at pasture. The womenfolk hung behind, hesitating to show themselves: many of them had children at the breast, and they feared the very sight of our beards would terrify them, and even cause their death through the 'evil eye'. Gathering them protectively to their bosoms, they laughed rather nervously and echoed the tongue-clicking that punctuated the chatter and the bewildering howls of the male Shirians. For these *were* the Shirians—the real thing, unlike Pancho's hewers of wood who lived now as mere vassals and had adopted the customs of the Soto.

One old fellow stood out among the rest. His hair was ruffled; he wore a perpetual smile and dangling testicles. '*Auai*,' he declared, '*auai, auai*,' ending up with a clicking of his tongue and grunting deeply and explosively from his chest. We didn't then know that '*auai*' meant simply 'yes' in Shirian; we therefore called the old man Auai. Later we came to know him for the chief of the Uana-Dildep tribe, whose camp lay one day's march east of Kirisochi. Auai was intelligent and quick-witted, but his people were plunderers, infinitely resourceful. While the chief was smiling at the magazine photographs of actresses we had brought with us—he didn't understand what they were, but they drew his interest—his men and women, with methodical efficiency, were attempting to slip their pilfering hands through the cracks between the stakes that formed our back wall and make off with what they could. If the gap was too narrow for the grown-ups' hands, they maliciously urged on the children to try theirs. This innocent little game was one which it would have been interesting to observe from start to finish; unfortunately there was our dignity to be considered, as well as the old chief's integrity of character to be reckoned with. Laughing, he joined in as we chased off the women and children, and

6: Vinci T 5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

something to help us put on a little speed, he would only smile, show us his foot, and say '*Nini, nini*'—hurt, pain. So we called him Nini, but it did not rouse him from his lethargy. Finally we took him into our own boat, which was the heaviest, and put his wife as steersman. [123]

We were five days on the water altogether, and on the fifth we had a curious encounter. Rounding a curve of the stream, we came upon an absolutely diminutive canoe. Three young Shirians were sitting in it, silently waiting for us. Two of them we knew already from the Yevarehuri landing, where unknown Shirians had often come to have a look at our baggage when Elia was guarding it. There must have been some understanding between these three young fellows and our crew, because the encounter caused nobody any surprise, and the new boat joined our expedition.

I had seen more reassuring sights than these three vagabonds, but we weren't altogether sorry to have met them, all the same. It meant that at last we had a crew with a decent proportion of fit men. Physically fit, at any rate: what their morale was like the future would show—and the future was a very unknown quantity in the valleys of Parime.

The three youths were magnificent specimens of savages. They had impenetrable eyes, a fierce aspect and wonderful muscles. Authentic brigands, they looked, or soldiers of fortune ready to go anywhere and do anything—especially if it was anything bad. Carmine swore that two of them bore a striking resemblance to two brothers of his whom he had left behind in Italy—a pronouncement which led to our calling them 'The Brothers'.

They were prodigiously active and agile, and their entry into the picture put new life into our expedition, which so far had been moving with the slow and stumbling pace of Nini himself. But how the three brigands happened to turn up like that we never did get clear. They had started before us, and we rather suspected that they had not only been all along the river already, but had made their way over the cordillera too, and were coming back when we met them.

Indians by nature are essentially false, their falsity consisting in a trick of believing—and asserting—not what is true, but what is desirable or even just convenient. This intrinsic falsity made us wonder now. Had the brothers gone ahead to the cordillera to warn some Guayca tribe, who were even now preparing to ambush us and steal our goods? It looked very suspicious, but whatever they had in store for us we should have to accept, because there was no [181]

*621 White's generalization that

> every society tends to behave in such a way as to achieve that balance between size and solidarity that will give it the maximum effectiveness in carrying on its life-sustaining activities. (1959:104)

*621 *628 562 583 582 721 Belligerent ideology and aggressive behavior

Village size plays an important role in the nature of the political relationships between groups that are not linked by kinship ties. As mentioned above, larger villages tend to use their strength and dominance to upset the exchange balance of women. But the degree to which a powerful group is able to force a dependent ally to cede women is limited by the ability of the smaller group to raid the *621 *628 larger village successfully. In ideological terms the Yanomamö express this capacity to wage war by placing 721 152 181 emphasis on and valuing aggressive behavior. It is considered both proper and desirable to act ferociously, as this informs neighbors of the group's capacity to wage war and warns them that the group is willing to resort to war in political dealings.

*621 *628 526 574 152 Members of small villages are consequently constrained to behave militantly toward larger neighbors to limit the coercion that the larger group may be tempted to try. Their fierce behavior takes the form of threat, bluff, chicanery in trading and, most important, challenges to duels. Frequently, when villagers are invited to feast with an allied group, the invitation includes a challenge to a chest-pounding

cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data, the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to split.

Ideological considerations, therefore, promote friction and fighting within villages and lead to village splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek marriage alliances with other groups.

Economic practices

Local groups abandon residential and horticultural sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of their enemies. For the most part, the Yanomamö are able to predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop within the village and it is expected that these will

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Foreword

About the Series

These case studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

Napoleon Chagnon was born the second of twelve children in Port Austin, Michigan, in 1938. He is married and has two children. At present he is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology and holds a joint appointment as Research Associate in the Department of Human Genetics, University of Michigan Medical School. This department has developed a long-term project for the study of the Yąnomamö from a medical-genetics viewpoint in a team approach involving specialists in several fields. Dr. Chagnon is the ethnological member of the team. He began his academic training in the Michigan College of Mining and Technology, but switched to anthropology, receiving a B.A. in anthropology at the University of Michigan in 1961, an M.A. in 1963, and a Ph.D. in 1966. He has spent nineteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö of Venezuela and Brazil, studying demography, social organization, and warfare, and about one month with the Carib-speaking Makiritare of Brazil and Venezuela, studying social organization. He has published several articles in *Natural History* and *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* and has presented papers at meetings of the American Anthropological Association and the National Academy of Science. He plans to return to the Yąnomamö in several field trips over the next three years, having completed two cooperative trips with members of the Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas.

About the Book

This is indeed a book about a fierce people. Yąnomamö culture, in its major focus, reverses the meanings of "good" and "desirable" as phrased in the ideal postulates of the Judaic-Christian tradition. A high capacity for rage, a quick flash point, and a will-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

181 ingness to use violence to obtain one's ends are considered desirable traits. Much of the behavior of the Yąnomamö can be described as brutal, cruel, treacherous, in the value-
[114] laden terms of our own vocabulary. The Yąnomamö themselves, however, as Napoleon Chagnon came to intimately know them in the year and a half he lived with them, do not all appear to be mean and treacherous. As individuals, they seem to be people playing their own cultural game, with internal feelings that at times may be quite divergent from
[121] the demands placed upon them by their culture. This case study furnishes valuable data for phrasing questions about the relationship between the individual and his culture.
[206] The Yąnomamö appear to be constantly on the verge of extranormal behavior, as we define it, and their almost daily use of hallucinogenic drugs reinforces these drives to what might seem to the outside observer to be the limits of human capacity. Life in their villages is noisy, punctuated by outbursts of violence, threatened by destruction by enemies. To the ethnographer it is frightening, frustrating, disgusting, exciting, and rewarding, and in this case study the ethnographer lets the reader know how he feels. His honest reactions help us, as interested outsiders, to know the Yąnomamö.

121 This is a study of a fierce people who engage in chronic warfare. It is also a study
926 of a system of controls that usually hold in check the drive toward annihilation. Conflict among the Yąnomamö is regulated through a series of graded escalations, from chest-pounding and side-slapping duels, through club fighting, spear throwing, to raiding in a state of war, to the ultimate—the *nomoboni*—massacre by treachery. The processes of avoidance, settlement, or escalation of disputes are discussed in detail in this case study. There are implications that range beyond the Yąnomamö, and beyond primitive peoples, to the "civilized" world in which we live, for we too live in a state of chronic warfare and are threatened by annihilation.

121 The Yąnomamö goad each other, within their own villages, to the brink of an
578 explosion (and they goaded the ethnographer in the same way). This hostility is
[123] projected on a larger scale in the negotiating of alliances between villages. Each principal must establish the credibility of his own threats, as well as discover the point at which the opposite party's bluffing will dissolve into action. It is, as the author says, a politics of brinksmanship, all too familiar to us.

128 The study is, however, not confined to a description of regulated violence. Dr. Chagnon provides us with an unusually clear chapter on social organization, with the genealogical details of kinship. The models he produces in his analysis are cast in sharper relief because he also discusses deviations from these models in actual behavior. He links social organization with the processes of fission that produce new villages and the alliances that are created in response to the threat of annihilation, reinforced and validated by the mutual ceding of women between villages. Social organization is presented not as an abstraction but as a dynamic process interrelated with other significant dimensions of life. The anthropological novice will find the analysis of social organization detailed but, with close attention, entirely understandable. The more experienced anthropological reader will grasp the full theoretical implications of the analysis and will find the author's references to various debates in the anthropological literature stimulating.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and _____ way of life.

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ɨ] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that *it* is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ä] vowel are pronounced at that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąobawä would be pronounced "cow-ba-wuh," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
516
578

Fig. *Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast.*

way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1–1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

000
181
152
721
123

11: Chagnon E-5 (1984-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

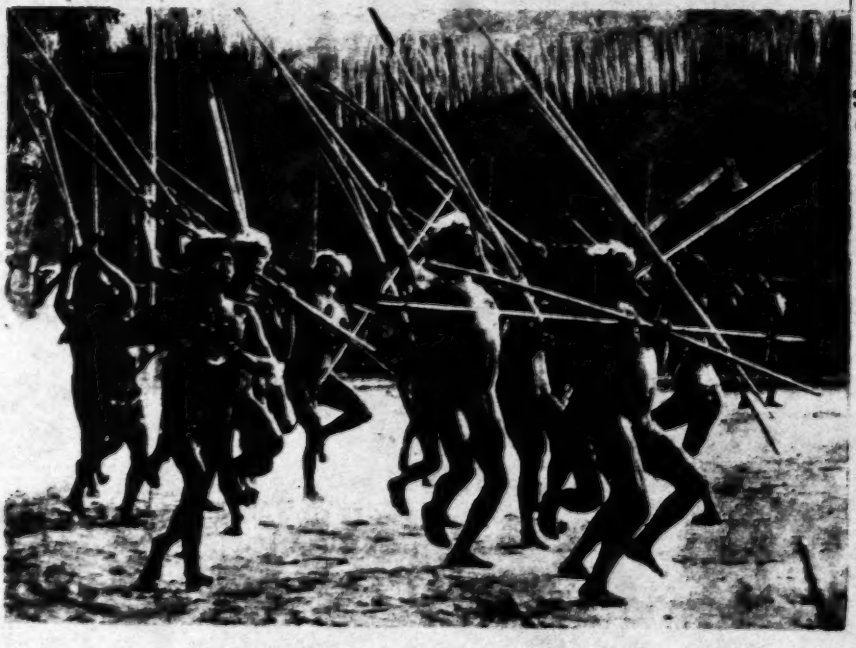
721
181
128
114

The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnamamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1–2).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere is unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1–2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnomamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their hosts' village in anticipation of the feast and club-pounding duel that will follow.



142
301
411
535
623*
578
291

/117 cont./

628 tendency toward the independence of the next smaller parts acting on this plane and forming it -- namely, the villages.

These hostile relationships between the villages are external evidence of a centrifugal force in Waika culture seeking detach-
628 ment. The opposite tendency, the centripetal force toward bind-
574 ing the villages together, finds its expression in active intercourse
438 for trading and visiting. These trips, which are performed with such zeal that practically every second day there is some association with another village, from or to it, can be divided into sev-
438 eral groups, according to their purpose. First, trips purely for trade take place: each village prefers to produce or procure a certain article of the material culture so that it practically has a monopoly on it. One village supplies especially fine tobacco, another is favorably located in a place where much arrow-cane grows, a third produces pots because good clay is present in the vicinity, another is the supplier of hunting dogs for the neighborhood, and the village closest to us naturally barters primarily with European ironware. This formation of centers for specific goods naturally favored the development of commercial traffic; the trading itself is carried out over very long periods and thus resembles a gift-exchange behind which there is a certain amount
437 of compulsion. When one knows that the partner has more objects of a kind than he justifiably needs for himself, it is requested very urgently, and the one so entreated may not refuse, if he does not want to risk enmity and war -- he can, of course, get his revenge
[182] in his own way the next time. This system successfully prevents
[556] any accumulation of capital; no Waika possesses noticeably more
[565] than his neighbor; there are no social distinctions, and consequently no vertical classes.

628 Besides trade, the transmission of news, which proceeds in the
574 form of a /118/ ceremonial conversational-singing and not in
[203] simple dialogue, is also one purpose of such trips, as are wife-
[533] seeking and courting in other villages. As a rule all these trips
[584] are made by a group of men or young people who are guests for one or at most two nights in the strange village and then, after the trading has been done, oddly enough not until the last minute

/118 cont./

574 628 on the morning of departure, return to their own village. In contrast to this hastily accomplished visiting by small groups or even individuals, there is the migration of whole villages. During the (796) great palm-fruit festival, which takes place in February and of which I shall show you a film in a few days, the villages visit each other, which is often done in such a way that the two villages celebrate first in the settlement of the one and the other. The various above-mentioned purposes of this intervillage intercourse [184] are naturally combined in practice. The trading and visiting trips are responsible for the remarkable cultural unity of the Waika region, and the consciousness of this in the minds of the inhabitants. 574 On the other hand, in many cases they are the occasion and op- 721 portunity for quarrels and warfare; refusal to trade and refusal of 628 a girl lead at least to ill feeling, and, as was reported to us, neutral villages are sometimes invited to the palm-fruit festival solely for the purpose of attacking the men at a favorable moment in order to kill them and keep the women as booty. The language has a special word for this type of hostile act, and the procedure was described to us in detail, so there can be no doubt about its occasional occurrence.

628 In summary, the following may be said about the intervillage ●182 relations presented in brief form. The balance between the two tendencies, the binding one and the separative one, both of which -- probably in correspondence to each other -- are expressed in remarkably vivid form, stamps the picture of the political organization in Waika country. The separative forces, in that they protect the detachment of the villages, prevent the formation of alliances on a wider scale, which could lead to political ascendancy, to regional groupings, to divisions -- in any case to a political unit extending beyond the village. Thus, in a cultural sense, these separative forces act indirectly in the same direction as the binding ones: both promote and maintain cultural homogeneity in a large territory. For since the individual villages are too weak to detach themselves from the leveling tensions /Verspannung/ with their neighbors, but, on the other hand, lasting, stable alliances cannot be achieved, political and cultural divisions

/118 cont./

628 are not feasible. The villages remain /119/ dependent on one
182 another in economic, sociological, and political respects, in connection with which the frequent change of partners guarantees the multiplicity of the contacts. Politically independent, with equal rights, and not anchored in any superordinate organization, the villages are the knots in a tightly woven network of active mutual relationships, in part of a positive kind, in part negative; the tension inherent in these relationships represents, on the one hand, the dynamic factor and, on the other hand, the stabilizing factor in the social life of the Waika.

621 Up to now I have used the term village as though it represented a stable unit; if we look at its internal structure, however, it turns out that this local body, the settlement community, very tightly united in itself, again is made up of individual groups which are distinguished from one another on certain occasions.
621 In many cases the festivals of human beings rather than their daily
796 life offer the opportunity to recognize the nature of their social
182 grouping; during festive occasions the community itself is represented and confirms this representation in ceremonial. Among
621 the Waika the ceremonial gift-exchange was the key to under-
431 standing the village structure. That is, after a successful large-scale hunt, in which the men of almost every house take part, it is customary to exchange baskets of roasted meat and a few bananas within the village. This exchange takes place, however, not between the individual houses, but between groups of houses; no baskets of meat are exchanged within the same group of houses, but rather only to and from the houses of the other groups. The village investigated by us was divided, according to the paths of exchange, into three groups of houses, which -- perhaps by chance -- were arranged in strips: on both sides of the oval several houses were combined in a group, and the two houses opposite each other in the middle likewise did not exchange gifts.
621 Now the next step must be to look at the reflection of the
611 sociologically inadequate term "group of houses" on the kinship level: the members of the individual groups of houses are to be characterized, according to their kinship relations, as bilateral and bilocal groups of families.

/120 cont./

621 166 241 These periodically recurring radial movements from a fixed center (the village with its plantings) do not affect, in sociological respects, the substance of the village: normally the whole village migrates. In this respect, however, it is different with regard to a second type of village movement, which is not characterized by the going back and forth of the short forest-sojourns, but rather takes place over longer periods of time and only in one direction. The Waika live only about five years from one planting and then move to a new one laid out beforehand, which is usually about a day's journey away. Practically every village known to us has an old and a new planting, for since the chonta palm (Guilielma gasipaes), still cultivated today and useful in many ways, has a different life span than the various types of bananas, overlapping in the utilization of the plantings cannot be [173] avoided. If a newly established planting is bearing enough bananas, the whole village is moved to the new planting; the names and the site of earlier plantings are remembered exactly, however, so that from this the history of each individual village, i.e., its shifting in Waika territory, and consequently the history of the Waika themselves in their territorial aspect, can be reconstructed 621 for two to three generations. Such a move to a new place, how- 166 ever, is also the occasion for changes in the composition of the 161 village, for a split as a rule, for in the meantime, because of the 173 enormous /121/ surplus of births, which the Waika have to register today, the village has grown far beyond the limit of the number of persons that can be governed well under their institution-poor system. The partition of the village is not done at discretion, but exactly along the lines of separation indicated by the above- [431] mentioned composition by groups of families. One or more groups of families are the bearers of the new villages, and the memory [182] of the way the new village was founded by the union of several groups of families is ceremonially represented as shown, in the gift-exchange.

/121 cont./

166 221 241 182 Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun planting, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

162 621 182 174 The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

105 621 182 Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social units of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural

/121 cont./

905 621 ●182 realms of this people: /122/ elements related to hunting for wild food, such as the group of families connected by kinship in various ways, for which, in accordance with its structure, one could probably use "roving horde" or similar terms, have held their ground and actively maintained themselves against those forms connected with agriculture and sedentariness, in our case the permanent village society. The Waika are now just at the point where the high economic preponderence of cultivated plants is beginning to make corresponding changes in the noneconomic cultural spheres.

2: Becher--235 . E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára, Pakidái Waica

/108 cont./

769 182 184 789 526 [266]

festival. It is decidedly a festival in memory of the dead, which characterized by the ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe. At the same time, defensive magic against the nonexí is connected with it, for they, of course, are the ones who transmit sickness and thereby frequently cause death. As in all the magic cures for healing the sick, where the symbolic struggles between the "hekurá" and one or more "nonexí" are always enacted (see pp. 212 ff.), this factor is naturally also in evidence in all parts of the festival, in the dances, in the mixing of bone ashes, when the medicine man pulls down-feathers of the gavião-real out of the hair of the warriors and adds these, and in the duels performed in a sitting position. The latter are also documented for the Waiká in the same way, but Zerries writes that neither for him nor for the American missionaries was it possible to find out anything definite about the meaning of this ceremony (517). Presumably,

517. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

however, it is the same symbolic struggle between a good and an evil spirit as among the Surára and Pakidái. As yet nothing has been reported about this from other Indian tribes. My informants, however, told me that the Xiriána, Puseheweteri, and Aramamesteri engage in these combats on the occasion of their festivals in memory of the dead. Hence it seems to be a very special characteristic of the Yanonámi, which in former times may have been even more widespread. Herr Dr. Gerdt Kutscher, in connection with a lecture I gave in Berlin, called my attention to the fact that the position taken by the two men during this is reminiscent of the painting on a clay bowl from the Rio Ulúa, Honduras (518). According to Zerries, Barker,

114 769 526

518. This is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (No. IVa Ca 22381) and was reproduced in an article by Walter Lehmann (Lehmann, 1910, p. 737, Ill. 9).

/209/

273 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make
271 alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in
177 contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the
263 coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use
261 wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is re-
[764] lated to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the
183 young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity
591 in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the
184 Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We
591 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially
182 matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes
596 to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively
591 rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

/209 cont./

596 itself to an arrangement of this sort. In their seminomadic state
591 there do not seem to be any sufficiently decisive economic factors
[182] to require a unilocal residence rule, which in a way would hinder a young man, after his marriage, from remaining in the group of his family of orientation or from leaving in order to found his family of procreation matrilocally, according to the particular
591 circumstances. But what we are sure of is that the irregularities
596 observed are precisely a result of the economic and technologi-
177 cal changes which the Sanemá of the regions /210/ adjacent to
241 the Makiritare are undergoing via the process of acculturation. The cultivation of the land, although still rudimentary, and the possibility of augmenting their properties have brought about as a natural consequence, not only greater stability and possibly a considerable demographic increase, but also the impetus which disrupts the balanced equilibrium present in the custom of choosing the postnuptial residence which is fundamental for the bilocal extended family (cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 35). So it is that one of the factors which has most contributed to bringing about disequilibrium among the Sanemá was the adoption of the Caribe agricultural system. The postmatrimonial moving from one local group to another was not of any particular importance in a nomadic society, but nowadays it presents certain difficulties not even suspected previously, for a man now has to leave his cultivated fields if he is to go with his wife. We are sure that the tendencies in the direction of the unilocal custom have their
[601] roots precisely in this economic change. Finally, the existence of the bilocal extended family among the Yanoama is in complete accord with the Hawaiian type of social organization which we are describing as typical for this tribe.

594 Without knowing a Sanemá nuclear family intimately, it is
621 difficult to group with certainty the members of a local group solely on the basis of their family ties, particularly in a community in which polygamy, the sororate, the levirate, and a Hawaiian kinship system are practiced. There are occasions, however, on which the members of a nuclear family gather together: to eat, to sleep, etc., and, in spite of our not having full knowledge of Sanemá society, we can, with all this, say that the nuclear

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

121 The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yąnomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data 114 covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the 124 field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yąnomamö in their language.

162 Census data on five Yąnomamö villages are presented 847 to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage 595 of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is compli- 834 cated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos 721 and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter- 182 village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

* 621 The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the 613 basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal 598 descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves 562 to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal 000 descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii]

[Introductory, P. iii]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

attain a certain size; beyond this point the causes of internal fighting are too numerous for peace to be maintained effectively by kinship ties, and the village breaks up into smaller, more cohesive units. This affects the degree to which deviations from the marriage norm occur: first, the female cross-cousins of an eligible bachelor are usually in villages that are hostile to his own, and he is obliged to seek a spouse in another, currently friendly, village. Secondly, as his own village is now more vulnerable because of its small size, some of its eligible females must be given to men in other villages in order to promote military alliances.

Village size and demography

The significance of demographic data has only recently received recognition in analyses of social systems. The importance of such data in the analysis of marriage practices has been most tellingly illustrated by F. G. Rose's study of the Groote Eylandt Aborigines (1960). Rose was able to show that where men marry women who are considerably younger than themselves, two important consequences follow: primary marriages with father's sister's daughter is effectively prevented, as is the practice of sister exchange.

Similarly, Ackerman (1964), in a critique of Needham's analysis of Purum marriage, showed that demography-dependent data such as frequency of 'marriage acts' (ibid., p. 60) do not support Needham's contention that the Purum

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yąnomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yąnomamö social organization of this single

phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the result of the shortage of women.

Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and this frequently causes the village to split. The larger the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion. Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each group establishes an independent village and enters into marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yanomamö village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

*628 722 974 to kill all the male guests and to abduct the women, but the hosts themselves unexpectedly became involved in a war and required the aid of their guests.

*628 24 722 361 Yąnomamö dependency on cultivated foods, then, promotes political alliances with other villages; the warfare pattern is such that the members of a village may have to flee from their site to avoid the raids of their enemies. If they have not had time to establish a new garden, they need the support of an ally until they are able to support themselves.

.-°-°-°-°-.

121 583 582 The variables that affect Yąnomamö marriage practices are numerous and diverse and combine with each other in complex ways. I shall show in the chapters that follow how these variables actually affect Yąnomamö marriage practices. At this juncture the point to be made is that Yąnomamö social practice in real life can not be completely isomorphic with the stated marriage preferences because the milieu within which marriages take place simply precludes such a neat fit. A functional, rather than a structural analysis seems to be demanded by the nature of the variables in question. I shall also show the degree to which we can predict actual marriage behavior, given specific information about the variables.

[924] [982] Finally, I should add that the Yąnomamö constitute a significant case for ethnological inquiry: this society offers

121 us the opportunity to estimate the effects of warfare on the
583 nature of marriage practices among a people who are chroni-
582 cally at war, a situation not frequently found in the present
• 182 ethnographic world.
726

128 B. The Data and Field Techniques

Several kinds of data are required to illustrate Yanomamö marriage practices and the variables affecting them. The most important data are those I obtained from genealogies and the historical relationships between villages.

In total, I have genealogical data on some 3,000 individuals, living and dead, from 15 villages. Not all the data are comparable in quality and I shall confine my discussion to the populations of the five villages for which
128 my data are most complete. These five villages fall into
*621 two groups with regard to their historical origins. Three
*628 of them have a common history, separating initially about 1943 at which time two villages were formed.[1] One of these split again about 1954 to form two villages, giving a total of 3 separate but closely related villages. The other two of the five selected for this study also have a common history, but are distinct from the first three. For purposes of clarity I will refer to these two villages as Shamatari (see Chapter 5 for discussion). About 1960 the two Shamatari villages split from each other and are presently on good terms.

---

[1] See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the historical relationships of these villages.

illustrate how village shifts are related to warfare, and how foresight in establishing new gardens serves to facilitate village movement in anticipation of wars. The Monou-tedi planned to raid the PatanowÃ-tedi after the latter had recovered five of the seven women abducted by the Monou-tedi in November 1964. The Monou-tedi, of course, expected to be raided in turn by the PatanowÃ-tedi, so they began making a new garden in a direction away from their enemies, anticipating the revenge raids they knew would follow. In short, the Monou-tedi prepared for the war by initiating work on a new garden in a more defensible area--closer to their allies and across a large river--an action they hoped would permit them to remain completely independent of the largesse of their allies.

The graded violence pattern[1] of the YąnomamÖ may be viewed from the standpoint that such a pattern facilitates the establishment of new gardens while villages split. Thus, grievances may be temporarily settled by club-fighting, and the estranged factions may utilize the interval between club fighting and more violent hostilities to establish new gardens. This is also consistent with the political philosophy of the YąnomamÖ: chest pounding duels and club fights function to permit the aggrieved to demonstrate their ferocity in acts of violence, while the existence of several levels of

[1] The forms of fighting, in increasing degree of violence, are: side-slapping duels, chest-pounding duels, slapping of either the side or the chest with the flat side of a machete, club-fighting duels, spear-fighting duels, raiding with the tactic of ambush, and treacherous feasts. I have discussed this pattern elsewhere. Chagnon, 1967.

578 violence simultaneously permits the expression of hostility
+621 in such a way that the groups can split from each other on
241 relatively peaceful terms. The particular form of violence
a 182 employed in settling grievances is determined by a number of
152 considerations, one of which is the likelihood that the resulting factions will be victimized by the raids of a powerful
578 enemy. Thus, in the splitting of villages, the gradations in
+621 forms of violence permit of settlement patterns suited to
+629 given military situations. Villages torn by internal con-
241 flicts may find it easier to split into two relatively peaceful
361 factions and remain geographically close to each other. In
722 this way, they can reunite into a single unit should either
182 be attacked. Conversely, the violence pattern may also facil-
152 itate the separation of a large village into hostile groups that have no intention of reuniting: it permits suitable means for the temporary solution of a feud that will be carried to further ends after the two groups have separate gardens. The separation of the Monou-tedi from the Bisaasi-tedi is an example of the former, and the separation, at an earlier date, of both of these groups from the PatanowÃ-tedi is an example of the latter. Thus, while the bellicose behavior and values constrain co-residential groups to respond violently to affronts perpetrated on them by their co-villagers, their agricultural requirements can be accomodated by a graded system of violence that permits temporary solutions, albeit violent, while new gardens are cleared by the principals in a feud.

156
152
*628
527
574
578

promising the other to be a faithful friend, to give goods, and to provide the other with women.

*628
*621
182
152
156
721

Thus, canons of political behavior and the high value placed on ferocity have the effect of creating a considerable amount of tension both within and between villages. In short, Yanomamö philosophy regarding ferocity and the associated behavior reduces internal village solidarity and weakens political alliances between villages. Indirectly, it promotes village splitting and warfare.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER IV

VILLAGE COMPOSITION, STRUCTURE, AND SIZE

*621
*628
602
121
182

A. Village Composition and Structure

This thesis deals specifically with Yąnomamö marriage alliances. However, village structure and the dynamics of village splitting must be discussed before alliances as such can be understood; we must comprehend the nature of the groups that ally themselves to each other before attempting to make sense of the 'alliances.' In many respects, the process of village splitting provides the circumstances under which alliances are both desirable and necessary, for the circumstances of village splitting usually result in military situations whose solutions are best effected by the creation of affinal (marriage) ties with new groups. Newly-established villages are usually militarily vulnerable because they are invariably small, and the members of such groups are constrained, by defense requirements, to enter into alliances with their new neighbors after they split from their agnates. In most instances, the agnates from whom small groups split are in fact the group posing the military threat.[1] Yąnomamö village dynamics over time (the process of village splitting and establishing alliances) is, therefore, a function of

[1] See Chapter V on the histories of particular villages.

*621 *623 602 121 182 internal feuding that promotes splitting, and threat of raids from other groups that inhibits village splitting and/or promotes the establishment of alliances with other groups. These two forces shape the composition and structure of Yąnomamö villages; that is, these two forces impinge on kinship relationships and together with these latter determine the nature of the Yąnomamö village.

*621 *623 922 I will show in Chapter V that larger villages fragment into smaller groups when internal feuding becomes particularly intense, but are occasionally forced to re-unite when warfare threatens the splinter groups. Yąnomamö villages would remain small if there were no military forces working on them. The Patanowë-tedi, for example, attempted to split into three groups after separating from the Bisaasi-tedi;[1] the three factions re-combined, however, when one of them was attacked by the Hasaböwë-tedi. Similarly, the non-Patanowë-tedi faction of the split (Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi) likewise split into smaller factions after the threat of raids from the outside subsided. Again, these recombined when threat of raids was imminent.

*621 582 Irrespective of the conditions of the splitting, the newly formed villages approximate a dual organization of inter-marrying moieties in structure. This form of organization is implicit in the Iroquois kinship terminology, sister exchange, and ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules. Dual

---

[1] See Map C and Chapter V.

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

---

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

guishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö. Many wild plants are also said to have magical properties.

CONCLUSION The Yąnomamö have adapted to their jungle environment with a very simple technology. Exploiting both the naturally occurring foods and domesticated crops is relatively easy with this technology, and the resources of both the jungle and the garden provide the people with the two basic necessities of life: food and shelter. Although the resources are extremely varied and numerous, the diet is largely dominated by one food item: plantains. Techniques of manufacturing are so simple and direct that each individual can produce any item he needs from the resources immediately around him. The material aspect of the culture is decidedly rudimentary by comparison with other tropical forest tribes; the Yąnomamö appear to deliberately limit their possessions to an amount that can be easily transported in case the group is obliged to abandon its site on short notice.

Adaptation to the Sociopolitical Environment

The adaptation of the Yąnomamö to their environment can be only partially expressed in terms of how they make a living in the tropical forest with specific kinds of tools, plants, and techniques, for the forest is only one aspect of the external world to which they must adjust. Their adaptation also takes place in a social and political environment. This likewise affects the way in which the Yąnomamö are distributed over the land, how their villages are moved from one location to another, and the kinds of relationships each village has with its neighbors. In short, the Yąnomamö must relate themselves to each other as well as to nature.

ALLIANCES AND VILLAGE SIZE I spoke of the considerations that must be met when a new garden site is selected. However, the area within which the new site is selected is determined almost exclusively by political factors. A Yąnomamö group would remain indefinitely in the area it settled were it not for the threat of raids from warring neighbors. To be sure, the group would move its garden little by little each year, but the general area would be abandoned only if the people were driven out by stronger groups around them. Again, dissident factions of the village might leave the area if a particularly serious fight developed within the group, but because a garden is necessary for the group to survive as a group, the Yąnomamö abandon them only when faced with disaster. To establish a new garden at a great distance from the old one, a Herculean effort is required just to transport the necessary plantain cuttings and seed, not to mention carrying provisions for eating while the work of clearing the garden and planting the crops progresses. Then, since a new garden produces sporadically for the first year, the people are frequently faced with food shortage. They are, therefore, reluctant to sacrifice the predictability of subsistence at the established garden for insecurity, periods of hunger, and hard work at some distant location.

Instead, they develop political alliances with neighboring villages, thereby adjusting to their social environment. The nature of these alliances is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but at this point I will make some general statements about the relationships between villages to show why, on the one hand, the social environment calls forth the alliances, and why on the other hand, when alliances fail, a group must abandon its area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *hekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *hekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *hekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *hekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *hekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *hekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *hekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

have chronic warfare, results in a distinctive settlement pattern and system of alliances that permits groups of people to exploit a given area over a relatively long period of time. Finally, the Yąnomamö explain the nature of man's ferocity and origin in myth and legend, articulating themselves intellectually with the observable, real world.

Thus, each individual Yąnomamö enters the world with the physical, social, and ideological traditions at his disposal that will permit him to confront and adjust to the jungle, his neighbors, and the demons that cause sickness. The cosmos is ordered and orderly, in *both* as it is on earth.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

which more stable types of alliance can develop. Nor do they overtly acknowledge the relationships between trading and feasting cycles to village interdependency. In this regard they are like the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia: They have a "functional ignorance" of the more significant adaptive aspects of their trading institutions. To both the Yąnomamö and the Trobrianders, the mechanisms by which peoples from different groups are compelled to visit each other are ends in themselves and are not conceived to be related to the establishment of either economic or political interdependency. For the Yąnomamö participant in a feast, the feast itself has its significance in the marvelous quantities of food, the excitement of the dance, and the satisfaction of having others admire and covet the fine decorations he wears. The enchantment of the dance issues from the dancer's awareness that, for a brief moment, he is a glorious peacock that commands the admiration of his fellows, and it is his responsibility and desire to present a spectacular display of his dance steps and gawdy accouterments. In this brief, ego-building moment, each man has an opportunity to display himself, spinning and prancing about the village periphery, chest puffed out, while all watch, admire, and cheer wildly.

The hosts, too, have an opportunity to display themselves and strut before their guests. Moreover, the very fact that they have given the feast is in itself a display of affluence and surfeit apparently calculated to challenge the guests to reciprocate with an equally grandiose feast at a later date.[1] Each good feast deserves and calls forth another, and in this way allies become better acquainted with each other as they reciprocate feasts during the dry season and over the years.

Historical Background to a Particular Feast

One of the feasts I witnessed exhibited all the features of intervillage politics. Before describing this feast, I will give the historical antecedents to the event, recapitulating a number of points discussed in Chapter 3 in the context of the history of Kąobawä's village. The significance of the events will then become clear, for Kąobawä's prior relationships to the guests at the feast had a great deal to do with the outcome.

In 1950 Kąobawä's group, almost friendless, beleaguered by enemies, and somewhat isolated, began cultivating an alliance with the Iwahikoroba-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8), a Shamatari village, some two days' traveling distance southeast of their own village at Kretiböwei. The Iwahikoroba-teri were on friendly terms with another Shamatari group, the Möwaraoba-teri, from whom they had separated some years before. Kąobawä's group, on the other hand, was at war with this village because members of his own group murdered a friendly Möwaraoba-teri visitor in 1940, touching off a series of raids between them. Anxious to develop an alliance, Kąobawä's group accepted a feast invitation from the Iwahikoroba-teri and visited that village to participate in the feast. Up to that point they were only on trading terms with them.

The Iwahikoroba-teri, however, had made a prior arrangement with their friends, the Möwaraoba-teri, to help them massacre Kąobawä's men and abduct his group's women. The Möwaraoba-teri were hidden in the jungle outside the village when Kąo-

[1] The competitive aspects of feasting in many primitive societies has been dealt with at length by Marcel Mauss, whose essay *The Gift* is now an anthropological classic.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

they were about to release their arrows point-blank at Kaobawä's attackers, but when he and his aides turned them back, the crisis was over. The leaders of the visiting group rejoined the other men, some of whom had picked up glowing brands of firewood, and they backed out of the village, weapons still drawn, their way illuminated by those who were waving the brands.[7]

Kaobawä's group took no further action in this affair and was not invited to feast at Mähekodo-teri. Later in the year, their relationships worsened because of a club fight in yet another village, and for a while both groups threatened to shoot each other on sight. A temporary rapprochement developed after the club fight, when a group of raiders from Kaobawä's group met a group of hunters from Mahekodo-teri while en route to attack the village of one of their enemies. The men from both villages traded with each other and departed on friendly terms, the raiders abandoning their raid and returning to their village lest they be later ambushed on the way home by the Mahekodo-teri. They are presently on trading terms with each other, but their relationship is still somewhat strained and potentially hostile.

In general, feasts are exciting for both the hosts and the guests and contribute to their mutual solidarity. Under normal circumstances, allies that customarily feast with each other do not fight. Nevertheless, even the best allies occasionally agree beforehand to terminate their feast with a chest-pounding duel, thereby demonstrating to each other that they are friends, but capable of maintaining their sovereignty and willing to fight if necessary (Fig. 4–4). Kaobawä's group had a chest-pounding duel with one of its staunchest allies in 1966, as each had heard that the other was spreading rumors that it was cowardly. Of the six feasts I witnessed during the nineteen months I spent with the Yanomamö, two of them ended in fighting.

Any Yanomamö feast can potentially end in violence because of the nature of the attitudes the participants hold regarding canons of behavior and obligations to display ferocity.

Still, the feast and its attendant trade serve to reduce the possibility of neighbors fighting with each other at a more serious level of violence, and they contribute to intervillage solidarity and mutual interdependence.

[7] At this time, I was crouched in the house behind the line of bowmen, trembling in my boots.

/209/

273 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make
271 alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in
177 contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the
263 coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use
261 wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is re-
[764] lated to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the
● 183 young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity
591 in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the
184 Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We
591 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially
182 matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes
596 to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively
591 rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

123 /154 cont./
721 At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/ bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look, raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the [752] men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pour- [755] ing water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood, since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the 726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In some way the chief and "Yelequei-jûu" managed to pass some of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were
763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a
183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also state the brave words which he would say.)

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to [764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had recovered.

[Introductory, P. iii:]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1987 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of Thesis

121 583 582 183 This is a functional study of one form of marriage practiced by the Yąnomamö Indians of southern Venezuela. The form of marriage considered here--recruitment of wives from other villages for the purpose of initiating and maintaining political alliances--constitutes a departure by the Yąnomamö from their preferred form of marriage. I wish to emphasize the point that these marriages constitute a predictable and necessary departure from the ambilateral cross-cousin preferences. I will show in the space below how a number of variables are related to each other to bring about the exceptional marriages.

The fact that normative rules of behavior and actual behavior differ considerably from each other in most societies has received little theoretical attention, particular in regard to analyses of marriage systems. For the most part we presume that exceptions to stated marriage preferences represent a measure of the breakdown of the society under consideration, due to contacts with other societies. Yąnomamö exceptional marriages[1] cannot be dismissed with this line of [648]

[1]Of 56 recently contracted marriages in three of the villages investigated, 31 cases were breaches of the preferred ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules for the purpose of establishing political ties between the groups of the spouses.

121 reasoning, as most of the Yąnomamö villages are presently
583 uncontacted, and those that are in contact with foreigners
582 have only recently (since 1951) entered into these contacts.
183
648

583 Yąnomamö marriages, even the preferred form, are
582 influenced by the milieu of inter-village hostility within
*622 which they are contracted. Marriages in this milieu have as
613 their major function the promotion of social ties between the descent groups represented in the exchange and are best understood as the deployment of women between groups with the purpose of promoting political and military alliances. The groups in question may be of two kinds: the local patrilineages comprising a particular village, or the members of different villages as such. As the only corporate group among the Yąnomamö is the local lineage, marriages within and between villages are to be understood as alliances between different corporate groups.[1]

583 The variables affecting marriage practice--weakness
582 of descent as a solidarity-promoting medium, village size
183
*621 and instability, the chronic nature of warfare, the shortage
921 of women, attitudes about aggressiveness and demonstration
152 of ferocity by individuals, and economic practices--are such that some deviation from the normative marriage rules is necessary to insure maximum survival chances for the resi-
583 dents of the various autonomous villages. Because marriage
582 exchanges in general have political and military implications,
*621

*[621]

[1]Yąnomamö villages are not corporate groups.

583 actual marriage practices reflect the immediate political
582 and military needs of a given village. If it is more
621 advantageous to dispose of a woman in a way that promotes
583 greater solidarity between allies, the marriage rule is not
582 followed.[1] An eligible female, therefore, is given to a man
183 (perhaps unrelated) in another village if her kinsmen have
628 reason to believe that they may be required to take refuge
in or request military aid from that other village.

628 An ally's demands are not to be taken lightly, for
574 to fail in an obligation to an ally may have the gravest
726 consequences for survival; one tactic of Yąnomamö warfare is
562 invitations to feasts during which a disgruntled group kills
the male guests and seizes their women. These treacherous
feasts (nomohoni) occur often enough, so that local groups
628 are always suspicious of their allies. A dependable ally
583 is won at the expense of women. Failure to hand over enough
582 women creates a frustrated ally who is extremely dangerous.
Yąnomamö political behavior has largely to do with disposing
of enough women to make the ally loyal, but not to give more
women than is necessary to achieve this end; miscalculation
in this respect has serious consequences. As it is imperative for local groups, for reasons to be outlined below, to
have allies, it is likewise necessary for them to enter into
marriage exchanges with other groups.

[1] When women are given to men from other villages, the men rarely, if ever, are related to them as FaSiSo or MoBrSo. The exchange of women for purposes of alliance usually establishes the initial kinship ties between the groups of the wife receivers and wife givers.

attain a certain size; beyond this point the causes of internal fighting are too numerous for peace to be maintained effectively by kinship ties, and the village breaks up into smaller, more cohesive units. This affects the degree to which deviations from the marriage norm occur: first, the female cross-cousins of an eligible bachelor are usually in villages that are hostile to his own, and he is obliged to seek a spouse in another, currently friendly, village. Secondly, as his own village is now more vulnerable because of its small size, some of its eligible females must be given to men in other villages in order to promote military alliances.

Village size and demography

The significance of demographic data has only recently received recognition in analyses of social systems. The importance of such data in the analysis of marriage practices has been most tellingly illustrated by F. G. Rose's study of the Groote Eylandt Aborigines (1960). Rose was able to show that where men marry women who are considerably younger than themselves, two important consequences follow: primary marriages with father's sister's daughter is effectively prevented, as is the practice of sister exchange.

Similarly, Ackerman (1964), in a critique of Needham's analysis of Purum marriage, showed that demography-dependent data such as frequency of 'marriage acts' (ibid., p. 60) do not support Needham's contention that the Purum

835 terms for a number of men that were, genealogically, her distant agnates. She explained the usage by the fact that she had incestuous relationships with several of them when she was a young woman. Kąobawë told me that he had incestuous relationships with Hayamamasimi, his FaBrDa, but did not want the others in the village to know about it. In another case, a man married three girls who were his FaBrSoSoDa, i.e., his 'granddaughters.' The Yąnomamö explanation of this case illustrates the relationship of the woman shortage to warfare
*621 and alliance. The people in question all live in Patanowë-
*628 tedi, a village that has numerous enemies, only one ally,
162 and a serious woman shortage. The parents of the girls in
562 question did not want them to marry into the village of the
*628 allies, as they had given a number of women to the allies
584 already. The man, Ishiweiwë, had no spouse and could not
582 get one from the allies. So, the parents of the girls stopped
601 calling Ishiweiwë by the appropriate consanguineal terms and
835 began calling him by affinal terms suited to the marriage of
• 183 the three girls to him. The girls, in turn, stopped calling him grandfather. Ishiweiwë married just one of the girls at first; after she died, he married the other two, as he already called them 'wife' by virtue of the fact that he had married their sister. The initial marriage was the major hurdle. After he married the first girl and the kinship terms were

---

835 the mother-in-law category are not avoided, nor are FaSi or MoBrWi. The implications of this last fact for Homans and Schneider's work are obvious.

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, Kɑobäwä was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, Krämi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The Yɑnomamö rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the Yɑnomamö avoid incestuous affairs, according to Kɑobawä, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. Kɑobawä himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yaweremou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminol[illegible]. Whenever I

835 investigated discrepant kinship usage I found that the termi-
601
• 183 nology changed because of incestuous relationships between my informant (or his close kinsman) and the members of the local lineage in question. I have not investigated all discrepant usages, but the high incidence of the terminological aberrations suggests that incest is widely practiced.

835 Incestuous affairs and marriages occur largely because
601 of the woman shortage. I have already mentioned that Ishiweiwä
183
582 of Patanowä-tedi married his three 'granddaughters' because he
[162] could not find a wife of the appropriate category. A similar
[562] situation occurred in Bisaasi-tedi. Reromawä, one of the important men in the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi, has redefined a number of his classificatory daughters as sisters,[1] thereby making it possible for his sons to marry their children, otherwise incestuous marriages. His oldest son, Bäkäböwä, technically married his FaDaDa, but because his father had redefined the mother of Bäkäböwä's wife as 'sister,' the marriage was appropriate within their marriage rules.

837 The woman shortage is remedied by illicit affairs
*621
578 within the village. These affairs are the major cause of feuds and village splits. During the 15 months covered by
[721] my field work five club-fights occurred. Four of them were over women who had been caught in illicit affairs, and in one case, the village split into hostile factions that began

---

[1]See Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of this.

the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absense of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Reromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-in-law. Reromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the village. He has four adult sons to support his position. Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[1] His son, BëxËbõwË, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Reromawë is getting old.

621 622 613 604 736 601 554 183 582

actual brothers of these women were killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast,[1] and the women therefore had few agnates to contest Reromawë's actions; his rights to dispose of these women increased after their brothers were killed in the feast. Because of the previous marriages between the members of the Shë and Tom lineages, Reromawë was already MoBr to the politically most important males in the Tom lineage, and he could command respect from them by virtue of the fact that he was of the ascending generation and principal wife-giver to them. He in fact gave two daughters to one of these men.

583 601 183 582

When he re-defined one of his classificatory daughters as sister, he advanced his position in two ways. First, he then became shoriwë to the man that was married to this sister (the man was already SiSo to Reromawë), compounding the cognatic tie (SiSo) that linked them with an important affinal tie (shoriwë). Second, he was able then to claim a daughter of this 'sister' as a wife for his own son (despite the fact that it was incestuous), creating additional stable ties between the two lineages on another generational level.

601 183 582

In another, similar, case, Reromawë re-defined a different classificatory daughter as 'sister,' making it possible for her son to marry his daughter. This was a strategic move, for the man involved was of the Hor lineage, a dominant political group in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. Thus, by manipulating the kinship system, Reromawë advanced his own position as village leader and managed to

[1] See Chapter V.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

128 In the body of this dissertation I have attempted to demonstrate that two variables in particular exert an overriding effect on Yąnomamö social structure. These are, respectivley, the shortage of women and the intensity of actual warfare. In this final chapter, I should like to accomplish two ends. First, I should like to set my conclusions against different material recently gathered among the Yąnomamö in northern Brazil.[1] Second, I should like to bring my material to bear on the discussion between Leach (1957) and Fortes (1959a, 1959b) regarding the relationship of kinship, marriage ties, descent and politics.

121 121 582 183 Let us turn first to comparative Yąnomamö ethnology. If it is true, as I have argued, that warfare enhances the

[114]

[1] After I had completed the text of the thesis I had an opportunity to discuss with Ernesto Migliazza the social organization of a number of Brazilian Yąnomamö groups. Migliazza, a linguist, spent nearly six years among the Uraricaá Yąnomamö, working for a Baptist Mission and, more recently, for the Goeldi Museum in Belém. I thank him for permission to use much of the comparative material presented below; some of it has already been published in his 1964 work. I introduce this new data because it very effectively demonstrates the interrelationships between the variables discussed in the thesis. I would have arrived at the same conclusions, by employing arguments similar to those used by Meggitt (1965), but the contrast provided by this new material makes the conclusions more defensible.

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1]Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

for my complicated storage process. I was able to last most of the day on *café con leche*, heavily sugared espresso coffee diluted about five to one with hot milk. I would prepare this in the evening and store it in a thermos. Frequently, my single meal was no more complicated than a can of sardines and a package of crackers. But at least two or three times a week I would do something sophisticated, like make oatmeal or boil rice and add a can of tuna fish or tomato paste to it. I even saved time by devising a water system that obviated the trips to the river. I had a few sheets of zinc roofing brought in and made a rain-water trap; I caught the water on the zinc surface, funneled it into an empty gasoline drum, and then ran a plastic hose from the drum to my hut. When the drum was exhausted in the dry season, I hired the Indians to fill it with water from the river.

I ate much less when I traveled with the Indians to visit other villages. Most of the time my travel diet consisted of roasted or boiled green plantains (see Glossary) that I obtained from the Indians, but I always carried a few cans of sardines with me in case I got lost or stayed away longer than I had planned. I found peanut butter and crackers a very nourishing food, and a simple one to prepare on trips. It was nutritious and portable, and only one tool was required to prepare the meal, a hunting knife that could be cleaned by wiping the blade on a leaf. More importantly, it was one of the few foods the Indians would let me eat in relative peace. It looked too much like animal feces to them to excite their appetites.

I once referred to the peanut butter as the dung of cattle. They found this quite repugnant. They did not know what "cattle" were, but were generally aware that I ate several canned products of such an animal. I perpetrated this myth, if for no other reason than to have some peace of mind while I ate. Fieldworkers develop strange defense mechanisms, and this was one of my own forms of adaptation. On another occasion I was eating a can of frankfurters and growing very weary of the demands of one of my guests for a share in my meal. When he asked me what I was eating, I replied: "Beef." He then asked, "What part of the animal are you eating?" to which I replied, "Guess!" He stopped asking for a share.

Meals were a problem in another way. Food sharing is important to the Yąnomamö in the context of displaying friendship. "I am hungry," is almost a form of greeting with them. I could not possibly have brought enough food with me to feed the entire village, yet they seemed not to understand this. All they could see was that I did not share my food with them at each and every meal. Nor could I enter into their system of reciprocities with respect to food; every time one of them gave me something "freely," he would dog me for months to pay him back, not with food, but with steel tools. Thus, if I accepted a plantain from someone in a different village while I was on a visit, he would most likely visit me in the future and demand a machete as payment for the time that he "fed" me. I usually reacted to these kinds of demands by giving a banana, the customary reciprocity in their culture—food for food—but this would be a disappointment for the individual who had visions of that single plantain growing into a machete over time.

Despite the fact that most of them knew I would not share my food with them at their request, some of them always showed up at my hut during mealtime. I gradually became accustomed to this and learned to ignore their persistent demands while I ate. Some of them would get angry because I failed to give in, but most of them accepted

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

FaSiDa is the same as MoBrDa, and both are called by the same term, *suaböya*. Hence, to present the above examples as the Yąnomamö would explain them I would not have had to distinguish MoBrDa from FaSiDa, but rather would have had to use just one term; in every case presented, men married their *suaböya*. (This can be seen in the model shown in Fig. 3–1; each male married a woman who was simultaneously FaSiDa and MoBrDa, that is, *suaböya*, to him.)

Cases I and J: These are a little unusual, but I include them to give some idea of both the potentials of the Yąnomamö kinship system and the people who use it.

In case I, individual II–2 is the headman of Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawä's "father." He has considerable authority in the group. He arbitrarily redefined some of his classificatory daughters as sisters *so that his sons could marry their daughters*. Thus, the marriage of IV–1 to IV–2 is now considered to be legitimate because IV–1 could call his wife's mother his mother-in-law (FaSi), since his father redefined her as sister. Otherwise, it would be incest. Most of the people adjusted their kinship usage to fit the circumstances, but Kąobawä, who gave me the details of the manipulation, refused to adjust his own terms. The redefined women in question are his sisters, and he refused to call them FaSi.

I came upon this, and several identical cases, when I learned that the kinship usage between specific individuals did not reflect the equations implied by genealogies. (After I had collected extensive genealogies on four villages, I spent a considerable amount of time collecting kinship terms from specific individuals for every one of the some two thousand individuals included in the genealogies. This served as a cross-check on the genealogies, but uncovered a large number of incestuous and other interesting marriages that I might not have pinpointed otherwise.)

Case J brings out the full potential of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship. The man (III–1) married his *suaböya* according to the Yąnomamö, although he was not related to her by any blood ties. The justification for the marriage is the fact that III–1 calls all the women to whom his father and his father's brothers are married by the term for mother. Hence, he married his MoBrDa.

THE LINEAGE It was shown in Chapter 1 that villages fission to produce new groups. One of the consequences of this pattern is that in a given area there will be a number of villages whose members can trace genealogical ties to each other because they have common male ancestors. Because of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship, the interrelated members of two different villages will use kinship terms for each other that imply a closeness of relationship. Thus, Kąobawä has "brothers" in all of the villages that have a common history with his own. These men are usually parallel cousins one or two degrees removed, but brothers in terminological categories. (The lineage to which Kąobawä belongs is shown on Fig. 3–5, discussed later as the *Sha* lineage.)

The Yąnomamö do not name their lineages. I have named all the significant lineages after particular male individuals, usually a long-since-dead male whose generation is the last for which I have meaningful genealogies. Thus, the *Sha* lineage is named after a man called *Shamashuadima*, long dead. He and his brothers left many male descendants who today are distributed in several villages. In the history of the movements of Kąobawä's village, the *Sha* lineage has figured prominently in the affairs of the group. Similarly, the *Hor* lineage is named after a man called *Horioriböwä*. The *Sha* and *Hor* lineages have a long history of marriage alliance and the living members of these two lineages constitute the greater fraction of the populations of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3-3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebawä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3-3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rereburi, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yanomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kaobawä's village now situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kaobawä's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2-8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowä-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowä-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowä-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwä, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowä-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowä-teri fissioned into two groups: they relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1969) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*628 related agnatically to each other, and who share a common history. That is, they have
581 lost solidarity as a network of allied villages and, therefore, some of the advantages they
582 enjoyed as wife receivers with respect to the Shamatari villages. They are less able to behave as a single political entity and force the Shamatari to cede women because the Shamatari have given them women in such a way so as to make them competitors with each other. This has also weakened the ties between the two Shamatari villages, which are also related to each other by agnatic ties and common history because each group has linked its political fate with the affairs of different allies. Nevertheless, the two Shamatari villages have, by exchanging women in this fashion, reduced the solidarity of the group of villages that once stood as a unified political bloc that coerced them out of women.

*621 This can be demonstrated in two ways. During the period 1964–1966, Upper and
*628 Lower Bisaasi-teri still maintained a common village and entertained visitors as a group.
581 Near the end of this period, after the marriage exchanges had begun to show their effects,
682 they abandoned the common village and began to entertain allies independently of each other. At that time they had together managed to acquire two dozen or so women from the Shamatari while having given or promised only a half-dozen in return. When I returned in 1967, the situation had changed appreciably. There were many more Shamatari men living in the group because they had been given women; that is, the exchanges were more balanced. Moreover, the relationships between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not as amicable as they had been the previous year; each group was becoming more involved in the obligations it had acquired by entering into marriage exchanges with one of the two Shamatari villages. Just before I returned, there was a club fight involving [F12] all of the villages: The Upper Bisaasi-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri fought, as a group, against the Lower Bisaasi-teri and Mǫmariböwei-teri; that is, the groups that had entered into marriage exchanges with each other behaved as a unit and fought against their close agnates and erstwhile allies. A group of men from Mǫmariböwei-teri forcefully took a woman from the Reyaboböwei-teri, thereby precipitating a challenge to a club fight. The Monou-teri participated in the club fight as well, taking the side of the Mǫmariböwei-teri, from whom they had taken several women and to whom they had promised several.

*628 Finally, the political situation altered somewhat. When the alliance first developed
726 between Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages in 1960, the political milieu
581 was quite serene. The treacherous feast resulted in a bloody war, but the two Shamatari
582 villages sustained most of the losses. Therefore, the Shamatari allies required the assistance of Kąobawä's group more than the latter needed their help, since Kąobawä's group had no active wars at the time. In 1965, however, the Monou-teri renewed their old war with the Patanowä-teri and it subsequently involved Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. Only then did they require military assistance from the Shamatari, and only then did the marriage exchanges tend to balance. I will discuss the development of this war in Chapter 4.

*628 Marriage in Yąnomamö society is the result, therefore, of many considerations.
581 It is not merely the outcome of a blind subscription to a rule that enjoins males to marry
582 women of a specific category, for in many cases the political affairs of the group oblige people to give their daughters to men in other villages. The Yąnomamö are practical and enterprising in this regard, particularly those in small villages. The capacity to exist
• [183] as an independent but small group is greatly enhanced by creating alliances with members

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life[19]

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yanomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18]Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yanomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19]Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kąobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as PaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

574 /118 cont./
628 on the morning of departure, return to their own village. In contrast to this hastily accomplished visiting by small groups or even individuals, there is the migration of whole villages. During the
796) great palm-fruit festival, which takes place in February and of which I shall show you a film in a few days, the villages visit each other, which is often done in such a way that the two villages celebrate first in the settlement of the one and the other. The various above-mentioned purposes of this intervillage intercourse
[184] are naturally combined in practice. The trading and visiting trips are responsible for the remarkable cultural unity of the Waika region, and the consciousness of this in the minds of the inhabitants.
574 On the other hand, in many cases they are the occasion and op-
721 portunity for quarrels and warfare; refusal to trade and refusal of
628 a girl lead at least to ill feeling, and, as was reported to us, neutral villages are sometimes invited to the palm-fruit festival solely for the purpose of attacking the men at a favorable moment in order to kill them and keep the women as booty. The language has a special word for this type of hostile act, and the procedure was described to us in detail, so there can be no doubt about its occasional occurrence.

628 In summary, the following may be said about the intervillage
182 relations presented in brief form. The balance between the two tendencies, the binding one and the separative one, both of which -- probably in correspondence to each other -- are expressed in remarkably vivid form, stamps the picture of the political organization in Waika country. The separative forces, in that they protect the detachment of the villages, prevent the formation of alliances on a wider scale, which could lead to political ascendancy, to regional groupings, to divisions -- in any case to a political unit extending beyond the village. Thus, in a cultural sense, these separative forces act indirectly in the same direction as the binding ones: both promote and maintain cultural homogeneity in a large territory. For since the individual villages are too weak to detach themselves from the leveling tensions /Verspannung/ with their neighbors, but, on the other hand, lasting, stable alliances cannot be achieved, political and cultural divisions

/11 cont./

342 114 184

Exactly the same construction is shown by Salathé for the Karimé (49), Zerries for the Waiká (50), and Koch-Grünberg for

49. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 298-300 and Fig. 1 and 2.

50. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

the Xiriána (Schirianá) on the upper Uraricapará; the latter, however, calls the lean-to type of hut a storm-shelter /Wetterschirm/ (51). This name is not suitable, however, for a

51. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Pl. 43 b and c.

genuine storm-shelter, also called windscreen, touches the ground on one side. In the method of construction described and likewise in Koch-Grünberg's drawings, however, the roof rests on supports everywhere. The circular arrangement of the huts is also mentioned in Koch-Grünberg. In this connection the scholar expresses the opinion that this is only a temporary camp (52), which I am

361 114

52. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Plate 43 a.

now able to confirm with respect to the Surára and Pakidái. On the other hand, Koch-Grünberg, Salathé, and Zerries say nothing about a hut standing in the center. Among the Surára and Pakidái, however, this is never absent. The reason for it, these Indians told me, was to protect the chief sleeping in it from hostile attacks. Moreover, two warriors must always guard the camp at night.

[622]

361 Along the routes of travel of the Surára and Pakidái in the area between the Demini and Aracá rivers, one finds many such abandoned camps. They are never occupied a second time as overnight quarters, however, although the construction is often

/15/

342
184 As a third house-form, on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá I became acquainted with a closed, circular maloka ten meters high with a gable roof. The Surára told me that this type of construction is customary among the Xirišana. Up to now, however, there has been no description of it.

361
313 The construction, as in the case of the open maloka, is carried out by all the men of the tribe, under the direction of the chief, as communal work. I had the good fortune to be present at this construction in all its phases. First, a section of the forest, upon which the maloka is to be erected, is cleared. The men start by cutting down the small trees and bushes and pulling out the roots. Then they proceed to fell the large trees. Before two men with their axes set to work on a tree, however, one man climbs it and fastens a very long liana just under the crown. When the tree is then notched so far that it threatens to fall, three or four men pull it down to the ground by means of the liana and, as the tree falls, quickly leap to one side. When all the trees are cut, the roots are dug out with the help of the terçados (large bush-knives) and the hands. Meanwhile other men pull out the underbrush on the ground. During the next two or three days, trees are cut in the virgin forest to serve as building material. After that the chief, assisted by two or three men,
342 marks off a circular area by means of a liana. Then the building starts, and, after only eight days, presents the following completed construction: On either side of three center posts ten meters high, which constitute the ridge, four posts eight meters high stand in a semicircle. At a greater distance from these posts 21 small stakes, each five meters high, are driven into the ground in a semicircle around the posts mentioned. The tall posts, as well as the medium-sized and small ones, are joined by means of two cross-strips at the upper ends and two meters below this. Moreover, numerous horizontal rods are fastened to the cross-strips of the 21 outer posts, by means of which the house wall is formed. Sixty-nine horizontal poles, which are supposed to support the frame of the roof, run from the upper cross-strips of the small posts, over those of the middle posts, which serve as supports, to those of the

/16 cont./

342 In the building method described by me, however, the
174 circular ground-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts.
177 According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical
ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obvi-
[114] ously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in com-

57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

plete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they modeled after the community house of the Xiriána, actually developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts of the caboclos). This is also indicated by the construction of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka,
●[184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy, however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show
342 a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why
825

58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

the Surára in the sierra occupy an open maloka and on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

501 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on
484 their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our
491 eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

/17/

491 499 184

These bridges are nothing new, for they were already mentioned in similar form by Alexander von Humboldt from the Raudal de Guaharibos (60). An absolutely classic description of

60. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 111, 112, 119.

this method of construction observed among the Guaharibo is given by Chaffanjon: "Finally, toward half-past four in the evening we discover a sort of lake with a rayol, at the end of which some branches, regularly placed across the stream, attract our attention; planted between crevices in the rocks, they form a foot-bridge. For constructions of this type, the Indians wait until the river is very low. They look for branches or young trunks of single growth, such as are often encountered in the forest. The thickness varies from 12 to 15 centimeters in diameter, the length differs according to the depth of the water. The posts which we examine do not exceed four meters in length; they are, like all the branches, either broken off or burned; none bears any trace of ax or knife. The supports in an X, set at intervals, have their forks joined by cross-pieces both at the lower part and at the upper part. The whole is firmly fastened with very resistant lianas. In order to make the supports planted in the crevices or between the rocks more secure, they are tied to trees along the bank, which gives them the appearance of a hanging bridge. The Indians walk along the two lower cross-pieces and use the upper one as a handrail" /translated from the French/ (61). Such bridges

491 184 171

61. Chaffanjon, 1889, p. 311 and illustration, p. 309.

are further documented by Koch-Grünberg for the Taulipáng (62)

62. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 78 and Ill. 6.

and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

Surára
Pukidai
Shiriana
Samatari

/17 cont./

411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 curatella (Cecropia peltata), which gives the bow a beautiful,
137 shiny appearance.
824 The bowstring -- penahitšbe --, which consists of three
411 strands of curauá (Bromeliaceae) fiber strings twisted to the right,
283 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66).

66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semi-circular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also

67. Meyer, no date, p. [illegible]

devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here./ /19/ Uraricapara,
411 Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustra-
●184
114

68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.

tions of the Xirišna bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 39]

Surára, Pakidái, Shiriana, Xamatari

/19 cont./

411 184 114 [173]

almost identical with that of the Surára and Pakidái, except for the fact that the former is set off at the ends. This confirms the statements made by the Indians investigated by me who said that they obtained bows of this kind and the knowledge of how to make them themselves from the Xiriána. In reply to my question as to why their bows were not set off at the end, I was told that the Xiriána demand this deviation. In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/, there are two Xiriána bows which were collected by Koch-Grünberg (12.25:29, 12.25:31). They are relatively small specimens, however, for they are only 1.92 and 1.82 meters high, respectively. A bow which came from the Xamatári of the Rio Maiá, a left tributary of the Rio Cauaboris, and which is also in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:4) and is two meters high, has exactly the same shape as the Surára and Pakidái one, that is, without the offset ends. This is not surprising, for, according to the statement of the Surára chief Hewemão, the Xamatári are likewise satellites of the Xiriána (see p. 12). Finally, it should be mentioned that the same bow-form has also been documented for the Waiká in Venezuela (70).

70. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

411 249 824

The arrows -- xeréka --, whose total length comes to between 2-2.12 meters (shaft length 1.89-1.94 meters; weight, 60-90 grams) (71) (72), are made out of arrow cane -- xerekaîbe --

[114]

71. These measurements confirm Weule's statement when he says that the arrow must correspond in length, shape, and weight to the bow, in order to guarantee a certain accuracy of aim (Weule, 1899, p. 6).

72. Pertinent comparisons with other South American tribes are to be found in the chart by Ranke (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Samatari

/19 cont./

411 which the Surára and Pakidái plant in the vicinity of their malokas
[249] on the upper Aracá and the middle Demini, respectively. All five
[824] of the arrow types used by them have the same feathering --
[251] jaromahîk --, which consists of two halves of the black wing feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.) -- parurí. They are placed against the cane in such a way that they alternately show the upper and the
[283] lower side of the feather. At several places on the hand end they are held by two threads of the tight winding of Bromelia fibers -- pemakasiurakama. Inside this winding, which is supposed to strengthen the weak cane against the pressure of the bowstring, there is stuck on the end of the cane in addition a small wooden peg fastened with resin, which has a notch in its thickened outer part, which is set on the bowstring. This is supposed to prevent the cane from splitting when the arrow flies off. The upper end of the feather shaft is wound with a second, narrower winding, in which, between the two halves of the arrow feathers, two additional small black mutum feathers are frequently stuck as ornaments (Fig. 2f).

411 The feathering described belongs to the Guiana type of
● 184 feathering, according to the classification by Meyer (73). Koch-
114

73. Meyer, no date, p. 9.

Grünberg (74) confirms it for the Xirišana, and it can also be recog-

74. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (4, 7, 8).

nized on the arrows which that investigator brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:33-42). The arrows in the Alfred Boeldecke Collection (56.15:5-7) in the same museum and the drawings by Vinci (75) show that the Xamatári likewise use this

75. Vinci, 1956, p. 146, Fig. a.

Surára
Pakidái
Xamatári
Karimé

/19 cont./

411 feathering, and, according to Salathé, it is also to be found
184 among the Karimé (76).
114

76. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Figs. 3 and 4.

411 There is an astonishingly wide range of variation for the arrow points, of which the following five different types occur among the Surára and Pakidái:

1. Kamaná -- It is a wide, lancet-shaped bamboo point, 25-28 centimeters long, both /20/ ends of which come to a point; the [531] width in the center is 3-4 centimeters. The upper side is rounded off, and the lower one, occasionally somewhat hollowed out, is [283] sometimes painted with black dots. It is inserted in the slightly split arrow shaft and tightly wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2a). Since the arrows with this large point have particularly great penetrating power, they are used chiefly for the hunting of tapirs and jaguars; moreover, they are used for warlike encounters. Every Surára and Pakidái man always carries two or three such reserve points in his quiver.

411 Salathé found similar points among the Karimé (77) and
184
114

77. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 299/300 and Fig. 3b.

Vinci among the Xamatári (78). Moreover, they are confirmed

78. Vinci, 1956, pp. 145 and 146, Fig. b.

for the latter Indians by a specimen in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte. (Alfred Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:5. Length, 23 centimeters; width in the center, three [531] centimeters. On the lower hollowed-out side, this point is painted with a black, serpentine line.)

Shiriana
Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./

411
184
114
[283]

The lancet-shaped bamboo points of the Xiriâna investigated by Koch-Grünberg, on the other hand, have a somewhat different shape. Here the two ends do not come to a point, as among the Surára, Pakidái, Karimé, and Xamatári, but rather one end is thickened, hollowed out, and, wound with Bromelia fibers, is set on a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (79). Three such

79. Koch-Grünberg 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (5, 8).

Xiriana arrow points of the Koch-Grünberg Collection in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte have, moreover, the respectable length of 34 centimeters (12.25:37) and 35 centimeters (12.25:34-35).

Inasmuch as the Surára and Pakidái, according to their own statements, borrowed their lancet-shaped bamboo points from the Xiriâna, the ensuing alteration process is quite significant, since, indeed, the point is no longer mounted on a wooden shaft, but is inserted directly into the arrow cane.

Furthermore, lancet-shaped bamboo points have been confirmed for the Waiká by Zerries (80) and Schuster (81), but it is

80. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

81. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

not clear from their texts whether this is the same type as that of the Surára, Pakidái, etc. or that of the Xiriâna.

411
171

How greatly the lengths and attachment possibilities of such bamboo points vary among South American Indians is very clearly shown by the comprehensive investigations of Meyer (82) and

82. Meyer, no date, pp. 18, 19, 25, 27, 30, 36, 37, 47, 48, 49, and Plates I, 11, 13; II, 16; III, 14; IV, 8, 15.

/20 cont./

Métraux (83).

83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

2. Rahaká -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the kantaná (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and cutias (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

3. Kantarím -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84). Meyer mentions that it is

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanomámi group, they have furthermore

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

been documented for the Xiriána (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88).

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./

411
114
184

and Waikâ (89) (90). In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde

89. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

90. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

und Vorgeschichte, there are, /21/ moreover, three Xiriâna arrows with this point (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:39-41) and an arrow from the Xamatâri (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:6).

411
[824]

4. Ranaká -- Forked wooden point of a bird arrow; length, 12-15 centimeters. The material is furnished by a tree -- paiôôrimâ -- which shows countless such forkings. The lower part of the stem is pointed and is set in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2e). Thus far there is a parallel for this arrow point only among the Waikâ (91a).

91a. Barker, 1953, p. 464.

5. Unamú -- Wooden arrow-point with a coating of poison. A thin, pointed rod of the hard wood of the pupunha palm, 22-24 centimeters long, is coated with arrow poison, giving it a black appearance. The rear end is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2d). Such poisoned arrows are used exclusively for hunting monkeys, since these animals living in the tall trees are otherwise difficult to kill. According to the statements of Surâra and Pakidâi informants, they never shoot poisoned arrows at human beings.

[224]

411
184

Other Yanonâmi tribes who likewise use poisoned arrows are the Xiriâna (91b), Karimé (92), and Waikâ (93) (94). Moreover,

91b. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 312.

92. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 301 and Fig. 5a.

93. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

94. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

/21 cont./

411 184 there is a Xamatári poisoned arrow in the possession of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:7).

411 191 114 [439] Métraux writes with reference to the poisoned arrows: "Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is commonly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is traded throughout wide regions" /cited in English/ (95). Among

95. Métraux, 1949, p. 242.

Karaiben /Carib/ tribes in Guiana, poisoned arrows which are shot with a bow are not very often encountered, for they are documented only for the Makuxí /Macusi/ by Richard Schomburgk (96) and for

96. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 428.

411 191 the Trio by de Goeje (97). It should be mentioned in this connec-

97. de Goeje, 1906, p. 15; Pl. V, Figs. 10-12; Pl. XI, Fig. 22.

tion, however, that many Karaiben, for example, the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, shoot small poisoned arrows with a blowgun; this weapon is unknown to the Surára and Pakidái.

278 Arrow poisons:

[192] [184] According to what my Surára informants reported to me, they use three kinds of poison of different strengths, all of which, however, they designate by the general name -- mamokôrimaunápe. This name is almost the same as the one which the Waiká, according to Zerries, use for arrow poison -- mamokordi (98).

98. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

411 824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xiriâna, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114);

411 578 191

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldús, 1939, p. 113.

they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be-

411 184

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

tween the poles or clubs of the Waikâ and the sticks of the Surâra and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed.

[174]

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tôra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b).

[581]

411 482 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrow-points wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

Surára
Pakidái

411 /24 cont./
482 lancet-shaped bamboo points, is worn on a neck cord by every hunter and warrior, who has it hang down on his back so that it does not interfere with the stretching of the bow.

411 /25/ Quivers of the same form and carried in the same way
184 are also found among the Waiká, as may be seen from a photograph by Zerries (116). Moreover, the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte owns such a quiver, though without decoration, from the Xamatári (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:3a).

372 4. Fire-making Apparatus

Tied by means of a string of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) to every Surára and Pakidái quiver at the top and bottom is the fire-drilling apparatus -- borôrohík -- which consists of a lancet-shaped hearth -- panâibequehík -- and two drilling sticks -- [824] ihirupehík (Fig. 5). Both parts are made from the soft wood of the [184] wild cacao tree -- porôroá -- exactly as among the Waiká (117).

117. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

372 Koch-Grünberg documents such a fire-drilling apparatus for the
114 Xirianá (118), but without mentioning the material. On the basis

118. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

of a specimen which he brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:124), however, one may state that it is likewise made of the wood of the wild cacao tree. He says nothing at all about [411] quivers and thus does not seem to have found any. Nor did I find elsewhere in the literature any parallels for the very practical combination of quiver and fire-making apparatus (119). Nevertheless,

392 119. That it is well-known among the
411 Xamatári, however, is proved by two ob-
184 jects from that tribe in the Hamburg Museum
114

Surára
Pakidái

/25 cont./

372
411
184
114

119.(cont.) Volkerkund und
für (Boeldecke Collec-
Vorgeschichte and b), and pre-
tion 56. 15 3a fire-making apparatus
sumably the fastened to the quiver
is likewise Waikâ. Definite
among the about this by
statements Schuster have not
Zerries and made.
yet been

Fig. 5. Bamboo quiver with fire-drill apparatus tied on.

372 Nevertheless,
[484] it is perfectly obvious, for if the Surára and Pakidái men on war and hunting expeditions are unable to return to the maloka in the evening, they are able to kindle a fire along the way in three to four minutes. To do this a man in a squatting position holds the hearth on the ground with one foot and drills with the palms of his
[412] hands (Ill. 31). The holes of the hearth are previously bored with
[239] a knife made of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.)
(See P.116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove on the Side).

283 /26 cont./
171 Up to now there has been only one parallel to this, namely
• 184 a Quechua spindle (124). The spindle of the Karimé, on the
114

124. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

basis of the drawing in Salathé s article, seems to resemble those of the Surára and Pakidái (125). Unfortunately, Salathé does

125. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305, Fig. 14.

not indicate whether the whorl is held in position by a wrapping put on below it or perhaps by means of resin or wax, as is the case, for example, for the spindles of the Chama and Pauserna (126).

126. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

283 This already exhausts the comparisons with regard to the securing of the whorl by means of a wrapping, wood, or wax, so that no conclusions about origin and distribution can as yet be drawn about it.

283 During the time I lived with the Surára and Pakidái, I
123 found that many women preferred to use the lids of my empty powder-boxes and skin-cream jars as whorls, /27/ and they preferred to spin the surgical cotton which I carried with me rather than their cultivated cotton, because, they said, the threads spun from it were stronger and more durable.

283 Spinning is done in the following way: The woman sits on a thin tree trunk with the lower part of her legs bent back. The cotton that is to be worked hangs over her left shoulder and from there the thread is fed out with the fingers of the left hand. She first rolls the spindle, on the barb of which she has fastened the thread, in a horizontal position with the palm of her right hand on her slightly sloping right thigh, moving her hand rapidly from the knee upwards. This gives the thread a

283 /27 cont./
191 it is chiefly the Karaiben who spin thread out of cotton, and he
194 believes that they also brought along cotton and the spindle
114 when they immigrated into Guiana (133). The latter assumption

133. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 287.

has, however, not yet been proved, for on the upper Rio Negro Koch-Grünberg met Karaiben tribes who were acquainted with neither cotton nor the spindle. To an inquiry by Frödin and Nordenskiöld about this, he replied in a letter as follows: "It is an absolute mystery to me why the Indians on the upper Rio Negro do not plant cotton for spinning and have no spindles. It would be important to investigate how far this absence of spindles extends down the Rio Negro and into its tributaries, which, to be sure, from the Curicuriary downward, are almost completely unknown ethnographically" (134).

134. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 21, footnote 1.

283 Within the Yanonámi group, cotton and spinning are known,
184 in addition to the Xiriána, Surára, and Pakidái, also to the
194 Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri, and Karauateri, members of
114 whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái, and also to the Karimé (135) and the Waiká, who, according to Schuster,

135. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 14.

presumably became acquainted with cotton through the Karaiben Makiritare (136).

136. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Surára
Pakidái

/28 cont./

291
114 circumcision, is more suggestive. "Not that the opening is enlarged; it is a matter of a gymnastic treatment of phimosis rather than an operative one. Do they not stretch the skin which the others cut? Do they not make room inside, where the others make it toward the outside? This may be doubted least of all for the clamping of the preputium by means of the hip cord, which, as has already been mentioned, seems to be the oldest form, for the hip cord has been retained everywhere. The skin was roughly pulled forward with the cuff. Among young men it often looked sore and scraped. The European has the shoemaker put shoes that are too tight upon the last, but in the interior of Brazil, where only finished, imported goods are bought, a man of social standing thinks nothing of appearing in patent leather shoes which he has widened by a couple of vigorous slashes. His knife is to the shoemaker's last what the circumcising splinter or thorn is to the hip cord"(144).

144. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 199.

Besides the verified feeling of modesty, this assumption may
[833] quite possibly be a second reason. One would then have a parallel, as it were, to the girls who are deflowered with the finger by the mother after the first year of life; it is expressly stated that this is done to facilitate sexual intercourse later on (see p. 135).

291
184 Among other Yanonámi tribes, too, the hip cord of plant fibers or cotton is used by both sexes, /29/ and the men likewise tie up the penis with it. I was able to verify this among members of the Xirišana, Puseheweteri, and Aramamesteri who, as wives or visitors, were staying in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái. The captive Karauateri girl, Nikeromá, also always wore a hip cord and told me that this was characteristic for her tribe and that the men likewise stuck the member under it. Similarly, Zerries (145) and Hübner (146) point out that the

145. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

146. Hübner, 1907, p. 231 and Fig. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/29 cont./

291 Waiká use a hip cord to bind up the member, and, according to
184 a statement of the last-named author, the Xiriána too. There is further substantiation for the Karimé (147).

147. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

291 In connection with P. Schmidt (148) and Nordenskiöld (149),
191
184

148. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1047.

149. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 147/48.

I investigated this strange custom in my study, "Gürtel und Hüftschnüre südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Belts and Hip Cords of South American Primitive Peoples/," and found them verified for 39 tribes, to which six more are now added, the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, Karauaterí, and Karimé. It is even to be suspected that among all the tribes or groups that belong to the ethnic unit of the Yanonámi the membrum is tied
291 up. Since this custom is likewise common among the Pano and
191 Tukano /Tucano/ tribes, as well as among the Makú /Macu/, and
184 three San Agustín statues prove the pre-Columbian occurrence (150).

150. Preuss, 1929, I, p. 79; II, Plates 1; 55 (1); 64 (1).

the northwestern part of South America clearly stands out as the nuclear area and probably the area of origin of this very old custom. On the other hand, the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes, which, according to the investigations up to now, did not immigrate into Guiana until later, do not observe it, with the exception of the Yauapery /Yauaperí/ (151), and

151. Hübner, 1907, p. 231.

the Tupi even regard the tying up of the penis as abominable

/29 cont./

292 curauá fibers at /30/ /Fig. 7 appears here/ intervals of 1.5-2
284 centimeters for men's belts and 0.5-1 centimeter for boys' belts, which produces bulges and grooves. Before the belt is slipped off the sticks, a small, two to five-strand twisted cord of cotton or curauá fibers is drawn through the openings and knotted into a loop by means of the two ends three to five centimeters long. These two loops are twisted into each other in front, over the abdomen, by the wearer, and the knots keep the belt secure (Fig. 6a and b, Ill. 23). After [531] they are finished, serpentine [386] lines, circles, or dots are painted on these belts with urucú, for which a small stick is used; often, however, they are colored red all over.

Fig. 6a
Men's belt, detail.

Fig. 6b
Men's belt, diagram.

292 Among the Waikâ, Zerries found the same men's belts (158),
184

158. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

and from the photographs in other publications of this author it may be seen that they are worn in the same way as among the Surára and Pakidái (159) (160).

159. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

160. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

Surára
Pakidái
Puseheweteri

/30 cont./

girls and 0.5 centimeter for those of old women. This distinguishing feature was always pointed out to me. Tie strings and the wearing style correspond in this case too with the men's belts, as does the painting with urucú, which is applied on the outer side. As a result of their width, these belts are much easier to paint than those of the men. Most often one sees serpentine lines, occasionally circles are placed between them, and sometimes too the painting only consists of circles, or circles and dots (Fig. 9 a-e; Fig. 10 a-d); there are also belts, however, which are colored red all over.

Xiriána women who are married to Surára and Pakidái men wear the same belts, as did the little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the /31/ /Figs. 8 and 9 appear here/ /32/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ Karauateri (Ills. 17 and 18). When I asked them the name of their belts, they gave me the designation -- nyõ -- which corresponds to the Surára and Pakidái word.

The Puseheweteri women gave me the same word, although their belts have a somewhat different form (161). They are 60-

161. I saw them on the women of that tribe who were married to Surára and Pakidái men.

70 centimeters long and consist solely of a thick layer of cotton which has been somewhat twisted together. In other words, it is a very characteristic string-belt, that is, without wrappings or cross-bindings. An additional little fringed apron, however, 22-26 centimeters long, is attached to a tie-string. To make it, 60 to 90 cotton strings, 14-18 centimeters long, are put over the tie-string. After that, starting from the left, the end of the first string hanging down in front is knotted with the one of the second hanging down in back and tightly twisted with it, then the front end of the second one with the rear end of the third, and so forth. The fringes hanging down are 7-9 centimeters long and, to assure firmness, are wound once more below the tie-string with a thin cotton thread. When the belt is worn, the little

[text continues on p. 69]

Puseheweteri
Surára,
Karimé

/32 cont./

292
531

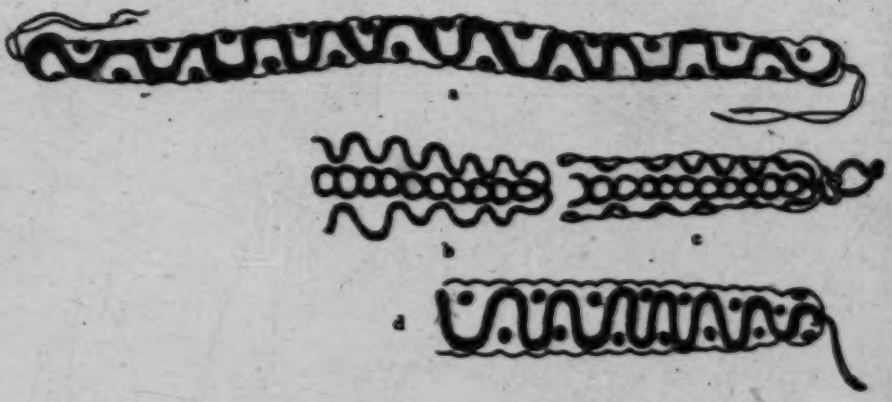


Fig. 10 a-d. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts. /On p. 131 this caption is given as "Various paintings from men's and young men's belts."/

531
292
184 fringed apron rests directly over the pubic region (Ill. 15). These belts, including the little aprons, are as a rule dyed with urucú. It should
292 also be pointed out that younger Puseheweteri women usually adorn
531 the two ends of the little apron with small feathers of the toucan
239 (Rhamphastus sp.), mutum (Crax sp.), and ahambé azul (Cotinga
184 cayana L.) fastened to a string. Older Puseheweteri women, on the other hand, always have hanging on the ends of the little apron eight to twelve mussel shells, 2-3 centimeters long and pierced on one side, which, when the wearers walk, beat together and make a soft jangling noise (Fig. 11).

292 Exactly the same belt with fringed apron is documented by
184 Salathé for the Karimé women, and from his statements it is to be seen further that the men also wear it, though without the pubic covering (162).

162. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 13a, b.

It should be mentioned that a few Surára women, following the example of their Puseheweteri sisters, have likewise fastened such a fringed apron to a tie-string of their plaited belts. In this the mixture of two cultural elements can be seen especially clearly.

/34 cont./

292 171 The neighboring Wapixana /Wapishana/ men (Aruak) /Arawak/), moreover, wear a very similar belt and attach to it a pubic band which is drawn between the legs (175).

175. Farabee, 1918, p. 29.

[648] [179] Since the Surára and Pakidái waged many wars with the Makuxí (the father of the Surára chief Hewemão is even supposed to have been killed by a Makuxí warrior), it would be entirely possible that they took over from this Karaiben /Carib/ tribe the form of the plaited, wide, flat belt, but then used it, not as men's, but as women's clothing.

179 [179] 174 184 The little fringed apron so typical for the Puseheweterí and Karimé women was also surely copied from Karaiben models, which, in turn, could have been borrowed from the Aruak, for Farabee confirms it also for Wapixana and Mapidian /Maopityan/ girls (176). According to Roth, a woven, red-dyed belt, the lower

292 171

176. Farabee, 1918, Pl. XXIX, A.

edge of which is fringed and, in addition, provided with three pendant tassels, is tied around young Makuxí and Wapixana girls on the occasion of their first menstruation. He designates this article of clothing as "apron belt" /cited in English/ (177). A

177. Roth, 1924, p. 437.

dyed belt provided with fringe is likewise documented for the Maiongkong (178) (179) and, /35/ according to Roth, resembles

178. R. H. Schomburgk, 1841, p. 215.

179. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, pp. 402/03.

000 the above-mentioned apron-belt (180). When Koch-Grünberg saw

180. Roth, 1924, p. 444.

/35 cont./

292 114 Westermarck (189), who regard the belts as a sexual stimulus,

189. Westermarcj, 1901, pp. 195/96, 211.

by means of which the eyes are supposed to be drawn to the pubic parts. For the Surára and Pakidái, however, /36/ this hypothesis does not apply, in spite of their open belts, for the naked body does not provide any sensual stimulation for them, but rather solely the sexual act. According to Krause, among the Karajá /Caraja/ the feeling of modesty of the girls is supposed to have led to the development of the types of belts. As evidence for this, he gives the following observation: "Women never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and small girls from whom I bought belts went behind the nearest mat wall in order to put on a new one there before they brought me the worn belt" (190). My experiences among the Surára

291 123

190. Krause, 1911, pp. 208/09.

and Pakidái were the same with respect to the hip cords, among men as well as among women and children, but they always untied their belts without shyness and gave them to me in exchange for trade goods. This was also true of the Pusheweteri women, which shows that their little fringed aprons do not represent, say, a pubic covering, but merely ornamentation. Moreover, they also tie on their belts only for festive occasions.

292 184

291 171 The situation with respect to the children's belt made of the skin of the maracajá is unique. It should be noted, however, that in Guiana, one of the chief South American areas of distribution of the skin belt (191) (192), specimens made of jaguar skin have

191. Becher, 1951, I, p. 82; II, plate and Map No. 4.

192. Becher, 1955, p. 72.

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
856 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
[824] busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
292 curauá fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí,
184 and Karauaterí whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
[114] said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xiriána (Schirianá). Among the Arekuná-
171 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
174 cord of curauá fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
[191] transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

/38 cont./

301
[438]

200. (cont.)
centimeters wide. She likewise designated it for me with the name nyṏmutimá and added that she had obtained it from a Xiriána woman.

301
184

The four Xiriána women whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái wore the same cords and bands on their upper arms, wrists, and legs, like all the Puseheweteri and Aramamesteri women, including the captive Karauateri girl. The latter, however, said that they had only adopted the upper-arm bands here, for in their tribes only upper-arm cords were used.

[284]

Fig. 14a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the men.

Fig. 15a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the young men.

Fig. 16a-c. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

/38 cont./

301
284

Fig. 17. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

184
301 According to Koch-Grünberg, too, among the Xiriána (Schirianá) the men wrap long, red-dyed cotton cords around their upper arms, while women use "narrow bands," which, however, they tie so tightly that the marks of them are seen even when they
301 171 are removed (201). The women of the Maiongkong-Yekuaná bind

201. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

their upper arms in the same tight fashion (202). With reference

202. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 151, 152, 170, 171, 172.

to the Arekuná-Taulipang, Koch-Grünberg writes: "Among the ornaments of the women, moreover, there are wide wrappings of strings of white beads below the knees, around the upper arms and the wrists. The men /39/ wear the same bead ornaments around the wrists, sometimes also around the ankles, but bind the legs below the knees with white cotton cords, the ends of which hang far down. Around the upper arms they usually wear only a string of white beads or a white cotton cord or, on festive days, a round disk of snail shells... The bindings around the legs are frequently pulled so tightly by young girls, out of vanity, that the calves bulge out tautly" (203) (204).

203. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 34.

204. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, Ills. 7, 8.

302 /39 cont./
593 husband beats his wife for reasons of jealousy, he may likewise choose only this marked part of the head. As a further, but
302 probably secondary reason, I was told that the short haircut and
825 the tonsure made it easier to control the plague of lice. People with long hair, they thought, were certainly unable to escape head lice.

302 The tonsure is also mentioned in religion and mythology.
538 Poré, the lord of the moon, is imagined as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red (see p. 197).

302 As among many other South American tribes, the tonsure
191 is also a /40/ characteristic feature of all small-sized light-
●184 skinned Indians between the Rio Negro and the upper Orinoco, for the members of both sexes of the Xiriâna, Pusheweterî, Aramamesterî, and Karauaterî whom I met also wore it (206).

302
191
114 206. The Brazilian country people designate all Indians with tonsures as Coroados = crowned. Baldus and Willems, however, quite rightly demand that the use of this name be avoided in Brazilian ethnology: "Coroado- Várias tribus de indios no Brasil, por examplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Purí, Bororo, receberam do povo o nome de Coroados, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que êsse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou êste têrmo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada" /Coroado -- Various tribes of Indians in Brazil, for example, the Botocudo, Caingang, Puri, Bororo, are given the name of Coroado by people, owing to the manner of cutting the hair, even though this style is not the same among all of them. This term has caused great confusion in Brazilian ethnography, and for this reason it should be abandoned/ (Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 67).

/40 cont./

302 Furthermore, it has been documented for the Waikâ (207) (208),
●184

207. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 198.

208. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Karime (209), and the Xiriâna men on the Motomotô (210). With

209. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

210. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

regard to the latter, Koch-Grünberg points out that in this case
302 it is a male hair style (210) /see footnote above/. In the same
171 work he goes on to describe the tonsure of a Karaiben woman:
"The oldest woman on the Roroima had a strange hair style. Except for a narrow wreath of longer hair all around her head, which was cut in the customary fashion over the forehead, the head hair was cut short, like a monk's tonsure. (Cf. Vol. VI, Plate 86). I was unable to discover the reason for this differing hair style" (211). The remarks which Alexander von Humboldt devotes

211. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 27.

to this Indian hair style are also worthy of mention (212).

212. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 319.

304 f) Deforming facial ornamentation

The male as well as the female sex among the Surára and Pakidái have pierced ear-lobes -- nhimekakekâ -- (Surára), -- nimukakukâ -- (Pakidái), a perforation of the lower lip -- husekahâ --, and, in addition, the women have such in the corners of the mouth -- kaskehâ.

304 The perforations are already made in babyhood (see p.135).
301 The men use them primarily as a place for feather ornaments (see p. 93). They sometimes also wear as ear ornaments, however,

/40 cont./

304 small pieces of reed 1-2 centimeters long, from which hang, on
301 one or two short chains of beads, small triangular pieces of silver leaf, shiny silver coins, or particularly large glass beads. Women also have a special preference for these objects. The teeth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which the men use as a knife (see p.115, are a typical feminine ear ornament.
[314] To prevent them from slipping out of the perforation, a small lump of tree resin is stuck on the back end. The perforations of the ear lobes are also adorned now and then with blossoms.

In the perforations of the lower lip and the corners of the mouth on either side the women now and again have delicate little reed rods -- tunhabaácre -- 15-17 and 12-15 centimeters
[184] long, respectively. Among the Xiriána women married to Surára and Pakidái men I observed that they wear, in addition, two little reed rods 30-35 centimeters long in the pierced nasal septum -- huxibéka -- (Ill. 16). This piercing I was told, is reserved for only the female members of this large, mighty tribe.
[184] This also explains why the perforations of the Pusheweteri and Aramamesteri women correspond perfectly to those of their Surára and Pakidái "sisters," that is to say, there is no piercing of the nasal septum. The same applies for Nikeromá, the little captive from the hostile tribe of the Karauateri.

301 All the ornamental objects named are made by the male
422 and female wearers themselves and are regarded as personal property.

304 Due to Koch-Grünberg's research among the Xiriána
301 (Schirianá), Waiká (Waíka), and various Karaiben /Carib/ tribes,
184 abundant comparative and supplementary material is available
[171] to me. Thus, the great investigator writes with regard to the
[127] Xiriána (Schirianá): "Nasal septum, /41/ ear lobes, and lower lip were pierced among the men and in many cases adorned with little reed rods almost as long as a hand. On special occasions they also wear a jaguar tooth in the lower lip.

"The women had long reed rods in the pierced ear-lobes, the lower lip, and the corners of the mouth. Three narrow strips of reed, spread out fan-shaped at both ends, adorned the nasal septum (Ill. 12)" (213).

213. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

304 /41 cont./
301 This confirms the statements of my informants, who said
184 that a perforation of the nasal septum was characteristic for the Xirifna. For the male and female Waikâ, too, there is confirmation of nose, ear, and lower-lip rods, and, in the case of women, such in the corners of the mouth (214).

214. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, pp. 198-200.

As for the use of nose-rods, it seems to be a privilege of the two hostile "great ones" (see p. 12), for their lesser allies do not use them.

The other perforations, however, are the same among all the Yanonâmi tribes mentioned, but it should be pointed out that pierced corners of the mouth are found only among women.

304 With reference to the Karaiben Arekunâ-Taulipang, Koch-
301 Grünberg writes: "Ear lobes and lower lip are pierced, and in
171 the case of some men the nasal septum as well" (215). According

215. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

to that, the perforation of the nasal septum is reserved for only the men, and perforations of the corners of the mouth are en-
301 tirely absent. In the ear lobes, however, male as well as female
171 members of the tribe likewise wear little reed rods with one or two short chains of beads hanging down, to which are fastened silver coins and crescent-shaped or triangular pieces of silver leaf (216). The latter are the same type of objects that I found

216. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.
Plate 5 (6).

as ornaments among the Surîra and Pakidâi (see p. 85 and Ill. 9 /see p. 270/. Therefore, in this case, too, an adoption from the Karaiben, directly or indirectly, seems to be indicated. In reply to my question about the origin of these ornamental objects, the Xirifna were mentioned, to be sure, but they for their part certainly

/41 cont./

301 as far as Guiana; the Tapuya on the eastern horn of South
171 America remain isolated. The pattern of distribution coincides
301 in essential features with the multiple perforations of the upper
304 lip (these parts also merge into each other very much anatomi-
171 cally) and clearly rests on Andean prototypes" (222). The

222. Menzel, 1957, p. 33.

characteristic mouth-corner rods of the Yanonámi women may well fit into this area of distribution, but not in connection with perforations of the upper /42/ lip, for here instead of the latter, the lower lip is pierced.

304 8) Tattooing
[881] All women and girls have pin-point tattooing over the upper lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth (Ills. 19 and 24) and is punctured on the girls during the first menstrua-
[192] tion (see p. 66) (223). The designation for this among the Surára

• [184]

223. This tattooing is also found among the female Xirianá, Pusheweteri, and Aramamesteri who are married to Surára and Pakidái men. The little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauateri is an exception. She assured me, however, that in her maloka the girls are also tattooed. But she had fallen into the hands of the Surára before her first menstruation, and the tattooing was not put on her here. If later, however, she is married by a Surára man, the pin-point design must subsequently be punctured on her.

is -- uarabakoxík -- and among the Pakidái -- uarabakoxíbe.
[824] These words are derived from the name for the genipap fruit --
[386] uarabá --, the juice of which is used for puncturing the dots.

2: Becher--90 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/42 cont./

304 For the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ women of
191 Guiana, however, a puncture-tattooing in the mouth region is also characteristic, and occasionally one finds it even among male Karaiben. In this case, too, it is regarded as a sign of maturity and usually has a magical significance. The punctured patterns, however, differ entirely from those of the Surára and Pakidái. Among the Makuxf /Macusi/ they consist of numerous short, vertical, parallel lines, and the Arekunâ-Taulipang /Arecuna/ prefer dots, dashes, and fishhook patterns (224). The

224. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45; Pl. 12 (3-16).

latter motifs have also been confirmed for the women of the Wapixana /Wapishana/ (225) (226) and other Aruak tribes in

225. Appun, 1871, p. 523.

226. Farabee, 1918, p. 82, Fig. 9.

British Guiana as well as Surinam (227) (228).

227. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 226.

228. Joest, 1893, p. 83 and Ill. a and b.

304 There are also slight differences with regard to the time of
191 tattooing. The Surára and Pakidái carry it out during the first
881 menstruation, the Arekunâ-Taulipang and Makuxf, on the other
(184) hand, shortly before the onset of it, and, to be sure, in connection with the ant torture (229).

229. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 128.

Surára
Pakidái

/44 cont./

301 South American tribal units developed their abilities and passed
171 on their traditions over the centuries from generation to generation.

301 For the Yanonámi the simple upper-arm ornament represents
184 a further external distinction, for Xirišna, Puseheweteri, and
114 Aramamesteri men whom I met wore it in the same manner. With regard to the Xirišna, my observations correspond with a statement by Koch-Grünberg: "The men," he says, "wrap around the upper arms long, red-dyed cotton strings, on the ends of which hang bird skins (Pl. 46, 2 and 2a). When they go to war, they stick bunches of tail feathers of the red arara in front under the arm bindings, so that they project above the /45/ shoulders" (239).

239. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

For the Waikí this upper-arm ornament is documented by photographs by Zerries (240) (241).

240. Zerries, 1955b, frontispiece.

241. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

301 As for ear and lip ornaments, parallels are found among
237 the Makuxí and Arekuná-Taulipang, but here the white down-
171 feathers of the king vulture or of the large hocco (mutum) are used (242).

242. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

301 j) Bead ornaments
436
(822) European glass beads, especially small ones, are to this day the favorite trade items among the Surára and Pakidái. They value most of all white, blue, and red beads (243), and

243. In this respect the Surára and Pakidái are like many other South American tribes (Menzel, 1957, p. 23 and Pl. 3).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
waica

/46 cont./

352
284

Fig. 18a-b
Detail of the end fastening on a hammock of embira, as well as loop and knot diagram.

352 roving, hunting, and war expeditions as a travel hammock.
[482] Rolled up, it then hangs on their backs, held by a thin neck-cord
[513] of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber). For sleeping they usually lie curled up in it; it takes practice and skill, however, not to fall out.

352 Similar hammocks are also used by the Waikâ, and there,
184 according to Zerries, they are supposed to fulfill certain functions
[114] in the ritual system (246) (247), whereas Schuster says that they

246. Zerries, 1955a, p. 87.

247. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

are made only in an emergency (248). The tree-bast hammocks

248. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

of the Xirifna are more highly developed, for they have a weft of cotton threads and plant fibers. Ruth Haebler describes two specimens in the ethnological museums in Berlin (VA 61119) and Leipzig (8736) (249).

249. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/46 cont./

352
[192] Instead of the yâritanacík (embira hammock), the Surára and Pakidái men, on their rovings and hunting and war expeditions, also /47/ frequently use a liana hammock -- totokê -- (254) (255),

254. The name is derived from tototo, with which the liana (cipó-titica) is designated.

255. Except for a slight dialectal difference, the name corresponds to the Waiká word -- "toto" --, with which, however, according to statements by Zerries, they designated their tree-bast hammocks (Zerries, 1955a, p. 87).

which is likewise very light but gives the sleeper a somewhat firmer support. The lengths of these hammocks vary between
[462] 1.90 and 2.10 meters. They, too, are without cross-bindings
352 and are likewise made only by men. This is done as follows:
284 The man has a rather large bundle of long lianas lying in front of him. He splits each one with his teeth into 3-5 flat strips and places these side by side. When he has gathered as many strips as he can easily grasp with one hand, approximately 200-250, he winds a thick liana around the ends. Below the wrapping he then divides the flat strips into several bunches of equal size, each of which he winds twice with two split, twisted lianas (Fig. 19 and Fig. 20). This makes the bundle of strips wider at the ends. As tie ropes the man uses three lianas plaited like braids (Ill. 27).

352
• 184 Such hammocks are likewise used by the Waiká (256) and

256. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Xiriána, but the latter Indians sometimes provide them with cross-bindings of cotton strings (257).

257. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 314 and Pl. 46 (1).

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

352/48 cont./ From a photograph
286
174
184

taken by Zerries (265) it may be seen that the Waiká make their

265. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, bottom.

cotton hammocks in the same way. With regard to the origin and technique, he writes in another place: "The cotton hammock of the Waika was taken over, in simplified form, from the Marikitare /Makiritare/ and, like theirs, is not woven, but merely knotted" (266). Although Zerries uses the expression

266. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

"knotted" /geknüpft/, this is probably the same type which I described for the Surára and Pakidái (267). This is even further

267. The names, too, are very similar, -- "nu" -- among the Waiká (Zerries, 1955a, p. 84; 1954b, p. 71), and -- nyõ -- among the Surára and Pakidái.

elucidated by the following remarks of Schuster: "The cotton hammock, following, as a more recent form, these types made of wild material, exhibits as an essential difference, aside from the cultivated raw material, longitudinal threads held parallel and close together by cross-bindings. Apparently this hammock, whose length is determined by the bow-staff used as a crosspiece on the tying framework, is a clumsy imitation of the far more carefully worked hammock of the Karaiben Makiritare, who live in the northern and northwestern part of the Waika /49/ region" (268).

268. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

This cotton hammock of the Waiká, clearly taken over from the Karaiben, thus completely corresponds in form to the one used by the Surára and Pakidái. But what induced the latter in making it to put the warp threads vertically, instead of horizontally, as among the other tribes, cannot yet be explained.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

285 462 [824] More highly developed is the carrying basket which consists of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) -- uaramá. It is made by the male members of the tribe in the following manner: Two groups of plaiting strips are laid on top of each other in different directions and then interwoven with a third group of strips running in still another direction (Ill. 33).

285 194 [971] This, according to Max Schmidt's classification, is the third principal type of South American plaiting (272) (273). This type

272. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

273. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

of basket (274), which is very widespread in South America, is

274. Abundant comparative material is to be found in Roth (Roth, 1924, pp. 321 ff. and Pl. 100 B and 102) and Mason (Mason, 1904, pp. 529 ff. and Pl. 240 (1, 2).

also regarded as very old, but today is seldom used any more by the Surára and Pakidái. Nothing concerning its origin is known any more among the tribes named. An autochthonous development is possible, but an adoption from Karaiben or Aruak tribes, [179] who use similar baskets, is more probable. The same basket is [184] likewise confirmed for the related Karimé (275).

275. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Figs. 9 and 10.

285 824 192 The one most frequently used at present is the women's large carrying-basket made of liana strips (276) -- wuéka --, which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34).

276. Each individual liana is split with the teeth into several flat strips. (Cf. also p. 101).

/49 cont./

which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34). This description comes from Koch-Grünberg, and, to be sure, he is referring to the completely identical women's carrying-baskets of the Xirifána (Schirianá). "In this type of plaiting," says the investigator named, "which is probably peculiar to the Schirianá, the vertical strips running out radially from the common center of the bottom are wound spirally with two finer horizontal strips. A few stronger inner rings to which /50/ the vertical strips are lashed with lianas give the basket shape and support. The ends of the vertical strips are secured under a special overcasting of the rim (Pl. 23, 1). By means of tree-bast strips, to which the bark still adheres, the basket is carried by the forehead on the back" (277). The same technique is used by the

277. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 307/08.

Surára and Pakidái, and the initial plaiting of a carrying-basket (Fig. 21) shows this particularly clearly (Ill. 35). This is /Fig. 21 appears here/ /51/ the type of plaiting which Max Schmidt designates as "double-thread plaiting," the second principal type of South American plaiting (278) (279).

278. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

279. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

By means of an external feature one can, however, easily distinguish the women's carrying-baskets of the Xirifána from those of the Surára and Pakidái. In the case of the former, the carrying band is fastened only at the edge (280), while the latter

280. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, Pl. 23, 1.

always wind it around the bottom, then lead it through two twisted liana-loops on the lower third as well as on the upper edge, and then knot it on one side (Ill. 34). This gives the wearers a better

/51 cont./

285
184
[482]
[438]

hold, which makes it possible for them to transport substantially heavier loads without chafing themselves. This slight improve-

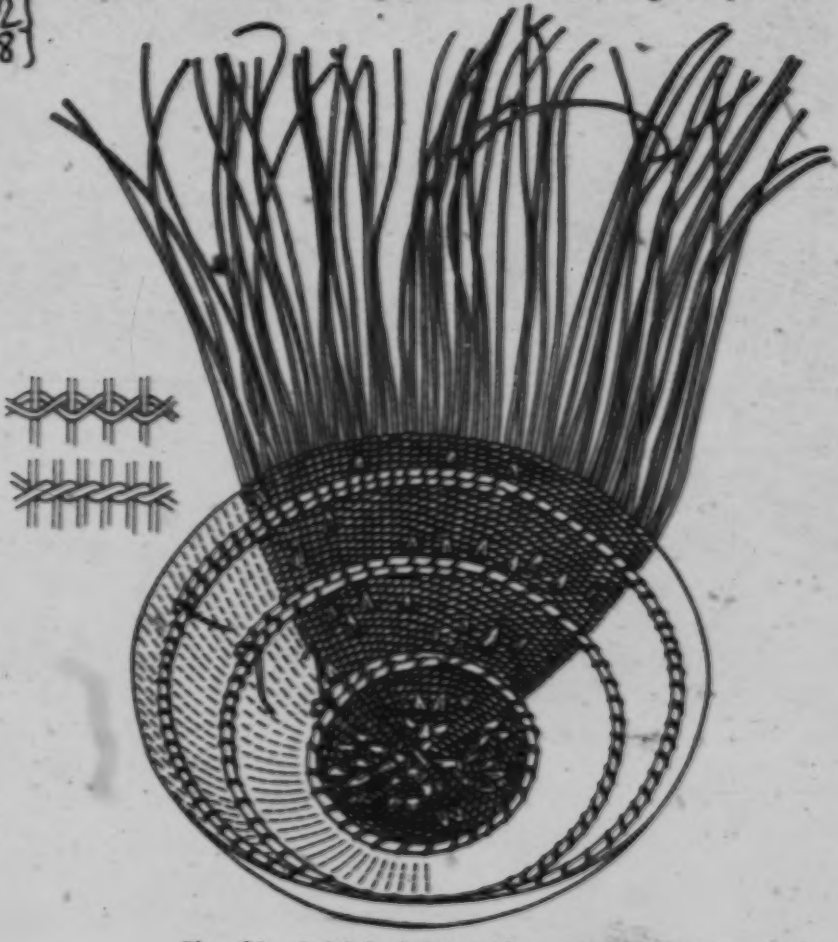


Fig. 21. Initial plaiting of a women's carrying-basket.

ment could have been developed by the Surára and Pakidái women, but the baskets themselves, as well as the method of making them, according to the statements of my informants, represent imported goods from the Xiriána.

The same applies for the round, flat basket-bowls made by the same technique, which are found in various sizes among the Xiriána (281) as well as among the Surára and Pakidái and

Surara
Pakidai
Shiriana

/51 cont./

285
184

281. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

which serve for storing manioc cakes and fruits. Among the last-named Indians I also saw women's carrying-baskets in miniature form, which are meant for small girls, and some with covers --

[531] wes. All the objects named are usually painted with serpentine
[386] lines, for which urucú is used. Finally, it should be mentioned
[461] that the women, like best to lie comfortably in their hammocks while making such baskets and basket-bowls.

285
191
184

The women's large carrying-baskets and basket-bowls described above are likewise used by the Waikí, and both Zerries and Schuster point out that in the manufacture the twining plaiting-technique is used (282) (283) (284). Similar basket-bowls

282. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

283. Zerries, 1955b, p. 663, Ill. 2.

284. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

are also documented for the Karimé (285), and small hanging

285. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 11.

baskets and basket-winnowers from Aruak and Tukano /Tucano/ tribes on the upper Rio Negro, as well as from the Makú /Macu/, exhibit further parallels, which differ only slightly in the external form (286).

286. Koch-Grüngerg, 1910a, pp. 220 ff. and Ills. 142e, 143a, 144.

/51 cont./

285 [192] [824] Then there are small baskets with handles and square bottoms -- yorohíkes -- (Ill. 36), in which women keep their ornaments, arm, leg, and chest cords, the spindle and balls of cotton. To make these, split lianas are again used. The technique employed is very primitive, for the plaiting strip is merely led alternately over and under a plaiting strand (287). The shape of [184]

287. Max Schmidt includes this technique in the first principal group of South American plaiting (Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 492/93).

these little baskets seems to be peculiar to the Surára and Pakidái, for in the literature I have not yet found a corresponding description with reference to other tribes.

285 824 392 Simple plaited fire-fans -- xuhéma -- are made of the leaf-stalk sheaths of the tucumã palm (Astrocaryum sp.). They have an elongated shape, and the ends of the strips are tied together to form a handle (Fig. 22).

285 392 174 171 Similar fans, but more evenly worked, were found by Koch-Grünberg among the Makiritare, Yekuaná /Yecuana/, and Guinaú in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco (288), from which one

288. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 345 and Pl. 24, 6.

might conclude that this object reached the Surára and Pakidái from here, probably by way of the Xiriána. The reverse route might also be possible, however, if only because most of the Karaiben and Aruak tribes of Guiana use fire-fans with a handle set crosswise (289).

289. Roth, 1924, pp. 291 ff., Pl. 78, 79, and Fig. 91.

252
184
285
/51 cont./

The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohf -- (290).

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in. Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any there, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karaiben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

/52 cont./

854
287
[824]
[413]
[412]
854
[171]
[184]
[114]

9. Band for Carrying Children

The band for carrying children -- okomakuſ -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (Daphnopsis brasiliensis Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- xamotimſ -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- uarimaxfke -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- pekehfk -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little cutia-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

This carrying method is very widespread in South America and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying-band (292). Among the Xiriſna Koch-Grünberg does not seem to

292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

415
824

As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria Lin. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda = jamaru), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

[192]

These vessels in general are called -- horotokſ --, except for those of the jamaru fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- nhapotoſma.

Suráŕa
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica
Karime

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- habokâ -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriâna (293).

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
●184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301]

296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

Surára Pakidái

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[239] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatíx --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waikâ by

2: Becher--117 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica
Karimé
Shiriana

412 /54 cont./
●184 Zerries and Schuster, (297) (298), for the Karimé by Salathé (299).

297. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

298. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

299. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 306 and Fig. 16.

[237]

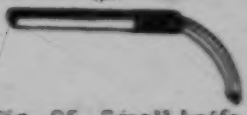


Fig. 25. Small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.).

Fig. 26. Knife made out of the ventral shell of the perema (water turtle).

[284] [824] and for the Xiriâna by Koch-Grünberg (300). The latter, however,

300. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 47 (9).

says that the Xiriâna lash the tooth to a wooden handle by means 000 of Bromelia fibers (301). In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise

301. Such a knife is to be found in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:108).

Surara, Sanuma
Pakidai
Waica

412
171 /54 cont./ In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise mentions a knife with a bone handle which he acquired from an Arekunâ who lived among the Guinaû on the Merewarî, but he adds: "Whether the subdivisions of the Arekunâ who live deep in the interior still use such primitive tools I do not know" (302).

302. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 17 (3).

Outside Guiana this little knife is confirmed for the Guayakî (303)

303. de la Hitte, 1897, Pl. III, Figs. 4 and 6.

and Sirionô (304), among others. /Fig. 26 appears here./

304. Nordenskiöld, 1911, p. 193, Ill. 119.

412
●184 /55/ The knife made of tortoise shell -- micî -- represents a
[237] work tool for women. This is the ventral shell of the perema (small water turtle), sharpened on one long side (Fig. 26). Primarily the wild fruits of the pot tree (Lecythis longifolia) are cut with it after cooking (see p. 182).

This knife is also familiar to the Waikâ and is used for the same purpose there (305).

305. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

For a third type of knife, which is likewise used only by women, there are the no longer serviceable lancet-shaped arrow points of bamboo -- kantanâ and rahakî -- (see pp. 41/43). They are used primarily for peeling and scraping manioc tubers.

Koch-Grünberg also observed this among the Xirianâ (Schirianâ) (306). The investigater named also points out that the

306. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308 and Pl. 48 (6 and 7).

Shiriana
Surara
Pakidai

/55 cont./

412 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This
● 184 strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xirišna, unlike the Surára and Pakidái, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly
462 women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side
302 (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American
412 Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the
171 Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw
237 of the wild pig -- manacoauí --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waikâ (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat
[192] flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long --
[824] namunamutehí --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waikâ (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm
462 should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimí (see also pp. 112/114).

412 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden
177 times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as terçados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

Surára
Pakidái

/56 cont./

481 The man, sometimes also the woman, puts this ring around the feet and presses them, with the hollow between the ball of the foot and the heel, in the form of a prehensile foot, firmly against the trunk so that they are fairly sucked against the bark. He assumes a squatting position and then hoists his body upward.

Fig. 27. Climbing ring.

Although he embraces the trunk with his arms and hands, for climbing he uses only his feet, which, because of the ring, always have a firm grip. This grip becomes particularly important after the man has reached the top where he now uses both hands to cut off the fruits.

[191] Such climbing rings are known in many parts of South America and are also used by the caboclos (Brazilian country people). The invention, however, seems to be of Indian origin.

481 222 [137] The pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), however, which plays such an important role in the economic life of the Surára and Pakidái, cannot be climbed in this fashion, because its trunk, the diameter of which is 60-80 centimeters, is covered with long, pointed thorns. In order to be able to harvest its fruits in spite of this, these Indians use a climbing apparatus -- kanaáke -- [184] which is also familiar to the Waiká (311b).

311b. Barker, 1953, p. 446 and Fig. 1.

2: Becher--155 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/73 cont./

764
171

For the types of burial of the Surára and Pakidái, which are undoubtedly very old and original, there are no parallels thus far in South America (334). This is true of the combined tree- and

• [184)

334. Among the Waikâ /Waica/, the corpse is cremated on the same day on the village square (Zerries, 1955b, p. 664).

fire-burial as well as of the earth burial of old people. A deceased member of the tribe, however, is only hung in a treetop for two or three weeks, so that his flesh will decay, before the bones are subsequently cremated.

765
171
175

The latter custom, albeit in the form of combined earth- and fire-burial, is, moreover, already mentioned in old sources. "Far inland," writes Barrère with regard to Guiana, "there are nations who assemble in order to dig out skeletons, when they think that the corpse is almost decayed, and after they have calcined these, they drink the ashes, which they soak in roucou, and they believe that they have thereby given their dead a more decent burial than if they left them to worms and putrefaction" (335).

335. Barrère, 1751, p. 172.

764
765
171
175

Similar reports are given by Froger about French Guiana (336)

336. "They have great respect for the old people, and when one of them dies, they inter him in the Carbet (Maloka) without any other ceremony than becoming very intoxicated: but when they believe that he is almost decayed, they assemble the Indians of the neighboring Carbets, dig out the bones, burn them, and take the ashes into their Oüicou in order to have a great feast" /translated from the French/ (Froger, 1715, p. 178).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

173 241 177 [B29]

/75 cont./ According to their own statements, both tribes regard the Xirifana as their culture-bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

224 b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larí -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norí -- (350). The latter,

[573] [462]

359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

[184]

350. Among the Waikí, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "larna" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.). [231]

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xáma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajá. The

Surara
Pakidai
Waica

/78/

226 Among the Waikâ, too, fishing ranks last in the acquisition
•184 of food and is likewise practiced with bow and arrow there, as well as with the fishhook in more recent times. It is worth noting, however, that in addition they are familiar with a method of fishing by poisoning the water (356a) (356b) 357).

356a. Barker, 1953, pp. 464/65.

356b. Zerries, 1966b, p. 152.

357. Zerries, 1958c, p. 179.

222 d) Gathering
[462] Not only women, but also men take part in the gathering activity. The latter have the duty in particular to bring in the fruits of the many palm species (358), of which the following are

358. The general name for palms is -- petabaîmo.

the most important: acaî (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) -- uaîma --, bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus Mart. or Oenocarpus bacaba Mart.) -- hokomakê --, bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.) -- yauetoîh buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.) -- etewexî --, curua (Attalea spectabilis Mart.) -- yauatoâ --, tucuma (Astrocaryum sp.) -- pahî -- (359), and pupunha (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) --

[481] 359. To climb the palms named they used the climbing ring (see pp. 119/120).

komunamâ -- (360). The fruits of smaller palms that are easy to

[481] 360. Since the trunk of this palm is covered with sharp thorns -- miîmiçibâ --, it can be climbed only with the help of two specially constructed implements (see pp. 121/122).

/78 cont./

222 carrying baskets. -- Of the fruits of the wild cacao tree (Theobroma sp.) -- boroŝ --, which has many branches and whose foliage is dense and dark, only the sweet pith of the husks is sucked out, while the beans, which played such an important part among the high-culture peoples of Central America, are carelessly thrown away (363). -- The apple-like fruit of the lucuma tree

[184] [192] [114]

363. Zerries reports the same thing of the Waikâ, and here the names are "loa" or "boholoa" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 150; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177).

(Lucuma macrocarpa Hub.) -- kumató -- is valued for its sweetish, gelatinous pulp that surrounds the pit; the /79/ outer meat of the fruit and the shell, on the other hand, has a very bitter, unpleasant taste. -- The fruit of the wild pineapple, which only reaches the size of a medium-sized apple, is also eaten with relish.

The pods of the pacova sororoca, a Musaceae species (Ravenala guianensis Benth.) -- mokohé -- (364), gathered espe-

364. The pacova-sororoca is often erroneously called "wild banana" because its large leaves, which resemble those of the banana trees.

cially frequently, contribute more to the everyday food. -- When there is an occasional food shortage during the rainy season, the flat brown fruits of the pot tree (Lecythis longifolia), which are called uapó by the Surára and kurupó by the Pakidái, are appreciated to this day (365).

365. The Waikâ have the name "wabu" for them (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177); Barker, 1953, p. 443).

Besides these most important vegetable products that are gathered, there are also a great many animal ones. To be named here above all is the honey of several species of small bees (366)

[36]

366. There are said to be more than 20 different varieties of them.

Surárg
Pakidai

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying [361] and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka [622] is erected. This roça (forest clearing) -- hikarf --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, carâ, cotton, [462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

• [184]

368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

[134] falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132]

369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

24
36
166 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka 245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

241 166 361 It is worth mentioning that at present in the course of one year the Surára as well as the Pakidái regularly carry on their field work in two places that are far apart. During the rainy season, April-September, the Surára, as is well known, live at the Cachoeira dos Indios on the upper Aracá and the Pakidái on a right tributary of the middle Demini, where they also own fields. On the other hand, they spend the summer season together in the large, open Surára maloka (between the Demini and Aracá rivers), around which was laid out a roça which was large enough to be divided among the Surára and Pakidái families. Thus, both tribes always have the benefit of abundant harvests at their permanent dwelling sites. In addition, there are the bananas and pupunha fruits of the abandoned fields, to which the entire tribe travels at the time of this harvest, or gathering expeditions are undertaken to bring in chestnuts, inga, and other kinds of wild fruits.

241 423 Since, however, on account of the seminomadic way of life of these Indians, one forest clearing or another is left untended for shorter or longer periods, there is the danger that in the meantime members of hostile tribes will break in and take possession of the produce there. Provision is made for this, however. Before the tribe leaves one of its clearings, a few men commissioned by the chief stick several wooden arrow points and thorns of the pupunha palm, coated with poison, into the ground and put leaves over them. Hostile Indians with plunder in view therefore risk the danger of running these into their legs (370).

[291] 370. All Indians of this region go barefoot.

[184] As I was told, this custom is resorted to by all Yanonámi tribes, and for this reason no Indian would ever think of setting foot on the deserted clearing of another tribe (371).

[114] 371. This hint may be of the greatest importance for research travelers who want to work in this region.

/80 cont./

245 [262] Among the vegetable foods of the Surára and Pakidái, bananas, of which I found nine different varieties, occupy first place today. Of these, in turn, the most frequently cultivated is the mealy banana (Musa paradisiaca normalis; the regional caboclo population calls it pacovinha) -- kuratá -- (372).

[194] 372. With regard to its origin, Sauer writes: "The plantains and bananas (Musa paradisiaca) originated in southeastern Asia and were there bred into a great variety of seedless cultivated forms. Their presence in the New World is considered by many as due to post-Columbian introduction" /cited in English/ (Sauer, 1950, p. 526).

192 245 Kuratá, however, is also the general designation for all bananas (373). In addition, the following special names were

[184] 373. Zerries gives the same name with regard to the Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, pp. 152, 155), and Koch-Grünberg gives the following names for the Karaiben Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/: "kurá:tana," "kura:tana'," or "kuratanâ" (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 47, 268). The corresponding Xiriána designation, namely, "kalatá:ke," is very similar (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 306). This definitely proves that the banana, or at least one variety, reached the Waiká, Xiriána, Surára, and Pakidái from Karaiben tribes. The myth concerning the origin of the banana, which the Surára chief told me (see p.249), also shows that this fruit came from the outside only in very recent times.

[174]

given me for the other eight varieties (374):

[184] 374. The Waiká, too, use very similar terms for certain varieties of bananas (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153):

Surára Pakidái

/81/

192 245 Designation of the Surára and Pakidái:

pakatarimã	pacovão
kuratá pauximí	inajá
nakaximí	São Tomé roxa
rokojá	São Tomé branca
rokomã	banana maçã (?)
parauá	caité
roórenvõkãkõ	banana bajé
xiahíma	Banana govêrno (375)

[126]

375. Unfortunately, I could not carry out a botanical classification of these varieties.

245 [412] [824] With the help of a digging stick made from the wood of the pupunha palm and 1.60-1.80 meters long, which has a flattened point at the lower end (Ill. 38), or a broken bow-staff, cuttings of banana trees are planted in the clearing, and after only a few months they are full-grown and bear fruit. The work of planting [462] as well as the care of the plants falls to the men, while the women help only with the harvest (376).

● [184]

376. Among the Waiká, the plants are cared for by men and women (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Besides the banana, the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) -- komunamá -- is cultivated to a considerable extent. Cuttings are used for planting, but occasionally seeds as well. These palms, which always stand between the bananas, give the clearings of the Surára and Pakidái a characteristic stamp [481] (Ill. 37). The trunk, 18-20 meters tall, which is covered with pointed thorns -- mimicibá -- and can therefore be climbed only

245
137
114
[124]
[184]

/81 cont./
mention such seedless fruits (382).

382. Zerries, moreover, thinks it is possible that among the Waiká the pupunha fruit was the predecessor of the mealy banana (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

244 The cultivation of tubers, which is always done separately from the banana plantings, has hitherto been practiced on only a very modest scale. It includes the cultivation of taioba or taro (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.) -- ohĩná -- (383). cará or yams (Dioscorea

383. Among the Waiká the corresponding name is "ohina" (Zerries, 1956b p. 153).

sp.) -- cabiromá -- sweet manioc, known in Brazil as macaxeira aipim or mandioca doce (Manihot palmata Muell. Arg.) -- mihitarima -- bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima Pohl) -- kuamirimakõke --, and sweet potatoes
249 (Ipomoea batatas Lam.) -- hikarĩ -- (384). Worth mentioning
243

384. The Waiká call the sweet potato "higali" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

also are the sugar cane plantings (sugar cane (Saccharum officinale) -- bukũ -- (385)) and the absence of maize (386).

385. The Waiká have the same word for sugar cane (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

[184] 386. Zerries, to be sure, found evidence of its cultivation by the Waiká. But, he adds, maize "is little more than a rare delicacy" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

2: Becher--176 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

249 /82/ Besides the cultivated plants used for food, some are raised to be used for enjoyment. These are primarily tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) -- peenáke -- (387) and a pepper plant (Piperacea sp.) --

387. The Waiká word for this is "be" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

maxarahá -- (388) which is required for making the narcotic

• [184] 388. This plant is also cultivated by the Waiká and is designated by almost the same name "masho hara" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

snuff-powder (see pp. 192), as well as -- perakí -- (389)

389. The Waiká call this pepper plant "blaki" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

(Piper caudatum Vahl.), Portuguese pimenta-dos-índios, with which they spice their food.

249 824 Finally, the cultivation of plants yielding important required articles should be mentioned. These are arrow cane (Sagittaria montevidensis Cham. et Schl.) -- xerekaíbe --, the urucuzeíro (Bixa orellana L.), from whose seeds, found in a thorny capsule, the red coloring matter urucú -- nará -- is obtained (see p. 122), as well as a Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria L. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda), the fruits of which are used as vessels (see p. 114).

248 The cultivation of cotton (Gossypium barbadense or hirsutum) -- xinarí -- is of comparatively recent date.

252 [462] 8. Preparation of Food

The preparation of solid food is almost exclusively in the hands of the women, but the roasting of game is reserved for the men (390). There are two methods of doing this: The simplest

[171] 390. According to Baldus, this prerogative

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/83 cont./

252
412
[177]
[123]
[192]

396. (cont.)
a few graters out of the sides of our empty gasoline cans by boring numerous holes in them with a nail. They were very happy over these and maintained that it was considerably more agreeable to grate on them. They also immediately had a name for this grater -- kabaricinamő.

252
● 184
412

397. The Xiriâna, too, grate the manioc roots on rough slabs of granite (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

252 The grated pulp is then pressed out by hand with the help of small, square strips of plaiting (see p. 112), which are rolled up (398).

398. The poison is removed from the manioc pulp in the same way among the Xiriâna (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

Among the Surára I found three tube presses and among the Pakidái five, which they had obtained from the Xiriâna (see p. 112). With the flour the women bake, on large, flat granite stones under which a fire is kindled, manioc flat-cakes, which are consumed with pleasure. This food, which appeared among them only a comparatively short time ago, seems to become
273 more and more popular. The preparation of kaschirí is unknown (399).

[114]
[177]

399. Since, however, my servant, a pure-blooded Tukano /Tucano/ Indian, felt a great desire for a slight alcoholic intoxication at the sight of the manioc flat-cakes, he taught the Surára how to make kaschirí. At first they tried this unknown drink very critically. But after the first swallow their eyes shone, and they slapped Mateus on the shoulder enthusiastically and assured him again and again how good it tasted to them.

/84 cont./

272 are kneaded and pulverized in calabashes filled with water. This produces a grayish-brown, greasy juice which, after the fleshy husks have been fished out and thrown away, reminds one of cacao in appearance and flavor and is extremely filling. This drink tasted even better to me when I added a little sugar. [123] [263] The Indians who tasted this, however, were not enthusiastic about the addition, since they like sugar just as little as salt. I was unable to please either children or adults with my bonbons. The fruit of the bacu buriti, curauá, piaçaba, and ubim palms (see p. 166) is made into beverages in the same way, while that of the inaja palm is cooked beforehand. The juice obtained from this tastes quite insipid, to be sure, but likewise has a high food value.

One should also mention that a drink is prepared from the gathered honey by mixing it with water. I never saw it eaten, [114] [184] [171] as has been confirmed for the Waiká (407) and various /85/ other

407. Zerries, 1956b, p. 150.

tribes of Guiana (408) (409).

408. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 55.

409. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 169.

271 184 As the above account shows, the Surára and Pakidái do not lack variety with regard to beverages, so that only in the rarest instances need they resort to plain water, as is the case, according to Zerries' accounts, among the Waiká (410). As among

273 184

410. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

the latter (411), however, alcoholic beverages are completely

411. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

unknown to the Surára and Pakidái too.

Surára
Pakidái

/86 cont./

231 But their enmity was expressed to an even greater degree between each other, that is to say, between the dogs of the post personnel and those of the Pakidái, for if they merely saw each other, they were immediately at each other's throats.

174 231 With regard to the origin of these two breeds of dogs, which have probably been raised for centuries by the Surára and Pakidái, nothing definite can as yet be said. The first breed mentioned by me, which seems to resemble our shepherd dog, seems to be a quite typical Indian dog, for it corresponds exactly to the description which Friederici gives of a genuine Indian dog: "The general appearance of the pure Indian dog, so far as one can tell from descriptions and drawings, is a picture of the German shepherd dog, the so-called Thuringian strain, with somewhat more of the wild-dog character and with rough or bristly hair" (417). Friederici

417. Friederici, 1899, p. 362.

was concerned here, to be sure, with the Indian dog of North America, but, according to Alexander von Humboldt, this breed was already confirmed for Guiana in pre-Columbian times, as may be seen from the following quotation: "...nevertheless it has been confirmed that before the conquest in Peru, New Grenada and Guiana there was a breed of dog similar to our shepherd /87/ [184] dogs" (418). Among the Waiká, Zerries, strangely enough, did not

418. Alexander von Humboldt, 1890, IV, p. 189.

come across this type of dog, but only the small, short-haired one that resembles the fox terrier, and he suspects that they are in part still descended from the dogs that came with the first immigrants from Asia by way of the Bering Strait about 15,000 years ago (419).

419. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

The following account by Franz Termer, however, shows that definite proof is lacking for the latter assumption. The scholar

/87 cont./

231 In the evening the monkeys climb the tallest trees in order to spend the night in their crowns, and the birds, too, occasionally fly away. But all the animals come back, for, of course, they were tamed when small and are very attached to the Indians, who /88/ always treat them affectionately. They take the trouble, with great patience, to train the parrots and parakeets to talk, and they are happy when the first results appear.

11. Luxuries

27b

The Surára and Pakidái use only two luxuries, tobacco -- peenáke -- and a snuff powder -- epená. The former serves for profane purposes and the latter exclusively for ritual use.

Tobacco is not smoked, however. The leaves are pulverized in the green state, mixed with wood ashes and water or saliva, and twisted between the hands into small rolls. These are then inserted between the lower or upper lip and the teeth, where they are sucked. Both sexes, including children, indulge in this enjoyment, which also is connected with a very practical purpose, for, as a result, the Indians are able to walk around all day in the forest without feeling hungry or thirsty; but their attractive faces are quite distorted by the tobacco roll (Ill. 41).

[184] [824] Tobacco is used in the same way among the Waiká, but here, according to Zerries' account, the roll is inserted only between the lower lip and the teeth (426) (427). The investigator

426. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

427. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

named also mentions the occasional use of wild plants as substitutes in case tobacco is lacking (428) (429). Among the Surára

428. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

429. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

/88 cont./

276 and Pakidái I was unable to learn anything with reference to this, although there, too, the consumption of tobacco is uncommonly
[249] great. They plant plenty of tobacco in all the forest clearings, however, and if it were entirely harvested in the fields where they were living at the time, the men fetch it from other distant rocas or in emergencies they obtain it from friendly tribes by barter.

•[184] [114] Koch-Grünberg reports that the Xiriána and Waiká hordes visited by him chew the tobacco (430). From his description, how-

430. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

ever, it is to be seen that actually a sucking of the tobacco is
276 also involved. The Arekuná on the Roroima probably also did the
171 same thing, although Richard Schomburgk (431) and Appun (432)
114

431. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 239.

432. Appun, 1871, p. 521.

agree in speaking of "tobacco chewing." It is noteworthy that Koch-Grünberg (433) did not observe this form of tobacco enjoyment

433. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 57.

among any other tribe in the Roroíma region, for on the occasion of his visits the men smoked the tobacco as cigarettes or in short English pipes which were imported from British Guiana; he never saw women smoke.

123 If I offered the Surára and Pakidái cigarettes, they first
276 always removed the paper and enjoyed the tobacco in the same way as their cultivated tobacco. Yet they were not very enthusiastic about it, for in their opinion the cigarette tobacco was much too weak. In time, however, men and children became accustomed to smoking (434), but not the women.

434. As a result of this, our supply of cigarettes rapidly dwindled, and my

/88 cont./

123
276

434. (cont.)
servant Mateus and I were thereafter dependent on the cultivated tobacco of the Indians, which, however, was so strong that we simply could not enjoy it. Mateus, however, had the happy idea of washing the tobacco several times and then he let it dry in the sun. Since we had plenty of cigarette paper with us, we were not obliged to give up our customary enjoyment of cigarettes. We could never have become accustomed to sucking out the tobacco, for every attempt resulted in retching.

276 The narcotic snuff powder, similar to yopo or paricá, is made up of various ingredients, of which I was able to identify, besides the roasted and pulverized paricá seed (Piptadenia peregrina Benth.), the ashes of the burned bark of a wild species of mimosa (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurâhihenâ -- (435), as

[192]
[776]
[787]

435. This, it should be noted, contains the word with which the gigantic animal and plant spirits are called -- hekurâ -- with which the men are able to make contact only by means of the snuff powder.

well as a cultivated pepper plant /89/ (Piperacea sp.) -- maxarahâ -- (436) (437).

[192]
[184]

436. Zerries found the same combination among the Waiká, and even the names for the pepper plant are almost identical; the Waiká call it "masho hara." The bark of the mimosa, in which Zerries suspects there is an alkaloid, is, however, used only in the dried or roasted state (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

[126]

437. Herr Prof. Dr. Klaus Soehring of the

276
171
[184]

/89 cont./

Among the Waikâ, this taking of snuff is done in the same way (438). The Tuparí (439) and numerous other tribes of western

438. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

439. Caspar, 1953, pp. 151 ff.

South America (440) also indulge in this custom, though the com-

440. Gillin, 1948, p. 855.

[415]

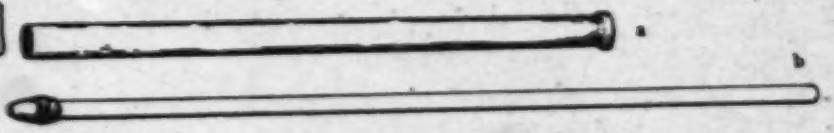


Fig. 28a. Bamboo tube for storing snuff-powder.

Fig. 28b. Bamboo snuff-tube.

position of the powder, except for the paricá or Piptadenia seeds, seems to differ from tribe to tribe. Cooper, moreover, in a comparative study of the taking of Piptadenia snuff, comes to the conclusion that this is a "western trait" /cited in English/ (441).

[114]

441. Cooper, 1949, pp. 536-538 and Map 10.

Surára. Pakidái Waica

/92 cont./ and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waikâ /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omawa," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

776
184
821 /93 cont./ Thus, Pore is brought into relationship with the moon-
Perimbó -- and with the latter forms an inseparable unity (450).

[114]
[171]

450. This conception, which seems rather strange and in which Josef Haekel therefore thinks he sees a contradiction (Haekel, 1959, p. 40), is, however, also confirmed for the Uitoto /Witoto/, for Preuss writes about it, among other things: "We thus have here the rare instance in which, through a combination of the god of the earth and a moon demon, a single deity has arisen, a sort of monotheism, alongside of which there are only very insignificant demons" (Preuss, 1922, p. 176). And elsewhere he states: "The fact that moon and Supreme Being here coincide may therefore have come about later, but not necessarily. Today we have them as an inseparable unity" (Preuss, 1922, p. 184).

whereas "Omaua," together with a helper, "Yoaua," lives in the western sky, where they too produce rain, in that they pour the water out of the two celestial rivers (451). In contrast to this

451. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

among the Surára and Pakidái it is believed that Poré shakes the rain-tree of the moon (see p. 199).

821 Great significance is also attached to the moon by the
184 Waiká, and, significantly enough, also in connection with the
773 creation of human beings. This may be seen from their legend of primitive times (452), which, except for minor deviations,

452. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

corresponds to the one which the Surára chief Hewemão told me

2: Becher--203 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

821
184
773

/93 cont./

(see pp. 247-248) (453). As a further parallel, the leg-birth

453. With reference to this, however, among the Waiká there is a second conception that the first human beings came to the earth in the rain (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). Hence they must have come out of the western sky where, to be sure, Omaua lives and produces rain. Zerries, however, thinks it possible that this rain is identical with the blood of the wounded moon and refers to a Uitoto myth as a parallel (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). In this myth the monthly blood of the daughter of the organizer of the festival of the animals is seen as a fine, cold rain, which Preuss interprets as the flood in miniature, which appears with the dark of the moon; it corresponds to the menses (Preuss, 1921, pp. 113-115).

773
184

As a further parallel, the leg-birth should be mentioned. According to the Surára and Pakidái version, the first four men and a woman came from the leg of a small bird at definite intervals (see p. 247), while, according to the one of the Waiká, the first woman came out of the pregnant leg of a man (454) (455). Both myths, however, have

454. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

773
171

455. Conceptions of leg-births are confirmed also for other South American tribes. Thus, among the Tukuna /Tucuna/ the tribal heroes Dyoi and Epi, together with their two sisters, spring from the knees, swollen by wasp stings, of the male Nutapa (Nimuendajú, 1952, p. 122), and among the Umutina, who unfortunately no

Surára Pakidái Waiká

/93 cont./

773 191

455. (cont.)
longer exist as a tribal unit, it is believed that civilized people and hostile Indian tribes came out of the inflamed and swollen calves of the first man, Aipuku (Oberg, 1953, p. 108).

773 134 the polyandrous feature in common, for the woman had a boy (Surára and Pakidái) (see p. 247) or several children (Waiká)(456)

456. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

by the men.

776 174 184 /94/ In the religious world of thought of the Waiká one also finds ideas that are very contradictory. Thus, "Omaua" is regarded, on the one hand, as the Supreme Being and creator of the earth and of mankind, and, on the other hand, is thought of as an actual enemy of the Waiká who is closely linked with alien tribes in the west and with the whites, as well as with their pernicious influences, diseases, puzzling cultural possessions [782] (motor, gasoline, etc.) (457). Furthermore, it is noteworthy

457. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

that in white and black magic "Omaua" is directly invoked (458)

458. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

(the Surára and Pakidái communicate with Poré/Perimbó only through intermediaries), and that there lives with him a cannibalistic creature, "Omayali," which, according to Zerries, presumably represents a hypostasis of the former (459). He believes,

776 174 171

459. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

however, that "Omaua-Omayali" is an import from another culture

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/95 cont./

796 exactly as among the Surára and Pakidái; moreover, the corre-
191 spondence between the names Aboré and Poré is especially great. The supplying of cultural possessions is also attributed to the deities in each case. In the Warrau myth it is even said that Aboré fled before Wowáh into the land of the whites, from whence he provided his fellow tribesmen with import articles (481).

481. Brett, 1880, pp. 84 ff.

794 The idea that there are gigantic prototypes of each animal
191 and plant species also exists among other South American tribes. Zerries has already worked out the connections for this and has cited several investigators who confirmed identical or similar views for various Indian peoples, among them Arawak, Mura, tribes of the Chaco, Karaiben in Guiana (Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, Cavina and Tumupasa Indians of northeastern Bolivia, Cayapa in Ecuador, and Yaruro in Venezuela (482).

482. Zerries, 1951, pp. 149/50.

794 The conception of the Yaruro in particular shows corre-
171 sponding parallels, according to Petrullo's description (483).
114

483. Petrullo, 1939, p. 237.

For the Karaiben tribe Arekuná, Koch-Grünberg, to be sure, does not find any evidence of gigantic plant spirits, but their idea of the animal spirits is very similar; here they are called "podole" = father (484).

484. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 187.

793 If one then compares the myths which deal with happen-
● 184 ings on the already created earth, one is struck by the fact that among the Waiká the transformations of human beings into land animals cover a wide range (485). The same is true among the

485. Zerries, 1958b, p. 283.

Surára Pakidai Waica

/85 cont./

793 Surára and Pakidái, but here in addition there are also such for
●184 the animals themselves, and, to be sure, smaller ones are always transformed into larger ones (see p. 251). The myth of the creation of the ant bear, in which Omaua or Poré transforms a man who has committed incest with his mother-in-law into this animal by magic, is familiar to the Waiká (486), as well as to

486. Zerries, 1958b, p. 285.

the Surára and Pakidái, in the same version (see p. 250).

794 Likewise synonymous is the system of the species-spirits
184 of animals and plants, hekurá (Surára and Pakidái), or "hekula" (Waiká) (487), which is closely connected with the medicine-man system.

487. Zerries, 1958b, pp. 286/87.

794
795 Of interest, finally, are comparisons concerning the con-
184 ception of the human soul. It can ascend to the moon (Surára
[124] and Pakidái) or to heaven (Waiká) (488) only if the corpse is

488. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

cremated, for its name, uwexík (Surára and Pakidái), or "nobolebe" (Waiká) (488) /see footnote above/, is identical with that of cloud, smoke. According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the soul exists in the bones (see p. 151) (489).

[171]

489. In this respect they correspond to many other tribes, for in his essay "Die Antropophagie der südamerikanischen Indianer /The Anthropophagy of the South American Indians/," Koch (Grünberg) writes: "All these practices show that the Indian, incapable of separating the physical from the spiritual, regards the bones, which alone remain after the corpse has decomposed, as the actual and ultimate seat of the soul" (Koch (Grünberg), 1899, p. 83).

Surára, Pakidái, Waica

/95 cont./

That is why they cremate only /96/ the skeleton of their dead, for if the flesh were still present, the soul would be unable to come out in time. The ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes, too, on the occasion of the annual festival in memory of the dead, is connected with the idea that strengthening remains of the soul are still present in them. In this connection Zerries writes with reference to the Waiká: "We were unable to find the idea of a bone-soul among the Waika, if we disregard the connection between bone ashes and bole" (490). Zerries also

490. Zerries, 1958a, p. 107.

points out that the soul, according to the view of the Waiká, is peculiar only to the human being, but not to the animal (491).

491. Zerries, 1958a, p. 108.

According to the statements of the Surára and Pakidái chiefs, however, the human soul of the dead on its journey to the moon must be accompanied by a like-named animal or plant soul of the dead, which serves as a guide (see pp. 149/150). It is assumed by the Surára and Pakidái that children are without a soul until they have completed the third year of life, because during this time they are nursed by the mother and thus still belong to her flesh and blood as well as to her soul (see also pp. 138 and 154). Waiká children are said to receive their souls only after the completion of the sixth year of life (492).

492. Zerries, 1958a, p. 106.

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/107 cont./

769 in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted
526 one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs
[622] and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this
[624] type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with
[147] five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other, who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexí (see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After
[762] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed themselves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and manioc flat-
[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in connection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

769 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká,
114 which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds
184

515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

2: Becher--235 . E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára, Pakidái Waica

/108 cont./

769 182 184 789 526 [266]

festival. It is decidedly a festival in memory of the dead, which characterized by the ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe. At the same time, defensive magic against the nonexí is connected with it, for they, of course, are the ones who transmit sickness and thereby frequently cause death. As in all the magic cures for healing the sick, where the symbolic struggles between the "hekurá" and one or more "nonexí" are always enacted (see pp. 212 ff.), this factor is naturally also in evidence in all parts of the festival, in the dances, in the mixing of bone ashes, when the medicine man pulls down-feathers of the gavião-real out of the hair of the warriors and adds these, and in the duels performed in a sitting position. The latter are also documented for the Waiká in the same way, but Zerries writes that neither for him nor for the American missionaries was it possible to find out anything definite about the meaning of this ceremony (517). Presumably,

517. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

however, it is the same symbolic struggle between a good and an evil spirit as among the Surára and Pakidái. As yet nothing has been reported about this from other Indian tribes. My informants, however, told me that the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí engage in these combats on the occasion of their festivals in memory of the dead. Hence it seems to be a very special characteristic of the Yanonámi, which in former times may have been even more widespread. Herr Dr. Gerdt Kutscher, in connection with a lecture I gave in Berlin, called my attention to the fact that the position taken by the two men during this is reminiscent of the painting on a clay bowl from the Rio Ulúa, Honduras (518). According to Zerries, Barker,

114 769 526

518. This is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (No. IVa Ca 22381) and was reproduced in an article by Walter Lehmann (Lehmann, 1910, p. 737, Ill. 9).

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

114 /108 cont./ According to Zerries, Barker,
769 and Dupouy, there is also a similar combat among the Waiká,
184 in which the partners alternately beat each other on the chest
562 with clenched fists (519a, b, c). I did not observe this among
● 184

519a. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

519b. Barker, 1953, p. 447.

519c. Dupouy, 1953, p. 495.

114 the Surára and Pakidái. Similarly unknown there is the custom,
769 also reported by Zerries, that the men, when they run about in
276 the snuff-powder intoxication, hit each other on the back with the
palm of the hand (520). The author named regards this as a

520. Zerries 1955b, p. 665.

769 fertility rite. There seems to be involved here, however, out-
787 side influences of agricultural tribes, which is indicated also by
179 the ceremonial gathering of pupunha fruits (521).

521. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

769 It is further noteworthy that among the Waiká women and
184 girls actively participate in the festival in that they take part in
562 some dances and even drink some of the banana soup mixed with
[266] bone ashes (522). In contrast to this, the female members of

522. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662 ff.

the tribe act only as spectators among the Surára and Pakidái.

769 The endocannibalism should be regarded as a very signifi-
184 cant similar trait. It is documented for the Waiká by Cruxent (523a)
266
114

523a. Cruxent, 1953a, pp. 149/50.

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/108 cont./

769
184
266
114

and Zerries in several articles (523b) (524) (525). Moreover,

523b. Zerries, 1955a, p. 80.

524. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 664/65.

525. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

769
266
171

Moreover,
/109/ the latter author, on the basis of contributions to the first five volumes of the Handbook of South American Indians, drew up a distribution map for the occurrence of endocannibalism, which was supplemented by numerous examples (526). Accord-

526. Zerries, 1955a, pp. 80/81.

ing to this, endocannibalism occurs in South American primarily in the western parts of the continent and among the marginal and submarginal tribes of the Tropical zone. This custom is particularly frequent among the Pano and Tukano /Tucano/. In most cases, besides the pulverized bones, which are mixed with chicha (for example, Pano and Tukano), water (for example, Tapuya), or a mash of Pará chestnuts (Moré Indians), the flesh is also eaten. The practice of the Surára, Pakidái, and Waiká, on the other hand, who consume only the cremated, pulverized bones, is very rarely found. The corresponding custom of the Sáliba, Guayupe, and Saé in Colombia is the most similar one. But in eastern Guiana, too, endocannibalism is widespread, for example, among the Karaiben /Carib/ Parukotó (527) and

527. Frikel, 1957, pp. 520 and 545.

among the Arapium, a Tupi tribe in the vicinity of Santarem (528).

528. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

Moreover, it is reported of the Kalina, Palikur, and Arawak that they consume cremated bones of the dead (529). Of the latter

529. de Goeje, 1943, p. 11.

/179 cont./

619 [624] [596] Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local groups which form a band of extended families and provide the peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclaudub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

[184] [194] From what has been published up to the present regarding the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

127 128 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to [797] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

Y 174 101 /189 cont./ The expansion of the Sanemá to the north, that is, from the Padamo to the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, is relatively recent, but, to judge from the data given us by glottochronology, the separation of the various groups of the subtribe corresponds to 600-1,700 years. We established contact with three northern groups of the Sanemá: the Nabudub of the upper Ventuari, the Taclaudub of the upper Caura, and the Pubmatari of the Canaracuni. They apparently represent Sanemá groups which are quite well established, and the internal distance of this linguistic family is, in a way, surprising.

Y 101 ● 184 The Sanemá of the Padamo and of the upper Orinoco are practically unknown to science, and it is expected that the cultural difference between them and their brothers who live north of 4° and in close contact with the Makiritare is relatively pronounced.

Y 101 648 167 The geographic separation of the Sanemá into a southern group and another northern one is recent and is due to the fact that in 1947 Captain Cardona had to make a landing field on the Canaracuni (personal communication), and, since there were no Indians in the zone to help him in his venture, he went to Brazil and brought the first Sanemá to this region of Venezuela.

Y 167 This date marks the beginning of the infiltration of the Yanoama element on a larger scale into the land of the Makiritare, their neighbors on the northwest, with whom they have lived in deep

Y M 643 enmity from remote times. While the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma still do not tolerate large groups of Yanoama in their territory, those of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura live in close contact

Y M [177] with large groups of the Sanemá subtribe. This was the way in which Makiritare culture of the tropical selva type penetrated to that essentially /190/ preagricultural tribe composed of hunters

Y M 648 and gatherers with a very rudimentary culture. The Sanemá received extremely bad treatment at the hands of the Makiritare, comparable to that received by a slave at the hands of his master, for which reason toward the year 1950 the Sanemá revolted against

4 [411] the Makiritare and declared a war without quarter against them. It was then that the different Makiritare subtribes united to repulse the Sanemá, whom they conquered in various encounters, thanks to their fire-arms.

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

283 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727] [184]

/202 cont./

412 (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl.
● [184] 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surará and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife,
[171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Sirionó (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a
[197] peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and
411 arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of
[824] macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The bowstring is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

[627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

/209/

273 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make
271 alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in
177 contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the
263 coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use
261 wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is re-
[764] lated to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the
183 young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity
591 in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the
●184 Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We
591 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially
182 matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes
596 to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively
591 rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

836 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their hus-
937 bands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passional
586 motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry
587 is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of
607 the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under
[836] his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has
587 always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children
593 find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have al-
[601] ways called "father" and he has called them "children." In
[184] this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

/221 cont./

765 775 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĭkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĭkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 [276] [756] The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĭ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 771 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 756 791 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a different supernatural sphere.

793 776 The first of the three is the hɛwĭawán, or the priest, who is the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

462 385 Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that 888 958 older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, 955 children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired 84 443 clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are 462 422 562 made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the 199 manufacture of cassave bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

---

[1] The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

[Paruritawë-tedi Group]

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari village histories are more complicated than the one outlined for the Namowei-tedi. This stems from the fact that the Shamatari villages had reached a large size by 1900 and began splitting into smaller groups earlier, in terms of the data I collected, than did the Namowei-tedi. In other words, the splitting that characterized Namowei-tedi's population from about 1940 to 1955 was occurring in the Shamatari population in 1900. Although I do not have census data on the numerous Shamatari villages that subsequently emerged from the two initial groups, I suspect that the numbers of people involved are significantly larger for the Shamatari village histories. Two factors seem to be the cause of this phenomenon. First, the Shamatari villages had access to steel tools in considerable numbers before Namowei-tedi's ancestral population did; my informants asserted that their first source of steel tools was the group called Shihowë-tedi. Presumably the size of the populations involved is a function of their agricultural potentials, and the Shamatari apparently expanded earlier than the Namowei-tedi because they had access to steel tools sooner. Secondly, the Shamatari population expanded unopposed into virgin territory, whereas the Namowei-tedi expanded into territory already occupied by other Yąnomamö; it is significant to note that when the Namowei-tedi ultimately moved into unoccupied territory, their population seems to have increased, and the first split occurred only after virgin territory was colonized.[1]

[1] I am unable to explain how this affects demographic variables, but my data suggest that Yąnomamö populations expand more rapidly when they colonize virgin land.

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1]Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

occupying five different sites, each having its own house and garden. These five groups recombined into a single unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the southwest of the Uraricaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated. On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than on the Uraricaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of Yąnomamö from those whose social organization is described in this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Corresponding to this increase in intensity is a change in type of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically or not at all to the northeast.

There is likewise an apparent cline in population density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity. Yąnomamö villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However, another factor complicates the picture: the Yąnomamö have more contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also

contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

121 having such estates, particularly in those societies to
613 which real estate is totally irrelevant. The Yąnomamö
562 corporate estate consists entirely of rights in disposing
421 of female members belonging to that corporation. As such, males and females have different kinds of shares in the corporation. Males, on the average, tend to inherit more rights, while females tend to inherit more duties and obli-
[123] gations. Land to the Yąnomamö is not a scarce item, as they
[241] are pioneer slash-and-burn horticulturists expanding into
[124] virgin territory.[1] Myths, names and ritual functions do not comprise elements in these corporations.[2]

121 It would seem important to distinguish between lineal descent corporations which control property and those which do not, as Befu and Plotnicov (1962) have done. A further distinction, however, seems warranted on the basis of the data presented here: between societies having any corporate groups that control real property and societies that have corporate descent groups, none of which have control over property as their estate. The possession of real estate tends to reinforce the lineality of corporate descent groups in both dogma and composition,[3] and invites the addition of

[184]

[1] This is true of the Mavaca Basin Yąnomamö. Elsewhere the Yąnomamö may not be pioneers, but land is not scare in those areas either.

[2] I am aware that the Yąnomamö have lineally transmitted totems; these have nothing to do with the descent group recruitment or its estate.

[3] See Meggitt, 1965, for an excellent account of the relationship of agnatic kinship, real property, and lineage

11: Chagnon S-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
531
286

Fig. 2-7. Orozimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

241
354
329
184

nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[6] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

101
114

[6]The Yanomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xirixana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yanomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "Waika," however, from the verb *waikai*, is a Yanomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yanomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yanomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yanomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moses" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yanomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

361 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime
578 around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a
level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into
two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village
[101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at
that site. Kaobawä's group fled to Shihota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the
Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a
361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take
726 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had
721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they
628 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab-
[241] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri
to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned
after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kaobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954,
621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they
[721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of
[722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kaobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again,
[101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kaobawä
[648] and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to estab-
lish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from
the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of
[101] them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an up-
stream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to them-
selves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass
commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2–8, have a settlement
621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being
578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away
722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more
184 complicated than the history of Kaobawä's group, since village fissioning began much
earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the
fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked
as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2–8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above
two groups of villages.

361 Kaobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Momariböwei-teri and Reya-
[134] boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2–8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the
[648] past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by
[722] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The
[578] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neigh-
bors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9]
This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yanomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

361 villages have a profound effect on the nature of the settlement pattern of Yąnomamö villages, and that this same milieu influences the rate at which larger villages fission into smaller, vulnerable groups.

*628 361 241 722 Finally, I emphasize the importance of cultivation in this pattern of village movement and relocation, particularly in the context of relying on allies. Twice during the history of Kąobawä's group they were obliged to take refuge in the village of an ally. All during my fieldwork the Monou-teri also relied on hospitality of this sort from Kąobawä's group, as they were beleaguered by raids from the Patanowä-teri and had not yet completed their new garden. In short, the fact that the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated food has led to specific obligations between members of allied villages: a good ally is one who will take you in when you are driven from your gardens by enemy raids. The essence of political life, therefore, is to develop stable alliances with neighboring villages so as to create a social network that potentially allows a local group to rely for long periods of time on the gardens of neighboring villages. I will describe the politics of alliance formation in Chapter 4, as it intimately bound up with feasting, trading, and marriage.

Intellectual Environment

771 773 The comparative poverty of Yąnomamö material culture is more than compensated for by the richness and complexity of their theological concepts, myths, and legends.

One of the distinctive features of Yąnomamö cosmology and theology is the opportunity it provides for inventiveness. Individuals can and do modify concepts, embellish [184] them, improve on them and, in general, use their imaginations when trafficking in myths or concepts of the soul and afterlife. In short, there is room for thinkers in Yąnomamö culture.

The result of this is that many variants of the same basic myth can be found over a relatively small area. Indeed, each village will contain people who tell the myth a slightly different way; the basic elements remain the same each time, but personal views are interjected and reflect the idiosyncracies of the narrator. The Yąnomamö appear to enjoy these intellectual exercises, for in myth and cosmology they are able to demonstrate their personal abilities as users of their language, the true language of man.

772 THE COSMOS The Yąnomamö conceive of the external world as having an origin, boundaries, supernatural beings, and a specific nature.

The cosmos is comprised of four parallel layers, lying horizontally and located one on top of the other (see Fig. 2-4b). They are like inverted platters: gently curved, thin, circular, rigid, and having two surfaces, top and bottom.

The uppermost layer is the "tender" plane: *duhu hä misi*. At the present time, it is "empty" or "void" (*brahu*), but some things had their origins there in the distant past. These moved down to other layers. Today, the uppermost layer is sometimes described as being "an old woman" (*mo fata*), a phrase used to describe an abandoned garden or a female who is no longer capable of producing offspring. This layer does not figure prominently in the everyday life of the Yąnomamö; it is merely something that is there and once had a function.

/59 cont./

595 From this list of families one gains the impression that monogamy predominates. But I was assured by my informants that those warriors who thus far have only one wife would be glad to take a second or even a third one, as was customary among their forefathers. The small number of persons in the tribes, however, has caused a shortage of women, so that most of the men are forced to be content with one spouse.

/60/ 3. Political Structure

69

These low population figures could, moreover, arouse the suspicion that it is not tribes, but only tribal divisions that are involved here, especially on account of the connubium in which they live, or merely groups. The chiefs and war chiefs named, however, told me emphatically that the Surára as well as the Pakidái were formerly large and mighty and distributed in many malokas. [185] They regard achieving this size again as a goal worth striving for.

622 An institutional chiefdom with a definitely established succession prevails in both tribes. If the chief dies, his next younger brother automatically takes his place. Only if the youngest brother is dead may the first-born son of the oldest brother, who by that time is usually an older man, occupy the office of chief.

624 701 In addition there is the war chief. This position is not hereditary; rather, the bravest warrior is chosen for it. During peacetimes he has no prerogatives whatever and lives like an ordinary member of the tribe. Only during military encounters does he take over the [622] leadership, while the real chief, as religious head, doctor, and teacher, is protected and does not take part; the same is true for his brothers.

622 159 The Surára chief Hewemão, very bold and intelligent, is a truly great personality; his orders are respected by all members of the tribe without opposition. When he was still a youth, his father, Xoromão, was killed with two arrow shots by Makuxí /Macusi/ Indians. Hewemão eldest brother, Xaraíma, assumed the succession, but he died of a fever about eight years ago.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'I am Uarema,' he declared to his Guayca kinsmen, who looked on him with hostile eyes because he was wearing trousers, 'Uarema, son of Measi. I was here as a boy. A long time I have been with "the rationals" [the civilized men] and I have grown to manhood. You are my people.'

His turning up in this fashion had a touch of the fabulous about it, and his kinsmen took him along without ill-treating him. When they found him to be a man of many accomplishments, and the old men remembered how he had disappeared during Uagna's time, after an encounter with the Samatari from the Aracosa lands, they kept him with them as their rightful chief, giving him unlimited freedom of action. As his obedient subjects they left it all to him.

Uarema had never taken to civilization. For him, it had lacked something. What it had lacked, we cannot guess: the civilization of the Lower Guiana rivers may be bounded by the cloth hammock and the bottle of rum, the loose woman and the pack of cards, but it cannot be ranked any lower than the barbarianism of the Guayca, eaters of worms and snakes. But now, after his experience of life with 'the rationals', neither could the young man endure the ceaseless warfare which engaged his own peoples. The broken heads he saw round the fire in the evenings, the howls of the medicine-men at their exorcisings—all this was anathema to him. He told his kinsfolk they had better put it all aside, and grow something. From the Soto they could obtain seeds and roots. Much manioc was needed, because without it one was always hungry. Sugar-cane was a pleasant thing to suck at any time, and the children loved it. Above all, there must be bananas, as far as eye could see—the forest must be transformed into a huge garden of fruits, there for the picking. Thus, with his head full of ideas which owed their origin to the years he had spent in civilization, Luis Antonio founded a new Guayca people. They were Guayca Indians no longer, but peasants—peasants who cared for the tilling of the soil and a sure supply of food. These Guayca called themselves after him, Uarema. They inhabited two big homesteads an hour distant from the Mercvari river—a little above the mouth of the Canaracuni.

Now Luis Antonio wanted to stay with us and work, because he needed cloth for his people. We gave him what little we had been able to save from the greedy hands of Pancho's men, and he went off for a brief visit to his tribe, intending to return to Kirisochi in four days' time.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

island of unbroken forest, which is not crossed by any formidable water barrier. If this were the case, the Shirians, who are pre-eminently a land people, would be presented with an insurmountable obstacle.

North of the Brazilian frontier live the Shirians of the Canaracuni and the Merevari. These are divided into various clans, the most important being the Uana-Dildep, the Haruao, the Oskadeli, the Kopali, the Hana-Dildep, the Ukumatari, the Kona-Kona—they swarm like ants. Then there are the Guayca Shirians of Uarema, lately established on the Merevari, but originally from the Upper Uagna. Along the mountain watershed which extends, with frequent interruptions, from the Uagna to the centre of the highlands where the Uraricoera, the Ventuari and the Padamo rivers rise, one encounters the nomadic Samatari—the 'people of the pineapple'—a fierce and savage race of howling creatures that run in packs like animals.

The general term used by the Shirians to designate their most savage tribes is 'Guayca' (in their language, 'wild'). By the Guayca they sometimes mean the Samatari and sometimes the Ukumatari. On the Padamo and in the lowlands enclosed by the great mountains of Marahuaca and Duida—that is, to the south of the central ridge—they have spread right beyond the upper reaches of the Orinoco: though in these regions there are also many of the more peaceful Shirian peoples such as the Uaka on the Uesete, the Faricete, the Matacuni, the Kologli, the Haue, and the Ish'tich—the 'people of flowers and bananas'. The Guayca and the Samatari are also to be found east of the Padamo-Orinoco–Rio Parima watershed, in the wildest and least-known territory. Isolated groups, with a touch of the legendary about them, inhabit the fringe of this region: for instance, the Kasarape, credited by all Shirians with unparalleled ferocity and cruelty. The Kasarape inhabit the right bank of the Lower Uraricoera in Brazil, and no traveller appears to have visited them yet.

How numerous are the Shirians? No one can state a figure with any certainty, but it may be accepted that they run into many thousands, and taken together represent a block that outnumbers all other races and tribes inhabiting the Orinoco and Rio Branco basin.

I had asked Luis Antonio whether it would be possible for me to be present during the confinement of his kinswoman, presuming the happy event took place during our stay, but all I got for an answer was a doubtful 'I don't know' —the formula in which the Indian takes refuge when he does not know what to say. This did not quite deny the possibility, even if it did not encourage the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

to use our machetes to open up a fair-sized space so that we could drag the canoes up on to dry ground beyond the reach of possible floods. Behind the bamboos we could see traces in the undergrowth of an old track, which after crossing thirty-two hills and the length of the Aracosa river would lead us to a horde of howling ape-men, who cultivated cane for their arrows, and nothing else.

Uarema had a young dove which he had caught alive on the way along the Merevari, and was looking after it. He gave it the affectionate name of Pipa. Sempronio helped him by looking for little berries, which the pretty little bird took greedily. The others were meanwhile busy putting up a shelter for the night and clearing a little more space around it, while Hashimo and Solituan went off to make a brief reconnaissance of the all but vanished track. Uarema paid no attention to anything but his Pipa, calling its name softly and fondling it like a child.

A love for animals always seems strange among these Indians, and when it exists it is subject to the wildest caprice. For instance, a monkey, after being brought up among them with every sign of affection, will suddenly become a comic target for their blunt arrows and die a slow death from its wounds.

For the moment Uarema was lavishing all his affection on Pipa, and when I accidentally trod on the bird, squashing it flat as a pancake, he turned on me instinctively, as if he was going to throw himself on me: the Guayca Indian in him had suddenly come out, roused by this offence against his love for the poor little dove crushed under the foreigner's foot. But suddenly his mood changed and without a word he picked up the squashed bird, under whose wings there was still a flutter of life, and threw it far off, with an air of disgust.

Sempronio watched the incident, laughing very quietly as he always did and looking up at me: he seemed to regard me as some sort of personal protector of his own. Then he went off in search of Pipa. Rolled up in a few leaves, the bird was put aside for his private cuisine.

Sempronio came from Auai stock. He was a mere boy, not fully developed, and he had joined us in this Samatari venture simply because I had told him to come. 'He doesn't want to come, but you want him to, so he comes'—these were the exact words into which Uarema had translated Sempronio's brief remarks. And he came everywhere with us, even to the Samatari, who were considered by his own people—a good, *smiling* people, whose only remaining primitive trait lay in their inordinate passion for theft—to be monsters ready at

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20

Y 123*

been fought over it to destroy the entire race. But all the Uana-Dildep and the Kologli could do about it now was to howl out loud in their complete helplessness, and cling to the walls of the hut like monkeys.

M 122 123

We should certainly have liked to give them something, but apart from the fact that the length of our trip and all the unforeseen things that might happen made it advisable for us to be as careful as possible with the goods we needed for wages, we couldn't take more porters than were necessary: the expedition would be top-heavy. Besides this, to introduce Shirians into the crew would have put the others in a bad humour. They were the superior race, and could not allow the others to compete with them in their work.

M [186]

We packed our baggage with care, painting the tins with a special red varnish to keep them waterproof. There was some of the varnish left over, so we painted our straw hats too, and they emerged from the treatment with a proud and martial aspect which made a strong impression on the Indians. With the final scrapings of the paint tin the Shirians painted themselves and then went off in triumph to their homes, with enough tales to last them a whole year—all about aeroplanes, machete-thefts, varnish, and those accursed Makiritari who'd taken all the red cloth and left the Sanema, as ever, in dire want.

Y [186]

N 123

Carmine set out first in a light dug-out canoe, and I followed him next day in Pedro's big craft. A little below the landing-beach we met with a canoe coming up river, labouring against the stream. It was loaded with Guayca: Luis Antonio, with his brothers and cousins. They had only just heard of our arrival and were coming to find us. It would have been embarrassing to have to refuse their services, but Uarema himself broached the subject first and saved us from any awkwardness by telling us that he would have been most willing to come, but had work on hand, burning off and clearing a *conuco*, that would keep him busy for a month. He would come along on the next trip. He wanted to know who else was taking part in the Shirian Expedition, and he kept on our tail all day, saying that he would like to be of any help he could. But I knew very well he was after some little gift—our stores were new, and made his mouth water. In fact that evening, when we had joined up with the advance party (they were in camp on the headwaters of the Turucuma, a right-bank tributary of the Canaracuni which runs very close to the Upper Merevari)—that evening, Luis Antonio got up to his old tricks and asked for presents outright. I had to get rid of him, so, next day, without anybody else knowing, I

Y 123*

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
856 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
[824] busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
292 curauá fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí,
184 and Karauaterí whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
[114] said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xiriána (Schirianá). Among the Arekuná-
171 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
174 cord of curauá fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
[191] transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

Surára
Pakidái

/116 cont./

123 touched me all over my body, and they examined my spectacles with particular interest (557) and were very astonished at my

557. The Surára chief was so enthusiastic about my spectacles that he asked me to be sure to bring him a pair on my next visit.

blond hair and blue eyes. When I shaved, I was likewise surrounded by a circle of spectators (558). Even when I had to re-

558. Similar experiences were had by Chaffanjon among the Kunuaná (Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 267/68), Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipang and Makuxí /Macusi/ (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 360), and Baldus among the Tapirapé (Baldus, 1956b, p. 606).

lieve myself, I was asked where I was going, and often I was joined by companions.

● 191 When the Surára and Pakidái see something new for the first time or if they like an object particularly well, they 521 manifest their approval by loud clickings. They love conversation above all else, and even at night they go on talking for [576] hours. They never interrupt each other, however.

593 Though the man is the head of the family, the wife is 692 regarded as his partner with equal rights, without whose advice he does not undertake anything important. If he has two or 595 more wives, the youngest usually leads a princess's existence, for which even the older ones must contribute. Mistreatment 593 of women occurs only on account of adultery and for reasons of jealousy. But if a man beats his wife or draws blood on her body with the little cutia-tooth knife, several companions of her own sex immediately hasten to her aid. They try to pin down the arms of the angry man, and one woman will attempt to seize his scrotum and squeeze it with all her might, so that

/118 cont./

153
191

563. (cont.)
Steinen about the Suya on the Xingú, in which he declares that these Indians knew how to use the pencil very well and drew beautiful motifs in his notebook, although he was the first white man they had seen (Karl von den Steinen, 1886, p. 212).

153 Younger people are distinguished by a gift for rapid com-
[177] prehension and an astonishing learning capacity. Although these
[191] Indians very rarely come in contact with caboclos, and in most cases only the men, both sexes have at their command a rather large store of Portuguese words and figures of speech. One little
124 Surára boy about nine years old, Jubeauwõ, also called Mandú,
159 who had spent almost two years in the hut of the palm-fiber
[191] gatherer Manuel Antonio Gómez on the Rio Aracá, had a nearly perfect command of the Portuguese language and performed unique service as my interpreter. I owe it to him alone that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the mental culture of the Surára and Pakidái and put together a complete vocabulary (564).

159
734
752

564. Three years ago the little boy suffered dangerous burns on the abdomen by an upset vessel containing boiling tree resin. Since the chief had given up hope that he would recover, he wanted to have
[888] him given the deathblow. The custom of this tribe, as well as that of the Pakidái, decrees that all old and seriously ill persons who are no longer able to take part in the general migrations must be killed (see pp. 153/154). The grandmother of the little boy, who is an orphan took him secretly one night to the hut of the Spanish palm-fiber gatherer,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Ma Kiri'fare SS20

IV

Had Luis Antonio been wearing clothes, we should have pronounced him very well turned out, for he looked dark and perfectly groomed in his nudity, which was enhanced in very smart fashion by a loincloth of fiery red and a ruffle of white feathers on his right arm. In addition to his name and his knowledge of Spanish there was one other thing about him that suggested that his story might not be quite the usual one: his rotten teeth. All the Indian peoples have teeth that are very strong and brilliantly white. They are used to hard exertions on the meat the savage eats, while his fruits provide the necessary minerals, and keep their strength and colour well into old age. Luis Antonio was an exception—his teeth were no longer good: there was a long history to them, and we soon got to know it.

Uarema—Uarma, Ualema, Uadma, or Uadema were alternative forms, all very close in the Shirian pronunciation—had been a Guayca boy from the Uagna tribe. They were real warriors, forever at war with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. Battles were a regular feature of tribal life. When the arsenal of long-range weapons had been exhausted the armies would come to grips with clubs and sticks. During one such engagement the young Uarema disappeared into the forest and, finding himself lost, stayed all alone on the bank of the Mcrevari, living on fruit and worms. At the time he was probably no more than four or five years old, but the Guayca Indians are savages among the savages, and four or five is old enough for a boy to know what is good to eat in the forest and what isn't; where to find it; and how to catch it. While he was all by himself on a beach, getting a few little fish by striking at them with a stick, a Makiritari party came along, found him there, and took him with them. They were going down the Caura to sell canoes to the people on the rubber plantations at Maripa (which is almost on the Orinoco). The child, travelling with them, soon accustomed himself to their language and their Cassava bread.

At Maripa, one Martin Visdo, a rubber man who knew Guiana like the palm of his hand, saw the boy and prodded him as you would prod a spring chicken or a sucking-pig in a shop.

'A fine boy this,' he declared. 'But wicked. Wicked and obstinate, like all

/434 cont./

199 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a
101 separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation
199 zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted
[248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they culti-
[352] vate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton ham-
[342] mocks and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version
[484] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

• 191 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they
192 speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/
[114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried
628 to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/21 cont./

411 184 there is a Xamatâri poisoned arrow in the possession of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:7).

411 171 114 [439] Métraux writes with reference to the poisoned arrows: "Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is commonly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is traded throughout wide regions" /cited in English/ (95). Among

95. Métraux, 1949, p. 242.

Karaiben /Carib/ tribes in Guiana, poisoned arrows which are shot with a bow are not very often encountered, for they are documented only for the Makuxí /Macusi/ by Richard Schomburgk (96) and for

96. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 428.

411 171 the Trio by de Goeje (97). It should be mentioned in this connec-

97. de Goeje, 1906, p. 15; Pl. V, Figs. 10-12; Pl. XI, Fig. 22.

tion, however, that many Karaiben, for example, the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, shoot small poisoned arrows with a blowgun; this weapon is unknown to the Surára and Pakidái.

278 Arrow poisons:

[192] [184] According to what my Surára informants reported to me, they use three kinds of poison of different strengths, all of which, however, they designate by the general name -- mamokôrimaunápe. This name is almost the same as the one which the Waiká, according to Zerries, use for arrow poison -- mamokordi (98).

98. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

/22 cont./

411 524 [824] Boys' bow:

The boys' bow -- hauoś -- is 80-90 centimeters long and consists of a curved branch of the paiocôrimá tree, which also furnishes the material for the bird arrow-points. As in the case of all branch-bows, the arms are of different lengths, so that an unsymmetrical shape is produced, which affects the accuracy of the

Fig. 3. Position for shooting with the bow.

shot. This is of no consequence, however, since these are merely [283] [824] toy bows for small boys. On both ends the bow staff is tapered and set off to receive the bowstring -- pebatábe -- which is made out of a liana (cipó-titica) (Fig. 2g).

Boys' arrows:

[192] [824] [237] [283] [192] Ruhumacfk is the name of the thin arrow, 80-90 centimeters long, for boys, which the fathers make out of the wood of the inaja palm Maximiliana regia Mart.) -- kareximací. The feathering -- jaronahík -- consists of two small halves of mutum feathers, which are lashed to the shaft with a thread of cotton. Instead of an arrow point mounted separately, the arrow here is only slightly pointed (Fig. 2h); the designation for it is -- peimacikenâme.

Surára
Pakidái

/29 cont./
and ridiculous (152) (153) (154).

152. Nimuendajú, 1914, pp. 321/22.

153. Becher, 1951, I, pp. 180/81;
II, plate and Map No. 18.

154. Becher, 1955, pp. 144/45.

On festival and ceremonial occasions, men, women, and children from the age of four on also tie over the hip cord a cotton belt -- nyõ -- (155), which is always open in front. As

155. It is the same word that is used to designate the cotton hammock.

a rule, the belts are made by the women; bachelors, however, must make their own.

These are the string belts typical for Guiana (156) (157),

156. Becher, 1951, I, p. 169.

157. Becher, 1955, p. 138.

which, however, take on an appearance somewhat different from the familiar form because of wrappings or cross-bindings. /Fig. 6 appears here./

All the men's and boys' belts are roll-shaped and have a length of 70-80 centimeters and 40-50 centimeters, respectively. The diameter for the former is 4-5 centimeters, and for the latter, 2-3 centimeters. They are very simple to make, for around two small sticks thrust into the ground, the distance between them determining the length of the belt, a long cotton thread is looped until a thick layer is finally obtained. This is then simply tightly wound with a thin string of cotton or

Surára
Pakidái
Pusebeweteri

292 /30 cont./
284 girls and 0.5 centimeter for those of old women. This distin-
guishing feature was always pointed out to me. Tie strings and
292 the wearing style correspond in this case too with the men's belts,
53 as does the painting with urucú, which is applied on the outer
[386] side. As a result of their width, these belts are much easier to
paint than those of the men. Most often one sees serpentine lines,
occasionally circles are placed between them, and sometimes too
the painting only consists of circles, or circles and dots (Fig.
9 a-e; Fig. 10 a-d); there are also belts, however, which are
colored red all over.

292 Xirifna women who are married to Surára and Pakidái
184 men wear the same belts, as did the little captive of the Surára,
Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the /31/ /Figs. 8 and 9 ap-
pear here/ /32/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ Karauaterí (Ills. 17 and
• [192] 18). When I asked them the name of their belts, they gave me
the designation -- nyõ -- which corresponds to the Surára and
Pakidái word.

292 The Pusebeweteri women gave me the same word, although
184 their belts have a somewhat different form (161). They are 60-
[192]

161. I saw them on the women of that tribe
who were married to Surára and Pakidái men.

70 centimeters long and consist solely of a thick layer of cotton
292 which has been somewhat twisted together. In other words, it is
284 a very characteristic string-belt, that is, without wrappings or
184 cross-bindings. An additional little fringed apron, however, 22-
26 centimeters long, is attached to a tie-string. To make it, 60 to
90 cotton strings, 14-18 centimeters long, are put over the tie-
string. After that, starting from the left, the end of the first
string hanging down in front is knotted with the one of the second
hanging down in back and tightly twisted with it, then the front
end of the second one with the rear end of the third, and so
forth. The fringes hanging down are 7-9 centimeters long and,
to assure firmness, are wound once more below the tie-string
292 with a thin cotton thread. When the belt is worn, the little
53
184

[text continues on p. 69]

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
• [192] xinarîke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarî -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[823] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
[824] out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
[531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

301 /37 cont./
856 Thus, the upper-arm cord -- xinariúnko -- is supposed to impart greater muscular and arm power (198). The wrist cord used

[192]

198. It is noteworthy that the curauś-fiber cord is also called by the word Xinariúnko, although the name for cotton -- xinarí -- is contained in it.

only by women and girls, likewise called xinariúnko, strengthens the wrists, it is believed, and the cord worn below the knees -- hukuś -- the legs.

301 171 As an ornament for the upper arms, however, besides the simple cord, bands of string -- nyõõmutimś -- the forms of which are exact miniature reproductions of the belts (199), a

[192]

199. In the word -- nyõõmutimś -- there is contained the name for belt, nyõ, to which is appended the diminutive form õmutimś.

novelty /38/ for South America, since there are as yet no parallels for this. Thus, the string-bands of the men, 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5-2 centimeters in diameter (string-bands of boys: length, 12-15 centimeters; diameter, 0.5-1 centimeter), have the same roll-shaped appearance as their belts (Fig. 14a and b; Fig. 15a and b) and are made and painted or dyed by the women in the same way (see pp. 64/65). The wide, flat shape of the women's bands (length, 18-22 centimeters; width, 1-2.5 centimeters), however, corresponds perfectly with the belts worn by them, apart from the smaller size (Fig. 16a-c; Fig. 17), so that with regard to the manufacture and painting I can refer to the making of the women's belts (see p. 66). It should also be mentioned that the upper-arm /Figs. 14-16 appear here/ bands of younger women are narrower (1-1.5 centimeters) than those of older women (2-2.5 centimeters) (200).

200. An older Pakidái woman, by the way, wore a woven upper-arm band two and a half

/41 cont./

301 as far as Guiana; the Tapuya on the eastern horn of South
171 America remain isolated. The pattern of distribution coincides
301 in essential features with the multiple perforations of the upper
304 lip (these parts also merge into each other very much anatomi-
171 cally) and clearly rests on Andean prototypes" (222). The

222. Menzel, 1957, p. 33.

characteristic mouth-corner rods of the Yanonámi women may well fit into this area of distribution, but not in connection with perforations of the upper /42/ lip, for here instead of the latter, the lower lip is pierced.

304 g) Tattooing
[881] All women and girls have pin-point tattooing over the upper lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth (Ills. 19 and 24) and is punctured on the girls during the first menstrua-
• [192] tion (see p. 66) (223). The designation for this among the Surára

[184]

223. This tattooing is also found among the female Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí who are married to Surára and Pakidái men. The little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí is an exception. She assured me, however, that in her maloka the girls are also tattooed. But she had fallen into the hands of the Surára before her first menstruation, and the tattooing was not put on her here. If later, however, she is married by a Surára man, the pin-point design must subsequently be punctured on her.

is -- uarabakoxík -- and among the Pakidái -- uarabakoxíbe.
[824] These words are derived from the name for the genipap fruit --
[386] uarabá --, the juice of which is used for puncturing the dots.

Surára
pakidái

/46 cont./

352
[192] Instead of the yâritanaçík (embira hammock), the Surára and Pakidái men, on their rovings and hunting and war expeditions, also /47/ frequently use a liana hammock -- totokê -- (254) (255),

254. The name is derived from tototó, with which the liana (-ipê vine) is designated.

255. Except for a slight dialectal difference, the name corresponds to the Waiká word -- "toto" --, with which, however, according to statements by Zerries, they designated their tree-bast hammocks (Zerries, 1955a, p. 87).

which is likewise very light but gives the sleeper a somewhat firmer support. The lengths of these hammocks vary between
[462] 1.90 and 2.10 meters. They, too, are without cross-bindings
352 and are likewise made only by men. This is done as follows:
284 The man has a rather large bundle of long lianas lying in front of him. He splits each one with his teeth into 3-5 flat strips and places these side by side. When he has gathered as many strips as he can easily grasp with one hand, approximately 200-250, he winds a thick liana around the ends. Below the wrapping he then divides the flat strips into several bunches of equal size, each of which he winds twice with two split, twisted lianas (Fig. 19 and Fig. 20). This makes the bundle of strips wider at the ends. As tie ropes the man uses three lianas plaited like braids (Ill. 27).

352
184 Such hammocks are likewise used by the Waiká (256) and

256. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Xiriána, but the latter Indians sometimes provide them with cross-bindings of cotton strings (257).

257. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 314 and Pl. 46 (1).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

285 462 [824] More highly developed is the carrying basket which consists of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) -- uaramá. It is made by the male members of the tribe in the following manner: Two groups of plaiting strips are laid on top of each other in different directions and then interwoven with a third group of strips running in still another direction (Ill. 33).

285 194 [971] This, according to Max Schmidt's classification, is the third principal type of South American plaiting (272) (273). This type

272. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

273. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

of basket (274), which is very widespread in South America, is

274. Abundant comparative material is to be found in Roth (Roth, 1924, pp. 321 ff. and Pl. 100 B and 102) and Mason (Mason, 1904, pp. 529 ff. and Pl. 240 (1, 2).

also regarded as very old, but today is seldom used any more by the Surára and Pakidái. Nothing concerning its origin is known any more among the tribes named. An autochthonous development [179] is possible, but an adoption from Karaiben or Aruak tribes, who use similar baskets, is more probable. The same basket is [184] likewise confirmed for the related Karimé (275).

275. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Figs. 9 and 10.

285 824 192 The one most frequently used at present is the women's large carrying-basket made of liana strips (276) -- wuëka --, which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34).

276. Each individual liana is split with the teeth into several flat strips. (Cf. also p. 101).

/51 cont./

285 [192] [824] Then there are small baskets with handles and square bottoms -- yorohíkes -- (Ill. 36), in which women keep their ornaments, arm, leg, and chest cords, the spindle and balls of cotton. To make these, split lianas are again used. The technique employed is very primitive, for the plaiting strip is merely led [184] alternately over and under a plaiting strand (287). The shape of

287. Max Schmidt includes this technique in the first principal group of South American plaiting (Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 492/93).

these little baskets seems to be peculiar to the Surára and Pakidái, for in the literature I have not yet found a corresponding description with reference to other tribes.

285 824 372 Simple plaited fire-fans -- xuhéma -- are made of the leaf-stalk sheaths of the tucumã palm (Astrocaryum sp.). They have an elongated shape, and the ends of the strips are tied together to form a handle (Fig. 22).

285 372 174 171 Similar fans, but more evenly worked, were found by Koch-Grünberg among the Makiritare, Yekuaná /Yecuana/, and Guinaú in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco (288), from which one

288. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 345 and Pl. 24, 6.

might conclude that this object reached the Surára and Pakidái from here, probably by way of the Xiriána. The reverse route might also be possible, however, if only because most of the Karaiben and Aruak tribes of Guiana use fire-fans with a handle set crosswise (289).

289. Roth, 1924, pp. 291 ff., Pl. 78, 79, and Fig. 91.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

252 /51 cont./
184
285 The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry
[192] among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curauá plant
[438] (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter
[192] from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohí -- (290).

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

[178] Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in.
[426] Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the
114 Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is
252 supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is
174 significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with
285 a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any there, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed
[177] with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karaiben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

/52 cont./

854
287
[824]
[413]
[412]
854
[171]
[184]
[114]

9. Band for Carrying Children

The band for carrying children -- okomakuá -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (Daphnopsis brasiliensis Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- xamotimá -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- uarimaxíke -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- pekehík -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little cutia-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

This carrying method is very widespread in South America and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying-band (292). Among the Xiriána Koch-Grünberg does not seem to

292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

415
824
[192]

As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria Lin. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda = jamaru), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

These vessels in general are called -- horotoká --, except for those of the jamaru fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- nhapotoíma.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waiká
Karimé

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- haboká -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriána (293),

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301] 296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

Surára
Pakidái

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[723] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatáz --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

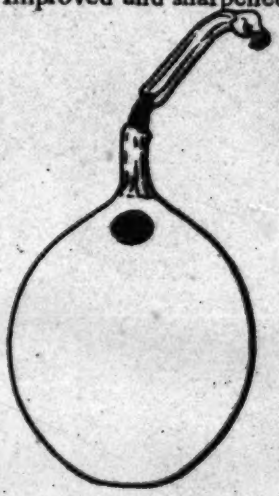


Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

/55 cont./

412 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This
184 strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xiriâna, unlike the Surâra and Pakidâi, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly
462 women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side
302 (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

412 Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American
171 Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw
237 of the wild pig -- manacoauá --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waikâ (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat
[192] flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long --
[824] namunamutehf --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waikâ (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm
462 should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimá (see also pp. 112/114).

412 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden
179 times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as tercados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

Surára
Umiá
Shiriana
Pakidái

412 /55 cont./

[432] [439] The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their occasional contacts with the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) on the Rio Aracá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors [124] had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always 412 given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the 192 ax -- hanhokomá. The blade alone is named synonymously, 437 whereas the shaft is called -- hanhokomáhitohí. Most probably 174 the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according to Schuster, for the Waiká (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the 412 Xiriána seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg 174 writes: "They (the Xiriána) in former times apparently had no axes 114 at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

481

12. Equipment for Climbing

[137] [192] To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus or Oenocarpus /56/ bacaba Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), tucuma palm (Astrocaryum sp.), and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring -- horohoromá --, which consists of a split liana (cipó-titica) rolled up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears here./

Surára
Pakidái

/78 cont./

222 carrying baskets. -- Of the fruits of the wild cacao tree (Theobroma sp.) -- boroá --, which has many branches and whose foliage is dense and dark, only the sweet pith of the husks is sucked out, while the beans, which played such an important part among the high-culture peoples of Central America, are carelessly thrown away (363). -- The apple-like fruit of the lucuma tree

[184] [192] [114]

363. Zerries reports the same thing of the Waiká, and here the names are "loa" or "boholoa" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 150; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177).

(Lucuma macrocarpa Hub.) -- kumató -- is valued for its sweetish, gelatinous pulp that surrounds the pit; the /79/ outer meat of the fruit and the shell, on the other hand, has a very bitter, unpleasant taste. -- The fruit of the wild pineapple, which only reaches the size of a medium-sized apple, is also eaten with relish.

The pods of the pacova sororoca, a Musaceae species (Ravenala guianensis Benth.) -- mokohé -- (364), gathered espe-

364. The pacova-sororoca is often erroneously called "wild banana" because its large leaves, which resemble those of the banana trees.

cially frequently, contribute more to the everyday food. -- When there is an occasional food shortage during the rainy season, the flat brown fruits of the pot tree (Lecythia longifolia), which are called uapú by the Surára and kurupú by the Pakidái, are appreciated to this day (365).

365. The Waiká have the name "wabu" for them (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177); Barker, 1953, p. 443).

Besides these most important vegetable products that are gathered, there are also a great many animal ones. To be named here above all is the honey of several species of small bees (366)

[136]

366. There are said to be more than 20 different varieties of them.

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

245 [262] Among the vegetable foods of the Surára and Pakidái, bananas, of which I found nine different varieties, occupy first place today. Of these, in turn, the most frequently cultivated is the mealy banana (Musa paradisiaca normalis; the regional caboclo population calls it pacovinha) -- kuratá -- (372).

[174]

372. With regard to its origin, Sauer writes: "The plantains and bananas (Musa paradisiaca) originated in southeastern Asia and were there bred into a great variety of seedless cultivated forms. Their presence in the New World is considered by many as due to post-Columbian introduction" /cited in English/ (Sauer, 1950, p. 526).

• 192 245 Kuratá, however, is also the general designation for all bananas (373). In addition, the following special names were

[184]

373. Zerries gives the same name with regard to the Waikás (Zerries, 1956b, pp. 152, 155), and Koch-Grünberg gives the following names for the Karaiben Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/: "kurá:tana," "kura:tana´," or "kuratanâ" (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 47, 268). The corresponding Xiriána designation, namely, "kalatá:ke," is very similar (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 306). This definitely proves that the banana, or at least one variety, reached the Waikás, Xiriána, Surára, and Pakidái from Karaiben tribes. The myth concerning the origin of the banana, which the Surára chief told me (see p.249), also shows that this fruit came from the outside only in very recent times.

[174]

given me for the other eight varieties (374):

[184]

374. The Waikás, too, use very similar terms for certain varieties of bananas (Zerries, 1956b, p. 163):

/81/

192 245

Designation of the Surára and Pakidái:	Designation of the regional caboclo population:
pakatarimã	pacovão
kuratá pauximí	inajá
nakaximí	São Tomé roxa
rokojá	São Tomé branca
rokomã	banana maçã (?)
parauá	caité
roõrenvõkãkõ	banana bajé
xiahíma	Banana govêrno (375)

[24]

375. Unfortunately, I could not carry out a botanical classification of these varieties.

245 [412] [824]

With the help of a digging stick made from the wood of the pupunha palm and 1.60-1.80 meters long, which has a flattened point at the lower end (Ill. 38), or a broken bow-staff, cuttings of banana trees are planted in the clearing, and after only a few months they are full-grown and bear fruit. The work of planting as well as the care of the plants falls to the men, while the women help only with the harvest (376).

[462]

[184]

376. Among the Waikã, the plants are cared for by men and women (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Besides the banana, the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) -- komunamã -- is cultivated to a considerable extent. Cuttings are used for planting, but occasionally seeds as well. These palms, which always stand between the bananas, give the clearings of the Surára and Pakidái a characteristic stamp (Ill. 37). The trunk, 18-20 meters tall, which is covered with pointed thorns -- mímicibã -- and can therefore be climbed only

[481]

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/83 cont./

252
412
[177]
[123]
[192]

396. (cont.)
a few graters out of the sides of our empty gasoline cans by boring numerous holes in them with a nail. They were very happy over these and maintained that it was considerably more agreeable to grate on them. They also immediately had a name for this grater -- kabaricinamó.

252
184
412

397. The Xiriâna, too, grate the manioc roots on rough slabs of granite (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

252 The grated pulp is then pressed out by hand with the help of small, square strips of plaiting (see p. 112), which are rolled up (398).

398. The poison is removed from the manioc pulp in the same way among the Xiriâna (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

Among the Surára I found three tube presses and among the Pakidái five, which they had obtained from the Xiriâna (see p. 112). With the flour the women bake, on large, flat granite stones under which a fire is kindled, manioc flat-cakes, which are consumed with pleasure. This food, which appeared among them only a comparatively short time ago, seems to become
273 more and more popular. The preparation of kaschirí is unknown (399).

[114]
[177]

399. Since, however, my servant, a pure-blooded Tukano /Tucano/ Indian, felt a great desire for a slight alcoholic intoxication at the sight of the manioc flat-cakes, he taught the Surára how to make kaschirí. At first they tried this unknown drink very critically. But after the first swallow their eyes shone, and they slapped Mateus on the shoulder enthusiastically and assured him again and again how good it tasted to them.

/88 cont./

123
276

434. (cont.)
servant Mateus and I were thereafter dependent on the cultivated tobacco of the Indians, which, however, was so strong that we simply could not enjoy it. Mateus, however, had the happy idea of washing the tobacco several times and then he let it dry in the sun. Since we had plenty of cigarette paper with us, we were not obliged to give up our customary enjoyment of cigarettes. We could never have become accustomed to sucking out the tobacco, for every attempt resulted in retching.

276 The narcotic snuff powder, similar to yopo or paricá, is made up of various ingredients, of which I was able to identify, besides the roasted and pulverized paricá seed (Piptadenia peregrina Benth.), the ashes of the burned bark of a wild species of mimosa (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurâhihenâ -- (435), as

[192]
[776]
[787]

435. This, it should be noted, contains the word with which the gigantic animal and plant spirits are called -- hekurá -- with which the men are able to make contact only by means of the snuff powder.

well as a cultivated pepper plant /89/ (Piperacea sp.) -- maxarahá -- (436) (437).

[192]
[184]

436. Zerries found the same combination among the Waiká, and even the names for the pepper plant are almost identical; the Waiká call it "masho hara." The bark of the mimosa, in which Zerries suspects there is an alkaloid, is, however, used only in the dried or roasted state (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

[126]

437. Herr Prof. Dr. Klaus Soehring of the

/91 cont./

821 795 without food and drink, between earth, sun, and moon (444).

444. One feels reminded here of the conception of the Homeric Greeks, who also assumed that the dead, after actual life has gone, are obliged to lead a wretched shadow-existence.

All Surára and Pakidái therefore greatly fear that after their deaths they might become such shadows. That is why, after military encounters, they make an effort to recover their fallen fellow-tribesmen, in order to cremate them. Though only the head of old persons is cremated (see p. 153), it is believed that this suffices to carry the soul up to the moon. Enemies are not cremated, however, for the shadow existence is desired for them.

821 The countless stars, which are also all inhabited by tribes, are allies of the moon (445). If a shooting star falls, it is

445. The Surára and Pakidái do not have special designations for the individual stars and constellations. There are only two general names, star -- purimá -- and big star -- purimá breu.

• [192]

believed that the inhabitants of one star are visiting those of another.

The sun is of only minor importance in the religious life. It is regarded as rather weak and powerless, because it stands alone in the sky, has no strong allies, and travels around the earth-disk [795] like a vagabond. It rules only the wandering souls of the uncremated dead and uses their shadows in order, in the protection of them, to slake its burning, unquenchable thirst on human beings, animals, and plants. In perspiration, my informants told me, one sees clearly how it draws the liquid out of bodies, and subsequently there remains for human beings and animals a feeling

/91 cont./

821 of thirst and weakness, while plants often wither. For this reason, and especially out of fear of the shadows, the sun's rays are regarded as dangerous. Therefore, tasks for which one must expose himself to the direct radiation of the sun, for example, forest clearing, cultivation of fields, and house construction, are preferably undertaken in cloudy or even rainy weather. In the latter case, there is even a direct /92/ connection with the moon. A large tree stands on this celestial body, in the middle of the open maloka. When Poré shakes it, the wind rises first, and after that rain falls. The aversion of the Surára and Pakidái to the merciless sun's rays of the equatorial zone has a further, matter-of-fact explanation, for in former times, as pure hunters and gatherers, they practically never came out of the eternal twilight of the primeval forest.

821 The awe of Poré and the moon is so great that the Indians 774 do not dare pray personally to this united Supreme Deity. Serras 774 /sierras/ -- peatíle -- as well as gigantic animal and plant [1982] spirits -- hekurá -- (446), who live on them and are characterized [192]

446. This word is derived from hetumisse = heaven and he = head, above.

by supernatural qualities, are the mediators. The serras are well suited for this, because they are situated between the earth, on the one hand, and the moon and sun on the other. They are regarded as higher divine helpers, who, after Poré and Perimbó, are the mightiest. At the same time they are regarded as the masters of all the animal and plant spirits living on them. Their power is much greater than that of the sun because there is, of course, only one sun whereas there are innumerable serras. Their attitude toward Poré and Perimbó, however, is not always a loyal one. Usually they are on their side, to be sure, but if there is occasionally a quarrel between them, it may happen that they ally themselves with the sun for a time. The united Supreme Deity has taken precautions, however, and considered any possible

/102 cont./

755 756 114 faith and to what extent he is faking" (506). The fact that

506. Baldus, 1931, p. 142.

even in modern medicine great importance is now attributed to the suggestive influence of the physician on his patients is shown in the following statements by Hans Grimm: "If we emphasize that the suggestive influence of the physician's personality on the patient is often of decisive influence (Jores), if we use hypnosis, the so-called 'autogenous training,' etc., we are, in our own way, returning to what was already playing a role in shamanistic techniques" (507).

507. Grimm, 1958/59, p. 357.

769 3. Religious Festivals

Every year, toward the end of the dry season, March-April, the Surára and Pakidái jointly celebrate the festival in memory of the dead -- patapáanomão -- (508). It always takes

[192] 508. This contains the word for corpse, the male or female dead person -- anomão.

place in the large, open Surára maloka Jaracá (see pp. 25 ff.). Occasionally a few families of friendly tribes (Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, etc.) also take part. The [114] patapáanomão festival, which I witnessed in all its phases, /103/ was held during the period from the fourth to the sixth of 769 April, 1956. But even before that there were great preparations 251 for this purpose. The men set out on a joint hunting expedition in order to kill as many tapirs as possible, the meat of which was then roasted on roasting racks over an even fire, not too hot, until it was black and bone-hard, so that it could be kept for a

Surára
Pakidái

/115 cont./

123 157 twilight of the forest, a packet of cigarettes fell out of my trousers pocket. Who can describe my astonishment when in the evening at a halting place an Indian brought back to me the packet with the contents intact. Naturally, I gave the honest finder the cigarettes and a knife in addition.

Similarly, during my months-long stay with the two tribes I always had all the trunks, boxes, and bags standing open, and yet nothing was ever stolen from me. Even the barter of ethnographic objects always took place, usually under the supervision of the chiefs, in perfect peace and tranquility. When I presented knives, pots, glass beads, and other objects to men, women, or children, /116/ they always took them with impassive faces, but without expressing gratitude. There is no word for "thanks" in their language, any more than there is in the other Indian languages. In their shining eyes, however, I could read that they were pleased.

• [92]

152 157 Before the departure of a member of the family there are never any sentimental scenes between relatives, let alone endearments, and even at the return one can see aroused emotion only in the shining eyes.

123 In the presence of strangers, women and girls in particular are at first timid and grave, but when one has gained their confidence, they are gay and unrestrained. I very quickly gained the affection of the children and with it also that of their parents and the other adults. One's behavior, of course, plays an important part in relations with the Indians. If one approaches the Surára and Pakidái in a friendly and courteous manner, one can accomplish anything with them. On the other hand, if one expressed himself disapprovingly with regard to their customs and habits, scolded them, or beat a child, he would be inviting their antagonism. Thus, a visit to the malokas of these Indians is not to be recommended to nervous people, for one does not find any rest throughout the entire day, and it is often lacking at night as well. There were always men, women, and children standing or sitting around me. In the beginning, they tirelessly pronounced the words of their language for me, but they never laughed at me if I repeated them with the wrong accent. At first they even

3: Rodrigues--6 L-4 (no date) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/136 cont./

• 192
197

	Surára and Pakidái	Waika	Karimé	Siriano	Waroma
Tongue	-ika, P -ika	-ika	-iga	-i:ga	-ʔakuda
Tooth	-aiki, P -aiti	-aiti	-aiki	-ai:ki	-aikuda
Mouth	-kahiti	-kahiti	-gi:nihi	-gi:nig	-ihidi
Nose	-kuiihe, P -ruiihe	-kuihihi	-naihihi	-kiihipe	-hinohidi
Eye	-mámok, P -mámu	-mámok	-má:mu	-má:mũ	-mami
Ear	-niwmahiha, P -wimihiha	-yinthith	-yamaha	-yamʔ'ha	-hinhamada
Forehead	-hóho, P -hóho	-hoho	-yahoho	-hʔ:ho	
Head	-hi	-hi	-yá:hi	-i:ha	-hi
Head hair	-hendi, P -hendi	-hitandi	-yahintahi	-hiti:ha	-hemeuda
Arm	-hiko, P -hiko	-hiko	-yápoho	-hi:ho	-pohuda
Hand	-imaka, P -imak	-imik	-yámi	-ihi:ha	-ʔamida
Foot	-mamiha, P -mamuyaiha	-mámik	-yahiõ	-mihʔ'ha	-maimada
Knee	-mihiho	-mahiho	-mihaho	-mahiha	-hemoha
Chest	-hariti, P -hariti	-ruhehího	-yápári	-haiiha	-laiihi
Water	maʔ	mãi	maha	miʔ'pe	maimi
Fire	hawahi	hia miki	oi:hi	oiha	hoaiiõ
Rain	maʔa	mã		mãi	maiuda
Wind	ihohó	waiiõi	yá:ri	waii:ii	ipohó, wa
Sun	pemiboinãi, motohi	motóha	motáha	haiip(e)ñ	pimoró
Moon	parimho	pihho	pari:ho	wii:ho	puipuhi
Soil	mahitaha	mãiita	maĩ:ta	maiita	maihaõi
Mountain	pontíe	wãi	haha	taiõi:mĩ	hoimaõi
Stone	mãi	mãhoma	mã:ma	ma:maha	maʔdamã
House	wyaã	yáno	yá:no	wyã'nõ (village)	saiõ
Pot	hahohi	hahíha	hãhohi	hapóga	hahohi
Man	wahnõ	ãõlõ		hawi:mĩ	wamoõi
Woman	tuĩ	tõĩ	tuĩ	thaytha-ʔ'ti:ipõi:le	tutuda
Mother	nãpe	nã		nã:pe	ihonnatuã
Tapir	hima	hima	hi:ma	hi:ma	taʔmã
Jaguar	Iva	ʼla	tihi	dihi	poʔli

/137/

192
197

	Surára and Pakidái	Waiká	Karimé	Širiana	Waroma
Deer	kayá	kéya	kéia	kaiira	a?ná
Maracajá	yaí	gidamdai	yaaesí	tzáo	ki?danami (puma)
Cutia	táma	táma	makéro	tá:ma	
Paca	amatá	amáta		amáta	amoá
Mutum	paruri	háluli	pá:ri	há:li	paluli
Jacamim	wyapáa	yápi	yá:pi		
Jacaré	ima	íma	mári	má:li	imalamá
Fish	yu:ri	yúli	yúri	maytali-típ(i)na	íima:
Crayfish	aké	áka		á:ka	
Banana	kuratá	kuratá	kura:tá	kalatá:ka	ukumatadá

192
197
128 The languages have been arranged in such a way that those which seem to be nearest to the Surára lexically follow it directly, and those which differ from it the most come last. This gradation of similarity with respect to the Surára is given here, however, only on the basis of impressionistic findings, which, furthermore, rest only on an examination of language samples containing the above 40 words. It is therefore not a reliable basis for a linguistic classification of the entire group, though one may see in it an indication of the relationships of the individual languages to each other. In any case, support for the classifications of Mason and McQuown (pp. 1-3) cannot be drawn from it. /The bibliography on pp. 137-138 of the original source is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

[114]
000

Sanema
Casapare
Pemon 55%

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auarí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as
114 Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have con-
128 sidered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 The linguistic material which the author of the present
● 192 work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 In order to classify this material within the different
192 Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others
174 belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we
197 established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabu-
197 laries were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the
174 Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956,
126 pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73
127 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

/192 cont./

127
192
197
174

The Casapare vocabulary was taken from Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308). It has 303 entries in all, 65 of which corresponds to the basic vocabulary. There is another Casapare vocabulary compiled by Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108), which has a total of 232 entries, 54 words of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. From the expedition's itinerary we know that the last-mentioned authors visited the Shirianá of the Paramichí River (tributary of the headwaters of the Paragua), a zone considered in the present work as an extension of the Casapare territory of Brazil.

Koch-Grünberg obtained his vocabulary among the Schirianá of the Uraricapará (1923, p. 288), and a comparison of the two vocabularies seems to indicate a closer affinity between them than that which exists with any other Yanoama language. The glottochronological calculation is based on Koch-Grünberg's material.

The Waica vocabulary comes from Dr. Zerries, who generously furnished us a basic one of 96 words of the Waica of the upper Orinoco.

Recently another vocabulary of the same language was published by /map appears here/ /193/ Anduze (1958, pp. 258-267), which contains 369 entries. The present calculation is based on the material provided by Zerries.

We give the "Samatari" vocabulary this name provisionally, for more precisely it is the idiom of the Surara and Pakidai of the Demini River in Brazil. The material was given to us by Dr. Becher in the form of a basic vocabulary which contains 85 words. Between the Surara and Pakidai there exist only slight dialectal differences. A vocabulary of 40 words of the same idiom was published in the monograph on these Indians by Becher (1960, pp. 136-137). Another vocabulary of the southern Yanoama was published by Seitz (1960, p. 306) and contains 40 entries. The few words which permit making a semantic comparison with other similar languages indicate that the Araraibo-Xamatari of Seitz is closer to the Surara, Pakidai, Waica, and Karimé than to the Sanemá and Casapare.

[text continues on p. 44]

/193 cont./

174 197 [192] 127] We were not able to obtain the vocabulary of the Karimé published by Salathé (1932, pp. 314-316). Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 134-138) places it between the Waica and the Casapare (Schirianá of Koch-Grünberg).

According to the results of the lexico-statistical calculation (cf. p. 47), it can be said that the idioms compared form a linguistic conglomerate whose internal divergences date from 6-35 minimal centuries (mc). By their temporal distribution they constitute two more or less distinct groups: a) a Sanemá family with Nabudub, Sanemá, and Pubmatari, with an internal divergence of 6-17 mc., and b) a Casapare family with Samatari, Waica, and Casapare and with an internal divergence of 8-21 mc. The extreme languages are Nabudub (of the Sanemá) and Casapare. The distance of the Waica from the three Sanemá idioms corresponds to 17 mc., which is the same as the maximum internal distance of the Sanemá family, and the Nabudub have the same difficulty in understanding a Pubmatari or a Waica; they should, however, understand each other, although with some difficulty. The Waica has greater ties with the Samatari, with whom he can communicate orally without any great difficulty.

Other classifications of the Yanoama idioms were made by Rivet (1924, p. 678), Loukotka (1944, pp. 8-9), Mason (1950, p. 254), Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140), McQuown (1955), Swadesh (1959), and Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137).

Koch-Grünberg (1913, pp. 455-458) had established by 1913 the independence of the Yanoama idiom (Shiriana) from the Caribe and added that the idiom apparently represented an isolated language. Rivet (1924, p. 678) and W. Schmidt (1926, p. 211) shared the opinion of Koch-Grünberg regarding the affiliation and independence of the "Shirishana" family. /194/ The classification of the "Shirishana Family" by Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140) includes the following idioms:

Shirishana Family

[101] a) Shirishana (or Guaharibo), who live dispersed in small groups in the interior, along the tributaries of the

/208 cont./

241 [177] Among the Sanemá, doubtless as a result of their contact with their Macú and Caribe neighbors, agriculture has taken on increasing importance. The manner of cultivation is still very rudimentary, that of "slash and burn." The principal products are: plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, and certain herbs which have magical importance (cf. Barker, 824 241 1953, p. 444, similar plants among the Waica). Among the magical plants of the Sanemá there is one on which they lavish great care. An informant told us about the general consternation which seized all of them one day when a band of enemies tore up, during the night, all the magical plants of their conucos. They believed that they were going to die or at least become sick, and the "sablf had much work" in order to save his people. There is here a similar belief which we have already noted in connection with the eagles and hanekasá.

241 178 [628] Agriculture has given a degree of stability to the Sanemá subgroups and has introduced changes in their traditional social system. Not all the groups have adopted this new economy and disputes and fights frequently arise because the gatherers indiscriminately appropriate the products of a conuco of the agricultural group. [648] That was the motive which caused the Makiritare to fight with the Sanemá, who at that time had still not adopted the agriculture which flourished among their neighbors.

231 The Sanemá do not have domestic animals, and even dogs are uncommon. It is possible that the Yanoama have adopted them recently. [792] They have still not found a specific name for this animal, and they call it póliawan, like the jaguar. Some informants insisted that there is a phonetic difference between the word póławan = jaguar and póliawan = dog, but there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the same word is involved. They raise dogs so that they may serve them as helpers in hunting.

In a Sanemá rancheria there are frequently found animals of various species, but tame. The hunters take home young turkeys, cranes, macaws, and parrots, as well as guinea pigs, lapas, and monkeys, as presents for their wives or children. /Illustrations appear here./

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

a torrid sun or the cold dankness of the forest after dark, the Indians are especially subject to respiratory troubles, bronchitis and chronic catarrh being common. It must be a short step from these to tuberculosis, to judge by the widespread incidence of the latter, though it is worth recording that among the Samatari themselves the disease does not appear to have reached the same alarming proportions as among the Taurepàn of the Eastern uplands, where it [192] is a real scourge. Their name for it is an onomatapoeic one—*toctocmòh*—suggesting the coughing and catarrhal effects of any malady of the respiratory system, to which the word is applied.

[784] They are more afraid of tuberculosis than of any war, or any surprise [721] attack at night. Tribes infected with *toctocmòh* become taboo, and by the same token immune from attack, because their enemies are more afraid of their tuberculosis than their arrows. I was told this by Uarema, who said that some time ago a party of their enemies (of unspecified origin) set out to attack them. They had already been several days on the march when they learned that the Guayca were suffering from a bad epidemic of colds and catarrh. They gave up their idea of attacking them, and returned to their own lands.

752 Wounds infected by insects can be quickly cured, the reason being that with 164 these primitive Indians the defence-mechanism is vigorous and reacts immediately when assisted by antibiotics or sulphonamides. In this connection I have often determined by experiment the relative healthiness of the forest compared with the unhealthiness of the grasslands or savannah lying open to the sun. In the forest, damp and mouldering like some subterranean world, wounds rarely * become infected, even if they are not kept clean.

123 I once fell down on a clay hillside, in the Upper Cuyuni country, with a 164 machete in my hand. It was pouring with rain and everything was covered with 752 mud and very slippery. The machete stuck into the ground as I fell forward, and my hand—as happens in the case of a fall like this—automatically tightened on the tool to help me regain my balance and slid along the blade, which was always kept razor-sharp. I had three fingers cut open right through the middle joint, the muscles and tendons being severed. We had nothing with us, not even a clean handkerchief. I at once closed my hand and bound up the fist with a bit of old rag. We then spent some days making our way down to the base-camp where we had our medicines and disinfectants. There I opened my fist, to find the cuts miraculously closed up, without the slightest sign of any infection. A

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

thing they could ever have imagined. It was the first time a stranger had learned to articulate the explosive vocables of their savage, noisy tribe.

Unlike Makiritari and Pemontòn, languages of Carib origin with very frequent aspirates, the Shirian tongue is chanted rather than spoken and possesses few aspirates. In all probability it is close to the fountain-head of all language—that is, a common-sense arrangement of sounds and chants—and it is more adapted to forest conditions, being 'howled', with the accent on the last syllable of the word, so that the sound echoes over a considerable distance.

The language is richer than might be supposed from the backwardness of the Indians who speak it. Later on, with Luis Antonio's help, I was able to complete a vocabulary of more than eight hundred words. The most surprising feature is that many of the words have an undeniable affinity with the Malayan language. One example is '*tuan*', the word (indifferently prefixed or suffixed) by which the Shirian refers to a man as such, differentiated from other forms of life or other things, and therefore implying a certain superiority, as in 'sir'. This is its exact equivalent in Malayan. Another example is '*pulipuli*' (moon), which is too close to the Malayan '*pulang*' for the similarity to be accidental. And so on.

I profited from my stay with the Shirians by analysing some of their mental processes, their psychical reflexes and their reactions to conditioned phenomena such as come under the general heading of 'psychotechnics'. I had with me a few sheets of cardboard from the wrappings of my medical supplies, and a stub of pencil (lost for some time, this turned up in the possession of a good lady who was using it—with results that were hard to discern—as a cosmetic). I would write a word in very clear block letters, or I would draw a face, on one side of the sheet. Then I would give the pencil to a Samatari who had been following my actions with the closest interest and ask him to copy exactly what I had written or drawn.

I repeated this test several times, and some curious results were produced. They may contribute something of value towards the analysis of primitive mentalities, and I reproduce them opposite.

With this test, even at a first glance, we can make some contribution towards a definition of the Indians' mental processes, which are still at the stage where their intelligence is wholly analytical. They have not yet developed the power of synthesis, which comes later. This is clearly shown by the Shirian copies of the face. They render all the details, without, however, being able to unite them

Waica
Guaharibo

/434 cont./

199 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a
101 separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation
197 zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted
[248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they culti-
[352] vate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton ham-
[342] mocks and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version
[484] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they
192 speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/
[114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried
628 to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/444 cont./

241 The land is cleared by first pulling out all the small plants and stems; then the trees which reach a trunk diameter of around 25 centimeters are cut with a machete, and finally the large trees are cut down with an axe.

[313] Sometimes they climb the tree and attach a liana to it so as to be able to pull it to direct its fall.

After the trees have had sufficient time to dry out on the ground, they cut off the branches and pile them up with the underbrush in order finally to burn them. Owing to the abundance of rainfall, it is impossible for them to wait for a dry period. I have seen them burn the weeds in their conuco after it had rained heavily the night before. Sometimes they must bring dry firewood in order to make the damp weeds burn.

An old woman told me one day: "These people of today [412] have it easy. We did not have machetes and axes in former [178] times. Fire was our principal tool. /445/ We had to carry a lot of firewood to pile up around the trees in order to bring them down by fire."

412 There is an indication in their language that at one time they 174 used stone axes before being able to acquire metal axes and • [192] machetes. They use the same word, "boo," to designate both the machete and a certain stone which they use for grinding the "yopo" powder. This stone has the proper form for making an ax out of it, if a handle were attached to it. Nevertheless, the relationship between these objects, if there was one at one time, is unknown to the present generation of El Platanal.

241 A bow without a string or a similar stick is the principal 412 instrument which they use for planting. They use it both to loosen the small banana stems for replanting and to open holes in the ground for holding practically any kind of seed.

249 Tobacco is planted first in a garden bed and then transplanted. The small plants are protected from the sun for a few days by means of platano leaves put on a covering for shade.

241 Sometimes a few stakes are fixed in the ground to indicate plantings near the paths, thus keeping the seeds or young plants from being stepped on.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guahariho

middle of the camp, but they preferred to sleep under a simple palm roof resting on four poles which had been erected near the river as a temporary measure when the first advanced party arrived. There they hung their hammocks, made of the same pliable liana threads as their loin-cloths. Apart from their bows and arrows, these hammocks were the only possessions they brought with them. Thus they passed the night close to the river and their boat. They lighted fires and kept them burning all night. Not all of them slept in hammocks. Some squatted on the bare ground close to the fires, but those who used hammocks slung them low to get the maximum benefit of the fire's heat, for all slept naked.

The next morning they came over to the empty *rancho* where we gave them *manioc*, which they knew and appreciated as a special treat. But they refused the cooked food we offered them. One or two of them tasted it, but quickly spat it out. We offered them meat and learned that they cook their game without first skinning it. We gave them salt, which was new to them and which they spat out with dreadful grimaces. It was probably the salt that made them refuse our cooked food. They never tired of *manioc*, and we discovered that *manioc* and *machete* were the only two Spanish words they knew.

The Guaharibos have a curious and revolting habit of secreting in their mouths between the lower gums and the lip a roll of green tobacco as big as the stump of a fat cigar. They do not chew it; it remains there unbroken all day while two streams of greenish juice continuously trickle from the corners of their mouths. Even the children and sometimes the women indulge. The lump, which horribly deforms the lower part of the face, making it look hideous, may have contributed to their reputation for ferocity and savagery. The preparation of the tobacco quids is the duty of the women. The fresh tobacco leaf is rolled with wood-ash, and then the women chew and soak it in spittle until it reaches the right proportions and consistency before passing it on to their mates. Cardona told us this was the universal practice.

The Indians' fear and suspicion of us quickly dispersed.

existed for the past several hundred years. At many points the data used by Zerries to infer that they were until recently hunters and gatherers lend themselves to other interpretations:

> Finally, the Waika connect the general word for food, "ni," with the word for archery, "niai," out of which results that in their conceptual world, subsistence itself in the last analysis results from hunting--which is symptomatic of the way of life of the hunting and gathering heritage of the Waika. (1958:180. My translation.)

The word nii (not ni) usually refers to vegetable food, most of which is cultivated by the Yąnomamö and generally does not include meat. The word for the latter, yąro, conversely, does not apply to vegetable food. Again, there are two words to describe hunger; ohi refers to that kind of hunger that can be satisfied by eating vegetable food, whereas naiiki is a kind of hunger that can only be satisfied by eating meat or fish. And, it is possible for individuals not to be ohi but be naiiki. One could easily argue that subsistence and cultivation are intimately linked, as their word for one form of hunger (ohi) is similar to their word for taro: ohina. The similarity, then, between the word for archery (niaö) and vegetable food (nii, not ni) tells us nothing about the cultural status of the Yąnomamö either in the past or at the present.

In general, Zerries' data are excellent and his conclusions sound; and his major work (1964) will remain the basic ethnographic source on the Yąnomamö for many years.

The Frobenius Expedition was followed by the work of

inter-village visiting and solidarity, for one trade is usually the prelude to another. For example, the Bisaasi-tedi obtain much of their spun cotton and curare arrow points from their Shamatari allies. It takes considerable time and labor to accumulate these items. When the Shamatari are visited by the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter make known their desire to have these items, and their hosts promise to produce them. When the items are accumulated, the Shamatari visit the Bisaasi-tedi to inform them their cotton and arrow points are ready. A feast is arranged and the items are given over to the Bisaasi-tedi after the celebration terminates. The Shamatari then request specific items from their hosts, and the cycle continues. Neither village is completely 'paid up' regarding goods it owes to the other, so that each exchange as Mauss (1954) argued, brings forth another.[1] The imporant point is that Yąnomamö trading is not stimulated by naturally occuring shortages or monopolies on resources; artificial shortages are created and these promote visiting between allies. In Durkheimian terms, the division of labor, irrespective of the causes, promotes organic solidarity between allied villages. And, the kinship category most intimately involved in the trading is the brother-in-law.

. . . Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their

---

[1] The parallel between this and bride price payment in Burma is striking. See Leach, 1957. It is worth noting at this point that the Yąnomamö have no word for 'free' or 'gift'; the closest they can come to it is: "something given without cause." But nothing is given without cause, and they shrewdly keep track of all debts.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a newly planted sucker, the more quickly it will bear fruit. Hence, if the Yąnomamö wish to establish a garden that will produce a crop in the shortest period of time, they must plant large cuttings. These can weigh up to 10 pounds each, and transportation of the cuttings becomes a tremendous task.

As will be made clear later, most long moves are usually stimulated by warfare, and the group is under some pressure to establish a new garden as quickly as possible. The Yąnomamö can speed up their schedule of abandoning an area by taking temporary refuge in the village of an ally, by planting crops other than plantains that mature quickly and produce high yields, or by anticipating a serious war and getting an early start on their new garden. When Kąobawä's group was forced to abandon one of its locations because of a war, the group took refuge with an ally and established its new garden near the ally's village. One of the consequences of these factors is that newly established gardens produce their crops in cycles so that there will be periods of plenty interrupted by periods of hunger. After a few years, the garden will mature and produce constantly. The periods of hunger are eased by planting rapidly developing crops such as maize and by working constantly at transplanting the secondary plantain shoots as they appear. Thus, gardening activities vary largely with the relative maturity of the garden and the length of time the people have been living at that site. Once the plantains are producing constantly, other crops are not cultivated as intensively as before. But whatever the Yąnomamö are eating in a given village, they are striving to get their gardens to produce a constant supply of plantains. The fact that a given village may be relying very heavily on maize at some point in time may reflect no more than the fact that the garden is relatively new and the plantains have not yet begun producing constantly.

After a site has been occupied a few years, gardening activities take on a more regular pattern. The "rectum" (*bei kä bosi*) of the garden is gradually abandoned, and a new "nose" (*bei kä hushibö*) is added by clearing adjacent land and transplanting crops. Thus, a garden has a direction—it moves, little by little. Sometimes there will be as many as three or four discrete gardens around a village, all of them producing more or less continuously. The older ones are gradually abandoned because it is simply easier to clear new land than to attempt to weed the thorny underbrush out of the old site. If you have ever attempted to clear prickly brush without wearing protective clothing, you should immediately see the wisdom of the Yąnomamö choice.

In an established garden site, labor follows a more regular pattern. The dry season is usually the time for feasting, visiting, trading, and warfare. Gardening activities are at a minimum at this time of year, but the ambitious will try to work a few hours each day at weeding, transplanting, and burning brush. Most of the heavy labor of felling large trees is restricted to the wet season, when it is cloudy and generally cooler, and the demands of feasting and dancing do not interfere with the work. Still, practical considerations are more important than a fixed schedule of work, and if the gardens are producing insufficient quantities of food, the Yąnomamö will expand their gardens at any time of the year.

GARDEN PRODUCTS Each man's garden contains three or four varieties of both plantains and bananas. The larger portion of the cultivated land will contain plantains, as they produce a higher yield than bananas. The garden will also have a sizeable patch of sweet manioc, a root crop that is boiled or refined into a rough flour by grinding it on a rock and then converting the flour into thick, round cakes of baked cassava bread.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

there, so they copulated with her. After they quenched their desire for sex, Omauwä caused the girls vagina to be changed into a mouth with teeth.[10] Howashiriwä, another of the first beings, was sitting on the trail at this time, very hungry for sex. When Rahariyoma's daughter walked by, he seduced her, but in so doing, lost his penis: her vagina bit it off. It was when this happened that Omauwä's son became very thirsty. Both Omauwä and Yoawä began digging a hole to find water to quench the boy's thirst. They dug the hole so deep that when water did gush forth, it caused a large lake to form and covered he jungle. Then some of the first beings cut down trees, and floated on them to escape the flood. Because this was such a strange thing to do, they changed into foreigners and floated away. Their language also changed into the tongue of foreigners, and gradually became unintelligible to the Yąnomamö. This is why foreigners have canoes and cannot be understood.

Many of the first beings were drowned in this flood. Those who managed to escape and remain Yąnomamö did so by climbing mountains. They climbed Maiyo, Howashiwä, and Homahewä mountains to escape the flood, Maiyo being a peak near the area where Kąobawä's village had its origin. Then Rahariyoma, the mother of the girl whose vagina was changed into a mouth,[11] took a piece of red pigment and painted dots all over her own body. After she was completely covered with red dots, she plunged into the lake and caused it to recede. Omauwä then caused her to be changed into a *rahara*, a snake-like monster that lives in large rivers. After that, she caused Yąnomamö to drown when they tried to cross large rivers, either by eating them or by splashing large waves on them. Omauwä then went downstream and became an enemy to the Yąnomamö. Today he sends hiccups, sickness, and epidemics to the Yąnomamö.

It is because the foreigners refused to climb the mountains to escape the flood that they became enemies to the Yąnomamö. The foreigners tried to make friends with the Yąnomamö after the flood, but because their language was so different, the Yąnomamö refused to be friends. Today, however, the Yąnomamö are becoming friends with foreigners.

After the flood, there were very few original beings left. Periboriwä (Spirit of the Moon) was one of the few who remained. He had a habit of coming down to earth to eat the soul parts of children. On his first descent, he ate one child, placing his soul between two pieces of cassava bread and eating it. He returned a second time to eat another child, also with cassava bread. Finally, on his third trip, Uhudima and Suhirina, two brothers, became angry and decided to shoot him. Uhudima, the poorer shot of the two, began letting h[illegible] arrows fly. He shot at Periboriwä many times as he ascended to *hadu*, but missed. People say he was a very poor shot. Then Suhirina took one bamboo-tipped arrow (*rahaka*) and shot at Periboriwä when he was directly overhead, hitting him in the abdomen. The tip of the arrow barely penetrated Periboriwä's flesh, but the wound bled profusely. Blood spilled to earth in the vicinity of a village called Höö-teri, near the mountain called Maiyo. The blood changed into men as it hit the earth, causing a large population to be born. All of them were males; the blood of Periboriwä did not change into females. Most of the Yąnomamö who are alive today are descended from the

[10]In some variants of this myth she put *piranha* fish in her vagina. These fish bit off Howashiriwä's penis.

[11]There are many linguistic parallels between eating and copulating in the Yąnomamö language. The verb "to eat" also means "to copulate", the verb "to eat like a pig" also means "to copulate excessively", the adjective meaning "satiated, full" also means "to be pregnant." The context of the statement decides the meaning.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobömou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*roo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

most common way for a child's soul to escape is to leave by way of the mouth when the child cries. Thus, mothers are quick to hush a bawling baby in order to prevent its soul from escaping. The child's soul can be recovered by sweeping the ground in the vicinity where it most probably escaped, calling for it while sweeping the area with a particular kind of branch. I once helped gather up the soul of a sick child in this fashion, luring it back into the sick baby. One of the contributions I made, in addition to helping with the calling and sweeping, was a dose of medicine for the child's diarrhea. A consequence of this set of attitudes about the vulnerability of children is that much of the village's activity with respect to shamanism and curing is directed toward the children.

RELATIVES BY BLOOD AND BY MARRIAGE Many forms of interpersonal behavior stem largely from the social roles implied in the kinship system. To be sure, some kinship behavior reflects the two distinctions of age and sex discussed above, for the terminology of kinship itself employs discriminations of this kind. For example, there are terms to distinguish older siblings from younger siblings and terms used by members of one sex only in reference to those of the opposite sex.

The relationship between kinship terms and biological parentage is not the same in the Yąnomamö language as it is in our own. As was shown in the first section of this chapter, people may stand in a child relationship to a number of individuals; that is, it is possible to have multiple "mothers" and "fathers" in Yąnomamö society. The term for mother and father conveys as much of a social as a biological relationship between individuals, and in the daily activities of the Yąnomamö it is the social implications of kinship roles that are most important.

What is implied in the kinship roles can best be seen in the way the kinship terms themselves are formed. All primary kinship terms take the ending *"-mou"* when used to describe the relationship between individuals. Thus, *asheya* means "my younger sibling," but *ashemou* means that individual X *behaves* toward individual Y *as a younger sibling*. This ending, *-mou*, also occurs in nonkinship usage to express "a way of behaving," "to execute a particular activity in a specified manner," or "to perform the activity that is implied by the word to which *-mou* is affixed." For example, *oke* means fresh-water crab and *okamou* means "to go hunting for crabs"; *bowashi* means "a mischievous white monkey" and *bowashimou* means "to act mischievously, to monkey around"; *nowa naba* means "enemy," and *nowa nabamou* means "to become an enemy by behaving objectionably"; *waiteri* means "fierce" and *waiterimou* means "to behave ferociously."

Whenever I would ask the Yąnomamö a question such as, "What do you call Kąobuwä?" the answers would always be in the form of a kinship term to which *"-mou"* was affixed, but rarely in the form "I say such-and-such to him." Calling an individual by a specific term is, however, implied in the "way of behaving" toward that individual. But despite the fact that the Yąnomamö can say, literally, "I call him father" (*kama kä iba, haya ya kuu*), they invariably say *"ya hąimou"*—"I behave toward him as a child."[20] Thus, they express their relationships to others in terms of *ways of behavior*. Each kinship category implies a set of these behavioral norms, and one's social life in the community is established with respect to all other individuals by the kinship terminology employed in each particular case.

[20]Although the word *hąi* translates literally as "father," the expression *ya hąimou* can best be understood with the translation given above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

there, so they copulated with her. After they quenched their desire for sex, Omauwā caused the girls vagina to be changed into a mouth with teeth.[10] Howashiriwā, another of the first beings, was sitting on the trail at this time, very hungry for sex. When Rahariyoma's daughter walked by, he seduced her, but in so doing, lost his penis: her vagina bit it off. It was when this happened that Omauwā's son became very thirsty. Both Omauwā and Yoawā began digging a hole to find water to quench the boy's thirst. They dug the hole so deep that when water did gush forth, it caused a large lake to form and covered he jungle. Then some of the first beings cut down trees, and floated on them to escape the flood. Because this was such a strange thing to do, they changed into foreigners and floated away. Their language also changed into the tongue of foreigners, and gradually became unintelligible to the Yąnomamö. This is why foreigners have canoes and cannot be understood.

Many of the first beings were drowned in this flood. Those who managed to escape and remain Yąnomamö did so by climbing mountains. They climbed Maiyo, Howashiwā, and Homahewā mountains to escape the flood, Maiyo being a peak near the area where Kąobawā's village had its origin. Then Rahariyoma, the mother of the girl whose vagina was changed into a mouth,[11] took a piece of red pigment and painted dots all over her own body. After she was completely covered with red dots, she plunged into the lake and caused it to recede. Omauwā then caused her to be changed into a *nahara*, a snake-like monster that lives in large rivers. After that, she caused Yąnomamö to drown when they tried to cross large rivers, either by eating them or by splashing large waves on them. Omauwā then went downstream and became an enemy to the Yąnomamö. Today he sends hiccups, sickness, and epidemics to the Yąnomamö.

It is because the foreigners refused to climb the mountains to escape the flood that they became enemies to the Yąnomamö. The foreigners tried to make friends with the Yąnomamö after the flood, but because their language was so different, the Yąnomamö refused to be friends. Today, however, the Yąnomamö are becoming friends with foreigners.

After the flood, there were very few original beings left. Periboriwā (Spirit of the Moon) was one of the few who remained. He had a habit of coming down to earth to eat the soul parts of children. On his first descent, he ate one child, placing his soul between two pieces of cassava bread and eating it. He returned a second time to eat another child, also with cassava bread. Finally, on his third trip, Uhudima and Suhirina, two brothers, became angry and decided to shoot him. Uhudima, the poorer shot of the two, began letting his arrows fly. He shot at Periboriwā many times as he ascended to *hada*, but missed. People say he was a very poor shot. Then Suhirina took one bamboo-tipped arrow (*nahaka*) and shot at Periboriwā when he was directly overhead, hitting him in the abdomen. The tip of the arrow barely penetrated Periboriwā's flesh, but the wound bled profusely. Blood spilled to earth in the vicinity of a village called Hõõ-teri, near the mountain called Maiyo. The blood changed into men as it hit the earth, causing a large population to be born. All of them were males; the blood of Periboriwā did not change into females. Most of the Yąnomamö who are alive today are descended from the

[10]In some variants of this myth she put *piranha* fish in her vagina. These fish bit off Howashiriwā's penis.

[11]There are many linguistic parallels between eating and copulating in the Yąnomamö language. The verb "to eat" also means "to copulate", the verb "to eat like a pig" also means "to copulate excessively", the adjective meaning "satiated, full" also means "to be pregnant." The context of the statement decides the meaning.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

most common way for a child's soul to escape is to leave by way of the mouth when the child cries. Thus, mothers are quick to hush a bawling baby in order to prevent its soul from escaping. The child's soul can be recovered by sweeping the ground in the vicinity where it most probably escaped, calling for it while sweeping the area with a particular kind of branch. I once helped gather up the soul of a sick child in this fashion, luring it back into the sick baby. One of the contributions I made, in addition to helping with the calling and sweeping, was a dose of medicine for the child's diarrhea. A consequence of this set of attitudes about the vulnerability of children is that much of the village's activity with respect to shamanism and curing is directed toward the children.

RELATIVES BY BLOOD AND BY MARRIAGE Many forms of interpersonal behavior stem largely from the social roles implied in the kinship system. To be sure, some kinship behavior reflects the two distinctions of age and sex discussed above, for the terminology of kinship itself employs discriminations of this kind. For example, there are terms to distinguish older siblings from younger siblings and terms used by members of one sex only in reference to those of the opposite sex.

The relationship between kinship terms and biological parentage is not the same in the Yąnomamö language as it is in our own. As was shown in the first section of this chapter, people may stand in a child relationship to a number of individuals; that is, it is possible to have multiple "mothers" and "fathers" in Yąnomamö society. The term for mother and father conveys as much of a social as a biological relationship between individuals, and in the daily activities of the Yąnomamö it is the social implications of kinship roles that are most important.

What is implied in the kinship roles can best be seen in the way the kinship terms themselves are formed. All primary kinship terms take the ending "*-mou*" when used to describe the relationship between individuals. Thus, *asheya* means "my younger sibling," but *asheremou* means that individual X *behaves* toward individual Y *as a younger sibling*. This ending, *-mou*, also occurs in nonkinship usage to express "a way of behaving," "to execute a particular activity in a specified manner," or "to perform the activity that is implied by the word to which *-mou* is affixed." For example, *aki* means fresh-water crab and *akimou* means "to go hunting for crabs"; *howashi* means "a mischievous white monkey" and *howashimou* means "to act mischievously, to monkey around"; *nowa naka* means "enemy," and *nowa nakamou* means "to become an enemy by behaving objectionably"; *waiteri* means "fierce" and *waiterimou* means "to behave ferociously."

Whenever I would ask the Yąnomamö a question such as, "What do you call Kąobawä?" the answers would always be in the form of a kinship term to which "*-mou*" was affixed, but rarely in the form "I say such-and-such to him." Calling an individual by a specific term is, however, implied in the "way of behaving" toward that individual. But despite the fact that the Yąnomamö can say, literally, "I call him father" (*kama kä iba, haya ya kou*), they invariably say "*ya hätimou*"—"I behave toward him as a child."[30] Thus, they express their relationships to others in terms of *ways of behavior*. Each kinship category implies a set of these behavioral norms, and one's social life in the community is established with respect to all other individuals by the kinship terminology employed in each particular case.

[30] Although the word *hä* translates literally as "father," the expression *ya hätimou* can best be understood with the translation given above.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/4 cont./

648 agencies, so to speak, in the primeval forest. It is also one of the duties of the personnel, however, to lay out plantations for their own living, where they grow manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas, mamão /papaya/, beans, tobacco, sugar cane, etc. In addition, they hunt and fish.

Since living conditions are more favorable on the Aracá and the work of the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) is more remunerative than that of the rubber gatherers, the population here is four times as large as on the Demini. The region of the Indians begins at the Cachoeira dos Indios (Ills. 2 and 3). There is not as yet, however, any Indian protection post on the Rio Aracá.

/5/

114 III. The Ethnic Affiliation of the Surára and Pakidái

As early as the beginning of the previous century important investigators, among them Alexander von Humboldt, Robert Schomburgk, Jean Chaffanjon, and Theodor Koch-Grünberg, undertook ethnographic and in part linguistic studies in the northern and western part of the area between Rio Branco, Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro among a few groups of the Xiriána /Shiriana/ (5b) and Waiká /Waica/, which were broadened and

[104] 5b. X is pronounced like sch /in German/.

deepened by Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster in 1954/55, especially with regard to the Waiká (6a) (Waika) in the catchment

• [194] 6a. When the Surára and Pakidái pronounce the tribal name of the Waiká, their worst enemies, they always accent the final a.

[197] area of the upper Orinoco (6b). Their work was supported by North

6b. Zerries, 1956a.

American missionaries who have been in touch with the

/135 cont./

however, Čiriana and Čapakura are still to be regarded as two independent linguistic groups.

In the following, only a small selection of Surára words are offered, along with the corresponding words of Waika (according to Schuster) (16), Karimé (according to Salathé, 1932),

(122)

16. My sincerest thanks are due Herr Dr. Meinhard Schuster, Frankfurt, for the willingness with which he put at my disposal an excerpt of the Waika linguistic material that he is working on.

Širianá (according to Koch-Grünberg, 1928), and Warema (according to Vinci, 1956), in order to illustrate the close relationship that exists between these languages. The chief criterion for the selection was the availability of documented forms in the five languages; moreover, care was also taken to draw on words of a "non-cultural" nature for the most part, that is, /136/ those that are not so frequently taken over by neighboring languages and thus -- if agreeing morphologically and in meaning -- represent stronger proof of the genetic relationship of the languages compared. Becher's linguistic notes were made chiefly with Surára informants; for the designations of body parts, however, there were also additional forms (marked by P) which a Pakidái informant gave him.

The transcription of the five lists has been standardized; that of Karimé has also been simplified somewhat by the fact that two h and š sounds not adequately described by Salathé have been reproduced simply as h and š. With respect to the transcription, the following should be noted: ə̄ = middle, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ɨ̄ = high, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ã, etc. = nasal vowel; ɛ = open e; š = unvoiced, alveopalatal fricative; x = unvoiced, palatal fricative; ? = glottal stop; : = length for the previous sound.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

thing they could ever have imagined. It was the first time a stranger had learned to articulate the explosive vocables of their savage, noisy tribe.

Unlike Makiritari and Pemonton, languages of Carib origin with very frequent aspirates, the Shirian tongue is chanted rather than spoken and possesses few aspirates. In all probability it is close to the fountain-head of all language—that is, a common-sense arrangement of sounds and chants—and it is more adapted to forest conditions, being 'howled', with the accent on the last syllable of the word, so that the sound echoes over a considerable distance.

The language is richer than might be supposed from the backwardness of the Indians who speak it. Later on, with Luis Antonio's help, I was able to complete a vocabulary of more than eight hundred words. The most surprising feature is that many of the words have an undeniable affinity with the Malayan language. One example is '*naes*', the word (indifferently prefixed or suffixed) by which the Shirian refers to a man as such, differentiated from other forms of life or other things, and therefore implying a certain superiority, as in 'sir'. This is its exact equivalent in Malayan. Another example is '*pulipuli*' (moon), which is too close to the Malayan '*puleng*' for the similarity to be accidental. And so on.

I profited from my stay with the Shirians by analysing some of their mental processes, their psychical reflexes and their reactions to conditioned phenomena such as come under the general heading of 'psychotechnics'. I had with me a few sheets of cardboard from the wrappings of my medical supplies, and a stub of pencil (lost for some time, this turned up in the possession of a good lady who was using it—with results that were hard to discern—as a cosmetic). I would write a word in very clear block letters, or I would draw a face, on one side of the sheet. Then I would give the pencil to a Samatari who had been following my actions with the closest interest and ask him to copy exactly what I had written or drawn.

I repeated this test several times, and some curious results were produced. They may contribute something of value towards the analysis of primitive mentalities, and I reproduce them opposite.

With this test, even at a first glance, we can make some contribution towards a definition of the Indians' mental processes, which are still at the stage where their intelligence is wholly analytical. They have not yet developed the power of synthesis, which comes later. This is clearly shown by the Shirian copies of the face. They render all the details, without, however, being able to unite them

9:Greller K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123
than a few inches across. All had their ears pierced by sticks [301]
slightly thicker and longer than a cigarette. Their paddles [501]
were short and as crudely constructed as the boat itself, some being roughly rounded and others no more than discs lashed with lianas to a pole handle.

To these primitives we must have appeared a strange collection. Who are these beings—they must have asked themselves—who go about dressed, shod and bearded, and who point queer things at us which go "click"? And the many boats lined up there, that go so fast and make much noise! Mopare had probably told them wonderful tales, but since he had left the camp when it was still in embryo, he was doubtless as much amazed by its present size as the others. There was a moment of hesitancy and then Butrón held out a machete and said: "*Shori! Shori! Noji!*" He told us this meant "friend" or "relative". In exchange for the machete, he demanded the man's bow and arrows. The size of the bow surprised me, since it was taller than the man himself. One by one the Indians disembarked and surrendered their arms in exchange for machetes. All except a fine, well-built brave who seemed to be their leader and who remained sitting in the stern of the boat, watchful and silent. The women, still cowering, stayed near him. At last, seeing his companions on shore and our attitude giving no cause for mistrust, he was reassured. Courteously and with dignity he held out a hand to the women, who were still apprehensive.

"Padamo?" we asked him.

"Padamu, Padamu," he replied.

The final vowel, nasal and strongly accentuated, lies between [194]
"o" and "ou". The word is indigenous and has been the river's official nomenclature since the time of Diez de la Fuente.

"Guaharibo?"

Another nasal sound which cannot be transcribed followed. It was a sort of grunt and could have meant "Yes". And then: "Guaharibo".

"Waika?"

A worried look, followed by the gesture of bending a bow. [648]
"Waika—pfft! Waika—pfft!"

CHAPTER I

YĄNOMAMÖ CULTURE AND EARLIER ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK[1]

101

A. Yąnomamö Culture

The Yąnomamö are discussed in the literature under such tribal designations as Guaica, Waika, Guaharibo, Maku, Schiriana, Xiriana, Kirischana, Shidishana, Shamatari, Sanema, and Yanoama. Most of the terms are derogatory names applied to the Yąnomamö by their neighbors and charapterize the people as being monkey-like or as savages.[2]

[114] In the upper Orinoco and the Mavaca basin where I conducted my field work, the Indians referred to themselves as Yąnomamö, which at once defines their mode of life, language, origin, and includes all people who share this mode of life, language and origin. All non-Yąnomamö are collectively

---

[114] [1]As there are very few reliable English sources describing Yąnomamö social organization and culture, I give a brief description of them here. The best source in English to date is Zerries' 1955 publication, but it deals only with particular traits of Yąnomamö culture.

[128] [194] [104] [2]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized on every syllable, but for ease of typing this manuscript, I have not indicated all the nasalization. The vowel /-ą-/ is written /-ą-/. I have written the /- ə -/ as "-ë-" and have indicated nasalization by /-,-/; whenever a Yąnomamö word has one nasalized syllable, all syllables in that word are nasalized.

called nabä--"stranger" or "foreigners." Nabä have degenerated from an original Yąnomamö stock and are regarded, therefore, with some contempt by the Yąnomamö, an attitude that is further manifested in the language; Yąnomamö in linguistic usage requires an honorific pronoun whereas nabä takes the common pronouns.

I adopt the term Yąnomamö to refer to the entire group whose geographical distribution is shown in Map A,[1] using the term in a linguistic-cultural sense to define the tribe. Others have adopted the same usage with minor differences in spelling.

Several of the above-mentioned terms, Sanema, Waika, and Shamatari deserve further discussion, as they are used either as self-designations or in reference to local groups of Yąnomamö occupying specific geographical areas.

The term Sanema (Wilbert, 1963) is used in the upper Caura River as a self-designation. In this dialect the initial phone /y/ has been replaced throughout the language by /s/, Sanema thus being a local pronunciation of Yąnomamö.[2]

The term Shamatari is used by all the Yąnomamö Indians on the upper Orinoco River to refer to the congeries of villages that occupy the large area south of the Orinoco River and adjacent portions of Brazil. Zerries (1964:19)

---

[1] See next page.

[2] Ernesto Migliazza, personal communication. According to Migliazza, the word Sanema is pronounced /Sanöma/.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and way of life.

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ö] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ä] vowel are pronounced at that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąobawä would be pronounced "cow-ba-wuh," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

/439/

582 [163] Girls are usually around 14 or 15 years of age when they have their first child. The husband is perhaps between 16 and 18 years of age, if this is his first marriage.

The adult men frequently take as new wives girls who have just reached puberty.

A boy 15 years old is commonly not considered capable of taking a wife, especially if he has not yet sown his first conuco /a clearing for cultivation/ in order to be able to feed his wife. But even if the planting had been prepared, it is often the case that he has to wait while the older men pick over the girls whom he might have wished to marry.

584 582 Nevertheless, in marriages prearranged with the consent of all before the husband and the wife are of age, it is very probable that the age of both would be almost the same. As a result a boy might marry at an age younger than usual.

162 163 Here are some examples of the number of living children per wife among Guaika families. The parentheses indicate the probability that no more children will be born. (Not all of the fathers of the families enumerated are still alive.)

Living children of families of a single wife:

(6) (5) (4) (4) (4) (3) (3) 5 4 4 2 2 2 1 0 0 0 0 0

Living children of polygamous families and families in which a second wife has been taken after the death of the first:

	First Wife	Other Wives
Family "A"	(12)	1
Family "B"	6	2 -- 1 -- 1
Family "C"	(4)	2
Family "D"	(3)	4
Family "E"	2	0

/440/

Communications

202 195 Messages are memorized and carried by a messenger.

All official messages are communicated to the messenger and transmitted by him in a crooned form to the addressee. The addressee of the message repeats the words which are communicated to him or responds by answering them.

/440 cont./

202 484 Generally the messengers travel only during the day and communicate the message at night, after having rested from the trip. Nevertheless, in times of war, messengers may travel during the night, and urgent messages are communicated immediately upon the arrival of the messenger, be it day or night.

[416] A messenger who travels at night carries with him two or three pieces of firewood tied together in torch fashion.

● 195 Official dealings are frequently carried out in the same form of crooning. A man might in this way request official authorization [584] to take a certain girl as his wife. These dealings are generally carried on at night.

437 Nevertheless, business dealings are generally carried out during the day, so that both participants in the negotiation may have ample opportunity to see and examine what they are getting.

142 Human Biology

The hair of the Guaika /Waica/ is lighter than that of the other Indians and of most of the Creoles who live in the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

The hair of the majority of the individuals is fine, but some of them have quite stiff hair. The color of the hair is black or chestnut, and a few have hair with a slightly reddish tone. Some of the children have hair that is very light in color, which seems to become darker as they grow. Few of the older persons have gray hair.

The majority of men either have a very thin beard or none at all. The arms, legs, and chest are generally free of hair.

/441/ The eyes of the majority of them are brown, and some of them have black eyes. Some of the children have blue eyes. A few individuals have the inner corner of the eye rounded in a way somewhat similar to that of certain Oriental peoples.

Their noses are short and wide.

The Guaika are well fed, but in general do not show any excess muscle or fat. The Guaika to the south of the Orinoco tend to be fatter and plumper, it would seem, than those of El Platanal or those who live to the north of this locality.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

there, so they copulated with her. After they quenched their desire for sex, Omauwä caused the girls vagina to be changed into a mouth with teeth.[10] Howashiriwä, another of the first beings, was sitting on the trail at this time, very hungry for sex. When Rahariyoma's daughter walked by, he seduced her, but in so doing, lost his penis: her vagina bit it off. It was when this happened that Omauwä's son became very thirsty. Both Omauwä and Yoawä began digging a hole to find water to quench the boy's thirst. They dug the hole so deep that when water did gush forth, it caused a large lake to form and covered the jungle. Then some of the first beings cut down trees, and floated on them to escape the flood. Because this was such a strange thing to do, they changed into foreigners and floated away. Their language also changed into the tongue of foreigners, and gradually became unintelligible to the Yąnomamö. This is why foreigners have canoes and cannot be understood.

Many of the first beings were drowned in this flood. Those who managed to escape and remain Yąnomamö did so by climbing mountains. They climbed Maiyo, Howashiwä, and Homahewä mountains to escape the flood, Maiyo being a peak near the area where Kąobuwä's village had its origin. Then Rahariyoma, the mother of the girl whose vagina was changed into a mouth,[11] took a piece of red pigment and painted dots all over her own body. After she was completely covered with red dots, she plunged into the lake and caused it to recede. Omauwä then caused her to be changed into a *naheya*, a snake-like monster that lives in large rivers. After that, she caused Yąnomamö to drown when they tried to cross large rivers, either by eating them or by splashing large waves on them. Omauwä then went downstream and became an enemy to the Yąnomamö. Today he sends hiccups, sickness, and epidemics to the Yąnomamö.

It is because the foreigners refused to climb the mountains to escape the flood that they became enemies to the Yąnomamö. The foreigners tried to make friends with the Yąnomamö after the flood, but because their language was so different, the Yąnomamö refused to be friends. Today, however, the Yąnomamö are becoming friends with foreigners.

After the flood, there were very few original beings left. Periboriwä (Spirit of the Moon) was one of the few who remained. He had a habit of coming down to earth to eat the soul parts of children. On his first descent, he ate one child, placing his soul between two pieces of cassava bread and eating it. He returned a second time to eat another child, also with cassava bread. Finally, on his third trip, Uhudima and Suhirina, two brothers, became angry and decided to shoot him. Uhudima, the poorer shot of the two, began letting his arrows fly. He shot at Periboriwä many times as he ascended to *hädu*, but missed. People say he was a very poor shot. Then Suhirina took one bamboo-tipped arrow (*rahaka*) and shot at Periboriwä when he was directly overhead, hitting him in the abdomen. The tip of the arrow barely penetrated Periboriwä's flesh, but the wound bled profusely. Blood spilled to earth in the vicinity of a village called Höö-teri, near the mountain called Maiyo. The blood changed into men as it hit the earth, causing a large population to be born. All of them were males; the blood of Periboriwä did not change into females. Most of the Yąnomamö who are alive today are descended from the

[10] In some variants of this myth she put *piranha* fish in her vagina. These fish bit off Howashiriwä's penis.

[11] There are many linguistic parallels between eating and copulating in the Yąnomamö language. The verb "to eat" also means "to copulate", the verb "to eat like a pig" also means "to copulate excessively", the adjective meaning "satiated, full" also means "to be pregnant." The context of the statement decides the meaning.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/6 cont./

114
101
[127]

from each other only slightly in dialectal deviations (see the appendix /see 3: Rodrigues, this file/) (21). How great their

• [197]

21. Loukotka and Rivet already established the relationship of a few of these languages and grouped them under the general term "Širianá linguistic family," in which they include Širianá, Karimé, Waĩka, and Pusárakaú. (Loukotka, 1942, pp. 8/9; Rivet et Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140).

homogeneity is may be seen by the fact that the Surára and Pakidái call themselves Yanonámi and the Waiká and Xiriána, according to Zerries and Schuster, call themselves Yanoáma (22) (23).

22. Zerries, 1956a, p. 187.

23. Schuster, 1958a, pp. 115/16.

However, members of the Aramamesterí, Karauaterí, Puseheweterí, and even of the Xiriána, whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái as wives, visitors, and captives, said that they were Yanonámi. Furthermore, the Surára chief Hewemão enumerated for me 42 more tribes between Catrimani and Rio Negro (24), friendly and hostile, pointing out that these

24. Becher, 1956.

must likewise be included.

In view of this and on the basis of the linguistic and cultural relationship, it would seem to be appropriate to adopt into South American ethnology Yanonámi or Yanoáma as a new designation for the linguistic and culture group made up of these small-sized and light-colored Indians of the northern Amazon. According to the investigations up to now, they ocoupy a relatively compact area which is bounded in the east and south by the Rio Branco and the Rio Negro, respectively, but in the north and west extends

/134/

114 During his stay among the Surára Indians, Hans Becher was able to compile an extensive vocabulary of their language. This still needs linguistic revision and further checking. Even now, however, it makes it possible to establish perfectly clearly the relationship of this language to the languages of the Waika /Waica/, [101] Širiana /Shiriana/, and Karimé. There is a very close correlation, apparent at first glance, which corresponds to the cultural unity of these Indian groups, whom Becher has classified under the name Yanonámi /Yanoama/.

The first vocabulary of a language of this group was published by Koch-Grünberg in 1913 and -- considerably expanded -- in 1928, and comes from the Širiana (Širianá) of the Uraricuera (and its tributary the Uraricaparú) (1). In 1932 there appeared

1. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 458; 1928, pp. 302-308.

a vocabulary of the Karimé Indians of the Catrimani River compiled by G. Salathé (2). Further material was then published by

2. Salathé, 1932, pp. 314-316.

A. Vinci, who added to his travel account a vocabulary of the Warema-Širiana (or -Waika, listed by him as Uarema, Guaica and Sciriscíana) on the Merevari River (3). In 1954-55 O. Zerries

3. Vinci, 1956, pp. 354-357.

and M. Schuster collected as yet unpublished material among the Waika of the upper Orinoco, and in 1956 Becher presented his vocabulary from the Surára and a number of expressions from the Pakidái. This, to my knowledge, is all that is known about these languages at present.

114 As early as 1913 Koch-Grünberg found that Širiana was in-
197 dependent of the neighboring Karaiben /Carib/ languages and apparently isolated (4). The latter view was adopted in 1924 by

4. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 455.

/134 cont./

114 Rivet, who at that time set up in his classification of the American
197 languages a Širianá linguistic family which included the Širiana and Waika (5). W. Schmidt, who was familiar with the larger

5. Rivet 1924, p. 678.

Širiana vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, still unpublished at that time, was of the same opinion and wrote in 1926 that the language of the Širiana (Schiriana) "forms an isolated group along with those of the nearby Waika" (6). C. Loukotka, who took over the

6. Schmidt, 1926, p. 221.

revision and further working out of the classification from Rivet, retains the Širianá linguistic family, but adds to it Karimé, which has meanwhile become known, and Pusarakaŭ, which is merely mentioned, but is unknown linguistically (7). Waika was also still

7. Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9.

undocumented at that time, but its inclusion in the family resulted from the assertion by Koch-Grünberg that "the language of the very light-colored Waika is very closely related to the Schirianá" (8).

8. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 455.

This assertion is now fully confirmed by the Waika notes of Zerries and Schuster. Up to the present time, however, the Pusarakaŭ has remained unconfirmed. The last version of the classification by Rivet and Loukotka, which appeared in 1952, introduces no change in the Širiana family (9).

9. Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140.

J. A. Mason, in his comprehensive revision of the classification of South American languages undertaken for the Handbook of South American Indians, acknowledges the Širiana linguistic family

/134 cont./

114 (for him Shirianá, Shirianán), but disregards the unknown
• 197 Pusarakaú (10). His attempt at a classification of this family, in

10. Mason, 1950, p. 254.

which he subordinates the Waika (Waicá) to the Širiana (Šhirianá) /135/ and contrasts the two, put together as Waharibo (Guaharibo), Karimé (Carimé) (11), remains questionable (cf. p. 7). It has

11. Ibid.

been taken over and expanded by N. A. McQuown, however, whereby he again introduces the unknown Pusarakaú and adds a questionable, likewise linguistically unknown Guaharibo (12).

12. McQuown, 1955.

114 Since in McQuown's work the classification is not clear, I am
104 giving it here in the form of a table, in which I am retaining the
197 not always fortunate orthography of McQuown:

Z. 15. CHIRIANAN.

a. Guahariban. Ven. Br.
α. Chiriana (861). N2–4° W61–64°30' Br.
β. Uaica (860). N1°30'–2° W62–4°, N3° 30' W63°30', N4° W62°† Br.; N2–3° W64°, N3° W65° Ven.
γ? Guaharibo (495). N3° W65° Ven. Br.
b. Carime (845). N4° W64° Br.
c. Pusaracau (844). N3° W64°? Br.

"Ven." means Venezuela, "Br." Brazil; the numbers in parentheses after the names of languages refer to McQuown's place-maps; the other data are the geographical co-ordinates of the places where the languages are spoken or (if followed by †) were spoken (in this connection it should be noted that Karimé erroneously appears on the north bank of the Uraricuera instead of on the Catrimani, considerably to the south of it [approximately N1°30' W62°30']).

/135 cont./

114
197

Rivet, Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason, and McQuown all agree in regarding the Širiana family as a more or less closed group for which it has not been possible to determine any closer relationship with other American linguistic families. On the other hand, Swadesh, in his most recent contribution to the classification of American languages, sets up a "Makro-Širiana" group (for him macro-siriana), which includes, besides the Širiana family (for him sirisana), also the Čapakura family (chapakura) (13). This

13. Swadesh 1959, p. 20.

quite unexpected linkage, if it could be proved, would certainly raise very interesting and important questions for linguistics and ethnology, for the Čapakura family is found in the Guaporé basin, where it extends approximately between the tenth and sixteenth degrees south latitude over an axis formed by the 63rd degree west longitude. I therefore pursued the possibility of such a relationship and compared the languages of the Širiana family with those of the Čapakura. Although in the process nine Čapakura languages were considered (14), a lexical relationship between the two

14. Čapakura, Kitemoka, Napeka, Pawumwa, Iten, Moré, Kumanś, Wanyam, and Kabúí.

linguistic families could not be established. Since Swadesh has not yet published any material as evidence for the relationship suggested by him (15), his results cannot yet be evaluated in a

15. Swadesh is preparing to publish this evidence soon under the title "Materiales para un diccionario comparativo de las lenguas amerindias /Material for a Comparative Dictionary of Amerindian Languages/"; cf. Swadesh, 1959, pp. 8-9.

case such as the present one. On the basis of my own investigation,

/135 cont./

114 however, Čiriana and Čapakura are still to be regarded as two
197 independent linguistic groups.

128 In the following, only a small selection of Surára words
197 are offered, along with the corresponding words of Waika (according to Schuster) (16), Karimé (according to Salathé, 1932),

(122)

16. My sincerest thanks are due Herr Dr. Meinhard Schuster, Frankfurt, for the willingness with which he put at my disposal an excerpt of the Waika linguistic material that he is working on.

Širianá (according to Koch-Grünberg, 1928), and Warema (according to Vinci, 1956), in order to illustrate the close relationship that exists between these languages. The chief criterion for the selection was the availability of documented forms in the five languages; moreover, care was also taken to draw on words of a "non-cultural" nature for the most part, that is, /136/ those that are not so frequently taken over by neighboring languages and thus -- if agreeing morphologically and in meaning -- represent stronger proof of the genetic relationship of the languages compared. Becher's linguistic notes were made chiefly with Surára
114 informants; for the designations of body parts, however, there were also additional forms (marked by P) which a Pakidái informant gave him.

104 The transcription of the five lists has been standardized;
194 that of Karimé has also been simplified somewhat by the fact that two h and ĭ sounds not adequately described by Salathé have been reproduced simply as h and ĭ. With respect to the transcription, the following should be noted: ɛ̄ = middle, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ɪ̄ = high, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ã, etc. = nasal vowel; ɛ = open e; š = unvoiced, alveopalatal fricative; x = unvoiced, palatal fricative; ? = glottal stop; : = length for the previous sound.

/136 cont./

192
197

	Surára and Pahiári	Waika	Karimé	Síriana	Waroma
Tongue	-dhe, P -dhe	-dhe	-dye	-d:ge	-?ahada
Tooth	-adhe, P -adi	-adi	-adhe	-ad:he	-aahada
Mouth	-hahdi	-hdhdi	-pd:nhd	-pdnig	-ihdi
Nose	-hadhe, P -radhe	-hdhdd	-nahdhd	-hdhpe	-hinihdd
Eye	-nánnah, P -nánnu	-nánnah	-nd:nu	-nd:nd	-nannd
Ear	-niwnahdhe, P -nimdhdhe	-yánnidhdh	-yannahe	-yanh?he	-Sinhanada
Forehead	-hdhe, P -hdhe	-hdhe	-yahoha	-hd:he	
Head	-hd	-hd	-yd:hd	-d:he	-hd
Head hair	-hendi, P -hendi	-hdandi	-yahdnidahd	-hhd:he	-hanawada
Arm	-hihe, P -hdhe	-hdhe	-yápaha	-hd:he	-pahada
Hand	-imahe, P -imah	-imih	-yámi	-ihd:he	-?amida
Foot	-mamdhe, P -mamayadhe	-mdhnh	-yahdh	-mdhh?he	-mainada
Knee	-mahdhe	-mahdhe	-mdhahe	-mahdhe	-hanwahad
Chest	-hanih, P -hanih	-nahdhfhe	-yápdni	-hdihe	-hdihd
Water	mah	mdi	mahe	mdh?pe	madad
Fire	hanahd	hin mdhd	nd:hd	ndhe	hnadidh
Rain	ma?a	md		mdd	madada
Wind	ihdhd	wadidi	yd:nd	wadi:hi	ipahd, wad
Sun	panihdnah, matahd	matidha	matidha	hdip(a)dl	pdmard
Moon	panimhe	pdhdhe	pand:he	mdi:he	pahipah
Soil	madihaha	mdhhia	madi:ia	madhia	madhadd
Mountain	pantdhe	mdh	hahe	tadd:nd	hdmadd
Stone	mdd	mdhema	md:ma	ma:mdhe	ma?damd
House	wyad	yáno	yd:no	wyd'ad (village)	zaid
Pot	hahohd	hahdhe	hdhohd	hapipa	hahohd
Man	wahad	ddh		hard:md	wamadd
Woman	nad	nid	had	thaytha-tl:ypd:ia	zatada
Mother	nápa	nd		nd:pa	thamatad
Tapir	hima	hima	hi:ma	hi:ma	za?md
Jaguar	I:ra	'ia	dhd	dhd	pa?d

/137/

192
197

	Surára and Pakidái	Waiká	Karimá	Širiana	Waroma
Deer	*kayá*	*kéya*	*kéia*	*kaiɨxa*	*aʔaá*
Maracajá	*yaó*	*gidamáni*	*yawaté*	*tuáo*	*hiʔdawaní* (puma)
Cutia	*tómá*	*tómí*	*waáiro*	*tóːwɨ*	
Paca	*awatá*	*awáta*		*awáta*	*awotá*
Mutum	*paruri*	*háiuli*	*páːri*	*háːli*	*paiuli*
Jacamim	*wyapún*	*yápi*	*yáːpí*		
Jácaré	*iwá*	*iwa*	*aíri*	*waːli*	*iwadawá*
Fish	*yuːri*	*yúli*	*yúri*	*waytali-típ(i)na*	*íhwáː*
Crayfish	*aká*	*áka*		*áːka*	
Banana	*kwatá*	*kwatá*	*kwaːtá*	*kalatáːka*	*ukwatawá*

192
197
128

The languages have been arranged in such a way that those which seem to be nearest to the Surára lexically follow it directly, and those which differ from it the most come last. This gradation of similarity with respect to the Surára is given here, however, only on the basis of impressionistic findings, which, furthermore, rest only on an examination of language samples containing the above 40 words. It is therefore not a reliable basis for a linguistic classification of the entire group, though one may see in it an indication of the relationships of the individual languages to each other. In any case, support for the classifications of Mason and McQuown (pp. 1-3) cannot be drawn from it. /The bibliography on pp. 137-138 of the original source is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

[114]

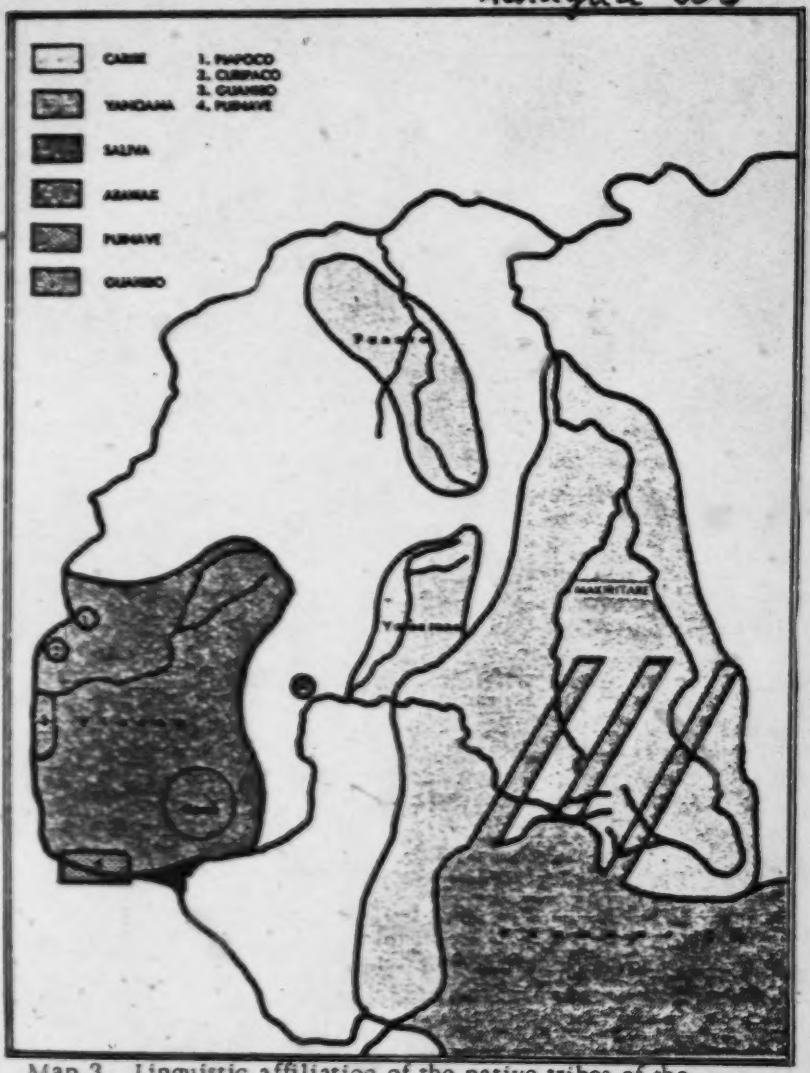
000

4: Wilbert--7 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Saliva SS15
Panare SS21
Makiritare SS20
Yabarana SS22

Sanema
Puinave SC18
Barauna SQ27
Guahibo SC14
Achagua SC5

YPaYAGBPuMYa
102
● 197



Map 3. Linguistic affiliation of the native tribes of the Orinoco-Ventuari region.

Sanema
Casapare
Pemon 55%

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as
114 Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have con-
128 sidered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 The linguistic material which the author of the present
192 work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 In order to classify this material within the different
192 Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others
174 belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we
● 197 established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabu-
197 laries were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the
174 Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956,
126 pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73
127 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

/192 cont./

127 192 197 174 The Casapare vocabulary was taken from Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308). It has 303 entries in all, 65 of which corresponds to the basic vocabulary. There is another Casapare vocabulary compiled by Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108), which has a total of 232 entries, 54 words of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. From the expedition's itinerary we know that the last-mentioned authors visited the Shirianá of the Paramichí River (tributary of the headwaters of the Paragua), a zone considered in the present work as an extension of the Casapare territory of Brazil.

Koch-Grünberg obtained his vocabulary among the Schirianá of the Uraricapará (1923, p. 288), and a comparison of the two vocabularies seems to indicate a closer affinity between them than that which exists with any other Yanoama language. The glottochronological calculation is based on Koch-Grünberg's material.

The Waica vocabulary comes from Dr. Zerries, who generously furnished us a basic one of 96 words of the Waica of the upper Orinoco.

Recently another vocabulary of the same language was published by /map appears here/ /193/ Anduze (1958, pp. 258-267), which contains 369 entries. The present calculation is based on the material provided by Zerries.

We give the "Samatari" vocabulary this name provisionally, for more precisely it is the idiom of the Surara and Pakidai of the Demini River in Brazil. The material was given to us by Dr. Becher in the form of a basic vocabulary which contains 85 words. Between the Surara and Pakidai there exist only slight dialectal differences. A vocabulary of 40 words of the same idiom was published in the monograph on these Indians by Becher (1960, pp. 136-137). Another vocabulary of the southern Yanoama was published by Seitz (1960, p. 306) and contains 40 entries. The few words which permit making a semantic comparison with other similar languages indicate that the Araraibo-Xamatari of Seitz is closer to the Surara, Pakidai, Waica, and Karimé than to the Sanemá and Casapare.

[text continues on p. 44]

/193 cont./

174 • 197 :192] 127] We were not able to obtain the vocabulary of the Karimé published by Salathé (1932, pp. 314-316). Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 134-138) places it between the Waica and the Casapare (Schiriana of Koch-Grünberg).

According to the results of the lexico-statistical calculation (cf. p. 47), it can be said that the idioms compared form a linguistic conglomerate whose internal divergences date from 6-35 minimal centuries (mc). By their temporal distribution they constitute two more or less distinct groups: a) a Sanemá family with Nabudub, Sanemá, and Pubmatari, with an internal divergence of 6-17 mc., and b) a Casapare family with Samatari, Waica, and Casapare and with an internal divergence of 8-21 mc. The extreme languages are Nabudub (of the Sanemá) and Casapare. The distance of the Waica from the three Sanemá idioms corresponds to 17 mc., which is the same as the maximum internal distance of the Sanemá family, and the Nabudub have the same difficulty in understanding a Pubmatari or a Waica; they should, however, understand each other, although with some difficulty. The Waica has greater ties with the Samatari, with whom he can communicate orally without any great difficulty.

Other classifications of the Yanoama idioms were made by Rivet (1924, p. 678), Loukotka (1944, pp. 8-9), Mason (1950, p. 254), Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140), McQuown (1955), Swadesh (1959), and Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137).

Koch-Grünberg (1913, pp. 455-458) had established by 1913 the independence of the Yanoama idiom (Shiriana) from the Caribe and added that the idiom apparently represented an isolated language. Rivet (1924, p. 678) and W. Schmidt (1926, p. 211) shared the opinion of Koch-Grünberg regarding the affiliation and independence of the "Shirishana" family. /194/ The classification of the "Shirishana Family" by Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140) includes the following idioms:

Shirishana Family

[101] a) Shirishana (or Guaharibo), who live dispersed in small groups in the interior, along the tributaries of the

/194 cont./

174 Uraricuera and on the southern slopes of the Sierra
197 de Parima;
101 b) Karime (or Shaunári), on the Catemany River in the same region;
c) Waika, who live on the upper Ocamo and Mocajahy, right tributaries of the upper Orinoco;
d) Pusárakáu, an unknown wild tribe which lives in the Sierra Parima.

174 As we mentioned above, we are inclined to differentiate
197 between Shirishana (Casapare) and Guaharibo (Sanemá), which would seem to be linguistically justified by the distance of 23-
[127] 35 mc between them. Rivet bases his opinion, it would seem, on Koch-Grünberg's material (1928), which we have also used in our comparison. The Pusárakáu idiom (d), which also appears in Loukotka's classification (1944, pp. 8-9), is a completely unknown idiom and therefore does not figure in Mason's classification (1950, p. 254), which presented the following Shirishaná grouping:

SHIRISHANÁ
[101] A.--Waharibo (Guaharibo)
1. Shirianá
a) Waicá (Guaica, Uaica)
B.--Carimé (Karimé)

174 According to Mason, Shirianá and the less important Carimé
197 are the principal idioms of the family. This observation is based
114 upon Koch-Grünberg's material (1928, Shiriana), which was identified in our comparison as Casapare, and, as the greater separation of the Yanoama stock corresponds to that language, we must admit the value of Mason's opinion. Carimé does not figure in our classification.

Furthermore, Mason is of the opinion that the Waica idiom is, possibly, a dialect of Shirianá (Casapare), but, according to the glottochronological calculation, he does not seem to be on firm ground. The distance between the two idioms is 21 mc, which is much greater than a dialectal difference of 5-7 mc. Waica appears on the graph as closer to Sanemá (17-18mc). The opinion of /195/ many researchers that Shirianá (Casapare) and Waica are descended from the Guaharibo (Sanemá) seems to have some justification.

/195 cont./

174
197
114

McQuown (1955) classified the "Chirianan" family in the following way:

a) Guahariban with Chirianan, Uaica and ? Guaharibo; b) Carime; c) Pusaracau.

A more recent classification of the Yanoama family was made by Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137). By their internal distances the author just mentioned brought together the various Yanoama idioms in the following manner: Surara and Pakidai (Samatari), Waika, Karimé, Shirianá (Casapare), Warema (Sanemá, Pubmatari) (19).

19. The names in parenthesis were added by the present author.

Dall'Igna Rodrigues arrived at this result on the basis of a comparison of 40 words of the idioms mentioned and explains that the idioms of his list were arranged according to the relative distance between each one of them with respect to Surara and Pakidai. He also emphasizes the provisional nature of his result, somewhat different from those presented by Mason and McQuown.

It is interesting, however, to observe that the classification of Dall'Igna Rodrigues coincides in its details with ours. On adding the lexico-statistical data, the classification would read as follows:

Surará-Pakidai (Samatari), 8 mc > Waica; 21mc > Shirishaná (Casapare); 21-25 mc > Warema (Sanemá).

Two American linguists, Greenberg and Swadesh, recently broke with the tradition established by Rivet, W. Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason, and McQuown, according to which the Yanoama had no close affiliation with any other South American linguistic family.

Greenberg (1956) classifies the Shirianá as a distinct group in the "Chibchan proper" subfamily of the "Macro Chibchan" family. The Tunebo also belong to the same category.

Swadesh (1959, p. 20) established a Macro-Siriana, with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc) and

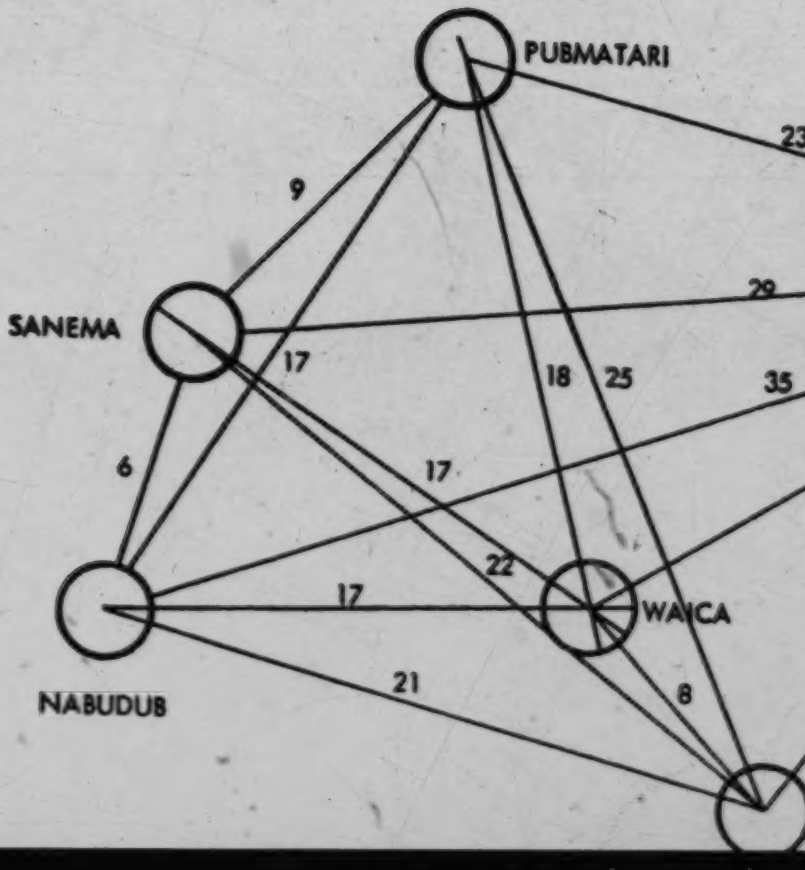
/195 cont./

114 Sirisana (21 mc). According to what Dr. Swadesh said to me
174 personally, he also planned to include the Warao in Macro-
● 197 Siriana, which would magnify the internal divergence of the group to 72 mc of a microphylum. I took some interest in this suggestion by Swadesh and tried to compare Warao with Yanoama, particularly with the more extensive vocabulary which I collected among the Sanemá.

I made two comparisons: a) that of the basic vocabularies, and b) that of all the possible pairs between the Sanemá vocabulary and the Warao /196/ dictionary by Barral (1957). The results of these comparisons can be expressed in the following manner: More than 20% of all the pairs compared seem to be related, a sufficiently high percentage to stimulate a more thorough linguistic study. The result of the preliminary glottochronological calculation gave a separation between the two idioms of 45 mc corresponding to 26% of common retentions.

I have the impression that that mathematical result tends to diminish and not to become greater as one goes further into his study. We also observed certain relationships between the Yanoama and the Ye /Ge/ of Brazil. But these are of a different nature and more distant than the cases considered between the Warao and Sanemá.

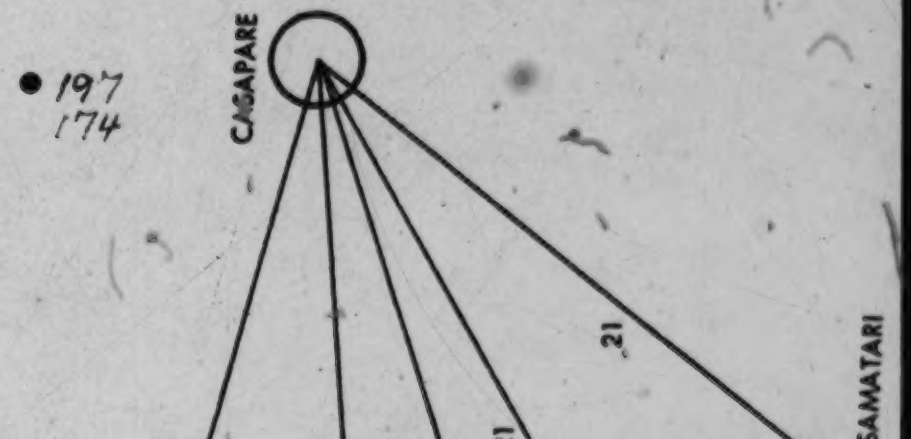
As we have already mentioned, there are certain indications that the Tunebo, Warao, Yanoama, and Ye idioms seem to have a common root in Chibcha and are linguistically more closely related among themselves than with the majority of South American idioms.


PUBMATARI
SANEMA
WAICA
NABUDUB
9
17
18
25
35
6
17
22
17
21
8

4. Wilbert--49 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

/197/

• 197
174



4: Wilbert--48 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

/196 cont./

197
174

Idioms	Pairs	Cognates	%	mo.
1. SAMATARI				
2. Casapare	62	35	56	21
3. Sanemá	81	42	52	22
4. Pubmatari	65	33	51	25
5. Nabudub	79	42	53	21
6. Waica	80	62	78	8
2. CASAPARE				
3. Sanemá	53	24	45	29
4. Pubmatari	57	30	53	23
5. Nabudub	61	23	38	35
6. Waica	54	30	56	21
3. SANEMA (Erebato)				
4. Pubmatari	69	54	78	9
5. Nabudub	82	69	84	6
6. Waica	89	53	60	17
4. PUBMATARI (Casiracumi)				
5. Nabudub	65	40	63	17
6. Waica	71	43	61	18
5. NABUDUB (Venimari)				
6. Waica	86	51	59	17

4: Wilbert--50 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Chibcha SC11 Sanema Warao SS18 Bari SS 13

/198/ Cariban Ind. SR7

Y 114 126 143 At the beginning of the year 1961 I had an opportunity, together with Dr. Layrisse, to visit the Waica of the upper Orinoco, where we went with the intention of taking blood samples of that group. We obtained 140 individual samples, which, in all probability, are representative for the Yanoama in general. We shall now report an interesting genetic discovery.

Y 143 The Waica showed a complete absence of the gene Diego (Di^a). As we reported before (Layrisse, Wilbert, 1960), the antigen Diego is an exclusively Mongoloid genetic marker, but, in spite of the fact that it occurs solely in populations called "Mongoloid," it does not appear in all of them. There are Diego-positive Mongoloids and Diego-negative Mongoloids. Gradual differences of frequency between one Mongoloid population and another have also been observed. Up to the present the scale of frequency varies between 0 and 50%.

WC B [143] The Waica are one of the Diego-negative Mongoloid populations, and the tribes of South America in the same category are: the Tunebo, Barí (Motilones Bravos), and Warao. Other groups with very low incidence could be included in this category also, since the low frequency they showed for the gene can be better explained by the crossing of a population originally negative with another one highly positive. A representative of the latter group is the tribe of the Yaruro.

Y CI 143 ● 197 During the six years of research on the Diego gene we made an observation which we consider to be of importance, which is: the various frequency groups of the Diego antigen correspond to different linguistic affinities. The most carefully studied case is that of the Caribe. We examined more than ten tribes and subcribes and they all show an average of 28% of the Di^a gene. In this case the Caribe linguistic affinity is indicatory for a positive incidence of the Di^a gene. It is understood, of course, that there is no causal relationship between these two facts and that its observation is not to be interpreted in the sense that we are trying to make a chromosome responsible for a given cultural trait. The two factors are essentially different, but their parallel appearance is an interesting fact.

Warao SS18

Sanema
Chibcha SC11
Bari' SS13

/198 cont./

A linguistic connection has been observed between the Tunebo, Barí, Warao, and Yanoama, a relationship which appears to be closer than that which usually exists among all the indigenous languages of America, and, therefore, it is interesting that that group of tribes should occupy a common position and at the same time an extreme one on the distribution scale of the Di^a gene. In this case it is not a matter /199/ of a gradual difference, such as that of 12% Arawak and 28% Caribe. In this case it is a matter of an important difference between "positive" and "negative." The tribes mentioned are diametrically opposed to the Páez, Ica, and other tribes with frequencies of 45%, and this means that the Tunebo, Barí, Warao, and Yanoama are genetically distinct from their Arawak and Caribe neighbors and from the Chibcha of Colombia (Páez, Ica), but identical among themselves (speaking always of a single gene).

Another observation, equally interesting, is that in general terms the cultural pattern of the tribes marked with the negative Diego is relatively uniform: they are essentially gatherers and not producers with regard to obtaining food, but their social structure and their religious concepts also seem to have many common traits which at the same time are very different from those of other native tribes of Venezuela and South America. We cannot at the present time go into this interesting point in greater detail. To sum up, we shall say that the Waica (Yanoama) are genetically similar to the Warao, Barí, and Tunebo. As all these tribes show very primitive cultural traits, it is our opinion that the absence of the Di^a gene is a characteristic of the ancient populations of South America, since it is generally accepted that the tribes called Marginal belong to an early invasion of native immigration. It is noteworthy that all the tribes speak idioms with Chibcha characteristics.

In the foregoing discussion we had to include the several Yanoama subtribes in order to try to locate the Sanemá within a larger ethnogeographic framework. We shall now concentrate more specifically on the Sanemá, due to the study of this subtribe which we made in the field. Many of the data gathered could be

/213/

197 174 Regarding the Chibcha characteristics in the Warao and Yanoama idioms, it is probably a substratum which we shall provisionally call proto-Chibcha. The Chibcha traits which are perceived in them do not seem to represent elements acquired owing to contact, but rather an ancient stratum common to the idioms which are at the present time identified as Chibcha.

143 174 Finally, it is necesary to point out that, judging from the genetic constitution (the Diego antigen) of some Chibcha tribes, it might be surmised that the highly formative culture was introduced by people genetically different from the Marginal Chibcha such as Tunebo, Barf, Warao, Yanoama, whose culture was favorably conditioned in the direction of the adoption and the increment of formative cultures and indigenous civilizations. Some tribes were absorbed by the invaders; others, such as the tribes that we have just mentioned, maintained their independence. Perhaps we shall have to deal with greater emphasis in the future with primitive reminiscences in the formative cultures instead of talking so much about traits and loans from the west among the Marginals of Guayana /Guiana/ and others. We have the impression that we are bringing out a complex of ancient culture in South America, from which a number of traits have survived in the more highly developed cultures.

622 [624] [793] Political duties are performed by a chief /jefe/ and a military leader. We are of the opinion that the priest can at the same time be the chief of a local group. We cannot, however, make a categorical affirmation, owing to the confusion which exists among the people as a consequence of the strong cultural current which is invading this Sanemá nucleus. In the same group on the Ventuari we observed that the office of chief is inherited patrilineally. The old chief had left his duties to his eldest son, about 28 years old, and it was easy to see that his younger brother, about 20 years old, was also respected as a possible future chief (cf. Becher, 1960, pp. 60-61. Chieftainships over more than a local group do not exist.

since Koch-Grünberg's contact with two Yanoama groups, in 1911, that more substantial information on this interesting tribe has been collected and in parts been published.[2]

Emerging from these data are the names and descriptions of a number of distinguishable tribal units, e.g., Sanemá (Guaharibo, Shirishana), Casapare, Waica, Sanumari, Surara, Pakidái, and others. It also has become quite obvious that the Yanoama subtribes are not unified by socio-political authority, but rather by a general and specific culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and culture variants, carried by the different subtribes and local groups respectively. The various local groups and subtribes occupy a coherent territory, they speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious forms.

Taken as a whole, the Yanoama were found to be a very numerous tribe and they belong, in fact, to the most numerous of all the autochtonous populations of lowland South America, but previously published figures of 30-50,000 individuals appear to represent very generous overestimations of the demographic strength of the Yanoama groups known so far.

Linguistic classification. Several authors have attempted a linguistic classification of the Yanoama although most of them did not have at their disposal the more recent material.[3] Taking advantage of this material, we have attempted a glottochronological analysis, the results of which allow us some interesting insight into the internal correlation of the Yanoama languages.[4]

According to this result, the several Yanoama languages, as known today, constitute the Yanoama linguistic stock of 6-35 mc of internal separation. The two more or less clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: *A. Sanemá*: (a) Sanemá, (b) Nabudíb, (c) Pubunatari, [6-17 mc of internal divergencies: Sanemá-Nabudíb = 6 mc, Sanemá-Pubunatari = 17 mc, Nabudíb-Pubunatari = 17 mc]; *B. Casapare*: (a) Casapare, (b) Carime (?), (c) Waica, (d) Sanumari (Surara and Pakidái), [8-21 mc of internal divergencies, excepting Carime (for lack of vocabulary material): Casapare-Waica = 21 mc, Casapare-Sanumari = 21 mc, Waica-Sanumari = 8 mc].

2 Surara-Pakidái, by Becher, 1960; Waica, by Becher, 1951; Schauer, 1958; Zerries, 1955, 1956, 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1960; Sanumá, by Vitale, 1959; Wilbert, 1961a, 1961b.

3 Rivet, 1924, p. 678; Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9; Mason, 1950, p. 254; Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140; McQuown, 1955, p. 525; Greenberg, 1956; Swadesh, 1959, p. 20; Dall'Igna Rodrigues, 1960, pp. 136-137.

4 We are indebted to Dra H. Becher and O. Zerries for having us leave a basic vocabulary of Surara-Pakidái and Waica respectively. Complete information on source material has been presented by Wilbert, 1961a.

StLayrisse et al. D. E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[6] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shirianá" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Sirionó*" with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirioana (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Sirionó*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

6 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 455-458.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 20.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

thing they could ever have imagined. It was the first time a stranger had learned to articulate the explosive vocables of their savage, noisy tribe.

Unlike Makiritari and Pemontón, languages of Carib origin with very frequent aspirates, the Shirian tongue is chanted rather than spoken and possesses few aspirates. In all probability it is close to the fountain-head of all language—that is, a common-sense arrangement of sounds and chants—and it is more adapted to forest conditions, being 'howled', with the accent on the last syllable of the word, so that the sound echoes over a considerable distance.

The language is richer than might be supposed from the backwardness of the Indians who speak it. Later on, with Luis Antonio's help, I was able to complete a vocabulary of more than eight hundred words. The most surprising feature is that many of the words have an undeniable affinity with the Malayan language. One example is '*tuan*', the word (indifferently prefixed or suffixed) by which the Shirian refers to a man as such, differentiated from other forms of life or other things, and therefore implying a certain superiority, as in 'sir'. This is its exact equivalent in Malayan. Another example is '*pulipuli*' (moon), which is too close to the Malayan '*puleng*' for the similarity to be accidental. And so on.

I profited from my stay with the Shirians by analysing some of their mental processes, their psychical reflexes and their reactions to conditioned phenomena such as come under the general heading of 'psychotechnics'. I had with me a few sheets of cardboard from the wrappings of my medical supplies, and a stub of pencil (lost for some time, this turned up in the possession of a good lady who was using it—with results that were hard to discern—as a cosmetic). I would write a word in very clear block letters, or I would draw a face, on one side of the sheet. Then I would give the pencil to a Samatari who had been following my actions with the closest interest and ask him to copy exactly what I had written or drawn.

I repeated this test several times, and some curious results were produced. They may contribute something of value towards the analysis of primitive mentalities, and I reproduce them opposite.

With this test, even at a first glance, we can make some contribution towards a definition of the Indians' mental processes, which are still at the stage where their intelligence is wholly analytical. They have not yet developed the power of synthesis, which comes later. This is clearly shown by the Shirian copies of the face. They render all the details, without, however, being able to unite them

/433 cont./

121 Messrs. Eugene Higdem, Byron Reihart, and Joe Jenkins, and the late Flora Troxel.

124 The information concerning the area of Brazil inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ has been gathered from oral reports made to me by several men who said that they had worked upstream /434/ on the rivers of Brazil, within or near Guaika Territory. This information, although fragmentary and not absolutely certain, has helped us nevertheless to form a more complete picture of the Guaika tribe as a whole.

Orientation

101
131 The Guaika /Waica/ tribe inhabits the region of the Upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the outlet of the Ocamo River, including also the south bank of the Ocamo itself. In addition, the Guaika tribe extends into the territory of Brazil, occupying the headwaters of several tributaries of the Branco and Negro rivers (see the map /see p. 6 /).

The tribe located to the north, the Guajaribo /Guaharibo/, inhabits the north bank of the Ocamo River, the valley of the Padamo River, and the headwaters of the Caura River, and is also found in Brazil on the headwaters of the Uraricoera River, a tributary of the Branco River. The Guajaribo come downriver frequently as far as La Esmeralda, and on occasion even come as far as the mouth of the Cunucunuma River. It has been reported that they have been seen as far to the east as the Paragua River in the state of Bolívar (see map).

● 199 The Guaika and Guajaribo Indians speak the same language, but there are several observable dialectical differences which make it possible to distinguish immediately by their speech whether they belong to the one group or to the other. I make this observation on the basis of my studies of the Guaika language spoken in El Platanal and its comparison with samples of the Guajaribo dialect collected by Flora Troxel and by me in La Esmeralda and Ioeitedi.

[121]
[122]

Waica
Guaharibo

/434 cont./

199 101 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 199 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted [248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they cultivate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton hammocks [352] and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version [342] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some [484] few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 192 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/ [114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 628 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123 From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dixies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their [152] fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One [758] of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

595 As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous
162 and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males 578 whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the 684 negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought 838 that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We ● 201 had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of ges- 123 tures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

123 In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of 441 ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

Surára
Pakidái

/112 cont./

782 with threads of Bromelia fibers. Such threads are also drawn
[824] crisscross over the sticks, and on them are glued down-feathers
[237] of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). The structure --
akuanobé --, which women and girls are not permitted to see,
gives the effect of a man's head, in the hair of which are glued
down-feathers of the gavião-real. By order of the chief, several
warriors take this calabash into the forest and set it down in a
particular spot.

825
●202

6. Birds as Transmitters of Messages

On May 21, 1956, in his maloka on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, a Surára man, Honohomá, was engaged in a loud monologue which started about 4:00 in the morning and lasted until about 6:00; during this he was lying in
[114] his hammock. As to the meaning of this apparent monologue, my little interpreter Jibeauwõ afterwards gave me the following explanation: When Honohomá woke up, he heard the singing of the little bird kaukaumã, a japim (Cacicus cela L.), in which at the time, however, the soul of Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, was to be found. The latter was living with his tribe in the /113/ maloka on the middle Demini. The soul in the little bird said that the Pakidái, after the festival in memory of the dead, had arrived safely at their communal house. At the same time it reported the course of the journey in detail, the hunting successes, and the planting of new banana trees and pupunha palms. Whenever the little bird interrupted its song for a time, Honohomá would tell it about how the Surára were getting along.

According to the belief of the two tribes, the little japim is a transmitter of messages, who reports illness and death, as well as military encounters with hostile tribes.

/439/

582 [163] Girls are usually around 14 or 15 years of age when they have their first child. The husband is perhaps between 16 and 18 years of age. if this is his first marriage.

The adult men frequently take as new wives girls who have just reached puberty.

A boy 15 years old is commonly not considered capable of taking a wife. especially if he has not yet sown his first conuco /a clearing for cultivation/ in order to be able to feed his wife. But even if the planting had been prepared. it is often the case that he has to wait while the older men pick over the girls whom he might have wished to marry.

584 582 Nevertheless. in marriages prearranged with the consent of all before the husband and the wife are of age. it is very probable that the age of both would be almost the same. As a result a boy might marry at an age younger than usual.

162 163 Here are some examples of the number of living children per wife among Guaika families. The parentheses indicate the probability that no more children will be born. (Not all of the fathers of the families enumerated are still alive.)

Living children of families of a single wife:

(6) (5) (4) (4) (4) (3) (3) 5 4 4 2 2 2 1 0 0 0 0 0

Living children of polygamous families and families in which a second wife has been taken after the death of the first:

	First Wife	Other Wives
Family "A"	(12)	1
Family "B"	6	2 -- 1 -- 1
Family "C"	(4)	2
Family "D"	(3)	4
Family "E"	2	0

/440/ Communications

202 195 Messages are memorized and carried by a messenger.

All official messages are communicated to the messenger and transmitted by him in a crooned form to the addressee. The addressee of the message repeats the words which are communicated to him or responds by answering them.

/440 cont./

202 484 Generally the messengers travel only during the day and communicate the message at night, after having rested from the trip. Nevertheless, in times of war, messengers may travel during the night, and urgent messages are communicated immediately upon the arrival of the messenger, be it day or night. [416] A messenger who travels at night carries with him two or three pieces of firewood tied together in torch fashion.

195 [584] Official dealings are frequently carried out in the same form of crooning. A man might in this way request official authorization to take a certain girl as his wife. These dealings are generally carried on at night.

437 Nevertheless, business dealings are generally carried out during the day, so that both participants in the negotiation may have ample opportunity to see and examine what they are getting.

142 Human Biology

The hair of the Guaika /Waica/ is lighter than that of the other Indians and of most of the Creoles who live in the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

The hair of the majority of the individuals is fine, but some of them have quite stiff hair. The color of the hair is black or chestnut, and a few have hair with a slightly reddish tone. Some of the children have hair that is very light in color, which seems to become darker as they grow. Few of the older persons have gray hair.

The majority of men either have a very thin beard or none at all. The arms, legs, and chest are generally free of hair.

/441/ The eyes of the majority of them are brown, and some of them have black eyes. Some of the children have blue eyes. A few individuals have the inner corner of the eye rounded in a way somewhat similar to that of certain Oriental peoples.

Their noses are short and wide.

The Guaika are well fed, but in general do not show any excess muscle or fat. The Guaika to the south of the Orinoco tend to be fatter and plumper, it would seem, than those of El Platanal or those who live to the north of this locality.

582 /477/ A young woman cannot remain unmarried for a long time, but some manage to reject all their suitors for several years
587 after puberty. A widow, especially a widow with children, sometimes remains alone forever after the death of her husband.

Making Peace

628
● 202 When one settlement wishes closer friendship with another, it sends a messenger to offer more friendly terms.

628 If the settlements are only "macana enemies," a messenger
202 of the very settlement that takes the initiative might go, but if
728 the settlements are "arrow enemies," then it is necessary to send a messenger from a settlement which is friendly with both of the settlements in question. The messenger who is a member of a settlement that is an "arrow enemy" would run the danger of being shot with an arrow before giving the message.

628 Thus, two very hostile settlements might manage to suspend
728 the raids between them. Later, they might agree not to fight any more should they see one another in a friendly settlement. Until they arrive at this accord, a neutral settlement friendly to both, when it is visited by people from one of these settlements hostile to each other, must send a message to the other, warning that they should not come so long as there are visitors from the hostile settlement in it. Still later they might agree to receive the visit of a small group of visitors from the other
[572] enemy settlement, for commercial purposes. From this time on the two settlements can undertake their negotiations directly, and friendships begin to form among their respective members.
[582] Then, when one settlement, out of good will, gives its own girls as wives to the men of the other settlement, it can be said that they have recovered; they have truly become good friends.

While the greater the number of persons involved in a dispute or a fight, the less the probability that the opposing bands will reach an understanding after a short time, the disputes within a settlement itself are in general settled quickly. Within a few months all will have been forgotten. /478/ Disputes between settlements which have not gone beyond macana fights are usually forgotten in a year or two. Disputes between settlements which have occasion to use arrows, especially if someone has

/117 cont./

628 tendency toward the independence of the next smaller parts acting on this plane and forming it -- namely, the villages.

These hostile relationships between the villages are external evidence of a centrifugal force in Waika culture seeking detach-
628 ment. The opposite tendency, the centripetal force toward bind-
574 ing the villages together, finds its expression in active intercourse
438 for trading and visiting. These trips, which are performed with such zeal that practically every second day there is some associa-tion with another village, from or to it, can be divided into sev-
431 eral groups, according to their purpose. First, trips purely for trade take place: each village prefers to produce or procure a certain article of the material culture so that it practically has a monopoly on it. One village supplies especially fine tobacco, another is favorably located in a place where much arrow-cane grows, a third produces pots because good clay is present in the vicinity, another is the supplier of hunting dogs for the neighbor-hood, and the village closest to us naturally barters primarily with European ironware. This formation of centers for specific goods naturally favored the development of commercial traffic; the trading itself is carried out over very long periods and thus resembles a gift-exchange behind which there is a certain amount
437 of compulsion. When one knows that the partner has more objects of a kind than he justifiably needs for himself, it is requested very urgently, and the one so entreated may not refuse, if he does not want to risk enmity and war -- he can, of course, get his revenge
[182] in his own way the next time. This system successfully prevents
556 any accumulation of capital; no Waika possesses noticeably more
565 than his neighbor; there are no social distinctions; and consequently no vertical classes.

628 Besides trade, the transmission of news, which proceeds in the
594 form of a /118/ ceremonial conversational-singing and not in
[203] simple dialogue, is also one purpose of such trips, as are wife-
[533] seeking and courting in other villages. As a rule all these trips
[584] are made by a group of men or young people who are guests for one or at most two nights in the strange village and then, after the trading has been done, oddly enough not until the last minute

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Branco river in Brazil. They considered an agricultural life a peasant's life, and a dull one at that, with no possible appeal to the imagination. There were a few palavers about it, but it is well-known that among primitive peoples the old are listened to least: wisdom favours the youths and the boys, who have their whole lives in front of them—not behind them like a stream flowing away. The young men prevailed, and burned the forest. The first big hut was built according to Manuera's ideas, and served as a pattern for all the Shirians when they came to build.

So we too arrived at this 'big hut', which Manuera showed us with a pride that was scarcely justified, and here too the Shirians fled away into the woods, much to the amusement of our guides. We could hear them there, uttering their guttural cries of terror and wonderment.

Inside the hut there was no one, with the exception of two old folk stretched out in their liana hammocks. They didn't stir: it was as if they didn't even see us. One of them was a woman whose body was reddened nearly all over with *chute*—a skin disease frequent among the Indians. A macaw, scared by the sight of our beards, set up a howl on his perch and started biting through the cord which attached him to it. Manuera went off into the woods, calling the others, and the thick green swallowed him up for a good hour. We were rather afraid he would want to stop here for the night, for our stomachs were turning at the filth around us, but we had misjudged our man: Manuera was now engaged in more important business and had no desire for more than a brief, benevolent survey of his kinsfolk. We very soon got back to the boat and at last were able to take deep breaths of the fresh river and forest air.

Manuera told us that the Shirians had not been really so scared by our arrival. Indeed, they had been expecting us. But they couldn't quite pluck up the courage to look close. Our stature, our beards, our clothes and our guns, in the eyes of primitive people, turned us into supermen—dread figures, terrifying as monsters and above all, essentially evil.

The news that we were on the way had been bruited abroad by the party we had met at the Mené pass—and *à propos* of this, we learned from Manuera that the spider-child had died soon afterwards, somewhere on the Sabera. It was a relief to hear this, even if the poor little monstrosity's death had been caused by the sight of us, as the Shirians thought. Manuera's gestures became wild, and his speech difficult to follow, as he tried to explain their attitude.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

we found traces of a big encampment: here were the forked branches with the rudimentary hammocks still slung from them. There had been fires here too, but the ashes were now cold. Bones and scraps of all sorts were scattered everywhere and in the centre of the area there was shining the great armoured back of an armadillo. This aroused everyone's curiosity, not least the Samatari's. They were probably thinking of the sumptuous banquet which this carcass had afforded, and we were very glad to see that the pangs of hunger were at that moment very real and very urgent for them, too.

The fact that the fires were cold convinced our captors that it would be a good idea to set up their own camp: there would be no likelihood tonight of catching up with the tribe that had passed this way. Things went so quietly that at times we forgot that we were prisoners: automatically we looked on the Samatari as our friends and guides, just like the Guaycs Indians. But the illusion was brief: that evening we ate nothing, while our sharp-eyed hosts tucked into a mound of grubs they had collected *en route*. Then they belched their way to their hammocks, from which the odours of their further digestion wafted down.

I thought of Sempronio who had had nothing to eat either, and wondered what had happened to his pan-ful of agouti entrails which had been left burning the night before when we were attacked. It was really the thought of all those tit-bits being burnt and wasted which stopped me going to sleep.

Next day, a little before noon, while I was watching Enrico plodding along with set jaw, sweating copiously (I might have been looking at my own image in a glass) we heard a distant howling that sounded like monkeys. No one said anything. Our march continued until the howls became more distinct; and then, confused as we were, it dawned on us that the noise was being made by men and not by monkeys at all. Still we did not stop. The sounds were still coming from a long way off. Then, rounding the bend of a stream, we sensed that it was suddenly quite near: it was as if some monster were just ahead of us, peering at us through the trees on our immediate horizon. The howling went on. It was now close at hand, coming from ground level and from the trees—a sharp, disorderly confusion of noise.

The Samatari had come to a sudden standstill. They were discussing something among themselves. Every time this happened, our alarm quickened: some dark fate was surely being prepared for us. We were all in perfect Indian file, with Enrico and I in the middle, with the Guaycas behind us and three or

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 203 our of the Samatari bringing up the rear. Without warning, the Indians let out a powerful howl, pitched at the very top of the register, which silenced all the background forest noises for good and all. They kept up this ululation as they marched on, like a steamer coming into port, and we found ourselves joining in without realising it, like men shouting in open country at night to keep their spirits up.

On the other side of the stream the Indians fell silent for a moment, as if intent on listening. Then they exploded with an exactly similar performance—this time in strict unison and on the same high note. Both parties were now howling together—in alarm, in friendship, in hate, in sorrow, in some mixture of human feelings which, for good or ill, must lift up a voice in protest against the hostile world that lay in silence all around. And this howling in unison that Enrico and I, lost in the forest, shared with a pack of savages of various and uncertain temper, filled us with emotions of unbearable intensity.

I remember that when we talked about it later on, when the danger was a thing of the past and only an absurd nostalgia remained, we agreed that this had been the most emotional moment of our lives—or at any rate, the moment in which our emotions had erupted more violently and more irresistibly than at any other time, to find expression in that universal howl.

123 It would be hard to describe the scene which followed when we came to that encampment, or to find words which would do it justice.

Ape-men came down from the trees and ran towards the c p centre, crowding together there in a wild tumult which immediately s d forward in a threatening advance towards us. Behind came the women carry g supplies of arrows and out-howling the men. When we appeared from behind the grimy backs of our captors the howling broke off momentarily and then began again in an altered tone, this time a medley of a hundred different individual yells.

When our column stopped we found ourselves surrounded by a mass of shrieking, dirty, malodorous humanity that leapt on us from all sides. My trousers were again stripped off me, from the rear. Once more they disappeared into a forest of legs, while the more persistent among the crowd first touched me tentatively as if I might bite, and then grew bolder and started putting their hands on me, rather as if I were a fish that was trying to dart away. My principal attraction for them lay in my beard and the hairs on my chest. A few—the lucky ones who managed to press to the front of this surging tide—went

/470 cont./

512 [276] men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] [721] [706] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

[535] [533] [203] [594] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 551 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Until the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

one real headman, Kɛobɨwɨ. Thus, Paruriwɨ had to separate from Kɛobɨwɨ's group to achieve a status equal to that of Kɛobɨwɨ.

In July 1965 Kɛobɨwɨ sent his brother-in-law, Kumaawɨ, to Patanowɨ-tedi to inform them that his group did not intend to raid the Patanowɨ-tedi in the future. When Kumaawɨ returned to Bisaasi-tedi, he brought two older people with him, demonstrating that the Patanowɨ-tedi trusted Kɛobɨwɨ and were anxious to promote good relations with his group. The older couple brought the message that three young men from Patanowɨ-tedi were coming on a visit soon. Three days later the young men, Kɛrokoiwɨ, Maaiwɨ, and Koiyaiwɨ, arrived. Paruriwɨ's group was visiting the Widokaiya-tedi, and when word reached him that a delegation of Patanowɨ-tedi had arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to visit Kɛobɨwɨ, he and a group of men from Monou-tedi immediately returned to Bisaasi-tedi, intending to murder the three visitors. Kɛobɨwɨ, however, warned Paruriwɨ and the Monou-tedi that should they attempt to harm the visitors, he and his followers would defend them with force. A crisis developed out of this situation, and for a whole day Paruriwɨ and his Monou-tedi supporters debated the wisdom of their plan. Finally, Paruriwɨ decided to desist from the murders and even participated in a news chant with one of the Patanowɨ-tedi--the father of his youngest wife. This emphasized Kɛobɨwɨ's influence as a leader, and Paruriwɨ decided to move away from Kɛobɨwɨ's group after this incident. The Monou-tedi who were to participate in the murder of the three

begun cultivating an alliance with a third Shamatari group, one that was related to the two that conducted the massacre in 1950. The new Shamatari group, Paruriawá-teri (see map, Fig. 2-8), was at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, but on friendly terms with the Mõwaraoba-teri. Kaobawã's group persuaded their new Shamatari allies to invite the Mõwaraoba-teri to a feast and planned a massacre similar to that of 1950, but with the tables reversed: Kaobawã's group would lie in ambush, while the Paruriawá-teri attacked the guests within the village. The Mõwaraoba-teri were being ravished by a malaria epidemic at this time, and only a handful of them actually came to the feast: The others were too sick to travel. With the aid of their newly found allies, Kaobawã's group managed to kill three of the five men and abducted four of their women. The other two visitors escaped to tell of the treachery. This revenge feast was only considered to be partially successful, and Kaobawã's group was not satisfied with the outcome. Their Shamatari allies, Paruriawá-teri, were obliged to abandon their site to avoid the revenge raids, splitting into two groups in the process: Mõmariõwei-teri and Reyaboõwei-teri, both continuing to remain friendly to Kaobawã's group.

In early 1965, just a few months after I began my fieldwork, Kaobawã and his supporters left to visit Reyaboõwei-teri, one of the two Shamatari allies, hoping to conduct another treacherous feast for the Mõwaraoba-teri. They left a few men behind to protect the women and children. The men were gone almost two weeks. All during this time, those who remained behind flocked to my mud hut at dawn and remained in it the whole day, not permitting me to leave. Every hour or so they asked to see my shotgun. I soon discovered that they were frightened and suspected that the Widokaiya-teri were going to raid them to abduct women, for they knew of the plot. My hut lay on the path most likely to be taken by Widokaiya-teri raiders, and the few remaining men stood guard next to my door, hoping to intercept the raiders should they attack at night.

I, unknowingly, guarded the women and children by day with my shotgun, while the men did the same at night with their own weapons. This incident indelibly underscores the almost complete lack of trust between allies; the members of Kaobawã's group expected a raid from their friends and allies rather than from their enemies!

About ten days after the men had left, six visitors from another allied village passed through Upper Biaasi-teri hoping to trade. It was obvious to them that the men were away and that the women were frightened. They carried word of the situation up the Orinoco River to their own allies, one of which was the Mahekodo-teri.

The evening before the men returned from their trip, one of the Salesian Missionaries, Padre Luiz Cocco, visited me, having traveled up the Orinoco River by dark—a dangerous undertaking at that time of the year. Padre Cocco had just received word by short-wave radio from the mission at Mahekodo-teri that a large party of men had left for Biaasi-teri intent on capturing women. They had learned of the poorly guarded women from the six visitors and were determined to take advantage of the situation.

My house was full of women and children at dawn the following day, and the raiders were probably en route. I was in a difficult situation. On the one hand, if I told the Indians of the rumor, it would have been sufficient cause to start a war between Kaobawã's group and the Mahekodo-teri. This would have been most unfortunate if the story proved to be false. On the other hand, I dared not remain silent. If raiders were indeed coming, they would probably kill the defenders to capture the women. Fortunately, Kaobawã and the men returned early in the afternoon, and I was able to remain

neutral. The treacherous feast for their Shamatari enemies proved to be unsuccessful. The intended victims had accepted the invitation, but were informed of the plot just before they arrived. One of the Reyaboböwei-teri who had close kinsmen among them had misgivings about the matter and warned them.

Late in the afternoon it was learned that the Mahekodo-teri were, in fact, in the vicinity of the village, allegedly on a "camping trip." Kaobawä, of course, suspected their story, but to demonstrate his friendship he invited them to be his guests at a feast. As he and his men had been away for nearly two weeks, there was an abundance of food in their gardens and they could easily afford to entertain the Mahekodo-teri and their traveling companions, the Boreta-teri. Together, the guests numbered about 100—after they fetched their women and children.

This sets the stage for the feast in the kind of context that makes it more intelligible: The specific historical relationships between the participants and the nature of their mutual mistrust. Now I will give the details of the events that followed.

The Feast

Perhaps because he suspected the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri of intimidation, Kaobawä also invited the Karobi-teri to attend the feast. They are a small but dependable ally and had themselves separated from the Mahekodo-teri many years ago. This established a balance of power at the projected feast should any trouble arise, for the combination of both Boreta-teri and Mahekoglo-teri was of sufficient strength to worry any host. With the aid of the Karobi-teri, Kaobawä's group was more of a match for the visitors.

The feast started out on a sour note. It is the custom of the Yanomamö visitors to arrive only after an invitation from their hosts, sent by messenger on the day of the feast. The Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri, however, arrogantly arrived nearly a week before Kaobawä's group was prepared to receive them and set up a large, temporary camp a short distance from the village. They were guests and could legitimately demand to be fed. Because of this, Kaobawä and his covillagers were under obligation to feed them, some hundred or so people, and took them to the gardens to supply them with enough plantains to last a week. Kaobawä was a little disturbed that they would be so impolite as to arrive uninvited, but took the situation quite philosophically. After all, they had fed his group for the better part of a year.

He and several other men cut a large quantity of plantains, which were hung in his house and allowed to ripen for a week, to be boiled into *date*, a thick, sweet soup, on the day of the feast. That afternoon Kaobawä and a few of the older men commissioned a hunting party comprised of young men, several of whom were Kaobawä's brothers, whose responsibility would be to obtain a large quantity of fresh meat to give to the visitors on the day after the feast. Most of them were reluctant to go, as their feet were still sore from the trip to the Shamatari village. A few of them claimed to be sick and managed to escape recruitment into the hunting party in this way. This hunt, with the hanging of the plantains in the headman's house, initiated the feast. The excitement that usually attends a feast began at this time.

That evening the young men danced and sang in the village, an institution called [illegible], thereby insuring themselves with luck on the hunt. (The Yanomamö also

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

/121 cont./

166 Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each
• 221 other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism
241 of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today
182 as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun planting, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

162 The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually
621 made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new
182 plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the
174 working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

105 Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social
621 units of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural
182

Surára
Pakidái

/11 cont./

361 very well preserved and only the roofs would need to be covered with fresh palm leaves.

One exception is Camp Xiwarí, which is 35 kilometers north of the Cachoeira dos Indios on the upper Araçá. Three-fourths [342] of the circle, which is 28 meters in diameter, is made up of ten of the small huts described, while a similarly constructed dwelling seven meters long and five meters high occupies the remaining fourth. In the center of the circle, as usual, stands the chief's [241] hut. Around the camp, rocas (forest clearings) have been laid out, where bananas, pupunha palms, manioc, species of sweet • [221] potatoes, and tobacco are planted. The Surára stay here every year between the months of October and December. In the [156] large huts at that time two young men about 20 years old are always trained as medicine man's helpers for two months by the chief and his brother (see pp. 143 f.).

342 The second house-form is a large, open, almost circular
361 maloka which lies in a valley between three short mountain ranges, 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Indios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco (Ill. 5). This is a construction (see Fig. 1 /see p. 27 /) which has not been documented up to now for South American Indians. During the dry season it is occupied by the Surára and Pakidái jointly. As the more detailed explanation will show, this house form developed from the circularly arranged small huts which serve as overnight quarters. Camp Xiwarí described above clearly shows the transitional form.

361 Around an area 52 meters long and 48 meters wide three curved
342 windscreens about six meters high are erected (Ill. 6), as well as a rectangular house with gable roof, open toward the inner area. The length of the largest windscreen is 74.40 meters and that of the other two 28.60 and 25.40 meters, respectively. The chief's rectangular house is 9.70 meters long. Four entrances, 8 meters, 6.80 meters, 6.30 meters, and 2 meters wide respectively, lead toward the large open circular area. A fifth entrance, which is only one meter high and 50 centimeters wide, however, is inside the largest windscreen. Moreover, it should be mentioned that

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

supple wood and well over six feet long, it is very powerful. With it the Walka can shoot an arrow more than a hundred yards and can hit a *pauji*—a bird about the size of a turkey—at forty yards. Normally two or three arrows are carried and they are as long as, if not longer than, the bow itself. The shafts are made of reed which, Cardona said, is specially grown for the purpose on their plantations, and are feathered by falcon's feathers. The feathers are meticulously tied in a near-perfect spiral with thread of forest cotton or morisco palm fibre. Each arrow has a different head specially adapted to a particular purpose. Spare arrow-heads are carried in a quiver in which also is carried fire-making material to protect it from the damp.

The quiver is a simple bamboo case to which are also tied a firestick and a number of little knives made from the incisors of a large rodent called a capybara. It is carried on the back by means of a string slung round the forehead.

Such comprise the simple impedimenta of the Walka on his journeys through the forest. The women, who accompany their mates on their many ceaseless wanderings, presumably have their own burdens to carry, but we saw nothing of them until we visited our first native village on the next day.

As we went up-river we came across the remains of a rude bridge which had formerly spanned the two hundred yards of river and which had been carried away by the flood waters. It was the biggest bridge we had seen although we had passed a number of lesser ones fashioned of lianas spanning the tributaries. On the bank where the bridge had been were some twenty natives and a handful of children.

"*Apo! Shori! Apo!*" they greeted us.

We knew from Butrón that, though his men were accustomed to replenish their banana stocks at this place, they had so far never been allowed to visit the village hidden somewhere in the forest.

The Walka lives on wild fruits, fish, meat and the produce of plantations adjacent to his villages. Most of his time he spends wandering in the forest and his fleeting appearances at his village occur usually only when natural resources fail or when he has to defend himself against an enemy horde. He knows

9:Greller K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

his jungle intimately—where to find palm dates, cocoa and brazil nuts in their season, and where game birds are most plentifully found. He hunts the herds of peccary, his ear, versed in all the sounds of the forest, detecting his prey before they detect him. When the water in the rivers is low he shoots his fish with arrows and when the sand banks are uncovered he hunts tortoise eggs buried in the sand. His interminable wanderings are limited only by his forest lore; he lives only for the day, his sole reserve of food being a small store of bananas brought from the village plantation.

Platanal

As we closed the shore our reception was tumultuous. From the high bank above us the Indians leaped yelling into the water and clambered on board, shaking themselves like wet dogs. Laughing and gesticulating they took hold of our mooring lines. Though some of us were a little overcome by this display of exuberance, Butrón was not in the least disconcerted. He knew that the Indians had long learned to associate him with machetes and *manioc*. As soon as it was possible to do so, Butrón had a basket of *manioc* and a dozen machetes carried ashore, and the Indians who had already begun to ransack our cargo left it and hurried ashore.

"*Shori! Manioco! Oji!*" they cried striking their bellies. They jostled round the basket, stuffing handfuls of the coarse flour into their mouths, their heads thrown back in ecstasy.

As the Waika have no knowledge of contriving the simplest of iron tools, or of grinding *manioc*, all such articles were highly valued objects of barter. So were matches, once they had been shown how to use them.

Butrón told them we wanted the large green bananas which are eaten cooked; the accepted tariff is three hands of bananas for one machete. Before long, we heard some of the natives making merry in the plantation, and made as if to follow them. But at once the others became suspicious and gestured to us to return to the river bank. We insisted and they became menacing, finally refusing to go on gathering the bananas if we did not desist.

35| large entrance, that leading to the river or stream. All entrances are covered with dry leaves and brush in the evening and the slightest movement of the covering creates sufficient noise to alert the dogs.

133 [37] The Yąnomamö occupy a relatively homogeneous geographical region of low-lying tropical jungle interrupted by densely-wooded hills that sometimes reach an altitude of 2,500 feet, some 2,000 feet above the elevation of the general

36| [33] [49] terrain. Larger hills are more common in the headwaters of the Orinoco and along the boundaries separating Brazil from Venezuela, but the Indians prefer to make their villages in the lowlands on small streams, as all of their travelling is

[119] done on foot. Only recently have the Yąnomamö begun moving to the larger rivers, where they may obtain canoes and steel tools from foreigners. In 1950 there was only one Yąnomamö village, Mahekodo-tedi, on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River; since then at least seven or eight villages have moved to the Orinoco or one of its larger tributaries in order to gain access to trade goods (axes and machetes) foreign to their culture. The overwhelming number of Yąnomamö villages,

[121] [184] however, can only be reached by walking to them. During the wet season (April-September) travel all but ceases between villages because the trails linking villages are inundated.

24| The Yąnomamö are slash-and-burn horticulturists, subsisting mainly on plantains and bananas, of which they cultivate four or five varieties each. Following these crops in economic importance are several root crops, including taro,

722 villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch
361 food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the
women and children are concealed in these temporary sites
• 221 until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and
361 feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the
574 men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding
722 in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to partic-
ipate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather
unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism,
by a number of students of Yanomamö culture. I wish to
emphasize that the Yanomamö population movements, annually or
over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function
of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as
is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

422. All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow,
484 arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire
[411] drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the
[415] agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine
[372] hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner
[237] on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to
[352] accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they
[123] always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It
always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I
always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having
484 to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary,
could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision
to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives they claimed, was that the Patanowã-tedi had to move frequently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the Patanowã-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense. It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consanguineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

The war between Monou-tedi and Patanowã-tedi

After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of Patanowã in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi began visiting Patanowã-tedi, and one of them, Torokoiwã, was given two wives by the Patanowã-tedi. The rapprochement, however, was never effected and the political relationships between

villages (Bisaasi-tedi, Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi, and Karohi-tedi). These ashes were to be consumed prior to revenge raids on the Patanowǟ-tedi. The Monou-tedi then set about transporting plantain cuttings to their new garden and spent the next several weeks working on the garden. They intended to delay their revenge raid until the beginning of the rainy season in order to make it difficult for the Patanowǟ-tedi to raid them in return. The Monou-tedi moved into Bisaasi-tedi at the end of March both for military protection and for respite from their heavy agricultural labors. They stayed with the Bisaasi-tedi until the end of April, fearing that they would be raided by the Patanowǟ-tedi if they returned to their own village before the rains started. They also planned to raid the Patanowǟ-tedi from Bisaasi-tedi at the beginning of the wet season, knowing that a revenge raid from Patanowǟ-tedi would be difficult once the rains started. They could return to their own village during the rainy season, as the jungle separating their village from the Patanowǟ-tedi is inundated at this time of the year and cannot be traversed.

On April 19th the Bisaasi-tedi sponsored a mortuary feast for the slain Monou-tedi headman in preparation for the revenge raid. The participants in the revenge raid were to include the Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi, but they did not arrive as scheduled, so the raid was delayed until the 21st. Only a few Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi arrived to participate in the raid, and the Bisaasi-tedi immediately suspected that the Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi were plotting to abduct women from them after

726 the men left on the raid. One faction of Bisaasi-tedi did
[722] not participate in the raid in order to protect the women while the others were gone.

The raiding party left on the 21st and returned on
[361] the 2nd of May. They killed one Patanowä-tedi at Shihota, a site abandoned in 1949 by the Bisaasi-tedi now being used by the Patanowä-tedi. The Patanowä-tedi chased the raiders, outflanking them at one point, and shot one of the Monou-tedi, badly wounding him. The man, Konoreiwä, was pierced with a bamboo point just above his heart. Although the tip of the point protruded out his back, he recovered.

726
36 The Patanowä-tedi could not avenge this killing until
*628 the rains subsided. Accordingly, the Monou-tedi returned to
• [221] their own village after they retreated to Bisaasi-tedi on
[132] May 2. They remained in their village until June 20, at which time they rejoined the Bisaasi-tedi; they did so because travel through the jungle was becoming possible by that date, as the rains subsided early in 1965. On July 10 the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, assisted by their allies, the Mämariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi, raided the Patanowä-tedi again, leaving from Bisaasi-tedi. The raid proved to be unsuccessful, as the Patanowä-tedi had moved into the village of their only ally, the Ashadowä-tedi. All the raiders except those from Monou-tedi wanted to turn back, as the trail to Ashadowä-tedi was a poor one and retreat would have been difficult. The raiding party did turn back, but the Monou-tedi were angry with their allies for forcing them to

The jungle provides a number of hazards to the barefoot traveler in that most species of palm have long, sharp spines protruding from their trunks or leaf stems. The most common and recurrent injury the Yąnomamö sustain is thorns in the feet. A party of ten men can rarely travel an hour without one of them stopping to extract a thorn from his foot. This is always accompanied by hisses and clicks of pain on the part of the victim, who gouges the thorn out with either an arrow point or another thorn. Their feet have thick calluses on them, but because the trails frequently cross streams and swamps, the calluses soften and are easily pierced by thorns.

Another, but rarer, hazard is snakes.[2] There are always a few cases of snake bite in each village every year, although few of them are fatal. Most snake-bite victims recover from the wound with no ill side effects. I treated two cases of snake bite that were like this. But a few bites are severe enough to cause the loss of a limb. One of my better acquaintances, a young man of some thirty years, lost a leg because of a snake bite when he was about fifteen years old, and will spend the rest of his life hopping on one leg, a form of locomotion he has mastered so thoroughly that he almost manages to keep up with the group when they visit other villages.

Most of the intervillage traveling is done from September through April, the dry season. For the remainder of the year the trails, or substantial portions of them, are underwater. At this time the rains are frequent and heavy, and the small streams that can be easily crossed on foot in the dry season become impassable torrents. Small lakes replace the marshy low ground, and communication between villages all but ceases. As the Yąnomamö are an inland people and avoid locating their villages near large streams, all travel is done on foot, and each village becomes an isolated entity at the peak of the wet season (June).[3] If the group must travel, it will make simple vine and pole bridges over the smaller streams. A pair of slender poles is stuck into the river and crossed to form an X-frame. Vines are used to lash the poles together where they intersect, and another pole is laid from the bank to the X-frame, also secured by vines. Then another pair of poles is stuck into the stream and lashed to form another X-frame. The long pole is then extended out further from the bank, and so on, until the stream is bridged. A vine railing is attached to the protruding members of the X-frames. The bridges usually last only a short time. The first heavy rain will swell the stream and the current will wash it away.

TECHNOLOGY Much of Yąnomamö technology is like the pole-and-vine bridge: crude, but very effective, and not destined to last for any great period of time. The only durable artifact produced is a crude, poorly fired clay pot. It is nearly an inch thick at the bottom and tapers to almost nothing at the brim. Consequently, it breaks very easily. For this reason, women, regarded as clumsy, are rarely allowed to touch or handle them. When the clay pots are used, the men do the cooking, as, for example, during feasts. The pot is made by the coil technique: The untempered clay is kneaded to the proper consistency by hand, rolled into long, slender ropes, and these, in turn, placed on top of each other to form a continuous rope of clay. The coils are then scraped flat so that the interior and exterior of the pot are smooth. The conical-shaped pot is allowed to dry in the shade, then fired by placing brush and wood over it. The end product is

[2]Two percent of all adult deaths are due to snake bite; 54 percent are due to malaria, and other epidemic diseases (Chagnon 1966) and 24 percent of adult males die in warfare.

[3]The Yąnomamö began moving their villages out to navigable rivers after 1955. Up to that time there was only one village, Mahekodo-teri, located on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River.

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a newly planted sucker, the more quickly it will bear fruit. Hence, if the Yąnomamö wish to establish a garden that will produce a crop in the shortest period of time, they must plant large cuttings. These can weigh up to 10 pounds each, and transportation of the cuttings becomes a tremendous task.

As will be made clear later, most long moves are usually stimulated by warfare, and the group is under some pressure to establish a new garden as quickly as possible. The Yąnomamö can speed up their schedule of abandoning an area by taking temporary refuge in the village of an ally, by planting crops other than plantains that mature quickly and produce high yields, or by anticipating a serious war and getting an early start on their new garden. When Kąobawä's group was forced to abandon one of its locations because of a war, the group took refuge with an ally and established its new garden near the ally's village. One of the consequences of these factors is that newly established gardens produce their crops in cycles so that there will be periods of plenty interrupted by periods of hunger. After a few years, the garden will mature and produce constantly. The periods of hunger are eased by planting rapidly developing crops such as maize and by working constantly at transplanting the secondary plantain shoots as they appear. Thus, gardening activities vary largely with the relative maturity of the garden and the length of time the people have been living at that site. Once the plantains are producing constantly, other crops are not cultivated as intensively as before. But whatever the Yąnomamö are eating in a given village, they are striving to get their gardens to produce a constant supply of plantains. The fact that a given village may be relying very heavily on maize at some point in time may reflect no more than the fact that the garden is relatively new and the plantains have not yet begun producing constantly.

After a site has been occupied a few years, gardening activities take on a more regular pattern. The "rectum" (*bei kä basi*) of the garden is gradually abandoned, and a new "nose" (*bei kä bushibö*) is added by clearing adjacent land and transplanting crops. Thus, a garden has a direction—it moves, little by little. Sometimes there will be as many as three or four discrete gardens around a village, all of them producing more or less continuously. The older ones are gradually abandoned because it is simply easier to clear new land than to attempt to weed the thorny underbrush out of the old site. If you have ever attempted to clear prickly brush without wearing protective clothing, you should immediately see the wisdom of the Yąnomamö choice.

In an established garden site, labor follows a more regular pattern. The dry season is usually the time for feasting, visiting, trading, and warfare. Gardening activities are at a minimum at this time of year, but the ambitious will try to work a few hours each day at weeding, transplanting, and burning brush. Most of the heavy labor of felling large trees is restricted to the wet season, when it is cloudy and generally cooler, and the demands of feasting and dancing do not interfere with the work. Still, practical considerations are more important than a fixed schedule of work, and if the gardens are producing insufficient quantities of food, the Yąnomamö will expand their gardens at any time of the year.

GARDEN PRODUCTS Each man's garden contains three or four varieties of both plantains and bananas. The larger portion of the cultivated land will contain plantains, as they produce a higher yield than bananas. The garden will also have a sizeable patch of sweet manioc, a root crop that is boiled or refined into a rough flour by grinding it on a rock and then converting the flour into thick, round cakes of baked cassava bread.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowä's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawä's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawä and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąobawä's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąobawä's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawä's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawä's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąobawä's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawä and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawä's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąobawä and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16]James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawä and his group.

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yanomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yanomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

/119 cont./

000 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the
621 multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation --
431 is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but, on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance.
621 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion,
166 namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements, which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a
[361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their
[342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried children. The new place is chosen according to the
262 possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting;
245 nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this
194 migration, for even during this period they continue to live from
166 the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent
[222] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on
[224] gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the past.

/56 cont./

481 The man, sometimes also the woman, puts this ring around the feet and presses them, with the hollow between the ball of the foot and the heel, in the form of a prehensile foot, firmly against the trunk so that they are fairly sucked against the bark. He assumes a squatting position and then hoists his body upward.

Fig. 27. Climbing ring.

Although he embraces the trunk with his arms and hands, for climbing he uses only his feet, which, because of the ring, always have a firm grip. This grip becomes particularly important after the man has reached the top where he now uses both hands to cut off the fruits.

[191] Such climbing rings are known in many parts of South America and are also used by the caboclos (Brazilian country people). The invention, however, seems to be of Indian origin.

481 222 [137] The pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), however, which plays such an important role in the economic life of the Surára and Pakidái, cannot be climbed in this fashion, because its trunk, the diameter of which is 60-80 centimeters, is covered with long, pointed thorns. In order to be able to harvest its fruits [184] in spite of this, these Indians use a climbing apparatus -- kanaáke -- which is also familiar to the Waiká (311b).

311b. Barker, 1953, p. 446 and Fig. 1.

/56 cont./

481
222 The apparatus consists of two devices completely alike, which are fastened and used in the following manner: Two sticks, 1.60-1.80 meters long, whose diameter is 12-15 centimeters, are tied to the trunk scissors-like and loosely with lianas. The downward-pointing rear part of these crossed sticks is also wound with lianas. Above this first climbing apparatus a second one is attached in the same manner. The Indian who wishes to climb the pupunha palm now stands on the rear end of the lower "scissors" and pushes the one above it upward a short distance. Then he climbs on the rear end of the upper "scissors" and pulls the lower one after him. Next he shifts back to the lower climbing device and pushes the top one up a bit farther. Thus, by constantly changing his position and pushing one apparatus up and drawing the other one after him, he reaches the crown in 4-5 minutes (Ill. 39). He picks the ripe fruits and lets them down one by one on a liana, where his fellow tribesmen receive them. The descent is the reverse of the ascent.

481
222
174 I venture to doubt that this magnificent technical invention was developed by the Waikâ, Surára, or Pakidái, above all because the rest of their material culture is extraordinarily poor. There is nothing to indicate an import, however. Influences of civilization are likewise out of the question, for the caboclo population (planters, rubber /57/ and palm-fiber gatherers) in the Demini-Aracá area is unfamiliar with the technique described; they knock down the pupunha fruits with long poles.

303

13. Preparation of Urucú

The red coloring urucú -- narâ -- with which the Indians paint their bodies as well as their implements, is made by the women from the red seeds of the Bixa orellana which are found in thorny capsules. The seeds are cooked in a vessel until only a red sediment remains on the bottom, which is shaped into lumps and allowed to dry. With this the Indians are then able to paint themselves at any time; the color must first be moistened, however, with a little water or saliva.

Surára
Pakidai
Waica

/78/

226
184 Among the Waiká, too, fishing ranks last in the acquisition of food and is likewise practiced with bow and arrow there, as well as with the fishhook in more recent times. It is worth noting, however, that in addition they are familiar with a method of fishing by poisoning the water (356a) (356b) 357).

356a. Barker, 1953, pp. 464/65.

356b. Zerries, 1956b, p. 152.

357. Zerries, 1958c, p. 179.

• 222 d) Gathering

[462] Not only women, but also men take part in the gathering activity. The latter have the duty in particular to bring in the fruits of the many palm species (358), of which the following are

358. The general name for palms is -- petabaámo.

the most important: açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) -- uaiíma --, bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus Mart. or Oenocarpus bacaba Mart.) -- hokomaké --, bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.) -- yauetosík --, buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.) -- etewexí --, curua (Attalea spectabilis Mart.) -- yauatoá --, tucuma (Astrocaryum sp.) -- pahá -- (359), and pupunha (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) --

[481]

359. To climb the palms named they used the climbing ring (see pp. 119/120).

komunamá -- (360). The fruits of smaller palms that are easy to

[481]

360. Since the trunk of this palm is covered with sharp thorns -- miímicibá --, it can be climbed only with the help of two specially constructed implements (see pp. 121/122).

/78 cont./

222 climb, such as the piaçaba (Attalea funifera Mart. and Leopoldinia piassaba Wal.) -- tanbarí -- and ubim (Geonoma sp.) -- komixí --, are gathered by men and women in the same manner.

[462] A division of labor between the sexes may be observed in the gathering of the fruits of the inga trees (Inga sp.) -- kepó -- growing on the banks of rivers and brooks. In this case, however, they do not take the trouble to climb the tall, broad-limbed trees. They are felled by the men, and then the women and children strip off the long, dark-green, hard-shelled pods, the beans of which are embedded in a white, spongy pulp as sweet as sugar. This is sucked out and then spat out along with the seed. Men, women, and children relish it even while they are working, but the bulk of the pods are tied together with lianas and carried into the maloka by the women, where the pulp is again sucked out with great satisfaction. -- The fruits of the wild caju tree (Anacardium sp.) -- uitó -- (361) are harvested in the same way, that is, by

361. The corresponding Waikâ name is "widó" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 150).

felling the trees. Of this, however, the Surára and Pakidái eat only the longish, dark-red, shiny receptacle, which is extraordinarily juicy and is especially prized as pleasantly refreshing. The kidney-shaped, greenish-black kernel, on the other hand, is not eaten. -- The fruits of the chestnut, castanha-do-pará (362)

362. We know them as Pará nuts.

(Bertholletia excelsa H.B.K.) -- hokoó --, are very popular. During the rainy season, when the ouriços (ball-shaped husks with a hard shell, which weigh more than one kilogram and contain between 10-30 chestnuts) fall from the tall trees because of gusts of wind, the entire tribe often travels to the chestnut forests on the lower Aracá or the middle Demini, in order to reap a rich harvest here, in which again both sexes take part. The ouriços, wherever they are found, are cut open with a stone or, if available, with a terçado (large bush-knife), and the chestnuts are poured into the

Surára
Pakidái

/78 cont./

●222 carrying baskets. -- Of the fruits of the wild cacao tree (Theobroma sp.) -- boroś --, which has many branches and whose foliage is dense and dark, only the sweet pith of the husks is sucked out, while the beans, which played such an important part among the high-culture peoples of Central America, are carelessly thrown away (363). -- The apple-like fruit of the lucuma tree

[184]
[192]
[114]

363. Zerries reports the same thing of the Waikś, and here the names are "loa" or "boholoa" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 150; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177).

(Lucuma macrocarpa Hub.) -- kumató -- is valued for its sweetish, gelatinous pulp that surrounds the pit; the /79/ outer meat of the fruit and the shell, on the other hand, has a very bitter, unpleasant taste. -- The fruit of the wild pineapple, which only reaches the size of a medium-sized apple, is also eaten with relish.

The pods of the pacova sororoca, a Musaceae species (Ravenala guianensis Benth.) -- mokohé -- (364), gathered espe-

364. The pacova-sororoca is often erroneously called "wild banana" because its large leaves, which resemble those of the banana trees.

cially frequently, contribute more to the everyday food. -- When there is an occasional food shortage during the rainy season, the flat brown fruits of the pot tree (Lecythia longifolia), which are called napú by the Surára and kurupú by the Pakidái, are appreciated to this day (365).

365. The Waikś have the name "wabu" for them (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149; Zerries, 1958c, p. 177); Barker, 1953, p. 443).

Besides these most important vegetable products that are gathered, there are also a great many animal ones. To be named here above all is the honey of several species of small bees (366)

[36]

366. There are said to be more than 20 different varieties of them.

Surára
Pakidái

/79 cont./

222 which can be obtained easily and without danger, for the bees are stingless. Usually they have their nests in hollow trees or in the ground. Occasionally, however, one also sees nests built in tall trees; the latter are then cut down by the men, for the purpose of obtaining the honey. The honey is scooped out of the nest with the hand or with a calabash and put into a folded palm leaf which is then tied together and taken along to the maloka. -- Birds' eggs also constitute a popular addition to the diet, as does the nourishing yolk of the eggs of water turtles; the egg white, on the other hand, is discarded because it has an unpleasant, fish-oil taste. During the dry season, especially during the months December-February, the Surára and Pakidái gather these turtle eggs in great numbers on the sandbanks of the Demini and Aracá. -- [226] Also to be mentioned are crayfish and crabs, which are pulled out of the holes in the mud of the riverbanks. -- I also observed that they eat certain kinds of frogs and spiders, as well as insect larvae, caterpillars, termites, and the hind parts of the leaf-cutter ant (Atta sp.) -- aneanemá.

241 e) Agriculture

Although agriculture among the Surára and Pakidái was introduced only a comparatively short time ago, they have already developed a remarkable system with regard to the laying out of their fields. These are always laid out circularly around the maloka. The procedure is such that, first of all, at the beginning of a dry season, October-November, a rather large piece of forest is cleared, during which it is seen to that the circular shape is [313] produced. To chop down the underbrush and the lianas, the [412] men use the terçados (large bush-knives), and the trees are felled with steel axes (367). After about two months, when the felled

[439]

367. The Surára obtain these articles of civilization from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter, and the Pakidái get them from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm. [841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

262 /207 cont./
223 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of
825 cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear. The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for
[514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground,
[785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily" on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war" /see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy.
[433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

● 222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit,
[527] and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social
[114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48), Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion in greater detail, according to their observation of it among the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

him outside the range of the magic influence which had reduced him to such a hideous condition. But evidently they had only escaped the Samatari magic to fall straight into another, which was too much for the sick child. He died, sacrificed in a duel between two magic powers.

VI

The great 'provisioning-march' of the Samatari now began. We went along with them. We were prisoners, we were guests, we were tolerated visitors—a bit of everything. The main body, with the women and children, led the way along a track that was years old and had been opened up again the day before by the younger members of the tribe, who possessed the one metal weapon used by the Samatari: a piece of a knife-blade stuck into a stick and firmly bound with bark soaked in vegetable gum. What story could this scrap of steel have told when it finally reached the headwaters of the Aracosa!

The track was by no means straight, but for all its meanderings led vaguely towards the south-east. It lay for the most part through the dense thickets of fruit-bearing trees, which probably harboured other sorts of foodstuffs of which we knew nothing. The main body arrived to find that the young men had already picked nuts and fruit of all kinds and made piles of them at the foot of the trees. All the women had to do was take them up.

When meat of any sort is found and killed on these occasions, a couple of youngsters stay behind with it. They sling a hammock and light a fire and watch while it is slowly smoking on the spit. When the women come up, they pull off pieces of the flesh, put them into the rough hampers they carry on their shoulders and go on with the march, their babies jogging up and down on their backs, tied there with a strap made of bark. Some, like peripatetic vestal virgins, take fire with them, in the form of glowing brands, blowing on them as they go along lest the embers should grow cold. Thus the march of the Samatari leaves a trail of nutshells, rinds, ash, and little bits of charcoal. It suggests not so much an ordinary nomadic people on the move but rather a very special tribe composed of itinerant cooks.

With evening, or strictly speaking some time before the end of the afternoon, we found ourselves in a vast clearing where all the small plants, shrubs, bushes and grass had been cut away and swept and raked aside. All round this

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the usefulness of the Corozo palm end here: it furnishes a hard, black wood that gives the Indians their finest bows, real masterpieces treasured with pride by their owners and only bought and sold with a great deal of ceremony.

The *lahsa* represents the Indian food-ideal. It grows in bunches up to eighty pounds or more in weight, each fruit being the size of an egg and in shape and colour not unlike a small, ripe cheese. Cooking it takes a long time. The outside is a thick starchy layer, orange-coloured and rich-tasting without being over-sweet or sickly. It is better than any of our starchy foods such as bread or potatoes or chestnuts or *gnoshi*. The whole of it is edible right down to the little stone itself. This is a kind of delicious almond which crumbles pleasantly under one's teeth and leaves nothing but an insatiable desire for more—hence its name, *lahsa*.

Lahsa can be carried: there are no doubts about this, as in the case of the luamoshi. Its golden bunches are big enough to cover up a man, and the carrier protects himself from the thorns on the branches with a good thick cushion of leaves. In the evening they are cooked, so that the grim-faced women of the tribe are able to produce their milk after all and tirelessly pass it on to the scabby, drooling mouths of their infants, who in their turn convert it into blood and yield it up to the clouds of flies and mosquitoes which wrap them round with a perpetual dark veil like an aura of evil and accursed spirits.

In recompense for its fabulous generosity, the *lahsa* tree has been accorded one great privilege that sets it apart from all the other fruit-bearing trees of the forest: it is never cut down for the easier harvesting of the crop. The fruit is brought down by some clever manipulation of a long pole, for no climber's hands and feet could withstand the thorns. If in very special circumstances the tree has to be cut down, then its upper stem is opened so that its last, secret riches can be cut out—the ten pounds of sweet, crisp, chestnut-flavoured tenderness that is its growing point, the heart. Then the tree will weep out its tears from its torn breast, tears of wine that are lost.

Certainly the tribes living nearest to the forest and the forest's deep anti-human mysteries have chosen the *lahsa* as their god of food: but we, a hybrid mixture of natural fears and supernatural thunderings, chose to set up opposite it our own saint, the yellow and most luscious *sapak*. When the marching horde reached a gnarled tree which evoked the quick cry '*Sapak!*' they flung themselves at it—such is their agility in tree-climbing that they literally seem to fling themselves up—and began a feast that reduced them to silence because

/442 cont./

221 462 When the larger river is low, the men wade into the current and shoot at the fish with their arrows with bone points. Then, since the arrow lacks a string with which one could pull in the fish, they must run after the game in order to finish it off with blows of the machete or club.

226 For fishing they are beginning to use hook and line with increasing skill.

262 Almost all species of fish and aquatic animals are eaten.

222 262 Honey.

To obtain honey, the usual method is to cut down the trunk in which the hive is found, using the ax. Nevertheless, they sometimes manage to climb it and obtain the honey without needing to knock it down. There is also a species of bee which lives in the ground, and its honey must be dug up. They possibly eat the honey of some ten or more varieties of bees.

Eggs.

The eggs of the majority of the wild birds are collected and cooked. They wrap them in leaves and place them on the embers of a wood fire. They are cooked in a short time. Some prefer to eat the eggs when /443/ the chick has begun to form. Turtle eggs are also eaten, but they are scarce, except downriver.

Insects.

Bees are eaten when they are still in the larval form in their nest. Wasps are chased away by means of a torch of dry leaves, which kills or chases away the adult wasps. Then they take down the wasp's nest, which they place for a short time over the hot embers. Roasted wasp larvae are then eaten with pleasure.

Wild fruits and seeds.

It seems that there is not a time without at least a few types of wild fruits and seed in season. Most of these are eaten raw, although a few are cooked. During its harvest, the wabu -- a large seed similar to the frijol -- can be very important, especially when other foods are scarce.

/445 cont./

241 Many of the Guaika /Waica/ are very careful with regard to weeding their plantings, especially when the plants are small. Later, when the plants have reached a good development, they weed the plantings less frequently. Then, perhaps three or more years later, when the land has begun to yield less produce, they cease weeding it altogether and harvest only what has managed to grow by hard efforts.

● 222 Generally, there is found in these "conucos," at least in the abandoned ones, the "pijiguao"palm. This is because the "pijiguao" begins to produce about the time the earth has become too poor for other produce.

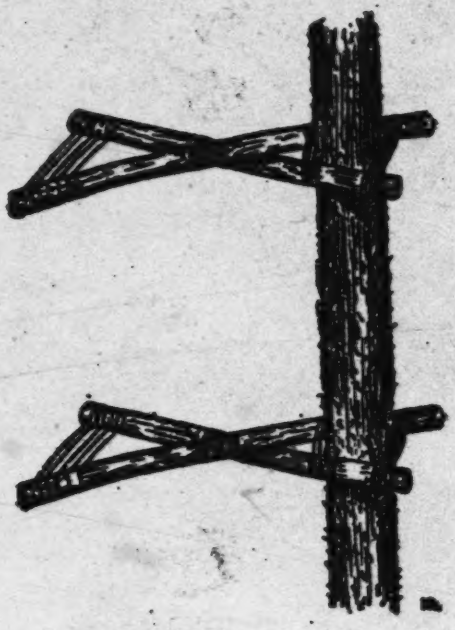
222 The fruit of the "pijiguao" palm is harvested by loosening
481 the bunches by means of a long pole with a hook. When the palm has grown too much to perform /446/ this operation from the ground, the Guaika climb it, using two devices, each one made out of a pair of sticks tied together in the form of an X, which, although being adjusted to the thorny trunk of the palm, can be slid up or down while the climber keeps his foot on one of these platforms (see Fig. 1). Once the bunch has been reached and loosened, it is carefully lowered to the ground, tied to a liana to prevent the fruit from being damaged by a fall from such a height. /Fig. 1 appears here./

241 The men are the ones who clear the "conucos." The
[462] women go to the "conucos" more than anything in order to transport the harvests to their homes.

241 Every family has its own "conuco." Frequently the boys
859 begin to prepare their own "conucos" at an early age (at about
[423] 11 years old). Even boys seven years old succeed in having a few of their own plants in the "conuco" of their father or of their older brother. Other boys only help their father in the plantings and have little or nothing until they reach 18 years of age or more.

/446 cont./

222
481



/Fig. 1 ; see p. 16 for explanation./

/450 cont./

252 Ripe platanas are eaten raw or are boiled and mashed in the form of a soup to be drunk. Half-ripe platanos are placed on the fire with their skin.

The fruit of the "pijiguao" is preferred boiled, although it may be cooked directly on the fire when a pot is not available.

"Sweet yuca," the "mapuey," the "ocumo," the sweet potato, and other edible roots are boiled or roasted directly over the fire.

"Bitter yuca" is pounded on a stone. The juice is squeezed out between the hands, and balls are made with the pulp, or dough, and hung in a basket in such a way that the breeze caused by the fire strikes it. The poisonous juice is preserved with strong peppers and ashes to prepare a liquid which they call "yubu," in which certain foods are dipped and eaten. The cooking of the yuca "dough" is done on a piece of broken pottery. First a layer of this yuca is spread out, being left there until it is to be eaten. This cake is not turned, but is taken off altogether in order to put another one in its place. Then the first cake is placed on top of the second one in such a way that its uncooked side is joined to the latter, and they are left to cook until both are stuck together, then being considered ready. Cakes of some 15 to 20 centimeters in diameter and from one-half to one centimeter in thickness are made in this fashion.

Fish and little birds, larvae, and certain insects are wrapped in leaves and cooked over the embers. Small pieces of meat are also frequently cooked in this fashion.

• [222] A large seed in the shape of a frijol, called "wabu," is gathered and eaten. The Indians believe that this seed is poisonous, for which reason they prepare it in the following fashion. It is cooked and thinly sliced. Then it is placed in baskets and put under running water. After remaining for three or /451/ more [262] days under the water, it is considered edible. This seed serves as a reserve in case of a shortage of platanos in the conucos. On such an occasion the whole group moves to live in a place where there is an abundance of "wabu," until the platanos ripen.

/156 cont./

721 In December of 1955 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. [302] But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. [574] (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) [822] When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and [412] fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people [361] of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

166 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called
361 "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could
721 live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at
361 their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was
[114] calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

● 222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
[226] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having
[411] fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows
[857] of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

241 sweet-potatoes, bitter and sweet yucca (manioc), and two varieties of another root crop known in Venezuela as mapuey. Next in importance is the seasonal crop of peach palm fruits (pijiguao), groves of which are cultivated by the Yąnomamö. [222] Contrary to some accounts, the Yąnomamö never collect this crop from wild trees, although they do return to abandoned gardens to collect the fruit. Other economically significant crops include maize, sugar cane, papaya, pineapples, avocados, peppers and gourds. Also grown are cotton, tobacco, arrow cane, drugs, pigment (bixa), and a large assortment of plants used for magical purposes only. Both their feasting practices [133] [527] and their warfare pattern[1] stimulate the Yąnomamö to grow more [722] than they require for subsistence purposes alone.

241 361 Occasionally the gardens of a particular village may have a preponderance of yucca (manioc) and maize as compared to plantains and bananas. This is usually the result of the distance between the last occupied site and the new one; it is easier to carry seeds and cuttings of maize and yucca than the heavier plantain and banana shoots, and a village that moves any distance usually establishes its new garden largely from cuttings and seeds of these plants taken from the old [262] garden. Eventually, however, the plantains and bananas spread, and a mature garden will always have a preponderance of these crops, the preferred staple of Yąnomamö diet.

222 Wild palm fruits are important additions to the diet

[528] [1]The Yąnomamö are occasionally obliged to take in refugee members of an allied village, and they plan their gardens accordingly.

222 in particular seasons; the most important are manaca, seje, moriche and yagua. The hearts as well as the fruits are eaten, and the Indians usually return to trees they have felled to collect the large, fat, white grubs that mature in the decayed pith. In general, a great deal of energy goes into the collection of these palm fruits in proportion to the caloric return and, even during the peak of the wild fruit harvest, the Yąnomamö still depend heavily on their cultivated foods.

224 Two kinds of hunting techniques provide the Yąnomamö with most of their meat; the occasional kills made by their dogs provide the rest. The first, called rama, is the desultory individual hunting that goes on around the villages. These hunts rarely last more than one day. The second kind of hunting, called heniyomou, involves as many as a dozen hunters who set up a temporary camp a day's walk or more away from the village and use it as the base of operations. This kind of hunting may last five days or more and occurs immediately before a feast, as the etiquette of feasting requires that guests be given fresh meat to eat on their way home after the feast.

Game animals most commonly taken include several species of monkeys, two species of wild pig, tapir, armadillo, agouti, anteaters, wild turkeys, and a small alligator-like reptile (babilla, Spanish). Other game animals taken with less enthusiasm and less frequency include deer, turtles, parrots, snakes, capibara, guinea-hens and a large rodent (lapa, Spanish).

000(lapa, Spanish).

222 The collection of small fruits, spiders, ant grubs, wild honey, crabs, mushrooms and fish also contributes variety to the Yąnomamö diet.

241 Cultivated foods contribute the greater proportion
266 of calories to the Yąnomamö diet, probably upwards of 85%,
[146] although this figure would vary seasonally. Again, those
[177] Yąnomamö villages living close to Makiritare settlements cultivate much more yucca (manioc) than platanos, refining it in some cases to meal as do the Makiritares. Elsewhere
[252] the Yąnomamö eat their yucca roasted or boiled or make cassave bread by a technique quite distinct from that employed by the Makiritare.

722 Yąnomamö material culture is very much attenuated by
[422] comparison with, for example, Makiritare. The Yąnomamö like to limit their possessions to an amount that is readily transported by the women, because the entire village may be obliged at any given moment to abandon its site to avoid raiders, or may be invited to a feast at another village.
[422] They do not like to leave possessions in their village when
[574] they leave it, as visitors from other villages would take them. And, their warfare pattern precludes the possibility of leaving a few people behind to guard the village, as they
[341] would be easily overwhelmed by a raiding party. When just a portion of the village leaves to visit another group, those that stay behind move into the jungle some distance from the village and live in well-concealed huts until their co-

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114

fishing and collecting forest fruits. (1923: 299-300. My translation. See also 1922:226.)

His assertion that the Yąnomamö lived only on hunting, fishing, and collecting wild forest fruit was unsupported not only by the existing accounts but also by his own observations; and it has never been verified by any field worker who has spent more than a few days with the Yąnomamö.[1] Nor was the conclusion warranted that the Yąnomamö had no fixed habitation sites; Koch-Grünberg was visited by one of the groups and the other had a garden site a short distance from where he met them. Finally, the antiquity of the group as a "population layer" is something that can only be speculated about at best; indeed, the concept 'population layer' is itself an analytic construct presupposing a considerable amount of knowledge concerning tribal distributions over a period of time which, at least for this area, is entirely lacking.

The expedition of the Frobenius Institute in 1954-55 conducted the first anthropological inquiry in this area that concentrated exclusively on the study of the Yąnomamö. The members of the expedition, Otto Zerries and his assistant, Meinhard Schuster, spent 10 months in the village of Mahekodotedi. They selected the Yąnomamö because of their interest in hunters and gatherers; the literature, especially the work of Koch-Grünberg, described the Yąnomamö as such. They

---

[1] "It is surprising to notice, that the Waica, formerly reported as a hunting and gathering tribe by visitors who had only superficial contact with them, are actually horticulturists." (Zerries, 1955:78.)

114 initiated their work among this group, in Zerries' words, ". . . to come a step closer to the problem of the world's oldest cultural layer of the hunter and collector."[1] On arriving at Mahekodo-tedi, however, Zerries was surprised to discover that the Yąnomamö were not in fact hunters and gatherers, but horticulturists:

> To our great surprise we were obliged to conclude right from the start of our investigations that the Waika are above all dependent on the cultivation of the plantain (platano) to a considerable degree. (1958:177. My translation.)

114
194
224
• 222
241

Although Zerries acknowledges the current horticultural status of the Yąnomamö, his work is frequently characterized by attempts to portray the Yąnomamö as hunting and gathering people who have only recently adopted cultivation and are still in transition from a pure hunting and gathering stage to a purely horticultural one. Thus, Zerries argues that the Yąnomamö divide their year into seasons fixed by the ripening of individual species of wild fruits (which I have not been able to verify), implies that peach palm (pijiguao) was recently a collected rather than a cultivated fruit, describes the Yąnomamö settlement pattern and annual cycle as half-nomadic or semi-nomadic, and generally emphasizes the role of hunting and collecting in determining the cultural status of the Yąnomamö in South American culture history, all of which detract, I believe, from an understanding of their culture as it exists at the present time and probably has

---

[1] 1964:1. My translation.

existed for the past several hundred years. At many points the data used by Zerries to infer that they were until recently hunters and gatherers lend themselves to other interpretations:

> Finally, the Waika connect the general word for food, "ni," with the word for archery, "niai," out of which results that in their conceptual world, subsistence itself in the last analysis results from hunting--which is symptomatic of the way of life of the hunting and gathering heritage of the Waika. (1958:180. My translation.)

The word nii (not ni) usually refers to vegetable food, most of which is cultivated by the Yąnomamö and generally does not include meat. The word for the latter, yąro, conversely, does not apply to vegetable food. Again, there are two words to describe hunger; ohi refers to that kind of hunger that can be satisfied by eating vegetable food, whereas naiiki is a kind of hunger that can only be satisfied by eating meat or fish. And, it is possible for individuals not to be ohi but be naiiki. One could easily argue that subsistence and cultivation are intimately linked, as their word for one form of hunger (ohi) is similar to their word for taro: ohina. The similarity, then, between the word for archery (niaö) and vegetable food (nii, not ni) tells us nothing about the cultural status of the Yąnomamö either in the past or at the present.

In general, Zerries' data are excellent and his conclusions sound; and his major work (1964) will remain the basic ethnographic source on the Yąnomamö for many years.

The Frobenius Expedition was followed by the work of

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4 feet off the ground at the rear and 6 feet off the ground at the front. Shorter sticks are then laid crossways on the major roof poles and these, in turn, covered with several layers of long, broad, wild "banana" leaves (see Glossary, under "Banana, wild"). It is quite small, but can sleep three individuals. Frequently, the traveler finds the remains of one of these houses and has merely to put a new layer of leaves on the roof to make it waterproof; occasionally, he takes a chance that it won't rain that night and does not improve the hut at all.

When the Yąnomamö settle a new area, they erect temporary villages of these crude huts and live in them until they can build a *shabono*. They also live in huts like these while they are re-roofing the old *shabono*.

The permanent village is complete when the palisade of logs is erected around its circumference. This is placed some 3 or 4 feet behind the roof, allowing space for a path around the village inside the palisade. The palisade itself is about 10 feet high and usually made of a mixture of palm and hardwood logs. It is kept in repair only when there is some reason to suspect raiders. Otherwise, people pilfer logs from it for use as firewood. The entrance to the village, as well as the palisade entrance, is covered with brush and logs at night to keep out intruders. Anyone trying to enter will inevitably make the brush move and alarm the village dogs.

FOOD AND ITS GATHERING The jungle provides numerous varieties of food, both animal and vegetable. The most commonly taken game includes several species of monkeys, two varieties of wild "turkey," two species of wild pig, armadillos, anteaters, tapir, deer, a small alligator, small rodents, and several species of smaller birds. Wild vegetable foods commonly exploited by the Yąnomamö are: palm fruits of several species, hardwood fruits, brazil nuts, tubers, and the seed pods of the feral banana. Of these, the palm fruits are by far the most significant.

These occur seasonally and, for brief periods of time, produce large quantities of fruits. Unfortunately, there is very little edible substance in each fruit, so that in order to get filled, one must eat the edible portion of enormous quantities of fruit. The Yąnomamö extensively exploit two closely related palms, *yei* and *karushi*. The *yei* fruits are about the size of small hen's eggs and occur in large clusters, weighing 80 pounds and more, near the tops of the palm trees. The *karushi* fruits are about half that size. The exterior portion of the fruit is a leathery shell which is peeled with the teeth. Inside there is a thin layer of very bitter, white flesh. This is chewed and sucked off. The taste resembles that of a poor grade of bath soap. Of the two, I found *karushi* the more repugnant. My throat burned when I ate them.

Another commonly exploited palm is the *ediwishi*. It is tangerine red in color and covered with a leather-like skin that consists of hundreds of small scales. They are about the size of large hen's eggs and resemble small hand grenades. When the fruit is dry, as, for example, when it is first cut from the tree, it is almost impossible to get the leathery scales off. The Yąnomamö overcome this difficulty by throwing the fruit bunches into water and letting them soak for several days, after which the scales can be easily scraped off with the fingernails, exposing a thin layer of yellowish, soft flesh that tastes very much like cheese. The fruits begin to ferment after they have soaked, producing a slightly pungent taste. I enjoyed eating *ediwishi* with the Yąnomamö; the fruit was good, and the technique of eating it was very sociable. We would wade into the swamp where the fruit had been submerged and grope around in the murky water to locate it. After

222 262 we had each accumulated a half bushel or so, we would then proceed to eat them. In general, it takes a lot of work to get filled up on palm fruits.

The Yąnomamö also collect wild honey in considerable quantities. Nothing excites them more than locating a dead tree in which a swarm of bees has built a nest. They will halt everything and, if need be, spend the entire day chopping the tree down [123] to get at the honey. When I began my fieldwork I hired about a dozen men to cut trees for me so that I could build a mud hut. They would be gone all day and return with just a few poles, demanding a full day's pay for their efforts. I decided to accompany them one day to see what they were up to. We spent the entire day wandering through the jungle, eyes glued to the tree tops above. Each time I spotted a suitable tree, they talked me out of cutting it down because "it would rot" or "it is too far away from the river." By mid-afternoon we had not cut a single tree, but had walked over a large area of jungle. Finally, one of the men shouted for the rest of us to come. All the men descended on the large, dead tree he had located, and set about chopping it down with the axes I had provided. It took about an hour to get it down. They then spent another hour chopping holes along the length of the tree trunk to get at the honey inside. When it was exposed, they gleefully tore the combs out, dunked them into the amber liquid, and gorged themselves on the larvae-filled combs. After they had eaten their fill of this, they collected a large pile of leaves and made a crude bowl. Then they stuck handfuls of leaves into the honey and squeezed them out into the leaf bowl. When they had gotten all the honey they could reach, they scoured the nest with leaves and licked them off after each plunge [123] of the hand into the bowels of the trunk. They borrowed the aluminum kettle I had brought along and used to cook our lunch in. As we were some distance from the river [272] and they were impatient, one of them filled the kettle with muddy water he found in a swamp a short distance away. Some of the honey from the bowl was poured into the kettle, along with dead adult bees, twigs, leaves, dirt, and several dozen larvae. They passed this around among themselves, each man drinking about a quart or so of the mead after blowing the debris off the surface in order to expose the water. The remainder [251] of the honey was wrapped up in its leaf bowl, tightly bound with vines, and carried back [123] to the village. On the way back to the canoe we cut a few light trees for my mud hut. They had gotten what they were looking for all day, and I managed to get a few logs. They demanded a full day's pay when we reached home. Thereafter, I paid them by the log rather than by the day.

222 231 262 Finally, several varieties of insects are collected. Perhaps the most desirable food in this category is the grub of an insect that lays its eggs in the decaying pith of dead palm trees. The Yąnomamö come very close to practicing "animal domestication" in their techniques of exploiting this food. They deliberately cut the palm tree down in order to provide fodder for the insect. When they cut the tree, they also eat the heart of the palm, a very delicious, crunchy vegetable that slightly resembles the taste of celery hearts. One palm we cut yielded an edible heart of about 50 pounds. After the pith has been allowed to decay for several months, it contains numerous large, fat, white grubs. The pith is dug out of the tree with sticks, broken open by hand, and the grubs extracted. Each grub is bitten behind his squirming head, and the head and intestines removed simply by pulling the body away from the teeth. If a grub gets damaged in the process of extracting it, the parts are eaten raw on the spot. A fair-sized palm tree will yield three or four pounds of grubs, some of them as large as a mouse. The grubs

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
137
417
481
222

Fig. 2-6. Rerebawä climbing a rasha *tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamö use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.*

The grubs

222
are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render 231
down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, 252
white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary 262
told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in [251]
a smoky fire tastes like bacon.

The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. 222
The Yąnomamö break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare 252
it in the above manner. 262

Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

222 252 262 They have much less fat on them than grubs, and become dry and crunchy during the cooking, having a texture and form like cheese pone when prepared.

Large spiders are also collected; they are simply placed directly on the hot coals and roasted alive. The legs and thorax are eaten.

Another common insect food is the larvae of a species of large ant. Only the head of the squirming larvae is eaten. It is very crunchy and has a nutty taste, but one must exercise caution in eating them since they are equipped with sharp pincers and can inflict a painful wound on the tongue or lip.

224 411 The game animals are all shot with arrows. The curare palm points are usually used for monkey hunting, while the lanceolate bamboo points are used for large game, such as deer, tapir, and wild pigs. A third kind of point is used for birds. It consists of a long, slender stick to the end of which has been bound a splinter of gently curved monkey bone. This serves as the penetrating point and the barb; it is difficult to extract the point once the barb enters the animal.

The Yąnomamö also fashion a fourth kind of arrow point as they need it. It is simply a stick that has numerous twigs branching in a close cluster. The twigs are cut off an inch or so from the main branch, and the stem is inserted into the end of the arrow shaft that usually contains the curare-tipped point. This fourth type of point is used to [237] kill small birds whose feathers are desired for decoration purposes. On one occasion I saw a young man fashion one of these points in a few seconds. He saw a small bird, located a shrub a few feet away, bit off a branch with his teeth, bit the twigs off, and stuck the point into his arrow shaft—without taking his eyes off the small bird for a second. This type of point is discarded after it serves its temporary purpose.

224 The Yąnomamö do not employ traps or compounds when hunting. They frequently use dogs to run tapir, pigs, and deer, but most hunting is merely the individual stalking and shooting whatever game is available. As men always carry their weapons with them when they leave the village, they are, in effect, hunting continuously. A communal type of hunting trip invariably precedes a feast; this is described in Chapter 4.

The technique for capturing armadillos is very interesting. Armadillos live in burrows deep underground, and the Yąnomamö are always investigating the entrances of these burrows to see if any signs of recent occupation can be found. If the burrow is occupied, the hunters quickly cover the entrance with combustible materials and start a fire. After the fire is blazing strongly, they find a dried termite nest, which produces large quantities of smoke, and put it onto the fire. When this is ignited, they fan the smoke into the burrow, cover the fire with sand, and look for other openings to the armadillo den. These are quickly spotted when smoke begins to emerge from them and covered with sand to keep the smoke in. Then the men crawl around with their ears held to the ground. The armadillo will sometimes start burrowing in order to escape the smoke; when he does, he is heard and his location immediately established. A stick is used to dig into the ground and find the animal, usually 2 or 3 feet below the surface. On one occasion the men had difficulty locating the animal and dug several holes without hitting the burrow. One of them then uncovered the entrance, obtained a thick vine from a nearby tree, and tied a knot in the end of it. He then introduced the knot into the burrow by spinning the vine rapidly between his hands, pushing it in gently as it twirled. When he could not get the vine to go any further, the men listened on the ground to locate the spinning knot. When they found it, they marked the spot. The vine was

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

removed and laid along the ground in the direction of the burrow to measure the distance from the entrance. The men began digging at the end of the vine and located the asphyxiated armadillo on the first attempt.

The jungle provides many other kinds of foods and products too numerous to mention. Some, like vines and lianas, are very useful and commonly employed in basket-making; others, such as edible mushrooms, crabs, pigments, and decorative plant products, are less significant, and exploited only sporadically. Despite the amazing variety of food products to be found in the jungle, however, the Yąnomamö could not exist for any substantial period of time on collected foods only: they rely heavily on their cultivated crops. The tropical forest is much less productive and reliable than one would imagine. The most abundant foods, palm fruits, are seasonal—a group of people could only rely on them for a few months of the year, during which time some 80 group members would have to forage over a wide area to obtain sufficient palm fruits to keep everybody well fed.

Game animals are not abundant, and an area is rapidly hunted out, so that a group must keep constantly on the move. Furthermore, hunting depends as much on luck as it does on skill and is not a very reliable way to supply nourishment. I have gone on five-day hunting trips with the Yąnomamö in areas that had not been hunted for decades, and had we not brought cultivated foods along, we would have been extremely hungry at the end of this time—we did not collect even enough meat to feed ourselves. On other trips, we often managed to collect enough game in one day to feed the entire village.

GARDENING Although the Yąnomamö spend almost as much time hunting as they do gardening, the bulk of their diet comes from foods that are cultivated. Perhaps 85 percent or more of the diet consists of domesticated rather than wild foods—plantains are by far the most important food in the diet.

The Yąnomamö are constantly looking for potential garden sites. When I hunted with them, the topic of conversation that evening would eventually drift over to the merits of the area as a possible site for a new garden. Most new garden sites are, in fact, discovered by hunters.

The land for a new site should not be heavily covered with brush, which is difficult to remove. The larger trees should not be too numerous either, as it takes a good deal of work to chop them down. Ideally, the new site should have very light jungle cover, should be well drained, near a source of drinking water, and relatively free of thorny underbrush. The Yąnomamö call a garden *hikari täka;* jungle that has the potential of being a good garden is likewise called *hikari täka.*

The first operation in making a new garden is to cut the smaller trees and brush; the bigger trees, *kayaba hi,* are left standing until the underbrush is removed. Then the big trees are felled with axes and left lying on the ground to dry out in the sun.

My older informants claimed that they did not have steel tools when they were younger and had to kill the big trees by cutting a ring of bark off around the base of the stump, using a crude stone axe, piling brush around them, and burning them. The trees rarely fell, but the fire usually killed them, and their leaves dropped off, permitting the sunlight to reach the ground.

They also claimed that making a garden was more arduous in those days because a large area would have to be searched for the necessary quantities of kindling used to kill the big trees. Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

Surára
Pakidái

/76 cont./

224 relatively infrequently, for the most part only when they stay in the vicinity of a maloka and thus constitute a danger for human
224 beings. Only the meat of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) is
262 eaten. For some hunters, however, pride in killing such animals plays a role, for finishing off a jaguar, especially the black one, gives him greater esteem. -- Snakes, which are very numerous here because of the considerable dampness, are killed with a stick. If a surucucu (Lachesis muta L.) -- perefma -- (Surára word) -- peléma -- (Pakidái word), the largest and most dangerous poisonous snake of South America, is killed, then the joy is especially great. The head is cut off, and every family gets a piece of the snake's body, which is cooked with other meat. It has an agree-
[151] able taste and reminded me of eel. The Surára and Pakidái also
[825] believe, however, that every person who has eaten the meat of a surucucu will never be bitten by any other poisonous snake. The sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) -- uaikonyá -- and the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatá -- are also eaten with relish. The jararaca (Lachesis sp.) -- karihirimá --, the papaova (Spilotes sp.) -- karimatá --, and the cobra-coral (Elaps corallinus Wied.) -- huamoxíka --, on the other hand, are never eaten. -- Now and then a cayman (Caiman sclerops Schneid.) -- ihuá -- or a lizard -- xaraimá -- are killed with a stick, and sometimes the hunter, but more often his dog, discovers in the forest a jabuti (Testudo tabulata Woelb.) -- totorí --, whose meat is also very tender and tasty; /77/ it does not come up to that of the water turtle, how-
[225] ever. Yet, of the numerous species which inhabit the Demini, Aracá, and their tributaries, the Surára and Pakidái catch only the peremã -- talmã --, and, to be sure, they seize it in shallow water with their hands.

• 223 Bird hunting requires special training. That is why even
[868] boys are encouraged to kill as many small birds as possible, so that later on they will be good hunters.

The following birds are most frequently hunted, on account of both their meat and their feathers: mutum (Crax sp.) -- parurí --, urumutum (Crax sp.) -- katará --, mutum cavalo (Mitu mitu L.) -- katauri --, jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nhapfn --, cujubim

/77 cont./

223 (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) -- maraxí --, jacu (Penelope sp.) -- kuremá --, japim (Cacicus cela L.) -- anhakoramá --, inambu (Crypturellus sp.) -- rororôme --, inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.) -- honamá --, toucan (Rhamphastus sp.) -- mahebé --, arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) arakaké -- arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.) -- maracanã --, papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxeramakó --, papagaio curica (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxerá --, garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm) -- korihená.

[825] [353] The gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- nonexí -- is killed for magical reasons, because it is believed that there is concealed in it a hostile medicine man who brings sickness and [237] other disasters. Its down feathers are glued into the hair by the men as trophies (see p. 95); the meat is discarded. The gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm) -- nonexipéke -- is also killed only for its feathers, which serve the men as upper-arm ornaments.

[825] They never shoot at the urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.) -- uatubá --, for they are glad that they remove the refuse.

224 In conclusion it should be mentioned that traps are unknown to the Surára and Pakidái (353).

353. There is a corresponding statement by Zerries about the Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

[622] If the hunter has killed a small animal, he may keep this booty for himself and his family, but he often gives the chief a roasted or boiled piece of it. A big-game animal, on the other hand, is divided up under the chief's supervision, and each family gets a piece of meat. This communal feeling is very strongly marked, and no member of the tribe would ever violate it.

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm. [841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

/206 cont./

224 825 part on his dog. The hunter must also know a great variety of calls for attracting the animals and birds and, above all, know which arrow to shoot in order to kill the animal which may come in answer to his call.

224 775 All this and a great deal more about which we are ignorant must be learned by the Sanemá hunter in order to have the benefit of his knowledge not only on earth but also in the world of Omao after his death. An expert hunter continues to be one in "heaven" and there he will have the opportunity of recompensing Omao for the benevolence showed him during his earthly life.

224 The Sanemá hunt with bow and arrows. Usually each man carries with him, in addition to his bow, five arrows and a quiver with various types of points.

[415] [372] The quiver, made of bamboo, is carried, hanging by means of a bejuco, from the neck, on the chest, or across the back. In most cases they carry, tied to the same quiver, some small sticks with which to kindle fire. In the forest they pull out with extraordinary speed the point best suited to kill the animal which comes within range, and it is surprising with what dexterity and speed they can shoot one or several arrows.

If there are several hunters surrounding a pack of peccaries or a group of monkeys, the booty belongs to the one who kills it.

It seems that the Sanemá of the Erebato also use a kind of trap (Schwippgalgenfalle), particularly to capture the lapa /paca/ or deer (20).

20. It would seem that this trap reflects a cultural borrowing among the Sanemá, since the Surará, Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 77), and Waica (Zerries, 1956c, p. 151) do not have it.

● 223 In order to catch birds, the hunter climbs up into a very high tree and hides there behind some thick branches. He attracts the birds with whistles, and, when they are near, he shoots them; a companion waits at the foot of the tree for the prey's fall, in

/206 cont./

223 order to pick it up. As a result of his expertness in hunting, he knows the trees in which the birds gather to spend the night. The man, using palm leaves and bejucos, carefully prepares a blind with the sure hope that, by means of this ambush, the booty will be plentiful.

224 Hunting in groups is common among the Sanemá, and they
262 do this particularly to surround a group of monkeys, peccaries,
[237] or in order to kill a feline. /207/ They do not eat the meat of jaguars, but keep the canine teeth in the roof of the house.
[482] They tie up the peccaries that they get, front feet to the back ones, load them on their backs, and carry them home. The meat of the peccary is greatly esteemed, and the whole rancheria gathers to eat the animal, with the exception of the young unmarried men, who, by order of the capitan, must not taste the meat so that the hunters who have killed the animals will not die. They may, however, eat other kinds of meat and the food which they most like.

There are some animals that the Sanemá are prohibited from hunting: thus, they do not eat snakes, they kill the cayman, but
[.766] do not sample its flesh. The Sanemá of the Erebato told us that they cremate caymans as they do men, for, in fact, as far as
[784] they are concerned, caymans were previously men. It is taboo to kill a morrocoy or a turtle. They were people before and Omao
262 does not permit them to be killed. There are other animals which
223 they kill and eat only under certain conditions, among them the eagle (21).

> 21. The Surará and Pakidai kill the eagle, but throw away its flesh. They say that it transmits sickness (Becher, 1960, p. 77). (Cf. the section on "death" in the present study /see pp. 93-94 /.)

223 If a hunter comes upon an eagle, he believes that he is facing
825 a speciman of a species of animal which was previously a person.
262 He may be facing a friend or an enemy. Therefore, before shooting, he asks the animal if it is a friend or an enemy, and only if

262 /207 cont./
223 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of
825 cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear. The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for
[514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground,
[785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily" on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war" /see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy.
[433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is
[527] the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit, and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social
[114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48), Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion in greater detail, according to their observation of it among the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

/119 cont./

000 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the
621 multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation --
431 is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but, on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance.
621 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion,
166 namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements, which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a
[361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their
[342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried children. The new place is chosen according to the
262 possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting;
245 nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this
194 migration, for even during this period they continue to live from
166 the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent
[222] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on
[224] gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the past.

/20 cont./
411 and Waiká (89) (90). In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde
114
184

89. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

90. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

und Vorgeschichte, there are, /21/ moreover, three Xiriána arrows with this point (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:39-41) and an arrow from the Xamatári (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:6).

411 4. Ranaká -- Forked wooden point of a bird arrow; length, 12-15
[824] centimeters. The material is furnished by a tree -- paioórimá -- which shows countless such forkings. The lower part of the stem is pointed and is set in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2e). Thus far there is a parallel for this arrow point only among the Waiká (91a).

91a. Barker, 1953, p. 464.

5. Unamú -- Wooden arrow-point with a coating of poison. A thin, pointed rod of the hard wood of the pupunha palm, 22-24 centimeters long, is coated with arrow poison, giving it a black appearance. The rear end is inserted in the arrow cane wound with
● [824] Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2d). Such poisoned arrows are used exclusively for hunting monkeys, since these animals living in the tall trees are otherwise difficult to kill. According to the statements of Surára and Pakidái informants, they never shoot poisoned arrows at human beings.

411 Other Yanonámi tribes who likewise use poisoned arrows are
184 the Xiriána (91b), Karimé (92), and Waiká (93) (94). Moreover,

91b. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 312.

92. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 301 and Fig. 5a.

93. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

94. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

/60 cont./

622 159 Since that time Hewemão has been chief and at the same time, like his predecessor, a medicine man who instructs all the male Surára in religion, mythology, magic, curing the sick, and tribal traditions (see pp. 143f.). He also, however, assigns them to occasional communal projects, supervises their activity in the roças (forest clearings), gives instructions for the building of a maloka, and selects the participants for curing the sick and for magic performances. [224] If a large animal was killed, a tapir, for example, he supervised the fair distribution of the meat so that every family obtained its piece. In the case of smaller game, the hunters usually give their chief a choice piece, and the women bring him and his family fruits and berries or brimming calabashes [554] of refreshing palm drinks. He is thus honored in every way. He and his wives too, however, willingly and freely give up some of their hunting or gathering spoils.

[342] In the large, open maloka he and his two wives and children occupy a special hut (see pp. 24 ff.). During migrations of 622 the tribe he determines when they are to rest and to set out again. 484 Moreover, each morning he arranges for regular march-protection, 159 4-5 warriors who form the advance guard and set out two hours 484 before the departure. They have only their bows and arrows with them and reconnoiter in both directions from the Indian path, in order to be on the lookout for enemies. The bulk of the tribe, which travels in single-file formation, always presented the following picture during the time I lived among the Surára: 3-4 484 warriors armed only with bows and arrows. They carry their 482 weapons longitudinally over their heads or over one shoulder. After them came men with my baggage, the younger brothers of the chief, and finally the latter himself. I walked behind him, my servant Mateus followed me, and the boys and girls with little baskets, then the women with their large, cylindrical baskets, which contain all the household goods. Mothers with babies carried them, in addition, in a carrying band on their left hips. On top of the basket there often sat a little dog, a monkey, or a parrot. Then behind the women there marched 4-5 more warriors as a rear guard.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

173 241 177 [829]

/75 cont./ According to their own statements, both tribes regard the Xiriána as their culture-bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

224

b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larâ -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norâ -- (350). The latter, however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

[593] [462]

359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

[184]

350. Among the Waikâ, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

[231]

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xâma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajâ. The

Surára
Pakidái

/76 cont./ The
•224 meat of all the animals mentioned is greatly prized. Smaller
[262] rodents, however, are regarded as decided delicacies: paca (Cuniculus paca L.) -- amutá -- and cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomã --, which usually are killed with dogs or driven into a hole in the ground, as well as the armadillo (Dasypodidae sp.) -- obó. The latter is killed in the following way: When the Indian has discovered an inhabitated armadillo burrow, he examines it to see whether the animal is occupying it. If this is the case, he quickly fetches dry leaves and blocks the entrance. Then he kindles a fire with his fire apparatus, which he always carries on the quiver (see p. 53), sets fire to the leaves, and, with a palm leaf, fans the smoke into the burrow. This forces the animal to come out after a few minutes, whereupon the hunter is able to kill it
[262] with an arrow or beat it to death with a stick (351). With some-

[171]

351. Caspar describes the same method for the Tuparí Indians (Caspar, 1953, p. 96 and Pl. 3).

what less relish these Indians eat the meat of the capybara (Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris Erxl.) and the various monkey species, such as, for example, the howling monkey (Alouatta sp.) -- ihró --, cuxiú-negro (Chiroptes satanas Humb.) -- uixá --, cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.) -- paxó --, and macaco-da-noite (Aotus infulatus) -- makurutamão. A great deal of skill, however, is required for monkey hunting in particular, because these animals leap from limb to limb in the crowns of tall trees and swing from one treetop to another by means of lianas. -- Feline species (352) are shot

352. Spotted jaguar (Felis onca L.) -- ihrá --, black jaguar (Panthera onca L.) -- hukumarí --, puma (Felis concolor) -- uaquearimã --, maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yaó.

Surára
Pakidái

/76 cont./

224 relatively infrequently, for the most part only when they stay in the vicinity of a maloka and thus constitute a danger for human beings. Only the meat of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) is eaten. For some hunters, however, pride in killing such animals plays a role, for finishing off a jaguar, especially the black one, gives him greater esteem. -- Snakes, which are very numerous here because of the considerable dampness, are killed with a stick. If a surucucu (Lachesis muta L.) -- perefma -- (Surára word) -- peléma -- (Pakidái word), the largest and most dangerous poisonous snake of South America, is killed, then the joy is especially great. The head is cut off, and every family gets a piece of the snake's body, which is cooked with other meat. It has an agreeable taste and reminded me of eel. The Surára and Pakidái believe, however, that every person who has eaten the meat of a surucucu will never be bitten by any other poisonous snake. The sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) -- uaikonyá -- and the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatá -- are also eaten with relish. The jararaca (Lachesis sp.) -- karihirimá --, the papaova (Spilotes sp.) -- karimatá --, and the cobra-coral (Elaps corallinus Wied.) -- huamoxíke --, on the other hand, are never eaten. -- Now and then a cayman (Caiman sclerops Schneid.) -- ihuá -- or a lizard -- xaraimá -- are killed with a stick, and sometimes the hunter, but more often his dog, discovers in the forest a jabuti (Testudo tabulata Woelb.) -- totorí --, whose meat is also very tender and tasty; /77/ it does not come up to that of the water turtle, however. Yet, of the numerous species which inhabit the Demini, Aracá, and their tributaries, the Surára and Pakidái catch only the perema -- talmã --, and, to be sure, they seize it in shallow water with their hands.

Bird hunting requires special training. That is why even boys are encouraged to kill as many small birds as possible, so that later on they will be good hunters.

The following birds are most frequently hunted, on account of both their meat and their feathers: mutum (Crax sp.) -- paruri --, urumutum (Crax sp.) -- katará --, mutum cavalo (Mitu mitu L.) -- katauri --, jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nhapín --, cujubim

Surára
Pakidái

/77 cont./

223 (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) -- maraxí --, jacu (Penelope sp.) -- kuremá --, japim (Cacicus cela L.) -- anhakoramá --, inambu (Crypturellus sp.) -- rororôme --, inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.) -- honamá --, toucan (Rhamphastus sp.) -- mahebé --, arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) arakaké -- arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.) -- maracanã --, papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxeramakó --, papagaio curica (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxerá --, garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm) -- korihená.

[825] [753] The gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- nonexí -- is killed for magical reasons, because it is believed that there is concealed in it a hostile medicine man who brings sickness and [237] other disasters. Its down feathers are glued into the hair by the men as trophies (see p. 95); the meat is discarded. The gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm) -- nonexipéke -- is also killed only for its feathers, which serve the men as upper-arm ornaments.

[825] They never shoot at the urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.) -- uatubá --, for they are glad that they remove the refuse.

●224 In conclusion it should be mentioned that traps are unknown to the Surára and Pakidái (353).

353. There is a corresponding statement by Zerries about the Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

[622] If the hunter has killed a small animal, he may keep this booty for himself and his family, but he often gives the chief a roasted or boiled piece of it. A big-game animal, on the other hand, is divided up under the chief's supervision, and each family gets a piece of meat. This communal feeling is very strongly marked, and no member of the tribe would ever violate it.

/110 cont./

527 Between the patapáanomão festivals the Surára and Pakidái have only a few other festivities in the course of the year. These are but small celebrations, which, for example, take place after the two-months' training of two young men as medicine-man helpers, after a successful war-expedition, upon moving into a newly erected maloka, and in connection with the second menstruation of a girl. The latter has more of an intimate character, for only families of relatives and friends take part in it.

4. Magic for Sickness, Hunting, Love, and Rain

754
825 a) Magic for sickness:

[824] A magic powder is occasionally prepared from the bark ashes of a wild mimosa species (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekuráhihená -- (see also p. 192) and the bone powder of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). In the evening, shortly before twilight sets in, if a gavião-real happens to be flying by or is sitting on a tree, the chief blows this powder in the direction of the bird. The latter receives it and with it transmits sickness to a specific hostile tribe.

● 224
789 b) Hunting magic:

[782] The evening before a proposed hunting expedition the hunter takes snuff-powder and prays for about 2-3 hours to the hekurá (see pp. 200/201), whereby through them he requests

[302] Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) for a successful outcome. Then, before he sets out the next morning, he paints serpentine lines

[825] on his face and body with urucú. If his wife accompanies him, she also applies this design, and the snout and feet of a dog that is taken along are painted with the same color. This is

[751] supposed to increase the luck of the hunt and is at the same time bound up with defensive magic against possible dangers threatened by poisonous snakes and jaguars.

Surára
Pakidái

/110 cont./

224 If the hunter accompanied by his wife has slain small game or a bird, the wife carries the hunting booty into the community /111/ house. If the man was alone, he brings the animal only to the entrance of his dwelling. It is taken inside by his wife or by another man. The same is true for big game, for example, a tapir, from which a few pieces of meat are first taken along; the rest is fetched later by friendly fellow tribesmen. Thus, the hunter may always carry his booty to the entrance of the maloka, but he may never go inside with it. He must also leave the evisceration of the animal to other men. Subsequently he may roast the meat, to be sure, but after it has been prepared, he is forbidden to eat the first morsel. When (982) he has finished his meal, he is obliged to pray anew by way of the hekurá to Poré and Perimbó, for the latter demand that one thank them for the hunting booty. If the hunter observes all these rules, the united Supreme Being and the hekurá will always be well-disposed toward him and will always provide for a successful outcome of the hunt.

224 Among many other tribes of South America there are the
191 same or similar conceptions of hunting magic. I can here refer
114 to Zerries, who has gathered together the pertinent source material and made a comparative study of it (537) (538). This

537. Zerries, 1951.

538. Zerries, 1954a.

shows that urucú is almost always used for the red coloring before the hunt. Métraux, however, mentions that the ancient Mocovi in the Gran Chaco smeared the snouts of their dogs with jaguar blood (539). From this Zerries draws the justifiable

539. Métraux, 1944, p. 283.

conclusion that urucú is a substitute for blood (540), which

540. Zerries, 1954a, p. 22.

224
191
114

/111 cont./
Métraux also documents for the Chiriguano (541).

541. Métraux, 1931, p. 154, footnote 1.

It should also be pointed out that the hunting rule so strictly observed by the Surára and Pakidái men, which says that a hunter may never carry his game into the maloka himself, can probably be traced back to Karaiben /Carib/ influences. In this connection Zerries speaks of propitiatory rites relating to the killed animal (542). According to his investigations, the

542. Zerries, 1954a, p. 359.

northern region of South America emerges as the nuclear area, where they are found primarily among Karaiben tribes of the Venezuelan coast and its hinterland (543). The author cites

543. Zerries, 1954a, pp. 136/37, 359/60.

Roth (544) and Crévaux (545) as the most important sources, as

544. Roth, 1915, p. 294.

545. Crévaux, 1883, p. 283.

well as the very old report by Rochefort (546), which shows that

546. Rochefort, 1658, p. 451.

even the Island Karaiben were acquainted with this custom.

832
[824]

c) Love magic:

For the purpose of love magic, young men sometimes wear a curauá-fiber string around the neck, to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hamë -- (see p. 83). If the

/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
302 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs. A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to verify with any certainty whether some relationship between menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest." They believe that the hĩkula of the dead person is inside the chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks, for otherwise the hĩkula of the dead person would kill him too. After this time has passed the hĩkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to surprise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see Sanemá rancherias fortified with palisades, as we did in other Yanoama subtribes.

● 224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition in this lore.

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

• 224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm. [841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

/205 cont./

224 411 It is also dangerous to lose an arrow when one is hunting. That is why they only shoot the arrow when, should they miss the target, they can easily retrieve it. In spite of these precautions, the arrow is sometimes lost or remains hanging from an [782] inaccessible tree. Then the man, in order not to lose his aim, puts it under the protection of Omao, to whom he speaks, saying: "Omáuawan ipa ʃflaka toldíapala!" which means: "Omao, watch over my arrow!"

224 777 789 826 To lose one's aim or luck in hunting may arise from a technical reason or a supernatural cause. The former is due to a weakening of the body brought about by sickness or other causes which influence sight or the strength of the arm. If it is due to this latter cause, the hunter knows the remedy. He goes to the forest and searches for a tree with hard, heavy wood; he cuts a piece and sets fire to it and collects the ashes, which he applies to the cuts inflicted on his arm. If he bears the pain without touching the hurt arm with the other hand and does not shout, his muscles will once again recover their lost strength and the hunter will recover his luck and good aim.

224 776 777 If the hunter returns without any game, it may be because Omao did not favor him, and this is the supernatural cause of his failure.

224 782 [777] According to our informants from the Erebato, a good hunter speaks frequently with Omao, for without his protection he will not be lucky. For this reason he says to him: "Omao awayí ipa ʃálawa hadu kapálama!" which is translated as: "Omao, draw my game out into the open!"

Worse than being unlucky is to lose one's life in a hunting accident, and in order to implore the protection of the other world, the hunter prays, "Omao sátoria palái!" that is to say: "Omao, protect me!"

224 825 /206/ Of course, all these precautions are useless if the hunter has not learned the art of hunting. He must know how the various animals live and how to identify their tracks. If these latter should be fresh, he orders his dog to follow the track of the game; the success of a Sanemá hunter depends in great

/206 cont./

224 825 part on his dog. The hunter must also know a great variety of calls for attracting the animals and birds and, above all, know which arrow to shoot in order to kill the animal which may come in answer to his call.

224 775 All this and a great deal more about which we are ignorant must be learned by the Sanemá hunter in order to have the benefit of his knowledge not only on earth but also in the world of Omao after his death. An expert hunter continues to be one in "heaven" and there he will have the opportunity of recompensing Omao for the benevolence showed him during his earthly life.

224 The Sanemá hunt with bow and arrows. Usually each man carries with him, in addition to his bow, five arrows and a quiver with various types of points.

[415 372] The quiver, made of bamboo, is carried, hanging by means of a bejuco, from the neck, on the chest, or across the back. In most cases they carry, tied to the same quiver, some small sticks with which to kindle fire. In the forest they pull out with extraordinary speed the point best suited to kill the animal which comes within range, and it is surprising with what dexterity and speed they can shoot one or several arrows.

If there are several hunters surrounding a pack of peccaries or a group of monkeys, the booty belongs to the one who kills it.

It seems that the Sanemá of the Erebato also use a kind of trap (Schwippgalgenfalle), particularly to capture the lapa /paca/ or deer (20).

20. It would seem that this trap reflects a cultural borrowing among the Sanemá, since the Surará, Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 77), and Waica (Zerries, 1956c, p. 151) do not have it.

223 In order to catch birds, the hunter climbs up into a very high tree and hides there behind some thick branches. He attracts the birds with whistles, and, when they are near, he shoots them; a companion waits at the foot of the tree for the prey's fall, in

/206 cont./

223 order to pick it up. As a result of his expertness in hunting, he knows the trees in which the birds gather to spend the night. The man, using palm leaves and bejucos, carefully prepares a blind with the sure hope that, by means of this ambush, the booty will be plentiful.

224 262 [237] [482] Hunting in groups is common among the Sanemá, and they do this particularly to surround a group of monkeys, peccaries, or in order to kill a feline. /207/ They do not eat the meat of jaguars, but keep the canine teeth in the roof of the house. They tie up the peccaries that they get, front feet to the back ones, load them on their backs, and carry them home. The meat of the peccary is greatly esteemed, and the whole rancheria gathers to eat the animal, with the exception of the young unmarried men, who, by order of the capitan, must not taste the meat so that the hunters who have killed the animals will not die. They may, however, eat other kinds of meat and the food which they most like.

There are some animals that the Sanemá are prohibited from hunting: thus, they do not eat snakes, they kill the cayman, but [.766] do not sample its flesh. The Sanemá of the Erebato told us that they cremate caymans as they do men, for, in fact, as far as [784] they are concerned, caymans were previously men. It is taboo to kill a morrocoy or a turtle. They were people before and Omao 262 does not permit them to be killed. There are other animals which 223 they kill and eat only under certain conditions, among them the eagle (21).

> 21. The Surará and Pakidai kill the eagle, but throw away its flesh. They say that it transmits sickness (Becher, 1960, p. 77). (Cf. the section on "death" in the present study /see pp. 93-94 /.)

223 825 262 If a hunter comes upon an eagle, he believes that he is facing a speciman of a species of animal which was previously a person. He may be facing a friend or an enemy. Therefore, before shooting, he asks the animal if it is a friend or an enemy, and only if

/236 cont./
539 places (26).

[224
782
784]

26. Taking into account what has already been pointed out as a prayer directed to Omao in order that he allow to come out those animals which he would judge as surplus in the animal kingdom, the young man's behavior can be judged as an offense against God because he would not yield to his will.

The father of the young hunter was at home sitting in front of the fire. He was a sablí. Suddenly he saw a swarm of butterflies approaching to put out the fire. A great cloud of smoke arose. The sablí heard the prolonged and penetrating howls of the Great Fox who has various members of his family living in the river. When they come out of the waters, they do not only kill the hunter who made them leave their "house," but all of his family as well. The butterflies also live in the river and are the friends of the Great Fox, whom they help to kill bad and guilty hunters. After putting out the fire they attack the family of the bad hunter, and, if the latter happens to be at home, they suck out his blood from the corners of his eyes. The sablí knew all about this and the grave danger which his son and his whole family were in, but he also knew a means of defending them against the butterflies. He caught some of them and spat on them. The butterflies immediately ceased their attack on him and died. The Great Fox kept quiet because he knew that his victim was in the forest under the protection of a powerful shaman. In this way the young hunter was saved from the teeth of the Great Fox,[1] who devours his victims and swallows them without chewing.

KASMAI

Kasmái is a man who lives in the river. Every six months, when there is a new moon, he comes out of the water to live for three days among men. This pleases them, and they regale him with a dance celebration. Kasmái enjoys himself very much at these celebrations. He comes up out of the river with his body

/441 cont./

Obtaining Food

224 Hunting.

Hunting is done with bows and arrows.

A broad arrow-point of bamboo is used against larger land game, such as the danta, the váquiros /peccaries/, and the large [411] rodents. Poisoned points are used against monkeys and occasionally against dantas. Bone points are used principally to hunt birds. Small birds are hunted with arrows with a blunt point or forked point.

[231] Dogs are used in hunting, and in the case of the smallest wild pigs, these dogs frequently do more killing than the hunters.

The hunters hunt together and surround the game. The one who succeeds in killing it is the owner of the animal. He might make a gift of a few pieces to those who have helped him, but in general he carries the entire animal to his house, where it is cooked. A danta, of course, must be divided up on the spot in order to be transported.

262 Almost all the mammals are eaten, felines being the principal exception. A few snakes are eaten; others are not. The babilla /an amphidious reptile/ is also eaten. Birds of prey, such as hawks, eagles, vultures, and turkey buzzards and others, are not eaten. Almost all the other birds are eaten, even the little humming birds.

/442/ Meat is considered an essential part of the diet and perhaps occupies the second place of importance after platanos.

226 Fishing.

Several types of toxins are used to poison fish in the small currents of water. One of these is a bejuco. Another is the shell of an edible nut with a prickly husk. Another is the bark of a certain tree of great size.

226 462 857 When the waters lower in streams and swamps (generally around the months of January and February), women and children go out armed with clubs and come back with baskets full of fish.

/467 cont./

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.
[241] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in
[482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the house. They may call upon the women to help them when the game has been brought into the vicinity.

[226] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The women fish with macanas and with baskets.

[499] The men build the bridges.

[342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the
[482] settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family. For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own platanos. The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

222 in particular seasons; the most important are manaca, seje, moriche and yagua. The hearts as well as the fruits are eaten, and the Indians usually return to trees they have felled to collect the large, fat, white grubs that mature in the decayed pith. In general, a great deal of energy goes into the collection of these palm fruits in proportion to the caloric return and, even during the peak of the wild fruit harvest, the Yąnomamö still depend heavily on their cultivated foods.

222
241
146

• 224 Two kinds of hunting techniques provide the Yąnomamö with most of their meat; the occasional kills made by their dogs provide the rest. The first, called rama, is the desultory individual hunting that goes on around the villages. These hunts rarely last more than one day. The second kind of hunting, called heniyomou, involves as many as a dozen hunters who set up a temporary camp a day's walk or more away from the village and use it as the base of operations. This kind of hunting may last five days or more and occurs immediately before a feast, as the etiquette of feasting requires that guests be given fresh meat to eat on their way home after the feast.

527
574

Game animals most commonly taken include several species of monkeys, two species of wild pig, tapir, armadillo, agouti, anteaters, wild turkeys, and a small alligator-like reptile (babilla, Spanish). Other game animals taken with less enthusiasm and less frequency include deer, turtles, parrots, snakes, capibara, guinea-hens and a large rodent (lapa, Spanish).

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1986) 1987 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114

fishing and collecting forest fruits. (1923: 299-300. My translation. See also 1922:226.)

His assertion that the Yąnomamö lived only on hunting, fishing, and collecting wild forest fruit was unsupported not only by the existing accounts but also by his own observations; and it has never been verified by any field worker who has spent more than a few days with the Yąnomamö.[1] Nor was the conclusion warranted that the Yąnomamö had no fixed habitation sites; Koch-Grünberg was visited by one of the groups and the other had a garden site a short distance from where he met them. Finally, the antiquity of the group as a "population layer" is something that can only be speculated about at best; indeed, the concept 'population layer' is itself an analytic construct presupposing a considerable amount of knowledge concerning tribal distributions over a period of time which, at least for this area, is entirely lacking.

The expedition of the Frobenius Institute in 1954-55 conducted the first anthropological inquiry in this area that concentrated exclusively on the study of the Yąnomamö. The members of the expedition, Otto Zerries and his assistant, Meinhard Schuster, spent 10 months in the village of Mahekodotedi. They selected the Yąnomamö because of their interest in hunters and gatherers; the literature, especially the work of Koch-Grünberg, described the Yąnomamö as such. They

---

[1] "It is surprising to notice, that the Waica, formerly reported as a hunting and gathering tribe by visitors who had only superficial contact with them, are actually horticulturists." (Zerries, 1955:78.)

114 initiated their work among this group, in Zerries' words, ". . . to come a step closer to the problem of the world's oldest cultural layer of the hunter and collector."[1] On arriving at Mahekodo-tedi, however, Zerries was surprised to discover that the Yąnomamö were not in fact hunters and gatherers, but horticulturists:

> To our great surprise we were obliged to conclude right from the start of our investigations that the Waika are above all dependent on the cultivation of the plantain (platano) to a considerable degree. (1958:177. My translation.)

114 174 224 222 241 Although Zerries acknowledges the current horticultural status of the Yąnomamö, his work is frequently characterized by attempts to portray the Yąnomamö as hunting and gathering people who have only recently adopted cultivation and are still in transition from a pure hunting and gathering stage to a purely horticultural one. Thus, Zerries argues that the Yąnomamö divide their year into seasons fixed by the ripening of individual species of wild fruits (which I have not been able to verify), implies that peach palm (pijiguao) was recently a collected rather than a cultivated fruit, describes the Yąnomamö settlement pattern and annual cycle as half-nomadic or semi-nomadic, and generally emphasizes the role of hunting and collecting in determining the cultural status of the Yąnomamö in South American culture history, all of which detract, I believe, from an understanding of their culture as it exists at the present time and probably has

---

[1] 1964:1. My translation.

existed for the past several hundred years. At many points the data used by Zerries to infer that they were until recently hunters and gatherers lend themselves to other interpretations:

> Finally, the Waika connect the general word for food, "ni," with the word for archery, "niai," out of which results that in their conceptual world, subsistence itself in the last analysis results from hunting--which is symptomatic of the way of life of the hunting and gathering heritage of the Waika. (1958:180. My translation.)

The word nii (not ni) usually refers to vegetable food, most of which is cultivated by the Yąnomamö and generally does not include meat. The word for the latter, yąro, conversely, does not apply to vegetable food. Again, there are two words to describe hunger; ohi refers to that kind of hunger that can be satisfied by eating vegetable food, whereas naiiki is a kind of hunger that can only be satisfied by eating meat or fish. And, it is possible for individuals not to be ohi but be naiiki. One could easily argue that subsistence and cultivation are intimately linked, as their word for one form of hunger (ohi) is similar to their word for taro: ohina. The similarity, then, between the word for archery (niaö) and vegetable food (nii, not ni) tells us nothing about the cultural status of the Yąnomamö either in the past or at the present.

In general, Zerries' data are excellent and his conclusions sound; and his major work (1964) will remain the basic ethnographic source on the Yąnomamö for many years.

The Frobenius Expedition was followed by the work of

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4]For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5]The cultivated palm, *pijiguao*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4 feet off the ground at the rear and 6 feet off the ground at the front. Shorter sticks are then laid crossways on the major roof poles and these, in turn, covered with several layers of long, broad, wild "banana" leaves (see Glossary, under "Banana, wild"). It is quite small, but can sleep three individuals. Frequently, the traveler finds the remains of one of these houses and has merely to put a new layer of leaves on the roof to make it waterproof; occasionally, he takes a chance that it won't rain that night and does not improve the hut at all.

When the Yąnomamö settle a new area, they erect temporary villages of these crude huts and live in them until they can build a *shabono*. They also live in huts like these while they are re-roofing the old *shabono*.

The permanent village is complete when the palisade of logs is erected around its circumference. This is placed some 3 or 4 feet behind the roof, allowing space for a path around the village inside the palisade. The palisade itself is about 10 feet high and usually made of a mixture of palm and hardwood logs. It is kept in repair only when there is some reason to suspect raiders. Otherwise, people pilfer logs from it for use as firewood. The entrance to the village, as well as the palisade entrance, is covered with brush and logs at night to keep out intruders. Anyone trying to enter will inevitably make the brush move and alarm the village dogs.

FOOD AND ITS GATHERING The jungle provides numerous varieties of food, both animal and vegetable. The most commonly taken game includes several species of monkeys, two varieties of wild "turkey," two species of wild pig, armadillos, anteaters, tapir, deer, a small alligator, small rodents, and several species of smaller birds. Wild vegetable foods commonly exploited by the Yąnomamö are: palm fruits of several species, hardwood fruits, brazil nuts, tubers, and the seed pods of the feral banana. Of these, the palm fruits are by far the most significant.

These occur seasonally and, for brief periods of time, produce large quantities of fruits. Unfortunately, there is very little edible substance in each fruit, so that in order to get filled, one must eat the edible portion of enormous quantities of fruit. The Yąnomamö extensively exploit two closely related palms, *pei* and *karashi*. The *pei* fruits are about the size of small hen's eggs and occur in large clusters, weighing 80 pounds and more, near the tops of the palm trees. The *karashi* fruits are about half that size. The exterior portion of the fruit is a leathery shell which is peeled with the teeth. Inside there is a thin layer of very bitter, white flesh. This is chewed and sucked off. The taste resembles that of a poor grade of bath soap. Of the two, I found *karashi* the more repugnant. My throat burned when I ate them.

Another commonly exploited palm is the *ediwashi*. It is tangerine red in color and covered with a leather-like skin that consists of hundreds of small scales. They are about the size of large hen's eggs and resemble small hand grenades. When the fruit is dry, as, for example, when it is first cut from the tree, it is almost impossible to get the leathery scales off. The Yąnomamö overcome this difficulty by throwing the fruit bunches into water and letting them soak for several days, after which the scales can be easily scraped off with the fingernails, exposing a thin layer of yellowish, soft flesh that tastes very much like cheese. The fruits begin to ferment after they have soaked, producing a slightly pungent taste. I enjoyed eating *ediwashi* with the Yąnomamö; the fruit was good, and the technique of eating it was very sociable. We would wade into the swamp where the fruit had been submerged and grope around in the murky water to locate it. After

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

They have much less fat on them than grubs, and become dry and crunchy during the cooking, having a texture and form like cheese pone when prepared.

Large spiders are also collected; they are simply placed directly on the hot coals and roasted alive. The legs and thorax are eaten.

Another common insect food is the larvae of a species of large ant. Only the head of the squirming larvae is eaten. It is very crunchy and has a nutty taste, but one must exercise caution in eating them since they are equipped with sharp pincers and can inflict a painful wound on the tongue or lip.

The game animals are all shot with arrows. The curare palm points are usually used for monkey hunting, while the lanceolate bamboo points are used for large game, such as deer, tapir, and wild pigs. A third kind of point is used for birds. It consists of a long, slender stick to the end of which has been bound a splinter of gently curved monkey bone. This serves as the penetrating point and the barb; it is difficult to extract the point once the barb enters the animal.

The Yąnomamö also fashion a fourth kind of arrow point as they need it. It is simply a stick that has numerous twigs branching in a close cluster. The twigs are cut off an inch or so from the main branch, and the stem is inserted into the end of the arrow shaft that usually contains the curare-tipped point. This fourth type of point is used to kill small birds whose feathers are desired for decoration purposes. On one occasion I saw a young man fashion one of these points in a few seconds. He saw a small bird, located a shrub a few feet away, bit off a branch with his teeth, bit the twigs off, and stuck the point into his arrow shaft—without taking his eyes off the small bird for a second. This type of point is discarded after it serves its temporary purpose.

The Yąnomamö do not employ traps or compounds when hunting. They frequently use dogs to run tapir, pigs, and deer, but most hunting is merely the individual stalking and shooting whatever game is available. As men always carry their weapons with them when they leave the village, they are, in effect, hunting continuously. A communal type of hunting trip invariably precedes a feast; this is described in Chapter 4.

The technique for capturing armadillos is very interesting. Armadillos live in burrows deep underground, and the Yąnomamö are always investigating the entrances of these burrows to see if any signs of recent occupation can be found. If the burrow is occupied, the hunters quickly cover the entrance with combustible materials and start a fire. After the fire is blazing strongly, they find a dried termite nest, which produces large quantities of smoke, and put it onto the fire. When this is ignited, they fan the smoke into the burrow, cover the fire with sand, and look for other openings to the armadillo den. These are quickly spotted when smoke begins to emerge from them and covered with sand to keep the smoke in. Then the men crawl around with their ears held to the ground. The armadillo will sometimes start burrowing in order to escape the smoke; when he does, he is heard and his location immediately established. A stick is used to dig into the ground and find the animal, usually 2 or 3 feet below the surface. On one occasion the men had difficulty locating the animal and dug several holes without hitting the burrow. One of them then uncovered the entrance, obtained a thick vine from a nearby tree, and tied a knot in the end of it. He then introduced the knot into the burrow by spinning the vine rapidly between his hands, pushing it in gently as it twirled. When he could not get the vine to go any further, the men listened on the ground to locate the spinning knot. When they found it, they marked the spot. The vine was

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

removed and laid along the ground in the direction of the burrow to measure the distance from the entrance. The men began digging at the end of the vine and located the asphyxiated armadillo on the first attempt.

The jungle provides many other kinds of foods and products too numerous to mention. Some, like vines and lianas, are very useful and commonly employed in basket-making; others, such as edible mushrooms, crabs, pigments, and decorative plant products, are less significant, and exploited only sporadically. Despite the amazing variety of food products to be found in the jungle, however, the Yąnomamö could not exist for any substantial period of time on collected foods only: they rely heavily on their cultivated crops. The tropical forest is much less productive and reliable than one would imagine. The most abundant foods, palm fruits, are seasonal—a group of people could only rely on them for a few months of the year, during which time some 80 group members would have to forage over a wide area to obtain sufficient palm fruits to keep everybody well fed.

Game animals are not abundant, and an area is rapidly hunted out, so that a group must keep constantly on the move. Furthermore, hunting depends as much on luck as it does on skill and is not a very reliable way to supply nourishment. I have gone on five-day hunting trips with the Yąnomamö in areas that had not been hunted for decades, and had we not brought cultivated foods along, we would have been extremely hungry at the end of this time—we did not collect even enough meat to feed ourselves. On other trips, we often managed to collect enough game in one day to feed the entire village.

GARDENING Although the Yąnomamö spend almost as much time hunting as they do gardening, the bulk of their diet comes from foods that are cultivated. Perhaps 85 percent or more of the diet consists of domesticated rather than wild foods—plantains are by far the most important food in the diet.

The Yąnomamö are constantly looking for potential garden sites. When I hunted with them, the topic of conversation that evening would eventually drift over to the merits of the area as a possible site for a new garden. Most new garden sites are, in fact, discovered by hunters.

The land for a new site should not be heavily covered with brush, which is difficult to remove. The larger trees should not be too numerous either, as it takes a good deal of work to chop them down. Ideally, the new site should have very light jungle cover, should be well drained, near a source of drinking water, and relatively free of thorny underbrush. The Yąnomamö call a garden *hikari täka;* jungle that has the potential of being a good garden is likewise called *hikari täka.*

The first operation in making a new garden is to cut the smaller trees and brush; the bigger trees, *kayaba hi,* are left standing until the underbrush is removed. Then the big trees are felled with axes and left lying on the ground to dry out in the sun.

My older informants claimed that they did not have steel tools when they were younger and had to kill the big trees by cutting a ring of bark off around the base of the stump, using a crude stone axe, piling brush around them, and burning them. The trees rarely fell, but the fire usually killed them, and their leaves dropped off, permitting the sunlight to reach the ground.

They also claimed that making a garden was more arduous in those days because a large area would have to be searched for the necessary quantities of kindling used to kill the big trees. Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Shararaiwä, Kąobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kąobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kąobawä's younger wife. Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kąobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yąnomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kąobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kąobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

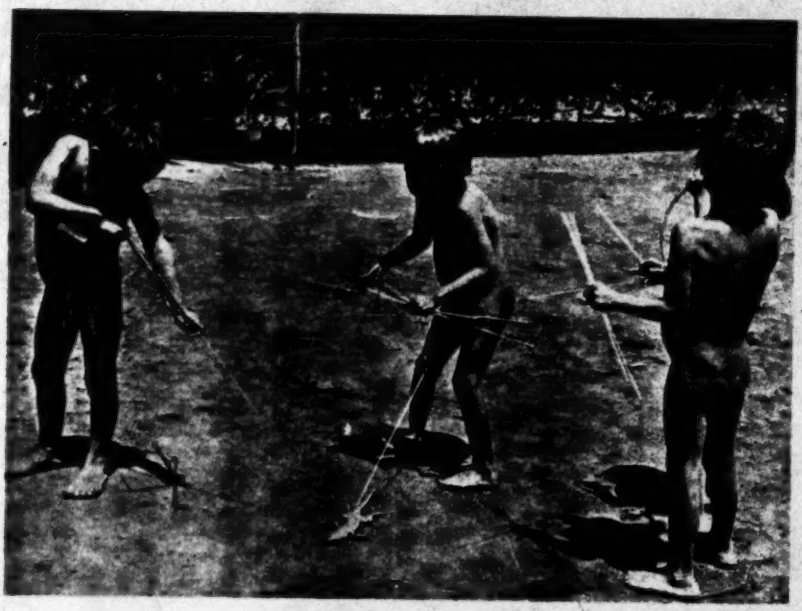


Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Sharaiwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Sharaiwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Sharaiwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

neutral. The treacherous feast for their Shamatari enemies proved to be unsuccessful: The intended victims had accepted the invitation, but were informed of the plot just before they arrived. One of the Reyaboböwei-teri who had close kinsmen among them had misgivings about the matter and warned them.

Late in the afternoon it was learned that the Mahekodo-teri were, in fact, in the vicinity of the village, allegedly on a "camping trip." Kąobawä, of course, suspected their story, but to demonstrate his friendship he invited them to be his guests at a feast. As he and his men had been away for nearly two weeks, there was an abundance of food in their gardens and they could easily afford to entertain the Mahekodo-teri and their traveling companions, the Boreta-teri. Together, the guests numbered about 100—after they fetched their women and children.

This sets the stage for the feast in the kind of context that makes it more intelligible: The specific historical relationships between the participants and the nature of their mutual mistrust. Now I will give the details of the events that followed.

The Feast

Perhaps because he suspected the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri of intimidation, Kąobawä also invited the Karohi-teri to attend the feast. They are a small but dependable ally and had themselves separated from the Mahekodo-teri many years ago. This established a balance of power at the projected feast should any trouble arise, for the combination of both Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri was of sufficient strength to worry any host. With the aid of the Karohi-teri, Kąobawä's group was more of a match for the visitors.

The feast started out on a sour note. It is the custom of the Yąnomamö visitors to arrive only after an invitation from their hosts, sent by messenger on the day of the feast. The Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri, however, arrogantly arrived nearly a week before Kąobawä's group was prepared to receive them and set up a large, temporary camp a short distance from the village. They were guests and could legitimately demand to be fed. Because of this, Kąobawä and his covillagers were under obligation to feed them, some hundred or so people, and took them to the gardens to supply them with enough plantains to last a week. Kąobawä was a little disturbed that they would be so impolite as to arrive uninvited, but took the situation quite philosophically. After all, they had fed his group for the better part of a year.

He and several other men cut a large quantity of plantains, which were hung in his house and allowed to ripen for a week, to be boiled into *date*, a thick, sweet soup, on the day of the feast. That afternoon Kąobawä and a few of the older men commissioned a hunting party comprised of young men, several of whom were Kąobawä's brothers, whose responsibility would be to obtain a large quantity of fresh meat to give to the visitors on the day after the feast. Most of them were reluctant to go, as their feet were still sore from the trip to the Shamatari village. A few of them claimed to be sick and managed to escape recruitment into the hunting party in this way. This hunt, with the hanging of the plantains in the headman's house, initiated the feast. The excitement that usually attends a feast began at this time.

That evening the young men danced and sang in the village, an institution called *amoamo*, thereby insuring themselves with luck on the hunt. (The Yąnomamö also

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

amoamo on other occasions, but invariably do so on the day the plantains are hung in the village in anticipation of a feast.) Every evening the men are away on their *beniomou*, the week-long hunt, the young women and girls sing and dance in the village to insure them success.

The hunters left at dawn the following morning, carrying a large supply of roasted and green plantains with them to eat while they hunted. They had picked a site some 25 miles up the Mavaca River for their hunt, as game was known to abound there. Their task was to obtain monkeys, armadillos, wild turkeys, wild pig, tapir or sloth, the only meat deemed worthy to give to guests. They would not be permitted to eat any of this game, but could consume any other game they captured, such as deer, small birds, a small species of wild turkey, or insects and fish they happened to come upon. The feast meat, however, was earmarked for the guests and could not be eaten by the hunters. On this particular hunting trip the men miscalculated the amount of food they would need to sustain them during the hunt, and one of them returned after four days to fetch more plantains. He also gave Kąobawä a report on the hunt's success, creating a small sensation in the village: They had already killed a large number of *basbo*, a particularly large and very desirable monkey. They had also come upon a quantity of turtle eggs at a sand bar and were eating as many as they could. When they returned later, they cached the remaining eggs in my house, so as not to have to share them with the visitors.

Meanwhile, the visitors were making gluttons of themselves, and the hosts started to grumble about the large number of plantains they had already eaten. The week's supply they originally provided had been consumed in half that time, and the guests had been given permission a second time to harvest more from their hosts' gardens. This was no way for guests to behave, and it soon became apparent that they were intimidating Kąobawä's group. Still, he and his followers continued to supply them with all the food they needed, keeping their complaints to themselves. They did not want it to be known that they were worried about running short of food. Instead, they planned to conduct the feast on a scale that would be difficult to reciprocate.

The hunters returned and presented their catch to Kąobawä. It was brought to his house and placed on the ground, wrapped up in leaves. Kąobawä ignored it for a while and then slowly began to unpack it (see Fig. 4–1) while everybody watched—especially the hunters, who were quite proud of the quantity of meat they had obtained: seventeen *basbo* monkeys, seven wild turkeys, and three large armadillos. Hunting trips are not usually this successful, but the hunters had fortunately stumbled into a large band of *basbo* and had nearly wiped it out.

Kąobawä and his group were anxious to conduct the feast for their visitors and present them with the food, because by so doing the visitors would be obliged to leave for home, thereby ending the drain on the gardens.[2]

The feast was scheduled for the day following the return of the hunters, even though the Karohi-teri had not yet arrived. Kąobawä and his group were so anxious to rid themselves of their ravenous guests by this time that they decided to hold a separate feast for the Karohi-teri on the day following the departure of the Mahekodo-teri. This would involve a considerable amount of extra work, but they were more than willing to

[2] I have seen several instances of Yąnomamö groups getting rid of visitors who have joined them semipermanently by holding a feast in their honor; when the ceremonial food is presented, the visitors are obliged to leave.

Surára
Pakidái

/76 cont./

224 relatively infrequently, for the most part only when they stay in the vicinity of a maloka and thus constitute a danger for human
224 beings. Only the meat of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) is
262 eaten. For some hunters, however, pride in killing such animals plays a role, for finishing off a jaguar, especially the black one, gives him greater esteem. -- Snakes, which are very numerous here because of the considerable dampness, are killed with a stick. If a surucucu (Lachesis muta L.) -- pereíma -- (Surára word) -- peléma -- (Pakidái word), the largest and most dangerous poisonous snake of South America, is killed, then the joy is especially great. The head is cut off, and every family gets a piece of the snake's body, which is cooked with other meat. It has an agree-
[151] able taste and reminded me of eel. The Surára and Pakidái also
[825] believe, however, that every person who has eaten the meat of a surucucu will never be bitten by any other poisonous snake. The sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) -- uaikonyá -- and the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatá -- are also eaten with relish. The jararaca (Lachesis sp.) -- karihirimá --, the papaova (Spilotes sp.) -- karimatá --, and the cobra-coral (Elaps corallinus Wied.) -- huamoxíke --, on the other hand, are never eaten. -- Now and then a cayman (Caiman sclerops Schneid.) -- ihuá -- or a lizard -- xaraimá -- are killed with a stick, and sometimes the hunter, but more often his dog, discovers in the forest a jabuti (Testudo tabulata Woelb.) -- totorí --, whose meat is also very tender and tasty; /77/ it does not come up to that of the water turtle, how-
● [225] ever. Yet, of the numerous species which inhabit the Demini, Aracá, and their tributaries, the Surára and Pakidái catch only the perema -- talmã --, and, to be sure, they seize it in shallow water with their hands.

223 Bird hunting requires special training. That is why even
[868] boys are encouraged to kill as many small birds as possible, so that later on they will be good hunters.

The following birds are most frequently hunted, on account of both their meat and their feathers: mutum (Crax sp.) -- parurí --, urumutum (Crax sp.) -- katará --, mutum cavalo (Mitu mitu L.) -- katauri --, jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nhapín --, cujubim

Suráro
Pakidái

/77 cont./

226 c) Fishing

Fishing plays a very subordinate part, and since olden times it has been carried on, with bow and arrow, only from the river-bank. Fishing by means of poison or landing nets, weirs, and similar implements is unknown. Recently, however, these Indians [179] have now and then used fishhooks of metal (354), which were

354. They fasten these to a line of cotton or Bromelia fibers.

given them by rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, as well as by the Indian protection post on the Rio Demini. Nevertheless, this 226 262 has not substantially increased their interest in fishing, for fish simply are not among their favorite foods. Moreover, only smaller species may be eaten (355), because all the large ones have the

355. Aracu (Leporinus copelandi Steind.), piranha (Pygocentrus sp. and Serrasalmus sp.), surubim (Platystoma sp.), jandiá (Sciluridae sp.), mandi (Rhamdia sp.), curimatã (Prochilodus sp.), pescada (Gadus sp.), dourado (Salminus brevidens), tambaquí (Characinidae sp.), mandubi (Auchenipteridae sp.), anujá (Trachycoristes sp.), cuiú-cuiú (Oxidorus niger Vall.), etc.

evil breath of the river within them and thus cause sickness and other misfortune. Thus, they, of course, abhor the pirarucu (Osteoglossidae), over three meters long and the largest fresh-water fish, the dried meat of which represents practically the basic diet of the caboclo population (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers), and the delicious meat of the large water-turtles is also rejected by them for this reason.

Surára
Pakidai
Waica

/78/

226
184 Among the Waikâ, too, fishing ranks last in the acquisition of food and is likewise practiced with bow and arrow there, as well as with the fishhook in more recent times. It is worth noting, however, that in addition they are familiar with a method of fishing by poisoning the water (356a) (356b) 357).

356a. Barker, 1953, pp. 464/65.

356b. Zerries, 1956b, p. 152.

357. Zerries, 1958c, p. 179.

222 d) Gathering

[462] Not only women, but also men take part in the gathering activity. The latter have the duty in particular to bring in the fruits of the many palm species (358), of which the following are

358. The general name for palms is -- petabaâmo.

the most important: açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) -- uaiíma --, bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus Mart. or Oenocarpus bacaba Mart.) -- hokomaké --, bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.) -- yauetosík --, buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.) -- etewexí --, curua (Attalea spectabilis Mart.) -- yauatoâ --, tucuma (Astrocaryum sp.) -- pahâ -- (359), and pupunha (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) --

[481] 359. To climb the palms named they used the climbing ring (see pp. 119/120).

komunamâ -- (360). The fruits of smaller palms that are easy to

[481] 360. Since the trunk of this palm is covered with sharp thorns -- miímiçibâ --, it can be climbed only with the help of two specially constructed implements (see pp. 121/122).

/79 cont./

222 which can be obtained easily and without danger, for the bees are stingless. Usually they have their nests in hollow trees or in the ground. Occasionally, however, one also sees nests built in tall trees; the latter are then cut down by the men, for the purpose of obtaining the honey. The honey is scooped out of the nest with the hand or with a calabash and put into a folded palm leaf which is then tied together and taken along to the maloka. -- Birds' eggs also constitute a popular addition to the diet, as does the nourishing yolk of the eggs of water turtles; the egg white, on the other hand, is discarded because it has an unpleasant, fish-oil taste. During the dry season, especially during the months December-February, the Surára and Pakidái gather these turtle eggs in great numbers on the sandbanks of the Demini and Aracá. -- [226] Also to be mentioned are crayfish and crabs, which are pulled out of the holes in the mud of the riverbanks. -- I also observed that they eat certain kinds of frogs and spiders, as well as insect larvae, caterpillars, termites, and the hind parts of the leaf-cutter ant (Atta sp.) -- aneanemá.

241 e) Agriculture

Although agriculture among the Surára and Pakidái was introduced only a comparatively short time ago, they have already developed a remarkable system with regard to the laying out of their fields. These are always laid out circularly around the maloka. The procedure is such that, first of all, at the beginning of a dry season, October-November, a rather large piece of forest is cleared, during which it is seen to that the circular shape is [313] produced. To chop down the underbrush and the lianas, the [412] men use the terçados (large bush-knives), and the trees are felled with steel axes (367). After about two months, when the felled

[439]

367. The Surára obtain these articles of civilization from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter, and the Pakidái get them from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

Guahibo 5C14
Yabarana 5522
Panare 5521
Sanema
Saliva 5515
Makiritare 5520

/11 cont./

All these basins, without exception, pour their great volumes of water into the Orinoco, which, like a gigantic arc, runs across the north of the Escudo de Guayana, thus enclosing all the native tribes studied here and marking the farthermost boundary and end of their primitive world (cf. ethnic map /see p. 5 /). /12/ /Map appears here./

/13/ It is interesting to point out that the extensive fluvial network of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone does not serve the majority of the tribes as a means of communication or as an outstanding source of food. The Panare of the basin of the Cuchivero do not travel by river, and on the Cuchivero we found only one dugout /bongo/, which was used solely for crossing the river. In general the curiara /dugout canoe/ seems to be a foreign element in Panare culture, introduced recently by the Creoles. Nor did the Yabarana of the basin of the Ventuari use the curiara, and they recently learned from their neighbors, the Makiritare, the art of making them. For the Sanemá the river represents an obstacle rather than a means of communication, and they use rafts in order to cross it. At the present time, only the groups who live in symbiosis with the Makiritare make curiaras, but there is not the slightest doubt that this industry was adopted recently. The Sanemá spend less time at fishing than do the Panare, Yabarana, and Guahibo, since the latter too are among those Indians oriented toward the land, with its roads, rather than toward the rivers and navigation. The only real voyagers of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone are the Piaroa and the Makiritare, and the fame of the latter exceeds that of the former.

Culturally, the Makiritare belong to a Neo-Indian level, as do their cousins of the same linguistic affiliation, the Panare and the Yabarana. It is interesting, however, to call attention to the fact that to speak of Caribe /Carib/ Indians is not the same eo ipso as speaking of voyaging Indians. There are Neo-Indians who are ignorant of the curiara and who developed agriculture, not in a Meso-Indian culture (of fishermen and voyagers), but basically on top of a Paleo-Indian culture (of hunters). Meso-Indian cultures, such as that of the Warao, for example, and possibly that of the Piaroa, represent a specialization of the Paleo-American who was

[Text continues on P. 4]

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm. [841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

262 /207 cont./
223 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of
825 cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear. The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for
[514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground,
[785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily" on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war"
/see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy.
[433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit,
[527] and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social
[114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48), Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion in greater detail, according to their observation of it among the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shiriana" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriana*" with an internal separation of 30 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirisana (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Siriana*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 493-498.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 20.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20

M

V

123 Once more we were left on our own, waiting for the plane and making plans for a documentary film we wanted to take back. In the meanwhile a Makiritari showed up. He was a middle-aged man, muscular like a statue, and his skin was the colour of copper. Our visitor had a doleful little voice which contrasted oddly with his athletic appearance. It hovered somewhere behind a perpetual smile, like the crowing of a cock screened off by a flowering hedge. Pedro was the name. He had made his way through the Ventuari and the lower Caura, with *molto tarauaho*—much work, much exertion. . . .

M [186] Pedro would have come to see us before, but he had been put off by the
M [752] presence of the Shirians. 'Shirians—bad men,' he told us. 'Me, Pedro, good,
[177] not bad man.' His wife had a mastoid, and he had operated on her with a splinter of glass that had originally been part of a medicine bottle from Las Trinqueras—everything civilized came from Las Trinqueras, the hub of the world. And the woman, a dried-up thirty-year-old, had in fact a deep cut behind her ear which was suppurating. A few injections of penicillin soon put that right, and such was the patient's gratitude that whenever she saw us coming or going she would give us the same meek, piteous look as a lamb about to be slaughtered, and then turn to the others saying: 'What good men, what good men. . .!'

Pedro was a very able fisherman, and when we had supplied him with hooks he went off to the Upper Canaracuni with a child whom we took to be his daughter. But when he came back, he was ashamed of his catch. He thought it wouldn't find favour in our eyes.

'Soto eat them,' he declared, 'Shirians eat them too, but you eat other fish.'

We never could make out whether this was really diffidence on Pedro's part, or whether it was astuteness: so far were we from fully understanding the mentality of primitive men.

Y *123 We were to hear more about fish and fishing when Auai came back with his
[139] horde of ruffians, bringing us the promised bananas and sugar-cane and receiving in exchange the few goods we still possessed. Auai went fishing in the Canaracuni headwaters with barbasco, a vegetable poison frequently used for
Y [226] this purpose. Artur and I decided to go along with him, leaving the others to wait at Kirisochi.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Barbasco is a kind of liana which can grow to impressive dimensions—attaining a stem up to eight inches thick. The Indians cut it in the forest and collect a large pile together at a convenient place for pressing. Their press is made from one of those dead trunks of hardwood which are found in such quantity in the forest and some wooden clubs specially cut for the purpose. The liana stems are pounded and then done up into bundles so that they can be easily taken to the place to be fished, which may be some way off. Here they are immersed several times in the river, releasing a milky juice which gives the water a whitish opalescence. The juice of the liana reduces the air content of the water through oxidization, and the fish very soon come floating up to the surface—asphyxiated but not poisoned.

This procedure is a very common one among the Indians, whose fishing follows a two-year cycle—this being the minimum time needed for each stretch of water to become repopulated after the use of barbasco. It goes without saying that this extract of liana loses its efficacy in anything bigger than a small stream. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity the Indians will attempt to fish medium-sized rivers in this way, banding together to collect huge quantities of liana. The fish taken are then smoked and wrapped in banana leaves, after which they will keep for months.

Auai and his men had to go far afield with their barbasco before they found a suitable place. The probability was that the Shirians had already been at work, unknown to anyone, near the source of the Canaracuni. We therefore left him to it after all, and returned to camp early one morning, just in time to meet the plane that was circling the field.

VI

On Sunday, the 24th June, a big plane came into sight over the rim of the Sarisariñama mountains—towards the east where they merge into the Socsoc range. It swooped down to about three hundred feet and then went off without giving any signal. The excitement among the Indians on the spot—Luis Antonio was one of them and he explained the nature of the machine to his kinsfolk—was doomed to disappointment. And time and again this story of the aeroplane continued to arouse our hopes, only to dampen them once more.

A week later it appeared, at the same time—so suddenly and unexpectedly

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

322
291
142
516

18. *Pancho makes his oars at home: the final smoothing stage.*

●226
* 123

19. *Enrico and Pedro make a good catch in the Mari.*

[p. 96 – F]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

there for the taking in the forest and the supply, from both animal and vegetable sources, is inexhaustible.

The bow is of surprising dimensions. It is six feet six inches long, this being equivalent, considering the height of the archer, to nine feet nine inches for us. The simplest pattern is made from the *seke* palm. They also use a hardwood—from a tree known in Venezuela as the 'golden pole'. This is very rare, almost as rare among the Indians as metal. But the finest bows of all, possessed by the few and worth a fortune, are made from the corozo tree, the *lahsa* of the Shirians. This wood is extremely hard but very fibrous, with the elasticity of a steel spring. The shaping and fining down of these bows, and the making of the arrows, is the one form of craftsmanship known to the Samatari. With this they occupy themselves during the rainy season, under rough roofs of palm leaves. A tree belonging to the Moraceae family furnishes the very tough fibre for the bowstrings: it is found all along the river-banks and in the forest glades.

The slender arrows, six foot six inches long, are made from a cane cultivated in the secret depths of the forest, though it grows naturally on any of the river creeks which flood regularly. Curassow or guan feathers, split in half, are bound on to the cane.

There are three types of arrow-head, according to the purpose for which they are to be used. The lightest is a splinter cut from the shinbone of a monkey, firmly fixed to the end of a short stick, in such a way as to form a sharp-pointed prong. This is used on small animals, and especially for birds and fish. There are numbers of big fish, like the *pampano* and *surapiri*, which lie near the surface so that a slight rippling of the water betrays their presence. The arrow which pierces them cannot be shaken out, and its length and weight make it difficult for the wounded fish to get very far.

Another kind of point is virtually a miniature spear fashioned out of a very hard bamboo cane. Very sharp, and razor-edged, it will strike deep into the most resistant flesh, the toughest hide. The Samatari use this on the bigger game, such as tapir, and also for war—though for the latter purpose it is superseded by a specialized warhead. This is a sharpened splinter of palm wood—the same as goes to the making of the bows—dipped in a red poison made from the bark of a certain tree. A series of rings, four or five of them, are notched out round the arrow-tip, so that it is weakened at these places. If the tip strikes bone on entering the body, or if the arrow is pulled out, it snaps at one of these weakened parts, leaving the broken tip embedded in the flesh so that

/441 cont./

Obtaining Food

224 Hunting.

Hunting is done with bows and arrows.

A broad arrow-point of bamboo is used against larger land game, such as the danta, the váquiros /peccaries/, and the large [411] rodents. Poisoned points are used against monkeys and occasionally against dantas. Bone points are used principally to hunt birds. Small birds are hunted with arrows with a blunt point or forked point.

[231] Dogs are used in hunting, and in the case of the smallest wild pigs, these dogs frequently do more killing than the hunters.

The hunters hunt together and surround the game. The one who succeeds in killing it is the owner of the animal. He might make a gift of a few pieces to those who have helped him, but in general he carries the entire animal to his house, where it is cooked. A danta, of course, must be divided up on the spot in order to be transported.

262 Almost all the mammals are eaten, felines being the principal exception. A few snakes are eaten; others are not. The babilla /an amphidious reptile/ is also eaten. Birds of prey, such as hawks, eagles, vultures, and turkey buzzards and others, are not eaten. Almost all the other birds are eaten, even the little humming birds.

/442/ Meat is considered an essential part of the diet and perhaps occupies the second place of importance after platanos.

• 226 Fishing.

Several types of toxins are used to poison fish in the small currents of water. One of these is a bejuco. Another is the shell of an edible nut with a prickly husk. Another is the bark of a certain tree of great size.

226 462 857 When the waters lower in streams and swamps (generally around the months of January and February), women and children go out armed with clubs and come back with baskets full of fish.

/442 cont./

221 462 When the larger river is low, the men wade into the current and shoot at the fish with their arrows with bone points. Then, since the arrow lacks a string with which one could pull in the fish, they must run after the game in order to finish it off with blows of the machete or club.

226 For fishing they are beginning to use hook and line with increasing skill.

262 Almost all species of fish and aquatic animals are eaten.

222 262 Honey.

To obtain honey, the usual method is to cut down the trunk in which the hive is found, using the ax. Nevertheless, they sometimes manage to climb it and obtain the honey without needing to knock it down. There is also a species of bee which lives in the ground, and its honey must be dug up. They possibly eat the honey of some ten or more varieties of bees.

Eggs.

The eggs of the majority of the wild birds are collected and cooked. They wrap them in leaves and place them on the embers of a wood fire. They are cooked in a short time. Some prefer to eat the eggs when /443/ the chick has begun to form. Turtle eggs are also eaten, but they are scarce, except downriver.

Insects.

Bees are eaten when they are still in the larval form in their nest. Wasps are chased away by means of a torch of dry leaves, which kills or chases away the adult wasps. Then they take down the wasp's nest, which they place for a short time over the hot embers. Roasted wasp larvae are then eaten with pleasure.

Wild fruits and seeds.

It seems that there is not a time without at least a few types of wild fruits and seed in season. Most of these are eaten raw, although a few are cooked. During its harvest, the wabu -- a large seed similar to the frijol -- can be very important, especially when other foods are scarce.

/464 cont./

411 89 [824] The children make small bows, generally for their games, but they also shoot lizards, which are good bait for fishing. These bows may be made of several types of wood, but rarely of palm. The bows of the men are always made of palm.

411 [226] Macanas are used by women for fishing. They are also used by men in their attacks on other settlements with which they have had more or less friendly relations, for the purpose of recovering the wife or daughter held captive there.

[531]

/Fig. 7/

Poisons

278 [226] A variety of poisons for fishing are used by the Guaika /Waica/. One comes from a vine, another from the husk of a prickly nut, and the third from the bark of a certain thick tree.

[411] Arrow points are poisoned with the poison from the bark of a vine. They scrape the bark, and the scrapings, /465/ wrapped in leaves, are kept dry by hanging them over the current of air from a fire until they are needed.

On the day when an Indian is going to prepare poison, every man of the settlement gets ready to prepare a set of arrow points to be poisoned.

The preparer of the poison begins by pulverizing the scrapings of bark between the palms of his hands. He constantly utters a [415] series of shouts and grunts while doing this. Then he places the pulverized bark in a funnel made of leaves, into which hot water

/467 cont./

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.
[241] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in
[482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the house. They may call upon the women to help them when the game has been brought into the vicinity.

[226] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The women fish with macanas and with baskets.

[499] The men build the bridges.

[342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses
[482] in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family. For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own platanos. The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

/156 cont./

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

[302] [574] [822] [412] [361]

166 361 721 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 361 [114] In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
• [226] [411] [857] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

114 fishing and collecting forest fruits. (1923: 299-300. My translation. See also 1922:226.)

[924 926 927] His assertion that the Yąnomamö lived only on hunting, fishing, and collecting wild forest fruit was unsupported not only by the existing accounts but also by his own observations; and it has never been verified by any field worker who has spent more than a few days with the Yąnomamö.[1] Nor was the conclusion warranted that the Yąnomamö had no fixed habitation sites; Koch-Grünberg was visited by one of the groups and the other had a garden site a short distance from where he met them. Finally, the antiquity of the group as a "population layer" is something that can only be speculated about at best; indeed, the concept 'population layer' is itself an analytic construct presupposing a considerable amount of knowledge concerning tribal distributions over a period of time which, at least for this area, is entirely lacking.

The expedition of the Frobenius Institute in 1954-55 conducted the first anthropological inquiry in this area that concentrated exclusively on the study of the Yąnomamö. The members of the expedition, Otto Zerries and his assistant, Meinhard Schuster, spent 10 months in the village of Mahekodotedi. They selected the Yąnomamö because of their interest in hunters and gatherers; the literature, especially the work of Koch-Grünberg, described the Yąnomamö as such. They

---

[1] "It is surprising to notice, that the Waica, formerly reported as a hunting and gathering tribe by visitors who had only superficial contact with them, are actually horticulturists." (Zerries, 1955:78.)

278 layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curare point after it has been attached to the arrow.

415 411 824 430 239 Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches. The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

372 824 The Yąnomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

412 239 The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yąnomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

314 284

226 The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yąnomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

302
824
412

"Razor grass"—a reed—also grows wild in the jungle. It is used by the Yanomamö to cut their hair and to keep their tonsures cleanly shaved. A sliver of this reed is wrapped around the index finger in such a way that the sharp edge is exposed. The practiced hand can shave a head bald in a matter of minutes and with no more pain than would come from using a dull steel razor blade. This grass is also found around some of the villages, but appears not to be cultivated.

276

HALLUCINOGENIC DRUGS Another useful plant provided by the jungle is the *ebene* tree. The inner bark of this tree is used in the manufacture of one kind of hallucinogenic drug. The bark is scraped from the trunk after the exterior layer of bark is removed, or is scraped from the inside of the bark surface itself. This material, which is fairly moist, is then mixed with wood ashes and kneaded between the palms of the hands. Additional moisture is provided by spitting periodically into the pliable wad of drug. When the drug has been thoroughly mixed with saliva and ashes, it is placed on a hot piece of broken clay pot and the moisture driven out with heat. It is ground into a

[412]

Fig. 2–2. Women fishing in a dammed stream that has been poisoned by the juice of a wild liana. The poison is introduced upstream by the men, and the stunned fish are collected in baskets by the women.

226
139
415
516

342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters. In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
354 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc., are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
• 231 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the
342 background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50 centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
[174] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
[171] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem, similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[177] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is 9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/75 cont./ According to their own statements, both tribes regard the Xiriána as their culture-bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larâ -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norâ -- (350). The latter, however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xâma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajâ. The

359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

350. Among the Waikâ, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

/85 cont./

264 There is no feeling of modesty during eating, such as Karl von den Steinen, for example, describes for the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (412).

412. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 66.

262 On the other hand, there are food taboos for sick people, pregnant women, for girls during their first and second menstruation, and for young men in connection with their two-months' training as medicine-man helpers.

10. Tame Animals

• 231

As the sole, true domestic animal, there is found among the Surára and Pakidái only the dog -- hiíma. In addition, for amusement and the pleasure in animals, European cocks are kept, as well as small monkeys, porpoise-like little hamsters (Cavia leucopyga), parrots, araras, and parakeets (Conuvidae).

As for the dogs, there are two barking varieties. One resembles the German shepherd dog, while the other, which is short- /86/ haired, white or spotted, looks very much like our fox terrier. Well-trained hunting dogs, with which a profitable [437] barter trade is carried on, are very lovingly cared for and are always given plenty of food, whereas the others are sometimes neglected. Basically, however, the Indians are attached to these animals also, which may be seen by the fact that every family that owns dogs, usually one or two, has made a "dog bed" behind their fire area, that is, a sleeping place for the loyal members of the household (Ill. 30) (see p. 29). Sometimes young dogs [552] are even nursed by women. If a bitch has brought forth young, all the relatives and friends ask to be given a young one later on and, upon receiving it, immediately give it a name. It may also be of interest to point out that the Indians mentioned never whistle to their dogs. Usually they call them by name or they hiss by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth (413).

[171] 413. Many North American Indians behave in the same way (Friederici, 1899, p. 365).

/86 cont./

231 Dogs are never killed; they are allowed to live until they
[262] die of old age. When I asked whether dog meat was ever eaten
in former times, men and women, with horrified faces, answered
in the negative. Yet this custom is supposed to have prevailed
[973] at one time among various tribes of Guiana (414). There do not

414. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 189.

seem to be any myths about dogs.

123 I should also like to mention that during my months-long,
231 extremely friendly stay with the Surára and Pakidái, and in
[114] spite of great efforts, in which the Indians helped me, I never
231 succeeded in winning the affection of their dogs. It meant a
[114] good deal that in time I was tolerated by them. I can agree
perfectly with Friederici when he writes: "The Indian dog has
always hated the white man, and, conversely, the dog of the
European, the Indian. The odors given off by the races are so
different that even a human nose can usually tell the difference,
how much more a dog. If a white man walked through an Indian
camp he usually had a whole pack of growling and teeth-baring
dogs behind him" (415). But I also found that the opposite was

415. Friederici, 1899, p. 365.

true. The dogs kept at the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on
the middle Demini, mongrels of the most diverse breeds, but
among them also former Indian dogs, behaved, in their hatred, as
though they were mad when Pakidái families came to visit (416).

[191]

416. Baldus, on the occasion of his Chaco expedition, also observed that Indian dogs, once they are in the hands of whites, become the bitterest enemies of their former masters (Baldus, 1931, p. 18).

Surára
Pakidái

/86 cont./

231 But their enmity was expressed to an even greater degree between each other, that is to say, between the dogs of the post personnel and those of the Pakidái, for if they merely saw each other, they were immediately at each other's throats.

174 231 With regard to the origin of these two breeds of dogs, which have probably been raised for centuries by the Surára and Pakidái, nothing definite can as yet be said. The first breed mentioned by me, which seems to resemble our shepherd dog, seems to be a quite typical Indian dog, for it corresponds exactly to the description which Friederici gives of a genuine Indian dog: "The general appearance of the pure Indian dog, so far as one can tell from descriptions and drawings, is a picture of the German shepherd dog, the so-called Thuringian strain, with somewhat more of the wild-dog character and with rough or bristly hair" (417). Friederici

417. Friederici, 1899, p. 362.

was concerned here, to be sure, with the Indian dog of North America, but, according to Alexander von Humboldt, this breed was already confirmed for Guiana in pre-Columbian times, as may be seen from the following quotation: "...nevertheless it has been confirmed that before the conquest in Peru, New Grenada and Guiana there was a breed of dog similar to our shepherd /87/ [184] dogs" (418). Among the Waikâ, Zerries, strangely enough, did not

418. Alexander von Humboldt, 1890, IV, p. 189.

come across this type of dog, but only the small, short-haired one that resembles the fox terrier, and he suspects that they are in part still descended from the dogs that came with the first immigrants from Asia by way of the Bering Strait about 15,000 years ago (419).

419. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

The following account by Franz Termer, however, shows that definite proof is lacking for the latter assumption. The scholar

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

231 writes: "Whether the first hunter-gatherer hordes migrating to
174 America from northeastern and northern Asia by way of the Bering Strait brought the dog along has, apart from the Eskimo dog, not as yet been proved with certainty, even though it is probable. Whether the dogs of the New World can be traced back to such early dogs, that is, of the late glacial to early postglacial times, migrating in with human beings, or whether they have come from autochthonous ancestors of New World origin is a zoological problem that cannot be decided here. Opinions about it differ. In most recent times there seems to be more of a tendency to favor a Neotropical origin of Indian dogs" (420). In this last statement

420. Termer, 1957, p. 2.

Termer refers to comments by Gilmore (421).

421. Gilmore, 1950, p. 377.

235
[439]
[197] In contrast to the obscure origin of the two breeds of dogs, there is no doubt about that of the cocks -- cacarí --, for these were acquired from the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) by barter only a short time ago. Yet I was very much surprised when, on entering the Surára and Pakidái malokas, I found a large number of cocks but no hens (422), although they could

422. Incidentally, these are also called cacarí.

obtain these as well. There is no interest in doing so, however, for they keep cocks only for their colorful plumage and their crowing at dawn (423). Most families have one or two, which they

[231]
[191] 423. Ehrenreich reports of the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe, that they keep only dogs and cocks as domestic animals, and that the latter were very popular in particular as sentinels (Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 61).

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

235 also give names; they are fed by the women. During the day they
[552] run around freely, and at night they are confined in a common pen built out of thin trunks and sticks beside each maloka. When the tribe is traveling, it is the duty of the small boys to carry a rooster in the plaited carrying basket made from the bast strips of the curauá plant (see p. 106). When a temporary camp is set up in the afternoon, the cocks are set free. During the night they rest on the limbs of low trees, usually in the vicinity of their owners. Before the march is resumed the next morning, they are caught again and put in the baskets of the boys. I might also men-
[825] tion that the Surára and Pakidái never kill a cock, for it is a mem-
[262] ber of the household, and they believe furthermore that roosters and hens are unclean animals that eat any kind of filth. For this reason, eating their meat, including the eggs, would be very harmful for human beings (424).

235
171
262

424. Among various Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana, where many chickens are kept, neither the meat nor the eggs are eaten (Im Thurn, 1883, p. 265). Ehrenreich reports the same thing about the Karajá /Caraja/: "Even the domestic hen, which reached the Araguaya /Araguaia/ tribes a long time ago in the domestic state and has multiplied tremendously, is, as a member of the household, not used for food, nor are its eggs. In modern times, however, it serves as a trade item in dealings with travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Para at a high profit" (Ehrenreich, 1891, pp. 13/14).

• 231
[171] The tamed wild animals, such as monkeys, parrots, araras, and parakeets, also enjoy complete freedom. I never found them tied up, as is mentioned by Baldus, for example, for the Chaco tribes (425).

425. Baldus, 1931, p. 18.

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

231 In the evening the monkeys climb the tallest trees in order to spend the night in their crowns, and the birds, too, occasionally fly away. But all the animals come back, for, of course, they were tamed when small and are very attached to the Indians, who /88/ always treat them affectionately. They take the trouble, with great patience, to train the parrots and parakeets to talk, and they are happy when the first results appear.

276

11. Luxuries

The Surára and Pakidái use only two luxuries, tobacco -- peenáke -- and a snuff powder -- epená. The former serves for profane purposes and the latter exclusively for ritual use.

Tobacco is not smoked, however. The leaves are pulverized in the green state, mixed with wood ashes and water or saliva, and twisted between the hands into small rolls. These are then inserted between the lower or upper lip and the teeth, where they are sucked. Both sexes, including children, indulge in this enjoyment, which also is connected with a very practical purpose, for, as a result, the Indians are able to walk around all day in the forest without feeling hungry or thirsty; but their attractive faces are quite distorted by the tobacco roll (Ill. 41).

[184] [824] Tobacco is used in the same way among the Waiká, but here, according to Zerries' account, the roll is inserted only between the lower lip and the teeth (426) (427). The investigator

426. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

427. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

named also mentions the occasional use of wild plants as substitutes in case tobacco is lacking (428) (429). Among the Surára

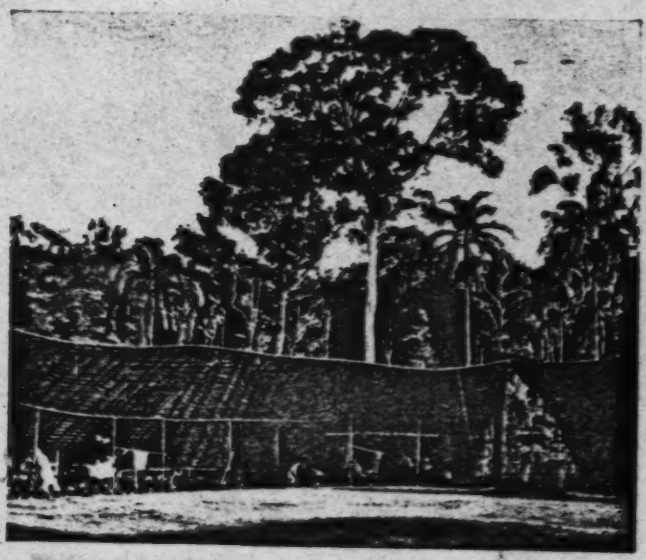
428. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

429. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

2: Becher--269 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

14/

139
342
361



Ill. 6. A section of the large, open Surára maloka

342
361
231
343
622

Ill. 7. Chief's hut (right) and rooster pen inside the Surára maloka

2: Becher--275 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/10/
Surára
Pakidái

352
516
854
593

Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

342
231

142
302
291
516
372

Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

/208 cont./

241 [177] Among the Sanemá, doubtless as a result of their contact with their Macú and Caribe neighbors, agriculture has taken on increasing importance. The manner of cultivation is still very rudimentary, that of "slash and burn." The principal products are: plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, and certain herbs which have magical importance (cf. Barker, 824 241 1953, p. 444, similar plants among the Waica). Among the magical plants of the Sanemá there is one on which they lavish great care. An informant told us about the general consternation which seized all of them one day when a band of enemies tore up, during the night, all the magical plants of their conucos. They believed that they were going to die or at least become sick, and the "sablf had much work" in order to save his people. There is here a similar belief which we have already noted in connection with the eagles and hanekasá.

241 178 [628] [648] Agriculture has given a degree of stability to the Sanemá subgroups and has introduced changes in their traditional social system. Not all the groups have adopted this new economy and disputes and fights frequently arise because the gatherers indiscriminately appropriate the products of a conuco of the agricultural group. That was the motive which caused the Makiritare to fight with the Sanemá, who at that time had still not adopted the agriculture which flourished among their neighbors.

● 231 [192] The Sanemá do not have domestic animals, and even dogs are uncommon. It is possible that the Yanoama have adopted them recently. They have still not found a specific name for this animal, and they call it póliawan, like the jaguar. Some informants insisted that there is a phonetic difference between the word póliawan = jaguar and póliawan = dog, but there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the same word is involved. They raise dogs so that they may serve them as helpers in hunting.

In a Sanemá rancheria there are frequently found animals of various species, but tame. The hunters take home young turkeys, cranes, macaws, and parrots, as well as guinea pigs, lapas, and monkeys, as presents for their wives or children. /Illustrations appear here./

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Branco river in Brazil. They considered an agricultural life a peasant's life, and a dull one at that, with no possible appeal to the imagination. There were a few palavers about it, but it is well-known that among primitive peoples the old are listened to least: wisdom favours the youths and the boys, who have their whole lives in front of them—not behind them like a stream flowing away. The young men prevailed, and burned the forest. The first big hut was built according to Manuera's ideas, and served as a pattern for all the Shirians when they came to build.

So we too arrived at this 'big hut', which Manuera showed us with a pride that was scarcely justified, and here too the Shirians fled away into the woods, much to the amusement of our guides. We could hear them there, uttering their guttural cries of terror and wonderment.

Inside the hut there was no one, with the exception of two old folk stretched out in their liana hammocks. They didn't stir: it was as if they didn't even see us. One of them was a woman whose body was reddened nearly all over with *ebrate*—a skin disease frequent among the Indians. A macaw, scared by the sight of our beards, set up a howl on his perch and started biting through the cord which attached him to it. Manuera went off into the woods, calling the others, and the thick green swallowed him up for a good hour. We were rather afraid he would want to stop here for the night, for our stomachs were turning at the filth around us, but we had misjudged our man. Manuera was now engaged in more important business and had no desire for more than a brief, benevolent survey of his kinsfolk. We very soon got back to the boat and at last were able to take deep breaths of the fresh river and forest air.

Manuera told us that the Shirians had not been really so scared by our arrival. Indeed, they had been expecting us. But they couldn't quite pluck up the courage to look close. Our stature, our beards, our clothes and our guns, in the eyes of primitive people, turned us into supermen—dread figures, terrifying as monsters and above all, essentially evil.

The news that we were on the way had been bruited abroad by the party we had met at the Moné pass—and *à propos* of this, we learned from Manuera that the spider-child had died soon afterwards, somewhere on the Sabaru. It was a relief to hear this, even if the poor little monstrosity's death had been caused by the sight of us, as the Shirians thought. Manuera's gestures became wild, and his speech difficult to follow, as he tried to explain their attitude.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

to use our machetes to open up a fair-sized space so that we could drag the canoes up on to dry ground beyond the reach of possible floods. Behind the bamboos we could see traces in the undergrowth of an old track, which after crossing thirty-two hills and the length of the Aracosa river would lead us to a horde of howling ape-men, who cultivated cane for their arrows, and nothing else.

Uarema had a young dove which he had caught alive on the way along the Merevari, and was looking after it. He gave it the affectionate name of Pipa. Sempronio helped him by looking for little berries, which the pretty little bird took greedily. The others were meanwhile busy putting up a shelter for the night and clearing a little more space around it, while Hashimo and Solituan went off to make a brief reconnaissance of the all but vanished track. Uarema paid no attention to anything but his Pipa, calling its name softly and fondling it like a child.

A love for animals always seems strange among these Indians, and when it exists it is subject to the wildest caprice. For instance, a monkey, after being brought up among them with every sign of affection, will suddenly become a comic target for their blunt arrows and die a slow death from its wounds.

For the moment Uarema was lavishing all his affection on Pipa, and when I accidentally trod on the bird, squashing it flat as a pancake, he turned on me instinctively, as if he was going to throw himself on me: the Guayca Indian in him had suddenly come out, roused by this offence against his love for the poor little dove crushed under the foreigner's foot. But suddenly his mood changed and without a word he picked up the squashed bird, under whose wings there was still a flutter of life, and threw it far off, with an air of disgust.

Sempronio watched the incident, laughing very quietly as he always did and looking up at me: he seemed to regard me as some sort of personal protector of his own. Then he went off in search of Pipa. Rolled up in a few leaves, the bird was put aside for his private cuisine.

Sempronio came from Auai stock. He was a mere boy, not fully developed, and he had joined us in this Samatari venture simply because I had told him to come. 'He doesn't want to come, but you want him to, so he comes'—these were the exact words into which Uarema had translated Sempronio's brief remarks. And he came everywhere with us, even to the Samatari, who were considered by his own people—a good, *smiling* people, whose only remaining primitive trait lay in their inordinate passion for theft—to be monsters ready at

/441 cont./

Obtaining Food

224 Hunting.

Hunting is done with bows and arrows.

A broad arrow-point of bamboo is used against larger land game, such as the danta, the váquiros /peccaries/, and the large [411] rodents. Poisoned points are used against monkeys and occasionally against dantas. Bone points are used principally to hunt birds. Small birds are hunted with arrows with a blunt point or forked point.

• [231] Dogs are used in hunting, and in the case of the smallest wild pigs, these dogs frequently do more killing than the hunters.

The hunters hunt together and surround the game. The one who succeeds in killing it is the owner of the animal. He might make a gift of a few pieces to those who have helped him, but in general he carries the entire animal to his house, where it is cooked. A danta, of course, must be divided up on the spot in order to be transported.

262 Almost all the mammals are eaten, felines being the principal exception. A few snakes are eaten; others are not. The babilla /an amphidious reptile/ is also eaten. Birds of prey, such as hawks, eagles, vultures, and turkey buzzards and others, are not eaten. Almost all the other birds are eaten, even the little humming birds.

/442/ Meat is considered an essential part of the diet and perhaps occupies the second place of importance after platanos.

226 Fishing.

Several types of toxins are used to poison fish in the small currents of water. One of these is a bejuco. Another is the shell of an edible nut with a prickly husk. Another is the bark of a certain tree of great size.

226 462 857 When the waters lower in streams and swamps (generally around the months of January and February), women and children go out armed with clubs and come back with baskets full of fish.

/443 cont./

Domestic Animals

231 Dogs are raised and generally used in hunting.

Birds of almost all types are captured when they are found before leaving the nest. Most of these only survive a few days. It seems that the parrots manage to survive in captivity much better than the other birds, so that almost all the settlements have a domesticated parrot. Turkeys and cranes are included among the other birds which can survive and reach the adult state.

Domesticated monkeys are also favorite animals. It is interesting to observe that almost without exception the monkey is the property of a woman. Doubtless this is related to the fact that women nurse the little monkeys until they are weaned. The mother monkey must be killed in order to be able to capture the little monkey.

Small rodents, such as squirrels and vesper mice, are brought to the house sometimes to be domesticated. One family even went so far as to raise a wild pig (chácharo).

231 766 /444/ When a domestic animal dies, it is incinerated outside the settlement, near some path. Its bones are left in the same spot where they were when the fire consumed them.

241 Agriculture

Platanos and banana trees occupy nearly 90 per cent of the cultivated lands. Other fruits include sweet yuca, bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, mapuey /yams/, sugar cane, maize the pijiguao palm /peach palm/, pepper, the papaya, and the sweet potato.

241 824 302 789 302 276 Tobacco, cotton, and onoto /annatto/ are the principal nonedible products. Other nonedible products include a grass whose stem is dried and used for cutting the hair; a variety of root similar to the wild onion is used in magic for hunting, for obtaining a wife, etc.; especially fragrant leaves are used by the women in their ears; and the ingredients used in the processing of "yopo," a narcotic which is blown into the nose.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

anthropological training at the University of Michigan that kinship was equivalent to society in primitive tribes and that it was a moral way of life, "moral" being something "good" and "desirable." I was determined to work my way into their moral system of kinship and become a member of their society.

My heart began to pound as we approached the village and heard the buzz of activity within the circular compound. Mr. Barker commented that he was anxious to see if any changes had taken place while he was away and wondered how many of them had died during his absence. I felt into my back pocket to make sure that my notebook was still there and felt personally more secure when I touched it. Otherwise, I would not have known what to do with my hands.

The entrance to the village was covered over with brush and dry palm leaves. We pushed them aside to expose the low opening to the village. The excitement of meeting my first Indians was almost unbearable as I duck-waddled through the low passage into the village clearing.

I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous, and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses. We arrived at the village while the men were blowing a hallucinogenic drug up their noses. One of the side effects of the drug is a runny nose. The mucus is always saturated with the green powder and the Indians usually let it run freely from their nostrils. My next discovery was that there were a dozen or so vicious, underfed dogs snapping at my legs, circling me as if I were going to be their next meal. I just stood there holding my notebook, helpless and pathetic. Then the stench of the decaying vegetation and filth struck me and I almost got sick. I was horrified. What sort of a welcome was this for the person who came here to live with you and learn your way of life, to become friends with you? They put their weapons down when they recognized Barker and returned to their chanting, keeping a nervous eye on the village entrances.

We had arrived just after a serious fight. Seven women had been abducted the day before by a neighboring group, and the local men and their guests had just that morning recovered five of them in a brutal club fight that nearly ended in a shooting war. The abductors, angry because they lost five of the seven captives, vowed to raid the Bisaasi-teri. When we arrived and entered the village unexpectedly, the Indians feared that we were the raiders. On several occasions during the next two hours the men in the village jumped to their feet, armed themselves, and waited nervously for the noise outside the village to be identified. My enthusiasm for collecting ethnographic curiosities diminished in proportion to the number of times such an alarm was raised. In fact, I was relieved when Mr. Barker suggested that we sleep across the river for the evening. It would be safer over there.

As we walked down the path to the boat, I pondered the wisdom of having decided to spend a year and a half with this tribe before I had even seen what they were like. I am not ashamed to admit, either, that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next day when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever decided to switch from civil en-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4 feet off the ground at the rear and 6 feet off the ground at the front. Shorter sticks are then laid crossways on the major roof poles and these, in turn, covered with several layers of long, broad, wild "banana" leaves (see Glossary, under "Banana, wild"). It is quite small, but can sleep three individuals. Frequently, the traveler finds the remains of one of these houses and has merely to put a new layer of leaves on the roof to make it waterproof; occasionally, he takes a chance that it won't rain that night and does not improve the hut at all.

When the Yąnomamö settle a new area, they erect temporary villages of these crude huts and live in them until they can build a *shabono*. They also live in huts like these while they are re-roofing the old *shabono*.

The permanent village is complete when the palisade of logs is erected around its circumference. This is placed some 3 or 4 feet behind the roof, allowing space for a path around the village inside the palisade. The palisade itself is about 10 feet high and usually made of a mixture of palm and hardwood logs. It is kept in repair only when there is some reason to suspect raiders. Otherwise, people pilfer logs from it for use as firewood. The entrance to the village, as well as the palisade entrance, is covered with brush and logs at night to keep out intruders. Anyone trying to enter will inevitably make the brush move and alarm the village dogs.

FOOD AND ITS GATHERING The jungle provides numerous varieties of food, both animal and vegetable. The most commonly taken game includes several species of monkeys, two varieties of wild "turkey," two species of wild pig, armadillos, anteaters, tapir, deer, a small alligator, small rodents, and several species of smaller birds. Wild vegetable foods commonly exploited by the Yąnomamö are: palm fruits of several species, hardwood fruits, brazil nuts, tubers, and the seed pods of the feral banana. Of these, the palm fruits are by far the most significant.

These occur seasonally and, for brief periods of time, produce large quantities of fruits. Unfortunately, there is very little edible substance in each fruit, so that in order to get filled, one must eat the edible portion of enormous quantities of fruit. The Yąnomamö extensively exploit two closely related palms, *yei* and *karashi*. The *yei* fruits are about the size of small hen's eggs and occur in large clusters, weighing 80 pounds and more, near the tops of the palm trees. The *karashi* fruits are about half that size. The exterior portion of the fruit is a leathery shell which is peeled with the teeth. Inside there is a thin layer of very bitter, white flesh. This is chewed and sucked off. The taste resembles that of a poor grade of bath soap. Of the two, I found *karashi* the more repugnant. My throat burned when I ate them.

Another commonly exploited palm is the *adiwashi*. It is tangerine red in color and covered with a leather-like skin that consists of hundreds of small scales. They are about the size of large hen's eggs and resemble small hand grenades. When the fruit is dry, as, for example, when it is first cut from the tree, it is almost impossible to get the leathery scales off. The Yąnomamö overcome this difficulty by throwing the fruit bunches into water and letting them soak for several days, after which the scales can be easily scraped off with the fingernails, exposing a thin layer of yellowish, soft flesh that tastes very much like cheese. The fruits begin to ferment after they have soaked, producing a slightly pungent taste. I enjoyed eating *adiwashi* with the Yąnomamö; the fruit was good, and the technique of eating it was very sociable. We would wade into the swamp where the fruit had been submerged and grope around in the murky water to locate it. After

222 262 we had each accumulated a half bushel or so, we would then proceed to eat them. In general, it takes a lot of work to get filled up on palm fruits.

The Yąnomamö also collect wild honey in considerable quantities. Nothing excites them more than locating a dead tree in which a swarm of bees has built a nest. They will halt everything and, if need be, spend the entire day chopping the tree down [123] to get at the honey. When I began my fieldwork I hired about a dozen men to cut trees for me so that I could build a mud hut. They would be gone all day and return with just a few poles, demanding a full day's pay for their efforts. I decided to accompany them one day to see what they were up to. We spent the entire day wandering through the jungle, eyes glued to the tree tops above. Each time I spotted a suitable tree, they talked me out of cutting it down because "it would rot" or "it is too far away from the river." By mid-afternoon we had not cut a single tree, but had walked over a large area of jungle. Finally, one of the men shouted for the rest of us to come. All the men descended on the large, dead tree he had located, and set about chopping it down with the axes I had provided. It took about an hour to get it down. They then spent another hour chopping holes along the length of the tree trurtk to get at the honey inside. When it was exposed, they gleefully tore the combs out, dunked them into the amber liquid, and gorged themselves on the larvae-filled combs. After they had eaten their fill of this, they collected a large pile of leaves and made a crude bowl. Then they stuck handfuls of leaves into the honey and squeezed them out into the leaf bowl. When they had gotten all the honey they could reach, they scoured the nest with leaves and licked them off after each plunge [123] of the hand into the bowels of the trunk. They borrowed the aluminum kettle I had brought along and used to cook our lunch in. As we were some distance from the river [272] and they were impatient, one of them filled the kettle with muddy water he found in a swamp a short distance away. Some of the honey from the bowl was poured into the kettle, along with dead adult bees, twigs, leaves, dirt, and several dozen larvae. They passed this around among themselves, each man drinking about a quart or so of the mead after blowing the debris off the surface in order to expose the water. The remainder [251] of the honey was wrapped up in its leaf bowl, tightly bound with vines, and carried back [123] to the village. On the way back to the canoe we cut a few light trees for my mud hut. They had gotten what they were looking for all day, and I managed to get a few logs. They demanded a full day's pay when we reached home. Thereafter, I paid them by the log rather than by the day.

222 231 262 Finally, several varieties of insects are collected. Perhaps the most desirable food in this category is the grub of an insect that lays its eggs in the decaying pith of dead palm trees. The Yąnomamö come very close to practicing "animal domestication" in their techniques of exploiting this food. They deliberately cut the palm tree down in order to provide fodder for the insect. When they cut the tree, they also eat the heart of the palm, a very delicious, crunchy vegetable that slightly resembles the taste of celery hearts. One palm we cut yielded an edible heart of about 50 pounds. After the pith has been allowed to decay for several months, it contains numerous large, fat, white grubs. The pith is dug out of the tree with sticks, broken open by hand, and the grubs extracted. Each grub is bitten behind his squirming head, and the head and intestines removed simply by pulling the body away from the teeth. If a grub gets damaged in the process of extracting it, the parts are eaten raw on the spot. A fair-sized palm tree will yield three or four pounds of grubs, some of them as large as a mouse. The grubs

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
137
417
481
222

Fig. 2-5. Rerebawä climbing a rasha *tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamö use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.*

The grubs

are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in a smoky fire tastes like bacon.

222
231
252
262
[251]

The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. The Yąnomamö break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare it in the above manner.

222
252
262

Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and sallies forth with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

231 writes: "Whether the first hunter-gatherer hordes migrating to
174 America from northeastern and northern Asia by way of the Bering Strait brought the dog along has, apart from the Eskimo dog, not as yet been proved with certainty, even though it is probable. Whether the dogs of the New World can be traced back to such early dogs, that is, of the late glacial to early postglacial times, migrating in with human beings, or whether they have come from autochthonous ancestors of New World origin is a zoological problem that cannot be decided here. Opinions about it differ. In most recent times there seems to be more of a tendency to favor a Neotropical origin of Indian dogs" (420). In this last statement

420. Termer, 1957, p. 2.

Termer refers to comments by Gilmore (421).

421. Gilmore, 1950, p. 377.

● 235
[439]
[197] In contrast to the obscure origin of the two breeds of dogs, there is no doubt about that of the cocks -- cacará --, for these were acquired from the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) by barter only a short time ago. Yet I was very much surprised when, on entering the Surára and Pakidái malokas, I found a large number of cocks but no hens (422), although they could

422. Incidentally, these are also called cacará.

obtain these as well. There is no interest in doing so, however, for they keep cocks only for their colorful plumage and their crowing at dawn (423). Most families have one or two, which they

[231]
[191]

423. Ehrenreich reports of the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe, that they keep only dogs and cocks as domestic animals, and that the latter were very popular in particular as sentinels (Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 61).

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

235 also give names; they are fed by the women. During the day they [552] run around freely, and at night they are confined in a common pen built out of thin trunks and sticks beside each maloka. When the tribe is traveling, it is the duty of the small boys to carry a rooster in the plaited carrying basket made from the bast strips of the curauá plant (see p. 106). When a temporary camp is set up in the afternoon, the cocks are set free. During the night they rest on the limbs of low trees, usually in the vicinity of their owners. Before the march is resumed the next morning, they are caught again and put in the baskets of the boys. I might also men- [825] tion that the Surára and Pakidái never kill a cock, for it is a member of the household, and they believe furthermore that roosters [262] and hens are unclean animals that eat any kind of filth. For this reason, eating their meat, including the eggs, would be very harmful for human beings (424).

235
171
262

424. Among various Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana, where many chickens are kept, neither the meat nor the eggs are eaten (Im Thurn, 1883, p. 265). Ehrenreich reports the same thing about the Karajá /Caraja/: "Even the domestic hen, which reached the Araguaya /Araguaia/ tribes a long time ago in the domestic state and has multiplied tremendously, is, as a member of the household, not used for food, nor are its eggs. In modern times, however, it serves as a trade item in dealings with travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Para at a high profit" (Ehrenreich, 1891, pp. 13/14).

231

The tamed wild animals, such as monkeys, parrots, araras, and [171] parakeets, also enjoy complete freedom. I never found them tied up, as is mentioned by Baldus, for example, for the Chaco tribes (425).

425. Baldus, 1931, p. 18.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Yamatari

/17 cont./

411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 curatella (Cecropia peltata), which gives the bow a beautiful,
237 shiny appearance.
824 The bowstring -- penahitábe --, which consists of three
411 strands of curauá (Bromeliaceae) fiber strings twisted to the right,
283 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66).

66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semi-circular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also

67. Meyer, no date, p. 31.

devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here./ /19/ Uraricapara,
411 Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustra-
184
114

68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.

tions of the Xiriána bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[Text continues on p. 39]

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Xamatari

/19 cont./

411 [249] [824] [237] which the Surára and Pakidái plant in the vicinity of their malokas on the upper Aracá and the middle Demini, respectively. All five of the arrow types used by them have the same feathering -- jaromahik --, which consists of two halves of the black wing feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.) -- pararí. They are placed against the cane in such a way that they alternately show the upper and the [283] lower side of the feather. At several places on the hand end they are held by two threads of the tight winding of Bromelia fibers -- pemakasiurakama. Inside this winding, which is supposed to strengthen the weak cane against the pressure of the bowstring, there is stuck on the end of the cane in addition a small wooden peg fastened with resin, which has a notch in its thickened outer part, which is set on the bowstring. This is supposed to prevent the cane from splitting when the arrow flies off. The upper end of the feather shaft is wound with a second, narrower winding, in which, between the two halves of the arrow feathers, two additional small black mutum feathers are frequently stuck as ornaments (Fig. 2f).

411 184 114 The feathering described belongs to the Guiana type of feathering, according to the classification by Meyer (73). Koch-

73. Meyer, no date, p. 9.

Grünberg (74) confirms it for the Xirišna, and it can also be recog-

74. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (4, 7, 8).

nized on the arrows which that investigator brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:33-42). The arrows in the Alfred Boeldecke Collection (56.15:5-7) in the same museum and the drawings by Vinci (75) show that the Xamatári likewise use this

75. Vinci, 1956, p. 146, Fig. a.

/20 cont./

Métraux (83).

83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

2. Rahaká -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the kantaná (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and cutias (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

3. Kantarím -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84). Meyer mentions that it is

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanoámi group, they have furthermore

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

been documented for the Xiriána (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88),

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

/22 cont./

411 524 [824] Boys' bow:

The boys' bow -- hauoá -- is 80-90 centimeters long and consists of a curved branch of the paioôrimá tree, which also furnishes the material for the bird arrow-points. As in the case of all branch-bows, the arms are of different lengths, so that an unsymmetrical shape is produced, which affects the accuracy of the

Fig. 3. Position for shooting with the bow.

shot. This is of no consequence, however, since these are merely [283] [824] toy bows for small boys. On both ends the bow staff is tapered and set off to receive the bowstring -- pebatábe -- which is made out of a liana (cipó-titica) (Fig. 2g).

Boys' arrows:

[192] [824] [237] [283] [192] Ruhumacîk is the name of the thin arrow, 80-90 centimeters long, for boys, which the fathers make out of the wood of the inâja palm Maximiliana regia Mart.) -- kareximacî. The feathering -- jaronahîk -- consists of two small halves of mutum feathers, which are lashed to the shaft with a thread of cotton. Instead of an arrow point mounted separately, the arrow here is only slightly pointed (Fig. 2h); the designation for it is -- peimacikenâme.

Surára & Pakidái

/25 cont./

372
411
184
114

119.(cont.) für Volkerkund und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection 56. 15 3a and b), and presumably the fire-making apparatus is likewise fastened to the quiver among the Waiká. Definite statements about this by Zerries and Schuster have not yet been made.

Fig. 5. Bamboo quiver with fire-drill apparatus tied on.

372 Nevertheless,
[484] it is perfectly obvious, for if the Surára and Pakidái men on war and hunting expeditions are unable to return to the maloka in the evening, they are able to kindle a fire along the way in three to four minutes. To do this a man in a squatting position holds the hearth on the ground with one foot and drills with the palms of his
[412] hands (Ill. 31). The holes of the hearth are previously bored with
[239] a knife made of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) (See P. 116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side.

Puseheweterí
Surára,
Karimé

/32 cont./

292
531

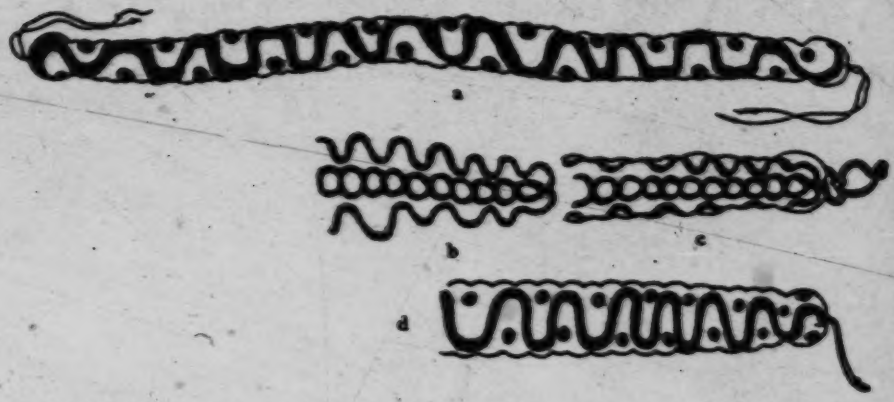


Fig. 10 a-d. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts. /On p. 131 this caption is given as "Various paintings from men's and young men's belts."/

531
292
184 fringed apron rests directly over the pubic region (Ill. 15). These belts, including the little aprons, are as a rule dyed with urucú. It should 292 also be pointed out that younger Puseheweterí women usually adorn 531 the two ends of the little apron with small feathers of the toucan 237 (Rhamphastus sp.), mutum (Crax sp.), and anambé azul (Cotinga 184 cayana L.) fastened to a string. Older Puseheweterí women, on the other hand, always have hanging on the ends of the little apron eight to twelve mussel shells, 2-3 centimeters long and pierced on one side, which, when the wearers walk, beat together and make a soft jangling noise (Fig. 11).

292 Exactly the same belt with fringed apron is documented by 184 Salathé for the Karimé women, and from his statements it is to be seen further that the men also wear it, though without the pubic covering (162).

162. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 13a, b.

It should be mentioned that a few Surára women, following the example of their Puseheweterí sisters, have likewise fastened such a fringed apron to a tie-string of their plaited belts. In this the mixture of two cultural elements can be seen especially clearly.

Puseheweteri
Surára

/32 cont./

292
531
•237

Fig. 11. Fringed belt of an old Puseheweteri woman, with pierced mussel shells.

291
[462]
[237]

Finally, the Surára also use a child's belt -- yaoké -- which is always made by the father /33/ out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yzó. These belts are 30-35 centimeters long and 2-2.5 centimeters wide. One end is pierced to receive a thin [284] tie-string of cotton or curauá fibers. The string is wound around the other end several times and then knotted (Fig. 12). This belt, too, is worn in such a way that it is open in front. Only now and then is it put on small boys and girls between 1-3 years old, who at that age, of course, do not even wear the hip cord (see p. 60), in order to promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

Surára
Shiriana

/33 cont./

291
• 237

Fig. 12. Child's belt made out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.).

promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

292
171

From the above description of the cotton string-belts it may be seen that, in spite of certain differences with respect to technique and the way they are worn, they resemble the corresponding belts of the Xiriâna and several Karaiben tribes of Guiana. Thus, a bundle of red-dyed cotton strings serves as a hip belt for the Xiriâna men, under which they wedge the preputium of the upraised penis (163). Arekuná men often wear

163. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

a plaited string-belt of cotton, which, twisted together, takes on a sausage shape. This belt, also resembling in appearance the human- and monkey-hair belts in Guiana (164) (165), is

164. Becher, 1951, pp. 99 ff. and pp. 115 ff.

165. Becher, 1955, pp. 84 ff. and pp. 97 ff.

/43 cont./

302 174 Since Koch-Grünberg also found only very little body painting among the Xiriâna (Schirianâ) (235), it is to be sus-

235. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

pected that originally it was not peculiar to the three Yanonâmi tribes named, but is to be traced back to Karaiben influences. The following account by Alexander von Humboldt also points to this: "The custom," writes the great investigator, "of painting the body is not equally old among all the peoples on the Orinoco. It has only been since the frequent invasions by the mighty nation of the Caraiben into these lands that it has become more general. Victors and vanquished alike were naked, and in order to be agreeable to the victor, one was obliged to paint oneself as he did and to wear his color. Now the might of the Caraiben is past, they are confined to the region between the Carony, Cuyuni, and Paraguamuzi rivers, but the Caraiben custom of coloring the entire body has persisted; the practice is more enduring than the conquest" (236).

236. A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 92/93.

301 562 i) Feather ornaments

Feather ornaments -- pauxí -- are worn by men only and chiefly on the upper arms, but occasionally also in the perforations of the ear lobes and the lower lip.

301 825 •237 Under the upper-arm cords and bands, which serve primarily as fastening devices for the upper-arm ornaments, individual or several tail feathers of the arara vermelha (Ara Macao L.) -- pauxí aratexinâ -- as well as small bunches of feathers, are wedged in front for war expeditions and festive occasions. The latter are always tied with a string of cotton or curauá fibers to a wooden stick 7-9 centimeters long (Ills. 9 and 14). The following list shows which birds are preferred as feather-suppliers for these objects:

301 /43 cont./
237 Pauxí maraxí -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers
825 of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.).
Pauxí koikoimão -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers of the gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.).
Pauxí parurihonomaíbe -- upper-arm ornament of white breast feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.).
Pauxí marakanã -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.).
Pauxí xeraɣeramão -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) and the papagaio curica (Amazona sp.).

Besides these bunches of feathers which are stuck into the arm cords or bands from the top, /44/ there are also ornaments which are knotted to them and hang down. These are usually several small feathers from different birds, the quills of which have been tied together with a string of cotton or curauá fibers:
Pauxí prukatõba -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.), and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).
Pauxí maraxiakosíbe -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).

Finally, as the most valuable ornament in this category, one should mention upper-arm bindings of mutum feathers -- pauxí parurihés -- to which are fastened hangings -- pauxí manhebéahunque -- of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), toucan (Rhamphastus sp.), and jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.), or even skins of these birds. In addition, there are upper-arm bindings which consist only of feathers of the jacamim -- pauxí nhapinhéssi -- with feather hangings -- pauxí pehakossíbe -- from the same bird.

[554] All the feather ornaments listed also represent marks of distinction, for only the chiefs and trusted warriors have the right to adorn both upper arms; younger men, on the other hand, only one.

/44 cont./

301 825 ●239 Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxí osuemekés --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- occasionally adorns the perforation of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be used by older as well as younger warriors.

[554] [962] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men, who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but sometimes they are scattered through the hair at random. The ornamental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case, for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile tribes, above all from the Waiká. They are caused by magical performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls. Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end (see also pp.211 and 229).

301 825 75

301 171 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá /Caraja/, Boróro, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé /Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G. Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

/44 cont./

301 South American tribal units developed their abilities and passed
171 on their traditions over the centuries from generation to generation.

301 For the Yanonámi the simple upper-arm ornament represents
184 a further external distinction, for Xiriána, Puseheweteri, and
114 Aramamesteri men whom I met wore it in the same manner. With regard to the Xiriána, my observations correspond with a statement by Koch-Grünberg: "The men," he says, "wrap around the upper arms long, red-dyed cotton strings, on the ends of which hang bird skins (Pl. 46, 2 and 2a). When they go to war, they stick bunches of tail feathers of the red arara in front under the arm bindings, so that they project above the /45/ shoulders" (239).

239. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

For the Waiká this upper-arm ornament is documented by photographs by Zerries (240) (241).

240. Zerries, 1955b, frontispiece.

241. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

301 As for ear and lip ornaments, parallels are found among
237 the Makuxi and Arekuná-Taulipang, but here the white down-
171 feathers of the king vulture or of the large hocco (mutum) are used (242).

242. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

301 i) Bead ornaments
436 European glass beads, especially small ones, are to this day the favorite trade items among the Surára and Pakidái.
(822) They value most of all white, blue, and red beads (243), and

243. In this respect the Surára and Pakidái are like many other South American tribes (Menzel, 1957, p. 23 and Pl. 3).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waiká
Karimé

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- haboká -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriána (293),

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301] 296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

Surára
Pakidái

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[230] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatáz --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

412 184 /54 cont./ Zerries and Schuster, (297) (298), for the Karimé by Salathé (299).

297. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

298. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

299. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 306 and Fig. 16.

[237]

Fig. 25. Small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.).

Fig. 26. Knife made out of the ventral shell of the perema (water turtle).

[284] [824] and for the Xiriâna by Koch-Grünberg (300). The latter, however,

300. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 47 (9).

says that the Xiriâna lash the tooth to a wooden handle by means 000 of Bromelia fibers (301). In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise

301. Such a knife is to be found in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:108).

412 /54 cont./ In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise
171 mentions a knife with a bone handle which he acquired from an Arekuná who lived among the Guinaú on the Merewarí, but he adds: "Whether the subdivisions of the Arekuná who live deep in the interior still use such primitive tools I do not know" (302).

302. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 17 (3).

Outside Guiana this little knife is confirmed for the Guayakí (303)

303. de la Hitte, 1897, Pl. III, Figs. 4 and 6.

and Sirionó (304), among others. /Fig. 26 appears here./

304. Nordenskiöld, 1911, p. 193, Ill. 119.

412 /55/ The knife made of tortoise shell -- micf -- represents a
184 work tool for women. This is the ventral shell of the perema
[237] (small water turtle), sharpened on one long side (Fig. 26). Primarily the wild fruits of the pot tree (Lecythia longifolia) are cut with it after cooking (see p. 182).

This knife is also familiar to the Waiká and is used for the same purpose there (305).

305. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

For a third type of knife, which is likewise used only by women, there are the no longer serviceable lancet-shaped arrow points of bamboo -- kantaná and rahaká -- (see pp. 41/43). They are used primarily for peeling and scraping manioc tubers.

Koch-Grünberg also observed this among the Xiriána (Schirianá) (306). The investigator named also points out that the

306. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308 and Pl. 48 (6 and 7).

Shiriana
Surara
Pakidai

/55 cont./

412 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This
184 strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xirišna, unlike the Surára and Pakidái, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly
462 women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side
302 (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

412 Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American
171 Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw
●237 of the wild pig -- manacoauš --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waikš (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat
[192] flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long --
[824] namunamutehš --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waikš (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm
462 should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimš (see also pp. 112/114).

412 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden
179 times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as tercados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

Surára
Pakidái

/77 cont./

223 (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) -- maraxí --, jacu (Penelope sp.) -- kuremá --, japim (Cacicus cela L.) -- anhakoramá --, inambu (Crypturellus sp.) -- rororôme --, inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.) -- honamá --, toucan (Rhamphastus sp.) -- mahebé --, arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) arakaké -- arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.) -- maracanã --, papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxeramakó --, papagaio curica (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxerá --, garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm) -- koribená.

[825] [353] The gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- nonexí -- is killed for magical reasons, because it is believed that there is concealed in it a hostile medicine man who brings sickness and other disasters. Its down feathers are glued into the hair by the men as trophies (see p. 95); the meat is discarded. The gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm) -- nonexipéke -- is also killed only for its feathers, which serve the men as upper-arm ornaments.

[825] They never shoot at the urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.) -- uatubá --, for they are glad that they remove the refuse.

224 In conclusion it should be mentioned that traps are unknown to the Surára and Pakidái (353).

353. There is a corresponding statement by Zerries about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

[622] If the hunter has killed a small animal, he may keep this booty for himself and his family, but he often gives the chief a roasted or boiled piece of it. A big-game animal, on the other hand, is divided up under the chief's supervision, and each family gets a piece of meat. This communal feeling is very strongly marked, and no member of the tribe would ever violate it.

/96 cont./

2. Curing the Sick

754 825 [953] a) General

All sickness is attributed to hostile witch-doctors, especially those of the Waikâ (493). As carriers they use the gaviao-real

[171]

493. The idea that sickness is caused by witch doctors is so widespread in South America that from the large number of examples I should like to quote only two authors for comparison: Roth, 1915, p. 346; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 192.

gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) and the bat. Both animals are therefore designated generally as -- nonexí --, that is, evil spirit or spirit of sickness (494) (495). If such an animal is sighted,

494. Nonexí, however, is also the specific name of the gavião-real.

495. Zerries documents the same name, "noneshi" or "nonish," for the Waikâ. With it, however, they designate the shadow-soul or the alter ago (Zerries, 1958a, p. 108).

it is immediately killed, in order to prevent a misfortune. Moreover, it is assumed that with its death a hostile medicine man, who, of course, temporarily inhabits it, has breathed his last. The down feathers of the gavião-real are therefore glued into the hair for a few days as a trophy (see p. 95).

[239] 755 If a member of the tribe has fallen ill, he can be cured only by having the chief, who among the Surára and Pakidái is at the same time the medicine man, and his helpers try to hurl the sickness back to the enemies. This can be done, however, only in the snuff-powder intoxication and by invoking

/112 cont./

782 [824] [237] with threads of Bromelia fibers. Such threads are also drawn crisscross over the sticks, and on them are glued down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). The structure -- akuanohé --, which women and girls are not permitted to see, gives the effect of a man's head, in the hair of which are glued down-feathers of the gavião-real. By order of the chief, several warriors take this calabash into the forest and set it down in a particular spot.

6. Birds as Transmitters of Messages

825 202 On May 21, 1956, in his maloka on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, a Surára man, Honohomá, was engaged in a loud monologue which started about 4:00 in the morning and lasted until about 6:00; during this he was lying in his hammock. [114] As to the meaning of this apparent monologue, my little interpreter Jibeauwõ afterwards gave me the following explanation: When Honohomá woke up, he heard the singing of the little bird kaukaumã, a japim (Cacicus cela L.), in which at the time, however, the soul of Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, was to be found. The latter was living with his tribe in the /113/ maloka on the middle Demini. The soul in the little bird said that the Pakidái, after the festival in memory of the dead, had arrived safely at their communal house. At the same time it reported the course of the journey in detail, the hunting successes, and the planting of new banana trees and pupunha palms. Whenever the little bird interrupted its song for a time, Honohomá would tell it about how the Surára were getting along.

According to the belief of the two tribes, the little japim is a transmitter of messages, who reports illness and death, as well as military encounters with hostile tribes.

/113 cont./

7. Types of Sports

526
[578] Aside from the stick duels -- xelekuhahé --, which are carried out for reasons of jealousy (549), all other types of sports

549. I have already described these stick duels in detail (Becher, 1959, pp. 162-167).

have a religious or magical character.

• [237] Noteworthy above all is the game of ball with a monkey bladder -- yarobussí. Only male members of the tribe may take part in it, and for this purpose they always put on their cotton belts. Then they form a circle and keep hitting the bladder upward with the palm of the hand; it then represents both the sun and the moon (Ill. 50).

526
171
821 This game of ball is very similar to that of the Uitoto /Witoto/, even with respect to the lunar and solar conceptions associated with it (550a). Moreover, it should be mentioned

550a. Preuss, 1921, pp. 123, 133-136; 1923, pp. 644 to 659.

that in a myth of the Paressi both celestial bodies are thought of as feather balls (550b). Finally, reference is to be made to the

550b. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 435/36.

Aztec popular belief in which the flying ball is likewise identified with sun and moon (551).

551. Krickeberg, 1948, p. 139.

526 Three other types of sports of the Surára and Pakidái have already been described elsewhere: petapoanhamú, the fight

2: Becher--273 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

142
302
304
←

142
291
302
516
→

Ill. 19. Yaxoíma, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing

Ill. 20. Yaxoíma (left) and Rokoahíma, two Surára girls

124
137
142
291
302
516
←

142
291
302
237
516
→

Ill. 21. Jibeauwõ, my little interpreter (right), and Mauahemá (two orphan boys from the tribe of the Surára)

Ill. 22. Two Surára boys. Xaniwõ (right) and Mauahemá, who holds a monkey bladder between his legs

2: Becher--281 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/16/
Surára
Pakidái
755
756
291

Ill. 49. Curing the sick in pouring rain. (Five Surára medicine-man helpers dance around a youth sick with chicken pox)

526
239

Ill. 50. Ball game with a monkey bladder

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

213 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made

285 [323] and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá

323 415 make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports

[593] [727] that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife

[184] has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

/202 cont./

412 [184] (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl. 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surará and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife, [171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Sirionó (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] [197] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

411 [324] The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The bowstring is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

[627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
302 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the hĩkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the hĩkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the hĩkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He ● [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm. [841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

/206 cont./

223 order to pick it up. As a result of his expertness in hunting, he knows the trees in which the birds gather to spend the night. The man, using palm leaves and bejucos, carefully prepares a blind with the sure hope that, by means of this ambush, the booty will be plentiful.

224 262 [237] [482] Hunting in groups is common among the Sanemá, and they do this particularly to surround a group of monkeys, peccaries, or in order to kill a feline. /207/ They do not eat the meat of jaguars, but keep the canine teeth in the roof of the house. They tie up the peccaries that they get, front feet to the back ones, load them on their backs, and carry them home. The meat of the peccary is greatly esteemed, and the whole rancheria gathers to eat the animal, with the exception of the young unmarried men, who, by order of the capitan, must not taste the meat so that the hunters who have killed the animals will not die. They may, however, eat other kinds of meat and the food which they most like.

There are some animals that the Sanemá are prohibited from hunting: thus, they do not eat snakes, they kill the cayman, but [.766] do not sample its flesh. The Sanemá of the Erebato told us that they cremate caymans as they do men, for, in fact, as far as [784] they are concerned, caymans were previously men. It is taboo to kill a morrocoy or a turtle. They were people before and Omao 262 223 does not permit them to be killed. There are other animals which they kill and eat only under certain conditions, among them the eagle (21).

> 21. The Surará and Pakidai kill the eagle, but throw away its flesh. They say that it transmits sickness (Becher, 1960; p. 77). (Cf. the section on "death" in the present study /see pp. 93-94 /.)

223 125 262 If a hunter comes upon an eagle, he believes that he is facing a speciman of a species of animal which was previously a person. He may be facing a friend or an enemy. Therefore, before shooting, he asks the animal if it is a friend or an enemy, and only if

4. Wilbert--75 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

411
322
412
302
516

[237]

Sanemá Indian of the upper Ventuari preparing the shaft of an arrow, using a typical "knife" made out of a rodent's tooth mounted on a small stick.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 -SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

there for the taking in the forest and the supply, from both animal and vegetable sources, is inexhaustible.

The bow is of surprising dimensions. It is six feet six inches long, this being equivalent, considering the height of the archer, to nine feet nine inches for us. The simplest pattern is made from the *arke* palm. They also use a hardwood—from a tree known in Venezuela as the 'golden pole'. This is very rare, almost as rare among the Indians as metal. But the finest bows of all, possessed by the few and worth a fortune, are made from the cocuzo tree, the *lakse* of the Shiriana. This wood is extremely hard but very fibrous, with the elasticity of a steel spring. The shaping and fining down of these bows, and the making of the arrows, is the one form of craftsmanship known to the Samatari. With this they occupy themselves during the rainy season, under rough roofs of palm leaves. A tree belonging to the Moraceae family furnishes the very tough fibre for the bowstrings: it is found all along the river-banks and in the forest glades.

The slender arrows, six foot six inches long, are made from a cane cultivated in the secret depths of the forest, though it grows naturally on any of the river creeks which flood regularly. Curassow or guan feathers, split in half, are bound on to the cane.

There are three types of arrow-head, according to the purpose for which they are to be used. The lightest is a splinter cut from the shinbone of a monkey, firmly fixed to the end of a short stick, in such a way as to form a sharp-pointed prong. This is used on small animals, and especially for birds and fish. There are numbers of big fish, like the *pampano* and *sarapiri*, which lie near the surface so that a slight rippling of the water betrays their presence. The arrow which pierces them cannot be shaken out, and its length and weight make it difficult for the wounded fish to get very far.

Another kind of point is virtually a miniature spear fashioned out of a very hard bamboo cane. Very sharp, and razor-edged, it will strike deep into the most resistant flesh, the toughest hide. The Samatari use this on the bigger game, such as tapir, and also for war—though for the latter purpose it is superseded by a specialized warhead. This is a sharpened splinter of palm wood—the same as goes to the making of the bows—dipped in a red poison made from the bark of a certain tree. A series of rings, four or five of them, are notched out round the arrow-tip, so that it is weakened at these places. If the tip strikes bone on entering the body, or if the arrow is pulled out, it snaps at one of these weakened parts, leaving the broken tip embedded in the flesh so that

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

and brought to us already cooked, in a wrapping of some appropriate green stuff—a dish beyond compare. At times there was so much meat (cooked and eaten without salt or spices) that we willingly turned to fruit again. There was no lack of that either.

When a tapir or a number of peccaries have been killed and there is too much meat to be eaten up at once, the Samatari smoke it on a hurdle supported by four stakes driven into the ground. A fire is lit underneath and kept going all night—to the accompaniment of the medicine-man's ceaseless chanting. In the morning the pieces of meat, looking completely charred, are wrapped in wild banana leaves and entrusted for transport to some little woman who hoists them up along with the babies on her back.

I have also seen a sloth being smoked. No gentler animal exists in the world. She moves at a speed which never exceeds a few yards a day, and lives hanging on the trees with her young ones clinging to the hairs of her back. They captured one alive, and with the machete chopped off the three nails of its hands and feet, to make scrapers and 'bodkins' for various uses. Deprived of her only means of defence, the sloth kept moving slowly along, with a resigned, human expression which quickly won our sympathy. But not the Samatari's. To them, a sloth is an excellent target for archery practice, because it will remain in the same position—clasping a pole, for instance, without moving—just the sort of thing you want for a target. The arrows whistled past the sloth's wet nose, but its face showed no change of expression; then some struck it, but not in a vital part, and its fur reddened with blood. The arrows did not penetrate deeply because they were only practice ones, with worn tips. Had I had a gun I would have shot it, for there was such a look of gentle reproof in the little animal's eyes that it became unendurable. But the gun was a long way off, and our five remaining cartridges had been the subject of so much calculation, that perhaps after all I wouldn't have ventured to expend one on this four-legged Saint Sebastian. Soon, however, too many arrows had struck, and before the youngsters could get it to play with and drag it about in the dust, still alive, I asked for the machete. Laughing, in order to evade Samatari susceptibilities, I struck it one hard blow on the head which sent it straight to the smoking-tray.

We now had a definite plan laid and were spreading propaganda to make it possible, Uarema and the Guayca Indians being our agents. We had now made the descent of the entire Aracoca and part of the Ururicoera, and before reaching

/454 cont./

304 All have the ears pierced. A good number of men and women also have the center of the lower lip pierced. Some women have the corners of the mouth pierced, and a few have the nose pierced.

304 The boys and men wear sticks through their ears, sometimes
301 feathers or also little sticks with feathers. Those who have the lip pierced keep a little stick or a feather there all the time.

The women wear flowers or leaves in their ears. The perforations in the lips and the nose generally have sticks in them. On gala occasions, the little stick which goes through the nasal septum may be as long as the face is wide.

301 In addition to the cords tied around the waist, they frequently
291 wear similar cords around the arms and legs.

The men may also wear a heavy cotton belt and similar bands on a smaller scale on the arms. They may wear feathers fixed on the shoulders and a monkey tail around the head, to emphasize the border of hair, or they may adorn the hair with down.

The women also use a heavy cotton belt, clearly different from the one which the men use.

Girls wear a band at the waist, woven of cotton, with decorations on its front part. They also customarily cross the chest with bands of cotton.

302 Onoto, charcoal, and several other paints are used for body
53 designs. They do not seem to have any religious meaning, but
[386] simply an ornamental purpose. These designs include dots, stripes, wavy lines, and circles. Sometimes they paint a wide strip and then make the design by scraping off the paint. They also imprint upon the skin /455/ ornamental designs by using a "mapire" or the hand, or some combination of these. It seems that some of them have their favorite designs.

Hides, Textiles, and Weaving

• 237 The skin of the jaguar or of another mammal rarely reaches the settlement in a single piece. But even if it did, it is immediately cut into small pieces so that each one may have a little piece to cover his quiver, or at least a band to wear tied to the arm.

/456 [illegible]t./

Preparation of Basic Materials

411 321 The Guaika /Waica/ make their arrow points out of bone. When they obtain a small piece of bone, they quickly transform it into a good arrow-point for killing birds. The long bones of legs and arms of monkeys are broken, and the sharp points which generally result have a form similar to that of arrowheads, are worked and finished, with the rest being thrown away. To give them shape, the points are scraped with knives or machetes and rubbed on some stone.

534 321 I also saw a whistle or a flute which seemed to be made out of bone or out of a quill of large size.

411 322 [824] [239] [412] The Guaika make their bows out of wood. They generally select the wood of the "pijiguao" palm. They give it a rough shape, using the machete. They achieve the final form by scraping the piece with the jawbone of a wild pig, the teeth constituting the cutting edges.

322 412 [239] They do wood carving with a small knife, which consists of the tooth of a rodent. With this tooth they manage the fine work of putting notches in the arrows. They also shape bamboo arrow-points and the oblong lower part of the apparatus for making fire.

They devote as much as half a day to carving the handles for their axes and machetes. They use the machete to shape them.

323 The Guaika make their pots of mud. The clay is obtained in specific places. This frequently requires a day or more of travel. Once the clay has been brought to the settlement, /457/ they go about extracting the stones from it while kneading it, moistened, for several hours. The pot is begun by taking a ball of mud which is given the shape of a bowl. Then they go on adding rings of mud which they join to the pot. The vessel is scraped and shaped with a piece of broken totuma /fruit of the calabash tree/. During the process of the scraping, they go on increasing the size of the pot. They keep the clay damp and plastic, spitting on it from time to time. After this they put the pot out to dry in the sun and finally bake it in the fire. The vessel comes out of

/462 cont./

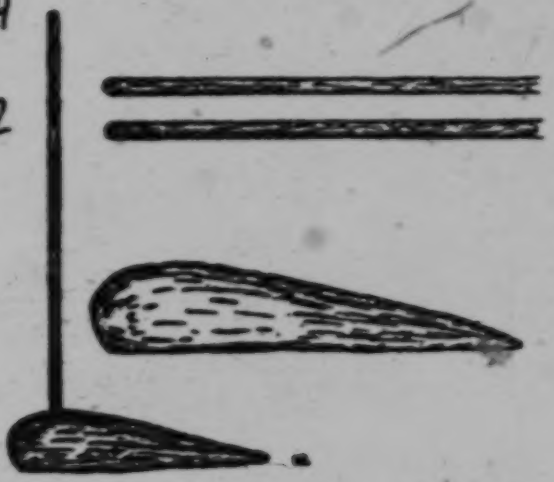
Fire

372 The Guaika /Waica/ use the system of simple rotation to make fire. This consists of a piece of soft wood, flattened on one side and rounded on the other, about four centimeters wide at one end, and whose tapering shape ends in a blunt point at the other end. With the tooth of a large rodent they make a circular cut in it near its broader end, and in this is inserted a slender stick (from 30 to 40 centimeters /sic/ in diameter at its base). This stick is held between the palms of the hands and given a rotating movement until a spark burns in the wood dust which has been formed by the rotation of the stick in the hole made in the board. (See Fig. 6.)

[824] /463/ The tapered piece of soft wood is of cacao, in which several successive holes can be made, and each hole can be used several times for lighting a fire.

In general there is someone in the settlement who has a fire lighted, so that when some native needs fire he obtains it there. In order to carry fire a short distance, two or three lighted sticks are tied together, forming a fagot. When they travel at night, they carry lighted torches to protect themselves against animals

372



/Fig. 6/

/463 cont./

373 as well as to light the path. Torches of gum and resin are also
416 used sometimes on the paths during the night, but the common
484 type of torch is the fagot of tied pieces of wood. A group which travels at night (as occurs when they are returning after nightfall from the work of fishing) may carry only one torch. Then they stop from time to time to arrange the joined sticks and to revive the fire, keeping it from going out.

373 The wood fire is the principal source of light and heat in the
374 settlements. The fires are kept lighted during the entire night, both to produce warmth and for protection against predatory animals and the spirits of human beings which have returned.

372 There do not seem to be any beliefs or ceremonies related to the production and maintenance of fire.

Weapons

411 The principal weapon of the Guaica /Waica/ is the bow and arrow. They also use macanas.

[824] The bow is made of palm wood, generally of "pijiguao," with a strong string made of threads of bark. This string has three or more threads of twisted bark, which give it great strength.

[249] The shafts of their arrows are made of the festooned part
[237] of a certain wild cane, which they cultivate in their "conucos." They feather them with the points of wing feathers of wild turkeys.

Arrow points vary according to the type of game which is to be the target. The wide bamboo point is used /464/ principally against large land animals; the bone one for shooting large and medium-sized birds, and the poisoned points principally for monkeys. Any of these points might be used against man in the event of war. Against small birds they shoot the shaft, first removing the point, or they use a point ramified at the end, made out of a small branch quickly broken off some nearby plant. The accompanying Fig. 7 /see p. 35/ shows the different types of arrow points of the Guaika. /Fig. 7 appears here./

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waikas. We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows, they motioned us to come closer.

"*Shori! Shori!*" they shouted.

"*Shori! Shori!*" we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and manioc and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying "*Shori! Shori!*" and we responded as in a litany, "*Shori!*"

Physically the Waika is no different from the Guaharibo. He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waika's only weapon. Made of strong,

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ:8
Waica

supple wood and well over six feet long, it is very powerful. With it the Waika can shoot an arrow more than a hundred yards and can hit a *pauji*—a bird about the size of a turkey—at forty yards. Normally two or three arrows are carried and they are as long as, if not longer than, the bow itself. The shafts are made of reed which, Cardona said, is specially grown for the purpose on their plantations, and are feathered by falcon's feathers. The feathers are meticulously tied in a near-perfect spiral with thread of forest cotton or morisco palm fibre. Each arrow has a different head specially adapted to a particular purpose. Spare arrow-heads are carried in a quiver in which also is carried fire-making material to protect it from the damp.

The quiver is a simple bamboo case to which are also tied a firestick and a number of little knives made from the incisors of a large rodent called a capybara. It is carried on the back by means of a string slung round the forehead.

Such comprise the simple impedimenta of the Waika on his journeys through the forest. The women, who accompany their mates on their many ceaseless wanderings, presumably have their own burdens to carry, but we saw nothing of them until we visited our first native village on the next day.

As we went up-river we came across the remains of a rude bridge which had formerly spanned the two hundred yards of river and which had been carried away by the flood waters. It was the biggest bridge we had seen although we had passed a number of lesser ones fashioned of lianas spanning the tributaries. On the bank where the bridge had been were some twenty natives and a handful of children.

"*Apo! Shori! Apo!*" they greeted us.

We knew from Butrón that, though his men were accustomed to replenish their banana stocks at this place, they had so far never been allowed to visit the village hidden somewhere in the forest.

The Waika lives on wild fruits, fish, meat and the produce of plantations adjacent to his villages. Most of his time he spends wandering in the forest and his fleeting appearances at his village occur usually only when natural resources fail or when he has to defend himself against an enemy horde. He knows

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Wa'Ca

302
482
412
237

The Waika always carries with him his little knives made of a rodent's incisors. (Photograph by J. Grelier)

Below: Pierre Ivanoff and one of our Waika friends. (Photograph by J. Grelier)

142
302
→

[p. 112-D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the women and children are concealed in these temporary sites until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yąnomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yąnomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow, arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
177 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[439] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[438] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
• 237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[104] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[591] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4] For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5] The cultivated palm, *pijiguao*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

278 layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curare point after it has been attached to the arrow.

415 411 [824] [438] [239] Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches. The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

372 [824] The Yąnomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

412 [237] The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yąnomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood [314] by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel [284] chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

226 The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yąnomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

They have much less fat on them than grubs, and become dry and crunchy during the cooking, having a texture and form like cheese pone when prepared.

Large spiders are also collected; they are simply placed directly on the hot coals and roasted alive. The legs and thorax are eaten.

Another common insect food is the larvae of a species of large ant. Only the head of the squirming larvae is eaten. It is very crunchy and has a nutty taste, but one must exercise caution in eating them since they are equipped with sharp pincers and can inflict a painful wound on the tongue or lip.

The game animals are all shot with arrows. The curare palm points are usually used for monkey hunting, while the lanceolate bamboo points are used for large game, such as deer, tapir, and wild pigs. A third kind of point is used for birds. It consists of a long, slender stick to the end of which has been bound a splinter of gently curved monkey bone. This serves as the penetrating point and the barb; it is difficult to extract the point once the barb enters the animal.

The Yąnomamö also fashion a fourth kind of arrow point as they need it. It is simply a stick that has numerous twigs branching in a close cluster. The twigs are cut off an inch or so from the main branch, and the stem is inserted into the end of the arrow shaft that usually contains the curare-tipped point. This fourth type of point is used to kill small birds whose feathers are desired for decoration purposes. On one occasion I saw a young man fashion one of these points in a few seconds. He saw a small bird, located a shrub a few feet away, bit off a branch with his teeth, bit the twigs off, and stuck the point into his arrow shaft—without taking his eyes off the small bird for a second. This type of point is discarded after it serves its temporary purpose.

The Yąnomamö do not employ traps or compounds when hunting. They frequently use dogs to run tapir, pigs, and deer, but most hunting is merely the individual stalking and shooting whatever game is available. As men always carry their weapons with them when they leave the village, they are, in effect, hunting continuously. A communal type of hunting trip invariably precedes a feast; this is described in Chapter 4.

The technique for capturing armadillos is very interesting. Armadillos live in burrows deep underground, and the Yąnomamö are always investigating the entrances of these burrows to see if any signs of recent occupation can be found. If the burrow is occupied, the hunters quickly cover the entrance with combustible materials and start a fire. After the fire is blazing strongly, they find a dried termite nest, which produces large quantities of smoke, and put it onto the fire. When this is ignited, they fan the smoke into the burrow, cover the fire with sand, and look for other openings to the armadillo den. These are quickly spotted when smoke begins to emerge from them and covered with sand to keep the smoke in. Then the men crawl around with their ears held to the ground. The armadillo will sometimes start burrowing in order to escape the smoke; when he does, he is heard and his location immediately established. A stick is used to dig into the ground and find the animal, usually 2 or 3 feet below the surface. On one occasion the men had difficulty locating the animal and dug several holes without hitting the burrow. One of them then uncovered the entrance, obtained a thick vine from a nearby tree, and tied a knot in the end of it. He then introduced the knot into the burrow by spinning the vine rapidly between his hands, pushing it in gently as it twirled. When he could not get the vine to go any further, the men listened on the ground to locate the spinning knot. When they found it, they marked the spot. The vine was

244 [179] [252] [999] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians–and by rural Venezuelans–and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and [284] a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo [531] points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in [437] the trading network.

794 I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi*.[13]
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
177 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no ubudibö*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noreshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After
[887] several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced
[763] when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on
[783] contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones
[783] are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and
[562] women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe
[858] carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.
[237] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the
[531] circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment.
[562] The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a
[531] long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and
[266] sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere-
[726] monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[13] Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.
[769]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The members of Lower Bisaasi-teri had joined Kąobawä's group for the feast, as they, too, were on friendly terms with the Mahekodo-teri and had benefited from the latter's hospitality after the treacherous feast in 1950. Before Kąobawä's group had separated from the Lower Bisaasi-teri, there had been one headman over the entire composite village. This was a brother to Kąobawä's father; when the groups split, the older man led the faction of Lower Bisaasi-teri, leaving Kąobawä to lead the Upper group. On this particular day, when the two groups had temporarily coalesced for the feast, the older man was conceded the honor of chanting with the visitor's delegate, Asiawä, the son of the Mahekodo-teri headman.

Ten minutes after the old visitor entered the village, Asiawä entered the clearing, touching off an explosion of wild cheering that marked the opening of the dance. He was spectacular in his bright new loin cloth, long red parrot feathers streaming from his armbands, and black monkey-tail headband covered with white buzzard down. He marched dramatically to the center of the village clearing, while all of Kąobawä's followers cheered, and struck the visitor's pose: motionless, head upward, and weapons held vertically next to his face. He stood there two or three minutes so his hosts could admire him. This gesture signified that he had come in peace and was announcing his benevolent intentions by standing where all could see him. If they bore him malice, they had to shoot him then or not at all.[5] He then marched to Kąobawä's house and was met by Kąobawä's father's brother, the temporary leader of the combined host group, and the two men immediately began to chant. This was the formal acceptance of the feast invitation by Asiawä on behalf of his entire group. They chanted for five minutes or so, bouncing up and down from the knees, now face to face, now side to side, but always lively and loud. Suddenly, they stopped, and Asiawä squatted, his back to the sun, while the host's representative retired to his hammock. The cheering died down. Asiawä squatted for several minutes before one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought a half-gourd full of plantain soup to him and set it on the ground. He ignored it politely for several minutes, staring into the distance, holding his weapons horizontally next to his mouth. Presently, he put his weapons down, picked up the container of soup, and drained it in one draft before setting it back down. As soon as he had set it down, one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought him a large pack-basket filled with boiled green plantains and smoked armadillo meat. Asiawä stood while the strap of the basket was placed over his head and adjusted across his shoulders so as to not crumple his headdress. Trying to look dramatic, he staggered rapidly out of the village under his burden of food, while the hosts again cheered wildly. This food was eaten by the visitors while they finished their decorating, each receiving a small portion.

Within a half-hour of Asiawä's departure the visitors had completed their decorating and had assembled just outside the entrance to the village. The men, all finely decorated, stood at the front of the gathering, while the women, girls, and young boys, also decorated, but each carrying a load of family possessions, brought up the rear. At the signal of Asiawä's father, the first two dancers burst into the village, separated, and danced around the periphery of the clearing in opposite directions, while Kąobawä's group welcomed them enthusiastically with shouts and shrill screams. Two at a time,

[5] I have a number of informants' accounts of visitors being shot down while standing in the clearing to announce their visit. Whenever I accompanied visitors to strange villages for the first time I, too, was obliged to participate in this rite and always had an uneasy feeling about it.

/120 cont./

621 166 241 These periodically recurring radial movements from a fixed center (the village with its planting) do not affect, in sociological respects, the substance of the village: normally the whole village migrates. In this respect, however, it is different with regard to a second type of village movement, which is not characterized by the going back and forth of the short forest-sojourns, but rather takes place over longer periods of time and only in one direction. The Waika live only about five years from one planting and then move to a new one laid out beforehand, which is usually about a day's journey away. Practically every village known to us has an old and a new planting, for since the chonta palm (Guilielma gasipaes), still cultivated today and useful in many ways, has a different life span than the various types of bananas, overlapping in the utilization of the plantings cannot be [173] avoided. If a newly established planting is bearing enough bananas, the whole village is moved to the new planting; the names and the site of earlier plantings are remembered exactly, however, so that from this the history of each individual village, i.e., its shifting in Waika territory, and consequently the history of the Waika themselves in their territorial aspect, can be reconstructed 621 for two to three generations. Such a move to a new place, how- 166 ever, is also the occasion for changes in the composition of the 161 village, for a split as a rule, for in the meantime, because of the 173 enormous /121/ surplus of births, which the Waika have to register today, the village has grown far beyond the limit of the number of persons that can be governed well under their institution-poor system. The partition of the village is not done at discretion, but exactly along the lines of separation indicated by the above- [431] mentioned composition by groups of families. One or more groups of families are the bearers of the new villages, and the memory [182] of the way the new village was founded by the union of several groups of families is ceremonially represented as shown, in the gift-exchange.

/121 cont./

166 Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each
221 other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism
241 of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today
182 as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun planting, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

162 The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually
621 made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new
182 plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the
174 working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

105 Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social
621 units of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural
182

/11 cont./

361 very well preserved and only the roofs would need to be covered with fresh palm leaves.

One exception is Camp Xiwarí, which is 35 kilometers north of the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá. Three-fourths [342] of the circle, which is 28 meters in diameter, is made up of ten of the small huts described, while a similarly constructed dwelling seven meters long and five meters high occupies the remaining fourth. In the center of the circle, as usual, stands the chief's • [241] hut. Around the camp, rocas (forest clearings) have been laid out, where bananas, pupunha palms, manioc, species of sweet [221] potatoes, and tobacco are planted. The Surára stay here every year between the months of October and December. In the [156] large huts at that time two young men about 20 years old are always trained as medicine man's helpers for two months by the chief and his brother (see pp. 143 f.).

342 The second house-form is a large, open, almost circular
361 maloka which lies in a valley between three short mountain ranges, 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco (Ill. 5). This is a construction (see Fig. 1 /see p. 27 /) which has not been documented up to now for South American Indians. During the dry season it is occupied by the Surára and Pakidái jointly. As the more detailed explanation will show, this house form developed from the circularly arranged small huts which serve as overnight quarters. Camp Xiwarí described above clearly shows the transitional form.

361 Around an area 52 meters long and 48 meters wide three curved
342 windscreens about six meters high are erected (Ill. 6), as well as a rectangular house with gable roof, open toward the inner area. The length of the largest windscreen is 74.40 meters and that of the other two 28.60 and 25.40 meters, respectively. The chief's rectangular house is 9.70 meters long. Four entrances, 8 meters, 6.80 meters, 6.30 meters, and 2 meters wide respectively, lead toward the large open circular area. A fifth entrance, which is only one meter high and 50 centimeters wide, however, is inside the largest windscreen. Moreover, it should be mentioned that

/14 cont./

342 622 posts are joined by crossbeams; in addition, horizontal strips lead to the tall posts, whereby a gable roof is formed. Over this again lie small, thin cross-strips, on which, exactly as in the case of the large windscreens, the panos, the rectangular palm-leaf mats, are fastened. In the same manner, the rear wall and the two side-walls are also provided with panos. Between the two ends of the front side there are fastened three poles half a meter high, which are often used as sitting places. The entrance, which is one meter wide, is on the right-hand narrow side. The fire burns in the center of the hut, and in a triangle around it are fastened the hammocks in which the chief, his two wives, and the children sleep. All the implements hang on the crossbeams and on the plaiting of the rear wall.

[354] [352] [353]

343 To the right, next to the chief's house, stands a small, open hut which is four meters long, two meters wide, and six meters high. Here, too, the roof has a gable-shape and is likewise covered with panos made of ubim leaves. Under the roof is found a latticework pen about 1.60 X 2 meters, which is used as a rooster coop.

342 From an architectural standpoint, this open, almost circular construction, in which, to be sure, the chief's hut and the coop for the roosters form two foreign bodies added later -- represents an unexcelled method of building, particularly for this hot, tropical region. The circular shape prevents the wind from entering, and the rain, too, cannot reach the families living in the dead angle under the roofs. Moreover, there is always pleasantly fresh air, so that even upon leaving this maloka there is no danger of catching cold. Tribes or groups living in closed malokas are much more subject to respiratory ailments when they leave the warm community house and step out into the cool morning or night air. This maloka of the Surára may doubtless be regarded as one of the oldest and most primitive types of construction of the South American Indians. Around the community house, plantings have been laid out (Ill. 37) and at the present time extend to the middle of the mountain slopes.

[174]

241

619 /75 cont./
651 already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
576 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
574 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114]

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
178
241 At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[622]
000

[174]

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/75 cont./ According to their own statements, both tribes regard the Xiriána as their culture-bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larâ -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norâ -- (350). The latter, however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

350. Among the Waikâ, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xâma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajâ. The

/79 cont./

222 which can be obtained easily and without danger, for the bees are stingless. Usually they have their nests in hollow trees or in the ground. Occasionally, however, one also sees nests built in tall trees; the latter are then cut down by the men, for the purpose of obtaining the honey. The honey is scooped out of the nest with the hand or with a calabash and put into a folded palm leaf which is then tied together and taken along to the maloka. -- Birds' eggs also constitute a popular addition to the diet, as does the nourishing yolk of the eggs of water turtles; the egg white, on the other hand, is discarded because it has an unpleasant, fish-oil taste. During the dry season, especially during the months December-February, the Surára and Pakidái gather these turtle eggs in great numbers on the sandbanks of the Demini and Aracá. -- [226] Also to be mentioned are crayfish and crabs, which are pulled out of the holes in the mud of the riverbanks. -- I also observed that they eat certain kinds of frogs and spiders, as well as insect larvae, caterpillars, termites, and the hind parts of the leaf-cutter ant (Atta sp.) -- aneanemá.

● 241 e) Agriculture

Although agriculture among the Surára and Pakidái was introduced only a comparatively short time ago, they have already developed a remarkable system with regard to the laying out of their fields. These are always laid out circularly around the maloka. The procedure is such that, first of all, at the beginning of a dry season, October-November, a rather large piece of forest is cleared, during which it is seen to that the circular shape is [313] produced. To chop down the underbrush and the lianas, the [412] men use the terçados (large bush-knives), and the trees are felled with steel axes (367). After about two months, when the felled

[439]

367. The Surára obtain these articles of civilization from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter, and the Pakidái get them from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying
[361] and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka
[622] is erected. This roça (forest clearing) -- hikarĩ --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, carĩ, cotton,
[462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

[184]

368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

[134] falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132]

369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

24
36
166 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka
245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

241 166 361 It is worth mentioning that at present in the course of one year the Surára as well as the Pakidái regularly carry on their field work in two places that are far apart. During the rainy season, April-September, the Surára, as is well known, live at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá and the Pakidái on a right tributary of the middle Demini, where they also own fields. On the other hand, they spend the summer season together in the large, open Surára maloka (between the Demini and Aracá rivers), around which was laid out a roça which was large enough to be divided among the Surára and Pakidái families. Thus, both tribes always have the benefit of abundant harvests at their permanent dwelling sites. In addition, there are the bananas and pupunha fruits of the abandoned fields, to which the entire tribe travels at the time of this harvest, or gathering expeditions are undertaken to bring in chestnuts, inga, and other kinds of wild fruits.

241 423 Since, however, on account of the seminomadic way of life of these Indians, one forest clearing or another is left untended for shorter or longer periods, there is the danger that in the meantime members of hostile tribes will break in and take possession of the produce there. Provision is made for this, however. Before the tribe leaves one of its clearings, a few men commissioned by the chief stick several wooden arrow points and thorns of the pupunha palm, coated with poison, into the ground and put leaves over them. 'Hostile Indians with plunder in view therefore risk the danger of running these into their legs (370).

[291] 370. All Indians of this region go barefoot.

[184] As I was told, this custom is resorted to by all Yanonámi tribes, and for this reason no Indian would ever think of setting foot on the deserted clearing of another tribe (371).

[114] 371. This hint may be of the greatest importance for research travelers who want to work in this region.

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/12/

137
←

137
241
622
516
412
→

Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

137
481
←

114
142
302
291
516
624
→

Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Porêhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auaí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

Avake 555

/186 cont./ indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1942, p. 87) they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

/187/ This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history of the Yanoama. Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Pumpirí, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present volume only in the last decades. The marginal tribes, such as the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Uraricuera River starts.

According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail.

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 264

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491 494

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista. They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 411

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm. [841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

/208 cont./

241 [177] Among the Sanemá, doubtless as a result of their contact with their Macú and Caribe neighbors, agriculture has taken on increasing importance. The manner of cultivation is still very rudimentary, that of "slash and burn." The principal products are: plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, and certain herbs which have magical importance (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 444, similar plants among the Waica). Among the magical plants of the Sanemá there is one on which they lavish great care. An informant told us about the general consternation which seized all of them one day when a band of enemies tore up, during the night, all the magical plants of their conucos. They believed that they were going to die or at least become sick, and the "sablf had much work" in order to save his people. There is here a similar belief which we have already noted in connection with the eagles and hanekasá.

824 241

241 178 [628] Agriculture has given a degree of stability to the Sanemá subgroups and has introduced changes in their traditional social system. Not all the groups have adopted this new economy and disputes and fights frequently arise because the gatherers indiscriminately appropriate the products of a conuco of the agricultural group. That was the motive which caused the Makiritare to fight with the Sanemá, who at that time had still not adopted the agriculture which flourished among their neighbors.

[648]

231 [192] The Sanemá do not have domestic animals, and even dogs are uncommon. It is possible that the Yanoama have adopted them recently. They have still not found a specific name for this animal, and they call it póliawan, like the jaguar. Some informants insisted that there is a phonetic difference between the word póläwan = jaguar and póliawan = dog, but there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the same word is involved. They raise dogs so that they may serve them as helpers in hunting.

In a Sanemá rancheria there are frequently found animals of various species, but tame. The hunters take home young turkeys, cranes, macaws, and parrots, as well as guinea pigs, lapas, and monkeys, as presents for their wives or children. /Illustrations appear here./

/209 cont./

596 591 [182] itself to an arrangement of this sort. In their seminomadic state there do not seem to be any sufficiently decisive economic factors to require a unilocal residence rule, which in a way would hinder a young man, after his marriage, from remaining in the group of his family of orientation or from leaving in order to found his family of procreation matrilocally, according to the particular circumstances. But what we are sure of is that the irregularities observed are precisely a result of the economic and technological changes which the Sanemá of the regions /210/ adjacent to the Makiritare are undergoing via the process of acculturation. The cultivation of the land, although still rudimentary, and the possibility of augmenting their properties have brought about as a natural consequence, not only greater stability and possibly a considerable demographic increase, but also the impetus which disrupts the balanced equilibrium present in the custom of choosing the postnuptial residence which is fundamental for the bilocal extended family (cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 35). So it is that one of the factors which has most contributed to bringing about disequilibrium among the Sanemá was the adoption of the Caribe agricultural system. The postmatrimonial moving from one local group to another was not of any particular importance in a nomadic society, but nowadays it presents certain difficulties not even suspected previously, for a man now has to leave his cultivated fields if he is to go with his wife. We are sure that the tendencies in the direction of the unilocal custom have their roots precisely in this economic change. Finally, the existence of the bilocal extended family among the Yanoama is in complete accord with the Hawaiian type of social organization which we are describing as typical for this tribe.

591 596 197 241 [601]

594 621 Without knowing a Sanemá nuclear family intimately, it is difficult to group with certainty the members of a local group solely on the basis of their family ties, particularly in a community in which polygamy, the sororate, the levirate, and a Hawaiian kinship system are practiced. There are occasions, however, on which the members of a nuclear family gather together; to eat, to sleep, etc., and, in spite of our not having full knowledge of Sanemá society, we can, with all this, say that the nuclear

StLayrisse et al. D. E-8 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shiriana" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriana*" with an internal separation of 30 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirisana (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Siriana*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 493-498.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 20.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'I am Uarema,' he declared to his Guayca kinsmen, who looked on him with hostile eyes because he was wearing trousers, 'Uarema, son of Measi. I was here as a boy. A long time I have been with "the rationals" [the civilized men] and I have grown to manhood. You are my people.'

His turning up in this fashion had a touch of the fabulous about it, and his kinsmen took him along without ill-treating him. When they found him to be a man of many accomplishments, and the old men remembered how he had disappeared during Uagna's time, after an encounter with the Samatari from the Aracosa lands, they kept him with them as their rightful chief, giving him unlimited freedom of action. As his obedient subjects they left it all to him.

Uarema had never taken to civilization. For him, it had lacked something. What it had lacked, we cannot guess: the civilization of the Lower Guiana rivers may be bounded by the cloth hammock and the bottle of rum, the loose woman and the pack of cards, but it cannot be ranked any lower than the barbarianism of the Guayca, eaters of worms and snakes. But now, after his experience of life with 'the rationals', neither could the young man endure the ceaseless warfare which engaged his own peoples. The broken heads he saw round the fire in the evenings, the howls of the medicine-men at their exorcisings—all this was anathema to him. He told his kinsfolk they had better put it all aside, and grow something. From the Soto they could obtain seeds and roots. Much manioc was needed, because without it one was always hungry. Sugar-cane was a pleasant thing to suck at any time, and the children loved it. Above all, there must be bananas, as far as eye could see—the forest must be transformed into a huge garden of fruits, there for the picking. Thus, with his head full of ideas which owed their origin to the years he had spent in civilization, Luis Antonio founded a new Guayca people. They were Guayca Indians no longer, but peasants—peasants who cared for the tilling of the soil and a sure supply of food. These Guayca called themselves after him, Uarema. They inhabited two big homesteads an hour distant from the Merevari river—a little above the mouth of the Canaracuni.

Now Luis Antonio wanted to stay with us and work, because he needed cloth for his people. We gave him what little we had been able to save from the greedy hands of Pancho's men, and he went off for a brief visit to his tribe, intending to return to Kirisochi in four days' time.

/443 cont./

Domestic Animals

231 Dogs are raised and generally used in hunting.

Birds of almost all types are captured when they are found before leaving the nest. Most of these only survive a few days. It seems that the parrots manage to survive in captivity much better than the other birds, so that almost all the settlements have a domesticated parrot. Turkeys and cranes are included among the other birds which can survive and reach the adult state.

Domesticated monkeys are also favorite animals. It is interesting to observe that almost without exception the monkey is the property of a woman. Doubtless this is related to the fact that women nurse the little monkeys until they are weaned. The mother monkey must be killed in order to be able to capture the little monkey.

Small rodents, such as squirrels and vesper mice, are brought to the house sometimes to be domesticated. One family even went so far as to raise a wild pig (chácharo).

231 766 /444/ When a domestic animal dies, it is incinerated outside the settlement, near some path. Its bones are left in the same spot where they were when the fire consumed them.

Agriculture

• 241 Platanos and banana trees occupy nearly 90 per cent of the cultivated lands. Other fruits include sweet yuca, bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, mapuey /yams/, sugar cane, maize the pijiguao palm /peach palm/, pepper, the papaya, and the sweet potato.

241 824 302 789 302 276 Tobacco, cotton, and onoto /annatto/ are the principal nonedible products. Other nonedible products include a grass whose stem is dried and used for cutting the hair; a variety of root similar to the wild onion is used in magic for hunting, for obtaining a wife, etc.; especially fragrant leaves are used by the women in their ears; and the ingredients used in the processing of "yopo," a narcotic which is blown into the nose.

/444 cont./

241 The land is cleared by first pulling out all the small plants and stems; then the trees which reach a trunk diameter of around 25 centimeters are cut with a machete, and finally the large trees are cut down with an axe.

[313] Sometimes they climb the tree and attach a liana to it so as to be able to pull it to direct its fall.

After the trees have had sufficient time to dry out on the ground, they cut off the branches and pile them up with the underbrush in order finally to burn them. Owing to the abundance of rainfall, it is impossible for them to wait for a dry period. I have seen them burn the weeds in their conuco after it had rained heavily the night before. Sometimes they must bring dry firewood in order to make the damp weeds burn.

An old woman told me one day: "These people of today [412] have it easy. We did not have machetes and axes in former [178] times. Fire was our principal tool. /445/ We had to carry a lot of firewood to pile up around the trees in order to bring them down by fire."

412 There is an indication in their language that at one time they 174 used stone axes before being able to acquire metal axes and [192] machetes. They use the same word, "boo," to designate both the machete and a certain stone which they use for grinding the "yopo" powder. This stone has the proper form for making an ax out of it, if a handle were attached to it. Nevertheless, the relationship between these objects, if there was one at one time, is unknown to the present generation of El Platanal.

241 A bow without a string or a similar stick is the principal 412 instrument which they use for planting. They use it both to loosen the small banana stems for replanting and to open holes in the ground for holding practically any kind of seed.

249 Tobacco is planted first in a garden bed and then transplanted. The small plants are protected from the sun for a few days by means of platano leaves put on a covering for shade.

241 Sometimes a few stakes are fixed in the ground to indicate plantings near the paths, thus keeping the seeds or young plants from being stepped on.

/445 cont./

241 Many of the Guaika /Waica/ are very careful with regard to weeding their plantings, especially when the plants are small. Later, when the plants have reached a good development, they weed the plantings less frequently. Then, perhaps three or more years later, when the land has begun to yield less produce, they cease weeding it altogether and harvest only what has managed to grow by hard efforts.

222 Generally, there is found in these "conucos," at least in the abandoned ones, the "pijiguao"palm. This is because the "pijiguao" begins to produce about the time the earth has become too poor for other produce.

222 481 The fruit of the "pijiguao" palm is harvested by loosening the bunches by means of a long pole with a hook. When the palm has grown too much to perform /446/ this operation from the ground, the Guaika climb it, using two devices, each one made out of a pair of sticks tied together in the form of an X, which, although being adjusted to the thorny trunk of the palm, can be slid up or down while the climber keeps his foot on one of these platforms (see Fig. 1). Once the bunch has been reached and loosened, it is carefully lowered to the ground, tied to a liana to prevent the fruit from being damaged by a fall from such a height. /Fig. 1 appears here./

241 [462] The men are the ones who clear the "conucos." The women go to the "conucos" more than anything in order to transport the harvests to their homes.

241 857 [423] Every family has its own "conuco." Frequently the boys begin to prepare their own "conucos" at an early age (at about 11 years old). Even boys seven years old succeed in having a few of their own plants in the "conuco" of their father or of their older brother. Other boys only help their father in the plantings and have little or nothing until they reach 18 years of age or more.

/461 cont./

361 166 Regardless of what type of dwelling has been built in the settlement near the "conuco," it is the custom of the Guaika that all leave the settlement after a stay of three to six weeks, when they go off either to visit other settlements or to build another temporary seat within the forest, several miles away from their "conuco."

The groups which have semipermanent dwellings return to the same site and to their same dwellings, while those who use only temporary dwellings settle down in another new locality and build new dwellings, for which they have brought the leaves which roofed the ranchos abandoned on the former site. After an old settlement has not been occupied for at least six months the Indians who return from one of these trips in the forest will sometimes stay in such settlements. The "niguas" will have disappeared during this period of six months.

On any site to which the Guaika habitually return, the trees are sooner or later destroyed, leaving the area of the settlement completely cleared.

342 The Guaika build temporary shelters during their hunting trips, and also when they stop overnight while traveling to visit other settlements or on the return trips from such visits. The type of construction is the same as that of the temporary dwellings built on the sites near the "conuco," except that the covering of the roofs consists of easily found large leaves, such as those of the wild platano.

● 241 361 The Guaika are continually preparing new "conucos." After a new "conuco" some distance away begins to produce, they may divide their time between both "conucos" in proportion to the quantity of platanos which the old and new "conuco" are producing. Then, as the old "conuco" ceases to produce, they begin to live almost entirely on the new site. But during the harvest /462/ the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm, they spend some time near the "conucos" which have stopped producing platanos, where in contrast, the "pijiguao" palm is at its best time.

If a Guaika family wants to change its place of residence for another settlement, all of the new "conucos" of this family will be prepared in or near that settlement. Thus, after a few years, this family can spend all of its time in its new place of residence, in the other settlement, if this is desired.

/467 cont./

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.
[241] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in
[482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the house. They may call upon the women to help them when the game has been brought into the vicinity.

[226] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The women fish with macanas and with baskets.

[499] The men build the bridges.

[342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the
[482] settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family. For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own platanos. The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

10:Chagnon E-4,5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

[Introductory, P. iii;]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

000 marriage exchanges with other groups.

*621 *628 613 The weakness of kinship[1]

Few institutions promote solidarity between the local lineages of a village on the one hand and between *602 *628 allied villages on the other. Consanguineal kinship ties are weak; so weak, that the most bitter fighting usually takes place between villages comprised of closely related *621 622 578 kinsmen. The roles of leaders are poorly defined, and headmen can rarely reconcile dissident factions within their own *621 villages. Moreover, there are a number of factors constantly *578 [628] threatening the stability of local groups, and these factors likewise weaken political relationships between allied villages. Within villages fighting frequently breaks out [411] over food thefts and over sexual liaisons. In the latter * [241] case the fighting takes the form of dueling with clubs, and [361] usually the result is that the village splits; one of the factions establishes a garden elsewhere and becomes an independent village. As the histories of selected villages *361 *621 will show (see below, Chapter 5), the settlement pattern of Yanomamö villages is cyclical; it results from the splitting of larger villages, the renewed growth of the splinter groups into large villages, followed by recurrent splitting *621 and growth ad infinitum. Kinship as a medium for promoting 602 solidarity within villages loses its efficacy when villages

---

[1] It is difficult to discuss each variable affecting marriage alliances as operating by itself, for they are intimately interconnected, and I list them separately only to point out their major features.

121 have a prescriptive marriage system. What the Purum say they do and what they actually do are two distinct things.

*621 578 922 As I mentioned above, after Yąnomamö villages reach a certain, critical size, they tend to fragment into smaller groups. The internal tensions that promote this instability are to some extent offset by external military pressures: members of a faction within a larger village may want to establish their own independent village to avoid club-fighting and to suppress more severe forms of violence; but if their village is being raided by members of other villages, [241] it may be impossible for them to do so. Occasionally a village splits into several factions, each establishing its own garden apart from the other, but the factions are forced *621 *628 722 583 582 578 [602] to reunite because of raids mounted by other groups. Generally, the process of village splitting precludes a later recombination of the same factions because these remain hostile to each other. Thus, the small, vulnerable villages that result from the fragmentation of a larger village are constrained to make marriage alliances with other villages, both to insure military assistance and because it is difficult to obtain women from their kinsmen with whom they are now at war. Village size and the balance of marriage exchanges between villages indicate that numerically weak villages are *621 *628 722 583 582 438 coerced by their stronger partners to give up women. In some cases, the disposition of desirable trade goods may affect the balance in the exchange of women between two villages. In general it may be said that, when one village

621 cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are
593 brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number
152 of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly
602 brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data, the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is
536 not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel
579 husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to split.

181 Ideological considerations, therefore, promote
152 friction and fighting within villages and lead to village
621 splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek
602 marriage alliances with other groups.
583
582

Economic practices

361 Local groups abandon residential and horticultural
241 sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of
722 their enemies. For the most part, the Yąnomamö are able to predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance
621 from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop
578 within the village and it is expected that these will
241

escalate, the factions involved usually use the interlude between a club-fight and actual killings to establish separate gardens.

Occasionally, however, a village suddenly becomes embroiled in a war that it has not expected, or fighting within the village immediately involves shooting to kill. Then the only recourse for the group is to take refuge with an ally and subsist on the produce of the ally's garden. If the critical situation develops out of an intra-village dispute, the smaller of the contesting factions is forced to flee to another village where it has friends or relatives.

If all the members of a village are forced to take refuge in another village, they proceed to make their own garden apart from that of their hosts; then, when the garden begins to produce, the refugee group moves to that site to live. They do this because the price of protection is always measurable in terms of the hosts' demanding access to the women of the guests, either as spouses for their own men or simply as temporary sexual partners.

Twice during the lifetime of my oldest Bisaasi-tedi informants their group was obliged to flee to an allied village to escape the raids of powerful neighbors, raids that resulted from the development of intensive hostilities before the group could establish a new garden of its own elsewhere. On both occasions the refugees lost a number of women to their protectors, and in neither case did they receive wives in return. Indeed, on the second occasion, the hosts planned

to kill all the male guests and to abduct the women, but the hosts themselves unexpectedly became involved in a war and required the aid of their guests.

Yąnomamö dependency on cultivated foods, then, promotes political alliances with other villages; the warfare pattern is such that the members of a village may have to flee from their site to avoid the raids of their enemies. If they have not had time to establish a new garden, they need the support of an ally until they are able to support themselves.

.-.-.-.-.-.

The variables that affect Yąnomamö marriage practices are numerous and diverse and combine with each other in complex ways. I shall show in the chapters that follow how these variables actually affect Yąnomamö marriage practices. At this juncture the point to be made is that Yąnomamö social practice in real life can not be completely isomorphic with the stated marriage preferences because the milieu within which marriages take place simply precludes such a neat fit. A functional, rather than a structural analysis seems to be demanded by the nature of the variables in question. I shall also show the degree to which we can predict actual marriage behavior, given specific information about the variables.

Finally, I should add that the Yąnomamö constitute a significant case for ethnological inquiry: this society offers

351 large entrance, that leading to the river or stream. All entrances are covered with dry leaves and brush in the evening and the slightest movement of the covering creates sufficient noise to alert the dogs.

133 [137] The Yąnomamö occupy a relatively homogeneous geographical region of low-lying tropical jungle interrupted by densely-wooded hills that sometimes reach an altitude of 2,500 feet, some 2,000 feet above the elevation of the general

361 [133] [484] terrain. Larger hills are more common in the headwaters of the Orinoco and along the boundaries separating Brazil from Venezuela, but the Indians prefer to make their villages in the lowlands on small streams, as all of their travelling is

[179] done on foot. Only recently have the Yąnomamö begun moving to the larger rivers, where they may obtain canoes and steel tools from foreigners. In 1950 there was only one Yąnomamö village, Mahekodo-tedi, on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River; since then at least seven or eight villages have moved to the Orinoco or one of its larger tributaries in order to gain access to trade goods (axes and machetes) foreign to their culture. The overwhelming number of Yąnomamö villages,

[221] [184] however, can only be reached by walking to them. During the wet season (April-September) travel all but ceases between villages because the trails linking villages are inundated.

• 241 The Yąnomamö are slash-and-burn horticulturists, subsisting mainly on plantains and bananas, of which they cultivate four or five varieties each. Following these crops in economic importance are several root crops, including taro,

241 sweet-potatoes, bitter and sweet yucca (manioc), and two varieties of another root crop known in Venezuela as mapuey. Next in importance is the seasonal crop of peach palm fruits (pijiguao), groves of which are cultivated by the Yąnomamö. Contrary to some accounts, the Yąnomamö never collect this crop from wild trees, although they do return to abandoned gardens to collect the fruit. Other economically significant crops include maize, sugar cane, papaya, pineapples, avocados, peppers and gourds. Also grown are cotton, tobacco, arrow cane, drugs, pigment (bixa), and a large assortment of plants used for magical purposes only. Both their feasting practices and their warfare pattern[1] stimulate the Yąnomamö to grow more than they require for subsistence purposes alone.

241 361 Occasionally the gardens of a particular village may have a preponderance of yucca (manioc) and maize as compared to plantains and bananas. This is usually the result of the distance between the last occupied site and the new one; it is easier to carry seeds and cuttings of maize and yucca than the heavier plantain and banana shoots, and a village that moves any distance usually establishes its new garden largely from cuttings and seeds of these plants taken from the old garden. Eventually, however, the plantains and bananas spread, and a mature garden will always have a preponderance of these crops, the preferred staple of Yąnomamö diet.

222 Wild palm fruits are important additions to the diet

---

[1] The Yąnomamö are occasionally obliged to take in refugee members of an allied village, and they plan their gardens accordingly.

10xChagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

222 in particular seasons; the most important are manaca, seje, moriche and yagua. The hearts as well as the fruits are eaten, and the Indians usually return to trees they have felled to collect the large, fat, white grubs that mature in the decayed pith. In general, a great deal of energy goes into the collection of these palm fruits in proportion to the caloric return and, even during the peak of the wild fruit harvest, the Yąnomamö still depend heavily on their cultivated foods.

224 Two kinds of hunting techniques provide the Yąnomamö with most of their meat; the occasional kills made by their dogs provide the rest. The first, called rama, is the desultory individual hunting that goes on around the villages. These hunts rarely last more than one day. The second kind of hunting, called heniyomou, involves as many as a dozen hunters who set up a temporary camp a day's walk or more away from the village and use it as the base of operations. This kind of hunting may last five days or more and occurs immediately before a feast, as the etiquette of feasting requires that guests be given fresh meat to eat on their way home after the feast.

Game animals most commonly taken include several species of monkeys, two species of wild pig, tapir, armadillo, agouti, anteaters, wild turkeys, and a small alligator-like reptile (babilla, Spanish). Other game animals taken with less enthusiasm and less frequency include deer, turtles, parrots, snakes, capibara, guinea-hens and a large rodent (lapa, Spanish).

000(lapa, Spanish).

222 The collection of small fruits, spiders, ant grubs, wild honey, crabs, mushrooms and fish also contributes variety to the Yąnomamö diet.

24 Cultivated foods contribute the greater proportion
269 of calories to the Yąnomamö diet, probably upwards of 85%,
[146] although this figure would vary seasonally. Again, those
(177) Yąnomamö villages living close to Makiritare settlements cultivate much more yucca (manioc) than platanos, refining it in some cases to meal as do the Makiritares. Elsewhere
[152] the Yąnomamö eat their yucca roasted or boiled or make cassave bread by a technique quite distinct from that employed by the Makiritare.

722 Yąnomamö material culture is very much attenuated by
[422] comparison with, for example, Makiritare. The Yąnomamö like to limit their possessions to an amount that is readily transported by the women, because the entire village may be obliged at any given moment to abandon its site to avoid raiders, or may be invited to a feast at another village.
[422] They do not like to leave possessions in their village when
[574] they leave it, as visitors from other villages would take them. And, their warfare pattern precludes the possibility of leaving a few people behind to guard the village, as they
[361] would be easily overwhelmed by a raiding party. When just a portion of the village leaves to visit another group, those that stay behind move into the jungle some distance from the village and live in well-concealed huts until their co-

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the [101] entire group has already decided to undertake. His major function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable [527 574 439] task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often supervises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [527 241] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food [578 621 629] given away during the feast. During club-fights within the village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

629 92 554 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

114 initiated their work among this group, in Zerries' words, ". . . to come a step closer to the problem of the world's oldest cultural layer of the hunter and collector."[1] On arriving at Mahekodo-tedi, however, Zerries was surprised to discover that the Yąnomamö were not in fact hunters and gatherers, but horticulturists:

> To our great surprise we were obliged to conclude right from the start of our investigations that the Waika are above all dependent on the cultivation of the plantain (platano) to a considerable degree. (1958:177. My translation.)

114 Although Zerries acknowledges the current horti-
174 cultural status of the Yąnomamö, his work is frequently
224 characterized by attempts to portray the Yąnomamö as hunting
222 and gathering people who have only recently adopted culti-
241 vation and are still in transition from a pure hunting and gathering stage to a purely horticultural one. Thus, Zerries argues that the Yąnomamö divide their year into seasons fixed by the ripening of individual species of wild fruits (which I have not been able to verify), implies that peach palm (pijiguao) was recently a collected rather than a cultivated fruit, describes the Yąnomamö settlement pattern and annual cycle as half-nomadic or semi-nomadic, and generally emphasizes the role of hunting and collecting in determining the cultural status of the Yąnomamö in South American culture history, all of which detract, I believe, from an understanding of their culture as it exists at the present time and probably has

---

[1] 1964:1. My translation.

existed for the past several hundred years. At many points the data used by Zerries to infer that they were until recently hunters and gatherers lend themselves to other interpretations:

> Finally, the Waika connect the general word for food, "ni," with the word for archery, "niai," out of which results that in their conceptual world, subsistence itself in the last analysis results from hunting--which is symptomatic of the way of life of the hunting and gathering heritage of the Waika. (1958:180. My translation.)

The word nii (not ni) usually refers to vegetable food, most of which is cultivated by the Yąnomamö and generally does not include meat. The word for the latter, yąro, conversely, does not apply to vegetable food. Again, there are two words to describe hunger; ohi refers to that kind of hunger that can be satisfied by eating vegetable food, whereas naiiki is a kind of hunger that can only be satisfied by eating meat or fish. And, it is possible for individuals not to be ohi but be naiiki. One could easily argue that subsistence and cultivation are intimately linked, as their word for one form of hunger (ohi) is similar to their word for taro: ohina. The similarity, then, between the word for archery (niaö) and vegetable food (nii, not ni) tells us nothing about the cultural status of the Yąnomamö either in the past or at the present.

In general, Zerries' data are excellent and his conclusions sound; and his major work (1964) will remain the basic ethnographic source on the Yąnomamö for many years.

The Frobenius Expedition was followed by the work of

726 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time in-
114 volved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

*621 628 837 578 721 [241] When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 726 722 241 36 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare necessitates the formation of political alliances with other groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

---

[241] [36] [171] [128] [1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory. In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

these situations[1] by establishing new gardens as new wars develop; occasionally, however, the wars take on unpredictable intensity before new gardens can be established, and the members of the villages concerned necessarily seek refuge with their allies.

To the Yąnomamö, gardens (hikari) are the fount of subsistence. They acknowledge the relationship between chronic warfare and village relocation by being constantly on the lookout for new lands to settle. Men are always discussing the agricultural merits of the forested areas in which they hunt, and most new sites are selected on the basis of information collected by hunters. Thus, when the Namowei-tedi split up at Patanowä-tëka, the Bisaasi-tedi faction moved to Shįhota, an area they knew well because they customarily hunted there.[2] In 1965 the Monou-tedi cleared a new garden at Moyanabŏwei for the same reason. I accompanied hunting parties from Bisaasi-tedi on several occastions to new areas not normally frequented by these hunters, and the topic of agriculture invariably came up during the evening résumé of the day's experiences.

Other factors besides density of jungle, type of floral association, and general topography are considered by

[1] They avoid these situations because the hosts usually demand either sexual access to the women of the refugees, or wives for their bachelors. The refugees, of course, are reluctant to do either, but are frequently obliged to do both. The cost of the alliance, once again, is measured in terms of women lost.

[2] See Map C, and Chapter 5.

*628 361 • 241 the Yąnomamö when they make new gardens. The relative location of friendly and hostile villages with respect to the new site is very important. The Monou-tedi moved west in 1965, clearing their new site in the direction away from their major enemies, the PatanowĒ-tedi. Their allies, the Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi and the Reyabobǫwei-tedi, lived to their west. Furthermore, their old enemies, the MǫwĒraoba-tedi and Iwahikoroba-tedi, lived to their southeast, a direction the Monou-tedi wished to avoid. Finally, by moving to the west, the Monou-tedi crossed a large river (Mavaca), a natural barrier that would interfere with the retreat of raiding parties that initiated in the east.

361 241 245 Another factor influences the choice of site when the members of a village must abandon their existing garden: the location of a previously cultivated site. Old gardens are desirable sites because they continue to produce peach palm long after they are deserted. As the fruit of this palm seasonally provides an important and desirable addition to the diet of the Yąnomamö, they prefer to move into an old garden rather than start a new peach palm grove from seedlings. The Yąnomamö frequently return to their old, abandoned sites 361 241 245 in order to harvest the peach palm crop. This is usually a dangerous undertaking, as their old enemies are also aware of 114 *628 the fruit, and exploit it themselves. In February 1965 I accompanied a group of Bisaasi-tedi men to BarawĒ-tĒka,[1]

[1]See Map C, and Chapter 5.

361
241
295
114
628

abandoned in about 1959, to harvest the peach palm of that garden. We approached the site with great caution lest we run into a group of Patanowä-tedi. We discovered that somebody, probably the Patanowä-tedi, had beaten us to the garden and harvested the fruit.

789
36
241
628

During 1965 raids were so intense on the Patanowä-tedi that they were forced to abandon their site at Patanowä-tëka. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi predicted that the Patanowä-tedi would make their new site at one of two possible locations: Shihota or Shamata, two abandoned gardens. Their predictions were right on both counts, for the Patanowä-tedi began utilizing both sites because peach palm was to be found at either. By occupying two sites, the Patanowä-tedi were also better able to avoid their enemies by moving frequently from one to the other.

The several variables to be considered in re-locating villages during especially hostile wars may be briefly summarized: (1) the members of a village will make their new garden site in a direction away from their major enemy; (2) if the members of a village have allies, they tend to make their new garden in the direction of these allies, provided that the direction brings them no closer to their enemies; (3) if abandoned villages whose gardens contain producing groves of peach palm are to be found in a suitable direction from the old site, these will be the ideal choices for new garden sites.

The cultivation practices of the Monou-tedi in 1965

illustrate how village shifts are related to warfare, and how foresight in establishing new gardens serves to facilitate village movement in anticipation of wars. The Monou-tedi planned to raid the PatanowÃ-tedi after the latter had recovered five of the seven women abducted by the Monou-tedi in November 1964. The Monou-tedi, of course, expected to be raided in turn by the PatanowÃ-tedi, so they began making a new garden in a direction away from their enemies, anticipating the revenge raids they knew would follow. In short, the Monou-tedi prepared for the war by initiating work on a new garden in a more defensible area--closer to their allies and across a large river--an action they hoped would permit them to remain completely independent of the largesse of their allies.

The graded violence pattern[1] of the YąnomamÖ may be viewed from the standpoint that such a pattern facilitates the establishment of new gardens while villages split. Thus, grievances may be temporarily settled by club-fighting, and the estranged factions may utilize the interval between club fighting and more violent hostilities to establish new gardens. This is also consistent with the political philosophy of the YąnomamÖ: chest pounding duels and club fights function to permit the aggrieved to demonstrate their ferocity in acts of violence, while the existence of several levels of

[1]The forms of fighting, in increasing degree of violence, are: side-slapping duels, chest-pounding duels, slapping of either the side or the chest with the flat side of a machete, club-fighting duels, spear-fighting duels, raiding with the tactic of ambush, and treacherous feasts. I have discussed this pattern elsewhere. Chagnon, 1967.

578 violence simultaneously permits the expression of hostility
*621
• 241 in such a way that the groups can split from each other on
182 relatively peaceful terms. The particular form of violence
152 employed in settling grievances is determined by a number of considerations, one of which is the likelihood that the resulting factions will be victimized by the raids of a powerful
578 enemy. Thus, in the splitting of villages, the gradations in
*621
*628 forms of violence permit of settlement patterns suited to
241 given military situations. Villages torn by internal con-
361
722 flicts may find it easier to split into two relatively peaceful
182 factions and remain geographically close to each other. In
152 this way, they can reunite into a single unit should either be attacked. Conversely, the violence pattern may also facilitate the separation of a large village into hostile groups that have no intention of reuniting: it permits suitable means for the temporary solution of a feud that will be carried to further ends after the two groups have separate gardens. The separation of the Monou-tedi from the Bisaasi-tedi is an example of the former, and the separation, at an earlier date, of both of these groups from the Patanowã-tedi is an example of the latter. Thus, while the bellicose behavior and values constrain co-residential groups to respond violently to affronts perpetrated on them by their co-villagers, their agricultural requirements can be accomodated by a graded system of violence that permits temporary solutions, albeit violent, while new gardens are cleared by the principals in a feud.

726 +628 knowing that they would not be raided in return; the Patanowä-tedi simply could not conduct the war on that immense a scale. The participation of these peripheral villages in the war against the Patanowä-tedi conferred three advantages on them. First, the probability was good that they would benefit materially in the raiding by capturing women. Secondly, they demonstrated their solidarity to their allies at little cost or danger to themselves, thereby putting these allies under obligation to reciprocate the favor at a later time. Finally, the peripheral villages were able to demonstrate their ferocity to their neighbors by going to war, although the danger to themselves was almost negligible. In total, about a dozen villages began raiding the Patanowä-tedi in mid 1965, forcing them to abandon their garden before they could establish a new one elsewhere. The Patanowä-tedi had no alternative but to take refuge in the village of their allies, the Ashadowä-tedi. Without the aid of the Ashadowä-tedi, the Patanowä-tedi would have been forced to colonize from their single site and sustain very heavy losses from the incessant raids of their enemies. As the situation turned out, the Patanowä-tedi lost a large number of people in the raiding, despite having this ally, but the losses would have been much heavier without them.

726 +628 36 241

162 562 [847] [83]

Summary

The practice of female infanticide leads to a shortage of women. The Yanomamö attempt to overcome the shortage,

162 562 83 sexually, by the practices of sodomy, wife sharing, incest, and permitted affairs. However, two ways in which the problem 162 562 583 847 721 7122 *628 is resolved--clandestine affairs within villages and raiding to abduct women between villages--create political situations that favor the development of political alliances for the purposes of defense. Since these involve the transfer of women between the allies, the practice of female infanticide constitutes a functional component in the marriage alliance system.

*621 +628 578 241 7122 The process of village splitting, growing out of feuds over women, results in the establishment of small, militarily vulnerable villages. The timing of the split is conditioned by the agricultural requirements of the village on the one hand, and the nature of its politico-military relationships with other villages on the other. The graded system of violence permits flexibility in the settlement pattern and the precise conditions of a village split. Because the Yanomamö rely heavily on cultivated foods, alliances may be interpreted as an attempt to maximize the chances of survival of groups of kinsmen as independent groups; the possibility always exists that a given group may be forced by its enemies to seek protection and provisions in the village of an ally.

174 175 *628 *621 descent back to Shamatari ancestors. Shihowä-tedi and its splinter village, Mokayäaba-tedi, were two Shamatari allies of the Namowei-tedi in this period of the latter's history.

174 175 *628 721 583 The Namowei-tedi got into a war with a cluster of villages allied to Obotawä-tedi over a woman from the latter village. The woman joined the Namowei-tedi against the wishes of her own people. This led to a club fight between the two groups and, later, to a shooting war. Obotawä-tedi recruited aid from their allies, the Bokoiwä-Urihi-tedi, Boreta-tedi, and Aramata-tedi while the Namowei-tedi were supported by the two Shamatari villages mentioned above. A number of men from each of the two groups were killed in the raiding that developed and several Namowei-tedi women were abducted. Obotawä-

174 175 *628 721 241 722 tedi and their allies forced Namowei-tedi to abandon their garden and take refuge with the Wareta-tedi, a group that had just abandoned the area (ca. 1890-1900) occupied by the Namowei-tedi because of a war with the Boreta-tedi. As the Namowei-tedi had not had time to make a new garden when the raiding became intense enough to force them to move, they moved into the village of Wareta-tedi and lived off the produce of the latter's garden.

Area 2: Wareta-tedi

174 *628 726 The residents of Wareta-tedi had their own war with Shihowä-tedi when they were joined by the Namowei-tedi, but were on friendly terms with Husirawä-urihi-tedi, a village

000 to their north. The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowä,

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowä, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Husirawä's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowä and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowä-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-kähö--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakö), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hahoyaoba-täka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hahoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasaböwä-tedi and Ashadowä-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The new garden at Hahoyaoba-tedi did not produce satisfactorily so the Namowei-tedi established a new one south of the Orinoco River, Patanowä-täka, and moved there about 1925-30.[1]

Area 5: Patanowä-täka

This site has a complicated history. The Namowei-tedi lived here as one group, abandoned it, split into two villages, and each faction returned to it only to abandon it again. Ultimately the site was reoccupied by one of these factions, and that faction presently lives there.

Most of the present generation of adults in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi were born at Patanowä-täka.

Three important events took place while the Namowei-tedi lived at Patanowä-täka. The first of these was the development of hostilities between the Namowei-tedi and a Shamatari village. As this Shamatari village figures prominently in the later history of one faction of the Namowei-tedi, I make a point of identifying it here: Sibarariwä's village, located on the Mavaca River. The approximate date of the initiation of these hostilities was 1938-40, an estimate based on the ages of older children born at Patanowä-täka of women abducted from Sibarariwä's village. Up to the start of the war with Sibarariwä's group, the Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with all of the Shamatari villages and visited a number of them regularly. Several marriage

[1]This is the only case I have of a garden being abandoned for soil fertility reasons.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was
*628 living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service.
73 The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many
92 women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-
(583) tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Hekurama, and Hikarima) and the Patanowë-tedi (Ishinarima, Rubrobemi, Rǫkuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in Patanowë-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

174 (2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions,
*62 each making a new garden further up the Shanishani-u River and
578 abandoned Patanowë-tëka. The move was stimulated by the fre-
36 quency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were
• 24 always fighting with each other," said one of my informants,
(195) "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at Patanowë-tëka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but

174 the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller
36 (Brararabõwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fear-
*628 ing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

and returned to Patanowë-tëka. A segment of the group that returned to Patanowë-tëka immediately began making a new garden (Shihota) about a day's walk to the west of Patanowë-tëka, anticipating that further hostilities with the Wanidima group would develop. Within a year of the club fight the Wanidima group attacked the group at Patanowë-tëka while the latter were having a feast, but the raiders' arrows missed their marks and no one was injured. The group at Patanowë-tëka abandoned their village and rejoined their agnates at the latter's new garden, Shihota-tëka, whence they began raiding the Wanidima-tedi. On one raid the group from Shihota found Wanidima-tedi deserted and followed the trail the villagers had taken. The Wanidima-tedi were found at Hasaböwë-tedi, feasting. The raiders killed one of the Wanidima-tedi men, but in doing so angered both the Hasaböwë-tedi and their cognate group, the Ashadowë-tedi.

With the aid of the last two villages, the Wanidima-tedi raided the Shihota-tedi and killed a younger brother of Makuwë. The Shihota-tedi reciprocated by raiding the Wanidima-tedi, killing Husiwë (Nabëyoma's husband), Hoari, and Siayeikema. This in turn was followed by raids from the Wanidima-tedi in which the Shihota-tedi lost Ushuenawë and the two younger brothers of Paruriwë, and had one of their women, Buhiomi, seized.

Eventually the superior numbers of the Wanidima-tedi and their allies decided the fighting, and the Shihota-tedi were forced to abandon their garden and make a new one elsewhere.

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tëka to Kreibëwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawë and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowë-tëka, and became known as the Patanowë-tedi.

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawë-tedi and Kashorawë-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawë, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowë-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowë-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawë-tedi visited Patanowë-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowë-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawë-tedi. Hasabëwë-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowë-tedi and Yabitawë-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

[Kaaowei-tedi Group]

174 men for the Kreibŏwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari,
175
729 and a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi managed to escape.
[729] These fled to a mountain called Wadubadidiobakĕkŏ where
[103]
• [241] they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-tĕka.
[752] Here, the Kreibŏwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreibŏwei-tĕka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly
• [628] after the treacherous feast the Kreibŏwei-tedi were visited by Shinanokawĕ, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the Kreibŏwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

174
175 Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreibŏwei-tedi
721 undertook a revenge raid against Riakowĕ's group. They
• 628 killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collecting
361 their women and children at Kreibŏwei-tĕka as they proceeded from Riakowĕ's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was early in 1951.

174
175 For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreibŏwei-tedi
361 worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi
241 at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more
• 621 plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before Kobou-tĕka was producing, however, the Kreibŏwei-tedi decided

to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There had been a number of club fights between the two factions over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started (Monou-tĕka and Barawĕ-tĕka) before the Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other considerations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here that considerable fighting took place among the men when the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to the survivors.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as they could. It was rumored that their protectors were planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women. This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed the Kreibŏwei-tedi several years later of the details of the plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariwĕ-tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that the Kreibŏwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the two men killed by the Kreibŏwei-tedi after the treacherous feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

Area 9: Kobou-tika

The Kreibŏwei-tedi parted with their protectors as soon as this garden began producing. They lived at this site only long enough to complete their two new gardens at Monou and Barawä, moving into the latter when they, in turn, began producing. "Kobou" in Yąnomamŏ means "let it go at that," or, in more vernacular terms, "to hell with that garden." Kobou was abandoned shortly after it was made, having served as a temporary base for the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they completed their split. It would not have been necessary to complete the splitting of the village by making two new gardens had there been no war with the Shamatari. But, as one faction of the group made their garden elsewhere, the others were reluctant to remain at Kobou and bear the brunt of the revenge raids from the Shamatari. Thus, they too made a new garden. Again, it would not have been necessary to make Kobou-tika had Mahekodo-tedi been a dependable ally. But as the Kreibŏwei-tedi suspected that their erstwhile protectors were plotting against them, they followed that course of action most expedient at the time. As they had already started Kobou, it was simply more practicable to complete that garden and move out of Mahekodo-tedi as soon as possible, rather than begin making two gardens and delay their move until these gardens began producing.

Areas 10 and 11: Monou-tedi and Barawä-tedi

After separating into two groups the Kreibŏwei-tedi

remained on good terms with each other. Their split occurred in 1954, perhaps a year earlier.

When I initiated my field work in 1964 Monou-tëka was still occupied, but its population, the Monou-tedi, was in the process of making a new garden (Moyanabŏwei) west of Monou to avoid the raids of the Patanowë-tedi, with whom they had entered into a new war in 1964.

The faction that moved to Barawë remained at that site about five years. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River, taking the name Bisaasi-tedi, in 1959, splitting into two villages, each located on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. By 1958 the Venezuelan Government had initiated a malaria-control program in this area of Amazonas and had established a small field station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Venezuelans associated with this field station invited the Barawë-tedi to move to the Mavaca River; the Indians accepted the invitation, hoping to gain access to steel tools. This was the beginning of contact with outsiders for the Kreibŏwei-tedi; prior to 1959 the only foreigners they had known were the missionary at Mahekodo-tedi, James P. Barker, and the members of the Frobenius Institute Expedition, Meinhard Schuster and Otto Zerries, who they visited occasionally at Mahekodo-tedi.

Area 12: Bisaasi-tedi

The Bisaasi-tedi began friendly contacts with a Shamatari village, Paruritawë-tedi, after they moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River.

[Paruritawë-tedi Group]

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari village histories are more complicated than the one outlined for the Namowei-tedi. This stems from the fact that the Shamatari villages had reached a large size by 1900 and began splitting into smaller groups earlier, in terms of the data I collected, than did the Namowei-tedi. In other words, the splitting that characterized Namowei-tedi's population from about 1940 to 1955 was occurring in the Shamatari population in 1900. Although I do not have census data on the numerous Shamatari villages that subsequently emerged from the two initial groups, I suspect that the numbers of people involved are significantly larger for the Shamatari village histories. Two factors seem to be the cause of this phenomenon. First, the Shamatari villages had access to steel tools in considerable numbers before Namowei-tedi's ancestral population did; my informants asserted that their first source of steel tools was the group called Shihowë-tedi. Presumably the size of the populations involved is a function of their agricultural potentials, and the Shamatari apparently expanded earlier than the Namowei-tedi because they had access to steel tools sooner. Secondly, the Shamatari population expanded unopposed into virgin territory, whereas the Namowei-tedi expanded into territory already occupied by other Yąnomamö; it is significant to note that when the Namowei-tedi ultimately moved into unoccupied territory, their population seems to have increased, and the first split occurred only after virgin territory was colonized.[1]

[1] I am unable to explain how this affects demographic variables, but my data suggest that Yąnomamö populations expand more rapidly when they colonize virgin land.

Matakuwë's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors were absorbed by other villages.

Finally, Matakuwë and his group separated from Orakawë and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Mavaca basin. The group that remained at Shirakoböwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakuwë and his followers separated from Orakawë's group for two reasons. First, Matakuwë decided to support Karehewë in the dispute over the death of a member of the latter's group. Secondly, Matakuwë and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shihowë-tedi, who continued to harrass them. By taking the side of Karehewë, Matakuwë and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawë's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

Area 3: Boraböwei

Matakuwë and his followers moved here about 1910. Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi, forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a number of years Matakuwë's group lived alternatively between these two sites. Another garden was established at Kaurewë after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Boraböwei, and Matakuwë's group fled to Kayurewë, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives they claimed, was that the Patanowä-tedi had to move frequently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the Patanowä-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense. It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consanguineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

The war between Monou-tedi and Patanowä-tedi

After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of Patanowä in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi began visiting Patanowä-tedi, and one of them, Torokoiwä, was given two wives by the Patanowä-tedi. The rapprochement, however, was never effected and the political relationships between

628 721 the Patanowä-tedi for managing to overwhelm their own force led them to declare war on the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi 782 241 immediately began making a new garden at Moyenaböwei, across 726 the Mavaca River from their village and several hours inland, anticipating the war that they knew would follow. After they had cleared the large trees from their new garden site, they raided the Patanowä-tedi in the last week of January 1965, and succeeded in killing Bosibrei.

727 581 582 593 628 Another important event took place while the Monou-tedi were clearing the trees from their new garden site, an event that illustrates the same principle of political philosophy. One of the stolen women, Kakoma, was given to a young man, Karidimö, who had only one leg. Karidimö could not do heavy work, and when his village moved inland to clear their new site Karidimö moved to Bisaasi-tedi with his new wife. Kakoma, however, was not pleased with her new husband, and asked the Bisaasi-tedi if she could stay with them, hoping that she would be permitted to rejoin the Patanowä-tedi if they returned to Bisaasi-tedi to visit. The Bisaasi-tedi men obligingly took her away from Karidimö by force and gave her to a bachelor in their own village. Karidimö, enraged at this, returned to Monou-tedi to recruit aid.

628 721 578 This put the Monou-tedi in a difficult position. They were planning to raid the Patanowä-tedi and would have to maintain good relations with the Bisaasi-tedi if the revenge raids from the Patanowä-tedi became intense. They could not, however, overlook the insult to Karidimö, for this

726 return.

726 G23 36

The Monou-tedi returned to their own village after this raid, angry because their allies refused to prosecute the war more vigorously. They collected food from their garden and moved into their new site at Moyenabŏwei, extending their garden. For the next two months the Monou-tedi lived alternately at Bisaasi-tedi, their old village, and their new garden, to which they carried food from their old one as needed. By now the Patanowĕ-tedi were raiding them frequently to avenge the attack of April 21, and signs of the Patanowĕ-tedi raiders were found numerous times at the old site of Monou-tedi.

[241]

The Patanowĕ-tedi were also moving between several gardens to avoid raids from their enemies. They lived alternately between Patanowĕ-tĕka, with the Ashadowĕ-tedi, and their new garden, Shihota. Moreover, they were actively engaged in another war at the same time. So effective were the Patanowĕ-tedi raids against the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi that, in mid 1965, the latter had to abandon their site south of the Orinoco River and move to the north side near the village of one of their allies, Kashorawĕ-tedi. They made a new garden near Kashorawĕ-tedi and abandoned their old one.

726 The war between the Patanowĕ-tedi and the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi had taken some unusual turns. On one raid in July, the Patanowĕ-tedi fired a volley of arrows into Hasabŏwĕ-tedi's village, killing two women. A few weeks later the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi deliberately waited for a woman, Huhuma, to come out of

121 having such estates, particularly in those societies to
613 which real estate is totally irrelevant. The Yąnomamö
562 corporate estate consists entirely of rights in disposing
421 of female members belonging to that corporation. As such, males and females have different kinds of shares in the corporation. Males, on the average, tend to inherit more rights, while females tend to inherit more duties and obli-
[423] gations. Land to the Yąnomamö is not a scarce item, as they
[341] are pioneer slash-and-burn horticulturists expanding into
[424] virgin territory.[1] Myths, names and ritual functions do not comprise elements in these corporations.[2]

121 It would seem important to distinguish between lineal descent corporations which control property and those which do not, as Befu and Plotnicov (1962) have done. A further distinction, however, seems warranted on the basis of the data presented here: between <u>societies</u> having any corporate groups that control real property and societies that have corporate descent groups, none of which have control over property as their estate. The possession of real estate tends to reinforce the lineality of corporate descent groups in both dogma and composition,[3] and invites the addition of

[184]

[1] This is true of the Mavaca Basin Yąnomamö. Elsewhere the Yąnomamö may not be pioneers, but land is not scare in those areas either.

[2] I am aware that the Yąnomamö have lineally transmitted totems; these have nothing to do with the descent group recruitment or its estate.

[3] See Meggitt, 1965, for an excellent account of the relationship of agnatic kinship, real property, and lineage

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

removed and laid along the ground in the direction of the burrow to measure the distance from the entrance. The men began digging at the end of the vine and located the asphyxiated armadillo on the first attempt.

The jungle provides many other kinds of foods and products too numerous to mention. Some, like vines and lianas, are very useful and commonly employed in basket-making; others, such as edible mushrooms, crabs, pigments, and decorative plant products, are less significant, and exploited only sporadically. Despite the amazing variety of food products to be found in the jungle, however, the Yąnomamö could not exist for any substantial period of time on collected foods only: they rely heavily on their cultivated crops. The tropical forest is much less productive and reliable than one would imagine. The most abundant foods, palm fruits, are seasonal—a group of people could only rely on them for a few months of the year, during which time some 80 group members would have to forage over a wide area to obtain sufficient palm fruits to keep everybody well fed.

Game animals are not abundant, and an area is rapidly hunted out, so that a group must keep constantly on the move. Furthermore, hunting depends as much on luck as it does on skill and is not a very reliable way to supply nourishment. I have gone on five-day hunting trips with the Yąnomamö in areas that had not been hunted for decades, and had we not brought cultivated foods along, we would have been extremely hungry at the end of this time—we did not collect even enough meat to feed ourselves. On other trips, we often managed to collect enough game in one day to feed the entire village.

GARDENING Although the Yąnomamö spend almost as much time hunting as they do gardening, the bulk of their diet comes from foods that are cultivated. Perhaps 85 percent or more of the diet consists of domesticated rather than wild foods—plantains are by far the most important food in the diet.

The Yąnomamö are constantly looking for potential garden sites. When I hunted with them, the topic of conversation that evening would eventually drift over to the merits of the area as a possible site for a new garden. Most new garden sites are, in fact, discovered by hunters.

The land for a new site should not be heavily covered with brush, which is difficult to remove. The larger trees should not be too numerous either, as it takes a good deal of work to chop them down. Ideally, the new site should have very light jungle cover, should be well drained, near a source of drinking water, and relatively free of thorny underbrush. The Yąnomamö call a garden *hikari täka;* jungle that has the potential of being a good garden is likewise called *hikari täka.*

The first operation in making a new garden is to cut the smaller trees and brush; the bigger trees, *kayaba hi,* are left standing until the underbrush is removed. Then the big trees are felled with axes and left lying on the ground to dry out in the sun.

My older informants claimed that they did not have steel tools when they were younger and had to kill the big trees by cutting a ring of bark off around the base of the stump, using a crude stone axe, piling brush around them, and burning them. The trees rarely fell, but the fire usually killed them, and their leaves dropped off, permitting the sunlight to reach the ground.

They also claimed that making a garden was more arduous in those days because a large area would have to be searched for the necessary quantities of kindling used to kill the big trees. Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a newly planted sucker, the more quickly it will bear fruit. Hence, if the Yąnomamö wish to establish a garden that will produce a crop in the shortest period of time, they must plant large cuttings. These can weigh up to 10 pounds each, and transportation of the cuttings becomes a tremendous task.

As will be made clear later, most long moves are usually stimulated by warfare, and the group is under some pressure to establish a new garden as quickly as possible. The Yąnomamö can speed up their schedule of abandoning an area by taking temporary refuge in the village of an ally, by planting crops other than plantains that mature quickly and produce high yields, or by anticipating a serious war and getting an early start on their new garden. When Kąobawä's group was forced to abandon one of its locations because of a war, the group took refuge with an ally and established its new garden near the ally's village. One of the consequences of these factors is that newly established gardens produce their crops in cycles so that there will be periods of plenty interrupted by periods of hunger. After a few years, the garden will mature and produce constantly. The periods of hunger are eased by planting rapidly developing crops such as maize and by working constantly at transplanting the secondary plantain shoots as they appear. Thus, gardening activities vary largely with the relative maturity of the garden and the length of time the people have been living at that site. Once the plantains are producing constantly, other crops are not cultivated as intensively as before. But whatever the Yąnomamö are eating in a given village, they are striving to get their gardens to produce a constant supply of plantains. The fact that a given village may be relying very heavily on maize at some point in time may reflect no more than the fact that the garden is relatively new and the plantains have not yet begun producing constantly.

After a site has been occupied a few years, gardening activities take on a more regular pattern. The "rectum" (*bei kä bosi*) of the garden is gradually abandoned, and a new "nose" (*bei kä hushibö*) is added by clearing adjacent land and transplanting crops. Thus, a garden has a direction—it moves, little by little. Sometimes there will be as many as three or four discrete gardens around a village, all of them producing more or less continuously. The older ones are gradually abandoned because it is simply easier to clear new land than to attempt to weed the thorny underbrush out of the old site. If you have ever attempted to clear prickly brush without wearing protective clothing, you should immediately see the wisdom of the Yąnomamö choice.

In an established garden site, labor follows a more regular pattern. The dry season is usually the time for feasting, visiting, trading, and warfare. Gardening activities are at a minimum at this time of year, but the ambitious will try to work a few hours each day at weeding, transplanting, and burning brush. Most of the heavy labor of felling large trees is restricted to the wet season, when it is cloudy and generally cooler, and the demands of feasting and dancing do not interfere with the work. Still, practical considerations are more important than a fixed schedule of work, and if the gardens are producing insufficient quantities of food, the Yąnomamö will expand their gardens at any time of the year.

GARDEN PRODUCTS Each man's garden contains three or four varieties of both plantains and bananas. The larger portion of the cultivated land will contain plantains, as they produce a higher yield than bananas. The garden will also have a sizeable patch of sweet manioc, a root crop that is boiled or refined into a rough flour by grinding it on a rock and then converting the flour into thick, round cakes of baked cassava bread.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2–7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua härö*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

148
302
291
531
286

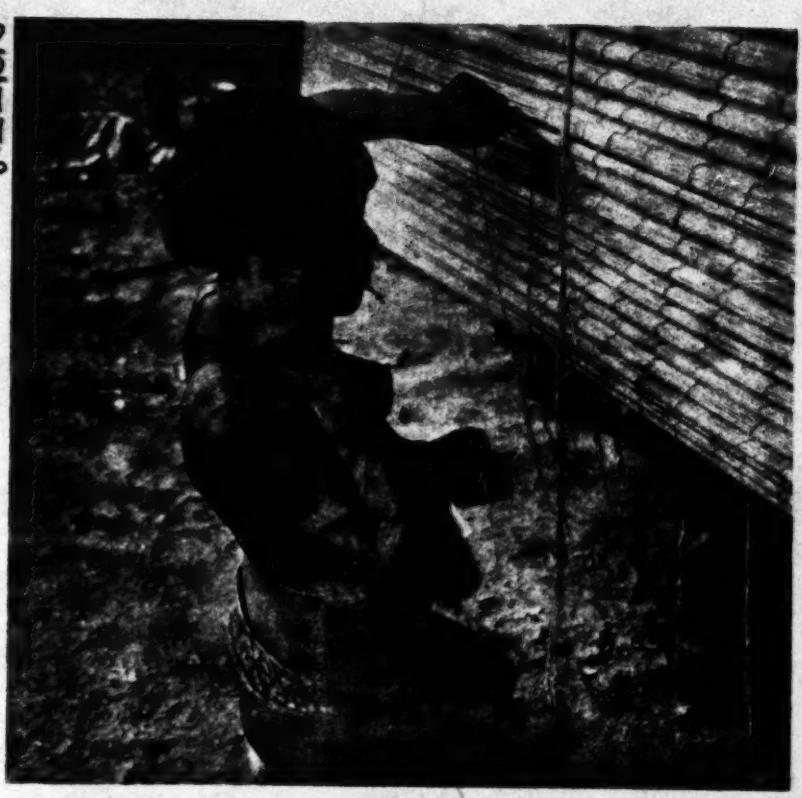


Fig. 2–7. Orastimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

241
254
[829]
[184]

nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

[101]
[14]

[8]The Yanomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xiriana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yanomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waiheŋ*, is a Yanomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yanomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yanomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yanomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yanomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

guishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö. Many wild plants are also said to have magical properties.

CONCLUSION The Yąnomamö have adapted to their jungle environment with a very simple technology. Exploiting both the naturally occurring foods and domesticated crops is relatively easy with this technology, and the resources of both the jungle and the garden provide the people with the two basic necessities of life: food and shelter. Although the resources are extremely varied and numerous, the diet is largely dominated by one food item: plantains. Techniques of manufacturing are so simple and direct that each individual can produce any item he needs from the resources immediately around him. The material aspect of the culture is decidedly rudimentary by comparison with other tropical forest tribes; the Yąnomamö appear to deliberately limit their possessions to an amount that can be easily transported in case the group is obliged to abandon its site on short notice.

Adaptation to the Sociopolitical Environment

The adaptation of the Yąnomamö to their environment can be only partially expressed in terms of how they make a living in the tropical forest with specific kinds of tools, plants, and techniques, for the forest is only one aspect of the external world to which they must adjust. Their adaptation also takes place in a social and political environment. This likewise affects the way in which the Yąnomamö are distributed over the land, how their villages are moved from one location to another, and the kinds of relationships each village has with its neighbors. In short, the Yąnomamö must relate themselves to each other as well as to nature.

ALLIANCES AND VILLAGE SIZE I spoke of the considerations that must be met when a new garden site is selected. However, the area within which the new site is selected is determined almost exclusively by political factors. A Yąnomamö group would remain indefinitely in the area it settled were it not for the threat of raids from warring neighbors. To be sure, the group would move its garden little by little each year, but the general area would be abandoned only if the people were driven out by stronger groups around them. Again, dissident factions of the village might leave the area if a particularly serious fight developed within the group, but because a garden is necessary for the group to survive as a group, the Yąnomamö abandon them only when faced with disaster. To establish a new garden at a great distance from the old one, a Herculean effort is required just to transport the necessary plantain cuttings and seed, not to mention carrying provisions for eating while the work of clearing the garden and planting the crops progresses. Then, since a new garden produces sporadically for the first year, the people are frequently faced with food shortage. They are, therefore, reluctant to sacrifice the predictability of subsistence at the established garden for insecurity, periods of hunger, and hard work at some distant location.

Instead, they develop political alliances with neighboring villages, thereby adjusting to their social environment. The nature of these alliances is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but at this point I will make some general statements about the relationships between villages to show why, on the one hand, the social environment calls forth the alliances, and why on the other hand, when alliances fail, a group must abandon its area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

so frequent that the group elects to fission rather than attempt to keep an uneasy internal peace. Although a larger village has an advantage in terms of its capacity to raid other groups and is better able to defend itself from raids, the internal fights often lead to killings within the group. Then, there is no alternative but for one of the factions to leave. Its members may anticipate a situation like this and begin making a new garden long before the fighting becomes violent enough to lead to deaths, or a fight can develop unexpectedly and result immediately in bloodshed. The guilty faction must then seek refuge in the village of an ally until it can establish its own garden. Usually, however, the larger group fissions while its members are on relatively peaceable terms, and the two resulting villages remain in the same general area so that they can reunite when raids threaten them. This is the situation that prevails between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri; all three have a common history as a single village, but the members of each live in separate villages because of the numerous fights that took place within the group while they were still a single village. They continue, however, to rely on each other for protection when raids threaten. The Monou-teri (see Fig. 2–8), in fact, spent about a third of their time in either Lower Bisaasi-teri or in Kąobawä's group while I conducted my fieldwork. They were being raided by the Patanowä-teri and had not completed the new garden they were making. The Patanowä-teri forced them to abandon their producing site and move west.

The Patanowä-teri themselves were forced to establish a new garden because of the incessant raids by a number of villages. In addition to keeping always on the move between their two gardens, they also sought periodic refuge in the village of one of their own allies, a village two days travel to the south of their primary garden.

The raids against the Patanowä-teri by about a dozen villages illustrate a cardinal strategy of Yąnomamö warfare: attack a group when it is beleaguered and weakened by other enemies. When I first arrived, the Patanowä-teri were fighting only three groups. The Monou-teri then entered into the conflict by abducting a number of women from them, an act that ultimately led to raiding and killing. When the Monou-teri entered the conflict, they also persuaded their own allies to participate, bringing four other villages into the war. These, in turn, were joined by some of their allies so that the total number of belligerent villages rapidly grew to about a dozen. Many of them joined the hostilities because they knew that the Patanowä-teri could not defend themselves against a host of enemies. The new belligerents, therefore, stood a good chance of abducting women while being relatively immune to punitive raids. They could also discharge obligations to their allies by supporting their raids against the Patanowä-teri without exposing themselves to great danger.

In Fig. 2–8 the movements of Kąobawä's village over the past seventy-five years is summarized. The village originated at the site of Konata, occupied prior to 1900 by Kąobawä's grandfather. This site was abandoned because several villages (not indicated on the map) began raiding the people with such frequency that they were forced to flee south, cross the Orinoco River, and take refuge with allies at a place called Wareta. Similarly, Wareta was abandoned because of new wars, so the group again crossed the Orinoco River and settled at Namowei. Here, their old enemies again drove them out of the area, so the group migrated to Hąhoyaoba. Kąobawä was born at this location, some forty years ago. This site was abandoned because the soil in that area was very poor; even to this day, there are no Yąnomamö villages located in that general area.

361 578 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village [101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at that site. Kąobawä's group fled to Shihota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a 361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take 726 temporary refuge in the village of, Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had 721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they *628 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab- [241] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kąobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954, *621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they [721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of [722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again, [101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kąobawä [648] and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to establish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an up- [101] stream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2–8, have a settlement *621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being 578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away 722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more 184 complicated than the history of Kąobawä's group, since village fissioning began much earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2–8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above two groups of villages.

361 Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Mąmariböwei-teri and Reya- [134] boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2–8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the [648] past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by [722] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The [578] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neighbors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yąnomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

villages have a profound effect on the nature of the settlement pattern of Yąnomamö villages, and that this same milieu influences the rate at which larger villages fission into smaller, vulnerable groups.

Finally, I emphasize the importance of cultivation in this pattern of village movement and relocation, particularly in the context of relying on allies. Twice during the history of Kąobawä's group they were obliged to take refuge in the village of an ally. All during my fieldwork the Monou-teri also relied on hospitality of this sort from Kąobawä's group, as they were beleaguered by raids from the Patanowä-teri and had not yet completed their new garden. In short, the fact that the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated food has led to specific obligations between members of allied villages: a good ally is one who will take you in when you are driven from your gardens by enemy raids. The essence of political life, therefore, is to develop stable alliances with neighboring villages so as to create a social network that potentially allows a local group to rely for long periods of time on the gardens of neighboring villages. I will describe the politics of alliance formation in Chapter 4, as it intimately bound up with feasting, trading, and marriage.

Intellectual Environment

The comparative poverty of Yąnomamö material culture is more than compensated for by the richness and complexity of their theological concepts, myths, and legends.

One of the distinctive features of Yąnomamö cosmology and theology is the opportunity it provides for inventiveness. Individuals can and do modify concepts, embellish them, improve on them and, in general, use their imaginations when trafficking in myths or concepts of the soul and afterlife. In short, there is room for thinkers in Yąnomamö culture.

The result of this is that many variants of the same basic myth can be found over a relatively small area. Indeed, each village will contain people who tell the myth a slightly different way; the basic elements remain the same each time, but personal views are interjected and reflect the idiosyncracies of the narrator. The Yąnomamö appear to enjoy these intellectual exercises, for in myth and cosmology they are able to demonstrate their personal abilities as users of their language, the true language of man.

THE COSMOS The Yąnomamö conceive of the external world as having an origin, boundaries, supernatural beings, and a specific nature.

The cosmos is comprised of four parallel layers, lying horizontally and located one on top of the other (see Fig. 2–4b). They are like inverted platters: gently curved, thin, circular, rigid, and having two surfaces, top and bottom.

The uppermost layer is the "tender" plane: *duku kä misi*. At the present time, it is "empty" or "void" (*broke*), but some things had their origins there in the distant past. These moved down to other layers. Today, the uppermost layer is sometimes described as being "an old woman" (*sua pata*), a phrase used to describe an abandoned garden or a female who is no longer capable of producing offspring. This layer does not figure prominently in the everyday life of the Yąnomamö; it is merely something that is there and once had a function.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December–January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yąnomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowä's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawä's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawä and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąobawä's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąobawä's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawä's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawä's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąobawä's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawä and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawä's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąobawä and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16] James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawä and his group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Shararaiwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Shararaiwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Shararaiwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

The beleaguered partner may be obliged to remain in the village of his host for a year or longer, approximately the length of time required to establish a new plantation and productive base from which an independent existence is possible. Twice in the recent history of Kaobawä's group they were driven from their gardens by more powerful enemies and were forced to take refuge in the village of an ally. In each case the group remained with the ally for a year or so, moving away only after their new garden began producing. In both cases, the hosts demanded and received a number of women from Kaobawä's group without reciprocating in kind, a prerogative they exercised from their temporary position of strength. The longer the group takes advantage of a hosts' protection, the higher is the cost in terms of women, so visitors always make an attempt to establish their gardens as quickly as possible and move into them as soon as they begin producing. Without allies, therefore, the members of a village would either have to remain at their single garden and sustain the attacks of their enemies or disband into several smaller groups and join larger villages on a permanent basis, losing many of their women to their protectors. The jungle simply does not produce enough wild foods to sustain larger groups, and the threat of warfare is such that smaller groups would soon be discovered by their enemies and exterminated.

Because of the ever-present risk of being driven from one's garden, therefore, no Yanomamö village can continue to exist as a separate entity without establishing alliances with other groups. Warfare is attended by a bellicose ideology which asserts that strong villages should take advantage of weaker ones and coerce them out of women; to prevent this, all villages should therefore behave as if they were strong. Thus, the military threat creates a situation in which intervillage alliance is desirable, but at the same time spawns a military ideology that inhibits the formation of such alliances: Allies need but cannot trust each other. They are obliged to behave aggressively in order to display their respective strength.

Alliances between villages are the product of a developmental sequence that involves casual trading, mutual feasting, and finally the exchange of women. The most intimate allies are those who, in addition to trading and feasting, exchange women. Any developing alliance may stabilize at the trading or feasting stage without proceeding to the woman-exchange phase. These are weak alliances, but serve to limit the degree of war that might possibly obtain between the villages so related: The Yanomamö tend to avoid attacking those villages with which they trade and feast, unless some specific incident, such as the abduction of a woman, provokes them. Allies that are linked by trade and feasting ties, for example, rarely accuse each other of practicing harmful magic. Allies bound to each other by affinal kinship ties, however, are more interdependent because they are under obligation to each other to continue to exchange women. It is, in fact, by the exchange of women that independent villages extend kinship ties to each other.

Members of allied villages are usually reluctant to take the final step in alliance formation and cede women to their partners, for they are always worried that the latter might not reciprocate as promised. This attitude is especially conspicuous in smaller villages, for their larger partners in defense pressure them into demonstrating their solidarity by ceding women; the strong can and do coerce the weak in Yanomamö politics. The weak, therefore, are compelled to exaggerate their strength by bluff and intimidation and by attempting in general to appear to be stronger, militarily, than they really are, thereby hoping to convince their partners that they are equals, capable of an independent

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

bawä's group arrived. The men of Kąobawä's group danced both singly and en masse and were invited into the homes of their hosts. At this point their hosts fell upon them with axes and staves, killing about a dozen men before the visitors could break through the palisade and escape. Kąobawä's father was among the victims. Once outside, they were shot from ambush by the Möwaraoba-teri, who managed to kill a few more and wound many others with arrows. A number of women and girls were captured by the hosts, though some were later recaptured by Kąobawä's group in revenge raids. It was probably their host's greed for the women that permitted any survivors at all, as my informants asserted that the Iwahikoroba-teri began chasing the women while the men were still vulnerable. A few of the Iwahikoroba-teri refused to participate in the slaughter and even helped some of Kąobawä's group escape.

The survivors fled to Kobou, a site they had begun clearing for a new garden. Here they removed the arrow points and nursed their wounds before reluctantly returning to Kreiböwei, their only producing garden. Kobou was still too new to support the group, and hunger forced them to return to Kreiböwei. As this location was well known to their treacherous allies, they wished to abandon it as soon as possible, knowing that their enemies could easily kill the rest of the men and abduct the remaining women.

Within a week or so of the treacherous feast, the Mahekodo-teri, a visiting ally of Kąobawä's group, learned of the massacre and offered aid. The Mahekodo-teri headman himself visited Kąobawä's village and invited the entire group to his village to take refuge. They accepted the offer, and in January of 1951, after conducting one revenge raid on the enemies, moved to Mahekodo-teri.

The Mahekodo-teri had been allied to Kąobawä's group a generation earlier, but after Kąobawä's group moved away from the Orinoco River, alliance activity had dwindled to just sporadic trading. True to Yąnomamö political behavior, the Mahekodo-teri, being in an obviously stronger bargaining position, offered their protection and aid with gain in mind: they demanded and received a number of their guests' women. Again, the members of Kąobawä's group suspected further treachery from their new protectors and assiduously worked at establishing a new garden. They were forced to stay with the Mahekodo-teri until their new garden could totally support them—about a year. Even during this time, however, they spent weeks on end away from their host's village, carrying their food with them and working on their new plantations. They would return to obtain new food supplies, rest for a few weeks, and leave again. When Mahekodo-teri later split into three factions, Kąobawä and his group learned from one of them the details of a plot in which the Mahekodo-teri were going to kill the men and abduct the women. The only thing that prevented them from doing so was the development of a new war between Mahekodo-teri and another village, one that required the assistance of Kąobawä and his group.

For a few years after the separation from Mahekodo-teri, Kąobawä's group was invited to feast there. Because they suspected that the Mahekodo-teri were plotting against them, however, usually the men alone would attend the feast, thereby reducing the probability of another massacre. The women and children were concealed in the jungle during the time the men were away at the feast. Gradually, the alliance cooled off again and the two groups remained relatively indifferent towards each other, but at peace.

By 1960, Kąobawä's group had regained some of its military strength and had

One of Damowī's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowā-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowā-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowī's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowī outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewī, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowī, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kaobawā and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowī's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowī were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowā-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowī the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowī's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kaobawā, a classificatory brother to Damowī, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowī's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwā, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hor* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage.

Kaobawā delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2] See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-3 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964 1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

burning it, and Kąobawä's village, where they took occasional rests to regain their energy. They returned to their old site only to collect plantains, which they carried to the new site. Kąobawä's group then built a new *shabono* and fortified it, anticipating the war they knew would be inevitable. Up to this point, Kąobawä's group, Upper Bisaasi-teri, maintained two small *shabonos* a few yards apart from each other, but they coalesced into a single, larger group and moved into the new *shabono* when it was completed. The visiting Monou-teri also helped them work on the new structure.

Meanwhile, the Patanowä-teri, knowing that they would be raided by the Monou-teri and their allies, also began clearing a new garden. They selected a site abandoned by Kąobawä's group many years ago, knowing that the peach-palm trees were still producing there. By this time the Patanowä-teri were in rather desperate straits. Their old enemies, the several groups on the Orinoco River, began raiding them with even greater frequency, as they had learned that the Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri were again at war with the Patanowä-teri. A few additional villages began raiding the Patanowä-teri to settle old grudges, realizing that the Patanowä-teri had so many enemies that they could not possibly retaliate against all of them.

The Patanowä-teri then began moving from one location to another, hoping to avoid and confuse their enemies. They spent the dry season in turns at their main producing garden, with the Ashadowä-teri, their only ally, and at their new garden. Each group that raided them passed the word to other villages concerning the location of the Patanowä-teri. If they were not at one place, then they had to be at one of the other two. The raids were frequent and took a heavy toll. At least eight people were killed by raiders, and a number of others were wounded. Some of the dead were women and children, a consequence of the fact that the Patanowä-teri themselves sent a heavy volley of arrows into the village of one of their enemies and killed two women. To revenge this, the enemy began deliberately shooting Patanowä-teri women. Females are normally not the target of raiders' arrows. The Patanowä-teri were raided at least twenty-five times while I conducted my fieldwork. They themselves retaliated as frequently as possible, but could not return tit for tat. They managed to drive their main enemies, the Hasaböwä-teri, away from their garden, forcing them to flee across the Orinoco. They concentrated on raiding this group until they had killed most of the *swaiteri* (fierce ones). They were so successful at doing this that the Hasaböwä-teri ultimately withdrew from the war. Several of my informants claimed that they did so because their fierce ones were all dead, and nobody was interested in prosecuting the war any further.

When the Hasaböwä-teri withdrew from the raiding, the Patanowä-teri then concentrated on raiding the Monou-teri. Every time the Monou-teri returned to their main site they found the tracks of numerous men who had visited the village, tracks that always came from the direction of Patanowä-teri. Consequently, the Monou-teri moved into Kąobawä's group for protection, fearing to return to their old site until the jungle was completely inundated by the rains.

Kąobawä's group resented this somewhat and made no bones about reminding the Monou-teri that they were eating large quantities of food from the gardens. When complaining became intense, the Monou-teri moved into the village of the Lower Bisaasi-teri and lived off their produce until the latter also began to complain. Then they traveled to the Mõmariböwei-teri and lived with them for a while, returning to Kąobawä's village when these allies wearied of the visitors. When the hosts, the Lower

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwä probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen–even Kąobawä–implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowä. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwä's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwä failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwä and his raiders did not locate the Patanowä-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowä-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowä-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowä-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowä-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisaasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisaasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisaasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowä-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisaasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

[P. 138 is blank]

245
137
114
[104]
[184]

/81 cont./
mention such seedless fruits (382).

382. Zerries, moreover, thinks it is possible that among the Waiká the pupunha fruit was the predecessor of the mealy banana (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

244

The cultivation of tubers, which is always done separately from the banana plantings, has hitherto been practiced on only a very modest scale. It includes the cultivation of taioba or taro (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.) -- ohiná -- (383), cará or yams (Dioscorea

383. Among the Waiká the corresponding name is "ohina" (Zerries, 1956b p. 153).

sp.) -- cabiromá -- sweet manioc, known in Brazil as macaxeira aipim or mandioca doce (Manihot palmata Muell. Arg.) -- mihitarima -- bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima Pohl) -- kuamirimakóke --, and sweet potatoes (Ipomoea batatas Lam.) -- hikarí -- (384). Worth mentioning

249
243

384. The Waiká call the sweet potato "higali" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

also are the sugar cane plantings (sugar cane (Saccharum officinale) -- bukí -- (385)) and the absence of maize (386).

385. The Waiká have the same word for sugar cane (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

[184]

386. Zerries, to be sure, found evidence of its cultivation by the Waiká. But, he adds, maize "is little more than a rare delicacy" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

244 [709] [252] [799] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians-and by rural Venezuelans-and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and [284] a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome [531] piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in [437] the trading network.

245
137
114
[104]
[184]

/81 cont./
mention such seedless fruits (382).

382. Zerries, moreover, thinks it is possible that among the Waiká the pupunha fruit was the predecessor of the mealy banana (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

• 244 The cultivation of tubers, which is always done separately from the banana plantings, has hitherto been practiced on only a very modest scale. It includes the cultivation of taioba or taro (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.) -- ohíná -- (383), cará or yams (Dioscorea

383. Among the Waiká the corresponding name is "ohina" (Zerries, 1956b p. 153).

sp.) -- cabiromá -- sweet manioc, known in Brazil as macaxeira aipim or mandioca doce (Manihot palmata Muell. Arg.) -- mihitarima -- bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima Pohl) -- kuamirimakóke --, and sweet potatoes (Ipomoea batatas Lam.) -- hikarí -- (384). Worth mentioning

249
243

384. The Waiká call the sweet potato "higali" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

also are the sugar cane plantings (sugar cane (Saccharum officinale) -- bukú -- (385)) and the absence of maize (386).

385. The Waiká have the same word for sugar cane (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

[184]

386. Zerries, to be sure, found evidence of its cultivation by the Waiká. But, he adds, maize "is little more than a rare delicacy" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manuera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shirians.'

We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uana-Coco, Canaua, and Uagna. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

Manuera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a newly planted sucker, the more quickly it will bear fruit. Hence, if the Yąnomamö wish to establish a garden that will produce a crop in the shortest period of time, they must plant large cuttings. These can weigh up to 10 pounds each, and transportation of the cuttings becomes a tremendous task.

As will be made clear later, most long moves are usually stimulated by warfare, and the group is under some pressure to establish a new garden as quickly as possible. The Yąnomamö can speed up their schedule of abandoning an area by taking temporary refuge in the village of an ally, by planting crops other than plantains that mature quickly and produce high yields, or by anticipating a serious war and getting an early start on their new garden. When Kąobawä's group was forced to abandon one of its locations because of a war, the group took refuge with an ally and established its new garden near the ally's village. One of the consequences of these factors is that newly established gardens produce their crops in cycles so that there will be periods of plenty interrupted by periods of hunger. After a few years, the garden will mature and produce constantly. The periods of hunger are eased by planting rapidly developing crops such as maize and by working constantly at transplanting the secondary plantain shoots as they appear. Thus, gardening activities vary largely with the relative maturity of the garden and the length of time the people have been living at that site. Once the plantains are producing constantly, other crops are not cultivated as intensively as before. But whatever the Yąnomamö are eating in a given village, they are striving to get their gardens to produce a constant supply of plantains. The fact that a given village may be relying very heavily on maize at some point in time may reflect no more than the fact that the garden is relatively new and the plantains have not yet begun producing constantly.

After a site has been occupied a few years, gardening activities take on a more regular pattern. The "rectum" (*bei kä bosi*) of the garden is gradually abandoned, and a new "nose" (*bei kä hushibö*) is added by clearing adjacent land and transplanting crops. Thus, a garden has a direction—it moves, little by little. Sometimes there will be as many as three or four discrete gardens around a village, all of them producing more or less continuously. The older ones are gradually abandoned because it is simply easier to clear new land than to attempt to weed the thorny underbrush out of the old site. If you have ever attempted to clear prickly brush without wearing protective clothing, you should immediately see the wisdom of the Yąnomamö choice.

In an established garden site, labor follows a more regular pattern. The dry season is usually the time for feasting, visiting, trading, and warfare. Gardening activities are at a minimum at this time of year, but the ambitious will try to work a few hours each day at weeding, transplanting, and burning brush. Most of the heavy labor of felling large trees is restricted to the wet season, when it is cloudy and generally cooler, and the demands of feasting and dancing do not interfere with the work. Still, practical considerations are more important than a fixed schedule of work, and if the gardens are producing insufficient quantities of food, the Yąnomamö will expand their gardens at any time of the year.

GARDEN PRODUCTS Each man's garden contains three or four varieties of both plantains and bananas. The larger portion of the cultivated land will contain plantains, as they produce a higher yield than bananas. The garden will also have a sizeable patch of sweet manioc, a root crop that is boiled or refined into a rough flour by grinding it on a rock and then converting the flour into thick, round cakes of baked cassava bread.

244 [179] [252] [799] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians–and by rural Venezuelans–and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and [284] a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome [531] piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] [431] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in the trading network.

/119 cont./

000 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the
621 multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation --
431 is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but, on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance.
62 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion,
166 namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements, which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a
[361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their
[342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried children. The new place is chosen according to the
262 possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting;
245 nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this
174 migration, for even during this period they continue to live from
166 the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent
[222] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on
[224] gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the past.

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying
[361] and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka
[622] is erected. This roça (forest clearing) -- hikarí --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, carâ, cotton,
[462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

[184]

368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since
[134] the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132]

369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

24
36
166 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka
● 245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

/80 cont./

●245 [262] Among the vegetable foods of the Surára and Pakidái, bananas, of which I found nine different varieties, occupy first place today. Of these, in turn, the most frequently cultivated is the mealy banana (Musa paradisiaca normalis; the regional caboclo population calls it pacovinha) -- kuratá -- (372).

[194] 372. With regard to its origin, Sauer writes: "The plantains and bananas (Musa paradisiaca) originated in southeastern Asia and were there bred into a great variety of seedless cultivated forms. Their presence in the New World is considered by many as due to post-Columbian introduction" /cited in English/ (Sauer, 1950, p. 526).

192 245 Kuratá, however, is also the general designation for all bananas (373). In addition, the following special names were

[184] 373. Zerries gives the same name with regard to the Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, pp. 152, 155), and Koch-Grünberg gives the following names for the Karaiben Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/: "kurá:tana," "kura:tana´," or "kuratanâ" (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 47, 268). The corresponding Xiriâna designation, namely, "kalatá:ke," is very similar (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 306). This definitely proves that the banana, or at least one variety, reached the Waiká, Xiriâna, Surára, and Pakidái from Karaiben tribes. The myth concerning the origin of the banana, which the Surára chief told me (see p.249), also shows that this fruit came from the outside only in very recent times.

[174]

given me for the other eight varieties (374):

[184] 374. The Waiká, too, use very similar terms for certain varieties of bananas (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

/81/

192 245 Designation of the Surára and Pakidái:

pakatarimã

kuratá pauximí

nakaximí

rokojá

rokomã

parauá

roórenvökãkö

xiahíma

Designation of the regional caboclo population:

pacovão

inajá

São Tomé roxa

São Tomé branca

banana maçã (?)

caité

banana bajé

Banana govêrno (375)

[124] 375. Unfortunately, I could not carry out a botanical classification of these varieties.

245 [412] [824] With the help of a digging stick made from the wood of the pupunha palm and 1.60-1.80 meters long, which has a flattened point at the lower end (Ill. 38), or a broken bow-staff, cuttings of banana trees are planted in the clearing, and after only a few months they are full-grown and bear fruit. The work of planting [462] as well as the care of the plants falls to the men, while the women help only with the harvest (376).

[184] 376. Among the Waiká, the plants are cared for by men and women (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Besides the banana, the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) -- komunamá -- is cultivated to a considerable extent. Cuttings are used for planting, but occasionally seeds as well. These palms, which always stand between the bananas, give the clearings of the Surára and Pakidái a characteristic stamp [481] (Ill. 37). The trunk, 18-20 meters tall, which is covered with pointed thorns -- mimicibá -- and can therefore be climbed only

Surára
Pakidái

245
[481]

/81 cont./

with a specially constructed apparatus (see p. 120), bears very narrow, pinnate leaves that are curly at the tips and are always gently swaying in the wind. They stand around the community house like sentinels and seem to be perpetually nodding benevolently and reassuringly to the inhabitants of the large, open maloka (Ill. 6). Their fruits -- maraxá -- (377),

377. The name among the Waiká is very similar -- "lasha" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149).

50-80 of which form a cluster, are noteworthy. They can be harvested only once a year, between September-April, but each palm has at least three, and sometimes four clusters, that is to say, approximately 200-300 fruits. At first they look yellow, but after ripening they take on a bright red color. In contrast to other palm fruits, they are characterized by especially abundant meat.

137
245
114

As to the question of whether or not the pupunha fruit has seeds, there are various opinions. Zerries did not find any seedless ones (378). On the other hand, I saw fruits with

378. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

seeds and without. This observation is confirmed by statements by Sauer, who writes: "In many cases it has lost the capacity to produce fertile seeds..." /cited in English/ (379).

379. Sauer, 1950 p. 525.

And even Alexander von Humboldt (380) and Vinci (381)

380. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 281.

381. Vinci, 1956 pp. 370-375.

245
137
114
[104]
[184]

/81 cont./
mention such seedless fruits (382).

382. Zerries, moreover, thinks it is possible that among the Waiká the pupunha fruit was the predecessor of the mealy banana (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

244

The cultivation of tubers, which is always done separately from the banana plantings, has hitherto been practiced on only a very modest scale. It includes the cultivation of taioba or taro (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.) -- ohĩná -- (383), cará or yams (Dioscorea

383. Among the Waiká the corresponding name is "ohina" (Zerries, 1956b p. 153).

sp.) -- cabiromá -- sweet manioc, known in Brazil as macaxeira aipim or mandioca doce (Manihot palmata Muell. Arg.) -- mihitarĩma -- bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima Pohl) -- kuamirimakõke --, and sweet potatoes (Ipomoea batatas Lam.) -- hikarĩ -- (384). Worth mentioning

249
243

384. The Waiká call the sweet potato "higali" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

also are the sugar cane plantings (sugar cane (Saccharum officinale) -- bukũs -- (385)) and the absence of maize (386).

385. The Waiká have the same word for sugar cane (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

[184]

386. Zerries, to be sure, found evidence of its cultivation by the Waiká. But, he adds, maize "is little more than a rare delicacy" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

2: Becher--249 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

/114 cont./

539
245

The Origin of the Banana

In olden times the Surára men were only hunters, and the women gathered the fruits of the jungle. They were unacquainted as yet with any kind of agriculture. One morning, however, when the Surára man Horonamú had arisen especially early and stepped out in front of the maloka, he saw to his astonishment peculiar large plants full of fruits. Immediately he wanted to pick one, but the voice of Poré, the lord of the moon, who, along with the latter, represents the supreme divine power (see p. 197), caused him to stiffen. Poré, however, in a very friendly way, said that he had grown these plants for the Surára and that their name was kuratá. He then ordered him to inform all the members of the tribe that the kuratá should be cultivated, for with it they would never have to suffer hunger again and would not have to rely solely on hunting luck. When Horonamú wanted to express his gratitude, Poré had already disappeared.

The First Pupunha Palms

The Surára were already acquainted with the banana tree, and this was the first plant that they cultivated. One night a japim (Cacicus cela L.) came flying and, on orders from Poré, planted pupunha palms (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) between the banana trees. Early in the morning it wakened the Surára with a particularly loud song, and when they stepped outside their maloka in astonishment, it told them that this palm was called komunamá and its fruits -- araxá -- were good for eating as well as for making a refreshing drink.

539

The Creation of the Jibóia-vermelha

Once upon a time there lived the Surára Karemoná, who was very quarrelsome by nature. Every day he mistreated his two wives and quarreled with the other men. He never submitted to the orders of the chief and even tried to undermine the

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 266

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491 494

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista." They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 411

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shirianá" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriana*" with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapecura (27 mc), and Sirioana (21 mc). His later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Siriana*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 455-458.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 20.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a [illegible], they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manuera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Numa,' he told us—Numa being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shirians.'

We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uana-Coco, Canana, and Uagna. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

Manuera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

are extremely strong. One quick nip did all that was necessary, and the nails worked with the precision of a pair of hairclippers. Beside her she had a little heap of fine ash, into which she dipped her fingers after every two or three nips. Hairs which interfered with the desired style were plucked out in a manner which might have been expected to bring cries of pain from the patient, but Caio only smiled his usual sweet smile, as if he was apologizing for causing so much trouble.

This operation went on for a good many hours, and we didn't see the end of it. But that evening Caio, Sempronio, and Narcisus trooped into the big hut, proudly displaying haircuts of an enviable perfection.

V

Delay appeared to be the order of the day on the island. Uarema's brother, the elderly one, failed to show up. We were waiting for him because we hoped he might prove a source of further information, and there was also a possibility that he might come with us, taking the place of the expectant father. We passed the time swimming, and walking through the Soco plantations, which had now been almost strangled by the forest. After turning over practically every leaf, we found a few ripe pawpaws and plenty of *tapi*. The first-named is almost a wild fruit in this region: the Indians cultivate a small type no bigger than an orange but full of flavour. The second is the doubtful fruit of one of the solanaceæ, in shape, colour and flavour halfway between a tomato and a melon. We cooked these sometimes with salt, sometimes with sugar, and turned them into a kind of marmalade. At the first tasting it aroused our enthusiasm, but at the next it made us sick. We were forced to find some substitute for our provisions, now reduced to very small quantities: we had no rice, tinned meat or white flour left, besides being out of other more important commodities, but we still had plenty of coffee—though not sugar—and salt and powdered milk.

All our expeditions from now on, especially the Samatari venture which we were silently preparing, would have to rely on hunting and fishing for supplies. All we could take with us was coffee, which Enrico and I could drink unsweetened, and plenty of salt, with a little powdered milk 'in case of sickness', we told each other cheerfully. For this contingency, we didn't lack for medical supplies. As always, we had more than we could comfortably carry.

*628 the Yąnomamö when they make new gardens. The relative
361 location of friendly and hostile villages with respect to the
241 new site is very important. The Monou-tedi moved west in 1965, clearing their new site in the direction away from their major enemies, the Patanowä-tedi. Their allies, the Mõmaribõwei-tedi and the Reyabobõwei-tedi, lived to their west. Furthermore, their old enemies, the Mõwäraoba-tedi and Iwahikoroba-tedi, lived to their southeast, a direction the Monou-tedi wished to avoid. Finally, by moving to the west, the Monou-tedi crossed a large river (Mavaca), a natural barrier that would interfere with the retreat of raiding parties that initiated in the east.

361 Another factor influences the choice of site when the
241 members of a village must abandon their existing garden: the
• 245 location of a previously cultivated site. Old gardens are desirable sites because they continue to produce peach palm long after they are deserted. As the fruit of this palm seasonally provides an important and desirable addition to the diet of the Yąnomamö, they prefer to move into an old garden rather than start a new peach palm grove from seedlings. The Yąnomamö frequently return to their old, abandoned sites
361 in order to harvest the peach palm crop. This is usually a
241 dangerous undertaking, as their old enemies are also aware of
245 the fruit, and exploit it themselves. In February 1965 I
114 accompanied a group of Bisaasi-tedi men to Barawä-tëka,[1]
*628

---

[1]See Map C, and Chapter 5.

abandoned in about 1959, to harvest the peach palm of that garden. We approached the site with great caution lest we run into a group of Patanowä-tedi. We discovered that somebody, probably the Patanowä-tedi, had beaten us to the garden and harvested the fruit.

During 1965 raids were so intense on the Patanowä-tedi that they were forced to abandon their site at Patanowä-tëka. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi predicted that the Patanowä-tedi would make their new site at one of two possible locations: Shihota or Shamata, two abandoned gardens. Their predictions were right on both counts, for the Patanowä-tedi began utilizing both sites because peach palm was to be found at either. By occupying two sites, the Patanowä-tedi were also better able to avoid their enemies by moving frequently from one to the other.

The several variables to be considered in re-locating villages during especially hostile wars may be briefly summarized: (1) the members of a village will make their new garden site in a direction away from their major enemy; (2) if the members of a village have allies, they tend to make their new garden in the direction of these allies, provided that the direction brings them no closer to their enemies; (3) if abandoned villages whose gardens contain producing groves of peach palm are to be found in a suitable direction from the old site, these will be the ideal choices for new garden sites.

The cultivation practices of the Monou-tedi in 1965

only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service. The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Hekurama, and Hikarima) and the Patanowë-tedi (Ishinarima, Rubrobemi, Rokuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in Patanowë-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

(2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions, each making a new garden further up the Shanishani-u River and abandoned Patanowë-tëka. The move was stimulated by the frequency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were always fighting with each other," said one of my informants, "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at Patanowë-tëka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller (Brararabõwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fearing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

villages (Bisaasi-tedi, Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi, and Karohi-tedi). These ashes were to be consumed prior to revenge raids on the Patanowǟ-tedi. The Monou-tedi then set about transporting plantain cuttings to their new garden and spent the next several weeks working on the garden. They intended to delay their revenge raid until the beginning of the rainy season in order to make it difficult for the Patanowǟ-tedi to raid them in return. The Monou-tedi moved into Bisaasi-tedi at the end of March both for military protection and for respite from their heavy agricultural labors. They stayed with the Bisaasi-tedi until the end of April, fearing that they would be raided by the Patanowǟ-tedi if they returned to their own village before the rains started. They also planned to raid the Patanowǟ-tedi from Bisaasi-tedi at the beginning of the wet season, knowing that a revenge raid from Patanowǟ-tedi would be difficult once the rains started. They could return to their own village during the rainy season, as the jungle separating their village from the Patanowǟ-tedi is inundated at this time of the year and cannot be traversed.

On April 19th the Bisaasi-tedi sponsored a mortuary feast for the slain Monou-tedi headman in preparation for the revenge raid. The participants in the revenge raid were to include the Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi, but they did not arrive as scheduled, so the raid was delayed until the 21st. Only a few Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi arrived to participate in the raid, and the Bisaasi-tedi immediately suspected that the Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi were plotting to abduct women from them after

133
137
361
342
245

Fig. 2-1. A Yąnomamö village and plantain garden, aerial view (Toototobi River, Brazil).

487

TRAILS AND TRAVEL. Trails lead out from the village in several directions. Some of them terminate in the gardens that surround the village, but a few of them continue on into the jungle and lead eventually to other villages. The unexperienced eye would not recognize them as trails, as they are hardly more than winding paths through brush, over or around logs, through streams and swamps, and up hills. The Yąnomamö take the most direct route to their destination, regardless of the terrain. A foreigner learns how to recognize a trail only after considerable experience. The most telltale signs are the numerous broken twigs at about knee height left by Yąnomamö travelers who compulsively keep their hands occupied snapping off brush and twigs as they walk. Another sign is the occasional log that is worn smooth from the tread of numerous travelers who prefer to walk along a log rather than go around it.

The most commonly used trail from Kąobawä's village leads to the two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-teri and Mõmariböwei-teri, southwest of Upper Bisaasi-teri. Hardly a week goes by in the dry season without a few individuals making a trip from one of these villages to Bisaasi-teri or vice versa. A group of young men can make this trip in one day if they walk rapidly and leave early in the morning. Older men, women, and children must plan on a two day journey, as they walk more slowly and rest more frequently. There are a number of temporary shelters along the trail built by previous visitors, so the traveler does not have to spend much time putting one of these into repair should he decide to camp overnight.

[484]

[342]
[485]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4]For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5]The cultivated palm, *pïjïgnan*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

276 [412] powder as it dries, the flat side of a stone axe[8] serving as the grinding pestle. The dried, green powder, no more than several tablespoons full, is then swept onto a leaf with a stiff feather. The men then gather around the leaf containing the drug, usually in the late afternoon, and take it by blowing the powder into each other's nostrils (see Fig. 2-3). A small quantity of the powder is introduced into the end of a hollow cane tube some 3 feet long. The tube is then flicked with the forefinger to scatter the powder along its length. One end of the tube is put into the nostril of the man taking the drug, and his helper then blows a strong blast of air through the other end, emitting his breath in such a fashion that he climaxes the delivery with a hard burst of air. Both the recipient and the blower squat on their haunches to do this. The man who had the drug blown into his nostrils grimaces, groans, chokes, coughs, holds his head from the pain of the air blast, and duck-waddles off to some leaning post. He usually receives two doses of the drug, one in each nostril. The recipient usually vomits, gets watery eyes, and develops a runny nose. Much of the drug comes back out in the nasal mucus that begins to run freely after the drug has been administered. Within minutes after the drug has been blown into a man's nose, he begins having difficulties focusing his eyes and starts to act intoxicated. The drug allegedly produces colored visions, especially around the periphery [187] of the visual field, and permits the user to enter into contact with his particular *hekura*, miniature demons that dwell under rocks and on mountains. The man begins to chant to the *hekura* when the drug takes effect, inviting them to come and live in his chest.

• 245 276 The Yąnomamö also cultivate a tree, *hisioma*, that produces hallucinogenic seeds. These are prepared in exactly the same manner as the noncultivated drug.

322 396 TROUGHS AND CANOES The Yąnomamö use the bark of another kind of tree to make a trough and a crude canoe, both of which are nearly identical in shape, size, and method of construction. The tree is beaten with clubs to loosen the bark. The bark is then removed in one piece and hauled back to the village. The ends are heated in a fire to make them pliable and folded back to make the ends of the container. They are held firm by lashing two sticks together, pinching the folded bark into a flat-nosed basin. The interior bark surface becomes the exterior surface of the soup container. If the container is to be used as a canoe, a crude framework of sticks is added to the inside, giving 501 it more stability. The craft is so crude and heavy that the Yąnomamö generally do not use it for any purpose other than the trip for which it was intended, usually a downstream trip, since it would be almost impossible to move against a current in this rough craft. It is easier to walk than to try to pole the canoe upstream. The canoe, hence, is usually discarded after it makes its maiden voyage. Another will be made when it is needed.

415 574 264 The container is pinioned to the ground with stakes if it is to be used as a soup trough. Each time a feast is held, one or more of these bark containers is made in front of the headman's house, filled with the boiled ripe plantain soup, and frequented by the hungry guests, who dip out the soup with gourd spoons. The trough is thrown on the village rubbage heap after the feast is over.

---

[172] [8]They find the stone axes when they make new gardens, explaining that the spirits left them behind for the Yąnomamö to use. This area was occupied in the distant past by tribes whose relationship to the present Yąnomamö is uncertain.

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiency long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among them. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a newly planted sucker, the more quickly it will bear fruit. Hence, if the Yąnomamö wish to establish a garden that will produce a crop in the shortest period of time, they must plant large cuttings. These can weigh up to 10 pounds each, and transportation of the cuttings becomes a tremendous task.

As will be made clear later, most long moves are usually stimulated by warfare, and the group is under some pressure to establish a new garden as quickly as possible. The Yąnomamö can speed up their schedule of abandoning an area by taking temporary refuge in the village of an ally, by planting crops other than plantains that mature quickly and produce high yields, or by anticipating a serious war and getting an early start on their new garden. When Kąobawä's group was forced to abandon one of its locations because of a war, the group took refuge with an ally and established its new garden near the ally's village. One of the consequences of these factors is that newly established gardens produce their crops in cycles so that there will be periods of plenty interrupted by periods of hunger. After a few years, the garden will mature and produce constantly. The periods of hunger are eased by planting rapidly developing crops such as maize and by working constantly at transplanting the secondary plantain shoots as they appear. Thus, gardening activities vary largely with the relative maturity of the garden and the length of time the people have been living at that site. Once the plantains are producing constantly, other crops are not cultivated as intensively as before. But whatever the Yąnomamö are eating in a given village, they are striving to get their gardens to produce a constant supply of plantains. The fact that a given village may be relying very heavily on maize at some point in time may reflect no more than the fact that the garden is relatively new and the plantains have not yet begun producing constantly.

After a site has been occupied a few years, gardening activities take on a more regular pattern. The "rectum" (*hei kä hasi*) of the garden is gradually abandoned, and a new "nose" (*hei kä hashibö*) is added by clearing adjacent land and transplanting crops. Thus, a garden has a direction—it moves, little by little. Sometimes there will be as many as three or four discrete gardens around a village, all of them producing more or less continuously. The older ones are gradually abandoned because it is simply easier to clear new land than to attempt to weed the thorny underbrush out of the old site. If you have ever attempted to clear prickly brush without wearing protective clothing, you should immediately see the wisdom of the Yąnomamö choice.

In an established garden site, labor follows a more regular pattern. The dry season is usually the time for feasting, visiting, trading, and warfare. Gardening activities are at a minimum at this time of year, but the ambitious will try to work a few hours each day at weeding, transplanting, and burning brush. Most of the heavy labor of felling large trees is restricted to the wet season, when it is cloudy and generally cooler, and the demands of feasting and dancing do not interfere with the work. Still, practical considerations are more important than a fixed schedule of work, and if the gardens are producing insufficient quantities of food, the Yąnomamö will expand their gardens at any time of the year.

GARDEN PRODUCTS Each man's garden contains three or four varieties of both plantains and bananas. The larger portion of the cultivated land will contain plantains, as they produce a higher yield than bananas. The garden will also have a sizeable patch of sweet manioc, a root crop that is boiled or refined into a rough flour by grinding it on a rock and then converting the flour into thick, round cakes of baked cassava bread.

244 [177] [252] [499] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians-and by rural Venezuelans-and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] [284] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo [531] points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in [437] the trading network.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December-January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yanomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women. One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomohoni*, is the ultimate form of violence. Kąobawɨ's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kąobawɨ's group and the Patanowɨ-teri; they split from each other after a series of club fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yąnomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Sïsïwɨ, coveted my British commando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

249 /82/ Besides the cultivated plants used for food, some are raised to be used for enjoyment. These are primarily tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) -- peenáke -- (387) and a pepper plant (Piperacea sp.) --

387. The Waiká word for this is "be" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

maxarahá -- (388) which is required for making the narcotic

[184] 388. This plant is also cultivated by the Waiká and is designated by almost the same name "masho hara" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

snuff-powder (see pp. 192), as well as -- perakí -- (389)

389. The Waiká call this pepper plant "blaki" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

(Piper caudatum Vahl.), Portuguese pimenta-dos-índios, with which they spice their food.

249 824 Finally, the cultivation of plants yielding important required articles should be mentioned. These are arrow cane (Sagittaria montevidensis Cham. et Schl.) -- xerekaíbe --, the urucuzeiro (Bixa orellana L.), from whose seeds, found in a thorny capsule, the red coloring matter urucú -- narú -- is obtained (see p. 122), as well as a Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria L. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda), the fruits of which are used as vessels (see p. 114).

248 The cultivation of cotton (Gossypium barbadense or hirsutum) -- xinarí -- is of comparatively recent date.

252 [462] 8. Preparation of Food

The preparation of solid food is almost exclusively in the hands of the women, but the roasting of game is reserved for the men (390). There are two methods of doing this: The simplest

[171] 390. According to Baldus, this prerogative

Waica
Guaharibo

/434 cont./

197 101 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 197 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted [248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they cultivate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton hammocks [352] and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version [342] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some [484] few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 192 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 [114] I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/ tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 628 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2-7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Samatari

/19 cont./

411 184 114 [173] almost identical with that of the Surára and Pakidái, except for the fact that the former is set off at the ends. This confirms the statements made by the Indians investigated by me who said that they obtained bows of this kind and the knowledge of how to make them themselves from the Xiriâna. In reply to my question as to why their bows were not set off at the end, I was told that the Xiriâna demand this deviation. In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/, there are two Xiriâna bows which were collected by Koch-Grünberg (12. 25:29, 12. 25:31). They are relatively small specimens, however, for they are only 1. 92 and 1. 82 meters high, respectively. A bow which came from the Xamatâri of the Rio Maiá, a left tributary of the Rio Cauaboris, and which is also in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56. 15:4) and is two meters high, has exactly the same shape as the Surára and Pakidái one, that is, without the offset ends. .This is not surprising, for, according to the statement of the Surára chief Hewemão, the Xamatâri are likewise satellites of the Xiriâna (see p. 12). Finally, it should be mentioned that the same bow-form has also been documented for the Waiká in Venezuela (70).

70. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

411 249 824 The arrows -- xerêka --, whose total length comes to between 2-2. 12 meters (shaft length 1. 89-1. 94 meters; weight, 60-90 grams) (71) (72), are made out of arrow cane -- xerekaîbe --

[114]

71. These measurements confirm Weule's statement when he says that the arrow must correspond in length, shape, and weight to the bow, in order to guarantee a certain accuracy of aim (Weule, 1899, p. 6).

72. Pertinent comparisons with other South American tribes are to be found in the chart by Ranke (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

Surára
pakidái
Shiriana
Xamatari

/19 cont./

411 which the Surára and Pakidái plant in the vicinity of their malokas
[249] on the upper Aracá and the middle Demini, respectively. All five
[824] of the arrow types used by them have the same feathering --
[227] jaromahik --, which consists of two halves of the black wing feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.) -- pararí. They are placed against the cane in such a way that they alternately show the upper and the
[283] lower side of the feather. At several places on the hand end they are held by two threads of the tight winding of Bromelia fibers -- pemakasiurakama. Inside this winding, which is supposed to strengthen the weak cane against the pressure of the bowstring, there is stuck on the end of the cane in addition a small wooden peg fastened with resin, which has a notch in its thickened outer part, which is set on the bowstring. This is supposed to prevent the cane from splitting when the arrow flies off. The upper end of the feather shaft is wound with a second, narrower winding, in which, between the two halves of the arrow feathers, two additional small black mutum feathers are frequently stuck as ornaments (Fig. 2f).

411 184 114 The feathering described belongs to the Guiana type of feathering, according to the classification by Meyer (73). Koch-

73. Meyer, no date, p. 9.

Grünberg (74) confirms it for the Xirišna, and it can also be recog-

74. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (4, 7, 8).

nized on the arrows which that investigator brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:33-42). The arrows in the Alfred Boeldecke Collection (56.15:5-7) in the same museum and the drawings by Vinci (75) show that the Xamatári likewise use this

75. Vinci, 1956, p. 146, Fig. a.

245
137
114
[104]
[184]

/81 cont./
mention such seedless fruits (382).

382. Zerries, moreover, thinks it is possible that among the Waiká the pupunha fruit was the predecessor of the mealy banana (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

244

The cultivation of tubers, which is always done separately from the banana plantings, has hitherto been practiced on only a very modest scale. It includes the cultivation of taioba or taro (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.) -- ohîná -- (383), cará or yams (Dioscorea

383. Among the Waiká the corresponding name is "ohina" (Zerries, 1956b p. 153).

sp.) -- cabiromá -- sweet manioc, known in Brazil as macaxeira aipim or mandioca doce (Manihot palmata Muell. Arg.) -- mihitarîma -- bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima Pohl) -- kuamirimakõke --, and sweet potatoes (Ipomoea batatas Lam.) -- hikarî -- (384). Worth mentioning

249
243

384. The Waiká call the sweet potato "higali" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

also are the sugar cane plantings (sugar cane (Saccharum officinale) -- bukî -- (385)) and the absence of maize (386).

385. The Waiká have the same word for sugar cane (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

[184]

386. Zerries, to be sure, found evidence of its cultivation by the Waiká. But, he adds, maize "is little more than a rare delicacy" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

/82/
•249 Besides the cultivated plants used for food, some are raised to be used for enjoyment. These are primarily tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) -- peenáke -- (387) and a pepper plant (Piperacea sp.) --

387. The Waiká word for this is "be" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

maxarahá -- (388) which is required for making the narcotic

[184]

388. This plant is also cultivated by the Waiká and is designated by almost the same name "masho hara" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

snuff-powder (see pp. 192), as well as -- perakí -- (389)

389. The Waiká call this pepper plant "blaki" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

(Piper caudatum Vahl.), Portuguese pimenta-dos-índios, with which they spice their food.

249 824 Finally, the cultivation of plants yielding important required articles should be mentioned. These are arrow cane (Sagittaria montevidensis Cham. et Schl.) -- xerekaíbe --, the urucuzeiro (Bixa orellana L.), from whose seeds, found in a thorny capsule, the red coloring matter urucú -- narú -- is obtained (see p. 122), as well as a Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria L. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda), the fruits of which are used as vessels (see p. 114).

248 The cultivation of cotton (Gossypium barbadense or hirsutum) -- xinarí -- is of comparatively recent date.

252 [462] 8. Preparation of Food

The preparation of solid food is almost exclusively in the hands of the women, but the roasting of game is reserved for the men (390). There are two methods of doing this: The simplest

[171]

390. According to Baldus, this prerogative

Surára
Pakidái

/88 cont./

276 and Pakidái I was unable to learn anything with reference to this, although there, too, the consumption of tobacco is uncommonly
•[249] great. They plant plenty of tobacco in all the forest clearings, however, and if it were entirely harvested in the fields where they were living at the time, the men fetch it from other distant rocas or in emergencies they obtain it from friendly tribes by barter.

[184] [114] Koch-Grünberg reports that the Xiriána and Waiká hordes visited by him chew the tobacco (430). From his description, how-

430. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

276 171 114 ever, it is to be seen that actually a sucking of the tobacco is also involved. The Arekuná on the Roroima probably also did the same thing, although Richard Schomburgk (431) and Appun (432)

431. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 239.

432. Appun, 1871, p. 521.

agree in speaking of "tobacco chewing." It is noteworthy that Koch-Grünberg (433) did not observe this form of tobacco enjoyment

433. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 57.

among any other tribe in the Roroíma region, for on the occasion of his visits the men smoked the tobacco as cigarettes or in short English pipes which were imported from British Guiana; he never saw women smoke.

123 276 If I offered the Surára and Pakidái cigarettes, they first always removed the paper and enjoyed the tobacco in the same way as their cultivated tobacco. Yet they were not very enthusiastic about it, for in their opinion the cigarette tobacco was much too weak. In time, however, men and children became accustomed to smoking (434), but not the women.

434. As a result of this, our supply of cigarettes rapidly dwindled, and my

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

along by himself and hopped round us twittering. Then he flew off, to return a little while later with another in tow—perhaps the hen bird. Twittering again, he presented us to her as a fabulous discovery. They twittered a commentary and flew off, returning a little later, this time with a whole flock of friends. Then, with the courage that comes with numbers, they all made for our eyes to get at the honey. We were forced to disillusion them.

VIII

The Shirians have tobacco, *pihsi* as they call it: even the most primitive and savage of them, the Samatari, cultivate two things in some hidden corner of the forest known only to themselves—tobacco, and the cane from which they make their arrows. Vice and war!

We were highly attracted towards the Uagna river lands, which, according to Luis Antonio, was country rich in game and inhabited, or at least occasionally crossed, by the Samatari, who inspired terror all round them. Enrico, Momi, and I set out on an expedition there, leaving Jean and Artur to wait for the plane.

We stopped on the way at the Uarema settlement; Luis Antonio wanted to show us off to his people, who had never seen men with beards and wearing clothes.

That night we slept in a crowded hut, and our curiosity was drawn towards a young woman who had strung her hammock between those of Uarema's two nephews (whose persons were adorned with feathers and plumes). She stayed in all day as well, a cosseted Shirian Cleopatra, continually looking at herself in the little glass we had given her and adjusting the white feather boa which covered her ears and her shoulders. During the course of the day other women came to help her with her toilet, painting her cheeks and forehead with certain precise geometrical designs: they used red and black colouring matter which when dry shone like enamel. Even her little quid of tobacco was smaller and daintier than others used. Uarema told us that she was the public woman of the tribe.

Next morning, when we were stepping into our boats again, Pancho and Benito came along in a big canoe. They wanted salt from us. We had very little, and had to refuse them. They went off in silence. When they were two hundred yards away, they shouted something in our direction. Luis Antonio

/444 cont./

241 The land is cleared by first pulling out all the small plants and stems; then the trees which reach a trunk diameter of around 25 centimeters are cut with a machete, and finally the large trees are cut down with an axe.

[313] Sometimes they climb the tree and attach a liana to it so as to be able to pull it to direct its fall.

After the trees have had sufficient time to dry out on the ground, they cut off the branches and pile them up with the underbrush in order finally to burn them. Owing to the abundance of rainfall, it is impossible for them to wait for a dry period. I have seen them burn the weeds in their conuco after it had rained heavily the night before. Sometimes they must bring dry firewood in order to make the damp weeds burn.

An old woman told me one day: "These people of today [412] have it easy. We did not have machetes and axes in former [178] times. Fire was our principal tool. /445/ We had to carry a lot of firewood to pile up around the trees in order to bring them down by fire."

412 There is an indication in their language that at one time they 174 used stone axes before being able to acquire metal axes and [92] machetes. They use the same word, "boo," to designate both the machete and a certain stone which they use for grinding the "yopo" powder. This stone has the proper form for making an ax out of it, if a handle were attached to it. Nevertheless, the relationship between these objects, if there was one at one time, is unknown to the present generation of El Platanal.

241 A bow without a string or a similar stick is the principal 412 instrument which they use for planting. They use it both to loosen the small banana stems for replanting and to open holes in the ground for holding practically any kind of seed.

• 249 Tobacco is planted first in a garden bed and then transplanted. The small plants are protected from the sun for a few days by means of platano leaves put on a covering for shade.

241 Sometimes a few stakes are fixed in the ground to indicate plantings near the paths, thus keeping the seeds or young plants from being stepped on.

/463 cont./

373 as well as to light the path. Torches of gum and resin are also
416 used sometimes on the paths during the night, but the common
484 type of torch is the fagot of tied pieces of wood. A group which travels at night (as occurs when they are returning after nightfall from the work of fishing) may carry only one torch. Then they stop from time to time to arrange the joined sticks and to revive the fire, keeping it from going out.

373 The wood fire is the principal source of light and heat in the
374 settlements. The fires are kept lighted during the entire night, both to produce warmth and for protection against predatory animals and the spirits of human beings which have returned.

392 There do not seem to be any beliefs or ceremonies related to the production and maintenance of fire.

Weapons

411 The principal weapon of the Guaica /Waica/ is the bow and arrow. They also use macanas.

[824] The bow is made of palm wood, generally of "pijiguao,"
[283] with a strong string made of threads of bark. This string has three or more threads of twisted bark, which give it great strength.

[249] The shafts of their arrows are made of the festooned part
[237] of a certain wild cane, which they cultivate in their "conucos." They feather them with the points of wing feathers of wild turkeys.

Arrow points vary according to the type of game which is to be the target. The wide bamboo point is used /464/ principally against large land animals; the bone one for shooting large and medium-sized birds, and the poisoned points principally for monkeys. Any of these points might be used against man in the event of war. Against small birds they shoot the shaft, first removing the point, or they use a point ramified at the end, made out of a small branch quickly broken off some nearby plant. The accompanying Fig. 7 /see p. 35/ shows the different types of arrow points of the Guaika. /Fig. 7 appears here./

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2-7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *hixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

Surára
Pakidái

/85 cont./

9. Meals and Eating Habits

244
262 In the morning the Surára and Pakidái eat very little, usually only one or two bananas or tubers roasted in the hot ashes. I often found that men and women set out to hunt or gather without having eaten anything. If they come across wild fruits on their wanderings, however, they help themselves generously. Small, light meals in the form of banana soup, roasted or steamed bananas, pupunha fruit, sweet potatoes, etc. are eaten at noon. Sometimes there are some leftovers from the meat of the day before. The main meal of the day does not take place until after sundown, by the light of the blazing fire. For at this time the whole family is usually assembled again, and the hunting booty which the man perhaps brought home in the afternoon or the products of the gathering by the women have been prepared. Everywhere one sees the men squatting beside the fire and waiting for food, which includes larger or smaller pieces of meat supplemented by vegetable fare. In front of them the women (824) have spread out a few palm leaves as an underlayer for the food. The men eat first, and they also get the best pieces of meat. When they are satisfied, the women and children may start eating. Nothing is drunk during the meal, but afterwards a palm-fruit or honey drink is enjoyed.

264 Eating is done with the hands. In one hand the Indian holds a piece of roasted or boiled meat and in the other a roasted banana, a manioc flat-cake, or something similar. Intermittently one reaches into the pot and takes out another piece or cuts it off from (415) the wooden spit or roasting rack. Soups are drunk out of gourd bowls or calabashes, just like the palm-fruit and honey drinks.

If the hunters' bag was particularly good, one may observe (251) many Indians, men, women, and children, eating all night long, for meat is preserved only before festivals. In connection with this the individual members of the family lie comfortably in their hammocks, converse, sleep a little at intervals, then fetch themselves another piece of meat from the roasting spit or rack. It is (267) astonishing what quantities they consume during such a night. On the other hand, they are also easily able to fast for a long period of time.

Surára Pakidái

/102 cont./

755 faith and to what extent he is faking" (506). The fact that
756
114

506. Baldus, 1931, p. 142.

even in modern medicine great importance is now attributed to the suggestive influence of the physician on his patients is shown in the following statements by Hans Grimm: "If we emphasize that the suggestive influence of the physician's personality on the patient is often of decisive influence (Jores), if we use hypnosis, the so-called 'autogenous training,' etc., we are, in our own way, returning to what was already playing a role in shamanistic techniques" (507).

507. Grimm, 1958/59, p. 357.

769 3. Religious Festivals

Every year, toward the end of the dry season, March-April, the Surára and Pakidái jointly celebrate the festival in memory of the dead -- patapáanomão -- (508). It always takes

[192]

508. This contains the word for corpse, the male or female dead person -- anomão.

place in the large, open Surára maloka Jarací (see pp. 25 ff.). Occasionally a few families of friendly tribes (Xiriána, Pusheweteri, Aramamesteri, etc.) also take part. The
[114] patapáanomão festival, which I witnessed in all its phases, /103/ was held during the period from the fourth to the sixth of
769 April, 1956. But even before that there were great preparations
• 25 for this purpose. The men set out on a joint hunting expedition in order to kill as many tapirs as possible, the meat of which was then roasted on roasting racks over an even fire, not too hot, until it was black and bone-hard, so that it could be kept for a

Surára
Pakidái

/103 cont./

769 25 [462] few days. This roasting belongs to the men's sphere of duties, as does the harvesting of pupunha fruits. The latter are then made into a drink by the women. Moreover, they fetched from the plantings large quantities of bananas which were put in the sun so that they could ripen, and, finally, it should be mentioned that among all the families several stacks of manioc flat-cakes were piled up little by little.

769 535 [206] On the evening of April fourth, toward 9:00, the actual festival began. Five men and five boys, who wore cotton belts over their hip cords, danced, after the former had first blown snuff-powder into each other's noses, one behind the other (two steps forward and one back, during which the more marked lifting of the knees with a slight turning outward of the legs is to be noted), on a circular path in the open circle of the maloka, and, to be sure, counterclockwise (509a). The first two men

509a. In all the dances that go around the periphery of a circle the participants dance counterclockwise.

each held two arrows in the right hand, and the rest, as well as [533] all the boys, had their hands crossed behind their heads. Occasionally one man would sing in a beautiful, full bass voice, and the others would then join in chorus. The songs were very melodious and furnished the rhythm for the dance steps (509b).

[534] 509b. The Surára and Pakidái accompany dances in part with songs, for musical instruments are unknown to them.

[296] Toward 10:00 more men, in part with arrows, in part without, and boys (all without arrows) joined the dancers, and at 11:30 all the men and boys, with the exception of the Surára chief, were gathered in the center of the maloka courtyard, where, from a large clay plate filled with snuff-powder that had been placed here along with several snuff tubes, they blew huge quantities into each other's noses. Then they sat down in a

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Barbasco is a kind of liana which can grow to impressive dimensions—attaining a stem up to eight inches thick. The Indians cut it in the forest and collect a large pile together at a convenient place for pressing. Their press is made from one of those dead trunks of hardwood which are found in such quantity in the forest and some wooden clubs specially cut for the purpose. The liana stems are pounded and then done up into bundles so that they can be easily taken to the place to be fished, which may be some way off. Here they are immersed several times in the river, releasing a milky juice which gives the water a whitish opalescence. The juice of the liana reduces the air content of the water through oxidization, and the fish very soon come floating up to the surface—asphyxiated but not poisoned.

This procedure is a very common one among the Indians, whose fishing follows a two-year cycle—this being the minimum time needed for each stretch of water to become repopulated after the use of barbasco. It goes without saying that this extract of liana loses its efficacy in anything bigger than a small stream. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity the Indians will attempt to fish medium-sized rivers in this way, banding together to collect huge quantities of liana. The fish taken are then smoked and wrapped in banana leaves, after which they will keep for months.

Anai and his men had to go far afield with their barbasco before they found a suitable place. The probability was that the Shirianas had already been at work, unknown to anyone, near the source of the Canaracuni. We therefore left him to it after all, and returned to camp early one morning, just in time to meet the plane that was circling the field.

VI

On Sunday, the 24th June, a big plane came into sight over the rim of the Sarisariñama mountains—towards the east where they merge into the Sororoc range. It swooped down to about three hundred feet and then went off without giving any signal. The excitement among the Indians on the spot—Luis Antonio was one of them and he explained the nature of the machine to his kinsfolk—was doomed to disappointment. And time and again this story of the aeroplane continued to arouse our hopes, only to dampen them once more.

A week later it appeared, at the same time—so suddenly and unexpectedly

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

him outside the range of the magic influence which had reduced him to such a hideous condition. But evidently they had only escaped the Samatari magic to fall straight into another, which was too much for the sick child. He died, sacrificed in a duel between two magic powers.

VI

The great 'provisioning-march' of the Samatari now began. We went along with them. We were prisoners, we were guests, we were tolerated visitors—a bit of everything. The main body, with the women and children, led the way along a track that was years old and had been opened up again the day before by the younger members of the tribe, who possessed the one metal weapon used by the Samatari: a piece of a knife-blade stuck into a stick and firmly bound with bark soaked in vegetable gum. What story could this scrap of steel have told when it finally reached the headwaters of the Araçoua!

The track was by no means straight, but for all its meanderings led vaguely towards the south-east. It lay for the most part through the dense thickets of fruit-bearing trees, which probably harboured other sorts of foodstuffs of which we knew nothing. The main body arrived to find that the young men had already picked nuts and fruit of all kinds and made piles of them at the foot of the trees. All the women had to do was take them up.

When meat of any sort is found and killed on these occasions, a couple of youngsters stay behind with it. They sling a hammock and light a fire and watch while it is slowly smoking on the spit. When the women come up, they pull off pieces of the flesh, put them into the rough hampers they carry on their shoulders and go on with the march, their babies jogging up and down on their backs, tied there with a strap made of bark. Some, like peripatetic vestal virgins, take fire with them, in the form of glowing brands, blowing on them as they go along lest the embers should grow cold. Thus the march of the Samatari leaves a trail of nutshells, rinds, ash, and little bits of charcoal. It suggests not so much an ordinary nomadic people on the move but rather a very special tribe composed of itinerant cooks.

With evening, or strictly speaking some time before the end of the afternoon, we found ourselves in a vast clearing where all the small plants, shrubs, bushes and grass had been cut away and swept and raked aside. All round this

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

and brought to us already cooked, in a wrapping of some appropriate green stuff—a dish beyond compare. At times there was so much meat (cooked and eaten without salt or spices) that we willingly turned to fruit again. There was no lack of that either.

When a tapir or a number of peccaries have been killed and there is too much meat to be eaten up at once, the Samatari smoke it on a hurdle supported by four stakes driven into the ground. A fire is lit underneath and kept going all night—to the accompaniment of the medicine-man's ceaseless chanting. In the morning the pieces of meat, looking completely charred, are wrapped in wild banana leaves and entrusted for transport to some little woman who hoists them up along with the babies on her back.

I have also seen a sloth being smoked. No gentler animal exists in the world. She moves at a speed which never exceeds a few yards a day, and lives hanging on the trees with her young ones clinging to the hairs of her back. They captured one alive, and with the machete chopped off the three nails of its hands and feet, to make scrapers and 'bodkins' for various uses. Deprived of her only means of defence, the sloth kept moving slowly along, with a resigned, human expression which quickly won our sympathy. But not the Samatari's. To them, a sloth is an excellent target for archery practice, because it will remain in the same position—clasping a pole, for instance, without moving—just the sort of thing you want for a target. The arrows whistled past the sloth's wet nose, but its face showed no change of expression; then some struck it, but not in a vital part, and its fur reddened with blood. The arrows did not penetrate deeply because they were only practice ones, with worn tips. Had I had a gun I would have shot it, for there was such a look of gentle reproof in the little animal's eyes that it became unendurable. But the gun was a long way off, and our five remaining cartridges had been the subject of so much calculation, that perhaps after all I wouldn't have ventured to expend one on this four-legged Saint Sebastian. Soon, however, too many arrows had struck, and before the youngsters could get it to play with and drag it about in the dust, still alive, I asked for the machete. Laughing, in order to evade Samatari susceptibilities, I struck it one hard blow on the head which sent it straight to the smoking-tray.

We now had a definite plan laid and were spreading propaganda to make it possible, Uaremu and the Guayca Indians being our agents. We had now made the descent of the entire Arecoa and part of the Uraricoera, and before reaching

/449/

Preparation of Food

251 To keep meat from spoiling, it is first dried directly over the fire. Then it is kept on a rack over the fire, perhaps for several hours, but frequently all night. After this, it is placed a bit farther from the fire, but where the air will keep it dry, although not necessarily warm. I have seen meat kept for some ten days in this way, and doubtless it would have lasted longer had it not been eaten.

252 Meat preserved in this way is still regarded as raw and must be cooked in a pot before being eaten.

Small animals are cleaned, washed, and then boiled whole in a pot. If the animal is large, it is cut up into pieces small enough to fit into the pot. The custom of leaving the skin and [174] hair on them while they cook is perhaps a survival from the time when they did not have knives for skinning them. A string or piece of bark is tied to each piece of meat in order to be able to take it out of the pot to turn it. From time to time they take the meat out in order to prick it many times with a stick so that it will cook more quickly.

When it is finally ready, the head of the family, or the owner of the meat, shares it or divides it into portions which he distributes among his relatives or friendly families.

462 The task of cooking the meat is man's work. He is the 252 owner of the pot, does the hunting, looks for the firewood, and divides and distributes the cooked meat. (Sometimes he sends a boy to deliver the meat to some family on the other side of the circle of dwellings.)

313 The gathering of firewood for cooking food other than meat 462 and for keeping the family warm at night is woman's work. For [412] this reason the women use the ax much more than the men do.

252 Green platanos are generally peeled and placed directly over the embers, turned a few times, and /450/ taken off when they are found ready to eat. Or they may be placed on a live fire to be cooked, but without being peeled, in order that they may not be blackened. If it is necessary to cook a large quantity of green platanos quickly, they are peeled and boiled in a pot.

/451 cont./

251 The Gualka /Waica/ do not keep reserves of food. All of their foods are cooked fresh or at least within a period of two weeks from the time they are ready. Therefore, in case their conucos have a scarcity of produce, they must go to live in the forest, gathering seeds, fruits, and roots, and devoting more time than usual to hunting and fishing. When another settlement has an abundance of food in a time of scarcity, it would be very fortunate to be able to live completely from this settlement instead of having to subsist from the forest.

[828]

Consumption of Food

263 No salt is consumed as such, that is, as salt properly speaking. They eat wood ashes, especially the ashes of a tree called "kololi." The ashes may be eaten as they are or with hot water poured over them to obtain a tasty liquid. To this liquid, called "ubu," is added strong peppers. Platanos and other foods are dipped in the resulting sauce to flavor and ingest them.

[824]

261 Clay is also dried and eaten, especially the clay from certain nests of insects.

[842] No child may be weaned until it has learned to eat the said ashes and clay.

Earth and clean dust are also eaten. They are considered clean if they are taken from a place where a fire has recently burned, from a river bed, or from a bare spot or bank of sand which the sun has been able to purify.

264 Their hours for eating are as follows: Breakfast is taken shortly after sunrise, and the second turn when they come back from work in their "conucos," generally at some time near midday. They eat again near /452/ sunset. This schedule varies, being adjusted for hunting trips, moving from the settlement, etc. They eat quite a lot between meals, especially wild fruits and bananas and ripe platanos.

/469 cont./

513 352 The third essential thing is the hammock. The Guaika must have a hammock in order to sleep at night. In his dwelling he has a cotton hammock or a hammock made of vines split longitudinally. On a hunting trip he may travel with his hammock made out of cords of vine or without carrying any. In this latter case, each night he will make a temporary hammock /470/ out of cords of bark, and, in case he stays in the same general area, he will use it for several nights. Then, in order to travel light, he will abandon this hammock of cords of bark and will go to his home, where his good hammock awaits him.

262 594 [251] The supply of food which the Guaika have is generally good and apparently quite nutritious. From time to time there is a shortage, and they do not accumulate reserves. Shortages are generally not too serious, for which reason they can usually bear the period of privation, subsisting from a neighboring settlement, which will be paid back for the visit when in its turn bad times come to it.

261 726 The complete loss of a "conuco" as a result of being constantly driven out of the area by an enemy is a quite serious matter. We observed a settlement (that of Bichaasatedi) subsisting with great difficulty for a year until its new "conuco" began to produce, after having been driven out of their former area by a hostile group (the one from Liakoatedi).

352 The Guaika do not make seats, but they rarely sit on the ground if they can avoid it. Generally they sit in a hammock or on a piece of firewood.

512 On an ordinary day the Guaika awake with the dawn. The wife prepares the roasted platanos for the whole family. Around 7:30 or 8:00 the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement go to work in the "conuco." Those who remain in the settlement in general rest the entire morning. Some few women gather in a party and go out to make firewood out of a dead tree, recently fallen. Those who work in the conuco begin to come back at noon. On the way to the settlement they bathe in the stream. After a brief rest each person roasts a few [276] platanos for his lunch. Then, around 2:00 in the afternoon, the "yopo" is prepared, and it is blown up the noses of many of the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

192
302
516
251
262
415
352
353

Clay pots and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Mama-teri was shooting at a wooden chimney (in hammock) in a monk raid. They left on the armed raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

192
291
516
411
342
726

222 262 we had each accumulated a half bushel or so, we would then proceed to eat them. In general, it takes a lot of work to get filled up on palm fruits.

The Yąnomamö also collect wild honey in considerable quantities. Nothing excites them more than locating a dead tree in which a swarm of bees has built a nest. They will halt everything and, if need be, spend the entire day chopping the tree down [123] to get at the honey. When I began my fieldwork I hired about a dozen men to cut trees for me so that I could build a mud hut. They would be gone all day and return with just a few poles, demanding a full day's pay for their efforts. I decided to accompany them one day to see what they were up to. We spent the entire day wandering through the jungle, eyes glued to the tree tops above. Each time I spotted a suitable tree, they talked me out of cutting it down because "it would rot" or "it is too far away from the river." By mid-afternoon we had not cut a single tree, but had walked over a large area of jungle. Finally, one of the men shouted for the rest of us to come. All the men descended on the large, dead tree he had located, and set about chopping it down with the axes I had provided. It took about an hour to get it down. They then spent another hour chopping holes along the length of the tree trunk to get at the honey inside. When it was exposed, they gleefully tore the combs out, dunked them into the amber liquid, and gorged themselves on the larvae-filled combs. After they had eaten their fill of this, they collected a large pile of leaves and made a crude bowl. Then they stuck handfuls of leaves into the honey and squeezed them out into the leaf bowl. When they had gotten all the honey they could reach, they scoured the nest with leaves and licked them off after each plunge [123] of the hand into the bowels of the trunk. They borrowed the aluminum kettle I had brought along and used to cook our lunch in. As we were some distance from the river [292] and they were impatient, one of them filled the kettle with muddy water he found in a swamp a short distance away. Some of the honey from the bowl was poured into the kettle, along with dead adult bees, twigs, leaves, dirt, and several dozen larvae. They passed this around among themselves, each man drinking about a quart or so of the mead after blowing the debris off the surface in order to expose the water. The remainder [251] of the honey was wrapped up in its leaf bowl, tightly bound with vines, and carried back [123] to the village. On the way back to the canoe we cut a few light trees for my mud hut. They had gotten what they were looking for all day, and I managed to get a few logs. They demanded a full day's pay when we reached home. Thereafter, I paid them by the log rather than by the day.

222 231 262 Finally, several varieties of insects are collected. Perhaps the most desirable food in this category is the grub of an insect that lays its eggs in the decaying pith of dead palm trees. The Yąnomamö come very close to practicing "animal domestication" in their techniques of exploiting this food. They deliberately cut the palm tree down in order to provide fodder for the insect. When they cut the tree, they also eat the heart of the palm, a very delicious, crunchy vegetable that slightly resembles the taste of celery hearts. One palm we cut yielded an edible heart of about 30 pounds. After the pith has been allowed to decay for several months, it contains numerous large, fat, white grubs. The pith is dug out of the tree with sticks, broken open by hand, and the grubs extracted. Each grub is bitten behind his squirming head, and the head and intestines removed simply by pulling the body away from the teeth. If a grub gets damaged in the process of extracting it, the parts are eaten raw on the spot. A fair-sized palm tree will yield three or four pounds of grubs, some of them as large as a mouse. The grubs

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Fig. 2-6. Rerohamŭ climbing a rasha *tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamŭ use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.*

The grubs

are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in a smoky fire tastes like bacon.

The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. The Yąnomamŏ break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare it in the above manner.

Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

11: Chagnon F-5 (1964-1983) 1988 SQ18 Tmoumm SQ18

142
302
352
855
251

Fig. 3-3. Arisuari, Kaplawai's son, being fondled by his mother's brother. This is a very intimate kinship relationship in Yanomamö society.

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharariwi, Kaobawi's youngest brother, helped build Kaobawi's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kaobawi's younger wife. Kaobawi's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kaobawi's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yanomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *Aashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kaobawi's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

undertake it if it meant getting rid of their first group of visitors, who, by this time, had spent nearly a week eating Kaobawë's produce.

On the morning of the feast three large pieces of bark from the *arapuri* tree were cut and brought to the village. These were made into troughs to contain the boiled, ripe plantain soup. All day long Kaobawë's younger brothers, who had returned from the hunt the day before, labored at cooking the enormous quantity of ripe plantains, pouring each boiling containerful into the trough as it was prepared.[3]

The plantains that Kaobawë had hung in his *shabono* roof a week before were now ripe. The young men who were preparing the soup would cut the bunches of plantains from the roof, split each fruit with their thumb, throw the two halves of the flesh into a cooking pot, and toss the skins onto a pile. They worked at this task from early morning until late afternoon, in addition to boiling a nearly equal quantity of green plantains, which provided the green vegetable food that customarily accompanies the presentation of meat. Yąnomamö etiquette dictates that meat must be accompanied by vegetable food and vice versa.[4] It is an insult, for example, to offer someone meat without simultaneously offering a vegetable food with it. Peeling green plantains is a little more difficult than peeling ripe ones, which are very tough and brittle. The Yąnomamö solve this problem, like they solve so many others, by using their teeth. Each plantain is bitten along its length several times, cracking the peel, which in turn is removed with the fingernails and further application of the dentition. On this particular occasion, two young men peeled, with their thumbs, enough ripe plantains to make approximately 95 gallons of soup, and, with their teeth, a sufficiently large quantity of green plantains to fill a dozen large pack-baskets.

In the morning on the day of the feast, Kaobawë went to the center of the village clearing where all could see him and proceeded to pull weeds. The clearing has to look presentable to the visitors, as it functions as the dancing plaza. As noted before, since Yąnomamö headmen cannot directly order their followers to execute tasks such as these, they usually initiate them and hope that others will follow. By and by, a number of older men joined him, as well as a few women, and when a sufficient number of workers were pulling weeds and hauling them out, Kaobawë quietly retired to his hammock, from which he oversaw the food preparations and calculated the distribution of meat.

Excitement in the village grew conspicuously as the hours passed, and by noon there was a constant din of laughter and chatter, punctuated now and then with a shrill scream from some young man overcome with the thrill of the feast. Occasionally, the visitors would reply to the shouts, setting off a brief contest of screaming between hosts

---

[3] Kaobawë's group has access to aluminum pots now and uses them extensively in food preparations. Most Yąnomamö groups still use crude clay pots, although these are being rapidly replaced by aluminum ware, which is traded inland to the more remote villages.

[4] The three vegetable foods considered to be suitable accompaniments for the meat preservation are: boiled green plantains, boiled *rasha* fruit, and cassava bread. A number of missionaries and a few scientific observers have identified the Yąnomamö feast strongly with the *rasha* fruit (Zerries 1955; de Buenaventura 1966). If it is to be identified with any food, it should be called the "plantain feast," but to identify the feast with a food that sometimes (*rasha*) or invariably (plantains) accompanies it is to overlook the sociopolitical causes of the feast. *Rasha* is so unnecessary to the feast that it was served at only two of six feasts I attended. In short, the Yąnomamö feast is a social and political event, not a harvest ceremony, and occurs independently of the abundance or availability of *rasha* fruit. *Rasha* fruit ripens in February, the peak of the dry season. It is only in the dry season that feasts can be held, because travel is difficult or impossible at other times of the year. The correlation of the ripening of *rasha* and feasting is rather more fortuitous than causal.

252 184 285 /51 cont./

The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only [192] three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10- [438] 1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter [192] from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohf -- (290).

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

[178] Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in. [426] Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the 114 Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is 252 supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is 174 significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with 285 a Xiriána group in Motomotő, he did not find any there, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed [177] with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karáiben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

249 /82/ Besides the cultivated plants used for food, some are raised to be used for enjoyment. These are primarily tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) -- peenáke -- (387) and a pepper plant (Piperacea sp.) --

387. The Waiká word for this is "be" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

maxarahá -- (388) which is required for making the narcotic

[184]

388. This plant is also cultivated by the Waikás and is designated by almost the same name "masho hara" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

snuff-powder (see pp. 192), as well as -- perakí -- (389)

389. The Waikás call this pepper plant "biaki" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

(Piper caudatum Vahl.), Portuguese pimenta-dos-índios, with which they spice their food.

249 824 Finally, the cultivation of plants yielding important required articles should be mentioned. These are arrow cane (Sagittaria montevidensis Cham. et Schl.) -- xerekafbe --, the urucuzeiro (Bixa orellana L.), from whose seeds, found in a thorny capsule, the red coloring matter urucú -- narú -- is obtained (see p. 122), as well as a Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria L. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda), the fruits of which are used as vessels (see p. 114).

248 The cultivation of cotton (Gossypium barbadense or hirsutum) -- xinarí -- is of comparatively recent date.

● 252 [462] 8. Preparation of Food

The preparation of solid food is almost exclusively in the hands of the women, but the roasting of game is reserved for the men (390). There are two methods of doing this: The simplest

[171]

390. According to Baldus, this prerogative

Suruí Paiter

/82 cont./

252 462 171

390. (cont.)
of the men is found among most Brazilian tribes: "Entre os povos naturais do Brasil, as grandes caças sao assadas ou moqueadas, em geral, pelos homens /among the primitive peoples of Brazil, big game is, in general, roasted or smoked by men/" (Baldus, 1950, p. 7).

252 and most common consists of impaling a piece of meat on a pointed stick, sticking the latter into the ground obliquely toward the fire, and turning it from time to time, so that all sides are equally exposed to the heat. There are also square [171] roasting racks (Portuguese moquém) with grates of wooden rods which, in the same shape or in triangular form, are familiar to almost all primitive peoples of tropical South America (391).

391. These roasting racks are made in the following way: Four sticks, forked at the top, are stuck into the ground so that a square is formed, cross rods are placed in the forks, and over them are laid sticks which are fastened with lianas.

The men use the roasting rack mostly if the meat of large animals, such as tapirs and wild pigs, is to be prepared, because several pieces can be roasted at once. Now and then, however, I also saw a whole monkey lying on the grate. So that no fat will be lost during roasting, the skin is not removed beforehand, but only when one sits down to eat. The entrails, however, are removed from the animals before roasting or boiling. They are not discarded, however, but wrapped in palm leaves and steamed in the hot ashes, to be consumed afterwards with great relish. When the roasting rack is used, an even fire; not too hot, is kept burning under it day and night. Before festivals, when it is desired to preserve exceptionally large quantities of meat,

/82 cont./

252 especially of the tapir, the pieces are left on the rack until they are black and as hard as bone.

[177] Smaller pieces of meat are cooked or boiled in clay vessels (392) and occasionally also in aluminum pots (393), often

[438] 392. These come from the Xiriâna.

[439] 393. These are trade articles of the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) or gifts from the Indian protection post on the Rio Demini.

together with green bananas, by the women. The pot is simply set between the burning logs. The women are very enthusiastic about my empty gasoline cans, in which they often cooked a whole cutia, paca, or monkey. Snake meat is eaten only in a cooked state. Fish are wrapped in leaves and steamed in the hot ashes.

/83/ Vegetables offer a variety of possibilities in the way of preparation. Bananas are predominantly roasted in hot ashes when they are still green, after the peeling has been removed beforehand (the taste always reminded me of a fresh roll), or cut into small pieces and boiled, in the latter case usually along with meat. A soup which is made out of ripe bananas is regarded as a special delicacy (394). Bananas are seldom eaten

252
262

394. The banana in general and this soup in particular play an important role in the religious and social life of the Surára and Pakidái. Young men, during their training period as medicine-man helpers, must be satisfied with a banana as their daily diet (see p. 144). At the festival in memory of the dead such a soup, mixed with the bone ashes of deceased tribesmen, is drunk by the men (see p. 230). Young girls are permitted to eat banana soup as their sole

Suráŋa
Pakidái

/83 cont./

•252
262

394. (cont.)
nourishment during their first and second menstruation (see p. 142), and it represents the most important item of food for pregnant women, and for several months after confinement. Among the Tapirapé, on the other hand, where the banana also represents a basic part of the diet, parents must refrain from eating this fruit after a birth. "They believe that the child would die if they disregarded this rule" /cited in English/ (Baldus, 1956b, p. 601).

[191]

252 raw. -- The mealy, nourishing fruits of the pupunha palm are primarily boiled. Then the soup is allowed to cool and a refreshing drink is obtained in this way. Before festivals all the [415] women pour it into a large, wooden trough, which is found in every maloka, so that there will be enough on hand. By means of steaming or roasting, a solid food is also prepared from them (395). --

[114]
[137]

395. Alexander von Humboldt, by the way designates the pupunha or pihiguao palm as "Pfirsich-palme" /peach palm/ and praises the delicious taste of its fruit (Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 281 f., 300; IV, p. 145). I cannot agree with the great scholar in this, for to me it tasted like slightly bitter potatoes. Zerries, by the way, is of the same opinion (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

Taioba, carâ, sweet potatoes, and sweet manioc are steamed in a pot or roasted in hot ashes without being previously washed or 252 peeled. -- Bitter manioc is scraped by the women with the 412 lancet-shaped bamboo knife (see p. 118) and then grated on a rough slab of granite, for they do not have grating boards (396) (397).

[177]
[123]

396. My servant Mateus, however, made them

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/83 cont./

252
412
[177]
[123]
[192]

396. (cont.)
a few graters out of the sides of our empty gasoline cans by boring numerous holes in them with a nail. They were very happy over these and maintained that it was considerably more agreeable to grate on them. They also immediately had a name for this grater -- kabaricinamõ.

252
184
412

397. The Xiriâna, too, grate the manioc roots on rough slabs of granite (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

252 The grated pulp is then pressed out by hand with the help of small, square strips of plaiting (see p. 112), which are rolled up (398).

398. The poison is removed from the manioc pulp in the same way among the Xiriâna (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

Among the Surâra I found three tube presses and among the Pakidâi five, which they had obtained from the Xiriâna (see p. 112). With the flour the women bake, on large, flat granite stones under which a fire is kindled, manioc flat-cakes, which are consumed with pleasure. This food, which appeared among them only a comparatively short time ago, seems to become
273 more and more popular. The preparation of kaschirí is unknown (399).

[114]
[177]

399. Since, however, my servant, a pure-blooded Tukano /Tucano/ Indian, felt a great desire for a slight alcoholic intoxication at the sight of the manioc flat-cakes, he taught the Surâra how to make kaschirí. At first they tried this unknown drink very critically. But after the first swallow their eyes shone, and they slapped Mateus on the shoulder enthusiastically and assured him again and again how good it tasted to them.

2: Becher--181 E-5 (1955-1956) 1969 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

262 439 Great popularity was also enjoyed among the Surára and Pakidái by the roasted manioc flour which they occasionally obtain from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter or from the Indian protection post on the Demini as a gift. They are unable to make it themselves because they do not have the large iron pans for it.

252 Various fruits of wild plants also need special preparation. The white seeds found in the pods of the pacova-tororoca (see p. 168) must be roasted before they are eaten. The taste, by the way, corresponds exactly to roasted maize. /84/ -- The fruits of the pot-tree (see p. 168) are first boiled, for which the women particularly liked to use my empty gasoline cans, and then cut open with the knife of tortoise shell (see p. 118). They are then poured into one or more of the large plaited baskets -- uaramã -- (see p. 107) and hung for four days in the water on the bank of a stream, in order to remove the bitter substances. After that they are thoroughly rubbed by the women with their feet. These fruits, to be sure, occupy only a second-rank position in the favor of the "gourmets," but at least they fill the stomach. Moreover, I was assured that in olden times, that is, before the introduction of the banana, this fruit played a much greater role in the food economy.

263 All the foods mentioned are, as a rule, eaten without spices. Only now and then do some men and women add a little of their cultivated pepper, which is roasted beforehand. [123] Not a single tribesman developed a taste for my salt, of which I had brought along several kilograms, assuming that the Indians would be pleased about it, and they had no interest whatsoever in acquiring any of it (400).

[146] 400. The amount of salt required by the body is supplied by the wood ashes with which the tobacco roll (see p.190) is mixed.

171 175 263 This aversion to salt is also found among many other tribes, and in a report as early as the sixteenth century one can read the following remark: "The forest people cannot use any salt, because it makes them ill, for they are not used to it; if they eat it, they

273 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make
271 alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in
177 contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the
263 coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use
261 wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is re-
[764] lated to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "hikula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the
183 young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity
591 in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the
184 Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We
591 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially
182 matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes
596 to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively
591 rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the usefulness of the Coroso palm end here: it furnishes a hard, black wood that gives the Indians their finest bows, real masterpieces treasured with pride by their owners and only bought and sold with a great deal of ceremony.

The *lakua* represents the Indian food-ideal. It grows in bunches up to eighty pounds or more in weight, each fruit being the size of an egg and in shape and colour not unlike a small, ripe cheese. Cooking it takes a long time. The outside is a thick starchy layer, orange-coloured and rich-tasting without being over-sweet or sickly. It is better than any of our starchy foods such as bread or potatoes or chestnuts or *guarki*. The whole of it is edible right down to the little stone itself. This is a kind of delicious almond which crumbles pleasantly under one's teeth and leaves nothing but an insatiable desire for more—hence its name, *lakua*.

Lakua can be carried: there are no doubts about this, as in the case of the kumoshi. Its golden bunches are big enough to cover up a man, and the carrier protects himself from the thorns on the branches with a good thick cushion of leaves. In the evening they are cooked, so that the grim-faced women of the tribe are able to produce their milk after all and tirelessly pass it on to the scabby, drooling mouths of their infants, who in their turn convert it into blood and yield it up to the clouds of flies and mosquitoes which wrap them round with a perpetual dark veil like an aura of evil and accursed spirits.

In recompense for its fabulous generosity, the *lakua* tree has been accorded one great privilege that sets it apart from all the other fruit-bearing trees of the forest: it is never cut down for the easier harvesting of the crop. The fruit is brought down by some clever manipulation of a long pole, for no climber's hands and feet could withstand the thorns. If in very special circumstances the tree has to be cut down, then its upper stem is opened so that its last, secret riches can be cut out—the ten pounds of sweet, crisp, chestnut-flavoured tenderness that is its growing point, the heart. Then the tree will weep out its tears from its torn breast, tears of wine that are lost.

Certainly the tribes living nearest to the forest and the forest's deep anti-human mysteries have chosen the *lakua* as their god of food: but we, a hybrid mixture of natural fears and supernatural thunderings, chose to set up opposite it our own saint, the yellow and most luscious *sapak*. When the marching horde reached a gnarled tree which evoked the quick cry '*Sapak!*' they flung themselves at it—such is their agility in tree-climbing that they literally seem to fling themselves up—and began a feast that reduced them to silence because

/449/

Preparation of Food

251 To keep meat from spoiling, it is first dried directly over the fire. Then it is kept on a rack over the fire, perhaps for several hours, but frequently all night. After this, it is placed a bit farther from the fire, but where the air will keep it dry, although not necessarily warm. I have seen meat kept for some ten days in this way, and doubtless it would have lasted longer had it not been eaten.

• 252 Meat preserved in this way is still regarded as raw and must be cooked in a pot before being eaten.

Small animals are cleaned, washed, and then boiled whole in a pot. If the animal is large, it is cut up into pieces small enough to fit into the pot. The custom of leaving the skin and [174] hair on them while they cook is perhaps a survival from the time when they did not have knives for skinning them. A string or piece of bark is tied to each piece of meat in order to be able to take it out of the pot to turn it. From time to time they take the meat out in order to prick it many times with a stick so that it will cook more quickly.

When it is finally ready, the head of the family, or the owner of the meat, shares it or divides it into portions which he distributes among his relatives or friendly families.

462 The task of cooking the meat is man's work. He is the 252 owner of the pot, does the hunting, looks for the firewood, and divides and distributes the cooked meat. (Sometimes he sends a boy to deliver the meat to some family on the other side of the circle of dwellings.)

313 The gathering of firewood for cooking food other than meat 462 and for keeping the family warm at night is woman's work. For [412] this reason the women use the ax much more than the men do.

252 Green platanos are generally peeled and placed directly over the embers, turned a few times, and /450/ taken off when they are found ready to eat. Or they may be placed on a live fire to be cooked, but without being peeled, in order that they may not be blackened. If it is necessary to cook a large quantity of green platanos quickly, they are peeled and boiled in a pot.

/450 cont./

252 Ripe platanas are eaten raw or are boiled and mashed in the form of a soup to be drunk. Half-ripe platanos are placed on the fire with their skin.

The fruit of the "pijiguao" is preferred boiled, although it may be cooked directly on the fire when a pot is not available.

"Sweet yuca," the "mapuey," the "ocumo," the sweet potato, and other edible roots are boiled or roasted directly over the fire.

"Bitter yuca" is pounded on a stone. The juice is squeezed out between the hands, and balls are made with the pulp, or dough, and hung in a basket in such a way that the breeze caused by the fire strikes it. The poisonous juice is preserved with strong peppers and ashes to prepare a liquid which they call "yubu," in which certain foods are dipped and eaten. The cooking of the yuca "dough" is done on a piece of broken pottery. First a layer of this yuca is spread out, being left there until it is to be eaten. This cake is not turned, but is taken off altogether in order to put another one in its place. Then the first cake is placed on top of the second one in such a way that its uncooked side is joined to the latter, and they are left to cook until both are stuck together, then being considered ready. Cakes of some 15 to 20 centimeters in diameter and from one-half to one centimeter in thickness are made in this fashion.

Fish and little birds, larvae, and certain insects are wrapped in leaves and cooked over the embers. Small pieces of meat are also frequently cooked in this fashion.

[222] A large seed in the shape of a frijol, called "wabu," is gathered and eaten. The Indians believe that this seed is poisonous, for which reason they prepare it in the following fashion. It is cooked and thinly sliced. Then it is placed in baskets and put under running water. After remaining for three or /451/ more
[262] days under the water, it is considered edible. This seed serves as a reserve in case of a shortage of platanos in the conucos. On such an occasion the whole group moves to live in a place where there is an abundance of "wabu," until the platanos ripen.

/452 cont./

252 Women generally roast the platanos for everyone's breakfast. At noon and in the evening, everyone cooks his own platanos. To a child of seven they might give three green platanos in [866] their skins, telling him: "Here is your dinner." The child then proceeds to cook them.

264 The Guaika /Waica/ in general have abundant food and eat it with pleasure. They do not look kindly upon remains of food being left. Anyone who does not lick his bowl clean after having drunk his soup of platanos is considered a prodigal.

266 765 The mere idea of cannibalism is rejected with horror, although they do eat the pulverized bones of a cremated relative, after having kept them in a hermetically sealed gourd for about six months.

262 They do not eat carnivorous birds and animals, but carnivorous fish, even the caribe (piranha), are eaten with pleasure. Some [252] snakes are eaten, others not. They boil them or else they cook them wrapped in leaves upon the embers.

271 Drink, Drugs, and Excesses

The Guaika /Waica/ take extreme care concerning the water they drink. The supply of water for a settlement must be obtained upstream from all the fords which cross the stream or brook. If a Guaika finds it necessary to drink water in a place below a ford, he makes a hole in the sand of the beach and waits until water which has filtered through it gushes up. The water of the current is considered dirty, just as the water from the hole dug [415] in the beach is clean. Water is transported in gourds by the women for use in the settlement.

273 The Guaika do not prepare any alcoholic beverage.

276 Tobacco leaves are rolled up with ashes and placed in the mouth behind the lower lip. When there is a shortage of tobacco, /453/ they obtain a certain bitter root in the forest, strip the bark from it, and place it behind the lip to diminish the desire for tobacco.

/467 cont./

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.
[241] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in
[482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the house. They may call upon the women to help them when the game has been brought into the vicinity.

[224] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The women fish with macanas and with baskets.

[499] The men build the bridges.

[342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the
[482] settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family. For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own platanos. The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

?: Barker--63 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate III

291
252
302
415

The men cook the meat from hunting. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

372
516
302

They produce fire by making a little stick rotate between the palms of the hands, with the friction end resting on a piece of soft wood. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

his jungle intimately—where to find palm dates, cocoa and brazil nuts in their season, and where game birds are most plentifully found. He hunts the herds of peccary, his ear, versed in all the sounds of the forest, detecting his prey before they detect him. When the water in the rivers is low he shoots his fish with arrows and when the sand banks are uncovered he hunts tortoise eggs buried in the sand. His interminable wanderings are limited only by his forest lore; he lives only for the day, his sole reserve of food being a small store of bananas brought from the village plantation.

Platanal

As we closed the shore our reception was tumultuous. From the high bank above us the Indians leaped yelling into the water and clambered on board, shaking themselves like wet dogs. Laughing and gesticulating they took hold of our mooring lines. Though some of us were a little overcome by this display of exuberance, Butrón was not in the least disconcerted. He knew that the Indians had long learned to associate him with machetes and *manioc*. As soon as it was possible to do so, Butrón had a basket of *manioc* and a dozen machetes carried ashore, and the Indians who had already begun to ransack our cargo left it and hurried ashore.

"*Shori! Manioco! Oji!*" they cried striking their bellies. They jostled round the basket, stuffing handfuls of the coarse flour into their mouths, their heads thrown back in ecstasy.

As the Waïka have no knowledge of contriving the simplest of iron tools, or of grinding *manioc*, all such articles were highly valued objects of barter. So were matches, once they had been shown how to use them.

Butrón told them we wanted the large green bananas which are eaten cooked; the accepted tariff is three hands of bananas for one machete. Before long, we heard some of the natives making merry in the plantation, and made as if to follow them. But at once the others became suspicious and gestured to us to return to the river bank. We insisted and they became menacing, finally refusing to go on gathering the bananas if we did not desist.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

000(lapa, Spanish).

222 The collection of small fruits, spiders, ant grubs, wild honey, crabs, mushrooms and fish also contributes variety to the Yąnomamö diet.

241 Cultivated foods contribute the greater proportion
266 of calories to the Yąnomamö diet, probably upwards of 85%,
[146] although this figure would vary seasonally. Again, those
(177) Yąnomamö villages living close to Makiritare settlements cultivate much more yucca (manioc) than platanos, refining it in some cases to meal as do the Makiritares. Elsewhere
[252] the Yąnomamö eat their yucca roasted or boiled or make cassave bread by a technique quite distinct from that employed by the Makiritare.

722 Yąnomamö material culture is very much attenuated by
[422] comparison with, for example, Makiritare. The Yąnomamö like to limit their possessions to an amount that is readily transported by the women, because the entire village may be obliged at any given moment to abandon its site to avoid raiders, or may be invited to a feast at another village.
[422] They do not like to leave possessions in their village when
[574] they leave it, as visitors from other villages would take them. And, their warfare pattern precludes the possibility of leaving a few people behind to guard the village, as they
[341] would be easily overwhelmed by a raiding party. When just a portion of the village leaves to visit another group, those that stay behind move into the jungle some distance from the village and live in well-concealed huts until their co-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4 feet off the ground at the rear and 6 feet off the ground at the front. Shorter sticks are then laid crossways on the major roof poles and these, in turn, covered with several layers of long, broad, wild "banana" leaves (see Glossary, under "Banana, wild"). It is quite small, but can sleep three individuals. Frequently, the traveler finds the remains of one of these houses and has merely to put a new layer of leaves on the roof to make it waterproof; occasionally, he takes a chance that it won't rain that night and does not improve the hut at all.

When the Yąnomamö settle a new area, they erect temporary villages of these crude huts and live in them until they can build a *shabono*. They also live in huts like these while they are re-roofing the old *shabono*.

The permanent village is complete when the palisade of logs is erected around its circumference. This is placed some 3 or 4 feet behind the roof, allowing space for a path around the village inside the palisade. The palisade itself is about 10 feet high and usually made of a mixture of palm and hardwood logs. It is kept in repair only when there is some reason to suspect raiders. Otherwise, people pilfer logs from it for use as firewood. The entrance to the village, as well as the palisade entrance, is covered with brush and logs at night to keep out intruders. Anyone trying to enter will inevitably make the brush move and alarm the village dogs.

FOOD AND ITS GATHERING · The jungle provides numerous varieties of food, both animal and vegetable. The most commonly taken game includes several species of monkeys, two varieties of wild "turkey," two species of wild pig, armadillos, anteaters, tapir, deer, a small alligator, small rodents, and several species of smaller birds. Wild vegetable foods commonly exploited by the Yąnomamö are: palm fruits of several species, hardwood fruits, brazil nuts, tubers, and the seed pods of the feral banana. Of these, the palm fruits are by far the most significant.

These occur seasonally and, for brief periods of time, produce large quantities of fruits. Unfortunately, there is very little edible substance in each fruit, so that in order to get filled, one must eat the edible portion of enormous quantities of fruit. The Yąnomamö extensively exploit two closely related palms, *pei* and *kurushi*. The *pei* fruits are about the size of small hen's eggs and occur in large clusters, weighing 80 pounds and more, near the tops of the palm trees. The *kurushi* fruits are about half that size. The exterior portion of the fruit is a leathery shell which is peeled with the teeth. Inside there is a thin layer of very bitter, white flesh. This is chewed and sucked off. The taste resembles that of a poor grade of bath soap. Of the two, I found *kurushi* the more repugnant. My throat burned when I ate them.

Another commonly exploited palm is the *ediwabi*. It is tangerine red in color and covered with a leather-like skin that consists of hundreds of small scales. They are about the size of large hen's eggs and resemble small hand grenades. When the fruit is dry, as, for example, when it is first cut from the tree, it is almost impossible to get the leathery scales off. The Yąnomamö overcome this difficulty by throwing the fruit bunches into water and letting them soak for several days, after which the scales can be easily scraped off with the fingernails, exposing a thin layer of yellowish, soft flesh that tastes very much like cheese. The fruits begin to ferment after they have soaked, producing a slightly pungent taste. I enjoyed eating *ediwabi* with the Yąnomamö; the fruit was good, and the technique of eating it was very sociable. We would wade into the swamp where the fruit had been submerged and grope around in the murky water to locate it. After

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Fig. 2-6. Rerebawë climbing a rasha *tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamö use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.*

The grubs

are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in a smoky fire tastes like bacon.

The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. The Yąnomamö break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare it in the above manner.

Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

They have much less fat on them than grubs, and become dry and crunchy during the cooking, having a texture and form like cheese pone when prepared.

Large spiders are also collected; they are simply placed directly on the hot coals and roasted alive. The legs and thorax are eaten.

Another common insect food is the larvae of a species of large ant. Only the head of the squirming larvae is eaten. It is very crunchy and has a nutty taste, but one must exercise caution in eating them since they are equipped with sharp pincers and can inflict a painful wound on the tongue or lip.

The game animals are all shot with arrows. The curare palm points are usually used for monkey hunting, while the lanceolate bamboo points are used for large game, such as deer, tapir, and wild pigs. A third kind of point is used for birds. It consists of a long, slender stick to the end of which has been bound a splinter of gently curved monkey bone. This serves as the penetrating point and the barb; it is difficult to extract the point once the barb enters the animal.

The Yąnomamö also fashion a fourth kind of arrow point as they need it. It is simply a stick that has numerous twigs branching in a close cluster. The twigs are cut off an inch or so from the main branch, and the stem is inserted into the end of the arrow shaft that usually contains the curare-tipped point. This fourth type of point is used to kill small birds whose feathers are desired for decoration purposes. On one occasion I saw a young man fashion one of these points in a few seconds. He saw a small bird, located a shrub a few feet away, bit off a branch with his teeth, bit the twigs off, and stuck the point into his arrow shaft—without taking his eyes off the small bird for a second. This type of point is discarded after it serves its temporary purpose.

The Yąnomamö do not employ traps or compounds when hunting. They frequently use dogs to run tapir, pigs, and deer, but most hunting is merely the individual stalking and shooting whatever game is available. As men always carry their weapons with them when they leave the village, they are, in effect, hunting continuously. A communal type of hunting trip invariably precedes a feast; this is described in Chapter 4.

The technique for capturing armadillos is very interesting. Armadillos live in burrows deep underground, and the Yąnomamö are always investigating the entrances of these burrows to see if any signs of recent occupation can be found. If the burrow is occupied, the hunters quickly cover the entrance with combustible materials and start a fire. After the fire is blazing strongly, they find a dried termite nest, which produces large quantities of smoke, and put it onto the fire. When this is ignited, they fan the smoke into the burrow, cover the fire with sand, and look for other openings to the armadillo den. These are quickly spotted when smoke begins to emerge from them and covered with sand to keep the smoke in. Then the men crawl around with their ears held to the ground. The armadillo will sometimes start burrowing in order to escape the smoke; when he does, he is heard and his location immediately established. A stick is used to dig into the ground and find the animal, usually 2 or 3 feet below the surface. On one occasion the men had difficulty locating the animal and dug several holes without hitting the burrow. One of them then uncovered the entrance, obtained a thick vine from a nearby tree, and tied a knot in the end of it. He then introduced the knot into the burrow by spinning the vine rapidly between his hands, pushing it in gently as it twirled. When he could not get the vine to go any further, the men listened on the ground to locate the spinning knot. When they found it, they marked the spot. The vine was

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a newly planted sucker, the more quickly it will bear fruit. Hence, if the Yąnomamö wish to establish a garden that will produce a crop in the shortest period of time, they must plant large cuttings. These can weigh up to 10 pounds each, and transportation of the cuttings becomes a tremendous task.

As will be made clear later, most long moves are usually stimulated by warfare, and the group is under some pressure to establish a new garden as quickly as possible. The Yąnomamö can speed up their schedule of abandoning an area by taking temporary refuge in the village of an ally, by planting crops other than plantains that mature quickly and produce high yields, or by anticipating a serious war and getting an early start on their new garden. When Kąobawä's group was forced to abandon one of its locations because of a war, the group took refuge with an ally and established its new garden near the ally's village. One of the consequences of these factors is that newly established gardens produce their crops in cycles so that there will be periods of plenty interrupted by periods of hunger. After a few years, the garden will mature and produce constantly. The periods of hunger are eased by planting rapidly developing crops such as maize and by working constantly at transplanting the secondary plantain shoots as they appear. Thus, gardening activities vary largely with the relative maturity of the garden and the length of time the people have been living at that site. Once the plantains are producing constantly, other crops are not cultivated as intensively as before. But whatever the Yąnomamö are eating in a given village, they are striving to get their gardens to produce a constant supply of plantains. The fact that a given village may be relying very heavily on maize at some point in time may reflect no more than the fact that the garden is relatively new and the plantains have not yet begun producing constantly.

After a site has been occupied a few years, gardening activities take on a more regular pattern. The "rectum" (*bei kä basi*) of the garden is gradually abandoned, and a new "nose" (*bei kä bushibö*) is added by clearing adjacent land and transplanting crops. Thus, a garden has a direction—it moves, little by little. Sometimes there will be as many as three or four discrete gardens around a village, all of them producing more or less continuously. The older ones are gradually abandoned because it is simply easier to clear new land than to attempt to weed the thorny underbrush out of the old site. If you have ever attempted to clear prickly brush without wearing protective clothing, you should immediately see the wisdom of the Yąnomamö choice.

In an established garden site, labor follows a more regular pattern. The dry season is usually the time for feasting, visiting, trading, and warfare. Gardening activities are at a minimum at this time of year, but the ambitious will try to work a few hours each day at weeding, transplanting, and burning brush. Most of the heavy labor of felling large trees is restricted to the wet season, when it is cloudy and generally cooler, and the demands of feasting and dancing do not interfere with the work. Still, practical considerations are more important than a fixed schedule of work, and if the gardens are producing insufficient quantities of food, the Yąnomamö will expand their gardens at any time of the year.

GARDEN PRODUCTS Each man's garden contains three or four varieties of both plantains and bananas. The larger portion of the cultivated land will contain plantains, as they produce a higher yield than bananas. The garden will also have a sizeable patch of sweet manioc, a root crop that is boiled or refined into a rough flour by grinding it on a rock and then converting the flour into thick, round cakes of baked cassava bread.

244 [177] [292] [499] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians–and by rural Venezuelans–and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and [284] a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome [531] piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] [437] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in the trading network.

137
142
291
301
462
482
313

Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers. 462 313 [482]

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity. 593 462 [252] 593 164 [137]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Shararaiwä, Kaobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kaobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kaobawä's younger wife. Kaobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kaobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yanomamö village. One can hear people chanting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *bashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kaobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

SQ : SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

neutral. The treacherous feast for their Shamatari enemies proved to be unsuccessful: The intended victims had accepted the invitation, but were informed of the plot just before they arrived. One of the Reyabobŏwei-teri who had close kinsmen among them had misgivings about the matter and warned them.

Late in the afternoon it was learned that the Mahekodo-teri were, in fact, in the vicinity of the village, allegedly on a "camping trip." Kaobawä, of course, suspected their story, but to demonstrate his friendship he invited them to be his guests at a feast. As he and his men had been away for nearly two weeks, there was an abundance of food in their gardens and they could easily afford to entertain the Mahekodo-teri and their traveling companions, the Boreta-teri. Together, the guests numbered about 100—after they fetched their women and children.

This sets the stage for the feast in the kind of context that makes it more intelligible: The specific historical relationships between the participants and the nature of their mutual mistrust. Now I will give the details of the events that followed.

The Feast

Perhaps because he suspected the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri of intimidation, Kaobawä also invited the Karohi-teri to attend the feast. They are a small but dependable ally and had themselves separated from the Mahekodo-teri many years ago. This established a balance of power at the projected feast should any trouble arise, for the combination of both Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri was of sufficient strength to worry any host. With the aid of the Karohi-teri, Kaobawä's group was more of a match for the visitors.

The feast started out on a sour note. It is the custom of the Yanomamö visitors to arrive only after an invitation from their hosts, sent by messenger on the day of the feast. The Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri, however, arrogantly arrived nearly a week before Kaobawä's group was prepared to receive them and set up a large, temporary camp a short distance from the village. They were guests and could legitimately demand to be fed. Because of this, Kaobawä and his covillagers were under obligation to feed them, some hundred or so people, and took them to the gardens to supply them with enough plantains to last a week. Kaobawä was a little disturbed that they would be so impolite as to arrive uninvited, but took the situation quite philosophically. After all, they had fed his group for the better part of a year.

He and several other men cut a large quantity of plantains, which were hung in his house and allowed to ripen for a week, to be boiled into *date*, a thick, sweet soup, on the day of the feast. That afternoon Kaobawä and a few of the older men commissioned a hunting party comprised of young men, several of whom were Kaobawä's brothers, whose responsibility would be to obtain a large quantity of fresh meat to give to the visitors on the day after the feast. Most of them were reluctant to go, as their feet were still sore from the trip to the Shamatari village. A few of them claimed to be sick and managed to escape recruitment into the hunting party in this way. This hunt, with the hanging of the plantains in the headman's house, initiated the feast. The excitement that usually attends a feast began at this time.

That evening the young men danced and sang in the village, an institution called *amoamo*, thereby insuring themselves with luck on the hunt. (The Yanomamö also

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

undertake it if it meant getting rid of their first group of visitors, who, by this time, had spent nearly a week eating Kaobawä's produce.

On the morning of the feast three large pieces of bark from the *arapuri* tree were cut and brought to the village. These were made into troughs to contain the boiled, ripe plantain soup. All day long Kaobawä's younger brothers, who had returned from the hunt the day before, labored at cooking the enormous quantity of ripe plantains, pouring each boiling containerful into the trough as it was prepared.[3]

The plantains that Kaobawä had hung in his *shabono* roof a week before were now ripe. The young men who were preparing the soup would cut the bunches of plantains from the roof, split each fruit with their thumb, throw the two halves of the flesh into a cooking pot, and toss the skins onto a pile. They worked at this task from early morning until late afternoon, in addition to boiling a nearly equal quantity of green plantains, which provided the green vegetable food that customarily accompanies the presentation of meat. Yanomamö etiquette dictates that meat must be accompanied by vegetable food and vice versa.[4] It is an insult, for example, to offer someone meat without simultaneously offering a vegetable food with it. Peeling green plantains is a little more difficult than peeling ripe ones, which are very tough and brittle. The Yanomamö solve this problem, like they solve so many others, by using their teeth. Each plantain is bitten along its length several times, cracking the peel, which in turn is removed with the fingernails and further application of the dentition. On this particular occasion, two young men peeled, with their thumbs, enough ripe plantains to make approximately 95 gallons of soup, and, with their teeth, a sufficiently large quantity of green plantains to fill a dozen large pack-baskets.

In the morning on the day of the feast, Kaobawä went to the center of the village clearing where all could see him and proceeded to pull weeds. The clearing has to look presentable to the visitors, as it functions as the dancing plaza. As noted before, since Yanomamö headmen cannot directly order their followers to execute tasks such as these, they usually initiate them and hope that others will follow. By and by, a number of older men joined him, as well as a few women, and when a sufficient number of workers were pulling weeds and hauling them out, Kaobawä quietly retired to his hammock, from which he oversaw the food preparations and calculated the distribution of meat.

Excitement in the village grew conspicuously as the hours passed, and by noon there was a constant din of laughter and chatter, punctuated now and then with a shrill scream from some young man overcome with the thrill of the feast. Occasionally, the visitors would reply to the shouts, setting off a brief contest of screaming between hosts

---

[3]Kaobawä's group has access to aluminum pots now and uses them extensively in food preparations. Most Yanomamö groups still use crude clay pots, although these are being rapidly replaced by aluminum ware, which is traded inland to the more remote villages.

[4]The three vegetable foods considered to be suitable accompaniments for the meat presentation are: boiled green plantains, boiled *ruaha* fruit, and cassava bread. A number of missionaries and a few scientific observers have identified the Yanomamö feast strongly with the *ruaha* fruit (Zerries 1955; de Barandiaran 1966). If it is to be identified with any food, it should be called the "plantain feast," but to identify the feast with a food that sometimes (*ruaha*) or invariably (plantains) accompanies it is to overlook the sociopolitical causes of the feast. *Ruaha* is so unnecessary to the feast that it was served at only two of six feasts I attended. In short, the Yanomamö feast is a social and political event, not a harvest ceremony, and occurs independently of the abundance or availability of *ruaha* fruit. *Ruaha* fruit ripens in February, the peak of the dry season. It is only in the dry season that feasts can be held, because travel is difficult or impossible at other times of the year. The correlation of the ripening of *ruaha* and feasting is rather more fortuitous than causal.

and guests that gradually died off as each group busied itself in preparation for the dance.

Shortly after noon a rumor circulated through the village that the visitors had been raiding the gardens at night and stealing plantains. A number of people, particularly older men, were visibly upset by this new information, giving rise to another rumor that there would be a chest-pounding duel to set the matter straight. The guests had already worn their welcome thin by arriving uninvited a week in advance and by eating excessively. Their hosts were becoming angry with them, as it was all too obvious that they were deliberately taxing their hosts' patience; they were intimidating them.

The men of the host group had finished their preparations for the feast; they were all painted in red and black, bearing colorful feathers. They had cleaned the debris from their houses, had finished hauling out the weeds they had picked from the village clearing, and had brought in quantities of food to give their guests. Now, it was time for them to take *ebene*, their hallucinogenic drug. They separated into several groups and began blowing the brownish-green powder up each other's nostrils with 3-foot long hollow tubes. As the drug would be administered, each recipient would reel from the concussion of air, groan, and stagger off to some convenient post to vomit. Within ten minutes of taking the drug, the men would be bleary-eyed and wild, prancing around in front of their houses, stopping occasionally to vomit or to catch their breath. In each group there would be one man particularly adept at chanting to the *hekura*, the mountain demons, and he would soon take over the show, while the others retired to the sidelines in a stupor, green slime dripping from their nostrils. Should there be sick people in the village, the adept chanters—the *shabori*—would cure them by chanting, massaging, sucking, and vomiting out the evil spirit that caused the sickness. Otherwise, they would chant about other things, perhaps sending their *hekura* to enemy villages to eat the souls of children, or enjoining them to prevent their enemies from doing the same. Occasionally, one of the men takes too much of the drug and become violent. On this particular occasion, Shiimima, one of Kaobawä's brothers, grabbed his bow and arrows and ran to the center of the village. This caused a minor sensation for a moment, but one of the men managed to catch and disarm him, hiding his weapons so he could not find them. Things returned to normal again, and the other participants in the drug-taking began chanting to Shiimima to restore him to his senses. The chanting lasted for an hour or so, and the participants, one by one, returned to their houses to clean up their paint jobs; most of them had smeared their careful work by vomiting all over themselves.

While the men were taking their drugs, the women were busy painting and decorating themselves with feathers and red pigment. The visitors, also, were busy at the same tasks, and the excitement of the feast reached fever proportions by mid-afternoon. A few women were still busy finishing trade baskets, while Kaobawä's younger brothers continued with the monotonous cooking of what seemed to them an endless number of plantains.

Finally, an old man from the visiting group entered the village and marched unceremoniously across the clearing while the members of Kaobawä's group cheered him. He was too old to join the dancing, but too respected to wait behind with the women and children while the younger men put on their display. This was evidence that the visitors were about to send in their delegate to accept the feast invitation at Kaobawä's house.

Surára
Pakidái

/85 cont./

9. Meals and Eating Habits

264
262 In the morning the Surára and Pakidái eat very little, usually only one or two bananas or tubers roasted in the hot ashes. I often found that men and women set out to hunt or gather without having eaten anything. If they come across wild fruits on their wanderings, however, they help themselves generously. Small, light meals in the form of banana soup, roasted or steamed bananas, pupunha fruit, sweet potatoes, etc. are eaten at noon. Sometimes there are some leftovers from the meat of the day before. The main meal of the day does not take place until after sundown, by the light of the blazing fire. For at this time the whole family is usually assembled again, and the hunting booty which the man perhaps brought home in the afternoon or the products of the gathering by the women have been prepared. Everywhere one sees the men squatting beside the fire and waiting for food, which includes larger or smaller pieces of meat
[824] supplemented by vegetable fare. In front of them the women have spread out a few palm leaves as an underlayer for the food. The men eat first, and they also get the best pieces of meat. When they are satisfied, the women and children may start eating. Nothing is drunk during the meal, but afterwards a palm-fruit or honey drink is enjoyed.

264 Eating is done with the hands. In one hand the Indian holds a piece of roasted or boiled meat and in the other a roasted banana, a manioc flat-cake, or something similar. Intermittently one reaches into the pot and takes out another piece or cuts it off from
[415] the wooden spit or roasting rack. Soups are drunk out of gourd bowls or calabashes, just like the palm-fruit and honey drinks.

[251] If the hunters' bag was particularly good, one may observe many Indians, men, women, and children, eating all night long, for meat is preserved only before festivals. In connection with this the individual members of the family lie comfortably in their hammocks, converse, sleep a little at intervals, then fetch themselves another piece of meat from the roasting spit or rack. It is
• [261] astonishing what quantities they consume during such a night. On the other hand, they are also easily able to fast for a long period of time.

/209/

273 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make
271 alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in
177 contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the
263 coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use
261 wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is re-
[764] lated to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the
183 young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity
591 in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the
184 Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We
591 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially
182 matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes
596 to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively
591 rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

open space ran a belt of rattan palms with their notoriously dangerous black spines. There were just two openings: a way in, and a way out. This was a defence work against any enemy that might come along. An aggressor had little chance of bringing off a surprise attack against the Samatari over this open ground, and if he made a frontal attack he would find "bread for his teeth"—that is, thorns for his feet.

At night, while the Indians were all chattering heedlessly in their hammocks or sleeping the light sleep of the savage, the two gaps in the cordon were closed and the camp became a fortress difficult to storm. If they stay for several days in one place, as sometimes happens during the rainy season when they are visiting their plantations of tobacco and cane (for arrows), they will put up a palisade round the camp, on the Guayca model. This is composed of the trunks of a very tough palm, driven into the ground as close together as possible. Thus entrenched they can withstand whole days of attack from a position of strength.

In the course of our march, one Samatari not only devoured the larvae of bees, neatly excavating them from their cells in the smoked honeycomb, but every now and then he would stop at a dead tree-trunk, seamed with ant-galleries or lanes, and run his thumb and forefinger along the groove as far as possible, pressing out the damp earthy substance, which he conveyed to his mouth like some rare *bonne bouche*. Smacking his lips, he carried on until he had demolished the whole network of these arboreal thoroughfares, and the ants fled away over the surface of the tree-trunk, lamenting the cataclysm that had overtaken them.

Even we tried this ant-hill diet, but a mixture of earth and sawdust hardly appeased our hunger. Sometimes, as we crossed a stream, a few of the Samatari bent down rapidly and picked out of the water some little white stones that were soft like lumps of lime. These they chewed as they went along, apparently swallowing them. They will also eat sand, the dirty, soft, vari-coloured sand which is found with the detritus of vegetable matter thrown up on the banks of a river after a flood. For on top of all this varied diet of theirs, the Samatari are also geophagists—earth-eaters. The reason for this is probably an instinctive prompting which leads them to acquire in this way the minerals their normal food—which they eat without salt or spices—does not supply.

Our great salvation was the fruit: meat being very precious to the savages, they were unwilling to give us any, and we had no means of hunting for ourselves. The gun had simply disappeared. For the Samatari too, fruit is the main

/451 cont./

251 The Guaika /Waica/ do not keep reserves of food. All of their foods are cooked fresh or at least within a period of two weeks from the time they are ready. Therefore, in case their conucos have a scarcity of produce, they must go to live in the forest, gathering seeds, fruits, and roots, and devoting more [628] time than usual to hunting and fishing. When another settlement has an abundance of food in a time of scarcity, it would be very fortunate to be able to live completely from this settlement instead of having to subsist from the forest.

Consumption of Food

263 No salt is consumed as such, that is, as salt properly speak- [824] ing. They eat wood ashes, especially the ashes of a tree called "kololi." The ashes may be eaten as they are or with hot water poured over them to obtain a tasty liquid. To this liquid, called "ubu," is added strong peppers. Platanos and other foods are dipped in the resulting sauce to flavor and ingest them.

• 261 Clay is also dried and eaten, especially the clay from certain nests of insects.

[862] No child may be weaned until it has learned to eat the said ashes and clay.

Earth and clean dust are also eaten. They are considered clean if they are taken from a place where a fire has recently burned, from a river bed, or from a bare spot or bank of sand which the sun has been able to purify.

264 Their hours for eating are as follows: Breakfast is taken shortly after sunrise, and the second turn when they come back from work in their "conucos," generally at some time near midday. They eat again near /452/ sunset. This schedule varies, being adjusted for hunting trips, moving from the settlement, etc. They eat quite a lot between meals, especially wild fruits and bananas and ripe platanos.

/469 cont./

513 352 The third essential thing is the hammock. The Guaika must have a hammock in order to sleep at night. In his dwelling he has a cotton hammock or a hammock made of vines split longitudinally. On a hunting trip he may travel with his hammock made out of cords of vine or without carrying any. In this latter case, each night he will make a temporary hammock /470/ out of cords of bark, and, in case he stays in the same general area, he will use it for several nights. Then, in order to travel light, he will abandon this hammock of cords of bark and will go to his home, where his good hammock awaits him.

262 594 [251] The supply of food which the Guaika have is generally good and apparently quite nutritious. From time to time there is a shortage, and they do not accumulate reserves. Shortages are generally not too serious, for which reason they can usually bear the period of privation, subsisting from a neighboring settlement, which will be paid back for the visit when in its turn bad times come to it.

261 726 The complete loss of a "conuco" as a result of being constantly driven out of the area by an enemy is a quite serious matter. We observed a settlement (that of Bichaasatedi) subsisting with great difficulty for a year until its new "conuco" began to produce, after having been driven out of their former area by a hostile group (the one from Liakoatedi).

352 The Guaika do not make seats, but they rarely sit on the ground if they can avoid it. Generally they sit in a hammock or on a piece of firewood.

512 On an ordinary day the Guaika awake with the dawn. The wife prepares the roasted platanos for the whole family. Around 7:30 or 8:00 the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement go to work in the "conuco." Those who remain in the settlement in general rest the entire morning. Some few women gather in a party and go out to make firewood out of a dead tree, recently fallen. Those who work in the conuco begin to come back at noon. On the way to the settlement they bathe in the stream. After a brief rest each person roasts a few platanos for his lunch. Then, around 2:00 in the afternoon, the [276] "yopo" is prepared, and it is blown up the noses of many of the

/119 cont./

000 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the
621 multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation --
431 is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but, on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance.
621 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion,
166 namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements, which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a
[361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their
[342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their un-
● 262 married children. The new place is chosen according to the
245 possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting;
194 nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this
166 migration, for even during this period they continue to live from the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent
[222] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on
[224] gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the past.

Sarára
Pakidái

/3 cont./

On the Rio Demini, slightly below the Cachoeira (rapids) Auatsinaua, is the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" (Ill. 1). From the mouth to that point is a six-day journey in a small boat with a four-horsepower outboard motor. On this long stretch there are only two dozen families. Fifty years ago the banks along the lower third were more densely settled than they are today. But malaria and a terrible beriberi epidemic, 1907/08, carried off the majority of the inhabitants. After the great forest fire which raged along the Demini in 1926, health conditions improved temporarily. In the most recent times a motor boat of the National Malaria Service travels up the Demini and Aracá once a year, and the palm-straw huts of the inhabitants are sprayed with DDT. Nevertheless, malaria still takes its toll. Often it also leads to a protracted liver ailment; above all, there is a lack of any kind of medication. A second scourge is tuberculosis, the cause of which, aside from the humid, hot climate, may probably be traced to the poor and unbalanced diet. It consists predominantly of manioc meal, small fish, the salted, sun-dried meat of the pirarucu, salted wild-pig meat, and, to a considerably smaller extent, birds and game, for the men generally do not have time to hunt. In addition, /4/ for rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, fruit and vegetables are practically unknown luxuries. As a result of the crowded life of the individual families and the lack of hygiene, children too are not free from tuberculosis. Moreover, mention must be made of a dangerous eye infection which often leads to blindness. This comes about because a fine dust is constantly trickling down from the palm-straw roofs of the huts, in which there are many insects, and it gets into the eyes of the people asleep in their hammocks. An infectious skin disease that causes light spots on the skin is also widespread. Worm and intestinal ailments occur frequently, as does syphilis. Finally, it is noteworthy that adults and children have very poor teeth. The reason for this may again probably be sought in the unbalanced diet, for all of the free Forest Indians who have more variety in their meals, have excellent teeth. Mortality is highest among the children, and next come the women, a relatively large number of whom die in childbirth since there is, of course, no medical assistance.

Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
[825] emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

Surára
Pakidái

/76 cont./ The
224 meat of all the animals mentioned is greatly prized. Smaller
[262] rodents, however, are regarded as decided delicacies: paca (Cuniculus paca L.) -- amutá -- and cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomã --, which usually are killed with dogs or driven into a hole in the ground, as well as the armadillo (Dasypodidae sp.) -- obó. The latter is killed in the following way: When the Indian has discovered an inhabitated armadillo burrow, he examines it to see whether the animal is occupying it. If this is the case, he quickly fetches dry leaves and blocks the entrance. Then he kindles a fire with his fire apparatus, which he always carries on the quiver (see p. 53), sets fire to the leaves, and, with a palm leaf, fans the smoke into the burrow. This forces the animal to come out after a few minutes, whereupon the hunter is able to kill it
[262] with an arrow or beat it to death with a stick (351). With some-

[191]

351. Caspar describes the same method for the Tuparí Indians (Caspar, 1953, p. 96 and Pl. 3).

what less relish these Indians eat the meat of the capybara (Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris Erxl.) and the various monkey species, such as, for example, the howling monkey (Alouatta sp.) -- ihró --, cuxiú-negro (Chiroptes satanas Humb.) -- uixá --, cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.) -- paxó --, and macaco-da-noite (Aotus infulatus) -- makurutamão. A great deal of skill, however, is required for monkey hunting in particular, because these animals leap from limb to limb in the crowns of tall trees and swing from one treetop to another by means of lianas. -- Feline species (352) are shot

352. Spotted jaguar (Felis onca L.) -- ihrá --, black jaguar (Panthera onca L.) -- hukumarí --, puma (Felis concolor) -- uaquearimã --, maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yaó.

Surára
Pakidái

/76 cont./

224 relatively infrequently, for the most part only when they stay in the vicinity of a maloka and thus constitute a danger for human
224 262 beings. Only the meat of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) is eaten. For some hunters, however, pride in killing such animals plays a role, for finishing off a jaguar, especially the black one, gives him greater esteem. -- Snakes, which are very numerous here because of the considerable dampness, are killed with a stick. If a surucucu (Lachesis muta L.) -- pereíma -- (Surára word) -- peléma -- (Pakidái word), the largest and most dangerous poisonous snake of South America, is killed, then the joy is especially great. The head is cut off, and every family gets a piece of the snake's body, which is cooked with other meat. It has an agree-
[151] [825] able taste and reminded me of eel. The Surára and Pakidái also believe, however, that every person who has eaten the meat of a surucucu will never be bitten by any other poisonous snake. The sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) -- uaikonyá -- and the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatá -- are also eaten with relish. The jararaca (Lachesis sp.) -- karihirimá --, the papaova (Spilotes sp.) -- karimatá --, and the cobra-coral (Elaps corallinus Wied.) -- huamoxíke --, on the other hand, are never eaten. -- Now and then a cayman (Caiman sclerops Schneid.) -- ihuí -- or a lizard -- xaraimá -- are killed with a stick, and sometimes the hunter, but more often his dog, discovers in the forest a jabuti (Testudo tabulata Woelb.) -- totorí --, whose meat is also very tender and tasty; /77/ it does not come up to that of the water turtle, how-
[225] ever. Yet, of the numerous species which inhabit the Demini, Aracá, and their tributaries, the Surára and Pakidái catch only the perema -- talmã --, and, to be sure, they seize it in shallow water with their hands.

223 [868] Bird hunting requires special training. That is why even boys are encouraged to kill as many small birds as possible, so that later on they will be good hunters.

The following birds are most frequently hunted, on account of both their meat and their feathers: mutum (Crax sp.) -- parurí --, urumutum (Crax sp.) -- katará --, mutum cavalo (Mitu mitu L.) -- katauri --, jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nhapín --, cujubim

/77 cont./

226 c) Fishing

Fishing plays a very subordinate part, and since olden times it has been carried on, with bow and arrow, only from the river-bank. Fishing by means of poison or landing nets, weirs, and similar implements is unknown. Recently, however, these Indians [179] have now and then used fishhooks of metal (354), which were

354. They fasten these to a line of cotton or Bromelia fibers.

given them by rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, as well as by the Indian protection post on the Rio Demini. Nevertheless, this 226 262 has not substantially increased their interest in fishing, for fish simply are not among their favorite foods. Moreover, only smaller species may be eaten (355), because all the large ones have the

355. Aracu (Leporinus copelandi Steind.), piranha (Pygocentrus sp. and Serrasalmus sp.), surubim (Platystoma sp.), jandiá (Sciluridae sp.), mandi (Rhamdia sp.), curimatã (Prochilodus sp.), pescada (Gadus sp.), dourado (Salminus brevidens), tambaquí (Characinidae sp.), mandubi (Auchenipteridae sp.), anujá (Trachycoristes sp.), cuiú-cuiú (Oxidorus niger Vall.), etc.

evil breath of the river within them and thus cause sickness and other misfortune. Thus, they, of course, abhor the pirarucu (Osteoglossidae), over three meters long and the largest fresh-water fish, the dried meat of which represents practically the basic diet of the caboclo population (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers), and the delicious meat of the large water-turtles is also rejected by them for this reason.

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

245 Among the vegetable foods of the Surára and Pakidái,
[262] bananas, of which I found nine different varieties, occupy first place today. Of these, in turn, the most frequently cultivated is the mealy banana (Musa paradisiaca normalis; the regional caboclo population calls it pacovinha) -- kuratá -- (372).

[174]

372. With regard to its origin, Sauer writes: "The plantains and bananas (Musa paradisiaca) originated in southeastern Asia and were there bred into a great variety of seedless cultivated forms. Their presence in the New World is considered by many as due to post-Columbian introduction" /cited in English/ (Sauer, 1950, p. 526).

192 Kuratá, however, is also the general designation for all
245 bananas (373). In addition, the following special names were

[184]

373. Zerries gives the same name with regard to the Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, pp. 152, 155), and Koch-Grünberg gives the following names for the Karaiben Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/: "kurá:tana," "kura:tana'," or "kuratanâ" (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 47, 268). The corresponding Xiriâna designation, namely, "kalatá:ke," is very similar (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 306). This definitely proves that the banana, or at least one variety, reached the Waiká, Xiriâna, Surára, and Pakidái from Karaiben tribes. The myth concerning the origin of the banana, which the Surára chief told me (see p.249), also shows that this fruit came from the outside only in very recent times.

[174]

given me for the other eight varieties (374):

[184]

374. The Waiká, too, use very similar terms for certain varieties of bananas (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153):

/82 cont./

252 especially of the tapir, the pieces are left on the rack until they are black and as hard as bone.

[172] Smaller pieces of meat are cooked or boiled in clay vessels (392) and occasionally also in aluminum pots (393), often

[438] 392. These come from the Xiriána.

[439] 393. These are trade articles of the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) or gifts from the Indian protection post on the Rio Demini.

together with green bananas, by the women. The pot is simply set between the burning logs. The women are very enthusiastic about my empty gasoline cans, in which they often cooked a whole cutia, paca, or monkey. Snake meat is eaten only in a cooked state. Fish are wrapped in leaves and steamed in the hot ashes.

/83/ Vegetables offer a variety of possibilities in the way of preparation. Bananas are predominantly roasted in hot ashes when they are still green, after the peeling has been removed beforehand (the taste always reminded me of a fresh roll), or cut into small pieces and boiled, in the latter case usually along with meat. A soup which is made out of ripe bananas is regarded as a special delicacy (394). Bananas are seldom eaten

252
262

394. The banana in general and this soup in particular play an important role in the religious and social life of the Surára and Pakidái. Young men, during their training period as medicine-man helpers, must be satisfied with a banana as their daily diet (see p. 144). At the festival in memory of the dead such a soup, mixed with the bone ashes of deceased tribesmen, is drunk by the men (see p. 230). Young girls are permitted to eat banana soup as their sole

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

252
262

394. (cont.)
nourishment during their first and second menstruation (see p. 142), and it represents the most important item of food for pregnant women, and for several months after confinement. Among the Tapirapé, on the other hand, where the banana also represents a basic part of the diet, parents must refrain from eating this fruit after a birth. "They believe that the child would die if they disregarded this rule" /cited in English/ (Baldus, 1956b, p. 601).

[191]

252 raw. -- The mealy, nourishing fruits of the pupunha palm are primarily boiled. Then the soup is allowed to cool and a refreshing drink is obtained in this way. Before festivals all the [415] women pour it into a large, wooden trough, which is found in every maloka, so that there will be enough on hand. By means of steaming or roasting, a solid food is also prepared from them (395). --

[114]
[137]

395. Alexander von Humboldt, by the way designates the pupunha or pfhiguao palm as "Pfirsich-palme" /peach palm/ and praises the delicious taste of its fruit (Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 281 f., 300; IV, p. 145). I cannot agree with the great scholar in this, for to me it tasted like slightly bitter potatoes. Zerries, by the way, is of the same opinion (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

Taioba, carâ, sweet potatoes, and sweet manioc are steamed in a pot or roasted in hot ashes without being previously washed or 252 peeled. -- Bitter manioc is scraped by the women with the 412 lancet-shaped bamboo knife (see p. 118) and then grated on a rough slab of granite, for they do not have grating boards (396) (397).

[177]
[123]

396. My servant Mateus, however, made them

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

262 Great popularity was also enjoyed among the Surára and Pakidái
439 by the roasted manioc flour which they occasionally obtain from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter or from the Indian protection post on the Demini as a gift. They are unable to make it themselves because they do not have the large iron pans for it.

252 Various fruits of wild plants also need special preparation. The white seeds found in the pods of the pacova-sororoca (see p. 168) must be roasted before they are eaten. The taste, by the way, corresponds exactly to roasted maize. /84/ -- The fruits of the pot-tree (see p. 168) are first boiled, for which the women particularly liked to use my empty gasoline cans, and then cut open with the knife of tortoise shell (see p. 118). They are then poured into one or more of the large plaited baskets -- uarana -- (see p. 107) and hung for four days in the water on the bank of a stream, in order to remove the bitter substances. After that they are thoroughly rubbed by the women with their feet. These fruits, to be sure, occupy only a second-rank position in the favor of the "gourmets," but at least they fill the stomach. Moreover, I was assured that in olden times, that is, before the introduction of the banana, this fruit played a much greater role in the food economy.

263 All the foods mentioned are, as a rule, eaten without spices. Only now and then do some men and women add a little of their
[123] cultivated pepper, which is roasted beforehand. Not a single tribesman developed a taste for my salt, of which I had brought along several kilograms, assuming that the Indians would be pleased about it, and they had no interest whatsoever in acquiring any of it (400).

[146] 400. The amount of salt required by the body is supplied by the wood ashes with which the tobacco roll (see p.190) is mixed.

171 This aversion to salt is also found among many other tribes,
175 and in a report as early as the sixteenth century one can read the
263 following remark: "The forest people cannot use any salt, because it makes them ill, for they are not used to it; if they eat it, they

Surára
Pakidái

/85 cont./

9. Meals and Eating Habits

264
262 In the morning the Surára and Pakidái eat very little, usually only one or two bananas or tubers roasted in the hot ashes. I often found that men and women set out to hunt or gather without having eaten anything. If they come across wild fruits on their wanderings, however, they help themselves generously. Small, light meals in the form of banana soup, roasted or steamed bananas, pupunha fruit, sweet potatoes, etc. are eaten at noon. Sometimes there are some leftovers from the meat of the day before. The main meal of the day does not take place until after sundown, by the light of the blazing fire. For at this time the whole family is usually assembled again, and the hunting booty which the man perhaps brought home in the afternoon or the products of the gathering by the women have been prepared. Everywhere one sees the men squatting beside the fire and waiting for food, which includes larger or smaller pieces of meat supplemented by vegetable fare. In front of them the women [824] have spread out a few palm leaves as an underlayer for the food. The men eat first, and they also get the best pieces of meat. When they are satisfied, the women and children may start eating. Nothing is drunk during the meal, but afterwards a palm-fruit or honey drink is enjoyed.

264 Eating is done with the hands. In one hand the Indian holds a piece of roasted or boiled meat and in the other a roasted banana, a manioc flat-cake, or something similar. Intermittently one reaches into the pot and takes out another piece or cuts it off from the wooden spit or roasting rack. [415] Soups are drunk out of gourd bowls or calabashes, just like the palm-fruit and honey drinks.

[251] If the hunters' bag was particularly good, one may observe many Indians, men, women, and children, eating all night long, for meat is preserved only before festivals. In connection with this the individual members of the family lie comfortably in their hammocks, converse, sleep a little at intervals, then fetch themselves another piece of meat from the roasting spit or rack. It is [267] astonishing what quantities they consume during such a night. On the other hand, they are also easily able to fast for a long period of time.

/85 cont./

264 There is no feeling of modesty during eating, such as Karl von den Steinen, for example, describes for the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ (412).

412. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 66.

262 On the other hand, there are food taboos for sick people, pregnant women, for girls during their first and second menstruation, and for young men in connection with their two-months' training as medicine-man helpers.

231

10. Tame Animals

As the sole, true domestic animal, there is found among the Surára and Pakidái only the dog -- hiíma. In addition, for amusement and the pleasure in animals, European cocks are kept, as well as small monkeys, porpoise-like little hamsters (Cavia leucopyga), parrots, araras, and parakeets (Conuvidae).

As for the dogs, there are two barking varieties. One resembles the German shepherd dog, while the other, which is short- /86/ haired, white or spotted, looks very much like our [437] fox terrier. Well-trained hunting dogs, with which a profitable barter trade is carried on, are very lovingly cared for and are always given plenty of food, whereas the others are sometimes neglected. Basically, however, the Indians are attached to these animals also, which may be seen by the fact that every family that owns dogs, usually one or two, has made a "dog bed" behind their fire area, that is, a sleeping place for the loyal members of the household (Ill. 30) (see p. 29). Sometimes young dogs [552] are even nursed by women. If a bitch has brought forth young, all the relatives and friends ask to be given a young one later on and, upon receiving it, immediately give it a name. It may also be of interest to point out that the Indians mentioned never whistle to their dogs. Usually they call them by name or they hiss by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth (413).

[171]

413. Many North American Indians behave in the same way (Friederici, 1899, p. 365).

/86 cont./

231 Dogs are never killed; they are allowed to live until they
[262] die of old age. When I asked whether dog meat was ever eaten
in former times, men and women, with horrified faces, answered
in the negative. Yet this custom is supposed to have prevailed
[973] at one time among various tribes of Guiana (414). There do not

414. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 189.

seem to be any myths about dogs.

123 I should also like to mention that during my months-long,
231 extremely friendly stay with the Surára and Pakidái, and in
[114] spite of great efforts, in which the Indians helped me, I never
231 succeeded in winning the affection of their dogs. It meant a
[114] good deal that in time I was tolerated by them. I can agree
perfectly with Friederici when he writes: "The Indian dog has always hated the white man, and, conversely, the dog of the European, the Indian. The odors given off by the races are so different that even a human nose can usually tell the difference, how much more a dog. If a white man walked through an Indian camp he usually had a whole pack of growling and teeth-baring dogs behind him" (415). But I also found that the opposite was

415. Friederici, 1899, p. 365.

true. The dogs kept at the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini, mongrels of the most diverse breeds, but among them also former Indian dogs, behaved, in their hatred, as though they were mad when Pakidái families came to visit (416).

[191]

416. Baldus, on the occasion of his Chaco expedition, also observed that Indian dogs, once they are in the hands of whites, become the bitterest enemies of their former masters (Baldus, 1931, p. 18).

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

235 also give names; they are fed by the women. During the day they
[552] run around freely, and at night they are confined in a common pen built out of thin trunks and sticks beside each maloka. When the tribe is traveling, it is the duty of the small boys to carry a rooster in the plaited carrying basket made from the bast strips of the curauá plant (see p. 106). When a temporary camp is set up in the afternoon, the cocks are set free. During the night they rest on the limbs of low trees, usually in the vicinity of their owners. Before the march is resumed the next morning, they are caught again and put in the baskets of the boys. I might also mention
[825] that the Surára and Pakidái never kill a cock, for it is a member of the household, and they believe furthermore that roosters
[262] and hens are unclean animals that eat any kind of filth. For this reason, eating their meat, including the eggs, would be very harmful for human beings (424).

235
171
262

424. Among various Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana, where many chickens are kept, neither the meat nor the eggs are eaten (Im Thurn, 1883, p. 265). Ehrenreich reports the same thing about the Karajá /Caraja/: "Even the domestic hen, which reached the Araguaya /Araguaia/ tribes a long time ago in the domestic state and has multiplied tremendously, is, as a member of the household, not used for food, nor are its eggs. In modern times, however, it serves as a trade item in dealings with travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Para at a high profit" (Ehrenreich, 1891, pp. 13/14).

231

[171] The tamed wild animals, such as monkeys, parrots, araras, and parakeets, also enjoy complete freedom. I never found them tied up, as is mentioned by Baldus, for example, for the Chaco tribes (425).

425. Baldus, 1931, p. 18.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769
266 On the next day, April 6, 1956, the festival reached its climax. Toward 9:00 the Surára chief, his brother Kurikayawõ, and the chief and war chief of the Pakidái sat down around the pots of banana soup, in front of which also stood the two jamaru vessels with the bone ashes of the deceased, and all the other [533] male members of the tribe sat around them. The Surára chief started to pray loudly, whereupon a rather long choral song was struck up. Then he poured the bone ashes into all the soup pots, mixed them thoroughly with his hands, and scooped out a calabash full for himself, which he emptied hastily and to the last drop. Thereupon the Pakidái chief, the brother of Hewemão, and the war chiefs of both tribes drank, followed by all the older and younger men, including the larger boys, who drank last (514). As a result of this ceremonial drinking of the

[123] ~ 514. Hewemão also offered my servant and me a full calabash each, along with the war chiefs. When we had drunk them, he slapped our backs appreciatively and said that we were now true Sarára.

bone ashes, it is believed, the strength and spirit of the de-
769 ceased will remain within the tribe and contribute to its vigor.
[533] Following this drink, a prayer of thanksgiving was sung.
[782] Then the men, youths, and boys together ate large quantities
/107/ of the roasted tapir meat, as well as manioc flat-cakes,
● [262] and after that the women handed them calabashes full of the refreshing drink made of pupunha fruits.

Invigorated and fortified with the powers of the deceased, the men were now able to proceed with the most strenuous part
[302] of the festival. But before this began, half of them blackened their faces and bodies with soot, which they scraped off of their
769 cooking pots. Meanwhile others had again set in the center of
276 the maloka circle the large clay plate upon which they poured the brownish snuff-powder -- epená --, out of bamboo containers, and in front of the plate they laid a large number of

/107 cont./

769 526 [622] [624] [147] in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other, who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexí (see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After [262] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed themselves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and manioc flat-[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in connection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

769 114 184 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká, which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds

515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

/114 cont./

539 discipline of the tribe. Since all admonitions were of no avail, he was banished from the community.

Karemoná painted his body with urucú and left the maloka. After he had wandered about in the forest for a few hours, he lay down wearily on the ground and fell asleep. While he was asleep Poré transformed him into the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatá -- because of his insubordination.

539
825

The Creation of the Black Jaguar

The Surára were already acquainted with clearing by burning and cultivated banana trees and pupunha palms. One day they saw a large toad in the forest clearing. A Surára wanted to kill it, but it fled to the other /115/ side of the roça (forest clearing) and there turned into a black jaguar.

The Creation of the Tapir

A cuatá monkey fell from a tall tree and was unable to climb up again. After several unsuccessful attempts, it turned into a tapir.

The Creation of Wild Pigs

A band of cuxiú monkeys fell from a tall tree. After futile attempts at climbing up again they were transformed into wild pigs.

The Creation of the Ant Bear

539
606
262

A Surára man who had raped his mother-in-law was turned into an ant bear by Poré as punishment. Since then there has been in-law avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and the meat of the ant bear may not be eaten by members of the tribe.

● 262

/For information on the wide variety of edible food items collected by the Yanoama, see category 222./

/200 cont./

162 C. Sanemá of the upper Ventuari (Nabudub)

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Weweña	50	The Nabudub of Ihuduña frequently move between the Ventuari and the Erebato.
2. Wadekuña	80	
3. Mahanaña	50	
4. Ihuduña	200	
Total	380 estimated individuals.	

161 According to this demographic estimation there are approximately 2,150 Sanemá in the zone of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura. We do not know how many Sanemá live on the Padamo.

342 We have seen four different types of houses among the Sanemá: (a) windscreen type, (b) triangular in shape and Makiritare system, (c) rectangular, and (d) oblong. We have found types (a) and (b) together in the same encampment on the Ventuari, facing Caño Mosquito.

342 On our trip through that place we saw two Sanemá rafts
361 moored on the bank of the Ventuari. We later climbed a cliff
[501] and followed a path which led us to a conuco of the Sanemá.
[137] At one end there was a gigantic algarroba tree laden with fruit.
[262] Judging from the skins scattered on the ground, we realized that the Sanemá had consumed a great quantity. Near the tree, which in times past offered them /201/ its generous shade, we found a desolate Sanemá encampment. It was made up of five
342 triangular huts and two of the windscreen type. Both types of construction seem to be typical of the Yanoama and are remarkable for their size, somewhat small. For the construction of a triangular cabin six poles 1.60 meters long are needed to serve as posts or supports. Three pairs are made out of them, each bound at the upper end with a bejuco, and with some 30 centimeters left free in order to form a fork. The lower parts of the poles are stuck into the ground at a distance of half a meter. These forks in tepee form with a separation of two meters form a
[824] regular triangle. Three sticks are later placed on the forks, and these support the roof made of platanillo /Musaceae/ leaves. A similar rancho was described by Koch-Grünberg (1923, Pl. 43).

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm. [841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [779] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

/206 cont./

223 order to pick it up. As a result of his expertness in hunting, he knows the trees in which the birds gather to spend the night. The man, using palm leaves and bejucos, carefully prepares a blind with the sure hope that, by means of this ambush, the booty will be plentiful.

224 262 [237] [482] Hunting in groups is common among the Sanemá, and they do this particularly to surround a group of monkeys, peccaries, or in order to kill a feline. /207/ They do not eat the meat of jaguars, but keep the canine teeth in the roof of the house. They tie up the peccaries that they get, front feet to the back ones, load them on their backs, and carry them home. The meat of the peccary is greatly esteemed, and the whole rancheria gathers to eat the animal, with the exception of the young unmarried men, who, by order of the capitan, must not taste the meat so that the hunters who have killed the animals will not die. They may, however, eat other kinds of meat and the food which they most like.

There are some animals that the Sanemá are prohibited from hunting: thus, they do not eat snakes, they kill the cayman, but [.766] do not sample its flesh. The Sanemá of the Erebato told us that they cremate caymans as they do men, for, in fact, as far as [784] they are concerned, caymans were previously men. It is taboo to kill a morrocoy or a turtle. They were people before and Omao 262 223 does not permit them to be killed. There are other animals which they kill and eat only under certain conditions, among them the eagle (21).

> 21. The Surará and Pakidai kill the eagle, but throw away its flesh. They say that it transmits sickness (Becher, 1960, p. 77). (Cf. the section on "death" in the present study /see pp. 93-94 /.)

223 825 262 If a hunter comes upon an eagle, he believes that he is facing a speciman of a species of animal which was previously a person. He may be facing a friend or an enemy. Therefore, before shooting, he asks the animal if it is a friend or an enemy, and only if

262 /207 cont./
223 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of
825 cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear. The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for
[514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground,
[785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily" on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war" /see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy.
[433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit,
[527] and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social
[114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48), Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion in greater detail, according to their observation of it among the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

The first menstrual period

/215 cont./

584 881 indicates that a man may have sexual relations with the wife who was promised to him when she was still a child. Sometimes a girl will refuse to marry the man to whom she was promised as a wife, but she is afraid to conceal her first menstrual periods for mythological reasons.

881 773 In their oral literature the Sanemá tell of a very sad case which occurred in remote times because a girl concealed her first menstruation. Oineitĩb, a scrawny dwarf, found out about what had happened and caused heavy rains to fall for a period which demolished the rancheria where the girl lived. All the men died. The young girl went away to live with the neighboring group, where she was greeted with unequivocal signs of friendliness. On the very day of her arrival a man went to the river to fish, when suddenly he saw floating on the water the dead bodies of the people of the rancheria recently destroyed by the heavy rain. He immediately realized what had happened. He returned to the rancheria and killed the girl. The dwarf ate the girl and all the people who lived in the rancheria destroyed by the rain. This happens very rarely, however, which is why the dwarf is so thin.

881 [302] [262] We do not know the content of the puberty rites, but it seems that the hair is cut in the case of both sexes, and, for the boys as well as for the girls, food is limited to cassava and water, and that in small amounts. They do not eat meat. An informant 343 from the Erebato spoke to us of a special hut where the women 841 881 remain for the duration of their menstrual period. If we understood him correctly, this hut is round and dome-shaped and made of palm leaves stuck into the ground. Inside the hut there is a circle made of little sticks placed side by side, within which there are two sticks stuck into the ground one meter apart. Between these sticks is fixed a bejuco. /216/ The woman, who must not lie down during menstruation, sits down and the bejuco serves as a back support. We did not see any house of this type.

584 The arrangements for a marriage are initiated with a private discussion between the two young lovers. The boy indicates to his fiancée that he wishes to take her as his wife and says to her:

/222 cont./

793 the men learn because of the frequency with which he sings them.
773 He sings during the day, but especially at night. Suddenly he
[776] interrupts his song and flies up into the sky, where he joins other hɛwĩawán in order to sup with Omao.

The hɛwĩawán must jealously keep a certain number of
793 taboos, and on the degree of care with which he keeps them
784 depends, not only his power as a priest, but also the existence of
● [262] all his people. Thus, for example, he must not eat crabs or other animals which in reality are men to them, just like eagles, etc.

[778] Should he do this, the "weight of the dead" kills his hikuladɛ, a disaster which, in turn, causes the death, not only
[726] of the priest, but also of a large part of his congregation. For the same reason, the hɛwĩawán never takes part in war or in any combat whatsoever, because, although he is invulnerable and no arrow or club can kill him, his hikuladɛ could not bear the "weight" of a man killed by his weapons. This is the reason why each Sanemá local group relies on a special chief for wartime.

793 The hɛwĩawán, who belongs to the court of Omao more than
[776] to the Sanemá community, does not marry a specific woman.
[836] He may have sexual relations with all the unmarried women of the group, but he is completely unconcerned about them and the children. He has no duties as either husband or father.

/223/ If a hɛwĩawán dies, any woman of the group may
[776] have a son predestined to be a hɛwĩawán. No one knows which
[781] of the boys born in the period immediately after the death of a priest may be the hɛwĩawán of the future, but one day the true hɛwĩawán will return from the forest where he has met the Great Jaguar, who changed him into a priest, replacing his human flesh with other flesh more worthy of his bones, the flesh of a bat-priest.

[771] He than informs the people of what has happened, and, as that election happens shortly after the death of a priest, the new hɛwĩawán tries to take the vacant place in time, assuring, in this manner, the continuation of uninterrupted contact which the Sanemá have had with Omao generation after generation.

/225 cont./ The sanemá say that the
793 hɛwĩawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikulaɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[796] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
[126] propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[795] hɛwĩawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
●262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
974 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the híkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

little hand, once fashionable in Europe, would probably have made an ideal present for him.

One day, however, a boy passed in front of him, dragging a great sheaf of palm leaves. The Senator stretched out his hand to touch them, as if making sure they were of good quality.

'The Senator has touched the leaves!' I shouted to the others, and from that moment anything The Senator did marked a red-letter day in our calendar.

But at home he was not a figure of quite the same dignity. His back-scratching stick was now replaced by one of the machetes which his tribe had received in payment from us. However, his smile when he saw us again made up for everything—even for that rash behaviour when he had broken the mystic spell of his immobility by stretching out his hand to touch the palm leaves.

We treated the usual cases of worms among the children and one or two not very serious sores, and then returned to the beach, where Jean was waiting for us with Caio and Sempronio. Two days later we were once more at Llantarigña, on our way to the Uarema settlement to make a retake of some film shots we thought we had lost in our recent shipwreck.

The *mereis* were beautifully ripe on the Merevari banks, and at Llantarigña there was a gigantic tree, which Sempronio climbed like a monkey. From his perch on high he threw the fruit down to us, but not before he had sampled the best of them, chuckling and exclaiming in his delight. The *merei* is the red and fleshy fruit of the cashew nut tree. Common in tropical America, it is known on the lower Amazon as the *marañon*. Besides the juicy pulp, there is also the kernel which once freed from the bitter oil which impregnates it can be made into an excellent almond cake, as it is in Guiana.

When we had eaten our fill of these fruits, we decided to sacrifice the tree in order to re-take a scene for our film. We had been puzzling over it and so far had found no satisfactory solution. The scene called for a beautiful tree falling into still water. A tree with fiery red fruits, which would make a tremendous splash. Several Indians would then jump in after the fruits as the current began to sweep them away. This venerable *merei* tree at Llantarigña seemed ideal for the purpose, both in its structure and its position, and we worked on it with our axes for an hour, while I myself, strategically placed with the camera, waited for the big scene. But when the tree did come down the Indians were all on top of me, hurrying out of the way of its fall, so that the foreground of the picture was thick with figures dancing about in clumsy

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

minutes later the two women were quietly walking home with the baby, who appeared to be dead.

While the mother goes about her normal tasks, with the child tied on her back all the time, the father stays in the hammock, absolutely motionless, eating nothing but fruit and palm-hearts—'they don't heat the blood,' Luis Antonio assured us.

Among the Guiana-Amazon Indians I have never heard of the father himself suffering from birth-pangs during this period of rest. Such reports, however, have come from travellers and observers of the Indian tribes inhabiting the southern regions of the lower Amazon. Before one can believe them one must accept a little more than the theory of the inter-relation of cause and effect. A good dose of barefaced auto-suggestion would also be needed to account for this phenomenon, and only the most undeveloped of the Indians would be capable of it.

IV

Of kindred interest, while we are on the subject of childbirth, is the organization of Indian society. It has been asked whether the pattern is patriarchal or matriarchal, and what part is played by the individual family.

If the question is limited to the Shirians, the answer is simple: they have reached no stage of organization above the rudimentary animal level. The family has the sole function of producing life and protecting it until the offspring is capable of fending for itself. Their society is not patriarchal, because the role of the family ceases where its physical functions cease, at the point where, in civilized societies, moral functions begin. Nor is the pattern matriarchal, because the women are held in a form of slavery, though the very lack of an exact social system means that they sometimes emerge from this to become the companions of the men—a state of affairs which may be regarded as more emancipated, or less.

The children of both sexes, while they are young, remain the exclusive responsibility of the women, but when the boys reach an age at which they can do without their mothers (this generally means as soon as they cease to be breast-fed) they become independent males and do not belong to anybody in particular. Up to a certain point the father is free to pick out one who may be

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

any moment to fall on human beings and devour them. With us Sempronio knew no fear, and he always wore a smile. He would run round our legs like a puppy, and was always ready to do things, taking on the heaviest tasks under the worst conditions. He ate with us. He ate purposefully and he went on eating. His voracity had to be seen to be believed, when you considered his slim delicate build. He ate our rations. Then he ate the special ones which the Indians prepared for themselves, and on top of that he ate an endless number of things which with great foresight he had collected on the way: grubs, honeycomb with brood cells, honey and all, small fish, worms, birds' eggs taken from the nest, frogs, young snakes, palm hearts from young palm trees—he ate everything with rapid and relentless mastication, cooking what could be cooked on the fire, and devouring the rest raw.

When he had eaten everything he would start a regular licking of his fingers, and of the leaves which might still be wet with the juices of whatever strange meats he had wrapped in them. Then he would prepare fresh delights with the innards of any game we ourselves had cooked, adding heads, claws, wing-sinews and any other odd tit-bits he could find. With a knife he would work on them like lightning. Each little delicacy was attacked at full speed, entrails were devoured, heads were crunched right up to the beak, claws cleaned of every shred of meat. Then came the time to inspect the bones we had thrown away. He split them with a knife, and if there was any marrow he could be trusted to suck it out. Finally, after a last careful lick of each finger in turn, Sempronio, the little fellow from the Shirian metropolis of Auai, would go to roost in his hammock over the fire which wrapped him in its warm blanket of heat.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 195 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

we found traces of a big encampment: here were the forked branches with the rudimentary hammocks still slung from them. There had been fires here too, but the ashes were now cold. Bones and scraps of all sorts were scattered everywhere and in the centre of the area there was shining the great armoured back of an armadillo. This aroused everyone's curiosity, not least the Samataris'. They were probably thinking of the sumptuous banquet which this carcass had afforded, and we were very glad to see that the pangs of hunger were at that moment very real and very urgent for them, too.

The fact that the fires were cold convinced our captors that it would be a good idea to set up their own camp: there would be no likelihood tonight of catching up with the tribe that had passed this way. Things went so quietly that at times we forgot that we were prisoners: automatically we looked on the Samatari as our friends and guides, just like the Guayca Indians. But the illusion was brief: that evening we ate nothing, while our sharp-eyed hosts tucked into a mound of grubs they had collected *en route*. Then they belched their way to their hammocks, from which the odours of their further digestion wafted down.

I thought of Sempronio who had had nothing to eat either, and wondered what had happened to his panful of agouti entrails which had been left burning the night before when we were attacked. It was really the thought of all those tit-bits being burnt and wasted which stopped me going to sleep.

Next day, a little before noon, while I was watching Enrico plodding along with set jaw, sweating copiously (I might have been looking at my own image in a glass) we heard a distant howling that sounded like monkeys. No one said anything. Our march continued until the howls became more distinct; and then, confused as we were, it dawned on us that the noise was being made by men and not by monkeys at all. Still we did not stop. The sounds were still coming from a long way off. Then, rounding the bend of a stream, we sensed that it was suddenly quite near: it was as if some monster were just ahead of us, peering at us through the trees on our immediate horizon. The howling went on. It was now close at hand, coming from ground level and from the trees—a sharp, disorderly confusion of noise.

The Samatari had come to a sudden standstill. They were discussing something among themselves. Every time this happened, our alarm quickened: some dark fate was surely being prepared for us. We were all in perfect Indian file, with Enrico and I in the middle, with the Guaycas behind us and three or

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

The Samatari were eating all sorts of things: there were stacks of little green bundles, which would have made the smiling Sempronio die with envy. (Where he had disappeared to, we did not know.) These provisions were piled up under tiny roofs of leaves, beside little pyramids of nuts, green fruit, varicoloured fruit, hard fruit and soft fruit. The grown-ups and children were tucking in without more ado. There were white grubs, a little on the hairy side, that had the exquisite savour of crayfish; putrid worms from the Mauritius Palm, looking like *gnocchi*; earthworms, squeezed and cleaned, their flesh the colour of loin of pork, or when they were served in heaps, rosy like spaghetti and tomato sauce. There were whole honeycombs taken from the wild bees, the cells full of brood; the look and smell of them was like rich pine-kernels;[1] bags of honey, which when mixed with water gave a cool, slightly heady drink; small snake-cutlets, like fleshy eels; gigantic Maripa Palm hearts broken into chunks, like crumbly Parmesan cheese; mounds of cut tapir meat and smoked slices of peccary, which were black as coal outside but all rosy and fragrant within, like the heart of a spring lamb. There were bundles of fish dried and toasted over the fire, which ate with something of the flavour of almond cake, though it was more exotic. . . .

The leaf-wrapped viands hovered sizzling over the flames, and the greasy savours breathed out into the night air, so that the animal-lair atmosphere of the camp was wreathed in a homely smell of cooking. But for our part there was only hunger, stretching like a wide sea whose tides beat against the fertile shore of the Samatari land, with its sweet-smelling mountains and fruit and game and its propitiation to the gods of plenty—the duly gnawed bones hung up over the fire lest the smell of them should warn off the next day's bag.

But we, in our ocean of hunger, had at least one satisfaction—our hammocks, our warm and welcoming hammocks, made of stout cloth. They swung like glorious battleships over the wretched little flotilla of the tiny Samatari contraptions.

The Samatari, whose possessions are so simple as to be almost non-existent, have three types of hammock, depending upon the resources of the country round about, since they never carry their sleeping gear with them but always improvise it on the spot, except in very special cases where the rich and great affect a snobbish luxury. The most elementary model is composed of three or four strips of the flexible bark of the Annona which is known in Guiana as

[1] Used in Indian cooking.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

open space ran a belt of rattan palms with their notoriously dangerous black spines. There were just two openings: a way in, and a way out. This was a defence work against any enemy that might come along. An aggressor had little chance of bringing off a surprise attack against the Samatari over this open ground, and if he made a frontal attack he would find 'bread for his teeth'—that is, thorns for his feet.

At night, while the Indians were all chattering heedlessly in their hammocks or sleeping the light sleep of the savage, the two gaps in the cordon were closed and the camp became a fortress difficult to storm. If they stay for several days in one place, as sometimes happens during the rainy season when they are visiting their plantations of tobacco and cane (for arrows), they will put up a palisade round the camp, on the Guayca model. This is composed of the trunks of a very tough palm, driven into the ground as close together as possible. Thus entrenched they can withstand whole days of attack from a position of strength.

In the course of our march, one Samatari not only devoured the larvae of bees, neatly excavating them from their cells in the smoked honeycomb, but every now and then he would stop at a dead tree-trunk, seamed with ant-galleries or lanes, and run his thumb and forefinger along the groove as far as possible, pressing out the damp earthy substance, which he conveyed to his mouth like some rare *bonne bouche*. Smacking his lips, he carried on until he had demolished the whole network of these arboreal thoroughfares, and the ants fled away over the surface of the tree-trunk, lamenting the cataclysm that had overtaken them.

Even we tried this ant-hill diet, but a mixture of earth and sawdust hardly appeased our hunger. Sometimes, as we crossed a stream, a few of the Samatari bent down rapidly and picked out of the water some little white stones that were soft like lumps of lime. These they chewed as they went along, apparently swallowing them. They will also eat sand, the dirty, soft, vari-coloured sand which is found with the detritus of vegetable matter thrown up on the banks of a river after a flood. For on top of all this varied diet of theirs, the Samatari are also geophagists—earth-eaters. The reason for this is probably an instinctive prompting which leads them to acquire in this way the minerals their normal food—which they eat without salt or spices—does not supply.

Our great salvation was the fruit: meat being very precious to the savages, they were unwilling to give us any, and we had no means of hunting for ourselves. The gun had simply disappeared. For the Samatari too, fruit is the main

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

source of nourishment, especially at this time of the year when every variety is ripe. We were able to experiment on ourselves and try out some of the widely discussed theories of modern dietetics, which amid the general clamour set up by more or less interested parties claims to be able to discover the original fount of humanity, and to arrive at the exact diet on which man in his natural state can exist.

The fruit here was of all kinds, unlimited in quantity and of every size and shape—and there it was, high up on the trees! True, there were piles of it along the path of this victualling tour, but Enrico and I weren't allowed to touch them. So I climbed, and fought off the ants. When I reached the fruit I broke off branches—the Samatari had my machete—and threw them down to Enrico, who gathered in the treasure, though not without an immediate attack on the choicest specimens 'in case they got lost' as he put it. Then I would make a hurried descent, sliding and ripping and skinning myself, to arrive on the ground covered with pestilential insects, my heart thumping with the effort. We stuffed ourselves till our cheeks were bursting, while the Samatari looked on, laughing and shouting out the name of the fruit.

Who else has ever had the chance to study the fruits of the Amazon forests, at the same time making himself the subject of experiments to determine their nutritive value? The Samatari, who are cut off from the waters of the Orinoco by thirty-two mountains, have likewise thirty-two varieties of fruit—there must be some magic in this number. The names of them all are well known and even the tiny tots learn them almost as soon as they can say 'Mama'. Every type of fruit imaginable is represented here, from nuts to acorns, from fruits as soft as tomatoes to others as dry and hard as bone, from single berries to huge bunches, and in addition to them all, a crowning delicacy of such beauty that it has more than food value alone, the white flowering heart of the palm. There are, too, a few conspicuously choice kinds, eagerly sought after by the Indians, which furnish a really substantial food and not just a few pleasant mouthfuls.

Podoimoss, olashi, luamoshi, lahsa, sopah, monama and pukma—seven of the known fruits—are the ones that give you a meal, not merely refreshment, and they make magnificent eating.

Solituan specialized in podoimoss, gathering them as he went along, without stopping. Good as they are, these chestnuts were not much sought after by the Samatari, at least at this season when there was other fruit available which they liked better. But Solituan, who was a sensible old fellow and worldly too

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

But Solituan, who was a sensible old fellow and worldly

wise, picked them and put them in a 'bag' like a big open calyx made of leaves. This chestnut is encased in a green rind, soft and spongy. He tore this off with his teeth and spat it out. The actual nut was no bigger than a billiard ball, and this he stowed away in his bag. In the evening, round a fire whose glowing ash was neatly raked to form a series of little ovens, the expatriate Samatari roasted his chestnuts, scooping them out with his bare hand when they were done. He even offered them round, if somewhat parsimoniously: the ratio was three for him and one for us.

To us, who still had our own sense of the fitness of things, it hardly seemed possible at first that humble berries and fruits of such unimpressive appearance could be of such highly nutritive value. We turned therefore to the fruit that had most eye-appeal—the ones the Indians scarcely bothered with as they went along and did not consider worth collecting for the meal at nightfall. By the Aracosa river cashew trees were plentiful, their fruits red as fire, and there was another species we hadn't seen before, orange in colour and enormous. Some of the fruits that had fallen with the weight of their ripe juice were the size of a man's fist, and to eat three or four of them gave a pleasant sense of well-being, even if it didn't last long.

The great trees must have been bearing a crop of thousands of pounds in weight, because all around the forest floor was glowing with fallen fruit and clouds of buzzing insects of every colour were busy glorifying the decay as they settled on it.

But when we had devoured our comforting quantities of these cashew fruits, some of them already over-ripe, there was a roughness on our teeth and we began to feel sick. It was now that we were ready to appreciate the wisdom of these primitive people, who left the florid purple fruits severely alone, to bury their sharp teeth in more modest-looking fare that was a good deal kinder to the human stomach.

No one can know the thrill of excitement that comes to the Samatari—and other Indians too—when they find themselves underneath a big *kehpoo* tree that brushes the waters of some little stream with the mass of its seed pods, long and round like those of the senna tree. Many such pods are used exactly like the ordinary French or kidney beans, but for this particular delicacy it is neither the bean nor the pod itself that is eaten, but the white tender pulp in which the beans are set. We ourselves found it far too sweet and sickly. But in spite of all the excitement here, we had still not come to the fruit which was thought

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 X
262 ●
484

worthy of being packed up and carried with us. For this purpose, *kelepoo* beans were too bulky and the white pulp over-delicate and inclined to go rotten too soon.

The *monama* and its little brother the *pukma* are the fruits that really rouse the collector's instinct in the Samatari, and they rely on these for a good part of the whole tribe's food supplies. The first time we saw them they seemed to us like olives, green when immature, brown when ripe, the rarer *pukma* being also the darker in colour. It was difficult for us to distinguish the trees that bore this fruit among all the rest, but the Samatari possess a more highly trained eye for this, and always stopped and skipped about, staring upwards through a mass of leaves that all looked alike to us. Sometimes fallen fruit on the ground gave them a clue, and they fell on it with excited cries to see how ripe it was, or, as it often proved, how worm-eaten. The youngest would be already up the tree—not the one in question, as a rule, but a neighbouring one easier to climb, from the top of which he would more easily be able to get at the fruiting branches.

Sempronio walked in silence. He was still haunted by fear. It had come as a shock to the Samatari (though they made a few jokes about it) when they learned that he was not a Guayca but a Shirian from the Canaracuni. The Valley of the Moon, to them, was the very heart of enemy territory, and had it not been for the protective magic invested in our two beards, they might easily have put him to death. After this came out, they had put him to work. The boy was pleased because this meant that he could eat. He helped them gather the food supplies, and by the time it came to eating them, he was friends with everybody and everybody was friends with him.

No Samatari could see Sempronio's smile and resist it. He displayed a prodigious agility up in the trees, even winning the admiration of those who might well have been his executioners. The *monama* soon began tumbling down and the human monkeys scrambled to collect it. None was eaten. This berry matures slowly, giving strength to the men and abundant milk to the women. Actually this is the berry of one of the Lauraceae, and has something of the tartness, the bitterness, of that aromatic shrub so reminiscent of the Mediterranean lands. But the pulp is rich and oily and sweet as butter. After a few minutes over the fire it is not only cooked through, but mashed as well; and if you are hungry during the day's march it can be eaten without being cooked at all if you hold it in your mouth for ten minutes or so, when the warmth and saliva will render it deliciously tender.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

262 There were often piles of *huamoshi* heaped up underneath trees much too big 484 and too tall for me to have climbed, even had I been dying of hunger. The *huamoshi* is a queer, oval-shaped nut with a big, woody husk enclosed in a compact mass of tiny, needle-sharp spines that resemble the crystals of certain mineral forms of asbestos. It takes some opening, but once open offers man the rich enjoyment of a soft white nut running with a creamy milk.

The consumption of these nuts sets a real problem in logistics and psychology. Transport over any distance is hampered by the exorbitant weight of the shells, a weight which the Indians with their extremely practical minds consider to be out of proportion to the food value of the nut, high though this is. But once the nuts are shelled, there are the piles of gleaming white grains, so attractive that no one can resist them and they are devoured without a thought for the mothers' milk or the strength of the children's blood. Without a doubt, this matter of the *huamoshi* represents one of the outstanding problems of the Samatari provisioning-march and still awaits a satisfactory solution.

VII

262 The difference in taste between the two races—Shirians and bearded men— comes out most emphatically in their appreciation of the various fruits. There [721] is one particular kind which the Shirians adore—in fact, deify: they will even go to war over the picking of it and those who fall on the battlefield are deemed martyrs and saints.

262 For the Shirians, Saint Carpoforo lives incarnate in the miraculous, the 272 almost mythical *lahsa*; while we, the bearded ones, would sooner identify him with the *sopah*, which is a blend of fig, strawberry and mulberry. The *lahsa* grows on the Corozo palm, one of the tallest of the palm trees, which is covered with long and terrible thorns that keep the monkeys far away from its forbidden fruit. Beneath the thorns there is a sweet liquid—palm wine. It can be obtained by lighting a fire at the base of the tree, so that all the juices collect together towards the top of the palm, near the growing part. The tree is then felled, and a little skilful surgery will drain the liquid, which ferments readily. [273] But the Samatari do not indulge in this practice: some deep and ancient wisdom, though they are scarcely conscious of it, has given them the simplest (200 possible commandment about drinking: thou shalt drink only water. Nor does

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the usefulness of the Coroso palm end here: it furnishes a hard, black wood that gives the Indians their finest bows, real masterpieces treasured with pride by their owners and only bought and sold with a great deal of ceremony.

The *lalsa* represents the Indian food-ideal. It grows in bunches up to eighty pounds or more in weight, each fruit being the size of an egg and in shape and colour not unlike a small, ripe cheese. Cooking it takes a long time. The outside is a thick starchy layer, orange-coloured and rich-tasting without being over-sweet or sickly. It is better than any of our starchy foods such as bread or potatoes or chestnuts or *gnocchi*. The whole of it is edible right down to the little stone itself. This is a kind of delicious almond which crumbles pleasantly under one's teeth and leaves nothing but an insatiable desire for more—hence its name, *lalsa*.

Lalsa can be carried: there are no doubts about this, as in the case of the huamoshi. Its golden bunches are big enough to cover up a man, and the carrier protects himself from the thorns on the branches with a good thick cushion of leaves. In the evening they are cooked, so that the grim-faced women of the tribe are able to produce their milk after all and tirelessly pass it on to the scabby, drooling mouths of their infants, who in their turn convert it into blood and yield it up to the clouds of flies and mosquitoes which wrap them round with a perpetual dark veil like an aura of evil and accursed spirits.

In recompense for its fabulous generosity, the *lalsa* tree has been accorded one great privilege that sets it apart from all the other fruit-bearing trees of the forest: it is never cut down for the easier harvesting of the crop. The fruit is brought down by some clever manipulation of a long pole, for no climber's hands and feet could withstand the thorns. If in very special circumstances the tree has to be cut down, then its upper stem is opened so that its last, secret riches can be cut out—the ten pounds of sweet, crisp, chestnut-flavoured tenderness that is its growing point, the heart. Then the tree will weep out its tears from its torn breast, tears of wine that are lost.

Certainly the tribes living nearest to the forest and the forest's deep anti-human mysteries have chosen the *lalsa* as their god of food: but we, a hybrid mixture of natural fears and supernatural thunderings, chose to set up opposite it our own saint, the yellow and most luscious *sapak*. When the marching horde reached a gnarled tree which evoked the quick cry '*Sapak!*' they flung themselves at it—such is their agility in tree-climbing that they literally seem to fling themselves up—and began a feast that reduced them to silence because

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

●262
484 they were eating so fast. The weighty mass of the fruit soon began to distend their stomachs and later on the little seeds began to settle and give rise to belching noises which had to be heard to be believed. But for all that, it was apparent that they did not take the *sopah* altogether seriously and were not able to accept the primacy which we were only too ready to award it, in the same way as some religions, while recognizing the prophets of another, will consider them inferior to their own.

This was the Samatari's attitude over the *sopah*. They held it in a very mild contempt—and it is worth noting that this contempt sprang from sources too prejudiced to be quite sincere. It is the womenfolk who put a smoke-screen round the *sopah* tree and divert their men's attention towards the *monama* and its satellites. The women cannot climb the *sopah* trees burdened with their babies on their backs, and if they left them on the ground they would be eaten alive by ants. For the women, too, there is always the risk of leaving their pendulous breasts on the thorns. Thus they are never exactly on the spot when the *sopah* fruits are being gathered and can never eat their fill because their men consider the *sopah* a divinity whose tender fleshly form cannot survive if transported. The women, therefore, mere starving gleaners on the ground, have to be content with the fallen fruit, usually the unripe and worm-eaten specimens which their menfolk have rejected. Hence their stubborn propaganda against what we considered the finest fruit in the forest.

262 The *sopah*, like all especially good things, has a flavour that cannot easily be defined: it has all the good points of other fruits, and none of the disadvantages. It is like a fig, but better than a fig—there is no skin. It is like a mulberry, but sweeter. Its flavour outdoes the strawberry, which in shape it somewhat resembles. It offers perfection to the taste-buds, a luscious, fleshly perfection which properly belongs to the sphere of the erotic.

We saw ourselves dwelling for a long, long time in these gardens of sopah and labsa, far from the arrows of the Samatari and the guns of civilized men. But this was just an empty dream. Because without an Indian to help us gather them, when we wearied of losing our blood on the trees, we should come down to eating the windfalls crawling with worms, while the monkeys made fun of us, peking us with the sopah stones—vain relics of our chosen saint.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Our chief occupations were the louse and the

flea—the penetrating variety, *Afroamericana nigua*, which keeps everybody's feet busy in the equatorial zones of our globe every bit as effectively as the dances that originate there. Americana is not such a bad animal as his African brother, the jigger, though he is more plentiful. Indian feet are full of him, and the open craters in the horny, almost bony patches forming the ball of the foot are evidence of the constant care they take to keep open the little insects' snug lairs and prevent him from taking up permanent residence.

The eradication of lice is carried out at a family or social gathering in a spirit of mutual aid. Men and women will all sit round together in a circle making a thorough inspection of one another's thick hair till they come upon the black louse crouching there silently, like a peccary surprised in the forest, among the roots of the hairs. He is taken between two fingers and disposed of in the simplest fashion: he is eaten. The same privilege is accorded to the eggs, which like all eggs must taste delicious. The nigua can be dealt with by oneself but female collaboration is nevertheless appreciated. A soft, gentle hand—Samatari ladies have exceedingly small hands and feet—introduces a pin (presented by us) or a splinter of Corozo palm (presented by the forest) into the little nest. The white grub of this accursed insect then emerges into the light of day, but the fate reserved for it is not a human end. It is thrown to the fish, which come along in shoals for the fat tit-bit.

We had no soap, and during these halts the best we could do was to splash water over ourselves. The Samatari were not interested in following our example: rain gave them the only baths they ever took. We couldn't even swim to get clean, as we had done in the 'black water' rivers higher up, because there was danger lurking here beneath the harmless-looking surface.

The perils of tropical rivers are five in number—five major perils, that is, because the minor ones, like the amoeba and other parasites, may loom large among the fads and fancies of medical men but do not form part of the psychological baggage of the explorer.

The cayman is king of these perils. His reign is uncontested. His body may be anything up to thirteen feet long, solid and impregnable as a crest of rock. Almost equal in rank is peril number two—the anaconda or water-serpent: if the cayman is king, the anaconda is certainly queen. She is a wonderful monster, up to ten yards in length, with all the force of a hurricane. And being a reptile, the anaconda has all the virtues of the reptiles, enhanced by her aquatic habits, which make her cleaner and nobler than them all.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

But for all this bad luck, we had one undeniable stroke of good: the weather, extraordinarily enough, remained fine. We were now in April, when the dry season is at its height, but we knew that in these parts 'dry season' is a somewhat theoretical term. In some years, there just isn't one at all, and now that it was supposed to be at its height the rains might burst over our heads at any moment and reduce us to a sorry plight, on these clay hills, with hundreds of streams to cross. In fair weather the forest floor was clean, the air fresh and visibility excellent. Marching was easy, and had an excellent psychological effect.

At the first of the hills, when the track turned aside from the Aracosa banks, we came into a chaos of fallen trees. They stayed with us the whole day, all along the ridge where the path led. Enrico and I were ahead, and at one point we lost the track. Taking our bearings as best we could, we turned back, but found ourselves once more among fallen trees. The havoc must have been caused by a tornado. This is a rare phenomenon, and one we had never encountered in forest country, where the dank and the constant rain keep the atmosphere in a state of equilibrium, which tends to ward off the storm. It must have been the genuinely dry season we were enjoying which had encouraged the hurricane. We were fortunate not to have walked into the middle of it ourselves: with trees being torn up and hurled down we should have been running new and serious risks to life and limb.

For the rest of that day we were trying to find the track, keeping our direction hopefully to the north. But it was late in the afternoon before we saw the Guayca again—thanks to a shot we heard quite close. Great was our relief. The sound of Uarema's gun had raised our hopes, and when at last we caught sight of the Indians from a distance we noticed that they were carrying something wrapped in leaves. But it wasn't game. Uarema had fired at a crane, but missed it. The parcels contained honey which they had found in the tree-trunks blown down by the wind. We gave silent thanks to the storm for strewing honey in our path, as in the old myths, and that night we drank a mixture of honey and water like the warriors of long ago and ate nothing but a handful of *poloimeu* gathered on the way. Wild honey, very runny and slightly acid, is sometimes fermented already if it has been stored in the hollow trees for very long. To drink it gives one a certain alcoholic euphoria which with weak, starving men such as we were results in a state of complete prostration. We slept the clock round from dusk to dawn—twelve hours.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yancama SQ18
Sanema

Automatically we set out again on the march. And now there wasn't so much as a bird fluttering near—with the sole exception of a very small species of sparrow, an accursed bird that follows the traveller and twitters now from one tree, now from another in the opposite direction, so that before long you lose all sense of direction unless you can shut the song out of your ears.

The last camp! Before we stopped, we happened to find a *holassili* bush. This is a kind of plum. The stone is big, and there is little actual flesh on it, but the flavour is perfect. Uarema was the only one of us with enough strength left to climb the tree. Once up, he started calmly helping himself, quite oblivious of those down below. When his brothers reproached him for this, he shook down a branch or two. The Indians fell on it, devouring the fruit. Enrico and I waited, just as if we were at table, not liking to serve ourselves first. The result was that we had to go without. We couldn't believe it. And there was our dignity to consider. When they realized that we had none, we announced that we didn't eat *holassili*. It wasn't good. It upset you. Heroically, we tore ourselves away.

Our last evening brought us a novelty diet: a bunch of flowers. Sempronio went off to the stream and soon came back with armfuls of yellow flowers like the tufted ears of corn. This was the flowering plant whose leaves had been wrapped round such wonderful meat delicacies in the good old days of plenty. They were put over the fire, a bunch of three or four at a time, and toasted. When they were done, you tore off the top of the calyx and sucked at the lower part. The flavour was nothing very much, and there was very little to get your teeth into. But we were innocents at the game. This flower is the refuge of a myriad white worms a few millimetres in length, and it is these which give it its real alimentary interest. The worms are sucked out of the base of the calyx in a sweet pulp, and when a series of gurgling noises from Sempronio put us wise to this fact, we didn't hesitate for a moment to follow his example. The worms were really as sweet as butter, and if we needed any justification we could claim that they were the poor relations of protein.

XI

Our famine ended the next morning in a mighty bang which brought down a gigantic curassow. The bird, as big as a good-sized turkey, was soon roasted

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Saneema

and devoured. The rumblings of Indian bellies paid deep organic tribute to a new world of flesh and blood. 123* [262]

The boats were where we had left them and the river was a little lower. Many of the rocks, green with moss, were now above water-level. The camera was there too, under its leafy roof, along with a quantity of salt, matches and some coffee-extract. The place was rather inconvenient and dirty for a bivouac and we decided to press on straight away in the hopes of reaching a hut, about two hours' journey downstream, which we had run up when we were there last.

As we reached it, however, there was a contretemps. The Indians didn't want to stop. When we asked them to land, they took no notice and went on down river. We hadn't the slightest inclination to go any further that evening, because we knew that there were no huts waiting for us between this point and the Mereyari itself—half a day's journey away. But the Guayca, by one of their mental processes which we often found unfathomable, had taken it into their heads to go on. They were Samatari-ized now, and flying the flag of rebellion. A good many times they had imposed their will on us, but now we didn't feel at all disposed to shrug our shoulders and let them get away with it. The day before they had treated us badly over the *balsaida*, but we'd been too weary and too famished then to do anything about it. But this latest attempt to tyrannize over us, however innocent the motive behind it, was the last straw. Grabbing a paddle, I smacked it into the water and brought her head round with a force that almost overturned the canoe in the swift current, making for the shore. The Guayca were flabbergasted.

'We're stopping here,' I said calmly, picking up the gun so as to be ready for any eventuality. 'Unload your stuff. . . .' Since they made no move, Enrico and I threw their arrows, bows and paddles on to the bank.

Without any further fuss, we went off to sling our hammocks under a ready and waiting roof. The Guayca stayed where they were for over an hour, shouting and muttering their complaints over our decision, but the onset of night convinced them that it might be better to join forces with us. They came along with a bewildered, sheep-like air, and slung their hammocks under the hut too. After that everything was merry and bright again, and the incident was forgotten. Our dignity had suffered somewhat in Guayca eyes during the time we were in Samatari hands, but this gave it a substantial lift. There was less likelihood now of any disconcerting pranks on the part of the Indians,

6: Vinci T-S (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

brought the canoe shooting past us like an arrow, to finish up in the big pool, where some hard paddling brought them to the bank.

At Llantarilla we found many signs of Guayca occupation, but there was no one about. Luis Antonio urged us on, as usual, explaining that we should catch up with his people further down, at what he called 'Wide-Beach River'. As it turned out, we found them there, in a rough encampment on Samatari lines—if it hadn't been for the fact that some of the faces were half familiar, and that a few of the men were wearing loincloths of red material we had provided, we might have taken them for Samatari.

'They've come here after the fruit, because it's the dry season.' Such was Luis Antonio's explanation, but it contradicted what he had said not long before, when he had assured us that his people had crossed the river because they feared an enemy attack. 'Much war,' he had told us then. Our man had been trying to give a heroic touch to what was very simple fact: his people were out looking for provisions, they weren't on the war-path at all. But this betrayed their nomadic origin, which Uarema, who knew civilization and knew how far removed the Samatari were from it, was anxious to disclaim and conceal. He had reached that stage of sophistication where he preferred to accept and admit the barbarism of war but not that of hunger.

When we slept with the Uarema Indians that night it was just like being back among the Samatari, such was the resemblance between these tribes and so similar their behaviour. Once more we ate the sacred *sopak* and a whole series of fruits we were familiar with, and went round sampling little leaf-parcels which the Guayca, with genuine hospitality, were pleased to offer us. There was tapir, deer, lapa, guan, curassow, all sizes of fish, bananas, cassava-bread in the Makiritari style, fine pawpaws and little pineapples—the kind that burn the lips.

The effect of such abundance on us was euphoric. Did our euphoria then spread to the Indians, or was it the other way about? A general dance started, with all the old songs, but for us at any rate it was soon over. In our weak state everything began to go round and round before our eyes, and we felt slightly sick. Hashimo was grinning. He looked rather like an animal let out of its cage, as he went about talking to his kinsfolk, who were crowding round like monkeys to listen. He was making gestures towards Enrico and me, evidently telling about various incidents of our captivity. Then I shouted out, in the Samatari medicine-man's tone, and imitating his vocal effects:

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

cannibalism. When someone dies in battle, or through some other violence—when he dies, that is, in the full prime of manhood—the body is cremated on a pyre and the ashes scrupulously gathered. Mixing these to a paste with water, they make a block which is wrapped in banana leaves and kept for the ceremony of the Drinking, by which they believe that the dead man's strength can enter their own bodies. Such ceremonies generally take place at large assemblies, people from neighbouring tribes also being present, and the festivities may last several days. Our Indians, however, wanting to assure a good augury for the voyage they were about to undertake with us, had limited themselves to a shortened version of the usual ceremony, since in these particular circumstances there was neither the time nor the opportunity for more.

II

In three little canoes, two of them the property of Frenario's people, we went down the Yevarehuri, making for the point where it is joined by a slightly smaller, darker stream flowing from the south—the Matahuri. It had been raining ceaselessly for days and the rivers were overflowing their banks, which made it difficult to find a camping-place for the night.

On the second day we had two fair-sized falls to negotiate. The third day's paddling brought us to the Marahuri, but we left it to the right of us, its mouth being apparently quite blocked by fallen trees, and entered a smaller stream just to the south of it, which offered quiet water and a clearly defined course between the giant vegetation of both banks. The Shirians told us that this new waterway was called the Toroli—that is, the Turtle—and that we had only to go up to the source to find the track crossing the cordillera which led to the north side of the Upper Parima river.

Our crew was hardly sufficient and progress was exasperatingly slow. Happily, there was plenty of game. Guans and curassow were plentiful, as well as monkeys and sloths—the Indians' favourite dish.

Our head man was a real lead-swinger. From the first day onwards he complained of a pain in his foot which made him draw the line at heavy work. Under the drenching rains that fell with every interminable afternoon, he would sit in the middle of the canoe, and also in the middle of the bananas we were carrying, holding a palm frond over his head. If we urged him to do

/441 cont./

Obtaining Food

224 Hunting.

Hunting is done with bows and arrows.

A broad arrow-point of bamboo is used against larger land game, such as the danta, the váquiros /peccaries/, and the large [411] rodents. Poisoned points are used against monkeys and occasionally against dantas. Bone points are used principally to hunt birds. Small birds are hunted with arrows with a blunt point or forked point.

[231] Dogs are used in hunting, and in the case of the smallest wild pigs, these dogs frequently do more killing than the hunters.

The hunters hunt together and surround the game. The one who succeeds in killing it is the owner of the animal. He might make a gift of a few pieces to those who have helped him, but in general he carries the entire animal to his house, where it is cooked. A danta, of course, must be divided up on the spot in order to be transported.

• 262 Almost all the mammals are eaten, felines being the principal exception. A few snakes are eaten; others are not. The babilla /an amphidious reptile/ is also eaten. Birds of prey, such as hawks, eagles, vultures, and turkey buzzards and others, are not eaten. Almost all the other birds are eaten, even the little humming birds.

/442/ Meat is considered an essential part of the diet and perhaps occupies the second place of importance after platanos.

226 Fishing.

Several types of toxins are used to poison fish in the small currents of water. One of these is a bejuco. Another is the shell of an edible nut with a prickly husk. Another is the bark of a certain tree of great size.

226 462 857 When the waters lower in streams and swamps (generally around the months of January and February), women and children go out armed with clubs and come back with baskets full of fish.

/442 cont./

221 462 When the larger river is low, the men wade into the current and shoot at the fish with their arrows with bone points. Then, since the arrow lacks a string with which one could pull in the fish, they must run after the game in order to finish it off with blows of the machete or club.

226 For fishing they are beginning to use hook and line with increasing skill.

● 262 Almost all species of fish and aquatic animals are eaten.

222 262 Honey.

To obtain honey, the usual method is to cut down the trunk in which the hive is found, using the ax. Nevertheless, they sometimes manage to climb it and obtain the honey without needing to knock it down. There is also a species of bee which lives in the ground, and its honey must be dug up. They possibly eat the honey of some ten or more varieties of bees.

Eggs.

The eggs of the majority of the wild birds are collected and cooked. They wrap them in leaves and place them on the embers of a wood fire. They are cooked in a short time. Some prefer to eat the eggs when /443/ the chick has begun to form. Turtle eggs are also eaten, but they are scarce, except downriver.

Insects.

Bees are eaten when they are still in the larval form in their nest. Wasps are chased away by means of a torch of dry leaves, which kills or chases away the adult wasps. Then they take down the wasp's nest, which they place for a short time over the hot embers. Roasted wasp larvae are then eaten with pleasure.

Wild fruits and seeds.

It seems that there is not a time without at least a few types of wild fruits and seed in season. Most of these are eaten raw, although a few are cooked. During its harvest, the wabu -- a large seed similar to the frijol -- can be very important, especially when other foods are scarce.

/450 cont./

252 Ripe platanas are eaten raw or are boiled and mashed in the form of a soup to be drunk. Half-ripe platanos are placed on the fire with their skin.

The fruit of the "pijiguao" is preferred boiled, although it may be cooked directly on the fire when a pot is not available.

"Sweet yuca," the "mapuey," the "ocumo," the sweet potato, and other edible roots are boiled or roasted directly over the fire.

"Bitter yuca" is pounded on a stone. The juice is squeezed out between the hands, and balls are made with the pulp, or dough, and hung in a basket in such a way that the breeze caused by the fire strikes it. The poisonous juice is preserved with strong peppers and ashes to prepare a liquid which they call "yubu," in which certain foods are dipped and eaten. The cooking of the yuca "dough" is done on a piece of broken pottery. First a layer of this yuca is spread out, being left there until it is to be eaten. This cake is not turned, but is taken off altogether in order to put another one in its place. Then the first cake is placed on top of the second one in such a way that its uncooked side is joined to the latter, and they are left to cook until both are stuck together, then being considered ready. Cakes of some 15 to 20 centimeters in diameter and from one-half to one centimeter in thickness are made in this fashion.

Fish and little birds, larvae, and certain insects are wrapped in leaves and cooked over the embers. Small pieces of meat are also frequently cooked in this fashion.

[222] A large seed in the shape of a frijol, called "wabu," is gathered and eaten. The Indians believe that this seed is poisonous, for which reason they prepare it in the following fashion. It is cooked and thinly sliced. Then it is placed in baskets and put under running water. After remaining for three or /451/ more
• [242] days under the water, it is considered edible. This seed serves as a reserve in case of a shortage of platanos in the conucos. On such an occasion the whole group moves to live in a place where there is an abundance of "wabu," until the platanos ripen.

/452 cont./

252 Women generally roast the platanos for everyone's breakfast. At noon and in the evening, everyone cooks his own platanos. To a child of seven they might give three green platanos in [866] their skins, telling him: "Here is your dinner." The child then proceeds to cook them.

264 The Guaika /Waica/ in general have abundant food and eat it with pleasure. They do not look kindly upon remains of food being left. Anyone who does not lick his bowl clean after having drunk his soup of platanos is considered a prodigal.

266 765 The mere idea of cannibalism is rejected with horror, although they do eat the pulverized bones of a cremated relative, after having kept them in a hermetically sealed gourd for about six months.

• 262 They do not eat carnivorous birds and animals, but carnivorous fish, even the caribe (piranha), are eaten with pleasure. Some [252] snakes are eaten, others not. They boil them or else they cook them wrapped in leaves upon the embers.

271 Drink, Drugs, and Excesses

The Guaika /Waica/ take extreme care concerning the water they drink. The supply of water for a settlement must be obtained upstream from all the fords which cross the stream or brook. If a Guaika finds it necessary to drink water in a place below a ford, he makes a hole in the sand of the beach and waits until water which has filtered through it gushes up. The water of the current is considered dirty, just as the water from the hole dug [415] in the beach is clean. Water is transported in gourds by the women for use in the settlement.

273 The Guaika do not prepare any alcoholic beverage.

276 Tobacco leaves are rolled up with ashes and placed in the mouth behind the lower lip. When there is a shortage of tobacco, /453/ they obtain a certain bitter root in the forest, strip the bark from it, and place it behind the lip to diminish the desire for tobacco.

/469 cont./

513 352 The third essential thing is the hammock. The Guaika must have a hammock in order to sleep at night. In his dwelling he has a cotton hammock or a hammock made of vines split longitudinally. On a hunting trip he may travel with his hammock made out of cords of vine or without carrying any. In this latter case, each night he will make a temporary hammock /470/ out of cords of bark, and, in case he stays in the same general area, he will use it for several nights. Then, in order to travel light, he will abandon this hammock of cords of bark and will go to his home, where his good hammock awaits him.

262 574 [251] The supply of food which the Guaika have is generally good and apparently quite nutritious. From time to time there is a shortage, and they do not accumulate reserves. Shortages are generally not too serious, for which reason they can usually bear the period of privation, subsisting from a neighboring settlement, which will be paid back for the visit when in its turn bad times come to it.

261 726 The complete loss of a "conuco" as a result of being constantly driven out of the area by an enemy is a quite serious matter. We observed a settlement (that of Bichaasatedi) subsisting with great difficulty for a year until its new "conuco" began to produce, after having been driven out of their former area by a hostile group (the one from Liakoatedi).

352 The Guaika do not make seats, but they rarely sit on the ground if they can avoid it. Generally they sit in a hammock or on a piece of firewood.

512 On an ordinary day the Guaika awake with the dawn. The wife prepares the roasted platanos for the whole family. Around 7:30 or 8:00 the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement go to work in the "conuco." Those who remain in the settlement in general rest the entire morning. Some few women gather in a party and go out to make firewood out of a dead tree, recently fallen. Those who work in the conuco begin to come back at noon. On the way to the settlement they bathe in the stream. After a brief rest each person roasts a few platanos for his lunch. Then, around 2:00 in the afternoon, the [276] "yopo" is prepared, and it is blown up the noses of many of the

7: Barker--64 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate IV

302

The Guaika--women and men--shave the head, leaving only a ring of hair all around. Notice the scars on this warrior. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

342
262
516

Interior of a Guaika hut, in El Platanal. The platano is one of the principal foods in their diet. (Photo. by the author.)

/152/

574 628 721 [262] [411] The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti accepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 731 [499] The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food. They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 411 721 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was abandoned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

166 722 628

One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

000

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

supple wood and well over six feet long, it is very powerful. With it the Waïka can shoot an arrow more than a hundred yards and can hit a *paujil*—a bird about the size of a turkey—at forty yards. Normally two or three arrows are carried and they are as long as, if not longer than, the bow itself. The shafts are made of reed which, Cardona said, is specially grown for the purpose on their plantations, and are feathered by falcon's feathers. The feathers are meticulously tied in a near-perfect spiral with thread of forest cotton or morisco palm fibre. Each arrow has a different head specially adapted to a particular purpose. Spare arrow-heads are carried in a quiver in which also is carried fire-making material to protect it from the damp.

The quiver is a simple bamboo case to which are also tied a firestick and a number of little knives made from the incisors of a large rodent called a capybara. It is carried on the back by means of a string slung round the forehead.

Such comprise the simple impedimenta of the Waïka on his journeys through the forest. The women, who accompany their mates on their many ceaseless wanderings, presumably have their own burdens to carry, but we saw nothing of them until we visited our first native village on the next day.

As we went up-river we came across the remains of a rude bridge which had formerly spanned the two hundred yards of river and which had been carried away by the flood waters. It was the biggest bridge we had seen although we had passed a number of lesser ones fashioned of lianas spanning the tributaries. On the bank where the bridge had been were some twenty natives and a handful of children.

"*Apo! Shori! Apo!*" they greeted us.

We knew from Butrón that, though his men were accustomed to replenish their banana stocks at this place, they had so far never been allowed to visit the village hidden somewhere in the forest.

The Waïka lives on wild fruits, fish, meat and the produce of plantations adjacent to his villages. Most of his time he spends wandering in the forest and his fleeting appearances at his village occur usually only when natural resources fail or when he has to defend himself against an enemy horde. He knows

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

his jungle intimately—where to find palm dates, cocoa and brazil nuts in their season, and where game birds are most plentifully found. He hunts the herds of peccary, his ear, versed in all the sounds of the forest, detecting his prey before they detect him. When the water in the rivers is low he shoots his fish with arrows and when the sand banks are uncovered he hunts tortoise eggs buried in the sand. His interminable wanderings are limited only by his forest lore; he lives only for the day, his sole reserve of food being a small store of bananas brought from the village plantation.

Platanal

As we closed the shore our reception was tumultuous. From the high bank above us the Indians leaped yelling into the water and clambered on board, shaking themselves like wet dogs. Laughing and gesticulating they took hold of our mooring lines. Though some of us were a little overcome by this display of exuberance, Butrón was not in the least disconcerted. He knew that the Indians had long learned to associate him with machetes and *manioc*. As soon as it was possible to do so, Butrón had a basket of *manioc* and a dozen machetes carried ashore, and the Indians who had already begun to ransack our cargo left it and hurried ashore.

"*Shori! Manioco! Oji!*" they cried striking their bellies. They jostled round the basket, stuffing handfuls of the coarse flour into their mouths, their heads thrown back in ecstasy.

As the Waïka have no knowledge of contriving the simplest of iron tools, or of grinding *manioc*, all such articles were highly valued objects of barter. So were matches, once they had been shown how to use them.

Butrón told them we wanted the large green bananas which are eaten cooked; the accepted tariff is three hands of bananas for one machete. Before long, we heard some of the natives making merry in the plantation, and made as if to follow them. But at once the others became suspicious and gestured to us to return to the river bank. We insisted and they became menacing, finally refusing to go on gathering the bananas if we did not desist.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waïka musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waïkas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waïkas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

241 sweet-potatoes, bitter and sweet yucca (manioc), and two varieties of another root crop known in Venezuela as mapuey. Next in importance is the seasonal crop of peach palm fruits (pijiguao), groves of which are cultivated by the Yąnomamö. [222] Contrary to some accounts, the Yąnomamö never collect this crop from wild trees, although they do return to abandoned gardens to collect the fruit. Other economically significant crops include maize, sugar cane, papaya, pineapples, avocados, peppers and gourds. Also grown are cotton, tobacco, arrow cane, drugs, pigment (bixa), and a large assortment of plants [933] used for magical purposes only. Both their feasting practices [587] and their warfare pattern[1] stimulate the Yąnomamö to grow more [722] than they require for subsistence purposes alone.

241 361 Occasionally the gardens of a particular village may have a preponderance of yucca (manioc) and maize as compared to plantains and bananas. This is usually the result of the distance between the last occupied site and the new one; it is easier to carry seeds and cuttings of maize and yucca than the heavier plantain and banana shoots, and a village that moves any distance usually establishes its new garden largely from cuttings and seeds of these plants taken from the old [262] garden. Eventually, however, the plantains and bananas spread, and a mature garden will always have a preponderance of these crops, the preferred staple of Yąnomamö diet.

222 Wild palm fruits are important additions to the diet

[928]

[1] The Yąnomamö are occasionally obliged to take in refugee members of an allied village, and they plan their gardens accordingly.

000(lapa, Spanish).

222 The collection of small fruits, spiders, ant grubs, wild honey, crabs, mushrooms and fish also contributes variety to the Yąnomamö diet.

241 Cultivated foods contribute the greater proportion
• 260 of calories to the Yąnomamö diet, probably upwards of 85%,
[146] although this figure would vary seasonally. Again, those
(177) Yąnomamö villages living close to Makiritare settlements cultivate much more yucca (manioc) than platanos, refining it in some cases to meal as do the Makiritares. Elsewhere
[252] the Yąnomamö eat their yucca roasted or boiled or make cassave bread by a technique quite distinct from that employed by the Makiritare.

722 Yąnomamö material culture is very much attenuated by
[422] comparison with, for example, Makiritare. The Yąnomamö like to limit their possessions to an amount that is readily transported by the women, because the entire village may be obliged at any given moment to abandon its site to avoid raiders, or may be invited to a feast at another village.
[422] They do not like to leave possessions in their village when
[574] they leave it, as visitors from other villages would take them. And, their warfare pattern precludes the possibility of leaving a few people behind to guard the village, as they
[361] would be easily overwhelmed by a raiding party. When just a portion of the village leaves to visit another group, those that stay behind move into the jungle some distance from the village and live in well-concealed huts until their co-

[P. XVIII]

142
302
516
251
262
415
352
353

Clays pots and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

P. X ...

Mosew-teri men shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

142
291
516
411
342
926

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

for my complicated storage process. I was able to last most of the day on *café con leche*, heavily sugared espresso coffee diluted about five to one with hot milk. I would prepare this in the evening and store it in a thermos. Frequently, my single meal was no more complicated than a can of sardines and a package of crackers. But at least two or three times a week I would do something sophisticated, like make oatmeal or boil rice and add a can of tuna fish or tomato paste to it. I even saved time by devising a water system that obviated the trips to the river. I had a few sheets of zinc roofing brought in and made a rain-water trap; I caught the water on the zinc surface, funneled it into an empty gasoline drum, and then ran a plastic hose from the drum to my hut. When the drum was exhausted in the dry season, I hired the Indians to fill it with water from the river.

I ate much less when I traveled with the Indians to visit other villages. Most of the time my travel diet consisted of roasted or boiled green plantains (see Glossary) that I obtained from the Indians, but I always carried a few cans of sardines with me in case I got lost or stayed away longer than I had planned. I found peanut butter and crackers a very nourishing food, and a simple one to prepare on trips. It was nutritious and portable, and only one tool was required to prepare the meal, a hunting knife that could be cleaned by wiping the blade on a leaf. More importantly, it was one of the few foods the Indians would let me eat in relative peace. It looked too much like animal feces to them to excite their appetites.

I once referred to the peanut butter as the dung of cattle. They found this quite repugnant. They did not know what "cattle" were, but were generally aware that I ate several canned products of such an animal. I perpetrated this myth, if for no other reason than to have some peace of mind while I ate. Fieldworkers develop strange defense mechanisms, and this was one of my own forms of adaptation. On another occasion I was eating a can of frankfurters and growing very weary of the demands of one of my guests for a share in my meal. When he asked me what I was eating, I replied: "Beef." He then asked, "What part of the animal are you eating?" to which I replied, "Guess!" He stopped asking for a share.

Meals were a problem in another way. Food sharing is important to the Yąnomamö in the context of displaying friendship. "I am hungry," is almost a form of greeting with them. I could not possibly have brought enough food with me to feed the entire village, yet they seemed not to understand this. All they could see was that I did not share my food with them at each and every meal. Nor could I enter into their system of reciprocities with respect to food; every time one of them gave me something "freely," he would dog me for months to pay him back, not with food, but with steel tools. Thus, if I accepted a plantain from someone in a different village while I was on a visit, he would most likely visit me in the future and demand a machete as payment for the time that he "fed" me. I usually reacted to these kinds of demands by giving a banana, the customary reciprocity in their culture—food for food—but this would be a disappointment for the individual who had visions of that single plantain growing into a machete over time.

Despite the fact that most of them knew I would not share my food with them at their request, some of them always showed up at my hut during mealtime. I gradually became accustomed to this and learned to ignore their persistent demands while I ate. Some of them would get angry because I failed to give in, but most of them accepted

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

it as just a peculiarity of the subhuman foreigner. When I did give in, my hut quickly filled with Indians, each demanding a sample of the food that I had given one of them. If I did not give all a share, I was that much more despicable in their eyes.

A few of them went out of their way to make my meals unpleasant, to spite me for not sharing; for example, one man arrived and watched me eat a cracker with honey on it. He immediately recognized the honey, a particularly esteemed Yąnomamö food. He knew that I would not share my tiny bottle and that it would be futile to ask. Instead, he glared at me and queried icily, "Shaki![4] What kind of animal semen are you eating on that cracker?" His question had the desired effect, and my meal ended.

Finally, there was the problem of being lonely and separated from your own kind, especially your family. I tried to overcome this by seeking personal friendships among the Indians. This only complicated the matter because all my friends simply used my confidence to gain privileged access to my cache of steel tools and trade goods, and looted me. I would be bitterly disappointed that my "friend" thought no more of me than to finesse our relationship exclusively with the intention of getting at my locked up possessions, and my depression would hit new lows every time I discovered this. The loss of the possession bothered me much less than the shock that I was, as far as most of them were concerned, nothing more than a source of desirable items; no holds were barred in relieving me of these, since I was considered something subhuman, a non-Yąnomamö.

The thing that bothered me most was the incessant, passioned, and aggressive demands the Indians made. It would become so unbearable that I would have to lock myself in my mud hut every once in a while just to escape from it: Privacy is one of Western culture's greatest achievements. But I did not want privacy for its own sake; rather, I simply had to get away from the begging. Day and night for the entire time I lived with the Yąnomamö I was plagued by such demands as: "Give me a knife, I am poor!"; "If you don't take me with you on your next trip to Widokaiya-teri I'll chop a hole in your canoe!"; "Don't point your camera at me or I'll hit you!"; "Share your food with me!"; "Take me across the river in your canoe and be quick about it!"; "Give me a cooking pot!"; "Loan me your flashlight so I can go hunting tonight!"; "Give me medicine . . . I itch all over!"; "Take us on a week-long hunting trip with your shotgun!"; and "Give me an axe or I'll break into your hut when you are away visiting and steal one!" And so I was bombarded by such demands day after day, months on end, until I could not bear to see an Indian.

It was not as difficult to become calloused to the incessant begging as it was to ignore the sense of urgency, the impassioned tone of voice, or the intimidation and aggression with which the demands were made. It was likewise difficult to adjust to the fact that the Yąnomamö refused to accept "no" for an answer until or unless it seethed with passion and intimidation—which it did after six months. Giving in to a demand always established a new threshold; the next demand would be for a bigger item or favor, and the anger of the Indians even greater if the demand was not met. I soon learned

[4] "Shaki," or, rather, "Shakiwä," is the name they gave me because they could not pronounce "Chagnon." They like to name people for some distinctive feature when possible. *Shaki* is the name of a species of noisome bee; they accumulate in large numbers around ripening bananas and make pests of themselves by eating into the fruit, showering the people below with the debris. They probably adopted this name for me because I was also a nuisance, continuously prying into their business, taking pictures of them, and, in general, being where they did not want me.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4 feet off the ground at the rear and 6 feet off the ground at the front. Shorter sticks are then laid crossways on the major roof poles and these, in turn, covered with several layers of long, broad, wild "banana" leaves (see Glossary, under "Banana, wild"). It is quite small, but can sleep three individuals. Frequently, the traveler finds the remains of one of these houses and has merely to put a new layer of leaves on the roof to make it waterproof; occasionally, he takes a chance that it won't rain that night and does not improve the hut at all.

When the Yąnomamö settle a new area, they erect temporary villages of these crude huts and live in them until they can build a *shabono*. They also live in huts like these while they are re-roofing the old *shabono*.

The permanent village is complete when the palisade of logs is erected around its circumference. This is placed some 3 or 4 feet behind the roof, allowing space for a path around the village inside the palisade. The palisade itself is about 10 feet high and usually made of a mixture of palm and hardwood logs. It is kept in repair only when there is some reason to suspect raiders. Otherwise, people pilfer logs from it for use as firewood. The entrance to the village, as well as the palisade entrance, is covered with brush and logs at night to keep out intruders. Anyone trying to enter will inevitably make the brush move and alarm the village dogs.

FOOD AND ITS GATHERING The jungle provides numerous varieties of food, both animal and vegetable. The most commonly taken game includes several species of monkeys, two varieties of wild "turkey," two species of wild pig, armadillos, anteaters, tapir, deer, a small alligator, small rodents, and several species of smaller birds. Wild vegetable foods commonly exploited by the Yąnomamö are: palm fruits of several species, hardwood fruits, brazil nuts, tubers, and the seed pods of the feral banana. Of these, the palm fruits are by far the most significant.

These occur seasonally and, for brief periods of time, produce large quantities of fruits. Unfortunately, there is very little edible substance in each fruit, so that in order to get filled, one must eat the edible portion of enormous quantities of fruit. The Yąnomamö extensively exploit two closely related palms, *pei* and *kurushi*. The *pei* fruits are about the size of small hen's eggs and occur in large clusters, weighing 80 pounds and more, near the tops of the palm trees. The *kurushi* fruits are about half that size. The exterior portion of the fruit is a leathery shell which is peeled with the teeth. Inside there is a thin layer of very bitter, white flesh. This is chewed and sucked off. The taste resembles that of a poor grade of bath soap. Of the two, I found *kurushi* the more repugnant. My throat burned when I ate them.

Another commonly exploited palm is the *ediuwishi*. It is tangerine red in color and covered with a leather-like skin that consists of hundreds of small scales. They are about the size of large hen's eggs and resemble small hand grenades. When the fruit is dry, as, for example, when it is first cut from the tree, it is almost impossible to get the leathery scales off. The Yąnomamö overcome this difficulty by throwing the fruit bunches into water and letting them soak for several days, after which the scales can be easily scraped off with the fingernails, exposing a thin layer of yellowish, soft flesh that tastes very much like cheese. The fruits begin to ferment after they have soaked, producing a slightly pungent taste. I enjoyed eating *ediuwishi* with the Yąnomamö; the fruit was good, and the technique of eating it was very sociable. We would wade into the swamp where the fruit had been submerged and grope around in the murky water to locate it. After

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

222 we had each accumulated a half bushel or so, we would then proceed to eat them. In
• 262 general, it takes a lot of work to get filled up on palm fruits.

The Yąnomamö also collect wild honey in considerable quantities. Nothing excites them more than locating a dead tree in which a swarm of bees has built a nest. They will halt everything and, if need be, spend the entire day chopping the tree down
[123] to get at the honey. When I began my fieldwork I hired about a dozen men to cut trees for me so that I could build a mud hut. They would be gone all day and return with just a few poles, demanding a full day's pay for their efforts. I decided to accompany them one day to see what they were up to. We spent the entire day wandering through the jungle, eyes glued to the tree tops above. Each time I spotted a suitable tree, they talked me out of cutting it down because "it would rot" or "it is too far away from the river." By mid-afternoon we had not cut a single tree, but had walked over a large area of jungle. Finally, one of the men shouted for the rest of us to come. All the men descended on the large, dead tree he had located, and set about chopping it down with the axes I had provided. It took about an hour to get it down. They then spent another hour chopping holes along the length of the tree trunk to get at the honey inside. When it was exposed, they gleefully tore the combs out, dunked them into the amber liquid, and gorged themselves on the larvae-filled combs. After they had eaten their fill of this, they collected a large pile of leaves and made a crude bowl. Then they stuck handfuls of leaves into the honey and squeezed them out into the leaf bowl. When they had gotten all the honey they could reach, they scoured the nest with leaves and licked them off after each plunge
[123] of the hand into the bowels of the trunk. They borrowed the aluminum kettle I had brought along and used to cook our lunch in. As we were some distance from the river
[292] and they were impatient, one of them filled the kettle with muddy water he found in a swamp a short distance away. Some of the honey from the bowl was poured into the kettle, along with dead adult bees, twigs, leaves, dirt, and several dozen larvae. They passed this around among themselves, each man drinking about a quart or so of the mead after blowing the debris off the surface in order to expose the water. The remainder
[251] of the honey was wrapped up in its leaf bowl, tightly bound with vines, and carried back
[123] to the village. On the way back to the canoe we cut a few light trees for my mud hut. They had gotten what they were looking for all day, and I managed to get a few logs. They demanded a full day's pay when we reached home. Thereafter, I paid them by the log rather than by the day.

222 Finally, several varieties of insects are collected. Perhaps the most desirable food
231 in this category is the grub of an insect that lays its eggs in the decaying pith of dead
262 palm trees. The Yąnomamö come very close to practicing "animal domestication" in their techniques of exploiting this food. They deliberately cut the palm tree down in order to provide fodder for the insect. When they cut the tree, they also eat the heart of the palm, a very delicious, crunchy vegetable that slightly resembles the taste of celery hearts. One palm we cut yielded an edible heart of about 50 pounds. After the pith has been allowed to decay for several months, it contains numerous large, fat, white grubs. The pith is dug out of the tree with sticks, broken open by hand, and the grubs extracted. Each grub is bitten behind his squirming head, and the head and intestines removed simply by pulling the body away from the teeth. If a grub gets damaged in the process of extracting it, the parts are eaten raw on the spot. A fair-sized palm tree will yield three or four pounds of grubs, some of them as large as a mouse. The grubs

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Fig. 2-6. Rerebawë climbing a rasha *tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamö use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.*

The grubs

are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in a smoky fire tastes like bacon.

The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. The Yąnomamö break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare it in the above manner.

Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

They have much less fat on them than grubs, and become dry and crunchy during the cooking, having a texture and form like cheese pone when prepared.

Large spiders are also collected; they are simply placed directly on the hot coals and roasted alive. The legs and thorax are eaten.

Another common insect food is the larvae of a species of large ant. Only the head of the squirming larvae is eaten. It is very crunchy and has a nutty taste, but one must exercise caution in eating them since they are equipped with sharp pincers and can inflict a painful wound on the tongue or lip.

The game animals are all shot with arrows. The curare palm points are usually used for monkey hunting, while the lanceolate bamboo points are used for large game, such as deer, tapir, and wild pigs. A third kind of point is used for birds. It consists of a long, slender stick to the end of which has been bound a splinter of gently curved monkey bone. This serves as the penetrating point and the barb; it is difficult to extract the point once the barb enters the animal.

The Yąnomamö also fashion a fourth kind of arrow point as they need it. It is simply a stick that has numerous twigs branching in a close cluster. The twigs are cut off an inch or so from the main branch, and the stem is inserted into the end of the arrow shaft that usually contains the curare-tipped point. This fourth type of point is used to kill small birds whose feathers are desired for decoration purposes. On one occasion I saw a young man fashion one of these points in a few seconds. He saw a small bird, located a shrub a few feet away, bit off a branch with his teeth, bit the twigs off, and stuck the point into his arrow shaft—without taking his eyes off the small bird for a second. This type of point is discarded after it serves its temporary purpose.

The Yąnomamö do not employ traps or compounds when hunting. They frequently use dogs to run tapir, pigs, and deer, but most hunting is merely the individual stalking and shooting whatever game is available. As men always carry their weapons with them when they leave the village, they are, in effect, hunting continuously. A communal type of hunting trip invariably precedes a feast; this is described in Chapter 4.

The technique for capturing armadillos is very interesting. Armadillos live in burrows deep underground, and the Yąnomamö are always investigating the entrances of these burrows to see if any signs of recent occupation can be found. If the burrow is occupied, the hunters quickly cover the entrance with combustible materials and start a fire. After the fire is blazing strongly, they find a dried termite nest, which produces large quantities of smoke, and put it onto the fire. When this is ignited, they fan the smoke into the burrow, cover the fire with sand, and look for other openings to the armadillo den. These are quickly spotted when smoke begins to emerge from them and covered with sand to keep the smoke in. Then the men crawl around with their ears held to the ground. The armadillo will sometimes start burrowing in order to escape the smoke; when he does, he is heard and his location immediately established. A stick is used to dig into the ground and find the animal, usually 2 or 3 feet below the surface. On one occasion the men had difficulty locating the animal and dug several holes without hitting the burrow. One of them then uncovered the entrance, obtained a thick vine from a nearby tree, and tied a knot in the end of it. He then introduced the knot into the burrow by spinning the vine rapidly between his hands, pushing it in gently as it twirled. When he could not get the vine to go any further, the men listened on the ground to locate the spinning knot. When they found it, they marked the spot. The vine was

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

removed and laid along the ground in the direction of the burrow to measure the distance from the entrance. The men began digging at the end of the vine and located the asphyxiated armadillo on the first attempt.

The jungle provides many other kinds of foods and products too numerous to mention. Some, like vines and lianas, are very useful and commonly employed in basket-making; others, such as edible mushrooms, crabs, pigments, and decorative plant products, are less significant, and exploited only sporadically. Despite the amazing variety of food products to be found in the jungle, however, the Yąnomamö could not exist for any substantial period of time on collected foods only: they rely heavily on their cultivated crops. The tropical forest is much less productive and reliable than one would imagine. The most abundant foods, palm fruits, are seasonal—a group of people could only rely on them for a few months of the year, during which time some 80 group members would have to forage over a wide area to obtain sufficient palm fruits to keep everybody well fed.

Game animals are not abundant, and an area is rapidly hunted out, so that a group must keep constantly on the move. Furthermore, hunting depends as much on luck as it does on skill and is not a very reliable way to supply nourishment. I have gone on five-day hunting trips with the Yąnomamö in areas that had not been hunted for decades, and had we not brought cultivated foods along, we would have been extremely hungry at the end of this time—we did not collect even enough meat to feed ourselves. On other trips, we often managed to collect enough game in one day to feed the entire village.

GARDENING Although the Yąnomamö spend almost as much time hunting as they do gardening, the bulk of their diet comes from foods that are cultivated. Perhaps 85 percent or more of the diet consists of domesticated rather than wild foods—plantains are by far the most important food in the diet.

The Yąnomamö are constantly looking for potential garden sites. When I hunted with them, the topic of conversation that evening would eventually drift over to the merits of the area as a possible site for a new garden. Most new garden sites are, in fact, discovered by hunters.

The land for a new site should not be heavily covered with brush, which is difficult to remove. The larger trees should not be too numerous either, as it takes a good deal of work to chop them down. Ideally, the new site should have very light jungle cover, should be well drained, near a source of drinking water, and relatively free of thorny underbrush. The Yąnomamö call a garden *hikari täka;* jungle that has the potential of being a good garden is likewise called *hikari täka.*

The first operation in making a new garden is to cut the smaller trees and brush; the bigger trees, *kayaha hi,* are left standing until the underbrush is removed. Then the big trees are felled with axes and left lying on the ground to dry out in the sun.

My older informants claimed that they did not have steel tools when they were younger and had to kill the big trees by cutting a ring of bark off around the base of the stump, using a crude stone axe, piling brush around them, and burning them. The trees rarely fell, but the fire usually killed them, and their leaves dropped off, permitting the sunlight to reach the ground.

They also claimed that making a garden was more arduous in those days because a large area would have to be searched for the necessary quantities of kindling used to kill the big trees. Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the

244 [177] [252] [799] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians-and by rural Venezuelans-and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and [284] a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome [531] piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in [437] the trading network.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharaiwä, Kąobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kąobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kąobawä's younger wife. Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kąobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yąnomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *bashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kąobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawĩ does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawĩ, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a local shortage of the item in order to have to rely on an ally for it, giving sufficient cause to visit them.

Often the specialization is less individualized than in the case of clay pot manufacture. Kaobawä's group, for example, exports cotton yarn to one ally, but imports it from another. The exported cotton frequently is brought back in the form of manufactured hammocks, the importer merely contributing labor to the process. In some cases the shortages are merely seasonal; Kaobawä's group may import cotton from a particular ally at one time of the year, but export it at another. Most of the trade, however, involves items that are readily manufactured by or raised by any group, underscoring the fact that trade is the stimulus to visit. Food does not enter the trading system, although hospitality dictates that it must be given to friendly groups. Occasionally, a village will run short of plantains because of a particularly long hot spell, and its members may visit an ally to borrow food to last a week or so. This hospitality is usually reciprocated, but it is not a part of the trading network.

Alliances between villages may stabilize at any one of three points: sporadic reciprocal trading, mutual feasting, or reciprocal women exchange. These are cumulative levels in the sense that the third phase implies the first two: Allies that exchange women also feast and trade with each other. Likewise, allies that merely feast together also trade, but do not exchange women. At the lower end of this scale of solidarity lie those villages with which one fights to kill, while at the upper end are those villages from whom one's group has recently separated. Frequently, the scale is circular rather than linear: A village's mortal enemy is the group from which it has recently split. By way of example, Kaobawä's group trades sporadically with the Makorima-teri, Daiyari-teri, Widokaiya-teri, Mahekodo-teri, and Iyawei-teri. These are fairly weak alliances and even permit limited fighting. His group has more intimate ties with the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mõmariböwei-teri, with whom it feasts regularly. The alliance with the Reyaboböwei-teri has even reached the point at which they are exchanging women with each other. Finally, at the other end of the scale, Kaobawä's group is at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, Möwarioba-teri, and Patanowä-teri. The first two of these groups are historically unrelated to Kaobawä's group, although they have a common history with two of his staunchest allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mõmaribowei-teri, from whom they separated in the past. The Patanowä-teri are related to Kaobawä and his followers, as was shown in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, they are bitter enemies and are at present raiding each other.

Although there is no rigid geographical correlation of the village settlement pattern to the degree of alliance solidarity, neighboring villages usually are at least on trading terms and are not actively conducting war on each other. Should war develop between neighbors, one of the two principals will abandon its site and move to a new location. Whether the ties between neighboring villages will be one of blood, marriage exchange, reciprocal feasting, or casual trading depends on a large number of factors, particularly on village size, current warfare situation with respect to more distant groups, and the precise historical ties between the neighboring villages. Whatever the nature of the ties beween neighbors, each strives to maintain its sovereignty and independence from the others.

The Yanomamö do not openly regard trade as a mechanism the ulterior function of which is to bring people repeatedly together, thus establishing an amicable basis from

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

neutral. The treacherous feast for their Shamatari enemies proved to be unsuccessful: The intended victims had accepted the invitation, but were informed of the plot just before they arrived. One of the Reyaboböwei-teri who had close kinsmen among them had misgivings about the matter and warned them.

Late in the afternoon it was learned that the Mahekodo-teri were, in fact, in the vicinity of the village, allegedly on a "camping trip." Kąobawä, of course, suspected their story, but to demonstrate his friendship he invited them to be his guests at a feast. As he and his men had been away for nearly two weeks, there was an abundance of food in their gardens and they could easily afford to entertain the Mahekodo-teri and their traveling companions, the Boreta-teri. Together, the guests numbered about 100—after they fetched their women and children.

This sets the stage for the feast in the kind of context that makes it more intelligible: The specific historical relationships between the participants and the nature of their mutual mistrust. Now I will give the details of the events that followed.

The Feast

Perhaps because he suspected the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri of intimidation, Kąobawä also invited the Karohi-teri to attend the feast. They are a small but dependable ally and had themselves separated from the Mahekodo-teri many years ago. This established a balance of power at the projected feast should any trouble arise, for the combination of both Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri was of sufficient strength to worry any host. With the aid of the Karohi-teri, Kąobawä's group was more of a match for the visitors.

The feast started out on a sour note. It is the custom of the Yąnomamö visitors to arrive only after an invitation from their hosts, sent by messenger on the day of the feast. The Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri, however, arrogantly arrived nearly a week before Kąobawä's group was prepared to receive them and set up a large, temporary camp a short distance from the village. They were guests and could legitimately demand to be fed. Because of this, Kąobawä and his covillagers were under obligation to feed them, some hundred or so people, and took them to the gardens to supply them with enough plantains to last a week. Kąobawä was a little disturbed that they would be so impolite as to arrive uninvited, but took the situation quite philosophically. After all, they had fed his group for the better part of a year.

He and several other men cut a large quantity of plantains, which were hung in his house and allowed to ripen for a week, to be boiled into *date*, a thick, sweet soup, on the day of the feast. That afternoon Kąobawä and a few of the older men commissioned a hunting party comprised of young men, several of whom were Kąobawä's brothers, whose responsibility would be to obtain a large quantity of fresh meat to give to the visitors on the day after the feast. Most of them were reluctant to go, as their feet were still sore from the trip to the Shamatari village. A few of them claimed to be sick and managed to escape recruitment into the hunting party in this way. This hunt, with the hanging of the plantains in the headman's house, initiated the feast. The excitement that usually attends a feast began at this time.

That evening the young men danced and sang in the village, an institution called *amoamo*, thereby insuring themselves with luck on the hunt. (The Yąnomamö also

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

amoamo on other occasions, but invariably do so on the day the plantains are hung in the village in anticipation of a feast.) Every evening the men are away on their *boniomou*, the week-long hunt, the young women and girls sing and dance in the village to insure them success.

The hunters left at dawn the following morning, carrying a large supply of roasted and green plantains with them to eat while they hunted. They had picked a site some 25 miles up the Mavaca River for their hunt, as game was known to abound there. Their task was to obtain monkeys, armadillos, wild turkeys, wild pig, tapir or sloth, the only meat deemed worthy to give to guests. They would not be permitted to eat any of this game, but could consume any other game they captured, such as deer, small birds, a small species of wild turkey, or insects and fish they happened to come upon. The feast meat, however, was earmarked for the guests and could not be eaten by the hunters. On this particular hunting trip the men miscalculated the amount of food they would need to sustain them during the hunt, and one of them returned after four days to fetch more plantains. He also gave Kąobawä a report on the hunt's success, creating a small sensation in the village: They had already killed a large number of *hasbo*, a particularly large and very desirable monkey. They had also come upon a quantity of turtle eggs at a sand bar and were eating as many as they could. When they returned later, they cached the remaining eggs in my house, so as not to have to share them with the visitors.

Meanwhile, the visitors were making gluttons of themselves, and the hosts started to grumble about the large number of plantains they had already eaten. The week's supply they originally provided had been consumed in half that time, and the guests had been given permission a second time to harvest more from their hosts' gardens. This was no way for guests to behave, and it soon became apparent that they were intimidating Kąobawä's group. Still, he and his followers continued to supply them with all the food they needed, keeping their complaints to themselves. They did not want it to be known that they were worried about running short of food. Instead, they planned to conduct the feast on a scale that would be difficult to reciprocate.

The hunters returned and presented their catch to Kąobawä. It was brought to his house and placed on the ground, wrapped up in leaves. Kąobawä ignored it for a while and then slowly began to unpack it (see Fig. 4-1) while everybody watched—especially the hunters, who were quite proud of the quantity of meat they had obtained: seventeen *hasbo* monkeys, seven wild turkeys, and three large armadillos. Hunting trips are not usually this successful, but the hunters had fortunately stumbled into a large band of *hasbo* and had nearly wiped it out.

Kąobawä and his group were anxious to conduct the feast for their visitors and present them with the food, because by so doing the visitors would be obliged to leave for home, thereby ending the drain on the gardens.[2]

The feast was scheduled for the day following the return of the hunters, even though the Karohi-teri had not yet arrived. Kąobawä and his group were so anxious to rid themselves of their ravenous guests by this time that they decided to hold a separate feast for the Karohi-teri on the day following the departure of the Mahekodo-teri. This would involve a considerable amount of extra work, but they were more than willing to

[2] I have seen several instances of Yąnomamö groups getting rid of visitors who have joined them semipermanently by holding a feast in their honor; when the ceremonial food is presented, the visitors are obliged to leave.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

undertake it if it meant getting rid of their first group of visitors, who, by this time, had spent nearly a week eating Kaobawä's produce.

On the morning of the feast three large pieces of bark from the *araparu* tree were cut and brought to the village. These were made into troughs to contain the boiled, ripe plantain soup. All day long Kaobawä's younger brothers, who had returned from the hunt the day before, labored at cooking the enormous quantity of ripe plantains, pouring each boiling containerful into the trough as it was prepared.[3]

The plantains that Kaobawä had hung in his *shabono* roof a week before were now ripe. The young men who were preparing the soup would cut the bunches of plantains from the roof, split each fruit with their thumb, throw the two halves of the flesh into a cooking pot, and toss the skins onto a pile. They worked at this task from early morning until late afternoon, in addition to boiling a nearly equal quantity of green plantains, which provided the green vegetable food that customarily accompanies the presentation of meat. Yanomamö etiquette dictates that meat must be accompanied by vegetable food and vice versa.[4] It is an insult, for example, to offer someone meat without simultaneously offering a vegetable food with it. Peeling green plantains is a little more difficult than peeling ripe ones, which are very tough and brittle. The Yanomamö solve this problem, like they solve so many others, by using their teeth. Each plantain is bitten along its length several times, cracking the peel, which in turn is removed with the fingernails and further application of the dentition. On this particular occasion, two young men peeled, with their thumbs, enough ripe plantains to make approximately 95 gallons of soup, and, with their teeth, a sufficiently large quantity of green plantains to fill a dozen large pack-baskets.

In the morning on the day of the feast, Kaobawä went to the center of the village clearing where all could see him and proceeded to pull weeds. The clearing has to look presentable to the visitors, as it functions as the dancing plaza. As noted before, since Yanomamö headmen cannot directly order their followers to execute tasks such as these, they usually initiate them and hope that others will follow. By and by, a number of older men joined him, as well as a few women, and when a sufficient number of workers were pulling weeds and hauling them out, Kaobawä quietly retired to his hammock, from which he oversaw the food preparations and calculated the distribution of meat.

Excitement in the village grew conspicuously as the hours passed, and by noon there was a constant din of laughter and chatter, punctuated now and then with a shrill scream from some young man overcome with the thrill of the feast. Occasionally, the visitors would reply to the shouts, setting off a brief contest of screaming between hosts

[3]Kaobawä's group has access to aluminum pots now and uses them extensively in food preparations. Most Yanomamö groups still use crude clay pots, although these are being rapidly replaced by aluminum ware, which is traded inland to the more remote villages.

[4]The three vegetable foods considered to be suitable accompaniments for the meat presentation are: boiled green plantains, boiled *ruaka* fruit, and cassava bread. A number of missionaries and a few scientific observers have identified the Yanomamö feast strongly with the *ruaka* fruit (Zerries 1953; de Barandiaran 1966). If it is to be identified with any food, it should be called the "plantain feast," but to identify the feast with a food that sometimes (*ruaka*) or invariably (plantains) accompanies it is to overlook the sociopolitical causes of the feast. *Ruaka* is so unnecessary to the feast that it was served at only two of six feasts I attended. In short, the Yanomamö feast is a social and political event, not a harvest ceremony, and occurs independently of the abundance or availability of *ruaka* fruit. *Ruaka* fruit ripens in February, the peak of the dry season. It is only in the dry season that feasts can be held, because travel is difficult or impossible at other times of the year. The correlation of the ripening of *ruaka* and feasting is rather more fortuitous than causal.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the visiting dancers entered, pranced around the village periphery, wildly showing off their decorations and weapons and then returning to the group. Each dancer had unique decorations and a unique dance step, something personal that he could exhibit. He would burst into the village screaming a memorized phrase, wheel and spin, stop in his tracks, dance in place, throw his weapons down, pick them up again, aim them at the line of hosts with a wild expression on his face, prance ahead a few steps, repeat his performance, and continue on around the village in this manner, while the hosts cheered wildly. When everyone had had an individual turn, the entire group entered, danced single file around the periphery several times, and gathered at the center of the clearing, where they formed a tightly knit group. They stood motionless, except for the heaving of their chests, holding their weapons vertically. After they had stood there a few moments—in a final display of decorations—Kąobawä's followers emerged from their houses and approached the center of the village, each man inviting one or more of the visitors to his house, leading him away from the village center by the arm. As each visitor was led away, his family, watching from the village entrance, unceremoniously joined him at the host's house, bringing the family possessions along. Within a few minutes the dance plaza was deserted and the visitors were resting comfortably in their hosts' hammocks. Even in the hammocks, the Yąnomamö visitors are able to put on a silent display of their finery as they lay with their legs crossed, one arm behind their head, staring at the ceiling, waiting for their hosts to feed them ripe plantain soup from the bark troughs—it is almost as if they are strutting from a reclining position.

After the guests had been given their first round of soup, the men of Kąobawä's village assembled outside the entrance and came in to dance around the village for their guests. They, too, had an opportunity to put on a display of their own decorations, after which they retired to entertain the guests.

There were three troughs full of soup in the village. The first one was emptied in the process of bringing numerous gourdsful to the some one hundred visitors (see Fig. 4–2). After they had consumed this, the guests then assembled at the second trough and began eating there. Before this trough was finished, they moved as a group to the third trough and repeated their ceremonial consumption, before returning to their hammocks to rest and regain their appetites. Approximately two hours had passed from the time the first dancers entered the village until the guests retired from the third trough of soup. They had not yet eaten all of the contents—all in all, some 95 gallons of it—but managed to do so by morning.[6]

Shortly after dark the marathon chanting (*unïyamou*) began—it continued until dawn. At dawn the visitors conducted their trade and were given the baskets of "going-home food": boiled green plantains with smoked meat. The women and children departed with the food, leaving the men behind to trade. The visitors made requests through their headman, and Kąobawä would produce the item by enjoining one of the local men to give it. The item would be thrown at the feet of the man who wanted it. He would ignore it for a while and then give it a cursory examination, throwing it back on the ground. His peers would then examine it in greater detail and extol its virtues, while the

[6]During some feasts, the ashes of the dead are mixed with the boiled, ripe plantain soup and eaten by friends and relatives of the deceased. The feast also serves as a preliminary to a raid that involves two or more villages. The sponsor of the raid will entertain his allies in a feast the day before the raiding party departs. See Chapter X for a discussion of the raid.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628*
574
437
438

giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *to mruiba*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same

Fig. 4-2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, atapuri.

628*
574
301
302
516
411
415
342
264
262
291

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Bisaasi-teri, for example, wanted to get rid of the Monou-teri, they would hold a feast in their honor. When the going-home food was presented to them, they had no alternative but to leave. It would have been insulting to remain after the food was presented. In between their moves they returned to their own producing site to collect plantains and carry them to their new garden. They subsisted there off the food they carried with them.

The Monou-teri soon resented being treated like pariahs by their allies and began to regain their courage. Much of this treatment was due to the fact that they failed to chase the raiders when Damowä was slain, displaying cowardice instead of ferocity. Many of the men in the Bisaasi-teri groups resented the Monou-teri for this and were not timid about displaying their disgust. The Monou-teri were a burden, as they rarely helped at expanding Bisaasi-teri's gardens and ate a good deal of the time.

The raid Kąobawä organized to revenge Damowä's death took place late in April. The Shamatari allies—Mǫmariböwei-teri and Reyaböwei-teri—were invited to participate, but they failed to send a contingency. As allies never really trust each other, the raid was delayed because some of the Bisaasi-teri suspected that their allies were waiting for the raiders to leave so that they could descend on the poorly protected women and make off with captives. Finally, a few of them did arrive and the *waryu itou* (warrior line-up) got under way. Still, the Bisaasi-teri feared treachery on the part of their Shamatari friends, so the men of Lower Bisaasi-teri decided to stay home and protect the women left behind by the Monou-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri raiders. A small feast was held to entertain the visiting Shamatari allies.

On the afternoon of the feast a grass dummy was set up in the village, and the men who were to participate in the raid conducted a mock attack on the dummy, which was supposed to represent the body of a Patanowä-teri man. They painted themselves black, crept slowly around the village with bows and arrows ready, searching for the tracks of the enemy. They converged at one point, spread out, crept toward the dummy, and, at Kąobawä's signal, let fly with a volley of arrows. The Yąnomamö are good archers. None of the arrows missed its mark, and the dummy, looking like a pincushion, toppled ominously to the ground, a dozen or more bamboo-tipped arrows protruding from it. Then the raiders screamed and ran out of the village, simulating their retreat from the enemy. They drifted back into the village, one at a time or in small groups, and retired to their hammocks to wait for darkness.

The village became unusually quiet shortly after dark. Suddenly, the stillness was pierced by an animal-like noise, half-scream and half-growl, as the first raider marched slowly out to the center of the village, clacking his arrows against his bow, growling his individualized fierce noise, usually a mimic of a carnivore: a wasp, or a buzzard. At this signal—not knowing fully what to expect and a little nervous—I crept from my own hammock and went to the center of the village with my tape recorder. The other raiders joined the first man, coming one at a time after short intervals, each clacking his arrows and growling some hideous noise. Kąobawä stood by and made sure the line was straight and faced the direction of the enemy; he would push or pull the individual warriors until they formed a perfectly straight line, joining them after the last one took his place.

The procession to the line-up took about twenty minutes, as about 30 or so men participated (see Fig. 5-2). When the last one was in line, the murmurs among the

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

262 Great popularity was also enjoyed among the Surára and Pakidái
439 by the roasted manioc flour which they occasionally obtain from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter or from the Indian protection post on the Demini as a gift. They are unable to make it themselves because they do not have the large iron pans for it.

252 Various fruits of wild plants also need special preparation. The white seeds found in the pods of the pacova-sororoca (see p. 168) must be roasted before they are eaten. The taste, by the way, corresponds exactly to roasted maize. /84/ -- The fruits of the pot-tree (see p. 168) are first boiled, for which the women particularly liked to use my empty gasoline cans, and then cut open with the knife of tortoise shell (see p. 118). They are then poured into one or more of the large plaited baskets -- uaramã -- (see p. 107) and hung for four days in the water on the bank of a stream, in order to remove the bitter substances. After that they are thoroughly rubbed by the women with their feet. These fruits, to be sure, occupy only a second-rank position in the favor of the "gourmets," but at least they fill the stomach. Moreover, I was assured that in olden times, that is, before the introduction of the banana, this fruit played a much greater role in the food economy.

• 263 All the foods mentioned are, as a rule, eaten without spices. Only now and then do some men and women add a little of their cultivated pepper, which is roasted beforehand. Not a single [123] tribesman developed a taste for my salt, of which I had brought along several kilograms, assuming that the Indians would be pleased about it, and they had no interest whatsoever in acquiring any of it (400).

[146] 400. The amount of salt required by the body is supplied by the wood ashes with which the tobacco roll (see p.190) is mixed.

171 This aversion to salt is also found among many other tribes,
175 and in a report as early as the sixteenth century one can read the
263 following remark: "The forest people cannot use any salt, because it makes them ill, for they are not used to it; if they eat it, they

263
17
[175]

/84 cont./
almost always die within a short time" (401). Reference should

401. Taunay, 1921, p. 166.

also be made to a statement by Roquette-Pinto, in which he says that the Indians of the Serra do Norte reject all salted food (402).

402. Roquette-Pinto, 1919, p. 243.

There are, however, tribes among whom salt is valued to a certain extent. For example, Herbert Baldus reports about a Boróro who complained that he never got enough salt from the mission kitchen. Yet salt was previously unknown to these Indians (403). The Tapirapé and Karajá /Caraja/ also like salt

403. Baldus, 1937, p. 287.

very much (404), whereas among the Tuparí only the men like

404. Baldus, 1950, p. 14.

to use it; several women, on the other hand, not at all (405).

405. Caspar, 1953, pp. 133/34.

The following statement by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang is noteworthy: "In general, the Indians salt their foods little, but like salt very much and are glad to take it in payment for services rendered" (406).

406. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 49.

272 The number of beverages which are prepared from the nourishing fruit-meat of wild palms is abundant. Especially popular are the bluish açaí and bacaba fruits (see p. 166) about as large as plums, which ripen between December-March. They

/84 cont./

272 are kneaded and pulverized in calabashes filled with water. This produces a grayish-brown, greasy juice which, after the fleshy husks have been fished out and thrown away, reminds one of cacao in appearance and flavor and is extremely filling. This drink tasted even better to me when I added a little sugar. [123] [263] The Indians who tasted this, however, were not enthusiastic about the addition, since they like sugar just as little as salt. I was unable to please either children or adults with my bonbons. The fruit of the bacu buriti, curauá, piaçaba, and ubim palms (see p. 166) is made into beverages in the same way, while that of the inaja palm is cooked beforehand. The juice obtained from this tastes quite insipid, to be sure, but likewise has a high food value.

One should also mention that a drink is prepared from the [114] [184] [171] gathered honey by mixing it with water. I never saw it eaten, as has been confirmed for the Waiká (407) and various /85/ other

407. Zerries, 1956b, p. 150.

tribes of Guiana (408) (409).

408. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 55.

409. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 169.

271 184 As the above account shows, the Surára and Pakidái do not lack variety with regard to beverages, so that only in the rarest instances need they resort to plain water, as is the case, according to Zerries' accounts, among the Waiká (410). As among

273 184

410. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

the latter (411), however, alcoholic beverages are completely

411. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

unknown to the Surára and Pakidái too.

/209/

273 271 177 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 263 261 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is related to religious ideas. [764] It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 183 591 184 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

591 182 596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

and brought to us already cooked, in a wrapping of some appropriate green stuff—a dish beyond compare. At times there was so much meat (cooked and eaten without salt or spices) that we willingly turned to fruit again. There was no lack of that either.

When a tapir or a number of peccaries have been killed and there is too much meat to be eaten up at once, the Samatari smoke it on a hurdle supported by four stakes driven into the ground. A fire is lit underneath and kept going all night—to the accompaniment of the medicine-man's ceaseless chanting. In the morning the pieces of meat, looking completely charred, are wrapped in wild banana leaves and entrusted for transport to some little woman who hoists them up along with the babies on her back.

I have also seen a sloth being smoked. No gentler animal exists in the world. She moves at a speed which never exceeds a few yards a day, and lives hanging on the trees with her young ones clinging to the hairs of her back. They captured one alive, and with the machete chopped off the three nails of its hands and feet, to make scrapers and 'bodkins' for various uses. Deprived of her only means of defence, the sloth kept moving slowly along, with a resigned, human expression which quickly won our sympathy. But not the Samatari's. To them, a sloth is an excellent target for archery practice, because it will remain in the same position—clasping a pole, for instance, without moving—just the sort of thing you want for a target. The arrows whistled past the sloth's wet nose, but its face showed no change of expression; then some struck it, but not in a vital part, and its fur reddened with blood. The arrows did not penetrate deeply because they were only practice ones, with worn tips. Had I had a gun I would have shot it, for there was such a look of gentle reproof in the little animal's eyes that it became unendurable. But the gun was a long way off, and our five remaining cartridges had been the subject of so much calculation, that perhaps after all I wouldn't have ventured to expend one on this four-legged Saint Sebastian. Soon, however, too many arrows had struck, and before the youngsters could get it to play with and drag it about in the dust, still alive, I asked for the machete. Laughing, in order to evade Samatari susceptibilities, I struck it one hard blow on the head which sent it straight to the smoking-tray.

We now had a definite plan laid and were spreading propaganda to make it possible, Uarema and the Guayca Indians being our agents. We had now made the descent of the entire Aracoa and part of the Uraricoera, and before reaching

/451 cont./

251 The Guaika /Waica/ do not keep reserves of food. All of their foods are cooked fresh or at least within a period of two weeks from the time they are ready. Therefore, in case their conucos have a scarcity of produce, they must go to live in the forest, gathering seeds, fruits, and roots, and devoting more [628] time than usual to hunting and fishing. When another settlement has an abundance of food in a time of scarcity, it would be very fortunate to be able to live completely from this settlement instead of having to subsist from the forest.

Consumption of Food

• 263 No salt is consumed as such, that is, as salt properly speaking. [824] They eat wood ashes, especially the ashes of a tree called "kololi." The ashes may be eaten as they are or with hot water poured over them to obtain a tasty liquid. To this liquid, called "ubu," is added strong peppers. Platanos and other foods are dipped in the resulting sauce to flavor and ingest them.

261 Clay is also dried and eaten, especially the clay from certain nests of insects.

[862] No child may be weaned until it has learned to eat the said ashes and clay.

Earth and clean dust are also eaten. They are considered clean if they are taken from a place where a fire has recently burned, from a river bed, or from a bare spot or bank of sand which the sun has been able to purify.

264 Their hours for eating are as follows: Breakfast is taken shortly after sunrise, and the second turn when they come back from work in their "conucos," generally at some time near midday. They eat again near /452/ sunset. This schedule varies, being adjusted for hunting trips, moving from the settlement, etc. They eat quite a lot between meals, especially wild fruits and bananas and ripe platanos.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waĩka musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waĩkas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waĩkas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

/85 cont./

9. Meals and Eating Habits

264
262 In the morning the Surára and Pakidái eat very little, usually only one or two bananas or tubers roasted in the hot ashes. I often found that men and women set out to hunt or gather without having eaten anything. If they come across wild fruits on their wanderings, however, they help themselves generously. Small, light meals in the form of banana soup, roasted or steamed bananas, pupunha fruit, sweet potatoes, etc. are eaten at noon. Sometimes there are some leftovers from the meat of the day before. The main meal of the day does not take place until after sundown, by the light of the blazing fire. For at this time the whole family is usually assembled again, and the hunting booty which the man perhaps brought home in the afternoon or the products of the gathering by the women have been prepared. Everywhere one sees the men squatting beside the fire and waiting for food, which includes larger or smaller pieces of meat
[824] supplemented by vegetable fare. In front of them the women have spread out a few palm leaves as an underlayer for the food. The men eat first, and they also get the best pieces of meat. When they are satisfied, the women and children may start eating. Nothing is drunk during the meal, but afterwards a palm-fruit or honey drink is enjoyed.

264 Eating is done with the hands. In one hand the Indian holds a piece of roasted or boiled meat and in the other a roasted banana, a manioc flat-cake, or something similar. Intermittently one reaches into the pot and takes out another piece or cuts it off from
[415] the wooden spit or roasting rack. Soups are drunk out of gourd bowls or calabashes, just like the palm-fruit and honey drinks.

[251] If the hunters' bag was particularly good, one may observe many Indians, men, women, and children, eating all night long, for meat is preserved only before festivals. In connection with this the individual members of the family lie comfortably in their hammocks, converse, sleep a little at intervals, then fetch themselves another piece of meat from the roasting spit or rack. It is
[267] astonishing what quantities they consume during such a night. On the other hand, they are also easily able to fast for a long period of time.

2: Becher--185 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/85 cont./

264 There is no feeling of modesty during eating, such as Karl von den Steinen, for example, describes for the Bakaírí /Bacairi/ (412).

412. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 66.

262 On the other hand, there are food taboos for sick people, pregnant women, for girls during their first and second menstruation, and for young men in connection with their two-months' training as medicine-man helpers.

10. Tame Animals

231

As the sole, true domestic animal, there is found among the Surára and Pakidái only the dog -- hiíma. In addition, for amusement and the pleasure in animals, European cocks are kept, as well as small monkeys, porpoise-like little hamsters (Cavia leucopyga), parrots, araras, and parakeets (Conuridae).

As for the dogs, there are two barking varieties. One resembles the German shepherd dog, while the other, which is short- /86/ haired, white or spotted, looks very much like our [437] fox terrier. Well-trained hunting dogs, with which a profitable barter trade is carried on, are very lovingly cared for and are always given plenty of food, whereas the others are sometimes neglected. Basically, however, the Indians are attached to these animals also, which may be seen by the fact that every family that owns dogs, usually one or two, has made a "dog bed" behind their fire area, that is, a sleeping place for the loyal members of the household (Ill. 30) (see p. 29). Sometimes young dogs [552] are even nursed by women. If a bitch has brought forth young, all the relatives and friends ask to be given a young one later on and, upon receiving it, immediately give it a name. It may also be of interest to point out that the Indians mentioned never whistle to their dogs. Usually they call them by name or they hiss by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth (413).

[171]

413. Many North American Indians behave in the same way (Friederici, 1899, p. 365).

/89 cont./

12. Hygiene

515 Regular bathing, washing of the face and hands, and cleaning the finger and toe nails are unknown; this is also true for babies, who are often covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Nor do they /90/ brush their teeth or ever rinse their mouths. Yet I was never aware of an unpleasant body odor or bad breath on the Indians, and until an advanced age their teeth are dazzlingly white and sound. While hunting or gathering, however, if men and women are obliged to cross a brook or small river, they gladly utilize the opportunity to take a refreshing bath, and the same is true when female members of the tribe fetch water. A bath is greatly appreciated by children and young people, but not at all by older persons. Most men can swim quite well and teach their sons also; women and girls who swim are exceptions. As a result of occasional contacts with the palm-fiber gatherers on the Rio Aracá or with the personnel of the Indian protection post on the Demini, the Surára and Pakidái have for some time been acquainted with soap, and various Indians, predominantly children and young men and women, like to lather themselves when they take a bath. Several women had even taken to washing their hammocks now and then with soap. Thus, the cakes of soap that I carried with me were very much in demand, as were perfume and hair tonic.

[147] [145] [481] 177 515 [123]

• 264 Eating is done only with the hands (see p. 184). If the meat was very greasy and the hands are smeared all over with dirt and grease, they are rubbed off somewhat against a post and then run through the hair a few times. The eating bowls and pots, with the remains of the meal, are then put down for the dogs, who at the same time take over the work of cleaning; eating utensils are seldom washed. When they are needed for the next meal, the woman passes them over her hair a few times. If there are still a few crusts of dirt present, she spits on them and rubs them with her hand.

/90 cont./

514 [264] There is frequent belching during and after eating, and it happens not infrequently that a member of the family breaks wind, often with a loud noise, which, however, is received with happy laughter, without any damage to the appetite. Both sexes also spit a great deal as a result of the tobacco rolls which they have in the mouth almost constantly (see p. 190).

Urination is done in the immediate vicinity of the maloka during the day and in the hearth at night. Men and boys always urinate in a squatting position, just like women and girls. For their other needs they all go a bit deeper into the forest clearing during the day, or even to the edge of the forest. When they have finished, they rub the seat back and forth a few times on the ground or against a tree trunk. The mother holds small children, in case she happens to be lying in the hammock, over the edge of it. Then she wipes her hand or lower arm across its seat a few times, or, if necessary, she uses a little stick to clean it. The little heap is covered with ashes or earth and stamped into the ground by the mother. If an adult has more important business to attend to at night, he digs a small hole beside the hammock and subsequently covers it with ashes or earth. Old or sick persons do this during the day as well. The reason that [825] [776] the Surára and Pakidái do not leave the maloka at night for the aforementioned purpose is because they are afraid of snakes and jaguars, as well as of nonexí, the evil spirit which transmits sickness (see p. 211). Persistent unpleasant odors are not noticeable even in closed malokas, however, since they are dispelled by the ascending smoke of the constantly burning fire.

841 During their menstruation the women do not use anything to absorb the blood (see pp. 142/143). Pools of blood that remain on the ground are obliterated by them with their feet.

356 123 291 In general, however, the communal house is kept quite clean. One always sees men and women sweeping with a broom made of piaçaba fibers. For this work both sexes liked to put on the shirts and trousers or clothing which I had brought them as gift articles and which were otherwise not at all appreciated.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

any moment to fall on human beings and devour them. With us Sempronio knew no fear, and he always wore a smile. He would run round our legs like a puppy, and was always ready to do things, taking on the heaviest tasks under the worst conditions. He ate with us. He ate purposefully and he went on eating. His voracity had to be seen to be believed, when you considered his slim delicate build. He ate our rations. Then he ate the special ones which the Indians prepared for themselves, and on top of that he ate an endless number of things which with great foresight he had collected on the way: grubs, honeycomb with brood cells, honey and all, small fish, worms, birds' eggs taken from the nest, frogs, young snakes, palm hearts from young palm trees—he ate everything with rapid and relentless mastication, cooking what could be cooked on the fire, and devouring the rest raw.

When he had eaten everything he would start a regular licking of his fingers, and of the leaves which might still be wet with the juices of whatever strange meats he had wrapped in them. Then he would prepare fresh delights with the innards of any game we ourselves had cooked, adding heads, claws, wing-sinews and any other odd tit-bits he could find. With a knife he would work on them like lightning. Each little delicacy was attacked at full speed, entrails were devoured, heads were crunched right up to the beak, claws cleaned of every shred of meat. Then came the time to inspect the bones we had thrown away. He split them with a knife, and if there was any marrow he could be trusted to suck it out. Finally, after a last careful lick of each finger in turn, Sempronio, the little fellow from the Shirian metropolis of Auai, would go to roost in his hammock over the fire which wrapped him in its warm blanket of heat.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
302
264 ●
516

15. *Grubs make a tasty dish!*

16. *The fourth type of Sanumavi - the girlish.*

17. *The 'bad type' - playing a whistle made from a deer's shin-bone. Note the tribal signs on his stomach*

142
302 ←

142
302
534
531
→

[p. 96 - E]

/451 cont./

251 The Guaika /Waica/ do not keep reserves of food. All of their foods are cooked fresh or at least within a period of two weeks from the time they are ready. Therefore, in case their conucos have a scarcity of produce, they must go to live in the forest, gathering seeds, fruits, and roots, and devoting more [628] time than usual to hunting and fishing. When another settlement has an abundance of food in a time of scarcity, it would be very fortunate to be able to live completely from this settlement instead of having to subsist from the forest.

Consumption of Food

263 No salt is consumed as such, that is, as salt properly speaking. [824] They eat wood ashes, especially the ashes of a tree called "kololi." The ashes may be eaten as they are or with hot water poured over them to obtain a tasty liquid. To this liquid, called "ubu," is added strong peppers. Platanos and other foods are dipped in the resulting sauce to flavor and ingest them.

261 Clay is also dried and eaten, especially the clay from certain nests of insects.

[862] No child may be weaned until it has learned to eat the said ashes and clay.

Earth and clean dust are also eaten. They are considered clean if they are taken from a place where a fire has recently burned, from a river bed, or from a bare spot or bank of sand which the sun has been able to purify.

• 264 Their hours for eating are as follows: Breakfast is taken shortly after sunrise, and the second turn when they come back from work in their "conucos," generally at some time near midday. They eat again near /452/ sunset. This schedule varies, being adjusted for hunting trips, moving from the settlement, etc. They eat quite a lot between meals, especially wild fruits and bananas and ripe platanos.

/452 cont./

252 Women generally roast the platanos for everyone's breakfast. At noon and in the evening, everyone cooks his own platanos. To a child of seven they might give three green platanos in [866] their skins, telling him: "Here is your dinner." The child then proceeds to cook them.

• 264 The Guaika /Waica/ in general have abundant food and eat it with pleasure. They do not look kindly upon remains of food being left. Anyone who does not lick his bowl clean after having drunk his soup of platanos is considered a prodigal.

266 The mere idea of cannibalism is rejected with horror, al-
765 though they do eat the pulverized bones of a cremated relative, after having kept them in a hermetically sealed gourd for about six months.

262 They do not eat carnivorous birds and animals, but carnivorous fish, even the caribe (piranha), are eaten with pleasure. Some [252] snakes are eaten, others not. They boil them or else they cook them wrapped in leaves upon the embers.

271 Drink, Drugs, and Excesses

The Guaika /Waica/ take extreme care concerning the water they drink. The supply of water for a settlement must be obtained upstream from all the fords which cross the stream or brook. If a Guaika finds it necessary to drink water in a place below a ford, he makes a hole in the sand of the beach and waits until water which has filtered through it gushes up. The water of the current is considered dirty, just as the water from the hole dug [415] in the beach is clean. Water is transported in gourds by the women for use in the settlement.

273 The Guaika do not prepare any alcoholic beverage.

276 Tobacco leaves are rolled up with ashes and placed in the mouth behind the lower lip. When there is a shortage of tobacco, /453/ they obtain a certain bitter root in the forest, strip the bark from it, and place it behind the lip to diminish the desire for tobacco.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

276 [412] powder as it dries, the flat side of a stone axe[8] serving as the grinding pestle. The dried, green powder, no more than several tablespoons full, is then swept onto a leaf with a stiff feather. The men then gather around the leaf containing the drug, usually in the late afternoon, and take it by blowing the powder into each other's nostrils (see Fig. 2–3). A small quantity of the powder is introduced into the end of a hollow cane tube some 3 feet long. The tube is then flicked with the forefinger to scatter the powder along its length. One end of the tube is put into the nostril of the man taking the drug, and his helper then blows a strong blast of air through the other end, emitting his breath in such a fashion that he climaxes the delivery with a hard burst of air. Both the recipient and the blower squat on their haunches to do this. The man who had the drug blown into his nostrils grimaces, groans, chokes, coughs, holds his head from the pain of the air blast, and duck-waddles off to some leaning post. He usually receives two doses of the drug, one in each nostril. The recipient usually vomits, gets watery eyes, and develops a runny nose. Much of the drug comes back out in the nasal mucus that begins to run freely after the drug has been administered. Within minutes after the drug has been blown into a man's nose, he begins having difficulties focusing his eyes and starts to act intoxicated. The drug allegedly produces colored visions, especially around the periphery [187] of the visual field, and permits the user to enter into contact with his particular *bekuru*, miniature demons that dwell under rocks and on mountains. The man begins to chant to the *bekuru* when the drug takes effect, inviting them to come and live in his chest.

245 276 The Yąnomamö also cultivate a tree, *bisiowa*, that produces hallucinogenic seeds. These are prepared in exactly the same manner as the noncultivated drug.

322 396 TROUGHS AND CANOES The Yąnomamö use the bark of another kind of tree to make a trough and a crude canoe, both of which are nearly identical in shape, size, and method of construction. The tree is beaten with clubs to loosen the bark. The bark is then removed in one piece and hauled back to the village. The ends are heated in a fire to make them pliable and folded back to make the ends of the container. They are held firm by lashing two sticks together, pinching the folded bark into a flat-nosed basin. The interior bark surface becomes the exterior surface of the soup container. If the container is to be used as a canoe, a crude framework of sticks is added to the inside, giving 501 it more stability. The craft is so crude and heavy that the Yąnomamö generally do not use it for any purpose other than the trip for which it was intended, usually a downstream trip, since it would be almost impossible to move against a current in this rough craft. It is easier to walk than to try to pole the canoe upstream. The canoe, hence, is usually discarded after it makes its maiden voyage. Another will be made when it is needed.

415 574 264 The container is pinioned to the ground with stakes if it is to be used as a soup trough. Each time a feast is held, one or more of these bark containers is made in front of the headman's house, filled with the boiled ripe plantain soup, and frequented by the hungry guests, who dip out the soup with gourd spoons. The trough is thrown on the village rubbage heap after the feast is over.

---

[172] [8]They find the stone axes when they make new gardens, explaining that the spirits left them behind for the Yąnomamö to use. This area was occupied in the distant past by tribes whose relationship to the present Yąnomamö is uncertain.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kaobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yakëmaa*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*ne*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kaobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kaobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

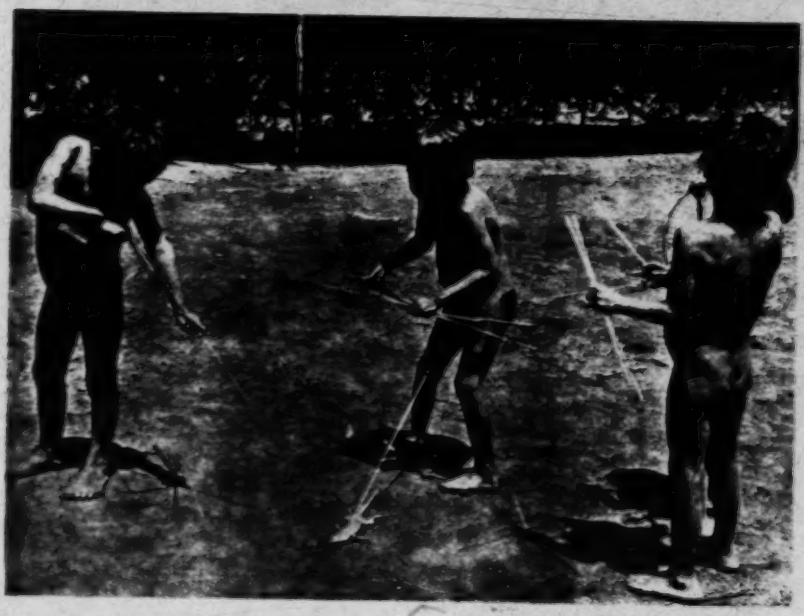


Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

amoamo on other occasions, but invariably do so on the day the plantains are hung in the village in anticipation of a feast.) Every evening the men are away on their *hunimou*, the week-long hunt, the young women and girls sing and dance in the village to insure them success.

The hunters left at dawn the following morning, carrying a large supply of roasted and green plantains with them to eat while they hunted. They had picked a site some 25 miles up the Mavaca River for their hunt, as game was known to abound there. Their task was to obtain monkeys, armadillos, wild turkeys, wild pig, tapir or sloth, the only meat deemed worthy to give to guests. They would not be permitted to eat any of this game, but could consume any other game they captured, such as deer, small birds, a small species of wild turkey, or insects and fish they happened to come upon. The feast meat, however, was earmarked for the guests and could not be eaten by the hunters. On this particular hunting trip the men miscalculated the amount of food they would need to sustain them during the hunt, and one of them returned after four days to fetch more plantains. He also gave Kaobawä a report on the hunt's success, creating a small sensation in the village: They had already killed a large number of *kaibo*, a particularly large and very desirable monkey. They had also come upon a quantity of turtle eggs at a sand bar and were eating as many as they could. When they returned later, they cached the remaining eggs in my house, so as not to have to share them with the visitors.

Meanwhile, the visitors were making gluttons of themselves, and the hosts started to grumble about the large number of plantains they had already eaten. The week's supply they originally provided had been consumed in half that time, and the guests had been given permission a second time to harvest more from their hosts' gardens. This was no way for guests to behave, and it soon became apparent that they were intimidating Kaobawä's group. Still, he and his followers continued to supply them with all the food they needed, keeping their complaints to themselves. They did not want it to be known that they were worried about running short of food. Instead, they planned to conduct the feast on a scale that would be difficult to reciprocate.

The hunters returned and presented their catch to Kaobawä. It was brought to his house and placed on the ground, wrapped up in leaves. Kaobawä ignored it for a while and then slowly began to unpack it (see Fig. 4-1) while everybody watched—especially the hunters, who were quite proud of the quantity of meat they had obtained: seventeen *kaibo* monkeys, seven wild turkeys, and three large armadillos. Hunting trips are not usually this successful, but the hunters had fortunately stumbled into a large band of *kaibo* and had nearly wiped it out.

Kaobawä and his group were anxious to conduct the feast for their visitors and present them with the food, because by so doing the visitors would be obliged to leave for home, thereby ending the drain on the gardens.[2]

The feast was scheduled for the day following the return of the hunters, even though the Karohi-teri had not yet arrived. Kaobawä and his group were so anxious to rid themselves of their ravenous guests by this time that they decided to hold a separate feast for the Karohi-teri on the day following the departure of the Mahekodo-teri. This would involve a considerable amount of extra work, but they were more than willing to

[2] I have seen several instances of Yanomamö groups getting rid of visitors who have joined them semipermanently by holding a feast in their honor; when the ceremonial food is presented, the visitors are obliged to leave.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1988) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

undertake it if it meant getting rid of their first group of visitors, who, by this time, had spent nearly a week eating Kaobawä's produce.

On the morning of the feast three large pieces of bark from the *arapuri* tree were cut and brought to the village. These were made into troughs to contain the boiled, ripe plantain soup. All day long Kaobawä's younger brothers, who had returned from the hunt the day before, labored at cooking the enormous quantity of ripe plantains, pouring each boiling containerful into the trough as it was prepared.[3]

The plantains that Kaobawä had hung in his *shabono* roof a week before were now ripe. The young men who were preparing the soup would cut the bunches of plantains from the roof, split each fruit with their thumb, throw the two halves of the flesh into a cooking pot, and toss the skins onto a pile. They worked at this task from early morning until late afternoon, in addition to boiling a nearly equal quantity of green plantains, which provided the green vegetable food that customarily accompanies the presentation of meat. Yanomamö etiquette dictates that meat must be accompanied by vegetable food and vice versa.[4] It is an insult, for example, to offer someone meat without simultaneously offering a vegetable food with it. Peeling green plantains is a little more difficult than peeling ripe ones, which are very tough and brittle. The Yanomamö solve this problem, like they solve so many others, by using their teeth. Each plantain is bitten along its length several times, cracking the peel, which in turn is removed with the fingernails and further application of the dentition. On this particular occasion, two young men peeled, with their thumbs, enough ripe plantains to make approximately 95 gallons of soup, and, with their teeth, a sufficiently large quantity of green plantains to fill a dozen large pack-baskets.

In the morning on the day of the feast, Kaobawä went to the center of the village clearing where all could see him and proceeded to pull weeds. The clearing has to look presentable to the visitors, as it functions as the dancing plaza. As noted before, since Yanomamö headmen cannot directly order their followers to execute tasks such as these, they usually initiate them and hope that others will follow. By and by, a number of older men joined him, as well as a few women, and when a sufficient number of workers were pulling weeds and hauling them out, Kaobawä quietly retired to his hammock, from which he oversaw the food preparations and calculated the distribution of meat.

Excitement in the village grew conspicuously as the hours passed, and by noon there was a constant din of laughter and chatter, punctuated now and then with a shrill scream from some young man overcome with the thrill of the feast. Occasionally, the visitors would reply to the shouts, setting off a brief contest of screaming between hosts

---

[3] Kaobawä's group has access to aluminum pots now and uses them extensively in food preparations. Most Yanomamö groups still use crude clay pots, although these are being rapidly replaced by aluminum ware, which is traded inland to the more remote villages.

[4] The three vegetable foods considered to be suitable accompaniments for the meat presentation are: boiled green plantains, boiled *ruaka* fruit, and cassava bread. A number of missionaries and a few scientific observers have identified the Yanomamö feast strongly with the *ruaka* fruit (Zerries 1955; de Barandiaran 1966). If it is to be identified with any food, it should be called the "plantain feast," but to identify the feast with a food that sometimes (*ruaka*) or invariably (plantains) accompanies it is to overlook the sociopolitical causes of the feast. *Ruaka* is so unnecessary to the feast that it was served at only two of six feasts I attended. In short, the Yanomamö feast is a social and political event, not a harvest ceremony, and occurs independently of the abundance or availability of *ruaka* fruit. *Ruaka* fruit ripens in February, the peak of the dry season. It is only in the dry season that feasts can be held, because travel is difficult or impossible at other times of the year. The correlation of the ripening of *ruaka* and feasting is rather more fortuitous than causal.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The members of Lower Bisaasi-teri had joined Kaobawä's group for the feast, as they, too, were on friendly terms with the Mahekodo-teri and had benefited from the latter's hospitality after the treacherous feast in 1950. Before Kaobawä's group had separated from the Lower Bisaasi-teri, there had been one headman over the entire composite village. This was a brother to Kaobawä's father; when the groups split, the older man led the faction of Lower Bisaasi-teri, leaving Kaobawä to lead the Upper group. On this particular day, when the two groups had temporarily coalesced for the feast, the older man was conceded the honor of chanting with the visitor's delegate, Asiawä, the son of the Mahekodo-teri headman.

Ten minutes after the old visitor entered the village, Asiawä entered the clearing, touching off an explosion of wild cheering that marked the opening of the dance. He was spectacular in his bright new loin cloth, long red parrot feathers streaming from his armbands, and black monkey-tail headband covered with white buzzard down. He marched dramatically to the center of the village clearing, while all of Kaobawä's followers cheered, and struck the visitor's pose: motionless, head upward, and weapons held vertically next to his face. He stood there two or three minutes so his hosts could admire him. This gesture signified that he had come in peace and was announcing his benevolent intentions by standing where all could see him. If they bore him malice, they had to shoot him then or not at all.[5] He then marched to Kaobawä's house and was met by Kaobawä's father's brother, the temporary leader of the combined host group, and the two men immediately began to chant. This was the formal acceptance of the feast invitation by Asiawä on behalf of his entire group. They chanted for five minutes or so, bouncing up and down from the knees, now face to face, now side to side, but always lively and loud. Suddenly, they stopped, and Asiawä squatted, his back to the sun, while the host's representative retired to his hammock. The cheering died down. Asiawä squatted for several minutes before one of Kaobawä's younger brothers brought a half-gourd full of plantain soup to him and set it on the ground. He ignored it politely for several minutes, staring into the distance, holding his weapons horizontally next to his mouth. Presently, he put his weapons down, picked up the container of soup, and drained it in one draft before setting it back down. As soon as he had set it down, one of Kaobawä's younger brothers brought him a large pack-basket filled with boiled green plantains and smoked armadillo meat. Asiawä stood while the strap of the basket was placed over his head and adjusted across his shoulders so as to not crumple his headdress. Trying to look dramatic, he staggered rapidly out of the village under his burden of food, while the hosts again cheered wildly. This food was eaten by the visitors while they finished their decorating, each receiving a small portion.

Within a half-hour of Asiawä's departure the visitors had completed their decorating and had assembled just outside the entrance to the village. The men, all finely decorated, stood at the front of the gathering, while the women, girls, and young boys, also decorated, but each carrying a load of family possessions, brought up the rear. At the signal of Asiawä's father, the first two dancers burst into the village, separated, and danced around the periphery of the clearing in opposite directions, while Kaobawä's group welcomed them enthusiastically with shouts and shrill screams. Two at a time,

[5] I have a number of informants' accounts of visitors being shot down while standing in the clearing to announce their visit. Whenever I accompanied visitors to strange villages for the first time I, too, was obliged to participate in this rite and always had an uneasy feeling about it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the visiting dancers entered, pranced around the village periphery, wildly showing off their decorations and weapons and then returning to the group. Each dancer had unique decorations and a unique dance step, something personal that he could exhibit. He would burst into the village screaming a memorized phrase, wheel and spin, stop in his tracks, dance in place, throw his weapons down, pick them up again, aim them at the line of hosts with a wild expression on his face, prance ahead a few steps, repeat his performance, and continue on around the village in this manner, while the hosts cheered wildly. When everyone had had an individual turn, the entire group entered, danced single file around the periphery several times, and gathered at the center of the clearing, where they formed a tightly knit group. They stood motionless, except for the heaving of their chests, holding their weapons vertically. After they had stood there a few moments—in a final display of decorations—Kaobawä's followers emerged from their houses and approached the center of the village, each man inviting one or more of the visitors to his house, leading him away from the village center by the arm. As each visitor was led away, his family, watching from the village entrance, unceremoniously joined him at the host's house, bringing the family possessions along. Within a few minutes the dance plaza was deserted and the visitors were resting comfortably in their hosts' hammocks. Even in the hammocks, the Yanomamö visitors are able to put on a silent display of their finery as they lay with their legs crossed, one arm behind their head, staring at the ceiling, waiting for their hosts to feed them ripe plantain soup from the bark troughs—it is almost as if they are strutting from a reclining position.

After the guests had been given their first round of soup, the men of Kaobawä's village assembled outside the entrance and came in to dance around the village for their guests. They, too, had an opportunity to put on a display of their own decorations, after which they retired to entertain the guests.

There were three troughs full of soup in the village. The first one was emptied in the process of bringing numerous gourdsful to the some one hundred visitors (see Fig. 4-2). After they had consumed this, the guests then assembled at the second trough and began eating there. Before this trough was finished, they moved as a group to the third trough and repeated their ceremonial consumption, before returning to their hammocks to rest and regain their appetites. Approximately two hours had passed from the time the first dancers entered the village until the guests retired from the third trough of soup. They had not yet eaten all of the contents—all in all, some 95 gallons of it—but managed to do so by morning.[6]

Shortly after dark the marathon chanting (*wayamou*) began—it continued until dawn. At dawn the visitors conducted their trade and were given the baskets of "going-home food" (boiled green plantains with smoked meat. The women and children departed with the food, leaving the men behind to trade. The visitors made requests through their headman, and Kaobawä would produce the item by enjoining one of the local men to give it. The item would be thrown at the feet of the man who wanted it. He would ignore it for a while and then give it a cursory examination, throwing it back on the ground. His peers would then examine it in greater detail and extol its virtues, while the

[6]During some feasts, the ashes of the dead are mixed with the boiled, ripe plantain soup and eaten by friends and relatives of the deceased. The feast also serves as a preliminary to a raid that involves two or more villages. The sponsor of the raid will entertain his allies in a feast the day before the raiding party departs. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the raid.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628*
574
437
438

giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *ao mosiha*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4–2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, unapuri.

628*
574
301
302
516
411
415
342
264
262
291

/71 cont./

965 dancing and singing. About an hour before sunrise, however, all
787 the sleepers were awakened; they again took snuff immediately,
276 and once more there began a wild dance with singing until day-
[821] break. The death ceremony must be kept secret from the sun (it
[715] is likewise regarded as a male creature), the worst enemy of the moon, because otherwise it would hinder the soul's wandering. Loudly sustained, shrill, joyous cries formed the conclusion and made it manifest that the soul of the deceased had found entry
965 into the moon. Then all the warriors, sobbing loudly, formed a circle around the burned-down funeral pyre, while the /72/ brother and other relatives gathered up the charred remains of the bones from the ashes. After these had been pounded in gourd vessels by means of small stone mortars, the bone ashes were emptied into two bowls made out of the jamaru fruit, which the brother of the deceased wrapped with palm leaves and a liana binding. Thereupon he handed them to the chief, who lifted up each one in the direction of the moon and, singing, blessed it, while the men standing about uttered shrill cries. With this the end of the ceremony was reached, and the exhausted warriors could again return to their maloka in order to recover in their hammocks from
• [766] the strenuous night. The brother of the deceased tied the two jamaru bowls containing the bone ashes to the rafters of the roof behind his hearth, in order to keep them for the big annual festival in memory of the dead, at which the bone ashes of their dead, mixed with banana soup, are drunk by the men (see pp.231 ff.). From now on there was no more wailing and weeping in the maloka; daily life had resumed its normal course.

96 After the death of women and of children too, as soon as they have completed the third year of life, the death ceremonies are
[822] conducted in exactly the same way. For a deceased chief, on the other hand, there is dancing around the funeral pyre for three nights, for, of course, his entrance into the moon must be particularly solemn.

Surára
pakidái

/72 cont./

766 The ceremony for an old person is entirely different. After death has set in, his head is chopped off and is hung, likewise in a little wooden rack, in the crown of a tree, again 15 or 20 minutes away from the maloka. The body, however, is buried in the ground in the jungle without ceremony, and, to be sure, in a squatting position, bound tightly with lianas. This is supposed to prevent its possible return, for it would have dire consequences for the tribe. The head, however, is burned on a small pyre, under [975] the same circumstances as described above, so that the soul may reach the moon in the ascending smoke; the remaining bone ashes are also kept.

769 The reason for the different obsequies for younger and older
888 persons is the following: At the big annual ceremony in memory
• 266 of the dead, which is held jointly with the Surára (see pp. 222 ff.), all the men drink the bone ashes of their deceased relatives, mixed with banana soup, because they believe that in this way the vigor and spirit of the dead remain within the tribes. In the case of old people, however, it is assumed that their bodies are already too leached out for their ashes to be able to transmit strength any more. Only the bone ashes of the head are still regarded as valuable.

888 If members of the tribe are very old or so seriously ill that, in spite of all efforts to cure them, they are no longer able to take part in the joint migrations, they are killed. For this purpose there takes place beforehand a gathering of the chief and older, more experienced men, at which they choose a participant who has to perform the killing. He uses a stick for this and, while the person in question is asleep, beats him hard on the head several times, until he has breathed his last (333). These tribal

[971]

333. Old and sick people are killed in similar manner among the Ipurina. "Moribund persons," writes Ehrenreich, "are said to be dispatched to the other world not infrequently by sorcerers by means of club-blows" (Ehrenreich, 1891,

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

774 /95 cont./
775 That is why they cremate only /96/ the skeleton of their dead,
184 for if the flesh were still present, the soul would be unable to
come out in time. The ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes,
[269] too, on the occasion of the annual festival in memory of the
[266] dead, is connected with the idea that strengthening remains
of the soul are still present in them. In this connection Zerries
writes with reference to the Waiká: "We were unable to find
the idea of a bone-soul among the Waika, if we disregard the
774 connection between bone ashes and bole" (490). Zerries also

490. Zerries, 1958a, p. 107.

points out that the soul, according to the view of the Waiká, is peculiar only to the human being, but not to the animal (491).

491. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

774 According to the statements of the Surára and Pakidái chiefs,
775 however, the human soul of the dead on its journey to the moon must be accompanied by a like-named animal or plant soul of the dead, which serves as a guide (see pp. 149/150). It is assumed by the Surára and Pakidái that children are without a soul until they have completed the third year of life, because during this time they are nursed by the mother and thus still belong to her flesh and blood as well as to her soul (see also pp. 138 and 154). Waiká children are said to receive their souls only after the completion of the sixth year of life (492).

492. Zerries, 1958a, p. 106.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769
266 On the next day, April 6, 1956, the festival reached its climax. Toward 9:00 the Surára chief, his brother Kurikayawõ, and the chief and war chief of the Pakidái sat down around the pots of banana soup, in front of which also stood the two jamaru vessels with the bone ashes of the deceased, and all the other
[533] male members of the tribe sat around them. The Surára chief started to pray loudly, whereupon a rather long choral song was struck up. Then he poured the bone ashes into all the soup pots, mixed them thoroughly with his hands, and scooped out a calabash full for himself, which he emptied hastily and to the last drop. Thereupon the Pakidái chief, the brother of Hewemão, and the war chiefs of both tribes drank, followed by all the older and younger men, including the larger boys, who drank last (514). As a result of this ceremonial drinking of the

[123]

> 514. Hewemão also offered my servant and me a full calabash each, along with the war chiefs. When we had drunk them, he slapped our backs appreciatively and said that we were now true Sarára.

bone ashes, it is believed, the strength and spirit of the de-
769 ceased will remain within the tribe and contribute to its vigor.
[533] Following this drink, a prayer of thanksgiving was sung.
[782] Then the men, youths, and boys together ate large quantities
/107/ of the roasted tapir meat, as well as manioc flat-cakes,
[262] and after that the women handed them calabashes full of the refreshing drink made of pupunha fruits.

Invigorated and fortified with the powers of the deceased, the men were now able to proceed with the most strenuous part
[302] of the festival. But before this began, half of them blackened their faces and bodies with soot, which they scraped off of their
769 cooking pots. Meanwhile others had again set in the center of
276 the maloka circle the large clay plate upon which they poured the brownish snuff-powder -- epená --, out of bamboo containers, and in front of the plate they laid a large number of

2: Becher--235 . E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára, Pakidái Waica

/108 cont./

769 182 184 789 526 [266]

festival. It is decidedly a festival in memory of the dead, which characterized by the ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe. At the same time, defensive magic against the nonexí is connected with it, for they, of course, are the ones who transmit sickness and thereby frequently cause death. As in all the magic cures for healing the sick, where the symbolic struggles between the "hekurá" and one or more "nonexí" are always enacted (see pp. 212 ff.), this factor is naturally also in evidence in all parts of the festival, in the dances, in the mixing of bone ashes, when the medicine man pulls down-feathers of the gavião-real out of the hair of the warriors and adds these, and in the duels performed in a sitting position. The latter are also documented for the Waiká in the same way, but Zerries writes that neither for him nor for the American missionaries was it possible to find out anything definite about the meaning of this ceremony (517). Presumably,

517. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

however, it is the same symbolic struggle between a good and an evil spirit as among the Surára and Pakidái. As yet nothing has been reported about this from other Indian tribes. My informants, however, told me that the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí engage in these combats on the occasion of their festivals in memory of the dead. Hence it seems to be a very special characteristic of the Yanonámi, which in former times may have been even more widespread. Herr Dr. Gerdt Kutscher, in connection with a lecture I gave in Berlin, called my attention to the fact that the position taken by the two men during this is reminiscent of the painting on a clay bowl from the Río Ulúa, Honduras (518). According to Zerries, Barker,

114 769 526

518. This is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (No. IVa Ca 22381) and was reproduced in an article by Walter Lehmann (Lehmann, 1910, p. 737, Ill. 9).

Surára Pakidái waicá

114 /108 cont./ According To Zerries, Barker,
769 and Dupouy, there is also a similar combat among the Waiká,
526 in which the partners alternately beat each other on the chest
184 with clenched fists (519a, b, c). I did not observe this among

519a. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

519b. Barker, 1953, p. 447.

519c. Dupouy, 1953, p. 495.

114 the Surára and Pakidái. Similarly unknown there is the custom,
769 also reported by Zerries, that the men, when they run about in
276 the snuff-powder intoxication, hit each other on the back with the palm of the hand (520). The author named regards this as a

520. Zerries 1955b, p. 665.

769 fertility rite. There seems to be involved here, however, out-
179 side influences of agricultural tribes, which is indicated also by the ceremonial gathering of pupunha fruits (521).

521. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

769 It is further noteworthy that among the Waiká women and
184 girls actively participate in the festival in that they take part in
562 some dances and even drink some of the banana soup mixed with
[266] bone ashes (522). In contrast to this, the female members of

522. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662 ff.

the tribe act only as spectators among the Surára and Pakidái.

769 The endocannibalism should be regarded as a very signifi-
184 cant similar trait. It is documented for the Waiká by Cruxent (523a)
266
114

523a. Cruxent, 1953a, pp. 149/50.

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/108 cont./

769
184
266
114

and Zerries in several articles (523b) (524) (525). Moreover,

523b. Zerries, 1955a, p. 80.

524. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 664/65.

525. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

769
266
171

Moreover,

/109/ the latter author, on the basis of contributions to the first five volumes of the Handbook of South American Indians, drew up a distribution map for the occurrence of endocannibalism, which was supplemented by numerous examples (526). Accord-

526. Zerries, 1955a, pp. 80/81.

ing to this, endocannibalism occurs in South American primarily in the western parts of the continent and among the marginal and submarginal tribes of the Tropical zone. This custom is particularly frequent among the Pano and Tukano /Tucano/. In most cases, besides the pulverized bones, which are mixed with chicha (for example, Pano and Tukano), water (for example, Tapuya), or a mash of Pará chestnuts (Moré Indians), the flesh is also eaten. The practice of the Surára, Pakidái, and Waiká, on the other hand, who consume only the cremated, pulverized bones, is very rarely found. The corresponding custom of the Sáliba, Guayupe, and Saé in Colombia is the most similar one. But in eastern Guiana, too, endocannibalism is widespread, for example, among the Karaiben /Carib/ Parukotó (527) and

527. Frikel, 1957, pp. 520 and 545.

among the Arapium, a Tupi tribe in the vicinity of Santarem (528).

528. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

Moreover, it is reported of the Kalina, Palikur, and Arawak that they consume cremated bones of the dead (529). Of the latter

529. de Goeje, 1943, p. 11.

Surara
Pakidai

/109 cont./

769 Ralegh also writes that they pound the bones to powder and con-
● 266 sume them mixed with a beverage (530) (531), and the same has
171

530. Ralegh, 1848, p. 53.

531. Waitz, 1862, p. 388.

been attested to for the Mauhé (532).

532. von Martius, 1867, I, p. 404 A.

114 According to Whiffen, there is no endocannibalism at all
769 in South America, for, according to his view, only vengeance
266 against hostile tribes can be regarded as a motive for anthro-
171 pophagy. "From all this," he continues, "it follows that intra-tribal cannibalism would be a criminal outrage by the tribe on itself, and therefore it could never occur that a member of the tribe was eaten, ... This disposes of any such thing as the eating of dead relatives as a sign of respect. These and similar statements are due to missapprehension /sic/ of facts by the writer, or a too hasty judgement on the part of the explorer" /cited in English/ (533). In conjunction with these devious

533. Whiffen, 1915, pp. 120/21.

statements by Whiffen with their completely unjustified criticism, I should like to cite a contribution concerning endocannibalism drawn up by Herbert Baldus and Emilio Willems (534):

534. This appeared in the eminently important, but long out of print, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, which came out shortly before World War II and is therefore, unfortunately, not available in most European libraries.

Surára
Pakidai

114 /109 cont./
769 /The long passage in Portuguese which follows on pp. 109-110
266 in the original source is omitted in the translation; see the
171 foreign text/ /110/ (535a).

535a. Baldus e Willems, 1939, pp. 40/41.

Most recently there appeared the commendable study by Boglár, "Ein endokannibalischer Ritus in Südamerika /An Endocannibalistic Rite in South America/," in which the author presents the material of several competent sources (535b). I

535b. Boglár, 1958, pp. 67-85.

cannot, however, agree with his interpretations in connection with them. The consumption of the bone powder of the deceased is by no means always to be associated with agricultural tribes, for, as my informants among the Surára and Pakidái explained to me, their forebears, who were pure hunters and gatherers, already practiced this custom. Also the author's view that the showing of respect, the magical transmission of good qualities, etc., can be regarded merely as secondary motives of the endocannibalistic rite (535c), do not apply to the

535c. Boglár, 1958, p. 83.

Surára and Pakidái; here they are decidedly primary. Among them the future life of the dead is assured by cremation, for with the ascending smoke the soul of the dead reaches the moon (see p. 151).

It should further be mentioned that endocannibalism is documented also for Central America, Mexico, and in one case in North America, but Beals regards it as a typical element of the South American Indians (536).

536. Beals, 1932, pp. 123/24.

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/13/

Surára
Pakidái

142
302
276

Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

769
142
291
516
302
342
415
266

Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

516
342
411
535

Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 266

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista. They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 611

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill [621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite 554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us, 769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to 628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder, ● [266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablf shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be- [888] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex- [574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father, who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In 162 the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in 855 the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

/221 cont./
765 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula
775 and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĭkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĭkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around
[276] the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their
[756] neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĭ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá
771 is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of
[184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious
756 practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a
791 different supernatural sphere.

793 The first of the three is the hɛwĭawán, or the priest, who is
776 the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

point, we pronounced that magic word 'work'—so potent that in the very act of pilfering, their hands were stayed.

We had brought with us a flask of mercury, for amalgamating metals, which aroused their curiosity—curiosity which turned to absolute amazement when they picked it up and became aware of its inordinate weight. By some dark and labyrinthine thought-processes, no doubt, they deduced that this terrible liquid constituted a bomb, and they drew back in horror shouting '*Bomba Amio*'.[1]

We didn't disillusion them. A little fear and dread disseminated among our porters might not be entirely without point, considering all the uncertain aspects of the journey and the curious make-up of these Indians. Yes, we said, that is the aeroplane bomb, and it would blow to pieces all the Samatari from the Parima, if they dared show themselves on our route. This greatly reassured the Shirians. At first they had been rather scared of meeting with an enemy, but now they could count on this terrifying weapon we had at our disposal, which would also increase their own prestige in the eyes of the nomad tribes.

That night, there were some strange noises in the hut, about thirty yards away from our hammocks. Something interesting seemed to be happening, so we put out our candle and, through our mosquito nets, watched a curious scene.

The medicine-man was surrounded by the rest of the Shirians. He was in his usual position for exorcism ceremonies—sitting in his hammock with his legs dangling over either side. The chief's wife had a bowl of water and was dissolving something in it—something she was taking from a cluster of banana leaves in her lap. When she had put in enough, she passed the bowl to her husband, who held it firmly, slightly raised. Then he waited. Suddenly, on an unexpectedly powerful note, a chant came from the medicine-man. Then the chief drank long draughts out of the bowl, came down from his hammock, and began to walk with a rhythmic, solemn step, round the fire. All the men then drank in turn: then the women. Then the babies at their breasts were made to touch the bowl with their lips. Now they were all marching behind the chief, with rapid, tiny steps that covered very little ground, while the medicine-man himself jumped from his hammock and brought up the rear.

We were watching the Drinking of the Ashes—a ceremony symbolic of

[1] Their rendering of the Spanish 'avion' (aeroplane bomb).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

cannibalism. When someone dies in battle, or through some other violence—when he dies, that is, in the full prime of manhood—the body is cremated on a pyre and the ashes scrupulously gathered. Mixing these to a paste with water, they make a block which is wrapped in banana leaves and kept for the ceremony of the Drinking, by which they believe that the dead man's strength can enter their own bodies. Such ceremonies generally take place at large assemblies, people from neighbouring tribes also being present, and the festivities may last several days. Our Indians, however, wanting to assure a good augury for the voyage they were about to undertake with us, had limited themselves to a shortened version of the usual ceremony, since in these particular circumstances there was neither the time nor the opportunity for more.

II

In three little canoes, two of them the property of Frenario's people, we went down the Yevarehuri, making for the point where it is joined by a slightly smaller, darker stream flowing from the south—the Matahuri. It had been raining ceaselessly for days and the rivers were overflowing their banks, which made it difficult to find a camping-place for the night.

On the second day we had two fair-sized falls to negotiate. The third day's paddling brought us to the Marahuri, but we left it to the right of us, its mouth being apparently quite blocked by fallen trees, and entered a smaller stream just to the south of it, which offered quiet water and a clearly defined course between the giant vegetation of both banks. The Shirians told us that this new waterway was called the Toroli—that is, the Turtle—and that we had only to go up to the source to find the track crossing the cordillera which led to the north side of the Upper Parima river.

Our crew was hardly sufficient and progress was exasperatingly slow. Happily, there was plenty of game. Guans and curassow were plentiful, as well as monkeys and sloths—the Indians' favourite dish.

Our head man was a real lead-swinger. From the first day onwards he complained of a pain in his foot which made him draw the line at heavy work. Under the drenching rains that fell with every interminable afternoon, he would sit in the middle of the canoe, and also in the middle of the bananas we were carrying, holding a palm frond over his head. If we urged him to do

/452 cont./

252 Women generally roast the platanos for everyone's breakfast. At noon and in the evening, everyone cooks his own platanos. To a child of seven they might give three green platanos in [866] their skins, telling him: "Here is your dinner." The child then proceeds to cook them.

264 The Guaika /Waica/ in general have abundant food and eat it with pleasure. They do not look kindly upon remains of food being left. Anyone who does not lick his bowl clean after having drunk his soup of platanos is considered a prodigal.

• 266 765 The mere idea of cannibalism is rejected with horror, although they do eat the pulverized bones of a cremated relative, after having kept them in a hermetically sealed gourd for about six months.

262 They do not eat carnivorous birds and animals, but carnivorous fish, even the caribe (piranha), are eaten with pleasure. Some [252] snakes are eaten, others not. They boil them or else they cook them wrapped in leaves upon the embers.

271 Drink, Drugs, and Excesses

The Guaika /Waica/ take extreme care concerning the water they drink. The supply of water for a settlement must be obtained upstream from all the fords which cross the stream or brook. If a Guaika finds it necessary to drink water in a place below a ford, he makes a hole in the sand of the beach and waits until water which has filtered through it gushes up. The water of the current is considered dirty, just as the water from the hole dug [415] in the beach is clean. Water is transported in gourds by the women for use in the settlement.

293 The Guaika do not prepare any alcoholic beverage.

296 Tobacco leaves are rolled up with ashes and placed in the mouth behind the lower lip. When there is a shortage of tobacco, /453/ they obtain a certain bitter root in the forest, strip the bark from it, and place it behind the lip to diminish the desire for tobacco.

/485/ [illegible]

765 This funerary gourd which contains the remains is kept with the other objects that belong to the family. Then, one
[766] fine day, they prepare a soup of platanos in which they mix the powdered bone. The near relatives drink this soup. All weep at this moment, as at the first funeral.

775 The Guaika believe that the correct observance of these practices has much to do with the life of the person after his death. If they do not manage to recover the body of a man killed in war and cremate it, his death is considered a doubly great calamity. A statement such as that of "We shall not cremate you when you die" consequently means a powerful threat.

Religion

[772] The Guaika /Waica/ have an idea that one ascends into heaven when one dies. This heaven is a good place, but less desirable than the present life. They also have an idea of hell, a place even less desirable to go to when one dies.

774 A person is for them body, soul, and spirit. The word to
775 designate soul also means "shadow" or "reflection." And the
828 word to designate spirit also means "cloud." Thus, the soul retains the form of the body, but the spirit can be formless.

The soul can abandon the body and return later. A seriously sick person in general loses consciousness while his soul is
[753] absent. This is why they frequently go looking for the soul of a sick child, to return it to his body. The soul of an adult, on the other hand, should know how to find its way back.

The spirit abandons the body only with death.

775 A formal cremation and the rites which follow cremation help to ensure that the deceased, upon dying, will go to the most desirable place of the other life.

The Guaika believe that the spirits in heaven eat certain wild fruits. They are afraid that an enemy might /486/ return after death and cause sicknesses and other calamities to the people still corporeal. Many of these incorporeal spirits wander about the paths, especially at night. As we have said before, they are called "boles."

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

926 villages (Bisaasi-tedi, Mɨ̈maribɨ̈wei-tedi, and Karohi-tedi).
[764] [866] These ashes were to be consumed prior to revenge raids on
[245] the Patanowɨ̈-tedi. The Monou-tedi then set about transporting plantain cuttings to their new garden and spent the next several weeks working on the garden. They intended to delay
[132] [221] their revenge raid until the beginning of the rainy season in order to make it difficult for the Patanowɨ̈-tedi to raid
[361] them in return. The Monou-tedi moved into Bisaasi-tedi at
* [628] the end of March both for military protection and for respite from their heavy agricultural labors. They stayed with the Bisaasi-tedi until the end of April, fearing that they would be raided by the Patanowɨ̈-tedi if they returned to their own village before the rains started. They also planned to raid the Patanowɨ̈-tedi from Bisaasi-tedi at the beginning of the wet season, knowing that a revenge raid from Patanowɨ̈-tedi
[132] [221] would be difficult once the rains started. They could return to their own village during the rainy season, as the jungle separating their village from the Patanowɨ̈-tedi is inundated at this time of the year and cannot be traversed.

[769] On April 19th the Bisaasi-tedi sponsored a mortuary
* [628] feast for the slain Monou-tedi headman in preparation for the revenge raid. The participants in the revenge raid were to include the Mɨ̈maribɨ̈wei-tedi, but they did not arrive as scheduled, so the raid was delayed until the 21st. Only a few Mɨ̈maribɨ̈wei-tedi arrived to participate in the raid, and the Bisaasi-tedi immediately suspected that the Mɨ̈maribɨ̈wei-tedi were plotting to abduct women from them after

774 1, in effect, was capturing the *nowahi* of the child: A photograph was called *nowahi*.[18]
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
170 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no shuabibi*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *nowahi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After
[887] several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced
[763] when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on
[783] contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones
[783] are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and
[562] women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe
[858] carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.
[237] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the
[531] circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment.
[562] The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a
[531] long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and
[266] sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere-
[986] monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[18] Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
291
302
516
756
276
342

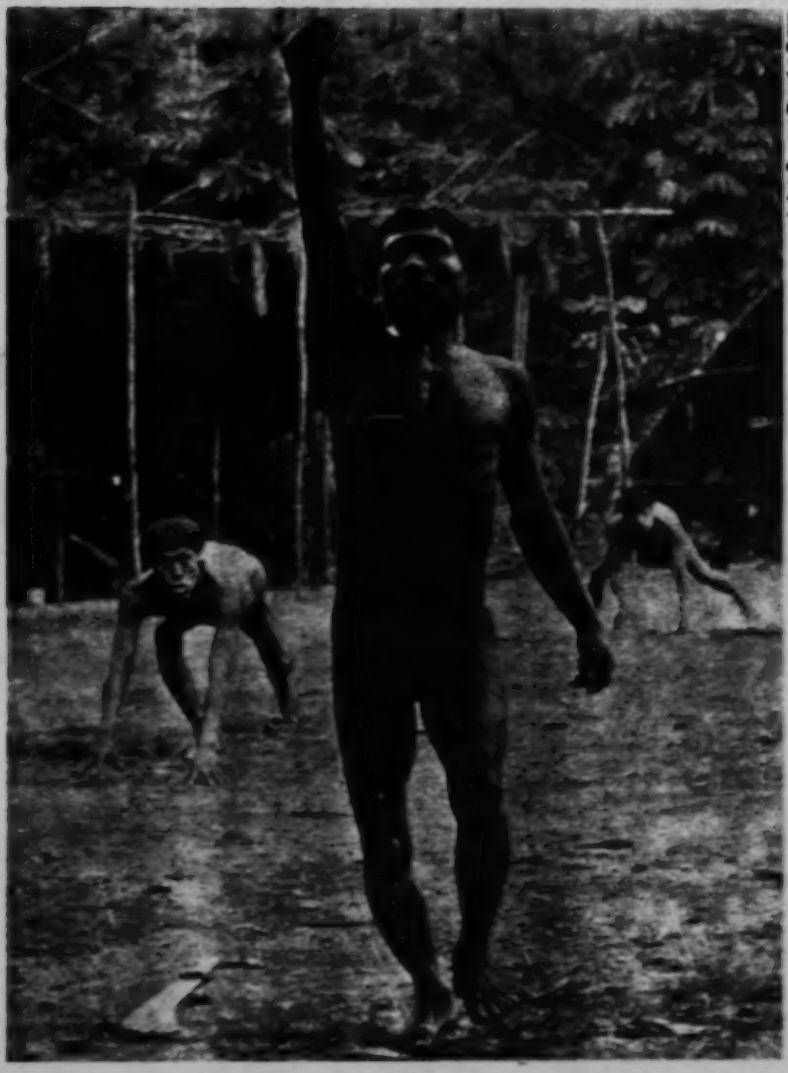


Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura*—demons.*

769
761
266
628

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *hadu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yanomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the visiting dancers entered, pranced around the village periphery, wildly showing off their decorations and weapons and then returning to the group. Each dancer had unique decorations and a unique dance step, something personal that he could exhibit. He would burst into the village screaming a memorized phrase, wheel and spin, stop in his tracks, dance in place, throw his weapons down, pick them up again, aim them at the line of hosts with a wild expression on his face, prance ahead a few steps, repeat his performance, and continue on around the village in this manner, while the hosts cheered wildly. When everyone had had an individual turn, the entire group entered, danced single file around the periphery several times, and gathered at the center of the clearing, where they formed a tightly knit group. They stood motionless, except for the heaving of their chests, holding their weapons vertically. After they had stood there a few moments—in a final display of decorations—Kaobawä's followers emerged from their houses and approached the center of the village, each man inviting one or more of the visitors to his house, leading him away from the village center by the arm. As each visitor was led away, his family, watching from the village entrance, unceremoniously joined him at the host's house, bringing the family possessions along. Within a few minutes the dance plaza was deserted and the visitors were resting comfortably in their hosts' hammocks. Even in the hammocks, the Yanomamö visitors are able to put on a silent display of their finery as they lay with their legs crossed, one arm behind their head, staring at the ceiling, waiting for their hosts to feed them ripe plantain soup from the bark troughs—it is almost as if they are strutting from a reclining position.

After the guests had been given their first round of soup, the men of Kaobawä's village assembled outside the entrance and came in to dance around the village for their guests. They, too, had an opportunity to put on a display of their own decorations, after which they retired to entertain the guests.

There were three troughs full of soup in the village. The first one was emptied in the process of bringing numerous gourdsful to the some one hundred visitors (see Fig. 4-2). After they had consumed this, the guests then assembled at the second trough and began eating there. Before this trough was finished, they moved as a group to the third trough and repeated their ceremonial consumption, before returning to their hammocks to rest and regain their appetites. Approximately two hours had passed from the time the first dancers entered the village until the guests retired from the third trough of soup. They had not yet eaten all of the contents—all in all, some 95 gallons of it—but managed to do so by morning.[6]

Shortly after dark the marathon chanting (*waiyamou*) began—it continued until dawn. At dawn the visitors conducted their trade and were given the baskets of "going-home food": boiled green plantains with smoked meat. The women and children departed with the food, leaving the men behind to trade. The visitors made requests through their headman, and Kaobawä would produce the item by enjoining one of the local men to give it. The item would be thrown at the feet of the man who wanted it. He would ignore it for a while and then give it a cursory examination, throwing it back on the ground. His peers would then examine it in greater detail and extol its virtues, while the

[6]During some feasts, the ashes of the dead are mixed with the boiled, ripe plantain soup and eaten by friends and relatives of the deceased. The feast also serves as a preliminary to a raid that involves two or more villages. The sponsor of the raid will entertain his allies in a feast the day before the raiding party departs. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the raid.

/84 cont./

272 are kneaded and pulverized in calabashes filled with water. This produces a grayish-brown, greasy juice which, after the fleshy husks have been fished out and thrown away, reminds one of cacao in appearance and flavor and is extremely filling. This drink tasted even better to me when I added a little sugar. [123] [263] The Indians who tasted this, however, were not enthusiastic about the addition, since they like sugar just as little as salt. I was unable to please either children or adults with my bonbons. The fruit of the bacu buriti, curauá, piaçaba, and ubim palms (see p. 166) is made into beverages in the same way, while that of the inaja palm is cooked beforehand. The juice obtained from this tastes quite insipid, to be sure, but likewise has a high food value.

One should also mention that a drink is prepared from the [114] [184] [197] gathered honey by mixing it with water. I never saw it eaten, as has been confirmed for the Waiká (407) and various /85/ other

407. Zerries, 1956b, p. 150.

tribes of Guiana (408) (409).

408. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 55.

409. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 169.

271 184 As the above account shows, the Surára and Pakidái do not lack variety with regard to beverages, so that only in the rarest instances need they resort to plain water, as is the case, according to Zerries' accounts, among the Waiká (410). As among

273 184

410. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

the latter (411), however, alcoholic beverages are completely

411. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

unknown to the Surára and Pakidái too.

/209/

273 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make
271 alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in
177 contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the
263 coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use
261 wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is re-
[764] lated to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the
183 young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity
591 in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the
184 Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We
591 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially
182 matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes
596 to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively
591 rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

/452 cont./

252 Women generally roast the platanos for everyone's breakfast. At noon and in the evening, everyone cooks his own platanos. To a child of seven they might give three green platanos in [866] their skins, telling him: "Here is your dinner." The child then proceeds to cook them.

264 The Guaika /Waica/ in general have abundant food and eat it with pleasure. They do not look kindly upon remains of food being left. Anyone who does not lick his bowl clean after having drunk his soup of platanos is considered a prodigal.

266 765 The mere idea of cannibalism is rejected with horror, although they do eat the pulverized bones of a cremated relative, after having kept them in a hermetically sealed gourd for about six months.

262 They do not eat carnivorous birds and animals, but carnivorous fish, even the caribe (piranha), are eaten with pleasure. Some [252] snakes are eaten, others not. They boil them or else they cook them wrapped in leaves upon the embers.

• 271 Drink, Drugs, and Excesses

The Guaika /Waica/ take extreme care concerning the water they drink. The supply of water for a settlement must be obtained upstream from all the fords which cross the stream or brook. If a Guaika finds it necessary to drink water in a place below a ford, he makes a hole in the sand of the beach and waits until water which has filtered through it gushes up. The water of the current is considered dirty, just as the water from the hole dug [415] in the beach is clean. Water is transported in gourds by the women for use in the settlement.

273 The Guaika do not prepare any alcoholic beverage.

276 Tobacco leaves are rolled up with ashes and placed in the mouth behind the lower lip. When there is a shortage of tobacco, /453/ they obtain a certain bitter root in the forest, strip the bark from it, and place it behind the lip to diminish the desire for tobacco.

Surára
Pakidái

263
17
[175]

/84 cont./

almost always die within a short time" (401). Reference should

401. Taunay, 1921, p. 166.

also be made to a statement by Roquette-Pinto, in which he says that the Indians of the Serra do Norte reject all salted food (402).

402. Roquette-Pinto, 1919, p. 243.

There are, however, tribes among whom salt is valued to a certain extent. For example, Herbert Baldus reports about a Boróro who complained that he never got enough salt from the mission kitchen. Yet salt was previously unknown to these Indians (403). The Tapirapé and Karajá /Caraja/ also like salt

403. Baldus, 1937, p. 287.

very much (404), whereas among the Tupari only the men like

404. Baldus, 1950, p. 14.

to use it; several women, on the other hand, not at all (405).

405. Caspar, 1953, pp. 133/34.

The following statement by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang is noteworthy: "In general, the Indians salt their foods little, but like salt very much and are glad to take it in payment for services rendered" (406).

406. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 49.

• 272 The number of beverages which are prepared from the nourishing fruit-meat of wild palms is abundant. Especially popular are the biuish acaí and bacaba fruits (see p. 166) about as large as plums, which ripen between December-March. They

/84 cont./

272 are kneaded and pulverized in calabashes filled with water. This produces a grayish-brown, greasy juice which, after the fleshy husks have been fished out and thrown away, reminds one of cacao in appearance and flavor and is extremely filling. This drink tasted even better to me when I added a little sugar. [123] [263] The Indians who tasted this, however, were not enthusiastic about the addition, since they like sugar just as little as salt. I was unable to please either children or adults with my bonbons. The fruit of the bacu buriti, curauá, piaçaba, and ubim palms (see p. 166) is made into beverages in the same way, while that of the inaja palm is cooked beforehand. The juice obtained from this tastes quite insipid, to be sure, but likewise has a high food value.

One should also mention that a drink is prepared from the [114] [184] [197] gathered honey by mixing it with water. I never saw it eaten, as has been confirmed for the Waiká (407) and various /85/ other

407. Zerries, 1956b, p. 150.

tribes of Guiana (408) (409).

408. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 55.

409. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 169.

271 184 As the above account shows, the Surára and Pakidái do not lack variety with regard to beverages, so that only in the rarest instances need they resort to plain water, as is the case, according to Zerries' accounts, among the Waiká (410). As among

273 184 410. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

the latter (411), however, alcoholic beverages are completely

411. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

unknown to the Surára and Pakidái too.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

There were often piles of *haimoshi* heaped up underneath trees much too big and too tall for me to have climbed, even had I been dying of hunger. The *haimoshi* is a queer, oval-shaped nut with a long, woody husk enclosed in a compact mass of tiny, needle-sharp spines that resemble the crystals of certain mineral forms of asbestos. It takes some opening, but once open offers man the rich enjoyment of a soft white nut running with a creamy milk.

The consumption of these nuts sets a real problem in logistics and psychology. Transport over any distance is hampered by the exorbitant weight of the shells, a weight which the Indians with their extremely practical minds consider to be out of proportion to the food value of the nut, high though this is. But once the nuts are shelled, there are the piles of gleaming white grains, so attractive that no one can resist them and they are devoured without a thought for the mothers' milk or the strength of the children's blood. Without a doubt, this matter of the *haimoshi* represents one of the outstanding problems of the Samatari provisioning-march and still awaits a satisfactory solution.

VII

The difference in taste between the two races—Shirians and bearded men—comes out most emphatically in their appreciation of the various fruits. There is one particular kind which the Shirians adore—in fact, deify: they will even go to war over the picking of it and those who fall on the battlefield are deemed martyrs and saints.

For the Shirians, Saint Carpoforo lives incarnate in the miraculous, the almost mythical *lakse*; while we, the bearded ones, would sooner identify him with the *sepah*, which is a blend of fig, strawberry and mulberry. The *lakse* grows on the Corozo palm, one of the tallest of the palm trees, which is covered with long and terrible thorns that keep the monkeys far away from its forbidden fruit. Beneath the thorns there is a sweet liquid—palm wine. It can be obtained by lighting a fire at the base of the tree, so that all the juices collect together towards the top of the palm, near the growing part. The tree is then felled, and a little skilful surgery will drain the liquid, which ferments readily. But the Samatari do not indulge in this practice: some deep and ancient wisdom, though they are scarcely conscious of it, has given them the simplest possible commandment about drinking: thou shalt drink only water. Nor does

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

But for all this bad luck, we had one undeniable stroke of good: the weather, extraordinarily enough, remained fine. We were now in April, when the dry season is at its height, but we knew that in these parts 'dry season' is a somewhat theoretical term. In some years, there just isn't one at all, and now that it was supposed to be at its height the rains might burst over our heads at any moment and reduce us to a sorry plight, on these clay hills, with hundreds of streams to cross. In fair weather the forest floor was clean, the air fresh and visibility excellent. Marching was easy, and had an excellent psychological effect.

At the first of the hills, when the track turned aside from the Aracosa banks, we came into a chaos of fallen trees. They stayed with us the whole day, all along the ridge where the path led. Enrico and I were ahead, and at one point we lost the track. Taking our bearings as best we could, we turned back, but found ourselves once more among fallen trees. The havoc must have been caused by a tornado. This is a rare phenomenon, and one we had never encountered in forest country, where the dank and the constant rain keep the atmosphere in a state of equilibrium, which tends to ward off the storm. It must have been the genuinely dry season we were enjoying which had encouraged the hurricane. We were fortunate not to have walked into the middle of it ourselves: with trees being torn up and hurled down we should have been running new and serious risks to life and limb.

For the rest of that day we were trying to find the track, keeping our direction hopefully to the north. But it was late in the afternoon before we saw the Guayca again—thanks to a shot we heard quite close. Great was our relief. The sound of Uarema's gun had raised our hopes, and when at last we caught sight of the Indians from a distance we noticed that they were carrying something wrapped in leaves. But it wasn't game. Uarema had fired at a crane, but missed it. The parcels contained honey which they had found in the tree-trunks blown down by the wind. We gave silent thanks to the storm for strewing honey in our path, as in the old myths, and that night we drank a mixture of honey and water like the warriors of long ago and ate nothing but a handful of *poloinos* gathered on the way. Wild honey, very runny and slightly acid, is sometimes fermented already if it has been stored in the hollow trees for very long. To drink it gives one a certain alcoholic euphoria which with weak, starving men such as we were results in a state of complete prostration. We slept the clock round from dusk to dawn—twelve hours.

222 262 we had each accumulated a half bushel or so, we would then proceed to eat them. In general, it takes a lot of work to get filled up on palm fruits.

The Yanomamö also collect wild honey in considerable quantities. Nothing excites them more than locating a dead tree in which a swarm of bees has built a nest. They will halt everything and, if need be, spend the entire day chopping the tree down [123] to get at the honey. When I began my fieldwork I hired about a dozen men to cut trees for me so that I could build a mud hut. They would be gone all day and return with just a few poles, demanding a full day's pay for their efforts. I decided to accompany them one day to see what they were up to. We spent the entire day wandering through the jungle, eyes glued to the tree tops above. Each time I spotted a suitable tree, they talked me out of cutting it down because "it would rot" or "it is too far away from the river." By mid-afternoon we had not cut a single tree, but had walked over a large area of jungle. Finally, one of the men shouted for the rest of us to come. All the men descended on the large, dead tree he had located, and set about chopping it down with the axes I had provided. It took about an hour to get it down. They then spent another hour chopping holes along the length of the tree trunk to get at the honey inside. When it was exposed, they gleefully tore the combs out, dunked them into the amber liquid, and gorged themselves on the larvae-filled combs. After they had eaten their fill of this, they collected a large pile of leaves and made a crude bowl. Then they stuck handfuls of leaves into the honey and squeezed them out into the leaf bowl. When they had gotten all the honey they could reach, they scoured the nest with leaves and licked them off after each plunge [123] of the hand into the bowels of the trunk. They borrowed the aluminum kettle I had brought along and used to cook our lunch in. As we were some distance from the river [272] and they were impatient, one of them filled the kettle with muddy water he found in a swamp a short distance away. Some of the honey from the bowl was poured into the kettle, along with dead adult bees, twigs, leaves, dirt, and several dozen larvae. They passed this around among themselves, each man drinking about a quart or so of the mead after blowing the debris off the surface in order to expose the water. The remainder [251] of the honey was wrapped up in its leaf bowl, tightly bound with vines, and carried back [123] to the village. On the way back to the canoe we cut a few light trees for my mud hut. They had gotten what they were looking for all day, and I managed to get a few logs. They demanded a full day's pay when we reached home. Thereafter, I paid them by the log rather than by the day.

222 231 262 Finally, several varieties of insects are collected. Perhaps the most desirable food in this category is the grub of an insect that lays its eggs in the decaying pith of dead palm trees. The Yanomamö come very close to practicing "animal domestication" in their techniques of exploiting this food. They deliberately cut the palm tree down in order to provide fodder for the insect. When they cut the tree, they also eat the heart of the palm, a very delicious, crunchy vegetable that slightly resembles the taste of celery hearts. One palm we cut yielded an edible heart of about 50 pounds. After the pith has been allowed to decay for several months, it contains numerous large, fat, white grubs. The pith is dug out of the tree with sticks, broken open by hand, and the grubs extracted. Each grub is bitten behind his squirming head, and the head and intestines removed simply by pulling the body away from the teeth. If a grub gets damaged in the process of extracting it, the parts are eaten raw on the spot. A fair-sized palm tree will yield three or four pounds of grubs, some of them as large as a mouse. The grubs

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/83 cont./

252
412
[177]
[123]
[192]

396. (cont.)
a few graters out of the sides of our empty gasoline cans by boring numerous holes in them with a nail. They were very happy over these and maintained that it was considerably more agreeable to grate on them. They also immediately had a name for this grater -- kabaricinamó.

252
184
412

397. The Xiriâna, too, grate the manioc roots on rough slabs of granite (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

252 The grated pulp is then pressed out by hand with the help of small, square strips of plaiting (see p. 112), which are rolled up (398).

398. The poison is removed from the manioc pulp in the same way among the Xiriâna (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

Among the Surára I found three tube presses and among the Pakidái five, which they had obtained from the Xiriâna (see p. 112). With the flour the women bake, on large, flat granite stones under which a fire is kindled, manioc flat-cakes, which are consumed with pleasure. This food, which appeared among them only a comparatively short time ago, seems to become
• 273 more and more popular. The preparation of kaschirí is unknown (399).

[114]
[177]

399. Since, however, my servant, a pure-blooded Tukano /Tucano/ Indian, felt a great desire for a slight alcoholic intoxication at the sight of the manioc flat-cakes, he taught the Surára how to make kaschirí. At first they tried this unknown drink very critically. But after the first swallow their eyes shone, and they slapped Mateus on the shoulder enthusiastically and assured him again and again how good it tasted to them.

/84 cont./

272 are kneaded and pulverized in calabashes filled with water. This produces a grayish-brown, greasy juice which, after the fleshy husks have been fished out and thrown away, reminds one of cacao in appearance and flavor and is extremely filling. This drink tasted even better to me when I added a little sugar. [123] [263] The Indians who tasted this, however, were not enthusiastic about the addition, since they like sugar just as little as salt. I was unable to please either children or adults with my bonbons. The fruit of the bacu buriti, curauá, piaçaba, and ubim palms (see p. 166) is made into beverages in the same way, while that of the inaja palm is cooked beforehand. The juice obtained from this tastes quite insipid, to be sure, but likewise has a high food value.

One should also mention that a drink is prepared from the [114] [184] [171] gathered honey by mixing it with water. I never saw it eaten, as has been confirmed for the Waiká (407) and various /85/ other

407. Zerries, 1956b, p. 150.

tribes of Guiana (408) (409).

408. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 55.

409. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 169.

271 184 As the above account shows, the Surára and Pakidái do not lack variety with regard to beverages, so that only in the rarest instances need they resort to plain water, as is the case, according to Zerries' accounts, among the Waiká (410). As among

273 184

410. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

the latter (411), however, alcoholic beverages are completely

411. Zerries, 1958c, p. 177.

unknown to the Surára and Pakidái too.

/209/

273 271 177 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 263 261 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is related to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth! [764]

581 183 591 184 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

591 182 596

596 591 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

There were often piles of *haunashi* heaped up underneath trees much too big and too tall for me to have climbed, even had I been dying of hunger. The *haunashi* is a queer, oval-shaped nut with a big, woody husk enclosed in a compact mass of tiny, needle-sharp spines that resemble the crystals of certain mineral forms of asbestos. It takes some opening, but once open offers man the rich enjoyment of a soft white nut running with a creamy milk.

The consumption of these nuts sets a real problem in logistics and psychology. Transport over any distance is hampered by the exorbitant weight of the shells, a weight which the Indians with their extremely practical minds consider to be out of proportion to the food value of the nut, high though this is. But once the nuts are shelled, there are the piles of gleaming white grains, so attractive that no one can resist them and they are devoured without a thought for the mothers' milk or the strength of the children's blood. Without a doubt, this matter of the *haunashi* represents one of the outstanding problems of the Samateri provisioning-march and still awaits a satisfactory solution.

VII

The difference in taste between the two races—Shirians and bearded men—comes out most emphatically in their appreciation of the various fruits. There is one particular kind which the Shirians adore—in fact, deify: they will even go to war over the picking of it and those who fall on the battlefield are deemed martyrs and saints.

For the Shirians, Saint Carpoforo lives incarnate in the miraculous, the almost mythical *lahse*; while we, the bearded ones, would sooner identify him with the *sapak*, which is a blend of fig, strawberry and mulberry. The *lahse* grows on the Corozo palm, one of the tallest of the palm trees, which is covered with long and terrible thorns that keep the monkeys far away from its forbidden fruit. Beneath the thorns there is a sweet liquid—palm wine. It can be obtained by lighting a fire at the base of the tree, so that all the juices collect together towards the top of the palm, near the growing part. The tree is then felled, and a little skilful surgery will drain the liquid, which ferments readily. But the Samateri do not indulge in this practice: some deep and ancient wisdom, though they are scarcely conscious of it, has given them the simplest possible commandment about drinking: thou shalt drink only water. Nor does

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

But for all this bad luck, we had one undeniable stroke of good: the weather, extraordinarily enough, remained fine. We were now in April, when the dry season is at its height, but we knew that in these parts 'dry season' is a somewhat theoretical term. In some years, there just isn't one at all, and now that it was supposed to be at its height the rains might burst over our heads at any moment and reduce us to a sorry plight, on these clay hills, with hundreds of streams to cross. In fair weather the forest floor was clean, the air fresh and visibility excellent. Marching was easy, and had an excellent psychological effect.

At the first of the hills, when the track turned aside from the Aracoea banks, we came into a chaos of fallen trees. They stayed with us the whole day, all along the ridge where the path led. Enrico and I were ahead, and at one point we lost the track. Taking our bearings as best we could, we turned back, but found ourselves once more among fallen trees. The havoc must have been caused by a tornado. This is a rare phenomenon, and one we had never encountered in forest country, where the dank and the constant rain keep the atmosphere in a state of equilibrium, which tends to ward off the storm. It must have been the genuinely dry season we were enjoying which had encouraged the hurricane. We were fortunate not to have walked into the middle of it ourselves: with trees being torn up and hurled down we should have been running new and serious risks to life and limb.

For the rest of that day we were trying to find the track, keeping our direction hopefully to the north. But it was late in the afternoon before we saw the Guayca again—thanks to a shot we heard quite close. Great was our relief. The sound of Uarema's gun had raised our hopes, and when at last we caught sight of the Indians from a distance we noticed that they were carrying something wrapped in leaves. But it wasn't game. Uarema had fired at a crane, but missed it. The parcels contained honey which they had found in the tree-trunks blown down by the wind. We gave silent thanks to the storm for strewing honey in our path, as in the old myths, and that night we drank a mixture of honey and water like the warriors of long ago and ate nothing but a handful of *pedoimos* gathered on the way. Wild honey, very runny and slightly acid, is sometimes fermented already if it has been stored in the hollow trees for very long. To drink it gives one a certain alcoholic euphoria which with weak, starving men such as we were results in a state of complete prostration. We slept the clock round from dusk to dawn—twelve hours.

/452 cont./

252 Women generally roast the platanos for everyone's breakfast. At noon and in the evening, everyone cooks his own platanos. To a child of seven they might give three green platanos in [866] their skins, telling him: "Here is your dinner." The child then proceeds to cook them.

264 The Guaika /Waica/ in general have abundant food and eat it with pleasure. They do not look kindly upon remains of food being left. Anyone who does not lick his bowl clean after having drunk his soup of platanos is considered a prodigal.

266 765 The mere idea of cannibalism is rejected with horror, although they do eat the pulverized bones of a cremated relative, after having kept them in a hermetically sealed gourd for about six months.

262 They do not eat carnivorous birds and animals, but carnivorous fish, even the caribe (piranha), are eaten with pleasure. Some [252] makes are eaten, others not. They boil them or else they cook them wrapped in leaves upon the embers.

271 Drink, Drugs, and Excesses

The Guaika /Waica/ take extreme care concerning the water they drink. The supply of water for a settlement must be obtained upstream from all the fords which cross the stream or brook. If a Guaika finds it necessary to drink water in a place below a ford, he makes a hole in the sand of the beach and waits until water which has filtered through it gushes up. The water of the current is considered dirty, just as the water from the hole dug [415] in the beach is clean. Water is transported in gourds by the women for me in the settlement.

• 293 The Guaika do not prepare any alcoholic beverage.

296 Tobacco leaves are rolled up with ashes and placed in the mouth behind the lower lip. When there is a shortage of tobacco, /453/ they obtain a certain bitter root in the forest, strip the bark from it, and place it behind the lip to diminish the desire for tobacco.

/66 cont./

600 and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women
841 do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during these days, and, if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the bank of the nearby river or brook.

i) Initiation rites for young men

884 All young men who have reached the age of approximately
132 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December, halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and cele-
884 brate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an inter-
8C mediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate camp of the Surára, see p. 23) two young men are always trained for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemão and his brother Kurikayawõ among the Surára; Karenauõ and the war chief Porêhiwõ among the Pakidái) in all matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only after that are they regarded as full members of their community and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers. It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite
[782] melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and plant spirits (hekurá, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clear-
● [276] ing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices, however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication (see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead
884 and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely ex-
302 ternally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting,
825 which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú
8C on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representation of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
825 emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

/71 cont./

765 Shortly before sundown a bright, blazing fire was kindled with the help of the fire-drill, and the funeral pyre was set afire 765 with it. Then the men blew the snuff into each other's noses, 787 and after a few minutes they were in a state of intoxication, dur- 276 ing which they danced, singing and screaming, around the flames that leaped up over the dead man. This was the appeal to the hekurá who are supposed to help the soul of the dead on its journey [782] to the moon (see pp.199/201). The chief uttered his prayers of supplication in a loud voice, and all the other men joined in the chorus. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff into each other's noses, so that their ecstasy constantly increased and finally reached an unimaginable climax when the fire took possession of the skeleton. It no longer seemed to be human beings who, howling, stamping, and gesticulating, now stormed around the pyre. They seemed to have taken leave of their senses, and, as a result of the snuff-intoxication, they probably actually were in another world. To me, the sight was like a nightmare and made me think [774] of paintings by Hieronymus Bosch. The wandering of the soul of [775] the dead existing in the bones, accompanied by the tree-soul, had begun, and the hekurá paved the way for them. Meanwhile, night had fallen, and the moon, which I suddenly noticed in the sky in its full size between the crowns of the trees, seemed to be waiting for its new inhabitant. In spite of the heat, which was increased [123] by the fire of the funeral pyre, cold shudders ran down my spine, and an indescribable feeling of terror clutched at my heart. Though I had not taken any snuff-powder at this ceremony, I, too, was in a veritable drunken fever. Never before, neither in church nor in a theater, had I experienced a scene as grandiose as the one here in the nocturnal forest of Amazonia.

This death ceremony continued until dawn. After midnight, however, only a few men, whose duty it was at the same time to keep the funeral pyre burning, were still dancing and singing. The other warriors lay exhausted on the ground and slept. Occasionally one of the dancers was nudged. He got up immediately, had snuff blown into his nose, and danced around the pyre, singing, while another lay down to sleep. Finally, only two men were still

/71 cont./

765 dancing and singing. About an hour before sunrise, however, all
787 the sleepers were awakened; they again took snuff immediately,
• 276 and once more there began a wild dance with singing until day-
[821] break. The death ceremony must be kept secret from the sun (it
[775] is likewise regarded as a male creature), the worst enemy of the moon, because otherwise it would hinder the soul's wandering. Loudly sustained, shrill, joyous cries formed the conclusion and made it manifest that the soul of the deceased had found entry
765 into the moon. Then all the warriors, sobbing loudly, formed a circle around the burned-down funeral pyre, while the /72/ brother and other relatives gathered up the charred remains of the bones from the ashes. After these had been pounded in gourd vessels by means of small stone mortars, the bone ashes were emptied into two bowls made out of the jamaru fruit, which the brother of the deceased wrapped with palm leaves and a liana binding. Thereupon he handed them to the chief, who lifted up each one in the direction of the moon and, singing, blessed it, while the men standing about uttered shrill cries. With this the end of the ceremony was reached, and the exhausted warriors could again return to their maloka in order to recover in their hammocks from
[266] the strenuous night. The brother of the deceased tied the two jamaru bowls containing the bone ashes to the rafters of the roof behind his hearth, in order to keep them for the big annual festival in memory of the dead, at which the bone ashes of their dead, mixed with banana soup, are drunk by the men (see pp.231 ff.). From now on there was no more wailing and weeping in the maloka; daily life had resumed its normal course.

76 After the death of women and of children too, as soon as they have completed the third year of life, the death ceremonies are
[822] conducted in exactly the same way. For a deceased chief, on the other hand, there is dancing around the funeral pyre for three nights, for, of course, his entrance into the moon must be particularly solemn.

Surára
Pakidái

726 /74 cont./
[191]
[302]

343 (cont.)
Richard Schomburgk points out that their body painting in wartime differs from that of peacetimes. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, page 322).

spend the night quietly, while a few scouts reconnoiter the
● [276] position. At dawn the warriors blow large quantities of snuff into each other's noses and then, completely unfettered, but in all
[729] silence they storm the hostile maloka. Men and boys are killed ruthlessly with arrow shots, and the women and children are dragged off as captives. But the attackers, too, often have to suffer great losses, and it is said that they are sometimes put to flight.

726 During my stay among the Surára, I heard of an attack by
727 the Xiriána and allied warriors on a maloka of the Waiká on the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini (see p. 16). On this occasion, as I was told, all the Waiká men were killed, and the women and girls were brought to the Xiriána maloka as captives. The head of the Waiká chief, as the war chief of the Surára added, was then adorned with feathers by the Xiriána and left standing in front of their community house for several days
727 as a trophy; after that it was thrown away (344). The night after

344. The Hório and Ebidoso in the northeastern Chaco, who occasionally behave in a similar way, are to be referred to as a parallel (Baldus, 1931, p. 73).

the attack there was a big dance festival, in which all the men
[226] took part. Before that they took snuff and prayed to the hekurá
[782] (see p.199), in order to thank them for the victory.

/87 cont./

231 In the evening the monkeys climb the tallest trees in order to spend the night in their crowns, and the birds, too, occasionally fly away. But all the animals come back, for, of course, they were tamed when small and are very attached to the Indians, who /88/ always treat them affectionately. They take the trouble, with great patience, to train the parrots and parakeets to talk, and they are happy when the first results appear.

11. Luxuries

• 276

The Surára and Pakidái use only two luxuries, tobacco -- peenáke -- and a snuff powder -- epená. The former serves for profane purposes and the latter exclusively for ritual use.

Tobacco is not smoked, however. The leaves are pulverized in the green state, mixed with wood ashes and water or saliva, and twisted between the hands into small rolls. These are then inserted between the lower or upper lip and the teeth, where they are sucked. Both sexes, including children, indulge in this enjoyment, which also is connected with a very practical purpose, for, as a result, the Indians are able to walk around all day in the forest without feeling hungry or thirsty; but their attractive faces are quite distorted by the tobacco roll (Ill. 41).

[184] Tobacco is used in the same way among the Waiká, but
[824] here, according to Zerries' account, the roll is inserted only between the lower lip and the teeth (426) (427). The investigator

426. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

427. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

named also mentions the occasional use of wild plants as substitutes in case tobacco is lacking (428) (429). Among the Surára

428. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

429. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

Surára
Pakidái

/88 cont./

276 and Pakidái I was unable to learn anything with reference to this, although there, too, the consumption of tobacco is uncommonly
[249] great. They plant plenty of tobacco in all the forest clearings, however, and if it were entirely harvested in the fields where they were living at the time, the men fetch it from other distant rocas or in emergencies they obtain it from friendly tribes by barter.

[184] [114] Koch-Grünberg reports that the Xiriána and Waiká hordes visited by him chew the tobacco (430). From his description, how-

430. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

276 171 114 ever, it is to be seen that actually a sucking of the tobacco is also involved. The Arekuná on the Roroíma probably also did the same thing, although Richard Schomburgk (431) and Appun (432)

431. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 239.

432. Appun, 1871, p. 521.

agree in speaking of "tobacco chewing." It is noteworthy that Koch-Grünberg (433) did not observe this form of tobacco enjoyment

433. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 57.

among any other tribe in the Roroíma region, for on the occasion of his visits the men smoked the tobacco as cigarettes or in short English pipes which were imported from British Guiana; he never saw women smoke.

123 276 If I offered the Surára and Pakidái cigarettes, they first always removed the paper and enjoyed the tobacco in the same way as their cultivated tobacco. Yet they were not very enthusiastic about it, for in their opinion the cigarette tobacco was much too weak. In time, however, men and children became accustomed to smoking (434), but not the women.

434. As a result of this, our supply of cigarettes rapidly dwindled, and my

/88 cont./

123
• 276

434. (cont.)
servant Mateus and I were thereafter dependent on the cultivated tobacco of the Indians, which, however, was so strong that we simply could not enjoy it. Mateus, however, had the happy idea of washing the tobacco several times and then he let it dry in the sun. Since we had plenty of cigarette paper with us, we were not obliged to give up our customary enjoyment of cigarettes. We could never have become accustomed to sucking out the tobacco, for every attempt resulted in retching.

276 The narcotic snuff powder, similar to yopo or paricá, is made up of various ingredients, of which I was able to identify, besides the roasted and pulverized paricá seed (Piptadenia peregrina Benth.), the ashes of the burned bark of a wild species of mimosa (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurâhihenâ -- (435), as

[192]
[776]
[787]

435. This, it should be noted, contains the word with which the gigantic animal and plant spirits are called -- hekurâ -- with which the men are able to make contact only by means of the snuff powder.

well as a cultivated pepper plant /89/ (Piperacea sp.) -- maxarahâ -- (436) (437).

[192]
[184]

436. Zerries found the same combination among the Waikâ, and even the names for the pepper plant are almost identical; the Waikâ call it "masho hara." The bark of the mimosa, in which Zerries suspects there is an alkaloid, is, however, used only in the dried or roasted state (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

[126]

437. Herr Prof. Dr. Klaus Soehring of the

/89 cont./

276
122

437. (cont.)
Pharmakologischen Institut der Universität Hamburg is at present still analyzing the powder that I brought back. The result is to be published later in an article.

276
[463]
[415]

Exactly like the arrow poison, this powder is made only by certain men. It is stored in bamboo tubes -- tõra -- (Fig. 28a) which are closed with leaves. Before prayers, on the occasion of big festivals, and before curing the sick, in which several men take part, besides the chief, the powder is poured on a large clay plate left by the Xiriâna. From here it is then packed into the bamboo snuff-tube 60-70 centimeters long, on one end of which is glued by means of tree resin a perforated, longish palm nut (Fig. 28b). At the free end the nut is sharpened to a point so that the man wishing to take snuff can insert it into one nostril. From the other end /Fig. 28 appears here/ of the tube, a friendly fellow-tribesman, with partly bent knees, blows the powder with all of his might into the man's nose (Ill. 44).

123
276

After only a few minutes the snuff-taker falls into an inconceivable state of intoxication, in which he rages, screams, sings, dances, and leaps about (Ills. 45, 46). Since I was obliged, after my adoption into the tribe of the Surára, to submit to this usage also, I am in a position to describe the effect in detail. I should like to point out briefly here that immediately afterwards I developed a splitting headache and felt a strong desire to vomit, exactly like the youths making their first acquaintance with this drug. But shortly after that a strange reaction took place within me, for I felt myself to be a giant among giants. All the human beings near me, as well as dogs and parrots, suddenly seemed to be giants. This effect, which is caused by the alkaloids in the powder, is closely connected with the conceptions of gigantic animal and plant spirits (see pp. 201/201).

276
171
[184]

/89 cont./

Among the Waiká, this taking of snuff is done in the same way (438). The Tuparí (439) and numerous other tribes of western

438. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

439. Caspar, 1953, pp. 151 ff.

South America (440) also indulge in this custom, though the com-

440. Gillin, 1948, p. 855.

[415]

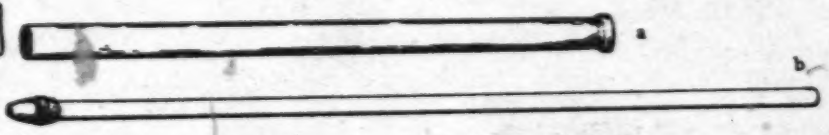


Fig. 28a. Bamboo tube for storing snuff-powder.

Fig. 28b. Bamboo snuff-tube.

position of the powder, except for the paricá or Piptadenia seeds, seems to differ from tribe to tribe. Cooper, moreover, in a com-
[114] parative study of the taking of Piptadenia snuff, comes to the conclusion that this is a "western trait" /cited in English/ (441).

441. Cooper, 1949, pp. 536-538 and Map 10.

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

/92 cont./

and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waikâ /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omaua," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

/100 cont./
755 was much worse, that this time the power of the Waikâ medicine
123 men was extraordinarily great. I then proposed to him that I
177 should give Xunamî penicillin injections. After lengthy consultations with the husband and other male members of the tribe he consented, though with misgivings, and luck was with the patient as well as with me. From this moment on the name penicilina (Portuguese spelling) became a magic word, for it had helped to cast away the sickness. Hewemãõ even asked me to bring him a great deal of it on my next visit.

755 c) Magic cure (rekurâ) for Xanimâ:

Xanimâ, the approximately 47-year-old mother of
[164] Anyarawõ (see p. 126), had been ill for five days with chicken
pox and had had persistently high fever. At first she, too, was
[159] given the water cures, that is, she constantly had to take baths in the river and drink a great deal of water; as her weakness increased, she remained lying in her hammock and was doused with cold water. After that there were sham battles between two "hekurâ" and the bad, black-colored spirit of sickness, "nonexî."

When there was no improvement, Chief Hewemãõ and eight helpers again arranged a large, nocturnal rekurâ, but this time a somewhat different one, because, of course, a different
[302] sickness was involved (502). At first the men, eight with red

502. As has been mentioned above (see p. 212), every sickness has very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps.

serpentine lines painted on their faces and bodies and one colored black, in the light of the hearth, again formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the middle, on which snuff-
[296] powder had been poured. They filled their snuff tubes with generous amounts of it and blew it into each other's noses, whereupon, after a few minutes, the state of ecstasy set in. The men hopped around their own axis several times, and, after a hissing sound on the part of the chief and with prolonged shrill

/103 cont./

769 25 [462] few days. This roasting belongs to the men's sphere of duties, as does the harvesting of pupunha fruits. The latter are then made into a drink by the women. Moreover, they fetched from the plantings large quantities of bananas which were put in the sun so that they could ripen, and, finally, it should be mentioned that among all the families several stacks of manioc flat-cakes were piled up little by little.

769 535 [276] On the evening of April fourth, toward 9:00, the actual festival began. Five men and five boys, who wore cotton belts over their hip cords, danced, after the former had first blown snuff-powder into each other's noses, one behind the other (two steps forward and one back, during which the more marked lifting of the knees with a slight turning outward of the legs is to be noted), on a circular path in the open circle of the maloka, and, to be sure, counterclockwise (509a). The first two men

509a. In all the dances that go around the periphery of a circle the participants dance counterclockwise.

each held two arrows in the right hand, and the rest, as well as [533] all the boys, had their hands crossed behind their heads. Occasionally one man would sing in a beautiful, full bass voice, and the others would then join in chorus. The songs were very melodious and furnished the rhythm for the dance steps (509b).

[534] 509b. The Surára and Pakidái accompany dances in part with songs, for musical instruments are unknown to them.

[276] Toward 10:00 more men, in part with arrows, in part without, and boys (all without arrows) joined the dancers, and at 11:30 all the men and boys, with the exception of the Surára chief, were gathered in the center of the maloka courtyard, where, from a large clay plate filled with snuff-powder that had been placed here along with several snuff tubes, they blew huge quantities into each other's noses. Then they sat down in a

Surára
pakidái

/104 cont./

769
535

Fig. 29. Arrangement of the dancers on the occasion of a ceremony of the festival in memory of the dead.

retreat and defended themselves with all their might against the advancing "hekurá." Behind these ten "fighting" dancers there followed six men in a row, each with an arrow in his hand, the advance guard of the chief. At a slight distance they were joined by the Surára [622] chief Hewemão, flanked on either side by six men forming a double row. These men were also prominent personalities; thus, among them there were the two younger brothers of the chief, the war chief of the Surára, the chief and war chief of the Pakidái, as well as especially excellent older warriors of both tribes. Following them, as a rear guard, in a double-row formation, came the rest of the men, young men, and boys. All who took part in the procession moved in the customary dance steps, two forward and one back, during which they sang in chorus. Now and then Chief Hewemão would utter a hissing sound, whereupon all the participants grouped themselves in the center of the plaza around the large clay plate with snuff-powder. Here the chief, in a singing voice, prayed to the hekurá [622] and asked them to intercede with Poré/Perimbó, so that the festival [782] would be vouchsafed a happy and successful course. Then the men [276] blew new snuff-powder into each other's noses, whereupon the dance would continue in the manner described above. This dancing and singing lasted, except for the brief interruptions at the clay plate, until 6:00 in the morning.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769
266 On the next day, April 6, 1956, the festival reached its climax. Toward 9:00 the Surára chief, his brother Kurikayawõ, and the chief and war chief of the Pakidái sat down around the pots of banana soup, in front of which also stood the two jamaru vessels with the bone ashes of the deceased, and all the other
[533] male members of the tribe sat around them. The Surára chief started to pray loudly, whereupon a rather long choral song was struck up. Then he poured the bone ashes into all the soup pots, mixed them thoroughly with his hands, and scooped out a calabash full for himself, which he emptied hastily and to the last drop. Thereupon the Pakidái chief, the brother of Hewemão, and the war chiefs of both tribes drank, followed by all the older and younger men, including the larger boys, who drank last (514). As a result of this ceremonial drinking of the

[123]

514. Hewemão also offered my servant and me a full calabash each, along with the war chiefs. When we had drunk them, he slapped our backs appreciatively and said that we were now true Sarára.

bone ashes, it is believed, the strength and spirit of the de-
769 ceased will remain within the tribe and contribute to its vigor.
[533] Following this drink, a prayer of thanksgiving was sung.
[782] Then the men, youths, and boys together ate large quantities
/107/ of the roasted tapir meat, as well as manioc flat-cakes,
[262] and after that the women handed them calabashes full of the refreshing drink made of pupunha fruits.

Invigorated and fortified with the powers of the deceased, the men were now able to proceed with the most strenuous part
[302] of the festival. But before this began, half of them blackened their faces and bodies with soot, which they scraped off of their
769 cooking pots. Meanwhile others had again set in the center of
276 the maloka circle the large clay plate upon which they poured the brownish snuff-powder -- epená --, out of bamboo containers, and in front of the plate they laid a large number of

Surára
Pakidái

/107 cont./

769
276 snuff-tubes. After these preparations, the chiefs, all the men, youths, and boys, light and black-colored participants, assembled outside the maloka. At a hissing sound from Hewemão they then stormed into the courtyard, screaming loudly, ran once around the periphery, and then grouped themselves around the clay plate. The snuff-tubes were filled with powder, and the men by twos blew it with all their might into each other's noses (Ill. 44). On the occasion of this festival they take even more snuff than before other magic performances, curing the sick, and prayers. The effect was extraordinary. After only a few moments all the men were in a wild state of ecstasy (Ills. 45 and 46). At first they danced and leaped, gesticulating and screaming, in wild disorder around the clay plate, and after that they stormed around the courtyard several times in the [535] same manner. Then groups of five, ten, or more men put their arms around each other's necks and performed stamping circle-dances in this formation (Ill. 47), during which each man tried to pull another one tightly to him; now and then they also
769
526 danced with the knees bent. After half an hour, this ecstatic dancing, during which the participants were bathed in sweat, was replaced by an extremely strange type of sport -- petapóanhamũ. In the entire outer circle of the maloka courtyard there were seated everywhere two men opposite each other, chest to chest, with legs spread apart; in each case one had his on top of the thighs of the other one. The partners were always a Surára and a Pakidái; moreover, in each case one of them was blackened. They wound their arms around each other at the neck and, with vigorous arm movements, pulled each other back and forth with all their might (Ill. 48). Each tried to pull the head of his opponent quite close to him. Sometimes their arms would drop down on the back of the other one, and they would then pull at each other for a while in this position. During the struggle they constantly called out wrathful words at each other. Often the wives stood beside their husbands and spurred them on. But there were no victors and no losers in these combats. If the strength of a combatant flagged, another tribesman immediately came and continued the struggle with the opponent

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/107 cont./

769 in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted
526 one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs
[622] and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this
[624] type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with
[147] five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other, who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexf (see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After
[262] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed themselves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and manioc flat-
[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in connection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

769 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká,
114 which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds
184

515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

Surára
Pakidái
waicá

/108 cont./ According to Zerries, Barker, and Dupouy, there is also a similar combat among the Waikâ, in which the partners alternately beat each other on the chest with clenched fists (519a, b, c). I did not observe this among

519a. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

519b. Barker, 1953, p. 447.

519c. Dupouy, 1953, p. 495.

the Surára and Pakidái. Similarly unknown there is the custom, also reported by Zerries, that the men, when they run about in the snuff-powder intoxication, hit each other on the back with the palm of the hand (520). The author named regards this as a

520. Zerries 1955b, p. 665.

fertility rite. There seems to be involved here, however, outside influences of agricultural tribes, which is indicated also by the ceremonial gathering of pupunha fruits (521).

521. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

It is further noteworthy that among the Waikâ women and girls actively participate in the festival in that they take part in some dances and even drink some of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes (522). In contrast to this, the female members of

522. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662 ff.

the tribe act only as spectators among the Surára and Pakidái.

The endocannibalism should be regarded as a very significant similar trait. It is documented for the Waikâ by Cruxent (523a)

523a. Cruxent, 1953a, pp. 149/50.

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/13/

Surára
Pakidái

142
302
296

Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

769
142
291
516
302
342
415
266

Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

516
342
411
535

Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

2. Becher--279 E-5 (1955-1956) 1969 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

142
516
276
969
291

Ill. 44. Surára and Pakidái men blow snuff-powder into each other's noses

969
276

Ill. 45. Beginning of the state of ecstasy after the taking of the snuff-powder

2: Becher--280 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/15/

769
276
142
291
302

Ill. 46. Height of ecstasy

Ill. 47. Circle dance in the state of ecstasy

769
276
535
769
526

Ill. 48. Petapoanhamú -- the embracing-combat performed in a sitting position

/209/

273 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make
271 alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in
177 contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the
263 coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use
261 wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

● 276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is re-
[764] lated to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the
183 young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity
591 in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the
184 Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We
591 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially
182 matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes
596 to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively
591 rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

/213 cont./

793 For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain
624 later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may
[622] not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the im-
123 pression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly
[276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our
775 informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after
[841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a
[126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made
[532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals: he was the guapo.

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. N-An.]

/221 cont./

765 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula
775 and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĩkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĩkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around
•[276] the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their
[756] neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĩ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá
771 is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of
[184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious
756 practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a
791 different supernatural sphere.

793 The first of the three is the hɛwĩawán, or the priest, who is
776 the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

/225 cont./ The Sanemá say that the
793 hɛwĩawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikulaɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[796] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
796 propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[795] hɛwĩawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
974 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the hĩkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

/227 cont./

773 774 The Sanemá became discouraged in the face of the ferociousness of the monster and feared the day on which Chinanídmawan would again mistreat and kill them.

773 774 756 In those days there lived among the Sanemá a great sablí, very famous and extremely powerful, who began to think of how he could free them from this demon. The great sablí went off to the forest, and there he found a liana which seemed very suitable for his purposes. He cut a piece of the bejuco and returned. During the night he went to the house of Chinanídmawan in order to surprise him while he was asleep surrounded by his horrible trophies. In fact he did find him in a deep sleep; the sablí then introduced a piece of the liana up his anus. The demon woke up startled. He realized that a powerful sablí had found the means of killing him. In fact, shortly thereafter Chinanídmawan died, and the Sanemá exposed his corpse to the sun so that the flesh might rot. But because the demon had such tough skin, the flesh dried up and the skin remained intact; they then tried to burn it, but this was impossible, so they flung it into the forest and fled from the place.

773 774 The skin of Chinanídmawan, abandoned in the forest, gained access into the plants, animals, and men. That is why all male human beings, the animals, and the plants have within their bodies a hard and indestructible Chinanídmawan which is called hídkula,

774 [764] The hídkula is that part of the male which remains on earth after his death. When the body of a person is burned, his hídkula, on seeing the black cloud which rises from the fire, joins all the other hídkulas and they remain there for a long time... listening and listening to what comes from the world where men live.

[826] The size of the hídkula of a man corresponds to the measure of his torso, and the larger the hídkula is, the stronger is the person.

[764] [276] During the funeral rites, the men, under the influence of yopo, sing about their gigantic hídkula, and, in order to prove their gigantic strength, /228/ they invite each other to the wasamú, and they squeeze each other powerfully with their arms or with sticks. Among the men, only the priest, hɛwíawan, has no hídkula, because he is already a citizen of heaven.

[193]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

along by himself and hopped round us twittering. Then he flew off, to return a little while later with another in tow—perhaps the hen bird. Twittering again, he presented us to her as a fabulous discovery. They twittered a commentary and flew off, returning a little later, this time with a whole flock of friends. Then, with the courage that comes with numbers, they all made for our eyes to get at the honey. We were forced to disillusion them.

VIII

The Shirians have tobacco, *pihni* as they call it: even the most primitive and savage of them, the Samatari, cultivate two things in some hidden corner of the forest known only to themselves—tobacco, and the cane from which they make their arrows. Vice and war!

We were highly attracted towards the Uagna river lands, which, according to Luis Antonio, was country rich in game and inhabited, or at least occasionally crossed, by the Samatari, who inspired terror all round them. Enrico, Momi, and I set out on an expedition there, leaving Jean and Artur to wait for the plane.

We stopped on the way at the Uarema settlement; Luis Antonio wanted to show us off to his people, who had never seen men with beards and wearing clothes.

That night we slept in a crowded hut, and our curiosity was drawn towards a young woman who had strung her hammock between those of Uarema's two nephews (whose persons were adorned with feathers and plumes). She stayed in all day as well, a cosseted Shirian Cleopatra, continually looking at herself in the little glass we had given her and adjusting the white feather boa which covered her ears and her shoulders. During the course of the day other women came to help her with her toilet, painting her cheeks and forehead with certain precise geometrical designs: they used red and black colouring matter which when dry shone like enamel. Even her little quid of tobacco was smaller and daintier than others used. Uarema told us that she was the public woman of the tribe.

Next morning, when we were stepping into our boats again, Pancho and Benito came along in a big canoe. They wanted salt from us. We had very little, and had to refuse them. They went off in silence. When they were two hundred yards away, they shouted something in our direction. Luis Antonio

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
302
296

10. *Luis Antonio prefers the local tobacco to our own civilized brands.*

11 & 12. *Waremá's brothers-in-law.*

142
291
302

[301]
→

[P.96-B]

/443 cont./

Domestic Animals

231 Dogs are raised and generally used in hunting.

Birds of almost all types are captured when they are found before leaving the nest. Most of these only survive a few days. It seems that the parrots manage to survive in captivity much better than the other birds, so that almost all the settlements have a domesticated parrot. Turkeys and cranes are included among the other birds which can survive and reach the adult state.

Domesticated monkeys are also favorite animals. It is interesting to observe that almost without exception the monkey is the property of a woman. Doubtless this is related to the fact that women nurse the little monkeys until they are weaned. The mother monkey must be killed in order to be able to capture the little monkey.

Small rodents, such as squirrels and vesper mice, are brought to the house sometimes to be domesticated. One family even went so far as to raise a wild pig (chácharo).

231 766 /444/ When a domestic animal dies, it is incinerated outside the settlement, near some path. Its bones are left in the same spot where they were when the fire consumed them.

Agriculture

241 Platanos and banana trees occupy nearly 90 per cent of the cultivated lands. Other fruits include sweet yuca, bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, mapuey /yams/, sugar cane, maize the pijiguao palm /peach palm/, pepper, the papaya, and the sweet potato.

241 824 [302] [789] [302] [276] Tobacco, cotton, and onoto /annatto/ are the principal nonedible products. Other nonedible products include a grass whose stem is dried and used for cutting the hair; a variety of root similar to the wild onion is used in magic for hunting, for obtaining a wife, etc.; especially fragrant leaves are used by the women in their ears; and the ingredients used in the processing of "yopo," a narcotic which is blown into the nose.

/448/

527 After this comes the daytime ceremony. A great deal of
• 276 "yopo" is prepared and placed near the center of the group of huts. Some six or eight boys of the "host" settlement march around the patio and then toward the place where the "yopo" is. Another group of boys follows them rapidly. As each group arrives at the center, the boys receive a puff of "yopo" in the nose. After each and every one of the boys has taken the "yopo" through the nasal passage, the men follow them in the same way, in groups of six or eight. And when all of the "hosts" are in the center, the ones representing the "guest" or visiting settlement, follow them in the same "yopo" ceremony.

527 When each and every one has received his portion of "yopo," the group of men begins to march around in the center of the
526 circular patio of the settlement. After a few minutes have
276 passed, the men begin to separate off in pairs. The most violent of them begin having duels of blows on the chest. Others, seated by pairs on the ground, talk among themselves in the manner of the crooned messages.

The duels of blows on the chest receive the greatest attention. All those who are not paired off are watching. Also many of the women come to watch them. The group of onlookers approaches so close that only a part of them can manage to see what is actually happening.

527 Some of the men who have taken too much "yopo" lie im-
276 potently on their backs and are dragged out of the sun into the shade of the houses by the women.

And others who have taken a certain excess of "yopo" keep walking around, and their wives have great difficulty in keeping them inside the settlement. If they manage to get into the woods with no one watching over them, they may find themselves in grave danger.

[574] After a while, everything begins to quiet down. Meat and
[484] as much "pijiguao" as it is possible to carry are given to the guests for their return trip. Thus they may take as long as a week on the trip to their settlement without running out of provisions.

/452 cont./

252 Women generally roast the platanos for everyone's breakfast. At noon and in the evening, everyone cooks his own platanos. To a child of seven they might give three green platanos in
[866] their skins, telling him: "Here is your dinner." The child then proceeds to cook them.

264 The Guaika /Waica/ in general have abundant food and eat it with pleasure. They do not look kindly upon remains of food being left. Anyone who does not lick his bowl clean after having drunk his soup of platanos is considered a prodigal.

266 The mere idea of cannibalism is rejected with horror, al-
765 though they do eat the pulverized bones of a cremated relative, after having kept them in a hermetically sealed gourd for about six months.

262 They do not eat carnivorous birds and animals, but carnivorous fish, even the caribe (piranha), are eaten with pleasure. Some
[252] snakes are eaten, others not. They boil them or else they cook them wrapped in leaves upon the embers.

271 Drink, Drugs, and Excesses

The Guaika /Waica/ take extreme care concerning the water they drink. The supply of water for a settlement must be obtained upstream from all the fords which cross the stream or brook. If a Guaika finds it necessary to drink water in a place below a ford, he makes a hole in the sand of the beach and waits until water which has filtered through it gushes up. The water of the current is considered dirty, just as the water from the hole dug
[415] in the beach is clean. Water is transported in gourds by the women for use in the settlement.

273 The Guaika do not prepare any alcoholic beverage.

276 Tobacco leaves are rolled up with ashes and placed in the mouth behind the lower lip. When there is a shortage of tobacco, /453/ they obtain a certain bitter root in the forest, strip the bark from it, and place it behind the lip to diminish the desire for tobacco.

/453 cont./

276 Several varieties of "yupo," of different degrees of strength, are prepared with leaves, bark, and ashes of bark. In the form of powder, it is blown by another into the nose of the one using it. The helper is the one who blows it, but the one using it fills the little tube and consequently is the one responsible with regard to the amount taken.

The "yopo" is connected with their religion and must be taken in order to carry out most of the sorcery, magic, or spells. Nevertheless, some become so addicted to the drug that they take it in great quantities and remain under its influence from midday until evening almost every day.

"Yopo" greatly enlarges the pupil, to the point of almost covering the entire iris of the eye.

The intoxication which it produces is similar to that caused by alcohol, but the effect passes sooner. An excessive dose may leave a person flat on his back, foaming at the mouth, and without strength enough to get up or to resist anything which might be done to him.

291

Clothing

The item of clothing which is fundamental for both men and women is a cord tied around the waist. Men are not considered decently dressed if they do not have the penis held up by the foreskin by the aforementioned cord.

[177] There is a desire to obtain trousers and shirts for protection against insects.

302

Ornaments

The predominant style of cutting the hair is that of shaving the upper part of the cranium, leaving a border of hair about five centimeters wide around it. The lower edge of /454/ this border of hair should come exactly to the upper edge of the ears and a short space above the eyebrows. The straighter and more abrupt the lines of the hair, the better is the haircut. Sometimes they let the hair grow over the whole head. Sometimes, in order to rid themselves of lice, they shave the entire head. The whole head may be shaved for other reasons as well.

/469 cont./

513 352 The third essential thing is the hammock. The Guaika must have a hammock in order to sleep at night. In his dwelling he has a cotton hammock or a hammock made of vines split longitudinally. On a hunting trip he may travel with his hammock made out of cords of vine or without carrying any. In this latter case, each night he will make a temporary hammock /470/ out of cords of bark, and, in case he stays in the same general area, he will use it for several nights. Then, in order to travel light, he will abandon this hammock of cords of bark and will go to his home, where his good hammock awaits him.

262 514 [251] The supply of food which the Guaika have is generally good and apparently quite nutritious. From time to time there is a shortage, and they do not accumulate reserves. Shortages are generally not too serious, for which reason they can usually bear the period of privation, subsisting from a neighboring settlement, which will be paid back for the visit when in its turn bad times come to it.

261 726 The complete loss of a "conuco" as a result of being constantly driven out of the area by an enemy is a quite serious matter. We observed a settlement (that of Bichaasatedi) subsisting with great difficulty for a year until its new "conuco" began to produce, after having been driven out of their former area by a hostile group (the one from Liakoatedi).

352 The Guaika do not make seats, but they rarely sit on the ground if they can avoid it. Generally they sit in a hammock or on a piece of firewood.

512 On an ordinary day the Guaika awake with the dawn. The wife prepares the roasted platanos for the whole family. Around 7:30 or 8:00 the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement go to work in the "conuco." Those who remain in the settlement in general rest the entire morning. Some few women gather in a party and go out to make firewood out of a dead tree, recently fallen. Those who work in the conuco begin to come back at noon. On the way to the settlement they bathe in the stream. After a brief rest each person roasts a few platanos for his lunch. Then, around 2:00 in the afternoon, the [276] "yopo" is prepared, and it is blown up the noses of many of the

/470 cont./

512 men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the
[276] spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves
[721] are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against
[176] the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

[535] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may
[533] continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when
[203] there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be
[574] crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Un-
551 til the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guahariho

middle of the camp, but they preferred to sleep under a simple palm roof resting on four poles which had been erected near the river as a temporary measure when the first advanced party arrived. There they hung their hammocks, made of the same pliable liana threads as their loin-cloths. Apart from their bows and arrows, these hammocks were the only possessions they brought with them. Thus they passed the night close to the river and their boat. They lighted fires and kept them burning all night. Not all of them slept in hammocks. Some squatted on the bare ground close to the fires, but those who used hammocks slung them low to get the maximum benefit of the fire's heat, for all slept naked.

The next morning they came over to the empty *rancho* where we gave them *manioc*, which they knew and appreciated as a special treat. But they refused the cooked food we offered them. One or two of them tasted it, but quickly spat it out. We offered them meat and learned that they cook their game without first skinning it. We gave them salt, which was new to them and which they spat out with dreadful grimaces. It was probably the salt that made them refuse our cooked food. They never tired of *manioc*, and we discovered that *manioc* and *machete* were the only two Spanish words they knew.

The Guaharibos have a curious and revolting habit of secreting in their mouths between the lower gums and the lip a roll of green tobacco as big as the stump of a fat cigar. They do not chew it; it remains there unbroken all day while two streams of greenish juice continuously trickle from the corners of their mouths. Even the children and sometimes the women indulge. The lump, which horribly deforms the lower part of the face, making it look hideous, may have contributed to their reputation for ferocity and savagery. The preparation of the tobacco quids is the duty of the women. The fresh tobacco leaf is rolled with wood-ash, and then the women chew and soak it in spittle until it reaches the right proportions and consistency before passing it on to their mates. Cardona told us this was the universal practice.

The Indians' fear and suspicion of us quickly dispersed.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waïka musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waïkas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waïkas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

ingness to use violence to obtain one's ends are considered desirable traits. Much of the behavior of the Yąnomamö can be described as brutal, cruel, treacherous, in the value-laden terms of our own vocabulary. The Yąnomamö themselves, however, as Napoleon Chagnon came to intimately know them in the year and a half he lived with them, do not all appear to be mean and treacherous. As individuals, they seem to be people playing their own cultural game, with internal feelings that at times may be quite divergent from the demands placed upon them by their culture. This case study furnishes valuable data for phrasing questions about the relationship between the individual and his culture.

The Yąnomamö appear to be constantly on the verge of extranormal behavior, as we define it, and their almost daily use of hallucinogenic drugs reinforces these drives to what might seem to the outside observer to be the limits of human capacity. Life in their villages is noisy, punctuated by outbursts of violence, threatened by destruction by enemies. To the ethnographer it is frightening, frustrating, disgusting, exciting, and rewarding, and in this case study the ethnographer lets the reader know how he feels. His honest reactions help us, as interested outsiders, to know the Yąnomamö.

This is a study of a fierce people who engage in chronic warfare. It is also a study of a system of controls that usually hold in check the drive toward annihilation. Conflict among the Yąnomamö is regulated through a series of graded escalations, from chest-pounding and side-slapping duels, through club fighting, spear throwing, to raiding in a state of war, to the ultimate—the *nomaboni*—massacre by treachery. The processes of avoidance, settlement, or escalation of disputes are discussed in detail in this case study. There are implications that range beyond the Yąnomamö, and beyond primitive peoples, to the "civilized" world in which we live, for we too live in a state of chronic warfare and are threatened by annihilation.

The Yąnomamö goad each other, within their own villages, to the brink of an explosion (and they goaded the ethnographer in the same way). This hostility is projected on a larger scale in the negotiating of alliances between villages. Each principal must establish the credibility of his own threats, as well as discover the point at which the opposite party's bluffing will dissolve into action. It is, as the author says, a politics of brinksmanship, all too familiar to us.

The study is, however, not confined to a description of regulated violence. Dr. Chagnon provides us with an unusually clear chapter on social organization, with the genealogical details of kinship. The models he produces in his analysis are cast in sharper relief because he also discusses deviations from these models in actual behavior. He links social organization with the processes of fission that produce new villages and the alliances that are created in response to the threat of annihilation, reinforced and validated by the mutual ceding of women between villages. Social organization is presented not as an abstraction but as a dynamic process interrelated with other significant dimensions of life. The anthropological novice will find the analysis of social organization detailed but, with close attention, entirely understandable. The more experienced anthropological reader will grasp the full theoretical implications of the analysis and will find the author's references to various debates in the anthropological literature stimulating.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

anthropological training at the University of Michigan that kinship was equivalent to society in primitive tribes and that it was a moral way of life, "moral" being something "good" and "desirable." I was determined to work my way into their moral system of kinship and become a member of their society.

My heart began to pound as we approached the village and heard the buzz of activity within the circular compound. Mr. Barker commented that he was anxious to see if any changes had taken place while he was away and wondered how many of them had died during his absence. I felt into my back pocket to make sure that my notebook was still there and felt personally more secure when I touched it. Otherwise, I would not have known what to do with my hands.

The entrance to the village was covered over with brush and dry palm leaves. We pushed them aside to expose the low opening to the village. The excitement of meeting my first Indians was almost unbearable as I duck-waddled through the low passage into the village clearing.

I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous, and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses. We arrived at the village while the men were blowing a hallucinogenic drug up their noses. One of the side effects of the drug is a runny nose. The mucus is always saturated with the green powder and the Indians usually let it run freely from their nostrils. My next discovery was that there were a dozen or so vicious, underfed dogs snapping at my legs, circling me as if I were going to be their next meal. I just stood there holding my notebook, helpless and pathetic. Then the stench of the decaying vegetation and filth struck me and I almost got sick. I was horrified. What sort of a welcome was this for the person who came here to live with you and learn your way of life, to become friends with you? They put their weapons down when they recognized Barker and returned to their chanting, keeping a nervous eye on the village entrances.

We had arrived just after a serious fight. Seven women had been abducted the day before by a neighboring group, and the local men and their guests had just that morning recovered five of them in a brutal club fight that nearly ended in a shooting war. The abductors, angry because they lost five of the seven captives, vowed to raid the Bisaasi-teri. When we arrived and entered the village unexpectedly, the Indians feared that we were the raiders. On several occasions during the next two hours the men in the village jumped to their feet, armed themselves, and waited nervously for the noise outside the village to be identified. My enthusiasm for collecting ethnographic curiosities diminished in proportion to the number of times such an alarm was raised. In fact, I was relieved when Mr. Barker suggested that we sleep across the river for the evening. It would be safer over there.

As we walked down the path to the boat, I pondered the wisdom of having decided to spend a year and a half with this tribe before I had even seen what they were like. I am not ashamed to admit, either, that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next day when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever decided to switch from civil en-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1–5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

111 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 , SQ18 Tanoama SQ18

302 829 412

"Razor grass"—a reed—also grows wild in the jungle. It is used by the Yąnomamö to cut their hair and to keep their tonsures cleanly shaved. A sliver of this reed is wrapped around the index finger in such a way that the sharp edge is exposed. The practiced hand can shave a head bald in a matter of minutes and with no more pain than would come from using a dull steel razor blade. This grass is also found around some of the villages, but appears not to be cultivated.

HALLUCINOGENIC DRUGS Another useful plant provided by the jungle is the *ebene* tree. The inner bark of this tree is used in the manufacture of one kind of hallucinogenic drug. The bark is scraped from the trunk after the exterior layer of bark is removed, or is scraped from the inside of the bark surface itself. This material, which is fairly moist, is then mixed with wood ashes and kneaded between the palms of the hands. Additional moisture is provided by spitting periodically into the pliable wad of drug. When the drug has been thoroughly mixed with saliva and ashes, it is placed on a hot piece of broken clay pot and the moisture driven out with heat. It is ground into a

276 •

[412]

Fig. 2-2. Women fishing in a dammed stream that has been poisoned by the juice of a wild liana. The poison is introduced upstream by the men, and the stunned fish are collected in baskets by the women.

224 139 415 516

276 [412] powder as it dries, the flat side of a stone axe[8] serving as the grinding pestle. The dried, green powder, no more than several tablespoons full, is then swept onto a leaf with a stiff feather. The men then gather around the leaf containing the drug, usually in the late afternoon, and take it by blowing the powder into each other's nostrils (see Fig. 2-3). A small quantity of the powder is introduced into the end of a hollow cane tube some 3 feet long. The tube is then flicked with the forefinger to scatter the powder along its length. One end of the tube is put into the nostril of the man taking the drug, and his helper then blows a strong blast of air through the other end, emitting his breath in such a fashion that he climaxes the delivery with a hard burst of air. Both the recipient and the blower squat on their haunches to do this. The man who had the drug blown into his nostrils grimaces, groans, chokes, coughs, holds his head from the pain of the air blast, and duck-waddles off to some leaning post. He usually receives two doses of the drug, one in each nostril. The recipient usually vomits, gets watery eyes, and develops a runny nose. Much of the drug comes back out in the nasal mucus that begins to run freely after the drug has been administered. Within minutes after the drug has been blown into a man's nose, he begins having difficulties focusing his eyes and starts to act intoxicated. The drug allegedly produces colored visions, especially around the periphery [787] of the visual field, and permits the user to enter into contact with his particular *hekura*, miniature demons that dwell under rocks and on mountains. The man begins to chant to the *hekura* when the drug takes effect, inviting them to come and live in his chest.

245 276 The Yąnomamö also cultivate a tree, *hisioma*, that produces hallucinogenic seeds. These are prepared in exactly the same manner as the noncultivated drug.

322 396 TROUGHS AND CANOES The Yąnomamö use the bark of another kind of tree to make a trough and a crude canoe, both of which are nearly identical in shape, size, and method of construction. The tree is beaten with clubs to loosen the bark. The bark is then removed in one piece and hauled back to the village. The ends are heated in a fire to make them pliable and folded back to make the ends of the container. They are held firm by lashing two sticks together, pinching the folded bark into a flat-nosed basin. The interior bark surface becomes the exterior surface of the soup container. If the container is to be used as a canoe, a crude framework of sticks is added to the inside, giving 501 it more stability. The craft is so crude and heavy that the Yąnomamö generally do not use it for any purpose other than the trip for which it was intended, usually a downstream trip, since it would be almost impossible to move against a current in this rough craft. It is easier to walk than to try to pole the canoe upstream. The canoe, hence, is usually discarded after it makes its maiden voyage. Another will be made when it is needed.

415 574 264 The container is pinioned to the ground with stakes if it is to be used as a soup trough. Each time a feast is held, one or more of these bark containers is made in front of the headman's house, filled with the boiled ripe plantain soup, and frequented by the hungry guests, who dip out the soup with gourd spoons. The trough is thrown on the village rubbage heap after the feast is over.

---

[172] [8]They find the stone axes when they make new gardens, explaining that the spirits left them behind for the Yąnomamö to use. This area was occupied in the distant past by tribes whose relationship to the present Yąnomamö is uncertain.

142
301
302
296

Fig. 2-3. Men blowing ebene, *a hallucinogenic drug, into each other's nostrils by means of a hollow tube.*

342

SHELTER All house materials likewise come from the jungle: poles, vines, and leaves. The Yąnomamö permanent house—*shabono*—is probably the most sophisticated manufacture produced by these people. Its construction requires considerable cooperation, planning, labor, and patience. Unfortunately, the *shabono* only lasts one or two years because the leaves begin to leak, or the entire village is burned to the ground in order to destroy the cockroaches, scorpions, spiders, and other vermin that infest the house. These can become such a nuisance that the roof is literally alive with bugs. Kąobawä's house was so badly infested at one point that the noise of thousands of scurrying roaches produced a constant, noticeable din in the village. Whenever someone got out of his hammock, the roof just above his head would suddenly come alive with roaches, disturbed by the movement below. As they scurried to safety, many of them would fall off, producing a shower of bugs on the occupants below. There were so many bugs that the increased activity above the moving person also increased the din, as if a sudden gust of wind had disturbed the dried leaves.

[136]

Each individual builds his own section of the *shabono*. The man usually does all the heavy work of locating and fetching poles for the frame, placing them into the ground or tying them overhead, and weaving the numerous leaves into the roof thatch. The wife helps by gathering the leaves and vines used in the construction.

[462]

[351]

The first step in building a new *shabono* is the selection of the site. This is usually some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
291
302
516
756
276 *
342

Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura*—demons.*

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *hedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yąnomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

769
266
628 *

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *hekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *hekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *hekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *hekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *hekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *hekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *hekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharariwä, Kąobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kąobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kąobawä's younger wife. Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kąobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yąnomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kąobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

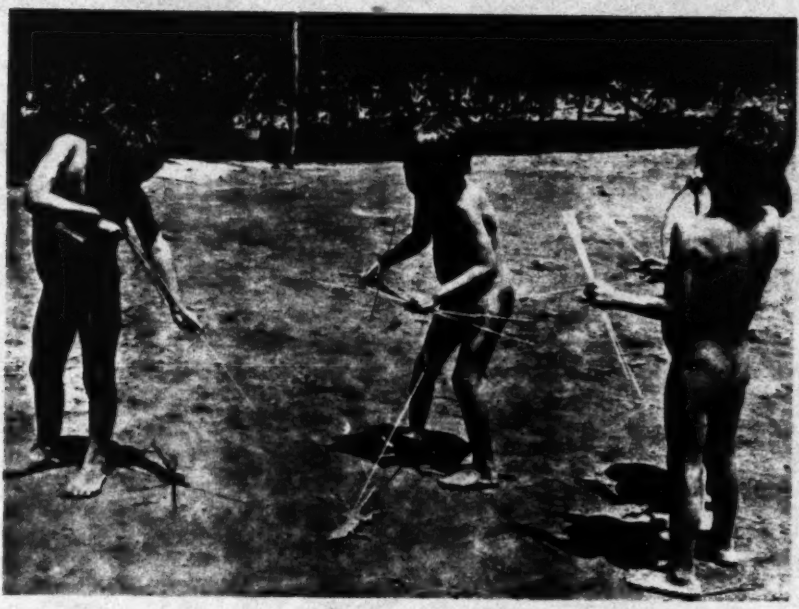


Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwä, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwä's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwä went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwä recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kąobawä had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwä before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kąobawä disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

On another occasion one of Kąobawä's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kąobawä managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kąobawä stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3–9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

Fig. 3–9. Kąobawä (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been hashed on the head and blood is streaming down his neck.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
276
726

Fig. 5-3. One of Kaobawä's Shamatari allies, painted black, views the warriors lining up through his bowstring. He waits his turn to join them, a wad of tobacco protruding from his mouth.

at some point between their own village and the enemy's. These smaller groups must 726
contain at least four men, six, if possible. This is so because the raiders retreat in a pattern. While the others flee, two men will lie in ambush, shooting any pursuers that might follow. They, in turn, flee, while their comrades lie in ambush to shoot at their pursuers.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
516
411
765
252
926

Fig. 5–4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Damowã, slain Monou-teri headman*

726
701
726
114
722
#628
726
[765]

located the enemy, but Paruriwã refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

The Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri raided against the Patanowã-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowã-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Damowã were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Everyone in the village gathered around the ashes and wept aloud. The bamboo quiver of the dead man was brought to the gourds, smashed, the points taken out, and the quiver itself burned. While this was going on, the mourners were in a state of frenzy, pulling at their hair and striking themselves, screaming and wailing. One of his brothers took a snuff tube and blew some of the drug into the gourds containing the ashes (see Fig. 5–4). The tube was then cut in half, one of the dead man's arrow points being used to measure the point at which the snuff tube was cut. I was never able to determine whether the arrow points taken from the quiver were possessions of the dead man or were, in fact, the points removed from his body. There were ten of them, and my informants were too touchy about the matter to be questioned in detail: I received affirmative nods to both questions. In any event, the ten bamboo points were distributed to the raiders, who fondled them and examined them carefully. Each man brought one with him on the raid that followed this ceremony. The severed snuff tube and the gourds of ashes were wrapped in leaves and put back in the thatch of the brother's house.

That night I think I became emotionally close to the Yąnomamö for the first time. I remained in my hammock and gave up collecting genealogies. As darkness fell Damowĩ's brothers began weeping in their hammocks. I lay there and listened, not bothering to tape record it or photograph it or write notes. One of the others asked me why I was not making a nuisance of myself as usual, and I told him that my innermost being (*bubii*) was cold—that is, I was sad. This was whispered around the village, and as each person heard it, he looked over at me. The children who inevitably accumulate around my hammock were told by their elders to go home and not bother me anymore. I was *bushuo*, in a state of emotional disequilibrium, and had finally begun to act like a human being as far as they were concerned.

The next day the raiders lined up, shouted in the direction of the Patanowĩ-teri, heard the echo come back, and left the village to collect their provisions and hammocks. I allowed them to talk me into taking the entire raiding party up the Mavaca River in my canoe. There, they could find high ground and reach the Patanowĩ-teri without having to cross the numerous swamps that lay between the two villages. There were only ten men in the raiding party, the smallest the war party can get and still have maximum effectiveness. As we traveled up the river, the younger men began complaining. One had sore feet, and two or three others claimed to have malaria. They wanted to turn back because I had forgotten to bring my malaria pills with me as I had promised. Hukoshikuwĩ (Fig. 5–5), a brother of the slain headman, silenced their complaints with an angry lecture on cowardice. I let them all out at the mouth of a stream they intended to follow. They unloaded their seemingly enormous supply of plantains and politely waited for me to leave. I sat among them and chatted, thinking that they were doing essential tasks as they fiddled with arrows and retied their provisions. Finally, one of them hinted that I should be leaving because I had a long trip and might not get home before dark. It was then that I discovered they were dallying, trying to be polite to me. They all thanked me for taking them upstream in my canoe, the only time Yąnomamö ever expressed gratitude to me, and I got in my canoe to leave. Hukoshikuwĩ came down to untie my rope for me and shove me off the bank. He watched, silently, as my canoe got caught up in the current and drifted away. He looked frightened, reluctant, anxious, but determined. After I had gotten my motor started and was under way, I looked back to see him turn, pick up his plantains and weapons, and disappear into the jungle. Even

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 137]

/21 cont./

411 184 there is a Xamatâri poisoned arrow in the possession of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:7).

411 191 114 [439] Métraux writes with reference to the poisoned arrows: "Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is commonly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is traded throughout wide regions" /cited in English/ (95). Among

95. Métraux, 1949, p. 242.

Karaiben /Carib/ tribes in Guiana, poisoned arrows which are shot with a bow are not very often encountered, for they are documented only for the Makuxí /Macusi/ by Richard Schomburgk (96) and for

96. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 428.

411 191 the Trio by de Goeje (97). It should be mentioned in this connec-

97. de Goeje, 1906, p. 15; Pl. V, Figs. 10-12; Pl. XI, Fig. 22.

tion, however, that many Karaiben, for example, the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, shoot small poisoned arrows with a blowgun; this weapon is unknown to the Surára and Pakidái.

● 278 Arrow poisons:

[192] [184] According to what my Surára informants reported to me, they use three kinds of poison of different strengths, all of which, however, they designate by the general name -- mamokôrimaunápe. This name is almost the same as the one which the Waiká, according to Zerries, use for arrow poison -- mamokordi (98).

98. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/21 cont./

278 The strongest poison is said to be obtained from the milk of a tree which, in the language of the Surára, is called -- patemá. [824] This tree was not pointed out to me; I was told that it only grows in a very distant region. To prepare an allegedly weaker poison the milk of the -- tototo -- (Strychnos toxifera) is used.

[415] As soon as it is obtained, the particular type of milk is [413] boiled in a clay vessel. This makes it turn black, and subsequently it is painted on the arrow points by means of a wooden stick which [415] is wrapped with cotton. Special bags -- kanabó --, which are made [824] out of the leaves of the acaf palm (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) and sewed with lianas, are used for storing them. There is never anything left of the poison itself.

278 438 I was also told that of the tribes allied with the Xiriána only the Surára were entrusted with the preparation of these two types of poison. All the Indians who were friendly with them, even the Xiriána, thus obtained their poisoned arrows from them by barter. The Surára chief Hewemão, however, emphasized that the detested Waiká also knew how to prepare arrow poisons, which they used [114] above all to shoot at human beings. The latter statement is confirmed by Zerries (99).

99. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

278 /22/ The third type of arrow poison is the weakest. It is made out of snuff powder -- epená -- (see pp.190/193, which is mixed with water and boiled. This method is also supposed to be familiar to the Pakidái and Xiriána.

Unfortunately, I could not take part in the preparation of the poisons, for, with the exception of the chief /Fig. 3 appears here/ and his brother, only a few older men are familiar with them and they are kept strictly secret even from all the other members of the tribe. The meager information about them is limited to oral statements.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Barbasco is a kind of liana which can grow to impressive dimensions—attaining a stem up to eight inches thick. The Indians cut it in the forest and collect a large pile together at a convenient place for pressing. Their press is made from one of those dead trunks of hardwood which are found in such quantity in the forest and some wooden clubs specially cut for the purpose. The liana stems are pounded and then done up into bundles so that they can be easily taken to the place to be fished, which may be some way off. Here they are immersed several times in the river, releasing a milky juice which gives the water a whitish opalescence. The juice of the liana reduces the air content of the water through oxidization, and the fish very soon come floating up to the surface—asphyxiated but not poisoned.

This procedure is a very common one among the Indians, whose fishing follows a two-year cycle—this being the minimum time needed for each stretch of water to become repopulated after the use of barbasco. It goes without saying that this extract of liana loses its efficacy in anything bigger than a small stream. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity the Indians will attempt to fish medium-sized rivers in this way, banding together to collect huge quantities of liana. The fish taken are then smoked and wrapped in banana leaves, after which they will keep for months.

Anai and his men had to go far afield with their barbasco before they found a suitable place. The probability was that the Shirians had already been at work, unknown to anyone, near the source of the Canaracuni. We therefore left him to it after all, and returned to camp early one morning, just in time to meet the plane that was circling the field.

VI

On Sunday, the 24th June, a big plane came into sight over the rim of the Sarisariñama mountains—towards the east where they merge into the Socsoc range. It swooped down to about three hundred feet and then went off without giving any signal. The excitement among the Indians on the spot—Luis Antonio was one of them and he explained the nature of the machine to his kinsfolk—was doomed to disappointment. And time and again this story of the aeroplane continued to arouse our hopes, only to dampen them once more.

A week later it appeared, at the same time—so suddenly and unexpectedly

/464 cont./

411 The children make small bows, generally for their games, but
857 they also shoot lizards, which are good bait for fishing. These
[824] bows may be made of several types of wood, but rarely of palm.
The bows of the men are always made of palm.

411 Macanas are used by women for fishing. They are also used
[226] by men in their attacks on other settlements with which they have had more or less friendly relations, for the purpose of recovering the wife or daughter held captive there.

[531]

/Fig. 7/

Poisons

278
[226] A variety of poisons for fishing are used by the Guaika /Waica/. One comes from a vine, another from the husk of a prickly nut, and the third from the bark of a certain thick tree.

[411] Arrow points are poisoned with the poison from the bark of a vine. They scrape the bark, and the scrapings, /465/ wrapped in leaves, are kept dry by hanging them over the current of air from a fire until they are needed.

On the day when an Indian is going to prepare poison, every man of the settlement gets ready to prepare a set of arrow points to be poisoned.

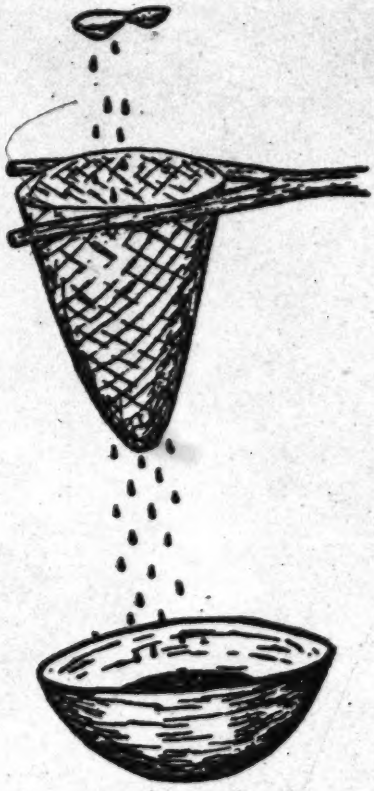
The preparer of the poison begins by pulverizing the scrapings of bark between the palms of his hands. He constantly utters a
[415] series of shouts and grunts while doing this. Then he places the pulverized bark in a funnel made of leaves, into which hot water

/465 cont./

278 [415] is poured, a few drops at a time. The liquid which seeps through is collected in a totuma. Fig. 8 shows the procedure. /466/ Several fires are lighted around, and after a short time the firewood is scattered so that there will be no flames, but only burning embers.

278 411 Then the sets of arrowheads which are to be poisoned are stuck into bundles made of leaves and placed in such a way that the points remain over the embers. The poisonous liquid is then smeared on the points, in small quantities each time, drying immediately. All the poison is smeared on the points on the day it is prepared. The accompanying Fig. 9 /see p. 37/ shows the procedure. /Fig. 9 appears here./

278 415



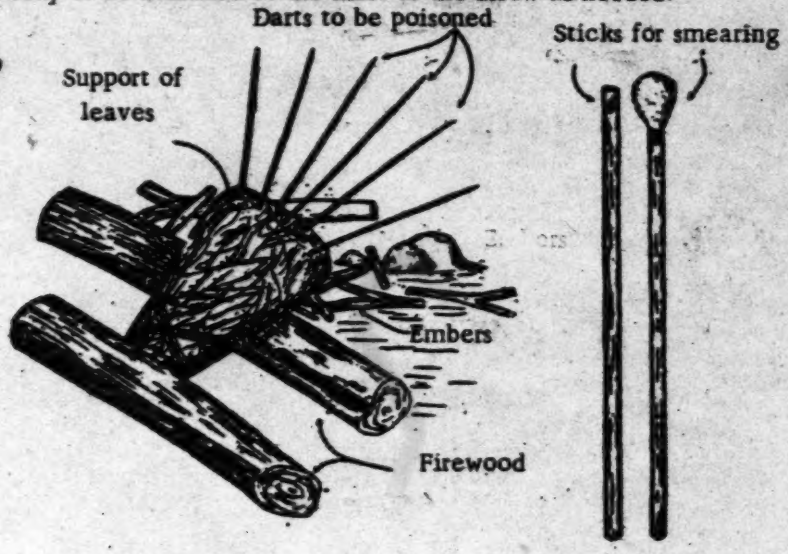
/Fig. 8/

/466 cont./

278 411 Some of the sticks used for applying the poison to the arrow-heads are of palm and have a hole near one of the ends for holding poison. Others have a wad of cotton or of any absorbent material tied to the end in order to be saturated with the poison.

411 When the poison has dried on the arrow points, the latter are kept in the quiver, which consists of a bamboo tube, always ready to be attached to the shaft of the arrow as needed.

278 411



/Fig. 9/

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4]For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5]The cultivated palm, *pijiguao*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

278 layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curare point after it has been attached to the arrow.

415 411 [824] [438] [239] Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches. The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

372 [824] The Yąnomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

412 [237] The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yąnomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood [314] by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel [284] chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

226 The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yąnomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Yamatari

/17 cont./

411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 curatella (Cecropia peltata), which gives the bow a beautiful,
237 shiny appearance.
824 The bowstring -- penahitábe --, which consists of three
411 strands of curauá (Bromeliaceae) fiber strings twisted to the right,
283 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66).

66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semi-circular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also

67. Meyer, no date, p. 31.

devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here./ /19/ Uraricapara,
411 Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustra-
184
114

68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.

tions of the Xiriâna bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[Text continues on P. 39]

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Xamatari

/19 cont./

411 [249] [824] [2247] which the Surára and Pakidái plant in the vicinity of their malokas on the upper Aracá and the middle Demini, respectively. All five of the arrow types used by them have the same feathering -- jaromahîk --, which consists of two halves of the black wing feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.) -- parurí. They are placed against the cane in such a way that they alternately show the upper and the lower side of the feather. At several places on the hand end they [283] are held by two threads of the tight winding of Bromelia fibers -- pemakasiurakama. Inside this winding, which is supposed to strengthen the weak cane against the pressure of the bowstring, there is stuck on the end of the cane in addition a small wooden peg fastened with resin, which has a notch in its thickened outer part, which is set on the bowstring. This is supposed to prevent the cane from splitting when the arrow flies off. The upper end of the feather shaft is wound with a second, narrower winding, in which, between the two halves of the arrow feathers, two additional small black mutum feathers are frequently stuck as ornaments (Fig. 2f).

411 184 114 The feathering described belongs to the Guiana type of feathering, according to the classification by Meyer (73). Koch-

73. Meyer, no date, p. 8.

Grünberg (74) confirms it for the Xiriána, and it can also be recog-

74. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (4, 7, 8).

nized on the arrows which that investigator brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:33-42). The arrows in the Alfred Boeldecke Collection (56.15:5-7) in the same museum and the drawings by Vinci (75) show that the Xamatári likewise use this

75. Vinci, 1956, p. 146, Fig. a.

Surára Pakidái Xamatári Karimé

/19 cont./

411 184 114 feathering, and, according to Salathé, it is also to be found among the Karimé (76).

76. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Figs. 3 and 4.

411 There is an astonishingly wide range of variation for the arrow points, of which the following five different types occur among the Surára and Pakidái:

1. Kantaná -- It is a wide, lancet-shaped bamboo point, 25-28 centimeters long, both /20/ ends of which come to a point; the [531] width in the center is 3-4 centimeters. The upper side is rounded off, and the lower one, occasionally somewhat hollowed out, is [283] sometimes painted with black dots. It is inserted in the slightly split arrow shaft and tightly wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2a). Since the arrows with this large point have particularly great penetrating power, they are used chiefly for the hunting of tapirs and jaguars; moreover, they are used for warlike encounters. Every Surára and Pakidái man always carries two or three such reserve points in his quiver.

411 184 114 Salathé found similar points among the Karimé (77) and

77. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 299/300 and Fig. 3b.

Vinci among the Xamatári (78). Moreover, they are confirmed

78. Vinci, 1956, pp. 145 and 146, Fig. b.

for the latter Indians by a specimen in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte. (Alfred Boeldecke Collection, [531] 6.15:5. Length, 23 centimeters; width in the center, three centimeters. On the lower hollowed-out side, this point is painted with a black, serpentine line.)

Shiriana
Surára
Pakidai

/20 cont./

411 184 114 [283]

The lancet-shaped bamboo points of the Xiriâna investigated by Koch-Grünberg, on the other hand, have a somewhat different shape. Here the two ends do not come to a point, as among the Surára, Pakidái, Karimé, and Xamatári, but rather one end is thickened, hollowed out, and, wound with Bromelia fibers, is set on a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (79). Three such

79. Koch-Grünberg 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (5, 8).

Xiriana arrow points of the Koch-Grünberg Collection in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte have, moreover, the respectable length of 34 centimeters (12.25:37) and 35 centimeters (12.25:34-35).

Inasmuch as the Surára and Pakidái, according to their own statements, borrowed their lancet-shaped bamboo points from the Xiriâna, the ensuing alteration process is quite significant, since, indeed, the point is no longer mounted on a wooden shaft, but is inserted directly into the arrow cane.

Furthermore, lancet-shaped bamboo points have been confirmed for the Waiká by Zerries (80) and Schuster (81), but it is

80. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

81. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

not clear from their texts whether this is the same type as that of the Surára, Pakidái, etc. or that of the Xiriâna.

411 171

How greatly the lengths and attachment possibilities of such bamboo points vary among South American Indians is very clearly shown by the comprehensive investigations of Meyer (82) and

82. Meyer, no date, pp. 18, 19, 25, 27, 30, 36, 37, 47, 48, 49, and Plates I, 11, 13; II, 16; III, 14; IV, 8, 15.

/20 cont./

Métraux (83).

83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

2. Rahaká -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the kantaná (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and cutias (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

3. Kantarím -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84). Meyer mentions that it is

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanoámi group, they have furthermore

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

been documented for the Xiriána (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88),

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

/22 cont./

411 524 [824] Boys' bow:

The boys' bow -- hauoá -- is 80-90 centimeters long and consists of a curved branch of the paioôrimá tree, which also furnishes the material for the bird arrow-points. As in the case of all branch-bows, the arms are of different lengths, so that an unsymmetrical shape is produced, which affects the accuracy of the

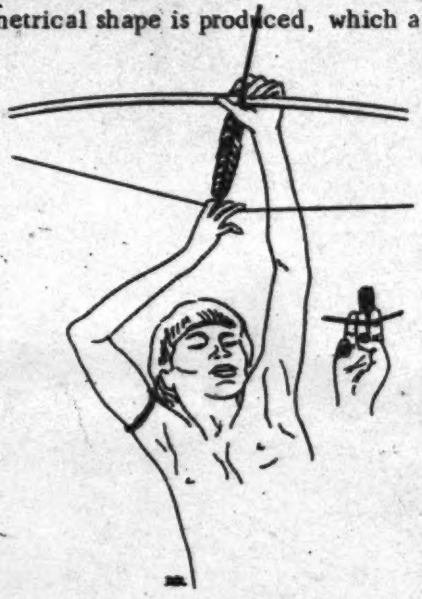


Fig. 3. Position for shooting with the bow.

shot. This is of no consequence, however, since these are merely [283] [824] toy bows for small boys. On both ends the bow staff is tapered and set off to receive the bowstring -- pebatábe -- which is made out of a liana (cipó-titica) (Fig. 2g).

Boys' arrows:

[192] [824] [237] [283] [192] Ruhumaçík is the name of the thin arrow, 80-90 centimeters long, for boys, which the fathers make out of the wood of the inaja palm Maximiliana regia Mart.) -- kareximací. The feathering -- jaronahík -- consists of two small halves of mutum feathers, which are lashed to the shaft with a thread of cotton. Instead of an arrow point mounted separately, the arrow here is only slightly pointed (Fig. 2h); the designation for it is -- peimaçikenâme.

372 /25 cont./
(see p.116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side. The hole is enlarged by the drilling. There is loosened a fine dust which slowly starts to smoke and glow and, by way of the groove, falls on tinder previously placed next to it (dry grass, leaves, or dry splinters of bamboo), which quickly catches fire. Cautiously the man blows upon it, and a short time later a flame leaps up. This requires a great deal of practice and skill, however; often he
[171] has blisters on his hands after drilling. This is the most widely distributed method of producing fire in South America (120). In their malokas

120. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 118-125 and Map 13.

the Surára and Pakidái preserve the fire.

● 283

5. Twining and Spinning

[824] For making thread and cord the leaf fibers of a Bromeliaceae, curauá (121), and cotton are used, the latter, however, only in more recent times.

[114] [171]

121. Koch-Grünberg also verifies the use of this material for the northwestern Brazilian tribes (Koch-Grünberg, 1910, p. 210).

[462] While to this day the curauá fibers are worked, mostly by men and only occasionally by women, with the right hand against the right thigh in the direction of the knee, to produce thread twisted to the right (122), a spindle is used to make cotton thread,

[171]

122. Threads which are not spun with the spindle are twisted to the right among most of the South American tribes. There are exceptions, however, for among a few nations of northwestern South America threads twisted to the left are more prevalent, and

/26 cont./

283
[171]

122. (cont.)
in Guiana as well as in the Gran Chaco both thread twisted to the right and thread twisted to the left appear (Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 50).

[462] with which, however, a left twist is associated. The treatment of cotton -- xinarí --, starting with picking, then drying and bleaching, removal of the seeds, loosening and plucking apart, up to the spinning, is women's work.

The spindle -- xinarikã -- consists of a smoothed stick -- ruhú -- 30-35 centimeters long, for which the rib of a palm leaf is also often used, on the upper end of which a small barb -- nhobaná -- of the same material is attached with a cotton thread. [321] The disk-shaped whorl -- tankarã --, made by the men out of bone [322] or wood, is slipped onto the stick from below and rests in the cen- [462] ter of it. To prevent it from slipping off when the woman holds her spindle in a vertical position, there is a wrapping of cotton below the whorl.

283
171 From the description it may be seen that this is a typical Guianese variation of the "Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ spindle." "Only in Guiana and on the Amazon River," Frödin and Nordenskiöld write in their study, "Uber Zwirnen und Spinnen bei den Indianern Südamerikas /On Twining and Spinning among the Indians of South America/, "do we find the spindles provided with barbs, which, however, differ from the other Bakaïrí spindles only in that the spindle whorl rests near the center of the stick (Fig. 40)" (123).

123. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 24.

In two other respects, however, the spindles of the Surára and Pakidái differ somewhat, for among them the stick is not thickened at the bottom, and the whorl is held by a wrapping of cotton.

283 /26 cont./

171 Up to now there has been only one parallel to this, namely
184 a Quechua spindle (124). The spindle of the Karimé, on the
114

124. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

basis of the drawing in Salathé s article, seems to resemble those of the Surára and Pakidái (125). Unfortunately, Salathé does

125. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305, Fig. 14.

not indicate whether the whorl is held in position by a wrapping put on below it or perhaps by means of resin or wax, as is the case, for example, for the spindles of the Chama and Pauserna (126).

126. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 26/27.

283 This already exhausts the comparisons with regard to the securing of the whorl by means of a wrapping, wood, or wax, so that no conclusions about origin and distribution can as yet be drawn about it.

283 During the time I lived with the Surára and Pakidái, I
123 found that many women preferred to use the lids of my empty powder-boxes and skin-cream jars as whorls, /27/ and they preferred to spin the surgical cotton which I carried with me rather than their cultivated cotton, because, they said, the threads spun from it were stronger and more durable.

283 Spinning is done in the following way: The woman sits on a thin tree trunk with the lower part of her legs bent back. The cotton that is to be worked hangs over her left shoulder and from there the thread is fed out with the fingers of the left hand. She first rolls the spindle, on the barb of which she has fastened the thread, in a horizontal position with the palm of her right hand on her slightly sloping right thigh, moving her hand rapidly from the knee upwards. This gives the thread a

/27 cont./

283 left twist. Then she lets the spindle fall to a vertical position between her legs and rotate on the ground.

[170] This method belongs to Variation I of the Bakaïri spinning (127), which is extraordinarily characteristic for the

127. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 34 and 46.

Guiana tribes and which is described in a similar manner by Koch-Grünberg (128), Frödin-Nordenskiöld (129), Im Thurn (130),

128. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

129. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 52 and 56.

130. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 282.

and Roth (131).

131. Roth, 1929, p. 23 and Pl. I and II.

283 436 437 The spun threads are wound into round balls, which in this form are used as tribute payment to the Xiriâna (see pp. 159/160) and also represent popular trade items, exactly as in the case of the Arekuná-Taulipang and their neighbors (132).

132. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

283 174 The cotton, the spindle, and the technique of spinning it to the left presumably reached the Surára and Pakidái from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes by way of the Xiriâna. The fact that cotton and spindle represent imports becomes clear in particular from the technique of the left twist, since in the case of the original material, the curauá fibers, the threads are always twisted to the right. Im Thurn already points out that in Guiana

[171] E114)

283
191
194
114

/27 cont./
it is chiefly the Karaiben who spin thread out of cotton, and he believes that they also brought along cotton and the spindle when they immigrated into Guiana (133). The latter assumption

133. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 287.

has, however, not yet been proved, for on the upper Río Negro Koch-Grünberg met Karaiben tribes who were acquainted with neither cotton nor the spindle. To an inquiry by Frödin and Nordenskiöld about this, he replied in a letter as follows: "It is an absolute mystery to me why the Indians on the upper Rio Negro do not plant cotton for spinning and have no spindles. It would be important to investigate how far this absence of spindles extends down the Rio Negro and into its tributaries, which, to be sure, from the Curicuriary downward, are almost completely unknown ethnographically" (134).

134. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 21, footnote 1.

283
184
174
114

Within the Yanonámi group, cotton and spinning are known, in addition to the Xiriána, Surára, and Pakidái, also to the Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri, and Karauateri, members of whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái, and also to the Karimé (135) and the Waiká, who, according to Schuster,

135. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 14.

presumably became acquainted with cotton through the Karaiben Makiritare (136).

136. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

/27 cont./

6. Dress and Ornament

291 a) Hip cords and belts

From the age of four on both sexes constantly wear a hip cord -- nhamaaxí -- which is made by the women, but occasionally also by men, out of curauá fibers, the original material (see p. 55), or out of cotton. For the former, two strands are twisted to the right, and for the latter, to the left. The old technique of the right twist in the working of curauá fibers was thus retained, in spite of the adoption of cotton. There is, however, a further important difference. Whereas the hip cord of cotton represents the everyday dress, so to speak, /28/ the one made out of curauá fibers is at present used almost solely for ceremonial purposes.

All male Surára and Pakidái tie the penis up by means of the hip cord, which is done before donning it by tying a knot and drawing the foreskin through it.

With the hip cord these Indians feel clothed, and they therefore never take it off, not even for sleeping or bathing. Once when I was out hunting with the war chief of the Pakidái, Porêhiwõ, he happened to tear his hip cord. He modestly stepped behind the nearest tree immediately and tied it together again. Later he told me that it would be the most flagrant offense against good form to walk about without the hip cord. The women would then cover their faces and scream loudly. Hence a man may never appear with his penis hanging down, and it would be a positively execrable crime, which is punished by blows, if he exposed his glans to the eyes of women and girls.

This shows that among the Surára and Pakidái the hip cord in general, for women and girls also use it without covering anything with it, and the tying up of the penis in particular are associated with feelings of propriety (137). I am herewith able to

137. The hip cord is never used as a device for carrying utilitarian articles, as Baldus noted, for example, among the Tapirapé

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
[192] xinarfke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarí -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
[824] out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
[531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

/37 cont./

301
531

13a

13b

Fig. 13a-b. Chest string-bundle of the women (detail and diagram of the painting).

301 c) Cords for arms, wrists, and legs

From the age of four on both sexes at times wear upper-arm cords, and women and girls in addition wrist- and leg-cords, which are made of curauá fibers or cotton. It was also definitely established that the two-strand curauá-fiber cords twisted to the right are the original objects, whereas the two-strand cotton cords twisted to the left are of more recent date. Moreover, here, too, it was observed that a strengthening effect is attributed to the plant fiber.

[283] [824] [856]

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherias, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

• 283 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727] [184]

4: Wilbert--64 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Nabudub

291
142
516
854

Nabudub Indians in front of their house, an imitation of a Makiritare house.

142
291
352
516
594
283

A Nabudub (Sanemá) nuclear family in front of its house. The hammocks are of vegetal fiber.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

The Samatari were eating all sorts of things: there were stacks of little green bundles, which would have made the smiling Sempronio die with envy. (Where he had disappeared to, we did not know.) These provisions were piled up under tiny roofs of leaves, beside little pyramids of nuts, green fruit, varicoloured fruit, hard fruit and soft fruit. The grown-ups and children were tucking in without more ado. There were white grubs, a little on the hairy side, that had the exquisite savour of crayfish; putrid worms from the Mauritius Palm, looking like *gnocchi*; earthworms, squeezed and cleaned, their flesh the colour of loin of pork, or when they were served in heaps, rosy like spaghetti and tomato sauce. There were whole honeycombs taken from the wild bees, the cells full of brood; the look and smell of them was like rich pine-kernels;[1] bags of honey, which when mixed with water gave a cool, slightly heady drink; small snake-cutlets, like fleshy eels; gigantic Maripa Palm hearts broken into chunks, like crumbly Parmesan cheese; mounds of cut tapir meat and smoked slices of peccary, which were black as coal outside but all rosy and fragrant within, like the heart of a spring lamb. There were bundles of fish dried and toasted over the fire, which ate with something of the flavour of almond cake, though it was more exotic. . . .

The leaf-wrapped viands hovered sizzling over the flames, and the greasy savours breathed out into the night air, so that the animal-lair atmosphere of the camp was wreathed in a homely smell of cooking. But for our part there was only hunger, stretching like a wide sea whose tides beat against the fertile shore of the Samatari land, with its sweet-smelling mountains and fruit and game and its propitiation to the gods of plenty—the duly gnawed bones hung up over the fire lest the smell of them should warn off the next day's bag.

But we, in our ocean of hunger, had at least one satisfaction—our hammocks, our warm and welcoming hammocks, made of stout cloth. They swung like glorious battleships over the wretched little flotilla of the tiny Samatari contraptions.

The Samatari, whose possessions are so simple as to be almost non-existent, have three types of hammock, depending upon the resources of the country round about, since they never carry their sleeping gear with them but always improvise it on the spot, except in very special cases where the rich and great affect a snobbish luxury. The most elementary model is composed of three or four strips of the flexible bark of the Annona which is known in Guiana as

[1] Used in Italian cooking.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Yara-Yara. These strips are a few centimetres wide, their ends being twisted into a rope and tied to two trees. Less common is the hammock made from the rootstock of an iriartea, the palm which tends to cling slyly to the traveller with its thorns, lurking on the young shoots. The rootstock often lies above ground, twice the length of a man's arm and almost as thick. It is carefully stripped of its spines, which come off easily, and then clubbed to a pulp. In this way the very strong fibres are easily removed. They spread open very readily, and the Samatari are careful not to pulp the ends, leaving seven or eight inches of the rootstock intact so that it can be hung on to any convenient spur on a tree.

Finally there is the hammock de luxe, the one the snobs carry with them because it takes a certain amount of time to make and its more select raw material cannot be found everywhere. This is a superlatively strong liana known in Spanish as *alambrito*, or wire, because of its strength and its habit of growth. Quite apart from its use for hammocks among the Shirians, this liana is one of the main forest products, being used for all sorts of purposes by all the inhabitants, from the most civilized to the most primitive. It serves for binding the walls of huts, for weaving and basketwork and, as we have said, for hammocks of a superior quality.

This liana is about as thick as a pencil and easy to peel and slip open into a number of pliable white strands rounded on one side and flat on the other. About a hundred of these strands, banded together halfway between the two ends with twisted bark rope, make the hammock. It is strong and springy, but alas, like all Shirian hammocks, unstable, uncomfortable, and very small. Stretched out in them, with the imprint cutting deeply into their skin, the Samatari pass their nights without stirring, their feet on a higher level than their heads as if they were following the most modern therapeutic principles, smoking themselves in the piquant fumes of their fire, which is kept continually burning and replenished by the more youthful members of the tribe. The fire is their blanket—'the blanket of the night'—as they themselves call it.

▼

At some point during the night, Solituan turned up wearing my trousers. After they had made their mysterious rounds, it seemed, they had fallen to

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

there for the taking in the forest and the supply, from both animal and vegetable sources, is inexhaustible.

The bow is of surprising dimensions. It is six feet six inches long, this being equivalent, considering the height of the archer, to nine feet nine inches for us. The simplest pattern is made from the *sehe* palm. They also use a hardwood—from a tree known in Venezuela as the 'golden pole'. This is very rare, almost as rare among the Indians as metal. But the finest bows of all, possessed by the few and worth a fortune, are made from the corozo tree, the *lahsa* of the Shirians. This wood is extremely hard but very fibrous, with the elasticity of a steel spring. The shaping and fining down of these bows, and the making of the arrows, is the one form of craftsmanship known to the Samatari. With this they occupy themselves during the rainy season, under rough roofs of palm leaves. A tree belonging to the Moraceae family furnishes the very tough fibre for the bowstrings: it is found all along the river-banks and in the forest glades.

The slender arrows, six foot six inches long, are made from a cane cultivated in the secret depths of the forest, though it grows naturally on any of the river creeks which flood regularly. Curassow or guan feathers, split in half, are bound on to the cane.

There are three types of arrow-head, according to the purpose for which they are to be used. The lightest is a splinter cut from the shinbone of a monkey, firmly fixed to the end of a short stick, in such a way as to form a sharp-pointed prong. This is used on small animals, and especially for birds and fish. There are numbers of big fish, like the *pampano* and *surapiri*, which lie near the surface so that a slight rippling of the water betrays their presence. The arrow which pierces them cannot be shaken out, and its length and weight make it difficult for the wounded fish to get very far.

Another kind of point is virtually a miniature spear fashioned out of a very hard bamboo cane. Very sharp, and razor-edged, it will strike deep into the most resistant flesh, the toughest hide. The Samatari use this on the bigger game, such as tapir, and also for war—though for the latter purpose it is superseded by a specialized warhead. This is a sharpened splinter of palm wood—the same as goes to the making of the bows—dipped in a red poison made from the bark of a certain tree. A series of rings, four or five of them, are notched out round the arrow-tip, so that it is weakened at these places. If the tip strikes bone on entering the body, or if the arrow is pulled out, it snaps at one of these weakened parts, leaving the broken tip embedded in the flesh so that

/455 cont./

283 Cotton is spun by means of a hand spindle. This thread is then twisted into three-thread cords.

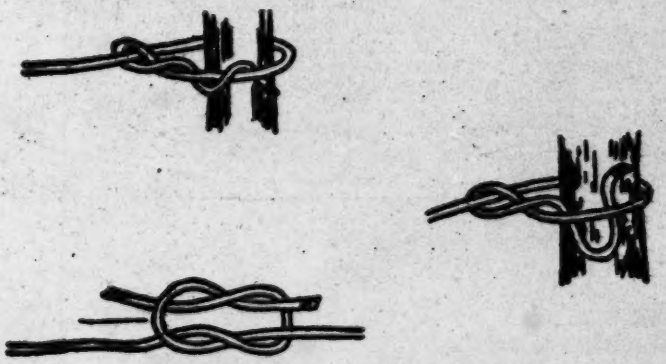
Various fibers of bark are twisted to make bowstrings or fishing lines. These same fibers of bark are frequently plaited to make hammock strings.

The fiber of a certain plant similar to the pineapple is also extracted and twisted, producing a very tough cord.

284 The knots which the Guaika /Waica/ make are very simple and practical. The timber hitch is employed in all cases in which a flexible cord is used. This includes the stringing of the bows. The hammock is hung using a timber slipknot. This knot is made in such a way that it can be instantly untied by a pull. The square knot is used to join the ends of two cords. In the accompanying Fig. 2, we show drawings of the three knots concerned.

289 /456/ A band of bark is made for carrying children. First they obtain a stick of the right size, which is beaten with another stick for several days. The scaly outer bark comes off. Finally, the smaller end of the cylindrical bark is inserted into the larger end (of greater diameter), and the two are then firmly sewed together. The result is a band or strip without rough or cutting edges, which remains flexible and useful for many months.

284



/Fig. 2/

/463 cont./

373 416 484 as well as to light the path. Torches of gum and resin are also used sometimes on the paths during the night, but the common type of torch is the fagot of tied pieces of wood. A group which travels at night (as occurs when they are returning after nightfall from the work of fishing) may carry only one torch. Then they stop from time to time to arrange the joined sticks and to revive the fire, keeping it from going out.

373 374 The wood fire is the principal source of light and heat in the settlements. The fires are kept lighted during the entire night, both to produce warmth and for protection against predatory animals and the spirits of human beings which have returned.

372 There do not seem to be any beliefs or ceremonies related to the production and maintenance of fire.

Weapons

411 The principal weapon of the Guaica /Waica/ is the bow and arrow. They also use macanas.

[824] [283] The bow is made of palm wood, generally of "pijiguao," with a strong string made of threads of bark. This string has three or more threads of twisted bark, which give it great strength.

[249] [237] The shafts of their arrows are made of the festooned part of a certain wild cane, which they cultivate in their "conucos." They feather them with the points of wing feathers of wild turkeys.

Arrow points vary according to the type of game which is to be the target. The wide bamboo point is used /464/ principally against large land animals; the bone one for shooting large and medium-sized birds, and the poisoned points principally for monkeys. Any of these points might be used against man in the event of war. Against small birds they shoot the shaft, first removing the point, or they use a point ramified at the end, made out of a small branch quickly broken off some nearby plant. The accompanying Fig. 7 /see p. 35/ shows the different types of arrow points of the Guaika. /Fig. 7 appears here./

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guahariho

middle of the camp, but they preferred to sleep under a simple palm roof resting on four poles which had been erected near the river as a temporary measure when the first advanced party arrived. There they hung their hammocks, made of the same pliable liana threads as their loin-cloths. Apart from their bows and arrows, these hammocks were the only possessions they brought with them. Thus they passed the night close to the river and their boat. They lighted fires and kept them burning all night. Not all of them slept in hammocks. Some squatted on the bare ground close to the fires, but those who used hammocks slung them low to get the maximum benefit of the fire's heat, for all slept naked.

The next morning they came over to the empty *rancho* where we gave them *manioc*, which they knew and appreciated as a special treat. But they refused the cooked food we offered them. One or two of them tasted it, but quickly spat it out. We offered them meat and learned that they cook their game without first skinning it. We gave them salt, which was new to them and which they spat out with dreadful grimaces. It was probably the salt that made them refuse our cooked food. They never tired of *manioc*, and we discovered that *manioc* and *machete* were the only two Spanish words they knew.

The Guaharibos have a curious and revolting habit of secreting in their mouths between the lower gums and the lip a roll of green tobacco as big as the stump of a fat cigar. They do not chew it; it remains there unbroken all day while two streams of greenish juice continuously trickle from the corners of their mouths. Even the children and sometimes the women indulge. The lump, which horribly deforms the lower part of the face, making it look hideous, may have contributed to their reputation for ferocity and savagery. The preparation of the tobacco quids is the duty of the women. The fresh tobacco leaf is rolled with wood-ash, and then the women chew and soak it in spittle until it reaches the right proportions and consistency before passing it on to their mates. Cardona told us this was the universal practice.

The Indians' fear and suspicion of us quickly dispersed.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

Both men and women and even the small children paint their faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred, either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red, while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken themselves.

Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company with some whose paint was paling and some who were not even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

* * *

The furnishing of Waïka huts is very simple and orderly, each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades, while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when the village is crowded.

In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people, which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4]For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5]The cultivated palm, *pijiguao*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2-7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

2: Becher--38 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

411
284

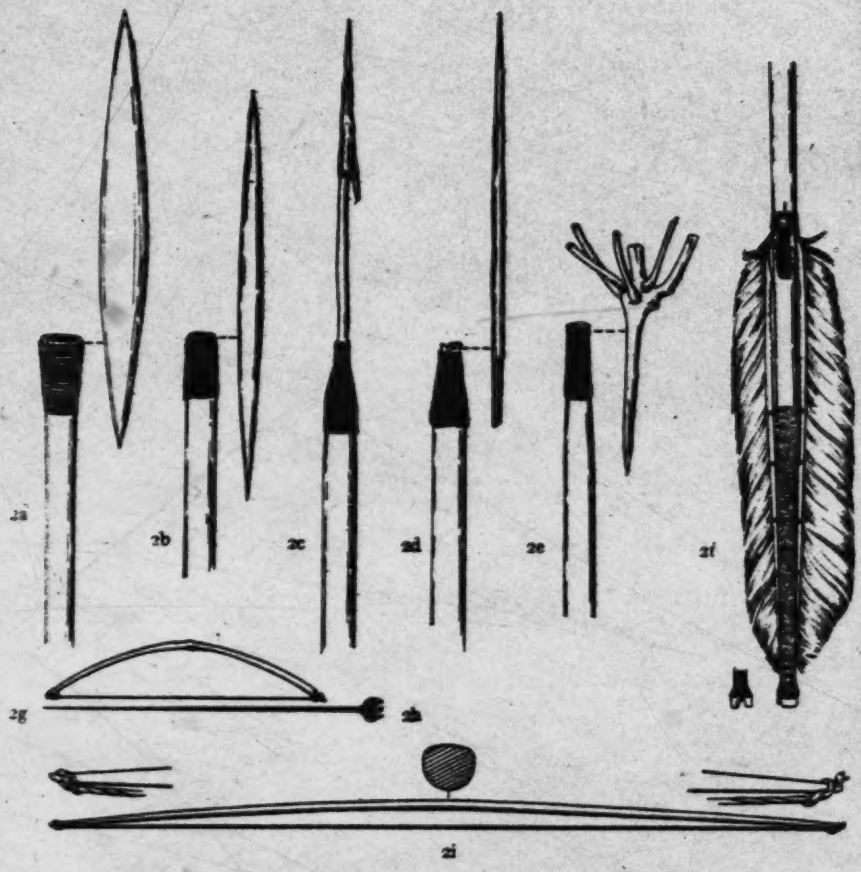


Fig. 2a. Wide, lancet-shaped bamboo arrow-point.
Fig. 2b. Narrow, lancet-shaped bamboo arrow-point.
Fig. 2c. Arrow-point with barb.
Fig. 2d. Wooden arrow-point with coating of poison.
Fig. 2e. Forked wooden arrow-point.
Fig. 2f. Arrow feathering.
Fig. 2g. Boy's bow.
Fig. 2h. Boy's arrow.
Fig. 2i. Bow with cross-section and string fastening.

Suráva
Pakidái

/29 cont./
and ridiculous (152) (153) (154).

152. Nimuendajú, 1914, pp. 321/22.

153. Becher, 1951, I, pp. 180/81;
II, plate and Map No. 18.

154. Becher, 1955, pp. 144/45.

On festival and ceremonial occasions, men, women, and children from the age of four on also tie over the hip cord a cotton belt -- nyõ -- (155), which is always open in front. As

155. It is the same word that is used to designate the cotton hammock.

a rule, the belts are made by the women; bachelors, however, must make their own.

These are the string belts typical for Guiana (156) (157),

156. Becher, 1951, I, p. 169.

157. Becher, 1955, p. 138.

which, however, take on an appearance somewhat different from the familiar form because of wrappings or cross-bindings. /Fig. 6 appears here./

All the men's and boys' belts are roll-shaped and have a length of 70-80 centimeters and 40-50 centimeters, respectively. The diameter for the former is 4-5 centimeters, and for the latter, 2-3 centimeters. They are very simple to make, for around two small sticks thrust into the ground, the distance between them determining the length of the belt, a long cotton thread is looped until a thick layer is finally obtained. This is then simply tightly wound with a thin string of cotton or

/29 cont./

292 curauá fibers at /30/ /Fig. 7 appears here/ intervals of 1.5-2
284 centimeters for men's belts and 0.5-1 centimeter for boys' belts, which produces bulges and grooves. Before the belt is slipped off the sticks, a small, two to five-strand twisted cord of cotton or curauá fibers is drawn through the openings and knotted into a loop by means of the two ends three to five centimeters long. These two loops are twisted into each other in front, over the abdomen, by the wearer, and the knots keep the belt secure (Fig. 6a and b, Ill. 23). After they are finished, serpentine lines, circles, or dots are painted on these belts with urucú, for which a small stick is used; often, however, they are colored red all over.

[531]
[386]

Fig. 6a
Men's belt, detail.

Fig. 6b
Men's belt, diagram.

292
184

Among the Waiká, Zerries found the same men's belts (158),

158. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

and from the photographs in other publications of this author it may be seen that they are worn in the same way as among the Surára and Pakidái (159) (160).

159. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

160. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

/30 cont./

Surára
Pakidái

292
284

Fig. 7a
Young men's belt, detail.

Fig. 7b
Young men's belt, diagram.

Among the Surára and Pakidái, besides the men's and boys' belts, there is another special kind for young men, made with a plaiting technique. They are started in the manner described above, but after the layer of cotton is obtained, it is divided into two equally thick bundles which are tightly wound, alternately, at intervals of 1-1.5 centimeters. The belt therefore consists of two adjacent thin rolls of cotton, each two centimeters in diameter (Fig. 7a and b). Tie-strings and the wearing style correspond to the men's and boys' belts, as does the painting.

Women's and girls' belts are characterized by a wide, flat shape. The lengths vary between 55-70 centimeters and the widths between 6-8 centimeters for women's belts and 35-46 centimeters and 4-5 centimeters, respectively, for girls' belts. In making them, again two sticks are used, around which the cotton threads are wound. The resultant layer is divided into 6-8 equally thick bundles, each of which is wound with a cotton thread in the manner shown in Fig. 8a-c, and in this way the bunches of warp threads are held together. In other words, the longitudinal threads are held side by side by means of cross-bindings. The distance between these weft-threads is 2.5-3 centimeters for the belts of young women and

Surára
Pakidái
Puseheweteri

292 /30 cont./
284 girls and 0.5 centimeter for those of old women. This distinguishing feature was always pointed out to me. Tie strings and
292 the wearing style correspond in this case too with the men's belts,
53 as does the painting with urucú, which is applied on the outer
[386] side. As a result of their width, these belts are much easier to paint than those of the men. Most often one sees serpentine lines, occasionally circles are placed between them, and sometimes too the painting only consists of circles, or circles and dots (Fig. 9 a-e; Fig. 10 a-d); there are also belts, however, which are colored red all over.

292 Xiriána women who are married to Surára and Pakidái
184 men wear the same belts, as did the little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the /31/ /Figs. 8 and 9 appear here/ /32/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ Karauaterí (Ills. 17 and
[192] 18). When I asked them the name of their belts, they gave me the designation -- nyõ -- which corresponds to the Surára and Pakidái word.

292 The Puseheweterí women gave me the same word, although
184 their belts have a somewhat different form (161). They are 60-
[192]

161. I saw them on the women of that tribe who were married to Surára and Pakidái men.

70 centimeters long and consist solely of a thick layer of cotton
292 which has been somewhat twisted together. In other words, it is
284 a very characteristic string-belt, that is, without wrappings or
184 cross-bindings. An additional little fringed apron, however, 22-26 centimeters long, is attached to a tie-string. To make it, 60 to 90 cotton strings, 14-18 centimeters long, are put over the tie-string. After that, starting from the left, the end of the first string hanging down in front is knotted with the one of the second hanging down in back and tightly twisted with it, then the front end of the second one with the rear end of the third, and so forth. The fringes hanging down are 7-9 centimeters long and, to assure firmness, are wound once more below the tie-string
292 with a thin cotton thread. When the belt is worn, the little
53
184

[text continues on p. 69]

2: Becher--68 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

292
284

Fig. 8a-b. Part of a women's belt.

Fig. 8c. Part of a women's belt, diagram.

292
531

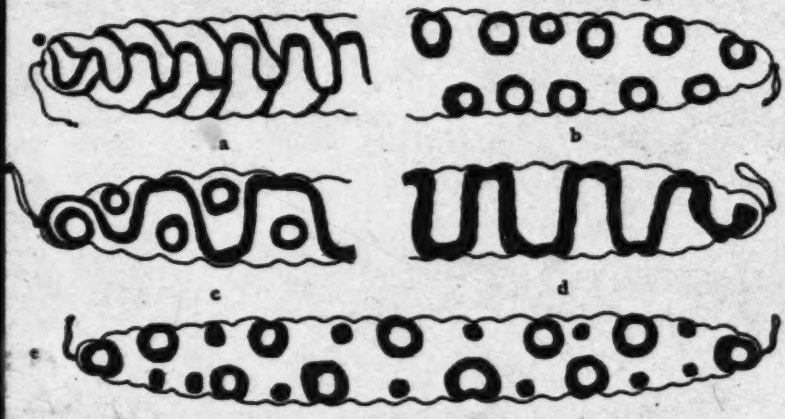


Fig. 9a-e. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts.

Puseheweteri
surára

/32 cont./

292
531
237

Fig. 11. Fringed belt of an old Puseheweterí woman, with pierced mussel shells.

291
[462]
[237] Finally, the Surára also use a child's belt -- yaoké -- which is always made by the father /33/ out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yaó. These belts are 30-35 centimeters long and 2-2.5 centimeters wide. One end is pierced to receive a thin
● [284] tie-string of cotton or curauá fibers. The string is wound around the other end several times and then knotted (Fig. 12). This belt, too, is worn in such a way that it is open in front. Only now and then is it put on small boys and girls between 1-3 years old, who at that age, of course, do not even wear the hip cord (see p. 60), in order to promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

/38 cont./

301
[438]

200. (cont.)
centimeters wide. She likewise designated it for me with the name nyõ̃mutimá and added that she had obtained it from a Xiriána woman.

301
184

The four Xiriána women whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái wore the same cords and bands on their upper arms, wrists, and legs, like all the Puseheweterí and Aramamesterí women, including the captive Karauaterí girl. The latter, however, said that they had only adopted the upper-arm bands here, for in their tribes only upper-arm cords were used.

• [284]

Fig. 14a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the men.

Fig. 15a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the young men.

Fig. 16a-c. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

/38 cont./

301
284

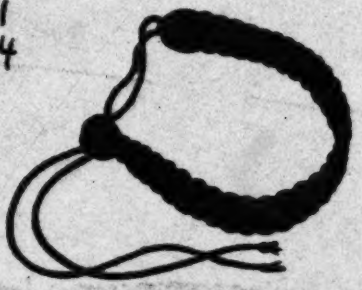


Fig. 17. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

184
301

According to Koch-Grünberg, too, among the Xiriâna (Schirianá) the men wrap long, red-dyed cotton cords around their upper arms, while women use "narrow bands," which, however, they tie so tightly that the marks of them are seen even when they are removed (201). The women of the Maiongkong-Yekuaná bind

301
171

201. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

their upper arms in the same tight fashion (202). With reference

202. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 151, 152, 170, 171, 172.

to the Arekunâ-Taulipang, Koch-Grünberg writes: "Among the ornaments of the women, moreover, there are wide wrappings of strings of white beads below the knees, around the upper arms and the wrists. The men /39/ wear the same bead ornaments around the wrists, sometimes also around the ankles, but bind the legs below the knees with white cotton cords, the ends of which hang far down. Around the upper arms they usually wear only a string of white beads or a white cotton cord or, on festive days, a round disk of snail shells... The bindings around the legs are frequently pulled so tightly by young girls, out of vanity, that the calves bulge out tautly" (203) (204).

203. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 34.

204. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, Ills. 7, 8.

/45 cont./

301 in most cases, a silver triangle, a large glass bead, or a fruit pit is fastened at the bottom.

301 439 When I came to the Surára and Pakidái, a few bead chains were already in use. According to their statements, they had obtained the glass beads from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Rio Demini, from rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, and from the Xiriâna. The latter had presumably acquired this foreign commodity from Karaiben tribes who, for their part, had received it from the whites. This shows that the barter of glass beads is still carried on vigorously among the Indians themselves (245).

[114]

245. It was already observed by v. Martius that glass beads were traded over wide areas (von Martius, 1867, I, pp. 702 ff.), and Krause also points out that they are greatly prized as trade items (Krause, 1911, p. 279).

7. Hammocks

352 [824] The Surára and Pakidái have three different kinds of hammocks. The hammock of embira (tree bast, Malvaceae sp.) -- yâritanacîk -- whose length is between 1.80-1.90 meters, may probably be regarded as the oldest and most primitive form (Ill. 26). It has no weft and consists only of ten to 14 embira strips [284] 1-2 centimeters wide. These are bent over at the ends and tied together by means of two ropes 1.30-1.40 meters long, which at the same time serve for suspension (Fig. 18a and b). Both ropes are very strong and durable, for they have been plaited in the form of a braid out of three one-centimeter-wide /46/ /Fig. 18 appears [462] here/ strands of embira. The manufacture of this hammock is [824] extracrdinarily simple and is done only by men. From the embira [284] tree they remove 10-15 bast strips two meters long and 1-2 centimeters wide, which they tie together in the manner described above, after they have first plaited two ropes. To cut the tree [412] bast they use the little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 119). Since the yâritanacîk is extracrdinarily light, the men like to use it on their

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
waica

/46 cont./

352
284

Fig. 18a-b
Detail of the end fastening on a hammock of embira, as well as loop and knot diagram.

352 roving, hunting, and war expeditions as a travel hammock.
[482] Rolled up, it then hangs on their backs, held by a thin neck-cord
of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber). For sleeping they usually
[513] lie curled up in it; it takes practice and skill, however, not to
fall out.

352 Similar hammocks are also used by the Waiká, and there,
184 according to Zerries, they are supposed to fulfill certain functions
[114] in the ritual system (246) (247), whereas Schuster says that they

246. Zerries, 1955a, p. 87.

247. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

are made only in an emergency (248). The tree-bast hammocks

248. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

of the Xiriána are more highly developed, for they have a weft of cotton threads and plant fibers. Ruth Haebler describes two specimens in the ethnological museums in Berlin (VA 61119) and Leipzig (8736) (249).

249. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

/46 cont./

352
[192] Instead of the yâritanaçík (embira hammock), the Surára and Pakidái men, on their rovings and hunting and war expeditions, also /47/ frequently use a liana hammock -- totokë -- (254) (255),

254. The name is derived from tototó, with which the liana (cipó-titica) is designated.

255. Except for a slight dialectal difference, the name corresponds to the Waiká word -- "toto" --, with which, however, according to statements by Zerries, they designated their tree-bast hammocks (Zerries, 1955a, p. 87).

which is likewise very light but gives the sleeper a somewhat firmer support. The lengths of these hammocks vary between
[462] 1.90 and 2.10 meters. They, too, are without cross-bindings and are likewise made only by men. This is done as follows:
352 The man has a rather large bundle of long lianas lying in front
●284 of him. He splits each one with his teeth into 3-5 flat strips and places these side by side. When he has gathered as many strips as he can easily grasp with one hand, approximately 200-250, he winds a thick liana around the ends. Below the wrapping he then divides the flat strips into several bunches of equal size, each of which he winds twice with two split, twisted lianas (Fig. 19 and Fig. 20). This makes the bundle of strips wider at the ends. As tie ropes the man uses three lianas plaited like braids (Ill. 27).

352
184 Such hammocks are likewise used by the Waiká (256) and

256. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Xiriána, but the latter Indians sometimes provide them with cross-bindings of cotton strings (257).

257. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 314 and Pl. 46 (1).

/48 cont./

352 According to the classification by Max Schmidt,
286 who differentiates three groups for the plaiting tech-
174 nique in South America, the cotton hammocks made
171 by the Surára and Pakidái would belong to the second

• [284]

Fig. 19. End fastening of a liana hammock.

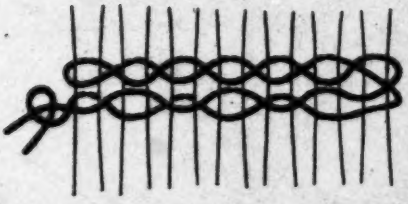


Fig. 20. Diagram of the interweaving of the end fastening of a liana hammock.

group, the double-thread plaiting, which the scholar characterizes as follows: "This plaiting method, which is widespread throughout America, North and South, is simply based, as the diagram in Fig. 115 shows, on two threads that are twisted around each other and are simultaneously, at each half twist around each other, wound around one of the bundles

412 /54 cont./
184 Zerries and Schuster, (297) (298), for the Karimé by Salathé (299).

297. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

298. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

299. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 306 and Fig. 16.

[237]

Fig. 25. Small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.).

Fig. 26. Knife made out of the ventral shell of the perema (water turtle).

[284] and for the Xiriâna by Koch-Grünberg (300). The latter, however,
[824]

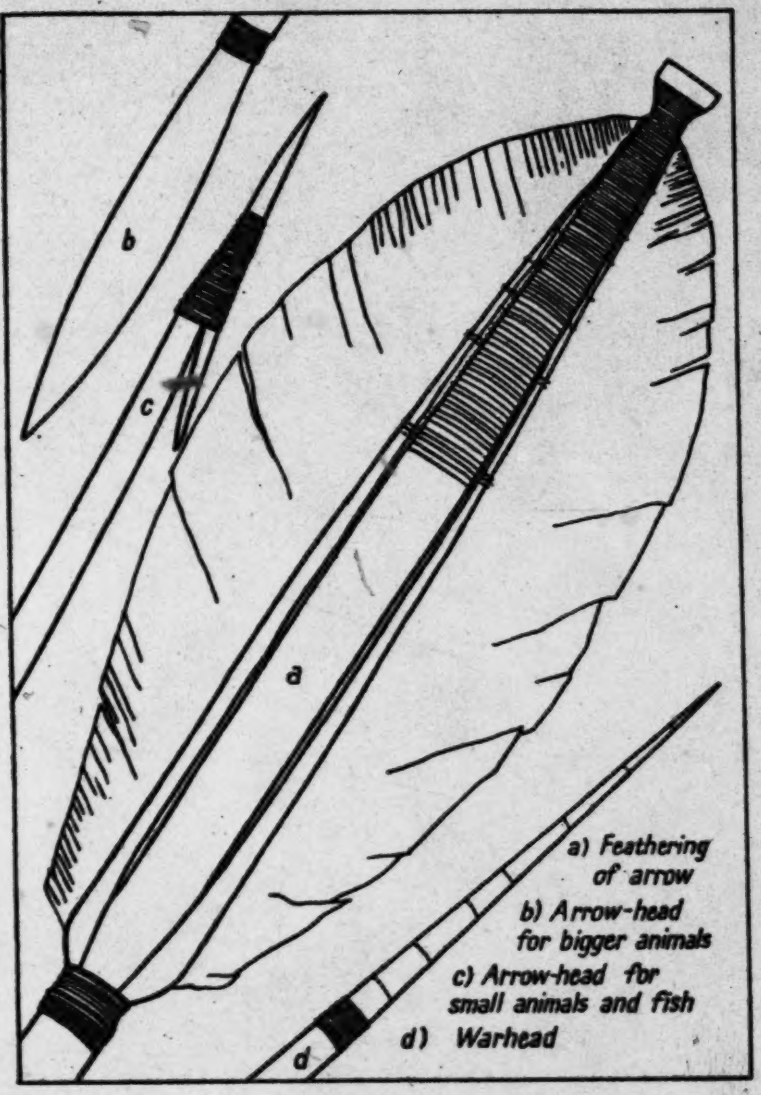
300. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 47 (9).

says that the Xiriâna lash the tooth to a wooden handle by means of Bromelia fibers (301). In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise

301. Such a knife is to be found in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:108).

[P.122]

411
284


b
c
a
d
a) Feathering of arrow
b) Arrow-head for bigger animals
c) Arrow-head for small animals and fish
d) Warhead

/455 cont./

283 Cotton is spun by means of a hand spindle. This thread is then twisted into three-thread cords.

Various fibers of bark are twisted to make bowstrings or fishing lines. These same fibers of bark are frequently plaited to make hammock strings.

The fiber of a certain plant similar to the pineapple is also extracted and twisted, producing a very tough cord.

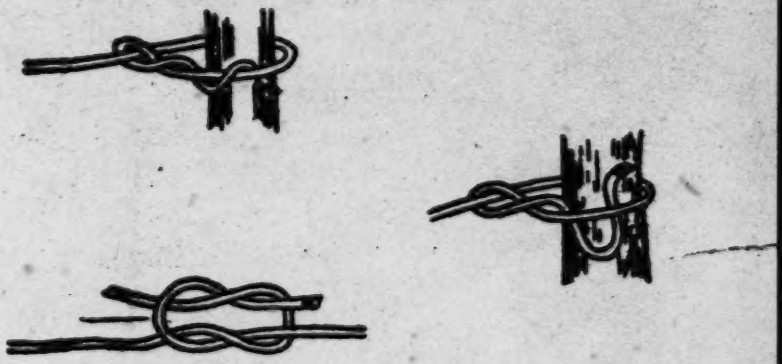
284 The knots which the Guaika /Waica/ make are very simple and practical. The timber hitch is employed in all cases in which a flexible cord is used. This includes the stringing of the bows. The hammock is hung using a timber slipknot. This knot is made in such a way that it can be instantly untied by a pull. The square knot is used to join the ends of two cords. In the accompanying Fig. 2, we show drawings of the three knots concerned.

411
352

289 /456/ A band of bark is made for carrying children. First they obtain a stick of the right size, which is beaten with another stick for several days. The scaly outer bark comes off. Finally, the smaller end of the cylindrical bark is inserted into the larger end (of greater diameter), and the two are then firmly sewed together. The result is a band or strip without rough or cutting edges, which remains flexible and useful for many months.

854

284

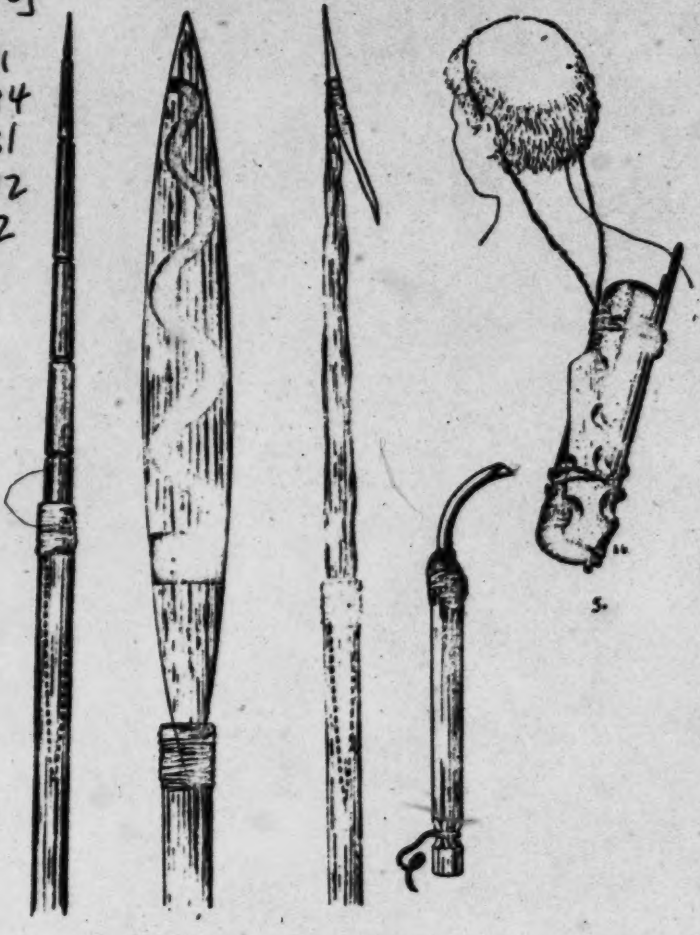


/Fig. 2/

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

[P. 110]

411
284
531
482
372



1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

ARROW HEADS

1. Notched point designed to break off in the wound. These points measure from eight to twelve inches in length. 2. Bamboo blade pointed at both ends and therefore reversible. 3. Harpoon point. The bone barb is skilfully bound in position. 4. Small knife; made from the incisor of the capybara and fixed to a wooden handle. The whole measures about six inches. 5. The Waika is rarely separated from his quiver made from the stem of a bamboo in which he also carries his firestick.

278 layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curare point after it has been attached to the arrow.

415 411 824 430 239 Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches. The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

372 824 The Yąnomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

412 237 The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yąnomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood 314 284 by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

226 The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yąnomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

244 Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous
[177] variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is
[292] grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians–and by rural Vene-
[299] zuelans–and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey.
[252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop
[423] of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cul-
[262] tivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On
[237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved
[322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring.
[314] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and
[284] a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome
[531] piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful
[422] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in
[437] the trading network.

/13 cont./

824 leaves are neatly piled up on top of one another. Then he pulls out the three poles on one side and rolls up the leaves, along with the three liana strips on which they are lying, like a carpet. The ends of the lianas are then pulled together securely and one [482] stuck into the other. A carrying-strap of embira is wrapped around the ball, whereupon the Indian carries the heavy 60-70 kilogram load with his head or chest, in the latter case with the carrying-strap running over the chest and the two upper arms, 30 to 40 minutes or more through the pathless forest to his maloka. [481] The pace which the Indians strike up in doing this is so swift that I, without a load, always had difficulty following them.

824 285 Having arrived at the dwelling, on the same day or the following day, the leaves are worked up into rectangular mats which are to serve as roof covering, at which the women help. In this technique the efficiency and the inventiveness of the Indian are impressive.

Over a stalk of the paxiúba palm (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.) 60-100 ubim leaves are laid next to one another with the underside on top, and, to be sure, in such a way that only the end of the leaf lies above the paxiúba stem, while the long stem of the ubim leaf projects beyond it. Each ubim leaf, moreover, consists of three to four V-shaped sides. From the right side there is now begun the fitting of the leaves together into a firm structure. The lower part of the right V-shaped side is now folded under. Then the long ubim stem is bent, wrapped around the paxiúba stem, led upward to the right of the leaf, and then laid over the leaf toward the left. The same procedure is followed with the adjacent leaves. The stem end of the last leaf on the left is fastened with a piece of liana wound around the paxiúba stem, or simply by bending this stem to the right, by way of exception, and shoving it under the other leaves. With this a pano (rectangular mat) is completed, generally with a length of five to eight 342 meters and a width of half a meter. Depending on the length 824 of the windscreen, 80-100 or more of these panos /14/ are now laid on the roof framework over one another tile-fashion at intervals of 30-50 centimeters and fastened with lianas.

/49 cont./

8. Basketry

285 462 [824] Basketry is carried on primarily by the women. The only exceptions are temporary carrying-baskets of natural palm leaves, which are made by both sexes, and carrying-baskets of curauá, the making of which falls to the men.

[824] If the Indians need a temporary carrying-basket in the forest, they simply place two pinnate palm leaves close together on the ground (most often they use for this the leaves of the patauá, açai, and ubim palm) and interweave the inner sides to make a firm surface. Then both leaves are bent over at the upper end, which makes the bottom, and on the outside a braidlike rim is plaited 482 (Ill. 32). By means of a carrying-band of embira, very heavy loads can then be carried with this basket, called pakokêhe, above all fruits, but also pieces of large game, for example, tapir, which the hunter alone cannot carry into the maloka. Men always slip the carrying-band over upper arms and chest, while women prefer the forehead for this.

285 171 Similar baskets are found among the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana (269), as well as among the

269. Roth, 1924, p. 379 and Pl. 124.

Urubu in the Brazilian state of Maranhão (270). Similar specimens,

270. Lopes, 1932, p. 147 and Fig. 6.

however, are used by the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ and Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the Xingú source region (271), to mention only a few more

271. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 500 ff. and Figs. 13 and 14.

examples, which, however, could be augmented at will. It is seen from this that many tribes were in a position to make carrying devices out of natural palm leaves.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

285 462 [824] More highly developed is the carrying basket which consists of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) -- uaramá. It is made by the male members of the tribe in the following manner: Two groups of plaiting strips are laid on top of each other in different directions and then interwoven with a third group of strips running in still another direction (Ill. 33).

285 174 [971] This, according to Max Schmidt's classification, is the third principal type of South American plaiting (272) (273). This type

272. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

273. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

of basket (274), which is very widespread in South America, is

274. Abundant comparative material is to be found in Roth (Roth, 1924, pp. 321 ff. and Pl. 100 B and 102) and Mason (Mason, 1904, pp. 529 ff. and Pl. 240 (1, 2).

also regarded as very old, but today is seldom used any more by the Surára and Pakidái. Nothing concerning its origin is known any more among the tribes named. An autochthonous development [179] is possible, but an adoption from Karaiben or Aruak tribes, who use similar baskets, is more probable. The same basket is [184] likewise confirmed for the related Karimé (275).

275. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Figs. 9 and 10.

285 824 192 The one most frequently used at present is the women's large carrying-basket made of liana strips (276) -- wuëka --, which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34).

276. Each individual liana is split with the teeth into several flat strips. (Cf. also p. 101).

/49 cont./

which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34). This description comes from Koch-Grünberg, and, to be sure, he is referring to the completely identical women's carrying-baskets of the Xiriâna (Schirianá). "In this type of plaiting," says the investigator named, "which is probably peculiar to the Schirianá, the vertical strips running out radially from the common center of the bottom are wound spirally with two finer horizontal strips. A few stronger inner rings to which /50/ the vertical strips are lashed with lianas give the basket shape and support. The ends of the vertical strips are secured under a special overcasting of the rim (Pl. 23, 1). By means of tree-bast strips, to which the bark still adheres, the basket is carried by the forehead on the back" (277). The same technique is used by the

277. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 307/08.

Surára and Pakidái, and the initial plaiting of a carrying-basket (Fig. 21) shows this particularly clearly (Ill. 35). This is /Fig. 21 appears here/ /51/ the type of plaiting which Max Schmidt designates as "double-thread plaiting," the second principal type of South American plaiting (278) (279).

278. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

279. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

By means of an external feature one can, however, easily distinguish the women's carrying-baskets of the Xiriâna from those of the Surára and Pakidái. In the case of the former, the carrying band is fastened only at the edge (280), while the latter

280. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, Pl. 23, 1.

always wind it around the bottom, then lead it through two twisted liana-loops on the lower third as well as on the upper edge, and then knot it on one side (Ill. 34). This gives the wearers a better

2: Becher--109 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/51 cont./

285
184
[482]
[438]

hold, which makes it possible for them to transport substantially heavier loads without chafing themselves. This slight improve-

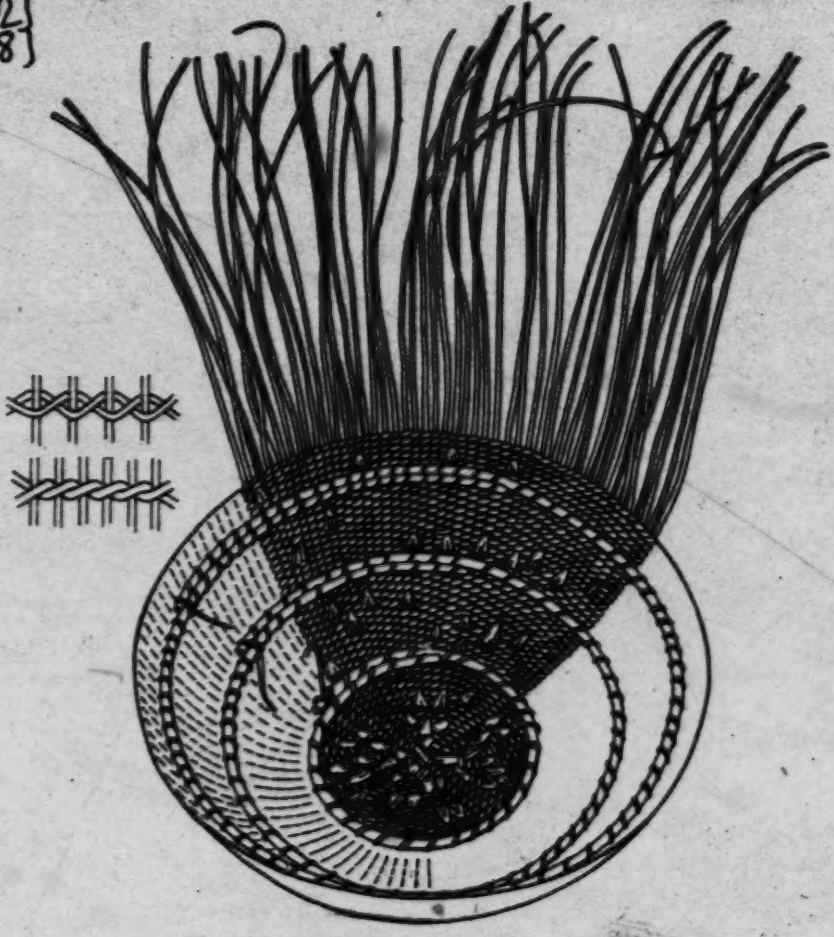


Fig. 21. Initial plaiting of a women's carrying-basket.

ment could have been developed by the Surára and Pakidái women, but the baskets themselves, as well as the method of making them, according to the statements of my informants, represent imported goods from the Xiriána.

The same applies for the round, flat basket-bowls made by the same technique, which are found in various sizes among the Xiriána (281) as well as among the Surára and Pakidái and

/51 cont./

285
184

281. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

which serve for storing manioc cakes and fruits. Among the last-named Indians I also saw women's carrying-baskets in miniature form, which are meant for small girls, and some with covers -- [531] weë. All the objects named are usually painted with serpentine [386] lines, for which urucú is used. Finally, it should be mentioned [461] that the women, like best to lie comfortably in their hammocks while making such baskets and basket-bowls.

285
191
184

The women's large carrying-baskets and basket-bowls described above are likewise used by the Waiká, and both Zerries and Schuster point out that in the manufacture the twining plaiting-technique is used (282) (283) (284). Similar basket-bowls

282. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

283. Zerries, 1955b, p. 663, Ill. 2.

284. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

are also documented for the Karimé (285), and small hanging

285. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 11.

baskets and basket-winnowers from Aruak and Tukano /Tucano/ tribes on the upper Rio Negro, as well as from the Makú /Macu/, exhibit further parallels, which differ only slightly in the external form (286).

286. Koch-Grüngerg, 1910a, pp. 220 ff. and Ills. 142e, 143a, 144.

/51 cont./

285 [192] [824] Then there are small baskets with handles and square bottoms -- yorohíkes -- (Ill. 36), in which women keep their ornaments, arm, leg, and chest cords, the spindle and balls of cotton. To make these, split lianas are again used. The technique employed is very primitive, for the plaiting strip is merely led [184] alternately over and under a plaiting strand (287). The shape of

287. Max Schmidt includes this technique in the first principal group of South American plaiting (Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 492/93).

these little baskets seems to be peculiar to the Surára and Pakidái, for in the literature I have not yet found a corresponding description with reference to other tribes.

285 824 372 Simple plaited fire-fans -- xuhéma -- are made of the leaf-stalk sheaths of the tucumã palm (Astrocaryum sp.). They have an elongated shape, and the ends of the strips are tied together to form a handle (Fig. 22).

285 372 174 17 Similar fans, but more evenly worked, were found by Koch-Grünberg among the Makiritare, Yekuaná /Yecuana/, and Guinaú in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco (288), from which one

288. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 345 and Pl. 24, 6.

might conclude that this object reached the Surára and Pakidái from here, probably by way of the Xiriána. The reverse route might also be possible, however, if only because most of the Karaiben and Aruak tribes of Guiana use fire-fans with a handle set crosswise (289).

289. Roth, 1924, pp. 291 ff., Pl. 78, 79, and Fig. 91.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

252 /51 cont./
184
285 The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry
[192] among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curuuá plant
[438] (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter
[192] from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohí -- (290).

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

[178] Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in.
[426] Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the
114 Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is
252 supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is
174 significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with
285 a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any here, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed
[177] with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karaiben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

Suráva
Pakidái

372
285

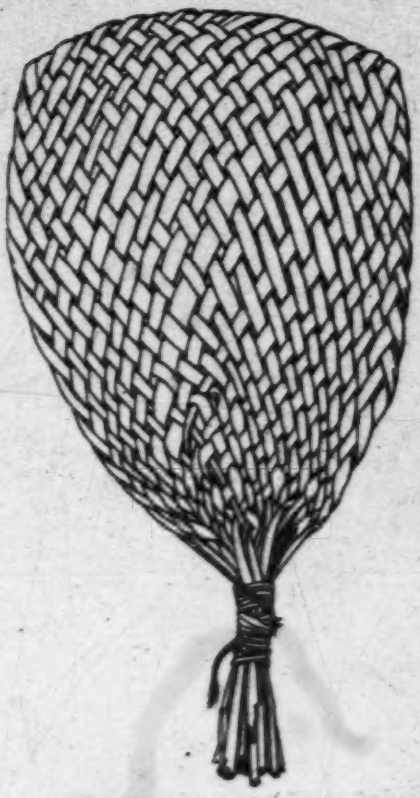


Fig. 22. Plaited fire-fan.

854
287

287

[413]

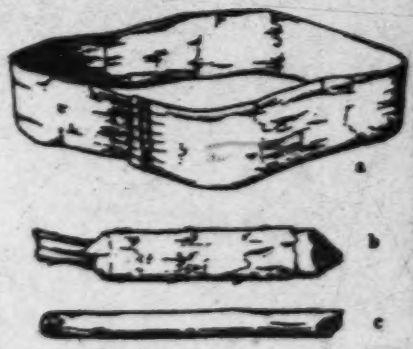


Fig. 23a. Band for carrying children, made of embira tree-bast.

Fig. 23b. Part of an embira trunk with beaten tree-bast which has already been partly pulled off.

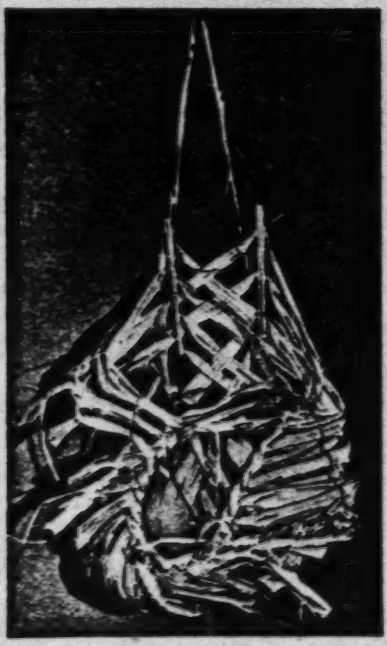
Fig. 23c. Bast-beater made of embira wood.

2: Becher--276 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

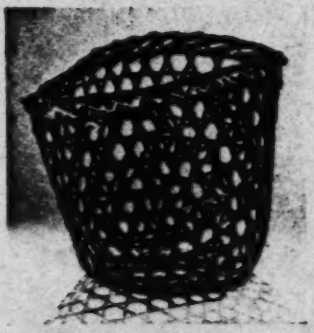
Surára
Pakidái

/11/

415
285



Ill. 32. Temporary carrying basket of palm leaves



Ill. 33. Carrying basket of bast strips from the curáuá plant

531

Ill. 34. Woman's large carrying-basket made of liana strips

Ill. 35. Surára woman plaiting a woman's large carrying-basket

142
302
516
285

415
285

Ill. 36. Small basket with handle, made of liana strips

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

283 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323]

323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727]

[84]

StLaytinse et al. D. E-5 (ca. 1980)1982 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authoes who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shirianá" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriana*" with an internal separation of 30 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirisana (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Siriana*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 455-458.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 28.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

[462] [985] Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that [938] [958] [955] older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired [184] [443] clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are [462] [422] [562] made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the [197] manufacture of cassave bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

---

[1]The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

Surára
pakidái

/47 cont./

352 Finally, as the third and most important form, which is used constantly by men, women, and children, both in the maloka as well as during migrations of the tribe, the plaited hammock of cotton -- nyõ (258) -- is to be mentioned (Ills. 28 and 29). Aside

258. The cotton belts are also designated with the same word.

from the material, it differs from the two earlier types above all because of the weft. The lengths run between 1.60-2.20 meters, depending on whether they are meant for children or adults.
[462] Making them is again the duty of the men, though the women occasionally help a little.

352 Before they are made, two posts are rammed into the ground
● 286 and connected at top and bottom by cross-poles with lianas. The length of the hammock depends on the distance of the latter, for around these cross poles is /Figs. 19 and 20 appear here/ wound the continuous warp thread, the two ends of which are knotted with the warp at the start and finish. This produces front and rear layers of thread, which are united into a single layer by slipping the rear warp threads between the /48/ front ones. After that the plaiting of the double thread is begun, which is done without implements, only with the fingers, from right to left; it should also be mentioned that it is started at the top. All hammocks are plaited with very wide meshes, for the intervals between the individual cross-bindings, which are knotted at the beginning and end, are 8-12 centimeters. To fasten the hammocks ropes of
[824] Bromelia fibers (curauá) are used, which, made of four strands, braidlike, are twisted to the right.

352 When a hammock has been used for some time, it gradually takes on a dirty-brown appearance. This comes about because
[302] the urucũ color with which the Indians frequently paint their bodies rubs off on it somewhat when they lie down and adheres to the cotton.

2: Becher--103 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960
SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/48 cont./

352 According to the classification by Max Schmidt,
286 who differentiates three groups for the plaiting tech-
174 nique in South America, the cotton hammocks made
171 by the Surára and Pakidái would belong to the second

(284)

Fig. 19. End fastening of a liana hammock.

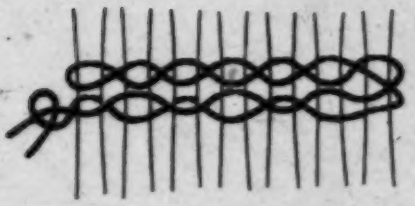


Fig. 20. Diagram of the interweaving of the end fastening of a liana hammock.

group, the double-thread plaiting, which the scholar characterizes as follows: "This plaiting method, which is widespread throughout America, North and South, is simply based, as the diagram in Fig. 115 shows, on two threads that are twisted around each other and are simultaneously, at each half twist around each other, wound around one of the bundles

Surára
Pakidái

/48 cont./

352 of rushes or fibers running parallel to one another" (259). "It is

●286
174
171

259. Max Schmidt, 1905, p. 228.

this double-thread technique," Ruth Haebler writes in her work, "Die geflochtenen Hängematten der Naturvölker Südamerikas /The Plaited Hammocks of the Primitive Peoples of South America/," "which is used in the manufacture of the plaited hammocks. The essence of the two-ply technique thus consists of stretching parallel threads which form a warp, so to speak, and through which the double thread is passed as a weft. As a result of the manner in which the warp is stretched, two completely different groups of plaited hammocks are produced" (260).

260. Haebler, 1919, p. 3.

The Surára and Pakidái hammocks are to be assigned to group two, which leads over to weaving (261), for here there is already

261. Haebler, 1919, pp. 9/10.

regular shed-formation. My observations among the Surára and Pakidái also agree almost exactly with the descriptions by Im Thurn (262) Ehrenreich (263), and Krause (264). This proves an

262. Im Thurn, 1883, pp. 288 ff.

263. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 22.

264. Krause, 1911, pp. 259 ff.

adoption from the outside, most probably from the Karaiben tribes, which took place presumably by way of the Xiriána. It is noteworthy, however, that all the authors named say that the warp threads are stretched horizontally and that the weft is interlaced
DDD from top to bottom or from bottom to top. From a photograph

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

352 /48 cont./ From a photograph
●286 taken by Zerries (265) it may be seen that the Waiká make their
174
184

265. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, bottom.

cotton hammocks in the same way. With regard to the origin and technique, he writes in another place: "The cotton hammock of the Waika was taken over, in simplified form, from the Marikitare /Makiritare/ and, like theirs, is not woven, but merely knotted" (266). Although Zerries uses the expression

266. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

"knotted" /geknüpft/, this is probably the same type which I described for the Surára and Pakidái (267). This is even further

267. The names, too, are very similar, -- "nu" -- among the Waiká (Zerries, 1955a, p. 84; 1954b, p. 71), and -- nyõ -- among the Surára and Pakidái.

elucidated by the following remarks of Schuster: "The cotton hammock, following, as a more recent form, these types made of wild material, exhibits as an essential difference, aside from the cultivated raw material, longitudinal threads held parallel and close together by cross-bindings. Apparently this hammock, whose length is determined by the bow-staff used as a crosspiece on the tying framework, is a clumsy imitation of the far more carefully worked hammock of the Karaiben Makiritare, who live in the northern and northwestern part of the Waika /49/ region" (268).

268. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

This cotton hammock of the Waiká, clearly taken over from the Karaiben, thus completely corresponds in form to the one used by the Surára and Pakidái. But what induced the latter in making it to put the warp threads vertically, instead of horizontally, as among the other tribes, cannot yet be explained.

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 266

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491 511

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista. They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 435 411

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

213 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727] [184]

StLaytine et al. D.E-8 (ca. 1960)1982 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Caribun and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shiriana" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriena*" with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirisana (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waracan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Siriena*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 475-476.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 28.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

302 Both men and women and even the small children paint their
[386] faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not
302 seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which
531 it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred, either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red, while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken themselves.

123 Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or
302 war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company with some whose paint was paling and some who were not even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

• • •

352 The furnishing of Waika huts is very simple and orderly, each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one
[286] above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from
[283] threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades, while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their
[287] ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of
592 a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when the village is crowded.

162 In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people, which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2–7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *hixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*tua hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
531
286

Fig. 2-7. Orasimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

241
254
[829]
[84]

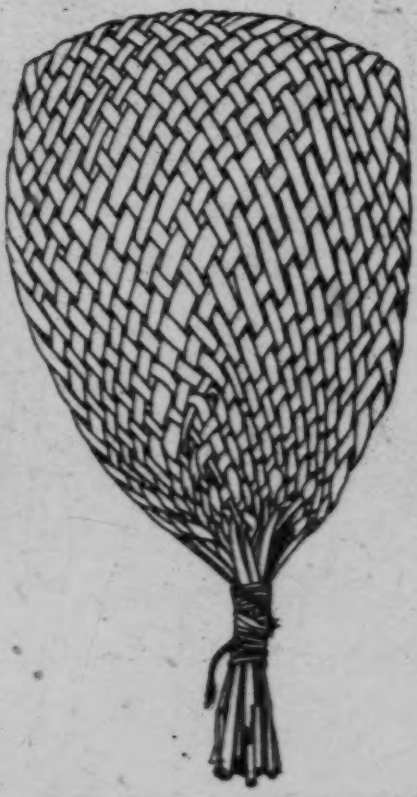
nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[6] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

[101]
[14]

[6]The Yanomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xiriana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yanomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikä*, is a Yanomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yanomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yanomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yanomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yanomamö.

2: Becher--113 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

372
285



854
287

287

[413]

Fig. 22. Plaited fire-fan.

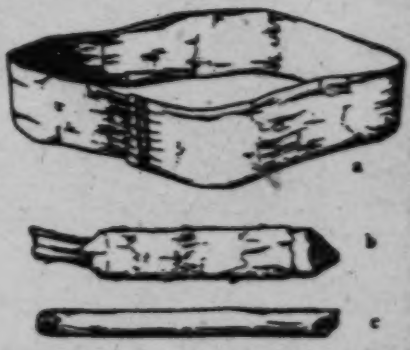


Fig. 23a. Band for carrying children, made of embira tree-bast.

Fig. 23b. Part of an embira trunk with beaten tree-bast which has already been partly pulled off.

Fig. 23c. Bast-beater made of embira wood.

Surára
Pakidái

/52 cont./

9. Band for Carrying Children

854
287
[824] The band for carrying children -- okomakuá -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (Daphnopsis brasiliensis Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the [413] women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- xamotimá -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- uarimaxíke -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- pekehík -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a [412] thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little cutia-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

854 The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

This carrying method is very widespread in South America [171] and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying-[184] band (292). Among the Xiriâna Koch-Grünberg does not seem to [114]

292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

415
824 As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria Lin. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda = jamaru), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

[192] These vessels in general are called -- horotokâ --, except for those of the jamaru fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- nhapotofma.

/455 cont./

283 Cotton is spun by means of a hand spindle. This thread is then twisted into three-thread cords.

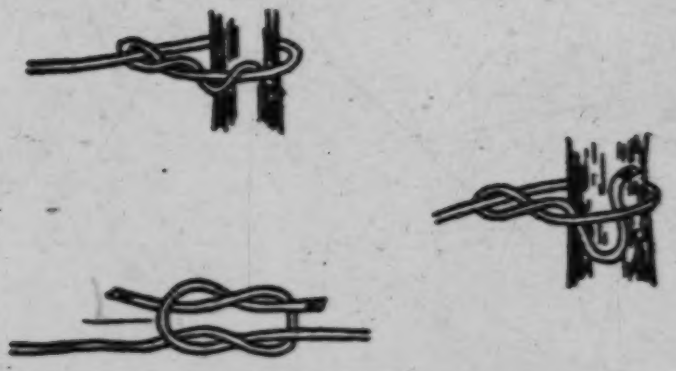
Various fibers of bark are twisted to make bowstrings or fishing lines. These same fibers of bark are frequently plaited to make hammock strings.

The fiber of a certain plant similar to the pineapple is also extracted and twisted, producing a very tough cord.

284 The knots which the Guaika /Waica/ make are very simple and practical. The timber hitch is employed in all cases in [411] which a flexible cord is used. This includes the stringing of the [352] bows. The hammock is hung using a timber slipknot. This knot is made in such a way that it can be instantly untied by a pull. The square knot is used to join the ends of two cords. In the accompanying Fig. 2, we show drawings of the three knots concerned.

287 /456/ A band of bark is made for carrying children. First 854 they obtain a stick of the right size, which is beaten with another stick for several days. The scaly outer bark comes off. Finally, the smaller end of the cylindrical bark is inserted into the larger end (of greater diameter), and the two are then firmly sewed together. The result is a band or strip without rough or cutting edges, which remains flexible and useful for many months.

284



/Fig. 2/

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

Both men and women and even the small children paint their faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred, either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red, while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken themselves.

Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company with some whose paint was paling and some who were not even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

* * *

The furnishing of Waika huts is very simple and orderly, each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades, while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when the village is crowded.

In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people, which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

Suráŋa
Pakidái

/9 cont./

114 This shows that nothing has changed since 1948, when Métraux,
198 following the accounts of Koch-Grünberg and other investigators
181 traveling through this region, quite justifiably wrote: "The
648 Shirianá are very warlike people who succeeded in dominating several weaker tribes" /cited in English/ (42).

42. Métraux, 1948, p. 861.

141 V. Physical Characteristics

With regard to physical characteristics, the Surára and Pakidái are identical. Their height is below average, for the men are only 1.50-1.60 meters tall and the women 1.40-1.50 meters.
142 Both sexes have soft but muscular body forms, yet frequently a protruding abdomen and often relatively thin legs. Since they
[291] always go barefoot, their feet have retained the ability to serve as prehensile organs for climbing tree trunks, and their toes are not squeezed together as much as in the case of civilized persons who wear shoes all the time. The considerable gap between the great toe and the second toe is striking (Ill. 14) (43). The color

43. Crevaux has already pointed this out in connection with the Oyampí Indians in French Guiana: "The great toe, very much set apart, always turns inward, while the third, fourth, and fifth are turned outward" /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, p. 76 and ill., left).

of their skin is very light, almost white. The forehead of the dolicocephalic head is often flat. Their broad noses with the nostrils directed slightly upward are noteworthy; the root of the nose, on the other hand, is narrow. The Mongoloid strain is clearly evident in the prominent cheekbones and the slanting, dark-brown, almost black-looking eyes. Between the slightly

Surára
Pakidái
Waica
Shiriana

/10 cont./

114 repellent because of the lack of any kind of body care" (46).
142

46. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 304.

Chaffanjon expressed himself in a similar manner, but even more disapprovingly, with regard to the Guaharibos: "Small and puny, thin limbs, a stomach enormously distended, hair long and dirty, a bestial countenance make them look repulsive. [291] [411] They are absolutely naked; two men have a long and scraggly beard; their complexion is lighter than that of all the Indians whom I have thus far mentioned; their only weapon is a stick" 114 /translated from the French/ (47). Finally, it should be men- 141

47. Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 308-311.

tioned that, of approximately 40 adult Waikâ, Zerries established an average figure of 151.5 centimeters for men and 142 centimeters for women (48a).

48a. Zerries, 1956a, p. 186.

114 Comparisons show that the Surára and Pakidái have the same
142 physical characteristics as the Guaharibo, Xirišna, and Waikâ (48b).

48b. Only recently there appeared a work by the same author, "Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Schiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien /Contributions to the Anthropology of the Waica and Schiriana Indians in the Border Region Between Venezuela and Brazil/," which is supplemented by excellent illustrative material (Zerries, 1959, pp. 31-41).

It is therefore astonishing that Chaffanjon and Koch-Grünberg describe the Indians that they studied as so strikingly ugly. It

/27 cont./

6. Dress and Ornament

• 291 a) Hip cords and belts

From the age of four on both sexes constantly wear a hip cord -- nhamaaxf -- which is made by the women, but occasionally also by men, out of curauá fibers, the original material (see p. 55), or out of cotton. For the former, two strands are twisted to the right, and for the latter, to the left. The old technique of the right twist in the working of curauá fibers was thus retained, in spite of the adoption of cotton. There is, however, a further important difference. Whereas the hip cord of cotton represents the everyday dress, so to speak, /28/ the one made out of curauá fibers is at present used almost solely for ceremonial purposes.

All male Surára and Pakidái tie the penis up by means of the hip cord, which is done before donning it by tying a knot and drawing the foreskin through it.

With the hip cord these Indians feel clothed, and they therefore never take it off, not even for sleeping or bathing. Once when I was out hunting with the war chief of the Pakidái, Poréhiwõ, he happened to tear his hip cord. He modestly stepped behind the nearest tree immediately and tied it together again. Later he told me that it would be the most flagrant offense against good form to walk about without the hip cord. The women would then cover their faces and scream loudly. Hence a man may never appear with his penis hanging down, and it would be a positively execrable crime, which is punished by blows, if he exposed his glans to the eyes of women and girls.

This shows that among the Surára and Pakidái the hip cord in general, for women and girls also use it without covering anything with it, and the tying up of the penis in particular are associated with feelings of propriety (137). I am herewith able to

137. The hip cord is never used as a device for carrying utilitarian articles, as Baldus noted, for example, among the Tapirapé

/28 cont./

291
[191]
[482]

137. (cont.)
(Baldus, 1945, pp. 87/88), because there is the very likely danger that it might tear.

291
114
[191]

I am herewith able to confirm an opinion which Ehrenreich already holds with regard to the covered glans penis among the Xingú Indians (138), which,

138. Ehrenreich, 1890, p. 86.

however, is shared neither by Karl von den Steinen (139) nor by

139. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 195.

Koch-Grünberg (140). According to the opinion of these two

140. Koch-Grünberg, 1910b, p. 89.

scholars, and also of Nordenskiöld (141) and Krickeberg (142),

141. Nordenskiöld, 1922, p. 94.

142. Krickeberg, 1922, p. 251.

the tying up of the penis is supposed to protect the glans from penetrating insects, thorns, etc. This assumption, as far as the Surára and Pakidái are concerned, is at most of secondary importance, for the uncovered female vagina is, of course, equally threatened by penetrating insects. But magical conceptions, too, with which Karsten (143) tries to explain the tying up of the

143. Karsten, 1926, pp. 151/52.

penis, are not applicable in the case of the Indians investigated by me. Hence, the second conjecture expressed by Karl von den Steinen, in which he connects this custom directly with the sex life and points out that it might have the same purpose as

/28 cont./

291 114 circumcision, is more suggestive. "Not that the opening is enlarged; it is a matter of a gymnastic treatment of phimosis rather than an operative one. Do they not stretch the skin which the others cut? Do they not make room inside, where the others make it toward the outside? This may be doubted least of all for the clamping of the preputium by means of the hip cord, which, as has already been mentioned, seems to be the oldest form, for the hip cord has been retained everywhere. The skin was roughly pulled forward with the cuff. Among young men it often looked sore and scraped. The European has the shoemaker put shoes that are too tight upon the last, but in the interior of Brazil, where only finished, imported goods are bought, a man of social standing thinks nothing of appearing in patent leather shoes which he has widened by a couple of vigorous slashes. His knife is to the shoemaker's last what the circumcising splinter or thorn is to the hip cord"(144).

144. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 199.

Besides the verified feeling of modesty, this assumption may [833] quite possibly be a second reason. One would then have a parallel, as it were, to the girls who are deflowered with the finger by the mother after the first year of life; it is expressly stated that this is done to facilitate sexual intercourse later on (see p. 135).

291 184 Among other Yanonámi tribes, too, the hip cord of plant fibers or cotton is used by both sexes, /29/ and the men likewise tie up the penis with it. I was able to verify this among members of the Xirišna, Pusheweteri, and Aramametteri who, as wives or visitors, were staying in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái. The captive Karauateri girl, Nikeromá, also always wore a hip cord and told me that this was characteristic for her tribe and that the men likewise stuck the member under it. Similarly, Zerries (145) and Hübner (146) point out that the

145. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

146. Hübner, 1907, p. 231 and Fig. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/29 cont./

291 Waiká use a hip cord to bind up the member, and, according to
184 a statement of the last-named author, the Xiriána too. There is further substantiation for the Karimé (147).

147. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

291 In connection with P. Schmidt (148) and Nordenskiöld (149),
171
184

148. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1047.

149. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 147/48.

I investigated this strange custom in my study, "Gürtel und Hüftschnüre südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Belts and Hip Cords of South American Primitive Peoples/," and found them verified for 39 tribes, to which six more are now added, the Surára, Pakidái, Pusheweteri, Aramamateri, Karauateri, and Karimé. It is even to be suspected that among all the tribes or groups that belong to the ethnic unit of the Yanomámi the membrum is tied
291 up. Since this custom is likewise common among the Pano and
171 Tukano /Tucano/ tribes, as well as among the Makú /Macu/, and
174 three San Agustín statues prove the pre-Columbian occurrence (150).

150. Preuss, 1929, I, p. 79; II, Plates 1; 55 (1); 64 (1).

the northwestern part of South America clearly stands out as the nuclear area and probably the area of origin of this very old custom. On the other hand, the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes, which, according to the investigations up to now, did not immigrate into Guiana until later, do not observe it, with the exception of the Yauapery /Yauaperi/ (151), and

151. Hübner, 1907, p. 231.

the Tupi even regard the tying up of the penis as abominable

/29 cont./
291 and ridiculous (152) (153) (154).
171
174

152. Nimuendajú, 1914, pp. 321/22.

153. Becher, 1951, I, pp. 180/81;
II, plate and Map No. 18.

154. Becher, 1955, pp. 144/45.

292 On festival and ceremonial occasions, men, women, and
[192] children from the age of four on also tie over the hip cord a cotton belt -- nyõ -- (155), which is always open in front. As

155. It is the same word that is used to designate the cotton hammock.

a rule, the belts are made by the women; bachelors, however, must make their own.
[171] These are the string belts typical for Guiana (156) (157),

156. Becher, 1951, I, p. 169.

157. Becher, 1955, p. 138.

which, however, take on an appearance somewhat different from the familiar form because of wrappings or cross-bindings. /Fig. 6 appears here./

292 All the men's and boys' belts are roll-shaped and have a
284 length of 70-80 centimeters and 40-50 centimeters, respectively. The diameter for the former is 4-5 centimeters, and for the latter, 2-3 centimeters. They are very simple to make, for around two small sticks thrust into the ground, the distance between them determining the length of the belt, a long cotton thread is looped until a thick layer is finally obtained. This is then simply tightly wound with a thin string of cotton or

Puseheweteri
Surára

/32 cont./

292
531
237

Fig. 11. Fringed belt of an old Puseheweteri woman, with pierced mussel shells.

291
462
237

Finally, the Surára also use a child's belt -- yaoké -- which is always made by the father /33/ out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yaó. These belts are 30-35 centimeters long and 2-2.5 centimeters wide. One end is pierced to receive a thin tie-string of cotton or curauá fibers. The string is wound around the other end several times and then knotted (Fig. 12). This belt, too, is worn in such a way that it is open in front. Only now and then is it put on small boys and girls between 1-3 years old, who at that age, of course, do not even wear the hip cord (see p. 60), in order to promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

284

Surára
Shiriana

/33 cont./

291
237

Fig. 12. Child's belt made out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.).

promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

292
171

From the above description of the cotton string-belts it may be seen that, in spite of certain differences with respect to technique and the way they are worn, they resemble the corresponding belts of the Xiriána and several Karaiben tribes of Guiana. Thus, a bundle of red-dyed cotton strings serves as a hip belt for the Xiriána men, under which they wedge the preputium of the upraised penis (163). Arekuná men often wear

163. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

a plaited string-belt of cotton, which, twisted together, takes on a sausage shape. This belt, also resembling in appearance the human- and monkey-hair belts in Guiana (164) (165), is

164. Becher, 1951, pp. 99 ff. and pp. 115 ff.

165. Becher, 1955, pp. 84 ff. and pp. 97 ff.

Surára
Pakidái
Puseheweterí

292 /35 cont./ When Koch-Grünberg saw
194 Xiriána women dressed in a little fringed apron (181), he had
199

181. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305 and Plates 45, 48 (4, 5).

reason to suspect that they may have taken over and preserved the ancient dress of the Maiongkong (Yekuaná) women. Thus, he writes: "They, too, were surely not originally peculiar to these Indians, for some of them wore the little apron up on their stomachs, on others it had slipped down halfway to the knees" (182).

182. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305, footnote 1, and p. 306.

Comparative investigations show that the cotton belts of the Surára, Pakidái, and Puseheweterí reached them from the outside, that is, directly from the Karaiben or by way of the Xiriána (183), along with cotton. With regard to the way they

183. According to Métraux, the Xiriána took over their dress from the Karaiben (Métraux, 1948, p. 863).

291 With regard to the way they
292 were worn and the use they were put to, however, there followed
194 a transformation process, which is very informative. That is, when, on the basis of the statements in the literature, I had traced in my dissertation all the motives that might have induced the South American primitive peoples to tie on belts and hip cords, the result was as follows: "It has been possible to prove that the idea of adornment plays only a secondary role, as does the magical motive. The feeling of modesty is entirely eliminated as a cause, and also verification for a sexual stimulus is lacking. On the other hand, the investigations show that the belts and hip cords primarily have the purpose of protecting the genital organs from insects, thorns, etc. (as a holding device for the upward-placed penis, the uluri, the pubic aprons, etc.)" (184) (185).

184. Becher, 1951, p. 192.
185. Becher, 1955, p. 153.

/35 cont./

291 On the basis of my field work, however, I have reached different conclusions with respect to the Surára, Pakidái, Pusheweteri, Aramamesteri, Xiriána, and Karauateri. Protection of the genital organs is completely eliminated for the women of these tribes, and for the men it is at most of secondary, if not tertiary importance. The thin hip-cord gives them, in fact, the same outward security that the article of clothing gives the civilized person. Though nothing is covered by it, except the glans penis, the absence of it immediately arouses a feeling of modesty in them, which, however, differs from that which has been instilled in us in that it has nothing to do with their nakedness. Clothing, shirts and trousers which I brought along as gifts, was donned by them, to be sure, as a joke, in somewhat the way we might dress up for a carnival, but they were glad when they could take it off again. Yet these Indians never showed the least shyness or embarrassment before me in their unclothed state, and when I had won their friendship and convinced them of the harmlessness of my photographic equipment, men, women, and children let themselves be photographed in relaxed and natural poses.

291
123

292 In contrast to the important hip-cord, the belts of the Surára and Pakidái are expressly ornamental objects. Since they are worn not only for festivals, however, but also on all ceremonial occasions, magical motives may likewise play a part. At the same time, they are a distinguishing mark for specific tribes and age classes. They differ from all the other belts of South American Indians, as do the men's belts of the Waikâ (186) (187), in that they are open in front

186. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

187. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

[114] and positively accentuate the pubic parts. Thus, they seem to represent striking evidence for the view of Brosse (188) and

188. Grosse, 1894, p. 96.

Surára
Pakidái

/35 cont./

292 114 Westermarck (189), who regard the belts as a sexual stimulus,

189. Westermarcj, 1901, pp. 195/96, 211.

by means of which the eyes are supposed to be drawn to the pubic parts. For the Surára and Pakidái, however, /36/ this hypothesis does not apply, in spite of their open belts, for the naked body does not provide any sensual stimulation for them, but rather solely the sexual act. According to Krause, among the Karajá /Caraja/ the feeling of modesty of the girls is supposed to have led to the development of the types of belts. As evidence for this, he gives the following observation: "Women never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and small girls from whom I bought belts went behind the nearest mat wall in order to put on a new one there before they brought me the worn belt" (190). My experiences among the Surára

291 123

190. Krause, 1911, pp. 208/09.

and Pakidái were the same with respect to the hip cords, among men as well as among women and children, but they always untied their belts without shyness and gave them to me in exchange for trade goods. This was also true of the Puseheweterf women, which shows that their little fringed aprons do not represent, say, a pubic covering, but merely ornamentation. Moreover, they also tie on their belts only for festive occasions.

292 184

291 171 The situation with respect to the children's belt made of the skin of the maracajá is unique. It should be noted, however, that in Guiana, one of the chief South American areas of distribution of the skin belt (191) (192), specimens made of jaguar skin have

191. Becher, 1951, I, p. 82; II, plate and Map No. 4.

192. Becher, 1955, p. 72.

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
[192] xinarîke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarí -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
[824] out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
[531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

/64 cont./
553 776 [782] high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermediaries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris" [777] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 114 191 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 302 [412] [824] On the day of the name-giving the children are given a tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara -- Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in 553 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove ● 291 up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under [834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good [292] form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around children (see pp. 64 ff.).

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

241 166 361 It is worth mentioning that at present in the course of one year the Surára as well as the Pakidái regularly carry on their field work in two places that are far apart. During the rainy season, April-September, the Surára, as is well known, live at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá and the Pakidái on a right tributary of the middle Demini, where they also own fields. On the other hand, they spend the summer season together in the large, open Surára maloka (between the Demini and Aracá rivers), around which was laid out a roça which was large enough to be divided among the Surára and Pakidái families. Thus, both tribes always have the benefit of abundant harvests at their permanent dwelling sites. In addition, there are the bananas and pupunha fruits of the abandoned fields, to which the entire tribe travels at the time of this harvest, or gathering expeditions are undertaken to bring in chestnuts, inga, and other kinds of wild fruits.

241 423 Since, however, on account of the seminomadic way of life of these Indians, one forest clearing or another is left untended for shorter or longer periods, there is the danger that in the meantime members of hostile tribes will break in and take possession of the produce there. Provision is made for this, however. Before the tribe leaves one of its clearings, a few men commissioned by the chief stick several wooden arrow points and thorns of the pupunha palm, coated with poison, into the ground and put leaves over them. Hostile Indians with plunder in view therefore risk the danger of running these into their legs (370).

[291] 370. All Indians of this region go barefoot.

[184] As I was told, this custom is resorted to by all Yanomámi tribes, and for this reason no Indian would ever think of setting foot on the deserted clearing of another tribe (371).

[114] 371. This hint may be of the greatest importance for research travelers who want to work in this region.

Surara
Pakidai

/90 cont./

514 [264] There is frequent belching during and after eating, and it happens not infrequently that a member of the family breaks wind, often with a loud noise, which, however, is received with happy laughter, without any damage to the appetite. Both sexes also spit a great deal as a result of the tobacco rolls which they have in the mouth almost constantly (see p. 190).

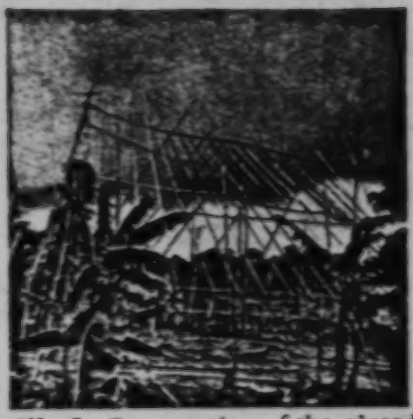
Urination is done in the immediate vicinity of the maloka during the day and in the hearth at night. Men and boys always urinate in a squatting position, just like women and girls. For their other needs they all go a bit deeper into the forest clearing during the day, or even to the edge of the forest. When they have finished, they rub the seat back and forth a few times on the ground or against a tree trunk. The mother holds small children, in case she happens to be lying in the hammock, over the edge of it. Then she wipes her hand or lower arm across its seat a few times, or, if necessary, she uses a little stick to clean it. The little heap is covered with ashes or earth and stamped into the ground by the mother. If an adult has more important business to attend to at night, he digs a small hole beside the hammock and subsequently covers it with ashes or earth. Old or sick persons do this during the day as well. The reason that [825] [976] the Surára and Pakidái do not leave the maloka at night for the aforementioned purpose is because they are afraid of snakes and jaguars, as well as of nonexí, the evil spirit which transmits sickness (see p. 211). Persistent unpleasant odors are not noticeable even in closed malokas, however, since they are dispelled by the ascending smoke of the constantly burning fire.

841 During their menstruation the women do not use anything to absorb the blood (see pp. 142/143). Pools of blood that remain on the ground are obliterated by them with their feet.

356 123 291 In general, however, the communal house is kept quite clean. One always sees men and women sweeping with a broom made of piaçaba fibers. For this work both sexes liked to put on the shirts and trousers or clothing which I had brought them as gift articles and which were otherwise not at all appreciated.

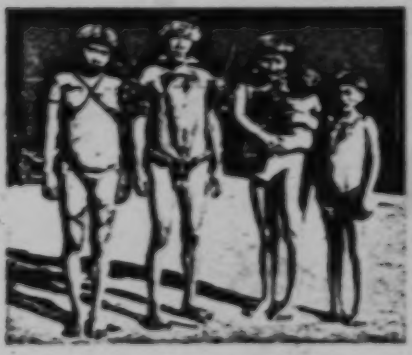
2: Becher--270 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

342
361
142
301
302
291
622
142
291
301
302
854
622
142
301
302



Ill. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)

Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)



Ill. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children

Ill. 11. Kurikayawo, the younger brother of the Surára chief

2: Becher--271 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára, Pakidái
/6/
142
411
302
291
516

Ill. 12. Surára warriors

142
291
411
516

142
411
301
302
342
291
624

Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow

Ill. 14. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

2: Becher-- 272 E-S (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Shiriana
Karauateri
Pusehewetéri

/7/

Ill. 15. Surára family. (The woman is a member of the Pusehewetéri and wears the characteristic fringed belt of this tribe)

142
291
302
516
854

142
301
302

Ill. 16. Xiriána woman, Ironasteri, with deforming facial adornment

Ill. 17. Nikeromá, a girl of the hostile Karauateri. (She is a captive of the Surára)

137
142
291
302

Ill. 18. Nikeromá (rear view!)

142
302
304

142
291
302
516

Ill. 19. Yaxoíma, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing

Ill. 20. Yaxoíma (left) and Rokoahíma, two Surára girls

124
137
142
291
302
516

142
291
302
237
516

Ill. 21. Jibeauwõ, my little interpreter (right), and Mauahemá (two orphan boys from the tribe of the Surára)

Ill. 22. Two Surára boys. Xaniwõ (right) and Mauahemá, who holds a monkey bladder between his leg

2: Becher--274 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/9/

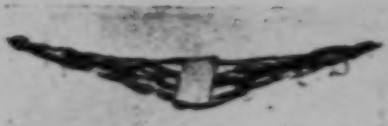
Ill. 23. The Surára boy Xaniwõ

130
142
291
302
516

Ill. 24. Pakidái woman, Riopemí

142
302
304

Ill. 25. The two oldest Surára women: Rokomá (right and Cinapemí



142
302
516

Ill. 26. Hammock of embira

352

Ill. 27. Liana hammock

Ill. 28. Plaited hammock of cotton

2: Becher--275 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/10/ Surara Pakidái

352
516
854
593

Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

342
231

142
302
291
516
372

Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/12/

137
241
622
516
412

Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

137
481
114
142
302
291
516
624

Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Porêhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/13/

Surára
Pakidái

142
302
296

Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

769
142
291
516
302
342
415
26

Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

516
342
411
535

Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemño is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

2: Becher--279 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Sutára
Pakidái

/14/

142
516
276
769
291

Ill. 44. Sutára and Pakidái men blow snuff-powder into each other's noses

769
276

Ill. 45. Beginning of the state of ecstasy after the taking of the snuff-powder

2: Becher--280 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidai

/15/

769
276
142
291
302

Ill. 46. Height of ecstasy

Ill. 47. Circle dance in the state of ecstasy

769
276
535
769
522

Ill. 48. Petapoanhamũ -- the embracing-combat performed in a sitting position

2: Becher--281 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/16/
Surára
Pakidái
755
756
291

Ill. 49. Curing the sick in pouring rain. (Five Surára medicine-man helpers dance around a youth sick with chicken pox)

524
237

Ill. 50. Ball game with a monkey bladder

/202 cont./

412 [184] (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl. 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surará and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife, [171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Sirionó (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] [197] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

411 [324] The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The bowstring is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

[627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

● 291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
382 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the hĩkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the hĩkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the hĩkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

4: Wilbert--64 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Nabudub

●291
142
516
854

Nabudub Indians in front of their house, an imitation of a Makiritare house.

142
291
352
516
594
283

A Nabudub (Sanemá) nuclear family in front of its house.
The hammocks are of vegetal fiber.

Nabudub

4: Wilbert--65 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 Sanema

142
291
516
854
302

Nabudub (Sanemá) women and children.

142
302
291
352
516

Nabudub couple seated on hammocks of cotton made by the woman.

4: Wilbert--72 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

114
342
516
291
142
302

The author with a group of Sanemá on the upper Ventuari.

501

Sanemá raft.

4: Wilbert--73 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

Y
142
●291
302
854
516

Group of Sanemá women and children of the upper Orinoco. In the background the wall of a communal house of the Makiritare Indians.

M
[344]

4. Wilbert--74 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ1
Sanema

142
302
291
501
352
516

Group of Sanemá Indians of the upper Ventuari in their house. The girl (standing) is wearing ornaments of white feathers.

4: Wilbert--78 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
291
301
411
516

Waica family of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzz

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

411
291
137

The Silent Hunters

[Frontispiece - facing title page]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Ma Kiri'fare SS20

Had Luis Antonio been wearing clothes, we should have pronounced him very well turned out, for he looked dark and perfectly groomed in his nudity, which was enhanced in very smart fashion by a loincloth of fiery red and a ruffle of white feathers on his right arm. In addition to his name and his knowledge of Spanish there was one other thing about him that suggested that his story might not be quite the usual one: his rotten teeth. All the Indian peoples have teeth that are very strong and brilliantly white. They are used to hard exertions on the meat the savage eats, while his fruits provide the necessary minerals, and keep their strength and colour well into old age. Luis Antonio was an exception—his teeth were no longer good: there was a long history to them, and we soon got to know it.

Uarema—Uarma, Ualema, Uadma, or Uadema were alternative forms, all very close in the Shirian pronunciation—had been a Guayca boy from the Uagna tribe. They were real warriors, forever at war with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. Battles were a regular feature of tribal life. When the arsenal of long-range weapons had been exhausted the armies would come to grips with clubs and sticks. During one such engagement the young Uarema disappeared into the forest and, finding himself lost, stayed all alone on the bank of the Merevari, living on fruit and worms. At the time he was probably no more than four or five years old, but the Guayca Indians are savages among the savages, and four or five is old enough for a boy to know what is good to eat in the forest and what isn't; where to find it; and how to catch it. While he was all by himself on a beach, getting a few little fish by striking at them with a stick, a Makiritari party came along, found him there, and took him with them. They were going down the Caura to sell canoes to the people on the rubber plantations at Maripa (which is almost on the Orinoco). The child, travelling with them, soon accustomed himself to their language and their Cassava bread.

At Maripa, one Martin Viudo, a rubber man who knew Guiana like the palm of his hand, saw the boy and prodded him as you would prod a spring chicken or a sucking-pig in a shop.

'A fine boy this,' he declared. 'But wicked. Wicked and obstinate, like all

142
302
276

10. *Luis Antonio prefers the local tobacco to our own civilized brands.*

11 & 12. *Waruna's brothers-in-law.*

142
291
302

[301]
→

[P.96-B]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

139
291
481

13. *For the Shyriana, lianas provide a continuation of the forest track.*

[P.96-C]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

* 123
142
136
● 291
302
501

14. *On the river Waqua: a sloth.*

[p. 96 - D]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

322
291
142
516

18. *Pancho makes his oars at home: the final smoothing stage.*

226
123

19. *Enrico and Pedro make a good catch in the Mari.*

[p. 96 – F]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20
M
115
291
Y
115
291
*123

21. *The Indians of La Paragua have lost all but a shadow of their old proud personalities. Left to right: - Sepali, Pedro, Suba, Pedro's wife, Sempronio, Thomasso. Enrico in background.*

[p 96 - H]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 feminine. The hard struggle for existence is naturally reflected more strongly
142 in the women, the bearers of the race.

On the whole the Samatari, just as they speak much the same language, differ very little in other ways from the rest of the Shirians, except in so far as they are, so to speak, more typical. They represent the nearest approximation to the ideal Shirian, the physical symbol of the whole race. And paradoxically this 'ideal' quality could be seen in all four somatic varieties: each seemed the prototype of its kind.

As regards the pygmies, who were very much in the minority, it seems to me that here we have an ancient, autochthonous race, formerly conquered and then later assimilated by the Shirians, on an equal footing. To infer the reverse of this process would be absurd.

123 The women were completely naked. Combined with their hairlessness and
291 their filth, this hardly increased their feminine charm. The men went naked too, but following the custom of such Indians as wear no loincloth, their genitals were gathered up and bound tight to the lower belly with a string of liana wound round the body. However strange it may seem, this usage has nothing to do with modesty, being simply a device to keep one's unmentionables from getting caught on thorny undergrowth in the woods.

IV

The Samatari gradually retired to the shelter of the palm leaves, leaving only the roughest customers still hanging round Enrico and me. We were together again at last, while our Guayca guides had mysteriously disappeared into some hidden quarter of the encampment. As a last straw, parties who had been out hunting began to straggle back, a few at a time, while it was still daylight. Each little band of newcomers had no idea we were there, and each time we had to go through the same near-massacre.

Those who had already inspected us and qualified as experts on the nature of bearded men shouted the news to those who came later, well before they reached the camp-fire zone. These late-comers would run up to us and when they saw us, stop suddenly, with an expression of bemused cupidity filling their eyes. Then, uttering sharp little howls that reminded me of the jubilant yapping of a beast that has cornered its prey, they would hurl themselves on us

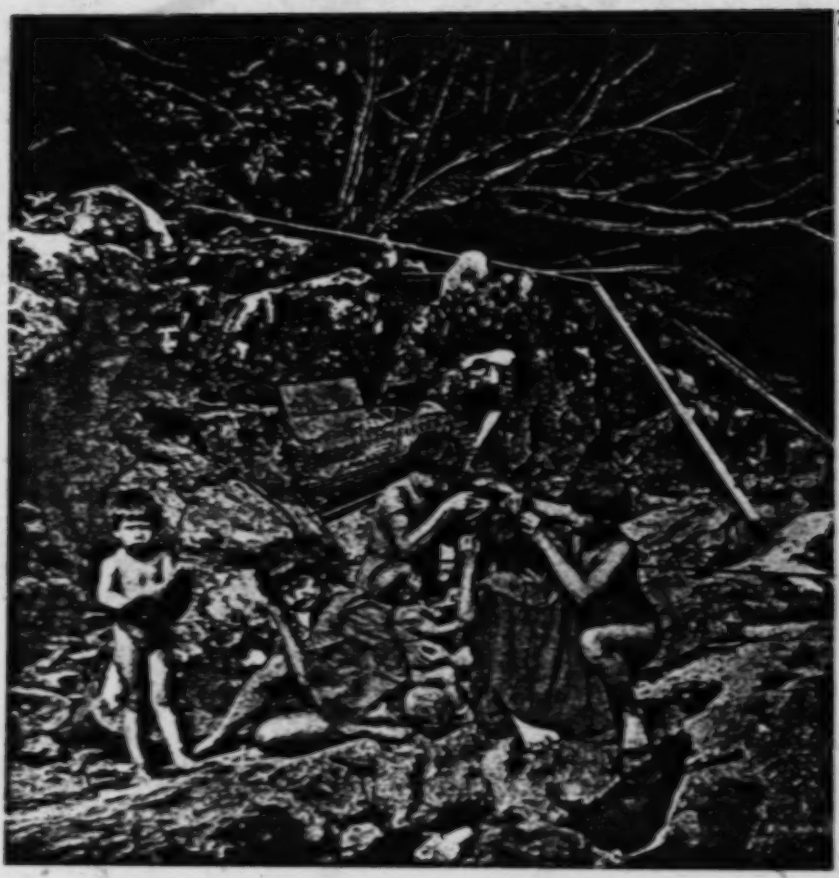
291
133

24. *Carmine undergoes anatomical inspection at Shyriss hands.*

[p. 144-C]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

515
302
516
291



50. While the men brave the falls, their women-folk pause for hygiene.

[p. 192 - H]

/453 cont./

276 Several varieties of "yupo," of different degrees of strength, are prepared with leaves, bark, and ashes of bark. In the form of powder, it is blown by another into the nose of the one using it. The helper is the one who blows it, but the one using it fills the little tube and consequently is the one responsible with regard to the amount taken.

The "yopo" is connected with their religion and must be taken in order to carry out most of the sorcery, magic, or spells. Nevertheless, some become so addicted to the drug that they take it in great quantities and remain under its influence from midday until evening almost every day.

"Yopo" greatly enlarges the pupil, to the point of almost covering the entire iris of the eye.

The intoxication which it produces is similar to that caused by alcohol, but the effect passes sooner. An excessive dose may leave a person flat on his back, foaming at the mouth, and without strength enough to get up or to resist anything which might be done to him.

• 291 Clothing

The item of clothing which is fundamental for both men and women is a cord tied around the waist. Men are not considered decently dressed if they do not have the penis held up by the foreskin by the aforementioned cord.

[177] There is a desire to obtain trousers and shirts for protection against insects.

302 Ornaments

The predominant style of cutting the hair is that of shaving the upper part of the cranium, leaving a border of hair about five centimeters wide around it. The lower edge of /454/ this border of hair should come exactly to the upper edge of the ears and a short space above the eyebrows. The straighter and more abrupt the lines of the hair, the better is the haircut. Sometimes they let the hair grow over the whole head. Sometimes, in order to rid themselves of lice, they shave the entire head. The whole head may be shaved for other reasons as well.

/454 cont./

304 All have the ears pierced. A good number of men and women also have the center of the lower lip pierced. Some women have the corners of the mouth pierced, and a few have the nose pierced.

304 The boys and men wear sticks through their ears, sometimes
301 feathers or also little sticks with feathers. Those who have the lip pierced keep a little stick or a feather there all the time.

The women wear flowers or leaves in their ears. The perforations in the lips and the nose generally have sticks in them. On gala occasions, the little stick which goes through the nasal septum may be as long as the face is wide.

301 In addition to the cords tied around the waist, they frequently
291 wear similar cords around the arms and legs.

The men may also wear a heavy cotton belt and similar bands on a smaller scale on the arms. They may wear feathers fixed on the shoulders and a monkey tail around the head, to emphasize the border of hair, or they may adorn the hair with down.

The women also use a heavy cotton belt, clearly different from the one which the men use.

Girls wear a band at the waist, woven of cotton, with decorations on its front part. They also customarily cross the chest with bands of cotton.

302 Onoto, charcoal, and several other paints are used for body
53 designs. They do not seem to have any religious meaning, but
[386] simply an ornamental purpose. These designs include dots, stripes, wavy lines, and circles. Sometimes they paint a wide strip and then make the design by scraping off the paint. They also imprint upon the skin /455/ ornamental designs by using a "mapire" or the hand, or some combination of these. It seems that some of them have their favorite designs.

Hides, Textiles, and Weaving

237 The skin of the jaguar or of another mammal rarely reaches the settlement in a single piece. But even if it did, it is immediately cut into small pieces so that each one may have a little piece to cover his quiver, or at least a band to wear tied to the arm.

7: Barker--63 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate III

291
252
302
415

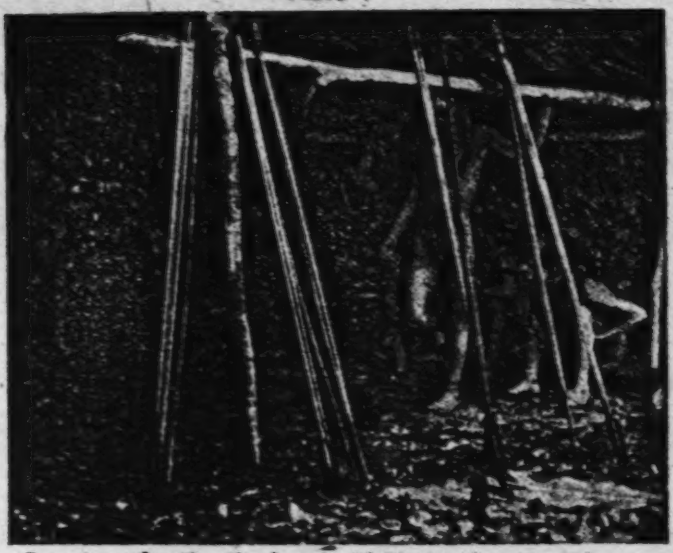
The men cook the meat from hunting. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

372
516
302

They produce fire by making a little stick rotate between the palms of the hands, with the friction end resting on a piece of soft wood. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

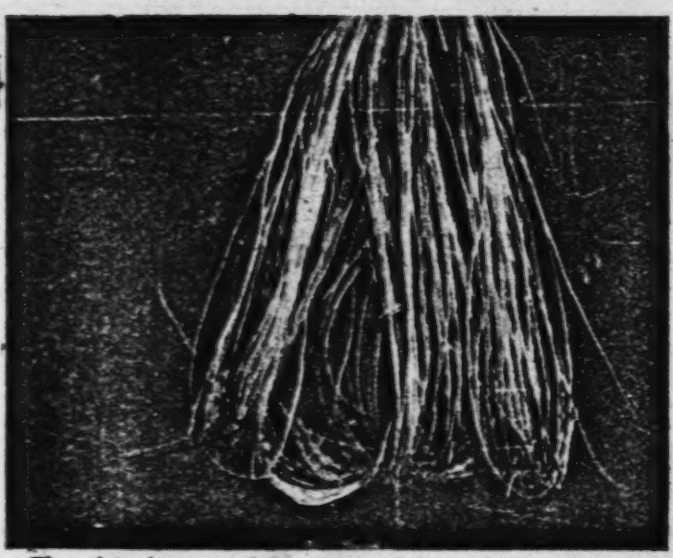
Plate V

342
411
• 291



Interior of a Guaika hut in El Platanal. Note the extraordinary length of their powerful arrows. (Photo. by the author.)

352
824



The chinchorro or hammock of the Guaika consists of vegetable fibers joined at both ends, without any transversal weaving. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

8: Barker--11 M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

142
114
291
302
516

Mr. James Barker, in Mahekodotedi, accompanied by a group of Guaica Indians. (Photo Frobenius Expedition, 1954.)

8: Barker--16 M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

291
439

Guaica Indians in El Platanal buying machetes.

114
291
516
302
142

A group of Guaica natives surrounding James Barker.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

501
516

142
482
411
●291
←

142
302
291
→

TOP: One evening, thirteen Guaharibos from the Padamo arrived. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM LEFT: Guaharibo Indian. Notice the length of his bow and arrows. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Guaharibo woman. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[n.64-B]

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

101 Guiano-Amazonas district of Venezuela, is neither so simple nor clear-cut as it at first appears. None of the Indians of the Guianian highlands are natural settlers. The more primitive groups, who live entirely from cropping the forest, fishing and hunting, are compelled to lead wandering lives; and those who practise agriculture and live in villages are ever ready for [167] a change of scene. These things, allied to an ingrained migratory instinct, lead them to keep moving about the country throughout their lives.

More Guaharibos from the Padamo

123 On the afternoon of May 25th another party of Guaharibos arrived at Esmeralda. I was approaching the jetty in one of the boats when I heard Francisco shouting from the other bank. It was nothing new to hear Francisco's bellowing; whenever he had killed a tapir that was too heavy for him to carry alone, or when the day's bag was too big to be loaded on his minute *curiara*, he would give tongue in this manner. I turned back to join him and as I did so he pointed with a paddle to an Indian craft which till then had been hidden from me by the bank-side vegetation. I steered towards it, standing up in the boat and making gestures of welcome and friendship. For an answer two men stood up timidly in their [501] boat as I went over to them and circled round them. Their craft, which rocked buoyantly in my wash, was built of a single strip of bark. It was similar to the one the children had left behind them, but bigger and contained thirteen people. Then I led them back to the landing-stage.

The official reception of these people we left to Butrón, who had a wonderful gift for this sort of thing. He quickly had some machetes brought out as gift-offerings. Of the boat's crew nine were young men in their teens, two of whom had their faces blackened with charcoal. Among them was Mopare, the eldest of our first visitors. Two children of about six and two young women tried to efface themselves against the bottom [291] of the boat. The youths wore some cotton material round their middles which was secured back and front by a belt of string. The women wore a sort of fringed apron no more than a few inches across.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

133

● 291
516
137

TOP: The famous Piedra del Cocuy juts upwards from the forest.
(Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)

BOTTOM: The first Waikas appear between the trees and hail us.
(Photograph by J. Grelier)

[p. 96 - B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waikas. We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows, they motioned us to come closer.

"*Shori! Shori!*" they shouted.

"*Shori! Shori!*" we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and *manioc* and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying "*Shori! Shori!*" and we responded as in a litany, "*Shori!*"

Physically the Waika is no different from the Guaharibo. He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waika's only weapon. Made of strong,

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

142
291
302
516

Waika Indian of the " Platanal ". (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

[p. 112-A]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

142
302
291
546

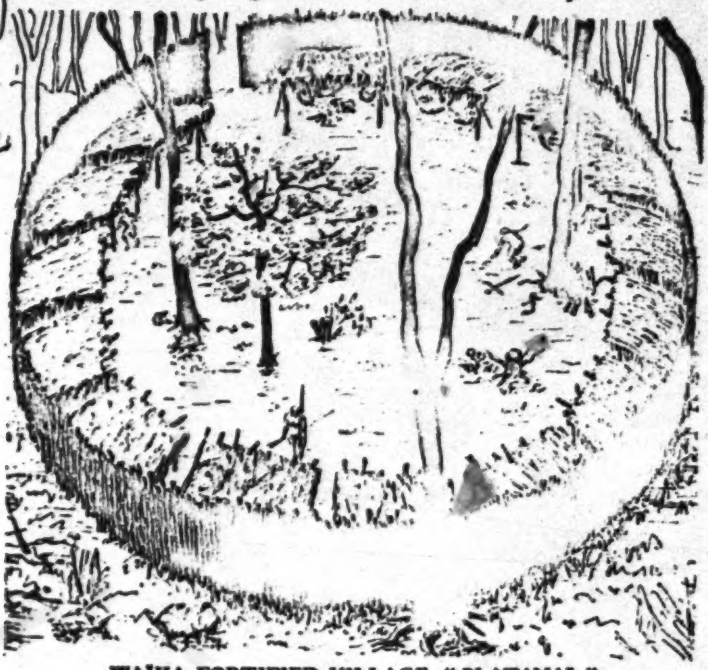
Waika family of the " Platanal ". (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

[p. 112 - B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

361
123
[609]
entered. It was deserted ; the women and children had doubtless fled at our approach and were now probably hiding in the forest or the plantation. This would explain why the men had been unwilling to allow me to wander off on my own. After a time they began to filter back. The boys were the

123
[291]



361
342

WAIKA FORTIFIED VILLAGE, "PLATANAL"

123
[291]
first to return, the younger ones wearing nothing but an armlet above the elbow, and the older ones wearing the string round their hips and knotted to the prepuce. Then came the women, the oldest first, followed by the younger ones with their babies.
[302]
All were completely naked and all wore their hair cut in the pudding-basin fashion favoured by the men. They kept close together, chattering ; some began idly swinging in their hammocks in their houses. When we tried to approach them the men followed close on our steps.

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
199 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[439] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[438] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[64] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[59] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

291 segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through
[304] the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and
[301] nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

796 Other than the social feasts held during the dry
527 season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, puri-
881 fication rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a
727 vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts
783 during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed
762 in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.
764
211

796 The puberty rite for females and the purification
881 rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is
783 confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific
727 kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

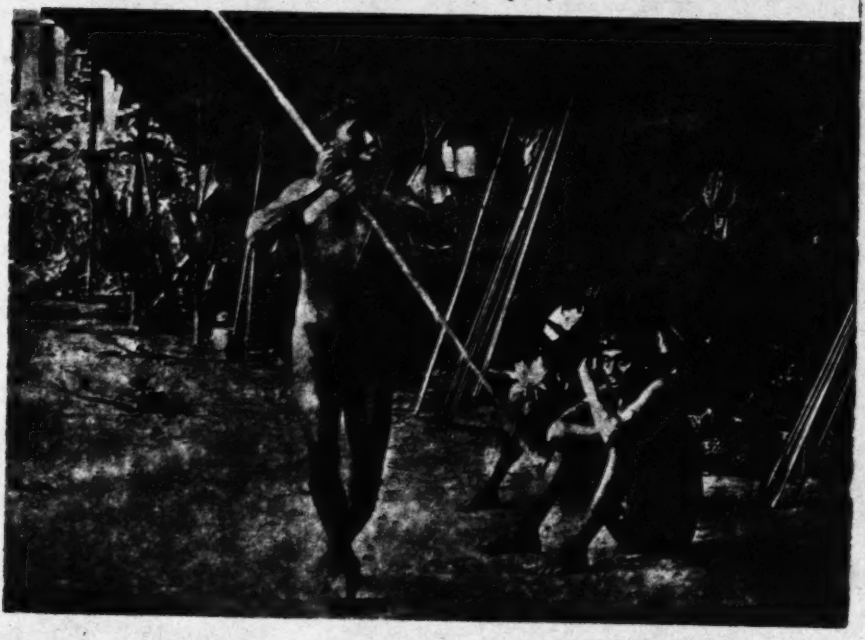
756 The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fast-
[796] ing and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk any-
[784] where except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
291
301
411
137
574

Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekura (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).



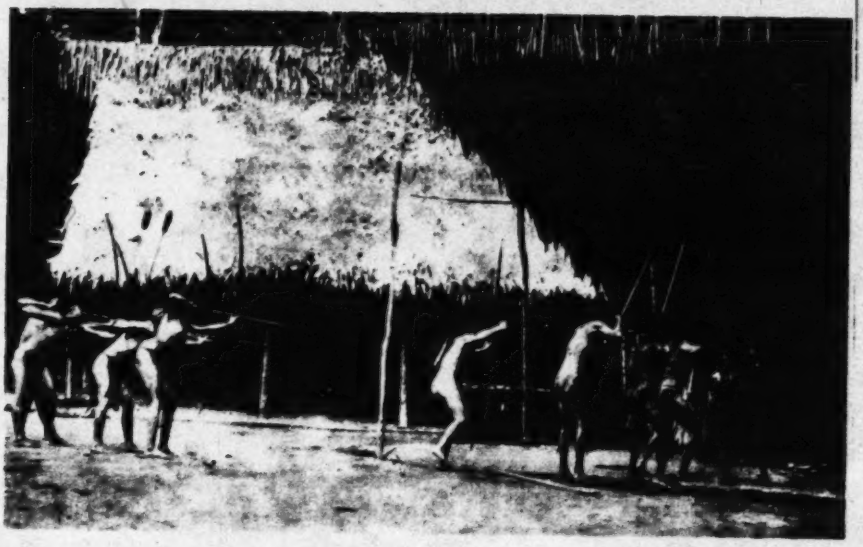
142
302
291
411
516
755
342
415

[P. xviii]

142
302
516
251
262
415
352
353

Clay pots and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Mamu-teri men shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).



142
291
516
411
342
726

142
302
291
516
578

Fig. 1-1. Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast.

000
181
152
721
123

way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1-1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

721
181
128
114

The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnamamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1-2).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere is unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1-2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnamamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their host village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.

142
301
411
535
623
578
291

11: Chagnon F-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoáma SQ18

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąobawä's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Arawari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Arawari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kąobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

Fig. 1-4. Kaimaãima, Kąobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1-3. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2–7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
531
286

Fig. 2-7. Orazimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

241
254
[829]
[184]

nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

[101]
[114]

[8]The Yąnomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xirixana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yąnomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikeä*, is a Yąnomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yąnomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yąnomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yąnomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yąnomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
291
302
516
756
276
342

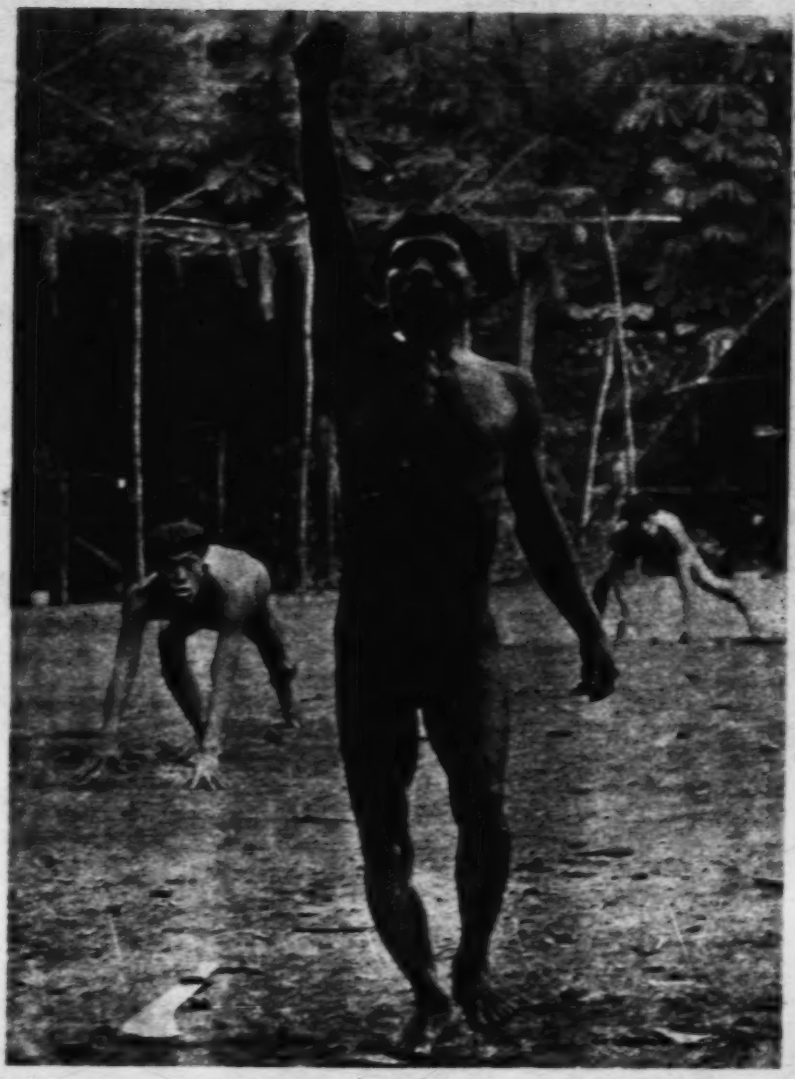


Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura*—demons.*

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *hedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yąnomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

769
266
628

139
142
291
301
462
482
313

Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers.

462 313 [482]

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity.

593 462 [252]

593 164 [537]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobömou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*mo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

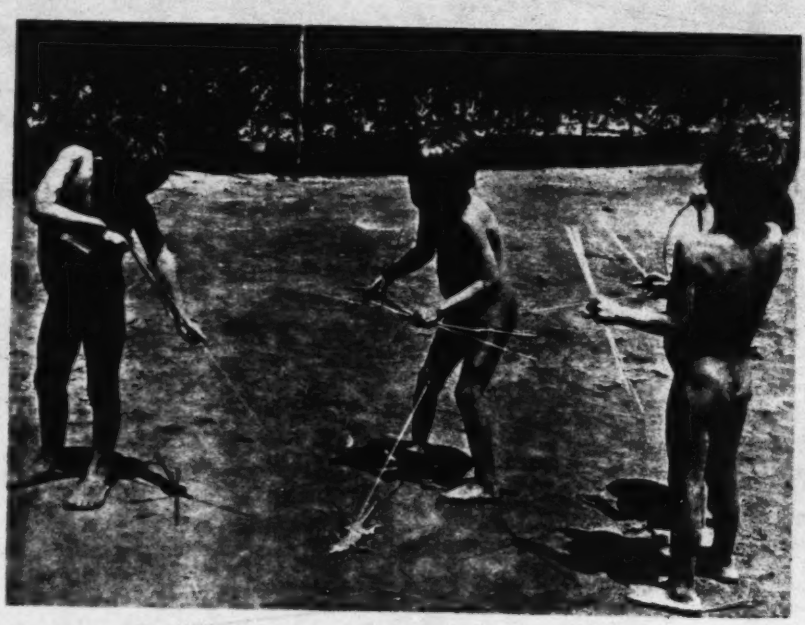


Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

156
622
593
578

duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwä, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwä's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwä went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwä recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kąobawä had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwä before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kąobawä disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

156
622
578
[276]

On another occasion one of Kąobawä's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kąobawä managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kąobawä stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3–9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

142
291
302
578
411
622

Fig. 3–9. Kąobawä (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been bashed on the head and blood is streaming down his neck.

The members of Lower Bisaasi-teri had joined Kąobawä's group for the feast, as they, too, were on friendly terms with the Mahekodo-teri and had benefited from the latter's hospitality after the treacherous feast in 1950. Before Kąobawä's group had separated from the Lower Bisaasi-teri, there had been one headman over the entire composite village. This was a brother to Kąobawä's father; when the groups split, the older man led the faction of Lower Bisaasi-teri, leaving Kąobawä to lead the Upper group. On this particular day, when the two groups had temporarily coalesced for the feast, the older man was conceded the honor of chanting with the visitor's delegate, Asiawä, the son of the Mahekodo-teri headman.

Ten minutes after the old visitor entered the village, Asiawä entered the clearing, touching off an explosion of wild cheering that marked the opening of the dance. He was spectacular in his bright new loin cloth, long red parrot feathers streaming from his [illegible]nds, and black monkey-tail headband covered with white buzzard down. He marched dramatically to the center of the village clearing, while all of Kąobawä's followers cheered, and struck the visitor's pose: motionless, head upward, and weapons held vertically next to his face. He stood there two or three minutes so his hosts could admire him. This gesture signified that he had come in peace and was announcing his benevolent intentions by standing where all could see him. If they bore him malice, they had to shoot him then or not at all.[5] He then marched to Kąobawä's house and was met by Kąobawä's father's brother, the temporary leader of the combined host group, and the two men immediately began to chant. This was the formal acceptance of the feast invitation by Asiawä on behalf of his entire group. They chanted for five minutes or so, bouncing up and down from the knees, now face to face, now side to side, but always lively and loud. Suddenly, they stopped, and Asiawä squatted, his back to the sun, while the host's representative retired to his hammock. The cheering died down. Asiawä squatted for several minutes before one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought a half-gourd full of plantain soup to him and set it on the ground. He ignored it politely for several minutes, staring into the distance, holding his weapons horizontally next to his mouth. Presently, he put his weapons down, picked up the container of soup, and drained it in one draft before setting it back down. As soon as he had set it down, one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought him a large pack-basket filled with boiled green plantains and smoked armadillo meat. Asiawä stood while the strap of the basket was placed over his head and adjusted across his shoulders so as to not crumple his headdress. Trying to look dramatic, he staggered rapidly out of the village under his burden of food, while the hosts again cheered wildly. This food was eaten by the visitors while they finished their decorating, each receiving a small portion.

Within a half-hour of Asiawä's departure the visitors had completed their decorating and had assembled just outside the entrance to the village. The men, all finely decorated, stood at the front of the gathering, while the women, girls, and young boys, also decorated, but each carrying a load of family possessions, brought up the rear. At the signal of Asiawä's father, the first two dancers burst into the village, separated, and danced around the periphery of the clearing in opposite directions, while Kąobawä's group welcomed them enthusiastically with shouts and shrill screams. Two at a time,

[5] I have a number of informants' accounts of visitors being shot down while standing in the clearing to announce their visit. Whenever I accompanied visitors to strange villages for the first time I, too, was obliged to participate in this rite and always had an uneasy feeling about it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628*
574
437
438

giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *so mnsiba*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4–2 Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, arapuri.

628*
574
301
302
516
411
415
342
264
262
291

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

• 291
411
*628
578

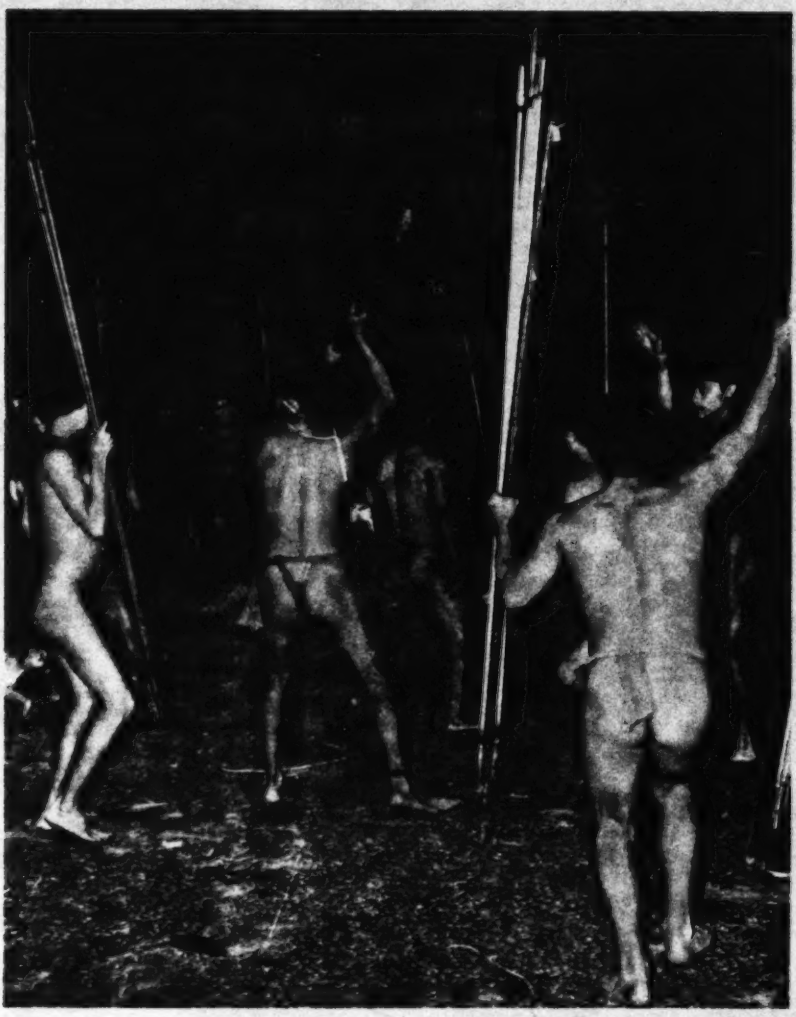


Fig. 4–3. Chest-pounding duel about to be escalated.

*628
578

his own distance from his victim by measuring his arm length to the man's chest, taking several dry runs before delivering his blow. He would then wind up like a baseball pitcher, but keeping both feet on the ground, and deliver a tremendous wallop with his fist to the man's left pectoral muscle, putting all of his weight into the blow. The victim's knees would often buckle and he would stagger around a few moments, shaking his head to clear the stars, but remain silent. The blow invariably raised a "frog" on the recipient's pectoral muscle where the striker's knuckles bit into his flesh. After each blow, the com-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

301
516
291

[57]

Fig. 4–4. Many feasts end in prearranged chest-pounding duels; they permits the allies to display the fact that they are friendly but capable of defending their sovereignty. These two men were pounding each other's chests a few minutes before this photo was taken. Here, they embrace each other intimately, vowing eternal friendship, and ask each other for specific trade goods.

*128
578

these few minutes the men were rapidly changing the points of their arrows to war tips: curare and lanceolate bamboo. The women and children began to cry, knowing that the situation was getting serious, and they grouped into the farthest corners of their houses near the exits. One by one the men withdrew, returned to their houses, and drew their bows. The visitors pulled back and formed a protective circle around their own women and children, also fitting arrows into their bows and drawing them. The village grew almost silent. The leaders of the respective groups stepped into the no man's land separating the two groups of armed men and began arguing violently, waving axes and clubs at each other. Suddenly, the spokesmen from the visiting group surged toward Kaobawä and his supporters, swinging their axes and clubs wildly at them, forcing them back to the line of men whose bowstrings were drawn taut. Kaobawä and his followers regained their footing and repelled their adversaries at this point, while the women and children from both groups began fleeing from the village, screaming and wailing. It looked as if

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

411
516
291
342
132
726

Fig. 5-2. Kąobawä's men and their allies lining up (wayu itou) *to raid the Patanowä-teri.*

726
[123]
[533]
[825]

children and women died down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording a sacred rite. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep baritone voice: "I am meat hungry! I am meat hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kąobawä calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowä. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5-3). Some even put on bright red loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kąobawä to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *waya itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them and left for Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä had been complaining all year of severe pains in his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked. Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *waya itou,* for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
714
291
726
302

Fig. 5–5. Hukoshikuwë leading a raiding party against the Patanowë-teri.

/27 cont./

6. Dress and Ornament

291 a) Hip cords and belts

From the age of four on both sexes constantly wear a hip cord -- nhamaaxí -- which is made by the women, but occasionally also by men, out of curauá fibers, the original material (see p. 55), or out of cotton. For the former, two strands are twisted to the right, and for the latter, to the left. The old technique of the right twist in the working of curauá fibers was thus retained, in spite of the adoption of cotton. There is, however, a further important difference. Whereas the hip cord of cotton represents the everyday dress, so to speak, /28/ the one made out of curauá fibers is at present used almost solely for ceremonial purposes.

All male Surára and Pakidái tie the penis up by means of the hip cord, which is done before donning it by tying a knot and drawing the foreskin through it.

With the hip cord these Indians feel clothed, and they therefore never take it off, not even for sleeping or bathing. Once when I was out hunting with the war chief of the Pakidái, Poréhiwö, he happened to tear his hip cord. He modestly stepped behind the nearest tree immediately and tied it together again. Later he told me that it would be the most flagrant offense against good form to walk about without the hip cord. The women would then cover their faces and scream loudly. Hence a man may never appear with his penis hanging down, and it would be a positively execrable crime, which is punished by blows, if he exposed his glans to the eyes of women and girls.

This shows that among the Surára and Pakidái the hip cord in general, for women and girls also use it without covering anything with it, and the tying up of the penis in particular are associated with feelings of propriety (137). I am herewith able to

137. The hip cord is never used as a device for carrying utilitarian articles, as Baldus noted, for example, among the Tapirapé

/29 cont./
291 and ridiculous (152) (153) (154).
171
174

152. Nimuendajú, 1914, pp. 321/22.

153. Becher, 1951, I, pp. 180/81;
II, plate and Map No. 18.

154. Becher, 1955, pp. 144/45.

292 On festival and ceremonial occasions, men, women, and
[192] children from the age of four on also tie over the hip cord a cotton belt -- nyõ -- (155), which is always open in front. As

155. It is the same word that is used to designate the cotton hammock.

a rule, the belts are made by the women; bachelors, however, must make their own.
[171] These are the string belts typical for Guiana (156) (157),

156. Becher, 1951, I, p. 169.

157. Becher, 1955, p. 138.

which, however, take on an appearance somewhat different from the familiar form because of wrappings or cross-bindings.
/Fig. 6 appears here./
292 All the men's and boys' belts are roll-shaped and have a
284 length of 70-80 centimeters and 40-50 centimeters, respectively. The diameter for the former is 4-5 centimeters, and for the latter, 2-3 centimeters. They are very simple to make, for around two small sticks thrust into the ground, the distance between them determining the length of the belt, a long cotton thread is looped until a thick layer is finally obtained. This is then simply tightly wound with a thin string of cotton or

/29 cont./

292 curauá fibers at /30/ /Fig. 7 appears here/ intervals of 1.5-2 284 centimeters for men's belts and 0.5-1 centimeter for boys' belts, which produces bulges and grooves. Before the belt is slipped off the sticks, a small, two to five-strand twisted cord of cotton or curauá fibers is drawn through the openings and knotted into a loop by means of the two ends three to five centimeters long. These two loops are twisted into each other in front, over the abdomen, by the wearer, and the knots keep the belt secure (Fig. 6a and b, Ill. 23). After [531] they are finished, serpentine [386] lines, circles, or dots are painted on these belts with urucú, for which a small stick is used; often, however, they are colored red all over.

Fig. 6a
Men's belt, detail.

Fig. 6b
Men's belt, diagram.

292 184 Among the Waiká, Zerries found the same men's belts (158),

158. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

and from the photographs in other publications of this author it may be seen that they are worn in the same way as among the Surára and Pakidái (159) (160).

159. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

160. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

Surára
Pakidái

/30 cont./

292
284

Fig. 7a
Young men's belt, detail.

Fig. 7b
Young men's belt, diagram.

Among the Surára and Pakidái, besides the men's and boys' belts, there is another special kind for young men, made with a plaiting technique. They are started in the manner described above, but after the layer of cotton is obtained, it is divided into two equally thick bundles which are tightly wound, alternately, at intervals of 1-1.5 centimeters. The belt therefore consists of two adjacent thin rolls of cotton, each two centimeters in diameter (Fig. 7a and b). Tie-strings and the wearing style correspond to the men's and boys' belts, as does the painting.

Women's and girls' belts are characterized by a wide, flat shape. The lengths vary between 55-70 centimeters and the widths between 6-8 centimeters for women's belts and 35-46 centimeters and 4-5 centimeters, respectively, for girls' belts. In making them, again two sticks are used, around which the cotton threads are wound. The resultant layer is divided into 6-8 equally thick bundles, each of which is wound with a cotton thread in the manner shown in Fig. 8a-c, and in this way the bunches of warp threads are held together. In other words, the longitudinal threads are held side by side by means of cross-bindings. The distance between these weft-threads is 2.5-3 centimeters for the belts of young women and

Surára
Pakidái
Puseheweteri

292 /30 cont./
284 girls and 0.5 centimeter for those of old women. This distin-
guishing feature was always pointed out to me. Tie strings and
292 the wearing style correspond in this case too with the men's belts,
53 as does the painting with urucú, which is applied on the outer
[386] side. As a result of their width, these belts are much easier to
paint than those of the men. Most often one sees serpentine lines,
occasionally circles are placed between them, and sometimes too
the painting only consists of circles, or circles and dots (Fig.
9 a-e; Fig. 10 a-d); there are also belts, however, which are
colored red all over.

292 ! Xiriána women who are married to Surára and Pakidái
184 men wear the same belts, as did the little captive of the Surára,
Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the /31/ /Figs. 8 and 9 ap-
pear here/ /32/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ Karauaterí (Ills. 17 and
[192] 18). When I asked them the name of their belts, they gave me
the designation -- nyõ -- which corresponds to the Surára and
Pakidái word.

292 The Puseheweteri women gave me the same word, although
184 their belts have a somewhat different form (161). They are 60-
[192]

161. I saw them on the women of that tribe
who were married to Surára and Pakidái men.

70 centimeters long and consist solely of a thick layer of cotton
292 which has been somewhat twisted together. In other words, it is
284 a very characteristic string-belt, that is, without wrappings or
184 cross-bindings. An additional little fringed apron, however, 22-
26 centimeters long, is attached to a tie-string. To make it, 60 to
90 cotton strings, 14-18 centimeters long, are put over the tie-
string. After that, starting from the left, the end of the first
string hanging down in front is knotted with the one of the second
hanging down in back and tightly twisted with it, then the front
end of the second one with the rear end of the third, and so
forth. The fringes hanging down are 7-9 centimeters long and,
to assure firmness, are wound once more below the tie-string
292 with a thin cotton thread. When the belt is worn, the little
53
184

[text continues on p. 69]

2: Becher--68 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

292
284

Fig. 8a-b. Part of a women's belt.

Fig. 8c. Part of a women's belt, diagram.

292
531

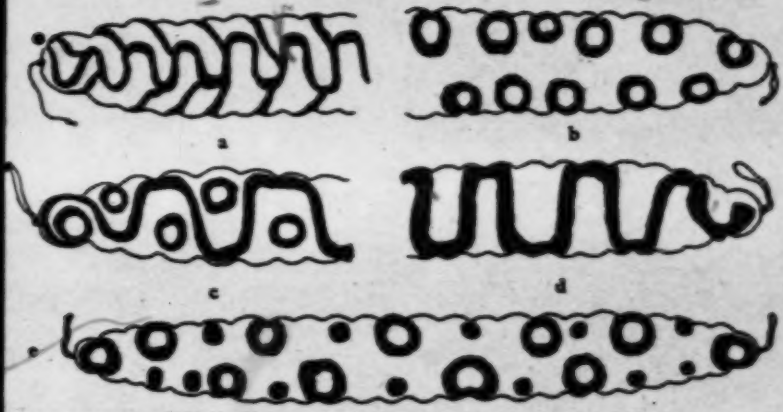


Fig. 9a-e. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts.

Puseheweterí
Surára,
Karimé

/32 cont./

292
531

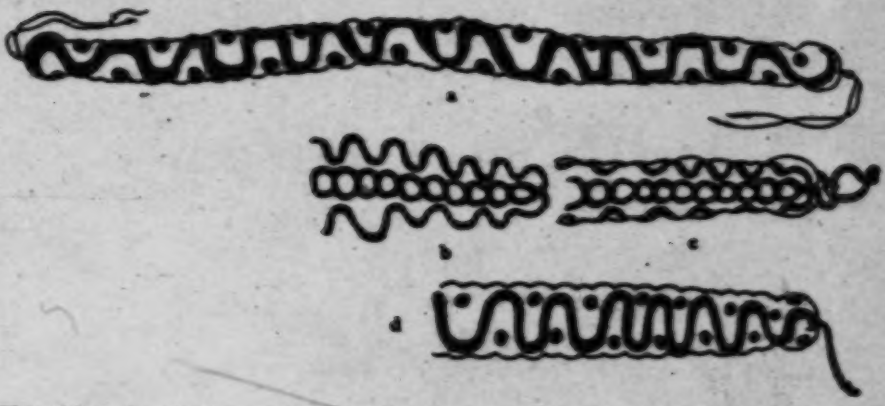


Fig. 10 a-d. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts. /On p. 131 this caption is given as "Various paintings from men's and young men's belts."/

531
292
184 fringed apron rests directly over the pubic region (Ill. 15). These belts,
including the little aprons, are as a rule dyed with urucú. It should
292 also be pointed out that younger Puseheweterí women usually adorn
531 the two ends of the little apron with small feathers of the toucan
237 (Rhamphastus sp.), mutum (Crax sp.), and inambé azul (Cotinga
184 cayana L.) fastened to a string. Older Puseheweterí women, on the other hand, always have hanging on the ends of the little apron eight to twelve mussel shells, 2-3 centimeters long and pierced on one side, which, when the wearers walk, beat together and make a soft jangling noise (Fig. 11).

292 Exactly the same belt with fringed apron is documented by
184 Salathé for the Karimé women, and from his statements it is to be seen further that the men also wear it, though without the pubic covering (162).

162. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 13a, b.

It should be mentioned that a few Surára women, following the example of their Puseheweterí sisters, have likewise fastened such a fringed apron to a tie-string of their plaited belts. In this the mixture of two cultural elements can be seen especially clearly.

Puseheweteri
surara

/32 cont./

292
531
237

Fig. 11 Fringed belt of an old Puseheweteri woman, with pierced mussel shells.

291
462
237

Finally, the Surára also use a child's belt -- yaoké -- which is always made by the father /33/ out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yaó. These belts are 30-35 centimeters long and 2-2.5 centimeters wide. One end is pierced to receive a thin tie-string of cotton or curauá fibers. The string is wound around the other end several times and then knotted (Fig. 12). This belt, too, is worn in such a way that it is open in front. Only now and then is it put on small boys and girls between 1-3 years old, who at that age, of course, do not even wear the hip cord (see p. 60), in order to promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

284

Surára
Shiriana

/33 cont./

291
237

Fig. 12. Child's belt made out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.).

promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

292
171

From the above description of the cotton string-belts it may be seen that, in spite of certain differences with respect to technique and the way they are worn, they resemble the corresponding belts of the Xiriâna and several Karaiben tribes of Guiana. Thus, a bundle of red-dyed cotton strings serves as a hip belt for the Xiriâna men, under which they wedge the preputium of the upraised penis (163). Arekunâ men often wear

163. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

a plaited string-belt of cotton, which, twisted together, takes on a sausage shape. This belt, also resembling in appearance the human- and monkey-hair belts in Guiana (164) (165), is

164. Becher, 1951, pp. 99 ff. and pp. 115 ff.

165. Becher, 1955, pp. 84 ff. and pp. 97 ff.

Surara
Pakidai

/34 cont./

292
171

mentioned by Martius (166), Richard Schomburgk (167), and Koch-

166. Martius, 1867, pp. 622/23.

167. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, p. 239.

Grünberg (168). Ule, shows in an illustration of two Arekuná men,

168. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 41.

shows how it is worn (169). It can be seen there that they use the

169. Ule, 1913, p. 283, Ill. 2.

belt for fastening their pubic apron, to which Appun likewise calls attention (170). Moreover, the cotton string-belt is documented

170. Appun, 1871, II, p. 307.

for the male Makuxí /Macusi/ (171) and for the Maionkong /Maioncon/,

171. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 77.

where it is worn by men (172) and women (173).

172. Rice, 1928, p. 220, illustration.

173. Stevens, 1926, p. 401, illustration.

The plaited, wide, flat women's belt of the Surára and Pakidái, however, also has its prototype among the Makuxí, where, to be sure, men wear it. Roth describes how it is made as follows: "The Makusi will plait a thick cotton cord upon two arrow thicks, and when completed will bend it twice upon itself in three equal parts and, by sewing, maintain it in this position to form what is now a broad flat belt" /cited in English/ (174).

174. Roth, 1924, p. 440.

/34 cont./

292 171 The neighboring Wapixana /Wapishana/ men (Aruak) /Arawak/, moreover, wear a very similar belt and attach to it a pubic band which is drawn between the legs (175).

175. Farabee, 1918, p. 29.

[648] [179] Since the Surára and Pakidái waged many wars with the Makuxí (the father of the Surára chief Hewemão is even supposed to have been killed by a Makuxí warrior), it would be entirely possible that they took over from this Karaiben /Carib/ tribe the form of the plaited, wide, flat belt, but then used it, not as men's, but as women's clothing.

179 292 171 184 The little fringed apron so typical for the Puseheweterí and Karimé women was also surely copied from Karaiben models, which, in turn, could have been borrowed from the Aruak, for Farabee confirms it also for Wapixana and Mapidian /Maopityan/ girls (176). According to Roth, a woven, red-dyed belt, the lower

292 171

176. Farabee, 1918, Pl. XXIX, A.

edge of which is fringed and, in addition, provided with three pendant tassels, is tied around young Makuxí and Wapixana girls on the occasion of their first menstruation. He designates this article of clothing as "apron belt" /cited in English/ (177). A

177. Roth, 1924, p. 437.

dyed belt provided with fringe is likewise documented for the Maiongkong (178) (179) and, /35/ according to Roth, resembles

178. R. H. Schomburgk, 1841, p. 215.

179. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, pp. 402/03.

000 the above-mentioned apron-belt (180). When Koch-Grünberg saw

180. Roth, 1924, p. 444.

Surára
Pakidái
Puseheweterí

292 /35 cont./ when Koch-Grünberg saw
174 Xiriána women dressed in a little fringed apron (181), he had
179

181. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305 and Plates 45, 48 (4, 5).

reason to suspect that they may have taken over and preserved the ancient dress of the Maiongkong (Yekuaná) women. Thus, he writes: "They, too, were surely not originally peculiar to these Indians, for some of them wore the little apron up on their stomachs, on others it had slipped down halfway to the knees" (182).

182. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305, footnote 1, and p. 306.

Comparative investigations show that the cotton belts of the Surára, Pakidái, and Puseheweterí reached them from the outside, that is, directly from the Karaiben or by way of the Xiriána (183), along with cotton. With regard to the way they

183. According to Métraux, the Xiriána took over their dress from the Karaiben (Métraux, 1948, p. 863).

291 with regard to the way they
292 were worn and the use they were put to, however, there followed
174 a transformation process, which is very informative. That is, when, on the basis of the statements in the literature, I had traced in my dissertation all the motives that might have induced the South American primitive peoples to tie on belts and hip cords, the result was as follows: "It has been possible to prove that the idea of adornment plays only a secondary role, as does the magical motive. The feeling of modesty is entirely eliminated as a cause, and also verification for a sexual stimulus is lacking. On the other hand, the investigations show that the belts and hip cords primarily have the purpose of protecting the genital organs from insects, thorns, etc. (as a holding device for the upward-placed penis, the uluri, the pubic aprons, etc.)" (184) (185).

184. Becher, 1951, p. 192.
185. Becher, 1955, p. 153.

/35 cont./

291 On the basis of my field work, however, I have reached different conclusions with respect to the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri, Xiriána, and Karauateri. Protection of the genital organs is completely eliminated for the women of these tribes, and for the men it is at most of secondary, if not tertiary importance. The thin hip-cord gives them, in fact, the same outward security that the article of clothing gives the civilized person. Though nothing is covered by it, except the glans penis, the absence of it immediately arouses a feeling of modesty in them, which, however, differs from that which has been instilled in us in that it has nothing to do with their nakedness. Clothing, shirts and trousers which I brought along as gifts, was donned by them, to be sure, as a joke, in somewhat the way we might dress up for a carnival, but they were glad when they could take it off again. Yet these Indians never showed the least shyness or embarrassment before me in their unclothed state, and when I had won their friendship and convinced them of the harmlessness of my photographic equipment, men, women, and children let themselves be photographed in relaxed and natural poses.

291 123

● 292 In contrast to the important hip-cord, the belts of the Surára and Pakidái are expressly ornamental objects. Since they are worn not only for festivals, however, but also on all ceremonial occasions, magical motives may likewise play a part. At the same time, they are a distinguishing mark for specific tribes and age classes. They differ from all the other belts of South American Indians, as do the men's belts of the Waiká (186) (187), in that they are open in front

186. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

187. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

[114] and positively accentuate the pubic parts. Thus, they seem to represent striking evidence for the view of Brosse (188) and

188. Grosse, 1894, p. 96.

/35 cont./

292 Westermarck (189), who regard the belts as a sexual stimulus,
114

189. Westermarcj, 1901, pp. 195/96, 211.

by means of which the eyes are supposed to be drawn to the pubic parts. For the Surára and Pakidái, however, /36/ this hypothesis does not apply, in spite of their open belts, for the naked body does not provide any sensual stimulation for them, but rather solely the sexual act. According to Krause, among the Karajá /Caraja/ the feeling of modesty of the girls is supposed to have led to the development of the types of belts. As evidence for this, he gives the following observation: "Women never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and small girls from whom I bought belts went behind the nearest mat wall in order to put on a new one there before they brought
291 me the worn belt" (190). My experiences among the Surára
123

190. Krause, 1911, pp. 208/09.

and Pakidái were the same with respect to the hip cords, among men as well as among women and children, but they always untied their belts without shyness and gave them to me in exchange
292 for trade goods. This was also true of the Puseheweterí women,
184 which shows that their little fringed aprons do not represent, say, a pubic covering, but merely ornamentation. Moreover, they also tie on their belts only for festive occasions.

291 The situation with respect to the children's belt made of the
171 skin of the maracajá is unique. It should be noted, however, that in Guiana, one of the chief South American areas of distribution of the skin belt (191) (192), specimens made of jaguar skin have

191. Becher, 1951, I, p. 82; II, plate and Map No. 4.

192. Becher, 1955, p. 72.

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
852 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
[824] busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
curauá fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string
●292 bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion
of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and
insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí,
184 and Karauaterí whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and
Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
[114] said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains
why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xiriána (Schirianá). Among the Arekuná-
171 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for
women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of
white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in
many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
174 cord of curauá fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is
a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed
after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been
borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
[191] transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former
is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the
enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be
deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even
men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

/64 cont./
553 776 [782] high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermediaries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris" [777] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 114 191 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 302 [412] [824] On the day of the name-giving the children are given a tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara -- Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in 553 291 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under [834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around [292] children (See pp. 64ff.).

/105 cont./

769 in the ear lobes were adorned with colorful feather ornaments
[302] (see pp. 93/95). Moreover, they had all glued into their hair
[301] the white down feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.),
the dreaded carrier of sickness (see p. 211) (Ill. 43). They
769 made mighty leaps, then bent their knees, turned around
535 several times in between, threw their arrows into the air and
533 caught them again. After that they fell into a dance in step,
during which they sang. But this dance was constantly interrupted by wild charges and rousing shouts, which were supposed to drive the nonexí out of the maloka and show them how dangerous it was to come here at all. The others present were enthusiastically watching this performance from their hearths. For the
[302] occasion of the festival all the men, women, and children had
[292] likewise painted themselves and in part donned the cotton belts;
[301] moreover, the men wore their upper-arm ornaments of feathers (Ills. 9-11).

769 After this two-hour dance performance a particularly solemn ceremony took place, the blessing of the preserved bone ashes of deceased tribesmen. For this purpose two leading personalities of each of the two tribes sat down in a square formation before the chief's hut. The Surára chief Hewemão was squatting in such a way that he faced the maloka courtyard. To the right and left of him, somewhat to the side and forward, squatted the Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, and Hewemão's brother, Kurikayawõ, respectively, and opposite Hewemão, Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, had his place. In front of the latter were arranged ten small jamaru vessels (jamaru = Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda) filled with bone ashes. Behind them stood one empty gourd bowl and one filled with urucú. The Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, on the other hand, had two large empty jamaru vessels standing in front of him.

Porêhiwõ now poured bone ashes from one after another of the small jamaru vessels into the empty gourd bowls, added a little urucú, mixed the two with his hands, and gave the bowl to Karenauõ, who each time poured the contents into one of the
[782] larger jamaru vessels. While the two Pakidái were silently per-
[788] forming their work, Hewemão was praying in a half-singing

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waïka musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waïkas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waïkas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherias, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

283 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports [593] that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound [727] their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife [184] has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
[192] xinarîke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarí -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
[824] out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
[531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
856 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
(824) busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
292 curauá fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí,
184 and Karauaterí whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
(114) said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xiriána (Schirianá). Among the Arekuná-
171 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
174 cord of curauá fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
(191) transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

/37 cont./

301
531

13a

13b

Fig. 13a-b. Chest string-bundle of the women (detail and diagram of the painting).

301 c) Cords for arms, wrists, and legs

From the age of four on both sexes at times wear upper-arm cords, and women and girls in addition wrist- and leg-cords, which are made of curauá fibers or cotton. It was also definitely established that the two-strand curauá-fiber cords twisted to the right are the original objects, whereas the two-strand cotton cords twisted to the left are of more recent date. Moreover, here, too, it was observed that a strengthening effect is attributed to the plant fiber.

[283] [824] [856]

301 /37 cont./
856 Thus, the upper-arm cord -- xinariúnko -- is supposed to impart greater muscular and arm power (198). The wrist cord used

[192] 198. It is noteworthy that the curauá-fiber cord is also called by the word Xinariúnko, although the name for cotton -- xinarí -- is contained in it.

only by women and girls, likewise called xinariúnko, strengthens the wrists, it is believed, and the cord worn below the knees -- hukuá -- the legs.

301 As an ornament for the upper arms, however, besides the
171 simple cord, bands of string -- nyõômutimá -- the forms of which are exact miniature reproductions of the belts (199), a

[192] 199. In the word -- nyõômutimá -- there is contained the name for belt, nyõ, to which is appended the diminutive form ômutimá.

novelty /38/ for South America, since there are as yet no parallels for this. Thus, the string-bands of the men, 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5-2 centimeters in diameter (string-bands of boys: length, 12-15 centimeters; diameter, 0.5-1 centimeter), have the same roll-shaped appearance as their belts (Fig. 14a and b; Fig. 15a and b) and are made and painted or dyed by the women in the same way (see pp. 64/65). The wide, flat shape of the women's bands (length, 18-22 centimeters; width, 1-2.5 centimeters), however, corresponds perfectly with the belts worn by them, apart from the smaller size (Fig. 16a-c; Fig. 17), so that with regard to the manufacture and painting I can refer to the making of the women's belts (see p. 66). It should also be mentioned that the upper-arm /Figs. 14-16 appear here/ bands of younger women are narrower (1-1.5 centimeters) than those of older women (2-2.5 centimeters) (200).

200. An older Pakidái woman, by the way, wore a woven upper-arm band two and a half

/38 cont./

301
[438]

200. (cont.)
centimeters wide. She likewise designated it for me with the name nyõõmutimá and added that she had obtained it from a Xiriána woman.

301
184

The four Xiriána women whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái wore the same cords and bands on their upper arms, wrists, and legs, like all the Pusheweteri and Aramamesteri women, including the captive Karauateri girl. The latter, however, said that they had only adopted the upper-arm bands here, for in their tribes only upper-arm cords were used.

[284]

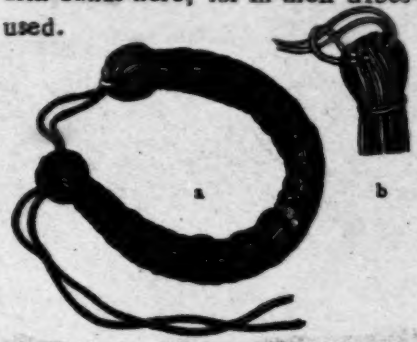


Fig. 14a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the men.

Fig. 15a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the young men.

Fig. 16a-c. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

/38 cont./

301
284

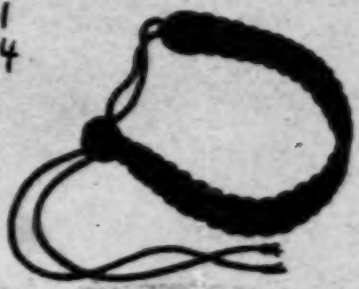


Fig. 17. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

184
301 According to Koch-Grünberg, too, among the Xiriána (Schirianá) the men wrap long, red-dyed cotton cords around their upper arms, while women use "narrow bands," which, however, they tie so tightly that the marks of them are seen even when they
301 are removed (201). The women of the Maiongkong-Yekuaná bind
171

201. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

their upper arms in the same tight fashion (202). With reference

202. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 151, 152, 170, 171, 172.

to the Arekuná-Taulipang, Koch-Grünberg writes: "Among the ornaments of the women, moreover, there are wide wrappings of strings of white beads below the knees, around the upper arms and the wrists. The men /39/ wear the same bead ornaments around the wrists, sometimes also around the ankles, but bind the legs below the knees with white cotton cords, the ends of which hang far down. Around the upper arms they usually wear only a string of white beads or a white cotton cord or, on festive days, a round disk of snail shells... The bindings around the legs are frequently pulled so tightly by young girls, out of vanity, that the calves bulge out tautly" (203) (204).

203. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 34.

204. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, Ills. 7, 8.

Suryá
Pakidái

/39 cont./

301 171 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

301 789 832 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, [824] to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrẽ. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrẽ -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hĩĩ -- (see p. 243).

302 e) Hair style

Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around the head, including the tonsure -- hemõno. [462] Shaving the latter, but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp. --) (see p. 119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

/40 cont./

302 184 Furthermore, it has been documented for the Waikâ (207) (208),

207. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 198.

208. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Karime (209), and the Xirifna men on the Motomotô (210). With

209. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

210. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

regard to the latter, Koch-Grünberg points out that in this case it is a male hair style (210) /see footnote above/. In the same 302 191 work he goes on to describe the tonsure of a Karaiben woman: "The oldest woman on the Roroima had a strange hair style. Except for a narrow wreath of longer hair all around her head, which was cut in the customary fashion over the forehead, the head hair was cut short, like a monk's tonsure. (Cf. Vol. VI, Plate 86). I was unable to discover the reason for this differing hair style" (211). The remarks which Alexander von Humboldt devotes

211. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 27.

to this Indian hair style are also worthy of mention (212).

212. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 319.

304 f) Deforming facial ornamentation

The male as well as the female sex among the Surára and Pakidái have pierced ear-lobes -- nhimekakeká -- (Surára), -- nimukakuká -- (Pakidái), a perforation of the lower lip -- husekahá --, and, in addition, the women have such in the corners of the mouth -- kaskehá.

304 The perforations are already made in babyhood (see p.135). 301 The men use them primarily as a place for feather ornaments (see p. 93). They sometimes also wear as ear ornaments, however,

Surára
Pakidái

/40 cont./

304 small pieces of reed 1-2 centimeters long, from which hang, on
• 301 one or two short chains of beads, small triangular pieces of silver leaf, shiny silver coins, or particularly large glass beads. Women also have a special preference for these objects. The teeth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which the men use as a knife (see p.115, are a typical feminine ear ornament.
[314] To prevent them from slipping out of the perforation, a small lump of tree resin is stuck on the back end. The perforations of the ear lobes are also adorned now and then with blossoms.

In the perforations of the lower lip and the corners of the mouth on either side the women now and again have delicate little reed rods -- tunhabaścre -- 15-17 and 12-15 centimeters
[184] long, respectively. Among the Xiriána women married to Surára and Pakidái men I observed that they wear, in addition, two little reed rods 30-35 centimeters long in the pierced nasal septum -- huxibéka -- (Ill. 16). This piercing I was told, is reserved for only the female members of this large, mighty tribe.
[184] This also explains why the perforations of the Puseheweteri and Aramamesteri women correspond perfectly to those of their Surára and Pakidái "sisters," that is to say, there is no piercing of the nasal septum. The same applies for Nikeromá, the little captive from the hostile tribe of the Karauateri.

301 All the ornamental objects named are made by the male
422 and female wearers themselves and are regarded as personal property.

304 Due to Koch-Grünberg's research among the Xiriána
301 (Schirianá), Waiká (Waíka), and various Karaiben /Carib/ tribes,
184 abundant comparative and supplementary material is available
[171] to me. Thus, the great investigator writes with regard to the
[127] Xiriána (Schirianá): "Nasal septum, /41/ ear lobes, and lower lip were pierced among the men and in many cases adorned with little reed rods almost as long as a hand. On special occasions they also wear a jaguar tooth in the lower lip.

"The women had long reed rods in the pierced ear-lobes, the lower lip, and the corners of the mouth. Three narrow strips of reed, spread out fan-shaped at both ends, adorned the nasal septum (Ill. 12)" (213).

213. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

304 /41 cont./
301 This confirms the statements of my informants, who said
184 that a perforation of the nasal septum was characteristic for the Xiriâna. For the male and female Waikâ, too, there is confirmation of nose, ear, and lower-lip rods, and, in the case of women, such in the corners of the mouth (214).

214. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, pp. 198-200.

As for the use of nose-rods, it seems to be a privilege of the two hostile "great ones" (see p. 12), for their lesser allies do not use them.

The other perforations, however, are the same among all the Yanonâmi tribes mentioned, but it should be pointed out that pierced corners of the mouth are found only among women.

304 With reference to the Karaiben Arekunâ-Taulipang, Koch-
301 Grünberg writes: "Ear lobes and lower lip are pierced, and in
171 the case of some men the nasal septum as well" (215). According

215. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

to that, the perforation of the nasal septum is reserved for only the men, and perforations of the corners of the mouth are en-
301 tirely absent. In the ear lobes, however, male as well as female
171 members of the tribe likewise wear little reed rods with one or two short chains of beads hanging down, to which are fastened silver coins and crescent-shaped or triangular pieces of silver leaf (216). The latter are the same type of objects that I found

216. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.
Plate 5 (6).

as ornaments among the Surâra and Pakidâi (see p. 85 and Ill. 9 /see p. 270/. Therefore, in this case, too, an adoption from the Karaiben, directly or indirectly, seems to be indicated. In reply to my question about the origin of these ornamental objects, the Xiriâna were mentioned, to be sure, but they for their part certainly

/41 cont./

•301 M/ did not make them themselves either, for they were made, by pounding and grinding, out of Brazilian silver coins which are no longer in circulation today. Moreover, for centuries the technical skill of the Karaiben with regard to gold, silver, and copper ornaments has been acclaimed. For example, Gumilla already mentions Karaiben tribes in the vicinity of the Orinoco who wore homemade plates of gold (217), and, according to de

217. Gumilla, 1745, I, p. 139.

Rochefort, the Island Karaiben used ear pendants of gleaming copper (218). Crescent-shaped silver leaf is used by the Makuxí

218. de Rochefort, 1658, p. 289.

men, but they wear it on a nose rod (219).

219. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 198, Figs. 2 and 4.

Further comparative material is to be found in the valuable work by Brigitte Menzel, "Deformierender Gesichtschmuck südamerikanischer Naturvölker /Deforming Facial Ornaments of South American Primitive Peoples/." Here it was shown that ear ornaments of metal occur especially frequently in northwest Amazonas as well as Guiana (220), and also ear ornaments of teeth are con-

220. Menzel, 1957, p. 38 and Map 14.

firmed in considerable quantity for the highlands of Guiana (221).

221. Menzel, 1957, p. 34.

With reference to the ornamentation of the corners of the mouth, the authoress writes: "From an accumulation in the source region of the Ucayali, the evidence extends over northwest Amazonas

/41 cont./

301 171 301 304 171

as far as Guiana; the Tapuya on the eastern horn of South America remain isolated. The pattern of distribution coincides in essential features with the multiple perforations of the upper lip (these parts also merge into each other very much anatomically) and clearly rests on Andean prototypes" (222). The

222. Menzel, 1957, p. 33.

characteristic mouth-corner rods of the Yanonámi women may well fit into this area of distribution, but not in connection with perforations of the upper /42/ lip, for here instead of the latter, the lower lip is pierced.

304 [881]

g) Tattooing

All women and girls have pin-point tattooing over the upper lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth (Ills. 19 and 24) and is punctured on the girls during the first menstruation (see p. 66) (223). The designation for this among the Surára

[192]

[184]

223. This tattooing is also found among the female Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí who are married to Surára and Pakidái men. The little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí is an exception. She assured me, however, that in her maloka the girls are also tattooed. But she had fallen into the hands of the Surára before her first menstruation, and the tattooing was not put on her here. If later, however, she is married by a Surára man, the pin-point design must subsequently be punctured on her.

is -- uarabakoxík -- and among the Pakidái -- uarabakoxíbe. These words are derived from the name for the genipap fruit -- uarabá --, the juice of which is used for puncturing the dots.

[824] [386]

/43 cont./

304 174 171 114

232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A com-

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

prehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

301 h) Painting

The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring [531] motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- narâ --, a [824] paste which is prepared from the red berries of Bixa orellana. [386] Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (Genipa brasiliensis) -- uarabá --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the [413] fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

/43 cont./

302 174 Since Koch-Grünberg also found only very little body painting among the Xiriâna (Schirianâ) (235), it is to be sus-

235. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

pected that originally it was not peculiar to the three Yanonâmi tribes named, but is to be traced back to Karaiben influences. The following account by Alexander von Humboldt also points to this: "The custom," writes the great investigator, "of painting the body is not equally old among all the peoples on the Orinoco. It has only been since the frequent invasions by the mighty nation of the Caraiben into these lands that it has become more general. Victors and vanquished alike were naked, and in order to be agreeable to the victor, one was obliged to paint oneself as he did and to wear his color. Now the might of the Caraiben is past, they are confined to the region between the Carony, Cuyuni, and Paraguamuzi rivers, but the Caraiben custom of coloring the entire body has persisted; the practice is more enduring than the conquest" (236).

236. A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 92/93.

●301 562 i) Feather ornaments

Feather ornaments -- pauxî -- are worn by men only and chiefly on the upper arms, but occasionally also in the perforations of the ear lobes and the lower lip.

301 825 237 Under the upper-arm cords and bands, which serve primarily as fastening devices for the upper-arm ornaments, individual or several tail feathers of the arara vermelha (Ara Macao L.) -- pauxî aratexinâ -- as well as small bunches of feathers, are wedged in front for war expeditions and festive occasions. The latter are always tied with a string of cotton or curauâ fibers to a wooden stick 7-9 centimeters long (Ills. 9 and 14). The following list shows which birds are preferred as feather-suppliers for these objects:

301 /43 cont./
237 Pauxí maraxí -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers
825 of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.).
Pauxí koikoimão -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers of the gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.).
Pauxí parurihonomaíbe -- upper-arm ornament of white breast feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.).
Pauxí marakanã -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.).
Pauxí xeraχeramão -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) and the papagaio curica (Amazona sp.).

Besides these bunches of feathers which are stuck into the arm cords or bands from the top, /44/ there are also ornaments which are knotted to them and hang down. These are usually several small feathers from different birds, the quills of which have been tied together with a string of cotton or curauá fibers:
Pauxí prukatõba -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.), and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).
Pauxí maraxiakosíbe -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).

Finally, as the most valuable ornament in this category, one should mention upper-arm bindings of mutum feathers -- pauxí parurihés -- to which are fastened hangings -- pauxí manhebéahunque -- of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), toucan (Rhamphastus sp.), and jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.), or even skins of these birds. In addition, there are upper-arm bindings which consist only of feathers of the jacamim -- pauxí nhapinhéssi -- with feather hangings -- pauxí pehakossíbe -- from the same bird.

[554] All the feather ornaments listed also represent marks of distinction, for only the chiefs and trusted warriors have the right to adorn both upper arms; younger men, on the other hand, only one.

/44 cont./

301 825 239 Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxí osuemekés --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- occasionally adorns the perforation of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be used by older as well as younger warriors. [554]

[962] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men, who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but sometimes they are scattered through the hair at random. The ornamental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case, for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile tribes, above all from the Waiká. They are caused by magical performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls. Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end (see also pp.211 and 229).

301 825 75

301 171 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá /Caraja/, Bororo, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé /Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G. Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

/44 cont./

301 South American tribal units developed their abilities and passed
171 on their traditions over the centuries from generation to generation.

301 For the Yanonámi the simple upper-arm ornament represents
184 a further external distinction, for Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and
114 Aramamesterí men whom I met wore it in the same manner. With regard to the Xiriána, my observations correspond with a statement by Koch-Grünberg: "The men," he says, "wrap around the upper arms long, red-dyed cotton strings, on the ends of which hang bird skins (Pl. 46, 2 and 2a). When they go to war, they stick bunches of tail feathers of the red arara in front under the arm bindings, so that they project above the /45/ shoulders" (239).

239. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

For the Waiká this upper-arm ornament is documented by photographs by Zerries (240) (241).

240. Zerries, 1955b, frontispiece.

241. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

301 As for ear and lip ornaments, parallels are found among
237 the Makuxí and Arekuná-Taulipang, but here the white down-
171 feathers of the king vulture or of the large hocco (mutum) are used (242).

242. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

301 j) Bead ornaments
436 European glass beads, especially small ones, are to this
(822) day the favorite trade items among the Surára and Pakidái. They value most of all white, blue, and red beads (243), and

243. In this respect the Surára and Pakidái are like many other South American tribes (Menzel, 1957, p. 23 and Pl. 3).

/45 cont./

301 436 822 [191] only then come beads in the colors of orange, yellow, black, and green (244).

244. Krause also notes with regard to the Karajá that they scorn green glass beads (Krause, 1911, p. 279), and among many other tribes there is likewise an aversion to this color (Menzel, 1957, pp. 17/18 and Pl. II and III). For this reason Brigitte Menzel asks the justifiable questions: "Could this rejection of green raw material among forest peoples be traced back to the predominance of green in their physical-geographical environment? Do they prefer other colors for reasons of contrast?" (Menzel, 1957, p. 18.)

301 462 They are strung by the women on cords of cotton or curauá fibers, at which the men occasionally help, and are used as neck chains, upper-arm and wrist cords, and ear pendants.

301 822 I was able to observe the following ways of making them: On a cord are strung, for example, only white, red, or blue beads. Depending on the taste of the person making it, however, a blue or red bead may always follow three white ones; others prefer the color combination of blue, white, red, or vice versa. There are many more variations, however, also in combination with other colors.

Moreover, chains are made of two strings, though less often. In this case, for example, a white bead is strung on both strings, then a red or blue one on one string, then again a white one on both, etc.

301 Women and girls like to wear several strings of beads, one over the other, as neck chains, whereas men and boys never tie on more than one. Only men wear upper-arm strings of glass beads and only boys and girls corresponding strings around their wrists. Short chains of beads which are fastened in the perforations of the ear lobes are worn by both sexes, though only rarely. Then,

/45 cont./

●301 in most cases, a silver triangle, a large glass bead, or a fruit pit is fastened at the bottom.

301 439 When I came to the Surára and Pakidái, a few bead chains were already in use. According to their statements, they had obtained the glass beads from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Rio Demini, from rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, and from the Xiriâna. The latter had presumably acquired this foreign commodity from Karaiben tribes who, for their part, had received it from the whites. This shows that the barter of glass beads is still carried on vigorously among the Indians themselves (245).

[114]

245. It was already observed by v. Martius that glass beads were traded over wide areas (von Martius, 1867, I, pp. 702 ff.), and Krause also points out that they are greatly prized as trade items (Krause, 1911, p. 279).

7. Hammocks

352 [824] The Surára and Pakidái have three different kinds of hammocks. The hammock of embira (tree bast, Malvaceae sp.) -- yâritanacîk -- whose length is between 1.80-1.90 meters, may probably be regarded as the oldest and most primitive form (Ill. 26). It has no weft and consists only of ten to 14 embira strips [284] 1-2 centimeters wide. These are bent over at the ends and tied together by means of two ropes 1.30-1.40 meters long, which at the same time serve for suspension (Fig. 18a and b). Both ropes are very strong and durable, for they have been plaited in the form of a braid out of three one-centimeter-wide /46/ /Fig. 18 appears [462] here/ strands of embira. The manufacture of this hammock is [824] extraordinarily simple and is done only by men. From the embira [284] tree they remove 10-15 bast strips two meters long and 1-2 centimeters wide, which they tie together in the manner described [412] above, after they have first plaited two ropes. To cut the tree bast they use the little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 113). Since the yâritanacîk is extraordinarily light, the men like to use it on their

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana
Waica
Karime

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- haboká -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriána (293),

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

● [301]

296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

/65 cont./

000 children (see pp. 64 ff.). A thin cord of cotton or plant fibers,
301 which is occasionally worn below the knees, is supposed to
856 strengthen the legs, and corresponding upper-arm cords, the muscles (in the case of boys) and the arms (in the case of girls). Moreover, small girls wear strings crossed over their chests so that they will have well-shaped breasts later on.

f) Childhood

593 Even in boyhood and girlhood the family bears the chief
857 responsibility for all educational measures. The boy, to be sure, is now drawn to the father somewhat more and gradually begins to free himself from his mother. With his bow, which his father has made for him, he daily practices shooting small birds, for it is believed that a boy who kills many birds will later become a good hunter. They are cleaned and prepared by the girls, however, and together the children then have a meal, to which the girls often contribute cooked bananas or manioc flat-cakes. In play the children are properly prepared for their future duties and responsibilities as adults. Thus, the girls occasionally also help their mothers and fetch their water or wood, or they assume the care of their younger siblings.

861 The modest, thoughtful nature of these Indian children
[157] should be emphasized. Yet they are never beaten and they never hear a harsh word either from their parents or from other adults. Gentle admonishment suffices to reprove a child if it is really
857 naughty on occasion. Even in their play, however, there are
152 seldom such quarrels as are so frequent among civilized children. It would be quite unthinkable, for example, for a Surára or Pakidái child to run to its mother in order to complain about a playmate.

524 Boys and girls grow up together quite naturally and without constraint, as is shown by the fact that group games are preferred to solitary games. A great favorite, among others, is a game of ball which they play with a monkey bladder. It is batted upward with the palm of the hand (see also p. 2[illegible]). They also play a sort of tug-of-war with lianas (see p.244). Moreover, the boys
[868] often imitate the dances of the men, while the girls are very fond of string games. It is especially popular to play "mother and

Surára
Pakidái

/104 cont./

769
788 Immediately after that the Surára chief squatted down at his hearth, and beside him squatted a medicine-man helper. On the opposite side of the large maloka the Pakidái chief and a helper had assumed the same position. Hewemão, the first-named chief, began to speak loudly and distinctly to the hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits). While doing so, he kept stroking his hair from front to back and then slapping his seat. The helper squatting beside him repeated each of his words and copied all his movements. (This was to express symbolically that the hekurá, the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being, Poré/Perimbó, actually pass on all questions, requests, and wishes). After Hewemão, the Pakidái chief spoke to the hekurá, and his helper likewise repeated each word and imitated the gestures (stroking the hair and slapping the seat). This exorcism, which the two chiefs carried out alternately, lasted an hour.

769
461 After that the two exhausted chiefs and the rest of the men, young men, and boys lay down for a well-earned rest. /105/ Meanwhile the women had been going about their accustomed activity. They fetched water, prepared food, took care of the children; some of them also plaited a basket in the meantime, or they strung glass beads on a string. Some of the men who had meanwhile awakened continued to lie idly in their hammocks, some also played with the children, while others sat together in groups and talked.

769 Toward 2:00 the festival was resumed when 20 men, young men, and boys, each of whom held an arrow in his hand, rushed into the maloka courtyard with loud shouts. They were magnificently painted (510) and on the upper arms and in part

[302]
[301]

510. The painting had been done with urucú color and consisted of serpentine lines, circles and dots; several men, however, had painted their whole bodies red.

/105 cont./

769 in the ear lobes were adorned with colorful feather ornaments
[302] (see pp. 93/95). Moreover, they had all glued into their hair
[301] the white down feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.),
the dreaded carrier of sickness (see p. 211) (Ill. 43). They
769 made mighty leaps, then bent their knees, turned around
535 several times in between, threw their arrows into the air and
533 caught them again. After that they fell into a dance in step,
during which they sang. But this dance was constantly interrupted by wild charges and rousing shouts, which were supposed to drive the nonexí out of the maloka and show them how dangerous it was to come here at all. The others present were enthusiastically watching this performance from their hearths. For the
[302] occasion of the festival all the men, women, and children had
[292] likewise painted themselves and in part donned the cotton belts;
[301] moreover, the men wore their upper-arm ornaments of feathers (Ills. 9-11).

769 After this two-hour dance performance a particularly solemn ceremony took place, the blessing of the preserved bone ashes of deceased tribesmen. For this purpose two leading personalities of each of the two tribes sat down in a square formation before the chief's hut. The Surára chief Hewemão was squatting in such a way that he faced the maloka courtyard. To the right and left of him, somewhat to the side and forward, squatted the Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, and Hewemão's brother, Kurikayawõ, respectively, and opposite Hewemão, Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, had his place. In front of the latter were arranged ten small jamaru vessels (jamaru = Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda) filled with bone ashes. Behind them stood one empty gourd bowl and one filled with urucú. The Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, on the other hand, had two large empty jamaru vessels standing in front of him.

Porêhiwõ now poured bone ashes from one after another of the small jamaru vessels into the empty gourd bowls, added a little urucú, mixed the two with his hands, and gave the bowl to Karenauõ, who each time poured the contents into one of the
[782] larger jamaru vessels. While the two Pakidái were silently per-
[788] forming their work, Hewemão was praying in a half-singing

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 voice to the hekurá and constantly passed his hands from his head
[782] to his feet. His brother Kurikayawõ repeated each of his words
[788] and imitated the gestures (511). Around the four men, who were

511. This was again the symbolic transmission of the prayers from the hekurá to Poré/Perimbó (see also p. 228).

now officiating as priests, crouched red-painted warriors whose head hair was completely covered with the down feathers of the gavião-real. Whenever the Pakidái chief poured a new mixture of bone ashes and urucú into a larger jamaru vessel, he always pulled a few feathers from the heads of the warriors and threw them in (512). The closest relatives of the late deceased sat

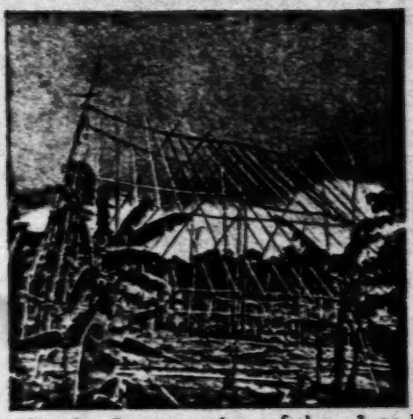
[751]

512. There is defensive magic connected with this. For if the men, in the subsequent ceremonial drinking of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes, swallow these feathers, they and their families are better protected against sickness.

behind the warriors and sobbed heart-rendingly, especially the
[782] women. Their tears /106/ flowed uninterruptedly, and at the same time they prayed in a low, singing cadence. When the bone ashes of another jamaru vessel were mixed with urucú by Poréhiwõ, their sobbing and their prayers changed to high, shrill tones. This made no impression upon the medicine men, however, who imperturbably went on with their activity. The
[302] mourners were surrounded by a circle of standing warriors painted
[301] red and adorned with upper-arm feathers, who held bows and arrows in their hands and faced outward. It was their task to shield
[522] the ceremony against harmful outside influences. Behind them stood numerous male spectators, who followed the proceedings with interest, to be sure, but without inner participation, for at times they laughed and joked.

2: Becher--270 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

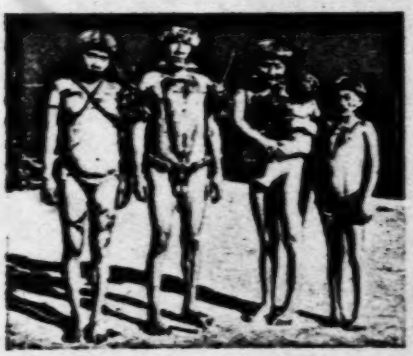
342
361



Ill. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)

142
301
302
291
622

Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)



Ill. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children

142
291
301
302
854
622

142
301
302

Ill. 11. Kurikayawo, the younger brother of the Surára chief

2: Becher--271 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára, Pakidái
/6/
142
411
302
291
516

Ill. 12. Surára warriors

142
291
411
516
←

142
411
301
302
342
291
624
→

Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow

Ill. 14. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

2: Becher-- 272 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Shiriana
Karauateri
Pusheweteri

/7/

Ill. 15. Surára family. (The woman is a member of the Pusheweteri and wears the characteristic fringed belt of this tribe)

142
291
302
516
854

142
301
302

Ill. 16. Xiriána woman, Ironasteri, with deforming facial adornment

Ill. 17. Nikeromá, a girl of the hostile Karauateri. (She is a captive of the Surára)

137
142
291
302

Ill. 18. Nikeromá (rear view!)

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

283 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727] [184]

291 /203 cont./
Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
●301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
382 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the hĩkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[715] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the hĩkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the hĩkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

4. Wilbert--74 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ
Sanema

142
302
291
501
352
516

Group of Sanemá Indians of the upper Ventuari in their house. The girl (standing) is wearing ornaments of white feathers.

4: Wilbert--76 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
●301

Waica boy of the upper Orinoco.
Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi.

4: Wilbert--77 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
301

304]

A Waica girl of the upper Orinoco. The little sticks are held in perforations of the lips.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi

4: Wilbert--78 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
291
301
411
516

Waica family of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzz

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123
302
142
● 301

9. *Reading-matter reaches the Anai Shyriana.*

[p. 96 - A]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
302
276

10. *Luis Antonio prefers the local tobacco to our own civilized brands.*

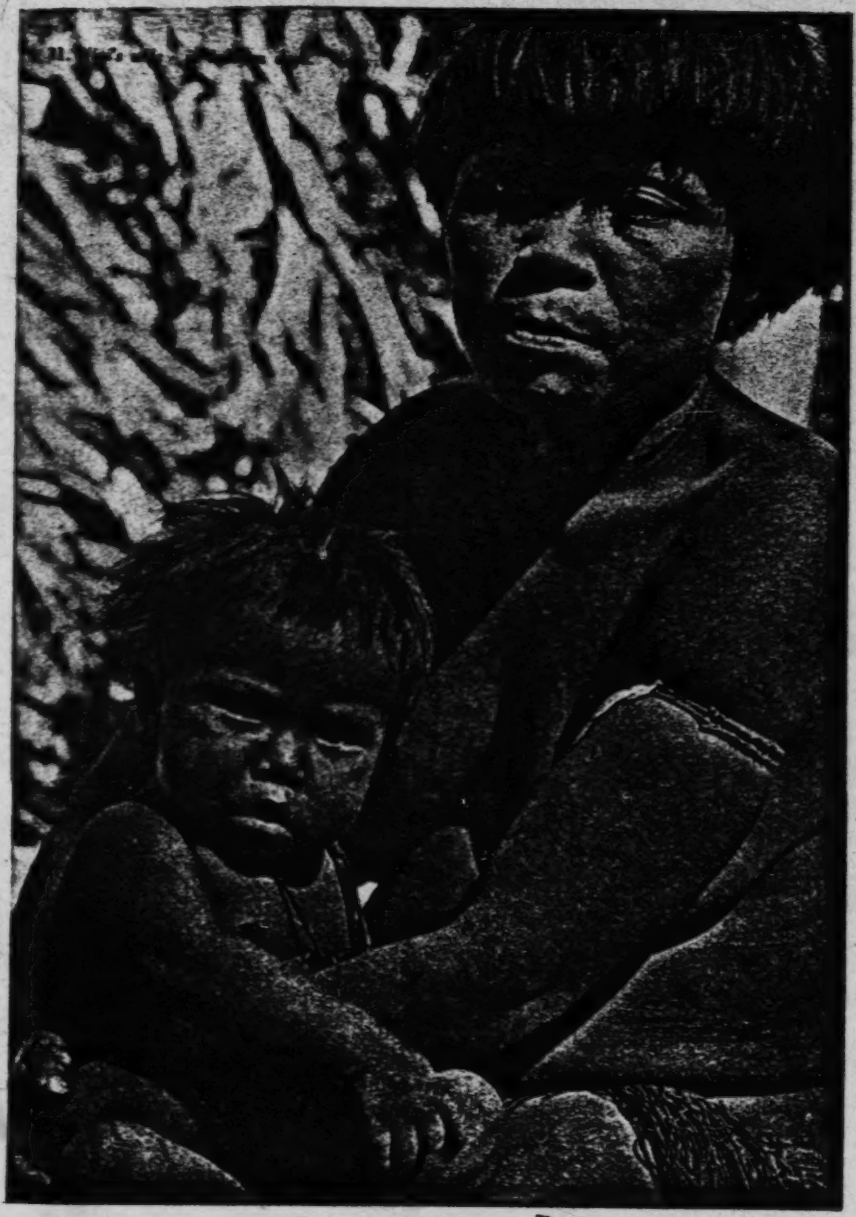
11 & 12. *Waroma's brothers-in-law.*

142
291
302

[301]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

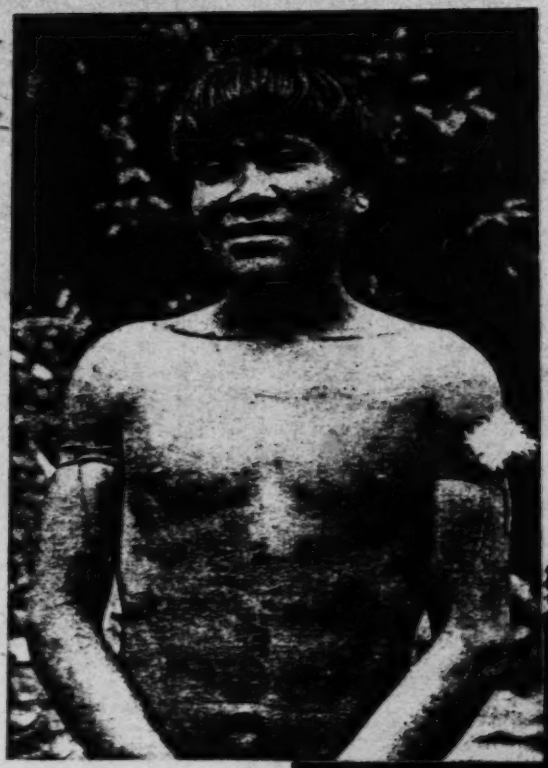
142
302
301



[p. 144-G]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SO18
Sanema

142
301
302



35. *Dolfuss was pale and handsome.*

142
411
516

36. *A typical primitive: a man of good will, ugly as he is.*

[p. 192-A]

/454 cont./

304 All have the ears pierced. A good number of men and women also have the center of the lower lip pierced. Some women have the corners of the mouth pierced, and a few have the nose pierced.

304 The boys and men wear sticks through their ears, sometimes
301 feathers or also little sticks with feathers. Those who have the lip pierced keep a little stick or a feather there all the time.

The women wear flowers or leaves in their ears. The perforations in the lips and the nose generally have sticks in them. On gala occasions, the little stick which goes through the nasal septum may be as long as the face is wide.

• 301 In addition to the cords tied around the waist, they frequently
291 wear similar cords around the arms and legs.

The men may also wear a heavy cotton belt and similar bands on a smaller scale on the arms. They may wear feathers fixed on the shoulders and a monkey tail around the head, to emphasize the border of hair, or they may adorn the hair with down.

The women also use a heavy cotton belt, clearly different from the one which the men use.

Girls wear a band at the waist, woven of cotton, with decorations on its front part. They also customarily cross the chest with bands of cotton.

302 Onoto, charcoal, and several other paints are used for body
53 designs. They do not seem to have any religious meaning, but
[386] simply an ornamental purpose. These designs include dots, stripes, wavy lines, and circles. Sometimes they paint a wide strip and then make the design by scraping off the paint. They also imprint upon the skin /455/ ornamental designs by using a "mapire" or the hand, or some combination of these. It seems that some of them have their favorite designs.

Hides, Textiles, and Weaving

237 The skin of the jaguar or of another mammal rarely reaches the settlement in a single piece. But even if it did, it is immediately cut into small pieces so that each one may have a little piece to cover his quiver, or at least a band to wear tied to the arm.

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ:8 Yanoama SQ 18

142
302
301
411

Guaharibo Indian of the Padamo river. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 64 – A]

[pp. 1-64 not processed]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guahariˈbo

123 [301] [501]

than a few inches across. All had their ears pierced by sticks slightly thicker and longer than a cigarette. Their paddles were short and as crudely constructed as the boat itself, some being roughly rounded and others no more than discs lashed with lianas to a pole handle.

To these primitives we must have appeared a strange collection. Who are these beings—they must have asked themselves—who go about dressed, shod and bearded, and who point queer things at us which go " click " ? And the many boats lined up there, that go so fast and make much noise ! Mopare had probably told them wonderful tales, but since he had left the camp when it was still in embryo, he was doubtless as much amazed by its present size as the others. There was a moment of hesitancy and then Butrón held out a machete and said : " *Shori ! Shori ! Noji !* " He told us this meant " friend " or " relative ". In exchange for the machete, he demanded the man's bow and arrows. The size of the bow surprised me, since it was taller than the man himself. One by one the Indians disembarked and surrendered their arms in exchange for machetes. All except a fine, well-built brave who seemed to be their leader and who remained sitting in the stern of the boat, watchful and silent. The women, still cowering, stayed near him. At last, seeing his companions on shore and our attitude giving no cause for mistrust, he was reassured. Courteously and with dignity he held out a hand to the women, who were still apprehensive.

" Padamo ? " we asked him.

" Padamu, Padamu," he replied.

[194]

The final vowel, nasal and strongly accentuated, lies between " o " and " ou ". The word is indigenous and has been the river's official nomenclature since the time of Diez de la Fuente.

" Guaharibo ? "

Another nasal sound which cannot be transcribed followed. It was a sort of grunt and could have meant " Yes ". And then : " Guaharibo ".

" Waïka ? "

[648]

A worried look, followed by the gesture of bending a bow.

" Waïka—pfft ! Waïka—pfft ! "

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

142
302
301

TOP: The Waikas jump aboard as soon as we touch the shore. Notice lower lip extended by a quid of tobacco. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM: This one has just received the gift of a pencil. Notice the shaven skull and the scars on the scalp. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 96—D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waïkas. We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows, they motioned us to come closer.

"*Shori! Shori!*" they shouted.

"*Shori! Shori!*" we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and *manioc* and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying "*Shori! Shori!*" and we responded as in a litany, "*Shori!*"

Physically the Waïka is no different from the Guaharibo. He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waïka's only weapon. Made of strong,

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
199 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[489] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[438] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[64] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[59] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
291
301
411
137
574

Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekura (demons) while caring a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).

142
302
291
411
516
755
342
415

11: Chagnon 8-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

721
181
123
114

The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnamamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1-2).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere is unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1-2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnomamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their hosts' village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.

142
301
48
535
629
578
291

Fig. 1-3. Kaobawä, the area leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

Kąobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Biasasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kąobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kąobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was heshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

11: Chagnon R-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąobawë had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąobawë's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąobawë have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kąobawë is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

Fig. 1-4. Kamaishiwa, Kąobawë's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1-5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

142
301
302
276

Fig. 2–3. Men blowing ebene, *a hallucinogenic drug, into each other's nostrils by means of a hollow tube.*

342

SHELTER All house materials likewise come from the jungle: poles, vines, and leaves. The Yąnomamö permanent house—*shabono*—is probably the most sophisticated manufacture produced by these people. Its construction requires considerable cooperation, planning, labor, and patience. Unfortunately, the *shabono* only lasts one or two years because the leaves begin to leak, or the entire village is burned to the ground in order to destroy the cockroaches, scorpions, spiders, and other vermin that infest the house. These can become such a nuisance that the roof is literally alive with bugs. Kąobawä's house was so badly infested at one point that the noise of thousands of scurrying roaches produced a constant, noticeable din in the village. Whenever someone got out of his hammock, the roof just above his head would suddenly come alive with roaches, disturbed by the movement below. As they scurried to safety, many of them would fall off, producing a shower of bugs on the occupants below. There were so many bugs that the increased activity above the moving person also increased the din, as if a sudden gust of wind had disturbed the dried leaves.

[136]

Each individual builds his own section of the *shabono*. The man usually does all the heavy work of locating and fetching poles for the frame, placing them into the ground or tying them overhead, and weaving the numerous leaves into the roof thatch. The wife helps by gathering the leaves and vines used in the construction.

[462]

[351]

The first step in building a new *shabono* is the selection of the site. This is usually some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

342
302
301
824
142

Fig. 2-5. Thatching a new roof with leaves.

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwë, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof.

342
821
756
789

The Yąnomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about

342
489

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
137
417
481
222

Fig. 2-6. Rerëhawë climbing a rasha *tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamö use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.*

The grubs

are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in a smoky fire tastes like bacon.

222
231
252
262
[251]

The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. The Yąnomamö break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare it in the above manner.

222
252
262

Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2–7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

137
142
291
301
462
482
313

Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers.

462 313 [482]

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity.

593 462 [252]

593 164 [137]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kąobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and guests that gradually died off as each group busied itself in preparation for the dance.

Shortly after noon a rumor circulated through the village that the visitors had been raiding the gardens at night and stealing plantains. A number of people, particularly older men, were visibly upset by this new information, giving rise to another rumor that there would be a chest-pounding duel to set the matter straight. The guests had already worn their welcome thin by arriving uninvited a week in advance and by eating excessively. Their hosts were becoming angry with them, as it was all too obvious that they were deliberately taxing their hosts' patience; they were intimidating them.

The men of the host group had finished their preparations for the feast; they were all painted in red and black, bearing colorful feathers. They had cleaned the debris from their houses, had finished hauling out the weeds they had picked from the village clearing, and had brought in quantities of food to give their guests. Now, it was time for them to take *ebene*, their hallucinogenic drug. They separated into several groups and began blowing the brownish-green powder up each other's nostrils with 3-foot long hollow tubes. As the drug would be administered, each recipient would reel from the concussion of air, groan, and stagger off to some convenient post to vomit. Within ten minutes of taking the drug, the men would be bleary-eyed and wild, prancing around in front of their houses, stopping occasionally to vomit or to catch their breath. In each group there would be one man particularly adept at chanting to the *hekura*, the mountain demons, and he would soon take over the show, while the others retired to the sidelines in a stupor, green slime dripping from their nostrils. Should there be sick people in the village, the adept chanters—the *shabori*—would cure them by chanting, massaging, sucking, and vomiting out the evil spirit that caused the sickness. Otherwise, they would chant about other things, perhaps sending their *hekura* to enemy villages to eat the souls of children, or enjoining them to prevent their enemies from doing the same. Occasionally, one of the men takes too much of the drug and become violent. On this particular occasion, Shiimima, one of Kaobawä's brothers, grabbed his bow and arrows and ran to the center of the village. This caused a minor sensation for a moment, but one of the men managed to catch and disarm him, hiding his weapons so he could not find them. Things returned to normal again, and the other participants in the drug-taking began chanting to Shiimima to restore him to his senses. The chanting lasted for an hour or so, and the participants, one by one, returned to their houses to clean up their paint jobs; most of them had smeared their careful work by vomiting all over themselves.

While the men were taking their drugs, the women were busy painting and decorating themselves with feathers and red pigment. The visitors, also, were busy at the same tasks, and the excitement of the feast reached fever proportions by mid-afternoon. A few women were still busy finishing trade baskets, while Kaobawä's younger brothers continued with the monotonous cooking of what seemed to them an endless number of plantains.

Finally, an old man from the visiting group entered the village and marched unceremoniously across the clearing while the members of Kaobawä's group cheered him. He was too old to join the dancing, but too respected to wait behind with the women and children while the younger men put on their display. This was evidence that the visitors were about to send in their delegate to accept the feast invitation at Kaobawä's house.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The members of Lower Bisaasi-teri had joined Kąobawä's group for the feast, as they, too, were on friendly terms with the Mahekodo-teri and had benefited from the latter's hospitality after the treacherous feast in 1950. Before Kąobawä's group had separated from the Lower Bisaasi-teri, there had been one headman over the entire composite village. This was a brother to Kąobawä's father; when the groups split, the older man led the faction of Lower Bisaasi-teri, leaving Kąobawä to lead the Upper group. On this particular day, when the two groups had temporarily coalesced for the feast, the older man was conceded the honor of chanting with the visitor's delegate, Asiawä, the son of the Mahekodo-teri headman.

Ten minutes after the old visitor entered the village, Asiawä entered the clearing, touching off an explosion of wild cheering that marked the opening of the dance. He was spectacular in his bright new loin cloth, long red parrot feathers streaming from his armbands, and black monkey-tail headband covered with white buzzard down. He marched dramatically to the center of the village clearing, while all of Kąobawä's followers cheered, and struck the visitor's pose: motionless, head upward, and weapons held vertically next to his face. He stood there two or three minutes so his hosts could admire him. This gesture signified that he had come in peace and was announcing his benevolent intentions by standing where all could see him. If they bore him malice, they had to shoot him then or not at all.[5] He then marched to Kąobawä's house and was met by Kąobawä's father's brother, the temporary leader of the combined host group, and the two men immediately began to chant. This was the formal acceptance of the feast invitation by Asiawä on behalf of his entire group. They chanted for five minutes or so, bouncing up and down from the knees, now face to face, now side to side, but always lively and loud. Suddenly, they stopped, and Asiawä squatted, his back to the sun, while the host's representative retired to his hammock. The cheering died down. Asiawä squatted for several minutes before one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought a half-gourd full of plantain soup to him and set it on the ground. He ignored it politely for several minutes, staring into the distance, holding his weapons horizontally next to his mouth. Presently, he put his weapons down, picked up the container of soup, and drained it in one draft before setting it back down. As soon as he had set it down, one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought him a large pack-basket filled with boiled green plantains and smoked armadillo meat. Asiawä stood while the strap of the basket was placed over his head and adjusted across his shoulders so as to not crumple his headdress. Trying to look dramatic, he staggered rapidly out of the village under his burden of food, while the hosts again cheered wildly. This food was eaten by the visitors while they finished their decorating, each receiving a small portion.

Within a half-hour of Asiawä's departure the visitors had completed their decorating and had assembled just outside the entrance to the village. The men, all finely decorated, stood at the front of the gathering, while the women, girls, and young boys, also decorated, but each carrying a load of family possessions, brought up the rear. At the signal of Asiawä's father, the first two dancers burst into the village, separated, and danced around the periphery of the clearing in opposite directions, while Kąobawä's group welcomed them enthusiastically with shouts and shrill screams. Two at a time,

[5] I have a number of informants' accounts of visitors being shot down while standing in the clearing to announce their visit. Whenever I accompanied visitors to strange villages for the first time I, too, was obliged to participate in this rite and always had an uneasy feeling about it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628*
574
437
438

giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur: the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *so mosiha*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4–2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast: the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, arapuri.

628*
574
301
302
516
411
415
342
264
262
291

11: Chagnon F-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

301
516
291

[57]

Fig. 4-4. Many feasts end in prearranged chest-pounding duels; this permits the allies to display the fact that they are friendly but capable of defending their sovereignty. These two men were pounding each other's chests a few minutes before this photo was taken. Here, they embrace each other intimately, vowing eternal friendship, and ask each other for specific trade goods.

*628
578

these few minutes the men were rapidly changing the points of their arrows to war tips: curare and lanceolate bamboo. The women and children began to cry, knowing that the situation was getting serious, and they grouped into the farthest corners of their houses near the exits. One by one the men withdrew, returned to their houses, and drew their bows. The visitors pulled back and formed a protective circle around their own women and children, also fitting arrows into their bows and drawing them. The village grew almost silent. The leaders of the respective groups stepped into the no man's land separating the two groups of armed men and began arguing violently, waving axes and clubs at each other. Suddenly, the spokesmen from the visiting group surged toward Kaobawä and his supporters, swinging their axes and clubs wildly at them, forcing them back to the line of men whose bowstrings were drawn taut. Kaobawä and his followers regained their footing and repelled their adversaries at this point, while the women and children from both groups began fleeing from the village, screaming and wailing. It looked as if

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
164
515

Fig. 5–1. Karïma, one of Kaobawä's daughters, picking lice out of her grandfather's battered head—his scars are from club fights. She wears decorative sticks inserted in the corners of her mouth as a beauty aid. These were inserted at about age five, together with one in the lower lip and another in the nasal septum.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
516
411
765
276
926

Fig. 5–4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Dumowä, slain Monou-teri headman.*

726
901
726
114
722
*628
726
[KS]

located the enemy, but Paruriwä refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

The Monou-teri and Bisasi-teri raided against the Patanowä-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

The Mondiy-teri also raided the Patanowä-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Dumowä were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

Surára, Pakidái, Waica Shiriana

/9 cont./

142 pouting lips of a mouth that is never too large, there are always two gleaming rows of sound teeth. Their beautiful, always straight hair is a very dark brown. They all have a thick head of hair, but lose it in old age. No bald spot appears, however; the hair then simply looks as though it had been cut very short all over the head. Individual men have a thin growth of beard on [302] either side of the lips and on the chin; occasionally they pluck out the beard hair. The rest of their body hair is limited to the pubic region. Women pluck out their pubic hair, as well as their eyebrows and lashes. Young girls usually have well-formed, hemispherical, firm breasts, which, however, become slack and pendulous after the first child, although at that time the women have often not even reached the age of 18 or 19 years old.

114 142 These observations parallel the descriptions which Alexander von Humboldt gives of the Waiká (Guaicas) and Guaharibo. He also describes them as tribes "with whitish skin color and very small stature." He adds, however, "the shortness of the Guaicas and the whiteness of the Guaharibos, /10/ whom P. Caulín calls [141] Guaharibos blancos, are equally exaggerated" (44). The Guaicas

44. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 113 ff.

measured by Alexander von Humboldt were "on the average four feet seven inches to four feet eight inches (according to the old French measurement)" (44) /see footnote above/, in other words, about 1.52-1.55 meters. Koch-Grünberg gives the same body height for the Waiká (Waíka) whom he met in Motomotó on the Uraricuera and whom he likewise describes as very light-skinned (45). In

45. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 293.

[141] another place Koch-Grünberg writes: "The Schirianá and Waíka of Motomotó were small people, on the average about 1.52 meters tall. In no case did the height exceed 1.55 meters... Older people had distended abdomens and thin legs... These people, who were by nature ugly almost throughout, were even more

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
[192] xinarĩke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarí -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
[824] out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
[531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

/39 cont./

301 171 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

301 789 832 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, [824] to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrẽ. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrẽ -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hiĩ -- (see p.243).

● 302 e) Hair style

Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around the head, including the tonsure -- hemõno. Shaving the latter, [462] but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp. --) (see p.119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

According to statements by my informants, it primarily rep- [578] resents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

302 593 /39 cont./ husband beats his wife for reasons of jealousy, he may likewise choose only this marked part of the head. As a further, but 302 825 probably secondary reason, I was told that the short haircut and the tonsure made it easier to control the plague of lice. People with long hair, they thought, were certainly unable to escape head lice.

302 538 The tonsure is also mentioned in religion and mythology. Poré, the lord of the moon, is imagined as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red (see p. 197).

302 191 184 As among many other South American tribes, the tonsure is also a /40/ characteristic feature of all small-sized light-skinned Indians between the Rio Negro and the upper Orinoco, for the members of both sexes of the Xiriâna, Pusheweteri, Aramamesteri, and Karauateri whom I met also wore it (206).

302 191 114

206. The Brazilian country people designate all Indians with tonsures as Coroados = crowned. Baldus and Willems, however, quite rightly demand that the use of this name be avoided in Brazilian ethnology: "Coroado- Várias tribus de indios no Brasil, por exemplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Puri, Bororo, receberam do povo o nome de Coroados, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que êsse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou êste têrmo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada" /Coroado -- Various tribes of Indians in Brazil, for example, the Botocudo, Caingang, Puri, Bororo, are given the name of Coroado by people, owing to the manner of cutting the hair, even though this style is not the same among all of them. This term has caused great confusion in Brazilian ethnography, and for this reason it should be abandoned/ (Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 67).

Surára
Pakidái

/40 cont./

302 184 Furthermore, it has been documented for the Waikâ (207) (208),

207. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 198.

208. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Karime (209), and the Xirixana men on the Motomotô (210). With

209. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

210. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

regard to the latter, Koch-Grünberg points out that in this case it is a male hair style (210) /see footnote above/. In the same work he goes on to describe the tonsure of a Karaiben woman: "The oldest woman on the Rocoima had a strange hair style. Except for a narrow wreath of longer hair all around her head, which was cut in the customary fashion over the forehead, the head hair was cut short, like a monk's tonsure. (Cf. Vol. VI, Plate 86). I was unable to discover the reason for this differing hair style" (211). The remarks which Alexander von Humboldt devotes

302 171

211. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 27.

to this Indian hair style are also worthy of mention (212).

212. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 319.

304 f) Deforming facial ornamentation

The male as well as the female sex among the Surára and Pakidái have pierced ear-lobes -- nhimekakekâ -- (Surára), -- nimukakukâ -- (Pakidái), a perforation of the lower lip -- husekahâ --, and, in addition, the women have such in the corners of the mouth -- kaskehâ.

304 301 The perforations are already made in babyhood (see p.135). The men use them primarily as a place for feather ornaments (see p. 93). They sometimes also wear as ear ornaments, however,

/43 cont./

302 174 Since Koch-Grünberg also found only very little body painting among the Xiriâna (Schirianâ) (235), it is to be sus-

235. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

pected that originally it was not peculiar to the three Yanonámi tribes named, but is to be traced back to Karaiben influences. The following account by Alexander von Humboldt also points to this: "The custom," writes the great investigator, "of painting the body is not equally old among all the peoples on the Orinoco. It has only been since the frequent invasions by the mighty nation of the Caraiben into these lands that it has become more general. Victors and vanquished alike were naked, and in order to be agreeable to the victor, one was obliged to paint oneself as he did and to wear his color. Now the might of the Caraiben is past, they are confined to the region between the Carony, Cuyuni, and Paraguamuzi rivers, but the Caraiben custom of coloring the entire body has persisted; the practice is more enduring than the conquest" (236).

236. A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 92/93.

301 562 i) Feather ornaments

Feather ornaments -- pauxí -- are worn by men only and chiefly on the upper arms, but occasionally also in the perforations of the ear lobes and the lower lip.

301 825 237 Under the upper-arm cords and bands, which serve primarily as fastening devices for the upper-arm ornaments, individual or several tail feathers of the arara vermelha (Ara Macao L.) -- pauxí aratexinâ -- as well as small bunches of feathers, are wedged in front for war expeditions and festive occasions. The latter are always tied with a string of cotton or curauá fibers to a wooden stick 7-9 centimeters long (Ills. 9 and 14). The following list shows which birds are preferred as feather-suppliers for these objects:

Surára
pakidái

/47 cont./

352 Finally, as the third and most important form, which is used constantly by men, women, and children, both in the maloka as well as during migrations of the tribe, the plaited hammock of cotton -- nyõ (258) -- is to be mentioned (Ills. 28 and 29). Aside

258. The cotton belts are also designated with the same word.

from the material, it differs from the two earlier types above all because of the weft. The lengths run between 1.60-2.20 meters, depending on whether they are meant for children or adults.
[462] Making them is again the duty of the men, though the women occasionally help a little.

352 Before they are made, two posts are rammed into the ground
281 and connected at top and bottom by cross-poles with lianas. The length of the hammock depends on the distance of the latter, for around these cross poles is /Figs. 19 and 20 appear here/ wound the continuous warp thread, the two ends of which are knotted with the warp at the start and finish. This produces front and rear layers of thread, which are united into a single layer by slipping the rear warp threads between the /48/ front ones. After that the plaiting of the double thread is begun, which is done without implements, only with the fingers, from right to left; it should also be mentioned that it is started at the top. All hammocks are plaited with very wide meshes, for the intervals between the individual cross-bindings, which are knotted at the beginning and end, are 8-12 centimeters. To fasten the hammocks ropes of
[824] Bromelia fibers (curauá) are used, which, made of four strands, braidlike, are twisted to the right.

352 When a hammock has been used for some time, it gradually takes on a dirty-brown appearance. This comes about because
[302] the urucú color with which the Indians frequently paint their bodies rubs off on it somewhat when they lie down and adheres to the cotton.

Shiriana
Surara
Pakidai

/55 cont./

412 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This
184 strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xirišna, unlike the Surára and Pakidái, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly
462 women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side
302 (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American
412 Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the
171 Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw
237 of the wild pig -- manacoauá --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waikâ (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat
[192] flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long --
[824] namunamutehí --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waikâ (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm
462 should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimá (see also pp. 112/114).

412 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden
177 times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as tercados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

/64 cont./

553 776 [782] high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermediaries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris" [777] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 114 191 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 302 [412] [824] On the day of the name-giving the children are given a tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara -- Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in 553 291 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under [834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good [292] form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around children (See pp. 64ff.).

Surára
Pakidái

/66 cont./

595 The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the Pakidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Various other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies, these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

587

835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do not call them uncle, but likewise father.

881 h) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl, on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú, a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. During the second day her mother or another woman applies a pin-point tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty-gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured, leaves a dark blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears, and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysterious forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life. With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated, and after that a small celebration takes place.

● [302]
881
304
[413]
[824]
[386]
[147]
881

/66 cont./

000 and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women
841 do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during these days, and, if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the bank of the nearby river or brook.

i) Initiation rites for young men

884 All young men who have reached the age of approximately
132 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December, halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and cele-
884 brate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an inter-
86 mediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate camp of the Surára, see p. 23) two young men are always trained for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemão and his brother Kurikayawõ among the Surára; Karenauõ and the war chief Porẽhiwõ among the Pakidái) in all matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only after that are they regarded as full members of their community and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers. It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite
[782] melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and plant spirits (hekurá, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clear-
[276] ing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices, however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication (see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead
884 and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely ex-
● 302 ternally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting,
825 which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú
86 on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representation of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
825 emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

/70 cont./

764 Among the Pakidái I was able to be present on the sad occasion of a burial ceremony for the young, vigorous, and happy Hokotómarimá, an unmarried youth whose age was 19 years at [752] most. He had fallen from the top of a pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) (the liana lashing of his climbing apparatus, see p. 121, had evidently not been firm enough) and must have suffered internal injuries. All the efforts to save him, which were carried out uninterruptedly by the chief and his helpers for two days and nights, were unsuccessful.

• [302] After the dead Hokotómarimá had been pushed into the wooden frame, five warriors whose bodies were painted all over with urucú carried him out of the maloka, amid loud lamentations. Two men carried the frame, one in front and one in back; now and then they were relieved by their companions. The women of his kin group, in part with children on their hips or by the hand, accompanied him, amid heart-rending, shrill tones of lament and endlessly flowing tears, on this last journey to the edge of the forest. Then the five men went on alone with the deceased. (The chief did not take part; he would do so only if the deceased were a relative.) After a walk of about 20 minutes, they suddenly stopped, set down the frame, and selected a suitable tree, in order to hang it in the crown. When they had found it, in this case a tall imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.) -- tokorí --, two men climbed up, each with two long lianas (cipó-titica) hanging around their necks. They chose a particularly thick limb, then lowered the lianas, where their companions tied them to the wooden frame, and pulled it up with the dead man lying in it. When the frame was hanging firmly and securely on the branch, they climbed down again.

Immediately thereafter the five men started back to the maloka. On the way, however, the brother of the deceased cut [551] into a tree, the name of which the deceased bore -- hokotómarimá -- matamatazeiro (Eschweilera matamata Hub.), with his terçado (large bush-knife) and in the lower part of the trunk, deep notches which had the following appearance ~~~~~~~~~~~~ and extended around the entire trunk. This was supposed to make the tree die.

Surára. Pakidái

619 /74 cont./
648 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.
721

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-
[835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára
[171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriâna. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the
[171]

342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

• [302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

Surára
Pakidái

/74 cont./

726
[171]
[302]

343 (cont.)
Richard Schomburgk points out that their body painting in wartime differs from that of peacetimes. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, page 322).

spend the night quietly, while a few scouts reconnoiter the
[276] position. At dawn the warriors blow large quantities of snuff into each other's noses and then, completely unfettered, but in all
[727] silence they storm the hostile maloka. Men and boys are killed ruthlessly with arrow shots, and the women and children are dragged off as captives. But the attackers, too, often have to suffer great losses, and it is said that they are sometimes put to flight.

726 727 During my stay among the Surára, I heard of an attack by the Xiriána and allied warriors on a maloka of the Waikâ on the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini (see p. 16). On this occasion, as I was told, all the Waikâ men were killed, and the women and girls were brought to the Xiriána maloka as captives. The head of the Waikâ chief, as the war chief of the Surára added, was then adorned with feathers by the Xiriána and left standing in front of their community house for several days
727 as a trophy; after that it was thrown away (344). The night after

344. The Hôrio and Ebidoso in the northeastern Chaco, who occasionally behave in a similar way, are to be referred to as a parallel (Baldus, 1931, p. 73).

the attack there was a big dance festival, in which all the men
[276] took part. Before that they took snuff and prayed to the hekurá
[782] (see p.199), in order to thank them for the victory.

/97 cont./

[755] [959] [123] [179] the chief even asked me to give the patients "penicilina" after his healing efforts had again brought no success.

Of the various cures at which I was allowed to be present, I should like to describe in detail the following two treatments:

b) Magic cure (rekurí) for Xunamí:

Xunamí, the young, pretty wife of Kurikayawõ, fell ill quite suddenly. She had a high fever, lay apathetically in her hammock, and complained of severe chest pains. Her husband, [593] [759] who, with touching devotion, remained with her throughout the first day, that is, he sat beside her or lay in his hammock, led her several times to the nearby small river, in which she always remained for some time and drank copious amounts. She was not permitted to eat anything, but she had no desire to do so. During the night, the fever seemed to climb, for she was quite delirious and unable to sleep soundly. The next day she felt [959] even worse. Three times in the forenoon and as often in the afternoon her husband took her to the river, but there was no improvement after the baths and the drinking. At noon on the third day the husband, together with two other men, began • [302] the first special cure. First of all, Kurikayawõ and the second participant painted serpentine lines on their faces and bodies with urucú, while the third one rubbed himself all over with soot. Then they all three blew snuff-powder into each other's noses and in a few minutes they were in a state of ecstasy in which they leaped wildly about the sick woman lying in her hammock, shouted loudly, and gesticulated. Then, however, the cure followed very definite directions. The man painted completely black symbolically represented the spirit of sickness -- nonexí -- whom a hostile medicine man had conjured into the body of the sick woman, and the other two men, who now identified themselves with the hekurá (see p. 200), staged a sham battle against him. At first they were armed with large sticks and beat "nonexí" in order to kill him. But he defended himself with all his might. Then he hurled arrows at him, which, however, he threw back. After that the /98/ spirit of sickness stuck a carrying basket on his head, and this suddenly fell off. At once, the other two men

/100 cont./

755 was much worse, that this time the power of the Waikâ medicine
123 men was extraordinarily great. I then proposed to him that I
179 should give Xunamî penicillin injections. After lengthy consultations with the husband and other male members of the tribe he consented, though with misgivings, and luck was with the patient as well as with me. From this moment on the name penicilina (Portuguese spelling) became a magic word, for it had helped to cast away the sickness. Hewemão even asked me to bring him a great deal of it on my next visit.

755 c) Magic cure (rekurâ) for Xanimâ:

Xanimâ, the approximately 47-year-old mother of
[164] Anyarawõ (see p. 126), had been ill for five days with chicken
pox and had had persistently high fever. At first she, too, was
[159] given the water cures, that is, she constantly had to take baths in the river and drink a great deal of water; as her weakness increased, she remained lying in her hammock and was doused with cold water. After that there were sham battles between two "hekurâ" and the bad, black-colored spirit of sickness, "nonexî."

When there was no improvement, Chief Hewemão and eight helpers again arranged a large, nocturnal rekurâ, but this time a somewhat different one, because, of course, a different
• [302] sickness was involved (502). At first the men, eight with red

502. As has been mentioned above (see p. 212), every sickness has very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps.

serpentine lines painted on their faces and bodies and one colored black, in the light of the hearth, again formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the middle, on which snuff-
[296] powder had been poured. They filled their snuff tubes with generous amounts of it and blew it into each other's noses, whereupon, after a few minutes, the state of ecstasy set in. The men hopped around their own axis several times, and, after a hissing sound on the part of the chief and with prolonged shrill

Surára
Pakidái

/104 cont./

769 788 Immediately after that the Surára chief squatted down at his hearth, and beside him squatted a medicine-man helper. On the opposite side of the large maloka the Pakidái chief and a helper had assumed the same position. Hewemão, the first-named chief, began to speak loudly and distinctly to the hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits). While doing so, he kept stroking his hair from front to back and then slapping his seat. The helper squatting beside him repeated each of his words and copied all his movements. (This was to express symbolically that the hekurá, the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being, Poré/Perimbó, actually pass on all questions, requests, and wishes). After Hewemão, the Pakidái chief spoke to the hekurá, and his helper likewise repeated each word and imitated the gestures (stroking the hair and slapping the seat). This exorcism, which the two chiefs carried out alternately, lasted an hour.

769 461 After that the two exhausted chiefs and the rest of the men, young men, and boys lay down for a well-earned rest. /105/ Meanwhile the women had been going about their accustomed activity. They fetched water, prepared food, took care of the children; some of them also plaited a basket in the meantime, or they strung glass beads on a string. Some of the men who had meanwhile awakened continued to lie idly in their hammocks, some also played with the children, while others sat together in groups and talked.

769 Toward 2:00 the festival was resumed when 20 men, young men, and boys, each of whom held an arrow in his hand, rushed into the maloka courtyard with loud shouts. They were [302] [301] magnificently painted (510) and on the upper arms and in part

510. The painting had been done with urucú color and consisted of serpentine lines, circles and dots; several men, however, had painted their whole bodies red.

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 in the ear lobes were adorned with colorful feather ornaments
[302] (see pp. 93/95). Moreover, they had all glued into their hair
[301] the white down feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.), the dreaded carrier of sickness (see p. 211) (Ill. 43). They
769 made mighty leaps, then bent their knees, turned around
535 several times in between, threw their arrows into the air and
533 caught them again. After that they fell into a dance in step, during which they sang. But this dance was constantly interrupted by wild charges and rousing shouts, which were supposed to drive the nonexf out of the maloka and show them how dangerous it was to come here at all. The others present were enthusiastically watching this performance from their hearths. For the
[302] occasion of the festival all the men, women, and children had
[292] likewise painted themselves and in part donned the cotton belts;
[301] moreover, the men wore their upper-arm ornaments of feathers (Ills. 9-11).

769 After this two-hour dance performance a particularly solemn ceremony took place, the blessing of the preserved bone ashes of deceased tribesmen. For this purpose two leading personalities of each of the two tribes sat down in a square formation before the chief's hut. The Surára chief Hewemão was squatting in such a way that he faced the maloka courtyard. To the right and left of him, somewhat to the side and forward, squatted the Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, and Hewemão's brother, Kurikayawõ, respectively, and opposite Hewemão, Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, had his place. In front of the latter were arranged ten small jamaru vessels (jamaru = Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda) filled with bone ashes. Behind them stood one empty gourd bowl and one filled with urucú. The Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, on the other hand, had two large empty jamaru vessels standing in front of him.

Porêhiwõ now poured bone ashes from one after another of the small jamaru vessels into the empty gourd bowls, added a little urucú, mixed the two with his hands, and gave the bowl to Karenauõ, who each time poured the contents into one of the
[782] larger jamaru vessels. While the two Pakidái were silently per-
[788] forming their work, Hewemão was praying in a half-singing

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 voice to the hekurá and constantly passed his hands from his head
[782] to his feet. His brother Kurikayawõ repeated each of his words
[788] and imitated the gestures (511). Around the four men, who were

511. This was again the symbolic transmission of the prayers from the hekurá to Poré/Perimbõ (see also p. 228).

now officiating as priests, crouched red-painted warriors whose head hair was completely covered with the down feathers of the gavião-real. Whenever the Pakidái chief poured a new mixture of bone ashes and urucú into a larger jamaru vessel, he always pulled a few feathers from the heads of the warriors and threw them in (512). The closest relatives of the late deceased sat

[751]

512. There is defensive magic connected with this. For if the men, in the subsequent ceremonial drinking of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes, swallow these feathers, they and their families are better protected against sickness.

behind the warriors and sobbed heart-rendingly, especially the
[782] women. Their tears /106/ flowed uninterruptedly, and at the same time they prayed in a low, singing cadence. When the bone ashes of another jamaru vessel were mixed with urucú by Porêhiwõ, their sobbing and their prayers changed to high, shrill tones. This made no impression upon the medicine men, however, who imperturbably went on with their activity. The
[302] [301] mourners were surrounded by a circle of standing warriors painted red and adorned with upper-arm feathers, who held bows and arrows in their hands and faced outward. It was their task to shield
[522] the ceremony against harmful outside influences. Behind them stood numerous male spectators, who followed the proceedings with interest, to be sure, but without inner participation, for at times they laughed and joked.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769 266 On the next day, April 6, 1956, the festival reached its climax. Toward 9:00 the Surára chief, his brother Kurikayawã, and the chief and war chief of the Pakidái sat down around the pots of banana soup, in front of which also stood the two jamaru vessels with the bone ashes of the deceased, and all the other [533] male members of the tribe sat around them. The Surára chief started to pray loudly, whereupon a rather long choral song was struck up. Then he poured the bone ashes into all the soup pots, mixed them thoroughly with his hands, and scooped out a calabash full for himself, which he emptied hastily and to the last drop. Thereupon the Pakidái chief, the brother of Hewemão, and the war chiefs of both tribes drank, followed by all the older and younger men, including the larger boys, who drank last (514). As a result of this ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes, it is believed, the strength and spirit of the deceased will remain within the tribe and contribute to its vigor.

[123] 514. Hewemão also offered my servant and me a full calabash each, along with the war chiefs. When we had drunk them, he slapped our backs appreciatively and said that we were now true Sarára.

769 [533] Following this drink, a prayer of thanksgiving was sung. [782] Then the men, youths, and boys together ate large quantities /107/ of the roasted tapir meat, as well as manioc flat-cakes, [262] and after that the women handed them calabashes full of the refreshing drink made of pupunha fruits.

Invigorated and fortified with the powers of the deceased, the men were now able to proceed with the most strenuous part • [302] of the festival. But before this began, half of them blackened their faces and bodies with soot, which they scraped off of their 769 cooking pots. Meanwhile others had again set in the center of 276 the maloka circle the large clay plate upon which they poured the brownish snuff-powder -- epená --, out of bamboo containers, and in front of the plate they laid a large number of

Surára
Pakidái

/110 cont./

527 Between the patapánomão festivals the Surára and Pakidái have only a few other festivities in the course of the year. These are but small celebrations, which, for example, take place after the two-months' training of two young men as medicine-man helpers, after a successful war-expedition, upon moving into a newly erected maloka, and in connection with the second menstruation of a girl. The latter has more of an intimate character, for only families of relatives and friends take part in it.

754 825 4. Magic for Sickness, Hunting, Love, and Rain

a) Magic for sickness:

[824] A magic powder is occasionally prepared from the bark ashes of a wild mimosa species (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurâhihenâ -- (see also p. 192) and the bone powder of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). In the evening, shortly before twilight sets in, if a gavião-real happens to be flying by or is sitting on a tree, the chief blows this powder in the direction of the bird. The latter receives it and with it transmits sickness to a specific hostile tribe.

224 789 b) Hunting magic:

[782] The evening before a proposed hunting expedition the hunter takes snuff-powder and prays for about 2-3 hours to the hekurâ (see pp. 200/201), whereby through them he requests [302] Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) for a successful outcome. Then, before he sets out the next morning, he paints serpentine lines [825] on his face and body with urucú. If his wife accompanies him, she also applies this design, and the snout and feet of a dog that is taken along are painted with the same color. This is [751] supposed to increase the luck of the hunt and is at the same time bound up with defensive magic against possible dangers threatened by poisonous snakes and jaguars.

/112 cont./

789 it is not needed, for example, before hunting expeditions or
[821] during a tribal migration. In this case all the men, women,
[302] and children paint their bodies with a confusion of serpentine lines, in order by this means to command the rain to stop. If
526 this does not help, a tug of war -- toôtotó -- with a thick liana
789 is arranged. This liana personifies the sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) --
[796] uaikonyá -- which, as a strong water-animal, has the power to induce Poré to stop shaking the rain tree (see p. 199). At first only two groups of red-painted men engage in the tug of war. But if the rain simply will not abate, red-painted women also take part in it. Their participation is supposed to increase the
[796] pressure on the sucuriju, for it is assumed that it is of the female sex and thus particularly well-disposed toward women. Such a
[857] tug of war often goes on for several hours. In most cases, besides adults, I also saw children who imitated it with a thin liana.

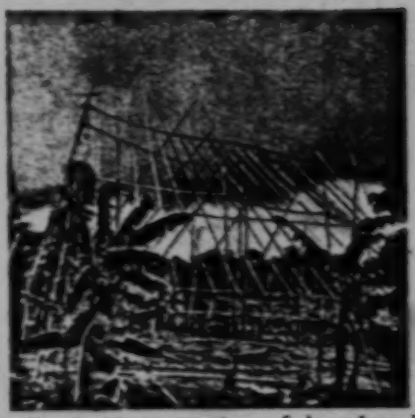
526 If it happens to rain while the sun is shining, the Surára
789 and Pakidái believe that a serious fight has broken out between
821 the moon, from which the rain comes, and the sun. Then all the members of the tribe feel obligated to come to the aid of their Supreme Being, the moon. They do this by again forming two mixed groups of men and women -- one symbolically represents the population of the moon and the other that of the sun -- who throw wet earth at each other; this "battle" is called xejejó.

782 5. A Special Way of Showing Gratitude to Poré and Perimbó

In connection with the festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.) after the training period of the two medicine-man helpers (see pp. 143 f.), after the curing of the sick (see pp. 211 ff.), and other magic ceremonies, the people want to thank Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) in a special way, outside of the customary prayers which take place through the hekurá (see pp. 199/201). For this purpose a large calabash is filled with earth,
[824] into which, in a circle, are stuck red-painted twigs of the imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.), which are connected

2: Becher--270 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

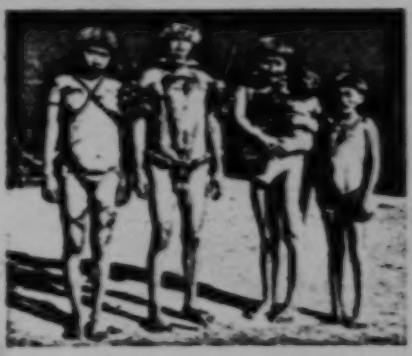
342
361



Ill. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)

142
301
302
291
622

Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)



Ill. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children

142
291
301
302
854
622

142
301
302

Ill. 11. Kurikayawo, the younger brother of the Surára chief

2: Becher--271 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Suyá/Ya.
Pakidái.
/8/
142
411
302
291
516

Ill. 12. Surára warriors

142
291
411
516
142
411
301
302
342
291
624

Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow

Ill. 14. Poréhjiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

2: Becher-- 272 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Shiriana
Karauateri
Pusheweteri

/7/

Ill. 15. Surára family. (The woman is a member of the Pusheweteri and wears the characteristic fringed belt of this tribe)

142
291
302
516
854

142
301
302

Ill. 16. Xiriána woman, Ironasteri, with deforming facial adornment

Ill. 17. Nikeromá, a girl of the hostile Karauateri. (She is a captive of the Surára)

137
142
291
302

Ill. 18. Nikeromá (rear view!)

2: Becher--273 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

/8/

142
302
304

142
291
302
516

Ill. 19. Yaxoíma, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing

Ill. 20. Yaxoíma (left) and Rokoahíma, two Surára girls

124
137
142
291
302
516

142
291
302
237
516

Ill. 21. Jibeauwõ, my little interpreter (right), and Mauahemá (two orphan boys from the tribe of the Surára)

Ill. 22. Two Surára boys. Xaniw (right) and Mauahemá, who hold a monkey bladder between his le

2: Becher--274 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára, Pakidái

/9/

Ill. 23. The Surára boy Xaniwõ

130 142 291 302 516 ←

142 302 304 →

Ill. 24. Pakidái woman, Riopemí

Ill. 25. The two oldest Surára women: Rokomá (right and Cinapemí

142 302 516 ←

Ill. 26. Hammock of embira

352 →

Ill. 27. Liana hammock

Ill. 28. Plaited hammock of cotton

2: Becher--275 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/10/
Surara
Pakidái

352
516
854
593

Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

342
231

142
302
291
516
372

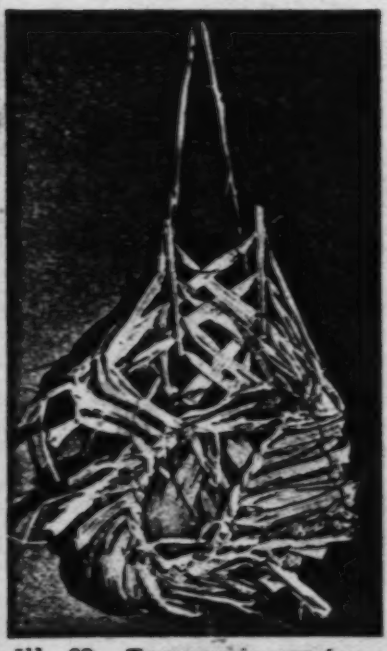
Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

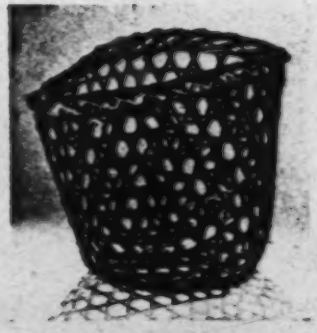
Surára
Pakidái

/11/

415
285



Ill. 32. Temporary carrying basket of palm leaves



Ill. 33. Carrying basket of bast strips from the curauá plant

[531]
→

Ill. 34. Woman's large carrying-basket made of liana strips

Ill. 35. Surára woman plaiting a woman's large carrying-basket

142
302
516
285
←

415
285
→

Ill. 36. Small basket with handle, made of liana strips

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/12/

137
←

137
241
622
516
412
→

Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

137
481
←

114
142
302
291
516
624
→

Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Porêhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/13/
Surára
Pakidái

142
302
276

Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

769
142
291
516
302
342
415
266

Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe,

516
342
411
535

Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

2: Becher--280 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

769
276
142
291
302

Ill. 46. Height of ecstasy

Ill. 47. Circle dance in the state of ecstasy

769
276
535

769
526

Ill. 48. Petapoanhamú -- the embracing-combat performed in a sitting position

/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
302 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the híkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the híkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the híkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

Nabudub

4: Wilbert--65 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 Sanema

142
291
516
854
302

Nabudub (Sanemá) women and children.

142
302
291
352
516

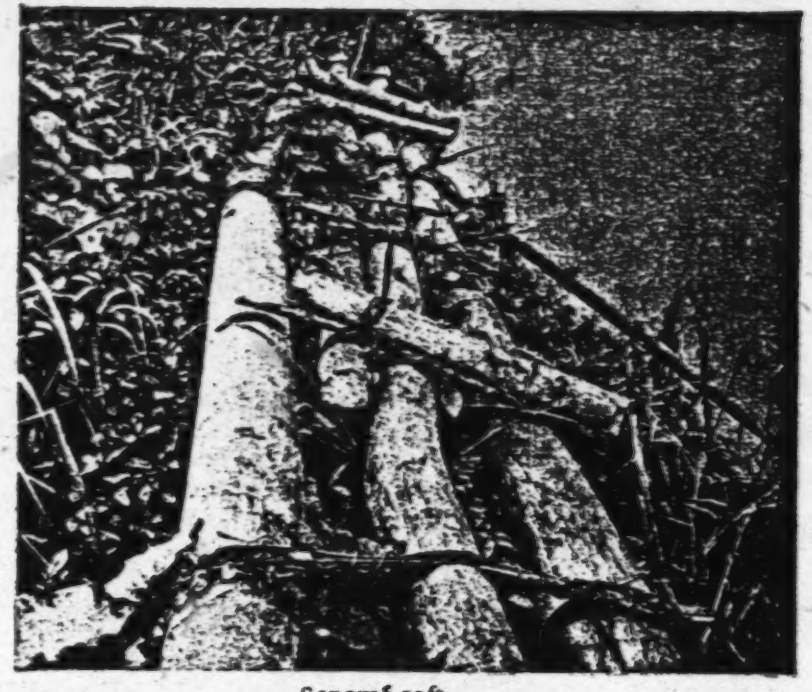
Nabudub couple seated on hammocks of cotton made by the woman.

4: Wilbert--72 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

114
342
516
291
142
302

The author with a group of Sanemá on the upper Ventuari.

501



Sanemá raft.

4: Wilbert--73 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

Y
142
291
302
854
516

M
[344]

Group of Saneмá women and children of the upper Orinoco. In the background the wall of a communal house of the Makiritare Indians.

4. Wilbert--74 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ1
Sanema

142
302
291
501
352
516

Group of Sanemá Indians of the upper Ventuari in their house. The girl (standing) is wearing ornaments of white feathers.

4 Wilbert--75 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

411
322
412
● 302
516

[237]

Sanemá Indian of the upper Ventuari preparing the shaft of an arrow, using a typical "knife" made out of a rodent's tooth mounted on a small stick.

4: Wilbert--76 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

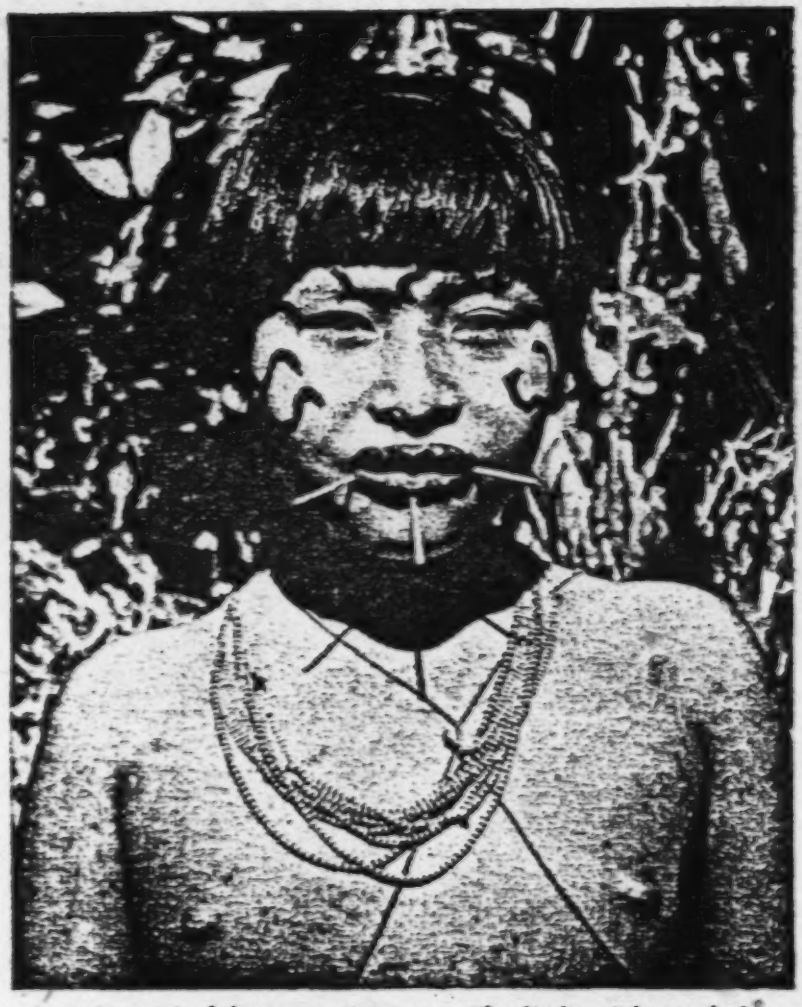
142
302
301

Waica boy of the upper Orinoco.
Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi.

4: Wilbert--77 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
301



[304]

A Waica girl of the upper Orinoco. The little sticks are held in perforations of the lips.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi

4: Wilbert--78 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
291
301
411
516

Waica family of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzz

The first menstrual period

/215 cont./

584 881 indicates that a man may have sexual relations with the wife who was promised to him when she was still a child. Sometimes a girl will refuse to marry the man to whom she was promised as a wife, but she is afraid to conceal her first menstrual periods for mythological reasons.

881 773 In their oral literature the Sanemá tell of a very sad case which occurred in remote times because a girl concealed her first menstruation. Oineitĩb, a scrawny dwarf, found out about what had happened and caused heavy rains to fall for a period which demolished the rancheria where the girl lived. All the men died. The young girl went away to live with the neighboring group, where she was greeted with unequivocal signs of friendliness. On the very day of her arrival a man went to the river to fish, when suddenly he saw floating on the water the dead bodies of the people of the rancheria recently destroyed by the heavy rain. He immediately realized what had happened. He returned to the rancheria and killed the girl. The dwarf ate the girl and all the people who lived in the rancheria destroyed by the rain. This happens very rarely, however, which is why the dwarf is so thin.

881 [302] [262] We do not know the content of the puberty rites, but it seems that the hair is cut in the case of both sexes, and, for the boys as well as for the girls, food is limited to cassava and water, and that in small amounts. They do not eat meat. An informant 343 from the Erebato spoke to us of a special hut where the women 841 881 remain for the duration of their menstrual period. If we understood him correctly, this hut is round and dome-shaped and made of palm leaves stuck into the ground. Inside the hut there is a circle made of little sticks placed side by side, within which there are two sticks stuck into the ground one meter apart. Between these sticks is fixed a bejuco. /216/ The woman, who must not lie down during menstruation, sits down and the bejuco serves as a back support. We did not see any house of this type.

584 The arrangements for a marriage are initiated with a private discussion between the two young lovers. The boy indicates to his fiancée that he wishes to take her as his wife and says to her:

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

along by himself and hopped round us twittering. Then he flew off, to return a little while later with another in tow—perhaps the hen bird. Twittering again, he presented us to her as a fabulous discovery. They twittered a commentary and flew off, returning a little later, this time with a whole flock of friends. Then, with the courage that comes with numbers, they all made for our eyes to get at the honey. We were forced to disillusion them.

VIII

The Shirians have tobacco, *pihni* as they call it: even the most primitive and savage of them, the Samatari, cultivate two things in some hidden corner of the forest known only to themselves—tobacco, and the cane from which they make their arrows. Vice and war!

We were highly attracted towards the Uagna river lands, which, according to Luis Antonio, was country rich in game and inhabited, or at least occasionally crossed, by the Samatari, who inspired terror all round them. Enrico, Momi, and I set out on an expedition there, leaving Jean and Artur to wait for the plane.

We stopped on the way at the Uarema settlement; Luis Antonio wanted to show us off to his people, who had never seen men with beards and wearing clothes.

That night we slept in a crowded hut, and our curiosity was drawn towards a young woman who had strung her hammock between those of Uarema's two nephews (whose persons were adorned with feathers and plumes). She stayed in all day as well, a cosseted Shirian Cleopatra, continually looking at herself in the little glass we had given her and adjusting the white feather boa which covered her ears and her shoulders. During the course of the day other women came to help her with her toilet, painting her cheeks and forehead with certain precise geometrical designs: they used red and black colouring matter which when dry shone like enamel. Even her little quid of tobacco was smaller and daintier than others used. Uarema told us that she was the public woman of the tribe.

Next morning, when we were stepping into our boats again, Pancho and Benito came along in a big canoe. They wanted salt from us. We had very little, and had to refuse them. They went off in silence. When they were two hundred yards away, they shouted something in our direction. Luis Antonio

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 idea, so I kept my eye on the lady in case developments came quicker than was expected.

The day arrived when I believed my silent surveillance would be crowned with success. Actually I had fallen into an innocent error. By way of compensation, I certainly got a good laugh out of it. I had tailed the woman along a path fairly new to me, which she had taken as if she had no wish to advertise her whereabouts. I knew the path in its early stages, but had always assumed that it ended in a thick clump of bushes, progress being further discouraged by a big fallen tree-trunk. But when I reached this obstacle I saw no sign of my quarry. I then saw that the tree-trunk could be pushed aside, to reveal a fork in the path. From this point the track was well-worn, leading a good distance away from the hut. It didn't need much mental effort for me to realize what a clumsy mistake I had made. Behind a tree an Indian was attending to Nature's needs. I had ended up in the Guaycas' privy. The old man sent up a growl of protest at this intrusion of a bearded one in the sacred retreat. The only thing left to me was to turn back, with the air of having wandered there by chance.

514 It is interesting to observe that the Indians, while generally immodest to the point of indecency, regard the bodily functions as a matter for reticence and secrecy. They squat like women to urinate and for other purposes seek some remote and hidden place, as if well aware of the defencelessness of their situation at these moments. Thus they obey not only the all-important principles of hygiene, but those of security: and in a world like theirs, security is the more important.

123 That same day we witnessed another interesting operation, if one of a [122] different nature. On the morrow we were to start for Llantariña and the Shirians had already prepared a good supply of bananas and *mapuei* which they were bringing up in another boat. On the eve of this expedition every man jack we had engaged for it had disappeared—except Luis Antonio, who was [302] swinging in his hammock with the public woman at his side.

'They've gone to get their hair cut in the other hut,' he told me, when I asked where they all could be—for all the world as if he was saying: 'They're at the barber's shop round the corner.'

302 We went off to the other hut, anxious to see the fun. It was Caio's turn. He 123 was squatting on the ground in front of a pimply young woman who must have been his wife. She was giving him a perfect pudding-basin haircut, using instead of scissors the nails of her thumb and forefinger, which with the Indians

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

are extremely strong. One quick nip did all that was necessary, and the nails worked with the precision of a pair of hairclippers. Beside her she had a little heap of fine ash, into which she dipped her fingers after every two or three nips. Hairs which interfered with the desired style were plucked out in a manner which might have been expected to bring cries of pain from the patient, but Caio only smiled his usual sweet smile, as if he was apologizing for causing so much trouble.

This operation went on for a good many hours, and we didn't see the end of it. But that evening Caio, Sempronio, and Narcisus trooped into the big hut, proudly displaying haircuts of an enviable perfection.

V

Delay appeared to be the order of the day on the island. Uarema's brother, the elderly one, failed to show up. We were waiting for him because we hoped he might prove a source of further information, and there was also a possibility that he might come with us, taking the place of the expectant father. We passed the time swimming, and walking through the Soto plantations, which had now been almost strangled by the forest. After turning over practically every leaf, we found a few ripe pawpaws and plenty of *tupi*. The first-named is almost a wild fruit in this region: the Indians cultivate a small type no bigger than an orange but full of flavour. The second is the doubtful fruit of one of the solanacea, in shape, colour and flavour halfway between a tomato and a melon. We cooked these sometimes with salt, sometimes with sugar, and turned them into a kind of marmalade. At the first tasting it aroused our enthusiasm, but at the next it made us sick. We were forced to find some substitute for our provisions, now reduced to very small quantities: we had no rice, tinned meat or white flour left, besides being out of other more important commodities, but we still had plenty of coffee—though not sugar—and salt and powdered milk.

All our expeditions from now on, especially the Samatari venture which we were silently preparing, would have to rely on hunting and fishing for supplies. All we could take with us was coffee, which Enrico and I could drink unsweetened, and plenty of salt, with a little powdered milk 'in case of sickness', we told each other cheerfully. For this contingency, we didn't lack for medical supplies. As always, we had more than we could comfortably carry.

6: Yinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123
● 302
142
301

9. *Reading-matter reaches the Asai Skyrians.*

[p. 96 - A]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
302
296

10. *Luis Antonio prefers the local tobacco to our own civilized brands.*

11 & 12. *Waromi's brothers-in-law.*

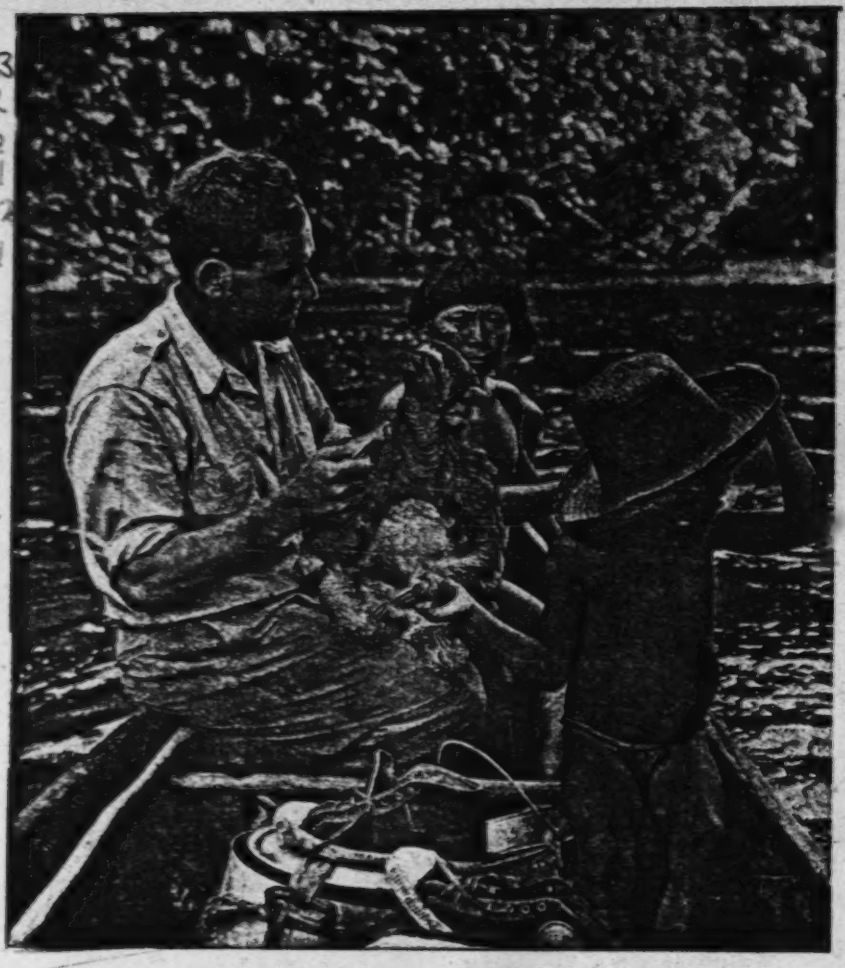
142
291
302

[301]

[P.96-B]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123
142
136
291
● 302
501



14. *On the river Wagua: a sloth.*

[p. 96 - D]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
302
264
516

15. *Grubs make a tasty dish!*

16. *The fourth type of Samatari - the girlish.*

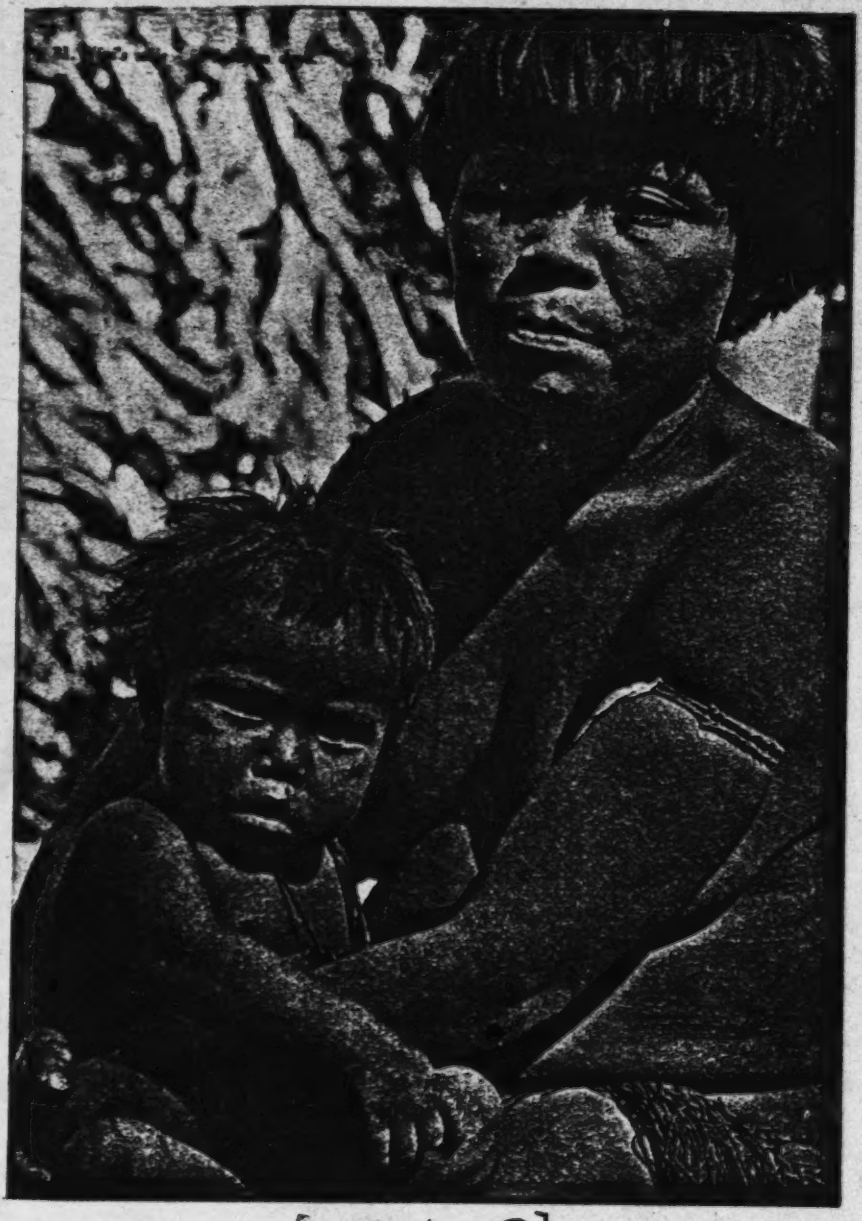
17. *The 'bad type' - playing a whistle made from a deer's shin-bone. Note the tribal signs on his stomach*

142
302
142
302
531
531

[p. 96 - E]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

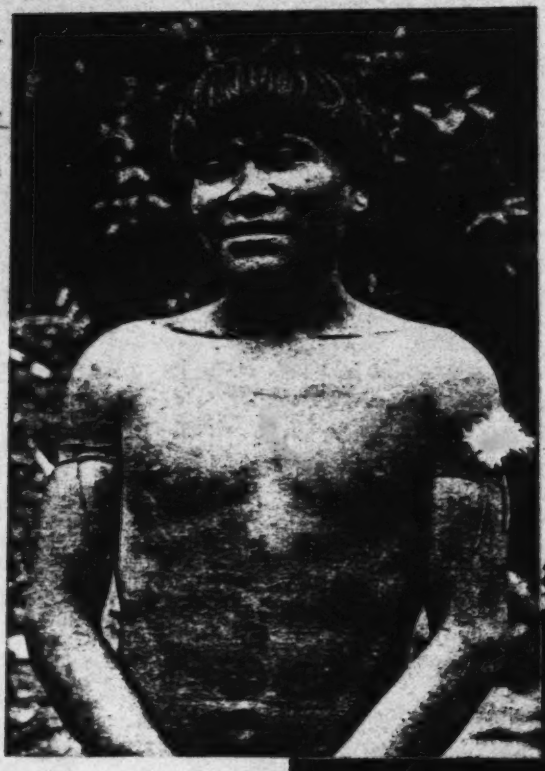
142
302
301



[p. 144-G]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
301
●302



35. *Dolfuss was pale and handsome.*

142
411
516

36. *A typical primitive: a man of good will, ugly as he is.*

[p. 192-A]

6: Vinci T-S (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

515
302
516
291

50. While the men brave the falls, their women-folk pause for hygiene.

[p. 192 - H]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

A vast and multiform horde it is that besieges the trees; a people millions strong, each one of whom wages its own small war and combines with the rest in the greater struggle.

IV

In the three brothers, all that was best in this wild region could truly be said to have found some form of expression. Their reactions were at times incomprehensible—sudden reflexes resulting from a life utterly different in every way from our own and in some degree akin to the animals'. They were always together, not mixing with the other Shirians and building their own little separate shelter. Every night, when work was finished, they came to us, rubbing themselves against us and indicating by gestures what goods they would like for their pay.

They had certain phobias, the most interesting being a fear of nails. Carmine always had a long nail handy, and each evening he would hammer it into one of the hut-poles to hang up his gun and cartridge-case. This produced a terrible effect on one of the brothers. He would stand and watch as if paralysed, for all the world as though the nail was being driven into his own forehead. If Carmine showed him the nail, holding it out to him, he would cry '*Ma, ma*' and run off to hide in his little hut. Generally, however, he was most friendly, even affectionate, towards us. Carmine had once rashly promised to cut his hair for him, and since a haircut for one meant a haircut for everybody and the expedition's only pair of scissors was precious, we lost a whole day while my companion gained some experience of the barber's trade. The Indians spent their time looking at themselves in the glass and examining each other's coiffure for defects which they wanted attended to at once.

In imitation of the tales the Shirians told, Carmine had invented a terrifying personage called Barabbu, a kinsman of his, who lived somewhere over the mountains. Barabbu made such an impression on everyone that the myth became a real moral weapon and came in very useful when the Indians needed a little prodding. When Carmine told his tale, in a mixture of Shirian, Makiritari, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian, they would listen with eyes like saucers, in curiosity and fear: 'Barabbu and a hundred robbers and a hundred fierce dogs—they live in the trees like monkeys—eat women and children, cooked—

/443 cont./

Domestic Animals

231 Dogs are raised and generally used in hunting.

Birds of almost all types are captured when they are found before leaving the nest. Most of these only survive a few days. It seems that the parrots manage to survive in captivity much better than the other birds, so that almost all the settlements have a domesticated parrot. Turkeys and cranes are included among the other birds which can survive and reach the adult state.

Domesticated monkeys are also favorite animals. It is interesting to observe that almost without exception the monkey is the property of a woman. Doubtless this is related to the fact that women nurse the little monkeys until they are weaned. The mother monkey must be killed in order to be able to capture the little monkey.

Small rodents, such as squirrels and vesper mice, are brought to the house sometimes to be domesticated. One family even went so far as to raise a wild pig (chácharo).

231 766 /444/ When a domestic animal dies, it is incinerated outside the settlement, near some path. Its bones are left in the same spot where they were when the fire consumed them.

241

Agriculture

Platanos and banana trees occupy nearly 90 per cent of the cultivated lands. Other fruits include sweet yuca, bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, mapuey /yams/, sugar cane, maize the pijiguao palm /peach palm/, pepper, the papaya, and the sweet potato.

241 824 302 [789] 302 [276] Tobacco, cotton, and onoto /annatto/ are the principal nonedible products. Other nonedible products include a grass whose stem is dried and used for cutting the hair; a variety of root similar to the wild onion is used in magic for hunting, for obtaining a wife, etc.; especially fragrant leaves are used by the women in their ears; and the ingredients used in the processing of "yopo," a narcotic which is blown into the nose.

/453 cont./

276 Several varieties of "yupo," of different degrees of strength, are prepared with leaves, bark, and ashes of bark. In the form of powder, it is blown by another into the nose of the one using it. The helper is the one who blows it, but the one using it fills the little tube and consequently is the one responsible with regard to the amount taken.

The "yopo" is connected with their religion and must be taken in order to carry out most of the sorcery, magic, or spells. Nevertheless, some become so addicted to the drug that they take it in great quantities and remain under its influence from midday until evening almost every day.

"Yopo" greatly enlarges the pupil, to the point of almost covering the entire iris of the eye.

The intoxication which it produces is similar to that caused by alcohol, but the effect passes sooner. An excessive dose may leave a person flat on his back, foaming at the mouth, and without strength enough to get up or to resist anything which might be done to him.

291 Clothing

The item of clothing which is fundamental for both men and women is a cord tied around the waist. Men are not considered decently dressed if they do not have the penis held up by the foreskin by the aforementioned cord.

[179] There is a desire to obtain trousers and shirts for protection against insects.

• 302 Ornaments

The predominant style of cutting the hair is that of shaving the upper part of the cranium, leaving a border of hair about five centimeters wide around it. The lower edge of /454/ this border of hair should come exactly to the upper edge of the ears and a short space above the eyebrows. The straighter and more abrupt the lines of the hair, the better is the haircut. Sometimes they let the hair grow over the whole head. Sometimes, in order to rid themselves of lice, they shave the entire head. The whole head may be shaved for other reasons as well.

/454 cont./

304 All have the ears pierced. A good number of men and women also have the center of the lower lip pierced. Some women have the corners of the mouth pierced, and a few have the nose pierced.

304 The boys and men wear sticks through their ears, sometimes
301 feathers or also little sticks with feathers. Those who have the lip pierced keep a little stick or a feather there all the time.

The women wear flowers or leaves in their ears. The perforations in the lips and the nose generally have sticks in them. On gala occasions, the little stick which goes through the nasal septum may be as long as the face is wide.

301 In addition to the cords tied around the waist, they frequently
291 wear similar cords around the arms and legs.

The men may also wear a heavy cotton belt and similar bands on a smaller scale on the arms. They may wear feathers fixed on the shoulders and a monkey tail around the head, to emphasize the border of hair, or they may adorn the hair with down.

The women also use a heavy cotton belt, clearly different from the one which the men use.

Girls wear a band at the waist, woven of cotton, with decorations on its front part. They also customarily cross the chest with bands of cotton.

302 Onoto, charcoal, and several other paints are used for body
53 designs. They do not seem to have any religious meaning, but
[386] simply an ornamental purpose. These designs include dots, stripes, wavy lines, and circles. Sometimes they paint a wide strip and then make the design by scraping off the paint. They also imprint upon the skin /455/ ornamental designs by using a "mapire" or the hand, or some combination of these. It seems that some of them have their favorite designs.

Hides, Textiles, and Weaving

237 The skin of the jaguar or of another mammal rarely reaches the settlement in a single piece. But even if it did, it is immediately cut into small pieces so that each one may have a little piece to cover his quiver, or at least a band to wear tied to the arm.

/473 cont./

583 628 To a suitor who does not obtain the consent of the girl's settlement there is no other path but to look for a wife elsewhere or to try to abduct the girl in order to make her his /474/ wife. If he decides to do this latter, he gathers together his sympathizers; these are mostly men of the suitor's own settlement, although other friends may also help him. The group attempts to take the girl prisoner at a careless moment, carrying her off by force. The friends of the girl come to help her, starting a hand-to-hand fight. If the suitor manages to flee with the girl, she becomes his wife, but if he fails, he cannot make another attempt at abduction without then being considered a real enemy, and as such he will run the risk of being shot with an arrow and not simply have to put on a fight.

If a settlement decides not to accept the abduction committed for one of its girls for matrimonial purposes, a call for help can be made to a neighboring settlement, all of the men gathering in a band, ready to recover her. The weapons used on such a raid are smooth poles about six feet long, intended not to kill the opponent, but to knock him down, leaving him hors de combat. If such a raid is successful, the girl is returned to her parents. And if the raid fails, any new attempt to recover the girl involves the risk of the attackers' being shot with arrows, since they would then be considered as true enemies. Both the men and the women can fight on the defense in case of such a raid.

A suitor alone or with the help of a few friends may succeed in carrying out the abduction of a wife, generally by finding the girl practically alone and carrying her off to his own settlement. In such cases the settlement of the abductor cannot back him, obliging him to return the woman to her parents rather than to lose their friends in her settlement.

721 ● 302 When a raid to a truly hostile settlement is planned for the purpose of abducting a wife or other objects of value, each one of the members of the attacking band paints himself entirely 724 black or dark maroon. For such raids the weapons are the bow and arrows, and, when the fight starts, both groups shoot to kill. Should the attacking band be small, it can only hope to capture some girl or woman who is alone in her "conuco" or /475/ cutting wood in the forest. Then it will try to escape with the

/483 cont./

758 515 They bathe sick persons. If the patient cannot go to the stream, they bathe him part by part at home and even in his own hammock.

/484/ Death

763 They are generally afraid of death and make every effort to keep a dying person alive for a while longer. When someone is in danger of dying, the relatives and friends hold meetings for lamentations at least once a day.

764 When a dying person expires, a time of mourning begins. [302] Then, at about 3:00 in the afternoon, the funeral begins. The relatives and friends begin to paint themselves. There is much [535] crying and lamentation. The women dance forward and backward, groaning and carrying several poisoned darts in one hand. If there are young children, they are frequently carried also. If the deceased is a little one, its little body may be carried during the final part of this mourning dance. A few closely related men and the intimate friends also participate in the dance.

After the lamentations have continued for a quarter of an hour more or less, the men go out in search of firewood and light a fire of two meters in front of the dwelling where the corpse is lying. When the fire reaches an adequate size, the body is carried there in a hammock made of cords of vine and placed on the fire. Then they put more wood on top of the [766] corpse. If the deceased is an infant, they place it in the fire in a flat basket rather than a hammock. They keep the fire burn- [765] ing until around ten at night. Then they gather up the bones, wrap them in leaves, and hang them in the house.

If someone should die far from the settlement, his body is wrapped in leaves tied with vines and carried to the settlement to be cremated.

765 About three days after the cremation, the bones are pulverized in a small trough and then kept hermetically in a gourd capped with beeswax. The trough is made by using a machete to carve out the hole, burning its interior. They use it only once. After it is used, both the trough and the pestle are burned. Much weeping accompanies the process of pulverization and sealing the remains in the gourd.

7: Barker--63 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate III

291
252
302
415

The men cook the meat from hunting. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

372
516
302

They produce fire by making a little stick rotate between the palms of the hands, with the friction end resting on a piece of soft wood. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

7: Barker--64 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate IV

302

The Guaika--women and men--shave the head, leaving only a ring of hair all around. Notice the scars on this warrior, El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

342
262
516

Interior of a Guaika hut, in El Platanal. The platano is one of the principal foods in their diet. (Photo. by the author.)

/156 cont./

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

[302] [574] [822] [412] [361]

166 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called
361 "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could
721 live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at
361 their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was
[114] calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
[226] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having
[411] fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows
[857] of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

/158 cont./

726 That night some of our missionaries were camped outside in a
114 casa abierta /"open house"/. Suddenly they were awakened by a group of Yanomama men, who were standing and looking at our missionaries, without saying anything. They all were painted
• [302] black, as though to make it impossible to recognize them by the light of the evening, or in the lesser light of the night. Finally the silence was broken, and the men of Majecototjeti told them that they were looking for the raiders who had killed the man and the boy and had carried off the four women. Our people had seen nothing of the raiders and were enormously surprised at the news.

726 The following morning the men went to the place of the attack and brought the arrows which were there. They did not bring back the complete arrows, but only the ends with the feathers. The arrows were not cut, but burned in two. The poisoned points were brought also. The men carefully examined the arrows and tried to make out from what aldea the raiders had come. The arrows looked like those of the Liacoatjeti, but they had seen a machete in that place, and who could imagine a Liacoatjeti leaving a machete, even in a moment of danger.

There was also a rumor that a bark canoe had been found some distance down the river. Probably the Shibaatía-tjeti had crossed the river in this canoe. (This rumor later turned out to be false.)

A search was carried out in a large circle in every direction to try to find out what direction the raiders had taken. Finally the track was found, and the Liacoatjeti were then recognized as the raiders, and they had come from the south. Their path had been made so as to cover the tracks, leaving the formation one by one and reassembling farther on.

721 The Majecototjeti planned, in turn, a raid of /159/ revenge. First a banquet was held with tapir meat and cassava to eat with the meat. A day or so later the men marched off on a raid of revenge against the Liacoatjeti. The Majecototjeti had gone off two weeks before, but had not found the Liacoatjeti in their houses.

727 "Jolocoiue," a boy with a broken leg who had stayed with
[123] us, asked us to pray to God to send "Etemi" (one of the abducted women) home safe and sound.

142
114
291
• 302
516

Mr. James Barker, in Mahekodotedi, accompanied by a group of Guaica Indians. (Photo Frobenius Expedition, 1954.)

123 /163 cont./
75 wanted that person to die. I assured them that we alone had not cured the boy. The whole aldea had asked God to cure him, and God had answered. The people of the aldea affirmed that this was the case. They had prayed sufficiently, and God had spared his life.

726 The chief's brother came to Yabitjaotjeti and told the chief that the Liacoatjeti had been visiting upriver and that now they were on their way to their homes in their own aldea.

The chief called a meeting for another raid. First the [622] whole aldea moved across the river in order to get away from the bank that was easy for the Shibaatía-tjeti to attack. David and I picked up our hammocks and went with them across the river. On the following day the men set off on the raid, or, more properly, they went down to the Bisheasetjeti to depart from there. Only the adult men went; the boys and children 17 years old or less remained at home.

This time David and I were able to pray that they might not fight. We asked, rather, that the Lord might protect the believers from danger. He did it. The raiders /164/ were gone 727 about three weeks. When they returned, the chief came to the aldea and had an official colloquy, briefly, with the most important man who was left in the aldea. At most the chanted colloquy lasted about half a minute. Then they all began to cry. Someone had been killed. We looked to see who had come back [302] and, if possible, to see who was missing. Some of the men had red marks on their cheeks and on the forehead as a sign that they had killed someone or had "hecho" /done, finished/ much in the fight, for they did not know whether they had killed anyone or not.

I later learned that three of the enemy had been killed, and that one of those of the party, a man from Macolimutjeti, had been wounded in the chest and had died.

727 The underbrush had been cleared away at the site of our
783 temporary aldea, which thus would not serve for the matadores /killers/ to fulfill the rites of a matador as they should be done in thick underbrush. Therefore within an hour we moved to a

291
439

Guaica Indians in El Platanal buying machetes.

114
291
516
302
142

A group of Guaica natives surrounding James Barker.

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SG 18

142
302
301
411

Guaharibo Indian of the Padamo river. (*Photograph by J. Grolier*)

[p. 64 – A]

[pp. 1-64 not processed]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama Sq 18

501
516

142
482
411
291
←

142
302
291
→

TOP: One evening, thirteen Guaharibos from the Padamo arrived. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM LEFT: Guaharibo Indian. Notice the length of his bow and arrows. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Guaharibo woman. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[n.64-B]

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123
[648] From this we deduced that the Waïkas and the Guaharibos, although belonging to the same racial group, do not always live together in complete harmony.

142 Generally speaking, the Guaharibo is not as tall as the average white man. Though he is of slender build, his chest is thick-set and his arms are muscular and we attributed this to his regular use of his immensely powerful bow. His skin is lighter than that of the Makiritares and his eyes are brighter. His hair, too, is less dark and is cut with a fringe all round the head. Body hair is but feebly developed and the men are [302] practically beardless. The two women in the boat were delicately made and quite pretty; they adopted a similar hairstyle to the men but rather longer. Their breasts, small and conical, contrasted with the opulent, hemispherical breasts of the [302] Makiritare women. One of them was clearly the wife of the leader of the party; the other appeared to belong to one of the men with the charcoal-blackened face.

123 Our Guaharibos very quickly became less suspicious, though they still kept close together. Each grasped his machete as though it were treasure, the women and children doing so, [136] too. Hardly had they disembarked than they were assaulted by the *plaga*, which were always at their worst at this time of day. The unfortunate Guaharibos in their nakedness fell an easy prey to them and were soon hopping about and slapping themselves with their hands and the flat blades of the machetes. Obviously they had come from a less infested country, probably from the banks of a black water river.

"General" Butrón, who had several times had contact with the Padamo Guaharibos—or at least with their cousins the Waïkas—suddenly produced a bundle of incredible rags which he had picked up God-knows-where, and began to distribute them. The scene that followed was quite grotesque. The women were no more capable of putting on a dress than the men were of donning trousers. We had to dress them as if they were infants, and replace missing buttons by string. As soon as night fell and the *jejenes* left us in peace, they promptly discarded these embarrassing and tawdry impediments.

We made over to them a newly-built *rancho* situated in the

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

142
302
301

TOP: The Waikas jump aboard as soon as we touch the shore. Notice lower lip extended by a quid of tobacco. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM: This one has just received the gift of a pencil. Notice the sharpen skull and the scars on the scalp. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 96—D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waïkas. We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows, they motioned us to come closer.

" *Shori ! Shori !* " they shouted.

" *Shori ! Shori !* " we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

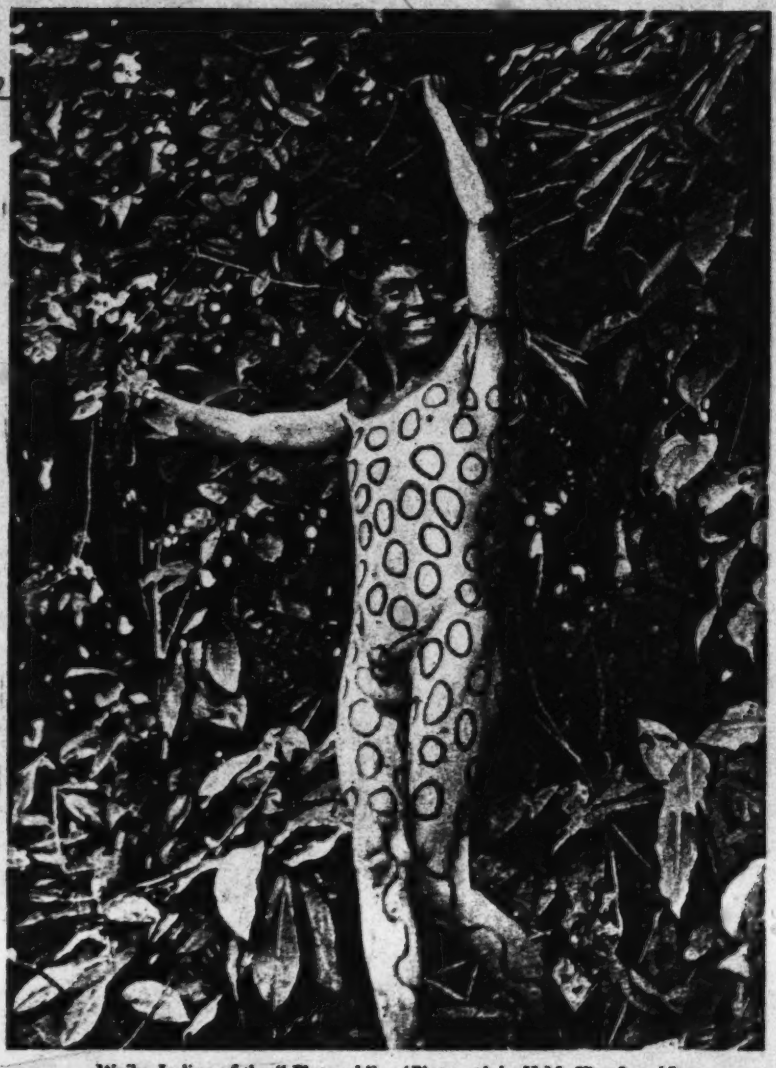
By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and *manioc* and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying " *Shori ! Shori !* " and we responded as in a litany, " *Shori !* "

Physically the Waïka is no different from the Guaharibo. He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waïka's only weapon. Made of strong,

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

142
291
302
516



Waika Indian of the " Platanal ". (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

[p. 112-A]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

M2
302
291
566

Waika family of the " Platanal ". (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

[p. 112 - B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Wa'Ca

302
482
412
237

The Waika always carries with him his little knives made of a rodent's incisors. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

Below: Pierre Ivanoff and one of our Waika friends. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

142
302
→

[p. 112-D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

361
123
[609]
entered. It was deserted ; the women and children had doubtless fled at our approach and were now probably hiding in the forest or the plantation. This would explain why the men had been unwilling to allow me to wander off on my own. After a time they began to filter back. The boys were the

123
[291]

361
342

WAIKA FORTIFIED VILLAGE, "PLATANAL"

123
[291]
first to return, the younger ones wearing nothing but an armlet above the elbow, and the older ones wearing the string round their hips and knotted to the prepuce. Then came the women, the oldest first, followed by the younger ones with their babies.
● [302]
All were completely naked and all wore their hair cut in the pudding-basin fashion favoured by the men. They kept close together, chattering ; some began idly swinging in their hammocks in their houses. When we tried to approach them the men followed close on our steps.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

302 Both men and women and even the small children paint their [386] faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not 302 seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which 531 it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred, either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red, while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken themselves.

123 Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or 302 war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company with some whose paint was paling and some who were not even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

* * *

352 The furnishing of Waïka huts is very simple and orderly, each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one [286] above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from [283] threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades, while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their [287] ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of 592 a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when the village is crowded.

162 In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people, which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waika

bringing in supplies from the plantation and distributing them among the huts. They were obviously preparing for a long siege. 123 721

Barker, the missionary, told us he had thrown his shot-gun into the river to save him from having to take part. Rape, he said, was at the root of every conflict—the kidnapping of boys or girls according to whether a clan had a surplus of men or women without mates. Sometimes a young warrior had to prove himself and in such cases rape is the best method, since it tests endurance, patience, resource and skill no less than strength. [555]

On this occasion, the women had lost all their earlier bashfulness—a group of six of them never leaving us. We had seen the eldest of them twice before, and three of the others had been in the village when we had passed through on our downstream trip. It seeemed they must have vouched for our friendliness for nobody asked us for machetes and matches. 123

On returning to our boat we found six stalks of bananas had been put in it for us. We were sorry that we had nothing but a little *manioc* to offer in return. As we left we met three Waikas from a neighbouring clan. In honour of their hosts and doubtless to cut a good figure, each had painted himself all over with violet dye. [302]

* * *

We passed the Guaharibo Rapids at dawn on November 22nd and by the following day were at the foot of the rapids at Peñascal. We had brought lifting tackle to use where necessary, but with only four of us—and somewhat tired at that—we were anxious to avoid overland porterage wherever we could.

The falling water had uncovered acres of rocks with little channels running between, offering a safe passage through. At other times we had to assault the main channel knowing that if the engine gave out we must lose boat, provisions and equipment, if not our lives. For this reason, if ever there was enough water to float us in any subsidiary channel, we took it every time.

[pp 172 to end of book not processed]

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
179 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[437] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[438] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[514] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[554] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
291
301
411
137
574

Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekura (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).

142
302
291
411
516
755
342
415

[P. xviii]

142
302
516
251
262
415
352
353

Clays pots and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Mamu-teri men shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

142
291
516
411
342
726

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
516
578

Fig. 1-1. Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast.

000
181
152
721
123

way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1-1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

142
301
302
516

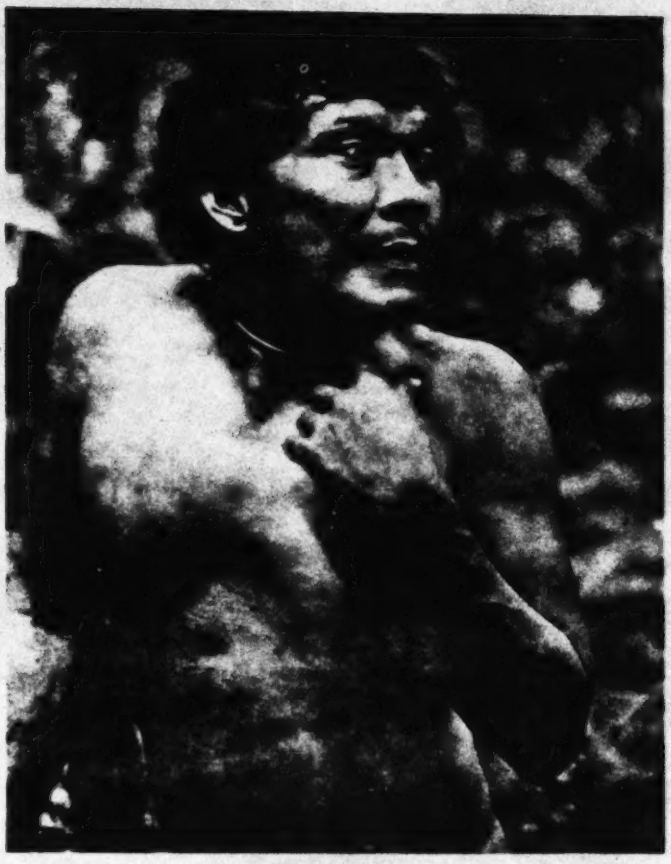


Fig. 1–3. Kąobawä, the wise leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village. 114 123 124

Kąobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1–3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1–4). Kąobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kąobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two 115 [802] [595] [837] [835]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąobawä's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kąobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

Fig. 1–4. Koamashima, Kąobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1–5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

"Razor grass"—a reed—also grows wild in the jungle. It is used by the Yąnomamö to cut their hair and to keep their mustaches cleanly shaved. A sliver of this reed is wrapped around the index finger in such a way that the sharp edge is exposed. The practiced hand can shave a head bald in a matter of minutes and with no more pain than would come from using a dull steel razor blade. This grass is also found around some of the villages, but appears not to be cultivated.

HALLUCINOGENIC DRUGS Another useful plant provided by the jungle is the *ebene* tree. The inner bark of this tree is used in the manufacture of one kind of hallucinogenic drug. The bark is scraped from the trunk after the exterior layer of bark is removed, or is scraped from the inside of the bark surface itself. This material, which is fairly moist, is then mixed with wood ashes and kneaded between the palms of the hands. Additional moisture is provided by spitting periodically into the pliable wad of drug. When the drug has been thoroughly mixed with saliva and ashes, it is placed on a hot piece of broken clay pot and the moisture driven out with heat. It is ground into a

Fig. 2-2. Women fishing in a dammed stream that has been poisoned by the juice of a wild liana. The poison is introduced upstream by the men, and the stunned fish are collected in baskets by the women.

142
301
302
296

Fig. 2-3. Men blowing ebene, *a hallucinogenic drug, into each other's nostrils by means of a hollow tube.*

342

[136]

SHELTER All house materials likewise come from the jungle: poles, vines, and leaves. The Yąnomamö permanent house—*shabono*—is probably the most sophisticated manufacture produced by these people. Its construction requires considerable cooperation, planning, labor, and patience. Unfortunately, the *shabono* only lasts one or two years because the leaves begin to leak, or the entire village is burned to the ground in order to destroy the cockroaches, scorpions, spiders, and other vermin that infest the house. These can become such a nuisance that the roof is literally alive with bugs. Kąobawä's house was so badly infested at one point that the noise of thousands of scurrying roaches produced a constant, noticeable din in the village. Whenever someone got out of his hammock, the roof just above his head would suddenly come alive with roaches, disturbed by the movement below. As they scurried to safety, many of them would fall off, producing a shower of bugs on the occupants below. There were so many bugs that the increased activity above the moving person also increased the din, as if a sudden gust of wind had disturbed the dried leaves.

[462]

Each individual builds his own section of the *shabono*. The man usually does all the heavy work of locating and fetching poles for the frame, placing them into the ground or tying them overhead, and weaving the numerous leaves into the roof thatch. The wife helps by gathering the leaves and vines used in the construction.

[351]

The first step in building a new *shabono* is the selection of the site. This is usually some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

342
302
301
824
142

Fig. 2-5. Thatching a new roof with leaves.

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwä, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof.

342 [821] [756] [989]

The Yąnomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about

342 484

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Fig. 2-6. Rerebawä climbing a rasha *tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamö use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.*

The grubs

are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in a smoky fire tastes like bacon.

The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. The Yąnomamö break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare it in the above manner.

Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
531
286

Fig. 2-7. Orusimi, Kąobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

241
254
[329]
[184]

nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kąobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kąobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö.

[101]
[14]

[8]The Yąnomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xiriana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yąnomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikoä*, is a Yąnomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yąnomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yąnomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yąnomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yąnomamö.

11: Chagnon E-6 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

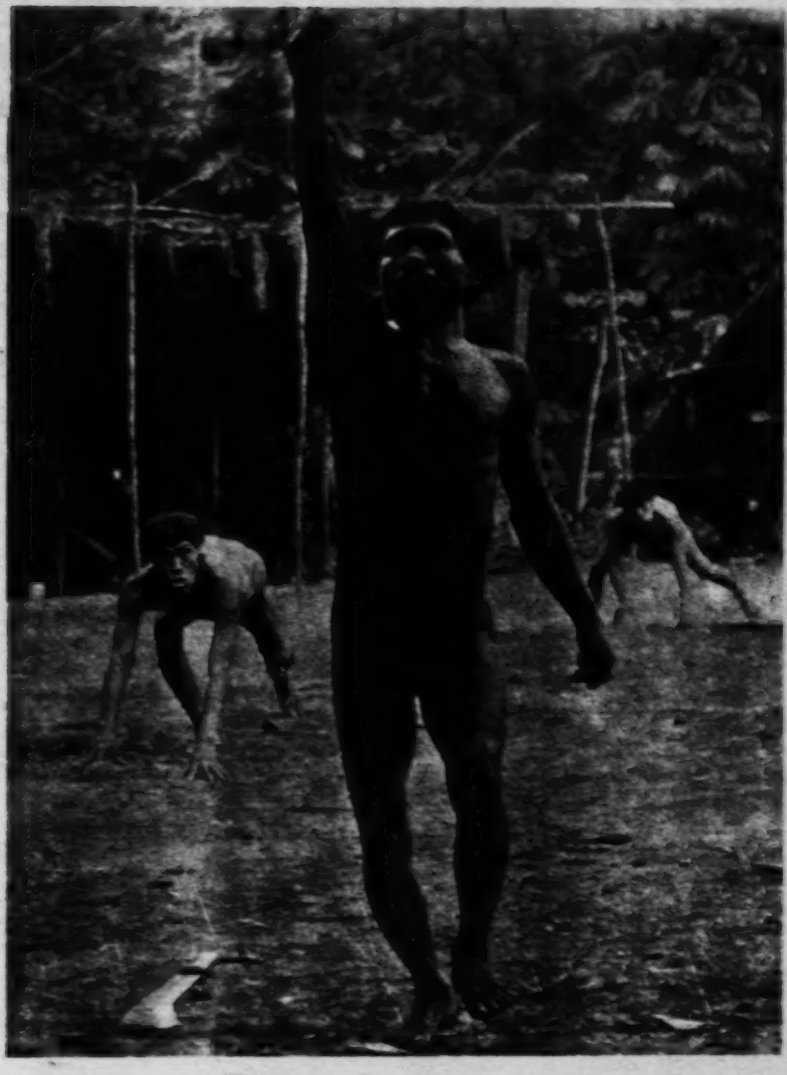


Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura*—demons.*

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *hedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yąnomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
352
855
251

Fig. 4-5 Armuri, Kaobawë's son, being fondled by his mother's brother. This is a very intimate kinship relationship in Yąnomamö society.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by caustically accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kaobewä, for example, lets Ariwari beat him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwari is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flash of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

Fig. 3–7. Ariwari, Kaobewä's favorite son, building a make-believe house while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

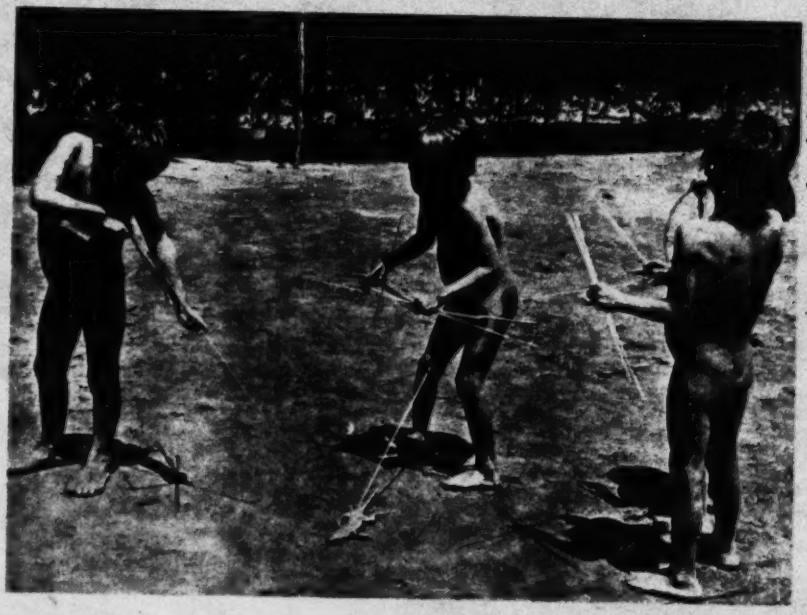


Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwã, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwã's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwã went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwã recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kąobawã had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwã before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kąobawã disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

On another occasion one of Kąobawã's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kąobawã managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kąobawã stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3-9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

Fig. 3-9. Kąobawã (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been hashed on the head and blood is streaming down his neck.

142
302
516
415
622

Fig. 4-1 Kaobawa, headman, unpacking some of the meat his hunters have just collected for the feast.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and guests that gradually died off as each group busied itself in preparation for the dance.

Shortly after noon a rumor circulated through the village that the visitors had been raiding the gardens at night and stealing plantains. A number of people, particularly older men, were visibly upset by this new information, giving rise to another rumor that there would be a chest-pounding duel to set the matter straight. The guests had already worn their welcome thin by arriving uninvited a week in advance and by eating excessively. Their hosts were becoming angry with them, as it was all too obvious that they were deliberately taxing their hosts' patience; they were intimidating them.

The men of the host group had finished their preparations for the feast; they were all painted in red and black, bearing colorful feathers. They had cleaned the debris from their houses, had finished hauling out the weeds they had picked from the village clearing, and had brought in quantities of food to give their guests. Now, it was time for them to take *ebene*, their hallucinogenic drug. They separated into several groups and began blowing the brownish-green powder up each other's nostrils with 3-foot long hollow tubes. As the drug would be administered, each recipient would reel from the concussion of air, groan, and stagger off to some convenient post to vomit. Within ten minutes of taking the drug, the men would be bleary-eyed and wild, prancing around in front of their houses, stopping occasionally to vomit or to catch their breath. In each group there would be one man particularly adept at chanting to the *hekura*, the mountain demons, and he would soon take over the show, while the others retired to the sidelines in a stupor, green slime dripping from their nostrils. Should there be sick people in the village, the adept chanters—the *shabori*—would cure them by chanting, massaging, sucking, and vomiting out the evil spirit that caused the sickness. Otherwise, they would chant about other things, perhaps sending their *hekura* to enemy villages to eat the souls of children, or enjoining them to prevent their enemies from doing the same. Occasionally, one of the men takes too much of the drug and become violent. On this particular occasion, Shiimima, one of Kaobawä's brothers, grabbed his bow and arrows and ran to the center of the village. This caused a minor sensation for a moment, but one of the men managed to catch and disarm him, hiding his weapons so he could not find them. Things returned to normal again, and the other participants in the drug-taking began chanting to Shiimima to restore him to his senses. The chanting lasted for an hour or so, and the participants, one by one, returned to their houses to clean up their paint jobs; most of them had smeared their careful work by vomiting all over themselves.

While the men were taking their drugs, the women were busy painting and decorating themselves with feathers and red pigment. The visitors, also, were busy at the same tasks, and the excitement of the feast reached fever proportions by mid-afternoon. A few women were still busy finishing trade baskets, while Kaobawä's younger brothers continued with the monotonous cooking of what seemed to them an endless number of plantains.

Finally, an old man from the visiting group entered the village and marched unceremoniously across the clearing while the members of Kaobawä's group cheered him. He was too old to join the dancing, but too respected to wait behind with the women and children while the younger men put on their display. This was evidence that the visitors were about to send in their delegate to accept the feast invitation at Kaobawä's house.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628*
574
437
438

giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *so smaiha*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4–2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, arapuri.

628*
574
301
302
516
411
415
342
264
262
291

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

If such a duel is escalated, it usually develops into a side-slapping contest. Occasionally, the combatants will sue for the use of machetes and axes, but this is rare. If machetes are used, the object of the contest still remains the same: Injure your opponent seriously enough so that he will withdraw from the contest, but try not to draw blood. Hence, opponents strike each other with only the flat of the blade when they resort to machetes.

In some areas the Yanomamö modify the chest-pounding duel in another way: The opponents hold rocks in their clenched fists and strike their adversaries on the chest with an even more stunning blow. They try not to let the stone itself touch the flesh of the man they are fighting. Even without the use of stones, however, they are able to deliver their blows with such force that some of the participants cough up blood for days after having been in a duel.

Club fights represent the next level of violence. These can take place both within and between villages. Most of the club fights result from arguments over women, but a few of them develop out of disputes associated with food theft. Dikawä, a young man about twenty years old, came home one day and discovered a bunch of eating bananas his father, about fifty-five years old, had hung up in his house, above his hearth, to ripen in the smoke. Dikawä, however, ate a number of them without his father's permission. When his father discovered the theft, he ripped a pole out of his house and began clubbing Dikawä. Dikawä armed himself with a similar club and attacked his father, precipitating a general melee that soon involved most of the men in the village, each taking the side of the father or son, as they saw fit. In brawls such as these, many individuals join in the fighting just to keep the sides even; if a group is badly outnumbered, they will be joined by friends whose sense of fairness stimulates them to take sides, no matter what the issue is. The net result of the above fight was a number of lacerated skulls, bashed fingers, and sore shoulders. The contestants try to hit each other on the top of the head, but when the fight gets out of hand, the participants swing wildly and rarely hit their opponents on the skull. More frequently, the blow lands on the shoulder or arm.

The clubs used in these fights are, ideally, 8 to 10 feet long. They are very wiry, quite heavy, and deliver a tremendous wallop. In general shape and dimensions, they resemble pool cues, but are nearly twice as long. The club is held at the thin end, which is frequently sharpened to a long point in case the fighting escalates to spear thrusting, in which case the club is inverted and used as a pike.

Most duels start between two men, usually after one of them has been caught *en flagrante* trysting with the other's wife. The enraged husband challenges his opponent to strike him on the head with a club. He holds his own club vertically, leans against it and exposes his head for his opponent to strike. After he has sustained a blow on the head, he can then deliver one on the culprit's skull. But as soon as blood starts to flow, almost everybody rips a pole out of the house frame and joins in the fighting, supporting one or the other of the contestants.

Needless to say, the tops of most men's heads are covered with long, ugly scars of which their bearers are immensely proud. Some of them, in fact, keep their head cleanly shaved on top to display these scars, rubbing red pigment on their bare scalps to define them more precisely. Viewed from the top, the skull of an accomplished man of forty years looks like a road map, for it is criss-crossed by as many as twenty large scars (see

Fig. 5–1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the village, a brother of Kąobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

Spears are not commonly used by the Yąnamanö. A rare form of fighting, however, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the headman of one of the villages north of Kąobawä's area, took her away from him by force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
164
515

Fig. 5-1. Karïma, one of Kaobawä's daughters, picking lice out of her grandfather's battered head—his scars are from club fights. She wears decorative sticks inserted in the corners of her mouth as a beauty aid. These were inserted at about age five, together with one in the lower lip and another in the nasal septum.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowä. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5–3). Some even put on bright red loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which the younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kąobawä to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *wayu itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them and left for Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä had been complaining all year of severe pains in his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked. Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *wayu itou*, for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
276
726

Fig. 5-3. One of Kaobawä's Shamatari allies, painted black, views the warriors lining up through his boustring. He waits his turn to join them, a wad of tobacco protruding from his mouth.

at some point between their own village and the enemy's. These smaller groups must 726
contain at least four men, six, if possible. This is so because the raiders retreat in a pattern. While the others flee, two men will lie in ambush, shooting any pursuers that might follow. They, in turn, flee, while their comrades lie in ambush to shoot at their pursuers.

111 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
516
411
965
276
926

Fig. 5–4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Damowã, slain Monou-teri headman.*

726
701

located the enemy, but Paruriwã refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

726
114

The Monou-teri and Bisasi-teri raided against the Patanowã-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

722
*628

726

The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowã-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

[765]

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Damowã were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
714
291
726
302

Fig. 5-5. Hukoshikawä leading a raiding party against the Patanowä-teri.

/56 cont./

481 222 The apparatus consists of two devices completely alike, which are fastened and used in the following manner: Two sticks, 1.60-1.80 meters long, whose diameter is 12-15 centimeters, are tied to the trunk scissors-like and loosely with lianas. The downward-pointing rear part of these crossed sticks is also wound with lianas. Above this first climbing apparatus a second one is attached in the same manner. The Indian who wishes to climb the pupunha palm now stands on the rear end of the lower "scissors" and pushes the one above it upward a short distance. Then he climbs on the rear end of the upper "scissors" and pulls the lower one after him. Next he shifts back to the lower climbing device and pushes the top one up a bit farther. Thus, by constantly changing his position and pushing one apparatus up and drawing the other one after him, he reaches the crown in 4-5 minutes (Ill. 39). He picks the ripe fruits and lets them down one by one on a liana, where his fellow tribesmen receive them. The descent is the reverse of the ascent.

481 222 174 I venture to doubt that this magnificent technical invention was developed by the Waiká, Surára, or Pakidái, above all because the rest of their material culture is extraordinarily poor. There is nothing to indicate an import, however. Influences of civilization are likewise out of the question, for the caboclo population (planters, rubber /57/ and palm-fiber gatherers) in the Demini-Aracá area is unfamiliar with the technique described; they knock down the pupunha fruits with long poles.

● 303

13. Preparation of Urucú

The red coloring urucú -- narú -- with which the Indians paint their bodies as well as their implements, is made by the women from the red seeds of the Bixa orellana which are found in thorny capsules. The seeds are cooked in a vessel until only a red sediment remains on the bottom, which is shaped into lumps and allowed to dry. With this the Indians are then able to paint themselves at any time; the color must first be moistened, however, with a little water or saliva.

/40 cont./

302 184 Furthermore, it has been documented for the Waikâ (207) (208),

207. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 198.

208. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Karime (209), and the Xiriâna men on the Motomotô (210). With

209. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305.

210. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

regard to the latter, Koch-Grünberg points out that in this case it is a male hair style (210) /see footnote above/. In the same work he goes on to describe the tonsure of a Karaiben woman: "The oldest woman on the Roroima had a strange hair style. Except for a narrow wreath of longer hair all around her head, which was cut in the customary fashion over the forehead, the head hair was cut short, like a monk's tonsure. (Cf. Vol. VI, Plate 86). I was unable to discover the reason for this differing hair style" (211). The remarks which Alexander von Humboldt devotes

302 171

211. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 27.

to this Indian hair style are also worthy of mention (212).

212. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 319.

●304 f) Deforming facial ornamentation

The male as well as the female sex among the Surára and Pakidái have pierced ear-lobes -- nhimekakeká -- (Surára), -- nimukakuká -- (Pakidái), a perforation of the lower lip -- husekahá --, and, in addition, the women have such in the corners of the mouth -- kaskehá.

304 301 The perforations are already made in babyhood (see p.135). The men use them primarily as a place for feather ornaments (see p. 93). They sometimes also wear as ear ornaments, however,

Surára Pakidái

/40 cont./

304 301 small pieces of reed 1-2 centimeters long, from which hang, on one or two short chains of beads, small triangular pieces of silver leaf, shiny silver coins, or particularly large glass beads. Women also have a special preference for these objects. The teeth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which the men use as a knife (see p.115, are a typical feminine ear ornament. [314] To prevent them from slipping out of the perforation, a small lump of tree resin is stuck on the back end. The perforations of the ear lobes are also adorned now and then with blossoms.

In the perforations of the lower lip and the corners of the mouth on either side the women now and again have delicate little reed rods -- tunhabaścre -- 15-17 and 12-15 centimeters long, respectively. [184] Among the Xiriána women married to Surára and Pakidái men I observed that they wear, in addition, two little reed rods 30-35 centimeters long in the pierced nasal septum -- huxibéka -- (Ill. 16). This piercing I was told is reserved for only the female members of this large, mighty tribe. [184] This also explains why the perforations of the Puseheweterí and Aramamesterí women correspond perfectly to those of their Surára and Pakidái "sisters," that is to say, there is no piercing of the nasal septum. The same applies for Nikeromá, the little captive from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí.

301 422 All the ornamental objects named are made by the male and female wearers themselves and are regarded as personal property.

304 301 184 Due to Koch-Grünberg's research among the Xiriána (Schirianá), Waiká (Waíka), and various Karaíben /Carib/ tribes, abundant comparative and supplementary material is available to me. Thus, the great investigator writes with regard to the [171] Xiriána (Schirianá): "Nasal septum, /41/ ear lobes, and lower [127] lip were pierced among the men and in many cases adorned with little reed rods almost as long as a hand. On special occasions they also wear a jaguar tooth in the lower lip.

"The women had long reed rods in the pierced ear-lobes, the lower lip, and the corners of the mouth. Three narrow strips of reed, spread out fan-shaped at both ends, adorned the nasal septum (Ill. 12)" (213).

213. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

304
301
184

/41 cont./

This confirms the statements of my informants, who said that a perforation of the nasal septum was characteristic for the Xiriâna. For the male and female Waikâ, too, there is confirmation of nose, ear, and lower-lip rods, and, in the case of women, such in the corners of the mouth (214).

214. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, pp. 198-200.

As for the use of nose-rods, it seems to be a privilege of the two hostile "great ones" (see p. 12), for their lesser allies do not use them.

The other perforations, however, are the same among all the Yanonâmi tribes mentioned, but it should be pointed out that pierced corners of the mouth are found only among women.

304
301
171

With reference to the Karaiben Arekumâ-Taulipang, Koch-Grünberg writes: "Ear lobes and lower lip are pierced, and in the case of some men the nasal septum as well" (215). According

215. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

to that, the perforation of the nasal septum is reserved for only the men, and perforations of the corners of the mouth are entirely absent. In the ear lobes, however, male as well as female members of the tribe likewise wear little reed rods with one or two short chains of beads hanging down, to which are fastened silver coins and crescent-shaped or triangular pieces of silver leaf (216). The latter are the same type of objects that I found

301
171

216. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.
Plate 5 (6).

as ornaments among the Surâra and Pakidâi (see p. 85 and Ill. 9 /see p. 270/. Therefore, in this case, too, an adoption from the Karaiben, directly or indirectly, seems to be indicated. In reply to my question about the origin of these ornamental objects, the Xiriâna were mentioned, to be sure, but they for their part certainly

/41 cont./

301 as far as Guiana; the Tapuya on the eastern horn of South
171 America remain isolated. The pattern of distribution coincides
301 in essential features with the multiple perforations of the upper
304 lip (these parts also merge into each other very much anatomi-
171 cally) and clearly rests on Andean prototypes" (222). The

222. Menzel, 1957, p. 33.

characteristic mouth-corner rods of the Yanonámi women may well fit into this area of distribution, but not in connection with perforations of the upper /42/ lip, for here instead of the latter, the lower lip is pierced.

304 g) Tattooing
[881] All women and girls have pin-point tattooing over the upper lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth (Ills. 19 and 24) and is punctured on the girls during the first menstrua-
[192] tion (see p. 66) (223). The designation for this among the Surára

[184]

223. This tattooing is also found among the female Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí who are married to Surára and Pakidái men. The little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí is an exception. She assured me, however, that in her maloka the girls are also tattooed. But she had fallen into the hands of the Surára before her first menstruation, and the tattooing was not put on her here. If later, however, she is married by a Surára man, the pin-point design must subsequently be punctured on her.

is -- uarabakoxfk -- and among the Pakidái -- uarabakoxfbe.
[824] These words are derived from the name for the genipap fruit --
[386] uarabá --, the juice of which is used for puncturing the dots.

/42 cont./

●304 For the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ women of
171 Guiana, however, a puncture-tattooing in the mouth region is also characteristic, and occasionally one finds it even among male Karaiben. In this case, too, it is regarded as a sign of maturity and usually has a magical significance. The punctured patterns, however, differ entirely from those of the Surára and Pakidái. Among the Makuxí /Macusi/ they consist of numerous short, vertical, parallel lines, and the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/ prefer dots, dashes, and fishhook patterns (224). The

224. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45; Pl. 12 (3-16).

latter motifs have also been confirmed for the women of the Wapixana /Wapishana/ (225) (226) and other Aruak tribes in

225. Appun, 1871, p. 523.

226. Farabee, 1918, p. 82, Fig. 9.

British Guiana as well as Surinam (227) (228).

227. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 226.

228. Joest, 1893, p. 83 and Ill. a and b.

304 There are also slight differences with regard to the time of
171 tattooing. The Surára and Pakidái carry it out during the first
881 menstruation, the Arekuná-Taulipang and Makuxí, on the other
[184] hand, shortly before the onset of it, and, to be sure, in connection with the ant torture (229).

229. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 128.

2: Becher--91 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/42 cont./

304 824 386 412 177 The former use the juice of the genipap fruit as coloring matter, the latter the ashes of burned honey bees (229) /see footnote p. 90/. The original instrument everywhere for the puncturing of the dots was a palm thorn. Koch-Grünberg, however, also saw the use of pointed fragments of glass among the above-mentioned Karaiben (230).

230. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45.

304 174 171 114 A decision about whether the tattooings in the mouth region developed independently among the aforementioned Yanonámi, Karaiben, and Aruak tribes or whether they were brought about by reciprocal or outside influences cannot be reached as yet, although Koch-Grünberg saw a young Xiriána woman who had the fishhook and dot tattooing of the Arekuná-Taulipang painted on her face (231). This may have been an exception, however,

231. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

for, strangely enough, he did not find any further tattooing among the Xiriána.

[179] The designs of the Surára and Pakidái also seem to be more primitive than the basic motifs of the Karaiben and Aruaken in the form of fishhooks, which clearly point to borrowings from civilization. Moreover, the fact that among the Karaiben tribes of Guiana individual men and boys are tattooed in the region of the mouth leads one to conclude that there has been a leveling of this custom. For probably there, too, it was formerly reserved for only the women, just as it is today among the Surára and Pakidái.

In conclusion, reference is to be made to P. Schmidt and Nordenskiöld, from whom there are already available brief, summary studies about puncture-tattooing in South America. The first-named author differentiates two groups, which are reserved for men and women or only for women, respectively, and regards a western origin as probable (232). /43/ On the other

/43 cont./

304 174 171 114

232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A com-

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

prehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

301 h) Painting

The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is [531] very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

[824] [386] For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- narã --, a paste which is prepared from the red berries of Bixa orellana. Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (Genipa brasiliensis) -- uarabã --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

[413] The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

/63 cont./

854 593 It is simply touching to see how lovingly and solicitously every mother treats her child. But the love of the father is no less great. He openly acknowledges the child and clearly shows his feelings of pride and fatherliness (318), though he is otherwise

[114] [191] 318. In contrast to this, Alexander von Humboldt, with reference to the Indians on the Orinoco, writes that fathers do not have any affection for their children (A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 155).

very reserved in his expressions of feeling. When he comes wearily into the communal house after a strenuous hunting expedition or from his field work, he never forgets to devote himself first of all to his little child for a while. He either takes it on his arm and goes walking with it, or he lays it beside him in the hammock. Even during migrations of the tribe he sometimes [858] carries the child for hours. Moreover, he loves a daughter just as much as a son.

854 ● 304 During the first year of life the ear lobes and the lower lips of boys and girls are pierced by the mother with a sharp palm thorn, and, in addition, the girls are given perforations in the corners of the mouth. To prevent the wounds from healing, small wooden rods are stuck in temporarily and moved back and forth 304 frequently.

854 833 When a little girl has completed the first year of life, she is deflowered by the mother with her finger. This procedure is done in preparation for sexual intercourse later on.

114 191 854 833 304 Similar procedures were observed by von Feldner among the Machacarí /Mashacali/ Indians, and he describes them as follows: "Nulla inter illas invenitur virgo, quia mater inde a tenera aetate filiae maxima cum cura omnem vaginae constrictionem ingredimentumque amovere studet hoc quidem modo: manui dextrae imponitur folium arboris in infundibuli formam redactum, et dum index, in partes genitales immissus huc et illud movetur, per infundibulum aqua tepida immittitur" (319). In this connection

319. von Feldner, 1828, II, p. 149, footnote.

/63 cont./

114 171 854 833 304 Ploss and Bartels have already observed: "These manipulations probably serve not so much the purpose of cleanliness as preparation for the later sexual functions" (320).

320. Ploss and Bartels, 1927, p. 376.

171 304 854 A custom which is said to prevail in Paraguay should be mentioned in this connection. When a girl is born there, the midwife inserts her finger into the vagina and says: This is a woman (321). Unfortunately, there is no account of the origin

321. Written communication from Montegazza to Ploss (Ploss, 1912, p. 219).

of this custom. It is possible that it was taken over from Indians, because in Paraguay the Indian population is, of course, numerically the largest.

Among most South American tribes for whom there is evidence of an artificial destruction of the hymen, however, chiefly those of the Tukano /Tucano/ and Pano linguistic families, but also some of the Aruaken /Arawak/ and Tupi, it is done for ritualistic purposes at the onset of puberty (322).

322. Fuchs, 1956, pp. 79-81.

Among the Totonaken /Totonac/ in Mexico it is one of the duties of two priests to destroy with their fingers the hymen of female babies 28-29 days after birth. At the same time they ordered the mothers to repeat the defloration six years later with their fingers (323). Strebel regards this procedure as a castigation rite,

323. Krickeberg, 1918-1922, p. 47.

corresponding to the circumcision of male infants, which was also carried out by the priests. "Even the child was to pay its tribute to the gods, /64/ and the fact that the sexual parts were chosen for

/64 cont./
this is likewise understandable, considering their significance, though the least possible loss of blood may also have been a consideration" (324).

324. Strebel, 1885, p. 13.

On the other hand, with regard to the Surára and Pakidái it should be noted that there is no circumcision of boys among them and the defloration of small girls unequivocally serves for later sexual intercourse; there are no religious motives or hygienic reasons connected with it. Whether this was different in former times neither the chiefs nor older men and women were able to say (325a).

325a. It is an interesting fact that among the Itälmen on Kamchatka little girls are deflowered at a very tender age by their mothers in the same manner as among the Surára and Pakidái and for the same reason (Stellers, 1774, p. 346).

This type of body deformation has been documented for China and Indonesia too. It is done there, however, for hygienic purposes, in order to remove the mucus which gathers in the genitalia (Ploss, 1912, pp. 218/19).

It should be mentioned further that all Surára and Pakidái fathers often touch the vulva of their small daughters with the mouth and gently suck on it.

If a man has two or more wives, they help each other in caring for a baby. The grandmother, a sister, or the eldest daughter are also loving helpers. Infant care, of course, does not require much trouble, for regular baths are unknown. It is only when the crust of dirt is a little too thick that the mother washes it off a bit when she goes to fetch water from the river. The infrequent washing has the advantage that the skin is more nearly invulnerable to mosquito bites. If the child's nose is not

Surára
Pakidái

/66 cont./

595 The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the Pakidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Various other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies, these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

587

835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do not call them uncle, but likewise father.

881 h) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl, [302] on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú, a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may 881 speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. During the second day her mother or another woman applies a pin- ●304 point tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either [413] side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a [824] pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty- [386] gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured, leaves a dark blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the [147] little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears, and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysterious forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life.

881 With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated, and after that a small celebration takes place.

142
302
304

142
291
302
516

Ill: 19. Yaxoíma, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing

Ill. 20. Yaxoíma (left) and Rokoahíma, two Surára girls

124
137
142
291
302
516

142
291
302
237
516

Ill. 21. Jibeauwõ, my little interpreter (right), and Mauahemá (two orphan boys from the tribe of the Surára)

Ill. 22. Two Surára boys. Xaniwõ (right) and Mauahemá, who holds a monkey bladder between his leg

2: Bechez--274 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/9/

Ill. 23. The Surára boy Xaniwõ

Ill. 24. Pakidái woman, Riopemí

Ill. 25. The two oldest Surára women: Rokomá (right and Cinapemí

Ill. 26. Hammock of embira

Ill. 27. Liana hammock

Ill. 28. Plaited hammock of cotton

4: Wilbert--77 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
301

[304]

A Waica girl of the upper Orinoco. The little sticks are held in perforations of the lips.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi

/454 cont./

304 All have the ears pierced. A good number of men and women also have the center of the lower lip pierced. Some women have the corners of the mouth pierced, and a few have the nose pierced.

304 The boys and men wear sticks through their ears, sometimes
301 feathers or also little sticks with feathers. Those who have the lip pierced keep a little stick or a feather there all the time.

The women wear flowers or leaves in their ears. The perforations in the lips and the nose generally have sticks in them. On gala occasions, the little stick which goes through the nasal septum may be as long as the face is wide.

301 In addition to the cords tied around the waist, they frequently
291 wear similar cords around the arms and legs.

The men may also wear a heavy cotton belt and similar bands on a smaller scale on the arms. They may wear feathers fixed on the shoulders and a monkey tail around the head, to emphasize the border of hair, or they may adorn the hair with down.

The women also use a heavy cotton belt, clearly different from the one which the men use.

Girls wear a band at the waist, woven of cotton, with decorations on its front part. They also customarily cross the chest with bands of cotton.

302 Onoto, charcoal, and several other paints are used for body
53 designs. They do not seem to have any religious meaning, but
[386] simply an ornamental purpose. These designs include dots, stripes, wavy lines, and circles. Sometimes they paint a wide strip and then make the design by scraping off the paint. They also imprint upon the skin /455/ ornamental designs by using a "mapire" or the hand, or some combination of these. It seems that some of them have their favorite designs.

Hides, Textiles, and Weaving

237 The skin of the jaguar or of another mammal rarely reaches the settlement in a single piece. But even if it did, it is immediately cut into small pieces so that each one may have a little piece to cover his quiver, or at least a band to wear tied to the arm.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waïkas. We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows, they motioned us to come closer.

" *Shori ! Shori !* " they shouted.

" *Shori ! Shori !* " we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and *manioc* and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying " *Shori ! Shori !* " and we responded as in a litany, " *Shori !* "

Physically the Waïka is no different from the Guaharibo. He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waïka's only weapon. Made of strong,

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
177 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[139] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[138] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[64] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[59] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kaobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yanomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yanomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

removed and laid along the ground in the direction of the burrow to measure the distance from the entrance. The men began digging at the end of the vine and located the asphyxiated armadillo on the first attempt.

The jungle provides many other kinds of foods and products too numerous to mention. Some, like vines and lianas, are very useful and commonly employed in basket-making; others, such as edible mushrooms, crabs, pigments, and decorative plant products, are less significant, and exploited only sporadically. Despite the amazing variety of food products to be found in the jungle, however, the Yąnomamö could not exist for any substantial period of time on collected foods only: they rely heavily on their cultivated crops. The tropical forest is much less productive and reliable than one would imagine. The most abundant foods, palm fruits, are seasonal—a group of people could only rely on them for a few months of the year, during which time some 80 group members would have to forage over a wide area to obtain sufficient palm fruits to keep everybody well fed.

Game animals are not abundant, and an area is rapidly hunted out, so that a group must keep constantly on the move. Furthermore, hunting depends as much on luck as it does on skill and is not a very reliable way to supply nourishment. I have gone on five-day hunting trips with the Yąnomamö in areas that had not been hunted for decades, and had we not brought cultivated foods along, we would have been extremely hungry at the end of this time—we did not collect even enough meat to feed ourselves. On other trips, we often managed to collect enough game in one day to feed the entire village.

GARDENING Although the Yąnomamö spend almost as much time hunting as they do gardening, the bulk of their diet comes from foods that are cultivated. Perhaps 85 percent or more of the diet consists of domesticated rather than wild foods—plantains are by far the most important food in the diet.

The Yąnomamö are constantly looking for potential garden sites. When I hunted with them, the topic of conversation that evening would eventually drift over to the merits of the area as a possible site for a new garden. Most new garden sites are, in fact, discovered by hunters.

The land for a new site should not be heavily covered with brush, which is difficult to remove. The larger trees should not be too numerous either, as it takes a good deal of work to chop them down. Ideally, the new site should have very light jungle cover, should be well drained, near a source of drinking water, and relatively free of thorny underbrush. The Yąnomamö call a garden *hikari tăka;* jungle that has the potential of being a good garden is likewise called *hikari tăka.*

The first operation in making a new garden is to cut the smaller trees and brush; the bigger trees, *kayaba hi,* are left standing until the underbrush is removed. Then the big trees are felled with axes and left lying on the ground to dry out in the sun.

My older informants claimed that they did not have steel tools when they were younger and had to kill the big trees by cutting a ring of bark off around the base of the stump, using a crude stone axe, piling brush around them, and burning them. The trees rarely fell, but the fire usually killed them, and their leaves dropped off, permitting the sunlight to reach the ground.

They also claimed that making a garden was more arduous in those days because a large area would have to be searched for the necessary quantities of kindling used to kill the big trees. Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of them anxious to help me and honor bound to show any visitor the numerous courtesies of their system of etiquette. In short, they approached the image of primitive man that I had conjured up, and it was sheer pleasure to work with them. The recent work by Colin Turnbull (1966) brings out dramatically the contrast in personal characteristics of two African peoples he has studied.

Hence, what I say about some of my experiences is probably equally true of the experiences of many other fieldworkers. I write about my own experiences because there is a conspicuous lack of fieldwork descriptions available to potential fieldworkers. I think I could have profited by reading about the private misfortunes of my own teachers; at least I might have been able to avoid some of the more stupid errors I made. In this regard there are a number of recent contributions by fieldworkers describing some of the discomforts and misfortunes they themselves sustained.[3] Students planning to conduct fieldwork are urged to consult them.

My first day in the field illustrated to me what my teachers meant when they spoke of "culture shock." I had traveled in a small, aluminum rowboat propelled by a large outboard motor for two and a half days. This took me from the Territorial capital, a small town on the Orinoco River, deep into Yąnomamö country. On the morning of the third day we reached a small mission settlement, the field "headquarters" of a group of Americans who were working in two Yąnomamö villages. The missionaries had come out of these villages to hold their annual conference on the progress of their mission work, and were conducting their meetings when I arrived. We picked up a passenger at the mission station, James P. Barker, the first non-Yąnomamö to make a sustained, permanent contact with the tribe (in 1950). He had just returned from a year's furlough in the United States, where I had earlier visited him before leaving for Venezuela. He agreed to accompany me to the village I had selected for my base of operations to introduce me to the Indians. This village was also his own home base, but he had not been there for over a year and did not plan to join me for another three months. Mr. Barker had been living with this particular group about five years.

We arrived at the village, Bisiasi-teri, about 2:00 PM and docked the boat along the muddy bank at the terminus of the path used by the Indians to fetch their drinking water. It was hot and muggy, and my clothing was soaked with perspiration. It clung uncomfortably to my body, as it did thereafter for the remainder of the work. The small, biting gnats were out in astronomical numbers, for it was the beginning of the dry season. My face and hands were swollen from the venom of their numerous stings. In just a few moments I was to meet my first Yąnomamö, my first primitive man. What would it be like? I had visions of entering the village and seeing 123 social facts running about calling each other kinship terms and sharing food, each waiting and anxious to have me collect his genealogy. I would wear them out in turn. Would they like me? This was important to me; I wanted them to be so fond of me that they would adopt me into their kinship system and way of life, because I had heard that successful anthropologists always get adopted by their people. I had learned during my seven years of

[3] Maybury-Lewis 1967, "Introduction," and 1965*b*; Turnbull, 1966; L. Bohannan, 1964. Perhaps the most intimate account of the tribulations of a fieldworker is found in the posthumous diary of Bronislaw Malinowski (1967). Since the diary was not written for publication, it contains many intimate, very personal details about the writers' anxieties and hardships.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

removed and laid along the ground in the direction of the burrow to measure the distance from the entrance. The men began digging at the end of the vine and located the asphyxiated armadillo on the first attempt.

The jungle provides many other kinds of foods and products too numerous to mention. Some, like vines and lianas, are very useful and commonly employed in basket-making; others, such as edible mushrooms, crabs, pigments, and decorative plant products, are less significant, and exploited only sporadically. Despite the amazing variety of food products to be found in the jungle, however, the Yąnomamö could not exist for any substantial period of time on collected foods only: they rely heavily on their cultivated crops. The tropical forest is much less productive and reliable than one would imagine. The most abundant foods, palm fruits, are seasonal—a group of people could only rely on them for a few months of the year, during which time some 80 group members would have to forage over a wide area to obtain sufficient palm fruits to keep everybody well fed.

Game animals are not abundant, and an area is rapidly hunted out, so that a group must keep constantly on the move. Furthermore, hunting depends as much on luck as it does on skill and is not a very reliable way to supply nourishment. I have gone on five-day hunting trips with the Yąnomamö in areas that had not been hunted for decades, and had we not brought cultivated foods along, we would have been extremely hungry at the end of this time—we did not collect even enough meat to feed ourselves. On other trips, we often managed to collect enough game in one day to feed the entire village.

GARDENING Although the Yąnomamö spend almost as much time hunting as they do gardening, the bulk of their diet comes from foods that are cultivated. Perhaps 85 percent or more of the diet consists of domesticated rather than wild foods—plantains are by far the most important food in the diet.

The Yąnomamö are constantly looking for potential garden sites. When I hunted with them, the topic of conversation that evening would eventually drift over to the merits of the area as a possible site for a new garden. Most new garden sites are, in fact, discovered by hunters.

The land for a new site should not be heavily covered with brush, which is difficult to remove. The larger trees should not be too numerous either, as it takes a good deal of work to chop them down. Ideally, the new site should have very light jungle cover, should be well drained, near a source of drinking water, and relatively free of thorny underbrush. The Yąnomamö call a garden *hikari täka;* jungle that has the potential of being a good garden is likewise called *hikari täka.*

The first operation in making a new garden is to cut the smaller trees and brush; the bigger trees, *kayaba hi,* are left standing until the underbrush is removed. Then the big trees are felled with axes and left lying on the ground to dry out in the sun.

My older informants claimed that they did not have steel tools when they were younger and had to kill the big trees by cutting a ring of bark off around the base of the stump, using a crude stone axe, piling brush around them, and burning them. The trees rarely fell, but the fire usually killed them, and their leaves dropped off, permitting the sunlight to reach the ground.

They also claimed that making a garden was more arduous in those days because a large area would have to be searched for the necessary quantities of kindling used to kill the big trees. Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yanomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18] Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yanomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *akwasi* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19] Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

Surára
Pakidai

/15/

342 184 As a third house-form, on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Araçá I became acquainted with a closed, circular maloka ten meters high with a gable roof. The Surára told me that this type of construction is customary among the Xiriâna. Up to now, however, there has been no description of it.

361 313 The construction, as in the case of the open maloka, is carried out by all the men of the tribe, under the direction of the chief, as communal work. I had the good fortune to be present at this construction in all its phases. First, a section of the forest, upon which the maloka is to be erected, is cleared. The men start by cutting down the small trees and bushes and pulling out the roots. Then they proceed to fell the large trees. Before two men with their axes set to work on a tree, however, one man climbs it and fastens a very long liana just under the crown. When the tree is then notched so far that it threatens to fall, three or four men pull it down to the ground by means of the liana and, as the tree falls, quickly leap to one side. When all the trees are cut, the roots are dug out with the help of the terçados (large bush-knives) and the hands. Meanwhile other men pull out the underbrush on the ground. During the next two or three days, trees are cut in the virgin forest to serve as building material. After that the chief, assisted by two or three men, 342 marks off a circular area by means of a liana. Then the building starts, and, after only eight days, presents the following completed construction: On either side of three center posts ten meters high, which constitute the ridge, four posts eight meters high stand in a semicircle. At a greater distance from these posts 21 small stakes, each five meters high, are driven into the ground in a semicircle around the posts mentioned. The tall posts, as well as the medium-sized and small ones, are joined by means of two cross-strips at the upper ends and two meters below this. Moreover, numerous horizontal rods are fastened to the cross-strips of the 21 outer posts, by means of which the house wall is formed. Sixty-nine horizontal poles, which are supposed to support the frame of the roof, run from the upper cross-strips of the small posts, over those of the middle posts, which serve as supports, to those of the

Surára
Pakidái

/79 cont./

222 which can be obtained easily and without danger, for the bees are stingless. Usually they have their nests in hollow trees or in the ground. Occasionally, however, one also sees nests built in tall trees; the latter are then cut down by the men, for the purpose of obtaining the honey. The honey is scooped out of the nest with the hand or with a calabash and put into a folded palm leaf which is then tied together and taken along to the maloka. -- Birds' eggs also constitute a popular addition to the diet, as does the nourishing yolk of the eggs of water turtles; the egg white, on the other hand, is discarded because it has an unpleasant, fish-oil taste. During the dry season, especially during the months December-February, the Surára and Pakidái gather these turtle eggs in great numbers on the sandbanks of the Demini and Aracá. -- [226] Also to be mentioned are crayfish and crabs, which are pulled out of the holes in the mud of the riverbanks. -- I also observed that they eat certain kinds of frogs and spiders, as well as insect larvae, caterpillars, termites, and the hind parts of the leaf-cutter ant (Atta sp.) -- aneanemá.

241 e) Agriculture

Although agriculture among the Surára and Pakidái was introduced only a comparatively short time ago, they have already developed a remarkable system with regard to the laying out of their fields. These are always laid out circularly around the maloka. The procedure is such that, first of all, at the beginning of a dry season, October-November, a rather large piece of forest is cleared, during which it is seen to that the circular shape is produced. To chop down the underbrush and the lianas, the [313] [412] men use the tercados (large bush-knives), and the trees are felled with steel axes (367). After about two months, when the felled

[439] 367. The Surára obtain these articles of civilization from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter, and the Pakidái get them from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

/444 cont./

241 The land is cleared by first pulling out all the small plants and stems; then the trees which reach a trunk diameter of around 25 centimeters are cut with a machete, and finally the large trees are cut down with an axe.

• [313] Sometimes they climb the tree and attach a liana to it so as to be able to pull it to direct its fall.

After the trees have had sufficient time to dry out on the ground, they cut off the branches and pile them up with the underbrush in order finally to burn them. Owing to the abundance of rainfall, it is impossible for them to wait for a dry period. I have seen them burn the weeds in their conuco after it had rained heavily the night before. Sometimes they must bring dry firewood in order to make the damp weeds burn.

[412] [178] An old woman told me one day: "These people of today have it easy. We did not have machetes and axes in former times. Fire was our principal tool. /445/ We had to carry a lot of firewood to pile up around the trees in order to bring them down by fire."

412 174 [192] There is an indication in their language that at one time they used stone axes before being able to acquire metal axes and machetes. They use the same word, "boo," to designate both the machete and a certain stone which they use for grinding the "yopo" powder. This stone has the proper form for making an ax out of it, if a handle were attached to it. Nevertheless, the relationship between these objects, if there was one at one time, is unknown to the present generation of El Platanal.

241 412 A bow without a string or a similar stick is the principal instrument which they use for planting. They use it both to loosen the small banana stems for replanting and to open holes in the ground for holding practically any kind of seed.

249 Tobacco is planted first in a garden bed and then transplanted. The small plants are protected from the sun for a few days by means of platano leaves put on a covering for shade.

241 Sometimes a few stakes are fixed in the ground to indicate plantings near the paths, thus keeping the seeds or young plants from being stepped on.

/449/

Preparation of Food

251 To keep meat from spoiling, it is first dried directly over the fire. Then it is kept on a rack over the fire, perhaps for several hours, but frequently all night. After this, it is placed a bit farther from the fire, but where the air will keep it dry, although not necessarily warm. I have seen meat kept for some ten days in this way, and doubtless it would have lasted longer had it not been eaten.

252 Meat preserved in this way is still regarded as raw and must be cooked in a pot before being eaten.

Small animals are cleaned, washed, and then boiled whole in a pot. If the animal is large, it is cut up into pieces small [194] enough to fit into the pot. The custom of leaving the skin and hair on them while they cook is perhaps a survival from the time when they did not have knives for skinning them. A string or piece of bark is tied to each piece of meat in order to be able to take it out of the pot to turn it. From time to time they take the meat out in order to prick it many times with a stick so that it will cook more quickly.

When it is finally ready, the head of the family, or the owner of the meat, shares it or divides it into portions which he distributes among his relatives or friendly families.

462 252 The task of cooking the meat is man's work. He is the owner of the pot, does the hunting, looks for the firewood, and divides and distributes the cooked meat. (Sometimes he sends a boy to deliver the meat to some family on the other side of the circle of dwellings.)

313 462 [412] The gathering of firewood for cooking food other than meat and for keeping the family warm at night is woman's work. For this reason the women use the ax much more than the men do.

252 Green platanos are generally peeled and placed directly over the embers, turned a few times, and /450/ taken off when they are found ready to eat. Or they may be placed on a live fire to be cooked, but without being peeled, in order that they may not be blackened. If it is necessary to cook a large quantity of green platanos quickly, they are peeled and boiled in a pot.

/467 cont./

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.
[241] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in
[482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the house. They may call upon the women to help them when the game has been brought into the vicinity.

[226] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The women fish with macanas and with baskets.

[499] The men build the bridges.

[342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the
[482] settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family. For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own platanos. The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4 feet off the ground at the rear and 6 feet off the ground at the front. Shorter sticks are then laid crossways on the major roof poles and these, in turn, covered with several layers of long, broad, wild "banana" leaves (see Glossary, under "Banana, wild"). It is quite small, but can sleep three individuals. Frequently, the traveler finds the remains of one of these houses and has merely to put a new layer of leaves on the roof to make it waterproof; occasionally, he takes a chance that it won't rain that night and does not improve the hut at all.

When the Yąnomamö settle a new area, they erect temporary villages of these crude huts and live in them until they can build a *shabono*. They also live in huts like these while they are re-roofing the old *shabono*.

The permanent village is complete when the palisade of logs is erected around its circumference. This is placed some 3 or 4 feet behind the roof, allowing space for a path around the village inside the palisade. The palisade itself is about 10 feet high and usually made of a mixture of palm and hardwood logs. It is kept in repair only when there is some reason to suspect raiders. Otherwise, people pilfer logs from it for use as firewood. The entrance to the village, as well as the palisade entrance, is covered with brush and logs at night to keep out intruders. Anyone trying to enter will inevitably make the brush move and alarm the village dogs.

FOOD AND ITS GATHERING The jungle provides numerous varieties of food, both animal and vegetable. The most commonly taken game includes several species of monkeys, two varieties of wild "turkey," two species of wild pig, armadillos, anteaters, tapir, deer, a small alligator, small rodents, and several species of smaller birds. Wild vegetable foods commonly exploited by the Yąnomamö are: palm fruits of several species, hardwood fruits, brazil nuts, tubers, and the seed pods of the feral banana. Of these, the palm fruits are by far the most significant.

These occur seasonally and, for brief periods of time, produce large quantities of fruits. Unfortunately, there is very little edible substance in each fruit, so that in order to get filled, one must eat the edible portion of enormous quantities of fruit. The Yąnomamö extensively exploit two closely related palms, *pei* and *karashi*. The *pei* fruits are about the size of small hen's eggs and occur in large clusters, weighing 80 pounds and more, near the tops of the palm trees. The *karashi* fruits are about half that size. The exterior portion of the fruit is a leathery shell which is peeled with the teeth. Inside there is a thin layer of very bitter, white flesh. This is chewed and sucked off. The taste resembles that of a poor grade of bath soap. Of the two, I found *karashi* the more repugnant. My throat burned when I ate them.

Another commonly exploited palm is the *aliwashi*. It is tangerine red in color and covered with a leather-like skin that consists of hundreds of small scales. They are about the size of large hen's eggs and resemble small hand grenades. When the fruit is dry, as, for example, when it is first cut from the tree, it is almost impossible to get the leathery scales off. The Yąnomamö overcome this difficulty by throwing the fruit bunches into water and letting them soak for several days, after which the scales can be easily scraped off with the fingernails, exposing a thin layer of yellowish, soft flesh that tastes very much like cheese. The fruits begin to ferment after they have soaked, producing a slightly pungent taste. I enjoyed eating *aliwashi* with the Yąnomamö; the fruit was good, and the technique of eating it was very sociable. We would wade into the swamp where the fruit had been submerged and grope around in the murky water to locate it. After

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

removed and laid along the ground in the direction of the burrow to measure the distance from the entrance. The men began digging at the end of the vine and located the asphyxiated armadillo on the first attempt.

The jungle provides many other kinds of foods and products too numerous to mention. Some, like vines and lianas, are very useful and commonly employed in basket-making; others, such as edible mushrooms, crabs, pigments, and decorative plant products, are less significant, and exploited only sporadically. Despite the amazing variety of food products to be found in the jungle, however, the Yąnomamö could not exist for any substantial period of time on collected foods only: they rely heavily on their cultivated crops. The tropical forest is much less productive and reliable than one would imagine. The most abundant foods, palm fruits, are seasonal—a group of people could only rely on them for a few months of the year, during which time some 80 group members would have to forage over a wide area to obtain sufficient palm fruits to keep everybody well fed.

Game animals are not abundant, and an area is rapidly hunted out, so that a group must keep constantly on the move. Furthermore, hunting depends as much on luck as it does on skill and is not a very reliable way to supply nourishment. I have gone on five-day hunting trips with the Yąnomamö in areas that had not been hunted for decades, and had we not brought cultivated foods along, we would have been extremely hungry at the end of this time—we did not collect even enough meat to feed ourselves. On other trips, we often managed to collect enough game in one day to feed the entire village.

GARDENING Although the Yąnomamö spend almost as much time hunting as they do gardening, the bulk of their diet comes from foods that are cultivated. Perhaps 85 percent or more of the diet consists of domesticated rather than wild foods—plantains are by far the most important food in the diet.

The Yąnomamö are constantly looking for potential garden sites. When I hunted with them, the topic of conversation that evening would eventually drift over to the merits of the area as a possible site for a new garden. Most new garden sites are, in fact, discovered by hunters.

The land for a new site should not be heavily covered with brush, which is difficult to remove. The larger trees should not be too numerous either, as it takes a good deal of work to chop them down. Ideally, the new site should have very light jungle cover, should be well drained, near a source of drinking water, and relatively free of thorny underbrush. The Yąnomamö call a garden *hikari täka;* jungle that has the potential of being a good garden is likewise called *hikari täka.*

The first operation in making a new garden is to cut the smaller trees and brush; the bigger trees, *kayaba hi,* are left standing until the underbrush is removed. Then the big trees are felled with axes and left lying on the ground to dry out in the sun.

My older informants claimed that they did not have steel tools when they were younger and had to kill the big trees by cutting a ring of bark off around the base of the stump, using a crude stone axe, piling brush around them, and burning them. The trees rarely fell, but the fire usually killed them, and their leaves dropped off, permitting the sunlight to reach the ground.

They also claimed that making a garden was more arduous in those days because a large area would have to be searched for the necessary quantities of kindling used to kill the big trees. Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yąnomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[19]Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yąnomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time their respective headmen call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19]Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

137
142
291
301
462
482
313

Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers.

462 313 [482]

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity.

593 462 [252] 593 164 [537]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

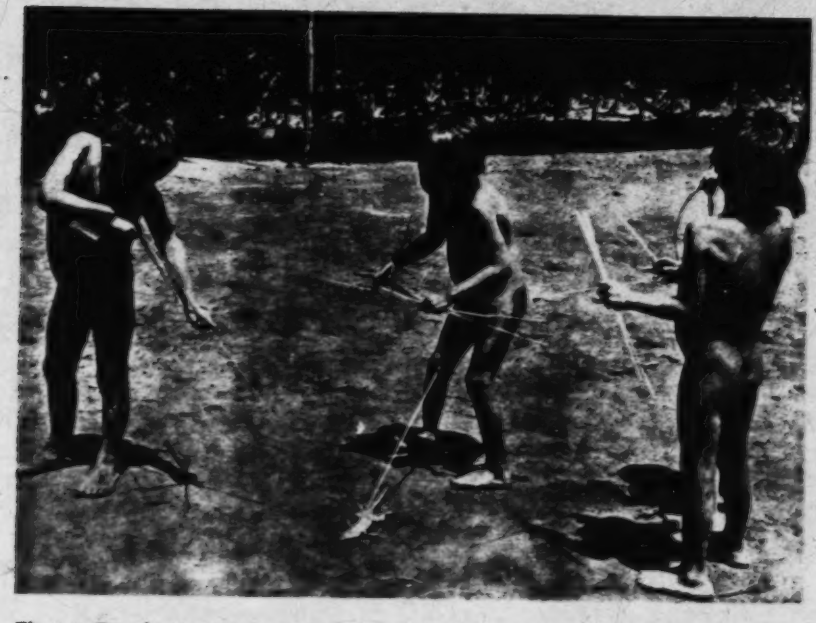


Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

Surára, Pakidái

/20 cont./

41 [171] Métraux (83).

83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

[283] [824] 2. Rahaká -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the kantaná (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and cutias (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

[237] [283] [314] 3. Kantarím -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

41 14 [171] According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84). Meyer mentions that it is

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá [184] /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanoámi group, they have furthermore

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

been documented for the Xiriána (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88),

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

Surára
Pakidái

/40 cont./

304 small pieces of reed 1-2 centimeters long, from which hang, on
301 one or two short chains of beads, small triangular pieces of silver leaf, shiny silver coins, or particularly large glass beads. Women also have a special preference for these objects. The teeth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which the men use as a knife (see p.115, are a typical feminine ear ornament.
• [314] To prevent them from slipping out of the perforation, a small lump of tree resin is stuck on the back end. The perforations of the ear lobes are also adorned now and then with blossoms.

In the perforations of the lower lip and the corners of the mouth on either side the women now and again have delicate little reed rods -- tunhabaácre -- 15-17 and 12-15 centimeters
[184] long, respectively. Among the Xiriána women married to Surára and Pakidái men I observed that they wear, in addition, two little reed rods 30-35 centimeters long in the pierced nasal septum -- huxibéka -- (Ill. 16). This piercing I was told, is reserved for only the female members of this large, mighty tribe.
[184] This also explains why the perforations of the Puseheweterí and Aramamesterí women correspond perfectly to those of their Surára and Pakidái "sisters," that is to say, there is no piercing of the nasal septum. The same applies for Nikeromá, the little captive from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí.

301 All the ornamental objects named are made by the male
422 and female wearers themselves and are regarded as personal property.

304 Due to Koch-Grünberg's research among the Xiriána
301 (Schirianá), Waiká (Waíka), and various Karaiben /Carib/ tribes,
184 abundant comparative and supplementary material is available
[171] to me. Thus, the great investigator writes with regard to the
[127] Xiriána (Schirianá): "Nasal septum, /41/ ear lobes, and lower lip were pierced among the men and in many cases adorned with little reed rods almost as long as a hand. On special occasions they also wear a jaguar tooth in the lower lip.

"The women had long reed rods in the pierced ear-lobes, the lower lip, and the corners of the mouth. Three narrow strips of reed, spread out fan-shaped at both ends, adorned the nasal septum (Ill. 12)" (213).

213. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

Surára
Pakidái

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[723] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatáz --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

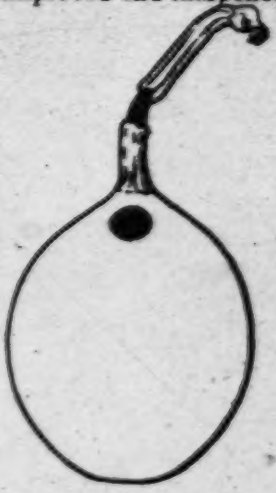


Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Yara-Yara. These strips are a few centimetres wide, their ends being twisted into a rope and tied to two trees. Less common is the hammock made from the rootstock of an iriartea, the palm which tends to cling slyly to the traveller with its thorns, lurking on the young shoots. The rootstock often lies above ground, twice the length of a man's arm and almost as thick. It is carefully stripped of its spines, which come off easily, and then clubbed to a pulp. In this way the very strong fibres are easily removed. They spread open very readily, and the Samatari are careful not to pulp the ends, leaving seven or eight inches of the rootstock intact so that it can be hung on to any convenient spur on a tree.

Finally there is the hammock de luxe, the one the snobs carry with them because it takes a certain amount of time to make and its more select raw material cannot be found everywhere. This is a superlatively strong liana known in Spanish as *alambrito*, or wire, because of its strength and its habit of growth. Quite apart from its use for hammocks among the Shirians, this liana is one of the main forest products, being used for all sorts of purposes by all the inhabitants, from the most civilized to the most primitive. It serves for binding the walls of huts, for weaving and basketwork and, as we have said, for hammocks of a superior quality.

This liana is about as thick as a pencil and easy to peel and slip open into a number of pliable white strands rounded on one side and flat on the other. About a hundred of these strands, banded together halfway between the two ends with twisted bark rope, make the hammock. It is strong and springy, but alas, like all Shirian hammocks, unstable, uncomfortable, and very small. Stretched out in them, with the imprint cutting deeply into their skin, the Samatari pass their nights without stirring, their feet on a higher level than their heads as if they were following the most modern therapeutic principles, smoking themselves in the piquant fumes of their fire, which is kept continually burning and replenished by the more youthful members of the tribe. The fire is their blanket—'the blanket of the night'—as they themselves call it.

V

At some point during the night, Solituan turned up wearing my trousers. After they had made their mysterious rounds, it seemed, they had fallen to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

278 layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curare point after it has been attached to the arrow.

415 411 [824] [438] [239] Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches. The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

372 [824] The Yąnomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

412 [237] The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yąnomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

[314] [284]

226 The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yąnomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

244 [177] [292] [999] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians-and by rural Venezuelans-and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and [284] a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome [531] piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in [437] the trading network.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4]For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5]The cultivated palm, *pijiguao*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

/26 cont./

283
[191]

122. (cont.)
in Guiana as well as in the Gran Chaco both thread twisted to the right and thread twisted to the left appear (Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 50).

[462] with which, however, a left twist is associated. The treatment of cotton -- xinarí -- , starting with picking, then drying and bleaching, removal of the seeds, loosening and plucking apart, up to the spinning, is women's work.

The spindle -- xinarikã -- consists of a smoothed stick -- ruhú -- 30-35 centimeters long, for which the rib of a palm leaf is also often used, on the upper end of which a small barb -- nhobaná -- of the same material is attached with a cotton thread.
[321] The disk-shaped whorl -- tankarã --, made by the men out of bone
[322] or wood, is slipped onto the stick from below and rests in the cen-
[462] ter of it. To prevent it from slipping off when the woman holds her spindle in a vertical position, there is a wrapping of cotton below the whorl.

283
191 From the description it may be seen that this is a typical Guianese variation of the "Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ spindle." "Only in Guiana and on the Amazon River," Frödin and Nordenskiöld write in their study, "Uber Zwirnen und Spinnen bei den Indianern Südamerikas /On Twining and Spinning among the Indians of South America/, "do we find the spindles provided with barbs, which, however, differ from the other Bakaïrí spindles only in that the spindle whorl rests near the center of the stick (Fig. 40)" (123).

123. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 24.

In two other respects, however, the spindles of the Surára and Pakidái differ somewhat, for among them the stick is not thickened at the bottom, and the whorl is held by a wrapping of cotton.

/456 cont./

Preparation of Basic Materials

411
321 The Guaika /Waica/ make their arrow points out of bone. When they obtain a small piece of bone, they quickly transform it into a good arrow-point for killing birds. The long bones of legs and arms of monkeys are broken, and the sharp points which generally result have a form similar to that of arrowheads, are worked and finished, with the rest being thrown away. To give them shape, the points are scraped with knives or machetes and rubbed on some stone.

534
321 I also saw a whistle or a flute which seemed to be made out of bone or out of a quill of large size.

411
322
[824]
[239]
[412] The Guaika make their bows out of wood. They generally select the wood of the "pijiguao" palm. They give it a rough shape, using the machete. They achieve the final form by scraping the piece with the jawbone of a wild pig, the teeth constituting the cutting edges.

322
412
[239] They do wood carving with a small knife, which consists of the tooth of a rodent. With this tooth they manage the fine work of putting notches in the arrows. They also shape bamboo arrow-points and the oblong lower part of the apparatus for making fire.

They devote as much as half a day to carving the handles for their axes and machetes. They use the machete to shape them.

323 The Guaika make their pots of mud. The clay is obtained in specific places. This frequently requires a day or more of travel. Once the clay has been brought to the settlement, /457/ they go about extracting the stones from it while kneading it, moistened, for several hours. The pot is begun by taking a ball of mud which is given the shape of a bowl. Then they go on adding rings of mud which they join to the pot. The vessel is scraped and shaped with a piece of broken totuma /fruit of the calabash tree/. During the process of the scraping, they go on increasing the size of the pot. They keep the clay damp and plastic, spitting on it from time to time. After this they put the pot out to dry in the sun and finally bake it in the fire. The vessel comes out of

/17 cont./
and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

411

3. War and Hunting Weapons and Accessories

For war and hunting expeditions the Surára and Pakidái, exactly like most of the other forest nomads of South America, use very large bows -- hâtonahî -- and arrows -- xerêka (Ill. 12).

[824] The bows, so-called simple bows because they consist of only one piece, are made out of the heavy black wood of the pupunha or chonta palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and are between 2.03-2.12 meters long. Their tension-strength weight is 32 kilograms and the length of stretch 71 centimeters (64). As

64. Pertinent comparisons with bows of other South American tribes may be found in Ranke's chart (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

the result of a not too marked, but uniform curvature, they have a symmetrical appearance. While the outer side is flat, the inner side is rounded, so that the cross-section, which in the center amounts to 2-2 1/2 centimeters, appears semicircular. The two ends come to a point (Fig. 2 i).

411 With regard to their construction it may be said that now-
412 adays the bow-staff is first roughly shaped with ax and tercado
322 (large bush-knife (65). (I did not find any stone axes, which

[439]

65. They obtain these objects by barter with piacabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) and as gifts from the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

[439] were perhaps once used in former times.) Subsequently the men shape them with a small knife, which they likewise obtain by barter.

Surára
Pukidái
Shiriana
Samatari

/17 cont./

411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 curatella (Cecropia peltata), which gives the bow a beautiful,
237 shiny appearance.
824 The bowstring -- penahitâbe --, which consists of three
411 strands of curauá (Bromeliaceae) fiber strings twisted to the right,
283 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66).

66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semi-circular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also

67. Meyer, no date, p. 31.

devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here./ /19/ Uraricapara,
411 Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustra-
184
114

68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.

tions of the Xiriâna bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[Text continues on p. 39]

/26 cont./

283
[191]

122. (cont.)
in Guiana as well as in the Gran Chaco both thread twisted to the right and thread twisted to the left appear (Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 50).

[462] with which, however, a left twist is associated. The treatment of cotton -- xinarĩ -- , starting with picking, then drying and bleaching, removal of the seeds, loosening and plucking apart, up to the spinning, is women's work.

The spindle -- xinarikã -- consists of a smoothed stick -- ruhũ -- 30-35 centimeters long, for which the rib of a palm leaf is also often used, on the upper end of which a small barb -- nhobanã -- of the same material is attached with a cotton thread. [321] The disk-shaped whorl -- tankarã -- , made by the men out of bone [322] or wood, is slipped onto the stick from below and rests in the center of it. [462] To prevent it from slipping off when the woman holds her spindle in a vertical position, there is a wrapping of cotton below the whorl.

283
191
From the description it may be seen that this is a typical Guianese variation of the "Bakaĩrĩ /Bacairi/ spindle." "Only in Guiana and on the Amazon River," Frödin and Nordenskiöld write in their study, "Uber Zwirnen und Spinnen bei den Indianern Südamerikas /On Twining and Spinning among the Indians of South America/, "do we find the spindles provided with barbs, which, however, differ from the other Bakaĩrĩ spindles only in that the spindle whorl rests near the center of the stick (Fig. 40)" (123).

123. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 24.

In two other respects, however, the spindles of the Surára and Pakidái differ somewhat, for among them the stick is not thickened at the bottom, and the whorl is held by a wrapping of cotton.

4 Wilbert--75 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

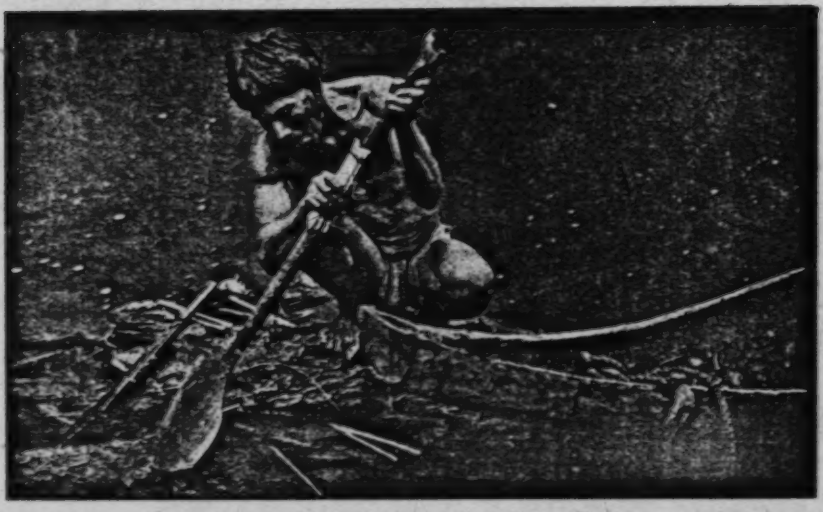
411
322
412
302
516

[237]

Sanemá Indian of the upper Ventuari preparing the shaft of an arrow, using a typical "knife" made out of a rodent's tooth mounted on a small stick.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

● 322
291
142
516



18. *Poncho makes his oars at home: the final smoothing stage.*

226
* 123

19. *Enrico and Pedro make a good catch in the Mavi.*

[p. 96 – F]

/456 cont./

Preparation of Basic Materials

411 321 The Guaika /Waica/ make their arrow points out of bone. When they obtain a small piece of bone, they quickly transform it into a good arrow-point for killing birds. The long bones of legs and arms of monkeys are broken, and the sharp points which generally result have a form similar to that of arrowheads, are worked and finished, with the rest being thrown away. To give them shape, the points are scraped with knives or machetes and rubbed on some stone.

534 321 I also saw a whistle or a flute which seemed to be made out of bone or out of a quill of large size.

411 322 [824] [239] [412] The Guaika make their bows out of wood. They generally select the wood of the "pijiguao" palm. They give it a rough shape, using the machete. They achieve the final form by scraping the piece with the jawbone of a wild pig, the teeth constituting the cutting edges.

322 412 [239] They do wood carving with a small knife, which consists of the tooth of a rodent. With this tooth they manage the fine work of putting notches in the arrows. They also shape bamboo arrow-points and the oblong lower part of the apparatus for making fire.

They devote as much as half a day to carving the handles for their axes and machetes. They use the machete to shape them.

323 The Guaika make their pots of mud. The clay is obtained in specific places. This frequently requires a day or more of travel. Once the clay has been brought to the settlement, /457/ they go about extracting the stones from it while kneading it, moistened, for several hours. The pot is begun by taking a ball of mud which is given the shape of a bowl. Then they go on adding rings of mud which they join to the pot. The vessel is scraped and shaped with a piece of broken totuma /fruit of the calabash tree/. During the process of the scraping, they go on increasing the size of the pot. They keep the clay damp and plastic, spitting on it from time to time. After this they put the pot out to dry in the sun and finally bake it in the fire. The vessel comes out of

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

276 [412] powder as it dries, the flat side of a stone axe[8] serving as the grinding pestle. The dried, green powder, no more than several tablespoons full, is then swept onto a leaf with a stiff feather. The men then gather around the leaf containing the drug, usually in the late afternoon, and take it by blowing the powder into each other's nostrils (see Fig. 2-3). A small quantity of the powder is introduced into the end of a hollow cane tube some 3 feet long. The tube is then flicked with the forefinger to scatter the powder along its length. One end of the tube is put into the nostril of the man taking the drug, and his helper then blows a strong blast of air through the other end, emitting his breath in such a fashion that he climaxes the delivery with a hard burst of air. Both the recipient and the blower squat on their haunches to do this. The man who had the drug blown into his nostrils grimaces, groans, chokes, coughs, holds his head from the pain of the air blast, and duck-waddles off to some leaning post. He usually receives two doses of the drug, one in each nostril. The recipient usually vomits, gets watery eyes, and develops a runny nose. Much of the drug comes back out in the nasal mucus that begins to run freely after the drug has been administered. Within minutes after the drug has been blown into a man's nose, he begins having difficulties focusing his eyes and starts to act intoxicated. The drug allegedly produces colored visions, especially around the periphery [187] of the visual field, and permits the user to enter into contact with his particular *hekura*, miniature demons that dwell under rocks and on mountains. The man begins to chant to the *hekura* when the drug takes effect, inviting them to come and live in his chest.

245 276 The Yąnomamö also cultivate a tree, *bisiowa*, that produces hallucinogenic seeds. These are prepared in exactly the same manner as the noncultivated drug.

322 396 TROUGHS AND CANOES The Yąnomamö use the bark of another kind of tree to make a trough and a crude canoe, both of which are nearly identical in shape, size, and method of construction. The tree is beaten with clubs to loosen the bark. The bark is then removed in one piece and hauled back to the village. The ends are heated in a fire to make them pliable and folded back to make the ends of the container. They are held firm by lashing two sticks together, pinching the folded bark into a flat-nosed basin. The interior bark surface becomes the exterior surface of the soup container. If the container is to be used as a canoe, a crude framework of sticks is added to the inside, giving 501 it more stability. The craft is so crude and heavy that the Yąnomamö generally do not use it for any purpose other than the trip for which it was intended, usually a downstream trip, since it would be almost impossible to move against a current in this rough craft. It is easier to walk than to try to pole the canoe upstream. The canoe, hence, is usually discarded after it makes its maiden voyage. Another will be made when it is needed.

415 574 264 The container is pinioned to the ground with stakes if it is to be used as a soup trough. Each time a feast is held, one or more of these bark containers is made in front of the headman's house, filled with the boiled ripe plantain soup, and frequented by the hungry guests, who dip out the soup with gourd spoons. The trough is thrown on the village rubbage heap after the feast is over.

---

[172] [8] They find the stone axes when they make new gardens, explaining that the spirits left them behind for the Yąnomamö to use. This area was occupied in the distant past by tribes whose relationship to the present Yąnomamö is uncertain.

244 [777] [252] [999] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians–and by rural Venezuelans–and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] [284] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo [531] points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in [422] [431] the trading network.

/6 cont./
obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xirišna.

/7/ IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Demini nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

/7 cont./

114 103 Demini and Aracá were first introduced into the literature by João Barbosa Rodrigues, although he did not write Demini, but rather Demeune (32), and the Rio Aracá was called Uaraca by him (33).

32. On maps of that period one likewise finds the entry Demeney.

33. Rodrigues, 1885, pp. 136, 148.

174 184 [103] With regard to the name Demini, it may be assumed that the ending "ini," according to the linguistic studies of Koch-Grünberg (34a), is derived from the Aruak /Arawak/ word "eni" =

34a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 15.

[172] [323] river, water. This assumption is confirmed by many very old finds of shards which I discovered on the entirely unpopulated terra firma on the riverine lakes of the Demini. They are yellowish gray shards, which are decorated with spiral lines, meanders, and other plaiting designs and resemble the earthenware vessels which Koch-Grünberg described for the Aruak tribes (34b).

34b. Koch-Grünberg,1910a, pp. 227/28 and Ills. 152-155.

The fact that I found only shards is undoubtedly linked with the custom of the Aruak described by Koch-Grünberg, according to which all the clay vessels that belonged to a deceased person must be broken to pieces, for otherwise the spirit of the dead would punish the greed of the relatives (35).

35. Koch-Grünberg, 1910a, p. 151.

This would also confirm the surmise of Koch-Grünberg that at one time Aruak tribes coming from the west and southwest penetrated into the region between Rio Branco and Orinoco, which was

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica
Karime

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
●323 clay vessels -- haboká -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriána (293).

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301]

296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

/202 cont./

572 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

213 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports [593] that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound [727] their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife [184] has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shirianá" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Sirionó*" with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirionna (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Sirionó*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots,[8] and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[9]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 455-458.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 28.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

/456 cont./

Preparation of Basic Materials

411 321 The Guaika /Waica/ make their arrow points out of bone. When they obtain a small piece of bone, they quickly transform it into a good arrow-point for killing birds. The long bones of legs and arms of monkeys are broken, and the sharp points which generally result have a form similar to that of arrowheads, are worked and finished, with the rest being thrown away. To give them shape, the points are scraped with knives or machetes and rubbed on some stone.

534 321 I also saw a whistle or a flute which seemed to be made out of bone or out of a quill of large size.

411 322 [824] [239] [412] The Guaika make their bows out of wood. They generally select the wood of the "pijiguao" palm. They give it a rough shape, using the machete. They achieve the final form by scraping the piece with the jawbone of a wild pig, the teeth constituting the cutting edges.

322 412 [239] They do wood carving with a small knife, which consists of the tooth of a rodent. With this tooth they manage the fine work of putting notches in the arrows. They also shape bamboo arrow-points and the oblong lower part of the apparatus for making fire.

They devote as much as half a day to carving the handles for their axes and machetes. They use the machete to shape them.

● 323 The Guaika make their pots of mud. The clay is obtained in specific places. This frequently requires a day or more of travel. Once the clay has been brought to the settlement, /457/ they go about extracting the stones from it while kneading it, moistened, for several hours. The pot is begun by taking a ball of mud which is given the shape of a bowl. Then they go on adding rings of mud which they join to the pot. The vessel is scraped and shaped with a piece of broken totuma /fruit of the calabash tree/. During the process of the scraping, they go on increasing the size of the pot. They keep the clay damp and plastic, spitting on it from time to time. After this they put the pot out to dry in the sun and finally bake it in the fire. The vessel comes out of

/457 cont./

323 [114] the fire quite blackened when well baked. On my last trip upriver I had the good luck to see how one of these pots was made, except for the baking in the fire. In spite of being very fragile, these pots are highly esteemed for cooking.

Constructions

342 335 The Guaika /Waica/ dwelling is a roof with only one slope and no walls. The basic structure is a triangle of beams supported at its vertices by uprights. The highest angle is supported by a long upright, while the two lower angles are held up by two short crossed stakes at each corner. Or one of these lower corners might be fixed to a living tree for greater stability.

The uprights are pointed at their lower end and stuck into the ground repeatedly until they are quite firm. Then the main beam, or bearing beam, is tied in place horizontally between the short uprights on which the roof is supported. Then the two diagonal beams which form a triangle with the main beam are put in place, and on this basic triangle are added four beams inclined toward both sides. Then the small beams which form the framework which will bear the leaves are put on top. (Fig. 3./see p. 29/.)

342 [824] The leaves are placed on top like tiles, but are not tied in place. Brush /breñas/ and sticks are put over the leaves so that the wind will not blow them off. Sometimes palm leaves and brush are drawn up against the back eaves so as to form a sort of back wall. /458/ /[illegible]/Fig. 3 appears here./

This basic structure may vary, two or more ranchos being joined laterally and their roofs united.

On sites more suitable for more stable constructions (that is to say, where there is considerable clayey ground and consequently fewer fleas or "niguas"), the Guaika build dwellings with the palm leaves of the roof fixed in place. These dwellings are similar to the more temporary constructions, but are generally larger, and the small beams of the framework are replaced by strings of vine stretched lengthwise across the inclined beams. The palm leaves are fixed to these strings, their stems being bent backwards and down, thus piercing the lower layer of leaves.

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

[462] [935] Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few [888] [958] [855] miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 • 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired [84] [443] clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are [462] [420] [562] made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the [199] manufacture of cassave bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

---

[1] The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
179 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[439] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[438] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[104] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[599] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

484 752 The jungle provides a number of hazards to the barefoot traveler in that most species of palm have long, sharp spines protruding from their trunks or leaf stems. The most common and recurrent injury the Yąnomamö sustain is thorns in the feet. A party of ten men can rarely travel an hour without one of them stopping to extract a thorn from his foot. This is always accompanied by hisses and clicks of pain on the part of the victim, who gouges the thorn out with either an arrow point or another thorn. Their feet have thick calluses on them, but because the trails frequently cross streams and swamps, the calluses soften and are easily pierced by thorns.

Another, but rarer, hazard is snakes.[2] There are always a few cases of snake bite in each village every year, although few of them are fatal. Most snake-bite victims recover from the wound with no ill side effects. I treated two cases of snake bite that were like this. But a few bites are severe enough to cause the loss of a limb. One of my better acquaintances, a young man of some thirty years, lost a leg because of a snake bite when he was about fifteen years old, and will spend the rest of his life hopping on one leg, a form of locomotion he has mastered so thoroughly that he almost manages to keep up with the group when they visit other villages.

484 221 628 132 Most of the intervillage traveling is done from September through April, the dry season. For the remainder of the year the trails, or substantial portions of them, are underwater. At this time the rains are frequent and heavy, and the small streams that can be easily crossed on foot in the dry season become impassable torrents. Small lakes replace the marshy low ground, and communication between villages all but ceases. As the Yąnomamö are an inland people and avoid locating their villages near large streams, all travel is done on foot, and each village becomes an isolated entity at the peak of the wet season (June).[3] 484 499 If the group must travel, it will make simple vine and pole bridges over the smaller streams. A pair of slender poles is stuck into the river and crossed to form an X-frame. Vines are used to lash the poles together where they intersect, and another pole is laid from the bank to the X-frame, also secured by vines. Then another pair of poles is stuck into the stream and lashed to form another X-frame. The long pole is then extended out further from the bank, and so on, until the stream is bridged. A vine railing is attached to the protruding members of the X-frames. The bridges usually last only a short time. The first heavy rain will swell the stream and the current will wash it away.

323 TECHNOLOGY Much of Yąnomamö technology is like the pole-and-vine bridge: crude, but very effective, and not destined to last for any great period of time. The only durable artifact produced is a crude, poorly fired clay pot. It is nearly an inch thick at the bottom and tapers to almost nothing at the brim. Consequently, it breaks very [562] easily. For this reason, women, regarded as clumsy, are rarely allowed to touch or handle them. When the clay pots are used, the men do the cooking, as, for example, during feasts. The pot is made by the coil technique: The untempered clay is kneaded to the proper consistency by hand, rolled into long, slender ropes, and these, in turn, placed on top of each other to form a continuous rope of clay. The coils are then scraped flat so that the interior and exterior of the pot are smooth. The conical-shaped pot is allowed to dry in the shade, then fired by placing brush and wood over it. The end product is

[165] [2]Two percent of all adult deaths are due to snake bite; 54 percent are due to malaria, and other epidemic diseases (Chagnon 1966) and 24 percent of adult males die in warfare.

[361] [3]The Yąnomamö began moving their villages out to navigable rivers after 1955. Up to that time there was only one village, Mahekodo-teri, located on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4]For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5]The cultivated palm, *pïjïpaan*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

interdependency. The Yąnomamö cannot simply arrive at the village of a potential ally and declare that they need military assistance because of the raids of a superior enemy. Doing so would admit vulnerability and perhaps invite predation from the potential ally. Instead, they conceal and subsume the true motive for the alliance in the vehicles of *trading* and *feasting*, developing these institutions over months and even years. In this manner they retain an apparent modicum of sovereignty and pride, while simultaneously attaining the true objectives: intervillage solidarity and military interdependence.

Three distinct features of Yąnomamö trading practices are important in the context of alliance formation. First, each item must be repaid with a different kind of item: The recipient is under an *obligation* to repay his partner in a type of exchange called *no mraiha*. Secondly, the payment is delayed, a temporal factor in the trading techniques that is likewise implied by the *no mraiha*. The consequence of these two trading features is that one trade always calls forth another and gives the members of different villages both the excuse and the opportunity to visit each other; and once the trading starts, it tends to continue, for one village in an alliance always owes the other trade goods from their last confrontation. The third significant trade feature is the peculiar specialization in the production of trade items. Each village has one or more special products that it provides to its allies. These include such items as dogs, hallucinogenic drugs (both cultivated and collected), arrow points, arrow shafts, bows, cotton yarn, cotton and vine hammocks, baskets of several varieties, clay pots, and, in the case of the several contacted villages, steel tools and aluminum pots.

This specialization in production cannot be explained in terms of the distribution of natural resources. Each village is, economically speaking, capable of self-sufficiency. (The steel tools and other products from civilization constitute the major exceptions.) The explanation of the specialization must be sought, rather, in the sociological aspects of alliance formation. Trade functions as the social catalyst, the "starting mechanism," through which mutually suspicious allies are repeatedly brought together in direct confrontation. Without these frequent contacts with neighbors, alliances would be much slower in formation and would be even more unstable once formed: A prerequisite to stable alliance is repetitive visiting and feasting, and the trading mechanism serves to bring about these visits.

Clay pots are a good example of the specialization in labor that characterizes Yąnomamö production and trade. The Mõmariböwei-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8) are allied to both Kąobawä's group and the people of a distant Shamatari village, the latter being mortal enemies of Kąobawä. When I first began my fieldwork, I visited the Mõmariböwei-teri, specifically asking them if they knew how to make clay pots. They all vigorously denied knowledge of pot-making, explaining that they once knew how to make them but had long since forgotten. They explained that their allies, the Möwaraoba-teri, made them in quantities and provided all they needed, and therefore they did not have to make them anymore. They also added that the clay in the area of their village was not of the proper type for making pots. Later in the year their alliance with the pot makers grew cool because of a war, and their source of pots was shut off. At the same time, Kąobawä's group began asking them for clay pots. The Mõmariböwei-teri promptly responded by "remembering" how pots were made and "discovering" that the clay in their neighborhood was indeed suitable for pot manufacturing. They had merely created

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ13 Yanoama SQ13

a local shortage of the item in order to have to rely on an ally for it, giving sufficient cause to visit them.

Often the specialization is less individualized than in the case of clay pot manufacture. Kaobawä's group, for example, exports cotton yarn to one ally, but imports it from another. The exported cotton frequently is brought back in the form of manufactured hammocks, the importer merely contributing labor to the process. In some cases the shortages are merely seasonal; Kaobawä's group may import cotton from a particular ally at one time of the year, but export it at another. Most of the trade, however, involves items that are readily manufactured by or raised by any group, underscoring the fact that trade is the stimulus to visit. Food does not enter the trading system, although hospitality dictates that it must be given to friendly groups. Occasionally, a village will run short of plantains because of a particularly long hot spell, and its members may visit an ally to borrow food to last a week or so. This hospitality is usually reciprocated, but it is not a part of the trading network.

Alliances between villages may stabilize at any one of three points: sporadic reciprocal trading, mutual feasting, or reciprocal women exchange. These are cumulative levels in the sense that the third phase implies the first two: Allies that exchange women also feast and trade with each other. Likewise, allies that merely feast together also trade, but do not exchange women. At the lower end of this scale of solidarity lie those villages with which one fights to kill, while at the upper end are those villages from whom one's group has recently separated. Frequently, the scale is circular rather than linear: A village's mortal enemy is the group from which it has recently split. By way of example, Kaobawä's group trades sporadically with the Makorima-teri, Duiyari-teri, Widokaiya-teri, Mahekodo-teri, and Iyawei-teri. These are fairly weak alliances and even permit limited fighting. His group has more intimate ties with the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mömariböwei-teri, with whom it feasts regularly. The alliance with the Reyaboböwei-teri has even reached the point at which they are exchanging women with each other. Finally, at the other end of the scale, Kaobawä's group is at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, Möwaraoba-teri, and Patanowä-teri. The first two of these groups are historically unrelated to Kaobawä's group, although they have a common history with two of his staunchest allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mömaribowei-teri, from whom they separated in the past. The Patanowä-teri are related to Kaobawä and his followers, as was shown in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, they are bitter enemies and are at present raiding each other.

Although there is no rigid geographical correlation of the village settlement pattern to the degree of alliance solidarity, neighboring villages usually are at least on trading terms and are not actively conducting war on each other. Should war develop between neighbors, one of the two principals will abandon its site and move to a new location. Whether the ties between neighboring villages will be one of blood, marriage exchange, reciprocal feasting, or casual trading depends on a large number of factors, particularly on village size, current warfare situation with respect to more distant groups, and the precise historical ties between the neighboring villages. Whatever the nature of the ties between neighbors, each strives to maintain its sovereignty and independence from the others.

The Yanomamö do not openly regard trade as a mechanism the ulterior function of which is to bring people repeatedly together, thus establishing an amicable basis from

St.Layrlaw et al. D.E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 9Q18 Yanoama 9Q18
Waica

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shirianá" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriana*" with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacuran (27 mc), and Sirianá (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Siriana*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with unclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 455-458.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 28.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

his jungle intimately—where to find palm dates, cocoa and brazil nuts in their season, and where game birds are most plentifully found. He hunts the herds of peccary, his ear, versed in all the sounds of the forest, detecting his prey before they detect him. When the water in the rivers is low he shoots his fish with arrows and when the sand banks are uncovered he hunts tortoise eggs buried in the sand. His interminable wanderings are limited only by his forest lore; he lives only for the day, his sole reserve of food being a small store of bananas brought from the village plantation.

Platanal

As we closed the shore our reception was tumultuous. From the high bank above us the Indians leaped yelling into the water and clambered on board, shaking themselves like wet dogs. Laughing and gesticulating they took hold of our mooring lines. Though some of us were a little overcome by this display of exuberance, Butrón was not in the least disconcerted. He knew that the Indians had long learned to associate him with machetes and *manioc*. As soon as it was possible to do so, Butrón had a basket of *manioc* and a dozen machetes carried ashore, and the Indians who had already begun to ransack our cargo left it and hurried ashore.

"*Shori! Manioco! Oji!*" they cried striking their bellies. They jostled round the basket, stuffing handfuls of the coarse flour into their mouths, their heads thrown back in ecstasy.

As the Walka have no knowledge of contriving the simplest of iron tools, or of grinding *manioc*, all such articles were highly valued objects of barter. So were matches, once they had been shown how to use them.

Butrón told them we wanted the large green bananas which are eaten cooked; the accepted tariff is three hands of bananas for one machete. Before long, we heard some of the natives making merry in the plantation, and made as if to follow them. But at once the others became suspicious and gestured to us to return to the river bank. We insisted and they became menacing, finally refusing to go on gathering the bananas if we did not desist.

/457 cont./

323 [114] the fire quite blackened when well baked. On my last trip upriver I had the good luck to see how one of these pots was made, except for the baking in the fire. In spite of being very fragile, these pots are highly esteemed for cooking.

Constructions

342 335 The Guaika /Waica/ dwelling is a roof with only one slope and no walls. The basic structure is a triangle of beams supported at its vertices by uprights. The highest angle is supported by a long upright, while the two lower angles are held up by two short crossed stakes at each corner. Or one of these lower corners might be fixed to a living tree for greater stability.

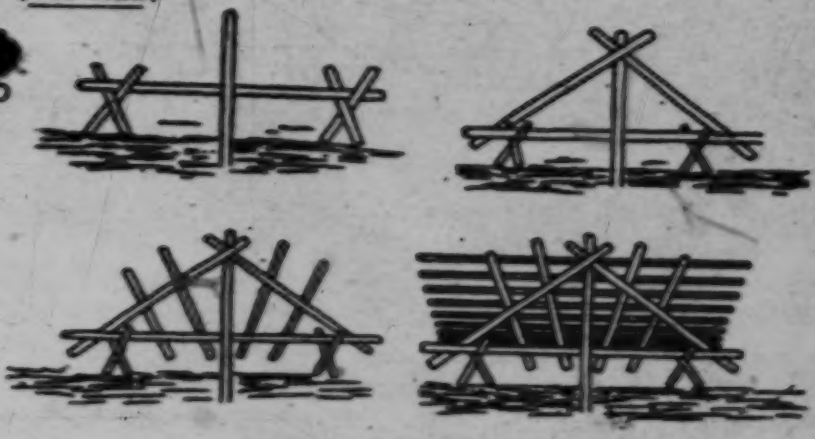
The uprights are pointed at their lower end and stuck into the ground repeatedly until they are quite firm. Then the main beam, or bearing beam, is tied in place horizontally between the short uprights on which the roof is supported. Then the two diagonal beams which form a triangle with the main beam are put in place, and on this basic triangle are added four beams inclined toward both sides. Then the small beams which form the framework which will bear the leaves are put on top. (Fig. 3./see p. 29/.)

342 [824] The leaves are placed on top like tiles, but are not tied in place. Brush /breñas/ and sticks are put over the leaves so that the wind will not blow them off. Sometimes palm leaves and brush are drawn up against the back eaves so as to form a sort of back wall. /458/ /[illegible]/Fig. 3 appears here./

This basic structure may vary, two or more ranchos being joined laterally and their roofs united.

On sites more suitable for more stable constructions (that is to say, where there is considerable clayey ground and consequently fewer fleas or "niguas"), the Guaika build dwellings with the palm leaves of the roof fixed in place. These dwellings are similar to the more temporary constructions, but are generally larger, and the small beams of the framework are replaced by strings of vine stretched lengthwise across the inclined beams. The palm leaves are fixed to these strings, their stems being bent backwards and down, thus piercing the lower layer of leaves.

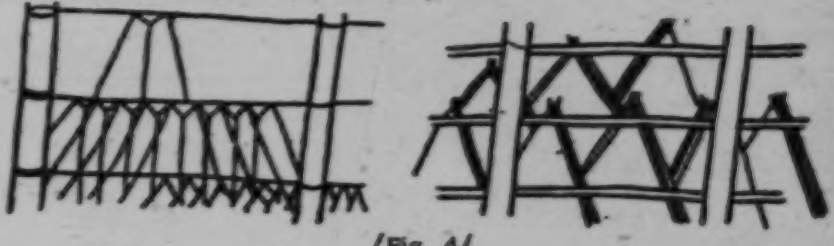
/458 cont./



/Fig. 3/

342

The drawings of Fig. 4 show the two systems of fixing the palm leaves on top of the framework of the roof.



/Fig. 4/

/119 cont./

000 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the
621 multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation --
431 is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but, on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance.
621 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion,
166 namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements, which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a
[361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their
[342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried children. The new place is chosen according to the
262 possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting;
245 nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this
174 migration, for even during this period they continue to live from
166 the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent
[222] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on
[224] gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the past.

Surára
Pakidái

/10 cont./

114 is true, the related Surára and Pakidái, as well as the Waiká in
142 the catchment area of the upper Orinoco, embody a type that is strange to us (see Ills. 9-24 /see pp. 270-274/ and ills. in Zerries, 1959), but certainly not one that is repulsive to that extent.

342

VI. Technology and Material Culture

1. House Forms

The Surára and Pakidái are familiar with four different house-forms. The simplest and probably the earliest form, which at present, however, is used only as overnight quarters by one family during the expeditions in the virgin forest, is similar to a wind-screen /Windschirm/ (Ill. 4). It is built in the following way: In front, one or two supports, 2-2.50 meters long, are set into the ground at intervals as long as a hammock; about three meters behind these there are two weaker supports, 1-1.50 meters long, at somewhat longer intervals. The upper ends are joined together with poles; cipó-titca (a type of liana) serves as lashing material. The poles are also frequently tied to trees standing a short distance apart, instead of the rear supports. Over this 12 to 15 thinner poles are placed crosswise, and on top of these four to six are placed lengthwise. This results in a more or less steep frame-
[824] work which has the shape of a lean-to roof (Ill. 4). Palm leaves are laid on this so that the hut gives secure protection against the rain; even the most severe tropical thunderstorms cannot
[352] harm the Indians sleeping under it. The hammocks are fastened
[354] in the form of a triangle around the fire burning in the center; In the case of larger families, two hammocks often hang one above the other.

361 /11/ If the entire tribe is on the march, the huts of the individual families are always placed in a circle around the chief's hut standing in the center, after the virgin forest has been hastily cleared to a certain extent beforehand. The space between the huts is five to eight meters.

/11 cont./

342 114 184 Exactly the same construction is shown by Salathé for the Karimé (49), Zerries for the Waiká (50), and Koch-Grünberg for

49. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 298-300 and Fig. 1 and 2.

50. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

the Xirišana (Schirianá) on the upper Uraricaparé; the latter, however, calls the lean-to type of hut a storm-shelter /Wetterschirm/ (51). This name is not suitable, however, for a

51. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Pl. 43 b and c.

genuine storm-shelter, also called windscreen, touches the ground on one side. In the method of construction described and likewise in Koch-Grünberg's drawings, however, the roof rests on supports everywhere. The circular arrangement of the huts is also mentioned in Koch-Grünberg. In this connection the scholar expresses the opinion that this is only a temporary camp (52), which I am

361 114

52. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Plate 43 a.

now able to confirm with respect to the Surára and Pakidái. On the other hand, Koch-Grünberg, Salathé, and Zerries say nothing about a hut standing in the center. Among the Surára and Pakidái, however, this is never absent. The reason for it, these Indians told me, was to protect the chief sleeping in it from hostile attacks. Moreover, two warriors must always guard the camp at night.

[622]

361 Along the routes of travel of the Surára and Pakidái in the area between the Demini and Aracá rivers, one finds many such abandoned camps. They are never occupied a second time as overnight quarters, however, although the construction is often

Surára
Pakidái

/11 cont./

361 very well preserved and only the roofs would need to be covered with fresh palm leaves.

One exception is Camp Xiwarí, which is 35 kilometers north of the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá. Three-fourths [342] of the circle, which is 28 meters in diameter, is made up of ten of the small huts described, while a similarly constructed dwelling seven meters long and five meters high occupies the remaining fourth. In the center of the circle, as usual, stands the chief's [241] hut. Around the camp, rocas (forest clearings) have been laid out, where bananas, pupunha palms, manioc, species of sweet [221] potatoes, and tobacco are planted. The Surára stay here every year between the months of October and December. In the [156] large huts at that time two young men about 20 years old are always trained as medicine man's helpers for two months by the chief and his brother (see pp. 143 f.).

342 The second house-form is a large, open, almost circular
361 maloka which lies in a valley between three short mountain ranges, 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco (Ill. 5). This is a construction (see Fig. 1 /see p. 27 /) which has not been documented up to now for South American Indians. During the dry season it is occupied by the Surára and Pakidái jointly. As the more detailed explanation will show, this house form developed from the circularly arranged small huts which serve as overnight quarters. Camp Xiwarí described above clearly shows the transitional form.

361 Around an area 52 meters long and 48 meters wide three curved
342 windscreens about six meters high are erected (Ill. 6), as well as a rectangular house with gable roof, open toward the inner area. The length of the largest windscreen is 74.40 meters and that of the other two 28.60 and 25.40 meters, respectively. The chief's rectangular house is 9.70 meters long. Four entrances, 8 meters, 6.80 meters, 6.30 meters, and 2 meters wide respectively, lead toward the large open circular area. A fifth entrance, which is only one meter high and 50 centimeters wide, however, is inside the largest windscreen. Moreover, it should be mentioned that

Surára
Pakidái

343 /11 cont./ Moreover, it should be mentioned that
342 between the chief's house and the windscreen that is 24.80 meters
361 long there stands a four-meter-long, rectangular, open gabled-hut, the rooster coop (Ill. 7). /12/ /Fig. 1 appears here./

342 /13/ The three windscreens are built as follows: Toward the interior, posts 3.30-3.60 meters high are set up at irregular intervals. Behind them, at intervals of 2.60 meters, stand smaller posts which are about 1.20 meters high. The front and rear posts are joined by strips which are allowed to project about two
[824] meters at the top. Here, too, cipó-titica, a type of liana, serves for fastening them. Over these strips, at intervals of 50-70 centimeters, 31-35 thinner cross-strips are laid, which produces a windscreen construction. In contrast to the lean-to type of hut described above, these are genuine, albeit specially large windscreens, for they touch the ground on one side. They are about seven meters deep and the height of the roof is up to six meters.
[824] For roof covering the leaves of the ubim palm (Geonoma sp.) are
[171] used, the "tiles" of the Amazon. The rubber gatherers, the palm-fiber gatherers, the planters, and woodcutters also use these leaves as roof and wall covering, the durability of which is four to five years.

824 The ubim palm, which is very common in the Demini-Aracá area, reaches a height of only 1.50-2 meters. The leaves are 80 centimeters to one meter long and from 25 to 30 centimeters
[461] wide. The gathering of these is quite strenuous and demands four to five hours of hard work. They are cut off or broken off and at first laid on top of one another in piles. When the Indian has gathered enough leaves, he clears a small rectangular place in the forest for a distance of about four meters. At this distance he thrusts three sticks, one meter high, into the ground on either side directly opposite one another. These are joined together with lianas. Then piles of eight to ten leaves are placed next to one another over the three liana strips. When he comes to the end, the Indian places additional piles of eight to ten leaves in the interspaces, but this time with the stem pointing toward the opposite side. He repeats this several times until finally all the gathered

[Text Continues on P. 28]

2: Becher--27 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái.

342
343
361
622

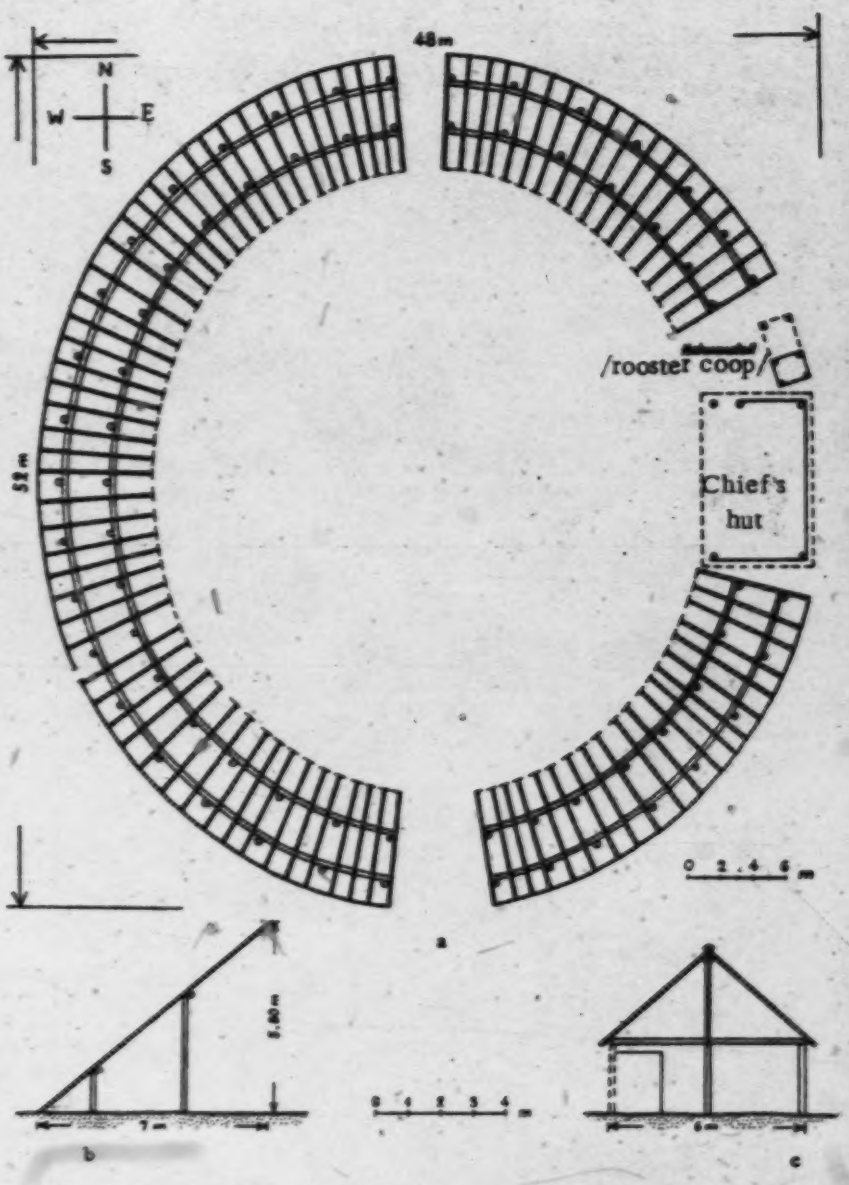


Fig. 1a-c. Ground plan and cross-section of the open maloka with chief's hut.

Surára
Pakidái

/13 cont./

824 leaves are neatly piled up on top of one another. Then he pulls out the three poles on one side and rolls up the leaves, along with the three liana strips on which they are lying, like a carpet. The ends of the lianas are then pulled together securely and one [482] stuck into the other. A carrying-strap of embira is wrapped around the ball, whereupon the Indian carries the heavy 60-70 kilogram load with his head or chest, in the latter case with the carrying-strap running over the chest and the two upper arms, 30 to 40 minutes or more through the pathless forest to his maloka. [481] The pace which the Indians strike up in doing this is so swift that I, without a load, always had difficulty following them.

824 285 Having arrived at the dwelling, on the same day or the following day, the leaves are worked up into rectangular mats which are to serve as roof covering, at which the women help. In this technique the efficiency and the inventiveness of the Indian are impressive.

Over a stalk of the paxiúba palm (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.) 60-100 ubim leaves are laid next to one another with the underside on top, and, to be sure, in such a way that only the end of the leaf lies above the paxiúba stem, while the long stem of the ubim leaf projects beyond it. Each ubim leaf, moreover, consists of three to four V-shaped sides. From the right side there is now begun the fitting of the leaves together into a firm structure. The lower part of the right V-shaped side is now folded under. Then the long ubim stem is bent, wrapped around the paxiúba stem, led upward to the right of the leaf, and then laid over the leaf toward the left. The same procedure is followed with the adjacent leaves. The stem end of the last leaf on the left is fastened with a piece of liana wound around the paxiúba stem, or simply by bending this stem to the right, by way of exception, and shoving it under the other leaves. With this a pano (rectangular mat) is completed, generally with a length of five to eight ●342 meters and a width of half a meter. Depending on the length 824 of the windscreen, 80-100 or more of these panos /14/ are now laid on the roof framework over one another tile-fashion at intervals of 30-50 centimeters and fastened with lianas.

342 592 /14 cont./

Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters. In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night. 354 352 592 342 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if necessary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks 353 342 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc., 231 342 are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50 centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called [174] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement [171] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem, similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 622 [177] The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is 9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

/14 cont./

342 622 posts are joined by crossbeams; in addition, horizontal strips lead to the tall posts, whereby a gable roof is formed. Over this again lie small, thin cross-strips, on which, exactly as in the case of the large windscreens, the panos, the rectangular palm-leaf mats, are fastened. In the same manner, the rear wall and the two side-walls are also provided with panos. Between the two ends of the front side there are fastened three poles half a meter high, which are often used as sitting places. The entrance, which is one meter wide, is on the right-hand narrow side. The fire burns in the center of the hut, and in a triangle around it are fastened the hammocks in which the chief, his two wives, and the children sleep. All the implements hang on the crossbeams and on the plaiting of the rear wall.

[354] [352] [353]

343 To the right, next to the chief's house, stands a small, open hut which is four meters long, two meters wide, and six meters high. Here, too, the roof has a gable-shape and is likewise covered with panos made of ubim leaves. Under the roof is found a latticework pen about 1.60 X 2 meters, which is used as a rooster coop.

342 From an architectural standpoint, this open, almost circular construction, in which, to be sure, the chief's hut and the coop for the roosters form two foreign bodies added later -- represents an unexcelled method of building, particularly for this hot, tropical region. The circular shape prevents the wind from entering, and the rain, too, cannot reach the families living in the dead angle under the roofs. Moreover, there is always pleasantly fresh air, so that even upon leaving this maloka there is no danger of catching cold. Tribes or groups living in closed malokas are much more subject to respiratory ailments when they leave the warm community house and step out into the cool morning or night air. This maloka of the Surára may doubtless be regarded as one of the oldest and most primitive types of construction of the South American Indians. Around the community house, plantings have been laid out (Ill. 37) and at the present time extend to the middle of the mountain slopes.

[174]

241

Surára
Pakidai

/15/

342
184 As a third house-form, on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá I became acquainted with a closed, circular maloka ten meters high with a gable roof. The Surára told me that this type of construction is customary among the Xirišna. Up to now, however, there has been no description of it.

361
313 The construction, as in the case of the open maloka, is carried out by all the men of the tribe, under the direction of the chief, as communal work. I had the good fortune to be present at this construction in all its phases. First, a section of the forest, upon which the maloka is to be erected, is cleared. The men start by cutting down the small trees and bushes and pulling out the roots. Then they proceed to fell the large trees. Before two men with their axes set to work on a tree, however, one man climbs it and fastens a very long liana just under the crown. When the tree is then notched so far that it threatens to fall, three or four men pull it down to the ground by means of the liana and, as the tree falls, quickly leap to one side. When all the trees are cut, the roots are dug out with the help of the terçados (large bush-knives) and the hands. Meanwhile other men pull out the underbrush on the ground. During the next two or three days, trees are cut in the virgin forest to serve as building material. After that the chief, assisted by two or three men,
342 marks off a circular area by means of a liana. Then the building starts, and, after only eight days, presents the following completed construction: On either side of three center posts ten meters high, which constitute the ridge, four posts eight meters high stand in a semicircle. At a greater distance from these posts 21 small stakes, each five meters high, are driven into the ground in a semicircle around the posts mentioned. The tall posts, as well as the medium-sized and small ones, are joined by means of two cross-strips at the upper ends and two meters below this. Moreover, numerous horizontal rods are fastened to the cross-strips of the 21 outer posts, by means of which the house wall is formed. Sixty-nine horizontal poles, which are supposed to support the frame of the roof, run from the upper cross-strips of the small posts, over those of the middle posts, which serve as supports, to those of the

/15 cont./

•342 large posts. On each of the two narrow sides of the three tall middle posts, 11 thin sticks are attached, organ-fashion, between the supported horizontal poles and form the two gable faces.

[824] Here, too, cipó-titica is used exclusively as the lashing material. To the right on the front broad-side and to the left on the rear one there is a small entrance only one meter high and one meter wide. After the framework is completed (Ill. 8), the panos (rectangular mats made out of the leaves of the ubim palm) are again laid over one another on the roof, like shingles, and fastened to the rafters. It is the same technique as has already been described in the construction of the large, open maloka. The upper part of the two gable sides is left open so that light may penetrate into the interior of the house and the smoke be carried off. The walls, too, are completely covered with panos, and in front of the entrances palm-leaf mats that can be drawn back are hung by means of lianas. Inside the house, the center part is left free for holding festivals and dances, while the families, in the same way as in the open maloka, live comparatively close to the wall, one

[622] family beside the other. For the chief and his family a particularly large space is reserved on the side toward the river.

342 171 114 The astonishing fact in this form of house is that the ground plan is circular whereas the roof is gable-shaped. Ordinarily for houses with a circular ground-plan, the conical roof is characteristic, as Olga Coudreau (54) and Koch-Grünberg (55) have shown

54. Olga Courdreau, 1903, p. 121.

55. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 18 and Pl. 2 (1a, 1b, 2a, 2b).

for Karaiben /Carib/ tribes. In this case, one or at most two center posts are used. Koch-Grünberg also mentions, to be sure, a construction with three and writes: "If the two center posts are set farther apart or if, instead of two center posts, three or more are used, /16/ the ridge is lengthened and the circular ground-plan gradually becomes an elliptical one" (56).

56. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22 and Pl. 2 (4).

/16 cont./

342 In the building method described by me, however, the
174 circular ground-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts.
177 According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical
[114] ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obviously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in com-

57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

plete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they modeled after the community house of the Xiriána, actually developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts of the caboclos). This is also indicated by the construction of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka,
[184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy, however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show
342 a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why
825

58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

the Surára in the sierra occupy an open maloka and on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

501 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on
484 their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our
491 eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

/60 cont./

622 Since that time Hewemão has been chief and at the same time,
159 like his predecessor, a medicine man who instructs all the male Surára in religion, mythology, magic, curing the sick, and tribal traditions (see pp. 143f.). He also, however, assigns them to occasional communal projects, supervises their activity in the rocas (forest clearings), gives instructions for the building of a maloka, and selects the participants for curing the sick and for magic per-
[224] formances. If a large animal was killed, a tapir, for example, he supervised the fair distribution of the meat so that every family obtained its piece. In the case of smaller game, the hunters usually give their chief a choice piece, and the women bring him and his family fruits and berries or brimming calabashes
[554] of refreshing palm drinks. He is thus honored in every way. He and his wives too, however, willingly and freely give up some of their hunting or gathering spoils.

● [342] In the large, open maloka he and his two wives and children occupy a special hut (see pp. 24 ff.). During migrations of
622 the tribe he determines when they are to rest and to set out again.
484 Moreover, each morning he arranges for regular march-protection,
159 4-5 warriors who form the advance guard and set out two hours
484 before the departure. They have only their bows and arrows with them and reconnoiter in both directions from the Indian path, in order to be on the lookout for enemies. The bulk of the tribe, which travels in single-file formation, always presented the following picture during the time I lived among the Surára: 3-4
484 warriors armed only with bows and arrows. They carry their
482 weapons longitudinally over their heads or over one shoulder. After them came men with my baggage, the younger brothers of the chief, and finally the latter himself. I walked behind him, my servant Mateus followed me, and the boys and girls with little baskets, then the women with their large, cylindrical baskets, which contain all the household goods. Mothers with babies carried them, in addition, in a carrying band on their left hips. On top of the basket there often sat a little dog, a monkey, or a parrot. Then behind the women there marched 4-5 more warriors as a rear guard.

2: Becher--268 E-8 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/3/

342

Ill. 4. Construction of family overnight quarters during migrations of the tribe

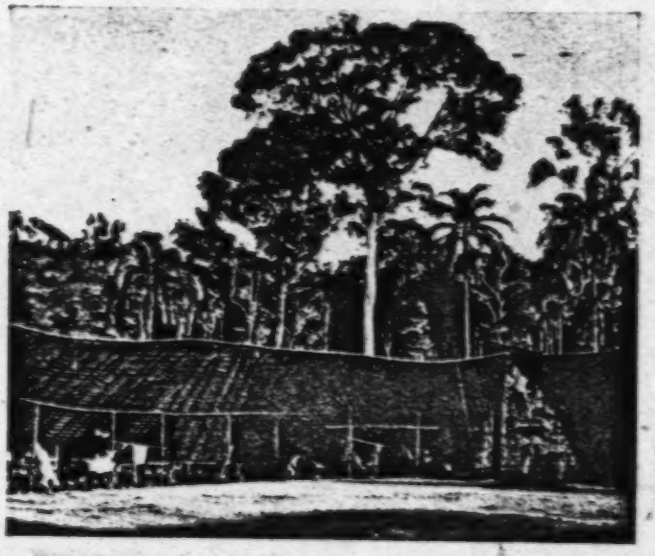
133
137
361

Ill. 5. View of the large open Surára maloka in the region between the Demini and Aracá

2: Becher--269 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/4/

139
342
361



Ill. 6. A section of the large, open Surára maloka

342
361
231
343
622

Ill. 7. Chief's hut (right) and rooster pen inside the Surára maloka

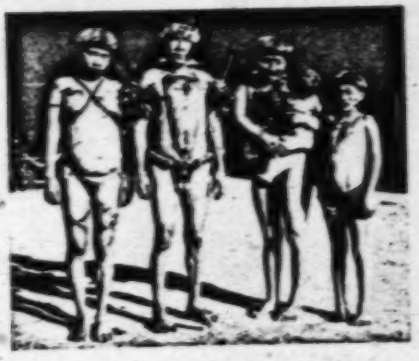
2- Becher--270 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

342
361

Ill. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)

142
301
302
291
622

Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)



Ill. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children

142
291
301
302
854
622

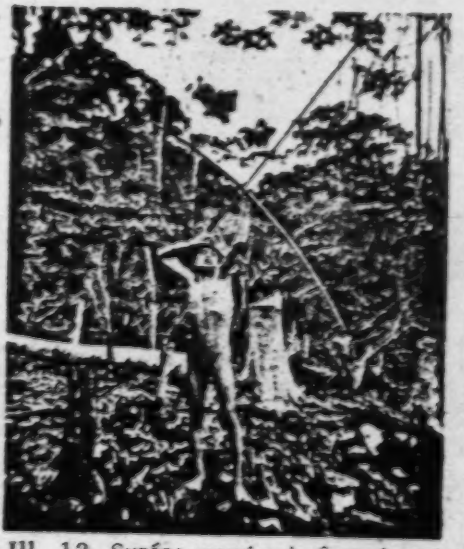
142
301
302

Ill. 11. Kurikayawo, the younger brother of the Surára chief

2: Becher--271 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
/6/
142
411
302
291
516

Ill. 12. Surára warriors

142
291
411
516
←



Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow

142
411
301
302
342
291
624
→

Ill. 14. Poréhiwö, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

Surára
Pakidái

352
516
854
593

Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

342
231
←

142
302
291
516
372
→

Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

142
302
296

Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

769
142
291
516
302
342
415
266

Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

516
342
411
535

Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

/200 cont./

162 C. Sanemá of the upper Ventuari (Nabudub)

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Weweña	50	The Nabudub of Ihuduña
2. Wadekuña	80	frequently move between
3. Mahanaña	50	the Ventuari and the
4. Ihuduña	200	Erebato.
Total	380 estimated individuals.	

161 According to this demographic estimation there are approximately 2,150 Sanemá in the zone of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura. We do not know how many Sanemá live on the Padamo.

342 We have seen four different types of houses among the Sanemá: (a) windscreen type, (b) triangular in shape and Makiritare system, (c) rectangular, and (d) oblong. We have found types (a) and (b) together in the same encampment on the Ventuari, facing Caño Mosquito.

342 361 [501] [137] [262] On our trip through that place we saw two Sanemá rafts moored on the bank of the Ventuari. We later climbed a cliff and followed a path which led us to a conuco of the Sanemá. At one end there was a gigantic algarroba tree laden with fruit. Judging from the skins scattered on the ground, we realized that the Sanemá had consumed a great quantity. Near the tree, which in times past offered them /201/ its generous shade, we found a desolate Sanemá encampment. It was made up of five

342 triangular huts and two of the windscreen type. Both types of construction seem to be typical of the Yanoama and are remarkable for their size, somewhat small. For the construction of a triangular cabin six poles 1.60 meters long are needed to serve as posts or supports. Three pairs are made out of them, each bound at the upper end with a bejuco, and with some 30 centimeters left free in order to form a fork. The lower parts of the poles are stuck into the ground at a distance of half a meter. These forks in tepee form with a separation of two meters form a [324] regular triangle. Three sticks are later placed on the forks, and these support the roof made of platanillo /Musaceae/ leaves. A similar rancho was described by Koch-Grünberg (1923, Pl. 43).

/201 cont./

342 The two windscreens had two posts stuck superficially into the ground at a distance of two meters apart. Contiguous to the post there was a smaller stake tied to it with a bejuco. The roof of this screen was covered with interlaced branches and roofed with platanillo leaves and supported with a slight inclination against two posts. The roof projects from the posts some 40 centimeters and touches the ground at its lower edge. In these houses the Sanemá hang their hammocks of bejuco or majagua. In some ranchos we found vestiges of fire.

[352]

177 342 The houses of Makiritare type (rectangular or oblong) are small-scale imitations and have only one room. The roofs, made of palm leaves, are of two rectangular slopes and are raised on four or six posts. The edges of the roof are straight or rounded. The walls consist of bark or juxtaposed sticks. They have an average dimension of four meters long by two meters wide and approximately three high. Each house has one or two quite narrow doors. Within the house (of the Makiritare type) the greatest disorder reigns: from the roof and from the walls hang baskets, gourds, weapons, leather bags, tobacco, palm fruit, hammocks /chinchorros/ of bejuco, majagua, and cotton. On the floor there are hearths, firewood, cooking utensils, guapas with spindle and cotton, yuca graters, dogs, and children, all in confusion without order or arrangement. It is clear that they are not used to living under a roof, and the house is a place for storing things rather than a habitation.

353 [177]

105 422 484 The technology of the Sanemá is very little-developed, and precisely for this reason one can classify the Sanemá (and the Yanoama in general) as representatives of the most backward peoples of America and of the whole world. It would seem that the ideal of these seminomadic Indians is: omnia mea mecum porto -- everything that is mine I carry with me! and, apart from their weapons, a few implements, and a basket, it is unusual for them to carry anything else on their travels. They do not even transport their hammocks /202/ of bejuco or majagua from one camp to another, but rather make new ones each time they need them.

[352]

/187 cont./

105 [181] [241] [245] [266]

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

[286] [342] [411] [491] [494]

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guahariho (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayongon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Uraricuera and Parima, to Boavista They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

[361] [241] [484] [438] [611]

[142] [146]

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

4: Wilbert--72 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

114
342
516
291
142
302

The author with a group of Sanemá on the upper Ventuari.

501

Sanemá raft.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manuera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shirians.'

We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canarscuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uasa-Coco, Canasa, and Uagna. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

Manuera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

2

The Earthly Paradise

1

Y
M
342

THERE are various ways of living in the forest, and as many ways of building one's dwelling there. There are men who are wary of the forest and to defend themselves build a big hut which is virtually a forest in itself: the doors will shut tight, the roofs hold out against the storms of years. While others, with no such precise ideas, will be content with a roof of palm leaves held up by four posts. Others again, with an instinctive feeling for the open air, will just take two forked branches and prop them up against a tree, so as to be able to sling up hammocks of bark or liana, perhaps adding a few leaves of the wild banana, should they feel it necessary, for a roof.

M
342
M
[171]

The big hut is a real masterpiece of native architecture, and an imposing sight, while the frail shelter is rather touching. The Makiritari, like the Pemontòn and the Makushi from the Rio Branco, are adept at building the large-scale clan-dwelling—the 'big hut'—which is circular with a pointed roof. They level off the site, stamp it down, and plant the central stake or pole—the heart of the whole building and its symbol. The other poles are ranged round it at precise intervals determined and checked by the chief himself. The outer wall, whose framework consists of more slender poles, is eventually plastered with coloured clay. Once this has dried it cracks, so that it comes to resemble certain ancient dry wall constructions.

The masterpiece of the whole edifice is the roof. The highly skilful interweaving of thick and thin poles, with their liana latticework reinforcement, allows for a window opening upwards like a postern gate. The outer covering is done with San Paulo palm—a dwarf tree which grows in swampy land. But the high peak of the roof is finished off with the feathery leaves of the *manaca*—a rarer palm. When the roof has reached the stage at which it is ready to be closed in, a great deal of *manaca* is needed. Everyone sets off by boat along the river,

M
[824]
[484]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Pemon SS16
Makiritare SS20

perhaps for a trip of several days, to look for it. These excursions have a festive air: the Indians hunt, fish and swim, and shoot the rapids with gleeful yells—to come home with their canoes loaded high with these soft palm fronds. Within a radius of several kilometres, all the trees will have been stripped.

Smaller communities of Makiritari, without the means or the enthusiasm to build the 'big hut', will content themselves with a rectangular structure. This has a single-span roof sloping down from the back to the front, with rough walls of stakes driven into the ground and bound with lianas. The roof will still consist of San Paulo leaves, but these are less intricately woven than in the case of the 'big hut', being made on the ground like a hurdle and then hoisted into place and firmly secured.

The Pemontòn, on the other hand, have adopted an entirely different pattern of hut, for temporary purposes or for housing a small number only. Taller and less graceful than the Makiritari type, it is roofed most ingeniously with alternating layers of poles of gradually decreasing lengths set upon each other so as to form a pyramid. This is finished off with whole fronds of *seje* or *maripa* palm—fair sized trees found in profusion near all the rivers of the Amazon-Guiana region.

The Shirians—the real Shirians, that is to say the Samatari and the Guayca—build nothing at all. Those of them who do adapt themselves to the humiliating labour of house-building are just keeping up with their neighbours, the Makiritari. The forest bristles with so many trees, big and little, and all so straight that they might have been placed there on purpose; going up and down them is a grand game and one that always provides something to eat: a grub, a wasps' nest with honey in it, fruit. . . . So why shut oneself off from it all, away from this forest that provides food? One should clearly do the opposite. Why build huts from dead trees, when one can use the live ones? All it needs is two crossed Y-shaped boughs propped against a trunk so as to make a triangle, and there is a place to sling one's hammock!

Sometimes, in the forest, the traveller comes across an abandoned Shirian camp: just some heaps of ashes and a goodly number of these triangular 'bedsteads'—a true forest within a forest. The rotting hammocks are still hanging where they were put.

We couldn't quite accept any of these indigenous architectural patterns for our own purposes, however, since we felt ourselves to be the heirs of a nobler tradition. We had to find our own answer to the problem. We opted for a big

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yancama SQ18
Sanema

342

23. *Kiriocchi's house - a year later.*

[p. 144-B]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

137
411

411
342

44. *The charge goes into the blow-pipe: a demonstration by Mahanahana.*

45. *The blow-pipe in action.*

[p. 192-D]

6: Vinci T-9 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Uaca

* 123

This fantastic appellation sounded quite harmonious in the forest, even to Indian ears, and brought Dolfus' followers out of their concealment, splashing through the water towards us.

[131] [101] Dolfus belonged to the Shirians of the Uaka tribe. These are scattered over the territory bounded by the Matacuni, the Padamo and the tributary streams of the Upper Ventuari. They are similar in appearance to the Pulipuli people, though rather more savage. They were very timid, and full of references to the Guayca, who they said were very active in this area, particularly in the parts we had just come from.

With Dolfus there was an old man who was always either squatting down or else propping himself up on one leg; and two dour, surly-looking boys, who kept well away from our guns with a gleam of terror in their eyes. The next morning brought a whole host, along with women and children too, and of course we had to let them all examine our beards and rub themselves against them, and investigate other more detailed peculiarities of our anatomy. By urging the whole crowd of them on with sweeping gestures, we managed to get on our way very quickly, and a few hours later arrived on the banks of the Ocamo, a smallish river but strangely resembling the Upper Merevari. From the last high point we had been able to make out some huge flat-topped massifs, blue in the haze of distance, which must certainly have belonged to the Duida-Marahuaca group. For a moment, we hoped to come out on a patch of savannah land where we should be able to dry the damp forest mould out of ourselves and our belongings. But the Shirians told us there was no savannah in these parts.

[361] [501] [342] [162] [165] The Uaka huts were on the side of a hill, a hundred yards from the right bank of the river, which we crossed by means of a length of rotten wood, shaped like a canoe. There were three buildings, each with the single-span sloping roof, very humble affairs, so low-pitched that inside them one risked getting a beam in one's eye at any moment. There were about fifty of these people, and among them we noticed many who had reached a considerable age, which is unusual. There must have been some aspect of the Ocamo region which favoured longevity in the inhabitants. There was an 'ape-man' too—an old, solitary fellow, almost dumb, who came up to us with gurgles of amazement, not daring to touch us. However, he took one of the axes when we gave it to him and with the aid of some of the youngsters started making us a cabin.

Life with the Shirians was made extremely difficult by their petulant ways

Waica
Guaharibo

/434 cont./

199 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a
101 separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation
197 zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted
[248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they culti-
[352] vate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton ham-
[342] mocks and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version
[484] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they
192 speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/
[114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried
628 to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/457 cont./

323 [114] the fire quite blackened when well baked. On my last trip upriver I had the good luck to see how one of these pots was made, except for the baking in the fire. In spite of being very fragile, these pots are highly esteemed for cooking.

Constructions

342 335 The Guaika /Waica/ dwelling is a roof with only one slope and no walls. The basic structure is a triangle of beams supported at its vertices by uprights. The highest angle is supported by a long upright, while the two lower angles are held up by two short crossed stakes at each corner. Or one of these lower corners might be fixed to a living tree for greater stability.

The uprights are pointed at their lower end and stuck into the ground repeatedly until they are quite firm. Then the main beam, or bearing beam, is tied in place horizontally between the short uprights on which the roof is supported. Then the two diagonal beams which form a triangle with the main beam are put in place, and on this basic triangle are added four beams inclined toward both sides. Then the small beams which form the framework which will bear the leaves are put on top. (Fig. 3./see p. 29/.)

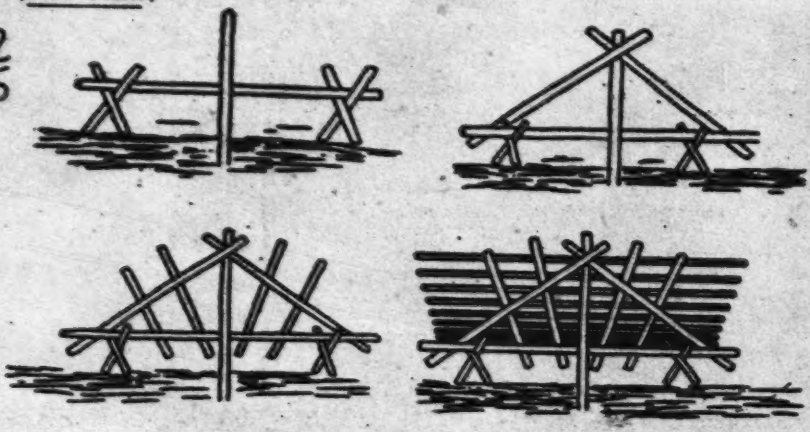
342 [824] The leaves are placed on top like tiles, but are not tied in place. Brush /breñas/ and sticks are put over the leaves so that the wind will not blow them off. Sometimes palm leaves and brush are drawn up against the back eaves so as to form a sort of back wall. /458/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

This basic structure may vary, two or more ranchos being joined laterally and their roofs united.

On sites more suitable for more stable constructions (that is to say, where there is considerable clayey ground and consequently fewer fleas or "niguas"), the Guaika build dwellings with the palm leaves of the roof fixed in place. These dwellings are similar to the more temporary constructions, but are generally larger, and the small beams of the framework are replaced by strings of vine stretched lengthwise across the inclined beams. The palm leaves are fixed to these strings, their stems being bent backwards and down, thus piercing the lower layer of leaves.

/458 cont./

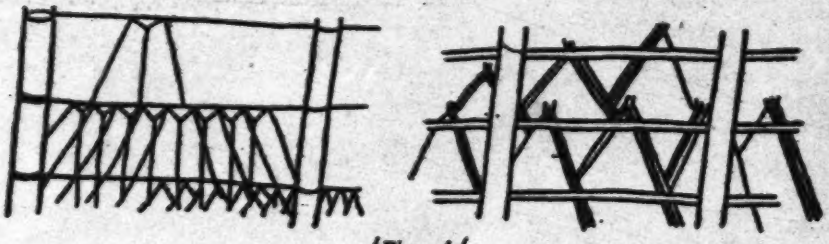
342
335



/Fig. 3/

342

The drawings of Fig. 4 show the two systems of fixing the palm leaves on top of the framework of the roof.



/Fig. 4/

/460/ Hygienic Measures

514 Toilets for the elimination of excrement are absent. They consider the edge of the patio sufficiently far away for urination. To defecate they go into the forest at some distance from the settlement and away from the paths. An old fallen tree trunk is the preferred site for squatting down, and dry sticks take the place of toilet paper.

No one is capable of intentionally touching dung with the hand or foot. It is considered very dirty, and if one did touch it, his hand or foot must be cleaned and washed immediately.

The dung of dogs and of infants is removed from the patio by pushing it onto leaves with a stick and then throwing these leaves some distance into the forest.

For their nocturnal movements, they put a few leaves on the ground, with which they then make a package; on the following morning they throw them away at some distance from the settlement.

[136] In El Platanal there is a green beetle which buries hard dung. Half an hour after a movement all evidence disappears.

Sites

361 The center of the area in which the Guaika /Waica/ live is the "conuco." In the forest which surrounds the conuco are located their temporary or semipermanent settlements, this depending on the type of terrain, whether it is sandy or clayey.

• 342 361 [136] Very simple temporary dwellings are used in areas where the fleas or "niguas" are a problem. This type of house consists of a framework of beams for a roof, with leaves placed on top and held down. These same leaves can easily be taken to the site of a new settlement when the Indians move to another, uninfested area.

A more semipermanent type of construction is preferred where the "niguas" do not present a problem and make it impossible to return to the same site. These houses are of /461/ similar construction, but are larger and more durable, and the leaves of the roof are fixed in place. This type of dwelling or shelter takes about five times longer to build in comparison with the temporary type of dwelling.

/461 cont./

361 166 Regardless of what type of dwelling has been built in the settlement near the "conuco," it is the custom of the Guaika that all leave the settlement after a stay of three to six weeks, when they go off either to visit other settlements or to build another temporary seat within the forest, several miles away from their "conuco."

The groups which have semipermanent dwellings return to the same site and to their same dwellings, while those who use only temporary dwellings settle down in another new locality and build new dwellings, for which they have brought the leaves which roofed the ranchos abandoned on the former site. After an old settlement has not been occupied for at least six months the Indians who return from one of these trips in the forest will sometimes stay in such settlements. The "niguas" will have disappeared during this period of six months.

On any site to which the Guaika habitually return, the trees are sooner or later destroyed, leaving the area of the settlement completely cleared.

● 342 The Guaika build temporary shelters during their hunting trips, and also when they stop overnight while traveling to visit other settlements or on the return trips from such visits. The type of construction is the same as that of the temporary dwellings built on the sites near the "conuco," except that the covering of the roofs consists of easily found large leaves, such as those of the wild platano.

241 361 The Guaika are continually preparing new "conucos." After a new "conuco" some distance away begins to produce, they may divide their time between both "conucos" in proportion to the quantity of platanos which the old and new "conuco" are producing. Then, as the old "conuco" ceases to produce, they begin to live almost entirely on the new site. But during the harvest /462/ the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm, they spend some time near the "conucos" which have stopped producing platanos, where in contrast, the "pijiguao" palm is at its best time.

If a Guaika family wants to change its place of residence for another settlement, all of the new "conucos" of this family will be prepared in or near that settlement. Thus, after a few years, this family can spend all of its time in its new place of residence, in the other settlement, if this is desired.

/467 cont./

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.
[241] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in
[482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the house. They may call upon the women to help them when the game has been brought into the vicinity.

[226] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The women fish with macanas and with baskets.

[499] The men build the bridges.

[342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the
[482] settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family. For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own platanos. The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

/468 cont./

Traveling and Transportation

487 They make almost all their trips on foot by paths and trails. Bridges are built over the largest rivers. Other rivers are waded or crossed on tree trunks.

/469/ New paths are marked by breaking branches in passing. On old roads they indicate the path or paths which have not been taken, leaving some object or a little pile of leaves at the entrance of same. A stick may be tied to an abandoned dwelling to indicate in what direction the former occupant has moved.
621 (A settlement may split up into groups when it abandons the
166 site in the area of the "conuco," and therefore this sign does not necessarily mean that the entire settlement has gone off in that direction.)

166 The Guaika /Waica/ travel frequently, but generally not
628 very far. The nearest settlement -- perhaps a day away -- is usually as far as they go. The settlement beyond this might be an enemy settlement, or at least not very friendly. Even neighboring settlements have such bad relations with one another that
628 they rarely visit among themselves. But the settlements which
574 are on friendly terms visit each other very frequently, and, when both live in the areas of the conucos, visitors come and go between them every few days.

574 The reasons for visiting are principally to see friends or to stay until their own "conuco" (which might be in a period of little production) begins to produce again.

Standards of Living

513
[349] The Guaika /Waica/ consider it essential to sleep every night under a roof. Thus, they always build some sort of shelter.

[354] A fire is also essential. A Guaika will not sleep without a fire at night. He needs it to obtain heat and to protect himself from animals, and with the fire he feels safer from evil spirits.

7: Barker--61 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate I

342
361

The primitive huts of the Guaika, roof-on-posts type, lined up in a broad circle, have their fronts toward the great central patio free of vegetation. (Photo. by the author.)

616
854

Guaika women with their babies. Note the manner of sitting, in El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

482

The women carry great weights hanging from the head and shoulders. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

342
854

A Guaika woman carrying her child by means of a band or strap of bark. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

7: Barker--62 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Plate II

Waica

7: Barker--64 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate IV

302

The Guaika--women and men--shave the head, leaving only a ring of hair all around. Notice the scars on this warrior, El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

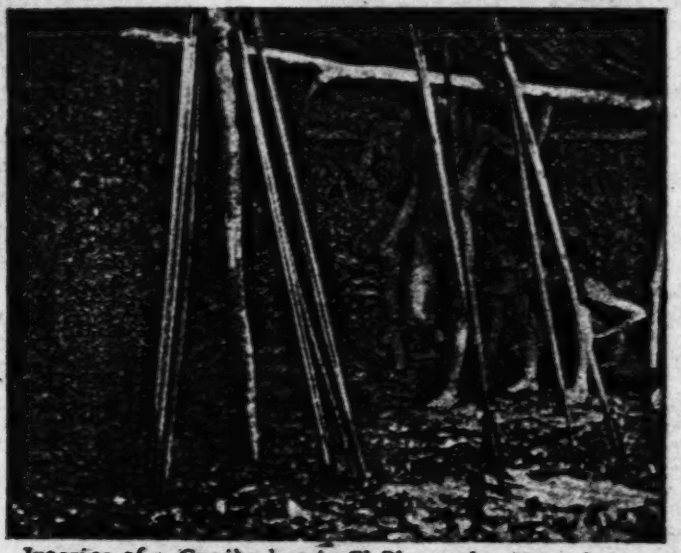
342
262
516

Interior of a Guaika hut, in El Platanal. The platano is one of the principal foods in their diet. (Photo. by the author.)

7: Barker--65 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

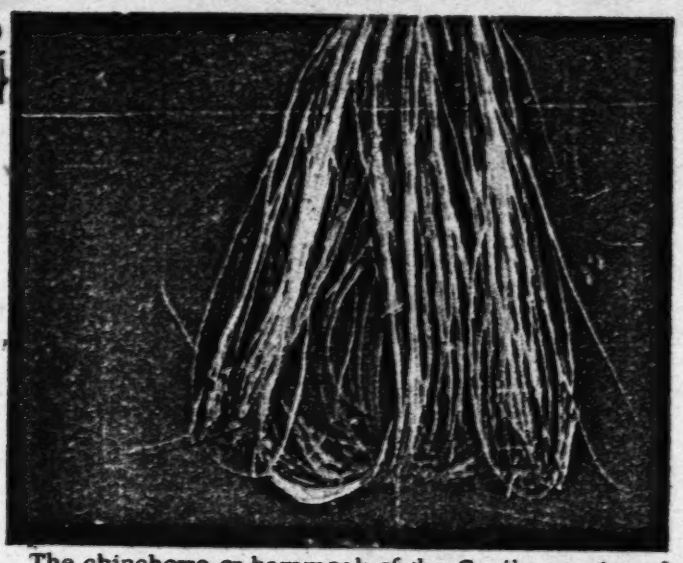
Plate V

342
411
291



Interior of a Guaika hut in El Platanal. Note the extraordinary length of their powerful arrows. (Photo. by the author.)

352
824



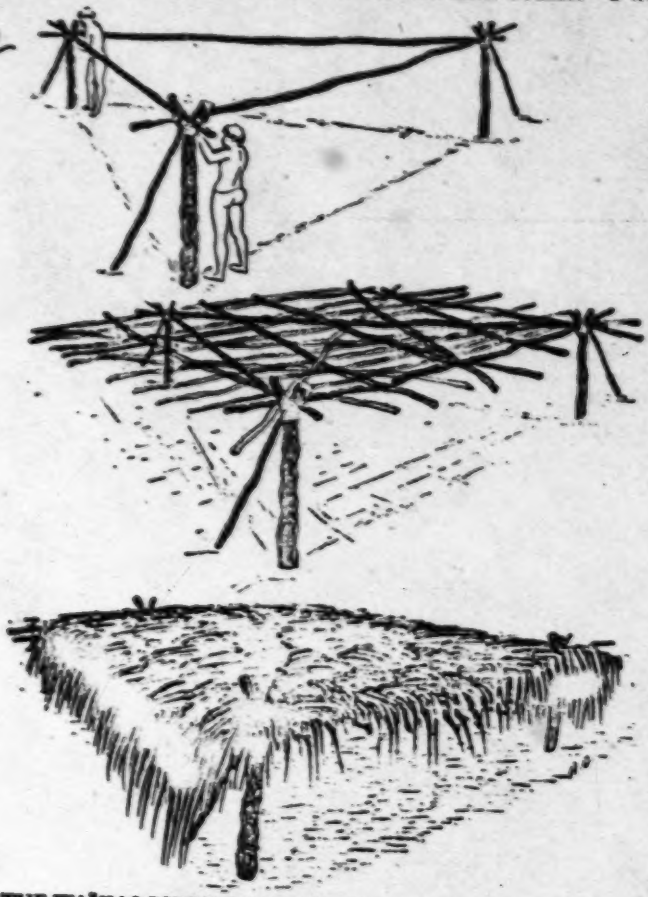
The chinchorro or hammock of the Guaika consists of vegetable fibers joined at both ends, without any transversal weaving. El Platanal. (Photo by the author.)

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Wa'ica

797
123

On the riverside where the bananas were being stacked, we came across a strange character. He was a white man, young and prematurely bald, who watched the proceedings calmly, almost diffidently. His trousers and shirt were impregnated with the violet dye the Indians smear on their bodies. I went

342



THE WAÏKAS BUILD THEIR HUTS IN A MATTER OF A FEW MINUTES. THE HUTS ARE ALWAYS BUILT TO THE ṢAME PATTERN

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

forward to meet him and he introduced himself as James Barker of the Evangelist Mission of San Fernando de Atabapo. He told me that he and a companion now up at the village had been living with the Waikas for the past seven months. He added that the Indians had sunk the boat in which they had come so that they were now quite isolated. He spoke their language fluently and his attitude to them was that of an indulgent schoolmaster.

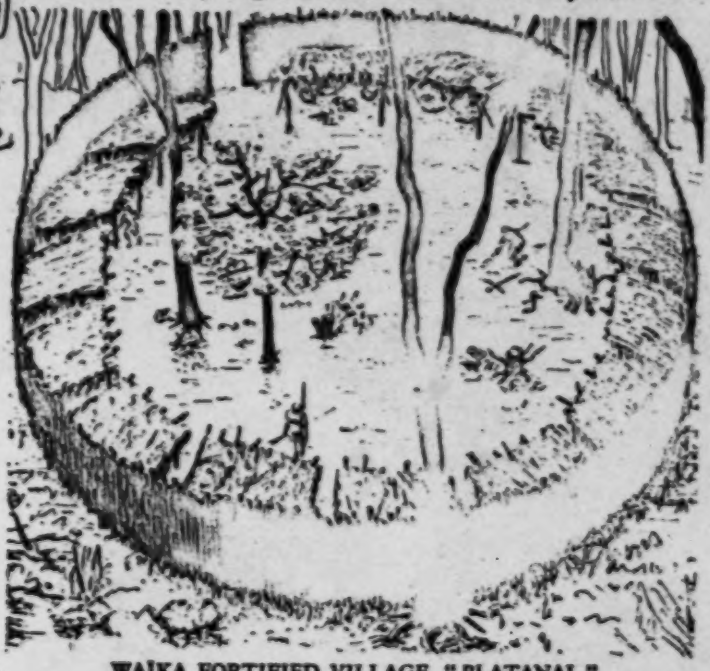
I told him of our desire to see the village and he spoke about it to the Waikas. They were at once suspicious and reluctant; even when they eventually agreed, agreement was far from unanimous. Nevertheless, we fell in behind Barker and marched up a slippery path so muddy that I began to envy the forest people their nakedness. We came to a recently made clearing which had been cleared by fire and I tried to slip away up a little-used path. At once the Indians objected, their vehemence suggesting that the plantation to which the path probably led hid many wonderful secrets.

After twenty minutes of marching we came to a fence in a clearing. The fence was made of stakes lashed together forming a perfect circle. I thought this must be the village but we passed it by. A hundred yards beyond we came to another similar enclosure and this time our guides led us inside. As we entered I remembered what Pierre Ivanoff had told me of an earlier occasion when he and three companions had succeeded in reaching a Waika village. The first enclosure we had just seen was undoubtedly the counterpart of the one in which he had been forced to dance with his hosts before being allowed to go on to the second. In the present instance the dance was omitted from our programme.

Inside the enclosure, which was some thirty yards across, huts were built with their backs to the palisade, leaving a circular space in the middle shaded by a big tree. The corner of each hut consisted of three stakes in the form of a tripod supporting horizontal rafters of green wood tied in place by lianas. Wide-eaved roofs were thatched with banana leaves. The circle of fencing was unbroken except for the single entry. A pungent, musty smell pervaded the place as we

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

entered. It was deserted; the women and children had doubtless fled at our approach and were now probably hiding in the forest or the plantation. This would explain why the men had been unwilling to allow me to wander off on my own. After a time they began to filter back. The boys were the



WAÏKA FORTIFIED VILLAGE, "PLATANAL"

first to return, the younger ones wearing nothing but an armlet above the elbow, and the older ones wearing the string round their hips and knotted to the prepuce. Then came the women, the oldest first, followed by the younger ones with their babies. All were completely naked and all wore their hair cut in the pudding-basin fashion favoured by the men. They kept close together, chattering; some began idly swinging in their hammocks in their houses. When we tried to approach them the men followed close on our steps.

161 and as many as 250, but the lower extreme is uncommon because
162 of military vulnerability and the upper extreme occurs only
*621 when particularly intense warfare retards village splitting
or leads to the coalition of several related villages.

361 Villages that are on peaceful terms may be found
*628 living within a few miles of each other, whereas mutually
922 hostile villages rarely are located less than a day's march
apart; even then, one of the villages may move to reduce the
possibility of raiding.

361 The village itself is circular or oval in plan, is
generally surrounded by a palisade of upright logs and,
depending on the number of people living in the village, has
a diameter ranging from 15 to 70 yards.

361 The village is hardly more than a continuous, circular
* 342 lean-to roof, open at the center. The roof starts at ground
level (occasionally one or two feet above ground level),
rises at an angle of 30° to 40°, reaching a maximum height of
about 25 feet. The un-partitioned segments of the continuous
roof are built by the families who occupy them, brothers and
their dependents living next to each other. The materials
used in construction are long, slender poles, vines to secure
the pole frame and a thatch made from leaves.

351 There are usually several entrances to the village,
each located at a point marking the boundary of one segment
of the roof with another, and are merely un-thatched sections
of the otherwise continuous roof. Most of the entrances are
only 3 feet high, although there usually is at least one

[P. xvii]

142
291
301
411
137
574

Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekuvá (demons) while caring a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).

142
302
291
411
516
755
342
415

[P. xviii]

142
302
516
251
262
415
352
353

Unya pots and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Mamo-teri men shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

142
291
516
411
342
926

Fig. 2-1. A Yąnomamö village and plantain garden, aerial view (Toototobi River, Brazil).

TRAILS AND TRAVEL. Trails lead out from the village in several directions. Some of them terminate in the gardens that surround the village, but a few of them continue on into the jungle and lead eventually to other villages. The unexperienced eye would not recognize them as trails, as they are hardly more than winding paths through brush, over or around logs, through streams and swamps, and up hills. The Yąnomamö take the most direct route to their destination, regardless of the terrain. A foreigner learns how to recognize a trail only after considerable experience. The most telltale signs are the numerous broken twigs at about knee height left by Yąnomamö travelers who compulsively keep their hands occupied snapping off brush and twigs as they walk. Another sign is the occasional log that is worn smooth from the tread of numerous travelers who prefer to walk along a log rather than go around it.

The most commonly used trail from Kąobawä's village leads to the two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-teri and Mõmariböwei-teri, southwest of Upper Bisasi-teri. Hardly a week goes by in the dry season without a few individuals making a trip from one of these villages to Bisasi-teri or vice versa. A group of young men can make this trip in one day if they walk rapidly and leave early in the morning. Older men, women, and children must plan on a two day journey, as they walk more slowly and rest more frequently. There are a number of temporary shelters along the trail built by previous visitors, so the traveler does not have to spend much time putting one of these into repair should he decide to camp overnight.

142
301
302
276

Fig. 2-3. Man blowing ebene, *a hallucinogenic drug, into each other's nostrils by means of a hollow tube.*

342 •

SHELTER All house materials likewise come from the jungle: poles, vines, and leaves. The Yąnomamö permanent house—*shabono*—is probably the most sophisticated manufacture produced by these people. Its construction requires considerable cooperation, planning, labor, and patience. Unfortunately, the *shabono* only lasts one or two years because the leaves begin to leak, or the entire village is burned to the ground in order to destroy the cockroaches, scorpions, spiders, and other vermin that infest the house. These can become such a nuisance that the roof is literally alive with bugs. Kąobawä's house was so badly infested at one point that the noise of thousands of scurrying roaches produced a constant, noticeable din in the village. Whenever someone got out of his hammock, the roof just above his head would suddenly come alive with roaches, disturbed by the movement below. As they scurried to safety, many of them would fall off, producing a shower of bugs on the occupants below. There were so many bugs that the increased activity above the moving person also increased the din, as if a sudden gust of wind had disturbed the dried leaves.

[136]

Each individual builds his own section of the *shabono*. The man usually does all the heavy work of locating and fetching poles for the frame, placing them into the ground or tying them overhead, and weaving the numerous leaves into the roof thatch. The wife helps by gathering the leaves and vines used in the construction.

[462]

The first step in building a new *shabono* is the selection of the site. This is usually some will-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump.

[351]

342 some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump. The four main posts of the individual house are then sunk into the ground, two short ones about 5 feet high at the back, and two longer ones about 10 feet high at the front (see Fig. 2–4, a and c). The rear posts are placed about 8 or 9 feet away from the front posts, and both pairs are approximately the same distance from each other as well. After these have been tamped securely into the holes, cross poles are lashed to the tops of them, and then long, slender saplings some 20 to 30 feet long are laid about a foot apart from each other on top of the cross poles and secured with vine lashings. Since the two rear posts are only about half as high as those at the front, the long roof poles protrude upward at an angle of 25 to 30 degrees toward the village clearing. A vine is then strung along the bottom of the long, protruding saplings, looped around each pole, and run the entire length of the house. The leaves used in the thatch have a long stem; the individual leaves are bent over the vine where the stem joins the leaf, and the first row of thatching goes on. When this row is completed, another vine, about 8 inches above the first one, is again strung along the entire length of the house and secured to each of the long saplings where it crosses them. The next row of thatch is then put in place; the leaf is inserted into the thatch of the first row of leaves and bent over the second vine. It overlaps the first row of leaves when it is bent down (see Fig. 2–5). The leaves are placed about an inch apart, resulting in a thoroughly impermeable roof. When the rows of leaves reach the two front main posts, a scaffolding is erected, and the roofing is extended to completely cover the entire length of the 30 foot saplings. A fringe of palm leaves is then hung from the top of the roof, adding a little decoration to the structure. An upright pole from the scaffolding is left to support the overhang, since the weight of the leaves might break the slender poles. These uprights, some 20 feet high, are spaced every 15 feet or so around the village.

361 At this point the village looks like a series of individual houses arranged in a more or less neat circle, a gap of about 3 feet separating the individual houses from each other. These gaps are roofed over by the men whose houses are adjacent to them, and the village then looks like a continuous roof surrounding an open plaza. Some of the gaps are not completely roofed over in order to leave additional exits; the roofing is started at the lower crossbeams, giving an exit about 3 to 5 feet high.

354 Small houses in some areas are simply round structures with a smoke hole at the top, such as the first house shown in Fig. 2–4a. The Yąnomamö *shabono* appears to have developed from such a structure by simply pulling the roof away from the center until the smoke hole grew so large that it, in effect, became a center plaza. Fig. 2–4a shows three house types that are found in Yąnomamö country. They are not so much distinct types as different sizes of a single type, the size being a function of the number of people the house shelters.

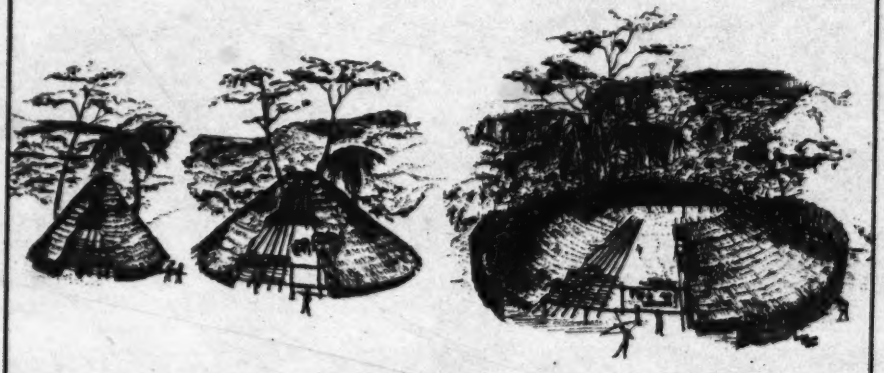
354 Where the village is located at a relatively high elevation, palm fronds or banana leaves are placed in front of the house to keep the smoke, and, hence, the heat, in the house. At lower elevations these palm fronds are usually found only at the east end of the *shabono;* they are used to keep the bright rays of the afternoon sun out of the house.

A new *shabono* is very attractive; it smells of freshly cut leaves, looks clean and tidy, and is cooled by the breeze as it drops down into this tiny hole in the otherwise uninterrupted canopy of the forest.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

342

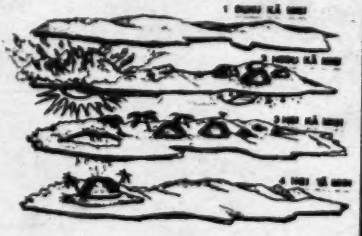
a



HOUSE TYPES AND SIZES

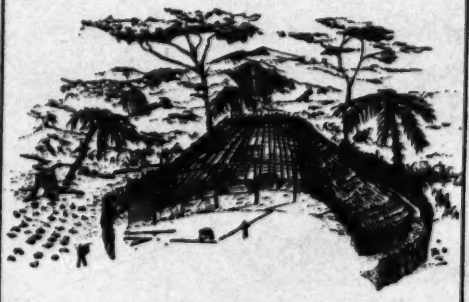
b

THE COSMOS



c

712
342



A TYPICAL VILLAGE

Fig. 2–4.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

342
302
301
824
142

Fig. 2-5. Thatching a new roof with leaves.

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwä, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof. 342 821 756 189

The Yanomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about 342 484

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4 feet off the ground at the rear and 6 feet off the ground at the front. Shorter sticks are then laid crossways on the major roof poles and these, in turn, covered with several layers of long, broad, wild "banana" leaves (see Glossary, under "Banana, wild"). It is quite small, but can sleep three individuals. Frequently, the traveler finds the remains of one of these houses and has merely to put a new layer of leaves on the roof to make it waterproof; occasionally, he takes a chance that it won't rain that night and does not improve the hut at all.

When the Yąnomamö settle a new area, they erect temporary villages of these crude huts and live in them until they can build a *shabono*. They also live in huts like these while they are re-roofing the old *shabono*.

The permanent village is complete when the palisade of logs is erected around its circumference. This is placed some 3 or 4 feet behind the roof, allowing space for a path around the village inside the palisade. The palisade itself is about 10 feet high and usually made of a mixture of palm and hardwood logs. It is kept in repair only when there is some reason to suspect raiders. Otherwise, people pilfer logs from it for use as firewood. The entrance to the village, as well as the palisade entrance, is covered with brush and logs at night to keep out intruders. Anyone trying to enter will inevitably make the brush move and alarm the village dogs.

FOOD AND ITS GATHERING The jungle provides numerous varieties of food, both animal and vegetable. The most commonly taken game includes several species of monkeys, two varieties of wild "turkey," two species of wild pig, armadillos, anteaters, tapir, deer, a small alligator, small rodents, and several species of smaller birds. Wild vegetable foods commonly exploited by the Yąnomamö are: palm fruits of several species, hardwood fruits, brazil nuts, tubers, and the seed pods of the feral banana. Of these, the palm fruits are by far the most significant.

These occur seasonally and, for brief periods of time, produce large quantities of fruits. Unfortunately, there is very little edible substance in each fruit, so that in order to get filled, one must eat the edible portion of enormous quantities of fruit. The Yąnomamö extensively exploit two closely related palms, *yei* and *karushi*. The *yei* fruits are about the size of small hen's eggs and occur in large clusters, weighing 80 pounds and more, near the tops of the palm trees. The *karushi* fruits are about half that size. The exterior portion of the fruit is a leathery shell which is peeled with the teeth. Inside there is a thin layer of very bitter, white flesh. This is chewed and sucked off. The taste resembles that of a poor grade of bath soap. Of the two, I found *karushi* the more repugnant. My throat burned when I ate them.

Another commonly exploited palm is the *adiwishi*. It is tangerine red in color and covered with a leather-like skin that consists of hundreds of small scales. They are about the size of large hen's eggs and resemble small hand grenades. When the fruit is dry, as, for example, when it is first cut from the tree, it is almost impossible to get the leathery scales off. The Yąnomamö overcome this difficulty by throwing the fruit bunches into water and letting them soak for several days, after which the scales can be easily scraped off with the fingernails, exposing a thin layer of yellowish, soft flesh that tastes very much like cheese. The fruits begin to ferment after they have soaked, producing a slightly pungent taste. I enjoyed eating *adiwishi* with the Yąnomamö; the fruit was good, and the technique of eating it was very sociable. We would wade into the swamp where the fruit had been submerged and grope around in the murky water to locate it. After

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
291
302
516
956
276
342

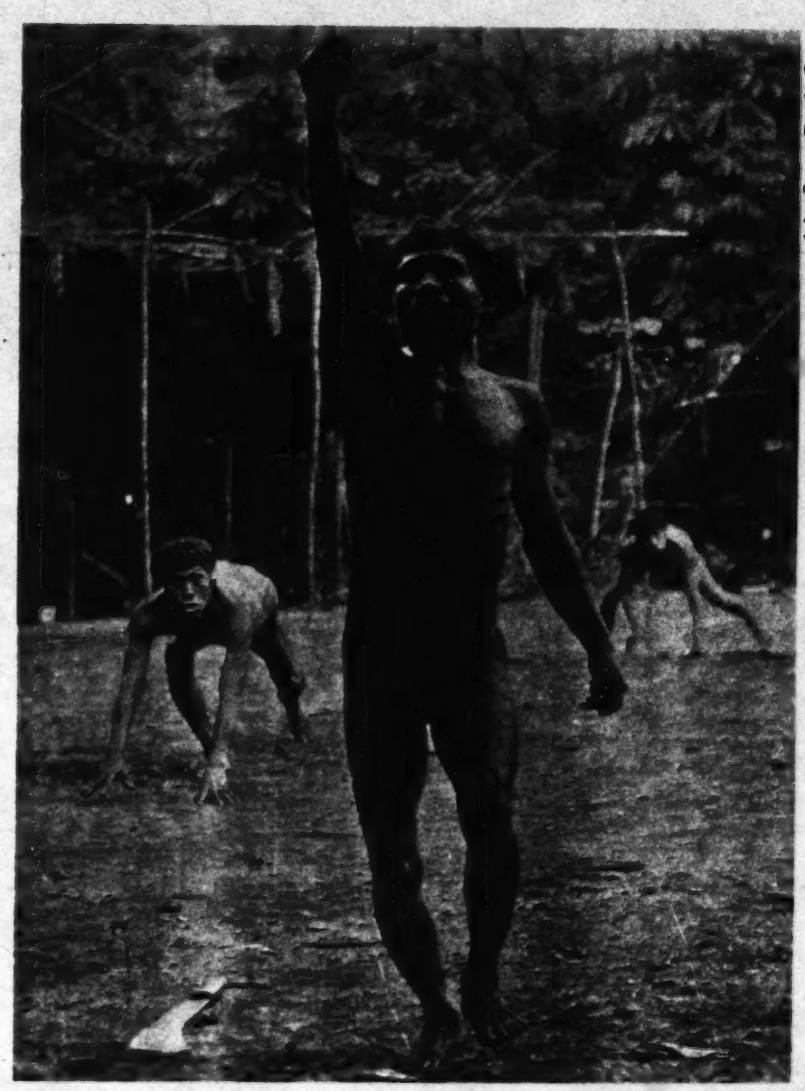


Fig. 2–9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura*—demons.*

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *hedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yąnomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

769
266
628

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competition with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their personal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older. They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kąobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

Kąobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction between agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kąobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were half-brothers. Nadesiwä is in Kąobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the group—Kąobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwä to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwä will have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kąobawä and Nadesiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

The other man, Kumamawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kąobawä is related to him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawä is a frequent visitor in Kąobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kąobawä asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kąobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

Kąobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharaiawä, Kąobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kąobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kąobawä's younger wife. Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kąobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yąnomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kąobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

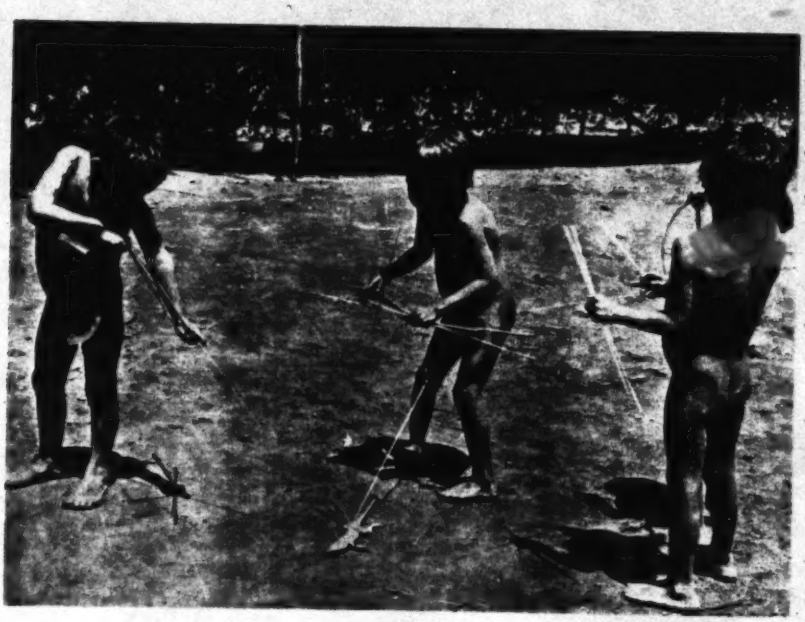


Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628*
574
437
438

giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *no mnaiha*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4–2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, arapori.

628*
574
301
302
516
411
415
342
264
262
291

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

burning it, and Kąobawä's village, where they took occasional rests to regain their energy. They returned to their old site only to collect plantains, which they carried to the new site. Kąobawä's group then built a new *shabono* and fortified it, anticipating the war they knew would be inevitable. Up to this point, Kąobawä's group, Upper Bisaasi-teri, maintained two small *shabonos* a few yards apart from each other, but they coalesced into a single, larger group and moved into the new *shabono* when it was completed. The visiting Monou-teri also helped them work on the new structure.

Meanwhile, the Patanowä-teri, knowing that they would be raided by the Monou-teri and their allies, also began clearing a new garden. They selected a site abandoned by Kąobawä's group many years ago, knowing that the peach-palm trees were still producing there. By this time the Patanowä-teri were in rather desperate straits. Their old enemies, the several groups on the Orinoco River, began raiding them with even greater frequency, as they had learned that the Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri were again at war with the Patanowä-teri. A few additional villages began raiding the Patanowä-teri to settle old grudges, realizing that the Patanowä-teri had so many enemies that they could not possibly retaliate against all of them.

The Patanowä-teri then began moving from one location to another, hoping to avoid and confuse their enemies. They spent the dry season in turns at their main producing garden, with the Ashadowä-teri, their only ally, and at their new garden. Each group that raided them passed the word to other villages concerning the location of the Patanowä-teri. If they were not at one place, then they had to be at one of the other two. The raids were frequent and took a heavy toll. At least eight people were killed by raiders, and a number of others were wounded. Some of the dead were women and children, a consequence of the fact that the Patanowä-teri themselves sent a heavy volley of arrows into the village of one of their enemies and killed two women. To revenge this, the enemy began deliberately shooting Patanowä-teri women. Females are normally not the target of raiders' arrows. The Patanowä-teri were raided at least twenty-five times while I conducted my fieldwork. They themselves retaliated as frequently as possible, but could not return tit for tat. They managed to drive their main enemies, the Hasaböwä-teri, away from their garden, forcing them to flee across the Orinoco. They concentrated on raiding this group until they had killed most of the *waiteri* (fierce ones). They were so successful at doing this that the Hasaböwä-teri ultimately withdrew from the war. Several of my informants claimed that they did so because their fierce ones were all dead, and nobody was interested in prosecuting the war any further.

When the Hasaböwä-teri withdrew from the raiding, the Patanowä-teri then concentrated on raiding the Monou-teri. Every time the Monou-teri returned to their main site they found the tracks of numerous men who had visited the village, tracks that always came from the direction of Patanowä-teri. Consequently, the Monou-teri moved into Kąobawä's group for protection, fearing to return to their old site until the jungle was completely inundated by the rains.

Kąobawä's group resented this somewhat and made no bones about reminding the Monou-teri that they were eating large quantities of food from the gardens. When complaining became intense, the Monou-teri moved into the village of the Lower Bisaasi-teri and lived off their produce until the latter also began to complain. Then they traveled to the Mõmaribõwei-teri and lived with them for a while, returning to Kąobawä's village when these allies wearied of the visitors. When the hosts, the Lower

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

411
516
291
342
132
726

Fig. 5-2. Kaobawā's men and their allies lining up (wayu itou) *to raid the Patanowā-teri.*

726
[123]
[533]
[825]

children and women died down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording a sacred rite. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep baritone voice: "I am meat hungry! I am meat hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kaobawā calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke,

343 /11 cont./ Moreover, it should be mentioned that
342 between the chief's house and the windscreen that is 24.80 meters
361 long there stands a four-meter-long, rectangular, open gabled-hut, the rooster coop (Ill. 7). /12/ /Fig. 1 appears here./

342 /13/ The three windscreens are built as follows: Toward the interior, posts 3.30-3.60 meters high are set up at irregular intervals. Behind them, at intervals of 2.60 meters, stand smaller posts which are about 1.20 meters high. The front and rear posts are joined by strips which are allowed to project about two
[824] meters at the top. Here, too, cipó-titica, a type of liana, serves for fastening them. Over these strips, at intervals of 50-70 centimeters, 31-35 thinner cross-strips are laid, which produces a windscreen construction. In contrast to the lean-to type of hut described above, these are genuine, albeit specially large windscreens, for they touch the ground on one side. They are about seven meters deep and the height of the roof is up to six meters.
[824] For roof covering the leaves of the ubim palm (Geonoma sp.) are
[171] used, the "tiles" of the Amazon. The rubber gatherers, the palm-fiber gatherers, the planters, and woodcutters also use these leaves as roof and wall covering, the durability of which is four to five years.

824 The ubim palm, which is very common in the Demini-Aracá area, reaches a height of only 1.50-2 meters. The leaves are 80 centimeters to one meter long and from 25 to 30 centimeters
[461] wide. The gathering of these is quite strenuous and demands four to five hours of hard work. They are cut off or broken off and at first laid on top of one another in piles. When the Indian has gathered enough leaves, he clears a small rectangular place in the forest for a distance of about four meters. At this distance he thrusts three sticks, one meter high, into the ground on either side directly opposite one another. These are joined together with lianas. Then piles of eight to ten leaves are placed next to one another over the three liana strips. When he comes to the end, the Indian places additional piles of eight to ten leaves in the interspaces, but this time with the stem pointing toward the opposite side. He repeats this several times until finally all the gathered

[Text Continues on P. 28]

2: Becher--27 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

342
343
361
622

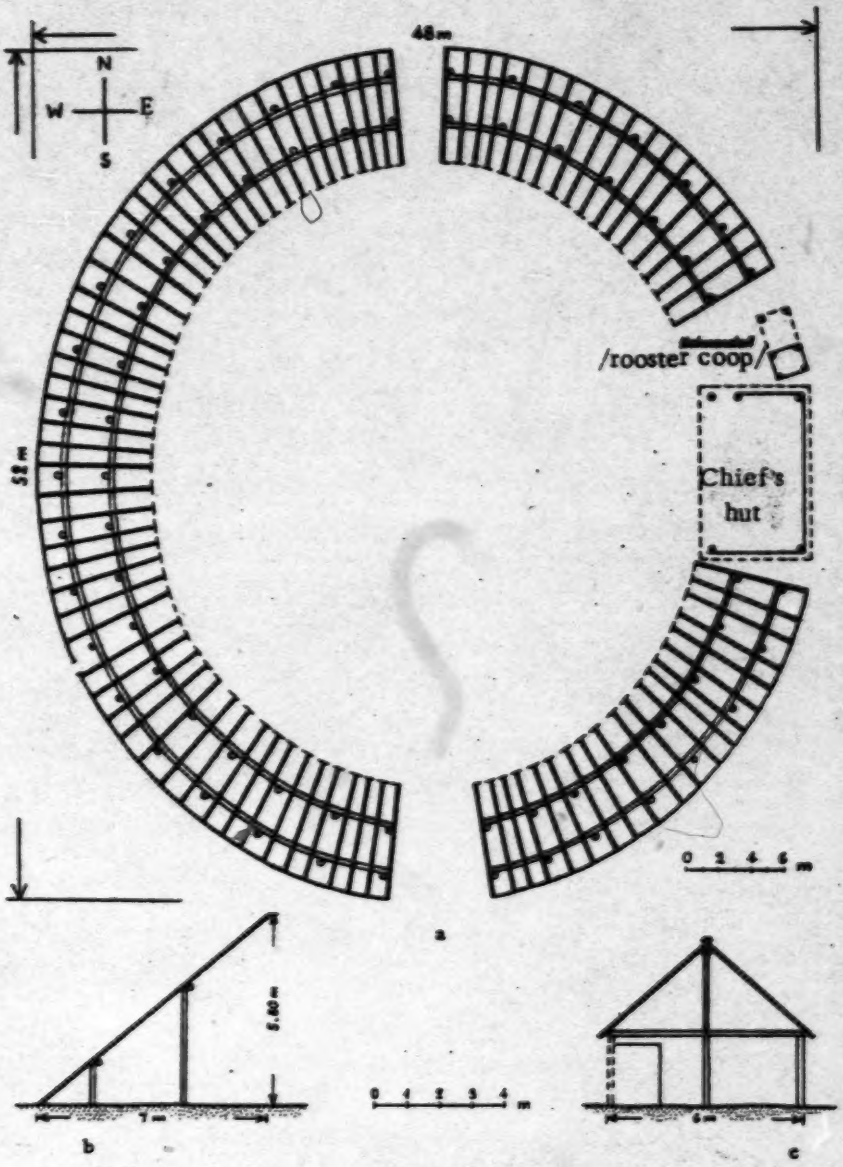


Fig. 1a-c. Ground plan and cross-section of the open maloka with chief's hut.

/14 cont./

342 622 posts are joined by crossbeams; in addition, horizontal strips lead to the tall posts, whereby a gable roof is formed. Over this again lie small, thin cross-strips, on which, exactly as in the case of the large windscreens, the panos, the rectangular palm-leaf mats, are fastened. In the same manner, the rear wall and the two side-walls are also provided with panos. Between the two ends of the front side there are fastened three poles half a meter high, which are often used as sitting places. The entrance, which is one meter wide, is on the right-hand narrow side. The fire burns in the center of the hut, and in a triangle around it are fastened the hammocks in which the chief, his two wives, and the children sleep. All the implements hang on the crossbeams and on the plaiting of the rear wall.

[354] [352] [353]

343 To the right, next to the chief's house, stands a small, open hut which is four meters long, two meters wide, and six meters high. Here, too, the roof has a gable-shape and is likewise covered with panos made of ubim leaves. Under the roof is found a latticework pen about 1.60 X 2 meters, which is used as a rooster coop.

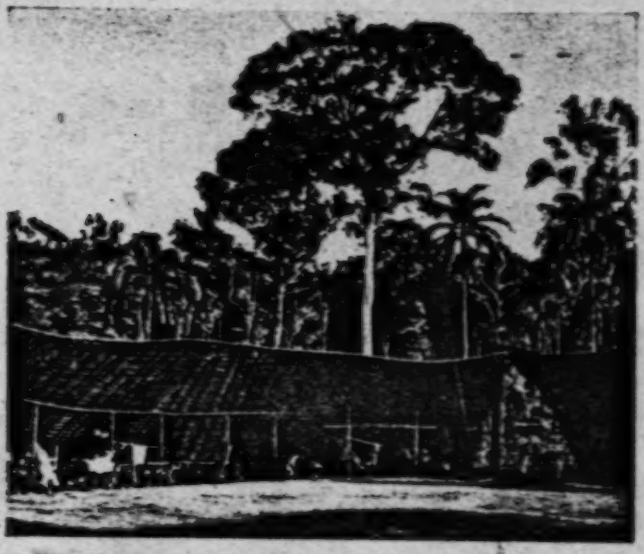
342 From an architectural standpoint, this open, almost circular construction, in which, to be sure, the chief's hut and the coop for the roosters form two foreign bodies added later -- represents an unexcelled method of building, particularly for this hot, tropical region. The circular shape prevents the wind from entering, and the rain, too, cannot reach the families living in the dead angle under the roofs. Moreover, there is always pleasantly fresh air, so that even upon leaving this maloka there is no danger of catching cold. Tribes or groups living in closed malokas are much more subject to respiratory ailments when they leave the warm community house and step out into the cool morning or night air. This maloka of the Surára may doubtless be regarded as one of the oldest and most primitive types of construction of the South American Indians. Around the community house, plantings have been laid out (Ill. 37) and at the present time extend to the middle of the mountain slopes.

[174]

241

2: Becher--269 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

14
139
342
361



Ill. 6. A section of the large, open Surára maloka

342
361
231
343
622

Ill. 7. Chief's hut (right) and rooster pen inside the Surára maloka

The first menstrual period

/215 cont./

584 881 indicates that a man may have sexual relations with the wife who was promised to him when she was still a child. Sometimes a girl will refuse to marry the man to whom she was promised as a wife, but she is afraid to conceal her first menstrual periods for mythological reasons.

881 773 In their oral literature the Sanemá tell of a very sad case which occurred in remote times because a girl concealed her first menstruation. OineitÎb, a scrawny dwarf, found out about what had happened and caused heavy rains to fall for a period which demolished the rancheria where the girl lived. All the men died. The young girl went away to live with the neighboring group, where she was greeted with unequivocal signs of friendliness. On the very day of her arrival a man went to the river to fish, when suddenly he saw floating on the water the dead bodies of the people of the rancheria recently destroyed by the heavy rain. He immediately realized what had happened. He returned to the rancheria and killed the girl. The dwarf ate the girl and all the people who lived in the rancheria destroyed by the rain. This happens very rarely, however, which is why the dwarf is so thin.

881 [302] [262] We do not know the content of the puberty rites, but it seems that the hair is cut in the case of both sexes, and, for the boys as well as for the girls, food is limited to cassava and water, and that in small amounts. They do not eat meat. An informant • 343 from the Erebato spoke to us of a special hut where the women 841 remain for the duration of their menstrual period. If we under- 881 stood him correctly, this hut is round and dome-shaped and made of palm leaves stuck into the ground. Inside the hut there is a circle made of little sticks placed side by side, within which there are two sticks stuck into the ground one meter apart. Between these sticks is fixed a bejuco. /216/ The woman, who must not lie down during menstruation, sits down and the bejuco serves as a back support. We did not see any house of this type.

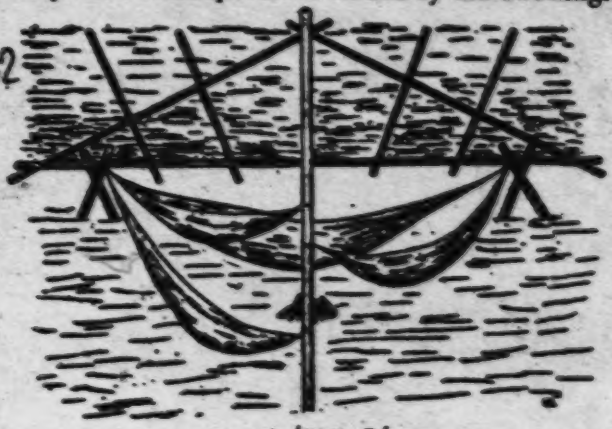
584 The arrangements for a marriage are initiated with a private discussion between the two young lovers. The boy indicates to his fiancée that he wishes to take her as his wife and says to her:

/459/

352 [354] Hammocks are hung triangularly from the posts which support the roof, and a fire is lighted in the center. If it is necessary, one hammock may be hung above another, in such a way that this triangle of two meters may shelter six persons (Fig. 5).

351 [361] These dwellings are located so as to form a circle, with their high and open fronts oriented toward the center of the patio. This space surrounded by the dwellings may or may not

352



/Fig. 5/

351 be completely cleared, but at least all of the small brush is removed from the front and immediate sides. Sometimes they also clear the ground of weeds for space of one meter behind the houses.

356 The dirt floor is cleaned by sweeping or scraping it at least once a day (although between one cleaning and another there might well accumulate on it many platano skins and other objects). The rubbish is piled up, using the hands or a piece of firewood; then it is carried and thrown outside of the central patio Great piles of rubbish and waste accumulate at the edge of these cleared areas. Sometimes they use a flat basket for carrying the rubbish, and very frequently it is carried with nothing but the hands, since they do not always have a basket available, or it might be in use for other jobs.

161 and as many as 250, but the lower extreme is uncommon because
162 of military vulnerability and the upper extreme occurs only
*621 when particularly intense warfare retards village splitting or leads to the coalition of several related villages.

361 Villages that are on peaceful terms may be found
*628 living within a few miles of each other, whereas mutually
922 hostile villages rarely are located less than a day's march apart; even then, one of the villages may move to reduce the possibility of raiding.

361 The village itself is circular or oval in plan, is generally surrounded by a palisade of upright logs and, depending on the number of people living in the village, has a diameter ranging from 15 to 70 yards.

361 The village is hardly more than a continuous, circular
342 lean-to roof, open at the center. The roof starts at ground level (occasionally one or two feet above ground level), rises at an angle of 30° to 40°, reaching a maximum height of about 25 feet. The un-partitioned segments of the continuous roof are built by the families who occupy them, brothers and their dependents living next to each other. The materials used in construction are long, slender poles, vines to secure the pole frame and a thatch made from leaves.

351 There are usually several entrances to the village, each located at a point marking the boundary of one segment of the roof with another, and are merely un-thatched sections of the otherwise continuous roof. Most of the entrances are only 3 feet high, although there usually is at least one

351 large entrance, that leading to the river or stream. All entrances are covered with dry leaves and brush in the evening and the slightest movement of the covering creates sufficient noise to alert the dogs.

133 [137] The Yąnomamö occupy a relatively homogeneous geographical region of low-lying tropical jungle interrupted by densely-wooded hills that sometimes reach an altitude of 2,500 feet, some 2,000 feet above the elevation of the general

361 [133] [484] terrain. Larger hills are more common in the headwaters of the Orinoco and along the boundaries separating Brazil from Venezuela, but the Indians prefer to make their villages in the lowlands on small streams, as all of their travelling is

[179] done on foot. Only recently have the Yąnomamö begun moving to the larger rivers, where they may obtain canoes and steel tools from foreigners. In 1950 there was only one Yąnomamö village, Mahekodo-tedi, on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River; since then at least seven or eight villages have moved to the Orinoco or one of its larger tributaries in order to gain access to trade goods (axes and machetes) foreign to their culture. The overwhelming number of Yąnomamö villages,

[221] [181] however, can only be reached by walking to them. During the wet season (April-September) travel all but ceases between villages because the trails linking villages are inundated.

241 The Yąnomamö are slash-and-burn horticulturists, subsisting mainly on plantains and bananas, of which they cultivate four or five varieties each. Following these crops in economic importance are several root crops, including taro,

622 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I
602
613 asked Kąobawë what he had done about it. He said he had
561 spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He
123
554 will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ulti-
591 mately had to resort to my own means to recover the flash-
light, as Kąobawë could not force Shiimima to return it.
When I questioned Kąobawë about this ineffectiveness, he
explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order
him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest
siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion
622 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every
613
602 feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scrap-
529 ing up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them
514
351 out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy prepar-
554 ing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing.
591
561 Kąobawë usually goes to the center of the village and begins
cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older
agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They
would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if
Kąobawë requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this
regard implies that one is being bossed around.

*621 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative
613
602 age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group
561 and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of
593 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the
602
613 group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the
solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult

142
301
302
296

Fig. 2-3. Man blowing ebene, *a hallucinogenic drug, into each other's nostrils by means of a hollow tube.*

342

SHELTER All house materials likewise come from the jungle: poles, vines, and leaves. The Yanomamö permanent house—*shabono*—is probably the most sophisticated manufacture produced by these people. Its construction requires considerable cooperation, planning, labor, and patience. Unfortunately, the *shabono* only lasts one or two years because the leaves begin to leak, or the entire village is burned to the ground in order to destroy the cockroaches, scorpions, spiders, and other vermin that infest the house. These can become such a nuisance that the roof is literally alive with bugs. Kaobawë's house was so badly infested at one point that the noise of thousands of scurrying roaches produced a constant, noticeable din in the village. Whenever someone got out of his hammock, the roof just above his head would suddenly come alive with roaches disturbed by the movement below. As they scurried to safety, many of them would fall off, producing a shower of bugs on the occupants below. There were so many bugs that the increased activity above the moving person also increased the din, as if a sudden gust of wind had disturbed the dried leaves.

[136]

Each individual builds his own section of the *shabono*. The man usually does all the heavy work of locating and fetching poles for the frame, placing them into the ground or tying them overhead, and weaving the numerous leaves into the roof thatch. The wife helps by gathering the leaves and vines used in the construction.

[462]

The first step in building a new *shabono* is the selection of the site. This is usually some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump.

[351]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4 feet off the ground at the rear and 6 feet off the ground at the front. Shorter sticks are then laid crossways on the major roof poles and these, in turn, covered with several layers of long, broad, wild "banana" leaves (see Glossary, under "Banana, wild"). It is quite small, but can sleep three individuals. Frequently, the traveler finds the remains of one of these houses and has merely to put a new layer of leaves on the roof to make it waterproof; occasionally, he takes a chance that it won't rain that night and does not improve the hut at all.

When the Yąnomamö settle a new area, they erect temporary villages of these crude huts and live in them until they can build a *shabono*. They also live in huts like these while they are re-roofing the old *shabono*.

The permanent village is complete when the palisade of logs is erected around its circumference. This is placed some 3 or 4 feet behind the roof, allowing space for a path around the village inside the palisade. The palisade itself is about 10 feet high and usually made of a mixture of palm and hardwood logs. It is kept in repair only when there is some reason to suspect raiders. Otherwise, people pilfer logs from it for use as firewood. The entrance to the village, as well as the palisade entrance, is covered with brush and logs at night to keep out intruders. Anyone trying to enter will inevitably make the brush move and alarm the village dogs.

FOOD AND ITS GATHERING The jungle provides numerous varieties of food, both animal and vegetable. The most commonly taken game includes several species of monkeys, two varieties of wild "turkey," two species of wild pig, armadillos, anteaters, tapir, deer, a small alligator, small rodents, and several species of smaller birds. Wild vegetable foods commonly exploited by the Yąnomamö are: palm fruits of several species, hardwood fruits, brazil nuts, tubers, and the seed pods of the feral banana. Of these, the palm fruits are by far the most significant.

These occur seasonally and, for brief periods of time, produce large quantities of fruits. Unfortunately, there is very little edible substance in each fruit, so that in order to get filled, one must eat the edible portion of enormous quantities of fruit. The Yąnomamö extensively exploit two closely related palms, *yei* and *karishi*. The *yei* fruits are about the size of small hen's eggs and occur in large clusters, weighing 80 pounds and more, near the tops of the palm trees. The *karishi* fruits are about half that size. The exterior portion of the fruit is a leathery shell which is peeled with the teeth. Inside there is a thin layer of very bitter, white flesh. This is chewed and sucked off. The taste resembles that of a poor grade of bath soap. Of the two, I found *karishi* the more repugnant. My throat burned when I ate them.

Another commonly exploited palm is the *adiwishi*. It is tangerine red in color and covered with a leather-like skin that consists of hundreds of small scales. They are about the size of large hen's eggs and resemble small hand grenades. When the fruit is dry, as, for example, when it is first cut from the tree, it is almost impossible to get the leathery scales off. The Yąnomamö overcome this difficulty by throwing the fruit bunches into water and letting them soak for several days, after which the scales can be easily scraped off with the fingernails, exposing a thin layer of yellowish, soft flesh that tastes very much like cheese. The fruits begin to ferment after they have soaked, producing a slightly pungent taste. I enjoyed eating *adiwishi* with the Yąnomamö; the fruit was good, and the technique of eating it was very sociable. We would wade into the swamp where the fruit had been submerged and grope around in the murky water to locate it. After

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

undertake it if it meant getting rid of their first group of visitors, who, by this time, had spent nearly a week eating Kąobawä's produce.

On the morning of the feast three large pieces of bark from the *arapuri* tree were cut and brought to the village. These were made into troughs to contain the boiled, ripe plantain soup. All day long Kąobawä's younger brothers, who had returned from the hunt the day before, labored at cooking the enormous quantity of ripe plantains, pouring each boiling containerful into the trough as it was prepared.[3]

The plantains that Kąobawä had hung in his *shabono* roof a week before were now ripe. The young men who were preparing the soup would cut the bunches of plantains from the roof, split each fruit with their thumb, throw the two halves of the flesh into a cooking pot, and toss the skins onto a pile. They worked at this task from early morning until late afternoon, in addition to boiling a nearly equal quantity of green plantains, which provided the green vegetable food that customarily accompanies the presentation of meat. Yąnomamö etiquette dictates that meat must be accompanied by vegetable food and vice versa.[4] It is an insult, for example, to offer someone meat without simultaneously offering a vegetable food with it. Peeling green plantains is a little more difficult than peeling ripe ones, which are very tough and brittle. The Yąnomamö solve this problem, like they solve so many others, by using their teeth. Each plantain is bitten along its length several times, cracking the peel, which in turn is removed with the fingernails and further application of the dentition. On this particular occasion, two young men peeled, with their thumbs, enough ripe plantains to make approximately 95 gallons of soup, and, with their teeth, a sufficiently large quantity of green plantains to fill a dozen large pack-baskets.

In the morning on the day of the feast, Kąobawä went to the center of the village clearing where all could see him and proceeded to pull weeds. The clearing has to look presentable to the visitors, as it functions as the dancing plaza. As noted before, since Yąnomamö headmen cannot directly order their followers to execute tasks such as these, they usually initiate them and hope that others will follow. By and by, a number of older men joined him, as well as a few women, and when a sufficient number of workers were pulling weeds and hauling them out, Kąobawä quietly retired to his hammock, from which he oversaw the food preparations and calculated the distribution of meat.

Excitement in the village grew conspicuously as the hours passed, and by noon there was a constant din of laughter and chatter, punctuated now and then with a shrill scream from some young man overcome with the thrill of the feast. Occasionally, the visitors would reply to the shouts, setting off a brief contest of screaming between hosts

---

[3] Kąobawä's group has access to aluminum pots now and uses them extensively in food preparations. Most Yąnomamö groups still use crude clay pots, although these are being rapidly replaced by aluminum ware, which is traded inland to the more remote villages.

[4] The three vegetable foods considered to be suitable accompaniments for the meat presentation are: boiled green plantains, boiled *ratha* fruit, and cassava bread. A number of missionaries and a few scientific observers have identified the Yąnomamö feast strongly with the *ratha* fruit (Zerries 1955; de Barandiaran 1966). If it is to be identified with any food, it should be called the "plantain feast," but to identify the feast with a food that sometimes (*ratha*) or invariably (plantains) accompanies it is to overlook the sociopolitical causes of the feast. *Ratha* is so unnecessary to the feast that it was served at only two of six feasts I attended. In short, the Yąnomamö feast is a social and political event, not a harvest ceremony, and occurs independently of the abundance or availability of *ratha* fruit. *Ratha* fruit ripens in February, the peak of the dry season. It is only in the dry season that feasts can be held, because travel is difficult or impossible at other times of the year. The correlation of the ripening of *ratha* and feasting is rather more fortuitous than causal.

Surára
Pakidái

/6 cont./

obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xirianá.

/7/ IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Deminí nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

/10 cont./
114 is true, the related Surára and Pakidái, as well as the Waiká in
142 the catchment area of the upper Orinoco, embody a type that is strange to us (see Ills. 9-24 /see pp. 270-274/ and ills. in Zerries, 1959), but certainly not one that is repulsive to that extent.

342

VI. Technology and Material Culture

1. House Forms

The Surára and Pakidái are familiar with four different house-forms. The simplest and probably the earliest form, which at present, however, is used only as overnight quarters by one family during the expeditions in the virgin forest, is similar to a wind-screen /Windschirm/ (Ill. 4). It is built in the following way: In front, one or two supports, 2-2.50 meters long, are set into the ground at intervals as long as a hammock; about three meters behind these there are two weaker supports, 1-1.50 meters long, at somewhat longer intervals. The upper ends are joined together with poles; cipó-titca (a type of liana) serves as lashing material. The poles are also frequently tied to trees standing a short distance apart, instead of the rear supports. Over this 12 to 15 thinner poles are placed crosswise, and on top of these four to six are placed lengthwise. This results in a more or less steep frame-
[824] work which has the shape of a lean-to roof (Ill. 4). Palm leaves are laid on this so that the hut gives secure protection against the rain; even the most severe tropical thunderstorms cannot
● [352] harm the Indians sleeping under it. The hammocks are fastened
[354] in the form of a triangle around the fire burning in the center; In the case of larger families, two hammocks often hang one above the other.

361 /11/ If the entire tribe is on the march, the huts of the individual families are always placed in a circle around the chief's hut standing in the center, after the virgin forest has been hastily cleared to a certain extent beforehand. The space between the huts is five to eight meters.

342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters. In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
354 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc.,
231 are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
342 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50 centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
[174] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
[171] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem, similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[177] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is 9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

/14 cont./

342 622 posts are joined by crossbeams; in addition, horizontal strips lead to the tall posts, whereby a gable roof is formed. Over this again lie small, thin cross-strips, on which, exactly as in the case of the large windscreens, the panos, the rectangular palm-leaf mats, are fastened. In the same manner, the rear wall and the two side-walls are also provided with panos. Between the two ends of the front side there are fastened three poles half a meter high, which are often used as sitting places. The entrance, which is one meter wide, is on the right-hand narrow side. The fire burns in the center of the hut, and in a triangle around it are fastened the hammocks in which the chief, his two wives, and the children sleep. All the implements hang on the crossbeams and on the plaiting of the rear wall.

[354] [352] [353]

343 To the right, next to the chief's house, stands a small, open hut which is four meters long, two meters wide, and six meters high. Here, too, the roof has a gable-shape and is likewise covered with panos made of ubim leaves. Under the roof is found a latticework pen about 1.60 X 2 meters, which is used as a rooster coop.

342 From an architectural standpoint, this open, almost circular construction, in which, to be sure, the chief's hut and the coop for the roosters form two foreign bodies added later -- represents an unexcelled method of building, particularly for this hot, tropical region. The circular shape prevents the wind from entering, and the rain, too, cannot reach the families living in the dead angle under the roofs. Moreover, there is always pleasantly fresh air, so that even upon leaving this maloka there is no danger of catching cold. Tribes or groups living in closed malokas are much more subject to respiratory ailments when they leave the warm community house and step out into the cool morning or night air. This maloka of the Surára may doubtless be regarded as one of the oldest and most primitive types of construction of the South American Indians. Around the community house, plantings have been laid out (Ill. 37) and at the present time extend to the middle of the mountain slopes.

[174] 241

/45 cont./

301 in most cases, a silver triangle, a large glass bead, or a fruit pit is fastened at the bottom.

301 439 When I came to the Surára and Pakidái, a few bead chains were already in use. According to their statements, they had obtained the glass beads from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Rio Demini, from rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, and from the Xiriâna. The latter had presumably acquired this foreign commodity from Karaiben tribes who, for their part, had received it from the whites. This shows that the barter of glass beads is still carried on vigorously among the Indians themselves (245).

[114]

245. It was already observed by v. Martius that glass beads were traded over wide areas (von Martius, 1867, I, pp. 702 ff.), and Krause also points out that they are greatly prized as trade items (Krause, 1911, p. 279).

7. Hammocks

352 [824] The Surára and Pakidái have three different kinds of hammocks. The hammock of embira (tree bast, Malvaceae sp.) -- yâritanacîk -- whose length is between 1.80-1.90 meters, may probably be regarded as the oldest and most primitive form (Ill. 26). It has no weft and consists only of ten to 14 embira strips [284] 1-2 centimeters wide. These are bent over at the ends and tied together by means of two ropes 1.30-1.40 meters long, which at the same time serve for suspension (Fig. 18a and b). Both ropes are very strong and durable, for they have been plaited in the form of a braid out of three one-centimeter-wide /46/ /Fig. 18 appears [462] here/ strands of embira. The manufacture of this hammock is [824] extraordinarily simple and is done only by men. From the embira [284] tree they remove 10-15 bast strips two meters long and 1-2 centimeters wide, which they tie together in the manner described above, after they have first plaited two ropes. To cut the tree [412] bast they use the little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 115). Since the yâritanacîk is extraordinarily light, the men like to use it on their

Surá'ŋ
Pakidái
Shiriana
waica

/46 cont./

352
284

Fig. 18a-b
Detail of the end fastening on a hammock of embira, as well as loop and knot diagram.

352 roving, hunting, and war expeditions as a travel hammock.
[482] Rolled up, it then hangs on their backs, held by a thin neck-cord
of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber). For sleeping they usually
[513] lie curled up in it; it takes practice and skill, however, not to
fall out.

352 Similar hammocks are also used by the Waiká, and there,
184 according to Zerries, they are supposed to fulfill certain functions
[114] in the ritual system (246) (247), whereas Schuster says that they

246. Zerries, 1955a, p. 87.

247. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

are made only in an emergency (248). The tree-bast hammocks

248. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

of the Xiriána are more highly developed, for they have a weft of cotton threads and plant fibers. Ruth Haebler describes two specimens in the ethnological museums in Berlin (VA 61119) and Leipzig (8736) (249).

249. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/46 cont./

352
171

Even highly civilized peoples, however, for example, the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe that at present is still living on the Acre, Seruini, and Ituxí rivers in the Brazilian state of Amazonas (250), formerly used these hammocks without weft, as

250. Darcy Ribeiro, 1957, p. 75.

is confirmed by a specimen in the Berlin ethnological museum (VB 3758) (251). There were also some, however, that were bound

251. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

[114] by means of one or two rather long cross-strips. With respect to their purpose and manufacture, my observations among the Surára and Pakidái are almost identical with Ehrenreich's statements concerning the Ipurina. Thus, the investigator named writes: "The extremely primitive, but serviceable hammocks which the Ipurina use in an emergency on journeys, hunting expeditions, etc. clearly show how this useful implement may have been invented.

"Four or five strips of bast (embira) two meters long and 3-4 centimeters wide are simply loosened from the tree and gathered together at the ends, and sometimes bound together by one or two shorter cross-strips. In any case, lying in it requires no little skill and practice" (252).

252. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 63.

The Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, however, owns one hammock that is still more primitive. It comes from the Nahukuá (Nahuqua), a Karaiben /Carib/ tribe of the Xingú source region, and consists only of a bundle of grass, which, tied together at top and bottom, served as a sleeping arrangement for children (VB 2624) (253).

253. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/46 cont./

352
[192] Instead of the yâritanaçík (embira hammock), the Surára and Pakidái men, on their rovings and hunting and war expeditions, also /47/ frequently use a liana hammock -- totokë -- (254) (255),

254. The name is derived from tototó, with which the liana (cipó-titica) is designated.

255. Except for a slight dialectal difference, the name corresponds to the Waiká word -- "toto" --, with which, however, according to statements by Zerries, they designated their tree-bast hammocks (Zerries, 1955a, p. 87).

which is likewise very light but gives the sleeper a somewhat firmer support. The lengths of these hammocks vary between
[462] 1.90 and 2.10 meters. They, too, are without cross-bindings and are likewise made only by men. This is done as follows:
352 The man has a rather large bundle of long lianas lying in front
284 of him. He splits each one with his teeth into 3-5 flat strips and places these side by side. When he has gathered as many strips as he can easily grasp with one hand, approximately 200-250, he winds a thick liana around the ends. Below the wrapping he then divides the flat strips into several bunches of equal size, each of which he winds twice with two split, twisted lianas (Fig. 19 and Fig. 20). This makes the bundle of strips wider at the ends. As tie ropes the man uses three lianas plaited like braids (Ill. 27).

352
184 Such hammocks are likewise used by the Waiká (256) and

256. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Xiriána, but the latter Indians sometimes provide them with cross-bindings of cotton strings (257).

257. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 314 and Pl. 46 (1).

Surára
Pakidái

/47 cont./

352 Finally, as the third and most important form, which is used constantly by men, women, and children, both in the maloka as well as during migrations of the tribe, the plaited hammock of cotton -- nyõ (258) -- is to be mentioned (Ills. 28 and 29). Aside

258. The cotton belts are also designated with the same word.

from the material, it differs from the two earlier types above all because of the weft. The lengths run between 1.60-2.20 meters, depending on whether they are meant for children or adults.
[462] Making them is again the duty of the men, though the women occasionally help a little.

352 Before they are made, two posts are rammed into the ground
286 and connected at top and bottom by cross-poles with lianas. The length of the hammock depends on the distance of the latter, for around these cross poles is /Figs. 19 and 20 appear here/ wound the continuous warp thread, the two ends of which are knotted with the warp at the start and finish. This produces front and rear layers of thread, which are united into a single layer by slipping the rear warp threads between the /48/ front ones. After that the plaiting of the double thread is begun, which is done without implements, only with the fingers, from right to left; it should also be mentioned that it is started at the top. All hammocks are plaited with very wide meshes, for the intervals between the individual cross-bindings, which are knotted at the beginning and end, are 8-12 centimeters. To fasten the hammocks ropes of
[824] Bromelia fibers (curauá) are used, which, made of four strands, braidlike, are twisted to the right.

352 When a hammock has been used for some time, it gradually takes on a dirty-brown appearance. This comes about because
[302] the urucú color with which the Indians frequently paint their bodies rubs off on it somewhat when they lie down and adheres to the cotton.

2: Becher--103 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960
SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/48 cont./ Surára Pakidái

352 286 174 171 According to the classification by Max Schmidt, who differentiates three groups for the plaiting technique in South America, the cotton hammocks made by the Surára and Pakidái would belong to the second

(284)

Fig. 19. End fastening of a liana hammock.

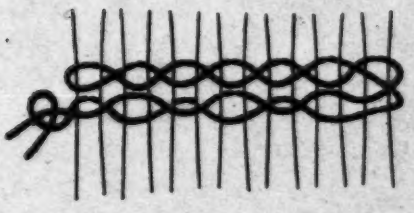


Fig. 20. Diagram of the interweaving of the end fastening of a liana hammock.

group, the double-thread plaiting, which the scholar characterizes as follows: "This plaiting method, which is widespread throughout America, North and South, is simply based, as the diagram in Fig. 115 shows, on two threads that are twisted around each other and are simultaneously, at each half twist around each other, wound around one of the bundles

Surára
Pakidái

/48 cont./

352 of rushes or fibers running parallel to one another" (259). "It is

286
174
171

259. Max Schmidt, 1905, p. 228.

this double-thread technique," Ruth Haebler writes in her work, "Die geflochtenen Hängematten der Naturvölker Südamerikas /The Plaited Hammocks of the Primitive Peoples of South America/," "which is used in the manufacture of the plaited hammocks. The essence of the two-ply technique thus consists of stretching parallel threads which form a warp, so to speak, and through which the double thread is passed as a weft. As a result of the manner in which the warp is stretched, two completely different groups of plaited hammocks are produced" (260).

260. Haebler, 1919, p. 3.

The Surára and Pakidái hammocks are to be assigned to group two, which leads over to weaving (261), for here there is already

261. Haebler, 1919, pp. 9/10.

regular shed-formation. My observations among the Surára and Pakidái also agree almost exactly with the descriptions by Im Thurn (262) Ehrenreich (263), and Krause (264). This proves an

262. Im Thurn, 1883, pp. 288 ff.

263. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 22.

264. Krause, 1911, pp. 259 ff.

adoption from the outside, most probably from the Karaiben tribes, which took place presumably by way of the Xiriána. It is noteworthy, however, that all the authors named say that the warp threads are stretched horizontally and that the weft is interlaced
DDD from top to bottom or from bottom to top. From a photograph

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

352 /48 cont./ From a Photograph
286
174
184

taken by Zerries (265) it may be seen that the Waiká make their

265. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, bottom.

cotton hammocks in the same way. With regard to the origin and technique, he writes in another place: "The cotton hammock of the Waika was taken over, in simplified form, from the Marikitare /Makiritare/ and, like theirs, is not woven, but merely knotted" (266). Although Zerries uses the expression

266. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

"knotted" /geknüpft/, this is probably the same type which I described for the Surára and Pakidái (267). This is even further

267. The names, too, are very similar, -- "nu" -- among the Waiká (Zerries, 1955a, p. 84; 1954b, p. 71), and -- nyõ -- among the Surára and Pakidái.

elucidated by the following remarks of Schuster: "The cotton hammock, following, as a more recent form, these types made of wild material, exhibits as an essential difference, aside from the cultivated raw material, longitudinal threads held parallel and close together by cross-bindings. Apparently this hammock, whose length is determined by the bow-staff used as a crosspiece on the tying framework, is a clumsy imitation of the far more carefully worked hammock of the Karaiben Makiritare, who live in the northern and northwestern part of the Waika /49/ region" (268).

268. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

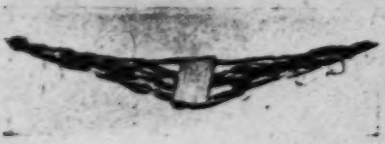
This cotton hammock of the Waiká, clearly taken over from the Karaiben, thus completely corresponds in form to the one used by the Surára and Pakidái. But what induced the latter in making it to put the warp threads vertically, instead of horizontally, as among the other tribes, cannot yet be explained.

2: Becher--274 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
/9/

Ill. 23. The Surára boy Xaniwõ

Ill. 24. Pakidái woman, Riopemí

Ill. 25. The two oldest Surára women: Rokomá (right and Cinapemí



Ill. 26. Hammock of embira

Ill. 27. Liana hammock

Ill. 28. Plaited hammock of cotton

2: Becher--275 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/10/
Surára
Pakidái

352
516
854
593

Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

342
231

142
302
291
516
372

Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

/201 cont./

342 The two windscreens had two posts stuck superficially into the ground at a distance of two meters apart. Contiguous to the post there was a smaller stake tied to it with a bejuco. The roof of this screen was covered with interlaced branches and roofed with platanillo leaves and supported with a slight inclination against two posts. The roof projects from the posts some 40 centimeters and touches the ground at its lower edge. In these houses the Sanemá hang their hammocks of bejuco or majagua. In some ranchos we found vestiges of fire.

• [352]

177 342 The houses of Makiritare type (rectangular or oblong) are small-scale imitations and have only one room. The roofs, made of palm leaves, are of two rectangular slopes and are raised on four or six posts. The edges of the roof are straight or rounded. The walls consist of bark or juxtaposed sticks. They have an average dimension of four meters long by two meters wide and approximately three high. Each house has one or two quite narrow doors. Within the house (of the Makiritare type) the greatest disorder reigns: from the roof and from the walls hang baskets, gourds, weapons, leather bags, tobacco, palm fruit, hammocks /chinchorros/ of bejuco, majagua, and cotton. On the floor there are hearths, firewood, cooking utensils, guapas with spindle and cotton, yuca graters, dogs, and children, all in confusion without order or arrangement. It is clear that they are not used to living under a roof, and the house is a place for storing things rather than a habitation.

353 [179]

105 422 484 The technology of the Sanemá is very little-developed, and precisely for this reason one can classify the Sanemá (and the Yanoama in general) as representatives of the most backward peoples of America and of the whole world. It would seem that the ideal of these seminomadic Indians is: omnia mea mecum porto -- everything that is mine I carry with me! and, apart from their weapons, a few implements, and a basket, it is unusual for them to carry anything else on their travels. They do not even transport their hammocks /202/ of bejuco or majagua from one camp to another, but rather make new ones each time they need them.

[352]

/202 cont./

572 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

283 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727] [184]

4: Wilbert--64 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Nabudub

291
142
516
854

Nabudub Indians in front of their house, an imitation of a Makiritare house.

142
291
354
516
594
283

A Nabudub (Sanemá) nuclear family in front of its house. The hammocks are of vegetal fiber.

Nabudub

4: Wilbert--65 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 Sanemá

142
291
516
854
302

Nabudub (Sanemá) women and children.

142
302
291
352
516

Nabudub couple seated on hammocks of cotton made by the woman.

4. Wilbert--74 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ: Sanema

142
302
291
501
352
516

Group of Sanemá Indians of the upper Ventuari in their house. The girl (standing) is wearing ornaments of white feathers.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

RED CLOTH AND GREEN FOREST

The Samatari were eating all sorts of things: there were stacks of little green bundles, which would have made the smiling Sempronio die with envy. (Where he had disappeared to, we did not know.) These provisions were piled up under tiny roofs of leaves, beside little pyramids of nuts, green fruit, varicoloured fruit, hard fruit and soft fruit. The grown-ups and children were tucking in without more ado. There were white grubs, a little on the hairy side, that had the exquisite savour of crayfish; putrid worms from the Mauritius Palm, looking like *gnocchi*; earthworms, squeezed and cleaned, their flesh the colour of loin of pork, or when they were served in heaps, rosy like spaghetti and tomato sauce. There were whole honeycombs taken from the wild bees, the cells full of brood; the look and smell of them was like rich pine-kernels;[1] bags of honey, which when mixed with water gave a cool, slightly heady drink; small snake-cutlets, like fleshy eels; gigantic Maripa Palm hearts broken into chunks, like crumbly Parmesan cheese; mounds of cut tapir meat and smoked slices of peccary, which were black as coal outside but all rosy and fragrant within, like the heart of a spring lamb. There were bundles of fish dried and toasted over the fire, which ate with something of the flavour of almond cake, though it was more exotic. . . .

The leaf-wrapped viands hovered sizzling over the flames, and the greasy savours breathed out into the night air, so that the animal-lair atmosphere of the camp was wreathed in a homely smell of cooking. But for our part there was only hunger, stretching like a wide sea whose tides beat against the fertile shore of the Samatari land, with its sweet-smelling mountains and fruit and game and its propitiation to the gods of plenty—the duly gnawed bones hung up over the fire lest the smell of them should warn off the next day's bag.

But we, in our ocean of hunger, had at least one satisfaction—our hammocks, our warm and welcoming hammocks, made of stout cloth. They swung like glorious battleships over the wretched little flotilla of the tiny Samatari contraptions.

The Samatari, whose possessions are so simple as to be almost non-existent, have three types of hammock, depending upon the resources of the country round about, since they never carry their sleeping gear with them but always improvise it on the spot, except in very special cases where the rich and great affect a mobbish luxury. The most elementary model is composed of three or four strips of the flexible bark of the Annona which is known in Guiana as

[1] Used in Indian cooking.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Yara-Yara. These strips are a few centimetres wide, their ends being twisted into a rope and tied to two trees. Less common is the hammock made from the rootstock of an iriartea, the palm which tends to cling slyly to the traveller with its thorns, lurking on the young shoots. The rootstock often lies above ground, twice the length of a man's arm and almost as thick. It is carefully stripped of its spines, which come off easily, and then clubbed to a pulp. In this way the very strong fibres are easily removed. They spread open very readily, and the Samatari are careful not to pulp the ends, leaving seven or eight inches of the rootstock intact so that it can be hung on to any convenient spur on a tree.

Finally there is the hammock de luxe, the one the mobs carry with them because it takes a certain amount of time to make and its more select raw material cannot be found everywhere. This is a superlatively strong liana known in Spanish as *alambrito*, or wire, because of its strength and its habit of growth. Quite apart from its use for hammocks among the Shirians, this liana is one of the main forest products, being used for all sorts of purposes by all the inhabitants, from the most civilized to the most primitive. It serves for binding the walls of huts, for weaving and basketwork and, as we have said, for hammocks of a superior quality.

This liana is about as thick as a pencil and easy to peel and slip open into a number of pliable white strands rounded on one side and flat on the other. About a hundred of these strands, banded together halfway between the two ends with twisted bark rope, make the hammock. It is strong and springy, but alas, like all Shirian hammocks, unstable, uncomfortable, and very small. Stretched out in them, with the imprint cutting deeply into their skin, the Samatari pass their nights without stirring, their feet on a higher level than their heads as if they were following the most modern therapeutic principles, smoking themselves in the piquant fumes of their fire, which is kept continually burning and replenished by the more youthful members of the tribe. The fire is their blanket—'the blanket of the night'—as they themselves call it.

V

At some point during the night, Solituan turned up wearing my trousers. After they had made their mysterious rounds, it seemed, they had fallen to

/434 cont./

199 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a
101 separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation
197 zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted
[248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they culti-
[352] vate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton ham-
[342] mocks and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version
[484] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they
192 speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/
[114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried
628 to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/455 cont./

283 Cotton is spun by means of a hand spindle. This thread is then twisted into three-thread cords.

Various fibers of bark are twisted to make bowstrings or fishing lines. These same fibers of bark are frequently plaited to make hammock strings.

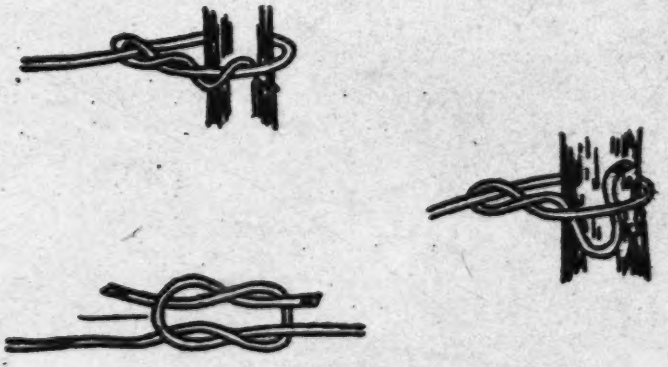
The fiber of a certain plant similar to the pineapple is also extracted and twisted, producing a very tough cord.

284 The knots which the Guaika /Waica/ make are very simple and practical. The timber hitch is employed in all cases in which a flexible cord is used. This includes the stringing of the bows. The hammock is hung using a timber slipknot. This knot is made in such a way that it can be instantly untied by a pull. The square knot is used to join the ends of two cords. In the accompanying Fig. 2, we show drawings of the three knots concerned.

[411]
[352]

289 /456/ A band of bark is made for carrying children. First
854 they obtain a stick of the right size, which is beaten with another stick for several days. The scaly outer bark comes off. Finally, the smaller end of the cylindrical bark is inserted into the larger end (of greater diameter), and the two are then firmly sewed together. The result is a band or strip without rough or cutting edges, which remains flexible and useful for many months.

284



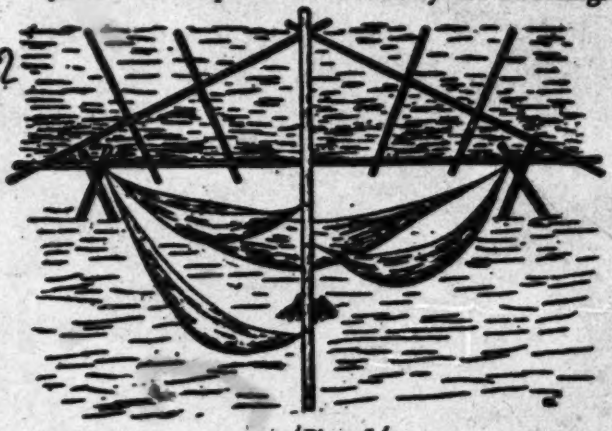
/Fig. 2/

/459/

352 [364] Hammocks are hung triangularly from the posts which support the roof, and a fire is lighted in the center. If it is necessary, one hammock may be hung above another, in such a way that this triangle of two meters may shelter six persons (Fig. 5).

351 [361] These dwellings are located so as to form a circle, with their high and open fronts oriented toward the center of the patio. This space surrounded by the dwellings may or may not

352



/Fig. 5/

351 be completely cleared, but at least all of the small brush is removed from the front and immediate sides. Sometimes they also clear the ground of weeds for space of one meter behind the houses.

356 The dirt floor is cleaned by sweeping or scraping it at least once a day (although between one cleaning and another there might well accumulate on it many platano skins and other objects). The rubbish is piled up, using the hands or a piece of firewood; then it is carried and thrown outside of the central patio Great piles of rubbish and waste accumulate at the edge of these cleared areas. Sometimes they use a flat basket for carrying the rubbish, and very frequently it is carried with nothing but the hands, since they do not always have a basket available, or it might be in use for other jobs.

/469 cont./

513 The third essential thing is the hammock. The Guaika
● 352 must have a hammock in order to sleep at night. In his dwelling he has a cotton hammock or a hammock made of vines split longitudinally. On a hunting trip he may travel with his hammock made out of cords of vine or without carrying any. In this latter case, each night he will make a temporary hammock /470/ out of cords of bark, and, in case he stays in the same general area, he will use it for several nights. Then, in order to travel light, he will abandon this hammock of cords of bark and will go to his home, where his good hammock awaits him.

262 The supply of food which the Guaika have is generally good
514 and apparently quite nutritious. From time to time there is a
[251] shortage, and they do not accumulate reserves. Shortages are generally not too serious, for which reason they can usually bear the period of privation, subsisting from a neighboring settlement, which will be paid back for the visit when in its turn bad times come to it.

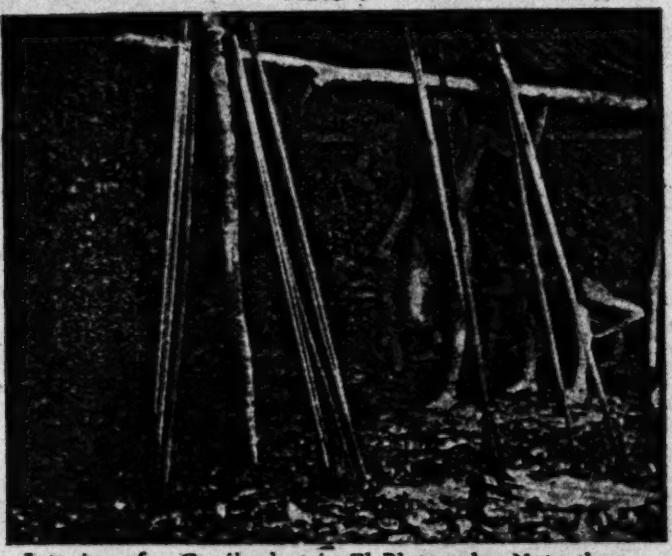
261 The complete loss of a "conuco" as a result of being con-
726 stantly driven out of the area by an enemy is a quite serious matter. We observed a settlement (that of Bichaasatedi) subsisting with great difficulty for a year until its new "conuco" began to produce, after having been driven out of their former area by a hostile group (the one from Liakoatedi).

352 The Guaika do not make seats, but they rarely sit on the ground if they can avoid it. Generally they sit in a hammock or on a piece of firewood.

512 On an ordinary day the Guaika awake with the dawn. The wife prepares the roasted platanos for the whole family. Around 7:30 or 8:00 the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement go to work in the "conuco." Those who remain in the settlement in general rest the entire morning. Some few women gather in a party and go out to make firewood out of a dead tree, recently fallen. Those who work in the conuco begin to come back at noon. On the way to the settlement they bathe in the stream. After a brief rest each person roasts a few
[276] platanos for his lunch. Then, around 2:00 in the afternoon, the "yopo" is prepared, and it is blown up the noses of many of the

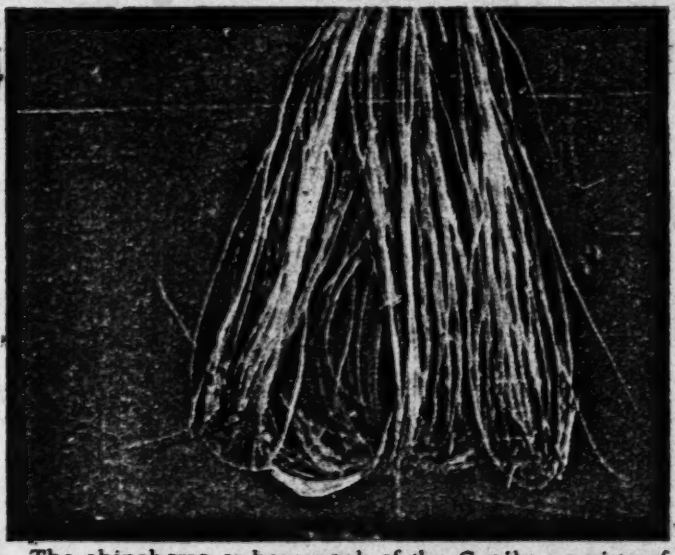
Plate V

342
411
291



Interior of a Guaika hut in El Platanal. Note the extraordinary length of their powerful arrows. (Photo. by the author.)

352
824



The chinchorro or hammock of the Guaika consists of vegetable fibers joined at both ends, without any transversal weaving, El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

/164 cont./
729 new place located several hundred meters away. The matadores
783 went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained
some distance away. They could not touch anything that they
[413] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They
had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later
their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the
• [352] trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old
hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of
vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned
with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days,
until the matadores thought the ciclo /cycle, term/ completed.

726 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place.
The first aldea into which they penetrated was empty, and so was
the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the
principal aldea. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bisheasetjeti
began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that
farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains
were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it
would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so
much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed.
/Illustration appears here./

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The
revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders
advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were
camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed
him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them
camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River.
The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to
have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them
to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It
was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

166 Since they had fallen out with the Liacoatjeti, the
361 Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and
made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north
side.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Guahariho

middle of the camp, but they preferred to sleep under a simple palm roof resting on four poles which had been erected near the river as a temporary measure when the first advanced party arrived. There they hung their hammocks, made of the same pliable liana threads as their loin-cloths. Apart from their bows and arrows, these hammocks were the only possessions they brought with them. Thus they passed the night close to the river and their boat. They lighted fires and kept them burning all night. Not all of them slept in hammocks. Some squatted on the bare ground close to the fires, but those who used hammocks slung them low to get the maximum benefit of the fire's heat, for all slept naked.

The next morning they came over to the empty *rancho* where we gave them *manioc*, which they knew and appreciated as a special treat. But they refused the cooked food we offered them. One or two of them tasted it, but quickly spat it out. We offered them meat and learned that they cook their game without first skinning it. We gave them salt, which was new to them and which they spat out with dreadful grimaces. It was probably the salt that made them refuse our cooked food. They never tired of *manioc*, and we discovered that *manioc* and *machete* were the only two Spanish words they knew.

The Guaharibos have a curious and revolting habit of secreting in their mouths between the lower gums and the lip a roll of green tobacco as big as the stump of a fat cigar. They do not chew it; it remains there unbroken all day while two streams of greenish juice continuously trickle from the corners of their mouths. Even the children and sometimes the women indulge. The lump, which horribly deforms the lower part of the face, making it look hideous, may have contributed to their reputation for ferocity and savagery. The preparation of the tobacco quids is the duty of the women. The fresh tobacco leaf is rolled with wood-ash, and then the women chew and soak it in spittle until it reaches the right proportions and consistency before passing it on to their mates. Cardona told us this was the universal practice.

The Indians' fear and suspicion of us quickly dispersed.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

352
415
142
516

439
123

TOP: Women of the "Platanal". Notice the household goods. The two types of hammock are clearly shown. (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

BOTTOM: Swapping. The little things we brought excited curiosity and greed. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[P. 112-C]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

Both men and women and even the small children paint their faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred, either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red, while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken themselves.

Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company with some whose paint was paling and some who were not even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

* * *

The furnishing of Waïka huts is very simple and orderly, each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades, while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when the village is crowded.

In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people, which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

722 villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch
361 food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the women and children are concealed in these temporary sites
221 until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and
361 feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the
574 men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding
722 in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yąnomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yąnomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

422 All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow,
484 arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire
[411] drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the
[415] agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine
[372] hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner
[237] on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to
[352] accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they
[123] always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having
484 to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

[P. xviii]

142
302
516
251
262
415
352
353

Clay pot and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Namoa-teri man shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

142
291
516
411
342
926

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1-5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
352
855
251

Fig. 3-1 Armuare, Kaobawä's son, being fondled by his mother's brother. This is a very intimate kinship relationship in Yąnomamö society.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a local shortage of the item in order to have to rely on an ally for it, giving sufficient cause to visit them.

Often the specialization is less individualized than in the case of clay pot manufacture. Kaobawä's group, for example, exports cotton yarn to one ally, but imports it from another. The exported cotton frequently is brought back in the form of manufactured hammocks, the importer merely contributing labor to the process. In some cases the shortages are merely seasonal; Kaobawä's group may import cotton from a particular ally at one time of the year, but export it at another. Most of the trade, however, involves items that are readily manufactured by or raised by any group, underscoring the fact that trade is the stimulus to visit. Food does not enter the trading system, although hospitality dictates that it must be given to friendly groups. Occasionally, a village will run short of plantains because of a particularly long hot spell, and its members may visit an ally to borrow food to last a week or so. This hospitality is usually reciprocated, but it is not a part of the trading network.

Alliances between villages may stabilize at any one of three points: sporadic reciprocal trading, mutual feasting, or reciprocal women exchange. These are cumulative levels in the sense that the third phase implies the first two: Allies that exchange women also feast and trade with each other. Likewise, allies that merely feast together also trade, but do not exchange women. At the lower end of this scale of solidarity lie those villages with which one fights to kill, while at the upper end are those villages from whom one's group has recently separated. Frequently, the scale is circular rather than linear: A village's mortal enemy is the group from which it has recently split. By way of example, Kaobawä's group trades sporadically with the Makorima-teri, Duiyari-teri, Widokaiya-teri, Mahekodo-teri, and Iyawei-teri. These are fairly weak alliances and even permit limited fighting. His group has more intimate ties with the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mõmariböwei-teri, with whom it feasts regularly. The alliance with the Reyaboböwei-teri has even reached the point at which they are exchanging women with each other. Finally, at the other end of the scale, Kaobawä's group is at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, Möwarioba-teri, and Patanowä-teri. The first two of these groups are historically unrelated to Kaobawä's group, although they have a common history with two of his staunchest allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mõmariböwei-teri, from whom they separated in the past. The Patanowä-teri are related to Kaobawä and his followers, as was shown in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, they are bitter enemies and are at present raiding each other.

Although there is no rigid geographical correlation of the village settlement pattern to the degree of alliance solidarity, neighboring villages usually are at least on trading terms and are not actively conducting war on each other. Should war develop between neighbors, one of the two principals will abandon its site and move to a new location. Whether the ties between neighboring villages will be one of blood, marriage exchange, reciprocal feasting, or casual trading depends on a large number of factors, particularly on village size, current warfare situation with respect to more distant groups, and the precise historical ties between the neighboring villages. Whatever the nature of the ties between neighbors, each strives to maintain its sovereignty and independence from the others.

The Yanomamö do not openly regard trade as a mechanism the ulterior function of which is to bring people repeatedly together, thus establishing an amicable basis from

342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters. In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
354 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
● 353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets etc., are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
231 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the
342 background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50 centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
[174] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
[171] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem, similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[179] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is 9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

/14 cont./

342 622 posts are joined by crossbeams; in addition, horizontal strips lead to the tall posts, whereby a gable roof is formed. Over this again lie small, thin cross-strips, on which, exactly as in the case of the large windscreens, the panos, the rectangular palm-leaf mats, are fastened. In the same manner, the rear wall and the two side-walls are also provided with panos. Between the two ends of the front side there are fastened three poles half a meter high, which are often used as sitting places. The entrance, which is one meter wide, is on the right-hand narrow side. The fire burns in the center of the hut, and in a triangle around it are fastened the hammocks in which the chief, his two wives, and the children sleep. All the implements hang on the crossbeams and on the plaiting of the rear wall.

[354] [352] [353]

343 To the right, next to the chief's house, stands a small, open hut which is four meters long, two meters wide, and six meters high. Here, too, the roof has a gable-shape and is likewise covered with panos made of ubim leaves. Under the roof is found a latticework pen about 1.60 X 2 meters, which is used as a rooster coop.

342 From an architectural standpoint, this open, almost circular construction, in which, to be sure, the chief's hut and the coop for the roosters form two foreign bodies added later -- represents an unexcelled method of building, particularly for this hot, tropical region. The circular shape prevents the wind from entering, and the rain, too, cannot reach the families living in the dead angle under the roofs. Moreover, there is always pleasantly fresh air, so that even upon leaving this maloka there is no danger of catching cold. Tribes or groups living in closed malokas are much more subject to respiratory ailments when they leave the warm community house and step out into the cool morning or night air. This maloka of the Surára may doubtless be regarded as one of the oldest and most primitive types of construction of the South American Indians. Around the community house, plantings have been laid out (Ill. 37) and at the present time extend to the middle of the mountain slopes.

[174] 241

/201 cont./

342 The two windscreens had two posts stuck superficially into the ground at a distance of two meters apart. Contiguous to the post there was a smaller stake tied to it with a bejuco. The roof of this screen was covered with interlaced branches and roofed with platanillo leaves and supported with a slight inclination against two posts. The roof projects from the posts some [352] 40 centimeters and touches the ground at its lower edge. In these houses the Sanemá hang their hammocks of bejuco or majagua. In some ranchos we found vestiges of fire.

177 The houses of Makiritare type (rectangular or oblong) are 342 small-scale imitations and have only one room. The roofs, made of palm leaves, are of two rectangular slopes and are raised on four or six posts. The edges of the roof are straight or rounded. The walls consist of bark or juxtaposed sticks. They have an average dimension of four meters long by two meters wide and approximately three high. Each house has one or two 353 quite narrow doors. Within the house (of the Makiritare type) [179] the greatest disorder reigns: from the roof and from the walls hang baskets, gourds, weapons, leather bags, tobacco, palm fruit, hammocks /chinchorros/ of bejuco, majagua, and cotton. On the floor there are hearths, firewood, cooking utensils, guapas with spindle and cotton, yuca graters, dogs, and children, all in confusion without order or arrangement. It is clear that they are not used to living under a roof, and the house is a place for storing things rather than a habitation.

105 The technology of the Sanemá is very little-developed, and 422 precisely for this reason one can classify the Sanemá (and 484 the Yanoama in general) as representatives of the most backward peoples of America and of the whole world. It would seem that the ideal of these seminomadic Indians is: omnia mea mecum porto -- everything that is mine I carry with me! and, apart from their weapons, a few implements, and a basket, it is unusual [352] for them to carry anything else on their travels. They do not even transport their hammocks /202/ of bejuco or majagua from one camp to another, but rather make new ones each time they need them.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waïka musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waïkas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waïkas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
516
251
262
415
352
353

Clay pots and banana (plantain) poles; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Mamo-teri men shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

142
291
516
411
342
726

Surára
Pakidái

/10 cont./

114 142 is true, the related Surára and Pakidái, as well as the Waiká in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco, embody a type that is strange to us (see Ills. 9-24 /see pp. 270-274/ and ills. in Zerries, 1959), but certainly not one that is repulsive to that extent.

342

VI. Technology and Material Culture

1. House Forms

The Surára and Pakidái are familiar with four different house-forms. The simplest and probably the earliest form, which at present, however, is used only as overnight quarters by one family during the expeditions in the virgin forest, is similar to a wind-screen /Windschirm/ (Ill. 4). It is built in the following way: In front, one or two supports, 2-2.50 meters long, are set into the ground at intervals as long as a hammock; about three meters behind these there are two weaker supports, 1-1.50 meters long, at somewhat longer intervals. The upper ends are joined together with poles; cipó-titca (a type of liana) serves as lashing material. The poles are also frequently tied to trees standing a short distance apart, instead of the rear supports. Over this 12 to 15 thinner poles are placed crosswise, and on top of these four to six are placed lengthwise. This results in a more or less steep frame-[824] work which has the shape of a lean-to roof (Ill. 4). Palm leaves are laid on this so that the hut gives secure protection against the rain; even the most severe tropical thunderstorms cannot [352] harm the Indians sleeping under it. The hammocks are fastened [354] in the form of a triangle around the fire burning in the center; In the case of larger families, two hammocks often hang one above the other.

361 /11/ If the entire tribe is on the march, the huts of the individual families are always placed in a circle around the chief's hut standing in the center, after the virgin forest has been hastily cleared to a certain extent beforehand. The space between the huts is five to eight meters.

342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters. In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
● 354 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc.,
231 are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
342 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50 centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
[174] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
[171] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem, similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[177] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is 9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

/14 cont./

342 622 posts are joined by crossbeams; in addition, horizontal strips lead to the tall posts, whereby a gable roof is formed. Over this again lie small, thin cross-strips, on which, exactly as in the case of the large windscreens, the panos, the rectangular palm-leaf mats, are fastened. In the same manner, the rear wall and the two side-walls are also provided with panos. Between the two ends of the front side there are fastened three poles half a meter high, which are often used as sitting places. The entrance, which is one meter wide, is on the right-hand narrow side. The fire burns in the center of the hut, and in a triangle around it are fastened the hammocks in which the chief, his two wives, and the children sleep. All the implements hang on the crossbeams and on the plaiting of the rear wall.

[354] [352] [353]

343 To the right, next to the chief's house, stands a small, open hut which is four meters long, two meters wide, and six meters high. Here, too, the roof has a gable-shape and is likewise covered with panos made of ubim leaves. Under the roof is found a latticework pen about 1.60 X 2 meters, which is used as a rooster coop.

342 From an architectural standpoint, this open, almost circular construction, in which, to be sure, the chief's hut and the coop for the roosters form two foreign bodies added later -- represents an unexcelled method of building, particularly for this hot, tropical region. The circular shape prevents the wind from entering, and the rain, too, cannot reach the families living in the dead angle under the roofs. Moreover, there is always pleasantly fresh air, so that even upon leaving this maloka there is no danger of catching cold. Tribes or groups living in closed malokas are much more subject to respiratory ailments when they leave the warm community house and step out into the cool morning or night air. This maloka of the Surára may doubtless be regarded as one of the oldest and most primitive types of construction of the South American Indians. Around the community house, plantings have been laid out (Ill. 37) and at the present time extend to the middle of the mountain slopes.

[174]

241

/210 cont./

594 family exists as a definite cell in that tribe, assuming all the
621 functions and all the specific responsibilities of that social entity. Thus, there exists the formal arrangement of marriage, which sanctions sexual contact between the spouses and guarantees procreation. There exists economic co-operation among the members of the nuclear family, which organizes work and apportions the necessary subsistance and, in this way,
[86] injects persistence in the family's living together. There are practically no tasks which exceed the capacity of the nuclear family and the children learn the way of life directly from their parents and elders.

594 The most visible center of the nuclear family is the fire
● 354 around which they eat and sleep. From here they go out to their work and, upon their return, reassemble at the fireside. After a long trip, the man takes the small sticks from his quiver and makes a fire; there is a new fire; a new home is established.

596 Each individual Sanemá belongs also to an extended family
621 made up according to the residence rules already explained. The local group /211/ consists of two or more of these extended families of the same bilateral kinsfolk and form /sic/ a band. This local group or band is the largest social unit to which
[619] a Sanemá belongs. The terms "subtribe" and "tribe" which we use are artificial terms lacking in real meaning for the Sanemá. But the band is definitely a familiar concept for him, one which he knows very well and with which he identifies. The band guarantees economic and social stability, and its well-being benefits the individual member, who feels tied to it by a multitude of family ties.

621 Each local group has innumerable enemies, while the circle
628 of friends is extremely small. Contact between all of one group with a neighboring group is rare, but does sometimes occur. They sometimes get together for commercial reasons or at funeral ceremonies, but their friendship is weak and unstable.

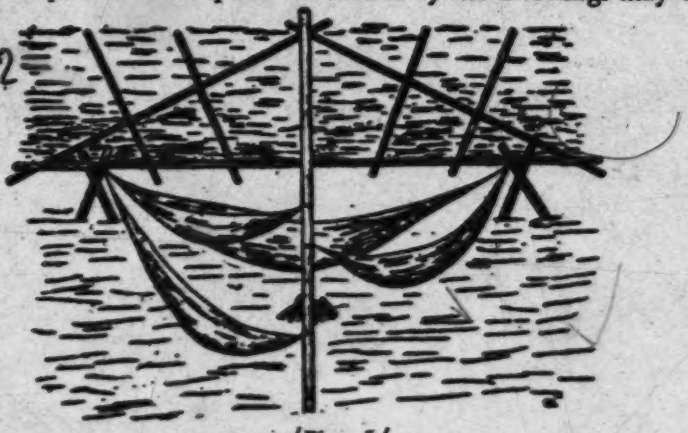
601 We were unable, for lack of an informant, to obtain a list of
582 kinship terms. Our impression is that a Hawaiian system is involved.
600 One may not marry a female cross or parallel cousin. There are

/459/

352 [364] Hammocks are hung triangularly from the posts which support the roof, and a fire is lighted in the center. If it is necessary, one hammock may be hung above another, in such a way that this triangle of two meters may shelter six persons (Fig. 5).

351 [361] These dwellings are located so as to form a circle, with their high and open fronts oriented toward the center of the patio. This space surrounded by the dwellings may or may not

352



/Fig. 5/

351 be completely cleared, but at least all of the small brush is removed from the front and immediate sides. Sometimes they also clear the ground of weeds for space of one meter behind the houses.

356 The dirt floor is cleaned by sweeping or scraping it at least once a day (although between one cleaning and another there might well accumulate on it many platano skins and other objects). The rubbish is piled up, using the hands or a piece of firewood; then it is carried and thrown outside of the central patio Great piles of rubbish and waste accumulate at the edge of these cleared areas. Sometimes they use a flat basket for carrying the rubbish, and very frequently it is carried with nothing but the hands, since they do not always have a basket available, or it might be in use for other jobs.

/468 cont./

Traveling and Transportation

487 They make almost all their trips on foot by paths and trails. Bridges are built over the largest rivers. Other rivers are waded or crossed on tree trunks.

/469/ New paths are marked by breaking branches in passing. On old roads they indicate the path or paths which have not been taken, leaving some object or a little pile of leaves at the entrance of same. A stick may be tied to an abandoned dwelling to indicate in what direction the former occupant has moved.
621 (A settlement may split up into groups when it abandons the
166 site in the area of the "conuco," and therefore this sign does not necessarily mean that the entire settlement has gone off in that direction.)

166 The Guaika /Waica/ travel frequently, but generally not
628 very far. The nearest settlement -- perhaps a day away -- is usually as far as they go. The settlement beyond this might be an enemy settlement, or at least not very friendly. Even neighboring settlements have such bad relations with one another that
628 they rarely visit among themselves. But the settlements which
574 are on friendly terms visit each other very frequently, and, when both live in the areas of the conucos, visitors come and go between them every few days.

574 The reasons for visiting are principally to see friends or to stay until their own "conuco" (which might be in a period of little production) begins to produce again.

Standards of Living

513
[342] The Guaika /Waica/ consider it essential to sleep every night under a roof. Thus, they always build some sort of shelter.

A fire is also essential. A Guaika will not sleep without
[354] a fire at night. He needs it to obtain heat and to protect himself from animals, and with the fire he feels safer from evil spirits.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waïka musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waïkas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waïkas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

342 some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump. The four main posts of the individual house are then sunk into the ground, two short ones about 5 feet high at the back, and two longer ones about 10 feet high at the front (see Fig. 2–4, a and c). The rear posts are placed about 8 or 9 feet away from the front posts, and both pairs are approximately the same distance from each other as well. After these have been tamped securely into the holes, cross poles are lashed to the tops of them, and then long, slender saplings some 20 to 30 feet long are laid about a foot apart from each other on top of the cross poles and secured with vine lashings. Since the two rear posts are only about half as high as those at the front, the long roof poles protrude upward at an angle of 25 to 30 degrees toward the village clearing. A vine is then strung along the bottom of the long, protruding saplings, looped around each pole, and run the entire length of the house. The leaves used in the thatch have a long stem; the individual leaves are bent over the vine where the stem joins the leaf, and the first row of thatching goes on. When this row is completed, another vine, about 8 inches above the first one, is again strung along the entire length of the house and secured to each of the long saplings where it crosses them. The next row of thatch is then put in place; the leaf is inserted into the thatch of the first row of leaves and bent over the second vine. It overlaps the first row of leaves when it is bent down (see Fig. 2–5). The leaves are placed about an inch apart, resulting in a thoroughly impermeable roof. When the rows of leaves reach the two front main posts, a scaffolding is erected, and the roofing is extended to completely cover the entire length of the 30 foot saplings. A fringe of palm leaves is then hung from the top of the roof, adding a little decoration to the structure. An upright pole from the scaffolding is left to support the overhang, since the weight of the leaves might break the slender poles. These uprights, some 20 feet high, are spaced every 15 feet or so around the village.

361 At this point the village looks like a series of individual houses arranged in a more or less neat circle, a gap of about 3 feet separating the individual houses from each other. These gaps are roofed over by the men whose houses are adjacent to them, and the village then looks like a continuous roof surrounding an open plaza. Some of the gaps are not completely roofed over in order to leave additional exits; the roofing is started at the lower crossbeams, giving an exit about 3 to 5 feet high.

354 Small houses in some areas are simply round structures with a smoke hole at the top, such as the first house shown in Fig. 2–4a. The Yąnomamö *shabono* appears to have developed from such a structure by simply pulling the roof away from the center until the smoke hole grew so large that it, in effect, became a center plaza. Fig. 2–4a shows three house types that are found in Yąnomamö country. They are not so much distinct types as different sizes of a single type, the size being a function of the number of people the house shelters.

354 Where the village is located at a relatively high elevation, palm fronds or banana leaves are placed in front of the house to keep the smoke, and, hence, the heat, in the house. At lower elevations these palm fronds are usually found only at the east end of the *shabono*; they are used to keep the bright rays of the afternoon sun out of the house.

A new *shabono* is very attractive; it smells of freshly cut leaves, looks clean and tidy, and is cooled by the breeze as it drops down into this tiny hole in the otherwise uninterrupted canopy of the forest.

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

Surára
Pakidái

/90 cont./

514 [264] There is frequent belching during and after eating, and it happens not infrequently that a member of the family breaks wind, often with a loud noise, which, however, is received with happy laughter, without any damage to the appetite. Both sexes also spit a great deal as a result of the tobacco rolls which they have in the mouth almost constantly (see p. 190).

Urination is done in the immediate vicinity of the maloka during the day and in the hearth at night. Men and boys always urinate in a squatting position, just like women and girls. For their other needs they all go a bit deeper into the forest clearing during the day, or even to the edge of the forest. When they have finished, they rub the seat back and forth a few times on the ground or against a tree trunk. The mother holds small children, in case she happens to be lying in the hammock, over the edge of it. Then she wipes her hand or lower arm across its seat a few times, or, if necessary, she uses a little stick to clean it. The little heap is covered with ashes or earth and stamped into the ground by the mother. If an adult has more important business to attend to at night, he digs a small hole beside the hammock and subsequently covers it with ashes or earth. Old or sick persons do this during the day as well. The reason that [825] [996] the Surára and Pakidái do not leave the maloka at night for the aforementioned purpose is because they are afraid of snakes and jaguars, as well as of nonexí, the evil spirit which transmits sickness (see p. 211). Persistent unpleasant odors are not noticeable even in closed malokas, however, since they are dispelled by the ascending smoke of the constantly burning fire.

841 During their menstruation the women do not use anything to absorb the blood (see pp. 142/143). Pools of blood that remain on the ground are obliterated by them with their feet.

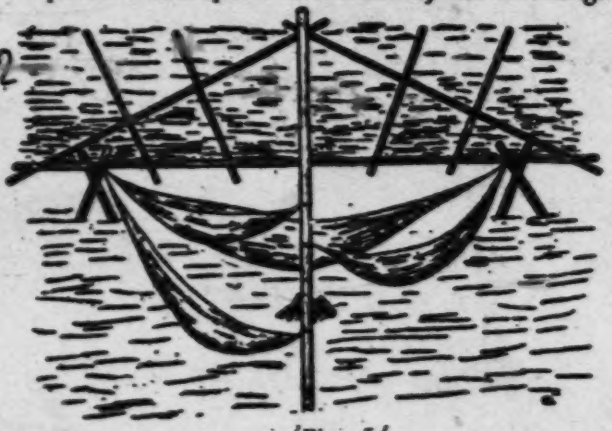
• 356 123 291 In general, however, the communal house is kept quite clean. One always sees men and women sweeping with a broom made of piaçaba fibers. For this work both sexes liked to put on the shirts and trousers or clothing which I had brought them as gift articles and which were otherwise not at all appreciated.

/459/

352 [354] Hammocks are hung triangularly from the posts which support the roof, and a fire is lighted in the center. If it is necessary, one hammock may be hung above another, in such a way that this triangle of two meters may shelter six persons (Fig. 5).

351 [361] These dwellings are located so as to form a circle, with their high and open fronts oriented toward the center of the patio. This space surrounded by the dwellings may or may not

352



/Fig. 5/

351 be completely cleared, but at least all of the small brush is removed from the front and immediate sides. Sometimes they also clear the ground of weeds for space of one meter behind the houses.

• 356 The dirt floor is cleaned by sweeping or scraping it at least once a day (although between one cleaning and another there might well accumulate on it many platano skins and other objects). The rubbish is piled up, using the hands or a piece of firewood; then it is carried and thrown outside of the central patic Great piles of rubbish and waste accumulate at the edge of these cleared areas. Sometimes they use a flat basket for carrying the rubbish, and very frequently it is carried with nothing but the hands, since they do not always have a basket available, or it might be in use for other jobs.

/115 cont./

101 the language of the Waika, Shidishana, or Shamatairi, therefore the neighboring Indians as well.

Thus the term "Yanoama" refers to the cultural and linguistic identity; it does not have the least political aspect. There is no tribe of the Yanoama, nor is there any tribe of the Waika, the Shidishana, or the Shamatairi. At most one can speak of the "people"; but one must bear in mind that there is no institution, no office, that is representative of this people. Also the cognizance of this term in the thinking of the natives /116/ remains general and therefore inevitably vague, parallel to the small amount of geographical knowledge, which is limited to what they themselves have traversed, that is, as a rule, to the circle of the nearest villages, which are about one to two days' journey away from one's own.

101 621 Geopolitical thought, which would find expression in a more extensive political organization, is unknown to the Yanoama; their conceptual world revolves around the village.

The village is the unit in which one thinks and after which one names himself: when questioned a Waika will never answer that he is a Waika or a Yanoama, but rather will give his village name, say, "Bolitaotedi," whereby "tedi" (village), like the Spanish "pueblo," refers less to the settlement and more to the

829 people who live in it. It seems obvious that one is a Waika, for the slight contact with civilization has not yet led in their thinking to distinguishing their own culture from that of foreigners; the foreigner has remained an individual guest with peculiar habits and has not yet become the representative of a large, strange

101 621 world. It is not obvious, however, to which village one belongs; village membership is the decisive political and sociological characteristic of the individual.

361 Externally the village is a clearing in the virgin forest, usually oval in ground plan, with a large diameter from 30 to 100 meters;

[162] the houses line the edge of this clearing. On the average a village is inhabited by about 100 persons. The villages of the Shamatairi south of the Orinoco, however, are much larger; according to our

/116 cont./

361 scanty knowledge, their population varies between 200 and 300.
161 Whereas there in the unexplored south organizational forms for
[621] larger numbers of people have evidently developed, the socio-
logical system of the Waika is organized for only the above-named
figure of a hundred village inhabitants; a surplus of births is
answered by village partition.

628 The politically independent villages are partners in war and
peace and for trading and visiting, and the momentary, frequently
changing relationships of the villages to one another give the
political situation in Waika territory its stamp. Let us first look
721 at the hostile relationships. Affairs involving women are for the
[583] most part the cause of war; if a wife is sought in other villages,
and if the offer is turned down, one resorts to abducting a woman.
Once there has been bloodshed in quarrels originating from this,
the war is self-perpetuating; the original cause has not been for-
gotten, to be sure, but because of its slight intensity in the con-
ceptual world it in no way suffices as a motive for the continuation
726 of the war. Rather, what does not permit breaking the chain of
attacks repeated at intervals of a few months, in which the enemy
men are killed, but the women abducted, /117/ is ideas and analogous
728 to blood revenge. Concluding peace is possible only when there has
been no bloodshed for a long period of time, and hostile relations
628 often last for generations. Thus Waika country is covered with a
network of hostile relationships of varying degrees, and, picking
a village at random, one can distinguish a series of villages that
are friendly, benevolently indifferent, neutral, sympathetic with
[726] the enemy, and, finally, completely hostile. For no two villages,
however, is this series completely identical; there are no ex-
tensive alliances; war is an affair of the individual village, and a
friendly village is aided only if there are personal reasons for
hostility. No Waika village is without an enemy, and because
of the many crisscrossings of the degrees of relationships the
political situation is extremely complicated. We therefore see
that even on the broadest social plane -- that of the people as
a cultural and linguistic whole -- there is a very pronounced

/119 cont./

000 621 431 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation -- is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but, on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance. 621 166 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion, namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements, which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a [361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their [342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried children. 262 245 174 166 The new place is chosen according to the possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting; nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this migration, for even during this period they continue to live from the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent [222] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on [224] gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the past.

Surára
Pakidái

/10 cont./

114 142 is true, the related Surára and Pakidái, as well as the Waiká in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco, embody a type that is strange to us (see Ills. 9-24 /see pp. 270-274/ and ills. in Zerries, 1959), but certainly not one that is repulsive to that extent.

342

VI. Technology and Material Culture

1. House Forms

The Surára and Pakidái are familiar with four different house-forms. The simplest and probably the earliest form, which at present, however, is used only as overnight quarters by one family during the expeditions in the virgin forest, is similar to a wind-screen /Windschirm/ (Ill. 4). It is built in the following way: In front, one or two supports, 2-2.50 meters long, are set into the ground at intervals as long as a hammock; about three meters behind these there are two weaker supports, 1-1.50 meters long, at somewhat longer intervals. The upper ends are joined together with poles; cipó-titca (a type of liana) serves as lashing material. The poles are also frequently tied to trees standing a short distance apart, instead of the rear supports. Over this 12 to 15 thinner poles are placed crosswise, and on top of these four to six are placed lengthwise. This results in a more or less steep framework which has the shape of a lean-to roof (Ill. 4). Palm leaves are laid on this so that the hut gives secure protection against the rain; even the most severe tropical thunderstorms cannot harm the Indians sleeping under it. The hammocks are fastened in the form of a triangle around the fire burning in the center; In the case of larger families, two hammocks often hang one above the other.

[824] [352] [354]

361 /11/ If the entire tribe is on the march, the huts of the individual families are always placed in a circle around the chief's hut standing in the center, after the virgin forest has been hastily cleared to a certain extent beforehand. The space between the huts is five to eight meters.

Surára
Pakidái

/11 cont./

342
114
[184]

Exactly the same construction is shown by Salathé for the Karimé (49), Zerries for the Waiká (50), and Koch-Grünberg for

49. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 298-300 and Fig. 1 and 2.

50. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

the Xiriána (Schirianá) on the upper Uraricapará; the latter, however, calls the lean-to type of hut a storm-shelter /Wetterschirm/ (51). This name is not suitable, however, for a

51. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Pl. 43 b and c.

genuine storm-shelter, also called windscreen, touches the ground on one side. In the method of construction described and likewise in Koch-Grünberg's drawings, however, the roof rests on supports everywhere. The circular arrangement of the huts is also mentioned in Koch-Grünberg. In this connection the scholar expresses the opinion that this is only a temporary camp (52), which I am

361
114

52. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Plate 43 a.

now able to confirm with respect to the Surára and Pakidái. On the other hand, Koch-Grünberg, Salathé, and Zerries say nothing about a hut standing in the center. Among the Surára and Pakidái, however, this is never absent. The reason for it, these Indians told me, was to protect the chief sleeping in it from hostile attacks. Moreover, two warriors must always guard the camp at night.

[622]

361

Along the routes of travel of the Surára and Pakidái in the area between the Demini and Aracá rivers, one finds many such abandoned camps. They are never occupied a second time as overnight quarters, however, although the construction is often

/11 cont./

361 very well preserved and only the roofs would need to be covered with fresh palm leaves.

One exception is Camp Xiwarí, which is 35 kilometers north of the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá. Three-fourths [342] of the circle, which is 28 meters in diameter, is made up of ten of the small huts described, while a similarly constructed dwelling seven meters long and five meters high occupies the remaining fourth. In the center of the circle, as usual, stands the chief's [241] hut. Around the camp, rocas (forest clearings) have been laid out, where bananas, pupunha palms, manioc, species of sweet [271] potatoes, and tobacco are planted. The Surára stay here every year between the months of October and December. In the [756] large huts at that time two young men about 20 years old are always trained as medicine man's helpers for two months by the chief and his brother (see pp. 143 f.).

342 The second house-form is a large, open, almost circular
361 maloka which lies in a valley between three short mountain ranges, 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco (Ill. 5). This is a construction (see Fig. 1 /see p. 27 /) which has not been documented up to now for South American Indians. During the dry season it is occupied by the Surára and Pakidái jointly. As the more detailed explanation will show, this house form developed from the circularly arranged small huts which serve as overnight quarters. Camp Xiwarí described above clearly shows the transitional form.

361 Around an area 52 meters long and 48 meters wide three curved
342 windscreens about six meters high are erected (Ill. 6), as well as a rectangular house with gable roof, open toward the inner area. The length of the largest windscreen is 74.40 meters and that of the other two 28.60 and 25.40 meters, respectively. The chief's rectangular house is 9.70 meters long. Four entrances, 8 meters, 6.80 meters, 6.30 meters, and 2 meters wide respectively, lead toward the large open circular area. A fifth entrance, which is only one meter high and 50 centimeters wide, however, is inside the largest windscreen. Moreover, it should be mentioned that

343 /11 cont./ Moreover, it should be mentioned that
342 between the chief's house and the windscreen that is 24.80 meters
361 long there stands a four-meter-long, rectangular, open gabled-hut, the rooster coop (Ill. 7). /12/ /Fig. 1 appears here./

342 /13/ The three windscreens are built as follows: Toward the interior, posts 3.30-3.60 meters high are set up at irregular intervals. Behind them, at intervals of 2.60 meters, stand smaller posts which are about 1.20 meters high. The front and rear posts are joined by strips which are allowed to project about two [824] meters at the top. Here, too, cipó-titica, a type of liana, serves for fastening them. Over these strips, at intervals of 50-70 centimeters, 31-35 thinner cross-strips are laid, which produces a windscreen construction. In contrast to the lean-to type of hut described above, these are genuine, albeit specially large windscreens, for they touch the ground on one side. They are about seven meters deep and the height of the roof is up to six meters. [824] For roof covering the leaves of the ubim palm (Geonoma sp.) are [171] used, the "tiles" of the Amazon. The rubber gatherers, the palm-fiber gatherers, the planters, and woodcutters also use these leaves as roof and wall covering, the durability of which is four to five years.

824 The ubim palm, which is very common in the Demini-Aracá area, reaches a height of only 1.50-2 meters. The leaves are 80 centimeters to one meter long and from 25 to 30 centimeters [461] wide. The gathering of these is quite strenuous and demands four to five hours of hard work. They are cut off or broken off and at first laid on top of one another in piles. When the Indian has gathered enough leaves, he clears a small rectangular place in the forest for a distance of about four meters. At this distance he thrusts three sticks, one meter high, into the ground on either side directly opposite one another. These are joined together with lianas. Then piles of eight to ten leaves are placed next to one another over the three liana strips. When he comes to the end, the Indian places additional piles of eight to ten leaves in the interspaces, but this time with the stem pointing toward the opposite side. He repeats this several times until finally all the gathered

[Text Continues on P. 28]

2. Becher--27 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

342
343
361
622

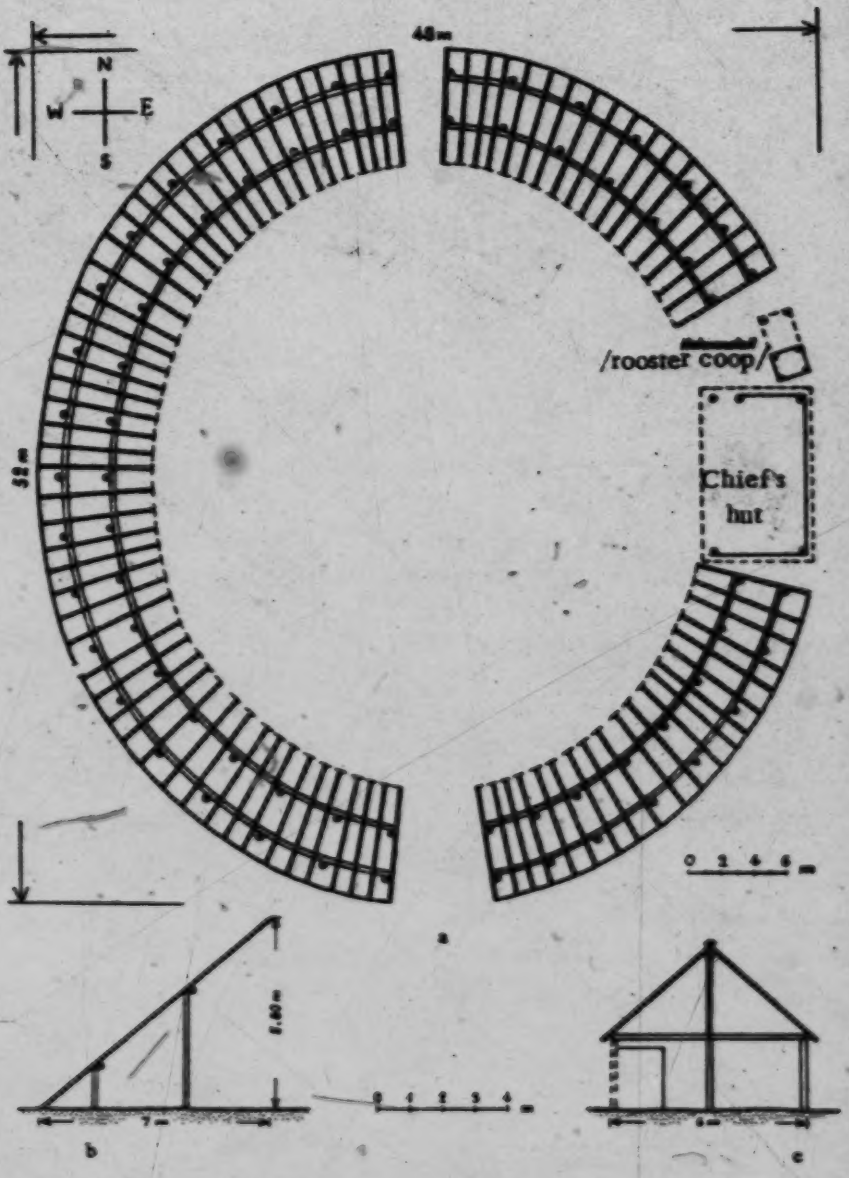


Fig. 1a-c. Ground plan and cross-section of the open maloka with chief's hut.

/15/

342 184 As a third house-form, on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá I became acquainted with a closed, circular maloka ten meters high with a gable roof. The Surára told me that this type of construction is customary among the Xiriána. Up to now, however, there has been no description of it.

• 36 313 The construction, as in the case of the open maloka, is carried out by all the men of the tribe, under the direction of the chief, as communal work. I had the good fortune to be present at this construction in all its phases. First, a section of the forest, upon which the maloka is to be erected, is cleared. The men start by cutting down the small trees and bushes and pulling out the roots. Then they proceed to fell the large trees. Before two men with their axes set to work on a tree, however, one man climbs it and fastens a very long liana just under the crown. When the tree is then notched so far that it threatens to fall, three or four men pull it down to the ground by means of the liana and, as the tree falls, quickly leap to one side. When all the trees are cut, the roots are dug out with the help of the terçados (large bush-knives) and the hands. Meanwhile other men pull out the underbrush on the ground. During the next two or three days, trees are cut in the virgin forest to serve as building material. After that the chief, assisted by two or three men, 342 marks off a circular area by means of a liana. Then the building starts, and, after only eight days, presents the following completed construction: On either side of three center posts ten meters high, which constitute the ridge, four posts eight meters high stand in a semicircle. At a greater distance from these posts 21 small stakes, each five meters high, are driven into the ground in a semicircle around the posts mentioned. The tall posts, as well as the medium-sized and small ones, are joined by means of two cross-strips at the upper ends and two meters below this. Moreover, numerous horizontal rods are fastened to the cross-strips of the 21 outer posts, by means of which the house wall is formed. Sixty-nine horizontal poles, which are supposed to support the frame of the roof, run from the upper cross-strips of the small posts, over those of the middle posts, which serve as supports, to those of the

Surárq
Pakidai

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying
● [361] and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka
[622] is erected. This roça (forest clearing) -- hikarí --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, carâ, cotton,
[462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

[184] 368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

[134] falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132] 369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

24
36
166 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka
245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones; since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

Surára
Pakidái

/80 cont./

241 166 361 It is worth mentioning that at present in the course of one year the Surára as well as the Pakidái regularly carry on their field work in two places that are far apart. During the rainy season, April-September, the Surára, as is well known, live at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá and the Pakidái on a right tributary of the middle Demini, where they also own fields. On the other hand, they spend the summer season together in the large, open Surára maloka (between the Demini and Aracá rivers), around which was laid out a roça which was large enough to be divided among the Surára and Pakidái families. Thus, both tribes always have the benefit of abundant harvests at their permanent dwelling sites. In addition, there are the bananas and pupunha fruits of the abandoned fields, to which the entire tribe travels at the time of this harvest, or gathering expeditions are undertaken to bring in chestnuts, inga, and other kinds of wild fruits.

244 423 Since, however, on account of the seminomadic way of life of these Indians, one forest clearing or another is left untended for shorter or longer periods, there is the danger that in the meantime members of hostile tribes will break in and take possession of the produce there. Provision is made for this, however. Before the tribe leaves one of its clearings, a few men commissioned by the chief stick several wooden arrow points and thorns of the pupunha palm, coated with poison, into the ground and put leaves over them. Hostile Indians with plunder in view therefore risk the danger of running these into their legs (370).

[291] 370. All Indians of this region go barefoot.

[184] As I was told, this custom is resorted to by all Yanonámi tribes, and for this reason no Indian would ever think of setting foot on the deserted clearing of another tribe (371).

[114] 371. This hint may be of the greatest importance for research travelers who want to work in this region.

2: Becher--268 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/3/

342

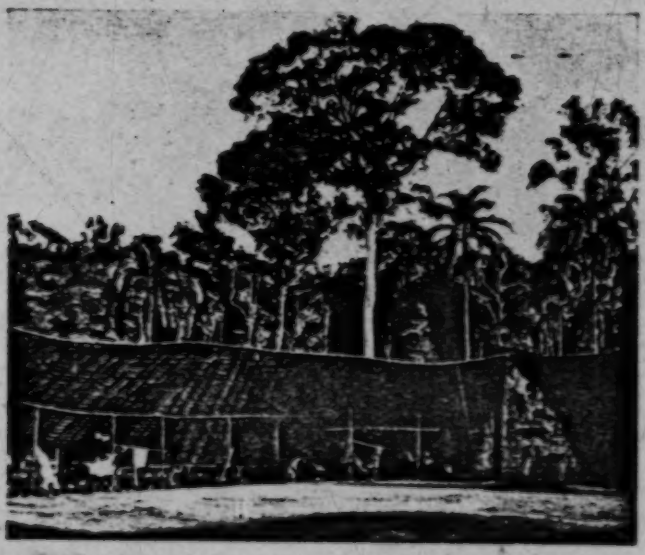
Ill. 4. Construction of family overnight quarters during migrations of the tribe

133
137
361

Ill. 5. View of the large open Surára maloka in the region between the Demini and Aracá

2: Becher--269 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

14/
137
342
361



Ill. 6. A section of the large, open Surára maloka

342
361
231
343
622

Ill. 7. Chief's hut (right) and rooster pen inside the Surára maloka

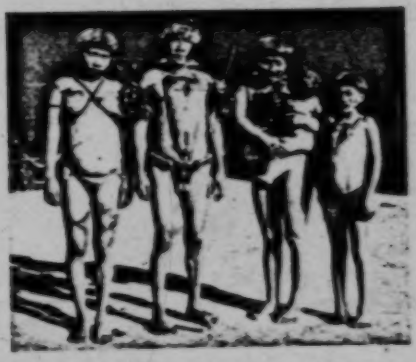
2- Becher--270 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

342
361

Ill. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)

142
301
302
291
622

Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)



Ill. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children

142
291
301
302
854
622

142
301
302

Ill. 11. Kurikayawó, the younger brother of the Surára chief

Guahibo SC14 Sanema
Yabarana 5522 Saliva 5515
Makiritare 5520 Panare 5521

/13 cont./ searching primarily for a new source of food and not so much for a better means of communication. The typical Venezuelan Caribe, at least at the present time, is a man who loves land (Pemón, Cariña, Panare, Yabarana, Yupa), and the Makiritare, river men, represent an exception among them.

According to the relative importance which the river has among the different tribes, nuclei of them are found along the principal aquatic arteries, such as those of the Makiritare, or at a distance from them, on the tributaries and headwaters, as among the Panare, Yabarana, Guahibo, and Sanemá. This circumstance is of the utmost importance for the study of these Indians. The farther away they live from the river, the more difficult it is to make contact and to live with them. Thus the Panare are even less known than are the Makiritare and the Piaroa, and we are presenting in the present report the first relatively ample information on the Sanemá and Yabarana. /14/ /Map appears here./

/15/ The three weeks which we spent among the Panare were very laborious, and the time among the Sanemá was very hard physically.

In spite of these difficulties, which in comparison with those of a voyage at the beginning of the century are insignificant, the zone is open for any type of communication. One can go by airplane to Caicara, Puerto Ayacucho, San Juan de Manapiare, and Cucurí (between the Tenqua and Oso Falls). Thus, for a special study of the Panare one can go from Caracas to Caicara on a flight of a few hours and then continue by jeep and arrive on the same day at the first bohio of the Panare. In order to study the Piaroa, one goes by airplane as far as Puerto Ayacucho and then on by foot or by curiara. The Yabarana can be visited in the dry season, going by regular flight to Puerto Ayacucho and from there to San Juan de Manapiare by a flight lasting 30 minutes in a small plane. One reaches the houses of the Yabarana on the same say, and in two days more the "Monteros," the most autochthonous of this tribe. In order to reach Makiritare territory and the Sanemá of the upper Ventuari, one goes by airplane to Puerto Ayacucho on a regular flight and then on to Cacurí on a flight lasting 50 minutes more or less in a small plane. In

[text continues on p. 6]

Sanema
Casapare
Makiritare SS 20
Pemon SS 16

Y
101
[127]

/182 cont./

With regard to the Casapare of the Uraricuera River, we have the data supplied us by Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 284-319), and a comparison of his "Shirishana" vocabulary with the "Shirishana" vocabulary of Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108) gives us the impression that both are very much alike, but differ greatly from the Sanemá family (cf. glotto-chronological sketch see p. 49 /). In spite of the fact that they now occupy adjacent geographic zones, we prefer to make a clear distinction in the literature between the "Shirishana" (Casapare) and "Guaharibo" (Sanemá), considering them as two different subtribes of the Yanoama tribe. According to their linguistic separation, they represent, in fact, the two extreme poles of maximum distance (18).

18. Note that this does not mean that we also continue with the old nomenclature, but rather that the name "Shirishana" of the literature corresponds to the Casapare subtribe, and the name "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá subtribe, of this work.

Y
643
P
M
648
361

From their center of distribution in Brazil, the Casapare harassed their neighbors, the Pemón and the Makiritare, with continuous raiding from the time that the latter arrived at the northern slope of the Serranía. It seems that the Taurepán (Pemón) were never able to establish a pueblo farther west than the eastern point of Maraca Island on the Uraricuera and that the Makiritare maintained their advanced posts at the cost of great losses and sacrifices, until finally they were forced to abandon them in the face of the constant threat and the imminent danger of losing their lives.

Y
M
648
361

The Makiritare began to lose ground at least some 120 years ago, when the Yanoama killed a number of Makiritare Indians (Schomburgk, 1841, pp. 437-8, 444), and it would seem that at the present time Tarakuñña on the upper Yararejuri is the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía.

Avake 555

Y 114 797 162 /186 cont./ indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1942, p. 87) they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

Y 162 167 114 /187/ This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history of the Yanoama. Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Pumpirí, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present volume only in the last decades. The marginal tribes, such as the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Y [361] A [167] [648]

Y 101 Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Urariquera River starts.

Y 491 241 According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail.

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 266

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491 494

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Ararikuera and Parima, to Boavista." They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 411

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

4: Wilbert
Y
M
102
103
131
133
● 361

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Makiritare 5520

p. 40	p. 41
p. 42	p. 43

Chart of Positions of Tribal Distribution Map (foldout). /facing p. 39/

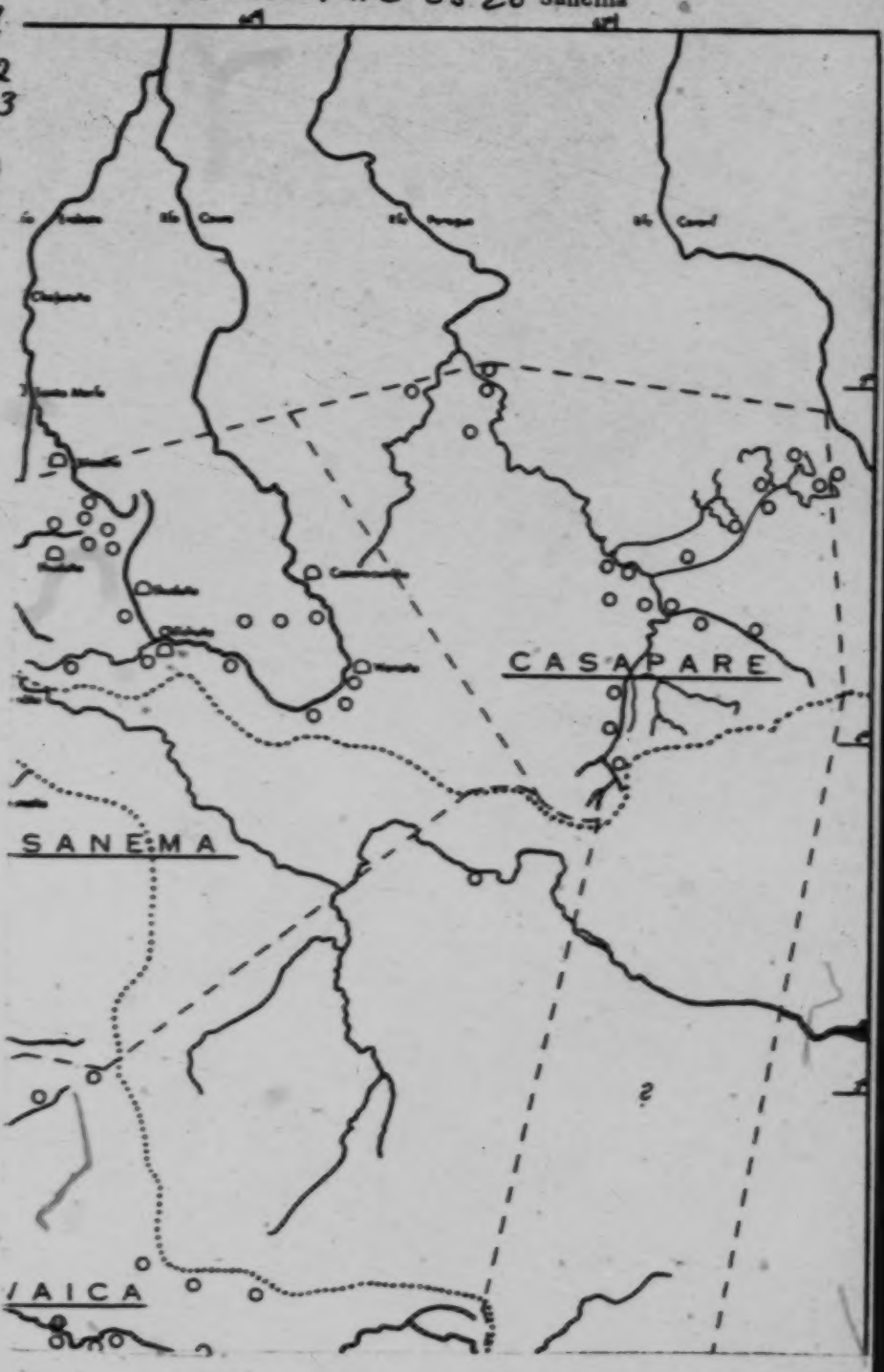
4: Wilbert--40 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●
Sanama
Makiritare SS20

M
Y
102
103
131
133
●361

4: Wilbert--41 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Makiritare SS 20 Sanema

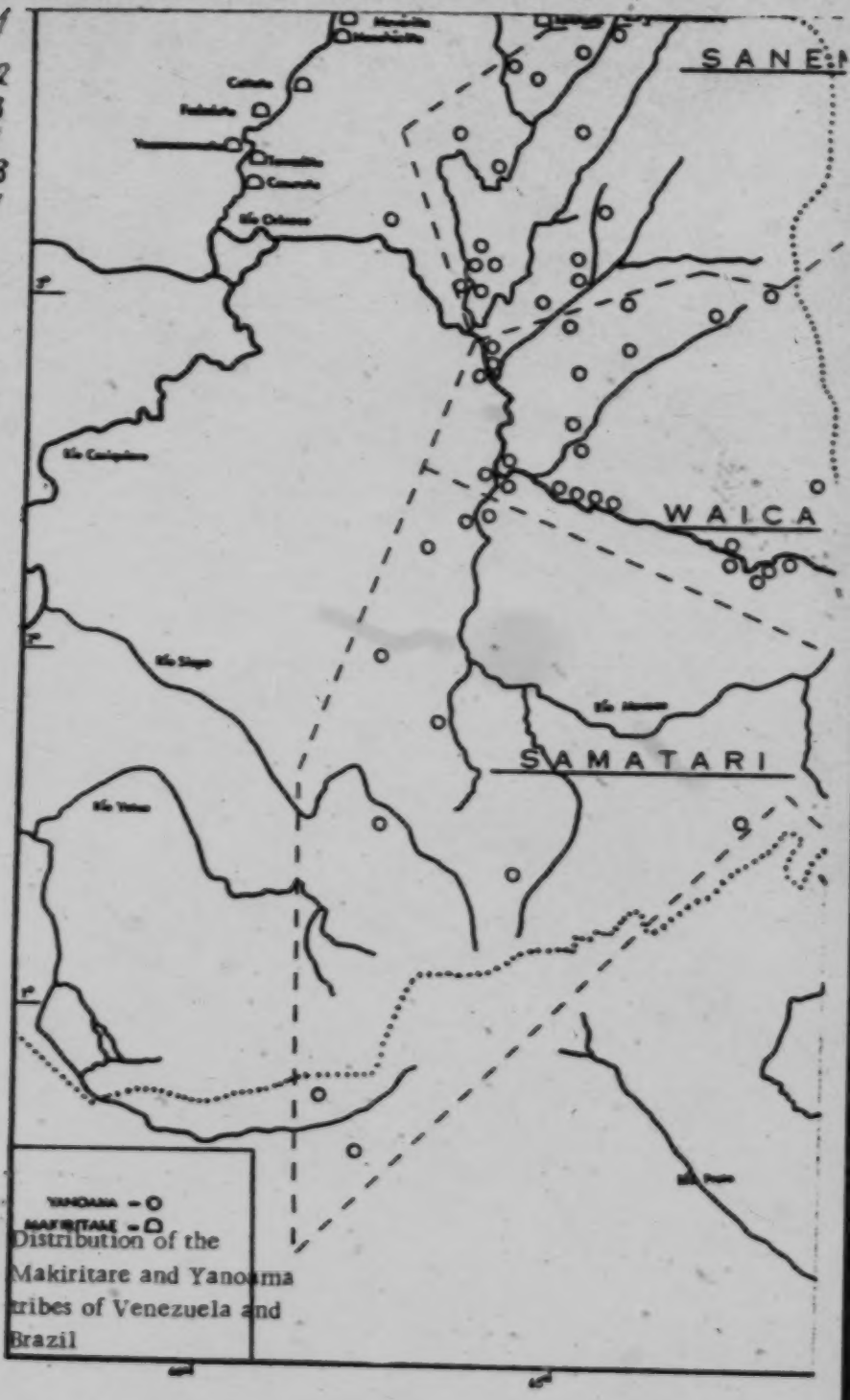
M
Y
102
103
131
133
●361



4: Wilbert--42 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Makiritare SS 2● Sanema

M
Y
102
103
131
133
● 361

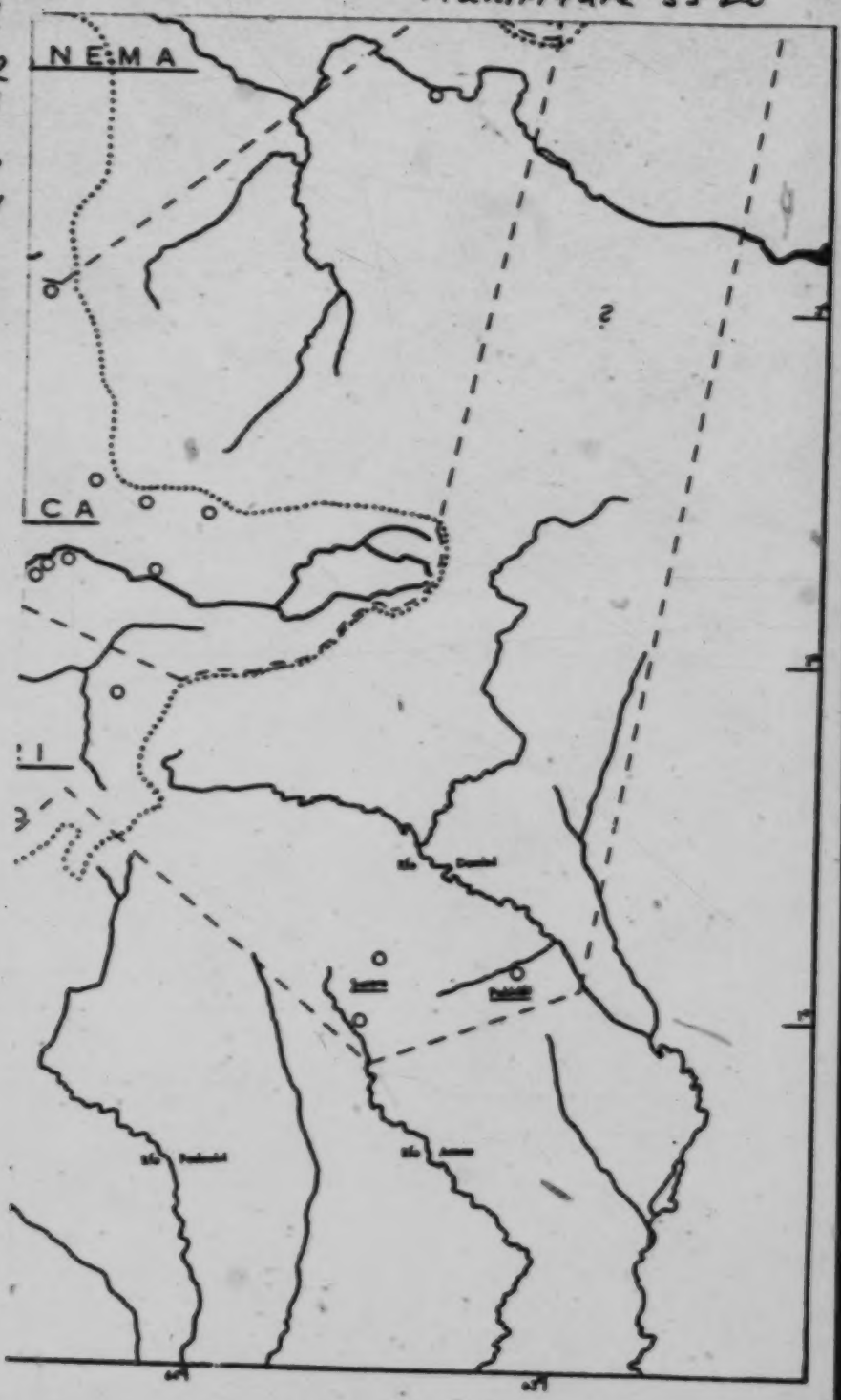


Distribution of the Makiritare and Yanoama tribes of Venezuela and Brazil

4: Wilbert--43 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 ●

Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

M
Y
102
103
131
133
●361



/200 cont./

162 C. Sanemá of the upper Ventuari (Nabudub)

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Weweña	50	The Nabudub of Ihuduña
2. Wadekuña	80	frequently move between
3. Mahanaña	50	the Ventuari and the
4. Ihuduña	200	Erebato.
Total	380 estimated individuals.	

161 According to this demographic estimation there are approximately 2,150 Sanemá in the zone of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura. We do not know how many Sanemá live on the Padamo.

342 We have seen four different types of houses among the Sanemá: (a) windscreen type, (b) triangular in shape and Makiritare system, (c) rectangular, and (d) oblong. We have found types (a) and (b) together in the same encampment on the Ventuari, facing Caño Mosquito.

342 On our trip through that place we saw two Sanemá rafts
● 361 moored on the bank of the Ventuari. We later climbed a cliff
[501] and followed a path which led us to a conuco of the Sanemá.
[137] At one end there was a gigantic algarroba tree laden with fruit.
[262] Judging from the skins scattered on the ground, we realized that the Sanemá had consumed a great quantity. Near the tree, which in times past offered them /201/ its generous shade, we found a desolate Sanemá encampment. It was made up of five
342 triangular huts and two of the windscreen type. Both types of construction seem to be typical of the Yanoama and are remarkable for their size, somewhat small. For the construction of a triangular cabin six poles 1.60 meters long are needed to serve as posts or supports. Three pairs are made out of them, each bound at the upper end with a bejuco, and with some 30 centimeters left free in order to form a fork. The lower parts of the poles are stuck into the ground at a distance of half a meter. These forks in tepee form with a separation of two meters form a
[824] regular triangle. Three sticks are later placed on the forks, and these support the roof made of platanillo /Musaceae/ leaves. A similar rancho was described by Koch-Grünberg (1923, Pl. 43).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manuera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shirians.'

We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uasa-Coco, Canasa, and Uagna. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

Manuera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Branco river in Brazil. They considered an agricultural life a peasant's life, and a dull one at that, with no possible appeal to the imagination. There were a few palavers about it, but it is well-known that among primitive peoples the old are listened to least: wisdom favours the youths and the boys, who have their whole lives in front of them—not behind them like a stream flowing away. The young men prevailed, and burned the forest. The first big hut was built according to Manuera's ideas, and served as a pattern for all the Shirians when they came to build.

So we too arrived at this 'big hut', which Manuera showed us with a pride that was scarcely justified, and here too the Shirians fled away into the woods, much to the amusement of our guides. We could hear them there, uttering their guttural cries of terror and wonderment.

Inside the hut there was no one, with the exception of two old folk stretched out in their liana hammocks. They didn't stir: it was as if they didn't even see us. One of them was a woman whose body was reddened nearly all over with *chute*—a skin disease frequent among the Indians. A macaw, scared by the sight of our beards, set up a howl on his perch and started biting through the cord which attached him to it. Manuera went off into the woods, calling the others, and the thick green swallowed him up for a good hour. We were rather afraid he would want to stop here for the night, for our stomachs were turning at the filth around us, but we had misjudged our man: Manuera was now engaged in more important business and had no desire for more than a brief, benevolent survey of his kinsfolk. We very soon got back to the boat and at last were able to take deep breaths of the fresh river and forest air.

Manuera told us that the Shirians had not been really so scared by our arrival. Indeed, they had been expecting us. But they couldn't quite pluck up the courage to look close. Our stature, our beards, our clothes and our guns, in the eyes of primitive people, turned us into supermen—dread figures, terrifying as monsters and above all, essentially evil.

The news that we were on the way had been bruited abroad by the party we had met at the *Mané* pass—and *à propos* of this, we learned from Manuera that the spider-child had died soon afterwards, somewhere on the Sabaru. It was a relief to hear this, even if the poor little monstrosity's death had been caused by the sight of us, as the Shirians thought. Manuera's gestures became wild, and his speech difficult to follow, as he tried to explain their attitude.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'I am Uaremu,' he declared to his Guayca kinsmen, who looked on him with hostile eyes because he was wearing trousers, 'Uaremu, son of Meami. I was here as a boy. A long time I have been with "the rationals" [the civilized men] and I have grown to manhood. You are my people.'

His turning up in this fashion had a touch of the fabulous about it, and his kinsmen took him along without ill-treating him. When they found him to be a man of many accomplishments, and the old men remembered how he had disappeared during Uagna's time, after an encounter with the Samatari from the Aracou lands, they kept him with them as their rightful chief, giving him unlimited freedom of action. As his obedient subjects they left it all to him.

Uaremu had never taken to civilization. For him, it had lacked something. What it had lacked, we cannot guess: the civilization of the Lower Guiana rivers may be bounded by the cloth hammock and the bottle of rum, the loose woman and the pack of cards, but it cannot be ranked any lower than the barbarianism of the Guayca, eaters of worms and snakes. But now, after his experience of life with 'the rationals', neither could the young man endure the ceaseless warfare which engaged his own peoples. The broken heads he saw round the fire in the evenings, the howls of the medicine-men at their exorcisings—all this was anathema to him. He told his kinsfolk they had better put it all aside, and grow something. From the Soto they could obtain seeds and roots. Much manioc was needed, because without it one was always hungry. Sugar-cane was a pleasant thing to suck at any time, and the children loved it. Above all, there must be bananas, as far as eye could see—the forest must be transformed into a huge garden of fruits, there for the picking. Thus, with his head full of ideas which owed their origin to the years he had spent in civilization, Luis Antonio founded a new Guayca people. They were Guayca Indians no longer, but peasants—peasants who cared for the tilling of the soil and a sure supply of food. These Guayca called themselves after him, Uaremu. They inhabited two big homesteads an hour distant from the Merevari river—a little above the mouth of the Canaracuni.

Now Luis Antonio wanted to stay with us and work, because he needed cloth for his people. We gave him what little we had been able to save from the greedy hands of Puncho's men, and he went off for a brief visit to his tribe, intending to return to Kirisochi in four days' time.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

* 423 to Las Trinqueras he would buy him red cloth, flowered dresses for his womenfolk, and that supreme Indian luxury, powder and shot for the gun, and so on.

Puncho listened with a smile, every now and then giving a little scornful laugh, which might have meant rich contentment or just plain scepticism. He winked at us—mere neutral observers—with his horribly burnt eye.

Two days later a crew was ready. Puncho himself was not going, but our three travellers were to leave in two big canoes. In twenty days they would reach Las Trinqueras and from that point the rubber planters' launch would take them on to Ciudad Bolivar. We gave them a letter for the pilots of the air charter company with whom we had an agreement. They had failed us badly. We had made it clear to the plane when it had paid us its last visit, by putting a big notice on the strip, that we had one passenger to be taken off. Jean couldn't face the thought of the journey back by water. But they had not come for her, so she stayed with us. We told them that we would be expecting a plane on the Kirisochi field on either the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth of April.

After the three had gone, a vast silence seemed to settle on the forest, touching us as well. It was sad to have said good-bye to friends like Momi and Giovanni, but by way of compensation we now had a much better balanced party. I felt free, gloriously free. The field was mine now. I could push ahead with our work to the limit, with no ethical question marks bothering me, and no remorse.

We went off with the Shirians to pay a visit to Pulipuli and to look up a [387] valuable fellow named Cesare. The Valley of the Moon can also be entered by way of the Canaracuni, along another valley which runs down from the same [362] heights and is linked with the Canaracuni by a maze of paths. On every side there are Shirian huts, tiny dilapidated affairs, each in a little clearing threatened by [361] the advance of the forest.

Cesare was not at home. In his stead we found a crowd of old acquaintances, one of them being an old Indian of great dignity whom we had nicknamed 'The Senator'. He had come to Kirisochi on our arrival there, he had been present while we were building our hut, and never had he done a hand's turn. He would watch others at work with a fine air of detachment which was really [413] remarkable. He was truly sufficient unto himself. Most of the time he spent stretched out in a hammock—a very small one made of liana—with his feet higher than his head. Periodically he scratched his back with a stick prepared and reserved for just that purpose. One of those ivory back-scratchers with a

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

island of unbroken forest, which is not crossed by any formidable water barrier. If this were the case, the Shirians, who are pre-eminently a land people, would be presented with an insurmountable obstacle.

North of the Brazilian frontier live the Shirians of the Canaracumi and the Merevari. These are divided into various clans, the most important being the Uana-Dildep, the Haruao, the Oukadeli, the Kopali, the Hana-Dildep, the Ukumatari, the Kona-Kona—they swarm like ants. Then there are the Guayca Shirians of Uarema, lately established on the Merevari, but originally from the Upper Uagna. Along the mountain watershed which extends, with frequent interruptions, from the Uagna to the centre of the highlands where the Uraricoera, the Ventuari and the Padamo rivers rise, one encounters the nomadic Samatari—the 'people of the pineapple'—a fierce and savage race of howling creatures that run in packs like animals.

The general term used by the Shirians to designate their most savage tribes is 'Guayca' (in their language, 'wild'). By the Guayca they sometimes mean the Samatari and sometimes the Ukumatari. On the Padamo and in the lowlands enclosed by the great mountains of Marahuaca and Duida—that is to the south of the central ridge—they have spread right beyond the upper reaches of the Orinoco: though in these regions there are also many of the more peaceful Shirian peoples such as the Uaika on the Uesete, the Faricete, the Matacumi, the Kologli, the Haue, and the Ish'tich—the 'people of flowers and bananas'. The Guayca and the Samatari are also to be found east of the Padamo–Orinoco–Rio Parima watershed, in the wildest and least-known territory. Isolated groups, with a touch of the legendary about them, inhabit the fringe of this region: for instance, the Kasarape, credited by all Shirians with unparalleled ferocity and cruelty. The Kasarape inhabit the right bank of the Lower Uraricoera in Brazil, and no traveller appears to have visited them yet.

How numerous are the Shirians? No one can state a figure with any certainty, but it may be accepted that they run into many thousands, and taken together represent a block that outnumbers all other races and tribes inhabiting the Orinoco and Rio Branco basin.

I had asked Luis Antonio whether it would be possible for me to be present during the confinement of his kinswoman, presuming the happy event took place during our stay, but all I got for an answer was a doubtful 'I don't know'—the formula in which the Indian takes refuge when he does not know what to say. This did not quite deny the possibility, even if it did not encourage the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

him outside the range of the magic influence which had reduced him to such a hideous condition. But evidently they had only escaped the Samatari magic to fall straight into another, which was too much for the sick child. He died, sacrificed in a duel between two magic powers.

VI

The great 'provisioning-march' of the Samatari now began. We went along with them. We were prisoners, we were guests, we were tolerated visitors—a bit of everything. The main body, with the women and children, led the way along a track that was years old and had been opened up again the day before by the younger members of the tribe, who possessed the one metal weapon used by the Samatari: a piece of a knife-blade stuck into a stick and firmly bound with bark soaked in vegetable gum. What story could this scrap of steel have told when it finally reached the headwaters of the Aracoas!

The track was by no means straight, but for all its meanderings led vaguely towards the south-east. It lay for the most part through the dense thickets of fruit-bearing trees, which probably harboured other sorts of foodstuffs of which we knew nothing. The main body arrived to find that the young men had already picked nuts and fruit of all kinds and made piles of them at the foot of the trees. All the women had to do was take them up.

When meat of any sort is found and killed on these occasions, a couple of youngsters stay behind with it. They sling a hammock and light a fire and watch while it is slowly smoking on the spit. When the women come up, they pull off pieces of the flesh, put them into the rough hampers they carry on their shoulders and go on with the march, their babies jogging up and down on their backs, tied there with a strap made of bark. Some, like peripatetic vestal virgins, take fire with them, in the form of glowing brands, blowing on them as they go along lest the embers should grow cold. Thus the march of the Samatari leaves a trail of nutshells, rinds, ash, and little bits of charcoal. It suggests not so much an ordinary nomadic people on the move but rather a very special tribe composed of itinerant cooks.

With evening, or strictly speaking some time before the end of the afternoon, we found ourselves in a vast clearing where all the small plants, shrubs, bushes and grass had been cut away and swept and raked aside. All round this

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

open space ran a belt of rattan palms with their notoriously dangerous black spines. There were just two openings: a way in, and a way out. This was a defence work against any enemy that might come along. An aggressor had little chance of bringing off a surprise attack against the Samatari over this open ground, and if he made a frontal attack he would find 'bread for his teeth'—that is, thorns for his feet.

At night, while the Indians were all chattering heedlessly in their hammocks or sleeping the light sleep of the savage, the two gaps in the cordon were closed and the camp became a fortress difficult to storm. If they stay for several days in one place, as sometimes happens during the rainy season when they are visiting their plantations of tobacco and cane (for arrows), they will put up a palisade round the camp, on the Guayca model. This is composed of the trunks of a very tough palm, driven into the ground as close together as possible. Thus entrenched they can withstand whole days of attack from a position of strength.

In the course of our march, one Samatari not only devoured the larvae of bees, neatly excavating them from their cells in the smoked honeycomb, but every now and then he would stop at a dead tree-trunk, seamed with ant-galleries or lanes, and run his thumb and forefinger along the groove as far as possible, pressing out the damp earthy substance, which he conveyed to his mouth like some rare *bonne bouche*. Smacking his lips, he carried on until he had demolished the whole network of these arboreal thoroughfares, and the ants fled away over the surface of the tree-trunk, lamenting the cataclysm that had overtaken them.

Even we tried this ant-hill diet, but a mixture of earth and sawdust hardly appeased our hunger. Sometimes, as we crossed a stream, a few of the Samatari bent down rapidly and picked out of the water some little white stones that were soft like lumps of lime. These they chewed as they went along, apparently swallowing them. They will also eat sand, the dirty, soft, vari-coloured sand which is found with the detritus of vegetable matter thrown up on the banks of a river after a flood. For on top of all this varied diet of theirs, the Samatari are also geophagists—earth-eaters. The reason for this is probably an instinctive prompting which leads them to acquire in this way the minerals their normal food—which they eat without salt or spices—does not supply.

Our great salvation was the fruit: meat being very precious to the savages, they were unwilling to give us any, and we had no means of hunting for ourselves. The gun had simply disappeared. For the Samatari too, fruit is the main

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

RED CLOTH AND GREEN FOREST

The day after our Makiritari crew had gone we betook ourselves and all our bags and baggage into a Shirian settlement. They were friendly people, somewhat scared of us, and attentive to our every move. All in all, we weren't sorry to have missed Frenario, who would undoubtedly have turned out to be some mangy and pretentious imbecile, lording it over everybody like some Asiatic despot. In talking about it to my companion, I summed up my attitude thus: 'If you're going among the Makiritari, take Makiritari with you. If you're going among Shirians, take Shirians.'

The itinerary we wanted to cover wasn't perfectly clear, even to ourselves: after all, our journey was taking us through one of the least explored parts of the world. But it was certain, at any rate, that we should be crossing territory inhabited by Shirians (especially Samatari and Guayca). It was even more certain that we should meet with no Makiritari or other people full of sweetness and light.

That same evening we picked out the men we wanted to take with us—though it would be more correct to say that we had them wished on us, because in this settlement, which lay hidden on the left bank of the Yevarehuri, five or six bends down, there weren't a great many Indians fit for the job. These were peaceable Shirians, but their living conditions were some of the most wretched we'd ever seen. It was really as if by the very fact of having given up their warlike habits, these people had forfeited their right to live as well as possible. From warriors, these people had gone to the extreme and become anchorites.

One man didn't want to come without bringing his wife and child—and the medicine-man!—along too. What was more, as crew-leader we had a man of middle age who was morally head of the little clan, and something more. His wife, with a baby boy at her breast, would also be coming. Then there were two boys, one of fifteen or so, the other of more tender years. Altogether it was the queerest crew two explorers of unknown territories could ever have put their faith in.

To gain time, we wanted to set out straight away, but our people gave us to understand that we must wait a day because they had something important to do. In the meantime, while ostensibly preparing the loads, they were anxious to have a good look at the equipment we were carrying. We let them get on with it, until they came to the pack containing the good old red cloth and other objects which might have been too much of a temptation for them: at this

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Ua CA

123

This fantastic appellation sounded quite harmonious in the forest, even to Indian ears, and brought Dolfins' followers out of their concealment, splashing through the water towards us.

[131] [101] Dolfins belonged to the Shirians of the Uaka tribe. These are scattered over the territory bounded by the Matacuni, the Padamo and the tributary streams of the Upper Ventuari. They are similar in appearance to the Pulipuli people, though rather more savage. They were very timid, and full of references to the Genyca, who they said were very active in this area, particularly in the parts we had just come from.

With Dolfins there was an old man who was always either squatting down or else propping himself up on one leg; and two dour, surly-looking boys, who kept well away from our guns with a gleam of terror in their eyes. The next morning brought a whole host, along with women and children too, and of course we had to let them all examine our beards and rub themselves against them, and investigate other more detailed peculiarities of our anatomy. By urging the whole crowd of them on with sweeping gestures, we managed to get on our way very quickly, and a few hours later arrived on the banks of the Ocamo, a smallish river but strangely resembling the Upper Merevari. From the last high point we had been able to make out some huge flat-topped massifs, blue in the haze of distance, which must certainly have belonged to the Duida-Marahuaca group. For a moment, we hoped to come out on a patch of savannah land where we should be able to dry the damp forest mould out of ourselves and our belongings. But the Shirians told us there was no savannah in these parts.

[361] [501] [342] [162] [165] The Uaka huts were on the side of a hill, a hundred yards from the right bank of the river, which we crossed by means of a length of rotten wood, shaped like a canoe. There were three buildings, each with the single-span sloping roof, very humble affairs, so low-pitched that inside them one risked getting a beam in one's eye at any moment. There were about fifty of these people, and among them we noticed many who had reached a considerable age, which is unusual. There must have been some aspect of the Ocamo region which favoured longevity in the inhabitants. There was an 'ape-man' too—an old, solitary fellow, almost dumb, who came up to us with gurgles of amazement, not daring to touch us. However, he took one of the axes when we gave it to him and with the aid of some of the youngsters started making us a cabin.

Life with the Shirians was made extremely difficult by their petulant ways

/435 cont./

126 628 rancherias. For anyone who might be preparing to travel or work in Guaika territory, these relations can be as important as the geographical location of the settlements. If a group of Guaika should be engaged to carry out certain tasks, they might be inclined to work well in certain areas, but doubtless would refuse to enter areas inhabited by their enemies.

126 /436/ On the map of the whole area inhabited by the Guaika and Guajaribo, I have tried to show the approximate limits of the two tribes. The areas which are shaded on the said map correspond to the zones where we have had contact with these tribes on several occasions. The settlements whose names appear underlined, that is to say, El Platanal and Ioeitedi, are native rancherias where we have lived and worked for long periods of time. These settlements continue to be our principal bases of operation.

[114]

103 The native names of the principal rivers are as follows:

Orinoco River	Majekodo-ko
Cunucunuma River	Ami-ko
Padamo River	Jaiyama-ko
Metacuni River	Wakawaka-ko
Ocamo River	Kia-ko
Mavaca River	Wachewa-ko
Manavichi River	Mata-ko

The native name of the Raudal de Guajaribos /Guaharibo Torrent/ is Kalebakbola.

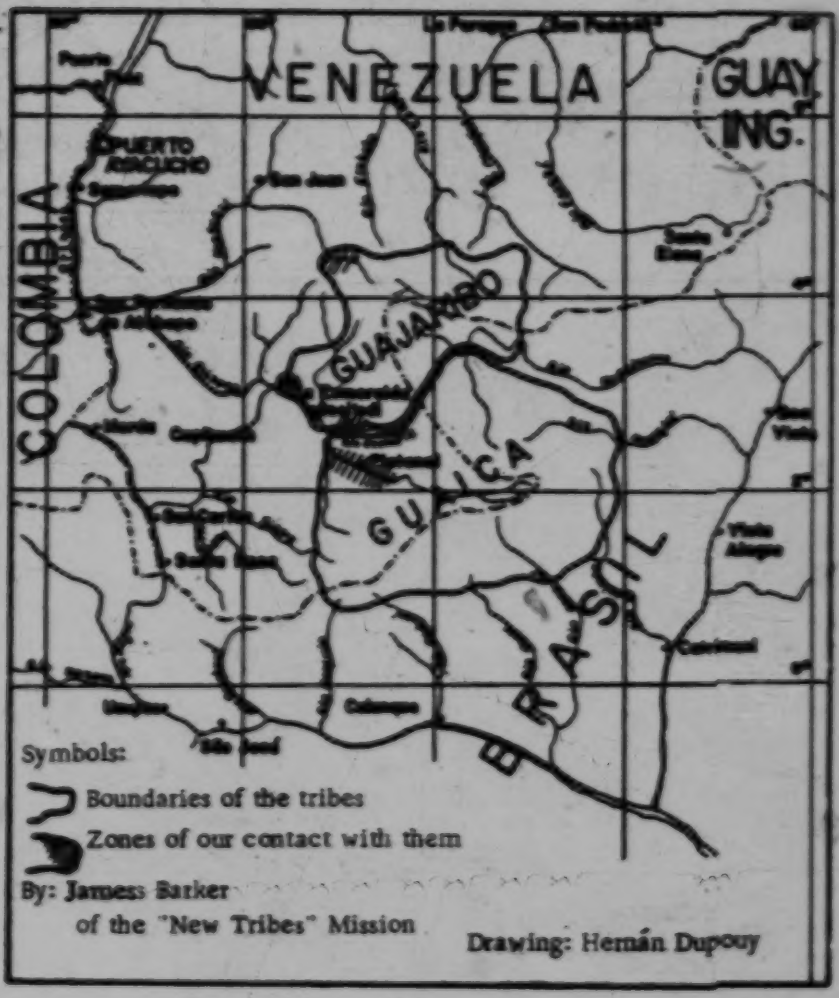
I have not been able to discover even one name for the hill of Guaiaribo, but the most important peaks, starting below and going up the river, are: Wanidi-mak, Yabitao-mak, Kacholaca-mak, and Wadubaca-mak.

Geography

• 361 A few Guaika /Waica/ settlements are located along the principal rivers and are accessible by means of small boats or canoes with outboard motors. Nevertheless, most of the Guaika settlements are inland and can only be reached after one or more days of travel.

T: Barker--6 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

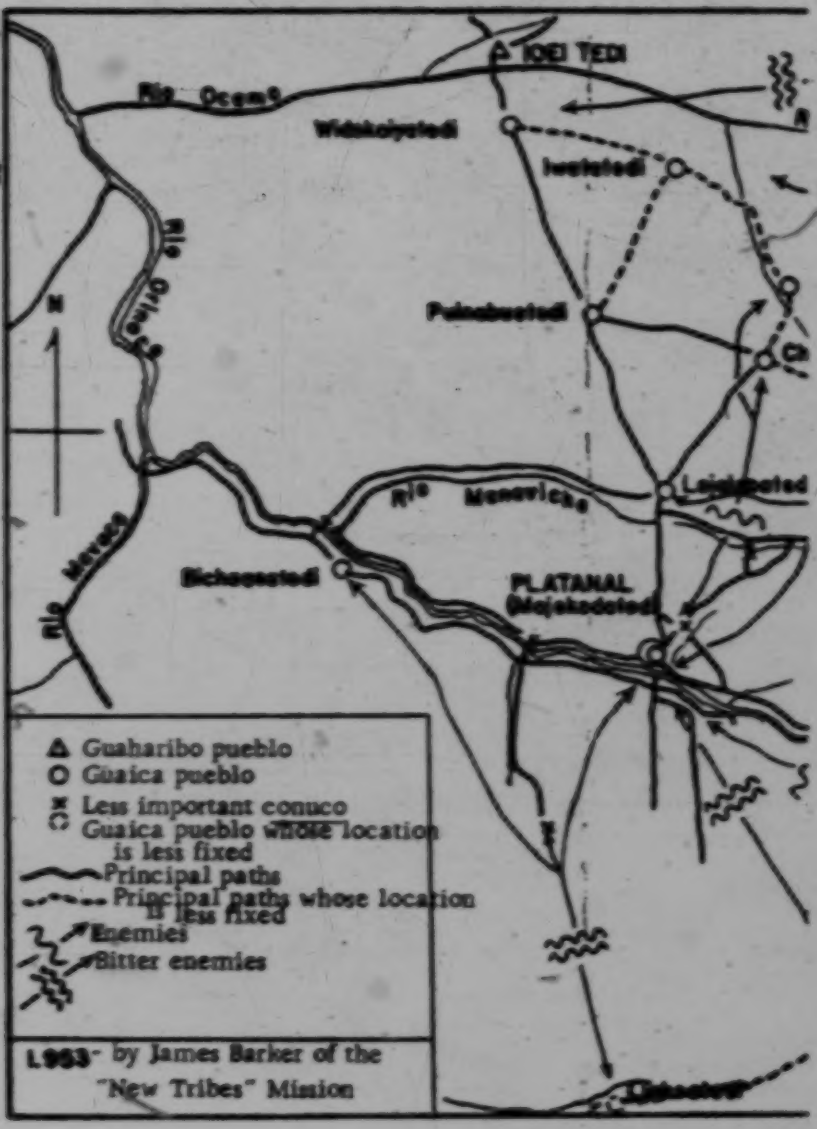
102
101
131
133
114
● 361



7: Barker--7 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

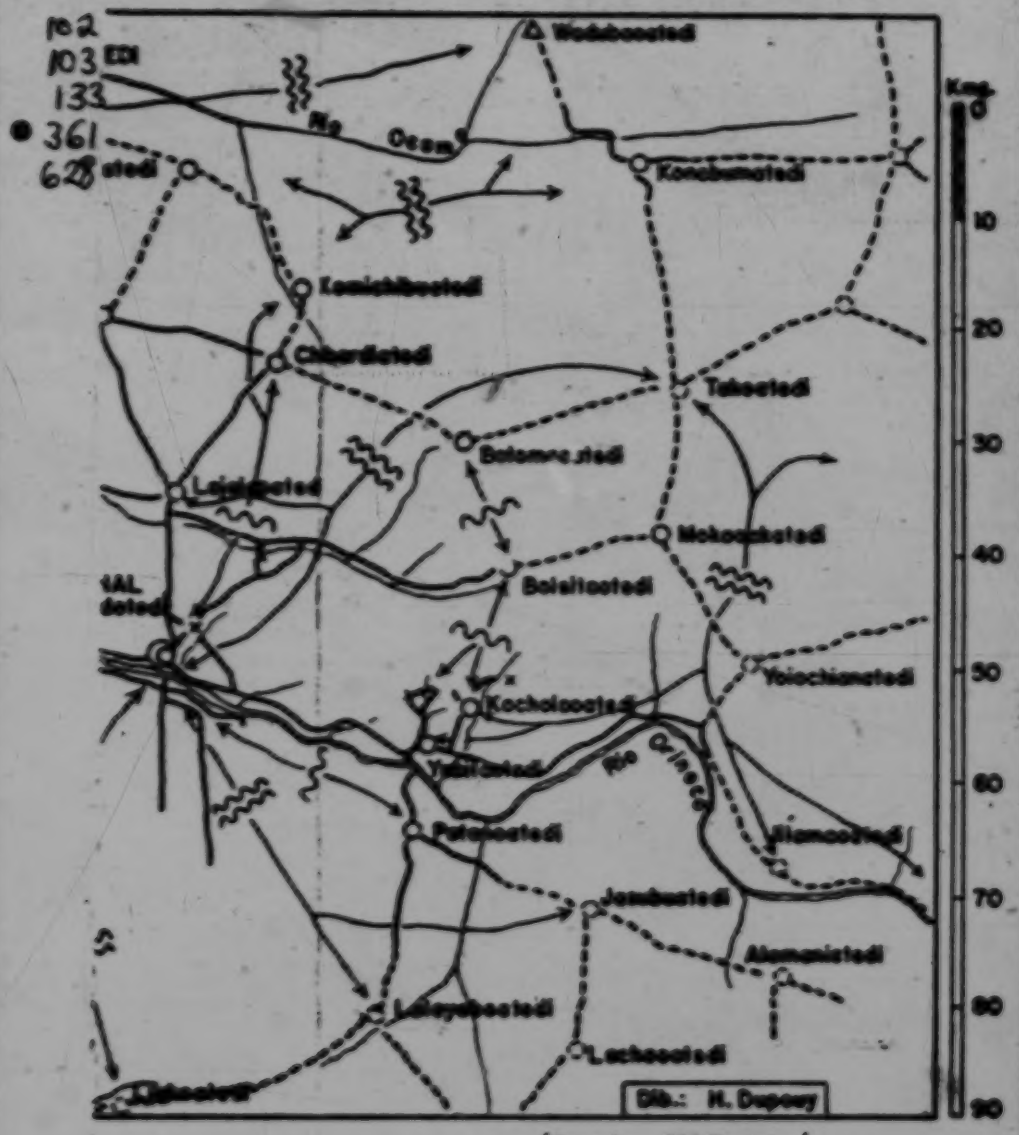
Waica
Guaharibo

102
103
133
361
623



7: Barker--8 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica
Guaharibo



/Drawing: H. Dupouy/

/437 cont./

Population -- 1953

361 It is known that there are about 23 Guaika /Waica/ settlements between the Orinoco and the Ocamo rivers and in the region of the Brazilian frontier to the north of the Orinoco River.

/438/ It is known that there are at least 28 other Guaika settlements to the south of the Orinoco River.

103 162 The approximate population of the Guaika settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Majekodotedi (Platanal). .	100	Kacholaotedi	100
Bichaasatedi	100	Boleitaotedi	100
Lajalaowatedi	100	Patanaotedi	120
Yabitaotedi	75	Chibardiatedi	60

361 At least eight Guajaribo settlements are known to exist in the region of the Ocamo and Lower Padamo rivers. It is known that there are others on the Upper Padamo, a few others on the Ventuari River, and still others on the Upper Caura (also called the Merevari River).

103 162 [114] The approximate population of the Guajaribo settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Ioeitedi	60
Wakawakatedi . .	100
Kwaisitedi	100

162 The population of El Platanal can be divided by age and sex approximately as follows:

	Men	Women	Total
Great-grandparents	0	1	1
Grandparents	6	6	12
Parents	8	15	23
Newlyweds (childless). . .	5	6	11
Unmarried adolescents and children	33	21	54
	52	49	101

/459/

352 [354] Hammocks are hung triangularly from the posts which support the roof, and a fire is lighted in the center. If it is necessary, one hammock may be hung above another, in such a way that this triangle of two meters may shelter six persons (Fig. 5).

351 [361] These dwellings are located so as to form a circle, with their high and open fronts oriented toward the center of the patio. This space surrounded by the dwellings may or may not

352

/Fig. 5/

351 be completely cleared, but at least all of the small brush is removed from the front and immediate sides. Sometimes they also clear the ground of weeds for space of one meter behind the houses.

356 The dirt floor is cleaned by sweeping or scraping it at least once a day (although between one cleaning and another there might well accumulate on it many platano skins and other objects). The rubbish is piled up, using the hands or a piece of firewood; then it is carried and thrown outside of the central patio Great piles of rubbish and waste accumulate at the edge of these cleared areas. Sometimes they use a flat basket for carrying the rubbish, and very frequently it is carried with nothing but the hands, since they do not always have a basket available, or it might be in use for other jobs.

/460/ Hygienic Measures

514 Toilets for the elimination of excrement are absent. They consider the edge of the patio sufficiently far away for urination. To defecate they go into the forest at some distance from the settlement and away from the paths. An old fallen tree trunk is the preferred site for squatting down, and dry sticks take the place of toilet paper.

No one is capable of intentionally touching dung with the hand or foot. It is considered very dirty, and if one did touch it, his hand or foot must be cleaned and washed immediately.

The dung of dogs and of infants is removed from the patio by pushing it onto leaves with a stick and then throwing these leaves some distance into the forest.

For their nocturnal movements, they put a few leaves on the ground, with which they then make a package; on the following morning they throw them away at some distance from the settlement.

[136] In El Platanal there is a green beetle which buries hard dung. Half an hour after a movement all evidence disappears.

Sites

• 361 The center of the area in which the Guaika /Waica/ live is the "conuco." In the forest which surrounds the conuco are located their temporary or semipermanent settlements, this depending on the type of terrain, whether it is sandy or clayey.

342 361 [136] Very simple temporary dwellings are used in areas where the fleas or "niguas" are a problem. This type of house consists of a framework of beams for a roof, with leaves placed on top and held down. These same leaves can easily be taken to the site of a new settlement when the Indians move to another, uninfested area.

A more semipermanent type of construction is preferred where the "niguas" do not present a problem and make it impossible to return to the same site. These houses are of /461/ similar construction, but are larger and more durable, and the leaves of the roof are fixed in place. This type of dwelling or shelter takes about five times longer to build in comparison with the temporary type of dwelling.

/461 cont./

361 166 Regardless of what type of dwelling has been built in the settlement near the "conuco," it is the custom of the Guaika that all leave the settlement after a stay of three to six weeks, when they go off either to visit other settlements or to build another temporary seat within the forest, several miles away from their "conuco."

The groups which have semipermanent dwellings return to the same site and to their same dwellings, while those who use only temporary dwellings settle down in another new locality and build new dwellings, for which they have brought the leaves which roofed the ranchos abandoned on the former site. After an old settlement has not been occupied for at least six months the Indians who return from one of these trips in the forest will sometimes stay in such settlements. The "niguas" will have disappeared during this period of six months.

On any site to which the Guaika habitually return, the trees are sooner or later destroyed, leaving the area of the settlement completely cleared.

342 The Guaika build temporary shelters during their hunting trips, and also when they stop overnight while traveling to visit other settlements or on the return trips from such visits. The type of construction is the same as that of the temporary dwellings built on the sites near the "conuco," except that the covering of the roofs consists of easily found large leaves, such as those of the wild platano.

241 361 The Guaika are continually preparing new "conucos." After a new "conuco" some distance away begins to produce, they may divide their time between both "conucos" in proportion to the quantity of platanos which the old and new "conuco" are producing. Then, as the old "conuco" ceases to produce, they begin to live almost entirely on the new site. But during the harvest /462/ the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm, they spend some time near the "conucos" which have stopped producing platanos, where in contrast, the "pijiguao" palm is at its best time.

If a Guaika family wants to change its place of residence for another settlement, all of the new "conucos" of this family will be prepared in or near that settlement. Thus, after a few years, this family can spend all of its time in its new place of residence, in the other settlement, if this is desired.

7: Barker--61 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate I

342
361

The primitive huts of the Guaika, roof-on-posts type, lined up in a broad circle, have their fronts toward the great central patio free of vegetation. (Photo. by the author.)

616
854

Guaika women with their babies. Note the manner of sitting, in El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

722 /152 cont. /One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,
499 the Bisheasetjeti also crossed; the bridge was /153/ cut by them near the bank. Guards were placed to keep a lookout for the enemy, should he try to repair the bridge and cross it.

727 Much after this, a raid was made on Liacoatjeti by some
[721] of the Bisheasetjeti and the Majecotjeti /sic/: "Jaiyeota," one of the Majecototjeti, shot one of them and killed him. A boy of four or five years of age was captured. One of the men from Majecototjeti, "Ushiu," took the boy and cared for him. All of the children were bothering the little one, calling him enemy and acting as if they were going to shoot him. One day, after this had gone on for a while, a young man from Bisheasetjeti shot the child near the water spring. He shot the arrow so hard that it passed through him. Ushiu gave the child a funeral, but none of the other inhabitants of the aldea came to the "lloro" /weeping/, because they said, "After all, he was an enemy."

628 The two aldeas had some bad times together. Often, when
721 they were in the forest, they had to come running back, feeling
578 sick. Frequently their ribs were showing. During this time
[164] several died of a strange fever which kept the victim hot day and night without relief. Others were very sick with the fever, and it
[361] was feared that they would also die. The two aldeas of Bisheasetjeti and Majecototjeti lived together for a year, until those of Bisheasetjeti made a new "farm" /granja/ down the Orinoco, on the other side of the Manaviche River. When they separated, friction caused by some women had reached such a point that the Majecototjeti summoned the Macolimutjeti, and both of them made a raid on Bisheasetjeti to recover the wife of a Majecototjeti who had gone to live with a Bisheasetjeti. One family did not take part in this raid and by its friendly and frequent visits prevented the two aldeas from shooting at each other.

628 Another incident of friction was that a young man from
578 Majecototjeti stole a Bisheasetjeti woman from her husband.
837 When the husband had almost persuaded his wife to come back with him, the Majecototjeti man shot him in the back with a bone-pointed arrow and kept the woman. The Bisheasetjeti man was seriously wounded, but recovered.

/156 cont./

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them.
[302] But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid.
[574] (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.)
[822] When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and
[412] fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people
[361] of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

166 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called
361 "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could
721 live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at
361 their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was
[114] calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
[226] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having
[411] fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows
[857] of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

/164 cont./
729 new place located several hundred meters away. The matadores
783 went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained
some distance away. They could not touch anything that they
[413] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They
had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later
their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the
[352] trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old
hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of
vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned
with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days,
until the matadores thought the ciclo /cycle, term/ completed.

726 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place.
The first aldea into which they penetrated was empty, and so was
the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the
principal aldea. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bisheasetjeti
began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that
farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains
were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it
would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so
much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed.
/Illustration appears here./

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The
revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders
advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were
camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed
him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them
camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River.
The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to
have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them
to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It
was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

166 Since they had fallen out with the Liacoatjeti, the
• 361 Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and
made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north
side.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

forward to meet him and he introduced himself as James Barker of the Evangelist Mission of San Fernando de Atabapo. He told me that he and a companion now up at the village had been living with the Waïkas for the past seven months. He added that the Indians had sunk the boat in which they had come so that they were now quite isolated. He spoke their language fluently and his attitude to them was that of an indulgent schoolmaster.

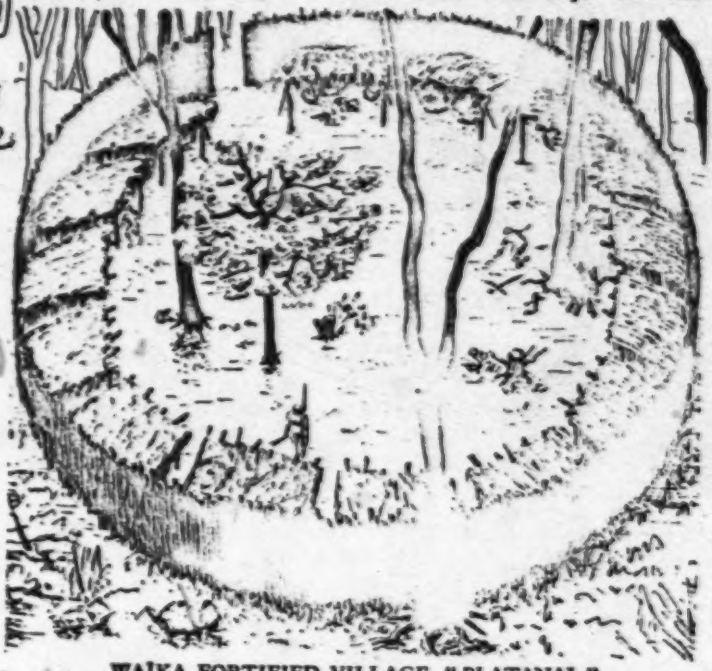
I told him of our desire to see the village and he spoke about it to the Waïkas. They were at once suspicious and reluctant; even when they eventually agreed, agreement was far from unanimous. Nevertheless, we fell in behind Barker and marched up a slippery path so muddy that I began to envy the forest people their nakedness. We came to a recently made clearing which had been cleared by fire and I tried to slip away up a little-used path. At once the Indians objected, their vehemence suggesting that the plantation to which the path probably led hid many wonderful secrets.

After twenty minutes of marching we came to a fence in a clearing. The fence was made of stakes lashed together forming a perfect circle. I thought this must be the village but we passed it by. A hundred yards beyond we came to another similar enclosure and this time our guides led us inside. As we entered I remembered what Pierre Ivanoff had told me of an earlier occasion when he and three companions had succeeded in reaching a Waïka village. The first enclosure we had just seen was undoubtedly the counterpart of the one in which he had been forced to dance with his hosts before being allowed to go on to the second. In the present instance the dance was omitted from our programme.

Inside the enclosure, which was some thirty yards across, huts were built with their backs to the palisade, leaving a circular space in the middle shaded by a big tree. The corner of each hut consisted of three stakes in the form of a tripod supporting horizontal rafters of green wood tied in place by lianas. Wide-eaved roofs were thatched with banana leaves. The circle of fencing was unbroken except for the single entry. A pungent, musty smell pervaded the place as we

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

entered. It was deserted; the women and children had doubtless fled at our approach and were now probably hiding in the forest or the plantation. This would explain why the men had been unwilling to allow me to wander off on my own. After a time they began to filter back. The boys were the



WAIKA FORTIFIED VILLAGE, "PLATANAL"

first to return, the younger ones wearing nothing but an armlet above the elbow, and the older ones wearing the string round their hips and knotted to the prepuce. Then came the women, the oldest first, followed by the younger ones with their babies. All were completely naked and all wore their hair cut in the pudding-basin fashion favoured by the men. They kept close together, chattering; some began idly swinging in their hammocks in their houses. When we tried to approach them the men followed close on our steps.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

000 marriage exchanges with other groups.

*621 *623 618 The weakness of kinship[1]

Few institutions promote solidarity between the local lineages of a village on the one hand and between *602 *623 allied villages on the other. Consanguineal kinship ties are weak; so weak, that the most bitter fighting usually takes place between villages comprised of closely related *621 622 578 kinsmen. The roles of leaders are poorly defined, and headmen can rarely reconcile dissident factions within their own *621 villages. Moreover, there are a number of factors constantly *578 [628] threatening the stability of local groups, and these factors likewise weaken political relationships between allied villages. Within villages fighting frequently breaks out [411] over food thefts and over sexual liaisons. In the latter [241] case the fighting takes the form of dueling with clubs, and • [361] usually the result is that the village splits; one of the factions establishes a garden elsewhere and becomes an independent village. As the histories of selected villages *361 *621 will show (see below, Chapter 5), the settlement pattern of Yanomamö villages is cyclical; it results from the splitting of larger villages, the renewed growth of the splinter groups into large villages, followed by recurrent splitting *621 602 and growth ad infinitum. Kinship as a medium for promoting solidarity within villages loses its efficacy when villages

---

[1] It is difficult to discuss each variable affecting marriage alliances as operating by itself, for they are intimately interconnected, and I list them separately only to point out their major features.

621 cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are
593 brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number
152 of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly
602 brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data, the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is
[536] not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel
[678] husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to split.

181 Ideological considerations, therefore, promote
152 friction and fighting within villages and lead to village
621 splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek
628 marriage alliances with other groups.
583
582

Economic practices

361 Local groups abandon residential and horticultural
241 sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of
922 their enemies. For the most part, the Yąnomamö are able to predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance
621 from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop
678 within the village and it is expected that these will
241

escalate, the factions involved usually use the interlude between a club-fight and actual killings to establish separate gardens.

Occasionally, however, a village suddenly becomes embroiled in a war that it has not expected, or fighting within the village immediately involves shooting to kill. Then the only recourse for the group is to take refuge with an ally and subsist on the produce of the ally's garden. If the critical situation develops out of an intra-village dispute, the smaller of the contesting factions is forced to flee to another village where it has friends or relatives.

If all the members of a village are forced to take refuge in another village, they proceed to make their own garden apart from that of their hosts; then, when the garden begins to produce, the refugee group moves to that site to live. They do this because the price of protection is always measurable in terms of the hosts' demanding access to the women of the guests, either as spouses for their own men or simply as temporary sexual partners.

Twice during the lifetime of my oldest Bisaasi-tedi informants their group was obliged to flee to an allied village to escape the raids of powerful neighbors, raids that resulted from the development of intensive hostilities before the group could establish a new garden of its own elsewhere. On both occasions the refugees lost a number of women to their protectors, and in neither case did they receive wives in return. Indeed, on the second occasion, the hosts planned

*628 726 574 to kill all the male guests and to abduct the women, but the hosts themselves unexpectedly became involved in a war and required the aid of their guests.

*628 24 722 36 Yąnomamö dependency on cultivated foods, then, promotes political alliances with other villages; the warfare pattern is such that the members of a village may have to flee from their site to avoid the raids of their enemies. If they have not had time to establish a new garden, they need the support of an ally until they are able to support themselves.

.-.-.-.-.-.

121 583 582 The variables that affect Yąnomamö marriage practices are numerous and diverse and combine with each other in complex ways. I shall show in the chapters that follow how these variables actually affect Yąnomamö marriage practices. At this juncture the point to be made is that Yąnomamö social practice in real life can not be completely isomorphic with the stated marriage preferences because the milieu within which marriages take place simply precludes such a neat fit. A functional, rather than a structural analysis seems to be demanded by the nature of the variables in question. I shall also show the degree to which we can predict actual marriage behavior, given specific information about the variables.

[924] [582] Finally, I should add that the Yąnomamö constitute a significant case for ethnological inquiry: this society offers

direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of mountains. At a few points the Shukumõna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extending nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the Indians claim the Shukumõna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the Shukumõna-u of the Yąnomamõ. I have used more recent maps, also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

In reconstructing the history of the village movements, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimõwi-bora in Yąnomamõ) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karõbã-bora in Yąnomamõ) near the present village of Kashorawã-tedi.

I employed three sources of information to locate present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages I personally visited. Second, information from James P.

126 36 [146] [199] Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he has lived among the Yąnomamö. Finally, on information [124] obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yąnomamö have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants' accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mąmariböwei-tedi or Patanowä-tedi, I had the residents point in the direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps" required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain [302] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was the poverty of the Yąnomamö language in indicating numbers. The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu, dahiabä), two (porakëbä), and more-than-two (bruka). In establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to estimate the length of time each site was occupied before being abandoned.

175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five villages I have been guided by two historically known events. One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahekodo-tedi in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

101 Zerries (1964:19) has included the groups I studied in the Shamatari classification on the basis of information taken from Mahekodotedi informants. The members of these groups, however, deny the Shamatari identity and distinguish themselves from their southern neighbors, some of whom visit them regularly and are married into their villages.

101 The Shamatari,[1] according to my Bisaasi-tedi informants, take their name from one of the headmen, Kayabawë ("big tree"), who lived north of the Orinoco River in a village then called Shihowë-tedi. Kayabawë was an unusually corpulent man and bore a second name, Shamatari, derived from their word (Shama) for the tapir, a large ungulate found throughout tropical South America. Shamatari, when Shihowë-tedi split, led his faction south of the Orinoco River and settled in the headwaters of the river known to the Yanomamö as the Shukumöna-u (see above), where his village became known as Mokayëaba-tedi. Other villages, related to Shihowë-tedi, moved into the Shukumöna River and Mavaca River basins after Shamatari's village was established, ultimately spreading as far southwest as the Causabury headwaters in Brazil. The Shamatari expansion into this area took place around the turn of the century, according to my reconstruction of Shamatari history (see below). This is also supported by meagre

---

[1] There is another "Shamatari" group in the tributaries of the Upper Parima River of Brazil; these are not to be confused with the Shamatari under discussion here, although both groups are Yanomamö. See Vinci, 1959, for an impressionistic account of his brief contact with the Parima Shamatari.

161 and as many as 250, but the lower extreme is uncommon because
162
*621 of military vulnerability and the upper extreme occurs only when particularly intense warfare retards village splitting or leads to the coalition of several related villages.

361 Villages that are on peaceful terms may be found
*628 living within a few miles of each other, whereas mutually
722 hostile villages rarely are located less than a day's march apart; even then, one of the villages may move to reduce the possibility of raiding.

361 The village itself is circular or oval in plan, is generally surrounded by a palisade of upright logs and, depending on the number of people living in the village, has a diameter ranging from 15 to 70 yards.

361 The village is hardly more than a continuous, circular
342 lean-to roof, open at the center. The roof starts at ground level (occasionally one or two feet above ground level), rises at an angle of 30° to 40°, reaching a maximum height of about 25 feet. The un-partitioned segments of the continuous roof are built by the families who occupy them, brothers and their dependents living next to each other. The materials used in construction are long, slender poles, vines to secure the pole frame and a thatch made from leaves.

351 There are usually several entrances to the village, each located at a point marking the boundary of one segment of the roof with another, and are merely un-thatched sections of the otherwise continuous roof. Most of the entrances are only 3 feet high, although there usually is at least one

large entrance, that leading to the river or stream. All entrances are covered with dry leaves and brush in the evening and the slightest movement of the covering creates sufficient noise to alert the dogs.

The Yąnomamö occupy a relatively homogeneous geographical region of low-lying tropical jungle interrupted by densely-wooded hills that sometimes reach an altitude of 2,500 feet, some 2,000 feet above the elevation of the general terrain. Larger hills are more common in the headwaters of the Orinoco and along the boundaries separating Brazil from Venezuela, but the Indians prefer to make their villages in the lowlands on small streams, as all of their travelling is done on foot. Only recently have the Yąnomamö begun moving to the larger rivers, where they may obtain canoes and steel tools from foreigners. In 1950 there was only one Yąnomamö village, Mahekodo-tedi, on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River; since then at least seven or eight villages have moved to the Orinoco or one of its larger tributaries in order to gain access to trade goods (axes and machetes) foreign to their culture. The overwhelming number of Yąnomamö villages, however, can only be reached by walking to them. During the wet season (April-September) travel all but ceases between villages because the trails linking villages are inundated.

The Yąnomamö are slash-and-burn horticulturists, subsisting mainly on plantains and bananas, of which they cultivate four or five varieties each. Following these crops in economic importance are several root crops, including taro,

241 sweet-potatoes, bitter and sweet yucca (manioc), and two varieties of another root crop known in Venezuela as mapuey. Next in importance is the seasonal crop of peach palm fruits (pijiguao), groves of which are cultivated by the Yąnomamö. [222] Contrary to some accounts, the Yąnomamö never collect this crop from wild trees, although they do return to abandoned gardens to collect the fruit. Other economically significant crops include maize, sugar cane, papaya, pineapples, avocados, peppers and gourds. Also grown are cotton, tobacco, arrow cane, drugs, pigment (bixa), and a large assortment of plants used for magical purposes only. [133] [527] [122] Both their feasting practices and their warfare pattern[1] stimulate the Yąnomamö to grow more than they require for subsistence purposes alone.

241 • 361 Occasionally the gardens of a particular village may have a preponderance of yucca (manioc) and maize as compared to plantains and bananas. This is usually the result of the distance between the last occupied site and the new one; it is easier to carry seeds and cuttings of maize and yucca than the heavier plantain and banana shoots, and a village that moves any distance usually establishes its new garden largely from cuttings and seeds of these plants taken from the old garden. [262] Eventually, however, the plantains and bananas spread, and a mature garden will always have a preponderance of these crops, the preferred staple of Yąnomamö diet.

222 Wild palm fruits are important additions to the diet

---

[528] [1]The Yąnomamö are occasionally obliged to take in refugee members of an allied village, and they plan their gardens accordingly.

000(lapa, Spanish).

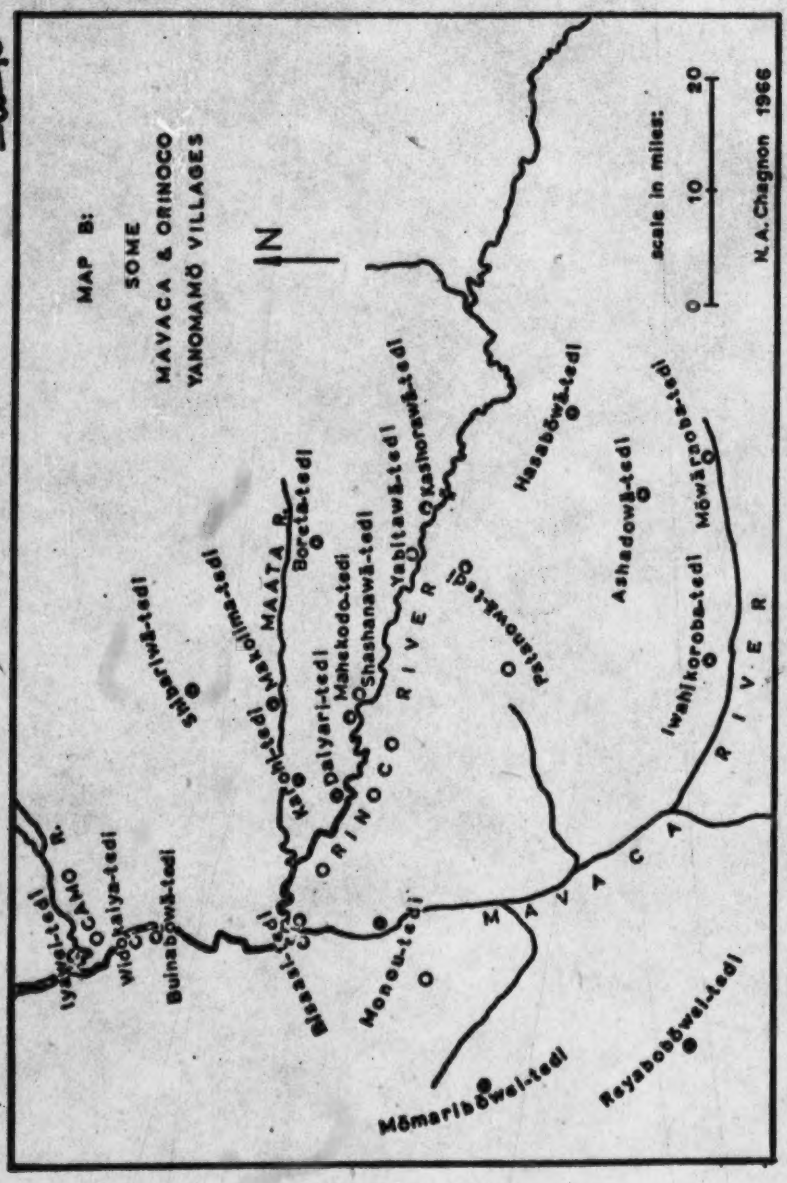
222 The collection of small fruits, spiders, ant grubs, wild honey, crabs, mushrooms and fish also contributes variety to the Yąnomamö diet.

241 Cultivated foods contribute the greater proportion
260 of calories to the Yąnomamö diet, probably upwards of 85%,
[46] although this figure would vary seasonally. Again, those
(177) Yąnomamö villages living close to Makiritare settlements cultivate much more yucca (manioc) than platanos, refining it in some cases to meal as do the Makiritares. Elsewhere
[252] the Yąnomamö eat their yucca roasted or boiled or make cassave bread by a technique quite distinct from that employed by the Makiritare.

222 Yąnomamö material culture is very much attenuated by
[422] comparison with, for example, Makiritare. The Yąnomamö like to limit their possessions to an amount that is readily transported by the women, because the entire village may be obliged at any given moment to abandon its site to avoid raiders, or may be invited to a feast at another village.
[422] They do not like to leave possessions in their village when
[574] they leave it, as visitors from other villages would take them. And, their warfare pattern precludes the possibility of leaving a few people behind to guard the village, as they
[361] would be easily overwhelmed by a raiding party. When just a portion of the village leaves to visit another group, those that stay behind move into the jungle some distance from the village and live in well-concealed huts until their co-

722 361 villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the women and children are concealed in these temporary sites until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yąnomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yąnomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

422 484 [411] [415] [372] [237] [352] [123] All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow, arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire drill, several 'knives' made from the incisors of the agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having 484 to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few


MAP B:
SOME
MAVACA & ORINOCO
YANOMAMÖ VILLAGES
N
scale in miles:
0
10
20
N.A. Chagnon 1966
MAATA R.
ORINOCO RIVER
MAVACA RIVER
Shiariwä-tedi
Borota-tedi
Mahekodo-tedi
Shashanawä-tedi
Yabitawä-tedi
Kashorawä-tedi
Hasaböwä-tedi
Ashadowä-tedi
Iwahikorobä-tedi
Möwärabä-tedi
Palanowä-tedi
Monou-tedi
Mömaribäwei-tedi
Reyabobäwei-tedi
Buinaböwä-tedi
Wildokaiya-tedi
OCAMO R.

of the sex ratio, and the distribution of the women among them.

In Chapter 5 I will show how the two Shamatari villages, Reyabobŏwei-tedi and Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, participated in a treacherous feast during which they killed a number of their kinsmen from Mŏwŏraoba-tedi. This feast committed the two Shamatari villages to an alliance with the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi in which the latter two villages were, in a political-military sense, less dependent on the support of the Shamatari than the Shamatari were on them. The Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi and the Reyabobŏwei-tedi represented the front of the Shamatari expansion into the unoccupied Mavaca River area. The territory they abandoned as they expanded to the west was subsequently occupied by other Shamatari villages, the members of which were historically related to them.[1] By participating in the treacherous feast and becoming enemies to their congeners, the two Shamatari villages subordinated themselves to the interests of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Since they formed a buffer between the villages of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi on the one hand, and the Shamatari village of Mŏwŏraoba-tedi on the other, they bore the brunt of the raids mounted by the latter in revenge for the treachery. In short, they had only two dependable allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an im-

[1]See Chapter 5, "The History of Paruritawŏ-tedi."

avoid the raids from the Patanowä-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with Konoreiwä's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by Konoreiwä. The entire village participated in the club fight. Konoreiwä punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the Patanowä-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the Patanowä-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the Patanowä-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

726 114 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time involved the Bisaasi-teri.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

*621 628 837 578 721 [241] When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 726 722 241 • 36 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare necessitates the formation of political alliances with other groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

---

[241] [361] [171] [128] [1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory. In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

628 these situations[1] by establishing new gardens as new wars
726 develop; occasionally, however, the wars take on unpredict-
722 able intensity before new gardens can be established, and
241 the members of the villages concerned necessarily seek refuge
• 361 with their allies.

786 To the Yąnomamö, gardens (hikari) are the fount of
241 subsistence. They acknowledge the relationship between chronic
361 warfare and village relocation by being constantly on the lookout for new lands to settle. Men are always discussing the agricultural merits of the forested areas in which they hunt, and most new sites are selected on the basis of information collected by hunters. Thus, when the Namowei-tedi split up at Patanowä-tëka, the Bisaasi-tedi faction moved to Shihota, an area they knew well because they customarily hunted there.[2] In 1965 the Monou-tedi cleared a new garden
[114] at Moyanaböwei for the same reason. I accompanied hunting
[521] parties from Bisaasi-tedi on several occastions to new areas not normally frequented by these hunters, and the topic of agriculture invariably came up during the evening résumé of the day's experiences.

628 Other factors besides density of jungle, type of
261 floral association, and general topography are considered by
241

[1]They avoid these situations because the hosts usually demand either sexual access to the women of the refugees, or wives for their bachelors. The refugees, of course, are reluctant to do either, but are frequently obliged to do both. The cost of the alliance, once again, is measured in terms of women lost.

[2]See Map C, and Chapter 5.

*628 the Yąnomamö when they make new gardens. The relative
361 location of friendly and hostile villages with respect to the
241 new site is very important. The Monou-tedi moved west in 1965, clearing their new site in the direction away from their major enemies, the Patanowë-tedi. Their allies, the Mõmaribõwei-tedi and the Reyabobõwei-tedi, lived to their west. Furthermore, their old enemies, the Mõwëraoba-tedi and Iwahikoroba-tedi, lived to their southeast, a direction the Monou-tedi wished to avoid. Finally, by moving to the west, the Monou-tedi crossed a large river (Mavaca), a natural barrier that would interfere with the retreat of raiding parties that initiated in the east.

361 Another factor influences the choice of site when the
241 members of a village must abandon their existing garden: the
245 location of a previously cultivated site. Old gardens are desirable sites because they continue to produce peach palm long after they are deserted. As the fruit of this palm seasonally provides an important and desirable addition to the diet of the Yąnomamö, they prefer to move into an old garden rather than start a new peach palm grove from seedlings. The Yąnomamö frequently return to their old, abandoned sites
361 in order to harvest the peach palm crop. This is usually a
241 dangerous undertaking, as their old enemies are also aware of
245 the fruit, and exploit it themselves. In February 1965 I
114 accompanied a group of Bisaasi-tedi men to Barawë-thka,[1]
+628

---

[1]See Map C, and Chapter 5.

abandoned in about 1959, to harvest the peach palm of that garden. We approached the site with great caution lest we run into a group of Patanowä-tedi. We discovered that somebody, probably the Patanowä-tedi, had beaten us to the garden and harvested the fruit.

During 1965 raids were so intense on the Patanowä-tedi that they were forced to abandon their site at Patanowä-tëka. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi predicted that the Patanowä-tedi would make their new site at one of two possible locations: Shihota or Shamata, two abandoned gardens. Their predictions were right on both counts, for the Patanowä-tedi began utilizing both sites because peach palm was to be found at either. By occupying two sites, the Patanowä-tedi were also better able to avoid their enemies by moving frequently from one to the other.

The several variables to be considered in re-locating villages during especially hostile wars may be briefly summarized: (1) the members of a village will make their new garden site in a direction away from their major enemy; (2) if the members of a village have allies, they tend to make their new garden in the direction of these allies, provided that the direction brings them no closer to their enemies; (3) if abandoned villages whose gardens contain producing groves of peach palm are to be found in a suitable direction from the old site, these will be the ideal choices for new garden sites.

The cultivation practices of the Monou-tedi in 1965

illustrate how village shifts are related to warfare, and how foresight in establishing new gardens serves to facilitate village movement in anticipation of wars. The Monou-tedi planned to raid the Patanowä-tedi after the latter had recovered five of the seven women abducted by the Monou-tedi in November 1964. The Monou-tedi, of course, expected to be raided in turn by the Patanowä-tedi, so they began making a new garden in a direction away from their enemies, anticipating the revenge raids they knew would follow. In short, the Monou-tedi prepared for the war by initiating work on a new garden in a more defensible area--closer to their allies and across a large river--an action they hoped would permit them to remain completely independent of the largesse of their allies.

The graded violence pattern[1] of the Yąnomamö may be viewed from the standpoint that such a pattern facilitates the establishment of new gardens while villages split. Thus, grievances may be temporarily settled by club-fighting, and the estranged factions may utilize the interval between club fighting and more violent hostilities to establish new gardens. This is also consistent with the political philosophy of the Yąnomamö: chest pounding duels and club fights function to permit the aggrieved to demonstrate their ferocity in acts of violence, while the existence of several levels of

[1] The forms of fighting, in increasing degree of violence, are: side-slapping duels, chest-pounding duels, slapping of either the side or the chest with the flat side of a machete, club-fighting duels, spear-fighting duels, raiding with the tactic of ambush, and treacherous feasts. I have discussed this pattern elsewhere. Chagnon, 1967.

578 violence simultaneously permits the expression of hostility
+621
241 in such a way that the groups can split from each other on
182 relatively peaceful terms. The particular form of violence
152 employed in settling grievances is determined by a number of considerations, one of which is the likelihood that the resulting factions will be victimized by the raids of a powerful
578 enemy. Thus, in the splitting of villages, the gradations in
+621
+629 forms of violence permit of settlement patterns suited to
241 given military situations. Villages torn by internal con-
• 361
722 flicts may find it easier to split into two relatively peaceful
182 factions and remain geographically close to each other. In
152 this way, they can reunite into a single unit should either be attacked. Conversely, the violence pattern may also facilitate the separation of a large village into hostile groups that have no intention of reuniting: it permits suitable means for the temporary solution of a feud that will be carried to further ends after the two groups have separate gardens. The separation of the Monou-tedi from the Bisaasi-tedi is an example of the former, and the separation, at an earlier date, of both of these groups from the Patanowã-tedi is an example of the latter. Thus, while the bellicose behavior and values constrain co-residential groups to respond violently to affronts perpetrated on them by their co-villagers, their agricultural requirements can be accomodated by a graded system of violence that permits temporary solutions, albeit violent, while new gardens are cleared by the principals in a feud.

726 sides by villages that were actively raiding them. Fortunately,
*628 however, they had one ally, the Ashadowä-tedi, a large group (ca. 200-250 people) living two days' walk to their south.
[722] The Ashadowä-tedi allied themselves to the Patanowä-tedi because of their own interest in raiding the Hasaböwä-tedi, from whom they themselves separated on hostile terms in the recent past. Furthermore, the Ashadowä-tedi had penetrated Shamatari territory, and needed allies in the event that the Shamatari villages began hostilities against them.

721 The abduction of the seven Patanowä-tedi women by
726 the Monou-tedi precipitated a war of such intensity that the
*361 Patanowä-tedi were immediately obliged to abandon their site.
*628 Under 'normal' circumstances, the Patanowä-tedi would have been able to resist a small group like the Monou-tedi, but their other war against the Hasaböwä-tedi detracted from their capacity to do so. When the Monou-tedi initiated raiding against the Patanowä-tedi, the allies of <u>all</u> the villages hostile to the Patanowä-tedi jumped, so to speak, on the
726 'band-wagon.' These allies were supporting Patanowä-tedi's
*628 enemies only half-heartedly up to the entry of the Monou-tedi into the war, for prior to this, the Patanowä-tedi were able to threaten these villages. When, however, the Monou-tedi and their allies (the Bisaasi-tedi, the Mömariböwei-tedi, and the Reyaboböwei-tedi) began raiding the Patanowä-tedi, it became immediately apparent that the offensive potential of the Patanowä-tedi was greatly reduced. Thus, villages at some distance from the Patanowä-tedi began to raid the latter,

726 +628 knowing that they would not be raided in return; the Patanowä-tedi simply could not conduct the war on that immense a scale. The participation of these peripheral villages in the war against the Patanowä-tedi conferred three advantages on them. First, the probability was good that they would benefit materially in the raiding by capturing women. Secondly, they demonstrated their solidarity to their allies at little cost or danger to themselves, thereby putting these allies under obligation to reciprocate the favor at a later time. Finally, the peripheral villages were able to demonstrate their ferocity to their neighbors by going to war, although the danger to themselves was almost negligible. In total, about a dozen villages began raiding the Patanowä-tedi in mid 1965, forcing them to abandon their garden before they could establish a new one elsewhere. The Patanowä-tedi had no alternative but to take refuge in the village of their allies, the Ashadowä-tedi. Without the aid of the Ashadowä-tedi, the Patanowä-tedi would have been forced to colonize from their single site and sustain very heavy losses from the incessant raids of their enemies. As the situation turned out, the Patanowä-tedi lost a large number of people in the raiding, despite having this ally, but the losses would have been much heavier without them.

726 722 +628 36 24

162 562 [847] [83] Summary

The practice of female infanticide leads to a shortage of women. The Yąnomamö attempt to overcome the shortage,

*628 [602] Lower Bisaasi-tedi gave its members refuge during the times when the Monou-tedi were threatened by raids from the Patanowä-tedi. The closest neighbor, geographically, to Lower Bisaasi-tedi is Upper Bisaasi-tedi (a mere 400 meters upstream), the dominant political group of that village being a segment of the Sha lineage. The two villages, however, behave quite independently in their alliance patterns. Lower Bisaasi-tedi's political interests are in the Mõmaribõwei-tedi at the present time, whereas Upper Bisaasi-tedi's interests are in the Reyabobõwei-tedi, Karohi-tedi, and Widokaiya-tedi. In the war against the Patanowä-tedi, both the Lower and Upper Bisaasi-tedi aid the Monou-tedi by providing warriors for the raiding parties, and by giving refuge to the Monou-tedi when raiding is particularly intense.

• [361] [613]

*628 726

*621 162 562 571 Lower Bisaasi-tedi is a cohesive, well-integrated, stable village. Much of the stability and cohesiveness derives from the fact that there is not a shortage of women and there are well-defined patterns of behavior for all members vis-à-vis others. But, Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not a militarily viable group. It could not last long as an independent village if the warfare situation became intense; the group is not completely independent of the Upper Bisaasi-tedi village. At least once during my field work the Lower Bisaasi-tedi group coalesced with the Upper group when a raid from the Patanowä-tedi seemed imminent. And, if raiding from the Patanowä-tedi began, the group would have to merge with Upper Bisaasi-tedi for defense purposes. When I began my field work in 1964,

*628 722

000 has several enemies.

*621 *628 701 721 722 [162] I pointed out that Lower Bisaasi-tedi was not a militarily viable village, although its total population falls within the range of such villages. An examination of the village composition given in Appendix A will show that there are only 12 men between the ages of 14 and 50, and not all of these would be effective in a raiding party. Some of these men would have to remain home to guard the women, reducing the capability of the village to mount raids against enemies even more, as the size of the raiding party would have to be smaller than ten men. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-tedi depends on assistance from its allies in their warfare and could not survive as an independent village. Should their enemies (the PatanowÃ-tedi) begin raiding them frequently, they would have to reunite with their agnates, the Upper Bisaasi-tedi. As a matter of fact, they did exactly this whenever raids from the PatanowÃ-tedi threatened them. The [162] Monou-tedi have 21 males between the ages of 14 and 50, but two of these are cripples. Nevertheless, they are much more capable of maintaining a separate existence than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, despite the fact that the difference in size of the two villages is not great. The significant fact is that they have a larger number of men capable of conducting *621 *628 782 raids. However, their size has not permitted them to effectively withstand the raids mounted against them by the [36] PatanowÃ-tedi, and the Monou-tedi were forced to move to a new site by the raids stemming from their enemies. Without the

aid of allies such as the two Bisaasi-tedi groups, the Monou-tedi probably could not survive as an independent village because of the size differential between themselves and their enemies. It is noteworthy, however, that the Monou-tedi are more independent than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, for they moved to a new site rather than recombine (permanently) with their agnates in Bisaasi-tedi. This avoidance pattern is not a probable alternative for the Lower Bisaasi-tedi because of their relative lack of potential to conduct effective warfare, even considering the fact that their allies would aid them. Lower Bisaasi-tedi would invite raiding by moving further away from Upper Bisaasi-tedi, as their erstwhile neighbors and allies, from whom they have managed to obtain so many women, would be more equal in strength and would demand more women from them. Or, other neighbors, such as the Widokaiya-tedi, would descend on them hoping to abduct women, of which the Lower Bisaasi-tedi have many. They have managed to obtain these women from a position of strength, but a large factor in their strength is the fact that they are still dependent on Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Without the latter, they would be in a serious military situation.

Summary

Village splitting develops out of feuding over women; the kinship lines along which villages split reflect the strength of the tie linking descent groups to each other by marriage or promises to exchange women, while at the same time illustrates the weakness of the agnatic bonds.

10cChagnon F-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Patanowẽ-tedi, Mąmaribŏwei-tedi and Reyabobŏwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Namowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called Paruritawẽ-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

722
*621
*628
121
• 361
602
*628
174
582
583

historical relationships between villages to properly interpret marriage ties between them. With regard to the last point, I found that numerous individuals in Bisaasi-tedi claimed to be from Patanowã-tedi; my initial conclusions concerning their marriage to individuals from Bisaasi-tedi was that the marriages were village-exogamic. I was obliged to reassess these marriages after I learned that the two villages were at one time one village, and most of the marriages between the two groups were contracted while the groups were living together. I therefore investigated in detail the historical relationships between all the villages in the Mavaca area, a portion of the results constituting the subject of this chapter.

174
128

I have summarized the village movements in Tables 5 and 6 and have indicated these movements graphically on Map C. The reader may, if he wishes, skip the details of the histories and turn at this point to the concluding remarks of this chapter. I can make the four points by using only Tables 5 and 6, in conjunction with Map C. However, I cannot illustrate Yanomamö political behavior without recourse to details of the village movements and the wars that caused them and, accordingly, I include the details of the histories in this chapter. The political relationships that presently obtain between the two Shamatari villages (Mõmaribõwei-tedi and Reyabobõwei-tedi) and their allies, the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, can not be completely understood without knowing their respective histories in some detail. Most of the

128
361
174
*628
583

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

Table 5: History of Namowei-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Konata	1875-1900	Raids from Obotawä-tedi, Boreta-tedi, Bokpoiwä-urihi-tedi and Aramata-tedi	None	---
Wareta	1900-1910	Raids from Shihowä- and Husirawä-urihi-tedi	None	---
Namowei	1910-1920	Raids from Boreta-tedi	None	---
Mahoyaoba	1920-1925	Poor Soil	None	---
Patanowä	1925-1943 (1966)	Internal feud led to split and raiding between factions; site still occupied	Village size and frequent fighting within village	Strained at first, then hostile
Shihota	1943-1949	Raids from Patanowä-tedi	None	---
Mahekodo	1951-1952	Suspicion that their hosts planned to kill them	None	---
Kobou	1952-1953	Fear of Shamatari raids	Internal feuds over women	Friendly
Monou and Barawä	1954-1966 1954-1959	Barawä abandoned because foreigners invited Indians to move to Mavaca; Monou still occupied	None	---
Bisaasi	1959-1966	---	Village size and frequent arguments	Friendly

[Namowei-tedi Group]

146

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

174
175
103
341
721
828
572
602

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
174
175
103
•361-
•762L
•428
578
602

Table 6: History of Paruritawä-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Pre-Aramamisi	? - 1880	Raids from Shihowä- and Mokayähaba-tedi	None	---
Aramamisi	1880-1900	Raids from Shihowä-, Konabuma and Mokayähaba-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Shirakoböwei	1900-1910 [1900-1966]	Internal feuds led to separation of several factions that raided parent group: Karehewä-, Matakuwä-, and previous enemies, Shihowä- and Mokayähaba-tedi. Aramamisi-tedi group remained at Shirakoböwei after other factions left	a. 1900: Karehewä's faction left because of a feud over a woman. b. 1900: Waiyahowä's faction left for unknown causes. c. 1910: Matakuwä's faction left to aid Karehewä and to avoid raids from Shihowä-tedi.	a. Hostile b. Friendly; Waiyahowä's group was decimated by an epidemic and no longer exists. c. Hostile
Boraböwei	1910-1935	Raids from Karawatari- and Aramamisi-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Kayurewä	1935-1940	Raids from Aramamisi- and Namowei-tedi	None	---
Konabuma	1940-1945	See next column	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Paruritawä	1945-1960	Raids from Sibarariwä's village (Möwäraoba-tedi)	Minor internal feud	Friendly
Mömariböwei Reyaboböwei	1960-1965	Present locations	None	---

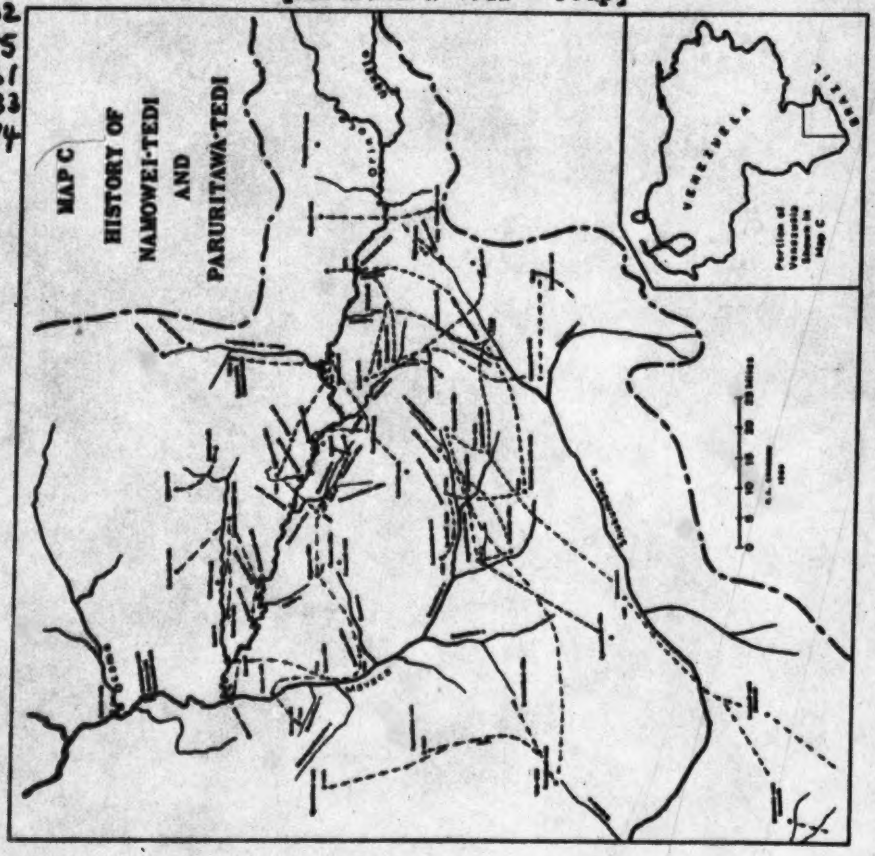
147
[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

[Namowei-tedi Group]
[Paruritawã-tedi Group]

102
175
361
133
174

MAP C
HISTORY OF
NAMOWEI-TEDI
AND
PARURITAWA-TEDI



128
• 361
174
+628
583 marriages[1] that represent breaches of the marriage rule preferences were the result of alliances between the villages whose histories are given here. It is, accordingly, important to understand the political and historical circumstances that led to these alliances.

174
175
361
+128
[621] A. The History of the Namowei-tedi Group

The Namowei-tedi lived in four different areas between ca. 1880 and 1943, splitting into two villages in 1943 shortly after they moved to their fifth location. I outline below the events that led to the abandoning of the first four areas and discuss in more detail the activities of the villages after they established their fifth location. I will treat the Paruritawë-tedi group similarly in Part B of this chapter.

174 Area 1: Konata-tedi (See Map C)
175
+628
+621 While living in this area the Naomwei-tedi were on friendly terms with several Shamatari villages, numbering them among their allies. The Shamatari as a distinct group were
[582] just coming into being between 1880 and 1900. Intermarriages
[583] between the Namowei-tedi and members of several Shamatari villages occurred and a number of individuals in the present villages of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi trace descent back to Shamatari ancestors.

[1] These data on marriages are taken from the villages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowä, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Husirawä's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowä and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowä-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-kähö--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakö), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hąhoyaoba-täka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hąhoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasaböwä-tedi and Ashadowä-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The new garden at Mahoyaoba-tedi did not produce satisfactorily so the Namowei-tedi established a new one south of the Orinoco River, Patanowä-tëka, and moved there about 1925-30.[1]

Area 5: Patanowä-tëka

This site has a complicated history. The Namowei-tedi lived here as one group, abandoned it, split into two villages, and each faction returned to it only to abandon it again. Ultimately the site was reoccupied by one of these factions, and that faction presently lives there.

Most of the present generation of adults in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi were born at Patanowä-tëka.

Three important events took place while the Namowei-tedi lived at Patanowä-tëka. The first of these was the development of hostilities between the Namowei-tedi and a Shamatari village. As this Shamatari village figures prominently in the later history of one faction of the Namowei-tedi, I make a point of identifying it here: Sibarariwä's village, located on the Mavaca River. The approximate date of the initiation of these hostilities was 1938-40, an estimate based on the ages of older children born at Patanowä-tëka of women abducted from Sibarariwä's village. Up to the start of the war with Sibarariwä's group, the Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with all of the Shamatari villages and visited a number of them regularly. Several marriage

[1] This is the only case I have of a garden being abandoned for soil fertility reasons.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 *628 726 583 Several marriage alliances were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one of the Shamatari villages (Konabuma-tedi) when the war with Sibarariwä's group started, but these eventually broke down before any women were actually exchanged.

174 *621 *628 The second important event was the secession of a section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the development of hostilities between these cognate villages.

174 *361 *628 796 The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the initiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi sections (Patanowä-tedi) and villages to its north; this war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and has dictated the movements of the Patanowä-tedi from the time it began until now.

174 *628 781 721 In order, the particulars of these three events are, briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a number of years after they moved to Patanowä-täka. However, (175) several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria) about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called Ruwahiwä, Sibarariwä's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Namikininiwä, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered Ruwahiwä with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

Shortly after Ruwahiwä was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded

[Namowei-tedi Group]

only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service. The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Hekurama, and Hikarima) and the PatanowÃ-tedi (Ishinarima, Rubrobemi, Rokuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in PatanowÃ-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

(2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions, each making a new garden further up the Shani[illegible]ni-u River and abandoned PatanowÃ-tÃka. The move was stimulated by the frequency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were always fighting with each other," said one of my informants, "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at PatanowÃ-tÃka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller (BrararabÕwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fearing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

174 and returned to Patanowä-tëka. A segment of the group that
• 361
*628 returned to Patanowä-tëka immediately began making a new
[241] garden (Shihota) about a day's walk to the west of Patanowä-
tëka, anticipating that further hostilities with the
174 Wanidima group would develop. Within a year of the club
*628 fight the Wanidima group attacked the group at Patanowä-
726
574 tëka while the latter were having a feast, but the raiders'
527 arrows missed their marks and no one was injured. The group
602
[361] at Patanowä-tëka abandoned their village and rejoined their
agnates at the latter's new garden, Shihota-tëka, whence
they began raiding the Wanidima-tedi. On one raid the group
from Shihota found Wanidima-tedi deserted and followed the
trail the villagers had taken. The Wanidima-tedi were found
at Hasaböwä-tedi, feasting. The raiders killed one of the
Wanidima-tedi men, but in doing so angered both the Hasaböwä-
tedi and their cognate group, the Ashadowä-tedi.

174 With the aid of the last two villages, the Wanidima-
*628
726 tedi raided the Shihota-tedi and killed a younger brother of
Makuwä. The Shihota-tedi reciprocated by raiding the Wanidima-
tedi, killing Husiwä (Nabäyoma's husband), Hoari, and
Siayeikema. This in turn was followed by raids from the
Wanidima-tedi in which the Shihota-tedi lost Ushuenawä and
the two younger brothers of Paruriwä, and had one of their
women, Buhiomi, seized.

174 Eventually the superior numbers of the Wanidima-tedi
*628
726 and their allies decided the fighting, and the Shihota-tedi
361 were forced to abandon their garden and make a new one else-
24 where.

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tëka to Kreibëwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawë and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowë-tëka, and became known as the Patanowë-tedi.

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawë-tedi and Kashorawë-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawë, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowë-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowë-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawë-tedi visited Patanowë-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowë-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawë-tedi. Hasabëwë-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowë-tedi and Yabitawë-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

174 the Patanowä-tedi.[1] Thus, the Patanowä-tedi were surrounded
726 on all sides by enemies; only one village, Ashadowä-tedi,
*628 remained on friendly terms with them. Beyond the Ashadowä-
722 tedi were the Shamatari villages, bitter enemies of the Patanowä-tedi since the killing of Ruwahiwä.

174 By the time the Patanowä-tedi had gotten into this
*628 situation, the war with their agnates had subsided. So the
• 361 Patanowä-tedi moved west, into the area abandoned by their
602 agnates, whence they harried the Hasaböwä-tedi and the groups
722 north of the Orinoco. They attempted with some success to effect a rapprochement with their agnates, and a few individuals from the Kreiböwei-tedi group visited the Patanowä-tedi. One of these individuals was able to obtain a wife in Patanowä-tedi, whom he subsequently took back to Monou-tedi with him.

361 The Patanowä-tedi are presently living between two
*628 sites: Patanowä-täka and Shamata-täka, a situation forced on
722 them by the hostile relationships they have with all their neighbors except the Ashadowä-tedi.

128 Area 6: Shihota-täka

See "Area 5" point (2) above.

174 Area 7: Kreiböwei-tedi
175
361 This site was established in 1949. After fleeing
722 from Shihota to avoid the raids of the Patanowä-tedi, the
*628

[1] At this point the Patanowä-tedi returned to Patanowä-täka from their three sites of Wanidima, Waiyari, and Rashawä.

Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's village and entered into feasting relationships with his followers.

Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's village. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother, Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tĕka.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

men for the Kreibŏwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari, and a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi managed to escape. These fled to a mountain called Wadubadidiobakɨkŏ where they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-tɨka. Here, the Kreibŏwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreibŏwei-tɨka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly after the treacherous feast the Kreibŏwei-tedi were visited by Shinanokawɨ, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the Kreibŏwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreibŏwei-tedi undertook a revenge raid against Riakowɨ's group. They killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collecting their women and children at Kreibŏwei-tɨka as they proceeded from Riakowɨ's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was early in 1951.

For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreibŏwei-tedi worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before Kobou-tɨka was producing, however, the Kreibŏwei-tedi decided

174 175 to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There
• 361 241 had been a number of club fights between the two factions
*621 over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal
174 feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started
175 (Monou-tëka and Barawë-tëka) before the Kreiböwei-tedi left
241 *621 Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The
578 splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other con-
361 927 siderations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here
that considerable fighting took place among the men when
the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to
the survivors.

174 The Kreiböwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as
175 *628 they could. It was rumored that their protectors were
*621 planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women.
361 This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of
Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed
the Kreiböwei-tedi several years later of the details of the
plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi
[578] prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariwë-
[721] tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began
raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank
174 of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that
175 the Kreiböwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi
726 *628 and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the
[721] two men killed by the Kreiböwei-tedi after the treacherous
feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and
a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Area 9: Kobou-tëka

The Kreibŏwei-tedi parted with their protectors as soon as this garden began producing. They lived at this site only long enough to complete their two new gardens at Monou and Barawë, moving into the latter when they, in turn, began producing. "Kobou" in Yąnomamŏ means "let it go at that," or, in more vernacular terms, "to hell with that garden." Kobou was abandoned shortly after it was made, having served as a temporary base for the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they completed their split. It would not have been necessary to complete the splitting of the village by making two new gardens had there been no war with the Shamatari. But, as one faction of the group made their garden elsewhere, the others were reluctant to remain at Kobou and bear the brunt of the revenge raids from the Shamatari. Thus, they too made a new garden. Again, it would not have been necessary to make Kobou-tëka had Mahekodo-tedi been a dependable ally. But as the Kreibŏwei-tedi suspected that their erstwhile protectors were plotting against them, they followed that course of action most expedient at the time. As they had already started Kobou, it was simply more practicable to complete that garden and move out of Mahekodo-tedi as soon as possible, rather than begin making two gardens and delay their move until these gardens began producing.

Areas 10 and 11: Monou-tedi and Barawë-tedi

After separating into two groups the Kreibŏwei-tedi

174 175 *621 *628 remained on good terms with each other. Their split occurred in 1954, perhaps a year earlier.

When I initiated my field work in 1964 Monou-tëka • 361 241 114 922 was still occupied, but its population, the Monou-tedi, was in the process of making a new garden (Moyanabŏwei) west of Monou to avoid the raids of the Patanowë-tedi, with whom they had entered into a new war in 1964.

175 177 361 648 *[621] The faction that moved to Barawë remained at that site about five years. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River, taking the name Bisaasi-tedi, in 1959, splitting into two villages, each located on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. By 1958 the Venezuelan Government had initiated a malaria-control program in this area of Amazonas and had established a small field station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Venezuelans associated with this field station invited the Barawë-tedi to move to the Mavaca River; the Indians accepted the invitation, hoping to gain access to steel tools. This was the beginning of contact with outsiders for the Kreibŏwei-tedi; prior to 1959 the only foreigners they had known were the missionary at Mahekodo-tedi, James P. Barker, and the members of the Frobenius Institute Expedition, Meinhard Schuster and Otto Zerries, who they visited occasionally at Mahekodo-tedi.

174 175 *621 361 Area 12: Bisaasi-tedi

The Bisaasi-tedi began friendly contacts with a Shamatari village, Paruritawë-tedi, after they moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628 583 Bisaasi-tedi are the dominant partners in the bride-exchange network with their Shamatari allies, a dominance that is reflected in the disproportionate number of women they have managed to coerce out of their allies.

361 621 114 While I conducted my field work the Bisaasi-tedi lived in two villages on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. The group on the east bank was beginning to split by the time I left the field, and the split took place a few months later,[1] one of the factions moving to the north bank of the Orinoco River, but still within view of the other group.

B. The History of the Paruritawë-tedi

174 621 The Shamatari came into being as an identifiable group shortly before 1900. The Shamatari identity, as I have shown above (p. 28 ff.), is a function of the historical connections between the villages that split off from Shihowë-tedi's parental group, as well as geographical considerations.

My informants consistently spoke of two 'true' Shamatari men: Kayabawë (Shamatari) and Matakuwë. The villages of these two men have a common origin, but I was unable to get data on the nature of the events that led to the separation of these two groups. This event took place long before the life-span of my oldest informants, and none of them knew any details of the splitting. By 1875, however, [195 101 361] there were two distinct Shamatari groups north of the Orinoco headwaters, one of which bore the name Shihowë-tedi. Kayabawë

[1] Personal communication, James P. Barker.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

174 175 122 32 [101] (Shamatari) lived in this village and, when the village split, led his faction into the Shukumöna-u basin, becoming known as the Mokayäaba-tedi. This move took place about 1900.

The second village also moved to the south side of the Orinoco, but remained on that river. They settled near [103] a mountain called Aramamisi-kähö, and named their village after the mountain. My historical data on the Shamatari village movements is sparce up to this point.

Between 1900 and 1950 the Mavaca and Shukumöna drainages were populated by the descendents of these two 'original' Shamatari groups, and the process of village splitting that led to the occupation of this large area continues at the present time.

174 195 128 602 36 Although there are two Shamatari groups (Kayabawä's and Matakuwä's), I outline the details of the movements of Matakuwä's group, mentioning Kayabawä's only in so far as it relates to the history of Paruritawä-tedi. Militarily, Kayabawä's group plays a prominent role in the movements of Matakuwä's followers up to 1920, illustrating once again that cognate villages enter into hostile relationships with each other after they separate. Thus, this section deals with the historical movements of the group that ultimately gave rise to Paruritawä-tedi; as this group also gave rise to a number of other villages, I shall have to briefly sketch the movements of these villages after their separation from the main group.

008 It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari

[Paruritawë-tedi Group]

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari village histories are more complicated than the one outlined for the Namowei-tedi. This stems from the fact that the Shamatari villages had reached a large size by 1900 and began splitting into smaller groups earlier, in terms of the data I collected, than did the Namowei-tedi. In other words, the splitting that characterized Namowei-tedi's population from about 1940 to 1955 was occurring in the Shamatari population in 1900. Although I do not have census data on the numerous Shamatari villages that subsequently emerged from the two initial groups, I suspect that the numbers of people involved are significantly larger for the Shamatari village histories. Two factors seem to be the cause of this phenomenon. First, the Shamatari villages had access to steel tools in considerable numbers before Namowei-tedi's ancestral population did; my informants asserted that their first source of steel tools was the group called Shihowë-tedi. Presumably the size of the populations involved is a function of their agricultural potentials, and the Shamatari apparently expanded earlier than the Namowei-tedi because they had access to steel tools sooner. Secondly, the Shamatari population expanded unopposed into virgin territory, whereas the Namowei-tedi expanded into territory already occupied by other Yąnomamö; it is significant to note that when the Namowei-tedi ultimately moved into unoccupied territory, their population seems to have increased, and the first split occurred only after virgin territory was colonized.[1]

---

[1] I am unable to explain how this affects demographic variables, but my data suggest that Yąnomamö populations expand more rapidly when they colonize virgin land.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 1: Aramamisi-kĕkŏ

Matakuwĕ's group settled here after abandoning their site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawĕ's group. The village at Aramamisi-kĕkŏ, according to my informants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, Aramamisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, Mŏwĕraoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawĕ-tedi, Kohoroshi-tedi, Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, and Reyabobŏwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

A large segment of the population broke away from the main group and moved to the Rahuawĕ-u River, splitting into two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from the Aramamisi-kĕkŏ population developed out of a feud over a woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from the original faction that separated from Matakuwĕ's group. The first three of these groups presently live in the Shukumŏna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

[1] There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

others. Matakuwë's group was being raided by Kayabawë's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-kähkö. These raids forced Matakuwë and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-kähkö and settle at Shirakoböwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakoböwei

Matakuwë's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawë's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewë and Orakawë. During the fighting a young man from Karehewë's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewë moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewë's followers raided the group at Shirakoböwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewë to move further north. Karehewë's son, Riakowë, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowë's son, Börösöwë. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Börösöwë's group. They feared Börösöwë would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyahowë, split off from

Matakuwë's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors were absorbed by other villages.

Finally, Matakuwë and his group separated from Orakawë and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Mavaca basin. The group that remained at Shirakobŏwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakuwë and his followers separated from Orakawë's group for two reasons. First, Matakuwë decided to support Karehewë in the dispute over the death of a member of the latter's group. Secondly, Matakuwë and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shihowë-tedi, who continued to harrass them. By taking the side of Karehewë, Matakuwë and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawë's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

Area 3: Borabŏwei

Matakuwë and his followers moved here about 1910. Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi, forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a number of years Matakuwë's group lived alternatively between these two sites. Another garden was established at Kaurewë after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Borabŏwei, and Matakuwë's group fled to Kayurewë, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

000 rarily abandoning Konabuma.

174 Matakuwë's group had three factions. Oroshowë, a
175 man belonging to Matakuwë's faction, took a woman away from
*621 her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an
578 internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and
• 361 Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village of his own on the Shukumõna-u River. This split took place
174 about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwë's vil-
175 lage to avenge the death of Biawawë, the man killed in the
*621 feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was un-
722 able to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's
174 group to found their own villages: Warabawë-tedi, led by
175 Hewariwë, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwë. These last two
*621 villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time,
361 as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded
[622] foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Mis-
[799] sionaries on the Cauabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group
361 lived on the Shukumõna-u River, as men from Reyabobõwei-tedi
[574] danced there that year. When the Reyabobõwei-tedi left
*[628] Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with
[628] them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl
[722] presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174 In about 1935 Matakuwë and his group moved to Kayurewë
36 to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.
722

---

*[628] [1] Warabawë-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabëyoma.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 4: Kayurewë

174
175
+628
726
861

The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. Matakuwë's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwë, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowë-tëka. Ruwahiwë was Matakuwë's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, Matakuwë moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174
+621
361
(622)
(101)

About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by Matakuwë's group, the group split into two villages. One of them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwë's son, Sibarariwë. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumöna-u River and took the name Paruritawë-tedi, led by

(578)
(721)

Weiamamowë. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

174
36
+628
722
175

Sibarariwë's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the Paruritawë-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Armamisi-tedi and the Paruritawë-tedi themselves forced Sibarariwë's group to abandon Konabuma

and move to Kakamoba. This site was occupied for just a few years, and by 1950 Sibarariwä's group was living at Amąrokobŏwei: the 1950 treacherous feast for the Kreibŏwei-tedi was conducted while Sibarariwä's group was here. After 1950 Sibarariwä's group fled south to avoid the raids of the survivors of that treacherous feast, establishing the garden of Dądamobŏwei. This garden was abandoned because of raids mounted by the Paruritawä-tedi, and Sibarariwä returned to Amąrokobŏwei about 1955. The Paruritawä-tedi eventually became friendly to Sibarariwä's group and were able to lure some of them, at the instigation of the Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, to a treacherous feast in 1960, during which three men were murdered and four women captured. In 1964 Sibarariwä's group moved to the headwaters of the Mavaca River, being known as the Mŏwäraoba-tedi. Monou-tedi and Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi sent a raiding party against them at this location about the time I started my field work, and killed one man.

Area 6: Paruritawä-tedi

The Paruritawä-tedi made friendly contact with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi about 1960, and have entered into alliance with these groups. The Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi persuaded the Paruritawä-tedi to invite members of Sibarariwä's group to a feast in 1960 and, with the aid of the Paruritawä-tedi, murdered three men and seized four women. Sibarariwä's group avenged this by mounting raids

against the Paruritawä-tedi, and the latter abandoned their [Paruritawä-tedi Group]
site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä-tedi,
the group split into two factions, each making a separate
garden: Mõmaribõwei and Reyabobõwei. The two factions are
still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied
to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyabobõwei-tedi
are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä's
group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi
and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friend-
ship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965
the Reyabobõwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä's entire
village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they
arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä's
group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating
the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the
Paruritawä-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966

The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village
composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have
described above may also be observed among these villages at
the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work.
Patanowä-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times
while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen
different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but
the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never
safe for the Patanowä-tedi to venture away from the village.

The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives they claimed, was that the PatanowÃ-tedi had to move frequently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the PatanowÃ-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense. It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consanguineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

The war between Monou-tedi and PatanowÃ-tedi

After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of PatanowÃ in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi began visiting PatanowÃ-tedi, and one of them, TorokoiwÃ, was given two wives by the Patanowã-tedi. The rapprochement, however, was never effected and the political relationships between

villages (Bisaasi-tedi, Mõmaribõwei-tedi, and Karohi-tedi). These ashes were to be consumed prior to revenge raids on the Patanowã-tedi. The Monou-tedi then set about transporting plantain cuttings to their new garden and spent the next several weeks working on the garden. They intended to delay their revenge raid until the beginning of the rainy season in order to make it difficult for the Patanowã-tedi to raid them in return. The Monou-tedi moved into Bisaasi-tedi at the end of March both for military protection and for respite from their heavy agricultural labors. They stayed with the Bisaasi-tedi until the end of April, fearing that they would be raided by the Patanowã-tedi if they returned to their own village before the rains started. They also planned to raid the Patanowã-tedi from Bisaasi-tedi at the beginning of the wet season, knowing that a revenge raid from Patanowã-tedi would be difficult once the rains started. They could return to their own village during the rainy season, as the jungle separating their village from the Patanowã-tedi is inundated at this time of the year and cannot be traversed.

On April 19th the Bisaasi-tedi sponsored a mortuary feast for the slain Monou-tedi headman in preparation for the revenge raid. The participants in the revenge raid were to include the Mõmaribõwei-tedi, but they did not arrive as scheduled, so the raid was delayed until the 21st. Only a few Mõmaribõwei-tedi arrived to participate in the raid, and the Bisaasi-tedi immediately suspected that the Mõmaribõwei-tedi were plotting to abduct women from them after

726 the men left on the raid. One faction of Bisaasi-tedi did
[122] not participate in the raid in order to protect the women while the others were gone.

The raiding party left on the 21st and returned on
[361] the 2nd of May. They killed one PatanowÃ-tedi at Shihota, a site abandoned in 1949 by the Bisaasi-tedi now being used by the PatanowÃ-tedi. The PatanowÃ-tedi chased the raiders, outflanking them at one point, and shot one of the Monou-tedi, badly wounding him. The man, KonoreiwÃ, was pierced with a bamboo point just above his heart. Although the tip of the point protruded out his back, he recovered.

726
36
*628
[221
[132 The PatanowÃ-tedi could not avenge this killing until the rains subsided. Accordingly, the Monou-tedi returned to their own village after they retreated to Bisaasi-tedi on May 2. They remained in their village until June 20, at which time they rejoined the Bisaasi-tedi; they did so because travel through the jungle was becoming possible by that date, as the rains subsided early in 1965. On July 10 the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, assisted by their allies, the MÃmaribÃwei-tedi and ReyabobÃwei-tedi, raided the PatanowÃ-tedi again, leaving from Bisaasi-tedi. The raid proved to be unsuccessful, as the PatanowÃ-tedi had moved into the village of their only ally, the AshadowÃ-tedi. All the raiders except those from Monou-tedi wanted to turn back, as the trail to AshadowÃ-tedi was a poor one and retreat would have been difficult. The raiding party did turn back, but the Monou-tedi were angry with their allies for forcing them to

726 return.

The Monou-tedi returned to their own village after this raid, angry because their allies refused to prosecute the war more vigorously. They collected food from their [241] garden and moved into their new site at Moyenabŏwei, extending their garden. For the next two months the Monou-tedi lived alternately at Bisaasi-tedi, their old village, and their new garden, to which they carried food from their old one as needed. By now the Patanowä-tedi were raiding them frequently to avenge the attack of April 21, and signs of the Patanowä-tedi raiders were found numerous times at the old site of Monou-tedi.

The Patanowä-tedi were also moving between several gardens to avoid raids from their enemies. They lived alternately between Patanowä-tëka, with the Ashadowä-tedi, and their new garden, Shihota. Moreover, they were actively engaged in another war at the same time. So effective were the Patanowä-tedi raids against the Hasabŏwä-tedi that, in mid 1965, the latter had to abandon their site south of the Orinoco River and move to the north side near the village of one of their allies, Kashorawä-tedi. They made a new garden near Kashorawä-tedi and abandoned their old one.

726 The war between the Patanowä-tedi and the Hasabŏwä-tedi had taken some unusual turns. On one raid in July, the Patanowä-tedi fired a volley of arrows into Hasabŏwä-tedi's village, killing two women. A few weeks later the Hasabŏwä-tedi deliberately waited for a woman, Huhuma, to come out of

726 Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid
*623 from them. Paruriwë seized upon this as his opportunity to
622 advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated
[564] several raids against the Patanowë-tedi without the support
of Kąobëwë. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi.
[602] As Paruriwë was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman
(consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen
as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

156 Paruriwë's behavior in other respects changed after
622 the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he
[123] was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again,
[593] he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one
occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she
responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwë was
entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the
visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a
*621 force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field,
622 Paruriwë and his group separated from Kąobëwë's and moved
• 361 across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house
529 on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This
574 move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could
initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up
until the time he moved, visitors from other villages con-
sistently sought out Kąobëwë as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during
the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how
much effort Paruriwë spent in emphasizing his own role in the
feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

one real headman, KąobÄwÄ. Thus, ParuriwÄ had to separate from KąobÄwÄ's group to achieve a status equal to that of KąobÄwÄ.

In July 1965 KąobÄwÄ sent his brother-in-law, KumamawÄ, to PatanowÄ-tedi to inform them that his group did not intend to raid the PatanowÄ-tedi in the future. When KumamawÄ returned to Bisaasi-tedi, he brought two older people with him, demonstrating that the PatanowÄ-tedi trusted KąobÄwÄ and were anxious to promote good relations with his group. The older couple brought the message that three young men from PatanowÄ-tedi were coming on a visit soon. Three days later the young men, HąrokoiwÄ, MasiwÄ, and KoiyeiwÄ, arrived. ParuriwÄ's group was visiting the Widokaiya-tedi, and when word reached him that a delegation of PatanowÄ-tedi had arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to visit KąobÄwÄ, he and a group of men from Monou-tedi immediately returned to Bisaasi-tedi, intending to murder the three visitors. KąobÄwÄ, however, warned ParuriwÄ and the Monou-tedi that should they attempt to harm the visitors, he and his followers would defend them with force. A crisis developed out of this situation, and for a whole day ParuriwÄ and his Monou-tedi supporters debated the wisdom of their plan. Finally, ParuriwÄ decided to desist from the murders and even participated in a news chant with one of the PatanowÄ-tedi--the father of his youngest wife. This emphasized KąobÄwÄ's influence as a leader, and ParuriwÄ decided to move away from KąobÄwÄ's group after this incident. The Monou-tedi who were to participate in the murder of the three

*621 595 586 578 [592] Moiyoawë had two wives, Borehima and her older sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with another man, Makerawë. Moiyoawë attempted to get his wife back from Makerawë, precipitating a club fight between two factions of the village. During the club fight, Makerawë stabbed Moiyoawë with the sharp end of his club, wounding him badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyoawë's faction, Rakoiwë, who then attacked Makerawë, running him through with a sharpened club, killing him. Makerawë's faction fled from Patanowë-tedi and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids against the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the Patanowë-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowë-tedi two times shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid they caught two Patanowë-tedi men hunting outside the village. They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was Kɑabäwë's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man, Shinahewë. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

*[628] [361] *726 *628 [602] [115]

The woman over whom the internal feud started was taken away from Makerawë's group. Moiyoawë cut both her ears off to punish her.

[592] [684]

Summary

Tables 5 and 6 broadly summarize the movements of the five villages. As the details of the text indicate, considerably more village movement goes on than can be included in tables of this sort. The micro-movements, however, merely express in greater detail what is immediately apparent from an examination of Tables 5 and 6: the Yanomamö abandon their gardens and move to new locations because of raids from other groups. In only one instance was the movement of a village stimulated by economic considerations: site 4 was abandoned by the Namowei-tedi because of poor soil. Another exception was the abandoning of Barawä (site 10) by the Bisaasi-tedi in 1959. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River to gain access to steel tools, marking the beginning of their sustained contact with foreigners.

The tables also show that there were ten village splits relevant to explaining the origins of the five villages considered in this chapter. Five of these splits were due to feuds over women. In four of the cases the factions that were involved immediately entered into hostilities with each other. The recent split within Patanowä-tedi, discussed in the text (pp. 188-89), again over a woman, is not included in Table 5, as the refugee group did not form a new village of their own. Three village splits in Tables 5 and 6 developed out of minor feuds, usually over women, brought about by large village size. In one case, the factions ultimately entered into hostilities with each other, whereas in two cases the factions still remain on friendly terms.

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

occupying five different sites, each having its own house and garden. These five groups recombined into a single unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the southwest of the Uraricaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated. On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than on the Uraricaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of Yąnomamö from those whose social organization is described in this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Corresponding to this increase in intensity is a change in type of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically or not at all to the northeast.

There is likewise an apparent cline in population density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity. Yąnomamö villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However, another factor complicates the picture: the Yąnomamö have more contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and way of life.

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ɨ] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ä] vowel are pronounced as that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąbawä would be pronounced "cow-ba-wuh," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

anthropological training at the University of Michigan that kinship was equivalent to society in primitive tribes and that it was a moral way of life, "moral" being something "good" and "desirable." I was determined to work my way into their moral system of kinship and become a member of their society.

My heart began to pound as we approached the village and heard the buzz of activity within the circular compound. Mr. Barker commented that he was anxious to see if any changes had taken place while he was away and wondered how many of them had died during his absence. I felt into my back pocket to make sure that my notebook was still there and felt personally more secure when I touched it. Otherwise, I would not have known what to do with my hands.

The entrance to the village was covered over with brush and dry palm leaves. We pushed them aside to expose the low opening to the village. The excitement of meeting my first Indians was almost unbearable as I duck-waddled through the low passage into the village clearing.

I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous, and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses. We arrived at the village while the men were blowing a hallucinogenic drug up their noses. One of the side effects of the drug is a runny nose. The mucus is always saturated with the green powder and the Indians usually let it run freely from their nostrils. My next discovery was that there were a dozen or so vicious, underfed dogs snapping at my legs, circling me as if I were going to be their next meal. I just stood there holding my notebook, helpless and pathetic. Then the stench of the decaying vegetation and filth struck me and I almost got sick. I was horrified. What sort of a welcome was this for the person who came here to live with you and learn your way of life, to become friends with you? They put their weapons down when they recognized Barker and returned to their chanting, keeping a nervous eye on the village entrances.

We had arrived just after a serious fight. Seven women had been abducted the day before by a neighboring group, and the local men and their guests had just that morning recovered five of them in a brutal club fight that nearly ended in a shooting war. The abductors, angry because they lost five of the seven captives, vowed to raid the Bisaasi-teri. When we arrived and entered the village unexpectedly, the Indians feared that we were the raiders. On several occasions during the next two hours the men in the village jumped to their feet, armed themselves, and waited nervously for the noise outside the village to be identified. My enthusiasm for collecting ethnographic curiosities diminished in proportion to the number of times such an alarm was raised. In fact, I was relieved when Mr. Barker suggested that we sleep across the river for the evening. It would be safer over there.

As we walked down the path to the boat, I pondered the wisdom of having decided to spend a year and a half with this tribe before I had even seen what they were like. I am not ashamed to admit, either, that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next day when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever decided to switch from civil en-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

2

Adaptation

THE YĄNOMAMÖ ADAPTATION to their physical, social, and intellectual environments is dealt with in this chapter.

The Physical Environment

Kąobawä's village[1] is Upper Bisaasi-teri, located at the confluence of the Mavaca and Orinoco Rivers. Like most of the villages in this area, it lies at an altitude of about 450 feet. While some villages in Brazil reach 3000 feet in altitude, most Yąnomamö villages are located at much lower elevations (Fig. 2-1).

The general area around Kąobawä's village is a low, flat plain interrupted occasionally by gently rolling hills and, more rarely, by a few low mountain ridges. The land is entirely covered with jungle, even the tops of the mountain ridges.

The jungle is relatively dense and characterized by numerous species of palm and hardwood trees. The forest canopy keeps the sunlight from penetrating to the ground, but scrub brush and vines manage to grow in relatively great abundance in most places, making it difficult to walk along the trails. Thorny brush is especially heavy along the banks of streams, where adequate sunlight and a constant supply of water provide ideal circumstances for its growth.

[1] See map, Fig. 2-8. Villages other than Kąobawä's have been included because they are discussed in this and also in a later chapter. Presently occupied villages are indicated in upper-case lettering and by shading. The area shown in this map is unexplored, except for the zone immediately adjacent to the Orinoco River. The map is, therefore, largely calculated guesswork. To establish dates of occupation I estimated ages of individuals and obtained their stated places of birth. Distance and geographical location were determined by compass readings and measured in sleeps required to reach the location from a given point. I also visited many of the locations shown. While I was in Brazil in 1967, I checked the map locations with informants there, being encouraged by the fact that they independently gave approximately the same information. Fig. 2-8 is a simplified version of the more detailed map c in my doctoral thesis (Chagnon 1966). For more information regarding the techniques used in making the map, consult the thesis.

133
139
361
342
245

Fig. 2-1. A Yąnomamö village and plantain garden, aerial view (Tautaubi River, Brazil).

TRAILS AND TRAVEL. Trails lead out from the village in several directions. Some of them terminate in the gardens that surround the village, but a few of them continue on into the jungle and lead eventually to other villages. The unexperienced eye would not recognize them as trails, as they are hardly more than winding paths through brush, over or around logs, through streams and swamps, and up hills. The Yąnomamö take the most direct route to their destination, regardless of the terrain. A foreigner learns how to recognize a trail only after considerable experience. The most telltale signs are the numerous broken twigs at about knee height left by Yąnomamö travelers who compulsively keep their hands occupied snapping off brush and twigs as they walk. Another sign is the occasional log that is worn smooth from the tread of numerous travelers who prefer to walk along a log rather than go around it.

487

The most commonly used trail from Kąobawä's village leads to the two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-teri and Mąmatiböwei-teri, southwest of Upper Bisasi-teri. Hardly a week goes by in the dry season without a few individuals making a trip from one of these villages to Bisasi-teri or vice versa. A group of young men can make this trip in one day if they walk rapidly and leave early in the morning. Older men, women, and children must plan on a two day journey, as they walk more slowly and rest more frequently. There are a number of temporary shelters along the trail built by previous visitors, so the traveler does not have to spend much time putting one of these into repair should he decide to camp overnight.

[484]

[342]
[485]

The jungle provides a number of hazards to the barefoot traveler in that most species of palm have long, sharp spines protruding from their trunks or leaf stems. The most common and recurrent injury the Yąnomamö sustain is thorns in the feet. A party of ten men can rarely travel an hour without one of them stopping to extract a thorn from his foot. This is always accompanied by hisses and clicks of pain on the part of the victim, who gouges the thorn out with either an arrow point or another thorn. Their feet have thick calluses on them, but because the trails frequently cross streams and swamps, the calluses soften and are easily pierced by thorns.

Another, but rarer, hazard is snakes.[2] There are always a few cases of snake bite in each village every year, although few of them are fatal. Most snake-bite victims recover from the wound with no ill side effects. I treated two cases of snake bite that were like this. But a few bites are severe enough to cause the loss of a limb. One of my better acquaintances, a young man of some thirty years, lost a leg because of a snake bite when he was about fifteen years old, and will spend the rest of his life hopping on one leg, a form of locomotion he has mastered so thoroughly that he almost manages to keep up with the group when they visit other villages.

Most of the intervillage traveling is done from September through April, the dry season. For the remainder of the year the trails, or substantial portions of them, are underwater. At this time the rains are frequent and heavy, and the small streams that can be easily crossed on foot in the dry season become impassable torrents. Small lakes replace the marshy low ground, and communication between villages all but ceases. As the Yąnomamö are an inland people and avoid locating their villages near large streams, all travel is done on foot, and each village becomes an isolated entity at the peak of the wet season (June).[3] If the group must travel, it will make simple vine and pole bridges over the smaller streams. A pair of slender poles is stuck into the river and crossed to form an X-frame. Vines are used to lash the poles together where they intersect, and another pole is laid from the bank to the X-frame, also secured by vines. Then another pair of poles is stuck into the stream and lashed to form another X-frame. The long pole is then extended out further from the bank, and so on, until the stream is bridged. A vine railing is attached to the protruding members of the X-frames. The bridges usually last only a short time. The first heavy rain will swell the stream and the current will wash it away.

TECHNOLOGY Much of Yąnomamö technology is like the pole-and-vine bridge: crude, but very effective, and not destined to last for any great period of time. The only durable artifact produced is a crude, poorly fired clay pot. It is nearly an inch thick at the bottom and tapers to almost nothing at the brim. Consequently, it breaks very easily. For this reason, women, regarded as clumsy, are rarely allowed to touch or handle them. When the clay pots are used, the men do the cooking, as, for example, during feasts. The pot is made by the coil technique: The untempered clay is kneaded to the proper consistency by hand, rolled into long, slender ropes, and these, in turn, placed on top of each other to form a continuous rope of clay. The coils are then scraped flat so that the interior and exterior of the pot are smooth. The conical-shaped pot is allowed to dry in the shade, then fired by placing brush and wood over it. The end product is

[2] Two percent of all adult deaths are due to snake bite; 54 percent are due to malaria, and other epidemic diseases (Chagnon 1966) and 24 percent of adult males die in warfare.

[3] The Yąnomamö began moving their villages out to navigable rivers after 1955. Up to that time there was only one village, Mishimishimabowei-teri, located on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

guishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö. Many wild plants are also said to have magical properties.

CONCLUSION The Yąnomamö have adapted to their jungle environment with a very simple technology. Exploiting both the naturally occurring foods and domesticated crops is relatively easy with this technology, and the resources of both the jungle and the garden provide the people with the two basic necessities of life: food and shelter. Although the resources are extremely varied and numerous, the diet is largely dominated by one food item: plantains. Techniques of manufacturing are so simple and direct that each individual can produce any item he needs from the resources immediately around him. The material aspect of the culture is decidedly rudimentary by comparison with other tropical forest tribes; the Yąnomamö appear to deliberately limit their possessions to an amount that can be easily transported in case the group is obliged to abandon its site on short notice.

Adaptation to the Sociopolitical Environment

The adaptation of the Yąnomamö to their environment can be only partially expressed in terms of how they make a living in the tropical forest with specific kinds of tools, plants, and techniques, for the forest is only one aspect of the external world to which they must adjust. Their adaptation also takes place in a social and political environment. This likewise affects the way in which the Yąnomamö are distributed over the land, how their villages are moved from one location to another, and the kinds of relationships each village has with its neighbors. In short, the Yąnomamö must relate themselves to each other as well as to nature.

ALLIANCES AND VILLAGE SIZE I spoke of the considerations that must be met when a new garden site is selected. However, the area within which the new site is selected is determined almost exclusively by political factors. A Yąnomamö group would remain indefinitely in the area it settled were it not for the threat of raids from warring neighbors. To be sure, the group would move its garden little by little each year, but the general area would be abandoned only if the people were driven out by stronger groups around them. Again, dissident factions of the village might leave the area if a particularly serious fight developed within the group, but because a garden is necessary for the group to survive as a group, the Yąnomamö abandon them only when faced with disaster. To establish a new garden at a great distance from the old one, a Herculean effort is required just to transport the necessary plantain cuttings and seed, not to mention carrying provisions for eating while the work of clearing the garden and planting the crops progresses. Then, since a new garden produces sporadically for the first year, the people are frequently faced with food shortage. They are, therefore, reluctant to sacrifice the predictability of subsistence at the established garden for insecurity, periods of hunger, and hard work at some distant location.

Instead, they develop political alliances with neighboring villages, thereby adjusting to their social environment. The nature of these alliances is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but at this point I will make some general statements about the relationships between villages to show why, on the one hand, the social environment calls forth the alliances, and why on the other hand, when alliances fail, a group must abandon its area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

so frequent that the group elects to fission rather than attempt to keep an uneasy internal peace. Although a larger village has an advantage in terms of its capacity to raid other groups and is better able to defend itself from raids, the internal fights often lead to killings within the group. Then, there is no alternative but for one of the factions to leave. Its members may anticipate a situation like this and begin making a new garden long before the fighting becomes violent enough to lead to deaths, or a fight can develop unexpectedly and result immediately in bloodshed. The guilty faction must then seek refuge in the village of an ally until it can establish its own garden. Usually, however, the larger group fissions while its members are on relatively peaceable terms, and the two resulting villages remain in the same general area so that they can reunite when raids threaten them. This is the situation that prevails between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri; all three have a common history as a single village, but the members of each live in separate villages because of the numerous fights that took place within the group while they were still a single village. They continue, however, to rely on each other for protection when raids threaten. The Monou-teri (see Fig. 2–8), in fact, spent about a third of their time in either Lower Bisaasi-teri or in Kąobawä's group while I conducted my fieldwork. They were being raided by the Patanowä-teri and had not completed the new garden they were making. The Patanowä-teri forced them to abandon their producing site and move west.

The Patanowä-teri themselves were forced to establish a new garden because of the incessant raids by a number of villages. In addition to keeping always on the move between their two gardens, they also sought periodic refuge in the village of one of their own allies, a village two days travel to the south of their primary garden.

The raids against the Patanowä-teri by about a dozen villages illustrate a cardinal strategy of Yąnomamö warfare: attack a group when it is beleaguered and weakened by other enemies. When I first arrived, the Patanowä-teri were fighting only three groups. The Monou-teri then entered into the conflict by abducting a number of women from them, an act that ultimately led to raiding and killing. When the Monou-teri entered the conflict, they also persuaded their own allies to participate, bringing four other villages into the war. These, in turn, were joined by some of their allies so that the total number of belligerent villages rapidly grew to about a dozen. Many of them joined the hostilities because they knew that the Patanowä-teri could not defend themselves against a host of enemies. The new belligerents, therefore, stood a good chance of abducting women while being relatively immune to punitive raids. They could also discharge obligations to their allies by supporting their raids against the Patanowä-teri without exposing themselves to great danger.

In Fig. 2–8 the movements of Kąobawä's village over the past seventy-five years is summarized. The village originated at the site of Konata, occupied prior to 1900 by Kąobawä's grandfather. This site was abandoned because several villages (not indicated on the map) began raiding the people with such frequency that they were forced to flee south, cross the Orinoco River, and take refuge with allies at a place called Wareta. Similarly, Wareta was abandoned because of new wars, so the group again crossed the Orinoco River and settled at Namowei. Here, their old enemies again drove them out of the area, so the group migrated to Hąhoyaoba. Kąobawä was born at this location, some forty years ago. This site was abandoned because the soil in that area was very poor; even to this day, there are no Yąnomamö villages located in that general area.

361 578 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village [101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at that site. Kąobawä's group fled to Shihota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a 361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take 726 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had 721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they *628 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab- [241] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kąobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954, *62 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they [721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of [722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again, [101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kąobawä [648] and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to establish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an up- [101] stream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2–8, have a settlement *621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being 578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away 722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more 184 complicated than the history of Kąobawä's group, since village fissioning began much earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2–8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above two groups of villages.

361 Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Mąmariböwei-teri and Reya- [134] boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2–8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the [648] past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by [722] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The [578] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neighbors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yąnomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

102
133
361
166

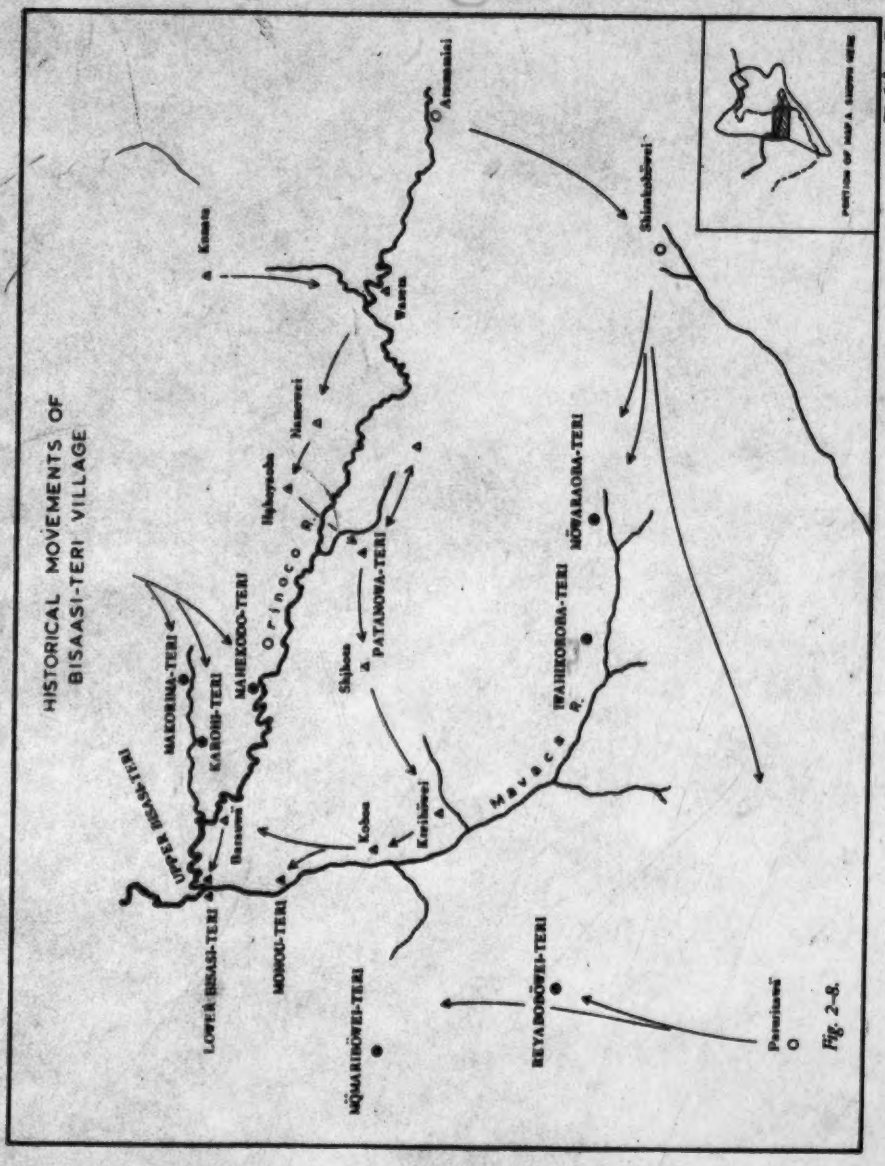


Fig. 2-8.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

villages have a profound effect on the nature of the settlement pattern of Yąnomamö villages, and that this same milieu influences the rate at which larger villages fission into smaller, vulnerable groups.

Finally, I emphasize the importance of cultivation in this pattern of village movement and relocation, particularly in the context of relying on allies. Twice during the history of Kąobawä's group they were obliged to take refuge in the village of an ally. All during my fieldwork the Monou-teri also relied on hospitality of this sort from Kąobawä's group, as they were beleaguered by raids from the Patanowä-teri and had not yet completed their new garden. In short, the fact that the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated food has led to specific obligations between members of allied villages: a good ally is one who will take you in when you are driven from your gardens by enemy raids. The essence of political life, therefore, is to develop stable alliances with neighboring villages so as to create a social network that potentially allows a local group to rely for long periods of time on the gardens of neighboring villages. I will describe the politics of alliance formation in Chapter 4, as it intimately bound up with feasting, trading, and marriage.

Intellectual Environment

The comparative poverty of Yąnomamö material culture is more than compensated for by the richness and complexity of their theological concepts, myths, and legends.

One of the distinctive features of Yąnomamö cosmology and theology is the opportunity it provides for inventiveness. Individuals can and do modify concepts, embellish them, improve on them and, in general, use their imaginations when trafficking in myths or concepts of the soul and afterlife. In short, there is room for thinkers in Yąnomamö culture.

The result of this is that many variants of the same basic myth can be found over a relatively small area. Indeed, each village will contain people who tell the myth a slightly different way; the basic elements remain the same each time, but personal views are interjected and reflect the idiosyncracies of the narrator. The Yąnomamö appear to enjoy these intellectual exercises, for in myth and cosmology they are able to demonstrate their personal abilities as users of their language, the true language of man.

THE COSMOS The Yąnomamö conceive of the external world as having an origin, boundaries, supernatural beings, and a specific nature.

The cosmos is comprised of four parallel layers, lying horizontally and located one on top of the other (see Fig. 2–4b). They are like inverted platters: gently curved, thin, circular, rigid, and having two surfaces, top and bottom.

The uppermost layer is the "tender" plane: *duku kä mini*. At the present time, it is "empty" or "void" (*broke*), but some things had their origins there in the distant past. These moved down to other layers. Today, the uppermost layer is sometimes described as being "an old woman" (*sua pata*), a phrase used to describe an abandoned garden or a female who is no longer capable of producing offspring. This layer does not figure prominently in the everyday life of the Yąnomamö; it is merely something that is there and once had a function.

342 some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump. The four main posts of the individual house are then sunk into the ground, two short ones about 5 feet high at the back, and two longer ones about 10 feet high at the front (see Fig. 2–4, a and c). The rear posts are placed about 8 or 9 feet away from the front posts, and both pairs are approximately the same distance from each other as well. After these have been tamped securely into the holes, cross poles are lashed to the tops of them, and then long, slender saplings some 20 to 30 feet long are laid about a foot apart from each other on top of the cross poles and secured with vine lashings. Since the two rear posts are only about half as high as those at the front, the long roof poles protrude upward at an angle of 25 to 30 degrees toward the village clearing. A vine is then strung along the bottom of the long, protruding saplings, looped around each pole, and run the entire length of the house. The leaves used in the thatch have a long stem; the individual leaves are bent over the vine where the stem joins the leaf, and the first row of thatching goes on. When this row is completed, another vine, about 8 inches above the first one, is again strung along the entire length of the house and secured to each of the long saplings where it crosses them. The next row of thatch is then put in place; the leaf is inserted into the thatch of the first row of leaves and bent over the second vine. It overlaps the first row of leaves when it is bent down (see Fig. 2–5). The leaves are placed about an inch apart, resulting in a thoroughly impermeable roof. When the rows of leaves reach the two front main posts, a scaffolding is erected, and the roofing is extended to completely cover the entire length of the 30 foot saplings. A fringe of palm leaves is then hung from the top of the roof, adding a little decoration to the structure. An upright pole from the scaffolding is left to support the overhang, since the weight of the leaves might break the slender poles. These uprights, some 20 feet high, are spaced every 15 feet or so around the village.

[361] At this point the village looks like a series of individual houses arranged in a more or less neat circle, a gap of about 3 feet separating the individual houses from each other. These gaps are roofed over by the men whose houses are adjacent to them, and the village then looks like a continuous roof surrounding an open plaza. Some of the gaps are not completely roofed over in order to leave additional exits; the roofing is started at the lower crossbeams, giving an exit about 3 to 5 feet high.

[354] Small houses in some areas are simply round structures with a smoke hole at the top, such as the first house shown in Fig. 2–4a. The Yąnomamö *shabono* appears to have developed from such a structure by simply pulling the roof away from the center until the smoke hole grew so large that it, in effect, became a center plaza. Fig. 2–4a shows three house types that are found in Yąnomamö country. They are not so much distinct types as different sizes of a single type, the size being a function of the number of people the house shelters.

[354] Where the village is located at a relatively high elevation, palm fronds or banana leaves are placed in front of the house to keep the smoke, and, hence, the heat, in the house. At lower elevations these palm fronds are usually found only at the east end of the *shabono;* they are used to keep the bright rays of the afternoon sun out of the house.

A new *shabono* is very attractive; it smells of freshly cut leaves, looks clean and tidy, and is cooled by the breeze as it drops down into this tiny hole in the otherwise uninterrupted canopy of the forest.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December-January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yąnomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowä's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawä's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawä and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąobawä's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąobawä's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawä's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawä's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąobawä's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawä and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawä's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąobawä and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16] James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawä and his group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

602 other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old
571 enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competi-
602 tion with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their per-
571 sonal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older.
578 They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kąobawï, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

602 The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows
601 more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas
571 agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their
581 fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely
582 promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

602 Kąobawï's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction be-
[601] tween agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowï-teri some time after Kąobawï's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwï, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were
[613] half-brothers. Nadesiwï is in Kąobawï's local descent group, but is not quite on a par
[581] with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the
[582] group—Kąobawï and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwï to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the
[591] completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwï will
[609] have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kąobawï and Nadesiwï treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

602 The other man, Kumamawï, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kąobawï is related to
609 him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first
[594] cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawï is a
[613] frequent visitor in Kąobawï's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kąobawï asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kąobawï's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

361 Kąobawï's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his
342 agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharariwä, Kąobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kąobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kąobawä's younger wife. Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kąobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yąnomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *bashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kąobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

burning it, and Kąobawä's village, where they took occasional rests to regain their energy. They returned to their old site only to collect plantains, which they carried to the new site. Kąobawä's group then built a new *shabono* and fortified it, anticipating the war they knew would be inevitable. Up to this point, Kąobawä's group, Upper Bisaasi-teri, maintained two small *shabonos* a few yards apart from each other, but they coalesced into a single, larger group and moved into the new *shabono* when it was completed. The visiting Monou-teri also helped them work on the new structure.

Meanwhile, the Patanowä-teri, knowing that they would be raided by the Monou-teri and their allies, also began clearing a new garden. They selected a site abandoned by Kąobawä's group many years ago, knowing that the peach-palm trees were still producing there. By this time the Patanowä-teri were in rather desperate straits. Their old enemies, the several groups on the Orinoco River, began raiding them with even greater frequency, as they had learned that the Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri were again at war with the Patanowä-teri. A few additional villages began raiding the Patanowä-teri to settle old grudges, realizing that the Patanowä-teri had so many enemies that they could not possibly retaliate against all of them.

The Patanowä-teri then began moving from one location to another, hoping to avoid and confuse their enemies. They spent the dry season in turns at their main producing garden, with the Ashadowä-teri, their only ally, and at their new garden. Each group that raided them passed the word to other villages concerning the location of the Patanowä-teri. If they were not at one place, then they had to be at one of the other two. The raids were frequent and took a heavy toll. At least eight people were killed by raiders, and a number of others were wounded. Some of the dead were women and children, a consequence of the fact that the Patanowä-teri themselves sent a heavy volley of arrows into the village of one of their enemies and killed two women. To revenge this, the enemy began deliberately shooting Patanowä-teri women. Females are normally not the target of raiders' arrows. The Patanowä-teri were raided at least twenty-five times while I conducted my fieldwork. They themselves retaliated as frequently as possible, but could not return tit for tat. They managed to drive their main enemies, the Hasaböwä-teri, away from their garden, forcing them to flee across the Orinoco. They concentrated on raiding this group until they had killed most of the *waiteri* (fierce ones). They were so successful at doing this that the Hasaböwä-teri ultimately withdrew from the war. Several of my informants claimed that they did so because their fierce ones were all dead, and nobody was interested in prosecuting the war any further.

When the Hasaböwä-teri withdrew from the raiding, the Patanowä-teri then concentrated on raiding the Monou-teri. Every time the Monou-teri returned to their main site they found the tracks of numerous men who had visited the village, tracks that always came from the direction of Patanowä-teri. Consequently, the Monou-teri moved into Kąobawä's group for protection, fearing to return to their old site until the jungle was completely inundated by the rains.

Kąobawä's group resented this somewhat and made no bones about reminding the Monou-teri that they were eating large quantities of food from the gardens. When complaining became intense, the Monou-teri moved into the village of the Lower Bisaasi-teri and lived off their produce until the latter also began to complain. Then they traveled to the Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri and lived with them for a while, returning to Kąobawä's village when these allies wearied of the visitors. When the hosts, the Lower

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

to Las Trinqueras he would buy him red cloth, flowered dresses for his womenfolk, and that supreme Indian luxury, powder and shot for the gun, and so on.

Pancho listened with a smile, every now and then giving a little scornful laugh, which might have meant rich contentment or just plain scepticism. He winked at us—mere neutral observers—with his horribly burnt eye.

Two days later a crew was ready. Pancho himself was not going, but our three travellers were to leave in two big canoes. In twenty days they would reach Las Trinqueras and from that point the rubber planters' launch would take them on to Ciudad Bolivar. We gave them a letter for the pilots of the air charter company with whom we had an agreement. They had failed us badly. We had made it clear to the plane when it had paid us its last visit, by putting a big notice on the strip, that we had one passenger to be taken off. Jean couldn't face the thought of the journey back by water. But they had not come for her, so she stayed with us. We told them that we would be expecting a plane on the Kirisochi field on either the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth of April.

After the three had gone, a vast silence seemed to settle on the forest, touching us as well. It was sad to have said good-bye to friends like Momi and Giovanni, but by way of compensation we now had a much better balanced party. I felt free, gloriously free. The field was mine now. I could push ahead with our work to the limit, with no ethical question marks bothering me, and no remorse.

We went off with the Shirians to pay a visit to Pulipuli and to look up a valuable fellow named Cesare. The Valley of the Moon can also be entered by way of the Canaracuni, along another valley which runs down from the same heights and is linked with the Canaracuni by a maze of paths. On every side there are Shirian huts, tiny dilapidated affairs, each in a little clearing threatened by the advance of the forest.

Cesare was not at home. In his stead we found a crowd of old acquaintances, one of them being an old Indian of great dignity whom we had nicknamed 'The Senator'. He had come to Kirisochi on our arrival there, he had been present while we were building our hut, and never had he done a hand's turn. He would watch others at work with a fine air of detachment which was really remarkable. He was truly sufficient unto himself. Most of the time he spent stretched out in a hammock—a very small one made of liana—with his feet higher than his head. Periodically he scratched his back with a stick prepared and reserved for just that purpose. One of those ivory back-scratchers with a

Surára
Pakidái

411 /24 cont./
482 lancet-shaped bamboo points, is worn on a neck cord by every hunter and warrior, who has it hang down on his back so that it does not interfere with the stretching of the bow.

411 /25/ Quivers of the same form and carried in the same way
184 are also found among the Waikâ, as may be seen from a photograph by Zerries (116). Moreover, the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte owns such a quiver, though without decoration, from the Xamatâri (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:3a).

●372 4. Fire-making Apparatus

Tied by means of a string of cotton or curauâ (Bromelia fiber) to every Surâra and Pakidâi quiver at the top and bottom is the fire-drilling apparatus -- borôrohfk -- which consists of a lancet-shaped hearth -- panâibequehfk -- and two drilling sticks --
[824] ihirupehfk (Fig. 5). Both parts are made from the soft wood of the
[184] wild cacao tree -- porôroâ -- exactly as among the Waikâ (117).

117. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

372 Koch-Grünberg documents such a fire-drilling apparatus for the
114 Xirianâ (118), but without mentioning the material. On the basis

118. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

of a specimen which he brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:124), however, one may state that it is likewise made of
[411] the wood of the wild cacao tree. He says nothing at all about quivers and thus does not seem to have found any. Nor did I find elsewhere in the literature any parallels for the very practical combination of quiver and fire-making apparatus (119). Nevertheless,

372 119. That it is well-known among the
411 Xamatâri, however, is proved by two ob-
184 jects from that tribe in the Hamburg Museum
114

Surára
Pakidái

/25 cont./

372
411
184
114

119.(cont.) für Volkerkúnd und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection 56. 15 3a and b), and presumably the fire-making apparatus is likewise fastened to the quiver among the Waiká. Definite statements about this by Zerries and Schuster have not yet been made.

Fig. 5. Bamboo quiver with fire-drill apparatus tied on.

372 Nevertheless,
[484] it is perfectly obvious, for if the Surára and Pakidái men on war and hunting expeditions are unable to return to the maloka in the evening, they are able to kindle a fire along the way in three to four minutes. To do this a man in a squatting position holds the hearth on the ground with one foot and drills with the palms of his
[412] hands (Ill. 31). The holes of the hearth are previously bored with
[237] a knife made of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) (See P. 116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side.

372 /25 cont./
(see p.116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side. The hole is enlarged by the drilling. There is loosened a fine dust which slowly starts to smoke and glow and, by way of the groove, falls on tinder previously placed next to it (dry grass, leaves, or dry splinters of bamboo), which quickly catches fire. Cautiously the man blows upon it, and a short time later a flame leaps up. This requires a great deal of practice and skill, however; often he [171] has blisters on his hands after drilling. This is the most widely distributed method of producing fire in South America (120). In their malokas

120. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 118-125 and Map 13.

the Surára and Pakidái preserve the fire.

283

5. Twining and Spinning

[824] For making thread and cord the leaf fibers of a Bromeliaceae, curauá (121), and cotton are used, the latter, however, only in more recent times.

[114] [171]

121. Koch-Grünberg also verifies the use of this material for the northwestern Brazilian tribes (Koch-Grünberg, 1910, p. 210).

[462] While to this day the curauá fibers are worked, mostly by men and only occasionally by women, with the right hand against the right thigh in the direction of the knee, to produce thread twisted to the right (122), a spindle is used to make cotton thread,

[171]

122. Threads which are not spun with the spindle are twisted to the right among most of the South American tribes. There are exceptions, however, for among a few nations of northwestern South America threads twisted to the left are more prevalent, and

/51 cont./

285 [192] [824] Then there are small baskets with handles and square bottoms -- yorohſkes -- (Ill. 36), in which women keep their ornaments, arm, leg, and chest cords, the spindle and balls of cotton. To make these, split lianas are again used. The technique employed is very primitive, for the plaiting strip is merely led [184] alternately over and under a plaiting strand (287). The shape of

287. Max Schmidt includes this technique in the first principal group of South American plaiting (Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 492/93).

these little baskets seems to be peculiar to the Surára and Pakidái, for in the literature I have not yet found a corresponding description with reference to other tribes.

285 824 372 Simple plaited fire-fans -- xuhéma -- are made of the leaf-stalk sheaths of the tucumã palm (Astrocaryum sp.). They have an elongated shape, and the ends of the strips are tied together to form a handle (Fig. 22).

285 372 174 171 Similar fans, but more evenly worked, were found by Koch-Grünberg among the Makiritare, Yekuaná /Yecuana/, and Guinaú in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco (288), from which one

288. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 345 and Pl. 24, 6.

might conclude that this object reached the Surára and Pakidái from here, probably by way of the Xiriána. The reverse route might also be possible, however, if only because most of the Karaiben and Aruak tribes of Guiana use fire-fans with a handle set crosswise (289).

289. Roth, 1924, pp. 291 ff., Pl. 78, 79, and Fig. 91.

2: Becher--113 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

372
285
854
287
287
[413]

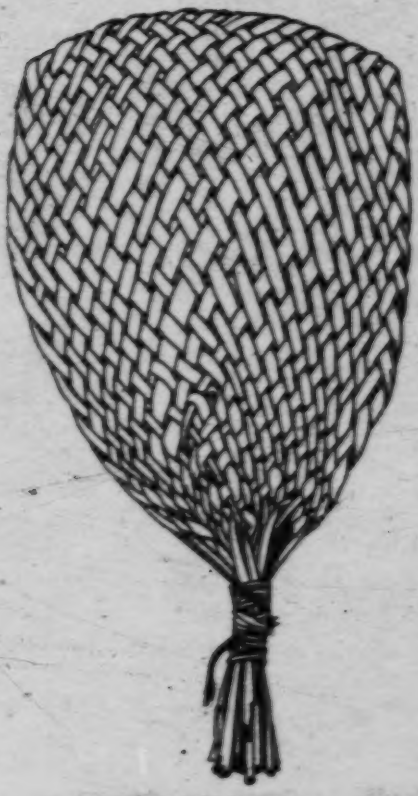


Fig. 22. Plaited fire-fan.

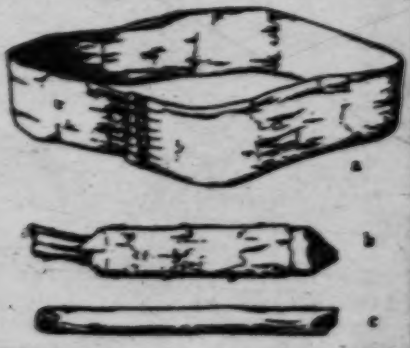


Fig. 23a. Band for carrying children, made of embira tree-bast.

Fig. 23b. Part of an embira trunk with beaten tree-bast which has already been partly pulled off.

Fig. 23c. Bast-beater made of embira wood.

Surára
Pakidái

/113 cont./

539 chief delight was to kill small birds with his little bow and arrow. But one night, for fun, /114/ he aimed at the moon and shot off his arrow. At once an eclipse of the moon set in. Blood dripped down and poured like a flood over the entire earth (554). From this blood came all the Yanonámi, that is,

[784] [821]

554. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái children are strictly forbidden to this day to shoot their arrows in the direction of the moon.

the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri, Xiriána, Karauateri, Waikâ, etc. (see p. 12).

539

The Origin of Fire

• 392 The virgin forest with its wealth of plants and fruits was already created, and human beings, as well as all kinds of animals were living upon the earth. Only fire was still lacking. Besides their vegetable food, the human inhabitants were therefore able to eat only raw meat, and at night they shivered in their hammocks. They knew, however, that the cayman (jacaretinga) had fire in its mouth. Despite all entreaties, it would not give up any of it. So people resorted to a ruse. They asked the hummingbird to fly around the cayman and make jokes. At first the cayman was unmoved and took no notice of the little bird. But finally he could not suppress his laughter any longer, whereupon fire shot out of his opened mouth. The people were very happy about it and thanked the hummingbird extravagantly.

2: Becher--275 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/10/ Surára, Pakidái

352
516
854
593

Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

342
231

142
302
291
516
372

Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

213 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Ereb to told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727] [184]

/206 cont./

224 825 part on his dog. The hunter must also know a great variety of calls for attracting the animals and birds and, above all, know which arrow to shoot in order to kill the animal which may come in answer to his call.

224 775 All this and a great deal more about which we are ignorant must be learned by the Sanemá hunter in order to have the benefit of his knowledge not only on earth but also in the world of Omao after his death. An expert hunter continues to be one in "heaven" and there he will have the opportunity of recompensing Omao for the benevolence showed him during his earthly life.

224 The Sanemá hunt with bow and arrows. Usually each man carries with him, in addition to his bow, five arrows and a quiver with various types of points.

[415] [372] The quiver, made of bamboo, is carried, hanging by means of a bejuco, from the neck, on the chest, or across the back. In most cases they carry, tied to the same quiver, some small sticks with which to kindle fire. In the forest they pull out with extraordinary speed the point best suited to kill the animal which comes within range, and it is surprising with what dexterity and speed they can shoot one or several arrows.

If there are several hunters surrounding a pack of peccaries or a group of monkeys, the booty belongs to the one who kills it.

It seems that the Sanemá of the Erebato also use a kind of trap (Schwippgalgenfalle), particularly to capture the lapa /paca/ or deer (20).

20. It would seem that this trap reflects a cultural borrowing among the Sanemá, since the Surará, Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 77), and Waica (Zerries, 1956c, p. 151) do not have it.

223 In order to catch birds, the hunter climbs up into a very high tree and hides there behind some thick branches. He attracts the birds with whistles, and, when they are near, he shoots them; a companion waits at the foot of the tree for the prey's fall, in

/462 cont./

Fire

372 The Guaika /Waica/ use the system of simple rotation to make fire. This consists of a piece of soft wood, flattened on one side and rounded on the other, about four centimeters wide at one end, and whose tapering shape ends in a blunt point at the other end. With the tooth of a large rodent they make a circular cut in it near its broader end, and in this is inserted a slender stick (from 30 to 40 centimeters /sic/ in diameter at its base). This stick is held between the palms of the hands and given a rotating movement until a spark burns in the wood dust which has been formed by the rotation of the stick in the hole made in the board. (See Fig. 6.)

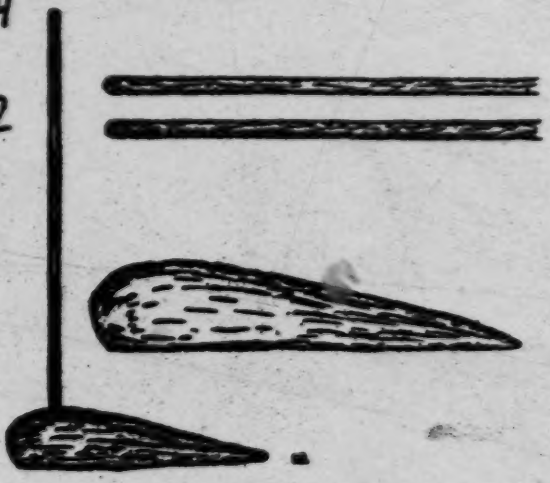
[237] [412]

[824] /463/ The tapered piece of soft wood is of cacao, in which several successive holes can be made, and each hole can be used several times for lighting a fire.

In general there is someone in the settlement who has a fire lighted, so that when some native needs fire he obtains it there. In order to carry fire a short distance, two or three lighted sticks are tied together, forming a fagot. When they travel at night, they carry lighted torches to protect themselves against animals

373 416 484

372



/Fig. 6/

/463 cont./

373 as well as to light the path. Torches of gum and resin are also
416 used sometimes on the paths during the night, but the common
484 type of torch is the fagot of tied pieces of wood. A group which travels at night (as occurs when they are returning after nightfall from the work of fishing) may carry only one torch. Then they stop from time to time to arrange the joined sticks and to revive the fire, keeping it from going out.

373 The wood fire is the principal source of light and heat in the
374 settlements. The fires are kept lighted during the entire night, both to produce warmth and for protection against predatory animals and the spirits of human beings which have returned.

372 There do not seem to be any beliefs or ceremonies related to the production and maintenance of fire.

Weapons

411 The principal weapon of the Guaica /Waica/ is the bow and arrow. They also use macanas.

[824] The bow is made of palm wood, generally of "pijiguao,"
[283] with a strong string made of threads of bark. This string has three or more threads of twisted bark, which give it great strength.

[249] The shafts of their arrows are made of the festooned part
[237] of a certain wild cane, which they cultivate in their "conucos." They feather them with the points of wing feathers of wild turkeys.

Arrow points vary according to the type of game which is to be the target. The wide bamboo point is used /464/ principally against large land animals; the bone one for shooting large and medium-sized birds, and the poisoned points principally for monkeys. Any of these points might be used against man in the event of war. Against small birds they shoot the shaft, first removing the point, or they use a point ramified at the end, made out of a small branch quickly broken off some nearby plant. The accompanying Fig. 7 /see p. 35/ shows the different types of arrow points of the Guaika. /Fig. 7 appears here./

7: Barker--63 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate III

291
252
302
415

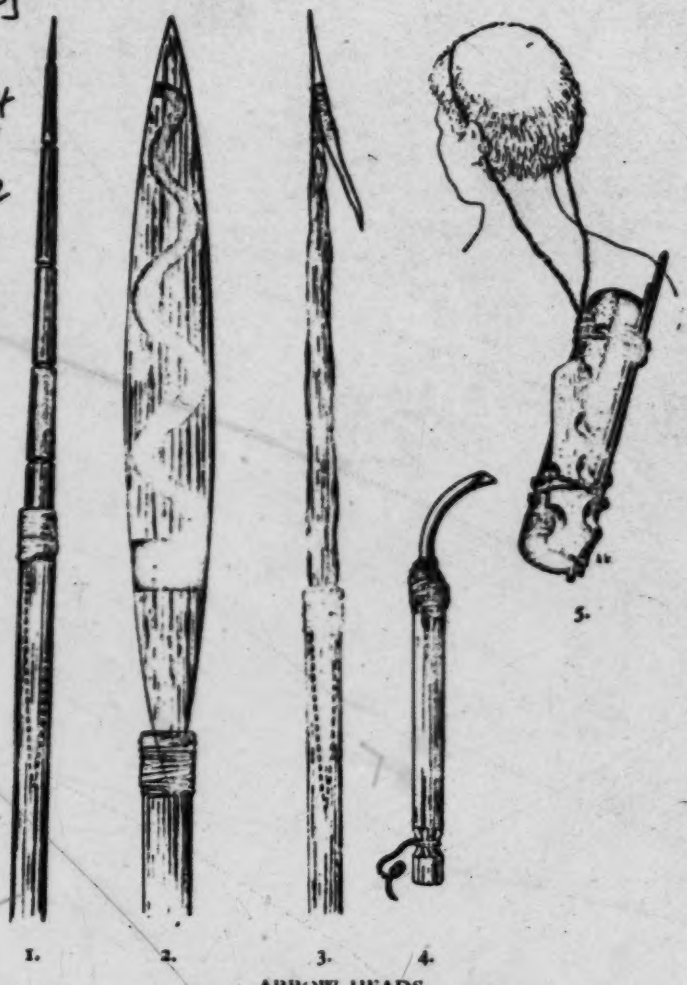
The men cook the meat from hunting. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

372
516
302

They produce fire by making a little stick rotate between the palms of the hands, with the friction end resting on a piece of soft wood. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

411
284
531
482
372



1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

ARROW HEADS

1. Notched point designed to break off in the wound. These points measure from eight to twelve inches in length. 2. Bamboo blade pointed at both ends and therefore reversible. 3. Harpoon point. The bone barb is skilfully bound in position. 4. Small knife; made from the incisor of the capybara and fixed to a wooden handle. The whole measures about six inches. 5. The Waika is rarely separated from his quiver made from the stem of a bamboo in which he also carries his firestick.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

supple wood and well over six feet long, it is very powerful. With it the Waïka can shoot an arrow more than a hundred yards and can hit a *paujil*—a bird about the size of a turkey—at forty yards. Normally two or three arrows are carried and they are as long as, if not longer than, the bow itself. The shafts are made of reed which, Cardona said, is specially grown for the purpose on their plantations, and are feathered by falcon's feathers. The feathers are meticulously tied in a near-perfect spiral with thread of forest cotton or morisco palm fibre. Each arrow has a different head specially adapted to a particular purpose. Spare arrow-heads are carried in a quiver in which also is carried fire-making material to protect it from the damp.

The quiver is a simple bamboo case to which are also tied a firestick and a number of little knives made from the incisors of a large rodent called a capybara. It is carried on the back by means of a string slung round the forehead.

Such comprise the simple impedimenta of the Waïka on his journeys through the forest. The women, who accompany their mates on their many ceaseless wanderings, presumably have their own burdens to carry, but we saw nothing of them until we visited our first native village on the next day.

As we went up-river we came across the remains of a rude bridge which had formerly spanned the two hundred yards of river and which had been carried away by the flood waters. It was the biggest bridge we had seen although we had passed a number of lesser ones fashioned of lianas spanning the tributaries. On the bank where the bridge had been were some twenty natives and a handful of children.

"*Apo! Shori! Apo!*" they greeted us.

We knew from Butrón that, though his men were accustomed to replenish their banana stocks at this place, they had so far never been allowed to visit the village hidden somewhere in the forest.

The Waïka lives on wild fruits, fish, meat and the produce of plantations adjacent to his villages. Most of his time he spends wandering in the forest and his fleeting appearances at his village occur usually only when natural resources fail or when he has to defend himself against an enemy horde. He knows

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guahariboes, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

722 361 villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the women and children are concealed in these temporary sites 221 361 574 922 until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yąnomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yąnomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

422. 484 [411] [415] [372] [237] [352] [123] All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow, arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having 484 to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

278 layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curare point after it has been attached to the arrow.

415 411 [824] [438] [239] Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches. The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

372 [824] The Yąnomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

412 [237] The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yąnomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood [314] by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel [284] chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

226 The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yąnomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowä. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5-3). Some even put on bright red loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which the younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kaobawä to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *waya itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them and left for Patanowä-teri. Kaobawä had been complaining all year of severe pains in his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked. Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *waya itou*, for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

/462 cont./

Fire

372 The Guaika /Waica/ use the system of simple rotation to make fire. This consists of a piece of soft wood, flattened on one side and rounded on the other, about four centimeters wide at one end, and whose tapering shape ends in a blunt point at the other end. With the tooth of a large rodent they make a circular cut in it near its broader end, and in this is inserted a slender stick (from 30 to 40 centimeters /sic/ in diameter at its base). This stick is held between the palms of the hands and given a rotating movement until a spark burns in the wood dust which has been formed by the rotation of the stick in the hole made in the board. (See Fig. 6.)

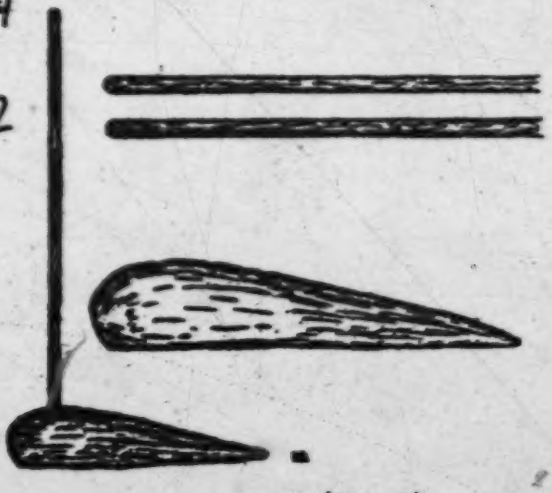
[237] [412]

[824] /463/ The tapered piece of soft wood is of cacao, in which several successive holes can be made, and each hole can be used several times for lighting a fire.

In general there is someone in the settlement who has a fire lighted, so that when some native needs fire he obtains it there. In order to carry fire a short distance, two or three lighted sticks are tied together, forming a fagot. When they travel at night, they carry lighted torches to protect themselves against animals

373 416 484

372



/Fig. 6/

/463 cont./

373 416 484 as well as to light the path. Torches of gum and resin are also used sometimes on the paths during the night, but the common type of torch is the fagot of tied pieces of wood. A group which travels at night (as occurs when they are returning after nightfall from the work of fishing) may carry only one torch. Then they stop from time to time to arrange the joined sticks and to revive the fire, keeping it from going out.

373 374 The wood fire is the principal source of light and heat in the settlements. The fires are kept lighted during the entire night, both to produce warmth and for protection against predatory animals and the spirits of human beings which have returned.

372 There do not seem to be any beliefs or ceremonies related to the production and maintenance of fire.

Weapons

411 The principal weapon of the Guaica /Waica/ is the bow and arrow. They also use macanas.

[824] [283] The bow is made of palm wood, generally of "pijiguao," with a strong string made of threads of bark. This string has three or more threads of twisted bark, which give it great strength.

[249] [237] The shafts of their arrows are made of the festooned part of a certain wild cane, which they cultivate in their "conucos." They feather them with the points of wing feathers of wild turkeys.

Arrow points vary according to the type of game which is to be the target. The wide bamboo point is used /464/ principally against large land animals; the bone one for shooting large and medium-sized birds, and the poisoned points principally for monkeys. Any of these points might be used against man in the event of war. Against small birds they shoot the shaft, first removing the point, or they use a point ramified at the end, made out of a small branch quickly broken off some nearby plant. The accompanying Fig. 7 /see p. 35/ shows the different types of arrow points of the Guaika. /Fig. 7 appears here./

/463 cont./

373 as well as to light the path. Torches of gum and resin are also
416 used sometimes on the paths during the night, but the common
484 type of torch is the fagot of tied pieces of wood. A group which travels at night (as occurs when they are returning after nightfall from the work of fishing) may carry only one torch. Then they stop from time to time to arrange the joined sticks and to revive the fire, keeping it from going out.

373 The wood fire is the principal source of light and heat in the
374 settlements. The fires are kept lighted during the entire night, both to produce warmth and for protection against predatory animals and the spirits of human beings which have returned.

372 There do not seem to be any beliefs or ceremonies related to the production and maintenance of fire.

Weapons

411 The principal weapon of the Guaica /Waica/ is the bow and arrow. They also use macanas.

[824] The bow is made of palm wood, generally of "pijiguao," with a
[283] strong string made of threads of bark. This string has three or more threads of twisted bark, which give it great strength.

[249] The shafts of their arrows are made of the festooned part
[237] of a certain wild cane, which they cultivate in their "conucos." They feather them with the points of wing feathers of wild turkeys.

Arrow points vary according to the type of game which is to be the target. The wide bamboo point is used /464/ principally against large land animals; the bone one for shooting large and medium-sized birds, and the poisoned points principally for monkeys. Any of these points might be used against man in the event of war. Against small birds they shoot the shaft, first removing the point, or they use a point ramified at the end, made out of a small branch quickly broken off some nearby plant. The accompanying Fig. 7 /see p. 35/ shows the different types of arrow points of the Guaika. /Fig. 7 appears here./

/29 cont./

292 curauá fibers at /30/ /Fig. 7 appears here/ intervals of 1.5-2
284 centimeters for men's belts and 0.5-1 centimeter for boys' belts, which produces bulges and grooves. Before the belt is slipped off the sticks, a small, two to five-strand twisted cord of cotton or curauá fibers is drawn through the openings and knotted into a loop by means of the two ends three to five centimeters long. These two loops are twisted into each other in front, over the abdomen, by the wearer, and the knots keep the belt secure (Fig. 6a and b, Ill. 23). After [531] they are finished, serpentine [386] lines, circles, or dots are painted on these belts with urucú, for which a small stick is used; often, however, they are colored red all over.

Fig. 6a
Men's belt, detail.

Fig. 6b
Men's belt, diagram.

292 184 Among the Waiká, Zerries found the same men's belts (158),

158. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

and from the photographs in other publications of this author it may be seen that they are worn in the same way as among the Surára and Pakidái (159) (160).

159. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

160. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

Surára
Pakidái
Puseheweteri

292 /30 cont./
284 girls and 0.5 centimeter for those of old women. This distin-
292 guishing feature was always pointed out to me. Tie strings and
53] the wearing style correspond in this case too with the men's belts,
[386] as does the painting with urucú, which is applied on the outer
side. As a result of their width, these belts are much easier to
paint than those of the men. Most often one sees serpentine lines,
occasionally circles are placed between them, and sometimes too
the painting only consists of circles, or circles and dots (Fig.
9 a-e; Fig. 10 a-d); there are also belts, however, which are
colored red all over.

292 Xiriána women who are married to Surára and Pakidái
184 men wear the same belts, as did the little captive of the Surára,
Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the /31/ /Figs. 8 and 9 ap-
pear here/ /32/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ Karauaterí (Ills. 17 and
[192] 18). When I asked them the name of their belts, they gave me
the designation -- nyõ -- which corresponds to the Surára and
Pakidái word.

292 The Puseheweteri women gave me the same word, although
184 their belts have a somewhat different form (161). They are 60-
[192]

161. I saw them on the women of that tribe
who were married to Surára and Pakidái men.

70 centimeters long and consist solely of a thick layer of cotton
292 which has been somewhat twisted together. In other words, it is
284 a very characteristic string-belt, that is, without wrappings or
184 cross-bindings. An additional little fringed apron, however, 22-
26 centimeters long, is attached to a tie-string. To make it, 60 to
90 cotton strings, 14-18 centimeters long, are put over the tie-
string. After that, starting from the left, the end of the first
string hanging down in front is knotted with the one of the second
hanging down in back and tightly twisted with it, then the front
end of the second one with the rear end of the third, and so
forth. The fringes hanging down are 7-9 centimeters long and,
to assure firmness, are wound once more below the tie-string
292 with a thin cotton thread. When the belt is worn, the little
53]
184 [text continues on p. 69]

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
[192] xinarîke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarí -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
[824] out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
[531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

/41 cont./

301 as far as Guiana; the Tapuya on the eastern horn of South
171 America remain isolated. The pattern of distribution coincides
301 in essential features with the multiple perforations of the upper
304 lip (these parts also merge into each other very much anatomi-
171 cally) and clearly rests on Andean prototypes" (222). The

222. Menzel, 1957, p. 33.

characteristic mouth-corner rods of the Yanonámi women may well fit into this area of distribution, but not in connection with perforations of the upper /42/ lip, for here instead of the latter, the lower lip is pierced.

304 g) Tattooing

[881] All women and girls have pin-point tattooing over the upper lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth (Ills. 19 and 24) and is punctured on the girls during the first menstrua-
[192] tion (see p. 66) (223). The designation for this among the Surára

[184]

223. This tattooing is also found among the female Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí who are married to Surára and Pakidái men. The little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí is an exception. She assured me, however, that in her maloka the girls are also tattooed. But she had fallen into the hands of the Surára before her first menstruation, and the tattooing was not put on her here. If later, however, she is married by a Surára man, the pin-point design must subsequently be punctured on her.

is -- uarabakoxík -- and among the Pakidái -- uarabakoxíbe.
[824] These words are derived from the name for the genipap fruit --
[386] uarabá --, the juice of which is used for puncturing the dots.

/42 cont./

304 824 386 412 177 The former use the juice of the genipap fruit as coloring matter, the latter the ashes of burned honey bees (229) /see footnote p. 90/. The original instrument everywhere for the puncturing of the dots was a palm thorn. Koch-Grünberg, however, also saw the use of pointed fragments of glass among the above-mentioned Karaiben (230).

230. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45.

304 174 171 114 A decision about whether the tattooings in the mouth region developed independently among the aforementioned Yanonámi, Karaiben, and Aruak tribes or whether they were brought about by reciprocal or outside influences cannot be reached as yet, although Koch-Grünberg saw a young Xiriána woman who had the fishhook and dot tattooing of the Arekuná-Taulipang painted on her face (231). This may have been an exception, however,

231. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

for, strangely enough, he did not find any further tattooing among the Xiriána.

[179] The designs of the Surára and Pakidái also seem to be more primitive than the basic motifs of the Karaiben and Aruaken in the form of fishhooks, which clearly point to borrowings from civilization. Moreover, the fact that among the Karaiben tribes of Guiana individual men and boys are tattooed in the region of the mouth leads one to conclude that there has been a leveling of this custom. For probably there, too, it was formerly reserved for only the women, just as it is today among the Surára and Pakidái.

In conclusion, reference is to be made to P. Schmidt and Nordenskiöld, from whom there are already available brief, summary studies about puncture-tattooing in South America. The first-named author differentiates two groups, which are reserved for men and women or only for women, respectively, and regards a western origin as probable (232). /43/ On the other

/43 cont./

232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

304 174 171 114 hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A com-

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

prehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

301 h) Painting

The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is [531] very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

[824] For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- narâ --, a [386] paste which is prepared from the red berries of Bixa orellana. Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (Genipa brasiliensis) -- uarabá --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

[413] The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

/51 cont./

285
184

281. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

which serve for storing manioc cakes and fruits. Among the last-named Indians I also saw women's carrying-baskets in miniature form, which are meant for small girls, and some with covers -- [531] weẽ. All the objects named are usually painted with serpentine [386] lines, for which urucú is used. Finally, it should be mentioned [461] that the women, like best to lie comfortably in their hammocks while making such baskets and basket-bowls.

285
191
184

The women's large carrying-baskets and basket-bowls described above are likewise used by the Waikâ, and both Zerries and Schuster point out that in the manufacture the twining plaiting-technique is used (282) (283) (284). Similar basket-bowls

282. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

283. Zerries, 1955b, p. 663, Ill. 2.

284. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

are also documented for the Karimé (285), and small hanging

285. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 11.

baskets and basket-winnowers from Aruak and Tukano /Tucano/ tribes on the upper Rio Negro, as well as from the Makú /Macu/, exhibit further parallels, which differ only slightly in the external form (286).

286. Koch-Grüngerg, 1910a, pp. 220 ff. and Ills. 142e, 143a, 144.

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana
Waica
Karime

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- haboká -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriána (293).

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301]

296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

595 /66 cont./
The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the Pakidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Various other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies, these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

587

835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do not call them uncle, but likewise father.

881 h) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl, [302] on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú, a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may 881 speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. During 304 the second day her mother or another woman applies a pinpoint tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either [413] side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a [824] pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty- [386] gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured, leaves a dark blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the [147] little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears, and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysterious forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life.

881 With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated, and after that a small celebration takes place.

/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
302 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
• [386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the híkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the híkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the híkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

/454 cont./

304 All have the ears pierced. A good number of men and women also have the center of the lower lip pierced. Some women have the corners of the mouth pierced, and a few have the nose pierced.

304 The boys and men wear sticks through their ears, sometimes
301 feathers or also little sticks with feathers. Those who have the lip pierced keep a little stick or a feather there all the time.

The women wear flowers or leaves in their ears. The perforations in the lips and the nose generally have sticks in them. On gala occasions, the little stick which goes through the nasal septum may be as long as the face is wide.

301 In addition to the cords tied around the waist, they frequently
291 wear similar cords around the arms and legs.

The men may also wear a heavy cotton belt and similar bands on a smaller scale on the arms. They may wear feathers fixed on the shoulders and a monkey tail around the head, to emphasize the border of hair, or they may adorn the hair with down.

The women also use a heavy cotton belt, clearly different from the one which the men use.

Girls wear a band at the waist, woven of cotton, with decorations on its front part. They also customarily cross the chest with bands of cotton.

302 Onoto, charcoal, and several other paints are used for body
53 designs. They do not seem to have any religious meaning, but
● [386] simply an ornamental purpose. These designs include dots, stripes, wavy lines, and circles. Sometimes they paint a wide strip and then make the design by scraping off the paint. They also imprint upon the skin /455/ ornamental designs by using a "mapire" or the hand, or some combination of these. It seems that some of them have their favorite designs.

Hides, Textiles, and Weaving

237 The skin of the jaguar or of another mammal rarely reaches the settlement in a single piece. But even if it did, it is immediately cut into small pieces so that each one may have a little piece to cover his quiver, or at least a band to wear tied to the arm.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

302 Both men and women and even the small children paint their
[386] faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not
302 seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which
531 it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred, either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red, while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken themselves.

123 Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or
302 war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company with some whose paint was paling and some who were not even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

• • •

352 The furnishing of Waika huts is very simple and orderly, each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one
[286] above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from
[283] threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades, while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their
[287] ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of
592 a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when the village is crowded.

162 In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people, which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

StLayrisse et al. D.E-8 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[6] had observed that Yanoeman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shiriana" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriana*" with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirisana (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Siriana*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

6 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 455-456.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 20.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

276 [412] powder as it dries, the flat side of a stone axe[8] serving as the grinding pestle. The dried, green powder, no more than several tablespoons full, is then swept onto a leaf with a stiff feather. The men then gather around the leaf containing the drug, usually in the late afternoon, and take it by blowing the powder into each other's nostrils (see Fig. 2-3). A small quantity of the powder is introduced into the end of a hollow cane tube some 3 feet long. The tube is then flicked with the forefinger to scatter the powder along its length. One end of the tube is put into the nostril of the man taking the drug, and his helper then blows a strong blast of air through the other end, emitting his breath in such a fashion that he climaxes the delivery with a hard burst of air. Both the recipient and the blower squat on their haunches to do this. The man who had the drug blown into his nostrils grimaces, groans, chokes, coughs, holds his head from the pain of the air blast, and duck-waddles off to some leaning post. He usually receives two doses of the drug, one in each nostril. The recipient usually vomits, gets watery eyes, and develops a runny nose. Much of the drug comes back out in the nasal mucus that begins to run freely after the drug has been administered. Within minutes after the drug has been blown into a man's nose, he begins having difficulties focusing his eyes and starts to act intoxicated. The drug allegedly produces colored visions, especially around the periphery [187] of the visual field, and permits the user to enter into contact with his particular *hekura*, miniature demons that dwell under rocks and on mountains. The man begins to chant to the *hekura* when the drug takes effect, inviting them to come and live in his chest.

245 276 The Yąnomamö also cultivate a tree, *hiisioma*, that produces hallucinogenic seeds. These are prepared in exactly the same manner as the noncultivated drug.

322 396 TROUGHS AND CANOES The Yąnomamö use the bark of another kind of tree to make a trough and a crude canoe, both of which are nearly identical in shape, size, and method of construction. The tree is beaten with clubs to loosen the bark. The bark is then removed in one piece and hauled back to the village. The ends are heated in a fire to make them pliable and folded back to make the ends of the container. They are held firm by lashing two sticks together, pinching the folded bark into a flat-nosed basin. The interior bark surface becomes the exterior surface of the soup container. If the container is to be used as a canoe, a crude framework of sticks is added to the inside, giving 501 it more stability. The craft is so crude and heavy that the Yąnomamö generally do not use it for any purpose other than the trip for which it was intended, usually a downstream trip, since it would be almost impossible to move against a current in this rough craft. It is easier to walk than to try to pole the canoe upstream. The canoe, hence, is usually discarded after it makes its maiden voyage. Another will be made when it is needed.

415 574 264 The container is pinioned to the ground with stakes if it is to be used as a soup trough. Each time a feast is held, one or more of these bark containers is made in front of the headman's house, filled with the boiled ripe plantain soup, and frequented by the hungry guests, who dip out the soup with gourd spoons. The trough is thrown on the village rubbage heap after the feast is over.

---

[172] [8] They find the stone axes when they make new gardens, explaining that the spirits left them behind for the Yąnomamö to use. This area was occupied in the distant past by tribes whose relationship to the present Yąnomamö is uncertain.

/6 cont./
obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xirixána.

/7/ IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Demini nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

Surára
pakidái
waica
Shiriana

/10 cont./

114
142 repellent because of the lack of any kind of body care" (46).

46. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 304.

Chaffanjon expressed himself in a similar manner, but even more disapprovingly, with regard to the Guaharibos: "Small and puny, thin limbs, a stomach enormously distended, hair long and dirty, a bestial countenance make them look repulsive. [291] [411] They are absolutely naked; two men have a long and scraggly beard; their complexion is lighter than that of all the Indians whom I have thus far mentioned; their only weapon is a stick" 114 /translated from the French/ (47). Finally, it should be men- 141

47. Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 308-311.

tioned that, of approximately 40 adult Waikâ, Zerries established an average figure of 151.5 centimeters for men and 142 centimeters for women (48a).

48a. Zerries, 1956a, p. 186.

114 Comparisons show that the Surára and Pakidái have the same
142 physical characteristics as the Guaharibo, Xiriâna, and Waikâ (48b).

48b. Only recently there appeared a work by the same author, "Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Schiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien /Contributions to the Anthropology of the Waica and Schiriana Indians in the Border Region Between Venezuela and Brazil/," which is supplemented by excellent illustrative material (Zerries, 1959, pp. 31-41).

It is therefore astonishing that Chaffanjon and Koch-Grünberg describe the Indians that they studied as so strikingly ugly. It

Surára
Pakidái

/17 cont./
and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

411

3. War and Hunting Weapons and Accessories

For war and hunting expeditions the Surára and Pakidái, exactly like most of the other forest nomads of South America, use very large bows -- hâtonahî -- and arrows -- xeréka (Ill. 12).

[824] The bows, so-called simple bows because they consist of only one piece, are made out of the heavy black wood of the pupunha or chonta palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and are between 2.03-2.12 meters long. Their tension-strength weight is 32 kilograms and the length of stretch 71 centimeters (64). As

64. Pertinent comparisons with bows of other South American tribes may be found in Ranke's chart (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

the result of a not too marked, but uniform curvature, they have a symmetrical appearance. While the outer side is flat, the inner side is rounded, so that the cross-section, which in the center amounts to 2-2 1/2 centimeters, appears semicircular. The two ends come to a point (Fig. 2 i).

411 With regard to their construction it may be said that now-
412 adays the bow-staff is first roughly shaped with ax and tercado
322 (large bush-knife (65). (I did not find any stone axes, which

[439]

65. They obtain these objects by barter with piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) and as gifts from the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

[439] were perhaps once used in former times.) Subsequently the men shape them with a small knife, which they likewise obtain by barter.

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana
Yamatari

/17 cont./

411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 curatella (Cecropia peltata), which gives the bow a beautiful,
237 shiny appearance.
824 The bowstring -- penahitšbe --, which consists of three
411 strands of curauá (Bromeliaceae) fiber strings twisted to the right,
283 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66).

66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semi-circular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also

67. Meyer, no date, p. 31.

devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here./ /19/ Uraricapara,
411 Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustra-
184
114

68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.

tions of the Xirišna bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[Text continues on p. 39]

2. Becher--38 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

411
284

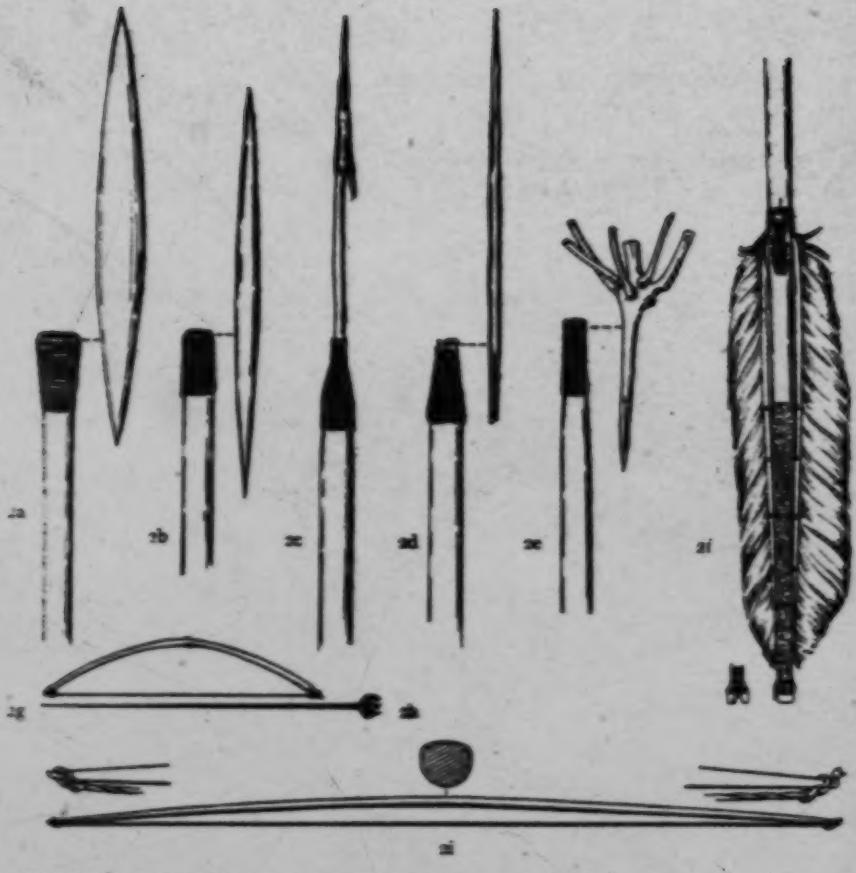


Fig. 2a. Wide, lancet-shaped bamboo arrow-point.
Fig. 2b. Narrow, lancet-shaped bamboo arrow-point.
Fig. 2c. Arrow-point with barb.
Fig. 2d. Wooden arrow-point with coating of poison.
Fig. 2e. Forked wooden arrow-point.
Fig. 2f. Arrow feathering.
Fig. 2g. Boy's bow.
Fig. 2h. Boy's arrow.
Fig. 2i. Bow with cross-section and string fastening.

Surára Pakidái Shiriana Samatari

/19 cont./

411 184 114 [173] almost identical with that of the Surára and Pakidái, except for the fact that the former is set off at the ends. This confirms the statements made by the Indians investigated by me who said that they obtained bows of this kind and the knowledge of how to make them themselves from the Xiriâna. In reply to my question as to why their bows were not set off at the end, I was told that the Xiriâna demand this deviation. In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/, there are two Xiriâna bows which were collected by Koch-Grünberg (12.25:29, 12.25:31). They are relatively small specimens, however, for they are only 1.92 and 1.82 meters high, respectively. A bow which came from the Xamatâri of the Rio Maiá, a left tributary of the Rio Cauaboris, and which is also in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:4) and is two meters high, has exactly the same shape as the Surára and Pakidái one, that is, without the offset ends. This is not surprising, for, according to the statement of the Surára chief Hewemão, the Xamatâri are likewise satellites of the Xiriâna (see p. 12). Finally, it should be mentioned that the same bow-form has also been documented for the Waiká in Venezuela (70).

70. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

411 249 824 The arrows -- xerêka --, whose total length comes to between 2-2.12 meters (shaft length 1.89-1.94 meters; weight, 60-90 grams) (71) (72), are made out of arrow cane -- xerekaîbe --

[114]

71. These measurements confirm Weule's statement when he says that the arrow must correspond in length, shape, and weight to the bow, in order to guarantee a certain accuracy of aim (Weule, 1899, p. 6).

72. Pertinent comparisons with other South American tribes are to be found in the chart by Ranke (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Xamatari

/19 cont./

411 [249] [824] [237] which the Surára and Pakidái plant in the vicinity of their malokas on the upper Aracá and the middle Demini, respectively. All five of the arrow types used by them have the same feathering -- jaromahîk --, which consists of two halves of the black wing feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.) -- parurí. They are placed against the cane in such a way that they alternately show the upper and the [283] lower side of the feather. At several places on the hand end they are held by two threads of the tight winding of Bromelia fibers -- pemakasiurakama. Inside this winding, which is supposed to strengthen the weak cane against the pressure of the bowstring, there is stuck on the end of the cane in addition a small wooden peg fastened with resin, which has a notch in its thickened outer part, which is set on the bowstring. This is supposed to prevent the cane from splitting when the arrow flies off. The upper end of the feather shaft is wound with a second, narrower winding, in which, between the two halves of the arrow feathers, two additional small black mutum feathers are frequently stuck as ornaments (Fig. 2f).

411 184 114 The feathering described belongs to the Guiana type of feathering, according to the classification by Meyer (73). Koch-

73. Meyer, no date, p. 9.

Grünberg (74) confirms it for the Xirišna, and it can also be recog-

74. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (4, 7, 8).

nized on the arrows which that investigator brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:33-42). The arrows in the Alfred Boeldecke Collection (56.15:5-7) in the same museum and the drawings by Vinci (75) show that the Xamatári likewise use this

75. Vinci, 1956, p. 146, Fig. a.

Surára Pakidái Xamatári Karimé

/19 cont./

411 184 114 feathering, and, according to Salathé, it is also to be found among the Karimé (76).

76. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Figs. 3 and 4.

411 There is an astonishingly wide range of variation for the arrow points, of which the following five different types occur among the Surára and Pakidái:

1. Kantaná -- It is a wide, lancet-shaped bamboo point, 25-28 centimeters long, both /20/ ends of which come to a point; the [531] width in the center is 3-4 centimeters. The upper side is rounded off, and the lower one, occasionally somewhat hollowed out, is [283] sometimes painted with black dots. It is inserted in the slightly split arrow shaft and tightly wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2a). Since the arrows with this large point have particularly great penetrating power, they are used chiefly for the hunting of tapirs and jaguars; moreover, they are used for warlike encounters. Every Surára and Pakidái man always carries two or three such reserve points in his quiver.

411 184 114 Salathé found similar points among the Karimé (77) and

77. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 299/300 and Fig. 3b.

Vinci among the Xamatári (78). Moreover, they are confirmed

78. Vinci, 1956, pp. 145 and 146, Fig. b.

for the latter Indians by a specimen in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte. (Alfred Boeldecke Collection, [531] 6.15:5. Length, 23 centimeters; width in the center, three centimeters. On the lower hollowed-out side, this point is painted with a black, serpentine line.)

Shiriana
Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./

411 184 114 [283]

The lancet-shaped bamboo points of the Xiriâna investigated by Koch-Grünberg, on the other hand, have a somewhat different shape. Here the two ends do not come to a point, as among the Surára, Pakidái, Karimé, and Xamatári, but rather one end is thickened, hollowed out, and, wound with Bromelia fibers, is set on a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (79). Three such

79. Koch-Grünberg 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (5, 8).

Xiriana arrow points of the Koch-Grünberg Collection in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte have, moreover, the respectable length of 34 centimeters (12.25:37) and 35 centimeters (12.25:34-35).

Inasmuch as the Surára and Pakidái, according to their own statements, borrowed their lancet-shaped bamboo points from the Xiriâna, the ensuing alteration process is quite significant, since, indeed, the point is no longer mounted on a wooden shaft, but is inserted directly into the arrow cane.

Furthermore, lancet-shaped bamboo points have been confirmed for the Waiká by Zerries (80) and Schuster (81), but it is

80. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

81. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

not clear from their texts whether this is the same type as that of the Surára, Pakidái, etc. or that of the Xiriâna.

411 171

How greatly the lengths and attachment possibilities of such bamboo points vary among South American Indians is very clearly shown by the comprehensive investigations of Meyer (82) and

82. Meyer, no date, pp. 18, 19, 25, 27, 30, 36, 37, 47, 48, 49, and Plates I, 11, 13; II, 16; III, 14; IV, 8, 15.

Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./

Métraux (83).

83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

2. Rahaká -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the kantaná (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and cutias (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

3. Kantarím -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84).[1] Meyer mentions that it is

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanomámi group, they have furthermore

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

been documented for the Xiriána (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88),

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./
411 and Waiká (89) (90). In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde
114
184

89. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

90. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

und Vorgeschichte, there are, /21/ moreover, three Xiriána arrows with this point (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:39-41) and an arrow from the Xamatári (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:6).

411 4. Ranaká -- Forked wooden point of a bird arrow; length, 12-15
[824] centimeters. The material is furnished by a tree -- paioórimá -- which shows countless such forkings. The lower part of the stem is pointed and is set in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2e). Thus far there is a parallel for this arrow point only among the Waiká (91a).

91a. Barker, 1953, p. 464.

5. Unamú -- Wooden arrow-point with a coating of poison. A thin, pointed rod of the hard wood of the pupunha palm, 22-24 centimeters long, is coated with arrow poison, giving it a black appearance. The rear end is inserted in the arrow cane wound with
[824] Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2d). Such poisoned arrows are used exclusively for hunting monkeys, since these animals living in the tall trees are otherwise difficult to kill. According to the statements of Surára and Pakidái informants, they never shoot poisoned arrows at human beings.

411 Other Yanonámi tribes who likewise use poisoned arrows are
184 the Xiriána (91b), Karimé (92), and Waiká (93) (94). Moreover,

91b. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 312.

92. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 301 and Fig. 5a.

93. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

94. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

/21 cont./

411 184 there is a Xamatári poisoned arrow in the possession of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:7).

411 171 114 [439] Métraux writes with reference to the poisoned arrows: "Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is commonly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is traded throughout wide regions" /cited in English/ (95). Among

95. Métraux, 1948, p. 242.

Karaiben /Carib/ tribes in Guiana, poisoned arrows which are shot with a bow are not very often encountered, for they are documented only for the Makuxí /Macusi/ by Richard Schomburgk (96) and for

96. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 428.

411 171 the Trio by de Goeje (97). It should be mentioned in this connec-

97. de Goeje, 1906, p. 15; Pl. V, Figs. 10-12; Pl. XI, Fig. 22.

tion, however, that many Karaiben, for example, the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, shoot small poisoned arrows with a blowgun; this weapon is unknown to the Surára and Pakidái.

278 Arrow poisons:

[192] [184] According to what my Surára informants reported to me, they use three kinds of poison of different strengths, all of which, however, they designate by the general name -- mamokórimaunápe. This name is almost the same as the one which the Waiká, according to Zerries, use for arrow poison -- mamokordi (98).

98. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

/22 cont./

411 524 [824] Boys' bow:

The boys' bow -- hauoś -- is 80-90 centimeters long and consists of a curved branch of the paioôrimá tree, which also furnishes the material for the bird arrow-points. As in the case of all branch-bows, the arms are of different lengths, so that an unsymmetrical shape is produced, which affects the accuracy of the

Fig. 3. Position for shooting with the bow.

shot. This is of no consequence, however, since these are merely toy bows for small boys. On both ends the bow staff is tapered and set off to receive the bowstring -- pebatábe -- which is made out of a liana (cipó-titica) (Fig. 2g).

283] [824]

Boys' arrows:

[192] [824] [237] [283] [192]

Ruhumacík is the name of the thin arrow, 80-90 centimeters long, for boys, which the fathers make out of the wood of the inaja palm Maximiliana regia Mart.) -- kareximací. The feathering -- jaronahík -- consists of two small halves of mutum feathers, which are lashed to the shaft with a thread of cotton. Instead of an arrow point mounted separately, the arrow here is only slightly pointed (Fig. 2h): the designation for it is -- peimacikenâme.

/22 cont./

411 [482] In the forest the Surára and Pakidái as a rule carry their bows and arrows longwise with one or both hands above their heads, but occasionally also on the right or left shoulder.

In shooting, the bow is held in a horizontal position with the left hand. The arrow lies to the left of the bow, between thumb and index finger. The man holds the end of the arrow between the index finger and middle finger of the right hand and simultaneously stretches the bowstring with the second joints of these fingers (Fig. 3); occasionally he also adds the second joint of the ring finger, if the shot is to be reinforced. This is a form which, following Morse, is designated as the "Mediterranean release" /cited in English/. This practice has been documented also for Eskimo tribes and Siberian peoples (100), but never for

411 171 114

100. Morse, 1885, pp. 12-15 and Figs. 8 and 9.

South American Indians. Concerning the tribes on the Aiarý, Koch-Grünberg says that here the men hold the end of the arrow with thumb and index finger of the /23/ right hand, while they simply press the other three fingers against the palm of the hand (101).

101. Koch-Grünberg, 1909, p. 104 and Ill. 58.

The Yurakare /Yuracare/, too, hold the arrow with the thumb and index finger of the right hand, and they use the remaining three fingers for stretching the bow (102). These latter forms seem to be

102. von Holten, 1877, p. 111.

the most customary in South America, but unfortunately this cannot be definitely established because the information concerning this is too meager. Friederici has already justifiably complained: "With reference to the manner of grasping and stretching the bow and aiming and shooting the arrow, reports are unfortunately very scarce;

/23 cont./

411 the few that are available are not the type from which rules could
171 be deduced" (103). If the arrow is to be shot upward, the left arm
114

103. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

is stretched out and the bowstring is pulled up to the right eye with the right hand (Ill. 13). I did not meet any left-handed archers. Koch-Grünberg mentions one and remarks that he was assured there were many of them (104). Among the Mosquito

104. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 73.

Indians in Central America left-handedness seems even to be quite pronounced, for Sapper shows their typical handling of the bow and arrow in the photograph of a Mosquito boy shooting left-handed (105).

105. Sapper, 1903, p. 54.

411 The best shooting performances, which I tested with men and boys, were between 40-50 meters for the former, who shot straight through an empty gasoline can with the large, mounted, lancet-shaped arrow-point, and between 8-10 meters for the latter. Yet even at a distance of 100 meters, most of the men hit the target; the penetrating power, however, was considerably diminished. These figures agree very closely with the statements compiled from the literature by Friederici (106). Several warriors

106. Friederici, 1907, p. 326.

were also able to shoot indirectly, which is shown by the following experiment which I carried out with Hewemão, the chief of the Surára, his younger brother Kurikajawö, the Surára man Brakaiwö, and the warrior chief of the Pakidái, Poréhiwö. I placed three white leaves of standard size on the ground, one behind the other, at a distance of 30, 28, and 26 meters from the

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

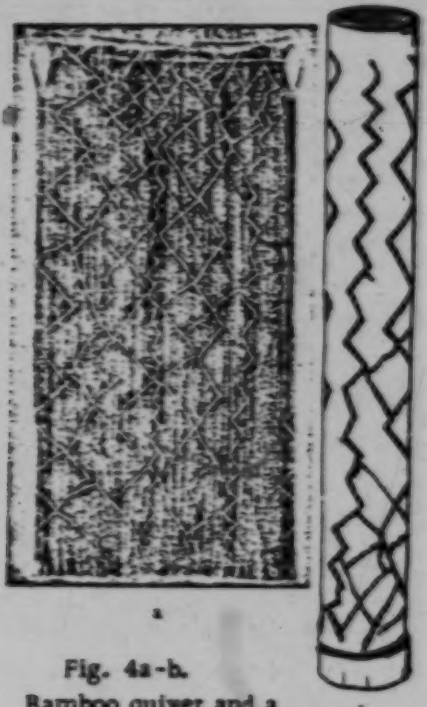
[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[796] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[156] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[437] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons
[764] are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

/24 cont./

000 411 194 173 411 726 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would represent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waiká, Zerries reports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them

411 415 531



a b

Fig. 4a-b.
Bamboo quiver and a rubbing of the incised design.

173 411 726 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hímo," which are made from the wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

411 171 578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled, which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 715.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

411 824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xirišana, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in 411 578 191 stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114);

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldus, 1939, p. 113.

they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the 411 184 Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be-

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

tween the poles or clubs of the Waiká and the sticks of the Surára and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is [174] therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed.

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tôra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the [561] most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b).

411 482 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrow-points wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

Surára
Pakidái

411 482 /24 cont./ lancet-shaped bamboo points, is worn on a neck cord by every hunter and warrior, who has it hang down on his back so that it does not interfere with the stretching of the bow.

411 184 /25/ Quivers of the same form and carried in the same way are also found among the Waikâ, as may be seen from a photograph by Zerries (116). Moreover, the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte owns such a quiver, though without decoration, from the Xamatâri (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:3a).

372 4. Fire-making Apparatus

Tied by means of a string of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) to every Surára and Pakidái quiver at the top and bottom is the fire-drilling apparatus -- borôrohfk -- which consists of a lancet-shaped hearth -- panâibequehfk -- and two drilling sticks -- ihirupehfk (Fig. 5). Both parts are made from the soft wood of the wild cacao tree -- porôroâ -- exactly as among the Waikâ (117).

[824] [184]

117. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

372 114 Koch-Grünberg documents such a fire-drilling apparatus for the Xirianâ (118), but without mentioning the material. On the basis

118. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

of a specimen which he brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:124), however, one may state that it is likewise made of the wood of the wild cacao tree. He says nothing at all about quivers and thus does not seem to have found any. Nor did I find elsewhere in the literature any parallels for the very practical combination of quiver and fire-making apparatus (119). Nevertheless,

[411]

392 411 184 114 119. That it is well-known among the Xamatâri, however, is proved by two objects from that tribe in the Hamburg Museum

Surára
Pakidái

/25 cont./

372
411
184
114

119.(cont.) für Volkerkund und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection 56. 15 3a and b), and presumably the fire-making apparatus is likewise fastened to the quiver among the Waikâ. Definite statements about this by Zerries and Schuster have not yet been made.

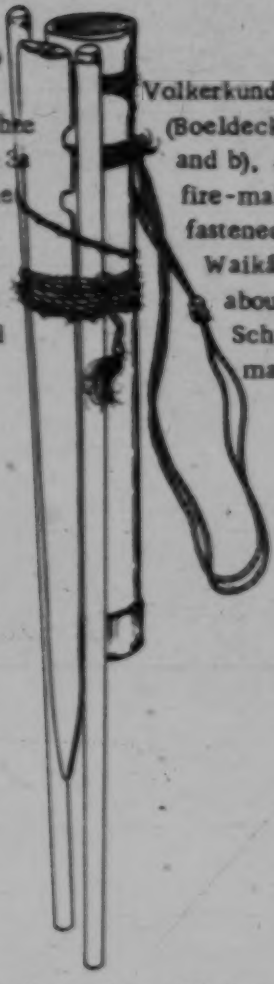


Fig. 5. Bamboo quiver with fire-drill apparatus tied on.

372 Nevertheless,
[484] it is perfectly obvious, for if the Surára and Pakidái men on war and hunting expeditions are unable to return to the maloka in the evening, they are able to kindle a fire along the way in three to four minutes. To do this a man in a squatting position holds the hearth on the ground with one foot and drills with the palms of his
[412] hands (Ill. 31). The holes of the hearth are previously bored with
[237] a knife made of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) (See P. 116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side.

2: Becher--271 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
/6/
142
411
302
291
516

Ill. 12. Surára warriors

142
291
411
516
142
411
301
302
342
291
624

Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow

Ill. 14. Poréhiwö, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/13/

Surára
Pakidái

142
302
296

Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

769
142
291
516
302
342
415
286

Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

516
342
411
535

Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

/187 cont./

105 [181 241 245 264] The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

[286 342 411 ...] Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayongon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Uraricuera and Parima, to Boavista. They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished."

[361 241 484 434 611] [142 146]

114 101 The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648 Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

/202 cont./

412 [184] (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl. 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surará and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife, [171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Siriono (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] [179] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The bow-string is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

[627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

/205 cont./

224 It is also dangerous to lose an arrow when one is hunting.
● 411 That is why they only shoot the arrow when, should they miss the target, they can easily retrieve it. In spite of these precautions, the arrow is sometimes lost or remains hanging from an
[782] inaccessible tree. Then the man, in order not to lose his aim, puts it under the protection of Omao, to whom he speaks, saying: "Omáuawan ipa ʃflaka toldíapala!" which means: "Omao, watch over my arrow!"

224 To lose one's aim or luck in hunting may arise from a
777 technical reason or a supernatural cause. The former is due to a
789 weakening of the body brought about by sickness or other causes
826 which influence sight or the strength of the arm. If it is due to this latter cause, the hunter knows the remedy. He goes to the forest and searches for a tree with hard, heavy wood; he cuts a piece and sets fire to it and collects the ashes, which he applies to the cuts inflicted on his arm. If he bears the pain without touching the hurt arm with the other hand and does not shout, his muscles will once again recover their lost strength and the hunter will recover his luck and good aim.

224 If the hunter returns without any game, it may be because
776 Omao did not favor him, and this is the supernatural cause of
777 his failure.

224 According to our informants from the Erebato, a good
782 hunter speaks frequently with Omao, for without his protection
[777] he will not be lucky. For this reason he says to him: "Omao awayí ipa ʃálawa hadu kapálama!" which is translated as: "Omao, draw my game out into the open!"

Worse than being unlucky is to lose one's life in a hunting accident, and in order to implore the protection of the other world, the hunter prays, "Omao sátoria palái!" that is to say: "Omao, protect me!"

224 /206/ Of course, all these precautions are useless if the
825 hunter has not learned the art of hunting. He must know how the various animals live and how to identify their tracks. If these latter should be fresh, he orders his dog to follow the track of the game; the success of a Sanemá hunter depends in great

4 Wilbert--75 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

411
322
412
302
516

[237]

Sanemá Indian of the upper Ventuari preparing the shaft of an arrow, using a typical "knife" made out of a rodent's tooth mounted on a small stick.

4: Wilbert--78 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
291
301
411
516

Waica family of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuz:

StLayrisse et al. D. E-8 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shirianá" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriana*" with an internal separation of 30 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirisana (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Siriana*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 493-498.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 20.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

411
291
137

The Silent Hunters

[Frontispiece - facing title page]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the usefulness of the Corozo palm end here: it furnishes a hard, black wood that gives the Indians their finest bows, real masterpieces treasured with pride by their owners and only bought and sold with a great deal of ceremony.

The *lakus* represents the Indian food-ideal. It grows in bunches up to eighty pounds or more in weight, each fruit being the size of an egg and in shape and colour not unlike a small, ripe cheese. Cooking it takes a long time. The outside is a thick starchy layer, orange-coloured and rich-tasting without being over-sweet or sickly. It is better than any of our starchy foods such as bread or potatoes or chestnuts or *guachi*. The whole of it is edible right down to the little stone itself. This is a kind of delicious almond which crumbles pleasantly under one's teeth and leaves nothing but an insatiable desire for more—hence its name, *lakus*.

Lakus can be carried: there are no doubts about this, as in the case of the huamoshi. Its golden bunches are big enough to cover up a man, and the carrier protects himself from the thorns on the branches with a good thick cushion of leaves. In the evening they are cooked, so that the grim-faced women of the tribe are able to produce their milk after all and tirelessly pass it on to the scabby, drooling mouths of their infants, who in their turn convert it into blood and yield it up to the clouds of flies and mosquitoes which wrap them round with a perpetual dark veil like an aura of evil and accursed spirits.

In recompense for its fabulous generosity, the *lakus* tree has been accorded one great privilege that sets it apart from all the other fruit-bearing trees of the forest: it is never cut down for the easier harvesting of the crop. The fruit is brought down by some clever manipulation of a long pole, for no climber's hands and feet could withstand the thorns. If in very special circumstances the tree has to be cut down, then its upper stem is opened so that its last, secret riches can be cut out—the ten pounds of sweet, crisp, chestnut-flavoured tenderness that is its growing point, the heart. Then the tree will weep out its tears from its torn breast, tears of wine that are lost.

Certainly the tribes living nearest to the forest and the forest's deep anti-human mysteries have chosen the *lakus* as their god of food: but we, a hybrid mixture of natural fears and supernatural thunderings, chose to set up opposite it our own saint, the yellow and most luscious *sapah*. When the marching horde reached a guarled tree which evoked the quick cry '*Sapah!*' they flung themselves at it—such is their agility in tree-climbing that they literally seem to fling themselves up—and began a feast that reduced them to silence because

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

* 123 At one point, Luis Antonio got the gun back. The cartridges, in some unknown fashion, had got lost, except for a dozen which bore every appearance of having been soaked and chewed. But we might still be able to fire a shot or two, 'on our way back'. Unfortunately, though we were looking forward to it as our day of salvation, that time seemed to grow more distant with every day that passed. We were on our way south now, and the forest of the Uagna where our canoe was waiting for us seemed a mere memory of another world.

Only later did I come to know what had happened about the gun. The Samatari could not get used to the idea of having a fire-arm with them. Partly because they knew it was dangerous, and were afraid that one day it might automatically turn on them, partly because they thought that if their enemies got hold of such a weapon they would be able to attack them and wipe them out. Luis Antonio had helped them out of their dilemma, cleverly inducing them to give up the gun by a manœuvre which didn't enhance our prestige, but improved our position considerably by establishing the fact that we weren't really dangerous at all. Luis Antonio had given a demonstration of the gun's powers—at a time when Enrico and I were too far away to hear the shot. He had chosen for his target a termites' nest hanging down from a tree and fired some spread-shot at it. As might have been expected, nothing happened—apart from the fact that all the Samatari took flight. A few leaves fluttered down, the spectators returned, and everyone was disappointed. The *bombamadé* was no good at all! They had expected to see the whole tree, not just the termites' nest, destroyed—they had the same faith in the unlimited powers of the gun as the Makiritari had in the outboard motor. From that moment on they left the gun to Luis Antonio and didn't bother any more about it, though they may have wondered, being naturally suspicious of Guayca tricks, whether Luis Antonio had left out of the weapon something that he ought to have put in. But very likely they had connected the idea of the gun with the air bombardment of the Kasarape, and in this case they must have been even more mystified still.

II

● 411 Samatari weapons are much more efficient than our guns, in their own hands, at any rate, and they have one advantage: the raw material for them is

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

there for the taking in the forest and the supply, from both animal and vegetable sources, is inexhaustible.

The bow is of surprising dimensions. It is six feet six inches long, this being equivalent, considering the height of the archer, to nine feet nine inches for us. The simplest pattern is made from the *seke* palm. They also use a hardwood—from a tree known in Venezuela as the 'golden pole'. This is very rare, almost as rare among the Indians as metal. But the finest bows of all, possessed by the few and worth a fortune, are made from the corozo tree, the *lakse* of the Shirians. This wood is extremely hard but very fibrous, with the elasticity of a steel spring. The shaping and fining down of these bows, and the making of the arrows, is the one form of craftsmanship known to the Samatari. With this they occupy themselves during the rainy season, under rough roofs of palm leaves. A tree belonging to the Moraceae family furnishes the very tough fibre for the bowstrings: it is found all along the river-banks and in the forest glades.

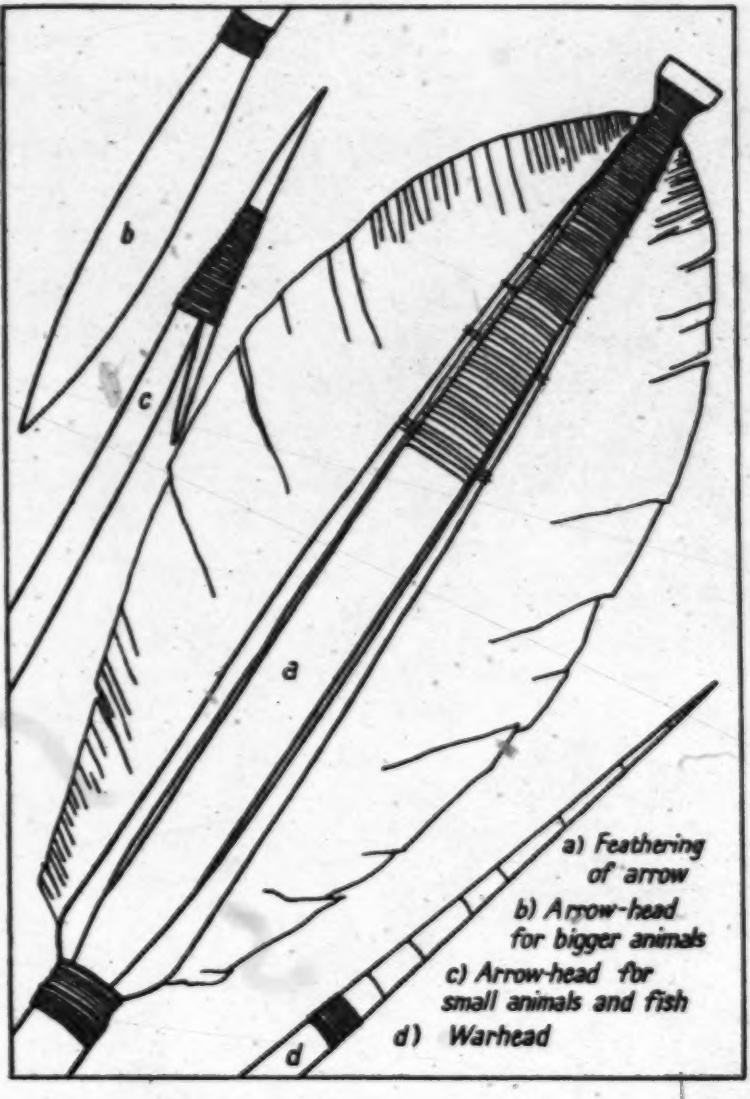
The slender arrows, six foot six inches long, are made from a cane cultivated in the secret depths of the forest, though it grows naturally on any of the river creeks which flood regularly. Curassow or guan feathers, split in half, are bound on to the cane.

There are three types of arrow-head, according to the purpose for which they are to be used. The lightest is a splinter cut from the shinbone of a monkey, firmly fixed to the end of a short stick, in such a way as to form a sharp-pointed prong. This is used on small animals, and especially for birds and fish. There are numbers of big fish, like the *pampano* and *surapiri*, which lie near the surface so that a slight rippling of the water betrays their presence. The arrow which pierces them cannot be shaken out, and its length and weight make it difficult for the wounded fish to get very far.

Another kind of point is virtually a miniature spear fashioned out of a very hard bamboo cane. Very sharp, and razor-edged, it will strike deep into the most resistant flesh, the toughest hide. The Samatari use this on the bigger game, such as tapir, and also for war—though for the latter purpose it is superseded by a specialized warhead. This is a sharpened splinter of palm wood—the same as goes to the making of the bows—dipped in a red poison made from the bark of a certain tree. A series of rings, four or five of them, are notched out round the arrow-tip, so that it is weakened at these places. If the tip strikes bone on entering the body, or if the arrow is pulled out, it snaps at one of these weakened parts, leaving the broken tip embedded in the flesh so that

[P.122]

411
284


b
c
a
d
a) Feathering of arrow
b) Arrow-head for bigger animals
c) Arrow-head for small animals and fish
d) Warhead

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the poison has time to spread and enter the bloodstream. The Samatari go off to war with masses of these poisoned arrows and a cane quiver slung across their shoulders. This contains spare arrow-heads which can be quickly attached to the arrows arriving in a stream from the enemy. Every fighter carries his own ammunition, but the weapons are really the common property of friend and foe alike.

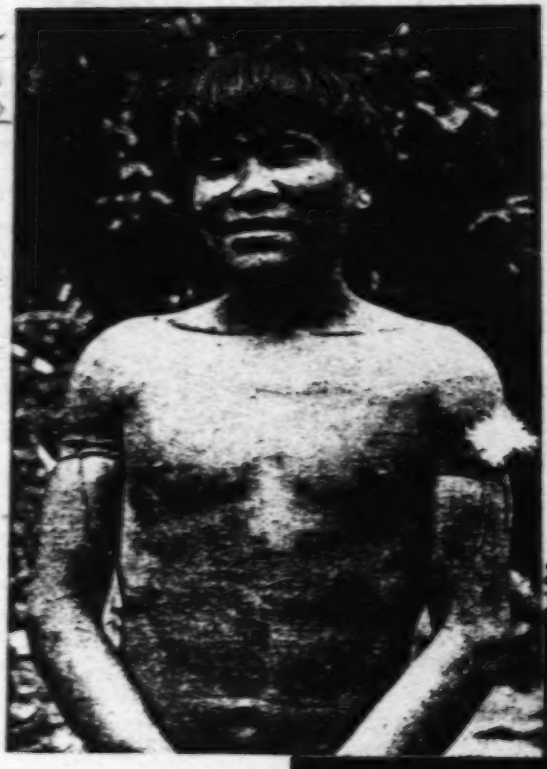
There is one other widely used weapon, and a deadly one it is—a heavy wooden club for use on the cranium in close-combat conditions, such as usually arise at the end of the battle when the ammunition is exhausted and the antagonists have worked themselves up into a fine frenzy. Then the hand-to-hand fighting excels in ferocity, but the blood scattered on the ground is misleading—the actual mortality rate is very low. Tremendous whacks on the head are exchanged, that lay the scalp open right down to the bone. But cracking the cranium itself is not so easy: Samatari heads are harder than Corozo palm.

One may well ask why the Indians are forever fighting these wars, but this is to put the question a little too ingenuously. The answer can only be that it is their mode of life—just as it is other people's mode of life not to keep on fighting. There are vendettas as old as their race itself, fanned by their belief in the evil eye of the witch doctors who can cause the death of children and spread sickness through the tribe. Fear is the underlying cause, at the origin of these vendettas and at the origin of all origins; fear that is the very condition, the very breath of existence for primitive man in the inhuman, unhuman forest regions that set their stamp on all who live in them. Fear gives birth to these bloody encounters, which a little cool-headedness could transform into the meeting of friends. We ourselves owed our salvation to the fact that we hadn't fought back. We had a certain confidence too, over and above the passing moment of fear, a certain faith in the essential goodness of man.

But apart from fear and the vendettas which grow out of it, there is one native activity which just as easily leads to war: theft. Theft is the activity in which the Shirians excel, their way of living. Everything that can further their nomadic existence is torn out of the earth, the trees and the animals. The process means effort and struggle, always more or less exhausting and unsafe. It follows logically that if anything they basically need belongs to other men, they will take it from them, too. The tribe on the river so-and-so possesses a machete, or a knife—perhaps the result of long bargaining with their neighbours, or, more often, of a highly successful bit of burglary and some

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SO18
Sanema

142
301
302



35. Dolfaxx was pale and handsome.

142
411
516

36. A typical primitive: a man of good will, ugly as he is.

[p. 192-A]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

137
411

411
342

44. *The charge goes into the blow-pipe: a demonstration by Mahanahana.*

45. *The blow-pipe in action.*

[no. 192-D]

/441 cont./

Obtaining Food

224 Hunting.

Hunting is done with bows and arrows.

A broad arrow-point of bamboo is used against larger land game, such as the danta, the váquiros /peccaries/, and the large rodents. Poisoned points are used against monkeys and occasionally against dantas. Bone points are used principally to hunt birds. Small birds are hunted with arrows with a blunt point or forked point.

[411]

[231] Dogs are used in hunting, and in the case of the smallest wild pigs, these dogs frequently do more killing than the hunters.

The hunters hunt together and surround the game. The one who succeeds in killing it is the owner of the animal. He might make a gift of a few pieces to those who have helped him, but in general he carries the entire animal to his house, where it is cooked. A danta, of course, must be divided up on the spot in order to be transported.

262 Almost all the mammals are eaten, felines being the principal exception. A few snakes are eaten; others are not. The babilla /an amphidious reptile/ is also eaten. Birds of prey, such as hawks, eagles, vultures, and turkey buzzards and others, are not eaten. Almost all the other birds are eaten, even the little humming birds.

/442/ Meat is considered an essential part of the diet and perhaps occupies the second place of importance after platanos.

226 Fishing.

Several types of toxins are used to poison fish in the small currents of water. One of these is a bejuco. Another is the shell of an edible nut with a prickly husk. Another is the bark of a certain tree of great size.

226 462 857 When the waters lower in streams and swamps (generally around the months of January and February), women and children go out armed with clubs and come back with baskets full of fish.

/455 cont./

283 Cotton is spun by means of a hand spindle. This thread is then twisted into three-thread cords.

Various fibers of bark are twisted to make bowstrings or fishing lines. These same fibers of bark are frequently plaited to make hammock strings.

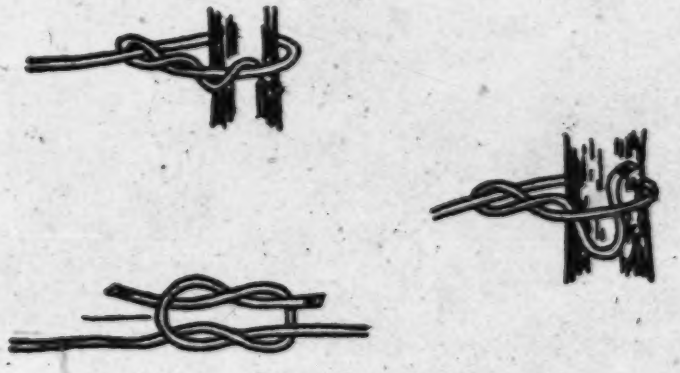
The fiber of a certain plant similar to the pineapple is also extracted and twisted, producing a very tough cord.

284 The knots which the Guaika /Waica/ make are very simple and practical. The timber hitch is employed in all cases in which a flexible cord is used. This includes the stringing of the bows. The hammock is hung using a timber slipknot. This knot is made in such a way that it can be instantly untied by a pull. The square knot is used to join the ends of two cords. In the accompanying Fig. 2, we show drawings of the three knots concerned.

411 352

287 854 /456/ A band of bark is made for carrying children. First they obtain a stick of the right size, which is beaten with another stick for several days. The scaly outer bark comes off. Finally, the smaller end of the cylindrical bark is inserted into the larger end (of greater diameter), and the two are then firmly sewed together. The result is a band or strip without rough or cutting edges, which remains flexible and useful for many months.

284



/Fig. 2/

/456 cont./

Preparation of Basic Materials

411
321 The Guaika /Waica/ make their arrow points out of bone. When they obtain a small piece of bone, they quickly transform it into a good arrow-point for killing birds. The long bones of legs and arms of monkeys are broken, and the sharp points which generally result have a form similar to that of arrowheads, are worked and finished, with the rest being thrown away. To give them shape, the points are scraped with knives or machetes and rubbed on some stone.

534
321 I also saw a whistle or a flute which seemed to be made out of bone or out of a quill of large size.

411
322
[824]
[239]
[412] The Guaika make their bows out of wood. They generally select the wood of the "pijiguao" palm. They give it a rough shape, using the machete. They achieve the final form by scraping the piece with the jawbone of a wild pig, the teeth constituting the cutting edges.

322
412
[237] They do wood carving with a small knife, which consists of the tooth of a rodent. With this tooth they manage the fine work of putting notches in the arrows. They also shape bamboo arrow-points and the oblong lower part of the apparatus for making fire.

They devote as much as half a day to carving the handles for their axes and machetes. They use the machete to shape them.

323 The Guaika make their pots of mud. The clay is obtained in specific places. This frequently requires a day or more of travel. Once the clay has been brought to the settlement, /457/ they go about extracting the stones from it while kneading it, moistened, for several hours. The pot is begun by taking a ball of mud which is given the shape of a bowl. Then they go on adding rings of mud which they join to the pot. The vessel is scraped and shaped with a piece of broken totuma /fruit of the calabash tree/. During the process of the scraping, they go on increasing the size of the pot. They keep the clay damp and plastic, spitting on it from time to time. After this they put the pot out to dry in the sun and finally bake it in the fire. The vessel comes out of

/463 cont./

373 416 484 as well as to light the path. Torches of gum and resin are also used sometimes on the paths during the night, but the common type of torch is the fagot of tied pieces of wood. A group which travels at night (as occurs when they are returning after nightfall from the work of fishing) may carry only one torch. Then they stop from time to time to arrange the joined sticks and to revive the fire, keeping it from going out.

373 374 The wood fire is the principal source of light and heat in the settlements. The fires are kept lighted during the entire night, both to produce warmth and for protection against predatory animals and the spirits of human beings which have returned.

372 There do not seem to be any beliefs or ceremonies related to the production and maintenance of fire.

Weapons

● 411 The principal weapon of the Guaica /Waica/ is the bow and arrow. They also use macanas.

[824] [283] The bow is made of palm wood, generally of "pijiguao," with a strong string made of threads of bark. This string has three or more threads of twisted bark, which give it great strength.

[249] [237] The shafts of their arrows are made of the festooned part of a certain wild cane, which they cultivate in their "conucos." They feather them with the points of wing feathers of wild turkeys.

Arrow points vary according to the type of game which is to be the target. The wide bamboo point is used /464/ principally against large land animals; the bone one for shooting large and medium-sized birds, and the poisoned points principally for monkeys. Any of these points might be used against man in the event of war. Against small birds they shoot the shaft, first removing the point, or they use a point ramified at the end, made out of a small branch quickly broken off some nearby plant. The accompanying Fig. 7 /see p. 35/ shows the different types of arrow points of the Guaika. /Fig. 7 appears here./

/464 cont./

411 [857] [824] The children make small bows, generally for their games, but they also shoot lizards, which are good bait for fishing. These bows may be made of several types of wood, but rarely of palm. The bows of the men are always made of palm.

411 [226] Macanas are used by women for fishing. They are also used by men in their attacks on other settlements with which they have had more or less friendly relations, for the purpose of recovering the wife or daughter held captive there.

[531]

/Fig. 7/

Poisons

278 [226] A variety of poisons for fishing are used by the Guaika /Waica/. One comes from a vine, another from the husk of a prickly nut, and the third from the bark of a certain thick tree.

[411] Arrow points are poisoned with the poison from the bark of a vine. They scrape the bark, and the scrapings, /465/ wrapped in leaves, are kept dry by hanging them over the current of air from a fire until they are needed.

On the day when an Indian is going to prepare poison, every man of the settlement gets ready to prepare a set of arrow points to be poisoned.

The preparer of the poison begins by pulverizing the scrapings of bark between the palms of his hands. He constantly utters a [415] series of shouts and grunts while doing this. Then he places the pulverized bark in a funnel made of leaves, into which hot water

/465 cont./

278 [415] is poured, a few drops at a time. The liquid which seeps through is collected in a totuma. Fig. 8 shows the procedure. /466/ Several fires are lighted around, and after a short time the firewood is scattered so that there will be no flames, but only burning embers.

278 411 Then the sets of arrowheads which are to be poisoned are stuck into bundles made of leaves and placed in such a way that the points remain over the embers. The poisonous liquid is then smeared on the points, in small quantities each time, drying immediately. All the poison is smeared on the points on the day it is prepared. The accompanying Fig. 9 /see p. 37/ shows the procedure. /Fig. 9 appears here./

278 415

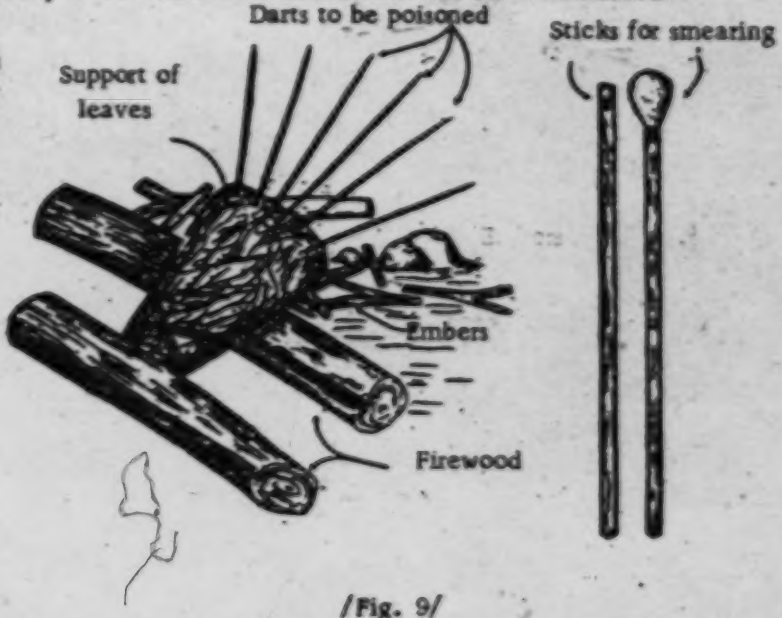
/Fig. 8/

/466 cont./

298
411 Some of the sticks used for applying the poison to the arrow-heads are of palm and have a hole near one of the ends for holding poison. Others have a wad of cotton or of any absorbent material tied to the end in order to be saturated with the poison.

411 When the poison has dried on the arrow points, the latter are kept in the quiver, which consists of a bamboo tube, always ready to be attached to the shaft of the arrow as needed.

298
411



/Fig. 9/

/473 cont./

583 628 To a suitor who does not obtain the consent of the girl's settlement there is no other path but to look for a wife elsewhere or to try to abduct the girl in order to make her his /474/ wife. If he decides to do this latter, he gathers together his sympathizers; these are mostly men of the suitor's own settlement, although other friends may also help him. The group attempts to take the girl prisoner at a careless moment, carrying her off by force. The friends of the girl come to help her, starting a hand-to-hand fight. If the suitor manages to flee with the girl, she becomes his wife, but if he fails, he cannot make another attempt at abduction without then being considered a real enemy, and as such he will run the risk of being shot with an arrow and not simply have to put on a fight.

If a settlement decides not to accept the abduction committed for one of its girls for matrimonial purposes, a call for help can be made to a neighboring settlement, all of the men gathering in a band, ready to recover her. (411) The weapons used on such a raid are smooth poles about six feet long, intended not to kill the opponent, but to knock him down, leaving him hors de combat. If such a raid is successful, the girl is returned to her parents. And if the raid fails, any new attempt to recover the girl involves the risk of the attackers' being shot with arrows, since they would then be considered as true enemies. Both the men and the women can fight on the defense in case of such a raid.

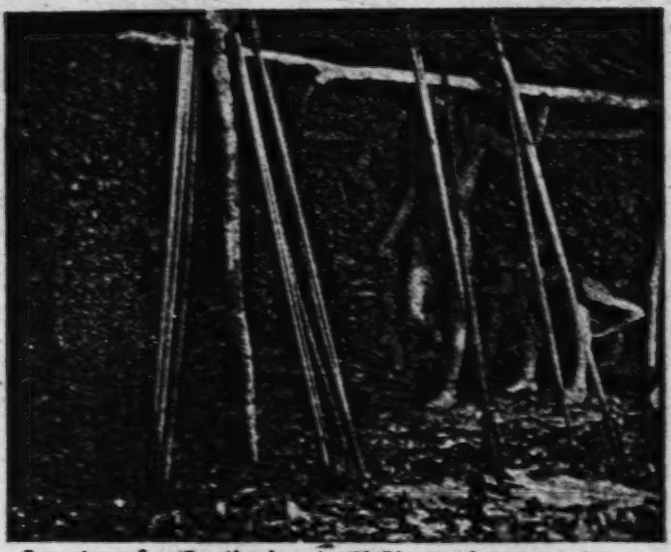
A suitor alone or with the help of a few friends may succeed in carrying out the abduction of a wife, generally by finding the girl practically alone and carrying her off to his own settlement. In such cases the settlement of the abductor cannot back him, obliging him to return the woman to her parents rather than to lose their friends in her settlement.

721 302 When a raid to a truly hostile settlement is planned for the purpose of abducting a wife or other objects of value, each one of the members of the attacking band paints himself entirely black or dark maroon. For such raids the weapons are the bow and arrows, and, when the fight starts, both groups shoot to kill. 726 (411) Should the attacking band be small, it can only hope to capture some girl or woman who is alone in her "conuco" or /475/ cutting wood in the forest. Then it will try to escape with the

7: Barker--65 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

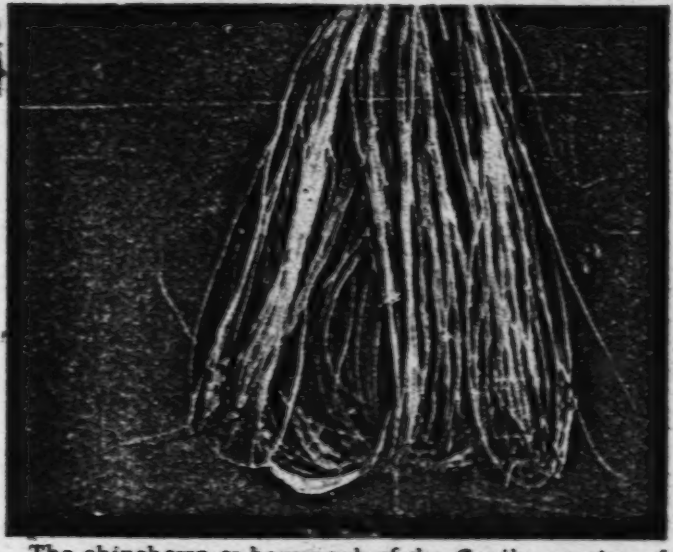
Plate V

342
411
291



Interior of a Guaika hut in El Platanal. Note the extraordinary length of their powerful arrows. (Photo. by the author.)

352
824



The chinchorro or hammock of the Guaika consists of vegetable fibers joined at both ends, without any transversal weaving. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

/152/

574 628 721 [262] [411] The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti accepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 731 [499] The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food. They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 411 721 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was abandoned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

166 722 628

One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

000

/153 cont./

628 In January of 1952, while many of those from the aldea of
584 Yoeitjeti were visiting in Majecototjeti, a group of men from
/154/ Shibaatía-tjeti came and inquired about "Macluma," about giving her in matrimony to a man from Shibaatía-tjeti, who was already married to her older sister. "Macluma" had just passed puberty, and "Yajicocoue," the husband of the other older sister of "Macluma," also wanted her. The grandmother of "Macluma" persuaded her not to go off with the man from Shibaatía-tjeti unless she never wanted to see her again.

That night the Shibaatía-tjeti suitor asked for Macluma in "singing" fashion, while talking with "Shinaocaoue," the chief /capitán/ of Majecototjeti. The chief called him "old man." He told the chief that if he obtained her, he would be good to her, he would not put fire on her or beat her. I am not sure what conclusion they reached, although I suspect that the chief refused to give her to him.

628 On the following afternoon the men of Shibaatía-tjeti
583 caught "Macluma" outside of the aldea and tried to take her off
584 by force, in what the Yonomama /Yanoama/ call a "shaimau." The Majecototjeti women came to rescue her, and a group got into a fight and into a "rope fight" /lucha de cuerda/ over "Macluma." This lasted for several hours. The men of Yoeitjeti and I myself stood to one side and watched, but did not take part. Finally, the women managed to carry "Macluma" back to her house, and things quieted down.

The men of Shibaatía-tjeti said that they would come back for "Macluma." The men of Majecototjeti said, "If you do, we will shoot you."

After that, when the Shibaatía-tjeti visited them, at most there were groups of two or three.

721 In October of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came one evening
[441] at nightfall and shot a poisoned arrow at a boy, "Bosalima," who was standing at the entrance to the aldea. The wound was not very deep, but was several inches long.

/156 cont./

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

[302] [594] [822] [412] [361]

166 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called
361 "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could
721 live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at
361 their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was
[114] calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
[226] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having
411 fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows
[857] of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

142
302
301
411

Guaharibo Indian of the Padamo river. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 64 – A]

[pp. 1-64 not processed]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

501
516

142
482
411
291
←

142
302
291
→

TOP: One evening, thirteen Guaharibos from the Padamo arrived. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM LEFT: Guaharibo Indian. Notice the length of his bow and arrows. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Guaharibo woman. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[V.64-B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123 From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dixies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their [152] fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One [758] of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

595 As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous 162 and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males 578 whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the 684 negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought 838 that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We 201 had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of ges- 123 tures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

123 In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of ● 441 ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Makiritare SQ20
Guaharibo

vertically into the air was particularly spectacular. The bowman stood with his left arm extended holding the bow over his head, his back arched and body relaxed. Then, pulling on the bow-string slowly to keep the arrow steady, he would let fly, his body dead-still as he watched the arrow climb upwards, spinning like a top.

As happened on the occasion of their first visit, our Guaharibos took themselves off one morning before dawn. Our cook, Evaristo, pointed westwards across the savannah where we could see them outlined in the tall grass as they walked with their backs to the sun.

The Makiritares of the Cunucunuma

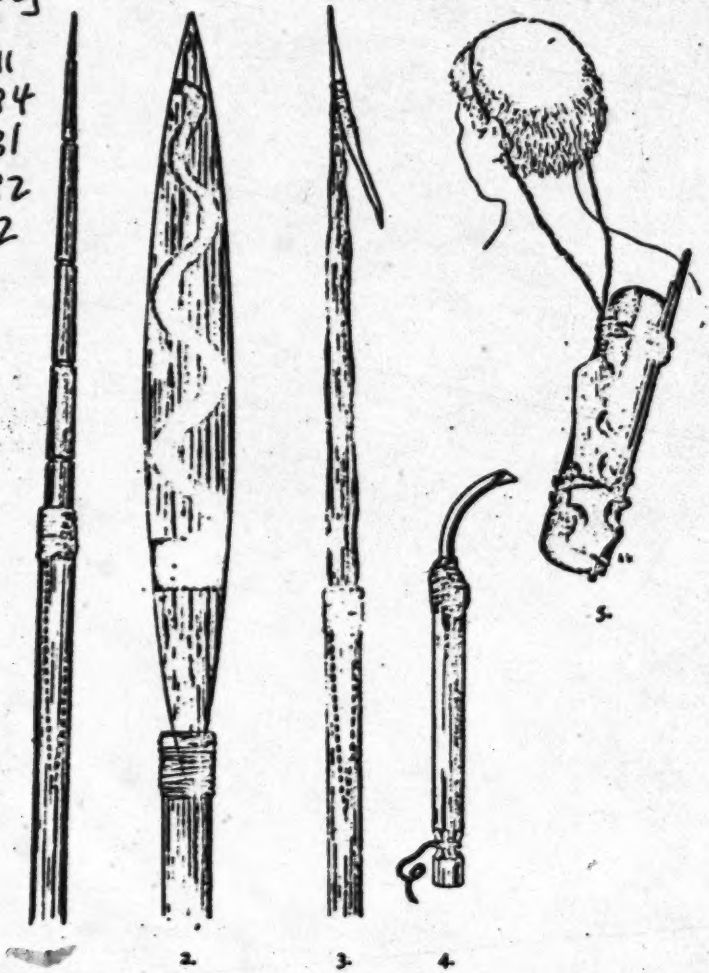
In 1886, Jean Chaffanjon, the French explorer, visited the Makiritares of the middle Cunucunuma and wrote an enlightening account of them, saying that they spoke tolerable Spanish. In 1949 de Civrieux and Lichy also went up the Cunucunuma; accompanied by Makiritares, they reached Mount Marahuaca. More recently still Dr. Hans Baumgartner, former head of the Health Department of the Amazon Federal Territory, visited them. Although they are generally known as Makiritares, these Caribs prefer to call themselves Dekusnas. "Makiritare" means "River Man" in Arawak, and at one time must have rung out like an alarm call when the pillaging conquering hordes were on the march. To-day, though the number of Makiritares in Venezuela does not exceed seven hundred, their influence still dominates the Upper Caura, the Upper Padamo and the Cunucunuma rivers, where they are to be found in greatest concentration.

The Cunucunuma flows into the Orinoco some thirty-five miles below Esmeralda, its waters making good some of the loss sustained at the Casiquiare fork, where some of the Orinoco's water drains into the Amazonian Rio Negro. It is a beautiful river, whose black and white waters intermingle. It receives the torrents that pour down Duida's western flank and from Marahuaca, the two tallest monuments to the former sandstone expanse of the Guianan *massif*. Two hundred yards from its mouth the Cunucunuma is broken by rapids which

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

[P. 110]

411
284
531
482
372



ARROW HEADS

1. Notched point designed to break off in the wound. These points measure from eight to twelve inches in length. 2. Bamboo blade pointed at both ends and therefore reversible. 3. Harpoon point. The bone barb is skilfully bound in position. 4. Small knife; made from the incisor of the capybara and fixed to a wooden handle. The whole measures about six inches. 5. The Waika is rarely separated from his quiver made from the stem of a bamboo in which he also carries his firestick.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waikas. We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows, they motioned us to come closer.

"*Shori! Shori!*" they shouted.

"*Shori! Shori!*" we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and *manioc* and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying "*Shori! Shori!*" and we responded as in a litany, "*Shori!*"

Physically the Waika is no different from the Guaharibo. He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waika's only weapon. Made of strong,

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

supple wood and well over six feet long, it is very powerful. With it the Waïka can shoot an arrow more than a hundred yards and can hit a *paujil*—a bird about the size of a turkey—at forty yards. Normally two or three arrows are carried and they are as long as, if not longer than, the bow itself. The shafts are made of reed which, Cardona said, is specially grown for the purpose on their plantations, and are feathered by falcon's feathers. The feathers are meticulously tied in a near-perfect spiral with thread of forest cotton or morisco palm fibre. Each arrow has a different head specially adapted to a particular purpose. Spare arrow-heads are carried in a quiver in which also is carried fire-making material to protect it from the damp.

The quiver is a simple bamboo case to which are also tied a firestick and a number of little knives made from the incisors of a large rodent called a capybara. It is carried on the back by means of a string slung round the forehead.

Such comprise the simple impedimenta of the Waïka on his journeys through the forest. The women, who accompany their mates on their many ceaseless wanderings, presumably have their own burdens to carry, but we saw nothing of them until we visited our first native village on the next day.

As we went up-river we came across the remains of a rude bridge which had formerly spanned the two hundred yards of river and which had been carried away by the flood waters. It was the biggest bridge we had seen although we had passed a number of lesser ones fashioned of lianas spanning the tributaries. On the bank where the bridge had been were some twenty natives and a handful of children.

"*Apo! Shori! Apo!*" they greeted us.

We knew from Butrón that, though his men were accustomed to replenish their banana stocks at this place, they had so far never been allowed to visit the village hidden somewhere in the forest.

The Waïka lives on wild fruits, fish, meat and the produce of plantations adjacent to his villages. Most of his time he spends wandering in the forest and his fleeting appearances at his village occur usually only when natural resources fail or when he has to defend himself against an enemy horde. He knows

10: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

627
579
411
526
541

[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

000 marriage exchanges with other groups.

*621 *628 613 The weakness of kinship[1]

Few institutions promote solidarity between the local lineages of a village on the one hand and between *602 *628 allied villages on the other. Consanguineal kinship ties are weak; so weak, that the most bitter fighting usually takes place between villages comprised of closely related *621 622 578 kinsmen. The roles of leaders are poorly defined, and headmen can rarely reconcile dissident factions within their own *621 villages. Moreover, there are a number of factors constantly *578 [628] threatening the stability of local groups, and these factors likewise weaken political relationships between allied villages. Within villages fighting frequently breaks out • [411] over food thefts and over sexual liaisons. In the latter [241] case the fighting takes the form of dueling with clubs, and [361] usually the result is that the village splits; one of the factions establishes a garden elsewhere and becomes an independent village. As the histories of selected villages 361 *602 will show (see below, Chapter 5), the settlement pattern of Yanomamö villages is cyclical; it results from the splitting of larger villages, the renewed growth of the splinter groups into large villages, followed by recurrent splitting *621 602 and growth ad infinitum. Kinship as a medium for promoting solidarity within villages loses its efficacy when villages

[1] It is difficult to discuss each variable affecting marriage alliances as operating by itself, for they are intimately interconnected, and I list them separately only to point out their major features.

villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the women and children are concealed in these temporary sites until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yąnomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yąnomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow, arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

174 Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in
175 their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved
361 to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari
922 village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on
*628 the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's
[574] village and entered into feasting relationships with his
followers.

Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari
174 with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's vil-
175 lage. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-
*628 tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned
602 to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing
527 this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother,
574 Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier
[723] by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tĕka.
[721]

The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and
174 went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December
175 through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along
*628 with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the
527 jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at
574 the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's
726 men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were
[32] killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades
[40] were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with
the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large
174 number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were
175 seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari
726
727

184 contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare.
648 This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access
721 to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages.
[411] It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or
[179] among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

184 Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal
562 relationship between the shortage of women and the develop-
* 62 ment of hostilities within and between villages. The same
* 629 relationship appears to hold in the Urariçaá area, as the
578 following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered
721 that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt
921 that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the
* 629 woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then
562 could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age
926 and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to
797 accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but
177 unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that
[595] he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

11: Chagnon

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

627
579
411
526
541

[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
291
301
411
137
574

Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekuru (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).

142
302
291
411
516
755
342
415

[P.XVIII]

142
302
516
251
262
415
352
353

Clay pots and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Mama-teri was shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

142
291
516
411
342
926

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4] For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5] The cultivated palm, *pïjïpawa*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

298 layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curare point after it has been attached to the arrow.

415 Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches.
• 411 The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the
[824] case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting
[438] it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar
[239] skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

372 The Yąnomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the
[824] outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

412 The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti
[237] rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yąnomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood
[314] by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel
[284] chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

226 The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yąnomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

They have much less fat on them than grubs, and become dry and crunchy during the cooking, having a texture and form like cheese pone when prepared.

Large spiders are also collected; they are simply placed directly on the hot coals and roasted alive. The legs and thorax are eaten.

Another common insect food is the larvae of a species of large ant. Only the head of the squirming larvae is eaten. It is very crunchy and has a nutty taste, but one must exercise caution in eating them since they are equipped with sharp pincers and can inflict a painful wound on the tongue or lip.

The game animals are all shot with arrows. The curare palm points are usually used for monkey hunting, while the lanceolate bamboo points are used for large game, such as deer, tapir, and wild pigs. A third kind of point is used for birds. It consists of a long, slender stick to the end of which has been bound a splinter of gently curved monkey bone. This serves as the penetrating point and the barb; it is difficult to extract the point once the barb enters the animal.

The Yąnomamö also fashion a fourth kind of arrow point as they need it. It is simply a stick that has numerous twigs branching in a close cluster. The twigs are cut off an inch or so from the main branch, and the stem is inserted into the end of the arrow shaft that usually contains the curare-tipped point. This fourth type of point is used to kill small birds whose feathers are desired for decoration purposes. On one occasion I saw a young man fashion one of these points in a few seconds. He saw a small bird, located a shrub a few feet away, bit off a branch with his teeth, bit the twigs off, and stuck the point into his arrow shaft—without taking his eyes off the small bird for a second. This type of point is discarded after it serves its temporary purpose.

The Yąnomamö do not employ traps or compounds when hunting. They frequently use dogs to run tapir, pigs, and deer, but most hunting is merely the individual stalking and shooting whatever game is available. As men always carry their weapons with them when they leave the village, they are, in effect, hunting continuously. A communal type of hunting trip invariably precedes a feast; this is described in Chapter 4.

The technique for capturing armadillos is very interesting. Armadillos live in burrows deep underground, and the Yąnomamö are always investigating the entrances of these burrows to see if any signs of recent occupation can be found. If the burrow is occupied, the hunters quickly cover the entrance with combustible materials and start a fire. After the fire is blazing strongly, they find a dried termite nest, which produces large quantities of smoke, and put it onto the fire. When this is ignited, they fan the smoke into the burrow, cover the fire with sand, and look for other openings to the armadillo den. These are quickly spotted when smoke begins to emerge from them and covered with sand to keep the smoke in. Then the men crawl around with their ears held to the ground. The armadillo will sometimes start burrowing in order to escape the smoke; when he does, he is heard and his location immediately established. A stick is used to dig into the ground and find the animal, usually 2 or 3 feet below the surface. On one occasion the men had difficulty locating the animal and dug several holes without hitting the burrow. One of them then uncovered the entrance, obtained a thick vine from a nearby tree, and tied a knot in the end of it. He then introduced the knot into the burrow by spinning the vine rapidly between his hands, pushing it in gently as it twirled. When he could not get the vine to go any further, the men listened on the ground to locate the spinning knot. When they found it, they marked the spot. The vine was

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

156
622
593
578

duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwã, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwã's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwã went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwã recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kąobawã had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwã before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kąobawã disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

158
622
578
[276]

On another occasion one of Kąobawã's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kąobawã managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kąobawã stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3-9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

142
291
302
578
411
622

Fig. 3-9. Kąobawã (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been hashed on the head and blood is streaming down his back.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628*
574
437
438

giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *no mnaiba*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4–2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, arapuri.

628*
574
301
302
516
411
415
342
264
262
291

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

291
• 411
*628
578

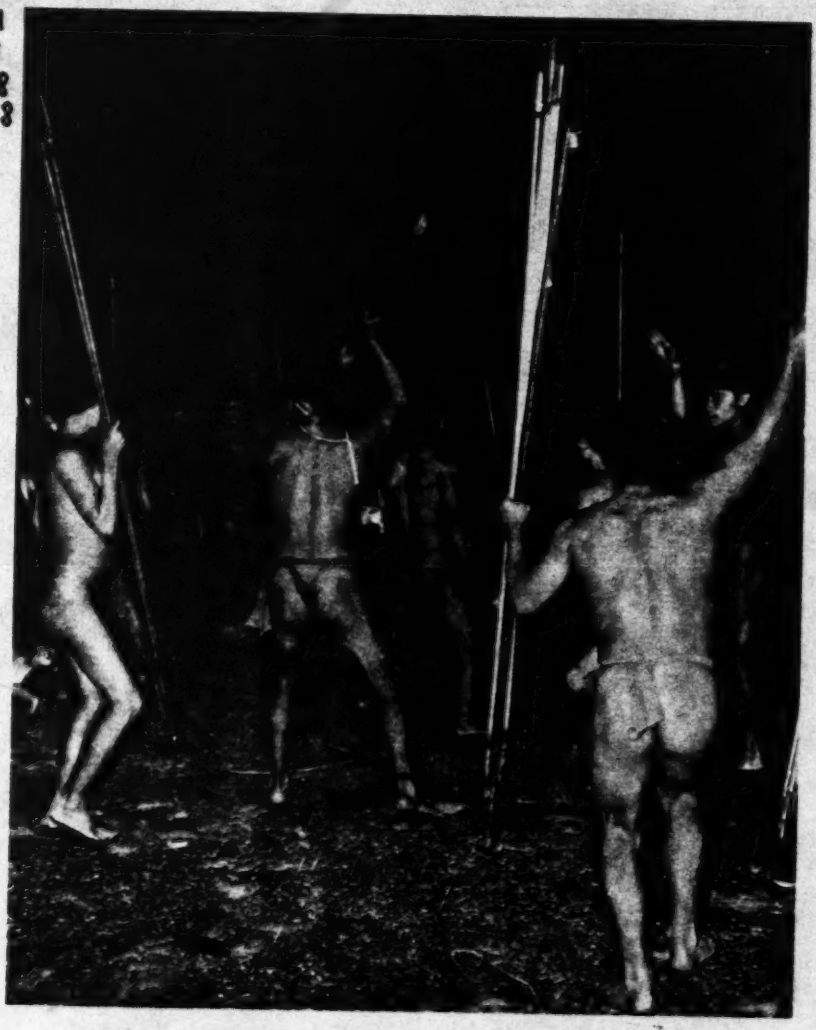


Fig. 4–3. Chest-pounding duel about to be escalated.

*628 his own distance from his victim by measuring his arm length to the man's chest, taking
578 several dry runs before delivering his blow. He would then wind up like a baseball pitcher, but keeping both feet on the ground, and deliver a tremendous wallop with his fist to the man's left pectoral muscle, putting all of his weight into the blow. The victim's knees would often buckle and he would stagger around a few moments, shaking his head to clear the stars, but remain silent. The blow invariably raised a "frog" on the recipient's pectoral muscle where the striker's knuckles bit into his flesh. After each blow, the com-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

If such a duel is escalated, it usually develops into a side-slapping contest. Occasionally, the combatants will sue for the use of machetes and axes, but this is rare. If machetes are used, the object of the contest still remains the same: Injure your opponent seriously enough so that he will withdraw from the contest, but try not to draw blood. Hence, opponents strike each other with only the flat of the blade when they resort to machetes.

In some areas the Yanomamö modify the chest-pounding duel in another way: The opponents hold rocks in their clenched fists and strike their adversaries on the chest with an even more stunning blow. They try not to let the stone itself touch the flesh of the man they are fighting. Even without the use of stones, however, they are able to deliver their blows with such force that some of the participants cough up blood for days after having been in a duel.

Club fights represent the next level of violence. These can take place both within and between villages. Most of the club fights result from arguments over women, but a few of them develop out of disputes associated with food theft. Dikawä, a young man about twenty years old, came home one day and discovered a bunch of eating bananas his father, about fifty-five years old, had hung up in his house, above his hearth, to ripen in the smoke. Dikawä, however, ate a number of them without his father's permission. When his father discovered the theft, he ripped a pole out of his house and began clubbing Dikawä. Dikawä armed himself with a similar club and attacked his father, precipitating a general melee that soon involved most of the men in the village, each taking the side of the father or son, as they saw fit. In brawls such as these, many individuals join in the fighting just to keep the sides even; if a group is badly outnumbered, they will be joined by friends whose sense of fairness stimulates them to take sides, no matter what the issue is. The net result of the above fight was a number of lacerated skulls, bashed fingers, and sore shoulders. The contestants try to hit each other on the top of the head, but when the fight gets out of hand, the participants swing wildly and rarely hit their opponents on the skull. More frequently, the blow lands on the shoulder or arm.

The clubs used in these fights are, ideally, 8 to 10 feet long. They are very wiry, quite heavy, and deliver a tremendous wallop. In general shape and dimensions, they resemble pool cues, but are nearly twice as long. The club is held at the thin end, which is frequently sharpened to a long point in case the fighting escalates to spear thrusting, in which case the club is inverted and used as a pike.

Most duels start between two men, usually after one of them has been caught *en flagrante* trysting with the other's wife. The enraged husband challenges his opponent to strike him on the head with a club. He holds his own club vertically, leans against it and exposes his head for his opponent to strike. After he has sustained a blow on the head, he can then deliver one on the culprit's skull. But as soon as blood starts to flow, almost everybody rips a pole out of the house frame and joins in the fighting, supporting one or the other of the contestants.

Needless to say, the tops of most men's heads are covered with long, ugly scars of which their bearers are immensely proud. Some of them, in fact, keep their head cleanly shaved on top to display these scars, rubbing red pigment on their bare scalps to define them more precisely. Viewed from the top, the skull of an accomplished man of forty years looks like a road map, for it is criss-crossed by as many as twenty large scars (see

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Fig. 5-1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the village, a brother of Kąobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

Spears are not commonly used by the Yąnamanö. A rare form of fighting, however, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the headman of one of the villages north of Kąobawä's area, took her away from him by force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited aid from their allies. Kąobawä's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that took the woman away from the cruel husband.

When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yąnomamö had deceived the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.[1] Thereafter, the two groups were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered. If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebawä told me of a raid he went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebawä, the raid was not a good one because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by Torokoiwä, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwä got sick of seeing this, so he shot the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

---

[1] The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yąnomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yąnomamö villages, as the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yąnomamö, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.

111 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

411
516
291
342
137
726

Fig. 5-2. Kaobawä's men and their allies lining up (wayu itou) *to raid the Patanowä-teri.*

726
[123]
[533]
[825]

children and women died down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording a sacred rite. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep baritone voice: "I am meat hungry! I am meat hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kaobawä calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
516
411
765
276
726

Fig. 5–4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Damowī, slain Monou-teri headman.*

726
701

located the enemy, but Paruriwā refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

726
114

The Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri raided against the Patanowā-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

722
*628

726

The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowā-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

[765]

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Damowī were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

/17 cont./
and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

411

3. War and Hunting Weapons and Accessories

For war and hunting expeditions the Surára and Pakidái, exactly like most of the other forest nomads of South America, use very large bows -- hâtonahî -- and arrows -- xeréka (Ill. 12).

[824] The bows, so-called simple bows because they consist of only one piece, are made out of the heavy black wood of the pupunha or chonta palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and are between 2.03-2.12 meters long. Their tension-strength weight is 32 kilograms and the length of stretch 71 centimeters (64). As

64. Pertinent comparisons with bows of other South American tribes may be found in Ranke's chart (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

the result of a not too marked, but uniform curvature, they have a symmetrical appearance. While the outer side is flat, the inner side is rounded, so that the cross-section, which in the center amounts to 2-2 1/2 centimeters, appears semicircular. The two ends come to a point (Fig. 2 i).

411 With regard to their construction it may be said that now-
412 adays the bow-staff is first roughly shaped with ax and terçado
322 (large bush-knife (65). (I did not find any stone axes, which

[439]

65. They obtain these objects by barter with piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) and as gifts from the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

[439] were perhaps once used in former times.) Subsequently the men shape them with a small knife, which they likewise obtain by barter.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Samatari

/17 cont./

411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 curatella (Cecropia peltata), which gives the bow a beautiful,
237 shiny appearance.
824 The bowstring -- penahitãbe --, which consists of three
411 strands of curauá (Bromeliaceae) fiber strings twisted to the right,
283 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66).

66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semi-circular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also

67. Meyer, no date, p. 31.

devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here./ /19/ Uraricapara,
411 Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustra-
184
114

68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.

tions of the Xiriãna bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[Text continues on p. 39]

Surára Pakidái

/25 cont./

372
411
184
114

119.(cont.) für Volkerkund und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection 56. 15 3a and b), and presumably the fire-making apparatus is likewise fastened to the quiver among the Waiká. Definite statements about this by Zerries and Schuster have not yet been made.

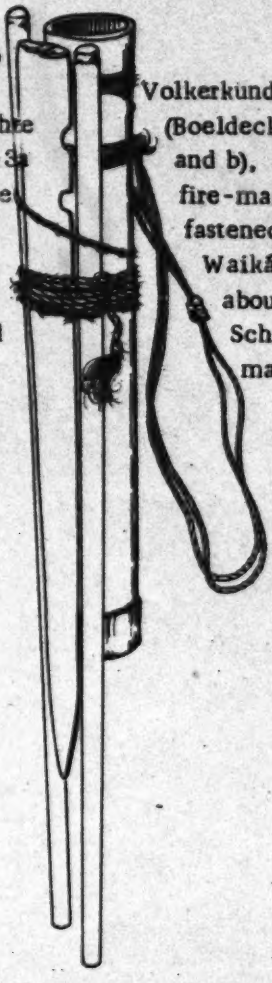


Fig. 5. Bamboo quiver with fire-drill apparatus tied on.

372 Nevertheless,
[484] it is perfectly obvious, for if the Surára and Pakidái men on war and hunting expeditions are unable to return to the maloka in the evening, they are able to kindle a fire along the way in three to four minutes. To do this a man in a squatting position holds the hearth on the ground with one foot and drills with the palms of his
[412] hands (Ill. 31). The holes of the hearth are previously bored with
[239] a knife made of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) (See P. 116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side.

/42 cont./

304 824 386 412 197 The former use the juice of the genipap fruit as coloring matter, the latter the ashes of burned honey bees (229) /see footnote p. 90/. The original instrument everywhere for the puncturing of the dots was a palm thorn. Koch-Grünberg, however, also saw the use of pointed fragments of glass among the above-mentioned Karaiben (230).

230. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45.

304 174 171 114 A decision about whether the tattooings in the mouth region developed independently among the aforementioned Yanonámi, Karaiben, and Aruak tribes or whether they were brought about by reciprocal or outside influences cannot be reached as yet, although Koch-Grünberg saw a young Xiriána woman who had the fishhook and dot tattooing of the Arekuná-Taulipang painted on her face (231). This may have been an exception, however,

231. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

for, strangely enough, he did not find any further tattooing among the Xiriána.

[179] The designs of the Surára and Pakidái also seem to be more primitive than the basic motifs of the Karaiben and Aruaken in the form of fishhooks, which clearly point to borrowings from civilization. Moreover, the fact that among the Karaiben tribes of Guiana individual men and boys are tattooed in the region of the mouth leads one to conclude that there has been a leveling of this custom. For probably there, too, it was formerly reserved for only the women, just as it is today among the Surára and Pakidái.

In conclusion, reference is to be made to P. Schmidt and Nordenskiöld, from whom there are already available brief, summary studies about puncture-tattooing in South America. The first-named author differentiates two groups, which are reserved for men and women or only for women, respectively, and regards a western origin as probable (232). /43/ On the other

/45 cont./

301 in most cases, a silver triangle, a large glass bead, or a fruit pit is fastened at the bottom.

301 439 When I came to the Surára and Pakidái, a few bead chains were already in use. According to their statements, they had obtained the glass beads from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Rio Demini, from rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, and from the Xiriána. The latter had presumably acquired this foreign commodity from Karaiben tribes who, for their part, had received it from the whites. This shows that the barter of glass beads is still carried on vigorously among the Indians themselves (245).

[114]

245. It was already observed by v. Martius that glass beads were traded over wide areas (von Martius, 1867, I, pp. 702 ff.), and Krause also points out that they are greatly prized as trade items (Krause, 1911, p. 279).

7. Hammocks

352 [824] The Surára and Pakidái have three different kinds of hammocks. The hammock of embira (tree bast, Malvaceae sp.) -- yâritanaçík -- whose length is between 1.80-1.90 meters, may probably be regarded as the oldest and most primitive form (Ill. 26). It has no weft and consists only of ten to 14 embira strips [284] 1-2 centimeters wide. These are bent over at the ends and tied together by means of two ropes 1.30-1.40 meters long, which at the same time serve for suspension (Fig. 18a and b). Both ropes are very strong and durable, for they have been plaited in the form of a braid out of three one-centimeter-wide /46/ /Fig. 18 appears [462] here/ strands of embira. The manufacture of this hammock is [824] extracrdinarily simple and is done only by men. From the embira [284] tree they remove 10-15 bast strips two meters long and 1-2 centimeters wide, which they tie together in the manner described above, after they have first plaited two ropes. To cut the tree [412] bast they use the little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 115). Since the yâritanaçík is extraordinarily light, the men like to use it on their

/52 cont./

854
287
[824]
[413]
[412]
854
[171]
[184]
[114]

9. Band for Carrying Children

The band for carrying children -- okomakuá -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (Daphnopsis brasiliensis Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- xamotimá -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- uarimaxfke -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- pekehfk -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little cutia-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

This carrying method is very widespread in South America and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying-band (292). Among the Xiriâna Koch-Grünberg does not seem to

292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

415
824
[92]

As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria Lin. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda = jamaru), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

These vessels in general are called -- horotoká --, except for those of the jamaru fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- nhapotofma.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica
Karime

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- haboká -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriána (293).

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301]

296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

Surára
Pakidái

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[230] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatáz --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waikâ by

412
184

/54 cont./

Zerries and Schuster, (297) (298), for the Karimé by Salathé (299),

297. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

298. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

299. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 306 and Fig. 16.

[237]

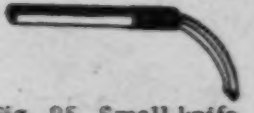


Fig. 25. Small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.).

Fig. 26. Knife made out of the ventral shell of the perema (water turtle).

[284]
[824]

and for the Xiriâna by Koch-Grünberg (300). The latter, however,

300. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 47 (9).

says that the Xiriâna lash the tooth to a wooden handle by means
000 of Bromelia fibers (301). In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise

301. Such a knife is to be found in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:108).

412 /54 cont./ In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise
171 mentions a knife with a bone handle which he acquired from an Arekuná who lived among the Guinaú on the Merewarí, but he adds: "Whether the subdivisions of the Arekuná who live deep in the interior still use such primitive tools I do not know" (302).

302. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 17 (3).

Outside Guiana this little knife is confirmed for the Guayakí (303)

303. de la Hitte, 1897, Pl. III, Figs. 4 and 6.

and Sirionó (304), among others. /Fig. 26 appears here./

304. Nordenskiöld, 1911, p. 193, Ill. 119.

412 /55/ The knife made of tortoise shell -- micf -- represents a
184 work tool for women. This is the ventral shell of the perema
[237] (small water turtle), sharpened on one long side (Fig. 26). Primarily the wild fruits of the pot tree (Lecythia longifolia) are cut with it after cooking (see p. 182).

This knife is also familiar to the Waiká and is used for the same purpose there (305).

305. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

For a third type of knife, which is likewise used only by women, there are the no longer serviceable lancet-shaped arrow points of bamboo -- kantaná and rahaká -- (see pp. 41/43). They are used primarily for peeling and scraping manioc tubers.

Koch-Grünberg also observed this among the Xiriána (Schirianá) (306). The investigator named also points out that the

306. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308 and Pl. 48 (6 and 7).

Shiriana
Surara
Pakidai

/55 cont./

412 184 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xiriâna, unlike the Surâra and Pakidâi, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 462 302 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

412 171 Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 237 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw of the wild pig -- manacoauâ --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waikâ (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 [192] [824] For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long -- namunamutehî --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waikâ (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 462 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimâ (see also pp. 112/114).

412 177 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as terçados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

Surára
Waiká
Shiriana
Pakidái

/55 cont./

The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their occasional contacts with the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) on the Rio Aracá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the ax -- hanhokomá. The blade alone is named synonymously, whereas the shaft is called -- hanhokomáhitohí. Most probably the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according to Schuster, for the Waiká (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the Xiriána seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg writes: "They (the Xiriána) in former times apparently had no axes at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

12. Equipment for Climbing

To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus or Oenocarpus /56/ bacaba Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), tucuma palm (Astrocaryum sp.), and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring -- horohoromá --, which consists of a split liana (cipó-titica) rolled up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears here./

/64 cont./
553 776 [782] high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermediaries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris" [797] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 114 191 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 302 [412] [824] On the day of the name-giving the children are given a tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara -- Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in 553 291 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under [834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good [292] form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around children (See pp. 64 ff.).

/79 cont./

222 which can be obtained easily and without danger, for the bees are stingless. Usually they have their nests in hollow trees or in the ground. Occasionally, however, one also sees nests built in tall trees; the latter are then cut down by the men, for the purpose of obtaining the honey. The honey is scooped out of the nest with the hand or with a calabash and put into a folded palm leaf which is then tied together and taken along to the maloka. -- Birds' eggs also constitute a popular addition to the diet, as does the nourishing yolk of the eggs of water turtles; the egg white, on the other hand, is discarded because it has an unpleasant, fish-oil taste. During the dry season, especially during the months December-February, the Surára and Pakidái gather these turtle eggs in great numbers on the sandbanks of the Demini and Aracá. -- [226] Also to be mentioned are crayfish and crabs, which are pulled out of the holes in the mud of the riverbanks. -- I also observed that they eat certain kinds of frogs and spiders, as well as insect larvae, caterpillars, termites, and the hind parts of the leaf-cutter ant (Atta sp.) -- aneanemá.

241 e) Agriculture

Although agriculture among the Surára and Pakidái was introduced only a comparatively short time ago, they have already developed a remarkable system with regard to the laying out of their fields. These are always laid out circularly around the maloka. The procedure is such that, first of all, at the beginning of a dry season, October-November, a rather large piece of forest is cleared, during which it is seen to that the circular shape is [313] produced. To chop down the underbrush and the lianas, the [412] men use the terçados (large bush-knives), and the trees are felled with steel axes (367). After about two months, when the felled

[439]

367. The Surára obtain these articles of civilization from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter, and the Pakidái get them from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

/81/

192 245 Designation of the Surára and Pakidái:

pakatarimã	pacovão
kuratá pauximí	inajá
nakaximí	São Tomé roxa
rokojá	São Tomé branca
rokomã	banana maçã (?)
parauá	caité
roórenvökákõ	banana bajé
xiahíma	Banana govêrno (375)

[124]

375. Unfortunately, I could not carry out a botanical classification of these varieties.

245 [412] [824] With the help of a digging stick made from the wood of the pupunha palm and 1.60-1.80 meters long, which has a flattened point at the lower end (Ill. 38), or a broken bow-staff, cuttings of banana trees are planted in the clearing, and after only a few months they are full-grown and bear fruit. The work of planting [462] as well as the care of the plants falls to the men, while the women help only with the harvest (376).

[184]

376. Among the Waiká, the plants are cared for by men and women (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Besides the banana, the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) -- komunamá -- is cultivated to a considerable extent. Cuttings are used for planting, but occasionally seeds as well. These palms, which always stand between the bananas, give the clearings of the Surára and Pakidái a characteristic stamp (Ill. 37). The trunk, 18-20 meters tall, which is covered with [481] pointed thorns -- mimicibá -- and can therefore be climbed only

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

252
262

394. (cont.)
nourishment during their first and second menstruation (see p. 142), and it represents the most important item of food for pregnant women, and for several months after confinement. Among the Tapirapé, on the other hand, where the banana also represents a basic part of the diet, parents must refrain from eating this fruit after a birth. "They believe that the child would die if they disregarded this rule" /cited in English/ (Baldus, 1956b, p. 601).

[191]

252 raw. -- The mealy, nourishing fruits of the pupunha palm are primarily boiled. Then the soup is allowed to cool and a refreshing drink is obtained in this way. Before festivals all the [415] women pour it into a large, wooden trough, which is found in every maloka, so that there will be enough on hand. By means of steaming or roasting, a solid food is also prepared from them (395). --

[114]
[137]

395. Alexander von Humboldt, by the way designates the pupunha or pihiguao palm as "Pfirsich-palme" /peach palm/ and praises the delicious taste of its fruit (Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 281 f., 300; IV, p. 145). I cannot agree with the great scholar in this, for to me it tasted like slightly bitter potatoes. Zerries, by the way, is of the same opinion (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

Taioba, carâ, sweet potatoes, and sweet manioc are steamed in a pot or roasted in hot ashes without being previously washed or 252 peeled. -- Bitter manioc is scraped by the women with the ● 412 lancet-shaped bamboo knife (see p. 118) and then grated on a rough slab of granite, for they do not have grating boards (396) (397).

[177]
[123]

396. My servant Mateus, however, made them

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/83 cont./

252
412
177
123
192

396. (cont.)
a few graters out of the sides of our empty gasoline cans by boring numerous holes in them with a nail. They were very happy over these and maintained that it was considerably more agreeable to grate on them. They also immediately had a name for this grater -- kabaricinamõ.

252
184
412

397. The Xiriâna, too, grate the manioc roots on rough slabs of granite (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

252 The grated pulp is then pressed out by hand with the help of small, square strips of plaiting (see p. 112), which are rolled up (398).

398. The poison is removed from the manioc pulp in the same way among the Xiriâna (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308).

Among the Surára I found three tube presses and among the Pakidái five, which they had obtained from the Xiriâna (see p. 112). With the flour the women bake, on large, flat granite stones under which a fire is kindled, manioc flat-cakes, which are consumed with pleasure. This food, which appeared among them only a comparatively short time ago, seems to become
273 more and more popular. The preparation of kaschirí is unknown (399).

114
177

399. Since, however, my servant, a pure-blooded Tukano /Tucano/ Indian, felt a great desire for a slight alcoholic intoxication at the sight of the manioc flat-cakes, he taught the Surára how to make kaschirí. At first they tried this unknown drink very critically. But after the first swallow their eyes shone, and they slapped Mateus on the shoulder enthusiastically and assured him again and again how good it tasted to them.

Surára
Pakidái

/12/

137
←

137
24
622
516
412
→

Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

137
481
←

114
142
302
291
516
624
→

Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

283 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

● 412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727] [184]

/202 cont./

412 [184] (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl. 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surará and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife, [171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Sirionó (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] [179] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and 411 arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of [324] macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The bowstring is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

[627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

4. Wilbert--75 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

411
322
412
302
516

[237]

Sanemá Indian of the upper Ventuari preparing the shaft of an arrow, using a typical "knife" made out of a rodent's tooth mounted on a small stick.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Barbasco is a kind of liana which can grow to impressive dimensions—attaining a stem up to eight inches thick. The Indians cut it in the forest and collect a large pile together at a convenient place for pressing. Their press is made from one of those dead trunks of hardwood which are found in such quantity in the forest and some wooden clubs specially cut for the purpose. The liana stems are pounded and then done up into bundles so that they can be easily taken to the place to be fished, which may be some way off. Here they are immersed several times in the river, releasing a milky juice which gives the water a whitish opalescence. The juice of the liana reduces the air content of the water through oxidization, and the fish very soon come floating up to the surface—asphyxiated but not poisoned.

This procedure is a very common one among the Indians, whose fishing follows a two-year cycle—this being the minimum time needed for each stretch of water to become repopulated after the use of barbasco. It goes without saying that this extract of liana loses its efficacy in anything bigger than a small stream. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity the Indians will attempt to fish medium-sized rivers in this way, banding together to collect huge quantities of liana. The fish taken are then smoked and wrapped in banana leaves, after which they will keep for months.

Auai and his men had to go far afield with their barbasco before they found a suitable place. The probability was that the Shirians had already been at work, unknown to anyone, near the source of the Canaracuni. We therefore left him to it after all, and returned to camp early one morning, just in time to meet the plane that was circling the field.

VI

On Sunday, the 24th June, a big plane came into sight over the rim of the Sarisariñama mountains—towards the east where they merge into the Socsoc range. It swooped down to about three hundred feet and then went off without giving any signal. The excitement among the Indians on the spot—Luis Antonio was one of them and he explained the nature of the machine to his kinsfolk—was doomed to disappointment. And time and again this story of the aeroplane continued to arouse our hopes, only to dampen them once more.

A week later it appeared, at the same time—so suddenly and unexpectedly

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

and brought to us already cooked, in a wrapping of some appropriate green stuff—a dish beyond compare. At times there was so much meat (cooked and eaten without salt or spices) that we willingly turned to fruit again. There was no lack of that either.

When a tapir or a number of peccaries have been killed and there is too much meat to be eaten up at once, the Samatari smoke it on a hurdle supported by four stakes driven into the ground. A fire is lit underneath and kept going all night—to the accompaniment of the medicine-man's ceaseless chanting. In the morning the pieces of meat, looking completely charred, are wrapped in wild banana leaves and entrusted for transport to some little woman who hoists them up along with the babies on her back.

I have also seen a sloth being smoked. No gentler animal exists in the world. She moves at a speed which never exceeds a few yards a day, and lives hanging on the trees with her young ones clinging to the hairs of her back. They captured one alive, and with the machete chopped off the three nails of its hands and feet, to make scrapers and 'bodkins' for various uses. Deprived of her only means of defence, the sloth kept moving slowly along, with a resigned, human expression which quickly won our sympathy. But not the Samatari's. To them, a sloth is an excellent target for archery practice, because it will remain in the same position—clasping a pole, for instance, without moving—just the sort of thing you want for a target. The arrows whistled past the sloth's wet nose, but its face showed no change of expression; then some struck it, but not in a vital part, and its fur reddened with blood. The arrows did not penetrate deeply because they were only practice ones, with worn tips. Had I had a gun I would have shot it, for there was such a look of gentle reproof in the little animal's eyes that it became unendurable. But the gun was a long way off, and our five remaining cartridges had been the subject of so much calculation, that perhaps after all I wouldn't have ventured to expend one on this four-legged Saint Sebastian. Soon, however, too many arrows had struck, and before the youngsters could get it to play with and drag it about in the dust, still alive, I asked for the machete. Laughing, in order to evade Samatari susceptibilities, I struck it one hard blow on the head which sent it straight to the smoking-tray.

We now had a definite plan laid and were spreading propaganda to make it possible, Uarema and the Guayca Indians being our agents. We had now made the descent of the entire Aracoa and part of the Uraricoera, and before reaching

/444 cont./

241 The land is cleared by first pulling out all the small plants and stems; then the trees which reach a trunk diameter of around 25 centimeters are cut with a machete, and finally the large trees are cut down with an axe.

[313] Sometimes they climb the tree and attach a liana to it so as to be able to pull it to direct its fall.

After the trees have had sufficient time to dry out on the ground, they cut off the branches and pile them up with the underbrush in order finally to burn them. Owing to the abundance of rainfall, it is impossible for them to wait for a dry period. I have seen them burn the weeds in their conuco after it had rained heavily the night before. Sometimes they must bring dry firewood in order to make the damp weeds burn.

An old woman told me one day: "These people of today [412] [178] have it easy. We did not have machetes and axes in former times. Fire was our principal tool. /445/ We had to carry a lot of firewood to pile up around the trees in order to bring them down by fire."

412 174 [192] There is an indication in their language that at one time they used stone axes before being able to acquire metal axes and machetes. They use the same word, "boo," to designate both the machete and a certain stone which they use for grinding the "yopo" powder. This stone has the proper form for making an ax out of it, if a handle were attached to it. Nevertheless, the relationship between these objects, if there was one at one time, is unknown to the present generation of El Platanal.

241 412 A bow without a string or a similar stick is the principal instrument which they use for planting. They use it both to loosen the small banana stems for replanting and to open holes in the ground for holding practically any kind of seed.

249 Tobacco is planted first in a garden bed and then transplanted. The small plants are protected from the sun for a few days by means of platano leaves put on a covering for shade.

241 Sometimes a few stakes are fixed in the ground to indicate plantings near the paths, thus keeping the seeds or young plants from being stepped on.

/449/

Preparation of Food

251 To keep meat from spoiling, it is first dried directly over the fire. Then it is kept on a rack over the fire, perhaps for several hours, but frequently all night. After this, it is placed a bit farther from the fire, but where the air will keep it dry, although not necessarily warm. I have seen meat kept for some ten days in this way, and doubtless it would have lasted longer had it not been eaten.

252 Meat preserved in this way is still regarded as raw and must be cooked in a pot before being eaten.

Small animals are cleaned, washed, and then boiled whole in a pot. If the animal is large, it is cut up into pieces small enough to fit into the pot. The custom of leaving the skin and [194] hair on them while they cook is perhaps a survival from the time when they did not have knives for skinning them. A string or piece of bark is tied to each piece of meat in order to be able to take it out of the pot to turn it. From time to time they take the meat out in order to prick it many times with a stick so that it will cook more quickly.

When it is finally ready, the head of the family, or the owner of the meat, shares it or divides it into portions which he distributes among his relatives or friendly families.

462 252 The task of cooking the meat is man's work. He is the owner of the pot, does the hunting, looks for the firewood, and divides and distributes the cooked meat. (Sometimes he sends a boy to deliver the meat to some family on the other side of the circle of dwellings.)

313 462 [412] The gathering of firewood for cooking food other than meat and for keeping the family warm at night is woman's work. For this reason the women use the ax much more than the men do.

252 Green platanos are generally peeled and placed directly over the embers, turned a few times, and /450/ taken off when they are found ready to eat. Or they may be placed on a live fire to be cooked, but without being peeled, in order that they may not be blackened. If it is necessary to cook a large quantity of green platanos quickly, they are peeled and boiled in a pot.

/456 cont./

Preparation of Basic Materials

411
321 The Guaika /Waica/ make their arrow points out of bone. When they obtain a small piece of bone, they quickly transform it into a good arrow-point for killing birds. The long bones of legs and arms of monkeys are broken, and the sharp points which generally result have a form similar to that of arrowheads, are worked and finished, with the rest being thrown away. To give them shape, the points are scraped with knives or machetes and rubbed on some stone.

534
321 I also saw a whistle or a flute which seemed to be made out of bone or out of a quill of large size.

411
322
[824]
[239]
[412] The Guaika make their bows out of wood. They generally select the wood of the "pijiguao" palm. They give it a rough shape, using the machete. They achieve the final form by scraping the piece with the jawbone of a wild pig, the teeth constituting the cutting edges.

322
412
[239] They do wood carving with a small knife, which consists of the tooth of a rodent. With this tooth they manage the fine work of putting notches in the arrows. They also shape bamboo arrow-points and the oblong lower part of the apparatus for making fire.

They devote as much as half a day to carving the handles for their axes and machetes. They use the machete to shape them.

323 The Guaika make their pots of mud. The clay is obtained in specific places. This frequently requires a day or more of travel. Once the clay has been brought to the settlement, /457/ they go about extracting the stones from it while kneading it, moistened, for several hours. The pot is begun by taking a ball of mud which is given the shape of a bowl. Then they go on adding rings of mud which they join to the pot. The vessel is scraped and shaped with a piece of broken totuma /fruit of the calabash tree/. During the process of the scraping, they go on increasing the size of the pot. They keep the clay damp and plastic, spitting on it from time to time. After this they put the pot out to dry in the sun and finally bake it in the fire. The vessel comes out of

/462 cont./

Fire

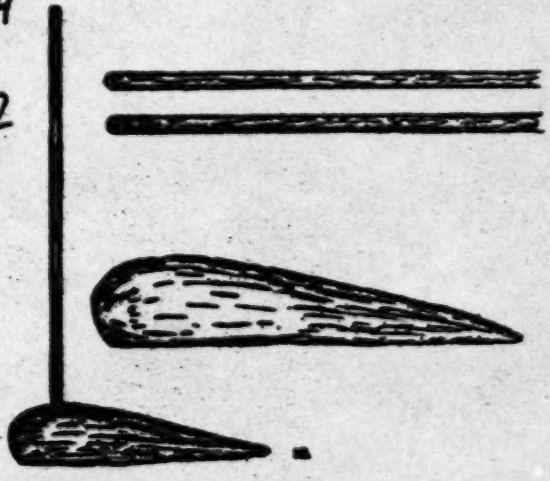
372 The Guaika /Waica/ use the system of simple rotation to make fire. This consists of a piece of soft wood, flattened on one side and rounded on the other, about four centimeters wide at one end, and whose tapering shape ends in a blunt point at the other end. With the tooth of a large rodent they make a circular cut in it near its broader end, and in this is inserted a slender stick (from 30 to 40 centimeters /sic/ in diameter at its base). This stick is held between the palms of the hands and given a rotating movement until a spark burns in the wood dust which has been formed by the rotation of the stick in the hole made in the board. (See Fig. 6.)

[237] [412] [824] /463/ The tapered piece of soft wood is of cacao, in which several successive holes can be made, and each hole can be used several times for lighting a fire.

In general there is someone in the settlement who has a fire lighted, so that when some native needs fire he obtains it there. In order to carry fire a short distance, two or three lighted sticks are tied together, forming a fagot. When they travel at night, they carry lighted torches to protect themselves against animals

373 412 484

372



/Fig. 6/

/166 cont./

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

[302] [574] [822] [412] [361]

166 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called
361 "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could
721 live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at
361 their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was
[114] calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
[226] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having
[411] fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows
[859] of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

supple wood and well over six feet long, it is very powerful. With it the Waïka can shoot an arrow more than a hundred yards and can hit a *pauji*—a bird about the size of a turkey—at forty yards. Normally two or three arrows are carried and they are as long as, if not longer than, the bow itself. The shafts are made of reed which, Cardona said, is specially grown for the purpose on their plantations, and are feathered by falcon's feathers. The feathers are meticulously tied in a near-perfect spiral with thread of forest cotton or morisco palm fibre. Each arrow has a different head specially adapted to a particular purpose. Spare arrow-heads are carried in a quiver in which also is carried fire-making material to protect it from the damp.

The quiver is a simple bamboo case to which are also tied a firestick and a number of little knives made from the incisors of a large rodent called a capybara. It is carried on the back by means of a string slung round the forehead.

Such comprise the simple impedimenta of the Waïka on his journeys through the forest. The women, who accompany their mates on their many ceaseless wanderings, presumably have their own burdens to carry, but we saw nothing of them until we visited our first native village on the next day.

As we went up-river we came across the remains of a rude bridge which had formerly spanned the two hundred yards of river and which had been carried away by the flood waters. It was the biggest bridge we had seen although we had passed a number of lesser ones fashioned of lianas spanning the tributaries. On the bank where the bridge had been were some twenty natives and a handful of children.

"*Apo! Shori! Apo!*" they greeted us.

We knew from Butrón that, though his men were accustomed to replenish their banana stocks at this place, they had so far never been allowed to visit the village hidden somewhere in the forest.

The Waïka lives on wild fruits, fish, meat and the produce of plantations adjacent to his villages. Most of his time he spends wandering in the forest and his fleeting appearances at his village occur usually only when natural resources fail or when he has to defend himself against an enemy horde. He knows

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Wai'Ca

302
482
412
237

The Waika always carries with him his little knives made of a rodent's incisors. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

Below: Pierre Ivanoff and one of our Waika friends. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

142
302
→

[p. 112-D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari village histories are more complicated than the one outlined for the Namowei-tedi. This stems from the fact that the Shamatari villages had reached a large size by 1900 and began splitting into smaller groups earlier, in terms of the data I collected, than did the Namowei-tedi. In other words, the splitting that characterized Namowei-tedi's population from about 1940 to 1955 was occurring in the Shamatari population in 1900. Although I do not have census data on the numerous Shamatari villages that subsequently emerged from the two initial groups, I suspect that the numbers of people involved are significantly larger for the Shamatari village histories. Two factors seem to be the cause of this phenomenon. First, the Shamatari villages had access to steel tools in considerable numbers before Namowei-tedi's ancestral population did; my informants asserted that their first source of steel tools was the group called Shihowä-tedi. Presumably the size of the populations involved is a function of their agricultural potentials, and the Shamatari apparently expanded earlier than the Namowei-tedi because they had access to steel tools sooner. Secondly, the Shamatari population expanded unopposed into virgin territory, whereas the Namowei-tedi expanded into territory already occupied by other Yanomamö; it is significant to note that when the Namowei-tedi ultimately moved into unoccupied territory, their population seems to have increased, and the first split occurred only after virgin territory was colonized.[1]

[1] I am unable to explain how this affects demographic variables, but my data suggest that Yanomamö populations expand more rapidly when they colonize virgin land.

105
36
[128]

Summary

Tables 5 and 6 broadly summarize the movements of the five villages. As the details of the text indicate, considerably more village movement goes on than can be included in tables of this sort. The micro-movements, however, merely express in greater detail what is immediately apparent from an examination of Tables 5 and 6: the Yąnomamö abandon their gardens and move to new locations because of raids from other groups. In only one instance was the movement of a village stimulated by economic considerations: site 4 was abandoned by the Namowei-tedi because of poor soil. Another exception was the abandoning of Barawä (site 10) by the Bisaasi-tedi in 1959. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River to gain access to steel tools, marking the beginning of their sustained contact with foreigners.

[722]
[134]
[412]
[777]

105
*621
578
*628
772

The tables also show that there were ten village splits relevant to explaining the origins of the five villages considered in this chapter. Five of these splits were due to feuds over women. In four of the cases the factions that were involved immediately entered into hostilities with each other. The recent split within Patanowä-tedi, discussed in the text (pp. 188-89), again over a woman, is not included in Table 5, as the refugee group did not form a new village of their own. Three village splits in Tables 5 and 6 developed out of minor feuds, usually over women, brought about by large village size. In one case, the factions ultimately entered into hostilities with each other, whereas in two cases the factions still remain on friendly terms.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4] For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5] The cultivated palm, *pijiguao*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

278 layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curare point after it has been attached to the arrow.

415 411 824 438 239 Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches. The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

372 824 The Yąnomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

412 237 The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yąnomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood 314 284 by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

226 The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yąnomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

"Razor grass"—a reed—also grows wild in the jungle. It is used by the Yąnomamö to cut their hair and to keep their tonsures cleanly shaved. A sliver of this reed is wrapped around the index finger in such a way that the sharp edge is exposed. The practiced hand can shave a head bald in a matter of minutes and with no more pain than would come from using a dull steel razor blade. This grass is also found around some of the villages, but appears not to be cultivated.

HALLUCINOGENIC DRUGS Another useful plant provided by the jungle is the *ebene* tree. The inner bark of this tree is used in the manufacture of one kind of hallucinogenic drug. The bark is scraped from the trunk after the exterior layer of bark is removed, or is scraped from the inside of the bark surface itself. This material, which is fairly moist, is then mixed with wood ashes and kneaded between the palms of the hands. Additional moisture is provided by spitting periodically into the pliable wad of drug. When the drug has been thoroughly mixed with saliva and ashes, it is placed on a hot piece of broken clay pot and the moisture driven out with heat. It is ground into a

Fig. 2-2. Woman fishing in a dammed stream that has been poisoned by the juice of a wild liana. The poison is introduced upstream by the men, and the stunned fish are collected in baskets by the women.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanam SQ18

276 [412] powder as it dries, the flat side of a stone axe[8] serving as the grinding pestle. The dried, green powder, no more than several tablespoons full, is then swept onto a leaf with a stiff feather. The men then gather around the leaf containing the drug, usually in the late afternoon, and take it by blowing the powder into each other's nostrils (see Fig. 2–3). A small quantity of the powder is introduced into the end of a hollow cane tube some 3 feet long. The tube is then flicked with the forefinger to scatter the powder along its length. One end of the tube is put into the nostril of the man taking the drug, and his helper then blows a strong blast of air through the other end, emitting his breath in such a fashion that he climaxes the delivery with a hard burst of air. Both the recipient and the blower squat on their haunches to do this. The man who had the drug blown into his nostrils grimaces, groans, chokes, coughs, holds his head from the pain of the air blast, and duck-waddles off to some leaning post. He usually receives two doses of the drug, one in each nostril. The recipient usually vomits, gets watery eyes, and develops a runny nose. Much of the drug comes back out in the nasal mucus that begins to run freely after the drug has been administered. Within minutes after the drug has been blown into a man's nose, he begins having difficulties focusing his eyes and starts to act intoxicated. The drug allegedly produces colored visions, especially around the periphery [187] of the visual field, and permits the user to enter into contact with his particular *hekura*, miniature demons that dwell under rocks and on mountains. The man begins to chant to the *hekura* when the drug takes effect, inviting them to come and live in his chest.

245 276 The Yąnomamö also cultivate a tree, *bisioma*, that produces hallucinogenic seeds. These are prepared in exactly the same manner as the noncultivated drug.

322 396 TROUGHS AND CANOES The Yąnomamö use the bark of another kind of tree to make a trough and a crude canoe, both of which are nearly identical in shape, size, and method of construction. The tree is beaten with clubs to loosen the bark. The bark is then removed in one piece and hauled back to the village. The ends are heated in a fire to make them pliable and folded back to make the ends of the container. They are held firm by lashing two sticks together, pinching the folded bark into a flat-nosed basin. The interior bark surface becomes the exterior surface of the soup container. If the container is to be used as a canoe, a crude framework of sticks is added to the inside, giving 501 it more stability. The craft is so crude and heavy that the Yąnomamö generally do not use it for any purpose other than the trip for which it was intended, usually a downstream trip, since it would be almost impossible to move against a current in this rough craft. It is easier to walk than to try to pole the canoe upstream. The canoe, hence, is usually discarded after it makes its maiden voyage. Another will be made when it is needed.

415 574 264 The container is pinioned to the ground with stakes if it is to be used as a soup trough. Each time a feast is held, one or more of these bark containers is made in front of the headman's house, filled with the boiled ripe plantain soup, and frequented by the hungry guests, who dip out the soup with gourd spoons. The trough is thrown on the village rubbage heap after the feast is over.

---

[172] [8]They find the stone axes when they make new gardens, explaining that the spirits left them behind for the Yąnomamö to use. This area was occupied in the distant past by tribes whose relationship to the present Yąnomamö is uncertain.

removed and laid along the ground in the direction of the burrow to measure the distance from the entrance. The men began digging at the end of the vine and located the asphyxiated armadillo on the first attempt.

The jungle provides many other kinds of foods and products too numerous to mention. Some, like vines and lianas, are very useful and commonly employed in basket-making; others, such as edible mushrooms, crabs, pigments, and decorative plant products, are less significant, and exploited only sporadically. Despite the amazing variety of food products to be found in the jungle, however, the Yąnomamö could not exist for any substantial period of time on collected foods only: they rely heavily on their cultivated crops. The tropical forest is much less productive and reliable than one would imagine. The most abundant foods, palm fruits, are seasonal—a group of people could only rely on them for a few months of the year, during which time some 80 group members would have to forage over a wide area to obtain sufficient palm fruits to keep everybody well fed.

Game animals are not abundant, and an area is rapidly hunted out, so that a group must keep constantly on the move. Furthermore, hunting depends as much on luck as it does on skill and is not a very reliable way to supply nourishment. I have gone on five-day hunting trips with the Yąnomamö in areas that had not been hunted for decades, and had we not brought cultivated foods along, we would have been extremely hungry at the end of this time—we did not collect even enough meat to feed ourselves. On other trips, we often managed to collect enough game in one day to feed the entire village.

GARDENING Although the Yąnomamö spend almost as much time hunting as they do gardening, the bulk of their diet comes from foods that are cultivated. Perhaps 85 percent or more of the diet consists of domesticated rather than wild foods—plantains are by far the most important food in the diet.

The Yąnomamö are constantly looking for potential garden sites. When I hunted with them, the topic of conversation that evening would eventually drift over to the merits of the area as a possible site for a new garden. Most new garden sites are, in fact, discovered by hunters.

The land for a new site should not be heavily covered with brush, which is difficult to remove. The larger trees should not be too numerous either, as it takes a good deal of work to chop them down. Ideally, the new site should have very light jungle cover, should be well drained, near a source of drinking water, and relatively free of thorny underbrush. The Yąnomamö call a garden *hikari täka;* jungle that has the potential of being a good garden is likewise called *hikari täka.*

The first operation in making a new garden is to cut the smaller trees and brush; the bigger trees, *kayaba hi,* are left standing until the underbrush is removed. Then the big trees are felled with axes and left lying on the ground to dry out in the sun.

My older informants claimed that they did not have steel tools when they were younger and had to kill the big trees by cutting a ring of bark off around the base of the stump, using a crude stone axe, piling brush around them, and burning them. The trees rarely fell, but the fire usually killed them, and their leaves dropped off, permitting the sunlight to reach the ground.

They also claimed that making a garden was more arduous in those days because a large area would have to be searched for the necessary quantities of kindling used to kill the big trees. Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/21 cont./

278 The strongest poison is said to be obtained from the milk of a tree which, in the language of the Surára, is called -- patemá. [824] This tree was not pointed out to me; I was told that it only grows in a very distant region. To prepare an allegedly weaker poison the milk of the -- tototó -- (Strychnos toxifera) is used.

[415] As soon as it is obtained, the particular type of milk is boiled in a clay vessel. This makes it turn black, and subsequently [413] it is painted on the arrow points by means of a wooden stick which is wrapped with cotton. Special bags -- kanabó --, which are made [415] out of the leaves of the açaí palm (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) and [824] sewed with lianas, are used for storing them. There is never anything left of the poison itself.

278 438 I was also told that of the tribes allied with the Xiriána only the Surára were entrusted with the preparation of these two types of poison. All the Indians who were friendly with them, even the Xiriána, thus obtained their poisoned arrows from them by barter. The Surára chief Hewemão, however, emphasized that the detested Waiká also knew how to prepare arrow poisons, which they used [114] above all to shoot at human beings. The latter statement is confirmed by Zerries (99).

99. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

278 /22/ The third type of arrow poison is the weakest. It is made out of snuff powder -- epená -- (see pp.190/193, which is mixed with water and boiled. This method is also supposed to be familiar to the Pakidái and Xiriána.

Unfortunately, I could not take part in the preparation of the poisons, for, with the exception of the chief /Fig. 3 appears here/ and his brother, only a few older men are familiar with them and they are kept strictly secret even from all the other members of the tribe. The meager information about them is limited to oral statements.

/43 cont./

232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

304 174 171 114 hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A com-

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

prehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

301 h) Painting

The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is [531] very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

[824] For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- narã --, a [386] paste which is prepared from the red berries of Bixa orellana. Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (Genipa brasiliensis) -- uarabã --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

[413] The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

2: Becher--113 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

372
285

854
287

287

[413]

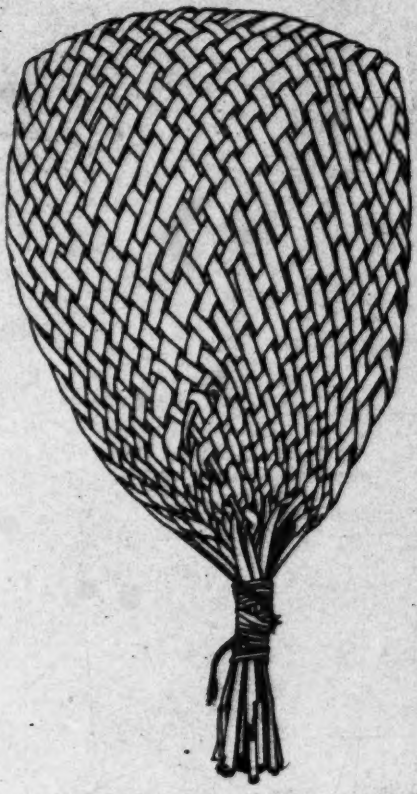


Fig. 22. Plaited fire-fan.

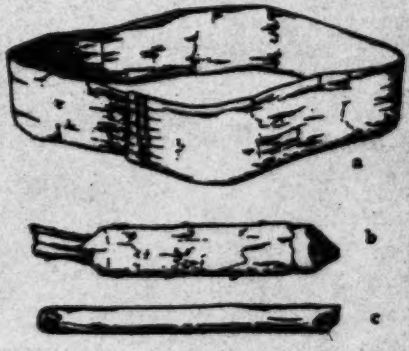


Fig. 23a. Band for carrying children, made of embira tree-bast.

Fig. 23b. Part of an embira trunk with beaten tree-bast which has already been partly pulled off.

Fig. 23c. Bast-beater made of embira wood.

/52 cont./

854
287
[824] 9. Band for Carrying Children

The band for carrying children -- okomakuś -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (Daphnopsis brasiliensis Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the [413] women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- xamotimś -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- uarimaxfke -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- pekehfk -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a [412] thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little cutia-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

854 The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

This carrying method is very widespread in South America [171] and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying- [184] band (292). Among the Xirišna Koch-Grünberg does not seem to [114]

292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

415
824 As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria Lin. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda = jamaru), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

[192] These vessels in general are called -- horotokś --, except for those of the jamaru fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- nhapotofma.

/55 cont./

412 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This
184 strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xiriâna, unlike the Surára and Pakidái, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly
462 women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side
302 (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

412 Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American
171 Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw
237 of the wild pig -- manacoauá --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waiká (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat
[192] flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long --
[824] namunamutehí --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waiká (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

●413 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm
462 should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimá (see also pp. 112/114).

412 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden
179 times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as terçados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

595 /66 cont./

The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the Pakidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Various other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies, these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

587

835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do not call them uncle, but likewise father.

881 h) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl, [302] on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú, a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may 881 speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. Dur- 304 ing the second day her mother or another woman applies a pinpoint tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a [413] [824] pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty- [386] gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured, leaves a dark blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the [147] little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears, and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysterious forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life.

881 With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated, and after that a small celebration takes place.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 to Las Trinqueras he would buy him red cloth, flowered dresses for his womenfolk, and that supreme Indian luxury, powder and shot for the gun, and so on.

Pancho listened with a smile, every now and then giving a little scornful laugh, which might have meant rich contentment or just plain scepticism. He winked at us—mere neutral observers—with his horribly burnt eye.

Two days later a crew was ready. Pancho himself was not going, but our three travellers were to leave in two big canoes. In twenty days they would reach Las Trinqueras and from that point the rubber planters' launch would take them on to Ciudad Bolivar. We gave them a letter for the pilots of the air charter company with whom we had an agreement. They had failed us badly. We had made it clear to the plane when it had paid us its last visit, by putting a big notice on the strip, that we had one passenger to be taken off. Jean couldn't face the thought of the journey back by water. But they had not come for her, so she stayed with us. We told them that we would be expecting a plane on the Kirisochi field on either the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth of April.

After the three had gone, a vast silence seemed to settle on the forest, touching us as well. It was sad to have said good-bye to friends like Momi and Giovanni, but by way of compensation we now had a much better balanced party. I felt free, gloriously free. The field was mine now. I could push ahead with our work to the limit, with no ethical question marks bothering me, and no remorse.

We went off with the Shirians to pay a visit to Pulipuli and to look up a [187] valuable fellow named Cesare. The Valley of the Moon can also be entered by way of the Canaracuni, along another valley which runs down from the same [362] heights and is linked with the Canaracuni by a maze of paths. On every side there [361] are Shirian huts, tiny dilapidated affairs, each in a little clearing threatened by the advance of the forest.

Cesare was not at home. In his stead we found a crowd of old acquaintances, one of them being an old Indian of great dignity whom we had nicknamed 'The Senator'. He had come to Kirisochi on our arrival there, he had been present while we were building our hut, and never had he done a hand's turn. He would watch others at work with a fine air of detachment which was really remarkable. He was truly sufficient unto himself. Most of the time he spent [413] stretched out in a hammock—a very small one made of liana—with his feet higher than his head. Periodically he scratched his back with a stick prepared and reserved for just that purpose. One of those ivory back-scratchers with a

/164 cont./

729 new place located several hundred meters away. The matadores
783 went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained some distance away. They could not touch anything that they
● [413] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the
[352] trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days, until the matadores thought the ciclo /cycle, term/ completed.

926 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place. The first aldea into which they penetrated was empty, and so was the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the principal aldea. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bisheasetjeti began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed. /Illustration appears here./

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River. The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

166 Since they had fallen out with the Liacoatjeti, the
361 Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north side.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/21 cont./

278 The strongest poison is said to be obtained from the milk of a tree which, in the language of the Surára, is called -- patemá. [824] This tree was not pointed out to me; I was told that it only grows in a very distant region. To prepare an allegedly weaker poison the milk of the -- tototé -- (Strychnos toxifera) is used.

As soon as it is obtained, the particular type of milk is [415] boiled in a clay vessel. This makes it turn black, and subsequently [413] it is painted on the arrow points by means of a wooden stick which [415] is wrapped with cotton. Special bags -- kanabó --, which are made [824] out of the leaves of the açaf palm (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) and sewed with lianas, are used for storing them. There is never anything left of the poison itself.

278 I was also told that of the tribes allied with the Xiriána only 438 the Surára were entrusted with the preparation of these two types of poison. All the Indians who were friendly with them, even the Xiriána, thus obtained their poisoned arrows from them by barter. The Surára chief Hewemão, however, emphasized that the detested Waiká also knew how to prepare arrow poisons, which they used [114] above all to shoot at human beings. The latter statement is confirmed by Zerries (99).

99. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

278 /22/ The third type of arrow poison is the weakest. It is made out of snuff powder -- epená -- (see pp.190/193, which is mixed with water and boiled. This method is also supposed to be familiar to the Pakidái and Xiriána.

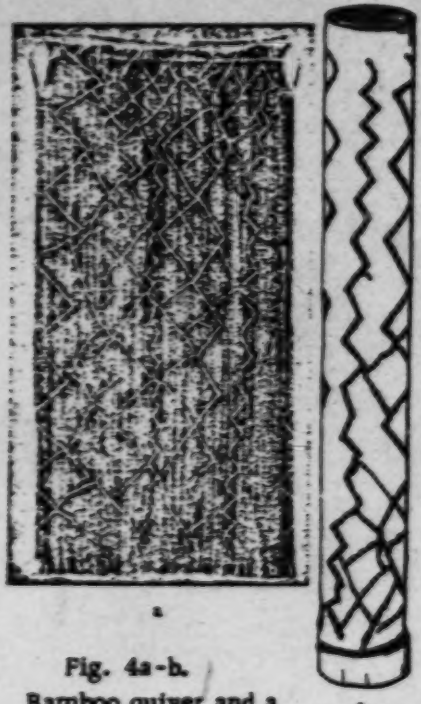
Unfortunately, I could not take part in the preparation of the poisons, for, with the exception of the chief /Fig. 3 appears here/ and his brother, only a few older men are familiar with them and they are kept strictly secret even from all the other members of the tribe. The meager information about them is limited to oral statements.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

000 411 194 173 411 726 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would represent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waikâ, Zerries reports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged only with clubs. He also found a few speciments and describes them

411 415 531



a b

Fig. 4a-b. Bamboo quiver and a rubbing of the incised design.

173 411 726 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hîmo," which are made from the wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

411 171 578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled, which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

/52 cont./

854
287
[824]
[413]
[412]
854
[171]
[184]
[114]

9. Band for Carrying Children

The band for carrying children -- okomakuſ -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (Daphnopsis brasiliensis Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- xamotimſ -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- uarimaxfke -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- pekehfk -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little cutia-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

This carrying method is very widespread in South America and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying-band (292). *Among the Xiriâna Koch-Grünberg does not seem to*

292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

415
824

As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria Lin. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda = jamaru), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

[192]

These vessels in general are called -- horotokâ --, except for those of the jamaru fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- nhapotofma.

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana
Waiká
Karimé

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupuña palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- haboká -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriána (293).

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapõga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/ 11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301]

296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

Surára
Pakidái

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[239] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatáz --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

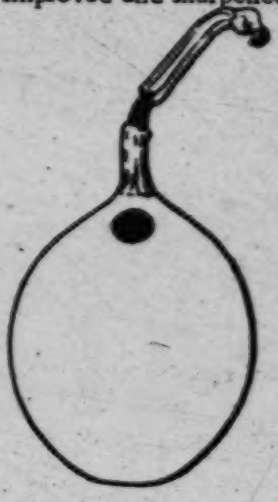


Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

Suráŋa
Pakidái

/83 cont./

252
262

394. (cont.)
nourishment during their first and second menstruation (see p. 142), and it represents the most important item of food for pregnant women, and for several months after confinement. Among the Tapirapé, on the other hand, where the banana also represents a basic part of the diet, parents must refrain from eating this fruit after a birth. "They believe that the child would die if they disregarded this rule" /cited in English/ (Baldus, 1956b, p. 601).

[171]

252 raw. -- The mealy, nourishing fruits of the pupunha palm are primarily boiled. Then the soup is allowed to cool and a refreshing drink is obtained in this way. Before festivals all the
• [415] women pour it into a large, wooden trough, which is found in every maloka, so that there will be enough on hand. By means of steaming or roasting, a solid food is also prepared from them (395). --

[114]
[137]

395. Alexander von Humboldt, by the way designates the pupunha or pihiguao palm as "Pfirsich-palme" /peach palm/ and praises the delicious taste of its fruit (Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 281 f., 300; IV, p. 145). I cannot agree with the great scholar in this, for to me it tasted like slightly bitter potatoes. Zerries, by the way, is of the same opinion (Zerries, 1956b, p. 148).

Taioba, carâ, sweet potatoes, and sweet manioc are steamed in a pot or roasted in hot ashes without being previously washed or
252 peeled. -- Bitter manioc is scraped by the women with the
412 lancet-shaped bamboo knife (see p. 118) and then grated on a rough slab of granite, for they do not have grating boards (396) (397).

[177]
[123]

396. My servant Mateus, however, made them

/85 cont./

9. Meals and Eating Habits

264
262 In the morning the Surára and Pakidái eat very little, usually only one or two bananas or tubers roasted in the hot ashes. I often found that men and women set out to hunt or gather without having eaten anything. If they come across wild fruits on their wanderings, however, they help themselves generously. Small, light meals in the form of banana soup, roasted or steamed bananas, pupunha fruit, sweet potatoes, etc. are eaten at noon. Sometimes there are some leftovers from the meat of the day before. The main meal of the day does not take place until after sundown, by the light of the blazing fire. For at this time the whole family is usually assembled again, and the hunting booty which the man perhaps brought home in the afternoon or the products of the gathering by the women have been prepared. Everywhere one sees the men squatting beside the fire and waiting for food, which includes larger or smaller pieces of meat
[824] supplemented by vegetable fare. In front of them the women have spread out a few palm leaves as an underlayer for the food. The men eat first, and they also get the best pieces of meat. When they are satisfied, the women and children may start eating. Nothing is drunk during the meal, but afterwards a palm-fruit or honey drink is enjoyed.

264 Eating is done with the hands. In one hand the Indian holds a piece of roasted or boiled meat and in the other a roasted banana, a manioc flat-cake, or something similar. Intermittently one reaches into the pot and takes out another piece or cuts it off from
• [415] the wooden spit or roasting rack. Soups are drunk out of gourd bowls or calabashes, just like the palm-fruit and honey drinks.

[251] If the hunters' bag was particularly good, one may observe many Indians, men, women, and children, eating all night long, for meat is preserved only before festivals. In connection with this the individual members of the family lie comfortably in their hammocks, converse, sleep a little at intervals, then fetch themselves another piece of meat from the roasting spit or rack. It is
[267] astonishing what quantities they consume during such a night. On the other hand, they are also easily able to fast for a long period of time.

/89 cont./

276
122

437. (cont.)
Pharmakologischen Institut der Universität Hamburg is at present still analyzing the powder that I brought back. The result is to be published later in an article.

276
[463]
[415]

Exactly like the arrow poison, this powder is made only by certain men. It is stored in bamboo tubes -- tóra -- (Fig. 28a) which are closed with leaves. Before prayers, on the occasion of big festivals, and before curing the sick, in which several men take part, besides the chief, the powder is poured on a large clay plate left by the Xiriâra. From here it is then packed into the bamboo snuff-tube 60-70 centimeters long, on one end of which is glued by means of tree resin a perforated, longish palm nut (Fig. 28b). At the free end the nut is sharpened to a point so that the man wishing to take snuff can insert it into one nostril. From the other end /Fig. 28 appears here/ of the tube, a friendly fellow-tribesman, with partly bent knees, blows the powder with all of his might into the man's nose (Ill. 44).

123
276

After only a few minutes the snuff-taker falls into an inconceivable state of intoxication, in which he rages, screams, sings, dances, and leaps about (Ills. 45, 46). Since I was obliged, after my adoption into the tribe of the Surâra, to submit to this usage also, I am in a position to describe the effect in detail. I should like to point out briefly here that immediately afterwards I developed a splitting headache and felt a strong desire to vomit, exactly like the youths making their first acquaintance with this drug. But shortly after that a strange reaction took place within me, for I felt myself to be a giant among giants. All the human beings near me, as well as dogs and parrots, suddenly seemed to be giants. This effect, which is caused by the alkaloids in the powder, is closely connected with the conceptions of gigantic animal and plant spirits (see pp. 201/201).

276
171
[184]

/89 cont./

Among the Waiká, this taking of snuff is done in the same way (438). The Tupari (439) and numerous other tribes of western

438. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

439. Caspar, 1953, pp. 151 ff.

South America (440) also indulge in this custom, though the com-

440. Gillin, 1948, p. 855.

[415]

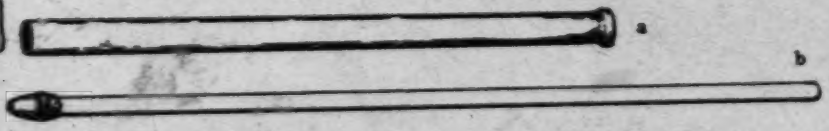


Fig. 28a. Bamboo tube for storing snuff-powder.

Fig. 28b. Bamboo snuff-tube.

position of the powder, except for the paricá or Piptadenia seeds, seems to differ from tribe to tribe. Cooper, moreover, in a comparative study of the taking of Piptadenia snuff, comes to the conclusion that this is a "western trait" /cited in English/ (441).

[114]

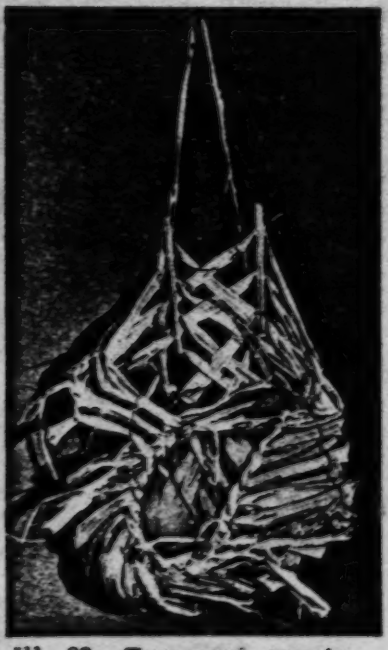
441. Cooper, 1949, pp. 536-538 and Map 10.

2: Becher--276 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

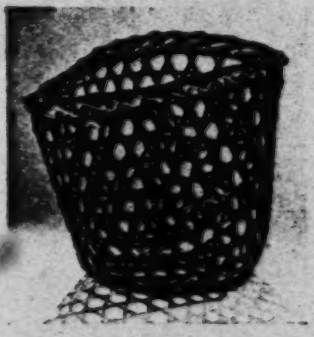
/11/

Surára
Pakidái

415
285



Ill. 32. Temporary carrying basket of palm leaves



Ill. 33. Carrying basket of bast strips from the curáuá plant

531

Ill. 34. Woman's large carrying-basket made of liana strips

Ill. 35. Surára woman plaiting a woman's large carrying-basket

142
302
516
285

415
285

Ill. 36. Small basket with handle, made of liana strips

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/13/

Surára
Pakidái

142
302
276

Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

769
142
291
516
302
342
415
266

Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

516
342
411
535

Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

283 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 ● 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727] [184]

/206 cont./

224 825 part on his dog. The hunter must also know a great variety of calls for attracting the animals and birds and, above all, know which arrow to shoot in order to kill the animal which may come in answer to his call.

224 775 All this and a great deal more about which we are ignorant must be learned by the Sanemá hunter in order to have the benefit of his knowledge not only on earth but also in the world of Omao after his death. An expert hunter continues to be one in "heaven" and there he will have the opportunity of recompensing Omao for the benevolence showed him during his earthly life.

224 The Sanemá hunt with bow and arrows. Usually each man carries with him, in addition to his bow, five arrows and a quiver with various types of points.

[415] [372] The quiver, made of bamboo, is carried, hanging by means of a bejuco, from the neck, on the chest, or across the back. In most cases they carry, tied to the same quiver, some small sticks with which to kindle fire. In the forest they pull out with extraordinary speed the point best suited to kill the animal which comes within range, and it is surprising with what dexterity and speed they can shoot one or several arrows.

If there are several hunters surrounding a pack of peccaries or a group of monkeys, the booty belongs to the one who kills it.

It seems that the Sanemá of the Erebato also use a kind of trap (Schwippgalgenfalle), particularly to capture the lapa /paca/ or deer (20).

20. It would seem that this trap reflects a cultural borrowing among the Sanemá, since the Surará, Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 77), and Waica (Zerries, 1956c, p. 151) do not have it.

223 In order to catch birds, the hunter climbs up into a very high tree and hides there behind some thick branches. He attracts the birds with whistles, and, when they are near, he shoots them; a companion waits at the foot of the tree for the prey's fall, in

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

But Solitaun, who was a sensible old fellow and worldly

wise, picked them and put them in a 'bag' like a big open calyx made of leaves. This chestnut is encased in a green rind, soft and spongy. He tore this off with his teeth and spat it out. The actual nut was no bigger than a billiard ball, and this he stowed away in his bag. In the evening, round a fire whose glowing ash was neatly raked to form a series of little ovens, the expatriate Samatari roasted his chestnuts, scooping them out with his bare hand when they were done. He even offered them round, if somewhat parsimoniously: the ratio was three for him and one for us.

To us, who still had our own sense of the fitness of things, it hardly seemed possible at first that humble berries and fruits of such unimpressive appearance could be of such highly nutritive value. We turned therefore to the fruit that had most eye-appeal—the ones the Indians scarcely bothered with as they went along and did not consider worth collecting for the meal at nightfall. By the Aracosa river cashew trees were plentiful, their fruits red as fire, and there was another species we hadn't seen before, orange in colour and enormous. Some of the fruits that had fallen with the weight of their ripe juice were the size of a man's fist, and to eat three or four of them gave a pleasant sense of well-being, even if it didn't last long.

The great trees must have been bearing a crop of thousands of pounds in weight, because all around the forest floor was glowing with fallen fruit and clouds of buzzing insects of every colour were busy glorifying the decay as they settled on it.

But when we had devoured our comforting quantities of these cashew fruits, some of them already over-ripe, there was a roughness on our teeth and we began to feel sick. It was now that we were ready to appreciate the wisdom of these primitive people, who left the florid purple fruits severely alone, to bury their sharp teeth in more modest-looking fare that was a good deal kinder to the human stomach.

No one can know the thrill of excitement that comes to the Samatari—and other Indians too—when they find themselves underneath a big *kelpoes* tree that brushes the waters of some little stream with the mass of its seed pods, long and round like those of the senna tree. Many such pods are used exactly like the ordinary French or kidney beans, but for this particular delicacy it is neither the bean nor the pod itself that is eaten, but the white tender pulp in which the beans are set. We ourselves found it far too sweet and sickly. But in spite of all the excitement here, we had still not come to the fruit which was thought

/452 cont./

252 Women generally roast the platanos for everyone's breakfast. At noon and in the evening, everyone cooks his own platanos. To a child of seven they might give three green platanos in [866] their skins, telling him: "Here is your dinner." The child then proceeds to cook them.

264 The Guaika /Waica/ in general have abundant food and eat it with pleasure. They do not look kindly upon remains of food being left. Anyone who does not lick his bowl clean after having drunk his soup of platanos is considered a prodigal.

266 765 The mere idea of cannibalism is rejected with horror, although they do eat the pulverized bones of a cremated relative, after having kept them in a hermetically sealed gourd for about six months.

262 They do not eat carnivorous birds and animals, but carnivorous fish, even the caribe (piranha), are eaten with pleasure. Some [252] snakes are eaten, others not. They boil them or else they cook them wrapped in leaves upon the embers.

271 Drink, Drugs, and Excesses

The Guaika /Waica/ take extreme care concerning the water they drink. The supply of water for a settlement must be obtained upstream from all the fords which cross the stream or brook. If a Guaika finds it necessary to drink water in a place below a ford, he makes a hole in the sand of the beach and waits until water which has filtered through it gushes up. The water of the current is considered dirty, just as the water from the hole dug [415] in the beach is clean. Water is transported in gourds by the women for use in the settlement.

273 The Guaika do not prepare any alcoholic beverage.

276 Tobacco leaves are rolled up with ashes and placed in the mouth behind the lower lip. When there is a shortage of tobacco, /453/ they obtain a certain bitter root in the forest, strip the bark from it, and place it behind the lip to diminish the desire for tobacco.

/464 cont./

411 The children make small bows, generally for their games, but
857 they also shoot lizards, which are good bait for fishing. These
[824] bows may be made of several types of wood, but rarely of palm.
The bows of the men are always made of palm.

411 Macanas are used by women for fishing. They are also used
[226] by men in their attacks on other settlements with which they have had more or less friendly relations, for the purpose of recovering the wife or daughter held captive there.

[531]

/Fig. 7/

Poisons

278 A variety of poisons for fishing are used by the Guaika
[226] /Waica/. One comes from a vine, another from the husk of a prickly nut, and the third from the bark of a certain thick tree.

[411] Arrow points are poisoned with the poison from the bark of a vine. They scrape the bark, and the scrapings, /465/ wrapped in leaves, are kept dry by hanging them over the current of air from a fire until they are needed.

On the day when an Indian is going to prepare poison, every man of the settlement gets ready to prepare a set of arrow points to be poisoned.

The preparer of the poison begins by pulverizing the scrapings of bark between the palms of his hands. He constantly utters a
[415] series of shouts and grunts while doing this. Then he places the pulverized bark in a funnel made of leaves, into which hot water

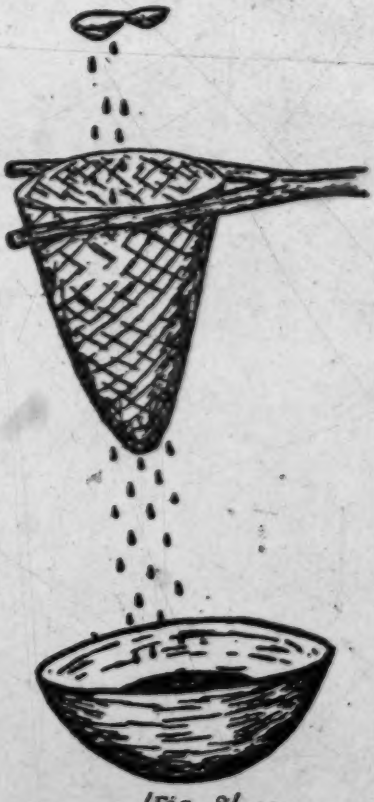
/465 cont./

278 [415] /466/ is poured, a few drops at a time. The liquid which seeps through is collected in a totuma. Fig. 8 shows the procedure.

Several fires are lighted around, and after a short time the firewood is scattered so that there will be no flames, but only burning embers.

278 411 Then the sets of arrowheads which are to be poisoned are stuck into bundles made of leaves and placed in such a way that the points remain over the embers. The poisonous liquid is then smeared on the points, in small quantities each time, drying immediately. All the poison is smeared on the points on the day it is prepared. The accompanying Fig. 9 /see p. 37/ shows the procedure. /Fig. 9 appears here./

278 415



/Fig. 8/

7: Barker--63 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate III

291
252
302
●415

The men cook the meat from hunting. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

372
516
302

They produce fire by making a little stick rotate between the palms of the hands, with the friction end resting on a piece of soft wood. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

352
415
142
516

439
123

TOP: Women of the "Plateau". Notice the household goods. The two types of hammock are clearly shown. *(Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)*

BOTTOM: Swapping. The little things we brought excited curiosity and [illegible]. *(Photograph by J. Grelier)*

[P. 112-C]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any sort of [illegible]—not even a raft. He told us that the

villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the women and children are concealed in these temporary sites until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yanomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yanomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow, arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having [illegible] them to motivate me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

[462] [535] Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that [333] [458] [555] older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

• 415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired [84] [473] clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are [462] [482] [562] made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the [447] manufacture of cassava bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

---

[1]The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

415 323 179 [439] [438] clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware supplied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in 301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are 237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers [304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored 302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common [64] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to [59] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and [304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners [301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

[P. xvii]

142
291
304
411
137
574

Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekura (demons) while caring a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).

142
302
291
411
516
755
342
415

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

142
302
516
251
262
415
352
353

Clay pots and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Mamo-teri man shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

142
291
516
411
342
726

layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curare point after it has been attached to the arrow.

Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches. The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

The Yąnomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yąnomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yąnomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

"Razor grass"—a reed—also grows wild in the jungle. It is used by the Yanomamö to cut their hair and to keep their tonsures cleanly shaved. A sliver of this reed is wrapped around the index finger in such a way that the sharp edge is exposed. The practiced hand can shave a head bald in a matter of minutes and with no more pain than would come from using a dull steel razor blade. This grass is also found around some of the villages, but appears not to be cultivated.

HALLUCINOGENIC DRUGS Another useful plant provided by the jungle is the *ebene* tree. The inner bark of this tree is used in the manufacture of one kind of hallucinogenic drug. The bark is scraped from the trunk after the exterior layer of bark is removed, or is scraped from the inside of the bark surface itself. This material, which is fairly moist, is then mixed with wood ashes and kneaded between the palms of the hands. Additional moisture is provided by spitting periodically into the pliable wad of drug. When the drug has been thoroughly mixed with saliva and ashes, it is placed on a hot piece of broken clay pot and the moisture driven out with heat. It is ground into a

Fig. 2-2. Woman fishing in a downed stream that has been poisoned by the juice of a wild liana. The poison is introduced upstream by the men, and the stunned fish are collected in baskets by the women.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

276 [412] powder as it dries, the flat side of a stone axe[8] serving as the grinding pestle. The dried, green powder, no more than several tablespoons full, is then swept onto a leaf with a stiff feather. The men then gather around the leaf containing the drug, usually in the late afternoon, and take it by blowing the powder into each other's nostrils (see Fig. 2–3). A small quantity of the powder is introduced into the end of a hollow cane tube some 3 feet long. The tube is then flicked with the forefinger to scatter the powder along its length. One end of the tube is put into the nostril of the man taking the drug, and his helper then blows a strong blast of air through the other end, emitting his breath in such a fashion that he climaxes the delivery with a hard burst of air. Both the recipient and the blower squat on their haunches to do this. The man who had the drug blown into his nostrils grimaces, groans, chokes, coughs, holds his head from the pain of the air blast, and duck-waddles off to some leaning post. He usually receives two doses of the drug, one in each nostril. The recipient usually vomits, gets watery eyes, and develops a runny nose. Much of the drug comes back out in the nasal mucus that begins to run freely after the drug has been administered. Within minutes after the drug has been blown into a man's nose, he begins having difficulties focusing his eyes and starts to act intoxicated. The drug allegedly produces colored visions, especially around the periphery [187] of the visual field, and permits the user to enter into contact with his particular *hekura*, miniature demons that dwell under rocks and on mountains. The man begins to chant to the *hekura* when the drug takes effect, inviting them to come and live in his chest.

245 276 The Yąnomamö also cultivate a tree, *biiroma*, that produces hallucinogenic seeds. These are prepared in exactly the same manner as the noncultivated drug.

322 396 TROUGHS AND CANOES The Yąnomamö use the bark of another kind of tree to make a trough and a crude canoe, both of which are nearly identical in shape, size, and method of construction. The tree is beaten with clubs to loosen the bark. The bark is then removed in one piece and hauled back to the village. The ends are heated in a fire to make them pliable and folded back to make the ends of the container. They are held firm by lashing two sticks together, pinching the folded bark into a flat-nosed basin. The interior bark surface becomes the exterior surface of the soup container. If the container is to be used as a canoe, a crude framework of sticks is added to the inside, giving 501 it more stability. The craft is so crude and heavy that the Yąnomamö generally do not use it for any purpose other than the trip for which it was intended, usually a downstream trip, since it would be almost impossible to move against a current in this rough craft. It is easier to walk than to try to pole the canoe upstream. The canoe, hence, is usually discarded after it makes its maiden voyage. Another will be made when it is needed.

• 415 574 264 The container is pinioned to the ground with stakes if it is to be used as a soup trough. Each time a feast is held, one or more of these bark containers is made in front of the headman's house, filled with the boiled ripe plantain soup, and frequented by the hungry guests, who dip out the soup with gourd spoons. The trough is thrown on the village rubbage heap after the feast is over.

---

[172] [8]They find the stone axes when they make new gardens, explaining that the spirits left them behind for the Yąnomamö to use. This area was occupied in the distant past by tribes whose relationship to the present Yąnomamö is uncertain.

142
302
516
415
622

Fig. 4-1. Kaobawä, headman, unpacking some of the meat his hunters have just collected for the feast.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

undertake it if it meant getting rid of their first group of visitors, who, by this time, had spent nearly a week eating Kaobawä's produce.

On the morning of the feast three large pieces of bark from the *arapuri* tree were cut and brought to the village. These were made into troughs to contain the boiled, ripe plantain soup. All day long Kaobawä's younger brothers, who had returned from the hunt the day before, labored at cooking the enormous quantity of ripe plantains, pouring each boiling containerful into the trough as it was prepared.[8]

The plantains that Kaobawä had hung in his *shabono* roof a week before were now ripe. The young men who were preparing the soup would cut the bunches of plantains from the roof, split each fruit with their thumb, throw the two halves of the flesh into a cooking pot, and toss the skins onto a pile. They worked at this task from early morning until late afternoon, in addition to boiling a nearly equal quantity of green plantains, which provided the green vegetable food that customarily accompanies the presentation of meat. Yąnomamö etiquette dictates that meat must be accompanied by vegetable food and vice versa.[9] It is an insult, for example, to offer someone meat without simultaneously offering a vegetable food with it. Peeling green plantains is a little more difficult than peeling ripe ones, which are very tough and brittle. The Yąnomamö solve this problem, like they solve so many others, by using their teeth. Each plantain is bitten along its length several times, cracking the peel, which in turn is removed with the fingernails and further application of the dentition. On this particular occasion, two young men peeled, with their thumbs, enough ripe plantains to make approximately 95 gallons of soup, and, with their teeth, a sufficiently large quantity of green plantains to fill a dozen large pack-baskets.

In the morning on the day of the feast, Kaobawä went to the center of the village clearing where all could see him and proceeded to pull weeds. The clearing has to look presentable to the visitors, as it functions as the dancing plaza. As noted before, since Yąnomamö headmen cannot directly order their followers to execute tasks such as these, they usually initiate them and hope that others will follow. By and by, a number of older men joined him, as well as a few women, and when a sufficient number of workers were pulling weeds and hauling them out, Kaobawä quietly retired to his hammock, from which he oversaw the food preparations and calculated the distribution of meat.

Excitement in the village grew conspicuously as the hours passed, and by noon there was a constant din of laughter and chatter, punctuated now and then with a shrill scream from some young man overcome with the thrill of the feast. Occasionally, the visitors would reply to the shouts, setting off a brief contest of screaming between hosts

---

[8] Kaobawä's group has access to aluminum pots now and uses them extensively in food preparations. Most Yąnomamö groups still use crude clay pots, although these are being rapidly replaced by aluminum ware, which is traded inland to the more remote villages.

[9] The three vegetable foods considered to be suitable accompaniments for the meat presentation are: boiled green plantains, boiled *ruuhe* fruit, and cassava bread. A number of missionaries and a few scientific observers have identified the Yąnomamö feast strongly with the *ruuhe* fruit (Zerries 1955; de Barandiaran 1966). If it is to be identified with any food, it should be called the "plantain feast," but to identify the feast with a food that sometimes (*ruuhe*) or invariably (plantains) accompanies it is to overlook the sociopolitical causes of the feast. *Ruuhe* is no more necessary to the feast that it was served at only two of six feasts I attended. In short, the Yąnomamö feast is a social and political event, not a harvest ceremony, and occurs independently of the abundance or availability of *ruuhe* fruit. *Ruuhe* fruit ripens in February, the peak of the dry season. It is only in the dry season that feasts can be held, because travel is difficult or impossible at other times of the year. The correlation of the ripening of *ruuhe* and feasting is rather more fortuitous than causal.

111 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628*
574
437
438

giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur: the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *to mashia*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4-2 Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree. arapuri.

628*
574
301
302
516
411
415
342
264
262
291

/440 cont./

202 484 Generally the messengers travel only during the day and communicate the message at night, after having rested from the trip. Nevertheless, in times of war, messengers may travel during the night, and urgent messages are communicated immediately upon the arrival of the messenger, be it day or night.

● [416] A messenger who travels at night carries with him two or three pieces of firewood tied together in torch fashion.

195 [584] Official dealings are frequently carried out in the same form of crooning. A man might in this way request official authorization to take a certain girl as his wife. These dealings are generally carried on at night.

437 Nevertheless, business dealings are generally carried out during the day, so that both participants in the negotiation may have ample opportunity to see and examine what they are getting.

142 Human Biology

The hair of the Guaika /Waica/ is lighter than that of the other Indians and of most of the Creoles who live in the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

The hair of the majority of the individuals is fine, but some of them have quite stiff hair. The color of the hair is black or chestnut, and a few have hair with a slightly reddish tone. Some of the children have hair that is very light in color, which seems to become darker as they grow. Few of the older persons have gray hair.

The majority of men either have a very thin beard or none at all. The arms, legs, and chest are generally free of hair.

/441/ The eyes of the majority of them are brown, and some of them have black eyes. Some of the children have blue eyes. A few individuals have the inner corner of the eye rounded in a way somewhat similar to that of certain Oriental peoples.

Their noses are short and wide.

The Guaika are well fed, but in general do not show any excess muscle or fat. The Guaika to the south of the Orinoco tend to be fatter and plumper, it would seem, than those of El Platanal or those who live to the north of this locality.

/462 cont./

Fire

372 The Guaika /Waica/ use the system of simple rotation to make fire. This consists of a piece of soft wood, flattened on one side and rounded on the other, about four centimeters wide at one end, and whose tapering shape ends in a blunt point at the other end. With the tooth of a large rodent they make a circular cut in it near its broader end, and in this is inserted a slender stick (from 30 to 40 centimeters /sic/ in diameter at its base). This stick is held between the palms of the hands and given a rotating movement until a spark burns in the wood dust which has been formed by the rotation of the stick in the hole made in the board. (See Fig. 6.)

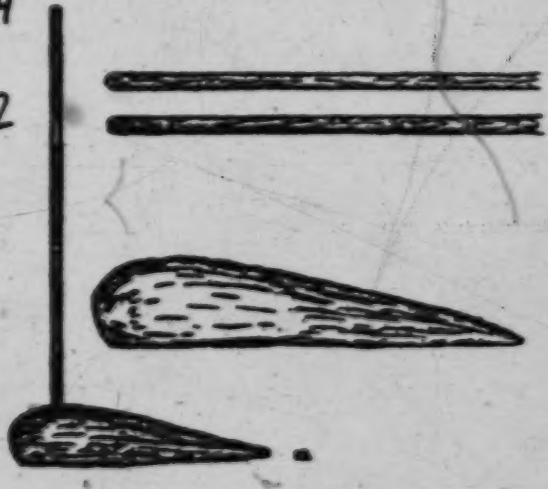
[237] [412]

[824] /463/ The tapered piece of soft wood is of cacao, in which several successive holes can be made, and each hole can be used several times for lighting a fire.

In general there is someone in the settlement who has a fire lighted, so that when some native needs fire he obtains it there. In order to carry fire a short distance, two or three lighted sticks are tied together, forming a fagot. When they travel at night, they carry lighted torches to protect themselves against animals

373 412 484

372



/Fig. 6/

/463 cont./

373 416 484 as well as to light the path. Torches of gum and resin are also used sometimes on the paths during the night, but the common type of torch is the fagot of tied pieces of wood. A group which travels at night (as occurs when they are returning after nightfall from the work of fishing) may carry only one torch. Then they stop from time to time to arrange the joined sticks and to revive the fire, keeping it from going out.

373 374 The wood fire is the principal source of light and heat in the settlements. The fires are kept lighted during the entire night, both to produce warmth and for protection against predatory animals and the spirits of human beings which have returned.

372 There do not seem to be any beliefs or ceremonies related to the production and maintenance of fire.

Weapons

411 The principal weapon of the Guaica /Waica/ is the bow and arrow. They also use macanas.

[824] [283] The bow is made of palm wood, generally of "pijiguao," with a strong string made of threads of bark. This string has three or more threads of twisted bark, which give it great strength.

[249] [237] The shafts of their arrows are made of the festooned part of a certain wild cane, which they cultivate in their "conucos." They feather them with the points of wing feathers of wild turkeys.

Arrow points vary according to the type of game which is to be the target. The wide bamboo point is used /464/ principally against large land animals; the bone one for shooting large and medium-sized birds, and the poisoned points principally for monkeys. Any of these points might be used against man in the event of war. Against small birds they shoot the shaft, first removing the point, or they use a point ramified at the end, made out of a small branch quickly broken off some nearby plant. The accompanying Fig. 7 /see p. 35/ shows the different types of arrow points of the Guaika. /Fig. 7 appears here./

2: Becher

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidai

417

/For information on "windscreens" and "windscreen" construction utilized as one form of house construction among the Surára and Pakidái, see category 342./

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

forward to meet him and he introduced himself as James Barker of the Evangelist Mission of San Fernando de Atabapo. He told me that he and a companion now up at the village had been living with the Waikas for the past seven months. He added that the Indians had sunk the boat in which they had come so that they were now quite isolated. He spoke their language fluently and his attitude to them was that of an indulgent schoolmaster.

I told him of our desire to see the village and he spoke about it to the Waikas. They were at once suspicious and reluctant; even when they eventually agreed, agreement was far from unanimous. Nevertheless, we fell in behind Barker and marched up a slippery path so muddy that I began to envy the forest people their nakedness. We came to a recently made clearing which had been cleared by fire and I tried to slip away up a little-used path. At once the Indians objected, their vehemence suggesting that the plantation to which the path probably led hid many wonderful secrets.

After twenty minutes of marching we came to a fence in a clearing. The fence was made of stakes lashed together forming a perfect circle. I thought this must be the village but we passed it by. A hundred yards beyond we came to another similar enclosure and this time our guides led us inside. As we entered I remembered what Pierre Ivanoff had told me of an earlier occasion when he and three companions had succeeded in reaching a Waika village. The first enclosure we had just seen was undoubtedly the counterpart of the one in which he had been forced to dance with his hosts before being allowed to go on to the second. In the present instance the dance was omitted from our programme.

Inside the enclosure, which was some thirty yards across, huts were built with their backs to the palisade, leaving a circular space in the middle shaded by a big tree. The corner of each hut consisted of three stakes in the form of a tripod supporting horizontal rafters of green wood tied in place by lianas. Wide-eaved roofs were thatched with banana leaves. The circle of fencing was unbroken except for the single entry. A pungent, musty smell pervaded the place as we

11: Chagnon F-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Fig. 2-6. Rewkumi climbing a rasha tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamö use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.

The grubs

are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in a smoky fire tastes like bacon.

The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. The Yąnomamö break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare it in the above manner.

Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2-7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hãri*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

CHAPTER III

DESCENT, MARRIAGE, KINSHIP AND IDEOLOGY

As noted in the introduction, the largest Yąnomamö political unit, the village, is structurally unstable and tends to fragment into hostile factions once the population of the village reaches a certain size.[1] Village splitting results in the establishment of smaller villages the members of which, for considerations of defense, make alliances with other villages, basing the political ties on the exchange of women. The dynamics of village splitting can be illustrated in a number of ways. In Chapter V the histories of particular villages are set down in some detail, illustrating the nature of the causes of internal struggles. In this chapter, however, I shall discuss the aspects of Yąnomamö descent, marriage, kinship and political ideology that illustrate the role each plays in determining the nature of feuds. This will provide the background for the next chapter, the analysis of village splitting in terms of the genealogical composition of recently established villages.

A. Yąnomamö Corporate Lineal Descent Groups and Marriage

Corporate lineal descent groups tend to be closely

---

[1] Village size is discussed in the next chapter.

613 associated with control over real property in most tribal
• 421 societies. Among the Yąnomamö the corporate estate consists
[562] of rights in disposing of females; property does not play any role in the functioning of the descent group.

613 The relationship between males in regulating the
602 disposition of the descent group's women is ambiguous, for
562 their rights in particular women vary, largely with gene-
584 alogical distance and the size of the descent group in question. And, rights in women are intangible. Thus, local descent groups[1] among the Yąnomamö, despite the fact that they are corporate, are not cohesive, solidary units because of the ambiguous way male members are related to each other.

613 Patrilineal descent is virtually non-functional out-
• 621 side the local descent group. There are no corporate descent
[614] groups other than those that exist at the village level, i.e.,
[616] the Yąnomamö do not have clans or moieties. Hence, agnates not only enter into competition with each other because of the nature of their rights in the women of their group, there are no other institutions based on agnatic descent that promote amity and solidarity among them.

---

[1] "The core of such a group is composed of the adult males of a kin group all resident in one place . . . the corporate group of persons who have the most decisive say in bringing about an arranged marriage is always a group of co-resident males representing, as a rule, three genealogical generations, namely: the old men or grandfathers, the normal adults or fathers, and the young adults or sons." E. R. Leach, 1963:56. Among the Yąnomamö, the generation of grand-
[603] fathers is only rarely represented in the local descent group.

having such estates, particularly in those societies to which real estate is totally irrelevant. The Yąnomamö corporate estate consists entirely of rights in disposing of female members belonging to that corporation. As such, males and females have different kinds of shares in the corporation. Males, on the average, tend to inherit more rights, while females tend to inherit more duties and obligations. Land to the Yąnomamö is not a scarce item, as they are pioneer slash-and-burn horticulturists expanding into virgin territory.[1] Myths, names and ritual functions do not comprise elements in these corporations.[2]

It would seem important to distinguish between lineal descent corporations which control property and those which do not, as Befu and Plotnicov (1962) have done. A further distinction, however, seems warranted on the basis of the data presented here: between <u>societies</u> having any corporate groups that control real property and societies that have corporate descent groups, none of which have control over property as their estate. The possession of real estate tends to reinforce the lineality of corporate descent groups in both dogma and composition,[3] and invites the addition of

---

[1] This is true of the Mavaca Basin Yąnomamö. Elsewhere the Yąnomamö may not be pioneers, but land is not scare in those areas either.

[2] I am aware that the Yąnomamö have lineally transmitted totems; these have nothing to do with the descent group recruitment or its estate.

[3] See Meggitt, 1965, for an excellent account of the relationship of agnatic kinship, real property, and lineage

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[946] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[956] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[437] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons
[764] are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

Surára
Pakidái

/40 cont./

304 small pieces of reed 1-2 centimeters long, from which hang, on
301 one or two short chains of beads, small triangular pieces of silver leaf, shiny silver coins, or particularly large glass beads. Women also have a special preference for these objects. The teeth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which the men use as a knife (see p.115, are a typical feminine ear ornament.
[314] To prevent them from slipping out of the perforation, a small lump of tree resin is stuck on the back end. The perforations of the ear lobes are also adorned now and then with blossoms.

In the perforations of the lower lip and the corners of the mouth on either side the women now and again have delicate little reed rods -- tunhabaácre -- 15-17 and 12-15 centimeters
[184] long, respectively. Among the Xiriána women married to Surára and Pakidái men I observed that they wear, in addition, two little reed rods 30-35 centimeters long in the pierced nasal septum -- huxibéka -- (Ill. 16). This piercing I was told, is reserved for only the female members of this large, mighty tribe.
[184] This also explains why the perforations of the Pusheweteri and Aramamesteri women correspond perfectly to those of their Surára and Pakidái "sisters," that is to say, there is no piercing of the nasal septum. The same applies for Nikeromá, the little captive from the hostile tribe of the Karauateri.

301 All the ornamental objects named are made by the male
422 and female wearers themselves and are regarded as personal property.

304 Due to Koch-Grünberg's research among the Xiriána
301 (Schirianá), Waiká (Waíka), and various Karaiben /Carib/ tribes,
184 abundant comparative and supplementary material is available
[171] to me. Thus, the great investigator writes with regard to the
[127] Xiriána (Schirianá): "Nasal septum, /41/ ear lobes, and lower lip were pierced among the men and in many cases adorned with little reed rods almost as long as a hand. On special occasions they also wear a jaguar tooth in the lower lip.

"The women had long reed rods in the pierced ear-lobes, the lower lip, and the corners of the mouth. Three narrow strips of reed, spread out fan-shaped at both ends, adorned the nasal septum (Ill. 12)" (213).

213. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

/201 cont./

342 The two windscreens had two posts stuck superficially into the ground at a distance of two meters apart. Contiguous to the post there was a smaller stake tied to it with a bejuco. The roof of this screen was covered with interlaced branches and roofed with platanillo leaves and supported with a slight inclination against two posts. The roof projects from the posts some [352] 40 centimeters and touches the ground at its lower edge. In these houses the Sanemá hang their hammocks of bejuco or majagua. In some ranchos we found vestiges of fire.

177 The houses of Makiritare type (rectangular or oblong) are 342 small-scale imitations and have only one room. The roofs, made of palm leaves, are of two rectangular slopes and are raised on four or six posts. The edges of the roof are straight or rounded. The walls consist of bark or juxtaposed sticks. They have an average dimension of four meters long by two meters wide and approximately three high. Each house has one or two 353 quite narrow doors. Within the house (of the Makiritare type) [179] the greatest disorder reigns: from the roof and from the walls hang baskets, gourds, weapons, leather bags, tobacco, palm fruit, hammocks /chinchorros/ of bejuco, majagua, and cotton. On the floor there are hearths, firewood, cooking utensils, guapas with spindle and cotton, yuca graters, dogs, and children, all in confusion without order or arrangement. It is clear that they are not used to living under a roof, and the house is a place for storing things rather than a habitation.

105 The technology of the Sanemá is very little-developed, and • 422 precisely for this reason one can classify the Sanemá (and 484 the Yanoama in general) as representatives of the most backward peoples of America and of the whole world. It would seem that the ideal of these seminomadic Indians is: omnia mea mecum porto -- everything that is mine I carry with me! and, apart from their weapons, a few implements, and a basket, it is unusual [352] for them to carry anything else on their travels. They do not even transport their hammocks /202/ of bejuco or majagua from one camp to another, but rather make new ones each time they need them.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the poison has time to spread and enter the bloodstream. The Samatari go off to war with masses of these poisoned arrows and a cane quiver slung across their shoulders. This contains spare arrow-heads which can be quickly attached to the arrows arriving in a stream from the enemy. Every fighter carries his own ammunition, but the weapons are really the common property of friend and foe alike.

There is one other widely used weapon, and a deadly one it is—a heavy wooden club for use on the cranium in close-combat conditions, such as usually arise at the end of the battle when the ammunition is exhausted and the antagonists have worked themselves up into a fine frenzy. Then the hand-to-hand fighting excels in ferocity, but the blood scattered on the ground is misleading—the actual mortality rate is very low. Tremendous whacks on the head are exchanged, that lay the scalp open right down to the bone. But cracking the cranium itself is not so easy: Samatari heads are harder than Coroso palm.

One may well ask why the Indians are forever fighting these wars, but this is to put the question a little too ingenuously. The answer can only be that it is their mode of life—just as it is other people's mode of life not to keep on fighting. There are vendettas as old as their race itself, fanned by their belief in the evil eye of the witch doctors who can cause the death of children and spread sickness through the tribe. Fear is the underlying cause, at the origin of these vendettas and at the origin of all origins; fear that is the very condition, the very breath of existence for primitive man in the inhuman, unhuman forest regions that set their stamp on all who live in them. Fear gives birth to these bloody encounters, which a little cool-headedness could transform into the meeting of friends. We ourselves owed our salvation to the fact that we hadn't fought back. We had a certain confidence too, over and above the passing moment of fear, a certain faith in the essential goodness of man.

But apart from fear and the vendettas which grow out of it, there is one native activity which just as easily leads to war: theft. Theft is the activity in which the Shirians excel, their way of living. Everything that can further their nomadic existence is torn out of the earth, the trees and the animals. The process means effort and struggle, always more or less exhausting and unsafe. It follows logically that if anything they basically need belongs to other men, they will take it from them, too. The tribe on the river so-and-so possesses a machete, or a knife—perhaps the result of long bargaining with their neighbours, or, more often, of a highly successful bit of burglary and some

/467/

Property and Ownership

423 Every man has property rights over the land which he has cleared for the planting of the "conuco," until he has abandoned it.

When a settlement returns to a former site, every man has the right to build his new dwelling in the same place where the previous one was, if he should so desire, even when the place might have been covered by the forest, as frequently occurs.

• 422 Every person possesses his own hammock and ornaments.

[423] The men are owners of the "conucos," the dwellings, the clay pots, hunting and fishing equipment, and that for making fire, and the machetes.

Women possess the baskets, the spinning equipment, the totumas for water, the bands for carrying children, the firewood, and the leaves of the roof.

Both the men and the women may possess axes, knives, mirrors, beads, or other objects which they might have made or acquired.

437 Objects change ownership either by gift or by barter. Bartered objects are generally those which cannot be made or obtained by everyone. These include foreign articles (e.g., machetes, matches, etc.) and also domestic articles which are made only by certain persons or products which everyone does not have the ability to make successfully (e.g., clay pots for cooking, the strongest type of "yopo," totumas for water, and shafts for arrows).

431 Articles to which each and every person has access, such as foodstuffs, water, baskets, and small totumas or gourds, are generally given away when they are divided up. Sometimes even

[572] scarce articles are given to intimate friends.

000(lapa, Spanish).

222 The collection of small fruits, spiders, ant grubs, wild honey, crabs, mushrooms and fish also contributes variety to the Yąnomamö diet.

241 Cultivated foods contribute the greater proportion
262 of calories to the Yąnomamö diet, probably upwards of 85%,
[146] although this figure would vary seasonally. Again, those
(177) Yąnomamö villages living close to Makiritare settlements cultivate much more yucca (manioc) than platanos, refining it in some cases to meal as do the Makiritares. Elsewhere
[252] the Yąnomamö eat their yucca roasted or boiled or make cassave bread by a technique quite distinct from that employed by the Makiritare.

722 Yąnomamö material culture is very much attenuated by
[422] comparison with, for example, Makiritare. The Yąnomamö like to limit their possessions to an amount that is readily transported by the women, because the entire village may be obliged at any given moment to abandon its site to avoid raiders, or may be invited to a feast at another village.
[427] They do not like to leave possessions in their village when
[574] they leave it, as visitors from other villages would take them. And, their warfare pattern precludes the possibility of leaving a few people behind to guard the village, as they
[341] would be easily overwhelmed by a raiding party. When just a portion of the village leaves to visit another group, those that stay behind move into the jungle some distance from the village and live in well-concealed huts until their co-

722 361 villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the women and children are concealed in these temporary sites 221 361 574 922 until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yąnomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yąnomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

422 484 All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow, [411] arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire [415] drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the [372] [237] agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine [352] hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner [123] on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having 484 to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

[462] [295] Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that [888] [958] [855] older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired [84] [443] clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are [462] [422] [562] made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the [179] manufacture of cassave bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

---

[1] The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

36 · ADAPTATION

244 [177] [252] [799] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians-and by rural Venezuelans-and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] [284] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome [531] piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] [437] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in the trading network.

/80 cont./

241 166 361 It is worth mentioning that at present in the course of one year the Surára as well as the Pakidái regularly carry on their field work in two places that are far apart. During the rainy season, April-September, the Surára, as is well known, live at the Cachoeira dos Indios on the upper Aracá and the Pakidái on a right tributary of the middle Demini, where they also own fields. On the other hand, they spend the summer season together in the large, open Surára maloka (between the Demini and Aracá rivers), around which was laid out a roça which was large enough to be divided among the Surára and Pakidái families. Thus, both tribes always have the benefit of abundant harvests at their permanent dwelling sites. In addition, there are the bananas and pupunha fruits of the abandoned fields, to which the entire tribe travels at the time of this harvest, or gathering expeditions are undertaken to bring in chestnuts, inga, and other kinds of wild fruits.

241 ● 423 Since, however, on account of the seminomadic way of life of these Indians, one forest clearing or another is left untended for shorter or longer periods, there is the danger that in the meantime members of hostile tribes will break in and take possession of the produce there. Provision is made for this, however. Before the tribe leaves one of its clearings, a few men commissioned by the chief stick several wooden arrow points and thorns of the pupunha palm, coated with poison, into the ground and put leaves over them. Hostile Indians with plunder in view therefore risk the danger of running these into their legs (370).

[291] 370. All Indians of this region go barefoot.

[184] As I was told, this custom is resorted to by all Yanonámi tribes, and for this reason no Indian would ever think of setting foot on the deserted clearing of another tribe (371).

[114] 371. This hint may be of the greatest importance for research travelers who want to work in this region.

/445 cont./

241 Many of the Guaika /Waica/ are very careful with regard to weeding their plantings, especially when the plants are small. Later, when the plants have reached a good development, they weed the plantings less frequently. Then, perhaps three or more years later, when the land has begun to yield less produce, they cease weeding it altogether and harvest only what has managed to grow by hard efforts.

222 Generally, there is found in these "conucos," at least in the abandoned ones, the "pijiguao" palm. This is because the "pijiguao" begins to produce about the time the earth has become too poor for other produce.

222 481 The fruit of the "pijiguao" palm is harvested by loosening the bunches by means of a long pole with a hook. When the palm has grown too much to perform /446/ this operation from the ground, the Guaika climb it, using two devices, each one made out of a pair of sticks tied together in the form of an X, which, although being adjusted to the thorny trunk of the palm, can be slid up or down while the climber keeps his foot on one of these platforms (see Fig. 1). Once the bunch has been reached and loosened, it is carefully lowered to the ground, tied to a liana to prevent the fruit from being damaged by a fall from such a height. /[illegible] Fig. 1 appears here./

241 [462] The men are the ones who clear the "conucos." The women go to the "conucos" more than anything in order to transport the harvests to their homes.

241 857 [423] Every family has its own "conuco." Frequently the boys begin to prepare their own "conucos" at an early age (at about 11 years old). Even boys seven years old succeed in having a few of their own plants in the "conuco" of their father or of their older brother. Other boys only help their father in the plantings and have little or nothing until they reach 18 years of age or more.

/467/

Property and Ownership

• 423 Every man has property rights over the land which he has cleared for the planting of the "conuco," until he has abandoned it.

When a settlement returns to a former site, every man has the right to build his new dwelling in the same place where the previous one was, if he should so desire, even when the place might have been covered by the forest, as frequently occurs.

422 Every person possesses his own hammock and ornaments.

[423] The men are owners of the "conucos," the dwellings, the clay pots, hunting and fishing equipment, and that for making fire, and the machetes.

Women possess the baskets, the spinning equipment, the totumas for water, the bands for carrying children, the firewood, and the leaves of the roof.

Both the men and the women may possess axes, knives, mirrors, beads, or other objects which they might have made or acquired.

437 Objects change ownership either by gift or by barter. Bartered objects are generally those which cannot be made or obtained by everyone. These include foreign articles (e.g., machetes, matches, etc.) and also domestic articles which are made only by certain persons or products which everyone does not have the ability to make successfully (e.g., clay pots for cooking, the strongest type of "yopo," totumas for water, and shafts for arrows).

431 Articles to which each and every person has access, such as foodstuffs, water, baskets, and small totumas or gourds, are generally given away when they are divided up. Sometimes even

[572] scarce articles are given to intimate friends.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service. The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-tedi (Yanarima, Walyuruma, Hekurama, and Hikarima) and the Patanowë-tedi (Ishinarima, Rubrobemi, Rokuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in Patanowë-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

(2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions, each making a new garden further up the Shanishani-u River and abandoned Patanowë-tëka. The move was stimulated by the frequency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were always fighting with each other," said one of my informants, "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at Patanowë-tëka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller (Brararabëwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fearing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

having such estates, particularly in those societies to which real estate is totally irrelevant. The Yąnomamö corporate estate consists entirely of rights in disposing of female members belonging to that corporation. As such, males and females have different kinds of shares in the corporation. Males, on the average, tend to inherit more rights, while females tend to inherit more duties and obligations. Land to the Yąnomamö is not a scarce item, as they are pioneer slash-and-burn horticulturists expanding into virgin territory.[1] Myths, names and ritual functions do not comprise elements in these corporations.[2]

It would seem important to distinguish between lineal descent corporations which control property and those which do not, as Befu and Plotnicov (1962) have done. A further distinction, however, seems warranted on the basis of the data presented here: between <u>societies</u> having any corporate groups that control real property and societies that have corporate descent groups, none of which have control over property as their estate. The possession of real estate tends to reinforce the linearity of corporate descent groups in both dogma and composition,[3] and invites the addition of

---

[1] This is true of the Mavaca Basin Yąnomamö. Elsewhere the Yąnomamö may not be pioneers, but land is not scare in those areas either.

[2] I am aware that the Yąnomamö have lineally transmitted totems; these have nothing to do with the descent group recruitment or its estate.

[3] See Meggitt, 1965, for an excellent account of the relationship of agnatic kinship, real property, and lineage

12 new functions for the corporation, thus leading to greater integration among its members. These qualities are weak or absent in descent corporations which lack real property. The Yanomamö descent group corporation, therefore, presents a number of theoretical problems not encountered in the study of societies having corporations whose estate consists, above all, of real property.[1]

One of the problems is the definition of the group by a criteria other than descent alone; both descent and residence are critical in recruiting members to the corporation. The factor of residence as a criterion of recruiting members into corporate groups has been dealt with by Firth (1957). He showed how residence was critical in establishing affiliation to 'ambilateral' (ramage) descent groups among the Tikopians, and how individuals, in some cases, have a choice ('option') in affiliating with one of a number of lines of descent in, for example, the Maori hapu. Although Firth argued that property alone was not the basis of the individual choices,

---

dynamics and Sahlins (1963) for a discussion of the important difference between group dogma and group composition.

[1] I do not think that the problems raised can be satisfactorily solved by classifying corporations by function. The Yanomamö have a solidarity problem largely, I feel, because the descent groups compete rather than cooperate. It would seem that the overall integration of this or any society would be enhanced by the existence of additional corporate group functions besides the disposition of marriageable females. In order to appreciate the contribution land controlling corporations have in total social integration, we must distinguish landed societies from others.

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

244 [177] [252] [499] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians–and by rural Venezuelans–and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] [284] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome [531] piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in [437] the trading network.

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2-7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*isu hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

father. He can rejoin them later and again become an active member, but while he lives in a different village he does not participate in the political affairs of that group. Third, the group is *corporate* with respect to the functions of arranging the marriages of the female members. This is the most important single feature of the local descent group: its *function*. The first two characteristics of the group dealt only with the manner in which members can be recruited to the group (birth in the group and coresidence of such kinsmen). In anthropological usage, a corporation is a group of people who share some *estate* and have *rights* and *obligations* with respect to each other and to the estate. There are definite rules for recruiting new members into the corporation. Most studies of primitive corporations have dealt with those societies in which *land* is the estate of the corporation. (See, for example, Fried 1957.) Among the Yanomamö, land has nothing to do with the functions of the corporate group. Women and rights to dispose of women in marriage constitute the estate of the Yanomamö corporate groups. Leach is the first anthropologist to draw attention to the analytical importance of this kind of corporation (1961, Chapter 5), although Radcliffe-Brown (1953), in one of the first theoretical discussions of primitive corporations, emphasized the importance of rights over *persons* in some kinds of corporations.

Marriages are arranged by the male members of the local descent group. It cannot be supposed, for example, that the marriage rules automatically dictate the manner in which a woman is disposed in marriage; there are always some negotiations brought about by the situation. For example, a small village may require alliances with larger villages for purposes of defense, and the men of the small village may promise to give daughters to men in the larger village; or there may be a number of men within the village that stand in wife-receiving relationship to the girl, and a decision must be made regarding her ultimate disposition. In some cases a woman's daughters are promised to young men even before they are born. Generally, the girls are near puberty age by the time they are definitely given to a specific male, and they begin cohabiting with the man shortly after the puberty ceremony is over. In some situations a woman must be reassigned to an appropriate mate because her first husband died or abandoned her; or she might run away from a cruel husband and seek refuge among her brothers, bringing about a situation in which they must decide what to do with her.

Women abhor the possibility of being given to men in distant villages, since their fate is much less certain. Men in general are cruel to their wives, and the women rely on the protection of their brothers. A woman who is given to a man in a distant village, therefore, will generally have no brothers to protect her.

A man has considerably more say about the disposition of his daughters when he is young and has immature sons. As the sons grow older, they can overrule the father and insist that the girl be given to a man from some lineage that is likely to reciprocate with a sister. Ideally, women like to be given to men within their natal village. In this fashion the women can remain close to their own kinsmen and rely on the support of their brothers should the husband be particularly cruel. The best arrangement for everyone concerned is for the girl to be given to a man to whom she is related as FaSiDa or MoBrDa in the biological sense. Marriages of this kind exempt the husband from the onerous duty of stringently avoiding his parents-in-law, whereas they at the same time bind the wife-giving and wife-receiving groups more closely together in the system of reciprocities. As Kaobawä stated it, "It is good for groups to exchange women back and

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December-January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yąnomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharariawä, Kaobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kaobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kaobawä's younger wife. Kaobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kaobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yanomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kaobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

121 having such estates, particularly in those societies to
613 which real estate is totally irrelevant. The Yąnomamö
562 corporate estate consists entirely of rights in disposing
421 of female members belonging to that corporation. As such, males and females have different kinds of shares in the corporation. Males, on the average, tend to inherit more rights, while females tend to inherit more duties and obli-
[423] gations. Land to the Yąnomamö is not a scarce item, as they
[241] are pioneer slash-and-burn horticulturists expanding into
[424] virgin territory.[1] Myths, names and ritual functions do not comprise elements in these corporations.[2]

121 It would seem important to distinguish between lineal descent corporations which control property and those which do not, as Befu and Plotnicov (1962) have done. A further distinction, however, seems warranted on the basis of the data presented here: between <u>societies</u> having any corporate groups that control real property and societies that have corporate descent groups, none of which have control over property as their estate. The possession of real estate tends to reinforce the lineality of corporate descent groups in both dogma and composition,[3] and invites the addition of

[184]

[1]This is true of the Mavaca Basin Yąnomamö. Elsewhere the Yąnomamö may not be pioneers, but land is not scare in those areas either.

[2]I am aware that the Yąnomamö have lineally transmitted totems; these have nothing to do with the descent group recruitment or its estate.

[3]See Meggitt, 1965, for an excellent account of the relationship of agnatic kinship, real property, and lineage

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana

252 /51 cont./
184
285 The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry
[192] among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curauá plant
[438] (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter
[192] from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohí -- (290).

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

[178] Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in.
[426] Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the
114 Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is
252 supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is
174 significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with
285 a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any there, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed
[177] with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karaíben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

minutes later the two women were quietly walking home with the baby, who appeared to be dead.

While the mother goes about her normal tasks, with the child tied on her back all the time, the father stays in the hammock, absolutely motionless, eating nothing but fruit and palm-hearts—'they don't heat the blood,' Luis Antonio assured us.

Among the Guiana-Amazon Indians I have never heard of the father himself suffering from birth-pangs during this period of rest. Such reports, however, have come from travellers and observers of the Indian tribes inhabiting the southern regions of the lower Amazon. Before one can believe them one must accept a little more than the theory of the inter-relation of cause and effect. A good dose of barefaced auto-suggestion would also be needed to account for this phenomenon, and only the most undeveloped of the Indians would be capable of it.

IV

Of kindred interest, while we are on the subject of childbirth, is the organization of Indian society. It has been asked whether the pattern is patriarchal or matriarchal, and what part is played by the individual family.

If the question is limited to the Shirians, the answer is simple: they have reached no stage of organization above the rudimentary animal level. The family has the sole function of producing life and protecting it until the offspring is capable of fending for itself. Their society is not patriarchal, because the role of the family ceases where its physical functions cease, at the point where, in civilized societies, moral functions begin. Nor is the pattern matriarchal, because the women are held in a form of slavery, though the very lack of an exact social system means that they sometimes emerge from this to become the companions of the men—a state of affairs which may be regarded as more emancipated, or less.

The children of both sexes, while they are young, remain the exclusive responsibility of the women, but when the boys reach an age at which they can do without their mothers (this generally means as soon as they cease to be breast-fed) they become independent males and do not belong to anybody in particular. Up to a certain point the father is free to pick out one who may be

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

especially strong and intelligent, and keep him at his side, adopting him, as it were, as his successor. The little girls continue to live in the feminine world of their tribe. Shy and submissive, they take on the humblest tasks, fetching water, making the fire and helping in the preparation—highly problematical—of food.

Such definitions of customs have, however, only a relative value, like any attempt to estimate the Shirian way of life: for Shirians are to be found spread over wild territory of vast extent. Their customs are less well defined than one might suppose after reading certain tracts about primitive peoples—the Pacific islanders, for instance. These give the impression that with slight formal changes only, Western culture might have much to learn from the degree of social organization they have attained to. The Shirian tribes, cut off from one another as they are by physical barriers such as mountains and rivers, and moral barriers like the ceaseless state of war which exists between the various branches of this race of 'howling Indians', have developed their own customs in their own sporadic fashion. Sometimes they have been weakened by contact with foreigners, such as the Makiritari in the north-west and the Makushi in the east. More often they have been weakened by a lack of strong traditions, which do not spring easily from such an excessively low level of culture, where mere survival calls for an unending struggle against the tremendous power of the eternally hostile forest.

The most primitive races are those most affected by their geographical setting. Their environment conditions them. Only by adapting themselves continually to their surroundings, only by the long process of response to the determining factor of geography, can they create that growing racial identity which at last succeeds in reversing the process—that is, in conditioning the surroundings instead of being conditioned by them. But we are here touching on the larger question of the development of civilization generally.

Where the Shirians are concerned, we are still at the beginning of the beginning, when geography is the absolute determining factor. Here environment is the master of man—a creature inferior, qualitatively and quantitatively, to the region which it is his fate to inhabit.

The territory they occupy is immense. Divided though it may be by great cordilleras, which make it the breeding ground for various rivers rushing north, west and south, it possesses one marked characteristic throughout its whole extent: the sources and the headwaters of the rivers are contained in a sort of

/118 cont./

628 are not feasible. The villages remain /119/ dependent on one
182 another in economic, sociological, and political respects, in connection with which the frequent change of partners guarantees the multiplicity of the contacts. Politically independent, with equal rights, and not anchored in any superordinate organization, the villages are the knots in a tightly woven network of active mutual relationships, in part of a positive kind, in part negative; the tension inherent in these relationships represents, on the one hand, the dynamic factor and, on the other hand, the stabilizing factor in the social life of the Waika.

621 Up to now I have used the term village as though it represented a stable unit; if we look at its internal structure, however, it turns out that this local body, the settlement community, very tightly united in itself, again is made up of individual groups which are distinguished from one another on certain occasions.
621 In many cases the festivals of human beings rather than their daily
796 life offer the opportunity to recognize the nature of their social
182 grouping; during festive occasions the community itself is represented and confirms this representation in ceremonial. Among
621 the Waika the ceremonial gift-exchange was the key to under-
● 431 standing the village structure. That is, after a successful large-scale hunt, in which the men of almost every house take part, it is customary to exchange baskets of roasted meat and a few bananas within the village. This exchange takes place, however, not between the individual houses, but between groups of houses; no baskets of meat are exchanged within the same group of houses, but rather only to and from the houses of the other groups. The village investigated by us was divided, according to the paths of exchange, into three groups of houses, which -- perhaps by chance -- were arranged in strips: on both sides of the oval several houses were combined in a group, and the two houses opposite each other in the middle likewise did not exchange gifts.
621 Now the next step must be to look at the reflection of the
611 sociologically inadequate term "group of houses" on the kinship level: the members of the individual groups of houses are to be characterized, according to their kinship relations, as bilateral and bilocal groups of families.

/119 cont./

000 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the
621 multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation --
● 431 is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but, on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance.
621 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion,
166 namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements, which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a
[361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their
[342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried children. The new place is chosen according to the
262 possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting;
245 nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this
174 migration, for even during this period they continue to live from
166 the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent
[222] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on
[224] gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the past.

/120 cont./

621 166 241 These periodically recurring radial movements from a fixed center (the village with its planting) do not affect, in sociological respects, the substance of the village: normally the whole village migrates. In this respect, however, it is different with regard to a second type of village movement, which is not characterized by the going back and forth of the short forest-sojourns, but rather takes place over longer periods of time and only in one direction. The Waika live only about five years from one planting and then move to a new one laid out beforehand, which is usually about a day's journey away. Practically every village known to us has an old and a new planting, for since the chonta palm (Guilielma gasipaes), still cultivated today and useful in many ways, has a different life span than the various types of bananas, overlapping in the utilization of the plantings cannot be [173] avoided. If a newly established planting is bearing enough bananas, the whole village is moved to the new planting: the names and the site of earlier plantings are remembered exactly, however, so that from this the history of each individual village, i.e., its shifting in Waika territory, and consequently the history of the Waika themselves in their territorial aspect, can be reconstructed 621 for two to three generations. Such a move to a new place, how- 166 ever, is also the occasion for changes in the composition of the 161 village, for a split as a rule, for in the meantime, because of the 173 enormous /121/ surplus of births, which the Waika have to register today, the village has grown far beyond the limit of the number of persons that can be governed well under their institution-poor system. The partition of the village is not done at discretion, but exactly along the lines of separation indicated by the above- [431] mentioned composition by groups of families. One or more groups [182] of families are the bearers of the new villages, and the memory of the way the new village was founded by the union of several groups of families is ceremonially represented as shown, in the gift-exchange.

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[796] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[856] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[439] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows
[764] for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

Surára
Pakidái

/102 cont./

755 [123] I was allowed to take part as a spectator in all the cures, and each rekurá was a new, great experience for me. I was 755 amazed at the devotion, passion, and fervor with which the 756 chief and his helpers interceded with all their physical and 622 psychic powers to ward off the sicknesses of their fellow-tribesmen (504). This explains why the Surára and Pakidái

[123]

504. The same care was bestowed upon me, the stranger. If I had an attack of malaria, the chief and his helpers likewise danced around me, and they sang in chorus while Hewemão stroked my body, massaged it, and sucked at it. He was of the opinion that the Waikâ had poisoned my blood because I lived in friendship with the Surára and had brought them so many beautiful gifts.

have such boundless confidence in their chiefs and are absolutely convinced of their magic powers. It is doubtless due to this unshakable faith that so many of the sick can be cured (505).

505. I never saw the chiefs demand a fee for their cures. The members of the tribe show their appreciation, however, by continuously offering their chiefs larger or smaller gifts (see p. 130).

[431]

755 In this context I should like to cite the following very re-756 vealing description by Herbert Baldus: "The witch doctors were 114 simply called imposters by early travelers, and even today all whites who are incapable of understanding the mentality of the Indian are of the same opinion. One forgets that, as a result of the suggestibility of the primitive, the magic practices not only essentially help the sick person and rid his relatives of their fears, but also weave such a spell around the practitioner himself that it is impossible to decide to what extent he is acting in good

/467/

Property and Ownership

423 Every man has property rights over the land which he has cleared for the planting of the "conuco," until he has abandoned it.

When a settlement returns to a former site, every man has the right to build his new dwelling in the same place where the previous one was, if he should so desire, even when the place might have been covered by the forest, as frequently occurs.

422 Every person possesses his own hammock and ornaments.

[423] The men are owners of the "conucos," the dwellings, the clay pots, hunting and fishing equipment, and that for making fire, and the machetes.

Women possess the baskets, the spinning equipment, the totumas for water, the bands for carrying children, the firewood, and the leaves of the roof.

Both the men and the women may possess axes, knives, mirrors, beads, or other objects which they might have made or acquired.

437 Objects change ownership either by gift or by barter. Bartered objects are generally those which cannot be made or obtained by everyone. These include foreign articles (e.g., machetes, matches, etc.) and also domestic articles which are made only by certain persons or products which everyone does not have the ability to make successfully (e.g., clay pots for cooking, the strongest type of "yopo," totumas for water, and shafts for arrows).

• 431 Articles to which each and every person has access, such as foodstuffs, water, baskets, and small totumas or gourds, are generally given away when they are divided up. Sometimes even scarce articles are given to intimate friends.

[572]

inter-village visiting and solidarity, for one trade is usually the prelude to another. For example, the Bisaasi-tedi obtain much of their spun cotton and curare arrow points from their Shamatari allies. It takes considerable time and labor to accumulate these items. When the Shamatari are visited by the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter make known their desire to have these items, and their hosts promise to produce them. When the items are accumulated, the Shamatari visit the Bisaasi-tedi to inform them their cotton and arrow points are ready. A feast is arranged and the items are given over to the Bisaasi-tedi after the celebration terminates. The Shamatari then request specific items from their hosts, and the cycle continues. Neither village is completely 'paid up' regarding goods it owes to the other, so that each exchange as Mauss (1954) argued, brings forth another.[1] The imporant point is that Yąnomamö trading is not stimulated by naturally occuring shortages or monopolies on resources; artificial shortages are <u>created</u> and these promote visiting between allies. In Durkheimian terms, the division of labor, irrespective of the causes, promotes organic solidarity between allied villages. And, the kinship category most intimately involved in the trading is the brother-in-law.

Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their

---

[1] The parallel between this and bride price payment in Burma is striking. See Leach, 1957. It is worth noting at this point that the Yąnomamö have no word for 'free' or 'gift'; the closest they can come to it is: "something given without cause." But nothing is given without cause, and they shrewdly keep track of all debts.

619 /75 cont./
651 already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
576 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
574 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114]

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
178
241 At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[622]
000

[174]

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

262 /207 cont./
223 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of
825 cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear. The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for
[514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground,
[785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily" on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war" /see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy.
[433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit,
[527] and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social
[114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48), Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion in greater detail, according to their observation of it among the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

241 sweet-potatoes, bitter and sweet yucca (manioc), and two varieties of another root crop known in Venezuela as mapuey. Next in importance is the seasonal crop of peach palm fruits (pijiguao), groves of which are cultivated by the Yąnomamö. [222] Contrary to some accounts, the Yąnomamö never collect this crop from wild trees, although they do return to abandoned gardens to collect the fruit. Other economically significant crops include maize, sugar cane, papaya, pineapples, avocados, peppers and gourds. Also grown are cotton, tobacco, arrow cane, drugs, pigment (bixa), and a large assortment of plants used for magical purposes only. Both their feasting practices [133] [527] and their warfare pattern[1] stimulate the Yąnomamö to grow more [122] than they require for subsistence purposes alone.

241 361 Occasionally the gardens of a particular village may have a preponderance of yucca (manioc) and maize as compared to plantains and bananas. This is usually the result of the distance between the last occupied site and the new one; it is easier to carry seeds and cuttings of maize and yucca than the heavier plantain and banana shoots, and a village that moves any distance usually establishes its new garden largely from cuttings and seeds of these plants taken from the old [262] garden. Eventually, however, the plantains and bananas spread, and a mature garden will always have a preponderance of these crops, the preferred staple of Yąnomamö diet.

222 Wild palm fruits are important additions to the diet

[828] [1] The Yąnomamö are occasionally obliged to take in refugee members of an allied village, and they plan their gardens accordingly.

*628 574 527 [523] [581] changes bind the villages to each other, are weak and unstable. The more frequently allies visit and feast with each other, the less likely treachery will take place, as a certain amount of trust and friendship is generated by visiting and feasting.

*628 438 • 433 The tendency for Yąnomamö villages to create artificial shortages of certain manufactured items is related to feasting and the creation of organic solidarity of a sort. After Yąnomamö villages enter into alliances, they tend to adjust their economic production of such items as bows, arrow cane, spun cotton, tobacco, baskets, cultivated drugs, dogs and clay cooking pots. Any village is capable of producing all of these goods, but allied villages create shortages of some of these items so that they can become dependent on the productivity of their allies, thereby having excuses to visit and trade.

*628 438 527 574 607 One of the most significant relationship in trading between villages is the shoriwä tie, and these men trade with each other whenever they visit. As a trade frequently involves feasting, the specialization in production of specific items leads to greater solidarity between allied villages. Although it would be an error simply to identify the role of shoriwä with that of trading partner, this aspect of the shoriwä tie, particularly between men of different villages, is by no means negligible in accounting for the solidarity this relationship promotes in inter-village political ties.

*628 438 527 574 The way the trading is conducted also contributes to

inter-village visiting and solidarity, for one trade is usually the prelude to another. For example, the Bisaasi-tedi obtain much of their spun cotton and curare arrow points from their Shamatari allies. It takes considerable time and labor to accumulate these items. When the Shamatari are visited by the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter make known their desire to have these items, and their hosts promise to produce them. When the items are accumulated, the Shamatari visit the Bisaasi-tedi to inform them their cotton and arrow points are ready. A feast is arranged and the items are given over to the Bisaasi-tedi after the celebration terminates. The Shamatari then request specific items from their hosts, and the cycle continues. Neither village is completely 'paid up' regarding goods it owes to the other, so that each exchange as Mauss (1954) argued, brings forth another.[1] The imporant point is that Yąnomamö trading is not stimulated by naturally occuring shortages or monopolies on resources; artificial shortages are created and these promote visiting between allies. In Durkheimian terms, the division of labor, irrespective of the causes, promotes organic solidarity between allied villages. And, the kinship category most intimately involved in the trading is the brother-in-law.

Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their

[1] The parallel between this and bride price payment in Burma is striking. See Leach, 1957. It is worth noting at this point that the Yąnomamö have no word for 'free' or 'gift'; the closest they can come to it is: "something given without cause." But nothing is given without cause, and they shrewdly keep track of all debts.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

removed and laid along the ground in the direction of the burrow to measure the distance from the entrance. The men began digging at the end of the vine and located the asphyxiated armadillo on the first attempt.

The jungle provides many other kinds of foods and products too numerous to mention. Some, like vines and lianas, are very useful and commonly employed in basket-making; others, such as edible mushrooms, crabs, pigments, and decorative plant products, are less significant, and exploited only sporadically. Despite the amazing variety of food products to be found in the jungle, however, the Yąnomamö could not exist for any substantial period of time on collected foods only: they rely heavily on their cultivated crops. The tropical forest is much less productive and reliable than one would imagine. The most abundant foods, palm fruits, are seasonal—a group of people could only rely on them for a few months of the year, during which time some 80 group members would have to forage over a wide area to obtain sufficient palm fruits to keep everybody well fed.

Game animals are not abundant, and an area is rapidly hunted out, so that a group must keep constantly on the move. Furthermore, hunting depends as much on luck as it does on skill and is not a very reliable way to supply nourishment. I have gone on five-day hunting trips with the Yąnomamö in areas that had not been hunted for decades, and had we not brought cultivated foods along, we would have been extremely hungry at the end of this time—we did not collect even enough meat to feed ourselves. On other trips, we often managed to collect enough game in one day to feed the entire village.

GARDENING Although the Yąnomamö spend almost as much time hunting as they do gardening, the bulk of their diet comes from foods that are cultivated. Perhaps 85 percent or more of the diet consists of domesticated rather than wild foods—plantains are by far the most important food in the diet.

The Yąnomamö are constantly looking for potential garden sites. When I hunted with them, the topic of conversation that evening would eventually drift over to the merits of the area as a possible site for a new garden. Most new garden sites are, in fact, discovered by hunters.

The land for a new site should not be heavily covered with brush, which is difficult to remove. The larger trees should not be too numerous either, as it takes a good deal of work to chop them down. Ideally, the new site should have very light jungle cover, should be well drained, near a source of drinking water, and relatively free of thorny underbrush. The Yąnomamö call a garden *hikari tăka;* jungle that has the potential of being a good garden is likewise called *hikari tăka.*

The first operation in making a new garden is to cut the smaller trees and brush; the bigger trees, *koyaba hi,* are left standing until the underbrush is removed. Then the big trees are felled with axes and left lying on the ground to dry out in the sun.

My older informants claimed that they did not have steel tools when they were younger and had to kill the big trees by cutting a ring of bark off around the base of the stump, using a crude stone axe, piling brush around them, and burning them. The trees rarely fell, but the fire usually killed them, and their leaves dropped off, permitting the sunlight to reach the ground.

They also claimed that making a garden was more arduous in those days because a large area would have to be searched for the necessary quantities of kindling used to kill the big trees. Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

guishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö. Many wild plants are also said to have magical properties.

CONCLUSION The Yąnomamö have adapted to their jungle environment with a very simple technology. Exploiting both the naturally occurring foods and domesticated crops is relatively easy with this technology, and the resources of both the jungle and the garden provide the people with the two basic necessities of life: food and shelter. Although the resources are extremely varied and numerous, the diet is largely dominated by one food item: plantains. Techniques of manufacturing are so simple and direct that each individual can produce any item he needs from the resources immediately around him. The material aspect of the culture is decidedly rudimentary by comparison with other tropical forest tribes; the Yąnomamö appear to deliberately limit their possessions to an amount that can be easily transported in case the group is obliged to abandon its site on short notice.

Adaptation to the Sociopolitical Environment

The adaptation of the Yąnomamö to their environment can be only partially expressed in terms of how they make a living in the tropical forest with specific kinds of tools, plants, and techniques, for the forest is only one aspect of the external world to which they must adjust. Their adaptation also takes place in a social and political environment. This likewise affects the way in which the Yąnomamö are distributed over the land, how their villages are moved from one location to another, and the kinds of relationships each village has with its neighbors. In short, the Yąnomamö must relate themselves to each other as well as to nature.

ALLIANCES AND VILLAGE SIZE I spoke of the considerations that must be met when a new garden site is selected. However, the area within which the new site is selected is determined almost exclusively by political factors. A Yąnomamö group would remain indefinitely in the area it settled were it not for the threat of raids from warring neighbors. To be sure, the group would move its garden little by little each year, but the general area would be abandoned only if the people were driven out by stronger groups around them. Again, dissident factions of the village might leave the area if a particularly serious fight developed within the group, but because a garden is necessary for the group to survive as a group, the Yąnomamö abandon them only when faced with disaster. To establish a new garden at a great distance from the old one, a Herculean effort is required just to transport the necessary plantain cuttings and seed, not to mention carrying provisions for eating while the work of clearing the garden and planting the crops progresses. Then, since a new garden produces sporadically for the first year, the people are frequently faced with food shortage. They are, therefore, reluctant to sacrifice the predictability of subsistence at the established garden for insecurity, periods of hunger, and hard work at some distant location.

Instead, they develop political alliances with neighboring villages, thereby adjusting to their social environment. The nature of these alliances is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but at this point I will make some general statements about the relationships between villages to show why, on the one hand, the social environment calls forth the alliances, and why on the other hand, when alliances fail, a group must abandon its area.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

Pedro had settled for quarters near us, but not inside the hut itself, which was periodically invaded by Shirians: he erected a little roof among the trees between us and the river, where there were less insects than elsewhere. He would come over in the evening and chat to us, sitting on the table, by the light of the hurricane lamp which Giovanni managed to get going after a struggle. Pedro came in useful. It was thanks to him that we were able to set up a price list, or a list of exchange values, putting a definite value on any work the Indians cared to do for us and the little fruit and greenstuff they could provide. The list showed, for instance, that a whole hand of bananas was worth one small looking-glass, and that five looking-glasses would buy one tapir. One pine-apple was exchangeable for one box of matches; four sewing needles for one sugar-cane; and one little tin of salt was the reward of a day's labour—that is, a day spent with us, stretched out in a hammock and singing, with requests for a share of our food every time one of us got busy near the fire. In most cases our price was a theoretical one, our actual supplies of goods being exhausted until the plane dropped us more. Nevertheless, we took care to make our price list known to all with the most eloquent explanations.

In spite of this, some funny things happened. The rate for an antelope was five bolivars—a rather theoretical sum, equivalent in practice, for example, to one lima. We were also interested in the skin of any animal, part of our purpose being to collect them. For a whole antelope skin, we paid one bolivar or its equivalent in a reel of cotton, or a spoonful of lead shot, or two small hooks, etc. As a consequence, we would have an Indian come to give us a day's work, at the regular rate. During the day, paid by us, he would shoot, with our gun, an antelope which he expected us to pay for while he kept the skin. The skin was sold to us separately, while the meat would provide meals which he or his friends and relations shared with us.

On the Kirisochi savannah there thus arose some very complicated auditing problems. We decided to burn our price list and put our trust in our powers of improvisation.

VII

When Luis Antonio came back, we set out with him to climb the Sariṭariṭama, the deity that watched over the source of the Canaracuni. Enrico, Giovanni, and I were in the party. Luis brought a kinsman, and there was also

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

his jungle intimately—where to find palm dates, cocoa and brazil nuts in their season, and where game birds are most plentifully found. He hunts the herds of peccary, his ear, versed in all the sounds of the forest, detecting his prey before they detect him. When the water in the rivers is low he shoots his fish with arrows and when the sand banks are uncovered he hunts tortoise eggs buried in the sand. His interminable wanderings are limited only by his forest lore; he lives only for the day, his sole reserve of food being a small store of bananas brought from the village plantation.

Platanal

As we closed the shore our reception was tumultuous. From the high bank above us the Indians leaped yelling into the water and clambered on board, shaking themselves like wet dogs. Laughing and gesticulating they took hold of our mooring lines. Though some of us were a little overcome by this display of exuberance, Butrón was not in the least disconcerted. He knew that the Indians had long learned to associate him with machetes and *manioc*. As soon as it was possible to do so, Butrón had a basket of *manioc* and a dozen machetes carried ashore, and the Indians who had already begun to ransack our cargo left it and hurried ashore.

"*Shori! Manioco! Oji!*" they cried striking their bellies. They jostled round the basket, stuffing handfuls of the coarse flour into their mouths, their heads thrown back in ecstasy.

As the Waïka have no knowledge of contriving the simplest of iron tools, or of grinding *manioc*, all such articles were highly valued objects of barter. So were matches, once they had been shown how to use them.

Butrón told them we wanted the large green bananas which are eaten cooked; the accepted tariff is three hands of bananas for one machete. Before long, we heard some of the natives making merry in the plantation, and made as if to follow them. But at once the others became suspicious and gestured to us to return to the river bank. We insisted and they became menacing, finally refusing to go on gathering the bananas if we did not desist.

Surára
Pakidái

/27 cont./

283 left twist. Then she lets the spindle fall to a vertical position between her legs and rotate on the ground.

[170] This method belongs to Variation I of the Bakaïri spinning (127), which is extraordinarily characteristic for the

127. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 34 and 46.

Guiana tribes and which is described in a similar manner by Koch-Grünberg (128), Frödin-Nordenskiöld (129), Im Thurn (130),

128. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

129. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 52 and 56.

130. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 282.

and Roth (131).

131. Roth, 1929, p. 23 and Pl. I and II.

283 436 437 The spun threads are wound into round balls, which in this form are used as tribute payment to the Xiriâna (see pp. 159/160) and also represent popular trade items, exactly as in the case of the Arekuná-Taulipáng and their neighbors (132).

132. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

283 174 The cotton, the spindle, and the technique of spinning it to the left presumably reached the Surára and Pakidái from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes by way of the Xiriâna. The fact that cotton and spindle represent imports becomes clear in particular from the technique of the left twist, since in the case of the original material, the curauá fibers, the threads are always twisted to the right. Im Thurn already points out that in Guiana

[171] [114]

Surára
Pakidái

/44 cont./

301 South American tribal units developed their abilities and passed
171 on their traditions over the centuries from generation to generation.

301 For the Yanonámi the simple upper-arm ornament represents
184 a further external distinction, for Xiriána, Puseheweteri, and
114 Aramamesteri men whom I met wore it in the same manner. With regard to the Xiriána, my observations correspond with a statement by Koch-Grünberg: "The men," he says, "wrap around the upper arms long, red-dyed cotton strings, on the ends of which hang bird skins (Pl. 46, 2 and 2a). When they go to war, they stick bunches of tail feathers of the red arara in front under the arm bindings, so that they project above the /45/ shoulders" (239).

239. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

For the Waiká this upper-arm ornament is documented by photographs by Zerries (240) (241).

240. Zerries, 1955b, frontispiece.

241. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

301 As for ear and lip ornaments, parallels are found among
237 the Makuxí and Arekuná-Taulipang, but here the white down-
171 feathers of the king vulture or of the large hocco (mutum) are used (242).

242. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

301 j) Bead ornaments
● 436 European glass beads, especially small ones, are to this day the favorite trade items among the Surára and Pakidái.
[822] They value most of all white, blue, and red beads (243), and

243. In this respect the Surára and Pakidái are like many other South American tribes (Menzel, 1957, p. 23 and Pl. 3).

/45 cont./

301
436
822
[171]

only then come beads in the colors of orange, yellow, black, and green (244).

244. Krause also notes with regard to the Karajá that they scorn green glass beads (Krause, 1911, p. 279), and among many other tribes there is likewise an aversion to this color (Menzel, 1957, pp. 17/18 and Pl. II and III). For this reason Brigitte Menzel asks the justifiable questions: "Could this rejection of green raw material among forest peoples be traced back to the predominance of green in their physical-geographical environment? Do they prefer other colors for reasons of contrast?" (Menzel, 1957, p. 18.)

301
462

They are strung by the women on cords of cotton or curauá fibers, at which the men occasionally help, and are used as neck chains, upper-arm and wrist cords, and ear pendants.

301
822

I was able to observe the following ways of making them: On a cord are strung, for example, only white, red, or blue beads. Depending on the taste of the person making it, however, a blue or red bead may always follow three white ones; others prefer the color combination of blue, white, red, or vice versa. There are many more variations, however, also in combination with other colors.

Moreover, chains are made of two strings, though less often. In this case, for example, a white bead is strung on both strings, then a red or blue one on one string, then again a white one on both, etc.

301

Women and girls like to wear several strings of beads, one over the other, as neck chains, whereas men and boys never tie on more than one. Only men wear upper-arm strings of glass beads and only boys and girls corresponding strings around their wrists. Short chains of beads which are fastened in the perforations of the ear lobes are worn by both sexes, though only rarely. Then,

/117 cont./

628 tendency toward the independence of the next smaller parts acting on this plane and forming it -- namely, the villages.

These hostile relationships between the villages are external evidence of a centrifugal force in Waika culture seeking detach-
628 ment. The opposite tendency, the centripetal force toward bind-
574 ing the villages together, finds its expression in active intercourse
438 for trading and visiting. These trips, which are performed with such zeal that practically every second day there is some associa-tion with another village, from or to it, can be divided into sev-
438 eral groups, according to their purpose. First, trips purely for trade take place: each village prefers to produce or procure a certain article of the material culture so that it practically has a monopoly on it. One village supplies especially fine tobacco, another is favorably located in a place where much arrow-cane grows, a third produces pots because good clay is present in the vicinity, another is the supplier of hunting dogs for the neighbor-hood, and the village closest to us naturally barters primarily with European ironware. This formation of centers for specific goods naturally favored the development of commercial traffic; the trading itself is carried out over very long periods and thus resembles a gift-exchange behind which there is a certain amount
● 437 of compulsion. When one knows that the partner has more objects of a kind than he justifiably needs for himself, it is requested very urgently, and the one so entreated may not refuse, if he does not want to risk enmity and war -- he can, of course, get his revenge
[182] in his own way the next time. This system successfully prevents
[556] any accumulation of capital; no Waika possesses noticeably more
[565] than his neighbor; there are no social distinctions; and consequently no vertical classes.

628 Besides trade, the transmission of news, which proceeds in the
574 form of a /118/ ceremonial conversational-singing and not in
[203] simple dialogue, is also one purpose of such trips, as are wife-
[533] seeking and courting in other villages. As a rule all these trips
[584] are made by a group of men or young people who are guests for one or at most two nights in the strange village and then, after the trading has been done, oddly enough not until the last minute

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[796] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[956] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[437] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows
[764] for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

Surára
Pakidái

/27 cont./

283 left twist. Then she lets the spindle fall to a vertical position between her legs and rotate on the ground.

[190] This method belongs to Variation I of the Bakaïri spinning (127), which is extraordinarily characteristic for the

127. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 34 and 46.

Guiana tribes and which is described in a similar manner by Koch-Grünberg (128), Frödin-Nordenskiöld (129), Im Thurn (130),

128. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

129. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 52 and 56.

130. Im Thurn, 1883, p. 282.

and Roth (131).

131. Roth, 1929, p. 23 and Pl. I and II.

283 436 437 The spun threads are wound into round balls, which in this form are used as tribute payment to the Xiriâna (see pp. 159/160) and also represent popular trade items, exactly as in the case of the Arekunâ-Taulipang and their neighbors (132).

132. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 86.

283 174 The cotton, the spindle, and the technique of spinning it to the left presumably reached the Surára and Pakidái from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes by way of the Xiriâna. The fact that cotton and spindle represent imports becomes clear in particular from the technique of the left twist, since in the case of the original material, the curauá fibers, the threads are always twisted to the right. Im Thurn already points out that in Guiana

[191] [114]

Surára
Unica
Shiriana
Pakidái

412 /55 cont./

[437] [439] The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their occasional contacts with the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) on the Rio Aracá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors [124] had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always 412 given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the 192 ax -- hanhokomá. The blade alone is named synonymously, 437 whereas the shaft is called -- hanhokomáhitohí. Most probably 174 the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according to Schuster, for the Waiká (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the 412 Xiriána seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg 174 writes: "They (the Xiriána) in former times apparently had no axes 114 at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

481

12. Equipment for Climbing

[139] [192] To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus or Oenocarpus /56/ bacaba Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), tucuma palm (Astrocaryum sp.), and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring -- horohoromá --, which consists of a split liana (cipó-titica) rolled up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears here./

/85 cont./

264 There is no feeling of modesty during eating, such as Karl von den Steinen, for example, describes for the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ (412).

412. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 66.

262 On the other hand, there are food taboos for sick people, pregnant women, for girls during their first and second menstruation, and for young men in connection with their two-months' training as medicine-man helpers.

10. Tame Animals

231

As the sole, true domestic animal, there is found among the Surára and Pakidái only the dog -- hiíma. In addition, for amusement and the pleasure in animals, European cocks are kept, as well as small monkeys, porpoise-like little hamsters (Cavia leucopyga), parrots, araras, and parakeets (Conuvidae).

As for the dogs, there are two barking varieties. One resembles the German shepherd dog, while the other, which is short- /86/ haired, white or spotted, looks very much like our fox terrier. Well-trained hunting dogs, with which a profitable [437] barter trade is carried on, are very lovingly cared for and are always given plenty of food, whereas the others are sometimes neglected. Basically, however, the Indians are attached to these animals also, which may be seen by the fact that every family that owns dogs, usually one or two, has made a "dog bed" behind their fire area, that is, a sleeping place for the loyal members of the household (Ill. 30) (see p. 29). Sometimes young dogs [552] are even nursed by women. If a bitch has brought forth young, all the relatives and friends ask to be given a young one later on and, upon receiving it, immediately give it a name. It may also be of interest to point out that the Indians mentioned never whistle to their dogs. Usually they call them by name or they hiss by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth (413).

[171]

413. Many North American Indians behave in the same way (Friederici, 1899, p. 365).

/440 cont./

202 484 Generally the messengers travel only during the day and communicate the message at night, after having rested from the trip. Nevertheless, in times of war, messengers may travel during the night, and urgent messages are communicated immediately upon the arrival of the messenger, be it day or night. [416] A messenger who travels at night carries with him two or three pieces of firewood tied together in torch fashion.

195 Official dealings are frequently carried out in the same form of crooning. A man might in this way request official authorization [584] to take a certain girl as his wife. These dealings are generally carried on at night.

● 439 Nevertheless, business dealings are generally carried out during the day, so that both participants in the negotiation may have ample opportunity to see and examine what they are getting.

142 Human Biology

The hair of the Guaika /Waica/ is lighter than that of the other Indians and of most of the Creoles who live in the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

The hair of the majority of the individuals is fine, but some of them have quite stiff hair. The color of the hair is black or chestnut, and a few have hair with a slightly reddish tone. Some of the children have hair that is very light in color, which seems to become darker as they grow. Few of the older persons have gray hair.

The majority of men either have a very thin beard or none at all. The arms, legs, and chest are generally free of hair.

/441/ The eyes of the majority of them are brown, and some of them have black eyes. Some of the children have blue eyes. A few individuals have the inner corner of the eye rounded in a way somewhat similar to that of certain Oriental peoples.

Their noses are short and wide.

The Guaika are well fed, but in general do not show any excess muscle or fat. The Guaika to the south of the Orinoco tend to be fatter and plumper, it would seem, than those of El Platanal or those who live to the north of this locality.

/467/

Property and Ownership

423 Every man has property rights over the land which he has cleared for the planting of the "conuco," until he has abandoned it.

When a settlement returns to a former site, every man has the right to build his new dwelling in the same place where the previous one was, if he should so desire, even when the place might have been covered by the forest, as frequently occurs.

422 Every person possesses his own hammock and ornaments.

[423] The men are owners of the "conucos," the dwellings, the clay pots, hunting and fishing equipment, and that for making fire, and the machetes.

Women possess the baskets, the spinning equipment, the totumas for water, the bands for carrying children, the firewood, and the leaves of the roof.

Both the men and the women may possess axes, knives, mirrors, beads, or other objects which they might have made or acquired.

437 Objects change ownership either by gift or by barter. Bartered objects are generally those which cannot be made or obtained by everyone. These include foreign articles (e.g., machetes, matches, etc.) and also domestic articles which are made only by certain persons or products which everyone does not have the ability to make successfully (e.g., clay pots for cooking, the strongest type of "yopo," totumas for water, and shafts for arrows).

431 Articles to which each and every person has access, such as foodstuffs, water, baskets, and small totumas or gourds, are generally given away when they are divided up. Sometimes even

[572] scarce articles are given to intimate friends.

/166 cont./

628 123 628 123 728 close the door. I was able to take the bows and arrows from the newcomers at the wharf. When the Yoeitjeti arrived, their chief asked me about the Bisheasetjeti. I told him that the Bisheasetjeti did not wish to fight and that I already had their bows. He let me take the bows of his men, and I shut them up in one of our houses. Then the men of Yoeitjeti and Bisheasetjeti came together at my house, without weapons, and assured each other that they wished to be friends. All 31 of them slept together in my house (a little crowded, but comfortably). I offered them the empty house next to mine, but they did not want to have anything to do with it. (My house is well ventilated, /167/ having Venetian blinds all around and two shutter-doors.)

[437] On the following day the Yoeitjeti left, after exchanging their hammocks and bows with the Bisheasetjeti for machetes, clothing, matches, and other things. I was happy to see the two aldeas come together and become friends, because neither one of them wanted to fight.

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
197 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[437] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[438] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[164] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[594] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the entire group has already decided to undertake. His major [701] function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently [529 574 439] initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often supervises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [529 241] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food given away during the feast. During club-fights within the [578 621 629] village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

629 92 554 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

inter-village visiting and solidarity, for one trade is usually the prelude to another. For example, the Bisaasi-tedi obtain much of their spun cotton and curare arrow points from their Shamatari allies. It takes considerable time and labor to accumulate these items. When the Shamatari are visited by the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter make known their desire to have these items, and their hosts promise to produce them. When the items are accumulated, the Shamatari visit the Bisaasi-tedi to inform them their cotton and arrow points are ready. A feast is arranged and the items are given over to the Bisaasi-tedi after the celebration terminates. The Shamatari then request specific items from their hosts, and the cycle continues. Neither village is completely 'paid up' regarding goods it owes to the other, so that each exchange as Mauss (1954) argued, brings forth another.[1] The imporant point is that Yąnomamö trading is not stimulated by naturally occuring shortages or monopolies on resources; artificial shortages are created and these promote visiting between allies. In Durkheimian terms, the division of labor, irrespective of the causes, promotes organic solidarity between allied villages. And, the kinship category most intimately involved in the trading is the brother-in-law.

Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their

[1] The parallel between this and bride price payment in Burma is striking. See Leach, 1957. It is worth noting at this point that the Yąnomamö have no word for 'free' or 'gift'; the closest they can come to it is: "something given without cause." But nothing is given without cause, and they shrewdly keep track of all debts.

244 [777] [252] [799] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians-and by rural Venezuelans-and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and [284] a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome [531] piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in [437] the trading network.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

interdependency. The Yąnomamö cannot simply arrive at the village of a potential ally and declare that they need military assistance because of the raids of a superior enemy. Doing so would admit vulnerability and perhaps invite predation from the potential ally. Instead, they conceal and subsume the true motive for the alliance in the vehicles of *trading* and *feasting*, developing these institutions over months and even years. In this manner they retain an apparent modicum of sovereignty and pride, while simultaneously attaining the true objectives: intervillage solidarity and military interdependence.

Three distinct features of Yąnomamö trading practices are important in the context of alliance formation. First, each item must be repaid with a different kind of item: The recipient is under an *obligation* to repay his partner in a type of exchange called *no mraiha*. Secondly, the payment is delayed, a temporal factor in the trading techniques that is likewise implied by the *no mraiha*. The consequence of these two trading features is that one trade always calls forth another and gives the members of different villages both the excuse and the opportunity to visit each other; and once the trading starts, it tends to continue, for one village in an alliance always owes the other trade goods from their last confrontation. The third significant trade feature is the peculiar specialization in the production of trade items. Each village has one or more special products that it provides to its allies. These include such items as dogs, hallucinogenic drugs (both cultivated and collected), arrow points, arrow shafts, bows, cotton yarn, cotton and vine hammocks, baskets of several varieties, clay pots, and, in the case of the several contacted villages, steel tools and aluminum pots.

This specialization in production cannot be explained in terms of the distribution of natural resources. Each village is, economically speaking, capable of self-sufficiency. (The steel tools and other products from civilization constitute the major exceptions.) The explanation of the specialization must be sought, rather, in the sociological aspects of alliance formation. Trade functions as the social catalyst, the "starting mechanism," through which mutually suspicious allies are repeatedly brought together in direct confrontation. Without these frequent contacts with neighbors, alliances would be much slower in formation and would be even more unstable once formed: A prerequisite to stable alliance is repetitive visiting and feasting, and the trading mechanism serves to bring about these visits.

Clay pots are a good example of the specialization in labor that characterizes Yąnomamö production and trade. The Mǫmariböwei-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8) are allied to both Kąobawä's group and the people of a distant Shamatari village, the latter being mortal enemies of Kąobawä. When I first began my fieldwork, I visited the Mǫmariböwei-teri, specifically asking them if they knew how to make clay pots. They all vigorously denied knowledge of pot-making, explaining that they once knew how to make them but had long since forgotten. They explained that their allies, the Möwaraoba-teri, made them in quantities and provided all they needed, and therefore they did not have to make them anymore. They also added that the clay in the area of their village was not of the proper type for making pots. Later in the year their alliance with the pot makers grew cool because of a war, and their source of pots was shut off. At the same time, Kąobawä's group began asking them for clay pots. The Mǫmariböwei-teri promptly responded by "remembering" how pots were made and "discovering" that the clay in their neighborhood was indeed suitable for pot manufacturing. They had merely created

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the visiting dancers entered, pranced around the village periphery, wildly showing off their decorations and weapons and then returning to the group. Each dancer had unique decorations and a unique dance step, something personal that he could exhibit. He would burst into the village screaming a memorized phrase, wheel and spin, stop in his tracks, dance in place, throw his weapons down, pick them up again, aim them at the line of hosts with a wild expression on his face, prance ahead a few steps, repeat his performance, and continue on around the village in this manner, while the hosts cheered wildly. When everyone had had an individual turn, the entire group entered, danced single file around the periphery several times, and gathered at the center of the clearing, where they formed a tightly knit group. They stood motionless, except for the heaving of their chests, holding their weapons vertically. After they had stood there a few moments—in a final display of decorations—Kaobawä's followers emerged from their houses and approached the center of the village, each man inviting one or more of the visitors to his house, leading him away from the village center by the arm. As each visitor was led away, his family, watching from the village entrance, unceremoniously joined him at the host's house, bringing the family possessions along. Within a few minutes the dance plaza was deserted and the visitors were resting comfortably in their hosts' hammocks. Even in the hammocks, the Yanomamö visitors are able to put on a silent display of their finery [redacted] lay with their legs crossed, one arm behind their head, staring at the ceiling, waiting for their hosts to feed them ripe plantain soup from the bark troughs—it is almost as if they are strutting from a reclining position.

After the guests had been given their first round of soup, the men of Kaobawä's village assembled outside the entrance and came in to dance around the village for their guests. They, too, had an opportunity to put on a display of their own decorations, after which they retired to entertain the guests.

There were three troughs full of soup in the village. The first one was emptied in the process of bringing numerous gourdsful to the some one hundred visitors (see Fig. 4-2). After they had consumed this, the guests then assembled at the second trough and began eating there. Before this trough was finished, they moved as a group to the third trough and repeated their ceremonial consumption, before returning to their hammocks to rest and regain their appetites. Approximately two hours had passed from the time the first dancers entered the village until the guests retired from the third trough of soup. They had not yet eaten all of the contents—all in all, some 95 gallons of it—but managed to do so by morning.[6]

Shortly after dark the marathon chanting (*waiyamou*) began—it continued until dawn. At dawn the visitors conducted their trade and were given the baskets of "going-home food": boiled green plantains with smoked meat. The women and children departed with the food, leaving the men behind to trade. The visitors made requests through their headman, and Kaobawä would produce the item by enjoining one of the local men to give it. The item would be thrown at the feet of the man who wanted it. He would ignore it for a while and then give it a cursory examination, throwing it back on the ground. His peers would then examine it in greater detail and extol its virtues, while the

[6]During some feasts, the ashes of the dead are mixed with the boiled, ripe plantain soup and eaten by friends and relatives of the deceased. The feast also serves as a preliminary to a raid that involves two or more villages. The sponsor of the raid will entertain his allies in a feast the day before the raiding party departs. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the raid.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628*
574
437
438

giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *no mnaiha*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4-2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, arapuri.

628*
574
301
302
516
411
415
342
264
262
291

/117 cont./

628 tendency toward the independence of the next smaller parts acting on this plane and forming it -- namely, the villages.

These hostile relationships between the villages are external evidence of a centrifugal force in Waika culture seeking detach-
628 ment. The opposite tendency, the centripetal force toward bind-
574 ing the villages together, finds its expression in active intercourse
●438 for trading and visiting. These trips, which are performed with such zeal that practically every second day there is some associa-tion with another village, from or to it, can be divided into sev-
438 eral groups, according to their purpose. First, trips purely for trade take place: each village prefers to produce or procure a certain article of the material culture so that it practically has a monopoly on it. One village supplies especially fine tobacco, another is favorably located in a place where much arrow-cane grows, a third produces pots because good clay is present in the vicinity, another is the supplier of hunting dogs for the neighbor-hood, and the village closest to us naturally barters primarily with European ironware. This formation of centers for specific goods naturally favored the development of commercial traffic; the trading itself is carried out over very long periods and thus resembles a gift-exchange behind which there is a certain amount
437 of compulsion. When one knows that the partner has more objects of a kind than he justifiably needs for himself, it is requested very urgently, and the one so entreated may not refuse, if he does not want to risk enmity and war -- he can, of course, get his revenge
[182] in his own way the next time. This system successfully prevents
[557] any accumulation of capital; no Waika possesses noticeably more
[565] than his neighbor; there are no social distinctions; and consequently no vertical classes.

628 Besides trade, the transmission of news, which proceeds in the
574 form of a /118/ ceremonial conversational-singing and not in
[203] simple dialogue, is also one purpose of such trips, as are wife-
[533] seeking and courting in other villages. As a rule all these trips
[584] are made by a group of men or young people who are guests for one or at most two nights in the strange village and then, after the trading has been done, oddly enough not until the last minute

/6 cont./

101 beyond the Uraricuera and the Parima range, respectively.
114 There can no longer be any doubt about the ethnic affiliation of this population. Koch-Grünberg was already of the opinion that in the case of the Xiriâna (Schirianá) and Waiká (Waika) "it is not a matter of two different tribes, but merely of two divisions of one large nation" (25) (26). At the same place, however, the

25. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 224.

26. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 290.

investigator expresses the conjecture, which was confirmed by the opinions of neighboring tribes, that the Waiká represent merely a subdivision of the Xiriâna, "with whom they live either peaceably or in bitter enmity" (25) (26) /see the footnotes above/. Their isolation from other tribes is, according to Ourique, "an example of the instinctive precaution of the race against its own deterioration and its downfall" (27).

27. Ourique, 1906, p. 24.

101 In this connection there is a significant hint by the Surára chief,
619 according to which there are two powerful tribes within the
[115] "Yanonámi nation" first the Xiriâna, who call themselves "Harateri," and secondly the Waiká, who, however, are constantly warring. All the smaller tribes are on the side of either one or the other, but at the same time are obliged to pay tribute
● [438] and render service in war (28). The Surára and Pakidái, the
[114]

28. With regard to the Xiriâna, Koch-Grünberg already mentions this vassal relationship (Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 226), and Métraux also refers to it (Métraux, 1948, p. 861).

chief told me further, are allies of the Xiriâna and occasionally

/6 cont./
obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xiriána.

/7/ IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Demini nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/21 cont./

278 The strongest poison is said to be obtained from the milk of a tree which, in the language of the Surára, is called -- patemá. [824] This tree was not pointed out to me; I was told that it only grows in a very distant region. To prepare an allegedly weaker poison the milk of the -- tototó -- (Strychnos toxifera) is used.

[415] As soon as it is obtained, the particular type of milk is [413] boiled in a clay vessel. This makes it turn black, and subsequently it is painted on the arrow points by means of a wooden stick which [415] is wrapped with cotton. Special bags -- kanabó --, which are made [824] out of the leaves of the açaí palm (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) and sewed with lianas, are used for storing them. There is never anything left of the poison itself.

278 I was also told that of the tribes allied with the Xiriána only
● 438 the Surára were entrusted with the preparation of these two types of poison. All the Indians who were friendly with them, even the Xiriána, thus obtained their poisoned arrows from them by barter. The Surára chief Hewemão, however, emphasized that the detested Waiká also knew how to prepare arrow poisons, which they used [114] above all to shoot at human beings. The latter statement is confirmed by Zerries (99).

99. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

278 /22/ The third type of arrow poison is the weakest. It is made out of snuff powder -- epená -- (see pp.190/193, which is mixed with water and boiled. This method is also supposed to be familiar to the Pakidái and Xiriána.

Unfortunately, I could not take part in the preparation of the poisons, for, with the exception of the chief /Fig. 3 appears here/ and his brother, only a few older men are familiar with them and they are kept strictly secret even from all the other members of the tribe. The meager information about them is limited to oral statements.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/38 cont./

301
[438]

200. (cont.)
centimeters wide. She likewise designated it for me with the name nyõõmutimá and added that she had obtained it from a Xiriána woman.

301
184

The four Xiriána women whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái wore the same cords and bands on their upper arms, wrists, and legs, like all the Pusheweteri and Aramamesteri women, including the captive Karauateri girl. The latter, however, said that they had only adopted the upper-arm bands here, for in their tribes only upper-arm cords were used.

[184]

Fig. 14a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the men.

Fig. 15a-b. Upper-arm string-band of the young men.

Fig. 16a-c. Upper-arm string-band of the women.

/51 cont./

285
184
482
438

hold, which makes it possible for them to transport substantially heavier loads without chafing themselves. This slight improve-

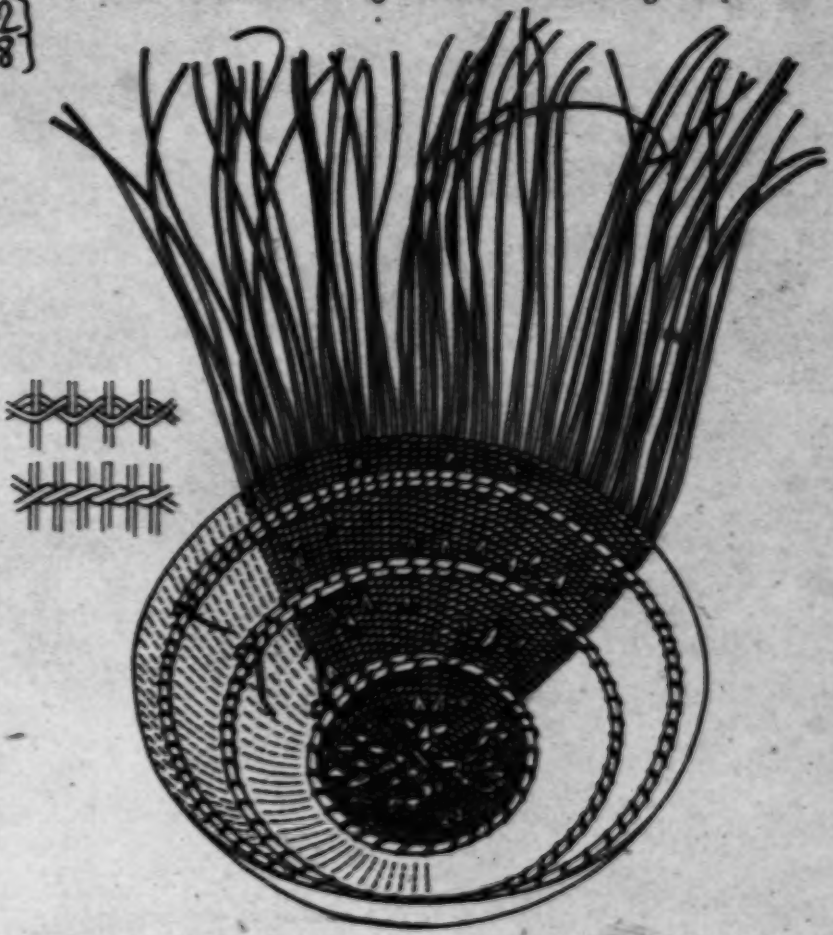


Fig. 21. Initial plaiting of a women's carrying-basket.

ment could have been developed by the Surára and Pakidái women, but the baskets themselves, as well as the method of making them, according to the statements of my informants, represent imported goods from the Xiriána.

The same applies for the round, flat basket-bowls made by the same technique, which are found in various sizes among the Xiriána (281) as well as among the Surára and Pakidái and

252 /51 cont./
184
285 The tube-press -- pokunho -- has only recently gained entry
[192] among the Surára and Pakidái. Among the former I discovered only three specimens, among the latter five, all of which /52/ /Fig. 22 appears here/ were made of bast strips of the curauá plant
• [438] (Ananas sativus Sch.) and were relatively small (length, 1.10-1.20 meters; diameter, 3-4 centimeters). They were in the possession of a few families who had obtained them by barter
[192] from the Xiriána. Heretofore the manioc pulp has been pressed out with the hand by means of small, square plaitings -- yorohí -- (290).

290. The name is practically identical with the one for the small basket with handle -- yorohikes -- and the plaiting technique is the same throughout.

[178] Even today this method is more common than the one with the tube-press, but the latter is gradually beginning to come in.
[426] Families who do not as yet own a tube-press sometimes borrow one, for up to now it has been made neither by the Surára nor the
114 Pakidái. The above reference to the fact that the tube-press is
252 supposed to represent an import article from the Xiriána is
174 significant, however. That is, when Koch-Grünberg stayed with
285 a Xiriána group in Motomotó, he did not find any there, but only small basket-winnowers, in which the manioc pulp was squeezed
[177] with the hand (291). Hence it is to be assumed that these Indians,

291. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

too, have not known the tube-press for very long; presumably they took it over from the Karaiben. /Fig. 23 appears here./

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana
Waica
Karime

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- habokâ -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriâna (293),

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[237] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301]

296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

/82 cont./
252 especially of the tapir, the pieces are left on the rack until they are black and as hard as bone.

[179] Smaller pieces of meat are cooked or boiled in clay vessels (392) and occasionally also in aluminum pots (393), often

• [438] 392. These come from the Xiriâna.

[439] 393. These are trade articles of the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) or gifts from the Indian protection post on the Rio Demini.

together with green bananas, by the women. The pot is simply set between the burning logs. The women are very enthusiastic about my empty gasoline cans, in which they often cooked a whole cutia, paca, or monkey. Snake meat is eaten only in a cooked state. Fish are wrapped in leaves and steamed in the hot ashes.

/83/ Vegetables offer a variety of possibilities in the way of preparation. Bananas are predominantly roasted in hot ashes when they are still green, after the peeling has been removed beforehand (the taste always reminded me of a fresh roll), or cut into small pieces and boiled, in the latter case usually along with meat. A soup which is made out of ripe bananas is regarded as a special delicacy (394). Bananas are seldom eaten

252
262 394. The banana in general and this soup in particular play an important role in the religious and social life of the Surára and Pakidái. Young men, during their training period as medicine-man helpers, must be satisfied with a banana as their daily diet (see p. 144). At the festival in memory of the dead such a soup, mixed with the bone ashes of deceased tribesmen, is drunk by the men (see p. 230). Young girls are permitted to eat banana soup as their sole

121 have a prescriptive marriage system. What the Purum say they do and what they actually do are two distinct things.

*621 573 922 As I mentioned above, after Yanomamö villages reach a certain, critical size, they tend to fragment into smaller groups. The internal tensions that promote this instability are to some extent offset by external military pressures: members of a faction within a larger village may want to establish their own independent village to avoid club-fighting and to suppress more severe forms of violence; but if their village is being raided by members of other villages, [241] it may be impossible for them to do so. Occasionally a village splits into several factions, each establishing its own garden apart from the other, but the factions are forced to reunite because of raids mounted by other groups. Gen- *621 *623 722 583 582 918 [502] erally, the process of village splitting precludes a later recombination of the same factions because these remain hostile to each other. Thus, the small, vulnerable villages that result from the fragmentation of a larger village are constrained to make marriage alliances with other villages, both to insure military assistance and because it is difficult to obtain women from their kinsmen with whom they are now at war. Village size and the balance of marriage exchanges between villages indicate that numerically weak villages are *621 *623 722 583 582 • 438 coerced by their stronger partners to give up women. In some cases, the disposition of desirable trade goods may affect the balance in the exchange of women between two villages. In general it may be said that, when one village

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yanomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yanomamö social organization of this single

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
179 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[137] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[138] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives, glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[14] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[59] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[304] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

595 in the family. The transfer of the woman from the older to
593 the younger brother was, in some of the cases, quite gradual. Thus, Kaobawä gave Hantoomi to his younger brother, Shadadama, because his other two wives complained about not having enough game to eat. Kaobawä continued to have sexual relationships with Hantoomi after she had become Shadadama's wife, and sired two of her children.

*629 922 936 839 Another form of permitted affair is called nohimou--"to befriend" or "act like a friend" to a woman. This type of relationship might occur, for example, when the members of a village have to take refuge with an ally. The allies invariably enter into nohimou relationships with the women of the refugees. The refugees are reluctant to give their women as wives to the men of the host village, but they are obliged to permit them to have sexual access to the women. These kinds of affairs also develop within a village between a man and the wife of a friend, or, with single girls. Again,

*629 594 438 839 836 when men go on visits to other villages and bring trade goods, they frequently are permitted to have affairs with the hosts' women, particularly if the men have brought goods that are highly prized by the hosts.

935 Incestuous affairs between classificatory siblings are quite common.[1] One of my female informants used husband

[1] Incest, to the (male ego) Yanomamö, is any sexual relationship with a member of one's lineage or with mother, mother's sister, mother's mother, and mother's sister's daughter. Failure to avoid a woman of the mother-in-law category is also incestuous in the eyes of the Yanomamö, but only if the woman is sexually active. Menopausal women of

*628 574 527 [583] [581] changes bind the villages to each other, are weak and unstable. The more frequently allies visit and feast with each other, the less likely treachery will take place, as a certain amount of trust and friendship is generated by visiting and feasting.

*628 • 438 433 The tendency for Yąnomamö villages to create artificial shortages of certain manufactured items is related to feasting and the creation of organic solidarity of a sort. After Yąnomamö villages enter into alliances, they tend to adjust their economic production of such items as bows, arrow cane, spun cotton, tobacco, baskets, cultivated drugs, dogs and clay cooking pots. Any village is capable of producing all of these goods, but allied villages create shortages of some of these items so that they can become dependent on the productivity of their allies, thereby having excuses to visit and trade.

*628 438 527 574 607 One of the most significant relationship in trading between villages is the shoriwë tie, and these men trade with each other whenever they visit. As a trade frequently involves feasting, the specialization in production of specific items leads to greater solidarity between allied villages. Although it would be an error simply to identify the role of shoriwë with that of trading partner, this aspect of the shoriwë tie, particularly between men of different villages, is by no means negligible in accounting for the solidarity this relationship promotes in inter-village political ties.

*628 438 527 574 The way the trading is conducted also contributes to

inter-village visiting and solidarity, for one trade is usually the prelude to another. For example, the Bisaasi-tedi obtain much of their spun cotton and curare arrow points from their Shamatari allies. It takes considerable time and labor to accumulate these items. When the Shamatari are visited by the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter make known their desire to have these items, and their hosts promise to produce them. When the items are accumulated, the Shamatari visit the Bisaasi-tedi to inform them their cotton and arrow points are ready. A feast is arranged and the items are given over to the Bisaasi-tedi after the celebration terminates. The Shamatari then request specific items from their hosts, and the cycle continues. Neither village is completely 'paid up' regarding goods it owes to the other, so that each exchange as Mauss (1954) argued, brings forth another.[1] The imporant point is that Yąnomamö trading is not stimulated by naturally occuring shortages or monopolies on resources; artificial shortages are created and these promote visiting between allies. In Durkheimian terms, the division of labor, irrespective of the causes, promotes organic solidarity between allied villages. And, the kinship category most intimately involved in the trading is the brother-in-law.

Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their

[1] The parallel between this and bride price payment in Burma is striking. See Leach, 1957. It is worth noting at this point that the Yąnomamö have no word for 'free' or 'gift'; the closest they can come to it is: "something given without cause." But nothing is given without cause, and they shrewdly keep track of all debts.

*621 613 602 562 582 583 members of his own village, Hasaböwä-tedi, who killed his father. Reromawä's group was then actively raiding Hasaböwä-tedi. The man was given a wife in Reromawä's village, the widow of a Tom man killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast. The man's two daughters are married to Sha men.[1] The last man and his family joined Reromawä's group in 1965 to take refuge from his own villagers, the Mǫmariböwei-tedi, some of whom wanted to take his wives away from him for being brutal. He had previously given a daughter to a Tom man and when he was forced to flee from his own village, took refuge with his son-in-law. Appendix A gives more details on each individual discussed above.

*628 582 583 Lower Bisaasi-tedi has political ties with a number of villages. It has recently (since 1960) entered into alliance with two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mǫmariböwei-tedi, and has managed to obtain a number of women from the latter village as wives for young bachelors in the group. *628 527 574 438 602 The Mǫmariböwei-tedi visit them frequently to feast and trade, and the members of Lower Bisaasi-tedi reciprocate the visits. The ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and the Mǫmariböwei-tedi are nearly as strong as the ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and any of its cognate villages to whose members the Lower Bisaasi-tedi are agnatically related. *628 602 Of the villages that are cognate to Lower Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi is perhaps the most dependable ally, because the

[1] Reromawä's actual son, and Reromawä's classificatory son in Upper Bisaasi-tedi.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4] For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5] The cultivated palm, *pijiguao*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

278 layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curare point after it has been attached to the arrow.

415 411 [824] [438] [239] Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches. The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

372 [824] The Yąnomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

412 [237] The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yąnomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood [314] by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel [284] chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

226 The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yąnomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2-7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hörö*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawä, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisaasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yąnomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kąobawä's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kąobawä's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2–8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowä-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowä-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowä-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwä, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowä-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowä-teri fissioned into two groups: They relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1988) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*628 722 241 562 581 582 The beleaguered partner may be obliged to remain in the village of his host for a year or longer, approximately the length of time required to establish a new plantation and productive base from which an independent existence is possible. Twice in the recent history of Kąobawï's group they were driven from their gardens by more powerful enemies and were forced to take refuge in the village of an ally. In each case the group remained with the ally for a year or so, moving away only after their new garden began producing. In both cases, the hosts demanded and received a number of women from Kąobawï's group without reciprocating in kind, a prerogative they exercised from their temporary position of strength. The longer the group takes advantage of a hosts' protection, the higher is the cost in terms of women, so visitors always make an attempt to establish their gardens as quickly as possible and move into them as soon as they begin producing. Without allies, therefore, the members of a village would either have to remain at their single garden and sustain the attacks of their enemies or disband into several smaller groups and join larger villages on a permanent basis, losing many of their women to their protectors. The jungle simply does not produce enough wild foods to sustain larger groups, and the threat of warfare is such that smaller groups would soon be discovered by their enemies and exterminated.

Because of the ever-present risk of being driven from one's garden, therefore, no Yąnomamö village can continue to exist as a sovereign entity without establishing alliances with other groups. Warfare is attended by a bellicose ideology which asserts that strong villages should take advantage of weaker ones and coerce them out of women; to prevent this, all villages should therefore behave as if they were strong. Thus, the military threat creates a situation in which intervillage alliance is desirable, but at the same time spawns a military ideology that inhibits the formation of such alliances: Allies need but cannot trust each other. They are obliged to behave aggressively in order to display their respective strength.

*628 • 438 574 581 582 602 Alliances between villages are the product of a developmental sequence that involves casual trading, mutual feasting, and finally the exchange of women. The most intimate allies are those who, in addition to trading and feasting, exchange women. Any developing alliance may stabilize at the trading or feasting stage without proceeding to the woman-exchange phase. These are weak alliances, but serve to limit the degree of war that might possibly obtain between the villages so related: The Yąnomamö tend to avoid attacking those villages with which they trade and feast, unless some specific incident, such as the abduction of a woman, provokes them. Allies that are linked by trade and feasting ties, for example, rarely accuse each other of practicing harmful magic. Allies bound to each other by affinal kinship ties, however, are more interdependent because they are under obligation to each other to continue to exchange women. It is, in fact, by the exchange of women that independent villages extend kinship ties to each other.

*628 562 581 582 Members of allied villages are usually reluctant to take the final step in alliance formation and cede women to their partners, for they are always worried that the latter might not reciprocate as promised. This attitude is especially conspicuous in smaller villages, for their larger partners in defense pressure them into demonstrating their solidarity by ceding women; the strong can and do coerce the weak in Yąnomamö politics. The weak, therefore, are compelled to exaggerate their strength by bluff and intimidation and by attempting in general to appear to be stronger, militarily, than they really are, thereby hoping to convince their partners that they are equals, capable of an independent

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

existence. By so doing, they also inform their partners that any attempt to coerce them out of women will be met with the appropriate reaction, such as a chest-pounding duel or club fight. Nevertheless, each ally expects to gain women in the alliance and enters it with this in mind; and each hopes to gain more women than it cedes in return.

Hence, in order for an occasional nervous meeting of groups of men from different villages to evolve into a stable intervillage alliance based on the reciprocal exchange of women, the long and difficult road of feasting and trading must be traversed. Suspicion must give way to relative confidence, and this must develop into reciprocal feasting during the dry season. Only then has the intervillage relationship reached a point where the partners begin ceding women to each other; and even then, it is done reluctantly.

This is, however, only the ideal pattern in the development of an alliance. Rarely does it develop far enough to reach the stage where women change hands, particularly if the two villages concerned are of approximately the same military strength. Fights and arguments over women or food develop, and the principals withdraw temporarily on semihostile terms, perhaps attempting a rapprochement sometime in the future. Or, if the principals are obviously different military potential, the stronger of the two will coerce its weaker partner into ceding women early in the alliance development, taking advantage of its own military strength, thus altering the course of alliance development in the opposite direction.

Whatever the specific developmental sequence leading to the woman-exchange phase, the milieu within which these developments take place is not conducive to the establishment of warm ties of friendship. Each of the principals attempts to demonstrate his own sovereignty in order to convince the other that he does not really require political alliance to keep his enemies in check. This is accomplished by bragging about past military victories and fierceness in past club fights and chest-pounding duels, and by insinuating that one's group is always on the verge of exploding into a force so great that no combination of allies could overcome its terrible might. The smaller the village and more obvious its vulnerability, the greater is the pressure to insinuate or to demonstrate this potential.

Political maneuvering in this milieu is both a tricky and potentially hazardous undertaking. Each principal in the negotiation must establish the credibility of his own threats, while discovering the point at which his partner's bluff will dissolve abruptly into action; he must discover the point beyond which he must not goad his ally, lest he himself is prepared to suffer the possibly violent outcome. It is a politics of brinkmanship, a form of political behavior in which each negotiator is compelled to expose his opposite's threats as bluffs at the risk of inciting him to violence—a club fight, immediately and honorably, or, later and treacherously, a feast in which the hosts descend on their guests to kill their men and abduct their women.

Trading and Feasting in Alliance Formation

Because an ally is not beyond taking advantage of his weaker partner, especially when the alliance is just developing, there is very little in the way of natural attraction to encourage the two groups to visit each other. Considerations of pride and canons of ferocity preclude obvious attempts to develop stable and predictable alliances and military

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*628 interdependency. The Yąnomamö cannot simply arrive at the village of a potential ally and declare that they need military assistance because of the raids of a superior enemy. Doing so would admit vulnerability and perhaps invite predation from the potential ally. Instead, they conceal and subsume the true motive for the alliance in the vehicles of *trading* and *feasting*, developing these institutions over months and even years. In this manner they retain an apparent modicum of sovereignty and pride, while simultaneously attaining the true objectives: intervillage solidarity and military interdependence.

*628 438 574 (437) Three distinct features of Yąnomamö trading practices are important in the context of alliance formation. First, each item must be repaid with a different kind of item: The recipient is under an *obligation* to repay his partner in a type of exchange called *no mraiba*. Secondly, the payment is delayed, a temporal factor in the trading techniques that is likewise implied by the *no mraiba*. The consequence of these two trading features is that one trade always calls forth another and gives the members of different villages both the excuse and the opportunity to visit each other; and once the trading starts, it tends to continue, for one village in an alliance always owes the other trade goods from their last confrontation. The third significant trade feature is the peculiar specialization in the production of trade items. Each village has one or more special products that it provides to its allies. These include such items as dogs, hallucinogenic drugs (both cultivated and collected), arrow points, arrow shafts, bows, cotton yarn, cotton and vine hammocks, baskets of several varieties, clay pots, and, in the case of the several contacted villages, steel tools and aluminum pots.

This specialization in production cannot be explained in terms of the distribution of natural resources. Each village is, economically speaking, capable of self-sufficiency. (The steel tools and other products from civilization constitute the major exceptions.) The explanation of the specialization must be sought, rather, in the sociological aspects of alliance formation. Trade functions as the social catalyst, the "starting mechanism," through which mutually suspicious allies are repeatedly brought together in direct confrontation. Without these frequent contacts with neighbors, alliances would be much slower in formation and would be even more unstable once formed: A prerequisite to stable alliance is repetitive visiting and feasting, and the trading mechanism serves to bring about these visits.

*628 438 323 (114) (124) Clay pots are a good example of the specialization in labor that characterizes Yąnomamö production and trade. The Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri (see map, Fig. 2-8) are allied to both Kąobawä's group and the people of a distant Shamatari village, the latter being mortal enemies of Kąobawä. When I first began my fieldwork, I visited the Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri, specifically asking them if they knew how to make clay pots. They all vigorously denied knowledge of pot-making, explaining that they once knew how to make them but had long since forgotten. They explained that their allies, the Möwaraoba-teri, made them in quantities and provided all they needed, and therefore they did not have to make them anymore. They also added that the clay in the area of their village was not of the proper type for making pots. Later in the year their alliance with the pot makers grew cool because of a war, and their source of pots was shut off. At the same time, Kąobawä's group began asking them for clay pots. The Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri promptly responded by "remembering" how pots were made and "discovering" that the clay in their neighborhood was indeed suitable for pot manufacturing. They had merely created

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a local shortage of the item in order to have to rely on an ally for it, giving sufficient cause to visit them.

Often the specialization is less individualized than in the case of clay pot manufacture. Kaobawä's group, for example, exports cotton yarn to one ally, but imports it from another. The exported cotton frequently is brought back in the form of manufactured hammocks, the importer merely contributing labor to the process. In some cases, the shortages are merely seasonal; Kaobawä's group may import cotton from a particular ally at one time of the year, but export it at another. Most of the trade, however, involves items that are readily manufactured by or raised by any group, underscoring the fact that trade is the stimulus to visit. Food does not enter the trading system, although hospitality dictates that it must be given to friendly groups. Occasionally, a village will run short of plantains because of a particularly long hot spell, and its members may visit an ally to borrow food to last a week or so. This hospitality is usually reciprocated, but it is not a part of the trading network.

Alliances between villages may stabilize at any one of three points: sporadic reciprocal trading, mutual feasting, or reciprocal women exchange. These are cumulative levels in the sense that the third phase implies the first two: Allies that exchange women also feast and trade with each other. Likewise, allies that merely feast together also trade, but do not exchange women. At the lower end of this scale of solidarity lie those villages with which one fights to kill, while at the upper end are those villages from whom one's group has recently separated. Frequently, the scale is circular rather than linear: A village's mortal enemy is the group from which it has recently split. By way of example, Kaobawä's group trades sporadically with the Makorima-teri, Daiyari-teri, Widokaiya-teri, Mahekodo-teri, and Iyawei-teri. These are fairly weak alliances and even permit limited fighting. His group has more intimate ties with the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mõmariböwei-teri, with whom it feasts regularly. The alliance with the Reyaboböwei-teri has even reached the point at which they are exchanging women with each other. Finally, at the other end of the scale, Kaobawä's group is at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, Möwanoba-teri, and Patanowä-teri. The first two of these groups are historically unrelated to Kaobawä's group, although they have a common history with two of his staunchest allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mõmaribowei-teri, from whom they separated in the past. The Patanowä-teri are related to Kaobawä and his followers, as was shown in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, they are bitter enemies and are at present raiding each other.

Although there is no rigid geographical correlation of the village settlement pattern to the degree of alliance solidarity, neighboring villages usually are at least on trading terms and are not actively conducting war on each other. Should war develop between neighbors, one of the two principals will abandon its site and move to a new location. Whether the ties between neighboring villages will be one of blood, marriage exchange, reciprocal feasting, or casual trading depends on a large number of factors, particularly on village size, current warfare situation with respect to more distant groups, and the precise historical ties between the neighboring villages. Whatever the nature of the ties between neighbors, each strives to maintain its sovereignty and independence from the others.

The Yanomamö do not openly regard trade as a mechanism the ulterior function of which is to bring people repeatedly together, thus establishing an amicable basis from

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

which more stable types of alliance can develop. Nor do they overtly acknowledge the relationships between trading and feasting cycles to village interdependency. In this regard they are like the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia: They have a "functional ignorance" of the more significant adaptive aspects of their trading institutions. To both the Yąnomamö and the Trobrianders, the mechanisms by which peoples from different groups are compelled to visit each other are ends in themselves and are not conceived to be related to the establishment of either economic or political interdependency. For the Yąnomamö participant in a feast, the feast itself has its significance in the marvelous quantities of food, the excitement of the dance, and the satisfaction of having others admire and covet the fine decorations he wears. The enchantment of the dance issues from the dancer's awareness that, for a brief moment, he is a glorious peacock that commands the admiration of his fellows, and it is his responsibility and desire to present a spectacular display of his dance steps and gawdy accouterments. In this brief, ego-building moment, each man has an opportunity to display himself, spinning and prancing about the village periphery, chest puffed out, while all watch, admire, and cheer wildly.

The hosts, too, have an opportunity to display themselves and strut before their guests. Moreover, the very fact that they have given the feast is in itself a display of affluence and surfeit apparently calculated to challenge the guests to reciprocate with an equally grandiose feast at a later date.[1] Each good feast deserves and calls forth another, and in this way allies become better acquainted with each other as they reciprocate feasts during the dry season and over the years.

Historical Background to a Particular Feast

One of the feasts I witnessed exhibited all the features of intervillage politics. Before describing this feast, I will give the historical antecedents to the event, recapitulating a number of points discussed in Chapter 3 in the context of the history of Kąobawä's village. The significance of the events will then become clear, for Kąobawä's prior relationships to the guests at the feast had a great deal to do with the outcome.

In 1950 Kąobawä's group, almost friendless, beleaguered by enemies, and somewhat isolated, began cultivating an alliance with the Iwahikoroba-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8), a Shamatari village, some two days' traveling distance southeast of their own village at Kreiböwei. The Iwahikoroba-teri were on friendly terms with another Shamatari group, the Möwaraoba-teri, from whom they had separated some years before. Kąobawä's group, on the other hand, was at war with this village because members of his own group murdered a friendly Möwaraoba-teri visitor in 1940, touching off a series of raids between them. Anxious to develop an alliance, Kąobawä's group accepted a feast invitation from the Iwahikoroba-teri and visited that village to participate in the feast. Up to that point they were only on trading terms with them.

The Iwahikoroba-teri, however, had made a prior arrangement with their friends, the Möwaraoba-teri, to help them massacre Kąobawä's men and abduct his group's women. The Möwaraoba-teri were hidden in the jungle outside the village when Kąo-

[1] The competitive aspects of feasting in many primitive societies has been dealt with at length by Marcel Mauss, whose essay *The Gift* is now an anthropological classic.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628 begun cultivating an alliance with a third Shamatari group, one that was related to the two that conducted the massacre in 1950. The new Shamatari group, Patanishiwä-teri (see map, Fig. 2-8), was at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, but on feasting terms with the 628 Mõwaroba-teri. Kaobawä's group persuaded their new Shamatari allies to invite the 574 Mõwaroba-teri to a feast and planned a massacre similar to that of 1950, but with the 726 tables reversed: Kaobawä's group would lie in ambush, while the Patanishiwä-teri attacked the guests within the village. The Mõwaroba-teri were being ravished by a malaria [131] epidemic at this time, and only a handful of them actually came to the feast: The others were too sick to travel. With the aid of their newly found allies, Kaobawä's group managed to kill three of the five men and abducted four of their women. The other two visitors escaped to tell of the treachery. This revenge feast was only considered to be partially successful, and Kaobawä's group was not satisfied with the outcome. Their Shamatari allies, Patanishiwä-teri, were obliged to abandon their site to avoid the revenge raids, splitting into two groups in the process: Mõmarõbõwei-teri and Reyabobõwei-teri, both continuing to remain friendly to Kaobawä's group.

628 In early 1965, just a few months after I began my fieldwork, Kaobawä and his
574 supporters left to visit Reyabobõwei-teri, one of the two Shamatari allies, hoping to
726 combine another ambuscade from the Mõwaroba-teri. They left a few men behind
123 to protect the women and children. The men were gone almost two weeks. All during this time, those who remained behind flocked to my mud hut at dawn and remained in it the whole day, not permitting me to leave. Every hour or so they asked to see my shotgun. I soon discovered that they were frightened and suspected that the Widokaiya-teri were going to raid them to abduct women, for they knew of the plot. My hut lay on the path most likely to be taken by Widokaiya-teri raiders, and the few remaining men stood guard next to my door, hoping to intercept the raiders should they attack at night.

I, unknowingly, guarded the women and children by day with my shotgun, while the men did the same at night with their own weapons. This incident indelibly underscores the almost complete lack of trust between allies; the members of Kaobawä's group expected a raid from their friends and allies rather than from their enemies!

About ten days after the men had left, six visitors from another allied village [138] passed through Upper Bisaasi-teri hoping to trade. It was obvious to them that the men [803] were away and that the women were frightened. They carried word of the situation up the Orinoco River to their own allies, one of which was the Mahekodo-teri.

The evening before the men returned from their trip, one of the Salesian Mission- [799] aries, Padre Luiz Cocco, visited me, having traveled up the Orinoco River by dark—a dangerous undertaking at that time of the year. Padre Cocco had just received word by short-wave radio from the mission at Mahekodo-teri that a large party of men had left for Bisaasi-teri intent on capturing women. They had learned of the poorly guarded women from the six visitors and were determined to take advantage of the situation.

My house was full of women and children at dawn the following day, and the raiders were probably en route. I was in a difficult situation. On the one hand, if I told the Indians of the rumor, it would have been sufficient cause to start a war between Kaobawä's group and the Mahekodo-teri. This would have been most unfortunate if the story proved to be false. On the other hand, I dared not remain silent. If raiders were indeed coming, they would probably kill the defenders to capture the women. Fortunately, Kaobawä and the men returned early in the afternoon, and I was able to remain

the visiting dancers entered, pranced around the village periphery, wildly showing off their decorations and weapons and then returning to the group. Each dancer had unique decorations and a unique dance step, something personal that he could exhibit. He would burst into the village screaming a memorized phrase, wheel and spin, stop in his tracks, dance in place, throw his weapons down, pick them up again, aim them at the line of hosts with a wild expression on his face, prance ahead a few steps, repeat his performance, and continue on around the village in this manner, while the hosts cheered wildly. When everyone had had an individual turn, the entire group entered, danced single file around the periphery several times, and gathered at the center of the clearing, where they formed a tightly knit group. They stood motionless, except for the heaving of their chests, holding their weapons vertically. After they had stood there a few moments—in a final display of decorations—Kaobawã's followers emerged from their houses and approached the center of the village, each man inviting one or more of the visitors to his house, leading him away from the village center by the arm. As each visitor was led away, his family, watching from the village entrance, unceremoniously joined him at the host's house, bringing the family possessions along. Within a few minutes the dance plaza was deserted and the visitors were resting comfortably in their hosts' hammocks. Even in the hammocks, the Yąnomamõ visitors are able to put on a silent display of their finery as they lay with their legs crossed, one arm behind their head, staring at the ceiling, waiting for their hosts to finish their ripe plantain soup from the back room[s]. [illegible] are strutting from a reclining position.

After the guests had been given their first round of soup, the men of Kaobawã's village assembled outside the entrance and came in to dance around the village for their guests. They, too, had an opportunity to put on a display of their own decorations, after which they retired to entertain the guests.

There were three troughs full of soup in the village. The first one was emptied in the process of bringing numerous gourdsful to the some one hundred visitors (see Fig. 4-2). After they had consumed this, the guests then assembled at the second trough and began eating there. Before this trough was finished, they moved as a group to the third trough and repeated their ceremonial consumpeion, before returning to their hammocks to rest and regain their appetites. Approximately two hours had passed from the time the first dancers entered the village until the guests retired from the third trough of soup. They had not yet eaten all of the contents—all in all, some 95 gallons of it—but managed to do so by morning.[6]

Shortly after dark the marathon chanting (*waiyamou*) began—it continued until dawn. At dawn the visitors conducted their trade and were given the baskets of "going-home food": boiled green plantains with smoked meat. The women and children departed with the food, leaving the men behind to trade. The visitors made requests through their headman, and Kaobawã would produce the item by enjoining one of the local men to give it. The item would be thrown at the feet of the man who wanted it. He would ignore it for a while and then give it a cursory examination, throwing it back on the ground. His peers would then examine it in greater detail and extol its virtues, while the

[6]During some feasts, the ashes of the dead are mixed with the boiled, ripe plantain soup and eaten by friends and relatives of the deceased. The feast also serves as a preliminary to a raid that involves two or more villages. The sponsor of the raid will entertain his allies in a feast the day before the raiding party departs. See Chapter 7 for a discussion of the raid.

111 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomamo SQ18

628* 594 437 438

given would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along to cast one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items to trade—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4-2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, unpeeled.

628* 594 367 302 516 411 415 342 264 262 291

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

they were about to release their arrows point-blank at Kaobawä's attackers, but when he and his aides turned them back, the crisis was over. The leaders of the visiting group rejoined the other men, some of whom had picked up glowing brands of firewood, and they backed out of the village, weapons still drawn, their way illuminated by those who were waving the brands.[7]

Kaobawä's group took no further action in this affair and was not invited to feast at Mahekodo-teri. Later in the year, their relationships worsened because of a club fight in yet another village, and for a while both groups threatened to shoot each other on sight. A temporary rapprochement developed after the club fight, when a group of raiders from Kaobawä's group met a group of hunters from Mahekodo-teri while en route to attack the village of one of their enemies. The men from both villages traded with each other and departed on friendly terms, the raiders abandoning their raid and returning to their village lest they be later ambushed on the way home by the Mahekodo-teri. They are presently on trading terms with each other, but their relationship is still somewhat strained and potentially hostile.

In general, feasts are exciting for both the hosts and the guests and contribute to their mutual solidarity. Under normal circumstances, allies that customarily feast with each other do not fight. Nevertheless, even the best allies occasionally agree beforehand to terminate their feast with a chest-pounding duel, thereby demonstrating to each other that they are friends, but capable of maintaining their sovereignty and willing to fight if necessary (Fig. 4–4). Kaobawä's group had a chest-pounding duel with one of its staunchest allies in 1966, as each had heard that the other was spreading rumors that it was cowardly. Of the six feasts I witnessed during the nineteen months I spent with the Yanomamö, two of them ended in fighting.

Any Yanomamö feast can potentially end in violence because of the nature of the attitudes the participants hold regarding canons of behavior and obligations to display ferocity.

Still, the feast and its attendant trade serve to reduce the possibility of neighbors fighting with each other at a more serious level of violence, and they contribute to intervillage solidarity and mutual interdependence.

[7] At this time, I was crouched in the house behind the line of bowmen, trembling in my boots.

/8 cont./

175 According to statements of old palm-fiber gatherers on the
648 Aracá, no Indians appeared on this river from the end of the previous century to the end of the twenties of our century. During the months of October and November of the year 1927, palm-fiber gatherers on their way to their places of work saw for the first time small and relatively light-skinned Indians disappearing into the forest thickets. In December, 1927, and January/February, 1928, the settlements were attacked by Indians several times, but the palm-fiber gatherers always managed to put them to flight. During the forenoon of June 28, 1928, there was another attack during which two wives of rubber gatherers and a 12-year-old girl were abducted. After this abduction there was no further Indian attack. Not until 16 years later, in January, 1944, did six
● [439] Indians appear, but this time with friendly intent. They called themselves Surára and wanted to barter for articles of civilization. Later they admitted that their tribe had carried out the earlier attacks. In reply to questions about the two abducted women and the girl, they said that they had died. /9/ The palm-fiber gatherers did not bear them any malice for their previous hostile attitude, for they were glad that they could now carry on their work without fear of the Indians.

439 The Surára cling to their old habits and customs and visit
[115] the palm-fiber gatherers only when they want to barter for knives, axes, pots, etc. According to the statements of the chief of the Surára, they are forced by the Xiriána to barter with the palm-fiber gatherers, for they are obliged to deliver to them all the articles obtained (see also pages 157/163); the Xiriána themselves never have any contact with the civilized inhabitants.

648 In August of the year 1944 the Indian protection post founded in 1940 on the Rio Demini was visited for the first time by some Pakidái. At rather long intervals there have been further visits
[619] by various families of this tribe up to the present time. They, too, however, come at the request of the Xiriána and must hand over to them all the gifts.

/17 cont./
and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

411

3. War and Hunting Weapons and Accessories

For war and hunting expeditions the Surára and Pakidái, exactly like most of the other forest nomads of South America, use very large bows -- hâtonahî -- and arrows -- xeréka (Ill. 12).

[824] The bows, so-called simple bows because they consist of only one piece, are made out of the heavy black wood of the pupunha or chonta palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and are between 2.03-2.12 meters long. Their tension-strength weight is 32 kilograms and the length of stretch 71 centimeters (64). As

64. Pertinent comparisons with bows of other South American tribes may be found in Ranke's chart (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

the result of a not too marked, but uniform curvature, they have a symmetrical appearance. While the outer side is flat, the inner side is rounded, so that the cross-section, which in the center amounts to 2-2 1/2 centimeters, appears semicircular. The two ends come to a point (Fig. 2 i).

411 With regard to their construction it may be said that now-
412 adays the bow-staff is first roughly shaped with ax and tercado
322 (large bush-knife (65). (I did not find any stone axes, which

[439]

65. They obtain these objects by barter with piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) and as gifts from the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

[439] were perhaps once used in former times.) Subsequently the men shape them with a small knife, which they likewise obtain by barter.

/21 cont./

411 184 there is a Xamatári poisoned arrow in the possession of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:7).

411 171 114 [139] Métraux writes with reference to the poisoned arrows: "Poisoned arrows were not so widely used by the Indians as is commonly assumed from the exaggerated accounts of the Spanish conquistadors. Curare, which is the most deadly poison known to the Indians, is prepared by relatively few tribes though it is traded throughout wide regions" /cited in English/ (95). Among

95. Métraux, 1949, p. 242.

Karaiben /Carib/ tribes in Guiana, poisoned arrows which are shot with a bow are not very often encountered, for they are documented only for the Makuxf /Macusi/ by Richard Schomburgk (96) and for

96. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 428.

411 171 the Trio by de Goeje (97). It should be mentioned in this connec-

97. de Goeje, 1906, p. 15; Pl. V, Figs. 10-12; Pl. XI, Fig. 22.

tion, however, that many Karaiben, for example, the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, shoot small poisoned arrows with a blowgun; this weapon is unknown to the Surára and Pakidái.

278 Arrow poisons:

[192] [184] According to what my Surára informants reported to me, they use three kinds of poison of different strengths, all of which, however, they designate by the general name -- mamokórimaunápe. This name is almost the same as the one which the Waiká, according to Zerries, use for arrow poison -- mamokordi (98).

98. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

Surára
Pakidái

/45 cont./

301 in most cases, a silver triangle, a large glass bead, or a fruit pit is fastened at the bottom.

301 When I came to the Surára and Pakidái, a few bead chains
• 439 were already in use. According to their statements, they had obtained the glass beads from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Rio Demini, from rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, and from the Xiriána. The latter had presumably acquired this foreign commodity from Karaiben tribes who, for their part, had received it from the whites. This shows that the barter of glass beads is still carried on vigorously among the Indians themselves (245).

[114]

245. It was already observed by v. Martius that glass beads were traded over wide areas (von Martius, 1867, I, pp. 702 ff.), and Krause also points out that they are greatly prized as trade items (Krause, 1911, p. 279).

7. Hammocks

352
[824] The Surára and Pakidái have three different kinds of hammocks. The hammock of embira (tree bast, Malvaceae sp.) -- yâritanacík -- whose length is between 1.80-1.90 meters, may probably be regarded as the oldest and most primitive form (Ill. 26). It has no weft and consists only of ten to 14 embira strips
[284] 1-2 centimeters wide. These are bent over at the ends and tied together by means of two ropes 1.30-1.40 meters long, which at the same time serve for suspension (Fig. 18a and b). Both ropes are very strong and durable, for they have been plaited in the form of a braid out of three one-centimeter-wide /46/ /Fig. 18 appears
[462] here/ strands of embira. The manufacture of this hammock is
[824] extraordinarily simple and is done only by men. From the embira
[284] tree they remove 10-15 bast strips two meters long and 1-2 centimeters wide, which they tie together in the manner described
412 above, after they have first plaited two ropes. To cut the tree bast they use the little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 119). Since the yâritanacík is extraordinarily light, the men like to use it on their

Surára
Waiká
Shiriana
Pakidái

/55 cont./

The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their occasional contacts with the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) on the Rio Aracá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the ax -- hanhokomá. The blade alone is named synonymously, whereas the shaft is called -- hanhokomáhitohí. Most probably the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according to Schuster, for the Waiká (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the Xiriána seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg writes: "They (the Xiriána) in former times apparently had no axes at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

12. Equipment for Climbing

To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus or Oenocarpus /56/ bacaba Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), tucuma palm (Astrocaryum sp.), and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring -- horohoromá --, which consists of a split liana (cipó-titica) rolled up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears here./

/79 cont./

222 which can be obtained easily and without danger, for the bees are stingless. Usually they have their nests in hollow trees or in the ground. Occasionally, however, one also sees nests built in tall trees; the latter are then cut down by the men, for the purpose of obtaining the honey. The honey is scooped out of the nest with the hand or with a calabash and put into a folded palm leaf which is then tied together and taken along to the maloka. -- Birds' eggs also constitute a popular addition to the diet, as does the nourishing yolk of the eggs of water turtles; the egg white, on the other hand, is discarded because it has an unpleasant, fish-oil taste. During the dry season, especially during the months December-February, the Surára and Pakidái gather these turtle eggs in great numbers on the sandbanks of the Demini and Aracá. -- [226] Also to be mentioned are crayfish and crabs, which are pulled out of the holes in the mud of the riverbanks. -- I also observed that they eat certain kinds of frogs and spiders, as well as insect larvae, caterpillars, termites, and the hind parts of the leaf-cutter ant (Atta sp.) -- aneanemá.

241 e) Agriculture

Although agriculture among the Surára and Pakidái was introduced only a comparatively short time ago, they have already developed a remarkable system with regard to the laying out of their fields. These are always laid out circularly around the maloka. The procedure is such that, first of all, at the beginning of a dry season, October-November, a rather large piece of forest is cleared, during which it is seen to that the circular shape is [313] produced. To chop down the underbrush and the lianas, the [412] men use the tercados (large bush-knives), and the trees are felled with steel axes (367). After about two months, when the felled

• [439]

367. The Surára obtain these articles of civilization from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter, and the Pakidái get them from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

/82 cont./
252 especially of the tapir, the pieces are left on the rack until they are black and as hard as bone.

[179] Smaller pieces of meat are cooked or boiled in clay vessels (392) and occasionally also in aluminum pots (393), often

[438] 392. These come from the Xiriâna.

• [439] 393. These are trade articles of the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) or gifts from the Indian protection post on the Rio Demini.

together with green bananas, by the women. The pot is simply set between the burning logs. The women are very enthusiastic about my empty gasoline cans, in which they often cooked a whole cutia, paca, or monkey. Snake meat is eaten only in a cooked state. Fish are wrapped in leaves and steamed in the hot ashes.

/83/ Vegetables offer a variety of possibilities in the way of preparation. Bananas are predominantly roasted in hot ashes when they are still green, after the peeling has been removed beforehand (the taste always reminded me of a fresh roll), or cut into small pieces and boiled, in the latter case usually along with meat. A soup which is made out of ripe bananas is regarded as a special delicacy (394). Bananas are seldom eaten

252
262 394. The banana in general and this soup in particular play an important role in the religious and social life of the Surâra and Pakidâi. Young men, during their training period as medicine-man helpers, must be satisfied with a banana as their daily diet (see p. 144). At the festival in memory of the dead such a soup, mixed with the bone ashes of deceased tribesmen, is drunk by the men (see p. 230). Young girls are permitted to eat banana soup as their sole

Surára
Pakidái

/83 cont./

262 Great popularity was also enjoyed among the Surára and Pakidái
● 439 by the roasted manioc flour which they occasionally obtain from the palm-fiber gatherers by barter or from the Indian protection post on the Demini as a gift. They are unable to make it themselves because they do not have the large iron pans for it.

252 Various fruits of wild plants also need special preparation. The white seeds found in the pods of the pacova-sororoca (see p. 168) must be roasted before they are eaten. The taste, by the way, corresponds exactly to roasted maize. /84/ -- The fruits of the pot-tree (see p. 168) are first boiled, for which the women particularly liked to use my empty gasoline cans, and then cut open with the knife of tortoise shell (see p. 118). They are then poured into one or more of the large plaited baskets -- uaramá -- (see p. 107) and hung for four days in the water on the bank of a stream, in order to remove the bitter substances. After that they are thoroughly rubbed by the women with their feet. These fruits, to be sure, occupy only a second-rank position in the favor of the "gourmets," but at least they fill the stomach. Moreover, I was assured that in olden times, that is, before the introduction of the banana, this fruit played a much greater role in the food economy.

263 All the foods mentioned are, as a rule, eaten without spices. Only now and then do some men and women add a little of their
[123] cultivated pepper, which is roasted beforehand. Not a single tribesman developed a taste for my salt, of which I had brought along several kilograms, assuming that the Indians would be pleased about it, and they had no interest whatsoever in acquiring any of it (400).

[146]

400. The amount of salt required by the body is supplied by the wood ashes with which the tobacco roll (see p.190) is mixed.

171 This aversion to salt is also found among many other tribes,
175 and in a report as early as the sixteenth century one can read the
263 following remark: "The forest people cannot use any salt, because it makes them ill, for they are not used to it; if they eat it, they

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

231 writes: "Whether the first hunter-gatherer hordes migrating to
174 America from northeastern and northern Asia by way of the Bering Strait brought the dog along has, apart from the Eskimo dog, not as yet been proved with certainty, even though it is probable. Whether the dogs of the New World can be traced back to such early dogs, that is, of the late glacial to early postglacial times, migrating in with human beings, or whether they have come from autochthonous ancestors of New World origin is a zoological problem that cannot be decided here. Opinions about it differ. In most recent times there seems to be more of a tendency to favor a Neotropical origin of Indian dogs" (420). In this last statement

420. Termer, 1957, p. 2.

Termer refers to comments by Gilmore (421).

421. Gilmore, 1950, p. 377.

235
[439]
[199]

In contrast to the obscure origin of the two breeds of dogs, there is no doubt about that of the cocks -- cacará --, for these were acquired from the caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers) by barter only a short time ago. Yet I was very much surprised when, on entering the Surára and Pakidái malokas, I found a large number of cocks but no hens (422), although they could

422. Incidentally, these are also called cacará.

obtain these as well. There is no interest in doing so, however, for they keep cocks only for their colorful plumage and their crowing at dawn (423). Most families have one or two, which they

[231]
[191]

423. Ehrenreich reports of the Ipurina, an Aruak /Arawak/ tribe, that they keep only dogs and cocks as domestic animals, and that the latter were very popular in particular as sentinels (Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 61).

P Y 648 ● 439 P [131]

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Y 241 194

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Uraricapará River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

Y 114 192 194

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auarí River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

Y 114 Y [648] [177] Y [197]

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

Y 167 648 Y [131] P 131 [167] P 177 797 161

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 266

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491 494

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncoc, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista." They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 411

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20

M
123 Once more we were left on our own, waiting for the plane and making plans for a documentary film we wanted to take back. In the meanwhile a Makiritari showed up. He was a middle-aged man, muscular like a statue, and his skin was the colour of copper. Our visitor had a doleful little voice which contrasted oddly with his athletic appearance. It hovered somewhere behind a perpetual smile, like the crowing of a cock screened off by a flowering hedge. Pedro was the name. He had made his way through the Ventuari and the lower Caura, with *molto tarauaho*—much work, much exertion. . . .

M
[186] Pedro would have come to see us before, but he had been put off by the
M
[752] presence of the Shirians. 'Shirians—bad men,' he told us. 'Me, Pedro, good,
[177] not bad man.' His wife had a mastoid, and he had operated on her with a splinter of glass that had originally been part of a medicine bottle from Las Trinqueras—everything civilized came from Las Trinqueras, the hub of the world. And the woman, a dried-up thirty-year-old, had in fact a deep cut behind her ear which was suppurating. A few injections of penicillin soon put that right, and such was the patient's gratitude that whenever she saw us coming or going she would give us the same meek, piteous look as a lamb about to be slaughtered, and then turn to the others saying: 'What good men, what good men. . .!'

Pedro was a very able fisherman, and when we had supplied him with hooks he went off to the Upper Canaracuni with a child whom we took to be his daughter. But when he came back, he was ashamed of his catch. He thought it wouldn't find favour in our eyes.

'Soto eat them,' he declared, 'Shirians eat them too, but you eat other fish.'

We never could make out whether this was really diffidence on Pedro's part, or whether it was astuteness: so far were we from fully understanding the mentality of primitive men.

Y
*123 We were to hear more about fish and fishing when Auai came back with his
● [139] horde of ruffians, bringing us the promised bananas and sugar-cane and receiving in exchange the few goods we still possessed. Auai went fishing in the
Y
[226] Canaracuni headwaters with barbasco, a vegetable poison frequently used for this purpose. Artur and I decided to go along with him, leaving the others to wait at Kirisochi.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

little hand, once fashionable in Europe, would probably have made an ideal present for him.

One day, however, a boy passed in front of him, dragging a great sheaf of palm leaves. The Senator stretched out his hand to touch them, as if making sure they were of good quality.

'The Senator has touched the leaves!' I shouted to the others, and from that moment anything The Senator did marked a red-letter day in our calendar.

But at home he was not a figure of quite the same dignity. His back-scratching stick was now replaced by one of the machetes which his tribe had received in payment from us. However, his smile when he saw us again made up for everything—even for that rash behaviour when he had broken the mystic spell of his immobility by stretching out his hand to touch the palm leaves.

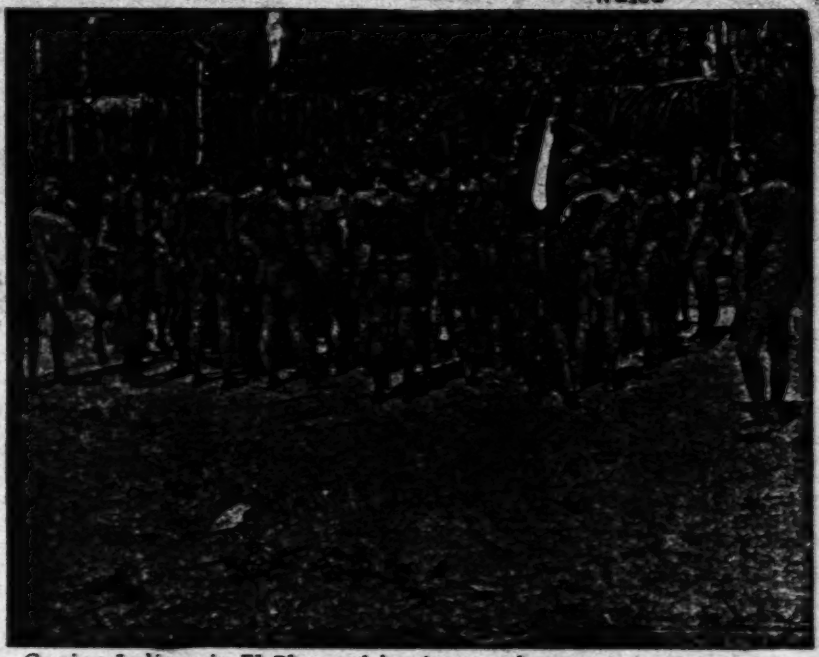
We treated the usual cases of worms among the children and one or two not very serious sores, and then returned to the beach, where Jean was waiting for us with Caio and Sempronio. Two days later we were once more at Llantarigña, on our way to the Uarema settlement to make a retake of some film shots we thought we had lost in our recent shipwreck.

The *mereis* were beautifully ripe on the Merevari banks, and at Llantarigña there was a gigantic tree, which Sempronio climbed like a monkey. From his perch on high he threw the fruit down to us, but not before he had sampled the best of them, chuckling and exclaiming in his delight. The *merei* is the red and fleshy fruit of the cashew nut tree. Common in tropical America, it is known on the lower Amazon as the *maranon*. Besides the juicy pulp, there is also the kernel which once freed from the bitter oil which impregnates it can be made into an excellent almond cake, as it is in Guiana.

When we had eaten our fill of these fruits, we decided to sacrifice the tree in order to re-take a scene for our film. We had been puzzling over it and so far had found no satisfactory solution. The scene called for a beautiful tree falling into still water. A tree with fiery red fruits, which would make a tremendous splash. Several Indians would then jump in after the fruits as the current began to sweep them away. This venerable *merei* tree at Llantarigña seemed ideal for the purpose, both in its structure and its position, and we worked on it with our axes for an hour, while I myself, strategically placed with the camera, waited for the big scene. But when the tree did come down the Indians were all on top of me, hurrying out of the way of its fall, so that the foreground of the picture was thick with figures dancing about in clumsy

8: Barker--16 M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

291
439



Guaica Indians in El Platanal buying machetes.

114
291
516
302
142

A group of Guaica natives surrounding James Barker.

9:Greller K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ (8)
Makiritare SS 20
Guahariho
[P.90]
y 439 M 439 438

Pedlars trading with Advanced Makiritares		Advanced Makiritares trading with Pedlars		Advanced Makiritares trading with Less Advanced Makiritares		Less Advanced Makiritares trading with Advanced Makiritares		Less Advanced Makiritares trading with Guaharibos	Guaharibos trading with Less Advanced Makiritares	
Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy	Sell	Buy
Nails	Dug-out Canoes	Nails			Baskets		Pots		Bows and Arrows		Hatchets
Adzes	*Manioc*	Adzes			Finery		Glassware				Machetes
Hatchets	Casabe	Aspirin			Blow-pipes		Mirrors				Knives
Machetes	Baskets	Rum			Resins		Combs				Sewing Thread
Pots	Finery				Bows and Arrows						Fishing Line
Knives	Blow-pipes		Hatchets				Hatchets				Fish Hooks
Glassware	Resins		Machetes				Machetes				
Cotton Goods	Gum (Chicle)		Pots				Knives				
Aspirin			Knives				Sewing Thread				
Rum			Glassware				Fishing Line				
Mirrors			Cotton Goods				Fish Hooks				
Combs			Mirrors								
Sewing Thread			Combs								
Fishing Line			Sewing Thread								
Fish Hooks			Fishing Line								
			Fish Hooks								

Table drawn up by J. M. Cruxent showing the barter objects in most common use among the Cunucunuma Makiritare Indians. It will be noticed that hatchets, machetes, knives, threads, and fish hooks are the only goods of industrial manufacture to reach certain of the Guaharibo Indians, who, for their part, offer nothing but bows and arrows in exchange.

[P. 91 - 105 not processed]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waikas. We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows, they motioned us to come closer.

"*Shori! Shori!*" they shouted.

"*Shori! Shori!*" we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and *manioc* and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying "*Shori! Shori!*" and we responded as in a litany, "*Shori!*"

Physically the Waika is no different from the Guaharibo. He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waika's only weapon. Made of strong,

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

352
415
142
516

439
123

TOP: Women of the "Platanal". Notice the household goods. The two types of hammock are clearly shown. *(Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)*

BOTTOM: Swapping. The little things we brought excited curiosity and greed. *(Photograph by J. Grelier)*

[P. 112-C]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

his jungle intimately—where to find palm dates, cocos and brazil nuts in their season, and where game birds are most plentifully found. He hunts the herds of peccary, his ear, versed in all the sounds of the forest, detecting his prey before they detect him. When the water in the rivers is low he shoots his fish with arrows and when the sand banks are uncovered he hunts tortoise eggs buried in the sand. His interminable wanderings are limited only by his forest lore; he lives only for the day, his sole reserve of food being a small store of bananas brought from the village plantation.

Platanal

As we closed the shore our reception was tumultuous. From the high bank above us the Indians leaped yelling into the water and clambered on board, shaking themselves like wet dogs. Laughing and gesticulating they took hold of our mooring lines. Though some of us were a little overcome by this display of exuberance, Butrón was not in the least disconcerted. He knew that the Indians had long learned to associate him with machetes and *manioc*. As soon as it was possible to do so, Butrón had a basket of *manioc* and a dozen machetes carried ashore, and the Indians who had already begun to ransack our cargo left it and hurried ashore.

"*Shori! Manioco! Oji!*" they cried striking their bellies. They jostled round the basket, stuffing handfuls of the coarse flour into their mouths, their heads thrown back in ecstasy.

As the Waïka have no knowledge of contriving the simplest of iron tools, or of grinding *manioc*, all such articles were highly valued objects of barter. So were matches, once they had been shown how to use them.

Butrón told them we wanted the large green bananas which are eaten cooked; the accepted tariff is three hands of bananas for one machete. Before long, we heard some of the natives making merry in the plantation, and made as if to follow them. But at once the others became suspicious and gestured to us to return to the river bank. We insisted and they became menacing, finally refusing to go on gathering the bananas if we did not desist.

This is also supported by[30] meagre
historical evidence bearing on the aboriginal inhabitants of this area. Several distinguished Europeans explored portions of the area under consideration and all of them were familiar with the existence of the Yąnomamö in the Orinoco headwaters. None of them, however, reported that Yąnomamö Indians were living in the Mavaca Basin. Alexander Humboldt, who ascended the Casiquiare Canal in 1800, discussed the area of the Mavaca headwaters as one frequently used by Indians of the 'Portuguese Missions' as the route between the Causabury headwaters to Esmeralda (on the Orinoco River) by way of the Mavaca River. The aromatic seeds of the puchery laurel were seasonally gathered near Esmeralda and sold in Brazil (Humboldt, 1281, Vol. 5, pt. 1, pp. 308-9).

So well known was this route that Robert Schomburgk intended to follow it in 1839 to reach the Rio Negro from Esmeralda, hoping to avoid the 200 miles that the Casiquiare route would have added to his journey. He was dissuaded from doing so by the residents of Esmeralda, who, knowing both the route and the seasonal variations in the river, assured him that the trip would be impossible at that time of the year (Schomburgk, 1840 :244).

Richard Spruce ascended the Paciba River, a branch of the Casiquiare Canal that has its source near the Mavaca River, in 1854 and found the upper reaches of the river inhabited by several Aruak-speaking tribes (1908:425, 427).

The first evidence that the Yąnomamö had penetrated

[i.e. Shamatari expansion south of the Orinoco R. - Analyst]

Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

---

[1] Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[2] The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

11: Chagnon - E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that I had to become very much like the Yąnomamö to be able to get along with them on their terms: sly, aggressive, and intimidating. 114 123

Had I failed to adjust in this fashion I would have lost six months of supplies to them in a single day or would have spent most of my time ferrying them around in my canoe or hunting for them. As it was, I did spend a considerable amount of time doing these things and did succumb to their outrageous demands for axes and machetes, at least at first. More importantly, had I failed to demonstrate that I could not be pushed around beyond a certain point, I would have been the subject of far more ridicule, theft, and practical jokes than was the actual case. In short, I had to acquire a certain proficiency in their kind of interpersonal politics and to learn how to imply subtly that certain potentially undesirable consequences might follow if they did such and such to me. They do this to each other in order to establish precisely the point at which they cannot goad an individual any further without precipitating retaliation. As soon as I caught on to this and realized that much of their aggression was stimulated by their desire to discover my flash point; I got along much better with them and regained some lost ground. It was sort of like a political game that everyone played, but one in which each individual sooner or later had to display some sign that his bluffs and implied threats could be backed up. I suspect that the frequency of wife beating is a component of this syndrome, since men can display their ferocity and show others that they are capable of violence. Beating a wife with a club is considered to be an acceptable way of displaying ferocity and one that does not expose the male to much danger. The important thing is that the man has displayed his potential for violence and the implication is that other men better treat him with respect and caution. 114 123 152 [593]

After six months, the level of demand was tolerable in the village I used for my headquarters. The Indians and I adjusted to each other and knew what to expect with regard to demands on their part for goods, favors, and services. Had I confined my fieldwork to just that village alone, the field experience would have been far more enjoyable. But, as I was interested in the demographic pattern and social organization of a much larger area, I made regular trips to some dozen different villages in order to collect genealogies or to recheck those I already had. Hence, the intensity of begging and intimidation was fairly constant for the duration of the fieldwork. I had to establish my position in some sort of pecking order of ferocity at each and every village. 114 121 123

For the most part, my own "fierceness" took the form of shouting back at the Yąnomamö as loudly and as passionately as they shouted at me, especially at first, when I did not know much of their language. As I became more proficient in their language and learned more about their political tactics, I became more sophisticated in the art of bluffing. For example, I paid one young man a machete to cut palm trees and make boards from the wood. I used these to fashion a platform in the bottom of my dugout canoe to keep my possessions dry when I traveled by river. That afternoon I was doing informant work in the village; the long-awaited mission supply boat arrived, and most of the Indians ran out of the village to beg goods from the crew. I continued to work in the village for another hour or so and went down to the river to say "hello" to the men on the supply boat. I was angry when I discovered that the Indians had chopped up all my palm boards and used them to paddle their own canoes[5] across the river. I knew that if 114 123 [799]

[5]The canoes were obtained from missionaries, who, in turn, got them from a different tribe. [501] [439]

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

462 335 Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that 988 958 older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, 955 children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired 84 493 clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are 462 422 567 made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the 199 manufacture of cassave bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

---

[1] The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

343 /11 cont./ Moreover, it should be mentioned that
342 between the chief's house and the windscreen that is 24.80 meters
361 long there stands a four-meter-long, rectangular, open gabled-hut, the rooster coop (Ill. 7). /12/ /Fig. 1 appears here./

342 /13/ The three windscreens are built as follows: Toward the interior, posts 3.30-3.60 meters high are set up at irregular intervals. Behind them, at intervals of 2.60 meters, stand smaller posts which are about 1.20 meters high. The front and rear posts are joined by strips which are allowed to project about two
[824] meters at the top. Here, too, cipó-titica, a type of liana, serves for fastening them. Over these strips, at intervals of 50-70 centimeters, 31-35 thinner cross-strips are laid, which produces a windscreen construction. In contrast to the lean-to type of hut described above, these are genuine, albeit specially large windscreens, for they touch the ground on one side. They are about seven meters deep and the height of the roof is up to six meters.
[824] For roof covering the leaves of the ubim palm (Geonoma sp.) are
[171] used, the "tiles" of the Amazon. The rubber gatherers, the palm-fiber gatherers, the planters, and woodcutters also use these leaves as roof and wall covering, the durability of which is four to five years.

824 The ubim palm, which is very common in the Demini-Aracá area, reaches a height of only 1.50-2 meters. The leaves are 80 centimeters to one meter long and from 25 to 30 centimeters
[461] wide. The gathering of these is quite strenuous and demands four to five hours of hard work. They are cut off or broken off and at first laid on top of one another in piles. When the Indian has gathered enough leaves, he clears a small rectangular place in the forest for a distance of about four meters. At this distance he thrusts three sticks, one meter high, into the ground on either side directly opposite one another. These are joined together with lianas. Then piles of eight to ten leaves are placed next to one another over the three liana strips. When he comes to the end, the Indian places additional piles of eight to ten leaves in the interspaces, but this time with the stem pointing toward the opposite side. He repeats this several times until finally all the gathered

[Text Continues on P. 28]

Surara
Pakidai
Shiriana

/51 cont./

285
184

281. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

which serve for storing manioc cakes and fruits. Among the last-named Indians I also saw women's carrying-baskets in miniature form, which are meant for small girls, and some with covers -- [531] weẽ. All the objects named are usually painted with serpentine [386] lines, for which urucú is used. Finally, it should be mentioned [461] that the women, like best to lie comfortably in their hammocks while making such baskets and basket-bowls.

285
191
184

The women's large carrying-baskets and basket-bowls described above are likewise used by the Waikâ, and both Zerries and Schuster point out that in the manufacture the twining plaiting-technique is used (282) (283) (284). Similar basket-bowls

282. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

283. Zerries, 1955b, p. 663, Ill. 2.

284. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

are also documented for the Karimé (285), and small hanging

285. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 11.

baskets and basket-winnowers from Aruak and Tukano /Tucano/ tribes on the upper Rio Negro, as well as from the Makú /Macu/, exhibit further parallels, which differ only slightly in the external form (286).

286. Koch-Grüngerg, 1910a, pp. 220 ff. and Ills. 142e, 143a, 144.

Surára
Pakidái

/104 cont./

769
788 Immediately after that the Surára chief squatted down at his hearth, and beside him squatted a medicine-man helper. On the opposite side of the large maloka the Pakidái chief and a helper had assumed the same position. Hewemão, the first-named chief, began to speak loudly and distinctly to the hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits). While doing so, he kept stroking his hair from front to back and then slapping his seat. The helper squatting beside him repeated each of his words and copied all his movements. (This was to express symbolically that the hekurá, the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being, Poré/Perimbó, actually pass on all questions, requests, and wishes). After Hewemão, the Pakidái chief spoke to the hekurá, and his helper likewise repeated each word and imitated the gestures (stroking the hair and slapping the seat). This exorcism, which the two chiefs carried out alternately, lasted an hour.

769
461 After that the two exhausted chiefs and the rest of the men, young men, and boys lay down for a well-earned rest. /105/ Meanwhile the women had been going about their accustomed activity. They fetched water, prepared food, took care of the children; some of them also plaited a basket in the meantime, or they strung glass beads on a string. Some of the men who had meanwhile awakened continued to lie idly in their hammocks, some also played with the children, while others sat together in groups and talked.

769 Toward 2:00 the festival was resumed when 20 men, young men, and boys, each of whom held an arrow in his hand, rushed into the maloka courtyard with loud shouts. They were magnificently painted (510) and on the upper arms and in part

[302]
[301]

510. The painting had been done with urucú color and consisted of serpentine lines, circles and dots; several men, however, had painted their whole bodies red.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

372 /25 cont./
(see p.116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side. The hole is enlarged by the drilling. There is loosened a fine dust which slowly starts to smoke and glow and, by way of the groove, falls on tinder previously placed next to it (dry grass, leaves, or dry splinters of bamboo), which quickly catches fire. Cautiously the man blows upon it, and a short time later a flame leaps up. This requires a great deal of practice and skill, however; often he [171] has blisters on his hands after drilling. This is the most widely distributed method of producing fire in South America (120). In their malokas

120. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 118-125 and Map 13.

the Surára and Pakidái preserve the fire.

283

5. Twining and Spinning

[824] For making thread and cord the leaf fibers of a Bromeliaceae, curauá (121), and cotton are used, the latter, however, only in more recent times.

[114] [171]

121. Koch-Grünberg also verifies the use of this material for the northwestern Brazilian tribes (Koch-Grünberg, 1910, p. 210).

[462] While to this day the curauá fibers are worked, mostly by men and only occasionally by women, with the right hand against the right thigh in the direction of the knee, to produce thread twisted to the right (122), a spindle is used to make cotton thread,

[171]

122. Threads which are not spun with the spindle are twisted to the right among most of the South American tribes. There are exceptions, however, for among a few nations of northwestern South America threads twisted to the left are more prevalent, and

/26 cont./

283
[191]

122. (cont.)
in Guiana as well as in the Gran Chaco both thread twisted to the right and thread twisted to the left appear (Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 50).

[462] with which, however, a left twist is associated. The treatment of cotton -- xinarí --, starting with picking, then drying and bleaching, removal of the seeds, loosening and plucking apart, up to the spinning, is women's work.

The spindle -- xinarikã -- consists of a smoothed stick -- nuhú -- 30-35 centimeters long, for which the rib of a palm leaf is also often used, on the upper end of which a small barb -- nhobaná -- of the same material is attached with a cotton thread. [321] The disk-shaped whorl -- tankarã --, made by the men out of bone [322] or wood, is slipped onto the stick from below and rests in the cen- [462] ter of it. To prevent it from slipping off when the woman holds her spindle in a vertical position, there is a wrapping of cotton below the whorl.

283
191

From the description it may be seen that this is a typical Guianese variation of the "Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ spindle." "Only in Guiana and on the Amazon River," Frödin and Nordenskiöld write in their study, "Uber Zwirnen und Spinnen bei den Indianern Südamerikas /On Twining and Spinning among the Indians of South America/, "do we find the spindles provided with barbs, which, however, differ from the other Bakaïrí spindles only in that the spindle whorl rests near the center of the stick (Fig. 40)" (123).

123. Frödin and Nordenskiöld, 1918, p. 24.

In two other respects, however, the spindles of the Surára and Pakidái differ somewhat, for among them the stick is not thickened at the bottom, and the whorl is held by a wrapping of cotton.

Puseheweteri
Surára

/32 cont./

292
531
237

Fig. 11. Fringed belt of an old Puseheweteri woman, with pierced mussel shells.

291
462
237

Finally, the Surára also use a child's belt -- yaoké -- which is always made by the father /33/ out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yaó. These belts are 30-35 centimeters long and 2-2.5 centimeters wide. One end is pierced to receive a thin tie-string of cotton or curauá fibers. The string is wound around the other end several times and then knotted (Fig. 12). This belt, too, is worn in such a way that it is open in front. Only now and then is it put on small boys and girls between 1-3 years old, who at that age, of course, do not even wear the hip cord (see p. 60), in order to promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

284

/39 cont./

301 171 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

301 789 832 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, [824] to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrë. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrë -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hií -- (see p-243).

302 e) Hair style

Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around the head, including the tonsure -- hemõno. Shaving the latter, [462] but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp.--) (see p.119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

Surára
Pakidái

/44 cont./

301 825 239 Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxí osuemekés --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) -- pauxí aratexinã -- occasionally adorns the perforation of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be used by older as well as younger warriors.

[554]

• [562] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men, who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but sometimes they are scattered through the hair at random. The ornamental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case, for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile tribes, above all from the Waikã. They are caused by magical performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls. Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end (see also pp.211 and 229).

301 825 95

301 171 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá /Caraja/, Bororo, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé /Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G. Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

2: Becher--97 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sukárq
Pakidái

/45 cont./

301 43 822 [171] only then come beads in the colors of orange, yellow, black, and green (244).

244. Krause also notes with regard to the Karajá that they scorn green glass beads (Krause, 1911, p. 279), and among many other tribes there is likewise an aversion to this color (Menzel, 1957, pp. 17/18 and Pl. II and III). For this reason Brigitte Menzel asks the justifiable questions: "Could this rejection of green raw material among forest peoples be traced back to the predominance of green in their physical-geographical environment? Do they prefer other colors for reasons of contrast?" (Menzel, 1957, p. 18.)

301 462 They are strung by the women on cords of cotton or curauá fibers, at which the men occasionally help, and are used as neck chains, upper-arm and wrist cords, and ear pendants.

301 822 I was able to observe the following ways of making them: On a cord are strung, for example, only white, red, or blue beads. Depending on the taste of the person making it, however, a blue or red bead may always follow three white ones; others prefer the color combination of blue, white, red, or vice versa. There are many more variations, however, also in combination with other colors.

Moreover, chains are made of two strings, though less often. In this case, for example, a white bead is strung on both strings, then a red or blue one on one string, then again a white one on both, etc.

301 Women and girls like to wear several strings of beads, one over the other, as neck chains, whereas men and boys never tie on more than one. Only men wear upper-arm strings of glass beads and only boys and girls corresponding strings around their wrists. Short chains of beads which are fastened in the perforations of the ear lobes are worn by both sexes, though only rarely. Then,

/45 cont./

301 in most cases, a silver triangle, a large glass bead, or a fruit pit is fastened at the bottom.

301 439 When I came to the Surára and Pakidái, a few bead chains were already in use. According to their statements, they had obtained the glass beads from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Rio Demini, from rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, and from the Xiriána. The latter had presumably acquired this foreign commodity from Karaiben tribes who, for their part, had received it from the whites. This shows that the barter of glass beads is still carried on vigorously among the Indians themselves (245).

[114]

245. It was already observed by v. Martius that glass beads were traded over wide areas (von Martius, 1867, I, pp. 702 ff.), and Krause also points out that they are greatly prized as trade items (Krause, 1911, p. 279).

7. Hammocks

352 [824] The Surára and Pakidái have three different kinds of hammocks. The hammock of embira (tree bast, Malvaceae sp.) -- yâritanacfk -- whose length is between 1.80-1.90 meters, may probably be regarded as the oldest and most primitive form (Ill. 26). It has no weft and consists only of ten to 14 embira strips [284] 1-2 centimeters wide. These are bent over at the ends and tied together by means of two ropes 1.30-1.40 meters long, which at the same time serve for suspension (Fig. 18a and b). Both ropes are very strong and durable, for they have been plaited in the form of a braid out of three one-centimeter-wide /46/ /Fig. 18 appears [462] here/ strands of embira. The manufacture of this hammock is [824] extraordinarily simple and is done only by men. From the embira [284] tree they remove 10-15 bast strips two meters long and 1-2 centimeters wide, which they tie together in the manner described above, after they have first plaited two ropes. To cut the tree [412] bast they use the little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 119). Since the yâritanacfk is extraordinarily light, the men like to use it on their

Surára
Pakidái

/46 cont./

352
[192] Instead of the yâritanacĩk (embira hammock), the Surára and Pakidái men, on their rovings and hunting and war expeditions, also /47/ frequently use a liana hammock -- totokẽ -- (254) (255),

254. The name is derived from tototó, with which the liana (cipó-titica) is designated.

255. Except for a slight dialectal difference, the name corresponds to the Waikâ word -- "toto" --, with which, however, according to statements by Zerries, they designated their tree-bast hammocks (Zerries, 1955a, p. 87).

which is likewise very light but gives the sleeper a somewhat firmer support. The lengths of these hammocks vary between
[462] 1.90 and 2.10 meters. They, too, are without cross-bindings
352 and are likewise made only by men. This is done as follows:
284 The man has a rather large bundle of long lianas lying in front of him. He splits each one with his teeth into 3-5 flat strips and places these side by side. When he has gathered as many strips as he can easily grasp with one hand, approximately 200-250, he winds a thick liana around the ends. Below the wrapping he then divides the flat strips into several bunches of equal size, each of which he winds twice with two split, twisted lianas (Fig. 19 and Fig. 20). This makes the bundle of strips wider at the ends. As tie ropes the man uses three lianas plaited like braids (Ill. 27).

352
184 Such hammocks are likewise used by the Waikâ (256) and

256. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

Xiriâna, but the latter Indians sometimes provide them with cross-bindings of cotton strings (257).

257. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 314 and Pl. 46 (1).

Surára
pakidái

/47 cont./

352 Finally, as the third and most important form, which is used constantly by men, women, and children, both in the maloka as well as during migrations of the tribe, the plaited hammock of cotton -- nyõ (258) -- is to be mentioned (Ills. 28 and 29). Aside

258. The cotton belts are also designated with the same word.

from the material, it differs from the two earlier types above all because of the weft. The lengths run between 1.60-2.20 meters, depending on whether they are meant for children or adults.
[462] Making them is again the duty of the men, though the women occasionally help a little.

352 Before they are made, two posts are rammed into the ground
286 and connected at top and bottom by cross-poles with lianas. The length of the hammock depends on the distance of the latter, for around these cross poles is /Figs. 19 and 20 appear here/ wound the continuous warp thread, the two ends of which are knotted with the warp at the start and finish. This produces front and rear layers of thread, which are united into a single layer by slipping the rear warp threads between the /48/ front ones. After that the plaiting of the double thread is begun, which is done without implements, only with the fingers, from right to left; it should also be mentioned that it is started at the top. All hammocks are plaited with very wide meshes, for the intervals between the individual cross-bindings, which are knotted at the beginning and end, are 8-12 centimeters. To fasten the hammocks ropes of
[824] Bromelia fibers (curauá) are used, which, made of four strands, braidlike, are twisted to the right.

352 When a hammock has been used for some time, it gradually takes on a dirty-brown appearance. This comes about because
[302] the urucú color with which the Indians frequently paint their bodies rubs off on it somewhat when they lie down and adheres to the cotton.

/49 cont./

8. Basketry

285 462 [824] Basketry is carried on primarily by the women. The only exceptions are temporary carrying-baskets of natural palm leaves, which are made by both sexes, and carrying-baskets of curauí, the making of which falls to the men.

[824] If the Indians need a temporary carrying-basket in the forest, they simply place two pinnate palm leaves close together on the ground (most often they use for this the leaves of the patauí, acai, and ubim palm) and interweave the inner sides to make a firm surface. Then both leaves are bent over at the upper end, which makes the bottom, and on the outside a braidlike rim is plaited 482 (Ill. 32). By means of a carrying-band of embira, very heavy loads can then be carried with this basket, called pakokéhe, above all fruits, but also pieces of large game, for example, tapir, which the hunter alone cannot carry into the maloka. Men always slip the carrying-band over upper arms and chest, while women prefer the forehead for this.

285 191 Similar baskets are found among the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana (269), as well as among the

269. Roth, 1924, p. 379 and Pl. 124.

Urubu in the Brazilian state of Maranhão (270). Similar specimens,

270. Lopes, 1932, p. 147 and Fig. 6.

however, are used by the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ and Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the Xingú source region (271), to mention only a few more

271. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 500 ff. and Figs. 13 and 14.

examples, which, however, could be augmented at will. It is seen from this that many tribes were in a position to make carrying devices out of natural palm leaves.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

285 462 [824] More highly developed is the carrying basket which consists of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) -- uaramá. It is made by the male members of the tribe in the following manner: Two groups of plaiting strips are laid on top of each other in different directions and then interwoven with a third group of strips running in still another direction (Ill. 33).

285 194 [971] This, according to Max Schmidt's classification, is the third principal type of South American plaiting (272) (273). This type

272. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

273. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

of basket (274), which is very widespread in South America, is

274. Abundant comparative material is to be found in Roth (Roth, 1924, pp. 321 ff. and Pl. 100 B and 102) and Mason (Mason, 1904, pp. 529 ff. and Pl. 240 (1, 2).

also regarded as very old, but today is seldom used any more by the Surára and Pakidái. Nothing concerning its origin is known any more among the tribes named. An autochthonous development [179] is possible, but an adoption from Karaiben or Aruak tribes, who use similar baskets, is more probable. The same basket is [184] likewise confirmed for the related Karimé (275).

275. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Figs. 9 and 10.

285 824 192 The one most frequently used at present is the women's large carrying-basket made of liana strips (276) -- wuëka --, which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34).

276. Each individual liana is split with the teeth into several flat strips. (Cf. also p. 101).

/55 cont./

412 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This
184 strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xirišna, unlike the Surára and Pakidái, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly
462 women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side
302 (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

412 Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American
171 Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw
237 of the wild pig -- manacoauí --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waikâ (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat
[192] flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long --
[824] namunamutehí --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waikâ (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm
462 should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimá (see also pp. 112/114).

412 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden
197 times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as tercados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

173 /75 cont./ According to their
241 own statements, both tribes regard the Xiriána as their culture-
177 bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely
[829] adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

224 b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larâ -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norâ -- (350). The latter,

[573] [462] 359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

[184] 350. Among the Waikâ, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

[231]

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xâma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajâ. The

Surára
Pakidai
Waica

/178/

226 184 Among the Waikâ, too, fishing ranks last in the acquisition of food and is likewise practiced with bow and arrow there, as well as with the fishhook in more recent times. It is worth noting, however, that in addition they are familiar with a method of fishing by poisoning the water (356a) (356b) 357).

356a. Barker, 1953, pp. 464/65.

356b. Zerries, 1956b, p. 152.

357. Zerries, 1958c, p. 179.

222 d) Gathering

[462] Not only women, but also men take part in the gathering activity. The latter have the duty in particular to bring in the fruits of the many palm species (358), of which the following are

358. The general name for palms is -- petabaámo.

the most important: acaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) -- uaíma --, bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus Mart. or Oenocarpus bacaba Mart.) -- hokomaké --, bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.) -- yauetosík --, buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.) -- etewexí --, curua (Attalea spectabilis Mart.) -- yauatoá --, tucuma (Astrocaryum sp.) -- pahá -- (359), and pupunha (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) --

[481] 359. To climb the palms named they used the climbing ring (see pp. 119/120).

komunamá -- (360). The fruits of smaller palms that are easy to

[481] 360. Since the trunk of this palm is covered with sharp thorns -- mimicibá --, it can be climbed only with the help of two specially constructed implements (see pp. 121/122).

/78 cont./

222 climb, such as the piaçaba (Attalea funifera Mart. and Leopoldinia piassaba Wal.) -- tanbarí -- and ubim (Geonoma sp.) -- komixí --, are gathered by men and women in the same manner.

[462] A division of labor between the sexes may be observed in the gathering of the fruits of the inga trees (Inga sp.) -- kepõ -- growing on the banks of rivers and brooks. In this case, however, they do not take the trouble to climb the tall, broad-limbed trees. They are felled by the men, and then the women and children strip off the long, dark-green, hard-shelled pods, the beans of which are embedded in a white, spongy pulp as sweet as sugar. This is sucked out and then spat out along with the seed. Men, women, and children relish it even while they are working, but the bulk of the pods are tied together with lianas and carried into the maloka by the women, where the pulp is again sucked out with great satisfaction. -- The fruits of the wild caju tree (Anacardium sp.) -- uitõ -- (361) are harvested in the same way, that is, by

361. The corresponding Waikâ name is "widó" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 150).

felling the trees. Of this, however, the Surára and Pakidái eat only the longish, dark-red, shiny receptacle, which is extraordinarily juicy and is especially prized as pleasantly refreshing. The kidney-shaped, greenish-black kernel, on the other hand, is not eaten. -- The fruits of the chestnut, castanha-do-pará (362)

362. We know them as Pará nuts.

(Bertholletia excelsa H.B.K.) -- hokoõ --, are very popular. During the rainy season, when the ouricos (ball-shaped husks with a hard shell, which weigh more than one kilogram and contain between 10-30 chestnuts) fall from the tall trees because of gusts of wind, the entire tribe often travels to the chestnut forests on the lower Aracá or the middle Demini, in order to reap a rich harvest here, in which again both sexes take part. The ouricos, wherever they are found, are cut open with a stone or, if available, with a terçado (large bush-knife), and the chestnuts are poured into the

Suvarg
Pakidai

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying
[361] and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka
[622] is erected. This roça (forest clearing) -- hikarf --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, carí, cotton,
• [462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

[184] 368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

[134] falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132] 369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

24
36
166 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka
245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

/81/

Designation of the Surára and Pakidái:	Designation of the regional caboclo population:
pakatarimã	pacovão
kuratí pauximí	inajá
nakaximí	São Tomé roxa
rokojá	São Tomé branca
rokomã	banana maçã (?)
parauá	caité
roórenvõkãkõ	banana bajé
xiahíma	Banana govêrno (375)

375. Unfortunately, I could not carry out a botanical classification of these varieties.

With the help of a digging stick made from the wood of the pupunha palm and 1.60-1.80 meters long, which has a flattened point at the lower end (Ill. 38), or a broken bow-staff, cuttings of banana trees are planted in the clearing, and after only a few months they are full-grown and bear fruit. The work of planting as well as the care of the plants falls to the men, while the women help only with the harvest (376).

376. Among the Waikí, the plants are cared for by men and women (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Besides the banana, the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) -- komunamá -- is cultivated to a considerable extent. Cuttings are used for planting, but occasionally seeds as well. These palms, which always stand between the bananas, give the clearings of the Surára and Pakidái a characteristic stamp (Ill. 37). The trunk, 18-20 meters tall, which is covered with pointed thorns -- mifmicibá -- and can therefore be climbed only

249 /82/ Besides the cultivated plants used for food, some are raised to be used for enjoyment. These are primarily tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) -- peenſke -- (387) and a pepper plant (Piperacea sp.) --

387. The Waikâ word for this is "be" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

maxarahâ -- (388) which is required for making the narcotic

[184] 388. This plant is also cultivated by the Waikâ and is designated by almost the same name "masho hara" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

snuff-powder (see pp. 192), as well as -- perakî -- (389)

389. The Waikâ call this pepper plant "blaki" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

(Piper caudatum Vahl.), Portuguese pimenta-dos-índios, with which they spice their food.

249 824 Finally, the cultivation of plants yielding important required articles should be mentioned. These are arrow cane (Sagittaria montevidensis Cham. et Schl.) -- xerekaſbe --, the urucuzeiro (Bixa orellana L.), from whose seeds, found in a thorny capsule, the red coloring matter urucú -- narâ -- is obtained (see p. 122), as well as a Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria L. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda), the fruits of which are used as vessels (see p. 114).

248 The cultivation of cotton (Gossypium barbadense or hirsutum) -- xinarî -- is of comparatively recent date.

252 [462] 8. Preparation of Food

The preparation of solid food is almost exclusively in the hands of the women, but the roasting of game is reserved for the men (390). There are two methods of doing this: The simplest

[171] 390. According to Baldus, this prerogative

Suráya
Pakidai

/82 cont./

252
462
171

390. (cont.)
of the men is found among most Brazilian tribes: "Entre os povos naturais do Brasil, as grandes caças são assadas ou moqueadas, em geral, pelos homens /among the primitive peoples of Brazil, big game is, in general, roasted or smoked by men/" (Baldus, 1950, p. 7).

252 and most common consists of impaling a piece of meat on a pointed stick, sticking the latter into the ground obliquely toward the fire, and turning it from time to time, so that all sides are equally exposed to the heat. There are also square [171] roasting racks (Portuguese moquém) with grates of wooden rods which, in the same shape or in triangular form, are familiar to almost all primitive peoples of tropical South America (391).

391. These roasting racks are made in the following way: Four sticks, forked at the top, are stuck into the ground so that a square is formed, cross rods are placed in the forks, and over them are laid sticks which are fastened with lianas.

The men use the roasting rack mostly if the meat of large animals, such as tapirs and wild pigs, is to be prepared, because several pieces can be roasted at once. Now and then, however, I also saw a whole monkey lying on the grate. So that no fat will be lost during roasting, the skin is not removed beforehand, but only when one sits down to eat. The entrails, however, are removed from the animals before roasting or boiling. They are not discarded, however, but wrapped in palm leaves and steamed in the hot ashes, to be consumed afterwards with great relish. When the roasting rack is used, an even fire; not too hot, is kept burning under it day and night. Before festivals, when it is desired to preserve exceptionally large quantities of meat,

/103 cont./

769 25 [462] few days. This roasting belongs to the men's sphere of duties, as does the harvesting of pupunha fruits. The latter are then made into a drink by the women. Moreover, they fetched from the plantings large quantities of bananas which were put in the sun so that they could ripen, and, finally, it should be mentioned that among all the families several stacks of manioc flat-cakes were piled up little by little.

769 535 [296] On the evening of April fourth, toward 9:00, the actual festival began. Five men and five boys, who wore cotton belts over their hip cords, danced, after the former had first blown snuff-powder into each other's noses, one behind the other (two steps forward and one back, during which the more marked lifting of the knees with a slight turning outward of the legs is to be noted), on a circular path in the open circle of the maloka, and, to be sure, counterclockwise (509a). The first two men

509a. In all the dances that go around the periphery of a circle the participants dance counterclockwise.

each held two arrows in the right hand, and the rest, as well as [533] all the boys, had their hands crossed behind their heads. Occasionally one man would sing in a beautiful, full bass voice, and the others would then join in chorus. The songs were very melodious and furnished the rhythm for the dance steps (509b).

[534]

509b. The Surára and Pakidái accompany dances in part with songs, for musical instruments are unknown to them.

[296] Toward 10:00 more men, in part with arrows, in part without, and boys (all without arrows) joined the dancers, and at 11:30 all the men and boys, with the exception of the Surára chief, were gathered in the center of the maloka courtyard, where, from a large clay plate filled with snuff-powder that had been placed here along with several snuff tubes, they blew huge quantities into each other's noses. Then they sat down in a

/441 cont./

Obtaining Food

224 Hunting.

Hunting is done with bows and arrows.

A broad arrow-point of bamboo is used against larger land game, such as the danta, the váquiros /peccaries/, and the large [411] rodents. Poisoned points are used against monkeys and occasionally against dantas. Bone points are used principally to hunt birds. Small birds are hunted with arrows with a blunt point or forked point.

[231] Dogs are used in hunting, and in the case of the smallest wild pigs, these dogs frequently do more killing than the hunters.

The hunters hunt together and surround the game. The one who succeeds in killing it is the owner of the animal. He might make a gift of a few pieces to those who have helped him, but in general he carries the entire animal to his house, where it is cooked. A danta, of course, must be divided up on the spot in order to be transported.

262 Almost all the mammals are eaten, felines being the principal exception. A few snakes are eaten; others are not. The babilla /an amphidious reptile/ is also eaten. Birds of prey, such as hawks, eagles, vultures, and turkey buzzards and others, are not eaten. Almost all the other birds are eaten, even the little humming birds.

/442/ Meat is considered an essential part of the diet and perhaps occupies the second place of importance after platanos.

226 Fishing.

Several types of toxins are used to poison fish in the small currents of water. One of these is a bejuco. Another is the shell of an edible nut with a prickly husk. Another is the bark of a certain tree of great size.

226 When the waters lower in streams and swamps (generally
462 around the months of January and February), women and children
857 go out armed with clubs and come back with baskets full of fish.

/442 cont./

221 When the larger river is low, the men wade into the current
462 and shoot at the fish with their arrows with bone points. Then, since the arrow lacks a string with which one could pull in the fish, they must run after the game in order to finish it off with blows of the machete or club.

226 For fishing they are beginning to use hook and line with increasing skill.

262 Almost all species of fish and aquatic animals are eaten.

227 Honey.
262 To obtain honey, the usual method is to cut down the trunk in which the hive is found, using the ax. Nevertheless, they sometimes manage to climb it and obtain the honey without needing to knock it down. There is also a species of bee which lives in the ground, and its honey must be dug up. They possibly eat the honey of some ten or more varieties of bees.

Eggs.

The eggs of the majority of the wild birds are collected and cooked. They wrap them in leaves and place them on the embers of a wood fire. They are cooked in a short time. Some prefer to eat the eggs when /443/ the chick has begun to form. Turtle eggs are also eaten, but they are scarce, except down-river.

Insects.

Bees are eaten when they are still in the larval form in their nest. Wasps are chased away by means of a torch of dry leaves, which kills or chases away the adult wasps. Then they take down the wasp's nest, which they place for a short time over the hot embers. Roasted wasp larvae are then eaten with pleasure.

Wild fruits and seeds.

It seems that there is not a time without at least a few types of wild fruits and seed in season. Most of these are eaten raw, although a few are cooked. During its harvest, the wabu -- a large seed similar to the frijol -- can be very important, especially when other foods are scarce.

/445 cont./

241 Many of the Guaika /Waica/ are very careful with regard to weeding their plantings, especially when the plants are small. Later, when the plants have reached a good development, they weed the plantings less frequently. Then, perhaps three or more years later, when the land has begun to yield less produce, they cease weeding it altogether and harvest only what has managed to grow by hard efforts.

222 Generally, there is found in these "conucos," at least in the abandoned ones, the "pijiguao" palm. This is because the "pijiguao" begins to produce about the time the earth has become too poor for other produce.

222 The fruit of the "pijiguao" palm is harvested by loosening
481 the bunches by means of a long pole with a hook. When the palm has grown too much to perform /446/ this operation from the ground, the Guaika climb it, using two devices, each one made out of a pair of sticks tied together in the form of an X, which, although being adjusted to the thorny trunk of the palm, can be slid up or down while the climber keeps his foot on one of these platforms (see Fig. 1). Once the bunch has been reached and loosened, it is carefully lowered to the ground, tied to a liana to prevent the fruit from being damaged by a fall from such a height. /I... /Fig. 1 appears here./

241 The men are the ones who clear the "conucos." The
[462] women go to the "conucos" more than anything in order to transport the harvests to their homes.

241 Every family has its own "conuco." Frequently the boys
859 begin to prepare their own "conucos" at an early age (at about
[423] 11 years old). Even boys seven years old succeed in having a few of their own plants in the "conuco" of their father or of their older brother. Other boys only help their father in the plantings and have little or nothing until they reach 18 years of age or more.

/449/

Preparation of Food

251 To keep meat from spoiling, it is first dried directly over the fire. Then it is kept on a rack over the fire, perhaps for several hours, but frequently all night. After this, it is placed a bit farther from the fire, but where the air will keep it dry, although not necessarily warm. I have seen meat kept for some ten days in this way, and doubtless it would have lasted longer had it not been eaten.

252 Meat preserved in this way is still regarded as raw and must be cooked in a pot before being eaten.

Small animals are cleaned, washed, and then boiled whole in a pot. If the animal is large, it is cut up into pieces small enough to fit into the pot. The custom of leaving the skin and [194] hair on them while they cook is perhaps a survival from the time when they did not have knives for skinning them. A string or piece of bark is tied to each piece of meat in order to be able to take it out of the pot to turn it. From time to time they take the meat out in order to prick it many times with a stick so that it will cook more quickly.

When it is finally ready, the head of the family, or the owner of the meat, shares it or divides it into portions which he distributes among his relatives or friendly families.

462 The task of cooking the meat is man's work. He is the
252 owner of the pot, does the hunting, looks for the firewood, and divides and distributes the cooked meat. (Sometimes he sends a boy to deliver the meat to some family on the other side of the circle of dwellings.)

313 The gathering of firewood for cooking food other than meat
462 and for keeping the family warm at night is woman's work. For
[412] this reason the women use the ax much more than the men do.

252 Green platanos are generally peeled and placed directly over the embers, turned a few times, and /450/ taken off when they are found ready to eat. Or they may be placed on a live fire to be cooked, but without being peeled, in order that they may not be blackened. If it is necessary to cook a large quantity of green platanos quickly, they are peeled and boiled in a pot.

/467 cont./

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.
[241] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in
[482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the house. They may call upon the women to help them when the game has been brought into the vicinity.

[226] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The women fish with macanas and with baskets.

[179] The men build the bridges.

[342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the
[482] settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family. For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own platanos. The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

[662] [685] Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that [558] [558] [555] older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired [84] [493] clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are [562] [492] [562] made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the [199] manufacture of cassava bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

---

[1] The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

142
301
302
296

Fig. 2-3. Man blowing ebene, a hallucinogenic drug, into each other's nostrils by means of a hollow tube.

342

SHELTER All house materials likewise come from the jungle: poles, vines, and leaves. The Yąnomamö permanent house—*shabono*—is probably the most sophisticated manufacture produced by these people. Its construction requires considerable cooperation, planning, labor, and patience. Unfortunately, the *shabono* only lasts one or two years because the leaves begin to leak, or the entire village is burned to the ground in order to destroy the cockroaches, scorpions, spiders, and other vermin that infest the house. These can become such a nuisance that the roof is literally alive with bugs. Kąoke'ri's house was so badly infested at one point that the noise of thousands of scurrying roaches produced a constant, noticeable din in the village. Whenever someone got out of his hammock, the roof just above his head would suddenly come alive with roaches, disturbed by the movements below. As they scurried to safety, many of them would fall off, producing a shower of bugs on the occupants below. There were so many bugs that the increased activity above the moving person also increased the din, as if a sudden gust of wind had disturbed the dried leaves.

[136]

Each individual builds his own section of the *shabono*. The man usually does all the heavy work of locating and fetching poles for the frame, placing them into the ground or tying them overhead, and weaving the numerous leaves into the roof thatch. The wife helps by gathering the leaves and vines used in the construction.

[362] •

[351]

The first step in building a new *shabono* is the selection of the site. This is usually some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump.

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[1] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[1] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescripive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members.[19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yąnomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18] Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yąnomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *aiwisiwë* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescripive definitions, marry.

[19] Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

137
142
291
301
462
482
313

Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers. 462 313 [482]

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity. 593 462 [252] 593 164 [137]

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the débris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

Surára
Pakidái

/89 cont./

276
122

437. (cont.)
Pharmakologischen Institut der Universität Hamburg is at present still analyzing the powder that I brought back. The result is to be published later in an article.

276
[463]
[415]

Exactly like the arrow poison, this powder is made only by certain men. It is stored in bamboo tubes -- tõra -- (Fig. 28a) which are closed with leaves. Before prayers, on the occasion of big festivals, and before curing the sick, in which several men take part, besides the chief, the powder is poured on a large clay plate left by the Xiriâna. From here it is then packed into the bamboo snuff-tube 60-70 centimeters long, on one end of which is glued by means of tree resin a perforated, longish palm nut (Fig. 28b). At the free end the nut is sharpened to a point so that the man wishing to take snuff can insert it into one nostril. From the other end /Fig. 28 appears here/ of the tube, a friendly fellow-tribesman, with partly bent knees, blows the powder with all of his might into the man's nose (Ill. 44).

123
276

After only a few minutes the snuff-taker falls into an inconceivable state of intoxication, in which he rages, screams, sings, dances, and leaps about (Ills. 45, 46). Since I was obliged, after my adoption into the tribe of the Surára, to submit to this usage also, I am in a position to describe the effect in detail. I should like to point out briefly here that immediately afterwards I developed a splitting headache and felt a strong desire to vomit, exactly like the youths making their first acquaintance with this drug. But shortly after that a strange reaction took place within me, for I felt myself to be a giant among giants. All the human beings near me, as well as dogs and parrots, suddenly seemed to be giants. This effect, which is caused by the alkaloids in the powder, is closely connected with the conceptions of gigantic animal and plant spirits (see pp. 201/201).

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4]For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5]The cultivated palm, *pijiguao*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare 5520

people. But he didn't seem to recognize anyone in particular, and once more he hung his head and stared down at his feet.

No one seemed to know quite what to do next, so I decided to get what advantage I could out of the situation and suggested to the Ukumateri that they should help carry our baggage as far as the Merevari—which would save us a whole day and night. Their chief—who needed no encouragement to show off his battle scars—agreed to this readily enough, and a few hours later the straggling caravan of the Guayza Expedition arrived on the Upper Merevari bank, near a malocca that the Soto Indians occasionally used.

VI

Long and laborious were our attempts to get the loan of three canoes. We had to start by doctoring all the invalids in the area: one of our patients was an old fellow with a terrible sore—evidence of Leishman's Disease—on the back of his hand. The fame of the riches we were carrying was soon spread by our guides, who were quite willing to bask in the reflected glory of it in front of the local people, but at the same time didn't want the Shirians to know too much. The Ukumateri served us well, like the good-natured, willing savages they were, but all they got out of it were two boxes of matches for the whole job: this being what they came along and asked for, after consulting with our own men. We were forced to buy two of the canoes we wanted, although we should only be using them for three days. The Makiritari were after our goods at all costs, and a loan didn't suit their purpose so well.

We were two days on the Merevari and one on the Yenecuni, the right-bank tributary stream whose upper reaches run very close to the Yevaraheri and therefore to the Amazon basin, there being no mountains to intervene. There was nothing of any great interest to record on this part of our journey, as far as the mouth of the Camacuni, a tributary flowing in on the right bank of the Yenecuni. Here there was a Makiritari hut, totally abandoned by its people. It was a big round hut, like Pancho's but better finished, its outer clay wall decorated with geometrical designs painted in red, based on the patterns of some of the basket-work. The canoe was a big one, and the tracks leading to it still clear and not overgrown. Pedro told us something about these inhabitants of the Camacuni region. From what we could make out, it seemed they

[pp. 190-192 not Processed]

/216 cont./

584 There are cases in which a brother or a friend of the suitor wishes to serve as intermediary and offers to speak to the father-in-law. The gesture is very well received and highly appreciated.

585 583 During the first two or three days the young husband remains in the forest /217/ hunting; the woman hangs her hammock near that of her husband in the house of the family of orientation, [476] that is, where she has always lived. This time having elapsed, the man tries to bring together some twenty friends to help him clear the land for the three conucos requested by his father-in-law. Usually he has no difficulty in finding this help. The father of the boy and his brothers do their best to feed the workers well, and, when the work is done, the young husband offers them as presents arrows, bows, etc. which they refuse to accept. Later, the man begins to clear some conucos for his own family.

584 627 Our informant from the upper Caura insisted that, once consent has been obtained, delivery is definite and the girl cannot then accept any other young man. In order to give us an example, he told us what had happened to a man of his group.

A girl had accepted him as a husband, but, because of unforeseen circumstances, he had not had time to talk to the father-in-law. Then the girl surrendered to another young man and married him. The father-in-law knew nothing about the first offer. One day the people of the pueblo found the young couple in their hammock pierced by two arrows poisoned with curare. The murderer informed the father-in-law and the inhabitants of the rancheria of the motive which had caused him to perpetrate the crime. Neither the father-in-law nor the people intervened in the matter, for, according to them, the young lover was right in punishing the two who had deceived him in this way.

584 595 881 Sometimes parents marry off their children before they reach maturity. Some men also take a second wife when she is still underage, but they respect them and have no sexual contact with them until after the first menstrual periods have passed.

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

/13 cont./

824 leaves are neatly piled up on top of one another. Then he pulls out the three poles on one side and rolls up the leaves, along with the three liana strips on which they are lying, like a carpet. The ends of the lianas are then pulled together securely and one [482] stuck into the other. A carrying-strap of embira is wrapped around the ball, whereupon the Indian carries the heavy 60-70 kilogram load with his head or chest, in the latter case with the carrying-strap running over the chest and the two upper arms, 30 to 40 minutes or more through the pathless forest to his maloka. • [481] The pace which the Indians strike up in doing this is so swift that I, without a load, always had difficulty following them.

824 285 Having arrived at the dwelling, on the same day or the following day, the leaves are worked up into rectangular mats which are to serve as roof covering, at which the women help. In this technique the efficiency and the inventiveness of the Indian are impressive.

Over a stalk of the paxiúba palm (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.) 60-100 ubim leaves are laid next to one another with the underside on top, and, to be sure, in such a way that only the end of the leaf lies above the paxiúba stem, while the long stem of the ubim leaf projects beyond it. Each ubim leaf, moreover, consists of three to four V-shaped sides. From the right side there is now begun the fitting of the leaves together into a firm structure. The lower part of the right V-shaped side is now folded under. Then the long ubim stem is bent, wrapped around the paxiúba stem, led upward to the right of the leaf, and then laid over the leaf toward the left. The same procedure is followed with the adjacent leaves. The stem end of the last leaf on the left is fastened with a piece of liana wound around the paxiúba stem, or simply by bending this stem to the right, by way of exception, and shoving it under the other leaves. With this a pano (rectangular mat) is completed, generally with a length of five to eight 342 meters and a width of half a meter. Depending on the length 824 of the windscreen, 80-100 or more of these panos /14/ are now laid on the roof framework over one another tile-fashion at intervals of 30-50 centimeters and fastened with lianas.

Surára
Pakidai

/16 cont./

484 season, or in case their banks are steep, a tree trunk is simply
491 laid across as a footbridge. To cross small rivers, for example, the Rio Demininimbo, a left tributary of the upper Araçá which empties into it one kilometer beyond the Cachoeira dos Indios, the Surára even use a regular bridge. The Rio Demininimbo is 38 meters wide at the place where it is crossed, and on either side
499 there are steep banks eight meters high. The bridge, which was built here during the summer, when the riverbed was relatively shallow, consists of 12 crossed tree-trunks 12-14 meters long, which were rammed into the riverbed. Over the places where they crossed, two thinner trunks were laid next to each other and fastened with liana lashings. At the projecting ends of the supporting posts, lianas form a sort of railing. Since they hang very loosely, however, they can scarcely offer a grip. To secure the bridge, both ends have been additionally anchored to thick trees by means of lianas. Because of this, the construction looks like a hanging bridge at first glance. Since it is one meter higher than the banks, however, small rung-ladders 60 centimeters wide are attached at either side and fastened with liana lashings.

484 491 While I always had to fight with great difficulty to keep my balance in crossing this and other tree-trunk bridges, the Indians, men, women, and children, always strode across effortlessly, • [481] even when they were carrying a great deal of baggage. This may be connected with the fact that they hardly place their feet outward at all, so that one might almost believe them parallel (Ill. 17) (59).

[114] [141]

59. There are similar accounts by Crevaux with regard to the Oiana /Oyana/ (Rukuien /Rucuyen/, Roucouyennes). The investigator sought the reasons for this and believed he found them in the pelvis. The white women, too, he said, more than the men, walk with their feet placed inward, because their pelvis is wider. On account of the foot position, he concludes that the Indians also have a wider pelvis (Crevaux, 1878, p. 255).

/55 cont./

The Surára acquire these articles by way of barter through their occasional contacts with the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) on the Rio Araçá, while they are given to the Pakidái as gifts by the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini. To my question as to whether their ancestors had once used stone axes (I could not discover any), I was always given affirmative replies. They also have a special name for the ax -- hanhokomã. The blade alone is named synonymously, whereas the shaft is called -- hanhokomãhitohã. Most probably the stone axes were acquired by barter, as is the case, according to Schuster, for the Waikâ (310). Which tribe furnished this

310. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

import article could no longer be determined, but this time the Xirîãna seem to be excluded as the intermediaries. Koch-Grünberg writes: "They (the Xirîãna) in former times apparently had no axes at all to cut down the forest. At any rate, they did not know what to do with a stone ax that I showed them" (311a).

311a. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

12. Equipment for Climbing

To climb up tall palms with a smooth trunk, such as the açaí (Euterpe oleracea Mart.), bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus or Oenocarpus /56/ bacaba Mart.), bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.), buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.), inaja (Maximiliana regia Mart.), paxiuba (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.), tucuma palm (Astrocaryum sp.), and others, the Surára and Pakidái use the climbing ring -- horohoromã --, which consists of a split liana (cipó-titica) rolled up several times. The ends of the liana are wound around the ring several times and tied with a knot (Fig. 27). /Fig. 27 appears here./

/56 cont./

481 The man, sometimes also the woman, puts this ring around the feet and presses them, with the hollow between the ball of the foot and the heel, in the form of a prehensile foot, firmly against the trunk so that they are fairly sucked against the bark. He assumes a squatting position and then hoists his body upward.

Fig. 27. Climbing ring.

Although he embraces the trunk with his arms and hands, for climbing he uses only his feet, which, because of the ring, always have a firm grip. This grip becomes particularly important after the man has reached the top where he now uses both hands to cut off the fruits.

[171] Such climbing rings are known in many parts of South America and are also used by the caboclos (Brazilian country people). The invention, however, seems to be of Indian origin.

481 222 [137] The pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), however, which plays such an important role in the economic life of the Surára and Pakidái, cannot be climbed in this fashion, because its trunk, the diameter of which is 60-80 centimeters, is covered with long, pointed thorns. In order to be able to harvest its fruits [184] in spite of this, these Indians use a climbing apparatus -- kanaíke -- which is also familiar to the Waiká (311b).

311b. Barker, 1953, p. 446 and Fig. 1.

/56 cont./

481 222 The apparatus consists of two devices completely alike, which are fastened and used in the following manner: Two sticks, 1.60-1.80 meters long, whose diameter is 12-15 centimeters, are tied to the trunk scissors-like and loosely with lianas. The downward-pointing rear part of these crossed sticks is also wound with lianas. Above this first climbing apparatus a second one is attached in the same manner. The Indian who wishes to climb the pupunha palm now stands on the rear end of the lower "scissors" and pushes the one above it upward a short distance. Then he climbs on the rear end of the upper "scissors" and pulls the lower one after him. Next he shifts back to the lower climbing device and pushes the top one up a bit farther. Thus, by constantly changing his position and pushing one apparatus up and drawing the other one after him, he reaches the crown in 4-5 minutes (Ill. 39). He picks the ripe fruits and lets them down one by one on a liana, where his fellow tribesmen receive them. The descent is the reverse of the ascent.

481 222 194 I venture to doubt that this magnificent technical invention was developed by the Waikâ, Surára, or Pakidái, above all because the rest of their material culture is extraordinarily poor. There is nothing to indicate an import, however. Influences of civilization are likewise out of the question, for the caboclo population (planters, rubber /57/ and palm-fiber gatherers) in the Demini-Aracá area is unfamiliar with the technique described; they knock down the pupunha fruits with long poles.

303 13. Preparation of Urucú

The red coloring urucú -- narâ -- with which the Indians paint their bodies as well as their implements, is made by the women from the red seeds of the Bixa orellana which are found in thorny capsules. The seeds are cooked in a vessel until only a red sediment remains on the bottom, which is shaped into lumps and allowed to dry. With this the Indians are then able to paint themselves at any time; the color must first be moistened, however, with a little water or saliva.

Surára
Pahidai
Waica

/78/

226
184 Among the Waikâ, too, fishing ranks last in the acquisition of food and is likewise practiced with bow and arrow there, as well as with the fishhook in more recent times. It is worth noting, however, that in addition they are familiar with a method of fishing by poisoning the water (356a) (356b) 357).

356a. Barker, 1953, pp. 464/65.

356b. Zerries, 1956b, p. 152.

357. Zerries, 1958c, p. 179.

222
[462] d) Gathering

Not only women, but also men take part in the gathering activity. The latter have the duty in particular to bring in the fruits of the many palm species (358), of which the following are

358. The general name for palms is -- petabaîmo.

the most important: acaî (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) -- uaîma --, bacaba (Oenocarpus distichus Mart. or Oenocarpus bacaba Mart.) -- hokomakê --, bucu (Manicaria saccifera Gaertn.) -- yauetoâk --, buriti (Mauritia vinifera Mart.) -- etewexî --, curua (Attalea spectabilis Mart.) -- yauatoâ --, tucuma (Astrocaryum sp.) -- pahî -- (359), and pupunha (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) --

•[481] 359. To climb the palms named they used the climbing ring (see pp. 119/120).

komunamâ -- (360). The fruits of smaller palms that are easy to

[481] 360. Since the trunk of this palm is covered with sharp thorns -- miîmicibâ --, it can be climbed only with the help of two specially constructed implements (see pp. 121/122).

Surára Pakidái

/81/

192 245 Designation of the Surára and Pakidái:

pakaxarimã

kurará pauximf

nakaximf

rokojí

rokomã

paraní

rodremvökifiõ

xiahíma

Designation of the regional caboclo population:

pacovão

inají

São Tomé roxa

São Tomé branca

banana maçã (?)

cainé

banana bajé

Banana governo (375)

[24] 375. Unfortunately, I could not carry out a botanical classification of these varieties.

245 [412] [824] With the help of a digging stick made from the wood of the pupunha palm and 1.60-1.80 meters long, which has a flattened point at the lower end (Ill. 38), or a broken bow-staff, cuttings of banana trees are planted in the clearing, and after only a few months they are full-grown and bear fruit. The work of planting [462] as well as the care of the plants falls to the men, while the women help only with the harvest (376).

[184] 376. Among the Waiká, the plants are cared for by men and women (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Besides the banana, the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) -- komunamí -- is cultivated to a considerable extent. Cuttings are used for planting, but occasionally seeds as well. These palms, which always stand between the bananas, give the clearings of the Surára and Pakidái a characteristic stamp [481] (Ill. 37). The trunk, 18-20 meters tall, which is covered with pointed thorns -- mifmicibí -- and can therefore be climbed only

Surára
Pakidái

/81 cont./

245
[481]

with a specially constructed apparatus (see p. 129), bears very narrow, pinnate leaves that are curly at the tips and are always gently swaying in the wind. They stand around the community house like sentinels and seem to be perpetually nodding benevolently and reassuringly to the inhabitants of the large, open maloka (Ill. 6). Their fruits -- maraxá -- (377),

377. The name among the Waiká is very similar -- "lasha" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 149).

50-80 of which form a cluster, are noteworthy. They can be harvested only once a year, between September-April, but each palm has at least three, and sometimes four clusters, that is to say, approximately 200-300 fruits. At first they look yellow, but after ripening they take on a bright red color. In contrast to other palm fruits, they are characterized by especially abundant meat.

137
245
114

As to the question of whether or not the pupunha fruit has seeds, there are various opinions. Zerries did not find any seedless ones (378). On the other hand, I saw fruits with

378. Zerries, 1956b, p. 149.

seeds and without. This observation is confirmed by statements by Sauer, who writes: "In many cases it has lost the capacity to produce fertile seeds..." /cited in English/ (379).

379. Sauer, 1950 p. 525.

And even Alexander von Humboldt (380) and Vinci (381)

380. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 281.

381. Vinci, 1956 pp. 370-375.

Surára
Pakidái

/89 cont./

12. Hygiene

515 Regular bathing, washing of the face and hands, and cleaning the finger and toe nails are unknown; this is also true for babies, who are often covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Nor do they /90/ brush their teeth or ever rinse their mouths. Yet I [147] [145] was never aware of an unpleasant body odor or bad breath on the Indians, and until an advanced age their teeth are dazzlingly white and sound. While hunting or gathering, however, if men and women are obliged to cross a brook or small river, they gladly utilize the opportunity to take a refreshing bath, and the same is true when female members of the tribe fetch water.

A bath is greatly appreciated by children and young people, but [481] not at all by older persons. Most men can swim quite well and teach their sons also; women and girls who swim are exceptions.

177 515 As a result of occasional contacts with the palm-fiber gatherers on the Rio Aracá or with the personnel of the Indian protection post on the Demini, the Surára and Pakidái have for some time been acquainted with soap, and various Indians, predominantly children and young men and women, like to lather themselves when they take a bath. Several women had even taken to washing their hammocks now and then with soap. Thus, the cakes of soap [123] that I carried with me were very much in demand, as were perfume and hair tonic.

264 Eating is done only with the hands (see p. 184). If the meat was very greasy and the hands are smeared all over with dirt and grease, they are rubbed off somewhat against a post and then run through the hair a few times. The eating bowls and pots, with the remains of the meal, are then put down for the dogs, who at the same time take over the work of cleaning; eating utensils are seldom washed. When they are needed for the next meal, the woman passes them over her hair a few times. If there are still a few crusts of dirt present, she spits on them and rubs them with her hand.

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/12/

137
241
622
516
412

Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

137
481

114
142
302
291
516
624

Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

139
291
481

13. *For the Shyriana, lianas provide a continuation of the forest track.*

[P.96-C]

/445 cont./

241 Many of the Guaika /Waica/ are very careful with regard to weeding their plantings, especially when the plants are small. Later, when the plants have reached a good development, they weed the plantings less frequently. Then, perhaps three or more years later, when the land has begun to yield less produce, they cease weeding it altogether and harvest only what has managed to grow by hard efforts.

222 Generally, there is found in these "conucos," at least in the abandoned ones, the "pijiguao" palm. This is because the "pijiguao" begins to produce about the time the earth has become too poor for other produce.

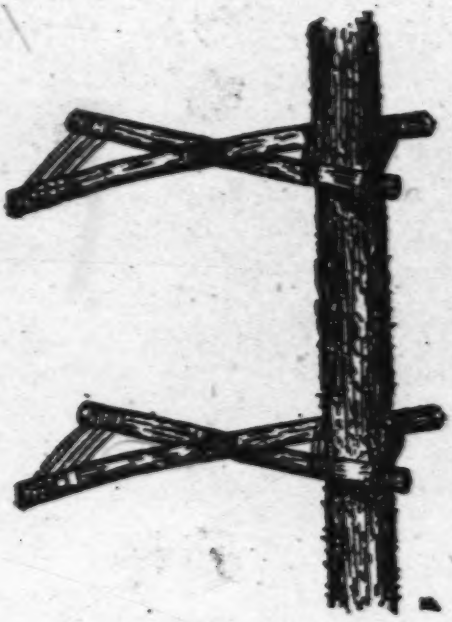
222 The fruit of the "pijiguao" palm is harvested by loosening
481 the bunches by means of a long pole with a hook. When the palm has grown too much to perform /446/ this operation from the ground, the Guaika climb it, using two devices, each one made out of a pair of sticks tied together in the form of an X, which, although being adjusted to the thorny trunk of the palm, can be slid up or down while the climber keeps his foot on one of these platforms (see Fig. 1). Once the bunch has been reached and loosened, it is carefully lowered to the ground, tied to a liana to prevent the fruit from being damaged by a fall from such a height. /[illegible] Fig. 1 appears here./

241 The men are the ones who clear the "conucos." The
[462] women go to the "conucos" more than anything in order to transport the harvests to their homes.

241 Every family has its own "conuco." Frequently the boys
857 begin to prepare their own "conucos" at an early age (at about
[423] 11 years old). Even boys seven years old succeed in having a few of their own plants in the "conuco" of their father or of their older brother. Other boys only help their father in the plantings and have little or nothing until they reach 18 years of age or more.

/446 cont./

222
481



/Fig. 1 ; See p. 16 for explanation./

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Fig. 2-6. Rerebawë climbing a rasha *tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamö use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.*

The grubs

are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in a smoky fire tastes like bacon.

The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. The Yąnomamö break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare it in the above manner.

Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

/13 cont./

824 leaves are neatly piled up on top of one another. Then he pulls out the three poles on one side and rolls up the leaves, along with the three liana strips on which they are lying, like a carpet. The ends of the lianas are then pulled together securely and one stuck into the other. A carrying-strap of embira is wrapped [482] around the ball, whereupon the Indian carries the heavy 60-70 kilogram load with his head or chest, in the latter case with the carrying-strap running over the chest and the two upper arms, 30 to 40 minutes or more through the pathless forest to his maloka. [481] The pace which the Indians strike up in doing this is so swift that I, without a load, always had difficulty following them.

824 285 Having arrived at the dwelling, on the same day or the following day, the leaves are worked up into rectangular mats which are to serve as roof covering, at which the women help. In this technique the efficiency and the inventiveness of the Indian are impressive.

Over a stalk of the paxiúba palm (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.) 60-100 ubim leaves are laid next to one another with the underside on top, and, to be sure, in such a way that only the end of the leaf lies above the paxiúba stem, while the long stem of the ubim leaf projects beyond it. Each ubim leaf, moreover, consists of three to four V-shaped sides. From the right side there is now begun the fitting of the leaves together into a firm structure. The lower part of the right V-shaped side is now folded under. Then the long ubim stem is bent, wrapped around the paxiúba stem, led upward to the right of the leaf, and then laid over the leaf toward the left. The same procedure is followed with the adjacent leaves. The stem end of the last leaf on the left is fastened with a piece of liana wound around the paxiúba stem, or simply by bending this stem to the right, by way of exception, and shoving it under the other leaves. With this a pano (rectangular mat) is completed, generally with a length of five to eight 342 meters and a width of half a meter. Depending on the length 824 of the windscreen, 80-100 or more of these panos /14/ are now laid on the roof framework over one another tile-fashion at intervals of 30-50 centimeters and fastened with lianas.

/22 cont./

411
[482] In the forest the Surára and Pakidái as a rule carry their bows and arrows longwise with one or both hands above their heads, but occasionally also on the right or left shoulder.

In shooting, the bow is held in a horizontal position with the left hand. The arrow lies to the left of the bow, between thumb and index finger. The man holds the end of the arrow between the index finger and middle finger of the right hand and simultaneously stretches the bowstring with the second joints of these fingers (Fig. 3); occasionally he also adds the second joint of the ring finger, if the shot is to be reinforced. This is a form
411 which, following Morse, is designated as the "Mediterranean re-
171 lease" /cited in English/. This practice has been documented
114 also for Eskimo tribes and Siberian peoples (100), but never for

100. Morse, 1885, pp. 12-15 and Figs. 8 and 9.

South American Indians. Concerning the tribes on the Aiarý, Koch-Grünberg says that here the men hold the end of the arrow with thumb and index finger of the /23/ right hand, while they simply press the other three fingers against the palm of the hand (101).

101. Koch-Grünberg, 1909, p. 104 and Ill. 58.

The Yurakare /Yuracare/, too, hold the arrow with the thumb and index finger of the right hand, and they use the remaining three fingers for stretching the bow (102). These latter forms seem to be

102. von Holten, 1877, p. 111.

the most customary in South America, but unfortunately this cannot be definitely established because the information concerning this is too meager. Friederici has already justifiably complained: "With reference to the manner of grasping and stretching the bow and aiming and shooting the arrow, reports are unfortunately very scarce;

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

411 824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xirišana, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114);

411 578 191

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldus, 1939, p. 113.

411 184 they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be-

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

tween the poles or clubs of the Waikâ and the sticks of the Surâra and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is [174] therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed.

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tôra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the [581] most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b).

411 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrow-
● 482 points wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

411 /24 cont./
482 lancet-shaped bamboo points, is worn on a neck cord by every hunter and warrior, who has it hang down on his back so that it does not interfere with the stretching of the bow.

411 /25/ Quivers of the same form and carried in the same way
184 are also found among the Waikâ, as may be seen from a photograph by Zerries (116). Moreover, the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte owns such a quiver, though without decoration, from the Xamatâri (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:3a).

372 4. Fire-making Apparatus

Tied by means of a string of cotton or curauâ (Bromelia fiber) to every Surára and Pakidâi quiver at the top and bottom is the fire-drilling apparatus -- borôrohfik -- which consists of a lancet-shaped hearth -- panâibequehfik -- and two drilling sticks --
824 ihirupehfik (Fig. 5). Both parts are made from the soft wood of the
184 wild cacao tree -- porôroâ -- exactly as among the Waikâ (117).

117. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

372 Koch-Grünberg documents such a fire-drilling apparatus for the
114 Xirianâ (118), but without mentioning the material. On the basis

118. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

of a specimen which he brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:124), however, one may state that it is likewise made of the wood of the wild cacao tree. He says nothing at all about
411 quivers and thus does not seem to have found any. Nor did I find elsewhere in the literature any parallels for the very practical combination of quiver and fire-making apparatus (119). Nevertheless,

392 119. That it is well-known among the
411 Xamatâri, however, is proved by two ob-
184 jects from that tribe in the Hamburg Museum
114

/27 cont./

6. Dress and Ornament

291 a) Hip cords and belts

From the age of four on both sexes constantly wear a hip cord -- nñamaaxí -- which is made by the women, but occasionally also by men, out of curauá fibers, the original material (see p. 55), or out of cotton. For the former, two strands are twisted to the right, and for the latter, to the left. The old technique of the right twist in the working of curauá fibers was thus retained, in spite of the adoption of cotton. There is, however, a further important difference. Whereas the hip cord of cotton represents the everyday dress, so to speak, /28/ the one made out of curauá fibers is at present used almost solely for ceremonial purposes.

All male Surára and Pakidái tie the penis up by means of the hip cord, which is done before donning it by tying a knot and drawing the foreskin through it.

With the hip cord these Indians feel clothed, and they therefore never take it off, not even for sleeping or bathing. Once when I was out hunting with the war chief of the Pakidái, Porêhiwõ, he happened to tear his hip cord. He modestly stepped behind the nearest tree immediately and tied it together again. Later he told me that it would be the most flagrant offense against good form to walk about without the hip cord. The women would then cover their faces and scream loudly. Hence a man may never appear with his penis hanging down, and it would be a positively execrable crime, which is punished by blows, if he exposed his glans to the eyes of women and girls.

This shows that among the Surára and Pakidái the hip cord in general, for women and girls also use it without covering anything with it, and the tying up of the penis in particular are associated with feelings of propriety (137). I am herewith able to

137. The hip cord is never used as a device for carrying utilitarian articles, as Baldus noted, for example, among the Tapirapé

/28 cont./

291
[191]
[482]

137. (cont.)
(Baldus, 1945, pp. 87/88), because there is the very likely danger that it might tear.

291
114
[191]

I am herewith able to confirm an opinion which Ehrenreich already holds with regard to the covered glans penis among the Xingú Indians (138), which,

138. Ehrenreich, 1890, p. 86.

however, is shared neither by Karl von den Steinen (139) nor by

139. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 195.

Koch-Grünberg (140). According to the opinion of these two

140. Koch-Grünberg, 1910b, p. 89.

scholars, and also of Nordenskiöld (141) and Krickeberg (142),

141. Nordenskiöld, 1922, p. 94.

142. Krickeberg, 1922, p. 251.

the tying up of the penis is supposed to protect the glans from penetrating insects, thorns, etc. This assumption, as far as the Surára and Pakidái are concerned, is at most of secondary importance, for the uncovered female vagina is, of course, equally threatened by penetrating insects. But magical conceptions, too, with which Karsten (143) tries to explain the tying up of the

143. Karsten, 1926, pp. 151/52.

penis, are not applicable in the case of the Indians investigated by me. Hence, the second conjecture expressed by Karl von den Steinen, in which he connects this custom directly with the sex life and points out that it might have the same purpose as

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/46 cont./

352
284

Fig. 18a-b
Detail of the end fastening on a hammock of embira, as well as loop and knot diagram.

352 roving, hunting, and war expeditions as a travel hammock.
[482] Rolled up, it then hangs on their backs, held by a thin neck-cord
of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber). For sleeping they usually
[513] lie curled up in it; it takes practice and skill, however, not to
fall out.

352 Similar hammocks are also used by the Waiká, and there,
184 according to Zerries, they are supposed to fulfill certain functions
[114] in the ritual system (246) (247), whereas Schuster says that they

246. Zerries, 1955a, p. 87.

247. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

are made only in an emergency (248). The tree-bast hammocks

248. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

of the Xiriána are more highly developed, for they have a weft of cotton threads and plant fibers. Ruth Haebler describes two specimens in the ethnological museums in Berlin (VA 61119) and Leipzig (8736) (249).

249. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

/49 cont./

8. Basketry

285 462 [824] Basketry is carried on primarily by the women. The only exceptions are temporary carrying-baskets of natural palm leaves, which are made by both sexes, and carrying-baskets of curauá, the making of which falls to the men.

[824] If the Indians need a temporary carrying-basket in the forest, they simply place two pinnate palm leaves close together on the ground (most often they use for this the leaves of the pataúá, açai, and ubim palm) and interweave the inner sides to make a firm surface. Then both leaves are bent over at the upper end, which makes the bottom, and on the outside a braidlike rim is plaited (Ill. 32). By means of a carrying-band of embira, very heavy loads can then be carried with this basket, called pakokêhe, above all fruits, but also pieces of large game, for example, tapir, which the hunter alone cannot carry into the maloka. Men always slip the carrying-band over upper arms and chest, while women prefer the forehead for this.

482

285 171 Similar baskets are found among the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana (269), as well as among the

269. Roth, 1924, p. 379 and Pl. 124.

Urubu in the Brazilian state of Maranhão (270). Similar specimens,

270. Lopes, 1932, p. 147 and Fig. 6.

however, are used by the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ and Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the Xingú source region (271), to mention only a few more

271. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 500 ff. and Figs. 13 and 14.

examples, which, however, could be augmented at will. It is seen from this that many tribes were in a position to make carrying devices out of natural palm leaves.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/49 cont./

which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34). This description comes from Koch-Grünberg, and, to be sure, he is referring to the completely identical women's carrying-baskets of the Xiriána (Schirianá). "In this type of plaiting," says the investigator named, "which is probably peculiar to the Schirianá, the vertical strips running out radially from the common center of the bottom are wound spirally with two finer horizontal strips. A few stronger inner rings to which /50/ the vertical strips are lashed with lianas give the basket shape and support. The ends of the vertical strips are secured under a special overcasting of the rim (Pl. 23, 1). By means of tree-bast strips, to which the bark still adheres, the basket is carried by the forehead on the back" (277). The same technique is used by the

277. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, pp. 307/08.

Surára and Pakidái, and the initial plaiting of a carrying-basket (Fig. 21) shows this particularly clearly (Ill. 35). This is /Fig. 21 appears here/ /51/ the type of plaiting which Max Schmidt designates as "double-thread plaiting," the second principal type of South American plaiting (278) (279).

278. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

279. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

By means of an external feature one can, however, easily distinguish the women's carrying-baskets of the Xiriána from those of the Surára and Pakidái. In the case of the former, the carrying band is fastened only at the edge (280), while the latter

280. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, Pl. 23, 1.

always wind it around the bottom, then lead it through two twisted liana-loops on the lower third as well as on the upper edge, and then knot it on one side (Ill. 34). This gives the wearers a better

/51 cont./

285 184 [482] [438]

hold, which makes it possible for them to transport substantially heavier loads without chafing themselves. This slight improve-

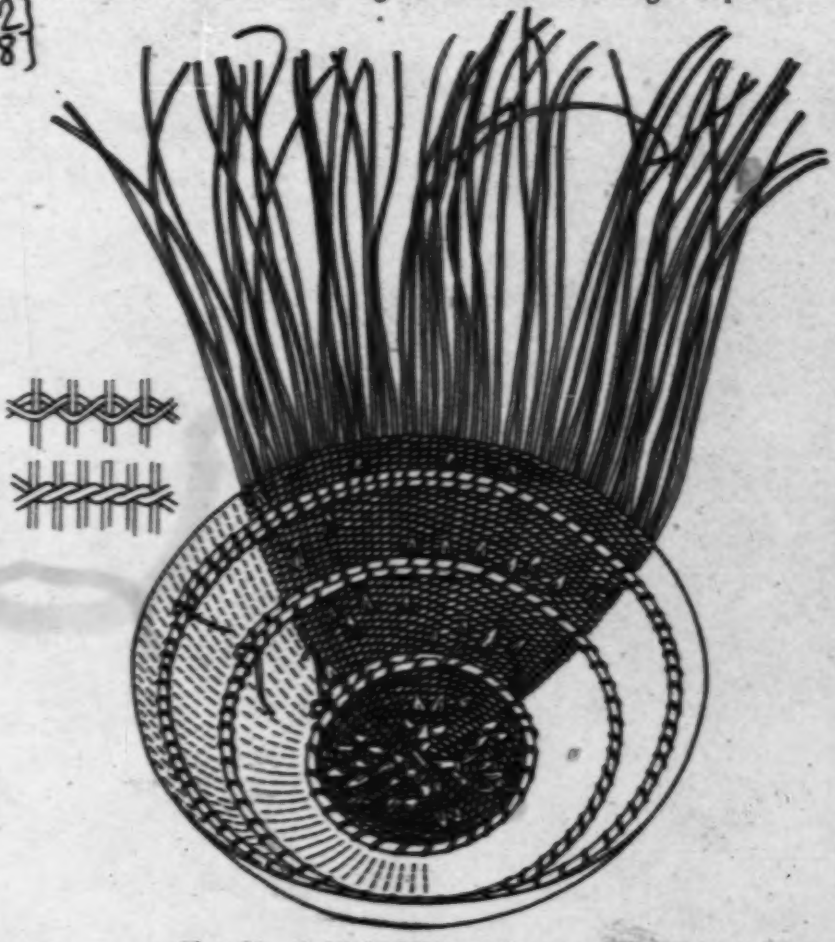


Fig. 21. Initial plaiting of a women's carrying-basket.

ment could have been developed by the Surára and Pakidái women, but the baskets themselves, as well as the method of making them, according to the statements of my informants, represent imported goods from the Xiriána.

The same applies for the round, flat basket-bowls made by the same technique, which are found in various sizes among the Xiriána (281) as well as among the Surára and Pakidái and

/60 cont./

622 159 Since that time Hewemão has been chief and at the same time, like his predecessor, a medicine man who instructs all the male Surára in religion, mythology, magic, curing the sick, and tribal traditions (see pp. 143f.). He also, however, assigns them to occasional communal projects, supervises their activity in the roças (forest clearings), gives instructions for the building of a maloka, and selects the participants for curing the sick and for magic performances. If a large animal was killed, a tapir, for example, [224] he supervised the fair distribution of the meat so that every family obtained its piece. In the case of smaller game, the hunters usually give their chief a choice piece, and the women bring him and his family fruits and berries or brimming calabashes [554] of refreshing palm drinks. He is thus honored in every way. He and his wives too, however, willingly and freely give up some of their hunting or gathering spoils.

[342] In the large, open maloka he and his two wives and children occupy a special hut (see pp. 24 ff.). During migrations of 622 the tribe he determines when they are to rest and to set out again. 484 Moreover, each morning he arranges for regular march-protection, 159 4-5 warriors who form the advance guard and set out two hours 484 before the departure. They have only their bows and arrows with them and reconnoiter in both directions from the Indian path, in order to be on the lookout for enemies. The bulk of the tribe, which travels in single-file formation, always presented the following picture during the time I lived among the Surára: 3-4 484 warriors armed only with bows and arrows. They carry their 482 weapons longitudinally over their heads or over one shoulder. After them came men with my baggage, the younger brothers of the chief, and finally the latter himself. I walked behind him, my servant Mateus followed me, and the boys and girls with little baskets, then the women with their large, cylindrical baskets, which contain all the household goods. Mothers with babies carried them, in addition, in a carrying band on their left hips. On top of the basket there often sat a little dog, a monkey, or a parrot. Then behind the women there marched 4-5 more warriors as a rear guard.

Surára
Pakidái

/60 cont./

484 These safety measures are necessary, for one must always be prepared for a hostile attack. That is why the /61/ women [482] carry all the household goods, for if the men were thus burdened, they could not defend themselves. For this reason, the chief 484 and his brothers always march in the middle of the tribe, for in 622 the event of a military encounter the protection of the chief is the 554 supreme command of all the Surára. He is honored and respected, of course, not only as the head of the tribe, but also because he is the adviser in all situations of life, the medicine man who is able to make connections with the hekurá and serras /sierras/ (see pp. 200/201) and can ward off sickness and misfortune. If he were killed, the tribe would suddenly be in a terrible situation, for his successor does not yet have the same experience.

622 The next youngest brother and subsequent successor of Hewemãõ is Kurikayawõ. He will be followed by Inxinemá, who is approximately 19 years old, but has not yet completed his youth-initiation. And it is only after the latter that Hemahemá, who is approximately 25 years old and the only son of the oldest brother, Xarimá, who died eight years ago, would be able to take over the leadership.

624 The war chief of the Surára is Xomirawõ, a modest, reserved, but extraordinarily hardy and brave man.

622 Among the Pakidái the succession of chiefs is the same.
624 The following remarks, however, will show the complications that
619 arose six years ago as a result of the death of the old chief Karakarawõ, because his three younger brothers who could have taken over the succession died before him. Karakarawõ did have a son, Karenauõ, but he was still very young, so that there was nothing to do but to entrust the leadership of the tribe for the time being to the war chief Porẽhiwõ as a substitute. At the same time he and the older Pakidái men asked the chief of the friendly Surára, Hewemãõ, for advice in many things, especially serious illnesses, magic performances, etc. At this time many younger Pakidái attended the school of the Surára chief, among them the present Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, who was given a very thorough training by Hewemãõ. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái even lived

/206 cont./

223 order to pick it up. As a result of his expertness in hunting, he knows the trees in which the birds gather to spend the night. The man, using palm leaves and bejucos, carefully prepares a blind with the sure hope that, by means of this ambush, the booty will be plentiful.

224 262 [237] [482] Hunting in groups is common among the Sanemá, and they do this particularly to surround a group of monkeys, peccaries, or in order to kill a feline. /207/ They do not eat the meat of jaguars, but keep the canine teeth in the roof of the house. They tie up the peccaries that they get, front feet to the back ones, load them on their backs, and carry them home. The meat of the peccary is greatly esteemed, and the whole rancheria gathers to eat the animal, with the exception of the young unmarried men, who, by order of the capitan, must not taste the meat so that the hunters who have killed the animals will not die. They may, however, eat other kinds of meat and the food which they most like.

There are some animals that the Sanemá are prohibited from hunting: thus, they do not eat snakes, they kill the cayman, but [.766] do not sample its flesh. The Sanemá of the Erebato told us that they cremate caymans as they do men, for, in fact, as far as [784] they are concerned, caymans were previously men. It is taboo to kill a morrocoy or a turtle. They were people before and Omao 262 223 does not permit them to be killed. There are other animals which they kill and eat only under certain conditions, among them the eagle (21).

> 21. The Surará and Pakidai kill the eagle, but throw away its flesh. They say that it transmits sickness (Becher, 1960, p. 77). (Cf. the section on "death" in the present study /see pp. 93-94 /.)

223 125 262 If a hunter comes upon an eagle, he believes that he is facing a speciman of a species of animal which was previously a person. He may be facing a friend or an enemy. Therefore, before shooting, he asks the animal if it is a friend or an enemy, and only if

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

and brought to us already cooked, in a wrapping of some appropriate green stuff—a dish beyond compare. At times there was so much meat (cooked and eaten without salt or spices) that we willingly turned to fruit again. There was no lack of that either.

When a tapir or a number of peccaries have been killed and there is too much meat to be eaten up at once, the Samatari smoke it on a hurdle supported by four stakes driven into the ground. A fire is lit underneath and kept going all night—to the accompaniment of the medicine-man's ceaseless chanting. In the morning the pieces of meat, looking completely charred, are wrapped in wild banana leaves and entrusted for transport to some little woman who hoists them up along with the babies on her back.

I have also seen a sloth being smoked. No gentler animal exists in the world. She moves at a speed which never exceeds a few yards a day, and lives hanging on the trees with her young ones clinging to the hairs of her back. They captured one alive, and with the machete chopped off the three nails of its hands and feet, to make scrapers and 'bodkins' for various uses. Deprived of her only means of defence, the sloth kept moving slowly along, with a resigned, human expression which quickly won our sympathy. But not the Samatari's. To them, a sloth is an excellent target for archery practice, because it will remain in the same position—clasping a pole, for instance, without moving—just the sort of thing you want for a target. The arrows whistled past the sloth's wet nose, but its face showed no change of expression; then some struck it, but not in a vital part, and its fur reddened with blood. The arrows did not penetrate deeply because they were only practice ones, with worn tips. Had I had a gun I would have shot it, for there was such a look of gentle reproof in the little animal's eyes that it became unendurable. But the gun was a long way off, and our five remaining cartridges had been the subject of so much calculation, that perhaps after all I wouldn't have ventured to expend one on this four-legged Saint Sebastian. Soon, however, too many arrows had struck, and before the youngsters could get it to play with and drag it about in the dust, still alive, I asked for the machete. Laughing, in order to evade Samatari susceptibilities, I struck it one hard blow on the head which sent it straight to the smoking-tray.

We now had a definite plan laid and were spreading propaganda to make it possible, Uarema and the Guayca Indians being our agents. We had now made the descent of the entire Aracoa and part of the Urucicoera, and before reaching

/467 cont./

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.
[241] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in
[482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the house. They may call upon the women to help them when the game has been brought into the vicinity.

[226] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The
[499] women fish with macanas and with baskets.
The men build the bridges.

[342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the
[482] settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family. For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own platanos. The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

7: Barker--62 M-5 (ca.1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Plate II

Waica

342
854

A Guaika woman carrying her child by means of a band or strap of bark, El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

482

The women carry great weights hanging from the head and shoulders. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

501
516

142
482
411
291

142
302
291

TOP: One evening, thirteen Guaharibos from the Padamo arrived. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM LEFT: Guaharibo Indian. Notice the length of his bow and arrows. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Guaharibo woman. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[n.64-B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

302
482
412
237

The Waika always carries with him his little knives made of a rodent's incisors. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

Below: Pierre Ivanoff and one of our Waika friends. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

142
302
→

[p. 112-D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

137
142
291
301
462
482
313

Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers.

462 313 [482]

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity.

593 462 [252] 593 164 [537]

6: Vinci T-5 : (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

501
● 483

47. *A masterpiece of boat design takes the mountain road.*

[p. 192 - F]

/3 cont./

648 On the Rio Demini, slightly below the Cachoeira (rapids)
484 Auatsinaua, is the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" (Ill. 1).
From the mouth to that point is a six-day journey in a small boat
161 with a four-horsepower outboard motor. On this long stretch
178 there are only two dozen families. Fifty years ago the banks
along the lower third were more densely settled than they are
164 today. But malaria and a terrible beriberi epidemic, 1907/08,
165 carried off the majority of the inhabitants. After the great forest
fire which raged along the Demini in 1926, health conditions
648 improved temporarily. In the most recent times a motor boat
164 of the National Malaria Service travels up the Demini and Aracá
once a year, and the palm-straw huts of the inhabitants are sprayed
with DDT. Nevertheless, malaria still takes its toll. Often it
also leads to a protracted liver ailment; above all, there is a
164 lack of any kind of medication. A second scourge is tuberculosis,
262 the cause of which, aside from the humid, hot climate, may
probably be traced to the poor and unbalanced diet. It consists
predominantly of manioc meal, small fish, the salted, sun-dried
meat of the pirarucu, salted wild-pig meat, and, to a considerably
smaller extent, birds and game, for the men generally do not
have time to hunt. In addition, /4/ for rubber and palm-fiber
gatherers, fruit and vegetables are practically unknown luxuries.
164 As a result of the crowded life of the individual families and the
lack of hygiene, children too are not free from tuberculosis.
Moreover, mention must be made of a dangerous eye infection
which often leads to blindness. This comes about because a fine
dust is constantly trickling down from the palm-straw roofs of the
huts, in which there are many insects, and it gets into the eyes of
the people asleep in their hammocks. An infectious skin disease
that causes light spots on the skin is also widespread. Worm and
intestinal ailments occur frequently, as does syphilis. Finally,
it is noteworthy that adults and children have very poor teeth.
[162] The reason for this may again probably be sought in the unbalanced
diet, for all of the free Forest Indians who have more variety in
165 their meals, have excellent teeth. Mortality is highest among
the children, and next come the women, a relatively large num-
ber of whom die in childbirth since there is, of course, no medical
assistance.

/16 cont./

342 In the building method described by me, however, the
174 circular ground-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts.
197 According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical
ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obvi-
[114] ously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in com-

57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

plete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they modeled after the community house of the Xiriána, actually developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts of the caboclos). This is also indicated by the construction of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka,
[184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy, however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show
342 a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why
825

58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

the Surára in the sierra occupy an open maloka and on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

501 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on
● 484 their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our
491 eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

Surára
Pakidái

/16 cont./

484 season, or in case their banks are steep, a tree trunk is simply
491 laid across as a footbridge. To cross small rivers, for example, the Rio Deminisinho, a left tributary of the upper Aracá which empties into it one kilometer beyond the Cachoeira dos Índios, the Surára even use a regular bridge. The Rio Deminisinho is 38 meters wide at the place where it is crossed, and on either side
499 there are steep banks eight meters high. The bridge, which was built here during the summer, when the riverbed was relatively shallow, consists of 12 crossed tree-trunks 12-14 meters long, which were rammed into the riverbed. Over the places where they crossed, two thinner trunks were laid next to each other and fastened with liana lashings. At the projecting ends of the supporting posts, lianas form a sort of railing. Since they hang very loosely, however, they can scarcely offer a grip. To secure the bridge, both ends have been additionally anchored to thick trees by means of lianas. Because of this, the construction looks like a hanging bridge at first glance. Since it is one meter higher than the banks, however, small rung-ladders 60 centimeters wide are attached at either side and fastened with liana lashings.

484 While I always had to fight with great difficulty to keep my
491 balance in crossing this and other tree-trunk bridges, the Indians,
[481] men, women, and children, always strode across effortlessly, even when they were carrying a great deal of baggage. This may be connected with the fact that they hardly place their feet outward at all, so that one might almost believe them parallel (Ill. 17) (59).

[114]
[141]

59. There are similar accounts by Crevaux with regard to the Oiana /Oyana/ (Rukuien /Rucuyen/, Roucouyennes). The investigator sought the reasons for this and believed he found them in the pelvis. The white women, too, he said, more than the men, walk with their feet placed inward, because their pelvis is wider. On account of the foot position, he concludes that the Indians also have a wider pelvis (Crevaux, 1875, p. 255).

Surára Pakidái

/25 cont./

372
411
184
114

119.(cont.) für Volkerkund und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection 56. 15 3a and b), and presumably the fire-making apparatus is likewise fastened to the quiver among the Waiká. Definite statements about this by Zerries and Schuster have not yet been made.

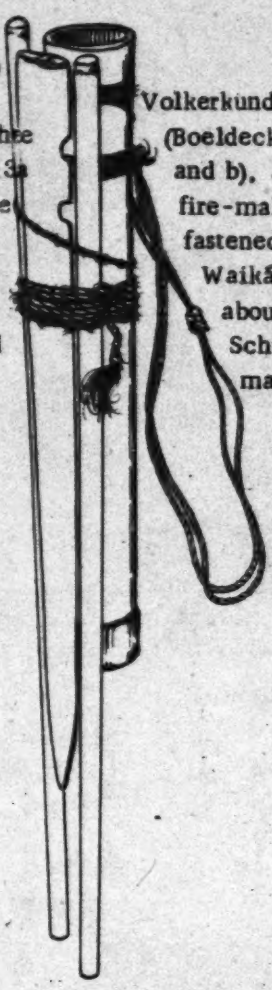


Fig. 5. Bamboo quiver with fire-drill apparatus tied on.

372 Nevertheless,
[484] it is perfectly obvious, for if the Surára and Pakidái men on war and hunting expeditions are unable to return to the maloka in the evening, they are able to kindle a fire along the way in three to four minutes. To do this a man in a squatting position holds the hearth on the ground with one foot and drills with the palms of his [412] hands (Ill. 31). The holes of the hearth are previously bored with [239] a knife made of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) (See P. 116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side.

/60 cont./

622 159 Since that time Hewemão has been chief and at the same time, like his predecessor, a medicine man who instructs all the male Surára in religion, mythology, magic, curing the sick, and tribal traditions (see pp. 143f.). He also, however, assigns them to occasional communal projects, supervises their activity in the rocas (forest clearings), gives instructions for the building of a maloka, and selects the participants for curing the sick and for magic performances. [224] If a large animal was killed, a tapir, for example, he supervised the fair distribution of the meat so that every family obtained its piece. In the case of smaller game, the hunters usually give their chief a choice piece, and the women bring him and his family fruits and berries or brimming calabashes [554] of refreshing palm drinks. He is thus honored in every way. He and his wives too, however, willingly and freely give up some of their hunting or gathering spoils.

[342] In the large, open maloka he and his two wives and children occupy a special hut (see pp. 24 ff.). During migrations of 622 the tribe he determines when they are to rest and to set out again. 484 Moreover, each morning he arranges for regular march-protection, 159 4-5 warriors who form the advance guard and set out two hours 484 before the departure. They have only their bows and arrows with them and reconnoiter in both directions from the Indian path, in order to be on the lookout for enemies. The bulk of the tribe, which travels in single-file formation, always presented the following picture during the time I lived among the Surára: 3-4 484 warriors armed only with bows and arrows. They carry their 482 weapons longitudinally over their heads or over one shoulder. After them came men with my baggage, the younger brothers of the chief, and finally the latter himself. I walked behind him, my servant Mateus followed me, and the boys and girls with little baskets, then the women with their large, cylindrical baskets, which contain all the household goods. Mothers with babies carried them, in addition, in a carrying band on their left hips. On top of the basket there often sat a little dog, a monkey, or a parrot. Then behind the women there marched 4-5 more warriors as a rear guard.

Surára
Pakidai

/60 cont./

484 These safety measures are necessary, for one must always be prepared for a hostile attack. That is why the /61/ women [482] carry all the household goods, for if the men were thus burdened, they could not defend themselves. For this reason, the chief 484 and his brothers always march in the middle of the tribe, for in 622 the event of a military encounter the protection of the chief is the 554 supreme command of all the Surára. He is honored and respected, of course, not only as the head of the tribe, but also because he is the adviser in all situations of life, the medicine man who is able to make connections with the hekurá and serras /sierras/ (see pp. 200/201) and can ward off sickness and misfortune. If he were killed, the tribe would suddenly be in a terrible situation, for his successor does not yet have the same experience.

622 The next youngest brother and subsequent successor of Hewemãõ is Kurikayawõ. He will be followed by Inxinemá, who is approximately 19 years old, but has not yet completed his youth-initiation. And it is only after the latter that Hemahemá, who is approximately 25 years old and the only son of the oldest brother, Xarimá, who died eight years ago, would be able to take over the leadership.

624 The war chief of the Surára is Xomirawõ, a modest, reserved, but extraordinarily hardy and brave man.

622 Among the Pakidái the succession of chiefs is the same. 624 The following remarks, however, will show the complications that 619 arose six years ago as a result of the death of the old chief Karakarawõ, because his three younger brothers who could have taken over the succession died before him. Karakarawõ did have a son, Karenauõ, but he was still very young, so that there was nothing to do but to entrust the leadership of the tribe for the time being to the war chief Porêhiwõ as a substitute. At the same time he and the older Pakidái men asked the chief of the friendly Surára, Hewemãõ, for advice in many things, especially serious illnesses, magic performances, etc. At this time many younger Pakidái attended the school of the Surára chief, among them the present Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, who was given a very thorough training by Hewemãõ. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái even lived

Surára
Pakidái

/65 cont./

524 child" or "married couple." In the latter game sexual activity
524 is already often involved. As long as the children have not yet
864 reached puberty, the adults laugh about it. It is only the mothers of girls who are a little annoyed when they hear about it. They do not regard it as tragic, however, since they themselves were reprimanded about it by their mothers when they were little girls.

/66/

582 g) Marriage

At the age of 7-8 a girl as a rule has already been given in
585 marriage. The husband is usually 8-10 years older. They do not as yet lead a regular married life, however. During the day the little girl plays with other children, and only at night does she sleep
[833] in her hammock beside her husband. Sexual intercourse, however,
[593] is strictly forbidden until after the second menstruation. She also fetches firewood and water and receives prepared food for herself and her husband from her family. When the tribe is on the march,
[484] she carries the hammock of her spouse and the few household articles. Economic reasons are connected with this marriage in childhood, for the young husband must hunt for his little wife and
606 her parents. Especially noteworthy is the reserve toward in-laws which operate in such a way that son-in-law and mother-in-law never
582 speak to each other and may not visit each other. Since the fear of incest is very great in both tribes, a marriage, which is always agreed upon by the parents, may be entered into only by partners who are not related by kinship. For this reason young wives are preferably obtained from a friendly tribe; in this case, however, the young man must live there until his wife has put her second
583 menstruation behind her. Occasionally young girls and women are abducted from hostile tribes. They are first held as captives and prostitutes for some time, however, before a man may finally marry them. I met such a little female captive among the Surára. She came from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí and was approximately 15 or 16 years old.

Guahibo SC14
Yabarana SS22
Panare SS21
Sanema
Saliva SS15
Makiritare SS20

/11 cont./

All these basins, without exception, pour their great volumes of water into the Orinoco, which, like a gigantic arc, runs across the north of the Escudo de Guayana, thus enclosing all the native tribes studied here and marking the farthermost boundary and end of their primitive world (cf. ethnic map /see p. 5 /). /12/ /Map appears here./

/13/ It is interesting to point out that the extensive fluvial network of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone does not serve the majority of the tribes as a means of communication or as an outstanding source of food. The Panare of the basin of the Cuchivero do not travel by river, and on the Cuchivero we found only one dugout /bongo/, which was used solely for crossing the river. In general the curiara /dugout canoe/ seems to be a foreign element in Panare culture, introduced recently by the Creoles. Nor did the Yabarana of the basin of the Ventuari use the curiara, and they recently learned from their neighbors, the Makiritare, the art of making them. For the Sanemá the river represents an obstacle rather than a means of communication, and they use rafts in order to cross it. At the present time, only the groups who live in symbiosis with the Makiritare make curiaras, but there is not the slightest doubt that this industry was adopted recently. The Sanemá spend less time at fishing than do the Panare, Yabarana, and Guahibo, since the latter too are among those Indians oriented toward the land, with its roads, rather than toward the rivers and navigation. The only real voyagers of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone are the Piaroa and the Makiritare, and the fame of the latter exceeds that of the former.

Culturally, the Makiritare belong to a Neo-Indian level, as do their cousins of the same linguistic affiliation, the Panare and the Yabarana. It is interesting, however, to call attention to the fact that to speak of Caribe /Carib/ Indians is not the same eo ipso as speaking of voyaging Indians. There are Neo-Indians who are ignorant of the curiara and who developed agriculture, not in a Meso-Indian culture (of fishermen and voyagers), but basically on top of a Paleo-Indian culture (of hunters). Meso-Indian cultures, such as that of the Warao, for example, and possibly that of the Piaroa, represent a specialization of the Paleo-American who was

[Text continues on P. 4]

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 269

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 401 494

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista." They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 411

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

/190 cont./

thanks to their firearms. It seems that, as a result of this incident, the Makiritare and the northern group of the Sanemá lived together more peaceably, and today it is rare to find a Makiritare settlement in that zone of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, without a few Sanemá groups in the immediate vicinity.

The clash of the two cultures began a process of progressive acculturation, and the hunters and gatherers of wild plants adopted a superior culture: from then on they would be agriculturalists. Furthermore, the genetic constitution of the two tribes underwent profound changes, and that of the minority group will perhaps be absorbed by the Sanemá in a relatively short period of time.

This process of acculturation and genetic absorption is interesting, for one is in the habit of thinking that the Caribe have always been the victorious and dominant invaders. But in this concrete case the process seems to be working in the opposite direction. The advance of the Sanemá, who adopted, among other things, the art of navigation, has brought about the isolation of the two large Makiritare groups: the Yecuana (Decuana) of the Ventuari and Caura on the one hand, and the Cunuhana of the Cunucununa on the other. Prior to this, these two groups used to visit each other frequently, their members were related to each other, and strong family ties existed between them. At the present time the Makiritare youths know only partially the rivers and routes of those regions traveled so many times by their fathers, and they travel in small groups, overcome with deep anguish every time that they have to cross the zone occupied by the Sanemá. What was observed on the trip on the upper Ventuari fully confirmed this opinion for us, for there is not the least doubt but that the Makiritare captain, who, together with our five traveling companions, had fought eight years previously against the Sanemá, felt ill at ease on leaving the Makiritare rancherías behind, and his nervousness suddenly increased when one day we came upon a Sanemá raft on the bank of the river. They could not hide their nervousness when inland, in the selva, we came across a conuco and seven houses recently vacated. They always

/201 cont./

342 The two windscreens had two posts stuck superficially into the ground at a distance of two meters apart. Contiguous to the post there was a smaller stake tied to it with a bejuco. The roof of this screen was covered with interlaced branches and roofed with platanillo leaves and supported with a slight inclination against two posts. The roof projects from the posts some 40 centimeters and touches the ground at its lower edge. In these houses the Sanemá hang their hammocks of bejuco or majagua. In some ranchos we found vestiges of fire.

[352]

177 The houses of Makiritare type (rectangular or oblong) are
342 small-scale imitations and have only one room. The roofs, made of palm leaves, are of two rectangular slopes and are raised on four or six posts. The edges of the roof are straight or rounded. The walls consist of bark or juxtaposed sticks. They have an average dimension of four meters long by two meters wide and approximately three high. Each house has one or two quite narrow doors. Within the house (of the Makiritare type) the greatest disorder reigns: from the roof and from the walls hang baskets, gourds, weapons, leather bags, tobacco, palm fruit, hammocks /chinchorros/ of bejuco, majagua, and cotton. On the floor there are hearths, firewood, cooking utensils, guapas with spindle and cotton, yuca graters, dogs, and children, all in confusion without order or arrangement. It is clear that they are not used to living under a roof, and the house is a place for storing things rather than a habitation.

353
[177]

105 The technology of the Sanemá is very little-developed, and
422 precisely for this reason one can classify the Sanemá (and
●484 the Yanoama in general) as representatives of the most backward peoples of America and of the whole world. It would seem that the ideal of these seminomadic Indians is: omnia mea mecum porto -- everything that is mine I carry with me! and, apart from their weapons, a few implements, and a basket, it is unusual for them to carry anything else on their travels. They do not even transport their hammocks /202/ of bejuco or majagua from one camp to another, but rather make new ones each time they need them.

[352]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

him outside the range of the magic influence which had reduced him to such a hideous condition. But evidently they had only escaped the Samatari magic to fall straight into another, which was too much for the sick child. He died, sacrificed in a duel between two magic powers.

VI

The great 'provisioning-march' of the Samatari now began. We went along with them. We were prisoners, we were guests, we were tolerated visitors—a bit of everything. The main body, with the women and children, led the way along a track that was years old and had been opened up again the day before by the younger members of the tribe, who possessed the one metal weapon used by the Samatari: a piece of a knife-blade stuck into a stick and firmly bound with bark soaked in vegetable gum. What story could this scrap of steel have told when it finally reached the headwaters of the Aracosa!

The track was by no means straight, but for all its meanderings led vaguely towards the south-east. It lay for the most part through the dense thickets of fruit-bearing trees, which probably harboured other sorts of foodstuffs of which we knew nothing. The main body arrived to find that the young men had already picked nuts and fruit of all kinds and made piles of them at the foot of the trees. All the women had to do was take them up.

When meat of any sort is found and killed on these occasions, a couple of youngsters stay behind with it. They sling a hammock and light a fire and watch while it is slowly smoking on the spit. When the women come up, they pull off pieces of the flesh, put them into the rough hampers they carry on their shoulders and go on with the march, their babies jogging up and down on their backs, tied there with a strap made of bark. Some, like peripatetic vestal virgins, take fire with them, in the form of glowing brands, blowing on them as they go along lest the embers should grow cold. Thus the march of the Samatari leaves a trail of nutshells, rinds, ash, and little bits of charcoal. It suggests not so much an ordinary nomadic people on the move but rather a very special tribe composed of itinerant cooks.

With evening, or strictly speaking some time before the end of the afternoon, we found ourselves in a vast clearing where all the small plants, shrubs, bushes and grass had been cut away and swept and raked aside. All round this

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

open space ran a belt of rattan palms with their notoriously dangerous black spines. There were just two openings: a way in, and a way out. This was a defence work against any enemy that might come along. An aggressor had little chance of bringing off a surprise attack against the Samatari over this open ground, and if he made a frontal attack he would find 'bread for his teeth'—that is, thorns for his feet.

At night, while the Indians were all chattering heedlessly in their hammocks or sleeping the light sleep of the savage, the two gaps in the cordon were closed and the camp became a fortress difficult to storm. If they stay for several days in one place, as sometimes happens during the rainy season when they are visiting their plantations of tobacco and cane (for arrows), they will put up a palisade round the camp, on the Guayca model. This is composed of the trunks of a very tough palm, driven into the ground as close together as possible. Thus entrenched they can withstand whole days of attack from a position of strength.

In the course of our march, one Samatari not only devoured the larvae of bees, neatly excavating them from their cells in the smoked honeycomb, but every now and then he would stop at a dead tree-trunk, seamed with ant-galleries or lanes, and run his thumb and forefinger along the groove as far as possible, pressing out the damp earthy substance, which he conveyed to his mouth like some rare *bonne bouche*. Smacking his lips, he carried on until he had demolished the whole network of these arboreal thoroughfares, and the ants fled away over the surface of the tree-trunk, lamenting the cataclysm that had overtaken them.

Even we tried this ant-hill diet, but a mixture of earth and sawdust hardly appeased our hunger. Sometimes, as we crossed a stream, a few of the Samatari bent down rapidly and picked out of the water some little white stones that were soft like lumps of lime. These they chewed as they went along, apparently swallowing them. They will also eat sand, the dirty, soft, vari-coloured sand which is found with the detritus of vegetable matter thrown up on the banks of a river after a flood. For on top of all this varied diet of theirs, the Samatari are also geophagists—earth-eaters. The reason for this is probably an instinctive prompting which leads them to acquire in this way the minerals their normal food—which they eat without salt or spices—does not supply.

Our great salvation was the fruit: meat being very precious to the savages, they were unwilling to give us any, and we had no means of hunting for ourselves. The gun had simply disappeared. For the Samatari too, fruit is the main

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

source of nourishment, especially at this time of the year when every variety is ripe. We were able to experiment on ourselves and try out some of the widely discussed theories of modern dietetics, which amid the general clamour set up by more or less interested parties claims to be able to discover the original fount of humanity, and to arrive at the exact diet on which man in his natural state can exist.

The fruit here was of all kinds, unlimited in quantity and of every size and shape—and there it was, high up on the trees! True, there were piles of it along the path of this victualling tour, but Enrico and I weren't allowed to touch them. So I climbed, and fought off the ants. When I reached the fruit I broke off branches—the Samatari had my machete—and threw them down to Enrico, who gathered in the treasure, though not without an immediate attack on the choicest specimens 'in case they got lost' as he put it. Then I would make a hurried descent, sliding and ripping and skinning myself, to arrive on the ground covered with pestilential insects, my heart thumping with the effort. We stuffed ourselves till our cheeks were bursting, while the Samatari looked on, laughing and shouting out the name of the fruit.

Who else has ever had the chance to study the fruits of the Amazon forests, at the same time making himself the subject of experiments to determine their nutritive value? The Samatari, who are cut off from the waters of the Orinoco by thirty-two mountains, have likewise thirty-two varieties of fruit—there must be some magic in this number. The names of them all are well known and even the tiny tots learn them almost as soon as they can say 'Mama'. Every type of fruit imaginable is represented here, from nuts to acorns, from fruits as soft as tomatoes to others as dry and hard as bone, from single berries to huge bunches, and in addition to them all, a crowning delicacy of such beauty that it has more than food value alone, the white flowering heart of the palm. There are, too, a few conspicuously choice kinds, eagerly sought after by the Indians, which furnish a really substantial food and not just a few pleasant mouthfuls.

Podoimoss, olashi, luamoshi, lahsa, sopah, monama and pukma—seven of the known fruits—are the ones that give you a meal, not merely refreshment, and they make magnificent eating.

Solituan specialized in podoimoss, gathering them as he went along, without stopping. Good as they are, these chestnuts were not much sought after by the Samatari, at least at this season when there was other fruit available which they liked better. But Solituan, who was a sensible old fellow and worldly

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

But Solituan, who was a sensible old fellow and worldly

wise, picked them and put them in a 'bag' like a big open calyx made of leaves. This chestnut is encased in a green rind, soft and spongy. He tore this off with his teeth and spat it out. The actual nut was no bigger than a billiard ball, and this he stowed away in his bag. In the evening, round a fire whose glowing ash was neatly raked to form a series of little ovens, the expatriate Samatari roasted his chestnuts, scooping them out with his bare hand when they were done. He even offered them round, if somewhat parsimoniously: the ratio was three for him and one for us.

To us, who still had our own sense of the fitness of things, it hardly seemed possible at first that humble berries and fruits of such unimpressive appearance could be of such highly nutritive value. We turned therefore to the fruit that had most eye-appeal—the ones the Indians scarcely bothered with as they went along and did not consider worth collecting for the meal at nightfall. By the Aracosa river cashew trees were plentiful, their fruits red as fire, and there was another species we hadn't seen before, orange in colour and enormous. Some of the fruits that had fallen with the weight of their ripe juice were the size of a man's fist, and to eat three or four of them gave a pleasant sense of well-being, even if it didn't last long.

The great trees must have been bearing a crop of thousands of pounds in weight, because all around the forest floor was glowing with fallen fruit and clouds of buzzing insects of every colour were busy glorifying the decay as they settled on it.

But when we had devoured our comforting quantities of these cashew fruits, some of them already over-ripe, there was a roughness on our teeth and we began to feel sick. It was now that we were ready to appreciate the wisdom of these primitive people, who left the florid purple fruits severely alone, to bury their sharp teeth in more modest-looking fare that was a good deal kinder to the human stomach.

No one can know the thrill of excitement that comes to the Samatari—and other Indians too—when they find themselves underneath a big *kehpass* tree that brushes the waters of some little stream with the mass of its seed pods, long and round like those of the senna tree. Many such pods are used exactly like the ordinary French or kidney beans, but for this particular delicacy it is neither the bean nor the pod itself that is eaten, but the white tender pulp in which the beans are set. We ourselves found it far too sweet and sickly. But in spite of all the excitement here, we had still not come to the fruit which was thought

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 *
262
484

worthy of being packed up and carried with us. For this purpose, *kelpoos* beans were too bulky and the white pulp over-delicate and inclined to go rotten too soon.

The *monama* and its little brother the *pulma* are the fruits that really rouse the collector's instinct in the Samatari, and they rely on these for a good part of the whole tribe's food supplies. The first time we saw them they seemed to us like olives, green when immature, brown when ripe, the rarer *pulma* being also the darker in colour. It was difficult for us to distinguish the trees that bore this fruit among all the rest, but the Samatari possess a more highly trained eye for this, and always stopped and skipped about, staring upwards through a mass of leaves that all looked alike to us. Sometimes fallen fruit on the ground gave them a clue, and they fell on it with excited cries to see how ripe it was, or, as it often proved, how worm-eaten. The youngest would be already up the tree—not the one in question, as a rule, but a neighbouring one easier to climb, from the top of which he would more easily be able to get at the fruiting branches.

Sempronio walked in silence. He was still haunted by fear. It had come as a shock to the Samatari (though they made a few jokes about it) when they learned that he was not a Guayca but a Shirian from the Canaracuni. The Valley of the Moon, to them, was the very heart of enemy territory, and had it not been for the protective magic invested in our two beards, they might easily have put him to death. After this came out, they had put him to work. The boy was pleased because this meant that he could eat. He helped them gather the food supplies, and by the time it came to eating them, he was friends with everybody and everybody was friends with him.

No Samatari could see Sempronio's smile and resist it. He displayed a prodigious agility up in the trees, even winning the admiration of those who might well have been his executioners. The *monama* soon began tumbling down and the human monkeys scrambled to collect it. None was eaten. This berry matures slowly, giving strength to the men and abundant milk to the women. Actually this is the berry of one of the Lauraceae, and has something of the tartness, the bitterness, of that aromatic shrub so reminiscent of the Mediterranean lands. But the pulp is rich and oily and sweet as butter. After a few minutes over the fire it is not only cooked through, but mashed as well; and if you are hungry during the day's march it can be eaten without being cooked at all if you hold it in your mouth for ten minutes or so, when the warmth and saliva will render it deliciously tender.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

There were often piles of *huamoshi* heaped up underneath trees much too big and too tall for me to have climbed, even had I been dying of hunger. The *huamoshi* is a queer, oval-shaped nut with a big, woody husk enclosed in a compact mass of tiny, needle-sharp spines that resemble the crystals of certain mineral forms of asbestos. It takes some opening, but once open offers man the rich enjoyment of a soft white nut running with a creamy milk.

The consumption of these nuts sets a real problem in logistics and psychology. Transport over any distance is hampered by the exorbitant weight of the shells, a weight which the Indians with their extremely practical minds consider to be out of proportion to the food value of the nut, high though this is. But once the nuts are shelled, there are the piles of gleaming white grains, so attractive that no one can resist them and they are devoured without a thought for the mothers' milk or the strength of the children's blood. Without a doubt, this matter of the *huamoshi* represents one of the outstanding problems of the Samatari provisioning-march and still awaits a satisfactory solution.

VII

The difference in taste between the two races—Shirians and bearded men—comes out most emphatically in their appreciation of the various fruits. There is one particular kind which the Shirians adore—in fact, deify: they will even go to war over the picking of it and those who fall on the battlefield are deemed martyrs and saints.

For the Shirians, Saint Carpoforo lives incarnate in the miraculous, the almost mythical *lahsa*; while we, the bearded ones, would sooner identify him with the *sopah*, which is a blend of fig, strawberry and mulberry. The *lahsa* grows on the Corozo palm, one of the tallest of the palm trees, which is covered with long and terrible thorns that keep the monkeys far away from its forbidden fruit. Beneath the thorns there is a sweet liquid—palm wine. It can be obtained by lighting a fire at the base of the tree, so that all the juices collect together towards the top of the palm, near the growing part. The tree is then felled, and a little skilful surgery will drain the liquid, which ferments readily. But the Samatari do not indulge in this practice: some deep and ancient wisdom, though they are scarcely conscious of it, has given them the simplest possible commandment about drinking: thou shalt drink only water. Nor does

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the usefulness of the Corozo palm end here: it furnishes a hard, black wood that gives the Indians their finest bows, real masterpieces treasured with pride by their owners and only bought and sold with a great deal of ceremony.

The *lahsa* represents the Indian food-ideal. It grows in bunches up to eighty pounds or more in weight, each fruit being the size of an egg and in shape and colour not unlike a small, ripe cheese. Cooking it takes a long time. The outside is a thick starchy layer, orange-coloured and rich-tasting without being over-sweet or sickly. It is better than any of our starchy foods such as bread or potatoes or chestnuts or *gnocchi*. The whole of it is edible right down to the little stone itself. This is a kind of delicious almond which crumbles pleasantly under one's teeth and leaves nothing but an insatiable desire for more—hence its name, *lahsa*.

Lahsa can be carried: there are no doubts about this, as in the case of the huamoshi. Its golden bunches are big enough to cover up a man, and the carrier protects himself from the thorns on the branches with a good thick cushion of leaves. In the evening they are cooked, so that the grim-faced women of the tribe are able to produce their milk after all and tirelessly pass it on to the scabby, drooling mouths of their infants, who in their turn convert it into blood and yield it up to the clouds of flies and mosquitoes which wrap them round with a perpetual dark veil like an aura of evil and accursed spirits.

In recompense for its fabulous generosity, the *lahsa* tree has been accorded one great privilege that sets it apart from all the other fruit-bearing trees of the forest: it is never cut down for the easier harvesting of the crop. The fruit is brought down by some clever manipulation of a long pole, for no climber's hands and feet could withstand the thorns. If in very special circumstances the tree has to be cut down, then its upper stem is opened so that its last, secret riches can be cut out—the ten pounds of sweet, crisp, chestnut-flavoured tenderness that is its growing point, the heart. Then the tree will weep out its tears from its torn breast, tears of wine that are lost.

Certainly the tribes living nearest to the forest and the forest's deep anti-human mysteries have chosen the *lahsa* as their god of food: but we, a hybrid mixture of natural fears and supernatural thunderings, chose to set up opposite it our own saint, the yellow and most luscious *sopah*. When the marching horde reached a gnarled tree which evoked the quick cry '*Sopah!*' they flung themselves at it—such is their agility in tree-climbing that they literally seem to fling themselves up—and began a feast that reduced them to silence because

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

262
484 they were eating so fast. The weighty mass of the fruit soon began to distend their stomachs and later on the little seeds began to settle and give rise to belching noises which had to be heard to be believed. But for all that, it was apparent that they did not take the *sopah* altogether seriously and were not able to accept the primacy which we were only too ready to award it, in the same way as some religions, while recognizing the prophets of another, will consider them inferior to their own.

This was the Samatari's attitude over the *sopah*. They held it in a very mild contempt—and it is worth noting that this contempt sprang from sources too prejudiced to be quite sincere. It is the womenfolk who put a smoke-screen round the *sopah* tree and divert their men's attention towards the *monama* and its satellites. The women cannot climb the *sopah* trees burdened with their babies on their backs, and if they left them on the ground they would be eaten alive by ants. For the women, too, there is always the risk of leaving their pendulous breasts on the thorns. Thus they are never exactly on the spot when the *sopah* fruits are being gathered and can never eat their fill because their men consider the *sopah* a divinity whose tender fleshly form cannot survive if transported. The women, therefore, mere starving gleaners on the ground, have to be content with the fallen fruit, usually the unripe and worm-eaten specimens which their menfolk have rejected. Hence their stubborn propaganda against what we considered the finest fruit in the forest.

262 The *sopah*, like all especially good things, has a flavour that cannot easily be defined: it has all the good points of other fruits, and none of the disadvantages. It is like a fig, but better than a fig—there is no skin. It is like a mulberry, but sweeter. Its flavour outdoes the strawberry, which in shape it somewhat resembles. It offers perfection to the taste-buds, a luscious, fleshly perfection which properly belongs to the sphere of the erotic.

We saw ourselves dwelling for a long, long time in these gardens of sopah and lalua, far from the arrows of the Samatari and the guns of civilized men. But this was just an empty dream. Because without an Indian to help us gather them, when we wearied of losing our blood on the trees, we should come down to eating the windfalls crawling with worms, while the monkeys made fun of us, pelting us with the sopah stones—vain relics of our chosen saint.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

5

At Home with the Samatari

1

SOON we had some friends among the Samatari: a group of young boys who behaved as though they were members of our private levy. They were also a privileged band within the tribe itself, because they had made themselves loincloths out of scraps of our shirts—abandoned by our original despoilers. They were with us at all times except during the actual marching periods, which did not last too long. They hung their hammocks near ours—indeed, we had at first taken them to be our guards. But their attitude very soon became clear: they were our friends and admirers. Young and full of life, they saw in us the representatives of an unknown world, the wide world of their yearnings.

With their appearance on the scene, the worst of our hunger was over. True, there was always a chronic desire for something to eat gnawing at us, deep down, probably owing to the poor quality of the diet, the excessive proportion of fruit and the lack of meat (which came only rarely and then was either half-raw or burned)—but this unacknowledged hunger was an old acquaintance of ours in forest conditions: it even plagues the explorer with ample provisions and the means of cooking them to his liking. With nightfall, the boys put a fire—'the blanket of the night'—under our hammocks. It consisted mostly of slow-burning termite nests, where the fat ants fried slowly, wreathing the air with a heavy smell which we got used to after a time.

The provisioning march continued along the banks of the Aracoea, through a forest region of huge, closely packed trees where the going was drier and cleaner than it had been before. Fruit trees were plentiful and the nomadic horde of Samatari went along in high glee. We were now reunited with all our old friends, from Uarema to Sempronio, who moved about as freely among these unpredictable hosts of ours as they would have done at home on the Merevari.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

When the whole tribe is moving, weighed down with all its goods and chattels, progress is slow. A stage that takes it a day can be covered by an hour's quick marching. 123* [484]

Hashimo, with all his old gestures, and with all those grimaces which looked so expressive and meant nothing at all, slung his hammock cheerfully on to the same stake as he had used previously, and we followed his example. Sempronio, whose eyes were as quick as a ferret's and always on the ground (that is, the immediate food-horizon), had discovered a most curious thing. Somewhere near, there was fire. For a while, this alarmed us, and we sighed with relief when we discovered what it was. The Samatari, on our earlier visit, had set fire to one end of a large tree-trunk. It was very hard wood, but completely hollow inside. The fire had continued to burn slowly inside the trunk, which acted like a chimney and kept up a steady draught. I have seen fires of this kind last for weeks and then, when nearly all the wood has been consumed, burst into leaping flames.

Our own night-fires were quickly lit from this natural hearth, and from weariness we slept through our first night of almost complete freedom.

Hashimo and Solituan slipped away at dawn and returned a little later with a fish they had killed with an arrow in the Aracosa. It weighed no more than a pound and they cooked it hastily and ate it furtively—leaving poor Sempronio the bones, which he found on the ground later and sucked with a rather puzzled expression.

Our boy guides were in the middle of a palaver with Uarema. Something seemed to be amiss. They were making signs towards the Uraricoera—that is, in the direction of the tribe. A chill of fear stole over us: it looked as if we were being ordered back. If this turned out to be the case, however, all things considered we had a good chance of refusing the order and getting away with it. We had a gun with five shots, two machetes, four bows and a number of arrows. If necessary we could shoot once, to create an atmosphere of terror and then quietly slip away. They wouldn't dare follow us. But while Enrico and I were standing there planning these tactics, Uarema came up.

'The boys are off home,' he told us. 'Home' sounds an exotic and quite meaningless word in the Aracosa forest. 'We'll go on by ourselves. They say it's too far. There's nothing to eat on the Uagna, and nothing even before you get to it.'

The Samatari themselves had come up to us in the meanwhile, and were making signs towards their 'home' in the south-west.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20
Uaca

Y
123*

and by their squalor—which we just had to accept. However, better that than our last two lonely nights over again, and our two days' rest here did us good.

Plans for continuing our journey did not go as smoothly as we should have wished. Not one of the Uaca was inclined to go down the Ocamo with us. It seemed there were a lot of Guayca Indians along the river, and that there weren't sufficient canoes. Apart from the old log which had enabled us to cross the river, there was only one little craft, and this had a gaping hole in the bows, stopped up with a great lump of clay to make it watertight. The only way open to us otherwise lay westwards towards the Matacuni: the Uaka declared that we could get there with only one *maneshi* (overnight stop). We should have to climb a mountain, but it was not high and there was a pass. On the Matacuni there were other Uaka, and then, higher up—if we understood them correctly—there were some Ukumatari, savage and suspicious, but not bad men. It didn't take us long to come to a decision, and we started out for the Matacuni.

Y
[501]

The first day's march brought us, in the evening, to a col between two great round humps of granite, from which we could make out, to the west, the vertical wall of the Duida mountains. We looked longingly in their direction, knowing that at their foot lay the savannah land of Esmeralda and the great Orinoco.

But the Matacuni Uaka seemed equally reluctant to take us down their river as far as the Orinoco, and they too gave as a reason the eternal fear of the Guayca. To go any further westwards, relying on the problematical tracks, seemed too difficult a project, and one that held out little hope of success. True, we might reach the Padamo, but if no-one was willing to take us down that river either, where were we to make for then? We couldn't keep trekking over the whole of the *Territorio Amazonas* (the southern tip of Venezuela) from river to river until we got to the Orinoco. There was only one thing to do, however paradoxical it sounded: follow the Matacuni right up to its source. The Uaka were prepared, for a suitable fee, to escort us there, doing the trip in ten days. We could then cross the mountains, which seemed to be inhabited by other Uaka, and descend one or other of the tributaries of the Ventuari watershed. This route bristled with difficulties: from the Matacuni rapids to the problems we should have to face on the northern cordilleras, but these caused the Uaka no sinking of the heart and they were ready to tackle them. They told us too that when we reached the highlands by this route we should run into the Makiritari tracks leading from the Ventuari-Erbato-Merevari territory to the

Y
[484]
M
[487]

Waica
Guaharibo

/434 cont./

199 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a
101 separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation
199 zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted
[248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they culti-
[352] vate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton ham-
[342] mocks and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version
[484] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they
192 speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/
[114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried
628 to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/440 cont./

202 Generally the messengers travel only during the day and
•484 communicate the message at night, after having rested from the trip. Nevertheless, in times of war, messengers may travel during the night, and urgent messages are communicated immediately upon the arrival of the messenger, be it day or night.
[416] A messenger who travels at night carries with him two or three pieces of firewood tied together in torch fashion.

195 Official dealings are frequently carried out in the same form
[584] of crooning. A man might in this way request official authorization to take a certain girl as his wife. These dealings are generally carried on at night.

439 Nevertheless, business dealings are generally carried out during the day, so that both participants in the negotiation may have ample opportunity to see and examine what they are getting.

142 Human Biology

The hair of the Guaika /Waica/ is lighter than that of the other Indians and of most of the Creoles who live in the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

The hair of the majority of the individuals is fine, but some of them have quite stiff hair. The color of the hair is black or chestnut, and a few have hair with a slightly reddish tone. Some of the children have hair that is very light in color, which seems to become darker as they grow. Few of the older persons have gray hair.

The majority of men either have a very thin beard or none at all. The arms, legs, and chest are generally free of hair.

/441/ The eyes of the majority of them are brown, and some of them have black eyes. Some of the children have blue eyes. A few individuals have the inner corner of the eye rounded in a way somewhat similar to that of certain Oriental peoples.

Their noses are short and wide.

The Guaika are well fed, but in general do not show any excess muscle or fat. The Guaika to the south of the Orinoco tend to be fatter and plumper, it would seem, than those of El Platanal or those who live to the north of this locality.

/447/

The Fiesta of the Harvest of "Pijiguao"

527 The fiesta of the harvest of the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm
574 (Bactris gasipaës) is perhaps the most important event of the year. During this harvest everybody has food to spare and consequently
● [484] can receive all those who want to visit them. As a result of this there is a great deal of traveling during this period.

[628] Frequently two or three settlements gather in order to celebrate the fiesta. Then one part will go to celebrate the same fiesta in other friendly settlements.

The hosts, and sometimes the visitors as well, go out on a hunting trip, which lasts for several days, until they collect a sufficient quantity of meat. This meat is smoked and preserved for the fiesta.

527 When the hunters come back, the fiesta begins at night with considerable joy and singing. The hunters gather and march around the interior patio of the settlement several times. Then
[526] there begins a mock battle with cudgels. Those who have axes or machetes use these in place of cudgels. They are waved about in the air in a way similar to an attack in fencing or fighting with cudgels. The weapons clash together, but blows are not struck at the body.

After this comes the fire procession. Every man takes a burning torch from the fire and joins the others who go around and around the periphery of the great circular patio formed by the huts. From time to time, when passing in front of one of the surrounding ranchos, they rap with the torch on one of the straight supports which hold up the roof, scattering sparks in the air.

[526] Afterwards, they do what is known as "golpeo al pecho" /hitting the chest/. The boys and a few men pair off against those of another settlement and carry out a duel of blows on the chest. One will present his chest while the other hits it with the side of the fist.

[533] All of these acts are carried out amidst much jubilation and singing. Sometimes this is repeated on the following night.

/448/

527 After this comes the daytime ceremony. A great deal of
276 "yopo" is prepared and placed near the center of the group of huts. Some six or eight boys of the "host" settlement march around the patio and then toward the place where the "yopo" is. Another group of boys follows them rapidly. As each group arrives at the center, the boys receive a puff of "yopo" in the nose. After each and every one of the boys has taken the "yopo" through the nasal passage, the men follow them in the same way, in groups of six or eight. And when all of the "hosts" are in the center, the ones representing the "guest" or visiting settlement, follow them in the same "yopo" ceremony.

527 When each and every one has received his portion of "yopo,"
526 the group of men begins to march around in the center of the
276 circular patio of the settlement. After a few minutes have passed, the men begin to separate off in pairs. The most violent of them begin having duels of blows on the chest. Others, seated by pairs on the ground, talk among themselves in the manner of the crooned messages.

The duels of blows on the chest receive the greatest attention. All those who are not paired off are watching. Also many of the women come to watch them. The group of onlookers approaches so close that only a part of them can manage to see what is actually happening.

527 Some of the men who have taken too much "yopo" lie im-
276 potently on their backs and are dragged out of the sun into the shade of the houses by the women.

And others who have taken a certain excess of "yopo" keep walking around, and their wives have great difficulty in keeping them inside the settlement. If they manage to get into the woods with no one watching over them, they may find themselves in grave danger.

[574] After a while, everything begins to quiet down. Meat and
[484] as much "pijiguao" as it is possible to carry are given to the guests for their return trip. Thus they may take as long as a week on the trip to their settlement without running out of provisions.

/462 cont./

Fire

372 The Guaika /Waica/ use the system of simple rotation to make fire. This consists of a piece of soft wood, flattened on one side and rounded on the other, about four centimeters wide at one end, and whose tapering shape ends in a blunt point at the other end. With the tooth of a large rodent they make a circular cut in it near its broader end, and in this is inserted a slender stick (from 30 to 40 centimeters /sic/ in diameter at its base). This stick is held between the palms of the hands and given a rotating movement until a spark burns in the wood dust which has been formed by the rotation of the stick in the hole made in the board. (See Fig. 6.)

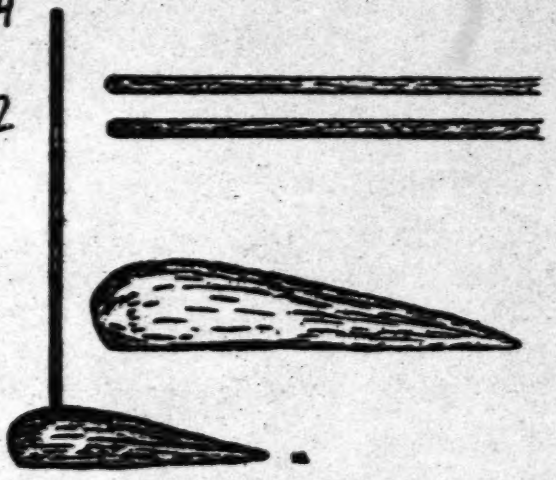
[237] [412]

[824] /463/ The tapered piece of soft wood is of cacao, in which several successive holes can be made, and each hole can be used several times for lighting a fire.

In general there is someone in the settlement who has a fire lighted, so that when some native needs fire he obtains it there. In order to carry fire a short distance, two or three lighted sticks are tied together, forming a fagot. When they travel at night, they carry lighted torches to protect themselves against animals

373 416 484

372



/Fig. 6/

/463 cont./

373 416 484 as well as to light the path. Torches of gum and resin are also used sometimes on the paths during the night, but the common type of torch is the fagot of tied pieces of wood. A group which travels at night (as occurs when they are returning after nightfall from the work of fishing) may carry only one torch. Then they stop from time to time to arrange the joined sticks and to revive the fire, keeping it from going out.

373 374 The wood fire is the principal source of light and heat in the settlements. The fires are kept lighted during the entire night, both to produce warmth and for protection against predatory animals and the spirits of human beings which have returned.

372 There do not seem to be any beliefs or ceremonies related to the production and maintenance of fire.

Weapons

411 The principal weapon of the Guaica /Waica/ is the bow and arrow. They also use macanas.

[824] [283] The bow is made of palm wood, generally of "pijiguao," with a strong string made of threads of bark. This string has three or more threads of twisted bark, which give it great strength.

[249] [237] The shafts of their arrows are made of the festooned part of a certain wild cane, which they cultivate in their "conucos." They feather them with the points of wing feathers of wild turkeys.

Arrow points vary according to the type of game which is to be the target. The wide bamboo point is used /464/ principally against large land animals; the bone one for shooting large and medium-sized birds, and the poisoned points principally for monkeys. Any of these points might be used against man in the event of war. Against small birds they shoot the shaft, first removing the point, or they use a point ramified at the end, made out of a small branch quickly broken off some nearby plant. The accompanying Fig. 7 /see p. 35/ shows the different types of arrow points of the Guaika. /Fig. 7 appears here./

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

supple wood and well over six feet long, it is very powerful. With it the Waïka can shoot an arrow more than a hundred yards and can hit a *paujil*—a bird about the size of a turkey—at forty yards. Normally two or three arrows are carried and they are as long as, if not longer than, the bow itself. The shafts are made of reed which, Cardona said, is specially grown for the purpose on their plantations, and are feathered by falcon's feathers. The feathers are meticulously tied in a near-perfect spiral with thread of forest cotton or morisco palm fibre. Each arrow has a different head specially adapted to a particular purpose. Spare arrow-heads are carried in a quiver in which also is carried fire-making material to protect it from the damp.

The quiver is a simple bamboo case to which are also tied a firestick and a number of little knives made from the incisors of a large rodent called a capybara. It is carried on the back by means of a string slung round the forehead.

Such comprise the simple impedimenta of the Waïka on his journeys through the forest. The women, who accompany their mates on their many ceaseless wanderings, presumably have their own burdens to carry, but we saw nothing of them until we visited our first native village on the next day.

As we went up-river we came across the remains of a rude bridge which had formerly spanned the two hundred yards of river and which had been carried away by the flood waters. It was the biggest bridge we had seen although we had passed a number of lesser ones fashioned of lianas spanning the tributaries. On the bank where the bridge had been were some twenty natives and a handful of children.

"*Apo! Shori! Apo!*" they greeted us.

We knew from Butrón that, though his men were accustomed to replenish their banana stocks at this place, they had so far never been allowed to visit the village hidden somewhere in the forest.

The Waïka lives on wild fruits, fish, meat and the produce of plantations adjacent to his villages. Most of his time he spends wandering in the forest and his fleeting appearances at his village occur usually only when natural resources fail or when he has to defend himself against an enemy horde. He knows

large entrance, that leading to the river or stream. All entrances are covered with dry leaves and brush in the evening and the slightest movement of the covering creates sufficient noise to alert the dogs.

The Yąnomamö occupy a relatively homogeneous geographical region of low-lying tropical jungle interrupted by densely-wooded hills that sometimes reach an altitude of 2,500 feet, some 2,000 feet above the elevation of the general terrain. Larger hills are more common in the headwaters of the Orinoco and along the boundaries separating Brazil from Venezuela, but the Indians prefer to make their villages in the lowlands on small streams, as all of their travelling is done on foot. Only recently have the Yąnomamö begun moving to the larger rivers, where they may obtain canoes and steel tools from foreigners. In 1950 there was only one Yąnomamö village, Mahekodo-tedi, on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River; since then at least seven or eight villages have moved to the Orinoco or one of its larger tributaries in order to gain access to trade goods (axes and machetes) foreign to their culture. The overwhelming number of Yąnomamö villages, however, can only be reached by walking to them. During the wet season (April-September) travel all but ceases between villages because the trails linking villages are inundated.

The Yąnomamö are slash-and-burn horticulturists, subsisting mainly on plantains and bananas, of which they cultivate four or five varieties each. Following these crops in economic importance are several root crops, including taro,

villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the women and children are concealed in these temporary sites until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yąnomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yąnomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow, arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

462 385 Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that 888 958 older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, 855 children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired 84 443 clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, 462 422 which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are 562 made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the 199 manufacture of cassave bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

---

[1] The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

133
137
361
342
245

Fig. 2–1. A Yąnomamö village and plantain garden, aerial view (Tautaali River, Brazil).

487

TRAILS AND TRAVEL. Trails lead out from the village in several directions. Some of them terminate in the gardens that surround the village, but a few of them continue on into the jungle and lead eventually to other villages. The unexperienced eye would not recognize them as trails, as they are hardly more than winding paths through brush, over or around logs, through streams and swamps, and up hills. The Yąnomamö take the most direct route to their destination, regardless of the terrain. A foreigner learns how to recognize a trail only after considerable experience. The most telltale signs are the numerous broken twigs at about knee height left by Yąnomamö travelers who compulsively keep their hands occupied snapping off brush and twigs as they walk. Another sign is the occasional log that is worn smooth from the tread of numerous travelers who prefer to walk along a log rather than go around it.

The most commonly used trail from Kąobawä's village leads to the two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-teri and Mõmariböwei-teri, southwest of Upper Bisasi-teri. Hardly a week goes by in the dry season without a few individuals making a trip from one of these villages to Bisasi-teri or vice versa. A group of young men can make this trip in one day if they walk rapidly and leave early in the morning. Older men, women, and children must plan on a two day journey, as they walk more slowly and rest more frequently. There are a number of temporary shelters along the trail built by previous visitors, so the traveler does not have to spend much time putting one of these into repair should he decide to camp overnight.

[484]

[342]
485

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

484 752 The jungle provides a number of hazards to the barefoot traveler in that most species of palm have long, sharp spines protruding from their trunks or leaf stems. The most common and recurrent injury the Yąnomamö sustain is thorns in the feet. A party of ten men can rarely travel an hour without one of them stopping to extract a thorn from his foot. This is always accompanied by hisses and clicks of pain on the part of the victim, who gouges the thorn out with either an arrow point or another thorn. Their feet have thick calluses on them, but because the trails frequently cross streams and swamps, the calluses soften and are easily pierced by thorns.

Another, but rarer, hazard is snakes.[2] There are always a few cases of snake bite in each village every year, although few of them are fatal. Most snake-bite victims recover from the wound with no ill side effects. I treated two cases of snake bite that were like this. But a few bites are severe enough to cause the loss of a limb. One of my better acquaintances, a young man of some thirty years, lost a leg because of a snake bite when he was about fifteen years old, and will spend the rest of his life hopping on one leg, a form of locomotion he has mastered so thoroughly that he almost manages to keep up with the group when they visit other villages.

484 221 629 132 Most of the intervillage traveling is done from September through April, the dry season. For the remainder of the year the trails, or substantial portions of them, are underwater. At this time the rains are frequent and heavy, and the small streams that can be easily crossed on foot in the dry season become impassable torrents. Small lakes replace the marshy low ground, and communication between villages all but ceases. As the Yąnomamö are an inland people and avoid locating their villages near large streams, all travel is done on foot, and each village becomes an isolated entity at the peak of the wet season (June).[3] 484 499 If the group must travel, it will make simple vine and pole bridges over the smaller streams. A pair of slender poles is stuck into the river and crossed to form an X-frame. Vines are used to lash the poles together where they intersect, and another pole is laid from the bank to the X-frame, also secured by vines. Then another pair of poles is stuck into the stream and lashed to form another X-frame. The long pole is then extended out further from the bank, and so on, until the stream is bridged. A vine railing is attached to the protruding members of the X-frames. The bridges usually last only a short time. The first heavy rain will swell the stream and the current will wash it away.

323 TECHNOLOGY Much of Yąnomamö technology is like the pole-and-vine bridge: crude, but very effective, and not destined to last for any great period of time. The only durable artifact produced is a crude, poorly fired clay pot. It is nearly an inch thick at the bottom and tapers to almost nothing at the brim. Consequently, it breaks very [562] easily. For this reason, women, regarded as clumsy, are rarely allowed to touch or handle them. When the clay pots are used, the men do the cooking, as, for example, during feasts. The pot is made by the coil technique: The untempered clay is kneaded to the proper consistency by hand, rolled into long, slender ropes, and these, in turn, placed on top of each other to form a continuous rope of clay. The coils are then scraped flat so that the interior and exterior of the pot are smooth. The conical-shaped pot is allowed to dry in the shade, then fired by placing brush and wood over it. The end product is

[165] [2]Two percent of all adult deaths are due to snake bite; 54 percent are due to malaria, and other epidemic diseases (Chagnon 1966) and 24 percent of adult males die in warfare.

[361] [3]The Yąnomamö began moving their villages out to navigable rivers after 1955. Up to that time there was only one village, Mahekodo-teri, located on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

342
302
301
824
142

Fig. 2-5. Thatching a new roof with leaves.

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwä, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof. 342 [821] [756] [789]

The Yąnomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about 342 484

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4 feet off the ground at the rear and 6 feet off the ground at the front. Shorter sticks are then laid crossways on the major roof poles and these, in turn, covered with several layers of long, broad, wild "banana" leaves (see Glossary, under "Banana, wild"). It is quite small, but can sleep three individuals. Frequently, the traveler finds the remains of one of these houses and has merely to put a new layer of leaves on the roof to make it waterproof; occasionally, he takes a chance that it won't rain that night and does not improve the hut at all.

When the Yąnomamö settle a new area, they erect temporary villages of these crude huts and live in them until they can build a *shabono*. They also live in huts like these while they are re-roofing the old *shabono*.

The permanent village is complete when the palisade of logs is erected around its circumference. This is placed some 3 or 4 feet behind the roof, allowing space for a path around the village inside the palisade. The palisade itself is about 10 feet high and usually made of a mixture of palm and hardwood logs. It is kept in repair only when there is some reason to suspect raiders. Otherwise, people pilfer logs from it for use as firewood. The entrance to the village, as well as the palisade entrance, is covered with brush and logs at night to keep out intruders. Anyone trying to enter will inevitably make the brush move and alarm the village dogs.

FOOD AND ITS GATHERING The jungle provides numerous varieties of food, both animal and vegetable. The most commonly taken game includes several species of monkeys, two varieties of wild "turkey," two species of wild pig, armadillos, anteaters, tapir, deer, a small alligator, small rodents, and several species of smaller birds. Wild vegetable foods commonly exploited by the Yąnomamö are: palm fruits of several species, hardwood fruits, brazil nuts, tubers, and the seed pods of the feral banana. Of these, the palm fruits are by far the most significant.

These occur seasonally and, for brief periods of time, produce large quantities of fruits. Unfortunately, there is very little edible substance in each fruit, so that in order to get filled, one must eat the edible portion of enormous quantities of fruit. The Yąnomamö extensively exploit two closely related palms, *yei* and *karushi*. The *yei* fruits are about the size of small hen's eggs and occur in large clusters, weighing 80 pounds and more, near the tops of the palm trees. The *karushi* fruits are about half that size. The exterior portion of the fruit is a leathery shell which is peeled with the teeth. Inside there is a thin layer of very bitter, white flesh. This is chewed and sucked off. The taste resembles that of a poor grade of bath soap. Of the two, I found *karushi* the more repugnant. My throat burned when I ate them.

Another commonly exploited palm is the *adiwahi*. It is tangerine red in color and covered with a leather-like skin that consists of hundreds of small scales. They are about the size of large hen's eggs and resemble small hand grenades. When the fruit is dry, as, for example, when it is first cut from the tree, it is almost impossible to get the leathery scales off. The Yąnomamö overcome this difficulty by throwing the fruit bunches into water and letting them soak for several days, after which the scales can be easily scraped off with the fingernails, exposing a thin layer of yellowish, soft flesh that tastes very much like cheese. The fruits begin to ferment after they have soaked, producing a slightly pungent taste. I enjoyed eating *adiwahi* with the Yąnomamö; the fruit was good, and the technique of eating it was very sociable. We would wade into the swamp where the fruit had been submerged and grope around in the murky water to locate it. After

and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowï. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5–3). Some even put on bright red loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which the younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kaobawï to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *ueyu itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them and left for Patanowï-teri. Kaobawï had been complaining all year of severe pains in his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked. Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *ueyu itou*, for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

If there are novices in the raiding party, the older men will conduct mock raids, showing them how they are to participate. A grass dummy or soft log is frequently employed in this, as was the case in the *waya itou* held in the village the day before the raiders left. Particularly young men will be positioned in the marching party somewhere in the middle of the single file of raiders so they will not be the first ones to be exposed to danger should the raiders themselves be ambushed. These young men will also be permitted to retreat first. Damowä had a twelve-year-old son when he was killed. This boy, Matarawä, was recruited into the raiding party to give him an opportunity to avenge his father's death. The older men made sure he would be exposed to minimum danger, as this was his first raid.

The separated groups of raiders approach the village at dawn and conceal themselves near the commonly used paths to the source of drinking water. They wait for the enemy to come to them. A good many of the victims of raids are shot while fetching water.

Frequently, the enemy is wary and acts defensively at all times when there is an active war going on. Only large groups of people can leave the village, and these are well armed. Raiders will not attack a large group such as this. When the enemy is found to be this cautious, the raiders have no choice but to retreat or to shoot volleys of arrows blindly into the village, hoping to strike someone at a distance. They retreat after they release their arrows, depending on the gossip of other villages to learn if their arrows did find their marks. Rarely, one of the raiders will attempt to enter the village during the night and kill someone while he sleeps. Damowä's younger brother allegedly accomplished this on one raid, but few men are brave enough to try it. Most of the time the raiders manage to ambush a single individual, kill him, and retreat before they are discovered. This is considered to be the most desirable outcome of the raid.

The women were nervous, frightened, and irritable while the men were away, and they were constantly on the lookout for raiders from other villages. This is always a time to suspect raiders, since allies occasionally turn on their friends when the women are poorly guarded, abducting as many as possible while their husbands are away.

After several days the women were so frustrated and anxious that fights began to break out among them. One woman got angry because another one, her sister and co-wife, left her to tend a small baby. When the mother returned, the angry one picked up a piece of firewood and bashed her on the side of her head with it, knocking her unconscious and causing her ear to bleed profusely.

The raiders had been gone almost a week when Kąobawä and his youngest brother staggered into the village, nearly dead from exhaustion. Kąobawä's pains had gotten so bad that he decided to turn back just before they reached the Patanowä-teri village. He could barely walk by that time and would not have been able to elude pursuers should the enemy have given chase. Shararaiwä, his brother, decided to accompany him back lest he run into a group of Patanowä-teri hunters, or his condition grow even more severe. Shortly after they had dropped out of the raiding party, Shararaiwä stepped on a snake and was bitten. The rains had started, and the snakes were beginning to concentrate on the higher grounds, making walking a hazard. His leg began to swell immediately, and he could not walk. Hence, Kąobawä had to carry him out on his back, despite the fact that he could barely walk himself. Carrying him for nearly two days, he managed to reach the Orinoco River. Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,[3] so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Sharariwä had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kąobawä was very exhausted from the trip.

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chanted briefly with Kąobawä, explaining that they had reached Patanowä-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowä-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwä of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart.

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwä with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound.

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yąnomamö have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwä was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered.

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowä-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowä. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *unokaimou* ceremony.

They were given spaces in Kąobawä's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kąobawä felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowä's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwä of Kąobawä's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowä-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowä-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they

[3] The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kąobawä's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Bisasi-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Bisasi-teri would not borrow it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwä probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen-even Kąobawä-implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowä. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwä's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwä failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwä and his raiders did not locate the Patanowä-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowä-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowä-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowä-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowä-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisaasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisaasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisaasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowä-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisaasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

[P. 138 is blank]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

133
137
361
342
245

Fig. 2-1. A Yąnomamö village and plantain garden, aerial view (Toototobi River, Brazil).

487

TRAILS AND TRAVEL. Trails lead out from the village in several directions. Some of them terminate in the gardens that surround the village, but a few of them continue on into the jungle and lead eventually to other villages. The unexperienced eye would not recognize them as trails, as they are hardly more than winding paths through brush, over or around logs, through streams and swamps, and up hills. The Yąnomamö take the most direct route to their destination, regardless of the terrain. A foreigner learns how to recognize a trail only after considerable experience. The most telltale signs are the numerous broken twigs at about knee height left by Yąnomamö travelers who compulsively keep their hands occupied snapping off brush and twigs as they walk. Another sign is the occasional log that is worn smooth from the tread of numerous travelers who prefer to walk along a log rather than go around it.

The most commonly used trail from Kąobawä's village leads to the two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-teri and Mǫmariböwei-teri, southwest of Upper Bisaasi-teri. Hardly a week goes by in the dry season without a few individuals making a trip from one of these villages to Bisaasi-teri or vice versa. A group of young men can make this trip in one day if they walk rapidly and leave early in the morning. Older men, women, and children must plan on a two day journey, as they walk more slowly and rest more frequently. There are a number of temporary shelters along the trail built by previous visitors, so the traveler does not have to spend much time putting one of these into repair should he decide to camp overnight.

[484]
[342]
485

/114/

121 I shall describe to you in the following some aspects of the social structure of the same Indian tribe whose conceptions about the soul Herr Dr. Zerries has just discussed. The title, "Sociology," is too presumptuous, insofar as today I intend to deal with only the larger social units and thus touch upon only a small sector of the sociological field. I shall be able to present to you only raw expedition-material; the comparative arrangement of these data in South American cultural history will be the work of the next few months.

101 131 The Waika /Waica/ inhabit the upper Orinoco river region in southern Venezuela; their area of habitation, however, is not limited by the Sierra Parima, in which the Orinoco rises and which forms the mountain border with Brazil, but rather extends into Brazilian soil far beyond this mountain chain, about to the middle of the northern tributaries of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco. [161] The Sierra Parima therefore is more the backbone of the living space of this Indian group, which, according to the best estimates, contains about fifty thousand persons and an area of about half 137 the size of West Germany. According to external appearances, [132] this region is counted as tropical rain forest; seasonal differences are only slight and are practically without influence on the life 101 and culture of the people. The critical cultural importance of the 179 forest lies in its isolating effect: between the habitation area of [137] the Waika and the first mixed settlement there extends an almost [487] uninhabited forest-belt several hundred kilometers wide, and since there is very little river traffic and as other means of transportation there are only onerously traversable Indian paths, the culture of the Waika has been able to remain almost completely pure. Only a [797] few material things from our world have as yet found their way to them: a few machetes and axes, a few matches and fishhooks, which an American mission working from 1947 to 1955 under very difficult conditions and we ourselves brought along; since the Waika do not maintain any contacts of their own downriver, however, the barely begun acculturation process does not go on /115/ by itself, but ebbs away the moment the visiting whites leave Waika country.

Guahibo SC14
Yabarana SS22
Panare SS21
Sanema
Saliva SS15
Makiritare SS20

/11 cont./

All these basins, without exception, pour their great volumes of water into the Orinoco, which, like a gigantic arc, runs across the north of the Escudo de Guayana, thus enclosing all the native tribes studied here and marking the farthermost boundary and end of their primitive world (cf. ethnic map /see p. 5 /). /12/ /Map appears here./

/13/ It is interesting to point out that the extensive fluvial network of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone does not serve the majority of the tribes as a means of communication or as an outstanding source of food. The Panare of the basin of the Cuchivero do not travel by river, and on the Cuchivero we found only one dugout /bongo/, which was used solely for crossing the river. In general the curiara /dugout canoe/ seems to be a foreign element in Panare culture, introduced recently by the Creoles. Nor did the Yabarana of the basin of the Ventuari use the curiara, and they recently learned from their neighbors, the Makiritare, the art of making them. For the Sanemá the river represents an obstacle rather than a means of communication, and they use rafts in order to cross it. At the present time, only the groups who live in symbiosis with the Makiritare make curiaras, but there is not the slightest doubt that this industry was adopted recently. The Sanemá spend less time at fishing than do the Panare, Yabarana, and Guahibo, since the latter too are among those Indians oriented toward the land, with its roads, rather than toward the rivers and navigation. The only real voyagers of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone are the Piaroa and the Makiritare, and the fame of the latter exceeds that of the former.

Culturally, the Makiritare belong to a Neo-Indian level, as do their cousins of the same linguistic affiliation, the Panare and the Yabarana. It is interesting, however, to call attention to the fact that to speak of Caribe /Carib/ Indians is not the same eo ipso as speaking of voyaging Indians. There are Neo-Indians who are ignorant of the curiara and who developed agriculture, not in a Meso-Indian culture (of fishermen and voyagers), but basically on top of a Paleo-Indian culture (of hunters). Meso-Indian cultures, such as that of the Warao, for example, and possibly that of the Piaroa, represent a specialization of the Paleo-American who was

[Text continues on P. 4]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 to Las Trinqueras he would buy him red cloth, flowered dresses for his womenfolk, and that supreme Indian luxury, powder and shot for the gun, and so on.

Pancho listened with a smile, every now and then giving a little scornful laugh, which might have meant rich contentment or just plain scepticism. He winked at us—mere neutral observers—with his horribly burnt eye.

Two days later a crew was ready. Pancho himself was not going, but our three travellers were to leave in two big canoes. In twenty days they would reach Las Trinqueras and from that point the rubber planters' launch would take them on to Ciudad Bolivar. We gave them a letter for the pilots of the air charter company with whom we had an agreement. They had failed us badly. We had made it clear to the plane when it had paid us its last visit, by putting a big notice on the strip, that we had one passenger to be taken off. Jean couldn't face the thought of the journey back by water. But they had not come for her, so she stayed with us. We told them that we would be expecting a plane on the Kirisochi field on either the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth of April.

After the three had gone, a vast silence seemed to settle on the forest, touching us as well. It was sad to have said good-bye to friends like Momi and Giovanni, but by way of compensation we now had a much better balanced party. I felt free, gloriously free. The field was mine now. I could push ahead with our work to the limit, with no ethical question marks bothering me, and no remorse.

We went off with the Shirians to pay a visit to Pulipuli and to look up a [487] valuable fellow named Cesare. The Valley of the Moon can also be entered by way of the Canaracuni, along another valley which runs down from the same [362] heights and is linked with the Canaracuni by a maze of paths. On every side there [361] are Shirian huts, tiny dilapidated affairs, each in a little clearing threatened by the advance of the forest.

Cesare was not at home. In his stead we found a crowd of old acquaintances, one of them being an old Indian of great dignity whom we had nicknamed 'The Senator'. He had come to Kirisochi on our arrival there, he had been present while we were building our hut, and never had he done a hand's turn. He would watch others at work with a fine air of detachment which was really [413] remarkable. He was truly sufficient unto himself. Most of the time he spent stretched out in a hammock—a very small one made of liana—with his feet higher than his head. Periodically he scratched his back with a stick prepared and reserved for just that purpose. One of those ivory back-scratchers with a

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

4

Captured by the Samatari

1

WE HAD been trudging up and down the thirty-two hills for two days now, and we could hardly believe there could be so many in these parts, though Hashimo had been very definite on the point. But every time we asked him how many were left we got the same reply: without a word, he gave a grin that was half bored, half mischievous, and his characteristic gesture with all its morphological variations. The total indicated, allowing for the number of hills we had already climbed (and we kept a strict account) always came to thirty-two.

Without the old man's unerring instinct it would have been impossible to find the track the Samatari had once made use of in the course of their wars. It was covered with fallen trees, bamboo thickets had grown over it and rivulets and swampy patches obscured it since it had been abandoned, but he smelt it out. He climbed straight uphill where the trees were tallest and straightest, wound his way around and between the impacted trunks of the banyans, crossed valleys dense with undergrowth, wielding his machete with a will in great sweeps to right and left. He went up mountain streams and down them, losing them and finding them again at some point further on, beyond a clump of thick roots or on the other side of a thorny bush of Iriartea—and woe betide the unwary traveller who grabbed at this to help him up the slope!

Climbing a wooded hill is hard work and there is no compensation such as there is in open high country where one can see the landscape unfolding as one climbs. In front of us there was nothing but a mass of trees in the shape of a tilted, narrowing triangle, completely dark in its midst with slips of a brilliant sky to be seen towards the edges. Up on the summit, the triangle would disappear and the slips of sky would widen to form a bright horizon all around, as a kind of prelude to the blue bedazzlement of the whole sky. But no such heavens opened up overhead. It was just a case of going down again into the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

next valley, along spurs which inexplicably began to rise again between streams rushing madly in all directions, now away from us, now towards us, now to one side, now to the other, as if we had lost our sense of balance and were spinning round and round.

Game was extremely scarce and the gun which Luis Antonio had brought went, alas, unused. This was a serious state of affairs: we had nothing in the way of rations but a little salt and were relying on hunting and finding fruit. Fishing in these tiny rushing streams was not likely to yield much. We had hardly anything with us except the gun, a hundred cartridges, our hammocks for the night and a few medical supplies—not so much for ourselves as for any Indians we met with, for experience had taught us that even the most ferocious of them would respond in friendly fashion and be grateful if we cured the sick. So there we were with our few rags of clothes, carrying our mystic handful of salt, humbly and nakedly challenging the great world of the wilds—those thirty-two hills, inhabited perhaps by strange creatures and criss-crossed with clear streams running in all directions. And out of the very humility of our position in the face of such tremendous odds we drew our hopes for the success of our undertaking, as if we were instinctively conscious of a fundamental justice in the life of the forest, which would not deny us its bounty.

Some touch of enchantment, as in a legend, there must have been about us: the animals themselves seemed sensitive to it—those few at least who roamed these hills. The first morning we woke among the trees—we had camped on the bank of a sizeable stream which according to Hashimo flowed into the Uagna—I looked out of our rough shelter to see a lead-grey puma start silently by the water. The creature had the same contented look in his eyes as a dog has when going for a walk. I felt no alarm. I just watched quietly, with no thought of grabbing my gun or calling the others. After giving me a long, brotherly, understanding look, the puma crossed a little clear space and went off slowly, as he had come, through the cane-brake.

So-called fierce wild animals see in man a dangerous competitor and they don't want anything to do with him. We often chanced to strike a region across which there never had been any paths or trails. The first night as we settled down to sleep we could hear the screaming of wildcats, the roar of jaguars and the odd cry of the puma which sounds something like a night-bird's call. But by the next day all sound from the wild beasts had ceased. The scent of man had driven them away.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

CAPTURED BY THE SAMATARI

Among the Indians generally, and the northern Guayca tribes, there is a curious method of keeping wild animals at a distance which is based on this knowledge. They search round the streams for traces of the path the animals use when they go to drink. Then they scatter it with human excrement. If one of the creatures comes back that way, he will suddenly go bounding off across the width of the valley to seek refuge in the rocky heart of the mountain, such is his terror of the very traces of man.

Before we reached one table-topped hill which we had glimpsed from the last high point, Uarema killed an agouti. We ate it straight away, with a few palm hearts from San Paulo palm trees which Sempronio and Solituan—the youngest and oldest members of our expedition—gathered as we went along, and carried with them like bunches of flowers. We camped on the sandstone heights, where the vegetation had thinned out and was soft and mossy, with great clusters of Spanish moss, drenched with water, clinging to the tree-trunks, orchids growing on the ground and curtains of lichen hanging from the trees instead of the lianas found at lower levels.

And with the change of vegetation at this altitude, there was a change of atmosphere also. From the warm, heavy air of the plain, where one could feel a lush exuberance of life swelling the sap of every plant and setting a myriad little animals in motion, you passed to a region of cold silence, only broken at regular intervals by the lugubrious chant of the bell-bird, a bird with an astoundingly long white tail which, from concealment among the bushes, gives a call of long, mournful, metallic ring.

After our high spirits of the first day out, which the luxuriant life of the forest had sent even higher, now, on the heights, we were invaded by a sort of melancholy acceptance of these cool solitudes and their touch of death. We wanted to drop down again, to camp in some little valley where the chances of encountering animals were always greater; but the hour was very late, and we had to stay where we were for the night, on the south side. From here, as far as the eye could see, the humps of the mountains stretched out before us as we peered through the trees. They were covered with a thick dark green vegetation, absolutely uniform, and underneath it a hundred little streams drained into marshy depressions. Hashimo pointed out the hills with his usual gesture. Before we reached the Samatari, there were still eighteen more, or so we thought.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

him outside the range of the magic influence which had reduced him to such a hideous condition. But evidently they had only escaped the Samatari magic to fall straight into another, which was too much for the sick child. He died, sacrificed in a duel between two magic powers.

VI

The great 'provisioning-march' of the Samatari now began. We went along with them. We were prisoners, we were guests, we were tolerated visitors—a bit of everything. The main body, with the women and children, led the way along a track that was years old and had been opened up again the day before by the younger members of the tribe, who possessed the one metal weapon used by the Samatari: a piece of a knife-blade stuck into a stick and firmly bound with bark soaked in vegetable gum. What story could this scrap of steel have told when it finally reached the headwaters of the Arascoa!

[illegible] towards the south-east. It lay for the most part through the dense thickets of fruit-bearing trees, which probably harboured other sorts of foodstuffs of which we knew nothing. The main body arrived to find that the young men had already picked nuts and fruit of all kinds and made piles of them at the foot of the trees. All the women had to do was take them up.

When meat of any sort is found and killed on these occasions, a couple of youngsters stay behind with it. They sling a hammock and light a fire and watch while it is slowly smoking on the spit. When the women come up, they pull off pieces of the flesh, put them into the rough hampers they carry on their shoulders and go on with the march, their babies jogging up and down on their backs, tied there with a strap made of bark. Some, like peripatetic vestal virgins, take fire with them, in the form of glowing brands, blowing on them as they go along lest the embers should grow cold. Thus the march of the Samatari leaves a trail of nutshells, rinds, ash, and little bits of charcoal. It suggests not so much an ordinary nomadic people on the move but rather a very special tribe composed of itinerant cooks.

With evening, or strictly speaking some time before the end of the afternoon, we found ourselves in a vast clearing where all the small plants, shrubs, bushes and grass had been cut away and swept and raked aside. All round this

/468 cont./

Traveling and Transportation

487 They make almost all their trips on foot by paths and trails. Bridges are built over the largest rivers. Other rivers are waded or crossed on tree trunks.

/469/ New paths are marked by breaking branches in passing. On old roads they indicate the path or paths which have not been taken, leaving some object or a little pile of leaves at the entrance of same. A stick may be tied to an abandoned dwelling to indicate in what direction the former occupant has moved.
621 (A settlement may split up into groups when it abandons the
166 site in the area of the "conuco," and therefore this sign does not necessarily mean that the entire settlement has gone off in that direction.)

166 The Guaika /Waica/ travel frequently, but generally not
628 very far. The nearest settlement -- perhaps a day away -- is usually as far as they go. The settlement beyond this might be an enemy settlement, or at least not very friendly. Even neighboring settlements have such bad relations with one another that
628 they rarely visit among themselves. But the settlements which
574 are on friendly terms visit each other very frequently, and, when both live in the areas of the conucos, visitors come and go between them every few days.

574 The reasons for visiting are principally to see friends or to stay until their own "conuco" (which might be in a period of little production) begins to produce again.

Standards of Living

513
[342] The Guaika /Waica/ consider it essential to sleep every night under a roof. Thus, they always build some sort of shelter.

[354] A fire is also essential. A Guaika will not sleep without a fire at night. He needs it to obtain heat and to protect himself from animals, and with the fire he feels safer from evil spirits.

101 175 This is also supported by meagre historical evidence bearing on the aboriginal inhabitants of this area. Several distinguished Europeans explored portions of the area under consideration and all of them were familiar with the existence of the Yąnomamö in the Orinoco headwaters. None of them, however, reported that Yąnomamö Indians were living in the Mavaca Basin. Alexander [487] Humboldt, who ascended the Casiquiare Canal in 1800, discussed the area of the Mavaca headwaters as one frequently used by Indians of the 'Portuguese Missions' as the route between the Cauabury headwaters to Esmeralda (on the Orinoco River) by way of the Mavaca River. The aromatic seeds of [489] the puchery laurel were seasonally gathered near Esmeralda and sold in Brazil (Humboldt, 1281, Vol. 5, pt. 1, pp. 308-9).

175 487 So well known was this route that Robert Schomburgk intended to follow it in 1839 to reach the Rio Negro from Esmeralda, hoping to avoid the 200 miles that the Casiquiare route would have added to his journey. He was dissuaded from doing so by the residents of Esmeralda, who, knowing both the route and the seasonal variations in the river, assured him that the trip would be impossible at that time of the year (Schomburgk, 1840 :244).

Richard Spruce ascended the Paciba River, a branch of the Casiquiare Canal that has its source near the Mavaca River, in 1854 and found the upper reaches of the river inhabited by several Aruak-speaking tribes (1908:425, 427).

The first evidence that the Yąnomamö had penetrated

λ [i.e. Shamatari expansion south of the Orinoco R. - Analyst]

133
139
361
342
245

Fig. 2-1. A Yąnomamö village and plantain garden, aerial view (Tototobi River, Brazil).

487

TRAILS AND TRAVEL. Trails lead out from the village in several directions. Some of them terminate in the gardens that surround the village, but a few of them continue on into the jungle and lead eventually to other villages. The unexperienced eye would not recognize them as trails, as they are hardly more than winding paths through brush, over or around logs, through streams and swamps, and up hills. The Yąnomamö take the most direct route to their destination, regardless of the terrain. A foreigner learns how to recognize a trail only after considerable experience. The most telltale signs are the numerous broken twigs at about knee height left by Yąnomamö travelers who compulsively keep their hands occupied snapping off brush and twigs as they walk. Another sign is the occasional log that is worn smooth from the tread of numerous travelers who prefer to walk along a log rather than go around it.

The most commonly used trail from Kąbawë's village leads to the two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-teri and Mõnariböwei-teri, southwest of Upper Bisasi-teri. Hardly a week goes by in the dry season without a few individuals making a trip from one of these villages to Bisasi-teri or vice versa. A group of young men can make this trip in one day if they walk rapidly and leave early in the morning. Older men, women, and children must plan on a two day journey, as they walk more slowly and rest more frequently. There are a number of temporary shelters along the trail built by previous visitors, so the traveler does not have to spend much time putting one of these into repair should he decide to camp overnight.

[484]

[342]
[485]

/16 cont./

342 In the building method described by me, however, the
174 circular ground-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts.
177 According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical
ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obvi-
[114] ously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in com-

57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

plete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they modeled after the community house of the Xiriána, actually developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts of the caboclos). This is also indicated by the construction of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka,
[184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy, however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show
342 a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why
825

58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

the Surára in the sierra occupy an open maloka and on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

501 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on
484 their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our
491 eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

/16 cont./

484 season, or in case their banks are steep, a tree trunk is simply
491 laid across as a footbridge. To cross small rivers, for example, the Rio Deminisinho, a left tributary of the upper Aracá which empties into it one kilometer beyond the Cachoeira dos Índios, the Surára even use a regular bridge. The Rio Deminisinho is 38 meters wide at the place where it is crossed, and on either side
499 there are steep banks eight meters high. The bridge, which was built here during the summer, when the riverbed was relatively shallow, consists of 12 crossed tree-trunks 12-14 meters long, which were rammed into the riverbed. Over the places where they crossed, two thinner trunks were laid next to each other and fastened with liana lashings. At the projecting ends of the supporting posts, lianas form a sort of railing. Since they hang very loosely, however, they can scarcely offer a grip. To secure the bridge, both ends have been additionally anchored to thick trees by means of lianas. Because of this, the construction looks like a hanging bridge at first glance. Since it is one meter higher than the banks, however, small rung-ladders 60 centimeters wide are attached at either side and fastened with liana lashings.

484 While I always had to fight with great difficulty to keep my
491 balance in crossing this and other tree-trunk bridges, the Indians,
[481] men, women, and children, always strode across effortlessly, even when they were carrying a great deal of baggage. This may be connected with the fact that they hardly place their feet outward at all, so that one might almost believe them parallel (Ill. 17) (59).

[114]
[141]

59. There are similar accounts by Crevaux with regard to the Oiana /Oyana/ (Rukuien /Rucuyen/, Roucouyennes). The investigator sought the reasons for this and believed he found them in the pelvis. The white women, too, he said, more than the men, walk with their feet placed inward, because their pelvis is wider. On account of the foot position, he concludes that the Indians also have a wider pelvis (Crevaux, 1875, p. 255).

Surára
Pakidái
Sanema

/17/

491
499
184

These bridges are nothing new, for they were already mentioned in similar form by Alexander von Humboldt from the Raudal de Guaharibos (60). An absolutely classic description of

60. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 111, 112, 119.

this method of construction observed among the Guaharibo is given by Chaffanjon: "Finally, toward half-past four in the evening we discover a sort of lake with a rayol, at the end of which some branches, regularly placed across the stream, attract our attention; planted between crevices in the rocks, they form a foot-bridge. For constructions of this type, the Indians wait until the river is very low. They look for branches or young trunks of single growth, such as are often encountered in the forest. The thickness varies from 12 to 15 centimeters in diameter, the length differs according to the depth of the water. The posts which we examine do not exceed four meters in length; they are, like all the branches, either broken off or burned; none bears any trace of ax or knife. The supports in an X, set at intervals, have their forks joined by cross-pieces both at the lower part and at the upper part. The whole is firmly fastened with very resistant lianas. In order to make the supports planted in the crevices or between the rocks more secure, they are tied to trees along the bank, which gives them the appearance of a hanging bridge. The Indians walk along the two lower cross-pieces and use the upper one as a handrail" /translated from the French/ (61). Such bridges

491
184
171

61. Chaffanjon, 1889, p. 311 and illustration, p. 309.

are further documented by Koch-Grünberg for the Taulipáng (62)

62. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 78 and Ill. 6.

and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

Avake 555

/186 cont./ Y 114 797 162

indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1942, p. 87) they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

/187/ Y 162 167 114 This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history [361] Y of the Yanoama. Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Pumpirí, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present [167] A volume only in the last decades. The marginal tribes, such as [648] the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Uraricuera River starts. Y 101

According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail. • 491 241

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 266

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491 494

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista." They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 411

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

supple wood and well over six feet long, it is very powerful. With it the Waïka can shoot an arrow more than a hundred yards and can hit a *paujil*—a bird about the size of a turkey—at forty yards. Normally two or three arrows are carried and they are as long as, if not longer than, the bow itself. The shafts are made of reed which, Cardona said, is specially grown for the purpose on their plantations, and are feathered by falcon's feathers. The feathers are meticulously tied in a near-perfect spiral with thread of forest cotton or morisco palm fibre. Each arrow has a different head specially adapted to a particular purpose. Spare arrow-heads are carried in a quiver in which also is carried fire-making material to protect it from the damp.

The quiver is a simple bamboo case to which are also tied a firestick and a number of little knives made from the incisors of a large rodent called a capybara. It is carried on the back by means of a string slung round the forehead.

Such comprise the simple impedimenta of the Waïka on his journeys through the forest. The women, who accompany their mates on their many ceaseless wanderings, presumably have their own burdens to carry, but we saw nothing of them until we visited our first native village on the next day.

As we went up-river we came across the remains of a rude bridge which had formerly spanned the two hundred yards of river and which had been carried away by the flood waters. It was the biggest bridge we had seen although we had passed a number of lesser ones fashioned of lianas spanning the tributaries. On the bank where the bridge had been were some twenty natives and a handful of children.

"*Apo! Shori! Apo!*" they greeted us.

We knew from Butrón that, though his men were accustomed to replenish their banana stocks at this place, they had so far never been allowed to visit the village hidden somewhere in the forest.

The Waïka lives on wild fruits, fish, meat and the produce of plantations adjacent to his villages. Most of his time he spends wandering in the forest and his fleeting appearances at his village occur usually only when natural resources fail or when he has to defend himself against an enemy horde. He knows

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 266

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491 494

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista." They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 411

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

Surára
Pakidái

/16 cont./

484 season, or in case their banks are steep, a tree trunk is simply
491 laid across as a footbridge. To cross small rivers, for example, the Rio Deminisinho, a left tributary of the upper Aracá which empties into it one kilometer beyond the Cachoeira dos Índios, the Surára even use a regular bridge. The Rio Deminisinho is 38 meters wide at the place where it is crossed, and on either side
499 there are steep banks eight meters high. The bridge, which was built here during the summer, when the riverbed was relatively shallow, consists of 12 crossed tree-trunks 12-14 meters long, which were rammed into the riverbed. Over the places where they crossed, two thinner trunks were laid next to each other and fastened with liana lashings. At the projecting ends of the supporting posts, lianas form a sort of railing. Since they hang very loosely, however, they can scarcely offer a grip. To secure the bridge, both ends have been additionally anchored to thick trees by means of lianas. Because of this, the construction looks like a hanging bridge at first glance. Since it is one meter higher than the banks, however, small rung-ladders 60 centimeters wide are attached at either side and fastened with liana lashings.

484 While I always had to fight with great difficulty to keep my
491 balance in crossing this and other tree-trunk bridges, the Indians,
[481] men, women, and children, always strode across effortlessly, even when they were carrying a great deal of baggage. This may be connected with the fact that they hardly place their feet outward at all, so that one might almost believe them parallel (Ill. 17) (59).

[114]
[141]

59. There are similar accounts by Crevaux with regard to the Oiana /Oyana/ (Rukuien /Rucuyen/, Roucouyennes). The investigator sought the reasons for this and believed he found them in the pelvis. The white women, too, he said, more than the men, walk with their feet placed inward, because their pelvis is wider. On account of the foot position, he concludes that the Indians also have a wider pelvis (Crevaux, 1875, p. 255).

/17/

491
489
184

These bridges are nothing new, for they were already mentioned in similar form by Alexander von Humboldt from the Raudal de Guaharibos (60). An absolutely classic description of

60. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 111, 112, 119.

this method of construction observed among the Guaharibo is given by Chaffanjon: "Finally, toward half-past four in the evening we discover a sort of lake with a rayol, at the end of which some branches, regularly placed across the stream, attract our attention; planted between crevices in the rocks, they form a foot-bridge. For constructions of this type, the Indians wait until the river is very low. They look for branches or young trunks of single growth, such as are often encountered in the forest. The thickness varies from 12 to 15 centimeters in diameter, the length differs according to the depth of the water. The posts which we examine do not exceed four meters in length; they are, like all the branches, either broken off or burned; none bears any trace of ax or knife. The supports in an X, set at intervals, have their forks joined by cross-pieces both at the lower part and at the upper part. The whole is firmly fastened with very resistant lianas. In order to make the supports planted in the crevices or between the rocks more secure, they are tied to trees along the bank, which gives them the appearance of a hanging bridge. The Indians walk along the two lower cross-pieces and use the upper one as a handrail" /translated from the French/ (61). Such bridges

491
184
171

61. Chaffanjon, 1889, p. 311 and illustration, p. 309.

are further documented by Koch-Grünberg for the Taulipáng (62)

62. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 78 and Ill. 6.

and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

/467 cont./

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.
[241] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in
[482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the house. They may call upon the women to help them when the game has been brought into the vicinity.

[226] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The women fish with macanas and with baskets.

● [499] The men build the bridges.

[342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the
[482] settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family. For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own platanos. The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

/152/

574 628 721 [262] [411] The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti accepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 731 [499] The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food. They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 411 721 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was abandoned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

166 722 628

One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

000

722 /152 cont./ One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,
499 the Bisheasetjeti also crossed; the bridge was /153/ cut by them near the bank. Guards were placed to keep a lookout for the enemy, should he try to repair the bridge and cross it.

727 [721] Much after this, a raid was made on Liacoatjeti by some of the Bisheasetjeti and the Majecotjeti /sic/; "Jaiyeota," one of the Majecototjeti, shot one of them and killed him. A boy of four or five years of age was captured. One of the men from Majecototjeti, "Ushiu," took the boy and cared for him. All of the children were bothering the little one, calling him enemy and acting as if they were going to shoot him. One day, after this had gone on for a while, a young man from Bisheasetjeti shot the child near the water spring. He shot the arrow so hard that it passed through him. Ushiu gave the child a funeral, but none of the other inhabitants of the aldea came to the "lloro" /weeping/, because they said, "After all, he was an enemy."

628 721 578 [164] [361] The two aldeas had some bad times together. Often, when they were in the forest, they had to come running back, feeling sick. Frequently their ribs were showing. During this time several died of a strange fever which kept the victim hot day and night without relief. Others were very sick with the fever, and it was feared that they would also die. The two aldeas of Bisheasetjeti and Majecototjeti lived together for a year, until those of Bisheasetjeti made a new "farm" /granja/ down the Orinoco, on the other side of the Manaviche River. When they separated, friction caused by some women had reached such a point that the Majecototjeti summoned the Macolimutjeti, and both of them made a raid on Bisheasetjeti to recover the wife of a Majecototjeti who had gone to live with a Bisheasetjeti. One family did not take part in this raid and by its friendly and frequent visits prevented the two aldeas from shooting at each other.

628 578 837 Another incident of friction was that a young man from Majecototjeti stole a Bisheasetjeti woman from her husband. When the husband had almost persuaded his wife to come back with him, the Majecototjeti man shot him in the back with a bone-pointed arrow and kept the woman. The Bisheasetjeti man was seriously wounded, but recovered.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

He told us that the

499 building of their crude bridges is a lengthy and laborious business and quite impossible when the river was in spate.

123 We returned to the river to find that those we had left behind had removed the boats to a safe distance—a wise precaution, since it was desirable not to excite the greed of the natives. Many an expedition, we knew, had failed through being looted because this elementary precaution had [648] been overlooked. Furthermore, such incidents can lead to serious conflict, as Cardona had learnt on more than one occasion. When dealing with such primitives, caution, good humour and nursery diplomacy are the essential safeguards.

As we pressed on up-river other Waikas hailed us from the banks. We did not stop, nor did we make any presents of *manioc*, knives and machetes to those who followed us, running through the undergrowth, and gesticulating and shouting as they ran. We spent the night in the shelter of a rocky island they could not reach.

The Guaharibo Rapids

123 By now the river's width was no more than a hundred and 133 fifty yards. Though its course no longer wound as it had, the current was no less strong. Rocky banks that plunged steeply into the water and boulders across the river-bed created violent currents and our engines had to go full out to give us the least headway. If the water had been low we should have been able to pass only with the greatest of difficulty. We passed through one such rocky race which Butrón said was the Guaharibo Rapids. Actually they were the Yamaraquin Rapids marked on Hamilton Rice's map and characterized by a huge pyramid-shaped reef. Butrón called the rapids, where we intended setting up Base Camp 2, the Waika Rapids, distinguished, so he said, by a group of islands of rock and sand, of which two were comparatively large. These were mentioned by both Rice and Dickey, who called them the Gua- [131] haribo Rapids. Rice gave their precise position as Latitude 2° 18' 18" N., Longitude 64° 38' 46" W. We arrived there at eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th.

484 152 The jungle provides a number of hazards to the barefoot traveler in that most species of palm have long, sharp spines protruding from their trunks or leaf stems. The most common and recurrent injury the Yąnomamö sustain is thorns in the feet. A party of ten men can rarely travel an hour without one of them stopping to extract a thorn from his foot. This is always accompanied by hisses and clicks of pain on the part of the victim, who gouges the thorn out with either an arrow point or another thorn. Their feet have thick calluses on them, but because the trails frequently cross streams and swamps, the calluses soften and are easily pierced by thorns.

Another, but rarer, hazard is snakes.[2] There are always a few cases of snake bite in each village every year, although few of them are fatal. Most snake-bite victims recover from the wound with no ill side effects. I treated two cases of snake bite that were like this. But a few bites are severe enough to cause the loss of a limb. One of my better acquaintances, a young man of some thirty years, lost a leg because of a snake bite when he was about fifteen years old, and will spend the rest of his life hopping on one leg, a form of locomotion he has mastered so thoroughly that he almost manages to keep up with the group when they visit other villages.

484 221 629 132 Most of the intervillage traveling is done from September through April, the dry season. For the remainder of the year the trails, or substantial portions of them, are underwater. At this time the rains are frequent and heavy, and the small streams that can be easily crossed on foot in the dry season become impassable torrents. Small lakes replace the marshy low ground, and communication between villages all but ceases. As the Yąnomamö are an inland people and avoid locating their villages near large streams, all travel is done on foot, and each village becomes an isolated entity at the peak of the wet season (June).[3] If the group must travel, it will make simple vine and pole bridges over the smaller streams. A pair of slender poles is stuck into the river and crossed to form an X-frame. Vines are used to lash the poles together where they intersect, and another pole is laid from the bank to the X-frame, also secured by vines. Then another pair of poles is stuck into the stream and lashed to form another X-frame. The long pole is then extended out further from the bank, and so on, until the stream is bridged. A vine railing is attached to the protruding members of the X-frames. The bridges usually last only a short time. The first heavy rain will swell the stream and the current will wash it away.

484 487 499

323 TECHNOLOGY Much of Yąnomamö technology is like the pole-and-vine bridge: crude, but very effective, and not destined to last for any great period of time. The only durable artifact produced is a crude, poorly fired clay pot. It is nearly an inch thick at the bottom and tapers to almost nothing at the brim. Consequently, it breaks very [562] easily. For this reason, women, regarded as clumsy, are rarely allowed to touch or handle them. When the clay pots are used, the men do the cooking, as, for example, during feasts. The pot is made by the coil technique: The untempered clay is kneaded to the proper consistency by hand, rolled into long, slender ropes, and these, in turn, placed on top of each other to form a continuous rope of clay. The coils are then scraped flat so that the interior and exterior of the pot are smooth. The conical-shaped pot is allowed to dry in the shade, then fired by placing brush and wood over it. The end product is

[165] [2]Two percent of all adult deaths are due to snake bite; 54 percent are due to malaria, and other epidemic diseases (Chagnon 1966) and 24 percent of adult males die in warfare.

[361] [3]The Yąnomamö began moving their villages out to navigable rivers after 1955. Up to that time there was only one village, Mahekodo-teri, located on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River.

/16 cont./

342 177 199 [114] In the building method described by me, however, the circular ground-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts. According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obviously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in com-

57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

plete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they modeled after the community house of the Xiriána, actually developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts of the caboclos). This is also indicated by the construction of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka, [184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy, however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show 342 825 a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why

58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

the Surára in the sierra occupy an open maloka and on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

● 501 484 491 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

Guahibo SC14
Yabarana SS22
Panare SS21
Sanema
Saliva SS15
Makiritare SS20

/11 cont./

All these basins, without exception, pour their great volumes of water into the Orinoco, which, like a gigantic arc, runs across the north of the Escudo de Guayana, thus enclosing all the native tribes studied here and marking the farthermost boundary and end of their primitive world (cf. ethnic map /see p. 5 /). /12/ /Map appears here./

/13/ It is interesting to point out that the extensive fluvial network of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone does not serve the majority of the tribes as a means of communication or as an outstanding source of food. The Panare of the basin of the Cuchivero do not travel by river, and on the Cuchivero we found only one dugout /bongo/, which was used solely for crossing the river. In general the curiara /dugout canoe/ seems to be a foreign element in Panare culture, introduced recently by the Creoles. Nor did the Yabarana of the basin of the Ventuari use the curiara, and they recently learned from their neighbors, the Makiritare, the art of making them. For the Sanemá the river represents an obstacle rather than a means of communication, and they use rafts in order to cross it. At the present time, only the groups who live in symbiosis with the Makiritare make curiaras, but there is not the slightest doubt that this industry was adopted recently. The Sanemá spend less time at fishing than do the Panare, Yabarana, and Guahibo, since the latter too are among those Indians oriented toward the land, with its roads, rather than toward the rivers and navigation. The only real voyagers of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone are the Piaroa and the Makiritare, and the fame of the latter exceeds that of the former.

Culturally, the Makiritare belong to a Neo-Indian level, as do their cousins of the same linguistic affiliation, the Panare and the Yabarana. It is interesting, however, to call attention to the fact that to speak of Caribe /Carib/ Indians is not the same eo ipso as speaking of voyaging Indians. There are Neo-Indians who are ignorant of the curiara and who developed agriculture, not in a Meso-Indian culture (of fishermen and voyagers), but basically on top of a Paleo-Indian culture (of hunters). Meso-Indian cultures, such as that of the Warao, for example, and possibly that of the Piaroa, represent a specialization of the Paleo-American who was

[Text continues on P. 4]

/200 cont./

162 C. Sanemá of the upper Ventuari (Nabudub)

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Wewẽña	50	The Nabudub of Ihuduña frequently move between the Ventuari and the Erebato.
2. Wadekuña	80	
3. Mahanaña	50	
4. Ihuduña	200	
Total	380 estimated individuals.	

161 According to this demographic estimation there are approximately 2,150 Sanemá in the zone of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura. We do not know how many Sanemá live on the Padamo.

342 We have seen four different types of houses among the Sanemá: (a) windscreen type, (b) triangular in shape and Makiritare system, (c) rectangular, and (d) oblong. We have found types (a) and (b) together in the same encampment on the Ventuari, facing Caño Mosquito.

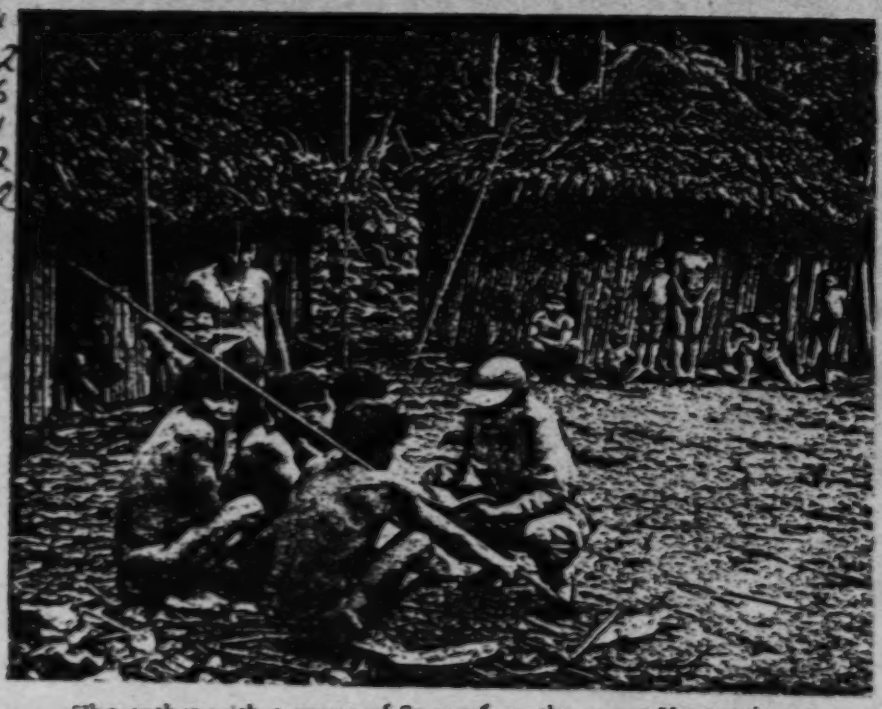
342 361 [501] [137] [262] On our trip through that place we saw two Sanemá rafts moored on the bank of the Ventuari. We later climbed a cliff and followed a path which led us to a conuco of the Sanemá. At one end there was a gigantic algarroba tree laden with fruit. Judging from the skins scattered on the ground, we realized that the Sanemá had consumed a great quantity. Near the tree, which in times past offered them /201/ its generous shade, we found a desolate Sanemá encampment. It was made up of five triangular huts and two of the windscreen type. Both types of construction seem to be typical of the Yanoama and are remarkable for their size, somewhat small. For the construction of a triangular cabin six poles 1.60 meters long are needed to serve as posts or supports. Three pairs are made out of them, each bound at the upper end with a bejuco, and with some 30 centimeters left free in order to form a fork. The lower parts of the poles are stuck into the ground at a distance of half a meter. These forks in tepee form with a separation of two meters form a regular triangle. Three sticks are later placed on the forks, and these support the roof made of platanillo /Musaceae/ leaves. A similar rancho was described by Koch-Grünberg (1923, Pl. 43).

342

[824]

4: Wilbert--72 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

114
342
516
291
142
309



The author with a group of Sanemá on the upper Ventuari.

501

Sanemá raft.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

approaching, and barked in astonishment: the Indians made signs, urging us not to shoot them. The otter is an animal with a strong dose of magic in his veins, and to kill him would be asking for prolonged rain. 8-80

From the Mari we passed into its smallest tributary, the Uaina, and thence into the insignificant Moné—a yellow, stagnant stream, perpetually overgrown, like a green tunnel. Great tree-trunks blocked our passage and the Indians clambered out armed with axes to deal with them. Sometimes a trunk would lie just a few inches under the surface, so that it was impossible to hack through it. With the motor at full throttle we would literally skip over such obstacles, taking care to hoist up the outboard just in time to avoid smashing it against the submerged trunk. Each time we rounded a curve the Indians waved their arms and announced the Moné landing ahead; but when, on the second evening of our journey up the Moné, the landing did come into view at last, no one noticed. It was only by pure chance that we didn't overshoot the spot.

Old ruined huts, mouldering and full of spiders, crickets, and beetles, littered the Moné beach. We had to build fresh ones. The others we burned as firewood. The next day we set out through the forest with the first boat. But for all the vast local knowledge of the Sape men, we went up the wrong stream! And after a long day of gruelling effort the canoe ended up in a dry little stream-bed where, so far as we could judge, we were at least two kilometres further up the Kupãpaipà.

Our plight was serious. A boat weighing a thousand pounds couldn't possibly be got down this sandy ditch. Far the better plan would be to turn back and retrace our steps, in spite of the difficulty, and lose two days. But for the moment we decided to do nothing, leaving the craft where she was, wedged between a tree-trunk and a mudbank.

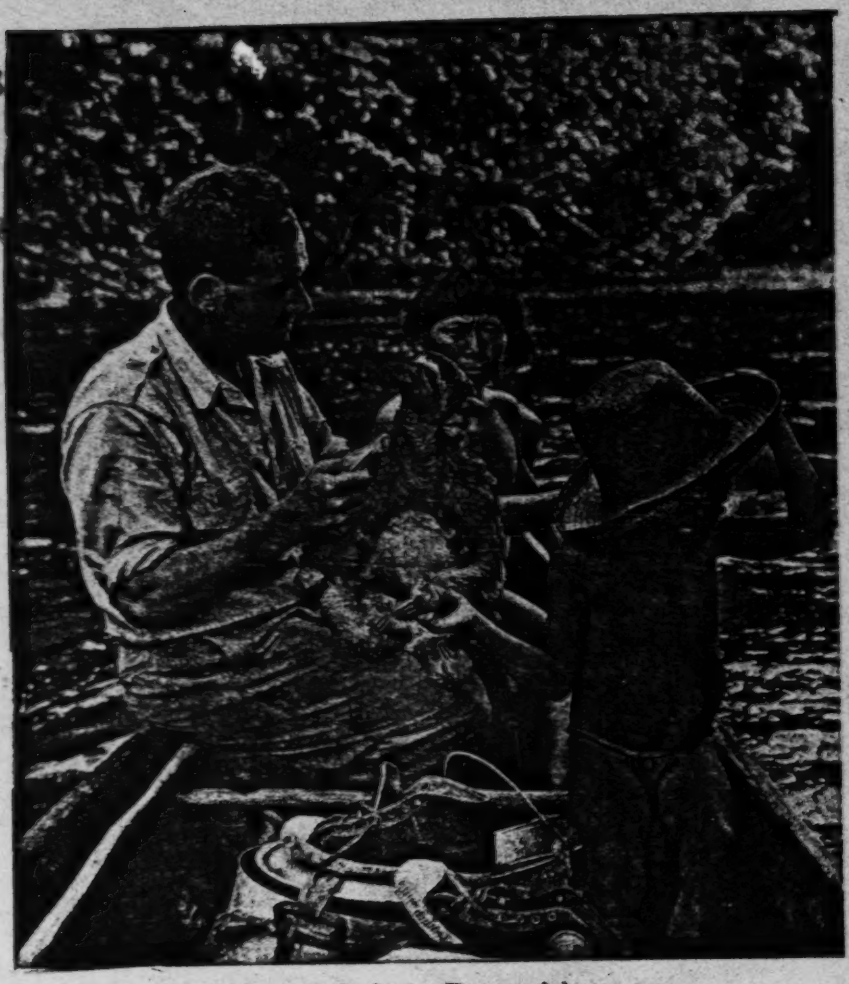
The *Pirata*, without the misleading help of the Sape guides, made her way triumphantly straight to the right beach without any loss of time at all. 123 *

While we were coming back from the Kupãpaipà to the [illegible] on the Moné the Sape men heard something in the distance which alarmed them: other Indians were approaching from the direction of the Mari. We very soon met them. They were hauling a little canoe, the common small boat of Guiana known as a *curiara*. It was a flimsy affair, which slipped along over the poles we had laid down for our own boat as if it was on water. Sitting in it was a girl with a child like some horrible spider clinging to her back. The boy was a mere [501] [854]

[pp. 1-24 not processed]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123
142
136
291
302
●501

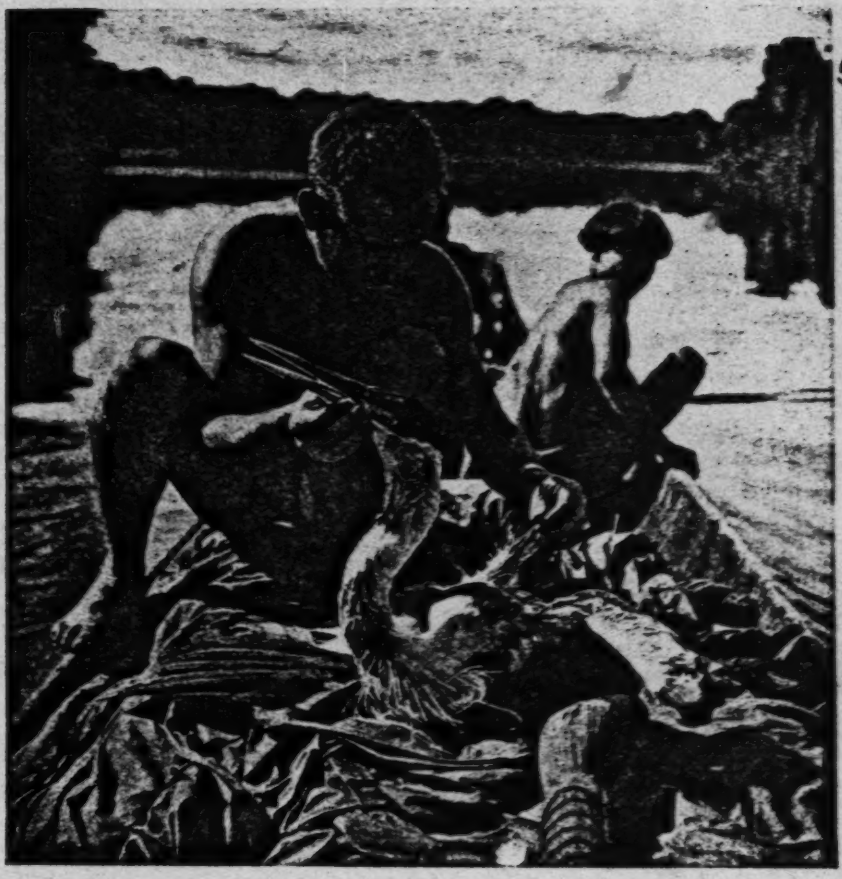


14. On the river Wagne: a sloth.

[p. 96 - D]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

136
501
1231

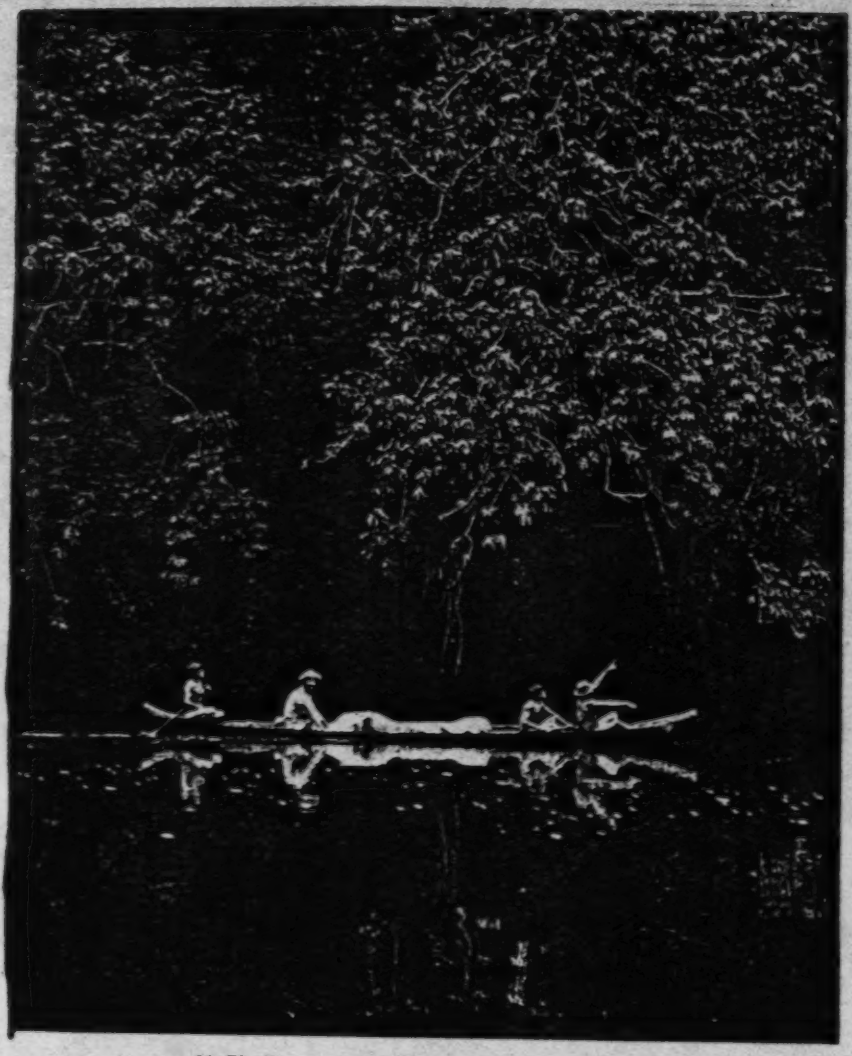


The hero.

[p. 96-G]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

133
501



26. *The Mavaari is quiet enough in its upper reaches.*

[p. 144 -E]

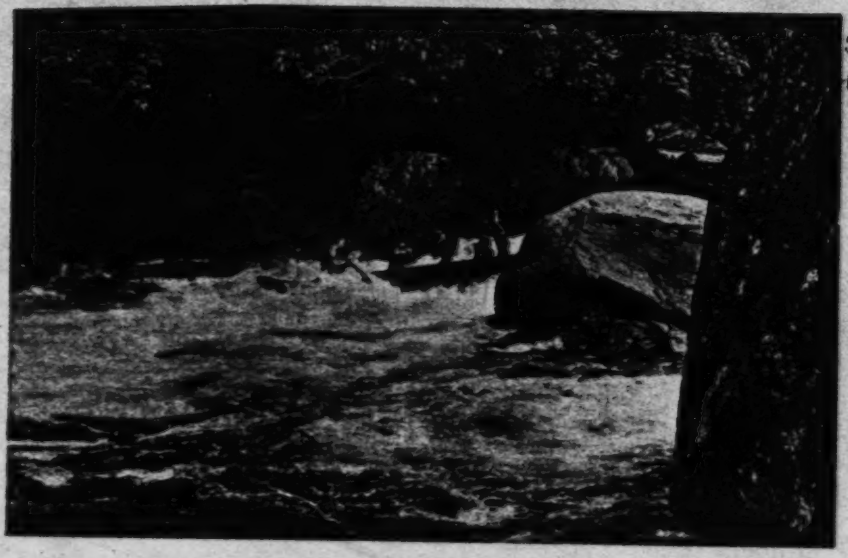
6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

501
483

47. *A masterpiece of boat design takes the mountain road.*

[p. 192 - F]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema



502
133

48. A dramatic moment on the Ventuari.

49. The end of the rapids.

501 ●
502
133

[b. 192 -G]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Uaca

123

This fantastic appellation sounded quite harmonious in the forest, even to Indian ears, and brought Dolfuss' followers out of their concealment, splashing through the water towards us.

[131] [101] Dolfuss belonged to the Shirians of the Uaka tribe. These are scattered over the territory bounded by the Matacuni, the Padamo and the tributary streams of the Upper Ventuari. They are similar in appearance to the Pulipuli people, though rather more savage. They were very timid, and full of references to the Guayca, who they said were very active in this area, particularly in the parts we had just come from.

With Dolfuss there was an old man who was always either squatting down or else propping himself up on one leg; and two dour, surly-looking boys, who kept well away from our guns with a gleam of terror in their eyes. The next morning brought a whole host, along with women and children too, and of course we had to let them all examine our beards and rub themselves against them, and investigate other more detailed peculiarities of our anatomy. By urging the whole crowd of them on with sweeping gestures, we managed to get on our way very quickly, and a few hours later arrived on the banks of the Ocamo, a smallish river but strangely resembling the Upper Merevari. From the last high point we had been able to make out some huge flat-topped massifs, blue in the haze of distance, which must certainly have belonged to the Duida-Marahuaca group. For a moment, we hoped to come out on a patch of savannah land where we should be able to dry the damp forest mould out of ourselves and our belongings. But the Shirians told us there was no savannah in these parts.

[361] [501] [342] [162] [165] The Uaka huts were on the side of a hill, a hundred yards from the right bank of the river, which we crossed by means of a length of rotten wood, shaped like a canoe. There were three buildings, each with the single-span sloping roof, very humble affairs, so low-pitched that inside them one risked getting a beam in one's eye at any moment. There were about fifty of these people, and among them we noticed many who had reached a considerable age, which is unusual. There must have been some aspect of the Ocamo region which favoured longevity in the inhabitants. There was an 'ape-man' too—an old, solitary fellow, almost dumb, who came up to us with gurgles of amazement, not daring to touch us. However, he took one of the axes when we gave it to him and with the aid of some of the youngsters started making us a cabin.

Life with the Shirians was made extremely difficult by their petulant ways

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20
Uaca

and by their squalor—which we just had to accept. However, better that than our last two lonely nights over again, and our two days' rest here did us good.

Plans for continuing our journey did not go as smoothly as we should have wished. Not one of the Uaca was inclined to go down the Ocamo with us. It seemed there were a lot of Guayca Indians along the river, and that there weren't sufficient canoes. Apart from the old log which had enabled us to cross the river, there was only one little craft, and this had a gaping hole in the bows, stopped up with a great lump of clay to make it watertight. The only way open to us otherwise lay westwards towards the Matacuni: the Uaka declared that we could get there with only one *maneshi* (overnight stop). We should have to climb a mountain, but it was not high and there was a pass. On the Matacuni there were other Uaka, and then, higher up—if we understood them correctly—there were some Ukumatari, savage and suspicious, but not bad men. It didn't take us long to come to a decision, and we started out for the Matacuni.

The first day's march brought us, in the evening, to a col between two great round humps of granite, from which we could make out, to the west, the vertical wall of the Duida mountains. We looked longingly in their direction, knowing that at their foot lay the savannah land of Esmeralda and the great Orinoco.

But the Matacuni Uaka seemed equally reluctant to take us down their river as far as the Orinoco, and they too gave as a reason the eternal fear of the Guayca. To go any further westwards, relying on the problematical tracks, seemed too difficult a project, and one that held out little hope of success. True, we might reach the Padamo, but if no-one was willing to take us down that river either, where were we to make for then? We couldn't keep trekking over the whole of the *Territorio Amazonas* (the southern tip of Venezuela) from river to river until we got to the Orinoco. There was only one thing to do, however paradoxical it sounded: follow the Matacuni right up to its source. The Uaka were prepared, for a suitable fee, to escort us there, doing the trip in ten days. We could then cross the mountains, which seemed to be inhabited by other Uaka, and descend one or other of the tributaries of the Ventuari watershed. This route bristled with difficulties: from the Matacuni rapids to the problems we should have to face on the northern cordilleras, but these caused the Uaka no sinking of the heart and they were ready to tackle them. They told us too that when we reached the highlands by this route we should run into the Makiritari tracks leading from the Ventuari-Erbato-Merevari territory to the

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

●501
516

142
482
411
291
←

142
302
291
→

TOP: One evening, thirteen Guaharibos from the Padamo arrived. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM LEFT: Guaharibo Indian. Notice the length of his bow and arrows. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Guaharibo woman. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p.64-B]

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

101 Guiano-Amazonas district of Venezuela, is neither so simple nor clear-cut as it at first appears. None of the Indians of the Guianian highlands are natural settlers. The more primitive groups, who live entirely from cropping the forest, fishing and hunting, are compelled to lead wandering lives; and those who practise agriculture and live in villages are ever ready for [167] a change of scene. These things, allied to an ingrained migratory instinct, lead them to keep moving about the country throughout their lives.

More Guaharibos from the Padamo

123 On the afternoon of May 25th another party of Guaharibos arrived at Esmeralda. I was approaching the jetty in one of the boats when I heard Francisco shouting from the other bank. It was nothing new to hear Francisco's bellowing; whenever he had killed a tapir that was too heavy for him to carry alone, or when the day's bag was too big to be loaded on his minute *curiara*, he would give tongue in this manner. I turned back to join him and as I did so he pointed with a paddle to an Indian craft which till then had been hidden from me by the bank-side vegetation. I steered towards it, standing up in the boat and making gestures of welcome and friendship. For an answer two men stood up timidly in their • [501] boat as I went over to them and circled round them. Their craft, which rocked buoyantly in my wash, was built of a single strip of bark. It was similar to the one the children had left behind them, but bigger and contained thirteen people. Then I led them back to the landing-stage.

The official reception of these people we left to Butrón, who had a wonderful gift for this sort of thing. He quickly had some machetes brought out as gift-offerings. Of the boat's crew nine were young men in their teens, two of whom had their faces blackened with charcoal. Among them was Mopare, the eldest of our first visitors. Two children of about six and two young women tried to efface themselves against the bottom [291] of the boat. The youths wore some cotton material round their middles which was secured back and front by a belt of string. The women wore a sort of fringed apron no more than a few inches across.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guahariˈbo

123 [301] [501]

than a few inches across. All had their ears pierced by sticks slightly thicker and longer than a cigarette. Their paddles were short and as crudely constructed as the boat itself, some being roughly rounded and others no more than discs lashed with lianas to a pole handle.

To these primitives we must have appeared a strange collection. Who are these beings—they must have asked themselves—who go about dressed, shod and bearded, and who point queer things at us which go "click"? And the many boats lined up there, that go so fast and make much noise! Mopare had probably told them wonderful tales, but since he had left the camp when it was still in embryo, he was doubtless as much amazed by its present size as the others. There was a moment of hesitancy and then Butrón held out a machete and said: "*Shori! Shori! Noji!*" He told us this meant "friend" or "relative". In exchange for the machete, he demanded the man's bow and arrows. The size of the bow surprised me, since it was taller than the man himself. One by one the Indians disembarked and surrendered their arms in exchange for machetes. All except a fine, well-built brave who seemed to be their leader and who remained sitting in the stern of the boat, watchful and silent. The women, still cowering, stayed near him. At last, seeing his companions on shore and our attitude giving no cause for mistrust, he was reassured. Courteously and with dignity he held out a hand to the women, who were still apprehensive.

"Padamo?" we asked him.

"Padamu, Padamu," he replied.

[194]

The final vowel, nasal and strongly accentuated, lies between "o" and "ou". The word is indigenous and has been the river's official nomenclature since the time of Diez de la Fuente.

"Guaharibo?"

Another nasal sound which cannot be transcribed followed. It was a sort of grunt and could have meant "Yes". And then: "Guaharibo".

"Waïka?"

[648]

A worried look, followed by the gesture of bending a bow.

"Waïka—pfft! Waïka—pfft!"

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that I had to become very much like the Yąnomamö to be able to get along with them on their terms: sly, aggressive, and intimidating. 114 123

Had I failed to adjust in this fashion I would have lost six months of supplies to them in a single day or would have spent most of my time ferrying them around in my canoe or hunting for them. As it was, I did spend a considerable amount of time doing these things and did succumb to their outrageous demands for axes and machetes, at least at first. More importantly, had I failed to demonstrate that I could not be pushed around beyond a certain point, I would have been the subject of far more ridicule, theft, and practical jokes than was the actual case. In short, I had to acquire a certain proficiency in their kind of interpersonal politics and to learn how to imply subtly that certain potentially undesirable consequences might follow if they did such and such to me. They do this to each other in order to establish precisely the point at which they cannot goad an individual any further without precipitating retaliation. As soon as I caught on to this and realized that much of their aggression was stimulated by their desire to discover my flash point; I got along much better with them and regained some lost ground. It was sort of like a political game that everyone played, but one in which each individual sooner or later had to display some sign that his bluffs and implied threats could be backed up. I suspect that the frequency of wife beating is a component of this syndrome. since men can display their ferocity and show others that they are capable of violence. Beating a wife with a club is considered to be an acceptable way of displaying ferocity and one that does not expose the male to much danger. The important thing is that the man has displayed his potential for violence and the implication is that other men better treat him with respect and caution. 114 123 152 [593]

After six months, the level of demand was tolerable in the village I used for my headquarters. The Indians and I adjusted to each other and knew what to expect with regard to demands on their part for goods, favors, and services. Had I confined my fieldwork to just that village alone, the field experience would have been far more enjoyable. But, as I was interested in the demographic pattern and social organization of a much larger area, I made regular trips to some dozen different villages in order to collect genealogies or to recheck those I already had. Hence, the intensity of begging and intimidation was fairly constant for the duration of the fieldwork. I had to establish my position in some sort of pecking order of ferocity at each and every village. 114 121 123

For the most part, my own "fierceness" took the form of shouting back at the Yąnomamö as loudly and as passionately as they shouted at me, especially at first, when I did not know much of their language. As I became more proficient in their language and learned more about their political tactics, I became more sophisticated in the art of bluffing. For example, I paid one young man a machete to cut palm trees and make boards from the wood. I used these to fashion a platform in the bottom of my dugout canoe to keep my possessions dry when I traveled by river. That afternoon I was doing informant work in the village; the long-awaited mission supply boat arrived, and most of the Indians ran out of the village to beg goods from the crew. I continued to work in the village for another hour or so and went down to the river to say "hello" to the men on the supply boat. I was angry when I discovered that the Indians had chopped up all my palm boards and used them to paddle their own canoes[9] across the river. I knew that if 114 123 [799]

[9]The canoes were obtained from missionaries, who, in turn, got them from a different tribe. [501] [439]

276 [412] powder as it dries, the flat side of a stone axe[8] serving as the grinding pestle. The dried, green powder, no more than several tablespoons full, is then swept onto a leaf with a stiff feather. The men then gather around the leaf containing the drug, usually in the late afternoon, and take it by blowing the powder into each other's nostrils (see Fig. 2-3). A small quantity of the powder is introduced into the end of a hollow cane tube some 3 feet long. The tube is then flicked with the forefinger to scatter the powder along its length. One end of the tube is put into the nostril of the man taking the drug, and his helper then blows a strong blast of air through the other end, emitting his breath in such a fashion that he climaxes the delivery with a hard burst of air. Both the recipient and the blower squat on their haunches to do this. The man who had the drug blown into his nostrils grimaces, groans, chokes, coughs, holds his head from the pain of the air blast, and duck-waddles off to some leaning post. He usually receives two doses of the drug, one in each nostril. The recipient usually vomits, gets watery eyes, and develops a runny nose. Much of the drug comes back out in the nasal mucus that begins to run freely after the drug has been administered. Within minutes after the drug has been blown into a man's nose, he begins having difficulties focusing his eyes and starts to act [187] intoxicated. The drug allegedly produces colored visions, especially around the periphery of the visual field, and permits the user to enter into contact with his particular *hekura*, miniature demons that dwell under rocks and on mountains. The man begins to chant to the *hekura* when the drug takes effect, inviting them to come and live in his chest.

245 276 The Yąnomamö also cultivate a tree, *bisiowa*, that produces hallucinogenic seeds. These are prepared in exactly the same manner as the noncultivated drug.

322 396 TROUGHS AND CANOES The Yąnomamö use the bark of another kind of tree to make a trough and a crude canoe, both of which are nearly identical in shape, size, and method of construction. The tree is beaten with clubs to loosen the bark. The bark is then removed in one piece and hauled back to the village. The ends are heated in a fire to make them pliable and folded back to make the ends of the container. They are held firm by lashing two sticks together, pinching the folded bark into a flat-nosed basin. The interior bark surface becomes the exterior surface of the soup container. If the container is to be used as a canoe, a crude framework of sticks is added to the inside, giving • 501 it more stability. The craft is so crude and heavy that the Yąnomamö generally do not use it for any purpose other than the trip for which it was intended, usually a downstream trip, since it would be almost impossible to move against a current in this rough craft. It is easier to walk than to try to pole the canoe upstream. The canoe, hence, is usually discarded after it makes its maiden voyage. Another will be made when it is needed.

415 574 264 The container is pinioned to the ground with stakes if it is to be used as a soup trough. Each time a feast is held, one or more of these bark containers is made in front of the headman's house, filled with the boiled ripe plantain soup, and frequented by the hungry guests, who dip out the soup with gourd spoons. The trough is thrown on the village rubbage heap after the feast is over.

---

[172] [8]They find the stone axes when they make new gardens, explaining that the spirits left them behind for the Yąnomamö to use. This area was occupied in the distant past by tribes whose relationship to the present Yąnomamö is uncertain.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,[3] so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Sharaiwã had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kaobawã was very exhausted from the trip.

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chanted briefly with Kaobawã, explaining that they had reached Patanowã-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowã-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwã of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart.

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwã with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound.

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yanomamö have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwã was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered.

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowã-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowã. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *unokaimou* ceremony.

They were given spaces in Kaobawã's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kaobawã felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowã's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwã of Kaobawã's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowã-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowã-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they

[3] The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kaobawã's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Bisasi-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Bisasi-teri would not borrow it.

/190 cont./

thanks to their firearms. It seems that, as a result of this incident, the Makiritare and the northern group of the Sanemá lived together more peaceably, and today it is rare to find a Makiritare settlement in that zone of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, without a few Sanemá groups in the immediate vicinity.

The clash of the two cultures began a process of progressive acculturation, and the hunters and gatherers of wild plants adopted a superior culture: from then on they would be agriculturalists. Furthermore, the genetic constitution of the two tribes underwent profound changes, and that of the minority group will perhaps be absorbed by the Sanemá in a relatively short period of time.

This process of acculturation and genetic absorption is interesting, for one is in the habit of thinking that the Caribe have always been the victorious and dominant invaders. But in this concrete case the process seems to be working in the opposite direction. The advance of the Sanemá, who adopted, among other things, the art of navigation, has brought about the isolation of the two large Makiritare groups: the Yecuana (Decuana) of the Ventuari and Caura on the one hand, and the Cunuhana of the Cunucunuma on the other. Prior to this, these two groups used to visit each other frequently, their members were related to each other, and strong family ties existed between them. At the present time the Makiritare youths know only partially the rivers and routes of those regions traveled so many times by their fathers, and they travel in small groups, overcome with deep anguish every time that they have to cross the zone occupied by the Sanemá. What was observed on the trip on the upper Ventuari fully confirmed this opinion for us, for there is not the least doubt but that the Makiritare captain, who, together with our five traveling companions, had fought eight years previously against the Sanemá, felt ill at ease on leaving the Makiritare rancherías behind, and his nervousness suddenly increased when one day we came upon a Sanemá raft on the bank of the river. They could not hide their nervousness when inland, in the selva, we came across a conuco and seven houses recently vacated. They always

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 who are always capable of taking it into their heads to walk out just when the expedition has reached the most dangerous point in the whole forest.

Among races less advanced than our own, it is memory, rather than intelligence, that is defective. Indians forget very quickly indeed. Two hours later, Luis Antonio asked for the gun so that he could go and get something for the pot. We still had three cartridges, and the river-bank, at night, is the haunt of a good many unsuspecting animals. I gave him the gun, and the three shots went on a lapa. The beast was far from cleanly killed, but its arrival was providential. It weighed over twenty pounds. We cooked it and ate it that same night, before dawn.

Going down the Merevari in the sunshine was a most pleasant experience and brightened our spirits considerably. When we came to broken water, Solituan, who was just a 'passenger' with no paddle, held back the water with his hands. We tried not to smile: the old fellow was a reclaimed Samatari, a fine type, and we were very fond of him. He still looked on us as superhuman beings and delighted in our physical presence. One or twice, when he thought we weren't looking, we saw him eyeing us with admiration, and expressing it in little guttural grunts.

123 A few hours above Llantariña there are some big rapids where the river 502 takes one roaring plunge down over a granite shelf, while to the left a side-[133] stream makes its way more quietly through a rocky channel where the current is extremely swift but without any sudden falls. Uarema irritably made up his mind: after inspecting both ways of getting down, he decided on the secondary channel, claiming that he and his brother had shot it on one occasion. We disembarked and went down to the foot of the rapids where the rushing waters were swallowed up with a dull rumbling noise in a wide pool of whirling foam. Here we waited for our more daring companions.

Now, as never before, we cursed the accident to our cine-camera. We had no chance of filming that hair-raising descent. The canoe looked quite insignificant at first, up there on the lip of the falls. Then it came on as if it was flying, growing larger with every split second. Halfway down, with Uarema and Hashimo howling in imitation of the Makiritari on similar crazy ventures, the craft began to swing round till it was broadside on to the stream. We gave it up for lost, but as it swept on it glanced past a small rock and righted itself again, bows forward. Seizing their opportunity immediately, the two Indians

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

brought the canoe shooting past us like an arrow, to finish up in the big pool, where some hard paddling brought them to the bank.

At Llantariña we found many signs of Guayca occupation, but there was no one about. Luis Antonio urged us on, as usual, explaining that we should catch up with his people further down, at what he called 'Wide-Beach River'. As it turned out, we found them there, in a rough encampment on Samatari lines—if it hadn't been for the fact that some of the faces were half familiar, and that a few of the men were wearing loincloths of red material we had provided, we might have taken them for Samatari.

'They've come here after the fruit, because it's the dry season.' Such was Luis Antonio's explanation, but it contradicted what he had said not long before, when he had assured us that his people had crossed the river because they feared an enemy attack. 'Much war,' he had told us then. Our man had been trying to give a heroic touch to what was very simple fact: his people were out looking for provisions, they weren't on the war-path at all. But this betrayed their nomadic origin, which Uarema, who knew civilization and knew how far removed the Samatari were from it, was anxious to disclaim and conceal. He had reached that stage of sophistication where he preferred to accept and admit the barbarism of war but not that of hunger.

When we slept with the Uarema Indians that night it was just like being back among the Samatari, such was the resemblance between these tribes and so similar their behaviour. Once more we ate the sacred *soyab* and a whole series of fruits we were familiar with, and went round sampling little leaf-parcels which the Guayca, with genuine hospitality, were pleased to offer us. There was tapir, deer, lapa, guan, curassow, all sizes of fish, bananas, cassava-bread in the Makiritari style, fine pawpaws and little pineapples—the kind that burn the lips.

The effect of such abundance on us was euphoric. Did our euphoria then spread to the Indians, or was it the other way about? A general dance started, with all the old songs, but for us at any rate it was soon over. In our weak state everything began to go round and round before our eyes, and we felt slightly sick. Hashimo was grinning. He looked rather like an animal let out of its cage, as he went about talking to his kinsfolk, who were crowding round like monkeys to listen. He was making gestures towards Enrico and me, evidently telling about various incidents of our captivity. Then I shouted out, in the Samatari medicine-man's tone, and imitating his vocal effects:

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare ff 20

M
123
Y
*123
Y
*123
502
M
123
502
M
Y
[648]

gave him nine metres of cotton cloth and sent him home, highly delighted, with all his companions.

To cross from the Turucuma to the Merevari, according to our reckoning, should take us two days, along a well-beaten track much used by the Indians in their frequent comings and goings between the two rivers. But owing to the excessive weight of our baggage the two days became five, because we had to cover each stage of the journey twice. The Makiritari played another trick on us here: at the last minute they produced a number of Shirians from Pulipuli out of a hat, by some conjuring trick, and made them do the work for them. Naturally the Shirians claimed that we ought to pay them, even if payment only amounted to a small piece of cloth and one machete. Any attempt on our part to put this injustice right would have been over-optimistic, and would probably have had unpleasant consequences: there was nothing to do but submit ourselves once again to the caprice of the 'superior race'.

On the last lap of the portage, when we were waiting for the Indians to come up from the previous halt with the last of the baggage, a horde of savage Shirians came along. At first we were alarmed. To judge by their hair they were Guayca or Samatari, but they presented an extraordinarily squalid appearance. Nevertheless, they must have had some gleam of humanity in them, because the leaders—including two old fellows who looked more like champion cattle than anything else—came forward unarmed, after making a great show of laying their bows and arrows on the ground so that the gesture shouldn't be lost on us. They were Ukumatari, a tribe living in these parts: they had sent their emissaries on a courtesy visit to Kirisochi last year. Little by little they came crowding up on us in our little hut-shelter: we had a job to keep a clear space for ourselves and prevent them from surrounding us completely. At last Pedro came along, having out-distanced the main body of porters, and at the sight of this invasion he looked badly scared.

'Samatari?' he asked, setting down the load he was carrying on his back, and keeping his eyes averted.

'Ukumatari!'—the response came in a chorus from those nearest us, as if they were anxious to make a good impression.

At that, Pedro looked more himself again, and began to eye the Ukumatari-Shirians carefully, seeking for a familiar face. He had lived round the Turucuma for a long time and must have had some previous contacts with these

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare 5520

people. But he didn't seem to recognize anyone in particular, and once more he hung his head and stared down at his feet.

No one seemed to know quite what to do next, so I decided to get what advantage I could out of the situation and suggested to the Ukumatari that they should help carry our baggage as far as the Merevari—which would save us a whole day and night. Their chief—who needed no encouragement to show off his battle scars—agreed to this readily enough, and a few hours later the straggling caravan of the Guayca Expedition arrived on the Upper Merevari bank, near a *maloca* that the Soto Indians occasionally used.

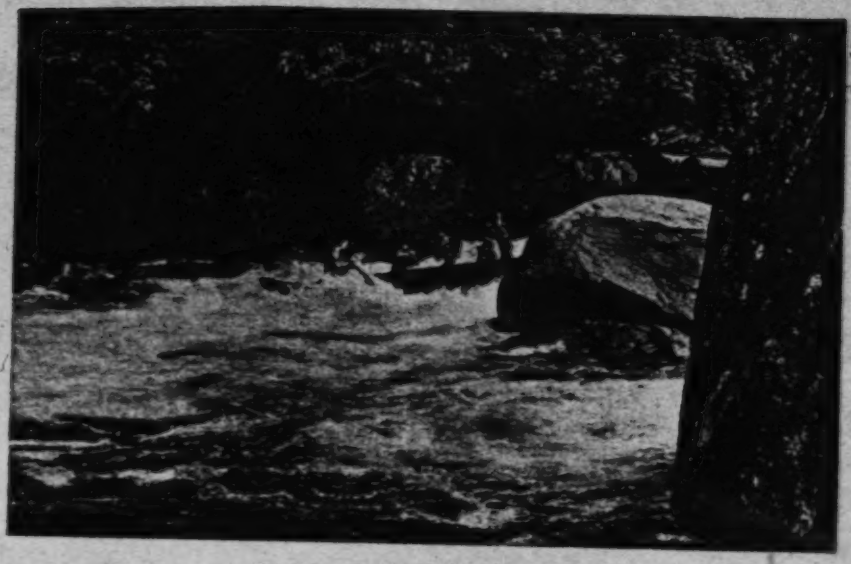
VI

Long and laborious were our attempts to get the loan of three canoes. We had to start by doctoring all the invalids in the area: one of our patients was an old fellow with a terrible sore—evidence of Leishman's Disease—on the back of his hand. The fame of the riches we were carrying was soon spread by our guides, who were quite willing to bask in the reflected glory of it in front of the local people, but at the same time didn't want the Shirians to know too much. The Ukumatari served us well, like the good-natured, willing savages they were, but all they got out of it were two boxes of matches for the whole job: this being what they came along and asked for, after consulting with our own men. We were forced to buy two of the canoes we wanted, although we should only be using them for three days. The Makiritari were after our goods at all costs, and a loan didn't suit their purpose so well.

We were two days on the Merevari and one on the Yemecuni, the right-bank tributary stream whose upper reaches run very close to the Yevarehuri and therefore to the Amazon basin, there being no mountains to intervene. There was nothing of any great interest to record on this part of our journey, as far as the mouth of the Camacuni, a tributary flowing in on the right bank of the Yemecuni. Here there was a Makiritari hut, totally abandoned by its people. It was a big round hut, like Pancho's but better finished, its outer clay wall decorated with geometrical designs painted in red, based on the patterns of some of the basket-work. The *conuco* was a big one, and the tracks leading to it still clear and not overgrown. Pedro told us something about these inhabitants of the Camacuni region. From what we could make out, it seemed they

[PP. 190-192 not Processed]

4: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema



502
133

48. A dramatic moment on the Ventuari.

49. The end of the rapids.

501
502
133

[b. 192 - G]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

RED CLOTH AND GREEN FOREST

The day after our Makiritari crew had gone we betook ourselves and all our bags and baggage into a Shirian settlement. They were friendly people, somewhat scared of us, and attentive to our every move. All in all, we weren't sorry to have missed Frenario, who would undoubtedly have turned out to be some mangy and pretentious imbecile, lording it over everybody like some Asiatic despot. In talking about it to my companion, I summed up my attitude thus: 'If you're going among the Makiritari, take Makiritari with you. If you're going among Shirians, take Shirians.'

The itinerary we wanted to cover wasn't perfectly clear, even to ourselves: after all, our journey was taking us through one of the least explored parts of the world. But it was certain, at any rate, that we should be crossing territory inhabited by Shirians (especially Samatari and Guayca). It was even more certain that we should meet with no Makiritari or other people full of sweetness and light.

That same evening we picked out the men we wanted to take with us—though it would be more correct to say that we had them wished on us, because in this settlement, which lay hidden on the left bank of the Yevarehuri, five or six bends down, there weren't a great many Indians fit for the job. These were peaceable Shirians, but their living conditions were some of the most wretched we'd ever seen. It was really as if by the very fact of having given up their warlike habits, these people had forfeited their right to live as well as possible. From warriors, these people had gone to the extreme and become anchorites.

One man didn't want to come without bringing his wife and child—and the medicine-man!—along too. What was more, as crew-leader we had a man of middle age who was morally head of the little clan, and something more. His wife, with a baby boy at her breast, would also be coming. Then there were two boys, one of fifteen or so, the other of more tender years. Altogether it was the queerest crew two explorers of unknown territories could ever have put their faith in.

To gain time, we wanted to set out straight away, but our people gave us to understand that we must wait a day because they had something important to do. In the meantime, while ostensibly preparing the loads, they were anxious to have a good look at the equipment we were carrying. We let them get on with it, until they came to the pack containing the good old red cloth and other objects which might have been too much of a temptation for them: at this

/469 cont./

513 352 The third essential thing is the hammock. The Guaika must have a hammock in order to sleep at night. In his dwelling he has a cotton hammock or a hammock made of vines split longitudinally. On a hunting trip he may travel with his hammock made out of cords of vine or without carrying any. In this latter case, each night he will make a temporary hammock /470/ out of cords of bark, and, in case he stays in the same general area, he will use it for several nights. Then, in order to travel light, he will abandon this hammock of cords of bark and will go to his home, where his good hammock awaits him.

262 574 [251] The supply of food which the Guaika have is generally good and apparently quite nutritious. From time to time there is a shortage, and they do not accumulate reserves. Shortages are generally not too serious, for which reason they can usually bear the period of privation, subsisting from a neighboring settlement, which will be paid back for the visit when in its turn bad times come to it.

261 726 The complete loss of a "conuco" as a result of being constantly driven out of the area by an enemy is a quite serious matter. We observed a settlement (that of Bichaasatedi) subsisting with great difficulty for a year until its new "conuco" began to produce, after having been driven out of their former area by a hostile group (the one from Liakoatedi).

352 The Guaika do not make seats, but they rarely sit on the ground if they can avoid it. Generally they sit in a hammock or on a piece of firewood.

• 512 On an ordinary day the Guaika awake with the dawn. The wife prepares the roasted platanos for the whole family. Around 7:30 or 8:00 the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement go to work in the "conuco." Those who remain in the settlement in general rest the entire morning. Some few women gather in a party and go out to make firewood out of a dead tree, recently fallen. Those who work in the conuco begin to come back at noon. On the way to the settlement they bathe in the stream. After a brief rest each person roasts a few platanos for his lunch. Then, around 2:00 in the afternoon, the [276] "yopo" is prepared, and it is blown up the noses of many of the

/470 cont./

512 [276] men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] [721] [776] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

[535] [533] [203] [594] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 551 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Until the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yanomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18] Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yanomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shaviwä* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19] Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharariwã, Kaobawã's youngest brother, helped build Kaobawã's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kaobawã's younger wife. Kaobawã's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kaobawã's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yanomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kaobawã's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3-8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

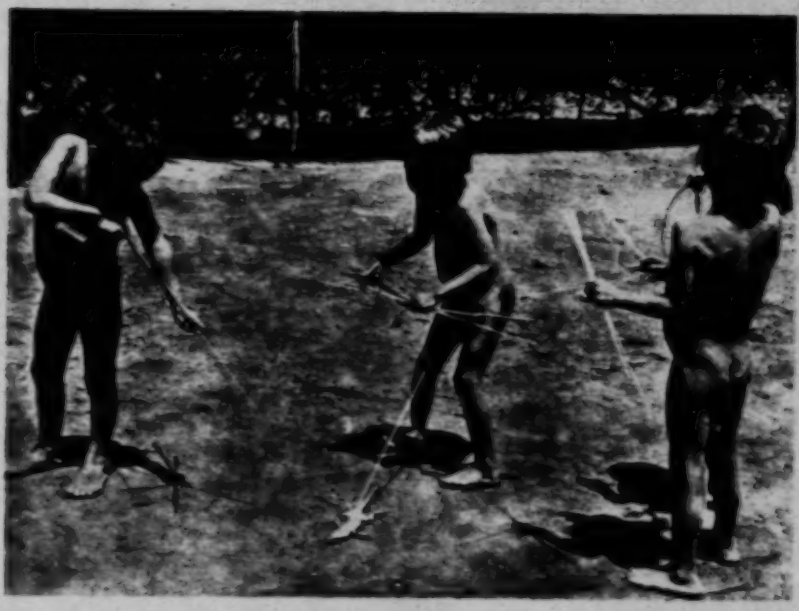


Fig. 3-8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
waica

/46 cont./

352
284

Fig. 18a-b
Detail of the end fastening on a hammock of embira, as well as loop and knot diagram.

352 roving, hunting, and war expeditions as a travel hammock.
[482] Rolled up, it then hangs on their backs, held by a thin neck-cord
of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber). For sleeping they usually
● [513] lie curled up in it; it takes practice and skill, however, not to
fall out.

352 Similar hammocks are also used by the Waikâ, and there,
184 according to Zerries, they are supposed to fulfill certain functions
[114] in the ritual system (246) (247), whereas Schuster says that they

246. Zerries, 1955a, p. 87.

247. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

are made only in an emergency (248). The tree-bast hammocks

248. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

of the Xiriâna are more highly developed, for they have a weft of cotton threads and plant fibers. Ruth Haebler describes two specimens in the ethnological museums in Berlin (VA 61119) and Leipzig (8736) (249).

249. Haebler, 1919, p. 12.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Yara-Yara. These strips are a few centimetres wide, their ends being twisted into a rope and tied to two trees. Less common is the hammock made from the rootstock of an iriartea, the palm which tends to cling slyly to the traveller with its thorns, lurking on the young shoots. The rootstock often lies above ground, twice the length of a man's arm and almost as thick. It is carefully stripped of its spines, which come off easily, and then clubbed to a pulp. In this way the very strong fibres are easily removed. They spread open very readily, and the Samatari are careful not to pulp the ends, leaving seven or eight inches of the rootstock intact so that it can be hung on to any convenient spur on a tree.

Finally there is the hammock de luxe, the one the snobs carry with them because it takes a certain amount of time to make and its more select raw material cannot be found everywhere. This is a superlatively strong liana known in Spanish as *alambrito*, or wire, because of its strength and its habit of growth. Quite apart from its use for hammocks among the Shirians, this liana is one of the main forest products, being used for all sorts of purposes by all the inhabitants, from the most civilized to the most primitive. It serves for binding the walls of huts, for weaving and basketwork and, as we have said, for hammocks of a superior quality.

This liana is about as thick as a pencil and easy to peel and slip open into a number of pliable white strands rounded on one side and flat on the other. About a hundred of these strands, banded together halfway between the two ends with twisted bark rope, make the hammock. It is strong and springy, but alas, like all Shirian hammocks, unstable, uncomfortable, and very small. Stretched out in them, with the imprint cutting deeply into their skin, the Samatari pass their nights without stirring, their feet on a higher level than their heads as if they were following the most modern therapeutic principles, smoking themselves in the piquant fumes of their fire, which is kept continually burning and replenished by the more youthful members of the tribe. The fire is their blanket—'the blanket of the night'—as they themselves call it.

▼

At some point during the night, Solitrax turned up wearing my trousers. After they had made their mysterious rounds, it seemed, they had fallen to

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

open space ran a belt of rattan palms with their notoriously dangerous black spines. There were just two openings: a way in, and a way out. This was a defence work against any enemy that might come along. An aggressor had little chance of bringing off a surprise attack against the Samatari over this open ground, and if he made a frontal attack he would find 'bread for his teeth'—that is, thorns for his feet.

At night, while the Indians were all chattering heedlessly in their hammocks or sleeping the light sleep of the savage, the two gaps in the cordon were closed and the camp became a fortress difficult to storm. If they stay for several days in one place, as sometimes happens during the rainy season when they are visiting their plantations of tobacco and cane (for arrows), they will put up a palisade round the camp, on the Guayca model. This is composed of the trunks of a very tough palm, driven into the ground as close together as possible. Thus entrenched they can withstand whole days of attack from a position of strength.

In the course of our march, one Samatari not only devoured the larvae of bees, neatly excavating them from their cells in the smoked honeycomb, but every now and then he would stop at a dead tree-trunk, seamed with ant-galleries or lanes, and run his thumb and forefinger along the groove as far as possible, pressing out the damp earthy substance, which he conveyed to his mouth like some rare *bonne bouche*. Smacking his lips, he carried on until he had demolished the whole network of these arboreal thoroughfares, and the ants fled away over the surface of the tree-trunk, lamenting the cataclysm that had overtaken them.

Even we tried this ant-hill diet, but a mixture of earth and sawdust hardly appeased our hunger. Sometimes, as we crossed a stream, a few of the Samatari bent down rapidly and picked out of the water some little white stones that were soft like lumps of lime. These they chewed as they went along, apparently swallowing them. They will also eat sand, the dirty, soft, vari-coloured sand which is found with the detritus of vegetable matter thrown up on the banks of a river after a flood. For on top of all this varied diet of theirs, the Samatari are also geophagists—earth-eaters. The reason for this is probably an instinctive prompting which leads them to acquire in this way the minerals their normal food—which they eat without salt or spices—does not supply.

Our great salvation was the fruit: meat being very precious to the savages, they were unwilling to give us any, and we had no means of hunting for ourselves. The gun had simply disappeared. For the Samatari too, fruit is the main

/468 cont./

Traveling and Transportation

487 They make almost all their trips on foot by paths and trails. Bridges are built over the largest rivers. Other rivers are waded or crossed on tree trunks.

/469/ New paths are marked by breaking branches in passing. On old roads they indicate the path or paths which have not been taken, leaving some object or a little pile of leaves at the entrance of same. A stick may be tied to an abandoned dwelling to indicate in what direction the former occupant has moved.
621 (A settlement may split up into groups when it abandons the
166 site in the area of the "conuco," and therefore this sign does not necessarily mean that the entire settlement has gone off in that direction.)

166 The Guaika /Waica/ travel frequently, but generally not
628 very far. The nearest settlement -- perhaps a day away -- is usually as far as they go. The settlement beyond this might be an enemy settlement, or at least not very friendly. Even neighboring settlements have such bad relations with one another that
628 they rarely visit among themselves. But the settlements which
574 are on friendly terms visit each other very frequently, and, when both live in the areas of the conucos, visitors come and go between them every few days.

574 The reasons for visiting are principally to see friends or to stay until their own "conuco" (which might be in a period of little production) begins to produce again.

Standards of Living

● 513
[342] The Guaika /Waica/ consider it essential to sleep every night under a roof. Thus, they always build some sort of shelter.

A fire is also essential. A Guaika will not sleep without
[354] a fire at night. He needs it to obtain heat and to protect himself from animals, and with the fire he feels safer from evil spirits.

/469 cont./

513 352 The third essential thing is the hammock. The Guaika must have a hammock in order to sleep at night. In his dwelling he has a cotton hammock or a hammock made of vines split longitudinally. On a hunting trip he may travel with his hammock made out of cords of vine or without carrying any. In this latter case, each night he will make a temporary hammock /470/ out of cords of bark, and, in case he stays in the same general area, he will use it for several nights. Then, in order to travel light, he will abandon this hammock of cords of bark and will go to his home, where his good hammock awaits him.

262 594 [251] The supply of food which the Guaika have is generally good and apparently quite nutritious. From time to time there is a shortage, and they do not accumulate reserves. Shortages are generally not too serious, for which reason they can usually bear the period of privation, subsisting from a neighboring settlement, which will be paid back for the visit when in its turn bad times come to it.

261 726 The complete loss of a "conuco" as a result of being constantly driven out of the area by an enemy is a quite serious matter. We observed a settlement (that of Bichaasatedi) subsisting with great difficulty for a year until its new "conuco" began to produce, after having been driven out of their former area by a hostile group (the one from Liakoatedi).

352 The Guaika do not make seats, but they rarely sit on the ground if they can avoid it. Generally they sit in a hammock or on a piece of firewood.

512 On an ordinary day the Guaika awake with the dawn. The wife prepares the roasted platanos for the whole family. Around 7:30 or 8:00 the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement go to work in the "conuco." Those who remain in the settlement in general rest the entire morning. Some few women gather in a party and go out to make firewood out of a dead tree, recently fallen. Those who work in the conuco begin to come back at noon. On the way to the settlement they bathe in the stream. After a brief rest each person roasts a few platanos for his lunch. Then, around 2:00 in the afternoon, the [276] "yopo" is prepared, and it is blown up the noses of many of the

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Guahariho

middle of the camp, but they preferred to sleep under a simple palm roof resting on four poles which had been erected near the river as a temporary measure when the first advanced party arrived. There they hung their hammocks, made of the same pliable liana threads as their loin-cloths. Apart from their bows and arrows, these hammocks were the only possessions they brought with them. Thus they passed the night close to the river and their boat. They lighted fires and kept them burning all night. Not all of them slept in hammocks. Some squatted on the bare ground close to the fires, but those who used hammocks slung them low to get the maximum benefit of the fire's heat, for all slept naked.

The next morning they came over to the empty *rancho* where we gave them *manioc*, which they knew and appreciated as a special treat. But they refused the cooked food we offered them. One or two of them tasted it, but quickly spat it out. We offered them meat and learned that they cook their game without first skinning it. We gave them salt, which was new to them and which they spat out with dreadful grimaces. It was probably the salt that made them refuse our cooked food. They never tired of *manioc*, and we discovered that *manioc* and *machete* were the only two Spanish words they knew.

The Guahariboes have a curious and revolting habit of secreting in their mouths between the lower gums and the lip a roll of green tobacco as big as the stump of a fat cigar. They do not chew it; it remains there unbroken all day while two streams of greenish juice continuously trickle from the corners of their mouths. Even the children and sometimes the women indulge. The lump, which horribly deforms the lower part of the face, making it look hideous, may have contributed to their reputation for ferocity and savagery. The preparation of the tobacco quids is the duty of the women. The fresh tobacco leaf is rolled with wood-ash, and then the women chew and soak it in spittle until it reaches the right proportions and consistency before passing it on to their mates. Cardona told us this was the universal practice.

The Indians' fear and suspicion of us quickly dispersed.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharaiwã, Kaobawã's youngest brother, helped build Kaobawã's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kaobawã's younger wife. Kaobawã's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kaobawã's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yanomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hushimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kaobawã's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

If the evening meal be refused to
[512] take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he
[124] appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He
[554] preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship
[264] or stinginess.
[023]

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share
[462] of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or para-
[252] phernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree
[263] are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

[264] Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around
[252] the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them
[264] in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

[252] Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head,
[262] particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

[354] By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two
[447] glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an
[515] alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe
[513] the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

[155] Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman
[165] will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others
[593] have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and
[578] soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long,
[597] loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

[512] [221] [561] [562] Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

Surára
Pakidái

854 /64 cont./ If the child's nose is not
514 clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses
[123] its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

856 The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the
593 same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, nãpe=mother and hãpe=father.

862 e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important
[851] period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

851 325b. This idea is very unusual for South
846 American Indians. It should be remem-
114 bered, however, that among most of the
171 tribes the so-called couvade, the men's
842 childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

000 has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a
553 name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The
776 name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder
[782] intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

/90 cont./

514 [264] There is frequent belching during and after eating, and it happens not infrequently that a member of the family breaks wind, often with a loud noise, which, however, is received with happy laughter, without any damage to the appetite. Both sexes also spit a great deal as a result of the tobacco rolls which they have in the mouth almost constantly (see p. 190).

Urination is done in the immediate vicinity of the maloka during the day and in the hearth at night. Men and boys always urinate in a squatting position, just like women and girls. For their other needs they all go a bit deeper into the forest clearing during the day, or even to the edge of the forest. When they have finished, they rub the seat back and forth a few times on the ground or against a tree trunk. The mother holds small children, in case she happens to be lying in the hammock, over the edge of it. Then she wipes her hand or lower arm across its seat a few times, or, if necessary, she uses a little stick to clean it. The little heap is covered with ashes or earth and stamped into the ground by the mother. If an adult has more important business to attend to at night, he digs a small hole beside the hammock and subsequently covers it with ashes or earth. Old or sick persons do this during the day as well. The reason that [825] [976] the Surára and Pakidái do not leave the maloka at night for the aforementioned purpose is because they are afraid of snakes and jaguars, as well as of nonexí, the evil spirit which transmits sickness (see p. 211). Persistent unpleasant odors are not noticeable even in closed malokas, however, since they are dispelled by the ascending smoke of the constantly burning fire.

841 During their menstruation the women do not use anything to absorb the blood (see pp. 142/143). Pools of blood that remain on the ground are obliterated by them with their feet.

356 123 291 In general, however, the communal house is kept quite clean. One always sees men and women sweeping with a broom made of piaçaba fibers. For this work both sexes liked to put on the shirts and trousers or clothing which I had brought them as gift articles and which were otherwise not at all appreciated.

262 /207 cont./
223 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of
825 cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear. The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for
[514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground,
[785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily" on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war" /see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy.
[433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is
[527] the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit, and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social
[114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48), Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion in greater detail, according to their observation of it among the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

idea, so I kept my eye on the lady in case developements came quicker than was expected.

The day arrived when I believed my silent surveillance would be crowned with success. Actually I had fallen into an innocent error. By way of compensation, I certainly got a good laugh out of it. I had tailed the woman along a path fairly new to me, which she had taken as if she had no wish to advertise her whereabouts. I knew the path in its early stages, but had always assumed that it ended in a thick clump of bushes, progress being further discouraged by a big fallen tree-trunk. But when I reached this obstacle I saw no sign of my quarry. I then saw that the tree-trunk could be pushed aside, to reveal a fork in the path. From this point the track was well-worn, leading a good distance away from the hut. It didn't need much mental effort for me to realize what a clumsy mistake I had made. Behind a tree an Indian was attending to Nature's needs. I had ended up in the Guaycas' privy. The old man sent up a growl of protest at this intrusion of a bearded one in the sacred retreat. The only thing left to me was to turn back, with the air of having wandered there by chance.

It is interesting to observe that the Indians, while generally immodest to the point of indecency, regard the bodily functions as a matter for reticence and secrecy. They squat like women to urinate and for other purposes seek some remote and hidden place, as if well aware of the defencelessness of their situation at these moments. Thus they obey not only the all-important principles of hygiene, but those of security: and in a world like theirs, security is the more important.

That same day we witnessed another interesting operation, if one of a different nature. On the morrow we were to start for Llantarilla and the Shirians had already prepared a good supply of bananas and *mapuei* which they were bringing up in another boat. On the eve of this expedition every man jack we had engaged for it had disappeared—except Luis Antonio, who was swinging in his hammock with the public woman at his side.

'They've gone to get their hair cut in the other hut,' he told me, when I asked where they all could be—for all the world as if he was saying: 'They're at the barber's shop round the corner.'

We went off to the other hut, anxious to see the fun. It was Caio's turn. He was squatting on the ground in front of a pimply young woman who must have been his wife. She was giving him a perfect pudding-basin haircut, using instead of scissors the nails of her thumb and forefinger, which with the Indians

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

we found traces of a big encampment: here were the forked branches with the rudimentary hammocks still slung from them. There had been fires here too, but the ashes were now cold. Bones and scraps of all sorts were scattered everywhere and in the centre of the area there was shining the great armoured back of an armadillo. This aroused everyone's curiosity, not least the Samatari's. They were probably thinking of the sumptuous banquet which this carcass had afforded, and we were very glad to see that the pangs of hunger were at that moment very real and very urgent for them, too.

The fact that the fires were cold convinced our captors that it would be a good idea to set up their own camp: there would be no likelihood tonight of catching up with the tribe that had passed this way. Things went so quietly that at times we forgot that we were prisoners: automatically we looked on the Samatari as our friends and guides, just like the Guayca Indians. But the illusion was brief: that evening we ate nothing, while our sharp-eyed hosts tucked into a mound of grubs they had collected *en route*. Then they belched their way to their hammocks, from which the odours of their further digestion wafted down.

I thought of Sempronio who had had nothing to eat either, and wondered what had happened to his panful of agouti entrails which had been left burning the night before when we were attacked. It was really the thought of all those tit-bits being burnt and wasted which stopped me going to sleep.

Next day, a little before noon, while I was watching Enrico plodding along with set jaw, sweating copiously (I might have been looking at my own image in a glass) we heard a distant howling that sounded like monkeys. No one said anything. Our march continued until the howls became more distinct; and then, confused as we were, it dawned on us that the noise was being made by men and not by monkeys at all. Still we did not stop. The sounds were still coming from a long way off. Then, rounding the bend of a stream, we sensed that it was suddenly quite near: it was as if some monster were just ahead of us, peering at us through the trees on our immediate horizon. The howling went on. It was now close at hand, coming from ground level and from the trees—a sharp, disorderly confusion of noise.

The Samatari had come to a sudden standstill. They were discussing something among themselves. Every time this happened, our alarm quickened: some dark fate was surely being prepared for us. We were all in perfect Indian file, with Enrico and I in the middle, with the Guaycas behind us and three or

/460/ Hygienic Measures

514 Toilets for the elimination of excrement are absent. They consider the edge of the patio sufficiently far away for urination. To defecate they go into the forest at some distance from the settlement and away from the paths. An old fallen tree trunk is the preferred site for squatting down, and dry sticks take the place of toilet paper.

No one is capable of intentionally touching dung with the hand or foot. It is considered very dirty, and if one did touch it, his hand or foot must be cleaned and washed immediately.

The dung of dogs and of infants is removed from the patio by pushing it onto leaves with a stick and then throwing these leaves some distance into the forest.

For their nocturnal movements, they put a few leaves on the ground, with which they then make a package; on the following morning they throw them away at some distance from the settlement.

[136] In El Platanal there is a green beetle which buries hard dung. Half an hour after a movement all evidence disappears.

Sites

361 The center of the area in which the Guaika /Waica/ live is the "conuco." In the forest which surrounds the conuco are located their temporary or semipermanent settlements, this depending on the type of terrain, whether it is sandy or clayey.

342 361 [136] Very simple temporary dwellings are used in areas where the fleas or "niguas" are a problem. This type of house consists of a framework of beams for a roof, with leaves placed on top and held down. These same leaves can easily be taken to the site of a new settlement when the Indians move to another, uninfested area.

A more semipermanent type of construction is preferred where the "niguas" do not present a problem and make it impossible to return to the same site. These houses are of /461/ similar construction, but are larger and more durable, and the leaves of the roof are fixed in place. This type of dwelling or shelter takes about five times longer to build in comparison with the temporary type of dwelling.

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharariwã, Kaobawã's youngest brother, helped build Kaobawã's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kaobawã's younger wife. Kaobawã's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kaobawã's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yanomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush, so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hushimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kaobawã's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

/64 cont./
[illegible] likewise understandable, considering their significance, though the least possible loss of blood may also have been a consideration" (324).

324. Strebel, 1885, p. 13.

On the other hand, with regard to the Surára and Pakidái it should be noted that there is no circumcision of boys among them and the defloration of small girls unequivocally serves for later sexual intercourse; there are no religious motives or hygienic reasons connected with it. Whether this was different in former times neither the chiefs nor older men and women were able to say (325a).

325a. It is an interesting fact that among the Itälmen on Kamchatka little girls are deflowered at a very tender age by their mothers in the same manner as among the Surára and Pakidái and for the same reason (Stellers, 1774, p. 346).

This type of body deformation has been documented for China and Indonesia too. It is done there, however, for hygienic purposes, in order to remove the mucus which gathers in the genitalia (Ploss, 1912, pp. 218/19).

It should be mentioned further that all Surára and Pakidái fathers often touch the vulva of their small daughters with the mouth and gently suck on it.

If a man has two or more wives, they help each other in caring for a baby. The grandmother, a sister, or the eldest daughter are also loving helpers. Infant care, of course, does not require much trouble, for regular baths are unknown. It is only when the crust of dirt is a little too thick that the mother washes it off a bit when she goes to fetch water from the river. The infrequent washing has the advantage that the skin is more nearly invulnerable to mosquito bites. If the child's nose is not

/89 cont./

12. Hygiene

515 Regular bathing, washing of the face and hands, and cleaning the finger and toe nails are unknown; this is also true for babies, who are often covered with a veritable crust of dirt. Nor do they /90/ brush their teeth or ever rinse their mouths. Yet I [147] [145] was never aware of an unpleasant body odor or bad breath on the Indians, and until an advanced age their teeth are dazzlingly white and sound. While hunting or gathering, however, if men and women are obliged to cross a brook or small river, they gladly utilize the opportunity to take a refreshing bath, and the same is true when female members of the tribe fetch water. A bath is greatly appreciated by children and young people, but [481] not at all by older persons. Most men can swim quite well and teach their sons also; women and girls who swim are exceptions. 177 515 As a result of occasional contacts with the palm-fiber gatherers on the Rio Aracá or with the personnel of the Indian protection post on the Demini, the Surára and Pakidái have for some time been acquainted with soap, and various Indians, predominantly children and young men and women, like to lather themselves when they take a bath. Several women had even taken to washing their hammocks now and then with soap. Thus, the cakes of soap [123] that I carried with me were very much in demand, as were perfume and hair tonic.

264 Eating is done only with the hands (see p. 184). If the meat was very greasy and the hands are smeared all over with dirt and grease, they are rubbed off somewhat against a post and then run through the hair a few times. The eating bowls and pots, with the remains of the meal, are then put down for the dogs, who at the same time take over the work of cleaning; eating utensils are seldom washed. When they are needed for the next meal, the woman passes them over her hair a few times. If there are still a few crusts of dirt present, she spits on them and rubs them with her hand.

/225 cont./ The Sanemá say that the
793 hɐwīawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikulaɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[796] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
[126] propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[795] hɐwīawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablf. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablf who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
● 515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablfes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
774 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablf at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the hfkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablf candidate waiting for them to enter his

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Our chief occupations were the louse and the

flea—the penetrating variety, *Afroamericana nigua*, which keeps everybody's feet busy in the equatorial zones of our globe every bit as effectively as the dances that originate there. Americana is not such a bad animal as his African brother, the jigger, though he is more plentiful. Indian feet are full of him, and the open craters in the horny, almost bony patches forming the ball of the foot are evidence of the constant care they take to keep open the little insects' snug lairs and prevent him from taking up permanent residence.

The eradication of lice is carried out at a family or social gathering in a spirit of mutual aid. Men and women will all sit round together in a circle making a thorough inspection of one another's thick hair till they come upon the black louse crouching there silently, like a peccary surprised in the forest, among the roots of the hairs. He is taken between two fingers and disposed of in the simplest fashion: he is eaten. The same privilege is accorded to the eggs, which like all eggs must taste delicious. The nigua can be dealt with by oneself but female collaboration is nevertheless appreciated. A soft, gentle hand—Samatari ladies have exceedingly small hands and feet—introduces a pin (presented by us) or a splinter of Corozo palm (presented by the forest) into the little nest. The white grub of this accursed insect then emerges into the light of day, but the fate reserved for it is not a human end. It is thrown to the fish, which come along in shoals for the fat tit-bit.

We had no soap, and during these halts the best we could do was to splash water over ourselves. The Samatari were not interested in following our example: rain gave them the only baths they ever took. We couldn't even swim to get clean, as we had done in the 'black water' rivers higher up, because there was danger lurking here beneath the harmless-looking surface.

The perils of tropical rivers are five in number—five major perils, that is, because the minor ones, like the amoeba and other parasites, may loom large among the fads and fancies of medical men but do not form part of the psychological baggage of the explorer.

The cayman is king of these perils. His reign is uncontested. His body may be anything up to thirteen feet long, solid and impregnable as a crest of rock. Almost equal in rank is peril number two—the anaconda or water-serpent: if the cayman is king, the anaconda is certainly queen. She is a wonderful monster, up to ten yards in length, with all the force of a hurricane. And being a reptile, the anaconda has all the virtues of the reptiles, enhanced by her aquatic habits, which make her cleaner and nobler than them all.

o: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Tanoama SQ18
Sasama

515
302
516
291

50. While the men leave the fells, their women-folk pause for hygiene.

[p. 192 - H]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

So we passed one of those anxious forest nights, our thoughts torn between the fate of our equipment and fear of an attack. But there were two aspects of the matter which reassured us, and bearing them in mind we managed to get some sleep towards morning. One was the comparative serenity of our Indians, who had made no alteration in their habitual way of spending the night—long spells of sleep, interrupted occasionally for a brief moment to attend to the fire. The other was the mental inventory we made of the items of equipment we still had with us, enough, certainly, for us to live on until we could get out of this region on to some Brazilian or Venezuelan river. One doubt still lingered: suppose the Indians refused to go on with us? They had been badly scared by whatever it was that had happened up on the hills, and rather than face it again they might want to change the route.

We set off next morning without any breakfast. But the fact that the Indians came along too, without making any bones about it, was very comforting. We went over two hills, and then the track crossed a stream of milky water running in a south-easterly direction. Its rocky bed was strewn with great jagged blocks of quartz. A little while later, on steadily rising ground, we turned aside into territory where there was no track at all, and reached a forest clearing which had been formed by the fall of a group of trees of the *caulpinae* family. They were lying on the mouldering forest floor. And there, under a regular stockade of tree-trunks, was our baggage that the men had left on yesterday's trip. Our porters took some of the most-needed medical supplies and the best of the tinned stuff from this dump, to add to the burdens they were already carrying, and we went on towards the heart of the mystery.

The slope became gradually steeper and we finished up against a rocky sandstone cliff—a blank wall that we should have to climb. We followed along the foot of it to the right for perhaps two hundred yards till we came to a landslip, overgrown with bamboos and bromeliads, which offered an open view over the valley. We climbed up and found ourselves on a high plateau, among vegetation of a different order—poorer, thinner stuff. This plateau soon began to tilt downwards towards the farther side, at a steadily increasing angle, till we came to a stream of black water which ran in the same direction as the last we had seen.

As if performing some rite, the medicine-man took a bath here. There really was something extraordinary about this character. A purely voluntary

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

both like this—we had never seen him take one before—seemed to prove the point.

Between the sandstone of the high plateau and the usual granite of this region there was here an unexpected intermediary layer white with kaolin. After another hour of hard going we once more found ourselves in the lush vegetation of the lowlands. To the left of the track at one point, in a cavity formed by the collapse of a big tree whose roots had been torn out of the earth, we found the light baggage carried here and stowed the day before. It was apparently unharmed, even if literally covered with a revolting army of termites. We had the packs taken out of the hole (with the greatest caution for fear of a hidden snake), piled them all up together and covered them with palm leaves—because now the Indians didn't seem to be in any hurry to cover more mileage that day, nor did they lift a finger to start putting up the usual shelter for the night.

The baggage was untouched: the possibility of seeing our expedition through to the end was therefore open to us once more. Such a satisfactory state of affairs filled us with enthusiasm, and we decided to sacrifice no less than four tins of corned beef. We shared it out among the porters. This extra meal put some heart into the Indians, and picking up their machetes again they beckoned us to follow them along the track once more, where it veered to the south, through the forest. We could make out from their gestures that we were close to the heart of the great mystery now, and so took plenty of ammunition with us in case we should need it. The gradient stiffened. The track turned to the right, into a thick maze of wild banana and thorny briarwood, and then through a little swamp where there were numerous prints of bare feet, to end up in front of a stockade of thorny palm, freshly piled up for some defensive purpose.

A sweet, heavy smell hung in the air—the typical smell of an Indian camp after it has been abandoned for a few days, which comes from rotting remains of meat and game, and decaying vegetable matter. The barrier of thorny palm was an insuperable obstacle for bare Indian feet. We followed it along to the right till we found a break, half hidden by a few tree-trunks, which led us inside the camp. At first sight it seemed no different from the usual Samatari pattern. Here and there—all over the place, in fact—were piles of ashes and vegetable refuse of all kinds. But this encampment had one particular feature which, although the conscious part of our minds missed it at first, made us feel

/483 cont./

758 They bathe sick persons. If the patient cannot go to the
• 515 stream, they bathe him part by part at home and even in his own hammock.

/484/ Death

763 They are generally afraid of death and make every effort to keep a dying person alive for a while longer. When someone is in danger of dying, the relatives and friends hold meetings for lamentations at least once a day.

764 When a dying person expires, a time of mourning begins.
[302] Then, at about 3:00 in the afternoon, the funeral begins. The relatives and friends begin to paint themselves. There is much
[535] crying and lamentation. The women dance forward and backward, groaning and carrying several poisoned darts in one hand. If there are young children, they are frequently carried also. If the deceased is a little one, its little body may be carried during the final part of this mourning dance. A few closely related men and the intimate friends also participate in the dance.

After the lamentations have continued for a quarter of an hour more or less, the men go out in search of firewood and light a fire of two meters in front of the dwelling where the corpse is lying. When the fire reaches an adequate size, the body is carried there in a hammock made of cords of vine and placed on the fire. Then they put more wood on top of the
[766] corpse. If the deceased is an infant, they place it in the fire in a flat basket rather than a hammock. They keep the fire burn-
[765] ing until around ten at night. Then they gather up the bones, wrap them in leaves, and hang them in the house.

If someone should die far from the settlement, his body is wrapped in leaves tied with vines and carried to the settlement to be cremated.

765 About three days after the cremation, the bones are pulverized in a small trough and then kept hermetically in a gourd capped with beeswax. The trough is made by using a machete to carve out the hole, burning its interior. They use it only once. After it is used, both the trough and the pestle are burned. Much weeping accompanies the process of pulverization and sealing the remains in the gourd.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968). 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

anthropological training at the University of Michigan that kinship was equivalent to society in primitive tribes and that it was a moral way of life, "moral" being something "good" and "desirable." I was determined to work my way into their moral system of kinship and become a member of their society.

My heart began to pound as we approached the village and heard the buzz of activity within the circular compound. Mr. Barker commented that he was anxious to see if any changes had taken place while he was away and wondered how many of them had died during his absence. I felt into my back pocket to make sure that my notebook was still there and felt personally more secure when I touched it. Otherwise, I would not have known what to do with my hands.

The entrance to the village was covered over with brush and dry palm leaves. We pushed them aside to expose the low opening to the village. The excitement of meeting my first Indians was almost unbearable as I duck-waddled through the low passage into the village clearing.

I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous, and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses. We arrived at the village while the men were blowing a hallucinogenic drug up their noses. One of the side effects of the drug is a runny nose. The mucus is always saturated with the green powder and the Indians usually let it run freely from their nostrils. My next discovery was that there were a dozen or so vicious, underfed dogs snapping at my legs, circling me as if I were going to be their next meal. I just stood there holding my notebook, helpless and pathetic. Then the stench of the decaying vegetation and filth struck me and I almost got sick. I was horrified. What sort of a welcome was this for the person who came here to live with you and learn your way of life, to become friends with you? They put their weapons down when they recognized Barker and returned to their chanting, keeping a nervous eye on the village entrances.

We had arrived just after a serious fight. Seven women had been abducted the day before by a neighboring group, and the local men and their guests had just that morning recovered five of them in a brutal club fight that nearly ended in a shooting war. The abductors, angry because they lost five of the seven captives, vowed to raid the Bisaasi-teri. When we arrived and entered the village unexpectedly, the Indians feared that we were the raiders. On several occasions during the next two hours the men in the village jumped to their feet, armed themselves, and waited nervously for the noise outside the village to be identified. My enthusiasm for collecting ethnographic curiosities diminished in proportion to the number of times such an alarm was raised. In fact, I was relieved when Mr. Barker suggested that we sleep across the river for the evening. It would be safer over there.

As we walked down the path to the boat, I pondered the wisdom of having decided to spend a year and a half with this tribe before I had even seen what they were like. I am not ashamed to admit, either, that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next day when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever decided to switch from civil en-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114 123 gineering to anthropology in the first place. I had not eaten all day, I was soaking wet from perspiration, the gnats were biting me, and I was covered with red pigment, the result of a dozen or so complete examinations I had been given by as many burly Indians. [515] These examinations capped an otherwise grim day. The Indians would blow their noses into their hands, flick as much of the mucus off that would separate in a snap of the wrist, wipe the residue into their hair, and then carefully examine my face, arms, legs, hair, and the contents of my pockets. I asked Mr. Barker how to say "Your hands are dirty"; my comments were met by the Indians in the following way: They would "clean" their hands by spitting a quantity of slimy tobacco juice into them, rub them together, and then proceed with the examination.

Mr. Barker and I crossed the river and slung our hammocks. When he pulled his hammock out of a rubber bag, a heavy, disagreeable odor of mildewed cotton came with it. "Even the missionaries are filthy," I thought to myself. Within two weeks, everything I owned smelled the same way, and I lived with that odor for the remainder of the fieldwork. My own habits of personal cleanliness reached such levels that I didn't even mind being examined by the Indians, as I was not much cleaner than they were after I had adjusted to the circumstances.

So much for my discovery that primitive man is not the picture of nobility and sanitation I had conceived him to be. I soon discovered that it was an enormously time-consuming task to maintain my own body in the manner to which it had grown accustomed in the relatively antiseptic environment of the northern United States. Either I could be relatively well fed and relatively comfortable in a fresh change of clothes and do very little fieldwork, or, I could do considerably more fieldwork and be less well fed and less comfortable.

114 122 It is appalling how complicated it can be to make oatmeal in the jungle. First, I had to make two trips to the river to haul the water. Next, I had to prime my kerosene stove with alcohol and get it burning, a tricky procedure when you are trying to mix powdered milk and fill a coffee pot at the same time: the alcohol prime always burned out before I could turn the kerosene on, and I would have to start all over. Or, I would turn the kerosene on, hoping that the element was still hot enough to vaporize the fuel, and start a small fire in my palm-thatched hut as the liquid kerosene squirted all over the table and walls and ignited. It was safer to start over with the alcohol. Then I had to boil the oatmeal and pick the bugs out of it. All my supplies, of course, were carefully stored in Indian-proof, rat-proof, moisture-proof, and insect-proof containers, not one of which ever served its purpose adequately. Just taking things out of the multiplicity of containers and repacking them afterward was a minor project in itself. By the time I had hauled the water to cook with, unpacked my food, prepared the oatmeal, milk, and coffee, heated water for dishes, washed and dried the dishes, repacked the food in the containers, stored the containers in locked trunks and cleaned up my mess, the ceremony of preparing breakfast had brought me almost up to lunch time!

Eating three meals a day was out of the question. I solved the problem by eating a single meal that could be prepared in a single container, or, at most, in two containers, washed my dishes only when there were no clean ones left, using cold river water, and wore each change of clothing at least a week to cut down on my laundry problem, a courageous undertaking in the tropics. I was also less concerned about sharing my provisions with the rats, insects, Indians, and the elements, thereby eliminating the need

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

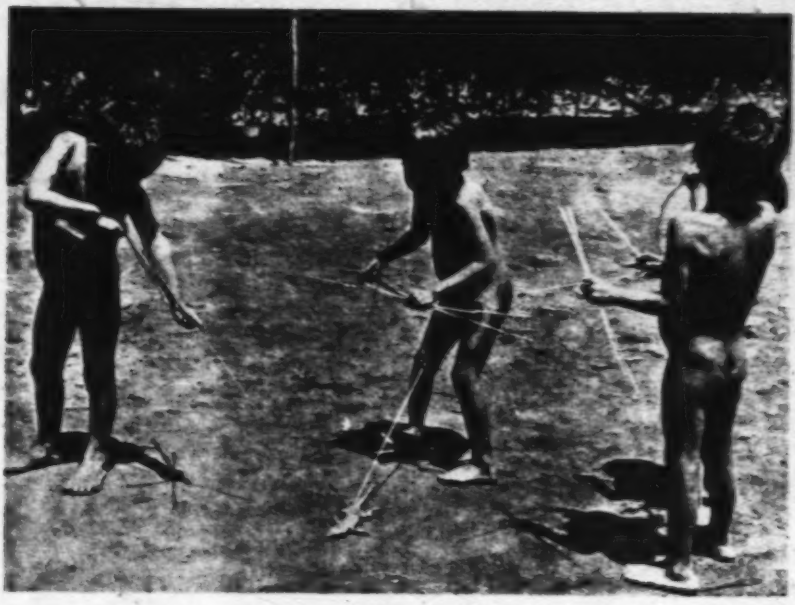


Fig. 3-8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and guests that gradually died off as each group busied itself in preparation for the dance.

Shortly after noon a rumor circulated through the village that the visitors had been raiding the gardens at night and stealing plantains. A number of people, particularly older men, were visibly upset by this new information, giving rise to another rumor that there would be a chest-pounding duel to set the matter straight. The guests had already worn their welcome thin by arriving uninvited a week in advance and by eating excessively. Their hosts were becoming angry with them, as it was all too obvious that they were deliberately taxing their hosts' patience; they were intimidating them.

The men of the host group had finished their preparations for the feast; they were all painted in red and black, bearing colorful feathers. They had cleaned the debris from their houses, had finished hauling out the weeds they had picked from the village clearing, and had brought in quantities of food to give their guests. Now, it was time for them to take *ebene*, their hallucinogenic drug. They separated into several groups and began blowing the brownish-green powder up each other's nostrils with 3-foot long hollow tubes. As the drug would be administered, each recipient would reel from the concussion of air, groan, and stagger off to some convenient post to vomit. Within ten minutes of taking the drug, the men would be bleary-eyed and wild, prancing around in front of their houses, stopping occasionally to vomit or to catch their breath. In each group there would be one man particularly adept at chanting to the *bekura*, the mountain demons, and he would soon take over the show, while the others retired to the sidelines in a stupor, green slime dripping from their nostrils. Should there be sick people in the village, the adept chanters—the *shabori*—would cure them by chanting, massaging, sucking, and vomiting out the evil spirit that caused the sickness. Otherwise, they would chant about other things, perhaps sending their *bekura* to enemy villages to eat the souls of children, or enjoining them to prevent their enemies from doing the same. Occasionally, one of the men takes too much of the drug and become violent. On this particular occasion, Shiimima, one of Kaobawä's brothers, grabbed his bow and arrows and ran to the center of the village. This caused a minor sensation for a moment, but one of the men managed to catch and disarm him, hiding his weapons so he could not find them. Things returned to normal again, and the other participants in the drug-taking began chanting to Shiimima to restore him to his senses. The chanting lasted for an hour or so, and the participants, one by one, returned to their houses to clean up their paint jobs; most of them had smeared their careful work by vomiting all over themselves.

While the men were taking their drugs, the women were busy painting and decorating themselves with feathers and red pigment. The visitors, also, were busy at the same tasks, and the excitement of the feast reached fever proportions by mid-afternoon. A few women were still busy finishing trade baskets, while Kaobawä's younger brothers continued with the monotonous cooking of what seemed to them an endless number of plantains.

Finally, an old man from the visiting group entered the village and marched unceremoniously across the clearing while the members of Kaobawä's group cheered him. He was too old to join the dancing, but too respected to wait behind with the women and children while the younger men put on their display. This was evidence that the visitors were about to send in their delegate to accept the feast invitation at Kaobawä's house.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
164
S15

Fig. 5-1. Karïma, one of Kaobawä's daughters, picking lice out of her grandfather's battered head—his scars are from club fights. She wears decorative sticks inserted in the corners of her mouth as a beauty aid. These were inserted at about age five, together with one in the lower lip and another in the nasal septum.

2: Becher--271 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
/6/
142
411
302
291
516

Ill. 12. Surára warriors

142
291
411
516

142
411
301
302
342
291
624

Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow

Ill. 14. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

2: Becher-- 272 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Shiriana
Karauateri
Pusehewéteri

/7/

Ill. 15. Surára family. (The woman is a member of the Pusehewéteri and wears the characteristic fringed belt of this tribe)

142
291
302
516
854

142
301
302

Ill. 16. Xiriána woman, Ironasteri, with deforming facial adornment

Ill. 17. Nikeromá, a girl of the hostile Karauateri. (She is a captive of the Surára)

137
142
291
302

Ill. 18. Nikeromá (rear view!)

2: Becher--273 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

142
302
304
←

142
291
302
516
→

Ill: 19. Yaxoíma, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing

Ill. 20. Yaxoíma (left) and Rokoahíma, two Surára girls

124
137
142
291
302
516
←

142
291
302
237
516
→

Ill. 21. Jibeauwõ, my little interpreter (right), and Mauahemá (two orphan boys from the tribe of the Surára)

Ill. 22. Two Surára boys. Xaniwõ (right) and Mauahemá, who holds a monkey bladder between his leg

2: Becher--274 E-S (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/9/

Ill. 23. The Surára boy Xaniwõ

130
142
291
302
516 ←

142
302
304 →

Ill. 24. Pakidái woman, Riopemí

Ill. 25. The two oldest Surára women: Rokomá (right and Cinapemí

142
302
516 ←

Ill. 26. Hammock of embira

352 →

Ill. 27. Liana hammock

Ill. 28. Plaited hammock of cotton

2: Becher--275 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/10/
Surára
Pakidái

352
516
854
593

Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

342
231
142
302
291
516
372

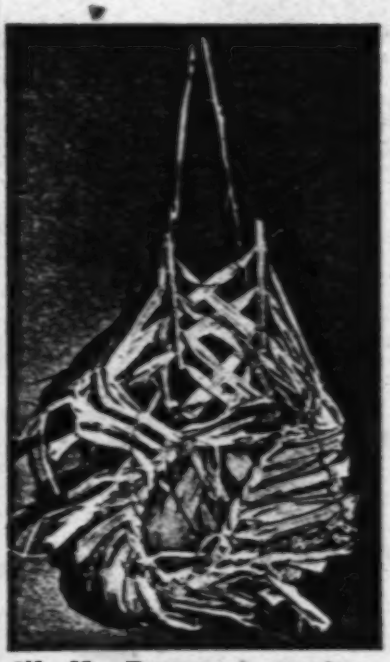
Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

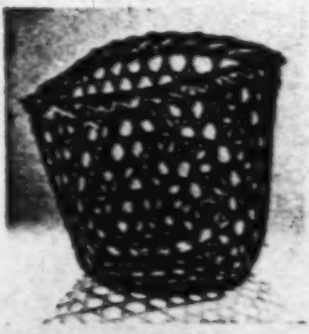
2: Becher--276 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/11/



Ill. 32. Temporary carrying basket of palm leaves



415
285

Ill. 33. Carrying basket of bast strips from the curáuá plant

531

Ill. 34. Woman's large carrying-basket made of liana strips

Ill. 35. Surára woman plaiting a woman's large carrying-basket

142
302
516
285

415
285

Ill. 36. Small basket with handle, made of liana strips

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/12/

137
←

137
241
622
516
412
→

Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

137
481
←

114
142
302
291
516
624
→

Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Porêhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/13/

Surára
Pakidái

142
302
296

Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

769
142
291
516
302
342
415
286

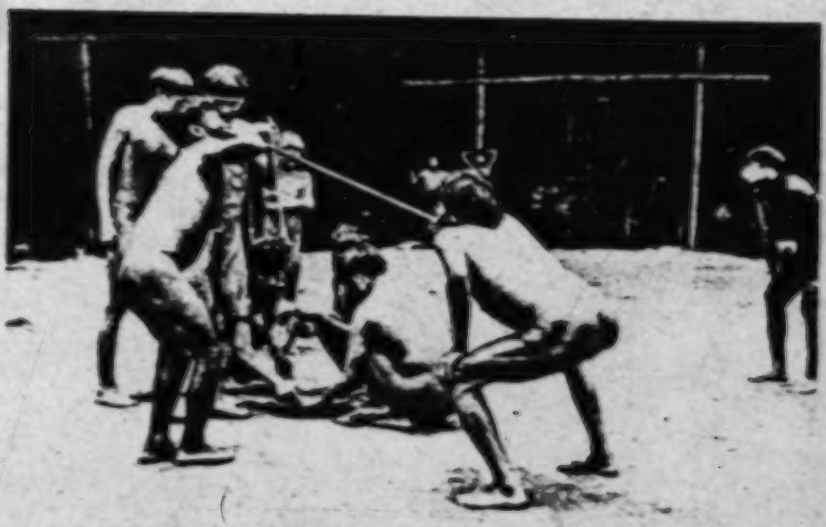
Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

516
342
411
535

Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

2: Becher--279 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

142
516
276
769
291



Ill. 44. Surára and Pakidái men blowing snuff-powder into each other's noses

769
276

Ill. 45. Beginning of the state of ecstasy after the taking of the snuff-powder

4: Wilbert--64 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Nabudub

291
142
●516
854

Nabudub Indians in front of their house, an imitation of a Makiritare house.

142
291
352
516
594
283

A Nabudub (Sanemá) nuclear family in front of its house.
The hammocks are of vegetal fiber.

Nabudub

4: Wilbert--65 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 Sanema

142
291
516
854
302

Nabudub (Sanemá) women and children.

142
302
291
352
516

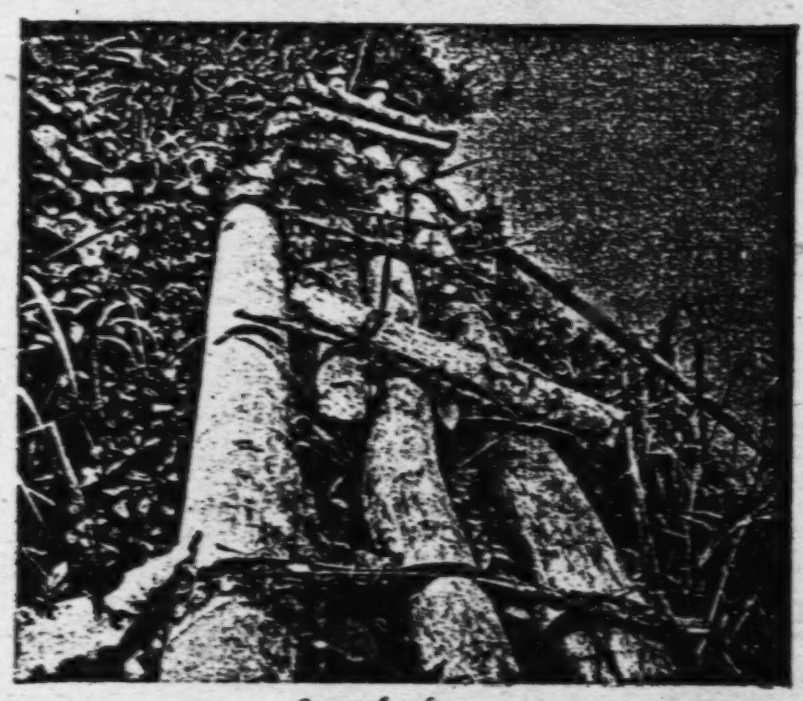
Nabudub couple seated on hammocks of cotton made by the woman.

4: Wilbert--72 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

114
342
516
291
142
302

The author with a group of Sanemá on the upper Ventuari.

501



Sanemá raft.

4: Wilbert--73 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

Y
142
291
302
854
516

M
[344]

Group of Sanemá women and children of the upper Orinoco. In the background the wall of a communal house of the Makiritare Indians.

4 Wilbert--74 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ
Sanema

142
302
291
301
352
516

Group of Sanemá Indians of the upper Ventuari in their house. The girl (standing) is wearing ornaments of white feathers.

4. Wilbert--75 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

411
322
412
302
●516

[237]

Sanemá Indian of the upper Ventuari preparing the shaft of an arrow, using a typical "knife" made out of a rodent's tooth mounted on a small stick.

4: Wilbert--78 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

142
302
291
301
411
●516

Waica family of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuz

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
302
264
516 ●

15. *Crabs make a tasty dish!*

16. *The fourth type of Sanumari - the girlish.*

17. *The 'bad type' - playing a whistle made from a deer's shin-bone. Note the tribal signs on his stomach*

142
302 ←

142
302
534
531
→P

[p. 96 - E]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

322
291
142
● 516

18. *Pancho makes his oars at home: the final smoothing stage.*

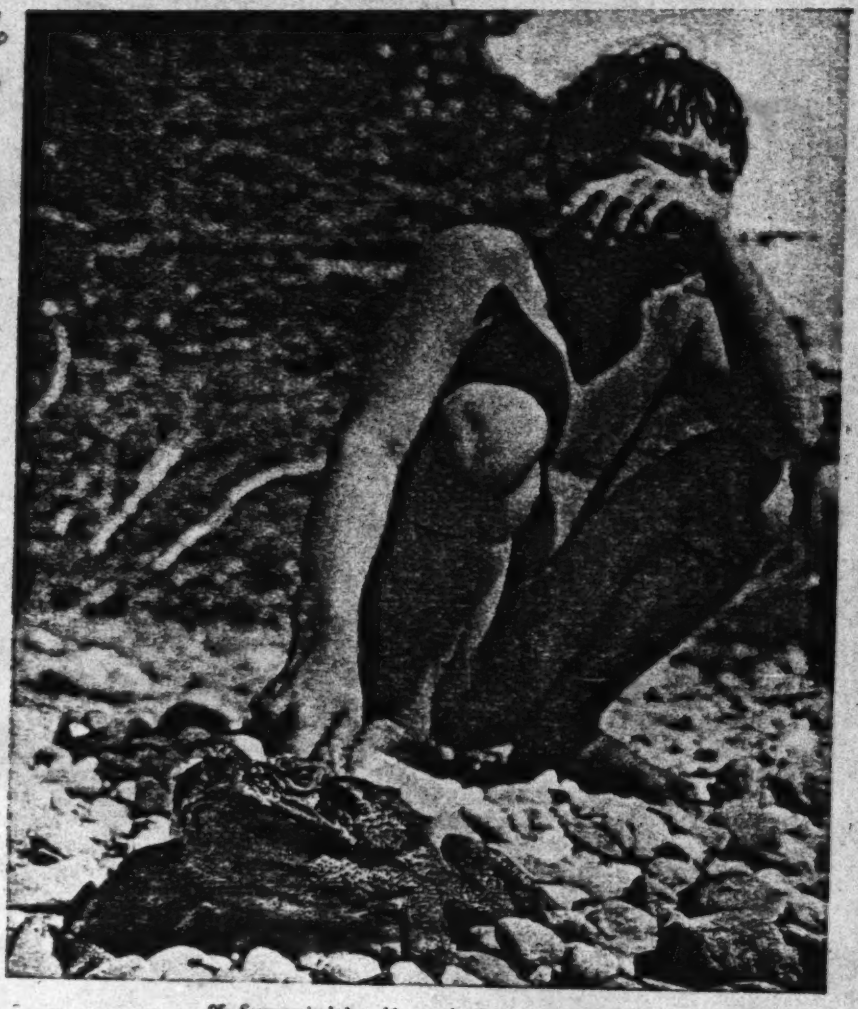
226
* 123

19. *Enrico and Pedro make a good catch in the Mari.*

[p. 96 – F]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

136
● 516



25. Sempronio brings his grand gift - a poisonous toad!

[p. 144 - 3]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123
516

32. *A mouth-organ concert: the Sapuli children, the two brothers and the Captain's wife.*

33. *The elder of the brothers has a troubled, cloudy look.*

34. *Sad days for Carmine.*

142
302
←

[p. 144- H]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanoma

142
301
502

25. Dalfyne were pale and handsome.

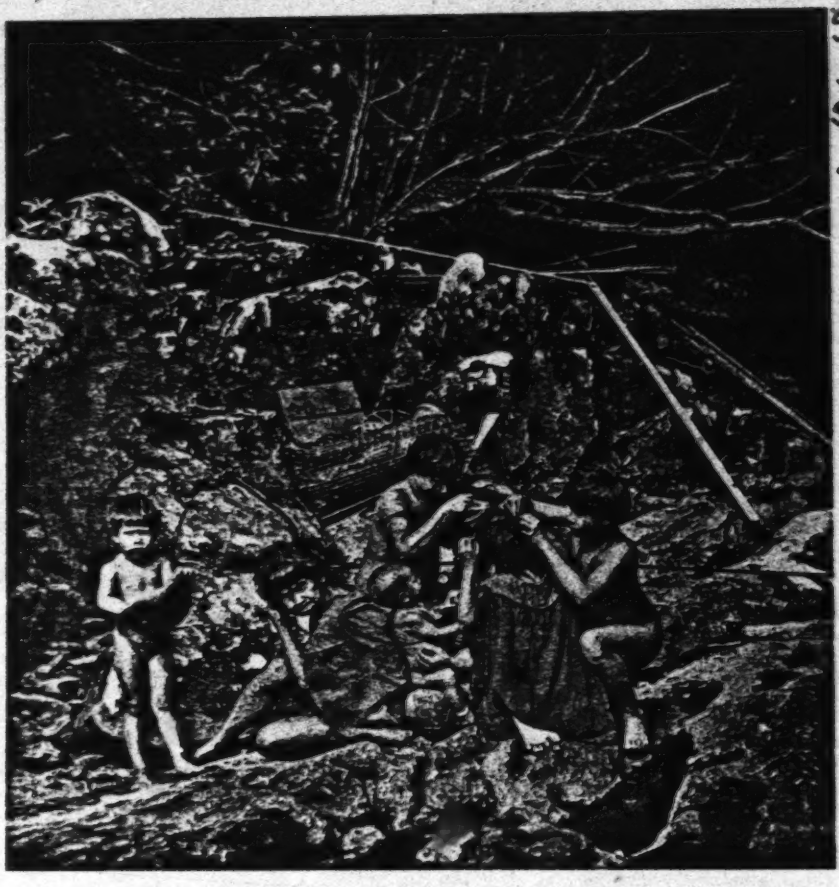
142
411
● 516

26. A typical primitive: a man of good will, ugly as he is.

[p. 192-A]

o: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

515
302
516
29



50. *While the men brave the falls, their women-folk pause for hygiene.*

[p. 192 - H]

7: Barker--61 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate I

342
361

The primitive huts of the Guaika, roof-on-posts type, lined up in a broad circle, have their fronts toward the great central patio free of vegetation. (Photo. by the author.)

● 616
854

Guaika women with their babies. Note the manner of sitting, in El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

7: Barker--63 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate III

291
252
302
415

The men cook the meat from hunting. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

372
516
302

They produce fire by making a little stick rotate between the palms of the hands, with the friction end resting on a piece of soft wood, El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

7: Barker--64 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate IV

302

The Guaika--women and men--shave the head, leaving only a ring of hair all around. Notice the scars on this warrior, El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

342
262
516

Interior of a Guaika hut, in El Platanal. The platano is one of the principal foods in their diet. (Photo. by the author.)

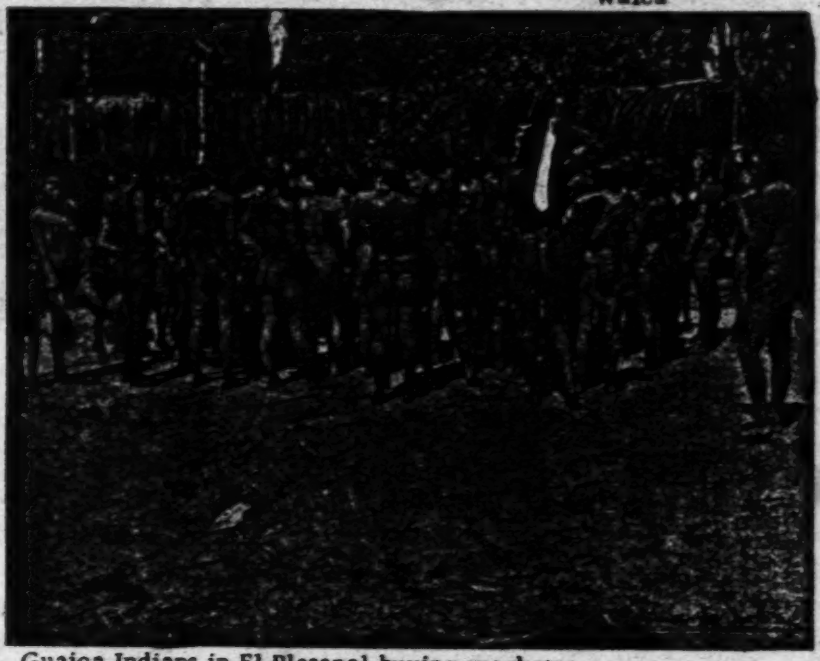
8: Barker--11 M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

142
114
291
302
516

Mr. James Barker, in Mahekodotedi, accompanied by a group of Guaica Indians. (Photo Frobenius Expedition, 1954.)

8: Barker--16 M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

291
439



Guaica Indians in El Platanal buying machetes.

114
291
516
302
142

A group of Guaica natives surrounding James Barker.

%Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama Sq. 18

501
• 516

142
482
411
291
←

142
302
291
→

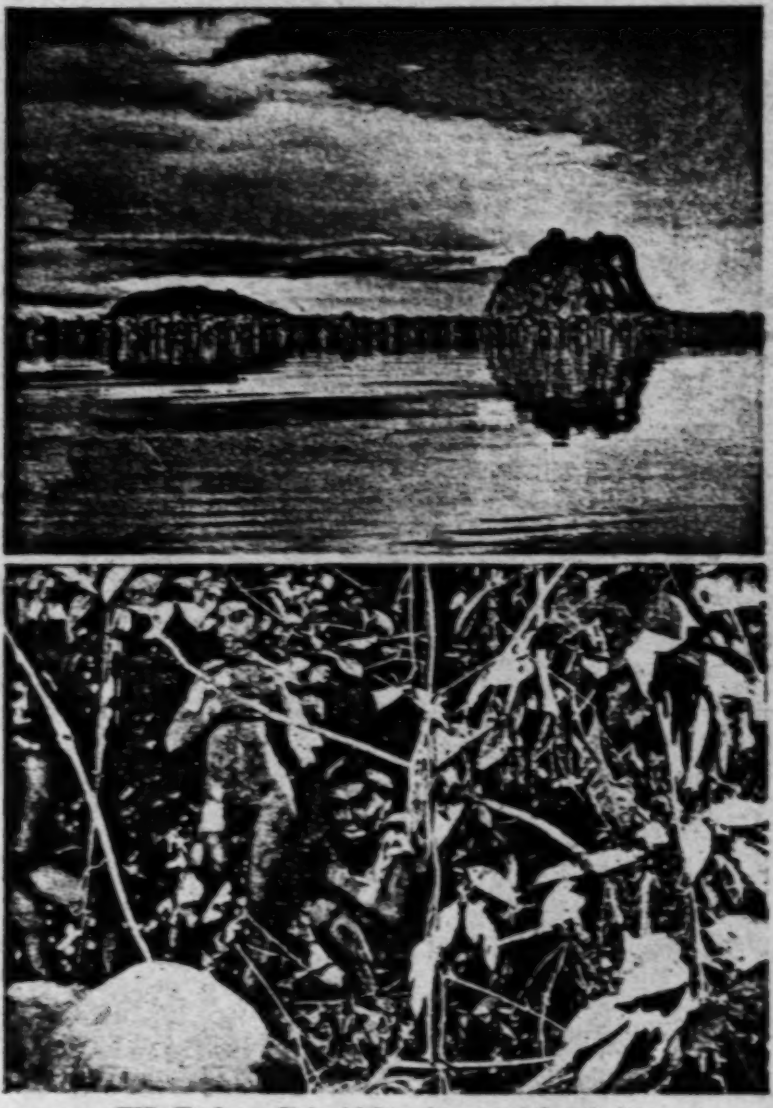
TOP: One evening, thirteen Guaharibos from the Padamo arrived. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM LEFT: Guaharibo Indian. Notice the length of his bow and arrows. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Guaharibo woman. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 64-B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica
133
291
516
137



TOP: The famous Piedra del Cocuy juts upwards from the forest.
(*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

BOTTOM: The first Waikas appear between the trees and hail us.
(*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 96 - B]

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica
142
291
302
●526

Waika Indian of the "Pleasant". (Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)

[p. 112-A]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

142
302
291
●546

Waika family of the " Platanal ". *(Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)*

[p. 112 - B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama Sh 1
Waica

352
415
142
516

439
123

TOP: Women of the "Plateau". Notice the household goods. The two types of hammock are clearly shown. *(Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)*

BOTTOM: Swapping. The little things we brought excited curiosity and greed. *(Photograph by J. Grelier)*

[P. 112-C]

[P. XVii]

142
291
301
411
137
574

Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekuva (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).

142
302
291
411
516
755
342
415

[P. XVIII]

142
302
516
251
262
415
352
353

Clay pots and banana (plantain) pealings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Mamo-teri man shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

142
291
516
411
342
726

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
516
578

Fig. 1 : Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast.

000
181
152
721
123

way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1-1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

142
301
302
516

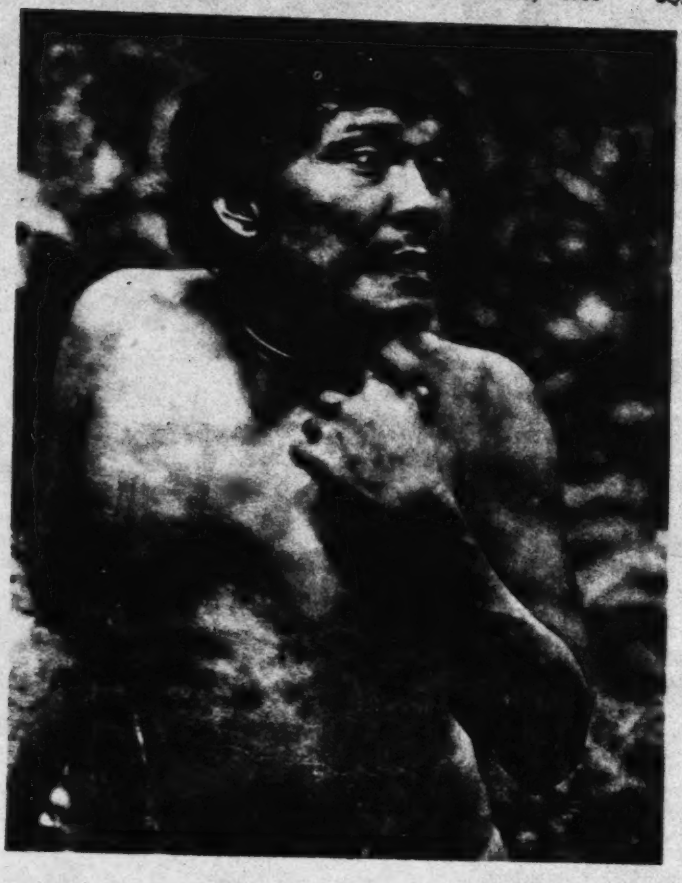


Fig. 1-3. Kąobawä, the wise leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village. 114 123 124

Kąobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kąobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kąobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two 115 [802] [595] [837] [835]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąobawä's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kąobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

Fig. 1-4. Kaamakima, Kąobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1–5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

302
824
412

"Razor grass"—a reed—also grows wild in the jungle. It is used by the Yąnomamö to cut their hair and to keep their tonsures cleanly shaved. A sliver of this reed is wrapped around the index finger in such a way that the sharp edge is exposed. The practiced hand can shave a head bald in a matter of minutes and with no more pain than would come from using a dull steel razor blade. This grass is also found around some of the villages, but appears not to be cultivated.

276

HALLUCINOGENIC DRUGS Another useful plant provided by the jungle is the *ebene* tree. The inner bark of this tree is used in the manufacture of one kind of hallucinogenic drug. The bark is scraped from the trunk after the exterior layer of bark is removed, or is scraped from the inside of the bark surface itself. This material, which is fairly moist, is then mixed with wood ashes and kneaded between the palms of the hands. Additional moisture is provided by spitting periodically into the pliable wad of drug. When the drug has been thoroughly mixed with saliva and ashes, it is placed on a hot piece of broken clay pot and the moisture driven out with heat. It is ground into a

[412]

Fig. 2-2 Women fishing in a dammed stream that has been poisoned by the juice of a wild liana. The poison is introduced upstream by the men, and the stunned fish are collected in baskets by the women.

226
137
415
516

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
291
302
516 •
756
276
342

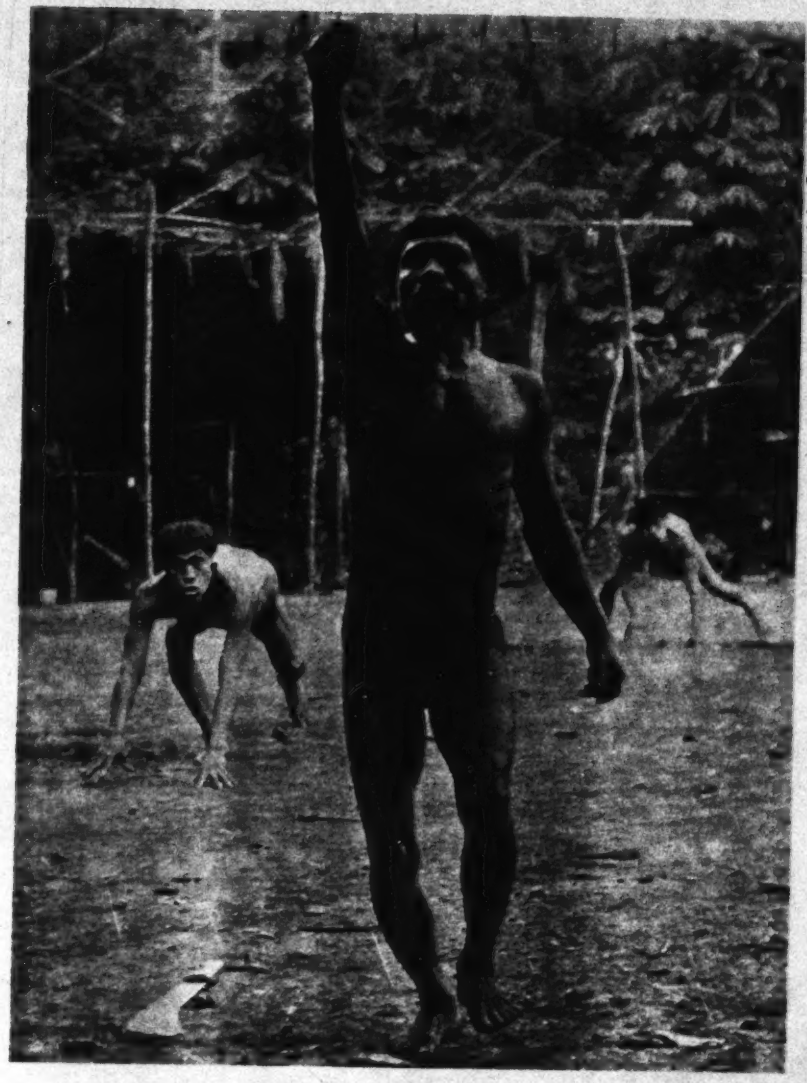


Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura*—demons.*

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *hedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yąnomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

769
266
628 *

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobömou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*roo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
516
415
622

Fig. 4–1. Kaobawä, headman, unpacking some of the meat his hunters have just collected for the feast.

111 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

629*
574
437
438

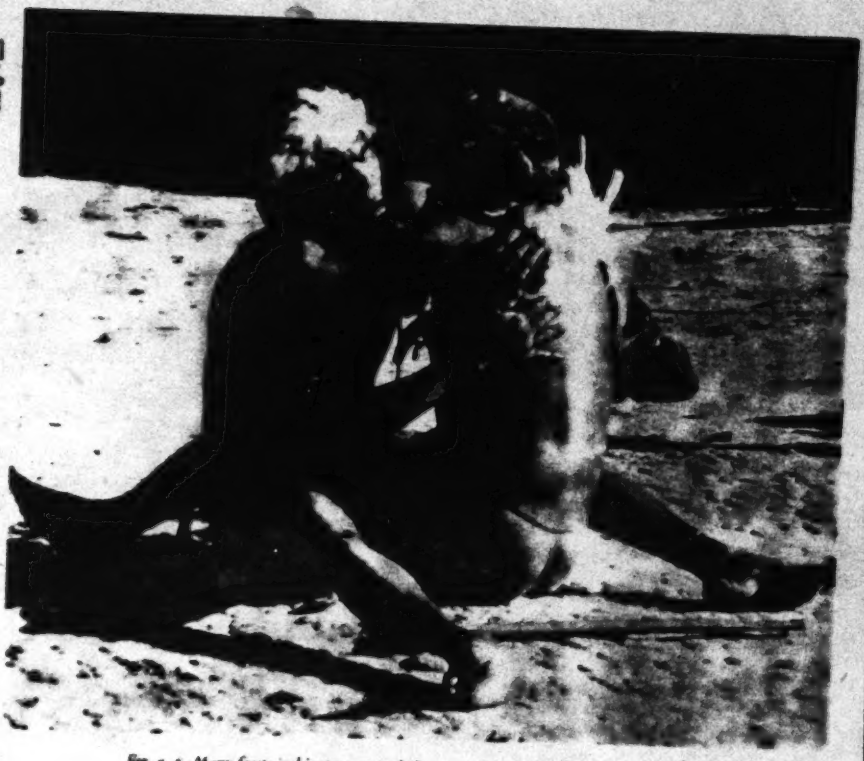
giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *no mnaiha*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4-2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from th[illegible] of a large tree, arapuri.

628*
574
301
302
516
411
415
342
264
262
291

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

301
516
291



[57]

Fig. 4–4. Many feasts end in prearranged chest-pounding duels; this permits the allies to display the fact that they are friendly but capable of defending their sovereignty. These two men were pounding each other's chests a few minutes before this photo was taken. Here, they embrace each other intimately, vowing eternal friendship, and ask each other for specific trade goods.

*628
578

these few minutes the men were rapidly changing the points of their arrows to war tips: curare and lanceolate bamboo. The women and children began to cry, knowing that the situation was getting serious, and they grouped into the farthest corners of their houses near the exits. One by one the men withdrew, returned to their houses, and drew their bows. The visitors pulled back and formed a protective circle around their own women and children, also fitting arrows into their bows and drawing them. The village grew almost silent. The leaders of the respective groups stepped into the no man's land separating the two groups of armed men and began arguing violently, waving axes and clubs at each other. Suddenly, the spokesmen from the visiting group surged toward Kaobawä and his supporters, swinging their axes and clubs wildly at them, forcing them back to the line of men whose bowstrings were drawn taut. Kaobawä and his followers regained their footing and repelled their adversaries at this point, while the women and children from both groups began fleeing from the village, screaming and wailing. It looked as if

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

411
516
291
342
137
726

Fig. 5-2. Kaobawä's men and their allies lining up (wayu itou) *to raid the Patanowä-teri.*

726
[123]
[533]
[825]

children and women died down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording a sacred rite. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep baritone voice: "I am meat hungry! I am meat hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kaobawä calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
516
411
965
892
926

Fig. 5–4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Damowã, slain Monou-teri headman.*

786
701
726
114
922
*628
726
[165]

located the enemy, but Paruriwã refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

The Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri raided against the Patanowã-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowã-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Damowã were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769 When the mixing of bone ashes, which lasted about two hours, was finished, Poréhiwõ returned the half-empty little jamaru vessels to the relatives, who, amid lamentations, took them for further safekeeping. Then a solemn procession began, in which, however, the Surára chief did not take part. Karenauõ, the Pakidái chief, strode ahead, followed by Poréhiwõ and Kurikayawõ, each of whom held in his hand one of the large jamaru vessels filled with bone ashes, a little urucú, and a few down-feathers of the gavião-real; all three were singing prayers. Behind them, weeping and lamenting, walked the closest relatives, who carried the small jamaru vessels. The warriors participating in the ceremony formed the end of the train.

[533] [782] This procession, which walked around the maloka courtyard several times, came to an end, after half an hour in front of the chief's hut, with a prayer sung in unison.

● [517] Meanwhile night had descended and most of the members of the two tribes were lying in their hammocks, sitting around the fire, or calling on each other, singly or in family groups, in order to chat. Loud, happy laughter often resounded. Opposite the hut of the Surára chief, however, six warriors who wore the feathers of the gavião-real in their hair had kindled three blazing fires, upon which, in several black, round-bottomed clay vessels (see p. 115) they cooked banana soup until midnight. During this time a medicine-man helper who carried a bow and arrow in his hand ran around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard, singing loudly, and requested the assistance [625] of the hekurá for the success of the soup. After that, general quiet set in; only two men made their rounds in front of the maloka, as they did every night, in order to warn the inhabitants, if necessary, of a hostile attack (513).

[624] [805]

513. The war chief divides up the watches each evening. The warriors have a feeling about when their time is up and they must waken their successors; as a rule this is done after two or three hours.

Surára
Pakidái

/116 cont./

123 touched me all over my body, and they examined my spectacles with particular interest (557) and were very astonished at my

557. The Surára chief was so enthusiastic about my spectacles that he asked me to be sure to bring him a pair on my next visit.

blond hair and blue eyes. When I shaved, I was likewise surrounded by a circle of spectators (558). Even when I had to re-

558. Similar experiences were had by Chaffanjon among the Kunuaná (Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 267/68), Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipang and Makuxí /Macusi/ (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 360), and Baldus among the Tapirapé (Baldus, 1956b, p. 606).

lieve myself, I was asked where I was going, and often I was joined by companions.

191 When the Surára and Pakidái see something new for the first time or if they like an object particularly well, they
• 521 manifest their approval by loud clickings. They love conversa-
[576] tion above all else, and even at night they go on talking for hours. They never interrupt each other, however.

593 Though the man is the head of the family, the wife is
592 regarded as his partner with equal rights, without whose advice he does not undertake anything important. If he has two or
595 more wives, the youngest usually leads a princess's existence,
593 for which even the older ones must contribute. Mistreatment of women occurs only on account of adultery and for reasons of jealousy. But if a man beats his wife or draws blood on her body with the little cutia-tooth knife, several companions of her own sex immediately hasten to her aid. They try to pin down the arms of the angry man, and one woman will attempt to seize his scrotum and squeeze it with all her might, so that

these situations[1] by establishing new gardens as new wars develop; occasionally, however, the wars take on unpredictable intensity before new gardens can be established, and the members of the villages concerned necessarily seek refuge with their allies.

To the Yanomamö, gardens (hikari) are the fount of subsistence. They acknowledge the relationship between chronic warfare and village relocation by being constantly on the lookout for new lands to settle. Men are always discussing the agricultural merits of the forested areas in which they hunt, and most new sites are selected on the basis of information collected by hunters. Thus, when the Namowei-tedi split up at Patanowä-tëka, the Bisaasi-tedi faction moved to Shihota, an area they knew well because they customarily hunted there.[2] In 1965 the Monou-tedi cleared a new garden at Moyanaböwei for the same reason. I accompanied hunting parties from Bisaasi-tedi on several occasions to new areas not normally frequented by these hunters, and the topic of agriculture invariably came up during the evening résumé of the day's experiences.

Other factors besides density of jungle, type of floral association, and general topography are considered by

[1] They avoid these situations because the hosts usually demand either sexual access to the women of the refugees, or wives for their bachelors. The refugees, of course, are reluctant to do either, but are frequently obliged to do both. The cost of the alliance, once again, is measured in terms of women lost.

[2] See Map C, and Chapter 5.

609 groups of Yąnomamö have begun referring to the entire tribe
601 as "Los Shori." The Yąnomamö address the missionaries with
799 this term hoping to maximize their chances of obtaining
[609] desirable manufactured goods such as machetes and axes.
[601]

609 Men who are not related by blood constantly remind
• 521 each other of obligations when they use this kinship term.
601 A brother-in-law deserves respect, fair treatment, and gratitude. As the term is reciprocal, a conversation between two shoriwë is punctuated frequently by these constant reminders that each owes the other goods, services and respect by virtue of the fact that they stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other. Such conversations, usually about material goods or women, strike the outsider as something of verbal contests to determine which of the two speakers is more of a shoriwë than the other, i.e., who owes the other more goods, services, gratitude and generosity. One who has actually given a sister to the other's group has an advantage, in a trading sense, as he can more legitimately claim goods from the wife receiver.

*628 When men visit the village of an ally to beg, trade or
574 participate in feasts, they call all non-related men of that
609 village 'brother-in-law,' emphasizing the fact that they
601 stand in wife-giver relationship to them, and deserve, therefore, the generosity of the hosts.
583

*628 Alliances between villages involve, in addition to
527 military aid, mutual feasting and trading. It must be
574 remembered that alliances, no matter how many marriage ex-
583
571

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

removed and laid along the ground in the direction of the burrow to measure the distance from the entrance. The men began digging at the end of the vine and located the asphyxiated armadillo on the first attempt.

The jungle provides many other kinds of foods and products too numerous to mention. Some, like vines and lianas, are very useful and commonly employed in basket-making; others, such as edible mushrooms, crabs, pigments, and decorative plant products, are less significant, and exploited only sporadically. Despite the amazing variety of food products to be found in the jungle, however, the Yąnomamö could not exist for any substantial period of time on collected foods only: they rely heavily on their cultivated crops. The tropical forest is much less productive and reliable than one would imagine. The most abundant foods, palm fruits, are seasonal—a group of people could only rely on them for a few months of the year, during which time some 80 group members would have to forage over a wide area to obtain sufficient palm fruits to keep everybody well fed.

Game animals are not abundant, and an area is rapidly hunted out, so that a group must keep constantly on the move. Furthermore, hunting depends as much on luck as it does on skill and is not a very reliable way to supply nourishment. I have gone on five-day hunting trips with the Yąnomamö in areas that had not been hunted for decades, and had we not brought cultivated foods along, we would have been extremely hungry at the end of this time—we did not collect even enough meat to feed ourselves. On other trips, we often managed to collect enough game in one day to feed the entire village.

GARDENING Although the Yąnomamö spend almost as much time hunting as they do gardening, the bulk of their diet comes from foods that are cultivated. Perhaps 85 percent or more of the diet consists of domesticated rather than wild foods—plantains are by far the most important food in the diet.

The Yąnomamö are constantly looking for potential garden sites. When I hunted with them, the topic of conversation that evening would eventually drift over to the merits of the area as a possible site for a new garden. Most new garden sites are, in fact, discovered by hunters.

The land for a new site should not be heavily covered with brush, which is difficult to remove. The larger trees should not be too numerous either, as it takes a good deal of work to chop them down. Ideally, the new site should have very light jungle cover, should be well drained, near a source of drinking water, and relatively free of thorny underbrush. The Yąnomamö call a garden *hikuri täka;* jungle that has the potential of being a good garden is likewise called *hikuri täka.*

The first operation in making a new garden is to cut the smaller trees and brush; the bigger trees, *kayaha hi,* are left standing until the underbrush is removed. Then the big trees are felled with axes and left lying on the ground to dry out in the sun.

My older informants claimed that they did not have steel tools when they were younger and had to kill the big trees by cutting a ring of bark off around the base of the stump, using a crude stone axe, piling brush around them, and burning them. The trees rarely fell, but the fire usually killed them, and their leaves dropped off, permitting the sunlight to reach the ground.

They also claimed that making a garden was more arduous in those days because a large area would have to be searched for the necessary quantities of kindling used to kill the big trees. Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Shararaiwã, Kaobawã's youngest brother, helped build Kaobawã's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kaobawã's younger wife. Kaobawã's older wife, *Bahimi*, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kaobawã's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yanomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hushimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kaobawã's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 voice to the hekurá and constantly passed his hands from his head
[782] to his feet. His brother Kurikayawõ repeated each of his words
[788] and imitated the gestures (511). Around the four men, who were

511. This was again the symbolic transmission of the prayers from the hekurá to Porẽ/Perimbõ (see also p. 228).

now officiating as priests, crouched red-painted warriors whose head hair was completely covered with the down feathers of the gavião-real. Whenever the Pakidái chief poured a new mixture of bone ashes and urucú into a larger jamaru vessel, he always pulled a few feathers from the heads of the warriors and threw them in (512). The closest relatives of the late deceased sat

[751]

512. There is defensive magic connected with this. For if the men, in the subsequent ceremonial drinking of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes, swallow these feathers, they and their families are better protected against sickness.

behind the warriors and sobbed heart-rendingly, especially the
[782] women. Their tears /106/ flowed uninterruptedly, and at the same time they prayed in a low, singing cadence. When the bone ashes of another jamaru vessel were mixed with urucú by Porẽhiwõ, their sobbing and their prayers changed to high, shrill tones. This made no impression upon the medicine men, however, who imperturbably went on with their activity. The
[302] mourners were surrounded by a circle of standing warriors painted
[301] red and adorned with upper-arm feathers, who held bows and arrows in their hands and faced outward. It was their task to shield
• [522] the ceremony against harmful outside influences. Behind them stood numerous male spectators, who followed the proceedings with interest, to be sure, but without inner participation, for at times they laughed and joked.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers
[622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village,
[156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the
[582] villages to which Kąobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kąobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kąobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relation-
[622] ships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[583] He does not intend to stay in Kąobawä's group and has not made a garden. He
[591] feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an
[837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked
[593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother
[578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kąobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kąobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good
[522] side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yąnomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

/22 cont./

411
●524 Boys' bow:

The boys' bow -- hauoá -- is 80-90 centimeters long and consists of a curved branch of the paioôrimá tree, which also furnishes the material for the bird arrow-points. As in the case of all branch-bows, the arms are of different lengths, so that an unsymmetrical shape is produced, which affects the accuracy of the

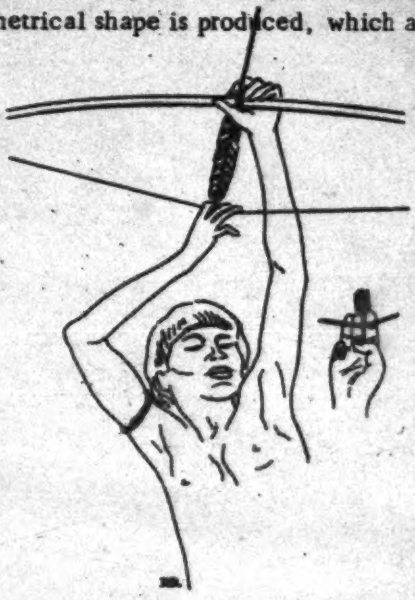


Fig. 3. Position for shooting with the bow.

shot. This is of no consequence, however, since these are merely toy bows for small boys. On both ends the bow staff is tapered and set off to receive the bowstring -- pebatábe -- which is made out of a liana (cipó-titica) (Fig. 2g).

Boys' arrows:

Ruhumaçík is the name of the thin arrow, 80-90 centimeters long, for boys, which the fathers make out of the wood of the inaja palm Maximiliana regia Mart.) -- kareximaçí. The feathering -- jaronahík -- consists of two small halves of mutum feathers, which are lashed to the shaft with a thread of cotton. Instead of an arrow point mounted separately, the arrow here is only slightly pointed (Fig. 2h); the designation for it is -- peimaçikenâme.

/65 cont./

000 children (see pp. 64 ff.). A thin cord of cotton or plant fibers,
301 which is occasionally worn below the knees, is supposed to
856 strengthen the legs, and corresponding upper-arm cords, the muscles (in the case of boys) and the arms (in the case of girls). Moreover, small girls wear strings crossed over their chests so that they will have well-shaped breasts later on.

f) Childhood

593 Even in boyhood and girlhood the family bears the chief
857 responsibility for all educational measures. The boy, to be sure, is now drawn to the father somewhat more and gradually begins to free himself from his mother. With his bow, which his father has made for him, he daily practices shooting small birds, for it is believed that a boy who kills many birds will later become a good hunter. They are cleaned and prepared by the girls, however, and together the children then have a meal, to which the girls often contribute cooked bananas or manioc flat-cakes. In play the children are properly prepared for their future duties and responsibilities as adults. Thus, the girls occasionally also help their mothers and fetch their water or wood, or they assume the care of their younger siblings.

861 The modest, thoughtful nature of these Indian children
[157] should be emphasized. Yet they are never beaten and they never hear a harsh word either from their parents or from other adults. Gentle admonishment suffices to reprove a child if it is really
857 naughty on occasion. Even in their play, however, there are
152 seldom such quarrels as are so frequent among civilized children. It would be quite unthinkable, for example, for a Surára or Pakidái child to run to its mother in order to complain about a playmate.

● 524 Boys and girls grow up together quite naturally and without constraint, as is shown by the fact that group games are preferred to solitary games. A great favorite, among others, is a game of ball which they play with a monkey bladder. It is batted upward with the palm of the hand (see also p. 246). They also play a sort of tug-of-war with lianas (see p.244). Moreover, the boys
[868] often imitate the dances of the men, while the girls are very fond of string games. It is especially popular to play "mother and

Surára
Pakidái

/65 cont./

524 child" or "married couple." In the latter game sexual activity
524 is already often involved. As long as the children have not yet
864 reached puberty, the adults laugh about it. It is only the mothers of girls who are a little annoyed when they hear about it. They do not regard it as tragic, however, since they themselves were reprimanded about it by their mothers when they were little girls.

/66/

582 g) Marriage

At the age of 7-8 a girl as a rule has already been given in
585 marriage. The husband is usually 8-10 years older. They do not as yet lead a regular married life, however. During the day the little girl plays with other children, and only at night does she sleep
[833] in her hammock beside her husband. Sexual intercourse, however,
[593] is strictly forbidden until after the second menstruation. She also fetches firewood and water and receives prepared food for herself
[484] and her husband from her family. When the tribe is on the march, she carries the hammock of her spouse and the few household articles. Economic reasons are connected with this marriage in childhood, for the young husband must hunt for his little wife and
606 her parents. Especially noteworthy is the reserve toward in-laws which operate in such a way that son-in-law and mother-in-law never
582 speak to each other and may not visit each other. Since the fear of incest is very great in both tribes, a marriage, which is always agreed upon by the parents, may be entered into only by partners who are not related by kinship. For this reason young wives are preferably obtained from a friendly tribe; in this case, however, the young man must live there until his wife has put her second
583 menstruation behind her. Occasionally young girls and women are abducted from hostile tribes. They are first held as captives and prostitutes for some time, however, before a man may finally marry them. I met such a little female captive among the Surára. She came from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí and was approximately 15 or 16 years old.

Surára
Pakidái

/107 cont./

769
296 snuff-tubes. After these preparations, the chiefs, all the men, youths, and boys, light and black-colored participants, assembled outside the maloka. At a hissing sound from Hewemão they then stormed into the courtyard, screaming loudly, ran once around the periphery, and then grouped themselves around the clay plate. The snuff-tubes were filled with powder, and the men by twos blew it with all their might into each other's noses (Ill. 44). On the occasion of this festival they take even more snuff than before other magic performances, curing the sick, and prayers. The effect was extraordinary. After only a few moments all the men were in a wild state of ecstasy (Ills. 45 and 46). At first they danced and leaped, gesticulating and screaming, in wild disorder around the clay plate, and after that they stormed around the courtyard several times in the
[535] same manner. Then groups of five, ten, or more men put their arms around each other's necks and performed stamping circle-dances in this formation (Ill. 47), during which each man tried to pull another one tightly to him; now and then they also
769
• 526 danced with the knees bent. After half an hour, this ecstatic dancing, during which the participants were bathed in sweat, was replaced by an extremely strange type of sport -- petapõanhamũ. In the entire outer circle of the maloka courtyard there were seated everywhere two men opposite each other, chest to chest, with legs spread apart; in each case one had his on top of the thighs of the other one. The partners were always a Surára and a Pakidái; moreover, in each case one of them was blackened. They wound their arms around each other at the neck and, with vigorous arm movements, pulled each other back and forth with all their might (Ill. 48). Each tried to pull the head of his opponent quite close to him. Sometimes their arms would drop down on the back of the other one, and they would then pull at each other for a while in this position. During the struggle they constantly called out wrathful words at each other. Often the wives stood beside their husbands and spurred them on. But there were no victors and no losers in these combats. If the strength of a combatant flagged, another tribesman immediately came and continued the struggle with the opponent

Surára, Pakidái, Waiká

/107 cont./

769 in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted
526 one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs
[622] and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this
[624] type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with
[147] five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other, who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexí (see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After
[262] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed themselves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and maniac flat-
[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in connection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

769 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká,
114 which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds
184

515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

2: Becher--235 . E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára, Pakidái Waica

/108 cont./

769 182 184 789 526 [266]

festival. It is decidedly a festival in memory of the dead, which characterized by the ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe. At the same time, defensive magic against the nonexí is connected with it, for they, of course, are the ones who transmit sickness and thereby frequently cause death. As in all the magic cures for healing the sick, where the symbolic struggles between the "hekurá" and one or more "nonexí" are always enacted (see pp. 212 ff.), this factor is naturally also in evidence in all parts of the festival, in the dances, in the mixing of bone ashes, when the medicine man pulls down-feathers of the gavião-real out of the hair of the warriors and adds these, and in the duels performed in a sitting position. The latter are also documented for the Waiká in the same way, but Zerries writes that neither for him nor for the American missionaries was it possible to find out anything definite about the meaning of this ceremony (517). Presumably,

517. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

however, it is the same symbolic struggle between a good and an evil spirit as among the Surára and Pakidái. As yet nothing has been reported about this from other Indian tribes. My informants, however, told me that the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí engage in these combats on the occasion of their festivals in memory of the dead. Hence it seems to be a very special characteristic of the Yanonámi, which in former times may have been even more widespread. Herr Dr. Gerdt Kutscher, in connection with a lecture I gave in Berlin, called my attention to the fact that the position taken by the two men during this is reminiscent of the painting on a clay bowl from the Rio Ulúa, Honduras (518). According to Zerries, Barker,

114 769 526

518. This is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (No. IVa Ca 22381) and was reproduced in an article by Walter Lehmann (Lehmann, 1910, p. 737, Ill. 9).

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

114 /108 cont./ According to Zerries, Barker,
769 and Dupouy, there is also a similar combat among the Waiká,
522 in which the partners alternately beat each other on the chest
184 with clenched fists (519a, b, c). I did not observe this among

519a. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

519b. Barker, 1953, p. 447.

519c. Dupouy, 1953, p. 495.

114 the Surára and Pakidái. Similarly unknown there is the custom,
769 also reported by Zerries, that the men, when they run about in
276 the snuff-powder intoxication, hit each other on the back with the palm of the hand (520). The author named regards this as a

520. Zerries 1955b, p. 665.

769 fertility rite. There seems to be involved here, however, out-
177 side influences of agricultural tribes, which is indicated also by the ceremonial gathering of pupunha fruits (521).

521. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

769 It is further noteworthy that among the Waiká women and
184 girls actively participate in the festival in that they take part in
562 some dances and even drink some of the banana soup mixed with
[266] bone ashes (522). In contrast to this, the female members of

522. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662 ff.

the tribe act only as spectators among the Surára and Pakidái.

769 The endocannibalism should be regarded as a very signifi-
184 cant similar trait. It is documented for the Waiká by Cruxent (523a)
266
114

523a. Cruxent, 1953a, pp. 149/50.

[illegible] articles (519) (520) (521). Moreover, /108/

[illegible] Zerries, [illegible]

/112 cont./

789 [821] [302] it is not needed, for example, before hunting expeditions or during a tribal migration. In this case all the men, women, and children paint their bodies with a confusion of serpentine lines, in order by this means to command the rain to stop. If
•526 789 this does not help, a tug of war -- toõtotő -- with a thick liana is arranged. This liana personifies the sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) --
[776] uaikonyá -- which, as a strong water-animal, has the power to induce Porê to stop shaking the rain tree (see p. 199). At first only two groups of red-painted men engage in the tug of war. But if the rain simply will not abate, red-painted women also take part in it. Their participation is supposed to increase the
[776] pressure on the sucuriju, for it is assumed that it is of the female sex and thus particularly well-disposed toward women. Such a
[857] tug of war often goes on for several hours. In most cases, besides adults, I also saw children who imitated it with a thin liana.

526 789 821 If it happens to rain while the sun is shining, the Surára and Pakidái believe that a serious fight has broken out between the moon, from which the rain comes, and the sun. Then all the members of the tribe feel obligated to come to the aid of their Supreme Being, the moon. They do this by again forming two mixed groups of men and women -- one symbolically represents the population of the moon and the other that of the sun -- who throw wet earth at each other; this "battle" is called xejejő.

782 5. A Special Way of Showing Gratitude to Porê and Perimbő

In connection with the festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.) after the training period of the two medicine-man helpers (see pp. 143 f.), after the curing of the sick (see pp. 211 ff.), and other magic ceremonies, the people want to thank Porê and Perimbő (see p. 197) in a special way, outside of the customary prayers which take place through the hekurá (see pp. 199/201). For this purpose a large calabash is filled with earth,
[824] into which, in a circle, are stuck red-painted twigs of the imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.), which are connected

/113 cont./

7. Types of Sports

526
[578] Aside from the stick duels -- xelekuhahẽ --, which are carried out for reasons of jealousy (549), all other types of sports

549. I have already described these stick duels in detail (Becher, 1959, pp. 162-167).

have a religious or magical character.

[237] Noteworthy above all is the game of ball with a monkey bladder -- yarobussí. Only male members of the tribe may take part in it, and for this purpose they always put on their cotton belts. Then they form a circle and keep hitting the bladder upward with the palm of the hand; it then represents both the sun and the moon (Ill. 50).

526
171
821 This game of ball is very similar to that of the Uitoto /Witoto/, even with respect to the lunar and solar conceptions associated with it (550a). Moreover, it should be mentioned

550a. Preuss, 1921, pp. 123, 133-136; 1923, pp. 644 to 659.

that in a myth of the Paressi both celestial bodies are thought of as feather balls (550b). Finally, reference is to be made to the

550b. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 435/36.

Aztec popular belief in which the flying ball is likewise identified with sun and moon (551).

551. Krickeberg, 1948, p. 139.

526 Three other types of sports of the Surára and Pakidái have already been described elsewhere: petapoanhamú, the fight

/113 cont./

526 between two men embracing each other, which is performed in a sitting position (see p. 233); the tug of war (see p. 244); and the throwing of wet earth at one another (see p. 244).

539 [115]

IX. Myths and Legends

The following myths and legends were told me by the Surára chief Hewemãõ:

The Creation of the Yanonãmi

The earth already existed and was full of plants and animals, but as yet was without human beings. But one day the first man, Uruhí, came out of the leg of the xiapó, a small bird with black and yellow feathers similar to the japim. A short time later the bird-leg gave birth to a second man, then a third, a fourth, and finally a woman, Petã. These four men and the woman lived together in perfect harmony. Petã, to be sure, was the wife of Uruhí, the first-born, but the other three brothers also had the right to have sexual intercourse with her (552).

[835] 552. Among the Surára and Pakidái, the younger, unmarried brothers likewise have the right to have sexual intercourse with the wives of their elder brothers. Moreover, the members of both tribes believe that a woman is able to have strong children only if she has frequent intercourse with other men during her pregnancy. [843]

After a year Petã gave birth to a strong, healthy boy who grew rapidly and called all four men "father" (553). The boy's

[601] 553. The Surára and Pakidái children also call the unmarried brother of their father, not uncle, but likewise father.

2: Becher--280 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/15/

769
276
142
291
302

Ill. 46. Height of ecstasy

Ill. 47. Circle dance in the state of ecstasy

769
276
535
769
526

Ill. 48. Petapoanhamũ -- the embracing-combat performed in a sitting position

2: Becher--281 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/18/
Surára
Pakidái
755
756
291

Ill. 49. Curing the sick in pouring rain. (Five Surára medicine-man helpers dance around a youth sick with chicken pox)

526
237

Ill. 50. Ball game with a monkey bladder

/447/

The Fiesta of the Harvest of "Pijiguao"

527 The fiesta of the harvest of the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm
574 (Bactris gasipaës) is perhaps the most important event of the year.
During this harvest everybody has food to spare and consequently
(484) can receive all those who want to visit them. As a result of this
there is a great deal of traveling during this period.

(628) Frequently two or three settlements gather in order to celebrate the fiesta. Then one part will go to celebrate the same fiesta in other friendly settlements.

The hosts, and sometimes the visitors as well, go out on a hunting trip, which lasts for several days, until they collect a sufficient quantity of meat. This meat is smoked and preserved for the fiesta.

527 When the hunters come back, the fiesta begins at night with considerable joy and singing. The hunters gather and march around the interior patio of the settlement several times. Then
• (526) there begins a mock battle with cudgels. Those who have axes or machetes use these in place of cudgels. They are waved about in the air in a way similar to an attack in fencing or fighting with cudgels. The weapons clash together, but blows are not struck at the body.

After this comes the fire procession. Every man takes a burning torch from the fire and joins the others who go around and around the periphery of the great circular patio formed by the huts. From time to time, when passing in front of one of the surrounding ranchos, they rap with the torch on one of the straight supports which hold up the roof, scattering sparks in the air.

(526) Afterwards, they do what is known as "golpeo al pecho" /hitting the chest/. The boys and a few men pair off against those of another settlement and carry out a duel of blows on the chest. One will present his chest while the other hits it with the side of the fist.

(533) All of these acts are carried out amidst much jubilation and singing. Sometimes this is repeated on the following night.

/448/

527 276 After this comes the daytime ceremony. A great deal of "yopo" is prepared and placed near the center of the group of huts. Some six or eight boys of the "host" settlement march around the patio and then toward the place where the "yopo" is. Another group of boys follows them rapidly. As each group arrives at the center, the boys receive a puff of "yopo" in the nose. After each and every one of the boys has taken the "yopo" through the nasal passage, the men follow them in the same way, in groups of six or eight. And when all of the "hosts" are in the center, the ones representing the "guest" or visiting settlement, follow them in the same "yopo" ceremony.

527 526 276 When each and every one has received his portion of "yopo," the group of men begins to march around in the center of the circular patio of the settlement. After a few minutes have passed, the men begin to separate off in pairs. The most violent of them begin having duels of blows on the chest. Others, seated by pairs on the ground, talk among themselves in the manner of the crooned messages.

The duels of blows on the chest receive the greatest attention. All those who are not paired off are watching. Also many of the women come to watch them. The group of onlookers approaches so close that only a part of them can manage to see what is actually happening.

527 276 Some of the men who have taken too much "yopo" lie impotently on their backs and are dragged out of the sun into the shade of the houses by the women.

And others who have taken a certain excess of "yopo" keep walking around, and their wives have great difficulty in keeping them inside the settlement. If they manage to get into the woods with no one watching over them, they may find themselves in grave danger.

[574] [484] After a while, everything begins to quiet down. Meat and as much "pijiguao" as it is possible to carry are given to the guests for their return trip. Thus they may take as long as a week on the trip to their settlement without running out of provisions.

*621 White's generalization that

> every society tends to behave in such a way as to achieve that balance between size and solidarity that will give it the maximum effectiveness in carrying on its life-sustaining activities. (1959:104)

*621 *683 562 583 582 721 Belligerent ideology and aggressive behavior

Village size plays an important role in the nature of the political relationships between groups that are not linked by kinship ties. As mentioned above, larger villages tend to use their strength and dominance to upset the exchange balance of women. But the degree to which a powerful group is able to force a dependent ally to cede women is limited by the ability of the smaller group to raid the larger village successfully. In ideological terms the Yanomamö express this capacity to wage war by placing emphasis on and valuing aggressive behavior. It is considered both proper and desirable to act ferociously, as this informs neighbors of the group's capacity to wage war and warns them that the group is willing to resort to war in political dealings.

*621 *628 526 574 152 Members of small villages are consequently constrained to behave militantly toward larger neighbors to limit the coercion that the larger group may be tempted to try. Their fierce behavior takes the form of threat, bluff, chicanery in trading and, most important, challenges to duels. Frequently, when villagers are invited to feast with an allied group, the invitation includes a challenge to a chest-pounding

duel. Such a duel functions to remind the allies that the host is strong and willing to display his strength to protect his sovereignty.

The practical effect of this kind of behavior is that the solidarity of political alliances is constantly threatened. Allies are always suspicious of each other's intentions, and political ties between them are tenuous.

Although the giving of women in marriage between allies serves to promote solidarity, the capacity for marriage to achieve this end in itself is limited by the constant displays of hostility and aggressiveness by both groups.

The display of ferocity is manifest at the local, village level also. No insult is too slight to go unnoticed and unchallenged. Indeed, most individuals seize upon these opportunities to display strength. Thus, a legitimate way for men to display aggressiveness is for them to beat their errant wives, to burn them with fire brands, to cut their arms and legs with machetes or to shoot them in a non-vital part of the body with a barbed arrow. Men constantly intimidate their wives and respond cruelly to the slightest provocations, such as the wife's failure to act quickly on a husband's demand for food. Men who are brutal to their wives are feared and respected by other men, for the implication of this behavior is that the man will behave equally fiercely if insulted by another man.

Men often prefer to have a wife from another village, upon whom it is easier--and safer--to vent ferocity and

10: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

627
579
411
• 526
541

[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

627
579
411
526
541

[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

Surára
Pakidái

/110 cont./

527 Between the patapíanomão festivals the Surára and Pakidái have only a few other festivities in the course of the year. These are but small celebrations, which, for example, take place after the two-months' training of two young men as medicine-man helpers, after a successful war-expedition, upon moving into a newly erected maloka, and in connection with the second menstruation of a girl. The latter has more of an intimate character, for only families of relatives and friends take part in it.

4. Magic for Sickness, Hunting, Love, and Rain

754
825 a) Magic for sickness:

[824] A magic powder is occasionally prepared from the bark ashes of a wild mimosa species (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekuráhihenâ -- (see also p. 192) and the bone powder of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). In the evening, shortly before twilight sets in, if a gavião-real happens to be flying by or is sitting on a tree, the chief blows this powder in the direction of the bird. The latter receives it and with it transmits sickness to a specific hostile tribe.

224
789 b) Hunting magic:

[782] The evening before a proposed hunting expedition the hunter takes snuff-powder and prays for about 2-3 hours to the hekurá (see pp. 200/201), whereby through them he requests [302] Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) for a successful outcome. Then, before he sets out the next morning, he paints serpentine lines [825] on his face and body with urucú. If his wife accompanies him, she also applies this design, and the snout and feet of a dog that is taken along are painted with the same color. This is [751] supposed to increase the luck of the hunt and is at the same time bound up with defensive magic against possible dangers threatened by poisonous snakes and jaguars.

262 /207 cont./
223 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of
825 cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear. The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for
[514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground,
[785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily" on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war"
/see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy.
[433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit,
[527] and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social
[114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48), Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion in greater detail, according to their observation of it among the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

/447/

The Fiesta of the Harvest of "Pijiguao"

527 The fiesta of the harvest of the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm
574 (Bactris gasipaës) is perhaps the most important event of the year.
During this harvest everybody has food to spare and consequently
[484] can receive all those who want to visit them. As a result of this
there is a great deal of traveling during this period.

[628] Frequently two or three settlements gather in order to celebrate the fiesta. Then one part will go to celebrate the same fiesta in other friendly settlements.

The hosts, and sometimes the visitors as well, go out on a hunting trip, which lasts for several days, until they collect a sufficient quantity of meat. This meat is smoked and preserved for the fiesta.

527 When the hunters come back, the fiesta begins at night with considerable joy and singing. The hunters gather and march around the interior patio of the settlement several times. Then
[526] there begins a mock battle with cudgels. Those who have axes or machetes use these in place of cudgels. They are waved about in the air in a way similar to an attack in fencing or fighting with cudgels. The weapons clash together, but blows are not struck at the body.

After this comes the fire procession. Every man takes a burning torch from the fire and joins the others who go around and around the periphery of the great circular patio formed by the huts. From time to time, when passing in front of one of the surrounding ranchos, they rap with the torch on one of the straight supports which hold up the roof, scattering sparks in the air.

[526] Afterwards, they do what is known as "golpeo al pecho" /hitting the chest/. The boys and a few men pair off against those of another settlement and carry out a duel of blows on the chest. One will present his chest while the other hits it with the side of the fist.

[533] All of these acts are carried out amidst much jubilation and singing. Sometimes this is repeated on the following night.

/448/

527 276 After this comes the daytime ceremony. A great deal of "yopo" is prepared and placed near the center of the group of huts. Some six or eight boys of the "host" settlement march around the patio and then toward the place where the "yopo" is. Another group of boys follows them rapidly. As each group arrives at the center, the boys receive a puff of "yopo" in the nose. After each and every one of the boys has taken the "yopo" through the nasal passage, the men follow them in the same way, in groups of six or eight. And when all of the "hosts" are in the center, the ones representing the "guest" or visiting settlement, follow them in the same "yopo" ceremony.

527 526 276 When each and every one has received his portion of "yopo," the group of men begins to march around in the center of the circular patio of the settlement. After a few minutes have passed, the men begin to separate off in pairs. The most violent of them begin having duels of blows on the chest. Others, seated by pairs on the ground, talk among themselves in the manner of the crooned messages.

The duels of blows on the chest receive the greatest attention. All those who are not paired off are watching. Also many of the women come to watch them. The group of onlookers approaches so close that only a part of them can manage to see what is actually happening.

527 276 Some of the men who have taken too much "yopo" lie impotently on their backs and are dragged out of the sun into the shade of the houses by the women.

And others who have taken a certain excess of "yopo" keep walking around, and their wives have great difficulty in keeping them inside the settlement. If they manage to get into the woods with no one watching over them, they may find themselves in grave danger.

[574] [484] After a while, everything begins to quiet down. Meat and as much "pijiguao" as it is possible to carry are given to the guests for their return trip. Thus they may take as long as a week on the trip to their settlement without running out of provisions.

241 sweet-potatoes, bitter and sweet yucca (manioc), and two varieties of another root crop known in Venezuela as mapuey. Next in importance is the seasonal crop of peach palm fruits (pijiguao), groves of which are cultivated by the Yąnomamö.

[222] Contrary to some accounts, the Yąnomamö never collect this crop from wild trees, although they do return to abandoned gardens to collect the fruit. Other economically significant crops include maize, sugar cane, papaya, pineapples, avocados, peppers and gourds. Also grown are cotton, tobacco, arrow cane, drugs, pigment (bixa), and a large assortment of plants used for magical purposes only. Both their feasting practices [133] [527] and their warfare pattern[1] stimulate the Yąnomamö to grow more [122] than they require for subsistence purposes alone.

241 361 Occasionally the gardens of a particular village may have a preponderance of yucca (manioc) and maize as compared to plantains and bananas. This is usually the result of the distance between the last occupied site and the new one; it is easier to carry seeds and cuttings of maize and yucca than the heavier plantain and banana shoots, and a village that moves any distance usually establishes its new garden largely from cuttings and seeds of these plants taken from the old [262] garden. Eventually, however, the plantains and bananas spread, and a mature garden will always have a preponderance of these crops, the preferred staple of Yąnomamö diet.

222 Wild palm fruits are important additions to the diet

---

[128] [1]The Yąnomamö are occasionally obliged to take in refugee members of an allied village, and they plan their gardens accordingly.

222 in particular seasons; the most important are manaca, seje, moriche and yagua. The hearts as well as the fruits are eaten, and the Indians usually return to trees they have felled to collect the large, fat, white grubs that mature in the decayed pith. In general, a great deal of energy goes into the collection of these palm fruits in proportion to the caloric return and, even during the peak of the wild fruit harvest, the Yąnomamö still depend heavily on their cultivated foods.

222
241
146

224 Two kinds of hunting techniques provide the Yąnomamö with most of their meat; the occasional kills made by their dogs provide the rest. The first, called rama, is the desultory individual hunting that goes on around the villages. These hunts rarely last more than one day. The second kind of hunting, called heniyomou, involves as many as a dozen hunters who set up a temporary camp a day's walk or more away from the village and use it as the base of operations. This kind of hunting may last five days or more and occurs immediately before a feast, as the etiquette of feasting requires that guests be given fresh meat to eat on their way home after the feast.

529
574

Game animals most commonly taken include several species of monkeys, two species of wild pig, tapir, armadillo, agouti, anteaters, wild turkeys, and a small alligator-like reptile (babilla, Spanish). Other game animals taken with less enthusiasm and less frequency include deer, turtles, parrots, snakes, capibara, guinea-hens and a large rodent (lapa, Spanish).

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the [701] entire group has already decided to undertake. His major function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable [529] task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently [574] initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often super- [489] vises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [527] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in [241] initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food [578] given away during the feast. During club-fights within the [621] village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting [629] stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

622 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion 72 to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek 554 to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

of the sex ratio, and the distribution of the women among them.

In Chapter 5 I will show how the two Shamatari villages, Reyabobŏwei-tedi and Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, participated in a treacherous feast during which they killed a number of their kinsmen from Mŏwăraoba-tedi. This feast committed the two Shamatari villages to an alliance with the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi in which the latter two villages were, in a political-military sense, less dependent on the support of the Shamatari than the Shamatari were on them. The Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi and the Reyabobŏwei-tedi represented the front of the Shamatari expansion into the unoccupied Mavaca River area. The territory they abandoned as they expanded to the west was subsequently occupied by other Shamatari villages, the members of which were historically related to them.[1] By participating in the treacherous feast and becoming enemies to their congeners, the two Shamatari villages subordinated themselves to the interests of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Since they formed a buffer between the villages of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi on the one hand, and the Shamatari village of Mŏwăraoba-tedi on the other, they bore the brunt of the raids mounted by the latter in revenge for the treachery. In short, they had only two dependable allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an im-

[1] See Chapter 5, "The History of Paruritawă-tedi."

Their dependence
*628 on these allies was transformed into an im-
583 balance in the exchange of women between the two groups of
162 villages, accounting for the variation in sex-ratio given for
562
*621 the villages in Table 1.

*628 The degree to which each village is dependent on its
583 allies is roughly indicates in Table 1. The Reyaboböwei-tedi,
726 being closer, geographically, to the MöwÏraoba-tedi, suffered
722 more from the revenge raids of the latter. In other words, they needed military aid from their own allies to a greater extent, and have, accordingly, lost far more women to their allies as a consequence. But the true situation is even more remarkable than suggested by the sex ratio for the Reyaboböwei-tedi; a large percentage of the women in their village have been abducted by them in raids against the MöwÏraoba-tedi, i.e., they have actually lost more women to their allies in exchanges than is suggested by the sex-ratio alone.

*621 Again, the sex ratios for the Bisaasi-tedi and the
162
*628 Monou-tedi are misleading without additional information.
583 These two villages would seem, from Table 1, to have gained a remarkable number of women in the political alliances they
162 made with their Shamatari friends. This, however, is not the
*628 only reason they have such a high percentage of women in
*621 their populations. In 1950 these villages were victimized
726 by the MöwÏraoba-tedi and the Iwahikoroba-tedi in a treacher-
• 527 ous feast. They lost approximately 15 men. Were two-thirds
165 of these men alive today, for example, the resultant sex ratios for the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi population would more accurately reflect the dominance gradient, measured

in terms of women ceded to them by the Shamatari, that they maintain over their Shamatari allies.

The sex ratio data give a rough idea, then, of the extent of female infanticide and, in addition, reflect the political relationships of the villages to each other in terms of the flow of women. Other demographic data, however, suggest that the practice of female infanticide is even higher than the sex ratios alone indicate. Table 2 gives the stated cause of death of 240 adult individuals. These individuals are related to the living members of the three villages of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi. It is immediately apparent that more men die in warfare than women,[1] implying that the frequency of female infanticide is substantially higher than the 8% suggested by sex ratio data.

There are several ways the Yanomamö remedy their woman shortage. Young bachelors, for example, practice sodomy (bei kä bosi kuwemou, bei kä bosi waumou) with each other. These relationships develop into a 'buddy' system (kawä) and promote ties of friendship that extend into adult life. Some of my informants confidentially told me that particular young men had been known to copulate with dogs in estrus, but this was regarded with contempt by all who knew about it. Homosexuality, however, was not considered despicable, but it was thought to be infantile. Most of the

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63

[1] Twenty-two per cent (31/138) of all male deaths were due to warfare, while only 6% (6/102) of female deaths were due to this cause.

avoid the raids from the Patanowë-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with Konoreiwë's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by Konoreiwë. The entire village participated in the club fight. Konoreiwë punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1968 the Patanowë-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the Patanowë-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the Patanowë-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

609 601 799 [609] [601] groups of Yąnomamö have begun referring to the entire tribe as "Los Shori." The Yąnomamö address the missionaries with this term hoping to maximize their chances of obtaining desirable manufactured goods such as machetes and axes.

609 521 601 Men who are not related by blood constantly remind each other of obligations when they use this kinship term. A brother-in-law deserves respect, fair treatment, and gratitude. As the term is reciprocal, a conversation between two shoriwë is punctuated frequently by these constant reminders that each owes the other goods, services and respect by virtue of the fact that they stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other. Such conversations, usually about material goods or women, strike the outsider as something of verbal contests to determine which of the two speakers is more of a shoriwë than the other, i.e., who owes the other more goods, services, gratitude and generosity. One who has actually given a sister to the other's group has an advantage, in a trading sense, as he can more legitimately claim goods from the wife receiver.

*628 574 609 601 583 When men visit the village of an ally to beg, trade or participate in feasts, they call all non-related men of that village 'brother-in-law,' emphasizing the fact that they stand in wife-giver relationship to them, and deserve, therefore, the generosity of the hosts.

*628 *527 574 583 581 Alliances between villages involve, in addition to military aid, mutual feasting and trading. It must be remembered that alliances, no matter how many marriage ex-

changes bind the villages to each other, are weak and unstable. The more frequently allies visit and feast with each other, the less likely treachery will take place, as a certain amount of trust and friendship is generated by visiting and feasting.

The tendency for Yąnomamö villages to create artificial shortages of certain manufactured items is related to feasting and the creation of organic solidarity of a sort. After Yąnomamö villages enter into alliances, they tend to adjust their economic production of such items as bows, arrow cane, spun cotton, tobacco, baskets, cultivated drugs, dogs and clay cooking pots. Any village is capable of producing all of these goods, but allied villages create shortages of some of these items so that they can become dependent on the productivity of their allies, thereby having excuses to visit and trade.

One of the most significant relationship in trading between villages is the <u>shoriwä</u> tie, and these men trade with each other whenever they visit. As a trade frequently involves feasting, the specialization in production of specific items leads to greater solidarity between allied villages. Although it would be an error simply to identify the role of <u>shoriwä</u> with that of trading partner, this aspect of the <u>shoriwä</u> tie, particularly between men of different villages, is by no means negligible in accounting for the solidarity this relationship promotes in inter-village political ties.

The way the trading is conducted also contributes to

inter-village visiting and solidarity, for one trade is usually the prelude to another. For example, the Bisaasi-tedi obtain much of their spun cotton and curare arrow points from their Shamatari allies. It takes considerable time and labor to accumulate these items. When the Shamatari are visited by the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter make known their desire to have these items, and their hosts promise to produce them. When the items are accumulated, the Shamatari visit the Bisaasi-tedi to inform them their cotton and arrow points are ready. A feast is arranged and the items are given over to the Bisaasi-tedi after the celebration terminates. The Shamatari then request specific items from their hosts, and the cycle continues. Neither village is completely 'paid up' regarding goods it owes to the other, so that each exchange as Mauss (1954) argued, brings forth another.[1] The imporant point is that Ysnomamö trading is not stimulated by naturally occuring shortages or monopolies on resources; artificial shortages are created and these promote visiting between allies. In Durkheimian terms, the division of labor, irrespective of the causes, promotes organic solidarity between allied villages. And, the kinship category most intimately involved in the trading is the brother-in-law.

Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their

---

[1] The parallel between this and bride price payment in Burma is striking. See Leach, 1957. It is worth noting at this point that the Ysnomamö have no word for 'free' or 'gift'; the closest they can come to it is: "something given without cause." But nothing is given without cause, and they shrewdly keep track of all debts.

621
613
602
591 full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

602
613
561
594
529
554
591
622 The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kɐobawɨ's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwɨ, 18). Whenever Kɐobawɨ organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Madesiwɨ, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kɐobawɨ. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawɨ, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kɐobawɨ's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kɐobawɨ's nephew, Bɨkotawɨ, 18 years old.

622
602
613
561
123
554
591 Kɐobawɨ's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kɐobawɨ to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

622 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I
602
613 asked Kaobawë what he had done about it. He said he had
561 spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He
123
554 will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ulti-
571 mately had to resort to my own means to recover the flash-
light, as Kaobawë could not force Shiimima to return it.
When I questioned Kaobawë about this ineffectiveness, he
explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order
him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest
siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion
622 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every
613 feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scrap-
602
• 529 ing up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them
594 out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy prepar-
351
554 ing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing.
591 Kaobawë usually goes to the center of the village and begins
561 cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older
agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They
would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if
Kaobawë requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this
regard implies that one is being bossed around.

*621 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative
613
602 age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group
561 and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of
593 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the
602
613 group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the
solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult

628 can be pushed around. Thus, even the strongest alliances are tenuous at best, as the possibility is ever present that one of the allies will treacherously turn on the other.

628 In February 1965 the Bisaasi-tedi held a feast for
152 the Mahekodo-tedi and Boreta-tedi. The visitors arrived
57
527 earlier than scheduled, ate excessively, stole food from the gardens at night, and refused to go home after the feast terminated. The Bisaasi-tedi had not alternative but to challenge the guests to a chest-pounding duel; failure to have done so would have implied that they could be easily coerced. When the guests were challenged, they packed and departed. For a while the Bisaasi-tedi felt that they had successfully coerced their guests into leaving, presuming that their guests departed out of fear. However, the guests returned that evening to meet the challenge, lest the rumor spread that they themselves were weak and could be intimidated. Just before I left the field a rumor was circulated that the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi had accused the Bisaasi-tedi of weakness, and wanted to fight them to show them they were stronger. The rumor asserted that the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi intended to challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a chest-pounding duel. The Bisaasi-tedi were enraged when they heard of this rumor, and immediately sent a delegation of men to Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi to challenge the men of that village to a fight. But, to show that they were not only not cowards but exceptionally fierce as well, they challenged the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi to a duel with axes! The Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi denied the rumor and the duel never took place.

000 never took place.

*621 *628 152 152 One of the functions served by the levels of violence in Yąnomamö fighting is that the Yąnomamö are able to exhibit their ferocity in relatively benign forms and thereby live up to their claims of fierceness. But, since any form of violence can escalate to a more serious form of fighting, the system of violence itself constitutes a strain on the solidarity of relationships between and within villages.

*628 • 527 574 578 152 156 One peculair feature of this syndrome of fierceness is that smaller villages tend to be the most aggressive in their dealings with outsiders and with allies. The reason seems to be that smaller villages are more compelled to display their tenacity, as they are more obviously the weaker members in alliances. The expression of violence by members of allied villages, ironically enough, takes place during feasts. Thus, grievances that may have developed between members of allied villages since they last feasted together are satisfied during the course of the next feast. Thus, during the situations most likely to promote solidarity, allies frequently display their capacity to fight, informing their allies that they are sovereign, friendly, but fierce. The form of violence associated with feasting is usually chest pounding, but if someone is injured, the duel may escalate to side-slapping with the flat side of a machete. It smacks of the ridiculous to witness groups of men beating each other violently in such duels, and shortly thereafter embrace each other around the neck and chant, each man

156
152
*628
527
574
578

promising the other to be a faithful friend, to give goods, and to provide the other with women.

*628
*621
182
152
156
721

Thus, canons of political behavior and the high value placed on ferocity have the effect of creating a considerable amount of tension both within and between villages. In short, Yanomamö philosophy regarding ferocity and the associated behavior reduces internal village solidarity and weakens political alliances between villages. Indirectly, it promotes village splitting and warfare.

129 that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of
*621 two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.
613

162 There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is
*621 not representative of the typical Yąnomamɜ̈ village: the sex
*623 ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as
562 there are males in the village, and the group is politically
583 stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mɜ̈maribɜ̈wei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises
• [529] two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed
[574] in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of
[626] Bisaasi-tedi.

*621 The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a
622 number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More
613 importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to
602 each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawɜ̈, has astutely manipulated

---

128 logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a
*621 number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity
*628 of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace
613 their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawɜ̈-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

*621 613 602 562 582 583 members of his own village, Hasaböwä-tedi, who killed his father. Reromawä's group was then actively raiding Hasaböwä-tedi. The man was given a wife in Reromawä's village, the widow of a Tom man killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast. The man's two daughters are married to Sha men.[1] The last man and his family joined Reromawä's group in 1965 to take refuge from his own villagers, the Mǫmariböwei-tedi, some of whom wanted to take his wives away from him for being brutal. He had previously given a daughter to a Tom man and when he was forced to flee from his own village, took refuge with his son-in-law. Appendix A gives more details on each individual discussed above.

*628 582 583 Lower Bisaasi-tedi has political ties with a number of villages. It has recently (since 1960) entered into alliance with two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mǫmariböwei-tedi, and has managed to obtain a number of women from the latter village as wives for young bachelors in the group. *628 *527 574 438 602 The Mǫmariböwei-tedi visit them frequently to feast and trade, and the members of Lower Bisaasi-tedi reciprocate the visits. The ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and the Mǫmariböwei-tedi are nearly as strong as the ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and any of its cognate villages to whose members the Lower Bisaasi-tedi are agnatically related. *628 602 Monou-tedi is perhaps the most dependable ally, because the

[1] Reromawä's actual son, and Reromawä's classificatory son in Upper Bisaasi-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Husirawë's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowë and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowë-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-këkö--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakö), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hąhoyaoba-tëka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hąhoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasaböwë-tedi and Ashadowë-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

and returned to Patanowĕ-tĕka. A segment of the group that returned to Patanowĕ-tĕka immediately began making a new garden (Shihota) about a day's walk to the west of Patanowĕ-tĕka, anticipating that further hostilities with the Wanidima group would develop. Within a year of the club fight the Wanidima group attacked the group at Patanowĕ-tĕka while the latter were having a feast, but the raiders' arrows missed their marks and no one was injured. The group at Patanowĕ-tĕka abandoned their village and rejoined their agnates at the latter's new garden, Shihota-tĕka, whence they began raiding the Wanidima-tedi. On one raid the group from Shihota found Wanidima-tedi deserted and followed the trail the villagers had taken. The Wanidima-tedi were found at Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, feasting. The raiders killed one of the Wanidima-tedi men, but in doing so angered both the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi and their cognate group, the Ashadowĕ-tedi.

With the aid of the last two villages, the Wanidima-tedi raided the Shihota-tedi and killed a younger brother of Makuwĕ. The Shihota-tedi reciprocated by raiding the Wanidima-tedi, killing Husiwĕ (Nabĕyoma's husband), Hoari, and Siayeikema. This in turn was followed by raids from the Wanidima-tedi in which the Shihota-tedi lost Ushuenawĕ and the two younger brothers of Paruriwĕ, and had one of their women, Buhiomi, seized.

Eventually the superior numbers of the Wanidima-tedi and their allies decided the fighting, and the Shihota-tedi were forced to abandon their garden and make a new one elsewhere.

[Mamowei-tedi Group]

Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's village and entered into feasting relationships with his followers.

Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's village. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother, Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tĕka.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

[Mamowei-tedi Group]

mouth of the Mavaca River. The Paruritawë-tedi had split from Sibarariwë's village about 1945, and had not been involved in the treacherous feast of 1950 in which the Kreibowei-tedi lost so many men. The Paruritawë-tedi were still on good terms with Sibarariwë's followers, and the members of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi persuaded them to invite Sibarariwë and his group to a feast. Using their agnatic ties and existing friendship, the Paruritawë-tedi succeeded in getting the followers of Sibarariwë to accept the invitation, but a malaria epidemic prevented all but a handful of people from actually attending the feast: five men and four women. With the assistance of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the Paruritawë-tedi killed three of the guests and seized all four of the women.

By participating in this treachery, the Paruritawë-tedi subordinated themselves to the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. At the present time the Paruritawë-tedi live in two villages, and are intimately involved in a bride-exchange network with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter two villages receiving more women (and men doing bride service) than they give. The Paruritawë-tedi have no other allies, as they are the front of the expansion into this region and the only villages to their east are allies of Sibarariwë. Despite the fact that they would like to make friendly contact with Sibarariwë's group again, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, as we shall see, prevent them from doing so by chicane and threat. Thus, Monou-tedi and the

others. Matakuwë's group was being raided by Kayabawë's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-këkö. These raids forced Matakuwë and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-këkö and settle at Shirakoböwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakoböwei

Matakuwë's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawë's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewë and Orakawë. During the fighting a young man from Karehewë's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewë moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewë's followers raided the group at Shirakoböwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewë to move further north. Karehewë's son, Riakowë, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowë's son, Börösöwë. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Börösöwë's group. They feared Börösöwë would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyahowë, split off from

and move to Kakamoba. This site was occupied for just a few years, and by 1950 Sibarariwë's group was living at Amąrokobŏ-wei: the 1950 treacherous feast for the Kreibŏwei-tedi was conducted while Sibarariwë's group was here. After 1950 Sibarariwë's group fled south to avoid the raids of the survivors of that treacherous feast, establishing the garden of Dądamobŏwei. This garden was abandoned because of raids mounted by the Paruritawë-tedi, and Sibarariwë returned to Amąrokobŏwei about 1955. The Paruritawë-tedi eventually became friendly to Sibarariwë's group and were able to lure some of them, at the instigation of the Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, to a treacherous feast in 1960, during which three men were murdered and four women captured. In 1964 Sibarariwë's group moved to the headwaters of the Mavaca River, being known as the Mŏwëraoba-tedi. Monou-tedi and Mąmaribŏwei-tedi sent a raiding party against them at this location about the time I started my field work, and killed one man.

Area 6: Paruritawë-tedi

The Paruritawë-tedi made friendly contact with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi about 1960, and have entered into alliance with these groups. The Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi persuaded the Paruritawë-tedi to invite members of Sibarariwë's group to a feast in 1960 and, with the aid of the Paruritawë-tedi, murdered three men and seized four women. Sibarariwë's group avenged this by mounting raids

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

against the Paruritawä-tedi, and the latter abandoned their site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Mõmaribõwei and Reyabobõwei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyabobõwei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965 the Reyabobõwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawä-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966

The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowä-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowä-tedi to venture away from the village.

Patanowä-tedi and her two colonies, Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, were generally of a suspicious nature; only a few individuals trusted the members of the other group enough to visit their village.

By 1964 the Patanowä-tedi had become involved in a particularly vicious war with a number of neighboring villages, and were badly in need of military assistance. Their only allies were the Ashadowä-tedi, a large group living two days' walk south of them. Consequently, the Patanowä-tedi informed the Bisaasi-tedi that they were willing to make peace with them. The Bisaasi-tedi extended a feast invitation to the Patanowä-tedi to demonstrate their interest in making peace and, in late November 1964 the entire village of Patanowä-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in the feast. This marked the first time since 1940 that the two groups as groups visited each other.

The Monou-tedi were not involved in the feast, but a number of men from that village came to Bisaasi-tedi intending to abduct Patanowä-tedi women. They succeeded in capturing seven women the day that the Patanowä-tedi arrived, and took them back to Monou-tedi without being discovered. The Patanowä-tedi men, enraged at the loss of seven women, sent a party of men to Monou-tedi the following morning to recover the women. The Patanowä-tedi men entered Monou-tedi and forcibly took five of the seven women away from their captors. The Patanowä-tedi retreated before actual shooting broke out and returned to Bisaasi-tedi. The Monou-tedi were furious

over the loss of the five women, and Yąnomamö canons of ferocity dictated that this loss would have to be avenged. The Monou-tedi informed the Patanowä-tedi that they were going to shoot them on sight the next time they met.

After the Patanowä-tedi returned to Bisaasi-tedi they packed their possessions and left for home. The feast was cancelled, as the Patanowä-tedi feared being ambushed by a Monou-tedi raiding party if they remained at Bisaasi-tedi. Before departing, the Patanowä-tedi assured their hosts that they still wanted peace with them, no matter what the Monou-tedi eventually did.

This illustrates dramatically the Yąnomamö political philosophy that it is legitimate to take advantage of a weak village. The Monou-tedi, knowing that the Patanowä-tedi were politically in need of allies, took advantage of this situation when they abducted the women. They also knew that the Bisaasi-tedi would not take Patanowä-tedi's side in the dispute that was bound to follow, as too many of the Bisaasi-tedi had personal grudges against the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi also knew that the Patanowä-tedi were not likely to begin a war over this incident, as they already had more enemies than they could successfully withstand without allies. In short, the Monou-tedi knew that they stood a good chance of gaining women by abducting them from the Patanowä-tedi without great risk of being shot by the latter. As the conclusion shows, they managed to obtain two women and did not get into a shooting war with the Patanowä-tedi. However, their anger at

There were, however, two recognizable factions within this group; one was led by Kpobëwë, who had many relatives in both Patanowë-tedi and Monou-tedi, and the other was led by Pararuiwë, who had no consanguineal relatives in Patanowë-tedi, but many in Monou-tedi. Pararuiwë's group was linked to Kpobëwë's by a number of marriage ties.

Kpobëwë was the acknowledged leader of the entire upper section of Bisaasi-tedi, including Pararuiwë's group, although Pararuiwë had some influence in the affairs of the village. After the middle of the year, Pararuiwë began to emerge as leader in his own right, and began duplicating many of the activities normally the prerogative of the village headman. Thus, when Kpobëwë initiated a feast for members of an allied village, Pararuiwë duplicated his efforts by sending out his own hunters to provide meat for the guests, and furnished an equal amount of cultivated food, which he disposed of from his own section of the village. Normally, the headman sends out the hunters and disposes of the cultivated food from his own house. Pararuiwë, by duplicating Kpobëwë's efforts in these activities, announced that he was a headman.

The emergence of Pararuiwë as an important leader was largely the result of his active prosecution of the war against the Patanowë-tedi. Kpobëwë, after he led one revenge raid against the Patanowë-tedi, decided that he wanted to remain neutral in the fighting and wanted to make peace with the Patanowë-tedi. This led to a political vacuum within

726 Bisasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid
*728 from them. Parurìwë seized upon this as his opportunity to
622 advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated
[564] several raids against the Patanowë-tedi without the support
of Kaobëwë. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi.
[602] As Parurìwë was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman
(consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen
as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

156 Parurìwë's behavior in other respects changed after
622 the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he
[123] was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again,
[913] he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one
occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she
responded slowly to his demand for food while Parurìwë was
entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the
visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a
#621 force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field,
622 Parurìwë and his group separated from Kaobëwë's and moved
361 across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house
* 529 on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This
574 move underscored his position as a headman, as he could
initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up
until the time he moved, visitors from other villages con-
sistently sought out Kaobëwë as Bisasi-tedi's headman during
the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how
much effort Parurìwë spent in emphasizing his own role in the
feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

one real headman, Kpobëwë. Thus, Paruriwë had to separate from Kpobëwë's group to achieve a status equal to that of Kpobëwë.

In July 1965 Kpobëwë sent his brother-in-law, Kumanawë, to Patanowë-tedi to inform them that his group did not intend to raid the Patanowë-tedi in the future. When Kumanawë returned to Bisaasi-tedi, he brought two older people with him, demonstrating that the Patanowë-tedi trusted Kpobëwë and were anxious to promote good relations with his group. The older couple brought the message that three young men from Patanowë-tedi were coming on a visit soon. Three days later the young men, Kprokoiwë, Maaiwë, and Koiyeiwë, arrived. Paruriwë's group was visiting the Widokaiya-tedi, and when word reached him that a delegation of Patanowë-tedi had arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to visit Kpobëwë, he and a group of men from Monou-tedi immediately returned to Bisaasi-tedi, intending to murder the three visitors. Kpobëwë, however, warned Paruriwë and the Monou-tedi that should they attempt to harm the visitors, he and his followers would defend them with force. A crisis developed out of this situation, and for a whole day Paruriwë and his Monou-tedi supporters debated the wisdom of their plan. Finally, Paruriwë decided to desist from the murders and even participated in a news chant with one of the Patanowë-tedi--the father of his youngest wife. This emphasized Kpobëwë's influence as a leader, and Paruriwë decided to move away from Kpobëwë's group after this incident. The Monou-tedi who were to participate in the murder of the three

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kaobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kaobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kaobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kaobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kaobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December–January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kaobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kaobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kaobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kaobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kaobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kaobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yanomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kaobawä's group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1988) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowī's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawī's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawī and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąobawī's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąobawī's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawī's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawī's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąobawī's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawā-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawī and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawā-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawā-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawī's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawā-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawā-teri. Kąobawā and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawā-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawā-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawā-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16] James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawā and his group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Kaobawä's group. All their other neighbors, allied to the victims of the treacherous feast, relentlessly raided them. They were, in short, extremely dependent on Kaobawä's group and the two other villages related to Kaobawä's group.

Kaobawä and his followers have astutely finessed this situation in two ways. First, they have managed to coerce the two Shamatari villages into ceding women without reciprocating an equal number of their own in return. The men who have obtained Shamatari wives have, as well, managed to cut short their period of bride service in the Shamatari village. Conversely, Shamatari men who have been promised women of Kaobawä's group are pressed into very lengthy bride service, sometimes up to three years. Secondly, Kaobawä's group has prevented the two Shamatari allies from re-establishing friendly contacts with the other Shamatari to their southeast by chicane, threat, and intimidation. One of the two Shamatari allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri, has attempted a rapprochement with the Shamatari enemies of Kaobawä's group. In 1965, several months after I had been living in Kaobawä's village, Kaobawä's group managed to stage another treacherous feast for the old enemies by taking advantage of the renewed ties between the Reyaboböwei-teri and the enemies. They learned that the Reyaboböwei-teri planned to invite one of the villages to a feast, so they, along with the Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Mömariböwei-teri, went to the feast in order to ambush the guests. The Reyaboböwei-teri, however, were reluctant to go through with the plan and warned the visitors about it. The visitors were en route to the village when word of the treachery reached them. This had the effect of creating even more difficulties for the Reyaboböwei-teri, for it is highly unlikely that they will succeed in gaining the confidence of their neighbors to the southeast. Nevertheless, some visiting between the groups still continues.[17]

The historical relationships between the villages helps account for the reasons behind contemporary alliance patterns. The discrepancy between marriage rules and actual marriage practice in Lower Bisaasi-teri is a result of the political advantages that group enjoys over one of its allies. It has used this advantage to gain a favorable imbalanced marriage exchange pattern, but one that is only temporary. The Shamatari are also shrewd in their alliance practices, and have succeeded in neutralizing their disadvantages by capitalizing on schisms between Kaobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. This has been done largely by confining their marriage exchanges to important men in the dominant lineages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri. One of the Shamatari villages, Mömaribowei-teri, has restricted its exchanges to Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri, while completely ignoring Upper Bisaasi-teri. The other Shamatari village has given its women only to Upper Bisaasi-teri. This has resulted in the weakening of ties between the three villages of Upper Bisaasi-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Monou-teri, whose members are

[17] I plan to use these visiting ties to establish contact with the Shamatari villages in that area, none of which have had contact with outsiders. These unContacted Shamatari, however, know who I am because I attempted to reach them in 1965. They subsequently sent a message out urging me to visit them, angry because my guides forced me to turn back on my first attempt. In 1966 they even sent an old man to Kaobawä's village by way of Reyaboböwei-teri with an invitation for me to visit them. I had already left Venezuela by that time. Most of the men in the two contacted Shamatari villages tried to prevent me from going by telling horrible tales of the treachery that awaited my visit, describing how the Shamatari will kill me. The truth of the matter is that they know that I will bring the unContacted Shamatari machetes and axes that might otherwise be given to them. The headman of one of the unContacted villages has a brother in Mömariböwei-teri. He privately conceded that no harm would befall me and offered to take me to visit in 1967. He was, unfortunately, bitten by a snake just before I arrived in March of 1967, and my plans were deferred until 1968.

Surára
Pakidái
Xamatári
Karimé

/19 cont./

411 feathering, and, according to Salathé, it is also to be found
184 among the Karimé (76).
114

76. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Figs. 3 and 4.

411 There is an astonishingly wide range of variation for the arrow points, of which the following five different types occur among the Surára and Pakidái:

1. Kantaná -- It is a wide, lancet-shaped bamboo point, 25-28 centimeters long, both /20/ ends of which come to a point; the
● [531] width in the center is 3-4 centimeters. The upper side is rounded off, and the lower one, occasionally somewhat hollowed out, is
[283] sometimes painted with black dots. It is inserted in the slightly split arrow shaft and tightly wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2a). Since the arrows with this large point have particularly great penetrating power, they are used chiefly for the hunting of tapirs and jaguars; moreover, they are used for warlike encounters. Every Surára and Pakidái man always carries two or three such reserve points in his quiver.

411 Salathé found similar points among the Karimé (77) and
184
114

77. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 299/300 and Fig. 3b.

Vinci among the Xamatári (78). Moreover, they are confirmed

78. Vinci, 1956, pp. 145 and 146, Fig. b.

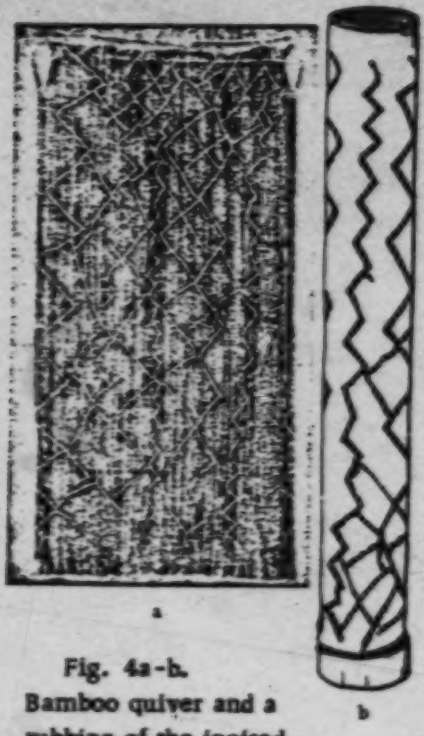
for the latter Indians by a specimen in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte. (Alfred Boeldecke Collection, 6.15:5. Length, 23 centimeters; width in the center, three
[531] centimeters. On the lower hollowed-out side, this point is painted with a black, serpentine line.)

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

000 411 194 173 411 726 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would represent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waikâ, Zerries reports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them

411 415 • 531



a b

Fig. 4a-b.
Bamboo quiver and a rubbing of the incised design.

173 411 726 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hîmo," which are made from the wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

411 171 578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled, which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

411 824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xiriâna, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114);

411 578 191

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldus, 1939, p. 113.

they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be-

411 184

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

tween the poles or clubs of the Waikâ and the sticks of the Surára and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is [174] therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed.

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tóra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the [581] most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b).

411 482 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrow-points wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

/29 cont./

292 curauá fibers at /30/ /Fig. 7 appears here/ intervals of 1.5-2
284 centimeters for men's belts and 0.5-1 centimeter for boys' belts, which produces bulges and grooves. Before the belt is slipped off the sticks, a small, two to five-strand twisted cord of cotton or curauá fibers is drawn through the openings and knotted into a loop by means of the two ends three to five centimeters long. These two loops are twisted into each other in front, over the abdomen, by the wearer, and the knots keep the belt secure (Fig. 6a and b, Ill. 23). After [531] [386] they are finished, serpentine lines, circles, or dots are painted on these belts with urucú, for which a small stick is used; often, however, they are colored red all over.

Fig. 6a
Men's belt, detail.

Fig. 6b
Men's belt, diagram.

292 184 Among the Waiká, Zerries found the same men's belts (158),

158. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

and from the photographs in other publications of this author it may be seen that they are worn in the same way as among the Surára and Pakidái (159) (160).

159. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

160. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

Surára
Pakidái
Puseheweteri

292 /30 cont./
284 girls and 0.5 centimeter for those of old women. This distin-
292 guishing feature was always pointed out to me. Tie strings and
53 the wearing style correspond in this case too with the men's belts,
[386] as does the painting with urucú, which is applied on the outer side. As a result of their width, these belts are much easier to paint than those of the men. Most often one sees serpentine lines, occasionally circles are placed between them, and sometimes too the painting only consists of circles, or circles and dots (Fig. 9 a-e; Fig. 10 a-d); there are also belts, however, which are colored red all over.

292 ! Xiriána women who are married to Surára and Pakidái
184 men wear the same belts, as did the little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the /31/ /Figs. 8 and 9 appear here/ /32/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ Karauateri (Ills. 17 and
[192] 18). When I asked them the name of their belts, they gave me the designation -- nyõ -- which corresponds to the Surára and Pakidái word.

292 The Puseheweteri women gave me the same word, although
184 their belts have a somewhat different form (161). They are 60-
[192]

161. I saw them on the women of that tribe who were married to Surára and Pakidái men.

70 centimeters long and consist solely of a thick layer of cotton
292 which has been somewhat twisted together. In other words, it is
284 a very characteristic string-belt, that is, without wrappings or
184 cross-bindings. An additional little fringed apron, however, 22-26 centimeters long, is attached to a tie-string. To make it, 60 to 90 cotton strings, 14-18 centimeters long, are put over the tie-string. After that, starting from the left, the end of the first string hanging down in front is knotted with the one of the second hanging down in back and tightly twisted with it, then the front end of the second one with the rear end of the third, and so forth. The fringes hanging down are 7-9 centimeters long and, to assure firmness, are wound once more below the tie-string
292 with a thin cotton thread. When the belt is worn, the little
53
184

[text continues on p. 69]

2: Becher--68 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

292
284

Fig. 8a-b. Part of a women's belt.

Fig. 8c. Part of a women's belt, diagram.

292
531

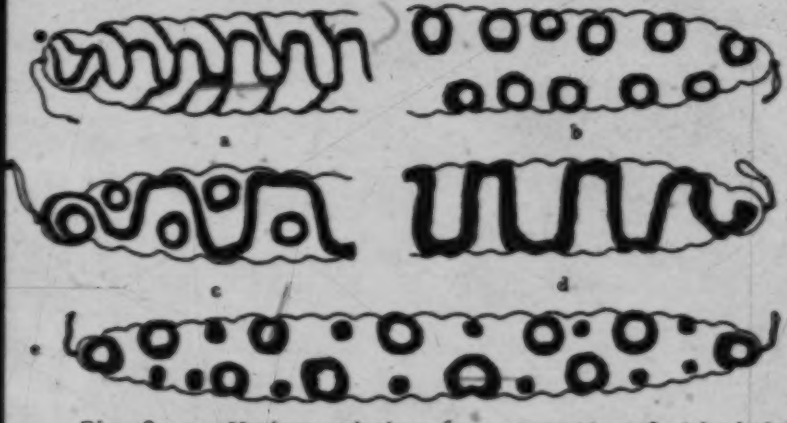


Fig. 9a-e. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts.

Puseheweteri Surára, Karimé

/32 cont./

292
531

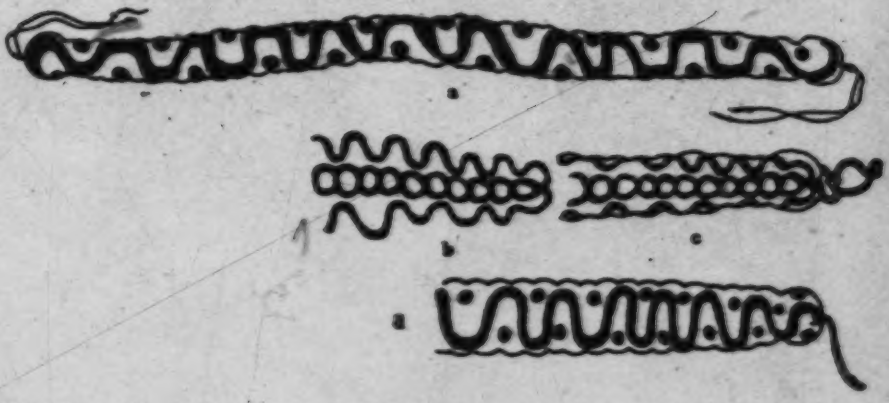


Fig. 10 a-d. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts. /On p. 131 this caption is given as "Various paintings from men's and young men's belts."/

531
292
184 fringed apron rests directly over the pubic region (Ill. 15). These belts,
292 including the little aprons, are as a rule dyed with urucú. It should
531 also be pointed out that younger Puseheweteri women usually adorn
239 the two ends of the little apron with small feathers of the toucan
184 (Rhamphastus sp.), mutum (Crax sp.), and anambé azul (Cotinga cayana L.) fastened to a string. Older Puseheweteri women, on the other hand, always have hanging on the ends of the little apron eight to twelve mussel shells, 2-3 centimeters long and pierced on one side, which, when the wearers walk, beat together and make a soft jangling noise (Fig. 11).

292
184 Exactly the same belt with fringed apron is documented by Salathé for the Karimé women, and from his statements it is to be seen further that the men also wear it, though without the pubic covering (162).

162. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 13a, b.

It should be mentioned that a few Surára women, following the example of their Puseheweteri sisters, have likewise fastened such a fringed apron to a tie-string of their plaited belts. In this the mixture of two cultural elements can be seen especially clearly.

Pusheweteri
surara

/32 cont./

292
531
237

Fig. 11 Fringed belt of an old Pusheweteri woman, with pierced mussel shells

291
462
237

Finally, the Surára also use a child's belt -- yaoké -- which is always made by the father /33/ out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yao. These belts are 30-35 centimeters long and 2-2.5 centimeters wide. One end is pierced to receive a thin tie-string of cotton or curauá fibers. The string is wound around the other end several times and then knotted (Fig. 12). This belt, too, is worn in such a way that it is open in front. Only now and then is it put on small boys and girls between 1-3 years old, who at that age, of course, do not even wear the hip cord (see p. 60), in order to promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

284

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
[192] xinarfke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarí -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
[824] out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
● [531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

/37 cont./

301
531

Fig. 13a-b. Chest string-bundle of the women (detail and diagram of the painting).

301 c) Cords for arms, wrists, and legs

From the age of four on both sexes at times wear upper-arm cords, and women and girls in addition wrist- and leg-cords, which are made of curauá fibers or cotton. It was also definitely established that the two-strand curauá-fiber cords twisted to the right are the original objects, whereas the two-strand cotton cords twisted to the left are of more recent date. Moreover, here, too, it was observed that a strengthening effect is attributed to the plant fiber.

[283] [824] [856]

/43 cont./

304 174 171 114

232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A com-

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

prehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

301 b) Painting

The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring [531] motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

[824] [386] For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- narú --, a paste which is prepared from the red berries of Bixa orellana. Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (Genipa brasiliensis) -- uarabá --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

[413] The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

/51 cont./

285
184

281. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 308.

which serve for storing manioc cakes and fruits. Among the last-named Indians I also saw women's carrying-baskets in miniature form, which are meant for small girls, and some with covers -- [531] weẽ. All the objects named are usually painted with serpentine [386] lines, for which urucú is used. Finally, it should be mentioned [461] that the women, like best to lie comfortably in their hammocks while making such baskets and basket-bowls.

285
191
184

The women's large carrying-baskets and basket-bowls described above are likewise used by the Waikâ, and both Zerries and Schuster point out that in the manufacture the twining plaiting-technique is used (282) (283) (284). Similar basket-bowls

282. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

283. Zerries, 1955b, p. 663, Ill. 2.

284. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

are also documented for the Karimé (285), and small hanging

285. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 11.

baskets and basket-winnowers from Aruak and Tukano /Tucano/ tribes on the upper Rio Negro, as well as from the Makú /Macu/, exhibit further parallels, which differ only slightly in the external form (286).

286. Koch-Grüngerg, 1910a, pp. 220 ff. and Ills. 142e, 143a, 144.

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[239] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatíz --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

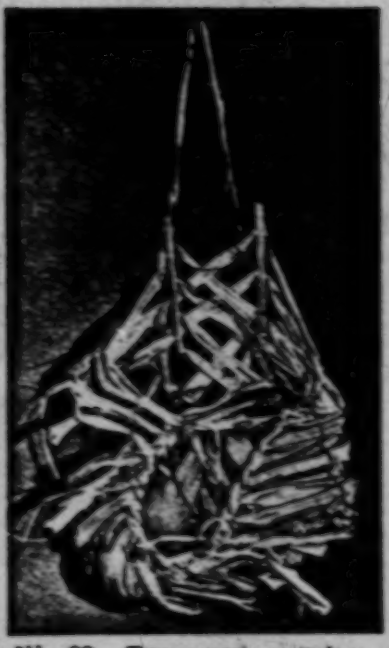
are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
● [531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

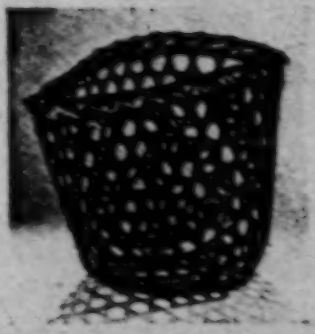
2: Becher--276 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

415
285



Ill. 32. Temporary carrying basket of palm leaves



Ill. 33. Carrying basket of bast strips from the cipaúl plant

531

Ill. 34. Woman's large carrying-basket made of liana strips

Ill. 35. Surára woman plaiting a woman's large carrying-basket

142
302
516
285

415
285

Ill. 36. Small basket with handle, made of liana strips

/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surarí and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
•531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
382 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the hfikula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[715] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the hfikula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the hfikula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

along by himself and hopped round us twittering. Then he flew off, to return a little while later with another in tow—perhaps the hen bird. Twittering again, he presented us to her as a fabulous discovery. They twittered a commentary and flew off, returning a little later, this time with a whole flock of friends. Then, with the courage that comes with numbers, they all made for our eyes to get at the honey. We were forced to disillusion them.

VIII

The Shirians have tobacco, *pâkoi* as they call it: even the most primitive and savage of them, the Samatari, cultivate two things in some hidden corner of the forest known only to themselves—tobacco, and the cane from which they make their arrows. Vice and war!

We were highly attracted towards the Uaqua river lands, which, according to Luis Antonio, was country rich in game and inhabited, or at least occasionally crossed, by the Samatari, who inspired terror all round them. Enrico, Momi, and I set out on an expedition there, leaving Jean and Artur to wait for the plane.

We stopped on the way at the Uarema settlement; Luis Antonio wanted to show us off to his people, who had never seen men with beards and wearing clothes.

That night we slept in a crowded hut, and our curiosity was drawn towards a young woman who had strung her hammock between those of Uarema's two nephews (whose persons were adorned with feathers and plumes). She stayed in all day as well, a coseted Shirian Cleopatra, continually looking at herself in the little glass we had given her and adjusting the white feather boa which covered her ears and her shoulders. During the course of the day other women came to help her with her toilet, painting her cheeks and forehead with certain precise geometrical designs: they used red and black colouring matter which when dry shone like enamel. Even her little quid of tobacco was smaller and daintier than others used. Uarema told us that she was the public woman of the tribe.

Next morning, when we were stepping into our boats again, Pancho and Benito came along in a big canoe. They wanted salt from us. We had very little, and had to refuse them. They went off in silence. When they were two hundred yards away, they shouted something in our direction. Luis Antonio

6: Vinci T-S (1950) 1959 SQ18 Tanzania SQ18
Sanema

142
302
264
516

15. Cooks make a tasty dish!

16. The fourth type of Sanema - the girlish.

17. The 'bad type' - playing a whistle made from a deer's shin-bone. Note the tribal signs on his stomach

142
302
142
302
531

[p. 96 - E]

/454 cont./

304 All have the ears pierced. A good number of men and women also have the center of the lower lip pierced. Some women have the corners of the mouth pierced, and a few have the nose pierced.

304 The boys and men wear sticks through their ears, sometimes
301 feathers or also little sticks with feathers. Those who have the lip pierced keep a little stick or a feather there all the time.

The women wear flowers or leaves in their ears. The perforations in the lips and the nose generally have sticks in them. On gala occasions, the little stick which goes through the nasal septum may be as long as the face is wide.

301 In addition to the cords tied around the waist, they frequently
291 wear similar cords around the arms and legs.

The men may also wear a heavy cotton belt and similar bands on a smaller scale on the arms. They may wear feathers fixed on the shoulders and a monkey tail around the head, to emphasize the border of hair, or they may adorn the hair with down.

The women also use a heavy cotton belt, clearly different from the one which the men use.

Girls wear a band at the waist, woven of cotton, with decorations on its front part. They also customarily cross the chest with bands of cotton.

302 Onoto, charcoal, and several other paints are used for body
53 designs. They do not seem to have any religious meaning, but
[386] simply an ornamental purpose. These designs include dots, stripes, wavy lines, and circles. Sometimes they paint a wide strip and then make the design by scraping off the paint. They also imprint upon the skin /455/ ornamental designs by using a "mapire" or the hand, or some combination of these. It seems that some of them have their favorite designs.

Hides, Textiles, and Weaving

237 The skin of the jaguar or of another mammal rarely reaches the settlement in a single piece. But even if it did, it is immediately cut into small pieces so that each one may have a little piece to cover his quiver, or at least a band to wear tied to the arm.

/464 cont./

411 89 [824] The children make small bows, generally for their games, but they also shoot lizards, which are good bait for fishing. These bows may be made of several types of wood, but rarely of palm. The bows of the men are always made of palm.

411 [226] Macanas are used by women for fishing. They are also used by men in their attacks on other settlements with which they have had more or less friendly relations, for the purpose of recovering the wife or daughter held captive there.

• [531]

/Fig. 7/

Poisons

278 [226] A variety of poisons for fishing are used by the Guaika /Waica/. One comes from a vine, another from the husk of a prickly nut, and the third from the bark of a certain thick tree.

[411] Arrow points are poisoned with the poison from the bark of a vine. They scrape the bark, and the scrapings, /465/ wrapped in leaves, are kept dry by hanging them over the current of air from a fire until they are needed.

On the day when an Indian is going to prepare poison, every man of the settlement gets ready to prepare a set of arrow points to be poisoned.

The preparer of the poison begins by pulverizing the scrapings of bark between the palms of his hands. He constantly utters a [415] series of shouts and grunts while doing this. Then he places the pulverized bark in a funnel made of leaves, into which hot water

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

[P.110]

411
284
531
482
372

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

ARROW HEADS

1. Notched point designed to break off in the wound. These points measure from eight to twelve inches in length. 2. Bamboo blade pointed at both ends and therefore reversible. 3. Harpoon point. The bone barb is skilfully bound in position. 4. Small knife; made from the incisor of the capybara and fixed to a wooden handle. The whole measures about six inches. 5. The Waika is rarely separated from his quiver made from the stem of a bamboo in which he also carries his firestick.

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

302 Both men and women and even the small children paint their
[386] faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not
302 seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which
●531 it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred, either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red, while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken themselves.

123 Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or
302 war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company with some whose paint was paling and some who were not even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

• • •

352 The furnishing of Waika huts is very simple and orderly, each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one
[286] above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from
[283] threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades, while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their
[287] ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of
592 a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when the village is crowded.

162 In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people, which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waika musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waikas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waikas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians-and by rural Venezuelans-and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing pejibaye palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in the trading network.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
531
286

Fig. 2-7. Omaimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

241
254
829
184

nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

101
114

[8]The Yąnomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xirixana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yąnomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikabë*, is a Yąnomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yąnomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yąnomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yąnomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moco" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yąnomamö.

I, in effect, was capturing the *nowahi* of the child: A photograph was called *nowahi*.[13] Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no nowahiki*, the part of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *nowahi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yąnomamö fear the smoke that is produced when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter. For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment. The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of ceremonies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[13]Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

164 Fig. 5–1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the
302 number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the [822] village, a brother of Kąobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given [684] back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

[602] The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there
* [628] was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Binami-teri
[721] because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Binami-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

578 Spears are not commonly used by the Yąnamamö. A rare form of fighting, how-
411 ever, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

411 The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted
• 531 with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

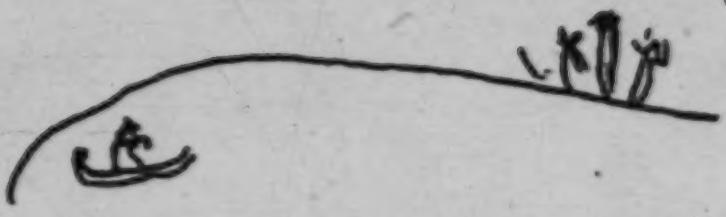
*628 The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started
578 over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the
721 headman of one of the villages north of Kąobawä's area, took her away from him by
593 force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

4: Wilbert--66 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ1:
Sanema

•532



Man in his curiara arriving home. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

Crab. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

4: Wilbert--67 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

532

Palm. Drawing by a
Sanemá Indian.

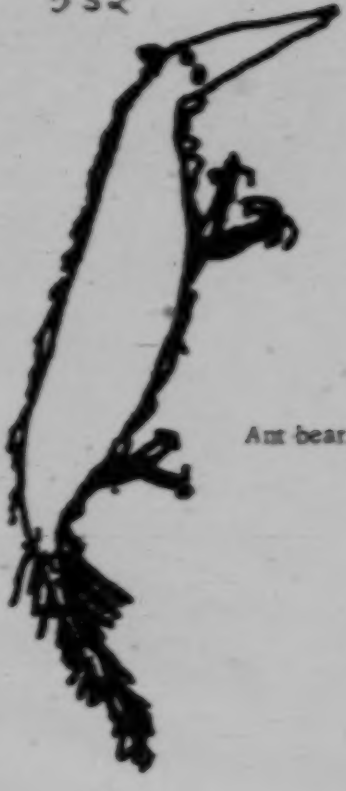
The morrocoy or turtle.
Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

4: Wilbert--68 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

532

The female toad which saved the hero children from the persecution of the Great Jaguar. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

532

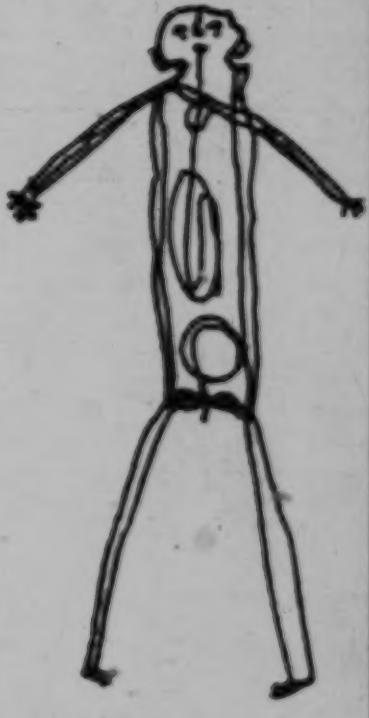


Ant bear. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

4: Wilbert--69 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

• 532

Scorpion. Drawing of a Sanemá Indian.

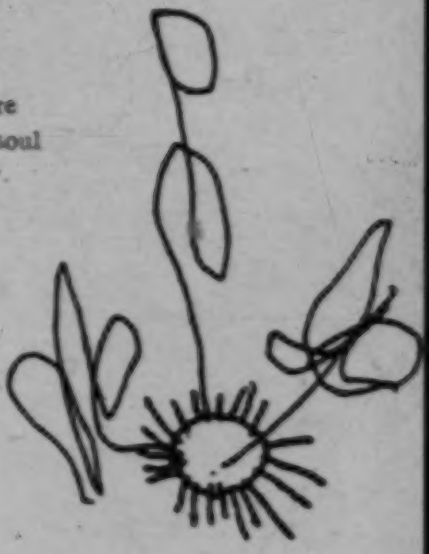


A man, with heart, stomach, bladder, and sexual organ. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

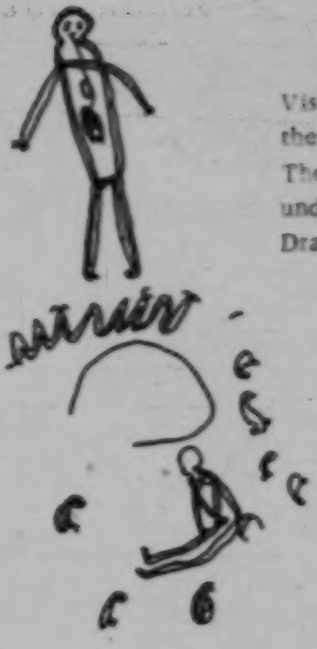
4: Wilbert--71 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

•532

Cremation of a corpse. The fire forms spirals of smoke and the soul appears coming out of the body. Drawing of a Sanemá Indian.



532
772



Vision of the cosmos. God above the path of the sun and the earth. The 'guapo' seated on a bench under the earth with animals. Drawing of a Sanemá Indian.

4: Wilbert--70 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

● 532

Indian hunting peccaries with bow and arrow. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

532
978
775

The hikuladé of the priest. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian. 1/A

3/A [See explanation of this figure on p. 99 --Ans

/213 cont./

793 624 [622] For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 123 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the impression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly [276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 775 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after [841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a [126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made [532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals: he was the guapo.

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/2 [see p. 71-An.]

/224 cont./
793 other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them
778 lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do
628 not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the
776 hŋwiawin gather with their hfikula-dfb.

793 The hfikula-dfb of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria,
778 in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the
775 house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial community, and for this reason more than one priest is unnecessary. In the section of the illustrations one can see the
● 532 hikuladɛ of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees
793 there five hfikula-dfb, or souls of ancestors of the group in which
778 the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the
775 center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One
126 of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him
532 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is
793 based on the belief that a Sanemá must never speak of the insect
778 of the house of the hikuladɛ. As a matter of fact our informant
775 never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab
126 on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it
825 was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American ethnology.

171 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who
773 affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it
825 with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it payak,
778 a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to the hfikuladɛ of the Sanemá priest to note the Mataco custom of attributing a supernatural power to a maraca /gourd rattle/ with sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The similarity between the hikuladɛ of the Sanemá and the "sacred maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

7/1 [See p. 70 -- Analyst]

/233 cont./

539 to search the sun's house. Then the sun burned its surface and from that came the scars which show on its face.

The moon went to the other side of the world, and, while the sun sealed its friendship with man, the moon was his irreconcilable enemy. When the moon appears rose-colored, it 539 821 is because it, along with its family, is eating men. The sun also has a family, but does not eat human flesh. Sometimes the moon hides in its house in order to plan a new campaign. [532] During that time women are very much afraid and, in order to [759] protect themselves, paint a likeness of the sun on their cheeks; they also commonly paint it on large stones which they find on the path.

/234/

OINEITIB

539 Beneath the earth there exists the world of the dwarfs, who [772] are called Oineitib. They live like men, but eat and speak very rapidly. They have no intestines or anus, and when they eat meat or other food, they cut it in pieces and swallow it raw, without chewing (25). They sometimes also eat women who conceal

[171] 25. See also the corresponding myth of the Yupa Indians of Venezuela (Wilbert, 1959d).

their menstruation. On one occasion the subterranean river grew so much that it acquired an enormous volume and gained so much strength that it blew out the earth beneath the ground of the rancheria in which there lived a woman who had tried to conceal her state. The houses collapsed and the inhabitants drowned, with the exception of the women, who were devoured by the dwarfs and their souls went to live forever with the guapo, who is also unable to go up to heaven and live with Omao.

Because the dwarfs have no intestines, they are always hungry and, for that reason, devour their food with much greediness. On occasion one of these dwarfs comes to earth to visit a man, but never a woman. The man cannot see his guest, but

/117 cont./

628 tendency toward the independence of the next smaller parts acting on this plane and forming it -- namely, the villages.

These hostile relationships between the villages are external evidence of a centrifugal force in Waika culture seeking detach-
628 ment. The opposite tendency, the centripetal force toward bind-
574 ing the villages together, finds its expression in active intercourse
438 for trading and visiting. These trips, which are performed with such zeal that practically every second day there is some association with another village, from or to it, can be divided into sev-
438 eral groups, according to their purpose. First, trips purely for trade take place: each village prefers to produce or procure a certain article of the material culture so that it practically has a monopoly on it. One village supplies especially fine tobacco, another is favorably located in a place where much arrow-cane grows, a third produces pots because good clay is present in the vicinity, another is the supplier of hunting dogs for the neighborhood, and the village closest to us naturally barters primarily with European ironware. This formation of centers for specific goods naturally favored the development of commercial traffic; the trading itself is carried out over very long periods and thus resembles a gift-exchange behind which there is a certain amount
437 of compulsion. When one knows that the partner has more objects of a kind than he justifiably needs for himself, it is requested very urgently, and the one so entreated may not refuse, if he does not want to risk enmity and war -- he can, of course, get his revenge
[182] in his own way the next time. This system successfully prevents
[556] any accumulation of capital; no Waika possesses noticeably more
[565] than his neighbor; there are no social distinctions; and consequently no vertical classes.

628 Besides trade, the transmission of news, which proceeds in the
574 form of a /118/ ceremonial conversational-singing and not in
[203] simple dialogue, is also one purpose of such trips, as are wife-
[533] seeking and courting in other villages. As a rule all these trips
[584] are made by a group of men or young people who are guests for one or at most two nights in the strange village and then, after the trading has been done, oddly enough not until the last minute

Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
825 emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
● [533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

/100 cont./

755 cries in the most diverse tones, they rushed toward the sick woman. They were like a wild horde, for the participants screamed at the top of their voices, bent their knees, leaped into the air, and shook their fists at an invisible foe. After a renewed hissing sound by Hewemãõ, they formed a circle around the sick woman lying in her hammock, and each man placed both hands on the shoulders of the one standing in front of him. With swaying dance steps, two forward and one back, during which they sang ho-he-hi-ha-fk, ho-he-hi-ha-fk, they walked around the patient for some time. Then Hewemãõ hissed for the third time, whereupon the song ceased. Then the chief struck up a melodious song which his helpers underscored with humming. Meanwhile, with swaying step, they continued to move around the sick woman, their hands always on the shoulders of the man in front as before. After 15 minutes Hewemãõ hissed again, and then they laid their hands crossed upon the shoulders of the one walking ahead. At the same time all the men joined in the song /101/ of the chief, and again they sang in parts. This choral singing, together with the dancing in step, lasted another 20 minutes. Then the chief and his brother Kurikayawõ placed themselves opposite each other at the head end of the patient and struck up an alternate song. At the foot end squatted two helpers who also faced each other and hummed softly. A short distance behind the head end two more helpers danced back and forth with faces turned toward each other; they were also humming, and occasionally they uttered bird-like sounds; they frequently ran their fingers through their hair and then always passed them downward over their seats. Meanwhile the other three men, two painted red, the one black-colored, that is to say, two "hekurã" and "nonexf," were carrying on a sham battle beyond the foot end of Xanimã, in a manner similar to that already described on page 216. In the meantime the daughter-in-law of the sick woman had raised her up and had seated herself behind her in the hammock, at the same time supporting the old woman with both arms. Then when the sham combat was ended, and the bad "nonexf" lay on the

535 533 755 533 535 755

/101 cont./

755 me, contact with the hekurá would not be broken. Toward 4:30, the rain had stopped in the meantime, the nine men once more gathered around the sick woman and continued the cure for another two hours in the manner described above. By forenoon the fever was gone and the woman was on the way to recovery. She and every other member of the tribe were convinced that Hewemãõ had hurled the evil spirit of sickness, nonexí, back to the Waiká. Even Hewemãõ himself firmly believes that in the snuff-powder intoxication and with the help of the hekurá and the moon he is able to ward off sickness and accidents and to cast them out.

/102/ The two above-described magic performances for warding off two different diseases show a certain external pattern. Each cure begins with the taking of snuff-powder, which causes the chief and his helpers to fall into a state of ecstasy and to identify themselves with the hekurá. There follows the invocation of the hekurá, which is reinforced by wild gestures, then the sham struggle between two or more "hekurá" and the spirit of sickness, "nonexí." After that, very definite texts, melodies, and dances are used for each sickness. Unforgettable
•[533] for me are the choral part-songs which contain the requests to the hekurá and the serras, who, in turn, relay them to Poré/Perimbó (see pp. 197 ff.) (503).

[126]

503. I deeply regret that I was unable to record these songs on a sound track. Unfortunately, the tape recorder which the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft had sent by courier to the German Consulate in São Paulo before the start of my expedition was damaged by an employee there. Without permission, he had unpacked it and tinkered with it. Thus, I can only hope that on a subsequent expedition I shall have an opportunity to record these songs.

769 25 [462] /103 cont./ few days. This roasting belongs to the men's sphere of duties, as does the harvesting of pupunha fruits. The latter are then made into a drink by the women. Moreover, they fetched from the plantings large quantities of bananas which were put in the sun so that they could ripen, and, finally, it should be mentioned that among all the families several stacks of manioc flat-cakes were piled up little by little.

769 535 [276] On the evening of April fourth, toward 9:00, the actual festival began. Five men and five boys, who wore cotton belts over their hip cords, danced, after the former had first blown snuff-powder into each other's noses, one behind the other (two steps forward and one back, during which the more marked lifting of the knees with a slight turning outward of the legs is to be noted), on a circular path in the open circle of the maloka, and, to be sure, counterclockwise (509a). The first two men

509a. In all the dances that go around the periphery of a circle the participants dance counterclockwise.

each held two arrows in the right hand, and the rest, as well as all the boys, had their hands crossed behind their heads. [533] Occasionally one man would sing in a beautiful, full bass voice, and the others would then join in chorus. The songs were very melodious and furnished the rhythm for the dance steps (509b).

[534] 509b. The Surára and Pakidái accompany dances in part with songs, for musical instruments are unknown to them.

[276] Toward 10:00 more men, in part with arrows, in part without, and boys (all without arrows) joined the dancers, and at 11:30 all the men and boys, with the exception of the Surára chief, were gathered in the center of the maloka courtyard, where, from a large clay plate filled with snuff-powder that had been placed here along with several snuff tubes, they blew huge quantities into each other's noses. Then they sat down in a

Surára
Pakidái

769 /103 cont./Then they sat down in a
535 circle and started singing a song in chorus. Soon afterwards
[533] five warriors, holding arrows in both hands, arose and danced around the singers. Now and then they made huge leaps and shouted in a high, shrill voice. All this was enacted on a cool, cloudy, full-moon night, but the numerous hearths added some light. All the women and girls, as well as my servant Mateus and I, lay in the hammocks and watched the unique spectacle. Toward 1:00 in the morning the male participants in the festival arose and now danced, again one behind the other, around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard. They were arranged in such a way that a man with two arrows was always followed by one who held his hands crossed behind his head.

[622] Suddenly Chief Hewemão, who was sleeping in his ham-
[123] mock next to me, was tapped lightly by a warrior with an arrow. He got up at once, removed shirt and trousers (he had been given the two articles of clothing by me as gifts), took a bow without a bowstring in his hand, had snuff-powder blown into his nose, and mixed with the dancers, who, however, immediately after his entrance formed the following new formation: Ten men arranged themselves in rhombus form at the head of the dance procession, one at the very front, two behind to one side, and two more behind and to one side of these; two stood directly opposite the latter, then followed two who stood somewhat inward and finally one who was in the middle behind these (Fig. 29). The first five warriors, who had blackened themselves with soot, symbolized the nonexí (evil spirits or spirits of sickness, see p. 211) and were obliged to dance backwards. The five dancers following them embodied hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits who /104/ /Fig. 29 appears here/ Pakidái; see pp. 199, 214 ff.). Between these two groups of five, the participants of which each held two arrows in their hands, a sham battle was being carried out during the dance (see also pp. 214 ff.). Each of the men of the first group danced two steps back and one forward, and those of the second, two steps forward and one back. In between, wild leaps and turns were executed, the men threatened each other with the arrows and screamed in the highest key. The "nonexí" were constantly in

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 in the ear lobes were adorned with colorful feather ornaments
[302] (see pp. 93/95). Moreover, they had all glued into their hair
[301] the white down feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.), the dreaded carrier of sickness (see p. 211) (Ill. 43). They
769 made mighty leaps, then bent their knees, turned around
535 several times in between, threw their arrows into the air and
533 caught them again. After that they fell into a dance in step, during which they sang. But this dance was constantly interrupted by wild charges and rousing shouts, which were supposed to drive the nonexí out of the maloka and show them how dangerous it was to come here at all. The others present were enthusiastically watching this performance from their hearths. For the
[302] occasion of the festival all the men, women, and children had
[292] likewise painted themselves and in part donned the cotton belts;
[301] moreover, the men wore their upper-arm ornaments of feathers (Ills. 9-11).

769 After this two-hour dance performance a particularly solemn ceremony took place, the blessing of the preserved bone ashes of deceased tribesmen. For this purpose two leading personalities of each of the two tribes sat down in a square formation before the chief's hut. The Surára chief Hewemão was squatting in such a way that he faced the maloka courtyard. To the right and left of him, somewhat to the side and forward, squatted the Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, and Hewemão's brother, Kurikayawõ, respectively, and opposite Hewemão, Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, had his place. In front of the latter were arranged ten small jamaru vessels (jamaru = Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda) filled with bone ashes. Behind them stood one empty gourd bowl and one filled with urucú. The Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, on the other hand, had two large empty jamaru vessels standing in front of him.

Porêhiwõ now poured bone ashes from one after another of the small jamaru vessels into the empty gourd bowls, added a little urucú, mixed the two with his hands, and gave the bowl to Karenauõ, who each time poured the contents into one of the
[782] larger jamaru vessels. While the two Pakidái were silently per-
[788] forming their work, Hewemão was praying in a half-singing

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769 When the mixing of bone ashes, which lasted about two hours, was finished, Porĕhiwõ returned the half-empty little jamaru vessels to the relatives, who, amid lamentations, took them for further safekeeping. Then a solemn procession began, in which, however, the Surára chief did not take part. Karenauõ, the Pakidái chief, strode ahead, followed by Porĕhiwõ and Kurikayawõ, each of whom held in his hand one of the large jamaru vessels filled with bone ashes, a little urucú, and a few down-feathers of the gavião-real; all three were singing prayers. Behind them, weeping and lamenting, walked the closest relatives, who carried the small jamaru vessels. The warriors participating in the ceremony formed the end of the train.

[533] [782] This procession, which walked around the maloka courtyard several times, came to an end, after half an hour in front of the chief's hut, with a prayer sung in unison.

[517] Meanwhile night had descended and most of the members of the two tribes were lying in their hammocks, sitting around the fire, or calling on each other, singly or in family groups, in order to chat. Loud, happy laughter often resounded. Opposite the hut of the Surára chief, however, six warriors who wore the feathers of the gavião-real in their hair had kindled three blazing fires, upon which, in several black, round-bottomed clay vessels (see p. 115) they cooked banana soup until midnight. During this time a medicine-man helper who carried a bow and arrow in his hand ran around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard, singing loudly, and requested the assistance [625] of the hekurá for the success of the soup. After that, general quiet set in; only two men made their rounds in front of the maloka, as they did every night, in order to warn the inhabitants, if necessary, of a hostile attack (513).

[624]

513. The war chief divides up the watches each evening. The warriors have a feeling [805] about when their time is up and they must waken their successors; as a rule this is done after two or three hours.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769
266 On the next day, April 6, 1956, the festival reached its climax. Toward 9:00 the Surára chief, his brother Kurikayawõ, and the chief and war chief of the Pakidái sat down around the pots of banana soup, in front of which also stood the two jamaru vessels with the bone ashes of the deceased, and all the other male members of the tribe sat around them. The Surára chief started to pray loudly, whereupon a rather long choral song was struck up. Then he poured the bone ashes into all the soup pots, mixed them thoroughly with his hands, and scooped out a calabash full for himself, which he emptied hastily and to the last drop. Thereupon the Pakidái chief, the brother of Hewemão, and the war chiefs of both tribes drank, followed by all the older and younger men, including the larger boys, who drank last (514). As a result of this ceremonial drinking of the

[533]

[123]

514. Hewemão also offered my servant and me a full calabash each, along with the war chiefs. When we had drunk them, he slapped our backs appreciatively and said that we were now true Sarára.

bone ashes, it is believed, the strength and spirit of the deceased will remain within the tribe and contribute to its vigor.

769
[533]
[782]
[262] Following this drink, a prayer of thanksgiving was sung. Then the men, youths, and boys together ate large quantities /107/ of the roasted tapir meat, as well as manioc flat-cakes, and after that the women handed them calabashes full of the refreshing drink made of pupunha fruits.

Invigorated and fortified with the powers of the deceased, the men were now able to proceed with the most strenuous part of the festival. But before this began, half of them blackened their faces and bodies with soot, which they scraped off of their cooking pots. Meanwhile others had again set in the center of the maloka circle the large clay plate upon which they poured the brownish snuff-powder -- epená --, out of bamboo containers, and in front of the plate they laid a large number of

[302]
769
276

/225 cont./ The sanemá say that the
793 hɛwĩawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikulaɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[796] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
126 propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[795] hɛwĩawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

• [533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
994 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the hĩkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

/226 cont./

756 chest. They enter, without loss of time, through the extremi-
533 ties of the body and through the head. They arrive in the order
774 in which their names are sung by the master sablí, who in this way "builds a pueblo" of a microcosmos in the body of the man. The stronger the master, the greater will be the "pueblo," and the greater this "pueblo" is, the better chance the sablí will have to augment his inner world and his power during his life.

756 The hikuladi of the sablí is essentially different from that
774 of the priest, in the sense that it is inhabited by the vital princi-
[778] ple of vegetable and animal species and not by the souls of departed ancestors. The man also has a specific híkula, different from his soul and which, as is true of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, seems to be immortal and spiritual, essentially joined to animate matter until death. Each specimen of a species has a specific híkula; after death, the speciman goes to a luminous place in the forest. While the soul of a man may abandon the body during sleep, etc., without its being detrimental for the man himself, the híkula never leaves until the moment of death. Furthermore, the soul is typically human, while the híkula is found in man and also in plants and animals. Some informed us with insistence that women and small children do not have híkula.

773 Here is the story which explains the origin and the nature
774 of the híkula in the animate world.

[776] Chinanídmawan is a gigantic demon of dreadful shape, with long, sharp claws. He has skin which is impenetrable and as hard as rock.

/227/ One day Chinanídmawan came to attack the Sanemá. The latter posted themselves with their weapons to face his attack. Soon, however, the Sanemá realized that arrows and lances had no effect on the demon, who captured most of his enemies. Chinanídmawan quartered and devoured his victims, but kept the skins, which he nailed out on boards around and inside his house.
[171] (It is extremely interesting that this custom of keeping the skin
[727] of enemies has been preserved in Sanemá mythology, since it is reminiscent of some tribes of the Cauca, in Colombia, of the Mauta of Ecuador, of the Huauca of Peru, and of the Inca. It also recalls the cult of Xipe in Central America.)

/228 cont./

756 778 125 [533] The Sanemá sablf has great power over animals and plants represented in his hikuladɨ, with which he communicates while he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song ɔ̃kamɔ̃ against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladɨ of the sablf goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablf do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 533 754 [825] [774] The sablfes sing almost every night, and the bigger the animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense is the song. In his songs, the sablf can send any hfkula from his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 756 [754] [753] [761] I have the impression that the hfkulas belonging to the various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish of the sablf. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a hfkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention of the sablf and by his magical power.

756 755 774 The priest sablf, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts, sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare off the harmful hfkula which is striving to enter the body of the man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the hfkula of the sablf and others chosen from his "pueblo of hfkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablf depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great hfkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the hfkula or hfkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablf makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the hfkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

broth with a strong tang. Little Sempronio was the cook—Sempronio with the small eyes and fierce, sharp teeth, ever ready to crunch anything edible there was to be found. We didn't worry too much about hygiene, because out in the blue it is hardly practical. Nor did we dwell on the question of Indian tastes in meat: they prefer the intestines and all the peculiar parts, to the flesh. Enrico and I, up on the Gran Sabana, had once lived for months at a time on monkeys and even worse things, and we weren't squeamish. But while Artur was fastidiously eating his helping of monkey-meat, his face contorted with disgust and he opened his mouth to let fall a little black thing, half chewed. This proved upon examination to be a real Shirian titbit, but Artur said a good many things with exclamation marks, ending up with: 'I'd never have believed that things would come to this.'

'Nor would the monkey,' I replied philosophically, while Sempronio retrieved the mouthful and it disappeared with a strong sucking noise, as if he was taking a drink.

When we had finished our meal of monkey, Luis Antonio and his brothers sang some Shirian airs, with a grace and phrasing that surprised us. We soon joined in with our own renderings: a deep chorus echoed through the mountain gorges. Then, for something to do, we chopped down some trees which fell with a huge crashing tumult. Luis Antonio took his axe and heroically tackled a giant *guaramán*, and four hours later a vast mass of wood toppled down, bringing with it in its thunderous fall other trees fifty or sixty yards away. But The 24 ants, rudely disturbed, poured ferociously out of their nests, making us flee to our hammocks, where we lay waiting for the night.

Before we tackled the higher part of the climb (where the way led steeply upwards between treeless slopes and vertical sandstone cliffs) we set fire to the undergrowth. This is a means of clearing the crevices between rocks, and makes for an easier ascent. We waited one day after the fire, and then set out. Halfway through the climb we found ourselves black as chimney-sweeps—thanks to the ash and charcoal which covered our path. It was easier going than we'd reckoned on, and soon after midday we were all on the summit—all of us with the exception of Artur, who had found the pace too hot for him.

The Sarisariñama heights form part of the vast system of table-topped mountains (or sierra) which rise in isolated massifs over the whole region bounded by the Rio Negro, the Rio Branco, the Atlantic, and the Orinoco and known geographically as Guiana. These mountains tower up suddenly from

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

136 know the world, a few excursions into those terrible waters where the very absence of peril means, for these lowland monsters, the greatest peril of all.

V

* 123 The Samatari had now got quite used to having us in their midst and their primitive fear of us—the emotion which gives rise to an instinctive urge to [609] kill—had disappeared utterly. The fear strangers evoke in them is twofold: they are afraid of being killed, and of having their womenfolk raped. We hadn't killed anybody, and the women did not attract us. We left them in peace, even when they were driven by their insatiable professional curiosity to inspect our private parts.

From being merely tolerated, therefore, we soon passed quite naturally to the stage of having a rather more positive value placed upon us. Soon we were superior beings who had chosen their tribe as the privileged recipients of our friendship. This was without a doubt an auspicious sign for them, and one they must profit by. For the moment the profit which the medicine-man had in mind related only to matters appertaining to magic and moral spheres and had nothing to do with our persons. We ourselves, indeed, were not called upon to play an active part.

* 123 Ceremonies of propitiation were enacted at night. The medicine-man would 756 sit in his hammock with his feet dangling over the fire, invoking prosperity for 789 his own people and ruin and death for their enemies (who were doing the same 782 thing, in the same spirit, at the same moment, in some other corner of the forest). But the Samatari had us with them: the effect of their invocations would travel far and fast, like the explosion of the *bombamalí*.

* 123 The medicine-man would suddenly sit up in his hammock as if he was cold, and after burbling something incomprehensible, slowly shout out the name of ● 533 a fruit—for instance, *monema*. The last syllable was held for some time, with 756 modulations that reminded me of an echo rebounding from hill to hill. When this 789 solo was over the men's chorus—they were all sitting round the fire in their hammocks, too—would take up the refrain, reciting a long litany full of mournful verses. According to the brief explanations given by Luis Antonio, the gist of it was: much *monema* for the Samatari and none for their enemies. Let hunger strike them down. They are bad men. A moment's silence would

6: Vinc T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

follow. Then, in the same fashion, the medicine-man would announce the name of another fruit, let us say *olashi*. The chorus would repeat the same formula. And so on, through all the thirty-two fruits of the forest, the litany was sung. Then it was the animals' turn—those that provided meat. From the noble tapir right down to the worm: might he pass serenely from his muddy lair into the tomb of the Samatari stomach.

When the victualling business had thus been settled, the time was ripe for more general songs and prayers. One little song that turned up I had already heard among the Guayca and other Shirians. The tune was easily recognizable, catchy, even, but the words were strange, and probably not understood by the singers themselves. Then came isolated songs, and broken snatches of tunes that went on all night till the first gleam of dawn, when the priest and his flock gradually dropped off to sleep. The ceremony was over.

It might appear from a hasty glance at their ceremonies of propitiation and exorcism that the Shirians believe in the supernatural, but this is not so.

We often questioned Uaremu on the subject, but his reply was always in the negative, and he laughed at the Makiritari's Canaima and the other tribes' Maguaritón. 'We don't believe in those stories,' he answered, invariably, in his picaroon Spanish. The Shirians do not believe in supernatural beings such as gods, devils and their intermediaries. Certain ceremonies of theirs, it is true, are addressed to powers which we should not consider as belonging to the material world, but to the Shirian mind they do belong to this world, like other evident natural forces.

For instance, the medicine-man's cures for the sick possess a value and a methodology corresponding to medicine as we practise it. The sickness—the bad thing—is clearly visible. The medicine-man is a man with a powerful voice, which frightens the bad thing as it might frighten a man. The bad thing is forced to take flight, leaving the sufferer free. Magic, as we conceive it, is not involved.

Another example will emphasize the Shirian viewpoint even better. When the Shirians are shooting the rapids, anyone on board without a definite job, such as steering or paddling, will make a gesture with his hand to keep the swirling waters well away. For us, such a gesture would imply some sort of superstitious idea, for there is no physical connection between the hand that is trying to ward off the water and the water itself. But to the Indians it is rather an example of a purely physical phenomenon arising out of the man's will-power and his determination that the boat shall not be swamped, which his

1491

The Fiesta of the Harvest of "Pijiguao"

527 The fiesta of the harvest of the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm
574 (Bactris gasipaës) is perhaps the most important event of the year.
During this harvest everybody has food to spare and consequently
[484] can receive all those who want to visit them. As a result of this
there is a great deal of traveling during this period.

[628] Frequently two or three settlements gather in order to celebrate the fiesta. Then one part will go to celebrate the same fiesta in other friendly settlements.

The hosts, and sometimes the visitors as well, go out on a hunting trip, which lasts for several days, until they collect a suficient quantity of meat. This meat is smoked and preserved for the fiesta.

527 When the hunters come back, the fiesta begins at night with considerable joy and singing. The hunters gather and march around the interior patio of the settlement several times. Then
[526] there begins a mock battle with cudgels. Those who have axes or machetes use these in place of cudgels. They are waved about in the air in a way similar to an attack in fencing or fighting with cudgels. The weapons clash together, but blows are not struck at the body.

After this comes the fire procession. Every man takes a burning torch from the fire and joins the others who go around and around the periphery of the great circular patio formed by the huts. From time to time, when passing in front of one of the surrounding ranchos, they rap with the torch on one of the straight supports which hold up the roof, scattering sparks in the air.

[526] Afterwards, they do what is known as "golpeo al pecho" /hitting the chest/. The boys and a few men pair off against those of another settlement and carry out a duel of blows on the chest. One will present his chest while the other hits it with the side of the fist.

• [533] All of these acts are carried out amidst much jubilation and singing. Sometimes this is repeated on the following night.

/470 cont./

512 [276] men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] [721] [706] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

[535] [533] [203] [594] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 551 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Until the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

neutral. The treacherous feast for their Shamatari enemies proved to be unsuccessful: The intended victims had accepted the invitation, but were informed of the plot just before they arrived. One of the Reyaboböwei-teri who had close kinsmen among them had misgivings about the matter and warned them.

Late in the afternoon it was learned that the Mahekodo-teri were, in fact, in the vicinity of the village, allegedly on a "camping trip." Kąobawä, of course, suspected their story, but to demonstrate his friendship he invited them to be his guests at a feast. As he and his men had been away for nearly two weeks, there was an abundance of food in their gardens and they could easily afford to entertain the Mahekodo-teri and their traveling companions, the Boreta-teri. Together, the guests numbered about 100—after they fetched their women and children.

This sets the stage for the feast in the kind of context that makes it more intelligible: The specific historical relationships between the participants and the nature of their mutual mistrust. Now I will give the details of the events that followed.

The Feast

Perhaps because he suspected the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri of intimidation, Kąobawä also invited the Karohi-teri to attend the feast. They are a small but dependable ally and had themselves separated from the Mahekodo-teri many years ago. This established a balance of power at the projected feast should any trouble arise, for the combination of both Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri was of sufficient strength to worry any host. With the aid of the Karohi-teri, Kąobawä's group was more of a match for the visitors.

The feast started out on a sour note. It is the custom of the Yąnomamö visitors to arrive only after an invitation from their hosts, sent by messenger on the day of the feast. The Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri, however, arrogantly arrived nearly a week before Kąobawä's group was prepared to receive them and set up a large, temporary camp a short distance from the village. They were guests and could legitimately demand to be fed. Because of this, Kąobawä and his covillagers were under obligation to feed them, some hundred or so people, and took them to the gardens to supply them with enough plantains to last a week. Kąobawä was a little disturbed that they would be so impolite as to arrive uninvited, but took the situation quite philosophically. After all, they had fed his group for the better part of a year.

He and several other men cut a large quantity of plantains, which were hung in his house and allowed to ripen for a week, to be boiled into *daze*, a thick, sweet soup, on the day of the feast. That afternoon Kąobawä and a few of the older men commissioned a hunting party comprised of young men, several of whom were Kąobawä's brothers, whose responsibility would be to obtain a large quantity of fresh meat to give to the visitors on the day after the feast. Most of them were reluctant to go, as their feet were still sore from the trip to the Shamatari village. A few of them claimed to be sick and managed to escape recruitment into the hunting party in this way. This hunt, with the hanging of the plantains in the headman's house, initiated the feast. The excitement that usually attends a feast began at this time.

That evening the young men danced and sang in the village, an institution called *amaamo*, thereby insuring themselves with luck on the hunt. (The Yąnomamö also

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

amamo on other occasions, but invariably do so on the day the plantains are hung in the village in anticipation of a feast.) Every evening the men are away on their *henimou*, the week-long hunt, the young women and girls sing and dance in the village to insure them success.

The hunters left at dawn the following morning, carrying a large supply of roasted and green plantains with them to eat while they hunted. They had picked a site some 25 miles up the Mavaca River for their hunt, as game was known to abound there. Their task was to obtain monkeys, armadillos, wild turkeys, wild pig, tapir or sloth, the only meat deemed worthy to give to guests. They would not be permitted to eat any of this game, but could consume any other game they captured, such as deer, small birds, a small species of wild turkey, or insects and fish they happened to come upon. The feast meat, however, was earmarked for the guests and could not be eaten by the hunters. On this particular hunting trip the men miscalculated the amount of food they would need to sustain them during the hunt, and one of them returned after four days to fetch more plantains. He also gave Kaobawä a report on the hunt's success, creating a small sensation in the village: They had already killed a large number of *kaalo*, a particularly large and very desirable monkey. They had also come upon a quantity of turtle eggs at a sand bar and were eating as many as they could. When they returned later, they cached the remaining eggs in my house, so as not to have to share them with the visitors.

Meanwhile, the visitors were making gluttons of themselves, and the hosts started to grumble about the large number of plantains they had already eaten. The week's supply they originally provided had been consumed in half that time, and the guests had been given permission a second time to harvest more from their hosts' gardens. This was no way for guests to behave, and it soon became apparent that they were intimidating Kaobawä's group. Still, he and his followers continued to supply them with all the food they needed, keeping their complaints to themselves. They did not want it to be known that they were worried about running short of food. Instead, they planned to conduct the feast on a scale that would be difficult to reciprocate.

The hunters returned and presented their catch to Kaobawä. It was brought to his house and placed on the ground, wrapped up in leaves. Kaobawä ignored it for a while and then slowly began to unpack it (see Fig. 4-1) while everybody watched—especially the hunters, who were quite proud of the quantity of meat they had obtained: seventeen *kaalo* monkeys, seven wild turkeys, and three large armadillos. Hunting trips are not usually this successful, but the hunters had fortunately stumbled into a large band of *kaalo* and had nearly wiped it out.

Kaobawä and his group were anxious to conduct the feast for their visitors and present them with the food, because by so doing the visitors would be obliged to leave for home, thereby ending the drain on the gardens.[3]

The feast was scheduled for the day following the return of the hunters, even though the Karohi-teri had not yet arrived. Kaobawä and his group were so anxious to rid themselves of their ravenous guests by this time that they decided to hold a separate feast for the Karohi-teri on the day following the departure of the Mahekodo-teri. This would involve a considerable amount of extra work, but they were more than willing to

[3] I have seen several instances of Yanomamö groups getting rid of visitors who have joined them semipermanently by holding a feast in their honor; when the ceremonial food is presented, the visitors are obliged to leave.

The members of Lower Bisasi-teri had joined Kaobawä's group for the feast, as they, too, were on friendly terms with the Mahekodo-teri and had benefited from the latter's hospitality after the treacherous feast in 1950. Before Kaobawä's group had separated from the Lower Bisasi-teri, there had been one headman over the entire composite village. This was a brother to Kaobawä's father; when the groups split, the older man led the faction of Lower Bisasi-teri, leaving Kaobawä to lead the Upper group. On this particular day, when the two groups had temporarily coalesced for the feast, the older man was conceded the honor of chanting with the visitor's delegate, Asiawä, the son of the Mahekodo-teri headman.

Ten minutes after the old visitor entered the village, Asiawä entered the clearing, touching off an explosion of wild cheering that marked the opening of the dance. He was spectacular in his bright new loin cloth, long red parrot feathers streaming from his armbands, and black monkey-tail headband covered with white buzzard down. He marched dramatically to the center of the village clearing, while all of Kaobawä's followers cheered, and struck the visitor's pose: motionless, head upward, and weapons held vertically next to his face. He stood there two or three minutes so his hosts could admire him. This gesture signified that he had come in peace and was announcing his benevolent intentions by standing where all could see him. If they bore him malice, they had to shoot him then or not at all.[5] He then marched to Kaobawä's house and was met by Kaobawä's father's brother, the temporary leader of the combined host group, and the two men immediately began to chant. This was the formal acceptance of the feast invitation by Asiawä on behalf of his entire group. They chanted for five minutes or so, bouncing up and down from the knees, now face to face, now side to side, but always lively and loud. Suddenly, they stopped, and Asiawä squatted, his back to the sun, while the host's representative retired to his hammock. The cheering died down. Asiawä squatted for several minutes before one of Kaobawä's younger brothers brought a half-gourd full of plantain soup to him and set it on the ground. He ignored it politely for several minutes, staring into the distance, holding his weapons horizontally next to his mouth. Presently, he put his weapons down, picked up the container of soup, and drained it in one draft before setting it back down. As soon as he had set it down, one of Kaobawä's younger brothers brought him a large pack-basket filled with boiled green plantains and smoked armadillo meat. Asiawä stood while the strap of the basket was placed over his head and adjusted across his shoulders so as to not crumple his headdress. Trying to look dramatic, he staggered rapidly out of the village under his burden of food, while the hosts again cheered wildly. This food was eaten by the visitors while they finished their decorating, each receiving a small portion.

Within a half-hour of Asiawä's departure the visitors had completed their decorating and had assembled just outside the entrance to the village. The men, all finely decorated, stood at the front of the gathering, while the women, girls, and young boys, also decorated, but each carrying a load of family possessions, brought up the rear. At the signal of Asiawä's father, the first two dancers burst into the village, separated, and danced around the periphery of the clearing in opposite directions, while Kaobawä's group welcomed them enthusiastically with shouts and shrill screams. Two at a time,

[5] I have a number of informants' accounts of visitors being shot down while standing in the clearing to announce their visit. Whenever I accompanied visitors to strange villages for the first time I, too, was obliged to participate in this rite and always had an uneasy feeling about it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the visiting dancers entered, pranced around the village periphery, wildly showing off their decorations and weapons and then returning to the group. Each dancer had unique decorations and a unique dance step, something personal that he could exhibit. He would burst into the village screaming a memorized phrase, wheel and spin, stop in his tracks, dance in place, throw his weapons down, pick them up again, aim them at the line of hosts with a wild expression on his face, prance ahead a few steps, repeat his performance, and continue on around the village in this manner, while the hosts cheered wildly. When everyone had had an individual turn, the entire group entered, danced single file around the periphery several times, and gathered at the center of the clearing, where they formed a tightly knit group. They stood motionless, except for the heaving of their chests, holding their weapons vertically. After they had stood there a few moments—in a final display of decorations—Kaobawä's followers emerged from their houses and approached the center of the village, each man inviting one or more of the visitors to his house, leading him away from the village center by the arm. As each visitor was led away, his family, watching from the village entrance, unceremoniously joined him at the host's house, bringing the family possessions along. Within a few minutes the dance plaza was deserted and the visitors were resting comfortably in their hosts' hammocks. Even in the hammocks, the Yanomamö visitors are able to put on a silent display of their finery as they lay with their legs crossed, one arm behind their head, staring at the ceiling, waiting for their hosts to feed them ripe plantain soup from the bark troughs—it is almost as if they are strutting from a reclining position.

After the guests had been given their first round of soup, the men of Kaobawä's village assembled outside the entrance and came in to dance around the village for their guests. They, too, had an opportunity to put on a display of their own decorations, after which they retired to entertain the guests.

There were three troughs full of soup in the village. The first one was emptied in the process of bringing numerous gourdsful to the some one hundred visitors (see Fig. 4-2). After they had consumed this, the guests then assembled at the second trough and began eating there. Before this trough was finished, they moved as a group to the third trough and repeated their ceremonial consumption, before returning to their hammocks to rest and regain their appetites. Approximately two hours had passed from the time the first dancers entered the village until the guests retired from the third trough of soup. They had not yet eaten all of the contents—all in all, some 95 gallons of it—but managed to do so by morning.[6]

Shortly after dark the marathon chanting (*waiyamou*) began—it continued until dawn. At dawn the visitors conducted their trade and were given the baskets of "going-home food": boiled green plantains with smoked meat. The women and children departed with the food, leaving the men behind to trade. The visitors made requests through their headman, and Kaobawä would produce the item by enjoining one of the local men to give it. The item would be thrown at the feet of the man who wanted it. He would ignore it for a while and then give it a cursory examination, throwing it back on the ground. His peers would then examine it in greater detail and extol its virtues, while the

[6]During some feasts, the ashes of the dead are mixed with the boiled, ripe plantain soup and eaten by friends and relatives of the deceased. The feast also serves as a preliminary to a raid that involves two or more villages. The sponsor of the raid will entertain his allies in a feast the day before the raiding party departs. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the raid.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

By 8:00 A.M. the going-home food had been presented to the visitors, and the trade had been conducted. Had the visitors been polite, they would have left for home at that time. Instead, they decided to stay and witness the second, smaller, feast that Kąobawä was going to conduct for the Karohi-teri, who had not arrived in time for the major event. This capped the series of insults the visitors had heaped upon Kąobawä's group. The visitors were warned that if they should stay, the would be expected to fight in a chest-pounding duel.

It was obvious now that the visitors were looking for trouble, and Kąobawä's group was obliged to react or be subject to even further intimidation. Hence, the challenge to pound chests. At this point the visitors broke camp and departed, much to the relief and joy of Kąobawä's group. In fact, they were pleased that they had been successful in intimidating their guests into leaving, and the men gloated over this accomplishment the rest of the day. They were convinced that their threats were credible enough to force their potential adversaries to withdraw, presumably because the Mahekodo-teri felt they were inferior in strength.

Kąobawä and his group held another feast for the Karohi-teri that same day, but without the assistance of the Lower Bisaasi-teri who left shortly after the previous feast terminated.

The Chest-pounding Duel

The feast for Karohi-teri was essentially the same as the one for the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri. When the dancing was over and darkness fell, the men began to chant again. The first pair of chanters had not completed their rhythmic presentation when the jungle around the village erupted with hoots and screams, causing all of the people in the village to jump from their hammocks and arm themselves. When the men had found their arrows and were prepared, they began yelling back at the unseen guests, rattling the shafts of their arrows together or against their bows and/or pounding the heads of axes against pieces of firewood or on the ground to make noise. The Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri had returned to accept the chest-pounding challenge and entered the village, each man brandishing his axe, club, or bow and arrows. They circled the village once, feinting attack on particular men among the hosts, then grouped at the center of the village clearing. The hosts surrounded them excitedly, dancing with their weapons poised to strike, then entering into the mass of bodies. Heated arguments about food theft and gluttony developed, and the hosts and guests threateningly waved their weapons in each other's faces. Within minutes the large group had bifurcated and the chest-pounding began. The Karohi-teri aided Kąobawä and his followers, whose joint numbers were even further swelled when the Lower Bisaasi-teri rushed to the village after hearing the commotion. There were about sixty adult men on each side in the fight, divided into two arenas, each comprised of hosts and guests. Two men, one from each side, would step into the center of the milling, belligerent crowd of weapon-wielding partisans, urged on by their comrades. One would step up, spread his legs apart, bare his chest, and hold his arms behind his back, daring the other to hit him. The opponent would size him up, adjust the man's chest or arms so as to give himself the greatest advantage when he struck, and then step back to deliver his close-fisted blow. The striker would painstakingly adjust

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

411
516
291
342
137
726

Fig. 5-2. Kaobawä's men and their allies lining up (wayu itou) *to raid the Patanowä-teri.*

726
[123]
[533]
[825]

children and women dietl down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording a sacred rite. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep baritone voice: "I am meat hungry! I am meat hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kaobawä calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke,

Surára
Pakidái

769
25
[462]

/103 cont./
few days. This roasting belongs to the men's sphere of duties, as does the harvesting of pupunha fruits. The latter are then made into a drink by the women. Moreover, they fetched from the plantings large quantities of bananas which were put in the sun so that they could ripen, and, finally, it should be mentioned that among all the families several stacks of manioc flat-cakes were piled up little by little.

769
535
[276]

On the evening of April fourth, toward 9:00, the actual festival began. Five men and five boys, who wore cotton belts over their hip cords, danced, after the former had first blown snuff-powder into each other's noses, one behind the other (two steps forward and one back, during which the more marked lifting of the knees with a slight turning outward of the legs is to be noted), on a circular path in the open circle of the maloka, and, to be sure, counterclockwise (509a). The first two men

509a. In all the dances that go around the periphery of a circle the participants dance counterclockwise.

each held two arrows in the right hand, and the rest, as well as all the boys, had their hands crossed behind their heads. Occasionally one man would sing in a beautiful, full bass voice, and the others would then join in chorus. The songs were very melodious and furnished the rhythm for the dance steps (509b).

[533]

[534]

509b. The Surára and Pakidái accompany dances in part with songs, for musical instruments are unknown to them.

[276]

Toward 10:00 more men, in part with arrows, in part without, and boys (all without arrows) joined the dancers, and at 11:30 all the men and boys, with the exception of the Surára chief, were gathered in the center of the maloka courtyard, where, from a large clay plate filled with snuff-powder that had been placed here along with several snuff tubes, they blew huge quantities into each other's noses. Then they sat down in a

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

142
302
264
516

15. *Crabs make a tasty dish!*

16. *The fourth type of Samatari - the girlish.*

17. *The 'bad type' - playing a whistle made from a deer's shin-bone. Note the tribal signs on his stomach*

142
302
142
302
534
531

[p. 96 - E]

/456 cont./

Preparation of Basic Materials

411 321 The Guaika /Waica/ make their arrow points out of bone. When they obtain a small piece of bone, they quickly transform it into a good arrow-point for killing birds. The long bones of legs and arms of monkeys are broken, and the sharp points which generally result have a form similar to that of arrowheads, are worked and finished, with the rest being thrown away. To give them shape, the points are scraped with knives or machetes and rubbed on some stone.

534 321 I also saw a whistle or a flute which seemed to be made out of bone or out of a quill of large size.

411 322 [824] [239] [412] The Guaika make their bows out of wood. They generally select the wood of the "pijiguao" palm. They give it a rough shape, using the machete. They achieve the final form by scraping the piece with the jawbone of a wild pig, the teeth constituting the cutting edges.

322 412 [239] They do wood carving with a small knife, which consists of the tooth of a rodent. With this tooth they manage the fine work of putting notches in the arrows. They also shape bamboo arrow-points and the oblong lower part of the apparatus for making fire.

They devote as much as half a day to carving the handles for their axes and machetes. They use the machete to shape them.

323 The Guaika make their pots of mud. The clay is obtained in specific places. This frequently requires a day or more of travel. Once the clay has been brought to the settlement, /457/ they go about extracting the stones from it while kneading it, moistened, for several hours. The pot is begun by taking a ball of mud which is given the shape of a bowl. Then they go on adding rings of mud which they join to the pot. The vessel is scraped and shaped with a piece of broken totuma /fruit of the calabash tree/. During the process of the scraping, they go on increasing the size of the pot. They keep the clay damp and plastic, spitting on it from time to time. After this they put the pot out to dry in the sun and finally bake it in the fire. The vessel comes out of

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waïka musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waïkas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waïkas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the

/98 cont./

755 beat quite hard upon the basket with their sticks, in order to
•[535] give the sickness the finishing blow. All the movements were executed in a dance rhythm, two steps forward and one back, during which the "hekurá" uninterruptedly sang the words ho-he-hi-ha-ſk, ho-he-hi-ha-ſk, while "nonexſ" uttered shrill sounds in between. At first the "battle" was enacted at some distance from the sick woman, but during the "argument" they drew nearer to her. "Nonexſ" now danced alone at the head end of Xunamſ, and the two "hekurá" stroked the body of the sick woman and sucked at it. Then they vomited, and one of them suddenly took a stone out of his mouth, and the other, a piece of wood. With shrill cries they threw these objects away, while "nonexſ," who was still at the head end of the patient, crouched down and started to whimper loudly. With the stone and the piece of wood the sickness was to be hurled back to the Waiká. Then the sham battle between "nonexſ" and the "hekurá" began anew, frequently interrupted by the sucking and stroking of the body of the sick woman, who suffered everything indifferently. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff-powder into each other's noses. For four hours the treatment went on, but there was no improvement to be seen in Xunamſ; rather, she grew worse. The sick woman was then set on the ground in front of her hammock, and two other men, this time only personified hekurá, continued the treatment in snuff-powder intoxication, in that they danced around the woman, sang, and screamed loudly. In between, they stroked Xunamſ's body and sucked out little stones, which they spat upon, licked, and then rubbed against their own bodies before they hurled them away with shrill cries. Now and then they also struck out with hands and feet and threatened an invisible foe. Occasionally they spat and stepped on the sputum with gestures of repugnance. Then the patient was again placed in her hammock and doused with cold water.

As a result of the high fever and long fasting, Xunamſ was already very weak. But during the coming night a very great rekurá (magic cure; see also p. 211) was to be performed, and, to be sure, by Chief Hewemãõ and eight helpers. (The chief

/100 cont./

755 cries in the most diverse tones, they rushed toward the sick woman. They were like a wild horde, for the participants screamed at the top of their voices, bent their knees, leaped into the air, and shook their fists at an invisible foe. After a renewed hissing sound by Hewemãõ, they formed a circle around the sick woman lying in her hammock, and each man placed both hands on the shoulders of the one standing in front of him. With swaying dance steps, two forward and one back, during which they sang ho-he-hi-ha-fk, ho-he-hi-ha-fk, they walked around the patient for some time. Then Hewemãõ hissed for the third time, whereupon the song ceased. Then the chief struck up a melodious song which his helpers underscored with humming. Meanwhile, with swaying step, they continued to move around the sick woman, their hands always on the shoulders of the man in front as before. After 15 minutes Hewemãõ hissed again, and then they laid their hands crossed upon the shoulders of the one walking ahead. At the same time all the men joined in the song /101/ of the chief, and again they sang in parts. This choral singing, together with the dancing in step, lasted another 20 minutes. Then the chief and his brother Kurikayawõ placed themselves opposite each other at the head end of the patient and struck up an alternate song. At the foot end squatted two helpers who also faced each other and hummed softly. A short distance behind the head end two more helpers danced back and forth with faces turned toward each other; they were also humming, and occasionally they uttered bird-like sounds; they frequently ran their fingers through their hair and then always passed them downward over their seats. 755 Meanwhile the other three men, two painted red, the one black-colored, that is to say, two "hekurã" and "nonexi," were carrying on a sham battle beyond the foot end of Xanimã, in a manner similar to that already described on page 216. In the meantime the daughter-in-law of the sick woman had raised her up and had seated herself behind her in the hammock, at the same time supporting the old woman with both arms. Then when the sham combat was ended, and the bad "nonexi" lay on the

535
533
755
533
535
755

/103 cont./

769 25 [462] few days. This roasting belongs to the men's sphere of duties, as does the harvesting of pupunha fruits. The latter are then made into a drink by the women. Moreover, they fetched from the plantings large quantities of bananas which were put in the sun so that they could ripen, and, finally, it should be mentioned that among all the families several stacks of manioc flat-cakes were piled up little by little.

769 535 [296] On the evening of April fourth, toward 9:00, the actual festival began. Five men and five boys, who wore cotton belts over their hip cords, danced, after the former had first blown snuff-powder into each other's noses, one behind the other (two steps forward and one back, during which the more marked lifting of the knees with a slight turning outward of the legs is to be noted), on a circular path in the open circle of the maloka, and, to be sure, counterclockwise (509a). The first two men

509a. In all the dances that go around the periphery of a circle the participants dance counterclockwise.

each held two arrows in the right hand, and the rest, as well as [533] all the boys, had their hands crossed behind their heads. Occasionally one man would sing in a beautiful, full bass voice, and the others would then join in chorus. The songs were very melodious and furnished the rhythm for the dance steps (509b).

[534] 509b. The Surára and Pakidái accompany dances in part with songs, for musical instruments are unknown to them.

[296] Toward 10:00 more men, in part with arrows, in part without, and boys (all without arrows) joined the dancers, and at 11:30 all the men and boys, with the exception of the Surára chief, were gathered in the center of the maloka courtyard, where, from a large clay plate filled with snuff-powder that had been placed here along with several snuff tubes, they blew huge quantities into each other's noses. Then they sat down in a

Surára
Pakidái

769
535
[533]

/103 cont./Then they sat down in a circle and started singing a song in chorus. Soon afterwards five warriors, holding arrows in both hands, arose and danced around the singers. Now and then they made huge leaps and shouted in a high, shrill voice. All this was enacted on a cool, cloudy, full-moon night, but the numerous hearths added some light. All the women and girls, as well as my servant Mateus and I, lay in the hammocks and watched the unique spectacle. Toward 1:00 in the morning the male participants in the festival arose and now danced, again one behind the other, around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard. They were arranged in such a way that a man with two arrows was always followed by one who held his hands crossed behind his head.

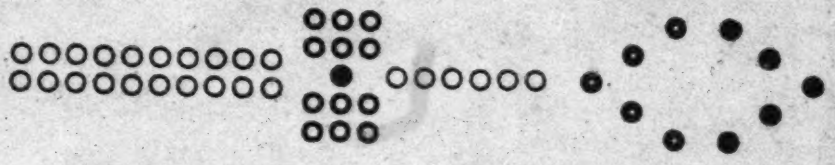
[622]
[123]

Suddenly Chief Hewemão, who was sleeping in his hammock next to me, was tapped lightly by a warrior with an arrow. He got up at once, removed shirt and trousers (he had been given the two articles of clothing by me as gifts), took a bow without a bowstring in his hand, had snuff-powder blown into his nose, and mixed with the dancers, who, however, immediately after his entrance formed the following new formation: Ten men arranged themselves in rhombus form at the head of the dance procession, one at the very front, two behind to one side, and two more behind and to one side of these; two stood directly opposite the latter, then followed two who stood somewhat inward and finally one who was in the middle behind these (Fig. 29). The first five warriors, who had blackened themselves with soot, symbolized the nonexí (evil spirits or spirits of sickness, see p. 211) and were obliged to dance backwards. The five dancers following them embodied hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits who /104/ /Fig. 29 appears here/ Pakidái; see pp. 199, 214 ff.). Between these two groups of five, the participants of which each held two arrows in their hands, a sham battle was being carried out during the dance (see also pp. 214 ff.). Each of the men of the first group danced two steps back and one forward, and those of the second, two steps forward and one back. In between, wild leaps and turns were executed, the men threatened each other with the arrows and screamed in the highest key. The "nonexí" were constantly in

Surára
Pakidái

/104 cont./

769
535



Advance and rear guard | Dignitaries | Surára chief | hekurá | nonexí

Fig. 29. Arrangement of the dancers on the occasion of a ceremony of the festival in memory of the dead.

retreat and defended themselves with all their might against the advancing "hekurá." Behind these ten "fighting" dancers there followed six men in a row, each with an arrow in his hand, the advance guard of the chief. At a slight distance they were joined by the Surára [622] chief Hewemãõ, flanked on either side by six men forming a double row. These men were also prominent personalities; thus, among them there were the two younger brothers of the chief, the war chief of the Surára, the chief and war chief of the Pakidái, as well as especially excellent older warriors of both tribes. Following them, as a rear guard, in a double-row formation, came the rest of the men, young men, and boys. All who took part in the procession moved in the customary dance steps, two forward and one back, during which they sang in chorus. Now and then Chief Hewemãõ would utter a hissing sound, whereupon all the participants grouped themselves in the center of the plaza around the large clay plate with snuff-powder. Here the chief, in a singing voice, prayed to the hekurá [622] and asked them to intercede with Poré/Perimbó, so that the festival [782] would be vouchsafed a happy and successful course. Then the men [276] blew new snuff-powder into each other's noses, whereupon the dance would continue in the manner described above. This dancing and singing lasted, except for the brief interruptions at the clay plate, until 6:00 in the morning.

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 in the ear lobes were adorned with colorful feather ornaments
[302] (see pp. 93/95). Moreover, they had all glued into their hair
[301] the white down feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.),
the dreaded carrier of sickness (see p. 211) (Ill. 43). They
769 made mighty leaps, then bent their knees, turned around
535 several times in between, threw their arrows into the air and
533 caught them again. After that they fell into a dance in step,
during which they sang. But this dance was constantly interrupted by wild charges and rousing shouts, which were supposed to drive the nonexí out of the maloka and show them how dangerous it was to come here at all. The others present were enthusiastically watching this performance from their hearths. For the
[302] occasion of the festival all the men, women, and children had
[292] likewise painted themselves and in part donned the cotton belts;
[301] moreover, the men wore their upper-arm ornaments of feathers (Ills. 9-11).

769 After this two-hour dance performance a particularly solemn ceremony took place, the blessing of the preserved bone ashes of deceased tribesmen. For this purpose two leading personalities of each of the two tribes sat down in a square formation before the chief's hut. The Surára chief Hewemão was squatting in such a way that he faced the maloka courtyard. To the right and left of him, somewhat to the side and forward, squatted the Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, and Hewemão's brother, Kurikayawõ, respectively, and opposite Hewemão, Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, had his place. In front of the latter were arranged ten small jamaru vessels (jamaru = Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda) filled with bone ashes. Behind them stood one empty gourd bowl and one filled with urucú. The Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, on the other hand, had two large empty jamaru vessels standing in front of him.

Porêhiwõ now poured bone ashes from one after another of the small jamaru vessels into the empty gourd bowls, added a little urucú, mixed the two with his hands, and gave the bowl to Karenauõ, who each time poured the contents into one of the
[782] larger jamaru vessels. While the two Pakidái were silently per-
[788] forming their work, Hewemão was praying in a half-singing

Surára
Pakidái

/107 cont./

769
296 snuff-tubes. After these preparations, the chiefs, all the men, youths, and boys, light and black-colored participants, assembled outside the maloka. At a hissing sound from Hewemão they then stormed into the courtyard, screaming loudly, ran once around the periphery, and then grouped themselves around the clay plate. The snuff-tubes were filled with powder, and the men by twos blew it with all their might into each other's noses (Ill. 44). On the occasion of this festival they take even more snuff than before other magic performances, curing the sick, and prayers. The effect was extraordinary. After only a few moments all the men were in a wild state of ecstasy (Ills. 45 and 46). At first they danced and leaped, gesticulating and screaming, in wild disorder around the clay plate, and after that they stormed around the courtyard several times in the
● [535] same manner. Then groups of five, ten, or more men put their arms around each other's necks and performed stamping circle-dances in this formation (Ill. 47), during which each man tried to pull another one tightly to him; now and then they also
769
526 danced with the knees bent. After half an hour, this ecstatic dancing, during which the participants were bathed in sweat, was replaced by an extremely strange type of sport -- petapóanhamũ. In the entire outer circle of the maloka courtyard there were seated everywhere two men opposite each other, chest to chest, with legs spread apart; in each case one had his on top of the thighs of the other one. The partners were always a Surára and a Pakidái; moreover, in each case one of them was blackened. They wound their arms around each other at the neck and, with vigorous arm movements, pulled each other back and forth with all their might (Ill. 48). Each tried to pull the head of his opponent quite close to him. Sometimes their arms would drop down on the back of the other one, and they would then pull at each other for a while in this position. During the struggle they constantly called out wrathful words at each other. Often the wives stood beside their husbands and spurred them on. But there were no victors and no losers in these combats. If the strength of a combatant flagged, another tribesman immediately came and continued the struggle with the opponent

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/13/

Surára
Pakidái

142
302
296

Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

769
142
291
516
302
342
415
26

Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

516
342
411
535

Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

2: Becher--280 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidái

769
276
142
291
302

Ill. 46. Height of ecstasy

Ill. 47. Circle dance in the state of ecstasy

769
276
535
769
526

Ill. 48. Petapoanhamú -- the embracing-combat performed in a sitting position

/470 cont./

512 men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the [276] spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves [721] are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against [776] the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

● [535] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may [533] continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when [203] there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be [594] crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Un-
551 til the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

/483 cont./

758 They bathe sick persons. If the patient cannot go to the
515 stream, they bathe him part by part at home and even in his own hammock.

/484/ Death

763 They are generally afraid of death and make every effort to keep a dying person alive for a while longer. When someone is in danger of dying, the relatives and friends hold meetings for lamentations at least once a day.

764 When a dying person expires, a time of mourning begins.
[302] Then, at about 3:00 in the afternoon, the funeral begins. The relatives and friends begin to paint themselves. There is much
• [535] crying and lamentation. The women dance forward and backward, groaning and carrying several poisoned darts in one hand. If there are young children, they are frequently carried also. If the deceased is a little one, its little body may be carried during the final part of this mourning dance. A few closely related men and the intimate friends also participate in the dance.

After the lamentations have continued for a quarter of an hour more or less, the men go out in search of firewood and light a fire of two meters in front of the dwelling where the corpse is lying. When the fire reaches an adequate size, the body is carried there in a hammock made of cords of vine and placed on the fire. Then they put more wood on top of the
[766] corpse. If the deceased is an infant, they place it in the fire in a flat basket rather than a hammock. They keep the fire burn-
[765] ing until around ten at night. Then they gather up the bones, wrap them in leaves, and hang them in the house.

If someone should die far from the settlement, his body is wrapped in leaves tied with vines and carried to the settlement to be cremated.

765 About three days after the cremation, the bones are pulverized in a small trough and then kept hermetically in a gourd capped with beeswax. The trough is made by using a machete to carve out the hole, burning its interior. They use it only once. After it is used, both the trough and the pestle are burned. Much weeping accompanies the process of pulverization and sealing the remains in the gourd.

11: Chagnon B-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

721
181
128
114

The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnomamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1-1).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere is unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1-2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnomamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their hosts' village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.

142
301
411
535
623
578
271

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

which more stable types of alliance can develop. Nor do they overtly acknowledge the relationships between trading and feasting cycles to village interdependency. In this regard they are like the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia: They have a "functional ignorance" of the more significant adaptive aspects of their trading institutions. To both the Yąnomamö and the Trobrianders, the mechanisms by which peoples from different groups are compelled to visit each other are ends in themselves and are not conceived to be related to the establishment of either economic or political interdependency. For the Yąnomamö participant in a feast, the feast itself has its significance in the marvelous quantities of food, the excitement of the dance, and the satisfaction of having others admire and covet the fine decorations he wears. The enchantment of the dance issues from the dancer's awareness that, for a brief moment, he is a glorious peacock that commands the admiration of his fellows, and it is his responsibility and desire to present a spectacular display of his dance steps and gawdy accouterments. In this brief, ego-building moment, each man has an opportunity to display himself, spinning and prancing about the village periphery, chest puffed out, while all watch, admire, and cheer wildly.

The hosts, too, have an opportunity to display themselves and strut before their guests. Moreover, the very fact that they have given the feast is in itself a display of affluence and surfeit apparently calculated to challenge the guests to reciprocate with an equally grandiose feast at a later date.[1] Each good feast deserves and calls forth another, and in this way allies become better acquainted with each other as they reciprocate feasts during the dry season and over the years.

Historical Background to a Particular Feast

One of the feasts I witnessed exhibited all the features of intervillage politics. Before describing this feast, I will give the historical antecedents to the event, recapitulating a number of points discussed in Chapter 3 in the context of the history of Kąobawä's village. The significance of the events will then become clear, for Kąobawä's prior relationships to the guests at the feast had a great deal to do with the outcome.

In 1950 Kąobawä's group, almost friendless, beleaguered by enemies, and somewhat isolated, began cultivating an alliance with the Iwahikoroba-teri (see map, Fig. 2-8), a Shamatari village, some two days' traveling distance southeast of their own village at Kreiböwei. The Iwahikoroba-teri were on friendly terms with another Shamatari group, the Möwaraoba-teri, from whom they had separated some years before. Kąobawä's group, on the other hand, was at war with this village because members of his own group murdered a friendly Möwaraoba-teri visitor in 1940, touching off a series of raids between them. Anxious to develop an alliance, Kąobawä's group accepted a feast invitation from the Iwahikoroba-teri and visited that village to participate in the feast. Up to that point they were only on trading terms with them.

The Iwahikoroba-teri, however, had made a prior arrangement with their friends, the Möwaraoba-teri, to help them massacre Kąobawä's men and abduct his group's women. The Möwaraoba-teri were hidden in the jungle outside the village when Kąo-

[1] The competitive aspects of feasting in many primitive societies has been dealt with at length by Marcel Mauss, whose essay *The Gift* is now an anthropological classic.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

neutral. The treacherous feast for their Shamatari enemies proved to be unsuccessful: The intended victims had accepted the invitation, but were informed of the plot just before they arrived. One of the Reyaboböwei-teri who had close kinsmen among them had misgivings about the matter and warned them.

Late in the afternoon it was learned that the Mahekodo-teri were, in fact, in the vicinity of the village, allegedly on a "camping trip." Kąobawä, of course, suspected their story, but to demonstrate his friendship he invited them to be his guests at a feast. As he and his men had been away for nearly two weeks, there was an abundance of food in their gardens and they could easily afford to entertain the Mahekodo-teri and their traveling companions, the Boreta-teri. Together, the guests numbered about 100—after they fetched their women and children.

This sets the stage for the feast in the kind of context that makes it more intelligible: The specific historical relationships between the participants and the nature of their mutual mistrust. Now I will give the details of the events that followed.

The Feast

Perhaps because he suspected the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri of intimidation, Kąobawä also invited the Karohi-teri to attend the feast. They are a small but dependable ally and had themselves separated from the Mahekodo-teri many years ago. This established a balance of power at the projected feast should any trouble arise, for the combination of both Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri was of sufficient strength to worry any host. With the aid of the Karohi-teri, Kąobawä's group was more of a match for the visitors.

The feast started out on a sour note. It is the custom of the Yąnomamö visitors to arrive only after an invitation from their hosts, sent by messenger on the day of the feast. The Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri, however, arrogantly arrived nearly a week before Kąobawä's group was prepared to receive them and set up a large, temporary camp a short distance from the village. They were guests and could legitimately demand to be fed. Because of this, Kąobawä and his covillagers were under obligation to feed them, some hundred or so people, and took them to the gardens to supply them with enough plantains to last a week. Kąobawä was a little disturbed that they would be so impolite as to arrive uninvited, but took the situation quite philosophically. After all, they had fed his group for the better part of a year.

He and several other men cut a large quantity of plantains, which were hung in his house and allowed to ripen for a week, to be boiled into *dare*, a thick, sweet soup, on the day of the feast. That afternoon Kąobawä and a few of the older men commissioned a hunting party comprised of young men, several of whom were Kąobawä's brothers, whose responsibility would be to obtain a large quantity of fresh meat to give to the visitors on the day after the feast. Most of them were reluctant to go, as their feet were still sore from the trip to the Shamatari village. A few of them claimed to be sick and managed to escape recruitment into the hunting party in this way. This hunt, with the hanging of the plantains in the headman's house, initiated the feast. The excitement that usually attends a feast began at this time.

That evening the young men danced and sang in the village, an institution called *[illegible]*, thereby insuring themselves with luck on the hunt. (The Yąnomamö also

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

amoamo on other occasions, but invariably do so on the day the plantains are hung in the village in anticipation of a feast.) Every evening the men are away on their *henomou*, the week-long hunt, the young women and girls sing and dance in the village to insure them success.

The hunters left at dawn the following morning, carrying a large supply of roasted and green plantains with them to eat while they hunted. They had picked a site some 25 miles up the Mavaca River for their hunt, as game was known to abound there. Their task was to obtain monkeys, armadillos, wild turkeys, wild pig, tapir or sloth, the only meat deemed worthy to give to guests. They would not be permitted to eat any of this game, but could consume any other game they captured, such as deer, small birds, a small species of wild turkey, or insects and fish they happened to come upon. The feast meat, however, was earmarked for the guests and could not be eaten by the hunters. On this particular hunting trip the men miscalculated the amount of food they would need to sustain them during the hunt, and one of them returned after four days to fetch more plantains. He also gave Kąobawä a report on the hunt's success, creating a small sensation in the village: They had already killed a large number of *huibo*, a particularly large and very desirable monkey. They had also come upon a quantity of turtle eggs at a sand bar and were eating as many as they could. When they returned later, they cached the remaining eggs in my house, so as not to have to share them with the visitors.

Meanwhile, the visitors were making gluttons of themselves, and the hosts started to grumble about the large number of plantains they had already eaten. The week's supply they originally provided had been consumed in half that time, and the guests had been given permission a second time to harvest more from their hosts' gardens. This was no way for guests to behave, and it soon became apparent that they were intimidating Kąobawä's group. Still, he and his followers continued to supply them with all the food they needed, keeping their complaints to themselves. They did not want it to be known that they were worried about running short of food. Instead, they planned to conduct the feast on a scale that would be difficult to reciprocate.

The hunters returned and presented their catch to Kąobawä. It was brought to his house and placed on the ground, wrapped up in leaves. Kąobawä ignored it for a while and then slowly began to unpack it (see Fig. 4–1) while everybody watched—especially the hunters, who were quite proud of the quantity of meat they had obtained: seventeen *huibo* monkeys, seven wild turkeys, and three large armadillos. Hunting trips are not usually this successful, but the hunters had fortunately stumbled into a large band of *huibo* and had nearly wiped it out.

Kąobawä and his group were anxious to conduct the feast for their visitors and present them with the food, because by so doing the visitors would be obliged to leave for home, thereby ending the drain on the gardens.[2]

The feast was scheduled for the day following the return of the hunters, even though the Karohi-teri had not yet arrived. Kąobawä and his group were so anxious to rid themselves of their ravenous guests by this time that they decided to hold a separate feast for the Karohi-teri on the day following the departure of the Mahekodo-teri. This would involve a considerable amount of extra work, but they were more than willing to

[2] I have seen several instances of Yąnomamö groups getting rid of visitors who have joined them semipermanently by holding a feast in their honor; when the ceremonial food is presented, the visitors are obliged to leave.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The members of Lower Bisaasi-teri had joined Kąobawä's group for the feast, as they, too, were on friendly terms with the Mahekodo-teri and had benefited from the latter's hospitality after the treacherous feast in 1950. Before Kąobawä's group had separated from the Lower Bisaasi-teri, there had been one headman over the entire composite village. This was a brother to Kąobawä's father; when the groups split, the older man led the faction of Lower Bisaasi-teri, leaving Kąobawä to lead the Upper group. On this particular day, when the two groups had temporarily coalesced for the feast, the older man was conceded the honor of chanting with the visitor's delegate, Asiawä, the son of the Mahekodo-teri headman.

Ten minutes after the old visitor entered the village, Asiawä entered the clearing, touching off an explosion of wild cheering that marked the opening of the dance. He was spectacular in his bright new loin cloth, long red parrot feathers streaming from his armbands, and black monkey-tail headband covered with white buzzard down. He marched dramatically to the center of the village clearing, while all of Kąobawä's followers cheered, and struck the visitor's pose: motionless, head upward, and weapons held vertically next to his face. He stood there two or three minutes so his hosts could admire him. This gesture signified that he had come in peace and was announcing his benevolent intentions by standing where all could see him. If they bore him malice, they had to shoot him then or not at all.[5] He then marched to Kąobawä's house and was met by Kąobawä's father's brother, the temporary leader of the combined host group, and the two men immediately began to chant. This was the formal acceptance of the feast invitation by Asiawä on behalf of his entire group. They chanted for five minutes or so, bouncing up and down from the knees, now face to face, now side to side, but always lively and loud. Suddenly, they stopped, and Asiawä squatted, his back to the sun, while the host's representative retired to his hammock. The cheering died down. Asiawä squatted for several minutes before one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought a half-gourd full of plantain soup to him and set it on the ground. He ignored it politely for several minutes, staring into the distance, holding his weapons horizontally next to his mouth. Presently, he put his weapons down, picked up the container of soup, and drained it in one draft before setting it back down. As soon as he had set it down, one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought him a large pack-basket filled with boiled green plantains and smoked armadillo meat. Asiawä stood while the strap of the basket was placed over his head and adjusted across his shoulders so as to not crumple his headdress. Trying to look dramatic, he staggered rapidly out of the village under his burden of food, while the hosts again cheered wildly. This food was eaten by the visitors while they finished their decorating, each receiving a small portion.

Within a half-hour of Asiawä's departure the visitors had completed their decorating and had assembled just outside the entrance to the village. The men, all finely decorated, stood at the front of the gathering, while the women, girls, and young boys, also decorated, but each carrying a load of family possessions, brought up the rear. At the signal of Asiawä's father, the first two dancers burst into the village, separated, and danced around the periphery of the clearing in opposite directions, while Kąobawä's group welcomed them enthusiastically with shouts and shrill screams. Two at a time,

[5] I have a number of informants' accounts of visitors being shot down while standing in the clearing to announce their visit. Whenever I accompanied visitors to strange villages for the first time I, too, was obliged to participate in this rite and always had an uneasy feeling about it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the visiting dancers entered, pranced around the village periphery, wildly showing off their decorations and weapons and then returning to the group. Each dancer had unique decorations and a unique dance step, something personal that he could exhibit. He would burst into the village screaming a memorized phrase, wheel and spin, stop in his tracks, dance in place, throw his weapons down, pick them up again, aim them at the line of hosts with a wild expression on his face, prance ahead a few steps, repeat his performance, and continue on around the village in this manner, while the hosts cheered wildly. When everyone had had an individual turn, the entire group entered, danced single file around the periphery several times, and gathered at the center of the clearing, where they formed a tightly knit group. They stood motionless, except for the heaving of their chests, holding their weapons vertically. After they had stood there a few moments—in a final display of decorations—Kąobawä's followers emerged from their houses and approached the center of the village, each man inviting one or more of the visitors to his house, leading him away from the village center by the arm. As each visitor was led away, his family, watching from the village entrance, unceremoniously joined him at the host's house, bringing the family possessions along. Within a few minutes the dance plaza was deserted and the visitors were resting comfortably in their hosts' hammocks. Even in the hammocks, the Yąnomamö visitors are able to put on a silent display of their finery as they lay with their legs crossed, one arm behind their head, staring at the ceiling, waiting for their hosts to feed them ripe plantain soup from the bark troughs—it is almost as if they are strutting from a reclining position.

After the guests had been given their first round of soup, the men of Kąobawä's village assembled outside the entrance and came in to dance around the village for their guests. They, too, had an opportunity to put on a display of their own decorations, after which they retired to entertain the guests.

There were three troughs full of soup in the village. The first one was emptied in the process of bringing numerous gourdsful to the some one hundred visitors (see Fig. 4–2). After they had consumed this, the guests then assembled at the second trough and began eating there. Before this trough was finished, they moved as a group to the third trough and repeated their ceremonial consumption, before returning to their hammocks to rest and regain their appetites. Approximately two hours had passed from the time the first dancers entered the village until the guests retired from the third trough of soup. They had not yet eaten all of the contents—all in all, some 95 gallons of it—but managed to do so by morning.[6]

Shortly after dark the marathon chanting (*waiyamou*) began—it continued until dawn. At dawn the visitors conducted their trade and were given the baskets of "going-home food": boiled green plantains with smoked meat. The women and children departed with the food, leaving the men behind to trade. The visitors made requests through their headman, and Kąobawä would produce the item by enjoining one of the local men to give it. The item would be thrown at the feet of the man who wanted it. He would ignore it for a while and then give it a cursory examination, throwing it back on the ground. His peers would then examine it in greater detail and extol its virtues, while the

[6]During some feasts, the ashes of the dead are mixed with the boiled, ripe plantain soup and eaten by friends and relatives of the deceased. The feast also serves as a preliminary to a raid that involves two or more villages. The sponsor of the raid will entertain his allies in a feast the day before the raiding party departs. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the raid.

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

302 593 /39 cont./ husband beats his wife for reasons of jealousy, he may likewise choose only this marked part of the head. As a further, but
302 825 probably secondary reason, I was told that the short haircut and the tonsure made it easier to control the plague of lice. People with long hair, they thought, were certainly unable to escape head lice.

302 538 The tonsure is also mentioned in religion and mythology. Porê, the lord of the moon, is imagined as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red (see p.197).

302 191 184 As among many other South American tribes, the tonsure is also a /40/ characteristic feature of all small-sized light-skinned Indians between the Rio Negro and the upper Orinoco, for the members of both sexes of the Xiriâna, Pusheweteri, Aramamesteri, and Karauateri whom I met also wore it (206).

302 191 114 206. The Brazilian country people designate all Indians with tonsures as Coroados = crowned. Baldus and Willems, however, quite rightly demand that the use of this name be avoided in Brazilian ethnology: "Coroado- Várias tribus de indios no Brasil, por examplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Puri, Bororo, receberam do povo o nome de Coroados, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que êsse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou êste têrmo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada" /Coroado -- Various tribes of Indians in Brazil, for example, the Botocudo, Caingang, Puri, Bororo, are given the name of Coroado by people, owing to the manner of cutting the hair, even though this style is not the same among all of them. This term has caused great confusion in Brazilian ethnography, and for this reason it should be abandoned/ (Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 67).

/113 cont./

526 between two men embracing each other, which is performed in a sitting position (see p. 233); the tug of war (see p. 244); and the throwing of wet earth at one another (see p. 244).

●539 [115] IX. Myths and Legends

The following myths and legends were told me by the Surára chief Hewemão:

The Creation of the Yanonámi

The earth already existed and was full of plants and animals, but as yet was without human beings. But one day the first man, Uruhí, came out of the leg of the xiapó, a small bird with black and yellow feathers similar to the japim. A short time later the bird-leg gave birth to a second man, then a third, a fourth, and finally a woman, Petá. These four men and the woman lived together in perfect harmony. Petá, to be sure, was the wife of Uruhí, the first-born, but the other three brothers also had the right to have sexual intercourse with her (552).

[835] 552. Among the Surára and Pakidái, the younger, unmarried brothers likewise have the right to have sexual intercourse with the wives of their elder brothers. Moreover, the members of both tribes believe that a woman is able to have strong children only if she has frequent intercourse with other men during her pregnancy. [843]

After a year Petá gave birth to a strong, healthy boy who grew rapidly and called all four men "father" (553). The boy's

[601] 553. The Surára and Pakidái children also call the unmarried brother of their father, not uncle, but likewise father.

Surára
Pakidái

/113 cont./

539 chief delight was to kill small birds with his little bow and arrow. But one night, for fun, /114/ he aimed at the moon and shot off his arrow. At once an eclipse of the moon set in. Blood dripped down and poured like a flood over the entire earth (554). From this blood came all the Yanonámi, that is,

[784]
[821]

554. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái children are strictly forbidden to this day to shoot their arrows in the direction of the moon.

the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, Xiriána, Karauaterí, Waiká, etc. (see p. 12).

539
392

The Origin of Fire

The virgin forest with its wealth of plants and fruits was already created, and human beings, as well as all kinds of animals were living upon the earth. Only fire was still lacking. Besides their vegetable food, the human inhabitants were therefore able to eat only raw meat, and at night they shivered in their hammocks. They knew, however, that the cayman (jacaretinga) had fire in its mouth. Despite all entreaties, it would not give up any of it. So people resorted to a ruse. They asked the hummingbird to fly around the cayman and make jokes. At first the cayman was unmoved and took no notice of the little bird. But finally he could not suppress his laughter any longer, whereupon fire shot out of his opened mouth. The people were very happy about it and thanked the hummingbird extravagantly.

2: Becher--249 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

/114 cont./

539
245

The Origin of the Banana

In olden times the Surára men were only hunters, and the women gathered the fruits of the jungle. They were unacquainted as yet with any kind of agriculture. One morning, however, when the Surára man Horonamú had arisen especially early and stepped out in front of the maloka, he saw to his astonishment peculiar large plants full of fruits. Immediately he wanted to pick one, but the voice of Poré, the lord of the moon, who, along with the latter, represents the supreme divine power (see p. 197), caused him to stiffen. Poré, however, in a very friendly way, said that he had grown these plants for the Surára and that their name was kuratá. He then ordered him to inform all the members of the tribe that the kuratá should be cultivated, for with it they would never have to suffer hunger again and would not have to rely solely on hunting luck. When Horonamú wanted to express his gratitude, Poré had already disappeared.

The First Pupunha Palms

The Surára were already acquainted with the banana tree, and this was the first plant that they cultivated. One night a japim (Cacicus cela L.) came flying and, on orders from Poré, planted pupunha palms (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) between the banana trees. Early in the morning it wakened the Surára with a particularly loud song, and when they stepped outside their maloka in astonishment, it told them that this palm was called komunamá and its fruits -- araxá -- were good for eating as well as for making a refreshing drink.

539

The Creation of the Jibóia-vermelha

Once upon a time there lived the Surára Karemoná, who was very quarrelsome by nature. Every day he mistreated his two wives and quarreled with the other men. He never submitted to the orders of the chief and even tried to undermine the

/114 cont./
539 discipline of the tribe. Since all admonitions were of no avail, he was banished from the community.

Karemoná painted his body with urucú and left the maloka. After he had wandered about in the forest for a few hours, he lay down wearily on the ground and fell asleep. While he was asleep Poré transformed him into the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatá -- because of his insubordination.

539
825

The Creation of the Black Jaguar

The Surára were already acquainted with clearing by burning and cultivated banana trees and pupunha palms. One day they saw a large toad in the forest clearing. A Surára wanted to kill it, but it fled to the other /115/ side of the roça (forest clearing) and there turned into a black jaguar.

The Creation of the Tapir

A cuatá monkey fell from a tall tree and was unable to climb up again. After several unsuccessful attempts, it turned into a tapir.

The Creation of Wild Pigs

A band of cuxiú monkeys fell from a tall tree. After futile attempts at climbing up again they were transformed into wild pigs.

The Creation of the Ant Bear

539
606
262

A Surára man who had raped his mother-in-law was turned into an ant bear by Poré as punishment. Since then there has been in-law avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and the meat of the ant bear may not be eaten by members of the tribe.

/231 cont./

This latter instrument in the hands of the priest-doctor might cause one to err by identifying him with the shaman, although actually the maraca of a priest and that of a shaman are considered by the Warao as essentially different. The powers of the maraca of the priest are guaranteed by the kareko stones which are inside it, a second category of spirits which belong to the court of God. The stones in the maraca of the shaman represent other powers. So, although morphologically both instruments have the same origin, functionally they have become specialized, probably in different fashion, by our Indians. Warao shamanism is based on the conception of the existence of an immanent essence in all objects which can only be freed by the power of the shaman for the purpose of being directed toward someone's body. Each shaman has also the power to extract this type of essence from a person, that is, to cure him of his sickness. The shaman cures by smoking, emitting smoke and blowing, and, when he does so, he must rest his hand on the affected part, while he allows to pass through his mind numerous images of objects, until he fixes his attention on a special one which is the object which caused the sickness, as a result of which the spirit immediately jumps to his hand or to the maraca. The magician, finally, takes out from the body of a person or puts into it material objects, the causes of sickness.

Warao priests are specialized to a high degree. They must observe special taboos regarding food, which must be cooked only by their wives in a fire newly kindled for it and in a special pot. They eat apart from the others, live in their own house, and must not perform any strenous work. Ideally, they make their living from their office (Wilbert, 1957a, 1960a).

/232/ We publish below some mythological details on which we were able to take notes.

OMAO AND SOAO

In the beginning there was a pregnant woman. One day the Great Jaguar came and devoured the woman. When he came to the uterus he wanted to eat it also, but at that very moment a toad appeared and told him that one ought not to eat that thing. The Jaguar left the uterus in the forest and went away.

/232 cont./

• 539 The toad picked up the uterus and took it home. After some months there came out of it two male twins to whom it gave the names Omao and Soao. The two boys were brothers, but the toad was not their "mother," in spite of its having fed them and protected them from all dangers.

One day the Jaguar returned again and heard the two young men talking. Then he realized what had happened, and he tried to kill the two brothers. But they gave a tremendous jump and climbed a gigantic tree. They remained there for a long time, eating the fruit of the tree. The Jaguar kept waiting for them and coveting their delicious food. Therefore he planned to climb the tree also, but when he came close to them they jumped off into space. The Jaguar followed them, but his luck did not hold, and on falling he hit the ground so hard that he died.

The two brothers went off to the forest. They were alone. The solitude was overwhelming. They decided to create man. They tried to make the males out of very hard wood so that they would not die. They therefore began going through the forest in search of the strongest tree. They found many, but Omao was not satisfied and continued searching. His brother Soao became discouraged and completely lost his patience; he took out his ax, felled the closest tree, and began to make men. When Omao arrived on the scene and saw the tree which his brother had felled, he became extremely sad, for he foresaw that men would die young for lack of strength. He became furious with his brother, and grabbing him by the arm, he threw him to the ground on top of a nest of wasps who stung him so much that he fled in panic, running and shouting, through the forest.

Sometimes polished axes are found in the forest; they are those of Omao, with which he felled four very strong trees. But he did not make men out of them, but snakes, which do not die since by changing the skins they are continually rejuvenated.

Then Omao and Soao wished to create women, and, as Soao was an excellent fisherman, Omao made him a fishhook so that he might go to the river to fish. But Soao lost the hook and came back empty-handed. Omao made another stronger hook for him.

/232 cont./

•539 This time Soao pulled out an enormous fish. Omao put it in /233/ a basket, saying that it was his wife and that Soao must not touch it. Soao did not touch her despite the fact that she was very beautiful.

One day Omao told his brother that he wished to make a wife for him and also for the other men, that he was going to the shore and that he must take good care of his sister-in-law, being very careful not to touch her.

Omao went off and after walking a great distance came to the bank of a large river. There he found a great number of beautiful butterflies. From them he decided to create a wife for his brother and women for the other men. The butterflies were very wary and fled every time that Omao approached them. Then Omao changed himself into a fly and put out some sweet bait in order to attract the prey. But all was lost because at the very moment of catching the most beautiful butterfly Omao heard a scream which he identified as one from his wife. In fact, Soao, tired of waiting for his brother and for his wife, lost patience, opened the basket which his sister-in-law was in, and attempted to cohabit with her. But she gave a tremendous scream and escaped. The butterflies became frightened and fled from the shore.

Omao, angered by this, left his brother alone on the earth and went to heaven.

THE SUN AND THE MOON

[221] The sun is a man and the moon is also a man. The two regard each other as enemies because of the occurrence which I shall relate.

One day the moon told a man to go and look for firewood. The man went off to look for it. When he brought it, he did not please the moon, who wanted a great deal more. Again it sent him into the forest. Then the man realized that what the moon wanted was to eat him. Then the man fled. He ran to the sun in search of asylum and protection. The sun hid him. When the moon arrived in search of him, the sun said that it had not seen the man. The moon, angered, insisted and even wanted

/233 cont./

539 to search the sun's house. Then the sun burned its surface and from that came the scars which show on its face.

The moon went to the other side of the world, and, while the sun sealed its friendship with man, the moon was his ir-
539 reconcilable enemy. When the moon appears rose-colored, it
821 is because it, along with its family, is eating men. The sun also has a family, but does not eat human flesh. Sometimes the moon hides in its house in order to plan a new campaign.
[532] During that time women are very much afraid and, in order to
[751] protect themselves, paint a likeness of the sun on their cheeks; they also commonly paint it on large stones which they find on the path.

/234/

OINEITĨB

539 Beneath the earth there exists the world of the dwarfs, who
[772] are called Oineitĩb. They live like men, but eat and speak very rapidly. They have no intestines or anus, and when they eat meat or other food, they cut it in pieces and swallow it raw, without chewing (25). They sometimes also eat women who conceal

[171] 25. See also the corresponding myth of the Yupa Indians of Venezuela (Wilbert, 1959d).

their menstruation. On one occasion the subterranean river grew so much that it acquired an enormous volume and gained so much strength that it blew out the earth beneath the ground of the rancheria in which there lived a woman who had tried to conceal her state. The houses collapsed and the inhabitants drowned, with the exception of the women, who were devoured by the dwarfs and their souls went to live forever with the guapo, who is also unable to go up to heaven and live with Omao.

Because the dwarfs have no intestines, they are always hungry and, for that reason, devour their food with much greediness. On occasion one of these dwarfs comes to earth to visit a man, but never a woman. The man cannot see his guest, but

/234 cont./

• 539 feels his presence because a devouring hunger attacks him. When the man realizes what is happening, he begins to eat greedily and immediately goes to see the sablf so that he will get rid of the importunate dwarf.

THE WOMAN WHO TURNS INTO A PECCARY

A man wished to go hunting for peccaries and asked his wife to go with him. The woman was having her menstrual period but said nothing to her husband. The two of them met a small band of peccaries in the forest. The man made his wife climb a tree while he prepared to kill the wild pigs. Hardly had the hunter left the place when a peccary appeared at the foot of the tree. It changed into a man and climbed the tree in order to carry the woman off. When the hunter returned, he began to search painstakingly for his wife, but he did not find her. He ran back to the rancheria and told his companions what had happened. The latter decided to follow the tracks of the woman. The sablf placed himself at the head of the retinue, which advanced in Indian file.

Soon the group met a man who called himself haʷmõ and who gave off flames from his belly. They asked him if he had seen a woman in the vicinity. The man answered that he had seen a woman whose upper part had been changed into a peccary when she had tried to pass under a fallen log on all fours, and that she was accompanied by many men and women.

The Sanemá continued the search, and the haʷmõ man accompanied them. /235/ Toward dusk the men hung their hammocks very close together because it was cold. One of them, still half asleep, attempted to revive the fire by blowing strongly, but he made a mistake and blew on the fire of the haʷmõ, who turned into a guinea hen and flew away.

On the following day, very early in the morning, the men continued to look for the abducted woman. After they had walked for quite a long time, they heard the sound of an ax; someone was cutting trees. It was pólawan, the jaguar who always follows the peccaries. He was cutting firewood in order to roast a peccary which he had just killed. He had seen the woman almost completely

/235 cont./

539 transformed into a peccary; only her feet were still human. All those who accompanied her belonged to a great herd of peccaries. The pŏlawan offered to show them the way, and very early on the following day he helped them attack the enemy encampment. During the attack the man found his wife; he recognized her by her feet, which had still not lost their human shape. He approached her and, from the rear, grasped her upper lip with his right hand and her lower lip with his left hand, tugged violently, and ripped off the peccary skin, freeing her in this way from that repugnant disguise. The skin got up and ran away toward the forest. The Sanemá killed all the wild pigs, the men, the women, and the children. Pŏlawan said good bye to them, and the woman returned joyfully with the men to the rancheria.

THE HANEKASA

773 The hanekasá are a pueblo made up, in its immense majority, of women. There lives among them only one man of verile age, which insures reproduction. Only female children are born, and, when the progenitor reaches an advanced age, a male child comes who replaces his father in this pueblo of amazons. The number of males may not exceed three: a child, a man in the prime of life, and an old man.

The hanekasá by preference feed on lapa /paca/.

For each Sanemá settlement there is a corresponding hanekasá one. When two of these groups meet on the road, they fight like men. The hanekasá also fight against men. If a man, while hunting, kills a hanekasá, a woman in the neighboring tribe will die.

HARAMI

539 One day a young Sanemá man was alone in the forest. He was looking for food. After walking a considerable distance without killing a single /236/ animal, he became very angry, complaining bitterly because the animals remained in their hiding

/236 cont./
539 places (26).

[224
782
784]

26. Taking into account what has already been pointed out as a prayer directed to Omao in order that he allow to come out those animals which he would judge as surplus in the animal kingdom, the young man's behavior can be judged as an offense against God because he would not yield to his will.

The father of the young hunter was at home sitting in front of the fire. He was a sablf. Suddenly he saw a swarm of butterflies approaching to put out the fire. A great cloud of smoke arose. The sablf heard the prolonged and penetrating howls of the Great Fox who has various members of his family living in the river. When they come out of the waters, they do not only kill the hunter who made them leave their "house," but all of his family as well. The butterflies also live in the river and are the friends of the Great Fox, whom they help to kill bad and guilty hunters. After putting out the fire they attack the family of the bad hunter, and, if the latter happens to be at home, they suck out his blood from the corners of his eyes. The sablf knew all about this and the grave danger which his son and his whole family were in, but he also knew a means of defending them against the butterflies. He caught some of them and spat on them. The butterflies immediately ceased their attack on him and died. The Great Fox kept quiet because he knew that his victim was in the forest under the protection of a powerful shaman. In this way the young hunter was saved from the teeth of the Great Fox,[1] who devours his victims and swallows them without chewing.

KASMAI

Kasmái is a man who lives in the river. Every six months, when there is a new moon, he comes out of the water to live for three days among men. This pleases them, and they regale him with a dance celebration. Kasmái enjoys himself very much at these celebrations. He comes up out of the river with his body

/236 cont./

539 painted red with onoto. His children paint him in the river, which they call "their home." The men give him presents of succulent food, but Kasmâi does not eat much because he is full and has an abundance of food at home. He does not remain long on earth. After three days he invites his companions to bathe in the river and suddenly disappears at the mercy of the waters.

WAU

Wau lives in the river, but he is a cayman. He is not a common cayman, however, since he is the owner of the fish. He runs as fast as the wind and chases men who fish with barbasco or who throw back into the river the bones of fish that they have eaten. Wau always carries an enormous club, and the man whom he pursues can only save himself if he succeeds in quickly climbing a tall, stout tree. /See the foreign text for the bibliography, pp. 247-263 in the original source, and the table of contents for the entire book, p. 265 in the original source./

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

I did not attempt to collect data on all aspects of Yąnomamö culture. Hans Becher (1960) and Otto Zerries (1964) had already done this. I concentrated, rather, on Yąnomamö social organization, settlement pattern, warfare and ideology and gathered data that would permit me to analyze these aspects of Yąnomamö culture and how they were related to each other in determining marriage practices.

The collection of genealogies proved to be the most important and the most difficult task of my field work. The widespread taboo against saying the names of both the living and the dead found in South America, particularly in the Guiana area, was carried to an extreme by the Yąnomamö. Consequently, much of my time was spent trying to discover which of my informants were giving me erroneous information, a frustrating and time consuming task. It was not unusual to discover after I had spent weeks on particular genealogies working with data provided by crafty informants that I had to disregard most, if not all, of those data. The Indians soon discovered my interest and set about inventing names for everybody in the village--and learning them, making my task all the more difficult when I checked my genealogies with informants from other villages. Thus, I would arrive at what I considered an accurate genealogy for the members of the village I lived in only to be advised by an Indian from another village that most of the names were inventions. I was therefore unable to check the accuracy of the stated relationships between individuals with outside informants

until I devised techniques to overcome this informant reaction. I had ultimately to resort to using informants from other villages to get much of the information, particularly names, about the people with whom I spent most of my time, or, to employ informants who had grudges against individuals within the village; the greatest insult a Yąnomamö can give is to say the name of a person's dead ancestor, and I capitalized on this custom at every opportunity.

Once I obtained accurate names,[1] the task became easier and I was able to use local informants once again, although rarely would they mention names of their dead relatives. Toward the end of my field work I managed to gain the confidence of several older individuals who verified and expanded on information I had collected by more devious means; even so, they themselves would not mention the names of many of the individuals in the genealogies, and I was constrained by my bargain with these informants not to mention the names of any of their closely related dead kinsmen. By utilizing several informants who were not closely related I managed to verify and correct the genealogies of the people with whom I lived, and I am reasonably sure that the information is accurate as far as it goes, although there are probably

---

[1] I was satisfied that the name was accurate when I obtained the same name from several of my most trusted informants. The best proof, however, was the reaction of an informant who was related to the deceased. If this informant became angry or upset when I whispered the name in his presence while checking a genealogy, I was reasonably sure that I had the right name.

omissions in ascending generations. The genealogies of individuals from other villages were easier to collect, particularly if my informants had grudges against the members of those villages, but I employed the same techniques in these cases as well.

After I had established the genealogical relationships, I visited the various villages to make estimates of the ages of the individuals, as well as to collect other kinds of information. This was always a touchy business, as the Yąnomamö resent being called by their names, particularly older and more influential individuals. Occasionally I would say the name of an individual who had recently been killed in a raid; this always resulted in an unpleasant and possibly dangerous situation, as most of them were unable to understand why a complete stranger should want to possess such knowledge unless it were for harmful magical purposes. My guides were constantly reminding me not to mention the names of dead people of the villages I visited and of the disastrous consequences that would follow should I fail to heed this advice.

In short, the collection of the genealogies was an unpleasant, full-time task and left very little time for intensive study of other aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

The two monographs dealing with the Yąnomamö mentioned above are quite superficial in their treatment of social organization; to date no intensive analysis of Yąnomamö social organization has been attempted using data

Zerries (1964:19) has included the groups I studied in the Shamatari classification on the basis of information taken from Mahekodotedi informants. The members of these groups, however, deny the Shamatari identity and distinguish themselves from their southern neighbors, some of whom visit them regularly and are married into their villages.

The Shamatari,[1] according to my Bisaasi-tedi informants, take their name from one of the headmen, KayabawÃ ("big tree"), who lived north of the Orinoco River in a village then called ShiohowÃ-tedi. KayabawÃ was an unusually corpulent man and bore a second name, Shamatari, derived from their word (Shama) for the tapir, a large ungulate found throughout tropical South America. Shamatari, when ShiohowÃ-tedi split, led his faction south of the Orinoco River and settled in the headwaters of the river known to the YąnomamÖ as the Shukumõna-u (see above), where his village became known as MokayÃaba-tedi. Other villages, related to ShiowÃ-tedi, moved into the Shukumõna River and Mavaca River basins after Shamatari's village was established, ultimately spreading as far southwest as the Cauabury headwaters in Brazil. The Shamatari expansion into this area took place around the turn of the century, according to my reconstruction of Shamatari history (see below). This is also supported by meagre

[1] There is another "Shamatari" group in the tributaries of the Upper Parima River of Brazil; these are not to be confused with the Shamatari under discussion here, although both groups are YąnomamÖ. See Vinci, 1959, for an impressionistic account of his brief contact with the Parima Shamatari.

*621 162 • 551 613 Lower Bisaasi-tedi inhabitants. (Numbers preceding names correspond to those next to individuals given in genealogies.)

Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
1. Ahimi	Hor	F	20	
2. Ahimi's son	Sha	M	0.2	
3. Auhewë	Tom	M	25	
4. Auhewë's son	Tom	M	1	
5. Auma	Kio	M	21	
6. Bäkëböwë	Sha	M	29	Becoming headman
7. Bäkëböwë's da.	Sha	F	1	
8. Boarama	Shamatari	F	6	Alliance
9. Bokosiwë	Sha	M	23	
10. Caraca-tedi	Sha	M	3	
11. Didihoma	-	F	5	See p. 213
12. Dimörama	Shamatari	F	20	See p. 213
13. Dodoiwë	Tom	M	52	
14. Heihunioma	Sha	F	19	
15. Hekëwaiyowë	Sha	M	2	
16. Hesiwë	Tom	M	65	
17. Hikarima	Shamatari	F	36	Abducted
18. Hoahemi	Kio	F	52	
19. Huimashima	Sha	F	6	
20. Irokaweikë	Sha	M	20	
21. Kakoma	Sha	F	19	Abducted, see p. 213
22. Kakoma's da.	Kio	F	0.1	
23. Katabema	Shamatari	F	3	See p. 213
24. Kpobauwë	Kio	M	26	
25. Krëömi	Kio	F	20	
26. Mamorakomi	Shamatari	F	34	See p. 214
27. Mamoshiklabema	Tom	M	4	
28. Manasinawë	-	M	56	See p. 214
29. Mioremi	Sha	F	28	
30. Monokoiwë	Tom	M	13	
31. Monomi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance

	Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
32.	Monomi's Da.	Tom	F	0.2	
33.	Makakami	Sha	F	56	
34.	Miaiyowë	Sha	M	14	
35.	Omonoiwë	Tom	M	28	
36.	Neromawë	Sha	M	53	Headman
37.	Rosa	Sha	F	8	
38.	Ruwisa	Tom	F	7	
39.	Shiborowë	Shamatari	M	35	See p. 214
40.	Tiaböwë	Shamatari	M	5	See p. 214
41.	Tomahewë	Tom	M	21	
42.	Tomasi	Tom	M	6	
43.	Ugushi	Hor	M	22	
44.	Waiimi	Hor	F	21	
45.	Waiyamobemi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance
46.	Waiyamobemi's son	Sha	M	0.5	
47.	Waiyuruma	Shamatari	F	50	Abducted
48.	Wakarabewë	Shamatari	M	16	Son-in-law to #6
49.	Yëbënëma	Kio	F	33	
50.	Yareama	Shamatari	F	2	See p. 214
51.	Yotoma	Tom	F	24	

Comments on particular individuals

1. Ahimi. Her present husband (Bokosiwë) visited the Patanowë-tedi within the past 5 years. Ahimi then lived in Patanowë-tedi and was married to a Sha man there (Makoakuwë), by whom she had already had one daughter (Huimashima). When Bokosiwë returned to Bisaasi-tedi, Ahimi followed him, taking her daughter with her, and became Bokosiwë's wife. As the Patanowë-tedi were technically at war with the Bisaasi-tedi, there was not much they could do to recover the woman. As they also wanted to make peace with Bisaasi-tedi, they did not press the matter.

10: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

627
579
411
526
541

[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

11: Chagnon

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

627
579
411
526
• 541

[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

along by himself and hopped round us twittering. Then he flew off, to return a little while later with another in tow—perhaps the hen bird. Twittering again, he presented us to her as a fabulous discovery. They twittered a commentary and flew off, returning a little later, this time with a whole flock of friends. Then, with the courage that comes with numbers, they all made for our eyes to get at the honey. We were forced to disillusion them.

VIII

The Shirians have tobacco, *pihni* as they call it: even the most primitive and savage of them, the Samatari, cultivate two things in some hidden corner of the forest known only to themselves—tobacco, and the cane from which they make their arrows. Vice and war!

We were highly attracted towards the Uagna river lands, which, according to Luis Antonio, was country rich in game and inhabited, or at least occasionally crossed, by the Samatari, who inspired terror all round them. Enrico, Momi, and I set out on an expedition there, leaving Jean and Artur to wait for the plane.

We stopped on the way at the Uarema settlement; Luis Antonio wanted to show us off to his people, who had never seen men with beards and wearing clothes.

That night we slept in a crowded hut, and our curiosity was drawn towards a young woman who had strung her hammock between those of Uarema's two nephews (whose persons were adorned with feathers and plumes). She stayed in all day as well, a coseted Shirian Cleopatra, continually looking at herself in the little glass we had given her and adjusting the white feather boa which covered her ears and her shoulders. During the course of the day other women came to help her with her toilet, painting her cheeks and forehead with certain precise geometrical designs: they used red and black colouring matter which when dry shone like enamel. Even her little quid of tobacco was smaller and daintier than others used. Uarema told us that she was the public woman of the tribe.

Next morning, when we were stepping into our boats again, Pancho and Benito came along in a big canoe. They wanted salt from us. We had very little, and had to refuse them. They went off in silence. When they were two hundred yards away, they shouted something in our direction. Luis Antonio

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

not only let us take his picture but begged us to take it again, with his wife beside him. Then he caused general merriment by posing beside the 'public woman' who was painted and dolled up like a bird of paradise. In a third take, he stood between the two women, caressing their breasts in an excess of zeal. At this, enthusiasm knew no bounds. Even Uarema's brother, a venerable figure with his head crowned with the scars of old battles, burst into such a vehement laugh that he lost his horrible quid of tobacco. This change of mood enabled us to get on with our job. But our takes were often interrupted, for Uarema had started a vogue and couples would come along and insist on being photographed in their full feather rig.

III

For our forthcoming river trips we were anxious to engage one of Luis Antonio's many brothers, who was apparently of the same age and had the reputation of being the tribe's most experienced traveller. To a certain extent he was even familiar with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. But his wife was expecting a child, so that he was prevented from going very far away from home. This seemed to us the most natural thing in the world. The wife was a tiny little lady, her only sign of maturity being her enormous belly, which very clearly did not owe its size to the swelling caused by internal parasites, the privileged possession of these women and children. Without this evidence of pregnancy she might have been taken for a girl of ten.

'The birth will come any day now,' Luis Antonio told us. 'But my brother won't be able to start straight away. He'll have to rest.'

We were reminded of the ritual of childbirth which with a few variations here and there is practised by all the Indians of tropical America. It affects the husbands as well as the wives and at bottom, in its way, contains a certain realism, characteristic of primitive peoples. Like us, they accept the principle of cause and effect and they do not really ascribe the pregnancy to strange half-magic phenomena. They know its cause for what it is—man, and his erotic acts. The effect, for them, is not in the woman herself: she is only a means, a vehicle. The true effect is the child. Up to this point, their attitude is no different from ours. The different point of view comes with the valuation placed by the Indians upon the cause after the effect has been produced. They see the role of

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Puseheweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726]

Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of la. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

[115]

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

• 551 162 [16]

The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

/57 cont./

551
162
[802]

Estimated Age (315)

315. These Indians count only to three, so I could only estimate the ages given.

Hewemãõ (316) -- chief and medicine man — 42 years

[123]

316. I was able to learn all the names only after my adoption into the tribe, for they are kept a strict secret from outsiders. But even then the individual men and women themselves never told them to me; I learned the names only from other members of the tribe, and, to be sure, always in a whisper. If they call each other in a loud voice, they use Portuguese names which they have heard from palm-fiber gatherers. I too had to give names to several members of the tribe.

Koentemá -- his first wife (from the Pakidã tribe) — 24 years
Kanikawõ -- son — 8 years
Daughter (has no name yet (317) — 1 year

[553]

317. Children are given their names only after the completion of their third year (see pp. 201 ff.).

Yaripanamá -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe) (She had a daughter who died in infancy.) — 35 years
Maxiuamá -- daughter of Hewemãõ and his former wife Taímakána, who died in childbirth — 9 years

Surára

/57 cont./

551
162

	Estimated Age
Kurikayawõ -- brother of the chief and later his successor	37 years
Xunamĩ -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe) (She had a son who died as a small child.)	18 years
/58/	
Xomirawõ -- war chief	40 years
Uitimá -- his wife (from the Xamatári tribe)	38 years
Moramanamá -- daughter (married to the Surára Uaxianauwõ)	18 years
Yaxoĩma -- daughter	13 years
Xinarĩ -- his first wife (from the Pakidái tribe, sister of Koentemá)	20 years
Inxinemá -- youngest brother of the chief (bachelor)	19 years
Hemahemá -- son of the deceased eldest brother of Hewemão	25 years
Hanohomá -- warrior	43 years
Unhamĩ -- his wife	24 years
Matuwõ -- son of Hanohomá and his first wife, who died. (Matuwõ is married to Maxiuamá, the nine-year-old daughter of Chief Hewemão.)	17 years
Unariwõ -- warrior	38 years
Yanauemá -- his wife (from the Puseheweterĩ tribe)	35 years
Komitimá -- daughter (second wife of the Surára Hemahemá)	18 years
Rokoahĩma -- daughter	8 years
Cinapemĩ -- mother of Unariwõ	54 years
Toabewõ -- warrior	28 years
Uainomĩ -- his wife (mother of Unhamĩ, see above)	43 years
Raxakewõ -- warrior	32 years
Amarokomá -- his first wife (from the Xiriána tribe) (Two children, a boy and girl, have died.)	24 years
Yaxuramá -- his second wife (from the Puseheweterĩ tribe)	22 years

Surára

/58 cont./	Estimated Age
161 Daughter (has no name yet)	3 years
162 Orateõ -- warrior	32 years
Posioubemf -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	23 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 months
Uaxianauwõ -- warrior	24 years
Moramanamá -- his wife (daughter of the war chief)	18 years
Rarorauwõ -- warrior	36 years
Tanyakomf -- his wife (from the Pusheweterf tribe) (Three children, two boys and a girl, died.)	30 years
Rokomá -- mother of Rarorauwõ (oldest Surára woman)	63 years
Anyarawõ -- warrior	29 years
Ranomá -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	20 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	2 years
Xanimá, mother of Anyarawõ	47 years
Poxewõ -- warrior	28 years
Riopemf -- his wife (from the Pakidái tribe)	21 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Hunkawá -- warrior	29 years
Xororimá -- his wife	21 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Koroyewõ -- warrior	31 years
Natororomá -- his wife (from the Pusheweterf tribe)	23 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 years
Werewõ -- warrior	30 years
Makanamá -- his wife (from the Pusheweterf tribe)	22 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	1 year
Ixobewõ -- warrior	31 years
Oikoçimá -- his first wife (from the Xirixána tribe)	28 years
Daughter (has no name yet). The twin brother died.	3 years

Surára
Pakidái

/58 cont./

	Estimated Age
551 162 Xeramí -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe)	25 years
Xaniwõ -- son	12 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	2 years
Xutumí -- widow	59 years
Haikiamí -- her daughter (likewise a widow)	40 years
Yarikoawõ -- son of Haikiamí (bachelor)	17 years
Katarauwõ -- solitary bachelor	17 years
/59/	
Ikoauwõ -- solitary bachelor	16 years
Jibeauwõ -- orphan boy	9 years
Mauabemí -- orphan boy	8 years
Nikeromí -- female captive (from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí)	15 years

[161] [123] There are somewhat more Pakidái, for they numbered 89. Since my association with them was not quite as close as with the Surára, however, I was able to learn considerably fewer given names. In the following I am presenting those that became known to me:

	Estimated Age
Karenauõ -- chief and medicine man	26 years
Poroamí -- his wife (from the Surára tribe)	20 years
Son (has no name yet)	2 years
Poréhiwõ -- war chief	32 years
Ruxoyetemí -- his first wife (from the Surára tribe)	30 years
Yauetoiwõ -- son	13 years
Xaraíma -- daughter	7 years
Daughter (has no name yet). She was born during my stay	1 month
The second wife of Poréhiwõ left him because of ill treatment and was presumably drowned	
Kaxiribewõ -- warrior (brother of Poréhiwõ)	39 years
Monamí -- his wife	36 years

/59 cont./

	Estimated Age
551 162 Kuyaromá -- daughter	19 years
Bixewõ -- son	15 years
Son (has no name yet)	3 years
Son (has no name yet). He was born during my visit	1 month
Ironasterí (from the Xiriána tribe) -- wife of Bixewõ	22 years
Yururauwõ -- warrior	28 years
Xekoreimá -- his wife (from the Surára tribe)	28 years
Tenxoyahibewõ -- son. (He is the only Pakidái boy attending the mission school of the Salesians in Barcelos (Rio Negro) and speaks Portuguese well. A river trader took him there. Now he is ashamed of his fellow tribesmen and was not to be persuaded to give any information about them).	14 years
Mihemehumá -- son	5 years
Son (has no name yet)	1 year
Kuatoxemão -- warrior	33 years
Toreheíma -- his first wife (from the Puseheweterí tribe)	26 years
Xiahomá -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe)	21 years
Daughter of Xiahomá (has no name yet)	2 years
Karemoué -- warrior	29 years
Xitiporimá -- his first wife	26 years
Tokorá -- son	8 years
Nyarimá -- daughter	4 years
Kirixoíma -- his second wife (from the Xiriána tribe)	20 years
Daughter (has no name yet)	6 months
Prexemí -- widow (mother of Karemoué)	50 years
Hokotómarimá -- bachelor (brother of Karemoué; died as the result of an accident during my stay)	19 years
Xoronauwõ -- solitary bachelor	17 years

/70 cont./

764 Among the Pakidái I was able to be present on the sad occasion of a burial ceremony for the young, vigorous, and happy Hokotómarimá, an unmarried youth whose age was 19 years at [762] most. He had fallen from the top of a pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) (the liana lashing of his climbing apparatus, see p. 121, had evidently not been firm enough) and must have suffered internal injuries. All the efforts to save him, which were carried out uninterruptedly by the chief and his helpers for two days and nights, were unsuccessful.

[302] After the dead Hokotómarimá had been pushed into the wooden frame, five warriors whose bodies were painted all over with urucú carried him out of the maloka, amid loud lamentations. Two men carried the frame, one in front and one in back; now and then they were relieved by their companions. The women of his kin group, in part with children on their hips or by the hand, accompanied him, amid heart-rending, shrill tones of lament and endlessly flowing tears, on this last journey to the edge of the forest. Then the five men went on alone with the deceased. (The chief did not take part; he would do so only if the deceased were a relative.) After a walk of about 20 minutes, they suddenly stopped, set down the frame, and selected a suitable tree, in order to hang it in the crown. When they had found it, in this case a tall imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.) -- tokorí --, two men climbed up, each with two long lianas (cipó-titica) hanging around their necks. They chose a particularly thick limb, then lowered the lianas, where their companions tied them to the wooden frame, and pulled it up with the dead man lying in it. When the frame was hanging firmly and securely on the branch, they climbed down again.

Immediately thereafter the five men started back to the maloka. On the way, however, the brother of the deceased cut [551] into a tree, the name of which the deceased bore -- hokotómarimá -- matamatazeiro (Eschweilera matamata Hub.), with his terçado (large bush-knife) and in the lower part of the trunk, deep notches which had the following appearance ~~~~~~~~~~~~~~ and extended around the entire trunk. This was supposed to make the tree die.

/70 cont./

764 [551] If the deceased had borne, say, the name of an animal, it would have been the duty of the brother or a relative to kill such an animal. For, with the dead person, an animal or plant of the same name must also be killed or be made to die (see pp. 138/139).

While the deceased hung in the crown of the imbauba tree, the laments of his relatives in the maloka continued, and even the children did not lag behind their parents in this respect. At night one or two men were always awake, sometimes also a woman, who, at the same time, sang, wept, and intermittently uttered shrill sounds. The sleep of the other members of the tribe, however, was not disturbed by it.

765 Seventeen days after the death of Hokotómarimá the second part of the burial ceremony began. The male relatives cut down more trees, and, under the imbauba tree in whose crown the dead man hung, they raised a funeral pyre; moreover, they cleared the forest at this spot, so that there was a rather large open area. On the afternoon of the eighteenth day all the Pakidái men then painted themselves with urucú and, under the leadership of Chief Karenauõ, singing loudly and weeping at the same time, they went to the place of the dead. All the women and children remaining behind also wept fervently, even the ones who were not related to the deceased. The /71/ men carried bows and arrows in their hands; some of them also carried snuff-powder and the tube for blowing it in. The brother, moreover, had the weapons and tools of the deceased, as well as bowls made out of the jamaru fruit -- horotó.

When the procession reached the imbauba tree, two kinsmen climbed up once more and carefully lowered the wooden frame, which was received by the other warriors and placed on the pyre in such a way that the head of the deceased was turned toward the rising moon. The dead man, however, was only a skeleton. The flesh had decayed and fallen through the slats to the ground where the vultures, ants, and other animals had devoured it. The brother put his weapons and tools on the wooden frame, so that they would be available to Hokotómarimá in the realm of the dead. Several pieces of meat, bananas, some manioc flour, and the full calabash of a palm drink were to serve as food along the way.

Surára
Parídai

821 /92 cont./
796 danger. For the fact that it has chosen the serras as dwelling
794 places for the gigantic plant and animal spirits is injurious to their power if it is directed against Poré and Perimbó. In contrast to the serras, the hekurá are steadfastly faithful followers of the united moon deities and, together with the stars, protect them against any attacks on the part of the sun and its temporary allies. Sometimes, in an altercation which the serras wage with the moon or sun, an eclipse of the moon or sun appears, because the celestial body in question wishes to conceal itself from the other, so that it will not be drawn into the dispute (447). If, for example, it becomes dark before a thunderstorm and lightning begins to flash, then the sun is very thirsty, is hiding behind the serras and asking for rain. The latter relay the request to the moon. But it does not want to comply with the sun's wish, and already there is reason for the serras and the moon to quarrel. Then when it thunders, Poré has a headache out of anger, and he finally shakes the rain tree to put an end to the quarrel.

[191]

447. The relationship of moon and sun also plays a special role in the religious and mythological ideas of various other Indian tribes. In the myth of the Yurakaré /Yuracare/, for example, it is treated in the sense of the Orpheus motif (Rodrigues, 1875, pp. 252 ff.; d'Orbigny, 1835/47, III, p. 210).

794 The hekurá are gigantic prototypes of all the species of plants and animals that live on certain serras that are taboo for human beings. These nature spirits are regarded as subordinate helpers of Poré and Perimbó. They are usually favorably disposed toward human beings, permit and facilitate hunting, gathering, and agriculture for them. The men, however, must always show their gratitude to them by prayers, and they may
794 not indiscriminately destroy animals and plants. This is also
● 55 related to the fact that all members of the tribe, men, women,

/92 cont./ and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waiká /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omaua," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
689 tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
825 of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and, as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists between the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law. Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom. These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes him in like another one of its own members. Older children also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted, properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denominations. We do not think that there are special terms to express a relationship of adoption.

554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main distinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers, and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three differ-
791 ent theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
756 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
793 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman and priest in particular, represent the most influential position in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
000 by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

/470 cont./

512 men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the
[276] spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves
[721] are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against
[176] the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

[535] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may
[533] continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when
[203] there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be
[594] crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Un-
551 til the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

• 551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

/471 cont./

551 When a person is called by his own name, he frequently returns the insult by calling the offender by his own name.

/472/ The names of persons are distinguished by their masculine or feminine suffixes, in such a way that he can always be sure to which sex the person referred to belongs, even though this might not have been known. The names which end in "-wa" are masculine, and those which end in "-mi" or in "-ma" are feminine.

552 Dogs are also given proper names. Their names are distinguished by the endings for the gender. Other domestic animals rarely receive a proper name and rather are called monkey, parrot, etc.

Relations between Persons

576 The greatest compliment which can generally be made to another person who has acquired a new object is to say: "Give me that." The usual reply is: "No." Such a person is highly pleased to know that he has acquired something desired by another.

574 591 When a visitor (or group of visitors) comes to visit a settlement, he stays outside and decorates himself with painting, feathers, etc. Then, when the inhabitants of the settlement see him coming, they break out in applause. The visitor enters the interior patio of the settlement and stands with his head thrown back, holding his bow and arrows out in front, resting vertically on the ground. When he is invited to enter a house, he goes to it and lies down in a hammock on his back, with his head back, remaining motionless for ten to twenty minutes. (A person who frequently visits the settlement knows the house in which he will be well received and goes to it without waiting to be invited.)

574 Once the visitor has rested, he is offered some food. As soon as he finishes eating, and sometimes even before, he breaks his silence and begins to talk with the group which has gathered around him in order to watch him. Then he remains in this same house, where he is given food as long as his visit lasts. They never think of charging him for the food, but an undesirable visitor is either not invited or advised to leave.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114 I overlooked this incident I would have invited them to take even greater liberties with
123 my goods in the future. I crossed the river, docked amidst their dugouts, and shouted for the Indians to come out and see me. A few of the culprits appeared, mischievous grins on their faces. I gave a spirited lecture about how hard I had worked to put those boards in my canoe, how I had paid a machete for the wood, and how angry I was that they destroyed my work in their haste to cross the river. I then pulled out my hunting knife and, while their grins disappeared, cut each of their canoes loose, set it into the current, and let them float away. I left without further ado and without looking back.

They managed to borrow another canoe and, after some effort, recovered their dugouts. The headman of the village later told me with an approving chuckle that I had done the correct thing. Everyone in the village, except, of course, the culprits, supported and defended my action. This raised my status.

Whenever I took such action and defended my rights, I got along much better with the Yąnomamö. A good deal of their behavior toward me was directed with the forethought of establishing the point at which I would react defensively. Many of them later reminisced about the early days of my work when I was "timid" and a little afraid of them, and they could bully me into giving goods away.

Theft was the most persistent situation that required me to take some sort of defensive action. I simply could not keep everything I owned locked in trunks, and the Indians came into my hut and left at will. I developed a very effective means for recovering almost all the stolen items. I would simply ask a child who took the item and then take that person's hammock when he was not around, giving a spirited lecture to the others as I marched away in a faked rage with the thief's hammock. Nobody ever attempted to stop me from doing this, and almost all of them told me that my technique for recovering my possessions was admirable. By nightfall the thief would either appear with the stolen object or send it along with someone else to make an exchange. The others would heckle him for getting caught and being forced to return the item.

121 With respect to collecting the data I sought, there was a very frustrating problem.
124 Primitive social organization is kinship organization, and to understand the Yąnomamö
• 55 way of life I had to collect extensive genealogies. I could not have deliberately picked
114 a more difficult group to work with in this regard: They have very stringent name taboos. They attempt to name people in such a way that when the person dies and they can no longer use his name, the loss of the word in the language is not inconvenient. Hence, they name people for specific and minute parts of things, such as "toenail of some rodent," thereby being able to retain the words "toenail" and "(specific) rodent," but not being able to refer directly to the toenail of that rodent. The taboo is maintained even for the living. One mark of prestige is the courtesy others show you by not using your name. The sanctions behind the taboo seem to be an unusual combination of fear and respect.

114 I tried to use kinship terms to collect genealogies at first, but the kinship terms
123 were so ambiguous that I ultimately had to resort to names. They were quick to grasp
124 that I was bound to learn everybody's name and reacted, without my knowing it, by
60 inventing false names for everybody in the village. After having spent several months
55 collecting names and learning them, this came as a disappointment to me: I could not cross-check the genealogies with other informants from distant villages.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

They enjoyed watching me learn these names. I assumed, wrongly, that I would get the truth to each question and that I would get the best information by working in public. This set the stage for converting a serious project into a farce. Each informant tried to outdo his peers by inventing a name even more ridiculous than what I had been given earlier, or by asserting that the individual about whom I inquired was married to his mother or daughter, and the like. I would have the informant whisper the name of the individual in my ear, noting that he was the father of such and such a child. Everybody would then insist that I repeat the name aloud, roaring in hysterics as I clumsily pronounced the name. I assumed that the laughter was in response to the violation of the name taboo or to my pronunciation. This was a reasonable interpretation, since the individual whose name I said aloud invariably became angry. After I learned what some of the names meant, I began to understand what the laughter was all about. A few of the more colorful examples are: "hairy vagina," "long penis," "feces of the harpy eagle," and "dirty rectum." No wonder the victims were angry.

I was forced to do my genealogy work in private because of the horseplay and nonsense. Once I did so, my informants began to agree with each other and I managed to learn a few new names, real names. I could then test any new informant by collecting a genealogy from him that I knew to be accurate. I was able to weed out the more mischievous informants this way. Little by little I extended the genealogies and learned the real names. Still, I was unable to get the names of the dead and extend the genealogies back in time, and even my best informants continued to deceive me about their own close relatives. Most of them gave me the name of a living man as the father of some individual in order to avoid mentioning that the actual father was dead.

The quality of a genealogy depends in part on the number of generations it embraces, and the name taboo prevented me from getting any substantial information about deceased ancestors. Without this information, I could not detect marriage patterns through time. I had to rely on older informants for this information, but these were the most reluctant of all. As I became more proficient in the language and more skilled at detecting lies, my informants became better at lying. One of them in particular was so cunning and persuasive that I was shocked to discover that he had been inventing his information. He specialized in making a ceremony out of telling me false names. He would look around to make sure nobody was listening outside my hut, enjoin me to never mention the name again, act very nervous and spooky, and then grab me by the head to whisper the name very softly into my ear. I was always elated after an informant session with him, because I had several generations of dead ancestors for the living people. The others refused to give me this information. To show my gratitude, I paid him quadruple the rate I had given the others. When word got around that I had increased the pay, volunteers began pouring in to give me genealogies.

I discovered that the old man was lying quite by accident. A club fight broke out in the village one day, the result of a dispute over the possession of a woman. She had been promised to Rerebawä, a particularly aggressive young man who had married into the village. Rerebawä had already been given her older sister and was enraged when the younger girl began having an affair with another man in the village, making no attempt to conceal it from him. He challenged the young man to a club fight, but was so abusive in his challenge that the opponent's father took offense and entered the village circle with his son, wielding a long club. Rerebawä swaggered out to the duel and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114 hurled insults at both of them, trying to goad them into striking him on the head with
123 their clubs. This would have given him the opportunity to strike them on the head. His
124 opponents refused to hit him, and the fight ended. Rerebawä had won a moral victory
578 because his opponents were afraid to hit him. Thereafter, he swaggered around and in-
839 sulted the two men behind their backs. He was genuinely angry with them, to the point of calling the older man by the name of his dead father. I quickly seized on this as an opportunity to collect an accurate genealogy and pumped him about his adversary's ancestors. Rerebawä had been particularly nasty to me up to this point, but we became staunch allies: We were both outsiders in the local village. I then asked about other dead ancestors and got immediate replies. He was angry with the whole group and not afraid to tell me the names of the dead. When I compared his version of the genealogies to that of the old man, it was obvious that one of them was lying. I challenged his information, and he explained that everybody knew that the old man was deceiving me and bragging about it in the village. The names the old man had given me were the dead ancestors of the members of a village so far away that he thought I would never have occasion to inquire about them. As it turned out, Rerebawä knew most of the people in that village and recognized the names.

114 I then went over the complete genealogical records with Rerebawä, genealogies I
124 had presumed to be in final form. I had to revise them all because of the numerous lies and falsifications they contained. Thus, after five months of almost constant work on the genealogies of just one group, I had to begin almost from scratch!

114 Discouraging as it was to start over, it was still the first real turning point in my
123 fieldwork. Thereafter, I began taking advantage of local arguments and animosities in
124 selecting my informants, and used more extensively individuals who had married into the group. I began traveling to other villages to check the genealogies, picking villages that were on strained terms with the people about whom I wanted information. I would then return to my base camp and check with local informants the accuracy of the new information. If the informants became angry when I mentioned the new names I acquired from the unfriendly group, I was almost certain that the information was accurate. For this kind of checking I had to use informants whose genealogies I knew rather well: they had to be distantly enough related to the dead person that they would not go into a rage when I mentioned the name, but not so remotely related that they would be uncertain of the accuracy of the information. Thus, I had to make a list of names that I dared not use in the presence of each and every informant. Despite the precautions, I occasionally hit a name that put the informant into a rage, such as that of a dead brother or sister that other informants had not reported. This always terminated the day's work with that informant, for he would be too touchy to continue any further, and I would be reluctant to take a chance on accidentally discovering another dead kinsman so soon after the first.

114 These were always unpleasant experiences, and occasionally dangerous ones, de-
123 pending on the temperament of the informant. On one occasion I was planning to visit
124 a village that had been raided about a week earlier. A woman whose name I had on my
• 551 list had been killed by the raiders. I planned to check each individual on the list one by one to estimate ages, and I wanted to remove her name so that I would not say it aloud in the village. I knew that I would be in considerable difficulty if I said this name aloud so soon after her death. I called on my original informant and asked him to tell

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

me the name of the woman who had been killed. He refused, explaining that she was a close relative of his. I then asked him if he would become angry if I read off all the names on the list. This way he did not have to say her name and could merely nod when I mentioned the right one. He was a fairly good friend of mine, and I thought I could predict his reaction. He assured me that this would be a good way of doing it. We were alone in my hut so that nobody could overhear us. I read the names softly, continuing to the next when he gave a negative reply. When I finally spoke the name of the dead woman he flew out of his chair, raised his arm to strike me, and shouted: "You son-of-a-bitch![6] If you ever say that name again, I'll kill you!" He was shaking with rage, but left my hut quietly. I shudder to think what might have happened if I had said the name unknowingly in the woman's village. I had other, similar experiences in different villages, but luckily the dead person had been dead for some time and was not closely related to the individual into whose ear I whispered the name. I was merely cautioned to desist from saying any more names, lest I get people angry with me.

I had been working on the genealogies for nearly a year when another individual came to my aid. It was Kąobawä, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri, the group in which I spent most of my time. He visited me one day after the others had left the hut and volunteered to help me on the genealogies. He was poor, he explained, and needed a machete. He would work only on the condition that I did not ask him about his own parents and other very close kinsmen who were dead. He also added that he would not lie to me as the others had done in the past. This was perhaps the most important single event in my fieldwork, for out of this meeting evolved a very warm friendship and a very profitable informant-fieldworker relationship.

Kąobawä's familiarity with his group's history and his candidness were remarkable. His knowledge of details was almost encyclopedic. More than that, he was enthusiastic and encouraged me to learn details that I might otherwise have ignored. If there were things he did not know intimately, he would advise me to wait until he could check things out with someone in the village. This he would do clandestinely, giving me a report the next day. As I was constrained by my part of the bargain to avoid discussing his close dead kinsmen, I had to rely on Rerebawä for this information. I got Rerebawä's genealogy from Kąobawä.

Once again I went over the genealogies with Kąobawä to recheck them, a considerable task by this time: they included about two thousand names, representing several generations of individuals from four different villages. Rerebawä's information was very accurate, and Kąobawä's contribution enabled me to trace the genealogies further back in time. Thus, after nearly a year of constant work on genealogies, Yąnomamö demography and social organization began to fall into a pattern. Only then could I see how kin groups formed and exchanged women with each other over time, and only then did the fissioning of larger villages into smaller ones show a distinct pattern. At this point I was able to begin formulating more intelligent questions because there was now some sort of pattern to work with. Without the help of Rerebawä and Kąobawä I could not have made very much sense of the plethora of details I had collected from dozens of other informants.

[6] This is the closest English translation of his actual statement, the literal translation of which would be nonsensical in our language.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

606 123 The avoidance taboo prohibits a man from saying his mother-in-law's name. My informants would be extremely embarrassed when I would say the name of their mother-in-law while collecting genealogies. Kąobawä, for example, would grin sheepishly and [551] hide his head. Men must also avoid their mothers-in-law physically and should not look at them. If I took a group of people for a ride in my canoe, there would always be considerable shuffling of bodies so that the men could be situated in the canoe as far away from their mothers-in-law as possible.

128 602 595 Finally, case C illustrates another kind of sororal polygyny: Individuals III-1 and III-3 are sisters to each other because their mothers are sisters. (The equation stating that children of siblings of the same sex are themselves siblings extends indefinitely in the case of males, but breaks down in the case of females after two generations. This is because descent is patrilineal.)

128 582 602 *Case D:* This also is a case of FaSiDa marriage: I-2 and I-3 were brothers, so one of the parents of each of the third generation individuals were brother and sister to each other. Hence, III-1 married his FaSiDa.

128 595 602 *Case E:* The marriage of III-1 to III-2 is similar to the marriage in case D, but his marriage to the second wife, III-3, illustrates the use of another kinship equation. She is an actual sister to the first wife, but does not stand in the FaSiDa relationship to her husband. If one of the sisters is FaSiDa, however, then all of them are in Yąnomamö kinship usage.

128 582 602 [601] *Case F:* This illustrates how affinal ties replace consanguineal ties should the two conflict. III-1 can trace a blood tie to his wife, one that would prevent him from marrying her, but the affinal ties between his own father and the father of his wife permit him to marry according to the prescription. Individual III-1 would call all of his father's wives "mother." Hence, his own wife is, technically, MoBrDa.

128 582 587 602 *Case G:* This illustrates a number of marriage rules stated in the preceding examples. I present it as a sort of exercise to reinforce the logic of the Yąnomamö kinship equations given above. Individual II-6 married two brothers, II-5 and II-7, illustrating the *levirate:* the marriage between a man and his brother's widow. Individual II-9 married his FaSiDa (as in case F). Individuals III-3 and III-4 can marry because their fathers were cross-cousins (see case H, below). Individual III-5 married his FaSiDa, as was shown for the similar marriage in case E. Individual IV-1 married two women, each of whom is his FaSiDa. This is so because I-2 and I-4 were adopted brothers, so that their [597] sons (II-2 and II-4) were also siblings. Hence, IV-1 married his FaSiDa (IV-2) and, as in case E, her sister. His second wife is also FaSiDa because her mother (III-6) was a sister to III-2, since their respective fathers (II-9 and II-2) were (adopted) brothers.

128 582 601 602 *Case H:* This illustrates a very powerful marriage rule: The children of men who call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law) can marry. Practically speaking, in our kinship terms, the rule is that the children of cross-cousins stand in marriageable relationship to each other. II-2 and II-3 stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and could exchange sisters in marriage. Their sons stand in the same relationship. Another important feature of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage rules is illustrated here. While III-1 married a woman of the prescribed category, he does not reckon his relationship to her patrilaterally or matrilaterally. That is, she is neither FaSiDa nor MoBrDa, but she is both! This emphasizes the fact that they marry primarily in terms of categories rather than by tracing biological ties, as I have done in the above examples. To the Yąnomamö,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobömou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*ro*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

Surára
Pakidái

/85 cont./

264 There is no feeling of modesty during eating, such as Karl von den Steinen, for example, describes for the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ (412).

412. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 66.

262 On the other hand, there are food taboos for sick people, pregnant women, for girls during their first and second menstruation, and for young men in connection with their two-months' training as medicine-man helpers.

10. Tame Animals

231

As the sole, true domestic animal, there is found among the Surára and Pakidái only the dog -- hiíma. In addition, for amusement and the pleasure in animals, European cocks are kept, as well as small monkeys, porpoise-like little hamsters (Cavia leucopyga), parrots, araras, and parakeets (Conuvidae).

As for the dogs, there are two barking varieties. One resembles the German shepherd dog, while the other, which is short- /86/ haired, white or spotted, looks very much like our fox terrier. Well-trained hunting dogs, with which a profitable [437] barter trade is carried on, are very lovingly cared for and are always given plenty of food, whereas the others are sometimes neglected. Basically, however, the Indians are attached to these animals also, which may be seen by the fact that every family that owns dogs, usually one or two, has made a "dog bed" behind their fire area, that is, a sleeping place for the loyal members of the household (Ill. 30) (see p. 29). Sometimes young dogs [552] are even nursed by women. If a bitch has brought forth young, all the relatives and friends ask to be given a young one later on and, upon receiving it, immediately give it a name. It may also be of interest to point out that the Indians mentioned never whistle to their dogs. Usually they call them by name or they hiss by pressing the tip of the tongue against the teeth (413).

[171] 413. Many North American Indians behave in the same way (Friederici, 1899, p. 365).

/87 cont./

235 also give names; they are fed by the women. During the day they
[552] run around freely, and at night they are confined in a common pen built out of thin trunks and sticks beside each maloka. When the tribe is traveling, it is the duty of the small boys to carry a rooster in the plaited carrying basket made from the bast strips of the curauá plant (see p. 106). When a temporary camp is set up in the afternoon, the cocks are set free. During the night they rest on the limbs of low trees, usually in the vicinity of their owners. Before the march is resumed the next morning, they are caught again and put in the baskets of the boys. I might also mention that the Surára and Pakidái never kill a cock, for it is a member of the household, and they believe furthermore that roosters and hens are unclean animals that eat any kind of filth. For this reason, eating their meat, including the eggs, would be very harmful for human beings (424).

[825]
[262]

235
171
262

424. Among various Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana, where many chickens are kept, neither the meat nor the eggs are eaten (Im Thurn, 1883, p. 265). Ehrenreich reports the same thing about the Karajá /Caraja/: "Even the domestic hen, which reached the Araguaya /Araguaia/ tribes a long time ago in the domestic state and has multiplied tremendously, is, as a member of the household, not used for food, nor are its eggs. In modern times, however, it serves as a trade item in dealings with travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Para at a high profit" (Ehrenreich, 1891, pp. 13/14).

231

The tamed wild animals, such as monkeys, parrots, araras, and
[171] parakeets, also enjoy complete freedom. I never found them tied up, as is mentioned by Baldus, for example, for the Chaco tribes (425).

425. Baldus, 1931, p. 18.

/471 cont./

551 When a person is called by his own name, he frequently returns the insult by calling the offender by his own name.

/472/ The names of persons are distinguished by their masculine or feminine suffixes, in such a way that he can always be sure to which sex the person referred to belongs, even though this might not have been known. The names which end in "-wa" are masculine, and those which end in "-mi" or in "-ma" are feminine.

552 Dogs are also given proper names. Their names are distinguished by the endings for the gender. Other domestic animals rately receive a proper name and rather are called monkey, parrot, etc.

Relations between Persons

576 The greatest compliment which can generally be made to another person who has acquired a new object is to say: "Give me that." The usual reply is: "No." Such a person is highly pleased to know that he has acquired something desired by another.

574 When a visitor (or group of visitors) comes to visit a settle-
571 ment, he stays outside and decorates himself with painting, feathers, etc. Then, when the inhabitants of the settlement see him coming, they break out in applause. The visitor enters the interior patio of the settlement and stands with his head thrown back, holding his bow and arrows out in front, resting vertically on the ground. When he is invited to enter a house, he goes to it and lies down in a hammock on his back, with his head back, remaining motionless for ten to twenty minutes. (A person who frequently visits the settlement knows the house in which he will be well received and goes to it without waiting to be invited.)

574 Once the visitor has rested, he is offered some food. As soon as he finishes eating, and sometimes even before, he breaks his silence and begins to talk with the group which has gathered around him in order to watch him. Then he remains in this same house, where he is given food as long as his visit lasts. They never think of charging him for the food, but an undesirable visitor is either not invited or advised to leave.

/57 cont./

551
162
[802]

Estimated Age (315)

315. These Indians count only to three, so I could only estimate the ages given.

Hewemãõ (316) -- chief and medicine man — 42 years

[123]

316. I was able to learn all the names only after my adoption into the tribe, for they are kept a strict secret from outsiders. But even then the individual men and women themselves never told them to me; I learned the names only from other members of the tribe, and, to be sure, always in a whisper. If they call each other in a loud voice, they use Portuguese names which they have heard from palm-fiber gatherers. I too had to give names to several members of the tribe.

Koentemã -- his first wife (from the Pakidã tribe) — 24 years
Kamikawõ -- son — 8 years
Daughter (has no name yet (317) — 1 year

[553]

317. Children are given their names only after the completion of their third year (see pp. 201 ff.).

Yaripanamã -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterî tribe) (She had a daughter who died in infancy.) — 35 years
Maxiuamã -- daughter of Hewemãõ and his former wife Tafmakãna, who died in childbirth — 9 years

Surara
Parideri

/62 cont./ The father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confine-
ments which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case
the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock
for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she
already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[822] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
845 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has
847 only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into
the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

Surára
Pakidái

/64 cont./ If the child's nose is not clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, nãpe=mother and hãpe=father.

e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

/64 cont./
553 796 [782] high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermediaries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris" [799] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 114 191 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word nauallí = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonallí = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 302 [412] [824] On the day of the name-giving the children are given a tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara -- Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in 553 291 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under [834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good [292] form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around children (see pp. 64ff.).

/470 cont./

512 men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the
[276] spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves
[721] are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against
[706] the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

[535] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may
[533] continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when
[203] there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be
[594] crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Un-
551 til the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

it as just a peculiarity of the subhuman foreigner. When I did give in, my hut quickly filled with Indians, each demanding a sample of the food that I had given one of them. If I did not give all a share, I was that much more despicable in their eyes.

A few of them went out of their way to make my meals unpleasant, to spite me for not sharing; for example, one man arrived and watched me eat a cracker with honey on it. He immediately recognized the honey, a particularly esteemed Yąnomamö food. He knew that I would not share my tiny bottle and that it would be futile to ask. Instead, he glared at me and queried icily, "Shaki![4] What kind of animal semen are you eating on that cracker?" His question had the desired effect, and my meal ended.

Finally, there was the problem of being lonely and separated from your own kind, especially your family. I tried to overcome this by seeking personal friendships among the Indians. This only complicated the matter because all my friends simply used my confidence to gain privileged access to my cache of steel tools and trade goods, and looted me. I would be bitterly disappointed that my "friend" thought no more of me than to finesse our relationship exclusively with the intention of getting at my locked up possessions, and my depression would hit new lows every time I discovered this. The loss of the possession bothered me much less than the shock that I was, as far as most of them were concerned, nothing more than a source of desirable items; no holds were barred in relieving me of these, since I was considered something subhuman, a non-Yąnomamö.

The thing that bothered me most was the incessant, passioned, and aggressive demands the Indians made. It would become so unbearable that I would have to lock myself in my mud hut every once in a while just to escape from it: Privacy is one of Western culture's greatest achievements. But I did not want privacy for its own sake; rather, I simply had to get away from the begging. Day and night for the entire time I lived with the Yąnomamö I was plagued by such demands as: "Give me a knife, I am poor!"; "If you don't take me with you on your next trip to Widokaiya-teri I'll chop a hole in your canoe!"; "Don't point your camera at me or I'll hit you!"; "Share your food with me!"; "Take me across the river in your canoe and be quick about it!"; "Give me a cooking pot!"; "Loan me your flashlight so I can go hunting tonight!"; "Give me medicine . . . I itch all over!"; "Take us on a week-long hunting trip with your shotgun!"; and "Give me an axe or I'll break into your hut when you are away visiting and steal one!" And so I was bombarded by such demands day after day, months on end, until I could not bear to see an Indian.

It was not as difficult to become calloused to the incessant begging as it was to ignore the sense of urgency, the impassioned tone of voice, or the intimidation and aggression with which the demands were made. It was likewise difficult to adjust to the fact that the Yąnomamö refused to accept "no" for an answer until or unless it seethed with passion and intimidation—which it did after six months. Giving in to a demand always established a new threshold; the next demand would be for a bigger item or favor, and the anger of the Indians even greater if the demand was not met. I soon learned

[4] "Shaki," or, rather, "Shakiwi," is the name they gave me because they could not pronounce "Chagnon." They like to name people for some distinctive feature when possible. *Shaki* is the name of a species of noisome bee; they accumulate in large numbers around ripening bananas and make pests of themselves by eating into the fruit, showering the people below with the debris. They probably adopted this name for me because I was also a nuisance, continuously prying into their business, taking pictures of them, and, in general, being where they did not want me.

301 /43 cont./
237 Pauxĩ maraxĩ -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers
825 of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.).
Pauxĩ koikoimão -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers of the gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.).
Pauxĩ parurĩhonomaĩbe -- upper-arm ornament of white breast feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.).
Pauxĩ marakanã -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.).
Pauxĩ xeraxeramão -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) and the papagaio curica (Amazona sp.).

Besides these bunches of feathers which are stuck into the arm cords or bands from the top, /44/ there are also ornaments which are knotted to them and hang down. These are usually several small feathers from different birds, the quills of which have been tied together with a string of cotton or curauá fibers:
Pauxĩ prukatõba -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.), and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).
Pauxĩ maraxiakosĩbe -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).

Finally, as the most valuable ornament in this category, one should mention upper-arm bindings of mutum feathers -- pauxĩ parurihés -- to which are fastened hangings -- pauxĩ manhebeahunque -- of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), toucan (Rhamphastus sp.), and jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.), or even skins of these birds. In addition, there are upper-arm bindings which consist only of feathers of the jacamim -- pauxĩ nhapinhéssi -- with feather hangings -- pauxĩ pehakossĩbe -- from the same bird.

[554] All the feather ornaments listed also represent marks of distinction, for only the chiefs and trusted warriors have the right to adorn both upper arms; younger men, on the other hand, only one.

/44 cont./

301 825 239 Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxí osuemekés --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- occasionally adorns the perforation of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be used by older as well as younger warriors. [554]

[962] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men, who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but sometimes they are scattered through the hair at random. The ornamental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case, for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile tribes, above all from the Waiká. They are caused by magical performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls. Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end (see also pp.211 and 229).

301 825 75

301 171 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá /Caraja/, Bororo, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé /Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G. Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

/60 cont./

622 159 Since that time Hewemão has been chief and at the same time, like his predecessor, a medicine man who instructs all the male Surára in religion, mythology, magic, curing the sick, and tribal traditions (see pp. 143f.). He also, however, assigns them to occasional communal projects, supervises their activity in the rocas (forest clearings), gives instructions for the building of a maloka, and selects the participants for curing the sick and for magic performances. [224] If a large animal was killed, a tapir, for example, he supervised the fair distribution of the meat so that every family obtained its piece. In the case of smaller game, the hunters usually give their chief a choice piece, and the women bring him and his family fruits and berries or brimming calabashes [554] of refreshing palm drinks. He is thus honored in every way. He and his wives too, however, willingly and freely give up some of their hunting or gathering spoils.

[342] In the large, open maloka he and his two wives and children occupy a special hut (see pp. 24 ff.). During migrations of 622 the tribe he determines when they are to rest and to set out again. 484 Moreover, each morning he arranges for regular march-protection, 159 4-5 warriors who form the advance guard and set out two hours 484 before the departure. They have only their bows and arrows with them and reconnoiter in both directions from the Indian path, in order to be on the lookout for enemies. The bulk of the tribe, which travels in single-file formation, always presented the following picture during the time I lived among the Surára: 3-4 484 warriors armed only with bows and arrows. They carry their 482 weapons longitudinally over their heads or over one shoulder. After them came men with my baggage, the younger brothers of the chief, and finally the latter himself. I walked behind him, my servant Mateus followed me, and the boys and girls with little baskets, then the women with their large, cylindrical baskets, which contain all the household goods. Mothers with babies carried them, in addition, in a carrying band on their left hips. On top of the basket there often sat a little dog, a monkey, or a parrot. Then behind the women there marched 4-5 more warriors as a rear guard.

Surára
Pakidai

/60 cont./

484 These safety measures are necessary, for one must always be prepared for a hostile attack. That is why the /61/ women [482] carry all the household goods, for if the men were thus burdened, they could not defend themselves. For this reason, the chief 484 and his brothers always march in the middle of the tribe, for in 622 the event of a military encounter the protection of the chief is the 554 supreme command of all the Surára. He is honored and respected, of course, not only as the head of the tribe, but also because he is the adviser in all situations of life, the medicine man who is able to make connections with the hekurá and serras /sierras/ (see pp. 200/201) and can ward off sickness and misfortune. If he were killed, the tribe would suddenly be in a terrible situation, for his successor does not yet have the same experience.

622 The next youngest brother and subsequent successor of Hewemãо is Kurikayawõ. He will be followed by Inxinemá, who is approximately 19 years old, but has not yet completed his youth-initiation. And it is only after the latter that Hemahemá, who is approximately 25 years old and the only son of the oldest brother, Xarimá, who died eight years ago, would be able to take over the leadership.

624 The war chief of the Surára is Xomirawõ, a modest, reserved, but extraordinarily hardy and brave man.

622 Among the Pakidái the succession of chiefs is the same.
624 The following remarks, however, will show the complications that
619 arose six years ago as a result of the death of the old chief Karakarawõ, because his three younger brothers who could have taken over the succession died before him. Karakarawõ did have a son, Karenauõ, but he was still very young, so that there was nothing to do but to entrust the leadership of the tribe for the time being to the war chief Porẽhiwõ as a substitute. At the same time he and the older Pakidái men asked the chief of the friendly Surára, Hewemãо, for advice in many things, especially serious illnesses, magic performances, etc. At this time many younger Pakidái attended the school of the Surára chief, among them the present Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, who was given a very thorough training by Hewemãо. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái even lived

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm.

[841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancherís or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
[689 tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
[825 of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and,
as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to
speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with
the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists be-
tween the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law.
Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in
cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom.
These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a
battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it
is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes
him in like another one of its own members. Older children
also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted,
properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denomi-
nations. We do not think that there are special terms to express
a relationship of adoption.

●554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main dis-
tinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his
daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers,
and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top
of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three
theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but
we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which
we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible
modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three differ-
791 ent theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
756 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
793 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not
the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman
and priest in particular, represent the most influential position
in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
ooo by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

/212 cont./ We were greatly surprised to find this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).

The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists who have studied this matter is that it is a matter of a Circum-Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence, owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient platform of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its specific conditions, lent itself to the development or to the adoption of the cult.

We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have, however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause, the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This personage is different from the shaman and his sphere.

The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

[i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

/213 cont./

793 For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain
624 later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may
[622] not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

● 554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the im-
123 pression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly
[276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our
775 informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after
[841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a
[126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made
[532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals; he was the guapo. 1/1

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. 11-An.]

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill [621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite 554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us, 769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to 628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder, [266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablf shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be- [788] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex- [574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father, who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In 162 the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in 855 the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

/218 cont./

595 We have mentioned that an adult may marry a very young girl, but must not have sexual relations with her until after the first menstrual periods. We do not base our observation on the practice of polygyny among the Sanemá in isolated cases, but rather on the fact that several men have several adult wives at the [554] same time. It does not seem that polygyny is an exclusive privilege of status or rank, but rather is an accepted thing, since [584] all adults may marry two or more women. Since there seems to be some scarcity of marriageable girls, the custom of binding oneself to a little girl can be looked upon as a form of foresightedness [587] by the man, with a view to the future. Many polygynous marriages, however, probably stem from the custom of the levirate.

587 765 There are widows who marry very shortly after the death of their husbands; others, however, wait for many months. They live in the house of their brother-in-law or in that of their parents, and it seems that the future husband does not demand that they cease mourning since the person mourned and for whom they weep was not only their husband but also the brother of the new suitor.

If the brother (who is very often the youngest) does not want to or cannot /219/ marry all the widows of his deceased brother, he allows them to live with another man. These marriages take place only after some time, during which the brother of the deceased and the women live apart from the society in a sort of isolation.

587 There are no differential rules for secondary marriages, but the father of sisters has the right to prevent both of them from marrying the same man, particularly if the man, owing to his poor preparation or deficiency, cannot give assurance of the economic help which he expects from him. This explains why only older men with greater experience in life are able to marry several women with ease.

595 The wives of one man may live under the same roof or in several houses, and, in spite of there being no fixed rotation, the husband must devote the same amount of time, more or less, to each of his homes.

124 omissions in ascending generations. The genealogies of
125 individuals from other villages were easier to collect, particularly if my informants had grudges against the members of those villages, but I employed the same techniques in these cases as well.

124 After I had established the genealogical relationships, I visited the various villages to make estimates of the ages of the individuals, as well as to collect other
124 kinds of information. This was always a touchy business, as
123 the Yąnomamö resent being called by their names, particularly
551 older and more influential individuals. Occasionally I would
554 say the name of an individual who had recently been killed in
124 a raid; this always resulted in an unpleasant and possibly dangerous situation, as most of them were unable to understand why a complete stranger should want to possess such knowledge unless it were for harmful magical purposes. My guides were constantly reminding me not to mention the names of dead people of the villages I visited and of the disastrous consequences that would follow should I fail to heed this advice.

124 In short, the collection of the genealogies was an unpleasant, full-time task and left very little time for intensive study of other aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

114 The two monographs dealing with the Yąnomamö mentioned above are quite superficial in their treatment of social organization; to date no intensive analysis of Yąnomamö social organization has been attempted using data

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
199 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[497] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[498] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives,
glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[64] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[59] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[384] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the entire group has already decided to undertake. His major function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often supervises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food given away during the feast. During club-fights within the village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

women. During relatively peaceful times headmen are hardly more than equals among their followers and their ability to command respect and issue orders diminishes accordingly. Political commitments to aid other villages in raiding, however, usually precludes long periods of peace and, should a village fail in such an obligation, its allies quickly turn on it and force it to participate. Thus, political circumstances are continually forcing villages into situations that require leadership.

B. Anthropological Work On the Yąnomamö

So far four anthropological expeditions have had an opportunity to study Yąnomamö groups, but only two of these spent an adequate amount of time in the field to collect data that substantially increase our knowledge of Yąnomamö culture. I refer to the expeditions of the Frobenius Institute in 1954-55 which brought Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster to the village of Mahekodo-tedi for some 10 months, and the expedition of Hans Becher in 1955-56 to the upper Demini River in Brazil, where he studied two villages for 9 months. The expeditions of Koch-Grünberg in 1911-12 and Johannes Wilbert in 1958 and 1960 made only brief contacts with Yąnomamö.

The results of Koch-Grünberg's contact with two groups of Yąnomamö are summarized in his Von Roraima zum Orinoco. He met two "hordes" of "Schiriana" in 1911 on the upper Uraricuera (Parima) River of Brazil. One group, whose

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
883 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
604 whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
623 status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
838 clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
604 club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
604 measure of his sexual prowess.

573 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mɨmaribɔwei-tedi
734 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwë. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwë), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
913 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kaobawë's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwë, 18). Whenever Kaobawë organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Wadesiwë, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kaobawë. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawë, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kaobawë's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kaobawë's nephew, Bëkotawë, 18 years old.

Kaobawë's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kaobawë to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

622 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I
602 asked Kɨobawɛ̈ what he had done about it. He said he had
613 spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He
561 will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ulti-
123 mately had to resort to my own means to recover the flash-
554 light, as Kɨobawɛ̈ could not force Shiimima to return it.
591 When I questioned Kɨobawɛ̈ about this ineffectiveness, he
explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order
him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest
siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion
622 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every
613 feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scrap-
602 ing up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them
529 out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy prepar-
594 ing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing.
351 Kɨobawɛ̈ usually goes to the center of the village and begins
554 cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older
591 agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They
561 would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if
Kɨobawɛ̈ requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this
regard implies that one is being bossed around.

*621 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative
613 age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group
602 and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of
561 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the
593 group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the
602 solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult
613

the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absence of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Keromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-in-law. Keromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the village. He has four adult sons to support his position. Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[1] His son, Bëkëbëwë, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Keromawë is getting old.

[621] [622] [613] [607] [736] [601] [364] [183] [582] actual brothers of these women were killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast,[1] and the women therefore had few agnates to contest Reromawë's actions; his rights to dispose of these women increased after their brothers were killed in the feast. Because of the previous marriages between the members of the Sha and Tom lineages, Reromawë was already MoBr to the politically most important males in the Tom lineage, and he could command respect from them by virtue of the fact that he was of the ascending generation and principal wife-giver to them. [583] [601] [183] [582] He in fact gave two daughters to one of these men. When he re-defined one of his classificatory daughters as sister, he advanced his position in two ways. First, he then became shoriwë to the man that was married to this sister (the man was already SiSo to Reromawë), compounding the cognatic tie (SiSo) that linked them with an important affinal tie (shoriwë). Second, he was able then to claim a daughter of this 'sister' as a wife for his own son (despite the fact that it was incestuous), creating additional stable ties between the two lineages on another generational level.

[601] [183] [582] In another, similar, case, Reromawë re-defined a different classificatory daughter as 'sister,' making it possible for her son to marry his daughter. This was a strategic move, for the man involved was of the Hor lineage, a dominant political group in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. Thus, by manipulating the kinship system, Reromawë advanced his own position as village leader and managed to

[1] See Chapter V.

Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid from them. Paruriwë seized upon this as his opportunity to advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated several raids against the Patanowë-tedi without the support of Kaobëwë. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi. As Paruriwë was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman (consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

Paruriwë's behavior in other respects changed after the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again, he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwë was entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field, Paruriwë and his group separated from Kaobëwë's and moved across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up until the time he moved, visitors from other villages consistently sought out Kaobëwë as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how much effort Paruriwë spent in emphasizing his own role in the feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally true should one of them be the village headman. Kąobawä can ask his youngest brothers to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village plaza to prepare the dance site, Kąobawä himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will join him, but only on their own initiative. He could not directly ask them to do this work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a younger brother to Kąobawä, but already a mature adult. I asked Kąobawä to help me get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around. By contrast, Kąobawä could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight, since the latter was not yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence, anxious to display personal autonomy.

Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many circumstances. Kąobawä continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary) his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar account.

In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers. That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage begins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogically more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Generation V of Fig. 3-1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.[9] Local descent groups have three characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a member of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife elsewhere, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

[9]Leach, 1951. Yąnomamö local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yąnomamö such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yąnomamö local descent groups closely fit Leach's definition.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

mades of the deliverer would cheer and bounce up and down from the knees, waving and clacking their weapons over their heads. The victim's supporters, meanwhile, would urge their champion on frantically, insisting that he take another blow. If the delivery were made with sufficient force to knock the recipient to the ground, the man who delivered it would throw his arms above his head, roll his eyes back, and prance victoriously in a circle around his victim, growling and screaming, his feet almost a blur from his excited dance. The recipient would stand poised and take as many as four blows before demanding to hit his adversary. He would be permitted to strike his opponent as many times as the latter struck him, provided that the opponent could take it. If not, he would be forced to retire, much to the dismay of his comrades and the delirious joy of their opponents. No fighter could retire after delivering a blow. If he attempted to do so, his adversary would plunge into the crowd and roughly haul him back out, sometimes being aided by the man's own supporters. Only after having received his just dues could he retire. If he had delivered three blows, he had to receive three or else be proven a poor fighter. He could retire with less than three only if he were injured. Then, one of his comrades would replace him and demand to hit the victorious opponent. The injured man's two remaining blows would be canceled, and the man who delivered the victorious blow would have to receive more blows than he delivered. Thus, good fighters are at a disadvantage, since they receive disproportionately more punishment than they deliver. Their only reward is status: they earn the reputation of being fierce.

Some of the younger men in Kaobawä's group were reluctant to participate in the fighting because they were afraid of being injured. This put more strain on the others, who were forced to take extra turns in order to preserve the group's reputation. At one point Kaobawä's men, sore from the punishment they had taken and worried that they would ultimately lose the fight, wanted to escalate the contest to an axe duel (see Fig. 4-3). Kaobawä was vigorously opposed to this, as he knew it would lead to bloodshed. He therefore recruited the younger men into the fighting, as well as a few of the older ones who had done nothing but demand the others to step into the arena, thereby reducing the strain on those who wanted to escalate the level of violence. A few of the younger men retired after a single blow, privately admitting to me later that they pretended to be injured to avoid being forced to fight more. The fighting continued in this fashion for nearly three hours, tempers growing hotter and hotter. Kaobawä and the headman from the other group stood by with their weapons, attempting to keep the fighting innocuous, but not participating in it. Some of the fighters went through several turns of three or four blows each, their pectoral muscles swollen and red from the number of blows each had received. The fight had still not been decided, although Kaobawä's group seemed to be getting the worst of it. They then insisted on escalating the fighting to side slapping, partly because their chests were too sore to continue in that fashion, and partly because their opponents seemed to have an edge on them.

The side slapping duel is nearly identical in form to chest pounding, except that the blow is delivered with an open hand across the flanks of the opponent, between his rib-cage and pelvis bone. It is a little more severe than chest pounding because casualties are more frequent and tempers grow hotter more rapidly when a group's champion falls to the ground, gasping for wind, and faints. The side slapping only lasted fifteen minutes or so; one of the more influential men in Kaobawä's group was knocked unconscious, enraging the others. The fighting continued for just a few minutes after this, but during

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

123
721
bringing in supplies from the plantation and distributing them among the huts. They were obviously preparing for a long siege.

Barker, the missionary, told us he had thrown his shot-gun into the river to save him from having to take part. Rape, he said, was at the root of every conflict—the kidnapping of boys or girls according to whether a clan had a surplus of men or women without mates. Sometimes a young warrior had to [535] prove himself and in such cases rape is the best method, since it tests endurance, patience, resource and skill no less than strength.

On this occasion, the women had lost all their earlier bashfulness—a group of six of them never leaving us. We had seen the eldest of them twice before, and three of the others had been in the village when we had passed through on our downstream trip. It seemed they must have vouched for our friendliness for nobody asked us for machetes and matches. 123

On returning to our boat we found six stalks of bananas had been put in it for us. We were sorry that we had nothing but a little *manioc* to offer in return. As we left we met three Waikas from a neighbouring clan. In honour of their hosts [302] and doubtless to cut a good figure, each had painted himself all over with violet dye.

• • •

We passed the Guaharibo Rapids at dawn on November 22nd and by the following day were at the foot of the rapids at Peñascal. We had brought lifting tackle to use where necessary, but with only four of us—and somewhat tired at that—we were anxious to avoid overland porterage wherever we could.

The falling water had uncovered acres of rocks with little channels running between, offering a safe passage through. At other times we had to assault the main channel knowing that if the engine gave out we must lose boat, provisions and equipment, if not our lives. For this reason, if ever there was enough water to float us in any subsidiary channel, we took it every time.

[pgs 172 to end of book not processed]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

which more stable types of alliance can develop. Nor do they overtly acknowledge the relationships between trading and feasting cycles to village interdependency. In this regard they are like the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia: They have a "functional ignorance" of the more significant adaptive aspects of their trading institutions. To both the Yanomamö and the Trobrianders, the mechanisms by which peoples from different groups are compelled to visit each other are ends in themselves and are not conceived to be related to the establishment of either economic or political interdependency. For the Yanomamö participant in a feast, the feast itself has its significance in the marvelous quantities of food, the excitement of the dance, and the satisfaction of having others admire and covet the fine decorations he wears. The enchantment of the dance issues from the dancer's awareness that, for a brief moment, he is a glorious peacock that commands the admiration of his fellows, and it is his responsibility and desire to present a spectacular display of his dance steps and gawdy accouterments. In this brief, ego-building moment, each man has an opportunity to display himself, spinning and prancing about the village periphery, chest puffed out, while all watch, admire, and cheer wildly.

The hosts, too, have an opportunity to display themselves and strut before their guests. Moreover, the very fact that they have given the feast is in itself a display of affluence and surfeit apparently calculated to challenge the guests to reciprocate with an equally grandiose feast at a later date.[1] Each good feast deserves and calls forth another, and in this way allies become better acquainted with each other as they reciprocate feasts during the dry season and over the years.

Historical Background to a Particular Feast

One of the feasts I witnessed exhibited all the features of intervillage politics. Before describing this feast, I will give the historical antecedents to the event, recapitulating a number of points discussed in Chapter 3 in the context of the history of Kaobawä's village. The significance of the events will then become clear, for Kaobawä's prior relationships to the guests at the feast had a great deal to do with the outcome.

In 1950 Kaobawä's group, almost friendless, beleaguered by enemies, and somewhat isolated, began cultivating an alliance with the Iwahikoroba-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8), a Shamatari village, some two days' traveling distance southeast of their own village at Kreiböwei. The Iwahikoroba-teri were on friendly terms with another Shamatari group, the Möwaraoba-teri, from whom they had separated some years before. Kaobawä's group, on the other hand, was at war with this village because members of his own group murdered a friendly Möwaraoba-teri visitor in 1940, touching off a series of raids between them. Anxious to develop an alliance, Kaobawä's group accepted a feast invitation from the Iwahikoroba-teri and visited that village to participate in the feast. Up to that point they were only on trading terms with them.

The Iwahikoroba-teri, however, had made a prior arrangement with their friends, the Möwaraoba-teri, to help them massacre Kaobawä's men and abduct his group's women. The Möwaraoba-teri were hidden in the jungle outside the village when Ka-

[1] The competitive aspects of feasting in many primitive societies has been dealt with at length by Marcel Mauss, whose essay *The Gift* is now an anthropological classic.

/117 cont./

628 tendency toward the independence of the next smaller parts acting on this plane and forming it -- namely, the villages.

These hostile relationships between the villages are external evidence of a centrifugal force in Waika culture seeking detach-
628 ment. The opposite tendency, the centripetal force toward bind-
574 ing the villages together, finds its expression in active intercourse
438 for trading and visiting. These trips, which are performed with such zeal that practically every second day there is some association with another village, from or to it, can be divided into sev-
438 eral groups, according to their purpose. First, trips purely for trade take place: each village prefers to produce or procure a certain article of the material culture so that it practically has a monopoly on it. One village supplies especially fine tobacco, another is favorably located in a place where much arrow-cane grows, a third produces pots because good clay is present in the vicinity, another is the supplier of hunting dogs for the neighborhood, and the village closest to us naturally barters primarily with European ironware. This formation of centers for specific goods naturally favored the development of commercial traffic; the trading itself is carried out over very long periods and thus resembles a gift-exchange behind which there is a certain amount
437 of compulsion. When one knows that the partner has more objects of a kind than he justifiably needs for himself, it is requested very urgently, and the one so entreated may not refuse, if he does not want to risk enmity and war -- he can, of course, get his revenge
[182] in his own way the next time. This system successfully prevents
• [556] any accumulation of capital; no Waika possesses noticeably more
[565] than his neighbor; there are no social distinctions; and consequently no vertical classes.

628 Besides trade, the transmission of news, which proceeds in the
574 form of a /118/ ceremonial conversational-singing and not in
[203] simple dialogue, is also one purpose of such trips, as are wife-
[533] seeking and courting in other villages. As a rule all these trips
[584] are made by a group of men or young people who are guests for one or at most two nights in the strange village and then, after the trading has been done, oddly enough not until the last minute

593 +621 important in the organization of village life as ties between male agnates, but a man's sisters prefer to stay in his faction when the village splits.

593 601 Males consider their role as sister's protector with some seriousness, and are prompt to defend her against sever mistreatment. The amity between siblings of the opposite sex is reflected in kinship usage. A man will frequently refer to his sister, despite her age, as owasimi, a term that may be translated as 'darling little female relative.' The term is used by both sexes to refer to their female children, nieces, sisters, daughters and granddaughters. There is a corresponding term for younger male kinsmen, owasiwä, but a man never uses it to refer to post-pubescent brothers, with whom he is generally reserved and whom he treats with coolness.

593 561 Brothers are close to each other, in an affective sense, only when their relative ages are considerably different. A man is indulgent to very young brothers, but as they enter into manhood, behavior toward them changes gradually to reserve and respect. Although there is no rite de passage for males, one can tell when a boy is approaching manhood; the first indication is the young man's display of anger when someone uses his name. The surest indication that a boy has entered manhood is name avoidance; when no one dares use his name in reference or address, the boy is an adult. Young men tend to be touchy and impulsive, as they are obliged to demonstrate their manhood by their ability to coerce others with threats of fierceness, and the use of

884 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

593 621 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yąnomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [583] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi [595] obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

* 621 602 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed * [628] as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be affectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other * 621 613 602 591 [622] villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kąobawë of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were

[1] See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

621
613
602
591 full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

602
613
561
594
529
554
591
622 The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kpobawë's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadana, 22; Shararaiwë, 18). Whenever Kpobawë organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Madeaiwë, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kpobawë. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawë, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kpobawë's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kpobawë's nephew, Bkotawë, 18 years old.

622
602
613
561
123
554
591 Kpobawë's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kpobawë to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I asked Kpobawë what he had done about it. He said he had spoken to Shiiwima, but the matter then rested with him: "He will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ultimately had to resort to my own means to recover the flashlight, as Kpobawë could not force Shiiwima to return it. When I questioned Kpobawë about this ineffectiveness, he explained: "Shiiwima is already fierce and I can not order him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scraping up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy preparing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing. Kpobawë usually goes to the center of the village and begins cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if Kpobawë requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this regard implies that one is being bossed around.

Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult

602 capable of becoming stronger in time. When two descent groups
602 exchange women with each other over several generations, the
613 cognatically related members of the two groups have strong
583 ties with each other. Further exchanges between these groups
is largely a validation of the previously existing implicit
60 obligations to exchange women. MoBrDo is, whether or not you
582 marry his sister, a shoriwë. When the marriage rule is followed,
and it is a number of times each generation, the ties between
shoriwë are correspondingly strengthened by the exchange.
602 Agnatic ties do not have the potential of increasing in soli-
darity; the tendency seems, in fact, to be just the opposite.

602 The major components in the variation of the strength
: 56 of agnatic solidarity are genealogical closeness, relative
621 age, and co-residence. To provide a crude measure of the
128 relative importance of these variables, I have arbitrarily
591 assigned values to the components in Table 3. A strong tie
is scored as "***" and a weak tie as "---". By adding the
number of asterisks in each possible combination,
a rough measure of relative solidarity of agnatic type is
given. For example, agnates who are closely related genea-
logically (A_1: "***"), who differ significantly in age
(B_2: "***") and who live in the same village (C_1: "**-") rep-
resent a class of agnates having the greatest relative
solidarity. The sum of the asterisks for this combination
is 8.

In Table 3, combinations whose scores are 3 and 4
respectively constitute the class of agnates having the least

Table 3: Components of Agnatic Solidarity.

Genealogical		Age		Residence	
close	remote	similar	discrep.	same	different
A_1	A_2	B_1	B_2	C_1	C_2
•••	•__	•__	•••	••_	•__

Possible Combinations	Associated Value
$A_2B_1C_2$	3
$A_2B_1C_1$	4
$A_1B_1C_2$; $A_2B_2C_2$	5
$A_1B_1C_1$; $A_2B_2C_1$	6
$A_1B_2C_1$	7
$A_1B_2C_1$	8

amount of relative solidarity and are the groups most likely to enter into conflicts with each other. The combinations whose scores are 5 and 6 respectively potentially have more solidarity in the agnatic class, but the agnates represented by these combinations are ambiguously related to each other regarding rights in women. The combinations whose scores are 7 and 8 respectively characterize the groups of agnates have the strongest ties.[1]

[1] It will be noted that the combination whose score is 7 involves the component of non-co-residence, i.e., that the agnates are in different villages. This is a possibility when, for example, a man goes to another village to obtain a wife. Such possibilities also occur when members of two different villages trace their origin back to a common group but went to separate villages to obtain spouses, or ended up in separate villages when their common group split.

602 It is not easy to represent affinal ties in this
*561 fashion, as there are too many factors that determine the
*621 strength of the relationship between such kin types. A few
*622 observations, however, will provide a contrast with the analysis given in Table 3 above. Among affines, age differential is relatively meaningless so far as internal village stability and strength of inter-village alliance is concerned. [606] When the age differential corresponds to a difference in genealogical level, the affines, such as son-in-law, tend to be related by stable roles based on avoidance, bride service obligations, etc., but these derive not from age differential, [606] but from the generation difference. A son-in-law is subordinate to a father-in-law despite his age, and inter-personal behavior between such kinsmen is not greatly influenced by [591] age differentials. Second, co-residence is largely irrelevent unless it reflects cognatic ties that came about through previous marriages in ascending generations. Again, current political relationships between the two villages of the affines is important in determining the strength of the tie, or whether the affine intends to return to his own village.
*628 Affinal ties do not necessarily imply previous historical
*621 relationships between the groups of the affines, whereas
602 agnatic ties presume a common history. When members of two
583 historically distinct villages enter into marriage alliances with each other, affinal ties between the respective villages are weaker than affinal ties between members of two villages that have a common history and have exchanged women in the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Upper Bisasi-teri, and Lower Bisasi-teri (see Table 1). Politically, they are either the two dominant lineages in each of the above-named villages or one of the two dominant lineages. For example, the headmen of Upper and Lower Bisasi-teri, Kaobawä and Reromauwä, respectively, come from the *Sha* lineage. In Patanowä-teri there are two headmen, one from the *Sha* lineage and one from the *Hee* lineage. Finally, in Monou-teri, the headmanship shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hee* lineage in 1965 because the *Sha* headman was killed in a raid by men from Patanowä-teri. I might add that he was killed by men of his own lineage to whom he was related as "brother." After he died, his brother-in-law, of the *Hee* lineage, assumed the leadership. It is not surprising that the headmanship shifted to this large, important group. In terms of sheer numbers, the *Hee* lineage (see Table 3–1) was stronger than the *Sha* lineage in Monou-teri. The distribution of political power within these two lineages underscores the dual organization of most Yanomamö villages.

It is apparent from the foregoing example that the ties between agnates who live in different villages are not necessarily amicable. The most bitter fighting, in fact, takes place between members of different villages who are related to each other agnatically. It is not uncommon for men to kill their classificatory brothers in the ensuing raids. As a consequence of the killing of the Monou-teri headman, for example, the raiders from Monou-teri avenged his death by shooting Bosibrei of Patanowä-teri. The two men who actually killed Bosibrei were related to their victim as brothers. Similarly, Kaobawä himself shot Rakoiwä, the present *Sha* headman of Patanowä-teri, wounding him badly. He had shot to kill even though Rakoiwä was his older (classificatory) brother.

Once the lineage splits up and is redistributed in several villages, the ties between the men of that lineage weaken dramatically. And, as we shall see below, the fissioning of a village is frequently the result of a bitter club fight within the village over the possession of women. The result is that many villages that have a common history are at war with each other due to the nature of the feuds that led to their splitting away from the common village. The Patanowa-teri, for example, are at war with all three of the villages from which they originally separated (see Fig. 3-5, discussed later).

The kinship ties between agnates who live in the same village are likewise quite weak. They are strongest between a man and his younger brothers, for the age differences alone call forth a certain amount of respect and amity. An older man can be expected to aid his younger brothers in fights and help them to secure wives. In some cases, the younger man obtains his wife from a polygynous older brother; some men appear to accumulate extra wives with the intention of passing them on to their younger brothers. Kaobawä, for example, gave one of his wives to a younger brother and will probably give another wife to a second younger brother. (He is presently permitting the brother to share her sexual services.) Kaobawä's older wife, Bahimi, is quite jealous of the co-wives because they can command some of the tasty morsels of food that would otherwise be her own prerogative. And, since the younger wives are more attractive physically, Kaobawä does pay considerable attention to them. In Lower Bisasi-teri, one of Kaobawä's classificatory brothers was forced by his older wife to get rid of his young, attractive second wife. The man gave her to an unmarried younger brother. He himself had acquired the younger wife as part of a political alliance he had made with the members of an allied village, knowing at the time that his first wife would object strenuously to the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

TABLE 3–1

VILLAGE COMPOSITION BY LINEAGE MEMBERSHIP*

Lineage	Male	Female	Total
A. Lower Bisasi-teri			
Sha	9	7	16
Tom	9	3	12
Hor	1	2	3
Kio	2	4	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	1	1	2
	25	26	51
B. Upper Bisasi-teri (Kaobawë's group)			
Sha	11	14	25
Hor	8	5	13
Kio	5	11	16
Kah	5	3	8
Shamatari	3	7	10
Other	5	8	13
	37	48	85
C. Monou-teri			
Sha	11	9	20
Hor	15	8	23
Kio	3	3	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	2	3	5
	34	32	66
D. Patanowä-teri			
Hor	58	33	91
Sha	39	29	68
Kah	17	8	25
Kar	1	3	4
Shamatari	2	6	8
Other	5	11	16
	122	90	212

*Revised version of Appendix A, Chagnon 1966.

transaction. Still, he took the girl. When domestic tranquility could no longer be maintained, he passed her on to his younger brother.

The relationship between a man and his brothers of approximately the same age are generally not amicable. Brothers of the same approximate age tend to be jealous of each other and treat one another with considerable reserve and respect. A man can directly ask an immature younger brother to execute some task for him, but he can

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally true should one of them be the village headman. Kaobawä can ask his youngest brothers to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village plaza to prepare the dance site, Kaobawä himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will join him, but only on their own initiative. He could not directly ask them to do this work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a younger brother to Kaobawä, but already a mature adult. I asked Kaobawä to help me get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around. By contrast, Kaobawä could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight, since the latter was not yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence, anxious to display personal autonomy.

Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many circumstances. Kaobawä continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary) his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar account.

In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers. That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage begins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogically more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Generation V of Fig. 3–1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.[9] Local descent groups have three characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a member of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife elsewhere, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

[9]Leach, 1951. Yąnomamö local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yąnomamö such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yąnomamö local descent groups closely fit Leach's definition.

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Sharariwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Sharariwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Sharariwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

/43 cont./

302 174 Since Koch-Grünberg also found only very little body painting among the Xirifna (Schirianá) (235), it is to be sus-

235. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

pected that originally it was not peculiar to the three Yanomámi tribes named, but is to be traced back to Karaiben influences. The following account by Alexander von Humboldt also points to this: "The custom," writes the great investigator, "of painting the body is not equally old among all the peoples on the Orinoco. It has only been since the frequent invasions by the mighty nation of the Caraiben into these lands that it has become more general. Victors and vanquished alike were naked, and in order to be agreeable to the victor, one was obliged to paint oneself as he did and to wear his color. Now the might of the Caraiben is past, they are confined to the region between the Carony, Cuyuni, and Paraguamuzi rivers, but the Caraiben custom of coloring the entire body has persisted; the practice is more enduring than the conquest" (236).

236. A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 92/93.

301 562 i) Feather ornaments

Feather ornaments -- pauxí -- are worn by men only and chiefly on the upper arms, but occasionally also in the perforations of the ear lobes and the lower lip.

301 825 237 Under the upper-arm cords and bands, which serve primarily as fastening devices for the upper-arm ornaments, individual or several tail feathers of the arara vermelha (Ara Macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- as well as small bunches of feathers, are wedged in front for war expeditions and festive occasions. The latter are always tied with a string of cotton or curauá fibers to a wooden stick 7-9 centimeters long (Ills. 9 and 14). The following list shows which birds are preferred as feather-suppliers for these objects:

Surára Pakidái waica

114 /108 cont./ According To Zerries, Barker,
769 and Dupouy, there is also a similar combat among the Waikâ,
52 in which the partners alternately beat each other on the chest
184 with clenched fists (519a, b, c). I did not observe this among

519a. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

519b. Barker, 1953, p. 447.

519c. Dupouy, 1953, p. 495.

114 the Surára and Pakidái. Similarly unknown there is the custom,
769 also reported by Zerries, that the men, when they run about in
276 the snuff-powder intoxication, hit each other on the back with the
palm of the hand (520). The author named regards this as a

520. Zerries 1955b, p. 665.

769 fertility rite. There seems to be involved here, however, out-
179 side influences of agricultural tribes, which is indicated also by
the ceremonial gathering of pupunha fruits (521).

521. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

769 It is further noteworthy that among the Waikâ women and
184 girls actively participate in the festival in that they take part in
562 some dances and even drink some of the banana soup mixed with
[266] bone ashes (522). In contrast to this, the female members of

522. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662 ff.

the tribe act only as spectators among the Surára and Pakidái.

769 The endocannibalism should be regarded as a very signifi-
184 cant similar trait. It is documented for the Waikâ by Cruxent (523a)
266
114

523a. Cruxent, 1953a, pp. 149/50.

/229 cont./

774 The world of the "specific" hfkulas is found on the other side of the horizon and in contrast with the world of the souls. There the sablfes live forever, together with the dead animals and plants.

562 773 825 [774] It is worthwhile to refer once again to the insistence of our Sanemá informant from the Upper Caura regarding the fact that women do not have specific hfkula. He asserted to us, furthermore, that women have a different origin from men and that there still exists a purely feminine world, and that each Sanemá pueblo has its corresponding hanekasá. The informant would not identify the animal of which he spoke, but we knew [773] that it was of a well-known species. From the mythology one can deduce that the first men were made from a dead tree by the cultural hero brothers, while the first woman was fished out of a very large river.

Omao wished to metamorphose into women the butterflies which danced /230/ like people on the shore of a river, because the hanekasá are a pueblo of females in which there are only three males to insure reproduction. This pueblo of amazons is an exact replica of the female population of the rancheria neighboring a pueblo, in the characteristics of which we found a concept of alter ego for the Sanemá women.

[774] It is possible that there exists some relationship between [763] the hfkula and the male, for it is said that men die from the "weight" of the hfkula of certain animals; but we are not certain on this point (cf. Zerries, 1958b; Becher, 1960, p. 92). We are [763] more certain about the relationship which exists between women and the hanekasá animal, since a woman (of the neighboring rancheria) dies for each hanekasá which is killed. Other religious concepts which are difficult to interpret for the time being may also enter here.

791 755 A third type of theurgist which seems to exist in Sanemá society is the magician, the kálala. He does not sing like the sablf and has no influence over the specific hfkulas or over souls. He is the curer of the organism, of the body of a man. He cures by uttering tremendous cries, gives massages on the ailing and painful limbs of his patients. Suddenly he will surprise all those

2/1 [See additional data on the hanekasá on p 113 .. Analyst]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Saneema

not only let us take his picture but begged us to take it again, with his wife beside him. Then he caused general merriment by posing beside the 'public woman' who was painted and dolled up like a bird of paradise. In a third take, he stood between the two women, caressing their breasts in an excess of zeal. At this, enthusiasm knew no bounds. Even Usrema's brother, a venerable figure with his head crowned with the scars of old battles, burst into such a vehement laugh that he lost his horrible quid of tobacco. This change of mood enabled us to get on with our job. But our takes were often interrupted, for Usrema had started a vogue and couples would come along and insist on being photographed in their full feather rig.

III

For our forthcoming river trips we were anxious to engage one of Luis Antonio's many brothers, who was apparently of the same age and had the reputation of being the tribe's most experienced traveller. To a certain extent he was even familiar with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. But his wife was expecting a child, so that he was prevented from going very far away from home. This seemed to us the most natural thing in the world. The wife was a tiny little lady, her only sign of maturity being her enormous belly, which very clearly did not owe its size to the swelling caused by internal parasites, the privileged possession of these women and children. Without this evidence of pregnancy she might have been taken for a girl of ten.

'The birth will come any day now,' Luis Antonio told us. 'But my brother won't be able to start straight away. He'll have to rest.'

We were reminded of the ritual of childbirth which with a few variations here and there is practised by all the Indians of tropical America. It affects the husbands as well as the wives and at bottom, in its way, contains a certain realism, characteristic of primitive peoples. Like us, they accept the principle of cause and effect and they do not really ascribe the pregnancy to strange half-magic phenomena. They know its cause for what it is—man, and his erotic acts. The effect, for them, is not in the woman herself: she is only a means, a vehicle. The true effect is the child. Up to this point, their attitude is no different from ours. The different point of view comes with the valuation placed by the Indians upon the cause after the effect has been produced. They see the role of

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

842
846 the male as continuing in importance not only after conception—at which stage, in our own positivist scientific view, the male role ceases to count—but for a certain period after the actual birth. The male, the cause, is still in the picture, according to the Indian mind, when the mother and child are living a normal life.

843
844 I had known other native peoples, and in regard to these Indian beliefs on
[128] the subject of childbirth, Luis Antonio confirmed what had already come to my
[115] knowledge.

'In order for the birth to be a success,' he told me, 'when the wife is five
[225] months gone, the husband should stop eating peccary, snake or *caribe* (the name given in Venezuela to the carnivorous fish known in Brazil as *piranha*), and the flesh of any animal of an aggressive nature.' (Here, principles of hygiene were mingled with elements of magic, as happens also in the more advanced
[846] religions.) 'Then, before the birth, during the birth and after, the man must stay in the hammock without stirring, because any strain on his part, or any mishap that came his way, would affect the child and might have dire results.'

• [562] The explanation sounds quite normal and natural once one admits the principle of continued causation in the man, the woman being regarded simply as a means. In fact there is no need for her to obey the injunction to stay in the hammock. She will continue her daily round until she feels 'something break inside her'. Then, with the midwife, she will hurry to the appointed place on the river-bank.

*123
844 I once had the chance of being present at a birth. I was with the Tauripan Indians of the Gran Sabana, and I watched hidden behind a cluster of Mauritius palms, where I could follow the principal stages of the proceedings. The woman, with her head tilted back, was seated on the clay bank in a sort of arm-chair shaped hollow which had been scooped out—whether naturally or made for the purpose I do not know. The midwife knelt at her feet, waiting. For some time both remained in this position. The woman kept giving little cries—but not really cries of pain. After a brief labour, the mother uttered one long howl which sounded to me like an 'u . . . u . . . uh' of rapture, and the midwife rose to her feet, holding up a tiny, mottled infant head downwards by the heels.

Still holding the baby by the feet, the old lady washed him in the river—
—with exactly the motions you might expect from a washerwoman giving the final rinsing to some heavy garment. I couldn't see the next step, but a few

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

minutes later the two women were quietly walking home with the baby, who appeared to be dead.

While the mother goes about her normal tasks, with the child tied on her back all the time, the father stays in the hammock, absolutely motionless, eating nothing but fruit and palm-hearts—'they don't heat the blood,' Luis Antonio assured us.

Among the Guiana-Amazon Indians I have never heard of the father himself suffering from birth-pangs during this period of rest. Such reports, however, have come from travellers and observers of the Indian tribes inhabiting the southern regions of the lower Amazon. Before one can believe them one must accept a little more than the theory of the inter-relation of cause and effect. A good dose of barefaced auto-suggestion would also be needed to account for this phenomenon, and only the most undeveloped of the Indians would be capable of it.

IV

Of kindred interest, while we are on the subject of childbirth, is the organization of Indian society. It has been asked whether the pattern is patriarchal or matriarchal, and what part is played by the individual family.

If the question is limited to the Shirians, the answer is simple: they have reached no stage of organization above the rudimentary animal level. The family has the sole function of producing life and protecting it until the offspring is capable of fending for itself. Their society is not patriarchal, because the role of the family ceases where its physical functions cease, at the point where, in civilized societies, moral functions begin. Nor is the pattern matriarchal, because the women are held in a form of slavery, though the very lack of an exact social system means that they sometimes emerge from this to become the companions of the men—a state of affairs which may be regarded as more emancipated, or less.

The children of both sexes, while they are young, remain the exclusive responsibility of the women, but when the boys reach an age at which they can do without their mothers (this generally means as soon as they cease to be breast-fed) they become independent males and do not belong to anybody in particular. Up to a certain point the father is free to pick out one who may be

10:Chagnon B-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

121 The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yanomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data 114 covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the 184 field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yanomamö in their language.

162 Census data on five Yanomamö villages are presented 897 to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage 595 of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is compli- 834 cated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos 721 and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter- 182 village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

621 The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the 613 basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal 598 descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves 562 to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal 000 descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii]

583 582 621 actual marriage practices reflect the immediate political and military needs of a given village. If it is more 583 582 153 628 advantageous to dispose of a woman in a way that promotes greater solidarity between allies, the marriage rule is not followed.[1] An eligible female, therefore, is given to a man (perhaps unrelated) in another village if her kinsmen have reason to believe that they may be required to take refuge in or request military aid from that other village.

628 574 726 562 An ally's demands are not to be taken lightly, for to fail in an obligation to an ally may have the gravest consequences for survival; one tactic of Yąnomamö warfare is invitations to feasts during which a disgruntled group kills the male guests and seizes their women. These treacherous feasts (nomohoni) occur often enough, so that local groups 628 583 582 are always suspicious of their allies. A dependable ally is won at the expense of women. Failure to hand over enough women creates a frustrated ally who is extremely dangerous. Yąnomamö political behavior has largely to do with disposing of enough women to make the ally loyal, but not to give more women than is necessary to achieve this end; miscalculation in this respect has serious consequences. As it is imperative for local groups, for reasons to be outlined below, to have allies, it is likewise necessary for them to enter into marriage exchanges with other groups.

[1] When women are given to men from other villages, the men rarely, if ever, are related to them as FaSiSo or MoBrSo. The exchange of women for purposes of alliance usually establishes the initial kinship ties between the groups of the wife receivers and wife givers.

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yąnomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yąnomamö social organization of this single

phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the result of the shortage of women.

Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and this frequently causes the village to split. The larger the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion. Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each group establishes an independent village and enters into marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yanomamö village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

*621 White's generalization that

> every society tends to behave in such a way as to achieve that balance between size and solidarity that will give it the maximum effectiveness in carrying on its life-sustaining activities. (1959:104)

*691 *688 • 562 583 582 121 Belligerent ideology and aggressive behavior

Village size plays an important role in the nature of the political relationships between groups that are not linked by kinship ties. As mentioned above, larger villages tend to use their strength and dominance to upset the exchange balance of women. But the degree to which a powerful group is able to force a dependent ally to cede women is limited by the ability of the smaller group to raid the *611 *612 724 152 181 larger village successfully. In ideological terms the Yanomamö express this capacity to wage war by placing emphasis on and valuing aggressive behavior. It is considered both proper and desirable to act ferociously, as this informs neighbors of the group's capacity to wage war and warns them that the group is willing to resort to war in political dealings.

*621 *628 526 574 152 Members of small villages are consequently constrained to behave militantly toward larger neighbors to limit the coercion that the larger group may be tempted to try. Their fierce behavior takes the form of threat, bluff, chicanery in trading and, most important, challenges to duels. Frequently, when villagers are invited to feast with an allied group, the invitation includes a challenge to a chest-pounding

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

[462] [835] Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that [838] [858] [859] older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 [323] The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, [84] [493] which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are [462] [492] [562] made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the [199] manufacture of cassava bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

---

[1]The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide. There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice. First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 85]

[1] The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, listed in Table 1, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

847 [848] child: he had scrupulously observed the coitus taboo during lactation--the wife had not.

Most cases of infanticide take place when a couple already has a small child. Sickness takes a heavy toll during the early months of a child's life, and women are reluctant to jeopardize a child that has already survived the first two years. So, they frequently kill the new-born so that their older child will have no competition for milk. Bahimi, a woman of some 30 years, killed a new male baby shortly after I started my fieldwork in Bisassi-tedi. She explained, tearfully, that she did not feel that she could successfully raise the new child because she still had a son that was nursing.

847 562 162 These cases do not, however, explain why there is a consistent bias to kill females rather than males. When I discovered how significantly the sex ratio diverged from the expected value of 1.0 in some villages, I tried to get an explanation from the Yąnomamö. I was surprised to find out that they were ignorant of their own bias in killing children. [842] What did come to light, however, was the fact that Yąnomamö prefer to have a male baby for their first child and, if it turns out that the first child is a girl, they will frequently kill her. If, however, a couple prefers to have a girl and the first child is a boy, they generally do not kill the boy.[1]

[114] [582] [1] Whatever the reason may be for the preference toward males as eldest children, there is one structural effect that deserves further enquiry. Rose (1960) effectively showed that where males tend to marry females that are younger than them-

Several kinds of demographic data suggest that the rate of female infanticide is high. Table 1 gives the sex ratios of five Yąnomamö villages. The sex ratio for the total population sample (576 individuals) gives a more meaningful estimate of the rate of female infanticide, as there is considerable variation by village in the value of the sex ratio. The excess of males in the total population (8%) gives a first approximation of the frequency of female infanticide. The variation in the sex ratio by the village, on the other hand, expresses the political relationships of the villages to their allies. That is, the distribution of women in these five villages is a function of the military requirements of the particular villages in the marriage alliance network. Thus, the cline in sex ratio from Reyaboböwei-tedi to Biaaasi-tedi (ignoring the Patanowä-tedi, who are not allied to the other groups) reflects a dominance gradient in politico-military requirements of each village. The total sample of 576 individuals must be considered in order to estimate the frequency of female infanticide among the Yąnomamö, but the political relationships between the villages must be understood to account for the variation by village of the value

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 69]

selves, it is highly unlikely that men will marry a FaSiDa, despite the kinship terminology. Rose did not, however, consider the possibility that sibships may have a systematic bias in their composition; if males tend to be older than their sisters considering all sibships, the probability that a FaSiDa is of marriageable age is increased. I specifically questioned the relationship between female infanticide and FaSiDa marriage, and the Yąnomamö denied any correlation between the two practices. There can be no doubt, however, that the occurrence of FaSiDa marriage among the Yąnomamö is made more probable by female infanticide.

Table 1: Village Size, Male/Female Sex-ratio, and Percentage of Excess Males.

Village Name	Size	Males	Females	Sex-Ratio	% Excess Males
Bayaboböwei-tedi	77	47	30	1.6	22
Mŋariböwei-tedi	85	47	38	1.2	11
Patanowä-tedi	212	122	90	1.4	15
Monou-tedi	66	34	32	1.1	3
Bisaasi-tedi	136	62	74	0.8	-9
Totals:	576	312	264		

$\frac{312}{264}$ .....1.2 Total Male/Female Sex-ratio

$\frac{48}{576}$ .....8% Excess of Males

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of the sex ratio, and the distribution of the women among them.

In Chapter 5 I will show how the two Shamatari villages, Reyabobŏwei-tedi and Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, participated in a treacherous feast during which they killed a number of their kinsmen from Mŏwŏraoba-tedi. This feast committed the two Shamatari villages to an alliance with the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi in which the latter two villages were, in a political-military sense, less dependent on the support of the Shamatari than the Shamatari were on them. The Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi and the Reyabobŏwei-tedi represented the front of the Shamatari expansion into the unoccupied Mavaca River area. The territory they abandoned as they expanded to the west was subsequently occupied by other Shamatari villages, the members of which were historically related to them.[1] By participating in the treacherous feast and becoming enemies to their congeners, the two Shamatari villages subordinated themselves to the interests of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Since they formed a buffer between the villages of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi on the one hand, and the Shamatari village of Mŏwŏraoba-tedi on the other, they bore the brunt of the raids mounted by the latter in revenge for the treachery. In short, they had only two dependable allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an im-

[1] See Chapter 5, "The History of Paruritawŏ-tedi."

Their dependence
*628 on these allies was transformed into an im-
583 balance in the exchange of women between the two groups of
162 villages, accounting for the variation in sex-ratio given for
• 562 the villages in Table 1.
*621

*628 The degree to which each village is dependent on its
583 allies is roughly indicates in Table 1. The Reyabobŏwei-tedi,
726 being closer, geographically, to the Mŏwĭraoba-tedi, suffered
722 more from the revenge raids of the latter. In other words, they needed military aid from their own allies to a greater extent, and have, accordingly, lost far more women to their allies as a consequence. But the true situation is even more remarkable than suggested by the sex ratio for the Reyabobŏwei-tedi; a large percentage of the women in their village have been abducted by them in raids against the Mŏwĭraoba-tedi, i.e., they have actually lost more women to their allies in exchanges than is suggested by the sex-ratio alone.

*621 Again, the sex ratios for the Bisaasi-tedi and the
162 *628 Monou-tedi are misleading without additional information.
583 These two villages would seem, from Table 1, to have gained a remarkable number of women in the political alliances they
162 made with their Shamatari friends. This, however, is not the
*628 only reason they have such a high percentage of women in
*621 their populations. In 1950 these villages were victimized
726 by the Mŏwĭraoba-tedi and the Iwahikoroba-tedi in a treacher-
627 ous feast. They lost approximately 15 men. Were two-thirds
165 of these men alive today, for example, the resultant sex ratios for the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi population would more accurately reflect the dominance gradient, measured

in terms of women ceded to them by the Shamatari, that they maintain over their Shamatari allies.

The sex ratio data give a rough idea, then, of the extent of female infanticide and, in addition, reflect the political relationships of the villages to each other in terms of the flow of women. Other demographic data, however, suggest that the practice of female infanticide is even higher than the sex ratios alone indicate. Table 2 gives the stated cause of death of 240 adult individuals. These individuals are related to the living members of the three villages of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi. It is immediately apparent that more men die in warfare than women,[1] implying that the frequency of female infanticide is substantially higher than the 8% suggested by sex ratio data.

There are several ways the Yanomamö remedy their woman shortage. Young bachelors, for example, practice sodomy (bei kë bosi kuwemou, bei kë bosi waumou) with each other. These relationships develop into a 'buddy' system (ãawë) and promote ties of friendship that extend into adult life. Some of my informants confidentially told me that particular young men had been known to copulate with dogs in estrus, but this was regarded with contempt by all who knew about it. Homosexuality, however, was not considered despicable, but it was thought to be infantile. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[1] Twenty-two per cent (31/138) of all male deaths were due to warfare, while only 6% (6/102) of female deaths were due to this cause.

835 terms for a number of men that were, genealogically, her distant agnates. She explained the usage by the fact that she had incestuous relationships with several of them when she was a young woman. Kaobawë told me that he had incestuous relationships with Hayamamasimi, his FaBrDa, but did not want the others in the village to know about it. In another case, a man married three girls who were his FaBrSoSoDa, i.e., his 'granddaughters.' The Yanomamö explanation of this case illustrates the relationship of the woman shortage to warfare
*621 and alliance. The people in question all live in Patanowë-
*623 tedi, a village that has numerous enemies, only one ally,
162 and a serious woman shortage. The parents of the girls in
• 562 question did not want them to marry into the village of the
*628 allies, as they had given a number of women to the allies
584 already. The man, Ishiweiwë, had no spouse and could not
582 get one from the allies. So, the parents of the girls stopped
601 calling Ishiweiwë by the appropriate consanguineal terms and
835 began calling him by affinal terms suited to the marriage of
183 the three girls to him. The girls, in turn, stopped calling him grandfather. Ishiweiwë married just one of the girls at first; after she died, he married the other two, as he already called them 'wife' by virtue of the fact that he had married their sister. The initial marriage was the major hurdle. After he married the first girl and the kinship terms were

---

835 the mother-in-law category are not avoided, nor are FaSi or MoBrWi. The implications of this last fact for Homans and Schneider's work are obvious.

835 601 183 investigated discrepant kinship usage I found that the terminology changed because of incestuous relationships between my informant (or his close kinsman) and the members of the local lineage in question. I have not investigated all discrepant usages, but the high incidence of the terminological aberrations suggests that incest is widely practiced.

835 601 183 582 [162] [542] Incestuous affairs and marriages occur largely because of the woman shortage. I have already mentioned that Ishiweiwë of Patanowë-tedi married his three 'granddaughters' because he could not find a wife of the appropriate category. A similar situation occurred in Bisaasi-tedi. Keromawë, one of the important men in the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi, has redefined a number of his classificatory daughters as sisters,[1] thereby making it possible for his sons to marry their children, otherwise incestuous marriages. His oldest son, Bïkïböwë, technically married his FaDaDa, but because his father had redefined the mother of Bïkïböwë's wife as 'sister,' the marriage was appropriate within their marriage rules.

837 *621 578 [721] The woman shortage is remedied by illicit affairs within the village. These affairs are the major cause of feuds and village splits. During the 15 months covered by my field work five club-fights occurred. Four of them were over women who had been caught in illicit affairs, and in one case, the village split into hostile factions that began

---

[1] See Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of this.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1987 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

raiding each other.[1]

That the shortage of women is the basis of internal feuding is illustrated by a practice recently adopted by members of the New Tribes Mission working in the village of Kosholowä-tedi, a small village on the Padamo River. The missionaries had a major problem with club-fighting within the village, most of which developed out of sexual liasons between married women and married men. The missionaries began an active campaign aimed at changing the coitus taboos during pregnancy and lactation. They were successful in their efforts, and the major result was that fighting was almost completely stopped. (Another result was a sharp increase in births.)

Village size and composition have an effect on the number of sexual liaisons within a village, as illicit affairs are more difficult to discover in large villages. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, as can be seen from Table 1, have less of a woman shortage than the other villages. Nevertheless, fights over women do break out in these villages. One of the clubfights I witnessed took place between two groups of Monou-tedi men in the village of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the Monou-tedi men had wanted to carry on an affair with the wife of Konoreiwä, another man of his village, but was unable to do so while the Monou-tedi lived in their own village. Once when the Monou-tedi moved to Bisaasi-tedi to

[1]See Chapter 5, Tables 5 and 6, for a summary of the causes of village splits and hostilities.

avoid the raids from the PatanowÃ-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with KonoreiwÃ's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by KonoreiwÃ. The entire village participated in the club fight. KonoreiwÃ punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the PatanowÃ-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the PatanowÃ-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the PatanowÃ-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

726 628 knowing that they would not be raided in return; the Patanowä-tedi simply could not conduct the war on that immense a scale. The participation of these peripheral villages in the war against the Patanowä-tedi conferred three advantages on them. First, the probability was good that they would benefit materially in the raiding by capturing women. Secondly, they demonstrated their solidarity to their allies at little cost or danger to themselves, thereby putting these allies under obligation to reciprocate the favor at a later time. Finally, the peripheral villages were able to demonstrate their ferocity to their neighbors by going to war, although the danger to themselves was almost negligible. In total, about 726 922 628 a dozen villages began raiding the Patanowä-tedi in mid 1965, forcing them to abandon their garden before they could 36 24 establish a new one elsewhere. The Patanowä-tedi had no alternative but to take refuge in the village of their allies, the Ashadowä-tedi. Without the aid of the Ashadowä-tedi, the Patanowä-tedi would have been forced to colonize from their single site and sustain very heavy losses from the incessant raids of their enemies. As the situation turned out, the Patanowä-tedi lost a large number of people in the raiding, despite having this ally, but the losses would have been much heavier without them.

162 552 (847) [83] **Summary**

The practice of female infanticide leads to a shortage of women. The Yanomamö attempt to overcome the shortage,

162 sexually, by the practices of sodomy, wife sharing, incest,
562 and permitted affairs. However, two ways in which the problem
83 is resolved--clandestine affairs within villages and raiding
162 to abduct women between villages--create political situations
562 that favor the development of political alliances for the
583 purposes of defense. Since these involve the transfer of
849 women between the allies, the practice of female infanticide
921 constitutes a functional component in the marriage alliance
922 system.
628

The process of village splitting, growing out of feuds
621 over women, results in the establishment of small, militarily
628 vulnerable villages. The timing of the split is conditioned
578 by the agricultural requirements of the village on the one
241 hand, and the nature of its politico-military relationships
922 with other villages on the other. The graded system of violence permits flexibility in the settlement pattern and the precise conditions of a village split. Because the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated foods, alliances may be interpreted as an attempt to maximize the chances of survival of groups of kinsmen as independent groups; the possibility always exists that a given group may be forced by its enemies to seek protection and provisions in the village of an ally.

613 421 [562] associated with control over real property in most tribal societies. Among the Yąnomamö the corporate estate consists of rights in disposing of females; property does not play any role in the functioning of the descent group.

613 602 562 584 The relationship between males in regulating the disposition of the descent group's women is ambiguous, for their rights in particular women vary, largely with genealogical distance and the size of the descent group in question. And, rights in women are intangible. Thus, local descent groups[1] among the Yąnomamö, despite the fact that they are corporate, are not cohesive, solidary units because of the ambiguous way male members are related to each other.

613 *62 [614] [616] Patrilineal descent is virtually non-functional outside the local descent group. There are no corporate descent groups other than those that exist at the village level, i.e., the Yąnomamö do not have clans or moieties. Hence, agnates not only enter into competition with each other because of the nature of their rights in the women of their group, there are no other institutions based on agnatic descent that promote amity and solidarity among them.

---

[1] "The core of such a group is composed of the adult males of a kin group all resident in one place . . . the corporate group of persons who have the most decisive say in bringing about an arranged marriage is always a group of coresident males representing, as a rule, three genealogical generations, namely: the old men or grandfathers, the normal adults or fathers, and the young adults or sons." E. R. Leach, 1963:56. Among the Yąnomamö, the generation of grandfathers is only rarely represented in the local descent group. [603]

613 his brothers, terminologically, they have more in common with
602
*621 each other than they do with him. As he depends on them for
584
582 support within the village, he is under obligation to them and can not take their suggestions lightly.[1]

*621 Again, if there are two politically important descent
613 groups of the same lineage within a large village, and if
602
• 582 there are, in addition, a number of agnatically related
584
736 females not belonging unambiguously to either one, problems arise over the disposition of the women; there will be rivalry between the two descent groups concerning the marriages (or remarriages) of these women. Situations like these arise when the father and brothers of the women are killed in raids or die of other causes, or when the woman's first husband dies after her (deceased) agnates arranged her marriage. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, split into two villages, each led by members of the same lineage. They had been victimized by a Shamatari group which killed a large number of men during a treacherous feast. There were a number of women, consequently, who were ambiguously related to the surviving males of the Upper and Lower halves of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the descent groups in what is now Lower Bisaasi-tedi managed to gain the upper hand in the

---

[583] [1]There seems to be a marked tendency for the daughters of such men to be given to men in other villages when alliances are made. I am unable to say, on the basis of my present data, whether such alliances are forced on these men by their agnates, or whether these men in fact prefer to dispose of their daughters in this way. This practice tends to keep such men more isolated from their agnates and prevents them from establishing strong affinal ties within the village.

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

---

[1]See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[2]By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

Most of the displays of [111] ferocity have to do with cruelties inflicted on women, particularly wives, as this is both a safe and a legitimate way of displaying aggressiveness.

One of the corollaries of this ideology is to take advantage of weak neighbors, for in so doing one can display ferocity and gain materially (by abducting women). Villages that have many enemies are particularly good targets, for other villages can participate in the raiding against these disadvantaged villages with little fear of retaliation (see Chapter V). This attitude is also manifest in the political dealings with allies. Whenever allied villages differ markedly in size and strength, the weaker of the two is at a disadvantage, for the larger village will coerce it out of women. Since women are greatly prized, there is the constant threat that an ally will turn against its friends if the circumstances indicate that a substantial number of women can be abducted. Members of allied villages that have recently entered into alliance never really trust each other, as each fears that the other may turn on it to seize women. Whenever the men of the village go on raids, they conceal their women and children in the jungle in case a group of men from an allied village unexpectedly visit and find the poorly guarded women too much of a temptation to pass by.

Political dealings between allies are such that each attempts to demonstrate to the other that it is completely sovereign and capable of defending itself. No group can afford to permit the notion among allies that it is weak and

128 extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yanomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0.
121 973 975 983 836 837 I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of
123 162 602 616 562 578 them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relationship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.

There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not representative of the typical Yąnomamö village: the sex ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as there are males in the village, and the group is politically stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mąmariböwei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of Bisaasi-tedi.

The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Rerohawä, has astutely manipulated

---

logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity of Mäata-a (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawä-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

*621
622
613
602 subordinate his potential competitors by the way in which he disposed of the women and/or their children.

*621
613
602
562 There are a number of individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi who are not related agnatically to either the Sha or the Tom lineages. These individuals do not, however, constitute a political bloc; each is tied by marriage to the two lineages, and are therefore subordinate (by virtue of obligations to their wife-givers) to the members of that lineage. Most of these individuals are females, and do not represent a political factor in the affairs of the village. Some of them were abducted from Shamatari villages in the past, and a larger number of them were obtained in marriage alliances from other Shamatari recently. The six adult males of this non-agnatic group who might pose a threat to the stability of the village by making liaisons with married women are all married themselves. With the exception of two brothers, they are unrelated to each other. One of them is married to Reromawë's daughter, another is married to his son's daughter, and the two brothers (actual WiBrSo to Reromawë) are married, respectively, to Reromawë's classificatory son's daughter in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and will move there while he does his bride service, and a classificatory brother's daughter.[1] The remaining two men are in Faction B. One of these joined Reromawë's group before 1945 to get revenge against the

582
583

[1] This woman is one of the seven abducted by the Monou-tedi from the Patanowë-tedi and taken, in turn, by Reromawë's group from the Monou-tedi. Technically, then, Reromawë is her 'father' and the man to whom she was given is 'son-in-law' to Reromawë. See Chapter V.

*621 members of his own village, Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, who killed his
613 father. Reromawĕ's group was then actively raiding Hasabŏwĕ-
602 tedi. The man was given a wife in Reromawĕ's village, the
* 562 widow of a Tom man killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast.
582 The man's two daughters are married to Sha men.[1] The last
583 man and his family joined Reromawĕ's group in 1965 to take refuge from his own villagers, the Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, some of whom wanted to take his wives away from him for being brutal. He had previously given a daughter to a Tom man and when he was forced to flee from his own village, took refuge with his son-in-law. Appendix A gives more details on each individual discussed above.

*628 Lower Bisaasi-tedi has political ties with a number
582 of villages. It has recently (since 1960) entered into al-
583 liance with two Shamatari villages, Reyabobŏwei-tedi and Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, and has managed to obtain a number of women from the latter village as wives for young bachelors
*628 in the group. The Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi visit them frequently to
527 feast and trade, and the members of Lower Bisaasi-tedi
574 reciprocate the visits. The ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi
438 and the Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi are nearly as strong as the ties
602 between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and any of its cognate villages to whose members the Lower Bisaasi-tedi are agnatically re-
*628 lated. Of the villages that are cognate to Lower Bisaasi-tedi,
602 Monou-tedi is perhaps the most dependable ally, because the

---

[1] Reromawĕ's actual son, and Reromawĕ's classificatory son in Upper Bisaasi-tedi.

*628 [602] Lower Bisaasi-tedi gave its members refuge during the times when the Monou-tedi were threatened by raids from the Patanowë-tedi. The closest neighbor, geographically, to Lower Bisaasi-[361] [613] tedi is Upper Bisaasi-tedi (a mere 400 meters upstream), the dominant political group of that village being a segment of the Sha lineage. The two villages, however, behave quite independently in their alliance patterns. Lower Bisaasi-tedi's political interests are in the Mõmaribõwei-tedi at the present time, whereas Upper Bisaasi-tedi's interests are in the *628 726 Reyabobõwei-tedi, Karohi-tedi, and Widokaiya-tedi. In the war against the Patanowë-tedi, both the Lower and Upper Bisaasi-tedi aid the Monou-tedi by providing warriors for the raiding parties, and by giving refuge to the Monou-tedi when raiding is particularly intense.

*621 162 562 571 Lower Bisaasi-tedi is a cohesive, well-integrated, stable village. Much of the stability and cohesiveness derives from the fact that there is not a shortage of women and there are well-defined patterns of behavior for all members *628 722 vis-à-vis others. But, Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not a militarily viable group. It could not last long as an independent village if the warfare situation became intense; the group is not completely independent of the Upper Bisaasi-tedi village. At least once during my field work the Lower Bisaasi-tedi group coalesced with the Upper group when a raid from the Patanowë-tedi seemed imminent. And, if raiding from the Patanowë-tedi began, the group would have to merge with Upper Bisaasi-tedi for defense purposes. When I began my field work in 1964,

aid of allies such as the two Bisaasi-tedi groups, the Monou-tedi probably could not survive as an independent village because of the size differential between themselves and their enemies. It is noteworthy, however, that the Monou-tedi are more independent than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, for they moved to a new site rather than recombine (permanently) with their agnates in Bisaasi-tedi. This avoidance pattern is not a probable alternative for the Lower Bisaasi-tedi because of their relative lack of potential to conduct effective warfare, even considering the fact that their allies would aid them. Lower Bisaasi-tedi would invite raiding by moving further away from Upper Bisaasi-tedi, as their erstwhile neighbors and allies, from whom they have managed to obtain so many women, would be more equal in strength and would demand more women from them. Or, other neighbors, such as the Widokaiya-tedi, would descend on them hoping to abduct women, of which the Lower Bisaasi-tedi have many. They have managed to obtain these women from a position of strength, but a large factor in their strength is the fact that they are still dependent on Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Without the latter, they would be in a serious military situation.

Summary

Village splitting develops out of feuding over women; the kinship lines along which villages split reflect the strength of the tie linking descent groups to each other by marriage or promises to exchange women, while at the same time illustrates the weakness of the agnatic bonds.

contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Urariçás area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-teḍi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

121 having such estates, particularly in those societies to
613 which real estate is totally irrelevant. The Yąnomamö
562 corporate estate consists entirely of rights in disposing
421 of female members belonging to that corporation. As such, males and females have different kinds of shares in the corporation. Males, on the average, tend to inherit more rights, while females tend to inherit more duties and obli-
[423] gations. Land to the Yąnomamö is not a scarce item, as they
[341] are pioneer slash-and-burn horticulturists expanding into
[424] virgin territory.[1] Myths, names and ritual functions do not comprise elements in these corporations.[2]

121 It would seem important to distinguish between lineal descent corporations which control property and those which do not, as Befu and Plotnicov (1962) have done. A further distinction, however, seems warranted on the basis of the data presented here: between <u>societies</u> having any corporate groups that control real property and societies that have corporate descent groups, none of which have control over property as their estate. The possession of real estate tends to reinforce the lineality of corporate descent groups in both dogma and composition,[3] and invites the addition of

[184]

[1]This is true of the Mavaca Basin Yąnomamö. Elsewhere the Yąnomamö may not be pioneers, but land is not scare in those areas either.

[2]I am aware that the Yąnomamö have lineally transmitted totems; these have nothing to do with the descent group recruitment or its estate.

[3]See Meggitt, 1965, for an excellent account of the relationship of agnatic kinship, real property, and lineage

484 752 The jungle provides a number of hazards to the barefoot traveler in that most species of palm have long, sharp spines protruding from their trunks or leaf stems. The most common and recurrent injury the Yąnomamö sustain is thorns in the feet. A party of ten men can rarely travel an hour without one of them stopping to extract a thorn from his foot. This is always accompanied by hisses and clicks of pain on the part of the victim, who gouges the thorn out with either an arrow point or another thorn. Their feet have thick calluses on them, but because the trails frequently cross streams and swamps, the calluses soften and are easily pierced by thorns.

Another, but rarer, hazard is snakes.[2] There are always a few cases of snake bite in each village every year, although few of them are fatal. Most snake-bite victims recover from the wound with no ill side effects. I treated two cases of snake bite that were like this. But a few bites are severe enough to cause the loss of a limb. One of my better acquaintances, a young man of some thirty years, lost a leg because of a snake bite when he was about fifteen years old, and will spend the rest of his life hopping on one leg, a form of locomotion he has mastered so thoroughly that he almost manages to keep up with the group when they visit other villages.

484 221 623 132 Most of the intervillage traveling is done from September through April, the dry season. For the remainder of the year the trails, or substantial portions of them, are underwater. At this time the rains are frequent and heavy, and the small streams that can be easily crossed on foot in the dry season become impassable torrents. Small lakes replace the marshy low ground, and communication between villages all but ceases. As the Yąnomamö are an inland people and avoid locating their villages near large streams, all travel is done on foot, and each village becomes an isolated entity at the peak of the wet season (June).[3] 484 499 If the group must travel, it will make simple vine and pole bridges over the smaller streams. A pair of slender poles is stuck into the river and crossed to form an X-frame. Vines are used to lash the poles together where they intersect, and another pole is laid from the bank to the X-frame, also secured by vines. Then another pair of poles is stuck into the stream and lashed to form another X-frame. The long pole is then extended out further from the bank, and so on, until the stream is bridged. A vine railing is attached to the protruding members of the X-frames. The bridges usually last only a short time. The first heavy rain will swell the stream and the current will wash it away.

323 TECHNOLOGY Much of Yąnomamö technology is like the pole-and-vine bridge: crude, but very effective, and not destined to last for any great period of time. The only durable artifact produced is a crude, poorly fired clay pot. It is nearly an inch thick at the bottom and tapers to almost nothing at the brim. Consequently, it breaks very [562] easily. For this reason, women, regarded as clumsy, are rarely allowed to touch or handle them. When the clay pots are used, the men do the cooking, as, for example, during feasts. The pot is made by the coil technique: The untempered clay is kneaded to the proper consistency by hand, rolled into long, slender ropes, and these, in turn, placed on top of each other to form a continuous rope of clay. The coils are then scraped flat so that the interior and exterior of the pot are smooth. The conical-shaped pot is allowed to dry in the shade, then fired by placing brush and wood over it. The end product is

[165] [2]Two percent of all adult deaths are due to snake bite; 54 percent are due to malaria, and other epidemic diseases (Chagnon 1966) and 24 percent of adult males die in warfare.

[361] [3]The Yąnomamö began moving their villages out to navigable rivers after 1955. Up to that time there was only one village, Mahekodo-teri, located on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River.

794 825 179 123 126 I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi*.[13] Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no ubudibö*, the part of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noreshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 889 153 183 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

764 783 562 858 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter. 237 531 562 For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment. The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

531 The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

769 266 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of ceremonies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[13] Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3-3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebawä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3-3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yąnomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18]Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yąnomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19]Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kąobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

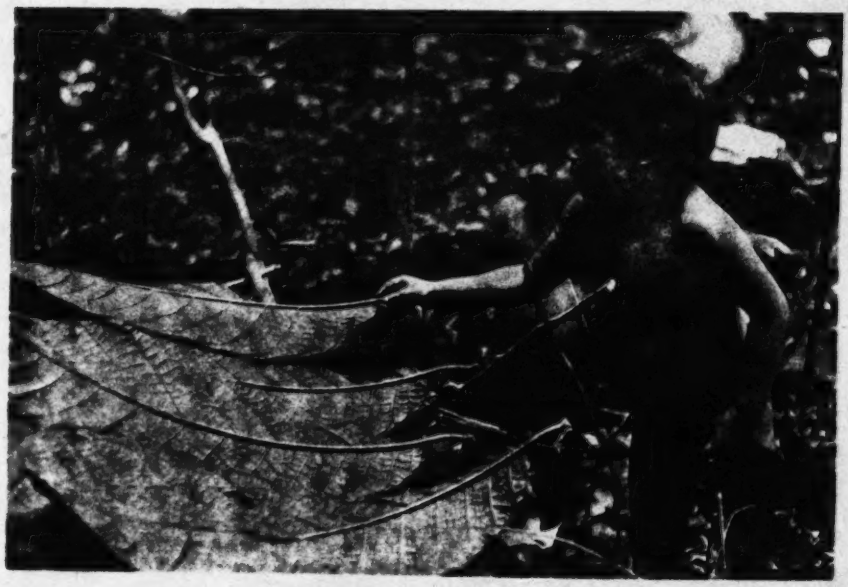
Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by caustically accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kaobawä, for example, lets Ariwari beat him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwari is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flash of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

Fig. 3–7. Ariwari, Kaobawä's favorite son, building a make-believe house while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.



11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobömou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*mo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

*628 722 241 562 581 582 The beleaguered partner may be obliged to remain in the village of his host for a year or longer, approximately the length of time required to establish a new plantation and productive base from which an independent existence is possible. Twice in the recent history of Kaobawä's group they were driven from their gardens by more powerful enemies and were forced to take refuge in the village of an ally. In each case the group remained with the ally for a year or so, moving away only after their new garden began producing. In both cases, the hosts demanded and received a number of women from Kaobawä's group without reciprocating in kind, a prerogative they exercised from their temporary position of strength. The longer the group takes advantage of a hosts' protection, the higher is the cost in terms of women, so visitors always make an attempt to establish their gardens as quickly as possible and move into them as soon as they begin producing. Without allies, therefore, the members of a village would either have to remain at their single garden and sustain the attacks of their enemies or disband into several smaller groups and join larger villages on a permanent basis, losing many of their women to their protectors. The jungle simply does not produce enough wild foods to sustain larger groups, and the threat of warfare is such that smaller groups would soon be discovered by their enemies and exterminated.

Because of the ever-present risk of being driven from one's garden, therefore, no Yąnomamö village can continue to exist as a sovereign entity without establishing alliances with other groups. Warfare is attended by a bellicose ideology which asserts that strong villages should take advantage of weaker ones and coerce them out of women; to prevent this, all villages should therefore behave as if they were strong. Thus, the military threat creates a situation in which intervillage alliance is desirable, but at the same time spawns a military ideology that inhibits the formation of such alliances: Allies need but cannot trust each other. They are obliged to behave aggressively in order to display their respective strength.

*628 438 574 581 582 602 Alliances between villages are the product of a developmental sequence that involves casual trading, mutual feasting, and finally the exchange of women. The most intimate allies are those who, in addition to trading and feasting, exchange women. Any developing alliance may stabilize at the trading or feasting stage without proceeding to the woman-exchange phase. These are weak alliances, but serve to limit the degree of war that might possibly obtain between the villages so related: The Yąnomamö tend to avoid attacking those villages with which they trade and feast, unless some specific incident, such as the abduction of a woman, provokes them. Allies that are linked by trade and feasting ties, for example, rarely accuse each other of practicing harmful magic. Allies bound to each other by affinal kinship ties, however, are more interdependent because they are under obligation to each other to continue to exchange women. It is, in fact, by the exchange of women that independent villages extend kinship ties to each other.

*628 562 581 582 Members of allied villages are usually reluctant to take the final step in alliance formation and cede women to their partners, for they are always worried that the latter might not reciprocate as promised. This attitude is especially conspicuous in smaller villages, for their larger partners in defense pressure them into demonstrating their solidarity by ceding women; the strong can and do coerce the weak in Yąnomamö politics. The weak, therefore, are compelled to exaggerate their strength by bluff and intimidation and by attempting in general to appear to be stronger, militarily, than they really are, thereby hoping to convince their partners that they are equals, capable of an independent

11: Chagnon E-5 ((1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

existence. By so doing, they also inform their partners that any attempt to coerce them out of women will be met with the appropriate reaction, such as a chest-pounding duel or club fight. Nevertheless, each ally expects to gain women in the alliance and enters it with this in mind; and each hopes to gain more women than it cedes in return.

Hence, in order for an occasional nervous meeting of groups of men from different villages to evolve into a stable intervillage alliance based on the reciprocal exchange of women, the long and difficult road of feasting and trading must be traversed. Suspicion must give way to relative confidence, and this must develop into reciprocal feasting during the dry season. Only then has the intervillage relationship reached a point where the partners begin ceding women to each other; and even then, it is done reluctantly.

This is, however, only the ideal pattern in the development of an alliance. Rarely does it develop far enough to reach the stage where women change hands, particularly if the two villages concerned are of approximately the same military strength. Fights and arguments over women or food develop, and the principals withdraw temporarily on semihostile terms, perhaps attempting a rapprochement sometime in the future. Or, if the principals are obviously different military potential, the stronger of the two will coerce its weaker partner into ceding women early in the alliance development, taking advantage of its own military strength, thus altering the course of alliance development in the opposite direction.

Whatever the specific developmental sequence leading to the woman-exchange phase, the milieu within which these developments take place is not conducive to the establishment of warm ties of friendship. Each of the principals attempts to demonstrate his own sovereignty in order to convince the other that he does not really require political alliance to keep his enemies in check. This is accomplished by bragging about past military victories and fierceness in past club fights and chest-pounding duels, and by insinuating that one's group is always on the verge of exploding into a force so great that no combination of allies could overcome its terrible might. The smaller the village and more obvious its vulnerability, the greater is the pressure to insinuate or to demonstrate this potential.

Political maneuvering in this milieu is both a tricky and potentially hazardous undertaking. Each principal in the negotiation must establish the credibility of his own threats, while discovering the point at which his partner's bluff will dissolve abruptly into action; he must discover the point beyond which he must not goad his ally, lest he himself is prepared to suffer the possibly violent outcome. It is a politics of brinkmanship, a form of political behavior in which each negotiator is compelled to expose his opposite's threats as bluffs at the risk of inciting him to violence—a club fight, immediately and honorably, or, later and treacherously, a feast in which the hosts descend on their guests to kill their men and abduct their women.

Trading and Feasting in Alliance Formation

Because an ally is not beyond taking advantage of his weaker partner, especially when the alliance is just developing, there is very little in the way of natural attraction to encourage the two groups to visit each other. Considerations of pride and canons of ferocity preclude obvious attempts to develop stable and predictable alliances and military

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

a local shortage of the item in order to have to rely on an ally for it, giving sufficient cause to visit them.

Often the specialization is less individualized than in the case of clay pot manufacture. Kaobawä's group, for example, exports cotton yarn to one ally, but imports it from another. The exported cotton frequently is brought back in the form of manufactured hammocks, the importer merely contributing labor to the process. In some cases the shortages are merely seasonal; Kaobawä's group may import cotton from a particular ally at one time of the year, but export it at another. Most of the trade, however, involves items that are readily manufactured by or raised by any group, underscoring the fact that trade is the stimulus to visit. Food does not enter the trading system, although hospitality dictates that it must be given to friendly groups. Occasionally, a village will run short of plantains because of a particularly long hot spell, and its members may visit an ally to borrow food to last a week or so. This hospitality is usually reciprocated, but it is not a part of the trading network.

Alliances between villages may stabilize at any one of three points: sporadic reciprocal trading, mutual feasting, or reciprocal women exchange. These are cumulative levels in the sense that the third phase implies the first two: Allies that exchange women also feast and trade with each other. Likewise, allies that merely feast together also trade, but do not exchange women. At the lower end of this scale of solidarity lie those villages with which one fights to kill, while at the upper end are those villages from whom one's group has recently separated. Frequently, the scale is circular rather than linear: A village's mortal enemy is the group from which it has recently split. By way of example, Kaobawä's group trades sporadically with the Makorima-teri, Daiyari-teri, Widokaiya-teri, Mahekodo-teri, and Iyawei-teri. These are fairly weak alliances and even permit limited fighting. His group has more intimate ties with the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mõmariböwei-teri, with whom it feasts regularly. The alliance with the Reyaboböwei-teri has even reached the point at which they are exchanging women with each other. Finally, at the other end of the scale, Kaobawä's group is at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, Mõwaraoba-teri, and Patanowä-teri. The first two of these groups are historically unrelated to Kaobawä's group, although they have a common history with two of his staunchest allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mõmaribowei-teri, from whom they separated in the past. The Patanowä-teri are related to Kaobawä and his followers, as was shown in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, they are bitter enemies and are at present raiding each other.

Although there is no rigid geographical correlation of the village settlement pattern to the degree of alliance solidarity, neighboring villages usually are at least on trading terms and are not actively conducting war on each other. Should war develop between neighbors, one of the two principals will abandon its site and move to a new location. Whether the ties between neighboring villages will be one of blood, marriage exchange, reciprocal feasting, or casual trading depends on a large number of factors, particularly on village size, current warfare situation with respect to more distant groups, and the precise historical ties between the neighboring villages. Whatever the nature of the ties between neighbors, each strives to maintain its sovereignty and independence from the others.

The Yanomamö do not openly regard trade as a mechanism the ulterior function of which is to bring people repeatedly together, thus establishing an amicable basis from

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

If such a duel is escalated, it usually develops into a side-slapping contest. Occasionally, the combatants will sue for the use of machetes and axes, but this is rare. If machetes are used, the object of the contest still remains the same: Injure your opponent seriously enough so that he will withdraw from the contest, but try not to draw blood. Hence, opponents strike each other with only the flat of the blade when they resort to machetes.

In some areas the Yąnomamö modify the chest-pounding duel in another way: The opponents hold rocks in their clenched fists and strike their adversaries on the chest with an even more stunning blow. They try not to let the stone itself touch the flesh of the man they are fighting. Even without the use of stones, however, they are able to deliver their blows with such force that some of the participants cough up blood for days after having been in a duel.

Club fights represent the next level of violence. These can take place both within and between villages. Most of the club fights result from arguments over women, but a few of them develop out of disputes associated with food theft. Dikawä, a young man about twenty years old, came home one day and discovered a bunch of eating bananas his father, about fifty-five years old, had hung up in his house, above his hearth, to ripen in the smoke. Dikawä, however, ate a number of them without his father's permission. When his father discovered the theft, he ripped a pole out of his house and began clubbing Dikawä. Dikawä armed himself with a similar club and attacked his father, precipitating a general melee that soon involved most of the men in the village, each taking the side of the father or son, as they saw fit. In brawls such as these, many individuals join in the fighting just to keep the sides even; if a group is badly outnumbered, they will be joined by friends whose sense of fairness stimulates them to take sides, no matter what the issue is. The net result of the above fight was a number of lacerated skulls, bashed fingers, and sore shoulders. The contestants try to hit each other on the top of the head, but when the fight gets out of hand, the participants swing wildly and rarely hit their opponents on the skull. More frequently, the blow lands on the shoulder or arm.

The clubs used in these fights are, ideally, 8 to 10 feet long. They are very wiry, quite heavy, and deliver a tremendous wallop. In general shape and dimensions, they resemble pool cues, but are nearly twice as long. The club is held at the thin end, which is frequently sharpened to a long point in case the fighting escalates to spear thrusting, in which case the club is inverted and used as a pike.

Most duels start between two men, usually after one of them has been caught *in flagrante* trysting with the other's wife. The enraged husband challenges his opponent to strike him on the head with a club. He holds his own club vertically, leans against it and exposes his head for his opponent to strike. After he has sustained a blow on the head, he can then deliver one on the culprit's skull. But as soon as blood starts to flow, almost everybody rips a pole out of the house frame and joins in the fighting, supporting one or the other of the contestants.

Needless to say, the tops of most men's heads are covered with long, ugly scars of which their bearers are immensely proud. Some of them, in fact, keep their head cleanly shaved on top to display these scars, rubbing red pigment on their bare scalps to define them more precisely. Viewed from the top, the skull of an accomplished man of forty years looks like a road map, for it is criss-crossed by as many as twenty large scars (see

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women. One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomohoni*, is the ultimate form of violence. Kaobawä's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kaobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yanomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Shäwä, coveted my British commando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

was killed in the incident. Manasinawã, his wife, and his daughter remained with Kąobawã's group, and he ultimately gave the daughter to Kąobawã for a second wife. Kąobawã still has her.

At this time, the groups, of Damowã and Kąobawã, respectively, were still at war with the Patanowã-teri, from whom they separated some fifteen years earlier. Damowã's group, after separating from Kąobawã's, attempted to make peace with the Patanowã-teri, as they were now vulnerable and could ill afford to remain on hostile terms with them. Damowã's group also made an alliance with the two Shamatari villages, which had given them cooperation when they staged the revenge treacherous feast discussed in the last chapter. For about five years relationships between Damowã's group and the Patanowã-teri were relatively amicable, but as the former's alliances with the Shamatari grew in strength, their relationship to the Patanowã-teri grew cool once again.

The Patanowã-teri then became embroiled in new wars with several villages on the Orinoco River and turned to Kąobawã's group for aid, hoping to patch up their old grievances and remain at peace. The first day I began my fieldwork marked the initiation of complete peace between Kąobawã's group and the Patanowã-teri: They were having a feast together in Bisaasi-teri. Damowã's group, the Monou-teri, were not participating in the feast, but a large number of men came anyway. They discovered a group of seven Patanowã-teri females outside the main village and could not resist the temptation: They forcefully took them back to Monou-teri. Later that day the Patanowã-teri men discovered that the women were missing, so they searched the neighborhood and found the tracks of the Monou-teri men at the site of the abduction, where signs of struggling abounded. The next morning they went to Monou-teri armed with clubs: They were bound to get their women back, but did not care to start another shooting war with the Monou-teri. They took five of the women away from the Monou-teri in a heated struggle, but had to pull back without the remaining two, unless they were willing to shoot to kill: The Monou-teri were determined to keep the other women at all costs.

The significance of this incident is this: The headman of Monou-teri realized that the Patanowã-teri would not risk getting into a shooting war with them since they already had more enemies than they could comfortably handle. Hence, this provided an excellent opportunity for the Monou-teri to abduct women with relatively little chance of getting shot in retaliation.

Damowã, the headman of Monou-teri, was angry because the Patanowã-teri had recovered so many of their women. He then threatened to ambush the Patanowã-teri when they left for home after the feast at Bisaasi-teri was over. The Patanowã-teri, in view of this, cut their stay short and left for home before the feast was over, hoping to avoid trouble with the Monou-teri.

Damowã was not satisfied, however, that he forced the Patanowã-teri to capitulate, leave for home, and not attempt to recover the two remaining women. He decided to raid them. In January of 1966 he and a party of men from Monou-teri raided the Patanowã-teri at the latter's village. They caught Bosibrei climbing a *ratha* tree, a prickly, cultivated palm that must be climbed slowly and with the aid of a pair of moveable stick frames in order to avoid getting pierced by the needle-sharp thorns that protrude from the tree's trunk (see Fig. 2–6). Bosibrei was almost to the top of the tree when the raiders caught him—he made an excellent target silhouetted against the sky. They shot and killed him with one volley of arrows as he reached for the fruits of the palm. One of

726 If there are novices in the raiding party, the older men will conduct mock raids, showing
701 them how they are to participate. A grass dummy or soft log is frequently employed in
702 this, as was the case in the *wuyu itou* held in the village the day before the raiders left. Particularly young men will be positioned in the marching party somewhere in the middle of the single file of raiders so they will not be the first ones to be exposed to danger should the raiders themselves be ambushed. These young men will also be permitted to retreat first. Damowä had a twelve-year-old son when he was killed. This boy, Matarawä, was recruited into the raiding party to give him an opportunity to avenge his father's death. The older men made sure he would be exposed to minimum danger, as this was his first raid.

726 The separated groups of raiders approach the village at dawn and conceal themselves near the commonly used paths to the source of drinking water. They wait for the enemy to come to them. A good many of the victims of raids are shot while fetching water.

Frequently, the enemy is wary and acts defensively at all times when there is an [722] active war going on. Only large groups of people can leave the village, and these are well armed. Raiders will not attack a large group such as this. When the enemy is found to be this cautious, the raiders have no choice but to retreat or to shoot volleys of arrows blindly into the village, hoping to strike someone at a distance. They retreat after they release their arrows, depending on the gossip of other villages to learn if their arrows did find their marks. Rarely, one of the raiders will attempt to enter the village during the night and kill someone while he sleeps. Damowä's younger brother allegedly accomplished this on one raid, but few men are brave enough to try it. Most of the time the raiders manage to ambush a single individual, kill him, and retreat before they are discovered. This is considered to be the most desirable outcome of the raid.

722 The women were nervous, frightened, and irritable while the men were away,
[562] and they were constantly on the lookout for raiders from other villages. This is always
*[628] a time to suspect raiders, since allies occasionally turn on their friends when the women are poorly guarded, abducting as many as possible while their husbands are away.

After several days the women were so frustrated and anxious that fights began to [578] break out among them. One woman got angry because another one, her sister and co-wife, [593] left her to tend a small baby. When the mother returned, the angry one picked up a piece of firewood and bashed her on the side of her head with it, knocking her unconscious and causing her ear to bleed profusely.

726 The raiders had been gone almost a week when Kaobawä and his youngest brother
484 staggered into the village, nearly dead from exhaustion. Kaobawä's pains had gotten
[64] so bad that he decided to turn back just before they reached the Patanowä-teri village. He could barely walk by that time and would not have been able to elude pursuers should the enemy have given chase. Shararaiwä, his brother, decided to accompany him back lest he run into a group of Patanowä-teri hunters, or his condition grow even more severe. Shortly after they had dropped out of the raiding party, Shararaiwä stepped on a snake and was bitten. The rains had started, and the snakes were beginning to concentrate on the higher grounds, making walking a hazard. His leg began to swell immedi- [758] ately, and he could not walk. Hence, Kaobawä had to carry him out on his back, despite the fact that he could barely walk himself. Carrying him for nearly two days, he managed to reach the Orinoco River. Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

Makiritare SS 20

M
Y
648

/190 cont./ scorn them, and, at first sight, they seemed to be unworried, but the knowledge that they no longer live alone in the land of their fathers, and the fact of having heard that four days prior to our arrival /191/ at the conuco an Indian who had sought refuge by climbing a tree was shot by a Sanemá arrow and fell lifeless into the river, constantly tortured them.

M
Y
582
563
177
648
M
[186]

A powerful stimulus which always encouraged the Makiritare on their numerous trips was to get a wife among their neighbors of the same tribe. Nowadays, despite the intense scorn which the Makiritare profess toward the Yanoama, taking a wife from that tribe is not considered an impossible or degrading thing; there are many Yanoama women who have married Makiritare men (cf. Grelier, 1955b, p. 10). This matrimonial interchange inevitably carries with it an assimilation of cultures between the two tribes, a process in which the Makiritare cultural pattern will dominate that of the Yanoama and the Yanoama genes will infiltrate the Makiritare gene pool. There is not the least doubt but that the Sanemá, who were brought in for a short time, arrived at the upper Ventuari and Caura where they took up residence to stay, and that the present fusion between the Caribe and the Yanoama ought not to be explained so much by the good will of the former as by the vitality of the latter.

Y
167
563
177
648

Y
101

The Waica subtribe occupies the central part of the present Yanoama territory, that of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the mouth of the Ocamo, including also the southern bank of the river (Barker, 1953, p. 434). As we have already mentioned, they appear to live also in the general arc of the upper Rio Branco and its western tributaries, and Schuster (1958, p. 114) is very probably right when he says that the Sierra Parima does not bound the Waica zone, but that it extends to Brazilian territory.

Y
[77
797

We have already mentioned the first contacts which the Whites had with the Waica, and, after a somewhat unfruitful effort by Hamilton Rice at the beginning of the present century, the Waica world went without contact with science until the New Tribes Mission was able to start peaceful relations with the Waica through the missionary James Paul Barker. Some ethnographic data were also published on this Yanoama subtribe by several

Y
114

one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manuera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shiriana.'

We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uana-Coco, Canaua, and Uagna. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

Manuera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Branco river in Brazil. They considered an agricultural life a peasant's life, and a dull one at that, with no possible appeal to the imagination. There were a few palavers about it, but it is well-known that among primitive peoples the old are listened to least: wisdom favours the youths and the boys, who have their whole lives in front of them—not behind them like a stream flowing away. The young men prevailed, and burned the forest. The first big hut was built according to Manuera's ideas, and served as a pattern for all the Shirians when they came to build.

So we too arrived at this 'big hut', which Manuera showed us with a pride that was scarcely justified, and here too the Shirians fled away into the woods, much to the amusement of our guides. We could hear them there, uttering their guttural cries of terror and wonderment.

Inside the hut there was no one, with the exception of two old folk stretched out in their liana hammocks. They didn't stir: it was as if they didn't even see us. One of them was a woman whose body was reddened nearly all over with *citrate*—a skin disease frequent among the Indians. A macaw, scared by the sight of our beards, set up a howl on his perch and started biting through the cord which attached him to it. Manuera went off into the woods, calling the others, and the thick green swallowed him up for a good hour. We were rather afraid he would want to stop here for the night, for our stomachs were turning at the filth around us, but we had misjudged our man: Manuera was now engaged in more important business and had no desire for more than a brief, benevolent survey of his kinsfolk. We very soon got back to the boat and at last were able to take deep breaths of the fresh river and forest air.

Manuera told us that the Shirians had not been really so scared by our arrival. Indeed, they had been expecting us. But they couldn't quite pluck up the courage to look close. Our stature, our beards, our clothes and our guns, in the eyes of primitive people, turned us into supermen—dread figures, terrifying as monsters and above all, essentially evil.

The news that we were on the way had been bruited abroad by the party we had met at the Moné pass—and *à propos* of this, we learned from Manuera that the spider-child had died soon afterwards, somewhere on the Sabaru. It was a relief to hear this, even if the poor little monstrosity's death had been caused by the sight of us, as the Shirians thought. Manuera's gestures became wild, and his speech difficult to follow, as he tried to explain their attitude.

/117 cont./

628 tendency toward the independence of the next smaller parts acting on this plane and forming it -- namely, the villages.

These hostile relationships between the villages are external evidence of a centrifugal force in Waika culture seeking detach-
628 ment. The opposite tendency, the centripetal force toward bind-
574 ing the villages together, finds its expression in active intercourse
438 for trading and visiting. These trips, which are performed with such zeal that practically every second day there is some association with another village, from or to it, can be divided into sev-
438 eral groups, according to their purpose. First, trips purely for trade take place: each village prefers to produce or procure a certain article of the material culture so that it practically has a monopoly on it. One village supplies especially fine tobacco, another is favorably located in a place where much arrow-cane grows, a third produces pots because good clay is present in the vicinity, another is the supplier of hunting dogs for the neighborhood, and the village closest to us naturally barters primarily with European ironware. This formation of centers for specific goods naturally favored the development of commercial traffic; the trading itself is carried out over very long periods and thus resembles a gift-exchange behind which there is a certain amount
437 of compulsion. When one knows that the partner has more objects of a kind than he justifiably needs for himself, it is requested very urgently, and the one so entreated may not refuse, if he does not want to risk enmity and war -- he can, of course, get his revenge
[182] in his own way the next time. This system successfully prevents
[556] any accumulation of capital; no Waika possesses noticeably more
[565] than his neighbor; there are no social distinctions; and consequently no vertical classes.

628 Besides trade, the transmission of news, which proceeds in the
574 form of a /118/ ceremonial conversational-singing and not in
[203] simple dialogue, is also one purpose of such trips, as are wife-
[533] seeking and courting in other villages. As a rule all these trips
[584] are made by a group of men or young people who are guests for one or at most two nights in the strange village and then, after the trading has been done, oddly enough not until the last minute

628 can be pushed around. Thus, even the strongest alliances are tenuous at best, as the possibility is ever present that one of the allies will treacherously turn on the other.

628 152 57 627 In February 1965 the Bisaasi-tedi held a feast for the Mahekodo-tedi and Boreta-tedi. The visitors arrived earlier than scheduled, ate excessively, stole food from the gardens at night, and refused to go home after the feast terminated. The Bisaasi-tedi had not alternative but to challenge the guests to a chest-pounding duel; failure to have done so would have implied that they could be coerced. When the guests were challenged, they packed and departed. For a while the Bisaasi-tedi felt that they had successfully coerced their guests into leaving, presuming that their guests departed out of fear. However, the guests returned that evening to meet the challenge, lest the rumor spread that they themselves were weak and could be intimidated. Just before I left the field a rumor was circulated that the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi had accused the Bisaasi-tedi of weakness, and wanted to fight them to show them they were stronger. The rumor asserted that the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi intended to challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a chest-pounding duel. The Bisaasi-tedi were enraged when they heard of this rumor, and immediately sent a delegation of men to Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi to challenge the men of that village to a fight. But, to show that they were not only not cowards but exceptionally fierce as well, they challenged the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi to a duel with axes! The Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi denied the rumor and the duel never took place.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

301
516
291

• [57]

Fig. 4–4. Many feasts end in prearranged chest-pounding duels; this permits the allies to display the fact that they are friendly but capable of defending their sovereignty. These two men were pounding each other's chests a few minutes before this photo was taken. Here, they embrace each other intimately, vowing eternal friendship, and ask each other for specific trade goods.

*628
578

these few minutes the men were rapidly changing the points of their arrows to war tips: curare and lanceolate bamboo. The women and children began to cry, knowing that the situation was getting serious, and they grouped into the farthest corners of their houses near the exits. One by one the men withdrew, returned to their houses, and drew their bows. The visitors pulled back and formed a protective circle around their own women and children, also fitting arrows into their bows and drawing them. The village grew almost silent. The leaders of the respective groups stepped into the no man's land separating the two groups of armed men and began arguing violently, waving axes and clubs at each other. Suddenly, the spokesmen from the visiting group surged toward Kąobawï and his supporters, swinging their axes and clubs wildly at them, forcing them back to the line of men whose bowstrings were drawn taut. Kąobawï and his followers regained their footing and repelled their adversaries at this point, while the women and children from both groups began fleeing from the village, screaming and wailing. It looked as if

624
571

[For the role of the guapo in Yanoama society and his interaction with the community, see category 554.]

621 613 602 591 full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

602 613 561 594 527 554 571 622 The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kɐobawë's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwë, 18). Whenever Kɐobawë organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Nadesiwë, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kɐobawë. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawë, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kɐobawë's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kɐobawë's nephew, Bëkotawë, 18 years old.

622 602 613 561 123 554 571 Kɐobawë's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kɐobawë to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

622 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I
602
618 asked Kaobawë what he had done about it. He said he had
561 spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He
123
554 will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ulti-
571 mately had to resort to my own means to recover the flash-
light, as Kaobawë could not force Shiimima to return it.
When I questioned Kaobawë about this ineffectiveness, he
explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order
him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest
siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion
622 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every
613
602 feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scrap-
529 ing up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them
574
351 out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy prepar-
554 ing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing.
591
561 Kaobawë usually goes to the center of the village and begins
cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older
agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They
would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if
Kaobawë requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this
regard implies that one is being bossed around.

*621 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative
613
602 age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group
561 and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of
593 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the
602
613 group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the
solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult

*628 Lower Bisaasi-tedi gave its members refuge during the times
[602] when the Monou-tedi were threatened by raids from the Patanowë-
tedi. The closest neighbor, geographically, to Lower Bisaasi-
[361] tedi is Upper Bisaasi-tedi (a mere 400 meters upstream), the
[613] dominant political group of that village being a segment of
the Sha lineage. The two villages, however, behave quite in-
dependently in their alliance patterns. Lower Bisaasi-tedi's
political interests are in the Mõmaribõwei-tedi at the present
time, whereas Upper Bisaasi-tedi's interests are in the
*628 Reyabobõwei-tedi, Karohi-tedi, and Widokaiya-tedi. In the
726 war against the Patanowë-tedi, both the Lower and Upper
Bisaasi-tedi aid the Monou-tedi by providing warriors for the
raiding parties, and by giving refuge to the Monou-tedi when
raiding is particularly intense.

*621 Lower Bisaasi-tedi is a cohesive, well-integrated,
162 stable village. Much of the stability and cohesiveness de-
562
• 571 rives from the fact that there is not a shortage of women and
there are well-defined patterns of behavior for all members
*628 vis-à-vis others. But, Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not a militarily
722 viable group. It could not last long as an independent vil-
lage if the warfare situation became intense; the group is not
completely independent of the Upper Bisaasi-tedi village. At
least once during my field work the Lower Bisaasi-tedi group
coalesced with the Upper group when a raid from the Patanowë-
tedi seemed imminent. And, if raiding from the Patanowë-tedi
began, the group would have to merge with Upper Bisaasi-tedi
for defense purposes. When I began my field work in 1964,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yąnomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18] Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yąnomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19] Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competition with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their personal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older. They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kaobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

Kaobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction between agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kaobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadeiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were half-brothers. Nadeiwä is in Kaobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the group—Kaobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadeiwä to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadeiwä will have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kaobawä and Nadeiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

The other man, Kumanawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kaobawä is related to him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumanawä is a frequent visitor in Kaobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kaobawä asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kaobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

Kaobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

?: Barker--38 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

/467/

Property and Ownership

423 Every man has property rights over the land which he has cleared for the planting of the "conuco," until he has abandoned it.

When a settlement returns to a former site, every man has the right to build his new dwelling in the same place where the previous one was, if he should so desire, even when the place might have been covered by the forest, as frequently occurs.

422 Every person possesses his own hammock and ornaments.

[423] The men are owners of the "conucos," the dwellings, the clay pots, hunting and fishing equipment, and that for making fire, and the machetes.

Women possess the baskets, the spinning equipment, the totumas for water, the bands for carrying children, the firewood, and the leaves of the roof.

Both the men and the women may possess axes, knives, mirrors, beads, or other objects which they might have made or acquired.

437 Objects change ownership either by gift or by barter. Bartered objects are generally those which cannot be made or obtained by everyone. These include foreign articles (e.g., machetes, matches, etc.) and also domestic articles which are made only by certain persons or products which everyone does not have the ability to make successfully (e.g., clay pots for cooking, the strongest type of "yopo," totumas for water, and shafts for arrows).

431 Articles to which each and every person has access, such as foodstuffs, water, baskets, and small totumas or gourds, are generally given away when they are divided up. Sometimes even

[512] scarce articles are given to intimate friends.

582 /477/ A young woman cannot remain unmarried for a long time, but some manage to reject all their suitors for several years
587 after puberty. A widow, especially a widow with children, sometimes remains alone forever after the death of her husband.

Making Peace

628 202 When one settlement wishes closer friendship with another, it sends a messenger to offer more friendly terms.

628 202 728 If the settlements are only "macana enemies," a messenger of the very settlement that takes the initiative might go, but if the settlements are "arrow enemies," then it is necessary to send a messenger from a settlement which is friendly with both of the settlements in question. The messenger who is a member of a settlement that is an "arrow enemy" would run the danger of being shot with an arrow before giving the message.

628 728 Thus, two very hostile settlements might manage to suspend the raids between them. Later, they might agree not to fight any more should they see one another in a friendly settlement. Until they arrive at this accord, a neutral settlement friendly to both, when it is visited by people from one of these settlements hostile to each other, must send a message to the other, warning that they should not come so long as there are visitors from the hostile settlement in it. Still later they might agree to receive the visit of a small group of visitors from the other
[572] enemy settlement, for commercial purposes. From this time on the two settlements can undertake their negotiations directly, and friendships begin to form among their respective members.
[582] Then, when one settlement, out of good will, gives its own girls as wives to the men of the other settlement, it can be said that they have recovered; they have truly become good friends.

While the greater the number of persons involved in a dispute or a fight, the less the probability that the opposing bands will reach an understanding after a short time, the disputes within a settlement itself are in general settled quickly. Within a few months all will have been forgotten. /478/ Disputes between settlements which have not gone beyond macana fights are usually forgotten in a year or two. Disputes between settlements which have occasion to use arrows, especially if someone has

in terms of women ceded to them by the Shamatari, that they maintain over their Shamatari allies.

The sex ratio data give a rough idea, then, of the extent of female infanticide and, in addition, reflect the political relationships of the villages to each other in terms of the flow of women. Other demographic data, however, suggest that the practice of female infanticide is even higher than the sex ratios alone indicate. Table 2 gives the stated cause of death of 240 adult individuals. These individuals are related to the living members of the three villages of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi. It is immediately apparent that more men die in warfare than women,[1] implying that the frequency of female infanticide is substantially higher than the 8% suggested by sex ratio data.

There are several ways the Yąnomamö remedy their woman shortage. Young bachelors, for example, practice sodomy (bei kä bosi kuwemou, bei kä bosi waumou) with each other. These relationships develop into a 'buddy' system (äawä) and promote ties of friendship that extend into adult life. Some of my informants confidentially told me that particular young men had been known to copulate with dogs in estrus, but this was regarded with contempt by all who knew about it. Homosexuality, however, was not considered despicable, but it was thought to be infantile. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[1] Twenty-two per cent (31/138) of all male deaths were due to warfare, while only 6% (6/102) of female deaths were due to this cause.

/117 cont./

628 tendency toward the independence of the next smaller parts acting on this plane and forming it -- namely, the villages.

These hostile relationships between the villages are external evidence of a centrifugal force in Waika culture seeking detach-
628 ment. The opposite tendency, the centripetal force toward bind-
574 ing the villages together, finds its expression in active intercourse
438 for trading and visiting. These trips, which are performed with such zeal that practically every second day there is some association with another village, from or to it, can be divided into sev-
438 eral groups, according to their purpose. First, trips purely for trade take place: each village prefers to produce or procure a certain article of the material culture so that it practically has a monopoly on it. One village supplies especially fine tobacco, another is favorably located in a place where much arrow-cane grows, a third produces pots because good clay is present in the vicinity, another is the supplier of hunting dogs for the neighborhood, and the village closest to us naturally barters primarily with European ironware. This formation of centers for specific goods naturally favored the development of commercial traffic; the trading itself is carried out over very long periods and thus resembles a gift-exchange behind which there is a certain amount
437 of compulsion. When one knows that the partner has more objects of a kind than he justifiably needs for himself, it is requested very urgently, and the one so entreated may not refuse, if he does not want to risk enmity and war -- he can, of course, get his revenge
[182] in his own way the next time. This system successfully prevents
[556] any accumulation of capital; no Waika possesses noticeably more
[565] than his neighbor; there are no social distinctions, and consequently no vertical classes.

628 Besides trade, the transmission of news, which proceeds in the
574 form of a /118/ ceremonial conversational-singing and not in
[203] simple dialogue, is also one purpose of such trips, as are wife-
[533] seeking and courting in other villages. As a rule all these trips
[584] are made by a group of men or young people who are guests for one or at most two nights in the strange village and then, after the trading has been done, oddly enough not until the last minute

/118 cont./

on the morning of departure, return to their own village. In contrast to this hastily accomplished visiting by small groups or even individuals, there is the migration of whole villages. During the great palm-fruit festival, which takes place in February and of which I shall show you a film in a few days, the villages visit each other, which is often done in such a way that the two villages celebrate first in the settlement of the one and the other. The various above-mentioned purposes of this intervillage intercourse are naturally combined in practice. The trading and visiting trips are responsible for the remarkable cultural unity of the Waika region, and the consciousness of this in the minds of the inhabitants. On the other hand, in many cases they are the occasion and opportunity for quarrels and warfare; refusal to trade and refusal of a girl lead at least to ill feeling, and, as was reported to us, neutral villages are sometimes invited to the palm-fruit festival solely for the purpose of attacking the men at a favorable moment in order to kill them and keep the women as booty. The language has a special word for this type of hostile act, and the procedure was described to us in detail, so there can be no doubt about its occasional occurrence.

In summary, the following may be said about the intervillage relations presented in brief form. The balance between the two tendencies, the binding one and the separative one, both of which -- probably in correspondence to each other -- are expressed in remarkably vivid form, stamps the picture of the political organization in Waika country. The separative forces, in that they protect the detachment of the villages, prevent the formation of alliances on a wider scale, which could lead to political ascendancy, to regional groupings, to divisions -- in any case to a political unit extending beyond the village. Thus, in a cultural sense, these separative forces act indirectly in the same direction as the binding ones: both promote and maintain cultural homogeneity in a large territory. For since the individual villages are too weak to detach themselves from the leveling tensions /Verspannung/ with their neighbors, but, on the other hand, lasting, stable alliances cannot be achieved, political and cultural divisions

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana

/74 cont./

6. Tribute payments and greeting ceremonial

619
651
576
574

Two or three times a year a Xiriâna chief and 18-20 warriors of this tribe come to the Surára as well as to the Pakidái, in order to collect tribute from their satellites (see also pp. 13 and 19). This visit is always carried out /75/ according to a regular protocol. First the chiefs squat down opposite each other, place the right hand on the left shoulder of the other, and hold the left hand in front of the mouth. They remain in this position for about two hours and, singing, exchange their news (345). The warriors of

> 345. I, too, was greeted in this fashion by the Surára chief as well as by the Pakidái chief.

the Xiriâna and Surára or Pakidái stand around in a circle and listen, their faces immobile. All the women and children remain lying in their hammocks during the ceremonial, or they sit with anxious faces by their hearths. When the greeting is ended, the Surára or the Pakidái chief makes a sign, whereupon his men run off and fetch knives, axes, pots, etc., and also bananas and pupunha fruits, which they put down in front of the Xiriâna chief. The latter picks up the objects and distributes them to his warriors, one after the other. When each is richly laden, they leave the maloka with measured step and disappear into the forest. The Xiriâna chief is now the only one left behind. For him, however, particularly valuable objects must be brought. Above all, it is now the duty of the Surára or Pakidái chief to offer precious things of his own, perhaps a woven hammock which was given him by civilized people, a large pot, a bush knife, or a particularly beautiful chain of glass beads. Along with these, he usually sets down a basket of bananas and pupunha fruits. When the Xiriâna chief, finally satisfied, nods his head, the Surára or Pakidái at last feel relieved. There is now a concluding dialogue sung by the two chiefs, whereupon the Xiriâna chief rises and, heavily loaded for his part, strides toward the forest where his warriors are

/75 cont./
619 already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
651 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
576 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon
574 hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114]

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
178 At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition
241 from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had
[622] been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in
000 all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[174]

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill
[621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite
554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us,
769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to
628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder,
[266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablf shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be-
[888] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex-
[574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father,
162 who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition
855 we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of
000 the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

brought the canoe shooting past us like an arrow, to finish up in the big pool, where some hard paddling brought them to the bank.

At Llantarifia we found many signs of Guayca occupation, but there was no one about. Luis Antonio urged us on, as usual, explaining that we should catch up with his people further down, at what he called 'Wide-Beach River'. As it turned out, we found them there, in a rough encampment on Samatari lines—if it hadn't been for the fact that some of the faces were half familiar, and that a few of the men were wearing loincloths of red material we had provided, we might have taken them for Samatari.

'They've come here after the fruit, because it's the dry season.' Such was Luis Antonio's explanation, but it contradicted what he had said not long before, when he had assured us that his people had crossed the river because they feared an enemy attack. 'Much war,' he had told us then. Our man had been trying to give a heroic touch to what was very simple fact: his people were out looking for provisions, they weren't on the war-path at all. But this betrayed their nomadic origin, which Uarema, who knew civilization and knew how far removed the Samatari were from it, was anxious to disclaim and conceal. He had reached that stage of sophistication where he preferred to accept and admit the barbarism of war but not that of hunger.

When we slept with the Uarema Indians that night it was just like being back among the Samatari, such was the resemblance between these tribes and so similar their behaviour. Once more we ate the sacred *sopah* and a whole series of fruits we were familiar with, and went round sampling little leaf-parcels which the Guayca, with genuine hospitality, were pleased to offer us. There was tapir, deer, lapa, guan, curassow, all sizes of fish, bananas, cassava-bread in the Makiritari style, fine pawpaws and little pineapples—the kind that burn the lips.

The effect of such abundance on us was euphoric. Did our euphoria then spread to the Indians, or was it the other way about? A general dance started, with all the old songs, but for us at any rate it was soon over. In our weak state everything began to go round and round before our eyes, and we felt slightly sick. Hashimo was grinning. He looked rather like an animal let out of its cage, as he went about talking to his kinsfolk, who were crowding round like monkeys to listen. He was making gestures towards Enrico and me, evidently telling about various incidents of our captivity. Then I shouted out, in the Samatari medicine-man's tone, and imitating his vocal effects:

/447/

The Fiesta of the Harvest of "Pijiguao"

527 The fiesta of the harvest of the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm
574 (Bactris gasipaës) is perhaps the most important event of the year. During this harvest everybody has food to spare and consequently
[484] can receive all those who want to visit them. As a result of this there is a great deal of traveling during this period.

[628] Frequently two or three settlements gather in order to celebrate the fiesta. Then one part will go to celebrate the same fiesta in other friendly settlements.

The hosts, and sometimes the visitors as well, go out on a hunting trip, which lasts for several days, until they collect a sufficient quantity of meat. This meat is smoked and preserved for the fiesta.

527 When the hunters come back, the fiesta begins at night with considerable joy and singing. The hunters gather and march around the interior patio of the settlement several times. Then
[526] there begins a mock battle with cudgels. Those who have axes or machetes use these in place of cudgels. They are waved about in the air in a way similar to an attack in fencing or fighting with cudgels. The weapons clash together, but blows are not struck at the body.

After this comes the fire procession. Every man takes a burning torch from the fire and joins the others who go around and around the periphery of the great circular patio formed by the huts. From time to time, when passing in front of one of the surrounding ranchos, they rap with the torch on one of the straight supports which hold up the roof, scattering sparks in the air.

[526] Afterwards, they do what is known as "golpeo al pecho" /hitting the chest/. The boys and a few men pair off against those of another settlement and carry out a duel of blows on the chest. One will present his chest while the other hits it with the side of the fist.

[533] All of these acts are carried out amidst much jubilation and singing. Sometimes this is repeated on the following night.

/448/

527 After this comes the daytime ceremony. A great deal of
276 "yopo" is prepared and placed near the center of the group of huts. Some six or eight boys of the "host" settlement march around the patio and then toward the place where the "yopo" is. Another group of boys follows them rapidly. As each group arrives at the center, the boys receive a puff of "yopo" in the nose. After each and every one of the boys has taken the "yopo" through the nasal passage, the men follow them in the same way, in groups of six or eight. And when all of the "hosts" are in the center, the ones representing the "guest" or visiting settlement, follow them in the same "yopo" ceremony.

527 When each and every one has received his portion of "yopo,"
526 the group of men begins to march around in the center of the
276 circular patio of the settlement. After a few minutes have passed, the men begin to separate off in pairs. The most violent of them begin having duels of blows on the chest. Others, seated by pairs on the ground, talk among themselves in the manner of the crooned messages.

The duels of blows on the chest receive the greatest attention. All those who are not paired off are watching. Also many of the women come to watch them. The group of onlookers approaches so close that only a part of them can manage to see what is actually happening.

527 Some of the men who have taken too much "yopo" lie im-
276 potently on their backs and are dragged out of the sun into the shade of the houses by the women.

And others who have taken a certain excess of "yopo" keep walking around, and their wives have great difficulty in keeping them inside the settlement. If they manage to get into the woods with no one watching over them, they may find themselves in grave danger.

● [574] After a while, everything begins to quiet down. Meat and
[484] as much "pijiguao" as it is possible to carry are given to the guests for their return trip. Thus they may take as long as a week on the trip to their settlement without running out of provisions.

/468 cont./

Traveling and Transportation

487 They make almost all their trips on foot by paths and trails. Bridges are built over the largest rivers. Other rivers are waded or crossed on tree trunks.

/469/ New paths are marked by breaking branches in passing. On old roads they indicate the path or paths which have not been taken, leaving some object or a little pile of leaves at the entrance of same. A stick may be tied to an abandoned dwelling to indicate in what direction the former occupant has moved. 621 (A settlement may split up into groups when it abandons the 166 site in the area of the "conuco," and therefore this sign does not necessarily mean that the entire settlement has gone off in that direction.)

166 The Guaika /Waica/ travel frequently, but generally not 628 very far. The nearest settlement -- perhaps a day away -- is usually as far as they go. The settlement beyond this might be an enemy settlement, or at least not very friendly. Even neighboring settlements have such bad relations with one another that 628 they rarely visit among themselves. But the settlements which ● 574 are on friendly terms visit each other very frequently, and, when both live in the areas of the conucos, visitors come and go between them every few days.

574 The reasons for visiting are principally to see friends or to stay until their own "conuco" (which might be in a period of little production) begins to produce again.

Standards of Living

513 [349] The Guaika /Waica/ consider it essential to sleep every night under a roof. Thus, they always build some sort of shelter.

[354] A fire is also essential. A Guaika will not sleep without a fire at night. He needs it to obtain heat and to protect himself from animals, and with the fire he feels safer from evil spirits.

/469 cont./

513 352 The third essential thing is the hammock. The Guaika must have a hammock in order to sleep at night. In his dwelling he has a cotton hammock or a hammock made of vines split longitudinally. On a hunting trip he may travel with his hammock made out of cords of vine or without carrying any. In this latter case, each night he will make a temporary hammock /470/ out of cords of bark, and, in case he stays in the same general area, he will use it for several nights. Then, in order to travel light, he will abandon this hammock of cords of bark and will go to his home, where his good hammock awaits him.

262 574 [251] The supply of food which the Guaika have is generally good and apparently quite nutritious. From time to time there is a shortage, and they do not accumulate reserves. Shortages are generally not too serious, for which reason they can usually bear the period of privation, subsisting from a neighboring settlement, which will be paid back for the visit when in its turn bad times come to it.

261 726 The complete loss of a "conuco" as a result of being constantly driven out of the area by an enemy is a quite serious matter. We observed a settlement (that of Bichaasatedi) subsisting with great difficulty for a year until its new "conuco" began to produce, after having been driven out of their former area by a hostile group (the one from Liakoatedi).

352 The Guaika do not make seats, but they rarely sit on the ground if they can avoid it. Generally they sit in a hammock or on a piece of firewood.

512 On an ordinary day the Guaika awake with the dawn. The wife prepares the roasted platanos for the whole family. Around 7:30 or 8:00 the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement go to work in the "conuco." Those who remain in the settlement in general rest the entire morning. Some few women gather in a party and go out to make firewood out of a dead tree, recently fallen. Those who work in the conuco begin to come back at noon. On the way to the settlement they bathe in the stream. After a brief rest each person roasts a few platanos for his lunch. Then, around 2:00 in the afternoon, the [276] "yopo" is prepared, and it is blown up the noses of many of the

/470 cont./

512 men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the
[276] spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves
[721] are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against
[796] the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

[535] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may
[533] continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when
[203] there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be
[594] crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Un-
551 til the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

/472 cont./

574 A visitor who comes to a settlement where only one family is friendly with him can expect a very different reception. He can certainly expect the welcome of his friends, /473/ but the rest of the settlement, rather than applauding him, will shout at him: "Enemy group attacking! Enemy group attacking!" And at the same time they will point at him with their bows and arrows and also point all around as if they were going to fight an attacking enemy group. Quite a chilly reception, to say the least!

865 When two lads become angry with each other and fight, each one must be prepared to receive a blow equal to the one which he has given. If one hits the other on the chest with the fist it is expected that the former will present his chest to the latter to receive a like blow, and so forth. *The scuffle continues* until one of the two considers that he has received enough and refuses to return the blow which he has just received, or until one of the two combatants really gets angry and loses his temper. Then, in general, the others intervene. Frequently, when two boys are fighting, they are encouraged to keep hitting each other until both come to wish that they had never started the fight. The boys quickly learn to be careful not to start a scuffle.

If someone maltreats a lad smaller than he, he can be sure that he will be paid back for it by one of the relatives of the little one or by some spectator.

Marriage and War

584 A matrimonial union can be arranged considerably in advance with the consent of all who are interested. A girl nine years old may already be engaged to some boy.

But more frequently the girl reaches puberty without any arrangement having been made for her future marriage. Then the suitors not only have to solicit the favor of the girl, but also that of the whole settlement where she lives. Frequently it respects the selection made by the girl and rejects the suitors whom she does not want, but the settlement might give her in marriage against her wishes.

/151/

Raids among the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

114

* Mr. James Barker has prepared this work as a result of his many years with the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. In this Boletín (Year I, Vol. I, Caracas, June-December, 1953, Nos. 3-4, pp. 433-489 /see 7: Barker, this file/) he presented a report of his observations under the title of "Memoria sobre la cultura Guaika /Memoir on the Culture of the Waica/." The present work is the result of his observations, which, revealed in an objective and simple manner, are of positive value for ethnologists and ethnographers.

121 I have been asked for more information about the raid. As I am not sure of which one I am asked about, I will tell about several, especially those about which I have quite detailed information.

574 628 In February of 1951 the aldea of Liacoatjeti invited the aldea of Bisheasetjeti to a Pijiguao or palm festival. The men of Liacoatjeti had gone on a special hunt to get a supply of meat. There was to have been an abundance of every type of food. There were to have been special dances, the taking of yopo, and other things which they do on such festive occasions.

574 628 721 But the invitation was a trick which those of Liatcoatjeti /sic/ had planned in order to be able to kill, if possible, all of the men of Bisheasetjeti and capture their women. Batanoetjeti and other aldeas which were enemies of Bisheasetjeti were invited to hide outside of the aldea and shoot at any man who tried to get away. Since they did not need to feed anybody, the Liacoatjeti did not bother to go hunting.

/152/

574 628 721 [262] [411] The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti accepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 731 [499] The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food. They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 411 721 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and 166 ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was aban- 722 doned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them 628 to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest 000 near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

/156 cont./

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

[302] [574] [822] [412] [361]

166 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called
361 "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could
721 live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at
361 their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was
[114] calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
[226] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having
411 fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows
[857] of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

/160 cont./
114 into the aldea of Platanal and shot at one of the men. His shot
721 wounded "Lublo-juu" in the thigh. Nevertheless, since he recovered, there was no gathering for a raid. The men of the Frobenius expedition treated his leg and prevented complications, since the wound was quite deep.

574
628 At the beginning of February 1955 the Macolimutjeti and the Bisheasetjeti were invited to a Pijiguao or palm (Peach) festival among the Majecototjeti. The Macolimutjeti all came, men, women, and children. But the Bisheasetjeti were somewhat afraid. The Majecototjeti had been somewhat friendly with the Batanoatjeti, bitter enemies of the Bisheasetjeti, and the Bisheasetjeti feared a trick. (Years before, in 1951, they had been tricked by the Llacoatitjeti.) But so as not to show their bad faith, the men came (or at least a few of them), but none of the women, in order thus to reduce the "desirability" of a trick to steal them.

726 In March of 1955 the men of Platanal had gone for a new attempt at a raid, leaving the rest of the people in the principal aldea, located to the north of the Orinoco. One day, when /illustration appears here/ /161/ all of them except the lame boy were out of the aldea, the Shibaatfa-tjeti returned. They found "Joashimocaoue," who was returning from the farm at the head of the others who had gone to take advantage of the Pijiguao, or palm festival. The raiders shot him twice in the back, since he ran toward the refuge of the aldea. He was wounded by one bamboo point, not deeply, and by one point poisoned with curare, which caused a rather deep wound. In the aldea he told the lame
[123] boy to hide himself from the raiders who had killed him, and then, finding no help in the aldea, he ran to our house, about 200 to 300 meters away.

actual marriage practices reflect the immediate political and military needs of a given village. If it is more advantageous to dispose of a woman in a way that promotes greater solidarity between allies, the marriage rule is not followed.[1] An eligible female, therefore, is given to a man (perhaps unrelated) in another village if her kinsmen have reason to believe that they may be required to take refuge in or request military aid from that other village.

An ally's demands are not to be taken lightly, for to fail in an obligation to an ally may have the gravest consequences for survival; one tactic of Yąnomamö warfare is invitations to feasts during which a disgruntled group kills the male guests and seizes their women. These treacherous feasts (nomohoni) occur often enough, so that local groups are always suspicious of their allies. A dependable ally is won at the expense of women. Failure to hand over enough women creates a frustrated ally who is extremely dangerous. Yąnomamö political behavior has largely to do with disposing of enough women to make the ally loyal, but not to give more women than is necessary to achieve this end; miscalculation in this respect has serious consequences. As it is imperative for local groups, for reasons to be outlined below, to have allies, it is likewise necessary for them to enter into marriage exchanges with other groups.

[1] When women are given to men from other villages, the men rarely, if ever, are related to them as FaSiSo or MoBrSo. The exchange of women for purposes of alliance usually establishes the initial kinship ties between the groups of the wife receivers and wife givers.

*621 White's generalization that

> every society tends to behave in such a way as to achieve that balance between size and solidarity that will give it the maximum effectiveness in carrying on its life-sustaining activities. (1959:104)

*621 *628 562 583 582 721 Belligerent ideology and aggressive behavior

Village size plays an important role in the nature of the political relationships between groups that are not linked by kinship ties. As mentioned above, larger villages tend to use their strength and dominance to upset the exchange balance of women. But the degree to which a powerful group is able to force a dependent ally to cede women is limited by the ability of the smaller group to raid the larger village successfully. In ideological terms the Yanomamö express this capacity to wage war by placing emphasis on and valuing aggressive behavior. It is considered both proper and desirable to act ferociously, as this informs neighbors of the group's capacity to wage war and warns them that the group is willing to resort to war in political dealings.

*621 *628 526 574 152 Members of small villages are consequently constrained to behave militantly toward larger neighbors to limit the coercion that the larger group may be tempted to try. Their fierce behavior takes the form of threat, bluff, chicanery in trading and, most important, challenges to duels. Frequently, when villagers are invited to feast with an allied group, the invitation includes a challenge to a chest-pounding

duel. Such a duel functions to remind the allies that the host is strong and willing to display his strength to protect his sovereignty.

The practical effect of this kind of behavior is that the solidarity of political alliances is constantly threatened. Allies are always suspicious of each other's intentions, and political ties between them are tenuous.

Although the giving of women in marriage between allies serves to promote solidarity, the capacity for marriage to achieve this end in itself is limited by the constant displays of hostility and aggressiveness by both groups.

The display of ferocity is manifest at the local, village level also. No insult is too slight to go unnoticed and unchallenged. Indeed, most individuals seize upon these opportunities to display strength. Thus, a legitimate way for men to display aggressiveness is for them to beat their errant wives, to burn them with fire brands, to cut their arms and legs with machetes or to shoot them in a non-vital part of the body with a barbed arrow. Men constantly intimidate their wives and respond cruelly to the slightest provocations, such as the wife's failure to act quickly on a husband's demand for food. Men who are brutal to their wives are feared and respected by other men, for the implication of this behavior is that the man will behave equally fiercely if insulted by another man.

Men often prefer to have a wife from another village, upon whom it is easier--and safer--to vent ferocity and

escalate, the factions involved usually use the interlude between a club-fight and actual killings to establish separate gardens.

Occasionally, however, a village suddenly becomes embroiled in a war that it has not expected, or fighting within the village immediately involves shooting to kill. Then the only recourse for the group is to take refuge with an ally and subsist on the produce of the ally's garden. If the critical situation develops out of an intra-village dispute, the smaller of the contesting factions is forced to flee to another village where it has friends or relatives.

If all the members of a village are forced to take refuge in another village, they proceed to make their own garden apart from that of their hosts; then, when the garden begins to produce, the refugee group moves to that site to live. They do this because the price of protection is always measurable in terms of the hosts' demanding access to the women of the guests, either as spouses for their own men or simply as temporary sexual partners.

Twice during the lifetime of my oldest Bisaasi-tedi informants their group was obliged to flee to an allied village to escape the raids of powerful neighbors, raids that resulted from the development of intensive hostilities before the group could establish a new garden of its own elsewhere. On both occasions the refugees lost a number of women to their protectors, and in neither case did they receive wives in return. Indeed, on the second occasion, the hosts planned

*628 726 • 574 to kill all the male guests and to abduct the women, but the hosts themselves unexpectedly became involved in a war and required the aid of their guests.

*628 24 726 361 Yąnomamö dependency on cultivated foods, then, promotes political alliances with other villages; the warfare pattern is such that the members of a village may have to flee from their site to avoid the raids of their enemies. If they have not had time to establish a new garden, they need the support of an ally until they are able to support themselves.

.-.-.-.-.-.

121 583 582 The variables that affect Yąnomamö marriage practices are numerous and diverse and combine with each other in complex ways. I shall show in the chapters that follow how these variables actually affect Yąnomamö marriage practices. At this juncture the point to be made is that Yąnomamö social practice in real life can not be completely isomorphic with the stated marriage preferences because the milieu within which marriages take place simply precludes such a neat fit. A functional, rather than a structural analysis seems to be demanded by the nature of the variables in question. I shall also show the degree to which we can predict actual marriage behavior, given specific information about the variables.

[926] [882] Finally, I should add that the Yąnomamö constitute a significant case for ethnological inquiry: this society offers

Karawatari's village.

The raiders attacked the foreigners at dawn but were driven off by gunfire; a number of the Indians were killed, among them a man called Hokohenawë, and some of the foreigners were allegedly hit with arrows. The Indians managed to capture a young girl, taking her back to Karawatari's village on the Shukumöna-u. Shortly after arriving at Karawatari's village, the abductors were in turn raided by another Shamatari village, then on the Upper Mavaca River under the leadership of Matakuwë, one of the two "original" Shamatari men. Karawatari's group had split from Matakuwë's group and was on hostile terms with it. The girl was taken by Matakuwë's men on this raid and brought to the Mavaca River. Matakuwë's village was on a branch of the Mavaca River called Kedebaböwei-u when Nabëyoma was abducted from Karawatari's group. Zerries (1964:14) gives 1934 as the date of the abduction of Nabëyoma, whereas Seitz (1963:21) places it a little earlier.

In Matakuwë's village, Nabëyoma was given to Yoyonahi's son; he shot her with a barbed arrow for disobeying him and the girl fled into the woods to nurse her wound. At this time Matakuwë's group was on friendly terms with the residents of Patanowë-tëka (who are now living in three distinct villages and constitute the groups from whom most of my data were taken). On one of their visits, the residents of Patanowë-tëka found Nabëyoma in the woods outside Matakuwë's village and took her home with them when they left after visiting.

222 in particular seasons; the most important are manaca, seje, moriche and yagua. The hearts as well as the fruits are eaten, and the Indians usually return to trees they have felled to collect the large, fat, white grubs that mature in the decayed pith. In general, a great deal of energy goes into the collection of these palm fruits in proportion to the caloric return and, even during the peak of the wild fruit harvest, the Yąnomamö still depend heavily on their cultivated foods.

224 Two kinds of hunting techniques provide the Yąnomamö with most of their meat; the occasional kills made by their dogs provide the rest. The first, called rama, is the desultory individual hunting that goes on around the villages. These hunts rarely last more than one day. The second kind of hunting, called heniyomou, involves as many as a dozen hunters who set up a temporary camp a day's walk or more away from the village and use it as the base of operations. This kind of hunting may last five days or more and occurs immediately before a feast, as the etiquette of feasting requires that guests be given fresh meat to eat on their way home after the feast.

Game animals most commonly taken include several species of monkeys, two species of wild pig, tapir, armadillo, agouti, anteaters, wild turkeys, and a small alligator-like reptile (babilla, Spanish). Other game animals taken with less enthusiasm and less frequency include deer, turtles, parrots, snakes, capibara, guinea-hens and a large rodent (lapa, Spanish).

000(lapa, Spanish).

222 The collection of small fruits, spiders, ant grubs, wild honey, crabs, mushrooms and fish also contributes variety to the Yąnomamö diet.

24] 262 [46] (177) Cultivated foods contribute the greater proportion of calories to the Yąnomamö diet, probably upwards of 85%, although this figure would vary seasonally. Again, those Yąnomamö villages living close to Makiritare settlements cultivate much more yucca (manioc) than platanos, refining it in some cases to meal as do the Makiritares. Elsewhere [852] the Yąnomamö eat their yucca roasted or boiled or make cassave bread by a technique quite distinct from that employed by the Makiritare.

722 [422] Yąnomamö material culture is very much attenuated by comparison with, for example, Makiritare. The Yąnomamö like to limit their possessions to an amount that is readily transported by the women, because the entire village may be obliged at any given moment to abandon its site to avoid raiders, or may be invited to a feast at another village. [422] [574] They do not like to leave possessions in their village when they leave it, as visitors from other villages would take them. And, their warfare pattern precludes the possibility of leaving a few people behind to guard the village, as they [361] would be easily overwhelmed by a raiding party. When just a portion of the village leaves to visit another group, those that stay behind move into the jungle some distance from the village and live in well-concealed huts until their co-

722 361 villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the women and children are concealed in these temporary sites 22 361 until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and 574 feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the 722 men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yąnomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yąnomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

422 484 All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow, [411] arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire [415] drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the [372] agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine [237] hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner [352] on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to [123] accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having 484 to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the entire group has already decided to undertake. His major [101] function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently [529] [574] [439] initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often supervises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in [529] [241] initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food given away during the feast. During club-fights within the [578] [621] [629] village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

622 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion 92 to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek 554 to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1987 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of the sex ratio, and the distribution of the women among them.

In Chapter 5 I will show how the two Shamatari villages, Reyabobŏwei-tedi and Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, participated in a treacherous feast during which they killed a number of their kinsmen from Mŏwărаoba-tedi. This feast committed the two Shamatari villages to an alliance with the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi in which the latter two villages were, in a political-military sense, less dependent on the support of the Shamatari than the Shamatari were on them. The Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi and the Reyabobŏwei-tedi represented the front of the Shamatari expansion into the unoccupied Mavaca River area. The territory they abandoned as they expanded to the west was subsequently occupied by other Shamatari villages, the members of which were historically related to them.[1] By participating in the treacherous feast and becoming enemies to their congeners, the two Shamatari villages subordinated themselves to the interests of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Since they formed a buffer between the villages of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi on the one hand, and the Shamatari village of Mŏwărаoba-tedi on the other, they bore the brunt of the raids mounted by the latter in revenge for the treachery. In short, they had only two dependable allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an im-

[1] See Chapter 5, "The History of Paruritawă-tedi."

595 in the family. The transfer of the woman from the older to
513 the younger brother was, in some of the cases, quite gradual. Thus, Kaobawä gave Hantoami to his younger brother, Shadadama, because his other two wives complained about not having enough game to eat. Kaobawä continued to have sexual relationships with Hantoami after she had become Shadadama's wife, and sired two of her children.

*629 Another form of permitted affair is called nohimou--
722 "to befriend" or "act like a friend" to a woman. This type
836 of relationship might occur, for example, when the members
837 of a village have to take refuge with an ally. The allies invariably enter into nohimou relationships with the women of the refugees. The refugees are reluctant to give their women as wives to the men of the host village, but they are obliged to permit them to have sexual access to the women. These kinds of affairs also develop within a village between a man and the wife of a friend, or, with single girls. Again,
*629 when men go on visits to other villages and bring trade goods,
504 they frequently are permitted to have affairs with the hosts'
438 women, particularly if the men have brought goods that are
837 highly prized by the hosts.
836

835 Incestuous affairs between classificatory siblings are quite common.[1] One of my female informants used husband

[1]Incest, to the (male ego) Yanomamö, is any sexual relationship with a member of one's lineage or with mother, mother's sister, mother's mother, and mother's sister's daughter. Failure to avoid a woman of the mother-in-law category is also incestuous in the eyes of the Yanomamö, but only if the woman is sexually active. Menopausal women of

avoid the raids from the PatanowÃ-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with KonoreiwÃ's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by KonoreiwÃ. The entire village participated in the club fight. KonoreiwÃ punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the PatanowÃ-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the PatanowÃ-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the PatanowÃ-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

the Namowei-tedi and the Boreta-tedi (Chapter V) developed out of a case such as this.

When women are given to men in allied villages, the local descent group of the girl (her father and adult brothers and, to a lesser extent, the girl's more distant agnates) decides which patrilineage of the foreign village should have her. Smaller villages are more prone to enter into alliances based on marriage exchanges than are larger villages, since smaller villages require allies to a greater extent than larger ones.[1] Local descent groups in small villages are more cohesive than descent groups in larger villages because they usually comprise a man and his adult sons; if there are distantly related agnates in small villages, these are incorporated into the local descent group. In small villages, therefore, local descent groups are more corporate because all the adult agnates of the girl have a say in her marriage. Ideally, they give the girl to a member of the politically strongest descent group of the allied village, for this group is the one from which aid will come or, conversely, the one most likely to make the decision to initiate hostilities against the smaller village.

The longer an alliance endures, the more likely it is that the exchange of women balances. The two largest

---

[1] Larger Yanomamö villages can make visiting alliances with other groups that do not lead to marriage exchanges, as it is relatively unimportant to them to stabilize such alliances by ceding women to militarily inferior groups.

609 groups of Yąnomamö have begun referring to the entire tribe
601 as "Los Shori." The Yąnomamö address the missionaries with
799 this term hoping to maximize their chances of obtaining
[609] desirable manufactured goods such as machetes and axes.
[601]

607 Men who are not related by blood constantly remind
521 each other of obligations when they use this kinship term.
601 A brother-in-law deserves respect, fair treatment, and gratitude. As the term is reciprocal, a conversation between two shoriwë is punctuated frequently by these constant reminders that each owes the other goods, services and respect by virtue of the fact that they stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other. Such conversations, usually about material goods or women, strike the outsider as something of verbal contests to determine which of the two speakers is more of a shoriwë than the other, i.e., who owes the other more goods, services, gratitude and generosity. One who has actually given a sister to the other's group has an advantage, in a trading sense, as he can more legitimately claim goods from the wife receiver.

*628 When men visit the village of an ally to beg, trade or
• 574 participate in feasts, they call all non-related men of that
609 village 'brother-in-law,' emphasizing the fact that they
601 stand in wife-giver relationship to them, and deserve, therefore, the generosity of the hosts.
583

*628 Alliances between villages involve, in addition to
527 military aid, mutual feasting and trading. It must be
574 remembered that alliances, no matter how many marriage ex-
583
581

changes bind the villages to each other, are weak and unstable. The more frequently allies visit and feast with each other, the less likely treachery will take place, as a certain amount of trust and friendship is generated by visiting and feasting.

The tendency for Yąnomamɜ villages to create artificial shortages of certain manufactured items is related to feasting and the creation of organic solidarity of a sort. After Yąnomamɜ villages enter into alliances, they tend to adjust their economic production of such items as bows, arrow cane, spun cotton, tobacco, baskets, cultivated drugs, dogs and clay cooking pots. Any village is capable of producing all of these goods, but allied villages create shortages of some of these items so that they can become dependent on the productivity of their allies, thereby having excuses to visit and trade.

One of the most significant relationship in trading between villages is the shoriwɨ tie, and these men trade with each other whenever they visit. As a trade frequently involves feasting, the specialization in production of specific items leads to greater solidarity between allied villages. Although it would be an error simply to identify the role of shoriwɨ with that of trading partner, this aspect of the shoriwɨ tie, particularly between men of different villages, is by no means negligible in accounting for the solidarity this relationship promotes in inter-village political ties.

The way the trading is conducted also contributes to

inter-village visiting and solidarity, for one trade is usually the prelude to another. For example, the Bisaasi-tedi obtain much of their spun cotton and curare arrow points from their Shamatari allies. It takes considerable time and labor to accumulate these items. When the Shamatari are visited by the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter make known their desire to have these items, and their hosts promise to produce them. When the items are accumulated, the Shamatari visit the Bisaasi-tedi to inform them their cotton and arrow points are ready. A feast is arranged and the items are given over to the Bisaasi-tedi after the celebration terminates. The Shamatari then request specific items from their hosts, and the cycle continues. Neither village is completely 'paid up' regarding goods it owes to the other, so that each exchange as Mauss (1954) argued, brings forth another.[1] The imporant point is that Yąnomamö trading is not stimulated by naturally occuring shortages or monopolies on resources; artificial shortages are <u>created</u> and these promote visiting between allies. In Durkheimian terms, the division of labor, irrespective of the causes, promotes organic solidarity between allied villages. And, the kinship category most intimately involved in the trading is the brother-in-law.

000 Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their

---

[1] The parallel between this and bride price payment in Burma is striking. See Leach, 1957. It is worth noting at this point that the Yąnomamö have no word for 'free' or 'gift'; the closest they can come to it is: "something given without cause." But nothing is given without cause, and they shrewdly keep track of all debts.

full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kaobawä's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwä, 18). Whenever Kaobawä organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Wadesiwä, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kaobawä. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawä, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kaobawä's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kaobawä's nephew, Bäkotawä, 18 years old.

Kaobawä's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kaobawä to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

622 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I
602
613 asked Kaobawä what he had done about it. He said he had
561 spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He
123
554 will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ulti-
571 mately had to resort to my own means to recover the flash-
light, as Kaobawä could not force Shiimima to return it.
When I questioned Kaobawä about this ineffectiveness, he
explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order
him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest
siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion
629 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every
613 feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scrap-
602
529 ing up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them
• 594 out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy prepar-
351
554 ing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing.
591 Kaobawä usually goes to the center of the village and begins
561 cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older
agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They
would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if
Kaobawä requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this
regard implies that one is being bossed around.

*621 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative
613 age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group
602
561 and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of
593 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the
602
613 group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the
solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult

000 never took place.

*621 *623 156 152 One of the functions served by the levels of violence in Yąnomamö fighting is that the Yąnomamö are able to exhibit their ferocity in relatively benign forms and thereby live up to their claims of fierceness. But, since any form of violence can escalate to a more serious form of fighting, the system of violence itself constitutes a strain on the solidarity of relationships between and within villages.

*628 527 574 578 152 156 One peculair feature of this syndrome of fierceness is that smaller villages tend to be the most aggressive in their dealings with outsiders and with allies. The reason seems to be that smaller villages are more compelled to display their tenacity, as they are more obviously the weaker members in alliances. The expression of violence by members of allied villages, ironically enough, takes place during feasts. Thus, grievances that may have developed between members of allied villages since they last feasted together are satisfied during the course of the next feast. Thus, during the situations most likely to promote solidarity, allies frequently display their capacity to fight, informing their allies that they are sovereign, friendly, but fierce. The form of violence associated with feasting is usually chest pounding, but if someone is injured, the duel may escalate to side-slapping with the flat side of a machete. It smacks of the ridiculous to witness groups of men beating each other violently in such duels, and shortly thereafter embrace each other around the neck and chant, each man

promising the other to be a faithful friend, to give goods, and to provide the other with women.

Thus, canons of political behavior and the high value placed on ferocity have the effect of creating a considerable amount of tension both within and between villages. In short, Yanomamö philosophy regarding ferocity and the associated behavior reduces internal village solidarity and weakens political alliances between villages. Indirectly, it promotes village splitting and warfare.

that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.

There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not representative of the typical Yąnomamö village: the sex ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as there are males in the village, and the group is politically stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mąmariböwei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of Bisaasi-tedi.

The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawä, has astutely manipulated

---

logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawä-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

*621 members of his own village, Hasabŏwë-tedi, who killed his
613 father. Reromawë's group was then actively raiding Hasabŏwë-
602 tedi. The man was given a wife in Reromawë's village, the
562 widow of a Tom man killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast.
582 The man's two daughters are married to Sha men.[1] The last
583 man and his family joined Reromawë's group in 1965 to take refuge from his own villagers, the Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, some of whom wanted to take his wives away from him for being brutal. He had previously given a daughter to a Tom man and when he was forced to flee from his own village, took refuge with his son-in-law. Appendix A gives more details on each individual discussed above.

*628 Lower Bisaasi-tedi has political ties with a number
582 of villages. It has recently (since 1960) entered into al-
583 liance with two Shamatari villages, Moyabŏbŏwei-tedi and Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, and has managed to obtain a number of women from the latter village as wives for young bachelors
*628 in the group. The Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi visit them frequently to
527 feast and trade, and the members of Lower Bisaasi-tedi
• 574 reciprocate the visits. The ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi
438 and the Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi are nearly as strong as the ties
602 between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and any of its cognate villages to whose members the Lower Bisaasi-tedi are agnatically re-
*628 lated. Of the villages that are cognate to Lower Bisaasi-tedi,
602 Monou-tedi is perhaps the most dependable ally, because the

---

[1] Reromawë's actual son, and Reromawë's classificatory son in Upper Bisaasi-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Nusirawë's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowë and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowë-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-kikë--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakë), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hahoyaoba-tëka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hahoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasabëwë-tedi and Ashadowë-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

and returned to Patanowë-tëka. A segment of the group that returned to Patanowë-tëka immediately began making a new garden (Shjhota) about a day's walk to the west of Patanowë-tëka, anticipating that further hostilities with the Wanidima group would develop. Within a year of the club fight the Wanidima group attacked the group at Patanowë-tëka while the latter were having a feast, but the raiders' arrows missed their marks and no one was injured. The group at Patanowë-tëka abandoned their village and rejoined their agnates at the latter's new garden, Shjhota-tëka, whence they began raiding the Wanidima-tedi. On one raid the group from Shjhota found Wanidima-tedi deserted and followed the trail the villagers had taken. The Wanidima-tedi were found at Hasaböwë-tedi, feasting. The raiders killed one of the Wanidima-tedi men, but in doing so angered both the Hasaböwë-tedi and their cognate group, the Ashadowë-tedi.

With the aid of the last two villages, the Wanidima-tedi raided the Shjhota-tedi and killed a younger brother of Makuwë. The Shjhota-tedi reciprocated by raiding the Wanidima-tedi, killing Husiwë (Nabëyoma's husband), Hoari, and Siayeikema. This in turn was followed by raids from the Wanidima-tedi in which the Shjhota-tedi lost Ushuenawë and the two younger brothers of Paruriwë, and had one of their women, Buhiomi, seized.

Eventually the superior numbers of the Wanidima-tedi and their allies decided the fighting, and the Shjhota-tedi were forced to abandon their garden and make a new one elsewhere.

[Mamowei-tedi Group]

Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's village and entered into feasting relationships with his followers.

Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's village. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother, Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tĕka.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

[Namowei-tedi Group]

000 174 175 628 523 574 582 726 [621]

mouth of the Mavaca River. The Paruritawä-tedi had split from Sibarariwä's village about 1945, and had not been involved in the treacherous feast of 1950 in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost so many men. The Paruritawä-tedi were still on good terms with Sibarariwä's followers, and the members of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi persuaded them to invite Sibarariwä and his group to a feast. Using their agnatic ties and existing friendship, the Paruritawä-tedi succeeded in getting the followers of Sibarariwä to accept the invitation, but a malaria epidemic prevented all but a handful of people from actually attending the feast: five men and four women. With the assistance of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the Paruritawä-tedi killed three of the guests and seized all four of the women.

628 583

By participating in this treachery, the Paruritawä-tedi subordinated themselves to the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. At the present time the Paruritawä-tedi live in two villages, and are intimately involved in a bride-exchange network with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter two villages receiving more women (and men doing bride service) than they give. The Paruritawä-tedi have no other allies, as they are the front of the expansion into this region and the only villages to their east are allies of Sibarariwä. Despite the fact that they would like to make friendly contact with Sibarariwä's group again, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, as we shall see, prevent them from doing so by chicane and threat. Thus, Monou-tedi and the

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

others. Matakuwë's group was being raided by Kayabawë's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-kähö. These raids forced Matakuwë and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-kähö and settle at Shirakoböwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakoböwei

Matakuwë's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawë's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewë and Orakawë. During the fighting a young man from Karehewë's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewi moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewë's followers raided the group at Shirakoböwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewë to move further north. Karehewë's son, Riakowë, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowë's son, Börösöwë. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Börösöwë's group. They feared Börösöwë would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyahowë, split off from

000 rarily abandoning Konabuma. [Paruritawä-tedi Group]

174 Matakuwë's group had three factions. Oroshowë, a
195 man belonging to Matakuwë's faction, took a woman away from
*621 her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an
578 internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and
361 Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village of his own on the Shukumöna-u River. This split took place
174 about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwë's vil-
175
*621 lage to avenge the death of Biawawë, the man killed in the
882 feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was un-
174 able to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's
195
*621 group to found their own villages: Warabawë-tedi, led by
361 Kewariwë, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwë. These last two
[622] villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time,
[749] as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Missionaries on the Cauabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group
361
• [574] lived on the Shukumöna-u River, as men from Reyaboböwei-tedi
*[628] danced there that year. When the Reyaboböwei-tedi left
[721] Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174 In about 1935 Matakuwë and his group moved to Kayurewë
361 to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.
722

---

*[628] [1]Warabawë-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabëyoma.

and move to Kakamoba. This site was occupied for just a few years, and by 1950 Sibarariwɨ's group was living at Amąrokobŏ-wei: the 1950 treacherous feast for the Kreibŏwei-tedi was conducted while Sibarariwɨ's group was here. After 1950 Sibarariwɨ's group fled south to avoid the raids of the survivors of that treacherous feast, establishing the garden of Dądamobŏwei. This garden was abandoned because of raids mounted by the Paruritawɨ-tedi, and Sibarariwɨ returned to Amąrokobŏwei about 1955. The Paruritawɨ-tedi eventually became friendly to Sibarariwɨ's group and were able to lure some of them, at the instigation of the Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, to a treacherous feast in 1960, during which three men were murdered and four women captured. In 1964 Sibarariwɨ's group moved to the headwaters of the Mavaca River, being known as the Mŏwɨraoba-tedi. Monou-tedi and Mąmaribŏwei-tedi sent a raiding party against them at this location about the time I started my field work, and killed one man.

Area 6: Paruritawɨ-tedi

The Paruritawɨ-tedi made friendly contact with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi about 1960, and have entered into alliance with these groups. The Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi persuaded the Paruritawɨ-tedi to invite members of Sibarariwɨ's group to a feast in 1960 and, with the aid of the Paruritawɨ-tedi, murdered three men and seized four women. Sibarariwɨ's group avenged this by mounting raids

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

against the Paruritawä-tedi, and the latter abandoned their site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Mõmaribõwei and Reyabobõwei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyabobõwei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965 the Reyabobõwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawä-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966

The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowä-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowä-tedi to venture away from the village.

721 The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives
722 they claimed, was that the Patanowã-tedi had to move fre-
361 quently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the Patanowã-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both
*[628] groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the
[392] dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense.
[221] It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages
[241] that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural
726 practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events
602 discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consan-
*628 guineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

*628 The war between Monou-tedi and Patanowã-tedi

726 After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of
*[621] Patanowã in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a
[361] period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

728 In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two
* 574 factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi
*628 began visiting Patanowã-tedi, and one of them, Torokoiwã, was
[58] given two wives by the Patanowã-tedi. The rapprochement, how-
[583] ever, was never effected and the political relationships between

Patanowë-tedi and her two colonies, Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, were generally of a suspicious nature; only a few individuals trusted the members of the other group enough to visit their village.

By 1964 the Patanowë-tedi had become involved in a particularly vicious war with a number of neighboring villages, and were badly in need of military assistance. Their only allies were the Ashadowë-tedi, a large group living two days' walk south of them. Consequently, the Patanowë-tedi informed the Bisaasi-tedi that they were willing to make peace with them. The Bisaasi-tedi extended a feast invitation to the Patanowë-tedi to demonstrate their interest in making peace and, in late November 1964 the entire village of Patanowë-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in the feast. This marked the first time since 1940 that the two groups as groups visited each other.

The Monou-tedi were not involved in the feast, but a number of men from that village came to Bisaasi-tedi intending to abduct Patanowë-tedi women. They succeeded in capturing seven women the day that the Patanowë-tedi arrived, and took them back to Monou-tedi without being discovered. The Patanowë-tedi men, enraged at the loss of seven women, sent a party of men to Monou-tedi the following morning to recover the women. The Patanowë-tedi men entered Monou-tedi and forcibly took five of the seven women away from their captors. The Patanowë-tedi retreated before actual shooting broke out and returned to Bisaasi-tedi. The Monou-tedi were furious

over the loss of the five women, and Yąnomamö canons of ferocity dictated that this loss would have to be avenged. The Monou-tedi informed the Patanowë-tedi that they were going to shoot them on sight the next time they met.

After the Patanowë-tedi returned to Bisaasi-tedi they packed their possessions and left for home. The feast was cancelled, as the Patanowë-tedi feared being ambushed by a Monou-tedi raiding party if they remained at Bisaasi-tedi. Before departing, the Patanowë-tedi assured their hosts that they still wanted peace with them, no matter what the Monou-tedi eventually did.

This illustrates dramatically the Yąnomamö political philosophy that it is legitimate to take advantage of a weak village. The Monou-tedi, knowing that the Patanowë-tedi were politically in need of allies, took advantage of this situation when they abducted the women. They also knew that the Bisaasi-tedi would not take Patanowë-tedi's side in the dispute that was bound to follow, as too many of the Bisaasi-tedi had personal grudges against the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi also knew that the Patanowë-tedi were not likely to begin a war over this incident, as they already had more enemies than they could successfully withstand without allies. In short, the Monou-tedi knew that they stood a good chance of gaining women by abducting them from the Patanowë-tedi without great risk of being shot by the latter. As the conclusion shows, they managed to obtain two women and did not get into a shooting war with the Patanowë-tedi. However, their anger at

726 *621 622 602 There were, however, two recognizable factions within this group; one was led by Kaobäwä, who had many relatives in both Patanowä-tedi and Monou-tedi, and the other was led by Paruriwä, who had no consanguineal relatives in Patanowä-tedi, but many in Monou-tedi. Paruriwä's group was linked to Kaobäwä's by a number of marriage ties.

*621 622 Kaobäwä was the acknowledged leader of the entire upper section of Bisaasi-tedi, including Paruriwä's group, although Paruriwä had some influence in the affairs of the village. After the middle of the year, Paruriwä began to emerge as leader in his own right, and began duplicating many of the activities normally the prerogative of the village headman. Thus, when Kaobäwä initiated a feast for members [527] [574] of an allied village, Paruriwä duplicated his efforts by sending out his own hunters to provide meat for the guests, and furnished an equal amount of cultivated food, which he disposed of from his own section of the village. Normally, the headman sends out the hunters and disposes of the cultivated food from his own house. Paruriwä, by duplicating Kaobäwä's efforts in these activities, announced that he was a headman.

726 622 *628 [728] The emergence of Paruriwä as an important leader was largely the result of his active prosecution of the war against the Patanowä-tedi. Kaobäwä, after he led one revenge raid against the Patanowä-tedi, decided that he wanted to remain neutral in the fighting and wanted to make peace with the Patanowä-tedi. This led to a political vacuum within

726 628 622 [564] Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid from them. Paruriwë seized upon this as his opportunity to advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated several raids against the Patanowë-tedi without the support of Kpobëwë. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi. [608] As Paruriwë was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman (consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

156 622 [123] [393] Paruriwë's behavior in other respects changed after the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again, he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwë was entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field, #621 622 361 529 574 Paruriwë and his group separated from Kpobëwë's and moved across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up until the time he moved, visitors from other villages consistently sought out Kpobëwë as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how much effort Paruriwë spent in emphasizing his own role in the feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

one real headman, KąobËwË. Thus, ParuriwË had to separate from KąobËwË's group to achieve a status equal to that of KąobËwË.

In July 1965 KąobËwË sent his brother-in-law, KumamawË, to Patanowë-tedi to inform them that his group did not intend to raid the Patanowë-tedi in the future. When KumamawË returned to Bisaasi-tedi, he brought two older people with him, demonstrating that the Patanowë-tedi trusted KąobËwË and were anxious to promote good relations with his group. The older couple brought the message that three young men from Patanowë-tedi were coming on a visit soon. Three days later the young men, NąrokoiwË, NasiwË, and KoiyeiwË, arrived. ParuriwË's group was visiting the Widokaiya-tedi, and when word reached him that a delegation of Patanowë-tedi had arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to visit KąobËwË, he and a group of men from Monou-tedi immediately returned to Bisaasi-tedi, intending to murder the three visitors. KąobËwË, however, warned ParuriwË and the Monou-tedi that should they attempt to harm the visitors, he and his followers would defend them with force. A crisis developed out of this situation, and for a whole day ParuriwË and his Monou-tedi supporters debated the wisdom of their plan. Finally, ParuriwË decided to desist from the murders and even participated in a news chant with one of the Patanowë-tedi--the father of his youngest wife. This emphasized KąobËwË's influence as a leader, and ParuriwË decided to move away from KąobËwË's group after this incident. The Monou-tedi who were to participate in the murder of the three

visitors were enraged because Paruriwä failed to execute the plan, and they returned to Monou-tedi to recruit a raiding party, hoping to intercept the visitors on their way back to Patanowä-tedi.[1] Paruriwä placated the Monou-tedi by organizing a series of raids against the Patanowä-tedi, and by inviting the Monou-tedi to stay in his section of the village when they fled from their other two sites. Prior to this, the Monou-tedi had been staying with the members of the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi. By early November, the Monou-tedi had begun raiding the Patanowä-tedi with great frequency, supported by members of Paruriwä's group. Paruriwä himself sent three raiding parties against the Patanowä-tedi between November and February, all of which included men from Monou-tedi. Kaobäwä did not participate in or encourage these raids, but some of his followers took part in them.

This split was not the outcome of an internal feud. Rather, it developed out of the different political interests of two leaders, one of whom was ambitiously striving to improve his status as a headman. The other refused to prosecute the war against the Patanowä-tedi, as he had a large number of kinsmen there. The existence of these ties, however, did not preclude the war, as the Bisaasi-tedi are in fact raiding the Patanowä-tedi. The kin ties at best mitigate the intensity of the raiding. The situation is a problem for the Patanowä-tedi, as they do not want to kill the few Bisaasi-tedi friends

[1] Their plan failed, as I took the Patanowä-tedi back to their village part way in my boat, and we went the remainder of the way on a trail the Monou-tedi could not reach.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

[P. XVii]

142
291
301
411
137
574

Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) shouting to Hekura (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).

142
302
291
411
516
755
342
415

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

for my complicated storage process. I was able to last most of the day on *café con leche*, heavily sugared espresso coffee diluted about five to one with hot milk. I would prepare this in the evening and store it in a thermos. Frequently, my single meal was no more complicated than a can of sardines and a package of crackers. But at least two or three times a week I would do something sophisticated, like make oatmeal or boil rice and add a can of tuna fish or tomato paste to it. I even saved time by devising a water system that obviated the trips to the river. I had a few sheets of zinc roofing brought in and made a rain-water trap; I caught the water on the zinc surface, funneled it into an empty gasoline drum, and then ran a plastic hose from the drum to my hut. When the drum was exhausted in the dry season, I hired the Indians to fill it with water from the river.

I ate much less when I traveled with the Indians to visit other villages. Most of the time my travel diet consisted of roasted or boiled green plantains (see Glossary) that I obtained from the Indians, but I always carried a few cans of sardines with me in case I got lost or stayed away longer than I had planned. I found peanut butter and crackers a very nourishing food, and a simple one to prepare on trips. It was nutritious and portable, and only one tool was required to prepare the meal; a hunting knife that could be cleaned by wiping the blade on a leaf. More importantly, it was one of the few foods the Indians would let me eat in relative peace. It looked too much like animal feces to them to excite their appetites.

I once referred to the peanut butter as the dung of cattle. They found this quite repugnant. They did not know what "cattle" were, but were generally aware that I ate several canned products of such an animal. I perpetrated this myth, if for no other reason than to have some peace of mind while I ate. Fieldworkers develop strange defense mechanisms, and this was one of my own forms of adaptation. On another occasion I was eating a can of frankfurters and growing very weary of the demands of one of my guests for a share in my meal. When he asked me what I was eating, I replied: "Beef." He then asked. "What part of the animal are you eating?" to which I replied, "Guess!" He stopped asking for a share.

Meals were a problem in another way. Food sharing is important to the Yąnomamö in the context of displaying friendship. "I am hungry," is almost a form of greeting with them. I could not possibly have brought enough food with me to feed the entire village, yet they seemed not to understand this. All they could see was that I did not share my food with them at each and every meal. Nor could I enter into their system of reciprocities with respect to food; every time one of them gave me something "freely," he would dog me for months to pay him back, not with food, but with steel tools. Thus, if I accepted a plantain from someone in a different village while I was on a visit, he would most likely visit me in the future and demand a machete as payment for the time that he "fed" me. I usually reacted to these kinds of demands by giving a banana, the customary reciprocity in their culture—food for food—but this would be a disappointment for the individual who had visions of that single plantain growing into a machete over time.

Despite the fact that most of them knew I would not share my food with them at their request, some of them always showed up at my hut during mealtime. I gradually became accustomed to this and learned to ignore their persistent demands while I ate. Some of them would get angry because I failed to give in, but most of them accepted

276 [412] powder as it dries, the flat side of a stone axe[8] serving as the grinding pestle. The dried, green powder, no more than several tablespoons full, is then swept onto a leaf with a stiff feather. The men then gather around the leaf containing the drug, usually in the late afternoon, and take it by blowing the powder into each other's nostrils (see Fig. 2-3). A small quantity of the powder is introduced into the end of a hollow cane tube some 3 feet long. The tube is then flicked with the forefinger to scatter the powder along its length. One end of the tube is put into the nostril of the man taking the drug, and his helper then blows a strong blast of air through the other end, emitting his breath in such a fashion that he climaxes the delivery with a hard burst of air. Both the recipient and the blower squat on their haunches to do this. The man who had the drug blown into his nostrils grimaces, groans, chokes, coughs, holds his head from the pain of the air blast, and duck-waddles off to some leaning post. He usually receives two doses of the drug, one in each nostril. The recipient usually vomits, gets watery eyes, and develops a runny nose. Much of the drug comes back out in the nasal mucus that begins to run freely after the drug has been administered. Within minutes after the drug has been blown into a man's nose, he begins having difficulties focusing his eyes and starts to act intoxicated. The drug allegedly produces colored visions, especially around the periphery [187] of the visual field, and permits the user to enter into contact with his particular *hekura*, miniature demons that dwell under rocks and on mountains. The man begins to chant to the *hekura* when the drug takes effect, inviting them to come and live in his chest.

245 276 The Yąnomamö also cultivate a tree, *hisiima*, that produces hallucinogenic seeds. These are prepared in exactly the same manner as the noncultivated drug.

322 396 TROUGHS AND CANOES The Yąnomamö use the bark of another kind of tree to make a trough and a crude canoe, both of which are nearly identical in shape, size, and method of construction. The tree is beaten with clubs to loosen the bark. The bark is then removed in one piece and hauled back to the village. The ends are heated in a fire to make them pliable and folded back to make the ends of the container. They are held firm by lashing two sticks together, pinching the folded bark into a flat-nosed basin. The interior bark surface becomes the exterior surface of the soup container. If the container is to be used as a canoe, a crude framework of sticks is added to the inside, giving 501 it more stability. The craft is so crude and heavy that the Yąnomamö generally do not use it for any purpose other than the trip for which it was intended, usually a downstream trip, since it would be almost impossible to move against a current in this rough craft. It is easier to walk than to try to pole the canoe upstream. The canoe, hence, is usually discarded after it makes its maiden voyage. Another will be made when it is needed.

415 The container is pinioned to the ground with stakes if it is to be used as a soup 574 trough. Each time a feast is held, one or more of these bark containers is made in front 264 of the headman's house, filled with the boiled ripe plantain soup, and frequented by the hungry guests, who dip out the soup with gourd spoons. The trough is thrown on the village rubbage heap after the feast is over.

---

[172] [8] They find the stone axes when they make new gardens, explaining that the spirits left them behind for the Yąnomamö to use. This area was occupied in the distant past by tribes whose relationship to the present Yąnomamö is uncertain.

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the pervious garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yąnomamö category *suaböya* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III–1) would have called the woman *suaböya* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *kąsroya*.

The marriage of III–1 to III–2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II–1 and II–4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I–2 was an *adopted* brother to I–3, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin*. Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kąobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kąobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Ariwari, Kąobawä's son. Ariwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3–3). Ariwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kąobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.)

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yąnomamö do nöt distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A.

Case B also illustrates *several polygyny:* III–1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters.

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II–3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent.

TABLE 3-3
SEX-RATIO DATA ON SELECTED VILLAGES

	Males	Females	Totals
Upper Bisaasi-teri	37	48	85
Lower Bisaasi-teri	25	26	51
Monou-teri	34	32	66
Reyabobōwei-teri	52	46	98
Mōmaribōwei-teri	50	46	96
Patanowā-teri	122	90	212
Aikam-teri and Roko-teri	129	103	232
	449	391	840

Table 3-3 gives sex-ratio data on seven groups of Yąnomamō. The first three villages are not truly representative of the population in general, but are included because they have been frequently discussed in the text.

They are not representative because some 15 men from these villages were killed in a single treacherous feast in 1950, a significant fraction of the adult male population. These feasts are not very frequent. The three groups are allied to each other and have been extremely successful at coercing two neighboring Shamatari villages out of women; a surprisingly high proportion of their women come from these allies. As we shall see, they have been successful because of the geographical and historical relationships that characterize the alliance network in this area.

DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS As is apparent, there are more males in the Yąnomamō population than females. This demographic fact results from the practice of selectively killing female babies: *female infanticide*. The Yąnomamō also practice male infanticide, but because of the preference to have a male as their first child, they unknowingly kill more females than males. The Yąnomamō have only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. They are, accordingly, poor statisticians. They are quite unaware of the fact that they do kill more female babies, and every time I questioned them about it, they insisted that they killed both kinds—"more-than-two" of both kinds.

A child is killed at birth, irrespective of its sex, if the mother already has a nursing baby. They rationalize the practice by asserting that the new infant would probably die anyway, since its older sibling would drink most of the milk. They are most reluctant to jeopardize the health and safety of a nursing child by weaning it before it is three years old or so, preferring to kill the competitor instead. Kąobawā's wife, Bahimi, killed a newborn male shortly after I began my fieldwork. She later told me, quite tearfully, that it would have taken milk away from Ariwari, Kąobawā's favorite child. Ariwari at the time was over two years old, but Bahimi refused to wean him. Sometimes a child is killed simply because the mother doesn't feel that she can care for it properly and that it would be an inconvenience to have to tend a baby. I once saw a plump, well-fed, young mother eating a large quantity of food that would have been suitable to give to an older infant. Her emaciated, filthy, and nearly starved child—about two years old—kept reaching out for the food. The mother explained that the baby had gotten a bad case of diarrhea some time ago and had stopped eating. As a consequence, her milk dried up. She refused to attempt to feed it other foods because "it did not know how to eat other foods." When

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawä, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yanomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kaobawä's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kaobawä's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2-8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowä-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowä-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowä-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwabiwä, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowä-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowä-teri fissioned into two groups: they relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December–January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yąnomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's group.

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowī's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawī's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawī and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąobawī's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąobawī's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawī's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawī's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąobawī's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawā-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawī and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawā-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawā-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawī's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawā-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawā-teri. Kąobawī and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawā-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawā-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawā-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16] James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawī and his group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Kąobawä's group. All their other neighbors, allied to the victims of the treacherous feast, relentlessly raided them. They were, in short, extremely dependent on Kąobawä's group and the two other villages related to Kąobawä's group.

Kąobawä and his followers have astutely finessed this situation in two ways. First, they have managed to coerce the two Shamatari villages into ceding women without reciprocating an equal number of their own in return. The men who have obtained Shamatari wives have, as well, managed to cut short their period of bride service in the Shamatari village. Conversely, Shamatari men who have been promised women of Kąobawä's group are pressed into very lengthy bride service, sometimes up to three years. Secondly, Kąobawä's group has prevented the two Shamatari allies from re-establishing friendly contacts with the other Shamatari to their southeast by chicane, threat, and intimidation. One of the two Shamatari allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri, has attempted a rapprochement with the Shamatari enemies of Kąobawä's group. In 1965, several months after I had been living in Kąobawä's village, Kąobawä's group managed to stage another treacherous feast for the old enemies by taking advantage of the renewed ties between the Reyaboböwei-teri and the enemies. They learned that the Reyaboböwei-teri planned to invite one of the villages to a feast, so they, along with the Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Mõmariböwei-teri, went to the feast in order to ambush the guests. The Reyaboböwei-teri, however, were reluctant to go through with the plan and warned the visitors about it. The visitors were en route to the village when word of the treachery reached them. This had the effect of creating even more difficulties for the Reyaboböwei-teri, for it is highly unlikely that they will succeed in gaining the confidence of their neighbors to the southeast. Nevertheless, some visiting between the groups still continues.[17]

The historical relationships between the villages helps account for the reasons behind contemporary alliance patterns. The discrepancy between marriage rules and actual marriage practice in Lower Bisaasi-teri is a result of the political advantages that group enjoys over one of its allies. It has used this advantage to gain a favorable imbalanced marriage exchange pattern, but one that is only temporary. The Shamatari are also shrewd in their alliance practices, and have succeeded in neutralizing their disadvantages by capitalizing on schisms between Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. This has been done largely by confining their marriage exchanges to important men in the dominant lineages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri. One of the Shamatari villages, Mõmaribowei-teri, has restricted its exchanges to Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri, while completely ignoring Upper Bisaasi-teri. The other Shamatari village has given its women only to Upper Bisaasi-teri. This has resulted in the weakening of ties between the three villages of Upper Bisaasi-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Monou-teri, whose members are

[17] I plan to use these visiting ties to establish contact with the Shamatari villages in that area, none of which have had contact with outsiders. These uncontacted Shamatari, however, know who I am because I attempted to reach them in 1965. They subsequently sent a message out urging me to visit them, angry because my guides forced me to turn back on my first attempt. In 1966 they even sent an old man to Kąobawä's village by way of Reyaboböwei-teri with an invitation for me to visit them. I had already left Venezuela by that time. Most of the men in the two contacted Shamatari villages tried to prevent me from going by telling horrible tales of the treachery that awaited my visit, describing how the Shamatari will kill me. The truth of the matter is that they know that I will bring the uncontacted Shamatari machetes and axes that might otherwise be given to them. The headman of one of the uncontacted villages has a brother in Mõmariböwei-teri. He privately conceded that no harm would befall me and offered to take me to visit in 1967. He was, unfortunately, bitten by a snake just before I arrived in March of 1967, and my plans were deferred until 1968.

602 other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old
571 enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competi-
602 tion with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their per-
571 sonal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older.
578 They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kaobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

602 The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows
609 more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas
571 agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their
581 fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely
582 promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

602 Kaobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction be-
[601] tween agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kaobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were
[613] half-brothers. Nadesiwä is in Kaobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par
[581] with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the
[582] group—Kaobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwä to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the
[591] completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwä will
[609] have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kaobawä and Nadesiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

602 The other man, Kumamawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kaobawä is related to
609 him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first
[591] cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawä is a
[613] frequent visitor in Kaobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kaobawä asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kaobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

361 Kaobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his
342 agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with Kąobawä the possibility of peace between their two villages. They were brothers-in-law to him and were fairly certain that he would protect them from the village hotheads. One of the ambitious men in Kąobawä's group saw in this an opportunity to enhance his prestige and made plans to murder the three visitors. This man, Paruriwä, was a very cunning, treacherous fellow and quite jealous of Kąobawä's position as headman. He wanted to be the village leader and privately told me to address him as the headman. On this occasion Kąobawä let it be known that he intended to protect the visitors. For the better part of the day the village was in a state of suspense. Paruriwä and his followers were not to be found anywhere; a rumor spread that they had painted themselves black and were well armed. Kąobawä and his supporters, mostly his own brothers and brothers-in-law, remained in the village all day, their weapons close at hand. Late in the afternoon Paruriwä and his men appeared in their black paint and took up strategic posts around the village. He himself held an axe. He strutted arrogantly up to the visitors holding his axe as if he were ready to strike. The village became very quiet, and most of the women and children left. Neither Kąobawä nor the Patanowä-teri visitors batted an eyelash when Paruriwä approached, although the others were visibly nervous and sat up in their hammocks. Instead of striking the visitors with the axe as he appeared to suggest he was going to do, he invited one of them out to chant with him. Within seconds all three of the visitors had paired off with members of Paruriwä's group and were chanting passionately with them, explaining the reasons for their visit and giving their justification for the state of hostilites.

The crisis has been averted because of Kąobawä's implied threat that he would defend the visitors with force. A number of men in Paruriwä's group were visitors from Monou-teri; their headman had been killed a few months earlier by the Patanowä-teri. When Paruriwä failed to go through with his plan, they left the village in a rage, hoping to recruit a raiding party in their own village and ambush the visitors when they left.

Kąobawä realized that the visitors would not be safe until they got back home, since the Monou-teri would attempt to intercept them. He visited me that night and asked me to take the visitors back to their village at dawn in my canoe, knowing that I had already planned a trip there for the immediate future. After I agreed to accelerate my own plans, he proceeded to give me instructions about the trip: I was not to stop at any of the villages along the Orinoco River to visit, for all of them were at war with the Patanowä-teri and would shoot my companions on sight. The Patanowä-teri men lay on the floor of my canoe and covered themselves with a tarp when we passed these villages. The people on the bank shouted curses at me for not stopping to visit and give them trade goods. At this time the Patanowä-teri were being raided by about a dozen different villages. We had to cover part of the distance to their village on foot, proceeding very cautiously because of the danger of raiders. At one point the men showed me the spot where a Hasaböwä-teri raiding party had killed a Patanowä-teri woman a week earlier. Thus, Kąobawä not only protected the visitors while they were in his village but he also arranged a "safe-conduct" for their return.

Kąobawä keeps order in the village when people get out of hand. Paruriwä, for example, is particularly cruel to his four wives and beats them mercilessly for even slight provocations. None of his wives have brothers in the village, and few people are courageous enough to interfere with Paruriwä when he is angry. On one occasion Kąobawä was holding a feast for the members of an allied village. His preparations were being

156 622 578 his group was being trounced by their opponents, largely because only a few of the men were doing all the fighting for Kaobawä's group. These men were forced to take several turns in rapid succession, while a large number of men stood by and watched. The fighters wanted to escalate the battle to a duel with axes, hoping to intimidate their opponents into conceding. Kaobawä quickly forced the idle men to participate in the chest pounding, thereby distributing the punishment a little more evenly and reducing the possibility of a bloodier confrontation.

After the duel was over, Kaobawä coolly discussed the fight with the leaders in the opponents' group, explaining that he did not intend to raid them unless they raided first. A number of men in the village, notably Paruriwä and some of his followers, shouted threats at the departing opponents that they would shoot them on sight should they meet again. Paruriwä frequently boasted like this, but rarely put himself in a position that was potentially dangerous. He later ran into a party of hunters from the above-mentioned group while he was leading a raid against the Patanowä-teri. Instead of shooting them on sight as he threatened to do (they could have shot back, as they were armed), he traded arrows with them and rapidly retreated. He boasted in the village how he had terrified these men. I later visited their village and learned that Paruriwä was the one who was terrified. They themselves continued to hunt, while Paruriwä fled for home.

156 622 602 [157] Kaobawä's personality differs considerably from Paruriwä's. Where the former is unobtrusive, calm, modest, and perceptive, the latter is belligerent, aggressive, ostentatious, and rash. Kaobawä has an established status in the village and numerous supporters, whose loyalties are in part determined by their kinship ties and in part because he is a wise leader. Paruriwä is attempting to share in the leadership and does not have a well-established position in this respect. It is obvious who the real leader is: When visitors come to Upper Bisaasi-teri, they seek out Kaobawä and deal with him, no matter how ambitiously Paruriwä attempts to emulate his position. Paruriwä does not have as many living brothers in his group as Kaobawä has, so his "natural following" is somewhat limited. In addition, two of his brothers are married to actual sisters of Kaobawä and have some loyalty to him. Paruriwä, therefore, has very little means with which to establish his position, so he is given over to using bluff, threat, chicanery, and treachery. This he does well, and many of the young men in the village admire him for it. He has gained the support of some of these men by promising them his wives' yet unborn daughters. Remarkably enough, some of them cling to these promises and do his bidding.

622 726 Finally, one of Kaobawä's most unpleasant tasks is to scout the village neighborhood when signs of raiders have been found. This he does alone, since it is a dangerous task and one that is avoided by the other men. Not even Paruriwä participates in this.

Kaobawa has definite responsibilities as the headman and is occasionally called upon by the nature of the situation to exercise his authority. He is usually distinguishable in the village as a man of some authority only for the duration of the incident that calls forth his leadership capacity. After the incident is over, he goes about his own business like the other men in the group. But even then, he sets an example for the [514] others, particularly in his ambitions to produce large quantities of food for his family and for the guests he must entertain. Most of the time he leads only by example and the others follow if it pleases them to do so. They can ignore his example if they wish, but most of the people turn to him when a difficult situation arises.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4

Political Alliances, Trading and Feasting

YANOMAMÖ FEASTS take place only when one sovereign group entertains the members of another, allied group. Feasts, in brief, are political events. To be sure, economic and ceremonial implications are also significant, but these are relatively minor when compared to the functions of the feast in the context of forming alliances. The chief purpose of entertaining allies is to reaffirm and cultivate intervillage solidarity in the intimate, sociable context of food presentations, thereby putting the ally under obligation to reciprocate the feast in his own village at a later date, bringing about another feast and even more solidarity.

I will describe in this chapter some of the relationships between trade, economic specialization, historical ties between groups, warfare, and intervillage marriage exchanges, all of which are intimately connected and interact with each other in the process of developing political alliances.

I described in Chapter 2 how the members of independent villages cultivated friendships with each other in the process of establishing themselves in a loose network of allied villages. I then showed in Chapter 3 how Kaobawä's followers were related to him and how he, in turn, was related to the members of several other villages. Now I will take up some of the political consequences of the historical ties and how they shape and mould the nature of specific contemporary relationships between Kaobawä's group and those which have political dealings with it. To illustrate this, I will describe the details of a particular feast in the context of the political ties, both historical and contemporary, existing between Kaobawä's group and the guests at the feast. First, however, I will comment on Yanomamö alliances in general.

General Features of Alliances

One of the expectations and implications of alliance is that the partners are under obligation to provide shelter and sustenance to each other whenever one of them is driven from his village and garden by a powerful enemy. The beleaguered partner may be

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The beleaguered partner may be obliged to remain in the village of his host for a year or longer, approximately the length of time required to establish a new plantation and productive base from which an independent existence is possible. Twice in the recent history of Kaobawä's group they were driven from their gardens by more powerful enemies and were forced to take refuge in the village of an ally. In each case the group remained with the ally for a year or so, moving away only after their new garden began producing. In both cases, the hosts demanded and received a number of women from Kaobawä's group without reciprocating in kind, a prerogative they exercised from their temporary position of strength. The longer the group takes advantage of a hosts' protection, the higher is the cost in terms of women, so visitors always make an attempt to establish their gardens as quickly as possible and move into them as soon as they begin producing. Without allies, therefore, the members of a village would either have to remain at their single garden and sustain the attacks of their enemies or disband into several smaller groups and join larger villages on a permanent basis, losing many of their women to their protectors. The jungle simply does not produce enough wild foods to sustain larger groups, and the threat of warfare is such that smaller groups would soon be discovered by their enemies and exterminated.

Because of the ever-present risk of being driven from one's garden, therefore, no Yanomamö village can continue to exist as a sovereign entity without establishing alliances with other groups. Warfare is attended by a bellicose ideology which asserts that strong villages should take advantage of weaker ones and coerce them out of women; to prevent this, all villages should therefore behave as if they were strong. Thus, the military threat creates a situation in which intervillage alliance is desirable, but at the same time spawns a military ideology that inhibits the formation of such alliances: Allies need but cannot trust each other. They are obliged to behave aggressively in order to display their respective strength.

Alliances between villages are the product of a developmental sequence that involves casual trading, mutual feasting, and finally the exchange of women. The most intimate allies are those who, in addition to trading and feasting, exchange women. Any developing alliance may stabilize at the trading or feasting stage without proceeding to the woman-exchange phase. These are weak alliances, but serve to limit the degree of war that might possibly obtain between the villages so related. The Yanomamö tend to avoid attacking those villages with which they trade and feast, unless some specific incident, such as the abduction of a woman, provokes them. Allies that are linked by trade and feasting ties, for example, rarely accuse each other of practicing harmful magic. Allies bound to each other by affinal kinship ties, however, are more interdependent because they are under obligation to each other to continue to exchange women. It is, in fact, by the exchange of women that independent villages extend kinship ties to each other.

Members of allied villages are usually reluctant to take the final step in alliance formation and cede women to their partners, for they are always worried that the latter might not reciprocate as promised. This attitude is especially conspicuous in smaller villages, for their larger partners in defense pressure them into demonstrating their solidarity by ceding women; the strong can and do coerce the weak in Yanomamö politics. The weak, therefore, are compelled to exaggerate their strength by bluff and intimidation and by attempting in general to appear to be stronger, militarily, than they really are, thereby hoping to convince their partners that they are equals, capable of an independent

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

existence. By so doing, they also inform their partners that any attempt to coerce them out of women will be met with the appropriate reaction, such as a chest-pounding duel or club fight. Nevertheless, each ally expects to gain women in the alliance and enters it with this in mind; and each hopes to gain more women than it cedes in return.

Hence, in order for an occasional nervous meeting of groups of men from different villages to evolve into a stable intervillage alliance based on the reciprocal exchange of women, the long and difficult road of feasting and trading must be traversed. Suspicion must give way to relative confidence, and this must develop into reciprocal feasting during the dry season. Only then has the intervillage relationship reached a point where the partners begin ceding women to each other; and even then, it is done reluctantly.

This is, however, only the ideal pattern in the development of an alliance. Rarely does it develop far enough to reach the stage where women change hands, particularly if the two villages concerned are of approximately the same military strength. Fights and arguments over women or food develop, and the principals withdraw temporarily on semihostile terms, perhaps attempting a rapprochement sometime in the future. Or, if the principals are obviously different military potential, the stronger of the two will coerce its weaker partner into ceding women early in the alliance development, taking advantage of its own military strength, thus altering the course of alliance development in the opposite direction.

Whatever the specific developmental sequence leading to the woman-exchange phase, the milieu within which these developments take place is not conducive to the establishment of warm ties of friendship. Each of the principals attempts to demonstrate his own sovereignty in order to convince the other that he does not really require political alliance to keep his enemies in check. This is accomplished by bragging about past military victories and fierceness in past club fights and chest-pounding duels, and by insinuating that one's group is always on the verge of exploding into a force so great that no combination of allies could overcome its terrible might. The smaller the village and more obvious its vulnerability, the greater is the pressure to insinuate or to demonstrate this potential.

Political maneuvering in this milieu is both a tricky and potentially hazardous undertaking. Each principal in the negotiation must establish the credibility of his own threats, while discovering the point at which his partner's bluff will dissolve abruptly into action; he must discover the point beyond which he must not goad his ally, lest he himself is prepared to suffer the possibly violent outcome. It is a politics of brinkmanship, a form of political behavior in which each negotiator is compelled to expose his opponent's threats as bluffs at the risk of inciting him to violence—a club fight, immediately and honorably, or, later and treacherously, a feast in which the hosts descend on their guests to kill their men and abduct their women.

Trading and Feasting in Alliance Formation

Because an ally is not beyond taking advantage of his weaker partner, especially when the alliance is just developing, there is very little in the way of natural attraction to encourage the two groups to visit each other. Considerations of pride and canons of ferocity preclude obvious attempts to develop stable and predictable alliances and military

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

interdependency. The Yąnomamö cannot simply arrive at the village of a potential ally and declare that they need military assistance because of the raids of a superior enemy. Doing so would admit vulnerability and perhaps invite predation from the potential ally. Instead, they conceal and subsume the true motive for the alliance in the vehicles of *trading* and *feasting*, developing these institutions over months and even years. In this manner they retain an apparent modicum of sovereignty and pride, while simultaneously attaining the true objectives: intervillage solidarity and military interdependence.

Three distinct features of Yąnomamö trading practices are important in the context of alliance formation. First, each item must be repaid with a different kind of item: The recipient is under an *obligation* to repay his partner in a type of exchange called *no mrəiha*. Secondly, the payment is delayed, a temporal factor in the trading techniques that is likewise implied by the *no mrəiha*. The consequence of these two trading features is that one trade always calls forth another and gives the members of different villages both the excuse and the opportunity to visit each other; and once the trading starts, it tends to continue, for one village in an alliance always owes the other trade goods from their last confrontation. The third significant trade feature is the peculiar specialization in the production of trade items. Each village has one or more special products that it provides to its allies. These include such items as dogs, hallucinogenic drugs (both cultivated and collected), arrow points, arrow shafts, bows, cotton yarn, cotton and vine hammocks, baskets of several varieties, clay pots, and, in the case of the several contacted villages, steel tools and aluminum pots.

This specialization in production cannot be explained in terms of the distribution of natural resources. Each village is, economically speaking, capable of self-sufficiency. (The steel tools and other products from civilization constitute the major exceptions.) The explanation of the specialization must be sought, rather, in the sociological aspects of alliance formation. Trade functions as the social catalyst, the "starting mechanism," through which mutually suspicious allies are repeatedly brought together in direct confrontation. Without these frequent contacts with neighbors, alliances would be much slower in formation and would be even more unstable once formed: A prerequisite to stable alliance is repetitive visiting and feasting, and the trading mechanism serves to bring about these visits.

Clay pots are a good example of the specialization in labor that characterizes Yąnomamö production and trade. The Mõjaribõwei-teri (see map, Fig. 2-8) are allied to both Kąobawä's group and the people of a distant Shamatari village, the latter being mortal enemies of Kąobawä. When I first began my fieldwork, I visited the Mõjaribõwei-teri, specifically asking them if they knew how to make clay pots. They all vigorously denied knowledge of pot-making, explaining that they once knew how to make them but had long since forgotten. They explained that their allies, the Mõwaraoba-teri, made them in quantities and provided all they needed, and therefore they did not have to make them anymore. They also added that the clay in the area of their village was not of the proper type for making pots. Later in the year their alliance with the pot makers grew cool because of a war, and their source of pots was shut off. At the same time, Kąobawä's group began asking them for clay pots. The Mõjaribõwei-teri promptly responded by "remembering" how pots were made and "discovering" that the clay in their neighborhood was indeed suitable for pot manufacturing. They had merely created

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a local shortage of the item in order to have to rely on an ally for it, giving sufficient cause to visit them.

Often the specialization is less individualized than in the case of clay pot manufacture. Kąobawĩ's group, for example, exports cotton yarn to one ally, but imports it from another. The exported cotton frequently is brought back in the form of manufactured hammocks, the importer merely contributing labor to the process. In some cases, the shortages are merely seasonal; Kąobawĩ's group may import cotton from a particular ally at one time of the year, but export it at another. Most of the trade, however, involves items that are readily manufactured by or raised by any group, underscoring the fact that trade is the stimulus to visit. Food does not enter the trading system, although hospitality dictates that it must be given to friendly groups. Occasionally, a village will run short of plantains because of a particularly long hot spell, and its members may visit an ally to borrow food to last a week or so. This hospitality is usually reciprocated, but it is not a part of the trading network.

Alliances between villages may stabilize at any one of three points: sporadic reciprocal trading, mutual feasting, or reciprocal women exchange. These are cumulative levels in the sense that the third phase implies the first two: Allies that exchange women also feast and trade with each other. Likewise, allies that merely feast together also trade, but do not exchange women. At the lower end of this scale of solidarity lie those villages with which one fights to kill, while at the upper end are those villages from whom one's group has recently separated. Frequently, the scale is circular rather than linear: A village's mortal enemy is the group from which it has recently split. By way of example, Kąobawĩ's group trades sporadically with the Makorima-teri, Daiyari-teri, Widokaiya-teri, Mahekodo-teri, and Iyawei-teri. These are fairly weak alliances and even permit limited fighting. His group has more intimate ties with the Reyabobŏwei-teri and Mąmaribŏwei-teri, with whom it feasts regularly. The alliance with the Reyabobŏwei-teri has even reached the point at which they are exchanging women with each other. Finally, at the other end of the scale, Kąobawĩ's group is at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, Mŏwarabo-teri, and Patanowĩ-teri. The first two of these groups are historically unrelated to Kąobawĩ's group, although they have a common history with two of his staunchest allies, the Reyabobŏwei-teri and Mąmaribowei-teri, from whom they separated in the past. The Patanowĩ-teri are related to Kąobawĩ and his followers, as was shown in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, they are bitter enemies and are at present raiding each other.

Although there is no rigid geographical correlation of the village settlement pattern to the degree of alliance solidarity, neighboring villages usually are at least on trading terms and are not actively conducting war on each other. Should war develop between neighbors, one of the two principals will abandon its site and move to a new location. Whether the ties between neighboring villages will be one of blood, marriage exchange, reciprocal feasting, or casual trading depends on a large number of factors, particularly on village size, current warfare situation with respect to more distant groups, and the precise historical ties between the neighboring villages. Whatever the nature of the ties between neighbors, each strives to maintain its sovereignty and independence from the others.

The Yąnomamŏ do not openly regard trade as a mechanism the ulterior function of which is to bring people repeatedly together, thus establishing an amicable basis from

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

which more stable types of alliance can develop. Nor do they overtly acknowledge the relationships between trading and feasting cycles to village interdependency. In this regard they are like the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia: They have a "functional ignorance" of the more significant adaptive aspects of their trading institutions. To both the Yąnomamö and the Trobrianders, the mechanisms by which peoples from different groups are compelled to visit each other are ends in themselves and are not conceived to be related to the establishment of either economic or political interdependency. For the Yąnomamö participant in a feast, the feast itself has its significance in the marvelous quantities of food, the excitement of the dance, and the satisfaction of having others admire and covet the fine decorations he wears. The enchantment of the dance issues from the dancer's awareness that, for a brief moment, he is a glorious peacock that commands the admiration of his fellows, and it is his responsibility and desire to present a spectacular display of his dance steps and gawdy accouterments. In this brief, ego-building moment, each man has an opportunity to display himself, spinning and prancing about the village periphery, chest puffed out, while all watch, admire, and cheer wildly.

The hosts, too, have an opportunity to display themselves and strut before their guests. Moreover, the very fact that they have given the feast is in itself a display of affluence and surfeit apparently calculated to challenge the guests to reciprocate with an equally grandiose feast at a later date.[1] Each good feast deserves and calls forth another, and in this way allies become better acquainted with each other as they reciprocate feasts during the dry season and over the years.

Historical Background to a Particular Feast

One of the feasts I witnessed exhibited all the features of intervillage politics. Before describing this feast, I will give the historical antecedents to the event, recapitulating a number of points discussed in Chapter 3 in the context of the history of Kąobawä's village. The significance of the events will then become clear, for Kąobawä's prior relationships to the guests at the feast had a great deal to do with the outcome.

In 1950 Kąobawä's group, almost friendless, beleaguered by enemies, and somewhat isolated, began cultivating an alliance with the Iwahikoroba-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8), a Shamatari village, some two days' traveling distance southeast of their own village at Kreiböwei. The Iwahikoroba-teri were on friendly terms with another Shamatari group, the Möwaraoba-teri, from whom they had separated some years before. Kąobawä's group, on the other hand, was at war with this village because members of his own group murdered a friendly Möwaraoba-teri visitor in 1960, touching off a series of raids between them. Anxious to develop an alliance, Kąobawä's group accepted a feast invitation from the Iwahikoroba-teri and visited that village to participate in the feast. Up to that point they were only on trading terms with them.

The Iwahikoroba-teri, however, had made a prior arrangement with their friends, the Möwaraoba-teri, to help them massacre Kąobawä's men and abduct his group's women. The Möwaraoba-teri were hidden in the jungle outside the village when Kąo-

[1] The competitive aspects of feasting in many primitive societies has been dealt with at length by Marcel Mauss, whose essay *The Gift* is now an anthropological classic.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

bawĩ's group arrived. The men of Kaobawĩ's group danced both singly and en masse and were invited into the homes of their hosts. At this point their hosts fell upon them with axes and staves, killing about a dozen men before the visitors could break through the palisade and escape. Kaobawĩ's father was among the victims. Once outside, they were shot from ambush by the Mõwaraoba-teri, who managed to kill a few more and wound many others with arrows. A number of women and girls were captured by the hosts, though some were later recaptured by Kaobawĩ's group in revenge raids. It was probably their host's greed for the women that permitted any survivors at all, as my informants asserted that the Iwahikoroba-teri began chasing the women while the men were still vulnerable. A few of the Iwahikoroba-teri refused to participate in the slaughter and even helped some of Kaobawĩ's group escape.

The survivors fled to Kobou, a site they had begun clearing for a new garden. Here they removed the arrow points and nursed their wounds before reluctantly returning to Kreibõwei, their only producing garden. Kobou was still too new to support the group, and hunger forced them to return to Kreibõwei. As this location was well known to their treacherous allies, they wished to abandon it as soon as possible, knowing that their enemies could easily kill the rest of the men and abduct the remaining women.

Within a week or so of the treacherous feast, the Mahekodo-teri, a visiting ally of Kaobawĩ's group, learned of the massacre and offered aid. The Mahekodo-teri headman himself visited Kaobawĩ's village and invited the entire group to his village to take refuge. They accepted the offer, and in January of 1951, after conducting one revenge raid on the enemies, moved to Mahekodo-teri.

The Mahekodo-teri had been allied to Kaobawĩ's group a generation earlier, but after Kaobawĩ's group moved away from the Orinoco River, alliance activity had dwindled to just sporadic trading. True to Yąnomamõ political behavior, the Mahekodo-teri, being in an obviously stronger bargaining position, offered their protection and aid with gain in mind: they demanded and received a number of their guests' women. Again, the members of Kaobawĩ's group suspected further treachery from their new protectors and assiduously worked at establishing a new garden. They were forced to stay with the Mahekodo-teri until their new garden could totally support them—about a year. Even during this time, however, they spent weeks on end away from their host's village, carrying their food with them and working on their new plantations. They would return to obtain new food supplies, rest for a few weeks, and leave again. When Mahekodo-teri later split into three factions, Kaobawĩ and his group learned from one of them the details of a plot in which the Mahekodo-teri were going to kill the men and abduct the women. The only thing that prevented them from doing so was the development of a new war between Mahekodo-teri and another village, one that required the assistance of Kaobawĩ and his group.

For a few years after the separation from Mahekodo-teri, Kaobawĩ's group was invited to feast there. Because they suspected that the Mahekodo-teri were plotting against them, however, usually the men alone would attend the feast, thereby reducing the probability of another massacre. The women and children were concealed in the jungle during the time the men were away at the feast. Gradually, the alliance cooled off again and the two groups remained relatively indifferent towards each other, but at peace.

By 1960, Kaobawĩ's group had regained some of its military strength and had

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

begun cultivating an alliance with a third Shamatari group, one that was related to the two that conducted the massacre in 1950. The new Shamatari group, Paruritawä-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8), was at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, but on feasting terms with the Möwaraoba-teri. Kąobawä's group persuaded their new Shamatari allies to invite the Möwaraoba-teri to a feast and planned a massacre similar to that of 1950, but with the tables reversed: Kąobawä's group would lie in ambush, while the Paruritawä-teri attacked the guests within the village. The Möwaraoba-teri were being ravished by a malaria epidemic at this time, and only a handful of them actually came to the feast: The others were too sick to travel. With the aid of their newly found allies, Kąobawä's group managed to kill three of the five men and abducted four of their women. The other two visitors escaped to tell of the treachery. This revenge feast was only considered to be partially successful, and Kąobawä's group was not satisfied with the outcome. Their Shamatari allies, Paruritawä-teri, were obliged to abandon their site to avoid the revenge raids, splitting into two groups in the process: Mõmariböwei-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri, both continuing to remain friendly to Kąobawä's group.

In early 1965, just a few months after I began my fieldwork, Kąobawä and his supporters left to visit Reyaboböwei-teri, one of the two Shamatari allies, hoping to conduct another treacherous feast for the Möwaraoba-teri. They left a few men behind to protect the women and children. The men were gone almost two weeks. All during this time, those who remained behind flocked to my mud hut at dawn and remained in it the whole day, not permitting me to leave. Every hour or so they asked to see my shotgun. I soon discovered that they were frightened and suspected that the Widokaiya-teri were going to raid them to abduct women, for they knew of the plot. My hut lay on the path most likely to be taken by Widokaiya-teri raiders, and the few remaining men stood guard next to my door, hoping to intercept the raiders should they attack at night.

I, unknowingly, guarded the women and children by day with my shotgun, while the men did the same at night with their own weapons. This incident indelibly underscores the almost complete lack of trust between allies; the members of Kąobawä's group expected a raid from their friends and allies rather than from their enemies!

About ten days after the men had left, six visitors from another allied village passed through Upper Bisaasi-teri hoping to trade. It was obvious to them that the men were away and that the women were frightened. They carried word of the situation up the Orinoco River to their own allies, one of which was the Mahekodo-teri.

The evening before the men returned from their trip, one of the Salesian Missionaries, Padre Luiz Cocco, visited me, having traveled up the Orinoco River by dark—a dangerous undertaking at that time of the year. Padre Cocco had just received word by short-wave radio from the mission at Mahekodo-teri that a large party of men had left for Bisaasi-teri intent on capturing women. They had learned of the poorly guarded women from the six visitors and were determined to take advantage of the situation.

My house was full of women and children at dawn the following day, and the raiders were probably en route. I was in a difficult situation. On the one hand, if I told the Indians of the rumor, it would have been sufficient cause to start a war between Kąobawä's group and the Mahekodo-teri. This would have been most unfortunate if the story proved to be false. On the other hand, I dared not remain silent. If raiders were indeed coming, they would probably kill the defenders to capture the women. Fortunately, Kąobawä and the men returned early in the afternoon, and I was able to remain

neutral. The treacherous feast for their Shamatari enemies proved to be unsuccessful: The intended victims had accepted the invitation, but were informed of the plot just before they arrived. One of the Reyaboböwei-teri who had close kinsmen among them had misgivings about the matter and warned them.

Late in the afternoon it was learned that the Mahekodo-teri were, in fact, in the vicinity of the village, allegedly on a "camping trip." Kąobawä, of course, suspected their story, but to demonstrate his friendship he invited them to be his guests at a feast. As he and his men had been away for nearly two weeks, there was an abundance of food in their gardens and they could easily afford to entertain the Mahekodo-teri and their traveling companions, the Boreta-teri. Together, the guests numbered about 100—after they fetched their women and children.

This sets the stage for the feast in the kind of context that makes it more intelligible: The specific historical relationships between the participants and the nature of their mutual mistrust. Now I will give the details of the events that followed.

The Feast

Perhaps because he suspected the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri of intimidation, Kąobawä also invited the Karohi-teri to attend the feast. They are a small but dependable ally and had themselves separated from the Mahekodo-teri many years ago. This established a balance of power at the projected feast should any trouble arise, for the combination of both Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri was of sufficient strength to worry any host. With the aid of the Karohi-teri, Kąobawä's group was more of a match for the visitors.

The feast started out on a sour note. It is the custom of the Yąnomamö visitors to arrive only after an invitation from their hosts, sent by messenger on the day of the feast. The Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri, however, arrogantly arrived nearly a week before Kąobawä's group was prepared to receive them and set up a large, temporary camp a short distance from the village. They were guests and could legitimately demand to be fed. Because of this, Kąobawä and his covillagers were under obligation to feed them, some hundred or so people, and took them to the gardens to supply them with enough plantains to last a week. Kąobawä was a little disturbed that they would be so impolite as to arrive uninvited, but took the situation quite philosophically. After all, they had fed his group for the better part of a year.

He and several other men cut a large quantity of plantains, which were hung in his house and allowed to ripen for a week, to be boiled into *dáte*, a thick, sweet soup, on the day of the feast. That afternoon Kąobawä and a few of the older men commissioned a hunting party comprised of young men, several of whom were Kąobawä's brothers, whose responsibility would be to obtain a large quantity of fresh meat to give to the visitors on the day after the feast. Most of them were reluctant to go, as their feet were still sore from the trip to the Shamatari village. A few of them claimed to be sick and managed to escape recruitment into the hunting party in this way. This hunt, with the hanging of the plantains in the headman's house, initiated the feast. The excitement that usually attends a feast began at this time.

That evening the young men danced and sang in the village, an institution called *amaamo*, thereby insuring themselves with luck on the hunt. (The Yąnomamö also

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

amaamo on other occasions, but invariably do so on the day the plantains are hung in the village in anticipation of a feast.) Every evening the men are away on their *hwaimmow*, the week-long hunt, the young women and girls sing and dance in the village to insure them success.

The hunters left at dawn the following morning, carrying a large supply of roasted and green plantains with them to eat while they hunted. They had picked a site some 25 miles up the Mavaca River for their hunt, as game was known to abound there. Their task was to obtain monkeys, armadillos, wild turkeys, wild pig, tapir or sloth, the only meat deemed worthy to give to guests. They would not be permitted to eat any of this game, but could consume any other game they captured, such as deer, small birds, a small species of wild turkey, or insects and fish they happened to come upon. The feast meat, however, was earmarked for the guests and could not be eaten by the hunters. On this particular hunting trip the men miscalculated the amount of food they would need to sustain them during the hunt, and one of them returned after four days to fetch more plantains. He also gave Kąobawä a report on the hunt's success, creating a small sensation in the village: They had already killed a large number of *kaalo*, a particularly large and very desirable monkey. They had also come upon a quantity of turtle eggs at a sand bar and were eating as many as they could. When they returned later, they cached the remaining eggs in my house, so as not to have to share them with the visitors.

Meanwhile, the visitors were making gluttons of themselves, and the hosts started to grumble about the large number of plantains they had already eaten. The week's supply they originally provided had been consumed in half that time, and the guests had been given permission a second time to harvest more from their hosts' gardens. This was no way for guests to behave, and it soon became apparent that they were intimidating Kąobawä's group. Still, he and his followers continued to supply them with all the food they needed, keeping their complaints to themselves. They did not want it to be known that they were worried about running short of food. Instead, they planned to conduct the feast on a scale that would be difficult to reciprocate.

The hunters returned and presented their catch to Kąobawä. It was brought to his house and placed on the ground, wrapped up in leaves. Kąobawä ignored it for a while and then slowly began to unpack it (see Fig. 4-1) while everybody watched—especially the hunters, who were quite proud of the quantity of meat they had obtained: seventeen *kaalo* monkeys, seven wild turkeys, and three large armadillos. Hunting trips are not usually this successful, but the hunters had fortunately stumbled into a large band of *kaalo* and had nearly wiped it out.

Kąobawä and his group were anxious to conduct the feast for their visitors and present them with the food, because by so doing the visitors would be obliged to leave for home, thereby ending the drain on the gardens.[3]

The feast was scheduled for the day following the return of the hunters, even though the Karohi-teri had not yet arrived. Kąobawä and his group were so anxious to rid themselves of their ravenous guests by this time that they decided to hold a separate feast for the Karohi-teri on the day following the departure of the Mahekodo-teri. This would involve a considerable amount of extra work, but they were more than willing to

[3] I have seen several instances of Yąnomamö groups getting rid of visitors who have passed their unwelcome early by holding a feast in their honor; when the ceremonial food is presented, the visitors are obliged to leave.

undertake it if it meant getting rid of their first group of visitors, who, by this time, had spent nearly a week eating Kaobawä's produce.

On the morning of the feast three large pieces of bark from the *amapuri* tree were cut and brought to the village. These were made into troughs to contain the boiled, ripe plantain soup. All day long Kaobawä's younger brothers, who had returned from the hunt the day before, labored at cooking the enormous quantity of ripe plantains, pouring each boiling containerful into the trough as it was prepared.[3]

The plantains that Kaobawä had hung in his *shabono* roof a week before were now ripe. The young men who were preparing the soup would cut the bunches of plantains from the roof, split each fruit with their thumb, throw the two halves of the flesh into a cooking pot, and toss the skins onto a pile. They worked at this task from early morning until late afternoon, in addition to boiling a nearly equal quantity of green plantains, which provided the green vegetable food that customarily accompanies the presentation of meat. Yąnomamö etiquette dictates that meat must be accompanied by vegetable food and vice versa.[4] It is an insult, for example, to offer someone meat without simultaneously offering a vegetable food with it. Peeling green plantains is a little more difficult than peeling ripe ones, which are very tough and brittle. The Yąnomamö solve this problem, like they solve so many others, by using their teeth. Each plantain is bitten along its length several times, cracking the peel, which in turn is removed with the fingernails and further application of the dentition. On this particular occasion, two young men peeled, with their thumbs, enough ripe plantains to make approximately 95 gallons of soup, and, with their teeth, a sufficiently large quantity of green plantains to fill a dozen large pack-baskets.

In the morning on the day of the feast, Kaobawä went to the center of the village clearing where all could see him and proceeded to pull weeds. The clearing has to look presentable to the visitors, as it functions as the dancing plaza. As noted before, since Yąnomamö headmen cannot directly order their followers to execute tasks such as these, they usually initiate them and hope that others will follow. By and by, a number of older men joined him, as well as a few women, and when a sufficient number of workers were pulling weeds and hauling them out, Kaobawä quietly retired to his hammock, from which he oversaw the food preparations and calculated the distribution of meat.

Excitement in the village grew conspicuously as the hours passed, and by noon there was a constant din of laughter and chatter, punctuated now and then with a shrill scream from some young man overcome with the thrill of the feast. Occasionally, the visitors would reply to the shouts, setting off a brief concert of screaming between hosts

---

[3] Kaobawä's group has access to aluminum pots now and uses them extensively in food preparations. Most Yąnomamö groups still use crude clay pots, although these are being rapidly replaced by aluminum ware, which is traded inland to the more remote villages.

[4] The three vegetable foods considered to be suitable accompaniments for the meat preservation are: boiled green plantains, boiled *rasha* fruit, and cassava bread. A number of missionaries and a few scientific observers have identified the Yąnomamö feast strongly with the *rasha* fruit (Zerries 1955; de Barandiaran 1966). If it is to be identified with any food, it should be called the "plantain feast," but to identify the feast with a food that sometimes (*rasha*) or invariably (plantains) accompanies it is to overlook the sociopolitical causes of the feast. *Rasha* is no more necessary to the feast than it was served at only two of six feasts I attended. In short, the Yąnomamö feast is a social and political event, not a harvest ceremony, and occurs independently of the abundance or availability of *rasha* fruit. *Rasha* fruit ripens in February, the peak of the dry season. It is only in the dry season that feasts can be held, because travel is difficult or impossible at other times of the year. The combination of the ripening of *rasha* and feasting is rather more fortuitous than causal.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and guests that gradually died off as each group busied itself in preparation for the dance.

Shortly after noon a rumor circulated through the village that the visitors had been raiding the gardens at night and stealing plantains. A number of people, particularly older men, were visibly upset by this new information, giving rise to another rumor that there would be a chest-pounding duel to set the matter straight. The guests had already worn their welcome thin by arriving uninvited a week in advance and by eating excessively. Their hosts were becoming angry with them, as it was all too obvious that they were deliberately taxing their hosts' patience; they were intimidating them.

The men of the host group had finished their preparations for the feast; they were all painted in red and black, bearing colorful feathers. They had cleaned the debris from their houses, had finished hauling out the weeds they had picked from the village clearing, and had brought in quantities of food to give their guests. Now, it was time for them to take *ebene*, their hallucinogenic drug. They separated into several groups and began blowing the brownish-green powder up each other's nostrils with 3-foot long hollow tubes. As the drug would be administered, each recipient would reel from the concussion of air, groan, and stagger off to some convenient post to vomit. Within ten minutes of taking the drug, the men would be bleary-eyed and wild, prancing around in front of their houses, stopping occasionally to vomit or to catch their breath. In each group there would be one man particularly adept at chanting to the *hekuras*, the mountain demons, and he would soon take over the show, while the others retired to the sidelines in a stupor, green slime dripping from their nostrils. Should there be sick people in the village, the adept chanters—the *shabori*—would cure them by chanting, massaging, sucking, and vomiting out the evil spirit that caused the sickness. Otherwise, they would chant about other things, perhaps sending their *hekuras* to enemy villages to eat the souls of children, or enjoining them to prevent their enemies from doing the same. Occasionally, one of the men takes too much of the drug and become violent. On this particular occasion, Shiimima, one of Kaobawä's brothers, grabbed his bow and arrows and ran to the center of the village. This caused a minor sensation for a moment, but one of the men managed to catch and disarm him, hiding his weapons so he could not find them. Things returned to normal again, and the other participants in the drug-taking began chanting to Shiimima to restore him to his senses. The chanting lasted for an hour or so, and the participants, one by one, returned to their houses to clean up their paint jobs; most of them had smeared their careful work by vomiting all over themselves.

While the men were taking their drugs, the women were busy painting and decorating themselves with feathers and red pigment. The visitors, also, were busy at the same tasks, and the excitement of the feast reached fever proportions by mid-afternoon. A few women were still busy finishing trade baskets, while Kaobawä's younger brothers continued with the monotonous cooking of what seemed to them an endless number of plantains.

Finally, an old man from the visiting group entered the village and marched unceremoniously across the clearing while the members of Kaobawä's group cheered him. He was too old to join the dancing, but too respected to wait behind with the women and children while the younger men put on their display. This was evidence that the visitors were about to send in their delegate to accept the feast invitation at Kaobawä's house.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The members of Lower Bisaasi-teri had joined Kąobawä's group for the feast, as they, too, were on friendly terms with the Mahekodo-teri and had benefited from the latter's hospitality after the treacherous feast in 1950. Before Kąobawä's group had separated from the Lower Bisaasi-teri, there had been one headman over the entire composite village. This was a brother to Kąobawä's father; when the groups split, the older man led the faction of Lower Bisaasi-teri, leaving Kąobawä to lead the Upper group. On this particular day, when the two groups had temporarily coalesced for the feast, the older man was conceded the honor of chanting with the visitor's delegate, Asiawä, the son of the Mahekodo-teri headman.

Ten minutes after the old visitor entered the village, Asiawä entered the clearing, touching off an explosion of wild cheering that marked the opening of the dance. He was spectacular in his bright new loin cloth, long red parrot feathers streaming from his armbands, and black monkey-tail headband covered with white buzzard down. He marched dramatically to the center of the village clearing, while all of Kąobawä's followers cheered, and struck the visitor's pose: motionless, head upward, and weapons held vertically next to his face. He stood there two or three minutes so his hosts could admire him. This gesture signified that he had come in peace and was announcing his benevolent intentions by standing where all could see him. If they bore him malice, they had to shoot him then or not at all.[5] He then marched to Kąobawä's house and was met by Kąobawä's father's brother, the temporary leader of the combined host group, and the two men immediately began to chant. This was the formal acceptance of the feast invitation by Asiawä on behalf of his entire group. They chanted for five minutes or so, bouncing up and down from the knees, now face to face, now side to side, but always lively and loud. Suddenly, they stopped, and Asiawä squatted, his back to the sun, while the host's representative retired to his hammock. The cheering died down. Asiawä squatted for several minutes before one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought a half-gourd full of plantain soup to him and set it on the ground. He ignored it politely for several minutes, staring into the distance, holding his weapons horizontally next to his mouth. Presently, he put his weapons down, picked up the container of soup, and drained it in one draft before setting it back down. As soon as he had set it down, one of Kąobawä's younger brothers brought him a large pack-basket filled with boiled green plantains and smoked armadillo meat. Asiawä stood while the strap of the basket was placed over his head and adjusted across his shoulders so as to not crumple his headdress. Trying to look dramatic, he staggered rapidly out of the village under his burden of food, while the hosts again cheered wildly. This food was eaten by the visitors while they finished their decorating, each receiving a small portion.

Within a half-hour of Asiawä's departure the visitors had completed their decorating and had assembled just outside the entrance to the village. The men, all finely decorated, stood at the front of the gathering, while the women, girls, and young boys, also decorated, but each carrying a load of family possessions, brought up the rear. At the signal of Asiawä's father, the first two dancers burst into the village, separated, and danced around the periphery of the clearing in opposite directions, while Kąobawä's group welcomed them enthusiastically with shouts and shrill screams. Two at a time,

[5] I have a number of informants' accounts of visitors being shot down while standing in the clearing to announce their visit. Whenever I accompanied visitors to strange villages for the first time I, too, was obliged to participate in this rite and always had an uneasy feeling about it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the visiting dancers entered, pranced around the village periphery, wildly showing off their decorations and weapons and then returning to the group. Each dancer had unique decorations and a unique dance step, something personal that he could exhibit. He would burst into the village screaming a memorized phrase, wheel and spin, stop in his tracks, dance in place, throw his weapons down, pick them up again, aim them at the line of hosts with a wild expression on his face, prance ahead a few steps, repeat his performance, and continue on around the village in this manner, while the hosts cheered wildly. When everyone had had an individual turn, the entire group entered, danced single file around the periphery several times, and gathered at the center of the clearing, where they formed a tightly knit group. They stood motionless, except for the heaving of their chests, holding their weapons vertically. After they had stood there a few moments—in a final display of decorations—Kaobawä's followers emerged from their houses and approached the center of the village, each man inviting one or more of the visitors to his house, leading him away from the village center by the arm. As each visitor was led away, his family, watching from the village entrance, unceremoniously joined him at the host's house, bringing the family possessions along. Within a few minutes the dance plaza was deserted and the visitors were resting comfortably in their hosts' hammocks. Even in the hammocks, the Yanomamö visitors are able to put on a silent display of their finery as they lay with their legs crossed, one arm behind their head, staring at the ceiling, waiting for their hosts to feed them ripe plantain soup from the bark troughs—it is almost as if they are strutting from a reclining position.

After the guests had been given their first round of soup, the men of Kaobawä's village assembled outside the entrance and came in to dance around the village for their guests. They, too, had an opportunity to put on a display of their own decorations, after which they retired to entertain the guests.

There were three troughs full of soup in the village. The first one was emptied in the process of bringing numerous gourdsful to the some one hundred visitors (see Fig. 4-2). After they had consumed this, the guests then assembled at the second trough and began eating there. Before this trough was finished, they moved as a group to the third trough and repeated their ceremonial consumption, before returning to their hammocks to rest and regain their appetites. Approximately two hours had passed from the time the first dancers entered the village until the guests retired from the third trough of soup. They had not yet eaten all of the contents—all in all, some 95 gallons of it—but managed to do so by morning.[6]

Shortly after dark the marathon chanting (*waiyamou*) began—it continued until dawn. At dawn the visitors conducted their trade and were given the baskets of "going-home food": boiled green plantains with smoked meat. The women and children departed with the food, leaving the men behind to trade. The visitors made requests through their headman, and Kaobawä would produce the item by enjoining one of the local men to give it. The item would be thrown at the feet of the man who wanted it. He would ignore it for a while and then give it a cursory examination, throwing it back on the ground. His peers would then examine it in greater detail and extol its virtues, while the

[6] During some feasts, the ashes of the dead are mixed with the boiled, ripe plantain soup and eaten by friends and relatives of the deceased. The feast also serves as a preliminary to a raid that involves two or more villages. The sponsor of the raid will entertain his allies in a feast the day before the raiding party departs. See Chapter 9 for a discussion of the raid.

111 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanomamo SQ18

628* 592 437 438

giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipients would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *to receive*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4-2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from the bark of a large tree, scraped.

628* 574 301 302 516 411 415 342 264 262 291

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

By 8:00 A.M. the going-home food had been presented to the visitors, and the trade had been conducted. Had the visitors been polite, they would have left for home at that time. Instead, they decided to stay and witness the second, smaller, feast that Kąobawä was going to conduct for the Karohi-teri, who had not arrived in time for the major event. This capped the series of insults the visitors had heaped upon Kąobawä's group. The visitors were warned that if they should stay, the would be expected to fight in a chest-pounding duel.

It was obvious now that the visitors were looking for trouble, and Kąobawä's group was obliged to react or be subject to even further intimidation. Hence, the challenge to pound chests. At this point the visitors broke camp and departed, much to the relief and joy of Kąobawä's group. In fact, they were pleased that they had been successful in intimidating their guests into leaving, and the men gloated over this accomplishment the rest of the day. They were convinced that their threats were credible enough to force their potential adversaries to withdraw, presumably because the Mahekodo-teri felt they were inferior in strength.

Kąobawä and his group held another feast for the Karohi-teri that same day, but without the assistance of the Lower Bisaasi-teri who left shortly after the previous feast terminated.

The Chest-pounding Duel

The feast for Karohi-teri was essentially the same as the one for the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri. When the dancing was over and darkness fell, the men began to chant again. The first pair of chanters had not completed their rhythmic presentation when the jungle around the village erupted with hoots and screams, causing all of the people in the village to jump from their hammocks and arm themselves. When the men had found their arrows and were prepared, they began yelling back at the unseen guests, rattling the shafts of their arrows together or against their bows and/or pounding the heads of axes against pieces of firewood or on the ground to make noise. The Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri had returned to accept the chest-pounding challenge and entered the village, each man brandishing his axe, club, or bow and arrows. They circled the village once, feinting attack on particular men among the hosts, then grouped at the center of the village clearing. The hosts surrounded them excitedly, dancing with their weapons poised to strike, then entering into the mass of bodies. Heated arguments about food theft and gluttony developed, and the hosts and guests threateningly waved their weapons in each other's faces. Within minutes the large group had bifurcated and the chest-pounding began. The Karohi-teri aided Kąobawä and his followers, whose joint numbers were even further swelled when the Lower Bisaasi-teri rushed to the village after hearing the commotion. There were about sixty adult men on each side in the fight, divided into two arenas, each comprised of hosts and guests. Two men, one from each side, would step into the center of the milling, belligerent crowd of weapon-wielding partisans, urged on by their comrades. One would step up, spread his legs apart, bare his chest, and hold his arms behind his back, daring the other to hit him. The opponent would size him up, adjust the man's chest or arms so as to give himself the greatest advantage when he struck, and then step back to deliver his close-fisted blow. The striker would painstakingly adjust

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

they were about to release their arrows point-blank at Kąobawä's attackers, but when he and his aides turned them back, the crisis was over. The leaders of the visiting group rejoined the other men, some of whom had picked up glowing brands of firewood, and they backed out of the village, weapons still drawn, their way illuminated by those who were waving the brands.[7]

Kąobawä's group took no further action in this affair and was not invited to feast at Mahekodo-teri. Later in the year, their relationships worsened because of a club fight in yet another village, and for a while both groups threatened to shoot each other on sight. A temporary rapprochement developed after the club fight, when a group of raiders from Kąobawä's group met a group of hunters from Mahekodo-teri while en route to attack the village of one of their enemies. The men from both villages traded with each other and departed on friendly terms, the raiders abandoning their raid and returning to their village lest they be later ambushed on the way home by the Mahekodo-teri. They are presently on trading terms with each other, but their relationship is still somewhat strained and potentially hostile.

In general, feasts are exciting for both the hosts and the guests and contribute to their mutual solidarity. Under normal circumstances, allies that customarily feast with each other do not fight. Nevertheless, even the best allies occasionally agree beforehand to terminate their feast with a chest-pounding duel, thereby demonstrating to each other that they are friends, but capable of maintaining their sovereignty and willing to fight if necessary (Fig. 4–4). Kąobawä's group had a chest-pounding duel with one of its staunchest allies in 1966, as each had heard that the other was spreading rumors that it was cowardly. Of the six feasts I witnessed during the nineteen months I spent with the Yąnomamö, two of them ended in fighting.

Any Yąnomamö feast can potentially end in violence because of the nature of the attitudes the participants hold regarding canons of behavior and obligations to display ferocity.

Still, the feast and its attendant trade serve to reduce the possibility of neighbors fighting with each other at a more serious level of violence, and they contribute to intervillage solidarity and mutual interdependence.

[7] At this time, I was crouched in the house behind the line of bowmen, trembling in my boots.

One of Damowī's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowā-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowā-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowī's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowī outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewī, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowī, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kaobawā and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowī's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowī were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowā-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowī the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowī's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kaobawā, a classificatory brother to Damowī, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowī's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwā, the oldest and most competent member of the *Haw* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Shu* lineage to the *Haw* lineage.

Kaobawā delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2] See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-3 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

Bisasi-teri, for example, wanted to get rid of the Monou-teri, they would hold a feast in their honor. When the going-home food was presented to them, they had no alternative but to leave. It would have been insulting to remain after the food was presented. In between their moves they returned to their own producing site to collect plantains and carry them to their new garden. They subsisted there off the food they carried with them.

The Monou-teri soon resented being treated like pariahs by their allies and began to regain their courage. Much of this resentment was due to the fact that they failed to chase the raiders when Damowë was slain, displaying cowardice instead of ferocity. Many of the men in the Bisasi-teri groups resented the Monou-teri for this and were not timid about displaying their disgust. The Monou-teri were a burden, as they rarely helped at expanding Bisasi-teri's gardens and ate a good deal of the time.

The raid Kaobawë organized to revenge Damowë's death took place late in April. The Shamatari allies—Mõjamabõwei-teri and Reyabõwei-teri—were invited to participate, but they failed to send a contingency. As allies never really trust each other, the raid was delayed because some of the Bisasi-teri suspected that their allies were waiting for the raiders to leave so that they could descend on the poorly protected women and make off with captives. Finally, a few of them did arrive and the *waya itaw* (warrior line-up) got under way. Still, the Bisasi-teri feared treachery on the part of their Shamatari friends, so the men of Lower Bisasi-teri decided to stay home and protect the women left behind by the Monou-teri and Upper Bisasi-teri raiders. A small feast was held to entertain the visiting Shamatari allies.

On the afternoon of the feast a grass dummy was set up in the village, and the men who were to participate in the raid conducted a mock attack on the dummy, which was supposed to represent the body of a Patanowë-teri man. They painted themselves black, crept slowly around the village with bows and arrows ready, searching for the tracks of the enemy. They converged at one point, spread out, crept toward the dummy, and, at Kaobawë's signal, let fly with a volley of arrows. The Yanomamö are good archers. None of the arrows missed its mark, and the dummy, looking like a pincushion, toppled ominously to the ground, a dozen or more bamboo-tipped arrows protruding from it. Then the raiders screamed and ran out of the village, simulating their retreat from the enemy. They drifted back into the village, one at a time or in small groups, and retired to their hammocks to wait for darkness.

The village became unusually quiet shortly after dark. Suddenly, the stillness was pierced by an animal-like noise, half-scream and half-growl, as the first raider marched slowly out to the center of the village, clacking his arrows against his bow, growling his individualized fierce noise, usually a mimic of a carnivore: a wasp, or a buzzard. At this signal—not knowing fully what to expect and a little nervous—I crept from my own hammock and went to the center of the village with my tape recorder. The other raiders joined the first man, coming one at a time after short intervals, each clacking his arrows and growling some hideous noise. Kaobawë stood by and made sure the line was straight and faced the direction of the enemy; he would push or pull the individual warriors until they formed a perfectly straight line, joining them after the last one took his place.

The procession to the line-up took about twenty minutes, as about 50 or so men participated (see Fig. 5-2). When the last one was in line, the murmurs among the

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/74 cont./

6. Tribute payments and greeting ceremonial

619
651
576
574

Two or three times a year a Xiriána chief and 18-20 warriors of this tribe come to the Surára as well as to the Pakidái, in order to collect tribute from their satellites (see also pp. 13 and 19). This visit is always carried out /75/ according to a regular protocol. First the chiefs squat down opposite each other, place the right hand on the left shoulder of the other, and hold the left hand in front of the mouth. They remain in this position for about two hours and, singing, exchange their news (345). The warriors of

345. I, too, was greeted in this fashion by the Surára chief as well as by the Pakidái chief.

the Xiriána and Surára or Pakidái stand around in a circle and listen, their faces immobile. All the women and children remain lying in their hammocks during the ceremonial, or they sit with anxious faces by their hearths. When the greeting is ended, the Surára or the Pakidái chief makes a sign, whereupon his men run off and fetch knives, axes, pots, etc., and also bananas and pupunha fruits, which they put down in front of the Xiriána chief. The latter picks up the objects and distributes them to his warriors, one after the other. When each is richly laden, they leave the maloka with measured step and disappear into the forest. The Xiriána chief is now the only one left behind. For him, however, particularly valuable objects must be brought. Above all, it is now the duty of the Surára or Pakidái chief to offer precious things of his own, perhaps a woven hammock which was given him by civilized people, a large pot, a bush knife, or a particularly beautiful chain of glass beads. Along with these, he usually sets down a basket of bananas and pupunha fruits. When the Xiriána chief, finally satisfied, nods his head, the Surára or Pakidái at last feel relieved. There is now a concluding dialogue sung by the two chiefs, whereupon the Xiriána chief rises and, heavily loaded for his part, strides toward the forest where his warriors are

/75 cont./
619 already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
651 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
576 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon
574 hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114]

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
178
241 At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[622]
000

[174]

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

Surára
Pakidái

/116 cont./

123 touched me all over my body, and they examined my spectacles with particular interest (557) and were very astonished at my

557. The Surára chief was so enthusiastic about my spectacles that he asked me to be sure to bring him a pair on my next visit.

blond hair and blue eyes. When I shaved, I was likewise surrounded by a circle of spectators (558). Even when I had to re-

558. Similar experiences were had by Chaffanjon among the Kunuaná (Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 267/68), Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipang and Makuxí /Macusi/ (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 360), and Baldus among the Tapirapé (Baldus, 1956b, p. 606).

lieve myself, I was asked where I was going, and often I was joined by companions.

191 When the Surára and Pakidái see something new for the first time or if they like an object particularly well, they
521 manifest their approval by loud clickings. They love conversa-
• [576] tion above all else, and even at night they go on talking for hours. They never interrupt each other, however.

593 Though the man is the head of the family, the wife is
692 regarded as his partner with equal rights, without whose advice he does not undertake anything important. If he has two or
595 more wives, the youngest usually leads a princess's existence,
593 for which even the older ones must contribute. Mistreatment of women occurs only on account of adultery and for reasons of jealousy. But if a man beats his wife or draws blood on her body with the little cutia-tooth knife, several companions of her own sex immediately hasten to her aid. They try to pin down the arms of the angry man, and one woman will attempt to seize his scrotum and squeeze it with all her might, so that

Surára
Pakidái

/116 cont./

593 he soon loses all desire for further mistreatment. The other members of the tribe watch such a spectacle with interest. Moreover, it is worth noting that most of the women are very energetic and can scold with persistence. If a woman is angry with her husband, perhaps because he was unfaithful or did not go hunting, she will often scold loudly to herself for hours, so that all the other occupants of the maloka hear every word. [572] Meanwhile, however, the man being scolded remains lying in hammock in stoic calm, for a scolding woman may never be 578 interrupted. But between women, too, there are sometimes regular cannonades of vituperation carried on with the greatest vocal display. I always had the impression that at any moment they would come to blows. Sometimes this actually happens. Then they pull one another by the hair and strike each other in the face and on the rest of the body with the hands. /117/ In this case, other women do not interfere, nor do the men. Everybody watches calmly and waits until the scuffle is over.

855 Children are treated with special love and tenderness. In most cases, they show their gratitude to their parents by bestow-
888 ing upon them everlasting affection. I never saw old people neglected (559). If they became so weak and ill that they were

[171]

559. Baldus also reports of the Tapirapé that the old people are very well treated there (Baldus, 1956, p. 603), whereas later Giacone paints a very gloomy picture in this respect about the Tukano: "Entre os índios dêsses rios, a condição dos velhos é das mais penosas .... Poderíamos dizer, sem medo de errar, que o velho ou a velha, quando não pode mais trabalhar para a família, é considerado como bananeira que já deu cacho, e ninguem terá compaixão deles... /Among the Indians of these rivers the situation of the old people is most painful .... We might say, without fear of error, that the old man or old woman, when

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'*Anai*,' I said. '*Anami*, yes' (where in a European tongue one would say 'no'). 'Yes, there is nothing to eat on the Uagua. People die there of hunger. . . .' and I gave a burlesque performance of a person dying of hunger.

This tickled them, and the first three of them went off—in these parts there are no greetings and no farewells. The remaining Samatari stayed looking at us without a word, and in his expression there seemed to be a longing—to follow us, to live with us, among all our marvels, over there on the Merevari and even further, along the great river with its rapids. But still he said nothing. We were putting our things together. He followed us with his eyes. Then, after peering at Enrico and me, he went over to Uaremu and said something which made all the Shiriana smile. In a second, he was gone, running off with his bow and arrows at the trail, to catch up with his comrades.

'What did the boy say?' I asked Uaremu, who had started off along the well-beaten track.

'Nothing. He said he'd never have thought he would see men like you.'

Once more we were on our own. We had regained our liberty, but in place of the happiness it should have brought a certain melancholy descended upon us. We felt that we had left something behind, over there on the Uraricoera, and more especially among the Samatari themselves, that howling tribe of pygmies, bad men, Mongolians, and girlish types (our own definitions for the four groups into which they could be divided)—among whom we had left a little of ourselves. And that last youngster's phrase stuck in our minds. It was like the whole burden of a speech we had interrupted before it was finished—or rather, when it was scarcely begun.

Hashimo set the pace. It was a steady one, and infernally fast—he wanted to get home without losing a second, so that we were left with no time for sadness. We were kept far too busy. We footslogged all that day, finishing up what little meat we had left, and eking it out with a little fruit now and then.

Once more we slept in a familiar camp, on the river-bank, where the Guayca made a vain attempt to catch fish. No wild life was to be seen: the recent march of the Samatari had destroyed, or disturbed, all the animals in the district and the survivors would have fled up into the surrounding heights. Hunger began to rise in us like a tide, threatening to submerge us: and all the time Enrico was suffering from some explosive intestinal worms he had contracted from some rotten fruit he had eaten. This worried us because we had no remedy for it, and the sufferer's signs of distress were so evident that the Guayca were highly amused.

/471 cont./

551 When a person is called by his own name, he frequently returns the insult by calling the offender by his own name.

/472/ The names of persons are distinguished by their masculine or feminine suffixes, in such a way that he can always be sure to which sex the person referred to belongs, even though this might not have been known. The names which end in "-wa" are masculine, and those which end in "-mi" or in "-ma" are feminine.

552 Dogs are also given proper names. Their names are distinguished by the endings for the gender. Other domestic animals rarely receive a proper name and rather are called monkey, parrot, etc.

Relations between Persons

576 The greatest compliment which can generally be made to another person who has acquired a new object is to say: "Give me that." The usual reply is: "No." Such a person is highly pleased to know that he has acquired something desired by another.

574 591 When a visitor (or group of visitors) comes to visit a settlement, he stays outside and decorates himself with painting, feathers, etc. Then, when the inhabitants of the settlement see him coming, they break out in applause. The visitor enters the interior patio of the settlement and stands with his head thrown back, holding his bow and arrows out in front, resting vertically on the ground. When he is invited to enter a house, he goes to it and lies down in a hammock on his back, with his head back, remaining motionless for ten to twenty minutes. (A person who frequently visits the settlement knows the house in which he will be well received and goes to it without waiting to be invited.)

574 Once the visitor has rested, he is offered some food. As soon as he finishes eating, and sometimes even before, he breaks his silence and begins to talk with the group which has gathered around him in order to watch him. Then he remains in this same house, where he is given food as long as his visit lasts. They never think of charging him for the food, but an undesirable visitor is either not invited or advised to leave.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

for my complicated storage process. I was able to last most of the day on *café con leche*, heavily sugared espresso coffee diluted about five to one with hot milk. I would prepare this in the evening and store it in a thermos. Frequently, my single meal was no more complicated than a can of sardines and a package of crackers. But at least two or three times a week I would do something sophisticated, like make oatmeal or boil rice and add a can of tuna fish or tomato paste to it. I even saved time by devising a water system that obviated the trips to the river. I had a few sheets of zinc roofing brought in and made a rain-water trap; I caught the water on the zinc surface, funneled it into an empty gasoline drum, and then ran a plastic hose from the drum to my hut. When the drum was exhausted in the dry season, I hired the Indians to fill it with water from the river.

I ate much less when I traveled with the Indians to visit other villages. Most of the time my travel diet consisted of roasted or boiled green plantains (see Glossary) that I obtained from the Indians, but I always carried a few cans of sardines with me in case I got lost or stayed away longer than I had planned. I found peanut butter and crackers a very nourishing food, and a simple one to prepare on trips. It was nutritious and portable, and only one tool was required to prepare the meal, a hunting knife that could be cleaned by wiping the blade on a leaf. More importantly, it was one of the few foods the Indians would let me eat in relative peace. It looked too much like animal feces to them to excite their appetites.

I once referred to the peanut butter as the dung of cattle. They found this quite repugnant. They did not know what "cattle" were, but were generally aware that I ate several canned products of such an animal. I perpetuated this myth, if for no other reason than to have some peace of mind while I ate. Fieldworkers develop strange defense mechanisms, and this was one of my own forms of adaptation. On another occasion I was eating a can of frankfurters and growing very weary of the demands of one of my guests for a share in my meal. When he asked me what I was eating, I replied: "Beef." He then asked, "What part of the animal are you eating?" to which I replied, "Guess!" He stopped asking for a share.

Meals were a problem in another way. Food sharing is important to the Yąnomamö in the context of displaying friendship. "I am hungry," is almost a form of greeting with them. I could not possibly have brought enough food with me to feed the entire village, yet they seemed not to understand this. All they could see was that I did not share my food with them at each and every meal. Nor could I enter into their system of reciprocities with respect to food; every time one of them gave me something "freely," he would dog me for months to pay him back, not with food, but with steel tools. Thus, if I accepted a plantain from someone in a different village while I was on a visit, he would most likely visit me in the future and demand a machete as payment for the time that he "fed" me. I usually reacted to these kinds of demands by giving a banana, the customary reciprocity in their culture—food for food—but this would be a disappointment for the individual who had visions of that single plantain growing into a machete over time.

Despite the fact that most of them knew I would not share my food with them at their request, some of them always showed up at my hut during mealtime. I gradually became accustomed to this and learned to ignore their persistent demands while I ate. Some of them would get angry because I failed to give in, but most of them accepted

amaamo on other occasions, but invariably do so on the day the plantains are hung in the village in anticipation of a feast.) Every evening the men are away on their *hemimou*, the week-long hunt, the young women and girls sing and dance in the village to insure them success.

The hunters left at dawn the following morning, carrying a large supply of roasted and green plantains with them to eat while they hunted. They had picked a site some 25 miles up the Mavaca River for their hunt, as game was known to abound there. Their task was to obtain monkeys, armadillos, wild turkeys, wild pig, tapir or sloth, the only meat deemed worthy to give to guests. They would not be permitted to eat any of this game, but could consume any other game they captured, such as deer, small birds, a small species of wild turkey, or insects and fish they happened to come upon. The feast meat, however, was earmarked for the guests and could not be eaten by the hunters. On this particular hunting trip the men miscalculated the amount of food they would need to sustain them during the hunt, and one of them returned after four days to fetch more plantains. He also gave Kąobawä a report on the hunt's success, creating a small sensation in the village: They had already killed a large number of *kaabo*, a particularly large and very desirable monkey. They had also come upon a quantity of turtle eggs at a sand bar and were eating as many as they could. When they returned later, they cached the remaining eggs in my house, so as not to have to share them with the visitors.

Meanwhile, the visitors were making gluttons of themselves, and the hosts started to grumble about the large number of plantains they had already eaten. The week's supply they originally provided had been consumed in half that time, and the guests had been given permission a second time to harvest more from their hosts' gardens. This was no way for guests to behave, and it soon became apparent that they were intimidating Kąobawä's group. Still, he and his followers continued to supply them with all the food they needed, keeping their complaints to themselves. They did not want it to be known that they were worried about running short of food. Instead, they planned to conduct the feast on a scale that would be difficult to reciprocate.

The hunters returned and presented their catch to Kąobawä. It was brought to his house and placed on the ground, wrapped up in leaves. Kąobawä ignored it for a while and then slowly began to unpack it (see Fig. 4-1) while everybody watched—especially the hunters, who were quite proud of the quantity of meat they had obtained: seventeen *kaabo* monkeys, seven wild turkeys, and three large armadillos. Hunting trips are not usually this successful, but the hunters had fortunately stumbled into a large band of *kaabo* and had nearly wiped it out.

Kąobawä and his group were anxious to conduct the feast for their visitors and present them with the food, because by so doing the visitors would be obliged to leave for home, thereby ending the drain on the gardens.[3]

The feast was scheduled for the day following the return of the hunters, even though the Karohi-teri had not yet arrived. Kąobawä and his group were so anxious to rid themselves of their ravenous guests by this time that they decided to hold a separate feast for the Karohi-teri on the day following the departure of the Mahekodo-teri. This would involve a considerable amount of extra work, but they were more than willing to

[3] I have seen several instances of Yąnomamö groups getting rid of visitors who have joined them semipermanently by holding a feast in their honor; when the ceremonial food is presented, the visitors are obliged to leave.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

By 8:00 A.M. the going-home food had been presented to the visitors, and the trade had been conducted. Had the visitors been polite, they would have left for home at that time. Instead, they decided to stay and witness the second, smaller, feast that Kaobawä was going to conduct for the Karohi-teri, who had not arrived in time for the major event. This capped the series of insults the visitors had heaped upon Kaobawä's group. The visitors were warned that if they should stay, the would be expected to fight in a chest-pounding duel.

It was obvious now that the visitors were looking for trouble, and Kaobawä's group was obliged to react or be subject to even further intimidation. Hence, the challenge to pound chests. At this point the visitors broke camp and departed, much to the relief and joy of Kaobawä's group. In fact, they were pleased that they had been successful in intimidating their guests into leaving, and the men gloated over this accomplishment the rest of the day. They were convinced that their threats were credible enough to force their potential adversaries to withdraw, presumably because the Mahekodo-teri felt they were inferior in strength.

Kaobawä and his group held another feast for the Karohi-teri that same day, but without the assistance of the Lower Bisaasi-teri who left shortly after the previous feast terminated.

The Chest-pounding Duel

The feast for Karohi-teri was essentially the same as the one for the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri. When the dancing was over and darkness fell, the men began to chant again. The first pair of chanters had not completed their rhythmic presentation when the jungle around the village erupted with hoots and screams, causing all of the people in the village to jump from their hammocks and arm themselves. When the men had found their arrows and were prepared, they began yelling back at the unseen guests, rattling the shafts of their arrows together or against their bows and/or pounding the heads of axes against pieces of firewood or on the ground to make noise. The Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri had returned to accept the chest-pounding challenge and entered the village, each man brandishing his axe, club, or bow and arrows. They circled the village once, feinting attack on particular men among the hosts, then grouped at the center of the village clearing. The hosts surrounded them excitedly, dancing with their weapons poised to strike, then entering into the mass of bodies. Heated arguments about food theft and gluttony developed, and the hosts and guests threateningly waved their weapons in each other's faces. Within minutes the large group had bifurcated and the chest-pounding began. The Karohi-teri aided Kaobawä and his followers, whose joint numbers were even further swelled when the Lower Bisaasi-teri rushed to the village after hearing the commotion. There were about sixty adult men on each side in the fight, divided into two arenas, each comprised of hosts and guests. Two men, one from each side, would step into the center of the milling, belligerent crowd of weapon-wielding partisans, urged on by their comrades. One would step up, spread his legs apart, bare his chest, and hold his arms behind his back, daring the other to hit him. The opponent would size him up, adjust the man's chest or arms so as to give himself the greatest advantage when he struck, and then step back to deliver his close-fisted blow. The striker would painstakingly adjust

Binasi-teri, for example, wanted to get rid of the Monou-teri, they would hold a feast in their honor. When the going-home food was presented to them, they had no alternative but to leave. It would have been insulting to remain after the food was presented. In between their moves they returned to their own producing site to collect plantains and carry them to their new garden. They subsisted there off the food they carried with them.

The Monou-teri soon resented being treated like pariahs by their allies and began to regain their courage. Much of this treatment was due to the fact that they failed to chase the raiders when Damowŕ was slain, displaying cowardice instead of ferocity. Many of the men in the Binasi-teri groups resented the Monou-teri for this and were not timid about displaying their disgust. The Monou-teri were a burden, as they rarely helped at expanding Binasi-teri's gardens and ate a good deal of the time.

The raid Kąobawŕ organized to revenge Damowŕ's death took place late in April. The Shamatari allies—Mĳamĳböwei-teri and Reyalöwei-teri—were invited to participate, but they failed to send a contingency. As allies never really trust each other, the raid was delayed because some of the Binasi-teri suspected that their allies were waiting for the raiders to leave so that they could descend on the poorly protected women and make off with captives. Finally, a few of them did arrive and the *waya itou* (warrior line-up) got under way. Still, the Binasi-teri feared treachery on the part of their Shamatari friends, so the men of Lower Binasi-teri decided to stay home and protect the women left behind by the Monou-teri and Upper Binasi-teri raiders. A small feast was held to entertain the visiting Shamatari allies.

On the afternoon of the feast a grass dummy was set up in the village, and the men who were to participate in the raid conducted a mock attack on the dummy, which was supposed to represent the body of a Patanowŕ-teri man. They painted themselves black, crept slowly around the village with bows and arrows ready, searching for the tracks of the enemy. They converged at one point, spread out, crept toward the dummy, and, at Kąobawŕ's signal, let fly with a volley of arrows. The Yąnomamö are good archers. None of the arrows missed its mark, and the dummy, looking like a pincushion, toppled ominously to the ground, a dozen or more bamboo-tipped arrows protruding from it. Then the raiders screamed and ran out of the village, simulating their retreat from the enemy. They drifted back into the village, one at a time or in small groups, and retired to their hammocks to wait for darkness.

The village became unusually quiet shortly after dark. Suddenly, the stillness was pierced by an animal-like noise, half-scream and half-growl, as the first raider marched slowly out to the center of the village, clacking his arrows against his bow, growling his individualized fierce noise, usually a mimic of a carnivore: a wasp, or a buzzard. At this signal—not knowing fully what to expect and a little nervous—I crept from my own hammock and went to the center of the village with my tape recorder. The other raiders joined the first man, coming one at a time after short intervals, each clacking his arrows and growling some hideous noise. Kąobawŕ stood by and made sure the line was straight and faced the direction of the enemy; he would push or pull the individual warriors until they formed a perfectly straight line, joining them after the last one took his place.

The procession to the line-up took about twenty minutes, as about 50 or so men participated (see Fig. 5-2). When the last one was in line, the murmurs among the

*628 past. Finally, there is no way of scoring 'promises' to
*621 exchange women, and the strength of the shoriwã tie between
602 members of two distinct villages is largely a function of
583 such promises.

*621 Summarizing the difference in agnatic and affinal
602 ties, the important point is that affinal ties have the
618 potential of changing in their coefficient of solidarity when exchanges between two descent groups continues over time. It is largely for this reason that villages reduce to clusters of affinally related dual organizations (paired patrilineal local descent groups) that have exchanged women in the past and will probably continue to do so in the future.

C. Ferocity and Bellicosity

773 According to the Yąnomamö Moon Myth, Uhudima, a
823 Spirit, shot Moon with an arrow. The drop of blood that fell to the earth flowed over the surface, causing all Yąnomamö to become fierce. Ever since that time the Yąnomamö have behaved fiercely, because they were born in blood.

823 The Yąnomamö regard themselves as being violent,
• 577 coercive, crafty and quick to display aggressiveness; they
829 value this behavior. Yąnomamö contacts with other tribes
648 and with civilized foreigners have been consistently hostile until about 1955. They have succeeded in exterminating one tribe,[1] and have caused a number of villages of another tribe to relocate in order to avoid the attacks mounted on them by

[1] The Makú; see Migliazza, 1965.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

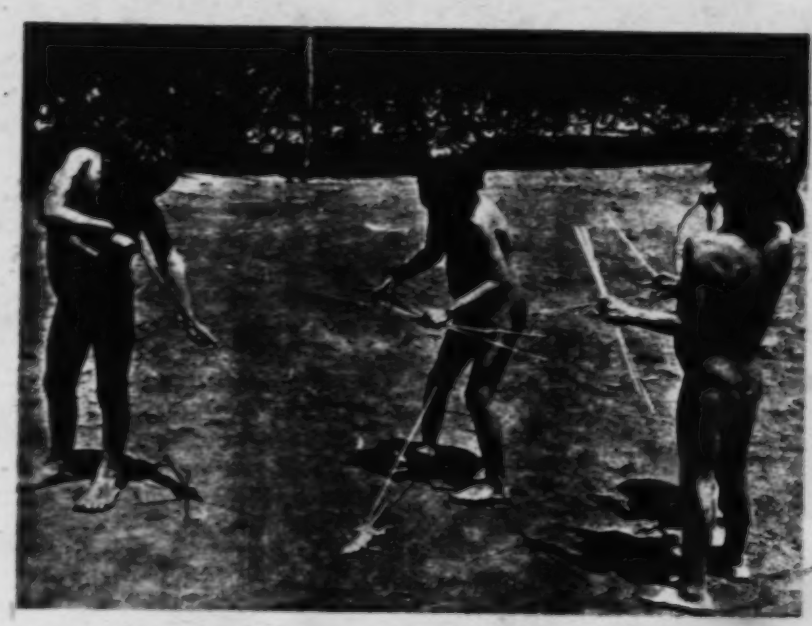


Fig. 3-8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

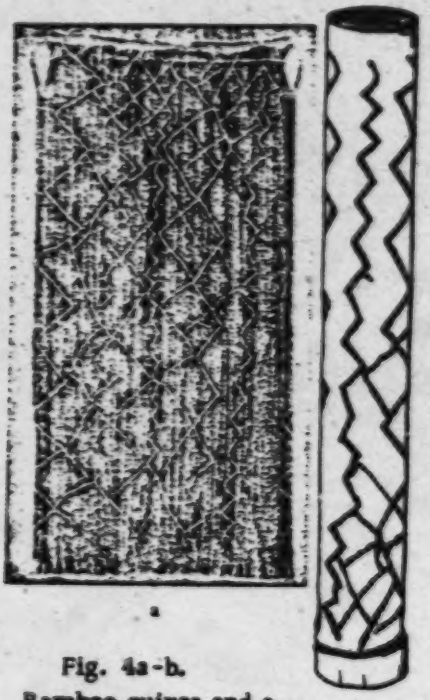
It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

000 411 194 173 411 726 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would represent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waikâ, Zerries reports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them

411 415 531



a b

Fig. 4a-b.
Bamboo quiver and a rubbing of the incised design.

173 411 726 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hímo," which are made from the wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

411 171 578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled, which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

411 824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xiriâna, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114);

411 578 191

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldus, 1939, p. 113.

they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be-

411 184

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

tween the poles or clubs of the Waiká and the sticks of the Surára and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed. [174]

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tôra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b). [581]

411 482 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrow-points wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

/39 cont./

301 171 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

301 789 832 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, [824] to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrẽ. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrẽ -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hiî -- (see p.243).

302 e) Hair style

Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around the head, including the tonsure -- hemõno. Shaving the latter, [462] but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp. --) (see p.119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

/113 cont./

7. Types of Sports

526

[578] Aside from the stick duels -- xelekuhahé --, which are carried out for reasons of jealousy (549), all other types of sports

549. I have already described these stick duels in detail (Becher, 1959, pp. 162-167).

have a religious or magical character.

[237] Noteworthy above all is the game of ball with a monkey bladder -- yarobussí. Only male members of the tribe may take part in it, and for this purpose they always put on their cotton belts. Then they form a circle and keep hitting the bladder upward with the palm of the hand; it then represents both the sun and the moon (Ill. 50).

526 171 821 This game of ball is very similar to that of the Uítoto /Witoto/, even with respect to the lunar and solar conceptions associated with it (550a). Moreover, it should be mentioned

550a. Preuss, 1921, pp. 123, 133-136; 1923, pp. 644 to 659.

that in a myth of the Paressi both celestial bodies are thought of as feather balls (550b). Finally, reference is to be made to the

550b. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 435/36.

Aztec popular belief in which the flying ball is likewise identified with sun and moon (551).

551. Krickeberg, 1948, p. 139.

526 Three other types of sports of the Surára and Pakidái have already been described elsewhere: petapoanhamű, the fight

Surára
Pakidái

/116 cont./

593 he soon loses all desire for further mistreatment. The other members of the tribe watch such a spectacle with interest. Moreover, it is worth noting that most of the women are very energetic and can scold with persistence. If a woman is angry with her husband, perhaps because he was unfaithful or did not go hunting, she will often scold loudly to herself for hours, so that all the other occupants of the maloka hear every word. [572] Meanwhile, however, the man being scolded remains lying in hammock in stoic calm, for a scolding woman may never be •578 interrupted. But between women, too, there are sometimes regular cannonades of vituperation carried on with the greatest vocal display. I always had the impression that at any moment they would come to blows. Sometimes this actually happens. Then they pull one another by the hair and strike each other in the face and on the rest of the body with the hands. /117/ In this case, other women do not interfere, nor do the men. Everybody watches calmly and waits until the scuffle is over.

855 Children are treated with special love and tenderness. In most cases, they show their gratitude to their parents by bestow-
888 ing upon them everlasting affection. I never saw old people neglected (559). If they became so weak and ill that they were

[171]

559. Baldus also reports of the Tapirapé that the old people are very well treated there (Baldus, 1956, p. 603), whereas later Giacone paints a very gloomy picture in this respect about the Tukano: "Entre os índios dêsses rios, a condição dos velhos é das mais penosas .... Poderíamos dizer, sem medo de errar, que o velho ou a velha, quando não pode mais trabalhar para a família, é considerado como bananeira que já deu cacho, e ninguem terá compaixão deles... /Among the Indians of these rivers the situation of the old people is most painful .... We might say, without fear of error, that the old man or old woman, when

/478 cont./

628 728 been killed, might require a greater number of years to be reconciled. Disputes which have reached the proportions of regional wars are rarely forgotten within the same generation, since there is hardly any neutral settlement left by means of which peace negotiations can be made.

The Family

591 606 A newly married couple may live in the settlement of the wife's parents or in that of the husband's parents. But if they decide to live in the settlement of the wife's parents, they cannot live in the same dwelling with them, because it is prohibited (taboo) for the husband to approach his mother-in-law. He can enter her house only when she is outside. He would not dare to come any closer to her than three or four meters. If the couple decides to live with the husband's parents, there are no such restrictions, since there is no prohibition against the daughter-in-law approaching her mother-in-law. Even suitors customarily lodge on the side opposite that of the house of their future mother-in-law, in their town.

595 The majority of the men have but one wife. Those who wish to, and are able to, may have two or more wives. This practice [578] makes more acute the shortage of marriageable women and may be one of the principal causes of the fights over wives which are started by men who have remained without any.

When a man has more than one wife, his wives may live in the same house or in several houses in a row. They work together, but each one has her own property. Frequently they are sisters since a man is more likely to marry the sister of his wife than to find another wife elsewhere.

593 Within the family it is the man who exercises authority. I only know of one case where the woman gives orders in the house, and this because her husband is mentally deficient.

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621 [62] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and therefore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups [578] soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

722 /152 cont. /One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,
499 the Bisheasetjeti also crossed; the bridge was /153/ cut by them
near the bank. Guards were placed to keep a lookout for the
enemy, should he try to repair the bridge and cross it.

727 Much after this, a raid was made on Liacoatjeti by some
[721] of the Bisheasetjeti and the Majecotjeti /sic/; "Jaiyeota," one
of the Majecototjeti, shot one of them and killed him. A boy
of four or five years of age was captured. One of the men from
Majecototjeti, "Ushiu," took the boy and cared for him. All
of the children were bothering the little one, calling him enemy
and acting as if they were going to shoot him. One day, after
this had gone on for a while, a young man from Bisheasetjeti
shot the child near the water spring. He shot the arrow so hard
that it passed through him. Ushiu gave the child a funeral, but
none of the other inhabitants of the aldea came to the "lloro"
/weeping/, because they said, "After all, he was an enemy."

628 The two aldeas had some bad times together. Often, when
721 they were in the forest, they had to come running back, feeling
578 sick. Frequently their ribs were showing. During this time
[164] several died of a strange fever which kept the victim hot day and
night without relief. Others were very sick with the fever, and it
[361] was feared that they would also die. The two aldeas of
Bisheasetjeti and Majecototjeti lived together for a year, until
those of Bisheasetjeti made a new "farm" /granja/ down the
Orinoco, on the other side of the Manaviche River. When they
separated, friction caused by some women had reached such a
point that the Majecototjeti summoned the Macolimutjeti, and
both of them made a raid on Bisheasetjeti to recover the wife of
a Majecototjeti who had gone to live with a Bisheasetjeti. One
family did not take part in this raid and by its friendly and fre-
quent visits prevented the two aldeas from shooting at each other.

628 Another incident of friction was that a young man from
578 Majecototjeti stole a Bisheasetjeti woman from her husband.
837 When the husband had almost persuaded his wife to come back
with him, the Majecototjeti man shot him in the back with a bone-
pointed arrow and kept the woman. The Bisheasetjeti man was
seriously wounded, but recovered.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123 From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dixies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their [152] fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One [758] of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

595 As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous 162 and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males ● 578 whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the 684 negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought 838 that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We 201 had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of ges- 123 tures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

123 In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of 411 ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yąnomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yąnomamö in their language.

Census data on five Yąnomamö villages are presented to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is complicated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter-village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii]

000 marriage exchanges with other groups.

The weakness of kinship[1]

Few institutions promote solidarity between the local lineages of a village on the one hand and between allied villages on the other. Consanguineal kinship ties are weak; so weak, that the most bitter fighting usually takes place between villages comprised of closely related kinsmen. The roles of leaders are poorly defined, and headmen can rarely reconcile dissident factions within their own villages. Moreover, there are a number of factors constantly threatening the stability of local groups, and these factors likewise weaken political relationships between allied villages. Within villages fighting frequently breaks out over food thefts and over sexual liaisons. In the latter case the fighting takes the form of dueling with clubs, and usually the result is that the village splits; one of the factions establishes a garden elsewhere and becomes an independent village. As the histories of selected villages will show (see below, Chapter 5), the settlement pattern of Yanomamö villages is cyclical; it results from the splitting of larger villages, the renewed growth of the splinter groups into large villages, followed by recurrent splitting and growth ad infinitum. Kinship as a medium for promoting solidarity within villages loses its efficacy when villages

[1] It is difficult to discuss each variable affecting marriage alliances as operating by itself, for they are intimately interconnected, and I list them separately only to point out their major features.

121 have a prescriptive marriage system. What the Purum say they do and what they actually do are two distinct things.

*621 *578 922 As I mentioned above, after Yanomamö villages reach a certain, critical size, they tend to fragment into smaller groups. The internal tensions that promote this instability are to some extent offset by external military pressures: members of a faction within a larger village may want to establish their own independent village to avoid club-fighting and to suppress more severe forms of violence; but if their village is being raided by members of other villages, it may be impossible for them to do so. Occasionally a [241] village splits into several factions, each establishing its own garden apart from the other, but the factions are forced to reunite because of raids mounted by other groups. Gen- *621 *628 722 583 582 918 [602] erally, the process of village splitting precludes a later recombination of the same factions because these remain hostile to each other. Thus, the small, vulnerable villages that result from the fragmentation of a larger village are constrained to make marriage alliances with other villages, both to insure military assistance and because it is difficult to obtain women from their kinsmen with whom they are now at war. Village size and the balance of marriage exchanges between villages indicate that numerically weak villages are *621 *628 722 583 582 439 coerced by their stronger partners to give up women. In some cases, the disposition of desirable trade goods may affect the balance in the exchange of women between two villages. In general it may be said that, when one village

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yanomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yanomamö social organization of this single

phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the result of the shortage of women.

Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and this frequently causes the village to split. The larger the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion. Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each group establishes an independant village and enters into marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yanomamö village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data, the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to split.

Ideological considerations, therefore, promote friction and fighting within villages and lead to village splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek marriage alliances with other groups.

Economic practices

Local groups abandon residential and horticultural sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of their enemies. For the most part, the Ynomamö are able to predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop within the village and it is expected that these will

escalate, the factions involved usually use the interlude between a club-fight and actual killings to establish separate gardens.

Occasionally, however, a village suddenly becomes embroiled in a war that it has not expected, or fighting within the village immediately involves shooting to kill. Then the only recourse for the group is to take refuge with an ally and subsist on the produce of the ally's garden. If the critical situation develops out of an intra-village dispute, the smaller of the contesting factions is forced to flee to another village where it has friends or relatives.

If all the members of a village are forced to take refuge in another village, they proceed to make their own garden apart from that of their hosts; then, when the garden begins to produce, the refugee group moves to that site to live. They do this because the price of protection is always measurable in terms of the hosts' demanding access to the women of the guests, either as spouses for their own men or simply as temporary sexual partners.

Twice during the lifetime of my oldest Bisaasi-tedi informants their group was obliged to flee to an allied village to escape the raids of powerful neighbors, raids that resulted from the development of intensive hostilities before the group could establish a new garden of its own elsewhere. On both occasions the refugees lost a number of women to their protectors, and in neither case did they receive wives in return. Indeed, on the second occasion, the hosts planned

124 until I devised techniques to overcome this informant re-
[128] action. I had ultimately to resort to using informants from
124 other villages to get much of the information, particularly
551 names, about the people with whom I spent most of my time, or,
969 578 to employ informants who had grudges against individuals within the village; the greatest insult a Yanomamö can give is to say the name of a person's dead ancestor, and I capitalised on this custom at every opportunity.

124 Once I obtained accurate names,[1] the task became
551 easier and I was able to use local informants once again,
969 although rarely would they mention names of their dead relatives. Toward the end of my field work I managed to gain the confidence of several older individuals who verified and expanded on information I had collected by more devious means; even so, they themselves would not mention the names of many of the individuals in the genealogies, and I was constrained by my bargain with these informants not to mention the names
124 of any of their closely related dead kinsmen. By utilizing
128 several informants who were not closely related I managed to verify and correct the genealogies of the people with whom I lived, and I am reasonably sure that the information is accurate as far as it goes, although there are probably

---

[128] [1] I was satisfied that the name was accurate when I obtained the same name from several of my most trusted informants. The best proof, however, was the reaction of an informant who was related to the deceased. If this informant became angry or upset when I whispered the name in his presence while checking a genealogy, I was reasonably sure that I had the right name.

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the [701] entire group has already decided to undertake. His major function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable [529] task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently [574] initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often super- [439] vises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [527] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in [241] initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food [578] given away during the feast. During club-fights within the [621] village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting [629] stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

629 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion 72 to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek 554 to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide. There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice. First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

[1] The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, listed in Table 1, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
863 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[564] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[678] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[41] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[554] measure of his sexual prowess.

573 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mõmaribõwei-tedi
732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwë. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwë), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

835 investigated discrepant kinship usage I found that the termi-
601 nology changed because of incestuous relationships between my
183 informant (or his close kinsman) and the members of the local lineage in question. I have not investigated all discrepant usages, but the high incidence of the terminological aberrations suggests that incest is widely practiced.

835 Incestuous affairs and marriages occur largely because
601 of the woman shortage. I have already mentioned that IshiweiwÄ
183 of PatanowÄ-tedi married his three 'granddaughters' because he
582 could not find a wife of the appropriate category. A similar
[162] situation occurred in BisaasiÄtedi. RoromawÄ, one of the
[568] important men in the lower group of BisaasiÄtedi, has redefined a number of his classificatory daughters as sisters,[1] thereby making it possible for his sons to marry their children, otherwise incestuous marriages. His oldest son, BÄkÄbÖwÄ, technically married his FaDaDa, but because his father had redefined the mother of BÄkÄbÖwÄ's wife as 'sister,' the marriage was appropriate within their marriage rules.

237 The woman shortage is remedied by illicit affairs
*621 within the village. These affairs are the major cause of
• 578 feuds and village splits. During the 15 months covered by
[721] my field work five club-fights occurred. Four of them were over women who had been caught in illicit affairs, and in one case, the village split into hostile factions that began

---

[1]See Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of this.

837
621
578
721

raiding each other.[1]

That the shortage of women is the basis of internal feuding is illustrated by a practice recently adopted by members of the New Tribes Mission working in the village of Kosholowä-tedi, a small village on the Padamo River. The missionaries had a major problem with club-fighting within the village, most of which developed out of sexual liasons between married women and married men. The missionaries began an active campaign aimed at changing the coitus taboos during pregnancy and lactation. They were successful in their efforts, and the major result was that fighting was almost completely stopped. (Another result was a sharp increase in births.)

621
562
162
837
578

Village size and composition have an effect on the number of sexual liaisons within a village, as illicit affairs are more difficult to discover in large villages. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, as can be seen from Table 1, have less of a woman shortage than the other villages. Nevertheless, fights over women do break out in these villages. One of the clubfights I witnessed took place between two groups of Monou-tedi men in the village of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the Monou-tedi men had wanted to carry on an affair with the wife of Konoreiwä, another man of his village, but was unable to do so while the Monou-tedi lived in their own village. Once when the Monou-tedi moved to Bisaasi-tedi to

---

[1] See Chapter 5, Tables 5 and 6, for a summary of the causes of village splits and hostilities.

avoid the raids from the PatanowÃ-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with KonoreiwÃ's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by KonoreiwÃ. The entire village participated in the club fight. KonoreiwÃ punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the PatanowÃ-tedi arrived at BisaasÃ-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the PatanowÃ-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the PatanowÃ-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

726 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time in-
114 volved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

*621 628 837 578 721 [241] When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 726 722 241 36 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare necessitates the formation of political alliances with other groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

---

[241] [361] [171] [128] [1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory. In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

illustrate how village shifts are related to warfare, and how foresight in establishing new gardens serves to facilitate village movement in anticipation of wars. The Monou-tedi planned to raid the Patanowẽ-tedi after the latter had recovered five of the seven women abducted by the Monou-tedi in November 1964. The Monou-tedi, of course, expected to be raided in turn by the Patanowẽ-tedi, so they began making a new garden in a direction away from their enemies, anticipating the revenge raids they knew would follow. In short, the Monou-tedi prepared for the war by initiating work on a new garden in a more defensible area--closer to their allies and across a large river--an action they hoped would permit them to remain completely independent of the largesse of their allies.

The graded violence pattern[1] of the Yąnomamö may be viewed from the standpoint that such a pattern facilitates the establishment of new gardens while villages split. Thus, grievances may be temporarily settled by club-fighting, and the estranged factions may utilize the interval between club fighting and more violent hostilities to establish new gardens. This is also consistent with the political philosophy of the Yąnomamö: chest pounding duels and club fights function to permit the aggrieved to demonstrate their ferocity in acts of violence, while the existence of several levels of

[1] The forms of fighting, in increasing degree of violence, are: side-slapping duels, chest-pounding duels, slapping of either the side or the chest with the flat side of a machete, club-fighting duels, spear-fighting duels, raiding with the tactic of ambush, and treacherous feasts. I have discussed this pattern elsewhere. Chagnon, 1967.

578 violence simultaneously permits the expression of hostility
+621
241 in such a way that the groups can split from each other on
182 relatively peaceful terms. The particular form of violence
152 employed in settling grievances is determined by a number of considerations, one of which is the likelihood that the resulting factions will be victimized by the raids of a powerful
578 enemy. Thus, in the splitting of villages, the gradations in
+621
+628 forms of violence permit of settlement patterns suited to
241 given military situations. Villages torn by internal con-
361
722 flicts may find it easier to split into two relatively peaceful
182 factions and remain geographically close to each other. In
152 this way, they can reunite into a single unit should either be attacked. Conversely, the violence pattern may also facilitate the separation of a large village into hostile groups that have no intention of reuniting: it permits suitable means for the temporary solution of a feud that will be carried to further ends after the two groups have separate gardens. The separation of the Monou-tedi from the Bisaasi-tedi is an example of the former, and the separation, at an earlier date, of both of these groups from the Patanowä-tedi is an example of the latter. Thus, while the bellicose behavior and values constrain co-residential groups to respond violently to affronts perpetrated on them by their co-villagers, their agricultural requirements can be accomodated by a graded system of violence that permits temporary solutions, albeit violent, while new gardens are cleared by the principals in a feud.

sexually, by the practices of sodomy, wife sharing, incest, and permitted affairs. However, two ways in which the problem is resolved---clandestine affairs within villages and raiding to abduct women between villages---create political situations that favor the development of political alliances for the purposes of defense. Since these involve the transfer of women between the allies, the practice of female infanticide constitutes a functional component in the marriage alliance system.

The process of village splitting, growing out of feuds over women, results in the establishment of small, militarily vulnerable villages. The timing of the split is conditioned by the agricultural requirements of the village on the one hand, and the nature of its politico-military relationships with other villages on the other. The graded system of violence permits flexibility in the settlement pattern and the precise conditions of a village split. Because the Yanomamö rely heavily on cultivated foods, alliances may be interpreted as an attempt to maximize the chances of survival of groups of kinsmen as independent groups; the possibility always exists that a given group may be forced by its enemies to seek protection and provisions in the village of an ally.

88

*628 Koima, a girl of
613 some 15 years, was promised to Rerebawë, a young man from
591
583 Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawë had
606 already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom he had two children. Rerebawë wished to return to his own village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawë began making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effectively, and Rerebawë was growing impatient. His parents-in-law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter,
584 provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however,
583
591 refused to go to Rerebawë, suspecting that he would not keep
• 578 his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead,
135
613 Bëkotawë, her classificatory FaSiSo. She began an affair with
*624 Bëkotawë, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated
627 Rerebawë, who challenged Bëkotawë to a club fight. Bëkotawë belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi and was cognatically related to the members of the headman's
[626] descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment was on Bëkotawë's side, but the girl belonged to a descent group over whose affairs Bëkotawë's supporters had no claims. Rerebawë's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was promised to him by her agnates: Bëkotawë was, in effect, having an

affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawë's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawë threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawë shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawë, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bëkotawë, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawë discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawë, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

602 of social organization,[1] and in analyses of particular societies.[2] It is not assumed here that the nature of the [114] social organization itself stems from the nature of the sentiments associated with particular dyadic kin ties, as was implied in Homans and Schneider's work (1955). Dyadic ties are a product of political, military, ideological and economic forces that shape Yąnomamö social organization, and reflect, rather than cause, that organization.

Of the large number of logically possible kinship dyads, only a few have structural relevance to this analysis. In particular, ties between agnates and ties between brothers-in-law must be considered to render intelligible the mechanics of Yąnomamö social organization.

602 +621 = 578 Ties between distantly related agnates are the most ambiguous, and the ones that usually break when villages split. Conversely, ties between closely related agnates are strong and less likely to be severed in village splits.

607 Of the affinal ties, those linking brothers-in-law to each other are of the greatest structural importance and are often stronger than ties between distantly related agnates. 606 601 Secondarily, ties between a man and his son-in-law are strong, but have fewer structural consequences than either brother-in-law (shoriwë) or brother (aiwë, osheya) ties.

---

[1] Levi-Strauss, 1963, Ch. 2; Needham, 1962, Ch. 2.

[2] Leach, 1957.

I. Marriage Ties

602 593 581 583 [609] Marriages bind the groups of the spouses to each other in a system of exchanges involving goods, services, and the promise to reciprocate women at a later date. Yąnomamö marriage is peculiar in that the ties between husband and wife are very weak, but that ties between a man and his sister's husband are strong. The significance of marriage as an institution that initiates (or continues) alliances between non-agnatic groups stems, therefore, from the nature of the ties that it creates between the male members of the allied groups.

593 Ties between spouses are usually very tenuous, due largely to the fact that men are constantly suspicious of their wives' motives whenever the women leave the village unescorted. Men always suspect their wives of infidelity, and will even beat them if there is the slightest suspicion that the women have been seeing other men. A certain amount of 837 593 trysting goes on in all villages, but it is more frequent and more easily accomplished in larger villages. Discovery of [578] liaisons by the cuckold inevitably leads to club fighting 593 between the factions of the lover and the husband. The woman 684 involved usually suffers more than either of the male principals in the fighting that follows, as women are severely punished by their husbands. The punishment usually consists of a beating with a club, but men frequently shoot their unfaithful wives with barbed arrows in a non-vital area of the body, such as the buttocks or leg. In one instance I witnessed,

593 684 the enraged husband struck his wife in the face with a burning log, severely burning her mouth. Burning is a common punishment, and many women bear immense scars from wounds inflicted by enraged husbands. Just before I left the field [578] a fight developed in Patanowä-tedi between a man and his wife's lover. The lover was killed in the fight and the woman's husband punished her by cutting off her ears with a [165] machete. Some women have been killed by enraged husbands, but in most of these cases, the deaths resulted from wounds that were not intended to be fatal.

607 613 *621 *628 [593] Despite the fact that the tie between spouses is weak, marriages create strong ties between a man and his sister's husband. This tie is of great significance in the social organization of the Yąnomamö, as it is stable, well defined, non-ambiguous and politically important. The brother-in-law (shoriwä) tie is the key link in alliances between local descent groups, both within and between villages.

607 601 The term shoriwä (brother-in-law, MoBrSo, FaSiSo, friend) is used constantly by Yąnomamö men when they address any new male acquaintance. Shoriwä implies a set of obligations and duties between the speakers. One can depend on his shoriwä for material goods and gifts, and a request for such items from a shoriwä is not easily denied: shoriwä is, in addition to goods-giver, wife-giver. The Yąnomamö use this [797] [609] [101] term for foreigners as well; they use it so frequently that the Salesian Missionaries who have recently contacted a few

000 groups. In a large village comprised of two large lineages,
*621 each having two or more local descent groups, the particular
613 local descent groups of each lineage will have stronger ties
602 with non-agnatic descent groups within that village than with
• 578 groups of distantly related agnates. When there are feuds within the village, the groups that have most in common with each other are those linked by affinal rather than agnatic ties, and these affinally linked groups stick together should the feud lead to a village split.[1] While the tie between
[607] closely related agnates is stronger than that between brothers-in-law, the latter are usually stronger than the ties between distantly related agnates.

606 Finally, the son-in-law tie complements the brother-
609 in-law tie in binding local descent groups to each other
*621 within villages. Older adult males of local descent groups
613 can depend on the support of brothers, brothers-in-law, and
578 sons-in-law in village feuds, more so than on the support of
582 distantly related agnates. In the competition for women, affines in a faction exchange women rather than compete for them; just the opposite is true of the relationships between distantly related agnates.

2. Agnatic ties

593 *621 . One of the two most important consanguineal ties having structural concomitants among the Yanomamö is the tie between siblings of the opposite sex. These are not as

[128]

[1] See Chapter IV for a detailed discussion of the structure of village factions.

*628 726 602 609 622 latter felt obliged to revenge the man's death by raiding his classificatory brother's village.

Similar cases occur in internal village fighting. *624 • 578 593 Hunobawë, an Upper Bisaasi-tedi man of some 60 years, gathered a stalk of bananas from his garden and hung them in the roof of his hut to ripen. His son, Dikawë, 18 years old, discovered the ripening bananas and ate a large number of them without the consent of his father. When Hunobawë discovered the loss, he went into a rage and attacked Dikawë with a club. Dikawë got his own club and began assailing the old man. This precipitated a general free-for-all in the village, as large numbers of men took one side or the other in the melee.

*628 602 578 613 583 Club fights between historically related but separate villages also pit agnates against each other. When Bisaasi-tedi's Lower Group seized a girl that the Monou-tedi had abducted from the Patanowë-tedi, a club fight was arranged to settle the dispute. But, the most important factions in Monou-tedi and the two Bisaasi-tedi groups were local descent groups of the same lineage, and their headmen were classificatory brothers. Although the dispute and club fight ultimately involved all the able-bodied men of each village, the fight was initiated by distantly related agnatic groups of the same lineage.

602 578 Some dyadic kinship ties are more stable than others. It is not possible to say, however, that any one in particular is so inherently stable that fighting between such kinsmen can not occur. Certain kinds of violence, however, are not

likely to take place between agnates of a certain degree of blood relationship, or between affines that are cognatically related. While a father and son may club each other, it is not likely that the fight will escalate to spear thrusting or shooting with arrows. The same may be said of full brothers, but with less conviction. That is, full brothers occasionally end up in different villages when a larger village splits, particularly if they are the only males in the sibship. Should a war develop between the two villages, there is a possibility that they might kill each other in the raiding; it is not always possible, in Yąnomamö warfare tactics, to pick a victim out of a crowd of people, as the Yąnomamö occasionally shower a village with arrows in raids. Chances are that brothers would not deliberately kill each other, but the fact that one has a brother in an enemy village by no means constitutes sufficient reason to desist in raiding that village.

Club fights within villages frequently pit close agnates against each other, but when club fights escalate to killing by spear thrust, it is not likely that such agnates will fight against each other. Distantly related agnates, however, occasionally do fight against each other with the intent to kill. Much of Yąnomamö warfare involved hostilities between villages that contain as the dominant political bloc local descent groups of the same lineage.

Perhaps the most important structural difference between agnatic and affinal ties is that the former tend to grow weaker as the kinsmen get older, whereas the latter are

000 never took place.

*621 *628 152 152 One of the functions served by the levels of violence in Yąnomamö fighting is that the Yąnomamö are able to exhibit their ferocity in relatively benign forms and thereby live up to their claims of fierceness. But, since any form of violence can escalate to a more serious form of fighting, the system of violence itself constitutes a strain on the solidarity of relationships between and within villages.

*628 527 574 • 578 152 156 One peculair feature of this syndrome of fierceness is that smaller villages tend to be the most aggressive in their dealings with outsiders and with allies. The reason seems to be that smaller villages are more compelled to display their tenacity, as they are more obviously the weaker members in alliances. The expression of violence by members of allied villages, ironically enough, takes place during feasts. Thus, grievances that may have developed between members of allied villages since they last feasted together are satisfied during the course of the next feast. Thus, during the situations most likely to promote solidarity, allies frequently display their capacity to fight, informing their allies that they are sovereign, friendly, but fierce. The form of violence associated with feasting is usually chest pounding, but if someone is injured, the duel may escalate to side-slapping with the flat side of a machete. It smacks of the ridiculous to witness groups of men beating each other violently in such duels, and shortly thereafter embrace each other around the neck and chant, each man

10cChagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

promising the other to be a faithful friend, to give goods, and to provide the other with women.

Thus, canons of political behavior and the high value placed on ferocity have the effect of creating a considerable amount of tension both within and between villages. In short, Yanomamö philosophy regarding ferocity and the associated behavior reduces internal village solidarity and weakens political alliances between villages. Indirectly, it promotes village splitting and warfare.

extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yanomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0. I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relationship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

*623 722 the Upper Bisaasi-tedi had a large village and two small villages. The two smaller villages were occupied by the two factions of the Upper group; the large village was unoccupied. It was used only when threat of raid existed, during which time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi re-joined their group and all moved into the large village. In 1965 the large village was rebuilt, but for the first time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi did not participate in the reconstruction of the common village. A few individuals who feared raids, however, did build a section in the village for themselves.

Lower Bisaasi-tedi, then, would re-unite with Upper Bisaasi-tedi in time of war, although each group pursues its own political ends and remains independent of the other in times of peace. One of the major reasons this is so can be explained in terms of the dyadic relationships discussed in [128] the last chapter. Figure 3 gives the simplified lineage structure of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Lower Bisaasi-tedi, and *621 Monou-tedi. These three villages were one in 1954; Monou- *623 tedi split from the group to found their own village. In • 678 1960 Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Lower Bisaasi-tedi split from each other, but remained geographically close to each other. The reasons given for the splits were that the groups were always fighting over women and, to reduce the frequency of club fighting, they simply parted before hostilities became intense. Even at the present time there is considerably more fighting in the village when the groups coalesce for defense [602] purposes. In terms of the kinship dyads, the problem can be [622]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

reduced to the weakness of the tie between remotely related agnates of the same age, and their rivalry for both women and leadership. The leaders of the three villages are all members of the same lineage.[1] It can be seen in Figure 3 that the headmen of the villages (indicated as 1, 2, and 3) are all agnates, each belonging to a different local segment of the lineage.[2]

As was shown in the last chapter, the ties between distantly related agnates of the same age are probably the most ambiguous and weakest ties in Yanomamö kinship. The feuds that developed within the large, composite village could not be satisfactorily resolved by the leaders of the village, as each leader's segment had more important and stronger ties with local segments of other lineages, and local segments of the same lineage aligned themselves with their affines in disputes against the factions of their agnates. When the village split, it separated along the weakest lines: agnates that were distantly related dispersed to different villages with the groups to which they were more closely bound, their affines. The same is true of the separation of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi from the Patanowä-tedi. Factions A and B of Lower Bisaasi-tedi, when put into the larger,

---

[1] In 1965 the Sha headman of Monou-tedi was killed by the Patanowä-tedi in a raid.

[2] The Sha lineage is shown on the left half of the diagram; it extends to Patanowä-tedi, as does the Hor lineage shown on the right side. Patanowä-tedi's composition is simply an enlarged version of any of the other villages shown in the diagram, and its headmen come from the Sha and Hor lineages.

*621 aid of allies such as the two Bisaasi-tedi groups, the Monou-
722 *628 tedi probably could not survive as an independent village because of the size differential between themselves and their
*621 722 enemies. It is noteworthy, however, that the Monou-tedi are more independent than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, for they moved
361 *628 to a new site rather than recombine (permanently) with their agnates in Bisaasi-tedi. This avoidance pattern is not a probable alternative for the Lower Bisaasi-tedi because of their relative lack of potential to conduct effective warfare, even considering the fact that their allies would aid them. Lower Bisaasi-tedi would invite raiding by moving further away from Upper Bisaasi-tedi, as their erstwhile neighbors and allies, from whom they have managed to obtain so many women, would be more equal in strength and would demand more women from them. Or, other neighbors, such as the Widokaiya-tedi, would descend on them hoping to abduct women, of which the Lower Bisaasi-tedi have many. They have managed to obtain these women from a position of strength, but a large factor in their strength is the fact that they are still dependent on Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Without the latter, they would be in a serious military situation.

Summary

*621 .578 562 602 583 Village splitting develops out of feuding over women; the kinship lines along which villages split reflect the strength of the tie linking descent groups to each other by marriage or promises to exchange women, while at the same time illustrates the weakness of the agnatic bonds.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174
175
103
341
+621
+628
•578
602

Table 5: History of Namowei-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Konata	1875-1900	Raids from Obotawä-tedi, Boreta-tedi, Bokǫoiwä-urihi-tedi and Aramata-tedi	None	---
Wareta	1900-1910	Raids from Shihowä- and Husirawä-urihi-tedi	None	---
Namowei	1910-1920	Raids from Boreta-tedi	None	---
Hahoyaoba	1920-1925	Poor Soil	None	---
Patanowä	1925-1943 (1966)	Internal feud led to split and raiding between factions; site still occupied	Village size and frequent fighting within village	Strained at first, then hostile
Shihota	1943-1949	Raids from Patanowä-tedi	None	---
Mahekodo	1951-1952	Suspicion that their hosts planned to kill them	None	---
Kobou	1952-1953	Fear of Shamatari raids	Internal feuds over women	Friendly
Monou and Barawä	1954-1966 1954-1959	Barawä abandoned because foreigners invited Indians to move to Mavaca; Monou still occupied	None	---
Bisaasi	1959-1966	---	Village size and frequent arguments	Friendly

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
147
[Paruritawä-tedi Group]
174
175
103
361
+621
+228
572
602

Table 6: History of Paruritawä-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Pre-Aramamisi	? - 1880	Raids from Shihowä- and Mokayäaba-tedi	None	---
Aramamisi	1880-1900	Raids from Shihowä-, Konabuma and Mokayäaba-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Shirakobŏwei	1900-1910 [1900-1966]	Internal feuds led to separation of several factions that raided parent group: Karehewä-, Matakuwä-, and previous enemies, Shihowä- and Mokayäaba-tedi. Aramamisi-tedi group remained at Shirakobŏwei after other factions left	a. 1900: Karehewä's faction left because of a feud over a woman. b. 1900: Waiyahowä's faction left for unknown causes. c. 1910: Matakuwä's faction left to aid Karehewä and to avoid raids from Shihowä-tedi.	a. Hostile b. Friendly; Waiyahowä's group was decimated by an epidemic and no longer exists. c. Hostile
Borabŏwei	1910-1935	Raids from Karawatari- and Aramamisi-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Kayurewä	1935-1940	Raids from Aramamisi- and Namowei-tedi	None	---
Konabuma	1940-1945	See next column	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Paruritawä	1945-1960	Raids from Sibarariwä's village (Mŏwäraoba-tedi)	Minor internal feud	Friendly
Mŏmaribŏwei Reyabobŏwei	1960-1965	Present locations	None	---

[Namowei-tedi Group]

only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service. The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Nekurama, and Hikarima) and the Patanowë-tedi (Ishinarima, Rubrobemi, Rokuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in Patanowë-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

(2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions, each making a new garden further up the Shanishani-u River and abandoned Patanowë-tëka. The move was stimulated by the frequency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were always fighting with each other," said one of my informants, "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at Patanowë-tëka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller (Brararaböwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fearing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

[Namowei-tedi Group]

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tëka to Kreiböwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawë and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowë-tëka, and became known as the Patanowë-tedi.

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawë-tedi and Kashorawë-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawë, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowë-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowë-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawë-tedi visited Patanowë-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowë-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawë-tedi. Hasaböwë-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowë-tedi and Yabitawë-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

174 175 361 241 *621 to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There had been a number of club fights between the two factions over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started (Monou-tëka and Barawë-tëka) before the Kreiböwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other considerations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here that considerable fighting took place among the men when the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to the survivors.

174 175 *628 *621 361 The Kreiböwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as they could. It was rumored that their protectors were planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women. This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed the Kreiböwei-tedi several years later of the details of the plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariwë-tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that the Kreiböwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the two men killed by the Kreiböwei-tedi after the treacherous feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 1: Aramamisi-kähkö

174 36 722 *62 [124] Matakuwä's group settled here after abandoning their site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawä's group. The village at Aramamisi-kähkö, according to my informants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, Aramamisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, Möwäraoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawä-tedi, Kohoroshi-te[illegible] Mömariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

174 175 361 *62 *978 *628 72 726 A large segment of the population broke away from the main group and moved to the Rahuawä-u River, splitting into two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from the Aramamisi-kähkö population developed out of a feud over a woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from the original faction that separated from Matakuwä's group. The first three of these groups presently live in the Shukumöna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

174 175 *621 *628 361

[103] [1]There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

others. Matakuwë's group was being raided by Kayabawë's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-këkö. These raids forced Matakuwë and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-këkö and settle at Shirakoböwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakoböwei

Matakuwë's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawë's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewë and Orakawë. During the fighting a young man from Karehewë's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewë moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewë's followers raided the group at Shirakoböwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewë to move further north. Karehewë's son, Riakowë, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowë's son, Börösöwë. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Börösöwë's group. They feared Börösöwë would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyahowë, split off from

000 rarily abandoning Konabuma. [Paruritawä-tedi Group]

174 Matakuwä's group had three factions. Oroshowä, a
175 man belonging to Matakuwä's faction, took a woman away from
*621
• 578 her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an
361 internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and
Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village
of his own on the Shukumöna-u River. This split took place
174 about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwä's vil-
175
*629 lage to avenge the death of Biawawä, the man killed in the
722 feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was un-
174 able to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's
175
*621 group to found their own villages: Warabawä-tedi, led by
361 Hewariwä, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwä. These last two
[622]
[777] villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time,
as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded
foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Mis-
361 sionaries on the Cauabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group
[574] lived on the Shukumöna-u River, as men from Reyaboböwei-tedi
*[628] danced there that year. When the Reyaboböwei-tedi left
[722] Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with
them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl
presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174 In about 1935 Matakuwä and his group moved to Kayurewä
36 to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.
722

---

*[628] [1]Warabawä-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabäyoma.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 4: Kayurewä

174 175 +628 726 361 The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid Matakuwä's group at Kayurewä, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. Matakuwä's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwä, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowä-täka. Ruwahiwä was Matakuwä's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided Matakuwä's group at Kayurewä, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, Matakuwä moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174 +621 361 [622] [101] About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by Matakuwä's group, the group split into two villages. One of them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwä's son, Sibarariwä. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumöna-u River and took the name Paruritawä-tedi, led by [578] [721] Weiamamowä. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

174 36 +628 722 175 Sibarariwä's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the Paruritawä-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Armamisi-tedi and the Paruritawä-tedi themselves forced Sibarariwä's group to abandon Konabuma

+628 the Patanowä-tedi for managing to overwhelm their own force
721 led them to declare war on the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi
722 immediately began making a new garden at Moyenaböwei, across
241 the Mavaca River from their village and several hours inland,
726 anticipating the war that they knew would follow. After they had cleared the large trees from their new garden site, they raided the Patanowä-tedi in the last week of January 1965, and succeeded in killing Bosibrei.

727 Another important event took place while the Monou-
58 tedi were clearing the trees from their new garden site, an
582 event that illustrates the same principle of political philo-
593 sophy. One of the stolen women, Kakoma, was given to a young
+628 man, Karidimö, who had only one leg. Karidimö could not do heavy work, and when his village moved inland to clear their new site Karidimö moved to Bisaasi-tedi with his new wife. Kakoma, however, was not pleased with her new husband, and asked the Bisaasi-tedi if she could stay with them, hoping that she would be permitted to rejoin the Patanowä-tedi if they returned to Bisaasi-tedi to visit. The Bisaasi-tedi men obligingly took her away from Karidimö by force and gave her to a bachelor in their own village. Karidimö, enraged at this, returned to Monou-tedi to recruit aid.

+628 This put the Monou-tedi in a difficult position.
721 They were planning to raid the Patanowä-tedi and would have
+ 578 to maintain good relations with the Bisaasi-tedi if the revenge raids from the Patanowä-tedi became intense. They could not, however, overlook the insult to Karidimö, for this

*628 721 578 would have been a display of weakness. They decided to challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a club fight and settle their grievances by that means. Ten days after Kakoma was taken from Karidimõ, the Monou-tedi men arrived at Bisaasi-tedi and settled the dispute in a club fight. The Monou-tedi were thoroughly trounced by the larger number of Bisaasi-tedi, but they nevertheless demonstrated their potential and willingness to fight, thereby warning the Bisaasi-tedi that they better not attempt to seize more women in the future.

The Bisaasi-tedi clearly had taken advantage of the Monou-tedi numerical weakness and political needs to advance their own ends.

726 In the first week of March 1965 the PatanowÃ-tedi raided the Monou-tedi. They found the village site on the Mavaca River deserted, so they crossed the river and followed the trail taken by the Monou-tedi to their new garden. They [522] caught the Monou-tedi headman outside the new garden and killed him.

*628 728 This attack brought about an immediate rapprochement between the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi. Even KpobÃwÃ, leader of one of Bisaasi-tedi's main factions, was furious over this killing. Up to this point he was still interested in making peace with the PatanowÃ-tedi, but this even temporarily changed his mind. KpobÃwÃ ultimately led the revenge 726 raid against the PatanowÃ-tedi.

[564] The Monou-tedi burned the corpse of the slain headman and sent small gourds of his ground bones to members of allied

visitors were enraged because Paruriwë failed to execute the plan, and they returned to Monou-tedi to recruit a raiding party, hoping to intercept the visitors on their way back to Patanowë-tedi.[1] Paruriwë placated the Monou-tedi by organizing a series of raids against the Patanowë-tedi, and by inviting the Monou-tedi to stay in his section of the village when they fled from their other two sites. Prior to this, the Monou-tedi had been staying with the members of the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi. By early November, the Monou-tedi had begun raiding the Patanowë-tedi with great frequency, supported by members of Paruriwë's group. Paruriwë himself sent three raiding parties against the Patanowë-tedi between November and February, all of which included men from Monou-tedi. Kaobëwë did not participate in or encourage these raids, but some of his followers took part in them.

This split was not the outcome of an internal feud. Rather, it developed out of the different political interests of two leaders, one of whom was ambitiously striving to improve his status as a headman. The other refused to prosecute the war against the Patanowë-tedi, as he had a large number of kinsmen there. The existence of these ties, however, did not preclude the war, as the Bisaasi-tedi are in fact raiding the Patanowë-tedi. The kin ties at best mitigate the intensity of the raiding. The situation is a problem for the Patanowë-tedi, as they do not want to kill the few Bisaasi-tedi friends

[1] Their plan failed, as I took the Patanowë-tedi back to their village part way in my boat, and we went the remainder of the way on a trail the Monou-tedi could not reach.

they have, but they must revenge raids coming from Bisaasi-tedi. Now that Paruriwë and his followers have moved away from Kaobëwë's group, the Patanowë-tedi can raid Paruriwë without having to 'look twice' before shooting. As Paruriwë's faction is a small one, it is vulnerable; one raid from the Patanowë-tedi will force it to rejoin Kaobëwë's group. The internal stability of the reunited groups will suffer if this happens, as Paruriwë will be obliged to demonstrate his leadership capacity. This will involve making an issue out of an incident that probably would have been overlooked prior to the separation of the two groups, and internal friction will be high.

The split within Patanowë-tedi

The incessant raiding from Hasabëwë-tedi, Kashorawë-tedi, Yabitawë-tedi, Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and their respective allies brought about a high degree of tension among the Patanowë-tedi. It was not safe to leave the village at any time. The Patanowë-tedi had attempted to split into three groups several years earlier, as the population had reached a large size and internal fighting was a nuisance. The development of the war with the Hasabëwë-tedi forced them to reunite. Factionalism, however, was pronounced within the village, and the added tension brought about by the new war with Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and the latter's two Shamatari allies ultimately led to an internal split within Patanowë-tedi a month before I left the field.

Moiyoawë had two wives, Borehima and her older sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with another man, Makerawë. Moiyoawë attempted to get his wife back from Makerawë, precipitating a club fight between two factions of the village. During the club fight, Makerawë stabbed Moiyoawë with the sharp end of his club, wounding him badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyoawë's faction, Rakoiwë, who then attacked Makerawë, running him through with a sharpened club, killing him. Makerawë's faction fled from Patanowë-tedi and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids against the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the Patanowë-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowë-tedi two times shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid they caught two Patanowë-tedi men hunting outside the village. They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was Kaabëwë's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man, Shinahewë. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

The woman over whom the internal feud started was taken away from Makerawë's group. Moiyoawë cut both her ears off to punish her.

105
36
[128] Summary

Tables 5 and 6 broadly summarize the movements of the five villages. As the details of the text indicate, considerably more village movement goes on than can be included in tables of this sort. The micro-movements, however, [722] merely express in greater detail what is immediately apparent from an examination of Tables 5 and 6: the Yanomamö abandon their gardens and move to new locations because of raids from [134] other groups. In only one instance was the movement of a village stimulated by economic considerations: site 4 was abandoned by the Namowei-tedi because of poor soil. Another exception was the abandoning of Barawä (site 10) by the [412] Bisaasi-tedi in 1959. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca [177] River to gain access to steel tools, marking the beginning of their sustained contact with foreigners.

105
*621
* 578
*628
721 The tables also show that there were ten village splits relevant to explaining the origins of the five villages considered in this chapter. Five of these splits were due to feuds over women. In four of the cases the factions that were involved immediately entered into hostilities with each other. The recent split within Patanowä-tedi, discussed in the text (pp. 188-89), again over a woman, is not included in Table 5, as the refugee group did not form a new village of their own. Three village splits in Tables 5 and 6 developed out of minor feuds, usually over women, brought about by large village size. In one case, the factions ultimately entered into hostilities with each other, whereas in two cases the factions still remain on friendly terms.

000 the factions still remain on friendly terms.

*621 *608 579 726 105 Material presented in the discussion above--details of the movements of factions that are not relevant to the origin of the five villages considered here--also support the contention that villages split over internal feuds. That villages are structurally unstable is evidenced by the sheer number of village splits and the fact that the related factions enter into hostilities with each other after separating. Data I collected on village movements for other Yanomamö groups support the conclusions I reach here.

*621 *608 608 582 583 105 [613] One can see that the process of village splitting leads to the formation of independent villages that comprise closely-related kinsmen. Intuitively, one can also see that marriages "between" such villages, i.e., between spouses that each claim to be of different villages, do not necessarily represent political alliances between those villages, for in many cases the marriages were contracted between the local lineages involved before they separated. This is not to say that all the cases of this sort can be dismissed in this fashion. Some marriages between ambilateral cross-cousins are in fact properly interpreted as marriage alliances between villages, for occasionally related villages enter into alliances with each other. In these cases, the marriages between them come about for essentially the same reasons that the exogamic marriages between unrelated groups occur. In short, the existence of the marriage rule alone does not account for alliances between related groups that enter into politico-military pacts.

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1]Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

---

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

---

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

000 11. Didihoma. See #28, Manaseinawë, below.

159 12. Dimörama. This girl was abducted from a distant Shamatari
583 village (Kohoroshi-tedi, probably in Brazil, on the Upper
587 Cauabury River) by the Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mömariböwei-
▶621 tedi. Her husband--the man to whom she was given after
● 578 being abducted--shot her in the stomach with a barbed
arrow, wounding her gravely (see Shiborowë, below). The
man was forced to flee from the village and take refuge
in Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as other men in the village
planned to use this incident as an excuse to take his
159 wives from him. In late 1965 a party of men from Lower
*628 Bisaasi-tedi, including Shiborowë, set off for Mömariböwei-
123 tedi to 'visit.' I accompanied them on their invitation.
721 They were going to Mömariböwei-tedi to take Dimörama away
from her protectors by force, if necessary, and asked me
to come along knowing that I always travelled with a gun,
presuming that my presence, with a gun, would aid in
their objective. The girl was very nearly dead when we
arrived (four months had passed since she was shot, and
the wound was badly inflected). As the Bisaasi-tedi were
one of the only allies of the Mömariböwei-tedi, they gave
up the girl without much argument, since she would have
[199] died anyway. (The New Tribes Missionaries took the girl
to the Territorial Capital by canoe for surgery in
January 1966. She recovered from the wound and is
presently living in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.)

159 21. Kakoma. This is one of the seven women abducted from the
583 Patanowë-tedi in late 1964 by the Monou-tedi. She was
587 taken from her Monou-tedi husband by force by the Lower
*628 Bisaasi-tedi and given to Kɔobauwë, one of the village
721 bachelors.

000 23. Katabema. See Shiborowë, below.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

181 ingness to use violence to obtain one's ends are considered desirable traits. Much of the behavior of the Yąnomamö can be described as brutal, cruel, treacherous, in the value-
[114] laden terms of our own vocabulary. The Yąnomamö themselves, however, as Napoleon Chagnon came to intimately know them in the year and a half he lived with them, do not all appear to be mean and treacherous. As individuals, they seem to be people playing their own cultural game, with internal feelings that at times may be quite divergent from
[121] the demands placed upon them by their culture. This case study furnishes valuable data for phrasing questions about the relationship between the individual and his culture.

[216] The Yąnomamö appear to be constantly on the verge of extranormal behavior, as we define it, and their almost daily use of hallucinogenic drugs reinforces these drives to what might seem to the outside observer to be the limits of human capacity. Life in their villages is noisy, punctuated by outbursts of violence, threatened by destruction by enemies. To the ethnographer it is frightening, frustrating, disgusting, exciting, and rewarding, and in this case study the ethnographer lets the reader know how he feels. His honest reactions help us, as interested outsiders, to know the Yąnomamö.

12.1 This is a study of a fierce people who engage in chronic warfare. It is also a study
926 of a system of controls that usually hold in check the drive toward annihilation. Conflict among the Yąnomamö is regulated through a series of graded escalations, from chest-pounding and side-slapping duels, through club fighting, spear throwing, to raiding in a state of war, to the ultimate—the *nomoboni*—massacre by treachery. The processes of avoidance, settlement, or escalation of disputes are discussed in detail in this case study. There are implications that range beyond the Yąnomamö, and beyond primitive peoples, to the "civilized" world in which we live, for we too live in a state of chronic warfare and are threatened by annihilation.

121 The Yąnomamö goad each other, within their own villages, to the brink of an
• 578 explosion (and they goaded the ethnographer in the same way). This hostility is
[123] projected on a larger scale in the negotiating of alliances between villages. Each principal must establish the credibility of his own threats, as well as discover the point at which the opposite party's bluffing will dissolve into action. It is, as the author says, a politics of brinksmanship, all too familiar to us.

128 The study is, however, not confined to a description of regulated violence. Dr. Chagnon provides us with an unusually clear chapter on social organization, with the genealogical details of kinship. The models he produces in his analysis are cast in sharper relief because he also discusses deviations from these models in actual behavior. He links social organization with the processes of fission that produce new villages and the alliances that are created in response to the threat of annihilation, reinforced and validated by the mutual ceding of women between villages. Social organization is presented not as an abstraction but as a dynamic process interrelated with other significant dimensions of life. The anthropological novice will find the analysis of social organization detailed but, with close attention, entirely understandable. The more experienced anthropological reader will grasp the full theoretical implications of the analysis and will find the author's references to various debates in the anthropological literature stimulating.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
516
578

Fig. 1-1. Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast.

way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1-1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

000
181
152
721
123

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

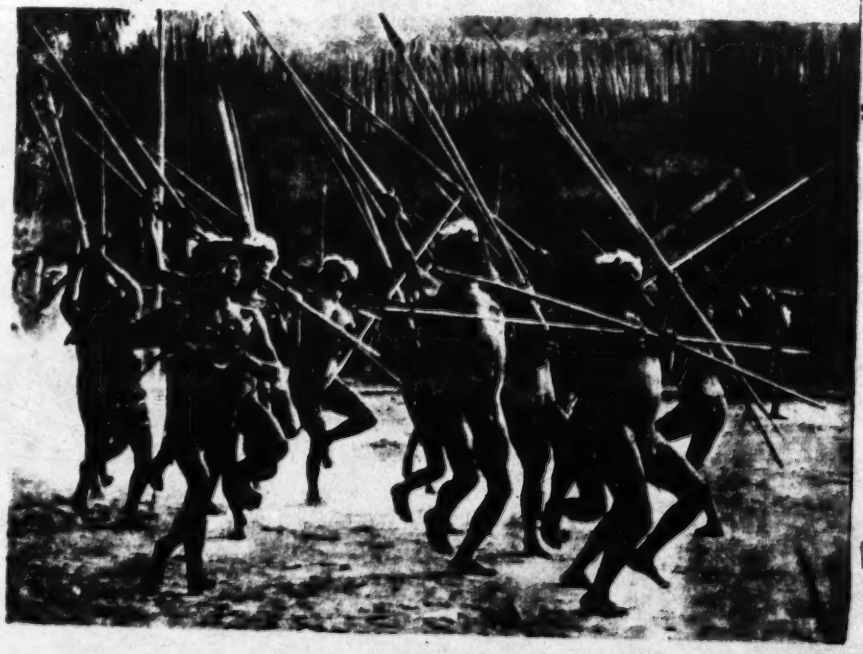
701
181
128
114

The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnamamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1–2).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere is unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1–2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnomamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their hosts' village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.



142
301
411
535
628*
578
291

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

They enjoyed watching me learn these names. I assumed, wrongly, that I would get the truth to each question and that I would get the best information by working in public. This set the stage for converting a serious project into a farce. Each informant tried to outdo his peers by inventing a name even more ridiculous than what I had been given earlier, or by asserting that the individual about whom I inquired was married to his mother or daughter, and the like. I would have the informant whisper the name of the individual in my ear, noting that he was the father of such and such a child. Everybody would then insist that I repeat the name aloud, roaring in hysterics as I clumsily pronounced the name. I assumed that the laughter was in response to the violation of the name taboo or to my pronunciation. This was a reasonable interpretation, since the individual whose name I said aloud invariably became angry. After I learned what some of the names meant, I began to understand what the laughter was all about. A few of the more colorful examples are: "hairy vagina," "long penis," "feces of the harpy eagle," and "dirty rectum." No wonder the victims were angry.

I was forced to do my genealogy work in private because of the horseplay and nonsense. Once I did so, my informants began to agree with each other and I managed to learn a few new names, real names. I could then test any new informant by collecting a genealogy from him that I knew to be accurate. I was able to weed out the more mischievous informants this way. Little by little I extended the genealogies and learned the real names. Still, I was unable to get the names of the dead and extend the genealogies back in time, and even my best informants continued to deceive me about their own close relatives. Most of them gave me the name of a living man as the father of some individual in order to avoid mentioning that the actual father was dead.

The quality of a genealogy depends in part on the number of generations it embraces, and the name taboo prevented me from getting any substantial information about deceased ancestors. Without this information, I could not detect marriage patterns through time. I had to rely on older informants for this information, but these were the most reluctant of all. As I became more proficient in the language and more skilled at detecting lies, my informants became better at lying. One of them in particular was so cunning and persuasive that I was shocked to discover that he had been inventing his information. He specialized in making a ceremony out of telling me false names. He would look around to make sure nobody was listening outside my hut, enjoin me to never mention the name again, act very nervous and spooky, and then grab me by the head to whisper the name very softly into my ear. I was always elated after an informant session with him, because I had several generations of dead ancestors for the living people. The others refused to give me this information. To show my gratitude, I paid him quadruple the rate I had given the others. When word got around that I had increased the pay, volunteers began pouring in to give me genealogies.

I discovered that the old man was lying quite by accident. A club fight broke out in the village one day, the result of a dispute over the possession of a woman. She had been promised to Rerebawä, a particularly aggressive young man who had married into the village. Rerebawä had already been given her older sister and was enraged when the younger girl began having an affair with another man in the village, making no attempt to conceal it from him. He challenged the young man to a club fight, but was so abusive in his challenge that the opponent's father took offense and entered the village circle with his son, wielding a long club. Rerebawä swaggered out to the duel and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114 hurled insults at both of them, trying to goad them into striking him on the head with
123 their clubs. This would have given him the opportunity to strike them on the head. His
124 opponents refused to hit him, and the fight ended. Rerebawä had won a moral victory
598 because his opponents were afraid to hit him. Thereafter, he swaggered around and in-
839 sulted the two men behind their backs. He was genuinely angry with them, to the point of calling the older man by the name of his dead father. I quickly seized on this as an opportunity to collect an accurate genealogy and pumped him about his adversary's ancestors. Rerebawä had been particularly nasty to me up to this point, but we became staunch allies: We were both outsiders in the local village. I then asked about other dead ancestors and got immediate replies. He was angry with the whole group and not afraid to tell me the names of the dead. When I compared his version of the genealogies to that of the old man, it was obvious that one of them was lying. I challenged his information, and he explained that everybody knew that the old man was deceiving me and bragging about it in the village. The names the old man had given me were the dead ancestors of the members of a village so far away that he thought I would never have occasion to inquire about them. As it turned out, Rerebawä knew most of the people in that village and recognized the names.

114 I then went over the complete genealogical records with Rerebawä, genealogies I
124 had presumed to be in final form. I had to revise them all because of the numerous lies and falsifications they contained. Thus, after five months of almost constant work on the genealogies of just one group, I had to begin almost from scratch!

114 Discouraging as it was to start over, it was still the first real turning point in my
123 fieldwork. Thereafter, I began taking advantage of local arguments and animosities in
124 selecting my informants, and used more extensively individuals who had married into the group. I began traveling to other villages to check the genealogies, picking villages that were on strained terms with the people about whom I wanted information. I would then return to my base camp and check with local informants the accuracy of the new information. If the informants became angry when I mentioned the new names I acquired from the unfriendly group, I was almost certain that the information was accurate. For this kind of checking I had to use informants whose genealogies I knew rather well: they had to be distantly enough related to the dead person that they would not go into a rage when I mentioned the name, but not so remotely related that they would be uncertain of the accuracy of the information. Thus, I had to make a list of names that I dared not use in the presence of each and every informant. Despite the precautions, I occasionally hit a name that put the informant into a rage, such as that of a dead brother or sister that other informants had not reported. This always terminated the day's work with that informant, for he would be too touchy to continue any further, and I would be reluctant to take a chance on accidentally discovering another dead kinsman so soon after the first.

114 These were always unpleasant experiences, and occasionally dangerous ones, de-
123 pending on the temperament of the informant. On one occasion I was planning to visit
124 a village that had been raided about a week earlier. A woman whose name I had on my
551 list had been killed by the raiders. I planned to check each individual on the list one by one to estimate ages, and I wanted to remove her name so that I would not say it aloud in the village. I knew that I would be in considerable difficulty if I said this name aloud so soon after her death. I called on my original informant and asked him to tell

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers
[622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village,
[156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the
[582] villages to which Kaobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kaobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kaobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relation-
[622] ships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[583] He does not intend to stay in Kaobawä's group and has not made a garden. He
[591] feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an
[837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked
[593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother
[578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kaobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kaobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good
[522] side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yanomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

guishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö. Many wild plants are also said to have magical properties.

CONCLUSION The Yąnomamö have adapted to their jungle environment with a very simple technology. Exploiting both the naturally occurring foods and domesticated crops is relatively easy with this technology, and the resources of both the jungle and the garden provide the people with the two basic necessities of life: food and shelter. Although the resources are extremely varied and numerous, the diet is largely dominated by one food item: plantains. Techniques of manufacturing are so simple and direct that each individual can produce any item he needs from the resources immediately around him. The material aspect of the culture is decidedly rudimentary by comparison with other tropical forest tribes; the Yąnomamö appear to deliberately limit their possessions to an amount that can be easily transported in case the group is obliged to abandon its site on short notice.

Adaptation to the Sociopolitical Environment

The adaptation of the Yąnomamö to their environment can be only partially expressed in terms of how they make a living in the tropical forest with specific kinds of tools, plants, and techniques, for the forest is only one aspect of the external world to which they must adjust. Their adaptation also takes place in a social and political environment. This likewise affects the way in which the Yąnomamö are distributed over the land, how their villages are moved from one location to another, and the kinds of relationships each village has with its neighbors. In short, the Yąnomamö must relate themselves to each other as well as to nature.

ALLIANCES AND VILLAGE SIZE I spoke of the considerations that must be met when a new garden site is selected. However, the area within which the new site is selected is determined almost exclusively by political factors. A Yąnomamö group would remain indefinitely in the area it settled were it not for the threat of raids from warring neighbors. To be sure, the group would move its garden little by little each year, but the general area would be abandoned only if the people were driven out by stronger groups around them. Again, dissident factions of the village might leave the area if a particularly serious fight developed within the group, but because a garden is necessary for the group to survive as a group, the Yąnomamö abandon them only when faced with disaster. To establish a new garden at a great distance from the old one, a Herculean effort is required just to transport the necessary plantain cuttings and seed, not to mention carrying provisions for eating while the work of clearing the garden and planting the crops progresses. Then, since a new garden produces sporadically for the first year, the people are frequently faced with food shortage. They are, therefore, reluctant to sacrifice the predictability of subsistence at the established garden for insecurity, periods of hunger, and hard work at some distant location.

Instead, they develop political alliances with neighboring villages, thereby adjusting to their social environment. The nature of these alliances is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but at this point I will make some general statements about the relationships between villages to show why, on the one hand, the social environment calls forth the alliances, and why on the other hand, when alliances fail, a group must abandon its area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*621 *628 Village size is an important factor in determining the degree to which a Yąnomamö group must depend on its neighbors for military support in the face of raids. Small villages must make alliances to survive. Village size, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, ranges *621 from 40 to 250 inhabitants. Approximately one-third of the village consists of males who 701 are able to participate in the raiding, that is, men who are between 17 and 40 years old. 722 The tactics of warfare are such that a village must be able to field a raiding party of approximately 10 men in order to be able to raid effectively. In addition, when the raiders are away, there must always be a few men at home to protect the women and children. Thus, the military requirements alone seem to demand that a village have at least 15 able-bodied men. As these represent about a third of the group, the minimum village size required by the raiding techniques is 40 to 50 people. I have never seen a village fall below this size in an area where raiding is active, and virtually every village split I investigated took place only when each of the resulting groups contained 40 or more people.

*621 The upper limit to village size is also determined in large measure by the intensity 721 of warfare. The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has over 200 people. It was being .726 raided actively by about a dozen different groups while I conducted my fieldwork, groups that raided it about twenty-five times in a period of fifteen months. The Patanowä-teri at one time had split into three groups of about equal size, but raids from their enemies forced them to reunite for common defense. In general, a village will fission after it [578] reaches a population of about 150 because internal feuds and fights are so frequent that peace can only be maintained with great difficulty. A village of 100 individuals, for example, can fission to produce two militarily viable groups of about 50 people each. Only the threat of raids from powerful neighbors will, as in the case of the Patanowä-teri, inhibit the fissioning, and frequently the fission groups will reunite in a single village to fend off the raids of their enemies.

[628] But a small group of 40 to 50 people is not as viable as a group twice that size. Consequently, it enters into alliances with its neighbors.

*621 FISSION AND SETTLEMENT There is a tendency for the group to attempt to 582 maximize its size after it becomes an independent entity. This is done by trying to keep 166 all marriages within the group so that there is very little migration of young men and women to other villages after marriage. A small group also welcomes the addition of families from other villages, families that have gotten into fights in their own group and who prefer to leave rather than attempt to patch up their grievances with their kinsmen. Finally, the group tries to attract young men and women from other villages, encouraging them to settle permanently in the group. Rerebawä, for example, is under considerable pressure to remain permanently in Kąobawä's group.

*621 As the village grows in size and varies in composition, it becomes increasingly 578 difficult to keep order and peace. Extramarital sexual liaisons are more frequent in larger 837 villages, because the probability is lower that the affairs will be discovered. When the Monou-teri rejoined Kąobawä's group to avoid the raids of their enemies, a bloody club fight developed between two men of that village over an affair one of them had with the other's wife. The culprit waited until the group joined Kąobawä's village before approaching the woman, thinking that with so many people in one village he would not be caught.

By the time a village approaches 100 to 150 people, such fights over women are

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

so frequent that the group elects to fission rather than attempt to keep an uneasy internal peace. Although a larger village has an advantage in terms of its capacity to raid other groups and is better able to defend itself from raids, the internal fights often lead to killings within the group. Then, there is no alternative but for one of the factions to leave. Its members may anticipate a situation like this and begin making a new garden long before the fighting becomes violent enough to lead to deaths, or a fight can develop unexpectedly and result immediately in bloodshed. The guilty faction must then seek refuge in the village of an ally until it can establish its own garden. Usually, however, the larger group fissions while its members are on relatively peaceable terms, and the two resulting villages remain in the same general area so that they can reunite when raids threaten them. This is the situation that prevails between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri; all three have a common history as a single village, but the members of each live in separate villages because of the numerous fights that took place within the group while they were still a single village. They continue, however, to rely on each other for protection when raids threaten. The Monou-teri (see Fig. 2–8), in fact, spent about a third of their time in either Lower Bisaasi-teri or in Kąobawä's group while I conducted my fieldwork. They were being raided by the Patanowä-teri and had not completed the new garden they were making. The Patanowä-teri forced them to abandon their producing site and move west.

The Patanowä-teri themselves were forced to establish a new garden because of the incessant raids by a number of villages. In addition to keeping always on the move between their two gardens, they also sought periodic refuge in the village of one of their own allies, a village two days travel to the south of their primary garden.

The raids against the Patanowä-teri by about a dozen villages illustrate a cardinal strategy of Yąnomamö warfare: attack a group when it is beleaguered and weakened by other enemies. When I first arrived, the Patanowä-teri were fighting only three groups. The Monou-teri then entered into the conflict by abducting a number of women from them, an act that ultimately led to raiding and killing. When the Monou-teri entered the conflict, they also persuaded their own allies to participate, bringing four other villages into the war. These, in turn, were joined by some of their allies so that the total number of belligerent villages rapidly grew to about a dozen. Many of them joined the hostilities because they knew that the Patanowä-teri could not defend themselves against a host of enemies. The new belligerents, therefore, stood a good chance of abducting women while being relatively immune to punitive raids. They could also discharge obligations to their allies by supporting their raids against the Patanowä-teri without exposing themselves to great danger.

In Fig. 2–8 the movements of Kąobawä's village over the past seventy-five years is summarized. The village originated at the site of Konata, occupied prior to 1900 by Kąobawä's grandfather. This site was abandoned because several villages (not indicated on the map) began raiding the people with such frequency that they were forced to flee south, cross the Orinoco River, and take refuge with allies at a place called Wareta. Similarly, Wareta was abandoned because of new wars, so the group again crossed the Orinoco River and settled at Namowei. Here, their old enemies again drove them out of the area, so the group migrated to Hąhoyaoba. Kąobawä was born at this location, some forty years ago. This site was abandoned because the soil in that area was very poor; even to this day, there are no Yąnomamö villages located in that general area.

361 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime
• 578 around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village
[101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at that site. Kąobawä's group fled to Shjhota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a
361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take
726 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had
721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they
*628 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab-
[241] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kąobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954,
*62 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they
[721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of
[722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again,
[101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kąobawä
[648] and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to establish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an up-
[101] stream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2–8, have a settlement
*621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being
578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away
722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more
184 complicated than the history of Kąobawä's group, since village fissioning began much earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2–8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above two groups of villages.

361 Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Mąmariböwei-teri and Reya-
[134] boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2–8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by
[648] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The
[722] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neigh-
[578] bors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44.1]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yąnomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him to do a favor, whereas he could ask this of a brother-in-law.[6] As shall presently be seen, the dynamics of Yąnomamö social organization originate in the politics of obtaining a wife. Within this context, agnates are competitors and affines are allies. This has an important effect on the manner in which villages fission and form new groups. The point to remember at this juncture is that ties of marriage are in many cases stronger than ties of blood.

I emphasize this because many anthropologists argue from "first principles" that ties of blood are—by definition—more capable of promoting solidarity and amity than ties by marriage. The controversy over "complementary filiation" between E. R. Leach (1957) and M. Fortes (1959), still not satisfactorily resolved, was essentially a debate about the analytical significance of marriage ties. Focusing on only one of the issues and rephrasing the arguments so as to apply to Fig. 3–2, the debate ran something like this: Both Leach and Fortes seemed to agree that in societies having lineal descent groups (lineages), the descent groups would tend to fall apart unless some kind of tie bound the members to each other. That is, lineages X and Y of Fig. 3–2 would, in short, pull away from each other unless they were held together by some special social tie. Fortes argued that this special tie was the solidarity and amity that grew out of the cognatic (see Glossary) kinship ties between the two lineages which arise when individuals marry blood relatives. Looking at generation V, for example, Fortes would argue that lineages X and Y are bound to each other because x_8 and y_5 married women to whom they are related by blood (as FaSiDa and MoBrDa). He argues from first principles that solidarity emanates from the blood ties. Leach, however, states that in generation V the two lineages are bound to each other by obligations to reciprocate goods, services, and women and that the solidarity of the two lineages derives from the affinal ties themselves (shown as "15" and "16" in Fig. 3–2). If we look only at generation V, the argument cannot be resolved, since the data support both arguments equally well, or at least do not convincingly support one rather than the other. I might add that both arguments can be supported by data not given in Fig. 3–2; Fortes' arguments are supported, for example, by the additional fact that Yąnomamö men do not stringently have to avoid their mothers-in-law when they are related to them in the fashion shown in Fig. 3–2, whereas the avoidance taboo is very onerous when a man's mother-in-law is not a blood relative. If, however, attention is focused on the events of generation III and their consequences examined, it can readily be seen that the affinal (marriage) ties in generation V are stronger than some of the agnatic (blood) ties, and the latter break when the village fissions. (This can be even more readily seen in Fig. 3–4 and 3–5, discussed later.) Thus, it cannot be argued that Yąnomamö lineage solidarity derives exclusively from blood ties and "complementary filiation." There is another issue. Structural analyses depend in large measure on a sharp distinction between marriage (affinal) ties and blood (consanguineal) ties. Fortes seems to deny that affinal ties as such exist independently of blood ties, and he has "subsumed" them into his concept of "complementary filiation." If there is no such thing as affinal ties between lineal descent groups, then structural

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

[6] In addition, it is by no means rare for agnates to get into club fights over women. I even have recorded a number of cases of men shooting and killing a "brother" during raids. This happened on two occasions during my first stay in the field, and I have reports of several additional cases obtained from informants who were describing past raids.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Upper Bisaasi-teri, and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Table 1). Politically, they are either the two dominant lineages in each of the above-named villages or one of the two dominant lineages. For example, the headmen of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kaobawä and Reromawä, respectively, come from the *Shs* lineage. In Patanowä-teri there are two headmen, one from the *Shs* lineage and one from the *Hor* lineage. Finally, in Monou-teri, the headmanship shifted from the *Shs* lineage to the *Hor* lineage in 1965 because the *Shs* headman was killed in a raid by men from Patanowä-teri. I might add that he was killed by men of his own lineage to whom he was related as "brother." After he died, his brother-in-law, of the *Hor* lineage, assumed the leadership. It is not surprising that the headmanship shifted to this large, important group. In terms of sheer numbers, the *Hor* lineage (see Table 3–1) was stronger than the *Shs* lineage in Monou-teri. The distribution of political power within these two lineages underscores the dual organization of most Yanomamö villages.

It is apparent from the foregoing example that the ties between agnates who live in different villages are not necessarily amicable. The most bitter fighting, in fact, takes place between members of different villages who are related to each other agnatically. It is not uncommon for men to kill their classificatory brothers in the ensuing raids. As a consequence of the killing of the Monou-teri headman, for example, the raiders from Monou-teri avenged his death by shooting Bosibrei of Patanowä-teri. The two men who actually killed Bosibrei were related to their victim as brothers. Similarly, Kaobawä himself shot Rakoiwä, the present *Shs* headman of Patanowä-teri, wounding him badly. He had shot to kill even though Rakoiwä was his older (classificatory) brother.

Once the lineage splits up and is redistributed in several villages, the ties between the men of that lineage weaken dramatically. And, as we shall see below, the fissioning of a village is frequently the result of a bitter club fight within the village over the possession of women. The result is that many villages that have a common history are at war with each other due to the nature of the feuds that led to their splitting away from the common village. The Patanowa-teri, for example, are at war with all three of the villages from which they originally separated (see Fig. 3–5, discussed later).

The kinship ties between agnates who live in the same village are likewise quite weak. They are strongest between a man and his younger brothers, for the age differences alone call forth a certain amount of respect and amity. An older man can be expected to aid his younger brothers in fights and help them to secure wives. In some cases, the younger man obtains his wife from a polygynous older brother; some men appear to accumulate extra wives with the intention of passing them on to their younger brothers. Kaobawä, for example, gave one of his wives to a younger brother and will probably give another wife to a second younger brother. (He is presently permitting the brother to share her sexual services.) Kaobawä's older wife, Bahimi, is quite jealous of the co-wives because they can command some of the tasty morsels of food that would otherwise be her own prerogative. And, since the younger wives are more attractive physically, Kaobawä does pay considerable attention to them. In Lower Bisaasi-teri, one of Kaobawä's classificatory brothers was forced by his older wife to get rid of his young, attractive second wife. The man gave her to an unmarried younger brother. He himself had acquired the younger wife as part of a political alliance he had made with the members of an allied village, knowing at the time that his first wife would object strenuously to the

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawã, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yanomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kaobawã's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kaobawã's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowã-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2-8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowã-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowã-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowã-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwã, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowã-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowã-teri fissioned into two groups: They relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously, and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kaobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yanomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monoxo-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yanomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competition with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their personal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older. They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kaobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

Kaobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction between agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kaobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were half-brothers. Nadesiwä is in Kaobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the group—Kaobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwä to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwä will have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kaobawä and Nadesiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

The other man, Kumamawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kaobawä is related to him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawä is a frequent visitor in Kaobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kaobawä asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kaobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

Kaobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

156 622 *622 60 574 721 [123] [714] [123] 156 622 593 • 578

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with Kąobawï the possibility of peace between their two villages. They were brothers-in-law to him and were fairly certain that he would protect them from the village hotheads. One of the ambitious men in Kąobawï's group saw in this an opportunity to enhance his prestige and made plans to murder the three visitors. This man, Paruriwï, was a very cunning, treacherous fellow and quite jealous of Kąobawï's position as headman. He wanted to be the village leader and privately told me to address him as the headman. On this occasion Kąobawï let it be known that he intended to protect the visitors. For the better part of the day the village was in a state of suspense. Paruriwï and his followers were not to be found anywhere; a rumor spread that they had painted themselves black and were well armed. Kąobawï and his supporters, mostly his own brothers and brothers-in-law, remained in the village all day, their weapons close at hand. Late in the afternoon Paruriwï and his men appeared in their black paint and took up strategic posts around the village. He himself held an axe. He strutted arrogantly up to the visitors holding his axe as if he were ready to strike. The village became very quiet, and most of the women and children left. Neither Kąobawï nor the Patanowä-teri visitors batted an eyelash when Paruriwï approached, although the others were visibly nervous and sat up in their hammocks. Instead of striking the visitors with the axe as he appeared to suggest he was going to do, he invited one of them out to chant with him. Within seconds all three of the visitors had paired off with members of Paruriwï's group and were chanting passionately with them, explaining the reasons for their visit and giving their justification for the state of hostilities.

The crisis has been averted because of Kąobawï's implied threat that he would defend the visitors with force. A number of men in Paruriwï's group were visitors from Monou-teri; their headman had been killed a few months earlier by the Patanowä-teri. When Paruriwï failed to go through with his plan, they left the village in a rage, hoping to recruit a raiding party in their own village and ambush the visitors when they left.

Kąobawï realized that the visitors would not be safe until they got back home, since the Monou-teri would attempt to intercept them. He visited me that night and asked me to take the visitors back to their village at dawn in my canoe, knowing that I had already planned a trip there for the immediate future. After I agreed to accelerate my own plans, he proceeded to give me instructions about the trip: I was not to stop at any of the villages along the Orinoco River to visit, for all of them were at war with the Patanowä-teri and would shoot my companions on sight. The Patanowä-teri men lay on the floor of my canoe and covered themselves with a tarp when we passed these villages. The people on the bank shouted curses at me for not stopping to visit and give them trade goods. At this time the Patanowä-teri were being raided by about a dozen different villages. We had to cover part of the distance to their village on foot, proceeding very cautiously because of the danger of raiders. At one point the men showed me the spot where a Hasuböwä-teri raiding party had killed a Patanowä-teri woman a week earlier. Thus, Kąobawï not only protected the visitors while they were in his village but he also arranged a "safe-conduct" for their return.

Kąobawï keeps order in the village when people get out of hand. Paruriwï, for example, is particularly cruel to his four wives and beats them mercilessly for even slight provocations. None of his wives have brothers in the village, and few people are courageous enough to interfere with Paruriwï when he is angry. On one occasion Kąobawï was holding a feast for the members of an allied village. His preparations were being

11: Chagnon S-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

156
622
573
578

duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwä, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwä's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwä went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwä recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kaobawä had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwä before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kaobawä disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

156
622
578
[276]

On another occasion one of Kaobawä's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kaobawä managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kaobawä stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3-9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

Fig. 3-9. Kaobawä (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been hacked on the head and blood is streaming down his back.

142
291
302
578
411
622

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

his group was being trounced by their opponents, largely because only a few of the men were doing all the fighting for Kąobawä's group. These men were forced to take several turns in rapid succession, while a large number of men stood by and watched. The fighters wanted to escalate the battle to a duel with axes, hoping to intimidate their opponents into conceding. Kąobawä quickly forced the idle men to participate in the chest pounding, thereby distributing the punishment a little more evenly and reducing the possibility of a bloodier confrontation.

After the duel was over, Kąobawä coolly discussed the fight with the leaders in the opponents' group, explaining that he did not intend to raid them unless they raided first. A number of men in the village, notably Paruriwä and some of his followers, shouted threats at the departing opponents that they would shoot them on sight should they meet again. Paruriwä frequently boasted like this, but rarely put himself in a position that was potentially dangerous. He later ran into a party of hunters from the above-mentioned group while he was leading a raid against the Patanowä-teri. Instead of shooting them on sight as he threatened to do (they could have shot back, as they were armed), he traded arrows with them and rapidly retreated. He boasted in the village how he had terrified these men. I later visited their village and learned that Paruriwä was the one who was terrified. They themselves continued to hunt, while Paruriwä fled for home.

Kąobawä's personality differs considerably from Paruriwä's. Where the former is unobtrusive, calm, modest, and perceptive, the latter is belligerent, aggressive, ostentatious, and rash. Kąobawä has an established status in the village and numerous supporters, whose loyalties are in part determined by their kinship ties and in part because he is a wise leader. Paruriwä is attempting to share in the leadership and does not have a well-established position in this respect. It is obvious who the real leader is: When visitors come to Upper Bisaasi-teri, they seek out Kąobawä and deal with him, no matter how ambitiously Paruriwä attempts to emulate his position. Paruriwä does not have as many living brothers in his group as Kąobawä has, so his "natural following" is somewhat limited. In addition, two of his brothers are married to actual sisters of Kąobawä and have some loyalty to him. Paruriwä, therefore, has very little means with which to establish his position, so he is given over to using bluff, threat, chicanery, and treachery. This he does well, and many of the young men in the village admire him for it. He has gained the support of some of these men by promising them his wives' yet unborn daughters. Remarkably enough, some of them cling to these promises and do his bidding.

Finally, one of Kąobawä's most unpleasant tasks is to scout the village neighborhood when signs of raiders have been found. This he does alone, since it is a dangerous task and one that is avoided by the other men. Not even Paruriwä participates in this.

Kąobawä has definite responsibilities as the headman and is occasionally called upon by the nature of the situation to exercise his authority. He is usually distinguishable in the village as a man of some authority only for the duration of the incident that calls forth his leadership capacity. After the incident is over, he goes about his own business like the other men in the group. But even then, he sets an example for the others, particularly in his ambitions to produce large quantities of food for his family and for the guests he must entertain. Most of the time he leads only by example and the others follow if it pleases them to do so. They can ignore his example if they wish, but most of the people turn to him when a difficult situation arises.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and guests that gradually died off as each group busied itself in preparation for the dance.

Shortly after noon a rumor circulated through the village that the visitors had been raiding the gardens at night and stealing plantains. A number of people, particularly older men, were visibly upset by this new information, giving rise to another rumor that there would be a chest-pounding duel to set the matter straight. The guests had already worn their welcome thin by arriving uninvited a week in advance and by eating excessively. Their hosts were becoming angry with them, as it was all too obvious that they were deliberately taxing their hosts' patience; they were intimidating them.

The men of the host group had finished their preparations for the feast; they were all painted in red and black, bearing colorful feathers. They had cleaned the debris from their houses, had finished hauling out the weeds they had picked from the village clearing, and had brought in quantities of food to give their guests. Now, it was time for them to take *ebene*, their hallucinogenic drug. They separated into several groups and began blowing the brownish-green powder up each other's nostrils with 3-foot long hollow tubes. As the drug would be administered, each recipient would reel from the concussion of air, groan, and stagger off to some convenient post to vomit. Within ten minutes of taking the drug, the men would be bleary-eyed and wild, prancing around in front of their houses, stopping occasionally to vomit or to catch their breath. In each group there would be one man particularly adept at chanting to the *bekura*, the mountain demons, and he would soon take over the show, while the others retired to the sidelines in a stupor, green slime dripping from their nostrils. Should there be sick people in the village, the adept chanters—the *shabori*—would cure them by chanting, massaging, sucking, and vomiting out the evil spirit that caused the sickness. Otherwise, they would chant about other things, perhaps sending their *bekura* to enemy villages to eat the souls of children, or enjoining them to prevent their enemies from doing the same. Occasionally, one of the men takes too much of the drug and become violent. On this particular occasion, Shiimima, one of Kąobawä's brothers, grabbed his bow and arrows and ran to the center of the village. This caused a minor sensation for a moment, but one of the men managed to catch and disarm him, hiding his weapons so he could not find them. Things returned to normal again, and the other participants in the drug-taking began chanting to Shiimima to restore him to his senses. The chanting lasted for an hour or so, and the participants, one by one, returned to their houses to clean up their paint jobs; most of them had smeared their careful work by vomiting all over themselves.

While the men were taking their drugs, the women were busy painting and decorating themselves with feathers and red pigment. The visitors, also, were busy at the same tasks, and the excitement of the feast reached fever proportions by mid-afternoon. A few women were still busy finishing trade baskets, while Kąobawä's younger brothers continued with the monotonous cooking of what seemed to them an endless number of plantains.

Finally, an old man from the visiting group entered the village and marched unceremoniously across the clearing while the members of Kąobawä's group cheered him. He was too old to join the dancing, but too respected to wait behind with the women and children while the younger men put on their display. This was evidence that the visitors were about to send in their delegate to accept the feast invitation at Kąobawä's house.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

By 8:00 A.M. the going-home food had been presented to the visitors, and the trade had been conducted. Had the visitors been polite, they would have left for home at that time. Instead, they decided to stay and witness the second, smaller, feast that Kąobawä was going to conduct for the Karohi-teri, who had not arrived in time for the major event. This capped the series of insults the visitors had heaped upon Kąobawä's group. The visitors were warned that if they should stay, the would be expected to fight in a chest-pounding duel.

It was obvious now that the visitors were looking for trouble, and Kąobawä's group was obliged to react or be subject to even further intimidation. Hence, the challenge to pound chests. At this point the visitors broke camp and departed, much to the relief and joy of Kąobawä's group. In fact, they were pleased that they had been successful in intimidating their guests into leaving, and the men gloated over this accomplishment the rest of the day. They were convinced that their threats were credible enough to force their potential adversaries to withdraw, presumably because the Mahekodo-teri felt they were inferior in strength.

Kąobawä and his group held another feast for the Karohi-teri that same day, but without the assistance of the Lower Bisaasi-teri who left shortly after the previous feast terminated.

The Chest-pounding Duel

The feast for Karohi-teri was essentially the same as the one for the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri. When the dancing was over and darkness fell, the men began to chant again. The first pair of chanters had not completed their rhythmic presentation when the jungle around the village erupted with hoots and screams, causing all of the people in the village to jump from their hammocks and arm themselves. When the men had found their arrows and were prepared, they began yelling back at the unseen guests, rattling the shafts of their arrows together or against their bows and/or pounding the heads of axes against pieces of firewood or on the ground to make noise. The Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri had returned to accept the chest-pounding challenge and entered the village, each man brandishing his axe, club, or bow and arrows. They circled the village once, feinting attack on particular men among the hosts, then grouped at the center of the village clearing. The hosts surrounded them excitedly, dancing with their weapons poised to strike, then entering into the mass of bodies. Heated arguments about food theft and gluttony developed, and the hosts and guests threateningly waved their weapons in each other's faces. Within minutes the large group had bifurcated and the chest-pounding began. The Karohi-teri aided Kąobawä and his followers, whose joint numbers were even further swelled when the Lower Bisaasi-teri rushed to the village after hearing the commotion. There were about sixty adult men on each side in the fight, divided into two arenas, each comprised of hosts and guests. Two men, one from each side, would step into the center of the milling, belligerent crowd of weapon-wielding partisans, urged on by their comrades. One would step up, spread his legs apart, bare his chest, and hold his arms behind his back, daring the other to hit him. The opponent would size him up, adjust the man's chest or arms so as to give himself the greatest advantage when he struck, and then step back to deliver his close-fisted blow. The striker would painstakingly adjust

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

291
411
*628
• 578

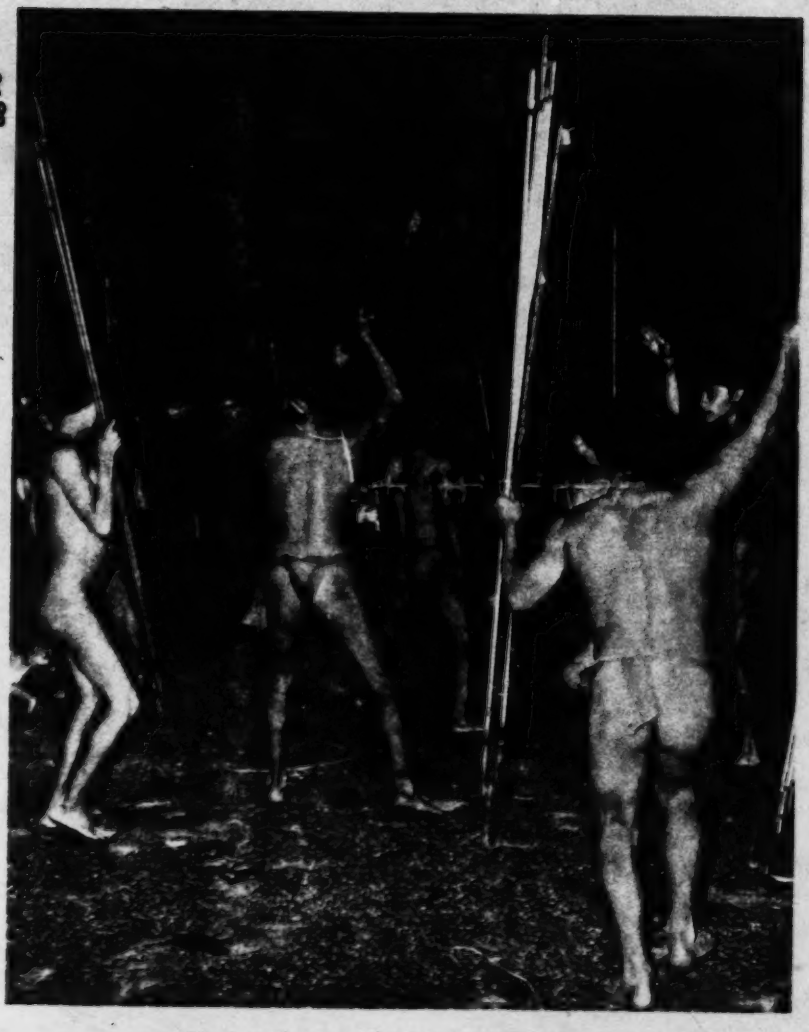


Fig. 4-3. Chest-pounding duel about to be escalated.

*628
578

his own distance from his victim by measuring his arm length to the man's chest, taking several dry runs before delivering his blow. He would then wind up like a baseball pitcher, but keeping both feet on the ground, and deliver a tremendous wallop with his fist to the man's left pectoral muscle, putting all of his weight into the blow. The victim's knees would often buckle and he would stagger around a few moments, shaking his head to clear the stars, but remain silent. The blow invariably raised a "frog" on the recipient's pectoral muscle where the striker's knuckles bit into his flesh. After each blow, the com-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

rades of the deliverer would cheer and bounce up and down from the knees, waving and clacking their weapons over their heads. The victim's supporters, meanwhile, would urge their champion on frantically, insisting that he take another blow. If the delivery were made with sufficient force to knock the recipient to the ground, the man who delivered it would throw his arms above his head, roll his eyes back, and prance victoriously in a circle around his victim, growling and screaming, his feet almost a blur from his excited dance. The recipient would stand poised and take as many as four blows before demanding to hit his adversary. He would be permitted to strike his opponent as many times as the latter struck him, provided that the opponent could take it. If not, he would be forced to retire, much to the dismay of his comrades and the delirious joy of their opponents. No fighter could retire after delivering a blow. If he attempted to do so, his adversary would plunge into the crowd and roughly haul him back out, sometimes being aided by the man's own supporters. Only after having received his just dues could he retire. If he had delivered three blows, he had to receive three or else be proven a poor fighter. He could retire with less than three only if he were injured. Then, one of his comrades would replace him and demand to hit the victorious opponent. The injured man's two remaining blows would be canceled, and the man who delivered the victorious blow would have to receive more blows than he delivered. Thus, good fighters are at a disadvantage, since they receive disproportionately more punishment than they deliver. Their only reward is status: they earn the reputation of being fierce.

Some of the younger men in Kąobawä's group were reluctant to participate in the fighting because they were afraid of being injured. This put more strain on the others, who were forced to take extra turns in order to preserve the group's reputation. At one point Kąobawä's men, sore from the punishment they had taken and worried that they would ultimately lose the fight, wanted to escalate the contest to an axe duel (see Fig. 4–3). Kąobawä was vigorously opposed to this, as he knew it would lead to bloodshed. He therefore recruited the younger men into the fighting, as well as a few of the older ones who had done nothing but demand the others to step into the arena, thereby reducing the strain on those who wanted to escalate the level of violence. A few of the younger men retired after a single blow, privately admitting to me later that they pretended to be injured to avoid being forced to fight more. The fighting continued in this fashion for nearly three hours, tempers growing hotter and hotter. Kąobawä and the headman from the other group stood by with their weapons, attempting to keep the fighting innocuous, but not participating in it. Some of the fighters went through several turns of three or four blows each, their pectoral muscles swollen and red from the number of blows each had received. The fight had still not been decided, although Kąobawä's group seemed to be getting the worst of it. They then insisted on escalating the fighting to side slapping, partly because their chests were too sore to continue in that fashion, and partly because their opponents seemed to have an edge on them.

The side slapping duel is nearly identical in form to chest pounding, except that the blow is delivered with an open hand across the flanks of the opponent, between his rib-cage and pelvis bone. It is a little more severe than chest pounding because casualties are more frequent and tempers grow hotter more rapidly when a group's champion falls to the ground, gasping for wind, and faints. The side slapping only lasted fifteen minutes or so; one of the more influential men in Kąobawä's group was knocked unconscious, enraging the others. The fighting continued for just a few minutes after this, but during

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

301
516
291

[57]

Fig. 4–4. Many feasts end in prearranged chest-pounding duels; this permits the allies to display the fact that they are friendly but capable of defending their sovereignty. These two men were pounding each other's chests a few minutes before this photo was taken. Here, they embrace each other intimately, vowing eternal friendship, and ask each other for specific trade goods.

*628
578

these few minutes the men were rapidly changing the points of their arrows to war tips: curare and lanceolate bamboo. The women and children began to cry, knowing that the situation was getting serious, and they grouped into the farthest corners of their houses near the exits. One by one the men withdrew, returned to their houses, and drew their bows. The visitors pulled back and formed a protective circle around their own women and children, also fitting arrows into their bows and drawing them. The village grew almost silent. The leaders of the respective groups stepped into the no man's land separating the two groups of armed men and began arguing violently, waving axes and clubs at each other. Suddenly, the spokesmen from the visiting group surged toward Kaobawä and his supporters, swinging their axes and clubs wildly at them, forcing them back to the line of men whose bowstrings were drawn taut. Kaobawä and his followers regained their footing and repelled their adversaries at this point, while the women and children from both groups began fleeing from the village, screaming and wailing. It looked as if

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

they were about to release their arrows point-blank at Kąobawä's attackers, but when he and his aides turned them back, the crisis was over. The leaders of the visiting group rejoined the other men, some of whom had picked up glowing brands of firewood, and they backed out of the village, weapons still drawn, their way illuminated by those who were waving the brands.[7]

Kąobawä's group took no further action in this affair and was not invited to feast at Mahekodo-teri. Later in the year, their relationships worsened because of a club fight in yet another village, and for a while both groups threatened to shoot each other on sight. A temporary rapprochement developed after the club fight, when a group of raiders from Kąobawä's group met a group of hunters from Mahekodo-teri while en route to attack the village of one of their enemies. The men from both villages traded with each other and departed on friendly terms, the raiders abandoning their raid and returning to their village lest they be later ambushed on the way home by the Mahekodo-teri. They are presently on trading terms with each other, but their relationship is still somewhat strained and potentially hostile.

In general, feasts are exciting for both the hosts and the guests and contribute to their mutual solidarity. Under normal circumstances, allies that customarily feast with each other do not fight. Nevertheless, even the best allies occasionally agree beforehand to terminate their feast with a chest-pounding duel, thereby demonstrating to each other that they are friends, but capable of maintaining their sovereignty and willing to fight if necessary (Fig. 4–4). Kąobawä's group had a chest-pounding duel with one of its staunchest allies in 1966, as each had heard that the other was spreading rumors that it was cowardly. Of the six feasts I witnessed during the nineteen months I spent with the Yąnomamö, two of them ended in fighting.

Any Yąnomamö feast can potentially end in violence because of the nature of the attitudes the participants hold regarding canons of behavior and obligations to display ferocity.

Still, the feast and its attendant trade serve to reduce the possibility of neighbors fighting with each other at a more serious level of violence, and they contribute to intervillage solidarity and mutual interdependence.

[7]At this time, I was crouched in the house behind the line of bowmen, trembling in my boots.

5

Yąnomamö Warfare

Levels of Violence

*628 THE FEAST AND ALLIANCE can and often do fail to establish stable, amicable relationships between sovereign villages. When this happens, the groups may coexist for a period of time without any overt expressions of hostility. This, however, is an unstable situation, and no two villages that are within comfortable walking distance from each other can maintain such a relationship indefinitely: They must become allies, *628 or hostility is likely to develop between them. Indifference leads to ignorance or suspi- 721 cion, and this soon gives way to accusations of sorcery. Once the relationship is of this 754 sort, a death in one of the villages will be attributed to the malevolent *bekura* sent by shamans in the other village, and raids will eventually take place between them.

726 Yąnomamö warfare proper is the raid. That is, not all of their feuding and squabbles can be considered as war, although the values associated with war—bellicosity, ferocity, and violence—undoubtedly increase the amount of all kinds of fighting.

*628 War is only one form of violence in a graded series of aggressive activities (Chag- 578 non 1967). Indeed, some of the other forms of fighting, such as the formal chest-pounding 152 duel, may even be considered as the antithesis of war, for it provides an alternative to kill- 154 ing. Duels are formal and are regulated by stringent rules about proper ways to deliver and receive blows. Much of Yąnomamö fighting is kept innocuous by these rules so that the concerned parties do not have to resort to drastic means to resolve their grievances. The three most innocuous forms of violence, chest pounding, side slapping, and club fights, permit the contestants to express their hostilities in such a way that they can continue to remain on relatively peaceful terms with each other after the contest is settled. Thus, Yąnomamö culture calls forth aggressive behavior, but at the same time provides a regulated system in which the expressions of violence can be controlled.

*628 The most innocuous form of fighting is the chest-pounding duel described in the 578 last chapter. These duels usually take place between the members of different villages and are precipitated by such minor affronts as malicious gossip, accusations of cowardice, stinginess with food, or niggardliness in trading.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

If such a duel is escalated, it usually develops into a side-slapping contest. Occasionally, the combatants will sue for the use of machetes and axes, but this is rare. If machetes are used, the object of the contest still remains the same: Injure your opponent seriously enough so that he will withdraw from the contest, but try not to draw blood. Hence, opponents strike each other with only the flat of the blade when they resort to machetes.

In some areas the Yąnomamö modify the chest-pounding duel in another way: The opponents hold rocks in their clenched fists and strike their adversaries on the chest with an even more stunning blow. They try not to let the stone itself touch the flesh of the man they are fighting. Even without the use of stones, however, they are able to deliver their blows with such force that some of the participants cough up blood for days after having been in a duel.

Club fights represent the next level of violence. These can take place both within and between villages. Most of the club fights result from arguments over women, but a few of them develop out of disputes associated with food theft. Dikawä, a young man about twenty years old, came home one day and discovered a bunch of eating bananas his father, about fifty-five years old, had hung up in his house, above his hearth, to ripen in the smoke. Dikawä, however, ate a number of them without his father's permission. When his father discovered the theft, he ripped a pole out of his house and began clubbing Dikawä. Dikawä armed himself with a similar club and attacked his father, precipitating a general melee that soon involved most of the men in the village, each taking the side of the father or son, as they saw fit. In brawls such as these, many individuals join in the fighting just to keep the sides even; if a group is badly outnumbered, they will be joined by friends whose sense of fairness stimulates them to take sides, no matter what the issue is. The net result of the above fight was a number of lacerated skulls, bashed fingers, and sore shoulders. The contestants try to hit each other on the top of the head, but when the fight gets out of hand, the participants swing wildly and rarely hit their opponents on the skull. More frequently, the blow lands on the shoulder or arm.

The clubs used in these fights are, ideally, 8 to 10 feet long. They are very wiry, quite heavy, and deliver a tremendous wallop. In general shape and dimensions, they resemble pool cues, but are nearly twice as long. The club is held at the thin end, which is frequently sharpened to a long point in case the fighting escalates to spear thrusting, in which case the club is inverted and used as a pike.

Most duels start between two men, usually after one of them has been caught *en flagrante* trysting with the other's wife. The enraged husband challenges his opponent to strike him on the head with a club. He holds his own club vertically, leans against it and exposes his head for his opponent to strike. After he has sustained a blow on the head, he can then deliver one on the culprit's skull. But as soon as blood starts to flow, almost everybody rips a pole out of the house frame and joins in the fighting, supporting one or the other of the contestants.

Needless to say, the tops of most men's heads are covered with long, ugly scars of which their bearers are immensely proud. Some of them, in fact, keep their head cleanly shaved on top to display these scars, rubbing red pigment on their bare scalps to define them more precisely. Viewed from the top, the skull of an accomplished man of forty years looks like a road map, for it is criss-crossed by as many as twenty large scars (see

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Fig. 5-1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the village, a brother of Kąobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

Spears are not commonly used by the Yąnamanö. A rare form of fighting, however, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the headman of one of the villages north of Kąobawä's area, took her away from him by force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited aid from their allies. Kąobawë's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that took the woman away from the cruel husband.

When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yąnomamö had deceived the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.[1] Thereafter, the two groups were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered. If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebawë told me of a raid he went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebawë, the raid was not a good one because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by Torokoiwë, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwë got sick of seeing this, so he shot the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

---

[1]The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yąnomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yąnomamö villages, as the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yąnomamö, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinsmen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doubt my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yąnomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kąobawä's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggressive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *waiteri* (fierce one) of the group.

Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatari girl. Damowä seduced her, thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the final club fight that led to the separation of Kąobawä's group from the Monou-teri. Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kąobawä then organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kąobawä's raiders. Nobody

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

726 If there are novices in the raiding party, the older men will conduct mock raids, showing
701 them how they are to participate. A grass dummy or soft log is frequently employed in
702 this, as was the case in the *wayu itou* held in the village the day before the raiders left. Particularly young men will be positioned in the marching party somewhere in the middle of the single file of raiders so they will not be the first ones to be exposed to danger should the raiders themselves be ambushed. These young men will also be permitted to retreat first. Damowä had a twelve-year-old son when he was killed. This boy, Matarawä, was recruited into the raiding party to give him an opportunity to avenge his father's death. The older men made sure he would be exposed to minimum danger, as this was his first raid.

726 The separated groups of raiders approach the village at dawn and conceal themselves near the commonly used paths to the source of drinking water. They wait for the enemy to come to them. A good many of the victims of raids are shot while fetching water.

Frequently, the enemy is wary and acts defensively at all times when there is an [722] active war going on. Only large groups of people can leave the village, and these are well armed. Raiders will not attack a large group such as this. When the enemy is found to be this cautious, the raiders have no choice but to retreat or to shoot volleys of arrows blindly into the village, hoping to strike someone at a distance: They retreat after they release their arrows, depending on the gossip of other villages to learn if their arrows did find their marks. Rarely, one of the raiders will attempt to enter the village during the night and kill someone while he sleeps. Damowä's younger brother allegedly accomplished this on one raid, but few men are brave enough to try it. Most of the time the raiders manage to ambush a single individual, kill him, and retreat before they are discovered. This is considered to be the most desirable outcome of the raid.

722 The women were nervous, frightened, and irritable while the men were away,
[562] and they were constantly on the lookout for raiders from other villages. This is always
*[628] a time to suspect raiders, since allies occasionally turn on their friends when the women are poorly guarded, abducting as many as possible while their husbands are away.

After several days the women were so frustrated and anxious that fights began to
• [578] break out among them. One woman got angry because another one, her sister and co-wife,
[593] left her to tend a small baby. When the mother returned, the angry one picked up a piece of firewood and bashed her on the side of her head with it, knocking her unconscious and causing her ear to bleed profusely.

726 The raiders had been gone almost a week when Kąobawä and his youngest brother
484 staggered into the village, nearly dead from exhaustion. Kąobawä's pains had gotten
[641] so bad that he decided to turn back just before they reached the Patanowä-teri village. He could barely walk by that time and would not have been able to elude pursuers should the enemy have given chase. Shararaiwä, his brother, decided to accompany him back lest he run into a group of Patanowä-teri hunters, or his condition grow even more severe. Shortly after they had dropped out of the raiding party, Shararaiwä stepped on a snake and was bitten. The rains had started, and the snakes were beginning to concentrate on the higher grounds, making walking a hazard. His leg began to swell immedi-
[758] ately, and he could not walk. Hence, Kąobawä had to carry him out on his back, despite the fact that he could barely walk himself. Carrying him for nearly two days, he managed to reach the Orinoco River. Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

627
579
411
526
541

[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

627
579
411
526
541

[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yanomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yanomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yanomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yanomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

121 58 602 613 two major structural problems: the lack of corporate functions of the local descent groups due to the nature of the corporation's estate, and the ambiguous nature of agnatic kinship ties. Within a framework such as this, affinal ties are capable of promoting solidarity between corporate groups because marriages among the Yanomamö are political alliances that involve military obligations. Local descent groups enter into marriage alliances to advance their military status; the context, therefore, within which marriages are contracted decidely influences the relationships between the corporate groups in question.

121 The debate between Fortes and Leach arose out of the interpretation of the importance of matrilateral kinship ties in patrilineal societies, as these ties are the focal points in any analysis of the means by which solidarity is achieved between corporate descent groups. Briefly, Fortes maintained that the solidarity between lineal descent groups was ultimately due to the inherent tendency of kinship to promote amity. Leach, on the other hand, argues that such an analysis confuses affinal relationships with descent and fails to take notice of the effects of the economic and political contexts within which marriages take place.

Leach drew attention to the fact that ethnological perspectives developed from analyses of patrilineal societies such as the Nuer, Tiv, and Tallensi have biased later workers to focus their attention on lineal corporations and on the common descent ties between corporations when they analyse

/209/

273 271 177 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 263 261 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is related to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

[764]

581 183 591 184 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

591 182 596

596 591 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

726 /476/ In general prolonged sieges are not attempted, out of fear that someone who came to visit the besieged settlement might have seen the attackers and gone in search of help. As a result of this the source that supplies them with water is generally not defended.

Frequently, before carrying out a larger attack, the attacking settlement moves into the forest so that the families may be sheltered while the men go out to battle.

583 628 If two young persons wish to marry, but one or both of their settlements do not favor their matrimonial union, they may flee to a settlement where they will be accepted and establish their home there. If they do not find a settlement that will shelter them, they must separate and try to contract marriage by the usual means, or they have to abandon their plan altogether.

586 628 A wife maltreated by her husband may flee from him by going to a settlement prepared to defend her, or to one where her husband would not dare go because of being considered an enemy there.

If a wife runs off alone or with another man, the husband may organize an expedition armed with macanas or clubs to regain her, but in this case, too, he can only make one single attempt. If she has taken the children with her, he can try to recover both the wife and the children or only the children, or some of them.

586 If a man abandons his wife, in general nothing can be done about it.

If the man and the woman separate by mutual agreement, the former generally keeps the children. Sometimes the smaller children remain at the side of the mother until they are of sufficient age to cook their own platanos (perhaps five or six years old).

587 The second marriage differs very little from the first marriage. In the majority of cases a virgin is preferred to a widow or to a married fugitive.

581 No man remains unmarried by his own will. If he is unmarried, it is because he has not been able to obtain a wife.

[Introductory, p. iii]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

I. Marriage Ties

602 593 581 583 [609] Marriages bind the groups of the spouses to each other in a system of exchanges involving goods, services, and the promise to reciprocate women at a later date. Yanomamö marriage is peculiar in that the ties between husband and wife are very weak, but that ties between a man and his sister's husband are strong. The significance of marriage as an institution that initiates (or continues) alliances between non-agnatic groups stems, therefore, from the nature of the ties that it creates between the male members of the allied groups.

593 Ties between spouses are usually very tenuous, due largely to the fact that men are constantly suspicious of their wives' motives whenever the women leave the village unescorted. Men always suspect their wives of infidelity, and will even beat them if there is the slightest suspicion that the women have been seeing other men. A certain amount of 837 593 trysting goes on in all villages, but it is more frequent and more easily accomplished in larger villages. Discovery of [578] liaisons by the cuckold inevitably leads to club fighting between the factions of the lover and the husband. The woman 593 684 involved usually suffers more than either of the male principals in the fighting that follows, as women are severely punished by their husbands. The punishment usually consists of a beating with a club, but men frequently shoot their unfaithful wives with barbed arrows in a non-vital area of the body, such as the buttocks or leg. In one instance I witnessed,

607 groups of Yąnomamö have begun referring to the entire tribe
601 as "Los Shori." The Yąnomamö address the missionaries with
799 this term hoping to maximize their chances of obtaining
[609] desirable manufactured goods such as machetes and axes.
[01]

607 Men who are not related by blood constantly remind
521 each other of obligations when they use this kinship term.
601 A brother-in-law deserves respect, fair treatment, and gratitude. As the term is reciprocal, a conversation between two shoriwë is punctuated frequently by these constant reminders that each owes the other goods, services and respect by virtue of the fact that they stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other. Such conversations, usually about material goods or women, strike the outsider as something of verbal contests to determine which of the two speakers is more of a shoriwë than the other, i.e., who owes the other more goods, services, gratitude and generosity. One who has actually given a sister to the other's group has an advantage, in a trading sense, as he can more legitimately claim goods from the wife receiver.

*628 When men visit the village of an ally to beg, trade or
574 participate in feasts, they call all non-related men of that
609 village 'brother-in-law,' emphasizing the fact that they
601 stand in wife-giver relationship to them, and deserve, therefore, the generosity of the hosts.
583

*628 Alliances between villages involve, in addition to
527 military aid, mutual feasting and trading. It must be
574 remembered that alliances, no matter how many marriage ex-
583
581

628 574 527 [583] [581] changes bind the villages to each other, are weak and unstable. The more frequently allies visit and feast with each other, the less likely treachery will take place, as a certain amount of trust and friendship is generated by visiting and feasting.

628 438 433 The tendency for Yąnomamö villages to create artificial shortages of certain manufactured items is related to feasting and the creation of organic solidarity of a sort. After Yąnomamö villages enter into alliances, they tend to adjust their economic production of such items as bows, arrow cane, spun cotton, tobacco, baskets, cultivated drugs, dogs and clay cooking pots. Any village is capable of producing all of these goods, but allied villages create shortages of some of these items so that they can become dependent on the productivity of their allies, thereby having excuses to visit and trade.

628 438 527 574 607 One of the most significant relationship in trading between villages is the shoriwë tie, and these men trade with each other whenever they visit. As a trade frequently involves feasting, the specialization in production of specific items leads to greater solidarity between allied villages. Although it would be an error simply to identify the role of shoriwë with that of trading partner, this aspect of the shoriwë tie, particularly between men of different villages, is by no means negligible in accounting for the solidarity this relationship promotes in inter-village political ties.

628 438 527 574 The way the trading is conducted also contributes to

628 581 607 Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their ability to promote solidarity between the allies to the obligations, duties and trading relationships that marriages impose on brothers-in-law.

607 602 621 591 Within villages, brothers-in-law have similar obligations to each other. The strength of the co-residential shoriwë ties, however, is influenced by other factors besides promises to exchange goods, women, and services. First, co-residence itself promotes a certain amount of amity between all classes of kin. Second, co-residential shoriwë are usually cognatically related because their respective agnatic groups have exchanged women in ascending generations, i.e., many of them are related to each other as MoBrSo or FaSiSo. So, in addition to mere promises to give women to each other, co-residential shoriwë ties are strengthened by ties of cognatic kinship and co-residence.

609 602 621 613 582 584 The strength of the ties between co-residential shoriwë is best illustrated by contrasting it to the weakness of the agnatic tie between two local descent groups of the same lineage. In anticipation of the discussion of agnatic relationship, I will point out here that the political interests of local descent groups focus on acquisition of women from other descent groups within the village. When a village has two or more agnatically related descent groups, the men in these respective groups are de facto rivals for the women in the village. Simultaneously, these distantly related agnates are frequently competitors in the disposition of some female agnates who do not belong unambiguously to one or the other local descent groups.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Husirawë's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowë and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowë-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-kïkë--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shedemi, and Amatakë), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hahoyaoba-tïka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hahoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasaböwë-tedi and Ashadowë-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives they claimed, was that the Patanowë-tedi had to move frequently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the Patanowë-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense. It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consanguineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

The war between Monou-tedi and Patanowë-tedi

After the Mamowei-tedi group split at the site of Patanowë in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi began visiting Patanowë-tedi, and one of them, Torokoiwë, was given two wives by the Patanowë-tedi. The rapprochement, however, was never effected and the political relationships between

628 721 the Patanowä-tedi for managing to overwhelm their own force led them to declare war on the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi 782 241 immediately began making a new garden at Moyenaböwei, across 726 the Mavaca River from their village and several hours inland, anticipating the war that they knew would follow. After they had cleared the large trees from their new garden site, they raided the Patanowä-tedi in the last week of January 1965, and succeeded in killing Bosibrei.

727 581 582 693 628 Another important event took place while the Monou-tedi were clearing the trees from their new garden site, an event that illustrates the same principle of political philosophy. One of the stolen women, Kakoma, was given to a young man, Karidimö, who had only one leg. Karidimö could not do heavy work, and when his village moved inland to clear their new site Karidimö moved to Bisaasi-tedi with his new wife. Kakoma, however, was not pleased with her new husband, and asked the Bisaasi-tedi if she could stay with them, hoping that she would be permitted to rejoin the Patanowä-tedi if they returned to Bisaasi-tedi to visit. The Bisaasi-tedi men obligingly took her away from Karidimö by force and gave her to a bachelor in their own village. Karidimö, enraged at this, returned to Monou-tedi to recruit aid.

628 721 578 This put the Monou-tedi in a difficult position. They were planning to raid the Patanowä-tedi and would have to maintain good relations with the Bisaasi-tedi if the revenge raids from the Patanowä-tedi became intense. They could not, however, overlook the insult to Karidimö, for this

114 12| 602 Among the Yąnomamö consanguineal kinship does not have the quality attributed to kinship in general by Fortes, and we therefore cannot explain the stability that exists in terms of these alleged properties. The fact that affinal ties do promote a certain amount of stability between Yąnomamö descent groups supports Leach's arguments, and, for the reasons implied by Leach: Yąnomamö marriages occur within a political context that promotes military obligations and concomitants not predictable from first principles regarding the putative nature of kinship itself. Descent groups exchange women with an eye toward maximizing military advantage in a milieu of hostile political relationships. The stability brought about by such marriages is, therefore, largely a function of the politico-military ends served by marriage and is only tangentially, if at all, a result of kinship.

12| I would also like to discuss the nature of the relationship between corporation and descent from another point of view, for the nature of the estate of the Yąnomamö descent corporation gives a particular quality to the corporation. Most corporate lineal descent groups have as one of their major functions the control over and disposition of property. The property is usually real property. Pastoralists, of course, have as their estates, herds and use rights to forage areas. Some Northwest Coast and northern California tribes have corporate groups whose estates are acorn groves and portions of salmon streams.

In addition to real property, corporate groups

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Kąobawä's group. All their other neighbors, allied to the victims of the treacherous feast, relentlessly raided them. They were, in short, extremely dependent on Kąobawä's group and the two other villages related to Kąobawä's group.

Kąobawä and his followers have astutely finessed this situation in two ways. First, they have managed to coerce the two Shamatari villages into ceding women without reciprocating an equal number of their own in return. The men who have obtained Shamatari wives have, as well, managed to cut short their period of bride service in the Shamatari village. Conversely, Shamatari men who have been promised women of Kąobawä's group are pressed into very lengthy bride service, sometimes up to three years. Secondly, Kąobawä's group has prevented the two Shamatari allies from re-establishing friendly contacts with the other Shamatari to their southeast by chicane, threat, and intimidation. One of the two Shamatari allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri, has attempted a rapprochement with the Shamatari enemies of Kąobawä's group. In 1965, several months after I had been living in Kąobawä's village, Kąobawä's group managed to stage another treacherous feast for the old enemies by taking advantage of the renewed ties between the Reyaboböwei-teri and the enemies. They learned that the Reyaboböwei-teri planned to invite one of the villages to a feast, so they, along with the Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Mõmariböwei-teri, went to the feast in order to ambush the guests. The Reyaboböwei-teri, however, were reluctant to go through with the plan and warned the visitors about it. The visitors were en route to the village when word of the treachery reached them. This had the effect of creating even more difficulties for the Reyaboböwei-teri, for it is highly unlikely that they will succeed in gaining the confidence of their neighbors to the southeast. Nevertheless, some visiting between the groups still continues.[17]

The historical relationships between the villages helps account for the reasons behind contemporary alliance patterns. The discrepancy between marriage rules and actual marriage practice in Lower Bisaasi-teri is a result of the political advantages that group enjoys over one of its allies. It has used this advantage to gain a favorable imbalanced marriage exchange pattern, but one that is only temporary. The Shamatari are also shrewd in their alliance practices, and have succeeded in neutralizing their disadvantages by capitalizing on schisms between Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. This has been done largely by confining their marriage exchanges to important men in the dominant lineages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri. One of the Shamatari villages, Mõmaribowei-teri, has restricted its exchanges to Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri, while completely ignoring Upper Bisaasi-teri. The other Shamatari village has given its women only to Upper Bisaasi-teri. This has resulted in the weakening of ties between the three villages of Upper Bisaasi-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Monou-teri, whose members are

[17] I plan to use these visiting ties to establish contact with the Shamatari villages in that area, none of which have had contact with outsiders. These unconnected Shamatari, however, know who I am because I attempted to reach them in 1965. They subsequently sent a message out urging me to visit them, angry because my guides forced me to turn back on my first attempt. In 1966 they even sent an old man to Kąobawä's village by way of Reyaboböwei-teri with an invitation for me to visit them. I had already left Venezuela by that time. Most of the men in the two contacted Shamatari villages tried to prevent me from going by telling horrible tales of the treachery that awaited my visit, describing how the Shamatari will kill me. The truth of the matter is that they know that I will bring the unconnected Shamatari machetes and axes that might otherwise be given to them. The headman of one of the unconnected villages has a brother in Mõmariböwei-teri. He privately conceded that no harm would befall me and offered to take me to visit in 1967. He was, unfortunately, bitten by a snake just before I arrived in March of 1967, and my plans were deferred until 1968.

related agnatically to each other, and who share a common history. That is, they have lost solidarity as a network of allied villages and, therefore, some of the advantages they enjoyed as wife receivers with respect to the Shamatari villages. They are less able to behave as a single political entity and force the Shamatari to cede women because the Shamatari have given them women in such a way so as to make them competitors with each other. This has also weakened the ties between the two Shamatari villages, which are also related to each other by agnatic ties and common history because each group has linked its political fate with the affairs of different allies. Nevertheless, the two Shamatari villages have, by exchanging women in this fashion, reduced the solidarity of the group of villages that once stood as a unified political bloc that coerced them out of women.

This can be demonstrated in two ways. During the period 1964–1966, Upper and Lower Bisasi-teri still maintained a common village and entertained visitors as a group. Near the end of this period, after the marriage exchanges had begun to show their effects, they abandoned the common village and began to entertain allies independently of each other. At that time they had together managed to acquire two dozen or so women from the Shamatari while having given or promised only a half-dozen in return. When I returned in 1967, the situation had changed appreciably. There were many more Shamatari men living in the group because they had been given women; that is, the exchanges were more balanced. Moreover, the relationships between Upper and Lower Bisasi-teri were not as amicable as they had been the previous year; each group was becoming more involved in the obligations it had acquired by entering into marriage exchanges with one of the two Shamatari villages. Just before I returned, there was a club fight involving all of the villages: The Upper Bisasi-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri fought, as a group, against the Lower Bisasi-teri and Mĩŋamiböwei-teri; that is, the groups that had entered into marriage exchanges with each other behaved as a unit and fought against their close agnates and erstwhile allies. A group of men from Mĩŋamiböwei-teri forcefully took a woman from the Reyaboböwei-teri, thereby precipitating a challenge to a club fight. The Monou-teri participated in the club fight as well, taking the side of the Mĩŋamiböwei-teri, from whom they had taken several women and to whom they had promised several.

Finally, the political situation altered somewhat. When the alliance first developed between Kąobawĩ's group and the two Shamatari villages in 1960, the political milieu was quite serene. The treacherous feast resulted in a bloody war, but the two Shamatari villages sustained most of the losses. Therefore, the Shamatari allies required the assistance of Kąobawĩ's group more than the latter needed their help, since Kąobawĩ's group had no active wars at the time. In 1965, however, the Monou-teri renewed their old war with the Patanowĩ-teri and it subsequently involved Kąobawĩ's group and Lower Bisasi-teri. Only then did they require military assistance from the Shamatari, and only then did the marriage exchanges tend to balance. I will discuss the development of this war in Chapter 4.

Marriage in Yąnomamö society is the result, therefore, of many considerations. It is not merely the outcome of a blind subscription to a rule that enjoins males to marry women of a specific category, for in many cases the political affairs of the group oblige people to give their daughters to men in other villages. The Yąnomamö are practical and enterprising in this regard, particularly those in small villages. The capacity to exist as an independent but small group is greatly enhanced by creating alliances with members

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of other villages—such alliances are stabilised by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yanomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18]Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yanomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villagers enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shawãri* (brothers-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in unmarriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19]Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

New individuals are incorporated into the community by an extension of kinship ties. Unless one is incorporated into the village in this fashion, there is no basis for social behavior vis-à-vis others, for the kinship system defines one's role in society. An orphaned teen-ager joined Kaobawä's group shortly before I began my fieldwork. He was from a distant Shamatari village and had no blood relatives in Kaobawä's group. He established his position in the community by calling Kaobawä "father." This defined his relationship to all of Kaobawä's kinsmen as well. As an exercise in kinship, I had the young man give me his relationship term for everyone in the village. He not only had specific terms for every member of the group, but he had also extended them to all the residents of Lower Bisasi-teri and Monou-teri as well, since Kaobawä was related to these people. In short, the boy learned how Kaobawä was related to all the members of three different villages and logically extended his own assumed relationship to Kaobawä outward to the others: and he behaved toward them accordingly: He avoided women he called mother-in-law and refrained from sexual activities with women he called sister.

To emphasize the fact that the kinship categories do not always correspond to biological relationships, let me give an example of an incestuous marriage. Kaobawä's younger brother, Shiimima, recently (1966) took a young girl for his wife, outraging most of the community because he "behaved toward her as brother" before the marriage. The girl's mother had been abducted some twenty years earlier from a distant village and was given to a man who stood in a father relationship to Kaobawä and Shiimima. Thus, both Kaobawä and Shiimima called the abducted woman "mother" and called her daughter "sister." The abducted woman's husband died of malaria; after this, she had a number of temporary affairs with other men before being officially taken as a wife by another man in the village. Her daughter is the issue of a temporary affair she had with the headman of Mahekodo-teri, the group that gave Kaobawä refuge after the treacherous feast in 1950. She is, therefore, biologically unrelated to Kaobawä and Shiimima, but since they behaved toward her as brothers, Shiimima's marriage to her is a blatant case of incest. The matter was as disgusting to my informants as it would have been had Shiimima married his own biological sister.

There are many important kinship distinctions in Yąnomamö social life, but the one between relatives by marriage and agnatic relatives should particularly be emphasized. This distinction is at the basis of Yąnomamö political behavior and village fissioning. This point was emphasized in the discussion of village fissioning and marriage rules in the first section of this chapter.

One of the most important characteristics of affinal ties is that they are capable of growing in strength over time because they can be solidified and reinforced by marriage exchanges between the groups. Ties between agnates, on the other hand, tend to weaken over time. For example, Kaobawä's local descent group could renew its friendship to similar affinally related groups in the village of Patanowä-teri by entering into marriage exchanges with them once again. There is no way, however, in which his own descent group could reinforce or strengthen the agnatic ties with the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in Patanowä-teri. By marrying into the affinally related Patanowä-teri descent groups, Kaobawä's group would enter into direct competition with agnatic counterparts in that village, further straining the relationships between the two communities.

There is another way of looking at this situation. Men who are related to each other as agnates (for example, brothers and parallel cousins) get along well with each

other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competition with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their personal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older. They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kaobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

Kaobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction between agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kaobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were half-brothers. Nadesiwä is in Kaobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the group—Kaobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwä to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwä will have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kaobawä and Nadesiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

The other man, Kumamawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kaobawä is related to him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawä is a frequent visitor in Kaobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks about Kaobawä's cabo of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kaobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

Kaobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The beleaguered partner may be obliged to remain in the village of his host for a year or longer, approximately the length of time required to establish a new plantation and productive base from which an independent existence is possible. Twice in the recent history of Kaobawä's group they were driven from their gardens by more powerful enemies and were forced to take refuge in the village of an ally. In each case the group remained with the ally for a year or so, moving away only after their new garden began producing. In both cases, the hosts demanded and received a number of women from Kaobawä's group without reciprocating in kind, a prerogative they exercised from their temporary position of strength. The longer the group takes advantage of a hosts' protection, the higher is the cost in terms of women, so visitors always make an attempt to establish their gardens as quickly as possible and move into them as soon as they begin producing. Without allies, therefore, the members of a village would either have to remain at their single garden and sustain the attacks of their enemies or disband into several smaller groups and join larger villages on a permanent basis, losing many of their women to their protectors. The jungle simply does not produce enough wild foods to sustain larger groups, and the threat of warfare is such that smaller groups would soon be discovered by their enemies and exterminated.

Because of the ever-present risk of being driven from one's garden, therefore, no Yanomamö village can continue to exist as a sovereign entity without establishing alliances with other groups. Warfare is attended by a bellicose ideology which asserts that strong villages should take advantage of weaker ones and coerce them out of women; to prevent this, all villages should therefore behave as if they were strong. Thus, the military threat creates a situation in which intervillage alliance is desirable, but at the same time spawns a military ideology that inhibits the formation of such alliances: Allies need but cannot trust each other. They are obliged to behave aggressively in order to display their respective strength.

Alliances between villages are the product of a developmental sequence that involves casual trading, mutual feasting, and finally the exchange of women. The most intimate allies are those who, in addition to trading and feasting, exchange women. Any developing alliance may stabilize at the trading or feasting stage without proceeding to the woman-exchange phase. These are weak alliances, but serve to limit the degree of war that might possibly obtain between the villages so related: The Yanomamö tend to avoid attacking those villages with which they trade and feast, unless some specific incident, such as the abduction of a woman, provokes them. Allies that are linked by trade and feasting ties, for example, rarely accuse each other of practicing harmful magic. Allies bound to each other by affinal kinship ties, however, are more interdependent because they are under obligation to each other to continue to exchange women. It is, in fact, by the exchange of women that independent villages extend kinship ties to each other.

Members of allied villages are usually reluctant to take the final step in alliance formation and cede women to their partners, for they are always worried that the latter might not reciprocate as promised. This attitude is especially conspicuous in smaller villages, for their larger partners in defense pressure them into demonstrating their solidarity by ceding women; the strong can and do coerce the weak in Yanomamö politics. The weak, therefore, are compelled to exaggerate their strength by bluff and intimidation and by attempting in general to appear to be stronger, militarily, than they really are, thereby hoping to convince their partners that they are equals, capable of an independent

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

existence. By so doing, they also inform their partners that any attempt to coerce them out of women will be met with the appropriate reaction, such as a chest-pounding duel or club fight. Nevertheless, each ally expects to gain women in the alliance and enters it with this in mind; and each hopes to gain more women than it cedes in return.

Hence, in order for an occasional nervous meeting of groups of men from different villages to evolve into a stable intervillage alliance based on the reciprocal exchange of women, the long and difficult road of feasting and trading must be traversed. Suspicion must give way to relative confidence, and this must develop into reciprocal feasting during the dry season. Only then has the intervillage relationship reached a point where the partners begin ceding women to each other; and even then, it is done reluctantly.

This is, however, only the ideal pattern in the development of an alliance. Rarely does it develop far enough to reach the stage where women change hands, particularly if the two villages concerned are of approximately the same military strength. Fights and arguments over women or food develop, and the principals withdraw temporarily on semihostile terms, perhaps attempting a rapprochement sometime in the future. Or, if the principals are obviously different military potential, the stronger of the two will coerce its weaker partner into ceding women early in the alliance development, taking advantage of its own military strength, thus altering the course of alliance development in the opposite direction.

Whatever the specific developmental sequence leading to the woman-exchange phase, the milieu within which these developments take place is not conducive to the establishment of warm ties of friendship. Each of the principals attempts to demonstrate his own sovereignty in order to convince the other that he does not really require political alliance to keep his enemies in check. This is accomplished by bragging about past military victories and fierceness in past club fights and chest-pounding duels, and by insinuating that one's group is always on the verge of exploding into a force so great that no combination of allies could overcome its terrible might. The smaller the village and more obvious its vulnerability, the greater is the pressure to insinuate or to demonstrate this potential.

Political maneuvering in this milieu is both a tricky and potentially hazardous undertaking. Each principal in the negotiation must establish the credibility of his own threats, while discovering the point at which his partner's bluff will dissolve abruptly into action; he must discover the point beyond which he must not goad his ally, lest he himself is prepared to suffer the possibly violent outcome. It is a politics of brinkmanship, a form of political behavior in which each negotiator is compelled to expose his opposite's threats as bluffs at the risk of inciting him to violence—a club fight, immediately and honorably, or, later and treacherously, a feast in which the hosts descend on their guests to kill their men and abduct their women.

Trading and Feasting in Alliance Formation

Because an ally is not beyond taking advantage of his weaker partner, especially when the alliance is just developing, there is very little in the way of natural attraction to encourage the two groups to visit each other. Considerations of pride and canons of ferocity preclude obvious attempts to develop stable and predictable alliances and military

a local shortage of the item in order to have to rely on an ally for it, giving sufficient cause to visit them.

Often the specialization is less individualized than in the case of clay pot manufacture. Kaobawë's group, for example, exports cotton yarn to one ally, but imports it from another. The exported cotton frequently is brought back in the form of manufactured hammocks, the importer merely contributing labor to the process. In some cases the shortages are merely seasonal; Kaobawë's group may import cotton from a particular ally at one time of the year, but export it at another. Most of the trade, however, involves items that are readily manufactured by or raised by any group, underscoring the fact that trade is the stimulus to visit. Food does not enter the trading system, although hospitality dictates that it must be given to friendly groups. Occasionally, a village will run short of plantains because of a particularly long hot spell, and its members may visit an ally to borrow food to last a week or so. This hospitality is usually reciprocated, but it is not a part of the trading network.

Alliances between villages may stabilize at any one of three points: sporadic reciprocal trading, mutual feasting, or reciprocal women exchange. These are cumulative levels in the sense that the third phase implies the first two: Allies that exchange women also feast and trade with each other. Likewise, allies that merely feast together also trade, but do not exchange women. At the lower end of this scale of solidarity lie those villages with which one fights to kill, while at the upper end are those villages from whom one's group has recently separated. Frequently, the scale is circular rather than linear: A village's mortal enemy is the group from which it has recently split. By way of example, Kaobawë's group trades sporadically with the Makorima-teri, Daiyari-teri, Widokaiya-teri, Mishekodo-teri, and Iyawei-teri. These are fairly weak alliances and even permit limited fighting. His group has more intimate ties with the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mamariböwei-teri, with whom it feasts regularly. The alliance with the Reyaboböwei-teri has even reached the point at which they are exchanging women with each other. Finally, at the other end of the scale, Kaobawë's group is at war with the Iwahikorobä-teri, Möwamobä-teri, and Patanowä-teri. The first two of these groups are historically unrelated to Kaobawë's group, although they have a common history with two of his staunchest allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mämaribowei-teri, from whom they separated in the past. The Patanowä-teri are related to Kaobawë and his followers, as was shown in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, they are bitter enemies and are at present raiding each other.

Although there is no rigid geographical correlation of the village settlement pattern to the degree of alliance solidarity, neighboring villages usually are at least on trading terms and are not actively conducting war on each other. Should war develop between neighbors, one of the two principals will abandon its site and move to a new location. Whether the ties between neighboring villages will be one of blood, marriage exchange, reciprocal feasting, or casual trading depends on a large number of factors, particularly on village size, current warfare situation with respect to more distant groups, and the precise historical ties between the neighboring villages. Whatever the nature of the ties between neighbors, each strives to maintain its sovereignty and independence from the others.

The Yanomamö do not openly regard trade as a mechanism the ulterior function of which is to bring people repeatedly together, thus establishing an amicable basis from

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikawë probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen-even Kaobawë-implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Dumowë. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikawë's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikawë failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikawë and his raiders did not locate the Patanowë-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowë-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowë-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowë-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when *it* occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowë-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Binasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Binasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Binasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowë-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Binasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

[R 138 is blank]

524 /65 cont./
child" or "married couple." In the latter game sexual activity
524 is already often involved. As long as the children have not yet
864 reached puberty, the adults laugh about it. It is only the mothers of girls who are a little annoyed when they hear about it. They do not regard it as tragic, however, since they themselves were reprimanded about it by their mothers when they were little girls.

/66/

582 g) Marriage

At the age of 7-8 a girl as a rule has already been given in
585 marriage. The husband is usually 8-10 years older. They do not as yet lead a regular married life, however. During the day the little girl plays with other children, and only at night does she sleep
[833] in her hammock beside her husband. Sexual intercourse, however,
[593] is strictly forbidden until after the second menstruation. She also fetches firewood and water and receives prepared food for herself
[484] and her husband from her family. When the tribe is on the march, she carries the hammock of her spouse and the few household articles. Economic reasons are connected with this marriage in childhood, for the young husband must hunt for his little wife and
606 her parents. Especially noteworthy is the reserve toward in-laws which operate in such a way that son-in-law and mother-in-law never
582 speak to each other and may not visit each other. Since the fear of incest is very great in both tribes, a marriage, which is always agreed upon by the parents, may be entered into only by partners who are not related by kinship. For this reason young wives are preferably obtained from a friendly tribe; in this case, however, the young man must live there until his wife has put her second
583 menstruation behind her. Occasionally young girls and women are abducted from hostile tribes. They are first held as captives and prostitutes for some time, however, before a man may finally marry them. I met such a little female captive among the Surára. She came from the hostile tribe of the Karanaterí and was approximately 15 or 16 years old.

Makiritare SS 20

M
Y
648 /190 cont./ scorn them, and, at first sight, they seemed to be unworried, but the knowledge that they no longer live alone in the land of their fathers, and the fact of having heard that four days prior to our arrival /191/ at the conuco an Indian who had sought refuge by climbing a tree was shot by a Sanemá arrow and fell lifeless into the river, constantly tortured them.

M
Y
● 582
563
177
648
M
[186] A powerful stimulus which always encouraged the Makiritare on their numerous trips was to get a wife among their neighbors of the same tribe. Nowadays, despite the intense scorn which the Makiritare profess toward the Yanoama, taking a wife from that tribe is not considered an impossible or degrading thing: there are many Yanoama women who have married Makiritare men (cf. Grelier, 1955b, p. 10). This matrimonial interchange inevitably carries with it an assimilation of cultures between the two tribes, a process in which the Makiritare cultural pattern will dominate that of the Yanoama and the Yanoama genes will infiltrate the Makiritare gene pool. There is not the least doubt but that the Sanemá, who were brought in for a short time, arrived at the upper Ventuari and Caura where they took up residence to stay, and that the present fusion between the Caribe and the Yanoama ought not to be explained so much by the good will of the former as by the vitality of the latter.

Y
167
563
177
648

Y
101 The Waica subtribe occupies the central part of the present Yanoama territory, that of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the mouth of the Ocamo, including also the southern bank of the river (Barker, 1953, p. 434). As we have already mentioned, they appear to live also in the general arc of the upper Rio Branco and its western tributaries, and Schuster (1958, p. 114) is very probably right when he says that the Sierra Parima does not bound the Waica zone, but that it extends to Brazilian territory.

Y
[77
797 We have already mentioned the first contacts which the Whites had with the Waica, and, after a somewhat unfruitful effort by Hamilton Rice at the beginning of the present century, the Waica world went without contact with science until the New Tribes Mission was able to start peaceful relations with the Waica through the missionary James Paul Barker. Some ethnographic data were also published on this Yanoama subtribe by several

Y
114

/210 cont./

594 family exists as a definite cell in that tribe, assuming all the
621 functions and all the specific responsibilities of that social entity. Thus, there exists the formal arrangement of marriage, which sanctions sexual contact between the spouses and guarantees procreation. There exists economic co-operation among the members of the nuclear family, which organizes work and apportions the necessary subsistance and, in this way, injects persistence in the family's living together. There are [86] practically no tasks which exceed the capacity of the nuclear family and the children learn the way of life directly from their parents and elders.

594 The most visible center of the nuclear family is the fire
354 around which they eat and sleep. From here they go out to their work and, upon their return, reassemble at the fireside. After a long trip, the man takes the small sticks from his quiver and makes a fire; there is a new fire; a new home is established.

596 Each individual Sanemá belongs also to an extended family
621 made up according to the residence rules already explained. The local group /211/ consists of two or more of these extended families of the same bilateral kinsfolk and form /sic/ a band. This local group or band is the largest social unit to which [619] a Sanemá belongs. The terms "subtribe" and "tribe" which we use are artificial terms lacking in real meaning for the Sanemá. But the band is definitely a familiar concept for him, one which he knows very well and with which he identifies. The band guarantees economic and social stability, and its well-being benefits the individual member, who feels tied to it by a multitude of family ties.

621 Each local group has innumerable enemies, while the circle
628 of friends is extremely small. Contact between all of one group with a neighboring group is rare, but does sometimes occur. They sometimes get together for commercial reasons or at funeral ceremonies, but their friendship is weak and unstable.

601 We were unable, for lack of an informant, to obtain a list of
● 582 kinship terms. Our impression is that a Hawaiian system is involved.
600 One may not marry a female cross or parallel cousin. There are

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanomama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Casara (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hāwiawan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kāilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hāwiawan* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Samatari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, erect, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barker, 1971, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 35.
11 Wilbert, 1981a.
12 Vinal, 1956, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1959.

/439/

582 [163] Girls are usually around 14 or 15 years of age when they have their first child. The husband is perhaps between 16 and 18 years of age, if this is his first marriage.

The adult men frequently take as new wives girls who have just reached puberty.

A boy 15 years old is commonly not considered capable of taking a wife, especially if he has not yet sown his first conuco /a clearing for cultivation/ in order to be able to feed his wife. But even if the planting had been prepared, it is often the case that he has to wait while the older men pick over the girls whom he might have wished to marry.

584 582 Nevertheless, in marriages prearranged with the consent of all before the husband and the wife are of age, it is very probable that the age of both would be almost the same. As a result a boy might marry at an age younger than usual.

162 163 Here are some examples of the number of living children per wife among Guaika families. The parentheses indicate the probability that no more children will be born. (Not all of the fathers of the families enumerated are still alive.)

Living children of families of a single wife:

(6) (5) (4) (4) (4) (3) (3) 5 4 4 2 2 2 1 0 0 0 0 0

Living children of polygamous families and families in which a second wife has been taken after the death of the first:

	First Wife	Other Wives
Family "A"	(12)	1
Family "B"	6	2 -- 1 -- 1
Family "C"	(4)	2
Family "D"	(3)	4
Family "E"	2	0

/440/

Communications

202 195 Messages are memorized and carried by a messenger.

All official messages are communicated to the messenger and transmitted by him in a crooned form to the addressee. The addressee of the message repeats the words which are communicated to him or responds by answering them.

582 /477/ A young woman cannot remain unmarried for a long time, but some manage to reject all their suitors for several years 587 after puberty. A widow, especially a widow with children, sometimes remains alone forever after the death of her husband.

Making Peace

628 202 When one settlement wishes closer friendship with another, it sends a messenger to offer more friendly terms.

628 202 728 If the settlements are only "macana enemies," a messenger of the very settlement that takes the initiative might go, but if the settlements are "arrow enemies," then it is necessary to send a messenger from a settlement which is friendly with both of the settlements in question. The messenger who is a member of a settlement that is an "arrow enemy" would run the danger of being shot with an arrow before giving the message.

628 728 Thus, two very hostile settlements might manage to suspend the raids between them. Later, they might agree not to fight any more should they see one another in a friendly settlement. Until they arrive at this accord, a neutral settlement friendly to both, when it is visited by people from one of these settlements hostile to each other, must send a message to the other, warning that they should not come so long as there are visitors from the hostile settlement in it. Still later they might agree to receive the visit of a small group of visitors from the other [579] enemy settlement, for commercial purposes. From this time on the two settlements can undertake their negotiations directly, and friendships begin to form among their respective members. [582] Then, when one settlement, out of good will, gives its own girls as wives to the men of the other settlement, it can be said that they have recovered; they have truly become good friends.

While the greater the number of persons involved in a dispute or a fight, the less the probability that the opposing bands will reach an understanding after a short time, the disputes within a settlement itself are in general settled quickly. Within a few months all will have been forgotten. /478/ Disputes between settlements which have not gone beyond macana fights are usually forgotten in a year or two. Disputes between settlements which have occasion to use arrows, especially if someone has

[Introductory, P. iii;]

Genealogical data in both sociological and demographical form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yanomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yanomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yanomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties agnatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

10:Chagnon B-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of Thesis

121
583
582
183

This is a functional study of one form of marriage practiced by the Yanomamö Indians of southern Venezuela. The form of marriage considered here--recruitment of wives from other villages for the purpose of initiating and maintaining political alliances--constitutes a departure by the Yanomamö from their preferred form of marriage. I wish to emphasize the point that these marriages constitute a predictable and necessary departure from the ambilateral cross-cousin preferences. I will show in the space below how a number of variables are related to each other to bring about the exceptional marriages.

The fact that normative rules of behavior and actual behavior differ considerably from each other in most societies has received little theoretical attention, particular in regard to analyses of marriage systems. For the most part we presume that exceptions to stated marriage preferences represent a measure of the breakdown of the society under consideration, due to contacts with other societies. Yanomamö exceptional marriages[1] cannot be dismissed with this line of

[548]

---

[1] Of 56 recently contracted marriages in three of the villages investigated, 31 cases were breaches of the preferred ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules for the purpose of establishing political ties between the groups of the spouses.

reasoning, as most of the Yąnomamö villages are presently uncontacted, and those that are in contact with foreigners have only recently (since 1951) entered into these contacts.

Yąnomamö marriages, even the preferred form, are influenced by the milieu of inter-village hostility within which they are contracted. Marriages in this milieu have as their major function the promotion of social ties between the descent groups represented in the exchange and are best understood as the deployment of women between groups with the purpose of promoting political and military alliances. The groups in question may be of two kinds: the local patrilineages comprising a particular village, or the members of different villages as such. As the only corporate group among the Yąnomamö is the local lineage, marriages within and between villages are to be understood as alliances between different corporate groups.[1]

The variables affecting marriage practice--weakness of descent as a solidarity-promoting medium, village size and instability, the chronic nature of warfare, the shortage of women, attitudes about aggressiveness and demonstration of ferocity by individuals, and economic practices--are such that some deviation from the normative marriage rules is necessary to insure maximum survival chances for the residents of the various autonomous villages. Because marriage exchanges in general have political and military implications,

---

[1] Yąnomamö villages are not corporate groups.

583
582
582
583
582
193
628

actual marriage practices reflect the immediate political and military needs of a given village. If it is more advantageous to dispose of a woman in a way that promotes greater solidarity between allies, the marriage rule is not followed.[1] An eligible female, therefore, is given to a man (perhaps unrelated) in another village if her kinsmen have reason to believe that they may be required to take refuge in or request military aid from that other village.

628
574
726
562

An ally's demands are not to be taken lightly, for to fail in an obligation to an ally may have the gravest consequences for survival; one tactic of Yanomamö warfare is invitations to feasts during which a disgruntled group kills the male guests and seizes their women. These treacherous feasts (nomohoni) occur often enough, so that local groups

628
583
582

are always suspicious of their allies. A dependable ally is won at the expense of women. Failure to hand over enough women creates a frustrated ally who is extremely dangerous. Yanomamö political behavior has largely to do with disposing of enough women to make the ally loyal, but not to give more women than is necessary to achieve this end; miscalculation in this respect has serious consequences. As it is imperative for local groups, for reasons to be outlined below, to have allies, it is likewise necessary for them to enter into marriage exchanges with other groups.

[1] When women are given to men from other villages, the men rarely, if ever, are related to them as Fališo or Mošrišo. The exchange of women for purposes of alliance usually establishes the initial kinship ties between the groups of the wife receivers and wife givers.

attain a certain size; beyond this point the causes of internal fighting are too numerous for peace to be maintained effectively by kinship ties, and the village breaks up into smaller, more cohesive units. This affects the degree to which deviations from the marriage norm occur: first, the female cross-cousins of an eligible bachelor are usually in villages that are hostile to his own, and he is obliged to seek a spouse in another, currently friendly, village. Secondly, as his own village is now more vulnerable because of its small size, some of its eligible females must be given to men in other villages in order to promote military alliances.

Village size and demography

The significance of demographic data has only recently received recognition in analyses of social systems. The importance of such data in the analysis of marriage practices has been most tellingly illustrated by F. G. Rose's study of the Groote Eylandt Aborigines (1960). Rose was able to show that where men marry women who are considerably younger than themselves, two important consequences follow: primary marriages with father's sister's daughter is effectively prevented, as is the practice of sister exchange.

Similarly, Ackerman (1964), in a critique of Needham's analysis of Purum marriage, showed that demography-dependent data such as frequency of 'marriage acts' (ibid., p. 60) do not support Needham's contention that the Purum

121 have a prescriptive marriage system. What the Purum say they do and what they actually do are two distinct things.

621 573 922 As I mentioned above, after Yanomamö villages reach a certain, critical size, they tend to fragment into smaller groups. The internal tensions that promote this instability are to some extent offset by external military pressures: members of a faction within a larger village may want to establish their own independent village to avoid club-fighting and to suppress more severe forms of violence; but if their village is being raided by members of other villages, it may be impossible for them to do so. Occasionally a [241] village splits into several factions, each establishing its own garden apart from the other, but the factions are forced to reunite because of raids mounted by other groups. Generally, the process of village splitting precludes a later recombination of the same factions because these remain hostile to each other. Thus, the small, vulnerable villages that result from the fragmentation of a larger village are constrained to make marriage alliances with other villages, both to insure military assistance and because it is difficult to obtain women from their kinsmen with whom they are now at war. Village size and the balance of marriage exchanges between villages indicate that numerically weak villages are coerced by their stronger partners to give up women. In some cases, the disposition of desirable trade goods may affect the balance in the exchange of women between two villages. In general it may be said that, when one village

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yanomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yanomamö social organization of this single

phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the result of the shortage of women.

Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and this frequently causes the village to split. The larger the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion. Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each group establishes an independent village and enters into marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yanomamö village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

*621 White's generalization that

> every society tends to behave in such a way as to achieve that balance between size and solidarity that will give it the maximum effectiveness in carrying on its life-sustaining activities. (1959:104)

Belligerent ideology and aggressive behavior

*621 *623 562 523 *582 421

Village size plays an important role in the nature of the political relationships between groups that are not linked by kinship ties. As mentioned above, larger villages tend to use their strength and dominance to upset the exchange balance of women. But the degree to which a powerful group is able to force a dependent ally to cede women is limited by the ability of the smaller group to raid the larger village successfully. In ideological terms the Yanomamö express this capacity to wage war by placing emphasis on and valuing aggressive behavior. It is considered both proper and desirable to act ferociously, as this informs neighbors of the group's capacity to wage war and warns them that the group is willing to resort to war in political dealings.

*611 *623 721 152 181

*621 *623 524 571 152

Members of small villages are consequently constrained to behave militantly toward larger neighbors to limit the coercion that the larger group may be tempted to try. Their fierce behavior takes the form of threat, bluff, chicanery in trading and, most important, challenges to duels. Frequently, when villagers are invited to feast with an allied group, the invitation includes a challenge to a chest-pounding

duel. Such a duel functions to remind the allies that the host is strong and willing to display his strength to protect his sovereignty.

The practical effect of this kind of behavior is that the solidarity of political alliances is constantly threatened. Allies are always suspicious of each other's intentions, and political ties between them are tenuous.

Although the giving of women in marriage between allies serves to promote solidarity, the capacity for marriage to achieve this end in itself is limited by the constant displays of hostility and aggressiveness by both groups.

The display of ferocity is manifest at the local, village level also. No insult is too slight to go unnoticed and unchallenged. Indeed, most individuals seize upon these opportunities to display strength. Thus, a legitimate way for men to display aggressiveness is for them to beat their errant wives, to burn them with fire brands, to cut their arms and legs with machetes or to shoot them in a non-vital part of the body with a barbed arrow. Men constantly intimidate their wives and respond cruelly to the slightest provocations, such as the wife's failure to act quickly on a husband's demand for food. Men who are brutal to their wives are feared and respected by other men, for the implication of this behavior is that the man will behave equally fiercely if insulted by another man.

Men often prefer to have a wife from another village, upon whom it is easier--and safer--to vent ferocity and

cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data, the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to split.

Ideological considerations, therefore, promote friction and fighting within villages and lead to village splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek marriage alliances with other groups.

Economic practices

Local groups abandon residential and horticultural sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of their enemies. For the most part, the Yąnomamö are able to predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop within the village and it is expected that these will

escalate, the factions involved usually use the interlude between a club-fight and actual killings to establish separate gardens.

Occasionally, however, a village suddenly becomes embroiled in a war that it has not expected, or fighting within the village immediately involves shooting to kill. Then the only recourse for the group is to take refuge with an ally and subsist on the produce of the ally's garden. If the critical situation develops out of an intra-village dispute, the smaller of the contesting factions is forced to flee to another village where it has friends or relatives.

If all the members of a village are forced to take refuge in another village, they proceed to make their own garden apart from that of their hosts; then, when the garden begins to produce, the refugee group moves to that site to live. They do this because the price of protection is always measurable in terms of the hosts' demanding access to the women of the guests, either as spouses for their own men or simply as temporary sexual partners.

Twice during the lifetime of my oldest Bisaasi-tedi informants their group was obliged to flee to an allied village to escape the raids of powerful neighbors, raids that resulted from the development of intensive hostilities before the group could establish a new garden of its own elsewhere. On both occasions the refugees lost a number of women to their protectors, and in neither case did they receive wives in return. Indeed, on the second occasion, the hosts planned

*628 722 574 to kill all the male guests and to abduct the women, but the hosts themselves unexpectedly became involved in a war and required the aid of their guests.

*628 24 722 361 Yąnomamö dependency on cultivated foods, then, promotes political alliances with other villages; the warfare pattern is such that the members of a village may have to flee from their site to avoid the raids of their enemies. If they have not had time to establish a new garden, they need the support of an ally until they are able to support themselves.

.-.-.-.-.-.

121 583 582 The variables that affect Yąnomamö marriage practices are numerous and diverse and combine with each other in complex ways. I shall show in the chapters that follow how these variables actually affect Yąnomamö marriage practices. At this juncture the point to be made is that Yąnomamö social practice in real life can not be completely isomorphic with the stated marriage preferences because the milieu within which marriages take place simply precludes such a neat fit. A functional, rather than a structural analysis seems to be demanded by the nature of the variables in question. I shall also show the degree to which we can predict actual marriage behavior, given specific information about the variables.

[724] [182] Finally, I should add that the Yąnomamö constitute a significant case for ethnological inquiry: this society offers

10:Chagnon S-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

121 us the opportunity to estimate the effects of warfare on the
563
* 582 nature of marriage practices among a people who are chroni-
182 cally at war, a situation not frequently found in the present
724 ethnographic world.

128 B. The Data and Field Techniques

Several kinds of data are required to illustrate Yanomamö marriage practices and the variables affecting them. The most important data are those I obtained from genealogies and the historical relationships between villages.

In total, I have genealogical data on some 3,000 individuals, living and dead, from 15 villages. Not all the data are comparable in quality and I shall confine my discussion to the populations of the five villages for which
128 my data are most complete. These five villages fall into
*121 two groups with regard to their historical origins.
*622 Three of them have a common history, separating initially about 1943 at which time two villages were formed.[1] One of these split again about 1954 to form two villages, giving a total of 3 separate but closely related villages. The other two of the five selected for this study also have a common history, but are distinct from the first three. For purposes of clarity I will refer to these two villages as Shamatari (see Chapter 5 for discussion). About 1960 the two Shamatari villages split from each other and are presently on good terms.

---

[1] See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the historical relationships of these villages.

child: he had scrupulously observed the coitus taboo during lactation--the wife had not.

Most cases of infanticide take place when a couple already has a small child. Sickness takes a heavy toll during the early months of a child's life, and women are reluctant to jeopardize a child that has already survived the first two years. So, they frequently kill the new-born so that their older child will have no competition for milk. Bahimi, a woman of some 30 years, killed a new male baby shortly after I started my fieldwork in Bisasasi-tedi. She explained, tearfully, that she did not feel that she could successfully raise the new child because she still had a son that was nursing.

These cases do not, however, explain why there is a consistent bias to kill females rather than males. When I discovered how significantly the sex ratio diverged from the expected value of 1.0 in some villages, I tried to get an explanation from the Yanomamö. I was surprised to find out that they were ignorant of their own bias in killing children. What did come to light, however, was the fact that Yanomamö prefer to have a male baby for their first child and, if it turns out that the first child is a girl, they will frequently kill her. If, however, a couple prefers to have a girl and the first child is a boy, they generally do not kill the boy.[1]

---

[1] Whatever the reason may be for the preference toward males as eldest children, there is one structural effect that deserves further enquiry. Rose (1960) effectively showed that where males tend to marry females that are younger than them-

847 562 162 Several kinds of demographic data suggest that the rate of female infanticide is high. Table 1 gives the sex ratios of five Yanomamö villages. The sex ratio for the total population sample (576 individuals) gives a more meaningful estimate of the rate of female infanticide, as there is considerable variation by village in the value of the sex ratio. The excess of males in the total population (8%) gives a first 562 approximation of the frequency of female infanticide. The 162 628 722 [583] variation in the sex ratio by the village, on the other hand, expresses the political relationships of the villages to their allies. That is, the distribution of women in these five villages is a function of the military requirements of the particular villages in the marriage alliance network. Thus, the cline in sex ratio from Bayabobëi-tedi to Bisaasi-tedi (ignoring the Patanowä-tedi, who are not allied to the other groups) reflects a dominance gradient in politico- 125 847 162 628 562 military requirements of each village. The total sample of 576 individuals must be considered in order to estimate the frequency of female infanticide among the Yanomamö, but the political relationships between the villages must be understood to account for the variation by village of the value

---

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 64]

847 562 162 114 982 selves, it is highly unlikely that men will marry a FaSiDa, despite the kinship terminology. Rose did not, however, consider the possibility that sibships may have a systematic bias in their composition; if males tend to be older than their sisters considering all sibships, the probability that a FaSiDa is of marriageable age is increased. I specifically questioned the relationship between female infanticide and FaSiDa marriage, and the Yanomamö denied any correlation between the two practices. There can be no doubt, however, that the occurrence of FaSiDa marriage among the Yanomamö is made more probable by female infanticide.

935 terms for a number of men that were, genealogically, her distant agnates. She explained the usage by the fact that she had incestuous relationships with several of them when she was a young woman." Kpobawë told me that he had incestuous relationships with Hayamamasimi, his FaBrDa, but did not want the others in the village to know about it. In another case, a man married three girls who were his FaBrDaDaDa, i.e., his 'granddaughters.' The Yanomamö explanation of this case illustrates the relationship of the woman shortage to warfare and alliance. The people in question all live in Patanowë-tedi, a village that has numerous enemies, only one ally, and a serious woman shortage. The parents of the girls in question did not want them to marry into the village of the allies, as they had given a number of women to the allies already. The man, Ishiweiwë, had no spouse and could not get one from the allies. So, the parents of the girls stopped calling Ishiweiwë by the appropriate consanguineal terms and began calling him by affinal terms suited to the marriage of the three girls to him. The girls, however, stopped calling him grandfather. Ishiweiwë married just one of the girls at first; after she died, he married the other two, as he already called them 'wife' by virtue of the fact that he had married their sister. The initial marriage was the major hurdle. After he married the first girl and the kinship terms were

---

935 the mother-in-law category are not avoided, nor are FaSi or MoBrWi. The implications of this last fact for Homans and Schneider's work are obvious.

10:Chagnon B-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, KpotÃwÃ was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, KrÃÃmi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The Yanomamö rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the Yanomamö avoid incestuous affairs, according to KpobawÃ, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. KpobawÃ himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yaxeremou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

835 601 183 investigated discrepant kinship usage I found that the terminology changed because of incestuous relationships between my informant (or his close kinsman) and the members of the local lineage in question. I have not investigated all discrepant usages, but the high incidence of the terminological aberrations suggests that incest is widely practiced.

835 601 183 582 [162] [542] Incestuous affairs and marriages occur largely because of the woman shortage. I have already mentioned that Iahiweiwä of Patanowä-tedi married his three 'granddaughters' because he could not find a wife of the appropriate category. A similar situation occurred in Bisaasi-tedi. Naromawä, one of the important men in the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi, has redefined a number of his classificatory daughters as sisters,[1] thereby making it possible for his sons to marry their children, otherwise incestuous marriages. His oldest son, Bäkëbëwä, technically married his FaDaDa, but because his father had redefined the mother of Bäkëbëwä's wife as 'sister,' the marriage was appropriate within their marriage rules.

937 601 578 [721] The woman shortage is remedied by illicit affairs within the village. These affairs are the major cause of feuds and village splits. During the 15 months covered by my field work five club-fights occurred. Four of them were over women who had been caught in illicit affairs, and in one case, the village split into hostile factions that began

---

[1]See Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of this.

613 In addition to genealogical distance and size of
162 descent groups, demographic factors promote ambiguity in the relationships between males within a local descent group. For reasons of differential fertility, infanticide, warfare mortality, or chance, some local descent groups are larger than others (contain more males) and are, therefore, more powerful. Others may be relatively large, but contain more females than males. Still others may be very small and contain either all males or
613 all females. Since Yanomamö kinship terminology is classificatory
601 (Iroquois), all agnatically related males of the same generation
602 call each other 'brother'; parallel cousins, no matter how remote genealogically, are not terminologically distinguished from brothers. Despite the terminological usage, relationships between such agnates varies considerably.

613 Problems of agnatic priority in the disposition of
602 females arise, for example, when a man with no actual brothers
621 gives his daughters away in marriage. If he has sons, the
584 sons would prefer that the girls be given to members of other
582 local descent groups who are most likely able to reciprocate with women. As the father has no actual brothers, his more distant agnates put pressure on him to give the girls to a descent group to which they themselves are linked by marriage ties, for they stand to benefit by future reciprocities. Situations such as this arise when a single man finds himself in the same village with a group of agnates that are distantly related to him, but who themselves constitute an important political bloc within the village. Although the agnates are

613 602 621 561 534 582

his brothers, terminologically, they have more in common with each other than they do with him. As he depends on them for support within the village, he is under obligation to them and can not take their suggestions lightly.[1]

621 613 602 562 534 736

Again, if there are two politically important descent groups of the same lineage within a large village, and if there are, in addition, a number of agnatically related females not belonging unambiguously to either one, problems arise over the disposition of the women; there will be rivalry between the two descent groups concerning the marriages (or remarriages) of these women. Situations like these arise when the father and brothers of the women are killed in raids or die of other causes, or when the woman's first husband dies after her (deceased) agnates arranged her marriage. The Bisasai-tedi, for example, split into two villages, each led by members of the same lineage. They had been victimized by a Shamatari group which killed a large number of men during a treacherous feast. There were a number of women, consequently, who were ambiguously related to the surviving males of the Upper and Lower halves of Bisasai-tedi. One of the descent groups in what is now Lower Bisasai-tedi managed to gain the upper hand in the

---

[582] [1]There seems to be a marked tendency for the daughters of such men to be given to men in other villages when alliances are made. I am unable to say, on the basis of my present data, whether such alliances are forced on these men by their agnates, or whether these men in fact prefer to dispose of their daughters in this way. This practice tends to keep such men more isolated from their agnates and prevents them from establishing strong affinal ties within the village.

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaBiSo or her MoBrDa.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

---

[1] See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[2] By FaBiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

the Namowei-tedi and the Boreta-tedi (Chapter V) developed out of a case such as this.

When women are given to men in allied villages, the local descent group of the girl (her father and adult brothers and, to a lesser extent, the girl's more distant agnates) decides which patrilineage of the foreign village should have her. Smaller villages are more prone to enter into alliances based on marriage exchanges than are larger villages, since smaller villages require allies to a greater extent than larger ones.[1] Local descent groups in small villages are more cohesive than descent groups in larger villages because they usually comprise a man and his adult sons; if there are distantly related agnates in small villages, these are incorporated into the local descent group. In small villages, therefore, local descent groups are more corporate because all the adult agnates of the girl have a say in her marriage. Ideally, they give the girl to a member of the politically strongest descent group of the allied village, for this group is the one from which aid will come or, conversely, the one most likely to make the decision to initiate hostilities against the smaller village.

The longer an alliance endures, the more likely it is that the exchange of women balances. The two largest

---

[1] Larger Yanomamö villages can make visiting alliances with other groups that do not lead to marriage exchanges, as it is relatively unimportant to them to stabilize such alliances by ceding women to militarily inferior groups.

lineages in Bisasasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi have exchanged women with each other for a number of generations. Male members of the Kor lineage entered into 29 marriage acts[1] with women of the Sha lineage.[2] An identical number of acts involving Sha men with Kor women also took place. In the exchanges between Mʉsaribʉwei-tedi and their two allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisasasi-tedi, there is presently an imbalance in the exchange of women, although reciprocity appears to be developing; a number of women from the latter two villages were promised to members of Mʉsaribʉwei-tedi--to members of lineages that have already given women to the Bisasasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi.

An imbalance in the exchange of women implies a difference in political strength between the two groups that exchange women, and the mechanics of the exchange are shaped by this difference in political strength. Post marital residence is viri-patrilocal after the groom performs bride service, but the length of the bride service is determined by the relative political strength of the two villages concerned. If the village of the groom is more powerful than that of the bride, the groom may be able to return to his village with his wife after just a few months of bride service. If the

---

[1] See Ackerman, 1964, for a definition of marriage act.

[2] Yanomamö lineages are not named. I have named them for expediency of analysis after the oldest identifiable member of the lineage, abbreviating the name to three letters. "Sha" lineage, therefore, is the name I have adopted for the patrilineal descendents of a long since dead individual called Shamashiadima.

bride's village is stronger, the girl's parents may be able to press the groom into a prolonged bride service--five or six years. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, are politically stronger than the Reyaboböwei-tedi, one of their Shamatari allies. They have obtained a number of women from this group, and the men involved all returned with their brides after brief periods of bride service. So far, not a single Bisaasi-tedi woman has gone to live in Reyaboböwei-tedi, although one girl is married to a man from that village. The man has already spent several years in Bisaasi-tedi, and will probably spend at least as many more before being permitted to return home with his Bisaasi-tedi wife. The military and political superiority of the Bisaasi-tedi is so conspicuous in this alliance that one Bisaasi-tedi man literally dragged a woman, previously promised to him, out of the Reyaboböwei-tedi village, against the wishes of both the woman and the woman's agnates. He was not prevented from doing this because the Reyaboböwei-tedi need the political and military support of the Bisaasi-tedi and could not afford to react violently to the affront. Had the two villages been politically equal, the incident would have resulted in a war.

Women involved in exchanges between villages have no say whatsoever in their fate. Most of them abhor the possibility of moving to a strange village, largely because they fear that they will be mistreated by their husbands. Should a girl refuse to abide by the decision of her agnates, she has no alternative but to flee the village. Koima, a girl of

628 581 609 Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their ability to promote solidarity between the allies to the obligations, duties and trading relationships that marriages impose on brothers-in-law.

609 602 621 591 Within villages, brothers-in-law have similar obligations to each other. The strength of the co-residential shoriwä ties, however, is influenced by other factors besides promises to exchange goods, women, and services. First, co-residence itself promotes a certain amount of amity between all classes of kin. Second, co-residential shoriwä are usually cognatically related because their respective agnatic groups have exchanged women in ascending generations, i.e., many of them are related to each other as MoBrDo or FaBiDo. So, in addition to mere promises to give women to each other, co-residential shoriwä ties are strengthened by ties of cognatic kinship and co-residence.

609 602 621 613 582 584 The strength of the ties between co-residential shoriwä is best illustrated by contrasting it to the weakness of the agnatic tie between two local descent groups of the same lineage. In anticipation of the discussion of agnatic relationship, I will point out here that the political interests of local descent groups focus on acquisition of women from other descent groups within the village. When a village has two or more agnatically related descent groups, the men in these respective groups are de facto rivals for the women in the village. Simultaneously, these distantly related agnates are frequently competitors in the disposition of some female agnates who do not belong unambiguously to one or the other local descent groups.

groups. In a large village comprised of two large lineages, each having two or more local descent groups, the particular local descent groups of each lineage will have stronger ties with non-agnatic descent groups within that village than with groups of distantly related agnates. When there are feuds within the village, the groups that have most in common with each other are those linked by affinal rather than agnatic ties, and these affinally linked groups stick together should the feud lead to a village split.[1] While the tie between closely related agnates is stronger than that between brothers-in-law, the latter are usually stronger than the ties between distantly related agnates.

Finally, the son-in-law tie complements the brother-in-law tie in binding local descent groups to each other within villages. Older adult males of local descent groups can depend on the support of brothers, brothers-in-law, and sons-in-law in village feuds, more so than on the support of distantly related agnates. In the competition for women, affines in a faction exchange women rather than compete for them; just the opposite is true of the relationships between distantly related agnates.

2. Agnatic ties

One of the two most important consanguineal ties having structural concomitants among the Yanomamö is the tie between siblings of the opposite sex. These are not as

[1] See Chapter IV for a detailed discussion of the structure of village factions.

capable of becoming stronger in time. When two descent groups exchange women with each other over several generations, the agnatically related members of the two groups have strong ties with each other. Further exchanges between these groups is largely a validation of the previously existing implicit obligations to exchange women. Mubrbo is, whether or not you marry his sister, a shoriwâ. When the marriage rule is followed, and it is a number of times each generation, the ties between shoriwâ are correspondingly strengthened by the exchange. Agnatic ties do not have the potential of increasing in solidarity; the tendency seems, in fact, to be just the opposite.

The major components in the variation of the strength of agnatic solidarity are genealogical closeness, relative age, and co-residence. To provide a crude measure of the relative importance of these variables, I have arbitrarily assigned values to the components in Table 3. A strong tie is scored as "****" and a weak tie as "____". By adding the number of asterisks in each possible combination, a rough measure of relative solidarity of agnatic type is given. For example, agnates who are closely related genealogically (A_1: "****"), who differ significantly in age (B_2: "____") and who live in the same village (C_1: "**__") represent a class of agnates having the greatest relative solidarity. The sum of the asterisks for this combination is 6.

In Table 3, combinations whose scores are 3 and 4 respectively constitute the class of agnates having the least

internal feuding that promotes splitting, and threat of raids from other groups that inhibits village splitting and/or promotes the establishment of alliances with other groups. These two forces shape the composition and structure of Ignomamõ villages; that is, these two forces impinge on kinship relationships and together with these latter determine the nature of the Ignomamõ village.

I will show in Chapter V that larger villages fragment into smaller groups when internal feuding becomes particularly intense, but are occasionally forced to re-unite when warfare threatens the splinter groups. Ignomamõ villages would remain small if there were no military forces working on them. The Patanowẽ-tedi, for example, attempted to split into three groups after separating from the Bisaasi-tedi;[1] the three factions re-combined, however, when one of them was attacked by the Hasabõwẽ-tedi. Similarly, the non-Patanowẽ-tedi faction of the split (Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi) likewise split into smaller factions after the threat of raids from the outside subsided. Again, these recombined when threat of raids was imminent.

Irrespective of the conditions of the splitting, the newly formed villages approximate a dual organization of inter-marrying moieties in structure. This form of organization is implicit in the Iroquois kinship terminology, sister exchange, and ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules. Dual

---

[1]See Map C and Chapter V.

organization is only approximated, however, as an examination of the genealogies given in Appendix A will show. The smaller the village, the more conspicuous is the tendency for the composition to approach a moiety-like structure. Larger villages are more composite and may contain as many as four or five distinct lineage segments.[1]

The tendency for small villages to be characterized by two (and only two) dominant lineage segments, each linked to the other by marriage ties, recurs with sufficient frequency to permit me to use a simple dual organization model as the basis of the analysis of village structure. The model given in Figure 1 should be taken as only a heuristic device in the discussion of Yanomamö village structure that follows; the Yanomamö do not conceive of their villages as being bifurcated into two groups, for in most instances they are not. And, small villages soon lose their moiety-like structure as they begin to include males and females from villages with which marriage ties are made.

The relationships between kin discussed in the previous chapter are all given in Figure 1. The adult males in Generation 1 exchange sisters[2] and are, therefore, related to each other as shoriwä (brother-in-law). This is a well-defined, stable, non-ambiguous relationship; the males in

---

[1] See Appendix A for a discussion of village composition. Details of one small village are given in the Appendix, but the composition by lineage is summarized for three other villages.

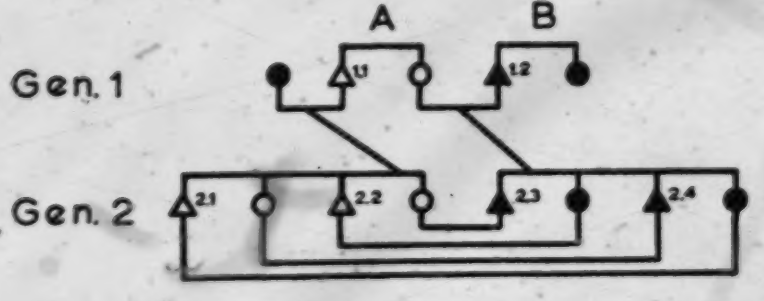
[2] In Figure 1, $A_{1.1}$'s wife is the sister of $B_{1.2}$.

602 607 582 583 Generation 1 have essentially solidary relationships to each other, at least in terms of the model.

The males of Generation 1 are related to the females [621] of that generation as either husband or brother. Ties between siblings of the opposite sex are affective and promote village solidarity.

613 602 Males of lineage A in the second generation are simultaneously sister's sons and daughter's husbands of male $B_{1.2}$, both relationships being conducive to solidarity. They are [583] bound to $B_{1.2}$ by affective ties and obligations to perform bride service. An analogous set of relationships binds the Generation 2, lineage B males to $A_{1.1}$. The males of both lineages in the second generation are related to each other as either brother or brother-in-law, both relationships being stable within the assumptions of this model (see below). The

[621] FIG. 1: Ideal Yanomamö Village Composition



621 622 623 602 the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absense of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Reromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-[156] in-law. Reromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the [593] village. He has four adult sons to support his position. [601] Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system [554] and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so [183] as to advance his position as leader. [582] He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children [736] of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[593] [1]His son, Bëkëbówë, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Reromawë is getting old.

actual brothers of these women were killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast,[1] and the women therefore had few agnates to contest Reromawë's actions; his rights to dispose of these women increased after their brothers were killed in the feast. Because of the previous marriages between the members of the Sha and Tom lineages, Reromawë was already MoBr to the politically most important males in the Tom lineage, and he could command respect from them by virtue of the fact that he was of the ascending generation and principal wife-giver to them. He in fact gave two daughters to one of these men. When he re-defined one of his classificatory daughters as sister, he advanced his position in two ways. First, he then became shoriwë to the man that was married to this sister (the man was already SiSo to Reromawë), compounding the cognatic tie (SiSo) that linked them with an important affinal tie (shoriwë). Second, he was able then to claim a daughter of this 'sister' as a wife for his own son (despite the fact that it was incestuous), creating additional stable ties between the two lineages on another generational level.

In another, similar, case, Reromawë re-defined a different classificatory daughter as 'sister,' making it possible for her son to marry his daughter. This was a strategic move, for the man involved was of the Hor lineage, a dominant political group in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. Thus, by manipulating the kinship system, Reromawë advanced his own position as village leader and managed to

[1] See Chapter V.

*621 622 613 602 subordinate his potential competitors by the way in which he disposed of the women and/or their children.

*621 613 602 562 582 583 There are a number of individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi who are not related agnatically to either the Sha or the Tom lineages. These individuals do not, however, constitute a political bloc; each is tied by marriage to the two lineages, and are therefore subordinate (by virtue of obligations to their wife-givers) to the members of that lineage. Most of these individuals are females, and do not represent a political factor in the affairs of the village. Some of them were abducted from Shamatari villages in the past, and a larger number of them were obtained in marriage alliances from other Shamatari recently. The six adult males of this non-agnatic group who might pose a threat to the stability of the village by making liaisons with married women are all married themselves. With the exception of two brothers, they are unrelated to each other. One of them is married to Reromawë's daughter, another is married to his son's daughter, and the two brothers (actual WiBrSo to Reromawë) are married, respectively, to Reromawë's classificatory son's daughter in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and will move there while he does his bride service, and a classificatory brother's daughter.[1] The remaining two men are in Faction B. One of these joined Reromawë's group before 1945 to get revenge against the

[1] This woman is one of the seven abducted by the Monou-tedi from the Patanowë-tedi and taken, in turn, by Reromawë's group from the Monou-tedi. Technically, then, Reromawë is her 'father' and the man to whom she was given is 'son-in-law' to Reromawë. See Chapter V.

*621 members of his own village, Hasabŏwä-tedi, who killed his
613 father. Reromawä's group was then actively raiding Hasabŏwä-
602 tedi. The man was given a wife in Reromawä's village, the
562 widow of a Tom man killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast.
582 The man's two daughters are married to Sha men.[1] The last
583 man and his family joined Reromawä's group in 1965 to take refuge from his own villagers, the Mǫmaribŏwei-tedi, some of whom wanted to take his wives away from him for being brutal. He had previously given a daughter to a Tom man and when he was forced to flee from his own village, took refuge with his son-in-law. Appendix A gives more details on each individual discussed above.

*628 Lower Bisaasi-tedi has political ties with a number
582 of villages. It has recently (since 1960) entered into al-
583 liance with two Shamatari villages, Reyabobŏwei-tedi and Mǫmaribŏwei-tedi, and has managed to obtain a number of women from the latter village as wives for young bachelors
*628 in the group. The Mǫmaribŏwei-tedi visit them frequently to
527 feast and trade, and the members of Lower Bisaasi-tedi
574 reciprocate the visits. The ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi
438 and the Mǫmaribŏwei-tedi are nearly as strong as the ties
602 between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and any of its cognate villages to whose members the Lower Bisaasi-tedi are agnatically re-
*628 lated. Of the villages that are cognate to Lower Bisaasi-tedi,
602 Monou-tedi is perhaps the most dependable ally, because the

---

[1] Reromawä's actual son, and Reromawä's classificatory son in Upper Bisaasi-tedi.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

historical relationships between villages to properly interpret marriage ties between them. With regard to the last point, I found that numerous individuals in Bisaasi-tedi claimed to be from Patanowë-tedi; my initial conclusions concerning their marriage to individuals from Bisaasi-tedi was that the marriages were village-exogamic. I was obliged to reassess these marriages after I learned that the two villages were at one time one village, and most of the marriages between the two groups were contracted while the groups were living together. I therefore investigated in detail the historical relationships between all the villages in the Mavaca area, a portion of the results constituting the subject of this chapter.

I have summarized the village movements in Tables 5 and 6 and have indicated these movements graphically on Map C. The reader may, if he wishes, skip the details of the histories and turn at this point to the concluding remarks of this chapter. I can make the four points by using only Tables 5 and 6, in conjunction with Map C. However, I cannot illustrate Yanomamö political behavior without recourse to details of the village movements and the wars that caused them and, accordingly, I include the details of the histories in this chapter. The political relationships that presently obtain between the two Shamatari villages (Mõmaribõwei-tedi and Reyabobõwei-tedi) and their allies, the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, can not be completely understood without knowing their respective histories in some detail. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

128 361 174 *628 583 marriage alliances on which I have complete data have taken place between the Shamatari and the two villages of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi. Over 50% of recently contracted marriages[1] that represent breaches of the marriage rule preferences were the result of alliances between the villages whose histories are given here. It is, accordingly, important to understand the political and historical circumstances that led to these alliances.

174 175 361 *128 (621) A. The History of the Namowei-tedi Group

The Namowei-tedi lived in four different areas between ca. 1880 and 1943, splitting into two villages in 1943 shortly after they moved to their fifth location. I outline below the events that led to the abandoning of the first four areas and discuss in more detail the activities of the villages after they established their fifth location. I will treat the ParuritawÃ-tedi group similarly in Part B of this chapter.

174 175 *628 *621 Area 1: Konata-tedi (See Map C)

While living in this area the Naomwei-tedi were on friendly terms with several Shamatari villages, numbering them among their allies. The Shamatari as a distinct group were just coming into being between 1880 and 1900. (582) (583) Intermarriages between the Namowei-tedi and members of several Shamatari villages occurred and a number of individuals in the present villages of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and PatanowÃ-tedi trace descent back to Shamatari ancestors.

[1] These data on marriages are taken from the villages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi.

*628 721 the Patanowä-tedi for managing to overwhelm their own force led them to declare war on the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi 782 241 immediately began making a new garden at Moyenaböwei, across 726 the Mavaca River from their village and several hours inland, anticipating the war that they knew would follow. After they had cleared the large trees from their new garden site, they raided the Patanowä-tedi in the last week of January 1965, and succeeded in killing Bosibrei.

927 581 Another important event took place while the Monou-tedi were clearing the trees from their new garden site, an *582 593 *628 event that illustrates the same principle of political philosophy. One of the stolen women, Kakoma, was given to a young man, Karidimö, who had only one leg. Karidimö could not do heavy work, and when his village moved inland to clear their new site Karidimö moved to Bisaasi-tedi with his new wife. Kakoma, however, was not pleased with her new husband, and asked the Bisaasi-tedi if she could stay with them, hoping that she would be permitted to rejoin the Patanowä-tedi if they returned to Bisaasi-tedi to visit. The Bisaasi-tedi men obligingly took her away from Karidimö by force and gave her to a bachelor in their own village. Karidimö, enraged at this, returned to Monou-tedi to recruit aid.

*628 721 578 This put the Monou-tedi in a difficult position. They were planning to raid the Patanowä-tedi and would have to maintain good relations with the Bisaasi-tedi if the revenge raids from the Patanowä-tedi became intense. They could not, however, overlook the insult to Karidimö, for this

000 the factions still remain on friendly terms.

*621 *628 578 726 105 Material presented in the discussion above--details of the movements of factions that are not relevant to the origin of the five villages considered here--also support the contention that villages split over internal feuds. That villages are structurally unstable is evidenced by the sheer number of village splits and the fact that the related factions enter into hostilities with each other after separating. Data I collected on village movements for other Yanomamö groups support the conclusions I reach here.

*621 *628 602 582 583 105 [613] One can see that the process of village splitting leads to the formation of independent villages that comprise closely-related kinsmen. Intuitively, one can also see that marriages "between" such villages, i.e., between spouses that each claim to be of different villages, do not necessarily represent political alliances between those villages, for in many cases the marriages were contracted between the local lineages involved before they separated. This is not to say that all the cases of this sort can be dismissed in this fashion. Some marriages between ambilateral cross-cousins are in fact properly interpreted as marriage alliances between villages, for occasionally related villages enter into alliances with each other. In these cases, the marriages between them come about for essentially the same reasons that the exogamic marriages between unrelated groups occur. In short, the existence of the marriage rule alone does not account for alliances between related groups that enter into politico-military pacts.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

128 In the body of this dissertation I have attempted to demonstrate that two variables in particular exert an overriding effect on Yąnomamö social structure. These are, respectivley, the shortage of women and the intensity of actual warfare. In this final chapter, I should like to accomplish two ends. First, I should like to set my conclusions against different material recently gathered among the Yąnomamö in northern Brazil.[1] Second, I should like to bring my material to bear on the discussion between Leach (1957) and Fortes (1959a, 1959b) regarding the relationship of kinship, marriage ties, descent and politics.

121 721 582 183 Let us turn first to comparative Yąnomamö ethnology. If it is true, as I have argued, that warfare enhances the

[1]After I had completed the text of the thesis I had an opportunity to discuss with Ernesto Migliazza the social organization of a number of Brazilian Yąnomamö groups. Migliazza, a linguist, spent nearly six years among the Uraricaá Yąnomamö, working for a Baptist Mission and, more recently, for the Goeldi Museum in Belém. I thank him for permission to use much of the comparative material presented below; some of it has already been published in his 1964 work. I introduce this new data because it very effectively demonstrates the interrelationships between the variables discussed in the thesis. I would have arrived at the same conclusions, by employing arguments similar to those used by Meggitt (1965), but the contrast provided by this new material makes the conclusions more defensible.

[114]

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1]Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

114 121 602 -- Among the Yąnomamö consanguineal kinship does not have the quality attributed to kinship in general by Fortes, and we therefore cannot explain the stability that exists in terms of these alleged properties. The fact that affinal ties do promote a certain amount of stability between Yąnomamö descent groups supports Leach's arguments, and, for the reasons implied by Leach: Yąnomamö marriages occur within a political context that promotes military obligations and concomitants not predictable from first principles regarding the putative nature of kinship itself. Descent groups exchange women with an eye toward maximizing military advantage in a milieu of hostile political relationships. The stability brought about by such marriages is, therefore, largely a function of the politico-military ends served by marriage and is only tangentially, if at all, a result of kinship.

121 I would also like to discuss the nature of the relationship between corporation and descent from another point of view, for the nature of the estate of the Yąnomamö descent corporation gives a particular quality to the corporation. Most corporate lineal descent groups have as one of their major functions the control over and disposition of property. The property is usually real property. Pastoralists, of course, have as their estates, herds and use rights to forage areas. Some Northwest Coast and northern California tribes have corporate groups whose estates are acorn groves and portions of salmon streams.

In addition to real property, corporate groups

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers
[822] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village,
[156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the
[582] villages to which Kaobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kaobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kaobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relation-
[822] ships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[583] He does not intend to stay in Kaobawä's group and has not made a garden. He
[591] feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an
[837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked
[593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother
[578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kaobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kaobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good
[522] side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yanomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

*621 *628 Village size is an important factor in determining the degree to which a Yąnomamö group must depend on its neighbors for military support in the face of raids. Small villages must make alliances to survive. Village size, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, ranges *621 from 40 to 250 inhabitants. Approximately one-third of the village consists of males who 701 are able to participate in the raiding, that is, men who are between 17 and 40 years old. 722 The tactics of warfare are such that a village must be able to field a raiding party of approximately 10 men in order to be able to raid effectively. In addition, when the raiders are away, there must always be a few men at home to protect the women and children. Thus, the military requirements alone seem to demand that a village have at least 15 able-bodied men. As these represent about a third of the group, the minimum village size required by the raiding techniques is 40 to 50 people. I have never seen a village fall below this size in an area where raiding is active, and virtually every village split I investigated took place only when each of the resulting groups contained 40 or more people.

*621 The upper limit to village size is also determined in large measure by the intensity 721 of warfare. The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has over 200 people. It was being .726 raided actively by about a dozen different groups while I conducted my fieldwork, groups that raided it about twenty-five times in a period of fifteen months. The Patanowä-teri at one time had split into three groups of about equal size, but raids from their enemies forced them to reunite for common defense. In general, a village will fusion after it [578] reaches a population of about 150 because internal feuds and fights are so frequent that peace can only be maintained with great difficulty. A village of 100 individuals, for example, can fusion to produce two militarily viable groups of about 50 people each. Only the threat of raids from powerful neighbors will, as in the case of the Patanowä-teri, inhibit the fusioning, and frequently the fusion groups will reunite in a single village to fend off the raids of their enemies.

* [628] But a small group of 40 to 50 people is not as viable as a group twice that size. Consequently, it enters into alliances with its neighbors.

*621 • 582 166 FISSION AND SETTLEMENT There is a tendency for the group to attempt to maximize its size after it becomes an independent entity. This is done by trying to keep all marriages within the group so that there is very little migration of young men and women to other villages after marriage. A small group also welcomes the addition of families from other villages, families that have gotten into fights in their own group and who prefer to leave rather than attempt to patch up their grievances with their kinsmen. Finally, the group tries to attract young men and women from other villages, encouraging them to settle permanently in the group. Rerëhawä, for example, is under considerable pressure to remain permanently in Kąobawä's group.

*621 578 837 As the village grows in size and varies in composition, it becomes increasingly difficult to keep order and peace. Extramarital sexual liaisons are more frequent in larger villages, because the probability is lower that the affairs will be discovered. When the Monou-teri rejoined Kąobawä's group to avoid the raids of their enemies, a bloody club fight developed between two men of that village over an affair one of them had with the other's wife. The culprit waited until the group joined Kąobawä's village before approaching the woman, thinking that with so many people in one village he would not be caught.

By the time a village approaches 100 to 150 people, such fights over women are

3

Social Organization

128 THREE ASPECTS of Yąnomamö social organization will be dealt with: the ideal rules about marriage and the logical consequence of these rules—actual cases of Yąnomamö marriage are compared to the pattern of ideal marriage to justify the use of a model to describe Yąnomamö social structure; the demographic and political factors that bring about discrepancies between actual behavior and ideal behavior; the more important aspects of the division of labor and of ordinary daily life in the society.

Social Structure

121 This section is the most technical portion of the chapter; careful study of the
128 diagrams is required as the text is read. Kinship is the heart of primitive social structure, and it must be understood in detail rather than through generalities. The rules governing
• [582] marriage, along with the kinship system, together comprise and delineate the structure
[602] of Yąnomamö society. There is no simple way to present the data, which itself is frequently boring to even accomplished anthropologists, and students of anthropology must sooner or later come to grips with this important topic. Fortunately, the Yąnomamö kinship system is the type most commonly found among the world's primitives and it is, comparatively speaking, quite easy to grasp once the patterns in the diagram are spotted.

128 The important features of Yąnomamö social structure are represented in the model shown in Fig. 3-1. This diagram is based on an analysis of Yąnomamö marriage rules, kinship terminology, and other social and ideological features characteristic of their behavior. The symbols given in the legend of Fig. 3-1 will also be used in the diagrams that follow. It should be borne in mind that the model is only an ideal representation of Yąnomamö society; we shall see below how closely actual behavior conforms to this model. One of the objectives of structural anthropology is to attempt comparisons of different kinds of societies by using models of this type. In the discussions that follow I shall present some actual field data to justify the use of this model to represent Yąnomamö social structure.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1969 SQ13 Tsamma SQ13

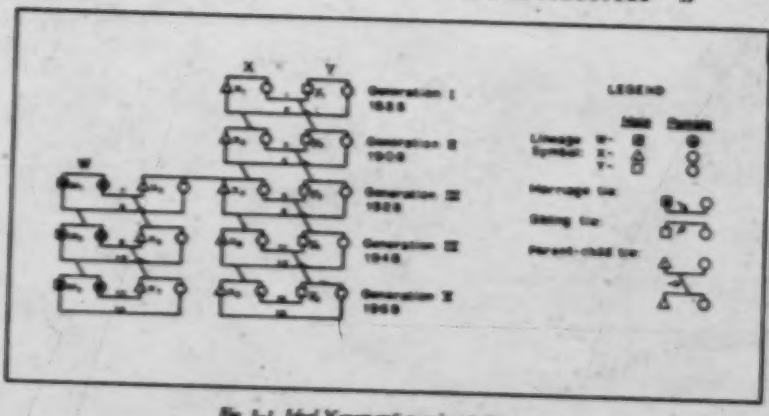


Fig. 5-1. Ideal Yanomamö marriage pattern.

Fig. 5-1 can be presumed to represent the organization of a particular village over five generations, starting in the year 1888. Let us assume that the village originated in that year when individuals x_1 (and his sister, not numbered) and y_1 (and his sister) broke away from a larger village and established their own garden at some new location. Thus, in the year 1888, the village was comprised of two groups of kinsmen, X and Y. These two kinship groups are called lineages, the distinctive features of which I will discuss later.

In generation I, x_1 married the sister of y_1 and, in exchange, gave his own sister to y_1 as wife. This marriage practice is called *brother-sister exchange* and characterizes Yanomamö marriage behavior. A man is under considerable obligation to reciprocate a woman to the kinship group from which he has taken one. In Fig. 5-1, x_1 married y_1's sister and reciprocated the exchange by giving his own sister to y_1. Because of this obligation of reciprocity, kinship groups become interdependent socially and from point of woman-exchanging kin groups. These paired kinship groups are discussed below in the context of village fissioning.

In generation II of Fig. 5-1, the village still contains only two groups of intermarrying kinsmen. These are the children of the individuals who founded the village. The reciprocal exchanges of women between the two groups of kinsmen (lineages X and Y) continue in the second generation, x_2 getting his wife from lineage Y and vice versa. Like their fathers, x_2 and y_2 exchanged sisters. It will be noted at this point that x_2 has married his mother's brother's daughter, who is simultaneously his father's sister's daughter.[1] This is a logical consequence of the fact that there are only *two* lineages in

[1]This is called bilateral cross-cousin marriage. See glossary for definitions. Hereafter the following abbreviations will be used, following Murdock, 1949: Mo—mother; Fa—father; Br—brother; Si—sister; So—son; and Da—daughter. Thus, "mother's brother's daughter" is simply MoBrDa.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the village, the members of which being related to each other as brother and sister, and the fact that individuals must marry outside their own lineages.

The important features of the lineages X and Y are now clearly visible in generation II: The lineages are patrilineal and exogamous. That is, males and females belong to the lineage of their father (patrilineality), and individuals must marry people who belong to a different lineage (exogamy). This can be seen more clearly in the symbols used in Fig. 3–1. All males of lineage X are designated by triangles (x_1, x_2, x_3 . . . x_n), and all females of lineage X are designated by hexagons. Similarly, all males of lineage Y are designated as squares and all females by circles. Males of lineage X marry females of lineage Y. Their children belong to lineage X because their *father* (patrilineality) is of lineage X.

The Yąnomamö kinship system also reflects the rules of lineage exogamy, brother-sister exchange and reciprocity. Their kinship system is called the "bifurcate merging" type with "Iroquois" cousin terms (see Glossary). Within each generation, all the males of one lineage call each other "brother," and all the women call each other "sister." Males of lineage X call males of lineage Y "brother-in-law" and are eligible to marry their sisters. In fact, the males of lineage X call the females of lineage Y "wife" *whether or not they marry them*. This is likewise true for the males of lineage Y with respect to the females of lineage X. This brings us to another important Yąnomamö marriage rule: A male must marry a woman of the category called *naabiya*—"wife." This is called a *prescriptive* marriage rule.[2] To state it more precisely, Yąnomamö society is characterized by a rule that enjoins a man to marry a woman of a specific kinship category; he has no choice with respect to the category.

There is an important controversy over the meaning and implications of the term "prescriptive." I have given the definition held by British anthropologists generally, by Needham (1962a:91) in particular. This definition emphasizes the fact that men have no choice with respect to the category of women from which their wives must come, that men are forbidden to marry women of other categories, and that the society itself is said to be characterized by the prescriptive rule. The opposition to this definition comes largely from certain American anthropologists, who maintain that a society can only be said to have a prescriptive marriage rule when a high percentage (close to 100 percent) of the people marry according to the rule (see Coult and Hammel 1963:291). The issues involved are not quite as simple as this, but a glimmering of the area of contention can be seen in an example provided by Leach (1963). Rephrasing his example, the rule (in our society) "thou shalt not kill" is like the rule (among, say, the Yąnomamö) "thou shalt marry a woman of category A." These rules can be said to exist in the respective societies irrespective of the homocide rate in New York or the frequency of aberrant marriages in a Yąnomamö village. That is, Leach (and Needham) maintain that one cannot discover such a rule by counting examples of murder (or, rather, "non-murder") or marriages of men to women of category A. The more basic issue, however, is the

---

[2] Professor Lévi-Strauss, who read an earlier draft of this chapter, quite correctly pointed out that to say a marriage system is "prescriptive" is to say no more than "a man must marry a marriageable female," which is a tautology. Nevertheless, we must have some way to distinguish a system that permits marriage with only a single category of women from those that permit marriage with women of several categories. By showing what is meant by the Yąnomamö category *naabiya*, as I have attempted to do in Fig. 3-2, the reader will gain some idea of what is meant by that marriage type. I have used the term "prescriptive" because it is the current usage.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

meaning of, in this case, "category A." It is customary to represent primitive kinship categories in models (for example, Fig. 3–1) by their closest biological equivalents in *our own kinship system*. Many critics of Needham's definition of prescription fail to appreciate the fact that *FaSiDa* and *MoBrDa* in a model like the one given in Fig. 3–1 represent just *two* of several kinds of kinswomen who fall into the prescribed category. That is, they interpret the native's kinship category from the narrow point of view of one of that category's biological meanings in *our own kinship system*. (I have given ten examples of actual Yąnomamö marriages in Fig. 3–2, discussed later, to illustrate what the categories FaSiDa and MoBrDa mean to the Yąnomamö.) The use of Needham's definition of prescription to characterize Yąnomamö marriage rules can be justified, therefore, on several grounds. First, the Yąnomamö assert that a man must marry a woman of the *mashiya* category. Second, of the six primary categories used by men to classify female relatives, five of them embrace women who stand in incestuous relationship to the male speaker, and he is forbidden to marry any woman that falls into any of these five additional categories. Third, we will see below how closely the alternative definition of prescription fits the Yąnomamö, using their own notions of kinship to reckon relationships between males and females.[3]

In Fig. 3–1, marriageable women are related to their husbands as both FaSiDa and MoBrDa; this is an artifact of the way in which the model is drawn. These two kinds of kinswomen are the closest biological equivalents in our kinship system for the Yąnomamö term "*mashiya*" "wife." It must be emphasized, however, that given the classificatory nature of the Yąnomamö kinship system (for example, men of the same generation and of the same lineage are "brothers"), there are several ways to be related to a woman as "wife."

Something new has happened in generation III. A man (W_1) from a distant village, along with his sister, has joined the group. Both he and his sister have married into lineage X. Thus, there are three lineages represented in the village (W, X, and Y); and the *dual organization* characterizing generations I and II is now lost.[4] A Yąnomamö village can incorporate new lineages into its social life by an extension of marriage ties to its members. As can be seen from Fig. 3–1, the same rules—exogamy, reciprocity, patrilineal descent, and brother-sister exchange—that characterize the behavior of the members of lineages X and Y also hold for the members of the new lineage, W. The incorporation of lineage W takes place this way. W_1 joined the village in 1928 (generation III) because x_3 and x_4 promised him one of their sisters. As shown in Fig. 3–1, he did, in fact, marry one of their sisters and gave, in exchange, one of his sisters to x_3.

This (potentially) brings about an important structural change in the village with

[3]For an excellent summary of the various arguments concerning "prescriptive alliance," see Maybury-Lewis 1965a.

[4]A society is said to have dual organization when, for example, it is comprised of two intermarrying kinship groups, such as lineages X and Y in generations I and II of Fig. 3–1. In some societies the intermarrying kin groups are named, for example, "Bear Clan (or Moiety)" and "Thunderbird Clan (or Moiety)." The Yąnomamö do not have named kinship groups such as this. Dual organization is, however, implied in their kinship terminology and marriage rules and, as will be seen, villages tend to have two (and only two) politically dominant lineages that intermarry. In short, the Yąnomamö village tends to be comprised *in fact* of two dominant kinship groups but lacks some of the ideology, such as named pairs of intermarrying kin groups, of classical dual organization. See: Maybury-Lewis, 1960 and 1967; Lévi-Strauss, 1963, Chapter VIII; Nimuendajú and Lowie, 1937; and Malinowski, 1986, for further descriptions and analyses of societies having dual organization.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

respect to the male members of lineage X. Generation III shows that individuals x_3 and x_4 are full brothers. The individuals x_5 and x_6 of generation IV, however, are not shown as brothers, although in Yąnomamö kinship usage they would be such.

I have not indicated them as being related as brothers in order to draw attention to a fault line that may develop when the members of a single lineage (X in this case) marry into more than one other lineage (W and Y in this case). x_3 and one of his sisters married into lineage W, whereas x_4 and one of his sisters continued to exchange with members of lineage Y. In the following generation the kinship tie of "brother" between x_5 and x_6 is considerably weaker than the same "brother" tie between their fathers (x_3 and x_4). In generation V, the "brother" tie between x_7 and x_8 is weaker still. One of the reasons that *agnatic* ties[5] weaken in this case is that the men in question are drawn into intimate relationship with the kinship groups from which they obtain their wives and assume, because of the principle of reciprocity, obligations to their affinally related (that is, by marriage) kinsmen.

Secondly, because agnates of the same generation are "brothers," they can marry the same women and are, hence, competitors. In other words, the obligations to exchange women (reciprocity) can link the members of affinally related groups to each other more intimately than ties of blood between males of the same lineage. (This can be more readily seen in Figs. 3–5 and 3–6, discussed later, but it can also be partially illustrated here.) If the village shown in Fig. 3–1 were to split in generation V and form two new villages, lineage X would pull apart along the fault line shown. That is, parts of lineage X would end up in each of the two new groups because the affinal (marriage) ties between its members and their wife-givers are stronger than the agnatic ties within the lineage. Individual x_7 and his sister would form a new village with w_3 (and his sister) while x_8, his "brother" (agnate), would remain paired with lineage Y. Lineage X would therefore be represented in both of the two new villages; individuals x_7 and x_8 would "feel" even more remotely related because they now live in different villages, although they would continue to call each other "brother." Finally, the two new villages would again demonstrate the dual organization that characterized generations I and II of the original village of Fig. 3–1. For the sake of simplicity I have shown each married pair with only two children (except in generation III) so that the village remains constant in size, growing only by the addition of new members. In an actual village lineages X and Y might comprise up to 80 percent of the population so that the addition of a few new members such as w_1 would not appreciably alter the dual composition.

In Fig. 3–1, lineage X stands as wife-giver and wife-receiver with respect to the other two lineages. The significance of this relationship cannot be exaggerated in the analysis of Yąnomamö social organization. Its strength derives from the obligations kinship groups have toward each other once they enter into reciprocal marriage exchanges. The wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship is also reflected in the attitudes men have toward their affines, such as brothers-in-law, as opposed to attitudes toward distant agnates. A man is on very intimate terms with his brother-in-law, jokes with him, gives him possessions, and protects him; a man treats an agnate of the same age with great reserve and coolness and tends to be jealous of him. He cannot, for example, directly ask

[5]Kinship ties between patrilineally related kinsmen.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him to do a favor, whereas he could ask this of a brother-in-law.[6] As shall presently be seen, the dynamics of Yąnomamö social organization originate in the politics of obtaining a wife. Within this context, agnates are competitors and affines are allies. This has an important effect on the manner in which villages fission and form new groups. The point to remember at this juncture is that ties of marriage are in many cases stronger than ties of blood.

I emphasize this because many anthropologists argue from "first principles" that ties of blood are—by definition—more capable of promoting solidarity and amity than ties by marriage. The controversy over "complementary filiation" between E. R. Leach (1957) and M. Fortes (1959), still not satisfactorily resolved, was essentially a debate about the analytical significance of marriage ties. Focusing on only one of the issues and rephrasing the arguments so as to apply to Fig. 3–2, the debate ran something like this: Both Leach and Fortes seemed to agree that in societies having lineal descent groups (lineages), the descent groups would tend to fall apart unless some kind of tie bound the members to each other. That is, lineages X and Y of Fig. 3–2 would, in short, pull away from each other unless they were held together by some special social tie. Fortes argued that this special tie was the solidarity and amity that grew out of the cognatic (see Glossary) kinship ties between the two lineages which arise when individuals marry blood relatives. Looking at generation V, for example, Fortes would argue that lineages X and Y are bound to each other because x_8 and y_8 married women to whom they are related by blood (as FaSiDa and MoBrDa). He argues from first principles that solidarity emanates from the blood ties. Leach, however, states that in generation V the two lineages are bound to each other by obligations to reciprocate goods, services, and women and that the solidarity of the two lineages derives from the affinal ties themselves (shown as "15" and "16" in Fig. 3–2). If we look only at generation V, the argument cannot be resolved, since the data support both arguments equally well, or at least do not convincingly support one rather than the other. I might add that both arguments can be supported by data not given in Fig. 3–2; Fortes' arguments are supported, for example, by the additional fact that Yąnomamö men do not stringently have to avoid their mothers-in-law when they are related to them in the fashion shown in Fig. 3–2, whereas the avoidance taboo is very onerous when a man's mother-in-law is not a blood relative. If, however, attention is focused on the events of generation III and their consequences examined, it can readily be seen that the affinal (marriage) ties in generation V are stronger than some of the agnatic (blood) ties, and the latter break when the village fissions. (This can be even more readily seen in Fig. 3–4 and 3–5, discussed later.) Thus, it cannot be argued that Yąnomamö lineage solidarity derives exclusively from blood ties and "complementary filiation." There is another issue. Structural analyses depend in large measure on a sharp distinction between marriage (affinal) ties and blood (consanguineal) ties. Fortes seems to deny that affinal ties as such exist independently of blood ties, and he has "subsumed" them into his concept of "complementary filiation." If there is no such thing as affinal ties between lineal descent groups, then structural

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

[6] In addition, it is by no means rare for agnates to get into club fights over women. I even have recorded a number of cases of men shooting and killing a "brother" during raids. This happened on two occasions during my first stay in the field, and I have reports of several additional cases obtained from informants who were describing past raids.

Fig. 3–2. Selected genealogies illustrating actual Yanomamö marriage cases.

128
S82
601

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

analysis of reciprocal marriage exchanges between such groups and the obligations implied in such exchange is seriously hampered. In short, if Yąnomamö marriage exchanges over a number of generations and the kinship basis of village fissioning are examined, the data support Leach's arguments. They do not, however, invalidate Fortes' argument that blood ties create some solidarity, but they do call into question the contention that blood ties by definition, or, rather, on "first principles," account exclusively for the solidarity occurring between lineages.

In summary, Fig. 3–1 represents a number of important features of Yąnomamö social organization. First, people reckon descent through males and are grouped into exogamous, patrilineal lineages. These are called *mashi* by the Yąnomamö, although none of them bear distinctive names.[7] Second, members of these lineages tend to intermarry with the members of a second lineage over a number of generations, being bound to them by obligations to reciprocate women in marriage. This results in a dual organization of kinsmen within the village, whose residents fall into one or the other of the two lineages. Third, new lineages can be incorporated into the village by an extension of marriage ties, potentially bringing about "structural faults" within the lineages of that village. Fourth, men are obliged to marry a woman of a single, specific category, *suabö̈ya*. This category defines a variety of women, two subcategories of which can be translated into the English biological equivalents MoBrDa and FaSiDa. Yąnomamö men prefer to marry women of these subcategories because they are relieved of much of the discomfort of avoiding their mothers-in-law.[8]

The ten partial genealogies shown in Fig. 3–2 show how the Yąnomamö actually marry. The genealogies have been selected with the intention of illustrating how the Yąnomamö reckon relationships between kinsmen in general, and between husband and wife in particular. All ten exemplify prescriptive marriage. They are more or less arranged in decreasing order of correspondence to our own biological concepts of kinship and illustrate the classificatory nature of their kinship system.

The people shown on these genealogies are (or were) real people. Many of the individuals in the examples are related to each other in such ways that all ten of the examples could be drawn as a single, unified genealogy.

The first eight examples are drawn from the village of Patanowä-teri; the last two are from Bisaasi-teri. In case J, for example, the fifth individual of the second generation is Kąobawä. To give a rough idea of the incompleteness of each genealogy, only one of Kąobawä's four marriages is shown and only one of his four children. None of his brothers and sisters are shown either, nor is the fact that he married a MoBrDa indicated.

Case A illustrates the identification procedure to be used in relating the genealogies to the text. There are three generations shown in case A; the first is symbolized by the Roman numeral I, the second, by II, the third, by III. Each individual in each generation is given a number; the number series runs from left to right and begins anew with 1 in each generation. Hence, every individual bears a generation number and a position-within-generation number. Case A illustrates the marriage of individuals III–1 to III–2;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[7] *Mashi* means "species," "group," "cluster of similar things," and, in the context of kinship, "that group of people to whom I am related through males;" that is, "patrilineal kinsmen."

[8] I draw attention to the fact that the category is *prescribed*, but within it there are *preferences*. There are very few analyses of societies that have a prescriptive rule within which there are preferences, although Needham has devoted some attention to this interesting phenomenon (1962*a*, 1962*b*, and 1963).

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1988) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yąnomamö category *suaböya* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III–1) would have called the woman *suaböya* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *bąarөya*.

The marriage of III–1 to III–2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II–1 and II–4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I–2 was an *adopted* brother to I–5, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin*. Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kąobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kąobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Ariwari, Kąobawä's son. Ariwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3–3). Ariwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kąobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.)

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yąnomamö do not distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A.

Case B also illustrates *sororal polygyny:* III–1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters.

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II–3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The avoidance taboo prohibits a man from saying his mother-in-law's name. My informants would be extremely embarrassed when I would say the name of their mother-in-law while collecting genealogies. Kąobawä, for example, would grin sheepishly and hide his head. Men must also avoid their mothers-in-law physically and should not look at them. If I took a group of people for a ride in my canoe, there would always be considerable shuffling of bodies so that the men could be situated in the canoe as far away from their mothers-in-law as possible.

Finally, case C illustrates another kind of sororal polygyny: Individuals III-1 and III-3 are sisters to each other because their mothers are sisters. (The equation stating that children of siblings of the same sex are themselves siblings extends indefinitely in the case of males, but breaks down in the case of females after two generations. This is because descent is patrilineal.)

Case D: This also is a case of FaSiDa marriage: I-2 and I-3 were brothers, so one of the parents of each of the third generation individuals were brother and sister to each other. Hence, III-1 married his FaSiDa.

Case E: The marriage of III-1 to III-2 is similar to the marriage in case D, but his marriage to the second wife, III-3, illustrates the use of another kinship equation. She is an actual sister to the first wife, but does not stand in the FaSiDa relationship to her husband. If one of the sisters is FaSiDa, however, then all of them are in Yąnomamö kinship usage.

Case F: This illustrates how affinal ties replace consanguineal ties should the two conflict. III-1 can trace a blood tie to his wife, one that would prevent him from marrying her, but the affinal ties between his own father and the father of his wife permit him to marry according to the prescription. Individual III-1 would call all of his father's wives "mother." Hence, his own wife is, technically, MoBrDa.

Case G: This illustrates a number of marriage rules stated in the preceding examples. I present it as a sort of exercise to reinforce the logic of the Yąnomamö kinship equations given above. Individual II-6 married two brothers, II-5 and II-7, illustrating the *levirate:* the marriage between a man and his brother's widow. Individual II-9 married his FaSiDa (as in case F). Individuals III-3 and III-4 can marry because their fathers were cross-cousins (see case H, below). Individual III-5 married his FaSiDa, as was shown for the similar marriage in case E. Individual IV-1 married two women, each of whom is his FaSiDa. This is so because I-2 and I-4 were adopted brothers, so that their sons (II-2 and II-4) were also siblings. Hence, IV-1 married his FaSiDa (IV-2) and, as in case E, her sister. His second wife is also FaSiDa because her mother (III-6) was a sister to III-2, since their respective fathers (II-9 and II-2) were (adopted) brothers.

Case H: This illustrates a very powerful marriage rule: The children of men who call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law) can marry. Practically speaking, in our kinship terms, the rule is that the children of cross-cousins stand in marriageable relationship to each other. II-2 and II-3 stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and could exchange sisters in marriage. Their sons stand in the same relationship. Another important feature of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage rules is illustrated here. While III-1 married a woman of the prescribed category, he does not reckon his relationship to her patrilaterally or matrilaterally. That is, she is neither FaSiDa nor MoBrDa, but she is both! This emphasizes the fact that they marry primarily in terms of categories rather than by tracing biological ties, as I have done in the above examples. To the Yąnomamö,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

FaSiDa is the same as MoBrDa, and both are called by the same term, *suaböya*. Hence, to present the above examples as the Yąnomamö would explain them I would not have had to distinguish MoBrDa from FaSiDa, but rather would have had to use just one term; in every case presented, men married their *suaböya*. (This can be seen in the model shown in Fig. 3–1; each male married a woman who was simultaneously FaSiDa and MoBrDa, that is, *suaböya*, to him.)

Cases I and J: These are a little unusual, but I include them to give some idea of both the potentials of the Yąnomamö kinship system and the people who use it.

In case I, individual II–2 is the headman of Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawä's "father." He has considerable authority in the group. He arbitrarily redefined some of his classificatory daughters as sisters *so that his sons could marry their daughters*. Thus, the marriage of IV–1 to IV–2 is now considered to be legitimate because IV–1 could call his wife's mother his mother-in-law (FaSi), since his father redefined her as sister. Otherwise, it would be incest. Most of the people adjusted their kinship usage to fit the circumstances, but Kąobawä, who gave me the details of the manipulation, refused to adjust his own terms. The redefined women in question are his sisters, and he refused to call them FaSi.

I came upon this, and several identical cases, when I learned that the kinship usage between specific individuals did not reflect the equations implied by genealogies. (After I had collected extensive genealogies on four villages, I spent a considerable amount of time collecting kinship terms from specific individuals for every one of the some two thousand individuals included in the genealogies. This served as a cross-check on the genealogies, but uncovered a large number of incestuous and other interesting marriages that I might not have pinpointed otherwise.)

Case J brings out the full potential of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship. The man (III–1) married his *suaböya* according to the Yąnomamö, although he was not related to her by any blood ties. The justification for the marriage is the fact that III–1 calls all the women to whom his father and his father's brothers are married by the term for mother. Hence, he married his MoBrDa.

THE LINEAGE It was shown in Chapter 1 that villages fission to produce new groups. One of the consequences of this pattern is that in a given area there will be a number of villages whose members can trace genealogical ties to each other because they have common male ancestors. Because of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship, the interrelated members of two different villages will use kinship terms for each other that imply a closeness of relationship. Thus, Kąobawä has "brothers" in all of the villages that have a common history with his own. These men are usually parallel cousins one or two degrees removed, but brothers in terminological categories. (The lineage to which Kąobawä belongs is shown on Fig. 3–5, discussed later as the *Sha* lineage.)

The Yąnomamö do not name their lineages. I have named all the significant lineages after particular male individuals, usually a long-since-dead male whose generation is the last for which I have meaningful genealogies. Thus, the *Sha* lineage is named after a man called *Shamathiadima*, long dead. He and his brothers left many male descendants who today are distributed in several villages. In the history of the movements of Kąobawä's village, the *Sha* lineage has figured prominently in the affairs of the group. Similarly, the *Hor* lineage is named after a man called *Horeboreböwä*. The *Sha* and *Hor* lineages have a long history of marriage alliance and the living members of these two lineages constitute the greater fraction of the populations of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

father. He can rejoin them later and again become an active member, but while he lives in a different village he does not participate in the political affairs of that group. Third, the group is *corporate* with respect to the functions of arranging the marriages of the female members. This is the most important single feature of the local descent group: its *function*. The first two characteristics of the group dealt only with the manner in which members can be recruited to the group (birth in the group and coresidence of such kinsmen). In anthropological usage, a corporation is a group of people who share some *estate* and have *rights* and *obligations* with respect to each other and to the estate. There are definite rules for recruiting new members into the corporation. Most studies of primitive corporations have dealt with those societies in which *land* is the estate of the corporation. (See, for example, Fried 1957.) Among the Yąnomamö, land has nothing to do with the functions of the corporate group. Women and rights to dispose of women in marriage constitute the estate of the Yąnomamö corporate groups. Leach is the first anthropologist to draw attention to the analytical importance of this kind of corporation (1961, Chapter 5), although Radcliffe-Brown (1953), in one of the first theoretical discussions of primitive corporations, emphasized the importance of rights over *persons* in some kinds of corporations.

Marriages are arranged by the male members of the local descent group. It cannot be supposed, for example, that the marriage rules automatically dictate the manner in which a woman is disposed in marriage; there are always some negotiations brought about by the situation. For example, a small village may require alliances with larger villages for purposes of defense, and the men of the small village may promise to give daughters to men in the larger village; or there may be a number of men within the village that stand in wife-receiving relationship to the girl, and a decision must be made regarding her ultimate disposition. In some cases a woman's daughters are promised to young men even before they are born. Generally, the girls are near puberty age by the time they are definitely given to a specific male, and they begin cohabiting with the man shortly after the puberty ceremony is over. In some situations a woman must be reassigned to an appropriate mate because her first husband died or abandoned her; or she might run away from a cruel husband and seek refuge among her brothers, bringing about a situation in which they must decide what to do with her.

Women abhor the possibility of being given to men in distant villages, since their fate is much less certain. Men in general are cruel to their wives, and the women rely on the protection of their brothers. A woman who is given to a man in a distant village, therefore, will generally have no brothers to protect her.

A man has considerably more say about the disposition of his daughters when he is young and has immature sons. As the sons grow older, they can overrule the father and insist that the girl be given to a man from some lineage that is likely to reciprocate with a sister. Ideally, women like to be given to men within their natal village. In this fashion the women can remain close to their own kinsmen and rely on the support of their brothers should the husband be particularly cruel. The best arrangement for everyone concerned is for the girl to be given to a man to whom she is related as FaSiDa or MoBrDa in the biological sense. Marriages of this kind exempt the husband from the onerous duty of stringently avoiding his parents-in-law, whereas they at the same time bind the wife-giving and wife-receiving groups more closely together in the system of reciprocities. As Kąobawä stated it, "It is good for groups to exchange women back and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Makiritare SS20

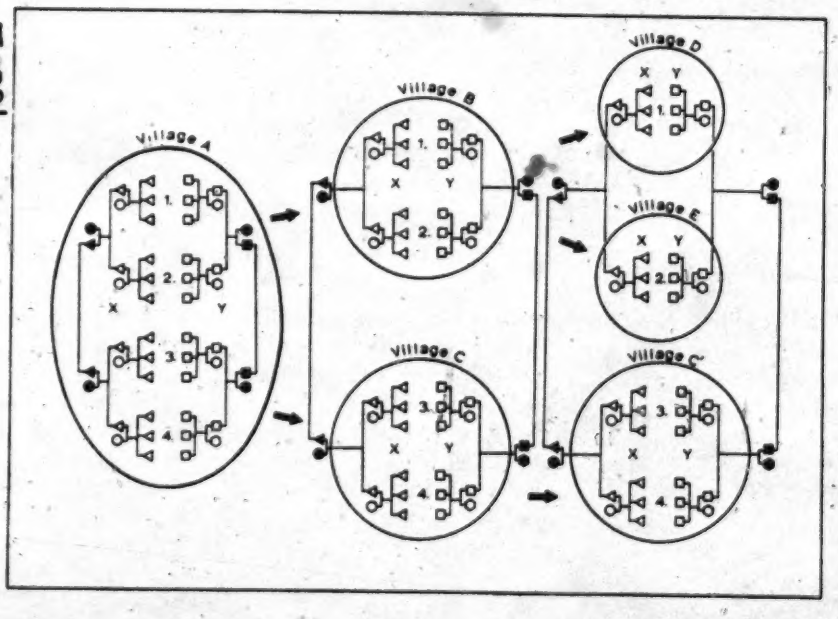
forth in this fashion. They will be good friends because of it."[10] If the girl marries a man of this category, the probability is high that she will remain in the village with her parents and brothers, since exchanges of this kind keep affinally linked local descent groups bound to each other.

The consequences of the corporate marriage-arranging functions of the local descent group can be most easily seen in the lineage basis for village fissioning, shown in Fig. 3–4. Briefly, the politics of arringing marriages are such that local descent groups of lineage X will pair with similar groups of lineage Y, and largely confine their marriage exchanges to those groups. Putting it more simply, each local descent group of lineage X will pair off with one local descent group of lineage Y, and stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to that group. When the village fisions, the paired local descent groups will be more strongly bound to each other by marriage ties than each is to the other local descent groups of its own lineage.

VILLAGE FISSIONING Fig. 3–4 presents the structural basis of village fissioning in terms of paired local descent groups. Village A contains two lineages, X and Y. Each lineage has four local descent groups. For simplicity of presentation, only the male

[10] I obtained a nearly identical explanation of reciprocal marriage exchanges of this kind from one of the Makiritare Indians, northern neighbors to the Yąnomamö. The Carib-speaking Makiritare have a prescriptive bilateral cross-cousin marriage rule like the Yąnomamö. My informant told me, in Spanish: "It is necessary for a man to marry his *yeitanade* [their equivalent to the Yąnomamö category of *suabëya*]. In this fashion families become good friends because they marry with each other time after time. When you marry this way, you are good friends with your *suëya* [brother-in-law] and can play and joke with him. You are also good friends with your *uudima* [father-in-law]. If you marry a different way, you must be careful around your *uudima* and respect him."

Fig. 3–4. Distribution of paired local descent groups in village fissioning.



11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

members are shown. Each group is paired off with an equivalent local descent group of the opposite lineage, giving the four numbered pairs. When village A fissions to form villages B and C, lineages X and Y will break at the weakest points, resulting in the formation of two new villages that have an identical composition: Village B is like village C in size and contains two local descent groups of lineages X and Y; the two local descent groups of each lineage in both new villages are paired with the analogous group of the opposite lineage. Fig. 3–4 can be viewed as a diagram of the physical organization of the village. Thus, in village A the male members of lineage X would tend to live on one side of the village, while the males of lineage Y would live on the opposite side. In actual distribution, then, the village has a "diametric dual organization" (Lévi-Strauss, 1961, Chapter 8). The Yąnomamö, however, do not conceive of the village as having discrete halves. That is, they do not have formal rules enjoining the male members of lineage X to live on one side of the village. There are always residential exceptions to the arrangement shown in Fig. 3–4.

Village B fissions again, resulting in the further breakdown of lineages X and Y. The outcome, villages D and E, is essentially like the outcome of the fission in village A; that is, the resulting new villages are alike in composition, size, and structure. Village C has not fissioned and continues to exist as it did after separating from village B. A comparison of the three villages shown in the last step of Fig. 3–4 will reveal that D, E, and C′ are interrelated villages because patrilineages X and Y occur in each of them. The members of the patrilineages would still continue to call each other brother and sister, although they would be distributed in three different villages. The genealogical ties connecting villages D, E, and C′ have been drawn in to emphasize this relationship.

The reason that lineages break down in this fashion stems from the fact that remote agnatic ties are weaker than the marriage ties that link the paired local descent groups to each other. The strength of the affinal ties between paired local descent groups derives from the obligations of reciprocity in marriage exchanges. Thus, when village B fissioned, local descent group X-1 had stronger ties to Y-1 than it did to X-2. The result was that X-1 and Y-1 separated from X-2 and Y-2 to form their own village, D.[11]

Fig. 3–4 describes the "ideal" pattern of village fissioning. Fig. 3–5 shows the structure and composition of three actual Yąnomamö villages for comparison. As in Fig. 3–4, only the adult males are shown. The incomplete triangles of Upper Bisaasi-teri in Fig. 3–5 signify that the men in question do not live in that village, but they must be included in the diagram to show that their sons live in Upper Bisaasi-teri. The two men actually live in Patanowä-teri, the composition of which is not shown in Fig. 3–5. What has been shown is that the lineages *Hor* and *Sba* extend into Patanowä-teri. In fact, the population of that village is comprised largely of members of these two lineages. See Table 3–1. Only the adult male members of the villages are shown for the three villages in Fig. 3–5, since it is this class of men that dominates the political affairs of the village. For those interested in *all* the genealogical relationships between *all* the members of one of the villages (Lower Bisaasi-teri), see Chagnon, 1966, Figure 2 and Appendix A. As can be seen from Fig. 3–5, each village is characterized by a dual organization of intermarrying lineages. In 1960, Lower Bisaasi-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri were, in fact, a single village. It can be seen how local descent groups of the *Sba* lineage, for example,

[11]The pair "X-1 and Y-1" is represented on Fig. 3–4 simply by the numeral "1".

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

621
623
582
602

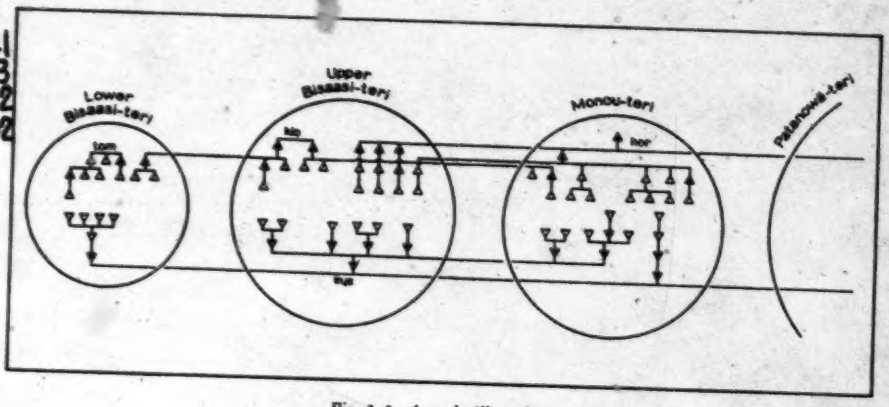


Fig. 3–5. Actual village fissioning.

separated from each other because of the ties each had to affinally linked descent groups of other lineages. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-teri is comprised essentially of two groups: a local descent group of the *Sha* lineage and a local descent group of the *Tom* lineage. Their members have exchanged women with each other for several generations, creating strong bonds of reciprocal obligations to continue to exchange in the future (Chagnon 1966). Similarly, the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in the two remaining villages shown in the figure are linked by affinal ties to other lineages.

Further back in history—1954—Monou-teri also constituted a portion of the village that included Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Fig. 2–4, Chapter 2). Finally, the three villages shown on Fig. 3–5 constituted a single village with Patanowä-teri about 1940. The fissioning of the original village (and subsequent village fissioning) resulted in the distribution of local descent groups according to pairs, as shown in Fig. 3–4.[12]

Discrepancies in the Marriage Pattern

128
582
621*

I presented in considerable detail the relationship between actual behavior and ideal rules about behavior from a qualitative point of view. This was accomplished by comparing genealogical diagrams describing some actual examples to ideal models of marriage and village fissioning. I will now give some of the quantitative aspects of marriage behavior and the demographic and political bases of the actual marriage pattern.

Table 3–2 shows the distribution of marriage types found in two related villages.

[191]

[12]In some areas of Brazil the pattern of village fissioning is slightly different. There, a local descent group may even establish its own house, separated from the wife-giving/wife-receiving member of the pair by as much distance as several miles. What I have been calling the "village" in this discussion breaks down, in portions of Brazil, into several "part-villages" that are not capable of carrying on an independent social existence. That is, members of the "part-village," the composition of which is essentially a single local descent group of one lineage, must obtain their wives from some other nonlocal group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

These figures represent a *sample* of marriages in the two villages. The sample consists of all married males who are thirty-five years old or younger. The sample was chosen in this fashion because the analysis of the marriage types depends on genealogical information covering several generations. By selecting only the younger men the analysis can be quite easily undertaken. In Patanowä-teri there were 38 men of this category, many of whom had multiple wives. A man with four wives, therefore, represents four marriages. In Lower Bisaasi-teri only 10 married men were below thirty-five years of age and accounted for the seventeen marriages. If all the men were included, the analysis would be inaccurate because I do not have adequately long genealogies for some of the oldest men. Up to 1940, the villages of Patanowä-teri and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not separate entities; they separated from each other at about that time. Patanowä-teri is a large and powerful village, containing 212 people. Lower Bisaasi-teri, with only 51 people, is militarily dependent on several of its allies.

Four types of marriages are shown in Table 3-2. The term prescriptive refers to the kinds of marriages described in Fig. 3-2. An incestuous marriage is defined as a man marrying a woman of his own patrilineage (or his mother or niece reckoned through his mother's side of the family). Marriages resulting from either alliance or abduction have been lumped into a single category because they represent the recruitment of spouses from outside the group. Finally, a few marriages are unexplainable in terms of Yanomamö kinship and marriage equations; these represent marriages between members of distinct lineages that have recently entered into exchanges with each other.

As can be seen from Table 3-2, there is a major difference between the two villages in the proportion of prescriptive marriages on the one hand and alliance marriages on the other. In short, the Patanowä-teri follow their marriage prescriptions far more rigorously than do the Lower Bisaasi-teri. This is so because Patanowä-teri, a much larger village, does not need to enter into marriage alliances with its neighbors; it is politically and militarily capable of an autonomous existence. Most of the alliance-abduction marriages in Patanowä-teri are, in fact, abductions; in Bisaasi-teri most of them are alliance marriages. Therefore, the relative frequency of alliance-type marriages is much lower for Patanowä-teri than for Lower Bisaasi-teri. This difference in marriage behavior stems from the relative abilities of the two groups to maintain military autonomy in a milieu of chronic warfare, a quality that is largely a function of the size of the group. The members of a militarily vulnerable village will breach the marriage prescriptions in order to establish political alliances with neighboring groups by ceding women to them.

TABLE 3-2
MARRIAGE TYPES IN PATANOWÃ-TERI AND LOWER BISAASI-TERI

	Patanowä-teri	Lower Bisaasi-teri
1. Prescriptive	37	7
2. Incestuous	4	1
3. Alliance and/or abduction	8	9
4. Unexplained	3	0
Totals:	52	17

TABLE 3–3
SEX-RATIO DATA ON SELECTED VILLAGES

	Males	Females	Totals
Upper Bisaasi-teri	37	48	85
Lower Bisaasi-teri	25	26	51
Monou-teri	34	32	66
Reyaboböwei-teri	52	46	98
Mömariböwei-teri	50	46	96
Patanowä-teri	122	90	212
Aikam-teri and Roko-teri	129	103	232
	449	391	840

Table 3–3 gives sex-ratio data on seven groups of Yąnomamö. The first three villages are not truly representative of the population in general, but are included because they have been frequently discussed in the text.

They are not representative because some 15 men from these villages were killed in a single treacherous feast in 1950, a significant fraction of the adult male population. These feasts are not very frequent. The three groups are allied to each other and have been extremely successful at coercing two neighboring Shamatari villages out of women; a surprisingly high proportion of their women come from these allies. As we shall see, they have been successful because of the geographical and historical relationships that characterize the alliance network in this area.

DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS As is apparent, there are more males in the Yąnomamö population than females. This demographic fact results from the practice of selectively killing female babies: *female infanticide.* The Yąnomamö also practice male infanticide, but because of the preference to have a male as their first child, they unknowingly kill more females than males. The Yąnomamö have only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. They are, accordingly, poor statisticians. They are quite unaware of the fact that they do kill more female babies, and every time I questioned them about it, they insisted that they killed both kinds—"more-than-two" of both kinds.

A child is killed at birth, irrespective of its sex, if the mother already has a nursing baby. They rationalize the practice by asserting that the new infant would probably die anyway, since its older sibling would drink most of the milk. They are most reluctant to jeopardize the health and safety of a nursing child by weaning it before it is three years old or so, preferring to kill the competitor instead. Kąobawä's wife, Bahimi, killed a newborn male shortly after I began my fieldwork. She later told me, quite tearfully, that it would have taken milk away from Ariwari, Kąobawä's favorite child. Ariwari at the time was over two years old, but Bahimi refused to wean him. Sometimes a child is killed simply because the mother doesn't feel that she can care for it properly and that it would be an inconvenience to have to tend a baby. I once saw a plump, well-fed, young mother eating a large quantity of food that would have been suitable to give to an older infant. Her emaciated, filthy, and nearly starved child—about two years old—kept reaching out for the food. The mother explained that the baby had gotten a bad case of diarrhea some time ago and had stopped eating. As a consequence, her milk dried up. She refused to attempt to feed it other foods because "it did not know how to eat other foods." When

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawä, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisaasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yąnomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kąobawä's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kąobawä's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2-8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowä-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowä-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowä-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwä, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowä-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowä-teri fissioned into two groups: They relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Kąobawä's group. All their other neighbors, allied to the victims of the treacherous feast, relentlessly raided them. They were, in short, extremely dependent on Kąobawä's group and the two other villages related to Kąobawä's group.

Kąobawä and his followers have astutely finessed this situation in two ways. First, they have managed to coerce the two Shamatari villages into ceding women without reciprocating an equal number of their own in return. The men who have obtained Shamatari wives have, as well, managed to cut short their period of bride service in the Shamatari village. Conversely, Shamatari men who have been promised women of Kąobawä's group are pressed into very lengthy bride service, sometimes up to three years. Secondly, Kąobawä's group has prevented the two Shamatari allies from re-establishing friendly contacts with the other Shamatari to their southeast by chicane, threat, and intimidation. One of the two Shamatari allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri, has attempted a rapprochement with the Shamatari enemies of Kąobawä's group. In 1965, several months after I had been living in Kąobawä's village, Kąobawä's group managed to stage another treacherous feast for the old enemies by taking advantage of the renewed ties between the Reyaboböwei-teri and the enemies. They learned that the Reyaboböwei-teri planned to invite one of the villages to a feast, so they, along with the Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Mǫmariböwei-teri, went to the feast in order to ambush the guests. The Reyaboböwei-teri, however, were reluctant to go through with the plan and warned the visitors about it. The visitors were en route to the village when word of the treachery reached them. This had the effect of creating even more difficulties for the Reyaboböwei-teri, for it is highly unlikely that they will succeed in gaining the confidence of their neighbors to the southeast. Nevertheless, some visiting between the groups still continues.[17]

The historical relationships between the villages helps account for the reasons behind contemporary alliance patterns. The discrepancy between marriage rules and actual marriage practice in Lower Bisaasi-teri is a result of the political advantages that group enjoys over one of its allies. It has used this advantage to gain a favorable imbalanced marriage exchange pattern, but one that is only temporary. The Shamatari are also shrewd in their alliance practices, and have succeeded in neutralizing their disadvantages by capitalizing on schisms between Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. This has been done largely by confining their marriage exchanges to important men in the dominant lineages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri. One of the Shamatari villages, Mǫmaribowei-teri, has restricted its exchanges to Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri, while completely ignoring Upper Bisaasi-teri. The other Shamatari village has given its women only to Upper Bisaasi-teri. This has resulted in the weakening of ties between the three villages of Upper Bisaasi-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Monou-teri, whose members are

[17] I plan to use these visiting ties to establish contact with the Shamatari villages in that area, none of which have had contact with outsiders. These uncontacted Shamatari, however, know who I am because I attempted to reach them in 1965. They subsequently sent a message out urging me to visit them, angry because my guides forced me to turn back on my first attempt. In 1966 they even sent an old man to Kąobawä's village by way of Reyaboböwei-teri with an invitation for me to visit them. I had already left Venezuela by that time. Most of the men in the two contacted Shamatari villages tried to prevent me from going by telling horrible tales of the treachery that awaited my visit, describing how the Shamatari will kill me. The truth of the matter is that they know that I will bring the uncontacted Shamatari machetes and axes that might otherwise be given to them. The headman of one of the uncontacted villages has a brother in Mǫmariböwei-teri. He privately conceded that no harm would befall me and offered to take me to visit in 1967. He was, unfortunately, bitten by a snake just before I arrived in March of 1967, and my plans were deferred until 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

related agnatically to each other, and who share a common history. That is, they have lost solidarity as a network of allied villages and, therefore, some of the advantages they enjoyed as wife receivers with respect to the Shamatari villages. They are less able to behave as a single political entity and force the Shamatari to cede women because the Shamatari have given them women in such a way so as to make them competitors with each other. This has also weakened the ties between the two Shamatari villages, which are also related to each other by agnatic ties and common history because each group has linked its political fate with the affairs of different allies. Nevertheless, the two Shamatari villages have, by exchanging women in this fashion, reduced the solidarity of the group of villages that once stood as a unified political bloc that coerced them out of women.

This can be demonstrated in two ways. During the period 1964–1966, Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri still maintained a common village and entertained visitors as a group. Near the end of this period, after the marriage exchanges had begun to show their effects, they abandoned the common village and began to entertain allies independently of each other. At that time they had together managed to acquire two dozen or so women from the Shamatari while having given or promised only a half-dozen in return. When I returned in 1967, the situation had changed appreciably. There were many more Shamatari men living in the group because they had been given women; that is, the exchanges were more balanced. Moreover, the relationships between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not as amicable as they had been the previous year; each group was becoming more involved in the obligations it had acquired by entering into marriage exchanges with one of the two Shamatari villages. Just before I returned, there was a club fight involving all of the villages: The Upper Bisaasi-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri fought, as a group, against the Lower Bisaasi-teri and Mõmariböwei-teri; that is, the groups that had entered into marriage exchanges with each other behaved as a unit and fought against their close agnates and erstwhile allies. A group of men from Mõmariböwei-teri forcefully took a woman from the Reyaboböwei-teri, thereby precipitating a challenge to a club fight. The Monou-teri participated in the club fight as well, taking the side of the Mõmariböwei-teri, from whom they had taken several women and to whom they had promised several.

Finally, the political situation altered somewhat. When the alliance first developed between Kąobawĩ's group and the two Shamatari villages in 1960, the political milieu was quite serene. The treacherous feast resulted in a bloody war, but the two Shamatari villages sustained most of the losses. Therefore, the Shamatari allies required the assistance of Kąobawĩ's group more than the latter needed their help, since Kąobawĩ's group had no active wars at the time. In 1965, however, the Monou-teri renewed their old war with the Patanowã-teri and it subsequently involved Kąobawĩ's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. Only then did they require military assistance from the Shamatari, and only then did the marriage exchanges tend to balance. I will discuss the development of this war in Chapter 4.

Marriage in Yąnomamö society is the result, therefore, of many considerations. It is not merely the outcome of a blind subscription to a rule that enjoins males to marry women of a specific category, for in many cases the political affairs of the group oblige people to give their daughters to men in other villages. The Yąnomamö are practical and enterprising in this regard, particularly those in small villages. The capacity to exist as an independent but small group is greatly enhanced by creating alliances with members

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members.[19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yąnomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18] Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yąnomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19] Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kaobawã, for example, is related to Bahimi as PaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamõ standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamõ women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kaobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yakëmou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*ro*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kaobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kaobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*nowadi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

New individuals are incorporated into the community by an extension of kinship ties. Unless one is incorporated into the village in this fashion, there is no basis for social behavior vis-à-vis others, for the kinship system defines one's role in society. An orphaned teen-ager joined Kąobawä's group shortly before I began my fieldwork. He was from a distant Shamatari village and had no blood relatives in Kąobawä's group. He established his position in the community by calling Kąobawä "father." This defined his relationship to all of Kąobawä's kinsmen as well. As an exercise in kinship, I had the young man give me his relationship term for everyone in the village. He not only had specific terms for every member of the group, but he had also extended them to all the residents of Lower Bisasi-teri and Monou-teri as well, since Kąobawä was related to these people. In short, the boy learned how Kąobawä was related to all the members of three different villages and logically extended his own assumed relationship to Kąobawä outward to the others; and he behaved toward them accordingly: He avoided women he called mother-in-law and refrained from sexual activities with women he called sister.

To emphasize the fact that the kinship categories do not always correspond to biological relationships, let me give an example of an incestuous marriage. Kąobawä's younger brother, Shiimima, recently (1966) took a young girl for his wife, outraging most of the community because he "behaved toward her as brother" before the marriage. The girl's mother had been abducted some twenty years earlier from a distant village and was given to a man who stood in a father relationship to Kąobawä and Shiimima. Thus, both Kąobawä and Shiimima called the abducted woman "mother" and called her daughter "sister." The abducted woman's husband died of malaria; after this, she had a number of temporary affairs with other men before being officially taken as a wife by another man in the village. Her daughter is the issue of a temporary affair she had with the headman of Mahekodo-teri, the group that gave Kąobawä refuge after the treacherous feast in 1950. She is, therefore, biologically unrelated to Kąobawä and Shiimima, but since they behaved toward her as brothers, Shiimima's marriage to her is a blatant case of incest. The matter was as disgusting to my informants as it would have been had Shiimima married his own biological sister.

There are many important kinship distinctions in Yąnomamö social life, but the one between relatives by marriage and agnatic relatives should particularly be emphasized. This distinction is at the basis of Yąnomamö political behavior and village fissioning. This point was emphasized in the discussion of village fissioning and marriage rules in the first section of this chapter.

One of the most important characteristics of affinal ties is that they are capable of growing in strength over time because they can be solidified and reinforced by marriage exchanges between the groups. Ties between agnates, on the other hand, tend to weaken over time. For example, Kąobawä's local descent group could renew its friendship to similar affinally related groups in the village of Patanowä-teri by entering into marriage exchanges with them once again. There is no way, however, in which his own descent group could reinforce or strengthen the agnatic ties with the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in Patanowä-teri. By marrying into the affinally related Patanowä-teri descent groups, Kąobawä's group would enter into direct competition with agnatic counterparts in that village, further straining the relationships between the two communities.

There is another way of looking at this situation. Men who are related to each other as agnates (for example, brothers and parallel cousins) get along well with each

602 other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old
571 enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competi-
602 tion with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their per-
571 sonal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older.
578 They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kąobawī, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

602 The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows
607 more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas
571 agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their
581 fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely
582 promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

602 Kąobawī's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction be-
[601] tween agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowī-teri some time after Kąobawī's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwī, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were half-brothers. Nadesiwī is in Kąobawī's local descent group, but is not quite on a par [613] with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the [581] group—Kąobawī and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwī to give his only [582] daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the [591] completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwī will [604] have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kąobawī and Nadesiwī treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

602 The other man, Kumamawī, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kąobawī is related to
607 him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first
[594] cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawī is a
[613] frequent visitor in Kąobawī's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kąobawī asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kąobawī's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

361 Kąobawī's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his
342 agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The beleaguered partner may be obliged to remain in the village of his host for a year or longer, approximately the length of time required to establish a new plantation and productive base from which an independent existence is possible. Twice in the recent history of Kąobawä's group they were driven from their gardens by more powerful enemies and were forced to take refuge in the village of an ally. In each case the group remained with the ally for a year or so, moving away only after their new garden began producing. In both cases, the hosts demanded and received a number of women from Kąobawä's group without reciprocating in kind, a prerogative they exercised from their temporary position of strength. The longer the group takes advantage of a hosts' protection, the higher is the cost in terms of women, so visitors always make an attempt to establish their gardens as quickly as possible and move into them as soon as they begin producing. Without allies, therefore, the members of a village would either have to remain at their single garden and sustain the attacks of their enemies or disband into several smaller groups and join larger villages on a permanent basis, losing many of their women to their protectors. The jungle simply does not produce enough wild foods to sustain larger groups, and the threat of warfare is such that smaller groups would soon be discovered by their enemies and exterminated.

Because of the ever-present risk of being driven from one's garden, therefore, no Yąnomamö village can continue to exist as a sovereign entity without establishing alliances with other groups. Warfare is attended by a bellicose ideology which asserts that strong villages should take advantage of weaker ones and coerce them out of women; to prevent this, all villages should therefore behave as if they were strong. Thus, the military threat creates a situation in which intervillage alliance is desirable, but at the same time spawns a military ideology that inhibits the formation of such alliances: Allies need but cannot trust each other. They are obliged to behave aggressively in order to display their respective strength.

Alliances between villages are the product of a developmental sequence that involves casual trading, mutual feasting, and finally the exchange of women. The most intimate allies are those who, in addition to trading and feasting, exchange women. Any developing alliance may stabilize at the trading or feasting stage without proceeding to the woman-exchange phase. These are weak alliances, but serve to limit the degree of war that might possibly obtain between the villages so related: The Yąnomamö tend to avoid attacking those villages with which they trade and feast, unless some specific incident, such as the abduction of a woman, provokes them. Allies that are linked by trade and feasting ties, for example, rarely accuse each other of practicing harmful magic. Allies bound to each other by affinal kinship ties, however, are more interdependent because they are under obligation to each other to continue to exchange women. It is, in fact, by the exchange of women that independent villages extend kinship ties to each other.

Members of allied villages are usually reluctant to take the final step in alliance formation and cede women to their partners, for they are always worried that the latter might not reciprocate as promised. This attitude is especially conspicuous in smaller villages, for their larger partners in defense pressure them into demonstrating their solidarity by ceding women; the strong can and do coerce the weak in Yąnomamö politics. The weak, therefore, are compelled to exaggerate their strength by bluff and intimidation and by attempting in general to appear to be stronger, militarily, than they really are, thereby hoping to convince their partners that they are equals, capable of an independent

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

existence. By so doing, they also inform their partners that any attempt to coerce them out of women will be met with the appropriate reaction, such as a chest-pounding duel or club fight. Nevertheless, each ally expects to gain women in the alliance and enters it with this in mind; and each hopes to gain more women than it cedes in return.

Hence, in order for an occasional nervous meeting of groups of men from different villages to evolve into a stable intervillage alliance based on the reciprocal exchange of women, the long and difficult road of feasting and trading must be traversed. Suspicion must give way to relative confidence, and this must develop into reciprocal feasting during the dry season. Only then has the intervillage relationship reached a point where the partners begin ceding women to each other; and even then, it is done reluctantly.

This is, however, only the ideal pattern in the development of an alliance. Rarely does it develop far enough to reach the stage where women change hands, particularly if the two villages concerned are of approximately the same military strength. Fights and arguments over women or food develop, and the principals withdraw temporarily on semihostile terms, perhaps attempting a rapprochement sometime in the future. Or, if the principals are obviously different military potential, the stronger of the two will coerce its weaker partner into ceding women early in the alliance development, taking advantage of its own military strength, thus altering the course of alliance development in the opposite direction.

Whatever the specific developmental sequence leading to the woman-exchange phase, the milieu within which these developments take place is not conducive to the establishment of warm ties of friendship. Each of the principals attempts to demonstrate his own sovereignty in order to convince the other that he does not really require political alliance to keep his enemies in check. This is accomplished by bragging about past military victories and fierceness in past club fights and chest-pounding duels, and by insinuating that one's group is always on the verge of exploding into a force so great that no combination of allies could overcome its terrible might. The smaller the village and more obvious its vulnerability, the greater is the pressure to insinuate or to demonstrate this potential.

Political maneuvering in this milieu is both a tricky and potentially hazardous undertaking. Each principal in the negotiation must establish the credibility of his own threats, while discovering the point at which his partner's bluff will dissolve abruptly into action; he must discover the point beyond which he must not goad his ally, lest he himself is prepared to suffer the possibly violent outcome. It is a politics of brinkmanship, a form of political behavior in which each negotiator is compelled to expose his opposite's threats as bluffs at the risk of inciting him to violence—a club fight, immediately and honorably, or, later and treacherously, a feast in which the hosts descend on their guests to kill their men and abduct their women.

Trading and Feasting in Alliance Formation

Because an ally is not beyond taking advantage of his weaker partner, especially when the alliance is just developing, there is very little in the way of natural attraction to encourage the two groups to visit each other. Considerations of pride and canons of ferocity preclude obvious attempts to develop stable and predictable alliances and military

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a local shortage of the item in order to have to rely on an ally for it, giving sufficient cause to visit them.

Often the specialization is less individualized than in the case of clay pot manufacture. Kąobawä's group, for example, exports cotton yarn to one ally, but imports it from another. The exported cotton frequently is brought back in the form of manufactured hammocks, the importer merely contributing labor to the process. In some cases the shortages are merely seasonal; Kąobawä's group may import cotton from a particular ally at one time of the year, but export it at another. Most of the trade, however, involves items that are readily manufactured by or raised by any group, underscoring the fact that trade is the stimulus to visit. Food does not enter the trading system, although hospitality dictates that it must be given to friendly groups. Occasionally, a village will run short of plantains because of a particularly long hot spell, and its members may visit an ally to borrow food to last a week or so. This hospitality is usually reciprocated, but it is not a part of the trading network.

Alliances between villages may stabilize at any one of three points: sporadic reciprocal trading, mutual feasting, or reciprocal women exchange. These are cumulative levels in the sense that the third phase implies the first two: Allies that exchange women also feast and trade with each other. Likewise, allies that merely feast together also trade, but do not exchange women. At the lower end of this scale of solidarity lie those villages with which one fights to kill, while at the upper end are those villages from whom one's group has recently separated. Frequently, the scale is circular rather than linear: A village's mortal enemy is the group from which it has recently split. By way of example, Kąobawä's group trades sporadically with the Makorima-teri, Daiyari-teri, Widokaiya-teri, Mahekodo-teri, and Iyawei-teri. These are fairly weak alliances and even permit limited fighting. His group has more intimate ties with the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mǫmariböwei-teri, with whom it feasts regularly. The alliance with the Reyaboböwei-teri has even reached the point at which they are exchanging women with each other. Finally, at the other end of the scale, Kąobawä's group is at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, Möwaraoba-teri, and Patanowä-teri. The first two of these groups are historically unrelated to Kąobawä's group, although they have a common history with two of his staunchest allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mǫmaribowei-teri, from whom they separated in the past. The Patanowä-teri are related to Kąobawä and his followers, as was shown in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, they are bitter enemies and are at present raiding each other.

Although there is no rigid geographical correlation of the village settlement pattern to the degree of alliance solidarity, neighboring villages usually are at least on trading terms and are not actively conducting war on each other. Should war develop between neighbors, one of the two principals will abandon its site and move to a new location. Whether the ties between neighboring villages will be one of blood, marriage exchange, reciprocal feasting, or casual trading depends on a large number of factors, particularly on village size, current warfare situation with respect to more distant groups, and the precise historical ties between the neighboring villages. Whatever the nature of the ties between neighbors, each strives to maintain its sovereignty and independence from the others.

The Yąnomamö do not openly regard trade as a mechanism the ulterior function of which is to bring people repeatedly together, thus establishing an amicable basis from

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwä probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen–even Kąobawä–implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowä. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwä's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwä failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwä and his raiders did not locate the Patanowä-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowä-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowä-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowä-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowä-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisaasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisaasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisaasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowä-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisaasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

[P. 138 is blank]

/116 cont./

scanty knowledge; their population varies between 200 and 300. Whereas there in the unexplored south organizational forms for larger numbers of people have evidently developed, the sociological system of the Waika is organized for only the above-named figure of a hundred village inhabitants; a surplus of births is answered by village partition.

The politically independent villages are partners in war and peace and for trading and visiting, and the momentary, frequently changing relationships of the villages to one another give the political situation in Waika territory its stamp. Let us first look at the hostile relationships. Affairs involving women are for the most part the cause of war; if a wife is sought in other villages, and if the offer is turned down, one resorts to abducting a woman. Once there has been bloodshed in quarrels originating from this, the war is self-perpetuating; the original cause has not been forgotten, to be sure, but because of its slight intensity in the conceptual world it in no way suffices as a motive for the continuation of the war. Rather, what does not permit breaking the chain of attacks repeated at intervals of a few months, in which the enemy men are killed, but the women abducted, /117/ is ideas and analogous to blood revenge. Concluding peace is possible only when there has been no bloodshed for a long period of time, and hostile relations often last for generations. Thus Waika country is covered with a network of hostile relationships of varying degrees, and, picking a village at random, one can distinguish a series of villages that are friendly, benevolently indifferent, neutral, sympathetic with the enemy, and, finally, completely hostile. For no two villages, however, is this series completely identical; there are no extensive alliances; war is an affair of the individual village, and a friendly village is aided only if there are personal reasons for hostility. No Waika village is without an enemy, and because of the many crisscrossings of the degrees of relationships the political situation is extremely complicated. We therefore see that even on the broadest social plane -- that of the people as a cultural and linguistic whole -- there is a very pronounced

Surára
Pakidái

/65 cont./

524 child" or "married couple." In the latter game sexual activity
524 is already often involved. As long as the children have not yet
864 reached puberty, the adults laugh about it. It is only the mothers of girls who are a little annoyed when they hear about it. They do not regard it as tragic, however, since they themselves were reprimanded about it by their mothers when they were little girls.

/66/

582 g) Marriage

At the age of 7-8 a girl as a rule has already been given in
585 marriage. The husband is usually 8-10 years older. They do not as yet lead a regular married life, however. During the day the little girl plays with other children, and only at night does she sleep
[833] in her hammock beside her husband. Sexual intercourse, however,
[593] is strictly forbidden until after the second menstruation. She also fetches firewood and water and receives prepared food for herself and her husband from her family. When the tribe is on the march,
[484] she carries the hammock of her spouse and the few household articles. Economic reasons are connected with this marriage in childhood, for the young husband must hunt for his little wife and
606 her parents. Especially noteworthy is the reserve toward in-laws which operate in such a way that son-in-law and mother-in-law never
582 speak to each other and may not visit each other. Since the fear of incest is very great in both tribes, a marriage, which is always agreed upon by the parents, may be entered into only by partners who are not related by kinship. For this reason young wives are preferably obtained from a friendly tribe; in this case, however, the young man must live there until his wife has put her second
583 menstruation behind her. Occasionally young girls and women are abducted from hostile tribes. They are first held as captives and prostitutes for some time, however, before a man may finally marry them. I met such a little female captive among the Surára. She came from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí and was approximately 15 or 16 years old.

/216 cont./

584 There are cases in which a brother or a friend of the suitor wishes to serve as intermediary and offers to speak to the father-in-law. The gesture is very well received and highly appreciated.

585 During the first two or three days the young husband remains
583 in the forest /217/ hunting; the woman hangs her hammock near that of her husband in the house of the family of orientation,
[476] that is, where she has always lived. This time having elapsed, the man tries to bring together some twenty friends to help him clear the land for the three conucos requested by his father-in-law. Usually he has no difficulty in finding this help. The father of the boy and his brothers do their best to feed the workers well, and, when the work is done, the young husband offers them as presents arrows, bows, etc. which they refuse to accept. Later, the man begins to clear some conucos for his own family.

584 Our informant from the upper Caura insisted that, once con-
627 sent has been obtained, delivery is definite and the girl cannot then accept any other young man. In order to give us an example, he told us what had happened to a man of his group.

A girl had accepted him as a husband, but, because of unforeseen circumstances, he had not had time to talk to the father-in-law. Then the girl surrendered to another young man and married him. The father-in-law knew nothing about the first offer. One day the people of the pueblo found the young couple in their hammock pierced by two arrows poisoned with curare. The murderer informed the father-in-law and the inhabitants of the rancheria of the motive which had caused him to perpetrate the crime. Neither the father-in-law nor the people intervened in the matter, for, according to them, the young lover was right in punishing the two who had deceived him in this way.

584 Sometimes parents marry off their children before they
595 reach maturity. Some men also take a second wife when she is
881 still underage, but they respect them and have no sexual contact with them until after the first menstrual periods have passed.

/473 cont./

583 628 To a suitor who does not obtain the consent of the girl's settlement there is no other path but to look for a wife elsewhere or to try to abduct the girl in order to make her his /474/ wife. If he decides to do this latter, he gathers together his sympathizers; these are mostly men of the suitor's own settlement, although other friends may also help him. The group attempts to take the girl prisoner at a careless moment, carrying her off by force. The friends of the girl come to help her, starting a hand-to-hand fight. If the suitor manages to flee with the girl, she becomes his wife, but if he fails, he cannot make another attempt at abduction without then being considered a real enemy, and as such he will run the risk of being shot with an arrow and not simply have to put on a fight.

If a settlement decides not to accept the abduction committed for one of its girls for matrimonial purposes, a call for help can be made to a neighboring settlement, all of the men gathering in a band, ready to recover her. The weapons used on such a raid are smooth poles about six feet long, intended not to kill the opponent, but to knock him down, leaving him hors de combat. If such a raid is successful, the girl is returned to her parents. And if the raid fails, any new attempt to recover the girl involves the risk of the attackers' being shot with arrows, since they would then be considered as true enemies. Both the men and the women can fight on the defense in case of such a raid.

A suitor alone or with the help of a few friends may succeed in carrying out the abduction of a wife, generally by finding the girl practically alone and carrying her off to his own settlement. In such cases the settlement of the abductor cannot back him, obliging him to return the woman to her parents rather than to lose their friends in her settlement.

721 302 When a raid to a truly hostile settlement is planned for the purpose of abducting a wife or other objects of value, each one of the members of the attacking band paints himself entirely 726 black or dark maroon. For such raids the weapons are the bow and arrows, and, when the fight starts, both groups shoot to kill. Should the attacking band be small, it can only hope to capture some girl or woman who is alone in her "conuco" or /475/ cutting wood in the forest. Then it will try to escape with the

726 /476/ In general prolonged sieges are not attempted, out of fear that someone who came to visit the besieged settlement might have seen the attackers and gone in search of help. As a result of this the source that supplies them with water is generally not defended.

Frequently, before carrying out a larger attack, the attacking settlement moves into the forest so that the families may be sheltered while the men go out to battle.

583 628 If two young persons wish to marry, but one or both of their settlements do not favor their matrimonial union, they may flee to a settlement where they will be accepted and establish their home there. If they do not find a settlement that will shelter them, they must separate and try to contract marriage by the usual means, or they have to abandon their plan altogether.

586 628 A wife maltreated by her husband may flee from him by going to a settlement prepared to defend her, or to one where her husband would not dare go because of being considered an enemy there.

If a wife runs off alone or with another man, the husband may organize an expedition armed with macanas or clubs to regain her, but in this case, too, he can only make one single attempt. If she has taken the children with her, he can try to recover both the wife and the children or only the children, or some of them.

586 If a man abandons his wife, in general nothing can be done about it.

If the man and the woman separate by mutual agreement, the former generally keeps the children. Sometimes the smaller children remain at the side of the mother until they are of sufficient age to cook their own platanos (perhaps five or six years old).

587 The second marriage differs very little from the first marriage. In the majority of cases a virgin is preferred to a widow or to a married fugitive.

581 No man remains unmarried by his own will. If he is unmarried, it is because he has not been able to obtain a wife.

/153 cont./

628 In January of 1952, while many of those from the aldea of
584 Yoeitjeti were visiting in Majecototjeti, a group of men from
/154/ Shibaatía-tjeti came and inquired about "Macluma," about giving her in matrimony to a man from Shibaatía-tjeti, who was already married to her older sister. "Macluma" had just passed puberty, and "Yajicocoue," the husband of the other older sister of "Macluma," also wanted her. The grandmother of "Macluma" persuaded her not to go off with the man from Shibaatía-tjeti unless she never wanted to see her again.

That night the Shibaatía-tjeti suitor asked for Macluma in "singing" fashion, while talking with "Shinaocaoue," the chief /capitán/ of Majecototjeti. The chief called him "old man." He told the chief that if he obtained her, he would be good to her, he would not put fire on her or beat her. I am not sure what conclusion they reached, although I suspect that the chief refused to give her to him.

628 On the following afternoon the men of Shibaatía-tjeti
583 caught "Macluma" outside of the aldea and tried to take her off
584 by force, in what the Yonomama /Yanoama/ call a "shaimau." The Majecototjeti women came to rescue her, and a group got into a fight and into a "rope fight" /lucha de cuerda/ over "Macluma." This lasted for several hours. The men of Yoeitjeti and I myself stood to one side and watched, but did not take part. Finally, the women managed to carry "Macluma" back to her house, and things quieted down.

The men of Shibaatía-tjeti said that they would come back for "Macluma." The men of Majecototjeti said, "If you do, we will shoot you."

After that, when the Shibaatía-tjeti visited them, at most there were groups of two or three.

721 In October of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came one evening
[441] at nightfall and shot a poisoned arrow at a boy, "Bosalima," who was standing at the entrance to the aldea. The wound was not very deep, but was several inches long.

[Introductory, P. iii]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of Thesis

121
583
582
183

This is a functional study of one form of marriage practiced by the Yąnomamö Indians of southern Venezuela. The form of marriage considered here--recruitment of wives from other villages for the purpose of initiating and maintaining political alliances--constitutes a departure by the Yąnomamö from their preferred form of marriage. I wish to emphasize the point that these marriages constitute a predictable and necessary departure from the ambilateral cross-cousin preferences. I will show in the space below how a number of variables are related to each other to bring about the exceptional marriages.

The fact that normative rules of behavior and actual behavior differ considerably from each other in most societies has received little theoretical attention, particular in regard to analyses of marriage systems. For the most part we presume that exceptions to stated marriage preferences represent a measure of the breakdown of the society under consideration, due to contacts with other societies. Yąnomamö exceptional marriages[1] cannot be dismissed with this line of

[648]

[1] Of 56 recently contracted marriages in three of the villages investigated, 31 cases were breaches of the preferred ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules for the purpose of establishing political ties between the groups of the spouses.

121 reasoning, as most of the Yąnomamö villages are presently
583 uncontacted, and those that are in contact with foreigners
582 have only recently (since 1951) entered into these contacts.
183
648

583 Yąnomamö marriages, even the preferred form, are
582 influenced by the milieu of inter-village hostility within
*628 which they are contracted. Marriages in this milieu have as
613 their major function the promotion of social ties between the descent groups represented in the exchange and are best understood as the deployment of women between groups with the purpose of promoting political and military alliances. The groups in question may be of two kinds: the local patrilineages comprising a particular village, or the members of different villages as such. As the only corporate group among the Yąnomamö is the local lineage, marriages within and between villages are to be understood as alliances between different corporate groups.[1]

583 The variables affecting marriage practice--weakness
582 of descent as a solidarity-promoting medium, village size
183
*621 and instability, the chronic nature of warfare, the shortage
921 of women, attitudes about aggressiveness and demonstration
152 of ferocity by individuals, and economic practices--are such that some deviation from the normative marriage rules is necessary to insure maximum survival chances for the resi-
583 dents of the various autonomous villages. Because marriage
582 exchanges in general have political and military implications,
*621

*[621]

[1]Yąnomamö villages are not corporate groups.

583 582 621 actual marriage practices reflect the immediate political and military needs of a given village. If it is more 583 582 183 628 advantageous to dispose of a woman in a way that promotes greater solidarity between allies, the marriage rule is not followed.[1] An eligible female, therefore, is given to a man (perhaps unrelated) in another village if her kinsmen have reason to believe that they may be required to take refuge in or request military aid from that other village.

628 574 726 562 An ally's demands are not to be taken lightly, for to fail in an obligation to an ally may have the graveat consequences for survival; one tactic of Yąnomamö warfare is invitations to feasts during which a disgruntled group kills the male guests and seizes their women. These treacherous feasts (nomohoni) occur often enough, so that local groups 628 583 582 are always suspicious of their allies. A dependable ally is won at the expense of women. Failure to hand over enough women creates a frustrated ally who is extremely dangerous. Yąnomamö political behavior has largely to do with disposing of enough women to make the ally loyal, but not to give more women than is necessary to achieve this end; miscalculation in this respect has serious consequences. As it is imperative for local groups, for reasons to be outlined below, to have allies, it is likewise necessary for them to enter into marriage exchanges with other groups.

[1] When women are given to men from other villages, the men rarely, if ever, are related to them as FaSiSo or MoBrSo. The exchange of women for purposes of alliance usually establishes the initial kinship ties between the groups of the wife receivers and wife givers.

attain a certain size; beyond this point the causes of internal fighting are too numerous for peace to be maintained effectively by kinship ties, and the village breaks up into smaller, more cohesive units. This affects the degree to which deviations from the marriage norm occur: first, the female cross-cousins of an eligible bachelor are usually in villages that are hostile to his own, and he is obliged to seek a spouse in another, currently friendly, village. Secondly, as his own village is now more vulnerable because of its small size, some of its eligible females must be given to men in other villages in order to promote military alliances.

Village size and demography

The significance of demographic data has only recently received recognition in analyses of social systems. The importance of such data in the analysis of marriage practices has been most tellingly illustrated by F. G. Rose's study of the Groote Eylandt Aborigines (1960). Rose was able to show that where men marry women who are considerably younger than themselves, two important consequences follow: primary marriages with father's sister's daughter is effectively prevented, as is the practice of sister exchange.

Similarly, Ackerman (1964), in a critique of Needham's analysis of Purum marriage, showed that demography-dependent data such as frequency of 'marriage acts' (ibid., p. 60) do not support Needham's contention that the Purum

121 have a prescriptive marriage system. What the Purum say they do and what they actually do are two distinct things.

*621 578 922 As I mentioned above, after Yąnomamö villages reach a certain, critical size, they tend to fragment into smaller groups. The internal tensions that promote this instability are to some extent offset by external military pressures: members of a faction within a larger village may want to establish their own independent village to avoid club-fighting and to suppress more severe forms of violence; but if their village is being raided by members of other villages, [241] it may be impossible for them to do so. Occasionally a village splits into several factions, each establishing its own garden apart from the other, but the factions are forced *621 *623 722 583 582 578 [502] to reunite because of raids mounted by other groups. Generally, the process of village splitting precludes a later recombination of the same factions because these remain hostile to each other. Thus, the small, vulnerable villages that result from the fragmentation of a larger village are constrained to make marriage alliances with other villages, both to insure military assistance and because it is difficult to obtain women from their kinsmen with whom they are now at war. Village size and the balance of marriage exchanges between villages indicate that numerically weak villages are *621 *623 722 583 582 438 coerced by their stronger partners to give up women. In some cases, the disposition of desirable trade goods may affect the balance in the exchange of women between two villages. In general it may be said that, when one village

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yąnomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yąnomamö social organization of this single

phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the result of the shortage of women.

Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and this frequently causes the village to split. The larger the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion. Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each group establishes an independent village and enters into marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yanomamö village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

*621 White's generalization that

> every society tends to behave in such a way as to achieve that balance between size and solidarity that will give it the maximum effectiveness in carrying on its life-sustaining activities. (1959:104)

*621 *628 562 583 582 921 Belligerent ideology and aggressive behavior

Village size plays an important role in the nature of the political relationships between groups that are not linked by kinship ties. As mentioned above, larger villages tend to use their strength and dominance to upset the exchange balance of women. But the degree to which a powerful group is able to force a dependent ally to cede women is limited by the ability of the smaller group to raid the larger village successfully. In ideological terms the *611 *628 721 152 181 Yanomamö express this capacity to wage war by placing emphasis on and valuing aggressive behavior. It is considered both proper and desirable to act ferociously, as this informs neighbors of the group's capacity to wage war and warns them that the group is willing to resort to war in political dealings.

*621 *628 526 574 152 Members of small villages are consequently constrained to behave militantly toward larger neighbors to limit the coercion that the larger group may be tempted to try. Their fierce behavior takes the form of threat, bluff, chicanery in trading and, most important, challenges to duels. Frequently, when villagers are invited to feast with an allied group, the invitation includes a challenge to a chest-pounding

duel. Such a duel functions to remind the allies that the host is strong and willing to display his strength to protect his sovereignty.

The practical effect of this kind of behavior is that the solidarity of political alliances is constantly threatened. Allies are always suspicious of each other's intentions, and political ties between them are tenuous.

Although the giving of women in marriage between allies serves to promote solidarity, the capacity for marriage to achieve this end in itself is limited by the constant displays of hostility and aggressiveness by both groups.

The display of ferocity is manifest at the local, village level also. No insult is too slight to go unnoticed and unchallenged. Indeed, most individuals seize upon these opportunities to display strength. Thus, a legitimate way for men to display aggressiveness is for them to beat their errant wives, to burn them with fire brands, to cut their arms and legs with machetes or to shoot them in a non-vital part of the body with a barbed arrow. Men constantly intimidate their wives and respond cruelly to the slightest provocations, such as the wife's failure to act quickly on a husband's demand for food. Men who are brutal to their wives are feared and respected by other men, for the implication of this behavior is that the man will behave equally fiercely if insulted by another man.

Men often prefer to have a wife from another village, upon whom it is easier--and safer--to vent ferocity and

cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data, the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to split.

Ideological considerations, therefore, promote friction and fighting within villages and lead to village splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek marriage alliances with other groups.

Economic practices

Local groups abandon residential and horticultural sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of their enemies. For the most part, the Yanomamö are able to predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop within the village and it is expected that these will

*621 escalate, the factions involved usually use the interlude
*578 between a club-fight and actual killings to establish sepa-
24 rate gardens.

*621 Occasionally, however, a village suddenly becomes
*629 embroiled in a war that it has not expected, or fighting
24 within the village immediately involves shooting to kill.
36 Then the only recourse for the group is to take refuge with
722 an ally and subsist on the produce of the ally's garden. If the critical situation develops out of an intra-village dispute, the smaller of the contesting factions is forced to flee to another village where it has friends or relatives.

If all the members of a village are forced to take refuge in another village, they proceed to make their own garden apart from that of their hosts; then, when the garden begins to produce, the refugee group moves to that site to
• [583] live. They do this because the price of protection is always
582 measurable in terms of the hosts' demanding access to the
939 women of the guests, either as spouses for their own men or simply as temporary sexual partners.

Twice during the lifetime of my oldest Bisaasi-tedi informants their group was obliged to flee to an allied village to escape the raids of powerful neighbors, raids that resulted from the development of intensive hostilities before the group could establish a new garden of its own elsewhere. On both occasions the refugees lost a number of women to their protectors, and in neither case did they receive wives
*728 in return. Indeed, on the second occasion, the hosts planned
726
586
574

*628 126 574 to kill all the male guests and to abduct the women, but the hosts themselves unexpectedly became involved in a war and required the aid of their guests.

*628 24 722 361 Yąnomamö dependency on cultivated foods, then, promotes political alliances with other villages; the warfare pattern is such that the members of a village may have to flee from their site to avoid the raids of their enemies. If they have not had time to establish a new garden, they need the support of an ally until they are able to support themselves.

.-*-*-*-*-.

121 * 583 582 The variables that affect Yąnomamö marriage practices are numerous and diverse and combine with each other in complex ways. I shall show in the chapters that follow how these variables actually affect Yąnomamö marriage practices. At this juncture the point to be made is that Yąnomamö social practice in real life can not be completely isomorphic with the stated marriage preferences because the milieu within which marriages take place simply precludes such a neat fit. A functional, rather than a structural analysis seems to be demanded by the nature of the variables in question. I shall also show the degree to which we can predict actual marriage behavior, given specific information about the variables.

[726] [182] Finally, I should add that the Yąnomamö constitute a significant case for ethnological inquiry: this society offers

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

121 us the opportunity to estimate the effects of warfare on the
583 nature of marriage practices among a people who are chroni-
582 cally at war, a situation not frequently found in the present
182 ethnographic world.
726

128 **B. The Data and Field Techniques**

Several kinds of data are required to illustrate Yanomamö marriage practices and the variables affecting them. The most important data are those I obtained from genealogies and the historical relationships between villages.

In total, I have genealogical data on some 3,000 individuals, living and dead, from 15 villages. Not all the data are comparable in quality and I shall confine my discussion to the populations of the five villages for which
128 my data are most complete. These five villages fall into
*621 two groups with regard to their historical origins. Three
*628 of them have a common history, separating initially about 1943 at which time two villages were formed.[1] One of these split again about 1954 to form two villages, giving a total of 3 separate but closely related villages. The other two of the five selected for this study also have a common history, but are distinct from the first three. For purposes of clarity I will refer to these two villages as Shamatari (see Chapter 5 for discussion). About 1960 the two Shamatari villages split from each other and are presently on good terms.

---

[1] See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the historical relationships of these villages.

At Patanowã-tëka she was given to Husiwã, by whom she had two sons (Orakuwã and Kariunawã). The approximate date of her move to Patanowã-tëka is 1935; it could not be much later, because a war broke out between Matakuwã's group and the group at Patanowã-tëka shortly after this date, and no visitors went between these two villages after hostilities commenced.

When the Patanowã-tëka group separted into two villages, Nabëyoma remained with the group that is presently called Patanowã-tedi. The two splinter groups entered into hostilities with each other shortly after they separated, and Nabëyoma's husband, Husiwã, was one of the first casualties. Nabëyoma, her co-wife (Shǫrökoma), and all their children fled from Husiwã's group and joined the other, cognate, group. Shǫrökoma, originally abducted from yet another Shamatari village, later returned to Patanowã-tedi, but Nabëyoma stayed with Patanowã-tedi's enemies. In 1951 when the treacherous feast was pulled on the group to which Nabëyoma belonged and the group fled to Mahekodo-tedi for protection, Nabëyoma was given to a man in Mahekodo-tedi, Remoriwã, as part of the cost of the alliance.

While Nabëyoma lived at Mahekodo-tedi, Barker and his colleague, David Landon, discovered that she still remembered how to write her name (Elena Valero). They informed the authorities in Puerto Ayacucho that a Brazilian woman was living with the Yąnomamö, presumable abducted by them from one of the settlements across the border, but

847 562 162 Several kinds of demographic data suggest that the rate of female infanticide is high. Table 1 gives the sex ratios of five Yąnomamö villages. The sex ratio for the total population sample (576 individuals) gives a more meaningful estimate of the rate of female infanticide, as there is considerable variation by village in the value of the sex ratio. The excess of males in the total population (8%) gives a first 562 approximation of the frequency of female infanticide. The 162 628 722 variation in the sex ratio by the village, on the other hand, expresses the political relationships of the villages to [583] their allies. That is, the distribution of women in these five villages is a function of the military requirements of the particular villages in the marriage alliance network. Thus, the cline in sex ratio from Reyabobŏwei-tedi to Bisaasi-tedi (ignoring the Patanowŏ-tedi, who are not allied to the other groups) reflects a dominance gradient in politico-125 military requirements of each village. The total sample of 847 162 576 individuals must be considered in order to estimate the 628 562 frequency of female infanticide among the Yąnomamö, but the political relationships between the villages must be understood to account for the variation by village of the value

---

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 64]

847 562 162 114 982 selves, it is highly unlikely that men will marry a FaSiDa, despite the kinship terminology. Rose did not, however, consider the possibility that sibships may have a systematic bias in their composition; if males tend to be older than their sisters considering all sibships, the probability that a FaSiDa is of marriageable age is increased. I specifically questioned the relationship between female infanticide and FaSiDa marriage, and the Yąnomamö denied any correlation between the two practices. There can be no doubt, however, that the occurrence of FaSiDa marriage among the Yąnomamö is made more probable by female infanticide.

125
849
162
*628
562

of the sex ratio, and the distribution of the women among them.

*628
629
594
926
361

In Chapter 5 I will show how the two Shamatari villages, Reyabobŏwei-tedi and Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, participated in a treacherous feast during which they killed a number of their kinsmen from Mŏwŏraoba-tedi. This feast committed the two Shamatari villages to an alliance with the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi in which the latter two villages were, in a political-military sense, less dependent on the support of the Shamatari than the Shamatari were on them. The Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi and the Reyabobŏwei-tedi represented the front of the Shamatari expansion into the unoccupied Mavaca River area. The territory they abandoned as they expanded to the west was subsequently occupied by other Shamatari villages, the members of which were historically related to them.[1] By participating in the treacherous feast and becoming enemies to their congeners, the two Shamatari villages subordinated themselves to the interests of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Since they formed a buffer between the villages of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi on the one hand, and the Shamatari village of Mŏwŏraoba-tedi on the other, they bore the brunt of the raids mounted by the latter in revenge for the treachery. In short, they had only two dependable allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an im-

*628
583
162
562
*621

[1]See Chapter 5, "The History of Paruritawŏ-tedi."

Their dependence
*628 on these allies was transformed into an im-
• 583 balance in the exchange of women between the two groups of
162
562 villages, accounting for the variation in sex-ratio given for
*621 the villages in Table 1.

*628 The degree to which each village is dependent on its
583 allies is roughly indicates in Table 1. The Reyaboböwei-tedi,
726
722 being closer, geographically, to the MöwÄraoba-tedi, suffered more from the revenge raids of the latter. In other words, they needed military aid from their own allies to a greater extent, and have, accordingly, lost far more women to their allies as a consequence. But the true situation is even more remarkable than suggested by the sex ratio for the Reyaboböwei-tedi; a large percentage of the women in their village have been abducted by them in raids against the MöwÄraoba-tedi, i.e., they have actually lost more women to their allies in exchanges than is suggested by the sex-ratio alone.

*621 Again, the sex ratios for the Bisaasi-tedi and the
162
*628 Monou-tedi are misleading without additional information.
583 These two villages would seem, from Table 1, to have gained a remarkable number of women in the political alliances they
162 made with their Shamatari friends. This, however, is not the
*628 only reason they have such a high percentage of women in
*621 their populations. In 1950 these villages were victimized
726 by the MöwÄraoba-tedi and the Iwahikoroba-tedi in a treacher-
627 ous feast. They lost approximately 15 men. Were two-thirds
165 of these men alive today, for example, the resultant sex ratios for the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi population would more accurately reflect the dominance gradient, measured

in terms of women ceded to them by the Shamatari, that they maintain over their Shamatari allies.

The sex ratio data give a rough idea, then, of the extent of female infanticide and, in addition, reflect the political relationships of the villages to each other in terms of the flow of women. Other demographic data, however, suggest that the practice of female infanticide is even higher than the sex ratios alone indicate. Table 2 gives the stated cause of death of 240 adult individuals. These individuals are related to the living members of the three villages of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi. It is immediately apparent that more men die in warfare than women,[1] implying that the frequency of female infanticide is substantially higher than the 8% suggested by sex ratio data.

There are several ways the Yanomamö remedy their woman shortage. Young bachelors, for example, practice sodomy (bei kä bosi kuwemou, bei kä bosi waumou) with each other. These relationships develop into a 'buddy' system (äawä) and promote ties of friendship that extend into adult life. Some of my informants confidentially told me that particular young men had been known to copulate with dogs in estrus, but this was regarded with contempt by all who knew about it. Homosexuality, however, was not considered despicable, but it was thought to be infantile. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 62]

[1] Twenty-two per cent (31/138) of all male deaths were due to warfare, while only 6% (6/102) of female deaths were due to this cause.

avoid the raids from the PatanowÃ-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with KonoreiwÃ's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by KonoreiwÃ. The entire village participated in the club fight. KonoreiwÃ punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the PatanowÃ-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the PatanowÃ-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the PatanowÃ-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

these situations[1] by establishing new gardens as new wars develop; occasionally, however, the wars take on unpredictable intensity before new gardens can be established, and the members of the villages concerned necessarily seek refuge with their allies.

To the Yąnomamö, gardens (hikari) are the fount of subsistence. They acknowledge the relationship between chronic warfare and village relocation by being constantly on the lookout for new lands to settle. Men are always discussing the agricultural merits of the forested areas in which they hunt, and most new sites are selected on the basis of information collected by hunters. Thus, when the Namowei-tedi split up at Patanowä-tëka, the Bisaasi-tedi faction moved to Shihota, an area they knew well because they customarily hunted there.[2] In 1965 the Monou-tedi cleared a new garden at Moyanaböwei for the same reason. I accompanied hunting parties from Bisaasi-tedi on several occastions to new areas not normally frequented by these hunters, and the topic of agriculture invariably came up during the evening résumé of the day's experiences.

Other factors besides density of jungle, type of floral association, and general topography are considered by

[1]They avoid these situations because the hosts usually demand either sexual access to the women of the refugees, or wives for their bachelors. The refugees, of course, are reluctant to do either, but are frequently obliged to do both. The cost of the alliance, once again, is measured in terms of women lost.

[2]See Map C, and Chapter 5.

162 562 83 sexually, by the practices of sodomy, wife sharing, incest, and permitted affairs. However, two ways in which the problem 162 562 583 is resolved--clandestine affairs within villages and raiding to abduct women between villages--create political situations 849 721 722 *628 that favor the development of political alliances for the purposes of defense. Since these involve the transfer of women between the allies, the practice of female infanticide constitutes a functional component in the marriage alliance system.

*621 *628 578 241 722 The process of village splitting, growing out of feuds over women, results in the establishment of small, militarily vulnerable villages. The timing of the split is conditioned by the agricultural requirements of the village on the one hand, and the nature of its politico-military relationships with other villages on the other. The graded system of violence permits flexibility in the settlement pattern and the precise conditions of a village split. Because the Yanomamö rely heavily on cultivated foods, alliances may be interpreted as an attempt to maximize the chances of survival of groups of kinsmen as independent groups; the possibility always exists that a given group may be forced by its enemies to seek protection and provisions in the village of an ally.

CHAPTER III

DESCENT, MARRIAGE, KINSHIP AND IDEOLOGY

As noted in the introduction, the largest Yąnomamö political unit, the village, is structurally unstable and tends to fragment into hostile factions once the population of the village reaches a certain size.[1] Village splitting results in the establishment of smaller villages the members of which, for considerations of defense, make alliances with other villages, basing the political ties on the exchange of women. The dynamics of village splitting can be illustrated in a number of ways. In Chapter V the histories of particular villages are set down in some detail, illustrating the nature of the causes of internal struggles. In this chapter, however, I shall discuss the aspects of Yąnomamö descent, marriage, kinship and political ideology that illustrate the role each plays in determining the nature of feuds. This will provide the background for the next chapter, the analysis of village splitting in terms of the genealogical composition of recently established villages.

A. Yąnomamö Corporate Lineal Descent Groups and Marriage

Corporate lineal descent groups tend to be closely

[1] Village size is discussed in the next chapter.

613 his brothers, terminologically, they have more in common with
602
*621 each other than they do with him. As he depends on them for
584
582 support within the village, he is under obligation to them and can not take their suggestions lightly.[1]

*621 Again, if there are two politically important descent
613 groups of the same lineage within a large village, and if
602
562 there are, in addition, a number of agnatically related
584 females not belonging unambiguously to either one, problems
736 arise over the disposition of the women; there will be rivalry between the two descent groups concerning the marriages (or remarriages) of these women. Situations like these arise when the father and brothers of the women are killed in raids or die of other causes, or when the woman's first husband dies after her (deceased) agnates arranged her marriage. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, split into two villages, each led by members of the same lineage. They had been victimized by a Shamatari group which killed a large number of men during a treacherous feast. There were a number of women, consequently, who were ambiguously related to the surviving males of the Upper and Lower halves of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the descent groups in what is now Lower Bisaasi-tedi managed to gain the upper hand in the

---

[583] [1]There seems to be a marked tendency for the daughters of such men to be given to men in other villages when alliances are made. I am unable to say, on the basis of my present data, whether such alliances are forced on these men by their agnates, or whether these men in fact prefer to dispose of their daughters in this way. This practice tends to keep such men more isolated from their agnates and prevents them from establishing strong affinal ties within the village.

613 621 602 562 584 726

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

582 584 593 621

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

583 591 584 602 721 628

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

---

[128] [1]See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[801] [2]By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

the Namowei-tedi and the Boreta-tedi (Chapter V) developed out of a case such as this.

When women are given to men in allied villages, the local descent group of the girl (her father and adult brothers and, to a lesser extent, the girl's more distant agnates) decides which patrilineage of the foreign village should have her. Smaller villages are more prone to enter into alliances based on marriage exchanges than are larger villages, since smaller villages require allies to a greater extent than larger ones.[1] Local descent groups in small villages are more cohesive than descent groups in larger villages because they usually comprise a man and his adult sons; if there are distantly related agnates in small villages, these are incorporated into the local descent group. In small villages, therefore, local descent groups are more corporate because all the adult agnates of the girl have a say in her marriage. Ideally, they give the girl to a member of the politically strongest descent group of the allied village, for this group is the one from which aid will come or, conversely, the one most likely to make the decision to initiate hostilities against the smaller village.

The longer an alliance endures, the more likely it is that the exchange of women balances. The two largest

---

[1] Larger Yanomamö villages can make visiting alliances with other groups that do not lead to marriage exchanges, as it is relatively unimportant to them to stabilize such alliances by ceding women to militarily inferior groups.

628 lineages in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi have
582 exchanged women with each other for a number of generations.
583 Male members of the Hor lineage entered into 29 marriage acts[1]
613 with women of the Sha lineage.[2] An identical number of acts involving Sha men with Hor women also took place. In the exchanges between Mõmaribõwei-tedi and their two allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, there is presently an imbalance in the exchange of women, although reciprocity appears to be developing; a number of women from the latter two villages are promised to members of Mõmaribõwei-tedi--to members of lineages that have already given women to the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi.

628 An imbalance in the exchange of women implies a dif-
613 ference in political strength between the two groups that
582 exchange women, and the mechanics of the exchange are shaped
583 by this difference in political strength. Post marital resi-
591 dence is viri-patrilocal after the groom performs bride service, but the length of the bride service is determined by the relative political strength of the two villages concerned. If the village of the groom is more powerful than that of the bride, the groom may be able to return to his village with his wife after just a few months of bride service. If the

---

[1] See Ackerman, 1964, for a definition of marriage act.

[2] Yanomamõ lineages are not named. I have named them for expediency of analysis after the oldest identifiable member of the lineage, abbreviating the name to three letters. "Sha" lineage, therefore, is the name I have adopted for the patrilineal descendents of a long since dead individual called Shamashiadima.

bride's village is stronger, the girl's parents may be able to press the groom into a prolonged bride service—five or six years. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, are politically stronger than the Reyabobŏwei-tedi, one of their Shamatari allies. They have obtained a number of women from this group, and the men involved all returned with their brides after brief periods of bride service. So far, not a single Bisaasi-tedi woman has gone to live in Reyabobŏwei-tedi, although one girl is married to a man from that village. The man has already spent several years in Bisaasi-tedi, and will probably spend at least as many more before being permitted to return home with his Bisaasi-tedi wife. The military and political superiority of the Bisaasi-tedi is so conspicuous in this alliance that one Bisaasi-tedi man literally dragged a woman, previously promised to him, out of the Reyabobŏwei-tedi village, against the wishes of both the woman and the woman's agnates. He was not prevented from doing this because the Reyabobŏwei-tedi need the political and military support of the Bisaasi-tedi and could not afford to react violently to the affront. Had the two villages been politically equal, the incident would have resulted in a war.

Women involved in exchanges between villages have no say whatsoever in their fate. Most of them abhor the possibility of moving to a strange village, largely because they fear that they will be mistreated by their husbands. Should a girl refuse to abide by the decision of her agnates, she has no alternative but to flee the village. Koima, a girl of

88

*423 Koima, a girl of
613 some 15 years, was promised to Rerebawë, a young man from
591
* 583 Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawë had
606 already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom he had two children. Rerebawë wished to return to his own village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawë began making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effectively, and Rerebawë was growing impatient. His parents-in-law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter,
584 provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however,
583
591 refused to go to Rerebawë, suspecting that he would not keep
578 his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead,
135
613 Bïkotawë, her classificatory FaSiSo. She began an affair with
* 624 Bïkotawë, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated
627 Rerebawë, who challenged Bïkotawë to a club fight. Bïkotawë belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi and was cognatically related to the members of the headman's
[626] descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment was on Bïkotawë's side, but the girl belonged to a descent group over whose affairs Bïkotawë's supporters had no claims. Rerebawë's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was promised to him by her agnates: Bïkotawë was, in effect, having an

affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawë's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawë threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawë shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawë, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bïkotawë, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawë discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawë, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yanomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yanomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Ururicaa Yanomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yanomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

I. Marriage Ties

602 593 583 583 [609] Marriages bind the groups of the spouses to each other in a system of exchanges involving goods, services, and the promise to reciprocate women at a later date. Yąnomamö marriage is peculiar in that the ties between husband and wife are very weak, but that ties between a man and his sister's husband are strong. The significance of marriage as an institution that initiates (or continues) alliances between non-agnatic groups stems, therefore, from the nature of the ties that it creates between the male members of the allied groups.

593 Ties between spouses are usually very tenuous, due largely to the fact that men are constantly suspicious of their wives' motives whenever the women leave the village unescorted. Men always suspect their wives of infidelity, and will even beat them if there is the slightest suspicion that the women have been seeing other men. A certain amount of 839 593 trysting goes on in all villages, but it is more frequent and more easily accomplished in larger villages. Discovery of [578] liaisons by the cuckold inevitably leads to club fighting between the factions of the lover and the husband. The woman 593 684 involved usually suffers more than either of the male principals in the fighting that follows, as women are severely punished by their husbands. The punishment usually consists of a beating with a club, but men frequently shoot their unfaithful wives with barbed arrows in a non-vital area of the body, such as the buttocks or leg. In one instance I witnessed,

609 601 groups of Yanomamö have begun referring to the entire tribe as "Los Shori." The Yanomamö address the missionaries with this term hoping to maximize their chances of obtaining desirable manufactured goods such as machetes and axes.

609 521 601 Men who are not related by blood constantly remind each other of obligations when they use this kinship term. A brother-in-law deserves respect, fair treatment, and gratitude. As the term is reciprocal, a conversation between two shoriwë is punctuated frequently by these constant reminders that each owes the other goods, services and respect by virtue of the fact that they stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other. Such conversations, usually about material goods or women, strike the outsider as something of verbal contests to determine which of the two speakers is more of a shoriwë than the other, i.e., who owes the other more goods, services, gratitude and generosity. One who has actually given a sister to the other's group has an advantage, in a trading sense, as he can more legitimately claim goods from the wife receiver.

628 574 609 601 583 When men visit the village of an ally to beg, trade or participate in feasts, they call all non-related men of that village 'brother-in-law,' emphasizing the fact that they stand in wife-giver relationship to them, and deserve, therefore, the generosity of the hosts.

628 527 574 583 581 Alliances between villages involve, in addition to military aid, mutual feasting and trading. It must be remembered that alliances, no matter how many marriage ex-

628 574 527 573 581 changes bind the villages to each other, are weak and unstable. The more frequently allies visit and feast with each other, the less likely treachery will take place, as a certain amount of trust and friendship is generated by visiting and feasting.

628 438 433 The tendency for Yąnomamö villages to create artificial shortages of certain manufactured items is related to feasting and the creation of organic solidarity of a sort. After Yąnomamö villages enter into alliances, they tend to adjust their economic production of such items as bows, arrow cane, spun cotton, tobacco, baskets, cultivated drugs, dogs and clay cooking pots. Any village is capable of producing all of these goods, but allied villages create shortages of some of these items so that they can become dependent on the productivity of their allies, thereby having excuses to visit and trade.

628 438 527 574 607 One of the most significant relationship in trading between villages is the shoriwë tie, and these men trade with each other whenever they visit. As a trade frequently involves feasting, the specialization in production of specific items leads to greater solidarity between allied villages. Although it would be an error simply to identify the role of shoriwë with that of trading partner, this aspect of the shoriwë tie, particularly between men of different villages, is by no means negligible in accounting for the solidarity this relationship promotes in inter-village political ties.

628 438 527 574 The way the trading is conducted also contributes to

284 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

593 621 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yąnomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

*621 602 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be affectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kąobawë of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were

[1]See Figure 3, *Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

628 602 613 726 [622] same lineages. The warfare between the two groups, therefore, was largely a struggle between groups of distantly related agnates. Kɛobawɛ̈, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, participated in the raiding against the Patanowɛ̈-tedi. In one skirmish, he shot his classificatory brother, Rakoiwɛ̈, but Rakoiwɛ̈ survived the wound. This man is as closely related to Kɛobawɛ̈ as most of the men that presently constitute his agnatic following in Upper Bisaasi-tedi, again illustrating the significance of co-residence in determining the strength [583] of the agnatic tie. Two young men from Patanowɛ̈-tedi recenlty joined the Bisaasi-tedi to obtain wives. After they arrived, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Patanowɛ̈-tedi resumed their old [606] hostilities. The fathers-in-law of the two men recruited [573] both of them into raiding parties that attacked the Patanowɛ̈-tedi, and both men participated willingly, despite the fact that their actual fathers and brothers live in Patanowɛ̈-tedi. One of the young men, Sirorowɛ̈, told me that he would have avoided shooting his own father (Yoyosiwɛ̈) and actual brothers, but would have shot more distant agnates.

628 726 602 607 622 That the brother-in-law tie is stronger than the tie between distantly related agnates is also illustrated in the history of a war between Mahekodo-tedi and Yabitawɛ̈-tedi. These two villages are led by men who are classificatory brothers. The war stated when a man from Boreta-tedi, a brother-in-law of the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, was killed by the Yabitawɛ̈-tedi headman in a club fight. As the slain man's sisters were married to the Mahekodo-tedi headman, the

628
726 latter felt obliged to revenge the man's death by raiding
602
607 his classificatory brother's village.
622

Similar cases occur in internal village fighting.
624 Hunobawä, an Upper Bisaasi-tedi man of some 60 years, gathered
578
593 a stalk of bananas from his garden and hung them in the roof of his hut to ripen. His son, Dikawä, 18 years old, discovered the ripening bananas and ate a large number of them without the consent of his father. When Hunobawä discovered the loss, he went into a rage and attacked Dikawä with a club. Dikawä got his own club and began assailing the old man. This precipitated a general free-for-all in the village, as large numbers of men took one side or the other in the melee.

628 Club fights between historically related but separate
602
578 villages also pit agnates against each other. When Bisaasi-
613
583 tedi's Lower Group seized a girl that the Monou-tedi had abducted from the Patanowä-tedi, a club fight was arranged to settle the dispute. But, the most important factions in Monou-tedi and the two Bisaasi-tedi groups were local descent groups of the same lineage, and their headmen were classificatory brothers. Although the dispute and club fight ultimately involved all the able-bodied men of each village, the fight was initiated by distantly related agnatic groups of the same lineage.

602
578 Some dyadic kinship ties are more stable than others. It is not possible to say, however, that any one in particular is so inherently stable that fighting between such kinsmen can not occur. Certain kinds of violence, however, are not

602 capable of becoming stronger in time. When two descent groups
602 exchange women with each other over several generations, the
612 582 cognatically related members of the two groups have strong
583 ties with each other. Further exchanges between these groups
is largely a validation of the previously existing implicit
60 obligations to exchange women. MoBrSo is, whether or not you
582 marry his sister, a shoriwë. When the marriage rule is followed,
and it is a number of times each generation, the ties between
shoriwë are correspondingly strengthened by the exchange.
602 Agnatic ties do not have the potential of increasing in soli-
darity; the tendency seems, in fact, to be just the opposite.

602 The major components in the variation of the strength
561 of agnatic solidarity are genealogical closeness, relative
621 age, and co-residence. To provide a crude measure of the
128 591 relative importance of these variables, I have arbitrarily
assigned values to the components in Table 3. A strong tie
is scored as "***" and a weak tie as "---". By adding the
number of asterisks in each possible combination,
a rough measure of relative solidarity of agnatic type is
given. For example, agnates who are closely related genea-
logically (A_1: "***"), who differ significantly in age
(B_2: "***") and who live in the same village (C_1: "**-") rep-
resent a class of agnates having the greatest relative
solidarity. The sum of the asterisks for this combination
is 8.

In Table 3, combinations whose scores are 3 and 4
respectively constitute the class of agnates having the least

602 561 *621 *628 It is not easy to represent affinal ties in this fashion, as there are too many factors that determine the strength of the relationship between such kin types. A few observations, however, will provide a contrast with the analysis given in Table 3 above. Among affines, age differential is relatively meaningless so far as internal village stability and strength of inter-village alliance is concerned. [606] When the age differential corresponds to a difference in genealogical level, the affines, such as son-in-law, tend to be related by stable roles based on avoidance, bride service obligations, etc., but these derive not from age differential, [606] but from the generation difference. A son-in-law is subordinate to a father-in-law despite his age, and inter-personal behavior between such kinsmen is not greatly influenced by [591] age differentials. Second, co-residence is largely irrelevent unless it reflects cognatic ties that came about through previous marriages in ascending generations. Again, current political relationships between the two villages of the affines is important in determining the strength of the tie, or whether the affine intends to return to his own village. *628 *621 602 • 583 Affinal ties do not necessarily imply previous historical relationships between the groups of the affines, whereas agnatic ties presume a common history. When members of two historically distinct villages enter into marriage alliances with each other, affinal ties between the respective villages are weaker than affinal ties between members of two villages that have a common history and have exchanged women in the

*628 *621 602 583 past. Finally, there is no way of scoring 'promises' to exchange women, and the strength of the shoriwĦ tie between members of two distinct villages is largely a function of such promises.

*621 602 618 Summarizing the difference in agnatic and affinal ties, the important point is that affinal ties have the potential of changing in their coefficient of solidarity when exchanges between two descent groups continues over time. It is largely for this reason that villages reduce to clusters of affinally related dual organizations (paired patrilineal local descent groups) that have exchanged women in the past and will probably continue to do so in the future.

C. Ferocity and Bellicosity

773 828 According to the Yąnomamö Moon Myth, Uhudima, a Spirit, shot Moon with an arrow. The drop of blood that fell to the earth flowed over the surface, causing all Yąnomamö to become fierce. Ever since that time the Yąnomamö have behaved fiercely, because they were born in blood.

828 577 The Yąnomamö regard themselves as being violent, coercive, crafty and quick to display aggressiveness; they 829 648 value this behavior. Yąnomamö contacts with other tribes and with civilized foreigners have been consistently hostile until about 1955. They have succeeded in exterminating one tribe,[1] and have caused a number of villages of another tribe to relocate in order to avoid the attacks mounted on them by

[1] The Makú; see Migliazza, 1965.

*621 organization is only approximated, however, as an examination of the genealogies given in Appendix A will show. The smaller the village, the more conspicuous is the tendency for the composition to approach a moiety-like structure. Larger [613] villages are more composite and may contain as many as four or five distinct lineage segments.[1]

*621 The tendency for small villages to be characterized 613 by two (and only two) dominant lineage segments, each linked to the other by marriage ties, recurs with sufficient frequency to permit me to use a simple dual organization model as the [829] basis of the analysis of village structure. The model given in Figure 1 should be taken as only a heuristic devise in the discussion of Yąnomamö village structure that follows; the Yąnomamö do not conceive of their villages as being bifurcated into two groups, for in most instances they are not. And, small villages soon lose their moiety-like structure as they begin to include males and females from villages with which marriage ties are made.

602 The relationships between kin discussed in the pre-
607 vious chapter are all given in Figure 1. The adult males in
582 Generation 1 exchange sisters[2] and are, therefore, related to
• 583 each other as shoriwä (brother-in-law). This is a well-defined, stable, non-ambiguous relationship; the males in

[128] [1]See Appendix A for a discussion of village composition. Details of one small village are given in the Appendix, but the composition by lineage is summarized for three other villages.

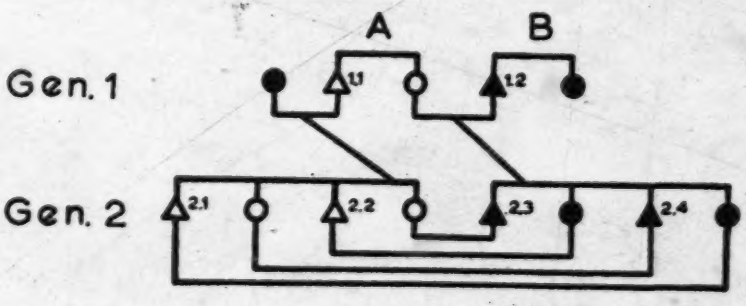
[2]In Figure 1, $A_{1.1}$'s wife is the sister of $B_{1.2}$.

602 607 582 583 Generation 1 have essentially solidary relationships to each other, at least in terms of the model.

The males of Generation 1 are related to the females *[621] of that generation as either husband or brother. Ties between siblings of the opposite sex are affective and promote village solidarity.

613 602 Males of lineage A in the second generation are simultaneously sister's sons and daughter's husbands of male $B_{1.2}$, both relationships being conducive to solidarity. They are [583] bound to $B_{1.2}$ by affective ties and obligations to perform bride service. An analogous set of relationships binds the Generation 2, lineage B males to $A_{1.1}$. The males of both lineages in the second generation are related to each other as either brother or brother-in-law, both relationships being stable within the assumptions of this model (see below). The

*[621] FIG.1: Ideal Yanomamö Village Composition



128 extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yanomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0. 128 913 835 835 835 I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relationship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

128 162 602 562 562 578

128 that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of
*621
613 two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.

There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is
162
*621 not representative of the typical Yąnomamö village: the sex
*628 ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as
562
• 583 there are males in the village, and the group is politically stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises
[529] two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed
[574] in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of
[726] Bisaasi-tedi.

*621 The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a
622 number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More
613
602 importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawë, has astutely manipulated

---

128 logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a
*621 number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity
*628 of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace
613 their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawë-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

actual brothers of these women were killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast,[1] and the women therefore had few agnates to contest Reromawë's actions; his rights to dispose of these women increased after their brothers were killed in the feast. Because of the previous marriages between the members of the Shä and Tom lineages, Reromawë was already MoBr to the politically most important males in the Tom lineage, and he could command respect from them by virtue of the fact that he was of the ascending generation and principal wife-giver to them. He in fact gave two daughters to one of these men. When he re-defined one of his classificatory daughters as sister, he advanced his position in two ways. First, he then became shoriwë to the man that was married to this sister (the man was already SiSo to Reromawë), compounding the cognatic tie (SiSo) that linked them with an important affinal tie (shoriwë). Second, he was able then to claim a daughter of this 'sister' as a wife for his own son (despite the fact that it was incestuous), creating additional stable ties between the two lineages on another generational level.

In another, similar, case, Reromawë re-defined a different classificatory daughter as 'sister,' making it possible for her son to marry his daughter. This was a strategic move, for the man involved was of the Hor lineage, a dominant political group in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. Thus, by manipulating the kinship system, Reromawë advanced his own position as village leader and managed to

[1] See Chapter V.

*621 622 613 602 subordinate his potential competitors by the way in which he disposed of the women and/or their children.

*621 613 602 562 582 • 583 There are a number of individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi who are not related agnatically to either the Sha or the Tom lineages. These individuals do not, however, constitute a political bloc; each is tied by marriage to the two lineages, and are therefore subordinate (by virtue of obligations to their wife-givers) to the members of that lineage. Most of these individuals are females, and do not represent a political factor in the affairs of the village. Some of them were abducted from Shamatari villages in the past, and a larger number of them were obtained in marriage alliances from other Shamatari recently. The six adult males of this non-agnatic group who might pose a threat to the stability of the village by making liaisons with married women are all married themselves. With the exception of two brothers, they are unrelated to each other. One of them is married to Reromawä's daughter, another is married to his son's daughter, and the two brothers (actual WiBrSo to Reromawä) are married, respectively, to Reromawä's classificatory son's daughter in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and will move there while he does his bride service, and a classificatory brother's daughter.[1] The remaining two men are in Faction B. One of these joined Reromawä's group before 1945 to get revenge against the

[1] This woman is one of the seven abducted by the Monou-tedi from the Patanowä-tedi and taken, in turn, by Reromawä's group from the Monou-tedi. Technically, then, Reromawä is her 'father' and the man to whom she was given is 'son-in-law' to Reromawä. See Chapter V.

*621 members of his own village, Hasaböwä-tedi, who killed his
613
602 father. Reromawä's group was then actively raiding Hasaböwä-
562 tedi. The man was given a wife in Reromawä's village, the
582 widow of a Tom man killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast.
• 583 The man's two daughters are married to Sha men.[1] The last man and his family joined Reromawä's group in 1965 to take refuge from his own villagers, the Mõmariböwei-tedi, some of whom wanted to take his wives away from him for being brutal. He had previously given a daughter to a Tom man and when he was forced to flee from his own village, took refuge with his son-in-law. Appendix A gives more details on each individual discussed above.

*628 Lower Bisaasi-tedi has political ties with a number
582 of villages. It has recently (since 1960) entered into al-
583 liance with two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mõmariböwei-tedi, and has managed to obtain a number of women from the latter village as wives for young bachelors
*628 in the group. The Mõmariböwei-tedi visit them frequently to
627 feast and trade, and the members of Lower Bisaasi-tedi
574 reciprocate the visits. The ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi
438 and the Mõmariböwei-tedi are nearly as strong as the ties
602 between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and any of its cognate villages to whose members the Lower Bisaasi-tedi are agnatically re-
*628 lated. Of the villages that are cognate to Lower Bisaasi-tedi,
602 Monou-tedi is perhaps the most dependable ally, because the

---

[1] Reromawä's actual son, and Reromawä's classificatory son in Upper Bisaasi-tedi.

aid of allies such as the two Bisaasi-tedi groups, the Monou-tedi probably could not survive as an independent village because of the size differential between themselves and their enemies. It is noteworthy, however, that the Monou-tedi are more independent than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, for they moved to a new site rather than recombine (permanently) with their agnates in Bisaasi-tedi. This avoidance pattern is not a probable alternative for the Lower Bisaasi-tedi because of their relative lack of potential to conduct effective warfare, even considering the fact that their allies would aid them. Lower Bisaasi-tedi would invite raiding by moving further away from Upper Bisaasi-tedi, as their erstwhile neighbors and allies, from whom they have managed to obtain so many women, would be more equal in strength and would demand more women from them. Or, other neighbors, such as the Widokaiya-tedi, would descend on them hoping to abduct women, of which the Lower Bisaasi-tedi have many. They have managed to obtain these women from a position of strength, but a large factor in their strength is the fact that they are still dependent on Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Without the latter, they would be in a serious military situation.

Summary

Village splitting develops out of feuding over women; the kinship lines along which villages split reflect the strength of the tie linking descent groups to each other by marriage or promises to exchange women, while at the same time illustrates the weakness of the agnatic bonds.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

COO time illustrates the weakness of the agnatic bonds.

*621 *623 613 722 SQ3 When villages split, large lineages are redistributed by local descent group affiliation among the several newly established villages. These new groups tend to be quite small, but never fall below a population size of about 40 people for reasons having to do with the successful conduct of raiding. These small villages tend to approximate a dual organisation of intermarrying local descent groups. Newly formed villages enter into military alliances with other villages and exchange women with them. Over time, such exchanges alter the homogeneity of the respective villages and promote the development of new lineage segments within each village. As the village grows in size and as new segments emerge over time, internal village stability reduces and the village then splits again. Village splitting is frequently delayed or inhibited by the existence of an active group of enemies, and even after such a split the newly-established villages may reunite when threat of raid is imminent. When military pressures decrease, the village again fragments into smaller groups. The minimum size of these groups is set by the number of adult men required to effectively conduct raiding. It appears that these small villages would fragment into even smaller groups if warfare were to cease.

722
*621
*628
121
361
602
*628
174
582
583

historical relationships between villages to properly interpret marriage ties between them. With regard to the last point, I found that numerous individuals in Bisaasi-tedi claimed to be from Patanowë-tedi; my initial conclusions concerning their marriage to individuals from Bisaasi-tedi was that the marriages were village-exogamic. I was obliged to reassess these marriages after I learned that the two villages were at one time one village, and most of the marriages between the two groups were contracted while the groups were living together. I therefore investigated in detail the historical relationships between all the villages in the Mavaca area, a portion of the results constituting the subject of this chapter.

174
128

128
361

I have summarized the village movements in Tables 5 and 6 and have indicated these movements graphically on Map C. The reader may, if he wishes, skip the details of the histories and turn at this point to the concluding remarks of this chapter. I can make the four points by using only Tables 5 and 6, in conjunction with Map C. However, I cannot illustrate Yanomamö political behavior without recourse to details of the village movements and the wars that caused them and, accordingly, I include the details of the histories in this chapter. The political relationships that presently obtain between the two Shamatari villages (Mishimishimaböwei-tedi and Bayaboböwei-tedi) and their allies, the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, can not be completely understood without knowing their respective histories in some detail. Most of the

128
361
174
*628
583

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

marriage alliances on which I have complete data have taken place between the Shamatari and the two villages of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi. Over 50% of recently contracted marriages[1] that represent breaches of the marriage rule preferences were the result of alliances between the villages whose histories are given here. It is, accordingly, important to understand the political and historical circumstances that led to these alliances.

A. The History of the Namowei-tedi Group

The Namowei-tedi lived in four different areas between ca. 1880 and 1943, splitting into two villages in 1943 shortly after they moved to their fifth location. I outline below the events that led to the abandoning of the first four areas and discuss in more detail the activities of the villages after they established their fifth location. I will treat the Pararitawë-tedi group similarly in Part B of this chapter.

Area 1: Konata-tedi (See Map C)

While living in this area the Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with several Shamatari villages, numbering them among their allies. The Shamatari as a distinct group were just coming into being between 1880 and 1900. Intermarriages between the Namowei-tedi and members of several Shamatari villages occurred and a number of individuals in the present villages of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi trace descent back to Shamatari ancestors.

[1] These data on marriages are taken from the villages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

descent back to Shamatari ancestors. Shihowë-tedi and its splinter village, Mokayëaba-tedi, were two Shamatari allies of the Namowei-tedi in this period of the latter's history.

The Namowei-tedi got into a war with a cluster of villages allied to Obotawë-tedi over a woman from the latter village. The woman joined the Namowei-tedi against the wishes of her own people. This led to a club fight between the two groups and, later, to a shooting war. Obotawë-tedi recruited aid from their allies, the Bokoiwë-Urihi-tedi, Boreta-tedi, and Aramata-tedi while the Namowei-tedi were supported by the two Shamatari villages mentioned above. A number of men from each of the two groups were killed in the raiding that developed and several Namowei-tedi women were abducted. Obotawë-tedi and their allies forced Namowei-tedi to abandon their garden and take refuge with the Wareta-tedi, a group that had just abandoned the area (ca. 1890-1900) occupied by the Namowei-tedi because of a war with the Boreta-tedi. As the Namowei-tedi had not had time to make a new garden when the raiding became intense enough to force them to move, they moved into the village of Wareta-tedi and lived off the produce of the latter's garden.

Area 2: Wareta-tedi

The residents of Wareta-tedi had their own war with Shihowë-tedi when they were joined by the Namowei-tedi, but were on friendly terms with Husirawë-urihi-tedi, a village to their north. The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë,

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Husirawë's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowë and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowë-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-kïkë--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakë), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hąhoyaoba-tëka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hąhoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasabëwë-tedi and Ashadowë-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

174 628 726 583 Several marriage alliances were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one of the Shamatari villages (Konishuma-tedi) when the war with Sibarariwë's group started, but these eventually broke down before any women were actually exchanged.

194 621 628 The second important event was the secession of a section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the development of hostilities between these cognate villages.

194 361 628 996 The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the initiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi sections (Patanowë-tedi) and villages to its north; this war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and has dictated the movements of the Patanowë-tedi from the time it began until now.

194 628 781 721 In order, the particulars of these three events are, briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a number of years after they moved to Patanowë-tëka. However, [195] several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria) about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called Ruwahiwë, Sibarariwë's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Namikinininiwë, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered Ruwahiwë with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

Shortly after Ruwahiwë was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded

[Namowei-tedi Group]

only in killing a man from Konabuwa-tedi. This man was living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service. The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Nekurama, and Hikarima) and the Patanowë-tedi (Iahinarima, Rubrobemi, Rokuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in Patanowë-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

(2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions, each making a new garden further up the Shaniahani-u River and abandoned Patanowë-tëka. The move was stimulated by the frequency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were always fighting with each other," said one of my informants, "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at Patanowë-tëka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller (Brararaböwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fearing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

[Namowei-tedi Group]

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tëka to Kreibŏwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Kashawë and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowë-tëka, and became known as the Patanowë-tedi.

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawë-tedi and Kashorawë-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawë, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowë-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowë-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawë-tedi visited Patanowë-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowë-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawë-tedi. Hasabŏwë-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowë-tedi and Yabitawë-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

[Namowei-tedi Group]

000 174 125 628 527 574 202 726 [621]

mouth of the Mavaca River. The Paruritawä-tedi had split from Sibarariwä's village about 1945, and had not been involved in the treacherous feast of 1950 in which the Kreibŏwei-tedi lost so many men. The Paruritawä-tedi were still on good terms with Sibarariwä's followers, and the members of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi persuaded them to invite Sibarariwä and his group to a feast. Using their agnatic ties and existing friendship, the Paruritawä-tedi succeeded in getting the followers of Sibarariwä to accept the invitation, but a malaria epidemic prevented all but a handful of people from actually attending the feast: five men and four women. With the assistance of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the Paruritawä-tedi killed three of the guests and seized all four of the women.

628 583

By participating in this treachery, the Paruritawä-tedi subordinated themselves to the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. At the present time the Paruritawä-tedi live in two villages, and are intimately involved in a bride-exchange network with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter two villages receiving more women (and men doing bride service) than they give. The Paruritawä-tedi have no other allies, as they are the front of the expansion into this region and the only villages to their east are allies of Sibarariwä. Despite the fact that they would like to make friendly contact with Sibarariwä's group again, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, as we shall see, prevent them from doing so by chicane and threat. Thus, Monou-tedi and the

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628 583 Bisaasi-tedi are the dominant partners in the bride-exchange network with their Shamatari allies, a dominance that is reflected in the disproportionate number of women they have managed to coerce out of their allies.

361 621 114 While I conducted my field work the Bisaasi-tedi lived in two villages on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. The group on the east bank was beginning to split by the time I left the field, and the split took place a few months later,[1] one of the factions moving to the north bank of the Orinoco River, but still within view of the other group.

B. The History of the Paruritawë-tedi

174 621 The Shamatari came into being as an identifiable group shortly before 1900. The Shamatari identity, as I have shown above (p. 28 ff.), is a function of the historical connections between the villages that split off from Shihowë-tedi's parental group, as well as geographical considerations.

My informants consistently spoke of two 'true' Shamatari men: Kayabawë (Shamatari) and Matakuwë. The villages of these two men have a common origin, but I was unable to get data on the nature of the events that led to the separation of these two groups. This event took place long before the life-span of my oldest informants, and none of them knew any details of the splitting. By 1875, however, there were two distinct Shamatari groups north of the Orinoco headwaters, one of which bore the name Shihowë-tedi. Kayabawë

195 101 36

[1] Personal communication, James P. Barker.

721 The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives
722 they claimed, was that the Patanowë-tedi had to move fre-
361 quently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the Patanowë-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both
*[528] groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the
[132] dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense.
[221] It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages
[241] that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural
726 practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events
602 discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consan-
*628 guineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

*628 The war between Monou-tedi and Patanowë-tedi
722

After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of
*[621] Patanowë in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a
[361] period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

728 In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two
624 factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi
*628 began visiting Patanowë-tedi, and one of them, Torokoiwë, was
[58] given two wives by the Patanowë-tedi. The rapprochement, how-
*[583] ever, was never effected and the political relationships between

000 the factions still remain on friendly terms.

*621 *628 598 726 105 Material presented in the discussion above--details of the movements of factions that are not relevant to the origin of the five villages considered here--also support the contention that villages split over internal feuds. That villages are structurally unstable is evidenced by the sheer number of village splits and the fact that the related factions enter into hostilities with each other after separating. Data I collected on village movements for other Yanomamö groups support the conclusions I reach here.

*621 *628 602 582 583 105 [613] One can see that the process of village splitting leads to the formation of independent villages that comprise closely-related kinsmen. Intuitively, one can also see that marriages "between" such villages, i.e., between spouses that each claim to be of different villages, do not necessarily represent political alliances between those villages, for in many cases the marriages were contracted between the local lineages involved before they separated. This is not to say that all the cases of this sort can be dismissed in this fashion. Some marriages between ambilateral cross-cousins are in fact properly interpreted as marriage alliances between villages, for occasionally related villages enter into alliances with each other. In these cases, the marriages between them come about for essentially the same reasons that the exogamic marriages between unrelated groups occur. In short, the existence of the marriage rule alone does not account for alliances between related groups that enter into politico-military pacts.

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1] Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 89 persons

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

114 121 602 -- Among the Yąnomamö consanguineal kinship does not have the quality attributed to kinship in general by Fortes, and we therefore cannot explain the stability that exists in terms of these alleged properties. The fact that affinal ties do promote a certain amount of stability between Yąnomamö descent groups supports Leach's arguments, and, for the reasons implied by Leach: Yąnomamö marriages occur within a political context that promotes military obligations and concomitants not predictable from first principles regarding the putative nature of kinship itself. Descent groups exchange women with an eye toward maximizing military advantage in a milieu of hostile political relationships. The stability brought about by such marriages is, therefore, largely a function of the politico-military ends served by marriage and is only tangentially, if at all, a result of kinship.

121 I would also like to discuss the nature of the relationship between corporation and descent from another point of view, for the nature of the estate of the Yąnomamö descent corporation gives a particular quality to the corporation. Most corporate lineal descent groups have as one of their major functions the control over and disposition of property. The property is usually real property. Pastoralists, of course, have as their estates, herds and use rights to forage areas. Some Northwest Coast and northern California tribes have corporate groups whose estates are acorn groves and portions of salmon streams.

In addition to real property, corporate groups

000 11. Didihoma. See #28, Manasinawë, below.

159 12. Dimörama. This girl was abducted from a distant Shamatari
921 village (Kohoroshi-tedi, probably in Brazil, on the Upper
923 Cauaburi River) by the Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mömariböwei-
583 tedi. Her husband--the man to whom she was given after
▶621 being abducted--shot her in the stomach with a barbed
578 arrow, wounding her gravely (see Shiborowë, below). The man was forced to flee from the village and take refuge in Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as other men in the village planned to use this incident as an excuse to take his wives from him. In late 1965 a party of men from Lower
159 Bisaasi-tedi, including Shiborowë, set off for Mömariböwei-
✱623 tedi to 'visit.' I accompanied them on their invitation.
123 They were going to Mömariböwei-tedi to take Dimörama away
721 from her protectors by force, if necessary, and asked me to come along knowing that I always travelled with a gun, presuming that my presence, with a gun, would aid in their objective. The girl was very nearly dead when we arrived (four months had passed since she was shot, and the wound was badly inflected). As the Bisaasi-tedi were one of the only allies of the Mömariböwei-tedi, they gave up the girl without much argument, since she would have
[999] died anyway. (The New Tribes Missionaries took the girl to the Territorial Capital by canoe for surgery in January 1966. She recovered from the wound and is presently living in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.)

159 21. Kakoma. This is one of the seven women abducted from the
●583 Patanowë-tedi in late 1964 by the Monom-tedi. She was
587 taken from her Monou-tedi husband by force by the Lower
✱628 Bisaasi-tedi and given to Kpobauwë, one of the village
721 bachelors.

000 23. Katabema. See Shiborowë, below.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers
[622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village,
[156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-3). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the
[582] villages to which Kąobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kąobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kąobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relation-
[622] ships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

• [583] He does not intend to stay in Kąobawä's group and has not made a garden. He
[591] feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an
[837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked
[593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother
[578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kąobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kąobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good
[522] side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yąnomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

11: Chagnon R-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

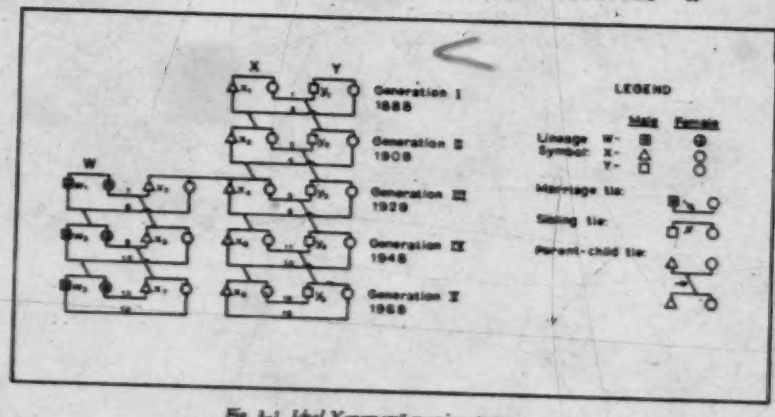


Fig. 3–1. Ideal Yanomamö marriage pattern.

Fig. 3–1 can be presumed to represent the organization of a particular village over five generations, starting in the year 1888. Let us assume that the village originated in that year when individuals x_1 (and his sister, not numbered) and y_1 (and his sister) broke away from a larger village and established their own garden at some new location. Thus, in the year 1888, the village was comprised of two groups of kinsmen, X and Y. These two kinship groups are called lineages, the distinctive features of which I will discuss later.

In generation I, x_1 married the sister of y_1 and, in exchange, gave his own sister to y_1 as wife. This marriage practice is called *brother-sister* exchange and characterizes Yanomamö marriage behavior. A man is under considerable obligation to reciprocate a woman to the kinship group from which he has taken one. In Fig. 3–1, x_1 married y_1's sister and reciprocated the exchange by giving his own sister to y_1. Because of this obligation of reciprocity, kinship groups become interdependent socially and form pairs of woman-exchanging kin groups. These paired kinship groups are discussed below in the context of village fissioning.

In generation II of Fig. 3–1, the village still contains only two groups of intermarrying kinsmen. These are the children of the individuals who founded the village. The reciprocal exchanges of women between the two groups of kinsmen (lineages X and Y) continue in the second generation, x_2 getting his wife from lineage Y and vice versa. Like their fathers, x_2 and y_2 exchanged sisters. It will be noted at this point that x_2 has married his mother's brother's daughter, who is simultaneously his father's sister's daughter.[1] This is a logical consequence of the fact that there are only *two* lineages in

[1] This is called bilateral cross-cousin marriage. See glossary for definitions. Hereafter the following abbreviations will be used, following Murdock, 1949: Mo—mother; Fa—father; Br—brother; Si—sister; So—son; and Da—daughter. Thus, "mother's brother's daughter" is simply MoBrDa.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

These figures represent a *sample* of marriages in the two villages. The sample consists of all married males who are thirty-five years old or younger. The sample was chosen in this fashion because the analysis of the marriage types depends on genealogical information covering several generations. By selecting only the younger men the analysis can be quite easily undertaken. In Patanowã-teri there were 38 men of this category, many of whom had multiple wives. A man with four wives, therefore, represents four marriages. In Lower Bisaasi-teri only 10 married men were below thirty-five years of age and accounted for the seventeen marriages. If all the men were included, the analysis would be inaccurate because I do not have adequately long genealogies for some of the oldest men. Up to 1940, the villages of Patanowã-teri and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not separate entities; they separated from each other at about that time. Patanowã-teri is a large and powerful village, containing 212 people. Lower Bisaasi-teri, with only 51 people, is militarily dependent on several of its allies.

Four types of marriages are shown in Table 3–2. The term prescriptive refers to the kinds of marriages described in Fig. 3–2. An incestuous marriage is defined as a man marrying a woman of his own patrilineage (or his mother or niece reckoned through his mother's side of the family). Marriages resulting from either alliance or abduction have been lumped into a single category because they represent the recruitment of spouses from outside the group. Finally, a few marriages are unexplainable in terms of Yąnomamõ kinship and marriage equations; these represent marriages between members of distinct lineages that have recently entered into exchanges with each other.

As can be seen from Table 3–2, there is a major difference between the two villages in the proportion of prescriptive marriages on the one hand and alliance marriages on the other. In short, the Patanowã-teri follow their marriage prescriptions far more rigorously than do the Lower Bisaasi-teri. This is so because Patanowã-teri, a much larger village, does not need to enter into marriage alliances with its neighbors; it is politically and militarily capable of an autonomous existence. Most of the alliance-abduction marriages in Patanowã-teri are, in fact, abductions; in Bisaasi-teri most of them are alliance marriages. Therefore, the relative frequency of alliance-type marriages is much lower for Patanowã-teri than for Lower Bisaasi-teri. This difference in marriage behavior stems from the relative abilities of the two groups to maintain military autonomy in a milieu of chronic warfare, a quality that is largely a function of the size of the group. The members of a militarily vulnerable village will breach the marriage prescriptions in order to establish political alliances with neighboring groups by ceding women to them.

TABLE 3–2
MARRIAGE TYPES IN PATANOWÃ-TERI AND LOWER BISAASI-TERI

	Patanowã-teri	Lower Bisaasi-teri
1. Prescriptive	37	7
2. Incestuous	4	1
3. Alliance and/or abduction	8	9
4. Unexplained	3	0
Totals:	52	17

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Kąobawä's group. All their other neighbors, allied to the victims of the treacherous feast, relentlessly raided them. They were, in short, extremely dependent on Kąobawä's group and the two other villages related to Kąobawä's group.

Kąobawä and his followers have astutely finessed this situation in two ways. First, they have managed to coerce the two Shamatari villages into ceding women without reciprocating an equal number of their own in return. The men who have obtained Shamatari wives have, as well, managed to cut short their period of bride service in the Shamatari village. Conversely, Shamatari men who have been promised women of Kąobawä's group are pressed into very lengthy bride service, sometimes up to three years. Secondly, Kąobawä's group has prevented the two Shamatari allies from re-establishing friendly contacts with the other Shamatari to their southeast by chicane, threat, and intimidation. One of the two Shamatari allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri, has attempted a rapprochement with the Shamatari enemies of Kąobawä's group. In 1965, several months after I had been living in Kąobawä's village, Kąobawä's group managed to stage another treacherous feast for the old enemies by taking advantage of the renewed ties between the Reyaboböwei-teri and the enemies. They learned that the Reyaboböwei-teri planned to invite one of the villages to a feast, so they, along with the Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Mõmariböwei-teri, went to the feast in order to ambush the guests. The Reyaboböwei-teri, however, were reluctant to go through with the plan and warned the visitors about it. The visitors were en route to the village when word of the treachery reached them. This had the effect of creating even more difficulties for the Reyaboböwei-teri, for it is highly unlikely that they will succeed in gaining the confidence of their neighbors to the southeast. Nevertheless, some visiting between the groups still continues.[17]

The historical relationships between the villages helps account for the reasons behind contemporary alliance patterns. The discrepancy between marriage rules and actual marriage practice in Lower Bisaasi-teri is a result of the political advantages that group enjoys over one of its allies. It has used this advantage to gain a favorable imbalanced marriage exchange pattern, but one that is only temporary. The Shamatari are also shrewd in their alliance practices, and have succeeded in neutralizing their disadvantages by capitalizing on schisms between Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. This has been done largely by confining their marriage exchanges to important men in the dominant lineages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri. One of the Shamatari villages, Mõmaribowei-teri, has restricted its exchanges to Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri, while completely ignoring Upper Bisaasi-teri. The other Shamatari village has given its women only to Upper Bisaasi-teri. This has resulted in the weakening of ties between the three villages of Upper Bisaasi-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Monou-teri, whose members are

[17] I plan to use these visiting ties to establish contact with the Shamatari villages in that area, none of which have had contact with outsiders. These uncontacted Shamatari, however, know who I am because I attempted to reach them in 1965. They subsequently sent a message out urging me to visit them, angry because my guides forced me to turn back on my first attempt. In 1966 they even sent an old man to Kąobawä's village by way of Reyaboböwei-teri with an invitation for me to visit them. I had already left Venezuela by that time. Most of the men in the two contacted Shamatari villages tried to prevent me from going by telling horrible tales of the treachery that awaited my visit, describing how the Shamatari will kill me. The truth of the matter is that they know that I will bring the uncontacted Shamatari machetes and axes that might otherwise be given to them. The kindness of one of the uncontacted villages has a brother in Mõmariböwei-teri. He privately conceded that no harm would befall me and offered to take me to visit in 1967. He was, unfortunately, bitten by a snake just before I arrived in March of 1967, and my plans were deferred until 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members.[19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yąnomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks not normally required by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18]Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yąnomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villagers enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19]Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kaobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yanomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kaobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kaobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kaobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kaobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kaobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Sharuaiwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kaobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Sharuaiwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Sharuaiwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kaobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

/117 cont./

628 tendency toward the independence of the next smaller parts acting on this plane and forming it -- namely, the villages.

These hostile relationships between the villages are external evidence of a centrifugal force in Waika culture seeking detach-
628 ment. The opposite tendency, the centripetal force toward bind-
574 ing the villages together, finds its expression in active intercourse
438 for trading and visiting. These trips, which are performed with such zeal that practically every second day there is some associa-tion with another village, from or to it, can be divided into sev-
438 eral groups, according to their purpose. First, trips purely for trade take place: each village prefers to produce or procure a certain article of the material culture so that it practically has a monopoly on it. One village supplies especially fine tobacco, another is favorably located in a place where much arrow-cane grows, a third produces pots because good clay is present in the vicinity, another is the supplier of hunting dogs for the neighbor-hood, and the village closest to us naturally barters primarily with European ironware. This formation of centers for specific goods naturally favored the development of commercial traffic; the trading itself is carried out over very long periods and thus resembles a gift-exchange behind which there is a certain amount
437 of compulsion. When one knows that the partner has more objects of a kind than he justifiably needs for himself, it is requested very urgently, and the one so entreated may not refuse, if he does not want to risk enmity and war -- he can, of course, get his revenge
[182] in his own way the next time. This system successfully prevents
556 any accumulation of capital; no Waika possesses noticeably more
565 than his neighbor; there are no social distinctions; and consequently no vertical classes.

628 Besides trade, the transmission of news, which proceeds in the
574 form of a /118/ ceremonial conversational-singing and not in
[203] simple dialogue, is also one purpose of such trips, as are wife-
[533] seeking and courting in other villages. As a rule all these trips
[584] are made by a group of men or young people who are guests for one or at most two nights in the strange village and then, after the trading has been done, oddly enough not until the last minute

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[486] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[456] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[439] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
● [584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons
[764] are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

The first menstrual period

/215 cont./

584 881 indicates that a man may have sexual relations with the wife who was promised to him when she was still a child. Sometimes a girl will refuse to marry the man to whom she was promised as a wife, but she is afraid to conceal her first menstrual periods for mythological reasons.

881 773 In their oral literature the Sanemá tell of a very sad case which occurred in remote times because a girl concealed her first menstruation. Oineitĩb, a scrawny dwarf, found out about what had happened and caused heavy rains to fall for a period which demolished the rancheria where the girl lived. All the men died. The young girl went away to live with the neighboring group, where she was greeted with unequivocal signs of friendliness. On the very day of her arrival a man went to the river to fish, when suddenly he saw floating on the water the dead bodies of the people of the rancheria recently destroyed by the heavy rain. He immediately realized what had happened. He returned to the rancheria and killed the girl. The dwarf ate the girl and all the people who lived in the rancheria destroyed by the rain. This happens very rarely, however, which is why the dwarf is so thin.

881 [302] [262] We do not know the content of the puberty rites, but it seems that the hair is cut in the case of both sexes, and, for the boys as well as for the girls, food is limited to cassava and water, and that in small amounts. They do not eat meat. An informant 343 from the Erebato spoke to us of a special hut where the women 841 881 remain for the duration of their menstrual period. If we understood him correctly, this hut is round and dome-shaped and made of palm leaves stuck into the ground. Inside the hut there is a circle made of little sticks placed side by side, within which there are two sticks stuck into the ground one meter apart. Between these sticks is fixed a bejuco. /216/ The woman, who must not lie down during menstruation, sits down and the bejuco serves as a back support. We did not see any house of this type.

584 The arrangements for a marriage are initiated with a private discussion between the two young lovers. The boy indicates to his fiancée that he wishes to take her as his wife and says to her:

/216 cont./

• 584 "péwa písaye!" = I love you! If the girl agrees, she answers with the statement most feared and at the same time most desired by Sanemá suitors: "ipahíwana'a wahíbalone!" = speak to my father!

The anxiety which the young lovers feel as a result of this custom, which prescribes that, before marrying, they must speak to the future father-in-law, is surprising. We observed it in a palpable way in one of our informants. Sometimes it is necessary to wait until the girl takes the initiative and shows signs of love. In this case it is she who brings the matter up directly with her father. But the prevalent custom seems to be that it is the boy who must go to the house of his future father-in-law, who, forewarned, waits for him toward the end of the day. The future son-in-law comes without delay, but without showing any signs of haste or nervousness in order not to attract the attention of the people. He sits down in front of his fiancee's father, his gaze lost in the distance, and says in a very low voice: "authíwana tahhíp kobítob' íble" = I need, I want your daughter. Everyone in the rancheria knows that a man will soon arrive to marry one of their prettiest girls, and all desire to know this man. Should the young man have been able to enter the rancheria incognito, all are aware of his arrival now, for the father-in-law gives a shout of surprise and repeats in a loud voice the boy's statement. The youth remains impassive, without moving, while all the people congregate to look at him, asking: what did you say? what did you say? All remain expectant to hear what the father-in-law may say. But the father-in-law is in no hurry. He says that he would lack three good conucos, that the girl requested has a younger sister who also wants to get married ... etc. All his suggestions are equivalent to actual conditions, which the young man considers carefully, but when the father-in-law finally says, "wahípa kukéne" = take the woman, the young man runs off to the forest, now well informed about what he must do.

[593] [604] Should the girl not have a father, she would be represented by her elder brother or by her uncle.

/216 cont./

584 There are cases in which a brother or a friend of the suitor wishes to serve as intermediary and offers to speak to the father-in-law. The gesture is very well received and highly appreciated.

585 583 During the first two or three days the young husband remains in the forest /217/ hunting; the woman hangs her hammock near that of her husband in the house of the family of orientation, [476] that is, where she has always lived. This time having elapsed, the man tries to bring together some twenty friends to help him clear the land for the three conucos requested by his father-in-law. Usually he has no difficulty in finding this help. The father of the boy and his brothers do their best to feed the workers well, and, when the work is done, the young husband offers them as presents arrows, bows, etc. which they refuse to accept. Later, the man begins to clear some conucos for his own family.

584 627 Our informant from the upper Caura insisted that, once consent has been obtained, delivery is definite and the girl cannot then accept any other young man. In order to give us an example, he told us what had happened to a man of his group.

A girl had accepted him as a husband, but, because of unforeseen circumstances, he had not had time to talk to the father-in-law. Then the girl surrendered to another young man and married him. The father-in-law knew nothing about the first offer. One day the people of the pueblo found the young couple in their hammock pierced by two arrows poisoned with curare. The murderer informed the father-in-law and the inhabitants of the rancheria of the motive which had caused him to perpetrate the crime. Neither the father-in-law nor the people intervened in the matter, for, according to them, the young lover was right in punishing the two who had deceived him in this way.

584 595 881 Sometimes parents marry off their children before they reach maturity. Some men also take a second wife when she is still underage, but they respect them and have no sexual contact with them until after the first menstrual periods have passed.

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his-wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

836 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their hus-
937 bands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passional
586 motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry
587 is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of
607 the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under
[836] his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has
587 always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children
593 find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have al-
[601] ways called "father" and he has called them "children." In
[184] this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

/218 cont./

595 We have mentioned that an adult may marry a very young girl, but must not have sexual relations with her until after the first menstrual periods. We do not base our observation on the practice of polygyny among the Sanemá in isolated cases, but rather on the fact that several men have several adult wives at the [554] same time. It does not seem that polygyny is an exclusive privilege of status or rank, but rather is an accepted thing, since [584] all adults may marry two or more women. Since there seems to be some scarcity of marriageable girls, the custom of binding oneself to a little girl can be looked upon as a form of foresightedness [587] by the man, with a view to the future. Many polygynous marriages, however, probably stem from the custom of the levirate.

587 There are widows who marry very shortly after the death
765 of their husbands; others, however, wait for many months. They live in the house of their brother-in-law or in that of their parents, and it seems that the future husband does not demand that they cease mourning since the person mourned and for whom they weep was not only their husband but also the brother of the new suitor.

If the brother (who is very often the youngest) does not want to or cannot /219/ marry all the widows of his deceased brother, he allows them to live with another man. These marriages take place only after some time, during which the brother of the deceased and the women live apart from the society in a sort of isolation.

587 There are no differential rules for secondary marriages, but the father of sisters has the right to prevent both of them from marrying the same man, particularly if the man, owing to his poor preparation or deficiency, cannot give assurance of the economic help which he expects from him. This explains why only older men with greater experience in life are able to marry several women with ease.

595 The wives of one man may live under the same roof or in several houses, and, in spite of there being no fixed rotation, the husband must devote the same amount of time, more or less, to each of his homes.

/439/

582 [163] Girls are usually around 14 or 15 years of age when they have their first child. The husband is perhaps between 16 and 18 years of age, if this is his first marriage.

The adult men frequently take as new wives girls who have just reached puberty.

A boy 15 years old is commonly not considered capable of taking a wife, especially if he has not yet sown his first conuco /a clearing for cultivation/ in order to be able to feed his wife. But even if the planting had been prepared, it is often the case that he has to wait while the older men pick over the girls whom he might have wished to marry.

584 582 Nevertheless, in marriages prearranged with the consent of all before the husband and the wife are of age, it is very probable that the age of both would be almost the same. As a result a boy might marry at an age younger than usual.

162 163 Here are some examples of the number of living children per wife among Guaika families. The parentheses indicate the probability that no more children will be born. (Not all of the fathers of the families enumerated are still alive.)

Living children of families of a single wife:

(6) (5) (4) (4) (4) (3) (3) 5 4 4 2 2 2 1 0 0 0 0 0

Living children of polygamous families and families in which a second wife has been taken after the death of the first:

	First Wife	Other Wives
Family "A"	(12)	1
Family "B"	6	2 -- 1 -- 1
Family "C"	(4)	2
Family "D"	(3)	4
Family "E"	2	0

/440/

Communications

202 195 Messages are memorized and carried by a messenger.

All official messages are communicated to the messenger and transmitted by him in a crooned form to the addressee. The addressee of the message repeats the words which are communicated to him or responds by answering them.

/440 cont./

202 484 Generally the messengers travel only during the day and communicate the message at night, after having rested from the trip. Nevertheless, in times of war, messengers may travel during the night, and urgent messages are communicated immediately upon the arrival of the messenger, be it day or night. [416] A messenger who travels at night carries with him two or three pieces of firewood tied together in torch fashion.

195 Official dealings are frequently carried out in the same form of crooning. A man might in this way request official authorization [584] to take a certain girl as his wife. These dealings are generally carried on at night.

437 Nevertheless, business dealings are generally carried out during the day, so that both participants in the negotiation may have ample opportunity to see and examine what they are getting.

142 Human Biology

The hair of the Guaika /Waica/ is lighter than that of the other Indians and of most of the Creoles who live in the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

The hair of the majority of the individuals is fine, but some of them have quite stiff hair. The color of the hair is black or chestnut, and a few have hair with a slightly reddish tone. Some of the children have hair that is very light in color, which seems to become darker as they grow. Few of the older persons have gray hair.

The majority of men either have a very thin beard or none at all. The arms, legs, and chest are generally free of hair.

/441/ The eyes of the majority of them are brown, and some of them have black eyes. Some of the children have blue eyes. A few individuals have the inner corner of the eye rounded in a way somewhat similar to that of certain Oriental peoples.

Their noses are short and wide.

The Guaika are well fed, but in general do not show any excess muscle or fat. The Guaika to the south of the Orinoco tend to be fatter and plumper, it would seem, than those of El Platanal or those who live to the north of this locality.

/472 cont./

574 A visitor who comes to a settlement where only one family is friendly with him can expect a very different reception. He can certainly expect the welcome of his friends. /473/ but the rest of the settlement, rather than applauding him, will shout at him: "Enemy group attacking! Enemy group attacking!" And at the same time they will point at him with their bows and arrows and also point all around as if they were going to fight an attacking enemy group. Quite a chilly reception, to say the least!

865 When two lads become angry with each other and fight, each one must be prepared to receive a blow equal to the one which he has given. If one hits the other on the chest with the fist it is expected that the former will present his chest to the latter to receive a like blow, and so forth. The scuffle continues until one of the two considers that he has received enough and refuses to return the blow which he has just received, or until one of the two combatants really gets angry and loses his temper. Then, in general, the others intervene. Frequently, when two boys are fighting, they are encouraged to keep hitting each other until both come to wish that they had never started the fight. The boys quickly learn to be careful not to start a scuffle.

If someone maltreats a lad smaller than he, he can be sure that he will be paid back for it by one of the relatives of the little one or by some spectator.

Marriage and War

• 584 A matrimonial union can be arranged considerably in advance with the consent of all who are interested. A girl nine years old may already be engaged to some boy.

But more frequently the girl reaches puberty without any arrangement having been made for her future marriage. Then the suitors not only have to solicit the favor of the girl, but also that of the whole settlement where she lives. Frequently it respects the selection made by the girl and rejects the suitors whom she does not want, but the settlement might give her in marriage against her wishes.

/153 cont./

628 In January of 1952, while many of those from the aldea of
●584 Yoeitjeti were visiting in Majecototjeti, a group of men from
/154/ Shibaatía-tjeti came and inquired about "Macluma," about giving her in matrimony to a man from Shibaatía-tjeti, who was already married to her older sister. "Macluma" had just passed puberty, and "Yajicocoue," the husband of the other older sister of "Macluma," also wanted her. The grandmother of "Macluma" persuaded her not to go off with the man from Shibaatía-tjeti unless she never wanted to see her again.

That night the Shibaatía-tjeti suitor asked for Macluma in "singing" fashion, while talking with "Shinaocaoue," the chief /capitán/ of Majecototjeti. The chief called him "old man." He told the chief that if he obtained her, he would be good to her, he would not put fire on her or beat her. I am not sure what conclusion they reached, although I suspect that the chief refused to give her to him.

628 On the following afternoon the men of Shibaatía-tjeti
583 caught "Macluma" outside of the aldea and tried to take her off
584 by force, in what the Yonomama /Yanoama/ call a "shaimau." The Majecototjeti women came to rescue her, and a group got into a fight and into a "rope fight" /lucha de cuerda/ over "Macluma." This lasted for several hours. The men of Yoeitjeti and I myself stood to one side and watched, but did not take part. Finally, the women managed to carry "Macluma" back to her house, and things quieted down.

The men of Shibaatía-tjeti said that they would come back for "Macluma." The men of Majecototjeti said, "If you do, we will shoot you."

After that, when the Shibaatía-tjeti visited them, at most there were groups of two or three.

721 In October of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came one evening
[411] at nightfall and shot a poisoned arrow at a boy, "Bosalima," who was standing at the entrance to the aldea. The wound was not very deep, but was several inches long.

which is tied a bundle of feathers.[1]

Besides shamans, of which there are several in every village, there are influential 'big men.' The number of big men in a village depends, on the one hand, on the size of the village and the number of local patrilineages comprising it, and, on the other, on the number of men who are personally qualified to lead. The qualities that determine leadership are personal courage, fierceness, the ability to be outraged by even the slightest insult, marksmanship, diplomacy in trading with representatives from other villages, the ability to arrange marriages for male supporters with females from other villages, cunning and intelligence in dealings with allies, the ability to attract young men to live permanently in the village by promising them wives, and the defense of group members who get into difficulties with other village members.

Individuals who possess all these attributes are considered leaders only if they have a large natural following, i.e., brothers and sons living with them in their village. Otherwise, such men have only just a little more

---

[1] To give a more comparative statement on the poverty of Yanomamö culture, they possess only 11 traits of the 354 listed in the 4th edition of Carneiro and Tobias' "Trait List to be Used for the Study of Cultural Evolution by Means of Scale Analysis," (1963, mimeograph). By contrast, the Siriono have 8, the Andamanese 10, the Jivaro 22, the Nuer 28, the Sioux 39, the Iroquois 64, the Bemba 100 and the Tahitians 140. (Carneiro and Tobias, 1963:201.) In the classification developed by E. R. Service (1962), the Yanomamö are "tribal."

835 terms for a number of men that were, genealogically, her distant agnates. She explained the usage by the fact that she had incestuous relationships with several of them when she was a young woman. Kąobawë told me that he had incestuous relationships with Hayamamasimi, his FaBrDa, but did not want the others in the village to know about it. In another case, a man married three girls who were his FaBrDcDcDa, i.e., his 'granddaughters.' The Yąnomamö explanation of this case illustrates the relationship of the woman shortage to warfare
*628 and alliance. The people in question all live in Patanowë-
*628 tedi, a village that has numerous enemies, only one ally,
162 and a serious woman shortage. The parents of the girls in
562 question did not want them to marry into the village of the
*628 allies, as they had given a number of women to the allies
584 already. The man, Ishiweiwë, had no spouse and could not
582 get one from the allies. So, the parents of the girls stopped
601 calling Ishiweiwë by the appropriate consanguineal terms and
835 began calling him by affinal terms suited to the marriage of
183 the three girls to him. The girls, in turn, stopped calling him grandfather. Ishiweiwë married just one of the girls at first; after she died, he married the other two, as he already called them 'wife' by virtue of the fact that he had married their sister. The initial marriage was the major hurdle. After he married the first girl and the kinship terms were

---

835 the mother-in-law category are not avoided, nor are FaSi or MoBrWi. The implications of this last fact for Romans and Schneider's work are obvious.

10:Chagnon B-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, Kpobawë was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, Krëmai, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The Yanomamë rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the Yanomamë avoid incestuous affairs, according to Kpobawë, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihana) after having committed incest. Kpobawë himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yawerenou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

613 associated with control over real property in most tribal
421 societies. Among the Yanomamö the corporate estate consists
[562] of rights in disposing of females; property does not play any role in the functioning of the descent group.

613 The relationship between males in regulating the
602 disposition of the descent group's women is ambiguous, for
562 584 their rights in particular women vary, largely with genealogical distance and the size of the descent group in question. And, rights in women are intangible. Thus, local descent groups[1] among the Yanomamö, despite the fact that they are corporate, are not cohesive, solidary units because of the ambiguous way male members are related to each other.

613 Patrilineal descent is virtually non-functional out-
621 side the local descent group. There are no corporate descent
[614] [616] groups other than those that exist at the village level, i.e., the Yanomamö do not have clans or moieties. Hence, agnates not only enter into competition with each other because of the nature of their rights in the women of their group, there are no other institutions based on agnatic descent that promote amity and solidarity among them.

---

[1] "The core of such a group is composed of the adult males of a kin group all resident in one place . . . the corporate group of persons who have the most decisive say in bringing about an arranged marriage is always a group of coresident males representing, as a rule, three genealogical generations, namely: the old men or grandfathers, the normal adults or fathers, and the young adults or sons." E. R. Leach, 1963:56. Among the Yanomamö, the generation of grand-
[603] fathers is only rarely represented in the local descent group.

613 162 In addition to genealogical distance and size of descent groups, demographic factors promote ambiguity in the relationships between males within a local descent group. For reasons of differential fertility, infanticide, warfare mortality, or chance, some local descent groups are larger than others (contain more males) and are, therefore, more powerful. Others may be relatively large, but contain more females than males. Still others may be very small and contain either all males or all females. Since Yąnomamö kinship terminology is classificatory (Iroquois), all agnatically related males of the same generation call each other 'brother'; parallel cousins, no matter how remote genealogically, are not terminologically distinguished from brothers. Despite the terminological usage, relationships between such agnates varies considerably.

613 602 *621 • 584 582 Problems of agnatic priority in the disposition of females arise, for example, when a man with no actual brothers gives his daughters away in marriage. If he has sons, the sons would prefer that the girls be given to members of other local descent groups who are most likely able to reciprocate with women. As the father has no actual brothers, his more distant agnates put pressure on him to give the girls to a descent group to which they themselves are linked by marriage ties, for they stand to benefit by future reciprocities. Situations such as this arise when a single man finds himself in the same village with a group of agnates that are distantly related to him, but who themselves constitute an important political bloc within the village. Although the agnates are

613 his brothers, terminologically, they have more in common with
602 each other than they do with him. As he depends on them for
621 support within the village, he is under obligation to them
584 and can not take their suggestions lightly.[1]
582

621 Again, if there are two politically important descent
613 groups of the same lineage within a large village, and if
602 there are, in addition, a number of agnatically related
562 females not belonging unambiguously to either one, problems
584 arise over the disposition of the women; there will be
736 rivalry between the two descent groups concerning the marriages (or remarriages) of these women. Situations like these arise when the father and brothers of the women are killed in raids or die of other causes, or when the woman's first husband dies after her (deceased) agnates arranged her marriage. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, split into two villages, each led by members of the same lineage. They had been victimized by a Shamatari group which killed a large number of men during a treacherous feast. There were a number of women, consequently, who were ambiguously related to the surviving males of the Upper and Lower halves of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the descent groups in what is now Lower Bisaasi-tedi managed to gain the upper hand in the

---

[583] [1]There seems to be a marked tendency for the daughters of such men to be given to men in other villages when alliances are made. I am unable to say, on the basis of my present data, whether such alliances are forced on these men by their agnates, or whether these men in fact prefer to dispose of their daughters in this way. This practice tends to keep such men more isolated from their agnates and prevents them from establishing strong affinal ties within the village.

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

---

[1] See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[2] By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

the Namowei-tedi and the Boreta-tedi (Chapter V) developed out of a case such as this.

When women are given to men in allied villages, the local descent group of the girl (her father and adult brothers and, to a lesser extent, the girl's more distant agnates) decides which patrilineage of the foreign village should have her. Smaller villages are more prone to enter into alliances based on marriage exchanges than are larger villages, since smaller villages require allies to a greater extent than larger ones.[1] Local descent groups in small villages are more cohesive than descent groups in larger villages because they usually comprise a man and his adult sons; if there are distantly related agnates in small villages, these are incorporated into the local descent group. In small villages, therefore, local descent groups are more corporate because all the adult agnates of the girl have a say in her marriage. Ideally, they give the girl to a member of the politically strongest descent group of the allied village, for this group is the one from which aid will come or, conversely, the one most likely to make the decision to initiate hostilities against the smaller village.

The longer an alliance endures, the more likely it is that the exchange of women balances. The two largest

---

[1] Larger Yanomamö villages can make visiting alliances with other groups that do not lead to marriage exchanges, as it is relatively unimportant to them to stabilize such alliances by ceding women to militarily inferior groups.

bride's village is stronger, the girl's parents may be able to press the groom into a prolonged bride service--five or six years. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, are politically stronger than the Reyabobowei-tedi, one of their Shamatari allies. They have obtained a number of women from this group, and the men involved all returned with their brides after brief periods of bride service. So far, not a single Bisaasi-tedi woman has gone to live in Reyabobowei-tedi, although one girl is married to a man from that village. The man has already spent several years in Bisaasi-tedi, and will probably spend at least as many more before being permitted to return home with his Bisaasi-tedi wife. The military and political superiority of the Bisaasi-tedi is so conspicuous in this alliance that one Bisaasi-tedi man literally dragged a woman, previously promised to him, out of the Reyabobowei-tedi village, against the wishes of both the woman and the woman's agnates. He was not prevented from doing this because the Reyabobowei-tedi need the political and military support of the Bisaasi-tedi and could not afford to react violently to the affront. Had the two villages been politically equal, the incident would have resulted in a war.

[721]

Women involved in exchanges between villages have no say whatsoever in their fate. Most of them abhor the possibility of moving to a strange village, largely because they fear that they will be mistreated by their husbands. Should a girl refuse to abide by the decision of her agnates, she has no alternative but to flee the village. Koima, a girl of

*623 613 591 583 606 Koima, a girl of some 15 years, was promised to Rerebawë, a young man from Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawë had already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom he had two children. Rerebawë wished to return to his own village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawë began making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effectively, and Rerebawë was growing impatient. His parents-in-law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter, provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however, refused to go to Rerebawë, suspecting that he would not keep his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead, Bikotawë, her classificatory FaSiSo. She began an affair with Bikotawë, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated Rerebawë, who challenged Bikotawë to a club fight. Bikotawë belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi and was agnatically related to the members of the headman's descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment was on Bikotawë's side, but the girl belonged to a descent group over whose affairs Bikotawë's supporters had no claims. Rerebawë's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was promised to him by her agnates: Bikotawë was, in effect, having an

* 587 583 591 578 585 613 *614 627 (626)

affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawë's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawë threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Momou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawë shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawë, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bëkotawë, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawë discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawë, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Ururicaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

628 581 609 Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their ability to promote solidarity between the allies to the obligations, duties and trading relationships that marriages impose on brothers-in-law.

609 602 621 591 Within villages, brothers-in-law have similar obligations to each other. The strength of the co-residential shoriwĕ ties, however, is influenced by other factors besides promises to exchange goods, women, and services. First, co-residence itself promotes a certain amount of amity between all classes of kin. Second, co-residential shoriwĕ are usually cognatically related because their respective agnatic groups have exchanged women in ascending generations, i.e., many of them are related to each other as MoBrSo or FaSiSo. So, in addition to mere promises to give women to each other, co-residential shoriwĕ ties are strengthened by ties of cognatic kinship and co-residence.

609 602 621 613 582 584 The strength of the ties between co-residential shoriwĕ is best illustrated by contrasting it to the weakness of the agnatic tie between two local descent groups of the same lineage. In anticipation of the discussion of agnatic relationship, I will point out here that the political interests of local descent groups focus on acquisition of women from other descent groups within the village. When a village has two or more agnatically related descent groups, the men in these respective groups are de facto rivals for the women in the village. Simultaneously, these distantly related agnates are frequently competitors in the disposition of some female agnates who do not belong unambiguously to one or the other local descent groups.

121 he acknowledged that the corporation did in fact function in the context of property control as well, suggesting once again that the nature of the estate (land) accounts for the quality of the corporation: that is, that the functions of the corporation are seen to lie largely in the regulation of real estate.

Leach (1963)[1] drew attention to the analytical significance of the local descent group in terms of its function in arranging marriages. He argued that the social groups that arrange marriages in tribal societies are essentially the same in all such societies: they comprise local males of three generations who live together. Membership in these social groups necessarily depends on residence. Yanomamö descent 121 groups are of this type: to participate in the disposition 613 of local females, one must be related to the patrilineally, 608 [611] as well as live in the same village with them. Both the im- [624] portance of the marriage arranging functions of the Yanomamö [584] descent group and the lack of other corporate functions seems to account for the fact that affinal ties promote inter-group solidarity in a way that consanguineal ties can not.

121 On the basis of these findings, Leach's approach to the analysis of social organization would seem to hold more promise in the analysis of marriage alliance systems. To the extent that cultural variables such as warfare and the nature of marriage ties demonstrably affect the outcome of

[1] The article to which I refer, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," was originally published in 1951.

father. He can rejoin them later and again become an active member, but while he lives in a different village he does not participate in the political affairs of that group. Third, the group is *separate* with respect to the functions of arranging the marriages of the female members. This is the most important single feature of the local descent group: its *function*. The first two characteristics of the group dealt only with the manner in which members can be recruited to the group (birth in the group and coresidence of such kinsmen). In anthropological usage, a corporation is a group of people who share some *estate* and have *rights* and *obligations* with respect to each other and to the estate. There are definite rules for recruiting new members into the corporation. Most studies of primitive corporations have dealt with those societies in which *land* is the estate of the corporation. (See, for example, Fried 1957.) Among the Yąnomamö, land has nothing to do with the functions of the corporate group. Women and rights to dispose of women in marriage constitute the estate of the Yąnomamö corporate groups. Leach is the first anthropologist to draw attention to the analytical importance of this kind of corporation (1961, Chapter 5), although Radcliffe-Brown (1953), in one of the first theoretical discussions of primitive corporations, emphasized the importance of rights over *persons* in some kinds of corporations.

Marriages are arranged by the male members of the local descent group. It cannot be supposed, for example, that the marriage rules automatically dictate the manner in which a woman is disposed in marriage; there are always some negotiations brought about by the situation. For example, a small village may require alliances with larger villages for purposes of defense, and the men of the small village may promise to give daughters to men in the larger village; or there may be a number of men within the village that stand in wife-receiving relationship to the girl, and a decision must be made regarding her ultimate disposition. In some cases a woman's daughters are promised to young men even before they are born. Generally, the girls are near puberty age by the time they are definitely given to a specific male, and they begin cohabiting with the man shortly after the puberty ceremony is over. In some situations a woman must be reassigned to an appropriate mate because her first husband died or abandoned her; or she might run away from a cruel husband and seek refuge among her brothers, bringing about a situation in which they must decide what to do with her.

Women abhor the possibility of being given to men in distant villages, since their fate is much less certain. Men in general are cruel to their wives, and the women rely on the protection of their brothers. A woman who is given to a man in a distant village, therefore, will generally have no brothers to protect her.

A man has considerably more say about the disposition of his daughters when he is young and has immature sons. As the sons grow older, they can overrule the father and insist that the girl be given to a man from some lineage that is likely to reciprocate with a sister. Ideally, women like to be given to men within their natal village. In this fashion the women can remain close to their own kinsmen and rely on the support of their brothers should the husband be particularly cruel. The best arrangement for everyone concerned is for the girl to be given to a man to whom she is related as FaSiDa or MoBrDa in the biological sense. Marriages of this kind exempt the husband from the onerous duty of stringently avoiding his parents-in-law, whereas they at the same time bind the wife-giving and wife-receiving groups more closely together in the system of reciprocities. As Kąobawä stated it, "It is good for groups to exchange women back and

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members.[19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yąnomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18]Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yąnomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of those men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19]Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

/65 cont./
524 child" or "married couple." In the latter game sexual activity
524 is already often involved. As long as the children have not yet
864 reached puberty, the adults laugh about it. It is only the mothers of girls who are a little annoyed when they hear about it. They do not regard it as tragic, however, since they themselves were reprimanded about it by their mothers when they were little girls.

/66/
582 g) Marriage

At the age of 7-8 a girl as a rule has already been given in
585 marriage. The husband is usually 8-10 years older. They do not as yet lead a regular married life, however. During the day the little girl plays with other children, and only at night does she sleep
[833] in her hammock beside her husband. Sexual intercourse, however,
[593] is strictly forbidden until after the second menstruation. She also fetches firewood and water and receives prepared food for herself
[484] and her husband from her family. When the tribe is on the march, she carries the hammock of her spouse and the few household articles. Economic reasons are connected with this marriage in childhood, for the young husband must hunt for his little wife and
606 her parents. Especially noteworthy is the reserve toward in-laws which operate in such a way that son-in-law and mother-in-law never
582 speak to each other and may not visit each other. Since the fear of incest is very great in both tribes, a marriage, which is always agreed upon by the parents, may be entered into only by partners who are not related by kinship. For this reason young wives are preferably obtained from a friendly tribe; in this case, however, the young man must live there until his wife has put her second
583 menstruation behind her. Occasionally young girls and women are abducted from hostile tribes. They are first held as captives and prostitutes for some time, however, before a man may finally marry them. I met such a little female captive among the Surára. She came from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí and was approximately 15 or 16 years old.

/69 cont./

727 are lodged in every village. They are regarded as common prop-
83 erty. Unfortunately, one also sees children used for similar pur-
171 poses. This clearly shows the dualism in the etiquette of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to members of their own tribe. This attitude, which is common to all primitive peoples, cannot, for this reason, alter our judgment concerning the morality of the Karaja in general" (332).

332. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 28.

844 k) Death and burial customs
884
585 As the previous comments have shown, there are neither
764 birth nor marriage ceremonies among the Surára and Pakidái. The social and religious life is therefore dominated all the more by death practices.

764 If a human being who has completed the third year of life dies, the relatives are inconsolable. There is lamenting in the loudest tones, and the flood of tears among men, women, and children seems endless. Meanwhile, however, the customary occupations are not neglected. While the woman is fetching water from the river, for example, she weeps incessantly to herself and intermittently shrieks loudly; the same is true for the men at their work in the plantings and even for the children at their play. The other members of the tribe cast only an occasional compassionate glance at the mourners, and with this their interest is exhausted.

Immediately after a death it is the duty of the male relatives and /70/ friends to fell small trees in the forest, out of which they make a cylindrical wooden frame -- praotimí. This consists of 15 to 20 poles 1.60-1.80 meters long, which are tied with lianas a handbreadth apart. The corpse is slid into this, and liana ropes are drawn over the two open ends so that it is protected from the attack of birds, especially vultures.

/216 cont./

574 There are cases in which a brother or a friend of the suitor wishes to serve as intermediary and offers to speak to the father-in-law. The gesture is very well received and highly appreciated.

• 585 583 During the first two or three days the young husband remains in the forest /217/ hunting; the woman hangs her hammock near that of her husband in the house of the family of orientation, [476] that is, where she has always lived. This time having elapsed, the man tries to bring together some twenty friends to help him clear the land for the three conucos requested by his father-in-law. Usually he has no difficulty in finding this help. The father of the boy and his brothers do their best to feed the workers well, and, when the work is done, the young husband offers them as presents arrows, bows, etc. which they refuse to accept. Later, the man begins to clear some conucos for his own family.

574 627 Our informant from the upper Caura insisted that, once consent has been obtained, delivery is definite and the girl cannot then accept any other young man. In order to give us an example, he told us what had happened to a man of his group.

A girl had accepted him as a husband, but, because of unforeseen circumstances, he had not had time to talk to the father-in-law. Then the girl surrendered to another young man and married him. The father-in-law knew nothing about the first offer. One day the people of the pueblo found the young couple in their hammock pierced by two arrows poisoned with curare. The murderer informed the father-in-law and the inhabitants of the rancheria of the motive which had caused him to perpetrate the crime. Neither the father-in-law nor the people intervened in the matter, for, according to them, the young lover was right in punishing the two who had deceived him in this way.

594 595 881 Sometimes parents marry off their children before they reach maturity. Some men also take a second wife when she is still underage, but they respect them and have no sexual contact with them until after the first menstrual periods have passed.

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

936 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their hus-
937 bands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passional
• 586 motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry
587 is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of
607 the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under
[836] his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has
587 always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children
593 find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have al-
[601] ways called "father" and he has called them "children." In
[184] this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

726 /476/ In general prolonged sieges are not attempted, out of fear that someone who came to visit the besieged settlement might have seen the attackers and gone in search of help. As a result of this the source that supplies them with water is generally not defended.

Frequently, before carrying out a larger attack, the attacking settlement moves into the forest so that the families may be sheltered while the men go out to battle.

583 628 If two young persons wish to marry, but one or both of their settlements do not favor their matrimonial union, they may flee to a settlement where they will be accepted and establish their home there. If they do not find a settlement that will shelter them, they must separate and try to contract marriage by the usual means, or they have to abandon their plan altogether.

586 628 A wife maltreated by her husband may flee from him by going to a settlement prepared to defend her or to one where her husband would not dare go because of being considered an enemy there.

If a wife runs off alone or with another man, the husband may organize an expedition armed with macanas or clubs to regain her, but in this case, too, he can only make one single attempt. If she has taken the children with her, he can try to recover both the wife and the children or only the children, or some of them.

586 If a man abandons his wife, in general nothing can be done about it.

If the man and the woman separate by mutual agreement, the former generally keeps the children. Sometimes the smaller children remain at the side of the mother until they are of sufficient age to cook their own platanos (perhaps five or six years old).

587 The second marriage differs very little from the first marriage. In the majority of cases a virgin is preferred to a widow or to a married fugitive.

581 No man remains unmarried by his own will. If he is unmarried, it is because he has not been able to obtain a wife.

621 593 152 602 cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data, the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is 536 579 not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to split.

181 152 621 602 583 582 Ideological considerations, therefore, promote friction and fighting within villages and lead to village splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek marriage alliances with other groups.

Economic practices

361 241 922 Local groups abandon residential and horticultural sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of their enemies. For the most part, the Yanomamö are able to predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance 621 573 841 from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop within the village and it is expected that these will

Moiyowë had two wives, Borehima and her older sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with another man, Makorawë. Moiyowë attempted to get his wife back from Makorawë, precipitating a club fight between two factions of the village. During the club fight, Makorawë stabbed Moiyowë with the sharp end of his club, wounding him badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyowë's faction, Rakoiwë, who then attacked Makorawë, running him through with a sharpened club, killing him. Makorawë's faction fled from Patanowë-tedi and joined their relatives in Momou-tedi, knowing that the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids against the Patanowë-tedi. The Momou-tedi, assisted by the Patanowë-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowë-tedi two times shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid they caught two Patanowë-tedi men hunting outside the village. They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was Kpahëwë's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man, Shinahewë. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

The woman over whom the internal feud started was taken away from Makorawë's group. Moiyowë cut both her ears off to punish her.

000 26. Mamorakowi. See Shiborowi, below.

159 593 628 28. Manasinawi. This man is originally from Hasabowi-tedi, but he moved to Bisaasi-tedi around 1940-45, along with a brother, a wife, and a daughter. His wife deserted him in Bisaasi-tedi, fleeing to Shibariwi-tedi. After the treacherous feast of 1950-51, in which Manasinawi's brother was killed, he was given Hikarina, one of the widows of that incident. He had one daughter by this woman (Didihoma, above); she is promised to Bokoawi. His other daughter, by his first wife, is married to Epobawi, headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Manasinawi's father was killed by Husiwi of Patanowi-tedi, so he joined the Bisaasi-tedi to take revenge on the Patanowi-tedi, as the two villages were at war then.

[921]

159 593 628 29. Shiborowi. He fled from his native village, Mimaribowei-tedi, to avoid a fight and the possible loss of his wives. He shot one of his wives in a fit of rage (Diaŋrama, above), and his rivals took the girl away from him. To avoid a fight in which he had no supporters, he fled to Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as he had given one of his daughters (Monomi) to a man in that village. He brought his second wife (Mamorakowi) and his three juvenile children with him (Tiabowi, Yarosma, and Katabema). The Lower Bisaasi-tedi welcomed him, as he had two daughters to claim as wives; they assisted him in recovering his second wife.

000 48. Tiabowi. See Shiborowi, above.

50. Yarosma. See Shiborowi, above.

father. He can rejoin them later and again become an active member, but while he lives in a different village he does not participate in the political affairs of that group. Third, the group is *corporate* with respect to the functions of arranging the marriages of the female members. This is the most important single feature of the local descent group: its *function*. The first two characteristics of the group dealt only with the manner in which members can be recruited to the group (birth in the group and coresidence of such kinsmen). In anthropological usage, a corporation is a group of people who share some *estate* and have *rights* and *obligations* with respect to each other and to the estate. There are definite rules for recruiting new members into the corporation. Most studies of primitive corporations have dealt with those societies in which *land* is the estate of the corporation. (See, for example, Fried 1957.) Among the Yąnomamö, land has nothing to do with the functions of the corporate group. Women and rights to dispose of women in marriage constitute the estate of the Yąnomamö corporate groups. Leach is the first anthropologist to draw attention to the analytical importance of this kind of corporation (1961, Chapter 5), although Radcliffe-Brown (1953), in one of the first theoretical discussions of primitive corporations, emphasized the importance of rights over *persons* in some kinds of corporations.

Marriages are arranged by the male members of the local descent group. It cannot be supposed, for example, that the marriage rules automatically dictate the manner in which a woman is disposed in marriage; there are always some negotiations brought about by the situation. For example, a small village may require alliances with larger villages for purposes of defense, and the men of the small village may promise to give daughters to men in the larger village; or there may be a number of men within the village that stand in wife-receiving relationship to the girl, and a decision must be made regarding her ultimate disposition. In some cases a woman's daughters are promised to young men even before they are born. Generally, the girls are near puberty age by the time they are definitely given to a specific male, and they begin cohabiting with the man shortly after the puberty ceremony is over. In some situations a woman must be reassigned to an appropriate mate because her first husband died or abandoned her; or she might run away from a cruel husband and seek refuge among her brothers, bringing about a situation in which they must decide what to do with her.

Women abhor the possibility of being given to men in distant villages, since their fate is much less certain. Men in general are cruel to their wives, and the women rely on the protection of their brothers. A woman who is given to a man in a distant village, therefore, will generally have no brothers to protect her.

A man has considerably more say about the disposition of his daughters when he is young and has immature sons. As the sons grow older, they can overrule the father and insist that the girl be given to a man from some lineage that is likely to reciprocate with a sister. Ideally, women like to be given to men within their natal village. In this fashion the women can remain close to their own kinsmen and rely on the support of their brothers should the husband be particularly cruel. The best arrangement for everyone concerned is for the girl to be given to a man to whom she is related as FaSiDa or MoBrDa in the biological sense. Marriages of this kind exempt the husband from the onerous duty of stringently avoiding his parents-in-law, whereas they at the same time bind the wife-giving and wife-receiving groups more closely together in the system of reciprocities. As Kąobawä stated it, "It is good for groups to exchange women back and

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kaobawë, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Mosoro-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

Surára
Pakidái

/66 cont./

595 The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the Pakidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Various other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies, 589 these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do not call them uncle, but likewise father.

881 b) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl, [302] on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú, a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may 881 speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. Dur- 304 ing the second day her mother or another woman applies a pinpoint tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either [413] side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a [824] pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty- [386] gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured, leaves a dark-blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the [147] little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears, and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysterious forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life.

881 With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated, and after that a small celebration takes place.

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

836 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

593 937 It seems that in general women do not abandon their husbands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 586 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of pastional motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 587 607 [836] Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have always called "father" and he has called them "children." In this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

[587] [593] [601] [184]

/218 cont./

595 We have mentioned that an adult may marry a very young girl, but must not have sexual relations with her until after the first menstrual periods. We do not base our observation on the practice of polygyny among the Sanemá in isolated cases, but rather on the fact that several men have several adult wives at the [554] same time. It does not seem that polygyny is an exclusive privilege of status or rank, but rather is an accepted thing, since [584] all adults may marry two or more women. Since there seems to be some scarcity of marriageable girls, the custom of binding oneself to a little girl can be looked upon as a form of foresightedness [587] by the man, with a view to the future. Many polygynous marriages, however, probably stem from the custom of the levirate.

587 765 There are widows who marry very shortly after the death of their husbands; others, however, wait for many months. They live in the house of their brother-in-law or in that of their parents, and it seems that the future husband does not demand that they cease mourning since the person mourned and for whom they weep was not only their husband but also the brother of the new suitor.

If the brother (who is very often the youngest) does not want to or cannot /219/ marry all the widows of his deceased brother, he allows them to live with another man. These marriages take place only after some time, during which the brother of the deceased and the women live apart from the society in a sort of isolation.

587 There are no differential rules for secondary marriages, but the father of sisters has the right to prevent both of them from marrying the same man, particularly if the man, owing to his poor preparation or deficiency, cannot give assurance of the economic help which he expects from him. This explains why only older men with greater experience in life are able to marry several women with ease.

595 The wives of one man may live under the same roof or in several houses, and, in spite of there being no fixed rotation, the husband must devote the same amount of time, more or less, to each of his homes.

726 /476/ In general prolonged sieges are not attempted, out of fear that someone who came to visit the besieged settlement might have seen the attackers and gone in search of help. As a result of this the source that supplies them with water is generally not defended.

Frequently, before carrying out a larger attack, the attacking settlement moves into the forest so that the families may be sheltered while the men go out to battle.

583 628 If two young persons wish to marry, but one or both of their settlements do not favor their matrimonial union, they may flee to a settlement where they will be accepted and establish their home there. If they do not find a settlement that will shelter them, they must separate and try to contract marriage by the usual means, or they have to abandon their plan altogether.

586 628 A wife maltreated by her husband may flee from him by going to a settlement prepared to defend her, or to one where her husband would not dare go because of being considered an enemy there.

If a wife runs off alone or with another man, the husband may organize an expedition armed with macanas or clubs to regain her, but in this case, too, he can only make one single attempt. If she has taken the children with her, he can try to recover both the wife and the children or only the children, or some of them.

586 If a man abandons his wife, in general nothing can be done about it.

If the man and the woman separate by mutual agreement, the former generally keeps the children. Sometimes the smaller children remain at the side of the mother until they are of sufficient age to cook their own platanos (perhaps five or six years old).

• 587 The second marriage differs very little from the first marriage. In the majority of cases a virgin is preferred to a widow or to a married fugitive.

581 No man remains unmarried by his own will. If he is unmarried, it is because he has not been able to obtain a wife.

582 /477/ A young woman cannot remain unmarried for a long time, but some manage to reject all their suitors for several years
● 587 after puberty. A widow, especially a widow with children, sometimes remains alone forever after the death of her husband.

Making Peace

628 202 When one settlement wishes closer friendship with another, it sends a messenger to offer more friendly terms.

628 202 728 If the settlements are only "macana enemies," a messenger of the very settlement that takes the initiative might go, but if the settlements are "arrow enemies," then it is necessary to send a messenger from a settlement which is friendly with both of the settlements in question. The messenger who is a member of a settlement that is an "arrow enemy" would run the danger of being shot with an arrow before giving the message.

628 728 Thus, two very hostile settlements might manage to suspend the raids between them. Later, they might agree not to fight any more should they see one another in a friendly settlement. Until they arrive at this accord, a neutral settlement friendly to both, when it is visited by people from one of these settlements hostile to each other, must send a message to the other, warning that they should not come so long as there are visitors from the hostile settlement in it. Still later they might agree to receive the visit of a small group of visitors from the other
[572] enemy settlement, for commercial purposes. From this time on the two settlements can undertake their negotiations directly, and friendships begin to form among their respective members.
[582] Then, when one settlement, out of good will, gives its own girls as wives to the men of the other settlement, it can be said that they have recovered; they have truly become good friends.

While the greater the number of persons involved in a dispute or a fight, the less the probability that the opposing bands will reach an understanding after a short time, the disputes within a settlement itself are in general settled quickly. Within a few months all will have been forgotten. /478/ Disputes between settlements which have not gone beyond macana fights are usually forgotten in a year or two. Disputes between settlements which have occasion to use arrows, especially if someone has

	Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
32.	Monomi's Da.	Tom	F	0.2	
33.	Makakami	Sha	F	56	
34.	Miaiyowë	Sha	M	14	
35.	Omonoiwë	Tom	M	28	
36.	Reromawë	Sha	M	53	Headman
37.	Rosa	Sha	F	8	
38.	Ruwisa	Tom	F	7	
39.	Shiborowë	Shamatari	M	35	See p. 214
40.	Tiaböwë	Shamatari	M	5	See p. 214
41.	Tomahewë	Tom	M	21	
42.	Tomasi	Tom	M	6	
43.	Ugushi	Hor	M	22	
44.	Waiimi	Hor	F	21	
45.	Waiyamobemi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance
46.	Waiyamobemi's son	Sha	M	0.5	
47.	Waiyuruma	Shamatari	F	50	Abducted
48.	Wakarabewë	Shamatari	M	16	Son-in-law to #6
49.	Yëbënëma	Kio	F	33	
50.	Yareama	Shamatari	F	2	See p. 214
51.	Yotoma	Tom	F	24	

Comments on particular individuals

1. Ahimi. Her present husband (Bokosiwë) visited the Patanowë-tedi within the past 5 years. Ahimi then lived in Patanowë-tedi and was married to a Sha man there (Makoakuwë), by whom she had already had one daughter (Huimashima). When Bokosiwë returned to Bisaasi-tedi, Ahimi followed him, taking her daughter with her, and became Bokosiwë's wife. As the Patanowë-tedi were technically at war with the Bisaasi-tedi, there was not much they could do to recover the woman. As they also wanted to make peace with Bisaasi-tedi, they did not press the matter.

000 11. Didihoma. See #28, Manasinawë, below.

159 12. Dimörama. This girl was abducted from a distant Shamatari
583 village (Kohoroshi-tedi, probably in Brazil, on the Upper
621 Cauaburi River) by the Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mömariböwei-
578 tedi. Her husband--the man to whom she was given after being abducted--shot her in the stomach with a barbed arrow, wounding her gravely (see Shiborowë, below). The man was forced to flee from the village and take refuge in Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as other men in the village planned to use this incident as an excuse to take his wives from him. In late 1965 a party of men from Lower
159 Bisaasi-tedi, including Shiborowë, set off for Mǫmariböwei-
628 tedi to 'visit.' I accompanied them on their invitation.
123 They were going to Mǫmariböwei-tedi to take Dimörama away
721 from her protectors by force, if necessary, and asked me to come along knowing that I always travelled with a gun, presuming that my presence, with a gun, would aid in their objective. The girl was very nearly dead when we arrived (four months had passed since she was shot, and the wound was badly inflected). As the Bisaasi-tedi were one of the only allies of the Mǫmariböwei-tedi, they gave up the girl without much argument, since she would have
[997] died anyway. (The New Tribes Missionaries took the girl to the Territorial Capital by canoe for surgery in January 1966. She recovered from the wound and is presently living in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.)

159 21. Kakoma. This is one of the seven women abducted from the
583 Patanowë-tedi in late 1964 by the Monou-tedi. She was
587 taken from her Monou-tedi husband by force by the Lower
628 Bisaasi-tedi and given to Kǫobauwë, one of the village
721 bachelors.

000 23. Katabema. See Shiborowë, below.

000 26. Mamorakomi. See Shiborowä, below.

159 28. Manasinawä. This man is originally from Hasaböwä-tedi, but he moved to Bisaasi-tedi around 1940-45, along with a brother, a wife, and a daughter. His wife deserted him in Bisaasi-tedi, fleeing to Shibariwä-tedi. After the treacherous feast of 1950-51, in which Manasinawä's brother was killed, he was given Hikarima, one of the widows of that incident. He had one daughter by this woman (Didihoma, above); she is promised to Bokosiwä. His other daughter, by his first wife, is married to Kpobäwä, headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Manasinawä's father was killed by Husiwä of Patanowä-tedi, so he joined the Bisaasi-tedi to take revenge on the Patanowä-tedi, as the two villages were at war then.

159 39. Shiborowä. He fled from his native village, Mömariböwei-tedi, to avoid a fight and the possible loss of his wives. He shot one of his wives in a fit of rage (Dimörama, above), and his rivals took the girl away from him. To avoid a fight in which he had no supporters, he fled to Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as he had given one of his daughters (Monomi) to a man in that village. He brought his second wife (Mamorakomi) and his three juvenile children with him (Tiaböwä, Yareama, and Katabema). The Lower Bisaasi-tedi welcomed him, as he had two daughters to claim as wives; they assisted him in recovering his second wife.

000 40. Tiaböwä. See Shiborowä, above.

50. Yareama. See Shiborowä, above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

606 123 [551] The avoidance taboo prohibits a man from saying his mother-in-law's name. My informants would be extremely embarrassed when I would say the name of their mother-in-law while collecting genealogies. Kaobawä, for example, would grin sheepishly and hide his head. Men must also avoid their mothers-in-law physically and should not look at them. If I took a group of people for a ride in my canoe, there would always be considerable shuffling of bodies so that the men could be situated in the canoe as far away from their mothers-in-law as possible.

128 602 595 Finally, case C illustrates another kind of sororal polygyny: Individuals III-1 and III-3 are sisters to each other because their mothers are sisters. (The equation stating that children of siblings of the same sex are themselves siblings extends indefinitely in the case of males, but breaks down in the case of females after two generations. This is because descent is patrilineal.)

128 582 602 *Case D:* This also is a case of FaSiDa marriage: I-2 and I-3 were brothers, so one of the parents of each of the third generation individuals were brother and sister to each other. Hence, III-1 married his FaSiDa.

128 595 602 *Case E:* The marriage of III-1 to III-2 is similar to the marriage in case D, but his marriage to the second wife, III-3, illustrates the use of another kinship equation. She is an actual sister to the first wife, but does not stand in the FaSiDa relationship to her husband. If one of the sisters is FaSiDa, however, then all of them are in Yąnomamö kinship usage.

128 582 602 [601] *Case F:* This illustrates how affinal ties replace consanguineal ties should the two conflict. III-1 can trace a blood tie to his wife, one that would prevent him from marrying her, but the affinal ties between his own father and the father of his wife permit him to marry according to the prescription. Individual III-1 would call all of his father's wives "mother." Hence, his own wife is, technically, MoBrDa.

128 582 587 602 *Case G:* This illustrates a number of marriage rules stated in the preceding examples. I present it as a sort of exercise to reinforce the logic of the Yąnomamö kinship equations given above. Individual II-6 married two brothers, II-5 and II-7, illustrating the *levirate:* the marriage between a man and his brother's widow. Individual II-9 married his FaSiDa (as in case F). Individuals III-3 and III-4 can marry because their fathers were cross-cousins (see case H, below). Individual III-5 married his FaSiDa, as was shown for the similar marriage in case E. Individual IV-1 married two women, each of whom is his FaSiDa. This is so because I-2 and I-4 were adopted brothers, so that their [597] sons (II-2 and II-4) were also siblings. Hence, IV-1 married his FaSiDa (IV-2) and, as in case E, her sister. His second wife is also FaSiDa because her mother (III-6) was a sister to III-2, since their respective fathers (II-9 and II-2) were (adopted) brothers.

128 582 601 602 *Case H:* This illustrates a very powerful marriage rule: The children of men who call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law) can marry. Practically speaking, in our kinship terms, the rule is that the children of cross-cousins stand in marriageable relationship to each other. II-2 and II-3 stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and could exchange sisters in marriage. Their sons stand in the same relationship. Another important feature of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage rules is illustrated here. While III-1 married a woman of the prescribed category, he does not reckon his relationship to her patrilaterally or matrilaterally. That is, she is neither FaSiDa nor MoBrDa, but she is both! This emphasizes the fact that they marry primarily in terms of categories rather than by tracing biological ties, as I have done in the above examples. To the Yąnomamö,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kąobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

One of Damowä's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowä-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowä-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowä's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowä outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewä, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowä, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kaobawä and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowä's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowä were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowä-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowä the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowä's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kaobawä, a classificatory brother to Damowä, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowä's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwä, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hor* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Shs* lineage to the *Hor* lineage.

Kaobawä delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2] See Table 3–1 and Fig. 3–3 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

/219 cont./

588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.

589 793 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 159 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá, but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 753 825 763 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle. As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica, the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle. A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people, that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for his certain death.

159 764 Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

/219 cont./

588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.

589 793 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 159 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá, but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 753 825 763 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle. As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica, the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle. A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people, that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for his certain death.

159 764 Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

/209/

273 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make
271 alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in
177 contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the
263 coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use
261 wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is re-
[764] lated to religious ideas. It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the
183 young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity
● 591 in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the
184 Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We
591 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially
182 matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes
596 to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively
591 rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

/209 cont./

596 itself to an arrangement of this sort. In their seminomadic state
591 there do not seem to be any sufficiently decisive economic factors
[182] to require a unilocal residence rule, which in a way would hinder a young man, after his marriage, from remaining in the group of his family of orientation or from leaving in order to found his family of procreation matrilocally, according to the particular
591 circumstances. But what we are sure of is that the irregularities
596 observed are precisely a result of the economic and technologi-
177 cal changes which the Sanemá of the regions /210/ adjacent to
241 the Makiritare are undergoing via the process of acculturation. The cultivation of the land, although still rudimentary, and the possibility of augmenting their properties have brought about as a natural consequence, not only greater stability and possibly a considerable demographic increase, but also the impetus which disrupts the balanced equilibrium present in the custom of choosing the postnuptial residence which is fundamental for the bilocal extended family (cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 35). So it is that one of the factors which has most contributed to bringing about disequilibrium among the Sanemá was the adoption of the Caribe agricultural system. The postmatrimonial moving from one local group to another was not of any particular importance in a nomadic society, but nowadays it presents certain difficulties not even suspected previously, for a man now has to leave his cultivated fields if he is to go with his wife. We are sure that the tendencies in the direction of the unilocal custom have their
[601] roots precisely in this economic change. Finally, the existence of the bilocal extended family among the Yanoama is in complete accord with the Hawaiian type of social organization which we are describing as typical for this tribe.

594 Without knowing a Sanemá nuclear family intimately, it is
621 difficult to group with certainty the members of a local group solely on the basis of their family ties, particularly in a community in which polygamy, the sororate, the levirate, and a Hawaiian kinship system are practiced. There are occasions, however, on which the members of a nuclear family gather together: to eat, to sleep, etc., and, in spite of our not having full knowledge of Sanemá society, we can, with all this, say that the nuclear

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Cariban and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shirianá" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Sirionó*" with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacuran (27 mc), and Sirionan (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Sirionó*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanumá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subcribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their neaters (e.g. Caribe)[8]. Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[9]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanumá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 495-498.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 28.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

St Laurine et al. D, E-6 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 - Waica

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanoama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hăwĭawan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kăilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hăwĭawan* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Samatari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, stout, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barker, 1953, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 35.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vinci, 1956, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1958.

/478 cont./

628 728 been killed, might require a greater number of years to be reconciled. Disputes which have reached the proportions of regional wars are rarely forgotten within the same generation, since there is hardly any neutral settlement left by means of which peace negotiations can be made.

The Family

591 606 A newly married couple may live in the settlement of the wife's parents or in that of the husband's parents. But if they decide to live in the settlement of the wife's parents, they cannot live in the same dwelling with them, because it is prohibited (taboo) for the husband to approach his mother-in-law. He can enter her house only when she is outside. He would not dare to come any closer to her than three or four meters. If the couple decides to live with the husband's parents, there are no such restrictions, since there is no prohibition against the daughter-in-law approaching her mother-in-law. Even suitors customarily lodge on the side opposite that of the house of their future mother-in-law, in their town.

595 [578] The majority of the men have but one wife. Those who wish to, and are able to, may have two or more wives. This practice makes more acute the shortage of marriageable women and may be one of the principal causes of the fights over wives which are started by men who have remained without any.

When a man has more than one wife, his wives may live in the same house or in several houses in a row. They work together, but each one has her own property. Frequently they are sisters since a man is more likely to marry the sister of his wife than to find another wife elsewhere.

593 Within the family it is the man who exercises authority. I only know of one case where the woman gives orders in the house, and this because her husband is mentally deficient.

613 621 602 562 584 736

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

532 584 593 621

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaBiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

583 591 584 602 721 628

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

---

[128] [1]See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[601] [2]By FaBiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

628 lineages in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi have
582 exchanged women with each other for a number of generations.
583 Male members of the Hor lineage entered into 29 marriage acts[1]
613 with women of the Sha lineage.[2] An identical number of acts involving Sha men with Hor women also took place. In the exchanges between Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi and their two allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, there is presently an imbalance in the exchange of women, although reciprocity appears to be developing; a number of women from the latter two villages are promised to members of Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi--to members of lineages that have already given women to the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi.

628 An imbalance in the exchange of women implies a dif-
613 ference in political strength between the two groups that
582 exchange women, and the mechanics of the exchange are shaped
583 by this difference in political strength. Post marital resi-
591 dence is viri-patrilocal after the groom performs bride service, but the length of the bride service is determined by the relative political strength of the two villages concerned. If the village of the groom is more powerful than that of the bride, the groom may be able to return to his village with his wife after just a few months of bride service. If the

---

[1] See Ackerman, 1964, for a definition of marriage act.

[2] Yanomamö lineages are not named. I have named them for expediency of analysis after the oldest identifiable member of the lineage, abbreviating the name to three letters. "Sha" lineage, therefore, is the name I have adopted for the patrilineal descendents of a long since dead individual called Shamashiadima.

[128]

bride's village is stronger, the girl's parents may be able to press the groom into a prolonged bride service--five or six years. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, are politically stronger than the Reyabobŏwei-tedi, one of their Shamatari allies. They have obtained a number of women from this group, and the men involved all returned with their brides after brief periods of bride service. So far, not a single Bisaasi-tedi woman has gone to live in Reyabobŏwei-tedi, although one girl is married to a man from that village. The man has already spent several years in Bisaasi-tedi, and will probably spend at least as many more before being permitted to return home with his Bisaasi-tedi wife. The military and political superiority of the Bisaasi-tedi is so conspicuous in this alliance that one Bisaasi-tedi man literally dragged a woman, previously promised to him, out of the Reyabobŏwei-tedi village, against the wishes of both the woman and the woman's agnates. He was not prevented from doing this because the Reyabobŏwei-tedi need the political and military support of the Bisaasi-tedi and could not afford to react violently to the affront. Had the two villages been politically equal, the incident would have resulted in a war.

Women involved in exchanges between villages have no say whatsoever in their fate. Most of them abhor the possibility of moving to a strange village, largely because they fear that they will be mistreated by their husbands. Should a girl refuse to abide by the decision of her agnates, she has no alternative but to flee the village. Koima, a girl of

*628 Koima, a girl of
613
591
583 Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawä had
606 already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom
he had two children. Rerebawä wished to return to his own
village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His
parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi
permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the
gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawä began
making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents
feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's
children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even
if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effec-
tively, and Rerebawä was growing impatient. His parents-in-
law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter,
584 provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however,
583
591 refused to go to Rerebawä, suspecting that he would not keep
578 his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead,
135
613 Bäkotawä, her classificatory FaSiSo. She began an affair with
*624 Bäkotawä, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated
627 Rerebawä, who challenged Bäkotawä to a club fight. Bäkotawä
belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi
and was cognatically related to the members of the headman's
[626] descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment
was on Bäkotawä's side, but the girl belonged to a descent
group over whose affairs Bäkotawä's supporters had no claims.
Rerebawä's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was prom-
ised to him by her agnates: Bäkotawä was, in effect, having an

affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawë's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawë threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawë shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawë, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bëkotawë, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawë discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawë, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

628 581 607 Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their ability to promote solidarity between the allies to the obligations, duties and trading relationships that marriages impose on brothers-in-law.

607 602 621 591 Within villages, brothers-in-law have similar obligations to each other. The strength of the co-residential shoriwä ties, however, is influenced by other factors besides promises to exchange goods, women, and services. First, co-residence itself promotes a certain amount of amity between all classes of kin. Second, co-residential shoriwä are usually cognatically related because their respective agnatic groups have exchanged women in ascending generations, i.e., many of them are related to each other as MoBrSo or FaSiSo. So, in addition to mere promises to give women to each other, co-residential shoriwä ties are strengthened by ties of cognatic kinship and co-residence.

609 602 621 613 582 584 The strength of the ties between co-residential shoriwä is best illustrated by contrasting it to the weakness of the agnatic tie between two local descent groups of the same lineage. In anticipation of the discussion of agnatic relationship, I will point out here that the political interests of local descent groups focus on acquisition of women from other descent groups within the village. When a village has two or more agnatically related descent groups, the men in these respective groups are de facto rivals for the women in the village. Simultaneously, these distantly related agnates are frequently competitors in the disposition of some female agnates who do not belong unambiguously to one or the other local descent groups.

884 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

593 561 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yanomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [583] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi [595] obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

*621 602 • 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed *[628] as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be affectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other *621 613 602 591 [622] villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kaobawä of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were

[1] See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kaobawä's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwä, 18). Whenever Kaobawä organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Nadesiwä, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kaobawä. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawä, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kaobawä's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kaobawä's nephew, Bäkotawä, 18 years old.

Kaobawä's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kaobawä to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

593 agnates of similar age tend to compete, rather than cooperate,
602
613 with each other in the affairs of the group. Each behaves in such a way that it is obvious to all that he is not being
*[621] bossed around by his equals. Finally, this competition and lack of solidarity is even more pronounced when there are two or more local descent groups of the same lineage within the village.

*621 Co-residence as a factor in promoting solidarity can
601 be illustrated by kinship usage. One of my female informants,
*628
• 591 Kaobawä's wife, used affinal terms for a number of Patanowä-
124 tedi men who were technically her agnates. I was certain that my genalogies were correct, so I re-investigated the usage. I discovered that she used 'distant' kinship terms for these 'brothers' because they lived in a different village, but that she had called them by brother terms when they lived together in Patanowä-tedi. She explained that she would again use brother terms if the two villages were to re-unite. Although the terms for agnates normally do not change when a distant agnate joins a local descent group, the co-efficient of solidarity does.

*628 The weakness of the tie between distantly related
602 agnates can also be demonstrated with data on fighting. After
613 the Patanowä-tedi separated from the Bisaasi-tedi and the
726 Monou-tedi in the early '40s, hostilities between the two groups developed. Each group, however, was similar in composition[1] in that each comprised local descent groups of the

[1] See Figure 3, Chapter IV, and Appendix A for the breakdown of the populations of these villages by lineage membership.

602 capable of becoming stronger in time. When two descent groups
602 exchange women with each other over several generations, the
613 cognatically related members of the two groups have strong
582 ties with each other. Further exchanges between these groups
583 is largely a validation of the previously existing implicit
60 obligations to exchange women. MoBrSo is, whether or not you
582 marry his sister, a shoriwë. When the marriage rule is followed,
and it is a number of times each generation, the ties between
shoriwë are correspondingly strengthened by the exchange.
602 Agnatic ties do not have the potential of increasing in soli-
darity; the tendency seems, in fact, to be just the opposite.

602 The major components in the variation of the strength
56 of agnatic solidarity are genealogical closeness, relative
621 age, and co-residence. To provide a crude measure of the
128 relative importance of these variables, I have arbitrarily
591 assigned values to the components in Table 3. A strong tie
is scored as "***" and a weak tie as "---". By adding the
number of asterisks in each possible combination,
a rough measure of relative solidarity of agnatic type is
given. For example, agnates who are closely related genea-
logically (A_1: "***"), who differ significantly in age
(B_2: "***") and who live in the same village (C_1: "**-") rep-
resent a class of agnates having the greatest relative
solidarity. The sum of the asterisks for this combination
is 8.

In Table 3, combinations whose scores are 3 and 4
respectively constitute the class of agnates having the least

Table 3: Components of Agnatic Solidarity.

Genealogical		Age		Residence	
close	remote	similar	discrep.	same	different
A_1	A_2	B_1	B_2	C_1	C_2
•••	•—	•—	•••	••—	•—

Possible Combinations	Associated Value
$A_2B_1C_2$	3
$A_2B_1C_1$	4
$A_1B_1C_2$; $A_2B_2C_2$	5
$A_1B_1C_1$; $A_2B_2C_1$	6
$A_1B_2C_1$	7
$A_1B_2C_1$	8

amount of relative solidarity and are the groups most likely to enter into conflicts with each other. The combinations whose scores are 5 and 6 respectively potentially have more solidarity in the agnatic class, but the agnates represented by these combinations are ambiguously related to each other regarding rights in women. The combinations whose scores are 7 and 8 respectively characterize the groups of agnates have the strongest ties.[1]

[1] It will be noted that the combination whose score is 7 involves the component of non-co-residence, i.e., that the agnates are in different villages. This is a possibility when, for example, a man goes to another village to obtain a wife. Such possibilities also occur when members of two different villages trace their origin back to a common group but went to separate villages to obtain spouses, or ended up in separate villages when their common group split.

602 661 *621 *628 It is not easy to represent affinal ties in this fashion, as there are too many factors that determine the strength of the relationship between such kin types. A few observations, however, will provide a contrast with the analysis given in Table 3 above. Among affines, age differential is relatively meaningless so far as internal village stability and strength of inter-village alliance is concerned. [606] When the age differential corresponds to a difference in genealogical level, the affines, such as son-in-law, tend to be related by stable roles based on avoidance, bride service obligations, etc., but these derive not from age differential, [606] but from the generation difference. A son-in-law is subordinate to a father-in-law despite his age, and inter-personal behavior between such kinsmen is not greatly influenced by [591] age differentials. Second, co-residence is largely irrelevent unless it reflects cognatic ties that came about through previous marriages in ascending generations. Again, current political relationships between the two villages of the affines is important in determining the strength of the tie, or whether the affine intends to return to his own village. *628 *621 602 583 Affinal ties do not necessarily imply previous historical relationships between the groups of the affines, whereas agnatic ties presume a common history. When members of two historically distinct villages enter into marriage alliances with each other, affinal ties between the respective villages are weaker than affinal ties between members of two villages that have a common history and have exchanged women in the

174 *688 729 36 241 [175] where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tăka to Kreibŏwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawĕ and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowĕ-tăka, and became known as the Patanowĕ-tedi.

174 *628 721 578 726 602 [624] [583] [591] The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawĕ-tedi and Kashorawĕ-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawĕ, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawĕ-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowĕ-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowĕ-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawĕ-tedi visited Patanowĕ-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowĕ-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawĕ-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawĕ-tedi. Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowĕ-tedi and Yabitawĕ-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

174 726 *628 1722

	Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
32.	Monomi's Da.	Tom	F	0.2	
33.	Nakakami	Sha	F	56	
34.	Niaiyowë	Sha	M	14	
35.	Omonoiwë	Tom	M	28	
36.	Reromawë	Sha	M	53	Headman
37.	Rosa	Sha	F	8	
38.	Ruwisa	Tom	F	7	
39.	Shiborowë	Shamatari	M	35	See p. 214
40.	Tiabõwë	Shamatari	M	5	See p. 214
41.	Tomahewë	Tom	M	21	
42.	Tomasi	Tom	M	6	
43.	Ugushi	Hor	M	22	
44.	Waiimi	Hor	F	21	
45.	Waiyamobemi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance
46.	Waiyamobemi's son	Sha	M	0.5	
47.	Waiyuruma	Shamatari	F	50	Abducted
48.	Wakarabewë	Shamatari	M	16	Son-in-law to #6
49.	YËbËnËma	Kio	F	33	
50.	Yareama	Shamatari	F	2	See p. 214
51.	Yotoma	Tom	F	24	

Comments on particular individuals

1. Ahimi. Her present husband (Bokosiwë) visited the Patanowë-tedi within the past 5 years. Ahimi then lived in Patanowë-tedi and was married to a Sha man there (Makoakuwë), by whom she had already had one daughter (Huimashima). When Bokosiwë returned to Bisaasi-tedi, Ahimi followed him, taking her daughter with her, and became Bokosiwë's wife. As the Patanowë-tedi were technically at war with the Bisaasi-tedi, there was not much they could do to recover the woman. As they also wanted to make peace with Bisaasi-tedi, they did not press the matter.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers [622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village, [156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the [582] villages to which Kąobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kąobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kąobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relation- [622] ships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[583] He does not intend to stay in Kąobawä's group and has not made a garden. He feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing [591] them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an [837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked [593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother [578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kąobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kąobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours [522] on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yąnomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally true should one of them be the village headman. Kąobawä can ask his youngest brothers to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village plaza to prepare the dance site, Kąobawä himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will join him, but only on their own initiative. He could not directly ask them to do this work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a younger brother to Kąobawä, but already a mature adult. I asked Kąobawä to help me get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around. By contrast, Kąobawä could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight, since the latter was not yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence, anxious to display personal autonomy.

Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many circumstances. Kąobawä continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary) his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar account.

In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers. That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage begins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogically more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Generation V of Fig. 3-1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.[9] Local descent groups have three characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a member of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife elsewhere, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

[9]Leach, 1951. Yąnomamö local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yąnomamö such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yąnomamö local descent groups closely fit Leach's definition.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

father. He can rejoin them later and again become an active member, but while he lives in a different village he does not participate in the political affairs of that group. Third, the group is *corporate* with respect to the functions of arranging the marriages of the female members. This is the most important single feature of the local descent group: its *function*. The first two characteristics of the group dealt only with the manner in which members can be recruited to the group (birth in the group and coresidence of such kinsmen). In anthropological usage, a corporation is a group of people who share some *estate* and have *rights* and *obligations* with respect to each other and to the estate. There are definite rules for recruiting new members into the corporation. Most studies of primitive corporations have dealt with those societies in which *land* is the estate of the corporation. (See, for example, Fried 1957.) Among the Yąnomamö, land has nothing to do with the functions of the corporate group. Women and rights to dispose of women in marriage constitute the estate of the Yąnomamö corporate groups. Leach is the first anthropologist to draw attention to the analytical importance of this kind of corporation (1961, Chapter 5), although Radcliffe-Brown (1953), in one of the first theoretical discussions of primitive corporations, emphasized the importance of rights over *persons* in some kinds of corporations.

Marriages are arranged by the male members of the local descent group. It cannot be supposed, for example, that the marriage rules automatically dictate the manner in which a woman is disposed in marriage; there are always some negotiations brought about by the situation. For example, a small village may require alliances with larger villages for purposes of defense, and the men of the small village may promise to give daughters to men in the larger village; or there may be a number of men within the village that stand in wife-receiving relationship to the girl, and a decision must be made regarding her ultimate disposition. In some cases a woman's daughters are promised to young men even before they are born. Generally, the girls are near puberty age by the time they are definitely given to a specific male, and they begin cohabiting with the man shortly after the puberty ceremony is over. In some situations a woman must be reassigned to an appropriate mate because her first husband died or abandoned her; or she might run away from a cruel husband and seek refuge among her brothers, bringing about a situation in which they must decide what to do with her.

Women abhor the possibility of being given to men in distant villages, since their fate is much less certain. Men in general are cruel to their wives, and the women rely on the protection of their brothers. A woman who is given to a man in a distant village, therefore, will generally have no brothers to protect her.

A man has considerably more say about the disposition of his daughters when he is young and has immature sons. As the sons grow older, they can overrule the father and insist that the girl be given to a man from some lineage that is likely to reciprocate with a sister. Ideally, women like to be given to men within their natal village. In this fashion the women can remain close to their own kinsmen and rely on the support of their brothers should the husband be particularly cruel. The best arrangement for everyone concerned is for the girl to be given to a man to whom she is related as FaSiDa or MoBrDa in the biological sense. Marriages of this kind exempt the husband from the onerous duty of stringently avoiding his parents-in-law, whereas they at the same time bind the wife-giving and wife-receiving groups more closely together in the system of reciprocities. As Kąobawä stated it, "It is good for groups to exchange women back and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kaobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

602 other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old
571 enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competi-
602 tion with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their per-
571 sonal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older.
578 They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kąobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

602 The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows
607 more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas
571 agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their
581 fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely
582 promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

602 Kąobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction be-
[601] tween agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kąobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were
[613] half-brothers. Nadesiwä is in Kąobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par
[581] with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the
[582] group—Kąobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwä to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the
[591] completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwä will
[604] have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kąobawä and Nadesiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

602 The other man, Kumamawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kąobawä is related to
607 him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first
[594] cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawä is a
[613] frequent visitor in Kąobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kąobawä asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kąobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

361 Kąobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his
342 agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Sharaiawä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Sharaiawä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Sharaiawä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters. In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
354 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc.,
231 are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
342 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50 centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
[174] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
[171] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem, similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[177] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is 9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

Surára
Pakidái

/116 cont./

123 touched me all over my body, and they examined my spectacles with particular interest (557) and were very astonished at my

557. The Surára chief was so enthusiastic about my spectacles that he asked me to be sure to bring him a pair on my next visit.

blond hair and blue eyes. When I shaved, I was likewise surrounded by a circle of spectators (558). Even when I had to re-

558. Similar experiences were had by Chaffanjon among the Kunuaná (Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 267/68), Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipang and Makuxí /Macusí/ (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 360), and Baldus among the Tapirapé (Baldus, 1956b, p. 606).

lieve myself, I was asked where I was going, and often I was joined by companions.

191 When the Surára and Pakidái see something new for the first time or if they like an object particularly well, they
521 manifest their approval by loud clickings. They love conversa-
[576] tion above all else, and even at night they go on talking for hours. They never interrupt each other, however.

593 Though the man is the head of the family, the wife is
692 regarded as his partner with equal rights, without whose advice he does not undertake anything important. If he has two or
595 more wives, the youngest usually leads a princess's existence, for which even the older ones must contribute. Mistreatment
593 of women occurs only on account of adultery and for reasons of jealousy. But if a man beats his wife or draws blood on her body with the little cutia-tooth knife, several companions of her own sex immediately hasten to her aid. They try to pin down the arms of the angry man, and one woman will attempt to seize his scrotum and squeeze it with all her might, so that

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

302 Both men and women and even the small children paint their
[386] faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not
302 seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which
531 it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred, either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red, while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken themselves.

123 Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or
302 war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company with some whose paint was paling and some who were not even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

• • •

352 The furnishing of Waïka huts is very simple and orderly, each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one
[286] above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from
[283] threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades, while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their
[287] ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of
592 a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when the village is crowded.

162 In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people, which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharariwä, Kąobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kąobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kąobawä's younger wife. Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kąobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yąnomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kąobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

/39 cont./

301 171 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

301 789 832 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, [224] to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrẽ. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrẽ -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hif -- (see p.243).

302 e) Hair style

Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around the head, including the tonsure -- hemõno. [462] Shaving the latter, but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp. --) (see p.119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

302 /39 cont./
593 husband beats his wife for reasons of jealousy, he may likewise choose only this marked part of the head. As a further, but
302 probably secondary reason, I was told that the short haircut and
825 the tonsure made it easier to control the plague of lice. People with long hair, they thought, were certainly unable to escape head lice.

302 The tonsure is also mentioned in religion and mythology.
538 Poré, the lord of the moon, is imagined as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red (see p. 197).

302 As among many other South American tribes, the tonsure
191 is also a /40/ characteristic feature of all small-sized light-
184 skinned Indians between the Rio Negro and the upper Orinoco, for the members of both sexes of the Xiriâna, Puseheweterî, Aramamesterî, and Karauaterî whom I met also wore it (206).

302
191
114

206. The Brazilian country people designate all Indians with tonsures as Coroados = crowned. Baldus and Willems, however, quite rightly demand that the use of this name be avoided in Brazilian ethnology: "Coroado- Várias tribus de indios no Brasil, por examplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Purí, Bororo, receberam do povo o nome de Coroados, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que êsse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou êste têrmo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada" /Coroado -- Various tribes of Indians in Brazil, for example, the Botocudo, Caingang, Puri, Bororo, are given the name of Coroado by people, owing to the manner of cutting the hair, even though this style is not the same among all of them. This term has caused great confusion in Brazilian ethnography, and for this reason it should be abandoned/ (Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 67).

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[239] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatáz --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

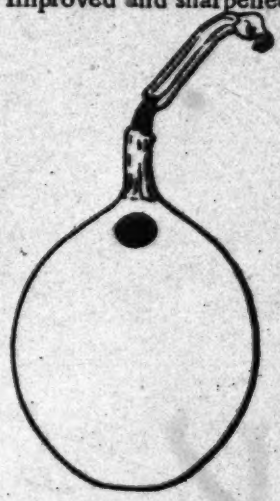


Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

/63 cont./

854 593 It is simply touching to see how lovingly and solicitously every mother treats her child. But the love of the father is no less great. He openly acknowledges the child and clearly shows his feelings of pride and fatherliness (318), though he is otherwise

[114] [171] 318. In contrast to this, Alexander von Humboldt, with reference to the Indians on the Orinoco, writes that fathers do not have any affection for their children (A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 155).

very reserved in his expressions of feeling. When he comes wearily into the communal house after a strenuous hunting expedition or from his field work, he never forgets to devote himself first of all to his little child for a while. He either takes it on his arm and goes walking with it, or he lays it beside him in the hammock. Even during migrations of the tribe he sometimes [858] carries the child for hours. Moreover, he loves a daughter just as much as a son.

854 304 During the first year of life the ear lobes and the lower lips of boys and girls are pierced by the mother with a sharp palm thorn, and, in addition, the girls are given perforations in the corners of the mouth. To prevent the wounds from healing, small wooden rods are stuck in temporarily and moved back and forth 304 frequently.

854 833 When a little girl has completed the first year of life, she is deflowered by the mother with her finger. This procedure is done in preparation for sexual intercourse later on.

114 171 854 833 304 Similar procedures were observed by von Feldner among the Machacarí /Mashacali/ Indians, and he describes them as follows: "Nulla inter illas invenitur virgo, quia mater inde a tenera aetate filiae maxima cum cura omnem vaginae constrictionem ingredimentumque amovere studet hoc quidem modo: manui dextrae imponitur folium arboris in infundibuli formam redactum, et dum index, in partes genitales immissus huc et illud movetur, per infundibulum aqua tepida immittitur" (319). In this connection

319. von Feldner, 1828, II, p. 149, footnote.

171 /64 cont./
304 this is likewise understandable, considering their significance,
854 though the least possible loss of blood may also have been a consideration" (324).

324. Strebel, 1885, p. 13.

854 On the other hand, with regard to the Surára and Pakidái
304 it should be noted that there is no circumcision of boys among them
[833] and the defloration of small girls unequivocally serves for later sexual intercourse; there are no religious motives or hygienic reasons connected with it. Whether this was different in former times neither the chiefs nor older men and women were able to say (325a).

171 325a. It is an interesting fact that among the
304 Itälmen on Kamchatka little girls are de-
854 flowered at a very tender age by their mothers in the same manner as among the Surára and Pakidái and for the same reason (Stellers, 1774, p. 346).

This type of body deformation has been documented for China and Indonesia too. It is done there, however, for hygienic purposes, in order to remove the mucus which gathers in the genitalia (Ploss, 1912, pp. 218/19).

593 It should be mentioned further that all Surára and Pakidái
839 fathers often touch the vulva of their small daughters with the mouth and gently suck on it.

854 If a man has two or more wives, they help each other in
[595] caring for a baby. The grandmother, a sister, or the eldest
[593] daughter are also loving helpers. Infant care, of course, does
854 not require much trouble, for regular baths are unknown. It is
515 only when the crust of dirt is a little too thick that the mother washes it off a bit when she goes to fetch water from the river. The infrequent washing has the advantage that the skin is more
000 nearly invulnerable to mosquito bites. If the child's nose is not

Surára
Pakidái

/64 cont./If the child's nose is not clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, nãpe=mother and hãpe=father.

e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

/65 cont./

000 children (see pp. 64 ff.). A thin cord of cotton or plant fibers,
301 which is occasionally worn below the knees, is supposed to
856 strengthen the legs, and corresponding upper-arm cords, the muscles (in the case of boys) and the arms (in the case of girls). Moreover, small girls wear strings crossed over their chests so that they will have well-shaped breasts later on.

f) Childhood

593 Even in boyhood and girlhood the family bears the chief
857 responsibility for all educational measures. The boy, to be sure, is now drawn to the father somewhat more and gradually begins to free himself from his mother. With his bow, which his father has made for him, he daily practices shooting small birds, for it is believed that a boy who kills many birds will later become a good hunter. They are cleaned and prepared by the girls, however, and together the children then have a meal, to which the girls often contribute cooked bananas or manioc flat-cakes. In play the children are properly prepared for their future duties and responsibilities as adults. Thus, the girls occasionally also help their mothers and fetch their water or wood, or they assume the care of their younger siblings.

861 The modest, thoughtful nature of these Indian children
[157] should be emphasized. Yet they are never beaten and they never hear a harsh word either from their parents or from other adults. Gentle admonishment suffices to reprove a child if it is really
857 naughty on occasion. Even in their play, however, there are
152 seldom such quarrels as are so frequent among civilized children. It would be quite unthinkable, for example, for a Surára or Pakidái child to run to its mother in order to complain about a playmate.

524 Boys and girls grow up together quite naturally and without constraint, as is shown by the fact that group games are preferred to solitary games. A great favorite, among others, is a game of ball which they play with a monkey bladder. It is batted upward with the palm of the hand (see also p. 246). They also play a sort of tug-of-war with lianas (see p.244). Moreover, the boys
[868] often imitate the dances of the men, while the girls are very fond of string games. It is especially popular to play "mother and

/65 cont./

524 child" or "married couple." In the latter game sexual activity
524 is already often involved. As long as the children have not yet
864 reached puberty, the adults laugh about it. It is only the mothers of girls who are a little annoyed when they hear about it. They do not regard it as tragic, however, since they themselves were reprimanded about it by their mothers when they were little girls.

/66/

582 g) Marriage

At the age of 7-8 a girl as a rule has already been given in
585 marriage. The husband is usually 8-10 years older. They do not as yet lead a regular married life, however. During the day the little girl plays with other children, and only at night does she sleep
[833] in her hammock beside her husband. Sexual intercourse, however,
[593] is strictly forbidden until after the second menstruation. She also fetches firewood and water and receives prepared food for herself
[484] and her husband from her family. When the tribe is on the march, she carries the hammock of her spouse and the few household articles. Economic reasons are connected with this marriage in childhood, for the young husband must hunt for his little wife and
606 her parents. Especially noteworthy is the reserve toward in-laws which operate in such a way that son-in-law and mother-in-law never
582 speak to each other and may not visit each other. Since the fear of incest is very great in both tribes, a marriage, which is always agreed upon by the parents, may be entered into only by partners who are not related by kinship. For this reason young wives are preferably obtained from a friendly tribe; in this case, however, the young man must live there until his wife has put her second
583 menstruation behind her. Occasionally young girls and women are abducted from hostile tribes. They are first held as captives and prostitutes for some time, however, before a man may finally marry them. I met such a little female captive among the Surára. She came from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí and was approximately 15 or 16 years old.

/68 cont./

755 884 86 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemãõ would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 171 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 884 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be sure, but mandatory.

834 833 j) Sex life

The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 837 [593] If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

/69 cont./

727 83 159 give her a blow on her tonsure, which is already full of scars, or he will scratch her body bloody with the sharp little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 117).

It is worth noting that the married men do not go furtively into the forest with Nikeromá, but quite openly. When I was wandering about with the tribe, I was often able to observe during the midday rest that a married man would suddenly go up to the little captive, take her by the arm, and go off with her a short distance, while five or six other men followed. The others present, men, women, and children, would laugh about it. The [593] wives, to be sure, were somewhat angry and would now and then throw a piece of wood after their husbands, but then they would make the best of it and likewise join in the laughter, though it was somewhat bittersweet. When the men returned with Nikeromá, after about an hour, we resumed our march. The women put up with this behavior of their spouses and, for their part, enjoy themselves with other men at a suitable opportunity. They never vent their wrath on the little captive, however. There is nothing defamatory about her actions, into which she is, of course, forced, for various wives were obliged to submit in the same way before their marriage. Little Nikeromá, however, found it hard to bear her fate; she was always grave and sad, in fact, almost melancholy, and suffered very much from homesickness. Yet one day, when other women and girls are captured from a hostile tribe, a Surára man will marry her.

It should be mentioned further that the Surára chief rigorously sees to it that Nikeromá is always supplied with plenty of meat and other food. He himself and his brothers treat the little captive very well, and I never saw them go into the forest with her.

The Pakidái had two captive Makuxí women.

727 83 171 In this connection I should like to refer to a very similar observation by Ehrenreich with regard to the Šambioa /Shambioa/ (Karajá /Caraja/), which the investigator describes as follows: "Moreover, unmarried men who wish to turn to the female sex may only have intercourse with the captive Kayapo /Cayapo/ women held in semislavery, a few of whom, at least among the Šambioa,

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

173 241 199 [829] /75 cont./ According to their own statements, both tribes regard the Xiriána as their culture-bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

224 b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larâ -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norâ -- (350). The latter, however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

[593] [462] 359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

[184] 350. Among the Waikâ, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

[231]

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xâma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajâ. The

/97 cont./

[755] [959] [123] [179] the chief even asked me to give the patients "penicilina" after his healing efforts had again brought no success.

Of the various cures at which I was allowed to be present, I should like to describe in detail the following two treatments:

b) Magic cure (rekurá) for Xunamí:

Xunamí, the young, pretty wife of Kurikayawõ, fell ill quite suddenly. She had a high fever, lay apathetically in her hammock, and complained of severe chest pains. Her husband, who, with touching devotion, remained with her throughout the [593] [759] first day, that is, he sat beside her or lay in his hammock, led her several times to the nearby small river, in which she always remained for some time and drank copious amounts. She was not permitted to eat anything, but she had no desire to do so. During the night, the fever seemed to climb, for she was quite delirious and unable to sleep soundly. The next day she felt [759] even worse. Three times in the forenoon and as often in the afternoon her husband took her to the river, but there was no improvement after the baths and the drinking. At noon on the third day the husband, together with two other men, began [302] the first special cure. First of all, Kurikayawõ and the second participant painted serpentine lines on their faces and bodies with urucú, while the third one rubbed himself all over with soot. Then they all three blew snuff-powder into each other's noses and in a few minutes they were in a state of ecstasy in which they leaped wildly about the sick woman lying in her hammock, shouted loudly, and gesticulated. Then, however, the cure followed very definite directions. The man painted completely black symbolically represented the spirit of sickness -- nonexí -- whom a hostile medicine man had conjured into the body of the sick woman, and the other two men, who now identified themselves with the hekurá (see p. 200), staged a sham battle against him. At first they were armed with large sticks and beat "nonexí" in order to kill him. But he defended himself with all his might. Then he hurled arrows at him, which, however, he threw back. After that the /98/ spirit of sickness stuck a carrying basket on his head, and this suddenly fell off. At once, the other two men

Surára
Pakidái

/116 cont./

123 touched me all over my body, and they examined my spectacles with particular interest (557) and were very astonished at my

557. The Surára chief was so enthusiastic about my spectacles that he asked me to be sure to bring him a pair on my next visit.

blond hair and blue eyes. When I shaved, I was likewise surrounded by a circle of spectators (558). Even when I had to re-

558. Similar experiences were had by Chaffanjon among the Kunuaná (Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 267/68), Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipang and Makuxí /Macusi/ (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 360), and Baldus among the Tapirapé (Baldus, 1956b, p. 606).

lieve myself, I was asked where I was going, and often I was joined by companions.

191 When the Surára and Pakidái see something new for the first time or if they like an object particularly well, they
521 manifest their approval by loud clickings. They love conversation above all else, and even at night they go on talking for
[576] hours. They never interrupt each other, however.

593 Though the man is the head of the family, the wife is
692 regarded as his partner with equal rights, without whose advice he does not undertake anything important. If he has two or
595 more wives, the youngest usually leads a princess's existence, for which even the older ones must contribute. Mistreatment
593 of women occurs only on account of adultery and for reasons of jealousy. But if a man beats his wife or draws blood on her body with the little cutia-tooth knife, several companions of her own sex immediately hasten to her aid. They try to pin down the arms of the angry man, and one woman will attempt to seize his scrotum and squeeze it with all her might, so that

/116 cont./

593 he soon loses all desire for further mistreatment. The other members of the tribe watch such a spectacle with interest. Moreover, it is worth noting that most of the women are very energetic and can scold with persistence. If a woman is angry with her husband, perhaps because he was unfaithful or did not go hunting, she will often scold loudly to herself for hours, so that all the other occupants of the maloka hear every word. [572] Meanwhile, however, the man being scolded remains lying in hammock in stoic calm, for a scolding woman may never be 578 interrupted. But between women, too, there are sometimes regular cannonades of vituperation carried on with the greatest vocal display. I always had the impression that at any moment they would come to blows. Sometimes this actually happens. Then they pull one another by the hair and strike each other in the face and on the rest of the body with the hands. /117/ In this case, other women do not interfere, nor do the men. Everybody watches calmly and waits until the scuffle is over.

855 Children are treated with special love and tenderness. In most cases, they show their gratitude to their parents by bestow-
888 ing upon them everlasting affection. I never saw old people neglected (559). If they became so weak and ill that they were

[171]

559. Baldus also reports of the Tapirapé that the old people are very well treated there (Baldus, 1956, p. 603), whereas later Giacone paints a very gloomy picture in this respect about the Tukano: "Entre os índios dêsses rios, a condição dos velhos é das mais penosas .... Poderíamos dizer, sem medo de errar, que o velho ou a velha, quando não pode mais trabalhar para a famflia, é considerado como bananeira que já deu cacho, e ninguem terá compaixão deles... /Among the Indians of these rivers the situation of the old people is most painful .... We might say, without fear of error, that the old man or old woman, when

2: Becher--275 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/10/
Surara
Pakidái

352
516
854
593

Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

342
231
←

142
302
291
516
372
→

Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

213 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

● [593] [727] [184]

/216 cont./

584 "péwa písaye!" = I love you! If the girl agrees, she answers with the statement most feared and at the same time most desired by Sanemá suitors: "ipaháwana'a wahábalone!" = speak to my father!

The anxiety which the young lovers feel as a result of this custom, which prescribes that, before marrying, they must speak to the future father-in-law, is surprising. We observed it in a palpable way in one of our informants. Sometimes it is necessary to wait until the girl takes the initiative and shows signs of love. In this case it is she who brings the matter up directly with her father. But the prevalent custom seems to be that it is the boy who must go to the house of his future father-in-law, who, forewarned, waits for him toward the end of the day. The future son-in-law comes without delay, but without showing any signs of haste or nervousness in order not to attract the attention of the people. He sits down in front of his fiancee's father, his gaze lost in the distance, and says in a very low voice: "authīwana sahBĪp kobĪtob' áble" = I need, I want your daughter. Everyone in the rancheria knows that a man will soon arrive to marry one of their prettiest girls, and all desire to know this man. Should the young man have been able to enter the rancheria incognito, all are aware of his arrival now, for the father-in-law gives a shout of surprise and repeats in a loud voice the boy's statement. The youth remains impassive, without moving, while all the people congregate to look at him, asking: what did you say? what did you say? All remain expectant to hear what the father-in-law may say. But the father-in-law is in no hurry. He says that he would lack three good conucos, that the girl requested has a younger sister who also wants to get married ... etc. All his suggestions are equivalent to actual conditions, which the young man considers carefully, but when the father-in-law finally says, "wahīspa kukéne" = take the woman, the young man runs off to the forest, now well informed about what he must do.

• [593] [604] Should the girl not have a father, she would be represented by her elder brother or by her uncle.

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

836 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

● 593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their hus-
937 bands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passional
586 motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry
587 is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of
607 the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under
[836] his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has
587 always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children
593 find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have al-
[601] ways called "father" and he has called them "children." In
[184] this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

minutes later the two women were quietly walking home with the baby, who appeared to be dead.

While the mother goes about her normal tasks, with the child tied on her back all the time, the father stays in the hammock, absolutely motionless, eating nothing but fruit and palm-hearts—'they don't heat the blood,' Luis Antonio assured us.

Among the Guiana-Amazon Indians I have never heard of the father himself suffering from birth-pangs during this period of rest. Such reports, however, have come from travellers and observers of the Indian tribes inhabiting the southern regions of the lower Amazon. Before one can believe them one must accept a little more than the theory of the inter-relation of cause and effect. A good dose of barefaced auto-suggestion would also be needed to account for this phenomenon, and only the most undeveloped of the Indians would be capable of it.

IV

Of kindred interest, while we are on the subject of childbirth, is the organization of Indian society. It has been asked whether the pattern is patriarchal or matriarchal, and what part is played by the individual family.

If the question is limited to the Shirians, the answer is simple: they have reached no stage of organization above the rudimentary animal level. The family has the sole function of producing life and protecting it until the offspring is capable of fending for itself. Their society is not patriarchal, because the role of the family ceases where its physical functions cease, at the point where, in civilized societies, moral functions begin. Nor is the pattern matriarchal, because the women are held in a form of slavery, though the very lack of an exact social system means that they sometimes emerge from this to become the companions of the men—a state of affairs which may be regarded as more emancipated, or less.

The children of both sexes, while they are young, remain the exclusive responsibility of the women, but when the boys reach an age at which they can do without their mothers (this generally means as soon as they cease to be breast-fed) they become independent males and do not belong to anybody in particular. Up to a certain point the father is free to pick out one who may be

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

especially strong and intelligent, and keep him at his side, adopting him, as it were, as his successor. The little girls continue to live in the feminine world of their tribe. Shy and submissive, they take on the humblest tasks, fetching water, making the fire and helping in the preparation—highly problematical—of food.

Such definitions of customs have, however, only a relative value, like any attempt to estimate the Shirian way of life: for Shirians are to be found spread over wild territory of vast extent. Their customs are less well defined than one might suppose after reading certain tracts about primitive peoples—the Pacific islanders, for instance. These give the impression that with slight formal changes only, Western culture might have much to learn from the degree of social organization they have attained to. The Shirian tribes, cut off from one another as they are by physical barriers such as mountains and rivers, and moral barriers like the ceaseless state of war which exists between the various branches of this race of 'howling Indians', have developed their own customs in their own sporadic fashion. Sometimes they have been weakened by contact with foreigners, such as the Makiritari in the north-west and the Makushi in the east. More often they have been weakened by a lack of strong traditions, which do not spring easily from such an excessively low level of culture, where mere survival calls for an unending struggle against the tremendous power of the eternally hostile forest.

The most primitive races are those most affected by their geographical setting. Their environment conditions them. Only by adapting themselves continually to their surroundings, only by the long process of response to the determining factor of geography, can they create that growing racial identity which at last succeeds in reversing the process—that is, in conditioning the surroundings instead of being conditioned by them. But we are here touching on the larger question of the development of civilization generally.

Where the Shirians are concerned, we are still at the beginning of the beginning, when geography is the absolute determining factor. Here environment is the master of man—a creature inferior, qualitatively and quantitatively, to the region which it is his fate to inhabit.

The territory they occupy is immense. Divided though it may be by great cordilleras, which make it the breeding ground for various rivers rushing north, west and south, it possesses one marked characteristic throughout its whole extent: the sources and the headwaters of the rivers are contained in a sort of

/478 cont./

628 728 been killed, might require a greater number of years to be reconciled. Disputes which have reached the proportions of regional wars are rarely forgotten within the same generation, since there is hardly any neutral settlement left by means of which peace negotiations can be made.

The Family

591 606 A newly married couple may live in the settlement of the wife's parents or in that of the husband's parents. But if they decide to live in the settlement of the wife's parents, they cannot live in the same dwelling with them, because it is prohibited (taboo) for the husband to approach his mother-in-law. He can enter her house only when she is outside. He would not dare to come any closer to her than three or four meters. If the couple decides to live with the husband's parents, there are no such restrictions, since there is no prohibition against the daughter-in-law approaching her mother-in-law. Even suitors customarily lodge on the side opposite that of the house of their future mother-in-law, in their town.

595 [578] The majority of the men have but one wife. Those who wish to, and are able to, may have two or more wives. This practice makes more acute the shortage of marriageable women and may be one of the principal causes of the fights over wives which are started by men who have remained without any.

When a man has more than one wife, his wives may live in the same house or in several houses in a row. They work together, but each one has her own property. Frequently they are sisters since a man is more likely to marry the sister of his wife than to find another wife elsewhere.

● 593 Within the family it is the man who exercises authority. I only know of one case where the woman gives orders in the house, and this because her husband is mentally deficient.

duel. Such a duel functions to remind the allies that the host is strong and willing to display his strength to protect his sovereignty.

The practical effect of this kind of behavior is that the solidarity of political alliances is constantly threatened. Allies are always suspicious of each other's intentions, and political ties between them are tenuous.

Although the giving of women in marriage between allies serves to promote solidarity, the capacity for marriage to achieve this end in itself is limited by the constant displays of hostility and aggressiveness by both groups.

The display of ferocity is manifest at the local, village level also. No insult is too slight to go unnoticed and unchallenged. Indeed, most individuals seize upon these opportunities to display strength. Thus, a legitimate way for men to display aggressiveness is for them to beat their errant wives, to burn them with fire brands, to cut their arms and legs with machetes or to shoot them in a non-vital part of the body with a barbed arrow. Men constantly intimidate their wives and respond cruelly to the slightest provocations, such as the wife's failure to act quickly on a husband's demand for food. Men who are brutal to their wives are feared and respected by other men, for the implication of this behavior is that the man will behave equally fiercely if insulted by another man.

Men often prefer to have a wife from another village, upon whom it is easier--and safer--to vent ferocity and

cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data, the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to split.

Ideological considerations, therefore, promote friction and fighting within villages and lead to village splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek marriage alliances with other groups.

Economic practices

Local groups abandon residential and horticultural sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of their enemies. For the most part, the Yąnomamö are able to predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop within the village and it is expected that these will

Karawatari's village.

The raiders attacked the foreigners at dawn but were driven off by gunfire; a number of the Indians were killed, among them a man called HokohenawÄ, and some of the foreigners were allegedly hit with arrows. The Indians managed to capture a young girl, taking her back to Karawatari's village on the Shukumöna-u. Shortly after arriving at Karawatari's village, the abductors were in turn raided by another Shamatari village, then on the Upper Mavaca River under the leadership of MatakuwÄ, one of the two "original" Shamatari men. Karawatari's group had split from MatakuwÄ's group and was on hostile terms with it. The girl was taken by MatakuwÄ's men on this raid and brought to the Mavaca River. MatakuwÄ's village was on a branch of the Mavaca River called Kedebaböwei-u when NabÄyoma was abducted from Karawatari's group. Zerries (1964:14) gives 193[illegible] as the date of the abduction of NabÄyoma, whereas Seitz (1963:21) places it a little earlier.

In MatakuwÄ's village, NabÄyoma was given to Yoyonahi's son; he shot her with a barbed arrow for disobeying him and the girl fled into the woods to nurse her wound. At this time MatakuwÄ's group was on friendly terms with the residents of PatanowÄ-tÄka (who are now living in three distinct villages and constitute the groups from whom most of my data were taken). On one of their visits, the residents of PatanowÄ-tÄka found NabÄyoma in the woods outside MatakuwÄ's village and took her home with them when they left after visiting.

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
883 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[564] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[678] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[64] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[564] measure of his sexual prowess.

573 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mõmaribõwei-tedi
732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwã. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwã), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

595 in the family. The transfer of the woman from the older to
593 the younger brother was, in some of the cases, quite gradual. Thus, Kaobawä gave Hantoami to his younger brother, Shadadama, because his other two wives complained about not having enough game to eat. Kaobawä continued to have sexual relationships with Hantoami after she had become Shadadama's wife, and sired two of her children.

628 Another form of permitted affair is called nohimou--
722 "to befriend" or "act like a friend" to a woman. This type
836 of relationship might occur, for example, when the members
837 of a village have to take refuge with an ally. The allies invariably enter into nohimou relationships with the women of the refugees. The refugees are reluctant to give their women as wives to the men of the host village, but they are obliged to permit them to have sexual access to the women. These kinds of affairs also develop within a village between a man and the wife of a friend, or, with single girls. Again,
629 when men go on visits to other villages and bring trade goods,
504 they frequently are permitted to have affairs with the hosts'
438 women, particularly if the men have brought goods that are
837 highly prized by the hosts.
836

835 Incestuous affairs between classificatory siblings are quite common.[1] One of my female informants used husband

[1]Incest, to the (male ego) Yanomamö, is any sexual relationship with a member of one's lineage or with mother, mother's sister, mother's mother, and mother's sister's daughter. Failure to avoid a woman of the mother-in-law category is also incestuous in the eyes of the Yanomamö, but only if the woman is sexually active. Menopausal women of

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, Kąobɨwɨ was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, Krɨ̈mi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The Yąnomamɔ̈ rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the Yąnomamɔ̈ avoid incestuous affairs, according to Kąobawɨ, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. Kąobawɨ himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yaweremou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

---

[1]See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[2]By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yąnomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

the Namowei-tedi and the Boreta-tedi (Chapter V) developed out of a case such as this.

When women are given to men in allied villages, the local descent group of the girl (her father and adult brothers and, to a lesser extent, the girl's more distant agnates) decides which patrilineage of the foreign village should have her. Smaller villages are more prone to enter into alliances based on marriage exchanges than are larger villages, since smaller villages require allies to a greater extent than larger ones.[1] Local descent groups in small villages are more cohesive than descent groups in larger villages because they usually comprise a man and his adult sons; if there are distantly related agnates in small villages, these are incorporated into the local descent group. In small villages, therefore, local descent groups are more corporate because all the adult agnates of the girl have a say in her marriage. Ideally, they give the girl to a member of the politically strongest descent group of the allied village, for this group is the one from which aid will come or, conversely, the one most likely to make the decision to initiate hostilities against the smaller village.

The longer an alliance endures, the more likely it is that the exchange of women balances. The two largest

---

[1] Larger Yanomamö villages can make visiting alliances with other groups that do not lead to marriage exchanges, as it is relatively unimportant to them to stabilize such alliances by ceding women to militarily inferior groups.

I. Marriage Ties

602 593 581 583 [609] Marriages bind the groups of the spouses to each other in a system of exchanges involving goods, services, and the promise to reciprocate women at a later date. Yąnomamö marriage is peculiar in that the ties between husband and wife are very weak, but that ties between a man and his sister's husband are strong. The significance of marriage as an institution that initiates (or continues) alliances between non-agnatic groups stems, therefore, from the nature of the ties that it creates between the male members of the allied groups.

593 Ties between spouses are usually very tenuous, due largely to the fact that men are constantly suspicious of their wives' motives whenever the women leave the village unescorted. Men always suspect their wives of infidelity, and will even beat them if there is the slightest suspicion that the women have been seeing other men. A certain amount of 837 593 trysting goes on in all villages, but it is more frequent and more easily accomplished in larger villages. Discovery of [578] liaisons by the cuckold inevitably leads to club fighting 593 between the factions of the lover and the husband. The woman 684 involved usually suffers more than either of the male principals in the fighting that follows, as women are severely punished by their husbands. The punishment usually consists of a beating with a club, but men frequently shoot their unfaithful wives with barbed arrows in a non-vital area of the body, such as the buttocks or leg. In one instance I witnessed,

• 593 684 the enraged husband struck his wife in the face with a burning log, severely burning her mouth. Burning is a common punishment, and many women bear immense scars from wounds inflicted by enraged husbands. Just before I left the field [578] a fight developed in Patanowë-tedi between a man and his wife's lover. The lover was killed in the fight and the woman's husband punished her by cutting off her ears with a [65] machete. Some women have been killed by enraged husbands, but in most of these cases, the deaths resulted from wounds that were not intended to be fatal.

607 613 *621 *628 [573] Despite the fact that the tie between spouses is weak, marriages create strong ties between a man and his sister's husband. This tie is of great significance in the social organization of the Yąnomamö, as it is stable, well defined, non-ambiguous and politically important. The brother-in-law (shoriwë) tie is the key link in alliances between local descent groups, both within and between villages.

607 601 The term shoriwë (brother-in-law, MoBrSo, FaSiSo, friend) is used constantly by Yąnomamö men when they address any new male acquaintance. Shoriwë implies a set of obligations and duties between the speakers. One can depend on his shoriwë for material goods and gifts, and a request for such items from a shoriwë is not easily denied: shoriwë is, in addition to goods-giver, wife-giver. The Yąnomamö use this [797] [609] [101] term for foreigners as well; they use it so frequently that the Salesian Missionaries who have recently contacted a few

000 groups. In a large village comprised of two large lineages,
*621 each having two or more local descent groups, the particular
613 local descent groups of each lineage will have stronger ties
602 with non-agnatic descent groups within that village than with
598 groups of distantly related agnates. When there are feuds within the village, the groups that have most in common with each other are those linked by affinal rather than agnatic ties, and these affinally linked groups stick together should
[607] the feud lead to a village split.[1] While the tie between closely related agnates is stronger than that between brothers-in-law, the latter are usually stronger than the ties between distantly related agnates.

606 Finally, the son-in-law tie complements the brother-
609 in-law tie in binding local descent groups to each other
*621 within villages. Older adult males of local descent groups
613 can depend on the support of brothers, brothers-in-law, and
578 sons-in-law in village feuds, more so than on the support of
582 distantly related agnates. In the competition for women, affines in a faction exchange women rather than compete for them; just the opposite is true of the relationships between distantly related agnates.

2. Agnatic ties

• 593 *621 . One of the two most important consanguineal ties having structural concomitants among the Yanomamö is the tie between siblings of the opposite sex. These are not as

[128]

[1] See Chapter IV for a detailed discussion of the structure of village factions.

593 +621 important in the organization of village life as ties between male agnates, but a man's sisters prefer to stay in his faction when the village splits.

593 601 Males consider their role as sister's protector with some seriousness, and are prompt to defend her against sever mistreatment. The amity between siblings of the opposite sex is reflected in kinship usage. A man will frequently refer to his sister, despite her age, as owasimi, a term that may be translated as 'darling little female relative.' The term is used by both sexes to refer to their female children, nieces, sisters, daughters and granddaughters. There is a corresponding term for younger male kinsmen, owasiwë, but a man never uses it to refer to post-pubescent brothers, with whom he is generally reserved and whom he treats with coolness.

593 561 Brothers are close to each other, in an affective sense, only when their relative ages are considerably different. A man is indulgent to very young brothers, but as they enter into manhood, behavior toward them changes gradually to reserve and respect. Although there is no rite de passage for males, one can tell when a boy is approaching manhood; the first indication is the young man's display of anger when someone uses his name. The surest indication that a boy has entered manhood is name avoidance; when no one dares use his name in reference or address, the boy is an adult. Young men tend to be touchy and impulsive, as they are obliged to demonstrate their manhood by their ability to coerce others with threats of fierceness, and the use of

884 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

• 593 621 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yąnomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [583] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi {595} obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

*621 602 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed *[628] as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be affectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other *621 villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kąobawë 613 of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one 602 591 degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were [622]

[1]See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

622 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I
602
613 asked Kaobawë what he had done about it. He said he had
561 spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He
123
554 will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ulti-
571 mately had to resort to my own means to recover the flash-
light, as Kaobawë could not force Shiimima to return it.
When I questioned Kaobawë about this ineffectiveness, he
explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order
him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest
siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion
622 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every
613 feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scrap-
602
529 ing up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them
574 out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy prepar-
351
554 ing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing.
591 Kaobawë usually goes to the center of the village and begins
561 cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older
agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They
would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if
Kaobawë requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this
regard implies that one is being bossed around.

*621 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative
613
602 age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group
561 and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of
• 593 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the
602
613 group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the
solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult

593 602 613 agnates of similar age tend to compete, rather than cooperate, with each other in the affairs of the group. Each behaves in such a way that it is obvious to all that he is not being bossed around by his equals. Finally, this competition and lack of solidarity is even more pronounced when there are two or more local descent groups of the same lineage within the village.

621 601 629 691 124 Co-residence as a factor in promoting solidarity can be illustrated by kinship usage. One of my female informants, Kpobawë's wife, used affinal terms for a number of Patanowë-tedi men who were technically her agnates. I was certain that my genalogies were correct, so I re-investigated the usage. I discovered that she used 'distant' kinship terms for these 'brothers' because they lived in a different village, but that she had called them by brother terms when they lived together in Patanowë-tedi. She explained that she would again use brother terms if the two villages were to re-unite. Although the terms for agnates normally do not change when a distant agnate joins a local descent group, the co-efficient of solidarity does.

628 602 613 726 The weakness of the tie between distantly related agnates can also be demonstrated with data on fighting. After the Patanowë-tedi separated from the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi in the early '40s, hostilities between the two groups developed. Each group, however, was similar in composition[1] in that each comprised local descent groups of the

[1] See Figure 3, Chapter IV, and Appendix A for the breakdown of the populations of these villages by lineage membership.

628 602 613 726 [622] same lineages. The warfare between the two groups, therefore, was largely a struggle between groups of distantly related agnates. Kpobawë, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, participated in the raiding against the Patanowë-tedi. In one skirmish, he shot his classificatory brother, Rakoiwë, but Rakoiwë survived the wound. This man is as closely related to Kpobawë as most of the men that presently constitute his agnatic following in Upper Bisaasi-tedi, again illustrating the significance of co-residence in determining the strength [583] of the agnatic tie. Two young men from Patanowë-tedi recently joined the Bisaasi-tedi to obtain wives. After they arrived, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Patanowë-tedi resumed their old [606] hostilities. The fathers-in-law of the two men recruited [583] both of them into raiding parties that attacked the Patanowë-tedi, and both men participated willingly, despite the fact that their actual fathers and brothers live in Patanowë-tedi. One of the young men, Sirorowë, told me that he would have avoided shooting his own father (Yoyosiwë) and actual brothers, but would have shot more distant agnates.

628 726 602 607 622 That the brother-in-law tie is stronger than the tie between distantly related agnates is also illustrated in the history of a war between Mahekodo-tedi and Yabitawë-tedi. These two villages are led by men who are classificatory brothers. The war stated when a man from Boreta-tedi, a brother-in-law of the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, was killed by the Yabitawë-tedi headman in a club fight. As the slain man's sisters were married to the Mahekodo-tedi headman, the

latter felt obliged to revenge the man's death by raiding his classificatory brother's village.

Similar cases occur in internal village fighting. Nunobawä, an Upper Bisaasi-tedi man of some 60 years, gathered a stalk of bananas from his garden and hung them in the roof of his hut to ripen. His son, Dikawä, 18 years old, discovered the ripening bananas and ate a large number of them without the consent of his father. When Nunobawä discovered the loss, he went into a rage and attacked Dikawä with a club. Dikawä got his own club and began assailing the old man. This precipitated a general free-for-all in the village, as large numbers of men took one side or the other in the melee.

Club fights between historically related but separate villages also pit agnates against each other. When Bisaasi-tedi's Lower Group seized a girl that the Monou-tedi had abducted from the Patanowä-tedi, a club fight was arranged to settle the dispute. But, the most important factions in Monou-tedi and the two Bisaasi-tedi groups were local descent groups of the same lineage, and their headmen were classificatory brothers. Although the dispute and club fight ultimately involved all the able-bodied men of each village, the fight was initiated by distantly related agnatic groups of the same lineage.

Some dyadic kinship ties are more stable than others. It is not possible to say, however, that any one in particular is so inherently stable that fighting between such kinsmen can not occur. Certain kinds of violence, however, are not

likely to take place between agnates of a certain degree of blood relationship, or between affines that are cognatically related. While a father and son may club each other, it is not likely that the fight will escalate to spear thrusting or shooting with arrows. The same may be said of full brothers, but with less conviction. That is, full brothers occasionally end up in different villages when a larger village splits, particularly if they are the only males in the sibship. Should a war develop between the two villages, there is a possibility that they might kill each other in the raiding; it is not always possible, in Yąnomamö warfare tactics, to pick a victim out of a crowd of people, as the Yąnomamö occasionally shower a village with arrows in raids. Chances are that brothers would not deliberately kill each other, but the fact that one has a brother in an enemy village by no means constitutes sufficient reason to desist in raiding that village.

Club fights within villages frequently pit close agnates against each other, but when club fights escalate to killing by spear thrust, it is not likely that such agnates will fight against each other. Distantly related agnates, however, occasionally do fight against each other with the intent to kill. Much of Yąnomamö warfare involved hostilities between villages that contain as the dominant political bloc local descent groups of the same lineage.

Perhaps the most important structural difference between agnatic and affinal ties is that the former tend to grow weaker as the kinsmen get older, whereas the latter are

Most of the displays of ferocity have to do with cruelties inflicted on women, particularly wives, as this is both a safe and a legitimate way of displaying aggressiveness.

One of the corollaries of this ideology is to take advantage of weak neighbors, for in so doing one can display ferocity and gain materially (by abducting women). Villages that have many enemies are particularly good targets, for other villages can participate in the raiding against these disadvantaged villages with little fear of retaliation (see Chapter V). This attitude is also manifest in the political dealings with allies. Whenever allied villages differ markedly in size and strength, the weaker of the two is at a disadvantage, for the larger village will coerce it out of women. Since women are greatly prized, there is the constant threat that an ally will turn against its friends if the circumstances indicate that a substantial number of women can be abducted. Members of allied villages that have recently entered into alliance never really trust each other, as each fears that the other may turn on it to seize women. Whenever the men of the village go on raids, they conceal their women and children in the jungle in case a group of men from an allied village unexpectedly visit and find the poorly guarded women too much of a temptation to pass by.

Political dealings between allies are such that each attempts to demonstrate to the other that it is completely sovereign and capable of defending itself. No group can afford to permit the notion among allies that it is weak and

extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yanomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0. I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relationship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absense of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Reromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-in-law. Reromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the village. He has four adult sons to support his position. Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[1] His son, Bäkäbowë, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Reromawë is getting old.

628 721 the Patanowë-tedi for managing to overwhelm their own force led them to declare war on the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi 782 241 immediately began making a new garden at Moyenabôwei, across 726 the Mavaca River from their village and several hours inland, anticipating the war that they knew would follow. After they had cleared the large trees from their new garden site, they raided the Patanowë-tedi in the last week of January 1965, and succeeded in killing Bosibrei.

727 581 582 693 628 Another important event took place while the Monou-tedi were clearing the trees from their new garden site, an event that illustrates the same principle of political philosophy. One of the stolen women, Kakoma, was given to a young man, Karidimô, who had only one leg. Karidimô could not do heavy work, and when his village moved inland to clear their new site Karidimô moved to Bisaasi-tedi with his new wife. Kakoma, however, was not pleased with her new husband, and asked the Bisaasi-tedi if she could stay with them, hoping that she would be permitted to rejoin the Patanowë-tedi if they returned to Bisaasi-tedi to visit. The Bisaasi-tedi men obligingly took her away from Karidimô by force and gave her to a bachelor in their own village. Karidimô, enraged at this, returned to Monou-tedi to recruit aid.

628 721 578 This put the Monou-tedi in a difficult position. They were planning to raid the Patanowë-tedi and would have to maintain good relations with the Bisaasi-tedi if the revenge raids from the Patanowë-tedi became intense. They could not, however, overlook the insult to Karidimô, for this

726 628 622 [564] Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid from them. Paruriwä seized upon this as his opportunity to advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated several raids against the Patanowä-tedi without the support of Kąobäwä. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi. [602] As Paruriwä was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman (consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

156 622 [123] [593] Paruriwä's behavior in other respects changed after the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again, he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwä was entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field, 621 622 361 529 574 Paruriwä and his group separated from Kąobäwä's and moved across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up until the time he moved, visitors from other villages consistently sought out Kąobäwä as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how much effort Paruriwä spent in emphasizing his own role in the feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

*621 595 586 578 [593] Moiyoawë had two wives, Borehima and her older sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with another man, Makerawë. Moiyoawë attempted to get his wife back from Makerawë, precipitating a club fight between two factions of the village. During the club fight, Makerawë stabbed Moiyoawë with the sharp end of his club, wounding him badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyoawë's faction, Rakoiwë, who then attacked Makerawë, running him through with a sharp- [628] ened club, killing him. Makerawë's faction fled from Patanowë- [361] tedi and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids against the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the *726 625 Patanowë-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowë-tedi two times shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid they caught two Patanowë-tedi men hunting outside the village. [602] They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was Kopabëwë's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man, [115] Shinahewë. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

[593] [684] The woman over whom the internal feud started was taken away from Makerawë's group. Moiyoawë cut both her ears off to punish her.

	Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
32.	Monomi's Da.	Tom	F	0.2	
33.	Makakami	Sha	F	56	
34.	Niaiyowë	Sha	M	14	
35.	Ömonoiwë	Tom	M	28	
36.	Reromawë	Sha	M	53	Headman
37.	Rosa	Sha	F	8	
38.	Ruwisa	Tom	F	7	
39.	Shiborowë	Shamatari	M	35	See p. 214
40.	Tiaböwë	Shamatari	M	5	See p. 214
41.	Tomahewë	Tom	M	21	
42.	Tomasi	Tom	M	6	
43.	Ugushi	Hor	M	22	
44.	Waiimi	Hor	F	21	
45.	Waiyamobemi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance
46.	Waiyamobemi's son	Sha	M	0.5	
47.	Waiyuruma	Shamatari	F	50	Abducted
48.	Wakarabewë	Shamatari	M	16	Son-in-law to #6
49.	Yëbënëma	Kio	F	33	
50.	Yareama	Shamatari	F	2	See p. 214
51.	Yotoma	Tom	F	24	

Comments on particular individuals

1. Ahimi. Her present husband (Bokosiwë) visited the Patanowë-tedi within the past 5 years. Ahimi then lived in Patanowë-tedi and was married to a Sha man there (Makoakuwë), by whom she had already had one daughter (Huimashima). When Bokosiwë returned to Bisaasi-tedi, Ahimi followed him, taking her daughter with her, and became Bokosiwë's wife. As the Patanowë-tedi were technically at war with the Bisaasi-tedi, there was not much they could do to recover the woman. As they also wanted to make peace with Bisaasi-tedi, they did not press the matter.

000 11. Didihoma. See #28, Manasinawä, below.

159 12. Dimörama. This girl was abducted from a distant Shamatari
• 583 village (Kohoroshi-tedi, probably in Brazil, on the Upper
583 Cauaburi River) by the Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mömariböwei-
▶621 tedi. Her husband--the man to whom she was given after
578 being abducted--shot her in the stomach with a barbed arrow, wounding her gravely (see Shiborowä, below). The man was forced to flee from the village and take refuge in Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as other men in the village planned to use this incident as an excuse to take his wives from him. In late 1965 a party of men from Lower
159 * 622 Bisaasi-tedi, including Shiborowä, set off for Mömariböwei-
123 tedi to 'visit.' I accompanied them on their invitation.
721 They were going to Mömariböwei-tedi to take Dimörama away from her protectors by force, if necessary, and asked me to come along knowing that I always travelled with a gun, presuming that my presence, with a gun, would aid in their objective. The girl was very nearly dead when we arrived (four months had passed since she was shot, and the wound was badly inflected). As the Bisaasi-tedi were one of the only allies of the Mömariböwei-tedi, they gave up the girl without much argument, since she would have [997] died anyway. (The New Tribes Missionaries took the girl to the Territorial Capital by canoe for surgery in January 1966. She recovered from the wound and is presently living in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.)

159 21. Kakoma. This is one of the seven women abducted from the
583 Patanowä-tedi in late 1964 by the Monoa-tedi. She was
583 taken from her Monou-tedi husband by force by the Lower
* 622 Bisaasi-tedi and given to Koobauwä, one of the village
721 bachelors.

000 23. Katabema. See Shiborowä, below.

000 26. Mamorakomi. See Shiborowä, below.

159 28. Manasinawä. This man is originally from Hasaböwä-tedi,
• 593 but he moved to Bisaasi-tedi around 1940-45, along with
586 a brother, a wife, and a daughter. His wife deserted
589 him in Bisaasi-tedi, fleeing to Shibariwä-tedi. After
*628 the treacherous feast of 1950-51, in which Manasinawä's
brother was killed, he was given Hikarima, one of the
widows of that incident. He had one daughter by this
woman (Didihoma, above); she is promised to Bokosiwä.
His other daughter, by his first wife, is married to
Kaobäwä, headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Manasinawä's
[921] father was killed by Husiwä of Patanowä-tedi, so he
joined the Bisaasi-tedi to take revenge on the Patanowä-
tedi, as the two villages were at war then.

159 39. Shiborowä. He fled from his native village, Mömariböwei-
593 tedi, to avoid a fight and the possible loss of his
*621 wives. He shot one of his wives in a fit of rage
*628 (Dimörama, above), and his rivals took the girl away
from him. To avoid a fight in which he had no supporters,
he fled to Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as he had given one of his
daughters (Monomi) to a man in that village. He brought
his second wife (Mamorakomi) and his three juvenile
children with him (Tiaböwä, Yareama, and Katabema). The
Lower Bisaasi-tedi welcomed him, as he had two daughters
to claim as wives; they assisted him in recovering his
second wife.

000 40. Tiaböwä. See Shiborowä, above.

50. Yareama. See Shiborowä, above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that I had to become very much like the Yąnomamö to be able to get along with them on their terms: sly, aggressive, and intimidating. 114 123

Had I failed to adjust in this fashion I would have lost six months of supplies to them in a single day or would have spent most of my time ferrying them around in my canoe or hunting for them. As it was, I did spend a considerable amount of time doing these things and did succumb to their outrageous demands for axes and machetes, at least at first. More importantly, had I failed to demonstrate that I could not be pushed around beyond a certain point, I would have been the subject of far more ridicule, theft, and practical jokes than was the actual case. In short, I had to acquire a certain proficiency in their kind of interpersonal politics and to learn how to imply subtly that certain potentially undesirable consequences might follow if they did such and such to me. They do this to each other in order to establish precisely the point at which they cannot goad an individual any further without precipitating retaliation. As soon as I caught on to this and realized that much of their aggression was stimulated by their desire to discover my flash point, I got along much better with them and regained some lost ground. It was sort of like a political game that everyone played, but one in which each individual sooner or later had to display some sign that his bluffs and implied threats could be backed up. I suspect that the frequency of wife beating is a component of this syndrome, since men can display their ferocity and show others that they are capable of violence. Beating a wife with a club is considered to be an acceptable way of displaying ferocity and one that does not expose the male to much danger. The important thing is that the man has displayed his potential for violence and the implication is that other men better treat him with respect and caution. 114 123 152 [593]

After six months, the level of demand was tolerable in the village I used for my headquarters. The Indians and I adjusted to each other and knew what to expect with regard to demands on their part for goods, favors, and services. Had I confined my fieldwork to just that village alone, the field experience would have been far more enjoyable. But, as I was interested in the demographic pattern and social organization of a much larger area, I made regular trips to some dozen different villages in order to collect genealogies or to recheck those I already had. Hence, the intensity of begging and intimidation was fairly constant for the duration of the fieldwork. I had to establish my position in some sort of pecking order of ferocity at each and every village. 114 121 123

For the most part, my own "fierceness" took the form of shouting back at the Yąnomamö as loudly and as passionately as they shouted at me, especially at first, when I did not know much of their language. As I became more proficient in their language and learned more about their political tactics, I became more sophisticated in the art of bluffing. For example, I paid one young man a machete to cut palm trees and make boards from the wood. I used these to fashion a platform in the bottom of my dugout canoe to keep my possessions dry when I traveled by river. That afternoon I was doing informant work in the village; the long-awaited mission supply boat arrived, and most of the Indians ran out of the village to beg goods from the crew. I continued to work in the village for another hour or so and went down to the river to say "hello" to the men on the supply boat. I was angry when I discovered that the Indians had chopped up all my palm boards and used them to paddle their own canoes[5] across the river. I knew that if 114 123 [799]

[5]The canoes were obtained from missionaries, who, in turn, got them from a different tribe. [501] [439]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

[847]

Kąobawä's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

[593]
[839]

Kąobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

[822]
[156]

142
301
302
516
291
854

Fig. 1-4. Kaomashima, Kąobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers
[622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village,
[156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the
[582] villages to which Kąobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kąobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kąobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relation-
[622] ships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[583] He does not intend to stay in Kąobawä's group and has not made a garden. He
[591] feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an
[837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked
[593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother
[578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kąobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kąobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good
[522] side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yąnomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2–7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18_Yanoama SQ18

that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yąnomamö category *suaböya* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III–1) would have called the woman *suaböya* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *bąroya*.

The marriage of III–1 to III–2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II–1 and II–4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I–2 was an *adopted* brother to I–3, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin*. Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kąobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kąobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Ariwari, Kąobawä's son. Ariwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3–3). Ariwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kąobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.)

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yąnomamö do not distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A.

Case B also illustrates *sororal polygyny:* III–1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters.

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II–3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Upper Bisaasi-teri, and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Table 1). Politically, they are either the two dominant lineages in each of the above-named villages or one of the two dominant lineages. For example, the headmen of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kaobawä and Reromauwä, respectively, come from the *Sha* lineage. In Patanowä-teri there are two headmen, one from the *Sha* lineage and one from the *Hor* lineage. Finally, in Monou-teri, the headmanship shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage in 1965 because the *Sha* headman was killed in a raid by men from Patanowä-teri. I might add that he was killed by men of his own lineage to whom he was related as "brother." After he died, his brother-in-law, of the *Hor* lineage, assumed the leadership. It is not surprising that the headmanship shifted to this large, important group. In terms of sheer numbers, the *Hor* lineage (see Table 3–1) was stronger than the *Sha* lineage in Monou-teri. The distribution of political power within these two lineages underscores the dual organization of most Yanomamö villages.

It is apparent from the foregoing example that the ties between agnates who live in different villages are not necessarily amicable. The most bitter fighting, in fact, takes place between members of different villages who are related to each other agnatically. It is not uncommon for men to kill their classificatory brothers in the ensuing raids. As a consequence of the killing of the Monou-teri headman, for example, the raiders from Monou-teri avenged his death by shooting Bosibrei of Patanowä-teri. The two men who actually killed Bosibrei were related to their victim as brothers. Similarly, Kaobawä himself shot Rakoiwä, the present *Sha* headman of Patanowä-teri, wounding him badly. He had shot to kill even though Rakoiwä was his older (classificatory) brother.

Once the lineage splits up and is redistributed in several villages, the ties between the men of that lineage weaken dramatically. And, as we shall see below, the fissioning of a village is frequently the result of a bitter club fight within the village over the possession of women. The result is that many villages that have a common history are at war with each other due to the nature of the feuds that led to their splitting away from the common village. The Patanowa-teri, for example, are at war with all three of the villages from which they originally separated (see Fig. 3–5, discussed later).

The kinship ties between agnates who live in the same village are likewise quite weak. They are strongest between a man and his younger brothers, for the age differences alone call forth a certain amount of respect and amity. An older man can be expected to aid his younger brothers in fights and help them to secure wives. In some cases, the younger man obtains his wife from a polygynous older brother; some men appear to accumulate extra wives with the intention of passing them on to their younger brothers. Kaobawä, for example, gave one of his wives to a younger brother and will probably give another wife to a second younger brother. (He is presently permitting the brother to share her sexual services.) Kaobawä's older wife, Bahimi, is quite jealous of the co-wives because they can command some of the tasty morsels of food that would otherwise be her own prerogative. And, since the younger wives are more attractive physically, Kaobawä does pay considerable attention to them. In Lower Bisaasi-teri, one of Kaobawä's classificatory brothers was forced by his older wife to get rid of his young, attractive second wife. The man gave her to an unmarried younger brother. He himself had acquired the younger wife as part of a political alliance he had made with the members of an allied village, knowing at the time that his first wife would object strenuously to the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

TABLE 3-1

VILLAGE COMPOSITION BY LINEAGE MEMBERSHIP*

Lineage	Male	Female	Total
A. Lower Bisaasi-teri			
Sha	9	7	16
Tom	9	3	12
Hor	1	2	3
Kio	2	4	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	1	1	2
	25	26	51
B. Upper Bisaasi-teri (Kaobawä's group)			
Sha	11	14	25
Hor	8	5	13
Kio	5	11	16
Kah	5	3	8
Shamatari	3	7	10
Other	5	8	13
	37	48	85
C. Monou-teri			
Sha	11	9	20
Hor	15	8	23
Kio	3	3	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	2	3	5
	34	32	66
D. Patanowä-teri			
Hor	58	33	91
Sha	39	29	68
Kah	17	8	25
Kar	1	3	4
Shamatari	2	6	8
Other	5	11	16
	122	90	212

*Revised version of Appendix A, Chagnon 1966.

transaction. Still, he took the girl. When domestic tranquility could no longer be maintained, he passed her on to his younger brother.

The relationship between a man and his brothers of approximately the same age are generally not amicable. Brothers of the same approximate age tend to be jealous of each other and treat one another with considerable reserve and respect. A man can directly ask an immature younger brother to execute some task for him, but he can

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally true should one of them be the village headman. Kaobawä can ask his youngest brothers to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village plaza to prepare the dance site, Kaobawä himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will join him, but only on their own initiative. He could not directly ask them to do this work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a younger brother to Kaobawä, but already a mature adult. I asked Kaobawä to help me get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around. By contrast, Kaobawä could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight, since the latter was not yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence, anxious to display personal autonomy.

Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many circumstances. Kaobawä continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary) his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar account.

In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers. That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage begins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogically more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Generation V of Fig. 3–1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.[9] Local descent groups have three characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a member of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife elsewhere, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

[9]Leach, 1951. Yąnomamö local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yąnomamö such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yąnomamö local descent groups closely fit Leach's definition.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

father. He can rejoin them later and again become an active member, but while he lives in a different village he does not participate in the political affairs of that group. Third, the group is *corporate* with respect to the functions of arranging the marriages of the female members. This is the most important single feature of the local descent group: its *function*. The first two characteristics of the group dealt only with the manner in which members can be recruited to the group (birth in the group and coresidence of such kinsmen). In anthropological usage, a corporation is a group of people who share some *estate* and have *rights* and *obligations* with respect to each other and to the estate. There are definite rules for recruiting new members into the corporation. Most studies of primitive corporations have dealt with those societies in which *land* is the estate of the corporation. (See, for example, Fried 1957.) Among the Yąnomamö, land has nothing to do with the functions of the corporate group. Women and rights to dispose of women in marriage constitute the estate of the Yąnomamö corporate groups. Leach is the first anthropologist to draw attention to the analytical importance of this kind of corporation (1961, Chapter 5), although Radcliffe-Brown (1953), in one of the first theoretical discussions of primitive corporations, emphasized the importance of rights over *persons* in some kinds of corporations.

Marriages are arranged by the male members of the local descent group. It cannot be supposed, for example, that the marriage rules automatically dictate the manner in which a woman is disposed in marriage; there are always some negotiations brought about by the situation. For example, a small village may require alliances with larger villages for purposes of defense, and the men of the small village may promise to give daughters to men in the larger village; or there may be a number of men within the village that stand in wife-receiving relationship to the girl, and a decision must be made regarding her ultimate disposition. In some cases a woman's daughters are promised to young men even before they are born. Generally, the girls are near puberty age by the time they are definitely given to a specific male, and they begin cohabiting with the man shortly after the puberty ceremony is over. In some situations a woman must be reassigned to an appropriate mate because her first husband died or abandoned her; or she might run away from a cruel husband and seek refuge among her brothers, bringing about a situation in which they must decide what to do with her.

Women abhor the possibility of being given to men in distant villages, since their fate is much less certain. Men in general are cruel to their wives, and the women rely on the protection of their brothers. A woman who is given to a man in a distant village, therefore, will generally have no brothers to protect her.

A man has considerably more say about the disposition of his daughters when he is young and has immature sons. As the sons grow older, they can overrule the father and insist that the girl be given to a man from some lineage that is likely to reciprocate with a sister. Ideally, women like to be given to men within their natal village. In this fashion the women can remain close to their own kinsmen and rely on the support of their brothers should the husband be particularly cruel. The best arrangement for everyone concerned is for the girl to be given to a man to whom she is related as FaSiDa or MoBrDa in the biological sense. Marriages of this kind exempt the husband from the onerous duty of stringently avoiding his parents-in-law, whereas they at the same time bind the wife-giving and wife-receiving groups more closely together in the system of reciprocities. As Kąobawä stated it, "It is good for groups to exchange women back and

137
142
291
301
462
482
313

Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers.

462 313 [482]

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity.

573 462 [252] 593 164 [837]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously, and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kaobawã, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

11: Chagnon F-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by caustically accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their forward position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kajobawä, for example, lets Ariwari beat him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwari is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flash of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by cousins, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

Fig. 3-7. Ariwari, Kajobawä's favorite son, holdings a machete-blow-bow while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.

111 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharaniwä, Kaobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kaobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kaobawä's younger wife. Kaobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kaobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yanomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *kashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kaobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Sharaiwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Sharaiwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Sharaiwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

156 622 628 607 574 721 [123] [714] [123] 156 622 593 578

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with Kąobawä the possibility of peace between their two villages. They were brothers-in-law to him and were fairly certain that he would protect them from the village hotheads. One of the ambitious men in Kąobawä's group saw in this an opportunity to enhance his prestige and made plans to murder the three visitors. This man, Paruriwä, was a very cunning, treacherous fellow and quite jealous of Kąobawä's position as headman. He wanted to be the village leader and privately told me to address him as the headman. On this occasion Kąobawä let it be known that he intended to protect the visitors. For the better part of the day the village was in a state of suspense. Paruriwä and his followers were not to be found anywhere; a rumor spread that they had painted themselves black and were well armed. Kąobawä and his supporters, mostly his own brothers and brothers-in-law, remained in the village all day, their weapons close at hand. Late in the afternoon Paruriwä and his men appeared in their black paint and took up strategic posts around the village. He himself held an axe. He strutted arrogantly up to the visitors holding his axe as if he were ready to strike. The village became very quiet, and most of the women and children left. Neither Kąobawä nor the Patanowä-teri visitors batted an eyelash when Paruriwä approached, although the others were visibly nervous and sat up in their hammocks. Instead of striking the visitors with the axe as he appeared to suggest he was going to do, he invited one of them out to chant with him. Within seconds all three of the visitors had paired off with members of Paruriwä's group and were chanting passionately with them, explaining the reasons for their visit and giving their justification for the state of hostilites.

The crisis has been averted because of Kąobawä's implied threat that he would defend the visitors with force. A number of men in Paruriwä's group were visitors from Monou-teri; their headman had been killed a few months earlier by the Patanowä-teri. When Paruriwä failed to go through with his plan, they left the village in a rage, hoping to recruit a raiding party in their own village and ambush the visitors when they left.

Kąobawä realized that the visitors would not be safe until they got back home, since the Monou-teri would attempt to intercept them. He visited me that night and asked me to take the visitors back to their village at dawn in my canoe, knowing that I had already planned a trip there for the immediate future. After I agreed to accelerate my own plans, he proceeded to give me instructions about the trip: I was not to stop at any of the villages along the Orinoco River to visit, for all of them were at war with the Patanowä-teri and would shoot my companions on sight. The Patanowä-teri men lay on the floor of my canoe and covered themselves with a tarp when we passed these villages. The people on the bank shouted curses at me for not stopping to visit and give them trade goods. At this time the Patanowä-teri were being raided by about a dozen different villages. We had to cover part of the distance to their village on foot, proceeding very cautiously because of the danger of raiders. At one point the men showed me the spot where a Hasaböwä-teri raiding party had killed a Patanowä-teri woman a week earlier. Thus, Kąobawä not only protected the visitors while they were in his village but he also arranged a "safe-conduct" for their return.

Kąobawä keeps order in the village when people get out of hand. Paruriwä, for example, is particularly cruel to his four wives and beats them mercilessly for even slight provocations. None of his wives have brothers in the village, and few people are courageous enough to interfere with Paruriwä when he is angry. On one occasion Kąobawä was holding a feast for the members of an allied village. His preparations were being

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paturiwā, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paturiwā's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paturiwā went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paturiwā recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kąobawā had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paturiwā before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kąobawā disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

On another occasion one of Kąobawā's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kąobawā managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kąobawā stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3-9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

Fig. 3-9. Kąobawā (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been bashed on the head and blood is streaming down his back.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

If such a duel is escalated, it usually develops into a side-slapping contest. Occasionally, the combatants will sue for the use of machetes and axes, but this is rare. If machetes are used, the object of the contest still remains the same: Injure your opponent seriously enough so that he will withdraw from the contest, but try not to draw blood. Hence, opponents strike each other with only the flat of the blade when they resort to machetes.

In some areas the Yąnomamö modify the chest-pounding duel in another way: The opponents hold rocks in their clenched fists and strike their adversaries on the chest with an even more stunning blow. They try not to let the stone itself touch the flesh of the man they are fighting. Even without the use of stones, however, they are able to deliver their blows with such force that some of the participants cough up blood for days after having been in a duel.

Club fights represent the next level of violence. These can take place both within and between villages. Most of the club fights result from arguments over women, but a few of them develop out of disputes associated with food theft. Dikawä, a young man about twenty years old, came home one day and discovered a bunch of eating bananas his father, about fifty-five years old, had hung up in his house, above his hearth, to ripen in the smoke. Dikawä, however, ate a number of them without his father's permission. When his father discovered the theft, he ripped a pole out of his house and began clubbing Dikawä. Dikawä armed himself with a similar club and attacked his father, precipitating a general melee that soon involved most of the men in the village, each taking the side of the father or son, as they saw fit. In brawls such as these, many individuals join in the fighting just to keep the sides even; if a group is badly outnumbered, they will be joined by friends whose sense of fairness stimulates them to take sides, no matter what the issue is. The net result of the above fight was a number of lacerated skulls, bashed fingers, and sore shoulders. The contestants try to hit each other on the top of the head, but when the fight gets out of hand, the participants swing wildly and rarely hit their opponents on the skull. More frequently, the blow lands on the shoulder or arm.

The clubs used in these fights are, ideally, 8 to 10 feet long. They are very wiry, quite heavy, and deliver a tremendous wallop. In general shape and dimensions, they resemble pool cues, but are nearly twice as long. The club is held at the thin end, which is frequently sharpened to a long point in case the fighting escalates to spear thrusting, in which case the club is inverted and used as a pike.

Most duels start between two men, usually after one of them has been caught *en flagrante* trysting with the other's wife. The enraged husband challenges his opponent to strike him on the head with a club. He holds his own club vertically, leans against it and exposes his head for his opponent to strike. After he has sustained a blow on the head, he can then deliver one on the culprit's skull. But as soon as blood starts to flow, almost everybody rips a pole out of the house frame and joins in the fighting, supporting one or the other of the contestants.

Needless to say, the tops of most men's heads are covered with long, ugly scars of which their bearers are immensely proud. Some of them, in fact, keep their head cleanly shaved on top to display these scars, rubbing red pigment on their bare scalps to define them more precisely. Viewed from the top, the skull of an accomplished man of forty years looks like a road map, for it is criss-crossed by as many as twenty large scars (see

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Fig. 5–1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowã-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the village, a brother of Kaobawã, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowã-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

Spears are not commonly used by the Yanamamö. A rare form of fighting, however, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the headman of one of the villages north of Kaobawã's area, took her away from him by force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yaioama SQ18

original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited aid from their allies. Kąobawä's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that took the woman away from the cruel husband.

When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yąnomamö had deceived the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.[1] Thereafter, the two groups were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered. If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebawä told me of a raid he went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebawä, the raid was not a good one because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by Torokoiwä, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwä got sick of seeing this, so he shot the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

[1] The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yąnomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yąnomamö villages, as the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yąnomamö, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinsmen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doubt my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yąnomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kąobawä's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggressive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *waiwai* (fierce one) of the group.

Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatari girl. Damowä seduced her, thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the final club fight that led to the separation of Kąobawä's group from the Monou-teri. Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kąobawä then organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kąobawä's raiders. Nobody

726 If there are novices in the raiding party, the older men will conduct mock raids, showing
701 them how they are to participate. A grass dummy or soft log is frequently employed in
702 this, as was the case in the *wayu itou* held in the village the day before the raiders left. Particularly young men will be positioned in the marching party somewhere in the middle of the single file of raiders so they will not be the first ones to be exposed to danger should the raiders themselves be ambushed. These young men will also be permitted to retreat first. Damowã had a twelve-year-old son when he was killed. This boy, Matarawã, was recruited into the raiding party to give him an opportunity to avenge his father's death. The older men made sure he would be exposed to minimum danger, as this was his first raid.

726 The separated groups of raiders approach the village at dawn and conceal themselves near the commonly used paths to the source of drinking water. They wait for the enemy to come to them. A good many of the victims of raids are shot while fetching water.

Frequently, the enemy is wary and acts defensively at all times when there is an [722] active war going on. Only large groups of people can leave the village, and these are well armed. Raiders will not attack a large group such as this. When the enemy is found to be this cautious, the raiders have no choice but to retreat or to shoot volleys of arrows blindly into the village, hoping to strike someone at a distance. They retreat after they release their arrows, depending on the gossip of other villages to learn if their arrows did find their marks. Rarely, one of the raiders will attempt to enter the village during the night and kill someone while he sleeps. Damowã's younger brother allegedly accomplished this on one raid, but few men are brave enough to try it. Most of the time the raiders manage to ambush a single individual, kill him, and retreat before they are discovered. This is considered to be the most desirable outcome of the raid.

722 The women were nervous, frightened, and irritable while the men were away,
[542] and they were constantly on the lookout for raiders from other villages. This is always
+[628] a time to suspect raiders, since allies occasionally turn on their friends when the women are poorly guarded, abducting as many as possible while their husbands are away.

After several days the women were so frustrated and anxious that fights began to [578] break out among them. One woman got angry because another one, her sister and co-wife, [593] left her to tend a small baby. When the mother returned, the angry one picked up a piece of firewood and bashed her on the side of her head with it, knocking her unconscious and causing her ear to bleed profusely.

726 The raiders had been gone almost a week when Kąobawã and his youngest brother
484 staggered into the village, nearly dead from exhaustion. Kąobawã's pains had gotten
[164] so bad that he decided to turn back just before they reached the Patanowã-teri village. He could barely walk by that time and would not have been able to elude pursuers should the enemy have given chase. Sharariwã, his brother, decided to accompany him back lest he run into a group of Patanowã-teri hunters, or his condition grow even more severe. Shortly after they had dropped out of the raiding party, Sharariwã stepped on a snake and was bitten. The rains had started, and the snakes were beginning to concentrate on the higher grounds, making walking a hazard. His leg began to swell immedi- [758] ately, and he could not walk. Hence, Kąobawã had to carry him out on his back, despite the fact that he could barely walk himself. Carrying him for nearly two days, he managed to reach the Orinoco River. Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,[3] so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Sharaiwä had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kąobawä was very exhausted from the trip.

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chanted briefly with Kąobawä, explaining that they had reached Patanowä-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowä-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwä of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart.

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwä with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound.

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yanomamö have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwä was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered.

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowä-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowä. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *unokaimou* ceremony.

They were given spaces in Kąobawä's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kąobawä felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowä's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwä of Kąobawä's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowä-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowä-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they

[3] The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kąobawä's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Biasasi-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Biasasi-teri would not borrow it.

4: Wilbert--64 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Nabudub

291
142
516
854

Nabudub Indians in front of their house - an imitation of a Makiritare house.

142
291
352
516
● 594
283

A Nabudub (Sanemá) nuclear family in front of its house.
The hammocks are of vegetal fiber.

/209 cont./

596 591 [182] itself to an arrangement of this sort. In their seminomadic state there do not seem to be any sufficiently decisive economic factors to require a unilocal residence rule, which in a way would hinder a young man, after his marriage, from remaining in the group of his family of orientation or from leaving in order to found his family of procreation matrilocally, according to the particular circumstances. But what we are sure of is that the irregularities observed are precisely a result of the economic and technological changes which the Sanemá of the regions /210/ adjacent to the Makiritare are undergoing via the process of acculturation. The cultivation of the land, although still rudimentary, and the possibility of augmenting their properties have brought about as a natural consequence, not only greater stability and possibly a considerable demographic increase, but also the impetus which disrupts the balanced equilibrium present in the custom of choosing the postnuptial residence which is fundamental for the bilocal extended family (cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 38). So it is that one of the factors which has most contributed to bringing about disequilibrium among the Sanemá was the adoption of the Caribe agricultural system. The postmatrimonial moving from one local group to another was not of any particular importance in a nomadic society, but nowadays it presents certain difficulties not even suspected previously, for a man now has to leave his cultivated fields if he is to go with his wife. We are sure that the tendencies in the direction of the unilocal custom have their roots precisely in this economic change. Finally, the existence of the bilocal extended family among the Yanoama is in complete accord with the Hawaiian type of social organization which we are describing as typical for this tribe.

591 596 197 241

[601]

594 621 Without knowing a Sanemá nuclear family intimately, it is difficult to group with certainty the members of a local group solely on the basis of their family ties, particularly in a community in which polygamy, the sororate, the levirate, and a Hawaiian kinship system are practiced. There are occasions, however, on which the members of a nuclear family gather together: to eat, to sleep, etc., and, in spite of our not having full knowledge of Sanemá society, we can, with all this, say that the nuclear

/210 cont./

594 621 family exists as a definite cell in that tribe, assuming all the functions and all the specific responsibilities of that social entity. Thus, there exists the formal arrangement of marriage, which sanctions sexual contact between the spouses and guarantees procreation. There exists economic co-operation among the members of the nuclear family, which organizes work and apportions the necessary subsistance and, in this way, injects persistence in the family's living together. There are practically no tasks which exceed the capacity of the nuclear family and the children learn the way of life directly from their parents and elders.

[86]

594 354 The most visible center of the nuclear family is the fire around which they eat and sleep. From here they go out to their work and, upon their return, reassemble at the fireside. After a long trip, the man takes the small sticks from his quiver and makes a fire; there is a new fire; a new home is established.

596 621 Each individual Sanemá belongs also to an extended family made up according to the residence rules already explained. The local group /211/ consists of two or more of these extended families of the same bilateral kinsfolk and form /sic/ a band. This local group or band is the largest social unit to which a Sanemá belongs. The terms "subtribe" and "tribe" which we use are artificial terms lacking in real meaning for the Sanemá. But the band is definitely a familiar concept for him, one which he knows very well and with which he identifies. The band guarantees economic and social stability, and its well-being benefits the individual member, who feels tied to it by a multitude of family ties.

[619]

621 628 Each local group has innumerable enemies, while the circle of friends is extremely small. Contact between all of one group with a neighboring group is rare, but does sometimes occur. They sometimes get together for commercial reasons or at funeral ceremonies, but their friendship is weak and unstable.

601 582 600 We were unable, for lack of an informant, to obtain a list of kinship terms. Our impression is that a Hawaiian system is involved. One may not marry a female cross or parallel cousin. There are

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

minutes later the two women were quietly walking home with the baby, who appeared to be dead.

While the mother goes about her normal tasks, with the child tied on her back all the time, the father stays in the hammock, absolutely motionless, eating nothing but fruit and palm-hearts—'they don't heat the blood,' Luis Antonio assured us.

Among the Guiana-Amazon Indians I have never heard of the father himself suffering from birth-pangs during this period of rest. Such reports, however, have come from travellers and observers of the Indian tribes inhabiting the southern regions of the lower Amazon. Before one can believe them one must accept a little more than the theory of the inter-relation of cause and effect. A good dose of barefaced auto-suggestion would also be needed to account for this phenomenon, and only the most undeveloped of the Indians would be capable of it.

IV

Of kindred interest, while we are on the subject of childbirth, is the organization of Indian society. It has been asked whether the pattern is patriarchal or matriarchal, and what part is played by the individual family.

If the question is limited to the Shiriana, the answer is simple: they have reached no stage of organization above the rudimentary animal level. The family has the sole function of producing life and protecting it until the offspring is capable of fending for itself. Their society is not patriarchal, because the role of the family ceases where its physical functions cease, at the point where, in civilized societies, moral functions begin. Nor is the pattern matriarchal, because the women are held in a form of slavery, though the very lack of an exact social system means that they sometimes emerge from this to become the companions of the men—a state of affairs which may be regarded as more emancipated, or less.

The children of both sexes, while they are young, remain the exclusive responsibility of the women, but when the boys reach an age at which they can do without their mothers (this generally means as soon as they cease to be 'breast-fed') they become independent males and do not belong to anybody in particular. Up to a certain point the father is free to pick out one who may be

/59 cont./

595 From this list of families one gains the impression that monogamy predominates. But I was assured by my informants that those warriors who thus far have only one wife would be glad to take a second or even a third one, as was customary among their forefathers. The small number of persons in the tribes, however, has caused a shortage of women, so that most of the men are forced to be content with one spouse.

619 /60/ 3. Political Structure

These low population figures could, moreover, arouse the suspicion that it is not tribes, but only tribal divisions that are involved here, especially on account of the connubium in which they live, or merely groups. The chiefs and war chiefs named, however, told me emphatically that the Surára as well as the Pakidái were formerly large and mighty and distributed in many malokas. [185] They regard achieving this size again as a goal worth striving for.

622 An institutional chiefdom with a definitely established succession prevails in both tribes. If the chief dies, his next younger brother automatically takes his place. Only if the youngest brother is dead may the first-born son of the oldest brother, who by that time is usually an older man, occupy the office of chief.

624 701 In addition there is the war chief. This position is not hereditary; rather, the bravest warrior is chosen for it. During peacetimes he has no prerogatives whatever and lives like an ordinary member of the tribe. Only during military encounters does he take over the [622] leadership, while the real chief, as religious head, doctor, and teacher, is protected and does not take part; the same is true for his brothers.

622 159 The Surára chief Hewemão, very bold and intelligent, is a truly great personality; his orders are respected by all members of the tribe without opposition. When he was still a youth, his father, Xoromão, was killed with two arrow shots by Makuxí /Macusi/ Indians. Hewemão eldest brother, Xaraíma, assumed the succession, but he died of a fever about eight years ago.

/64 cont./
this is likewise understandable, considering their significance, though the least possible loss of blood may also have been a consideration" (324).

324. Strebel, 1885, p. 13.

On the other hand, with regard to the Surára and Pakidái it should be noted that there is no circumcision of boys among them and the defloration of small girls unequivocally serves for later sexual intercourse; there are no religious motives or hygienic reasons connected with it. Whether this was different in former times neither the chiefs nor older men and women were able to say (325a).

325a. It is an interesting fact that among the Itälmen on Kamchatka little girls are deflowered at a very tender age by their mothers in the same manner as among the Surára and Pakidái and for the same reason (Stellers, 1774, p. 346).

This type of body deformation has been documented for China and Indonesia too. It is done there, however, for hygienic purposes, in order to remove the mucus which gathers in the genitalia (Ploss, 1912, pp. 218/19).

It should be mentioned further that all Surára and Pakidái fathers often touch the vulva of their small daughters with the mouth and gently suck on it.

If a man has two or more wives, they help each other in caring for a baby. The grandmother, a sister, or the eldest daughter are also loving helpers. Infant care, of course, does not require much trouble, for regular baths are unknown. It is only when the crust of dirt is a little too thick that the mother washes it off a bit when she goes to fetch water from the river. The infrequent washing has the advantage that the skin is more nearly invulnerable to mosquito bites. If the child's nose is not

Surára
Pakidái

595 /66 cont./

The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the Pakidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Various other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies, these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

587

835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do not call them uncle, but likewise father.

881 h) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl, [302] on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú, a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may 881 speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. During 304 the second day her mother or another woman applies a pinpoint tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either [413] side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a [824] pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty- [386] gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured, leaves a dark blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the [147] little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears, and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysterious forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life. 881 With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated, and after that a small celebration takes place.

/68 cont./

755 884 886 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemão would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 171 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 884 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be sure, but mandatory.

834 833 j) Sex life

The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 837 [593] If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

Surára
Pakidái

/116 cont./

123 touched me all over my body, and they examined my spectacles with particular interest (557) and were very astonished at my

557. The Surára chief was so enthusiastic about my spectacles that he asked me to be sure to bring him a pair on my next visit.

blond hair and blue eyes. When I shaved, I was likewise surrounded by a circle of spectators (558). Even when I had to re-

558. Similar experiences were had by Chaffanjon among the Kunuaná (Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 267/68), Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipang and Makuxí /Macusi/ (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 360), and Baldus among the Tapirapé (Baldus, 1956b, p. 606).

lieve myself, I was asked where I was going, and often I was joined by companions.

191 When the Surára and Pakidái see something new for the first time or if they like an object particularly well, they
521 manifest their approval by loud clickings. They love conversation above all else, and even at night they go on talking for
[576] hours. They never interrupt each other, however.

593 Though the man is the head of the family, the wife is
692 regarded as his partner with equal rights, without whose advice he does not undertake anything important. If he has two or
595 more wives, the youngest usually leads a princess's existence, for which even the older ones must contribute. Mistreatment
593 of women occurs only on account of adultery and for reasons of jealousy. But if a man beats his wife or draws blood on her body with the little cutia-tooth knife, several companions of her own sex immediately hasten to her aid. They try to pin down the arms of the angry man, and one woman will attempt to seize his scrotum and squeeze it with all her might, so that

/216 cont./

584 There are cases in which a brother or a friend of the suitor wishes to serve as intermediary and offers to speak to the father-in-law. The gesture is very well received and highly appreciated.

585 583 During the first two or three days the young husband remains in the forest /217/ hunting; the woman hangs her hammock near that of her husband in the house of the family of orientation, [476] that is, where she has always lived. This time having elapsed, the man tries to bring together some twenty friends to help him clear the land for the three conucos requested by his father-in-law. Usually he has no difficulty in finding this help. The father of the boy and his brothers do their best to feed the workers well, and, when the work is done, the young husband offers them as presents arrows, bows, etc. which they refuse to accept. Later, the man begins to clear some conucos for his own family.

584 627 Our informant from the upper Caura insisted that, once consent has been obtained, delivery is definite and the girl cannot then accept any other young man. In order to give us an example, he told us what had happened to a man of his group.

A girl had accepted him as a husband, but, because of unforeseen circumstances, he had not had time to talk to the father-in-law. Then the girl surrendered to another young man and married him. The father-in-law knew nothing about the first offer. One day the people of the pueblo found the young couple in their hammock pierced by two arrows poisoned with curare. The murderer informed the father-in-law and the inhabitants of the rancheria of the motive which had caused him to perpetrate the crime. Neither the father-in-law nor the people intervened in the matter, for, according to them, the young lover was right in punishing the two who had deceived him in this way.

584 595 881 Sometimes parents marry off their children before they reach maturity. Some men also take a second wife when she is still underage, but they respect them and have no sexual contact with them until after the first menstrual periods have passed.

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

836 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their hus-
937 bands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passional
586 motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry
587 is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of
607 the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under
[836] his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has
587 always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children
593 find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have al-
[601] ways called "father" and he has called them "children." In
[184] this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

/218 cont./

595 We have mentioned that an adult may marry a very young girl, but must not have sexual relations with her until after the first menstrual periods. We do not base our observation on the practice of polygyny among the Sanemá in isolated cases, but rather on the fact that several men have several adult wives at the [554] same time. It does not seem that polygyny is an exclusive privilege of status or rank, but rather is an accepted thing, since [584] all adults may marry two or more women. Since there seems to be some scarcity of marriageable girls, the custom of binding oneself to a little girl can be looked upon as a form of foresightedness [587] by the man, with a view to the future. Many polygynous marriages, however, probably stem from the custom of the levirate.

587 765 There are widows who marry very shortly after the death of their husbands; others, however, wait for many months. They live in the house of their brother-in-law or in that of their parents, and it seems that the future husband does not demand that they cease mourning since the person mourned and for whom they weep was not only their husband but also the brother of the new suitor.

If the brother (who is very often the youngest) does not want to or cannot /219/ marry all the widows of his deceased brother, he allows them to live with another man. These marriages take place only after some time, during which the brother of the deceased and the women live apart from the society in a sort of isolation.

587 There are no differential rules for secondary marriages, but the father of sisters has the right to prevent both of them from marrying the same man, particularly if the man, owing to his poor preparation or deficiency, cannot give assurance of the economic help which he expects from him. This explains why only older men with greater experience in life are able to marry several women with ease.

595 The wives of one man may live under the same roof or in several houses, and, in spite of there being no fixed rotation, the husband must devote the same amount of time, more or less, to each of his homes.

St Laytime et al. D, E-S (ca. 1980)1982 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanoama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hāwīawan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kāilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hāwīawan* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Samatari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, stout, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barlow, 1933, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 35.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vinci, 1976, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1976.

/478 cont./

628 728 been killed, might require a greater number of years to be reconciled. Disputes which have reached the proportions of regional wars are rarely forgotten within the same generation, since there is hardly any neutral settlement left by means of which peace negotiations can be made.

The Family

591 606 A newly married couple may live in the settlement of the wife's parents or in that of the husband's parents. But if they decide to live in the settlement of the wife's parents, they cannot live in the same dwelling with them, because it is prohibited (taboo) for the husband to approach his mother-in-law. He can enter her house only when she is outside. He would not dare to come any closer to her than three or four meters. If the couple decides to live with the husband's parents, there are no such restrictions, since there is no prohibition against the daughter-in-law approaching her mother-in-law. Even suitors customarily lodge on the side opposite that of the house of their future mother-in-law, in their town.

595 [578] The majority of the men have but one wife. Those who wish to, and are able to, may have two or more wives. This practice makes more acute the shortage of marriageable women and may be one of the principal causes of the fights over wives which are started by men who have remained without any.

When a man has more than one wife, his wives may live in the same house or in several houses in a row. They work together, but each one has her own property. Frequently they are sisters since a man is more likely to marry the sister of his wife than to find another wife elsewhere.

593 Within the family it is the man who exercises authority. I only know of one case where the woman gives orders in the house, and this because her husband is mentally deficient.

9:Greller K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Guaharibo,

123 From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dixies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their [152] fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One [758] of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

595 As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous 162 and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by 578 means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males 684 whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of 838 quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We 201 had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of ges- 123 tures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

123 In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of 441 ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yanomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yanomamö in their language.

Census data on five Yanomamö villages are presented to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is complicated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter-village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii]

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yanomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yanomamö social organization of this single

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
863 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
859 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[564] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[578] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[64] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[554] measure of his sexual prowess.

593 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mɘmaribɘwei-tedi
732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwɨ. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwɨ), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

595 in the family. The transfer of the woman from the older to
593 the younger brother was, in some of the cases, quite gradual. Thus, Kaobawë gave Hantoami to his younger brother, Shadadama, because his other two wives complained about not having enough game to eat. Kaobawë continued to have sexual relationships with Hantoami after she had become Shadadama's wife, and sired two of her children.

628 Another form of permitted affair is called nohimou--
722 "to befriend" or "act like a friend" to a woman. This type
836 of relationship might occur, for example, when the members
837 of a village have to take refuge with an ally. The allies invariably enter into nohimou relationships with the women of the refugees. The refugees are reluctant to give their women as wives to the men of the host village, but they are obliged to permit them to have sexual access to the women. These kinds of affairs also develop within a village between a man and the wife of a friend, or, with single girls. Again,
628 when men go on visits to other villages and bring trade goods,
594 they frequently are permitted to have affairs with the hosts'
838 women, particularly if the men have brought goods that are
839 highly prized by the hosts.
836

835 Incestuous affairs between classificatory siblings are quite common.[1] One of my female informants used husband

[1]Incest, to the (male ego) Yanomamö, is any sexual relationship with a member of one's lineage or with mother, mother's sister, mother's mother, and mother's sister's daughter. Failure to avoid a woman of the mother-in-law category is also incestuous in the eyes of the Yanomamö, but only if the woman is sexually active. Menopausal women of

884 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

593 621 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yanomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [583] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi [595] obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

*621 602 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed *[628] as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be affectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other *621 villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kaobawä 613 of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one 602 591 degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were [622]

[1]See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

128 extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yanomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0.

121 913 895 583 836 837 I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of

123 162 602 562 598 them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relationship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

Moiyoawë had two wives, Borehima and her older sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with another man, Makerawë. Moiyoawë attempted to get his wife back from Makerawë, precipitating a club fight between two factions of the village. During the club fight, Makerawë stabbed Moiyoawë with the sharp end of his club, wounding him badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyoawë's faction, Rakoiwë, who then attacked Makerawë, running him through with a sharpened club, killing him. Makerawë's faction fled from Patanowë-tedi and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids against the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the Patanowë-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowë-tedi two times shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid they caught two Patanowë-tedi men hunting outside the village. They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was Kgabëwë's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man, Shinabewë. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

The woman over whom the internal feud started was taken away from Makerawë's group. Moiyoawë cut both her ears off to punish her.

contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

11: Chagnon F-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

142
301
302
516

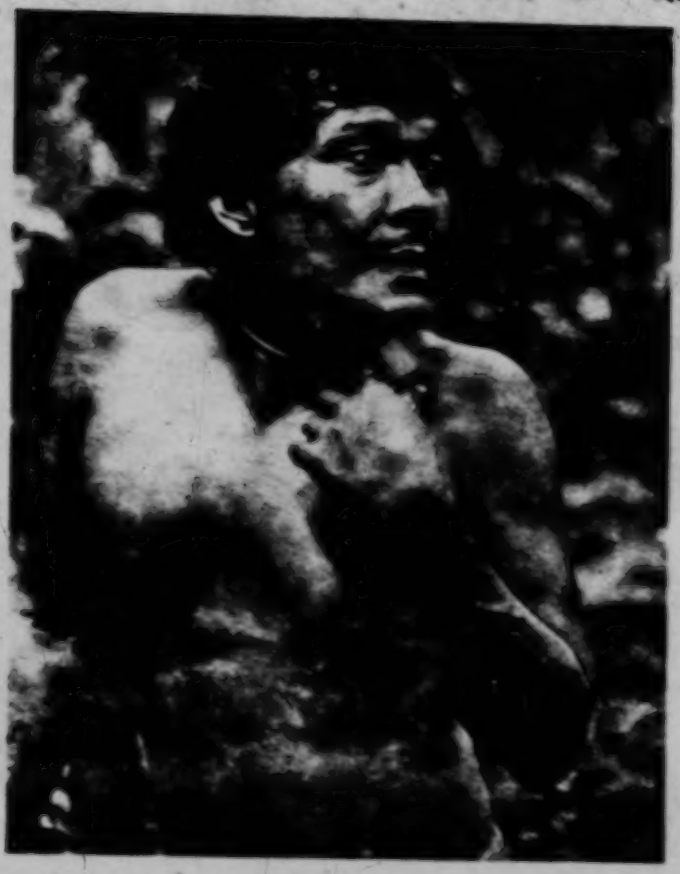


Fig. 1-3. Kaobawä, the area leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

Kąobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kąobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kąobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yąnomamö category *suáöya* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III–1) would have called the woman *suáöya* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *hąmöya*.

The marriage of III–1 to III–2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II–1 and II–4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I–2 was an *adopted* brother to I–3, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin*. Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kąobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kąobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Ariwari, Kąobawä's son. Ariwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3–3). Ariwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kąobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.)

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yąnomamö do not distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A.

Case B also illustrates *several polygyny*: III–1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters.

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II–3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

606 123 [551] The avoidance taboo prohibits a man from saying his mother-in-law's name. My informants would be extremely embarrassed when I would say the name of their mother-in-law while collecting genealogies. Kaobawä, for example, would grin sheepishly and hide his head. Men must also avoid their mothers-in-law physically and should not look at them. If I took a group of people for a ride in my canoe, there would always be considerable shuffling of bodies so that the men could be situated in the canoe as far away from their mothers-in-law as possible.

128 602 595 Finally, case C illustrates another kind of sororal polygyny: Individuals III-1 and III-3 are sisters to each other because their mothers are sisters. (The equation stating that children of siblings of the same sex are themselves siblings extends indefinitely in the case of males, but breaks down in the case of females after two generations. This is because descent is patrilineal.)

128 582 602 *Case D:* This also is a case of FaSiDa marriage: I-2 and I-3 were brothers, so one of the parents of each of the third generation individuals were brother and sister to each other. Hence, III-1 married his FaSiDa.

Case E: The marriage of III-1 to III-2 is similar to the marriage in case D, but his 128 595 602 marriage to the second wife, III-3, illustrates the use of another kinship equation. She is an actual sister to the first wife, but does not stand in the FaSiDa relationship to her husband. If one of the sisters is FaSiDa, however, then all of them are in Yąnomamö kinship usage.

128 582 602 [601] *Case F:* This illustrates how affinal ties replace consanguineal ties should the two conflict. III-1 can trace a blood tie to his wife, one that would prevent him from marrying her, but the affinal ties between his own father and the father of his wife permit him to marry according to the prescription. Individual III-1 would call all of his father's wives "mother." Hence, his own wife is, technically, MoBrDa.

128 582 587 602 *Case G:* This illustrates a number of marriage rules stated in the preceding examples. I present it as a sort of exercise to reinforce the logic of the Yąnomamö kinship equations given above. Individual II-6 married two brothers, II-5 and II-7, illustrating the *levirate:* the marriage between a man and his brother's widow. Individual II-9 married his FaSiDa (as in case F). Individuals III-3 and III-4 can marry because their fathers were cross-cousins (see case H, below). Individual III-5 married his FaSiDa, as was shown for the similar marriage in case E. Individual IV-1 married two women, each of whom is his FaSiDa. This is so because I-2 and I-4 were adopted brothers, so that their [597] sons (II-2 and II-4) were also siblings. Hence, IV-1 married his FaSiDa (IV-2) and, as in case E, her sister. His second wife is also FaSiDa because her mother (III-6) was a sister to III-2, since their respective fathers (II-9 and II-2) were (adopted) brothers.

128 582 601 602 *Case H:* This illustrates a very powerful marriage rule: The children of men who call each other *shorinä* (brother-in-law) can marry. Practically speaking, in our kinship terms, the rule is that the children of cross-cousins stand in marriageable relationship to each other. II-2 and II-3 stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and could exchange sisters in marriage. Their sons stand in the same relationship. Another important feature of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage rules is illustrated here. While III-1 married a woman of the prescribed category, he does not reckon his relationship to her patrilaterally or matrilaterally. That is, she is neither FaSiDa nor MoBrDa, but she is both! This emphasizes the fact that they marry primarily in terms of categories rather than by tracing biological ties, as I have done in the above examples. To the Yąnomamö,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Upper Bisaasi-teri, and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Table 1). Politically, they are either the two dominant lineages in each of the above-named villages or one of the two dominant lineages. For example, the headmen of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kaobawä and Reromawä, respectively, come from the *Sha* lineage. In Patanowä-teri there are two headmen, one from the *Sha* lineage and one from the *Hor* lineage. Finally, in Monou-teri, the headmanship shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage in 1965 because the *Sha* headman was killed in a raid by men from Patanowä-teri. I might add that he was killed by men of his own lineage to whom he was related as "brother." After he died, his brother-in-law, of the *Hor* lineage, assumed the leadership. It is not surprising that the headmanship shifted to this large, important group. In terms of sheer numbers, the *Hor* lineage (see Table 3-1) was stronger than the *Sha* lineage in Monou-teri. The distribution of political power within these two lineages underscores the dual organization of most Yanomamö villages.

It is apparent from the foregoing example that the ties between agnates who live in different villages are not necessarily amicable. The most bitter fighting, in fact, takes place between members of different villages who are related to each other agnatically. It is not uncommon for men to kill their classificatory brothers in the ensuing raids. As a consequence of the killing of the Monou-teri headman, for example, the raiders from Monou-teri avenged his death by shooting Boaibrei of Patanowä-teri. The two men who actually killed Boaibrei were related to their victim as brothers. Similarly, Kaobawä himself shot Rakoiwä, the present *Sha* headman of Patanowä-teri, wounding him badly. He had shot to kill even though Rakoiwä was his older (classificatory) brother.

Once the lineage splits up and is redistributed in several villages, the ties between the men of that lineage weaken dramatically. And, as we shall see below, the fissioning of a village is frequently the result of a bitter club fight within the village over the possession of women. The result is that many villages that have a common history are at war with each other due to the nature of the feuds that led to their splitting away from the common village. The Patanowa-teri, for example, are at war with all three of the villages from which they originally separated (see Fig. 3-5, discussed later).

The kinship ties between agnates who live in the same village are likewise quite weak. They are strongest between a man and his younger brothers, for the age differences alone call forth a certain amount of respect and amity. An older man can be expected to aid his younger brothers in fights and help them to secure wives. In some cases, the younger man obtains his wife from a polygynous older brother; some men appear to accumulate extra wives with the intention of passing them on to their younger brothers. Kaobawä, for example, gave one of his wives to a younger brother and will probably give another wife to a second younger brother. (He is presently permitting the brother to share her sexual services.) Kaobawä's older wife, Bahimi, is quite jealous of the co-wives because they can command some of the tasty morsels of food that would otherwise be her own prerogative. And, since the younger wives are more attractive physically, Kaobawä does pay considerable attention to them. In Lower Bisaasi-teri, one of Kaobawä's classificatory brothers was forced by his older wife to get rid of his young, attractive second wife. The man gave her to an unmarried younger brother. He himself had acquired the younger wife as part of a political alliance he had made with the members of an allied village, knowing at the time that his first wife would object strenuously to the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

TABLE 3-1

VILLAGE COMPOSITION BY LINEAGE MEMBERSHIP*

Lineage	Male	Female	Total
A. Lower Bisasi-teri			
Sha	9	7	16
Tom	9	3	12
Hor	1	2	3
Kio	2	4	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	1	1	2
	25	26	51
B. Upper Bisasi-teri (Kaobawä's group)			
Sha	11	14	25
Hor	8	5	13
Kio	5	11	16
Kah	5	3	8
Shamatari	3	7	10
Other	5	8	13
	37	48	85
C. Monou-teri			
Sha	11	9	20
Hor	15	8	23
Kio	3	3	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	2	3	5
	34	32	66
D. Patanowä-teri			
Hor	58	33	91
Sha	39	29	68
Kah	17	8	25
Kar	1	3	4
Shamatari	2	6	8
Other	5	11	16
	122	90	212

*Revised version of Appendix A, Chagnon 1966.

transaction. Still, he took the girl. When domestic tranquility could no longer be maintained, he passed her on to his younger brother.

The relationship between a man and his brothers of approximately the same age are generally not amicable. Brothers of the same approximate age tend to be jealous of each other and treat one another with considerable reserve and respect. A man can directly ask an immature younger brother to execute some task for him, but he can

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

These figures represent a *sample* of marriages in the two villages. The sample consists of all married males who are thirty-five years old or younger. The sample was chosen in this fashion because the analysis of the marriage types depends on genealogical information covering several generations. By selecting only the younger men the analysis can be quite easily undertaken. In Patanowä-teri there were 38 men of this category, many of whom had multiple wives. A man with four wives, therefore, represents four marriages. In Lower Bisaasi-teri only 10 married men were below thirty-five years of age and accounted for the seventeen marriages. If all the men were included, the analysis would be inaccurate because I do not have adequately long genealogies for some of the oldest men. Up to 1940, the villages of Patanowä-teri and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not separate entities; they separated from each other at about that time. Patanowä-teri is a large and powerful village, containing 212 people. Lower Bisaasi-teri, with only 51 people, is militarily dependent on several of its allies.

Four types of marriages are shown in Table 3–2. The term prescriptive refers to the kinds of marriages described in Fig. 3–2. An incestuous marriage is defined as a man marrying a woman of his own patrilineage (or his mother or niece reckoned through his mother's side of the family). Marriages resulting from either alliance or abduction have been lumped into a single category because they represent the recruitment of spouses from outside the group. Finally, a few marriages are unexplainable in terms of Yanomamö kinship and marriage equations; these represent marriages between members of distinct lineages that have recently entered into exchanges with each other.

As can be seen from Table 3–2, there is a major difference between the two villages in the proportion of prescriptive marriages on the one hand and alliance marriages on the other. In short, the Patanowä-teri follow their marriage prescriptions far more rigorously than do the Lower Bisaasi-teri. This is so because Patanowä-teri, a much larger village, does not need to enter into marriage alliances with its neighbors; it is politically and militarily capable of an autonomous existence. Most of the alliance-abduction marriages in Patanowä-teri are, in fact, abductions; in Bisaasi-teri most of them are alliance marriages. Therefore, the relative frequency of alliance-type marriages is much lower for Patanowä-teri than for Lower Bisaasi-teri. This difference in marriage behavior stems from the relative abilities of the two groups to maintain military autonomy in a milieu of chronic warfare, a quality that is largely a function of the size of the group. The members of a militarily vulnerable village will breach the marriage prescriptions in order to establish political alliances with neighboring groups by ceding women to them.

TABLE 3–2
MARRIAGE TYPES IN PATANOWÄ-TERI AND LOWER BISAASI-TERI

	Patanowä-teri	Lower Bisaasi-teri
1. Prescriptive	37	7
2. Incestuous	4	1
3. Alliance and/or abduction	8	9
4. Unexplained	3	0
Totals:	52	17

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3–3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebuwä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13] The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3–3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinsmen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doubt my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yąnomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kąobawä's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggressive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *waiawi* (fierce one) of the group.

Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatari girl. Damowä seduced her, thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the final club fight that led to the separation of Kąobawä's group from the Monou-teri. Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kąobawä then organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kąobawä's raiders. Nobody

/179 cont./

619 Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local
[624] groups which form a band of extended families and provide the
• [596] peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Catapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclaudub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

[184] From what has been published up to the present regarding
[194] the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

127 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the
128 Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to
[799] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

/209 cont./

596 591 [182] itself to an arrangement of this sort. In their seminomadic state there do not seem to be any sufficiently decisive economic factors to require a unilocal residence rule, which in a way would hinder a young man, after his marriage, from remaining in the group of his family of orientation or from leaving in order to found his family of procreation matrilocally, according to the particular circumstances. But what we are sure of is that the irregularities observed are precisely a result of the economic and technological changes which the Sanemá of the regions /210/ adjacent to the Makiritare are undergoing via the process of acculturation. The cultivation of the land, although still rudimentary, and the possibility of augmenting their properties have brought about as a natural consequence, not only greater stability and possibly a considerable demographic increase, but also the impetus which disrupts the balanced equilibrium present in the custom of choosing the postnuptial residence which is fundamental for the bilocal extended family (cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 35). So it is that one of the factors which has most contributed to bringing about disequilibrium among the Sanemá was the adoption of the Caribe agricultural system. The postmatrimonial moving from one local group to another was not of any particular importance in a nomadic society, but nowadays it presents certain difficulties not even suspected previously, for a man now has to leave his cultivated fields if he is to go with his wife. We are sure that the tendencies in the direction of the unilocal custom have their roots precisely in this economic change. Finally, the existence of the bilocal extended family among the Yanoama is in complete accord with the Hawaiian type of social organization which we are describing as typical for this tribe.

591 596 197 241

[601]

594 621 Without knowing a Sanemá nuclear family intimately, it is difficult to group with certainty the members of a local group solely on the basis of their family ties, particularly in a community in which polygamy, the sororate, the levirate, and a Hawaiian kinship system are practiced. There are occasions, however, on which the members of a nuclear family gather together: to eat, to sleep, etc., and, in spite of our not having full knowledge of Sanemá society, we can, with all this, say that the nuclear

/210 cont./

594 family exists as a definite cell in that tribe, assuming all the
621 functions and all the specific responsibilities of that social entity. Thus, there exists the formal arrangement of marriage, which sanctions sexual contact between the spouses and guarantees procreation. There exists economic co-operation among the members of the nuclear family, which organizes work and apportions the necessary subsistance and, in this way,
[86] injects persistence in the family's living together. There are practically no tasks which exceed the capacity of the nuclear family and the children learn the way of life directly from their parents and elders.

594 The most visible center of the nuclear family is the fire
354 around which they eat and sleep. From here they go out to their work and, upon their return, reassemble at the fireside. After a long trip, the man takes the small sticks from his quiver and makes a fire; there is a new fire; a new home is established.

● 596 Each individual Sanemá belongs also to an extended family
621 made up according to the residence rules already explained. The local group /211/ consists of two or more of these extended families of the same bilateral kinsfolk and form /sic/ a band. This local group or band is the largest social unit to which
[619] a Sanemá belongs. The terms "subtribe" and "tribe" which we use are artificial terms lacking in real meaning for the Sanemá. But the band is definitely a familiar concept for him, one which he knows very well and with which he identifies. The band guarantees economic and social stability, and its well-being benefits the individual member, who feels tied to it by a multitude of family ties.

621 Each local group has innumerable enemies, while the circle
628 of friends is extremely small. Contact between all of one group with a neighboring group is rare, but does sometimes occur. They sometimes get together for commercial reasons or at funeral ceremonies, but their friendship is weak and unstable.

601 We were unable, for lack of an informant, to obtain a list of
582 kinship terms. Our impression is that a Hawaiian system is involved.
600 One may not marry a female cross or parallel cousin. There are

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
[689 tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
[825 of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and,
as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to
speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists between the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law. Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom. These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

● 597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes him in like another one of its own members. Older children also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted, properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denominations. We do not think that there are special terms to express a relationship of adoption.

554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main distinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers, and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three differ-
791 ent theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
756 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
793 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman and priest in particular, represent the most influential position in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
000 by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yąnomamö category *naabïpa* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III–1) would have called the woman *naabïpa* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *ãpuwa*.

The marriage of III–1 to III–2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II–1 and II–4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I–2 was an *adopted* brother to I–5, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin*. Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kąobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kąobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Ariwari, Kąobawä's son. Ariwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3–3). Ariwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kąobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.)

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yąnomamö do not distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A.

Case B also illustrates *sororal polygyny*: III–1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters.

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II–3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

606 123 [551] The avoidance taboo prohibits a man from saying his mother-in-law's name. My informants would be extremely embarrassed when I would say the name of their mother-in-law while collecting genealogies. Kaobawä, for example, would grin sheepishly and hide his head. Men must also avoid their mothers-in-law physically and should not look at them. If I took a group of people for a ride in my canoe, there would always be considerable shuffling of bodies so that the men could be situated in the canoe as far away from their mothers-in-law as possible.

128 602 595 Finally, case C illustrates another kind of sororal polygyny: Individuals III-1 and III-3 are sisters to each other because their mothers are sisters. (The equation stating that children of siblings of the same sex are themselves siblings extends indefinitely in the case of males, but breaks down in the case of females after two generations. This is because descent is patrilineal.)

128 582 602 *Case D:* This also is a case of FaSiDa marriage: I-2 and I-3 were brothers, so one of the parents of each of the third generation individuals were brother and sister to each other. Hence, III-1 married his FaSiDa.

128 595 602 *Case E:* The marriage of III-1 to III-2 is similar to the marriage in case D, but his marriage to the second wife, III-3, illustrates the use of another kinship equation. She is an actual sister to the first wife, but does not stand in the FaSiDa relationship to her husband. If one of the sisters is FaSiDa, however, then all of them are in Yąnomamö kinship usage.

128 582 602 [601] *Case F:* This illustrates how affinal ties replace consanguineal ties should the two conflict. III-1 can trace a blood tie to his wife, one that would prevent him from marrying her, but the affinal ties between his own father and the father of his wife permit him to marry according to the prescription. Individual III-1 would call all of his father's wives "mother." Hence, his own wife is, technically, MoBrDa.

128 582 587 602 *Case G:* This illustrates a number of marriage rules stated in the preceding examples. I present it as a sort of exercise to reinforce the logic of the Yąnomamö kinship equations given above. Individual II-6 married two brothers, II-5 and II-7, illustrating the *levirate*: the marriage between a man and his brother's widow. Individual II-9 married his FaSiDa (as in case F). Individuals III-3 and III-4 can marry because their fathers were cross-cousins (see case H, below). Individual III-5 married his FaSiDa, as was shown for the similar marriage in case E. Individual IV-1 married two women, each of whom is his FaSiDa. This is so because I-2 and I-4 were adopted brothers, so that their [597] sons (II-2 and II-4) were also siblings. Hence, IV-1 married his FaSiDa (IV-2) and, as in case E, her sister. His second wife is also FaSiDa because her mother (III-6) was a sister to III-2, since their respective fathers (II-9 and II-2) were (adopted) brothers.

128 582 601 602 *Case H:* This illustrates a very powerful marriage rule: The children of men who call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law) can marry. Practically speaking, in our kinship terms, the rule is that the children of cross-cousins stand in marriage-able relationship to each other. II-2 and II-3 stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and could exchange sisters in marriage. Their sons stand in the same relationship. Another important feature of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage rules is illustrated here. While III-1 married a woman of the prescribed category, he does not reckon his relationship to her patrilaterally or matrilaterally. That is, she is neither FaSiDa nor MoBrDa, but she is both! This emphasizes the fact that they marry primarily in terms of categories rather than by tracing biological ties, as I have done in the above examples. To the Yąnomamö,

602 capable of becoming stronger in time. When two descent groups
602 exchange women with each other over several generations, the
618 cognatically related members of the two groups have strong
582 ties with each other. Further exchanges between these groups
583 is largely a validation of the previously existing implicit
• 60 obligations to exchange women. MoBrSo is, whether or not you
582 marry his sister, a shoriwë. When the marriage rule is followed, and it is a number of times each generation, the ties between shoriwë are correspondingly strengthened by the exchange.
602 Agnatic ties do not have the potential of increasing in solidarity; the tendency seems, in fact, to be just the opposite.

602 The major components in the variation of the strength
56 of agnatic solidarity are genealogical closeness, relative
• 621 age, and co-residence. To provide a crude measure of the
128 relative importance of these variables, I have arbitrarily
591 assigned values to the components in Table 3. A strong tie is scored as "***" and a weak tie as "---". By adding the number of asterisks in each possible combination, a rough measure of relative solidarity of agnatic type is given. For example, agnates who are closely related genealogically (A_1: "***"), who differ significantly in age (B_2: "***") and who live in the same village (C_1: "**-") represent a class of agnates having the greatest relative solidarity. The sum of the asterisks for this combination is 8.

In Table 3, combinations whose scores are 3 and 4 respectively constitute the class of agnates having the least

/113 cont./

526 between two men embracing each other, which is performed in a sitting position (see p. 233); the tug of war (see p. 244); and the throwing of wet earth at one another (see p. 244).

539 [115]

IX. Myths and Legends

The following myths and legends were told me by the Surára chief Hewemãõ:

The Creation of the Yanonámi

The earth already existed and was full of plants and animals, but as yet was without human beings. But one day the first man, Uruhí, came out of the leg of the xiapó, a small bird with black and yellow feathers similar to the japim. A short time later the bird-leg gave birth to a second man, then a third, a fourth, and finally a woman, Petá. These four men and the woman lived together in perfect harmony. Petá, to be sure, was the wife of Uruhí, the first-born, but the other three brothers also had the right to have sexual intercourse with her (552).

[835] 552. Among the Surára and Pakidái, the younger, unmarried brothers likewise have the right to have sexual intercourse with the wives of their elder brothers. Moreover, the members of both tribes believe that a woman is able to have strong children only if she has frequent intercourse with other men during her pregnancy.

[843]

After a year Petá gave birth to a strong, healthy boy who grew rapidly and called all four men "father" (553). The boy's

[801] 553. The Surára and Pakidái children also call the unmarried brother of their father, not uncle, but likewise father.

/209 cont./

596 591 [182] itself to an arrangement of this sort. In their seminomadic state there do not seem to be any sufficiently decisive economic factors to require a unilocal residence rule, which in a way would hinder a young man, after his marriage, from remaining in the group of his family of orientation or from leaving in order to found his family of procreation matrilocally, according to the particular circumstances. But what we are sure of is that the irregularities observed are precisely a result of the economic and technological changes which the Sanemá of the regions /210/ adjacent to the Makiritare are undergoing via the process of acculturation. The cultivation of the land, although still rudimentary, and the possibility of augmenting their properties have brought about as a natural consequence, not only greater stability and possibly a considerable demographic increase, but also the impetus which disrupts the balanced equilibrium present in the custom of choosing the postnuptial residence which is fundamental for the bilocal extended family (cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 38). So it is that one of the factors which has most contributed to bringing about disequilibrium among the Sanemá was the adoption of the Caribe agricultural system. The postmatrimonial moving from one local group to another was not of any particular importance in a nomadic society, but nowadays it presents certain difficulties not even suspected previously, for a man now has to leave his cultivated fields if he is to go with his wife. We are sure that the tendencies in the direction of the unilocal custom have their roots precisely in this economic change. Finally, the existence of the bilocal extended family among the Yanoama is in complete accord with the Hawaiian type of social organization which we are describing as typical for this tribe.

591 596 197 241 [601]

594 621 Without knowing a Sanemá nuclear family intimately, it is difficult to group with certainty the members of a local group solely on the basis of their family ties, particularly in a community in which polygamy, the sororate, the levirate, and a Hawaiian kinship system are practiced. There are occasions, however, on which the members of a nuclear family gather together: to eat, to sleep, etc., and, in spite of our not having full knowledge of Sanemá society, we can, with all this, say that the nuclear

/210 cont./

594 family exists as a definite cell in that tribe, assuming all the
621 functions and all the specific responsibilities of that social entity. Thus, there exists the formal arrangement of marriage, which sanctions sexual contact between the spouses and guarantees procreation. There exists economic co-operation among the members of the nuclear family, which organizes work and apportions the necessary subsistance and, in this way, injects persistence in the family's living together. There are [86] practically no tasks which exceed the capacity of the nuclear family and the children learn the way of life directly from their parents and elders.

594 The most visible center of the nuclear family is the fire
354 around which they eat and sleep. From here they go out to their work and, upon their return, reassemble at the fireside. After a long trip, the man takes the small sticks from his quiver and makes a fire; there is a new fire; a new home is established.

596 Each individual Sanemá belongs also to an extended family
621 made up according to the residence rules already explained. The local group /211/ consists of two or more of these extended families of the same bilateral kinsfolk and form /sic/ a band. This local group or band is the largest social unit to which [619] a Sanemá belongs. The terms "subtribe" and "tribe" which we use are artificial terms lacking in real meaning for the Sanemá. But the band is definitely a familiar concept for him, one which he knows very well and with which he identifies. The band guarantees economic and social stability, and its well-being benefits the individual member, who feels tied to it by a multitude of family ties.

621 Each local group has innumerable enemies, while the circle
628 of friends is extremely small. Contact between all of one group with a neighboring group is rare, but does sometimes occur. They sometimes get together for commercial reasons or at funeral ceremonies, but their friendship is weak and unstable.

• 601 We were unable, for lack of an informant, to obtain a list of
582 kinship terms. Our impression is that a Hawaiian system is involved.
600 One may not marry a female cross or parallel cousin. There are

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
689 tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
825 of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and,
as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists between the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law. Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom. These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes him in like another one of its own members. Older children also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted, properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denominations. We do not think that there are special terms to express a relationship of adoption.

554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main distinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers, and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three different theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
791 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
756 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not
793 the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman and priest in particular, represent the most influential position in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
000 by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

836 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their hus-
837 bands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passional
586 motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry
587 is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of
607 the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under
[836] his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has
587 always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children
593 find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have al-
[601] ways called "father" and he has called them "children." In
[184] this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

St Leyhese et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1960)1982 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 Waica

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanoama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hăwĭawan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kăilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hăwĭawan* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Samatari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut facies with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, stout, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barlow, 1933, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 35.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vinal, 1956, pp. 124-125.
13 Zamlin, 1959.

114 ments rather uncritically, largely because they support his own theory that 'Paleo-Indian' culture, Chibchan language, and low Diego gene frequency are correlated in South America. In treating Yąnomamö economy as 'Paleo-Indian' in nature, Wilbert ignores the only data based on field work bearing on Yąnomamö economic life--that reported by Zerries and Becher in the two monographs mentioned above.

Again, it is difficult to determine when Wilbert is reporting facts, when he is making theoretical conclusions, or when he is guessing. This is particularly true of his 114 • 601 comments on social organization and data relevant to analyzing it:

> We did not succeed, for lack of an informant, in obtaining a list of kinship terms. Our impression is that it would be an Hawaiian System. (1963:211. My translation. [His statements in other publications are quite emphatic on this point: "The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type." Layrisse, Layrisse, and Wilbert, 1962:82.])

The kinship terminology of the groups in the area visited by Wilbert is bifurcate-merging (Iroquois) in type (Migliazza, 1964), as it is in the upper Orinoco area.[1]

114 In addition to the field work conducted by these ethnologists, numerous travelers, adventurers, botanists,

---

[1]Migliazza's publication was not available to Wilbert when the latter concluded that the Yąnomamö have an Hawaiian kinship terminology. A part of the discrepancy between Wilbert's data and that reported by Zerries (1964) and Becher (1960) stems from the fact that Wilbert's Sanema differ appreciably from the more southerly Yąnomamö groups. Wilbert, however, intends his generalizations on the Sanema to apply to all the Yąnomamö. I might point out that my own analysis applies to the Upper Orinoco and Mavaca River Yąnomamö. See Conclusions, Chapter 6.

835 terms for a number of men that were, genealogically, her distant agnates. She explained the usage by the fact that she had incestuous relationships with several of them when she was a young woman. Kaobawë told me that he had incestuous relationships with Hayamamasimi, his FaBrDa, but did not want the others in the village to know about it. In another case, a man married three girls who were his FaBrSoSoDa, i.e., his 'granddaughters.' The Yanomamö explanation of this case illustrates the relationship of the woman shortage to warfare
*621 and alliance. The people in question all live in Patanowë-
*623 tedi, a village that has numerous enemies, only one ally,
162 and a serious woman shortage. The parents of the girls in
562 question did not want them to marry into the village of the
*628 allies, as they had given a number of women to the allies
584 already. The man, Ishiweiwë, had no spouse and could not
582 get one from the allies. So, the parents of the girls stopped
• 601 calling Ishiweiwë by the appropriate consanguineal terms
835 and began calling him by affinal terms suited to the marriage of
183 the three girls to him. The girls, in turn, stopped calling him grandfather. Ishiweiwë married just one of the girls at first; after she died, he married the other two, as he already called them 'wife' by virtue of the fact that he had married their sister. The initial marriage was the major hurdle. After he married the first girl and the kinship terms were

---

835 the mother-in-law category are not avoided, nor are FaSi or MoBrWi. The implications of this last fact for Homans and Schneider's work are obvious.

628
584
582
60
835
183

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

584
[593]
[607]

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, Kɑobɨwɨ was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, Krɨ̈mi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The Yɑnomamö

[995]
[184]

rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during

[766]

cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than

835

they normally would have otherwise. Some of the Yɑnomamö avoid incestuous affairs, according to Kɑobawɨ, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. Kɑobawɨ himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yaweremou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he

[123]

confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is

[601]
[183]

widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

835 investigated discrepant kinship usage I found that the termi-
• 601 nology changed because of incestuous relationships between my
183 informant (or his close kinsman) and the members of the local lineage in question. I have not investigated all discrepant usages, but the high incidence of the terminological aberrations suggests that incest is widely practiced.

835 Incestuous affairs and marriages occur largely because
601 of the woman shortage. I have already mentioned that Ishiweiwä
183 of Patanowä-tedi married his three 'granddaughters' because he
582 could not find a wife of the appropriate category. A similar
[162] situation occurred in Bisaasi-tedi. Reromawä, one of the
[564] important men in the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi, has redefined a number of his classificatory daughters as sisters,[1] thereby making it possible for his sons to marry their children, otherwise incestuous marriages. His oldest son, Bäkäböwä, technically married his FaDaDa, but because his father had redefined the mother of Bäkäböwä's wife as 'sister,' the marriage was appropriate within their marriage rules.

837 The woman shortage is remedied by illicit affairs
*621 within the village. These affairs are the major cause of
578 feuds and village splits. During the 15 months covered by
[72.1] my field work five club-fights occurred. Four of them were over women who had been caught in illicit affairs, and in one case, the village split into hostile factions that began

---

[1]See Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of this.

613
162 In addition to genealogical distance and size of descent groups, demographic factors promote ambiguity in the relationships between males within a local descent group. For reasons of differential fertility, infanticide, warfare mortality, or chance, some local descent groups are larger than others (contain more males) and are, therefore, more powerful. Others may be relatively large, but contain more females than males. Still others may be very small and contain either all males or
613 all females. Since Yąnomamö kinship terminology is classificatory
• 601 (Iroquois), all agnatically related males of the same generation
602 call each other 'brother'; parallel cousins, no matter how remote genealogically, are not terminologically distinguished from brothers. Despite the terminological usage, relationships between such agnates varies considerably.

613 Problems of agnatic priority in the disposition of
602 females arise, for example, when a man with no actual brothers
*621 gives his daughters away in marriage. If he has sons, the
584 sons would prefer that the girls be given to members of other
582 local descent groups who are most likely able to reciprocate with women. As the father has no actual brothers, his more distant agnates put pressure on him to give the girls to a descent group to which they themselves are linked by marriage ties, for they stand to benefit by future reciprocities. Situations such as this arise when a single man finds himself in the same village with a group of agnates that are distantly related to him, but who themselves constitute an important political bloc within the village. Although the agnates are

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

---

[1] See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[2] By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

584 affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawë's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawë threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawë shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawë, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bäkotawë, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawë discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawë, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yanomamö Kinship[1]

602 The structural relationships between descent groups within Yanomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yanomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yanomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

of social organization,[1] and in analyses of particular societies.[2] It is not assumed here that the nature of the social organization itself stems from the nature of the sentiments associated with particular dyadic kin ties, as was implied in Homans and Schneider's work (1955). Dyadic ties are a product of political, military, ideological and economic forces that shape Yąnomamö social organization, and reflect, rather than cause, that organization.

Of the large number of logically possible kinship dyads, only a few have structural relevance to this analysis. In particular, ties between agnates and ties between brothers-in-law must be considered to render intelligible the mechanics of Yąnomamö social organization.

Ties between distantly related agnates are the most ambiguous, and the ones that usually break when villages split. Conversely, ties between closely related agnates are strong and less likely to be severed in village splits.

Of the affinal ties, those linking brothers-in-law to each other are of the greatest structural importance and are often stronger than ties between distantly related agnates. Secondarily, ties between a man and his son-in-law are strong, but have fewer structural consequences than either brother-in-law (shoriwë) or brother (aiwë, osheya) ties.

---

[1] Levi-Strauss, 1963, Ch. 2; Needham, 1962, Ch. 2.

[2] Leach, 1957.

593 684 the enraged husband struck his wife in the face with a burning log, severely burning her mouth. Burning is a common punishment, and many women bear immense scars from wounds inflicted by enraged husbands. Just before I left the field [578] a fight developed in Patanowë-tedi between a man and his wife's lover. The lover was killed in the fight and the woman's husband punished her by cutting off her ears with a [165] machete. Some women have been killed by enraged husbands, but in most of these cases, the deaths resulted from wounds that were not intended to be fatal.

609 613 *621 *628 [578] Despite the fact that the tie between spouses is weak, marriages create strong ties between a man and his sister's husband. This tie is of great significance in the social organization of the Yąnomamö, as it is stable, well defined, non-ambiguous and politically important. The brother-in-law (shoriwë) tie is the key link in alliances between local descent groups, both within and between villages.

609 • 601 The term shoriwë (brother-in-law, MoBrSo, FaSiSo, friend) is used constantly by Yąnomamö men when they address any new male acquaintance. Shoriwë implies a set of obligations and duties between the speakers. One can depend on his shoriwë for material goods and gifts, and a request for such items from a shoriwë is not easily denied: shoriwë is, in addition to goods-giver, wife-giver. The Yąnomamö use this [797] [609] [101] term for foreigners as well; they use it so frequently that the Salesian Missionaries who have recently contacted a few

609 groups of Yąnomamö have begun referring to the entire tribe
601 as "Los Shori." The Yąnomamö address the missionaries with
799 this term hoping to maximize their chances of obtaining
[609 desirable manufactured goods such as machetes and axes.
101]

609 Men who are not related by blood constantly remind
52 each other of obligations when they use this kinship term.
601 A brother-in-law deserves respect, fair treatment, and gratitude. As the term is reciprocal, a conversation between two shoriwë is punctuated frequently by these constant reminders that each owes the other goods, services and respect by virtue of the fact that they stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other. Such conversations, usually about material goods or women, strike the outsider as something of verbal contests to determine which of the two speakers is more of a shoriwë than the other, i.e., who owes the other more goods, services, gratitude and generosity. One who has actually given a sister to the other's group has an advantage, in a trading sense, as he can more legitimately claim goods from the wife receiver.

*628 When men visit the village of an ally to beg, trade or
574 participate in feasts, they call all non-related men of that
609 village 'brother-in-law,' emphasizing the fact that they
601 stand in wife-giver relationship to them, and deserve, therefore, the generosity of the hosts.
583

*628 Alliances between villages involve, in addition to
527 military aid, mutual feasting and trading. It must be
574 remembered that alliances, no matter how many marriage ex-
583
581

593 *621 important in the organization of village life as ties between male agnates, but a man's sisters prefer to stay in his faction when the village splits.

593 • 601 Males consider their role as sister's protector with some seriousness, and are prompt to defend her against sever mistreatment. The amity between siblings of the opposite sex is reflected in kinship usage. A man will frequently refer to his sister, despite her age, as owasimi, a term that may be translated as 'darling little female relative.' The term is used by both sexes to refer to their female children, nieces, sisters, daughters and granddaughters. There is a corresponding term for younger male kinsmen, owasiwë, but a man never uses it to refer to post-pubescent brothers, with whom he is generally reserved and whom he treats with coolness.

593 561 Brothers are close to each other, in an affective sense, only when their relative ages are considerably different. A man is indulgent to very young brothers, but as they enter into manhood, behavior toward them changes gradually 881 [881] to reserve and respect. Although there is no rite de passage for males, one can tell when a boy is approaching manhood; the first indication is the young man's display of anger when someone uses his name. The surest indication that a boy has entered manhood is name avoidance; when no one dares use his name in reference or address, the boy is an adult. Young men tend to be touchy and impulsive, as they are obliged to demonstrate their manhood by their ability to coerce others with threats of fierceness, and the use of

593 602 613 agnates of similar age tend to compete, rather than cooperate, with each other in the affairs of the group. Each behaves in such a way that it is obvious to all that he is not being bossed around by his equals. Finally, this competition and lack of solidarity is even more pronounced when there are two or more local descent groups of the same lineage within the village.

*621 601 *628 591 124 Co-residence as a factor in promoting solidarity can be illustrated by kinship usage. One of my female informants, Kpobawä's wife, used affinal terms for a number of Patanowä-tedi men who were technically her agnates. I was certain that my genalogies were correct, so I re-investigated the usage. I discovered that she used 'distant' kinship terms for these 'brothers' because they lived in a different village, but that she had called them by brother terms when they lived together in Patanowä-tedi. She explained that she would again use brother terms if the two villages were to re-unite. Although the terms for agnates normally do not change when a distant agnate joins a local descent group, the co-efficient of solidarity does.

*628 602 613 726 The weakness of the tie between distantly related agnates can also be demonstrated with data on fighting. After the Patanowä-tedi separated from the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi in the early '40s, hostilities between the two groups developed. Each group, however, was similar in composition[1] in that each comprised local descent groups of the

[1]See Figure 3, Chapter IV, and Appendix A for the breakdown of the populations of these villages by lineage membership.

*621 *628 602 121 122 internal feuding that promotes splitting, and threat of raids from other groups that inhibits village splitting and/or promotes the establishment of alliances with other groups. These two forces shape the composition and structure of Ɣnomamɛ̈ villages; that is, these two forces impinge on kinship relationships and together with these latter determine the nature of the Ɣnomamɛ̈ village.

*621 *628 122 I will show in Chapter V that larger villages fragment into smaller groups when internal feuding becomes particularly intense, but are occasionally forced to re-unite when warfare threatens the splinter groups. Ɣnomamɛ̈ villages would remain small if there were no military forces working on them. The Patanowɛ̈-tedi, for example, attempted to split into three groups after separating from the Bisaasi-tedi;[1] the three factions re-combined, however, when one of them was attacked by the Hasaböwɛ̈-tedi. Similarly, the non-Patanowɛ̈-tedi faction of the split (Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi) likewise split into smaller factions after the threat of raids from the outside subsided. Again, these recombined when threat of raids was imminent.

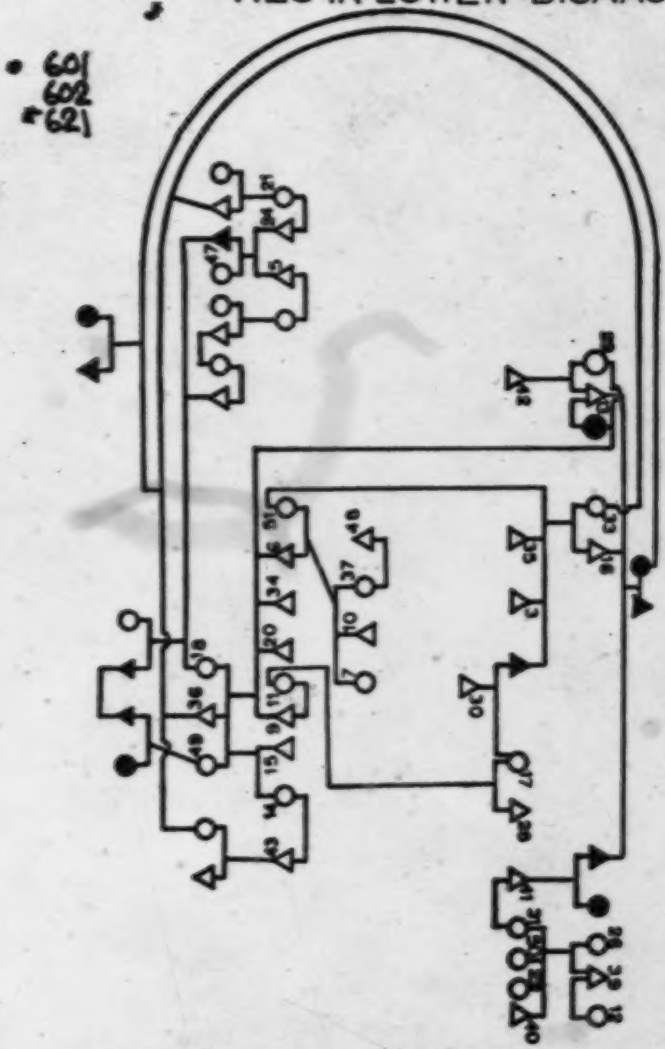
*621 582 Irrespective of the conditions of the splitting, the newly formed villages approximate a dual organization of inter-marrying moieties in structure. This form of organization is implicit in the Iroquois kinship terminology, sister exchange, and ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules. Dual

[801] *621

---

[1] See Map C and Chapter V.

FIG. 2 FACTION STRUCTURE BY KINSHIP TIES IN LOWER BISAASI-TEDI



Faction A Faction B

the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absense of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Reromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-in-law. Reromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the village. He has four adult sons to support his position. Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[1] His son, Bëkëbowë, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Reromawë is getting old.

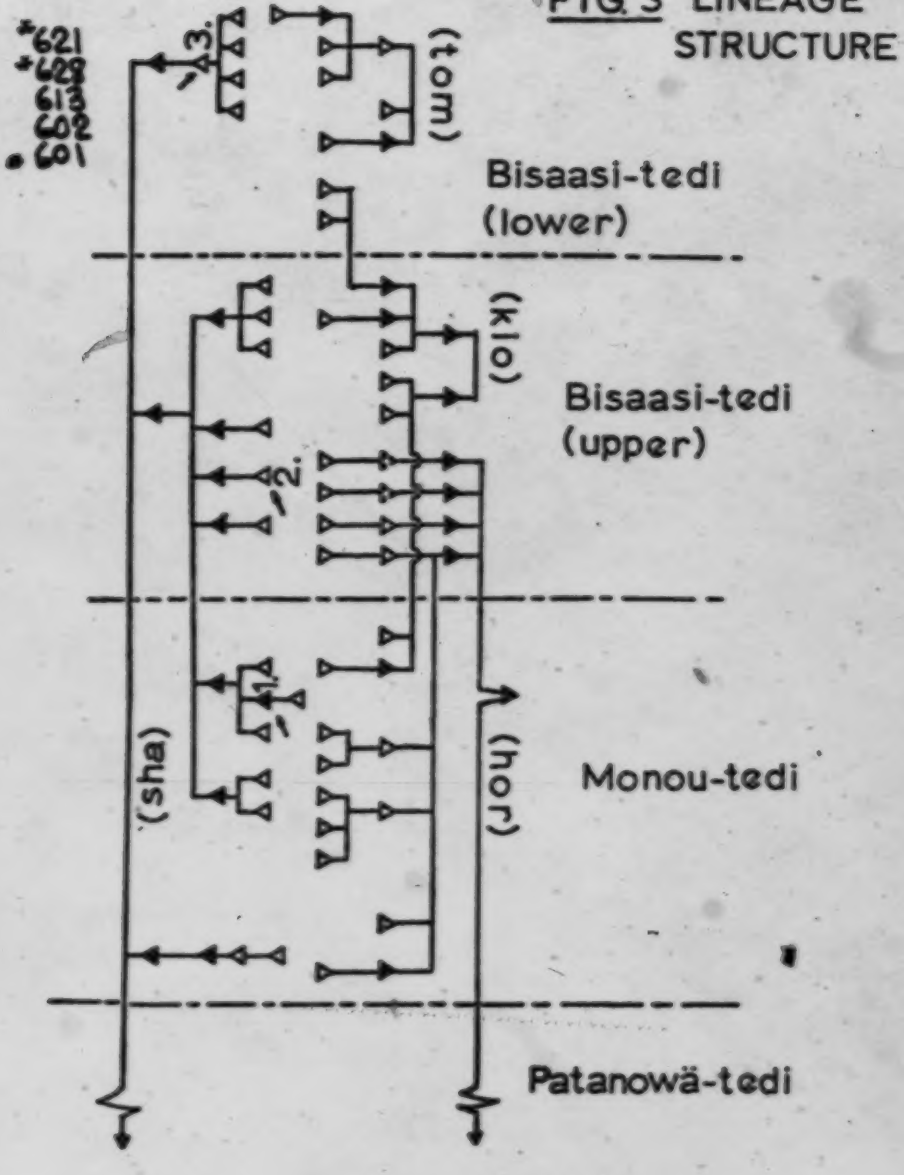
actual brothers of these women were killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast,[1] and the women therefore had few agnates to contest Reromawë's actions; his rights to dispose of these women increased after their brothers were killed in the feast. Because of the previous marriages between the members of the Sha and Tom lineages, Reromawë was already MoBr to the politically most important males in the Tom lineage, and he could command respect from them by virtue of the fact that he was of the ascending generation and principal wife-giver to them. He in fact gave two daughters to one of these men. When he re-defined one of his classificatory daughters as sister, he advanced his position in two ways. First, he then became shoriwë to the man that was married to this sister (the man was already SiSo to Reromawë), compounding the cognatic tie (SiSo) that linked them with an important affinal tie (shoriwë). Second, he was able then to claim a daughter of this 'sister' as a wife for his own son (despite the fact that it was incestuous), creating additional stable ties between the two lineages on another generational level.

In another, similar, case, Reromawë re-defined a different classificatory daughter as 'sister,' making it possible for her son to marry his daughter. This was a strategic move, for the man involved was of the Hor lineage, a dominant political group in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. Thus, by manipulating the kinship system, Reromawë advanced his own position as village leader and managed to

---

[1] See Chapter V.

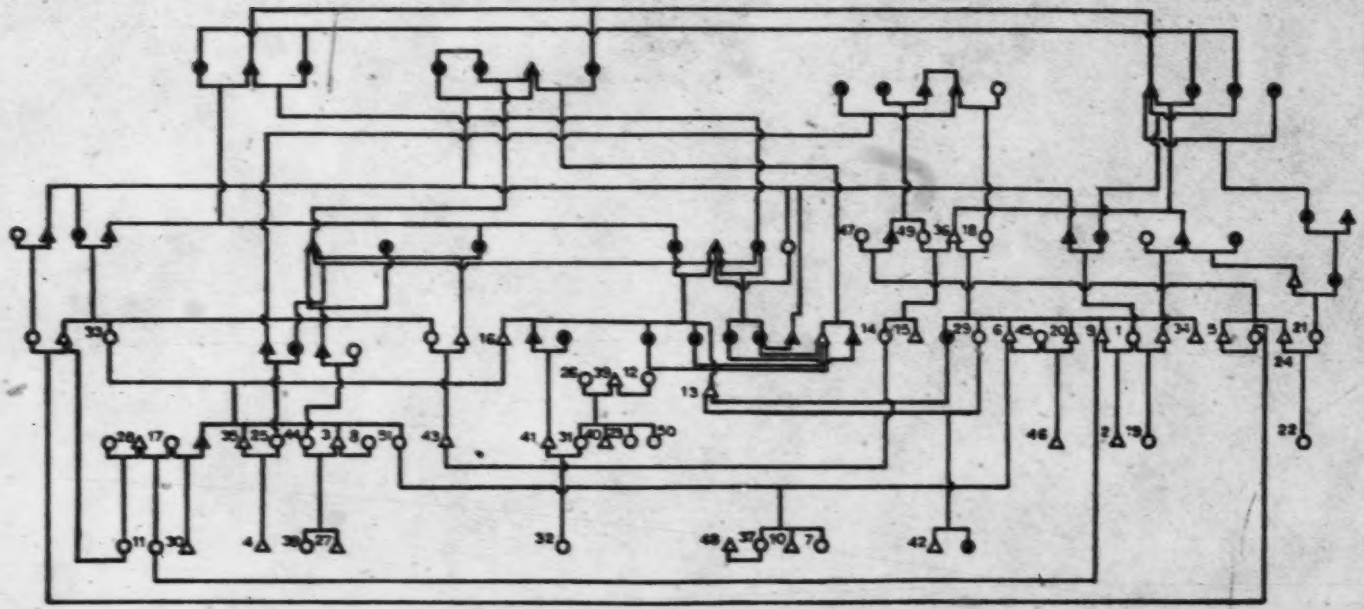
FIG 3 LINEAGE STRUCTURE



APPENDIX A

[P.215] Genealogy of Lower Bisaasi-tedi

© N.A.CHAGNON ! 1967



10rChagnon E-4.0 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

I overlooked this incident I would have invited them to take even greater liberties with my goods in the future. I crossed the river, docked amidst their dugouts, and shouted for the Indians to come out and see me. A few of the culprits appeared, mischievous grins on their faces. I gave a spirited lecture about how hard I had worked to put those boards in my canoe, how I had paid a machete for the wood, and how angry I was that they destroyed my work in their haste to cross the river. I then pulled out my hunting knife and, while their grins disappeared, cut each of their canoes loose, set it into the current, and let them float away. I left without further ado and without looking back.

They managed to borrow another canoe and, after some effort, recovered their dugouts. The headman of the village later told me with an approving chuckle that I had done the correct thing. Everyone in the village, except, of course, the culprits, supported and defended my action. This raised my status.

Whenever I took such action and defended my rights, I got along much better with the Yąnomamö. A good deal of their behavior toward me was directed with the forethought of establishing the point at which I would react defensively. Many of them later reminisced about the early days of my work when I was "timid" and a little afraid of them, and they could bully me into giving goods away.

Theft was the most persistent situation that required me to take some sort of defensive action. I simply could not keep everything I owned locked in trunks, and the Indians came into my hut and left at will. I developed a very effective means for recovering almost all the stolen items. I would simply ask a child who took the item and then take that person's hammock when he was not around, giving a spirited lecture to the others as I marched away in a faked rage with the thief's hammock. Nobody ever attempted to stop me from doing this, and almost all of them told me that my technique for recovering my possessions was admirable. By nightfall the thief would either appear with the stolen object or send it along with someone else to make an exchange. The others would heckle him for getting caught and being forced to return the item.

With respect to collecting the data I sought, there was a very frustrating problem. Primitive social organization is kinship organization, and to understand the Yąnomamö way of life I had to collect extensive genealogies. I could not have deliberately picked a more difficult group to work with in this regard: They have very stringent name taboos. They attempt to name people in such a way that when the person dies and they can no longer use his name, the loss of the word in the language is not inconvenient. Hence, they name people for specific and minute parts of things, such as "toenail of some rodent," thereby being able to retain the words "toenail" and "(specific) rodent," but not being able to refer directly to the toenail of that rodent. The taboo is maintained even for the living. One mark of prestige is the courtesy others show you by not using your name. The sanctions behind the taboo seem to be an unusual combination of fear and respect.

I tried to use kinship terms to collect genealogies at first, but the kinship terms were so ambiguous that I ultimately had to resort to names. They were quick to grasp that I was bound to learn everybody's name and reacted, without my knowing it, by inventing false names for everybody in the village. After having spent several months collecting names and learning them, this came as a disappointment to me: I could not cross-check the genealogies with other informants from distant villages.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

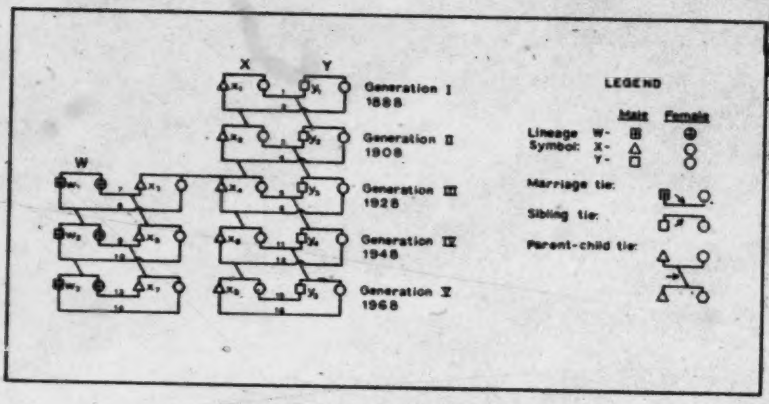


Fig. 3–1. Ideal Yąnomamö marriage pattern.

Fig. 3–1 can be presumed to represent the organization of a particular village over five generations, starting in the year 1888. Let us assume that the village originated in that year when individuals x_1 (and his sister, not numbered) and y_1 (and his sister) broke away from a larger village and established their own garden at some new location. Thus, in the year 1888, the village was comprised of two groups of kinsmen, X and Y. These two kinship groups are called lineages, the distinctive features of which I will discuss later.

In generation I, x_1 married the sister of y_1 and, in exchange, gave his own sister to y_1 as wife. This marriage practice is called *brother-sister* exchange and characterizes Yąnomamö marriage behavior. A man is under considerable obligation to *reciprocate* a woman to the kinship group from which he has taken one. In Fig. 3–1, x_1 married y_1's sister and reciprocated the exchange by giving his own sister to y_1. Because of this obligation of reciprocity, kinship groups become interdependent socially and form pairs of woman-exchanging kin groups. These paired kinship groups are discussed below in the context of village fissioning.

In generation II of Fig. 3–1, the village still contains only two groups of intermarrying kinsmen. These are the children of the individuals who founded the village. The reciprocal exchanges of women between the two groups of kinsmen (lineages X and Y) continue in the second generation, x_2 getting his wife from lineage Y and vice versa. Like their fathers, x_2 and y_2 exchanged sisters. It will be noted at this point that x_2 has married his mother's brother's daughter, who is simultaneously his father's sister's daughter.[1] This is a logical consequence of the fact that there are only *two* lineages in

[1]This is called bilateral cross-cousin marriage. See glossary for definitions. Hereafter the following abbreviations will be used, following Murdock, 1949: Mo—mother; Fa—father; Br—brother; Si—sister; So—son; and Da—daughter. Thus, "mother's brother's daughter" is simply MoBrDa.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the village, the members of which being related to each other as brother and sister, and the fact that individuals must marry outside their own lineages.

The important features of the lineages X and Y are now clearly visible in generation II: The lineages are patrilineal and exogamous. That is, males and females belong to the lineage of their father (patrilineality), and individuals must marry people who belong to a different lineage (exogamy). This can be seen more clearly in the symbols used in Fig. 3–1. All males of lineage X are designated by triangles (x_1, x_2, x_3 . . . x_8), and all females of lineage X are designated by hexagons. Similarly, all males of lineage Y are designated as squares and all females by circles. Males of lineage X marry females of lineage Y. Their children belong to lineage X because their *father* (patrilineality) is of lineage X.

The Yąnomamö kinship system also reflects the rules of lineage exogamy, brother-sister exchange and reciprocity. Their kinship system is called the "bifurcate merging" type with "Iroquois" cousin terms (see Glossary). Within each generation, all the males of one lineage call each other "brother," and all the women call each other "sister." Males of lineage X call males of lineage Y "brother-in-law" and are eligible to marry their sisters. In fact, the males of lineage X call the females of lineage Y "wife" *whether or not they marry them*. This is likewise true for the males of lineage Y with respect to the females of lineage X. This brings us to another important Yąnomamö marriage rule: A male must marry a woman of the category called *suaböya*—"wife." This is called a *prescriptive* marriage rule.[2] To state it more precisely, Yąnomamö society is characterized by a rule that enjoins a man to marry a woman of a specific kinship category; he has no choice with respect to the category.

There is an important controversy over the meaning and implications of the term "prescriptive." I have given the definition held by British anthropologists generally, by Needham (1962*a*:9) in particular. This definition emphasizes the fact that men have no choice with respect to the category of women from which their wives must come, that men are forbidden to marry women of other categories, and that the society itself is said to be characterized by the prescriptive rule. The opposition to this definition comes largely from certain American anthropologists, who maintain that a society can only be said to have a prescriptive marriage rule when a high percentage (close to 100 percent) of the people marry according to the rule (see Coult and Hammel 1963:291). The issues involved are not quite as simple as this, but a glimmering of the area of contention can be seen in an example provided by Leach (1965). Rephrasing his example, the rule (in our society) "thou shalt not kill" is like the rule (among, say, the Yąnomamö) "thou shalt marry a woman of category A." These rules can be said to exist in the respective societies irrespective of the homocide rate in New York or the frequency of aberrant marriages in a Yąnomamö village. That is, Leach (and Needham) maintain that one cannot discover such a rule by counting examples of murder (or, rather, "non-murder") or marriages of men to women of category A. The more basic issue, however, is the

[2]Professor Lévi-Strauss, who read an earlier draft of this chapter, quite correctly pointed out that to say a marriage system is "prescriptive" is to say no more than "a man must marry a marriageable female," which is a tautology. Nevertheless, we must have some way to distinguish a system that permits marriage with only a single category of women from those that permit marriage with women of several categories. By showing what is meant by the Yąnomamö category *suaböya*, as I have attempted to do in Fig. 3–2, the reader will gain some idea of what is meant by that marriage type. I have used the term "prescriptive" because it is the current usage.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

meaning of, in this case, "category A." It is customary to represent primitive kinship categories in models (for example, Fig. 3–1) by their closest biological equivalents in *our own kinship system*. Many critics of Needham's definition of prescription fail to appreciate the fact that *FaSiDa* and *MoBrDa* in a model like the one given in Fig. 3–1 represent just *two* of several kinds of kinswomen who fall into the prescribed category. That is, they interpret the native's kinship category from the narrow point of view of one of that category's biological meanings in *our own kinship system*. (I have given ten examples of actual Yąnomamö marriages in Fig. 3–2, discussed later, to illustrate what the categories FaSiDa and MoBrDa mean to the Yąnomamö.) The use of Needham's definition of prescription to characterize Yąnomamö marriage rules can be justified, therefore, on several grounds. First, the Yąnomamö assert that a man must marry a woman of the *suaböya* category. Second, of the six primary categories used by men to classify female relatives, five of them embrace women who stand in incestuous relationship to the male speaker, and he is forbidden to marry any woman that falls into any of these five additional categories. Third, we will see below how closely the alternative definition of prescription fits the Yąnomamö, using their own notions of kinship to reckon relationships between males and females.[3]

In Fig. 3–1, marriageable women are related to their husbands as both FaSiDa and MoBrDa; this is an artifact of the way in which the model is drawn. These two kinds of kinswomen are the closest biological equivalents in our kinship system for the Yąnomamö term "*suaböya*:" "wife." It must be emphasized, however, that given the classificatory nature of the Yąnomamö kinship system (for example, men of the same generation and of the same lineage are "brothers"), there are several ways to be related to a woman as "wife."

Something new has happened in generation III. A man (w_1) from a distant village, along with his sister, has joined the group. Both he and his sister have married into lineage X. Thus, there are three lineages represented in the village (W, X, and Y), and the *dual organization* characterizing generations I and II is now lost.[4] A Yąnomamö village can incorporate new lineages into its social life by an extension of marriage ties to its members. As can be seen from Fig. 3–1, the same rules—exogamy, reciprocity, patrilineal descent, and brother-sister exchange—that characterize the behavior of the members of lineages X and Y also hold for the members of the new lineage, W. The incorporation of lineage W takes place this way. W_1 joined the village in 1928 (generation III) because x_3 and x_4 promised him one of their sisters. As shown in Fig. 3–1, he did, in fact, marry one of their sisters and gave, in exchange, one of his sisters to x_3.

This (potentially) brings about an important structural change in the village with

[3]For an excellent summary of the various arguments concerning "prescriptive alliance," see Maybury-Lewis 1965*a*.

[4]A society is said to have dual organization when, for example, it is comprised of two intermarrying kinship groups, such as lineages X and Y in generations I and II of Fig. 3–1. In some societies the intermarrying kin groups are named, for example, "Bear Clan (or Moiety)" and "Thunderbird Clan (or Moiety)." The Yąnomamö do not have named kinship groups such as this. Dual organization is, however, implied in their kinship terminology and marriage rules and, as will be seen, villages tend to have two (and only two) politically dominant lineages that intermarry. In short, the Yąnomamö village tends to be comprised *in fact* of two dominant kinship groups but lacks some of the ideology, such as named pairs of intermarrying kin groups, of classical dual organization. See: Maybury-Lewis, 1960 and 1967; Lévi-Strauss, 1963, Chapter VIII; Nimuendajú and Lowie, 1927; and Malinowski, 1926, for further descriptions and analyses of societies having dual organization.

111 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Fig. 3–2. Selected genealogies illustrating actual Yanomamö marriage cases.

128 SB2 601

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

analysis of reciprocal marriage exchanges between such groups and the obligations implied in such exchange is seriously hampered. In short, if Yąnomamö marriage exchanges over a number of generations and the kinship basis of village fissioning are examined, the data support Leach's arguments. They do not, however, invalidate Fortes' argument that blood ties create some solidarity, but they do call into question the contention that blood ties by definition, or, rather, on "first principles," account exclusively for the solidarity occurring between lineages.

In summary, Fig. 3–1 represents a number of important features of Yąnomamö social organization. First, people reckon descent through males and are grouped into exogamous, patrilineal lineages. These are called *mashi* by the Yąnomamö, although none of them bear distinctive names.[7] Second, members of these lineages tend to intermarry with the members of a second lineage over a number of generations, being bound to them by obligations to reciprocate women in marriage. This results in a dual organization of kinsmen within the village, whose residents fall into one or the other of the two lineages. Third, new lineages can be incorporated into the village by an extension of marriage ties, potentially bringing about "structural faults" within the lineages of that village. Fourth, men are obliged to marry a woman of a single, specific category, *suaböya*. This category defines a variety of women, two subcategories of which can be translated into the English biological equivalents MoBrDa and FaSiDa. Yąnomamö men prefer to marry women of these subcategories because they are relieved of much of the discomfort of avoiding their mothers-in-law.[8]

The ten partial genealogies shown in Fig. 3–2 show how the Yąnomamö actually marry. The genealogies have been selected with the intention of illustrating how the Yąnomamö reckon relationships between kinsmen in general, and between husband and wife in particular. All ten exemplify prescriptive marriage. They are more or less arranged in decreasing order of correspondence to our own biological concepts of kinship and illustrate the classificatory nature of their kinship system.

The people shown on these genealogies are (or were) real people. Many of the individuals in the examples are related to each other in such ways that all ten of the examples could be drawn as a single, unified genealogy.

The first eight examples are drawn from the village of Patanowä-teri; the last two are from Bisaasi-teri. In case J, for example, the fifth individual of the second generation is Kąobawä. To give a rough idea of the incompleteness of each genealogy, only one of Kąobawä's four marriages is shown and only one of his four children. None of his brothers and sisters are shown either, nor is the fact that he married a MoBrDa indicated.

Case A illustrates the identification procedure to be used in relating the genealogies to the text. There are three generations shown in case A; the first is symbolized by the Roman numeral I, the second, by II, the third, by III. Each individual in each generation is given a number; the number series runs from left to right and begins anew with 1 in each generation. Hence, every individual bears a generation number and a position-within-generation number. Case A illustrates the marriage of individuals III-1 to III-2;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[7] *Mashi* means "species," "group," "cluster of similar things," and, in the context of kinship, "that group of people to whom I am related through males;" that is, "patrilineal kinsmen."

[8] I draw attention to the fact that the category is *prescribed*, but within it there are *preferences*. There are very few analyses of societies that have a prescriptive rule within which there are preferences, although Needham has devoted some attention to this interesting phenomenon (1962*a*, 1962*b*, and 1963).

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yąnomamö category *suaböya* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III-1) would have called the woman *suaböya* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *bąroya.*

The marriage of III-1 to III-2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II-1 and II-4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I-2 was an *adopted* brother to I-3, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin.* Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kąobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kąobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Ariwari, Kąobawä's son. Ariwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3-3). Ariwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kąobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.)

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yąnomamö do not distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A.

Case B also illustrates *sororal polygyny:* III-1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters.

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II-3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

606 123 [551] The avoidance taboo prohibits a man from saying his mother-in-law's name. My informants would be extremely embarrassed when I would say the name of their mother-in-law while collecting genealogies. Kąobawä, for example, would grin sheepishly and hide his head. Men must also avoid their mothers-in-law physically and should not look at them. If I took a group of people for a ride in my canoe, there would always be considerable shuffling of bodies so that the men could be situated in the canoe as far away from their mothers-in-law as possible.

128 602 595 Finally, case C illustrates another kind of sororal polygyny: Individuals III-1 and III-3 are sisters to each other because their mothers are sisters. (The equation stating that children of siblings of the same sex are themselves siblings extends indefinitely in the case of males, but breaks down in the case of females after two generations. This is because descent is patrilineal.)

128 582 602 *Case D:* This also is a case of FaSiDa marriage: I-2 and I-3 were brothers, so one of the parents of each of the third generation individuals were brother and sister to each other. Hence, III-1 married his FaSiDa.

128 595 602 *Case E:* The marriage of III-1 to III-2 is similar to the marriage in case D, but his marriage to the second wife, III-3, illustrates the use of another kinship equation. She is an actual sister to the first wife, but does not stand in the FaSiDa relationship to her husband. If one of the sisters is FaSiDa, however, then all of them are in Yąnomamö kinship usage.

128 582 602 [601] *Case F:* This illustrates how affinal ties replace consanguineal ties should the two conflict. III-1 can trace a blood tie to his wife, one that would prevent him from marrying her, but the affinal ties between his own father and the father of his wife permit him to marry according to the prescription. Individual III-1 would call all of his father's wives "mother." Hence, his own wife is, technically, MoBrDa.

128 582 587 602 *Case G:* This illustrates a number of marriage rules stated in the preceding examples. I present it as a sort of exercise to reinforce the logic of the Yąnomamö kinship equations given above. Individual II-6 married two brothers, II-5 and II-7, illustrating the *levirate*, the marriage between a man and his brother's widow. Individual II-9 married his FaSiDa (as in case F). Individuals III-3 and III-4 can marry because their fathers were cross-cousins (see case H, below). Individual III-5 married his FaSiDa, as was shown for the similar marriage in case E. Individual IV-1 married two women, each of whom is his FaSiDa. This is so because I-2 and I-4 were adopted brothers, so that their [597] sons (II-2 and II-4) were also siblings. Hence, IV-1 married his FaSiDa (IV-2) and, as in case E, her sister. His second wife is also FaSiDa because her mother (III-6) was a sister to III-2, since their respective fathers (II-9 and II-2) were (adopted) brothers.

128 582 601 602 *Case H:* This illustrates a very powerful marriage rule: The children of men who call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law) can marry. Practically speaking, in our kinship terms, the rule is that the children of cross-cousins stand in marriageable relationship to each other. II-2 and II-3 stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and could exchange sisters in marriage. Their sons stand in the same relationship. Another important feature of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage rules is illustrated here. While III-1 married a woman of the prescribed category, he does not reckon his relationship to her patrilaterally or matrilaterally. That is, she is neither FaSiDa nor MoBrDa, but she is both! This emphasizes the fact that they marry primarily in terms of categories rather than by tracing biological ties, as I have done in the above examples. To the Yąnomamö,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

FaSiDa is the same as MoBrDa, and both are called by the same term, *suaböya*. Hence, to present the above examples as the Yąnomamö would explain them I would not have had to distinguish MoBrDa from FaSiDa, but rather would have had to use just one term; in every case presented, men married their *suaböya*. (This can be seen in the model shown in Fig. 3–1; each male married a woman who was simultaneously FaSiDa and MoBrDa, that is, *suaböya*, to him.)

Cases I and J: These are a little unusual, but I include them to give some idea of both the potentials of the Yąnomamö kinship system and the people who use it.

In case I, individual II–2 is the headman of Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawä's "father." He has considerable authority in the group. He arbitrarily redefined some of his classificatory daughters as sisters *so that his sons could marry their daughters*. Thus, the marriage of IV–1 to IV–2 is now considered to be legitimate because IV–1 could call his wife's mother his mother-in-law (FaSi), since his father redefined her as sister. Otherwise, it would be incest. Most of the people adjusted their kinship usage to fit the circumstances, but Kąobawä, who gave me the details of the manipulation, refused to adjust his own terms. The redefined women in question are his sisters, and he refused to call them FaSi.

I came upon this, and several identical cases, when I learned that the kinship usage between specific individuals did not reflect the equations implied by genealogies. (After I had collected extensive genealogies on four villages, I spent a considerable amount of time collecting kinship terms from specific individuals for every one of the some two thousand individuals included in the genealogies. This served as a cross-check on the genealogies, but uncovered a large number of incestuous and other interesting marriages that I might not have pinpointed otherwise.)

Case J brings out the full potential of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship. The man (III–1) married his *suaböya* according to the Yąnomamö, although he was not related to her by any blood ties. The justification for the marriage is the fact that III–1 calls all the women to whom his father and his father's brothers are married by the term for mother. Hence, he married his MoBrDa.

THE LINEAGE It was shown in Chapter 1 that villages fission to produce new groups. One of the consequences of this pattern is that in a given area there will be a number of villages whose members can trace genealogical ties to each other because they have common male ancestors. Because of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship, the interrelated members of two different villages will use kinship terms for each other that imply a closeness of relationship. Thus, Kąobawä has "brothers" in all of the villages that have a common history with his own. These men are usually parallel cousins one or two degrees removed, but brothers in terminological categories. (The lineage to which Kąobawä belongs is shown on Fig. 3–5, discussed later as the *Sha* lineage.)

The Yąnomamö do not name their lineages. I have named all the significant lineages after particular male individuals, usually a long-since-dead male whose generation is the last for which I have meaningful genealogies. Thus, the *Sha* lineage is named after a man called *Shamathiadima*, long dead. He and his brothers left many male descendants who today are distributed in several villages. In the history of the movements of Kąobawä's village, the *Sha* lineage has figured prominently in the affairs of the group. Similarly, the *Hor* lineage is named after a man called *Horiborböwä*. The *Sha* and *Hor* lineages have a long history of marriage alliance and the living members of these two lineages constitute the greater fraction of the populations of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yanomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18] Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yanomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19] Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

most common way for a child's soul to escape is to leave by way of the mouth when the child cries. Thus, mothers are quick to hush a bawling baby in order to prevent its soul from escaping. The child's soul can be recovered by sweeping the ground in the vicinity where it most probably escaped, calling for it while sweeping the area with a particular kind of branch. I once helped gather up the soul of a sick child in this fashion, luring it back into the sick baby. One of the contributions I made, in addition to helping with the calling and sweeping, was a dose of medicine for the child's diarrhea. A consequence of this set of attitudes about the vulnerability of children is that much of the village's activity with respect to shamanism and curing is directed toward the children.

RELATIVES BY BLOOD AND BY MARRIAGE Many forms of interpersonal behavior stem largely from the social roles implied in the kinship system. To be sure, some kinship behavior reflects the two distinctions of age and sex discussed above, for the terminology of kinship itself employs discriminations of this kind. For example, there are terms to distinguish older siblings from younger siblings and terms used by members of one sex only in reference to those of the opposite sex.

The relationship between kinship terms and biological parentage is not the same in the Yąnomamö language as it is in our own. As was shown in the first section of this chapter, people may stand in a child relationship to a number of individuals; that is, it is possible to have multiple "mothers" and "fathers" in Yąnomamö society. The term for mother and father conveys as much of a social as a biological relationship between individuals, and in the daily activities of the Yąnomamö it is the social implications of kinship roles that are most important.

What is implied in the kinship roles can best be seen in the way the kinship terms themselves are formed. All primary kinship terms take the ending *"-mou"* when used to describe the relationship between individuals. Thus, *osbeya* means "my younger sibling," but *osbemou* means that individual X *behaves* toward individual Y *as a younger sibling*. This ending, *-mou*, also occurs in nonkinship usage to express "a way of behaving," "to execute a particular activity in a specified manner," or "to perform the activity that is implied by the word to which *-mou* is affixed." For example, *oko* means fresh-water crab and *okomou* means "to go hunting for crabs"; *bowashi* means "a mischievous white monkey" and *bowashimou* means "to act mischievously, to monkey around"; *nowa naba* means "enemy," and *nowa nabamou* means "to become an enemy by behaving objectionably"; *waiteri* means "fierce" and *waiterimou* means "to behave ferociously."

Whenever I would ask the Yąnomamö a question such as, "What do you call Kąobawä?" the answers would always be in the form of a kinship term to which *"-mou"* was affixed, but rarely in the form "I say such-and-such to him." Calling an individual by a specific term is, however, implied in the "way of behaving" toward that individual. But despite the fact that the Yąnomamö can say, literally, "I call him father" (*kama kä iba, baya ya kuu*), they invariably say *"ya bǫ̈mou"*—"I behave toward him as a child."[20] Thus, they express their relationships to others in terms of *ways of behavior*. Each kinship category implies a set of these behavioral norms, and one's social life in the community is established with respect to all other individuals by the kinship terminology employed in each particular case.

[20]Although the word *bǫ̈* translates literally as "father," the expression *ya bǫ̈mou* can best be understood with the translation given above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

New individuals are incorporated into the community by an extension of kinship ties. Unless one is incorporated into the village in this fashion, there is no basis for social behavior vis-à-vis others, for the kinship system defines one's role in society. An orphaned teen-ager joined Kąobawä's group shortly before I began my fieldwork. He was from a distant Shamatari village and had no blood relatives in Kąobawä's group. He established his position in the community by calling Kąobawä "father." This defined his relationship to all of Kąobawä's kinsmen as well. As an exercise in kinship, I had the young man give me his relationship term for everyone in the village. He not only had specific terms for every member of the group, but he had also extended them to all the residents of Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri as well, since Kąobawä was related to these people. In short, the boy learned how Kąobawä was related to all the members of three different villages and logically extended his own assumed relationship to Kąobawä outward to the others; and he behaved toward them accordingly: He avoided women he called mother-in-law and refrained from sexual activities with women he called sister.

To emphasize the fact that the kinship categories do not always correspond to biological relationships, let me give an example of an incestuous marriage. Kąobawä's younger brother, Shiimima, recently (1966) took a young girl for his wife, outraging most of the community because he "behaved toward her as brother" before the marriage. The girl's mother had been abducted some twenty years earlier from a distant village and was given to a man who stood in a father relationship to Kąobawä and Shiimima. Thus, both Kąobawä and Shiimima called the abducted woman "mother" and called her daughter "sister." The abducted woman's husband died of malaria; after this, she had a number of temporary affairs with other men before being officially taken as a wife by another man in the village. Her daughter is the issue of a temporary affair she had with the headman of Mahekodo-teri, the group that gave Kąobawä refuge after the treacherous feast in 1950. She is, therefore, biologically unrelated to Kąobawä and Shiimima, but since they behaved toward her as brothers, Shiimima's marriage to her is a blatant case of incest. The matter was as disgusting to my informants as it would have been had Shiimima married his own biological sister.

There are many important kinship distinctions in Yąnomamö social life, but the one between relatives by marriage and agnatic relatives should particularly be emphasized. This distinction is at the basis of Yąnomamö political behavior and village fissioning. This point was emphasized in the discussion of village fissioning and marriage rules in the first section of this chapter.

One of the most important characteristics of affinal ties is that they are capable of growing in strength over time because they can be solidified and reinforced by marriage exchanges between the groups. Ties between agnates, on the other hand, tend to weaken over time. For example, Kąobawä's local descent group could renew its friendship to similar affinally related groups in the village of Patanowä-teri by entering into marriage exchanges with them once again. There is no way, however, in which his own descent group could reinforce or strengthen the agnatic ties with the local descent groups of the *Sba* lineage in Patanowä-teri. By marrying into the affinally related Patanowä-teri descent groups, Kąobawä's group would enter into direct competition with agnatic counterparts in that village, further straining the relationships between the two communities.

There is another way of looking at this situation. Men who are related to each other as agnates (for example, brothers and parallel cousins) get along well with each

602 other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old
571 enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competi-
602 tion with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their per-
571 sonal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older.
578 They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kąobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

602 The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows
607 more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas
571 agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their
581 fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely
582 promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

602 Kąobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction be-
[601] tween agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kąobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were [613] half-brothers. Nadesiwä is in Kąobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par [581] with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the [582] group—Kąobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwä to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the [591] completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwä will [606] have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kąobawä and Nadesiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

602 The other man, Kumamawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kąobawä is related to
607 him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first [594] cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawä is a [613] frequent visitor in Kąobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kąobawä asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kąobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

361 Kąobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his
342 agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

[Introductory, P. iii;]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

000 marriage exchanges with other groups.

The weakness of kinship[1]

Few institutions promote solidarity between the local lineages of a village on the one hand and between allied villages on the other. Consanguineal kinship ties are weak; so weak, that the most bitter fighting usually takes place between villages comprised of closely related kinsmen. The roles of leaders are poorly defined, and headmen can rarely reconcile dissident factions within their own villages. Moreover, there are a number of factors constantly threatening the stability of local groups, and these factors likewise weaken political relationships between allied villages. Within villages fighting frequently breaks out over food thefts and over sexual liaisons. In the latter case the fighting takes the form of dueling with clubs, and usually the result is that the village splits; one of the factions establishes a garden elsewhere and becomes an independent village. As the histories of selected villages will show (see below, Chapter 5), the settlement pattern of Yanomamö villages is cyclical; it results from the splitting of larger villages, the renewed growth of the splinter groups into large villages, followed by recurrent splitting and growth ad infinitum. Kinship as a medium for promoting solidarity within villages loses its efficacy when villages

[1] It is difficult to discuss each variable affecting marriage alliances as operating by itself, for they are intimately interconnected, and I list them separately only to point out their major features.

attain a certain size; beyond this point the causes of internal fighting are too numerous for peace to be maintained effectively by kinship ties, and the village breaks up into smaller, more cohesive units. This affects the degree to which deviations from the marriage norm occur: first, the female cross-cousins of an eligible bachelor are usually in villages that are hostile to his own, and he is obliged to seek a spouse in another, currently friendly, village. Secondly, as his own village is now more vulnerable because of its small size, some of its eligible females must be given to men in other villages in order to promote military alliances.

Village size and demography

The significance of demographic data has only recently received recognition in analyses of social systems. The importance of such data in the analysis of marriage practices has been most tellingly illustrated by F. G. Rose's study of the Groote Eylandt Aborigines (1960). Rose was able to show that where men marry women who are considerably younger than themselves, two important consequences follow: primary marriages with father's sister's daughter is effectively prevented, as is the practice of sister exchange.

Similarly, Ackerman (1964), in a critique of Needham's analysis of Purum marriage, showed that demography-dependent data such as frequency of 'marriage acts' (ibid., p. 60) do not support Needham's contention that the Purum

121 have a prescriptive marriage system. What the Purum say they do and what they actually do are two distinct things.

*621 578 922 As I mentioned above, after Yanomamö villages reach a certain, critical size, they tend to fragment into smaller groups. The internal tensions that promote this instability are to some extent offset by external military pressures: members of a faction within a larger village may want to establish their own independent village to avoid club-fighting and to suppress more severe forms of violence; but if their village is being raided by members of other villages, [741] it may be impossible for them to do so. Occasionally a village splits into several factions, each establishing its own garden apart from the other, but the factions are forced *621 *628 722 583 582 918 to reunite because of raids mounted by other groups. Generally, the process of village splitting precludes a later recombination of the same factions because these remain hostile to each other. Thus, the small, vulnerable villages • [602] that result from the fragmentation of a larger village are constrained to make marriage alliances with other villages, both to insure military assistance and because it is difficult to obtain women from their kinsmen with whom they are now at war. Village size and the balance of marriage exchanges between villages indicate that numerically weak villages are *621 *628 722 583 582 438 coerced by their stronger partners to give up women. In some cases, the disposition of desirable trade goods may affect the balance in the exchange of women between two villages. In general it may be said that, when one village

phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the result of the shortage of women.

Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and this frequently causes the village to split. The larger the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion. Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each group establishes an independent village and enters into marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yanomamö village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

duel. Such a duel functions to remind the allies that the host is strong and willing to display his strength to protect his sovereignty.

The practical effect of this kind of behavior is that the solidarity of political alliances is constantly threatened. Allies are always suspicious of each other's intentions, and political ties between them are tenuous.

Although the giving of women in marriage between allies serves to promote solidarity, the capacity for marriage to achieve this end in itself is limited by the constant displays of hostility and aggressiveness by both groups.

The display of ferocity is manifest at the local, village level also. No insult is too slight to go unnoticed and unchallenged. Indeed, most individuals seize upon these opportunities to display strength. Thus, a legitimate way for men to display aggressiveness is for them to beat their errant wives, to burn them with fire brands, to cut their arms and legs with machetes or to shoot them in a non-vital part of the body with a barbed arrow. Men constantly intimidate their wives and respond cruelly to the slightest provocations, such as the wife's failure to act quickly on a husband's demand for food. Men who are brutal to their wives are feared and respected by other men, for the implication of this behavior is that the man will behave equally fiercely if insulted by another man.

Men often prefer to have a wife from another village, upon whom it is easier--and safer--to vent ferocity and

cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data, the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to split.

Ideological considerations, therefore, promote friction and fighting within villages and lead to village splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek marriage alliances with other groups.

Economic practices

Local groups abandon residential and horticultural sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of their enemies. For the most part, the Yąnomamö are able to predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop within the village and it is expected that these will

which is tied a bundle of feathers.[1]

Besides shamans, of which there are several in every village, there are influential 'big men.' The number of big men in a village depends, on the one hand, on the size of the village and the number of local patrilineages comprising it, and, on the other, on the number of men who are personally qualified to lead. The qualities that determine leadership are personal courage, fierceness, the ability to be outraged by even the slightest insult, marksmanship, diplomacy in trading with representatives from other villages, the ability to arrange marriages for male supporters with females from other villages, cunning and intelligence in dealings with allies, the ability to attract young men to live permanently in the village by promising them wives, and the defense of group members who get into difficulties with other village members.

Individuals who possess all these attributes are considered leaders only if they have a large natural following, i.e., brothers and sons living with them in their village. Otherwise, such men have only just a little more

---

[1] To give a more comparative statement on the poverty of Yąnomamö culture, they possess only 11 traits of the 354 listed in the 4th edition of Carneiro and Tobias' "Trait List to be Used for the Study of Cultural Evolution by Means of Scale Analysis," (1963, mimeograph). By contrast, the Siriono have 8, the Andamanese 10, the Jivaro 22, the Nuer 28, the Siuai 39, the Iroquois 64, the Bemba 100 and the Tahitians 140. (Carneiro and Tobias, 1963:201.) In the classification developed by E. R. Service (1962), the Yąnomamö are "tribal."

613 421 [542] associated with control over real property in most tribal societies. Among the Yąnomamö the corporate estate consists of rights in disposing of females; property does not play any role in the functioning of the descent group.

613 602 562 584 The relationship between males in regulating the disposition of the descent group's women is ambiguous, for their rights in particular women vary, largely with genealogical distance and the size of the descent group in question. And, rights in women are intangible. Thus, local descent groups[1] among the Yąnomamö, despite the fact that they are corporate, are not cohesive, solidary units because of the ambiguous way male members are related to each other.

613 *62 [614] [616] Patrilineal descent is virtually non-functional outside the local descent group. There are no corporate descent groups other than those that exist at the village level, i.e., the Yąnomamö do not have clans or moieties. Hence, agnates not only enter into competition with each other because of the nature of their rights in the women of their group, there are no other institutions based on agnatic descent that promote amity and solidarity among them.

---

[1] "The core of such a group is composed of the adult <u>males</u> of a kin group all resident in one place . . . the corporate group of persons who have the most decisive say in bringing about an arranged marriage is always a group of co-resident males representing, as a rule, three genealogical generations, namely: the old men or grandfathers, the normal adults or fathers, and the young adults or sons." E. R. Leach, 1963:56. Among the Yąnomamö, the generation of grand- [603] fathers is only rarely represented in the local descent group.

613 In addition to genealogical distance and size of
162 descent groups, demographic factors promote ambiguity in the relationships between males within a local descent group. For reasons of differential fertility, infanticide, warfare mortality, or chance, some local descent groups are larger than others (contain more males) and are, therefore, more powerful. Others may be relatively large, but contain more females than males. Still others may be very small and contain either all males or
613 all females. Since Yanomamö kinship terminology is classificatory
601 (Iroquois), all agnatically related males of the same generation
602 call each other 'brother'; parallel cousins, no matter how remote genealogically, are not terminologically distinguished from brothers. Despite the terminological usage, relationships between such agnates varies considerably.

613 Problems of agnatic priority in the disposition of
602 females arise, for example, when a man with no actual brothers
*221 gives his daughters away in marriage. If he has sons, the
584 sons would prefer that the girls be given to members of other
582 local descent groups who are most likely able to reciprocate with women. As the father has no actual brothers, his more distant agnates put pressure on him to give the girls to a descent group to which they themselves are linked by marriage ties, for they stand to benefit by future reciprocities. Situations such as this arise when a single man finds himself in the same village with a group of agnates that are distantly related to him, but who themselves constitute an important political bloc within the village. Although the agnates are

613 his brothers, terminologically, they have more in common with
602 each other than they do with him. As he depends on them for
621 support within the village, he is under obligation to them
584 and can not take their suggestions lightly.[1]
582

621 Again, if there are two politically important descent
613 groups of the same lineage within a large village, and if
602 there are, in addition, a number of agnatically related
562 females not belonging unambiguously to either one, problems
584 arise over the disposition of the women; there will be
736 rivalry between the two descent groups concerning the marriages (or remarriages) of these women. Situations like these arise when the father and brothers of the women are killed in raids or die of other causes, or when the woman's first husband dies after her (deceased) agnates arranged her marriage. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, split into two villages, each led by members of the same lineage. They had been victimized by a Shamatari group which killed a large number of men during a treacherous feast. There were a number of women, consequently, who were ambiguously related to the surviving males of the Upper and Lower halves of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the descent groups in what is now Lower Bisaasi-tedi managed to gain the upper hand in the

---

[583] [1]There seems to be a marked tendency for the daughters of such men to be given to men in other villages when alliances are made. I am unable to say, on the basis of my present data, whether such alliances are forced on these men by their agnates, or whether these men in fact prefer to dispose of their daughters in this way. This practice tends to keep such men more isolated from their agnates and prevents them from establishing strong affinal ties within the village.

613 *621 • 602 562 584 736

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

582 584 593 *621

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

583 591 584 602 721 *628

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

---

[128] [1]See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[601] [2]By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yąnomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

the Namowei-tedi and the Boreta-tedi (Chapter V) developed out of a case such as this.

When women are given to men in allied villages, the local descent group of the girl (her father and adult brothers and, to a lesser extent, the girl's more distant agnates) decides which patrilineage of the foreign village should have her. Smaller villages are more prone to enter into alliances based on marriage exchanges than are larger villages, since smaller villages require allies to a greater extent than larger ones.[1] Local descent groups in small villages are more cohesive than descent groups in larger villages because they usually comprise a man and his adult sons; if there are distantly related agnates in small villages, these are incorporated into the local descent group. In small villages, therefore, local descent groups are more corporate because all the adult agnates of the girl have a say in her marriage. Ideally, they give the girl to a member of the politically strongest descent group of the allied village, for this group is the one from which aid will come or, conversely, the one most likely to make the decision to initiate hostilities against the smaller village.

The longer an alliance endures, the more likely it is that the exchange of women balances. The two largest

---

[1] Larger Yanomamö villages can make visiting alliances with other groups that do not lead to marriage exchanges, as it is relatively unimportant to them to stabilize such alliances by ceding women to militarily inferior groups.

affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawë's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawë threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawë shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawë, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bëkotawë, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawë discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawë, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

602 of social organization,[1] and in analyses of particular societies.[2] It is not assumed here that the nature of the [114] social organization itself stems from the nature of the sentiments associated with particular dyadic kin ties, as was implied in Homans and Schneider's work (1955). Dyadic ties are a product of political, military, ideological and economic forces that shape Yąnomamö social organization, and reflect, rather than cause, that organization.

Of the large number of logically possible kinship dyads, only a few have structural relevance to this anal[illegible] In particular, ties between agnates and ties between brothers-in-law must be considered to render intelligible the mechanics of Yąnomamö social organization.

602 +621 578 Ties between distantly related agnates are the most ambiguous, and the ones that usually break when villages split. Conversely, ties between closely related agnates are strong and less likely to be severed in village splits.

607 Of the affinal ties, those linking brothers-in-law to each other are of the greatest structural importance and are often stronger than ties between distantly related agnates.

606 601 Secondarily, ties between a man and his son-in-law are strong, but have fewer structural consequences than either brother-in-law (shoriwë) or brother (aiwë, osheya) ties.

---

[1] Levi-Strauss, 1963, Ch. 2; Needham, 1962, Ch. 2.

[2] Leach, 1957.

I. Marriage Ties

602 593 583 583 [609] Marriages bind the groups of the spouses to each other in a system of exchanges involving goods, services, and the promise to reciprocate women at a later date. Yąnomamö marriage is peculiar in that the ties between husband and wife are very weak, but that ties between a man and his sister's husband are strong. The significance of marriage as an institution that initiates (or continues) alliances between non-agnatic groups stems, therefore, from the nature of the ties that it creates between the male members of the allied groups.

593 Ties between spouses are usually very tenuous, due largely to the fact that men are constantly suspicious of their wives' motives whenever the women leave the village unescorted. Men always suspect their wives of infidelity, and will even beat them if there is the slightest suspicion that the women have been seeing other men. A certain amount of 839 593 trysting goes on in all villages, but it is more frequent and more easily accomplished in larger villages. Discovery of [578] liaisons by the cuckold inevitably leads to club fighting 593 between the factions of the lover and the husband. The woman 684 involved usually suffers more than either of the male principals in the fighting that follows, as women are severely punished by their husbands. The punishment usually consists of a beating with a club, but men frequently shoot their unfaithful wives with barbed arrows in a non-vital area of the body, such as the buttocks or leg. In one instance I witnessed,

*628 581 607 Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their ability to promote solidarity between the allies to the obligations, duties and trading relationships that marriages impose on brothers-in-law.

607 • 602 *621 591 Within villages, brothers-in-law have similar obligations to each other. The strength of the co-residential shoriwä ties, however, is influenced by other factors besides promises to exchange goods, women, and services. First, co-residence itself promotes a certain amount of amity between all classes of kin. Second, co-residential shoriwä are usually cognatically related because their respective agnatic groups have exchanged women in ascending generations, i.e., many of them are related to each other as MoBrSo or FaSiSo. So, in addition to mere promises to give women to each other, co-residential shoriwä ties are strengthened by ties of cognatic kinship and co-residence.

609 602 *621 613 582 584 The strength of the ties between co-residential shoriwä is best illustrated by contrasting it to the weakness of the agnatic tie between two local descent groups of the same lineage. In anticipation of the discussion of agnatic relationship, I will point out here that the political interests of local descent groups focus on acquisition of women from other descent groups within the village. When a village has two or more agnatically related descent groups, the men in these respective groups are de facto rivals for the women in the village. Simultaneously, these distantly related agnates are frequently competitors in the disposition of some female agnates who do not belong unambiguously to one or the other local descent groups.

000 groups. In a large village comprised of two large lineages,
*621 each having two or more local descent groups, the particular
613 local descent groups of each lineage will have stronger ties
• 602 with non-agnatic descent groups within that village than with
598 groups of distantly related agnates. When there are feuds within the village, the groups that have most in common with each other are those linked by affinal rather than agnatic ties, and these affinally linked groups stick together should the feud lead to a village split.[1] While the tie between
[607] closely related agnates is stronger than that between brothers-in-law, the latter are usually stronger than the ties between distantly related agnates.

606 Finally, the son-in-law tie complements the brother-
609 in-law tie in binding local descent groups to each other
*621 within villages. Older adult males of local descent groups
613 can depend on the support of brothers, brothers-in-law, and
578 sons-in-law in village feuds, more so than on the support of
582 distantly related agnates. In the competition for women, affines in a faction exchange women rather than compete for them; just the opposite is true of the relationships between distantly related agnates.

2. Agnatic ties

593 . One of the two most important consanguineal ties
*621 having structural concomitants among the Yanomamö is the tie between siblings of the opposite sex. These are not as

[128] [1]See Chapter IV for a detailed discussion of the structure of village factions.

884 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

593 521 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yanomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [583] [595] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

*621 602 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed *[628] as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be affectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other *621 613 602 591 [622] villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kaobawä of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were

[1] See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kąobawë's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwë, 18). Whenever Kąobawë organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Nadesiwë, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kąobawë. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawë, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kąobawë's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kąobawë's nephew, Bëkotawë, 18 years old.

Kąobawë's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kąobawë to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

622 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I
602 asked Kaobawä what he had done about it. He said he had
613 spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He
561 will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ulti-
123
554 mately had to resort to my own means to recover the flash-
571 light, as Kaobawä could not force Shiimima to return it.
When I questioned Kaobawä about this ineffectiveness, he explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion
622 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every
613 feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scrap-
602 ing up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them
629 out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy prepar-
574 ing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing.
351 Kaobawä usually goes to the center of the village and begins
554 cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older
591 agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They
561 would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if Kaobawä requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this regard implies that one is being bossed around.

621 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative
613 age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group
602 and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of
561 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the
593 group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the
602 solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult
613

593 agnates of similar age tend to compete, rather than cooperate,
602 with each other in the affairs of the group. Each behaves in
613 such a way that it is obvious to all that he is not being
*[621] bossed around by his equals. Finally, this competition and lack of solidarity is even more pronounced when there are two or more local descent groups of the same lineage within the village.

*621 Co-residence as a factor in promoting solidarity can
601 be illustrated by kinship usage. One of my female informants,
*628 Kaobawë's wife, used affinal terms for a number of Patanowë-
591 tedi men who were technically her agnates. I was certain
124 that my genalogies were correct, so I re-investigated the usage. I discovered that she used 'distant' kinship terms for these 'brothers' because they lived in a different village, but that she had called them by brother terms when they lived together in Patanowë-tedi. She explained that she would again use brother terms if the two villages were to re-unite. Although the terms for agnates normally do not change when a distant agnate joins a local descent group, the co-efficient of solidarity does.

*628 The weakness of the tie between distantly related
602 agnates can also be demonstrated with data on fighting. After
613 the Patanowë-tedi separated from the Bisaasi-tedi and the
726 Monou-tedi in the early '40s, hostilities between the two groups developed. Each group, however, was similar in composition[1] in that each comprised local descent groups of the

[1] See Figure 3, Chapter IV, and Appendix A for the breakdown of the populations of these villages by lineage membership.

628 602 613 726 same lineages. The warfare between the two groups, therefore, was largely a struggle between groups of distantly related agnates. Kɨobawɨ, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, participated in the raiding against the Patanowɨ-tedi. In one skirmish, he shot his classificatory brother, Rakoiwɨ, but Rakoiwɨ survived the wound. This man is as closely related to Kɨobawɨ as most of the men that presently constitute his agnatic following in Upper Bisaasi-tedi, again illustrating the significance of co-residence in determining the strength of the agnatic tie. Two young men from Patanowɨ-tedi recenlty joined the Bisaasi-tedi to obtain wives. After they arrived, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Patanowɨ-tedi resumed their old hostilities. The fathers-in-law of the two men recruited both of them into raiding parties that attacked the Patanowɨ-tedi, and both men participated willingly, despite the fact that their actual fathers and brothers live in Patanowɨ-tedi. One of the young men, Sirorowɨ, told me that he would have avoided shooting his own father (Yoyosiwɨ) and actual brothers, but would have shot more distant agnates.

628 726 602 607 622 That the brother-in-law tie is stronger than the tie between distantly related agnates is also illustrated in the history of a war between Mahekodo-tedi and Yabitawɨ-tedi. These two villages are led by men who are classificatory brothers. The war stated when a man from Boreta-tedi, a brother-in-law of the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, was killed by the Yabitawɨ-tedi headman in a club fight. As the slain man's sisters were married to the Mahekodo-tedi headman, the

728
724
602
607
622

latter felt obliged to revenge the man's death by raiding his classificatory brother's village.

Similar cases occur in internal village fighting.

621
578
593

Hunobawë, an Upper Bisaasi-tedi man of some 60 years, gathered a stalk of bananas from his garden and hung them in the roof of his hut to ripen. His son, Dikawë, 18 years old, discovered the ripening bananas and ate a large number of them without the consent of his father. When Hunobawë discovered the loss, he went into a rage and attacked Dikawë with a club. Dikawë got his own club and began assailing the old man. This precipitated a general free-for-all in the village, as large numbers of men took one side or the other in the melee.

628
602
578
613
593

Club fights between historically related but separate villages also pit agnates against each other. When Bisaasi-tedi's Lower Group seized a girl that the Monou-tedi had abducted from the Patanowë-tedi, a club fight was arranged to settle the dispute. But, the most important factions in Monou-tedi and the two Bisaasi-tedi groups were local descent groups of the same lineage, and their headmen were classificatory brothers. Although the dispute and club fight ultimately involved all the able-bodied men of each village, the fight was initiated by distantly related agnatic groups of the same lineage.

602
578

Some dyadic kinship ties are more stable than others. It is not possible to say, however, that any one in particular is so inherently stable that fighting between such kinsmen can not occur. Certain kinds of violence, however, are not

602 likely to take place between agnates of a certain degree of
578 blood relationship, or between affines that are cognatically
593 related. While a father and son may club each other, it is not likely that the fight will escalate to spear thrusting or shooting with arrows. The same may be said of full brothers,
593 but with less conviction. That is, full brothers occasionally
*621 end up in different villages when a larger village splits,
*628 particularly if they are the only males in the sibship. Should
726 a war develop between the two villages, there is a possibility that they might kill each other in the raiding; it is not always possible, in Yąnomamö warfare tactics, to pick a victim out of a crowd of people, as the Yąnomamö occasionally shower a village with arrows in raids. Chances are that brothers would not deliberately kill each other, but the fact that one has a brother in an enemy village by no means constitutes sufficient reason to desist in raiding that village.

*621 Club fights within villages frequently pit close
602 agnates against each other, but when club fights escalate to
578 killing by spear thrust, it is not likely that such agnates
*628 will fight against each other. Distantly related agnates,
613 however, occasionally do fight against each other with the
726 intent to kill. Much of Yąnomamö warfare involved hostilities between villages that contain as the dominant political bloc local descent groups of the same lineage.

602 Perhaps the most important structural difference between agnatic and affinal ties is that the former tend to grow weaker as the kinsmen get older, whereas the latter are

602 capable of becoming stronger in time. When two descent groups
602 exchange women with each other over several generations, the
613 582 cognatically related members of the two groups have strong
582 583 ties with each other. Further exchanges between these groups
is largely a validation of the previously existing implicit
60 obligations to exchange women. MoBrSo is, whether or not you
582 marry his sister, a shoriwë. When the marriage rule is followed,
and it is a number of times each generation, the ties between
shoriwë are correspondingly strengthened by the exchange.
602 Agnatic ties do not have the potential of increasing in soli-
darity; the tendency seems, in fact, to be just the opposite.

602 The major components in the variation of the strength
561 of agnatic solidarity are genealogical closeness, relative
621 128 age, and co-residence. To provide a crude measure of the
591 relative importance of these variables, I have arbitrarily
assigned values to the components in Table 3. A strong tie
is scored as "***" and a weak tie as "---". By adding the
number of asterisks in each possible combination,
a rough measure of relative solidarity of agnatic type is
given. For example, agnates who are closely related genea-
logically (A_1: "***"), who differ significantly in age
(B_2: "***") and who live in the same village (C_1: "**-") rep-
resent a class of agnates having the greatest relative
solidarity. The sum of the asterisks for this combination
is 8.

In Table 3, combinations whose scores are 3 and 4
respectively constitute the class of agnates having the least

Table 3: Components of Agnatic Solidarity.

Genealogical		Age		Residence	
close	remote	similar	discrep.	same	different
A_1	A_2	B_1	B_2	C_1	C_2
•••	•—	•—	•••	••—	•—

Possible Combinations	Associated Value
$A_2B_1C_2$	3
$A_2B_1C_1$	4
$A_1B_1C_2$; $A_2B_2C_2$	5
$A_1B_1C_1$; $A_2B_2C_1$	6
$A_1B_2C_1$	7
$A_1B_2C_1$	8

amount of relative solidarity and are the groups most likely to enter into conflicts with each other. The combinations whose scores are 5 and 6 respectively potentially have more solidarity in the agnatic class, but the agnates represented by these combinations are ambiguously related to each other regarding rights in women. The combinations whose scores are 7 and 8 respectively characterize the groups of agnates have the strongest ties.[1]

[1] It will be noted that the combination whose score is 7 involves the component of non-co-residence, i.e., that the agnates are in different villages. This is a possibility when, for example, a man goes to another village to obtain a wife. Such possibilities also occur when members of two different villages trace their origin back to a common group but went to separate villages to obtain spouses, or ended up in separate villages when their common group split.

602 661 621 628 It is not easy to represent affinal ties in this fashion, as there are too many factors that determine the strength of the relationship between such kin types. A few observations, however, will provide a contrast with the analysis given in Table 3 above. Among affines, age differential is relatively meaningless so far as internal village stability and strength of inter-village alliance is concerned. [606] When the age differential corresponds to a difference in genealogical level, the affines, such as son-in-law, tend to be related by stable roles based on avoidance, bride service obligations, etc., but these derive not from age differential, [606] but from the generation difference. A son-in-law is subordinate to a father-in-law despite his age, and inter-personal behavior between such kinsmen is not greatly influenced by [591] age differentials. Second, co-residence is largely irrelevent unless it reflects cognatic ties that came about through previous marriages in ascending generations. Again, current political relationships between the two villages of the affines is important in determining the strength of the tie, or whether the affine intends to return to his own village. 628 621 602 583 Affinal ties do not necessarily imply previous historical relationships between the groups of the affines, whereas agnatic ties presume a common history. When members of two historically distinct villages enter into marriage alliances with each other, affinal ties between the respective villages are weaker than affinal ties between members of two villages that have a common history and have exchanged women in the

*628 past. Finally, there is no way of scoring 'promises' to
*621 exchange women, and the strength of the shoriwã tie between
*602 members of two distinct villages is largely a function of
583 such promises.

*621 Summarizing the difference in agnatic and affinal
602 ties, the important point is that affinal ties have the
613 potential of changing in their coefficient of solidarity when exchanges between two descent groups continues over time. It is largely for this reason that villages reduce to clusters of affinally related dual organizations (paired patrilineal local descent groups) that have exchanged women in the past and will probably continue to do so in the future.

C. Ferocity and Bellicosity

773 According to the Yąnomamö Moon Myth, Uhudima, a
823 Spirit, shot Moon with an arrow. The drop of blood that fell to the earth flowed over the surface, causing all Yąnomamö to become fierce. Ever since that time the Yąnomamö have behaved fiercely, because they were born in blood.

823 The Yąnomamö regard themselves as being violent,
577 coercive, crafty and quick to display aggressiveness; they
829 value this behavior. Yąnomamö contacts with other tribes
648 and with civilized foreigners have been consistently hostile until about 1955. They have succeeded in exterminating one tribe,[1] and have caused a number of villages of another tribe to relocate in order to avoid the attacks mounted on them by

[1] The Makú; see Migliazza, 1965.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER IV

VILLAGE COMPOSITION, STRUCTURE, AND SIZE

*621
*628
602
121
182

A. Village Composition and Structure

This thesis deals specifically with Yąnomamö marriage alliances. However, village structure and the dynamics of village splitting must be discussed before alliances as such can be understood; we must comprehend the nature of the groups that ally themselves to each other before attempting to make sense of the 'alliances.' In many respects, the process of village splitting provides the circumstances under which alliances are both desirable and necessary, for the circumstances of village splitting usually result in military situations whose solutions are best effected by the creation of affinal (marriage) ties with new groups. Newly-established villages are usually militarily vulnerable because they are invariably small, and the members of such groups are constrained, by defense requirements, to enter into alliances with their new neighbors after they split from their agnates. In most instances, the agnates from whom small groups split are in fact the group posing the military threat.[1] Yąnomamö village dynamics over time (the process of village splitting and establishing alliances) is, therefore, a function of

[1] See Chapter V on the histories of particular villages.

*621 *628 • 602 121 182 internal feuding that promotes splitting, and threat of raids from other groups that inhibits village splitting and/or promotes the establishment of alliances with other groups. These two forces shape the composition and structure of Yąnomamö villages; that is, these two forces impinge on kinship relationships and together with these latter determine the nature of the Yąnomamö village.

*621 *628 722 I will show in Chapter V that larger villages fragment into smaller groups when internal feuding becomes particularly intense, but are occasionally forced to re-unite when warfare threatens the splinter groups. Yąnomamö villages would remain small if there were no military forces working on them. The Patanowë-tedi, for example, attempted to split into three groups after separating from the Bisaasi-tedi;[1] the three factions re-combined, however, when one of them was attacked by the Hasaböwë-tedi. Similarly, the non-Patanowë-tedi faction of the split (Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi) likewise split into smaller factions after the threat of raids from the outside subsided. Again, these recombined when threat of raids was imminent.

*621 582 Irrespective of the conditions of the splitting, the newly formed villages approximate a dual organization of inter-marrying moieties in structure. This form of organization is implicit in the Iroquois kinship terminology, sister [807] *621 exchange, and ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules. Dual

---

[1] See Map C and Chapter V.

organization is only approximated, however, as an examination of the genealogies given in Appendix A will show. The smaller the village, the more conspicuous is the tendency for the composition to approach a moiety-like structure. Larger villages are more composite and may contain as many as four or five distinct lineage segments.[1]

The tendency for small villages to be characterized by two (and only two) dominant lineage segments, each linked to the other by marriage ties, recurs with sufficient frequency to permit me to use a simple dual organization model as the basis of the analysis of village structure. The model given in Figure 1 should be taken as only a heuristic devise in the discussion of Yąnomamö village structure that follows; the Yąnomamö do not conceive of their villages as being bifurcated into two groups, for in most instances they are not. And, small villages soon lose their moiety-like structure as they begin to include males and females from villages with which marriage ties are made.

The relationships between kin discussed in the previous chapter are all given in Figure 1. The adult males in Generation 1 exchange sisters[2] and are, therefore, related to each other as shoriwë (brother-in-law). This is a well-defined, stable, non-ambiguous relationship; the males in

[1] See Appendix A for a discussion of village composition. Details of one small village are given in the Appendix, but the composition by lineage is summarized for three other villages.

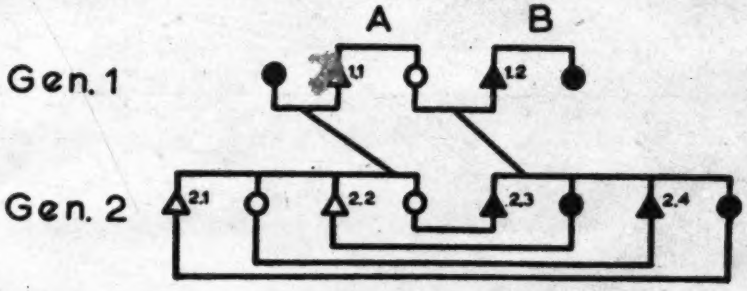
[2] In Figure 1, $A_{1.1}$'s wife is the sister of $B_{1.2}$.

602 607 582 583 Generation 1 have essentially solidary relationships to each other, at least in terms of the model.

The males of Generation 1 are related to the females [621] of that generation as either husband or brother. Ties between siblings of the opposite sex are affective and promote village solidarity.

613 602 Males of lineage A in the second generation are simultaneously sister's sons and daughter's husbands of male $B_{1.2}$, both relationships being conducive to solidarity. They are [583] bound to $B_{1.2}$ by affective ties and obligations to perform bride service. An analogous set of relationships binds the Generation 2, lineage B males to $A_{1.1}$. The males of both lineages in the second generation are related to each other as either brother or brother-in-law, both relationships being stable within the assumptions of this model (see below). The

[621] FIG. 1: Ideal Yanomamö Village Composition



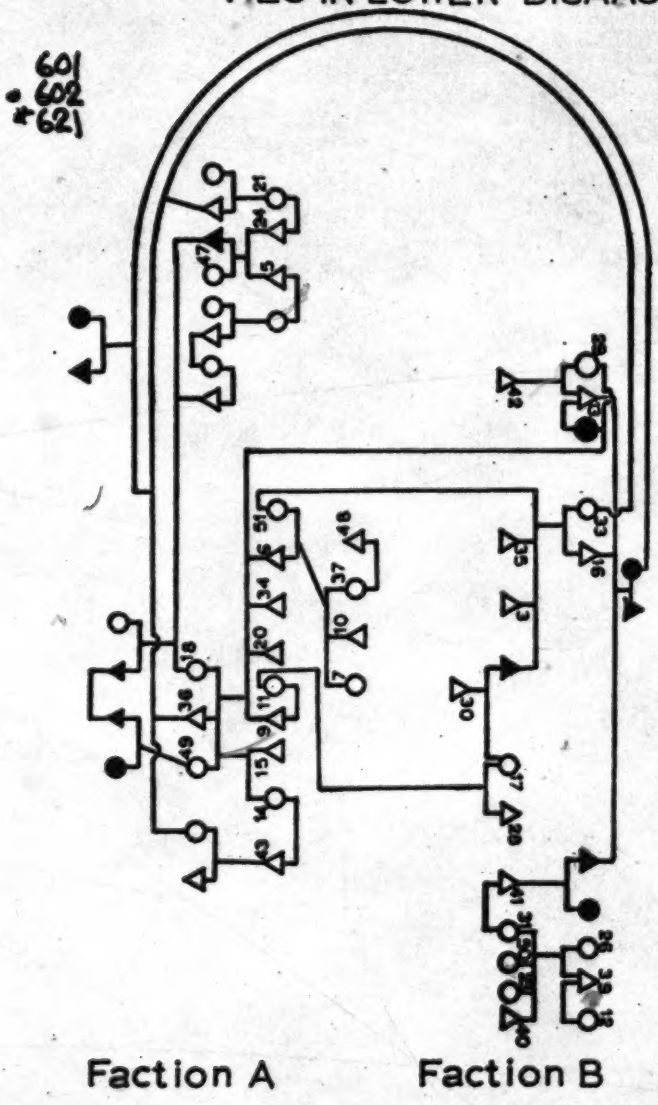
413
602 ties between males of opposite generations within each lineage, father and son, are stable and affective; in short, the males of the village are linked to each other by relationships that are non-ambiguous and essentially amicable. Similarly, the relationships between males and females between and within generations are, excepting the husband-wife tie, well-defined by the incest taboo and/or affective ties that contribute to the solidarity of the group.

128 Certain assumptions are made about the Yanomamö by reducing their social organization to a model of this sort. First, I have drawn the model with a sex-ratio of 1.0. Second, sibships are shown to be equal in size and identical in composition, i.e., each contains an equal number of males and females. Third, all individuals are married to a single person. Fourth, no deaths and remarriages have taken place. Fifth, the model does not specify whether or not any of the women are pregnant or nursing. Sixth, no military pressures from the outside are shown, nor are political commitments to cede women to allies. Seventh, all males are presumed to have similar political ability and do not compete for village leadership. The list of assumptions could be extended, but would not add to the point made by the seven already given: factors external to the model constantly impinge upon the relationships described in the model, causing the relationships to alter according to the stresses brought about by the external forces.

By adding a few more individuals to Generation 1 and

128 extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yąnomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0. I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relationship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

FIG. 2 FACTION STRUCTURE BY KINSHIP TIES IN LOWER BISAASI-TEDI



Faction A Faction B

128 that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of
*621 two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.
613

162 There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is
*621 not representative of the typical Yąnomamö village: the sex
*628 ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as
562 there are males in the village, and the group is politically
583 stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mąmaribąwei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises
[529] two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed
[504] in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of
[726] Bisaasi-tedi.

*621 The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a
622 number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More
613 importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to
• 602 each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawë, has astutely manipulated

---

128 logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a
*621 number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity
*628 of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace
613 their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawë-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absense of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Reromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-in-law. Reromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the village. He has four adult sons to support his position. Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[1] His son, Bëkëbowë, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Reromawë is getting old.

actual brothers of these women were killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast,[1] and the women therefore had few agnates to contest Reromawë's actions; his rights to dispose of these women increased after their brothers were killed in the feast. Because of the previous marriages between the members of the Shä and Tom lineages, Reromawë was already MoBr to the politically most important males in the Tom lineage, and he could command respect from them by virtue of the fact that he was of the ascending generation and principal wife-giver to them. He in fact gave two daughters to one of these men. When he re-defined one of his classificatory daughters as sister, he advanced his position in two ways. First, he then became shoriwë to the man that was married to this sister (the man was already SiSo to Reromawë), compounding the cognatic tie (SiSo) that linked them with an important affinal tie (shoriwë). Second, he was able then to claim a daughter of this 'sister' as a wife for his own son (despite the fact that it was incestuous), creating additional stable ties between the two lineages on another generational level.

In another, similar, case, Reromawë re-defined a different classificatory daughter as 'sister,' making it possible for her son to marry his daughter. This was a strategic move, for the man involved was of the Hor lineage, a dominant political group in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. Thus, by manipulating the kinship system, Reromawë advanced his own position as village leader and managed to

[1] See Chapter V.

*621
622
613
602 subordinate his potential competitors by the way in which he disposed of the women and/or their children.

*621
613
602
562
582
583 There are a number of individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi who are not related agnatically to either the Sha or the Tom lineages. These individuals do not, however, constitute a political bloc; each is tied by marriage to the two lineages, and are therefore subordinate (by virtue of obligations to their wife-givers) to the members of that lineage. Most of these individuals are females, and do not represent a political factor in the affairs of the village. Some of them were abducted from Shamatari villages in the past, and a larger number of them were obtained in marriage alliances from other Shamatari recently. The six adult males of this non-agnatic group who might pose a threat to the stability of the village by making liaisons with married women are all married themselves. With the exception of two brothers, they are unrelated to each other. One of them is married to Reromawë's daughter, another is married to his son's daughter, and the two brothers (actual WiBrSo to Reromawë) are married, respectively, to Reromawë's classificatory son's daughter in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and will move there while he does his bride service, and a classificatory brother's daughter.[1] The remaining two men are in Faction B. One of these joined Reromawë's group before 1945 to get revenge against the

[1] This woman is one of the seven abducted by the Monou-tedi from the Patanowë-tedi and taken, in turn, by Reromawë's group from the Monou-tedi. Technically, then, Reromawë is her 'father' and the man to whom she was given is 'son-in-law' to Reromawë. See Chapter V.

*621 613 602 562 582 583 members of his own village, Hasaböwä-tedi, who killed his father. Reromawä's group was then actively raiding Hasaböwä-tedi. The man was given a wife in Reromawä's village, the widow of a Tom man killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast. The man's two daughters are married to Sha men.[1] The last man and his family joined Reromawä's group in 1965 to take refuge from his own villagers, the Mõmariböwei-tedi, some of whom wanted to take his wives away from him for being brutal. He had previously given a daughter to a Tom man and when he was forced to flee from his own village, took refuge with his son-in-law. Appendix A gives more details on each individual discussed above.

*628 582 583 Lower Bisaasi-tedi has political ties with a number of villages. It has recently (since 1960) entered into alliance with two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mõmariböwei-tedi, and has managed to obtain a number of women from the latter village as wives for young bachelors in the group. *628 527 574 438 602 The Mõmariböwei-tedi visit them frequently to feast and trade, and the members of Lower Bisaasi-tedi reciprocate the visits. The ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and the Mõmariböwei-tedi are nearly as strong as the ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and any of its cognate villages to whose members the Lower Bisaasi-tedi are agnatically related. *628 602 Of the villages that are cognate to Lower Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi is perhaps the most dependable ally, because the

---

[1] Reromawä's actual son, and Reromawä's classificatory son in Upper Bisaasi-tedi.

*628 Lower Bisaasi-tedi gave its members refuge during the times
• [602] when the Monou-tedi were threatened by raids from the Patanowä-
tedi. The closest neighbor, geographically, to Lower Bisaasi-
[361] [613] tedi is Upper Bisaasi-tedi (a mere 400 meters upstream), the
dominant political group of that village being a segment of
the Sha lineage. The two villages, however, behave quite in-
dependently in their alliance patterns. Lower Bisaasi-tedi's
political interests are in the Mömariböwei-tedi at the present
time, whereas Upper Bisaasi-tedi's interests are in the
*628 Reyaboböwei-tedi, Karohi-tedi, and Widokaiya-tedi. In the
726 war against the Patanowä-tedi, both the Lower and Upper
Bisaasi-tedi aid the Monou-tedi by providing warriors for the
raiding parties, and by giving refuge to the Monou-tedi when
raiding is particularly intense.

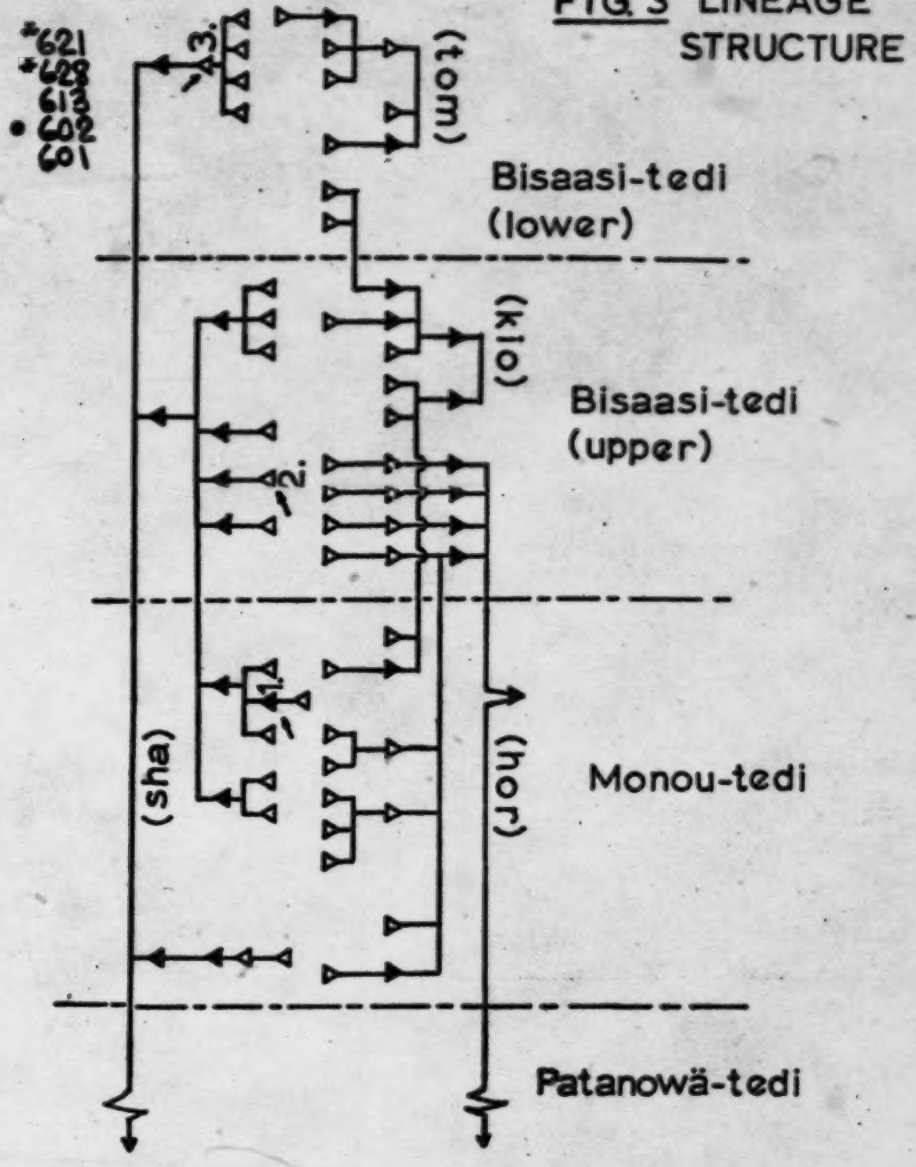
*621 Lower Bisaasi-tedi is a cohesive, well-integrated,
162 stable village. Much of the stability and cohesiveness de-
562 rives from the fact that there is not a shortage of women and
571 there are well-defined patterns of behavior for all members
*628 vis-à-vis others. But, Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not a militarily
722 viable group. It could not last long as an independent vil-
lage if the warfare situation became intense; the group is not
completely independent of the Upper Bisaasi-tedi village. At
least once during my field work the Lower Bisaasi-tedi group
coalesced with the Upper group when a raid from the Patanowä-
tedi seemed imminent. And, if raiding from the Patanowä-tedi
began, the group would have to merge with Upper Bisaasi-tedi
for defense purposes. When I began my field work in 1964,

*628 722 the Upper Bisaasi-tedi had a large village and two small villages. The two smaller villages were occupied by the two factions of the Upper group; the large village was unoccupied. It was used only when threat of raid existed, during which time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi re-joined their group and all moved into the large village. In 1965 the large village was rebuilt, but for the first time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi did not participate in the reconstruction of the common village. A few individuals who feared raids, however, did build a section in the village for themselves.

Lower Bisaasi-tedi, then, would re-unite with Upper Bisaasi-tedi in time of war, although each group pursues its own political ends and remains independent of the other in times of peace. One of the major reasons this is so can be explained in terms of the dyadic relationships discussed in [128] the last chapter. Figure 3 gives the simplified lineage structure of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Lower Bisaasi-tedi, and *621 *628 578 Monou-tedi. These three villages were one in 1954; Monou-tedi split from the group to found their own village. In 1960 Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Lower Bisaasi-tedi split from each other, but remained geographically close to each other. The reasons given for the splits were that the groups were always fighting over women and, to reduce the frequency of club fighting, they simply parted before hostilities became intense. Even at the present time there is considerably more fighting in the village when the groups coalesce for defense [602] [622] purposes. In terms of the kinship dyads, the problem can be

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

FIG 3 LINEAGE STRUCTURE



reduced to the weakness of the tie between remotely related agnates of the same age, and their rivalry for both women and leadership. The leaders of the three villages are all members of the same lineage.[1] It can be seen in Figure 3 that the headmen of the villages (indicated as 1, 2, and 3) are all agnates, each belonging to a different local segment of the lineage.[2]

As was shown in the last chapter, the ties between distantly related agnates of the same age are probably the most ambiguous and weakest ties in Yanomamö kinship. The feuds that developed within the large, composite village could not be satisfactorily resolved by the leaders of the village, as each leader's segment had more important and stronger ties with local segments of other lineages, and local segments of the same lineage aligned themselves with their affines in disputes against the factions of their agnates. When the village split, it separated along the weakest lines: agnates that were distantly related dispersed to different villages with the groups to which they were more closely bound, their affines. The same is true of the separation of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi from the Patanowä-tedi. Factions A and B of Lower Bisaasi-tedi, when put into the larger,

---

[1] In 1965 the Sha headman of Monou-tedi was killed by the Patanowä-tedi in a raid.

[2] The Sha lineage is shown on the left half of the diagram; it extends to Patanowä-tedi, as does the Hor lineage shown on the right side. Patanowä-tedi's composition is simply an enlarged version of any of the other villages shown in the diagram, and its headmen come from the Sha and Hor lineages.

*621 *628 • 602 613

composite group shown in Figure 3, would behave as a single faction as opposed to all other groups in the composite village, for the ties that unite them to each other by marriage are more stable and better defined than the ties that unite the Sha portion of Lower Bisaasi-tedi to the Sha portions of Upper Bisaasi-tedi or Monou-tedi. In structural terms, large villages are congeries of dual organizations each with separate political interests that have largely to do with maximizing their own access to women. Individuals in any particular dual organization are more closely related, consanguineally, to members in other dual organizations, but their political fate is tied up in their relationships to affines, not agnates. They are supported in internal feuds by their close agnates only, and their brothers-in-law; distant agnates are potential rivals for the women in the village, and relationships between such men is restrained and potentially hostile. Leaders of local segments of one lineage cannot expect political support from agnates of the same age; for these reasons, local segments of the same lineage tend to separate from each other when the village splits.

The histories of the villages show that hostility between recently established cognate villages is a common feature of the settlement dynamics and social organization of the Yąnomamö. Appendix A gives the composition of all Namowei-tedi villages by patrilineage affiliation; it is apparent that the war between the Patanowä-tedi and the Monou-tedi is largely a war between agnatically related kinsmen.

*621 It is more than coincidental that the composition of both
+628 Monou-tedi and Patanowë-tedi is more similar in terms of Sha
613 and Hor lineages than the similarity between any other two
• 602 Namowei-tedi villages. Patanowë-tedi is merely an enlarged version of Monou-tedi in composition, there being more agnatic ties between these two groups in the Hor and Sha lineages than between any other pair of Namowei-tedi villages. Yet the hostilities between them are very intense.

*621 B. Village Size and Warfare
162

Yanomamö villages range in size from 40 to 250 individuals. Both limits are determined by the nature of Yanomamö warfare, but the upper limit is set in large measure by the capacity of kinship and leadership to organize the internal affairs of the village. This capacity diminishes as village size increases.

*621 The largest Yanomamö village for which I have complete
162 census data is Patanowë-tedi, a group comprising 212 indi-
722 viduals. The Patanowë-tedi assert that their southern neighbors and allies, the Ashadowë-tedi, are even more numerous, and that a number of Shamatari villages are, in turn, larger than Ashadowë-tedi. It is doubtful, however, that the numbers involved exceed 250 per village. Villages of this size, as we have mentioned for Patanowë-tedi, tend to fragment into smaller groups when threat of war subsides, and these smaller groups re-combine to form a larger village when warfare again threatens one or all of the colonies. The reason villages

aid of allies such as the two Bisaasi-tedi groups, the Monou-tedi probably could not survive as an independent village because of the size differential between themselves and their enemies. It is noteworthy, however, that the Monou-tedi are more independent than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, for they moved to a new site rather than recombine (permanently) with their agnates in Bisaasi-tedi. This avoidance pattern is not a probable alternative for the Lower Bisaasi-tedi because of their relative lack of potential to conduct effective warfare, even considering the fact that their allies would aid them. Lower Bisaasi-tedi would invite raiding by moving further away from Upper Bisaasi-tedi, as their erstwhile neighbors and allies, from whom they have managed to obtain so many women, would be more equal in strength and would demand more women from them. Or, other neighbors, such as the Widokaiya-tedi, would descend on them hoping to abduct women, of which the Lower Bisaasi-tedi have many. They have managed to obtain these women from a position of strength, but a large factor in their strength is the fact that they are still dependent on Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Without the latter, they would be in a serious military situation.

Summary

Village splitting develops out of feuding over women; the kinship lines along which villages split reflect the strength of the tie linking descent groups to each other by marriage or promises to exchange women, while at the same time illustrates the weakness of the agnatic bonds.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Patanowä-tedi, Mąmariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Namowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called Paruritawä-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

722
*621
*628
121
361
• 602
*628
174
582
593

historical relationships between villages to properly interpret marriage ties between them. With regard to the last point, I found that numerous individuals in Bisaasi-tedi claimed to be from Patanowë-tedi; my initial conclusions concerning their marriage to individuals from Bisaasi-tedi was that the marriages were village-exogamic. I was obliged to reassess these marriages after I learned that the two villages were at one time one village, and most of the marriages between the two groups were contracted while the groups were living together. I therefore investigated in detail the historical relationships between all the villages in the Mavaca area, a portion of the results constituting the subject of this chapter.

174
128

128
361

I have summarized the village movements in Tables 5 and 6 and have indicated these movements graphically on Map C. The reader may, if he wishes, skip the details of the histories and turn at this point to the concluding remarks of this chapter. I can make the four points by using only Tables 5 and 6, in conjunction with Map C. However, I cannot illustrate Yanomamö political behavior without recourse to details of the village movements and the wars that caused them and, accordingly, I include the details of the histories in this chapter. The political relationships that presently obtain between the two Shamatari villages (Mömariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi) and their allies, the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, can not be completely understood without knowing their respective histories in some detail. Most of the

128
361
174
*628
583

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
146
[Namowei-tedi Group]
174
175
103
341
*621
*628
578
602

Table 5: History of Namowei-tedi, Summarised.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Konata	1875-1900	Raids from Obotawä-tedi, Boreta-tedi, Bokgoiwä-urihi-tedi and Aramata-tedi	None	---
Wareta	1900-1910	Raids from Shihowä- and Husirawä-urihi-tedi	None	---
Namowei	1910-1920	Raids from Boreta-tedi	None	---
Hahoyaoba	1920-1925	Poor Soil	None	---
Patanowä	1925-1943 (1966)	Internal feud led to split and raiding between factions; site still occupied	Village size and frequent fighting within village	Strained at first, then hostile
Shihota	1943-1949	Raids from Patanowä-tedi	None	---
Mahekodo	1951-1952	Suspicion that their hosts planned to kill them	None	---
Kobou	1952-1953	Fear of Shamatari raids	Internal feuds over women	Friendly
Monou and Barawä	1954-1966 1954-1959	Barawä abandoned because foreigners invited Indians to move to Mavaca; Monou still occupied	None	---
Bisaasi	1959-1966	---	Village size and frequent arguments	Friendly

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
174
175
103
191
361
621
228
548
602

Table 6: History of Paruritawä-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Pre-Aramamisi	? - 1880	Raids from Shihowä- and Mokayäaba-tedi	None	---
Aramamisi	1880-1900	Raids from Shihowä-, Konabuma and Mokayäaba-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Shirakoböwei	1900-1910 [1900-1966]	Internal feuds led to separation of several factions that raided parent group: Karehewä-, Matakuwä-, and previous enemies, Shihowä- and Mokayäaba-tedi. Aramamisi-tedi group remained at Shirakoböwei after other factions left	a. 1900: Karehewä's faction left because of a feud over a woman. b. 1900: Waiyahowä's faction left for unknown causes. c. 1910: Matakuwä's faction left to aid Karehewä and to avoid raids from Shihowä-tedi.	a. Hostile b. Friendly; Waiyahowä's group was decimated by an epidemic and no longer exists. c. Hostile
Boraböwei	1910-1935	Raids from Karawatari- and Aramamisi-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Kayurewä	1935-1940	Raids from Aramamisi- and Namowei-tedi	None	---
Konabuma	1940-1945	See next column	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Paruritawä	1945-1960	Raids from Sibarariwä's village (Möwäraoba-tedi)	Minor internal feud	Friendly
Mömariböwei Reyaboböwei	1960-1965	Present locations	None	---

174 and returned to Patanowä-tëka. A segment of the group that
361 returned to Patanowä-tëka immediately began making a new
*628 garden (Shihota) about a day's walk to the west of Patanowä-
[241] tëka, anticipating that further hostilities with the
174 Wanidima group would develop. Within a year of the club
*628 fight the Wanidima group attacked the group at Patanowä-
726 tëka while the latter were having a feast, but the raiders'
574 arrows missed their marks and no one was injured. The group
627
• 602 at Patanowä-tëka abandoned their village and rejoined their
[361] agnates at the latter's new garden, Shihota-tëka, whence
they began raiding the Wanidima-tedi. On one raid the group
from Shihota found Wanidima-tedi deserted and followed the
trail the villagers had taken. The Wanidima-tedi were found
at Hasaböwä-tedi, feasting. The raiders killed one of the
Wanidima-tedi men, but in doing so angered both the Hasaböwä-
tedi and their cognate group, the Ashadowä-tedi.

174 With the aid of the last two villages, the Wanidima-
*628 tedi raided the Shihota-tedi and killed a younger brother of
726 Makuwä. The Shihota-tedi reciprocated by raiding the Wanidima-
tedi, killing Husiwä (Nabëyoma's husband), Hoari, and
Siayeikema. This in turn was followed by raids from the
Wanidima-tedi in which the Shihota-tedi lost Ushuenawä and
the two younger brothers of Paruriwä, and had one of their
women, Buhiomi, seized.

174 Eventually the superior numbers of the Wanidima-tedi
*628 and their allies decided the fighting, and the Shihota-tedi
727 were forced to abandon their garden and make a new one else-
361 where.
241

[Namowei-tedi Group]

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tăka to Kreibŏwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Raahawĕ and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowĕ-tăka, and became known as the Patanowĕ-tedi.

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawĕ-tedi and Kashorawĕ-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawĕ, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawĕ-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowĕ-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowĕ-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawĕ-tedi visited Patanowĕ-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowĕ-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawĕ-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawĕ-tedi. Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowĕ-tedi and Yabitawĕ-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

the Patanowä-tedi.[1] Thus, the Patanowä-tedi were surrounded on all sides by enemies; only one village, Ashadowä-tedi, remained on friendly terms with them. Beyond the Ashadowä-tedi were the Shamatari villages, bitter enemies of the Patanowä-tedi since the killing of Ruwahiwä.

By the time the Patanowä-tedi had gotten into this situation, the war with their agnates had subsided. So the Patanowä-tedi moved west, into the area abandoned by their agnates, whence they harried the Hasaböwä-tedi and the groups north of the Orinoco. They attempted with some success to effect a rapprochement with their agnates, and a few individuals from the Kreiböwei-tedi group visited the Patanowä-tedi. One of these individuals was able to obtain a wife in Patanowä-tedi, whom he subsequently took back to Monou-tedi with him.

The Patanowä-tedi are presently living between two sites: Patanowä-täka and Shamata-täka, a situation forced on them by the hostile relationships they have with all their neighbors except the Ashadowä-tedi.

Area 6: Shihota-täka

See "Area 5" point (2) above.

Area 7: Kreiböwei-tedi

This site was established in 1949. After fleeing from Shihota to avoid the raids of the Patanowä-tedi, the

[1] At this point the Patanowä-tedi returned to Patanowä-täka from their three sites of Wanidima, Waiyari, and Rashawä.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's village and entered into feasting relationships with his followers.

Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's village. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother, Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tĕka.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

000 174 175 *628 523 574 602 726 *[621]

mouth of the Mavaca River. The Paruritawä-tedi had split from Sibarariwä's village about 1945, and had not been involved in the treacherous feast of 1950 in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost so many men. The Paruritawä-tedi were still on good terms with Sibarariwä's followers, and the members of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi persuaded them to invite Sibarariwä and his group to a feast. Using their agnatic ties and existing friendship, the Paruritawä-tedi succeeded in getting the followers of Sibarariwä to accept the invitation, but a malaria epidemic prevented all but a handful of people from actually attending the feast: five men and four women. With the assistance of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the Paruritawä-tedi killed three of the guests and seized all four of the women.

*628 583

By participating in this treachery, the Paruritawä-tedi subordinated themselves to the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. At the present time the Paruritawä-tedi live in two villages, and are intimately involved in a bride-exchange network with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter two villages receiving more women (and men doing bride service) than they give. The Paruritawä-tedi have no other allies, as they are the front of the expansion into this region and the only villages to their east are allies of Sibarariwä. Despite the fact that they would like to make friendly contact with Sibarariwä's group again, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, as we shall see, prevent them from doing so by chicane and threat. Thus, Monou-tedi and the

(Shamatari) lived in this village and, when the village split, led his faction into the Shukumöna-u basin, becoming known as the Mokayëaba-tedi. This move took place about 1900.

The second village also moved to the south side of the Orinoco, but remained on that river. They settled near a mountain called Aramamisi-këkö, and named their village after the mountain. My historical data on the Shamatari village movements is sparce up to this point.

Between 1900 and 1950 the Mavaca and Shukumöna drainages were populated by the descendents of these two 'original' Shamatari groups, and the process of village splitting that led to the occupation of this large area continues at the present time.

Although there are two Shamatari groups (Kayabawë's and Matakuwë's), I outline the details of the movements of Matakuwë's group, mentioning Kayabawë's only in so far as it relates to the history of Paruritawë-tedi. Militarily, Kayabawë's group plays a prominent role in the movements of Matakuwë's followers up to 1920, illustrating once again that cognate villages enter into hostile relationships with each other after they separate. Thus, this section deals with the historical movements of the group that ultimately gave rise to Paruritawë-tedi; as this group also gave rise to a number of other villages, I shall have to briefly sketch the movements of these villages after their separation from the main group.

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari

[Paruritawa-tedi Group]

Matakuwë's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors were absorbed by other villages.

Finally, Matakuwë and his group separated from Orakawë and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Mavaca basin. The group that remained at Shirakobŏwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakuwë and his followers separated from Orakawë's group for two reasons. First, Matakuwë decided to support Karehewë in the dispute over the death of a member of the latter's group. Secondly, Matakuwë and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shihowë-tedi, who continued to harrass them. By taking the side of Karehewë, Matakuwë and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawë's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

Area 3: Borabŏwei

Matakuwë and his followers moved here about 1910. Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi, forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a number of years Matakuwë's group lived alternatively between these two sites. Another garden was established at Kaurewë after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Borabŏwei, and Matakuwë's group fled to Kayurewë, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives they claimed, was that the PatanowÃ-tedi had to move frequently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the PatanowÃ-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense. It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consanguineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

The war between Monou-tedi and PatanowÃ-tedi

After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of PatanowÃ in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi began visiting PatanowÃ-tedi, and one of them, TorokoiwÃ, was given two wives by the PatanowÃ-tedi. The rapprochement, however, was never effected and the political relationships between

There were, however, two recognizable factions within this group; one was led by Kąobäwä, who had many relatives in both Patanowä-tedi and Monou-tedi, and the other was led by Paruriwä, who had no consanguineal relatives in Patanowä-tedi, but many in Monou-tedi. Paruriwä's group was linked to Kąobäwä's by a number of marriage ties.

Kąobäwä was the acknowledged leader of the entire upper section of Bisaasi-tedi, including Paruriwä's group, although Paruriwä had some influence in the affairs of the village. After the middle of the year, Paruriwä began to emerge as leader in his own right, and began duplicating many of the activities normally the prerogative of the village headman. Thus, when Kąobäwä initiated a feast for members of an allied village, Paruriwä duplicated his efforts by sending out his own hunters to provide meat for the guests, and furnished an equal amount of cultivated food, which he disposed of from his own section of the village. Normally, the headman sends out the hunters and disposes of the cultivated food from his own house. Paruriwä, by duplicating Kąobäwä's efforts in these activities, announced that he was a headman.

The emergence of Paruriwä as an important leader was largely the result of his active prosecution of the war against the Patanowä-tedi. Kąobäwä, after he led one revenge raid against the Patanowä-tedi, decided that he wanted to remain neutral in the fighting and wanted to make peace with the Patanowä-tedi. This led to a political vacuum within

Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid from them. Paruriwä seized upon this as his opportunity to advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated several raids against the Patanowä-tedi without the support of Kaobäwä. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi. As Paruriwä was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman (consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

Paruriwä's behavior in other respects changed after the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again, he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwä was entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field, Paruriwä and his group separated from Kaobäwä's and moved across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up until the time he moved, visitors from other villages consistently sought out Kaobäwä as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how much effort Paruriwä spent in emphasizing his own role in the feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

visitors were enraged because Paruriwä failed to execute the plan, and they returned to Monou-tedi to recruit a raiding party, hoping to intercept the visitors on their way back to Patanowä-tedi.[1] Paruriwä placated the Monou-tedi by organizing a series of raids against the Patanowä-tedi, and by inviting the Monou-tedi to stay in his section of the village when they fled from their other two sites. Prior to this, the Monou-tedi had been staying with the members of the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi. By early November, the Monou-tedi had begun raiding the Patanowä-tedi with great frequency, supported by members of Paruriwä's group. Paruriwä himself sent three raiding parties against the Patanowä-tedi between November and February, all of which included men from Monou-tedi. Kaobäwä did not participate in or encourage these raids, but some of his followers took part in them.

This split was not the outcome of an internal feud. Rather, it developed out of the different political interests of two leaders, one of whom was ambitiously striving to improve his status as a headman. The other refused to prosecute the war against the Patanowä-tedi, as he had a large number of kinsmen there. The existence of these ties, however, did not preclude the war, as the Bisaasi-tedi are in fact raiding the Patanowä-tedi. The kin ties at best mitigate the intensity of the raiding. The situation is a problem for the Patanowä-tedi, as they do not want to kill the few Bisaasi-tedi friends

[1] Their plan failed, as I took the Patanowä-tedi back to their village part way in my boat, and we went the remainder of the way on a trail the Monou-tedi could not reach.

they have, but they must revenge raids coming from Bisaasi-tedi. Now that Paruriwä and his followers have moved away from Kaobäwä's group, the Patanowä-tedi can raid Paruriwä without having to 'look twice' before shooting. As Paruriwä's faction is a small one, it is vulnerable; one raid from the Patanowä-tedi will force it to rejoin Kaobäwä's group. The internal stability of the reunited groups will suffer if this happens, as Paruriwä will be obliged to demonstrate his leadership capacity. This will involve making an issue out of an incident that probably would have been overlooked prior to the separation of the two groups, and internal friction will be high.

The split within Patanowä-tedi

The incessant raiding from Hasaböwä-tedi, Kashorawä-tedi, Yabitawä-tedi, Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and their respective allies brought about a high degree of tension among the Patanowä-tedi. It was not safe to leave the village at any time. The Patanowä-tedi had attempted to split into three groups several years earlier, as the population had reached a large size and internal fighting was a nuisance. The development of the war with the Hasaböwä-tedi forced them to reunite. Factionalism, however, was pronounced within the village, and the added tension brought about by the new war with Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and the latter's two Shamatari allies ultimately led to an internal split within Patanowä-tedi a month before I left the field.

*621 595 586 578 [592] Moiyoawë had two wives, Borehima and her older sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with another man, Makerawë. Moiyoawë attempted to get his wife back from Makerawë, precipitating a club fight between two factions of the village. During the club fight, Makerawë stabbed Moiyoawë with the sharp end of his club, wounding him badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyoawë's faction, Rakoiwë, who then attacked Makerawë, running him through with a sharp-
* [628] [361] ened club, killing him. Makerawë's faction fled from Patanowë-tedi and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids against the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the
*726 628 Patanowë-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowë-tedi two times shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid they caught two Patanowë-tedi men hunting outside the village.
• [602] They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was Kaabëwë's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man, [115] Shinahewë. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

The woman over whom the internal feud started was [593] [624] taken away from Makerawë's group. Moiyoawë cut both her ears off to punish her.

000 the factions still remain on friendly terms.

*621 *623 578 726 105 Material presented in the discussion above--details of the movements of factions that are not relevant to the origin of the five villages considered here--also support the contention that villages split over internal feuds. That villages are structurally unstable is evidenced by the sheer number of village splits and the fact that the related factions enter into hostilities with each other after separating. Data I collected on village movements for other Yanomamö groups support the conclusions I reach here.

*621 *623 • 602 582 583 105 [613] One can see that the process of village splitting leads to the formation of independent villages that comprise closely-related kinsmen. Intuitively, one can also see that marriages "between" such villages, i.e., between spouses that each claim to be of different villages, do not necessarily represent political alliances between those villages, for in many cases the marriages were contracted between the local lineages involved before they separated. This is not to say that all the cases of this sort can be dismissed in this fashion. Some marriages between ambilateral cross-cousins are in fact properly interpreted as marriage alliances between villages, for occasionally related villages enter into alliances with each other. In these cases, the marriages between them come about for essentially the same reasons that the exogamic marriages between unrelated groups occur. In short, the existence of the marriage rule alone does not account for alliances between related groups that enter into politico-military pacts.

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

121 two major structural problems: the lack of corporate functions
S8 of the local descent groups due to the nature of the corpor-
602 ation's estate, and the ambiguous nature of agnatic kinship
613 ties. Within a framework such as this, affinal ties are capable of promoting solidarity between corporate groups because marriages among the Yanomamö are political alliances that involve military obligations. Local descent groups enter into marriage alliances to advance their military status; the context, therefore, within which marriages are contracted decidely influences the relationships between the corporate groups in question.

121 The debate between Fortes and Leach arose out of the interpretation of the importance of matrilateral kinship ties in patrilineal societies, as these ties are the focal points in any analysis of the means by which solidarity is achieved between corporate descent groups. Briefly, Fortes maintained that the solidarity between lineal descent groups was ultimately due to the inherent tendency of kinship to promote amity. Leach, on the other hand, argues that such an analysis confuses affinal relationships with descent and fails to take notice of the effects of the economic and political contexts within which marriages take place.

Leach drew attention to the fact that ethnological perspectives developed from analyses of patrilineal societies such as the Nuer, Tiv, and Tallensi have biased later workers to focus their attention on lineal corporations and on the common descent ties between corporations when they analyze

114
121
602

Among the Yąnomamö consanguineal kinship does not have the quality attributed to kinship in general by Fortes, and we therefore cannot explain the stability that exists in terms of these alleged properties. The fact that affinal ties do promote a certain amount of stability between Yąnomamö descent groups supports Leach's arguments, and, for the reasons implied by Leach: Yąnomamö marriages occur within a political context that promotes military obligations and concomitants not predictable from first principles regarding the putative nature of kinship itself. Descent groups exchange women with an eye toward maximizing military advantage in a milieu of hostile political relationships. The stability brought about by such marriages is, therefore, largely a function of the politico-military ends served by marriage and is only tangentially, if at all, a result of kinship.

613
583
582
742
681

121

I would also like to discuss the nature of the relationship between corporation and descent from another point of view, for the nature of the estate of the Yąnomamö descent corporation gives a particular quality to the corporation. Most corporate lineal descent groups have as one of their major functions the control over and disposition of property. The property is usually real property. Pastoralists, of course, have as their estates, herds and use rights to forage areas. Some Northwest Coast and northern California tribes have corporate groups whose estates are acorn groves and portions of salmon streams.

In addition to real property, corporate groups

121 he acknowledged that the corporation did in fact function in the context of property control as well, suggesting once again that the nature of the estate (land) accounts for the quality of the corporation: that is, that the functions of the corporation are seen to lie largely in the regulation of real estate.

Leach (1963)[1] drew attention to the analytical significance of the local descent group in terms of its function in arranging marriages. He argued that the social groups that arrange marriages in tribal societies are essentially the same in all such societies: they comprise local males of three generations who live together. Membership in these social groups necessarily depends on residence. Yąnomamö descent groups are of this type: to participate in the disposition of local females, one must be related to the patrilineally, as well as live in the same village with them. Both the importance of the marriage arranging functions of the Yąnomamö descent group and the lack of other corporate functions seems to account for the fact that affinal ties promote inter-group solidarity in a way that consanguineal ties can not.

121 613 602 [611] *[621] [584]

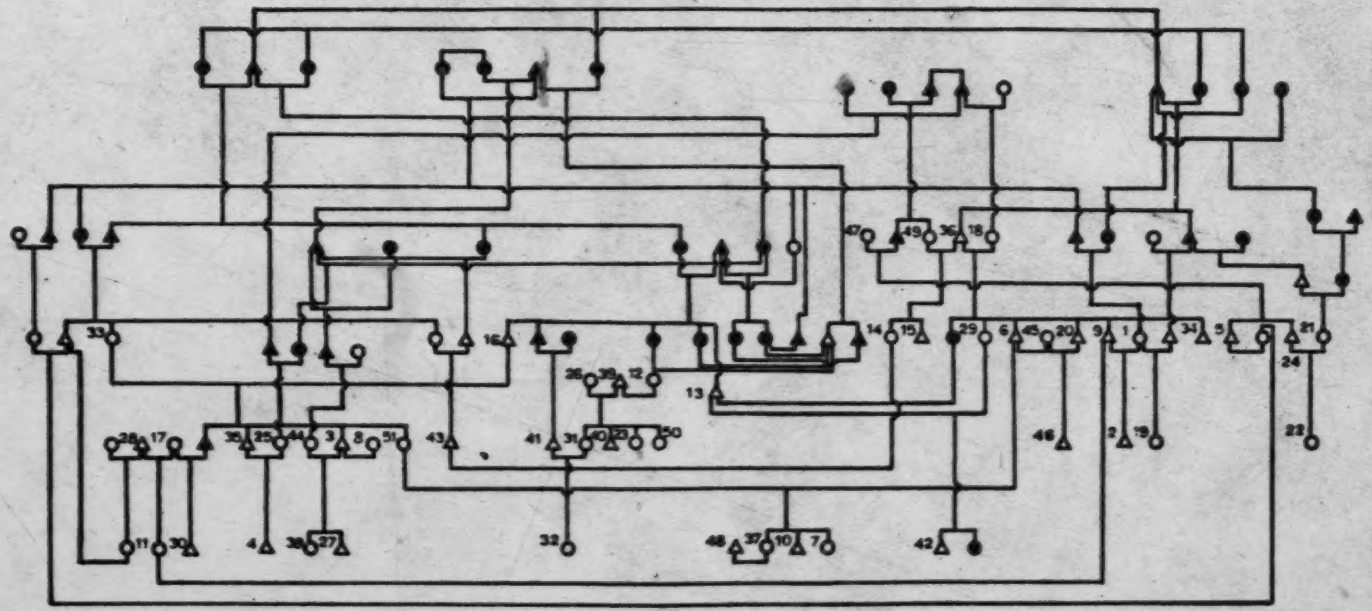
121 On the basis of these findings, Leach's approach to the analysis of social organization would seem to hold more promise in the analysis of marriage alliance systems. To the extent that cultural variables such as warfare and the nature of marriage ties demonstrably affect the outcome of

[1] The article to which I refer, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," was originally published in 1951.

APPENDIX A

[P-215] Genealogy of Lower Bisaasi-tedi

© N.A. CHAGNON ! 1967



10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Tasaama SQ18

3

Social Organization

128 THREE ASPECTS of Yąnomamö social organization will be dealt with: the ideal rules about marriage and the logical consequence of these rules—actual cases of Yąnomamö marriage are compared to the pattern of ideal marriage to justify the use of a model to describe Yąnomamö social structure; the demographic and political factors that bring about discrepancies between actual behavior and ideal behavior; the more important aspects of the division of labor and of ordinary daily life in the society.

Social Structure

121 This section is the most technical portion of the chapter; careful study of the
128 diagrams is required as the text is read. Kinship is the heart of primitive social structure, and it must be understood in detail rather than through generalities. The rules governing
[582] marriage, along with the kinship system, together comprise and delineate the structure
[602] of Yąnomamö society. There is no simple way to present the data, which itself is frequently boring to even accomplished anthropologists, and students of anthropology must sooner or later come to grips with this important topic. Fortunately, the Yąnomamö kinship system is the type most commonly found among the world's primitives and it is, comparatively speaking, quite easy to grasp once the patterns in the diagram are spotted.

128 The important features of Yąnomamö social structure are represented in the model shown in Fig. 3–1. This diagram is based on an analysis of Yąnomamö marriage rules, kinship terminology, and other social and ideological features characteristic of their behavior. The symbols given in the legend of Fig. 3-1 will also be used in the diagrams that follow. It should be borne in mind that the model is only an ideal representation of Yąnomamö society; we shall see below how closely actual behavior conforms to this model. One of the objectives of structural anthropology is to attempt comparisons of different kinds of societies by using models of this type. In the discussions that follow I shall present some actual field data to justify the use of this model to represent Yąnomamö social structure.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

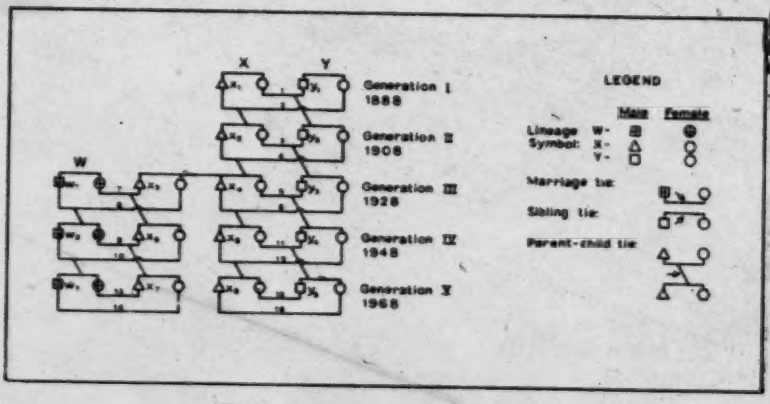


Fig. 3–1. Ideal Yąnomamö marriage pattern.

Fig. 3–1 can be presumed to represent the organization of a particular village over five generations, starting in the year 1888. Let us assume that the village originated in that year when individuals x_1 (and his sister, not numbered) and y_1 (and his sister) broke away from a larger village and established their own garden at some new location. Thus, in the year 1888, the village was comprised of two groups of kinsmen, X and Y. These two kinship groups are called lineages, the distinctive features of which I will discuss later.

In generation I, x_1 married the sister of y_1 and, in exchange, gave his own sister to y_1 as wife. This marriage practice is called *brother-sister* exchange and characterizes Yąnomamö marriage behavior. A man is under considerable obligation to *reciprocate* a woman to the kinship group from which he has taken one. In Fig. 3–1, x_1 married y_1's sister and reciprocated the exchange by giving his own sister to y_1. Because of this obligation of reciprocity, kinship groups become interdependent socially and form pairs of woman-exchanging kin groups. These paired kinship groups are discussed below in the context of village fissioning.

In generation II of Fig. 3–1, the village still contains only two groups of intermarrying kinsmen. These are the children of the individuals who founded the village. The reciprocal exchanges of women between the two groups of kinsmen (lineages X and Y) continue in the second generation, x_2 getting his wife from lineage Y and vice versa. Like their fathers, x_2 and y_2 exchanged sisters. It will be noted at this point that x_2 has married his mother's brother's daughter, who is simultaneously his father's sister's daughter.[1] This is a logical consequence of the fact that there are only *two* lineages in

[1]This is called bilateral cross-cousin marriage. See glossary for definitions. Hereafter the following abbreviations will be used, following Murdock, 1949: Mo—mother; Fa—father; Br—brother; Si—sister; So—son; and Da—daughter. Thus, "mother's brother's daughter" is simply MoBrDa.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the village, the members of which being related to each other as brother and sister, and the fact that individuals must marry outside their own lineages.

The important features of the lineages X and Y are now clearly visible in generation II: The lineages are patrilineal and exogamous. That is, males and females belong to the lineage of their father (patrilineality), and individuals must marry people who belong to a different lineage (exogamy). This can be seen more clearly in the symbols used in Fig. 3-1. All males of lineage X are designated by triangles (x_1, x_2, x_3 . . . x_8), and all females of lineage X are designated by hexagons. Similarly, all males of lineage Y are designated as squares and all females by circles. Males of lineage X marry females of lineage Y. Their children belong to lineage X because their *father* (patrilineality) is of lineage X.

The Yąnomamö kinship system also reflects the rules of lineage exogamy, brother-sister exchange and reciprocity. Their kinship system is called the "bifurcate merging" type with "Iroquois" cousin terms (see Glossary). Within each generation, all the males of one lineage call each other "brother," and all the women call each other "sister." Males of lineage X call males of lineage Y "brother-in-law" and are eligible to marry their sisters. In fact, the males of lineage X call the females of lineage Y "wife" *whether or not they marry them.* This is likewise true for the males of lineage Y with respect to the females of lineage X. This brings us to another important Yąnomamö marriage rule: A male must marry a woman of the category called *suabëya*—"wife." This is called a *prescriptive* marriage rule.[2] To state it more precisely, Yąnomamö society is characterized by a rule that enjoins a man to marry a woman of a specific kinship category; he has no choice with respect to the category.

There is an important controversy over the meaning and implications of the term "prescriptive." I have given the definition held by British anthropologists generally, by Needham (1962*a*:9) in particular. This definition emphasizes the fact that men have no choice with respect to the category of women from which their wives must come, that men are forbidden to marry women of other categories, and that the society itself is said to be characterized by the prescriptive rule. The opposition to this definition comes largely from certain American anthropologists, who maintain that a society can only be said to have a prescriptive marriage rule when a high percentage (close to 100 percent) of the people marry according to the rule (see Coult and Hammel 1963:291). The issues involved are not quite as simple as this, but a glimmering of the area of contention can be seen in an example provided by Leach (1965). Rephrasing his example, the rule (in our society) "thou shalt not kill" is like the rule (among, say, the Yąnomamö) "thou shalt marry a woman of category A." These rules can be said to exist in the respective societies irrespective of the homocide rate in New York or the frequency of aberrant marriages in a Yąnomamö village. That is, Leach (and Needham) maintain that one cannot discover such a rule by counting examples of murder (or, rather, "non-murder") or marriages of men to women of category A. The more basic issue, however, is the

[2]Professor Lévi-Strauss, who read an earlier draft of this chapter, quite correctly pointed out that to say a marriage system is "prescriptive" is to say no more than "a man must marry a marriageable female," which is a tautology. Nevertheless, we must have some way to distinguish a system that permits marriage with only a single category of women from those that permit marriage with women of several categories. By showing what is meant by the Yąnomamö category *suabëya*, as I have attempted to do in Fig. 3-2, the reader will gain some idea of what is meant by that marriage type. I have used the term "prescriptive" because it is the current usage.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

meaning of, in this case, "category A." It is customary to represent primitive kinship categories in models (for example, Fig. 3–1) by their closest biological equivalents in *our own kinship system*. Many critics of Needham's definition of prescription fail to appreciate the fact that *FaSiDa* and *MoBrDa* in a model like the one given in Fig. 3–1 represent just *two* of several kinds of kinswomen who fall into the prescribed category. That is, they interpret the native's kinship category from the narrow point of view of one of that category's biological meanings in *our own kinship system*. (I have given ten examples of actual Yąnomamö marriages in Fig. 3–2, discussed later, to illustrate what the categories FaSiDa and MoBrDa mean to the Yąnomamö.) The use of Needham's definition of prescription to characterize Yąnomamö marriage rules can be justified, therefore, on several grounds. First, the Yąnomamö assert that a man must marry a woman of the *suaböya* category. Second, of the six primary categories used by men to classify female relatives, five of them embrace women who stand in incestuous relationship to the male speaker, and he is forbidden to marry any woman that falls into any of these five additional categories. Third, we will see below how closely the alternative definition of prescription fits the Yąnomamö, using their own notions of kinship to reckon relationships between males and females.[3]

In Fig. 3–1, marriageable women are related to their husbands as both FaSiDa and MoBrDa; this is an artifact of the way in which the model is drawn. These two kinds of kinswomen are the closest biological equivalents in our kinship system for the Yąnomamö term "*suaböya*" "wife." It must be emphasized, however, that given the classificatory nature of the Yąnomamö kinship system (for example, men of the same generation and of the same lineage are "brothers"), there are several ways to be related to a woman as "wife."

Something new has happened in generation III. A man (w_1) from a distant village, along with his sister, has joined the group. Both he and his sister have married into lineage X. Thus, there are three lineages represented in the village (W, X, and Y), and the *dual organization* characterizing generations I and II is now lost.[4] A Yąnomamö village can incorporate new lineages into its social life by an extension of marriage ties to its members. As can be seen from Fig. 3–1, the same rules—exogamy, reciprocity, patrilineal descent, and brother-sister exchange—that characterize the behavior of the members of lineages X and Y also hold for the members of the new lineage, W. The incorporation of lineage W takes place this way. W_1 joined the village in 1928 (generation III) because x_3 and x_4 promised him one of their sisters. As shown in Fig. 3–1, he did, in fact, marry one of their sisters and gave, in exchange, one of his sisters to x_3.

This (potentially) brings about an important structural change in the village with

[3]For an excellent summary of the various arguments concerning "prescriptive alliance," see Maybury-Lewis 1965*a*.

[4]A society is said to have dual organization when, for example, it is comprised of two intermarrying kinship groups, such as lineages X and Y in generations I and II of Fig. 3–1. In some societies the intermarrying kin groups are named, for example, "Bear Clan (or Moiety)" and "Thunderbird Clan (or Moiety)." The Yąnomamö do not have named kinship groups such as this. Dual organization is, however, implied in their kinship terminology and marriage rules and, as will be seen, villages tend to have two (and only two) politically dominant lineages that intermarry. In short, the Yąnomamö village tends to be comprised *in fact* of two dominant kinship groups but lacks some of the ideology, such as named pairs of intermarrying kin groups, of classical dual organization. See: Maybury-Lewis, 1960 and 1967; Lévi-Strauss, 1963, Chapter VIII; Nimuendajú and Lowie, 1927; and Malinowski, 1926, for further descriptions and analyses of societies having dual organization.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

respect to the male members of lineage X. Generation III shows that individuals x_3 and x_4 are full brothers. The individuals x_5 and x_6 of generation IV, however, are not shown as brothers, although in Yąnomamö kinship usage they would be such.

I have not indicated them as being related as brothers in order to draw attention to a fault line that may develop when the members of a single lineage (X in this case) marry into more than one other lineage (W and Y in this case). x_3 and one of his sisters married into lineage W, whereas x_4 and one of his sisters continued to exchange with members of lineage Y. In the following generation the kinship tie of "brother" between x_5 and x_6 is considerably weaker than the same "brother" tie between their fathers (x_3 and x_4). In generation V, the "brother" tie between x_7 and x_8 is weaker still. One of the reasons that *agnatic* ties[5] weaken in this case is that the men in question are drawn into intimate relationship with the kinship groups from which they obtain their wives and assume, because of the principle of reciprocity, obligations to their affinally related (that is, by marriage) kinsmen.

Secondly, because agnates of the same generation are "brothers," they can marry the same women and are, hence, competitors. In other words, the obligations to exchange women (reciprocity) can link the members of affinally related groups to each other more intimately than ties of blood between males of the same lineage. (This can be more readily seen in Figs. 3–5 and 3–6, discussed later, but it can also be partially illustrated here.) If the village shown in Fig. 3–1 were to split in generation V and form two new villages, lineage X would pull apart along the fault line shown. That is, parts of lineage X would end up in each of the two new groups because the affinal (marriage) ties between its members and their wife-givers are stronger than the agnatic ties within the lineage. Individual x_7 and his sister would form a new village with w_3 (and his sister) while x_8, his "brother" (agnate), would remain paired with lineage Y. Lineage X would therefore be represented in both of the two new villages; individuals x_7 and x_8 would "feel" even more remotely related because they now live in different villages, although they would continue to call each other "brother." Finally, the two new villages would again demonstrate the dual organization that characterizes generations I and II of the original village of Fig. 3–1. For the sake of simplicity I have shown each married pair with only two children (except in generation III) so that the village remains constant in size, growing only by the addition of new members. In an actual village lineages X and Y might comprise up to 80 percent of the population so that the addition of a few new members such as w_1 would not appreciably alter the dual composition.

In Fig. 3–1, lineage X stands as wife-giver and wife-receiver with respect to the other two lineages. The significance of this relationship cannot be exaggerated in the analysis of Yąnomamö social organization. Its strength derives from the obligations kinship groups have toward each other once they enter into reciprocal marriage exchanges. The wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship is also reflected in the attitudes men have toward their affines, such as brothers-in-law, as opposed to attitudes toward distant agnates. A man is on very intimate terms with his brother-in-law, jokes with him, gives him possessions, and protects him; a man treats an agnate of the same age with great reserve and coolness and tends to be jealous of him. He cannot, for example, directly ask

[5]Kinship ties between patrilineally related kinsmen.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him to do a favor, whereas he could ask this of a brother-in-law.[6] As shall presently be seen, the dynamics of Yąnomamö social organization originate in the politics of obtaining a wife. Within this context, agnates are competitors and affines are allies. This has an important effect on the manner in which villages fission and form new groups. The point to remember at this juncture is that ties of marriage are in many cases stronger than ties of blood.

I emphasize this because many anthropologists argue from "first principles" that ties of blood are—by definition—more capable of promoting solidarity and amity than ties by marriage. The controversy over "complementary filiation" between E. R. Leach (1957) and M. Fortes (1959), still not satisfactorily resolved, was essentially a debate about the analytical significance of marriage ties. Focusing on only one of the issues and rephrasing the arguments so as to apply to Fig. 3–2, the debate ran something like this: Both Leach and Fortes seemed to agree that in societies having lineal descent groups (lineages), the descent groups would tend to fall apart unless some kind of tie bound the members to each other. That is, lineages X and Y of Fig. 3–2 would, in short, pull away from each other unless they were held together by some special social tie. Fortes argued that this special tie was the solidarity and amity that grew out of the cognatic (see Glossary) kinship ties between the two lineages which arise when individuals marry blood relatives. Looking at generation V, for example, Fortes would argue that lineages X and Y are bound to each other because x_8 and y_5 married women to whom they are related by blood (as FaSiDa and MoBrDa). He argues from first principles that solidarity emanates from the blood ties. Leach, however, states that in generation V the two lineages are bound to each other by obligations to reciprocate goods, services, and women and that the solidarity of the two lineages derives from the affinal ties themselves (shown as "15" and "16" in Fig. 3–2). If we look only at generation V, the argument cannot be resolved, since the data support both arguments equally well, or at least do not convincingly support one rather than the other. I might add that both arguments can be supported by data not given in Fig. 3–2; Fortes' arguments are supported, for example, by the additional fact that Yąnomamö men do not stringently have to avoid their mothers-in-law when they are related to them in the fashion shown in Fig. 3–2, whereas the avoidance taboo is very onerous when a man's mother-in-law is not a blood relative. If, however, attention is focused on the events of generation III and their consequences examined, it can readily be seen that the affinal (marriage) ties in generation V are stronger than some of the agnatic (blood) ties, and the latter break when the village fissions. (This can be even more readily seen in Fig. 3–4 and 3–5, discussed later.) Thus, it cannot be argued that Yąnomamö lineage solidarity derives exclusively from blood ties and "complementary filiation." There is another issue. Structural analyses depend in large measure on a sharp distinction between marriage (affinal) ties and blood (consanguineal) ties. Fortes seems to deny that affinal ties as such exist independently of blood ties, and he has "subsumed" them into his concept of "complementary filiation." If there is no such thing as affinal ties between lineal descent groups, then structural

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

[6] In addition, it is by no means rare for agnates to get into club fights over women. I even have recorded a number of cases of men shooting and killing a "brother" during raids. This happened on two occasions during my first stay in the field, and I have reports of several additional cases obtained from informants who were describing past raids.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

analysis of reciprocal marriage exchanges between such groups and the obligations implied in such exchange is seriously hampered. In short, if Yąnomamö marriage exchanges over a number of generations and the kinship basis of village fissioning are examined, the data support Leach's arguments. They do not, however, invalidate Fortes' argument that blood ties create some solidarity, but they do call into question the contention that blood ties by definition, or, rather, on "first principles," account exclusively for the solidarity occurring between lineages.

In summary, Fig. 3–1 represents a number of important features of Yąnomamö social organization. First, people reckon descent through males and are grouped into exogamous, patrilineal lineages. These are called *mashi* by the Yąnomamö, although none of them bear distinctive names.[7] Second, members of these lineages tend to intermarry with the members of a second lineage over a number of generations, being bound to them by obligations to reciprocate women in marriage. This results in a dual organization of kinsmen within the village, whose residents fall into one or the other of the two lineages. Third, new lineages can be incorporated into the village by an extension of marriage ties, potentially bringing about "structural faults" within the lineages of that village. Fourth, men are obliged to marry a woman of a single, specific category, *suaböya*. This category defines a variety of women, two subcategories of which can be translated into the English biological equivalents MoBrDa and FaSiDa. Yąnomamö men prefer to marry women of these subcategories because they are relieved of much of the discomfort of avoiding their mothers-in-law.[8]

The ten partial genealogies shown in Fig. 3–2 show how the Yąnomamö actually marry. The genealogies have been selected with the intention of illustrating how the Yąnomamö reckon relationships between kinsmen in general, and between husband and wife in particular. All ten exemplify prescriptive marriage. They are more or less arranged in decreasing order of correspondence to our own biological concepts of kinship and illustrate the classificatory nature of their kinship system.

The people shown on these genealogies are (or were) real people. Many of the individuals in the examples are related to each other in such ways that all ten of the examples could be drawn as a single, unified genealogy.

The first eight examples are drawn from the village of Patanowä-teri; the last two are from Bisaasi-teri. In case J, for example, the fifth individual of the second generation is Kąobawä. To give a rough idea of the incompleteness of each genealogy, only one of Kąobawä's four marriages is shown and only one of his four children. None of his brothers and sisters are shown either, nor is the fact that he married a MoBrDa indicated.

Case A illustrates the identification procedure to be used in relating the genealogies to the text. There are three generations shown in case A; the first is symbolized by the Roman numeral I, the second, by II, the third, by III. Each individual in each generation is given a number; the number series runs from left to right and begins anew with 1 in each generation. Hence, every individual bears a generation number and a position-within-generation number. Case A illustrates the marriage of individuals III–1 to III–2;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[7] *Mashi* means "species," "group," "cluster of similar things," and, in the context of kinship, "that group of people to whom I am related through males;" that is, "patrilineal kinsmen."

[8] I draw attention to the fact that the category is *prescribed*, but within it there are *preferences*. There are very few analyses of societies that have a prescriptive rule within which there are preferences, although Needham has devoted some attention to this interesting phenomenon (1962*a*, 1962*b*, and 1963).

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yąnomamö category *suaböya* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III–1) would have called the woman *suaböya* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *bąroya*.

The marriage of III–1 to III–2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II–1 and II–4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I–2 was an *adopted* brother to I–5, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin*. Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kąobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kąobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Ariwari, Kąobawä's son. Ariwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3–3). Ariwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kąobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.)

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yąnomamö do not distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A.

Case B also illustrates *sororal polygyny:* III–1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters.

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II–3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

606 123 [551] The avoidance taboo prohibits a man from saying his mother-in-law's name. My informants would be extremely embarrassed when I would say the name of their mother-in-law while collecting genealogies. Kąobawä, for example, would grin sheepishly and hide his head. Men must also avoid their mothers-in-law physically and should not look at them. If I took a group of people for a ride in my canoe, there would always be considerable shuffling of bodies so that the men could be situated in the canoe as far away from their mothers-in-law as possible.

128 602 595 Finally, case C illustrates another kind of sororal polygyny: Individuals III-1 and III-3 are sisters to each other because their mothers are sisters. (The equation stating that children of siblings of the same sex are themselves siblings extends indefinitely in the case of males, but breaks down in the case of females after two generations. This is because descent is patrilineal.)

128 582 602 *Case D:* This also is a case of FaSiDa marriage: I-2 and I-3 were brothers, so one of the parents of each of the third generation individuals were brother and sister to each other. Hence, III-1 married his FaSiDa.

128 595 602 *Case E:* The marriage of III-1 to III-2 is similar to the marriage in case D, but his marriage to the second wife, III-3, illustrates the use of another kinship equation. She is an actual sister to the first wife, but does not stand in the FaSiDa relationship to her husband. If one of the sisters is FaSiDa, however, then all of them are in Yąnomamö kinship usage.

128 582 602 [601] *Case F:* This illustrates how affinal ties replace consanguineal ties should the two conflict. III-1 can trace a blood tie to his wife, one that would prevent him from marrying her, but the affinal ties between his own father and the father of his wife permit him to marry according to the prescription. Individual III-1 would call all of his father's wives "mother." Hence, his own wife is, technically, MoBrDa.

128 582 587 602 *Case G:* This illustrates a number of marriage rules stated in the preceding examples. I present it as a sort of exercise to reinforce the logic of the Yąnomamö kinship equations given above. Individual II-6 married two brothers, II-5 and II-7, illustrating the *levirate:* the marriage between a man and his brother's widow. Individual II-9 married his FaSiDa (as in case F). Individuals III-3 and III-4 can marry because their fathers were cross-cousins (see case H, below). Individual III-5 married his FaSiDa, as was shown for the similar marriage in case E. Individual IV-1 married two women, each of whom is his FaSiDa. This is so because I-2 and I-4 were adopted brothers, so that their [597] sons (II-2 and II-4) were also siblings. Hence, IV-1 married his FaSiDa (IV-2) and, as in case E, her sister. His second wife is also FaSiDa because her mother (III-6) was a sister to III-2, since their respective fathers (II-9 and II-2) were (adopted) brothers.

128 582 601 602 *Case H:* This illustrates a very powerful marriage rule: The children of men who call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law) can marry. Practically speaking, in our kinship terms, the rule is that the children of cross-cousins stand in marriageable relationship to each other. II-2 and II-3 stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and could exchange sisters in marriage. Their sons stand in the same relationship. Another important feature of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage rules is illustrated here. While III-1 married a woman of the prescribed category, he does not reckon his relationship to her patrilaterally or matrilaterally. That is, she is neither FaSiDa nor MoBrDa, but she is both! This emphasizes the fact that they marry primarily in terms of categories rather than by tracing biological ties, as I have done in the above examples. To the Yąnomamö,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

FaSiDa is the same as MoBrDa, and both are called by the same term, *suabōya*. Hence, to present the above examples as the Yąnomamō would explain them I would not have had to distinguish MoBrDa from FaSiDa, but rather would have had to use just one term; in every case presented, men married their *suabōya*. (This can be seen in the model shown in Fig. 3-1; each male married a woman who was simultaneously FaSiDa and MoBrDa, that is, *suabōya*, to him.)

Cases I and J: These are a little unusual, but I include them to give some idea of both the potentials of the Yąnomamō kinship system and the people who use it.

In case I, individual II-2 is the headman of Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawā's "father." He has considerable authority in the group. He arbitrarily redefined some of his classificatory daughters as sisters *so that his sons could marry their daughters*. Thus, the marriage of IV-1 to IV-2 is now considered to be legitimate because IV-1 could call his wife's mother his mother-in-law (FaSi), since his father redefined her as sister. Otherwise, it would be incest. Most of the people adjusted their kinship usage to fit the circumstances, but Kąobawā, who gave me the details of the manipulation, refused to adjust his own terms. The redefined women in question are his sisters, and he refused to call them FaSi.

I came upon this, and several identical cases, when I learned that the kinship usage between specific individuals did not reflect the equations implied by genealogies. (After I had collected extensive genealogies on four villages, I spent a considerable amount of time collecting kinship terms from specific individuals for every one of the some two thousand individuals included in the genealogies. This served as a cross-check on the genealogies, but uncovered a large number of incestuous and other interesting marriages that I might not have pinpointed otherwise.)

Case J brings out the full potential of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamō kinship. The man (III-1) married his *suabōya* according to the Yąnomamō, although he was not related to her by any blood ties. The justification for the marriage is the fact that III-1 calls all the women to whom his father and his father's brothers are married by the term for mother. Hence, he married his MoBrDa.

THE LINEAGE It was shown in Chapter 1 that villages fission to produce new groups. One of the consequences of this pattern is that in a given area there will be a number of villages whose members can trace genealogical ties to each other because they have common male ancestors. Because of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamō kinship, the interrelated members of two different villages will use kinship terms for each other that imply a closeness of relationship. Thus, Kąobawā has "brothers" in all of the villages that have a common history with his own. These men are usually parallel cousins one or two degrees removed, but brothers in terminological categories. (The lineage to which Kąobawā belongs is shown on Fig. 3-5, discussed later as the *Shu* lineage.)

The Yąnomamō do not name their lineages. I have named all the significant lineages after particular male individuals, usually a long-since-dead male whose generation is the last for which I have meaningful genealogies. Thus, the *Shu* lineage is named after a man called *Shumathiadima*, long dead. He and his brothers left many male descendants who today are distributed in several villages. In the history of the movements of Kąobawā's village, the *Shu* lineage has figured prominently in the affairs of the group. Similarly, the *Hor* lineage is named after a man called *Horiborōwā*. The *Shu* and *Hor* lineages have a long history of marriage alliance and the living members of these two lineages constitute the greater fraction of the populations of Patanowā-teri, Monou-teri,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Upper Bisaasi-teri, and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Table 1). Politically, they are either the two dominant lineages in each of the above-named villages or one of the two dominant lineages. For example, the headmen of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kaobawä and Reromauwä, respectively, come from the *Sha* lineage. In Patanowä-teri there are two headmen, one from the *Sha* lineage and one from the *Hor* lineage. Finally, in Monou-teri, the headmanship shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage in 1965 because the *Sha* headman was killed in a raid by men from Patanowä-teri. I might add that he was killed by men of his own lineage to whom he was related as "brother." After he died, his brother-in-law, of the *Hor* lineage, assumed the leadership. It is not surprising that the headmanship shifted to this large, important group. In terms of sheer numbers, the *Hor* lineage (see Table 3–1) was stronger than the *Sha* lineage in Monou-teri. The distribution of political power within these two lineages underscores the dual organization of most Yanomamö villages.

It is apparent from the foregoing example that the ties between agnates who live in different villages are not necessarily amicable. The most bitter fighting, in fact, takes place between members of different villages who are related to each other agnatically. It is not uncommon for men to kill their classificatory brothers in the ensuing raids. As a consequence of the killing of the Monou-teri headman, for example, the raiders from Monou-teri avenged his death by shooting Bosibrei of Patanowä-teri. The two men who actually killed Bosibrei were related to their victim as brothers. Similarly, Kaobawä himself shot Rakoiwä, the present *Sha* headman of Patanowä-teri, wounding him badly. He had shot to kill even though Rakoiwä was his older (classificatory) brother.

Once the lineage splits up and is redistributed in several villages, the ties between the men of that lineage weaken dramatically. And, as we shall see below, the fissioning of a village is frequently the result of a bitter club fight within the village over the possession of women. The result is that many villages that have a common history are at war with each other due to the nature of the feuds that led to their splitting away from the common village. The Patanowa-teri, for example, are at war with all three of the villages from which they originally separated (see Fig. 3–5, discussed later).

The kinship ties between agnates who live in the same village are likewise quite weak. They are strongest between a man and his younger brothers, for the age differences alone call forth a certain amount of respect and amity. An older man can be expected to aid his younger brothers in fights and help them to secure wives. In some cases, the younger man obtains his wife from a polygynous older brother; some men appear to accumulate extra wives with the intention of passing them on to their younger brothers. Kaobawä, for example, gave one of his wives to a younger brother and will probably give another wife to a second younger brother. (He is presently permitting the brother to share her sexual services.) Kaobawä's older wife, Bahimi, is quite jealous of the co-wives because they can command some of the tasty morsels of food that would otherwise be her own prerogative. And, since the younger wives are more attractive physically, Kaobawä does pay considerable attention to them. In Lower Bisaasi-teri, one of Kaobawä's classificatory brothers was forced by his older wife to get rid of his young, attractive second wife. The man gave her to an unmarried younger brother. He himself had acquired the younger wife as part of a political alliance he had made with the members of an allied village, knowing at the time that his first wife would object strenuously to the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally true should one of them be the village headman. Kaobawä can ask his youngest brothers to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village plaza to prepare the dance site, Kaobawä himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will join him, but only on their own initiative. He could not directly ask them to do this work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a younger brother to Kaobawä, but already a mature adult. I asked Kaobawä to help me get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around. By contrast, Kaobawä could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight, since the latter was not yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence, anxious to display personal autonomy.

Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many circumstances. Kaobawä continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary) his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar account.

In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers. That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage begins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogically more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Generation V of Fig. 3–1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.[9] Local descent groups have three characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a member of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife elsewhere, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

[9]Leach, 1951. Yąnomamö local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yąnomamö such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yąnomamö local descent groups closely fit Leach's definition.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

father. He can rejoin them later and again become an active member, but while he lives in a different village he does not participate in the political affairs of that group. Third, the group is *corporate* with respect to the functions of arranging the marriages of the female members. This is the most important single feature of the local descent group: its *function*. The first two characteristics of the group dealt only with the manner in which members can be recruited to the group (birth in the group and coresidence of such kinsmen). In anthropological usage, a corporation is a group of people who share some *estate* and have *rights* and *obligations* with respect to each other and to the estate. There are definite rules for recruiting new members into the corporation. Most studies of primitive corporations have dealt with those societies in which *land* is the estate of the corporation. (See, for example, Fried 1957.) Among the Yąnomamö, land has nothing to do with the functions of the corporate group. Women and rights to dispose of women in marriage constitute the estate of the Yąnomamö corporate groups. Leach is the first anthropologist to draw attention to the analytical importance of this kind of corporation (1961, Chapter 5), although Radcliffe-Brown (1953), in one of the first theoretical discussions of primitive corporations, emphasized the importance of rights over *persons* in some kinds of corporations.

Marriages are arranged by the male members of the local descent group. It cannot be supposed, for example, that the marriage rules auromatically dictate the manner in which a woman is disposed in marriage; there are always some negotiations brought about by the situation. For example, a small village may require alliances with larger villages for purposes of defense, and the men of the small village may promise to give daughters to men in the larger village; or there may be a number of men within the village that stand in wife-receiving relationship to the girl, and a decision must be made regarding her ultimate disposition. In some cases a woman's daughters are promised to young men even before they are born. Generally, the girls are near puberty age by the time they are definitely given to a specific male, and they begin cohabiting with the man shortly after the puberty ceremony is over. In some situations a woman must be reassigned to an appropriate mate because her first husband died or abandoned her; or she might run away from a cruel husband and seek refuge among her brothers, bringing about a situation in which they must decide what to do with her.

Women abhor the possibility of being given to men in distant villages, since their fate is much less certain. Men in general are cruel to their wives, and the women rely on the protection of their brothers. A woman who is given to a man in a distant village, therefore, will generally have no brothers to protect her.

A man has considerably more say about the disposition of his daughters when he is young and has immature sons. As the sons grow older, they can overrule the father and insist that the girl be given to a man from some lineage that is likely to reciprocate with a sister. Ideally, women like to be given to men within their natal village. In this fashion the women can remain close to their own kinsmen and rely on the support of their brothers should the husband be particularly cruel. The best arrangement for everyone concerned is for the girl to be given to a man to whom she is related as FaSiDa or MoBrDa in the biological sense. Marriages of this kind exempt the husband from the onerous duty of stringently avoiding his parents-in-law, whereas they at the same time bind the wife-giving and wife-receiving groups more closely together in the system of reciprocities. As Kąobawä stated it, "It is good for groups to exchange women back and

Y 582 forth in this fashion. They will be good friends because of it."[10] If the girl marries a • 602 man of this category, the probability is high that she will remain in the village with her *621 parents and brothers, since exchanges of this kind keep affinally linked local descent groups bound to each other.

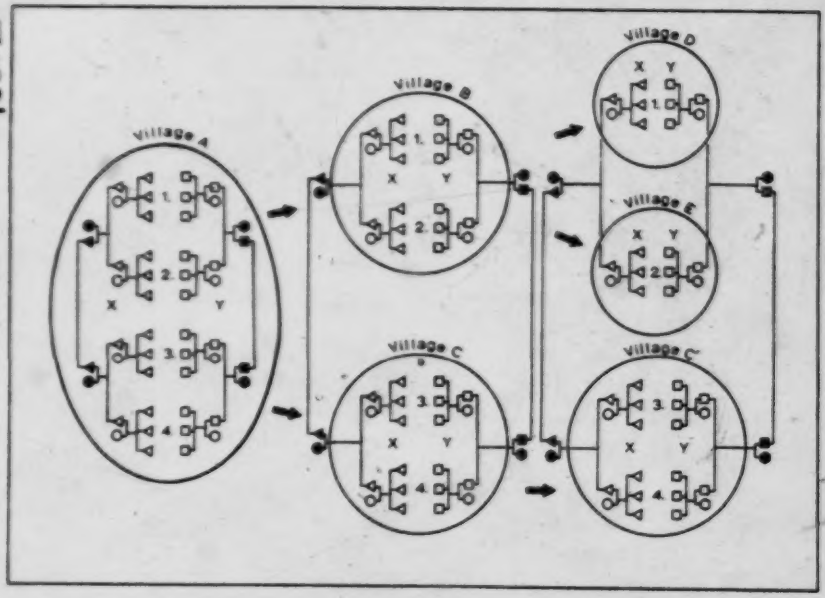
Y *621 582 613 602 The consequences of the corporate marriage-arranging functions of the local descent group can be most easily seen in the lineage basis for village fissioning, shown in Fig. 3–4. Briefly, the politics of arringing marriages are such that local descent groups of lineage X will pair with similar groups of lineage Y, and largely confine their marriage exchanges to those groups. Putting it more simply, each local descent group of lineage X will pair off with one local descent group of lineage Y, and stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to that group. When the village fisions, the paired local descent groups will be more strongly bound to each other by marriage ties than each is to the other local descent groups of its own lineage.

VILLAGE FISSIONING Fig. 3–4 presents the structural basis of village fissioning in terms of paired local descent groups. Village A contains two lineages, X and Y. Each lineage has four local descent groups. For simplicity of presentation, only the male

M 582 602 601 [10] I obtained a nearly identical explanation of reciprocal marriage exchanges of this kind from one of the Makiritare Indians, northern neighbors to the Yąnomamö. The Carib-speaking Makiritare have a prescriptive bilateral cross-cousin marriage rule like the Yąnomamö. My informant told me, in Spanish: "It is necessary for a man to marry his *yeiamade* [their equivalent to the Yąnomamö category of *axabŏpa*]. In this fashion families become good friends because they marry with each other time after time. When you marry this way, you are good friends with your *wañya* [brother-in-law] and can play and joke with him. You are also good friends with your *wadima* [father-in-law]. If you marry a different way, you must be careful around your *wadima* and respect him."

Fig. 3–4. Distribution of paired local descent groups in village fissioning.

Y *621 613 582



11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

members are shown. Each group is paired off with an equivalent local descent group of the opposite lineage, giving the four numbered pairs. When village A fissions to form villages B and C, lineages X and Y will break at the weakest points, resulting in the formation of two new villages that have an identical composition: Village B is like village C in size and contains two local descent groups of lineages X and Y; the two local descent groups of each lineage in both new villages are paired with the analogous group of the opposite lineage. Fig. 3–4 can be viewed as a diagram of the physical organization of the village. Thus, in village A the male members of lineage X would tend to live on one side of the village, while the males of lineage Y would live on the opposite side. In actual distribution, then, the village has a "diametric dual organization" (Lévi-Strauss, 1961, Chapter 8). The Yąnomamö, however, do not conceive of the village as having discrete halves. That is, they do not have formal rules enjoining the male members of lineage X to live on one side of the village. There are always residential exceptions to the arrangement shown in Fig. 3–4.

Village B fissions again, resulting in the further breakdown of lineages X and Y. The outcome, villages D and E, is essentially like the outcome of the fission in village A; that is, the resulting new villages are alike in composition, size, and structure. Village C has not fissioned and continues to exist as it did after separating from village B. A comparison of the three villages shown in the last step of Fig. 3–4 will reveal that D, E, and C′ are interrelated villages because patrilineages X and Y occur in each of them. The members of the patrilineages would still continue to call each other brother and sister, although they would be distributed in three different villages. The genealogical ties connecting villages D, E, and C′ have been drawn in to emphasize this relationship.

The reason that lineages break down in this fashion stems from the fact that remote agnatic ties are weaker than the marriage ties that link the paired local descent groups to each other. The strength of the affinal ties between paired local descent groups derives from the obligations of reciprocity in marriage exchanges. Thus, when village B fissioned, local descent group X-1 had stronger ties to Y-1 than it did to X-2. The result was that X-1 and Y-1 separated from X-2 and Y-2 to form their own village, D.[11]

Fig. 3–4 describes the "ideal" pattern of village fissioning. Fig. 3–5 shows the structure and composition of three actual Yąnomamö villages for comparison. As in Fig. 3–4, only the adult males are shown. The incomplete triangles of Upper Bisaasi-teri in Fig. 3–5 signify that the men in question do not live in that village, but they must be included in the diagram to show that their sons live in Upper Bisaasi-teri. The two men actually live in Patanowä-teri, the composition of which is not shown in Fig. 3–5. What has been shown is that the lineages *Hor* and *Sha* extend into Patanowä-teri. In fact, the population of that village is comprised largely of members of these two lineages. See Table 3–1. Only the adult male members of the villages are shown for the three villages in Fig. 3–5, since it is this class of men that dominates the political affairs of the village. For those interested in *all* the genealogical relationships between *all* the members of one of the villages (Lower Bisaasi-teri), see Chagnon, 1966, Figure 2 and Appendix A. As can be seen from Fig. 3–5, each village is characterized by a dual organization of intermarrying lineages. In 1960, Lower Bisaasi-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri were, in fact, a single village. It can be seen how local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage, for example,

[11]The pair "X-1 and Y-1" is represented on Fig. 3-4 simply by the numeral "1".

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

621
613
582
602

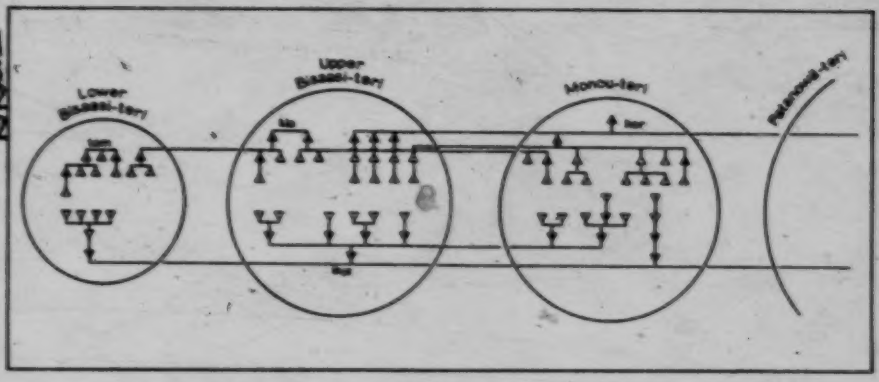


Fig. 3-5. Actual village fissioning.

separated from each other because of the ties each had to affinally linked descent groups of other lineages. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-teri is comprised essentially of two groups: a local descent group of the *Sha* lineage and a local descent group of the *Tom* lineage. Their members have exchanged women with each other for several generations, creating strong bonds of reciprocal obligations to continue to exchange in the future (Chagnon 1966). Similarly, the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in the two remaining villages shown in the figure are linked by affinal ties to other lineages.

Further back in history—1954—Monou-teri also constituted a portion of the village that included Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Fig. 2-4, Chapter 2). Finally, the three villages shown on Fig. 3-5 constituted a single village with Patanowã-teri about 1940. The fissioning of the original village (and subsequent village fissioning) resulted in the distribution of local descent groups according to pairs, as shown in Fig. 3-4.[12]

Discrepancies in the Marriage Pattern

128
582
621*

I presented in considerable detail the relationship between actual behavior and ideal rules about behavior from a qualitative point of view. This was accomplished by comparing genealogical diagrams describing some actual examples to ideal models of marriage and village fissioning. I will now give some of the quantitative aspects of marriage behavior and the demographic and political bases of the actual marriage pattern.

Table 3-2 shows the distribution of marriage types found in two related villages.

[191]

[12]In some areas of Brazil the pattern of village fissioning is slightly different. There, a local descent group may even establish its own house, separated from the wife-giving/wife-receiving member of the pair by as much distance as several miles. What I have been calling the "village" in this discussion breaks down, in portions of Brazil, into several "part-villages" that are not capable of carrying on an independent social existence. That is, members of the "part-village," the composition of which is essentially a single local descent group of one lineage, must obtain their wives from some other nonlocal group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kaobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yanomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yanomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

most common way for a child's soul to escape is to leave by way of the mouth when the child cries. Thus, mothers are quick to hush a bawling baby in order to prevent its soul from escaping. The child's soul can be recovered by sweeping the ground in the vicinity where it most probably escaped, calling for it while sweeping the area with a particular kind of branch. I once helped gather up the soul of a sick child in this fashion, luring it back into the sick baby. One of the contributions I made, in addition to helping with the calling and sweeping, was a dose of medicine for the child's diarrhea. A consequence of this set of attitudes about the vulnerability of children is that much of the village's activity with respect to shamanism and curing is directed toward the children.

RELATIVES BY BLOOD AND BY MARRIAGE Many forms of interpersonal behavior stem largely from the social roles implied in the kinship system. To be sure, some kinship behavior reflects the two distinctions of age and sex discussed above, for the terminology of kinship itself employs discriminations of this kind. For example, there are terms to distinguish older siblings from younger siblings and terms used by members of one sex only in reference to those of the opposite sex.

The relationship between kinship terms and biological parentage is not the same in the Yąnomamö language as it is in our own. As was shown in the first section of this chapter, people may stand in a child relationship to a number of individuals; that is, it is possible to have multiple "mothers" and "fathers" in Yąnomamö society. The term for mother and father conveys as much of a social as a biological relationship between individuals, and in the daily activities of the Yąnomamö it is the social implications of kinship roles that are most important.

What is implied in the kinship roles can best be seen in the way the kinship terms themselves are formed. All primary kinship terms take the ending *"-mou"* when used to describe the relationship between individuals. Thus, *oiboya* means "my younger sibling," but *oiboumou* means that individual X *behaves* toward individual Y *as a younger sibling*. This ending, *-mou*, also occurs in nonkinship usage to express "a way of behaving," "to execute a particular activity in a specified manner," or "to perform the activity that is implied by the word to which *-mou* is affixed." For example, *oko* means fresh-water crab and *okomou* means "to go hunting for crabs"; *bowashi* means "a mischievous white monkey" and *bowashimou* means "to act mischievously, to monkey around"; *moua naha* means "enemy," and *moua nahamou* means "to become an enemy by behaving objectionably"; *waiteri* means "fierce" and *waiterimou* means "to behave ferociously."

Whenever I would ask the Yąnomamö a question such as, "What do you call Kąobawä?" the answers would always be in the form of a kinship term to which *"-mou"* was affixed, but rarely in the form "I say such-and-such to him." Calling an individual by a specific term is, however, implied in the "way of behaving" toward that individual. But despite the fact that the Yąnomamö can say, literally, "I call him father" (*kama kä iha, haya ya kau*), they invariably say *"ya bąimou"*—"I behave toward him as a child."[20] Thus, they express their relationships to others in terms of *ways of behavior*. Each kinship category implies a set of these behavioral norms, and one's social life in the community is established with respect to all other individuals by the kinship terminology employed in each particular case.

[20]Although the word *bąi* translates literally as "father," the expression *ya bąimou* can best be understood with the translation given above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

New individuals are incorporated into the community by an extension of kinship ties. Unless one is incorporated into the village in this fashion, there is no basis for social behavior vis-à-vis others, for the kinship system defines one's role in society. An orphaned teen-ager joined Kąobawä's group shortly before I began my fieldwork. He was from a distant Shamatari village and had no blood relatives in Kąobawä's group. He established his position in the community by calling Kąobawä "father." This defined his relationship to all of Kąobawä's kinsmen as well. As an exercise in kinship, I had the young man give me his relationship term for everyone in the village. He not only had specific terms for every member of the group, but he had also extended them to all the residents of Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri as well, since Kąobawä was related to these people. In short, the boy learned how Kąobawä was related to all the members of three different villages and logically extended his own assumed relationship to Kąobawä outward to the others; and he behaved toward them accordingly: He avoided women he called mother-in-law and refrained from sexual activities with women he called sister.

To emphasize the fact that the kinship categories do not always correspond to biological relationships, let me give an example of an incestuous marriage. Kąobawä's younger brother, Shiimima, recently (1966) took a young girl for his wife, outraging most of the community because he "behaved toward her as brother" before the marriage. The girl's mother had been abducted some twenty years earlier from a distant village and was given to a man who stood in a father relationship to Kąobawä and Shiimima. Thus, both Kąobawä and Shiimima called the abducted woman "mother" and called her daughter "sister." The abducted woman's husband died of malaria; after this, she had a number of temporary affairs with other men before being officially taken as a wife by another man in the village. Her daughter is the issue of a temporary affair she had with the headman of Mahekodo-teri, the group that gave Kąobawä refuge after the treacherous feast in 1950. She is, therefore, biologically unrelated to Kąobawä and Shiimima, but since they behaved toward her as brothers, Shiimima's marriage to her is a blatant case of incest. The matter was as disgusting to my informants as it would have been had Shiimima married his own biological sister.

There are many important kinship distinctions in Yąnomamö social life, but the one between relatives by marriage and agnatic relatives should particularly be emphasized. This distinction is at the basis of Yąnomamö political behavior and village fissioning. This point was emphasized in the discussion of village fissioning and marriage rules in the first section of this chapter.

One of the most important characteristics of affinal ties is that they are capable of growing in strength over time because they can be solidified and reinforced by marriage exchanges between the groups. Ties between agnates, on the other hand, tend to weaken over time. For example, Kąobawä's local descent group could renew its friendship to similar affinally related groups in the village of Patanowä-teri by entering into marriage exchanges with them once again. There is no way, however, in which his own descent group could reinforce or strengthen the agnatic ties with the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in Patanowä-teri. By marrying into the affinally related Patanowä-teri descent groups, Kąobawä's group would enter into direct competition with agnatic counterparts in that village, further straining the relationships between the two communities.

There is another way of looking at this situation. Men who are related to each other as agnates (for example, brothers and parallel cousins) get along well with each

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competition with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their personal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older. They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kaobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

Kaobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction between agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kaobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were half-brothers. Nadesiwä is in Kaobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the group—Kaobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwä to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwä will have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kaobawä and Nadesiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

The other man, Kumanawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kaobawä is related to him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumanawä is a frequent visitor in Kaobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kaobawä asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kaobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

Kaobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

156 622 578 his group was being trounced by their opponents, largely because only a few of the men were doing all the fighting for Kąobawä's group. These men were forced to take several turns in rapid succession, while a large number of men stood by and watched. The fighters wanted to escalate the battle to a duel with axes, hoping to intimidate their opponents into conceding. Kąobawä quickly forced the idle men to participate in the chest pounding, thereby distributing the punishment a little more evenly and reducing the possibility of a bloodier confrontation.

After the duel was over, Kąobawä coolly discussed the fight with the leaders in the opponents' group, explaining that he did not intend to raid them unless they raided first. A number of men in the village, notably Paruriwä and some of his followers, shouted threats at the departing opponents that they would shoot them on sight should they meet again. Paruriwä frequently boasted like this, but rarely put himself in a position that was potentially dangerous. He later ran into a party of hunters from the above-mentioned group while he was leading a raid against the Patanowä-teri. Instead of shooting them on sight as he threatened to do (they could have shot back, as they were armed), he traded arrows with them and rapidly retreated. He boasted in the village how he had terrified these men. I later visited their village and learned that Paruriwä was the one who was terrified. They themselves continued to hunt, while Paruriwä fled for home.

156 622 602 [157] Kąobawä's personality differs considerably from Paruriwä's. Where the former is unobtrusive, calm, modest, and perceptive, the latter is belligerent, aggressive, ostentatious, and rash. Kąobawä has an established status in the village and numerous supporters, whose loyalties are in part determined by their kinship ties and in part because he is a wise leader. Paruriwä is attempting to share in the leadership and does not have a well-established position in this respect. It is obvious who the real leader is: When visitors come to Upper Bisaasi-teri, they seek out Kąobawä and deal with him, no matter how ambitiously Paruriwä attempts to emulate his position. Paruriwä does not have as many living brothers in his group as Kąobawä has, so his "natural following" is somewhat limited. In addition, two of his brothers are married to actual sisters of Kąobawä and have some loyalty to him. Paruriwä, therefore, has very little means with which to establish his position, so he is given over to using bluff, threat, chicanery, and treachery. This he does well, and many of the young men in the village admire him for it. He has gained the support of some of these men by promising them his wives' yet unborn daughters. Remarkably enough, some of them cling to these promises and do his bidding.

622 726 Finally, one of Kąobawä's most unpleasant tasks is to scout the village neighborhood when signs of raiders have been found. This he does alone, since it is a dangerous task and one that is avoided by the other men. Not even Paruriwä participates in this.

Kąobawä has definite responsibilities as the headman and is occasionally called upon by the nature of the situation to exercise his authority. He is usually distinguishable in the village as a man of some authority only for the duration of the incident that calls forth his leadership capacity. After the incident is over, he goes about his own business like the other men in the group. But even then, he sets an example for the others, particularly in his ambitions to produce large quantities of food for his family and for the guests he must entertain. Most of the time he leads only by example and the others follow if it pleases them to do so. They can ignore his example if they wish, but most of the people turn to him when a difficult situation arises.

[514]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*628 722 241 562 581 582

The beleaguered partner may be obliged to remain in the village of his host for a year or longer, approximately the length of time required to establish a new plantation and productive base from which an independent existence is possible. Twice in the recent history of Kąobawä's group they were driven from their gardens by more powerful enemies and were forced to take refuge in the village of an ally. In each case the group remained with the ally for a year or so, moving away only after their new garden began producing. In both cases, the hosts demanded and received a number of women from Kąobawä's group without reciprocating in kind, a prerogative they exercised from their temporary position of strength. The longer the group takes advantage of a hosts' protection, the higher is the cost in terms of women, so visitors always make an attempt to establish their gardens as quickly as possible and move into them as soon as they begin producing. Without allies, therefore, the members of a village would either have to remain at their single garden and sustain the attacks of their enemies or disband into several smaller groups and join larger villages on a permanent basis, losing many of their women to their protectors. The jungle simply does not produce enough wild foods to sustain larger groups, and the threat of warfare is such that smaller groups would soon be discovered by their enemies and exterminated.

Because of the ever-present risk of being driven from one's garden, therefore, no Yąnomamö village can continue to exist as a sovereign entity without establishing alliances with other groups. Warfare is attended by a bellicose ideology which asserts that strong villages should take advantage of weaker ones and coerce them out of women; to prevent this, all villages should therefore behave as if they were strong. Thus, the military threat creates a situation in which intervillage alliance is desirable, but at the same time spawns a military ideology that inhibits the formation of such alliances: Allies need but cannot trust each other. They are obliged to behave aggressively in order to display their respective strength.

*628 438 574 581 582 602

Alliances between villages are the product of a developmental sequence that involves casual trading, mutual feasting, and finally the exchange of women. The most intimate allies are those who, in addition to trading and feasting, exchange women. Any developing alliance may stabilize at the trading or feasting stage without proceeding to the woman-exchange phase. These are weak alliances, but serve to limit the degree of war that might possibly obtain between the villages so related: The Yąnomamö tend to avoid attacking those villages with which they trade and feast, unless some specific incident, such as the abduction of a woman, provokes them. Allies that are linked by trade and feasting ties, for example, rarely accuse each other of practicing harmful magic. Allies bound to each other by affinal kinship ties, however, are more interdependent because they are under obligation to each other to continue to exchange women. It is, in fact, by the exchange of women that independent villages extend kinship ties to each other.

*628 562 581 582

Members of allied villages are usually reluctant to take the final step in alliance formation and cede women to their partners, for they are always worried that the latter might not reciprocate as promised. This attitude is especially conspicuous in smaller villages, for their larger partners in defense pressure them into demonstrating their solidarity by ceding women; the strong can and do coerce the weak in Yąnomamö politics. The weak, therefore, are compelled to exaggerate their strength by bluff and intimidation and by attempting in general to appear to be stronger, militarily, than they really are, thereby hoping to convince their partners that they are equals, capable of an independent

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

neutral. The treacherous feast for their Shamatari enemies proved to be unsuccessful: The intended victims had accepted the invitation, but were informed of the plot just before they arrived. One of the Reyaboböwei-teri who had close kinsmen among them had misgivings about the matter and warned them.

Late in the afternoon it was learned that the Mahekodo-teri were, in fact, in the vicinity of the village, allegedly on a "camping trip." Kaobawä, of course, suspected their story, but to demonstrate his friendship he invited them to be his guests at a feast. As he and his men had been away for nearly two weeks, there was an abundance of food in their gardens and they could easily afford to entertain the Mahekodo-teri and their traveling companions, the Boreta-teri. Together, the guests numbered about 100—after they fetched their women and children.

This sets the stage for the feast in the kind of context that makes it more intelligible: The specific historical relationships between the participants and the nature of their mutual mistrust. Now I will give the details of the events that followed.

The Feast

Perhaps because he suspected the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri of intimidation, Kaobawä also invited the Karohi-teri to attend the feast. They are a small but dependable ally and had themselves separated from the Mahekodo-teri many years ago. This established a balance of power at the projected feast should any trouble arise, for the combination of both Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri was of sufficient strength to worry any host. With the aid of the Karohi-teri, Kaobawä's group was more of a match for the visitors.

The feast started out on a sour note. It is the custom of the Yanomamö visitors to arrive only after an invitation from their hosts, sent by messenger on the day of the feast. The Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri, however, arrogantly arrived nearly a week before Kaobawä's group was prepared to receive them and set up a large, temporary camp a short distance from the village. They were guests and could legitimately demand to be fed. Because of this, Kaobawä and his covillagers were under obligation to feed them, some hundred or so people, and took them to the gardens to supply them with enough plantains to last a week. Kaobawä was a little disturbed that they would be so impolite as to arrive uninvited, but took the situation quite philosophically. After all, they had fed his group for the better part of a year.

He and several other men cut a large quantity of plantains, which were hung in his house and allowed to ripen for a week, to be boiled into *date*, a thick, sweet soup, on the day of the feast. That afternoon Kaobawä and a few of the older men commissioned a hunting party comprised of young men, several of whom were Kaobawä's brothers, whose responsibility would be to obtain a large quantity of fresh meat to give to the visitors on the day after the feast. Most of them were reluctant to go, as their feet were still sore from the trip to the Shamatari village. A few of them claimed to be sick and managed to escape recruitment into the hunting party in this way. This hunt, with the hanging of the plantains in the headman's house, initiated the feast. The excitement that usually attends a feast began at this time.

That evening the young men danced and sang in the village, an institution called *amoamo*, thereby insuring themselves with luck on the hunt. (The Yanomamö also

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

164 302 Fig. 5–1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the [622] village, a brother of Kaobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given [684] back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

[602] The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there [628] was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri [721] because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

578 411 Spears are not commonly used by the Yanamanö. A rare form of fighting, however, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

411 531 The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

628 578 721 593 The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the headman of one of the villages north of Kaobawä's area, took her away from him by force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women. One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomohoni*, is the ultimate form of violence. Kaobawä's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kaobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yanomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Stätwä, coveted my British commando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

One of
Damowä's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowä-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowä-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowä's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowä outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewä, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowä, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kąobawä and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowä's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowä were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowä-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowä the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowä's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kąobawä, a classificatory brother to Damowä, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowä's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwä, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hør* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Shø* lineage to the *Hør* lineage.

Kąobawä delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2]See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-5 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

11: Chagnon R-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwä probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen-even Kaobawä-implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowä. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwä's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwä failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be rendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwä and his raiders did not locate the Patanowä-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowä-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowä-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowä-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowä-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisaasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisaasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisaasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowä-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisaasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

[P. 138 is blank]

613 421 [568] associated with control over real property in most tribal societies. Among the Yąnomamö the corporate estate consists of rights in disposing of females; property does not play any role in the functioning of the descent group.

613 602 562 584 The relationship between males in regulating the disposition of the descent group's women is ambiguous, for their rights in particular women vary, largely with genealogical distance and the size of the descent group in question. And, rights in women are intangible. Thus, local descent groups[1] among the Yąnomamö, despite the fact that they are corporate, are not cohesive, solidary units because of the ambiguous way male members are related to each other.

613 *621 [614] [616] Patrilineal descent is virtually non-functional outside the local descent group. There are no corporate descent groups other than those that exist at the village level, i.e., the Yąnomamö do not have clans or moieties. Hence, agnates not only enter into competition with each other because of the nature of their rights in the women of their group, there are no other institutions based on agnatic descent that promote amity and solidarity among them.

---

[1] "The core of such a group is composed of the adult males of a kin group all resident in one place . . . the corporate group of persons who have the most decisive say in bringing about an arranged marriage is always a group of co-resident males representing, as a rule, three genealogical generations, namely: the old men or grandfathers, the normal adults or fathers, and the young adults or sons." E. R. Leach, 1963:56. Among the Yąnomamö, the generation of grandfathers is only rarely represented in the local descent group. [603]

/216 cont./

584 "péwa písayé!" = I love you! If the girl agrees, she answers with the statement most feared and at the same time most desired by Sanemá suitors: "ipahǎwana'a wahǎbalone!" = speak to my father!

The anxiety which the young lovers feel as a result of this custom, which prescribes that, before marrying, they must speak to the future father-in-law, is surprising. We observed it in a palpable way in one of our informants. Sometimes it is necessary to wait until the girl takes the initiative and shows signs of love. In this case it is she who brings the matter up directly with her father. But the prevalent custom seems to be that it is the boy who must go to the house of his future father-in-law, who, forewarned, waits for him toward the end of the day. The future son-in-law comes without delay, but without showing any signs of haste or nervousness in order not to attract the attention of the people. He sits down in front of his fiancee's father, his gaze lost in the distance, and says in a very low voice: "authĭwana sahĭ̃ĭp kobĭtob' ǎble" = I need, I want your daughter. Everyone in the rancheria knows that a man will soon arrive to marry one of their prettiest girls, and all desire to know this man. Should the young man have been able to enter the rancheria incognito, all are aware of his arrival now, for the father-in-law gives a shout of surprise and repeats in a loud voice the boy's statement. The youth remains impassive, without moving, while all the people congregate to look at him, asking: what did you say? what did you say? All remain expectant to hear what the father-in-law may say. But the father-in-law is in no hurry. He says that he would lack three good conucos, that the girl requested has a younger sister who also wants to get married ... etc. All his suggestions are equivalent to actual conditions, which the young man considers carefully, but when the father-in-law finally says, "wahĭ̃spa kukéne" = take the woman, the young man runs off to the forest, now well informed about what he must do.

[593] [604] Should the girl not have a father, she would be represented by her elder brother or by her uncle.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yąnomamö category *suabëya* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III-1) would have called the woman *suabëya* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *bąmoya*.

The marriage of III-1 to III-2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II-1 and II-4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I-2 was an *adopted* brother to I-5, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin*. Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kąobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kąobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Ariwari, Kąobawä's son. Ariwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3-3). Ariwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kąobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.)

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yąnomamö do not distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A.

Case B also illustrates *sororal polygyny*: III-1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters.

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II-3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent.

/65 cont./

524 child" or "married couple." In the latter game sexual activity
524 is already often involved. As long as the children have not yet
864 reached puberty, the adults laugh about it. It is only the mothers of girls who are a little annoyed when they hear about it. They do not regard it as tragic, however, since they themselves were reprimanded about it by their mothers when they were little girls.

/66/

582 g) Marriage

At the age of 7-8 a girl as a rule has already been given in
585 marriage. The husband is usually 8-10 years older. They do not as yet lead a regular married life, however. During the day the little girl plays with other children, and only at night does she sleep
[833] in her hammock beside her husband. Sexual intercourse, however,
[593] is strictly forbidden until after the second menstruation. She also fetches firewood and water and receives prepared food for herself and her husband from her family. When the tribe is on the march,
[484] she carries the hammock of her spouse and the few household articles. Economic reasons are connected with this marriage in childhood, for the young husband must hunt for his little wife and
● 606 her parents. Especially noteworthy is the reserve toward in-laws which operate in such a way that son-in-law and mother-in-law never
582 speak to each other and may not visit each other. Since the fear of incest is very great in both tribes, a marriage, which is always agreed upon by the parents, may be entered into only by partners who are not related by kinship. For this reason young wives are preferably obtained from a friendly tribe; in this case, however, the young man must live there until his wife has put her second
583 menstruation behind her. Occasionally young girls and women are abducted from hostile tribes. They are first held as captives and prostitutes for some time, however, before a man may finally marry them. I met such a little female captive among the Surára. She came from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí and was approximately 15 or 16 years old.

/114 cont./
539 discipline of the tribe. Since all admonitions were of no avail, he was banished from the community.

Karemoná painted his body with urucú and left the maloka. After he had wandered about in the forest for a few hours, he lay down wearily on the ground and fell asleep. While he was asleep Poré transformed him into the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatá -- because of his insubordination.

539
825

The Creation of the Black Jaguar

The Surára were already acquainted with clearing by burning and cultivated banana trees and pupunha palms. One day they saw a large toad in the forest clearing. A Surára wanted to kill it, but it fled to the other /115/ side of the roça (forest clearing) and there turned into a black jaguar.

The Creation of the Tapir

A cuatá monkey fell from a tall tree and was unable to climb up again. After several unsuccessful attempts, it turned into a tapir.

The Creation of Wild Pigs

A band of cuxiú monkeys fell from a tall tree. After futile attempts at climbing up again they were transformed into wild pigs.

The Creation of the Ant Bear

539
606
262

A Surára man who had raped his mother-in-law was turned into an ant bear by Poré as punishment. Since then there has been in-law avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and the meat of the ant bear may not be eaten by members of the tribe.

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
[689 tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
[825 of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and,
as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to
speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

●606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists between the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law. Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom. These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes him in like another one of its own members. Older children also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted, properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denominations. We do not think that there are special terms to express a relationship of adoption.

554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main distinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers, and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three different theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
791 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
756 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not
793 the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman and priest in particular, represent the most influential position in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
000 by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

836 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their hus-
937 bands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passional
586 motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry
587 is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of
607 the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under
[836] his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has
587 always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children
593 find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have al-
[601] ways called "father" and he has called them "children." In
[184] this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

/478 cont./

628 728 been killed, might require a greater number of years to be reconciled. Disputes which have reached the proportions of regional wars are rarely forgotten within the same generation, since there is hardly any neutral settlement left by means of which peace negotiations can be made.

The Family

591 606 A newly married couple may live in the settlement of the wife's parents or in that of the husband's parents. But if they decide to live in the settlement of the wife's parents, they cannot live in the same dwelling with them, because it is prohibited (taboo) for the husband to approach his mother-in-law. He can enter her house only when she is outside. He would not dare to come any closer to her than three or four meters. If the couple decides to live with the husband's parents, there are no such restrictions, since there is no prohibition against the daughter-in-law approaching her mother-in-law. Even suitors customarily lodge on the side opposite that of the house of their future mother-in-law, in their town.

595 [578] The majority of the men have but one wife. Those who wish to, and are able to, may have two or more wives. This practice makes more acute the shortage of marriageable women and may be one of the principal causes of the fights over wives which are started by men who have remained without any.

When a man has more than one wife, his wives may live in the same house or in several houses in a row. They work together, but each one has her own property. Frequently they are sisters since a man is more likely to marry the sister of his wife than to find another wife elsewhere.

593 Within the family it is the man who exercises authority. I only know of one case where the woman gives orders in the house, and this because her husband is mentally deficient.

*628 613 591 583 • 606 Koima, a girl of some 15 years, was promised to Rerebawë, a young man from Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawë had already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom he had two children. Rerebawë wished to return to his own village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawë began making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effectively, and Rerebawë was growing impatient. His parents-in-law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter, 584 813 591 578 735 613 *624 627 provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however, refused to go to Rerebawë, suspecting that he would not keep his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead, Bïkotawë, her classificatory FaSiSo. She began an affair with Bïkotawë, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated Rerebawë, who challenged Bïkotawë to a club fight. Bïkotawë belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi and was cognatically related to the members of the headman's [626] descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment was on Bïkotawë's side, but the girl belonged to a descent group over whose affairs Bïkotawë's supporters had no claims. Rerebawë's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was promised to him by her agnates: Bïkotawë was, in effect, having an

602 of social organization,[1] and in analyses of particular societies.[2] It is not assumed here that the nature of the [114] social organization itself stems from the nature of the sentiments associated with particular dyadic kin ties, as was implied in Homans and Schneider's work (1955). Dyadic ties are a product of political, military, ideological and economic forces that shape Yanomamö social organization, and reflect, rather than cause, that organization.

Of the large number of logically possible kinship dyads, only a few have structural relevance to this analysis. In particular, ties between agnates and ties between brothers-in-law must be considered to render intelligible the mechanics of Yanomamö social organization.

602 *621 578 Ties between distantly related agnates are the most ambiguous, and the ones that usually break when villages split. Conversely, ties between closely related agnates are strong and less likely to be severed in village splits.

609 Of the affinal ties, those linking brothers-in-law to each other are of the greatest structural importance and are often stronger than ties between distantly related agnates. 606 601 Secondarily, ties between a man and his son-in-law are strong, but have fewer structural consequences than either brother-in-law (shoriwä) or brother (aiwä, osheya) ties.

---

[1] Levi-Strauss, 1963, Ch. 2; Needham, 1962, Ch. 2.

[2] Leach, 1957.

000 groups. In a large village comprised of two large lineages,
*621 each having two or more local descent groups, the particular
613 local descent groups of each lineage will have stronger ties
602 with non-agnatic descent groups within that village than with
598 groups of distantly related agnates. When there are feuds within the village, the groups that have most in common with each other are those linked by affinal rather than agnatic ties, and these affinally linked groups stick together should the feud lead to a village split.[1] While the tie between
[607] closely related agnates is stronger than that between brothers-in-law, the latter are usually stronger than the ties between distantly related agnates.

• 606 Finally, the son-in-law tie complements the brother-
609 in-law tie in binding local descent groups to each other
*621 within villages. Older adult males of local descent groups
613 can depend on the support of brothers, brothers-in-law, and
578 sons-in-law in village feuds, more so than on the support of
582 distantly related agnates. In the competition for women, affines in a faction exchange women rather than compete for them; just the opposite is true of the relationships between distantly related agnates.

2. Agnatic ties

593 *621 One of the two most important consanguineal ties having structural concomitants among the Yanomamö is the tie between siblings of the opposite sex. These are not as

[128] [1]See Chapter IV for a detailed discussion of the structure of village factions.

628 same lineages. The warfare between the two groups, therefore,
602
613
726 was largely a struggle between groups of distantly related
621 agnates. Kɨobawë, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, participated in the raiding against the Patanowë-tedi. In one skirmish, he shot his classificatory brother, Rakoiwë, but Rakoiwë survived the wound. This man is as closely related to Kɨobawë as most of the men that presently constitute his agnatic following in Upper Bisaasi-tedi, again illustrating the significance of co-residence in determining the strength
583 of the agnatic tie. Two young men from Patanowë-tedi recently joined the Bisaasi-tedi to obtain wives. After they arrived, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Patanowë-tedi resumed their old
606 hostilities. The fathers-in-law of the two men recruited
583 both of them into raiding parties that attacked the Patanowë-tedi, and both men participated willingly, despite the fact that their actual fathers and brothers live in Patanowë-tedi. One of the young men, Sirorowë, told me that he would have avoided shooting his own father (Yoyosiwë) and actual brothers, but would have shot more distant agnates.

628 That the brother-in-law tie is stronger than the tie
726 between distantly related agnates is also illustrated in the
602 history of a war between Mahekodo-tedi and Yabitawë-tedi.
609 These two villages are led by men who are classificatory
622 brothers. The war stated when a man from Boreta-tedi, a brother-in-law of the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, was killed by the Yabitawë-tedi headman in a club fight. As the slain man's sisters were married to the Mahekodo-tedi headman, the

602 661 *621 *628 It is not easy to represent affinal ties in this fashion, as there are too many factors that determine the strength of the relationship between such kin types. A few observations, however, will provide a contrast with the analysis given in Table 3 above. Among affines, age differential is relatively meaningless so far as internal village stability and strength of inter-village alliance is concerned. * [604] When the age differential corresponds to a difference in genealogical level, the affines, such as son-in-law, tend to be related by stable roles based on avoidance, bride service obligations, etc., but these derive not from age differential, [606] but from the generation difference. A son-in-law is subordinate to a father-in-law despite his age, and inter-personal behavior between such kinsmen is not greatly influenced by [591] age differentials. Second, co-residence is largely irrelevent unless it reflects cognatic ties that came about through previous marriages in ascending generations. Again, current political relationships between the two villages of the affines is important in determining the strength of the tie, or whether the affine intends to return to his own village. *628 Affinal ties do not necessarily imply previous historical *621 relationships between the groups of the affines, whereas 602 583 agnatic ties presume a common history. When members of two historically distinct villages enter into marriage alliances with each other, affinal ties between the respective villages are weaker than affinal ties between members of two villages that have a common history and have exchanged women in the

one real headman, Kaobäwä. Thus, Paruriwä had to separate from Kaobäwä's group to achieve a status equal to that of Kaobäwä.

In July 1965 Kaobäwä sent his brother-in-law, Kumamawä, to Patanowä-tedi to inform them that his group did not intend to raid the Patanowä-tedi in the future. When Kumamawä returned to Bisaasi-tedi, he brought two older people with him, demonstrating that the Patanowä-tedi trusted Kaobäwä and were anxious to promote good relations with his group. The older couple brought the message that three young men from Patanowä-tedi were coming on a visit soon. Three days later the young men, Harokoiwä, Masiwä, and Koiyeiwä, arrived. Paruriwä's group was visiting the Widokaiya-tedi, and when word reached him that a delegation of Patanowä-tedi had arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to visit Kaobäwä, he and a group of men from Monou-tedi immediately returned to Bisaasi-tedi, intending to murder the three visitors. Kaobäwä, however, warned Paruriwä and the Monou-tedi that should they attempt to harm the visitors, he and his followers would defend them with force. A crisis developed out of this situation, and for a whole day Paruriwä and his Monou-tedi supporters debated the wisdom of their plan. Finally, Paruriwä decided to desist from the murders and even participated in a news chant with one of the Patanowä-tedi--the father of his youngest wife. This emphasized Kaobäwä's influence as a leader, and Paruriwä decided to move away from Kaobäwä's group after this incident. The Monou-tedi who were to participate in the murder of the three

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him to do a favor, whereas he could ask this of a brother-in-law.[6] As shall presently be seen, the dynamics of Yąnomamö social organization originate in the politics of obtaining a wife. Within this context, agnates are competitors and affines are allies. This has an important effect on the manner in which villages fission and form new groups. The point to remember at this juncture is that ties of marriage are in many cases stronger than ties of blood.

I emphasize this because many anthropologists argue from "first principles" that ties of blood are—by definition—more capable of promoting solidarity and amity than ties by marriage. The controversy over "complementary filiation" between E. R. Leach (1957) and M. Fortes (1959), still not satisfactorily resolved, was essentially a debate about the analytical significance of marriage ties. Focusing on only one of the issues and rephrasing the arguments so as to apply to Fig. 3–2, the debate ran something like this: Both Leach and Fortes seemed to agree that in societies having lineal descent groups (lineages), the descent groups would tend to fall apart unless some kind of tie bound the members to each other. That is, lineages X and Y of Fig. 3–2 would, in short, pull away from each other unless they were held together by some special social tie. Fortes argued that this special tie was the solidarity and amity that grew out of the cognatic (see Glossary) kinship ties between the two lineages which arise when individuals marry blood relatives. Looking at generation V, for example, Fortes would argue that lineages X and Y are bound to each other because x_8 and y_8 married women to whom they are related by blood (as FaSiDa and MoBrDa). He argues from first principles that solidarity emanates from the blood ties. Leach, however, states that in generation V the two lineages are bound to each other by obligations to reciprocate goods, services, and women and that the solidarity of the two lineages derives from the affinal ties themselves (shown as "15" and "16" in Fig. 3–2). If we look only at generation V, the argument cannot be resolved, since the data support both arguments equally well, or at least do not convincingly support one rather than the other. I might add that both arguments can be supported by data not given in Fig. 3–2; Fortes' arguments are supported, for example, by the additional fact that Yąnomamö men do not stringently have to avoid their mothers-in-law when they are related to them in the fashion shown in Fig. 3–2, whereas the avoidance taboo is very onerous when a man's mother-in-law is not a blood relative. If, however, attention is focused on the events of generation III and their consequences examined, it can readily be seen that the affinal (marriage) ties in generation V are stronger than some of the agnatic (blood) ties, and the latter break when the village fissions. (This can be even more readily seen in Fig. 3–4 and 3–5, discussed later.) Thus, it cannot be argued that Yąnomamö lineage solidarity derives exclusively from blood ties and "complementary filiation." There is another issue. Structural analyses depend in large measure on a sharp distinction between marriage (affinal) ties and blood (consanguineal) ties. Fortes seems to deny that affinal ties as such exist independently of blood ties, and he has "subsumed" them into his concept of "complementary filiation." If there is no such thing as affinal ties between lineal descent groups, then structural

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

[6] In addition, it is by no means rare for agnates to get into club fights over women. I even have recorded a number of cases of men shooting and killing a "brother" during raids. This happened on two occasions during my first stay in the field, and I have reports of several additional cases obtained from informants who were describing past raids.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

analysis of reciprocal marriage exchanges between such groups and the obligations implied in such exchange is seriously hampered. In short, if Yąnomamö marriage exchanges over a number of generations and the kinship basis of village fusioning are examined, the data support Leach's arguments. They do not, however, invalidate Fortes' argument that blood ties create some solidarity, but they do call into question the contention that blood ties by definition, or, rather, on "first principles," account exclusively for the solidarity occurring between lineages.

In summary, Fig. 3-1 represents a number of important features of Yąnomamö social organization. First, people reckon descent through males and are grouped into exogamous, patrilineal lineages. These are called *mashi* by the Yąnomamö, although none of them bear distinctive names.[7] Second, members of these lineages tend to intermarry with the members of a second lineage over a number of generations, being bound to them by obligations to reciprocate women in marriage. This results in a dual organization of kinsmen within the village, whose residents fall into one or the other of the two lineages. Third, new lineages can be incorporated into the village by an extension of marriage ties, potentially bringing about "structural faults" within the lineages of that village. Fourth, men are obliged to marry a woman of a single, specific category, *naabiya*. This category defines a variety of women, two subcategories of which can be translated into the English biological equivalents MoBrDa and FaSiDa. Yąnomamö men prefer to marry women of these subcategories because they are relieved of much of the discomfort of avoiding their mothers-in-law.[8]

The ten partial genealogies shown in Fig. 3-2 show how the Yąnomamö actually marry. The genealogies have been selected with the intention of illustrating how the Yąnomamö reckon relationships between kinsmen in general, and between husband and wife in particular. All ten exemplify prescriptive marriage. They are more or less arranged in decreasing order of correspondence to our own biological concepts of kinship and illustrate the classificatory nature of their kinship system.

The people shown on these genealogies are (or were) real people. Many of the individuals in the examples are related to each other in such ways that all ten of the examples could be drawn as a single, unified genealogy.

The first eight examples are drawn from the village of Patanowä-teri; the last two are from Bisiasi-teri. In case J, for example, the fifth individual of the second generation is Kąobawä. To give a rough idea of the incompleteness of each genealogy, only one of Kąobawä's four marriages is shown and only one of his four children. None of his brothers and sisters are shown either, nor is the fact that he married a MoBrDa indicated.

Case A illustrates the identification procedure to be used in relating the genealogies to the text. There are three generations shown in case A; the first is symbolized by the Roman numeral I, the second, by II, the third, by III. Each individual in each generation is given a number; the number series runs from left to right and begins anew with 1 in each generation. Hence, every individual bears a generation number and a position-within-generation number. Case A illustrates the marriage of individuals III-1 to III-2;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[7] *Mashi* means "species," "group," "cluster of similar things," and, in the context of kinship, "that group of people to whom I am related through males;" that is, "patrilineal kinsmen."

[8] I draw attention to the fact that the category is *prescribed*, but within it there are *preferences*. There are very few analyses of societies that have a prescriptive rule within which there are preferences, although Needham has devoted some attention to this interesting phenomenon (1962a, 1962b, and 1963).

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yąnomamö category *nabąba* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III–1) would have called the woman *nabąba* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *hąmąya*.

The marriage of III–1 to III–2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II–1 and II–4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I–2 was an *adopted* brother to I–3, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin*. Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kąobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kąobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Ariwari, Kąobawä's son. Ariwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3–3). Ariwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kąobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.)

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yąnomamö do not distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A.

Case B also illustrates *several polygyny*: III–1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters.

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II–3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

606 123 [551] The avoidance taboo prohibits a man from saying his mother-in-law's name. My informants would be extremely embarrassed when I would say the name of their mother-in-law while collecting genealogies. Kąobawä, for example, would grin sheepishly and hide his head. Men must also avoid their mothers-in-law physically and should not look at them. If I took a group of people for a ride in my canoe, there would always be considerable shuffling of bodies so that the men could be situated in the canoe as far away from their mothers-in-law as possible.

128 602 595 Finally, case C illustrates another kind of sororal polygyny: Individuals III-1 and III-3 are sisters to each other because their mothers are sisters. (The equation stating that children of siblings of the same sex are themselves siblings extends indefinitely in the case of males, but breaks down in the case of females after two generations. This is because descent is patrilineal.)

128 582 602 *Case D:* This also is a case of FaSiDa marriage: I-2 and I-3 were brothers, so one of the parents of each of the third generation individuals were brother and sister to each other. Hence, III-1 married his FaSiDa.

128 595 602 *Case E:* The marriage of III-1 to III-2 is similar to the marriage in case D, but his marriage to the second wife, III-3, illustrates the use of another kinship equation. She is an actual sister to the first wife, but does not stand in the FaSiDa relationship to her husband. If one of the sisters is FaSiDa, however, then all of them are in Yąnomamö kinship usage.

128 582 602 [601] *Case F:* This illustrates how affinal ties replace consanguineal ties should the two conflict. III-1 can trace a blood tie to his wife, one that would prevent him from marrying her, but the affinal ties between his own father and the father of his wife permit him to marry according to the prescription. Individual III-1 would call all of his father's wives "mother." Hence, his own wife is, technically, MoBrDa.

128 582 587 602 [597] *Case G:* This illustrates a number of marriage rules stated in the preceding examples. I present it as a sort of exercise to reinforce the logic of the Yąnomamö kinship equations given above. Individual II-6 married two brothers, II-5 and II-7, illustrating the *levirate*: the marriage between a man and his brother's widow. Individual II-9 married his FaSiDa (as in case F). Individuals III-3 and III-4 can marry because their fathers were cross-cousins (see case H, below). Individual III-5 married his FaSiDa, as was shown for the similar marriage in case E. Individual IV-1 married two women, each of whom is his FaSiDa. This is so because I-2 and I-4 were adopted brothers, so that their sons (II-2 and II-4) were also siblings. Hence, IV-1 married his FaSiDa (IV-2) and, as in case E, her sister. His second wife is also FaSiDa because her mother (III-6) was a sister to III-2, since their respective fathers (II-9 and II-2) were (adopted) brothers.

128 582 601 602 *Case H:* This illustrates a very powerful marriage rule: The children of men who call each other *sherimä* (brother-in-law) can marry. Practically speaking, in our kinship terms, the rule is that the children of cross-cousins stand in marriageable relationship to each other. II-2 and II-3 stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and could exchange sisters in marriage. Their sons stand in the same relationship. Another important feature of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage rules is illustrated here. While III-1 married a woman of the prescribed category, he does not reckon his relationship to her patrilaterally or matrilaterally. That is, she is neither FaSiDa nor MoBrDa, but she is both! This emphasizes the fact that they marry primarily in terms of categories rather than by tracing biological ties, as I have done in the above examples. To the Yąnomamö,

11: Chagnon E-6 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competition with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their personal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older. They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kaobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

Kaobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction between agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kaobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadeiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were half-brothers. Nadeiwä is in Kaobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the group—Kaobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadeiwä to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadeiwä will have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kaobawä and Nadeiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

The other man, Kumamawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kaobawä is related to him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawä is a frequent visitor in Kaobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kaobawä asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kaobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

Kaobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Shararaiwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Shararaiwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Shararaiwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

One of Damowä's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowä-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowä-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowä's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowä outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. The Bishewä, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowä, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kąobawä and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowä's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowä were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowä-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowä the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowä's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kąobawä, a classificatory brother to Damowä, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowä's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwä, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hor* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage.

Kąobawä delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2] See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-3 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

836 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their hus-
937 bands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passional
586 motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry
587 is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of
607 the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under
[836] his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has
587 always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children
593 find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have al-
[601] ways called "father" and he has called them "children." In
[184] this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, Kɐobäwë was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, Krëömi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The Yɐnomamö rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the Yɐnomamö avoid incestuous affairs, according to Kɐobawë, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. Kɐobawë himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yaweremou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

602 of social organization,[1] and in analyses of particular societies.[2] It is not assumed here that the nature of the [114] social organization itself stems from the nature of the sentiments associated with particular dyadic kin ties, as was implied in Homans and Schneider's work (1955). Dyadic ties are a product of political, military, ideological and economic forces that shape Yąnomamö social organization, and reflect, rather than cause, that organization.

Of the large number of logically possible kinship dyads, only a few have structural relevance to this analysis. In particular, ties between agnates and ties between brothers-in-law must be considered to render intelligible the mechanics of Yąnomamö social organization.

602 Ties between distantly related agnates are the most 621 ambiguous, and the ones that usually break when villages split. 578 Conversely, ties between closely related agnates are strong and less likely to be severed in village splits.

607 Of the affinal ties, those linking brothers-in-law to each other are of the greatest structural importance and are often stronger than ties between distantly related agnates. 606 Secondarily, ties between a man and his son-in-law are strong, 601 but have fewer structural consequences than either brother-in-law (shoriwë) or brother (aiwë, osheya) ties.

---

[1] Levi-Strauss, 1963, Ch. 2; Needham, 1962, Ch. 2.

[2] Leach, 1957.

1. Marriage Ties

602 593 581 583 [609] Marriages bind the groups of the spouses to each other in a system of exchanges involving goods, services, and the promise to reciprocate women at a later date. Yąnomamö marriage is peculiar in that the ties between husband and wife are very weak, but that ties between a man and his sister's husband are strong. The significance of marriage as an institution that initiates (or continues) alliances between non-agnatic groups stems, therefore, from the nature of the ties that it creates between the male members of the allied groups.

593 Ties between spouses are usually very tenuous, due largely to the fact that men are constantly suspicious of their wives' motives whenever the women leave the village unescorted. Men always suspect their wives of infidelity, and will even beat them if there is the slightest suspicion that the women have been seeing other men. A certain amount of 839 593 trysting goes on in all villages, but it is more frequent and more easily accomplished in larger villages. Discovery of [578] liaisons by the cuckold inevitably leads to club fighting between the factions of the lover and the husband. The woman 593 684 involved usually suffers more than either of the male principals in the fighting that follows, as women are severely punished by their husbands. The punishment usually consists of a beating with a club, but men frequently shoot their unfaithful wives with barbed arrows in a non-vital area of the body, such as the buttocks or leg. In one instance I witnessed,

593 684 the enraged husband struck his wife in the face with a burning log, severely burning her mouth. Burning is a common punishment, and many women bear immense scars from wounds inflicted by enraged husbands. Just before I left the field [578] a fight developed in Patanowë-tedi between a man and his wife's lover. The lover was killed in the fight and the woman's husband punished her by cutting off her ears with a [65] machete. Some women have been killed by enraged husbands, but in most of these cases, the deaths resulted from wounds that were not intended to be fatal.

• 609 613 *621 *628 [593] Despite the fact that the tie between spouses is weak, marriages create strong ties between a man and his sister's husband. This tie is of great significance in the social organization of the Yąnomamö, as it is stable, well defined, non-ambiguous and politically important. The brother-in-law (shoriwë) tie is the key link in alliances between local descent groups, both within and between villages.

609 601 The term shoriwë (brother-in-law, MoBrSo, FaSiSo, friend) is used constantly by Yąnomamö men when they address any new male acquaintance. Shoriwë implies a set of obligations and duties between the speakers. One can depend on his shoriwë for material goods and gifts, and a request for such items from a shoriwë is not easily denied: shoriwë is, in addition to goods-giver, wife-giver. The Yąnomamö use this [797] [609] [101] term for foreigners as well; they use it so frequently that the Salesian Missionaries who have recently contacted a few

groups of Yąnomamö have begun referring to the entire tribe as "Los Shori." The Yąnomamö address the missionaries with this term hoping to maximize their chances of obtaining desirable manufactured goods such as machetes and axes.

Men who are not related by blood constantly remind each other of obligations when they use this kinship term. A brother-in-law deserves respect, fair treatment, and gratitude. As the term is reciprocal, a conversation between two shoriwä is punctuated frequently by these constant reminders that each owes the other goods, services and respect by virtue of the fact that they stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other. Such conversations, usually about material goods or women, strike the outsider as something of verbal contests to determine which of the two speakers is more of a shoriwä than the other, i.e., who owes the other more goods, services, gratitude and generosity. One who has actually given a sister to the other's group has an advantage, in a trading sense, as he can more legitimately claim goods from the wife receiver.

When men visit the village of an ally to beg, trade or participate in feasts, they call all non-related men of that village 'brother-in-law,' emphasizing the fact that they stand in wife-giver relationship to them, and deserve, therefore, the generosity of the hosts.

Alliances between villages involve, in addition to military aid, mutual feasting and trading. It must be remembered that alliances, no matter how many marriage ex-

changes bind the villages to each other, are weak and unstable. The more frequently allies visit and feast with each other, the less likely treachery will take place, as a certain amount of trust and friendship is generated by visiting and feasting.

The tendency for Yąnomamö villages to create artificial shortages of certain manufactured items is related to feasting and the creation of organic solidarity of a sort. After Yąnomamö villages enter into alliances, they tend to adjust their economic production of such items as bows, arrow cane, spun cotton, tobacco, baskets, cultivated drugs, dogs and clay cooking pots. Any village is capable of producing all of these goods, but allied villages create shortages of some of these items so that they can become dependent on the productivity of their allies, thereby having excuses to visit and trade.

One of the most significant relationship in trading between villages is the shoriwë tie, and these men trade with each other whenever they visit. As a trade frequently involves feasting, the specialization in production of specific items leads to greater solidarity between allied villages. Although it would be an error simply to identify the role of shoriwë with that of trading partner, this aspect of the shoriwë tie, particularly between men of different villages, is by no means negligible in accounting for the solidarity this relationship promotes in inter-village political ties.

The way the trading is conducted also contributes to

inter-village visiting and solidarity, for one trade is usually the prelude to another. For example, the Bisaasi-tedi obtain much of their spun cotton and curare arrow points from their Shamatari allies. It takes considerable time and labor to accumulate these items. When the Shamatari are visited by the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter make known their desire to have these items, and their hosts promise to produce them. When the items are accumulated, the Shamatari visit the Bisaasi-tedi to inform them their cotton and arrow points are ready. A feast is arranged and the items are given over to the Bisaasi-tedi after the celebration terminates. The Shamatari then request specific items from their hosts, and the cycle continues. Neither village is completely 'paid up' regarding goods it owes to the other, so that each exchange as Mauss (1954) argued, brings forth another.[1] The imporant point is that Yąnomamö trading is not stimulated by naturally occuring shortages or monopolies on resources; artificial shortages are created and these promote visiting between allies. In Durkheimian terms, the division of labor, irrespective of the causes, promotes organic solidarity between allied villages. And, the kinship category most intimately involved in the trading is the brother-in-law.

. . . . Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their

---

[1] The parallel between this and bride price payment in Burma is striking. See Leach, 1957. It is worth noting at this point that the Yąnomamö have no word for 'free' or 'gift'; the closest they can come to it is: "something given without cause." But nothing is given without cause, and they shrewdly keep track of all debts.

628 581 609 Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their ability to promote solidarity between the allies to the obligations, duties and trading relationships that marriages impose on brothers-in-law.

607 602 621 591 Within villages, brothers-in-law have similar obligations to each other. The strength of the co-residential shoriwä ties, however, is influenced by other factors besides promises to exchange goods, women, and services. First, co-residence itself promotes a certain amount of amity between all classes of kin. Second, co-residential shoriwä are usually cognatically related because their respective agnatic groups have exchanged women in ascending generations, i.e., many of them are related to each other as MoBrSo or FaSiSo. So, in addition to mere promises to give women to each other, co-residential shoriwä ties are strengthened by ties of cognatic kinship and co-residence.

609 602 621 613 582 584 The strength of the ties between co-residential shoriwä is best illustrated by contrasting it to the weakness of the agnatic tie between two local descent groups of the same lineage. In anticipation of the discussion of agnatic relationship, I will point out here that the political interests of local descent groups focus on acquisition of women from other descent groups within the village. When a village has two or more agnatically related descent groups, the men in these respective groups are de facto rivals for the women in the village. Simultaneously, these distantly related agnates are frequently competitors in the disposition of some female agnates who do not belong unambiguously to one or the other local descent groups.

000 groups. In a large village comprised of two large lineages, *621 each having two or more local descent groups, the particular 613 602 local descent groups of each lineage will have stronger ties 598 with non-agnatic descent groups within that village than with groups of distantly related agnates. When there are feuds within the village, the groups that have most in common with each other are those linked by affinal rather than agnatic ties, and these affinally linked groups stick together should the feud lead to a village split.[1] While the tie between [607] closely related agnates is stronger than that between brothers-in-law, the latter are usually stronger than the ties between distantly related agnates.

606 Finally, the son-in-law tie complements the brother-607 in-law tie in binding local descent groups to each other *621 within villages. Older adult males of local descent groups 613 578 can depend on the support of brothers, brothers-in-law, and 582 sons-in-law in village feuds, more so than on the support of distantly related agnates. In the competition for women, affines in a faction exchange women rather than compete for them; just the opposite is true of the relationships between distantly related agnates.

593 2. Agnatic ties

*621 . One of the two most important consanguineal ties having structural concomitants among the Yanomamö is the tie between siblings of the opposite sex. These are not as

[128] [1]See Chapter IV for a detailed discussion of the structure of village factions.

628 602 613 726 [622] same lineages. The warfare between the two groups, therefore, was largely a struggle between groups of distantly related agnates. Kąobawĕ, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, participated in the raiding against the Patanowĕ-tedi. In one skirmish, he shot his classificatory brother, Rakoiwĕ, but Rakoiwĕ survived the wound. This man is as closely related to Kąobawĕ as most of the men that presently constitute his agnatic following in Upper Bisaasi-tedi, again illustrating the significance of co-residence in determining the strength [583] of the agnatic tie. Two young men from Patanowĕ-tedi recenlty joined the Bisaasi-tedi to obtain wives. After they arrived, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Patanowĕ-tedi resumed their old [606] hostilities. The fathers-in-law of the two men recruited [583] both of them into raiding parties that attacked the Patanowĕ-tedi, and both men participated willingly, despite the fact that their actual fathers and brothers live in Patanowĕ-tedi. One of the young men, Sirorowĕ, told me that he would have avoided shooting his own father (Yoyosiwĕ) and actual brothers, but would have shot more distant agnates.

628 926 602 607 622 That the brother-in-law tie is stronger than the tie between distantly related agnates is also illustrated in the history of a war between Mahekodo-tedi and Yabitawĕ-tedi. These two villages are led by men who are classificatory brothers. The war stated when a man from Boreta-tedi, a brother-in-law of the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, was killed by the Yabitawĕ-tedi headman in a club fight. As the slain man's sisters were married to the Mahekodo-tedi headman, the

latter felt obliged to revenge the man's death by raiding his classificatory brother's village.

Similar cases occur in internal village fighting. Hunobawë, an Upper Bisaasi-tedi man of some 60 years, gathered a stalk of bananas from his garden and hung them in the roof of his hut to ripen. His son, Dikawë, 18 years old, discovered the ripening bananas and ate a large number of them without the consent of his father. When Hunobawë discovered the loss, he went into a rage and attacked Dikawë with a club. Dikawë got his own club and began assailing the old man. This precipitated a general free-for-all in the village, as large numbers of men took one side or the other in the melee.

Club fights between historically related but separate villages also pit agnates against each other. When Bisaasi-tedi's Lower Group seized a girl that the Monou-tedi had abducted from the Patanowë-tedi, a club fight was arranged to settle the dispute. But, the most important factions in Monou-tedi and the two Bisaasi-tedi groups were local descent groups of the same lineage, and their headmen were classificatory brothers. Although the dispute and club fight ultimately involved all the able-bodied men of each village, the fight was initiated by distantly related agnatic groups of the same lineage.

Some dyadic kinship ties are more stable than others. It is not possible to say, however, that any one in particular is so inherently stable that fighting between such kinsmen can not occur. Certain kinds of violence, however, are not

organization is only approximated, however, as an examination of the genealogies given in Appendix A will show. The smaller the village, the more conspicuous is the tendency for the composition to approach a moiety-like structure. Larger villages are more composite and may contain as many as four or five distinct lineage segments.[1]

The tendency for small villages to be characterized by two (and only two) dominant lineage segments, each linked to the other by marriage ties, recurs with sufficient frequency to permit me to use a simple dual organization model as the basis of the analysis of village structure. The model given in Figure 1 should be taken as only a heuristic devise in the discussion of Yąnomamö village structure that follows; the Yąnomamö do not conceive of their villages as being bifurcated into two groups, for in most instances they are not. And, small villages soon lose their moiety-like structure as they begin to include males and females from villages with which marriage ties are made.

The relationships between kin discussed in the previous chapter are all given in Figure 1. The adult males in Generation 1 exchange sisters[2] and are, therefore, related to each other as shoriwä (brother-in-law). This is a well-defined, stable, non-ambiguous relationship; the males in

---

[1] See Appendix A for a discussion of village composition. Details of one small village are given in the Appendix, but the composition by lineage is summarized for three other villages.

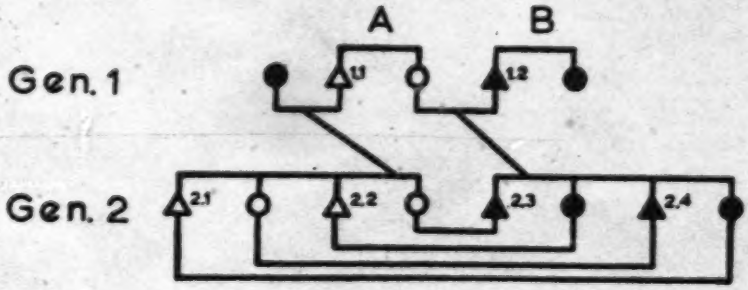
[2] In Figure 1, $A_{1.1}$'s wife is the sister of $B_{1.2}$.

602 607 582 583 Generation 1 have essentially solidary relationships to each other, at least in terms of the model.

The males of Generation 1 are related to the females *[621] of that generation as either husband or brother. Ties between siblings of the opposite sex are affective and promote village solidarity.

613 602 Males of lineage A in the second generation are simultaneously sister's sons and daughter's husbands of male $B_{1.2}$, both relationships being conducive to solidarity. They are [583] bound to $B_{1.2}$ by affective ties and obligations to perform bride service. An analogous set of relationships binds the Generation 2, lineage B males to $A_{1.1}$. The males of both lineages in the second generation are related to each other as either brother or brother-in-law, both relationships being stable within the assumptions of this model (see below). The

*[621] FIG. 1: Ideal Yanomamö Village Composition



11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

128 582 621 613 respect to the male members of lineage X. Generation III shows that individuals x_3 and x_4 are full brothers. The individuals x_5 and x_8 of generation IV, however, are not shown as brothers, although in Yąnomamö kinship usage they would be such.

128 582 602 611 613 I have not indicated them as being related as brothers in order to draw attention to a fault line that may develop when the members of a single lineage (X in this case) marry into more than one other lineage (W and Y in this case). x_3 and one of his sisters married into lineage W, whereas x_4 and one of his sisters continued to exchange with members of lineage Y. In the following generation the kinship tie of "brother" between x_5 and x_8 is considerably weaker than the same "brother" tie between their fathers (x_3 and x_4). In generation V, the "brother" tie between x_7 and x_8 is weaker still. One of the reasons that *agnatic* ties[5] weaken in this case is that the men in question are drawn into intimate relationship with the kinship groups from which they obtain their wives and assume, because of the principle of reciprocity, obligations to their affinally related (that is, by marriage) kinsmen.

128 582 602 611 613 621 Secondly, because agnates of the same generation are "brothers," they can marry the same women and are, hence, competitors. In other words, the obligations to exchange women (reciprocity) can link the members of affinally related groups to each other more intimately than ties of blood between males of the same lineage. (This can be more readily seen in Figs. 3–5 and 3–6, discussed later, but it can also be partially illustrated here.) If the village shown in Fig. 3–1 were to split in generation V and form two new villages, lineage X would pull apart along the fault line shown. That is, parts of lineage X would end up in each of the two new groups because the affinal (marriage) ties between its members and their wife-givers are stronger than the agnatic ties within the lineage. Individual x_7 and his sister would form a new village with w_3 (and his sister) while x_8, his "brother" (agnate), would remain paired with lineage Y. Lineage X would therefore be represented in both of the two new villages; individuals x_7 and x_8 would "feel" even more remotely related because they now live in different villages, although they would continue to call each other "brother." Finally, the two new villages would again demonstrate the dual organization that characterized generations I and II of the original village of Fig. 3–1. For the sake of simplicity I have shown each married pair with only two children (except in generation III) so that the village remains constant in size, growing only by the addition of new members. In an actual village lineages X and Y might comprise up to 80 percent of the population so that the addition of a few new members such as w_1 would not appreciably alter the dual composition.

128 613 582 602 607 In Fig. 3–1, lineage X stands as wife-giver and wife-receiver with respect to the other two lineages. The significance of this relationship cannot be exaggerated in the analysis of Yąnomamö social organization. Its strength derives from the obligations kinship groups have toward each other once they enter into reciprocal marriage exchanges. The wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship is also reflected in the attitudes men have toward their affines, such as brothers-in-law, as opposed to attitudes toward distant agnates. A man is on very intimate terms with his brother-in-law, jokes with him, gives him possessions, and protects him; a man treats an agnate of the same age with great reserve and coolness and tends to be jealous of him. He cannot, for example, directly ask

[5]Kinship ties between patrilineally related kinsmen.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him to do a favor, whereas he could ask this of a brother-in-law.[6] As shall presently be seen, the dynamics of Yąnomamö social organization originate in the politics of obtaining a wife. Within this context, agnates are competitors and affines are allies. This has an important effect on the manner in which villages fission and form new groups. The point to remember at this juncture is that ties of marriage are in many cases stronger than ties of blood.

I emphasize this because many anthropologists argue from "first principles" that ties of blood are—by definition—more capable of promoting solidarity and amity than ties by marriage. The controversy over "complementary filiation" between E. R. Leach (1957) and M. Fortes (1959), still not satisfactorily resolved, was essentially a debate about the analytical significance of marriage ties. Focusing on only one of the issues and rephrasing the arguments so as to apply to Fig. 3–2, the debate ran something like this: Both Leach and Fortes seemed to agree that in societies having lineal descent groups (lineages), the descent groups would tend to fall apart unless some kind of tie bound the members to each other. That is, lineages X and Y of Fig. 3–2 would, in short, pull away from each other unless they were held together by some special social tie. Fortes argued that this special tie was the solidarity and amity that grew out of the cognatic (see Glossary) kinship ties between the two lineages which arise when individuals marry blood relatives. Looking at generation V, for example, Fortes would argue that lineages X and Y are bound to each other because x_8 and y_5 married women to whom they are related by blood (as FaSiDa and MoBrDa). He argues from first principles that solidarity emanates from the blood ties. Leach, however, states that in generation V the two lineages are bound to each other by obligations to reciprocate goods, services, and women and that the solidarity of the two lineages derives from the affinal ties themselves (shown as "15" and "16" in Fig. 3–2). If we look only at generation V, the argument cannot be resolved, since the data support both arguments equally well, or at least do not convincingly support one rather than the other. I might add that both arguments can be supported by data not given in Fig. 3–2; Fortes' arguments are supported, for example, by the additional fact that Yąnomamö men do not stringently have to avoid their mothers-in-law when they are related to them in the fashion shown in Fig. 3–2, whereas the avoidance taboo is very onerous when a man's mother-in-law is not a blood relative. If, however, attention is focused on the events of generation III and their consequences examined, it can readily be seen that the affinal (marriage) ties in generation V are stronger than some of the agnatic (blood) ties, and the latter break when the village fissions. (This can be even more readily seen in Fig. 3–4 and 3–5, discussed later.) Thus, it cannot be argued that Yąnomamö lineage solidarity derives exclusively from blood ties and "complementary filiation." There is another issue. Structural analyses depend in large measure on a sharp distinction between marriage (affinal) ties and blood (consanguineal) ties. Fortes seems to deny that affinal ties as such exist independently of blood ties, and he has "subsumed" them into his concept of "complementary filiation." If there is no such thing as affinal ties between lineal descent groups, then structural

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

[6] In addition, it is by no means rare for agnates to get into club fights over women. I even have recorded a number of cases of men shooting and killing a "brother" during raids. This happened on two occasions during my first stay in the field, and I have reports of several additional cases obtained from informants who were describing past raids.

other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competition with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their personal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older. They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kaobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

Kaobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction between agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kaobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were half-brothers. Nadesiwä is in Kaobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the group—Kaobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwä to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwä will have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kaobawä and Nadesiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

The other man, Kumamawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kaobawä is related to him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawä is a frequent visitor in Kaobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kaobawä asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kaobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

Kaobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

156 622 628 607 577 721 [123] [114] [123] 156 622 593 578

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with Kaobawä the possibility of peace between their two villages. They were brothers-in-law to him and were fairly certain that he would protect them from the village hotheads. One of the ambitious men in Kaobawä's group saw in this an opportunity to enhance his prestige and made plans to murder the three visitors. This man, Paruriwä, was a very cunning, treacherous fellow and quite jealous of Kaobawä's position as headman. He wanted to be the village leader and privately told me to address him as the headman. On this occasion Kaobawä let it be known that he intended to protect the visitors. For the better part of the day the village was in a state of suspense. Paruriwä and his followers were not to be found anywhere; a rumor spread that they had painted themselves black and were well armed. Kaobawä and his supporters, mostly his own brothers and brothers-in-law, remained in the village all day, their weapons close at hand. Late in the afternoon Paruriwä and his men appeared in their black paint and took up strategic posts around the village. He himself held an axe. He strutted arrogantly up to the visitors holding his axe as if he were ready to strike. The village became very quiet, and most of the women and children left. Neither Kaobawä nor the Patanowä-teri visitors batted an eyelash when Paruriwä approached, although the others were visibly nervous and sat up in their hammocks. Instead of striking the visitors with the axe as he appeared to suggest he was going to do, he invited one of them out to chant with him. Within seconds all three of the visitors had paired off with members of Paruriwä's group and were chanting passionately with them, explaining the reasons for their visit and giving their justification for the state of hostilities.

The crisis has been averted because of Kaobawä's implied threat that he would defend the visitors with force. A number of men in Paruriwä's group were visitors from Monou-teri; their headman had been killed a few months earlier by the Patanowä-teri. When Paruriwä failed to go through with his plan, they left the village in a rage, hoping to recruit a raiding party in their own village and ambush the visitors when they left.

Kaobawä realized that the visitors would not be safe until they got back home, since the Monou-teri would attempt to intercept them. He visited me that night and asked me to take the visitors back to their village at dawn in my canoe, knowing that I had already planned a trip there for the immediate future. After I agreed to accelerate my own plans, he proceeded to give me instructions about the trip: I was not to stop at any of the villages along the Orinoco River to visit, for all of them were at war with the Patanowä-teri and would shoot my companions on sight. The Patanowä-teri men lay on the floor of my canoe and covered themselves with a tarp when we passed these villages. The people on the bank shouted curses at me for not stopping to visit and give them trade goods. At this time the Patanowä-teri were being raided by about a dozen different villages. We had to cover part of the distance to their village on foot, proceeding very cautiously because of the danger of raiders. At one point the men showed me the spot where a Hasaböwä-teri raiding party had killed a Patanowä-teri woman a week earlier. Thus, Kaobawä not only protected the visitors while they were in his village but he also arranged a "safe-conduct" for their return.

Kaobawä keeps order in the village when people get out of hand. Paruriwä, for example, is particularly cruel to his four wives and beats them mercilessly for even slight provocations. None of his wives have brothers in the village, and few people are courageous enough to interfere with Paruriwä when he is angry. On one occasion Kaobawä was holding a feast for the members of an allied village. His preparations were being

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18. Yanoama SQ18

One of Damowī's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowī-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowī-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowī's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowī outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewī, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowī, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kaobawī and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowī's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowī were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowī-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowī the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowī's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kaobawī, a classificatory brother to Damowī, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowī's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwī, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hor* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Shi* lineage to the *Hor* lineage.

Kaobawī delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2] See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-5 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

men, painted a terrifying red. Momi took up his position behind the palisade of our hut, found a gap and thrust the barrel of the gun through it. We were at a loss to know what to do with the other gun. It scared us more than it ever scared the savages.

I'd always been sceptical of tales about the ferocity of primitive peoples. This was the moment to display my scepticism. We therefore let things take their course, as if the arrival at our hut of a horde of naked dwarfs, all painted red and armed with long bows and arrows, was the most natural event in the world, the sort of thing we'd been used to from childhood days in our own homeland. The Indians adopted just this tactic towards us! The moment came when we were surrounded by a mass of revelling, skipping little monsters, like goats at pasture. The womenfolk hung behind, hesitating to show themselves: many of them had children at the breast, and they feared the very sight of our beards would terrify them, and even cause their death through the 'evil eye'. Gathering them protectively to their bosoms, they laughed rather nervously and echoed the tongue-clicking that punctuated the chatter and the bewildering howls of the male Shirians. For these were the Shirians—the real thing, unlike Pancho's hewers of wood who lived now as mere vassals and had adopted the customs of the Sotos.

One old fellow stood out among the rest. His hair was ruffled; he wore a perpetual smile and dangling testicles. '*Aasi*,' he declared, '*aasi, aasi*,' ending up with a clicking of his tongue and grunting deeply and explosively from his chest. We didn't then know that '*aasi*' meant simply 'yes' in Shirian; we therefore called the old man Aasi. Later we came to know him for the chief of the Uaxa-Dildep tribe, whose camp lay one day's march east of Kirisochi. Aasi was intelligent and quick-witted, but his people were plunderers, infinitely resourceful. While the chief was smiling at the magazine photographs of actresses we had brought with us—he didn't understand what they were, but they drew his interest—his men and women, with methodical efficiency, were attempting to slip their pilfering hands through the cracks between the stakes that formed our back wall and make off with what they could. If the gap was too narrow for the grown-ups' hands, they maliciously urged on the children to try theirs. This innocent little game was one which it would have been interesting to observe from start to finish; unfortunately there was our dignity to be considered, as well as the old chief's integrity of character to be reckoned with. Laughing, he joined in as we chased off the women and children, and

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

* 123 ● 609

speeded them with threats of dubious efficacy as they retreated to a safe distance.

'*Anai*,' said the old man. We took him up in chorus and by evening the merriment reached its height, punctuated by the howls of the Shirians as they sampled our food supplies, grimacing over them like apes. The howling and shouting gradually gave place to something a little more musical; soon they were singing, and this in its turn excited them to dancing and stylised movements that were of great interest to us. Anai repeated anything we said, without hesitation. Sometimes the imitation was perfect, but for the most part our barbarous language tied his tongue up, so that he would be saying '*yowatu*' for '*stegosa*' (wizard) and '*shirlichappa*' for '*aeroplano*', amid general hilarity.

By the time the Great Bear had appeared in the cold sky over the Surimiñama, a certain madness had invaded us too, and in an innocent, untropical sort of way we ran mildly amok. We got hold of the gun and fired shots into the air. This made the Indians jump for joy. Some of them started dancing and howling in a fine frenzy round and round the hut, sweating like pigs and led by Momi armed with a big aluminium saucepan on which he kept up a rhythmic beat with a machete. The song and dance finished when the performers had no strength left, and no voice. The most dogged of them, however, even after they had flung themselves down on the benches, or on the ground, or lay stretched out on the table, still managed a last raucous imitation of the refrain they had learned from us: '*Parastepparache, che, che, che.*'

When morning came the men of Anai went off promising to return with bananas and sugar-cane: we undertook to purchase these, giving them in exchange those things which the women had vainly tried to lift from us. Then the long file of dirty dwarfs vanished among the trees, and with them our windsock which they had taken off its pole at some stage of the proceedings and were now carrying off as a trophy.

[115] We learned more that same day about the 'windsock' from Luis Antonio, a Shirian speaking perfect Spanish who had come up the river with two other Indians: they didn't exactly inspire confidence, though he presented them as brothers.

'I saw one of the Olsiiri Shirians wearing it,' he told us, giving the Anai men their proper name. 'He was running about in the woods with one leg on and one off.'

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

In the place of Hashimo, Uarema's elderly brother, we received an unexpected visit from two Sotos from the Upper Merevari. One was a mere youth, the other a good deal older, both of them as elegant as two young ladies, but with the bearing of true mountain folk for all that. The older was called Murucuyo—Morrocoy, that is, or Turtle. He was a chief from the headwaters of the Merevari, and the first Indian we encountered who gave us his real name quite openly. The Makiritari are always very reticent about their names, as if they are half-ashamed of them, and will sooner tell you they have no name at all, if they cannot lay claim to something 'rational' like Ramon or Pedro.

Murucuyo wasn't much of a talker, while the younger man spent most of the time beautifying himself. His face painting was highly elaborate and his coiffure was so impeccably styled that it would have made a statue sigh with envy. These two had come from their home on the upper Merevari to see about a little business to do with boats for Pancho. The Shirians assailed them with questions, demanding answers with a rudely aggressive authority that was partly derived from our own presence among them, and Murucuyo grew quite frightened, shouting '*Taimà, taimà*'—the Shirian for 'I don't know, I don't understand.'

What we fortunately did succeed in making them understand was that they should take Jean with them, so that she could go to Pancho's place, and our heavy baggage could go with her. The girl could wait for us at the chief's hut, where there would be the Makiritari womenfolk, as inquisitive and full of chatter as monkeys, but kind and friendly, especially towards another woman. The two men were quite willing to take her, especially when we tried to make up for the linguistic poverty which hampered our conversation by adding a little gift or two. We summed up the two pilgrims and decided on a few things which would appeal to their vanity most: two mirrors, a comb and a lipstick. The lipstick was Jean's, and the Guayca marled with greed when they saw it.

We advised Jean to stay quietly with Pancho, studying the Makiritari language and treating the women and children's ailments. And when the three of them disappeared round the river-bend, where the island ends and the Llantara rapids begin, Enrico and I looked at each other: we felt absolutely free. Guiana and the Amazon, with all their forests, with all their howling populace of men and apes, were open to us. Only then could we be quite sure that the Samatari venture, which we'd dreamed of and dreaded too, would actually take shape.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

know the world, a few excursions into those terrible waters where the very absence of peril means, for these lowland monsters, the greatest peril of all.

V

The Samatari had now got quite used to having us in their midst and their primitive fear of us—the emotion which gives rise to an instinctive urge to kill—had disappeared utterly. The fear strangers evoke in them is twofold: they are afraid of being killed, and of having their womenfolk raped. We hadn't killed anybody, and the women did not attract us. We left them in peace, even when they were driven by their insatiable professional curiosity to inspect our private parts.

From being merely tolerated, therefore, we soon passed quite naturally to the stage of having a rather more positive value placed upon us. Soon we were superior beings who had chosen their tribe as the privileged recipients of our friendship. This was without a doubt an auspicious sign for them, and one they must profit by. For the moment the profit which the medicine-man had in mind related only to matters appertaining to magic and moral spheres and had nothing to do with our persons. We ourselves, indeed, were not called upon to play an active part.

Ceremonies of propitiation were enacted at night. The medicine-man would sit in his hammock with his feet dangling over the fire, invoking prosperity for his own people and ruin and death for their enemies (who were doing the same thing, in the same spirit, at the same moment, in some other corner of the forest). But the Samatari had us with them: the effect of their invocations would travel far and fast, like the explosion of the *bombamald*.

The medicine-man would suddenly sit up in his hammock as if he was cold, and after burbling something incomprehensible, slowly shout out the name of a fruit—for instance, *monama*. The last syllable was held for some time, with modulations that reminded me of an echo rebounding from hill to hill. When this solo was over the men's chorus—they were all sitting round the fire in their hammocks, too—would take up the refrain, reciting a long litany full of mournful verses. According to the brief explanations given by Luis Antonio, the gist of it was: much *monama* for the Samatari and none for their enemies. Let hunger strike them down. They are bad men. A moment's silence would

609

[For information on the capture and subsequent treatment of the author and his party by a nomadic group of the Yanoama, called by the author "Samatari," see category 123, pp. 92-140.]

/162 cont./

726 123 Then the inhabitants of the aldea began to come back from the forest. Seeing him lying motionless in a puddle of blood, each group that came supposed that he was dead, and they were mourning greatly for a few minutes, lamenting him, before those who knew what had happened were able to quiet them. Finally, one of the older men with sufficient presence of mind said that he wanted to take him to the aldea, if this were possible.

First the man tried to walk on his own feet to the aldea, but "Joashimocaoue" was very weak and in much pain, and he could not do this at all. Therefore a hammock was sent for. They tied this to a post before rolling up the wounded man in it; two men carried him to the aldea. That night he again became unconscious. Two women came and told us, "We are weeping again." I recommended to David that he stay and pray while I sent to see what could be done.

Upon arriving in the aldea, I found him unconscious in his hammock. They wanted me to put some medicine on his wounds, but there he was, unconscious. I said, "Let us pray first." Almost all of the believers who were there, and even those who had never professed to be believers, prayed with me for him. I prayed first and then they all repeated it together, asking God to spare his life. I had never seen a gathering of Yonomama praying so fervently before or since then. I do not know exactly how long we were praying, but it must have been about an hour.

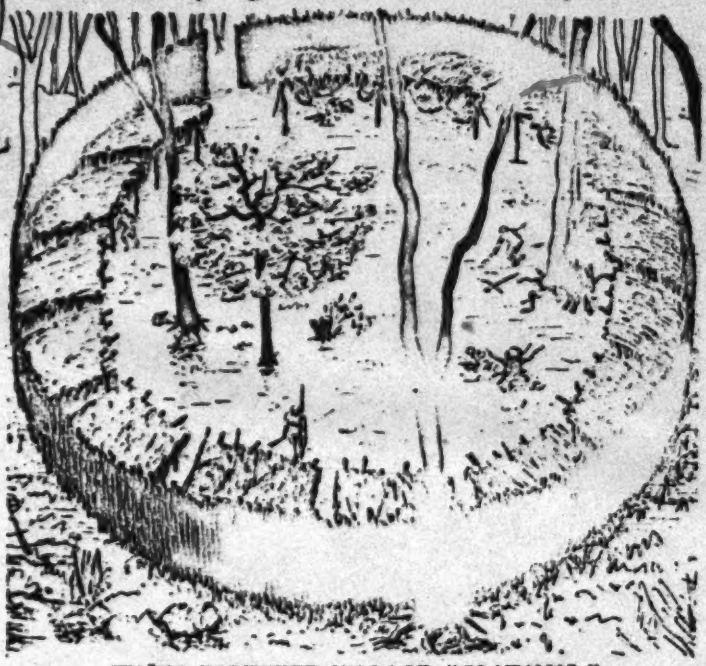
/163/ When all had finished praying, we looked over and there he was, conscious again. He sat up and asked me if they had treated his wounds. I put sulfa powder on them and bandaged them. After this he did not lose consciousness again, and although his wounds were very painful, he went along well without any complications arising, although the tip of the poisoned point must still have been stuck in some part of his back.

721 The men of Majecototjeti returned from their raid on the Liacoatjeti without finding anyone in their houses.

123 75 [609] A little before this an old woman from Shibaatía-tjeti visited some of her Majecototjeti relatives and told them how in her aldea they did not like foreigners, because they were always curing people. When someone in the aldea was wounded, they

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

entered. It was deserted; the women and children had doubtless fled at our approach and were now probably hiding in the forest or the plantation. This would explain why the men had been unwilling to allow me to wander off on my own. After a time they began to filter back. The boys were the



WAÏKA FORTIFIED VILLAGE, "PLATANAL"

first to return, the younger ones wearing nothing but an armlet above the elbow, and the older ones wearing the string round their hips and knotted to the prepuce. Then came the women, the oldest first, followed by the younger ones with their babies. All were completely naked and all wore their hair cut in the pudding-basin fashion favoured by the men. They kept close together, chattering; some began idly swinging in their hammocks in their houses. When we tried to approach them the men followed close on our steps.

593 684 the enraged husband struck his wife in the face with a burning log, severely burning her mouth. Burning is a common punishment, and many women bear immense scars from wounds inflicted by enraged husbands. Just before I left the field [578] a fight developed in Patanowä-tedi between a man and his wife's lover. The lover was killed in the fight and the woman's husband punished her by cutting off her ears with a machete. Some women have been killed by enraged husbands, [165] but in most of these cases, the deaths resulted from wounds that were not intended to be fatal.

607 613 *621 *628 [578] Despite the fact that the tie between spouses is weak, marriages create strong ties between a man and his sister's husband. This tie is of great significance in the social organization of the Yąnomamö, as it is stable, well defined, non-ambiguous and politically important. The brother-in-law (shoriwä) tie is the key link in alliances between local descent groups, both within and between villages.

607 601 The term shoriwä (brother-in-law, MoBrSo, FaSiSo, friend) is used constantly by Yąnomamö men when they address any new male acquaintance. Shoriwä implies a set of obligations and duties between the speakers. One can depend on his shoriwä for material goods and gifts, and a request for such items from a shoriwä is not easily denied: shoriwä is, in addition to goods-giver, wife-giver. The Yąnomamö use this [997] [609] [101] term for foreigners as well; they use it so frequently that the Salesian Missionaries who have recently contacted a few

607 601 799 [609] [101] groups of Yąnomamö have begun referring to the entire tribe as "Los Shori." The Yąnomamö address the missionaries with this term hoping to maximize their chances of obtaining desirable manufactured goods such as machetes and axes.

607 521 601 Men who are not related by blood constantly remind each other of obligations when they use this kinship term. A brother-in-law deserves respect, fair treatment, and gratitude. As the term is reciprocal, a conversation between two shoriwë is punctuated frequently by these constant reminders that each owes the other goods, services and respect by virtue of the fact that they stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other. Such conversations, usually about material goods or women, strike the outsider as something of verbal contests to determine which of the two speakers is more of a shoriwë than the other, i.e., who owes the other more goods, services, gratitude and generosity. One who has actually given a sister to the other's group has an advantage, in a trading sense, as he can more legitimately claim goods from the wife receiver.

*628 574 609 601 583 When men visit the village of an ally to beg, trade or participate in feasts, they call all non-related men of that village 'brother-in-law,' emphasizing the fact that they stand in wife-giver relationship to them, and deserve, therefore, the generosity of the hosts.

*628 527 574 583 581 Alliances between villages involve, in addition to military aid, mutual feasting and trading. It must be remembered that alliances, no matter how many marriage ex-

/118 cont./

628 are not feasible. The villages remain /119/ dependent on one
182 another in economic, sociological, and political respects, in connection with which the frequent change of partners guarantees the multiplicity of the contacts. Politically independent, with equal rights, and not anchored in any superordinate organization, the villages are the knots in a tightly woven network of active mutual relationships, in part of a positive kind, in part negative; the tension inherent in these relationships represents, on the one hand, the dynamic factor and, on the other hand, the stabilizing factor in the social life of the Waika.

621 Up to now I have used the term village as though it represented a stable unit; if we look at its internal structure, however, it turns out that this local body, the settlement community, very tightly united in itself, again is made up of individual groups which are distinguished from one another on certain occasions.
621 In many cases the festivals of human beings rather than their daily
796 life offer the opportunity to recognize the nature of their social
182 grouping; during festive occasions the community itself is represented and confirms this representation in ceremonial. Among
621 the Waika the ceremonial gift-exchange was the key to under-
431 standing the village structure. That is, after a successful large-scale hunt, in which the men of almost every house take part, it is customary to exchange baskets of roasted meat and a few bananas within the village. This exchange takes place, however, not between the individual houses, but between groups of houses; no baskets of meat are exchanged within the same group of houses, but rather only to and from the houses of the other groups. The village investigated by us was divided, according to the paths of exchange, into three groups of houses, which -- perhaps by chance -- were arranged in strips: on both sides of the oval several houses were combined in a group, and the two houses opposite each other in the middle likewise did not exchange gifts.
621 Now the next step must be to look at the reflection of the
611 sociologically inadequate term "group of houses" on the kinship level: the members of the individual groups of houses are to be characterized, according to their kinship relations, as bilateral and bilocal groups of families.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

minutes later the two women were quietly walking home with the baby, who appeared to be dead.

While the mother goes about her normal tasks, with the child tied on her back all the time, the father stays in the hammock, absolutely motionless, eating nothing but fruit and palm-hearts—'they don't heat the blood,' Luis Antonio assured us.

Among the Guiana-Amazon Indians I have never heard of the father himself suffering from birth-pangs during this period of rest. Such reports, however, have come from travellers and observers of the Indian tribes inhabiting the southern regions of the lower Amazon. Before one can believe them one must accept a little more than the theory of the inter-relation of cause and effect. A good dose of barefaced auto-suggestion would also be needed to account for this phenomenon, and only the most undeveloped of the Indians would be capable of it.

IV

Of kindred interest, while we are on the subject of childbirth, is the organization of Indian society. It has been asked whether the pattern is patriarchal or matriarchal, and what part is played by the individual family.

If the question is limited to the Shirians, the answer is simple: they have reached no stage of organization above the rudimentary animal level. The family has the sole function of producing life and protecting it until the offspring is capable of fending for itself. Their society is not patriarchal, because the role of the family ceases where its physical functions cease, at the point where, in civilized societies, moral functions begin. Nor is the pattern matriarchal, because the women are held in a form of slavery, though the very lack of an exact social system means that they sometimes emerge from this to become the companions of the men—a state of affairs which may be regarded as more emancipated, or less.

The children of both sexes, while they are young, remain the exclusive responsibility of the women, but when the boys reach an age at which they can do without their mothers (this generally means as soon as they cease to be breast-fed) they become independent males and do not belong to anybody in particular. Up to a certain point the father is free to pick out one who may be

121 be acknowledged that the corporation did in fact function in the context of property control as well, suggesting once again that the nature of the estate (land) accounts for the quality of the corporation: that is, that the functions of the corporation are seen to lie largely in the regulation of real estate.

Leach (1963)[1] drew attention to the analytical significance of the local descent group in terms of its function in arranging marriages. He argued that the social groups that arrange marriages in tribal societies are essentially the same in all such societies: they comprise local males of three generations who live together. Membership in these social groups necessarily depends on residence. Yąnomamö descent groups are of this type: to participate in the disposition 121 613 602 of local females, one must be related to the patrilineally, * [611] as well as live in the same village with them. Both the im- [621] portance of the marriage arranging functions of the Yąnomamö [584] descent group and the lack of other corporate functions seems to account for the fact that affinal ties promote inter-group solidarity in a way that consanguineal ties can not.

121 On the basis of these findings, Leach's approach to the analysis of social organization would seem to hold more promise in the analysis of marriage alliance systems. To the extent that cultural variables such as warfare and the nature of marriage ties demonstrably affect the outcome of

[1] The article to which I refer, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," was originally published in 1951.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

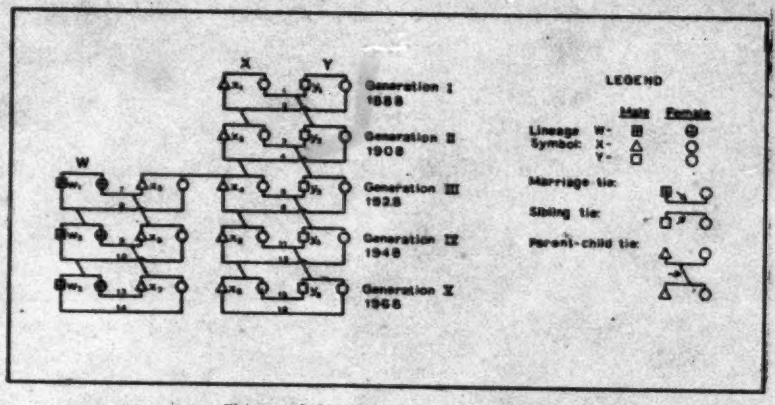


Fig. 3–1. Ideal Yąnomamö marriage pattern.

Fig. 3–1 can be presumed to represent the organization of a particular village over five generations, starting in the year 1888. Let us assume that the village originated in that year when individuals x_1 (and his sister, not numbered) and y_1 (and his sister) broke away from a larger village and established their own garden at some new location. Thus, in the year 1888, the village was comprised of two groups of kinsmen, X and Y. These two kinship groups are called lineages, the distinctive features of which I will discuss later.

In generation I, x_1 married the sister of y_1 and, in exchange, gave his own sister to y_1 as wife. This marriage practice is called *brother-sister* exchange and characterizes Yąnomamö marriage behavior. A man is under considerable obligation to *reciprocate* a woman to the kinship group from which he has taken one. In Fig. 3–1, x_1 married y_1's sister and reciprocated the exchange by giving his own sister to y_1. Because of this obligation of reciprocity, kinship groups become interdependent socially and form pairs of woman-exchanging kin groups. These paired kinship groups are discussed below in the context of village fissioning.

In generation II of Fig. 3–1, the village still contains only two groups of intermarrying kinsmen. These are the children of the individuals who founded the village. The reciprocal exchanges of women between the two groups of kinsmen (lineages X and Y) continue in the second generation, x_2 getting his wife from lineage Y and vice versa. Like their fathers, x_2 and y_2 exchanged sisters. It will be noted at this point that x_2 has married his mother's brother's daughter, who is simultaneously his father's sister's daughter.[1] This is a logical consequence of the fact that there are only *two* lineages in

[1]This is called bilateral cross-cousin marriage. See glossary for definitions. Hereafter the following abbreviations will be used, following Murdock, 1949: Mö—mother; Fa—father; Br—brother; Si—sister; So—son; and Da—daughter. Thus, "mother's brother's daughter" is simply MoBrDa.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the village, the members of which being related to each other as brother and sister, and the fact that individuals must marry outside their own lineages.

The important features of the lineages X and Y are now clearly visible in generation II: The lineages are patrilineal and exogamous. That is, males and females belong to the lineage of their father (patrilineality), and individuals must marry people who belong to a different lineage (exogamy). This can be seen more clearly in the symbols used in Fig. 3-1. All males of lineage X are designated by triangles (x_1, x_2, x_3 . . . x_8), and all females of lineage X are designated by hexagons. Similarly, all males of lineage Y are designated as squares and all females by circles. Males of lineage X marry females of lineage Y. Their children belong to lineage X because their *father* (patrilineality) is of lineage X.

The Yąnomamö kinship system also reflects the rules of lineage exogamy, brother-sister exchange and reciprocity. Their kinship system is called the "bifurcate merging" type with "Iroquois" cousin terms (see Glossary). Within each generation, all the males of one lineage call each other "brother," and all the women call each other "sister." Males of lineage X call males of lineage Y "brother-in-law" and are eligible to marry their sisters. In fact, the males of lineage X call the females of lineage Y "wife" *whether or not they marry them.* This is likewise true for the males of lineage Y with respect to the females of lineage X. This brings us to another important Yąnomamö marriage rule: A male must marry a woman of the category called *suaböya*—"wife." This is called a *prescriptive* marriage rule.[2] To state it more precisely, Yąnomamö society is characterized by a rule that enjoins a man to marry a woman of a specific kinship category; he has no choice with respect to the category.

There is an important controversy over the meaning and implications of the term "prescriptive." I have given the definition held by British anthropologists generally, by Needham (1962*a*:9) in particular. This definition emphasizes the fact that men have no choice with respect to the category of women from which their wives must come, that men are forbidden to marry women of other categories, and that the society itself is said to be characterized by the prescriptive rule. The opposition to this definition comes largely from certain American anthropologists, who maintain that a society can only be said to have a prescriptive marriage rule when a high percentage (close to 100 percent) of the people marry according to the rule (see Coult and Hammel 1963:291). The issues involved are not quite as simple as this, but a glimmering of the area of contention can be seen in an example provided by Leach (1965). Rephrasing his example, the rule (in our society) "thou shalt not kill" is like the rule (among, say, the Yąnomamö) "thou shalt marry a woman of category A." These rules can be said to exist in the respective societies irrespective of the homocide rate in New York or the frequency of aberrant marriages in a Yąnomamö village. That is, Leach (and Needham) maintain that one cannot discover such a rule by counting examples of murder (or, rather, "non-murder") or marriages of men to women of category A. The more basic issue, however, is the

[2]Professor Lévi-Strauss, who read an earlier draft of this chapter, quite correctly pointed out that to say a marriage *system* is "prescriptive" is to say no more than "a man must marry a marriageable female," which is a tautology. Nevertheless, we must have some way to distinguish a system that permits marriage with only a single category of women from those that permit marriage with women of several categories. By showing what is meant by the Yąnomamö category *suaböya*, as I have attempted to do in Fig. 3-2, the reader will gain some idea of what is meant by that marriage type. I have used the term "prescriptive" because it is the current usage.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

respect to the male members of lineage X. Generation III shows that individuals x_3 and x_4 are full brothers. The individuals x_8 and x_9 of generation IV, however, are not shown as brothers, although in Yąnomamö kinship usage they would be such.

I have not indicated them as being related as brothers in order to draw attention to a fault line that may develop when the members of a single lineage (X in this case) marry into more than one other lineage (W and Y in this case). x_3 and one of his sisters married into lineage W, whereas x_4 and one of his sisters continued to exchange with members of lineage Y. In the following generation the kinship tie of "brother" between x_8 and x_9 is considerably weaker than the same "brother" tie between their fathers (x_3 and x_4). In generation V, the "brother" tie between x_7 and x_9 is weaker still. One of the reasons that *agnatic* ties[8] weaken in this case is that the men in question are drawn into intimate relationship with the kinship groups from which they obtain their wives and assume, because of the principle of reciprocity, obligations to their affinally related (that is, by marriage) kinsmen.

Secondly, because agnates of the same generation are "brothers," they can marry the same women and are, hence, competitors. In other words, the obligations to exchange women (reciprocity) can link the members of affinally related groups to each other more intimately than ties of blood between males of the same lineage. (This can be more readily seen in Figs. 3–5 and 3–6, discussed later, but it can also be partially illustrated here.) If the village shown in Fig. 3–1 were to split in generation V and form two new villages, lineage X would pull apart along the fault line shown. That is, parts of lineage X would end up in each of the two new groups because the affinal (marriage) ties between its members and their wife-givers are stronger than the agnatic ties within the lineage. Individual x_7 and his sister would form a new village with w_3 (and his sister) while x_9, his "brother" (agnate), would remain paired with lineage Y. Lineage X would therefore be represented in both of the two new villages; individuals x_7 and x_9 would "feel" even more remotely related because they now live in different villages, although they would continue to call each other "brother." Finally, the two new villages would again demonstrate the dual organization that characterized generations I and II of the original village of Fig. 3–1. For the sake of simplicity I have shown each married pair with only two children (except in generation III) so that the village remains constant in size, growing only by the addition of new members. In an actual village lineages X and Y might comprise up to 80 percent of the population so that the addition of a few new members such as w_1 would not appreciably alter the dual composition.

In Fig. 3–1, lineage X stands as wife-giver and wife-receiver with respect to the other two lineages. The significance of this relationship cannot be exaggerated in the analysis of Yąnomamö social organization. Its strength derives from the obligations kinship groups have toward each other once they enter into reciprocal marriage exchanges. The wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship is also reflected in the attitudes men have toward their affines, such as brothers-in-law, as opposed to attitudes toward distant agnates. A man is on very intimate terms with his brother-in-law, jokes with him, gives him possessions, and protects him; a man treats an agnate of the same age with great reserve and coolness and tends to be jealous of him. He cannot, for example, directly ask

[8]Kinship ties between patrilineally related kinsmen.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

analysis of reciprocal marriage exchanges between such groups and the obligations implied in such exchange is seriously hampered. In short, if Yąnomamö marriage exchanges over a number of generations and the kinship basis of village fissioning are examined, the data support Leach's arguments. They do not, however, invalidate Fortes' argument that blood ties create some solidarity, but they do call into question the contention that blood ties by definition, or, rather, on "first principles," account exclusively for the solidarity occurring between lineages.

In summary, Fig. 3-1 represents a number of important features of Yąnomamö social organization. First, people reckon descent through males and are grouped into exogamous, patrilineal lineages. These are called *mashi* by the Yąnomamö, although none of them bear distinctive names.[7] Second, members of these lineages tend to intermarry with the members of a second lineage over a number of generations, being bound to them by obligations to reciprocate women in marriage. This results in a dual organization of kinsmen within the village, whose residents fall into one or the other of the two lineages. Third, new lineages can be incorporated into the village by an extension of marriage ties, potentially bringing about "structural faults" within the lineages of that village. Fourth, men are obliged to marry a woman of a single, specific category, *suabɨya*. This category defines a variety of women, two subcategories of which can be translated into the English biological equivalents MoBrDa and FaSiDa. Yąnomamö men prefer to marry women of these subcategories because they are relieved of much of the discomfort of avoiding their mothers-in-law.[8]

The ten partial genealogies shown in Fig. 3-2 show how the Yąnomamö actually marry. The genealogies have been selected with the intention of illustrating how the Yąnomamö reckon relationships between kinsmen in general, and between husband and wife in particular. All ten exemplify prescriptive marriage. They are more or less arranged in decreasing order of correspondence to our own biological concepts of kinship and illustrate the classificatory nature of their kinship system.

The people shown on these genealogies are (or were) real people. Many of the individuals in the examples are related to each other in such ways that all ten of the examples could be drawn as a single, unified genealogy.

The first eight examples are drawn from the village of Patanowä-teri; the last two are from Bisaasi-teri. In case J, for example, the fifth individual of the second generation is Kąobawä. To give a rough idea of the incompleteness of each genealogy, only one of Kąobawä's four marriages is shown and only one of his four children. None of his brothers and sisters are shown either, nor is the fact that he married a MoBrDa indicated.

Case A illustrates the identification procedure to be used in relating the genealogies to the text. There are three generations shown in case A; the first is symbolized by the Roman numeral I, the second, by II, the third, by III. Each individual in each generation is given a number; the number series runs from left to right and begins anew with 1 in each generation. Hence, every individual bears a generation number and a position-within-generation number. Case A illustrates the marriage of individuals III-1 to III-2;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[7] *Mashi* means "species," "group," "cluster of similar things," and, in the context of kinship, "that group of people to whom I am related through males," that is, "patrilineal kinsmen."

[8] I draw attention to the fact that the category is *prescribed*, but within it there are *preferences*. There are very few analyses of societies that have a prescriptive rule within which there are preferences, although Needham has devoted some attention to this interesting phenomenon (1962*a*, 1962*b*, and 1963).

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally true should one of them be the village headman. Kaobawä can ask his youngest brothers to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village plaza to prepare the dance site, Kaobawä himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will join him, but only on their own initiative. He could not directly ask them to do this work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a younger brother to Kaobawä, but already a mature adult. I asked Kaobawä to help me get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around. By contrast, Kaobawä could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight, since the latter was not yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence, anxious to display personal autonomy.

Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many circumstances. Kaobawä continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary) his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar account.

In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers. That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage begins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogically more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Generation V of Fig. 3-1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.[9] Local descent groups have three characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a member of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife elsewhere, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

[9]Leach, 1951. Yąnomamö local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yąnomamö such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yąnomamö local descent groups closely fit Leach's definition.

10:Chagnon B-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

121 The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yąnomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data 114 covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the 124 field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yąnomamö in their language.

162 Census data on five Yąnomamö villages are presented 817 to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage 595 of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is compli- 834 cated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos 721 and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter- 182 village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

* 621 The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the • 613 basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal 578 descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves 562 to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal 000 descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii)

1ocChagnon E-4.5 (1964-1965) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

[Introductory, p. iii]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

reasoning, as most of the Yąnomamö villages are presently uncontacted, and those that are in contact with foreigners have only recently (since 1951) entered into these contacts.

Yąnomamö marriages, even the preferred form, are influenced by the milieu of inter-village hostility within which they are contracted. Marriages in this milieu have as their major function the promotion of social ties between the descent groups represented in the exchange and are best understood as the deployment of women between groups with the purpose of promoting political and military alliances. The groups in question may be of two kinds: the local patrilineages comprising a particular village, or the members of different villages as such. As the only corporate group among the Yąnomamö is the local lineage, marriages within and between villages are to be understood as alliances between different corporate groups.[1]

The variables affecting marriage practice--weakness of descent as a solidarity-promoting medium, village size and instability, the chronic nature of warfare, the shortage of women, attitudes about aggressiveness and demonstration of ferocity by individuals, and economic practices--are such that some deviation from the normative marriage rules is necessary to insure maximum survival chances for the residents of the various autonomous villages. Because marriage exchanges in general have political and military implications,

[1]Yąnomamö villages are not corporate groups.

000 marriage exchanges with other groups.

The weakness of kinship[1]

Few institutions promote solidarity between the local lineages of a village on the one hand and between allied villages on the other. Consanguineal kinship ties are weak; so weak, that the most bitter fighting usually takes place between villages comprised of closely related kinsmen. The roles of leaders are poorly defined, and headmen can rarely reconcile dissident factions within their own villages. Moreover, there are a number of factors constantly threatening the stability of local groups, and these factors likewise weaken political relationships between allied villages. Within villages fighting frequently breaks out over food thefts and over sexual liaisons. In the latter case the fighting takes the form of dueling with clubs, and usually the result is that the village splits; one of the factions establishes a garden elsewhere and becomes an independent village. As the histories of selected villages will show (see below, Chapter 5), the settlement pattern of Yanomamö villages is cyclical; it results from the splitting of larger villages, the renewed growth of the splinter groups into large villages, followed by recurrent splitting and growth ad infinitum. Kinship as a medium for promoting solidarity within villages loses its efficacy when villages

[1]It is difficult to discuss each variable affecting marriage alliances as operating by itself, for they are intimately interconnected, and I list them separately only to point out their major features.

phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the result of the shortage of women.

Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and this frequently causes the village to split. The larger the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion. Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each group establishes an independent village and enters into marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yanomamö village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

which is tied a bundle of feathers.[1]

Besides shamans, of which there are several in every village, there are influential 'big men.' The number of big men in a village depends, on the one hand, on the size of the village and the number of local patrilineages comprising it, and, on the other, on the number of men who are personally qualified to lead. The qualities that determine leadership are personal courage, fierceness, the ability to be outraged by even the slightest insult, marksmanship, diplomacy in trading with representatives from other villages, the ability to arrange marriages for male supporters with females from other villages, cunning and intelligence in dealings with allies, the ability to attract young men to live permanently in the village by promising them wives, and the defense of group members who get into difficulties with other village members.

Individuals who possess all these attributes are considered leaders only if they have a large natural following, i.e., brothers and sons living with them in their village. Otherwise, such men have only just a little more

---

[1] To give a more comparative statement on the poverty of Yąnomamö culture, they possess only 11 traits of the 354 listed in the 4th edition of Carneiro and Tobias' "Trait List to be Used for the Study of Cultural Evolution by Means of Scale Analysis," (1963, mimeograph). By contrast, the Siriono have 8, the Andamanese 10, the Jivaro 22, the Nuer 28, the Siuai 39, the Iroquois 64, the Bemba 100 and the Tahitians 140. (Carneiro and Tobias, 1963:201.) In the classification developed by E. R. Service (1962), the Yąnomamö are "tribal."

CHAPTER III

DESCENT, MARRIAGE, KINSHIP AND IDEOLOGY

As noted in the introduction, the largest Yąnomamö political unit, the village, is structurally unstable and tends to fragment into hostile factions once the population of the village reaches a certain size.[1] Village splitting results in the establishment of smaller villages the members of which, for considerations of defense, make alliances with other villages, basing the political ties on the exchange of women. The dynamics of village splitting can be illustrated in a number of ways. In Chapter V the histories of particular villages are set down in some detail, illustrating the nature of the causes of internal struggles. In this chapter, however, I shall discuss the aspects of Yąnomamö descent, marriage, kinship and political ideology that illustrate the role each plays in determining the nature of feuds. This will provide the background for the next chapter, the analysis of village splitting in terms of the genealogical composition of recently established villages.

A. Yąnomamö Corporate Lineal Descent Groups and Marriage

Corporate lineal descent groups tend to be closely

[1] Village size is discussed in the next chapter.

associated with control over real property in most tribal societies. Among the Yąnomamö the corporate estate consists of rights in disposing of females; property does not play any role in the functioning of the descent group.

The relationship between males in regulating the disposition of the descent group's women is ambiguous, for their rights in particular women vary, largely with genealogical distance and the size of the descent group in question. And, rights in women are intangible. Thus, local descent groups[1] among the Yąnomamö, despite the fact that they are corporate, are not cohesive, solidary units because of the ambiguous way male members are related to each other.

Patrilineal descent is virtually non-functional outside the local descent group. There are no corporate descent groups other than those that exist at the village level, i.e., the Yąnomamö do not have clans or moieties. Hence, agnates not only enter into competition with each other because of the nature of their rights in the women of their group, there are no other institutions based on agnatic descent that promote amity and solidarity among them.

---

[1] "The core of such a group is composed of the adult males of a kin group all resident in one place . . . the corporate group of persons who have the most decisive say in bringing about an arranged marriage is always a group of co-resident males representing, as a rule, three genealogical generations, namely: the old men or grandfathers, the normal adults or fathers, and the young adults or sons." E. R. Leach, 1963:56. Among the Yąnomamö, the generation of grandfathers is only rarely represented in the local descent group.

613 162 In addition to genealogical distance and size of descent groups, demographic factors promote ambiguity in the relationships between males within a local descent group. For reasons of differential fertility, infanticide, warfare mortality, or chance, some local descent groups are larger than others (contain more males) and are, therefore, more powerful. Others may be relatively large, but contain more females than males. Still others may be very small and contain either all males or all females. Since Yanomamö kinship terminology is classificatory (Iroquois), all agnatically related males of the same generation call each other 'brother'; parallel cousins, no matter how remote genealogically, are not terminologically distinguished from brothers. Despite the terminological usage, relationships between such agnates varies considerably.

613 602 *621 584 582 Problems of agnatic priority in the disposition of females arise, for example, when a man with no actual brothers gives his daughters away in marriage. If he has sons, the sons would prefer that the girls be given to members of other local descent groups who are most likely able to reciprocate with women. As the father has no actual brothers, his more distant agnates put pressure on him to give the girls to a descent group to which they themselves are linked by marriage ties, for they stand to benefit by future reciprocities. Situations such as this arise when a single man finds himself in the same village with a group of agnates that are distantly related to him, but who themselves constitute an important political bloc within the village. Although the agnates are

613 602 621 584 582 his brothers, terminologically, they have more in common with each other than they do with him. As he depends on them for support within the village, he is under obligation to them and can not take their suggestions lightly.[1]

621 613 602 582 584 736 Again, if there are two politically important descent groups of the same lineage within a large village, and if there are, in addition, a number of agnatically related females not belonging unambiguously to either one, problems arise over the disposition of the women; there will be rivalry between the two descent groups concerning the marriages (or remarriages) of these women. Situations like these arise when the father and brothers of the women are killed in raids or die of other causes, or when the woman's first husband dies after her (deceased) agnates arranged her marriage. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, split into two villages, each led by members of the same lineage. They had been victimized by a Shamatari group which killed a large number of men during a treacherous feast. There were a number of women, consequently, who were ambiguously related to the surviving males of the Upper and Lower halves of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the descent groups in what is now Lower Bisaasi-tedi managed to gain the upper hand in the

---

[582] [1]There seems to be a marked tendency for the daughters of such men to be given to men in other villages when alliances are made. I am unable to say, on the basis of my present data, whether such alliances are forced on these men by their agnates, or whether these men in fact prefer to dispose of their daughters in this way. This practice tends to keep such men more isolated from their agnates and prevents them from establishing strong affinal ties within the village.

613 621 602 562 584 726 disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

582 584 593 621 A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

583 591 584 602 721 628 Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

---

[728] [1]See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[601] [2]By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

the Na wei-tedi and the Boreta-tedi (Chapter V) developed out of a case such as this.

When women are given to men in allied villages, the local descent group of the girl (her father and adult brothers and, to a lesser extent, the girl's more distant agnates) decides which patrilineage of the foreign village should have her. Smaller villages are more prone to enter into alliances based on marriage exchanges than are larger villages, since smaller villages require allies to a greater extent than larger ones.[1] Local descent groups in small villages are more cohesive than descent groups in larger villages because they usually comprise a man and his adult sons; if there are distantly related agnates in small villages, these are incorporated into the local descent group. In small villages, therefore, local descent groups are more corporate because all the adult agnates of the girl have a say in her marriage. Ideally, they give the girl to a member of the politically strongest descent group of the allied village, for this group is the one from which aid will come or, conversely, the one most likely to make the decision to initiate hostilities against the smaller village.

The longer an alliance endures, the more likely it is that the exchange of women balances. The two largest

---

[1]Larger Yanomamö villages can make visiting alliances with other groups that do not lead to marriage exchanges, as it is relatively unimportant to them to stabilize such alliances by ceding women to militarily inferior groups.

*628 lineages in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi have
592 exchanged women with each other for a number of generations.
583 Male members of the Hor lineage entered into 29 marriage acts[1]
• 613 with women of the Sha lineage.[2] An identical number of acts involving Sha men with Hor women also took place. In the exchanges between Mõmaribõwei-tedi and their two allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, there is presently an imbalance in the exchange of women, although reciprocity appears to be developing; a number of women from the latter two villages are promised to members of Mõmaribõwei-tedi—to members of lineages that have already given women to th[illegible]i-tedi and the Monou-tedi.

*628 An imbalance in the exchange of women implies a dif-
613 ference in political strength between the two groups that
592 exchange women, and the mechanics of the exchange are shaped
583 by this difference in political strength. Post marital resi-
591 dence is viri-patrilocal after the groom performs bride service, but the length of the bride service is determined by the relative political strength of the two villages concerned. If the village of the groom is more powerful than that of the bride, the groom may be able to return to his village with his wife after just a few months of bride service. If the

---

[1] See Ackerman, 1964, for a definition of marriage act.

[2] Yąnomamõ lineages are not named. I have named them [128] for expediency of analysis after the oldest identifiable member of the lineage, abbreviating the name to three letters. "Sha" lineage, therefore, is the name I have adopted for the patrilineal descendents of a long since dead individual called Shamashiadima.

*628 bride's village is stronger, the girl's parents may be able
618 to press the groom into a prolonged bride service--five or
582 six years. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, are politically
583 stronger than the Reyabobŏwei-tedi, one of their Shamatari
591 allies. They have obtained a number of women from this group, and the men involved all returned with their brides after brief periods of bride service. So far, not a single Bisaasi-tedi woman has gone to live in Reyabobŏwei-tedi, although one girl is married to a man from that village. The man has already spent several years in Bisaasi-tedi, and will probably spend at least as many more before being permitted to return home with his Bisaasi-tedi wife. The military and political superiority of the Bisaasi-tedi is so conspicuous in this alliance that one Bisaasi-tedi man literally dragged a woman, previously promised to him, out of the Reyabobŏwei-tedi village, against the wishes of both the woman and the woman's agnates. He was not prevented from doing this because the Reyabobŏwei-tedi need the political and military support of the Bisaasi-tedi and could not afford to react violently
[721] to the affront. Had the two villages been politically equal, the incident would have resulted in a war.

*628 Women involved in exchanges between villages have no
583 say whatsoever in their fate. Most of them abhor the pos-
584 sibility of moving to a strange village, largely because they fear that they will be mistreated by their husbands. Should a girl refuse to abide by the decision of her agnates, she has no alternative but to flee the village. Koima, a girl of

*623 Koima, a girl of
• 613 some 15 years, was promised to Rerebawä, a young man from
591
583 Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawä had
606 already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom he had two children. Rerebawä wished to return to his own village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawä began making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effectively, and Rerebawä was growing impatient. His parents-in-law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter,
584 provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however,
583
591 refused to go to Rerebawä, suspecting that he would not keep
578 his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead,
335 Bäkotawä, her classificatory PaSiSo. She began an affair with
613 Bäkotawä, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated
*624 Rerebawä, who challenged Bäkotawä to a club fight. Bäkotawä
627 belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi and was cognatically related to the members of the headman's
[626] descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment was on Bäkotawä's side, but the girl belonged to a descent group over whose affairs Bäkotawä's supporters had no claims. Rerebawä's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was promised to him by her agnates: Bäkotawä was, in effect, having an

584 affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawä's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawä threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawä shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawä, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bäkotawä, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawä discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawä, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

602 The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

593 684 the enraged husband struck his wife in the face with a burning log, severely burning her mouth. Burning is a common punishment, and many women bear immense scars from wounds inflicted by enraged husbands. Just before I left the field [578] a fight developed in Patanowä-tedi between a man and his wife's lover. The lover was killed in the fight and the woman's husband punished her by cutting off her ears with a [165] machete. Some women have been killed by enraged husbands, but in most of these cases, the deaths resulted from wounds that were not intended to be fatal.

607 • 613 *621 *628 [593] Despite the fact that the tie between spouses is weak, marriages create strong ties between a man and his sister's husband. This tie is of great significance in the social organization of the Yąnomamö, as it is stable, well defined, non-ambiguous and politically important. The brother-in-law (shoriwä) tie is the key link in alliances between local descent groups, both within and between villages.

607 601 The term shoriwä (brother-in-law, MoBrSo, FaSiSo, friend) is used constantly by Yąnomamö men when they address any new male acquaintance. Shoriwä implies a set of obligations and duties between the speakers. One can depend on his shoriwä for material goods and gifts, and a request for such items from a shoriwä is not easily denied: shoriwä is, in addition to goods-giver, wife-giver. The Yąnomamö use this [797] [609] [101] term for foreigners as well; they use it so frequently that the Salesian Missionaries who have recently contacted a few

*628 581 609 Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their ability to promote solidarity between the allies to the obligations, duties and trading relationships that marriages impose on brothers-in-law.

607 602 *621 591 Within villages, brothers-in-law have similar obligations to each other. The strength of the co-residential shoriwä ties, however, is influenced by other factors besides promises to exchange goods, women, and services. First, co-residence itself promotes a certain amount of amity between all classes of kin. Second, co-residential shoriwä are usually cognatically related because their respective agnatic groups have exchanged women in ascending generations, i.e., many of them are related to each other as MoBrSo or FaSiSo. So, in addition to mere promises to give women to each other, co-residential shoriwä ties are strengthened by ties of cognatic kinship and co-residence.

609 602 *621 • 613 582 584 The strength of the ties between co-residential shoriwä is best illustrated by contrasting it to the weakness of the agnatic tie between two local descent groups of the same lineage. In anticipation of the discussion of agnatic relationship, I will point out here that the political interests of local descent groups focus on acquisition of women from other descent groups within the village. When a village has two or more agnatically related descent groups, the men in these respective groups are de facto rivals for the women in the village. Simultaneously, these distantly related agnates are frequently competitors in the disposition of some female agnates who do not belong unambiguously to one or the other local descent groups.

groups. In a large village comprised of two large lineages, each having two or more local descent groups, the particular local descent groups of each lineage will have stronger ties with non-agnatic descent groups within that village than with groups of distantly related agnates. When there are feuds within the village, the groups that have most in common with each other are those linked by affinal rather than agnatic ties, and these affinally linked groups stick together should the feud lead to a village split.[1] While the tie between closely related agnates is stronger than that between brothers-in-law, the latter are usually stronger than the ties between distantly related agnates.

Finally, the son-in-law tie complements the brother-in-law tie in binding local descent groups to each other within villages. Older adult males of local descent groups can depend on the support of brothers, brothers-in-law, and sons-in-law in village feuds, more so than on the support of distantly related agnates. In the competition for women, affines in a faction exchange women rather than compete for them; just the opposite is true of the relationships between distantly related agnates.

2. Agnatic ties

. One of the two most important consanguineal ties having structural concomitants among the Yąnomamö is the tie between siblings of the opposite sex. These are not as

---

[1] See Chapter IV for a detailed discussion of the structure of village factions.

884 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

593 621 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yąnomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [583] [595] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

*621 602 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed *[628] as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be effectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other *621 villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kąobawä • 613 602 of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one 591 degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were [22]

[1] See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kaobawë's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwë, 18). Whenever Kaobawë organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Nadesiwë, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kaobawë. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawë, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kaobawë's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kaobawë's nephew, Bäkotawë, 18 years old.

Kaobawë's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kaobawë to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I asked Kɨobawɨ what he had done about it. He said he had spoken to Shiiximɨa, but the matter then rested with him: "He will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ultimately had to resort to my own means to recover the flashlight, as Kɨobawɨ could not force Shiiximɨa to return it. When I questioned Kɨobawɨ about this ineffectiveness, he explained: "Shiiximɨa is already fierce and I can not order him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scraping up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy preparing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing. Kɨobawɨ usually goes to the center of the village and begins cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if Kɨobawɨ requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this regard implies that one is being bossed around.

Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult

593 602 613 agnates of similar age tend to compete, rather than cooperate, with each other in the affairs of the group. Each behaves in such a way that it is obvious to all that he is not being bossed around by his equals. Finally, this competition and lack of solidarity is even more pronounced when there are two or more local descent groups of the same lineage within the village. [621]

621 601 628 591 124 Co-residence as a factor in promoting solidarity can be illustrated by kinship usage. One of my female informants, Epobawë's wife, used affinal terms for a number of Patanowë-tedi men who were technically her agnates. I was certain that my genalogies were correct, so I re-investigated the usage. I discovered that she used 'distant' kinship terms for these 'brothers' because they lived in a different village, but that she had called them by brother terms when they lived together in Patanowë-tedi. She explained that she would again use brother terms if the two villages were to re-unite. Although the terms for agnates normally do not change when a distant agnate joins a local descent group, the co-efficient of solidarity does.

628 602 613 726 The weakness of the tie between distantly related agnates can also be demonstrated with data on fighting. After the Patanowë-tedi separated from the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi in the early '40s, hostilities between the two groups developed. Each group, however, was similar in composition[1] in that each comprised local descent groups of the

[1] See Figure 3, Chapter IV, and Appendix A for the breakdown of the populations of these villages by lineage membership.

same lineages. The warfare between the two groups, therefore, was largely a struggle between groups of distantly related agnates. Kɛobawɛ̃, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, participated in the raiding against the Patanowɛ̃-tedi. In one skirmish, he shot his classificatory brother, Rakoiwɛ̃, but Rakoiwɛ̃ survived the wound. This man is as closely related to Kɛobawɛ̃ as most of the men that presently constitute his agnatic following in Upper Bisaasi-tedi, again illustrating the significance of co-residence in determining the strength of the agnatic tie. Two young men from Patanowɛ̃-tedi recenlty joined the Bisaasi-tedi to obtain wives. After they arrived, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Patanowɛ̃-tedi resumed their old hostilities. The fathers-in-law of the two men recruited both of them into raiding parties that attacked the Patanowɛ̃-tedi, and both men participated willingly, despite the fact that their actual fathers and brothers live in Patanowɛ̃-tedi. One of the young men, Sirorowɛ̃, told me that he would have avoided shooting his own father (Yoyosiwɛ̃) and actual brothers, but would have shot more distant agnates.

That the brother-in-law tie is stronger than the tie between distantly related agnates is also illustrated in the history of a war between Mahekodo-tedi and Yabitawɛ̃-tedi. These two villages are led by men who are classificatory brothers. The war stated when a man from Boreta-tedi, a brother-in-law of the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, was killed by the Yabitawɛ̃-tedi headman in a club fight. As the slain man's sisters were married to the Mahekodo-tedi headman, the

*728 724 602 607 622 latter felt obliged to revenge the man's death by raiding his classificatory brother's village.

Similar cases occur in internal village fighting. *624 578 593 Hunobawë, an Upper Bisaasi-tedi man of some 60 years, gathered a stalk of bananas from his garden and hung them in the roof of his hut to ripen. His son, Dikawë, 18 years old, discovered the ripening bananas and ate a large number of them without the consent of his father. When Hunobawë discovered the loss, he went into a rage and attacked Dikawë with a club. Dikawë got his own club and began assailing the old man. This precipitated a general free-for-all in the village, as large numbers of men took one side or the other in the melee.

*628 602 578 613 583 Club fights between historically related but separate villages also pit agnates against each other. When Bisaasi-tedi's Lower Group seized a girl that the Monou-tedi had abducted from the Patanowë-tedi, a club fight was arranged to settle the dispute. But, the most important factions in Monou-tedi and the two Bisaasi-tedi groups were local descent groups of the same lineage, and their headmen were classificatory brothers. Although the dispute and club fight ultimately involved all the able-bodied men of each village, the fight was initiated by distantly related agnatic groups of the same lineage.

602 578 Some dyadic kinship ties are more stable than others. It is not possible to say, however, that any one in particular is so inherently stable that fighting between such kinsmen can not occur. Certain kinds of violence, however, are not

602 likely to take place between agnates of a certain degree of
578 blood relationship, or between affines that are cognatically
593 related. While a father and son may club each other, it is not likely that the fight will escalate to spear thrusting or shooting with arrows. The same may be said of full brothers, 593 but with less conviction. That is, full brothers occasionally *621 end up in different villages when a larger village splits, *628 particularly if they are the only males in the sibship. Should 726 a war develop between the two villages, there is a possibility that they might kill each other in the raiding; it is not always possible, in Yąnomamö warfare tactics, to pick a victim out of a crowd of people, as the Yąnomamö occasionally shower a village with arrows in raids. Chances are that brothers would not deliberately kill each other, but the fact that one has a brother in an enemy village by no means constitutes sufficient reason to desist in raiding that village.

*621 Club fights within villages frequently pit close
602 agnates against each other, but when club fights escalate to
578 killing by spear thrust, it is not likely that such agnates
*628 will fight against each other. Distantly related agnates,
613 however, occasionally do fight against each other with the
726 intent to kill. Much of Yąnomamö warfare involved hostilities between villages that contain as the dominant political bloc local descent groups of the same lineage.

602 Perhaps the most important structural difference between agnatic and affinal ties is that the former tend to grow weaker as the kinsmen get older, whereas the latter are

602 capable of becoming stronger in time. When two descent groups
602 exchange women with each other over several generations, the
613 cognatically related members of the two groups have strong
582 ties with each other. Further exchanges between these groups
583 is largely a validation of the previously existing implicit
60 obligations to exchange women. MoBrSo is, whether or not you
582 marry his sister, a shoriwä. When the marriage rule is followed, and it is a number of times each generation, the ties between shoriwä are correspondingly strengthened by the exchange.
602 Agnatic ties do not have the potential of increasing in solidarity; the tendency seems, in fact, to be just the opposite.

602 The major components in the variation of the strength
561 of agnatic solidarity are genealogical closeness, relative
621 age, and co-residence. To provide a crude measure of the
128 relative importance of these variables, I have arbitrarily
591 assigned values to the components in Table 3. A strong tie is scored as "***" and a weak tie as "—". By adding the number of asterisks in each possible combination, a rough measure of relative solidarity of agnatic type is given. For example, agnates who are closely related genealogically (A_1: "***"), who differ significantly in age (B_2: "***") and who live in the same village (C_1: "**-") represent a class of agnates having the greatest relative solidarity. The sum of the asterisks for this combination is 8.

In Table 3, combinations whose scores are 3 and 4 respectively constitute the class of agnates having the least

*628 *621 602 583 past. Finally, there is no way of scoring 'promises' to exchange women, and the strength of the shoriwĕ tie between members of two distinct villages is largely a function of such promises.

*621 602 • 613 Summarizing the difference in agnatic and affinal ties, the important point is that affinal ties have the potential of changing in their coefficient of solidarity when exchanges between two descent groups continues over time. It is largely for this reason that villages reduce to clusters of affinally related dual organizations (paired patrilineal local descent groups) that have exchanged women in the past and will probably continue to do so in the future.

C. Ferocity and Bellicosity

773 823 According to the Yąnomamŏ Moon Myth, Uhudima, a Spirit, shot Moon with an arrow. The drop of blood that fell to the earth flowed over the surface, causing all Yąnomamŏ to become fierce. Ever since that time the Yąnomamŏ have behaved fiercely, because they were born in blood.

823 577 The Yąnomamŏ regard themselves as being violent, coercive, crafty and quick to display aggressiveness; they 829 value this behavior. Yąnomamŏ contacts with other tribes 648 and with civilized foreigners have been consistently hostile until about 1955. They have succeeded in exterminating one tribe,[1] and have caused a number of villages of another tribe to relocate in order to avoid the attacks mounted on them by

[1] The Makú; see Migliazza, 1965.

*621 organization is only approximated, however, as an examination of the genealogies given in Appendix A will show. The smaller the village, the more conspicuous is the tendency for the composition to approach a moiety-like structure. Larger [613] villages are more composite and may contain as many as four or five distinct lineage segments.[1]

*621 The tendency for small villages to be characterized 613 by two (and only two) dominant lineage segments, each linked to the other by marriage ties, recurs with sufficient frequency to permit me to use a simple dual organization model as the [629] basis of the analysis of village structure. The model given in Figure 1 should be taken as only a heuristic devise in the discussion of Yanomamö village structure that follows; the Yanomamö do not conceive of their villages as being bifurcated into two groups, for in most instances they are not. And, small villages soon lose their moiety-like structure as they begin to include males and females from villages with which marriage ties are made.

602 The relationships between kin discussed in the pre-607 vious chapter are all given in Figure 1. The adult males in 582 Generation 1 exchange sisters[2] and are, therefore, related to 583 each other as shoriwë (brother-in-law). This is a well-defined, stable, non-ambiguous relationship; the males in

[128] [1]See Appendix A for a discussion of village composition. Details of one small village are given in the Appendix, but the composition by lineage is summarized for three other villages.

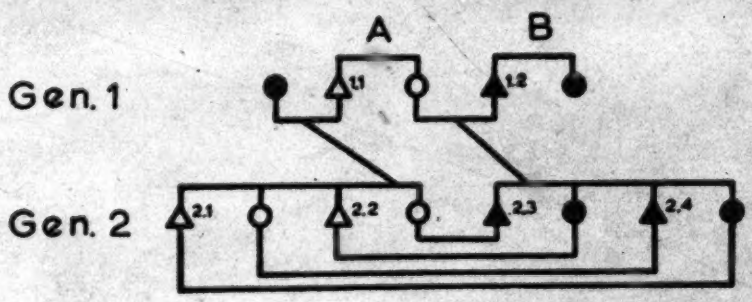
[2]In Figure 1, $A_{1.1}$'s wife is the sister of $B_{1.2}$.

602 607 582 583 Generation 1 have essentially solidary relationships to each other, at least in terms of the model.

The males of Generation 1 are related to the females *[621] of that generation as either husband or brother. Ties between siblings of the opposite sex are affective and promote village solidarity.

• 613 602 Males of lineage A in the second generation are simultaneously sister's sons and daughter's husbands of male $B_{1.2}$, both relationships being conducive to solidarity. They are [583] bound to $B_{1.2}$ by affective ties and obligations to perform bride service. An analogous set of relationships binds the Generation 2, lineage B males to $A_{1.1}$. The males of both lineages in the second generation are related to each other as either brother or brother-in-law, both relationships being stable within the assumptions of this model (see below). The

*[621] FIG.1: Ideal Yanomamö Village Composition



413 602 ties between males of opposite generations within each lineage, father and son, are stable and affective; in short, the males of the village are linked to each other by relationships that are non-ambiguous and essentially amicable. Similarly, the relationships between males and females between and within generations are, excepting the husband-wife tie, well-defined by the incest taboo and/or affective ties that contribute to the solidarity of the group.

128 Certain assumptions are made about the Yąnomamö by reducing their social organization to a model of this sort. First, I have drawn the model with a sex-ratio of 1.0. Second, sibships are shown to be equal in size and identical in composition, i.e., each contains an equal number of males and females. Third, all individuals are married to a single person. Fourth, no deaths and remarriages have taken place. Fifth, the model does not specify whether or not any of the women are pregnant or nursing. Sixth, no military pressures from the outside are shown, nor are political commitments to cede women to allies. Seventh, all males are presumed to have similar political ability and do not compete for village leadership. The list of assumptions could be extended, but would not add to the point made by the seven already given: factors external to the model constantly impinge upon the relationships described in the model, causing the relationships to alter according to the stresses brought about by the external forces.

By adding a few more individuals to Generation 1 and

Thus, while Figure 1 serves as a rough model of the ideal Yanomamö village, it does so to only a very limited degree; we are obliged to make faulty assumptions concerning the factors that influence the relationships between individuals included in the model.

Figure 2 gives the simplified genealogical structure of Lower Bisaasi-tedi, the smallest village for which I have adequate genealogical data.[1] This village is divided into two factions, shown as A and B in Figure 2.[2] Faction A is comprised of a local segment of the Sha lineage, a man and his adult children (4 sons and 1 living daughter), and the individuals or families that are attached to this group. Faction B, similarly, is a composite group consisting of the descendents of a man who married into the Sha lineage in the distant past. For sake of convenience, I will call the core political group of Faction B a local segment of the Tom patrilineage, for it behaves as such.[3] It should be noted

[Text Continued on Page 123]

[1] Not all individuals of this village are shown in Figure 2. Appendix A gives the complete genealogies of all individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi. The numbers shown on Figure 2 correspond to the numbers given in the list of residents and genealogy in Appendix A.

[2] Figure 2 takes into consideration classificatory aspects of the kinship system. That is, some of the relationships indicated in the figure are biologically incorrect. The reader will have to refer to the genealogy in Appendix A for purely biological relationships among the individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.

[3] The Tom (from Tomorowä) is not represented in any other Namowei-tedi village, although females of this lineage have married men who are presently living in other Namowei-tedi villages such as Patanowä-tedi, where their living descendents are presently found. (See Appendix A genea-

[Footnote 3 Continued on Page 123]

128 that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of
*621 two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.
● 613

There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is
162 not representative of the typical Yąnomamö village: the sex
*621 ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as
*628 there are males in the village, and the group is politically
562 stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within
583 this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mąmaribąwei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises
[529] two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed
[574] in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of
[726] Bisaasi-tedi.

*621 The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a
622 number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More
613 importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to
602 each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawä, has astutely manipulated

---

128 logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a
*621 number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity
*628 of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace
613 their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawä-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absense of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Reromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-in-law. Reromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the village. He has four adult sons to support his position. Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[1] His son, Bäkëbowë, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Reromawë is getting old.

actual brothers of these women were killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast,[1] and the women therefore had few agnates to contest Reromawë's actions; his rights to dispose of these women increased after their brothers were killed in the feast. Because of the previous marriages between the members of the Shá and Tom lineages, Reromawë was already MoBr to the politically most important males in the Tom lineage, and he could command respect from them by virtue of the fact that he was of the ascending generation and principal wife-giver to them. He in fact gave two daughters to one of these men. When he re-defined one of his classificatory daughters as sister, he advanced his position in two ways. First, he then became shoriwë to the man that was married to this sister (the man was already SiSo to Reromawë), compounding the cognatic tie (SiSo) that linked them with an important affinal tie (shoriwë). Second, he was able then to claim a daughter of this 'sister' as a wife for his own son (despite the fact that it was incestuous), creating additional stable ties between the two lineages on another generational level.

In another, similar, case, Reromawë re-defined a different classificatory daughter as 'sister,' making it possible for her son to marry his daughter. This was a strategic move, for the man involved was of the Hor lineage, a dominant political group in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. Thus, by manipulating the kinship system, Reromawë advanced his own position as village leader and managed to

[1] See Chapter V.

*621
622
613
602 subordinate his potential competitors by the way in which he disposed of the women and/or their children.

*621
613
602
562
582
583 There are a number of individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi who are not related agnatically to either the Sha or the Tom lineages. These individuals do not, however, constitute a political bloc; each is tied by marriage to the two lineages, and are therefore subordinate (by virtue of obligations to their wife-givers) to the members of that lineage. Most of these individuals are females, and do not represent a political factor in the affairs of the village. Some of them were abducted from Shamatari villages in the past, and a larger number of them were obtained in marriage alliances from other Shamatari recently. The six adult males of this non-agnatic group who might pose a threat to the stability of the village by making liaisons with married women are all married themselves. With the exception of two brothers, they are unrelated to each other. One of them is married to Reromawä's daughter, another is married to his son's daughter, and the two brothers (actual WiBrSo to Reromawä) are married, respectively, to Reromawä's classificatory son's daughter in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and will move there while he does his bride service, and a classificatory brother's daughter.[1] The remaining two men are in Faction B. One of these joined Reromawä's group before 1945 to get revenge against the

[1] This woman is one of the seven abducted by the Monou-tedi from the Patanowä-tedi and taken, in turn, by Reromawä's group from the Monou-tedi. Technically, then, Reromawä is her 'father' and the man to whom she was given is 'son-in-law' to Reromawä. See Chapter V.

*621 members of his own village, Hasaböwä-tedi, who killed his
• 613 father. Reromawä's group was then actively raiding Hasaböwä-
602 tedi. The man was given a wife in Reromawä's village, the
562 widow of a Tom man killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast.
582 The man's two daughters are married to Sha men.[1] The last
583 man and his family joined Reromawä's group in 1965 to take refuge from his own villagers, the Mǫmariböwei-tedi, some of whom wanted to take his wives away from him for being brutal. He had previously given a daughter to a Tom man and when he was forced to flee from his own village, took refuge with his son-in-law. Appendix A gives more details on each individual discussed above.

*628 Lower Bisaasi-tedi has political ties with a number
582 of villages. It has recently (since 1960) entered into al-
583 liance with two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mǫmariböwei-tedi, and has managed to obtain a number of women from the latter village as wives for young bachelors
*628 in the group. The Mǫmariböwei-tedi visit them frequently to
627 feast and trade, and the members of Lower Bisaasi-tedi
574 reciprocate the visits. The ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi
438 and the Mǫmariböwei-tedi are nearly as strong as the ties
602 between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and any of its cognate villages to whose members the Lower Bisaasi-tedi are agnatically re-
*628 lated. Of the villages that are cognate to Lower Bisaasi-tedi,
602 Monou-tedi is perhaps the most dependable ally, because the

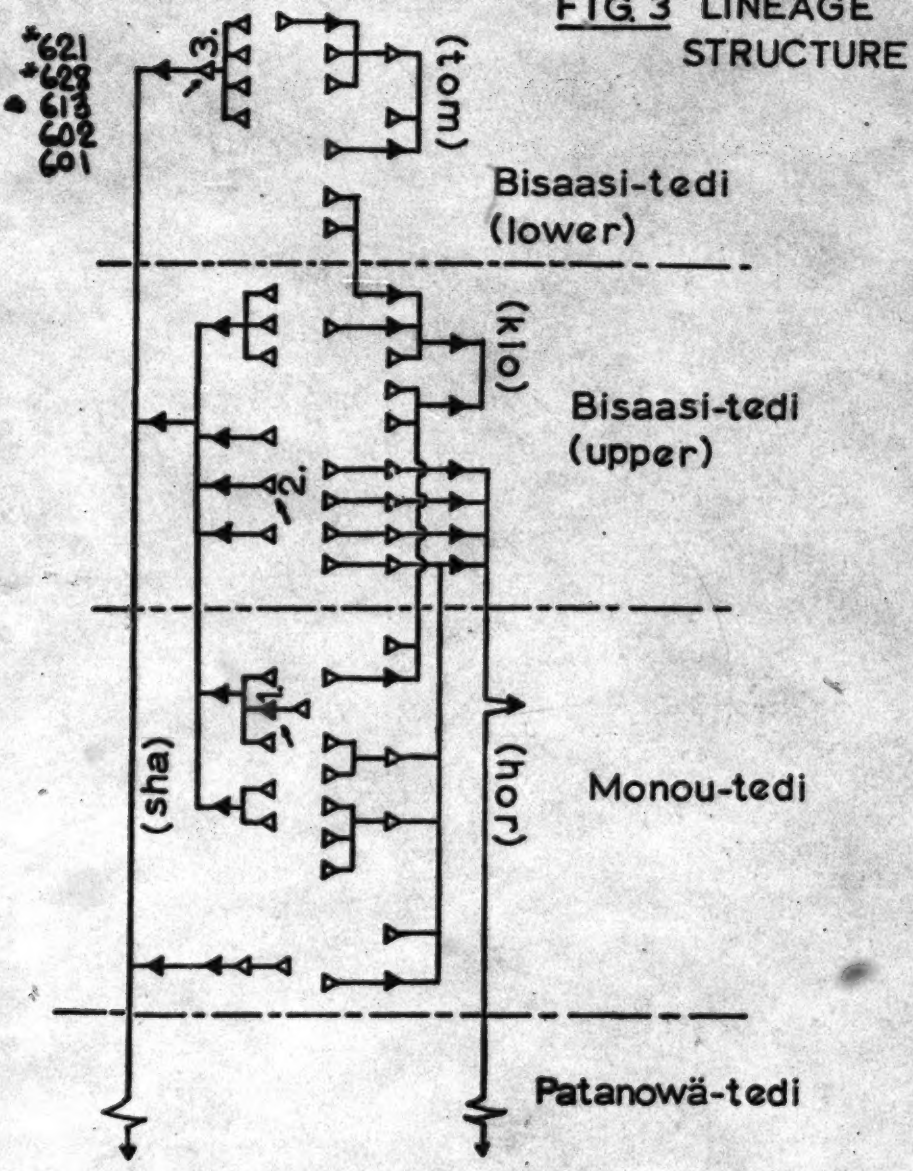
---

[1] Reromawä's actual son, and Reromawä's classificatory son in Upper Bisaasi-tedi.

*628 Lower Bisaasi-tedi gave its members refuge during the times
[602] when the Monou-tedi were threatened by raids from the Patanowä-
tedi. The closest neighbor, geographically, to Lower Bisaasi-
[361] tedi is Upper Bisaasi-tedi (a mere 400 meters upstream), the
[613] dominant political group of that village being a segment of
the Sha lineage. The two villages, however, behave quite in-
dependently in their alliance patterns. Lower Bisaasi-tedi's
political interests are in the Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi at the present
time, whereas Upper Bisaasi-tedi's interests are in the
*628 Reyabobǫwei-tedi, Karohi-tedi, and Widokaiya-tedi. In the
726 war against the Patanowä-tedi, both the Lower and Upper
Bisaasi-tedi aid the Monou-tedi by providing warriors for the
raiding parties, and by giving refuge to the Monou-tedi when
raiding is particularly intense.

*621 Lower Bisaasi-tedi is a cohesive, well-integrated,
162 stable village. Much of the stability and cohesiveness de-
562 rives from the fact that there is not a shortage of women and
571 there are well-defined patterns of behavior for all members
*628 vis-à-vis others. But, Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not a militarily
722 viable group. It could not last long as an independent vil-
lage if the warfare situation became intense; the group is not
completely independent of the Upper Bisaasi-tedi village. At
least once during my field work the Lower Bisaasi-tedi group
coalesced with the Upper group when a raid from the Patanowä-
tedi seemed imminent. And, if raiding from the Patanowä-tedi
began, the group would have to merge with Upper Bisaasi-tedi
for defense purposes. When I began my field work in 1964,

FIG 3 LINEAGE STRUCTURE



621 628 578 602 622 reduced to the weakness of the tie between remotely related agnates of the same age, and their rivalry for both women and leadership. The leaders of the three villages are all members of the same lineage.[1] It can be seen in Figure 3 that the headmen of the villages (indicated as 1, 2, and 3) are all agnates, each belonging to a different local segment of the lineage.[2]

621 622 602 613 578 As was shown in the last chapter, the ties between distantly related agnates of the same age are probably the most ambiguous and weakest ties in Yanomamö kinship. The feuds that developed within the large, composite village could not be satisfactorily resolved by the leaders of the village, as each leader's segment had more important and stronger ties with local segments of other lineages, and local segments of the same lineage aligned themselves with their affines in disputes against the factions of their agnates. 621 628 602 613 When the village split, it separated along the weakest lines: agnates that were distantly related dispersed to different villages with the groups to which they were more closely bound, their affines. The same is true of the separation of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi from the Patanowä-tedi. Factions A and B of Lower Bisaasi-tedi, when put into the larger,

---

[1] In 1965 the Sha headman of Monou-tedi was killed by the Patanowä-tedi in a raid.

[2] The Sha lineage is shown on the left half of the diagram; it extends to Patanowä-tedi, as does the Hor lineage shown on the right side. Patanowä-tedi's composition is simply an enlarged version of any of the other villages shown in the diagram, and its headmen come from the Sha and Hor lineages.

composite group shown in Figure 3, would behave as a single faction as opposed to all other groups in the composite village, for the ties that unite them to each other by marriage are more stable and better defined than the ties that unite the Sha portion of Lower Bisaasi-tedi to the Sha portions of Upper Bisaasi-tedi or Monou-tedi. In structural terms, large villages are congeries of dual organizations each with separate political interests that have largely to do with maximizing their own access to women. Individuals in any particular dual organization are more closely related, consanguineally, to members in other dual organizations, but their political fate is tied up in their relationships to affines, not agnates. They are supported in internal feuds by their close agnates only, and their brothers-in-law; distant agnates are potential rivals for the women in the village, and relationships between such men is restrained and potentially hostile. Leaders of local segments of one lineage cannot expect political support from agnates of the same age; for these reasons, local segments of the same lineage tend to separate from each other when the village splits.

The histories of the villages show that hostility between recently established cognate villages is a common feature of the settlement dynamics and social organization of the Yanomamö. Appendix A gives the composition of all Namowei-tedi villages by patrilineage affiliation; it is apparent that the war between the Patanowä-tedi and the Monou-tedi is largely a war between agnatically related kinsmen.

*621 *628 • 613 602 It is more than coincidental that the composition of both Monou-tedi and Patanowë-tedi is more similar in terms of Sha and Hor lineages than the similarity between any other two Namowei-tedi villages. Patanowë-tedi is merely an enlarged version of Monou-tedi in composition, there being more agnatic ties between these two groups in the Hor and Sha lineages than between any other pair of Namowei-tedi villages. Yet the hostilities between them are very intense.

*621 162 B. Village Size and Warfare

Yąnomamö villages range in size from 40 to 250 individuals. Both limits are determined by the nature of Yąnomamö warfare, but the upper limit is set in large measure by the capacity of kinship and leadership to organize the internal affairs of the village. This capacity diminishes as village size increases.

*621 162 722 The largest Yąnomamö village for which I have complete census data is Patanowë-tedi, a group comprising 212 individuals. The Patanowë-tedi assert that their southern neighbors and allies, the Ashadowë-tedi, are even more numerous, and that a number of Shamatari villages are, in turn, larger than Ashadowë-tedi. It is doubtful, however, that the numbers involved excede 250 per village. Villages of this size, as we have mentioned for Patanowë-tedi, tend to fragment into smaller groups when threat of war subsides, and these smaller groups re-combine to form a larger village when warfare again threatens one or all of the colonies. The reason villages

18:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

time illustrates the weakness of the agnatic bonds.

When villages split, large lineages are redistributed by local descent group affiliation among the several newly established villages. These new groups tend to be quite small, but never fall below a population size of about 40 people for reasons having to do with the successful conduct of raiding. These small villages tend to approximate a dual organization of intermarrying local descent groups. Newly formed villages enter into military alliances with other villages and exchange women with them. Over time, such exchanges alter the homogeneity of the respective villages and promote the development of new lineage segments within each village. As the village grows in size and as new segments emerge over time, internal village stability reduces and the village then splits again. Village splitting is frequently delayed or inhibited by the existence of an active group of enemies, and even after such a split the newly-established villages may reunite when threat of raid is imminent. When military pressures decrease, the village again fragments into smaller groups. The minimum size of these groups is set by the number of adult men required to effectively conduct raiding. It appears that these small villages would fragment into even smaller groups if warfare were to cease.

000 the factions still remain on friendly terms.

*62 *62 59 59 72 105 Material presented in the discussion above--details of the movements of factions that are not relevant to the origin of the five villages considered here--also support the contention that villages split over internal feuds. That villages are structurally unstable is evidenced by the sheer number of village splits and the fact that the related factions enter into hostilities with each other after separating. Data I collected on village movements for other Yanomamö groups support the conclusions I reach here.

*62 *62 60 58 58 105 [613] One can see that the process of village splitting leads to the formation of independent villages that comprise closely-related kinsmen. Intuitively, one can also see that marriages "between" such villages, i.e., between spouses that each claim to be of different villages, do not necessarily represent political alliances between those villages, for in many cases the marriages were contracted between the local lineages involved before they separated. This is not to say that all the cases of this sort can be dismissed in this fashion. Some marriages between ambilateral cross-cousins are in fact properly interpreted as marriage alliances between villages, for occasionally related villages enter into alliances with each other. In these cases, the marriages between them come about for essentially the same reasons that the exogamic marriages between unrelated groups occur. In short, the existence of the marriage rule alone does not account for alliances between related groups that enter into politico-military pacts.

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

121
SF
602
613

two major structural problems: the lack of corporate functions of the local descent groups due to the nature of the corporation's estate, and the ambiguous nature of agnatic kinship ties. Within a framework such as this, affinal ties are capable of promoting solidarity between corporate groups because marriages among the Yanomamö are political alliances that involve military obligations. Local descent groups enter into marriage alliances to advance their military status; the context, therefore, within which marriages are contracted decidely influences the relationships between the corporate groups in question.

121

The debate between Fortes and Leach arose out of the interpretation of the importance of matrilateral kinship ties in patrilineal societies, as these ties are the focal points in any analysis of the means by which solidarity is achieved between corporate descent groups. Briefly, Fortes maintained that the solidarity between lineal descent groups was ultimately due to the inherent tendency of kinship to promote amity. Leach, on the other hand, argues that such an analysis confuses affinal relationships with descent and fails to take notice of the effects of the economic and political contexts within which marriages take place.

Leach drew attention to the fact that ethnological perspectives developed from analyses of patrilineal societies such as the Nuer, Tiv, and Tallensi have biased later workers to focus their attention on lineal corporations and on the common descent ties between corporations when they analyze

114 12 602 Among the Yąnomamö consanguineal kinship does not have the quality attributed to kinship in general by Fortes, and we therefore cannot explain the stability that exists in terms of these alleged properties. The fact that affinal ties do promote a certain amount of stability between Yąnomamö descent groups supports Leach's arguments, and, for the reasons implied by Leach: Yąnomamö marriages occur within a political context that promotes military obligations and concomitants not predictable from first principles regarding the putative nature of kinship itself. Descent groups exchange [413] [513] [582] [722] [581] women with an eye toward maximizing military advantage in a milieu of hostile political relationships. The stability brought about by such marriages is, therefore, largely a function of the politico-military ends served by marriage and is only tangentially, if at all, a result of kinship.

12 I would also like to discuss the nature of the relationship between corporation and descent from another point of view, for the nature of the estate of the Yąnomamö descent corporation gives a particular quality to the corporation. Most corporate lineal descent groups have as one of their major functions the control over and disposition of property. The property is usually real property. Pastoralists, of course, have as their estates, herds and use rights to forage areas. Some Northwest Coast and northern California tribes have corporate groups whose estates are acorn groves and portions of salmon streams.

In addition to real property, corporate groups

121 having such estates, particularly in those societies to
613 which real estate is totally irrelevant. The Yąnomamö
562 corporate estate consists entirely of rights in disposing
421 of female members belonging to that corporation. As such, males and females have different kinds of shares in the corporation. Males, on the average, tend to inherit more rights, while females tend to inherit more duties and obli-
[423] [341] gations. Land to the Yąnomamö is not a scarce item, as they are pioneer slash-and-burn horticulturists expanding into
[424] virgin territory.[1] Myths, names and ritual functions do not comprise elements in these corporations.[2]

121 It would seem important to distinguish between lineal descent corporations which control property and those which do not, as Befu and Plotnicov (1962) have done. A further distinction, however, seems warranted on the basis of the data presented here: between <u>societies</u> having any corporate groups that control real property and societies that have corporate descent groups, none of which have control over property as their estate. The possession of real estate tends to reinforce the lineality of corporate descent groups in both dogma and composition,[3] and invites the addition of

---

[184] [1]This is true of the Mavaca Basin Yąnomamö. Elsewhere the Yąnomamö may not be pioneers, but land is not scare in those areas either.

[2]I am aware that the Yąnomamö have lineally transmitted totems; these have nothing to do with the descent group recruitment or its estate.

[3]See Meggitt, 1965, for an excellent account of the relationship of agnatic kinship, real property, and lineage

121 new functions for the corporation, thus leading to greater integration among its members. These qualities are weak or absent in descent corporations which lack real property.

[43] [123] The Yanomamö descent group corporation, therefore, presents a number of theoretical problems not encountered in the study of societies having corporations whose estate consists, above all, of real property.[1]

One of the problems is the definition of the group by a criteria other than descent alone; both descent and residence are critical in recruiting members to the corporation. The factor of residence as a criterion of recruiting members into corporate groups has been dealt with by Firth (1957). He showed how residence was critical in establishing affiliation to 'ambilateral' (ramage) descent groups among the Tikopians, and how individuals, in some cases, have a choice ('option') in affiliating with one of a number of lines of descent in, for example, the Maori hapu. Although Firth argued that property alone was not the basis of the individual choices,

---

dynamics and Sahlins (1963) for a discussion of the important difference between group dogma and group composition.

[1] I do not think that the problems raised can be satisfactorily solved by classifying corporations by function. The Yanomamö have a solidarity problem largely, I feel, because the descent groups compete rather than cooperate. It would seem that the overall integration of this or any society would be enhanced by the existence of additional corporate group functions besides the disposition of marriageable females. In order to appreciate the contribution land controlling corporations have in total social integration, we must distinguish landed societies from others.

121 he acknowledged that the corporation did in fact function in the context of property control as well, suggesting once again that the nature of the estate (land) accounts for the quality of the corporation: that is, that the functions of the corporation are seen to lie largely in the regulation of real estate.

Leach (1963)[1] drew attention to the analytical significance of the local descent group in terms of its function in arranging marriages. He argued that the social groups that arrange marriages in tribal societies are essentially the same in all such societies: they comprise local males of three generations who live together. Membership in these social groups necessarily depends on residence. Yąnomamö descent groups are of this type: to participate in the disposition 121 • 613 602 [611] *[621] [584] of local females, one must be related to the patrilineally, as well as live in the same village with them. Both the importance of the marriage arranging functions of the Yąnomamö descent group and the lack of other corporate functions seems to account for the fact that affinal ties promote inter-group solidarity in a way that consanguineal ties can not.

121 On the basis of these findings, Leach's approach to the analysis of social organization would seem to hold more promise in the analysis of marriage alliance systems. To the extent that cultural variables such as warfare and the nature of marriage ties demonstrably affect the outcome of

---

[1] The article to which I refer, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," was originally published in 1951.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

APPENDIX A

*621
- 613
162

VILLAGE COMPOSITION AND GENEALOGY OF LOWER BISAASI-TEDI

1. Lower Bisaasi-tedi

Lineage	Male	Female	Totals
Sha	9	7	16
Tom	9	3	12
Nor	1	2	3
Kio	2	4	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	1	1	2
Total	25	26	51

2. Upper Bisaasi-tedi

Sha	11	13	24
Nor	8	5	13
Kio	5	11	16
Kah	5	3	8
Shamatari	3	7	10
Rob	0	1	1
Other	5	8	13
Total	37	48	85

3. Moncu-tedi

Sha	11	9	20
Nor	15	8	23
Kio	3	3	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	2	3	5
Total	34	32	66

209

*621
• 613
162

4. Patanowë-tedi

Lineage	Male	Female	Total
Hor	58	33	91
Sha	25	14	39
Rob	14	15	29
Kah	17	8	25
Kar	1	3	4
Shamatari	2	6	8
Ashadowë-tedi	0	5	5
Other	5	6	11
Total	122	90	212

*621 162 551 613 Lower Bisaasi-tedi inhabitants. (Numbers preceding names correspond to those next to individuals given in genealogies.)

Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
1. Ahimi	Hor	F	20	
2. Ahimi's son	Sha	M	0.2	
3. Auhewä	Tom	M	25	
4. Auhewä's son	Tom	M	1	
5. Auma	Kio	M	21	
6. Bäkäböwä	Sha	M	29	Becoming headman
7. Bäkäböwä's da.	Sha	F	1	
8. Boarama	Shamatari	F	6	Alliance
9. Bokosiwä	Sha	M	23	
10. Caraca-tedi	Sha	M	3	
11. Didihoma	-	F	5	See p. 213
12. Dimörama	Shamatari	F	20	See p. 213
13. Dodoiwä	Tom	M	52	
14. Heihunioma	Sha	F	19	
15. Hekäwaiyowä	Sha	M	2	
16. Hesiwä	Tom	M	65	
17. Hikarima	Shamatari	F	36	Abducted
18. Hoahemi	Kio	F	52	
19. Huimashima	Sha	F	6	
20. Irokaweikä	Sha	M	20	
21. Kakoma	Sha	F	19	Abducted, see p. 213
22. Kakoma's da.	Kio	F	0.1	
23. Katabema	Shamatari	F	3	See p. 213
24. Kɵobauwä	Kio	M	26	
25. Krämi	Kio	F	20	
26. Mamorakomi	Shamatari	F	34	See p. 214
27. Mamoshiklabema	Tom	M	4	
28. Manasinawä	-	M	56	See p. 214
29. Nioremi	Sha	F	28	
30. Monokoiwä	Tom	M	13	
31. Monomi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance

	Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
32.	Monomi's Da.	Tom	F	0.2	
33.	Nakakami	Sha	F	56	
34.	Niaiyowë	Sha	M	14	
35.	Ömonoiwë	Tom	M	28	
36.	Reromawë	Sha	M	53	Headman
37.	Rosa	Sha	F	8	
38.	Ruwisa	Tom	F	7	
39.	Shiborowë	Shamatari	M	35	See p. 214
40.	Tiaböwë	Shamatari	M	5	See p. 214
41.	Tomahewë	Tom	M	21	
42.	Tomasi	Tom	M	6	
43.	Ugushi	Hor	M	22	
44.	Waiimi	Hor	F	21	
45.	Waiyamobemi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance
46.	Waiyamobemi's son	Sha	M	0.5	
47.	Waiyuruma	Shamatari	F	50	Abducted
48.	Wakarabewë	Shamatari	M	16	Son-in-law to #6
49.	Yëbënëma	Kio	F	33	
50.	Yareama	Shamatari	F	2	See p. 214
51.	Yotoma	Tom	F	24	

Comments on particular individuals

1. Ahimi. Her present husband (Bokosiwë) visited the Patanowë-tedi within the past 5 years. Ahimi then lived in Patanowë-tedi and was married to a Sha man there (Makoakuwë), by whom she had already had one daughter (Huimashima). When Bokosiwë returned to Bisaasi-tedi, Ahimi followed him, taking her daughter with her, and became Bokosiwë's wife. As the Patanowë-tedi were technically at war with the Bisaasi-tedi, there was not much they could do to recover the woman. As they also wanted to make peace with Bisaasi-tedi, they did not press the matter.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

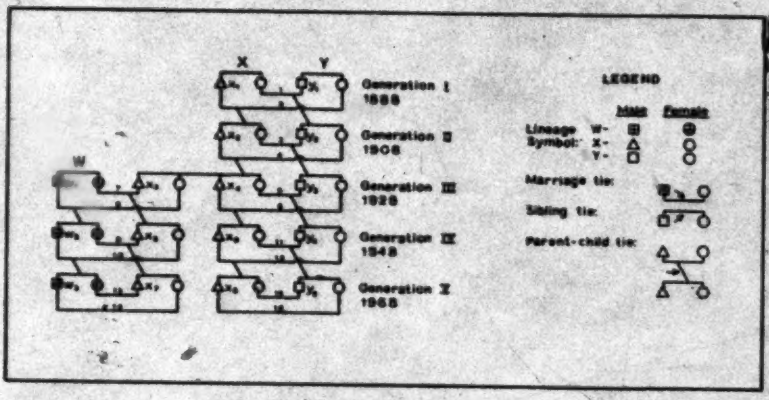


Fig. 3–1. Ideal Yąnomamö marriage pattern.

Fig. 3–1 can be presumed to represent the organization of a particular village over five generations, starting in the year 1888. Let us assume that the village originated in that year when individuals x_1 (and his sister, not numbered) and y_1 (and his sister) broke away from a larger village and established their own garden at some new location. Thus, in the year 1888, the village was comprised of two groups of kinsmen, X and Y. These two kinship groups are called lineages, the distinctive features of which I will discuss later.

In generation I, x_1 married the sister of y_1 and, in exchange, gave his own sister to y_1 as wife. This marriage practice is called *brother-sister* exchange and characterizes Yąnomamö marriage behavior. A man is under considerable obligation to *reciprocate* a woman to the kinship group from which he has taken one. In Fig. 3–1, x_1 married y_1's sister and reciprocated the exchange by giving his own sister to y_1. Because of this obligation of reciprocity, kinship groups become interdependent socially and form pairs of woman-exchanging kin groups. These paired kinship groups are discussed below in the context of village fissioning.

In generation II of Fig. 3–1, the village still contains only two groups of intermarrying kinsmen. These are the children of the individuals who founded the village. The reciprocal exchanges of women between the two groups of kinsmen (lineages X and Y) continue in the second generation, x_2 getting his wife from lineage Y and vice versa. Like their fathers, x_2 and y_2 exchanged sisters. It will be noted at this point that x_2 has married his mother's brother's daughter, who is simultaneously his father's sister's daughter.[1] This is a logical consequence of the fact that there are only *two* lineages in

[1]This is called bilateral cross-cousin marriage. See glossary for definitions. Hereafter the following abbreviations will be used, following Murdock, 1949: Mo—mother; Fa—father; Br—brother; Si—sister; So—son; and Da—daughter. Thus, "mother's brother's daughter" is simply MoBrDa.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the village, the members of which being related to each other as brother and sister, and the fact that individuals must marry outside their own lineages.

The important features of the lineages X and Y are now clearly visible in generation II: The lineages are patrilineal and exogamous. That is, males and females belong to the lineage of their father (patrilineality), and individuals must marry people who belong to a different lineage (exogamy). This can be seen more clearly in the symbols used in Fig. 3-1. All males of lineage X are designated by triangles (x_1, x_2, x_3 . . . x_8), and all females of lineage X are designated by hexagons. Similarly, all males of lineage Y are designated as squares and all females by circles. Males of lineage X marry females of lineage Y. Their children belong to lineage X because their *father* (patrilineality) is of lineage X.

The Yąnomamö kinship system also reflects the rules of lineage exogamy, brother-sister exchange and reciprocity. Their kinship system is called the "bifurcate merging" type with "Iroquois" cousin terms (see Glossary). Within each generation, all the males of one lineage call each other "brother," and all the women call each other "sister." Males of lineage X call males of lineage Y "brother-in-law" and are eligible to marry their sisters. In fact, the males of lineage X call the females of lineage Y "wife" *whether or not they marry them.* This is likewise true for the males of lineage Y with respect to the females of lineage X. This brings us to another important Yąnomamö marriage rule: A male must marry a woman of the category called *suaböya*—"wife." This is called a *prescriptive* marriage rule.[2] To state it more precisely, Yąnomamö society is characterized by a rule that enjoins a man to marry a woman of a specific kinship category; he has no choice with respect to the category.

There is an important controversy over the meaning and implications of the term "prescriptive." I have given the definition held by British anthropologists generally, by Needham (1962*a*:9) in particular. This definition emphasizes the fact that men have no choice with respect to the category of women from which their wives must come, that men are forbidden to marry women of other categories, and that the society itself is said to be characterized by the prescriptive rule. The opposition to this definition comes largely from certain American anthropologists, who maintain that a society can only be said to have a prescriptive marriage rule when a high percentage (close to 100 percent) of the people marry according to the rule (see Coult and Hammel 1963:291). The issues involved are not quite as simple as this, but a glimmering of the area of contention can be seen in an example provided by Leach (1965). Rephrasing his example, the rule (in our society) "thou shalt not kill" is like the rule (among, say, the Yąnomamö) "thou shalt marry a woman of category A." These rules can be said to exist in the respective societies irrespective of the homocide rate in New York or the frequency of aberrant marriages in a Yąnomamö village. That is, Leach (and Needham) maintain that one cannot discover such a rule by counting examples of murder (or, rather, "non-murder") or marriages of men to women of category A. The more basic issue, however, is the

[2]Professor Lévi-Strauss, who read an earlier draft of this chapter, quite correctly pointed out that to say a marriage system is "prescriptive" is to say no more than "a man must marry a marriageable female," which is a tautology. Nevertheless, we must have some way to distinguish a system that permits marriage with only a single category of women from those that permit marriage with women of several categories. By showing what is meant by the Yąnomamö category *suaböya*, as I have attempted to do in Fig. 3-2, the reader will gain some idea of what is meant by that marriage type. I have used the term "prescriptive" because it is the current usage.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

meaning of, in this case, "category A." It is customary to represent primitive kinship categories in models (for example, Fig. 3–1) by their closest biological equivalents in *our own kinship system*. Many critics of Needham's definition of prescription fail to appreciate the fact that *FaSiDa* and *MoBrDa* in a model like the one given in Fig. 3–1 represent just *two* of several kinds of kinswomen who fall into the prescribed category. That is, they interpret the native's kinship category from the narrow point of view of one of that category's biological meanings in *our own kinship system*. (I have given ten examples of actual Yąnomamö marriages in Fig. 3–2, discussed later, to illustrate what the categories FaSiDa and MoBrDa mean to the Yąnomamö.) The use of Needham's definition of prescription to characterize Yąnomamö marriage rules can be justified, therefore, on several grounds. First, the Yąnomamö assert that a man must marry a woman of the *tuaböya* category. Second, of the six primary categories used by men to classify female relatives, five of them embrace women who stand in incestuous relationship to the male speaker, and he is forbidden to marry any woman that falls into any of these five additional categories. Third, we will see below how closely the alternative definition of prescription fits the Yąnomamö, using their own notions of kinship to reckon relationships between males and females.[3]

In Fig. 3–1, marriageable women are related to their husbands as both FaSiDa and MoBrDa; this is an artifact of the way in which the model is drawn. These two kinds of kinswomen are the closest biological equivalents in our kinship system for the Yąnomamö term "*tuaböya*:" "wife." It must be emphasized, however, that given the classificatory nature of the Yąnomamö kinship system (for example, men of the same generation and of the same lineage are "brothers"), there are several ways to be related to a woman as "wife."

Something new has happened in generation III. A man (w_1) from a distant village, along with his sister, has joined the group. Both he and his sister have married into lineage X. Thus, there are three lineages represented in the village (W, X, and Y), and the *dual organization* characterizing generations I and II is now lost.[4] A Yąnomamö village can incorporate new lineages into its social life by an extension of marriage ties to its members. As can be seen from Fig. 3–1, the same rules—exogamy, reciprocity, patrilineal descent, and brother-sister exchange—that characterize the behavior of the members of lineages X and Y also hold for the members of the new lineage, W. The incorporation of lineage W takes place this way. W_1 joined the village in 1928 (generation III) because x_3 and x_4 promised him one of their sisters. As shown in Fig. 3–1, he did, in fact, marry one of their sisters and gave, in exchange, one of his sisters to x_3.

This (potentially) brings about an important structural change in the village with

[3]For an excellent summary of the various arguments concerning "prescriptive alliance," see Maybury-Lewis 1965*a*.

[4]A society is said to have dual organization when, for example, it is comprised of two intermarrying kinship groups, such as lineages X and Y in generations I and II of Fig. 3–1. In some societies the intermarrying kin groups are named, for example, "Bear Clan (or Moiety)" and "Thunderbird Clan (or Moiety)." The Yąnomamö do not have named kinship groups such as this. Dual organization is, however, implied in their kinship terminology and marriage rules and, as will be seen, villages tend to have two (and only two) politically dominant lineages that intermarry. In short, the Yąnomamö village tends to be comprised *in fact* of two dominant kinship groups but lacks some of the ideology, such as named pairs of intermarrying kin groups, of classical dual organization. See: Maybury-Lewis, 1960 and 1967; Lévi-Strauss, 1963, Chapter VIII; Ni[illegible]dajó and Lowie, 1927; and Malinowski, 1926, for further descriptions and analyses of societies having dual org[illegible]ion.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

128 582 621 613

respect to the male members of lineage X. Generation III shows that individuals x_3 and x_4 are full brothers. The individuals x_5 and x_8 of generation IV, however, are not shown as brothers, although in Yąnomamö kinship usage they would be such.

128 582 602 611 613

I have not indicated them as being related as brothers in order to draw attention to a fault line that may develop when the members of a single lineage (X in this case) marry into more than one other lineage (W and Y in this case). x_3 and one of his sisters married into lineage W, whereas x_4 and one of his sisters continued to exchange with members of lineage Y. In the following generation the kinship tie of "brother" between x_5 and x_8 is considerably weaker than the same "brother" tie between their fathers (x_3 and x_4). In generation V, the "brother" tie between x_7 and x_8 is weaker still. One of the reasons that *agnatic* ties[5] weaken in this case is that the men in question are drawn into intimate relationship with the kinship groups from which they obtain their wives and assume, because of the principle of reciprocity, obligations to their affinally related (that is, by marriage) kinsmen.

128 582 602 611 613 621

Secondly, because agnates of the same generation are "brothers," they can marry the same women and are, hence, competitors. In other words, the obligations to exchange women (reciprocity) can link the members of affinally related groups to each other more intimately than ties of blood between males of the same lineage. (This can be more readily seen in Figs. 3–5 and 3–6, discussed later, but it can also be partially illustrated here.) If the village shown in Fig. 3–1 were to split in generation V and form two new villages, lineage X would pull apart along the fault line shown. That is, parts of lineage X would end up in each of the two new groups because the affinal (marriage) ties between its members and their wife-givers are stronger than the agnatic ties within the lineage. Individual x_7 and his sister would form a new village with w_3 (and his sister) while x_8, his "brother" (agnate), would remain paired with lineage Y. Lineage X would therefore be represented in both of the two new villages; individuals x_7 and x_8 would "feel" even more remotely related because they now live in different villages, although they would continue to call each other "brother." Finally, the two new villages would again demonstrate the dual organization that characterized generations I and II of the original village of Fig. 3–1. For the sake of simplicity I have shown each married pair with only two children (except in generation III) so that the village remains constant in size, growing only by the addition of new members. In an actual village lineages X and Y might comprise up to 80 percent of the population so that the addition of a few new members such as w_1 would not appreciably alter the dual composition.

128 613 582 602 607

In Fig. 3–1, lineage X stands as wife-giver and wife-receiver with respect to the other two lineages. The significance of this relationship cannot be exaggerated in the analysis of Yąnomamö social organization. Its strength derives from the obligations kinship groups have toward each other once they enter into reciprocal marriage exchanges. The wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship is also reflected in the attitudes men have toward their affines, such as brothers-in-law, as opposed to attitudes toward distant agnates. A man is on very intimate terms with his brother-in-law, jokes with him, gives him possessions, and protects him; a man treats an agnate of the same age with great reserve and coolness and tends to be jealous of him. He cannot, for example, directly ask

[5]Kinship ties between patrilineally related kinsmen.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him to do a favor, whereas he could ask this of a brother-in-law.[6] As shall presently be seen, the dynamics of Yąnomamö social organization originate in the politics of obtaining a wife. Within this context, agnates are competitors and affines are allies. This has an important effect on the manner in which villages fission and form new groups. The point to remember at this juncture is that ties of marriage are in many cases stronger than ties of blood.

I emphasize this because many anthropologists argue from "first principles" that ties of blood are—by definition—more capable of promoting solidarity and amity than ties by marriage. The controversy over "complementary filiation" between E. R. Leach (1957) and M. Fortes (1959), still not satisfactorily resolved, was essentially a debate about the analytical significance of marriage ties. Focusing on only one of the issues and rephrasing the arguments so as to apply to Fig. 3–2, the debate ran something like this: Both Leach and Fortes seemed to agree that in societies having lineal descent groups (lineages), the descent groups would tend to fall apart unless some kind of tie bound the members to each other. That is, lineages X and Y of Fig. 3–2 would, in short, pull away from each other unless they were held together by some special social tie. Fortes argued that this special tie was the solidarity and amity that grew out of the cognatic (see Glossary) kinship ties between the two lineages which arise when individuals marry blood relatives. Looking at generation V, for example, Fortes would argue that lineages X and Y are bound to each other because x_8 and y_8 married women to whom they are related by blood (as FaSiDa and MoBrDa). He argues from first principles that solidarity emanates from the blood ties. Leach, however, states that in generation V the two lineages are bound to each other by obligations to reciprocate goods, services, and women and that the solidarity of the two lineages derives from the affinal ties themselves (shown as "15" and "16" in Fig. 3–2). If we look only at generation V, the argument cannot be resolved, since the data support both arguments equally well, or at least do not convincingly support one rather than the other. I might add that both arguments can be supported by data not given in Fig. 3–2; Fortes' arguments are supported, for example, by the additional fact that Yąnomamö men do not stringently have to avoid their mothers-in-law when they are related to them in the fashion shown in Fig. 3–2, whereas the avoidance taboo is very onerous when a man's mother-in-law is not a blood relative. If, however, attention is focused on the events of generation III and their consequences examined, it can readily be seen that the affinal (marriage) ties in generation V are stronger than some of the agnatic (blood) ties, and the latter break when the village fissions. (This can be even more readily seen in Fig. 3–4 and 3–5, discussed later.) Thus, it cannot be argued that Yąnomamö lineage solidarity derives exclusively from blood ties and "complementary filiation." There is another issue. Structural analyses depend in large measure on a sharp distinction between marriage (affinal) ties and blood (consanguineal) ties. Fortes seems to deny that affinal ties as such exist independently of blood ties, and he has "subsumed" them into his concept of "complementary filiation." If there is no such thing as affinal ties between lineal descent groups, then structural

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

[6] In addition, it is by no means rare for agnates to get into club fights over women. I even have recorded a number of cases of men shooting and killing a "brother" during raids. This happened on two occasions during my first stay in the field, and I have reports of several additional cases obtained from informants who were describing past raids.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

analysis of reciprocal marriage exchanges between such groups and the obligations implied in such exchange is seriously hampered. In short, if Yąnomamö marriage exchanges over a number of generations and the kinship basis of village fissioning are examined, the data support Leach's arguments. They do not, however, invalidate Fortes' argument that blood ties create some solidarity, but they do call into question the contention that blood ties by definition, or, rather, on "first principles," account exclusively for the solidarity occurring between lineages.

In summary, Fig. 3–1 represents a number of important features of Yąnomamö social organization. First, people reckon descent through males and are grouped into exogamous, patrilineal lineages. These are called *mashi* by the Yąnomamö, although none of them bear distinctive names.[7] Second, members of these lineages tend to intermarry with the members of a second lineage over a number of generations, being bound to them by obligations to reciprocate women in marriage. This results in a dual organization of kinsmen within the village, whose residents fall into one or the other of the two lineages. Third, new lineages can be incorporated into the village by an extension of marriage ties, potentially bringing about "structural faults" within the lineages of that village. Fourth, men are obliged to marry a woman of a single, specific category, *tuaböya*. This category defines a variety of women, two subcategories of which can be translated into the English biological equivalents MoBrDa and FaSiDa. Yąnomamö men prefer to marry women of these subcategories because they are relieved of much of the discomfort of avoiding their mothers-in-law.[8]

The ten partial genealogies shown in Fig. 3–2 show how the Yąnomamö actually marry. The genealogies have been selected with the intention of illustrating how the Yąnomamö reckon relationships between kinsmen in general, and between husband and wife in particular. All ten exemplify prescriptive marriage. They are more or less arranged in decreasing order of correspondence to our own biological concepts of kinship and illustrate the classificatory nature of their kinship system.

The people shown on these genealogies are (or were) real people. Many of the individuals in the examples are related to each other in such ways that all ten of the examples could be drawn as a single, unified genealogy.

The first eight examples are drawn from the village of Patanowä-teri; the last two are from Bisaasi-teri. In case J, for example, the fifth individual of the second generation is Kąobawä. To give a rough idea of the incompleteness of each genealogy, only one of Kąobawä's four marriages is shown and only one of his four children. None of his brothers and sisters are shown either, nor is the fact that he married a MoBrDa indicated.

Case A illustrates the identification procedure to be used in relating the genealogies to the text. There are three generations shown in case A; the first is symbolized by the Roman numeral I, the second, by II, the third, by III. Each individual in each generation is given a number; the number series runs from left to right and begins anew with 1 in each generation. Hence, every individual bears a generation number and a position-within-generation number. Case A illustrates the marriage of individuals III–1 to III–2;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[7] *Mashi* means "species," "group," "cluster of similar things," and, in the context of kinship, "that group of people to whom I am related through males;" that is, "patrilineal kinsmen."

[8] I draw attention to the fact that the category is *prescribed*, but within it there are *preferences*. There are very few analyses of societies that have a prescriptive rule within which there are preferences, although Needham has devoted some attention to this interesting phenomenon (1962*a*, 1962*b*, and 1963).

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

FaSiDa is the same as MoBrDa, and both are called by the same term, *suaböya*. Hence, to present the above examples as the Yąnomamö would explain them I would not have had to distinguish MoBrDa from FaSiDa, but rather would have had to use just one term; in every case presented, men married their *suaböya*. (This can be seen in the model shown in Fig. 3–1; each male married a woman who was simultaneously FaSiDa and MoBrDa, that is, *suaböya*, to him.)

Cases I and J: These are a little unusual, but I include them to give some idea of both the potentials of the Yąnomamö kinship system and the people who use it.

In case I, individual II–2 is the headman of Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawä's "father." He has considerable authority in the group. He arbitrarily redefined some of his classificatory daughters as sisters *so that his sons could marry their daughters*. Thus, the marriage of IV–1 to IV–2 is now considered to be legitimate because IV–1 could call his wife's mother his mother-in-law (FaSi), since his father redefined her as sister. Otherwise, it would be incest. Most of the people adjusted their kinship usage to fit the circumstances, but Kąobawä, who gave me the details of the manipulation, refused to adjust his own terms. The redefined women in question are his sisters, and he refused to call them FaSi.

I came upon this, and several identical cases, when I learned that the kinship usage between specific individuals did not reflect the equations implied by genealogies. (After I had collected extensive genealogies on four villages, I spent a considerable amount of time collecting kinship terms from specific individuals for every one of the some two thousand individuals included in the genealogies. This served as a cross-check on the genealogies, but uncovered a large number of incestuous and other interesting marriages that I might not have pinpointed otherwise.)

Case J brings out the full potential of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship. The man (III–1) married his *suaböya* according to the Yąnomamö, although he was not related to her by any blood ties. The justification for the marriage is the fact that III–1 calls all the women to whom his father and his father's brothers are married by the term for mother. Hence, he married his MoBrDa.

THE LINEAGE It was shown in Chapter 1 that villages fission to produce new groups. One of the consequences of this pattern is that in a given area there will be a number of villages whose members can trace genealogical ties to each other because they have common male ancestors. Because of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship, the interrelated members of two different villages will use kinship terms for each other that imply a closeness of relationship. Thus, Kąobawä has "brothers" in all of the villages that have a common history with his own. These men are usually parallel cousins one or two degrees removed, but brothers in terminological categories. (The lineage to which Kąobawä belongs is shown on Fig. 3–3, discussed later as the *Sha* lineage.)

The Yąnomamö do not name their lineages. I have named all the significant lineages after particular male individuals, usually a long-since-dead male whose generation is the last for which I have meaningful genealogies. Thus, the *Sha* lineage is named after a man called *Shamabiadima*, long dead. He and his brothers left many male descendants who today are distributed in several villages. In the history of the movements of Kąobawä's village, the *Sha* lineage has figured prominently in the affairs of the group. Similarly, the *Hor* lineage is named after a man called *Horiberiböwä*. The *Sha* and *Hor* lineages have a long history of marriage alliance and the living members of these two lineages constitute the greater fraction of the populations of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri,

Upper Bisaasi-teri, and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Table 1). Politically, they are either the two dominant lineages in each of the above-named villages or one of the two dominant lineages. For example, the headmen of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawä and Reromauwä, respectively, come from the *Shs* lineage. In Patanowä-teri there are two headmen, one from the *Shs* lineage and one from the *Hor* lineage. Finally, in Monou-teri, the headmanship shifted from the *Shs* lineage to the *Hor* lineage in 1965 because the *Shs* headman was killed in a raid by men from Patanowä-teri. I might add that he was killed by men of his own lineage to whom he was related as "brother." After he died, his brother-in-law, of the *Hor* lineage, assumed the leadership. It is not surprising that the headmanship shifted to this large, important group. In terms of sheer numbers, the *Hor* lineage (see Table 3–1) was stronger than the *Shs* lineage in Monou-teri. The distribution of political power within these two lineages underscores the dual organization of most Yąnomamö villages.

It is apparent from the foregoing example that the ties between agnates who live in different villages are not necessarily amicable. The most bitter fighting, in fact, takes place between members of different villages who are related to each other agnatically. It is not uncommon for men to kill their classificatory brothers in the ensuing raids. As a consequence of the killing of the Monou-teri headman, for example, the raiders from Monou-teri avenged his death by shooting Bosibrei of Patanowä-teri. The two men who actually killed Bosibrei were related to their victim as brothers. Similarly, Kąobawä himself shot Rakoiwä, the present *Shs* headman of Patanowä-teri, wounding him badly. He had shot to kill even though Rakoiwä was his older (classificatory) brother.

Once the lineage splits up and is redistributed in several villages, the ties between the men of that lineage weaken dramatically. And, as we shall see below, the fissioning of a village is frequently the result of a bitter club fight within the village over the possession of women. The result is that many villages that have a common history are at war with each other due to the nature of the feuds that led to their splitting away from the common village. The Patanowa-teri, for example, are at war with all three of the villages from which they originally separated (see Fig. 3–5, discussed later).

The kinship ties between agnates who live in the same village are likewise quite weak. They are strongest between a man and his younger brothers, for the age differences alone call forth a certain amount of respect and amity. An older man can be expected to aid his younger brothers in fights and help them to secure wives. In some cases, the younger man obtains his wife from a polygynous older brother; some men appear to accumulate extra wives with the intention of passing them on to their younger brothers. Kąobawä, for example, gave one of his wives to a younger brother and will probably give another wife to a second younger brother. (He is presently permitting the brother to share her sexual services.) Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, is quite jealous of the co-wives because they can command some of the tasty morsels of food that would otherwise be her own prerogative. And, since the younger wives are more attractive physically, Kąobawä does pay considerable attention to them. In Lower Bisaasi-teri, one of Kąobawä's classificatory brothers was forced by his older wife to get rid of his young, attractive second wife. The man gave her to an unmarried younger brother. He himself had acquired the younger wife as part of a political alliance he had made with the members of an allied village, knowing at the time that his first wife would object strenuously to the

TABLE 3-1

VILLAGE COMPOSITION BY LINEAGE MEMBERSHIP*

Lineage	Male	Female	Total
A. Lower Bisaasi-teri			
Sha	9	7	16
Tom	9	3	12
Hor	1	2	3
Kio	2	4	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	1	1	2
	25	26	51
B. Upper Bisaasi-teri (Kaobawä's group)			
Sha	11	14	25
Hor	8	5	13
Kio	5	11	16
Kah	5	3	8
Shamatari	3	7	10
Other	5	8	13
	37	48	85
C. Monou-teri			
Sha	11	9	20
Hor	15	8	23
Kio	3	3	6
Shamatari	3	9	12
Other	2	3	5
	34	32	66
D. Patanowä-teri			
Hor	58	33	91
Sha	39	29	68
Kah	17	8	25
Kar	1	3	4
Shamatari	2	6	8
Other	5	11	16
	122	90	212

*Revised version of Appendix A, Chagnon 1966.

transaction. Still, he took the girl. When domestic tranquility could no longer be maintained, he passed her on to his younger brother.

The relationship between a man and his brothers of approximately the same age are generally not amicable. Brothers of the same approximate age tend to be jealous of each other and treat one another with considerable reserve and respect. A man can directly ask an immature younger brother to execute some task for him, but he can

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally true should one of them be the village headman. Kąobawä can ask his youngest brothers to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village plaza to prepare the dance site, Kąobawä himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will join him, but only on their own initiative. He could not directly ask them to do this work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a younger brother to Kąobawä, but already a mature adult. I asked Kąobawä to help me get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around. By contrast, Kąobawä could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight, since the latter was not yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence, anxious to display personal autonomy.

Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many circumstances. Kąobawä continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary) his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar account.

In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers. That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage begins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogically more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Generation V of Fig. 3–1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.[9] Local descent groups have three characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a member of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife elsewhere, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

[9]Leach, 1951. Yąnomamö local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yąnomamö such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yąnomamö local descent groups closely fit Leach's definition.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

father. He can rejoin them later and again become an active member, but while he lives in a different village he does not participate in the political affairs of that group. Third, the group is *corporate* with respect to the functions of arranging the marriages of the female members. This is the most important single feature of the local descent group: its *function*. The first two characteristics of the group dealt only with the manner in which members can be recruited to the group (birth in the group and coresidence of such kinsmen). In anthropological usage, a corporation is a group of people who share some *estate* and have *rights* and *obligations* with respect to each other and to the estate. There are definite rules for recruiting new members into the corporation. Most studies of primitive corporations have dealt with those societies in which *land* is the estate of the corporation. (See, for example, Fried 1957.) Among the Yąnomamö, land has nothing to do with the functions of the corporate group. Women and rights to dispose of women in marriage constitute the estate of the Yąnomamö corporate groups. Leach is the first anthropologist to draw attention to the analytical importance of this kind of corporation (1961, Chapter 5), although Radcliffe-Brown (1953), in one of the first theoretical discussions of primitive corporations, emphasized the importance of rights over *persons* in some kinds of corporations.

Marriages are arranged by the male members of the local descent group. It cannot be supposed, for example, that the marriage rules automatically dictate the manner in which a woman is disposed in marriage; there are always some negotiations brought about by the situation. For example, a small village may require alliances with larger villages for purposes of defense, and the men of the small village may promise to give daughters to men in the larger village; or there may be a number of men within the village that stand in wife-receiving relationship to the girl, and a decision must be made regarding her ultimate disposition. In some cases a woman's daughters are promised to young men even before they are born. Generally, the girls are near puberty age by the time they are definitely given to a specific male, and they begin cohabiting with the man shortly after the puberty ceremony is over. In some situations a woman must be reassigned to an appropriate mate because her first husband died or abandoned her; or she might run away from a cruel husband and seek refuge among her brothers, bringing about a situation in which they must decide what to do with her.

Women abhor the possibility of being given to men in distant villages, since their fate is much less certain. Men in general are cruel to their wives, and the women rely on the protection of their brothers. A woman who is given to a man in a distant village, therefore, will generally have no brothers to protect her.

A man has considerably more say about the disposition of his daughters when he is young and has immature sons. As the sons grow older, they can overrule the father and insist that the girl be given to a man from some lineage that is likely to reciprocate with a sister. Ideally, women like to be given to men within their natal village. In this fashion the women can remain close to their own kinsmen and rely on the support of their brothers should the husband be particularly cruel. The best arrangement for everyone concerned is for the girl to be given to a man to whom she is related as FaSiDa or MoBrDa in the biological sense. Marriages of this kind exempt the husband from the onerous duty of stringently avoiding his parents-in-law, whereas they at the same time bind the wife-giving and wife-receiving groups more closely together in the system of reciprocities. As Kąobawä stated it, "It is good for groups to exchange women back and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Makiritare SS20

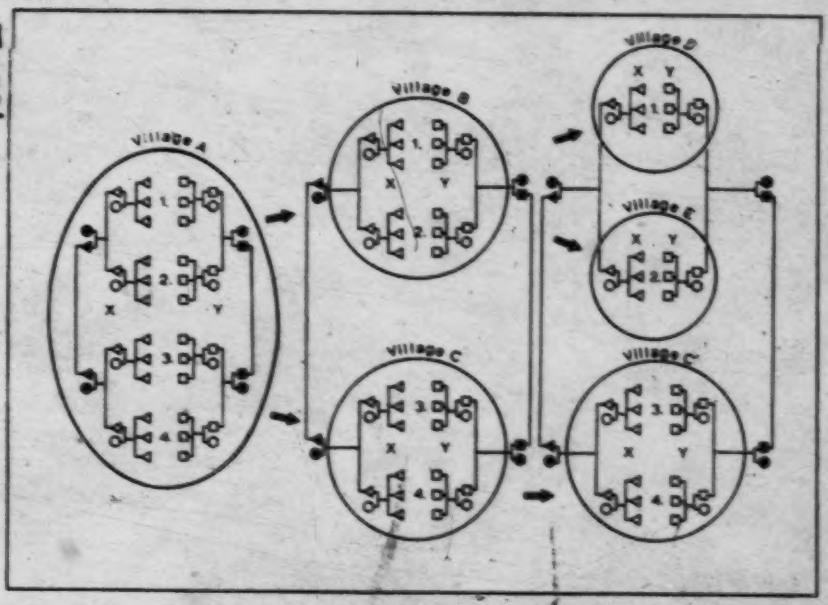
forth in this fashion. They will be good friends because of it."[10] If the girl marries a man of this category, the probability is high that she will remain in the village with her parents and brothers, since exchanges of this kind keep affinally linked local descent groups bound to each other.

The consequences of the corporate marriage-arranging functions of the local descent group can be most easily seen in the lineage basis for village fissioning, shown in Fig. 3–4. Briefly, the politics of arringing marriages are such that local descent groups of lineage X will pair with similar groups of lineage Y, and largely confine their marriage exchanges to those groups. Putting it more simply, each local descent group of lineage X will pair off with one local descent group of lineage Y, and stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to that group. When the village fisions, the paired local descent groups will be more strongly bound to each other by marriage ties than each is to the other local descent groups of its own lineage.

VILLAGE FISSIONING Fig. 3–4 presents the structural basis of village fissioning in terms of paired local descent groups. Village A contains two lineages, X and Y. Each lineage has four local descent groups. For simplicity of presentation, only the male

[10] I obtained a nearly identical explanation of reciprocal marriage exchanges of this kind from one of the Makiritare Indians, northern neighbors to the Yąnomamö. The Carib-speaking Makiritare have a prescriptive bilateral cross-cousin marriage rule like the Yąnomamö. My informant told me, in Spanish: "It is necessary for a man to marry his *yetomade* [their equivalent to the Yąnomamö category of *mudehju*]. In this fashion families become good friends because they marry with each other time after time. When you marry this way, you are good friends with your *sudeya* [brother-in-law] and can play and joke with him. You are also good friends with your *sudima* [father-in-law]. If you marry a different way, you must be careful around your *sudima* and respect him."

Fig. 3–4. Distribution of paired local descent groups in village fissioning.



11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

members are shown. Each group is paired off with an equivalent local descent group of the opposite lineage, giving the four numbered pairs. When village A fissions to form villages B and C, lineages X and Y will break at the weakest points, resulting in the formation of two new villages that have an identical composition: Village B is like village C in size and contains two local descent groups of lineages X and Y; the two local descent groups of each lineage in both new villages are paired with the analogous group of the opposite lineage. Fig. 3-4 can be viewed as a diagram of the physical organization of the village. Thus, in village A the male members of lineage X would tend to live on one side of the village, while the males of lineage Y would live on the opposite side. In actual distribution, then, the village has a "diametric dual organization" (Lévi-Strauss, 1961, Chapter 8). The Yąnomamö, however, do not conceive of the village as having discrete halves. That is, they do not have formal rules enjoining the male members of lineage X to live on one side of the village. There are always residential exceptions to the arrangement shown in Fig. 3-4.

Village B fissions again, resulting in the further breakdown of lineages X and Y. The outcome, villages D and E, is essentially like the outcome of the fission in village A; that is, the resulting new villages are alike in composition, size, and structure. Village C has not fissioned and continues to exist as it did after separating from village B. A comparison of the three villages shown in the last step of Fig. 3-4 will reveal that D, E, and C' are interrelated villages because patrilineages X and Y occur in each of them. The members of the patrilineages would still continue to call each other brother and sister, although they would be distributed in three different villages. The genealogical ties connecting villages D, E, and C' have been drawn in to emphasize this relationship.

The reason that lineages break down in this fashion stems from the fact that remote agnatic ties are weaker than the marriage ties that link the paired local descent groups to each other. The strength of the affinal ties between paired local descent groups derives from the obligations of reciprocity in marriage exchanges. Thus, when village B fissioned, local descent group X-1 had stronger ties to Y-1 than it did to X-2. The result was that X-1 and Y-1 separated from X-2 and Y-2 to form their own village, D.[11]

Fig. 3-4 describes the "ideal" pattern of village fissioning. Fig. 3-5 shows the structure and composition of three actual Yąnomamö villages for comparison. As in Fig. 3-4, only the adult males are shown. The incomplete triangles of Upper Bisaasi-teri in Fig. 3-5 signify that the men in question do not live in that village, but they must be included in the diagram to show that their sons live in Upper Bisaasi-teri. The two men actually live in Patanowä-teri, the composition of which is not shown in Fig. 3-5. What has been shown is that the lineages *Hor* and *Shi* extend into Patanowä-teri. In fact, the population of that village is comprised largely of members of these two lineages. See Table 3-1. Only the adult male members of the villages are shown for the three villages in Fig. 3-5, since it is this class of men that dominates the political affairs of the village. For those interested in *all* the genealogical relationships between *all* the members of one of the villages (Lower Bisaasi-teri), see Chagnon, 1966, Figure 2 and Appendix A. As can be seen from Fig. 3-5, each village is characterized by a dual organization of intermarrying lineages. In 1960, Lower Bisaasi-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri were, in fact, a single village. It can be seen how local descent groups of the *Shi* lineage, for example,

[11]The pair "X-1 and Y-1" is represented on Fig. 3-4 simply by the numeral "1".

11: Chagnon B-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

621
613
582
608

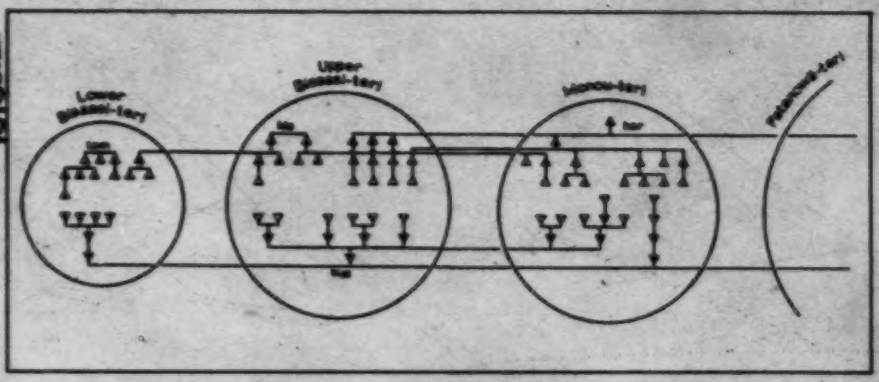


Fig. 3-5. Actual village fissioning.

separated from each other because of the ties each had to affinally linked descent groups of other lineages. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-teri is comprised essentially of two groups: a local descent group of the *Sha* lineage and a local descent group of the *Tam* lineage. Their members have exchanged women with each other for several generations, creating strong bonds of reciprocal obligations to continue to exchange in the future (Chagnon 1966). Similarly, the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in the two remaining villages shown in the figure are linked by affinal ties to other lineages.

Further back in history—1954—Monou-teri also constituted a portion of the village that included Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Fig. 2-4, Chapter 2). Finally, the three villages shown on Fig. 3-5 constituted a single village with Patanowä-teri about 1940. The fissioning of the original village (and subsequent village fissioning) resulted in the distribution of local descent groups according to pairs, as shown in Fig. 3-4.[12]

Discrepancies in the Marriage Pattern

128
582
621*

I presented in considerable detail the relationship between actual behavior and ideal rules about behavior from a qualitative point of view. This was accomplished by comparing genealogical diagrams describing some actual examples to ideal models of marriage and village fissioning. I will now give some of the quantitative aspects of marriage behavior and the demographic and political bases of the actual marriage pattern.

Table 3-2 shows the distribution of marriage types found in two related villages.

[191]

[12]In some areas of Brazil the pattern of village fissioning is slightly different. There, a local descent group may even establish its own house, separated from the wife-giving/wife-receiving member of the pair by as much distance as several miles. What I have been calling the "village" in this discussion breaks down, in portions of Brazil, into several "part-villages" that are not capable of carrying on an independent social existence. That is, members of the "part-village," the composition of which is essentially a single local descent group of one lineage, must obtain their wives from some other nonlocal group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawä, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisaasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yanomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kaobawä's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kaobawä's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2-8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowä-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowä-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowä-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwä, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowä-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowä-teri fissioned into two groups: They relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

New individuals are incorporated into the community by an extension of kinship ties. Unless one is incorporated into the village in this fashion, there is no basis for social behavior vis-à-vis others, for the kinship system defines one's role in society. An orphaned teen-ager joined Kąobawä's group shortly before I began my fieldwork. He was from a distant Shamatari village and had no blood relatives in Kąobawä's group. He established his position in the community by calling Kąobawä "father." This defined his relationship to all of Kąobawä's kinsmen as well. As an exercise in kinship, I had the young man give me his relationship term for everyone in the village. He not only had specific terms for every member of the group, but he had also extended them to all the residents of Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri as well, since Kąobawä was related to these people. In short, the boy learned how Kąobawä was related to all the members of three different villages and logically extended his own assumed relationship to Kąobawä outward to the others; and he behaved toward them accordingly: He avoided women he called mother-in-law and refrained from sexual activities with women he called sister.

To emphasize the fact that the kinship categories do not always correspond to biological relationships, let me give an example of an incestuous marriage. Kąobawä's younger brother, Shiimima, recently (1966) took a young girl for his wife, outraging most of the community because he "behaved toward her as brother" before the marriage. The girl's mother had been abducted some twenty years earlier from a distant village and was given to a man who stood in a father relationship to Kąobawä and Shiimima. Thus, both Kąobawä and Shiimima called the abducted woman "mother" and called her daughter "sister." The abducted woman's husband died of malaria; after this, she had a number of temporary affairs with other men before being officially taken as a wife by another man in the village. Her daughter is the issue of a temporary affair she had with the headman of Mahekodo-teri, the group that gave Kąobawä refuge after the treacherous feast in 1950. She is, therefore, biologically unrelated to Kąobawä and Shiimima, but since they behaved toward her as brothers, Shiimima's marriage to her is a blatant case of incest. The matter was as disgusting to my informants as it would have been had Shiimima married his own biological sister.

There are many important kinship distinctions in Yąnomamö social life, but the one between relatives by marriage and agnatic relatives should particularly be emphasized. This distinction is at the basis of Yąnomamö political behavior and village fissioning. This point was emphasized in the discussion of village fissioning and marriage rules in the first section of this chapter.

One of the most important characteristics of affinal ties is that they are capable of growing in strength over time because they can be solidified and reinforced by marriage exchanges between the groups. Ties between agnates, on the other hand, tend to weaken over time. For example, Kąobawä's local descent group could renew its friendship to similar affinally related groups in the village of Patanowä-teri by entering into marriage exchanges with them once again. There is no way, however, in which his own descent group could reinforce or strengthen the agnatic ties with the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in Patanowä-teri. By marrying into the affinally related Patanowä-teri descent groups, Kąobawä's group would enter into direct competition with agnatic counterparts in that village, further straining the relationships between the two communities.

There is another way of looking at this situation. Men who are related to each other as agnates (for example, brothers and parallel cousins) get along well with each

602 other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old
571 enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competi-
602 tion with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their per-
571 sonal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older.
578 They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kaobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

602 The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows
607 more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas
571 agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their
581 fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely
582 promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

602 Kaobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction be-
[601] tween agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kaobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were half-brothers. Nadesiwä is in Kaobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par
[613] with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the
[581] group—Kaobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwä to give his only
[582] daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the
[591] completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwä will
[606] have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kaobawä and Nadesiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

602 The other man, Kumamawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kaobawä is related to
607 him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first
[591] cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawä is a
[613] frequent visitor in Kaobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kaobawä asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kaobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

361 Kaobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his
342 agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

One of Damowä's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowä-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowä-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowä's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowä outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewä, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowä, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kaobawä and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowä's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowä were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowä-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowä the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowä's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kaobawä, a classificatory brother to Damowä, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowä's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwä, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hor* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage.

Kaobawä delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2] See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-3 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

island of unbroken forest, which is not crossed by any formidable water barrier. If this were the case, the Shirians, who are pre-eminently a land people, would be presented with an insurmountable obstacle.

North of the Brazilian frontier live the Shirians of the Canaracuni and the Merevari. These are divided into various clans, the most important being the Uana-Dildep, the Haruao, the Oskadeli, the Kopali, the Hana-Dildep, the Ukumatari, the Kona-Kona—they swarm like ants. Then there are the Guayca Shirians of Uarema, lately established on the Merevari, but originally from the Upper Uagna. Along the mountain watershed which extends, with frequent interruptions, from the Uagna to the centre of the highlands where the Uraricoera, the Ventuari and the Padamo rivers rise, one encounters the nomadic Samatari—the 'people of the pineapple'—a fierce and savage race of howling creatures that run in packs like animals.

The general term used by the Shirians to designate their most savage tribes is 'Guayca' (in their language, 'wild'). By the Guayca they sometimes mean the Samatari and sometimes the Ukumatari. On the Padamo and in the lowlands enclosed by the great mountains of Marahuaca and Duida—that is, to the south of the central ridge—they have spread right beyond the upper reaches of the Orinoco: though in these regions there are also many of the more peaceful Shirian peoples such as the Uaka on the Uesete, the Faricete, the Matacuni, the Kologli, the Haue, and the Ish'tich—the 'people of flowers and bananas'. The Guayca and the Samatari are also to be found east of the Padamo-Orinoco-Rio Parima watershed, in the wildest and least-known territory. Isolated groups, with a touch of the legendary about them, inhabit the fringe of this region: for instance, the Kasarape, credited by all Shirians with unparalleled ferocity and cruelty. The Kasarape inhabit the right bank of the Lower Uraricoera in Brazil, and no traveller appears to have visited them yet.

How numerous are the Shirians? No one can state a figure with any certainty, but it may be accepted that they run into many thousands, and taken together represent a block that outnumbers all other races and tribes inhabiting the Orinoco and Rio Branco basin.

I had asked Luis Antonio whether it would be possible for me to be present during the confinement of his kinswoman, presuming the happy event took place during our stay, but all I got for an answer was a doubtful 'I don't know'—the formula in which the Indian takes refuge when he does not know what to say. This did not quite deny the possibility, even if it did not encourage the

613 421 [Esa] associated with control over real property in most tribal societies. Among the Yąnomamö the corporate estate consists of rights in disposing of females; property does not play any role in the functioning of the descent group.

613 602 562 584 The relationship between males in regulating the disposition of the descent group's women is ambiguous, for their rights in particular women vary, largely with genealogical distance and the size of the descent group in question. And, rights in women are intangible. Thus, local descent groups[1] among the Yąnomamö, despite the fact that they are corporate, are not cohesive, solidary units because of the ambiguous way male members are related to each other.

613 *62 [614] [616] Patrilineal descent is virtually non-functional outside the local descent group. There are no corporate descent groups other than those that exist at the village level, i.e., the Yąnomamö do not have clans or moieties. Hence, agnates not only enter into competition with each other because of the nature of their rights in the women of their group, there are no other institutions based on agnatic descent that promote amity and solidarity among them.

---

[1] "The core of such a group is composed of the adult males of a kin group all resident in one place . . . the corporate group of persons who have the most decisive say in bringing about an arranged marriage is always a group of co-resident males representing, as a rule, three genealogical generations, namely: the old men or grandfathers, the normal adults or fathers, and the young adults or sons." E. R. Leach, 1963:56. Among the Yąnomamö, the generation of grandfathers is only rarely represented in the local descent group. [603]

associated with control over real property in most tribal societies. Among the Yąnomamö the corporate estate consists of rights in disposing of females; property does not play any role in the functioning of the descent group.

The relationship between males in regulating the disposition of the descent group's women is ambiguous, for their rights in particular women vary, largely with genealogical distance and the size of the descent group in question. And, rights in women are intangible. Thus, local descent groups[1] among the Yąnomamö, despite the fact that they are corporate, are not cohesive, solidary units because of the ambiguous way male members are related to each other.

Patrilineal descent is virtually non-functional outside the local descent group. There are no corporate descent groups other than those that exist at the village level, i.e., the Yąnomamö do not have clans or moieties. Hence, agnates not only enter into competition with each other because of the nature of their rights in the women of their group, there are no other institutions based on agnatic descent that promote amity and solidarity among them.

---

[1]"The core of such a group is composed of the adult males of a kin group all resident in one place . . . the corporate group of persons who have the most decisive say in bringing about an arranged marriage is always a group of coresident males representing, as a rule, three genealogical generations, namely: the old men or grandfathers, the normal adults or fathers, and the young adults or sons." E. R. Leach, 1963:56. Among the Yąnomamö, the generation of grandfathers is only rarely represented in the local descent group.

/6 cont./

101 beyond the Uraricuera and the Parima range, respectively.
114 There can no longer be any doubt about the ethnic affiliation of this population. Koch-Grünberg was already of the opinion that in the case of the Xiriâna (Schirianá) and Waiká (Waíka) "it is not a matter of two different tribes, but merely of two divisions of one large nation" (25) (26). At the same place, however, the

25. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 224.

26. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 290.

investigator expresses the conjecture, which was confirmed by the opinions of neighboring tribes, that the Waiká represent merely a subdivision of the Xiriâna, "with whom they live either peaceably or in bitter enmity" (25) (26) /see the footnotes above/. Their isolation from other tribes is, according to Ourique, "an example of the instinctive precaution of the race against its own deterioration and its downfall" (27).

27. Ourique, 1906, p. 24.

101 In this connection there is a significant hint by the Surára chief,
619 according to which there are two powerful tribes within the
[115] "Yanonámi nation" first the Xiriâna, who call themselves "Haraterí," and secondly the Waiká, who, however, are constantly warring. All the smaller tribes are on the side of either one or the other, but at the same time are obliged to pay tribute
[438] and render service in war (28). The Surára and Pakidái, the
[114]

28. With regard to the Xiriâna, Koch-Grünberg already mentions this vassal relationship (Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 226), and Métraux also refers to it (Métraux, 1948, p. 861).

chief told me further, are allies of the Xiriâna and occasionally

Surára
Pakidái

/6 cont./ obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xirišna.

/7/ IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Demini nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

/8 cont./

175 648 According to statements of old palm-fiber gatherers on the Aracá, no Indians appeared on this river from the end of the previous century to the end of the twenties of our century. During the months of October and November of the year 1927, palm-fiber gatherers on their way to their places of work saw for the first time small and relatively light-skinned Indians disappearing into the forest thickets. In December, 1927, and January/February, 1928, the settlements were attacked by Indians several times, but the palm-fiber gatherers always managed to put them to flight. During the forenoon of June 28, 1928, there was another attack during which two wives of rubber gatherers and a 12-year-old girl were abducted. After this abduction there was no further Indian attack. Not until 16 years later, in January, 1944, did six [439] Indians appear, but this time with friendly intent. They called themselves Surára and wanted to barter for articles of civilization. Later they admitted that their tribe had carried out the earlier attacks. In reply to questions about the two abducted women and the girl, they said that they had died. /9/ The palm-fiber gatherers did not bear them any malice for their previous hostile attitude, for they were glad that they could now carry on their work without fear of the Indians.

439 The Surára cling to their old habits and customs and visit the palm-fiber gatherers only when they want to barter for knives, [115] axes, pots, etc. According to the statements of the chief of the Surára, they are forced by the Xiriána to barter with the palm-fiber gatherers, for they are obliged to deliver to them all the articles obtained (see also pages 157/163); the Xiriána themselves never have any contact with the civilized inhabitants.

648 In August of the year 1944 the Indian protection post founded in 1940 on the Rio Demini was visited for the first time by some Pakidái. At rather long intervals there have been further visits • [619] by various families of this tribe up to the present time. They, too, however, come at the request of the Xiriána and must hand over to them all the gifts.

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Puseheweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726]

Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. [115] (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of la. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551 162 [160]

The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

Surára
Pakidái

/59 cont./

595 From this list of families one gains the impression that monogamy predominates. But I was assured by my informants that those warriors who thus far have only one wife would be glad to take a second or even a third one, as was customary among their forefathers. The small number of persons in the tribes, however, has caused a shortage of women, so that most of the men are forced to be content with one spouse.

/60/ 3. Political Structure

• 69 These low population figures could, moreover, arouse the suspicion that it is not tribes, but only tribal divisions that are involved here, especially on account of the connubium in which they live, or merely groups. The chiefs and war chiefs named, however, told me emphatically that the Surára as well as the Pakidái were formerly large and mighty and distributed in many malokas.

[185] They regard achieving this size again as a goal worth striving for.

622 An institutional chiefdom with a definitely established succession prevails in both tribes. If the chief dies, his next younger brother automatically takes his place. Only if the youngest brother is dead may the first-born son of the oldest brother, who by that time is usually an older man, occupy the office of chief.

624 701 In addition there is the war chief. This position is not hereditary; rather, the bravest warrior is chosen for it. During peacetimes he has no prerogatives whatever and lives like an ordinary member of the tribe. Only during military encounters does he take over the

[622] leadership, while the real chief, as religious head, doctor, and teacher, is protected and does not take part; the same is true for his brothers.

622 159 The Surára chief Hewemão, very bold and intelligent, is a truly great personality; his orders are respected by all members of the tribe without opposition. When he was still a youth, his father, Xoromão, was killed with two arrow shots by Makuxí /Macuxi/ Indians. Hewemão eldest brother, Xaraíma, assumed the succession, but he died of a fever about eight years ago.

Surára
Pakidái

/60 cont./

484 These safety measures are necessary, for one must always be prepared for a hostile attack. That is why the /61/ women [482] carry all the household goods, for if the men were thus burdened, they could not defend themselves. For this reason, the chief 484 and his brothers always march in the middle of the tribe, for in 622 the event of a military encounter the protection of the chief is the 554 supreme command of all the Surára. He is honored and respected, of course, not only as the head of the tribe, but also because he is the adviser in all situations of life, the medicine man who is able to make connections with the hekurá and serras /sierras/ (see pp. 200/201) and can ward off sickness and misfortune. If he were killed, the tribe would suddenly be in a terrible situation, for his successor does not yet have the same experience.

622 The next youngest brother and subsequent successor of Hewemãõ is Kurikayawõ. He will be followed by Inxinemá, who is approximately 19 years old, but has not yet completed his youth-initiation. And it is only after the latter that Hemahemá, who is approximately 25 years old and the only son of the oldest brother, Xarimá, who died eight years ago, would be able to take over the leadership.

624 The war chief of the Surára is Xomirawõ, a modest, reserved, but extraordinarily hardy and brave man.

622 Among the Pakidái the succession of chiefs is the same. 624 The following remarks, however, will show the complications that • 619 arose six years ago as a result of the death of the old chief Karakarawõ, because his three younger brothers who could have taken over the succession died before him. Karakarawõ did have a son, Karenauõ, but he was still very young, so that there was nothing to do but to entrust the leadership of the tribe for the time being to the war chief Porẽhiwõ as a substitute. At the same time he and the older Pakidái men asked the chief of the friendly Surára, Hewemãõ, for advice in many things, especially serious illnesses, magic performances, etc. At this time many younger Pakidái attended the school of the Surára chief, among them the present Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, who was given a very thorough training by Hewemãõ. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái even lived

/61 cont./

622 together for several years, both in the sierra during the dry season
●619 and at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá during the
624 rainy season. In the long run, however, the war chief Porêhiwõ did not like this, and there were also differences of opinion with the young chief, so he and his brother Kaxiribewõ, with their families temporarily withdrew from the tribe and remained alone in Taraquí, the Pakidái maloka on the middle Demini.

As a result of the youthful exuberance of the not yet fully mature Pakidái chief Karenauõ, the previously good relationship between the Surára and Pakidái was unfortunately slightly disturbed. Yet Karenauõ really had every reason to be grateful to Hewemão.

769 The discord began in March 1956 during the great festival
619 in memory of the dead, which the Surára as hosts and the Pakidái
622 as guests always celebrate together, and in which some friendly Puseheweterí and Xirišna families also took part. During this gathering it is customary for Hewemão to be acknowledged as the head by the guests, even by their chiefs, and for his orders to be followed. Young Karenauõ, however, refused to do this. He suddenly felt himself very strong because the member of Pakidái, of course, is considerably larger than that of the Surára. The rivalry between the chiefs increased from day to day and extended even to the members of the two tribes. It was only thanks to the magnanimous, wise attitude of Hewemão and the mediation of the chief of the Pakidái, Porêhiwõ, who returned to his tribe and exerted great influence, that greater tensions or even military encounters could be avoided. This was only to be welcomed, for there is a long, traditional friendship between the two tribes, which has deepened consanguineously as a result of intermarriages.

[166] When the festival was over, at the end of March 1956, the Pakidái again moved to /62/ Taraquí on the middle Demini and the Surára to the Cachoeira dos Índos on the upper Aracá. But at this point I was to experience a great surprise. Three Pakidái men, with their families, no longer followed their chief Karenauõ, but joined Hewemão and thus actually emigrated to the Surára.

2: Becher--158 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
175
764
765
191
[765]

/73 cont./
and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

5. War -- nĩanyu --

• 619
648
721

The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood revenge -- noyú -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

Surára. Pakidái

619 /74 cont./
648 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.
721

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-
[835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára
[171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidâi warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriśna. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the
[171]

342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

Surára
Pakidai
Shiriana

/74 cont./

6. Tribute payments and greeting ceremonial

619
651
576
574

Two or three times a year a Xiriána chief and 18-20 warriors of this tribe come to the Surára as well as to the Pakidái, in order to collect tribute from their satellites (see also pp. 13 and 19). This visit is always carried out /75/ according to a regular protocol. First the chiefs squat down opposite each other, place the right hand on the left shoulder of the other, and hold the left hand in front of the mouth. They remain in this position for about two hours and, singing, exchange their news (345). The warriors of

345. I, too, was greeted in this fashion by the Surára chief as well as by the Pakidái chief.

the Xiriána and Surára or Pakidái stand around in a circle and listen, their faces immobile. All the women and children remain lying in their hammocks during the ceremonial, or they sit with anxious faces by their hearths. When the greeting is ended, the Surára or the Pakidái chief makes a sign, whereupon his men run off and fetch knives, axes, pots, etc., and also bananas and pupunha fruits, which they put down in front of the Xiriána chief. The latter picks up the objects and distributes them to his warriors, one after the other. When each is richly laden, they leave the maloka with measured step and disappear into the forest. The Xiriána chief is now the only one left behind. For him, however, particularly valuable objects must be brought. Above all, it is now the duty of the Surára or Pakidái chief to offer precious things of his own, perhaps a woven hammock which was given him by civilized people, a large pot, a bush knife, or a particularly beautiful chain of glass beads. Along with these, he usually sets down a basket of bananas and pupunha fruits. When the Xiriána chief, finally satisfied, nods his head, the Surára or Pakidái at last feel relieved. There is now a concluding dialogue sung by the two chiefs, whereupon the Xiriána chief rises and, heavily loaded for his part, strides toward the forest where his warriors are

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

619 /75 cont./ already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
651 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
576 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon
574 hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114]

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
178
241 At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had
[622] been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in
000 all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[174]

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

/179 cont./

619 Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local
[621] groups which form a band of extended families and provide the
[596] peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclaudub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

[84] From what has been published up to the present regarding
[94] the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

127 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the
128 Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to
[799] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

Sanema
Warao 5518
Saliva 5515
Bari 5513

/180 cont./

The Barí suffered greatly from the Yupa, the Piaroa and Warao from the Caribe, but these sufferings were minimal compared to the oppression to which other tribes were subjected by the Whites. The Yanoama have been attacked for hundreds of years by the Caribe, who surrounded their territory with a semicircle along the north; the Yanoama endured something similar from the Arawak, who surrounded them in a semicircle along the south. But all in all, the White has not been very successful so far in approaching this primitive population and his destructive influence has not affected their ancestral customs. The Caribe and Arawak have declined gradually in vigor and numbers; now we are witnesses of the triumph of the Yanoama over their neighbors of a more refined culture, for not only did they defend their territory, but were successful in spreading to the north and west.

The strongest and most efficaceous ally of the Yanoama has been the Cordillera de Parima, together with the dense tropical selva of the Territorio Amazonas. In the /181/ fateful period of persecution they have always found a safe refuge in the protecting selva. Nevertheless, as of relatively recent times, the different Yanoama subtribes are beginning to realize that the space beyond the conventional boundaries of their tribal territory is sparsely populated, almost deserted. The number of their traditional enemies has diminished considerably, and the invasions of their territory have had practically no consequences. In this manner they have gained almost 100 kilometers to the north of the Sierra de Pacarima, where the Casapare now live on the Upper Paragua, and the northern group of the Sanemá on the headwaters of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura rivers.

The center of distribution of the Casapare is located to the south of the Sierra Pacarima in the basin of the Rio Branco. We know this Yanoama subtribe only through a few sporadic superficial contacts, and the people, as well as their territory, remain practically unknown. For this reason we consider the name Casapare with which we designated all the Yanoama in the zone of study as strictly preliminary, and we would not be surprised if we had to change it in the future for a more exact and adequate

name.

P 177 999 161 /184 cont./ Casapare Auake 555 Acmon. 55 16

expansionists, and their number at present is quite small; they number 1,800 individuals and show a density of 1:16.5 square kilometers.

Y 177 648 The Maycoucon and Arecuna, along the north, do not make an effective barrier to Yanoama expansion. Here, however they are liable to clash with the already advanced civilization of these regions where they will meet the Indian, the Negro, and the White with individual cultures irreducible by the Paleo-Indian culture of the Yanoama.

Y 101 619 Among the tribes which have been absorbed by the Yanoama are the Kaliana, Auakí, etc., about whose identification there is some confusion in the literature.

Y A 104 Kaliana, however, is the name which the Casapare give to the Sapé. The latter were identified as Kaliana by a native companion of Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 12-13; cf. idem, 1922, p. 227), while Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 103) identify them with the name "Shirianá" (Casapare) as Karianapuik. In 1956 the Sapé (Kariana, Kaliana) were visited by Montoya, who classifies them as related to the "Shirishana" (1958, p. 168). "It is an isolated group," says Montoya, "which lives on the Antabarí River and upper Pao; in the zones of the upper Paragua and Pauré-Murán River.

A 241 433 439 /185/ "They devote themselves to agriculture, but produce only as much as they consume or a little more for barter with the Shirianna who are travelers and supply them with salt and other items which they lack.

A 501 "Some of them have learned to make curiaras in such a rudimentary manner as to make the Moñongón Indians, the masters of this art, smile. But they do make very fragile 'shells,' which allow them to travel to hunting and fishing zones, carrying light loads.

A 582 A 101 "They marry frequently with the Shirianna groups and even with the Arekuna. They appear to be destined to disappear as a differentiated ethnic group or to be totally absorbed by the Shirianna, more numerous and nearer than the Arekuna" (Montoya, ibid.).

Casapare Cariban Indians SR7 Auake SS5

A /186 cont./
131 cf. idem, 1922, p. 226) was visited on the Urumamy Falls by
175 a small group of Auaké (Arutani), who pointed out to the explorer that their land was on the source of the Paragua, where
A [617] they had a communal house. But even by that time the Auaké
A (Arutani) had left their southern haunts to the Casapare and had
Y [619] migrated to the north. But a large number merged with the Casapare, and it is very likely that the Arutani of the upper Paragua represent the last vestiges of the Auaké.

A It is useful to stress the fact that both tribes, the Sapé and
101 the Arutani, belong among the primitive groups of South
174 America, and that their idioms constitute independent languages.
648 They have very probably served as buffers between the Caribe
[199] and the Yanoama, and while the former pushed them from the Paragua to the south, the latter absorbed them or displaced them
C 648 toward the north. The Caribe have had the same function in more recent times, when they were destroyed between the frontiers of white civilization and that of the Yanoama, and today only a few vestiges of these tribes remain.

A Regarding the idioms of the Sapé (Kaliana) and Arutani
197 (Auaké), it is interesting to point out that Loukotka (1935) found
194 Chibcha vestiges in the Auaké and the Kaliana. If we consider that the Yanoama are related to the Warao and that both have a relatively low cultural level, it is possible to believe in a substratum of marginal tribes with a Chibcha linguistic affiliation, to which the present Warao, Sapé, Arutani, and Yanoama tribes may possibly belong. We shall go into this interesting topic in the section which describes some of the linguistic aspects of the Yanoama /see pp. 38 ff./.

Y The most recent information that we have regarding the
114 Casapare was submitted by the previously mentioned Capuchin fathers, Armellada and Matallana (1942), by Gheerbrandt (1955), and by Montoya (1958).

Y The expedition of the Capuchin fathers was undertaken in
114 1940 with the intention of completing a missionary report on
797 the river and its native population. They went out in search of
162 men, and their conclusion that the Paraguá, apart from being a dangerous river and difficult to navigate, did not have large

/210 cont./

594 family exists as a definite cell in that tribe, assuming all the
621 functions and all the specific responsibilities of that social entity. Thus, there exists the formal arrangement of marriage, which sanctions sexual contact between the spouses and guarantees procreation. There exists economic co-operation among the members of the nuclear family, which organizes work and apportions the necessary subsistance and, in this way, [86] injects persistence in the family's living together. There are practically no tasks which exceed the capacity of the nuclear family and the children learn the way of life directly from their parents and elders.

594 The most visible center of the nuclear family is the fire
354 around which they eat and sleep. From here they go out to their work and, upon their return, reassemble at the fireside. After a long trip, the man takes the small sticks from his quiver and makes a fire; there is a new fire; a new home is established.

596 Each individual Sanemá belongs also to an extended family
621 made up according to the residence rules already explained. The local group /211/ consists of two or more of these extended families of the same bilateral kinsfolk and form /sic/ a band. This local group or band is the largest social unit to which •[619] a Sanemá belongs. The terms "subtribe" and "tribe" which we use are artificial terms lacking in real meaning for the Sanemá. But the band is definitely a familiar concept for him, one which he knows very well and with which he identifies. The band guarantees economic and social stability, and its well-being benefits the individual member, who feels tied to it by a multitude of family ties.

621 Each local group has innumerable enemies, while the circle
628 of friends is extremely small. Contact between all of one group with a neighboring group is rare, but does sometimes occur. They sometimes get together for commercial reasons or at funeral ceremonies, but their friendship is weak and unstable.

601 We were unable, for lack of an informant, to obtain a list of
582 kinship terms. Our impression is that a Hawaiian system is involved.
600 One may not marry a female cross or parallel cousin. There are

10:Chagnon E-4,5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

114 Hans Becher, who conducted field work in two Yąnomamö villages on the upper Demini and the Aracá rivers (Pakidái and Surára) from October 1955 to June 1956. His results are summarized in his 1960 monograph, a general description of all aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

114 619 His analysis of Yąnomamö social organization is inadequate and misleading, particularly his treatment of the political organization about which he asserts that the Yąnomamö are divided into two large, antagonistic political blocs:

> The suggestion of the Surára headman is significant in this connection, according to which there are, within the Yanonámi People, two powerful tribes that constantly make war upon each other; first, the Xiriána, whose name for themselves is "Harateri," and, secondly, the Waika. All of the smaller tribes are on the side of one or the other, but are at the same time liable to them for tribute and war duty. (1960:6. See also p. 73 and his 1957a:119 and 1957b:115 comments. Zerries [1964:1] expresses his dissatisfaction with this interpretation also. My translation.)

114 In 1958 and 1960 Johannes Wilbert briefly visited Yąnomamö (Sanema) villages in the upper Ventuari River and upper Caura River, summarizing his results in his 1963 publication.

Although Wilbert regards the villages he visited as representative of the Yąnomamö villages described in the works of Zerries and Becher, his reports are somewhat at variance with the accounts of the latter, particularly with respect to economy and aspects of social organization. On these topics Wilbert tends to accept Koch-Grünberg's state-

/115 cont./

101 the language of the Waika, Shidishana, or Shamatairi, therefore the neighboring Indians as well.

Thus the term "Yanoama" refers to the cultural and linguistic identity; it does not have the least political aspect. There is no tribe of the Yanoama, nor is there any tribe of the Waika, the Shidishana, or the Shamatairi. At most one can speak of the "people"; but one must bear in mind that there is no institution, no office, that is representative of this people. Also the cognizance of this term in the thinking of the natives /116/ remains general and therefore inevitably vague, parallel to the small amount of geographical knowledge, which is limited to what they themselves have traversed, that is, as a rule, to the circle of the nearest villages, which are about one to two days' journey away from one's own.
101 Geopolitical thought, which would find expression in a more
621 extensive political organization, is unknown to the Yanoama; their conceptual world revolves around the village.

The village is the unit in which one thinks and after which one names himself: when questioned a Waika will never answer that he is a Waika or a Yanoama, but rather will give his village name, say, "Bolitaotedi," whereby "tedi" (village), like the Spanish "pueblo," refers less to the settlement and more to the
829 people who live in it. It seems obvious that one is a Waika, for the slight contact with civilization has not yet led in their thinking to distinguishing their own culture from that of foreigners; the foreigner has remained an individual guest with peculiar habits and has not yet become the representative of a large, strange
101 world. It is not obvious, however, to which village one belongs;
621 village membership is the decisive political and sociological characteristic of the individual.

361 Externally the village is a clearing in the virgin forest, usually oval in ground plan, with a large diameter from 30 to 100 meters;
[62] the houses line the edge of this clearing. On the average a village is inhabited by about 100 persons. The villages of the Shamatairi south of the Orinoco, however, are much larger; according to our

/116 cont./

361 scanty knowledge, their population varies between 200 and 300.
161 Whereas there in the unexplored south organizational forms for
[621] larger numbers of people have evidently developed, the socio-
logical system of the Waika is organized for only the above-named
figure of a hundred village inhabitants; a surplus of births is
answered by village partition.

628 The politically independent villages are partners in war and
peace and for trading and visiting, and the momentary, frequently
changing relationships of the villages to one another give the
political situation in Waika territory its stamp. Let us first look
721 at the hostile relationships. Affairs involving women are for the
[583] most part the cause of war; if a wife is sought in other villages,
and if the offer is turned down, one resorts to abducting a woman.
Once there has been bloodshed in quarrels originating from this,
the war is self-perpetuating; the original cause has not been for-
gotten, to be sure, but because of its slight intensity in the con-
ceptual world it in no way suffices as a motive for the continuation
726 of the war. Rather, what does not permit breaking the chain of
attacks repeated at intervals of a few months, in which the enemy
men are killed, but the women abducted, /117/ is ideas and analogous
728 to blood revenge. Concluding peace is possible only when there has
been no bloodshed for a long period of time, and hostile relations
628 often last for generations. Thus Waika country is covered with a
network of hostile relationships of varying degrees, and, picking
a village at random, one can distinguish a series of villages that
are friendly, benevolently indifferent, neutral, sympathetic with
[726] the enemy, and, finally, completely hostile. For no two villages,
however, is this series completely identical; there are no ex-
tensive alliances; war is an affair of the individual village, and a
friendly village is aided only if there are personal reasons for
hostility. No Waika village is without an enemy, and because
of the many crisscrossings of the degrees of relationships the
political situation is extremely complicated. We therefore see
that even on the broadest social plane -- that of the people as
a cultural and linguistic whole -- there is a very pronounced

/118 cont./

628 are not feasible. The villages remain /119/ dependent on one
182 another in economic, sociological, and political respects, in connection with which the frequent change of partners guarantees the multiplicity of the contacts. Politically independent, with equal rights, and not anchored in any superordinate organization, the villages are the knots in a tightly woven network of active mutual relationships, in part of a positive kind, in part negative; the tension inherent in these relationships represents, on the one hand, the dynamic factor and, on the other hand, the stabilizing factor in the social life of the Waika.

• 621 Up to now I have used the term village as though it represented a stable unit; if we look at its internal structure, however, it turns out that this local body, the settlement community, very tightly united in itself, again is made up of individual groups which are distinguished from one another on certain occasions.
621 In many cases the festivals of human beings rather than their daily
796 life offer the opportunity to recognize the nature of their social
182 grouping; during festive occasions the community itself is represented and confirms this representation in ceremonial. Among
621 the Waika the ceremonial gift-exchange was the key to under-
431 standing the village structure. That is, after a successful large-scale hunt, in which the men of almost every house take part, it is customary to exchange baskets of roasted meat and a few bananas within the village. This exchange takes place, however, not between the individual houses, but between groups of houses; no baskets of meat are exchanged within the same group of houses, but rather only to and from the houses of the other groups. The village investigated by us was divided, according to the paths of exchange, into three groups of houses, which -- perhaps by chance -- were arranged in strips: on both sides of the oval several houses were combined in a group, and the two houses opposite each other in the middle likewise did not exchange gifts.
621 Now the next step must be to look at the reflection of the
611 sociologically inadequate term "group of houses" on the kinship level: the members of the individual groups of houses are to be characterized, according to their kinship relations, as bilateral and bilocal groups of families.

/119 cont./
000 and bilocal groups of families. The group of families -- the
621 multiplicity of relationships permits no other designation --
431 is therefore the next smaller constituent element of the village unit; to be sure, the ceremonial gift-exchange emphasizes the subdivision of the village, in that it underlines the affiliation of the partner to one of the two other groups of families, but, on the other hand, also joins the three groups of families as common inhabitants of the same village.

It might now seem that the group of families, which appears in the gift-exchange as a functional unit, is only a chance conglomeration of nuclear families and thus of minor importance.
621 It comes into operation, however, on another decisive occasion,
166 namely, in connection with /120/ the migratory movements, which I shall sketch for you in a few words. The inhabitants of a
[361] village never remain longer than about three to four weeks in their
[342] main village, that clearing in the virgin forest with relatively permanently built houses; then they leave home for a period at least equally long, but seldom farther away than one to two days of travel, and build themselves in a favorable spot in the forest a row of small, triangular huts which are just large enough to provide room for a nuclear family, i.e., the parents and their unmarried children. The new place is chosen according to the
262 possibilities that it offers for gathering forest fruits and for hunting;
245 nevertheless economic reasons are not actually the cause for this
194 migration, for even during this period they continue to live from
166 the very fruitful banana planting near the main village. About every ten days a group of men go and fetch additional supplies of bananas, which the Waika today use for about 90 per cent
[222] of their diet. To be sure, during this forest period they live on
[224] gathered fruits and by hunting more than they do in the main village, and we shall therefore hardly go wrong in assuming that there are involved in these short-term forest sojourns traditionally preserved reminiscences of the era of pure hunting for wild food on the part of the Waika, undoubtedly still not very far in the past.

/120 cont./

621 166 241 These periodically recurring radial movements from a fixed center (the village with its planting) do not affect, in sociological respects, the substance of the village: normally the whole village migrates. In this respect, however, it is different with regard to a second type of village movement, which is not characterized by the going back and forth of the short forest-sojourns, but rather takes place over longer periods of time and only in one direction. The Waika live only about five years from one planting and then move to a new one laid out beforehand, which is usually about a day's journey away. Practically every village known to us has an old and a new planting, for since the chonta palm (Guilielma gasipaes), still cultivated today and useful in many ways, has a different life span than the various types of bananas, overlapping in the utilization of the plantings cannot be [173] avoided. If a newly established planting is bearing enough bananas, the whole village is moved to the new planting; the names and the site of earlier plantings are remembered exactly, however, so that from this the history of each individual village, i.e., its shifting in Waika territory, and consequently the history of the Waika themselves in their territorial aspect, can be reconstructed 621 for two to three generations. Such a move to a new place, however, 166 is also the occasion for changes in the composition of the 161 village, for a split as a rule, for in the meantime, because of the 173 enormous /121/ surplus of births, which the Waika have to register today, the village has grown far beyond the limit of the number of persons that can be governed well under their institution-poor system. The partition of the village is not done at discretion, but exactly along the lines of separation indicated by the above- [431] mentioned composition by groups of families. One or more groups of families are the bearers of the new villages, and the memory [182] of the way the new village was founded by the union of several groups of families is ceremonially represented as shown, in the gift-exchange.

/121 cont./

166 Therefore two types of nomadism are superimposed on each
221 other in the migratory movements of the Waika: the nomadism
241 of the very active hunting for wild food, which is represented today
182 as a radial movement from an agricultural central-point, stamps the annual cycle, whereas the agricultural village-move, which follows the fields cleared by burning, occurs in a cycle of a few years and has a greater spatial range than the wild-food forays. To express it in a different manner: a wild-food nomadism more restricted spatially and temporally fills out the periods of the more extended agricultural migrations. Even at the ends of these periods, when both cycles overlap, they are felt by the Waika to be quite different matters and not mutually substitutable: after they have worked for a time in the new, scarcely begun planting, and the external reasons for a forest sojourn (such as change of living place and more favorable possibilities for gathering and hunting) are assuredly present, they still move off once more in the traditional manner to another place in the forest -- the laying out of a new plantation, even with the great similarity of external circumstances, is basically different from the forest life of hunting for wild food and in no way a substitute for it.

162 The short sojourns in the forest are, as was said, usually
● 621 made by the whole village, whereas with the laying out of new
182 plantings the group of families comes into the foreground as the
174 working unit. One might conclude from this fact that the formation and the sociological importance of the groups of families is connected with the introduction of agriculture. I should like to make the opposite conclusion, however, that merely the old wild-food settlement-unit has maintained itself in these groups of families in the present larger agricultural village-society. The relationship of the groups of families to hunting for wild food is clear from the fact that the gift-exchange carried on by the groups of families is quite predominantly an exchange of meat, to which a few roasted bananas are added, and can only take place after a hunt.

105 Thus the sociological findings regarding the larger social
621 units of the Yanoama reflect the picture of the other cultural
182

/121 cont./

105 realms of this people: /122/ elements related to hunting for wild
● 621 food, such as the group of families connected by kinship in various
182 ways, for which, in accordance with its structure, one could probably use "roving horde" or similar terms, have held their ground and actively maintained themselves against those forms connected with agriculture and sedentariness, in our case the permanent village society. The Waika are now just at the point where the high economic preponderence of cultivated plants is beginning to make corresponding changes in the noneconomic cultural spheres.

/179 cont./

619 Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local
[624] [596] groups which form a band of extended families and provide the peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclaudub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

From what has been published up to the present regarding
[184] [194] the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

127 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the
128 Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to
[799] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

/209 cont./

596 itself to an arrangement of this sort. In their seminomadic state
591 there do not seem to be any sufficiently decisive economic factors
[182] to require a unilocal residence rule, which in a way would hinder a young man, after his marriage, from remaining in the group of his family of orientation or from leaving in order to found his family of procreation matrilocally, according to the particular
591 circumstances. But what we are sure of is that the irregularities
596 observed are precisely a result of the economic and technologi-
197 cal changes which the Sanemá of the regions /210/ adjacent to
241 the Makiritare are undergoing via the process of acculturation. The cultivation of the land, although still rudimentary, and the possibility of augmenting their properties have brought about as a natural consequence, not only greater stability and possibly a considerable demographic increase, but also the impetus which disrupts the balanced equilibrium present in the custom of choosing the postnuptial residence which is fundamental for the bilocal extended family (cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 35). So it is that one of the factors which has most contributed to bringing about disequilibrium among the Sanemá was the adoption of the Caribe agricultural system. The postmatrimonial moving from one local group to another was not of any particular importance in a nomadic society, but nowadays it presents certain difficulties not even suspected previously, for a man now has to leave his cultivated fields if he is to go with his wife. We are sure that the tendencies in the direction of the unilocal custom have their
[601] roots precisely in this economic change. Finally, the existence of the bilocal extended family among the Yanoama is in complete accord with the Hawaiian type of social organization which we are describing as typical for this tribe.

594 Without knowing a Sanemá nuclear family intimately, it is
621 difficult to group with certainty the members of a local group solely on the basis of their family ties, particularly in a community in which polygamy, the sororate, the levirate, and a Hawaiian kinship system are practiced. There are occasions, however, on which the members of a nuclear family gather together: to eat, to sleep, etc., and, in spite of our not having full knowledge of Sanemá society, we can, with all this, say that the nuclear

/210 cont./

594 family exists as a definite cell in that tribe, assuming all the
● 621 functions and all the specific responsibilities of that social entity. Thus, there exists the formal arrangement of marriage, which sanctions sexual contact between the spouses and guarantees procreation. There exists economic co-operation among the members of the nuclear family, which organizes work and apportions the necessary subsistance and, in this way, injects persistence in the family's living together. There are [86] practically no tasks which exceed the capacity of the nuclear family and the children learn the way of life directly from their parents and elders.

594 The most visible center of the nuclear family is the fire
354 around which they eat and sleep. From here they go out to their work and, upon their return, reassemble at the fireside. After a long trip, the man takes the small sticks from his quiver and makes a fire; there is a new fire; a new home is established.

596 Each individual Sanemá belongs also to an extended family
621 made up according to the residence rules already explained. The local group /211/ consists of two or more of these extended families of the same bilateral kinsfolk and form /sic/ a band. This local group or band is the largest social unit to which [619] a Sanemá belongs. The terms "subtribe" and "tribe" which we use are artificial terms lacking in real meaning for the Sanemá. But the band is definitely a familiar concept for him, one which he knows very well and with which he identifies. The band guarantees economic and social stability, and its well-being benefits the individual member, who feels tied to it by a multitude of family ties.

621 Each local group has innumerable enemies, while the circle
628 of friends is extremely small. Contact between all of one group with a neighboring group is rare, but does sometimes occur. They sometimes get together for commercial reasons or at funeral ceremonies, but their friendship is weak and unstable.

601 We were unable, for lack of an informant, to obtain a list of
582 kinship terms. Our impression is that a Hawaiian system is involved.
600 One may not marry a female cross or parallel cousin. There are

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill
• [621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite
554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us,
769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to
628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder,
[266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablí shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be-
[788] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex-
[574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father,
162 who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition
855 we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of
ooo the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

/221 cont./

793 Since the Sanemá people cannot exist in good conditions
[776 without the continued and intimate contact with the house of
• 621] Omao, sáiyawan, the priest makes himself indispensable in the grouping of a band, whose very existence is perpetuated in large part by the quality of the priest.

The hɛ̨wīawán of the Sanemá devotes himself exclusively to filling his high office. For this reason he cannot work, or hunt, or fish, etc. like a common man, and he lives on the benefactions given to him by the community as compensation for the services which he renders to it.

/222/ In his frequent flights between the earth and heaven he commonly kills a vulture or sparrow hawk and that explains why he often returns with his mouth covered with blood, bringing some cashew birds and, on certain limited occasions, even a human leg, trophies which he obtained as he killed the enemy (23).

23. It is likely that all this represents the ideal habitus rather than the real one of the priest.

793 Before discussing the nature of the power of the hɛ̨wīawán,
773 we shall first narrate the genesis of the first hɛ̨wīawán of the Sanemá, which will explain to us how it comes about that the hɛ̨wīawán is able to fly and why he always goes about raised some 30 centimeters from the ground when he is on the earth.

There was a man who one day went into the forest to hunt. There he was met by a Great Jaguar, omaukõhe, who is a gigantic jaguar, master of the other felines, and who goes about in an upright position like a man. The jaguar caught the man and ate all his flesh, leaving the skeleton picked clean but without breaking a single bone. The man remained alive and asked the Great Jaguar to give him other flesh. The Jaguar gave him other flesh, but told him that henceforth he would be hɛ̨wī (bat).
[825] And from that time on the man hɛ̨wīawán is also a bat. He is a very timid man; children love him very much, because he never gets angry and does not scold. When he is in the company of men, he spends his time singing songs, wásámo songs, which

BeLayrac et al. D.E-S (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Carib and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shiriană" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriono*" with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Siriono (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waraoan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Siriono*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanumá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanumá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 455-458.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 28.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

/468 cont./

Traveling and Transportation

487 They make almost all their trips on foot by paths and trails. Bridges are built over the largest rivers. Other rivers are waded or crossed on tree trunks.

/469/ New paths are marked by breaking branches in passing. On old roads they indicate the path or paths which have not been taken, leaving some object or a little pile of leaves at the entrance of same. A stick may be tied to an abandoned dwelling to indicate in what direction the former occupant has moved. 621 166 (A settlement may split up into groups when it abandons the site in the area of the "conuco," and therefore this sign does not necessarily mean that the entire settlement has gone off in that direction.)

166 628 The Guaika /Waica/ travel frequently, but generally not very far. The nearest settlement -- perhaps a day away -- is usually as far as they go. The settlement beyond this might be an enemy settlement, or at least not very friendly. Even neighboring settlements have such bad relations with one another that 628 they rarely visit among themselves. But the settlements which 574 are on friendly terms visit each other very frequently, and, when both live in the areas of the conucos, visitors come and go between them every few days.

574 The reasons for visiting are principally to see friends or to stay until their own "conuco" (which might be in a period of little production) begins to produce again.

Standards of Living

513 [349] The Guaika /Waica/ consider it essential to sleep every night under a roof. Thus, they always build some sort of shelter.

[354] A fire is also essential. A Guaika will not sleep without a fire at night. He needs it to obtain heat and to protect himself from animals, and with the fire he feels safer from evil spirits.

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

•621 [62] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and there- [578] fore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

10: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

621

[For information on Yanoama community structure including data on the community population, tendency to exogamy or endogamy, cohesive and fissive tendencies, socio-political and economic structure and organization, etc., see category 116, Introductory p. ii-Introductory p. iii, pp. 2-14, 23, 33-34, 43-44, 53, 58-61, 64-70, 74-76, 79-85, 88-90, 92, 96-118, 121-137, 140-156, 159-175, 183-199, and 207-215.]

11: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

621

[For intracommunity relations, passim, see category 116, pp. 40-137.]

/11 cont./

342 114 [847] Exactly the same construction is shown by Salathé for the Karimé (49), Zerries for the Waiká (50), and Koch-Grünberg for

49. Salathé, 1931/32, pp. 298-300 and Fig. 1 and 2.

50. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

the Xiriána (Schirianá) on the upper Uraricapará; the latter, however, calls the lean-to type of hut a storm-shelter /Wetterschirm/ (51). This name is not suitable, however, for a

51. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Pl. 43 b and c.

genuine storm-shelter, also called windscreen, touches the ground on one side. In the method of construction described and likewise in Koch-Grünberg's drawings, however, the roof rests on supports everywhere. The circular arrangement of the huts is also mentioned in Koch-Grünberg. In this connection the scholar expresses the opinion that this is only a temporary camp (52), which I am

361 114

52. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 300 and Plate 43 a.

now able to confirm with respect to the Surára and Pakidái. On the other hand, Koch-Grünberg, Salathé, and Zerries say nothing about a hut standing in the center. Among the Surára and Pakidái, however, this is never absent. The reason for it, these Indians told me, was to protect the chief sleeping in it from hostile attacks. Moreover, two warriors must always guard the camp at night.

● [622]

361 Along the routes of travel of the Surára and Pakidái in the area between the Demini and Aracá rivers, one finds many such abandoned camps. They are never occupied a second time as overnight quarters, however, although the construction is often

2. Becher--27 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
342
343
361
622

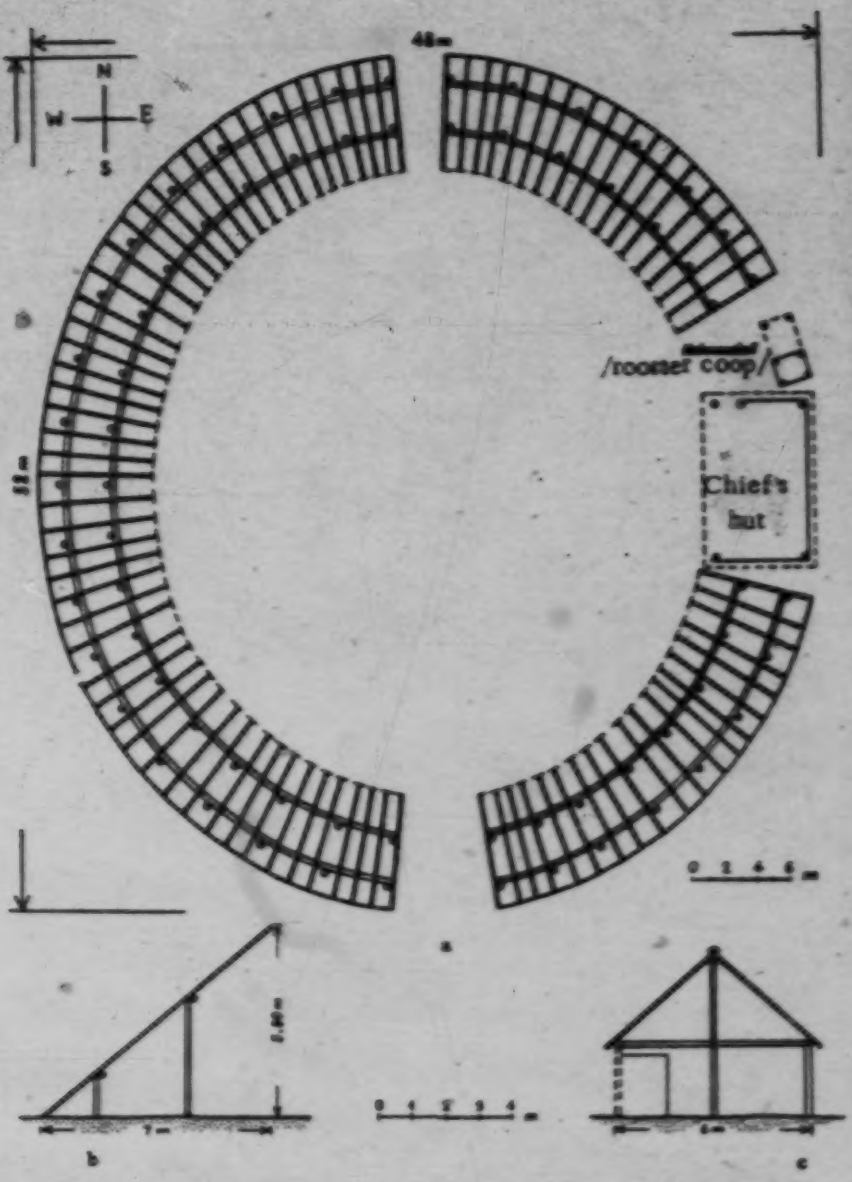


Fig. 1a-c. Ground plan and cross-section of the open maloka with chief's hut.

342 /14 cont./
592 Under these windscreens the families live, one beside the
other. The space for each family amounts to three to four meters.
In the center burns the fire, which is kept going day and night.
354 To the right and left of it hangs a hammock each for the man
352 and the woman (Ill. 29). In the case of larger families, the
592 hammocks are hung around the fire in a triangle and, if neces-
342 sary, one above the other. In the latter case, the chief wife
always sleeps below and the man above, while the second wife
and the older children, or the grandmother, lie in the hammocks
353 on the opposite side of the fire. Above and behind the hammocks
342 the implements, bows, arrows, quivers, knives, baskets, etc.,
231 are hung on the roof framework. In addition, most families
342 have a square or rectangular wooden framework set up far in the
background, which is about one meter high, one-half to at
most one meter long, and is provided with side walls 30 to 50
centimeters high, in which the young dogs sleep, the so-called
[194] dog-bed (Ill. 30). Whether this arrangement is indigenous or
was taken over from Karaiben /Carib/ tribes some time in the
past could not as yet be determined. According to a statement
[191] by the German Franciscan monk, Protasius Frikel, of Santarem,
similar dog-beds are also in use among the Karaiben tribes on
the Rio Trombetas (53).

53. Personal statement by P. Frikel on the occasion of the XXXI. Int. Amerik. Kongr. in São Paulo, 1954.

342 The chief's hut obviously owes its origin to the model of the
622 huts of the planters, and rubber and palm-fiber gatherers. It
[199] has a rectangular ground plan, the broad side is turned toward
the courtyard, and it is also open on this side. The length is
9.70 meters, the width six meters, and the height, exactly the
same as the windscreens, about six meters. In the center stand
four posts five meters long, at both the front and back four
smaller ones, each of which is 2.55 meters high. The small

/14 cont./

342 622 posts are joined by crossbeams; in addition, horizontal strips lead to the tall posts, whereby a gable roof is formed. Over this again lie small, thin cross-strips, on which, exactly as in the case of the large windscreens, the panos, the rectangular palm-leaf mats, are fastened. In the same manner, the rear wall and the two side-walls are also provided with panos. Between the two ends of the front side there are fastened three poles half a meter high, which are often used as sitting places. The entrance, which is one meter wide, is on the right-hand narrow side. The fire burns in the center of the hut, and in a triangle around it are fastened the hammocks in which the chief, his two wives, and the children sleep. All the implements hang on the crossbeams and on the plaiting of the rear wall.

[354] [352] [353]

343 To the right, next to the chief's house, stands a small, open hut which is four meters long, two meters wide, and six meters high. Here, too, the roof has a gable-shape and is likewise covered with panos made of ubim leaves. Under the roof is found a latticework pen about 1.60 X 2 meters, which is used as a rooster coop.

342 From an architectural standpoint, this open, almost circular construction, in which, to be sure, the chief's hut and the coop for the roosters form two foreign bodies added later -- represents an unexcelled method of building, particularly for this hot, tropical region. The circular shape prevents the wind from entering, and the rain, too, cannot reach the families living in the dead angle under the roofs. Moreover, there is always pleasantly fresh air, so that even upon leaving this maloka there is no danger of catching cold. Tribes or groups living in closed malokas are much more subject to respiratory ailments when they leave the warm community house and step out into the cool morning or night air. This maloka of the Surára may doubtless be regarded as one of the oldest and most primitive types of construction of the South American Indians. Around the community house, plantings have been laid out (Ill. 37) and at the present time extend to the middle of the mountain slopes.

[174]

241

/15 cont./

342 large posts. On each of the two narrow sides of the three tall middle posts, 11 thin sticks are attached, organ-fashion, between the supported horizontal poles and form the two gable faces.

[824] Here, too, cipó-titica is used exclusively as the lashing material. To the right on the front broad-side and to the left on the rear one there is a small entrance only one meter high and one meter wide. After the framework is completed (Ill. 8), the panos (rectangular mats made out of the leaves of the ubim palm) are again laid over one another on the roof, like shingles, and fastened to the rafters. It is the same technique as has already been described in the construction of the large, open maloka. The upper part of the two gable sides is left open so that light may penetrate into the interior of the house and the smoke be carried off. The walls, too, are completely covered with panos, and in front of the entrances palm-leaf mats that can be drawn back are hung by means of lianas. Inside the house, the center part is left free for holding festivals and dances, while the families, in the same way as in the open maloka, live comparatively close to the wall, one

[822] family beside the other. For the chief and his family a particularly large space is reserved on the side toward the river.

342 The astonishing fact in this form of house is that the ground
19 plan is circular whereas the roof is gable-shaped. Ordinarily for
114 houses with a circular ground-plan, the conical roof is characteristic, as Olga Coudreau (54) and Koch-Grünberg (55) have shown

54. Olga Courdreau, 1903, p. 121.

55. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 18 and Pl. 2 (1a, 1b, 2a, 2b).

for Karaiben /Carib/ tribes. In this case, one or at most two center posts are used. Koch-Grünberg also mentions, to be sure, a construction with three and writes: "If the two center posts are set farther apart or if, instead of two center posts, three or more are used, /16/ the ridge is lengthened and the circular ground-plan gradually becomes an elliptical one" (56).

56. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22 and Pl. 2 (4).

/59 cont./

595 From this list of families one gains the impression that monogamy predominates. But I was assured by my informants that those warriors who thus far have only one wife would be glad to take a second or even a third one, as was customary among their forefathers. The small number of persons in the tribes, however, has caused a shortage of women, so that most of the men are forced to be content with one spouse.

/60/

619 3. Political Structure

These low population figures could, moreover, arouse the suspicion that it is not tribes, but only tribal divisions that are involved here, especially on account of the connubium in which they live, or merely groups. The chiefs and war chiefs named, however, told me emphatically that the Surára as well as the Pakidái were formerly large and mighty and distributed in many malokas.

[185] They regard achieving this size again as a goal worth striving for.

• 622 An institutional chiefdom with a definitely established succession prevails in both tribes. If the chief dies, his next younger brother automatically takes his place. Only if the youngest brother is dead may the first-born son of the oldest brother, who by that time is usually an older man, occupy the office of chief.

624 701 In addition there is the war chief. This position is not hereditary; rather, the bravest warrior is chosen for it. During peacetimes he has no prerogatives whatever and lives like an ordinary member of the tribe. Only during military encounters does he take over the

[622] leadership, while the real chief, as religious head, doctor, and teacher, is protected and does not take part; the same is true for his brothers.

622 159 The Surára chief Hewemão, very bold and intelligent, is a truly great personality; his orders are respected by all members of the tribe without opposition. When he was still a youth, his father, Xoromão, was killed with two arrow shots by Makuxí /Macusi/ Indians. Hewemão eldest brother, Xaraíma, assumed the succession, but he died of a fever about eight years ago.

/60 cont./

622 159 Since that time Hewemão has been chief and at the same time, like his predecessor, a medicine man who instructs all the male Surára in religion, mythology, magic, curing the sick, and tribal traditions (see pp. 143f.). He also, however, assigns them to occasional communal projects, supervises their activity in the rocas (forest clearings), gives instructions for the building of a maloka, and selects the participants for curing the sick and for magic performances. If a large animal was killed, a tapir, for example, [224] he supervised the fair distribution of the meat so that every family obtained its piece. In the case of smaller game, the hunters usually give their chief a choice piece, and the women bring him and his family fruits and berries or brimming calabashes [554] of refreshing palm drinks. He is thus honored in every way. He and his wives too, however, willingly and freely give up some of their hunting or gathering spoils.

[342] In the large, open maloka he and his two wives and children occupy a special hut (see pp. 24 ff.). During migrations of 622 the tribe he determines when they are to rest and to set out again. 484 Moreover, each morning he arranges for regular march-protection, 159 4-5 warriors who form the advance guard and set out two hours 484 before the departure. They have only their bows and arrows with them and reconnoiter in both directions from the Indian path, in order to be on the lookout for enemies. The bulk of the tribe, which travels in single-file formation, always presented the following picture during the time I lived among the Surára: 3-4 484 warriors armed only with bows and arrows. They carry their 482 weapons longitudinally over their heads or over one shoulder. After them came men with my baggage, the younger brothers of the chief, and finally the latter himself. I walked behind him, my servant Mateus followed me, and the boys and girls with little baskets, then the women with their large, cylindrical baskets, which contain all the household goods. Mothers with babies carried them, in addition, in a carrying band on their left hips. On top of the basket there often sat a little dog, a monkey, or a parrot. Then behind the women there marched 4-5 more warriors as a rear guard.

Surára
Pakidái

/60 cont./

484 These safety measures are necessary, for one must always be prepared for a hostile attack. That is why the /61/ women [482] carry all the household goods, for if the men were thus burdened, they could not defend themselves. For this reason, the chief 484 and his brothers always march in the middle of the tribe, for in • 622 the event of a military encounter the protection of the chief is the 554 supreme command of all the Surára. He is honored and respected, of course, not only as the head of the tribe, but also because he is the adviser in all situations of life, the medicine man who is able to make connections with the hekurá and serras /sierras/ (see PP. 200/201) and can ward off sickness and misfortune. If he were killed, the tribe would suddenly be in a terrible situation, for his successor does not yet have the same experience.

622 The next youngest brother and subsequent successor of Hewemãо is Kurikayawõ. He will be followed by Inxinemí, who is approximately 19 years old, but has not yet completed his youth-initiation. And it is only after the latter that Hemahemí, who is approximately 25 years old and the only son of the oldest brother, Xarimá, who died eight years ago, would be able to take over the leadership.

624 The war chief of the Surára is Xomirawõ, a modest, reserved, but extraordinarily hardy and brave man.

622 Among the Pakidái the succession of chiefs is the same. 624 The following remarks, however, will show the complications that 619 arose six years ago as a result of the death of the old chief Karakarawõ, because his three younger brothers who could have taken over the succession died before him. Karakarawõ did have a son, Karenauõ, but he was still very young, so that there was nothing to do but to entrust the leadership of the tribe for the time being to the war chief Porẽhiwõ as a substitute. At the same time he and the older Pakidái men asked the chief of the friendly Surára, Hewemãо, for advice in many things, especially serious illnesses, magic performances, etc. At this time many younger Pakidái attended the school of the Surára chief, among them the present Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, who was given a very thorough training by Hewemãо. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái even lived

Pakidái
Surára

/61 cont./
622 together for several years, both in the sierra during the dry season
619 and at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá during the
624 rainy season. In the long run, however, the war chief Porêhiwõ did not like this, and there were also differences of opinion with the young chief, so he and his brother Kaxiribewõ, with their families temporarily withdrew from the tribe and remained alone in Taraquá, the Pakidái maloka on the middle Demini.

As a result of the youthful exuberance of the not yet fully mature Pakidái chief Karenauõ, the previously good relationship between the Surára and Pakidái was unfortunately slightly disturbed. Yet Karenauõ really had every reason to be grateful to Hewemãõ.

769 The discord began in March 1956 during the great festival
619 in memory of the dead, which the Surára as hosts and the Pakidái
622 as guests always celebrate together, and in which some friendly Pusebeweterf and Xiriána families also took part. During this gathering it is customary for Hewemãõ to be acknowledged as the head by the guests, even by their chiefs, and for his orders to be followed. Young Karenauõ, however, refused to do this. He suddenly felt himself very strong because the member of Pakidái, of course, is considerably larger than that of the Surára. The rivalry between the chiefs increased from day to day and extended even to the members of the two tribes. It was only thanks to the magnanimous, wise attitude of Hewemãõ and the mediation of the chief of the Pakidái, Porêhiwõ, who returned to his tribe and exerted great influence, that greater tensions or even military encounters could be avoided. This was only to be welcomed, for there is a long, traditional friendship between the two tribes, which has deepened consanguineously as a result of intermarriages.

[166] When the festival was over, at the end of March 1956, the Pakidái again moved to /62/ Taraquá on the middle Demini and the Surára to the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá. But at this point I was to experience a great surprise. Three Pakidái men, with their families, no longer followed their chief Karenauõ, but joined Hewemãõ and thus actually emigrated to the Surára.

Surara, Pakidai

/62 cont./ The father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confinements which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[622] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

/71 cont./

765 dancing and singing. About an hour before sunrise, however, all
787 the sleepers were awakened; they again took snuff immediately,
276 and once more there began a wild dance with singing until day-
[821] break. The death ceremony must be kept secret from the sun (it
[715] is likewise regarded as a male creature), the worst enemy of the moon, because otherwise it would hinder the soul's wandering. Loudly sustained, shrill, joyous cries formed the conclusion and made it manifest that the soul of the deceased had found entry
765 into the moon. Then all the warriors, sobbing loudly, formed a circle around the burned-down funeral pyre, while the /72/ brother and other relatives gathered up the charred remains of the bones from the ashes. After these had been pounded in gourd vessels by means of small stone mortars, the bone ashes were emptied into two bowls made out of the jamaru fruit, which the brother of the deceased wrapped with palm leaves and a liana binding. Thereupon he handed them to the chief, who lifted up each one in the direction of the moon and, singing, blessed it, while the men standing about uttered shrill cries. With this the end of the ceremony was reached, and the exhausted warriors could again return to their maloka in order to recover in their hammocks from
[766] the strenuous night. The brother of the deceased tied the two jamaru bowls containing the bone ashes to the rafters of the roof behind his hearth, in order to keep them for the big annual festival in memory of the dead, at which the bone ashes of their dead, mixed with banana soup, are drunk by the men (see pp.231 ff.). From now on there was no more wailing and weeping in the maloka; daily life had resumed its normal course.

776 After the death of women and of children too, as soon as they have completed the third year of life, the death ceremonies are
● [822] conducted in exactly the same way. For a deceased chief, on the other hand, there is dancing around the funeral pyre for three nights, for, of course, his entrance into the moon must be particularly solemn.

Surára, Pakidái

619 /74 cont./
648 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.
721

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-
[835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára
[171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriâna. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the
[171]

342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

619 /75 cont./ already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
651 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
576 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon
574 hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114]

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
178
241 At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had
622 been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in par-
000 ticular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[174]

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

Surára
Pakidái

/77 cont./

223 (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) -- maraxí --, jacu (Penelope sp.) -- kuremá --, japim (Cacicus cela L.) -- anhakoramá --, inambu (Crypturellus sp.) -- rororôme --, inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.) -- honamá --, toucan (Rhamphastus sp.) -- mahebé --, arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) arakaké -- arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.) -- maracanã --, papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxeramakó --, papagaio curica (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxerá --, garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm) -- korihená.

[825] [153] The gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- nonexí -- is killed for magical reasons, because it is believed that there is concealed in it a hostile medicine man who brings sickness and [237] other disasters. Its down feathers are glued into the hair by the men as trophies (see p. 95); the meat is discarded. The gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm) -- nonexipéke -- is also killed only for its feathers, which serve the men as upper-arm ornaments.

[825] They never shoot at the urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.) -- uatubá --, for they are glad that they remove the refuse.

224 In conclusion it should be mentioned that traps are unknown to the Surára and Pakidái (353).

353. There is a corresponding statement by Zerries about the Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

[622] If the hunter has killed a small animal, he may keep this booty for himself and his family, but he often gives the chief a roasted or boiled piece of it. A big-game animal, on the other hand, is divided up under the chief's supervision, and each family gets a piece of meat. This communal feeling is very strongly marked, and no member of the tribe would ever violate it.

Suraŕg
Pakidái

/79 cont./

241 wood is well dried out, the clearing is set afire and the potash that remains constitutes fertilizer at the same time. Large trunks, stumps, and branches that did not burn up are simply left lying [361] and the crops are planted in between (Ill. 37). Only in the center of the clearing is a circle about 50-60 meters in diameter completely cleaned up, for here an open or closed circular maloka [622] is erected. This roça (forest clearing) -- hikarĩ --, which surrounds the community house, is then divided up by the chief among the individual families, so that they may plant here banana plants, pupunha palms, manioc, taioba, carâ, cotton, [462] tobacco, etc. (368). Clearing and planting, along with weeding,

[184]

368. Since an interest in agriculture has not been aroused in all families, however, it happens that some may relinquish their share, which is then worked by another family.

falls to the men; the women help only with the harvest. Since [134] the soil is very infertile, however, /80/ for it has only a thin humus layer which is constantly being leached out by the tropical rains, the cultivation of tubers is possible for at most three years (369).

[132]

369. The luxuriant growth of the forest may be explained only by the humidity and warmth of the climate, which, like hothouse air, accelerates the circulation of nutrients.

24 Then the work of clearing and burning off begins anew beyond
36 the previous circular strip of field. This may be repeated several
166 times, so that the maloka is finally surrounded by three, four, or more ring-shaped fields, until one day the tribe builds its maloka
245 at another place and lays out new fields. Banana trees and pupunha palms are left standing in the old clearings, but are always planted also in the new ones, since these fruit trees yield for 6-8 years or 50 years (pupunha palm); their fruits are regularly harvested, even on long-abandoned, distant fields.

Surára
Pakidái

/102 cont./

755 [123] I was allowed to take part as a spectator in all the cures, and each rekurá was a new, great experience for me. I was 755 amazed at the devotion, passion, and fervor with which the 756 chief and his helpers interceded with all their physical and 622 psychic powers to ward off the sicknesses of their fellow-tribesmen (504). This explains why the Surára and Pakidái

[123]

504. The same care was bestowed upon me, the stranger. If I had an attack of malaria, the chief and his helpers likewise danced around me, and they sang in chorus while Hewemão stroked my body, massaged it, and sucked at it. He was of the opinion that the Waiká had poisoned my blood because I lived in friendship with the Surára and had brought them so many beautiful gifts.

have such boundless confidence in their chiefs and are absolutely convinced of their magic powers. It is doubtless due to this unshakable faith that so many of the sick can be cured (505).

505. I never saw the chiefs demand a fee for their cures. The members of the tribe show their appreciation, however, by continuously offering their chiefs larger or smaller gifts (see p. 130).

[431]

755 756 114 In this context I should like to cite the following very revealing description by Herbert Baldus: "The witch doctors were simply called imposters by early travelers, and even today all whites who are incapable of understanding the mentality of the Indian are of the same opinion. One forgets that, as a result of the suggestibility of the primitive, the magic practices not only essentially help the sick person and rid his relatives of their fears, but also weave such a spell around the practitioner himself that it is impossible to decide to what extent he is acting in good

Surára
Pakidái

769 /103 cont./ Then they sat down in a
535 circle and started singing a song in chorus. Soon afterwards
[533] five warriors, holding arrows in both hands, arose and danced around the singers. Now and then they made huge leaps and shouted in a high, shrill voice. All this was enacted on a cool, cloudy, full-moon night, but the numerous hearths added some light. All the women and girls, as well as my servant Mateus and I, lay in the hammocks and watched the unique spectacle. Toward 1:00 in the morning the male participants in the festival arose and now danced, again one behind the other, around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard. They were arranged in such a way that a man with two arrows was always followed by one who held his hands crossed behind his head.

• [622] [123] Suddenly Chief Hewemãõ, who was sleeping in his hammock next to me, was tapped lightly by a warrior with an arrow. He got up at once, removed shirt and trousers (he had been given the two articles of clothing by me as gifts), took a bow without a bowstring in his hand, had snuff-powder blown into his nose, and mixed with the dancers, who, however, immediately after his entrance formed the following new formation: Ten men arranged themselves in rhombus form at the head of the dance procession, one at the very front, two behind to one side, and two more behind and to one side of these; two stood directly opposite the latter, then followed two who stood somewhat inward and finally one who was in the middle behind these (Fig. 29). The first five warriors, who had blackened themselves with soot, symbolized the nonexí (evil spirits or spirits of sickness, see p. 211) and were obliged to dance backwards. The five dancers following them embodied hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits who /104/ /Fig. 29 appears here/ Pakidái; see pp. 199, 214 ff.). Between these two groups of five, the participants of which each held two arrows in their hands, a sham battle was being carried out during the dance (see also pp. 214 ff.). Each of the men of the first group danced two steps back and one forward, and those of the second, two steps forward and one back. In between, wild leaps and turns were executed, the men threatened each other with the arrows and screamed in the highest key. The "nonexí" were constantly in

Surára
Pakidái

/104 cont./

769
535

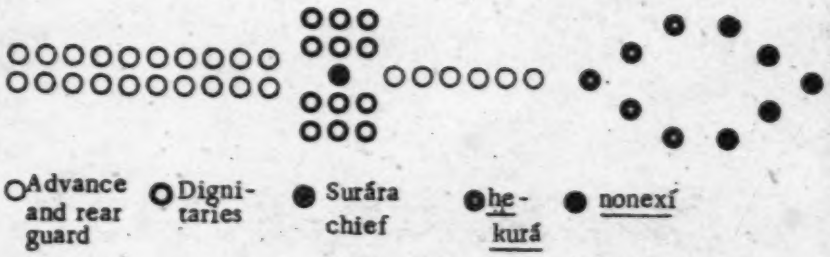


Fig. 29. Arrangement of the dancers on the occasion of a ceremony of the festival in memory of the dead.

retreat and defended themselves with all their might against the advancing "hekurá." Behind these ten "fighting" dancers there followed six men in a row, each with an arrow in his hand, the advance guard of the chief. At a slight distance they were joined by the Surára [622] chief Hewemão, flanked on either side by six men forming a double row. These men were also prominent personalities; thus, among them there were the two younger brothers of the chief, the war chief of the Surára, the chief and war chief of the Pakidái, as well as especially excellent older warriors of both tribes. Following them, as a rear guard, in a double-row formation, came the rest of the men, young men, and boys. All who took part in the procession moved in the customary dance steps, two forward and one back, during which they sang in chorus. Now and then Chief Hewemão would utter a hissing sound, whereupon all the participants grouped themselves in the center of the plaza around the large clay plate with snuff-powder. Here the chief, in a singing voice, prayed to the hekurá [622] and asked them to intercede with Poré/Perimbó, so that the festival [782] would be vouchsafed a happy and successful course. Then the men [276] blew new snuff-powder into each other's noses, whereupon the dance would continue in the manner described above. This dancing and singing lasted, except for the brief interruptions at the clay plate, until 6:00 in the morning.

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/107 cont./

769 in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted
526 one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs
[622] and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this
[624] type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with
[147] five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other, who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexí (see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After
[262] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed themselves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and manioc flat-
[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in connection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

769 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká,
114 which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds
184

515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

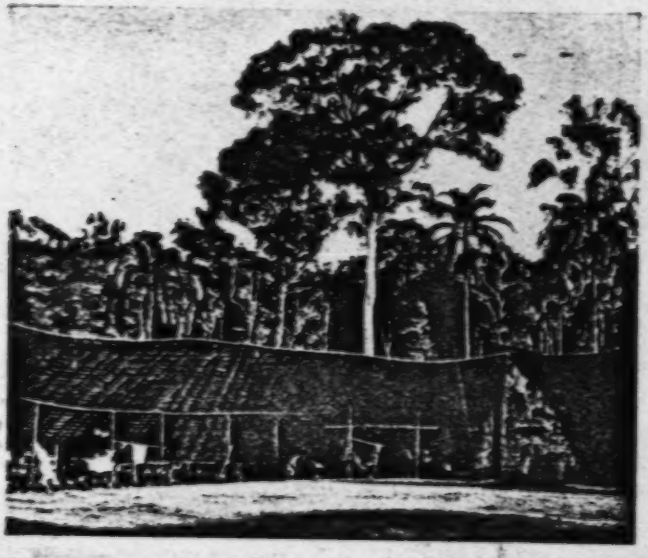
516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

2: Becher--269 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/4/

139
342
361



Ill. 6. A section of the large, open Surára maloka

342
361
231
343
• 622

Ill. 7. Chief's hut (right) and rooster pen inside the Surára maloka

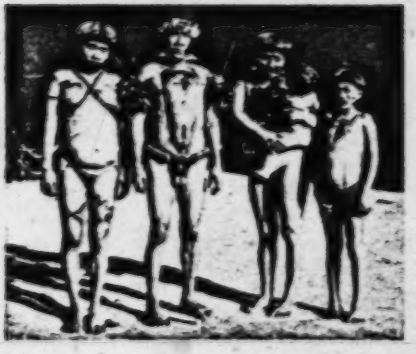
2- Becher--270 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

342
361

Ill. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)

142
301
302
291
622

Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)



Ill. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children

142
291
301
302
854
622

142
301
302

Ill. 11. Kurikayawo, the younger brother of the Surára chief

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/12/

137 ←

137
241
622
516
412 →

Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

137
481 ←

114
142
302
291
516
624 →

Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Porêhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateu Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

/213/

197 174 Regarding the Chibcha characteristics in the Warao and Yanoama idioms, it is probably a substratum which we shall provisionally call proto-Chibcha. The Chibcha traits which are perceived in them do not seem to represent elements acquired owing to contact, but rather an ancient stratum common to the idioms which are at the present time identified as Chibcha.

143 174 Finally, it is necessary to point out that, judging from the genetic constitution (the Diego antigen) of some Chibcha tribes, it might be surmised that the highly formative culture was introduced by people genetically different from the Marginal Chibcha such as Tunebo, Barí, Warao, Yanoama, whose culture was favorably conditioned in the direction of the adoption and the increment of formative cultures and indigenous civilizations. Some tribes were absorbed by the invaders; others, such as the tribes that we have just mentioned, maintained their independence. Perhaps we shall have to deal with greater emphasis in the future with primitive reminiscences in the formative cultures instead of talking so much about traits and loans from the west among the Marginals of Guayana /Guiana/ and others. We have the impression that we are bringing out a complex of ancient culture in South America, from which a number of traits have survived in the more highly developed cultures.

622 [624] [793] Political duties are performed by a chief /jefe/ and a military leader. We are of the opinion that the priest can at the same time be the chief of a local group. We cannot, however, make a categorical affirmation, owing to the confusion which exists among the people as a consequence of the strong cultural current which is invading this Sanemá nucleus. In the same group on the Ventuari we observed that the office of chief is inherited patrilineally. The old chief had left his duties to his eldest son, about 28 years old, and it was easy to see that his younger brother, about 20 years old, was also respected as a possible future chief (cf. Becher, 1960, pp. 60-61. Chieftainships over more than a local group do not exist.

/213 cont./

793 For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain
624 later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may
[622] not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the im-
123 pression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly
[276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our
775 informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after
[841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a
[126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made
[532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals; he was the guapo. 1/1

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. 71-An.]

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanoama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hăwiewan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*hăilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hăwiewan* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Sanumavi)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, erect, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barker, 1955, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 35.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vinci, 1956, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1959.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'I am Uarema,' he declared to his Guayca kinsmen, who looked on him with hostile eyes because he was wearing trousers, 'Uarema, son of Measi. I was here as a boy. A long time I have been with "the rationals" [the civilized m n] and I have grown to manhood. You are my people.'

His turning up in this fashion had a touch of the fabulous about it, and his kinsmen took him along without ill-treating him. When they found him to be a man of many accomplishments, and the old men remembered how he had disappeared during Uagna's time, after an encounter with the Samatari from the Aracosa lands, they kept him with them as their rightful chief, giving him unlimited freedom of action. As his obedient subjects they left it all to him.

Uarema had never taken to civilization. For him, it had lacked something. What it had lacked, we cannot guess: the civilization of the Lower Guiana rivers may be bounded by the cloth hammock and the bottle of rum, the loose woman and the pack of cards, but it cannot be ranked any lower than the barbarianism of the Guayca, eaters of worms and snakes. But now, after his experience of life with 'the rationals', neither could the young man endure the ceaseless warfare which engaged his own peoples. The broken heads he saw round the fire in the evenings, the howls of the medicine-men at their exorcisings—all this was anathema to him. He told his kinsfolk they had better put it all aside, and grow something. From the Soto they could obtain seeds and roots. Much manioc was needed, because without it one was always hungry. Sugar-cane was a pleasant thing to suck at any time, and the children loved it. Above all, there must be bananas, as far as eye could see—the forest must be transformed into a huge garden of fruits, there for the picking. Thus, with his head full of ideas which owed their origin to the years he had spent in civilization, Luis Antonio founded a new Guayca people. They were Guayca Indians no longer, but peasants—peasants who cared for the tilling of the soil and a sure supply of food. These Guayca called themselves after him, Uarema. They inhabited two big homesteads an hour distant from the Merevari river—a little above the mouth of the Canaracuni.

Now Luis Antonio wanted to stay with us and work, because he needed cloth for his people. We gave him what little we had been able to save from the greedy hands of Pancho's men, and he went off for a brief visit to his tribe, intending to return to Kirisochi in four days' time.

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621 [162] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and therefore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups [578] soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

844 /489 cont./
123 They also invited us to do this, but, not knowing the meaning of the practice, we declined to do so.

846 After this, the mother took the little creature and went off to her house. There she rested for two or three days before resuming her work in the "conuco."

844 Later, another child was born at night. We were not there, but we were informed that it had been born in the house, to which green leaves were brought for the birth.

Puberty

881 To reach puberty is an important event, especially for the girls. It is considered that the girl has reached puberty at her first menstruation. Her mother, older sister, or another woman who might be her guardian gathers leaves and builds a wall around her hammock to isolate her from everything. For approximately one week, the girl never leaves this area. Her mother brings her food, water, firewood, and any other things which might be needed.

At the end of this retirement, the girl comes out, adorned with flowers, leaves, cotton belts, strings of beads, and feathers.

Maturity

885 A man is considered mature when he has marriageable chil-
●622 dren. The head of a settlement is frequently a grandfather, but sometimes the settlement may be governed by a somewhat younger man.

Old Age

888 Retirement from active life is somewhat gradual, depending upon the strength of the individual.

Old persons are respected, but they are no longer leaders in the affairs of the settlement. They are cared for even when they are no longer capable of contributing to their own support. /Plates I-V follow./

123 /163 cont./
75 wanted that person to die. I assured them that we alone had not cured the boy. The whole aldea had asked God to cure him, and God had answered. The people of the aldea affirmed that this was the case. They had prayed sufficiently, and God had spared his life.

726 The chief's brother came to Yabitjaotjeti and told the chief that the Liacoatjeti had been visiting upriver and that now they were on their way to their homes in their own aldea.

The chief called a meeting for another raid. First the [622] whole aldea moved across the river in order to get away from the bank that was easy for the Shibaatfa-tjeti to attack. David and I picked up our hammocks and went with them across the river. On the following day the men set off on the raid, or, more properly, they went down to the Bisheasetjeti to depart from there. Only the adult men went; the boys and children 17 years old or less remained at home.

This time David and I were able to pray that they might not fight. We asked, rather, that the Lord might protect the believers from danger. He did it. The raiders /164/ were gone
727 about three weeks. When they returned, the chief came to the aldea and had an official colloquy, briefly, with the most important man who was left in the aldea. At most the chanted colloquy lasted about half a minute. Then they all began to cry. Someone had been killed. We looked to see who had come back
[302] and, if possible, to see who was missing. Some of the men had red marks on their cheeks and on the forehead as a sign that they had killed someone or had "hecho" /done, finished/ much in the fight, for they did not know whether they had killed anyone or not.

I later learned that three of the enemy had been killed, and that one of those of the party, a man from Macolimutjeti, had been wounded in the chest and had died.

727 The underbrush had been cleared away at the site of our
783 temporary aldea, which thus would not serve for the matadores /killers/ to fulfill the rites of a matador as they should be done in thick underbrush. Therefore within an hour we moved to a

000 marriage exchanges with other groups.

* 621 The weakness of kinship[1]

* 623 613 Few institutions promote solidarity between the local lineages of a village on the one hand and between

* 602 623 allied villages on the other. Consanguineal kinship ties are weak; so weak, that the most bitter fighting usually takes place between villages comprised of closely related

* 621 • 622 578 kinsmen. The roles of leaders are poorly defined, and headmen can rarely reconcile dissident factions within their own

* 621 578 villages. Moreover, there are a number of factors constantly

* [628] threatening the stability of local groups, and these factors likewise weaken political relationships between allied villages. Within villages fighting frequently breaks out

[411] over food thefts and over sexual liaisons. In the latter

[241] case the fighting takes the form of dueling with clubs, and

[361] usually the result is that the village splits; one of the factions establishes a garden elsewhere and becomes an independent village. As the histories of selected villages

* 361 621 will show (see below, Chapter 5), the settlement pattern of Yanomamö villages is cyclical; it results from the splitting of larger villages, the renewed growth of the splinter groups into large villages, followed by recurrent splitting

* 621 602 and growth ad infinitum. Kinship as a medium for promoting solidarity within villages loses its efficacy when villages

---

[1] It is difficult to discuss each variable affecting marriage alliances as operating by itself, for they are intimately interconnected, and I list them separately only to point out their major features.

which is tied a bundle of feathers.[1]

Besides shamans, of which there are several in every village, there are influential 'big men.' The number of big men in a village depends, on the one hand, on the size of the village and the number of local patrilineages comprising it, and, on the other, on the number of men who are personally qualified to lead. The qualities that determine leadership are personal courage, fierceness, the ability to be outraged by even the slightest insult, marksmanship, diplomacy in trading with representatives from other villages, the ability to arrange marriages for male supporters with females from other villages, cunning and intelligence in dealings with allies, the ability to attract young men to live permanently in the village by promising them wives, and the defense of group members who get into difficulties with other village members.

Individuals who possess all these attributes are considered leaders only if they have a large natural following, i.e., brothers and sons living with them in their village. Otherwise, such men have only just a little more

---

[1] To give a more comparative statement on the poverty of Yąnomamö culture, they possess only 11 traits of the 384 listed in the 4th edition of Carneiro and Tobias' "Trait List to be Used for the Study of Cultural Evolution by Means of Scale Analysis," (1963, mimeograph). By contrast, the Siriono have 8, the Andamanese 10, the Jivaro 22, the Nuer 28, the Siuai 39, the Iroquois 64, the Bemba 100 and the Tahitians 140. (Carneiro and Tobias, 1963:201.) In the classification developed by E. R. Service (1962), the Yąnomamö are "tribal."

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the [701] entire group has already decided to undertake. His major function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable [529 574 439] task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often supervises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [527 241] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food given away during the feast. During club-fights within the [578 621 629] village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

629 92 554 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

women. During relatively peaceful times headmen are hardly more than equals among their followers and their ability to command respect and issue orders diminishes accordingly. Political commitments to aid other villages in raiding, however, usually precludes long periods of peace and, should a village fail in such an obligation, its allies quickly turn on it and force it to participate. Thus, political circumstances are continually forcing villages into situations that require leadership.

B. Anthropological Work On the Yąnomamö

So far four anthropological expeditions have had an opportunity to study Yąnomamö groups, but only two of these spent an adequate amount of time in the field to collect data that substantially increase our knowledge of Yąnomamö culture. I refer to the expeditions of the Frobenius Institute in 1954-55 which brought Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster to the village of Mahekodo-tedi for some 10 months, and the expedition of Hans Becher in 1955-56 to the upper Demini River in Brazil, where he studied two villages for 9 months. The expeditions of Koch-Grünberg in 1911-12 and Johannes Wilbert in 1958 and 1960 made only brief contacts with Yąnomamö.

The results of Koch-Grünberg's contact with two groups of Yąnomamö are summarized in his Vom Rorima zum Orinoco. He met two "hordes" of "Schiriana" in 1911 on the upper Uraricuera (Parima) River of Brazil. One group, whose

884 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

593 561 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yąnomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [583] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi [595] obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

*621 602 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed *[628] as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be affectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other *621 villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kąobawä 613 of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one 602 591 degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were [622]

[1] See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kąobawë's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwë, 18). Whenever Kąobawë organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Nadesiwë, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kąobawë. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawë, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kąobawë's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kąobawë's nephew, Bäkotawë, 18 years old.

Kąobawë's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kąobawë to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

622 602 613 561 123 554 591 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I asked Kaobawä what he had done about it. He said he had spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ultimately had to resort to my own means to recover the flashlight, as Kaobawä could not force Shiimima to return it. When I questioned Kaobawä about this ineffectiveness, he explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion

622 613 602 529 594 351 554 591 561 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scraping up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy preparing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing. Kaobawä usually goes to the center of the village and begins cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if Kaobawä requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this regard implies that one is being bossed around.

*621 613 602 561 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of

593 602 613 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult

628 602 613 726 same lineages. The warfare between the two groups, therefore, was largely a struggle between groups of distantly related agnates. Kɨobawä, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, participated in the raiding against the Patanowä-tedi. In one [622] skirmish, he shot his classificatory brother, Rakoiwä, but Rakoiwä survived the wound. This man is as closely related to Kɨobawä as most of the men that presently constitute his agnatic following in Upper Bisaasi-tedi, again illustrating the significance of co-residence in determining the strength [583] of the agnatic tie. Two young men from Patanowä-tedi recenlty joined the Bisaasi-tedi to obtain wives. After they arrived, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Patanowä-tedi resumed their old [606] hostilities. The fathers-in-law of the two men recruited [593] both of them into raiding parties that attacked the Patanowä-tedi, and both men participated willingly, despite the fact that their actual fathers and brothers live in Patanowä-tedi. One of the young men, Sirorowä, told me that he would have avoided shooting his own father (Yoyosiwä) and actual brothers, but would have shot more distant agnates.

628 726 602 607 622 That the brother-in-law tie is stronger than the tie between distantly related agnates is also illustrated in the history of a war between Mahekodo-tedi and Yabitawä-tedi. These two villages are led by men who are classificatory brothers. The war stated when a man from Boreta-tedi, a brother-in-law of the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, was killed by the Yabitawä-tedi headman in a club fight. As the slain man's sisters were married to the Mahekodo-tedi headman, the

728
724 latter felt obliged to revenge the man's death by raiding
602
607 his classificatory brother's village.
622

Similar cases occur in internal village fighting.
621 Hunobawä, an Upper Bisaasi-tedi man of some 60 years, gathered
578 a stalk of bananas from his garden and hung them in the roof
593 of his hut to ripen. His son, Dikawä, 18 years old, discovered the ripening bananas and ate a large number of them without the consent of his father. When Hunobawä discovered the loss, he went into a rage and attacked Dikawä with a club. Dikawä got his own club and began assailing the old man. This precipitated a general free-for-all in the village, as large numbers of men took one side or the other in the melee.

628
602 Club fights between historically related but separate
578 villages also pit agnates against each other. When Bisaasi-
613 tedi's Lower Group seized a girl that the Monou-tedi had
583 abducted from the Patanowä-tedi, a club fight was arranged to settle the dispute. But, the most important factions in Monou-tedi and the two Bisaasi-tedi groups were local descent groups of the same lineage, and their headmen were classificatory brothers. Although the dispute and club fight ultimately involved all the able-bodied men of each village, the fight was initiated by distantly related agnatic groups of the same lineage.

602
578 Some dyadic kinship ties are more stable than others. It is not possible to say, however, that any one in particular is so inherently stable that fighting between such kinsmen can not occur. Certain kinds of violence, however, are not

128 that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of
*621 two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.
613

There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is
162 not representative of the typical Yąnomamö village: the sex
*621 ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as
*628 there are males in the village, and the group is politically
562 stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within
583 this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mömariböwei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises
[529] two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed
[504] in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of
[726] Bisaasi-tedi.

*621 The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a
● 622 number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More
613 importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to
602 each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawä, has astutely manipulated

---

128 logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a
*621 number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity
*628 of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace
613 their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawä-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absense of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Reromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-in-law. Reromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the village. He has four adult sons to support his position. Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[1] His son, Bäkëbowë, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Reromawë is getting old.

621 622 613 604 736 601 564 183 582 actual brothers of these women were killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast,[1] and the women therefore had few agnates to contest Reromawë's actions; his rights to dispose of these women increased after their brothers were killed in the feast. Because of the previous marriages between the members of the Sha and Tom lineages, Reromawë was already MoBr to the politically most important males in the Tom lineage, and he could command respect from them by virtue of the fact that he was of the ascending generation and principal wife-giver to them. He in fact gave two daughters to one of these men. 583 601 183 582 When he re-defined one of his classificatory daughters as sister, he advanced his position in two ways. First, he then became shoriwë to the man that was married to this sister (the man was already SiSo to Reromawë), compounding the cognatic tie (SiSo) that linked them with an important affinal tie (shoriwë). Second, he was able then to claim a daughter of this 'sister' as a wife for his own son (despite the fact that it was incestuous), creating additional stable ties between the two lineages on another generational level.

601 183 582 In another, similar, case, Reromawë re-defined a different classificatory daughter as 'sister,' making it possible for her son to marry his daughter. This was a strategic move, for the man involved was of the Hor lineage, a dominant political group in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. Thus, by manipulating the kinship system, Reromawë advanced his own position as village leader and managed to

[1] See Chapter V.

*621 *622 613 602 subordinate his potential competitors by the way in which he disposed of the women and/or their children.

*621 613 602 562 582 583 There are a number of individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi who are not related agnatically to either the Sha or the Tom lineages. These individuals do not, however, constitute a political bloc; each is tied by marriage to the two lineages, and are therefore subordinate (by virtue of obligations to their wife-givers) to the members of that lineage. Most of these individuals are females, and do not represent a political factor in the affairs of the village. Some of them were abducted from Shamatari villages in the past, and a larger number of them were obtained in marriage alliances from other Shamatari recently. The six adult males of this non-agnatic group who might pose a threat to the stability of the village by making liaisons with married women are all married themselves. With the exception of two brothers, they are unrelated to each other. One of them is married to Reromawä's daughter, another is married to his son's daughter, and the two brothers (actual WiBrSo to Reromawä) are married, respectively, to Reromawä's classificatory son's daughter in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and will move there while he does his bride service, and a classificatory brother's daughter.[1] The remaining two men are in Faction B. One of these joined Reromawä's group before 1945 to get revenge against the

[1] This woman is one of the seven abducted by the Monou-tedi from the Patanowä-tedi and taken, in turn, by Reromawä's group from the Monou-tedi. Technically, then, Reromawä is her 'father' and the man to whom she was given is 'son-in-law' to Reromawä. See Chapter V.

*628 722 the Upper Bisaasi-tedi had a large village and two small villages. The two smaller villages were occupied by the two factions of the Upper group; the large village was unoccupied. It was used only when threat of raid existed, during which time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi re-joined their group and all moved into the large village. In 1965 the large village was rebuilt, but for the first time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi did not participate in the reconstruction of the common village. A few individuals who feared raids, however, did build a section in the village for themselves.

Lower Bisaasi-tedi, then, would re-unite with Upper Bisaasi-tedi in time of war, although each group pursues its own political ends and remains independent of the other in times of peace. One of the major reasons this is so can be explained in terms of the dyadic relationships discussed in [128] the last chapter. Figure 3 gives the simplified lineage structure of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Lower Bisaasi-tedi, and *621 Monou-tedi. These three villages were one in 1954; Monou- *628 tedi split from the group to found their own village. In 578 1960 Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Lower Bisaasi-tedi split from each other, but remained geographically close to each other. The reasons given for the splits were that the groups were always fighting over women and, to reduce the frequency of club fighting, they simply parted before hostilities became intense. Even at the present time there is considerably more fighting in the village when the groups coalesce for defense [602] purposes. In terms of the kinship dyads, the problem can be [622]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

reduced to the weakness of the tie between remotely related agnates of the same age, and their rivalry for both women and leadership. The leaders of the three villages are all members of the same lineage.[1] It can be seen in Figure 3 that the headmen of the villages (indicated as 1, 2, and 3) are all agnates, each belonging to a different local segment of the lineage.[2]

As was shown in the last chapter, the ties between distantly related agnates of the same age are probably the most ambiguous and weakest ties in Yąnomamö kinship. The feuds that developed within the large, composite village could not be satisfactorily resolved by the leaders of the village, as each leader's segment had more important and stronger ties with local segments of other lineages, and local segments of the same lineage aligned themselves with their affines in disputes against the factions of their agnates. When the village split, it separated along the weakest lines: agnates that were distantly related dispersed to different villages with the groups to which they were more closely bound, their affines. The same is true of the separation of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi from the Patanowä-tedi. Factions A and B of Lower Bisaasi-tedi, when put into the larger,

---

[1] In 1965 the Sha headman of Monou-tedi was killed by the Patanowä-tedi in a raid.

[2] The Sha lineage is shown on the left half of the diagram; it extends to Patanowä-tedi, as does the Hor lineage shown on the right side. Patanowä-tedi's composition is simply an enlarged version of any of the other villages shown in the diagram, and its headmen come from the Sha and Hor lineages.

174 *628 729 32 24 [175] where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tăka to Kreibŏwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawĕ and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowĕ-tăka, and became known as the Patanowĕ-tedi.

174 *628 721 578 726 602 [622] [583] [591] The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawĕ-tedi and Kashorawĕ-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawĕ, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawĕ-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowĕ-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowĕ-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawĕ-tedi visited Patanowĕ-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowĕ-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawĕ-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawĕ-tedi. Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowĕ-tedi and Yabitawĕ-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

174 726 *628 722

others. Matakuwä's group was being raided by Kayabawä's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-kähö. These raids forced Matakuwä and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-kähö and settle at Shirakoböwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakoböwei

Matakuwä's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawä's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewä and Orakawä. During the fighting a young man from Karehewä's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewä moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewä's followers raided the group at Shirakoböwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewä to move further north. Karehewä's son, Riakowä, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowä's son, Börösöwä. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Börösöwä's group. They feared Börösöwä would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyahowä, split off from

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

000 rarily abandoning Konabuma.

174 195 *621 578 361 Matakuwä's group had three factions. Oroshowä, a man belonging to Matakuwä's faction, took a woman away from her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village of his own on the Shukumöna-u River. This split took place about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwä's village to avenge the death of Biawawä, the man killed in the feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was unable to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's group to found their own villages: Warabawä-tedi, led by Hewariwä, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwä. These last two villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time, as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Missionaries on the Cauabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group lived on the Shukumöna-u River, as men from Reyaboböwei-tedi danced there that year. When the Reyaboböwei-tedi left Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174 175 *621 361 [622] [699] 361 [574] *[628] [724]

174 36 922 In about 1935 Matakuwä and his group moved to Kayurewä to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.

---

*[628] [1] Warabawä-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabäyoma.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 4: Kayurewë

174 175 +628 926 861 The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. Matakuwë's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwë, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowë-tëka. Ruwahiwë was Matakuwë's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, Matakuwë moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174 +621 361 About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by Matakuwë's group, the group split into two villages. One of • (622) them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwë's (101) son, Sibarariwë. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumöna-u River and took the name Paruritawë-tedi, led by (578) Weiamamowë. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal (721) feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

174 36 +628 922 175 Sibarariwë's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the Paruritawë-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Aramamisi-tedi and the Paruritawë-tedi themselves forced Sibarariwë's group to abandon Konabuma

*628 would have been a display of weakness. They decided to
721 challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a club fight and settle their
578 grievances by that means. Ten days after Kakoma was taken from Karidimö, the Monou-tedi men arrived at Bisaasi-tedi and settled the dispute in a club fight. The Monou-tedi were thoroughly trounced by the larger number of Bisaasi-tedi, but they nevertheless demonstrated their potential and willingness to fight, thereby warning the Bisaasi-tedi that they better not attempt to seize more women in the future.

The Bisaasi-tedi clearly had taken advantage of the Monou-tedi numerical weakness and political needs to advance their own ends.

726 In the first week of March 1965 the PatanowÃ-tedi raided the Monou-tedi. They found the village site on the Mavaca River deserted, so they crossed the river and followed the trail taken by the Monou-tedi to their new garden. They [822] caught the Monou-tedi headman outside the new garden and killed him.

*628 This attack brought about an immediate rapprochement
728 between the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi. Even KąobÃwÃ, leader of one of Bisaasi-tedi's main factions, was furious over this killing. Up to this point he was still interested in making peace with the PatanowÃ-tedi, but this even temporarily changed his mind. KąobÃwÃ ultimately led the revenge
726 raid against the PatanowÃ-tedi.

[964] The Monou-tedi burned the corpse of the slain headman and sent small gourds of his ground bones to members of allied

There were, however, two recognizable factions within this group; one was led by Kąobäwä, who had many relatives in both Patanowä-tedi and Monou-tedi, and the other was led by Paruriwä, who had no consanguineal relatives in Patanowä-tedi, but many in Monou-tedi. Paruriwä's group was linked to Kąobäwä's by a number of marriage ties.

Kąobäwä was the acknowledged leader of the entire upper section of Bisaasi-tedi, including Paruriwä's group, although Paruriwä had some influence in the affairs of the village. After the middle of the year, Paruriwä began to emerge as leader in his own right, and began duplicating many of the activities normally the prerogative of the village headman. Thus, when Kąobäwä initiated a feast for members of an allied village, Paruriwä duplicated his efforts by sending out his own hunters to provide meat for the guests, and furnished an equal amount of cultivated food, which he disposed of from his own section of the village. Normally, the headman sends out the hunters and disposes of the cultivated food from his own house. Paruriwä, by duplicating Kąobäwä's efforts in these activities, announced that he was a headman.

The emergence of Paruriwä as an important leader was largely the result of his active prosecution of the war against the Patanowä-tedi. Kąobäwä, after he led one revenge raid against the Patanowä-tedi, decided that he wanted to remain neutral in the fighting and wanted to make peace with the Patanowä-tedi. This led to a political vacuum within

Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid from them. Paruriwë seized upon this as his opportunity to advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated several raids against the Patanowë-tedi without the support of Kąobëwë. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi. As Paruriwë was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman (consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

Paruriwë's behavior in other respects changed after the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again, he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwë was entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field, Paruriwë and his group separated from Kąobëwë's and moved across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up until the time he moved, visitors from other villages consistently sought out Kąobëwë as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how much effort Paruriwë spent in emphasizing his own role in the feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

one real headman, Kąobẅẅ. Thus, Paruriwẅ had to separate from Kąobẅẅ's group to achieve a status equal to that of Kąobẅẅ.

Im July 1965 Kąobẅẅ sent his brother-in-law, Kumamawẅ, to Patanowẅ-tedi to inform them that his group did not intend to raid the Patanowẅ-tedi in the future. When Kumamawẅ returned to Bisaasi-tedi, he brought two older people with him, demonstrating that the Patanowẅ-tedi trusted Kąobẅẅ and were anxious to promote good relations with his group. The older couple brought the message that three young men from Patanowẅ-tedi were coming on a visit soon. Three days later the young men, Hąrokoiwẅ, Masiwẅ, and Koiyeiwẅ, arrived. Paruriwẅ's group was visiting the Widokaiya-tedi, and when word reached him that a delegation of Patanowẅ-tedi had arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to visit Kąobẅẅ, he and a group of men from Monou-tedi immediately returned to Bisaasi-tedi, intending to murder the three visitors. Kąobẅẅ, however, warned Paruriwẅ and the Monou-tedi that should they attempt to harm the visitors, he and his followers would defend them with force. A crisis developed out of this situation, and for a whole day Paruriwẅ and his Monou-tedi supporters debated the wisdom of their plan. Finally, Paruriwẅ decided to desist from the murders and even participated in a news chant with one of the Patanowẅ-tedi--the father of his youngest wife. This emphasized Kąobẅẅ's influence as a leader, and Paruriwẅ decided to move away from Kąobẅẅ's group after this incident. The Monou-tedi who were to participate in the murder of the three

visitors were enraged because Paruriwä failed to execute the plan, and they returned to Monou-tedi to recruit a raiding party, hoping to intercept the visitors on their way back to Patanowä-tedi.[1] Paruriwä placated the Monou-tedi by organizing a series of raids against the Patanowä-tedi, and by inviting the Monou-tedi to stay in his section of the village when they fled from their other two sites. Prior to this, the Monou-tedi had been staying with the members of the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi. By early November, the Monou-tedi had begun raiding the Patanowä-tedi with great frequency, supported by members of Paruriwä's group. Paruriwä himself sent three raiding parties against the Patanowä-tedi between November and February, all of which included men from Monou-tedi. Kaobäwä did not participate in or encourage these raids, but some of his followers took part in them.

This split was not the outcome of an internal feud. Rather, it developed out of the different political interests of two leaders, one of whom was ambitiously striving to improve his status as a headman. The other refused to prosecute the war against the Patanowä-tedi, as he had a large number of kinsmen there. The existence of these ties, however, did not preclude the war, as the Bisaasi-tedi are in fact raiding the Patanowä-tedi. The kin ties at best mitigate the intensity of the raiding. The situation is a problem for the Patanowä-tedi, as they do not want to kill the few Bisaasi-tedi friends

[1] Their plan failed, as I took the Patanowä-tedi back to their village part way in my boat, and we went the remainder of the way on a trail the Monou-tedi could not reach.

they have, but they must revenge raids coming from Bisaasi-tedi. Now that Paruriwä and his followers have moved away from Kaobäwä's group, the Patanowä-tedi can raid Paruriwä without having to 'look twice' before shooting. As Paruriwä's faction is a small one, it is vulnerable; one raid from the Patanowä-tedi will force it to rejoin Kaobäwä's group. The internal stability of the reunited groups will suffer if this happens, as Paruriwä will be obliged to demonstrate his leadership capacity. This will involve making an issue out of an incident that probably would have been overlooked prior to the separation of the two groups, and internal friction will be high.

The split within Patanowä-tedi

The incessant raiding from Hasaböwä-tedi, Kashorawä-tedi, Yabitawä-tedi, Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and their respective allies brought about a high degree of tension among the Patanowä-tedi. It was not safe to leave the village at any time. The Patanowä-tedi had attempted to split into three groups several years earlier, as the population had reached a large size and internal fighting was a nuisance. The development of the war with the Hasaböwä-tedi forced them to reunite. Factionalism, however, was pronounced within the village, and the added tension brought about by the new war with Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and the latter's two Shamatari allies ultimately led to an internal split within Patanowä-tedi a month before I left the field.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąobawä's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

[849]
[593]
[839]

Kąobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

[822]
[156]

142
301
302
516
291
854

Fig. 1-4. Kaamashima, Kąobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers
● [622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village,
[156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the
[582] villages to which Kąobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kąobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kąobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is
[622] concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relationships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[583] He does not intend to stay in Kąobawä's group and has not made a garden. He
[591] feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an
[837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked
[593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother
[578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kąobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kąobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good
[522] side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yąnomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

Upper Bisaasi-teri, and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Table 1). Politically, they are either the two dominant lineages in each of the above-named villages or one of the two dominant lineages. For example, the headmen of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawä and Reromauwä, respectively, come from the *Sha* lineage. In Patanowä-teri there are two headmen, one from the *Sha* lineage and one from the *Hor* lineage. Finally, in Monou-teri, the headmanship shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage in 1965 because the *Sha* headman was killed in a raid by men from Patanowä-teri. I might add that he was killed by men of his own lineage to whom he was related as "brother." After he died, his brother-in-law, of the *Hor* lineage, assumed the leadership. It is not surprising that the headmanship shifted to this large, important group. In terms of sheer numbers, the *Hor* lineage (see Table 3–1) was stronger than the *Sha* lineage in Monou-teri. The distribution of political power within these two lineages underscores the dual organization of most Yąnomamö villages.

It is apparent from the foregoing example that the ties between agnates who live in different villages are not necessarily amicable. The most bitter fighting, in fact, takes place between members of different villages who are related to each other agnatically. It is not uncommon for men to kill their classificatory brothers in the ensuing raids. As a consequence of the killing of the Monou-teri headman, for example, the raiders from Monou-teri avenged his death by shooting Bosibrei of Patanowä-teri. The two men who actually killed Bosibrei were related to their victim as brothers. Similarly, Kąobawä himself shot Rakoiwä, the present *Sha* headman of Patanowä-teri, wounding him badly. He had shot to kill even though Rakoiwä was his older (classificatory) brother.

Once the lineage splits up and is redistributed in several villages, the ties between the men of that lineage weaken dramatically. And, as we shall see below, the fissioning of a village is frequently the result of a bitter club fight within the village over the possession of women. The result is that many villages that have a common history are at war with each other due to the nature of the feuds that led to their splitting away from the common village. The Patanowa-teri, for example, are at war with all three of the villages from which they originally separated (see Fig. 3–5, discussed later).

The kinship ties between agnates who live in the same village are likewise quite weak. They are strongest between a man and his younger brothers, for the age differences alone call forth a certain amount of respect and amity. An older man can be expected to aid his younger brothers in fights and help them to secure wives. In some cases, the younger man obtains his wife from a polygynous older brother; some men appear to accumulate extra wives with the intention of passing them on to their younger brothers. Kąobawä, for example, gave one of his wives to a younger brother and will probably give another wife to a second younger brother. (He is presently permitting the brother to share her sexual services.) Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, is quite jealous of the co-wives because they can command some of the tasty morsels of food that would otherwise be her own prerogative. And, since the younger wives are more attractive physically, Kąobawä does pay considerable attention to them. In Lower Bisaasi-teri, one of Kąobawä's classificatory brothers was forced by his older wife to get rid of his young, attractive second wife. The man gave her to an unmarried younger brother. He himself had acquired the younger wife as part of a political alliance he had made with the members of an allied village, knowing at the time that his first wife would object strenuously to the

only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally true should one of them be the village headman. Kaobawä can ask his youngest brothers to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village plaza to prepare the dance site, Kaobawä himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will join him, but only on their own initiative. He could not directly ask them to do this work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a younger brother to Kaobawä, but already a mature adult. I asked Kaobawä to help me get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around. By contrast, Kaobawä could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight, since the latter was not yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence, anxious to display personal autonomy.

Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many circumstances. Kaobawä continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary) his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar account.

In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers. That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage begins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogically more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Generation V of Fig. 3-1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.[9] Local descent groups have three characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a member of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife elsewhere, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

[9]Leach, 1951. Yąnomamö local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yąnomamö such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yąnomamö local descent groups closely fit Leach's definition.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yąnomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18]Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yąnomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19]Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and [redacted] invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Shararaiwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Shararaiwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Shararaiwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

156 On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with
622 Kąobawä the possibility of peace between their two villages. They were brothers-in-law
628 to him and were fairly certain that he would protect them from the village hotheads. One
607 of the ambitious men in Kąobawä's group saw in this an opportunity to enhance his
574 prestige and made plans to murder the three visitors. This man, Paruriwä, was a very
721 cunning, treacherous fellow and quite jealous of Kąobawä's position as headman. He
[123] wanted to be the village leader and privately told me to address him as the headman. On this occasion Kąobawä let it be known that he intended to protect the visitors. For the better part of the day the village was in a state of suspense. Paruriwä and his followers were not to be found anywhere; a rumor spread that they had painted themselves black and were well armed. Kąobawä and his supporters, mostly his own brothers and brothers-
[714] in-law, remained in the village all day, their weapons close at hand. Late in the afternoon Paruriwä and his men appeared in their black paint and took up strategic posts around the village. He himself held an axe. He strutted arrogantly up to the visitors holding his axe as if he were ready to strike. The village became very quiet, and most of the women and children left. Neither Kąobawä nor the Patanowä-teri visitors batted an eyelash when Paruriwä approached, although the others were visibly nervous and sat up in their hammocks. Instead of striking the visitors with the axe as he appeared to suggest he was going to do, he invited one of them out to chant with him. Within seconds all three of the visitors had paired off with members of Paruriwä's group and were chanting passionately with them, explaining the reasons for their visit and giving their justification for the state of hostilites.

The crisis has been averted because of Kąobawä's implied threat that he would defend the visitors with force. A number of men in Paruriwä's group were visitors from Monou-teri; their headman had been killed a few months earlier by the Patanowä-teri. When Paruriwä failed to go through with his plan, they left the village in a rage, hoping to recruit a raiding party in their own village and ambush the visitors when they left.

Kąobawä realized that the visitors would not be safe until they got back home,
[123] since the Monou-teri would attempt to intercept them. He visited me that night and asked me to take the visitors back to their village at dawn in my canoe, knowing that I had already planned a trip there for the immediate future. After I agreed to accelerate my own plans, he proceeded to give me instructions about the trip: I was not to stop at any of the villages along the Orinoco River to visit, for all of them were at war with the Patanowä-teri and would shoot my companions on sight. The Patanowä-teri men lay on the floor of my canoe and covered themselves with a tarp when we passed these villages. The people on the bank shouted curses at me for not stopping to visit and give them trade goods. At this time the Patanowä-teri were being raided by about a dozen different villages. We had to cover part of the distance to their village on foot, proceeding very cautiously because of the danger of raiders. At one point the men showed me the spot where a Hasaböwä-teri raiding party had killed a Patanowä-teri woman a week earlier. Thus, Kąobawä not only protected the visitors while they were in his village but he also arranged a "safe-conduct" for their return.

156 Kąobawä keeps order in the village when people get out of hand. Paruriwä, for
622 example, is particularly cruel to his four wives and beats them mercilessly for even slight
593 provocations. None of his wives have brothers in the village, and few people are coura-
578 geous enough to interfere with Paruriwä when he is angry. On one occasion Kąobawä was holding a feast for the members of an allied village. His preparations were being

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

156
622
593
578

duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwä, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwä's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwä went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwä recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kąobawä had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwä before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kąobawä disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

156
622
578
[276]

On another occasion one of Kąobawä's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kąobawä managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kąobawä stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3–9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

142
291
302
578
411
622

Fig. 3–9. Kąobawä (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been bashed on the head and blood is streaming down his neck.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

his group was being trounced by their opponents, largely because only a few of the men were doing all the fighting for Kąobawä's group. These men were forced to take several turns in rapid succession, while a large number of men stood by and watched. The fighters wanted to escalate the battle to a duel with axes, hoping to intimidate their opponents into conceding. Kąobawä quickly forced the idle men to participate in the chest pounding, thereby distributing the punishment a little more evenly and reducing the possibility of a bloodier confrontation.

After the duel was over, Kąobawä coolly discussed the fight with the leaders in the opponents' group, explaining that he did not intend to raid them unless they raided first. A number of men in the village, notably Paruriwä and some of his followers, shouted threats at the departing opponents that they would shoot them on sight should they meet again. Paruriwä frequently boasted like this, but rarely put himself in a position that was potentially dangerous. He later ran into a party of hunters from the above-mentioned group while he was leading a raid against the Patanowä-teri. Instead of shooting them on sight as he threatened to do (they could have shot back, as they were armed), he traded arrows with them and rapidly retreated. He boasted in the village how he had terrified these men. I later visited their village and learned that Paruriwä was the one who was terrified. They themselves continued to hunt, while Paruriwä fled for home.

Kąobawä's personality differs considerably from Paruriwä's. Where the former is unobtrusive, calm, modest, and perceptive, the latter is belligerent, aggressive, ostentatious, and rash. Kąobawä has an established status in the village and numerous supporters, whose loyalties are in part determined by their kinship ties and in part because he is a wise leader. Paruriwä is attempting to share in the leadership and does not have a well-established position in this respect. It is obvious who the real leader is: When visitors come to Upper Bisaasi-teri, they seek out Kąobawä and deal with him, no matter how ambitiously Paruriwä attempts to emulate his position. Paruriwä does not have as many living brothers in his group as Kąobawä has, so his "natural following" is somewhat limited. In addition, two of his brothers are married to actual sisters of Kąobawä and have some loyalty to him. Paruriwä, therefore, has very little means with which to establish his position, so he is given over to using bluff, threat, chicanery, and treachery. This he does well, and many of the young men in the village admire him for it. He has gained the support of some of these men by promising them his wives' yet unborn daughters. Remarkably enough, some of them cling to these promises and do his bidding.

Finally, one of Kąobawä's most unpleasant tasks is to scout the village neighborhood when signs of raiders have been found. This he does alone, since it is a dangerous task and one that is avoided by the other men. Not even Paruriwä participates in this.

Kąobawä has definite responsibilities as the headman and is occasionally called upon by the nature of the situation to exercise his authority. He is usually distinguishable in the village as a man of some authority only for the duration of the incident that calls forth his leadership capacity. After the incident is over, he goes about his own business like the other men in the group. But even then, he sets an example for the others, particularly in his ambitions to produce large quantities of food for his family and for the guests he must entertain. Most of the time he leads only by example and the others follow if it pleases them to do so. They can ignore his example if they wish, but most of the people turn to him when a difficult situation arises.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
516
415
622

Fig. 4–1. Kaobawë, headman, unpacking some of the meat his hunters have just collected for the feast.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

undertake it if it meant getting rid of their first group of visitors, who, by this time, had spent nearly a week eating Kąobawä's produce.

On the morning of the feast three large pieces of bark from the *arapuri* tree were cut and brought to the village. These were made into troughs to contain the boiled, ripe plantain soup. All day long Kąobawä's younger brothers, who had returned from the hunt the day before, labored at cooking the enormous quantity of ripe plantains, pouring each boiling containerful into the trough as it was prepared.[3]

The plantains that Kąobawä had hung in his *shabono* roof a week before were now ripe. The young men who were preparing the soup would cut the bunches of plantains from the roof, split each fruit with their thumb, throw the two halves of the flesh into a cooking pot, and toss the skins onto a pile. They worked at this task from early morning until late afternoon, in addition to boiling a nearly equal quantity of green plantains, which provided the green vegetable food that customarily accompanies the presentation of meat. Yąnomamö etiquette dictates that meat must be accompanied by vegetable food and vice versa.[4] It is an insult, for example, to offer someone meat without simultaneously offering a vegetable food with it. Peeling green plantains is a little more difficult than peeling ripe ones, which are very tough and brittle. The Yąnomamö solve this problem, like they solve so many others, by using their teeth. Each plantain is bitten along its length several times, cracking the peel, which in turn is removed with the fingernails and further application of the dentition. On this particular occasion, two young men peeled, with their thumbs, enough ripe plantains to make approximately 95 gallons of soup, and, with their teeth, a sufficiently large quantity of green plantains to fill a dozen large pack-baskets.

In the morning on the day of the feast, Kąobawä went to the center of the village clearing where all could see him and proceeded to pull weeds. The clearing has to look presentable to the visitors, as it functions as the dancing plaza. As noted before, since Yąnomamö headmen cannot directly order their followers to execute tasks such as these, they usually initiate them and hope that others will follow. By and by, a number of older men joined him, as well as a few women, and when a sufficient number of workers were pulling weeds and hauling them out, Kąobawä quietly retired to his hammock, from which he oversaw the food preparations and calculated the distribution of meat.

Excitement in the village grew conspicuously as the hours passed, and by noon there was a constant din of laughter and chatter, punctuated now and then with a shrill scream from some young man overcome with the thrill of the feast. Occasionally, the visitors would reply to the shouts, setting off a brief contest of screaming between hosts

---

[3]Kąobawä's group has access to aluminum pots now and uses them extensively in food preparations. Most Yąnomamö groups still use crude clay pots, although these are being rapidly replaced by aluminum ware, which is traded inland to the more remote villages.

[4]The three vegetable foods considered to be suitable accompaniments for the meat presentation are: boiled green plantains, boiled *ruuhe* fruit, and cassava bread. A number of missionaries and a few scientific observers have identified the Yąnomamö feast strongly with the *ruuhe* fruit (Zerries 1955; de Barandiaran 1966). If it is to be identified with any food, it should be called the "plantain feast," but to identify the feast with a food that sometimes (*ruuhe*) or invariably (plantains) accompanies it is to overlook the sociopolitical causes of the feast. *Ruuhe* is so unnecessary to the feast that it was served at only two of six feasts I attended. In short, the Yąnomamö feast is a social and political event, not a harvest ceremony, and occurs independently of the abundance or availability of *ruuhe* fruit. *Ruuhe* fruit ripens in February, the peak of the dry season. It is only in the dry season that feasts can be held, because travel is difficult or impossible at other times of the year. The correlation of the ripening of *ruuhe* and feasting is rather more fortuitous than causal.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The members of Lower Bisaasi-teri had joined Kaobawä's group for the feast, as they, too, were on friendly terms with the Mahekodo-teri and had benefited from the latter's hospitality after the treacherous feast in 1950. Before Kaobawä's group had separated from the Lower Bisaasi-teri, there had been one headman over the entire composite village. This was a brother to Kaobawä's father; when the groups split, the older man led the faction of Lower Bisaasi-teri, leaving Kaobawä to lead the Upper group. On this particular day, when the two groups had temporarily coalesced for the feast, the older man was conceded the honor of chanting with the visitor's delegate, Asiawä, the son of the Mahekodo-teri headman.

Ten minutes after the old visitor entered the village, Asiawä entered the clearing, touching off an explosion of wild cheering that marked the opening of the dance. He was spectacular in his bright new loin cloth, long red parrot feathers streaming from his armbands, and black monkey-tail headband covered with white buzzard down. He marched dramatically to the center of the village clearing, while all of Kaobawä's followers cheered, and struck the visitor's pose: motionless, head upward, and weapons held vertically next to his face. He stood there two or three minutes so his hosts could admire him. This gesture signified that he had come in peace and was announcing his benevolent intentions by standing where all could see him. If they bore him malice, they had to shoot him then or not at all.[5] He then marched to Kaobawä's house and was met by Kaobawä's father's brother, the temporary leader of the combined host group, and the two men immediately began to chant. This was the formal acceptance of the feast invitation by Asiawä on behalf of his entire group. They chanted for five minutes or so, bouncing up and down from the knees, now face to face, now side to side, but always lively and loud. Suddenly, they stopped, and Asiawä squatted, his back to the sun, while the host's representative retired to his hammock. The cheering died down. Asiawä squatted for several minutes before one of Kaobawä's younger brothers brought a half-gourd full of plantain soup to him and set it on the ground. He ignored it politely for several minutes, staring into the distance, holding his weapons horizontally next to his mouth. Presently, he put his weapons down, picked up the container of soup, and drained it in one draft before setting it back down. As soon as he had set it down, one of Kaobawä's younger brothers brought him a large pack-basket filled with boiled green plantains and smoked armadillo meat. Asiawä stood while the strap of the basket was placed over his head and adjusted across his shoulders so as to not crumple his headdress. Trying to look dramatic, he staggered rapidly out of the village under his burden of food, while the hosts again cheered wildly. This food was eaten by the visitors while they finished their decorating, each receiving a small portion.

Within a half-hour of Asiawä's departure the visitors had completed their decorating and had assembled just outside the entrance to the village. The men, all finely decorated, stood at the front of the gathering, while the women, girls, and young boys, also decorated, but each carrying a load of family possessions, brought up the rear. At the signal of Asiawä's father, the first two dancers burst into the village, separated, and danced around the periphery of the clearing in opposite directions, while Kaobawä's group welcomed them enthusiastically with shouts and shrill screams. Two at a time,

[5] I have a number of informants' accounts of visitors being shot down while standing in the clearing to announce their visit. Whenever I accompanied visitors to strange villages for the first time I, too, was obliged to participate in this rite and always had an uneasy feeling about it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

rades of the deliverer would cheer and bounce up and down from the knees, waving and clacking their weapons over their heads. The victim's supporters, meanwhile, would urge their champion on frantically, insisting that he take another blow. If the delivery were made with sufficient force to knock the recipient to the ground, the man who delivered it would throw his arms above his head, roll his eyes back, and prance victoriously in a circle around his victim, growling and screaming, his feet almost a blur from his excited dance. The recipient would stand poised and take as many as four blows before demanding to hit his adversary. He would be permitted to strike his opponent as many times as the latter struck him, provided that the opponent could take it. If not, he would be forced to retire, much to the dismay of his comrades and the delirious joy of their opponents. No fighter could retire after delivering a blow. If he attempted to do so, his adversary would plunge into the crowd and roughly haul him back out, sometimes being aided by the man's own supporters. Only after having received his just dues could he retire. If he had delivered three blows, he had to receive three or else be proven a poor fighter. He could retire with less than three only if he were injured. Then, one of his comrades would replace him and demand to hit the victorious opponent. The injured man's two remaining blows would be canceled, and the man who delivered the victorious blow would have to receive more blows than he delivered. Thus, good fighters are at a disadvantage, since they receive disproportionately more punishment than they deliver. Their only reward is status: they earn the reputation of being fierce.

Some of the younger men in Kąobawä's group were reluctant to participate in the fighting because they were afraid of being injured. This put more strain on the others, who were forced to take extra turns in order to preserve the group's reputation. At one point Kąobawä's men, sore from the punishment they had taken and worried that they would ultimately lose the fight, wanted to escalate the contest to an axe duel (see Fig. 4–3). Kąobawä was vigorously opposed to this, as he knew it would lead to bloodshed. He therefore recruited the younger men into the fighting, as well as a few of the older ones who had done nothing but demand the others to step into the arena, thereby reducing the strain on those who wanted to escalate the level of violence. A few of the younger men retired after a single blow, privately admitting to me later that they pretended to be injured to avoid being forced to fight more. The fighting continued in this fashion for nearly three hours, tempers growing hotter and hotter. Kąobawä and the headman from the other group stood by with their weapons, attempting to keep the fighting innocuous, but not participating in it. Some of the fighters went through several turns of three or four blows each, their pectoral muscles swollen and red from the number of blows each had received. The fight had still not been decided, although Kąobawä's group seemed to be getting the worst of it. They then insisted on escalating the fighting to side slapping, partly because their chests were too sore to continue in that fashion, and partly because their opponents seemed to have an edge on them.

The side slapping duel is nearly identical in form to chest pounding, except that the blow is delivered with an open hand across the flanks of the opponent, between his rib-cage and pelvis bone. It is a little more severe than chest pounding because casualties are more frequent and tempers grow hotter more rapidly when a group's champion falls to the ground, gasping for wind, and faints. The side slapping only lasted fifteen minutes or so; one of the more influential men in Kąobawä's group was knocked unconscious, enraging the others. The fighting continued for just a few minutes after this, but during

164 302 Fig. 5–1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the [622] village, a brother of Kąobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given [684] back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

[602] The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there * [628] was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri [721] because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

578 411 Spears are not commonly used by the Yąnamanö. A rare form of fighting, however, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

411 531 The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

*628 578 721 593 The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the headman of one of the villages north of Kąobawä's area, took her away from him by force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinsmen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doubt my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yąnomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kąobawä's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggressive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *unisiwi* (fierce one) of the group.

Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatari girl. Damowä seduced her, thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the final club fight that led to the separation of Kąobawä's group from the Monou-teri. Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kąobawä then organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kąobawä's raiders. Nobody

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

One of Damowī's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowā-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowā-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowī's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowī outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewī, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowī, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kaobawī and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowī's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowī were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowā-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowī the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowī's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kaobawī, a classificatory brother to Damowī, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowī's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwā, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hor* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Shi* lineage to the *Hor* lineage.

Kaobawī delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2] See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-3 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowa. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5–3). Some even put on bright red loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which the younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kąobawë to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *wayu itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them and left for Patanowä-teri. Kąobawë had been complaining all year of severe pains in his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked. Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *wayu itou*, for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Shararaiwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Shararaiwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Shararaiwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

/59 cont./

595 From this list of families one gains the impression that monogamy predominates. But I was assured by my informants that those warriors who thus far have only one wife would be glad to take a second or even a third one, as was customary among their forefathers. The small number of persons in the tribes, however, has caused a shortage of women, so that most of the men are forced to be content with one spouse.

/60/

619 3. Political Structure

These low population figures could, moreover, arouse the suspicion that it is not tribes, but only tribal divisions that are involved here, especially on account of the connubium in which they live, or merely groups. The chiefs and war chiefs named, however, told me emphatically that the Surára as well as the Pakidái were formerly large and mighty and distributed in many malokas. [185] They regard achieving this size again as a goal worth striving for.

627 An institutional chiefdom with a definitely established succession prevails in both tribes. If the chief dies, his next younger brother automatically takes his place. Only if the youngest brother is dead may the first-born son of the oldest brother, who by that time is usually an older man, occupy the office of chief.

● 624 701 In addition there is the war chief. This position is not hereditary; rather, the bravest warrior is chosen for it. During peacetimes he has no prerogatives whatever and lives like an ordinary member of the tribe. Only during military encounters does he take over the [622] leadership, while the real chief, as religious head, doctor, and teacher, is protected and does not take part; the same is true for his brothers.

622 159 The Surára chief Hewemão, very bold and intelligent, is a truly great personality; his orders are respected by all members of the tribe without opposition. When he was still a youth, his father, Xoromão, was killed with two arrow shots by Makuxí /Macusi/ Indians. Hewemão eldest brother, Xaraíma, assumed the succession, but he died of a fever about eight years ago.

Surára
Pakidai

/60 cont./

484 These safety measures are necessary, for one must always be prepared for a hostile attack. That is why the /61/ women [482] carry all the household goods, for if the men were thus burdened, they could not defend themselves. For this reason, the chief 484 and his brothers always march in the middle of the tribe, for in 622 the event of a military encounter the protection of the chief is the 554 supreme command of all the Surára. He is honored and respected, of course, not only as the head of the tribe, but also because he is the adviser in all situations of life, the medicine man who is able to make connections with the hekurá and serras /sierras/ (see pp. 200/201) and can ward off sickness and misfortune. If he were killed, the tribe would suddenly be in a terrible situation, for his successor does not yet have the same experience.

622 The next youngest brother and subsequent successor of Hewemãõ is Kurikayawõ. He will be followed by Inxinemá, who is approximately 19 years old, but has not yet completed his youth-initiation. And it is only after the latter that Hemahemá, who is approximately 25 years old and the only son of the oldest brother, Xarimá, who died eight years ago, would be able to take over the leadership.

● 624 The war chief of the Surára is Xomirawõ, a modest, reserved, but extraordinarily hardy and brave man.

622 Among the Pakidái the succession of chiefs is the same.
624 The following remarks, however, will show the complications that
619 arose six years ago as a result of the death of the old chief Karakarawõ, because his three younger brothers who could have taken over the succession died before him. Karakarawõ did have a son, Karenauõ, but he was still very young, so that there was nothing to do but to entrust the leadership of the tribe for the time being to the war chief Porêhiwõ as a substitute. At the same time he and the older Pakidái men asked the chief of the friendly Surára, Hewemãõ, for advice in many things, especially serious illnesses, magic performances, etc. At this time many younger Pakidái attended the school of the Surára chief, among them the present Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, who was given a very thorough training by Hewemãõ. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái even lived

Pakidái
Surára

/61 cont./

622 together for several years, both in the sierra during the dry season
619 and at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá during the
624 rainy season. In the long run, however, the war chief Porêhiwõ did not like this, and there were also differences of opinion with the young chief, so he and his brother Kaxiribewõ, with their families temporarily withdrew from the tribe and remained alone in Taraquá, the Pakidái maloka on the middle Demini.

As a result of the youthful exuberance of the not yet fully mature Pakidái chief Karenauõ, the previously good relationship between the Surára and Pakidái was unfortunately slightly disturbed. Yet Karenauõ really had every reason to be grateful to Hewemãõ.

769 The discord began in March 1956 during the great festival
619 in memory of the dead, which the Surára as hosts and the Pakidái
622 as guests always celebrate together, and in which some friendly Puseheweterí and Xiriána families also took part. During this gathering it is customary for Hewemãõ to be acknowledged as the head by the guests, even by their chiefs, and for his orders to be followed. Young Karenauõ, however, refused to do this. He suddenly felt himself very strong because the member of Pakidái, of course, is considerably larger than that of the Surára. The rivalry between the chiefs increased from day to day and extended even to the members of the two tribes. It was only thanks to the magnanimous, wise attitude of Hewemãõ and the mediation of the chief of the Pakidái, Porêhiwõ, who returned to his tribe and exerted great influence, that greater tensions or even military encounters could be avoided. This was only to be welcomed, for there is a long, traditional friendship between the two tribes, which has deepened consanguineously as a result of intermarriages.

(166) When the festival was over, at the end of March 1956, the Pakidái again moved to /62/ Taraquá on the middle Demini and the Surára to the Cachoeira dos Índos on the upper Aracá. But at this point I was to experience a great surprise. Three Pakidái men, with their families, no longer followed their chief Karenauõ, but joined Hewemãõ and thus actually emigrated to the Surára.

Surára, Pakidái

619 /74 cont./
648 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.
721

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-
[835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára
[171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriâna. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the
[171]

342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769 When the mixing of bone ashes, which lasted about two hours, was finished, Poréhiwõ returned the half-empty little jamaru vessels to the relatives, who, amid lamentations, took them for further safekeeping. Then a solemn procession began, in which, however, the Surára chief did not take part. Karenauõ, the Pakidái chief, strode ahead, followed by Poréhiwõ and Kurikayawõ, each of whom held in his hand one of the large jamaru vessels filled with bone ashes, a little urucú, and a few down-feathers of the gavião-real; all three were singing prayers. Behind them, weeping and lamenting, walked the closest relatives, who carried the small jamaru vessels. The warriors participating in the ceremony formed the end of the train.

[533] [782] This procession, which walked around the maloka courtyard several times, came to an end, after half an hour in front of the chief's hut, with a prayer sung in unison.

[517] Meanwhile night had descended and most of the members of the two tribes were lying in their hammocks, sitting around the fire, or calling on each other, singly or in family groups, in order to chat. Loud, happy laughter often resounded. Opposite the hut of the Surára chief, however, six warriors who wore the feathers of the gavião-real in their hair had kindled three blazing fires, upon which, in several black, round-bottomed clay vessels (see p. 115) they cooked banana soup until midnight. During this time a medicine-man helper who carried a bow and arrow in his hand ran around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard, singing loudly, and requested the assistance [625] of the hekurá for the success of the soup. After that, general quiet set in; only two men made their rounds in front of the maloka, as they did every night, in order to warn the inhabitants, if necessary, of a hostile attack (513).

• [624] [805]

513. The war chief divides up the watches each evening. The warriors have a feeling about when their time is up and they must waken their successors; as a rule this is done after two or three hours.

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/107 cont./

769 in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted
526 one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs
[622] and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this
[624] type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with
[147] five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other, who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexf (see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After
[262] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed themselves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and manioc flat-
[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in connection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

769 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká,
114 which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds
184

515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

2: Becher--271 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
/8/
142
411
302
291
516

Ill. 12. Surára warriors

142
291
411
516
←
142
411
301
302
342
291
624
→

Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow

Ill. 14. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/12/

137
241
622
516
412

Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

137
481

114
142
302
291
516
624

Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

624
571

[For the role of the guapo in Yanoama society and his interaction with the community, see category 554.]

291 /203 cont./
Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
302 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
● [624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the hĩkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the hĩkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the hĩkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

/213/

197 174 Regarding the Chibcha characteristics in the Warao and Yanoama idioms, it is probably a substratum which we shall provisionally call proto-Chibcha. The Chibcha traits which are perceived in them do not seem to represent elements acquired owing to contact, but rather an ancient stratum common to the idioms which are at the present time identified as Chibcha.

143 174 Finally, it is necessary to point out that, judging from the genetic constitution (the Diego antigen) of some Chibcha tribes, it might be surmised that the highly formative culture was introduced by people genetically different from the Marginal Chibcha such as Tunebo, Barí, Warao, Yanoama, whose culture was favorably conditioned in the direction of the adoption and the increment of formative cultures and indigenous civilizations. Some tribes were absorbed by the invaders; others, such as the tribes that we have just mentioned, maintained their independence. Perhaps we shall have to deal with greater emphasis in the future with primitive reminiscences in the formative cultures instead of talking so much about traits and loans from the west among the Marginals of Guayana /Guiana/ and others. We have the impression that we are bringing out a complex of ancient culture in South America, from which a number of traits have survived in the more highly developed cultures.

622 [624] [793] Political duties are performed by a chief /jefe/ and a military leader. We are of the opinion that the priest can at the same time be the chief of a local group. We cannot, however, make a categorical affirmation, owing to the confusion which exists among the people as a consequence of the strong cultural current which is invading this Sanemá nucleus. In the same group on the Ventuari we observed that the office of chief is inherited patrilineally. The old chief had left his duties to his eldest son, about 28 years old, and it was easy to see that his younger brother, about 20 years old, was also respected as a possible future chief (cf. Becher, 1960, pp. 60-61. Chieftainships over more than a local group do not exist.

/213 cont./

793 624 [622] For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 123 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the impression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly [276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 775 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after [841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a [126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made [532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals: he was the guapo.

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/2 [see p. 11-An.]

/228 cont./

756 may also happen that a sablf with a small "pueblo" of hfkulas in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a hfkula suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert sablf, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A young sablf is always hopeful that the hfkula "pueblo" in his chest will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

758 The potentiality of the hfkula of the sablf makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the sablf is the best
● [624] man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A sablf of great power does not die until all the hfkulas of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
774 live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of
[754] his hfkula grows and brings about his death. Then the sablf informs his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his hfkula frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24).

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The hfkula of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place. Our informant told us that the hfkulas of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /tigres mariposas/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a hfkula of his group or one from a dead sablf. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

St Leyrise et al. D, E-S (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanesma SQ18
Waica

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanesma could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hăwiewen*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kăilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hăwiewen* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Samatari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, stout, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barlow, 1951, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 35.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vinci, 1956, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1959.

/106 cont./

[769] When the mixing of bone ashes, which lasted about two hours, was finished, Porêhiwõ returned the half-empty little jamaru vessels to the relatives, who, amid lamentations, took them for further safekeeping. Then a solemn procession began, in which, however, the Surára chief did not take part. Karenauõ, the Pakidái chief, strode ahead, followed by Porêhiwõ and Kurikayawõ, each of whom held in his hand one of the large jamaru vessels filled with bone ashes, a little urucú, and a few down-feathers of the gavião-real; all three were singing prayers. Behind them, weeping and lamenting, walked the closest relatives, who carried the small jamaru vessels. The warriors participating in the ceremony formed the end of the train. [533] [782] This procession, which walked around the maloka courtyard several times, came to an end, after half an hour in front of the chief's hut, with a prayer sung in unison.

[519] Meanwhile night had descended and most of the members of the two tribes were lying in their hammocks, sitting around the fire, or calling on each other, singly or in family groups, in order to chat. Loud, happy laughter often resounded. Opposite the hut of the Surára chief, however, six warriors who wore the feathers of the gavião-real in their hair had kindled three blazing fires, upon which, in several black, round-bottomed clay vessels (see p. 115) they cooked banana soup until midnight. During this time a medicine-man helper who carried a bow and arrow in his hand ran around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard, singing loudly, and requested the assistance [625] of the hekurá for the success of the soup. After that, general quiet set in; only two men made their rounds in front of the maloka, as they did every night, in order to warn the inhabitants, if necessary, of a hostile attack (513).

[624] [805] 513. The war chief divides up the watches each evening. The warriors have a feeling about when their time is up and they must waken their successors; as a rule this is done after two or three hours.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

I proceeded to show my gratitude to the chief by offering him the red woollen drawers which I had not yet put on. He studied them carefully, and then got into them as to the manner born. They fitted him well, and their colour being red, which Indians find irresistible, convinced him of the prestige value of this little scrap of clothing. Without a word he walked away with the solemn gait of a man who has had a pot of gold revealed to him in a vision. He made a tour of the encampment in stately fashion, and when he returned to us he was followed by a train of Samatari who were all clicking their tongues and emitting little deep-throated grunts. He stopped when he reached us, just beside me.

I carried on with the good work of thawing him. The watch was still in my hand, and I showed it to him, with signs that I was willing and anxious to explain the true nature of this metallic animal. The twelve figures for the hours, I told him, with sweeping gestures eked out by a few words of Shirian, represented the fixed stars of the sky. The big hand was the sun, and the little one the moon. They followed each other through the firmament, among the stars. This explanation found the mark straight away—perhaps because it only went to confirm their own suppositions about the little animal which had been worrying them during the night.

'*Pilmoro, pilmorokuan,*' shouted the chief, and his followers danced about, echoing him, which seemed to mean that they had identified the watch with the sun and its circular motion. '*Pilmoro, sapulite, lahallate*'—magic, big magic.

Then we were aware of some fresh surge of movement. It came mainly from the women. They had gathered for an animated discussion, which might have something to do with what Luis Antonio had said about the trousers. Indian women find white men an irresistible attraction and their menfolk, in all tribes, have one favourite tactic to prevent their being deceived: they tell their wives that these damnable white men possess such gigantic, nay monstrous, organs that they cause laceration and death. This legend is half-believed by the men themselves, partly by reason of the Europeans' actual superiority in regard to this important anatomical detail.

For once, however, it seemed that the Shirian ladies were not quite convinced. One of them could attest by the evidence of her own eyes that this dreaded enormity was a disingenuous exaggeration. But the point had not been generally confirmed, and it had started a discussion among the womenfolk. Men who had been listening to the explanation of the watch now joined in with much jeering and laughter. Enrico was obliged to yield his person to the

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621 [162] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and there- [578] fore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

•626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

*623 Koima, a girl of
613 some 15 years, was promised to Rerebawä, a young man from
591
583 Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawä had
606 already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom he had two children. Rerebawä wished to return to his own village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawä began making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effectively, and Rerebawä was growing impatient. His parents-in-law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter,
584 provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however,
583
591 refused to go to Rerebawä, suspecting that he would not keep
578 his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead,
835
613 Bäkotawä, her classificatory FaSiSo. She began an affair with
*624 Bäkotawä, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated
627 Rerebawä, who challenged Bäkotawä to a club fight. Bäkotawä belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi and was cognatically related to the members of the headman's
• [626] descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment was on Bäkotawä's side, but the girl belonged to a descent group over whose affairs Bäkotawä's supporters had no claims. Rerebawä's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was promised to him by her agnates: Bäkotawä was, in effect, having an

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwä probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen-even Kąobawä-implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowä. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwä's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwä failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwä and his raiders did not locate the Patanowä-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowä-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowä-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowä-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowä-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisaasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisaasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisaasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowä-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisaasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

[P. 138 is blank]

/202 cont./

412 [184] (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl. 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surará and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife, [171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Sirionó (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] [179] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and 411 arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of [324] macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The bowstring is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

• [627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

/216 cont./

584 There are cases in which a brother or a friend of the suitor wishes to serve as intermediary and offers to speak to the father-in-law. The gesture is very well received and highly appreciated.

585 583 During the first two or three days the young husband remains in the forest /217/ hunting; the woman hangs her hammock near that of her husband in the house of the family of orientation, [476] that is, where she has always lived. This time having elapsed, the man tries to bring together some twenty friends to help him clear the land for the three conucos requested by his father-in-law. Usually he has no difficulty in finding this help. The father of the boy and his brothers do their best to feed the workers well, and, when the work is done, the young husband offers them as presents arrows, bows, etc. which they refuse to accept. Later, the man begins to clear some conucos for his own family.

584 • 627 Our informant from the upper Caura insisted that, once consent has been obtained, delivery is definite and the girl cannot then accept any other young man. In order to give us an example, he told us what had happened to a man of his group.

A girl had accepted him as a husband, but, because of unforeseen circumstances, he had not had time to talk to the father-in-law. Then the girl surrendered to another young man and married him. The father-in-law knew nothing about the first offer. One day the people of the pueblo found the young couple in their hammock pierced by two arrows poisoned with curare. The murderer informed the father-in-law and the inhabitants of the rancheria of the motive which had caused him to perpetrate the crime. Neither the father-in-law nor the people intervened in the matter, for, according to them, the young lover was right in punishing the two who had deceived him in this way.

584 595 881 Sometimes parents marry off their children before they reach maturity. Some men also take a second wife when she is still underage, but they respect them and have no sexual contact with them until after the first menstrual periods have passed.

10: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

627
579
411
526
541

[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the entire group has already decided to undertake. His major [701] function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently [529] [574] [439] initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often supervises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [529] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in [241] initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food given away during the feast. During club-fights within the [578] [621] village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting [629] stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

629 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion 92 to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek 554 to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
883 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[564] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[678] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[64] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[554] measure of his sexual prowess.

593 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mõmaribõwei-tedi
732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwã. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwã), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

*628 613 591 583 606 Koima, a girl of some 15 years, was promised to Rerebawä, a young man from Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawä had already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom he had two children. Rerebawä wished to return to his own village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawä began making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effectively, and Rerebawä was growing impatient. His parents-in-law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter, 584 583 591 578 735 613 *624 • 627 provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however, refused to go to Rerebawä, suspecting that he would not keep his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead, Bäkotawä, her classificatory FaSiSo. She began an affair with Bäkotawä, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated Rerebawä, who challenged Bäkotawä to a club fight. Bäkotawä belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi and was cognatically related to the members of the headman's [626] descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment was on Bäkotawä's side, but the girl belonged to a descent group over whose affairs Bäkotawä's supporters had no claims. Rerebawä's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was promised to him by her agnates: Bäkotawä was, in effect, having an

affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawä's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawä threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawä shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawä, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bäkotawä, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawä discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawä, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

11: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

• 627
579
411
526
541

[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

/116 cont./

361 scanty knowledge, their population varies between 200 and 300.
161 Whereas there in the unexplored south organizational forms for
[621] larger numbers of people have evidently developed, the socio-
logical system of the Waika is organized for only the above-named
figure of a hundred village inhabitants; a surplus of births is
answered by village partition.

• 628 The politically independent villages are partners in war and
peace and for trading and visiting, and the momentary, frequently
changing relationships of the villages to one another give the
political situation in Waika territory its stamp. Let us first look
721 at the hostile relationships. Affairs involving women are for the
[583] most part the cause of war; if a wife is sought in other villages,
and if the offer is turned down, one resorts to abducting a woman.
Once there has been bloodshed in quarrels originating from this,
the war is self-perpetuating; the original cause has not been for-
gotten, to be sure, but because of its slight intensity in the con-
ceptual world it in no way suffices as a motive for the continuation
726 of the war. Rather, what does not permit breaking the chain of
attacks repeated at intervals of a few months, in which the enemy
men are killed, but the women abducted, /117/ is ideas and analogous
728 to blood revenge. Concluding peace is possible only when there has
been no bloodshed for a long period of time, and hostile relations
628 often last for generations. Thus Waika country is covered with a
network of hostile relationships of varying degrees, and, picking
a village at random, one can distinguish a series of villages that
are friendly, benevolently indifferent, neutral, sympathetic with
[726] the enemy, and, finally, completely hostile. For no two villages,
however, is this series completely identical; there are no ex-
tensive alliances; war is an affair of the individual village, and a
friendly village is aided only if there are personal reasons for
hostility. No Waika village is without an enemy, and because
of the many crisscrossings of the degrees of relationships the
political situation is extremely complicated. We therefore see
that even on the broadest social plane -- that of the people as
a cultural and linguistic whole -- there is a very pronounced

/117 cont./

628 tendency toward the independence of the next smaller parts acting on this plane and forming it -- namely, the villages.

These hostile relationships between the villages are external evidence of a centrifugal force in Waika culture seeking detach-
628 ment. The opposite tendency, the centripetal force toward bind-
574 ing the villages together, finds its expression in active intercourse
438 for trading and visiting. These trips, which are performed with such zeal that practically every second day there is some associa-tion with another village, from or to it, can be divided into sev-
438 eral groups, according to their purpose. First, trips purely for trade take place: each village prefers to produce or procure a certain article of the material culture so that it practically has a monopoly on it. One village supplies especially fine tobacco, another is favorably located in a place where much arrow-cane grows, a third produces pots because good clay is present in the vicinity, another is the supplier of hunting dogs for the neighbor-hood, and the village closest to us naturally barters primarily with European ironware. This formation of centers for specific goods naturally favored the development of commercial traffic; the trading itself is carried out over very long periods and thus resembles a gift-exchange behind which there is a certain amount
437 of compulsion. When one knows that the partner has more objects of a kind than he justifiably needs for himself, it is requested very urgently, and the one so entreated may not refuse, if he does not want to risk enmity and war -- he can, of course, get his revenge
[182] in his own way the next time. This system successfully prevents
[556] any accumulation of capital; no Waika possesses noticeably more
[565] than his neighbor; there are no social distinctions; and consequently no vertical classes.

628 Besides trade, the transmission of news, which proceeds in the
574 form of a /118/ ceremonial conversational-singing and not in
[203] simple dialogue, is also one purpose of such trips, as are wife-
[533] seeking and courting in other villages. As a rule all these trips
[584] are made by a group of men or young people who are guests for one or at most two nights in the strange village and then, after the trading has been done, oddly enough not until the last minute

/118 cont./

504 628 on the morning of departure, return to their own village. In contrast to this hastily accomplished visiting by small groups or even individuals, there is the migration of whole villages. During the 796 great palm-fruit festival, which takes place in February and of which I shall show you a film in a few days, the villages visit each other, which is often done in such a way that the two villages celebrate first in the settlement of the one and the other. The various above-mentioned purposes of this intervillage intercourse [184] are naturally combined in practice. The trading and visiting trips are responsible for the remarkable cultural unity of the Waika region, and the consciousness of this in the minds of the inhabitants. 574 On the other hand, in many cases they are the occasion and op- 721 portunity for quarrels and warfare; refusal to trade and refusal of 628 a girl lead at least to ill feeling, and, as was reported to us, neutral villages are sometimes invited to the palm-fruit festival solely for the purpose of attacking the men at a favorable moment in order to kill them and keep the women as booty. The language has a special word for this type of hostile act, and the procedure was described to us in detail, so there can be no doubt about its occasional occurrence.

628 In summary, the following may be said about the intervillage 182 relations presented in brief form. The balance between the two tendencies, the binding one and the separative one, both of which -- probably in correspondence to each other -- are expressed in remarkably vivid form, stamps the picture of the political organization in Waika country. The separative forces, in that they protect the detachment of the villages, prevent the formation of alliances on a wider scale, which could lead to political ascendancy, to regional groupings, to divisions -- in any case to a political unit extending beyond the village. Thus, in a cultural sense, these separative forces act indirectly in the same direction as the binding ones: both promote and maintain cultural homogeneity in a large territory. For since the individual villages are too weak to detach themselves from the leveling tensions /Verspannung/ with their neighbors, but, on the other hand, lasting, stable alliances cannot be achieved, political and cultural divisions

/118 cont./

628 are not feasible. The villages remain /119/ dependent on one
182 another in economic, sociological, and political respects, in connection with which the frequent change of partners guarantees the multiplicity of the contacts. Politically independent, with equal rights, and not anchored in any superordinate organization, the villages are the knots in a tightly woven network of active mutual relationships, in part of a positive kind, in part negative; the tension inherent in these relationships represents, on the one hand, the dynamic factor and, on the other hand, the stabilizing factor in the social life of the Waika.

621 Up to now I have used the term village as though it represented a stable unit; if we look at its internal structure, however, it turns out that this local body, the settlement community, very tightly united in itself, again is made up of individual groups which are distinguished from one another on certain occasions.
621 In many cases the festivals of human beings rather than their daily
796 life offer the opportunity to recognize the nature of their social
182 grouping; during festive occasions the community itself is represented and confirms this representation in ceremonial. Among
621 the Waika the ceremonial gift-exchange was the key to under-
431 standing the village structure. That is, after a successful large-scale hunt, in which the men of almost every house take part, it is customary to exchange baskets of roasted meat and a few bananas within the village. This exchange takes place, however, not between the individual houses, but between groups of houses; no baskets of meat are exchanged within the same group of houses, but rather only to and from the houses of the other groups. The village investigated by us was divided, according to the paths of exchange, into three groups of houses, which -- perhaps by chance -- were arranged in strips: on both sides of the oval several houses were combined in a group, and the two houses opposite each other in the middle likewise did not exchange gifts.
621 Now the next step must be to look at the reflection of the
611 sociologically inadequate term "group of houses" on the kinship level: the members of the individual groups of houses are to be characterized, according to their kinship relations, as bilateral and bilocal groups of families.

/208 cont./

241 [177] Among the Sanemá, doubtless as a result of their contact with their Macú and Caribe neighbors, agriculture has taken on increasing importance. The manner of cultivation is still very rudimentary, that of "slash and burn." The principal products are: plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, and certain herbs which have magical importance (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 444, similar plants among the Waica). Among the magical plants of the Sanemá there is one on which they lavish great care. An informant told us about the general consternation which seized all of them one day when a band of enemies tore up, during the night, all the magical plants of their conucos. They believed that they were going to die or at least become sick, and the "sablf had much work" in order to save his people. There is here a similar belief which we have already noted in connection with the eagles and hanekasá.

P24 241

241 178 [628] Agriculture has given a degree of stability to the Sanemá subgroups and has introduced changes in their traditional social system. Not all the groups have adopted this new economy and disputes and fights frequently arise because the gatherers indiscriminately appropriate the products of a conuco of the agricultural group. That was the motive which caused the Makiritare to fight with the Sanemá, who at that time had still not adopted the agriculture which flourished among their neighbors.

[648]

231 [192] The Sanemá do not have domestic animals, and even dogs are uncommon. It is possible that the Yanoama have adopted them recently. They have still not found a specific name for this animal, and they call it póliawan, like the jaguar. Some informants insisted that there is a phonetic difference between the word póláwan = jaguar and póliawan = dog, but there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the same word is involved. They raise dogs so that they may serve them as helpers in hunting.

In a Sanemá rancheria there are frequently found animals of various species, but tame. The hunters take home young turkeys, cranes, macaws, and parrots, as well as guinea pigs, lapas, and monkeys, as presents for their wives or children. /Illustrations appear here./

/210 cont./

594 621 family exists as a definite cell in that tribe, assuming all the functions and all the specific responsibilities of that social entity. Thus, there exists the formal arrangement of marriage, which sanctions sexual contact between the spouses and guarantees procreation. There exists economic co-operation among the members of the nuclear family, which organizes work and apportions the necessary subsistance and, in this way, injects persistence in the family's living together. There are practically no tasks which exceed the capacity of the nuclear family and the children learn the way of life directly from their parents and elders.

[86]

594 354 The most visible center of the nuclear family is the fire around which they eat and sleep. From here they go out to their work and, upon their return, reassemble at the fireside. After a long trip, the man takes the small sticks from his quiver and makes a fire; there is a new fire; a new home is established.

596 621 Each individual Sanemá belongs also to an extended family made up according to the residence rules already explained. The local group /211/ consists of two or more of these extended families of the same bilateral kinsfolk and form /sic/ a band. This local group or band is the largest social unit to which a Sanemá belongs. The terms "subtribe" and "tribe" which we use are artificial terms lacking in real meaning for the Sanemá. But the band is definitely a familiar concept for him, one which he knows very well and with which he identifies. The band guarantees economic and social stability, and its well-being benefits the individual member, who feels tied to it by a multitude of family ties.

[619]

621 628 Each local group has innumerable enemies, while the circle of friends is extremely small. Contact between all of one group with a neighboring group is rare, but does sometimes occur. They sometimes get together for commercial reasons or at funeral ceremonies, but their friendship is weak and unstable.

601 582 We were unable, for lack of an informant, to obtain a list of kinship terms. Our impression is that a Hawaiian system is involved. One may not marry a female cross or parallel cousin. There are

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill
[621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite
554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us,
769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to
628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder,
[266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablf shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be-
[888] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex-
[574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father,
162 who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition
855 we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of
000 the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

/223 cont./

776 The Great Jaguar has certain relations with Omao, the
793 deified hero of the Sanemá, since his name, "Omao-kõhe," indicates such a relationship, and it is possible perhaps to speak of a vocation for the office of priest, since the Sanemá Supreme Being admits him, after his encounter with the Great Jaguar, into the court of Omao.

793 According to South American ethnology, it is surprising
171 to find a "specialist" in a nomadic preagricultural society, but, as we shall state below, this is the second time that we have found a similar case in Venezuela; the other one was that of the Warao wiʃiráto.

793 The Sanema priest is a member of the court of Omao, not
776 only because the Great Jaguar changed him into a bat, but also
778 because Omao gave him a hikuladɛ which is invisible, although it has a spherical shape like a ball, and the larger the hikuladɛ, the more powerful the priest.

The hikuladɛ of the priest, the informant explained, is like a globe which the hɛwĩawán keeps in his chest. We shall also see later that the other religious practitioner of the Sanema has a hikuladɛ too, but one which is essentially different. We
793 have the impression that the hikuladɛ of the priest contains "the
778 souls" of the ancestors who were destined by Omao to live there
775 and help the priest. Since the data obtained are, in our opinion,
793 insufficient, we do not want to hazard peremptory statements,
778 but it seems certain that the Sanemá priest also cures the sick,
755 particularly those who are suffering from fever. Our informant
[114] explained to us that the ancestors (hikula-dĩb), the people of the
[775] hikuladɛ of the priest, are the ones who cure the fever when the priest brings the hikuladɛ out of his chest and deposits it for a time on the body of the patient.

Sometimes the desired effect is not attained, and that indicates that the soul of the /224/ victim has already abandoned the
793 body and does not want to return. The hʃkula therefore constitute
778 a sort of supernatural "little pueblo" /pueblecito/ within the
● 629 Sanemá community in which the priest lives and do not wish to have any communication with the kʃkula-dib /sic/ of the neighboring pueblo. The priests from nearby pueblos do not visit each

/224 cont./

793 778 628 [776] other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the hɛ̃wĩawán gather with their hĩkula-dĩb.

793 778 775 The hĩkula-dĩb of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria, in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial community, and for this reason more than one priest is unnecessary. In the section of the illustrations[1] one can see the

532 793 778 775 126 hikuladɛ́ of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees there five hĩkula-dĩb, or souls of ancestors of the group in which the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him

532 793 778 775 126 825 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is based on the belief that a Sanemá must never speak of the insect of the house of the hikuladɛ́. As a matter of fact our informant never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American ethnology.

171 773 825 778 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it payak, a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to the hĩkuladɛ́ of the Sanemá priest to note the Mataco custom of attributing a supernatural power to a maraca /gourd rattle/ with sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The similarity between the hikuladɛ́ of the Sanemá and the "sacred maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

[1] [see p. 70 - -Analyst]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Ma Kiri'tare SS20

IV

Had Luis Antonio been wearing clothes, we should have pronounced him very well turned out, for he looked dark and perfectly groomed in his nudity, which was enhanced in very smart fashion by a loincloth of fiery red and a ruffle of white feathers on his right arm. In addition to his name and his knowledge of Spanish there was one other thing about him that suggested that his story might not be quite the usual one: his rotten teeth. All the Indian peoples have teeth that are very strong and brilliantly white. They are used to hard exertions on the meat the savage eats, while his fruits provide the necessary minerals, and keep their strength and colour well into old age. Luis Antonio was an exception—his teeth were no longer good: there was a long history to them, and we soon got to know it.

Uarema—Uarma, Ualema, Uadma, or Uadema were alternative forms, all very close in the Shirian pronunciation—had been a Guayca boy from the Uagna tribe. They were real warriors, forever at war with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. Battles were a regular feature of tribal life. When the arsenal of long-range weapons had been exhausted the armies would come to grips with clubs and sticks. During one such engagement the young Uarema disappeared into the forest and, finding himself lost, stayed all alone on the bank of the Merevari, living on fruit and worms. At the time he was probably no more than four or five years old, but the Guayca Indians are savages among the savages, and four or five is old enough for a boy to know what is good to eat in the forest and what isn't; where to find it; and how to catch it. While he was all by himself on a beach, getting a few little fish by striking at them with a stick, a Makiritari party came along, found him there, and took him with them. They were going down the Caura to sell canoes to the people on the rubber plantations at Maripa (which is almost on the Orinoco). The child, travelling with them, soon accustomed himself to their language and their Cassava bread.

At Maripa, one Martin Viudo, a rubber man who knew Guiana like the palm of his hand, saw the boy and prodded him as you would prod a spring chicken or a sucking-pig in a shop.

'A fine boy this,' he declared. 'But wicked. Wicked and obstinate, like all

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

especially strong and intelligent, and keep him at his side, adopting him, as it were, as his successor. The little girls continue to live in the feminine world of their tribe. Shy and submissive, they take on the humblest tasks, fetching water, making the fire and helping in the preparation—highly problematical—of food.

Such definitions of customs have, however, only a relative value, like any attempt to estimate the Shirian way of life: for Shirians are to be found spread over wild territory of vast extent. Their customs are less well defined than one might suppose after reading certain tracts about primitive peoples—the Pacific islanders, for instance. These give the impression that with slight formal changes only, Western culture might have much to learn from the degree of social organization they have attained to. The Shirian tribes, cut off from one another as they are by physical barriers such as mountains and rivers, and moral barriers like the ceaseless state of war which exists between the various branches of this race of 'howling Indians', have developed their own customs in their own sporadic fashion. Sometimes they have been weakened by contact with foreigners, such as the Makiritari in the north-west and the Makushi in the east. More often they have been weakened by a lack of strong traditions, which do not spring easily from such an excessively low level of culture, where mere survival calls for an unending struggle against the tremendous power of the eternally hostile forest.

The most primitive races are those most affected by their geographical setting. Their environment conditions them. Only by adapting themselves continually to their surroundings, only by the long process of response to the determining factor of geography, can they create that growing racial identity which at last succeeds in reversing the process—that is, in conditioning the surroundings instead of being conditioned by them. But we are here touching on the larger question of the development of civilization generally.

Where the Shirians are concerned, we are still at the beginning of the beginning, when geography is the absolute determining factor. Here environment is the master of man—a creature inferior, qualitatively and quantitatively, to the region which it is his fate to inhabit.

The territory they occupy is immense. Divided though it may be by great cordilleras, which make it the breeding ground for various rivers rushing north, west and south, it possesses one marked characteristic throughout its whole extent: the sources and the headwaters of the rivers are contained in a sort of

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the poison has time to spread and enter the bloodstream. The Samatari go off to war with masses of these poisoned arrows and a cane quiver slung across their shoulders. This contains spare arrow-heads which can be quickly attached to the arrows arriving in a stream from the enemy. Every fighter carries his own ammunition, but the weapons are really the common property of friend and foe alike.

There is one other widely used weapon, and a deadly one it is—a heavy wooden club for use on the cranium in close-combat conditions, such as usually arise at the end of the battle when the ammunition is exhausted and the antagonists have worked themselves up into a fine frenzy. Then the hand-to-hand fighting excels in ferocity, but the blood scattered on the ground is misleading—the actual mortality rate is very low. Tremendous whacks on the head are exchanged, that lay the scalp open right down to the bone. But cracking the cranium itself is not so easy: Samatari heads are harder than Corozo palm.

One may well ask why the Indians are forever fighting these wars, but this is to put the question a little too ingenuously. The answer can only be that it is their mode of life—just as it is other people's mode of life not to keep on fighting. There are vendettas as old as their race itself, fanned by their belief in the evil eye of the witch doctors who can cause the death of children and spread sickness through the tribe. Fear is the underlying cause, at the origin of these vendettas and at the origin of all origins; fear that is the very condition, the very breath of existence for primitive man in the inhuman, unhuman forest regions that set their stamp on all who live in them. Fear gives birth to these bloody encounters, which a little cool-headedness could transform into the meeting of friends. We ourselves owed our salvation to the fact that we hadn't fought back. We had a certain confidence too, over and above the passing moment of fear, a certain faith in the essential goodness of man.

But apart from fear and the vendettas which grow out of it, there is one native activity which just as easily leads to war: theft. Theft is the activity in which the Shirians excel, their way of living. Everything that can further their nomadic existence is torn out of the earth, the trees and the animals. The process means effort and struggle, always more or less exhausting and unsafe. It follows logically that if anything they basically need belongs to other men, they will take it from them, too. The tribe on the river so-and-so possesses a machete, or a knife—perhaps the result of long bargaining with their neighbours, or, more often, of a highly successful bit of burglary and some

Waica
Guaharibo

/434 cont./

197 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a
101 separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation
197 zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted
[248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they culti-
[352] vate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton ham-
[342] mocks and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version
[484] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they
192 speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/
[114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried
628 to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/435 cont./
126 rancherias. For anyone who might be preparing to travel or
● 628 work in Guaika territory, these relations can be as important as the geographical location of the settlements. If a group of Guaika should be engaged to carry out certain tasks, they might be inclined to work well in certain areas, but doubtless would refuse to enter areas inhabited by their enemies.

126 /436/ On the map of the whole area inhabited by the Guaika and Guajaribo, I have tried to show the approximate limits of the two tribes. The areas which are shaded on the said map correspond to the zones where we have had contact with these
[114] tribes on several occasions. The settlements whose names appear underlined, that is to say, El Platanal and Ioeitedi, are native rancherias where we have lived and worked for long periods of time. These settlements continue to be our principal bases of operation.

103 The native names of the principal rivers are as follows:

Orinoco River	Majekodo-ko
Cunucununa River	Ami-ko
Padamo River	Jaiyama-ko
Metacuni River	Wakawaka-ko
Ocamo River	Kia-ko
Mavaca River	Wachewa-ko
Manavichi River	Mata-ko

The native name of the Raudal de Guajaribos /Guaharibo Torrent/ is Kalebakbola.

I have not been able to discover even one name for the hill of Guaiaribo, but the most important peaks, starting below and going up the river, are: Wanidi-mak, Yabitao-mak, Kacholaoa-mak, and Wadubaoa-mak.

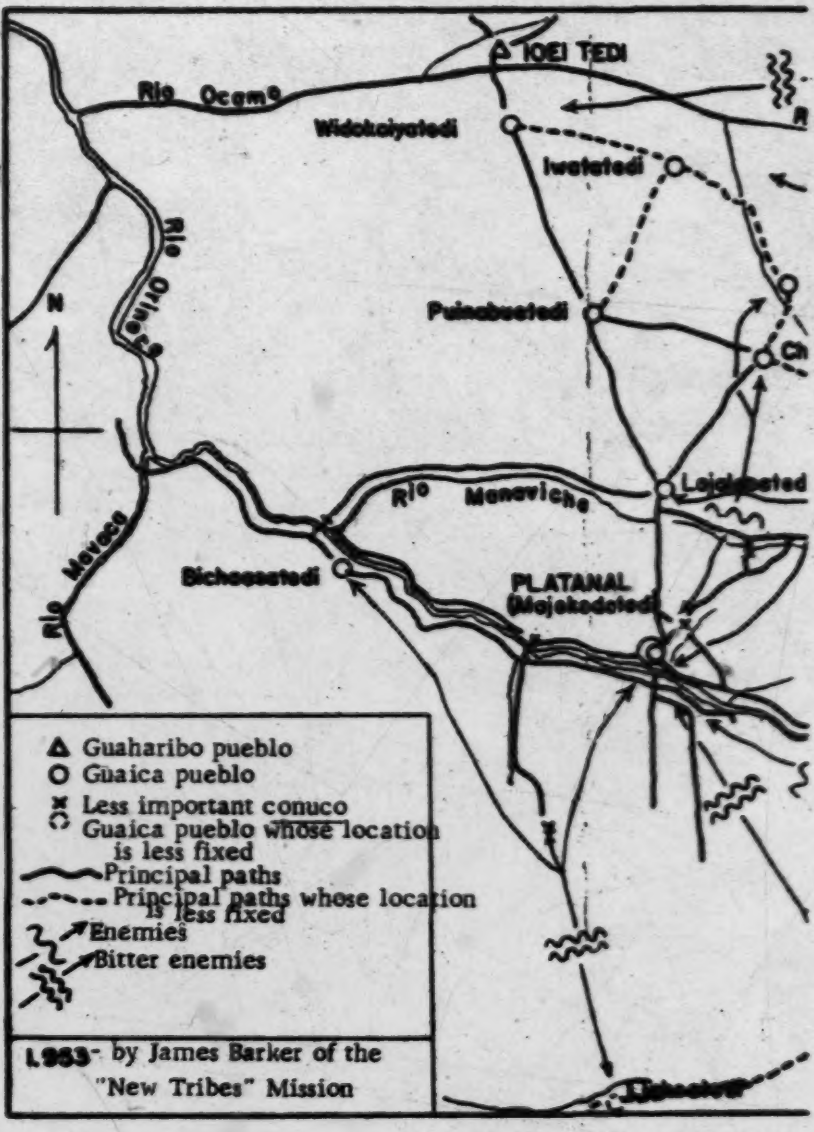
Geography

361 A few Guaika /Waica/ settlements are located along the principal rivers and are accessible by means of small boats or canoes with outboard motors. Nevertheless, most of the Guaika settlements are inland and can only be reached after one or more days of travel.

7: Barker--7 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yancama SQ18

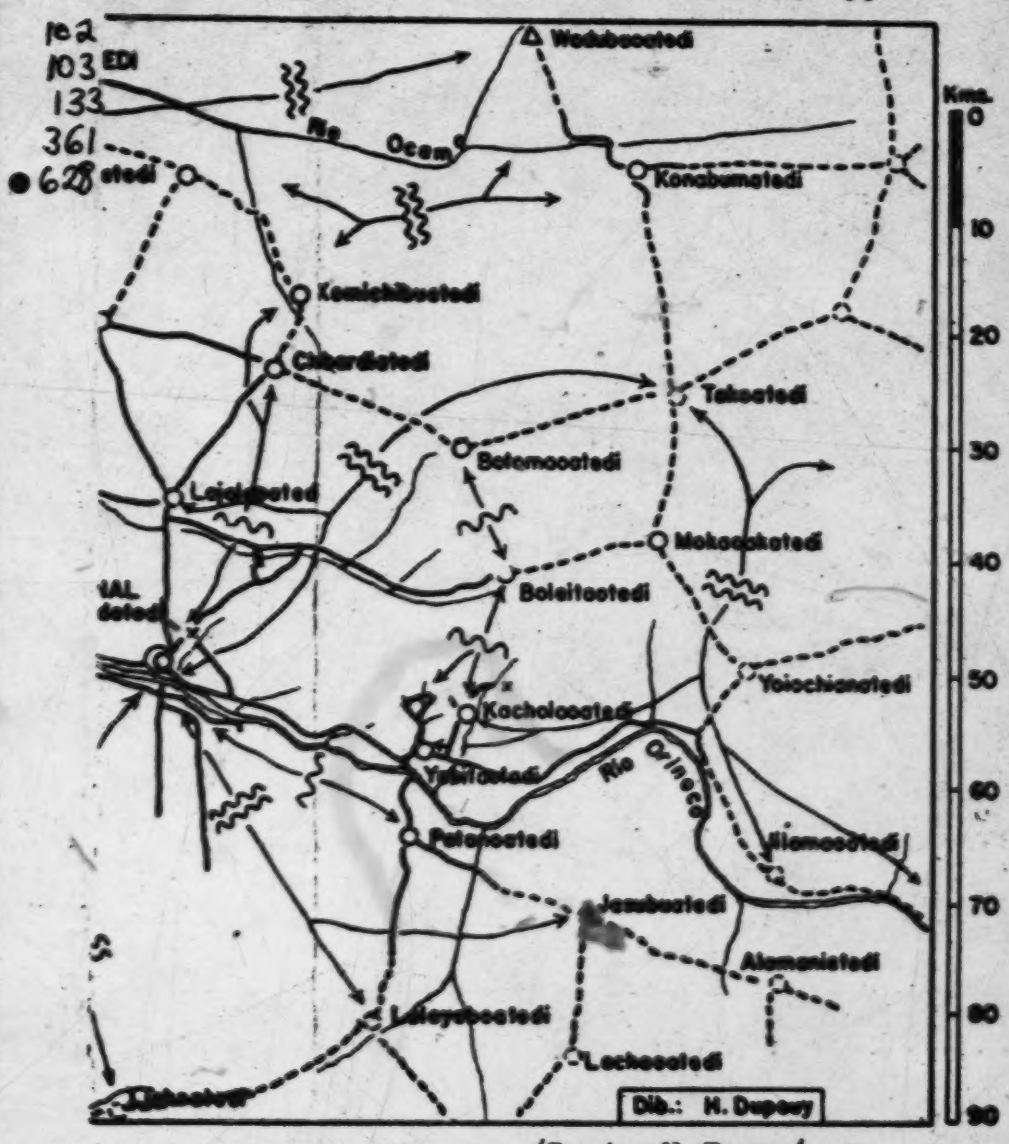
Waica
Guaharibo

102
103
133
361
● 628



7: Barker--8 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica
Guaharibo



/Drawing: H. Dupouy/

/447/

The Fiesta of the Harvest of "Pijiguao"

527 The fiesta of the harvest of the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm
574 (Bactris gasipaës) is perhaps the most important event of the year. During this harvest everybody has food to spare and consequently
[484] can receive all those who want to visit them. As a result of this there is a great deal of traveling during this period.

• [628] Frequently two or three settlements gather in order to celebrate the fiesta. Then one part will go to celebrate the same fiesta in other friendly settlements.

The hosts, and sometimes the visitors as well, go out on a hunting trip, which lasts for several days, until they collect a sufficient quantity of meat. This meat is smoked and preserved for the fiesta.

527 When the hunters come back, the fiesta begins at night with considerable joy and singing. The hunters gather and march around the interior patio of the settlement several times. Then
[526] there begins a mock battle with cudgels. Those who have axes or machetes use these in place of cudgels. They are waved about in the air in a way similar to an attack in fencing or fighting with cudgels. The weapons clash together, but blows are not struck at the body.

After this comes the fire procession. Every man takes a burning torch from the fire and joins the others who go around and around the periphery of the great circular patio formed by the huts. From time to time, when passing in front of one of the surrounding ranchos, they rap with the torch on one of the straight supports which hold up the roof, scattering sparks in the air.

[526] Afterwards, they do what is known as "golpeo al pecho" /hitting the chest/. The boys and a few men pair off against those of another settlement and carry out a duel of blows on the chest. One will present his chest while the other hits it with the side of the fist.

[533] All of these acts are carried out amidst much jubilation and singing. Sometimes this is repeated on the following night.

/451 cont./

251 The Guaika /Waica/ do not keep reserves of food. All of their foods are cooked fresh or at least within a period of two weeks from the time they are ready. Therefore, in case their conucos have a scarcity of produce, they must go to live in the forest, gathering seeds, fruits, and roots, and devoting more time than usual to hunting and fishing. When another settlement [628] has an abundance of food in a time of scarcity, it would be very fortunate to be able to live completely from this settlement instead of having to subsist from the forest.

Consumption of Food

263 No salt is consumed as such, that is, as salt properly speaking. They eat wood ashes, especially the ashes of a tree called [824] "kololi." The ashes may be eaten as they are or with hot water poured over them to obtain a tasty liquid. To this liquid, called "ubu," is added strong peppers. Platanos and other foods are dipped in the resulting sauce to flavor and ingest them.

261 Clay is also dried and eaten, especially the clay from certain nests of insects.

[862] No child may be weaned until it has learned to eat the said ashes and clay.

Earth and clean dust are also eaten. They are considered clean if they are taken from a place where a fire has recently burned, from a river bed, or from a bare spot or bank of sand which the sun has been able to purify.

264 Their hours for eating are as follows: Breakfast is taken shortly after sunrise, and the second turn when they come back from work in their "conucos," generally at some time near midday. They eat again near /452/ sunset. This schedule varies, being adjusted for hunting trips, moving from the settlement, etc. They eat quite a lot between meals, especially wild fruits and bananas and ripe platanos.

/468 cont./

Traveling and Transportation

487 They make almost all their trips on foot by paths and trails. Bridges are built over the largest rivers. Other rivers are waded or crossed on tree trunks.

/469/ New paths are marked by breaking branches in passing. On old roads they indicate the path or paths which have not been taken, leaving some object or a little pile of leaves at the entrance of same. A stick may be tied to an abandoned dwelling to indicate in what direction the former occupant has moved.
621 (A settlement may split up into groups when it abandons the
166 site in the area of the "conuco," and therefore this sign does not necessarily mean that the entire settlement has gone off in that direction.)

166 The Guaika /Waica/ travel frequently, but generally not
● 628 very far. The nearest settlement -- perhaps a day away -- is usually as far as they go. The settlement beyond this might be an enemy settlement, or at least not very friendly. Even neighboring settlements have such bad relations with one another that
628 they rarely visit among themselves. But the settlements which
574 are on friendly terms visit each other very frequently, and, when both live in the areas of the conucos, visitors come and go between them every few days.

574 The reasons for visiting are principally to see friends or to stay until their own "conuco" (which might be in a period of little production) begins to produce again.

Standards of Living

513 The Guaika /Waica/ consider it essential to sleep every
[349] night under a roof. Thus, they always build some sort of shelter.

A fire is also essential. A Guaika will not sleep without
[354] a fire at night. He needs it to obtain heat and to protect himself from animals, and with the fire he feels safer from evil spirits.

/473 cont./

583 628 To a suitor who does not obtain the consent of the girl's settlement there is no other path but to look for a wife elsewhere or to try to abduct the girl in order to make her his /474/ wife. If he decides to do this latter, he gathers together his sympathizers; these are mostly men of the suitor's own settlement, although other friends may also help him. The group attempts to take the girl prisoner at a careless moment, carrying her off by force. The friends of the girl come to help her, starting a hand-to-hand fight. If the suitor manages to flee with the girl, she becomes his wife, but if he fails, he cannot make another attempt at abduction without then being considered a real enemy, and as such he will run the risk of being shot with an arrow and not simply have to put on a fight.

If a settlement decides not to accept the abduction committed for one of its girls for matrimonial purposes, a call for help can be made to a neighboring settlement, all of the men gathering in a band, ready to recover her. The weapons used on such a raid are smooth poles about six feet long, intended not to kill the opponent, but to knock him down, leaving him hors de combat. If such a raid is successful, the girl is returned to her parents. And if the raid fails, any new attempt to recover the girl involves the risk of the attackers' being shot with arrows, since they would then be considered as true enemies. Both the men and the women can fight on the defense in case of such a raid. (411)

A suitor alone or with the help of a few friends may succeed in carrying out the abduction of a wife, generally by finding the girl practically alone and carrying her off to his own settlement. In such cases the settlement of the abductor cannot back him, obliging him to return the woman to her parents rather than to lose their friends in her settlement.

721 302 When a raid to a truly hostile settlement is planned for the purpose of abducting a wife or other objects of value, each one of the members of the attacking band paints himself entirely black or dark maroon. For such raids the weapons are the bow and arrows, and, when the fight starts, both groups shoot to kill. Should the attacking band be small, it can only hope to capture some girl or woman who is alone in her "conuco" or /475/ cutting wood in the forest. Then it will try to escape with the 726 (411)

726 /476/ In general prolonged sieges are not attempted, out of fear that someone who came to visit the besieged settlement might have seen the attackers and gone in search of help. As a result of this the source that supplies them with water is generally not defended.

Frequently, before carrying out a larger attack, the attacking settlement moves into the forest so that the families may be sheltered while the men go out to battle.

583 628 If two young persons wish to marry, but one or both of their settlements do not favor their matrimonial union, they may flee to a settlement where they will be accepted and establish their home there. If they do not find a settlement that will shelter them, they must separate and try to contract marriage by the usual means, or they have to abandon their plan altogether.

586 628 A wife maltreated by her husband may flee from him by going to a settlement prepared to defend her, or to one where her husband would not dare go because of being considered an enemy there.

If a wife runs off alone or with another man, the husband may organize an expedition armed with macanas or clubs to regain her, but in this case, too, he can only make one single attempt. If she has taken the children with her, he can try to recover both the wife and the children or only the children, or some of them.

586 If a man abandons his wife, in general nothing can be done about it.

If the man and the woman separate by mutual agreement, the former generally keeps the children. Sometimes the smaller children remain at the side of the mother until they are of sufficient age to cook their own platanos (perhaps five or six years old).

587 The second marriage differs very little from the first marriage. In the majority of cases a virgin is preferred to a widow or to a married fugitive.

581 No man remains unmarried by his own will. If he is unmarried, it is because he has not been able to obtain a wife.

/477/

582 A young woman cannot remain unmarried for a long time, but some manage to reject all their suitors for several years
587 after puberty. A widow, especially a widow with children, sometimes remains alone forever after the death of her husband.

Making Peace

628 202 When one settlement wishes closer friendship with another, it sends a messenger to offer more friendly terms.

628 202 728 If the settlements are only "macana enemies," a messenger of the very settlement that takes the initiative might go, but if the settlements are "arrow enemies," then it is necessary to send a messenger from a settlement which is friendly with both of the settlements in question. The messenger who is a member of a settlement that is an "arrow enemy" would run the danger of being shot with an arrow before giving the message.

628 728 Thus, two very hostile settlements might manage to suspend the raids between them. Later, they might agree not to fight any more should they see one another in a friendly settlement. Until they arrive at this accord, a neutral settlement friendly to both, when it is visited by people from one of these settlements hostile to each other, must send a message to the other, warning that they should not come so long as there are visitors from the hostile settlement in it. Still later they might agree to receive the visit of a small group of visitors from the other [572] enemy settlement, for commercial purposes. From this time on the two settlements can undertake their negotiations directly, and friendships begin to form among their respective members. [582] Then, when one settlement, out of good will, gives its own girls as wives to the men of the other settlement, it can be said that they have recovered; they have truly become good friends.

While the greater the number of persons involved in a dispute or a fight, the less the probability that the opposing bands will reach an understanding after a short time, the disputes within a settlement itself are in general settled quickly. Within a few months all will have been forgotten. /478/ Disputes between settlements which have not gone beyond macana fights are usually forgotten in a year or two. Disputes between settlements which have occasion to use arrows, especially if someone has

/478 cont./

628 728 been killed, might require a greater number of years to be reconciled. Disputes which have reached the proportions of regional wars are rarely forgotten within the same generation, since there is hardly any neutral settlement left by means of which peace negotiations can be made.

The Family

591 606 A newly married couple may live in the settlement of the wife's parents or in that of the husband's parents. But if they decide to live in the settlement of the wife's parents, they cannot live in the same dwelling with them, because it is prohibited (taboo) for the husband to approach his mother-in-law. He can enter her house only when she is outside. He would not dare to come any closer to her than three or four meters. If the couple decides to live with the husband's parents, there are no such restrictions, since there is no prohibition against the daughter-in-law approaching her mother-in-law. Even suitors customarily lodge on the side opposite that of the house of their future mother-in-law, in their town.

595 [578] The majority of the men have but one wife. Those who wish to, and are able to, may have two or more wives. This practice makes more acute the shortage of marriageable women and may be one of the principal causes of the fights over wives which are started by men who have remained without any.

When a man has more than one wife, his wives may live in the same house or in several houses in a row. They work together, but each one has her own property. Frequently they are sisters since a man is more likely to marry the sister of his wife than to find another wife elsewhere.

593 Within the family it is the man who exercises authority. I only know of one case where the woman gives orders in the house, and this because her husband is mentally deficient.

/151/

Raids among the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

114

* Mr. James Barker has prepared this work as a result of his many years with the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. In this Boletín (Year I, Vol. I, Caracas, June-December, 1953, Nos. 3-4, pp. 433-489 /see 7: Barker, this file/) he presented a report of his observations under the title of "Memoria sobre la cultura Guaika /Memoir on the Culture of the Waica/." The present work is the result of his observations, which, revealed in an objective and simple manner, are of positive value for ethnologists and ethnographers.

121 I have been asked for more information about the raid. As I am not sure of which one I am asked about, I will tell about several, especially those about which I have quite detailed information.

574 In February of 1951 the aldea of Liacoatjeti invited the
● 628 aldea of Bisheasetjeti to a Pijiguao or palm festival. The men of Liacoatjeti had gone on a special hunt to get a supply of meat. There was to have been an abundance of every type of food. There were to have been special dances, the taking of yopo, and other things which they do on such festive occasions.

574 But the invitation was a trick which those of Liatcoatjeti /sic/
628 had planned in order to be able to kill, if possible, all of the
721 men of Bisheasetjeti and capture their women. Batanoetjeti and other aldeas which were enemies of Bisheasetjeti were invited to hide outside of the aldea and shoot at any man who tried to get away. Since they did not need to feed anybody, the Liacoatjeti did not bother to go hunting.

/152/

574 628 721 [262] [411] The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti accepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 731 [499] The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food. They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 411 721 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and

166 722 628 ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was abandoned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest

000 near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

722 /152 cont. /One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,
499 the Bisheasetjeti also crossed; the bridge was /153/ cut by them near the bank. Guards were placed to keep a lookout for the enemy, should he try to repair the bridge and cross it.

727 Much after this, a raid was made on Liacoatjeti by some
[721] of the Bisheasetjeti and the Majecotjeti /sic/; "Jaiyeota," one of the Majecototjeti, shot one of them and killed him. A boy of four or five years of age was captured. One of the men from Majecototjeti, "Ushiu," took the boy and cared for him. All of the children were bothering the little one, calling him enemy and acting as if they were going to shoot him. One day, after this had gone on for a while, a young man from Bisheasetjeti shot the child near the water spring. He shot the arrow so hard that it passed through him. Ushiu gave the child a funeral, but none of the other inhabitants of the aldea came to the "lloro" /weeping/, because they said, "After all, he was an enemy."

628 The two aldeas had some bad times together. Often, when
721 they were in the forest, they had to come running back, feeling
578 sick. Frequently their ribs were showing. During this time
[164] several died of a strange fever which kept the victim hot day and night without relief. Others were very sick with the fever, and it
[361] was feared that they would also die. The two aldeas of Bisheasetjeti and Majecototjeti lived together for a year, until those of Bisheasetjeti made a new "farm" /granja/ down the Orinoco, on the other side of the Manaviche River. When they separated, friction caused by some women had reached such a point that the Majecototjeti summoned the Macolimutjeti, and both of them made a raid on Bisheasetjeti to recover the wife of a Majecototjeti who had gone to live with a Bisheasetjeti. One family did not take part in this raid and by its friendly and frequent visits prevented the two aldeas from shooting at each other.

628 Another incident of friction was that a young man from
578 Majecototjeti stole a Bisheasetjeti woman from her husband.
837 When the husband had almost persuaded his wife to come back with him, the Majecototjeti man shot him in the back with a bone-pointed arrow and kept the woman. The Bisheasetjeti man was seriously wounded, but recovered.

/153 cont./

628 584 In January of 1952, while many of those from the aldea of Yoeitjeti were visiting in Majecototjeti, a group of men from /154/ Shibaatía-tjeti came and inquired about "Macluma," about giving her in matrimony to a man from Shibaatía-tjeti, who was already married to her older sister. "Macluma" had just passed puberty, and "Yajicocoue," the husband of the other older sister of "Macluma," also wanted her. The grandmother of "Macluma" persuaded her not to go off with the man from Shibaatía-tjeti unless she never wanted to see her again.

That night the Shibaatía-tjeti suitor asked for Macluma in "singing" fashion, while talking with "Shinaocaoue," the chief /capitán/ of Majecototjeti. The chief called him "old man." He told the chief that if he obtained her, he would be good to her, he would not put fire on her or beat her. I am not sure what conclusion they reached, although I suspect that the chief refused to give her to him.

628 583 584 On the following afternoon the men of Shibaatía-tjeti caught "Macluma" outside of the aldea and tried to take her off by force, in what the Yonomama /Yanoama/ call a "shaimau." The Majecototjeti women came to rescue her, and a group got into a fight and into a "rope fight" /lucha de cuerda/ over "Macluma." This lasted for several hours. The men of Yoeitjeti and I myself stood to one side and watched, but did not take part. Finally, the women managed to carry "Macluma" back to her house, and things quieted down.

The men of Shibaatía-tjeti said that they would come back for "Macluma." The men of Majecototjeti said, "If you do, we will shoot you."

After that, when the Shibaatía-tjeti visited them, at most there were groups of two or three.

721 [411] In October of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came one evening at nightfall and shot a poisoned arrow at a boy, "Bosalima," who was standing at the entrance to the aldea. The wound was not very deep, but was several inches long.

/157 cont./

726 628 But when they returned, none seemed overly alarmed. The men commented that it had probably been the Batanoatjeti or Bisheasetjeti on the way to make a raid on the other aldea, since they were the most bitter enemies and we were camped between them.

(The Majecototjeti were more or less friends of both aldeas at this time.)

726 But about three hours later some came saying that they had found the bow of "Valooboue" and the basket of one of the women lying near the tracks in disorderly fashion. The group had been attacked. Then the men prepared their bows and went out in every direction. There was a discussion concerning who had gone out with one of those already mentioned. "Etemi" (the wife of "Botai"), three of the wives of "Olami-Juu," an old man (the father of the three wives), and "Valooboue" had gone out together to gather moriche fruit. Two other women who had gone out with this group, but who had separated from them and gone back upstream, had already returned to the encampment. They said that they had heard an argument or a shout in the early part of the afternoon, but, not having heard anything else, had thought little of it.

A group of men went out to try to follow the tracks, but the tracks seemed to disappear or turn back on themselves. It was not clear what route the raiders had taken. Probably they had divided up to join forces and reassemble at some point. Finally, it was decided that they had gone back, toward the river, in the same direction that the tracks came from. Toward nightfall [123] the men went to cross the Orinoco River and asked our men as well, who still lived on the north bank of the Orinoco, to look for more tracks at the wharf (only I accompanied them on the trip south of the Orinoco on this occasion).

That night the people who stayed in the camp speculated considerably concerning who the raiders might have been /158/ and how things had happened. Some said that it might be that David London had carried the Shibaatía-tjeti across the river in his boat. "Oh, that David," they said. Others were of the opinion that David would not have done such a thing.

/159 cont./

727 women) home safe and sound. A few days after the Majecototjeti returned from their attempted raid, "Etemi" returned. When she returned, the whole aldea went back to the north bank of the Orinoco River, in case they were being followed.

She told how it was that she had had a chance to walk in front of an old woman, and, getting somewhat out in front along the way, she was able to get off the path without being seen and had returned.

We marveled at our little faith. Why had we not prayed to God to bring them all back?

721 The chief repeatedly called meetings for raids to get revenge on the Liatcoatjeti. Usually the aldeas of Bisheasetjeti
• [628] and Macolimutjeti accompanied the Majecototjeti on their raids. Our missionaries and some of the believers and the Yanomama prayed together that the raiders would not kill anybody or lose any of their own. Once they did not find anybody in the houses. Another time they became lost and for lack of food had to return home. Another time the whole group was so sick that they had to return, having covered only a few days of travel from their point
721 of departure. When a Yanomama aldea or several aldeas are about
726 to go on a raid, they hold an impressive ceremony. They make one or several effigies which represent the enemy. Then a simulated raid is acted out, in which these effigies are wounded, broken in two, and then thrown down. If the enemy is far away, they can do this at home and several times on the way to the enemy. Sometimes the simulated raid is carried to the point of dividing the group into two parts: one group which shoots at the effigies and then escapes (flees) with several girls from the aldea; the other group comes along a little later, /160/ finds that the women are gone,, and pursues the raiders until it finds them hidden, sometimes out in the forest, with the girls. When the raiders are found, each one gives a loud war-cry and the ceremony ends.

114
721 In December of 1954 all our missionaries went down the river for our field conference, leaving the Frobenius expedition alone in Platanal. One night a man from Shibaatía-tjeti slipped

/160 cont./
114 into the aldea of Platanal and shot at one of the men. His shot
721 wounded "Lublo-juu" in the thigh. Nevertheless, since he recovered, there was no gathering for a raid. The men of the Frobenius expedition treated his leg and prevented complications, since the wound was quite deep.

574
628 At the beginning of February 1955 the Macolimutjeti and the Bisheasetjeti were invited to a Pijiguao or palm (Peach) festival among the Majecototjeti. The Macolimutjeti all came, men, women, and children. But the Bisheasetjeti were somewhat afraid. The Majecototjeti had been somewhat friendly with the Batanoatjeti, bitter enemies of the Bisheasetjeti, and the Bisheasetjeti feared a trick. (Years before, in 1951, they had been tricked by the Liacoatitjeti.) But so as not to show their bad faith, the men came (or at least a few of them), but none of the women, in order thus to reduce the "desirability" of a trick to steal them.

726 In March of 1955 the men of Platanal had gone for a new attempt at a raid, leaving the rest of the people in the principal aldea, located to the north of the Orinoco. One day, when /illustration appears here/ /161/ all of them except the lame boy were out of the aldea, the Shibaatfa-tjeti returned. They found "Joashimocaoue," who was returning from the farm at the head of the others who had gone to take advantage of the Pijiguao, or palm festival. The raiders shot him twice in the back, since he ran toward the refuge of the aldea. He was wounded by one bamboo point, not deeply, and by one point poisoned with curare, which caused a rather deep wound. In the aldea he told the lame
[123] boy to hide himself from the raiders who had killed him, and then, finding no help in the aldea, he ran to our house, about 200 to 300 meters away.

/165 cont./

721 In April of 1955 I found that the Bisheasetjeti had taken a girl from Vitocaiyetjeti, contrary to the desires of her aldea. Not long after this the Vitocaiyetjeti made a raid on the Bisheasetjeti to recapture the girl. The raiders managed to go [926] up the river as far as the Mavaca River, with one of the "Ceder" outfits which was working in the Yanomama territory. In the battle which followed there were a few banged heads and an abundance of broken arms, but nobody was killed. Nor did they manage to get the girl back. Now the two aldeas are threatening to shoot at each other.

• 628 The Vitacoiyetjeti, expecting to get help, told the Yoeitjeti that the Bisheasetjeti were also angry at them and were planning raids against them as well. They /166/ also told the Macolimutjeti that the Yoeitjeti were angry with the Bisheasetjeti, and, of course, the news reached the Bisheasetjeti.

628 On a trip of mine up the river I would stop in Bisheasetjeti.
123 The chief asked me to find out from the Bisheasetjeti whether the report was true. But the Bisheasetjeti were not at home when I passed. Nevertheless, the Majecototjeti did not know of any such intentions on the part of the Bisheasetjeti, in spite of having had several visits recently from the Bisheasetjeti.

I told this to the chief of the Yoeitjeti on my way back.

Now, in March 1956, the men and boys of Bisheasetjeti have gone down to Tamatama in canoes. But they did not stop in Yoeitjeti. The Yoeitjeti wanted to pursue them at once, but they lacked sufficient boats. Nineteen (19) men and two women from Yoeitjeti arrived at Tamatama a few days after the men of Bisheasetjeti had arrived there.

The Bisheasetjeti wanted to keep their bows when they arrived, in case their enemies might also come. But I told them to give us their bows and I would give them back when they were ready to leave.

If some other Yanomamas had come, I would also have taken their bows at the wharf in order to keep them from fighting. When the men of Bisheasetjeti saw the boat of the Yoeitjeti at a distance, they were afraid. I told them to go into my house and

/166 cont./

628 123 628 123 728 close the door. I was able to take the bows and arrows from the newcomers at the wharf. When the Yoeitjeti arrived, their chief asked me about the Bisheasetjeti. I told him that the Bisheasetjeti did not wish to fight and that I already had their bows. He let me take the bows of his men, and I shut them up in one of our houses. Then the men of Yoeitjeti and Bisheasetjeti came together at my house, without weapons, and assured each other that they wished to be friends. All 31 of them slept together in my house (a little crowded, but comfortably). I offered them the empty house next to mine, but they did not want to have anything to do with it. (My house is well ventilated, /167/ having Venetian blinds all around and two shutter-doors.)

[437] On the following day the Yoeitjeti left, after exchanging their hammocks and bows with the Bisheasetjeti for machetes, clothing, matches, and other things. I was happy to see the two aldeas come together and become friends, because neither one of them wanted to fight.

women. During relatively peaceful times headmen are hardly more than equals among their followers and their ability to command respect and issue orders diminishes accordingly. Political commitments to aid other villages in raiding, however, usually precludes long periods of peace and, should a village fail in such an obligation, its allies quickly turn on it and force it to participate. Thus, political circumstances are continually forcing villages into situations that require leadership.

B. Anthropological Work On the Yąnomamö

So far four anthropological expeditions have had an opportunity to study Yąnomamö groups, but only two of these spent an adequate amount of time in the field to collect data that substantially increase our knowledge of Yąnomamö culture. I refer to the expeditions of the Frobenius Institute in 1954-55 which brought Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster to the village of Mahekodo-tedi for some 10 months, and the expedition of Hans Becher in 1955-56 to the upper Demini River in Brazil, where he studied two villages for 9 months. The expeditions of Koch-Grünberg in 1911-12 and Johannes Wilbert in 1958 and 1960 made only brief contacts with Yąnomamö.

The results of Koch-Grünberg's contact with two groups of Yąnomamö are summarized in his Vom Rorima zum Orinoco. He met two "hordes" of "Schiriana" in 1911 on the upper Uraricuera (Parima) River of Brazil. One group, whose

847 562 162 Several kinds of demographic data suggest that the rate of female infanticide is high. Table 1 gives the sex ratios of five Yąnomamö yillages. The sex ratio for the total population sample (576 individuals) gives a more meaningful estimate of the rate of female infanticide, as there is considerable variation by village in the value of the sex ratio. The excess of males in the total population (8%) gives a first 562 approximation of the frequency of female infanticide. The 162 variation in the sex ratio by the village, on the other hand, • 628 722 expresses the political relationships of the villages to [583] their allies. That is, the distribution of women in these five villages is a function of the military requirements of the particular villages in the marriage alliance network. Thus, the cline in sex ratio from Reyabobŏwei-tedi to Bisaasi-tedi (ignoring the Patanowŏ-tedi, who are not allied to the other groups) reflects a dominance gradient in politico-125 military requirements of each village. The total sample of 847 162 576 individuals must be considered in order to estimate the 628 frequency of female infanticide among the Yąnomamö, but the 562 political relationships between the villages must be understood to account for the variation by village of the value

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 69]

847 562 162 114 982 selves, it is highly unlikely that men will marry a FaSiDa, despite the kinship terminology. Rose did not, however, consider the possibility that sibships may have a systematic bias in their composition; if males tend to be older than their sisters considering all sibships, the probability that a FaSiDa is of marriageable age is increased. I specifically questioned the relationship between female infanticide and FaSiDa marriage, and the Yąnomamö denied any correlation between the two practices. There can be no doubt, however, that the occurrence of FaSiDa marriage among the Yąnomamö is made more probable by female infanticide.

726 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time in-
114 volved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

*621
• 628
837
578
721
[241] When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628
726
722
241
36 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare necessitates the formation of political alliances with other groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

---

[241] [1]Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as
[361] certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-
[171] burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory.
[128] In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

10: Chagnon

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628

[For information on relationships between various Yanoama communities, see category 116, Introductory, p. iii, and pp. 2-14, 22-24, 34, 53, 57-61, 64-66, 69-80, 84-88, 92-96, 99, 102-109, 111-116, 123, 127-133, 137, 139-165, 168-199, and 213-214.]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The jungle provides a number of hazards to the barefoot traveler in that most species of palm have long, sharp spines protruding from their trunks or leaf stems. The most common and recurrent injury the Yąnomamö sustain is thorns in the feet. A party of ten men can rarely travel an hour without one of them stopping to extract a thorn from his foot. This is always accompanied by hisses and clicks of pain on the part of the victim, who gouges the thorn out with either an arrow point or another thorn. Their feet have thick calluses on them, but because the trails frequently cross streams and swamps, the calluses soften and are easily pierced by thorns.

Another, but rarer, hazard is snakes.[2] There are always a few cases of snake bite in each village every year, although few of them are fatal. Most snake-bite victims recover from the wound with no ill side effects. I treated two cases of snake bite that were like this. But a few bites are severe enough to cause the loss of a limb. One of my better acquaintances, a young man of some thirty years, lost a leg because of a snake bite when he was about fifteen years old, and will spend the rest of his life hopping on one leg, a form of locomotion he has mastered so thoroughly that he almost manages to keep up with the group when they visit other villages.

Most of the intervillage traveling is done from September through April, the dry season. For the remainder of the year the trails, or substantial portions of them, are underwater. At this time the rains are frequent and heavy, and the small streams that can be easily crossed on foot in the dry season become impassable torrents. Small lakes replace the marshy low ground, and communication between villages all but ceases. As the Yąnomamö are an inland people and avoid locating their villages near large streams, all travel is done on foot, and each village becomes an isolated entity at the peak of the wet season (June).[3] If the group must travel, it will make simple vine and pole bridges over the smaller streams. A pair of slender poles is stuck into the river and crossed to form an X-frame. Vines are used to lash the poles together where they intersect, and another pole is laid from the bank to the X-frame, also secured by vines. Then another pair of poles is stuck into the stream and lashed to form another X-frame. The long pole is then extended out further from the bank, and so on, until the stream is bridged. A vine railing is attached to the protruding members of the X-frames. The bridges usually last only a short time. The first heavy rain will swell the stream and the current will wash it away.

TECHNOLOGY Much of Yąnomamö technology is like the pole-and-vine bridge: crude, but very effective, and not destined to last for any great period of time. The only durable artifact produced is a crude, poorly fired clay pot. It is nearly an inch thick at the bottom and tapers to almost nothing at the brim. Consequently, it breaks very easily. For this reason, women, regarded as clumsy, are rarely allowed to touch or handle them. When the clay pots are used, the men do the cooking, as, for example, during feasts. The pot is made by the coil technique: The untempered clay is kneaded to the proper consistency by hand, rolled into long, slender ropes, and these, in turn, placed on top of each other to form a continuous rope of clay. The coils are then scraped flat so that the interior and exterior of the pot are smooth. The conical-shaped pot is allowed to dry in the shade, then fired by placing brush and wood over it. The end product is

[2] Two percent of all adult deaths are due to snake bite; 54 percent are due to malaria, and other epidemic diseases (Chagnon 1966) and 24 percent of adult males die in warfare.

[3] The Yąnomamö began moving their villages out to navigable rivers after 1955. Up to that time there was only one village, Mishimishimabowei-teri, located on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4] For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5] The cultivated palm, *pejigua*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Other status differences do exist and account for some variation in the activities of particular individuals. Rerebawä, for example, is an outsider to Kąobawä's group and has no intention of joining the village as a permanent resident. Consequently, he does not participate in the gardening activities and has considerably more spare time than other married men. He spends this time hunting for his wife and her parents, one of his obligations as a son-in-law. He is quite dependent on them for the bulk of his diet because they provide him with all his plantains. This is perhaps why he takes his hunting obligations so seriously and gives his game away so unflinchingly. He is quick to make reference to his hunting skills and generosity, perhaps to draw attention away from the fact that he does not cultivate food for his wife and children. He has been able to avoid making a garden because of his status as an outsider; he plans to return to his own village as soon as his bride service is over. But his in-laws want him to stay permanently so that he will be able to provide them with meat and garden produce when they are old. They have no sons to do this for them and have even promised Rerebawä their second daughter on the condition that he remain permanently in the village. They prevent Rerebawä from taking his wife and children home by keeping at least one of the children with them when Rerebawä goes to visit his own family. They know that his wife could not bear to be separated permanently from her child, and Rerebawä invariably brings her back home so that she can be with the child.

By Yąnomamö standards he has done enough bride service and deserves to be given his wife. Also, by their standards he has lived in the village so long that he should be obliged to make his own garden. But he can legitimately refuse to do this because he has discharged his obligations well beyond what was expected of him.

Kąobawä, on the other hand, has the special status of being his group's headman. Apart from this, he is also some fifteen years senior to Rerebawä and has a higher sense of obligation and responsibility to his family. Rerebawä, in addition to refusing to make a garden, thinks nothing of taking a week-long trip to visit friends, leaving his wife and children with her parents. His attitude toward the children, compared to Kąobawä's, is rather indifferent. Kąobawä had planned to accompany me to Caracas to see how foreigners live until Ariwari began crying and appealed to his father's paternal sensitivities. Kąobawä stepped out of the canoe, took off the clothing I had loaned him, and picked up Ariwari; "I can't go with you," he explained, "Ariwari will miss me and be sad."

Kąobawä thinks for the others in the village, many of whom are not able to perceive some of the less obvious implications of situations. In political matters he is the most astute man in group, but he so diplomatically exercises his influence that the others are not offended. Should someone be planning to do something that is potentially dangerous, he simply points out the danger and adds parenthetically, "Go ahead and do it if you want to, but don't expect sympathy from me if you get hurt." Sharaiwä, his youngest brother, planned to take a trip to a distant village with me. I knew that the two villages were not on particularly good terms with each other, but they were not actively at war. Kąobawä arrived at my canoe just as we were about to depart and asked me not to take Sharaiwä along, explaining that the Iyawei-teri might possibly molest him and precipitate hostilities between the two groups. Sharaiwä was willing to take a chance that my presence would be sufficient to deter any potential trouble, but Kąobawä would not risk it.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with

11: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628

[For intercommunity relations, passim, see category 116, pp. 39-137.]

Sandra Pakidai

/3 cont./

648 484 On the Rio Demini, slightly below the Cachoeira (rapids) Auatsinaua, is the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" (Ill. 1). From the mouth to that point is a six-day journey in a small boat 161 with a four-horsepower outboard motor. On this long stretch 198 there are only two dozen families. Fifty years ago the banks along the lower third were more densely settled than they are 164 today. But malaria and a terrible beriberi epidemic, 1907/08, 165 carried off the majority of the inhabitants. After the great forest fire which raged along the Demini in 1926, health conditions 648 improved temporarily. In the most recent times a motor boat 164 of the National Malaria Service travels up the Demini and Aracá once a year, and the palm-straw huts of the inhabitants are sprayed with DDT. Nevertheless, malaria still takes its toll. Often it also leads to a protracted liver ailment; above all, there is a 164 lack of any kind of medication. A second scourge is tuberculosis, 262 the cause of which, aside from the humid, hot climate, may probably be traced to the poor and unbalanced diet. It consists predominantly of manioc meal, small fish, the salted, sun-dried meat of the pirarucu, salted wild-pig meat, and, to a considerably smaller extent, birds and game, for the men generally do not have time to hunt. In addition, /4/ for rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, fruit and vegetables are practically unknown luxuries. 164 As a result of the crowded life of the individual families and the lack of hygiene, children too are not free from tuberculosis. Moreover, mention must be made of a dangerous eye infection which often leads to blindness. This comes about because a fine dust is constantly trickling down from the palm-straw roofs of the huts, in which there are many insects, and it gets into the eyes of the people asleep in their hammocks. An infectious skin disease that causes light spots on the skin is also widespread. Worm and intestinal ailments occur frequently, as does syphilis. Finally, it is noteworthy that adults and children have very poor teeth. [162] The reason for this may again probably be sought in the unbalanced diet, for all of the free Forest Indians who have more variety in 165 their meals, have excellent teeth. Mortality is highest among the children, and next come the women, a relatively large number of whom die in childbirth since there is, of course, no medical assistance.

/4 cont./

•648 The last hut of a rubber gatherer stands one day's journey from the Indian protection post, while the post itself represents the last station of civilization. Above it the territory of the Indians begins. Here, numerous tribes hitherto entirely unknown to science still live as they did before the period of discovery. They are very warlike, so there are often bloody conflicts between them. Their malokas are usually far from the riverbank, deep in the interior of the virgin forests. Occasionally some of them visit the post in order to get gifts, that is, knives, axes, pots, glass beads, etc. They never come in contact with the civilized population on the Demini.

The personnel of the post consists of 12 men, among them several pure-blooded, civilized Tukano /Tucano/ Indians, who lead here a hard and dangerous life full of privations. Before they entered the Indian protection service, they had to pledge themselves, in their association with the free Indians, always to observe the following motto which was set up by the founder of this magnificent organization, Marshall Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon: "Morrer se preciso for, matar nunca!" ("Die if necessary, never kill!"). Their only connections with the outside world are a radio station and the motor boat of the Inspetoria des Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Manaus, which once or twice a year brings them food supplies and commodities, as well as gifts for the Indians.

Besides attending to Indian visitors, the post personnel must also see to it that the members of free Indian tribes are not exploited and badly treated by the undesirable elements of civilization, in the form of gold-seekers and other adventurers. The protection of all free Forest Indians is legally anchored in Brazil. Accordingly, no civilized person may seek out Indian tribes without permission from the management of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro (5a). Thus, the posts represent police

5a. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios is a division of the Ministério da Agricultura.

Surára
Pakidái
Shirjana
Waica

/4 cont./

●648 agencies, so to speak, in the primeval forest. It is also one of the duties of the personnel, however, to lay out plantations for their own living, where they grow manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas, mamão /papaya/, beans, tobacco, sugar cane, etc. In addition, they hunt and fish.

Since living conditions are more favorable on the Aracá and the work of the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) is more remunerative than that of the rubber gatherers, the population here is four times as large as on the Demini. The region of the Indians begins at the Cachoeira dos Indios (Ills. 2 and 3). There is not as yet, however, any Indian protection post on the Rio Aracá.

/5/

114 III. The Ethnic Affiliation of the Surára and Pakidái

As early as the beginning of the previous century important investigators, among them Alexander von Humboldt, Robert Schomburgk, Jean Chaffanjon, and Theodor Koch-Grünberg, undertook ethnographic and in part linguistic studies in the northern and western part of the area between Rio Branco, Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro among a few groups of the Xiriána /Shiriana/ (5b) and Waiká /Waica/, which were broadened and

[104] 5b. X is pronounced like sch /in German/.

deepened by Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster in 1954/55, especially with regard to the Waiká (6a) (Waika) in the catchment

[194] 6a. When the Surára and Pakidái pronounce the tribal name of the Waiká, their worst enemies, they always accent the final a.

[197] area of the upper Orinoco (6b). Their work was supported by North

6b. Zerries, 1956a.

American missionaries who have been in touch with the

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/5 cont./

114
[097] aforementioned Indians for several years and used this opportunity to carry on their own ethnological investigations (7a, b). More-

7a. Barker, 1953.

7b. Finney, 1957.

over one should mention the Italian, Alfonso Vinci, who lived in southern Venezuela in 1953-1955 and there met Xiriâna and Waikâ groups (8).

8. Vinci, 1956.

On the subject of contacts with natives in the interior of that vast area between Rio Branco and Serra Parima, which Coudreau regarded as virtually unpeopled (9), that is, according to his view,

9. Coudreau, H.A., 1887, p. 255.

only west of the Rio Branco, between the lower Mucajaí and the lower Catrimani, did there live a few Indian groups "mal connus et redoutés" known as evil and feared/ (10), Georges Salathé

10. Coudreau, H. A., 1887, p. 247 and Map V.

and Donald Holdridge alone have reported as yet (11). The

114
● 648

11. The area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, as well as the region east of the Rio Branco, have for a long time been regarded as dangerous because, as Alexander von Humboldt and Robert Schomburgk have already reported, several of the tribes living there are supposed to have a very

/5 cont./

114
●648

11. (cont.)
hostile attitude toward the whites as well as toward neighboring Indians. Since the rubber gatherers, palm-fiber gatherers, etc. on the Demini, Aracá, and the other rivers usually do not advance beyond the middle course, to say nothing of visiting the regions away from the rivers, the Indians only rarely feel disturbed in their territory. The incidents mentioned below, however, which have taken place there within the last 30 years, confirm that hostility on the part of a few tribes continues and may at any time lead to new acts of violence:
1928: Surára Indians, in an attack on a settlement of palm-fiber gatherers on the Rio Aracá, abducted two white women and a girl.
1942: Jaú Indians shot at the Brazilian-Venezuelan border commission on the upper Demini and forced it to turn back; two members of the commission were seriously wounded by arrow shots.
1945: Five American officers were killed by arrow shots by the Aimirí Indians on the Rio Jauaperi. They had gone up the river in a motor boat in order to take motion pictures of Indians there. The Brazilian guide, who was the only one to escape, later said that the Indians disliked the whirring of the camera and had several times urged the Americans to go back.
1946: The Aimirí Indians attacked the Indian protection post on the Rio Jauaperi and killed ten men of the personnel.

114 former, with regard to the Karimé Indians living on the upper course of the Catrimani, gives a brief sketch of their material

/8 cont./

173 175 however, they had withdrawn into regions remote from the river. Their last maloka on the Demini was taken over by a Waikâ tribe in 1934. This is the place where today the Indian protection post [648] Ajuricaba" is located, on the right bank of the middle Demini, just below the Cachoeira Auatsinaua (40) (41). In 1939, the

[114]

40. Holdridge visited the Xiriâna here in 1932. (Holdridge, 1933, p. 380.)

114 174 10

41. According to information which Nimuendajú obtained in Manaus in 1927 from a man named Domingos Campos, Aruak-speaking Indians on the Demini were supposed to have been called Xiriâna (Nimuendajú, 1955, pp. 150/51). This brings up all kinds of questions which are yet to be solved. Thus, there could have been an Aruak tribe of this name, for the shards which I found on the Demini, as well as the name of this river, indicate that members of that linguistic group once lived here. It might also be possible, however, that Aruak groups, after their subjugation by the Xiriâna, became assimilated with the latter. On the other hand, it is not impossible that individual Xiriâna adopted the Aruak language, and finally there still remains open the surmise that the Indians mentioned by Domingos Campos are not identical with the actual Xiriâna, but were merely called that by the caboclo population.

In the literature, the two tribal designations "Xiriâna" (members of the Aruak linguistic family) and "Xirianâ" (independent linguistic family) (Loukotka, 1942,

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/8 cont./

114
174
101

41. (cont.)
pp. 8, 24, 52; Ribeiro, 1957, p. 89) have already become current. Nevertheless, I incline to the view that in the case of the Xiriâna it is a matter of one and the same large, widely scattered Yanonámi tribe. The material and spiritual culture of the Xiriâna with whom the Surára and Pakidái are allied (the latter and the Xiriâna whom I met among them themselves regularly accent the first a) corresponds perfectly with the one that Koch-Grünberg calls "Schirianá." The latter points out in one work that "Schirianá" is their self-designation, while "Schirischâna" is a name which their neighbors and mortal enemies, the "Maquiritáres," gave them (Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 454). It should also be mentioned that the designation "Shrirana," according to Vinci, is a Makuxí /Macusi/ word (Vinci, 1956, p. 107).

167 In 1939, the
• 648 Waiká, too, gave up this maloka and moved to the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini. Here, at the beginning of the year 1956, at the time of my stay among the Surára, they were attacked by a Xiriâna tribe and destroyed. Surára warriors told me that all the Waiká men were killed and the women and girls were taken captives.

101
114 As inhabitants of the Rio Aracá, Nimuendajú entered on the above-mentioned map of this region (see p. 16), with the date of 1874, the Bahuana, an Aruak tribe. With reference to this, the Surára chief remarked that this tribe also goes by the proper name of Pootarí and was an enemy of the Surára, Pakidái, Xiriâna, etc.; at the present time it lives in the source region of the Aracá.

/8 cont./

175 According to statements of old palm-fiber gatherers on the
•648 Aracá, no Indians appeared on this river from the end of the previous century to the end of the twenties of our century. During the months of October and November of the year 1927, palm-fiber gatherers on their way to their places of work saw for the first time small and relatively light-skinned Indians disappearing into the forest thickets. In December, 1927, and January/February, 1928, the settlements were attacked by Indians several times, but the palm-fiber gatherers always managed to put them to flight. During the forenoon of June 28, 1928, there was another attack during which two wives of rubber gatherers and a 12-year-old girl were abducted. After this abduction there was no further Indian attack. Not until 16 years later, in January, 1944, did six
[439] Indians appear, but this time with friendly intent. They called themselves Surára and wanted to barter for articles of civilization. Later they admitted that their tribe had carried out the earlier attacks. In reply to questions about the two abducted women and the girl, they said that they had died. /9/ The palm-fiber gatherers did not bear them any malice for their previous hostile attitude, for they were glad that they could now carry on their work without fear of the Indians.

439 The Surára cling to their old habits and customs and visit the palm-fiber gatherers only when they want to barter for knives,
[115] axes, pots, etc. According to the statements of the chief of the Surára, they are forced by the Xiriána to barter with the palm-fiber gatherers, for they are obliged to deliver to them all the articles obtained (see also pages 157/163); the Xiriána themselves never have any contact with the civilized inhabitants.

648 In August of the year 1944 the Indian protection post founded in 1940 on the Rio Demini was visited for the first time by some Pakidái. At rather long intervals there have been further visits
[619] by various families of this tribe up to the present time. They, too, however, come at the request of the Xiriána and must hand over to them all the gifts.

/9 cont./

114 This shows that nothing has changed since 1948, when Métraux,
178 following the accounts of Koch-Grünberg and other investigators
181 traveling through this region, quite justifiably wrote: "The
648 Shirianá are very warlike people who succeeded in dominating several weaker tribes" /cited in English/ (42).

42. Métraux, 1948, p. 861.

141 V. Physical Characteristics

With regard to physical characteristics, the Surára and Pakidái are identical. Their height is below average, for the men are only 1.50-1.60 meters tall and the women 1.40-1.50 meters.
142 Both sexes have soft but muscular body forms, yet frequently a
[291] protruding abdomen and often relatively thin legs. Since they always go barefoot, their feet have retained the ability to serve as prehensile organs for climbing tree trunks, and their toes are not squeezed together as much as in the case of civilized persons who wear shoes all the time. The considerable gap between the great toe and the second toe is striking (Ill. 14) (43). The color

43. Crevaux has already pointed this out in connection with the Oyampí Indians in French Guiana: "The great toe, very much set apart, always turns inward, while the third, fourth, and fifth are turned outward" /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, p. 76 and ill., left).

of their skin is very light, almost white. The forehead of the dolicocephalic head is often flat. Their broad noses with the nostrils directed slightly upward are noteworthy; the root of the nose, on the other hand, is narrow. The Mongoloid strain is clearly evident in the prominent cheekbones and the slanting, dark-brown, almost black-looking eyes. Between the slightly

/34 cont./

292 191 The neighboring Wapixana /Wapishana/ men (Aruak) /Arawak/, moreover, wear a very similar belt and attach to it a pubic band which is drawn between the legs (175).

175. Farabee, 1918, p. 29.

[648] [177] Since the Surára and Pakidái waged many wars with the Makuxí (the father of the Surára chief Hewemão is even supposed to have been killed by a Makuxí warrior), it would be entirely possible that they took over from this Karaiben /Carib/ tribe the form of the plaited, wide, flat belt, but then used it, not as men's, but as women's clothing.

177 291 The little fringed apron so typical for the Puseheweterí and 194 Karimé women was also surely copied from Karaiben models, 184 which, in turn, could have been borrowed from the Aruak, for Farabee confirms it also for Wapixana and Mapidian /Maopityan/ girls (176). According to Roth, a woven, red-dyed belt, the lower

292 191

176. Farabee, 1918, Pl. XXIX, A.

edge of which is fringed and, in addition, provided with three pendant tassels, is tied around young Makuxí and Wapixana girls on the occasion of their first menstruation. He designates this article of clothing as "apron belt" /cited in English/ (177). A

177. Roth, 1924, p. 437.

dyed belt provided with fringe is likewise documented for the Maiongkong (178) (179) and, /35/ according to Roth, resembles

178. R. H. Schomburgk, 1841, p. 215.

179. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, pp. 402/03.

000 the above-mentioned apron-belt (180). When Koch-Grünberg saw

180. Roth, 1924, p. 444.

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Pusheweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726] Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. [115] (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of 1a. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551 162 [16] The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

Surára
Pakidái

175
764
785
791
[MS]

/73 cont./
and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

619
●648
721

5. War -- nfanyu --

The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood revenge -- noyú -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

619 /74 cont./
● 648 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.
721

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-
[835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára
[171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriâna. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the
[171]

342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

2: Becher--266 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidái

/1/

137
133
●648

Ill. 1. Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" on the middle Rio Demini

Sanema
Warao 5518
Saliva 5515
Bari 5513

/180 cont./

The Barí suffered greatly from the Yupa, the Piaroa and Warao from the Caribe, but these sufferings were minimal compared to the oppression to which other tribes were subjected by the Whites. The Yanoama have been attacked for hundreds of years by the Caribe, who surrounded their territory with a semicircle along the north; the Yanoama endured something similar from the Arawak, who surrounded them in a semicircle along the south. But all in all, the White has not been very successful so far in approaching this primitive population and his destructive influence has not affected their ancestral customs. The Caribe and Arawak have declined gradually in vigor and numbers; now we are witnesses of the triumph of the Yanoama over their neighbors of a more refined culture, for not only did they defend their territory, but were successful in spreading to the north and west.

The strongest and most efficaceous ally of the Yanoama has been the Cordillera de Parima, together with the dense tropical selva of the Territorio Amazonas. In the /181/ fateful period of persecution they have always found a safe refuge in the protecting selva. Nevertheless, as of relatively recent times, the different Yanoama subtribes are beginning to realize that the space beyond the conventional boundaries of their tribal territory is sparsely populated, almost deserted. The number of their traditional enemies has diminished considerably, and the invasions of their territory have had practically no consequences. In this manner they have gained almost 100 kilometers to the north of the Sierra de Pacarima, where the Casapare now live on the Upper Paragua, and the northern group of the Sanemá on the headwaters of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura rivers.

The center of distribution of the Casapare is located to the south of the Sierra Pacarima in the basin of the Rio Branco. We know this Yanoama subtribe only through a few sporadic superficial contacts, and the people, as well as their territory, remain practically unknown. For this reason we consider the name Casapare with which we designated all the Yanoama in the zone of study as strictly preliminary, and we would not be surprised if we had to change it in the future for a more exact and adequate

MAMB.

Sanema
Casapare
Makiritare SS 20
Pemon SS 16

Y
101
[127]

/182 cont./

With regard to the Casapare of the Uraricuera River, we have the data supplied us by Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 284-313), and a comparison of his "Shirishana" vocabulary with the "Shirishana" vocabulary of Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108) gives us the impression that both are very much alike, but differ greatly from the Sanemá family (cf. glotto-chronological sketch see p. 49 /). In spite of the fact that they now occupy adjacent geographic zones, we prefer to make a clear distinction in the literature between the "Shirishana" (Casapare) and "Guaharibo" (Sanemá), considering them as two different subtribes of the Yanoama tribe. According to their linguistic separation, they represent, in fact, the two extreme poles of maximum distance (18).

18. Note that this does not mean that we also continue with the old nomenclature, but rather that the name "Shirishana" of the literature corresponds to the Casapare subtribe, and the name "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá subtribe, of this work.

Y
648
P
M
648
361

From their center of distribution in Brazil, the Casapare harassed their neighbors, the Pemón and the Makiritare, with continuous raiding from the time that the latter arrived at the northern slope of the Serranía. It seems that the Taurepán (Pemón) were never able to establish a pueblo farther west than the eastern point of Maraca Island on the Uraricuera and that the Makiritare maintained their advanced posts at the cost of great losses and sacrifices, until finally they were forced to abandon them in the face of the constant threat and the imminent danger of losing their lives.

Y
M
648
361

The Makiritare began to lose ground at least some 120 years ago, when the Yanoama killed a number of Makiritare Indians (Schomburgk, 1841, pp. 437-8, 444), and it would seem that at the present time Tarakuñiña on the upper Yararejuri is the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía.

/182 cont./

the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía. The Yanoama, however, by their own strength, were able to contain the advance of the Caribe in the northeastern part of their territory.

The massacre of the Indians to which we have made reference above was pointed out by Schomburgk (1841), who visited this land around 1839, /183/ and his data constitute the first report regarding the Yanoama of the north. Schomburgk had crossed the Sierra Pacarima when, on the way to the sources of the Orinoco, he found the Makiritare in the grip of great panic. The Yanoama, possibly a group of Waica, had killed a number of Makiritare who had been on their way to the Yanoama rancherías in order to establish commercial relations with them. A short time after that horrible massacre, the same Yanoama attacked a Makiritare rancheria with the intent of exterminating all its inhabitants. This event marked the date of the withdrawal of all the Makiritare south of this zone. Even the Caribe companions who were with Schomburgk accompanied them on their flight, abandoning him with his baggage a short distance from the sources of the Orinoco. It is easy to understand Schomburgk's emotional state, bordering on desperation, on finding himself so close to his goal without being able to reach it.

On the upper Uraricuera, in the region of the Sierra Marutani, Schomburgk came upon a conuco /cultivated area/ of the "Kirishanas," whom he described as nomad Indians who depended primarily on hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild fruits for their basic sustenance; some, however, cultivated small plantings of bitter yuca and peppers (Schomburgk, 1841, p. 417). Seventy-two years after this first report, Koch-Grünberg, in December of 1911, once again established brief communication with the Yanoama of this zone, and his information constituted, until a few years ago, the most important material on the Yanoama in general. Koch-Grünberg met representatives of two distinct groups. The first group (Casapare), which he found at the Purumamé Falls, lived at that time on the upper Uraricaparâ, although it had only recently arrived in that region from the Uraricuera, above the island of Maraca. That was the place where they took by surprise all the Indians whom they robbed and killed.

Sanema
Casapare
Pemon 5516

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Urariçaparú River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auri River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

P
197 /184 cont./ Casapare
799 Auake 555
161 Pemon 5516

expansionists, and their number at present is quite small; they number 1,800 individuals and show a density of 1:16.5 square kilometers.

Y
177 The Mayongon and Arecuna, along the north, do not make
●648 an effective barrier to Yanoama expansion. Here, however they are liable to clash with the already advanced civilization of these regions where they will meet the Indian, the Negro, and the White with individual cultures irreducible by the Paleo-Indian culture of the Yanoama.

Y
101 Among the tribes which have been absorbed by the Yanoama
619 are the Kaliana, Auakí, etc., about whose identification there is some confusion in the literature.

Y
A
104 Kaliana, however, is the name which the Casapare give to the Sapé. The latter were identified as Kaliana by a native companion of Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 12-13; cf. idem, 1922, p. 227), while Armeilada and Matallana (1942, p. 103) identify them with the name "Shirianá" (Casapare) as Karianapuik. In 1956 the Sapé (Kariana, Kaliana) were visited by Montoya, who classifies them as related to the "Shirishana" (1958, p. 168). "It is an isolated group," says Montoya, "which lives on the Antabarí River and upper Pao; in the zones of the upper Paragua and Pauré-Murán River.

A
241 /185/ "They devote themselves to agriculture, but produce
433 only as much as they consume or a little more for barter with the
439 Shirianna who are travelers and supply them with salt and other items which they lack.

A
501 "Some of them have learned to make curiaras in such a rudimentary manner as to make the Moñongón Indians, the masters of this art, smile. But they do make very fragile 'shells,' which allow them to travel to hunting and fishing zones, carrying light loads.

A
512 "They marry frequently with the Shirianna groups and even
A with the Arekuna. They appear to be destined to disappear as
101 a differentiated ethnic group or to be totally absorbed by the Shirianna, more numerous and nearer than the Arekuna" (Montoya, ibid.).

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 269

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

226 342 411 491 514

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayongon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Ararikuera and Parima, to Boavista They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 611

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

Y 174 101 /189 cont./

The expantion of the Sanemá to the north, that is, from the Padamo to the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, is relatively recent, but, to judge from the data given us by glottochronology, the separation of the various groups of the subtribe corresponds to 600-1,700 years. We established contact with three northern groups of the Sanemá: the Nabudub of the upper Ventuari, the Taclaudub of the upper Caura, and the Puhmatari of the Canaracuni. They apparently represent Sanemá groups which are quite well established, and the internal distance of this linguistic family is, in a way, surprising.

Y 101 184 The Sanemá of the Padamo and of the upper Orinoco are practically unknown to science, and it is expected that the cultural difference between them and their brothers who live north of 4° and in close contact with the Makiritare is relatively pronounced.

Y 101 ● 648 167 The geographic separation of the Sanemá into a southern group and another northern one is recent and is due to the fact that in 1947 Captain Cardona had to make a landing field on the Canaracuni (personal communication), and, since there were no Indians in the zone to help him in his venture, he went to Brazil and brought the first Sanemá to this region of Venezuela.

Y 167 This date marks the beginning of the infiltration of the Yanoama element on a larger scale into the land of the Makiritare, their

Y M 643 neighbors on the northwest, with whom they have lived in deep enmity from remote times. While the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma still do not tolerate large groups of Yanoama in their territory, those of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura live in close contact

Y M [179] with large groups of the Sanemá subtribe. This was the way in which Makiritare culture of the tropical selva type penetrated to that essentially /190/ preagricultural tribe composed of hunters

Y M 648 and gatherers with a very rudimentary culture. The Sanemá received extremely bad treatment at the hands of the Makiritare, comparable to that received by a slave at the hands of his master, for which reason toward the year 1950 the Sanemá revolted against

4 [411] the Makiritare and declared a war without quarter against them. It was then that the different Makiritare subtribes united to repulse the Sanemá, whom they conquered in various encounters, thanks to their fire-arms.

/190 cont./

thanks to their firearms. It seems that, as a result of this incident, the Makiritare and the northern group of the Sanemá lived together more peaceably, and today it is rare to find a Makiritare settlement in that zone of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, without a few Sanemá groups in the immediate vicinity.

The clash of the two cultures began a process of progressive acculturation, and the hunters and gatherers of wild plants adopted a superior culture: from then on they would be agriculturalists. Furthermore, the genetic constitution of the two tribes underwent profound changes, and that of the minority group will perhaps be absorbed by the Sanemá in a relatively short period of time.

This process of acculturation and genetic absorption is interesting, for one is in the habit of thinking that the Caribe have always been the victorious and dominant invaders. But in this concrete case the process seems to be working in the opposite direction. The advance of the Sanemá, who adopted, among other things, the art of navigation, has brought about the isolation of the two large Makiritare groups: the Yecuana (Decuana) of the Ventuari and Caura on the one hand, and the Cunuhana of the Cunucunuma on the other. Prior to this, these two groups used to visit each other frequently, their members were related to each other, and strong family ties existed between them. At the present time the Makiritare youths know only partially the rivers and routes of those regions traveled so many times by their fathers, and they travel in small groups, overcome with deep anguish every time that they have to cross the zone occupied by the Sanemá. What was observed on the trip on the upper Ventuari fully confirmed this opinion for us, for there is not the least doubt but that the Makiritare captain, who, together with our five traveling companions, had fought eight years previously against the Sanemá, felt ill at ease on leaving the Makiritare rancherías behind, and his nervousness suddenly increased when one day we came upon a Sanemá raft on the bank of the river. They could not hide their nervousness when inland, in the selva, we came across a conuco and seven houses recently vacated. They always

Makiritare SS 20

M
Y
●648 /190 cont./ scorn them, and, at first sight, they seemed to be unworried, but the knowledge that they no longer live alone in the land of their fathers, and the fact of having heard that four days prior to our arrival /191/ at the conuco an Indian who had sought refuge by climbing a tree was shot by a Sanemá arrow and fell lifeless into the river, constantly tortured them.

M
Y
582
563
177
648
M
[186] A powerful stimulus which always encouraged the Makiritare on their numerous trips was to get a wife among their neighbors of the same tribe. Nowadays, despite the intense scorn which the Makiritare profess toward the Yanoama, taking a wife from that tribe is not considered an impossible or degrading thing; there are many Yanoama women who have married Makiritare men (cf. Grelier, 1955b, p. 10). This matrimonial interchange inevitably carries with it an assimilation of cultures between the two tribes, a process in which the Makiritare cultural pattern will

Y
167
563
177
648 dominate that of the Yanoama and the Yanoama genes will infiltrate the Makiritare gene pool. There is not the least doubt but that the Sanemá, who were brought in for a short time, arrived at the upper Ventuari and Caura where they took up residence to stay, and that the present fusion between the Caribe and the Yanoama ought not to be explained so much by the good will of the former as by the vitality of the latter.

Y
101 The Waica subtribe occupies the central part of the present Yanoama territory, that of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the mouth of the Ocamo, including also the southern bank of the river (Barker, 1953, p. 434). As we have already mentioned, they appear to live also in the general arc of the upper Rio Branco and its western tributaries, and Schuster (1958, p. 114) is very probably right when he says that the Sierra Parima does not bound the Waica zone, but that it extends to Brazilian territory.

Y
177
797 We have already mentioned the first contacts which the Whites had with the Waica, and, after a somewhat unfruitful effort by Hamilton Rice at the beginning of the present century, the Waica world went without contact with science until the New

Y
114 Tribes Mission was able to start peaceful relations with the Waica through the missionary James Paul Barker. Some ethnographic data were also published on this Yanoama subtribe by several

/208 cont./

241 [177] Among the Sanemá, doubtless as a result of their contact with their Macú and Caribe neighbors, agriculture has taken on increasing importance. The manner of cultivation is still very rudimentary, that of "slash and burn." The principal products are: plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, and certain herbs which have magical importance (cf. Barker, 824 241 1953, p. 444, similar plants among the Waica). Among the magical plants of the Sanemá there is one on which they lavish great care. An informant told us about the general consternation which seized all of them one day when a band of enemies tore up, during the night, all the magical plants of their conucos. They believed that they were going to die or at least become sick, and the "sablf had much work" in order to save his people. There is here a similar belief which we have already noted in connection with the eagles and hanekasá.

241 178 [628] Agriculture has given a degree of stability to the Sanemá subgroups and has introduced changes in their traditional social system. Not all the groups have adopted this new economy and disputes and fights frequently arise because the gatherers indiscriminately appropriate the products of a conuco of the agricultural group. [648] That was the motive which caused the Makiritare to fight with the Sanemá, who at that time had still not adopted the agriculture which flourished among their neighbors.

231 [092] The Sanemá do not have domestic animals, and even dogs are uncommon. It is possible that the Yanoama have adopted them recently. They have still not found a specific name for this animal, and they call it póliawan, like the jaguar. Some informants insisted that there is a phonetic difference between the word póiawan = jaguar and póliawan = dog, but there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the same word is involved. They raise dogs so that they may serve them as helpers in hunting.

In a Sanemá rancheria there are frequently found animals of various species, but tame. The hunters take home young turkeys, cranes, macaws, and parrots, as well as guinea pigs, lapas, and monkeys, as presents for their wives or children. /Illustrations appear here./

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS OF THE WAICA INDIANS OF VENEZUELA.[1]

MIGUEL LAYRISSE, ZULAY LAYRISSE, AND JOHANNES WILBERT

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

128 INTRODUCTION: For the purpose of the present paper we would like to classify the Waica as a subtribe of the Yanoama tribe, the ethnic identification and the internal composition of which appears to be but little understood. Although the actual blood group study will be concerned with the Waica Indians most particularly, we shall, nevertheless, include as well some information on the Yanoama tribe in general. This, we trust, will not only serve to locate the specific Waica data within a wider frame of reference, but also to facilitate the comprehension of the theoretical considerations based thereon.

131 *Ethnic identification.* The Yanoama inhabit a very extensive area between 0°30'-5° N and 62°-65° W, which includes the headwaters of the Paragua, Caura, Ventuari, Padamo, Ocamo, Mavaca, and Orinoco rivers of Venezuela, as well as those of the Uraricuera, Catrimani, Dimini, and Araçá rivers of Brazil. The Sierra Parima crosses this heavily forested territory like a vertebral column, so to speak, and marks at the same time the frontier between the Venezuelan and the Brazilian parts of the Yanoama land (see map, Fig. 1).

101 The Yanoama are surrounded by Tropical Forest Indians with Neo-Indian culture types; Cariban tribes enclose them in a semi-circle to the northeast, while Arawakan peoples bound them in a semicircle to the southwest. Thus, the Yanoama seem to have been functioning as a buffer between the Caribs and the Arawak, [648] successfully resisting any attempt of intrusion by such groups as the Soto (Makiritare), the Pemon, and others. In recent years, after their Carib neighbours had suffered a marked decline in numbers and in strength, the Yanoama ventured northward into the Ventuari, Caura, and Paragua drainage area, intruding into Carib territory for more than 100 km.

114 Although sporadic and rather casual information on the several Yanoama groups have been published by various authors since early Colonial time, it is only

122 1 We wish to thank: Dr A. Berti and Ovidio Castellani (División de Malariología, Ministerio de Sanidad, Venezuela) and the Misión Salesiana of the Territorio Federal Amazonas for their collaboration in collecting the blood samples. We are also indebted to Esperanza García for her technical assistance. We are greatly indebted to J. P. O'Riordan (The National Blood Transfusion Association, Dublin), M. Shapiro (The South African Blood Transfusion Service, Johannesburg), R. E. Rosenfield (The Mount Sinai Hospital, New York), and Albin Matson (The Minneapolis Memorial Blood Bank, Minnesota) for supplying us with ethical anti-sera.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'So long as they don't break it!' I laughed cheerfully. But the Indian's doleful look discouraged my levity.

Luis Antonio told me that the existence of guns was no secret to the Samatari. They knew they were weapons, but had no idea how they worked. It all went back to a story we had heard on the Canaracuni, which had the clear ring of truth, though we had been unable to establish the date of the events.

A Brazilian expedition, possibly *garimpeiros*, or diamond seekers, had once gone up the Uraricoera river in a boat with a motor. They were probably about as far up from the mouth as we were now on the Samatari river—the Aracoea. These were the first civilized men ever to venture into the region, and they were well armed, as Brazilians living in forested areas generally are—in this respect differing greatly from the Venezuelans who never bother to carry more than some old gun and a stick. The four of them were going up the river with this outboard motor craft when they were hailed from the bank by a group of Indians. They brought the boat round, and as the bows touched the shore the Indians sent a well-aimed volley of arrows which struck the three Brazilians sitting for'ard. The man at the motor then fired a few shots, with what weapon I don't know, and in his turn laid low a number of Indians—four, to be exact, according to the version we heard. He then managed to swing the boat round and went back down river at full speed, eventually getting away to safety.

This was the occasion on which the Indians had got to know of guns and firearms in general, in all their terrible efficiency. But their knowledge was not to be limited to this. After a hair-raising trip the survivor reached Boa Vista, the capital of the Federal Territory of Rio Branco. There he told his tale, and authority very soon decided to take measures—and when Brazil takes such measures they are very stern. They sent out two planes, with the survivor to do the path-finding, and when they reached the approximate scene of the affray they looked for traces of Indian camps. These they bombed and machine-gunned, 'many times killing the hands and feet of the Shirians' as we were told by the Makiritari at Canaracuni, these latter being obviously quite pleased about it. From that time onwards, guns and bombs from the air were awe-inspiring bogeys, and in this connection I found myself thinking of Uarema's threats to Pancho at the Llantarigña landing. And in our hearts we couldn't but feel grateful towards the Brazilians whose stern measures had seen to it that the voice of the clothes-wearing men had reached as far as these strange ape-men we were with now.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20

M
123
Y
*123
Y
*123
502
M
123
502
M
Y
[648]

gave him nine metres of cotton cloth and sent him home, highly delighted, with all his companions.

To cross from the Turucuma to the Merevari, according to our reckoning, should take us two days, along a well-beaten track much used by the Indians in their frequent comings and goings between the two rivers. But owing to the excessive weight of our baggage the two days became five, because we had to cover each stage of the journey twice. The Makiritari played another trick on us here: at the last minute they produced a number of Shirians from Pulipuli out of a hat, by some conjuring trick, and made them do the work for them. Naturally the Shirians claimed that we ought to pay them, even if payment only amounted to a small piece of cloth and one machete. Any attempt on our part to put this injustice right would have been over-optimistic, and would probably have had unpleasant consequences: there was nothing to do but submit ourselves once again to the caprice of the 'superior race'.

On the last lap of the portage, when we were waiting for the Indians to come up from the previous halt with the last of the baggage, a horde of savage Shirians came along. At first we were alarmed. To judge by their hair they were Guayca or Samatari, but they presented an extraordinarily squalid appearance. Nevertheless, they must have had some gleam of humanity in them, because the leaders—including two old fellows who looked more like champion cattle than anything else—came forward unarmed, after making a great show of laying their bows and arrows on the ground so that the gesture shouldn't be lost on us. They were Ukumatari, a tribe living in these parts: they had sent their emissaries on a courtesy visit to Kirisochi last year. Little by little they came crowding up on us in our little hut-shelter: we had a job to keep a clear space for ourselves and prevent them from surrounding us completely. At last Pedro came along, having out-distanced the main body of porters, and at the sight of this invasion he looked badly scared.

'Samatari?' he asked, setting down the load he was carrying on his back, and keeping his eyes averted.

'Ukumatari!'—the response came in a chorus from those nearest us, as if they were anxious to make a good impression.

At that, Pedro looked more himself again, and began to eye the Ukumatari-Shirians carefully, searching for a familiar face. He had lived round the Turucuma for a long time and must have had some previous contacts with these

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123
[301]
[501]
than a few inches across. All had their ears pierced by sticks slightly thicker and longer than a cigarette. Their paddles were short and as crudely constructed as the boat itself, some being roughly rounded and others no more than discs lashed with lianas to a pole handle.

To these primitives we must have appeared a strange collection. Who are these beings—they must have asked themselves—who go about dressed, shod and bearded, and who point queer things at us which go "click"? And the many boats lined up there, that go so fast and make much noise! Mopare had probably told them wonderful tales, but since he had left the camp when it was still in embryo, he was doubtless as much amazed by its present size as the others. There was a moment of hesitancy and then Butrón held out a machete and said: "*Shori! Shori! Noji!*" He told us this meant "friend" or "relative". In exchange for the machete, he demanded the man's bow and arrows. The size of the bow surprised me, since it was taller than the man himself. One by one the Indians disembarked and surrendered their arms in exchange for machetes. All except a fine, well-built brave who seemed to be their leader and who remained sitting in the stern of the boat, watchful and silent. The women, still cowering, stayed near him. At last, seeing his companions on shore and our attitude giving no cause for mistrust, he was reassured. Courteously and with dignity he held out a hand to the women, who were still apprehensive.

"Padamo?" we asked him.

"Padamu, Padamu," he replied.

[194]
The final vowel, nasal and strongly accentuated, lies between "o" and "ou". The word is indigenous and has been the river's official nomenclature since the time of Diez de la Fuente.

"Guaharibo?"

Another nasal sound which cannot be transcribed followed. It was a sort of grunt and could have meant "Yes". And then: "Guaharibo".

"Waïka?"

[648]
A worried look, followed by the gesture of bending a bow.

"Waïka—pfft! Waïka—pfft!"

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123
[648] From this we deduced that the Waïkas and the Guahariboș, although belonging to the same racial group, do not always live together in complete harmony.

142 Generally speaking, the Guaharibo is not as tall as the average white man. Though he is of slender build, his chest is thick-set and his arms are muscular and we attributed this to his regular use of his immensely powerful bow. His skin is lighter than that of the Makiritares and his eyes are brighter. His hair, too, is less dark and is cut with a fringe all round the head. Body hair is but feebly developed and the men are [302] practically beardless. The two women in the boat were delicately made and quite pretty; they adopted a similar hairstyle to the men but rather longer. Their breasts, small and conical, contrasted with the opulent, hemispherical breasts of the [302] Makiritare women. One of them was clearly the wife of the leader of the party; the other appeared to belong to one of the men with the charcoal-blackened face.

123 Our Guaharibos very quickly became less suspicious, though they still kept close together. Each grasped his machete as though it were treasure, the women and children doing so, [136] too. Hardly had they disembarked than they were assaulted by the *plaga*, which were always at their worst at this time of day. The unfortunate Guaharibos in their nakedness fell an easy prey to them and were soon hopping about and slapping themselves with their hands and the flat blades of the machetes. Obviously they had come from a less infested country, probably from the banks of a black water river.

"General" Butrón, who had several times had contact with the Padamo Guaharibos—or at least with their cousins the Waïkas—suddenly produced a bundle of incredible rags which he had picked up God-knows-where, and began to distribute them. The scene that followed was quite grotesque. The women were no more capable of putting on a dress than the men were of donning trousers. We had to dress them as if they were infants, and replace missing buttons by string. As soon as night fell and the *jejenes* left us in peace, they promptly discarded these embarrassing and tawdry impediments.

We made over to them a newly-built *rancho* situated in the

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

He told us that the

499 building of their crude bridges is a lengthy and laborious business and quite impossible when the river was in spate.

123 We returned to the river to find that those we had left behind had removed the boats to a safe distance—a wise precaution, since it was desirable not to excite the greed of the natives. Many an expedition, we knew, had failed through being looted because this elementary precaution had [648] been overlooked. Furthermore, such incidents can lead to serious conflict, as Cardona had learnt on more than one occasion. When dealing with such primitives, caution, good humour and nursery diplomacy are the essential safeguards.

As we pressed on up-river other Waikas hailed us from the banks. We did not stop, nor did we make any presents of *manioc*, knives and machetes to those who followed us, running through the undergrowth, and gesticulating and shouting as they ran. We spent the night in the shelter of a rocky island they could not reach.

The Guaharibo Rapids

123 By now the river's width was no more than a hundred and 133 fifty yards. Though its course no longer wound as it had, the current was no less strong. Rocky banks that plunged steeply into the water and boulders across the river-bed created violent currents and our engines had to go full out to give us the least headway. If the water had been low we should have been able to pass only with the greatest of difficulty. We passed through one such rocky race which Butrón said was the Guaharibo Rapids. Actually they were the Yamaraquin Rapids marked on Hamilton Rice's map and characterized by a huge pyramid-shaped reef. Butrón called the rapids, where we intended setting up Base Camp 2, the Waïka Rapids, distinguished, so he said, by a group of islands of rock and sand, of which two were comparatively large. These were mentioned by both Rice and Dickey, who called them the Guaharibo Rapids. Rice gave their precise position as Latitude 2° 18' 18" N., Longitude 64° 38' 46" W. We arrived there at eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th. [13]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of Thesis

121
583
582
183

This is a functional study of one form of marriage practiced by the Yąnomamö Indians of southern Venezuela. The form of marriage considered here--recruitment of wives from other villages for the purpose of initiating and maintaining political alliances--constitutes a departure by the Yąnomamö from their preferred form of marriage. I wish to emphasize the point that these marriages constitute a predictable and necessary departure from the ambilateral cross-cousin preferences. I will show in the space below how a number of variables are related to each other to bring about the exceptional marriages.

The fact that normative rules of behavior and actual behavior differ considerably from each other in most societies has received little theoretical attention, particular in regard to analyses of marriage systems. For the most part we presume that exceptions to stated marriage preferences represent a measure of the breakdown of the society under consideration, due to contacts with other societies. Yąnomamö exceptional marriages[1] cannot be dismissed with this line of

[648]

[1] Of 56 recently contracted marriages in three of the villages investigated, 31 cases were breaches of the preferred ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules for the purpose of establishing political ties between the groups of the spouses.

121 reasoning, as most of the Yąnomamö villages are presently
583 uncontacted, and those that are in contact with foreigners
582 have only recently (since 1951) entered into these contacts.
183
648

583 Yąnomamö marriages, even the preferred form, are
582 influenced by the milieu of inter-village hostility within
*629 which they are contracted. Marriages in this milieu have as
613 their major function the promotion of social ties between the descent groups represented in the exchange and are best understood as the deployment of women between groups with the purpose of promoting political and military alliances. The groups in question may be of two kinds: the local patrilineages comprising a particular village, or the members of different villages as such. As the only corporate group among the Yąnomamö is the local lineage, marriages within and between villages are to be understood as alliances between different corporate groups.[1]

583 The variables affecting marriage practice--weakness
582 of descent as a solidarity-promoting medium, village size
183 and instability, the chronic nature of warfare, the shortage
*621 of women, attitudes about aggressiveness and demonstration
921 of ferocity by individuals, and economic practices--are such
152 that some deviation from the normative marriage rules is necessary to insure maximum survival chances for the resi-
583 dents of the various autonomous villages. Because marriage
582 exchanges in general have political and military implications,
*621

---

*[621] [1]Yąnomamö villages are not corporate groups.

175 contact with a Yąnomamö village on the upper Orinoco. Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, has been living continuously with the Yąnomamö since 1950, except for an occasional furlough to the United States. Three months after Barker arrived at Mahekodo-tedi, the members of that village took in a group of refugees from another village, a village that had just been the victim of a treacherous feast. Those refugees were the present residents of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, the two groups with whom I spent most of my time in the field. The treacherous feast invitation and the subsequent events will be outlined in detail below; suffice it to say at this point that the event was an important one in the history of these villages and its date is known (1951).

175 648 726 The second dated event was the abduction of a Brazilian girl from her home in the upper Cauabury area by the members of two Yąnomamö villages, Kohoroshi-tedi and Karawatari-urihi-tedi. The history of Nabëyoma ("woman of the foreigners"), as she was called by the Yąnomamö, may be told briefly. The members of the village of Kohoroshi-tedi, a splinter group from Karawatari's village, moved down the Shukumöna-u and began to hunt in the area southwest of their new village site. Occasionally they came across signs of foreigners, whom they were interested in locating in the hope of acquiring steel tools. On one hunt the Yąnomamö saw the foreigners and discovered their house. The Indians returned to Kohoroshi-tedi and the headman of the village, Ohiriwë, organized a raiding party, which also included men from

Karawatari's village.

The raiders attacked the foreigners at dawn but were driven off by gunfire; a number of the Indians were killed, among them a man called Hokohenawä, and some of the foreigners were allegedly hit with arrows. The Indians managed to capture a young girl, taking her back to Karawatari's village on the Shukumõna-u. Shortly after arriving at Karawatari's village, the abductors were in turn raided by another Shamatari village, then on the Upper Mavaca River under the leadership of Matakuwä, one of the two "original" Shamatari men. Karawatari's group had split from Matakuwä's group and was on hostile terms with it. The girl was taken by Matakuwä's men on this raid and brought to the Mavaca River. Matakuwä's village was on a branch of the Mavaca River called Kedebabõwei-u when Nabäyoma was abducted from Karawatari's group. Zerries (1964:14) gives 1934 as the date of the abduction of Nabäyoma, whereas Seitz (1963:21) places it a little earlier.

In Matakuwä's village, Nabäyoma was given to Yoyonahi's son; he shot her with a barbed arrow for disobeying him and the girl fled into the woods to nurse her wound. At this time Matakuwä's group was on friendly terms with the residents of Patanowä-tëka (who are now living in three distinct villages and constitute the groups from whom most of my data were taken). On one of their visits, the residents of Patanowä-tëka found Nabäyoma in the woods outside Matakuwä's village and took her home with them when they left after visiting.

At Patanowã-tëka she was given to Husiwã, by whom she had two sons (Orakuwã and Kariunawã). The approximate date of her move to Patanowã-tëka is 1935; it could not be much later, because a war broke out between Matakuwã's group and the group at Patanowã-tëka shortly after this date, and no visitors went between these two villages after hostilities commenced.

When the Patanowã-tëka group separted into two villages, Nabëyoma remained with the group that is presently called Patanowã-tedi. The two splinter groups entered into hostilities with each other shortly after they separated, and Nabëyoma's husband, Husiwã, was one of the first casualties. Nabëyoma, her co-wife (Shǫrǫkoma), and all their children fled from Husiwã's group and joined the other, cognate, group. Shǫrǫkoma, originally abducted from yet another Shamatari village, later returned to Patanowã-tedi, but Nabëyoma stayed with Patanowã-tedi's enemies. In 1951 when the treacherous feast was pulled on the group to which Nabëyoma belonged and the group fled to Mahekodo-tedi for protection, Nabëyoma was given to a man in Mahekodo-tedi, Remoriwã, as part of the cost of the alliance.

While Nabëyoma lived at Mahekodo-tedi, Barker and his colleague, David Landon, discovered that she still remembered how to write her name (Elena Valero). They informed the authorities in Puerto Ayacucho that a Brazilian woman was living with the Yąnomamǫ, presumable abducted by them from one of the settlements across the border, but

175 before action could be taken, Nabëyoma's new husband left
• 648 Mahekodo-tedi for his own village (Buinabŏwei-tedi), taking with him Nabëyoma, her two sons by Husiwë, and his own son by Nabëyoma.

[997] The Salesian Mission in Puerto Ayacucho was authorized to handle the affair and they sent a party of men to Buinabŏwei-tedi. The Indians did not wish to lose one of their women and the Salesian Mission party had to resort to forceful but prudent measures to recover Nabëyoma. She was returned to her family in Brazil in late 1956. Remoriwë subsequently made two unsuccessful trips to Brazil to find her.

174 As indicated above, the histories as I have recon-
175 structed them are no more than approximations as far as geographical locations and dates of occupation of the various sites are concerned. I am fairly certain, however, that the events themselves are accurately reported, especially those having to do with the warfare and raiding, because I obtained virtually identical versions from several informants on dif-
173 ferent occasions. The Yanomamŏ are good historians when it
726 comes to warfare. They have to be, lest they accept invi-
*628 tations to visit villages that have old grudges against them. All of them, even young children, know who killed their relatives and the circumstances in which the killings took place. These are the subject of constant discussion in the villages.
124 The first few descriptions I recorded of the 1950-51 feast
173 in which my group was victimized by a Shamatari village were obtained from young men who could not possibly have witnessed

101 175 The first evidence that [31] the Yąnomamö had penetrated the Mavaca Basin comes from a brief comment in Rice's account (1921) of his exploration of the Upper Orinoco. His guide, a Baré Indian, told him that the 'Guaharibos' had killed his brother ". . . near the sources of the Umauaca."[1] There is no historical evidence that the Yąnomamö occupied the Mavaca basin any earlier than this date (ca. 1915-20), save for scattered reports of unidentified 'wild tribes' alleged to dwell in these regions. My own data support this.

By 1925 the Yąnomamö were reported to be raiding settlements along the upper Cauabury River and soon were raiding the north bank of the Rio Negro itself. The Brazilian settlers eventually abandoned this area because of the raids (Seitz, 1963:19, 20, 21; Zerries, 1964:14). [64]

The historical evidence suggests, then, that the Yąnomamö have entered this large area only recently. This is supported by the accounts given to me by the Yąnomamö, who further describe the occupants of the area as Shamatari, a usage based in part on the historical interconnectedness of the villages that spread into the area, and in part on geographical considerations. Yąnomamö villages unrelated to the original group led by Kayabawë (Shamatari) have entered this area, and their northern neighbors refer to them as Shamatari, even though these villages are not historically related to Kayabawë's and their members deny being Shamatari.

---

[1] Ibid., p. 341.

*628 past. Finally, there is no way of scoring 'promises' to
*621 exchange women, and the strength of the shoriwĕ tie between
602 members of two distinct villages is largely a function of
583 such promises.

*621 Summarizing the difference in agnatic and affinal
602 ties, the important point is that affinal ties have the
618 potential of changing in their coefficient of solidarity when exchanges between two descent groups continues over time. It is largely for this reason that villages reduce to clusters of affinally related dual organizations (paired patrilineal local descent groups) that have exchanged women in the past and will probably continue to do so in the future.

C. Ferocity and Bellicosity

773 According to the Yąnomamö Moon Myth, Uhudima, a
828 Spirit, shot Moon with an arrow. The drop of blood that fell to the earth flowed over the surface, causing all Yąnomamö to become fierce. Ever since that time the Yąnomamö have behaved fiercely, because they were born in blood.

828 The Yąnomamö regard themselves as being violent,
577 coercive, crafty and quick to display aggressiveness; they
829 value this behavior. Yąnomamö contacts with other tribes
• 648 and with civilized foreigners have been consistently hostile until about 1955. They have succeeded in exterminating one tribe,[1] and have caused a number of villages of another tribe to relocate in order to avoid the attacks mounted on them by

[1] The Maku; see Migliazza, 1965.

829
• 648 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

794
152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three
[753] parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leav-
[761] ing the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females.
[825] Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

(754) Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö
[756] shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

*221
156 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence
152 in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

---

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

remained on good terms with each other. Their split occurred in 1954, perhaps a year earlier.

When I initiated my field work in 1964 Monou-tëka was still occupied, but its population, the Monou-tedi, was in the process of making a new garden (Moyanabŏwei) west of Monou to avoid the raids of the Patanowë-tedi, with whom they had entered into a new war in 1964.

The faction that moved to Barawë remained at that site about five years. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River, taking the name Bisaasi-tedi, in 1959, splitting into two villages, each located on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. By 1958 the Venezuelan Government had initiated a malaria-control program in this area of Amazonas and had established a small field station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Venezuelans associated with this field station invited the Barawë-tedi to move to the Mavaca River; the Indians accepted the invitation, hoping to gain access to steel tools. This was the beginning of contact with outsiders for the Kreibŏwei-tedi; prior to 1959 the only foreigners they had known were the missionary at Mahekodo-tedi, James P. Barker, and the members of the Frobenius Institute Expedition, Meinhard Schuster and Otto Zerries, who they visited occasionally at Mahekodo-tedi.

Area 12: Bisaasi-tedi

The Bisaasi-tedi began friendly contacts with a Shamatari village, Paruritawë-tedi, after they moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River.

occupying five different sites, each having its own house and garden. These five groups recombined into a single unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the southwest of the Uraricaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated. On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than on the Uraricaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of Yąnomamö from those whose social organization is described in this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Corresponding to this increase in intensity is a change in type of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically or not at all to the northeast.

There is likewise an apparent cline in population density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity. Yąnomamö villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However, another factor complicates the picture: the Yąnomamö have more contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also

contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

361 578 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village [101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at that site. Kąobawä's group fled to Shjhota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a 361 726 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take 721 *628 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab- [841] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kąobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954, *621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they [721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of [722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again, [101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kąobawä and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to estab- [648] lish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an up- [101] stream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2–8, have a settlement *621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being 578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away 722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more 184 complicated than the history of Kąobawä's group, since village fissioning began much earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2–8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above two groups of villages.

361 Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Mąmariböwei-teri and Reya- [134] boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2–8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the [648] past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by [722] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The [578] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neighbors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yąnomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowä's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawä's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawä and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąobawä's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąobawä's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawä's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawä's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąobawä's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawä and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawä's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąobawä and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16] James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawä and his group.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/74 cont./

6. Tribute payments and greeting ceremonial

619
657
576
574

Two or three times a year a Xiriána chief and 18-20 warriors of this tribe come to the Surára as well as to the Pakidái, in order to collect tribute from their satellites (see also pp. 13 and 19). This visit is always carried out /75/ according to a regular protocol. First the chiefs squat down opposite each other, place the right hand on the left shoulder of the other, and hold the left hand in front of the mouth. They remain in this position for about two hours and, singing, exchange their news (345). The warriors of

345. I, too, was greeted in this fashion by the Surára chief as well as by the Pakidái chief.

the Xiriána and Surára or Pakidái stand around in a circle and listen, their faces immobile. All the women and children remain lying in their hammocks during the ceremonial, or they sit with anxious faces by their hearths. When the greeting is ended, the Surára or the Pakidái chief makes a sign, whereupon his men run off and fetch knives, axes, pots, etc., and also bananas and pupunha fruits, which they put down in front of the Xiriána chief. The latter picks up the objects and distributes them to his warriors, one after the other. When each is richly laden, they leave the maloka with measured step and disappear into the forest. The Xiriána chief is now the only one left behind. For him, however, particularly valuable objects must be brought. Above all, it is now the duty of the Surára or Pakidái chief to offer precious things of his own, perhaps a woven hammock which was given him by civilized people, a large pot, a bush knife, or a particularly beautiful chain of glass beads. Along with these, he usually sets down a basket of bananas and pupunha fruits. When the Xiriána chief, finally satisfied, nods his head, the Surára or Pakidái at last feel relieved. There is now a concluding dialogue sung by the two chiefs, whereupon the Xiriána chief rises and, heavily loaded for his part, strides toward the forest where his warriors are

619 /75 cont./
651 already waiting for him. After such a visit, the Surára and Pakidái
576 are thoroughly stripped, but at least the constraint under which
574 they were put during these hours has been removed, and one soon hears them laughing and joking again (346).

[114]

346. For traveling investigators who come into contact with tribes of this region it is also very important to make sure, in offering presents and trade articles, that valuable objects are held back at first, because the chief always takes his share last. A visitor who is not familiar with this mentality and stands empty-handed at the end would incur the enmity of the chief and thus of the entire tribe from the outset.

7. Making a Living

433 a) General
178
241 At present the Surára and Pakidái are in a state of transition from an exploitative to a productive economy. The traditional means of acquiring food, hunting and gathering, still played a dominant role among these Indians at the time of my visit, but I could see that most of the members of the tribe, especially the men, already manifested a great interest in agriculture, which had
[622] been introduced a generation or two before. The chiefs in particular proved to be shining models, for they set a good example in
000 all the work in the roça (forest clearing) (347). According to their

[174]

347. The myth about the origin of the banana (see p. 249) clearly shows that the Surára and Pakidái were formerly only hunters and gatherers.

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

888
[191]

333. (cont.)
p. 70). Among the Piaroa Indians very weak old people are walled up alive in a cave. They are given food and drink for several more days and, when this has been used up, die of enervation (Marquis de Wavrin, 1944, pp. 197/98).

members destined for death are thus dispatched into the other world in an altogether humane manner, and even the killing itself is dictated by humane impulses. Since these old and sick persons can, of course, no longer take part in the customary seminomadic way of life, they would be obliged to remain helplessly behind when the tribe sets out on a new migration. This is to be prevented, however, /73/ and at the same time it is desired that the way to the moon, the paradise of the dead, be opened for them. After their death, they are cremated in the same way as all other deceased persons, that is to say, in the case of old people only the head is burned, and their ashes, too, are preserved and drunk at the festival in memory of the dead.

888
889
766

775 Greater than the fear of death among all Surára and Pakidái is the thought that they might one day die without being cremated, for example, during military actions, for then the entrance into the moon is barred for their soul (see p. 198).

766
[684]
[784]

Persons who commit incest are excluded from cremation after their demise, and they are not mourned, for incest is regarded as the greatest crime. Poré (see p. 197) does not want their souls on the moon, and partaking of their bone ashes would exert unfavorable influences on the male members of the tribe. They are therefore tied up in a squatting position and buried in a hole in the ground.

766
858
774

If children die before the completion of the third year of life, they are thrown into the river without any ceremony, since they belong to the flesh and blood of the mother and do not yet have their own soul (see p. 138).

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123 From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dixies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their [152] fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One [758] of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

595 As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous 162 and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by 578 means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males 684 whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of 838 quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We 201 had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of ges- 123 tures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

123 In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of 411 ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, Kąobäwä was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, Krämi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The Yąnomamö rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the Yąnomamö avoid incestuous affairs, according to Kąobawä, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. Kąobawä himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yaweremou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

avoid the raids from the Patanowë-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with Konoreiwë's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by Konoreiwë. The entire village participated in the club fight. Konoreiwë punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the Patanowë-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the Patanowë-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the Patanowë-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

1. Marriage Ties

602 593 581 583 [609] Marriages bind the groups of the spouses to each other in a system of exchanges involving goods, services, and the promise to reciprocate women at a later date. Yąnomamö marriage is peculiar in that the ties between husband and wife are very weak, but that ties between a man and his sister's husband are strong. The significance of marriage as an institution that initiates (or continues) alliances between non-agnatic groups stems, therefore, from the nature of the ties that it creates between the male members of the allied groups.

593 Ties between spouses are usually very tenuous, due largely to the fact that men are constantly suspicious of their wives' motives whenever the women leave the village unescorted. Men always suspect their wives of infidelity, and will even beat them if there is the slightest suspicion that the women have been seeing other men. A certain amount of 839 593 trysting goes on in all villages, but it is more frequent and more easily accomplished in larger villages. Discovery of [578] liaisons by the cuckold inevitably leads to club fighting between the factions of the lover and the husband. The woman 593 684 involved usually suffers more than either of the male principals in the fighting that follows, as women are severely punished by their husbands. The punishment usually consists of a beating with a club, but men frequently shoot their unfaithful wives with barbed arrows in a non-vital area of the body, such as the buttocks or leg. In one instance I witnessed,

593 the enraged husband struck his wife in the face with a burn-
• 684 ing log, severely burning her mouth. Burning is a common punishment, and many women bear immense scars from wounds inflicted by enraged husbands. Just before I left the field
[578] a fight developed in Patanowä-tedi between a man and his wife's lover. The lover was killed in the fight and the woman's husband punished her by cutting off her ears with a
[165] machete. Some women have been killed by enraged husbands, but in most of these cases, the deaths resulted from wounds that were not intended to be fatal.

607 Despite the fact that the tie between spouses is
613 weak, marriages create strong ties between a man and his
*621 sister's husband. This tie is of great significance in the
*628 social organization of the Yąnomamö, as it is stable, well
[593] defined, non-ambiguous and politically important. The brother-in-law (shoriwä) tie is the key link in alliances between local descent groups, both within and between villages.

607 The term shoriwä (brother-in-law, MoBrSo, FaSiSo,
601 friend) is used constantly by Yąnomamö men when they address any new male acquaintance. Shoriwä implies a set of obligations and duties between the speakers. One can depend on his shoriwä for material goods and gifts, and a request for such items from a shoriwä is not easily denied; shoriwä is, in addition to goods-giver, wife-giver. The Yąnomamö use this
[197] term for foreigners as well; they use it so frequently that
[609] the Salesian Missionaries who have recently contacted a few
[101]

*621 595 581 578 [593] Moiyoawë had two wives, Borehima and her older sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with another man, Makerawë. Moiyoawë attempted to get his wife back from Makerawë, precipitating a club fight between two factions of the village. During the club fight, Makerawë stabbed Moiyoawë with the sharp end of his club, wounding him badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyoawë's faction, Rakoiwë, who then attacked Makerawë, running him through with a sharpened club, killing him. Makerawë's faction fled from Patanowë-tedi and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids against the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the Patanowë-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowë-tedi two times shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid they caught two Patanowë-tedi men hunting outside the village. They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was Kɵabëwë's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man, Shinahewë. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

*[628] [361] 726 *625 [602] [115]

The woman over whom the internal feud started was taken away from Makerawë's group. Moiyoawë cut both her ears off to punish her.

[593] [684]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kąobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

If such a duel is escalated, it usually develops into a side-slapping contest. Occasionally, the combatants will sue for the use of machetes and axes, but this is rare. If machetes are used, the object of the contest still remains the same: Injure your opponent seriously enough so that he will withdraw from the contest, but try not to draw blood. Hence, opponents strike each other with only the flat of the blade when they resort to machetes.

In some areas the Yąnomamö modify the chest-pounding duel in another way: The opponents hold rocks in their clenched fists and strike their adversaries on the chest with an even more stunning blow. They try not to let the stone itself touch the flesh of the man they are fighting. Even without the use of stones, however, they are able to deliver their blows with such force that some of the participants cough up blood for days after having been in a duel.

Club fights represent the next level of violence. These can take place both within and between villages. Most of the club fights result from arguments over women, but a few of them develop out of disputes associated with food theft. Dikawä, a young man about twenty years old, came home one day and discovered a bunch of eating bananas his father, about fifty-five years old, had hung up in his house, above his hearth, to ripen in the smoke. Dikawä, however, ate a number of them without his father's permission. When his father discovered the theft, he ripped a pole out of his house and began clubbing Dikawä. Dikawä armed himself with a similar club and attacked his father, precipitating a general melee that soon involved most of the men in the village, each taking the side of the father or son, as they saw fit. In brawls such as these, many individuals join in the fighting just to keep the sides even; if a group is badly outnumbered, they will be joined by friends whose sense of fairness stimulates them to take sides, no matter what the issue is. The net result of the above fight was a number of lacerated skulls, bashed fingers, and sore shoulders. The contestants try to hit each other on the top of the head, but when the fight gets out of hand, the participants swing wildly and rarely hit their opponents on the skull. More frequently, the blow lands on the shoulder or arm.

The clubs used in these fights are, ideally, 8 to 10 feet long. They are very wiry, quite heavy, and deliver a tremendous wallop. In general shape and dimensions, they resemble pool cues, but are nearly twice as long. The club is held at the thin end, which is frequently sharpened to a long point in case the fighting escalates to spear thrusting, in which case the club is inverted and used as a pike.

Most duels start between two men, usually after one of them has been caught *en flagrante* trysting with the other's wife. The enraged husband challenges his opponent to strike him on the head with a club. He holds his own club vertically, leans against it and exposes his head for his opponent to strike. After he has sustained a blow on the head, he can then deliver one on the culprit's skull. But as soon as blood starts to flow, almost everybody rips a pole out of the house frame and joins in the fighting, supporting one or the other of the contestants.

Needless to say, the tops of most men's heads are covered with long, ugly scars of which their bearers are immensely proud. Some of them, in fact, keep their head cleanly shaved on top to display these scars, rubbing red pigment on their bare scalps to define them more precisely. Viewed from the top, the skull of an accomplished man of forty years looks like a road map, for it is criss-crossed by as many as twenty large scars (see

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

164 302 Fig. 5–1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the [622] village, a brother of Kąobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given [684] back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

[602] The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there * [628] was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri [721] because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

578 411 Spears are not commonly used by the Yąnamanö. A rare form of fighting, however, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

411 531 The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

*628 578 721 593 The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the headman of one of the villages north of Kąobawä's area, took her away from him by force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinsmen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doubt my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yąnomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kąobawä's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggressive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *waiteri* (fierce one) of the group.

Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatari girl. Damowä seduced her, thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the final club fight that led to the separation of Kąobawä's group from the Monou-teri. Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kąobawä then organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kąobawä's raiders. Nobody

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the poison has time to spread and enter the bloodstream. The Samatari go off to war with masses of these poisoned arrows and a cane quiver slung across their shoulders. This contains spare arrow-heads which can be quickly attached to the arrows arriving in a stream from the enemy. Every fighter carries his own ammunition, but the weapons are really the common property of friend and foe alike.

There is one other widely used weapon, and a deadly one it is—a heavy wooden club for use on the cranium in close-combat conditions, such as usually arise at the end of the battle when the ammunition is exhausted and the antagonists have worked themselves up into a fine frenzy. Then the hand-to-hand fighting excels in ferocity, but the blood scattered on the ground is misleading—the actual mortality rate is very low. Tremendous whacks on the head are exchanged, that lay the scalp open right down to the bone. But cracking the cranium itself is not so easy: Samatari heads are harder than Coroso palm.

One may well ask why the Indians are forever fighting these wars, but this is to put the question a little too ingenuously. The answer can only be that it is their mode of life—just as it is other people's mode of life not to keep on fighting. There are vendettas as old as their race itself, fanned by their belief in the evil eye of the witch doctors who can cause the death of children and spread sickness through the tribe. Fear is the underlying cause, at the origin of these vendettas and at the origin of all origins; fear that is the very condition, the very breath of existence for primitive man in the inhuman, unhuman forest regions that set their stamp on all who live in them. Fear gives birth to these bloody encounters, which a little cool-headedness could transform into the meeting of friends. We ourselves owed our salvation to the fact that we hadn't fought back. We had a certain confidence too, over and above the passing moment of fear, a certain faith in the essential goodness of man.

But apart from fear and the vendettas which grow out of it, there is one native activity which just as easily leads to war: theft. Theft is the activity in which the Shirians excel, their way of living. Everything that can further their nomadic existence is torn out of the earth, the trees and the animals. The process means effort and struggle, always more or less exhausting and unsafe. It follows logically that if anything they basically need belongs to other men, they will take it from them, too. The tribe on the river so-and-so possesses a machete, or a knife—perhaps the result of long bargaining with their neighbours, or, more often, of a highly successful bit of burglary and some

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

721 [685] skirmishing. After several days' howling and shrieking, an expedition is decided on. It is not certain that a battle will yield the desired utensil or object, but then, it is never certain that a hunt will fill the pot, and many a tree looks promising and then turns out to be barren, or to have no ripe fruit. But a good, just war, the Samatari think—and all their wars are just—always produces something worth fighting for, even if the immediate result isn't one that would [754] strike the impartial observer as advantageous. For even if the encounter produces only negative results, the enemy will henceforth go in fear and it will be a long time before their witch-doctors or magic-men dare to strike at the children again with their black arts of death.

And in addition to all these lines of reasoning, savages cannot grasp, as we can, the notion of victory or defeat, for this means first differentiating war from ordinary normal modes of life and treating it as a special occasion with its own scale of values. For the Indians, war is just one of the facts of life, like the harvest. Its result has no direct value, in so far as that result can always be changed by another war, and so on, *ad infinitum*.

III

*123 When we were not on the march I attended to the sick—an activity which soon grew to such dimensions that I found myself in charge of a full-scale open-air clinic, with a meek queue of patients waiting their turn to see the doctor, and an orderly to help me. The start of it all was the mournful bent old man who came along to us morning, noon and night, pointing to his kidneys and wailing '*Nini, nini*'—'Bad, bad.' We had fortunately succeeded in getting back the three or four tins containing our medical supplies, which included a good deal of terramycin presented to us by the manufacturers in exchange for the samples of earth we were to bring back. I imagined that in the case of people like the Samatari, who were completely unaccustomed to any drug at all, an antibiotic should have a very positive effect. In fact, the old fellow definitely improved after taking a few capsules. He was far less bent as he walked and no longer complained that he felt '*nini*'.

This must have been an excellent advertisement for us, because a great many patients began to come forward—most of them not showing any sign of suffering from anything at all. Then they began to understand that we treated wounds

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

If such a duel is escalated, it usually develops into a side-slapping contest. Occasionally, the combatants will sue for the use of machetes and axes, but this is rare. If machetes are used, the object of the contest still remains the same: Injure your opponent seriously enough so that he will withdraw from the contest, but try not to draw blood. Hence, opponents strike each other with only the flat of the blade when they resort to machetes.

In some areas the Yąnomamö modify the chest-pounding duel in another way: The opponents hold rocks in their clenched fists and strike their adversaries on the chest with an even more stunning blow. They try not to let the stone itself touch the flesh of the man they are fighting. Even without the use of stones, however, they are able to deliver their blows with such force that some of the participants cough up blood for days after having been in a duel.

Club fights represent the next level of violence. These can take place both within and between villages. Most of the club fights result from arguments over women, but a few of them develop out of disputes associated with food theft. Dikawä, a young man about twenty years old, came home one day and discovered a bunch of eating bananas his father, about fifty-five years old, had hung up in his house, above his hearth, to ripen in the smoke. Dikawä, however, ate a number of them without his father's permission. When his father discovered the theft, he ripped a pole out of his house and began clubbing Dikawä. Dikawä armed himself with a similar club and attacked his father, precipitating a general melee that soon involved most of the men in the village, each taking the side of the father or son, as they saw fit. In brawls such as these, many individuals join in the fighting just to keep the sides even; if a group is badly outnumbered, they will be joined by friends whose sense of fairness stimulates them to take sides, no matter what the issue is. The net result of the above fight was a number of lacerated skulls, bashed fingers, and sore shoulders. The contestants try to hit each other on the top of the head, but when the fight gets out of hand, the participants swing wildly and rarely hit their opponents on the skull. More frequently, the blow lands on the shoulder or arm.

The clubs used in these fights are, ideally, 8 to 10 feet long. They are very wiry, quite heavy, and deliver a tremendous wallop. In general shape and dimensions, they resemble pool cues, but are nearly twice as long. The club is held at the thin end, which is frequently sharpened to a long point in case the fighting escalates to spear thrusting, in which case the club is inverted and used as a pike.

Most duels start between two men, usually after one of them has been caught *en flagrante* trysting with the other's wife. The enraged husband challenges his opponent to strike him on the head with a club. He holds his own club vertically, leans against it and exposes his head for his opponent to strike. After he has sustained a blow on the head, he can then deliver one on the culprit's skull. But as soon as blood starts to flow, almost everybody rips a pole out of the house frame and joins in the fighting, supporting one or the other of the contestants.

Needless to say, the tops of most men's heads are covered with long, ugly scars of which their bearers are immensely proud. Some of them, in fact, keep their head cleanly shaved on top to display these scars, rubbing red pigment on their bare scalps to define them more precisely. Viewed from the top, the skull of an accomplished man of forty years looks like a road map, for it is criss-crossed by as many as twenty large scars (see

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women. One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomohoni*, is the ultimate form of violence. Kaobawä's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kaobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yanomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Säsäwä, coveted my British commando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

/27 cont./

6. Dress and Ornament

291 a) Hip cords and belts

From the age of four on both sexes constantly wear a hip cord -- nhamaaxí -- which is made by the women, but occasionally also by men, out of curauá fibers, the original material (see p. 55), or out of cotton. For the former, two strands are twisted to the right, and for the latter, to the left. The old technique of the right twist in the working of curauá fibers was thus retained, in spite of the adoption of cotton. There is, however, a further important difference. Whereas the hip cord of cotton represents the everyday dress, so to speak, /28/ the one made out of curauá fibers is at present used almost solely for ceremonial purposes.

[824] [283] [292]

All male Surára and Pakidái tie the penis up by means of the hip cord, which is done before donning it by tying a knot and drawing the foreskin through it.

With the hip cord these Indians feel clothed, and they therefore never take it off, not even for sleeping or bathing. Once when I was out hunting with the war chief of the Pakidái, Poréhiwõ, he happened to tear his hip cord. He modestly stepped behind the nearest tree immediately and tied it together again. Later he told me that it would be the most flagrant offense against good form to walk about without the hip cord. The women would then cover their faces and scream loudly. Hence a man may never appear with his penis hanging down, and it would be a positively execrable crime, which is punished by blows, if he exposed his glans to the eyes of women and girls.

[689]

This shows that among the Surára and Pakidái the hip cord in general, for women and girls also use it without covering anything with it, and the tying up of the penis in particular are associated with feelings of propriety (137). I am herewith able to

[171] [482]

137. The hip cord is never used as a device for carrying utilitarian articles, as Baldus noted, for example, among the Tapirapé

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
[689 tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
[825 of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and,
as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to
speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists between the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law. Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom. These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes him in like another one of its own members. Older children also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted, properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denominations. We do not think that there are special terms to express a relationship of adoption.

554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main distinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers, and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three differ-
791 ent theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
756 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
793 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman and priest in particular, represent the most influential position in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
000 by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

/59 cont./

595 From this list of families one gains the impression that monogamy predominates. But I was assured by my informants that those warriors who thus far have only one wife would be glad to take a second or even a third one, as was customary among their forefathers. The small number of persons in the tribes, however, has caused a shortage of women, so that most of the men are forced to be content with one spouse.

/60/ 3. Political Structure

619 These low population figures could, moreover, arouse the suspicion that it is not tribes, but only tribal divisions that are involved here, especially on account of the connubium in which they live, or merely groups. The chiefs and war chiefs named, however, told me emphatically that the Surára as well as the Pakidái were formerly large and mighty and distributed in many malokas. [185] They regard achieving this size again as a goal worth striving for.

622 An institutional chiefdom with a definitely established succession prevails in both tribes. If the chief dies, his next younger brother automatically takes his place. Only if the youngest brother is dead may the first-born son of the oldest brother, who by that time is usually an older man, occupy the office of chief.

624 In addition there is the war chief. This position is not hereditary;
●701 rather, the bravest warrior is chosen for it. During peacetimes he has no prerogatives whatever and lives like an ordinary member of the tribe. Only during military encounters does he take over the [622] leadership, while the real chief, as religious head, doctor, and teacher, is protected and does not take part; the same is true for his brothers.

622 The Surára chief Hewemão, very bold and intelligent, is a
159 truly great personality; his orders are respected by all members of the tribe without opposition. When he was still a youth, his father, Xoromão, was killed with two arrow shots by Makuxí /Macusi/ Indians. Hewemão eldest brother, Xaraíma, assumed the succession, but he died of a fever about eight years ago.

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the entire group has already decided to undertake. His major [701] function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently [529] [574] initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often super- [439] vises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [529] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in [241] initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food given away during the feast. During club-fights within the [578] village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting [621] stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using [629] both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

629 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion 721 to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek 554 to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

*621 never get larger than 250 seems to lie in the fact that there
722 is no military advantage to be gained in increasing village
162 size beyond this point, while at the same time, further increase in size creates organizational difficulties that threaten the internal stability of the village.

*621 Size of raiding parties and tactics of warfare must
722 be understood to appreciate why villages of 250 do not gain
721 military advantages by increasing in size, and why village
• 701 size can not drop below 40. The median size of Yąnomamö villages lies between 80 and 100 people. A village of this size can organize raiding parties ranging in size from about 20 to 30 men, as approximately one-third of the village residents are males between the ages of 14 and 50, the group from which the raiding parties are recruited. As no village leaves the women unguarded when it mounts a raid on its enemies, the size of raiding parties tends to be lower than the number of
*621 eligible men able to raid.[1] Table 4 gives the population
162 break-down of five Yąnomamö villages by age and sex. The males between the ages of 14 and 50 comprise 32.5% of the
*621 population (19.6 plus 12.9). Thus, a raiding party comprised
701 exclusively of men from a single village having a total popu-
721 lation of 100 will not excede 33 men; but, the raiding party would include a large number of youths who have no raiding experience, and older men who are not able to move rapidly. These men constitute more of a handicap than an asset to the

[1] See Plate 2. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 136]

Table 4 Age and Sex Distribution of the Yanomamö Population.[1]

*62 162

Frequency Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	55	48	103	68	14	288
Females	36	42	77	60	23	238
Totals:	91	90	190	128	37	526
Percentage Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	10.5	9.1	19.6	12.9	2.7	54.8
Females	6.8	8.0	14.6	11.4	4.4	45.2
Totals:	17.3	17.1	34.2	24.3	7.1	100.0

[1]Based on residents of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, Patanowä-tedi, Mömariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi. I was not able to get age estimates on a number of individuals in Reyaboböwei-tedi and Patanowä-tedi, accounting for the difference in total population given in Table 5, Chapter IV. The sex ratio for the above population is 1.22, and male excess is 9.5%, compared to 1.19 and 8.35% in Table 5.

[114] [128]

*62 • 70 72 [122]

effectiveness of the raiding party. As someone must stay home to guard the women, the guards usually come from the too young and too old. Usually, however, one or two 'waitedi' (fierce ones), men who have a great deal of experience in warfare and who would bravely defend the village, also remain behind. Thus, a village of 100 people could, at best,

organize a raiding party of approximately 20 to 25 men.[1]

The smallest raiding party I saw during my field work comprised 10 men. This seems to be the lower limit to the size of an effective raiding party; most raiding parties are of the order of 35-40 men, although I have seen as many as 60 men leave on a raid.[2] There are several reasons why raiding parties require ten or more men. First, the Yanomamö are not brave warriors; in a party of 10 men, a significant fraction of them would rather remain in the village where it is safer, and these men always look for excuses to drop out of the raiding party before the party meets and [redacted] the enemy. The usual excuses given are sickness or sore feet. Thus, even in small raiding parties there is considerable dissent among the men, particularly the younger ones. Such problems would be insurmountable if the party contained fewer than ten men, as even the most determined of the raiders would lose his enthusiasm by listening to the complaints and pessimistic comments of the more reluctant members of the raiding party. I accompanied one Monou-tedi raiding party a portion of the way to their objective; most of the younger men in the raiding party complained of having dysentery, malaria, or sore feet. I had promised to give them malaria

[1] This presumes that there are no sick or injured men in the village; there are always some.

[2] The larger raiding parties are always composite, involving the members of two or more villages.

701 pills before the raiding party left, but I forgot them.
703 This almost ended the raiding party, as the younger men
721 jumped on this as an excuse to stay home. The older men,
123 however, forced them into line and severly chastized them for
114 being cowardly.

701 Raiding tactics also require that approximately ten
721 men be included in the raiding party. The raiding party
725 usually splits into two or more groups when it approaches the village of the enemy. This increases the probability that the raid will be successful; two groups are more likely to confront individuals of the enemy village while at the same time splitting up reduces the possibility that the raiders will be accidentally discovered by the enemy. After the raiders shoot one or more of the enemy, they retreat in a standardized pattern. Groups of two men retreat a specified distance, their retreat being covered by two men who lie in ambush along the trail most likely to be taken by pursuers. The guarding pair then retreats, being covered by the first pair who lie in ambush. If the raiding party has separated into two groups, retreat tactics will necessitate at least 8 men.

721 The purpose of a raid is to kill one or more of the
727 enemy and retreat before being discovered. A raid is successful only if one or more of the enemy is killed and none of the raiders is wounded or killed. When a joint raiding party from Mahekodo-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi raided Riakowë's village in the early '50s to revenge the deaths of two

721 729 Mahekodo-tedi men and the victims of the 1950-51 treacherous feast, they succeeded in destroying Riakowë's village and garden, recapturing two of the women abducted by the Shamatari, killing three men, and abducting Riakowë's son.[1] They did not consider the raid a success because the Shamatari succeeded in killing one of the raiders. Again, in 1965 a joint raiding party comprised of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi men raided the Patanowë-tedi, killing one man. One of the Monou-tedi, Konoreiwë, was badly wounded by the Patanowë-tedi and almost died. The raid was only partially successful according to the raiders.

701 725 721 *[628] The tactic of ambush and retreat does not require the participation of large numbers of men. Raiding parties of 60 men, therefore, are somewhat less effective than raiding parties of 25-30 men, because raiding parties of this size usually involve the cooperation of two or more villages. 701 *628 721 Then, the organization of such large numbers of men is a problem, as each village will have its own leader, and therefore the contingency of raiders provided by allied villages in a joint raid has its own leadership. Thus, joint raids are invariably less effective because of the numbers of men involved and the difficulty of organizing them properly. The contingency of allies in a joint raiding party is less enthusiastic about the raid than the group from the aggrieved village, and if the enemy is not to be found at the site being

[115] [1]Both Barker and my informants gave me an account of this raid. The two versions were identical.

raided, the allies usually insist on returning home rather than pursue the enemy further. In 1965 a joint raid involving men from Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi, and Reyabobǫwei-tedi failed to locate the Patanowǟ-tedi at their village. The two Shamatari groups refused to go further in pursuit of the Patanowǟ-tedi, and the entire raiding party returned home, against the wishes of the Monou-tedi, whose dead headman was being avenged by this raid. Occasionally, however, the raiders are all enthusiastic about the raid and the possibility exists that an enraged raiding party may attempt to drive the enemy from the village. This partially accounts for the fact that warfare promotes the re-combination of smaller villages into larger, more defensible ones. If a raiding party of 60 men descended on the inhabitants of a village, the village could defend itself adequately only if there were approximately an equal number of adult men in the village. This would require that the village be at least as large as 180 people. Another factor, however, accounts for the fact that some villages have large populations. When a group has several enemies, it can raid them more effectively if it is able to send out raiding parties recruited from different factions within the village. The same raiders cannot return all the raids mounted against them and carry on the business of making a living as well. Again, larger numbers of men are required to defend the village while some of the men are away on raids, as the probability is higher that the village will be raided in the interim if the village has several enemies.

000 has several enemies.

*621 *628 • 701 721 722 [162] I pointed out that Lower Bisaasi-tedi was not a militarily viable village, although its total population falls within the range of such villages. An examination of the village composition given in Appendix A will show that there are only 12 men between the ages of 14 and 50, and not all of these would be effective in a raiding party. Some of these men would have to remain home to guard the women, reducing the capability of the village to mount raids against enemies even more, as the size of the raiding party would have to be smaller than ten men. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-tedi depends on assistance from its allies in their warfare and could not survive as an independent village. Should their enemies (the Patanowä-tedi) begin raiding them frequently, they would have to reunite with their agnates, the Upper Bisaasi-tedi. As a matter of fact, they did exactly this whenever raids from the Patanowä-tedi threatened them. The [162] Monou-tedi have 21 males between the ages of 14 and 50, but two of these are cripples. Nevertheless, they are much more capable of maintaining a separate existence than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, despite the fact that the difference in size of the two villages is not great. The significant fact is that they have a larger number of men capable of conducting raids. However, their size has not permitted them to effectively withstand the raids mounted against them by the [361] Patanowä-tedi, and the Monou-tedi were forced to move to a new site by the raids stemming from their enemies. Without the

*621 *628 722

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*621 *623 Village size is an important factor in determining the degree to which a Yąnomamö group must depend on its neighbors for military support in the face of raids. Small villages must make alliances to survive. Village size, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, ranges *621 from 40 to 250 inhabitants. Approximately one-third of the village consists of males who • 701 are able to participate in the raiding, that is, men who are between 17 and 40 years old. 722 The tactics of warfare are such that a village must be able to field a raiding party of approximately 10 men in order to be able to raid effectively. In addition, when the raiders are away, there must always be a few men at home to protect the women and children. Thus, the military requirements alone seem to demand that a village have at least 15 able-bodied men. As these represent about a third of the group, the minimum village size required by the raiding techniques is 40 to 50 people. I have never seen a village fall below this size in an area where raiding is active, and virtually every village split I investigated took place only when each of the resulting groups contained 40 or more people.

*621 The upper limit to village size is also determined in large measure by the intensity 721 of warfare. The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has over 200 people. It was being .726 raided actively by about a dozen different groups while I conducted my fieldwork, groups that raided it about twenty-five times in a period of fifteen months. The Patanowä-teri at one time had split into three groups of about equal size, but raids from their enemies forced them to reunite for common defense. In general, a village will fission after it [578] reaches a population of about 150 because internal feuds and fights are so frequent that peace can only be maintained with great difficulty. A village of 100 individuals, for example, can fission to produce two militarily viable groups of about 50 people each. Only the threat of raids from powerful neighbors will, as in the case of the Patanowä-teri, inhibit the fissioning, and frequently the fission groups will reunite in a single village to fend off the raids of their enemies.

* [628] But a small group of 40 to 50 people is not as viable as a group twice that size. Consequently, it enters into alliances with its neighbors.

*621 FISSION AND SETTLEMENT There is a tendency for the group to attempt to 582 maximize its size after it becomes an independent entity. This is done by trying to keep 166 all marriages within the group so that there is very little migration of young men and women to other villages after marriage. A small group also welcomes the addition of families from other villages, families that have gotten into fights in their own group and who prefer to leave rather than attempt to patch up their grievances with their kinsmen. Finally, the group tries to attract young men and women from other villages, encouraging them to settle permanently in the group. Rerebawä, for example, is under considerable pressure to remain permanently in Kąobawä's group.

*621 As the village grows in size and varies in composition, it becomes increasingly 578 difficult to keep order and peace. Extramarital sexual liaisons are more frequent in larger 837 villages, because the probability is lower that the affairs will be discovered. When the Monou-teri rejoined Kąobawä's group to avoid the raids of their enemies, a bloody club fight developed between two men of that village over an affair one of them had with the other's wife. The culprit waited until the group joined Kąobawä's village before approaching the woman, thinking that with so many people in one village he would not be caught.

By the time a village approaches 100 to 150 people, such fights over women are

726 and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

[765] They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowä. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

[302] The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 3-3). Some even put on bright red
[291] loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which the
[123] younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kąobawä to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *waya itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them
[622] and left for Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä had been complaining all year of severe pains in
[164] his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked.
[701] Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he
[703] did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had
[157] malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *waya itou*, for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

[484] The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

[372] The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last
[703] evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

726 If there are novices in the raiding party, the older men will conduct mock raids, showing
• 701 them how they are to participate. A grass dummy or soft log is frequently employed in
702 this, as was the case in the *waya itou* held in the village the day before the raiders left. Particularly young men will be positioned in the marching party somewhere in the middle of the single file of raiders so they will not be the first ones to be exposed to danger should the raiders themselves be ambushed. These young men will also be permitted to retreat first. Damowä had a twelve-year-old son when he was killed. This boy, Matarawä, was recruited into the raiding party to give him an opportunity to avenge his father's death. The older men made sure he would be exposed to minimum danger, as this was his first raid.

726 The separated groups of raiders approach the village at dawn and conceal themselves near the commonly used paths to the source of drinking water. They wait for the enemy to come to them. A good many of the victims of raids are shot while fetching water.

Frequently, the enemy is wary and acts defensively at all times when there is an [929] active war going on. Only large groups of people can leave the village, and these are well armed. Raiders will not attack a large group such as this. When the enemy is found to be this cautious, the raiders have no choice but to retreat or to shoot volleys of arrows blindly into the village, hoping to strike someone at a distance. They retreat after they release their arrows, depending on the gossip of other villages to learn if their arrows did find their marks. Rarely, one of the raiders will attempt to enter the village during the night and kill someone while he sleeps. Damowä's younger brother allegedly accomplished this on one raid, but few men are brave enough to try it. Most of the time the raiders manage to ambush a single individual, kill him, and retreat before they are discovered. This is considered to be the most desirable outcome of the raid.

722 The women were nervous, frightened, and irritable while the men were away,
[562] and they were constantly on the lookout for raiders from other villages. This is always
• [628] a time to suspect raiders, since allies occasionally turn on their friends when the women are poorly guarded, abducting as many as possible while their husbands are away.

After several days the women were so frustrated and anxious that fights began to [578] break out among them. One woman got angry because another one, her sister and co-wife, [593] left her to tend a small baby. When the mother returned, the angry one picked up a piece of firewood and bashed her on the side of her head with it, knocking her unconscious and causing her ear to bleed profusely.

726 The raiders had been gone almost a week when Kaobawä and his youngest brother
484 staggered into the village, nearly dead from exhaustion. Kaobawä's pains had gotten
[641] so bad that he decided to turn back just before they reached the Patanowä-teri village. He could barely walk by that time and would not have been able to elude pursuers should the enemy have given chase. Shararaiwä, his brother, decided to accompany him back lest he run into a group of Patanowä-teri hunters, or his condition grow even more severe. Shortly after they had dropped out of the raiding party, Shararaiwä stepped on a snake and was bitten. The rains had started, and the snakes were beginning to concentrate on the higher grounds, making walking a hazard. His leg began to swell immedi- [758] ately, and he could not walk. Hence, Kaobawä had to carry him out on his back, despite the fact that he could barely walk himself. Carrying him for nearly two days, he managed to reach the Orinoco River. Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,[3] so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Sharariwā had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kaobawā was very exhausted from the trip.

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chanted briefly with Kaobawā, explaining that they had reached Patanowā-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowā-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwā of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart.

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwā with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound.

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yanomamö have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwā was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered.

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowā-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowā. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *unokaimou* ceremony.

They were given spaces in Kaobawā's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kaobawā felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowā's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwā of Kaobawā's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowā-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowā-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they

[3] The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kaobawā's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Bisasi-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Bisasi-teri would not borrow it.

Fig. 5-4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bone of Dumowë, slain Mishimishimabowei-teri headman.*

located the enemy, but Patashiwë refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

The Monou-teri and Bisasi-teri raided against the Patanowë-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowë-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Dumowë were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

726 If there are novices in the raiding party, the older men will conduct mock raids, showing
701 them how they are to participate. A grass dummy or soft log is frequently employed in
• 702 this, as was the case in the *waeyu itew* held in the village the day before the raiders left. Particularly young men will be positioned in the marching party somewhere in the middle of the single file of raiders so they will not be the first ones to be exposed to danger should the raiders themselves be ambushed. These young men will also be permitted to retreat first. Damowã had a twelve-year-old son when he was killed. This boy, Mararawã, was recruited into the raiding party to give him an opportunity to avenge his father's death. The older men made sure he would be exposed to minimum danger, as this was his first raid.

726 The separated groups of raiders approach the village at dawn and conceal themselves near the commonly used paths to the source of drinking water. They wait for the enemy to come to them. A good many of the victims of raids are shot while fetching water.

Frequently, the enemy is wary and acts defensively at all times when there is an [722] active war going on. Only large groups of people can leave the village, and these are well armed. Raiders will not attack a large group such as this. When the enemy is found to be this cautious, the raiders have no choice but to retreat or to shoot volleys of arrows blindly into the village, hoping to strike someone at a distance. They retreat after they release their arrows, depending on the gossip of other villages to learn if their arrows did find their marks. Rarely, one of the raiders will attempt to enter the village during the night and kill someone while he sleeps. Damowã's younger brother allegedly accomplished this on one raid, but few men are brave enough to try it. Most of the time the raiders manage to ambush a single individual, kill him, and retreat before they are discovered. This is considered to be the most desirable outcome of the raid.

722 The women were nervous, frightened, and irritable while the men were away,
[562] and they were constantly on the lookout for raiders from other villages. This is always
*[628] a time to suspect raiders, since allies occasionally turn on their friends when the women are poorly guarded, abducting as many as possible while their husbands are away.

After several days the women were so frustrated and anxious that fights began to [578] break out among them. One woman got angry because another one, her sister and co-wife, [593] left her to tend a small baby. When the mother returned, the angry one picked up a piece of firewood and bashed her on the side of her head with it, knocking her unconscious and causing her ear to bleed profusely.

726 The raiders had been gone almost a week when Kaobawã and his youngest brother
484 staggered into the village, nearly dead from exhaustion. Kaobawã's pains had gotten
[641] so bad that he decided to turn back just before they reached the Patanowã-teri village. He could barely walk by that time and would not have been able to elude pursuers should the enemy have given chase. Shararaiwã, his brother, decided to accompany him back lest he run into a group of Patanowã-teri hunters, or his condition grow even more severe. Shortly after they had dropped out of the raiding party, Shararaiwã stepped on a snake and was bitten. The rains had started, and the snakes were beginning to concentrate on the higher grounds, making walking a hazard. His leg began to swell immedi- [758] ately, and he could not walk. Hence, Kaobawã had to carry him out on his back, despite the fact that he could barely walk himself. Carrying him for nearly two days, he managed to reach the Orinoco River. Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

701 712 *[628] organize a raiding party of approximately 20 to 25 men.[1]

The smallest raiding party I saw during my field work comprised 10 men. This seems to be the lower limit to the size of an effective raiding party; most raiding parties are of the order of 35-40 men, although I have seen as many as 60 men leave on a raid.[2] There are several reasons why raiding parties require ten or more men. First, the Yanomamö are not brave warriors; in a party of 10 men, a significant fraction of them would rather remain in the village where it is safer, and these men always look for excuses to drop out of the raiding party before the party meets and joins the enemy. The usual excuses given are sickness or sore feet. Thus, even in small raiding parties there is considerable dissent among the men, particularly the younger ones. Such problems would be insurmountable if the party contained fewer than ten men, as even the most determined of the raiders would lose his enthusiasm by listening to the complaints and pessimistic comments of the more reluctant members of the raiding party. I accompanied one Monou-tedi raiding party a portion of the way to their objective; most of the younger men in the raiding party complained of having dysentery, malaria, or sore feet. I had promised to give them malaria

701 703 721 • 703 721 701 703 721 123 114

---

[1] This presumes that there are no sick or injured men in the village; there are always some.

*[628] [2] The larger raiding parties are always composite, involving the members of two or more villages.

701 pills before the raiding party left, but I forgot them.
703 This almost ended the raiding party, as the younger men
721 jumped on this as an excuse to stay home. The older men,
123 however, forced them into line and severly chastized them for
114 being cowardly.

701 Raiding tactics also require that approximately ten
721 men be included in the raiding party. The raiding party
725 usually splits into two or more groups when it approaches the village of the enemy. This increases the probability that the raid will be successful; two groups are more likely to confront individuals of the enemy village while at the same time splitting up reduces the possibility that the raiders will be accidentally discovered by the enemy. After the raiders shoot one or more of the enemy, they retreat in a standardized pattern. Groups of two men retreat a specified distance, their retreat being covered by two men who lie in ambush along the trail most likely to be taken by pursuers. The guarding pair then retreats, being covered by the first pair who lie in ambush. If the raiding party has separated into two groups, retreat tactics will necessitate at least 8 men.

721 The purpose of a raid is to kill one or more of the
727 enemy and retreat before being discovered. A raid is successful only if one or more of the enemy is killed and none of the raiders is wounded or killed. When a joint raiding party from Mahekodo-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi raided Riakowë's village in the early '50s to revenge the deaths of two

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowä. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5-3). Some even put on bright red loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which the younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kąobawä to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *wayu itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them and left for Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä had been complaining all year of severe pains in his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked. Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *wayu itou*, for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Everyone in the village gathered around the ashes and wept aloud. The bamboo quiver of the dead man was brought to the gourds, smashed, the points taken out, and the quiver itself burned. While this was going on, the mourners were in a state of frenzy, pulling at their hair and striking themselves, screaming and wailing. One of his brothers took a snuff tube and blew some of the drug into the gourds containing the ashes (see Fig. 5–4). The tube was then cut in half, one of the dead man's arrow points being used to measure the point at which the snuff tube was cut. I was never able to determine whether the arrow points taken from the quiver were possessions of the dead man or were, in fact, the points removed from his body. There were ten of them, and my informants were too touchy about the matter to be questioned in detail: I received affirmative nods to both questions. In any event, the ten bamboo points were distributed to the raiders, who fondled them and examined them carefully. Each man brought one with him on the raid that followed this ceremony. The severed snuff tube and the gourds of ashes were wrapped in leaves and put back in the thatch of the brother's house.

That night I think I became emotionally close to the Yąnomamö for the first time. I remained in my hammock and gave up collecting genealogies. As darkness fell Damowä's brothers began wailing in their hammocks. I lay there and listened, not bothering to tape record it or photograph it or write notes. One of the others asked me why I was not making a nuisance of myself as usual, and I told him that my innermost being (*bubii*) was cold—that is, I was sad. This was whispered around the village, and as each person heard it, he looked over at me. The children who inevitably accumulate around my hammock were told by their elders to go home and not bother me anymore. I was *husbuo*, in a state of emotional disequilibrium, and had finally begun to act like a human being as far as they were concerned.

The next day the raiders lined up, shouted in the direction of the Patanowä-teri, heard the echo come back, and left the village to collect their provisions and hammocks. I allowed them to talk me into taking the entire raiding party up the Mavaca River in my canoe. There, they could find high ground and reach the Patanowä-teri without having to cross the numerous swamps that lay between the two villages. There were only ten men in the raiding party, the smallest the war party can get and still have maximum effectiveness. As we traveled up the river, the younger men began complaining. One had sore feet, and two or three others claimed to have malaria. They wanted to turn back because I had forgotten to bring my malaria pills with me as I had promised. Hukoshikuwä (Fig. 5–3), a brother of the slain headman, silenced their complaints with an angry lecture on cowardice. I let them all out at the mouth of a stream they intended to follow. They unloaded their seemingly enormous supply of plantains and politely waited for me to leave. I sat among them and chatted, thinking that they were doing essential tasks as they fiddled with arrows and retied their provisions. Finally, one of them hinted that I should be leaving because I had a long trip and might not get home before dark. It was then that I discovered they were dallying, trying to be polite to me. They all thanked me for taking them upstream in my canoe, the only time Yąnomamö ever expressed gratitude to me, and I got in my canoe to leave. Hukoshikuwä came down to untie my rope for me and shove me off the bank. He watched, silently, as my canoe got caught up in the current and drifted away. He looked frightened, reluctant, anxious, but determined. After I had gotten my motor started and was under way, I looked back to see him turn, pick up his plantains and weapons, and disappear into the jungle. Even

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 137]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwä probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen–even Kaobawä–implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowä. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwä's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwä failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwä and his raiders did not locate the Patanowä-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowä-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowä-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowä-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowä-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisaasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisaasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisaasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowä-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisaasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

[P. 138 is blank]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

him outside the range of the magic influence which had reduced him to such a hideous condition. But evidently they had only escaped the Samatari magic to fall straight into another, which was too much for the sick child. He died, sacrificed in a duel between two magic powers.

VI

The great 'provisioning-march' of the Samatari now began. We went along with them. We were prisoners, we were guests, we were tolerated visitors—a bit of everything. The main body, with the women and children, led the way along a track that was years old and had been opened up again the day before by the younger members of the tribe, who possessed the one metal weapon used by the Samatari: a piece of a knife-blade stuck into a stick and firmly bound with bark soaked in vegetable gum. What story could this scrap of steel have told when it finally reached the headwaters of the Aracoa!

The track was by no means straight, but for all its meanderings led vaguely towards the south-east. It lay for the most part through the dense thickets of fruit-bearing trees, which probably harboured other sorts of foodstuffs of which we knew nothing. The main body arrived to find that the young men had already picked nuts and fruit of all kinds and made piles of them at the foot of the trees. All the women had to do was take them up.

When meat of any sort is found and killed on these occasions, a couple of youngsters stay behind with it. They sling a hammock and light a fire and watch while it is slowly smoking on the spit. When the women come up, they pull off pieces of the flesh, put them into the rough hampers they carry on their shoulders and go on with the march, their babies jogging up and down on their backs, tied there with a strap made of bark. Some, like peripatetic vestal virgins, take fire with them, in the form of glowing brands, blowing on them as they go along lest the embers should grow cold. Thus the march of the Samatari leaves a trail of nutshells, rinds, ash, and little bits of charcoal. It suggests not so much an ordinary nomadic people on the move but rather a very special tribe composed of itinerant cooks.

With evening, or strictly speaking some time before the end of the afternoon, we found ourselves in a vast clearing where all the small plants, shrubs, bushes and grass had been cut away and swept and raked aside. All round this

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

open space ran a belt of rattan palms with their notoriously dangerous black spines. There were just two openings: a way in, and a way out. This was a defence work against any enemy that might come along. An aggressor had little chance of bringing off a surprise attack against the Samatari over this open ground, and if he made a frontal attack he would find 'bread for his teeth'—that is, thorns for his feet.

At night, while the Indians were all chattering heedlessly in their hammocks or sleeping the light sleep of the savage, the two gaps in the cordon were closed and the camp became a fortress difficult to storm. If they stay for several days in one place, as sometimes happens during the rainy season when they are visiting their plantations of tobacco and cane (for arrows), they will put up a palisade round the camp, on the Guayca model. This is composed of the trunks of a very tough palm, driven into the ground as close together as possible. Thus entrenched they can withstand whole days of attack from a position of strength.

In the course of our march, one Samatari not only devoured the larvae of bees, neatly excavating them from their cells in the smoked honeycomb, but every now and then he would stop at a dead tree-trunk, seamed with ant-galleries or lanes, and run his thumb and forefinger along the groove as far as possible, pressing out the damp earthy substance, which he conveyed to his mouth like some rare *bonne bouche*. Smacking his lips, he carried on until he had demolished the whole network of these arboreal thoroughfares, and the ants fled away over the surface of the tree-trunk, lamenting the cataclysm that had overtaken them.

Even we tried this ant-hill diet, but a mixture of earth and sawdust hardly appeased our hunger. Sometimes, as we crossed a stream, a few of the Samatari bent down rapidly and picked out of the water some little white stones that were soft like lumps of lime. These they chewed as they went along, apparently swallowing them. They will also eat sand, the dirty, soft, vari-coloured sand which is found with the detritus of vegetable matter thrown up on the banks of a river after a flood. For on top of all this varied diet of theirs, the Samatari are also geophagists—earth-eaters. The reason for this is probably an instinctive prompting which leads them to acquire in this way the minerals their normal food—which they eat without salt or spices—does not supply.

Our great salvation was the fruit: meat being very precious to the savages, they were unwilling to give us any, and we had no means of hunting for ourselves. The gun had simply disappeared. For the Samatari too, fruit is the main

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

bath like this—we had never seen him take one before—seemed to prove the point.

Between the sandstone of the high plateau and the usual granite of this region there was here an unexpected intermediary layer white with kaolin. After another hour of hard going we once more found ourselves in the lush vegetation of the lowlands. To the left of the track at one point, in a cavity formed by the collapse of a big tree whose roots had been torn out of the earth, we found the light baggage carried here and stowed the day before. It was apparently unharmed, even if literally covered with a revolting army of termites. We had the packs taken out of the hole (with the greatest caution for fear of a hidden snake), piled them all up together and covered them with palm leaves—because now the Indians didn't seem to be in any hurry to cover more mileage that day, nor did they lift a finger to start putting up the usual shelter for the night.

The baggage was untouched: the possibility of seeing our expedition through to the end was therefore open to us once more. Such a satisfactory state of affairs filled us with enthusiasm, and we decided to sacrifice no less than four tins of corned beef. We shared it out among the porters. This extra meal put some heart into the Indians, and picking up their machetes again they beckoned us to follow them along the track once more, where it veered to the south, through the forest. We could make out from their gestures that we were close to the heart of the great mystery now, and so took plenty of ammunition with us in case we should need it. The gradient stiffened. The track turned to the right, into a thick maze of wild banana and thorny iriarteae, and then through a little swamp where there were numerous prints of bare feet, to end up in front of a stockade of thorny palm, freshly piled up for some defensive purpose.

A sweet, heavy smell hung in the air—the typical smell of an Indian camp after it has been abandoned for a few days, which comes from rotting remains of meat and game, and decaying vegetable matter. The barrier of thorny palm was an insuperable obstacle for bare Indian feet. We followed it along to the right till we found a break, half hidden by a few tree-trunks, which led us inside the camp. At first sight it seemed no different from the usual Samatari pattern. Here and there—all over the place, in fact—were piles of ashes and vegetable refuse of all kinds. But this encampment had one particular feature which, although the conscious part of our minds missed it at first, made us feel

/475 cont./

726 booty without being discovered, because if they were, they would generally have to abandon the prisoner and flee in order to save their lives.

If the invading band is large, that is to say, made up of several settlements, it might be sufficiently strong to attack all of a full settlement. If an entire settlement can be put into disordered flight, many of the women and girls are easy prey for the attackers. Girls between 12 and 18 years of age are regarded as the best booty. It is almost certain that some of the men, especially of the settlement being attacked, will lose their lives or be wounded in the attack. Not always are women the only booty; every kind of object of value is abandoned in the hasty retreat. Such raids do not occur very frequently, but their possibility keeps the population in constant fear of them.

727 After having thus been attacked, the settlement can decide to abandon the entire area and found a new "conuco" in another area, or all of the friendly settlements might be called on to help in the reprisal raids.

● 712 726 When the enemy camps near a settlement at a distance closer than usual, or if there is some other reason to fear a raid, stockades or palisades are built. Posts and poles about 15 centimeters in diameter and two or more meters in length are tied in a vertical position, closing off all the approaches, particularly the pathways. Palm leaves and weeds are piled up against these walls to prevent the enemy from looking through the interstices. On the outside of these palisades, for a distance of 30 to 50 meters, all the trees are cut and left lying in thick underbrush as one more obstacle for the enemy intruders. Furthermore, under the eaves, at the back part of each and every house, they make an additional wall of sticks of firewood longer than usual. Should an attack occur, the women and children throw themselves against these walls of firewood in the back of the houses, while the men take their defensive positions and shout vigorous war cries, making their bows rattle in order to impress the enemy with their number and preparation.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

But ibis in immense droves refused to be disturbed as they covered each new sandbank that was born.

The water was as clear as if it had been filtered, its reflection of the sun blinding. Dark patches of smooth water amid the rippled surface elsewhere betrayed the next sandbanks to uncover.

We left behind the Padamo, Ocamo and the Mavaca, and all the time the river got narrower. We passed the nights on great flat platforms of rock which got larger as the water went down; with machetes we killed fish trapped in the rocky pools left by the receding stream. A dish of ananas and fish, half-soup, half-stew, is very tasty. It is called *sancoco* and from now on became our staple diet.

From Esmeralda we had brought supplies of sugar, coffee, salt, some oil and four big baskets of *manioc* from which we made coarse bread at all hours of the day. Several times we saw fresh water turtles clinging to the rocks and once or twice succeeded in catching one. But they are wily creatures and usually they dived before we could get near them. One we caught was handicapped by an injured foot which the men asserted was the work of a caribe. Unfortunately, it was too early for the females to be laying their eggs in the sand—they would have been manna, indeed.

We arrived at Platanal on November 21st to find that the bridge had been cut down and learned that this had been deliberately done "for strategic reasons". The Indians greeted us like old friends and unhesitatingly took us to the village. There we found feverish activity on all sides. A boy had been kidnapped from the plantation and another killed by an arrow through the chest. The corpse had been cremated amid ritual weeping and the ashes stored by the family in an urn sealed by wax. Not until the death had been avenged could they be mixed with the dust of the lad's ancestors.

The men had strengthened and consolidated the fortified enclosure and cut down the screen of trees round the village. Sentries had been posted and the entry through the fortification had been concealed by palm-leaves. Women were

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharaiwä, Kąobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kąobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kąobawä's younger wife. Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kąobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yąnomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *bashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kąobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with Kąobawä the possibility of peace between their two villages. They were brothers-in-law to him and were fairly certain that he would protect them from the village hotheads. One of the ambitious men in Kąobawä's group saw in this an opportunity to enhance his prestige and made plans to murder the three visitors. This man, Paruriwä, was a very cunning, treacherous fellow and quite jealous of Kąobawä's position as headman. He wanted to be the village leader and privately told me to address him as the headman. On this occasion Kąobawä let it be known that he intended to protect the visitors. For the better part of the day the village was in a state of suspense. Paruriwä and his followers were not to be found anywhere; a rumor spread that they had painted themselves black and were well armed. Kąobawä and his supporters, mostly his own brothers and brothers-in-law, remained in the village all day, their weapons close at hand. Late in the afternoon Paruriwä and his men appeared in their black paint and took up strategic posts around the village. He himself held an axe. He strutted arrogantly up to the visitors holding his axe as if he were ready to strike. The village became very quiet, and most of the women and children left. Neither Kąobawä nor the Patanowä-teri visitors batted an eyelash when Paruriwä approached, although the others were visibly nervous and sat up in their hammocks. Instead of striking the visitors with the axe as he appeared to suggest he was going to do, he invited one of them out to chant with him. Within seconds all three of the visitors had paired off with members of Paruriwä's group and were chanting passionately with them, explaining the reasons for their visit and giving their justification for the state of hostilites.

The crisis has been averted because of Kąobawä's implied threat that he would defend the visitors with force. A number of men in Paruriwä's group were visitors from Monou-teri; their headman had been killed a few months earlier by the Patanowä-teri. When Paruriwä failed to go through with his plan, they left the village in a rage, hoping to recruit a raiding party in their own village and ambush the visitors when they left.

Kąobawä realized that the visitors would not be safe until they got back home, since the Monou-teri would attempt to intercept them. He visited me that night and asked me to take the visitors back to their village at dawn in my canoe, knowing that I had already planned a trip there for the immediate future. After I agreed to accelerate my own plans, he proceeded to give me instructions about the trip: I was not to stop at any of the villages along the Orinoco River to visit, for all of them were at war with the Patanowä-teri and would shoot my companions on sight. The Patanowä-teri men lay on the floor of my canoe and covered themselves with a tarp when we passed these villages. The people on the bank shouted curses at me for not stopping to visit and give them trade goods. At this time the Patanowä-teri were being raided by about a dozen different villages. We had to cover part of the distance to their village on foot, proceeding very cautiously because of the danger of raiders. At one point the men showed me the spot where a Hasaböwä-teri raiding party had killed a Patanowä-teri woman a week earlier. Thus, Kąobawä not only protected the visitors while they were in his village but he also arranged a "safe-conduct" for their return.

Kąobawä keeps order in the village when people get out of hand. Paruriwä, for example, is particularly cruel to his four wives and beats them mercilessly for even slight provocations. None of his wives have brothers in the village, and few people are courageous enough to interfere with Paruriwä when he is angry. On one occasion Kąobawä was holding a feast for the members of an allied village. His preparations were being

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
714
291
726
302

Fig. 5-5. Hukushikawë leading a raiding party against the Patanowë-teri.

avoid the raids from the Patanowë-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with Konoreiwë's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by Konoreiwë. The entire village participated in the club fight. Konoreiwë punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the Patanowë-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the Patanowë-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the Patanowë-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

/116 cont./

361 scanty knowledge, their population varies between 200 and 300.
161 Whereas there in the unexplored south organizational forms for
[621] larger numbers of people have evidently developed, the socio-
logical system of the Waika is organized for only the above-named
figure of a hundred village inhabitants; a surplus of births is
answered by village partition.

628 The politically independent villages are partners in war and
peace and for trading and visiting, and the momentary, frequently
changing relationships of the villages to one another give the
political situation in Waika territory its stamp. Let us first look
721 at the hostile relationships. Affairs involving women are for the
[583] most part the cause of war; if a wife is sought in other villages,
and if the offer is turned down, one resorts to abducting a woman.
Once there has been bloodshed in quarrels originating from this,
the war is self-perpetuating: the original cause has not been for-
gotten, to be sure, but because of its slight intensity in the con-
ceptual world it in no way suffices as a motive for the continuation
726 of the war. Rather, what does not permit breaking the chain of
attacks repeated at intervals of a few months, in which the enemy
men are killed, but the women abducted, /117/ is ideas and analogous
728 to blood revenge. Concluding peace is possible only when there has
been no bloodshed for a long period of time, and hostile relations
628 often last for generations. Thus Waika country is covered with a
network of hostile relationships of varying degrees, and, picking
a village at random, one can distinguish a series of villages that
are friendly, benevolently indifferent, neutral, sympathetic with
[726] the enemy, and, finally, completely hostile. For no two villages,
however, is this series completely identical; there are no ex-
tensive alliances; war is an affair of the individual village, and a
friendly village is aided only if there are personal reasons for
hostility. No Waika village is without an enemy, and because
of the many crisscrossings of the degrees of relationships the
political situation is extremely complicated. We therefore see
that even on the broadest social plane -- that of the people as
a cultural and linguistic whole -- there is a very pronounced

/118 cont./

574 628 on the morning of departure, return to their own village. In contrast to this hastily accomplished visiting by small groups or even individuals, there is the migration of whole villages. During the 796 great palm-fruit festival, which takes place in February and of which I shall show you a film in a few days, the villages visit each other, which is often done in such a way that the two villages celebrate first in the settlement of the one and the other. The various above-mentioned purposes of this intervillage intercourse [184] are naturally combined in practice. The trading and visiting trips are responsible for the remarkable cultural unity of the Waika region, and the consciousness of this in the minds of the inhabitants.

574 On the other hand, in many cases they are the occasion and op- 721 portunity for quarrels and warfare; refusal to trade and refusal of 628 a girl lead at least to ill feeling, and, as was reported to us, neutral villages are sometimes invited to the palm-fruit festival solely for the purpose of attacking the men at a favorable moment in order to kill them and keep the women as booty. The language has a special word for this type of hostile act, and the procedure was described to us in detail, so there can be no doubt about its occasional occurrence.

628 In summary, the following may be said about the intervillage 182 relations presented in brief form. The balance between the two tendencies, the binding one and the separative one, both of which -- probably in correspondence to each other -- are expressed in remarkably vivid form, stamps the picture of the political organization in Waika country. The separative forces, in that they protect the detachment of the villages, prevent the formation of alliances on a wider scale, which could lead to political ascendancy, to regional groupings, to divisions -- in any case to a political unit extending beyond the village. Thus, in a cultural sense, these separative forces act indirectly in the same direction as the binding ones: both promote and maintain cultural homogeneity in a large territory. For since the individual villages are too weak to detach themselves from the leveling tensions /Verspannung/ with their neighbors, but, on the other hand, lasting, stable alliances cannot be achieved, political and cultural divisions

Surára
Pakidái

175
734
735
191
[715]

/73 cont./
and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

619
648
721

5. War -- nĩanyu --

The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood revenge -- noyú -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

Surára, Pakidái

619 /74 cont./
648
721

extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-
[835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára
[171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriâna. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the
[171]

342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

ooo
Y
648 /182 cont./ the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía. The Yanoama, however, by their own strength, were able to contain the advance of the Caribe in the northeastern part of their territory.

M
Y
114
648 The massacre of the Indians to which we have made reference above was pointed out by Schomburgk (1841), who visited this land around 1839, /183/ and his data constitute the first report regarding the Yanoama of the north. Schomburgk had crossed the Sierra Pacarima when, on the way to the sources of the Orinoco, he found the Makiritare in the grip of great panic. The Yanoama, possibly a group of Waica, had killed a number of Makiritare who had been on their way to the Yanoama rancherías in order to establish commercial relations with them. A short time after that horrible massacre, the same Yanoama attacked a Makiritare rancheria with the intent of exterminating all its inhabitants. This event marked the date of the withdrawal of all the Makiritare south of this zone. Even the Caribe companions who were with Schomburgk accompanied them on their flight, abandoning him with his baggage a short distance from the sources of the Orinoco. It is easy to understand Schomburgk's emotional state, bordering on desperation, on finding himself so close to his goal without being able to reach it.

M
[361]
[167]

Y
114 On the upper Uraricuera, in the region of the Sierra Marutani, Schomburgk came upon a conuco /cultivated area/ of the "Kirishanas," whom he described as nomad Indians who depended primarily on hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild fruits for their basic sustenance; some, however, cultivated small plantings of bitter yuca and peppers (Schomburgk, 1841, p. 417). Seventy-two years after this first report, Koch-Grünberg, in December of 1911, once again established brief communication with the Yanoama of this zone, and his information constituted, until a few years ago, the most important material on the Yanoama in general. Koch-Grünberg met representatives of two distinct groups. The first group (Casapare), which he found at the Purumamé Falls, lived at that time on the upper Uraricapará, although it had only recently arrived in that region from the Uraricuera, above the island of Maraca. That was the place where they took by surprise all the Indians whom they robbed and killed.

Y
[131]
[167]

Y
[721]

/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
302 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs. A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to verify with any certainty whether some relationship between menstruation and this design exists for them.

● 721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest." They believe that the híkula of the dead person is inside the chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks, for otherwise the híkula of the dead person would kill him too. After this time has passed the híkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to surprise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition in this lore.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

There were often piles of *huamoshi* heaped up underneath trees much too big and too tall for me to have climbed, even had I been dying of hunger. The *huamoshi* is a queer, oval-shaped nut with a big, woody husk enclosed in a compact mass of tiny, needle-sharp spines that resemble the crystals of certain mineral forms of asbestos. It takes some opening, but once open offers man the rich enjoyment of a soft white nut running with a creamy milk.

The consumption of these nuts sets a real problem in logistics and psychology. Transport over any distance is hampered by the exorbitant weight of the shells, a weight which the Indians with their extremely practical minds consider to be out of proportion to the food value of the nut, high though this is. But once the nuts are shelled, there are the piles of gleaming white grains, so attractive that no one can resist them and they are devoured without a thought for the mothers' milk or the strength of the children's blood. Without a doubt, this matter of the *huamoshi* represents one of the outstanding problems of the Samatari provisioning-march and still awaits a satisfactory solution.

VII

The difference in taste between the two races—Shirians and bearded men—comes out most emphatically in their appreciation of the various fruits. There is one particular kind which the Shirians adore—in fact, deify: they will even go to war over the picking of it and those who fall on the battlefield are deemed martyrs and saints.

For the Shirians, Saint Carpoforo lives incarnate in the miraculous, the almost mythical *lahsa*; while we, the bearded ones, would sooner identify him with the *sopah*, which is a blend of fig, strawberry and mulberry. The *lahsa* grows on the Corozo palm, one of the tallest of the palm trees, which is covered with long and terrible thorns that keep the monkeys far away from its forbidden fruit. Beneath the thorns there is a sweet liquid—palm wine. It can be obtained by lighting a fire at the base of the tree, so that all the juices collect together towards the top of the palm, near the growing part. The tree is then felled, and a little skilful surgery will drain the liquid, which ferments readily. But the Samatari do not indulge in this practice: some deep and ancient wisdom, though they are scarcely conscious of it, has given them the simplest possible commandment about drinking: thou shalt drink only water. Nor does

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the poison has time to spread and enter the bloodstream. The Samatari go off to war with masses of these poisoned arrows and a cane quiver slung across their shoulders. This contains spare arrow-heads which can be quickly attached to the arrows arriving in a stream from the enemy. Every fighter carries his own ammunition, but the weapons are really the common property of friend and foe alike.

There is one other widely used weapon, and a deadly one it is—a heavy wooden club for use on the cranium in close-combat conditions, such as usually arise at the end of the battle when the ammunition is exhausted and the antagonists have worked themselves up into a fine frenzy. Then the hand-to-hand fighting excels in ferocity, but the blood scattered on the ground is misleading—the actual mortality rate is very low. Tremendous whacks on the head are exchanged, that lay the scalp open right down to the bone. But cracking the cranium itself is not so easy: Samatari heads are harder than Corozo palm.

One may well ask why the Indians are forever fighting these wars, but this is to put the question a little too ingenuously. The answer can only be that it is their mode of life—just as it is other people's mode of life not to keep on fighting. There are vendettas as old as their race itself, fanned by their belief in the evil eye of the witch doctors who can cause the death of children and spread sickness through the tribe. Fear is the underlying cause, at the origin of these vendettas and at the origin of all origins; fear that is the very condition, the very breath of existence for primitive man in the inhuman, unhuman forest regions that set their stamp on all who live in them. Fear gives birth to these bloody encounters, which a little cool-headedness could transform into the meeting of friends. We ourselves owed our salvation to the fact that we hadn't fought back. We had a certain confidence too, over and above the passing moment of fear, a certain faith in the essential goodness of man.

But apart from fear and the vendettas which grow out of it, there is one native activity which just as easily leads to war: theft. Theft is the activity in which the Shirians excel, their way of living. Everything that can further their nomadic existence is torn out of the earth, the trees and the animals. The process means effort and struggle, always more or less exhausting and unsafe. It follows logically that if anything they basically need belongs to other men, they will take it from them, too. The tribe on the river so-and-so possesses a machete, or a knife—perhaps the result of long bargaining with their neighbours, or, more often, of a highly successful bit of burglary and some

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

721 [685] skirmishing. After several days' howling and shrieking, an expedition is decided on. It is not certain that a battle will yield the desired utensil or object, but then, it is never certain that a hunt will fill the pot, and many a tree looks promising and then turns out to be barren, or to have no ripe fruit. But a good, just war, the Samatari think—and all their wars are just—always produces something worth fighting for, even if the immediate result isn't one that would [754] strike the impartial observer as advantageous. For even if the encounter produces only negative results, the enemy will henceforth go in fear and it will be a long time before their witch-doctors or magic-men dare to strike at the children again with their black arts of death.

And in addition to all these lines of reasoning, savages cannot grasp, as we can, the notion of victory or defeat, for this means first differentiating war from ordinary normal modes of life and treating it as a special occasion with its own scale of values. For the Indians, war is just one of the facts of life, like the harvest. Its result has no direct value, in so far as that result can always be changed by another war, and so on, *ad infinitum*.

III

*123 When we were not on the march I attended to the sick—an activity which soon grew to such dimensions that I found myself in charge of a full-scale open-air clinic, with a meek queue of patients waiting their turn to see the doctor, and an orderly to help me. The start of it all was the mournful bent old man who came along to us morning, noon and night, pointing to his kidneys and wailing '*Nini, nini*'—'Bad, bad.' We had fortunately succeeded in getting back the three or four tins containing our medical supplies, which included a good deal of terramycin presented to us by the manufacturers in exchange for the samples of earth we were to bring back. I imagined that in the case of people like the Samatari, who were completely unaccustomed to any drug at all, an antibiotic should have a very positive effect. In fact, the old fellow definitely improved after taking a few capsules. He was far less bent as he walked and no longer complained that he felt '*nini*'.

This must have been an excellent advertisement for us, because a great many patients began to come forward—most of them not showing any sign of suffering from anything at all. Then they began to understand that we treated wounds

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

a torrid sun or the cold dankness of the forest after dark, the Indians are especially subject to respiratory troubles, bronchitis and chronic catarrh being common. It must be a short step from these to tuberculosis, to judge by the widespread incidence of the latter, though it is worth recording that among the Samatari themselves the disease does not appear to have reached the same alarming proportions as among the Taurepàn of the Eastern uplands, where it is a real scourge. Their name for it is an onomatapoeic one—*toctocmòh*—suggesting the coughing and catarrhal effects of any malady of the respiratory system, to which the word is applied.

They are more afraid of tuberculosis than of any war, or any surprise attack at night. Tribes infected with *toctocmòh* become taboo, and by the same token immune from attack, because their enemies are more afraid of their tuberculosis than their arrows. I was told this by Uarema, who said that some time ago a party of their enemies (of unspecified origin) set out to attack them. They had already been several days on the march when they learned that the Guayca were suffering from a bad epidemic of colds and catarrh. They gave up their idea of attacking them, and returned to their own lands.

Wounds infected by insects can be quickly cured, the reason being that with these primitive Indians the defence-mechanism is vigorous and reacts immediately when assisted by antibiotics or sulphonamides. In this connection I have often determined by experiment the relative healthiness of the forest compared with the unhealthiness of the grasslands or savannah lying open to the sun. In the forest, damp and mouldering like some subterranean world, wounds rarely become infected, even if they are not kept clean.

I once fell down on a clay hillside, in the Upper Cuyuni country, with a machete in my hand. It was pouring with rain and everything was covered with mud and very slippery. The machete stuck into the ground as I fell forward, and my hand—as happens in the case of a fall like this—automatically tightened on the tool to help me regain my balance and slid along the blade, which was always kept razor-sharp. I had three fingers cut open right through the middle joint, the muscles and tendons being severed. We had nothing with us, not even a clean handkerchief. I at once closed my hand and bound up the fist with a bit of old rag. We then spent some days making our way down to the base-camp where we had our medicines and disinfectants. There I opened my fist, to find the cuts miraculously closed up, without the slightest sign of any infection. A

/470 cont./

512 men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the
[276] spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves
[721] are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against
[176] the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

[535] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may
[533] continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when
[203] there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be
[594] crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Un-
551 til the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

/473 cont./

583 628 To a suitor who does not obtain the consent of the girl's settlement there is no other path but to look for a wife elsewhere or to try to abduct the girl in order to make her his /474/ wife. If he decides to do this latter, he gathers together his sympathizers; these are mostly men of the suitor's own settlement, although other friends may also help him. The group attempts to take the girl prisoner at a careless moment, carrying her off by force. The friends of the girl come to help her, starting a hand-to-hand fight. If the suitor manages to flee with the girl, she becomes his wife, but if he fails, he cannot make another attempt at abduction without then being considered a real enemy, and as such he will run the risk of being shot with an arrow and not simply have to put on a fight.

If a settlement decides not to accept the abduction committed for one of its girls for matrimonial purposes, a call for help can be made to a neighboring settlement, all of the men [411] gathering in a band, ready to recover her. The weapons used on such a raid are smooth poles about six feet long, intended not to kill the opponent, but to knock him down, leaving him hors de combat. If such a raid is successful, the girl is returned to her parents. And if the raid fails, any new attempt to recover the girl involves the risk of the attackers' being shot with arrows, since they would then be considered as true enemies. Both the men and the women can fight on the defense in case of such a raid.

A suitor alone or with the help of a few friends may succeed in carrying out the abduction of a wife, generally by finding the girl practically alone and carrying her off to his own settlement. In such cases the settlement of the abductor cannot back him, obliging him to return the woman to her parents rather than to lose their friends in her settlement.

• 721 302 When a raid to a truly hostile settlement is planned for the purpose of abducting a wife or other objects of value, each one of the members of the attacking band paints himself entirely 726 black or dark maroon. For such raids the weapons are the bow [411] and arrows, and, when the fight starts, both groups shoot to kill. Should the attacking band be small, it can only hope to capture some girl or woman who is alone in her "conuco" or /475/ cutting wood in the forest. Then it will try to escape with the

/151/

Raids among the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

114

* Mr. James Barker has prepared this work as a result of his many years with the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. In this Boletín (Year I, Vol. I, Caracas, June-December, 1953, Nos. 3-4, pp. 433-489 /see 7: Barker, this file/) he presented a report of his observations under the title of "Memoria sobre la cultura Guaika /Memoir on the Culture of the Waica/." The present work is the result of his observations, which, revealed in an objective and simple manner, are of positive value for ethnologists and ethnographers.

121 I have been asked for more information about the raid. As I am not sure of which one I am asked about, I will tell about several, especially those about which I have quite detailed information.

574 628 In February of 1951 the aldea of Liacoatjeti invited the aldea of Bisheasetjeti to a Pijiguao or palm festival. The men of Liacoatjeti had gone on a special hunt to get a supply of meat. There was to have been an abundance of every type of food. There were to have been special dances, the taking of yopo, and other things which they do on such festive occasions.

574 628 721 But the invitation was a trick which those of Liatcoatjeti /sic/ had planned in order to be able to kill, if possible, all of the men of Bisheasetjeti and capture their women. Batanoetjeti and other aldeas which were enemies of Bisheasetjeti were invited to hide outside of the aldea and shoot at any man who tried to get away. Since they did not need to feed anybody, the Liacoatjeti did not bother to go hunting.

/152/

574 628 721 [262] [411] The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti accepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 731 [499] The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food. They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 411 721 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and

166 722 628 ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was abandoned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest

000 near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

722 /152 cont./ One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,
499 the Bisheasetjeti also crossed; the bridge was /153/ cut by them near the bank. Guards were placed to keep a lookout for the enemy, should he try to repair the bridge and cross it.

727 Much after this, a raid was made on Liacoatjeti by some
● [721] of the Bisheasetjeti and the Majecotjeti /sic/; "Jaiyeota," one of the Majecototjeti, shot one of them and killed him. A boy of four or five years of age was captured. One of the men from Majecototjeti, "Ushiu," took the boy and cared for him. All of the children were bothering the little one, calling him enemy and acting as if they were going to shoot him. One day, after this had gone on for a while, a young man from Bisheasetjeti shot the child near the water spring. He shot the arrow so hard that it passed through him. Ushiu gave the child a funeral, but none of the other inhabitants of the aldea came to the "lloro" /weeping/, because they said, "After all, he was an enemy."

628 The two aldeas had some bad times together. Often, when
721 they were in the forest, they had to come running back, feeling
578 sick. Frequently their ribs were showing. During this time
[164] several died of a strange fever which kept the victim hot day and night without relief. Others were very sick with the fever, and it
[361] was feared that they would also die. The two aldeas of Bisheasetjeti and Majecototjeti lived together for a year, until those of Bisheasetjeti made a new "farm" /granja/ down the Orinoco, on the other side of the Manaviche River. When they separated, friction caused by some women had reached such a point that the Majecototjeti summoned the Macolimutjeti, and both of them made a raid on Bisheasetjeti to recover the wife of a Majecototjeti who had gone to live with a Bisheasetjeti. One family did not take part in this raid and by its friendly and frequent visits prevented the two aldeas from shooting at each other.

628 Another incident of friction was that a young man from
578 Majecototjeti stole a Bisheasetjeti woman from her husband.
837 When the husband had almost persuaded his wife to come back with him, the Majecototjeti man shot him in the back with a bone-pointed arrow and kept the woman. The Bisheasetjeti man was seriously wounded, but recovered.

/153 cont./

628 In January of 1952, while many of those from the aldea of
584 Yoeitjeti were visiting in Majecototjeti, a group of men from
/154/ Shibaatía-tjeti came and inquired about "Macluma," about giving her in matrimony to a man from Shibaatía-tjeti, who was already married to her older sister. "Macluma" had just passed puberty, and "Yajicocoue," the husband of the other older sister of "Macluma," also wanted her. The grandmother of "Macluma" persuaded her not to go off with the man from Shibaatía-tjeti unless she never wanted to see her again.

That night the Shibaatía-tjeti suitor asked for Macluma in "singing" fashion, while talking with "Shinaocaoue," the chief /capitán/ of Majecototjeti. The chief called him "old man." He told the chief that if he obtained her, he would be good to her, he would not put fire on her or beat her. I am not sure what conclusion they reached, although I suspect that the chief refused to give her to him.

628 On the following afternoon the men of Shibaatía-tjeti
583 caught "Macluma" outside of the aldea and tried to take her off
584 by force, in what the Yonomama /Yanoama/ call a "shaimau." The Majecototjeti women came to rescue her, and a group got into a fight and into a "rope fight" /lucha de cuerda/ over "Macluma." This lasted for several hours. The men of Yoeitjeti and I myself stood to one side and watched, but did not take part. Finally, the women managed to carry "Macluma" back to her house, and things quieted down.

The men of Shibaatía-tjeti said that they would come back for "Macluma." The men of Majecototjeti said, "If you do, we will shoot you."

After that, when the Shibaatía-tjeti visited them, at most there were groups of two or three.

721 In October of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came one evening
[411] at nightfall and shot a poisoned arrow at a boy, "Bosalima," who was standing at the entrance to the aldea. The wound was not very deep, but was several inches long.

123 /154 cont./

●721 At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/ bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look, raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

[752] We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pour-
[755] ing water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood, since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the
726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In some way the chief and "Yelequei-jûu" managed to pass some of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were
763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a
183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also state the brave words which he would say.)

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to
[764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had recovered.

/156 cont./

721 123 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. [302] [594] [822] But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and [412] fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people [361] of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

166 361 721 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 361 [114] In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit, [226] [411] [859] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying 726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

/158 cont./

726 That night some of our missionaries were camped outside in a
114 casa abierta /"open house"/. Suddenly they were awakened by a group of Yanomama men, who were standing and looking at our missionaries, without saying anything. They all were painted
[302] black, as though to make it impossible to recognize them by the light of the evening, or in the lesser light of the night. Finally the silence was broken, and the men of Majecototjeti told them that they were looking for the raiders who had killed the man and the boy and had carried off the four women. Our people had seen nothing of the raiders and were enormously surprised at the news.

726 The following morning the men went to the place of the attack and brought the arrows which were there. They did not bring back the complete arrows, but only the ends with the feathers. The arrows were not cut, but burned in two. The poisoned points were brought also. The men carefully examined the arrows and tried to make out from what aldea the raiders had come. The arrows looked like those of the Liacoatjeti, but they had seen a machete in that place, and who could imagine a Liacoatjeti leaving a machete, even in a moment of danger.

There was also a rumor that a bark canoe had been found some distance down the river. Probably the Shibaatía-tjeti had crossed the river in this canoe. (This rumor later turned out to be false.)

A search was carried out in a large circle in every direction to try to find out what direction the raiders had taken. Finally the track was found, and the Liacoatjeti were then recognized as the raiders, and they had come from the south. Their path had been made so as to cover the tracks, leaving the formation one by one and reassembling farther on.

• 721 The Majecototjeti planned, in turn, a raid of /159/ revenge. First a banquet was held with tapir meat and cassava to eat with the meat. A day or so later the men marched off on a raid of revenge against the Liacoatjeti. The Majecototjeti had gone off two weeks before, but had not found the Liacoatjeti in their houses.

727 "Jolocoine," a boy with a broken leg who had stayed with
[123] us, asked us to pray to God to send "Etemi" (one of the abducted women) home safe and sound.

/159 cont./

727 women) home safe and sound. A few days after the Majecototjeti returned from their attempted raid, "Etemi" returned. When she returned, the whole aldea went back to the north bank of the Orinoco River, in case they were being followed.

She told how it was that she had had a chance to walk in front of an old woman, and, getting somewhat out in front along the way, she was able to get off the path without being seen and had returned.

We marveled at our little faith. Why had we not prayed to God to bring them all back?

721 The chief repeatedly called meetings for raids to get revenge on the Liatcoatjeti. Usually the aldeas of Bisheasetjeti
[628] and Macolimutjeti accompanied the Majecototjeti on their raids. Our missionaries and some of the believers and the Yanomama prayed together that the raiders would not kill anybody or lose any of their own. Once they did not find anybody in the houses. Another time they became lost and for lack of food had to return home. Another time the whole group was so sick that they had to return, having covered only a few days of travel from their point
721 of departure. When a Yanomama aldea or several aldeas are about
726 to go on a raid, they hold an impressive ceremony. They make one or several effigies which represent the enemy. Then a simulated raid is acted out, in which these effigies are wounded, broken in two, and then thrown down. If the enemy is far away, they can do this at home and several times on the way to the enemy. Sometimes the simulated raid is carried to the point of dividing the group into two parts: one group which shoots at the effigies and then escapes (flees) with several girls from the aldea; the other group comes along a little later, /160/ finds that the women are gone, and pursues the raiders until it finds them hidden, sometimes out in the forest, with the girls. When the raiders are found, each one gives a loud war-cry and the ceremony ends.

114
721 In December of 1954 all our missionaries went down the river for our field conference, leaving the Frobenius expedition alone in Platanal. One night a man from Shibaatfa-tjeti slipped

/160 cont./

114 into the aldea of Platanal and shot at one of the men. His shot
● 721 wounded "Lublo-juu" in the thigh. Nevertheless, since he recovered, there was no gathering for a raid. The men of the Frobenius expedition treated his leg and prevented complications, since the wound was quite deep.

574 628 At the beginning of February 1955 the Macolimutjeti and the Bisheasetjeti were invited to a Pijiguao or palm (Peach) festival among the Majecototjeti. The Macolimutjeti all came, men, women, and children. But the Bisheasetjeti were somewhat afraid. The Majecototjeti had been somewhat friendly with the Batanoatjeti, bitter enemies of the Bisheasetjeti, and the Bisheasetjeti feared a trick. (Years before, in 1951, they had been tricked by the Liacoatitjeti.) But so as not to show their bad faith, the men came (or at least a few of them), but none of the women, in order thus to reduce the "desirability" of a trick to steal them.

726 In March of 1955 the men of Platanal had gone for a new attempt at a raid, leaving the rest of the people in the principal aldea, located to the north of the Orinoco. One day, when /illustration appears here/ /161/ all of them except the lame boy were out of the aldea, the Shibaatía-tjeti returned. They found "Joashimocaoue," who was returning from the farm at the head of the others who had gone to take advantage of the Pijiguao, or palm festival. The raiders shot him twice in the back, since he ran toward the refuge of the aldea. He was wounded by one bamboo point, not deeply, and by one point poisoned with curare, which caused a rather deep wound. In the aldea he told the lame [123] boy to hide himself from the raiders who had killed him, and then, finding no help in the aldea, he ran to our house, about 200 to 300 meters away.

/162 cont./

726 123 Then the inhabitants of the aldea began to come back from the forest. Seeing him lying motionless in a puddle of blood, each group that came supposed that he was dead, and they were mourning greatly for a few minutes, lamenting him, before those who knew what had happened were able to quiet them. Finally, one of the older men with sufficient presence of mind said that he wanted to take him to the aldea, if this were possible.

First the man tried to walk on his own feet to the aldea, but "Joashimocaoue" was very weak and in much pain, and he could not do this at all. Therefore a hammock was sent for. They tied this to a post before rolling up the wounded man in it; two men carried him to the aldea. That night he again became unconscious. Two women came and told us, "We are weeping again." I recommended to David that he stay and pray while I sent to see what could be done.

Upon arriving in the aldea, I found him unconscious in his hammock. They wanted me to put some medicine on his wounds, but there he was, unconscious. I said, "Let us pray first." Almost all of the believers who were there, and even those who had never professed to be believers, prayed with me for him. I prayed first and then they all repeated it together, asking God to spare his life. I had never seen a gathering of Yonomama praying so fervently before or since then. I do not know exactly how long we were praying, but it must have been about an hour.

/163/ When all had finished praying, we looked over and there he was, conscious again. He sat up and asked me if they had treated his wounds. I put sulfa powder on them and bandaged them. After this he did not lose consciousness again, and although his wounds were very painful, he went along well without any complications arising, although the tip of the poisoned point must still have been stuck in some part of his back.

● 721 The men of Majecototjeti returned from their raid on the Liacoatjeti without finding anyone in their houses.

123 75 [609] A little before this an old woman from Shibaatía-tjeti visited some of her Majecototjeti relatives and told them how in her aldea they did not like foreigners, because they were always curing people. When someone in the aldea was wounded, they

/165 cont./

721 In April of 1955 I found that the Bisheasetjeti had taken a girl from Vitocaiyetjeti, contrary to the desires of her aldea. Not long after this the Vitocaiyetjeti made a raid on the Bisheasetjeti to recapture the girl. The raiders managed to go 726 up the river as far as the Mavaca River, with one of the "Ceder" outfits which was working in the Yanomama territory. In the battle which followed there were a few banged heads and an abundance of broken arms, but nobody was killed. Nor did they manage to get the girl back. Now the two aldeas are threatening to shoot at each other.

623 The Vitacoiyetjeti, expecting to get help, told the Yoeitjeti that the Bisheasetjeti were also angry at them and were planning raids against them as well. They /166/ also told the Macolimutjeti that the Yoeitjeti were angry with the Bisheasetjeti, and, of course, the news reached the Bisheasetjeti.

628 On a trip of mine up the river I would stop in Bisheasetjeti.
123 The chief asked me to find out from the Bisheasetjeti whether the report was true. But the Bisheasetjeti were not at home when I passed. Nevertheless, the Majecototjeti did not know of any such intentions on the part of the Bisheasetjeti, in spite of having had several visits recently from the Bisheasetjeti.

I told this to the chief of the Yoeitjeti on my way back.

Now, in March 1956, the men and boys of Bisheasetjeti have gone down to Tamatama in canoes. But they did not stop in Yoeitjeti. The Yoeitjeti wanted to pursue them at once, but they lacked sufficient boats. Nineteen (19) men and two women from Yoeitjeti arrived at Tamatama a few days after the men of Bisheasetjeti had arrived there.

The Bisheasetjeti wanted to keep their bows when they arrived, in case their enemies might also come. But I told them to give us their bows and I would give them back when they were ready to leave.

If some other Yanomamas had come, I would also have taken their bows at the wharf in order to keep them from fighting. When the men of Bisheasetjeti saw the boat of the Yoeitjeti at a distance, they were afraid. I told them to go into my house and

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

133 But ibis in immense droves refused to be disturbed as they
123 covered each new sandbank that was born.

(136) The water was as clear as if it had been filtered, its reflection of the sun blinding. Dark patches of smooth water amid the rippled surface elsewhere betrayed the next sandbanks to uncover.

We left behind the Padamo, Ocamo and the Mavaca, and all the time the river got narrower. We passed the nights on great flat platforms of rock which got larger as the water went down; with machetes we killed fish trapped in the rocky pools left by the receding stream. A dish of ananas and fish, half-soup, half-stew, is very tasty. It is called *sancoco* and from now on became our staple diet.

123 From Esmeralda we had brought supplies of sugar, coffee, salt, some oil and four big baskets of *manioc* from which we [136] made coarse bread at all hours of the day. Several times we saw fresh water turtles clinging to the rocks and once or twice succeeded in catching one. But they are wily creatures and usually they dived before we could get near them. One we caught was handicapped by an injured foot which the men asserted was the work of a caribe. Unfortunately, it was too early for the females to be laying their eggs in the sand—they would have been manna, indeed.

123 We arrived at Platanal on November 21st to find that the
721 bridge had been cut down and learned that this had been deliberately done "for strategic reasons". The Indians greeted us like old friends and unhesitatingly took us to the village. There we found feverish activity on all sides. A boy had been kidnapped from the plantation and another killed [764] by an arrow through the chest. The corpse had been cremated amid ritual weeping and the ashes stored by the family in an urn sealed by wax. Not until the death had been avenged could they be mixed with the dust of the lad's ancestors.

[712] The men had strengthened and consolidated the fortified enclosure and cut down the screen of trees round the village. Sentries had been posted and the entry through the fortification had been concealed by palm-leaves. Women were

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

123
721

bringing in supplies from the plantation and distributing them among the huts. They were obviously preparing for a long siege.

Barker, the missionary, told us he had thrown his shot-gun into the river to save him from having to take part. Rape, he said, was at the root of every conflict—the kidnapping of boys or girls according to whether a clan had a surplus of men or women without mates. Sometimes a young warrior had to prove himself and in such cases rape is the best method, since it tests endurance, patience, resource and skill no less than strength. [555]

123

On this occasion, the women had lost all their earlier bashfulness—a group of six of them never leaving us. We had seen the eldest of them twice before, and three of the others had been in the village when we had passed through on our downstream trip. It seemed they must have vouched for our friendliness for nobody asked us for machetes and matches.

On returning to our boat we found six stalks of bananas had been put in it for us. We were sorry that we had nothing but a little *manioc* to offer in return. As we left we met three Waikas from a neighbouring clan. In honour of their hosts and doubtless to cut a good figure, each had painted himself all over with violet dye. [302]

• • •

We passed the Guaharibo Rapids at dawn on November 22nd and by the following day were at the foot of the rapids at Peñascal. We had brought lifting tackle to use where necessary, but with only four of us—and somewhat tired at that—we were anxious to avoid overland porterage wherever we could.

The falling water had uncovered acres of rocks with little channels running between, offering a safe passage through. At other times we had to assault the main channel knowing that if the engine gave out we must lose boat, provisions and equipment, if not our lives. For this reason, if ever there was enough water to float us in any subsidiary channel, we took it every time.

[pg 172 to end of book not processed]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

121 The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yąnomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data 114 covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the 124 field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yąnomamö in their language.

162 Census data on five Yąnomamö villages are presented 897 to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage 595 of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is compli- 834 cated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos 721 and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter- 182 village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

621 The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the 613 basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal 578 descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves 562 to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal 000 descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii]

[Introductory, P. iii]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis [114] shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

121 reasoning, as most of the Yąnomamö villages are presently
583 uncontacted, and those that are in contact with foreigners
582 have only recently (since 1951) entered into these contacts.
183
648

583 Yąnomamö marriages, even the preferred form, are
582 influenced by the milieu of inter-village hostility within
*628 which they are contracted. Marriages in this milieu have as
613 their major function the promotion of social ties between the descent groups represented in the exchange and are best understood as the deployment of women between groups with the purpose of promoting political and military alliances. The groups in question may be of two kinds: the local patrilineages comprising a particular village, or the members of different villages as such. As the only corporate group among the Yąnomamö is the local lineage, marriages within and between villages are to be understood as alliances between different corporate groups.[1]

583 The variables affecting marriage practice--weakness
582 of descent as a solidarity-promoting medium, village size
183 and instability, the chronic nature of warfare, the shortage
*621 of women, attitudes about aggressiveness and demonstration
• 921 of ferocity by individuals, and economic practices--are such
152 that some deviation from the normative marriage rules is necessary to insure maximum survival chances for the resi-
583 dents of the various autonomous villages. Because marriage
582 exchanges in general have political and military implications,
*621

---

*[621] [1]Yąnomamö villages are not corporate groups.

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yąnomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yąnomamö social organization of this single

phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the result of the shortage of women.

Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and this frequently causes the village to split. The larger the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion. Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each group establishes an independent village and enters into marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yąnomamö village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

*621 White's generalization that

> every society tends to behave in such a way as to achieve that balance between size and solidarity that will give it the maximum effectiveness in carrying on its life-sustaining activities. (1959:104)

*621 *628 562 583 582 *721 Belligerent ideology and aggressive behavior

Village size plays an important role in the nature of the political relationships between groups that are not linked by kinship ties. As mentioned above, larger villages tend to use their strength and dominance to upset the exchange balance of women. But the degree to which a powerful group is able to force a dependent ally to cede women is limited by the ability of the smaller group to raid the larger village successfully. In ideological terms the Yanomamö express this capacity to wage war by placing emphasis on and valuing aggressive behavior. It is considered both proper and desirable to act ferociously, as this informs neighbors of the group's capacity to wage war and warns them that the group is willing to resort to war in political dealings.

*621 *628 526 574 152 Members of small villages are consequently constrained to behave militantly toward larger neighbors to limit the coercion that the larger group may be tempted to try. Their fierce behavior takes the form of threat, bluff, chicanery in trading and, most important, challenges to duels. Frequently, when villagers are invited to feast with an allied group, the invitation includes a challenge to a chest-pounding

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the entire group has already decided to undertake. His major [701] function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently [529] [574] initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often super- [439] vises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [527] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in [241] initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food given away during the feast. During club-fights within the [578] village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting [621] stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using [629] both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

629 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion 92 to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek 554 to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide. There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice. First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 54]

[1] The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, listed in Table 1, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

835 601 183 investigated discrepant kinship usage I found that the terminology changed because of incestuous relationships between my informant (or his close kinsman) and the members of the local lineage in question. I have not investigated all discrepant usages, but the high incidence of the terminological aberrations suggests that incest is widely practiced.

835 601 183 582 [162] [562] Incestuous affairs and marriages occur largely because of the woman shortage. I have already mentioned that IshiweiwÃ of PatanowÃ-tedi married his three 'granddaughters' because he could not find a wife of the appropriate category. A similar situation occurred in Bisaasi-tedi. RëromawÃ, one of the important men in the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi, has redefined a number of his classificatory daughters as sisters,[1] thereby making it possible for his sons to marry their children, otherwise incestuous marriages. His oldest son, BÃkÃbõwÃ, technically married his FaDaDa, but because his father had redefined the mother of BÃkÃbõwÃ's wife as 'sister,' the marriage was appropriate within their marriage rules.

937 *621 578 [721] The woman shortage is remedied by illicit affairs within the village. These affairs are the major cause of feuds and village splits. During the 15 months covered by my field work five club-fights occurred. Four of them were over women who had been caught in illicit affairs, and in one case, the village split into hostile factions that began

---

[1] See Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of this.

raiding each other.[1]

That the shortage of women is the basis of internal feuding is illustrated by a practice recently adopted by members of the New Tribes Mission working in the village of Kosholowä-tedi, a small village on the Padamo River. The missionaries had a major problem with club-fighting within the village, most of which developed out of sexual liasons between married women and married men. The missionaries began an active campaign aimed at changing the coitus taboos during pregnancy and lactation. They were successful in their efforts, and the major result was that fighting was almost completely stopped. (Another result was a sharp increase in births.)

Village size and composition have an effect on the number of sexual liaisons within a village, as illicit affairs are more difficult to discover in large villages. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, as can be seen from Table 1, have less of a woman shortage than the other villages. Nevertheless, fights over women do break out in these villages. One of the clubfights I witnessed took place between two groups of Monou-tedi men in the village of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the Monou-tedi men had wanted to carry on an affair with the wife of Konoreiwä, another man of his village, but was unable to do so while the Monou-tedi lived in their own village. Once when the Monou-tedi moved to Bisaasi-tedi to

---

[1] See Chapter 5, Tables 5 and 6, for a summary of the causes of village splits and hostilities.

avoid the raids from the PatanowÃ-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with KonoreiwÃ's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by KonoreiwÃ. The entire village participated in the club fight. KonoreiwÃ punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the PatanowÃ-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the PatanowÃ-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the PatanowÃ-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

726 114 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time involved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

*621 628 837 578 • 721 [241] When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 726 722 241 36 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare necessitates the formation of political alliances with other groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

---

[241] [36] [171] [128] [1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory. In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1987 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The politico-military situation in which the Patanowä-tedi found themselves during 1965 dramatically illustrates the importance of allies, i.e., neighbors upon whom one can depend for both military and subsistence items in times of crises. The Patanowä-tedi had been at war with a number of groups to their east and north for several years prior to my arrival in 1964. They managed, however, to hold their own in the wars against these villages, as they were a large group.[1] Earlier wars, and the latent hostilities resulting from these, precluded alliances with the Shamatari villages to their south. Their congeners, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, lived to the west of them, but the nature of the circumstances leading to their separation prevented alliances with these groups. Nevertheless, the Patanowä-tedi made peace overtures to the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi from time to time, and sporadic visiting between them began after 1955. In late 1964 the Patanowä-tedi managed to convince the Bisaasi-tedi of their sincerity to renew friendship and visited them, but the Monou-tedi shattered this attempted rapprochement by abducting seven women from the Patanowä-tedi. The events subsequent to this incident drew the Patanowä-tedi into yet another war, the proportions of which exceeded the defense capabilities of the Patanowä-tedi: they could no longer remain at one site and prosecute both wars effectively. They were surrounded on all

[1] They had attempted to split into three small groups before getting into the war with their northern and eastern neighbors, but the war forced the three groups to re-unite for defense purposes. See Chapter 5.

726 sides by villages that were actively raiding them. Fortunately,
*628 however, they had one ally, the Ashadowä-tedi, a large group (ca. 200-250 people) living two days' walk to their south. [729] The Ashadowä-tedi allied themselves to the Patanowä-tedi because of their own interest in raiding the Hasaböwä-tedi, from whom they themselves separated on hostile terms in the recent past. Furthermore, the Ashadowä-tedi had penetrated Shamatari territory, and needed allies in the event that the Shamatari villages began hostilities against them.

• 721 The abduction of the seven Patanowä-tedi women by
726 the Monou-tedi precipitated a war of such intensity that the
361 Patanowä-tedi were immediately obliged to abandon their site.
*628 Under 'normal' circumstances, the Patanowä-tedi would have been able to resist a small group like the Monou-tedi, but their other war against the Hasaböwä-tedi detracted from their capacity to do so. When the Monou-tedi initiated raiding against the Patanowä-tedi, the allies of <u>all</u> the villages hostile to the Patanowä-tedi jumped, so to speak, on the
726 'band-wagon.' These allies were supporting Patanowä-tedi's
*628 enemies only half-heartedly up to the entry of the Monou-tedi into the war, for prior to this, the Patanowä-tedi were able to threaten these villages. When, however, the Monou-tedi and their allies (the Bisaasi-tedi, the Mõmaribõwei-tedi, and the Reyabobõwei-tedi) began raiding the Patanowä-tedi, it became immediately apparent that the offensive potential of the Patanowä-tedi was greatly reduced. Thus, villages at some distance from the Patanowä-tedi began to raid the latter,

162 562 83 sexually, by the practices of sodomy, wife sharing, incest, and permitted affairs. However, two ways in which the problem 162 562 583 is resolved--clandestine affairs within villages and raiding 849 721 722 to abduct women between villages--create political situations that favor the development of political alliances for the purposes of defense. Since these involve the transfer of *628 women between the allies, the practice of female infanticide constitutes a functional component in the marriage alliance system.

*721 *628 578 241 722 The process of village splitting, growing out of feuds over women, results in the establishment of small, militarily vulnerable villages. The timing of the split is conditioned by the agricultural requirements of the village on the one hand, and the nature of its politico-military relationships with other villages on the other. The graded system of violence permits flexibility in the settlement pattern and the precise conditions of a village split. Because the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated foods, alliances may be interpreted as an attempt to maximize the chances of survival of groups of kinsmen as independent groups; the possibility always exists that a given group may be forced by its enemies to seek protection and provisions in the village of an ally.

413 621 603 562 544 726

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

582 584 593 621

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

583 591 584 602 721 628

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

---

[128] [1]See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[601] [2]By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

the Namowei-tedi and the Boreta-tedi (Chapter V) developed out of a case such as this.

When women are given to men in allied villages, the local descent group of the girl (her father and adult brothers and, to a lesser extent, the girl's more distant agnates) decides which patrilineage of the foreign village should have her. Smaller villages are more prone to enter into alliances based on marriage exchanges than are larger villages, since smaller villages require allies to a greater extent than larger ones.[1] Local descent groups in small villages are more cohesive than descent groups in larger villages because they usually comprise a man and his adult sons; if there are distantly related agnates in small villages, these are incorporated into the local descent group. In small villages, therefore, local descent groups are more corporate because all the adult agnates of the girl have a say in her marriage. Ideally, they give the girl to a member of the politically strongest descent group of the allied village, for this group is the one from which aid will come or, conversely, the one most likely to make the decision to initiate hostilities against the smaller village.

The longer an alliance endures, the more likely it is that the exchange of women balances. The two largest

---

[1] Larger Yanomamö villages can make visiting alliances with other groups that do not lead to marriage exchanges, as it is relatively unimportant to them to stabilize such alliances by ceding women to militarily inferior groups.

*628 bride's village is stronger, the girl's parents may be able
613 to press the groom into a prolonged bride service--five or
582 six years. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, are politically
583 stronger than the Reyabobŏwei-tedi, one of their Shamatari
591 allies. They have obtained a number of women from this group, and the men involved all returned with their brides after brief periods of bride service. So far, not a single Bisaasi-tedi woman has gone to live in Reyabobŏwei-tedi, although one girl is married to a man from that village. The man has already spent several years in Bisaasi-tedi, and will probably spend at least as many more before being permitted to return home with his Bisaasi-tedi wife. The military and political superiority of the Bisaasi-tedi is so conspicuous in this alliance that one Bisaasi-tedi man literally dragged a woman, previously promised to him, out of the Reyabobŏwei-tedi village, against the wishes of both the woman and the woman's agnates. He was not prevented from doing this because the Reyabobŏwei-tedi need the political and military support of the Bisaasi-tedi and could not afford to react violently to the affront. Had the two villages been politically equal, the incident would have resulted in a war.

[921]

*628 Women involved in exchanges between villages have no
623 say whatsoever in their fate. Most of them abhor the pos-
583 sibility of moving to a strange village, largely because they
584 fear that they will be mistreated by their husbands. Should a girl refuse to abide by the decision of her agnates, she has no alternative but to flee the village. Koima, a girl of

*621 156 152 593 Most of the displays of ferocity have to do with cruelties inflicted on women, particularly wives, as this is both a safe and a legitimate way of displaying aggressiveness.

*628 • 721 562 One of the corollaries of this ideology is to take advantage of weak neighbors, for in so doing one can display ferocity and gain materially (by abducting women). Villages that have many enemies are particularly good targets, for other villages can participate in the raiding against these disadvantaged villages with little fear of retaliation (see Chapter V). This attitude is also manifest in the political dealings with allies. Whenever allied villages differ markedly in size and strength, the weaker of the two is at a disadvantage, for the larger village will coerce it out of women. Since women are greatly prized, there is the constant threat that an ally will turn against its friends if the circumstances indicate that a substantial number of women can be abducted. Members of allied villages that have recently entered into alliance never really trust each other, as each fears that the other may turn on it to seize women. Whenever the men of the village go on raids, they conceal their women and children in the jungle in case a group of men from an allied village unexpectedly visit and find the poorly guarded women too much of a temptation to pass by.

*629 Political dealings between allies are such that each attempts to demonstrate to the other that it is completely sovereign and capable of defending itself. No group can afford to permit the notion among allies that it is weak and

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

promising the other to be a faithful friend, to give goods, and to provide the other with women.

Thus, canons of political behavior and the high value placed on ferocity have the effect of creating a considerable amount of tension both within and between villages. In short, Yanomamö philosophy regarding ferocity and the associated behavior reduces internal village solidarity and weakens political alliances between villages. Indirectly, it promotes village splitting and warfare.

*621 722 162 never get larger than 250 seems to lie in the fact that there is no military advantage to be gained in increasing village size beyond this point, while at the same time, further increase in size creates organizational difficulties that threaten the internal stability of the village.

*621 722 * 721 901 Size of raiding parties and tactics of warfare must be understood to appreciate why villages of 250 do not gain military advantages by increasing in size, and why village size can not drop below 40. The median size of Yąnomamö villages lies between 80 and 100 people. A village of this size can organize raiding parties ranging in size from about 20 to 30 men, as approximately one-third of the village residents are males between the ages of 14 and 50, the group from which the raiding parties are recruited. As no village leaves the women unguarded when it mounts a raid on its enemies, the size of raiding parties tends to be lower than the number of *621 162 eligible men able to raid.[1] Table 4 gives the population break-down of five Yąnomamö villages by age and sex. The males between the ages of 14 and 50 comprise 32.5% of the *621 701 721 population (19.6 plus 12.9). Thus, a raiding party comprised exclusively of men from a single village having a total population of 100 will not excede 33 men; but, the raiding party would include a large number of youths who have no raiding experience, and older men who are not able to move rapidly. These men constitute more of a handicap than an asset to the

[1]See Plate 2. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 136]

Table 4: Age and Sex Distribution of the Yanomamö Population.[1]

*62
162

Frequency Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	55	48	103	68	14	288
Females	36	42	77	60	23	238
Totals:	91	90	190	128	37	526
Percentage Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	10.5	9.1	19.6	12.9	2.7	54.8
Females	6.8	8.0	14.6	11.4	4.4	45.2
Totals:	17.3	17.1	34.2	24.3	7.1	100.0

[114]
[128]

[1]Based on residents of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, Patanowä-tedi, Mömariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi. I was not able to get age estimates on a number of individuals in Reyaboböwei-tedi and Patanowä-tedi, accounting for the difference in total population given in Table 5, Chapter IV. The sex ratio for the above population is 1.22, and male excess is 9.5%, compared to 1.19 and 8.35% in Table 5.

*62
70
72
[122]

effectiveness of the raiding party. As someone must stay home to guard the women, the guards usually come from the too young and too old. Usually, however, one or two '<u>waitedi</u>' (fierce ones), men who have a great deal of experience in warfare and who would bravely defend the village, also remain behind. Thus, a village of 100 people could, at best,

70 72 [62] organize a raiding party of approximately 20 to 25 men.[1]

The smallest raiding party I saw during my field work comprised 10 men. This seems to be the lower limit to the size of an effective raiding party; most raiding parties are of the order of 35-40 men, although I have seen as many as 60 men leave on a raid.[2] There are several reasons why raiding parties require ten or more men. First, the Yanomamö 701 703 721 are not brave warriors; in a party of 10 men, a significant fraction of them would rather remain in the village where it is safer, and these men always look for excuses to drop out of the raiding party before the party meets and joins the enemy. The usual excuses given are sickness or sore feet. Thus, even in small raiding parties there is considerable dissent among the men, particularly the younger ones. Such problems would be insurmountable if the party contained fewer than ten men, as even the most determined of the raiders would lose his enthusiasm by listening to the complaints and pessimistic comments of the more reluctant members of the 70 703 721 raiding party. I accompanied one Monou-tedi raiding party a portion of the way to their objective; most of the younger 123 men in the raiding party complained of having dysentery, 114 malaria, or sore feet. I had promised to give them malaria

---

[1] This presumes that there are no sick or injured men in the village; there are always some.

[2] The larger raiding parties are always composite, [628] involving the members of two or more villages.

701 pills before the raiding party left, but I forgot them.
703
721 This almost ended the raiding party, as the younger men
123 jumped on this as an excuse to stay home. The older men,
114 however, forced them into line and severly chastized them for being cowardly.

701 Raiding tactics also require that approximately ten
721 men be included in the raiding party. The raiding party
725 usually splits into two or more groups when it approaches the village of the enemy. This increases the probability that the raid will be successful; two groups are more likely to confront individuals of the enemy village while at the same time splitting up reduces the possibility that the raiders will be accidentally discovered by the enemy. After the raiders shoot one or more of the enemy, they retreat in a standardized pattern. Groups of two men retreat a specified distance, their retreat being covered by two men who lie in ambush along the trail most likely to be taken by pursuers. The guarding pair then retreats, being covered by the first pair who lie in ambush. If the raiding party has separated into two groups, retreat tactics will necessitate at least 8 men.

721 The purpose of a raid is to kill one or more of the
727 enemy and retreat before being discovered. A raid is successful only if one or more of the enemy is killed and none of the raiders is wounded or killed. When a joint raiding party from Mahekodo-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi raided Riakowë's village in the early '50s to revenge the deaths of two

721 721 Mahekodo-tedi men and the victims of the 1950-51 treacherous feast, they succeeded in destroying Riakowë's village and garden, recapturing two of the women abducted by the Shamatari, killing three men, and abducting Riakowë's son.[1] They did not consider the raid a success because the Shamatari succeeded in killing one of the raiders. Again, in 1965 a joint raiding party comprised of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi men raided the Patanowë-tedi, killing one man. One of the Monou-tedi, Konoreiwë, was badly wounded by the Patanowë-tedi and almost died. The raid was only partially successful according to the raiders.

701 725 721 *[628] The tactic of ambush and retreat does not require the participation of large numbers of men. Raiding parties of 60 men, therefore, are somewhat less effective than raiding parties of 25-30 men, because raiding parties of this size usually involve the cooperation of two or more villages. 701 *628 721 Then, the organization of such large numbers of men is a problem, as each village will have its own leader, and therefore the contingency of raiders provided by allied villages in a joint raid has its own leadership. Thus, joint raids are invariably less effective because of the numbers of men involved and the difficulty of organizing them properly. The contingency of allies in a joint raiding party is less enthusiastic about the raid than the group from the aggrieved village, and if the enemy is not to be found at the site being

[115]

[1] Both Barker and my informants gave me an account of this raid. The two versions were identical.

raided, the allies usually insist on returning home rather than pursue the enemy further. In 1965 a joint raid involving men from Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi, and Reyabobǫwei-tedi failed to locate the Patanowǟ-tedi at their village. The two Shamatari groups refused to go further in pursuit of the Patanowǟ-tedi, and the entire raiding party returned home, against the wishes of the Monou-tedi, whose dead headman was being avenged by this raid. Occasionally, however, the raiders are all enthusiastic about the raid and the possibility exists that an enraged raiding party may attempt to drive the enemy from the village. This partially accounts for the fact that warfare promotes the re-combination of smaller villages into larger, more defensible ones. If a raiding party of 60 men descended on the inhabitants of a village, the village could defend itself adequately only if there were approximately an equal number of adult men in the village. This would require that the village be at least as large as 180 people. Another factor, however, accounts for the fact that some villages have large populations. When a group has several enemies, it can raid them more effectively if it is able to send out raiding parties recruited from different factions within the village. The same raiders cannot return all the raids mounted against them and carry on the business of making a living as well. Again, larger numbers of men are required to defend the village while some of the men are away on raids, as the probability is higher that the village will be raided in the interim if the village has several enemies.

000 has several enemies.

*621 I pointed out that Lower Bisaasi-tedi was not a
*628 militarily viable village, although its total population
701 falls within the range of such villages. An examination of
• 721 the village composition given in Appendix A will show that
722 there are only 12 men between the ages of 14 and 50, and not
[162] all of these would be effective in a raiding party. Some of these men would have to remain home to guard the women, reducing the capability of the village to mount raids against enemies even more, as the size of the raiding party would have to be smaller than ten men. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-tedi depends on assistance from its allies in their warfare and could not survive as an independent village. Should their enemies (the Patanowã-tedi) begin raiding them frequently, they would have to reunite with their agnates, the Upper Bisaasi-tedi. As a matter of fact, they did exactly this whenever raids from the Patanowã-tedi threatened them. The
[162] Monou-tedi have 21 males between the ages of 14 and 50, but two of these are cripples. Nevertheless, they are much more capable of maintaining a separate existence than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, despite the fact that the difference in size of the two villages is not great. The significant fact is that they have a larger number of men capable of conducting
*621 raids. However, their size has not permitted them to ef-
*628 fectively withstand the raids mounted against them by the
782 Patanowã-tedi, and the Monou-tedi were forced to move to a new
[36] site by the raids stemming from their enemies. Without the

[Namowei-tedi Group]

descent back to Shamatari ancestors. Shihowë-tedi and its splinter village, Mokayëaba-tedi, were two Shamatari allies of the Namowei-tedi in this period of the latter's history.

The Namowei-tedi got into a war with a cluster of villages allied to Obotawë-tedi over a woman from the latter village. The woman joined the Namowei-tedi against the wishes of her own people. This led to a club fight between the two groups and, later, to a shooting war. Obotawë-tedi recruited aid from their allies, the Bokçoiwë-Urihi-tedi, Boreta-tedi, and Aramata-tedi while the Namowei-tedi were supported by the two Shamatari villages mentioned above. A number of men from each of the two groups were killed in the raiding that developed and several Namowei-tedi women were abducted. Obotawë-tedi and their allies forced Namowei-tedi to abandon their garden and take refuge with the Wareta-tedi, a group that had just abandoned the area (ca. 1890-1900) occupied by the Namowei-tedi because of a war with the Boreta-tedi. As the Namowei-tedi had not had time to make a new garden when the raiding became intense enough to force them to move, they moved into the village of Wareta-tedi and lived off the produce of the latter's garden.

Area 2: Wareta-tedi

The residents of Wareta-tedi had their own war with Shihowë-tedi when they were joined by the Namowei-tedi, but were on friendly terms with Husirawë-urihi-tedi, a village to their north. The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë,

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 Several marriage alliances were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one
+628 726 of the Shamatari villages (Konabuma-tedi) when the war with
583 Sibarariwë's group started, but these eventually broke down before any women were actually exchanged.

174 The second important event was the secession of a
+621 section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the
+628 development of hostilities between these cognate villages.

174 The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the ini-
361 tiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi
+628 sections (Patanowë-tedi) and villages to its north; this
996 war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and has dictated the movements of the Patanowë-tedi from the time it began until now.

174 In order, the particulars of these three events are,
+628 briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with
781 the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a
+721 number of years after they moved to Patanowë-tëka. However,
[175] several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria) about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called Ruwahiwë, Sibarariwë's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Mamikininiwë, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered Ruwahiwë with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

Shortly after Ruwahiwë was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded

[Namowei-tedi Group]

only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service. The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Hakurama, and Hikarima) and the Patanowɨ-tedi (Iahinarima, Rubrobemi, Rokuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in Patanowɨ-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

(2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions, each making a new garden further up the Shanishani-u River and abandoned Patanowɨ-tɨka. The move was stimulated by the frequency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were always fighting with each other," said one of my informants, "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at Patanowɨ-tɨka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller (Brararabɔwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fearing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

[Namowei-tedi Group]

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tëka to Kreibŏwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawë and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowë-tëka, and became known as the Patanowë-tedi.

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawë-tedi and Kashorawë-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawë, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowë-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowë-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawë-tedi visited Patanowë-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowë-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawë-tedi. Hasabŏwë-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowë-tedi and Yabitawë-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's village and entered into feasting relationships with his followers.

Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's village. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother, Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tĕka.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

men for the Kreibŏwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari, and a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi managed to escape. These fled to a mountain called Wadubadidiobakĕkŏ where they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-tĕka. Here, the Kreibŏwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreibŏwei-tĕka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly after the treacherous feast the Kreibŏwei-tedi were visited by Shinanokawĕ, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the Kreibŏwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreibŏwei-tedi undertook a revenge raid against Riakowĕ's group. They killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collecting their women and children at Kreibŏwei-tĕka as they proceeded from Riakowĕ's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was early in 1951.

For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreibŏwei-tedi worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before Kobou-tĕka was producing, however, the Kreibŏwei-tedi decided

to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There had been a number of club fights between the two factions over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started (Monou-tëka and Barawë-tëka) before the Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other considerations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here that considerable fighting took place among the men when the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to the survivors.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as they could. It was rumored that their protectors were planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women. This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed the Kreibŏwei-tedi several years later of the details of the plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariwë-tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that the Kreibŏwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the two men killed by the Kreibŏwei-tedi after the treacherous feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 1: Aramamisi-kähkö

Matakuwë's group settled here after abandoning their site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawë's group. The village at Aramamisi-kähkö, according to my informants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Teisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, Aramamisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, Möwëraoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawë-tedi, Kohoroshi-tedi, Möxmariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

A large segment of the population broke away from the main group and moved to the Rahuawë-u River, splitting into two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from the Aramamisi-kähkö population developed out of a feud over a woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Teisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from the original faction that separated from Matakuwë's group. The first three of these groups presently live in the Shukushöna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

[1] There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

000 rarily abandoning Konabuma.

174 Matakuwë's group had three factions. Oroshowë, a
175 man belonging to Matakuwë's faction, took a woman away from
*621 her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an
578 internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and
361 Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village of his own on the Shukumöna-u River. This split took place
174 about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwë's vil-
175 lage to avenge the death of Biawawë, the man killed in the
*621 feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was un-
• 722 able to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's
174 group to found their own villages: Warabawë-tedi, led by
175 Hewariwë, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwë. These last two
*621 villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time,
361 as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded
[822] foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Mis-
[699] sionaries on the Cauabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group
361 lived on the Shukumöna-u River, as men from Reyaboböwei-tedi
[574] danced there that year. When the Reyaboböwei-tedi left
*[828] Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with
[722] them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174 In about 1935 Matakuwë and his group moved to Kayurewë
361 to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.
722

---

*[828] [1]Warabawë-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabëyoma.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 4: Kayurewë

194
195
*628
726
861

The Armandai-tedi continued to raid Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. Matakuwë's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwë, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowë-tëka. Ruwahiwë was Matakuwë's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, Matakuwë moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174
*621
361
(622)
(101)

About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by Matakuwë's group, the group split into two villages. One of them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwë's son, Sibarariwë. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumöna-u River and took the name Paruritawë-tedi, led by

(578)
(721)

Weiamamowë. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

174
36
*628
722
195

Sibarariwë's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the Paruritawë-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Armandai-tedi and the Paruritawë-tedi themselves forced Sibarariwë's group to abandon Konabuma

[Paruritawɨ-tedi Group]

against the Paruritawɨ-tedi, and the latter abandoned their site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawɨ-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Mɔ̈maribɔ̈wei and Reyabobɔ̈wei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyabobɔ̈wei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwɨ's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965 the Reyabobɔ̈wei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwɨ's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwɨ's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawɨ-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwɨ's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1965

The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowɨ-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowɨ-tedi to venture away from the village.

The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives they claimed, was that the Patanowë-tedi had to move frequently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the Patanowë-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense. It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consanguineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

The war between Monou-tedi and Patanowë-tedi

After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of Patanowë in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi began visiting Patanowë-tedi, and one of them, Torokoiwë, was given two wives by the Patanowë-tedi. The rapprochement, however, was never effected and the political relationships between

726 728 *628 827 914 over the loss of the five women, and Yąnomamö canons of ferocity dictated that this loss would have to be avenged. The Monou-tedi informed the Patanowä-tedi that they were going to shoot them on sight the next time they met.

After the Patanowä-tedi returned to Bisaasi-tedi they packed their possessions and left for home. The feast was cancelled, as the Patanowä-tedi feared being ambushed by a Monou-tedi raiding party if they remained at Bisaasi-tedi. Before departing, the Patanowä-tedi assured their hosts that they still wanted peace with them, no matter what the Monou-tedi eventually did.

*628 721 723 This illustrates dramatically the Yąnomamö political philosophy that it is legitimate to take advantage of a weak village. The Monou-tedi, knowing that the Patanowä-tedi were politically in need of allies, took advantage of this situation when they abducted the women. They also knew that the Bisaasi-tedi would not take Patanowä-tedi's side in the dispute that was bound to follow, as too many of the Bisaasi-tedi had personal grudges against the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi also knew that the Patanowä-tedi were not likely to begin a war over this incident, as they already had more enemies than they could successfully withstand without allies. In short, the Monou-tedi knew that they stood a good chance of gaining women by abducting them from the Patanowä-tedi without great risk of being shot by the latter. As the conclusion shows, they managed to obtain two women and did not get into a *628 721 shooting war with the Patanowä-tedi. However, their anger at

628 721 the Patanowë-tedi for managing to overwhelm their own force led them to declare war on the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi 782 241 786 immediately began making a new garden at Moyenaböwei, across the Mavaca River from their village and several hours inland, anticipating the war that they knew would follow. After they had cleared the large trees from their new garden site, they raided the Patanowë-tedi in the last week of January 1965, and succeeded in killing Bosibrei.

727 581 582 593 628 Another important event took place while the Monou-tedi were clearing the trees from their new garden site, an event that illustrates the same principle of political philosophy. One of the stolen women, Kakoma, was given to a young man, Karidimö, who had only one leg. Karidimö could not do heavy work, and when his village moved inland to clear their new site Karidimö moved to Bisaasi-tedi with his new wife. Kakoma, however, was not pleased with her new husband, and asked the Bisaasi-tedi if she could stay with them, hoping that she would be permitted to rejoin the Patanowë-tedi if they returned to Bisaasi-tedi to visit. The Bisaasi-tedi men obligingly took her away from Karidimö by force and gave her to a bachelor in their own village. Karidimö, enraged at this, returned to Monou-tedi to recruit aid.

628 721 578 This put the Monou-tedi in a difficult position. They were planning to raid the Patanowë-tedi and would have to maintain good relations with the Bisaasi-tedi if the revenge raids from the Patanowë-tedi became intense. They could not, however, overlook the insult to Karidimö, for this

*628 would have been a display of weakness. They decided to
721 challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a club fight and settle their
578 grievances by that means. Ten days after Kakoma was taken from Karidimõ, the Monou-tedi men arrived at Bisaasi-tedi and settled the dispute in a club fight. The Monou-tedi were thoroughly trounced by the larger number of Bisaasi-tedi, but they nevertheless demonstrated their potential and willingness to fight, thereby warning the Bisaasi-tedi that they better not attempt to seize more women in the future.

The Bisaasi-tedi clearly had taken advantage of the Monou-tedi numerical weakness and political needs to advance their own ends.

726 In the first week of March 1965 the Patanowã-tedi raided the Monou-tedi. They found the village site on the Mavaca River deserted, so they crossed the river and followed the trail taken by the Monou-tedi to their new garden. They [822] caught the Monou-tedi headman outside the new garden and killed him.

*628 This attack brought about an immediate rapprochement
728 between the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi. Even Kaobãwã, leader of one of Bisaasi-tedi's main factions, was furious over this killing. Up to this point he was still interested in making peace with the Patanowã-tedi, but this even tempo-
726 rarily changed his mind. Kaobãwã ultimately led the revenge raid against the Patanowã-tedi.

[764] The Monou-tedi burned the corpse of the slain headman and sent small gourds of his ground bones to members of allied

105
36
[128]

Summary

Tables 5 and 6 broadly summarize the movements of the five villages. As the details of the text indicate, considerably more village movement goes on than can be included in tables of this sort. The micro-movements, however, merely express in greater detail what is immediately apparent from an examination of Tables 5 and 6: the Yanomamö abandon their gardens and move to new locations because of raids from other groups. In only one instance was the movement of a village stimulated by economic considerations: site 4 was abandoned by the Namowei-tedi because of poor soil. Another exception was the abandoning of Barawä (site 10) by the Bisaasi-tedi in 1959. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River to gain access to steel tools, marking the beginning of their sustained contact with foreigners.

[722]
[134]
[412]
[177]

105
*621
578
*628
721

The tables also show that there were ten village splits relevant to explaining the origins of the five villages considered in this chapter. Five of these splits were due to feuds over women. In four of the cases the factions that were involved immediately entered into hostilities with each other. The recent split within Patanowä-tedi, discussed in the text (pp. 188-89), again over a woman, is not included in Table 5, as the refugee group did not form a new village of their own. Three village splits in Tables 5 and 6 developed out of minor feuds, usually over women, brought about by large village size. In one case, the factions ultimately entered into hostilities with each other, whereas in two cases the factions still remain on friendly terms.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

128 In the body of this dissertation I have attempted to demonstrate that two variables in particular exert an overriding effect on Yąnomamö social structure. These are, respectivley, the shortage of women and the intensity of actual warfare. In this final chapter, I should like to accomplish two ends. First, I should like to set my conclusions against different material recently gathered among the Yąnomamö in northern Brazil.[1] Second, I should like to bring my material to bear on the discussion between Leach (1957) and Fortes (1959a, 1959b) regarding the relationship of kinship, marriage ties, descent and politics.

121 • 181 182 183 Let us turn first to comparative Yąnomamö ethnology. If it is true, as I have argued, that warfare enhances the

[1]After I had completed the text of the thesis I had an opportunity to discuss with Ernesto Migliazza the social organization of a number of Brazilian Yąnomamö groups. [114] Migliazza, a linguist, spent nearly six years among the Uraricaá Yąnomamö, working for a Baptist Mission and, more recently, for the Goeldi Museum in Belém. I thank him for permission to use much of the comparative material presented below; some of it has already been published in his 1964 work. I introduce this new data because it very effectively demonstrates the interrelationships between the variables discussed in the thesis. I would have arrived at the same conclusions, by employing arguments similar to those used by Meggitt (1965), but the contrast provided by this new material makes the conclusions more defensible.

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1]Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

184 occupying five different sites, each having its own house
361 and garden. These five groups recombined into a single
62 unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the south-
[72] west of the Uraricaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima
River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated.
On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized
site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when
184 raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than
72 on the Uraricaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of
[131] Yanomamö from those whose social organization is described in
[183] this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of
warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Cor-
[361] responding to this increase in intensity is a change in type
of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of
the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically
or not at all to the northeast.

184 There is likewise an apparent cline in population
361 density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity.
131 Yanomamö villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and
72 more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the
161 Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction
in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However,
[177] another factor complicates the picture: the Yanomamö have more
contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the
northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they
184 live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that
048 the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also
72

contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

11. Didihoma. See #28, Wanasinawë, below.

12. Dimõrama. This girl was abducted from a distant Shamatari village (Koboroshi-tedi, probably in Brazil, on the Upper Cauaburi River) by the Reyabobõwei-tedi and Mõmaribõwei-tedi. Her husband--the man to whom she was given after being abducted--shot her in the stomach with a barbed arrow, wounding her grievously (see Shiborowë, below). The man was forced to flee from the village and take refuge in Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as other men in the village planned to use this incident as an excuse to take his wives from him. In late 1965 a party of men from Lower Bisaasi-tedi, including Shiborowë, set off for Mõmaribõwei-tedi to 'visit.' I accompanied them on their invitation. They were going to Mõmaribõwei-tedi to take Dimõrama away from her protectors by force, if necessary, and asked me to come along knowing that I always travelled with a gun, presuming that my presence, with a gun, would aid in their objective. The girl was very nearly dead when we arrived (four months had passed since she was shot, and the wound was badly inflected). As the Bisaasi-tedi were one of the only allies of the Mõmaribõwei-tedi, they gave up the girl without much argument, since she would have died anyway. (The New Tribes Missionaries took the girl to the Territorial Capital by canoe for surgery in January 1966. She recovered from the wound and is presently living in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.)

21. Kakoma. This is one of the seven women abducted from the Patanowë-tedi in late 1964 by the Monou-tedi. She was taken from her Monou-tedi husband by force by the Lower Bisaasi-tedi and given to Kõobauwë, one of the village bachelors.

23. Katabema. See Shiborowë, below.

000 26. Mamorakomi. See Shiborowë, below.

159 593 596 589 *628 28. Manasinawë. This man is originally from Hasaböwë-tedi, but he moved to Bisaasi-tedi around 1940-45, along with a brother, a wife, and a daughter. His wife deserted him in Bisaasi-tedi, fleeing to Shibariwë-tedi. After the treacherous feast of 1950-51, in which Manasinawë's brother was killed, he was given Hikarima, one of the widows of that incident. He had one daughter by this woman (Didihoma, above); she is promised to Bokoeiwë. His other daughter, by his first wife, is married to Kpobiwë, headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Manasinawë's father was killed by Husiwë of Patanowë-tedi, so he joined the Bisaasi-tedi to take revenge on the Patanowë-tedi, as the two villages were at war then.

• [921]

159 593 *621 *628 39. Shiborowë. He fled from his native village, Mönariböwei-tedi, to avoid a fight and the possible loss of his wives. He shot one of his wives in a fit of rage (Dimörama, above), and his rivals took the girl away from him. To avoid a fight in which he had no supporters, he fled to Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as he had given one of his daughters (Monomi) to a man in that village. He brought his second wife (Mamorakomi) and his three juvenile children with him (Tiaböwë, Yareama, and Katabema). The Lower Bisaasi-tedi welcomed him, as he had two daughters to claim as wives; they assisted him in recovering his second wife.

000 40. Tiaböwë. See Shiborowë, above.

50. Yareama. See Shiborowë, above.

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

101 131 161 162 361 101 179 THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. *iv*). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

• 721 903 181 But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

114 122 123 I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and _____ way of life.

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark (ą). When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phoneme [ə] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ë] vowel are pronounced as that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąbëwë would be pronounced "cow-buh-wuh," again nasalized.

[194]

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

Fig. 1-1. Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast.

way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1-1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

11: Chagnon 8-6 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ13 Yanoama SQ13

721 • 181 129 114

The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnomamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1–2).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere is unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1-2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnomamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their hosts' village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.

392 301 411 535 623* 578 291

*621 *623 Village size is an important factor in determining the degree to which a Yąnomamö group must depend on its neighbors for military support in the face of raids. Small villages must make alliances to survive. Village size, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, ranges *621 from 40 to 250 inhabitants. Approximately one-third of the village consists of males who 701 are able to participate in the raiding, that is, men who are between 17 and 40 years old. 742 The tactics of warfare are such that a village must be able to field a raiding party of approximately 10 men in order to be able to raid effectively. In addition, when the raiders are away, there must always be a few men at home to protect the women and children. Thus, the military requirements alone seem to demand that a village have at least 15 able-bodied men. As these represent about a third of the group, the minimum village size required by the raiding techniques is 40 to 50 people. I have never seen a village fall below this size in an area where raiding is active, and virtually every village split I investigated took place only when each of the resulting groups contained 40 or more people.

*621 The upper limit to village size is also determined in large measure by the intensity * 721 of warfare. The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has over 200 people. It was being .724 raided actively by about a dozen different groups while I conducted my fieldwork, groups that raided it about twenty-five times in a period of fifteen months. The Patanowä-teri at one time had split into three groups of about equal size, but raids from their enemies forced them to reunite for common defense. In general, a village will fission after it [978] reaches a population of about 150 because internal feuds and fights are so frequent that peace can only be maintained with great difficulty. A village of 100 individuals, for example, can fission to produce two militarily viable groups of about 50 people each. Only the threat of raids from powerful neighbors will, as in the case of the Patanowä-teri, inhibit the fissioning, and frequently the fission groups will reunite in a single village to fend off the raids of their enemies.

* [608] But a small group of 40 to 50 people is not as viable as a group twice that size. Consequently, it enters into alliances with its neighbors.

*621 FISSION AND SETTLEMENT There is a tendency for the group to attempt to 582 maximize its size after it becomes an independent entity. This is done by trying to keep 666 all marriages within the group so that there is very little migration of young men and women to other villages after marriage. A small group also welcomes the addition of families from other villages, families that have gotten into fights in their own group and who prefer to leave rather than attempt to patch up their grievances with their kinsmen. Finally, the group tries to attract young men and women from other villages, encouraging them to settle permanently in the group. Rerebawä, for example, is under considerable pressure to remain permanently in Kąobawä's group.

*621 As the village grows in size and varies in composition, it becomes increasingly 578 difficult to keep order and peace. Extramarital sexual liaisons are more frequent in larger 837 villages, because the probability is lower that the affairs will be discovered. When the Monou-teri rejoined Kąobawä's group to avoid the raids of their enemies, a bloody club fight developed between two men of that village over an affair one of them had with the other's wife. The culprit waited until the group joined Kąobawä's village before approaching the woman, thinking that with so many people in one village he would not be caught.

By the time a village approaches 100 to 150 people, such fights over women are

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

so frequent that the group elects to fission rather than attempt to keep an uneasy internal peace. Although a larger village has an advantage in terms of its capacity to raid other groups and is better able to defend itself from raids, the internal fights often lead to killings within the group. Then, there is no alternative but for one of the factions to leave. Its members may anticipate a situation like this and begin making a new garden long before the fighting becomes violent enough to lead to deaths, or a fight can develop unexpectedly and result immediately in bloodshed. The guilty faction must then seek refuge in the village of an ally until it can establish its own garden. Usually, however, the larger group fissions while its members are on relatively peaceable terms, and the two resulting villages remain in the same general area so that they can reunite when raids threaten them. This is the situation that prevails between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri; all three have a common history as a single village, but the members of each live in separate villages because of the numerous fights that took place within the group while they were still a single village. They continue, however, to rely on each other for protection when raids threaten. The Monou-teri (see Fig. 2-8), in fact, spent about a third of their time in either Lower Bisaasi-teri or in Kaobawä's group while I conducted my fieldwork. They were being raided by the Patanowä-teri and had not completed the new garden they were making. The Patanowä-teri forced them to abandon their producing site and move west.

The Patanowä-teri themselves were forced to establish a new garden because of the incessant raids by a number of villages. In addition to keeping always on the move between their two gardens, they also sought periodic refuge in the village of one of their own allies, a village two days travel to the south of their primary garden.

The raids against the Patanowä-teri by about a dozen villages illustrate a cardinal strategy of Yanomamö warfare: attack a group when it is beleaguered and weakened by other enemies. When I first arrived, the Patanowä-teri were fighting only three groups. The Monou-teri then entered into the conflict by abducting a number of women from them, an act that ultimately led to raiding and killing. When the Monou-teri entered the conflict, they also persuaded their own allies to participate, bringing four other villages into the war. These, in turn, were joined by some of their allies so that the total number of belligerent villages rapidly grew to about a dozen. Many of them joined the hostilities because they knew that the Patanowä-teri could not defend themselves against a host of enemies. The new belligerents, therefore, stood a good chance of abducting women while being relatively immune to punitive raids. They could also discharge obligations to their allies by supporting their raids against the Patanowä-teri without exposing themselves to great danger.

In Fig. 2-8 the movements of Kaobawä's village over the past seventy-five years is summarized. The village originated at the site of Konata, occupied prior to 1900 by Kaobawä's grandfather. This site was abandoned because several villages (not indicated on the map) began raiding the people with such frequency that they were forced to flee south, cross the Orinoco River, and take refuge with allies at a place called Wareta. Similarly, Wareta was abandoned because of new wars, so the group again crossed the Orinoco River and settled at Namowei. Here, their old enemies again drove them out of the area, so the group migrated to Hahoyaoba. Kaobawä was born at this location, some forty years ago. This site was abandoned because the soil in that area was very poor; even to this day, there are no Yanomamö villages located in that general area.

361 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime
578 around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village
[101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at that site. Kaobawä's group fled to Shihota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a
361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take
726 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had
• 721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they
• 608 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab-
[241] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kaobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954,
• 621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they
[721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of
[722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kaobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again,
[101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kaobawä
[648] and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to establish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an
[101] upstream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2–8, have a settlement
• 621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being
578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away
722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more
184 complicated than the history of Kaobawä's group, since village fissioning began much earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2–8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above two groups of villages.

361 Kaobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Momariböwei-teri and Reya-
[134] boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2–8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The
[648] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neigh-
[722] bors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9]
[578] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yanomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawä, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisaasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yąnomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kąobawä's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kąobawä's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2–8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowä-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowä-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowä-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwä, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowä-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowä-teri fissioned into two groups: they relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

14

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December–January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yanomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowä's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawä's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawä and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąobawä's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąobawä's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawä's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawä's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąobawä's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawä and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawä's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąobawä and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16] James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawä and his group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Kąobawä's group. All their other neighbors, allied to the victims of the treacherous feast, relentlessly raided them. They were, in short, extremely dependent on Kąobawä's group and the two other villages related to Kąobawä's group.

Kąobawä and his followers have astutely finessed this situation in two ways. First, they have managed to coerce the two Shamatari villages into ceding women without reciprocating an equal number of their own in return. The men who have obtained Shamatari wives have, as well, managed to cut short their period of bride service in the Shamatari village. Conversely, Shamatari men who have been promised women of Kąobawä's group are pressed into very lengthy bride service, sometimes up to three years. Secondly, Kąobawä's group has prevented the two Shamatari allies from re-establishing friendly contacts with the other Shamatari to their southeast by chicane, threat, and intimidation. One of the two Shamatari allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri, has attempted a rapprochement with the Shamatari enemies of Kąobawä's group. In 1965, several months after I had been living in Kąobawä's village, Kąobawä's group managed to stage another treacherous feast for the old enemies by taking advantage of the renewed ties between the Reyaboböwei-teri and the enemies. They learned that the Reyaboböwei-teri planned to invite one of the villages to a feast, so they, along with the Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri, went to the feast in order to ambush the guests. The Reyaboböwei-teri, however, were reluctant to go through with the plan and warned the visitors about it. The visitors were en route to the village when word of the treachery reached them. This had the effect of creating even more difficulties for the Reyaboböwei-teri, for it is highly unlikely that they will succeed in gaining the confidence of their neighbors to the southeast. Nevertheless, some visiting between the groups still continues.[17]

The historical relationships between the villages helps account for the reasons behind contemporary alliance patterns. The discrepancy between marriage rules and actual marriage practice in Lower Bisaasi-teri is a result of the political advantages that group enjoys over one of its allies. It has used this advantage to gain a favorable imbalanced marriage exchange pattern, but one that is only temporary. The Shamatari are also shrewd in their alliance practices, and have succeeded in neutralizing their disadvantages by capitalizing on schisms between Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. This has been done largely by confining their marriage exchanges to important men in the dominant lineages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri. One of the Shamatari villages, Mǫ̈maribowei-teri, has restricted its exchanges to Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri, while completely ignoring Upper Bisaasi-teri. The other Shamatari village has given its women only to Upper Bisaasi-teri. This has resulted in the weakening of ties between the three villages of Upper Bisaasi-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Monou-teri, whose members are

[17] I plan to use these visiting ties to establish contact with the Shamatari villages in that area, none of which have had contact with outsiders. These uncontacted Shamatari, however, know who I am because I attempted to reach them in 1965. They subsequently sent a message out urging me to visit them, angry because my guides forced me to turn back on my first attempt. In 1966 they even sent an old man to Kąobawä's village by way of Reyaboböwei-teri with an invitation for me to visit them. I had already left Venezuela by that time. Most of the men in the two contacted Shamatari villages tried to prevent me from going by telling horrible tales of the treachery that awaited my visit, describing how the Shamatari will kill me. The truth of the matter is that they know that I will bring the uncontacted Shamatari machetes and axes that might otherwise be given to them. The headman of one of the uncontacted villages has a brother in Mǫmariböwei-teri. He privately conceded that no harm would befall me and offered to take me to visit in 1967. He was, unfortunately, bitten by a snake just before I arrived in March of 1967, and my plans were deferred until 1968.

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kąobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

211 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ19

Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by caustically accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

562 721 • [855]

CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kaobewã, for example, lets Ariwari beat him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwari is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flash of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

858 865 [593]

Fig. 3-7. Ariwari, Kaobewã's favorite son, building a make-believe house while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.

142 302 857 137

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharaiwä, Kąobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kąobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kąobawä's younger wife. Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kąobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yąnomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *bashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kąobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with Kąobawä the possibility of peace between their two villages. They were brothers-in-law to him and were fairly certain that he would protect them from the village hotheads. One of the ambitious men in Kąobawä's group saw in this an opportunity to enhance his prestige and made plans to murder the three visitors. This man, Paruriwä, was a very cunning, treacherous fellow and quite jealous of Kąobawä's position as headman. He wanted to be the village leader and privately told me to address him as the headman. On this occasion Kąobawä let it be known that he intended to protect the visitors. For the better part of the day the village was in a state of suspense. Paruriwä and his followers were not to be found anywhere; a rumor spread that they had painted themselves black and were well armed. Kąobawä and his supporters, mostly his own brothers and brothers-in-law, remained in the village all day, their weapons close at hand. Late in the afternoon Paruriwä and his men appeared in their black paint and took up strategic posts around the village. He himself held an axe. He strutted arrogantly up to the visitors holding his axe as if he were ready to strike. The village became very quiet, and most of the women and children left. Neither Kąobawä nor the Patanowä-teri visitors batted an eyelash when Paruriwä approached, although the others were visibly nervous and sat up in their hammocks. Instead of striking the visitors with the axe as he appeared to suggest he was going to do, he invited one of them out to chant with him. Within seconds all three of the visitors had paired off with members of Paruriwä's group and were chanting passionately with them, explaining the reasons for their visit and giving their justification for the state of hostilites.

The crisis has been averted because of Kąobawä's implied threat that he would defend the visitors with force. A number of men in Paruriwä's group were visitors from Monou-teri; their headman had been killed a few months earlier by the Patanowä-teri. When Paruriwä failed to go through with his plan, they left the village in a rage, hoping to recruit a raiding party in their own village and ambush the visitors when they left.

Kąobawä realized that the visitors would not be safe until they got back home, since the Monou-teri would attempt to intercept them. He visited me that night and asked me to take the visitors back to their village at dawn in my canoe, knowing that I had already planned a trip there for the immediate future. After I agreed to accelerate my own plans, he proceeded to give me instructions about the trip: I was not to stop at any of the villages along the Orinoco River to visit, for all of them were at war with the Patanowä-teri and would shoot my companions on sight. The Patanowä-teri men lay on the floor of my canoe and covered themselves with a tarp when we passed these villages. The people on the bank shouted curses at me for not stopping to visit and give them trade goods. At this time the Patanowä-teri were being raided by about a dozen different villages. We had to cover part of the distance to their village on foot, proceeding very cautiously because of the danger of raiders. At one point the men showed me the spot where a Hasaböwä-teri raiding party had killed a Patanowä-teri woman a week earlier. Thus, Kąobawä not only protected the visitors while they were in his village but he also arranged a "safe-conduct" for their return.

Kąobawä keeps order in the village when people get out of hand. Paruriwä, for example, is particularly cruel to his four wives and beats them mercilessly for even slight provocations. None of his wives have brothers in the village, and few people are courageous enough to interfere with Paruriwä when he is angry. On one occasion Kąobawä was holding a feast for the members of an allied village. His preparations were being

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

5

Yąnomamö Warfare

Levels of Violence

THE FEAST AND ALLIANCE can and often do fail to establish stable, amicable relationships between sovereign villages. When this happens, the groups may coexist for a period of time without any overt expressions of hostility. This, however, is an unstable situation, and no two villages that are within comfortable walking distance from each other can maintain such a relationship indefinitely: They must become allies, or hostility is likely to develop between them. Indifference leads to ignorance or suspicion, and this soon gives way to accusations of sorcery. Once the relationship is of this sort, a death in one of the villages will be attributed to the malevolent *hekura* sent by shamans in the other village, and raids will eventually take place between them.

Yąnomamö warfare proper is the raid. That is, not all of their feuding and squabbles can be considered as war, although the values associated with war—bellicosity, ferocity, and violence—undoubtedly increase the amount of all kinds of fighting.

War is only one form of violence in a graded series of aggressive activities (Chagnon 1967). Indeed, some of the other forms of fighting, such as the formal chest-pounding duel, may even be considered as the antithesis of war, for it provides an alternative to killing. Duels are formal and are regulated by stringent rules about proper ways to deliver and receive blows. Much of Yąnomamö fighting is kept innocuous by these rules so that the concerned parties do not have to resort to drastic means to resolve their grievances. The three most innocuous forms of violence, chest pounding, side slapping, and club fights, permit the contestants to express their hostilities in such a way that they can continue to remain on relatively peaceful terms with each other after the contest is settled. Thus, Yąnomamö culture calls forth aggressive behavior, but at the same time provides a regulated system in which the expressions of violence can be controlled.

The most innocuous form of fighting is the chest-pounding duel described in the last chapter. These duels usually take place between the members of different villages and are precipitated by such minor affronts as malicious gossip, accusations of cowardice, stinginess with food, or niggardliness in trading.

11: Chagnon / E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

164 302 Fig. 5–1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the [822] village, a brother of Kąobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given [684] back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

[602] The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there * [628] was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri [721] because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

578 411 Spears are not commonly used by the Yąnamanö. A rare form of fighting, however, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

411 531 The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

* 628 578 721 593 The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the headman of one of the villages north of Kąobawä's area, took her away from him by force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited aid from their allies. Kąobawä's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that took the woman away from the cruel husband.

When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yąnomamö had deceived the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.[1] Thereafter, the two groups were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered. If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebawä told me of a raid he went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebawä, the raid was not a good one because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by Torokoiwä, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwä got sick of seeing this, so he shot the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

[1]The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yąnomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yąnomamö villages, as the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yąnomamö, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women. One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomohoni*, is the ultimate form of violence. Kąobawä's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kąobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yąnomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Säsäwä, coveted my British commando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinsmen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doube my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yąnomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kąobawä's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggresive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *unitwi* (fierce one) of the group.

Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatari girl. Damowä seduced her, thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the final club fight that led to the separation of Kąobawä's group from the Monou-teri. Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kąobawä then organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kąobawä's raiders. Nobody

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

was killed in the incident. Manasinawä, his wife, and his daughter remained with Kaobawä's group, and he ultimately gave the daughter to Kaobawä for a second wife. Kaobawä still has her.

At this time, the groups, of Damowä and Kaobawä, respectively, were still at war with the Patanowä-teri, from whom they separated some fifteen years earlier. Damowä's group, after separating from Kaobawä's, attempted to make peace with the Patanowä-teri, as they were now vulnerable and could ill afford to remain on hostile terms with them. Damowä's group also made an alliance with the two Shamatari villages, which had given them cooperation when they staged the revenge treacherous feast discussed in the last chapter. For about five years relationships between Damowä's group and the Patanowä-teri were relatively amicable, but as the former's alliances with the Shamatari grew in strength, their relationship to the Patanowä-teri grew cool once again.

The Patanowä-teri then became embroiled in new wars with several villages on the Orinoco River and turned to Kaobawä's group for aid, hoping to patch up their old grievances and remain at peace. The first day I began my fieldwork marked the initiation of complete peace between Kaobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri: They were having a feast together in Bisaasi-teri. Damowä's group, the Monou-teri, were not participating in the feast, but a large number of men came anyway. They discovered a group of seven Patanowä-teri females outside the main village and could not resist the temptation: They forcefully took them back to Monou-teri. Later that day the Patanowä-teri men discovered that the women were missing, so they searched the neighborhood and found the tracks of the Monou-teri men at the site of the abduction, where signs of struggling abounded. The next morning they went to Monou-teri armed with clubs: They were bound to get their women back, but did not care to start another shooting war with the Monou-teri. They took five of the women away from the Monou-teri in a heated struggle, but had to pull back without the remaining two, unless they were willing to shoot to kill: The Monou-teri were determined to keep the other women at all costs.

The significance of this incident is this: The headman of Monou-teri realized that the Patanowä-teri would not risk getting into a shooting war with them since they already had more enemies than they could comfortably handle. Hence, this provided an excellent opportunity for the Monou-teri to abduct women with relatively little chance of getting shot in retaliation.

Damowä, the headman of Monou-teri, was angry because the Patanowä-teri had recovered so many of their women. He then threatened to ambush the Patanowä-teri when they left for home after the feast at Bisaasi-teri was over. The Patanowä-teri, in view of this, cut their stay short and left for home before the feast was over, hoping to avoid trouble with the Monou-teri.

Damowä was not satisfied, however, that he forced the Patanowä-teri to capitulate, leave for home, and not attempt to recover the two remaining women. He decided to raid them. In January of 1966 he and a party of men from Monou-teri raided the Patanowä-teri at the latter's village. They caught Bosibrei climbing a *ruiba* tree, a prickly, cultivated palm that must be climbed slowly and with the aid of a pair of moveable stick frames in order to avoid getting pierced by the needle-sharp thorns that protrude from the tree's trunk (see Fig. 2-6). Bosibrei was almost to the top of the tree when the raiders caught him—he made an excellent target silhouetted against the sky. They shot and killed him with one volley of arrows as he reached for the fruits of the palm. One of

Bisaasi-teri, for example, wanted to get rid of the Monou-teri, they would hold a feast in their honor. When the going-home food was presented to them, they had no alternative but to leave. It would have been insulting to remain after the food was presented. In between their moves they returned to their own producing site to collect plantains and carry them to their new garden. They subsisted there off the food they carried with them.

The Monou-teri soon resented being treated like pariahs by their allies and began to regain their courage. Much of this treatment was due to the fact that they failed to chase the raiders when Damowã was slain, displaying cowardice instead of ferocity. Many of the men in the Bisaasi-teri groups resented the Monou-teri for this and were not timid about displaying their disgust. The Monou-teri were a burden, as they rarely helped at expanding Bisaasi-teri's gardens and ate a good deal of the time.

The raid Kąobawã organized to revenge Damowã's death took place late in April. The Shamatari allies—Mõmaribõwei-teri and Reyabõwei-teri—were invited to participate, but they failed to send a contingency. As allies never really trust each other, the raid was delayed because some of the Bisaasi-teri suspected that their allies were waiting for the raiders to leave so that they could descend on the poorly protected women and make off with captives. Finally, a few of them did arrive and the *waya itou* (warrior line-up) got under way. Still, the Bisaasi-teri feared treachery on the part of their Shamatari friends, so the men of Lower Bisaasi-teri decided to stay home and protect the women left behind by the Monou-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri raiders. A small feast was held to entertain the visiting Shamatari allies.

On the afternoon of the feast a grass dummy was set up in the village, and the men who were to participate in the raid conducted a mock attack on the dummy, which was supposed to represent the body of a Patanowã-teri man. They painted themselves black, crept slowly around the village with bows and arrows ready, searching for the tracks of the enemy. They converged at one point, spread out, crept toward the dummy, and, at Kąobawã's signal, let fly with a volley of arrows. The Yąnomamõ are good archers. None of the arrows missed its mark, and the dummy, looking like a pincushion, toppled ominously to the ground, a dozen or more bamboo-tipped arrows protruding from it. Then the raiders screamed and ran out of the village, simulating their retreat from the enemy. They drifted back into the village, one at a time or in small groups, and retired to their hammocks to wait for darkness.

The village became unusually quiet shortly after dark. Suddenly, the stillness was pierced by an animal-like noise, half-scream and half-growl, as the first raider marched slowly out to the center of the village, clacking his arrows against his bow, growling his individualized fierce noise, usually a mimic of a carnivore: a wasp, or a buzzard. At this signal—not knowing fully what to expect and a little nervous—I crept from my own hammock and went to the center of the village with my tape recorder. The other raiders joined the first man, coming one at a time after short intervals, each clacking his arrows and growling some hideous noise. Kąobawã stood by and made sure the line was straight and faced the direction of the enemy; he would push or pull the individual warriors until they formed a perfectly straight line, joining them after the last one took his place.

The procession to the line-up took about twenty minutes, as about 50 or so men participated (see Fig. 5-2). When the last one was in line, the murmurs among the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwä probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen-even Kaobawä-implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowä. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwä's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwä failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwä and his raiders did not locate the Patanowä-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowä-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowä-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowä-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowä-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisaasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisaasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisaasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowä-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisaasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

[P.138 is blank]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,[3] so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Shararaiwã had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kaobawã was very exhausted from the trip.

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chanted briefly with Kaobawã, explaining that they had reached Patanowã-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowã-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwã of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart.

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwã with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound.

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yanomamö have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwã was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered.

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowã-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowã. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *unokaimou* ceremony.

They were given spaces in Kaobawã's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kaobawã felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowã's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwã of Kaobawã's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowã-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowã-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they

[3] The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kaobawã's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Bisasi-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Bisasi-teri would not borrow it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwä probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen-even Kąobawä-implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowï. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwï's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwä failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwä and his raiders did not locate the Patanowä-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowä-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowä-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowä-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowä-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowä-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

[P. 138 is blank]

/152/

574 628 721 [262] [411] The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti accepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 731 [499] The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food. They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 411 721 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was abandoned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

166 722 628

One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

000

722 /152 cont./ One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,
499 the Bisheasetjeti also crossed; the bridge was /153/ cut by them near the bank. Guards were placed to keep a lookout for the enemy, should he try to repair the bridge and cross it.

727 Much after this, a raid was made on Liacoatjeti by some
[721] of the Bisheasetjeti and the Majecotjeti /sic/: "Jaiyeota," one of the Majecototjeti, shot one of them and killed him. A boy of four or five years of age was captured. One of the men from Majecototjeti, "Ushiu," took the boy and cared for him. All of the children were bothering the little one, calling him enemy and acting as if they were going to shoot him. One day, after this had gone on for a while, a young man from Bisheasetjeti shot the child near the water spring. He shot the arrow so hard that it passed through him. Ushiu gave the child a funeral, but none of the other inhabitants of the aldea came to the "lloro" /weeping/, because they said, "After all, he was an enemy."

628 The two aldeas had some bad times together. Often, when
721 they were in the forest, they had to come running back, feeling
578 sick. Frequently their ribs were showing. During this time
[164] several died of a strange fever which kept the victim hot day and night without relief. Others were very sick with the fever, and it
[361] was feared that they would also die. The two aldeas of Bisheasetjeti and Majecototjeti lived together for a year, until those of Bisheasetjeti made a new "farm" /granja/ down the Orinoco, on the other side of the Manaviche River. When they separated, friction caused by some women had reached such a point that the Majecototjeti summoned the Macolimutjeti, and both of them made a raid on Bisheasetjeti to recover the wife of a Majecototjeti who had gone to live with a Bisheasetjeti. One family did not take part in this raid and by its friendly and frequent visits prevented the two aldeas from shooting at each other.

628 Another incident of friction was that a young man from
578 Majecototjeti stole a Bisheasetjeti woman from her husband.
837 When the husband had almost persuaded his wife to come back with him, the Majecototjeti man shot him in the back with a bone-pointed arrow and kept the woman. The Bisheasetjeti man was seriously wounded, but recovered.

121 have a prescriptive marriage system. What the Purum say they do and what they actually do are two distinct things.

*621 5?8 *922 As I mentioned above, after Yanomamö villages reach a certain, critical size, they tend to fragment into smaller groups. The internal tensions that promote this instability are to some extent offset by external military pressures: members of a faction within a larger village may want to establish their own independent village to avoid club-fighting and to suppress more severe forms of violence; but if their village is being raided by members of other villages, [241] it may be impossible for them to do so. Occasionally a village splits into several factions, each establishing its own garden apart from the other, but the factions are forced *621 *628 722 583 582 ?18 [802] to reunite because of raids mounted by other groups. Generally, the process of village splitting precludes a later recombination of the same factions because these remain hostile to each other. Thus, the small, vulnerable villages that result from the fragmentation of a larger village are constrained to make marriage alliances with other villages, both to insure military assistance and because it is difficult to obtain women from their kinsmen with whom they are now at war. Village size and the balance of marriage exchanges between villages indicate that numerically weak villages are *621 *628 722 583 582 438 coerced by their stronger partners to give up women. In some cases, the disposition of desirable trade goods may affect the balance in the exchange of women between two villages. In general it may be said that, when one village

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yąnomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yąnomamö social organization of this single

*621 593 .152 602 cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data, the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is [586] [598] not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to split.

181 152 *621 *602 583 582 Ideological considerations, therefore, promote friction and fighting within villages and lead to village splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek marriage alliances with other groups.

Economic practices

361 241 *722 Local groups abandon residential and horticultural sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of their enemies. For the most part, the Yąnomamö are able to predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance *621 678 241 from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop within the village and it is expected that these will

*621 escalate, the factions involved usually use the interlude
578 between a club-fight and actual killings to establish sepa-
24| rate gardens.

*621 Occasionally, however, a village suddenly becomes
*629 embroiled in a war that it has not expected, or fighting
24| within the village immediately involves shooting to kill.
36|
• 722 Then the only recourse for the group is to take refuge with an ally and subsist on the produce of the ally's garden. If the critical situation develops out of an intra-village dispute, the smaller of the contesting factions is forced to flee to another village where it has friends or relatives.

If all the members of a village are forced to take refuge in another village, they proceed to make their own garden apart from that of their hosts; then, when the garden begins to produce, the refugee group moves to that site to
[583] live. They do this because the price of protection is always
582 measurable in terms of the hosts' demanding access to the
[591] women of the guests, either as spouses for their own men or simply as temporary sexual partners.

Twice during the lifetime of my oldest Bisaasi-tedi informants their group was obliged to flee to an allied village to escape the raids of powerful neighbors, raids that resulted from the development of intensive hostilities before the group could establish a new garden of its own elsewhere. On both occasions the refugees lost a number of women to their protectors, and in neither case did they receive wives
*628 in return. Indeed, on the second occasion, the hosts planned
724
574

628 726 574 to kill all the male guests and to abduct the women, but the hosts themselves unexpectedly became involved in a war and required the aid of their guests.

628 24 722 361 Yąnomamö dependency on cultivated foods, then, promotes political alliances with other villages; the warfare pattern is such that the members of a village may have to flee from their site to avoid the raids of their enemies. If they have not had time to establish a new garden, they need the support of an ally until they are able to support themselves.

.-*-*-*-*-.

121 583 582 The variables that affect Yąnomamö marriage practices are numerous and diverse and combine with each other in complex ways. I shall show in the chapters that follow how these variables actually affect Yąnomamö marriage practices. At this juncture the point to be made is that Yąnomamö social practice in real life can not be completely isomorphic with the stated marriage preferences because the milieu within which marriages take place simply precludes such a neat fit. A functional, rather than a structural analysis seems to be demanded by the nature of the variables in question. I shall also show the degree to which we can predict actual marriage behavior, given specific information about the variables.

[724] [182] Finally, I should add that the Yąnomamö constitute a significant case for ethnological inquiry: this society offers

161 and as many as 250, but the lower extreme is uncommon because
162 of military vulnerability and the upper extreme occurs only
*621 when particularly intense warfare retards village splitting or leads to the coalition of several related villages.

361 Villages that are on peaceful terms may be found
*628 living within a few miles of each other, whereas mutually
922 hostile villages rarely are located less than a day's march apart; even then, one of the villages may move to reduce the possibility of raiding.

361 The village itself is circular or oval in plan, is generally surrounded by a palisade of upright logs and, depending on the number of people living in the village, has a diameter ranging from 15 to 70 yards.

361 The village is hardly more than a continuous, circular
342 lean-to roof, open at the center. The roof starts at ground level (occasionally one or two feet above ground level), rises at an angle of 30° to 40°, reaching a maximum height of about 25 feet. The un-partitioned segments of the continuous roof are built by the families who occupy them, brothers and their dependents living next to each other. The materials used in construction are long, slender poles, vines to secure the pole frame and a thatch made from leaves.

351 There are usually several entrances to the village, each located at a point marking the boundary of one segment of the roof with another, and are merely un-thatched sections of the otherwise continuous roof. Most of the entrances are only 3 feet high, although there usually is at least one

241 sweet-potatoes, bitter and sweet yucca (manioc), and two varieties of another root crop known in Venezuela as mapuey. Next in importance is the seasonal crop of peach palm fruits (pijiguao), groves of which are cultivated by the Yąnomamö. [222] Contrary to some accounts, the Yąnomamö never collect this crop from wild trees, although they do return to abandoned gardens to collect the fruit. Other economically significant crops include maize, sugar cane, papaya, pineapples, avocados, peppers and gourds. Also grown are cotton, tobacco, arrow cane, drugs, pigment (bixa), and a large assortment of plants used for magical purposes only. Both their feasting practices [433] [527] and their warfare pattern[1] stimulate the Yąnomamö to grow more [722] than they require for subsistence purposes alone.

241 361 Occasionally the gardens of a particular village may have a preponderance of yucca (manioc) and maize as compared to plantains and bananas. This is usually the result of the distance between the last occupied site and the new one; it is easier to carry seeds and cuttings of maize and yucca than the heavier plantain and banana shoots, and a village that moves any distance usually establishes its new garden largely from cuttings and seeds of these plants taken from the old [262] garden. Eventually, however, the plantains and bananas spread, and a mature garden will always have a preponderance of these crops, the preferred staple of Yąnomamö diet.

222 Wild palm fruits are important additions to the diet

---

[528] [1]The Yąnomamö are occasionally obliged to take in refugee members of an allied village, and they plan their gardens accordingly.

000(lapa, Spanish).

222 The collection of small fruits, spiders, ant grubs, wild honey, crabs, mushrooms and fish also contributes variety to the Yąnomamö diet.

241 269 [146] (177) Cultivated foods contribute the greater proportion of calories to the Yąnomamö diet, probably upwards of 85%, although this figure would vary seasonally. Again, those Yąnomamö villages living close to Makiritare settlements cultivate much more yucca (manioc) than platanos, refining it in some cases to meal as do the Makiritares. Elsewhere [252] the Yąnomamö eat their yucca roasted or boiled or make cassave bread by a technique quite distinct from that employed by the Makiritare.

• 722 [422] Yąnomamö material culture is very much attenuated by comparison with, for example, Makiritare. The Yąnomamö like to limit their possessions to an amount that is readily transported by the women, because the entire village may be obliged at any given moment to abandon its site to avoid raiders, or may be invited to a feast at another village. [422] [574] They do not like to leave possessions in their village when they leave it, as visitors from other villages would take them. And, their warfare pattern precludes the possibility of leaving a few people behind to guard the village, as they [341] would be easily overwhelmed by a raiding party. When just a portion of the village leaves to visit another group, those that stay behind move into the jungle some distance from the village and live in well-concealed huts until their co-

villagers return from their visit, returning only to fetch food from the garden. When the men are away on a raid, the women and children are concealed in these temporary sites until the men return. During the dry season when raiding and feasting are common, villages are frequently deserted; the men are away on a raid and the women and children are hiding in the jungle, or the entire village has gone off to participate in a feast at another village. This pattern has rather unfortunately been described as nomadism, or semi-nomadism, by a number of students of Yąnomamö culture. I wish to emphasize that the Yąnomamö population movements, annually or over a longer period of time, are almost exclusively a function of their warfare pattern and not economic considerations, as is implied in the use of the terms nomadism and semi-nomadism.

All males above 13 or 14 years of age have a bow, arrows, a bamboo case for carrying extra arrow tips, a fire drill, and several 'knives' made from the incisors of the agouti rodent. Both sexes have either a cotton or a vine hammock. These possessions are easily carried by the owner on long trips and are rapidly packed. Whenever I wanted to accompany a group of people on trips to other villages they always complained about how much of a burden I would be. It always took me several hours to prepare my packs, and I always took more than I could comfortably carry myself, having to hire some of them to assist me. They, on the contrary, could be ready to depart within ten minutes of their decision to leave, having only to roll up their hammocks and pack a few

847 562 162 Several kinds of demographic data suggest that the rate of female infanticide is high. Table 1 gives the sex ratios of five Yąnomamö villages. The sex ratio for the total population sample (576 individuals) gives a more meaningful estimate of the rate of female infanticide, as there is considerable variation by village in the value of the sex ratio. The excess of males in the total population (8%) gives a first approximation of the frequency of female infanticide. The variation in the sex ratio by the village, on the other hand, expresses the political relationships of the villages to their allies. That is, the distribution of women in these five villages is a function of the military requirements of the particular villages in the marriage alliance network. Thus, the cline in sex ratio from Reyaboböwei-tedi to Bisaasi-tedi (ignoring the Patanowä-tedi, who are not allied to the other groups) reflects a dominance gradient in politico-military requirements of each village. The total sample of 576 individuals must be considered in order to estimate the frequency of female infanticide among the Yąnomamö, but the political relationships between the villages must be understood to account for the variation by village of the value

562 162 628 722 [583] 125 847 162 628 562

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 69]

847 562 162 114 982 selves, it is highly unlikely that men will marry a FaSiDa, despite the kinship terminology. Rose did not, however, consider the possibility that sibships may have a systematic bias in their composition; if males tend to be older than their sisters considering all sibships, the probability that a FaSiDa is of marriageable age is increased. I specifically questioned the relationship between female infanticide and FaSiDa marriage, and the Yąnomamö denied any correlation between the two practices. There can be no doubt, however, that the occurrence of FaSiDa marriage among the Yąnomamö is made more probable by female infanticide.

Their dependence
*628 on these allies was transformed into an im- 60
583 balance in the exchange of women between the two groups of
162 villages, accounting for the variation in sex-ratio given for
562
*621 the villages in Table 1.

*628 The degree to which each village is dependent on its
583 allies is roughly indicates in Table 1. The Reyaboböwei-tedi,
726 being closer, geographically, to the MöwÄraoba-tedi, suffered
722 more from the revenge raids of the latter. In other words, they needed military aid from their own allies to a greater extent, and have, accordingly, lost far more women to their allies as a consequence. But the true situation is even more remarkable than suggested by the sex ratio for the Reyaboböwei-tedi; a large percentage of the women in their village have been abducted by them in raids against the MöwÄraoba-tedi, i.e., they have actually lost more women to their allies in exchanges than is suggested by the sex-ratio alone.

*621 Again, the sex ratios for the Bisaasi-tedi and the
162 *628 Monou-tedi are misleading without additional information.
583 These two villages would seem, from Table 1, to have gained a remarkable number of women in the political alliances they
162 made with their Shamatari friends. This, however, is not the
*628 only reason they have such a high percentage of women in
*621 their populations. In 1950 these villages were victimized
726 by the MöwÄraoba-tedi and the Iwahikoroba-tedi in a treacher-
527 ous feast. They lost approximately 15 men. Were two-thirds
165 of these men alive today, for example, the resultant sex ratios for the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi population would more accurately reflect the dominance gradient, measured

595 in the family. The transfer of the woman from the older to
593 the younger brother was, in some of the cases, quite gradual. Thus, Kaobawä gave Hantoami to his younger brother, Shadadama, because his other two wives complained about not having enough game to eat. Kaobawä continued to have sexual relationships with Hantoami after she had become Shadadama's wife, and sired two of her children.

*629 Another form of permitted affair is called nohimou--
• 729 "to befriend" or "act like a friend" to a woman. This type
836 of relationship might occur, for example, when the members
837 of a village have to take refuge with an ally. The allies invariably enter into nohimou relationships with the women of the refugees. The refugees are reluctant to give their women as wives to the men of the host village, but they are obliged to permit them to have sexual access to the women. These kinds of affairs also develop within a village between a man and the wife of a friend, or, with single girls. Again,
*629 when men go on visits to other villages and bring trade goods,
594 they frequently are permitted to have affairs with the hosts'
438 women, particularly if the men have brought goods that are
837 highly prized by the hosts.
836

835 Incestuous affairs between classificatory siblings are quite common.[1] One of my female informants used husband

[1] Incest, to the (male ego) Yanomamö, is any sexual relationship with a member of one's lineage or with mother, mother's sister, mother's mother, and mother's sister's daughter. Failure to avoid a woman of the mother-in-law category is also incestuous in the eyes of the Yanomamö, but only if the woman is sexually active. Menopausal women of

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

left the field in February 1966, and had by that time involved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

The situation is similar with respect to inter-village warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare necessitates the formation of political alliances with other groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

---

[1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory. In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

these situations[1] by establishing new gardens as new wars develop; occasionally, however, the wars take on unpredictable intensity before new gardens can be established, and the members of the villages concerned necessarily seek refuge with their allies.

To the Yąnomamö, gardens (hikari) are the fount of subsistence. They acknowledge the relationship between chronic warfare and village relocation by being constantly on the lookout for new lands to settle. Men are always discussing the agricultural merits of the forested areas in which they hunt, and most new sites are selected on the basis of information collected by hunters. Thus, when the Namowei-tedi split up at Patanowë-thka, the Bisaasi-tedi faction moved to Shihota, an area they knew well because they customarily hunted there.[2] In 1965 the Monou-tedi cleared a new garden at Moyanabŏwei for the same reason. I accompanied hunting parties from Bisaasi-tedi on several occastions to new areas not normally frequented by these hunters, and the topic of agriculture invariably came up during the evening résumé of the day's experiences.

Other factors besides density of jungle, type of floral association, and general topography are considered by

[1] They avoid these situations because the hosts usually demand either sexual access to the women of the refugees, or wives for their bachelors. The refugees, of course, are reluctant to do either, but are frequently obliged to do both. The cost of the alliance, once again, is measured in terms of women lost.

[2] See Map C, and Chapter 5.

361
241
295
114
*628

abandoned in about 1959, to harvest the peach palm of that garden. We approached the site with great caution lest we run into a group of PatanowÃ-tedi. We discovered that somebody, probably the PatanowÃ-tedi, had beaten us to the garden and harvested the fruit.

789
36
64
*628

During 1965 raids were so intense on the PatanowÃ-tedi that they were forced to abandon their site at PatanowÃ-tika. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi predicted that the PatanowÃ-tedi would make their new site at one of two possible locations: Shihota or Shamata, two abandoned gardens. Their predictions were right on both counts, for the PatanowÃ-tedi began utilizing both sites because peach palm was to be found at either. By occupying two sites, the PatanowÃ-tedi were also better able to avoid their enemies by moving frequently from one to the other.

The several variables to be considered in re-locating villages during especially hostile wars may be briefly summarized: (1) the members of a village will make their new garden site in a direction away from their major enemy; (2) if the members of a village have allies, they tend to make their new garden in the direction of these allies, provided that the direction brings them no closer to their enemies; (3) if abandoned villages whose gardens contain producing groves of peach palm are to be found in a suitable direction from the old site, these will be the ideal choices for new garden sites.

The cultivation practices of the Monou-tedi in 1965

illustrate how village shifts are related to warfare, and how foresight in establishing new gardens serves to facilitate village movement in anticipation of wars. The Monou-tedi planned to raid the Patanowã-tedi after the latter had recovered five of the seven women abducted by the Monou-tedi in November 1964. The Monou-tedi, of course, expected to be raided in turn by the Patanowã-tedi, so they began making a new garden in a direction away from their enemies, anticipating the revenge raids they knew would follow. In short, the Monou-tedi prepared for the war by initiating work on a new garden in a more defensible area--closer to their allies and across a large river--an action they hoped would permit them to remain completely independent of the largesse of their allies.

The graded violence pattern[1] of the Yąnomamö may be viewed from the standpoint that such a pattern facilitates the establishment of new gardens while villages split. Thus, grievances may be temporarily settled by club-fighting, and the estranged factions may utilize the interval between club fighting and more violent hostilities to establish new gardens. This is also consistent with the political philosophy of the Yąnomamö: chest pounding duels and club fights function to permit the aggrieved to demonstrate their ferocity in acts of violence, while the existence of several levels of

[1]The forms of fighting, in increasing degree of violence, are: side-slapping duels, chest-pounding duels, slapping of either the side or the chest with the flat side of a machete, club-fighting duels, spear-fighting duels, raiding with the tactic of ambush, and treacherous feasts. I have discussed this pattern elsewhere. Chagnon, 1967.

578 violence simultaneously permits the expression of hostility
+621 in such a way that the groups can split from each other on
241 relatively peaceful terms. The particular form of violence
182 employed in settling grievances is determined by a number of
152 considerations, one of which is the likelihood that the resulting factions will be victimized by the raids of a powerful
578 enemy. Thus, in the splitting of villages, the gradations in
+621 forms of violence permit of settlement patterns suited to
+628 given military situations. Villages torn by internal con-
241 flicts may find it easier to split into two relatively peaceful
361 factions and remain geographically close to each other. In
• 722 this way, they can reunite into a single unit should either
182 be attacked. Conversely, the violence pattern may also facil-
152 itate the separation of a large village into hostile groups that have no intention of reuniting: it permits suitable means for the temporary solution of a feud that will be carried to further ends after the two groups have separate gardens. The separation of the Monou-tedi from the Bisaasi-tedi is an example of the former, and the separation, at an earlier date, of both of these groups from the Patanowã-tedi is an example of the latter. Thus, while the bellicose behavior and values constrain co-residential groups to respond violently to affronts perpetrated on them by their co-villagers, their agricultural requirements can be accomodated by a graded system of violence that permits temporary solutions, albeit violent, while new gardens are cleared by the principals in a feud.

The politico-military situation in which the Patanowã-tedi found themselves during 1965 dramatically illustrates the importance of allies, i.e., neighbors upon whom one can depend for both military and subsistence items in times of crises. The Patanowã-tedi had been at war with a number of groups to their east and north for several years prior to my arrival in 1964. They managed, however, to hold their own in the wars against these villages, as they were a large group.[1] Earlier wars, and the latent hostilities resulting from these, precluded alliances with the Shamatari villages to their south. Their congeners, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, lived to the west of them, but the nature of the circumstances leading to their separation prevented alliances with these groups. Nevertheless, the Patanowã-tedi made peace overtures to the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi from time to time, and sporadic visiting between them began after 1955. In late 1964 the Patanowã-tedi managed to convince the Bisaasi-tedi of their sincerity to renew friendship and visited them, but the Monou-tedi shattered this attempted rapprochement by abducting seven women from the Patanowã-tedi. The events subsequent to this incident drew the Patanowã-tedi into yet another war, the proportions of which exceeded the defense capabilities of the Patanowã-tedi: they could no longer remain at one site and prosecute both wars effectively. They were surrounded on all

[1] They had attempted to split into three small groups before getting into the war with their northern and eastern neighbors, but the war forced the three groups to re-unite for defense purposes. See Chapter 5.

sides by villages that were actively raiding them. Fortunately, however, they had one ally, the Ashadowä-tedi, a large group (ca. 200-250 people) living two days' walk to their south. The Ashadowä-tedi allied themselves to the Patanowä-tedi because of their own interest in raiding the Hasaböwä-tedi, from whom they themselves separated on hostile terms in the recent past. Furthermore, the Ashadowä-tedi had penetrated Shamatari territory, and needed allies in the event that the Shamatari villages began hostilities against them.

The abduction of the seven Patanowä-tedi women by the Monou-tedi precipitated a war of such intensity that the Patanowä-tedi were immediately obliged to abandon their site. Under 'normal' circumstances, the Patanowä-tedi would have been able to resist a small group like the Monou-tedi, but their other war against the Hasaböwä-tedi detracted from their capacity to do so. When the Monou-tedi initiated raiding against the Patanowä-tedi, the allies of all the villages hostile to the Patanowä-tedi jumped, so to speak, on the 'band-wagon.' These allies were supporting Patanowä-tedi's enemies only half-heartedly up to the entry of the Monou-tedi into the war, for prior to this, the Patanowä-tedi were able to threaten these villages. When, however, the Monou-tedi and their allies (the Bisaasi-tedi, the Mõmaribõwei-tedi, and the Reyabobõwei-tedi) began raiding the Patanowä-tedi, it became immediately apparent that the offensive potential of the Patanowä-tedi was greatly reduced. Thus, villages at some distance from the Patanowä-tedi began to raid the latter,

726 +628 knowing that they would not be raided in return; the Patanowä-tedi simply could not conduct the war on that immense a scale. The participation of these peripheral villages in the war against the Patanowä-tedi conferred three advantages on them. First, the probability was good that they would benefit materially in the raiding by capturing women. Secondly, they demonstrated their solidarity to their allies at little cost or danger to themselves, thereby putting these allies under obligation to reciprocate the favor at a later time. Finally, the peripheral villages were able to demonstrate their ferocity to their neighbors by going to war, although the danger to themselves was almost negligible. In total, about 726 • 922 +628 36 24 a dozen villages began raiding the Patanowä-tedi in mid 1965, forcing them to abandon their garden before they could establish a new one elsewhere. The Patanowä-tedi had no alternative but to take refuge in the village of their allies, the Ashadowä-tedi. Without the aid of the Ashadowä-tedi, the Patanowä-tedi would have been forced to colonize from their single site and sustain very heavy losses from the incessant raids of their enemies. As the situation turned out, the Patanowä-tedi lost a large number of people in the raiding, despite having this ally, but the losses would have been much heavier without them.

162 582 [847] [83] **Summary**

The practice of female infanticide leads to a shortage of women. The Yanomamö attempt to overcome the shortage,

162 562 83 sexually, by the practices of sodomy, wife sharing, incest, and permitted affairs. However, two ways in which the problem 162 562 583 847 921 922 *628 is resolved--clandestine affairs within villages and raiding to abduct women between villages--create political situations that favor the development of political alliances for the purposes of defense. Since these involve the transfer of women between the allies, the practice of female infanticide constitutes a functional component in the marriage alliance system.

*621 *628 578 241 922 The process of village splitting, growing out of feuds over women, results in the establishment of small, militarily vulnerable villages. The timing of the split is conditioned by the agricultural requirements of the village on the one hand, and the nature of its politico-military relationships with other villages on the other. The graded system of violence permits flexibility in the settlement pattern and the precise conditions of a village split. Because the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated foods, alliances may be interpreted as an attempt to maximize the chances of survival of groups of kinsmen as independent groups; the possibility always exists that a given group may be forced by its enemies to seek protection and provisions in the village of an ally.

*621 *628 602 121 122 internal feuding that promotes splitting, and threat of raids from other groups that inhibits village splitting and/or promotes the establishment of alliances with other groups. These two forces shape the composition and structure of Yąnomamö villages; that is, these two forces impinge on kinship relationships and together with these latter determine the nature of the Yąnomamö village.

*621 *628 122 I will show in Chapter V that larger villages fragment into smaller groups when internal feuding becomes particularly intense, but are occasionally forced to re-unite when warfare threatens the splinter groups. Yąnomamö villages would remain small if there were no military forces working on them. The Patanowä-tedi, for example, attempted to split into three groups after separating from the Bisaasi-tedi;[1] the three factions re-combined, however, when one of them was attacked by the Hasaböwä-tedi. Similarly, the non-Patanowä-tedi faction of the split (Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi) likewise split into smaller factions after the threat of raids from the outside subsided. Again, these recombined when threat of raids was imminent.

*621 582 Irrespective of the conditions of the splitting, the newly formed villages approximate a dual organization of inter-marrying moieties in structure. This form of organization is implicit in the Iroquois kinship terminology, sister exchange, and ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules. Dual

[Box] *621

---

[1] See Map C and Chapter V.

*628 [602] Lower Bisaasi-tedi gave its members refuge during the times when the Monou-tedi were threatened by raids from the Patanowä-tedi. The closest neighbor, geographically, to Lower Bisaasi-tedi [361] [613] is Upper Bisaasi-tedi (a mere 400 meters upstream), the dominant political group of that village being a segment of the Sha lineage. The two villages, however, behave quite independently in their alliance patterns. Lower Bisaasi-tedi's political interests are in the Mömariböwei-tedi at the present time, whereas Upper Bisaasi-tedi's interests are in the *628 726 Reyaboböwei-tedi, Karohi-tedi, and Widokaiya-tedi. In the war against the Patanowä-tedi, both the Lower and Upper Bisaasi-tedi aid the Monou-tedi by providing warriors for the raiding parties, and by giving refuge to the Monou-tedi when raiding is particularly intense.

*621 162 562 571 Lower Bisaasi-tedi is a cohesive, well-integrated, stable village. Much of the stability and cohesiveness derives from the fact that there is not a shortage of women and there are well-defined patterns of behavior for all members *628 • 722 vis-à-vis others. But, Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not a militarily viable group. It could not last long as an independent village if the warfare situation became intense; the group is not completely independent of the Upper Bisaasi-tedi village. At least once during my field work the Lower Bisaasi-tedi group coalesced with the Upper group when a raid from the Patanowä-tedi seemed imminent. And, if raiding from the Patanowä-tedi began, the group would have to merge with Upper Bisaasi-tedi for defense purposes. When I began my field work in 1964,

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*628 722 the Upper Bisaasi-tedi had a large village and two small villages. The two smaller villages were occupied by the two factions of the Upper group; the large village was unoccupied. It was used only when threat of raid existed, during which time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi re-joined their group and all moved into the large village. In 1965 the large village was rebuilt, but for the first time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi did not participate in the reconstruction of the common village. A few individuals who feared raids, however, did build a section in the village for themselves.

Lower Bisaasi-tedi, then, would re-unite with Upper Bisaasi-tedi in time of war, although each group pursues its own political ends and remains independent of the other in times of peace. One of the major reasons this is so can be explained in terms of the dyadic relationships discussed in [128] the last chapter. Figure 3 gives the simplified lineage structure of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Lower Bisaasi-tedi, and *621 Monou-tedi. These three villages were one in 1954; Monou- *628 tedi split from the group to found their own village. In 578 1960 Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Lower Bisaasi-tedi split from each other, but remained geographically close to each other. The reasons given for the splits were that the groups were always fighting over women and, to reduce the frequency of club fighting, they simply parted before hostilities became intense. Even at the present time there is considerably more fighting in the village when the groups coalesce for defense [602] purposes. In terms of the kinship dyads, the problem can be [622]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

*621 It is more than coincidental that the composition of both
*628 Monou-tedi and Patanowä-tedi is more similar in terms of Sha
613 and Hor lineages than the similarity between any other two
602 Naomowei-tedi villages. Patanowä-tedi is merely an enlarged version of Monou-tedi in composition, there being more agnatic ties between these two groups in the Hor and Sha lineages than between any other pair of Namowei-tedi villages. Yet the hostilities between them are very intense.

*621 B. Village Size and Warfare
162

Yąnomamö villages range in size from 40 to 250 individuals. Both limits are determined by the nature of Yąnomamö warfare, but the upper limit is set in large measure by the capacity of kinship and leadership to organize the internal affairs of the village. This capacity diminishes as village size increases.

*621 The largest Yąnomamö village for which I have complete
162 census data is Patanowä-tedi, a group comprising 212 indi-
* 722 viduals. The Patanowä-tedi assert that their southern neighbors and allies, the Ashadowä-tedi, are even more numerous, and that a number of Shamatari villages are, in turn, larger than Ashadowä-tedi. It is doubtful, however, that the numbers involved exceed 250 per village. Villages of this size, as we have mentioned for Patanowä-tedi, tend to fragment into smaller groups when threat of war subsides, and these smaller groups re-combine to form a larger village when warfare again threatens one or all of the colonies. The reason villages

*621 • 722 162 never get larger than 250 seems to lie in the fact that there is no military advantage to be gained in increasing village size beyond this point, while at the same time, further increase in size creates organizational difficulties that threaten the internal stability of the village.

*621 722 721 701 Size of raiding parties and tactics of warfare must be understood to appreciate why villages of 250 do not gain military advantages by increasing in size, and why village size can not drop below 40. The median size of Yąnomamö villages lies between 80 and 100 people. A village of this size can organize raiding parties ranging in size from about 20 to 30 men, as approximately one-third of the village residents are males between the ages of 14 and 50, the group from which the raiding parties are recruited. As no village leaves the women unguarded when it mounts a raid on its enemies, the size of raiding parties tends to be lower than the number of *621 162 eligible men able to raid.[1] Table 4 gives the population break-down of five Yąnomamö villages by age and sex. The males between the ages of 14 and 50 comprise 32.5% of the *621 701 721 population (19.6 plus 12.9). Thus, a raiding party comprised exclusively of men from a single village having a total population of 100 will not excede 33 men; but, the raiding party would include a large number of youths who have no raiding experience, and older men who are not able to move rapidly. These men constitute more of a handicap than an asset to the

[1]See Plate 2. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 136]

Table 4: Age and Sex Distribution of the Yanomamö Population.[1]

*62
162

Frequency Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	55	48	103	68	14	288
Females	36	42	77	60	23	238
Totals:	91	90	190	128	37	526

Percentage Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	10.5	9.1	19.6	12.9	2.7	54.8
Females	6.8	8.0	14.6	11.4	4.4	45.2
Totals:	17.3	17.1	34.2	24.3	7.1	100.0

[114]
[128]

[1] Based on residents of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, Patanowä-tedi, Mõmariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi. I was not able to get age estimates on a number of individuals in Reyaboböwei-tedi and Patanowä-tedi, accounting for the difference in total population given in Table 5, Chapter IV. The sex ratio for the above population is 1.22, and male excess is 9.5%, compared to 1.19 and 8.35% in Table 5.

*62
70
72
[122]

effectiveness of the raiding party. As someone must stay home to guard the women, the guards usually come from the too young and too old. Usually, however, one or two '<u>waitedi</u>' (fierce ones), men who have a great deal of experience in warfare and who would bravely defend the village, also remain behind. Thus, a village of 100 people could, at best,

raided, the allies usually insist on returning home rather than pursue the enemy further. In 1965 a joint raid involving men from Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Mõmaribõwei-tedi, and Reyabobõwei-tedi failed to locate the Patanowã-tedi at their village. The two Shamatari groups refused to go further in pursuit of the Patanowã-tedi, and the entire raiding party returned home, against the wishes of the Monou-tedi, whose dead headman was being avenged by this raid. Occasionally, however, the raiders are all enthusiastic about the raid and the possibility exists that an enraged raiding party may attempt to drive the enemy from the village. This partially accounts for the fact that warfare promotes the re-combination of smaller villages into larger, more defensible ones. If a raiding party of 60 men descended on the inhabitants of a village, the village could defend itself adequately only if there were approximately an equal number of adult men in the village. This would require that the village be at least as large as 180 people. Another factor, however, accounts for the fact that some villages have large populations. When a group has several enemies, it can raid them more effectively if it is able to send out raiding parties recruited from different factions within the village. The same raiders cannot return all the raids mounted against them and carry on the business of making a living as well. Again, larger numbers of men are required to defend the village while some of the men are away on raids, as the probability is higher that the village will be raided in the interim if the village has several enemies.

000 has several enemies.

*621 *628 701 721 • 722 [162] pointed out that Lower Bisaasi-tedi was not a militarily viable village, although its total population falls within the range of such villages. An examination of the village composition given in Appendix A will show that there are only 12 men between the ages of 14 and 50, and not all of these would be effective in a raiding party. Some of these men would have to remain home to guard the women, reducing the capability of the village to mount raids against enemies even more, as the size of the raiding party would have to be smaller than ten men. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-tedi depends on assistance from its allies in their warfare and could not survive as an independent village. Should their enemies (the Patanowä-tedi) begin raiding them frequently, they would have to reunite with their agnates, the Upper Bisaasi-tedi. As a matter of fact, they did exactly this whenever raids from the Patanowä-tedi threatened them. The [162] Monou-tedi have 21 males between the ages of 14 and 50, but two of these are cripples. Nevertheless, they are much more capable of maintaining a separate existence than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, despite the fact that the difference in size of the two villages is not great. The significant fact is that they have a larger number of men capable of conducting raids. However, their size has not permitted them to effectively withstand the raids mounted against them by the [36] Patanowä-tedi, and the Monou-tedi were forced to move to a new site by the raids stemming from their enemies. Without the

*621 *628 722

*621 aid of allies such as the two Bisaasi-tedi groups, the Monou-
*722 tedi probably could not survive as an independent village
*628 because of the size differential between themselves and their
*621 enemies. It is noteworthy, however, that the Monou-tedi are
722 more independent than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, for they moved
361 to a new site rather than recombine (permanently) with their
*628 agnates in Bisaasi-tedi. This avoidance pattern is not a probable alternative for the Lower Bisaasi-tedi because of their relative lack of potential to conduct effective warfare, even considering the fact that their allies would aid them. Lower Bisaasi-tedi would invite raiding by mo[illegible]ther away from Upper Bisaasi-tedi, as their erstwhile neighbors and allies, from whom they have managed to obtain so many women, would be more equal in strength and would demand more women from them. Or, other neighbors, such as the Widokaiya-tedi, would descend on them hoping to abduct women, of which the Lower Bisaasi-tedi have many. They have managed to obtain these women from a position of strength, but a large factor in their strength is the fact that they are still dependent on Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Without the latter, they would be in a serious military situation.

Summary

*621 578 562 602 583 Village splitting develops out of feuding over women; the kinship lines along which villages split reflect the strength of the tie linking descent groups to each other by marriage or promises to exchange women, while at the same time illustrates the weakness of the agnatic bonds.

000 time illustrates the weakness of the agnatic bonds.

*621 *623 618 *722 583 When villages split, large lineages are redistributed by local descent group affiliation among the several newly established villages. These new groups tend to be quite small, but never fall below a population size of about 40 people for reasons having to do with the successful conduct of raiding. These small villages tend to approximate a dual organization of intermarrying local descent groups. Newly formed villages enter into military alliances with other villages and exchange women with them. Over time, such exchanges alter the homogeneity of the respective villages and promote the development of new lineage segments within each village. As the village grows in size and as new segments emerge over time, internal village stability reduces and the village then splits again. Village splitting is frequently delayed or inhibited by the existence of an active group of enemies, and even after such a split the newly-established villages may reunite when threat of raid is imminent. When military pressures decrease, the village again fragments into smaller groups. The minimum size of these groups is set by the number of adult men required to effectively conduct raiding. It appears that these small villages would fragment into even smaller groups if warfare were to cease.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Patanowẽ-tedi, Mąmaribŏwei-tedi and Reyabobŏwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Namowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called Paruritawẽ-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

722
621
628
121
361
602
628
174
582
583

historical relationships between villages to properly interpret marriage ties between them. With regard to the last point, I found that numerous individuals in Bisaasi-tedi claimed to be from Patanowä-tedi; my initial conclusions concerning their marriage to individuals from Bisaasi-tedi was that the marriages were village-exogamic. I was obliged to reassess these marriages after I learned that the two villages were at one time one village, and most of the marriages between the two groups were contracted while the groups were living together. I therefore investigated in detail the historical relationships between all the villages in the Mavaca area, a portion of the results constituting the subject of this chapter.

174
128

128
361

I have summarized the village movements in Tables 5 and 6 and have indicated these movements graphically on Map C. The reader may, if he wishes, skip the details of the histories and turn at this point to the concluding remarks of this chapter. I can make the four points by using only Tables 5 and 6, in conjunction with Map C. However, I cannot illustrate Yanomamö political behavior without recourse to details of the village movements and the wars that caused them and, accordingly, I include the details of the histories in this chapter. The political relationships that presently obtain between the two Shamatari villages (Mömariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi) and their allies, the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, can not be completely understood without knowing their respective histories in some detail. Most of the

128
361
174
628
583

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 175 *628 *621 descent back to Shamatari ancestors. Shihowë-tedi and its splinter village, Mokayëaba-tedi, were two Shamatari allies of the Namowei-tedi in this period of the latter's history.

174 175 *628 721 583 The Namowei-tedi got into a war with a cluster of villages allied to Obotawë-tedi over a woman from the latter village. The woman joined the Namowei-tedi against the wishes of her own people. This led to a club fight between the two groups and, later, to a shooting war. Obotawë-tedi recruited aid from their allies, the Bokçoiwë-Urihi-tedi, Boreta-tedi, and Aramata-tedi while the Namowei-tedi were supported by the two Shamatari villages mentioned above. A number of men from each of the two groups were killed in the raiding that developed and several Namowei-tedi women were abducted. Obotawë-

174 175 *628 721 241 722 tedi and their allies forced Namowei-tedi to abandon their garden and take refuge with the Wareta-tedi, a group that had just abandoned the area (ca. 1890-1900) occupied by the Namowei-tedi because of a war with the Boreta-tedi. As the Namowei-tedi had not had time to make a new garden when the raiding became intense enough to force them to move, they moved into the village of Wareta-tedi and lived off the produce of the latter's garden.

Area 2: Wareta-tedi

174 *628 726 The residents of Wareta-tedi had their own war with Shihowë-tedi when they were joined by the Namowei-tedi, but were on friendly terms with Husirawë-urihi-tedi, a village

000 to their north. The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë,

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowä, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Husirawä's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowä and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowä-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-kähö--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakö), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hąhoyaoba-täka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hąhoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasaböwä-tedi and Ashadowä-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tëka to Kreibëwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawë and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowë-tëka, and became known as the Patanowë-tedi.

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawë-tedi and Kashorawë-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawë, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowë-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowë-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawë-tedi visited Patanowë-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowë-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawë-tedi. Hasabëwë-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowë-tedi and Yabitawë-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

the Patanowä-tedi.[1] Thus, the Patanowä-tedi were surrounded on all sides by enemies; only one village, Ashadowä-tedi, remained on friendly terms with them. Beyond the Ashadowä-tedi were the Shamatari villages, bitter enemies of the Patanowä-tedi since the killing of Ruwahiwä.

By the time the Patanowä-tedi had gotten into this situation, the war with their agnates had subsided. So the Patanowä-tedi moved west, into the area abandoned by their agnates, whence they harried the Hasaböwä-tedi and the groups north of the Orinoco. They attempted with some success to effect a rapprochement with their agnates, and a few individuals from the Kreiböwei-tedi group visited the Patanowä-tedi. One of these individuals was able to obtain a wife in Patanowä-tedi, whom he subsequently took back to Monou-tedi with him.

The Patanowä-tedi are presently living between two sites: Patanowä-tëka and Shamata-tëka, a situation forced on them by the hostile relationships they have with all their neighbors except the Ashadowä-tedi.

Area 6: Shihota-tëka

See "Area 5" point (2) above.

Area 7: Kreiböwei-tedi

This site was established in 1949. After fleeing from Shihota to avoid the raids of the Patanowä-tedi, the

[1] At this point the Patanowä-tedi returned to Patanowä-tëka from their three sites of Wanidima, Waiyari, and Rashawä.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's village and entered into feasting relationships with his followers.

Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's village. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother, Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tëka.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Area 9: Kobou-tëka

The Kreibŏwei-tedi parted with their protectors as soon as this garden began producing. They lived at this site only long enough to complete their two new gardens at Monou and Barawë, moving into the latter when they, in turn, began producing. "Kobou" in Yanomamŏ means "let it go at that," or, in more vernacular terms, "to hell with that garden." Kobou was abandoned shortly after it was made, having served as a temporary base for the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they completed their split. It would not have been necessary to complete the splitting of the village by making two new gardens had there been no war with the Shamatari. But, as one faction of the group made their garden elsewhere, the others were reluctant to remain at Kobou and bear the brunt of the revenge raids from the Shamatari. Thus, they too made a new garden. Again, it would not have been necessary to make Kobou-tëka had Mahekodo-tedi been a dependable ally. But as the Kreibŏwei-tedi suspected that their erstwhile protectors were plotting against them, they followed that course of action most expedient at the time. As they had already started Kobou, it was simply more practicable to complete that garden and move out of Mahekodo-tedi as soon as possible, rather than begin making two gardens and delay their move until these gardens began producing.

Areas 10 and 11: Monou-tedi and Barawë-tedi

After separating into two groups the Kreibŏwei-tedi

remained on good terms with each other. Their split occurred in 1954, perhaps a year earlier.

When I initiated my field work in 1964 Monou-tëka was still occupied, but its population, the Monou-tedi, was in the process of making a new garden (Moyanabŏwei) west of Monou to avoid the raids of the Patanowë-tedi, with whom they had entered into a new war in 1964.

The faction that moved to Barawë remained at that site about five years. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River, taking the name Bisaasi-tedi, in 1959, splitting into two villages, each located on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. By 1958 the Venezuelan Government had initiated a malaria-control program in this area of Amazonas and had established a small field station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Venezuelans associated with this field station invited the Barawë-tedi to move to the Mavaca River; the Indians accepted the invitation, hoping to gain access to steel tools. This was the beginning of contact with outsiders for the Kreibŏwei-tedi; prior to 1959 the only foreigners they had known were the missionary at Mahekodo-tedi, James P. Barker, and the members of the Frobenius Institute Expedition, Meinhard Schuster and Otto Zerries, who they visited occasionally at Mahekodo-tedi.

Area 12: Bisaasi-tedi

The Bisaasi-tedi began friendly contacts with a Shamatari village, Paruritawë-tedi, after they moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 1: Aramamisi-kähö

Matakuwë's group settled here after abandoning their site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawë's group. The village at Aramamisi-kähö, according to my informants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, Aramamisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, Möwëraoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawë-tedi, Kohoroshi-tedi, Möxmariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

A large segment of the population broke away from the main group and moved to the Rahuawë-u River, splitting into two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from the Aramamisi-kähö population developed out of a feud over a woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from the original faction that separated from Matakuwë's group. The first three of these groups presently live in the Shukumöna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

[1] There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

others. Matakuwë's group was being raided by Kayabawë's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-këkö. These raids forced Matakuwë and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-këkö and settle at Shirakoböwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakoböwei

Matakuwë's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawë's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewë and Orakawë. During the fighting a young man from Karehewë's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewë moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewë's followers raided the group at Shirakoböwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewë to move further north. Karehewë's son, Riakowë, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowë's son, Börösöwë. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Börösöwë's group. They feared Börösöwë would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyahowë, split off from

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

174 121 361 [731] Matakuwë's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors were absorbed by other villages.

Finally, Matakuwë and his group separated from Orakawë and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Mavaca basin. The group that remained at Shirakoböwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakuwë and his followers separated from Orakawë's group for two reasons. First, Matakuwë decided to support Karehewë in the dispute over the death of a member of the [922] latter's group. Secondly, Matakuwë and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shihowë-tedi, who continued [628] to harrass them. By taking the side of Karehewë, Matakuwë [926] and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawë's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

Area 3: Boraböwei

174 195 361 628 602 726 241 Matakuwë and his followers moved here about 1910. Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi, forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a number of years Matakuwë's group lived alternatively between these two sites. Another garden was established at Kaurewë after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Boraböwei, and Matakuwë's group fled to Kayurewë, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

000 rarily abandoning Konabuma.

174 Matakuwë's group had three factions. Oroshowë, a
175 man belonging to Matakuwë's faction, took a woman away from
*621
578 her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an
361 internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and
Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village
of his own on the Shukumõna-u River. This split took place
174 about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwë's vil-
175
*621 lage to avenge the death of Biawawë, the man killed in the
172 feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was un-
174 able to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's
175
*621 group to found their own villages: Warabawë-tedi, led by
361 Hewariwë, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwë. These last two
[622]
[777] villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time,
as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded
foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Mis-
361 sionaries on the Cauabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group
[574] lived on the Shukumõna-u River, as men from Reyabobõwei-tedi
*[628] danced there that year. When the Reyabobõwei-tedi left
[772] Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with
them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl
presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174 In about 1935 Matakuwë and his group moved to Kayurewë
36
922 to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.

---

*[628] [1]Warabawë-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabëyoma.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 4: Kayurewä

174 175 +628 926 861 The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid Matakuwä's group at Kayurewä, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. Matakuwä's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwä, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowä-tëka. Ruwahiwä was Matakuwä's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided Matakuwä's group at Kayurewä, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, Matakuwä moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

+174 +621 361 About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by Matakuwä's group, the group split into two villages. One of [622] them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwä's [101] son, Sibarariwä. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumöna-u River and took the name Paruritawä-tedi, led by [578] Weiamamowä. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal [721] feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

174 36 +628 722 175 Sibarariwä's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the Paruritawä-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Armamisi-tedi and the Paruritawä-tedi themselves forced Sibarariwä's group to abandon Konabuma

and move to Kakamoba. This site was occupied for just a few years, and by 1950 Sibarariwä's group was living at Amąrokobö-wei: the 1950 treacherous feast for the Kreiböwei-tedi was conducted while Sibarariwä's group was here. After 1950 Sibarariwä's group fled south to avoid the raids of the survivors of that treacherous feast, establishing the garden of Dądamoböwei. This garden was abandoned because of raids mounted by the Paruritawä-tedi, and Sibarariwä returned to Amąrokoböwei about 1955. The Paruritawä-tedi eventually became friendly to Sibarariwä's group and were able to lure some of them, at the instigation of the Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, to a treacherous feast in 1960, during which three men were murdered and four women captured. In 1964 Sibarariwä's group moved to the headwaters of the Mavaca River, being known as the Möwäraoba-tedi. Monou-tedi and Mąmariböwei-tedi sent a raiding party against them at this location about the time I started my field work, and killed one man.

Area 6: Paruritawä-tedi

The Paruritawä-tedi made friendly contact with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi about 1960, and have entered into alliance with these groups. The Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi persuaded the Paruritawä-tedi to invite members of Sibarariwä's group to a feast in 1960 and, with the aid of the Paruritawä-tedi, murdered three men and seized four women. Sibarariwä's group avenged this by mounting raids

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

against the Paruritawä-tedi, and the latter abandoned their site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Mömariböwei and Reyaboböwei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyaboböwei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965 the Reyaboböwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawä-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966

The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowä-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowä-tedi to venture away from the village.

721 The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives
• 722 they claimed, was that the PatanowÃ-tedi had to move fre-
361 quently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the PatanowÃ-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both
*[628] groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the
[134] dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense.
[221] It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages
[241] that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural
721 practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events
602 discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consan-
*628 guineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

<u>The war between Monou-tedi and PatanowÃ-tedi</u>

*628 722 After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of
*[621] PatanowÃ in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a
[361] period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

728 In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two
• 524 factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi
628 began visiting PatanowÃ-tedi, and one of them, TorokoiwÃ, was
[58] given two wives by the PatanowÃ-tedi. The rapprochement, how-
[583] ever, was never effected and the political relationships between

628 721 the Patanowä-tedi for managing to overwhelm their own force led them to declare war on the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi 722 241 726 immediately began making a new garden at Moyenaböwei, across the Mavaca River from their village and several hours inland, anticipating the war that they knew would follow. After they had cleared the large trees from their new garden site, they raided the Patanowä-tedi in the last week of January 1965, and succeeded in killing Bosibrei.

727 581 582 593 628 Another important event took place while the Monou-tedi were clearing the trees from their new garden site, an event that illustrates the same principle of political philosophy. One of the stolen women, Kakoma, was given to a young man, Karidimö, who had only one leg. Karidimö could not do heavy work, and when his village moved inland to clear their new site Karidimö moved to Bisaasi-tedi with his new wife. Kakoma, however, was not pleased with her new husband, and asked the Bisaasi-tedi if she could stay with them, hoping that she would be permitted to rejoin the Patanowä-tedi if they returned to Bisaasi-tedi to visit. The Bisaasi-tedi men obligingly took her away from Karidimö by force and gave her to a bachelor in their own village. Karidimö, enraged at this, returned to Monou-tedi to recruit aid.

628 721 578 This put the Monou-tedi in a difficult position. They were planning to raid the Patanowä-tedi and would have to maintain good relations with the Bisaasi-tedi if the revenge raids from the Patanowä-tedi became intense. They could not, however, overlook the insult to Karidimö, for this

726 the men left on the raid. One faction of Bisaasi-tedi did
[122] not participate in the raid in order to protect the women while the others were gone.

The raiding party left on the 21st and returned on
[361] the 2nd of May. They killed one Patanowä-tedi at Shihota, a site abandoned in 1949 by the Bisaasi-tedi now being used by the Patanowä-tedi. The Patanowä-tedi chased the raiders, outflanking them at one point, and shot one of the Monou-tedi, badly wounding him. The man, Konoreiwä, was pierced with a bamboo point just above his heart. Although the tip of the point protruded out his back, he recovered.

726
36
*628
[22]
[32] The Patanowä-tedi could not avenge this killing until the rains subsided. Accordingly, the Monou-tedi returned to their own village after they retreated to Bisaasi-tedi on May 2. They remained in their village until June 20, at which time they rejoined the Bisaasi-tedi; they did so because travel through the jungle was becoming possible by that date, as the rains subsided early in 1965. On July 10 the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, assisted by their allies, the Mõmaribõwei-tedi and Reyabobõwei-tedi, raided the Patanowä-tedi again, leaving from Bisaasi-tedi. The raid proved to be unsuccessful, as the Patanowä-tedi had moved into the village of their only ally, the Ashadowä-tedi. All the raiders except those from Monou-tedi wanted to turn back, as the trail to Ashadowä-tedi was a poor one and retreat would have been difficult. The raiding party did turn back, but the Monou-tedi were angry with their allies for forcing them to

they have, but they must revenge raids coming from Bisaasi-tedi. Now that Paruriwä and his followers have moved away from Kaobäwä's group, the Patanowä-tedi can raid Paruriwä without having to 'look twice' before shooting. As Paruriwä's faction is a small one, it is vulnerable; one raid from the Patanowä-tedi will force it to rejoin Kaobäwä's group. The internal stability of the reunited groups will suffer if this happens, as Paruriwä will be obliged to demonstrate his leadership capacity. This will involve making an issue out of an incident that probably would have been overlooked prior te the separation of the two groups, and internal friction will be high.

The split within Patanowä-tedi

The incessant raiding from Hasaböwä-tedi, Kashorawä-tedi, Yabitawä-tedi, Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and their respective allies brought about a high degree of tension among the Patanowä-tedi. It was not safe to leave the village at any time. The Patanowä-tedi had attempted to split into three groups several years earlier, as the population had reached a large size and internal fighting was a nuisance. The development of the war with the Hasaböwä-tedi forced them to reunite. Factionalism, however, was pronounced within the village, and the added tension brought about by the new war with Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and the latter's two Shamatari allies ultimately led to an internal split within Patanowä-tedi a month before I left the field.

105
36
[128] **Summary**

Tables 5 and 6 broadly summarize the movements of the five villages. As the details of the text indicate, considerably more village movement goes on than can be included in tables of this sort. The micro-movements, however, merely express in greater detail what is immediately apparent from an examination of Tables 5 and 6: the Yanomamö abandon their gardens and move to new locations because of raids from other groups. In only one instance was the movement of a village stimulated by economic considerations: site 4 was abandoned by the Namowei-tedi because of poor soil. Another exception was the abandoning of Barawä (site 10) by the Bisaasi-tedi in 1959. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River to gain access to steel tools, marking the beginning of their sustained contact with foreigners.

105
*621
578
*628
772 The tables also show that there were ten village splits relevant to explaining the origins of the five villages considered in this chapter. Five of these splits were due to feuds over women. In four of the cases the factions that were involved immediately entered into hostilities with each other. The recent split within Patanowä-tedi, discussed in the text (pp. 188-89), again over a woman, is not included in Table 5, as the refugee group did not form a new village of their own. Three village splits in Tables 5 and 6 developed out of minor feuds, usually over women, brought about by large village size. In one case, the factions ultimately entered into hostilities with each other, whereas in two cases the factions still remain on friendly terms.

occupying five different sites, each having its own house and garden. These five groups recombined into a single unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the southwest of the Uraricaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated. On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than on the Uraricaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of Yąnomamö from those whose social organization is described in this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Corresponding to this increase in intensity is a change in type of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically or not at all to the northeast.

There is likewise an apparent cline in population density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity. Yąnomamö villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However, another factor complicates the picture: the Yąnomamö have more contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also

114
121
602 Among the Yąnomamö consanguineal kinship does not have the quality attributed to kinship in general by Fortes, and we therefore cannot explain the stability that exists in terms of these alleged properties. The fact that affinal ties do promote a certain amount of stability between Yąnomamö descent groups supports Leach's arguments, and, for the reasons implied by Leach: Yąnomamö marriages occur within a political context that promotes military obligations and concomitants not predictable from first principles regarding the putative nature of kinship itself. Descent groups exchange women with an eye toward maximizing military advantage in a milieu of hostile political relationships. The stability brought about by such marriages is, therefore, largely a function of the politico-military ends served by marriage and is only tangentially, if at all, a result of kinship.

(613)
(513)
(582)
(722)
(681)

121 I would also like to discuss the nature of the relationship between corporation and descent from another point of view, for the nature of the estate of the Yąnomamö descent corporation gives a particular quality to the corporation. Most corporate lineal descent groups have as one of their major functions the control over and disposition of property. The property is usually real property. Pastoralists, of course, have as their estates, herds and use rights to forage areas. Some Northwest Coast and northern California tribes have corporate groups whose estates are acorn groves and portions of salmon streams.

In addition to real property, corporate groups

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a newly planted sucker, the more quickly it will bear fruit. Hence, if the Yąnomamö wish to establish a garden that will produce a crop in the shortest period of time, they must plant large cuttings. These can weigh up to 10 pounds each, and transportation of the cuttings becomes a tremendous task.

As will be made clear later, most long moves are usually stimulated by warfare, and the group is under some pressure to establish a new garden as quickly as possible. The Yąnomamö can speed up their schedule of abandoning an area by taking temporary refuge in the village of an ally, by planting crops other than plantains that mature quickly and produce high yields, or by anticipating a serious war and getting an early start on their new garden. When Kąobawä's group was forced to abandon one of its locations because of a war, the group took refuge with an ally and established its new garden near the ally's village. One of the consequences of these factors is that newly established gardens produce their crops in cycles so that there will be periods of plenty interrupted by periods of hunger. After a few years, the garden will mature and produce constantly. The periods of hunger are eased by planting rapidly developing crops such as maize and by working constantly at transplanting the secondary plantain shoots as they appear. Thus, gardening activities vary largely with the relative maturity of the garden and the length of time the people have been living at that site. Once the plantains are producing constantly, other crops are not cultivated as intensively as before. But whatever the Yąnomamö are eating in a given village, they are striving to get their gardens to produce a constant supply of plantains. The fact that a given village may be relying very heavily on maize at some point in time may reflect no more than the fact that the garden is relatively new and the plantains have not yet begun producing constantly.

After a site has been occupied a few years, gardening activities take on a more regular pattern. The "rectum" (*bei kä bosi*) of the garden is gradually abandoned, and a new "nose" (*bei kä bushibö*) is added by clearing adjacent land and transplanting crops. Thus, a garden has a direction—it moves, little by little. Sometimes there will be as many as three or four discrete gardens around a village, all of them producing more or less continuously. The older ones are gradually abandoned because it is simply easier to clear new land than to attempt to weed the thorny underbrush out of the old site. If you have ever attempted to clear prickly brush without wearing protective clothing, you should immediately see the wisdom of the Yąnomamö choice.

In an established garden site, labor follows a more regular pattern. The dry season is usually the time for feasting, visiting, trading, and warfare. Gardening activities are at a minimum at this time of year, but the ambitious will try to work a few hours each day at weeding, transplanting, and burning brush. Most of the heavy labor of felling large trees is restricted to the wet season, when it is cloudy and generally cooler, and the demands of feasting and dancing do not interfere with the work. Still, practical considerations are more important than a fixed schedule of work, and if the gardens are producing insufficient quantities of food, the Yąnomamö will expand their gardens at any time of the year.

GARDEN PRODUCTS Each man's garden contains three or four varieties of both plantains and bananas. The larger portion of the cultivated land will contain plantains, as they produce a higher yield than bananas. The garden will also have a sizeable patch of sweet manioc, a root crop that is boiled or refined into a rough flour by grinding it on a rock and then converting the flour into thick, round cakes of baked cassava bread.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

guishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö. Many wild plants are also said to have magical properties.

CONCLUSION The Yąnomamö have adapted to their jungle environment with a very simple technology. Exploiting both the naturally occurring foods and domesticated crops is relatively easy with this technology, and the resources of both the jungle and the garden provide the people with the two basic necessities of life: food and shelter. Although the resources are extremely varied and numerous, the diet is largely dominated by one food item: plantains. Techniques of manufacturing are so simple and direct that each individual can produce any item he needs from the resources immediately around him. The material aspect of the culture is decidedly rudimentary by comparison with other tropical forest tribes; the Yąnomamö appear to deliberately limit their possessions to an amount that can be easily transported in case the group is obliged to abandon its site on short notice.

Adaptation to the Sociopolitical Environment

The adaptation of the Yąnomamö to their environment can be only partially expressed in terms of how they make a living in the tropical forest with specific kinds of tools, plants, and techniques, for the forest is only one aspect of the external world to which they must adjust. Their adaptation also takes place in a social and political environment. This likewise affects the way in which the Yąnomamö are distributed over the land, how their villages are moved from one location to another, and the kinds of relationships each village has with its neighbors. In short, the Yąnomamö must relate themselves to each other as well as to nature.

ALLIANCES AND VILLAGE SIZE I spoke of the considerations that must be met when a new garden site is selected. However, the area within which the new site is selected is determined almost exclusively by political factors. A Yąnomamö group would remain indefinitely in the area it settled were it not for the threat of raids from warring neighbors. To be sure, the group would move its garden little by little each year, but the general area would be abandoned only if the people were driven out by stronger groups around them. Again, dissident factions of the village might leave the area if a particularly serious fight developed within the group, but because a garden is necessary for the group to survive as a group, the Yąnomamö abandon them only when faced with disaster. To establish a new garden at a great distance from the old one, a Herculean effort is required just to transport the necessary plantain cuttings and seed, not to mention carrying provisions for eating while the work of clearing the garden and planting the crops progresses. Then, since a new garden produces sporadically for the first year, the people are frequently faced with food shortage. They are, therefore, reluctant to sacrifice the predictability of subsistence at the established garden for insecurity, periods of hunger, and hard work at some distant location.

Instead, they develop political alliances with neighboring villages, thereby adjusting to their social environment. The nature of these alliances is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but at this point I will make some general statements about the relationships between villages to show why, on the one hand, the social environment calls forth the alliances, and why on the other hand, when alliances fail, a group must abandon its area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*621 *623 Village size is an important factor in determining the degree to which a Yąnomamö group must depend on its neighbors for military support in the face of raids. Small villages must make alliances to survive. Village size, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, ranges *621 701 from 40 to 250 inhabitants. Approximately one-third of the village consists of males who are able to participate in the raiding, that is, men who are between 17 and 40 years old. 722 The tactics of warfare are such that a village must be able to field a raiding party of approximately 10 men in order to be able to raid effectively. In addition, when the raiders are away, there must always be a few men at home to protect the women and children. Thus, the military requirements alone seem to demand that a village have at least 15 able-bodied men. As these represent about a third of the group, the minimum village size required by the raiding techniques is 40 to 50 people. I have never seen a village fall below this size in an area where raiding is active, and virtually every village split I investigated took place only when each of the resulting groups contained 40 or more people.

*621 721 .726 The upper limit to village size is also determined in large measure by the intensity of warfare. The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has over 200 people. It was being raided actively by about a dozen different groups while I conducted my fieldwork, groups that raided it about twenty-five times in a period of fifteen months. The Patanowä-teri at one time had split into three groups of about equal size, but raids from their enemies forced them to reunite for common defense. In general, a village will fission after it [578] reaches a population of about 150 because internal feuds and fights are so frequent that peace can only be maintained with great difficulty. A village of 100 individuals, for example, can fission to produce two militarily viable groups of about 50 people each. Only the threat of raids from powerful neighbors will, as in the case of the Patanowä-teri, inhibit the fissioning, and frequently the fission groups will reunite in a single village to fend off the raids of their enemies.

* [628] But a small group of 40 to 50 people is not as viable as a group twice that size. Consequently, it enters into alliances with its neighbors.

*621 582 166 FISSION AND SETTLEMENT There is a tendency for the group to attempt to maximize its size after it becomes an independent entity. This is done by trying to keep all marriages within the group so that there is very little migration of young men and women to other villages after marriage. A small group also welcomes the addition of families from other villages, families that have gotten into fights in their own group and who prefer to leave rather than attempt to patch up their grievances with their kinsmen. Finally, the group tries to attract young men and women from other villages, encouraging them to settle permanently in the group. Rerebawä, for example, is under considerable pressure to remain permanently in Kąobawä's group.

*621 578 837 As the village grows in size and varies in composition, it becomes increasingly difficult to keep order and peace. Extramarital sexual liaisons are more frequent in larger villages, because the probability is lower that the affairs will be discovered. When the Monou-teri rejoined Kąobawä's group to avoid the raids of their enemies, a bloody club fight developed between two men of that village over an affair one of them had with the other's wife. The culprit waited until the group joined Kąobawä's village before approaching the woman, thinking that with so many people in one village he would not be caught.

By the time a village approaches 100 to 150 people, such fights over women are

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

so frequent that the group elects to fission rather than attempt to keep an uneasy internal peace. Although a larger village has an advantage in terms of its capacity to raid other groups and is better able to defend itself from raids, the internal fights often lead to killings within the group. Then, there is no alternative but for one of the factions to leave. Its members may anticipate a situation like this and begin making a new garden long before the fighting becomes violent enough to lead to deaths, or a fight can develop unexpectedly and result immediately in bloodshed. The guilty faction must then seek refuge in the village of an ally until it can establish its own garden. Usually, however, the larger group fissions while its members are on relatively peaceable terms, and the two resulting villages remain in the same general area so that they can reunite when raids threaten them. This is the situation that prevails between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri; all three have a common history as a single village, but the members of each live in separate villages because of the numerous fights that took place within the group while they were still a single village. They continue, however, to rely on each other for protection when raids threaten. The Monou-teri (see Fig. 2-8), in fact, spent about a third of their time in either Lower Bisaasi-teri or in Kąobawï's group while I conducted my fieldwork. They were being raided by the Patanowä-teri and had not completed the new garden they were making. The Patanowä-teri forced them to abandon their producing site and move west.

The Patanowä-teri themselves were forced to establish a new garden because of the incessant raids by a number of villages. In addition to keeping always on the move between their two gardens, they also sought periodic refuge in the village of one of their own allies, a village two days travel to the south of their primary garden.

The raids against the Patanowä-teri by about a dozen villages illustrate a cardinal strategy of Yąnomamö warfare: attack a group when it is beleaguered and weakened by other enemies. When I first arrived, the Patanowä-teri were fighting only three groups. The Monou-teri then entered into the conflict by abducting a number of women from them, an act that ultimately led to raiding and killing. When the Monou-teri entered the conflict, they also persuaded their own allies to participate, bringing four other villages into the war. These, in turn, were joined by some of their allies so that the total number of belligerent villages rapidly grew to about a dozen. Many of them joined the hostilities because they knew that the Patanowä-teri could not defend themselves against a host of enemies. The new belligerents, therefore, stood a good chance of abducting women while being relatively immune to punitive raids. They could also discharge obligations to their allies by supporting their raids against the Patanowä-teri without exposing themselves to great danger.

In Fig. 2-8 the movements of Kąobawï's village over the past seventy-five years is summarized. The village originated at the site of Konata, occupied prior to 1900 by Kąobawï's grandfather. This site was abandoned because several villages (not indicated on the map) began raiding the people with such frequency that they were forced to flee south, cross the Orinoco River, and take refuge with allies at a place called Wareta. Similarly, Wareta was abandoned because of new wars, so the group again crossed the Orinoco River and settled at Namowei. Here, their old enemies again drove them out of the area, so the group migrated to Hąhoyaoba. Kąobawä was born at this location, some forty years ago. This site was abandoned because the soil in that area was very poor; even to this day, there are no Yąnomamö villages located in that general area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

361 578 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village [101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at that site. Kąobawä's group fled to Shihoea, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a 361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take 726 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had 721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they 628 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab- [841] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kąobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954, 621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they [782] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of [722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again, [101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kąobawä [648] and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to establish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an [101] upstream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2-8, have a settlement 621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being 578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away 722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more 184 complicated than the history of Kąobawä's group, since village fissioning began much earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2-8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above two groups of villages.

361 Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Mąmariböwei-teri and Reya- [134] boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2-8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the [648] past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by [722] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The [578] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neighbors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yąnomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 5Q18 Yanoama 5Q18

villages have a profound effect on the nature of the settlement pattern of Yąnomamö villages, and that this same milieu influences the rate at which larger villages fission into smaller, vulnerable groups.

Finally, I emphasize the importance of cultivation in this pattern of village movements and relocation, particularly in the context of relying on allies. Twice during the history of Kąobawä's group they were obliged to take refuge in the village of an ally. All during my fieldwork the Monou-teri also relied on hospitality of this sort from Kąobawä's group, as they were beleaguered by raids from the Patanowä-teri and had not yet completed their new garden. In short, the fact that the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated food has led to specific obligations between members of allied villages: a good ally is one who will take you in when you are driven from your gardens by enemy raids. The essence of political life, therefore, is to develop stable alliances with neighboring villages so as to create a social network that potentially allows a local group to rely for long periods of time on the gardens of neighboring villages. I will describe the politics of alliance formation in Chapter 4, as it is intimately bound up with feasting, trading, and marriage.

Intellectual Environment

The comparative poverty of Yąnomamö material culture is more than compensated for by the richness and complexity of their theological concepts, myths, and legends.

One of the distinctive features of Yąnomamö cosmology and theology is the opportunity it provides for inventiveness. Individuals can and do modify concepts, embellish them, improve on them and, in general, use their imaginations when trafficking in myths or concepts of the soul and afterlife. In short, there is room for thinkers in Yąnomamö culture.

The result of this is that many variants of the same basic myth can be found over a relatively small area. Indeed, each village will contain people who tell the myth a slightly different way; the basic elements remain the same each time, but personal views are interjected and reflect the idiosyncracies of the narrator. The Yąnomamö appear to enjoy these intellectual exercises, for in myth and cosmology they are able to demonstrate their personal abilities as users of their language, the true language of man.

THE COSMOS The Yąnomamö conceive of the external world as having an origin, boundaries, supernatural beings, and a specific nature.

The cosmos is comprised of four parallel layers, lying horizontally and located one on top of the other (see Fig. 2-4b). They are like inverted platters: gently curved, thin, circular, rigid, and having two surfaces, top and bottom.

The uppermost layer is the "tender" plane: *duhu hï mini*. At the present time, it is "empty" or "void" (*bruhi*), but some things had their origins there in the distant past. These moved down to other layers. Today, the uppermost layer is sometimes described as being "an old woman" (*una pata*), a phrase used to describe an abandoned garden or a female who is no longer capable of producing offspring. This layer does not figure prominently in the everyday life of the Yąnomamö; it is merely something that is there and once had a function.

11: Chagnon F-S (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

These figures represent a *sample* of marriages in the two villages. The sample consists of all married males who are thirty-five years old or younger. The sample was chosen in this fashion because the analysis of the marriage types depends on genealogical information covering several generations. By selecting only the younger men the analysis can be quite easily undertaken. In Patanowä-teri there were 38 men of this category, many of whom had multiple wives. A man with four wives, therefore, represents four marriages. In Lower Bisaasi-teri only 10 married men were below thirty-five years of age and accounted for the seventeen marriages. If all the men were included, the analysis would be inaccurate because I do not have adequately long genealogies for some of the oldest men. Up to 1940, the villages of Patanowä-teri and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not separate entities; they separated from each other at about that time. Patanowä-teri is a large and powerful village, containing 212 people. Lower Bisaasi-teri, with only 51 people, is militarily dependent on several of its allies.

Four types of marriages are shown in Table 3–2. The term prescriptive refers to the kinds of marriages described in Fig. 3–2. An incestuous marriage is defined as a man marrying a woman of his own patrilineage (or his mother or niece reckoned through his mother's side of the family). Marriages resulting from either alliance or abduction have been lumped into a single category because they represent the recruitment of spouses from outside the group. Finally, a few marriages are unexplainable in terms of Yanomamö kinship and marriage equations; these represent marriages between members of distinct lineages that have recently entered into exchanges with each other.

As can be seen from Table 3–2, there is a major difference between the two villages in the proportion of prescriptive marriages on the one hand and alliance marriages on the other. In short, the Patanowä-teri follow their marriage prescriptions far more rigorously than do the Lower Bisaasi-teri. This is so because Patanowä-teri, a much larger village, does not need to enter into marriage alliances with its neighbors; it is politically and militarily capable of an autonomous existence. Most of the alliance-abduction marriages in Patanowä-teri are, in fact, abductions; in Bisaasi-teri most of them are alliance marriages. Therefore, the relative frequency of alliance-type marriages is much lower for Patanowä-teri than for Lower Bisaasi-teri. This difference in marriage behavior stems from the relative abilities of the two groups to maintain military autonomy in a milieu of chronic warfare, a quality that is largely a function of the size of the group. The members of a militarily vulnerable village will breach the marriage prescriptions in order to establish political alliances with neighboring groups by ceding women to them.

TABLE 3–2
MARRIAGE TYPES IN PATANOWÄ-TERI AND LOWER BISAASI-TERI

	Patanowä-teri	Lower Bisaasi-teri
1. Prescriptive	37	7
2. Incestuous	4	1
3. Alliance and/or abduction	8	9
4. Unexplained	3	0
Totals:	52	17

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December–January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yąnomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

4

Political Alliances, Trading and Feasting

YANOMAMÖ FEASTS take place only when one sovereign group entertains the members of another, allied group. Feasts, in brief, are political events. To be sure, economic and ceremonial implications are also significant, but these are relatively minor when compared to the functions of the feast in the context of forming alliances. The chief purpose of entertaining allies is to reaffirm and cultivate intervillage solidarity in the intimate, sociable context of food presentations, thereby putting the ally under obligation to reciprocate the feast in his own village at a later date, bringing about another feast and even more solidarity.

I will describe in this chapter some of the relationships between trade, economic specialization, historical ties between groups, warfare, and intervillage marriage exchanges, all of which are intimately connected and interact with each other in the process of developing political alliances.

I described in Chapter 2 how the members of independent villages cultivated friendships with each other in the process of establishing themselves in a loose network of allied villages. I then showed in Chapter 3 how Kąobawä's followers were related to him and how he, in turn, was related to the members of several other villages. Now I will take up some of the political consequences of the historical ties and how they shape and mould the nature of specific contemporary relationships between Kąobawä's group and those which have political dealings with it. To illustrate this, I will describe the details of a particular feast in the context of the political ties, both historical and contemporary, existing between Kąobawä's group and the guests at the feast. First, however, I will comment on Yąnomamö alliances in general.

General Features of Alliances

One of the expectations and implications of alliance is that the partners are under obligation to provide shelter and sustenance to each other whenever one of them is driven from his village and garden by a powerful enemy. The beleaguered partner may be

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*628 The beleaguered partner may be
722 obliged to remain in the village of his host for a year or longer, approximately the length
241 of time required to establish a new plantation and productive base from which an inde-
562 pendent existence is possible. Twice in the recent history of Kaobawä's group they were
581 driven from their gardens by more powerful enemies and were forced to take refuge in
582 the village of an ally. In each case the group remained with the ally for a year or so, moving away only after their new garden began producing. In both cases, the hosts demanded and received a number of women from Kaobawä's group without reciprocating in kind, a prerogative they exercised from their temporary position of strength. The longer the group takes advantage of a hosts' protection, the higher is the cost in terms of women, so visitors always make an attempt to establish their gardens as quickly as possible and move into them as soon as they begin producing. Without allies, therefore, the members of a village would either have to remain at their single garden and sustain the attacks of their enemies or disband into several smaller groups and join larger villages on a permanent basis, losing many of their women to their protectors. The jungle simply does not produce enough wild foods to sustain larger groups, and the threat of warfare is such that smaller groups would soon be discovered by their enemies and exterminated.

Because of the ever-present risk of being driven from one's garden, therefore, no Yanomamö village can continue to exist as a sovereign entity without establishing alliances with other groups. Warfare is attended by a bellicose ideology which asserts that strong villages should take advantage of weaker ones and coerce them out of women; to prevent this, all villages should therefore behave as if they were strong. Thus, the military threat creates a situation in which intervillage alliance is desirable, but at the same time spawns a military ideology that inhibits the formation of such alliances: Allies need but cannot trust each other. They are obliged to behave aggressively in order to display their respective strength.

*628 Alliances between villages are the product of a developmental sequence that in-
438 volves casual trading, mutual feasting, and finally the exchange of women. The most
574 intimate allies are those who, in addition to trading and feasting, exchange women. Any
581 developing alliance may stabilize at the trading or feasting stage without proceeding to
582 the woman-exchange phase. These are weak alliances, but serve to limit the degree of
602 war that might possibly obtain between the villages so related: The Yanomamö tend to avoid attacking those villages with which they trade and feast, unless some specific incident, such as the abduction of a woman, provokes them. Allies that are linked by trade and feasting ties, for example, rarely accuse each other of practicing harmful magic. Allies bound to each other by affinal kinship ties, however, are more interdependent because they are under obligation to each other to continue to exchange women. It is, in fact, by the exchange of women that independent villages extend kinship ties to each other.

*628 Members of allied villages are usually reluctant to take the final step in alliance
562 formation and cede women to their partners, for they are always worried that the latter
581 might not reciprocate as promised. This attitude is especially conspicuous in smaller
582 villages, for their larger partners in defense pressure them into demonstrating their solidarity by ceding women; the strong can and do coerce the weak in Yanomamö politics. The weak, therefore, are compelled to exaggerate their strength by bluff and intimidation and by attempting in general to appear to be stronger, militarily, than they really are, thereby hoping to convince their partners that they are equals, capable of an independent

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

bawä's group arrived. The men of Kąobawä's group danced both singly and en masse and were invited into the homes of their hosts. At this point their hosts fell upon them with axes and staves, killing about a dozen men before the visitors could break through the palisade and escape. Kąobawä's father was among the victims. Once outside, they were shot from ambush by the Möwaraoba-teri, who managed to kill a few more and wound many others with arrows. A number of women and girls were captured by the hosts, though some were later recaptured by Kąobawä's group in revenge raids. It was probably their host's greed for the women that permitted any survivors at all, as my informants asserted that the Iwahikoroba-teri began chasing the women while the men were still vulnerable. A few of the Iwahikoroba-teri refused to participate in the slaughter and even helped some of Kąobawä's group escape. 628* 574 726

The survivors fled to Kobou, a site they had begun clearing for a new garden. Here they removed the arrow points and nursed their wounds before reluctantly returning to Kreiböwei, their only producing garden. Kobou was still too new to support the group, and hunger forced them to return to Kreiböwei. As this location was well known to their treacherous allies, they wished to abandon it as soon as possible, knowing that their enemies could easily kill the rest of the men and abduct the remaining women. 628* 727 [241]

Within a week or so of the treacherous feast, the Mahekodo-teri, a visiting ally of Kąobawä's group, learned of the massacre and offered aid. The Mahekodo-teri headman himself visited Kąobawä's village and invited the entire group to his village to take refuge. They accepted the offer, and in January of 1951, after conducting one revenge raid on the enemies, moved to Mahekodo-teri. 628* 722 726

The Mahekodo-teri had been allied to Kąobawä's group a generation earlier, but after Kąobawä's group moved away from the Orinoco River, alliance activity had dwindled to just sporadic trading. True to Yąnomamö political behavior, the Mahekodo-teri, being in an obviously stronger bargaining position, offered their protection and aid with gain in mind: they demanded and received a number of their guests' women. Again, the members of Kąobawä's group suspected further treachery from their new protectors and assiduously worked at establishing a new garden. They were forced to stay with the Mahekodo-teri until their new garden could totally support them—about a year. Even during this time, however, they spent weeks on end away from their host's village, carrying their food with them and working on their new plantations. They would return to obtain new food supplies, rest for a few weeks, and leave again. When Mahekodo-teri later split into three factions, Kąobawä and his group learned from one of them the details of a plot in which the Mahekodo-teri were going to kill the men and abduct the women. The only thing that prevented them from doing so was the development of a new war between Mahekodo-teri and another village, one that required the assistance of Kąobawä and his group. [241]

For a few years after the separation from Mahekodo-teri, Kąobawä's group was invited to feast there. Because they suspected that the Mahekodo-teri were plotting against them, however, usually the men alone would attend the feast, thereby reducing the probability of another massacre. The women and children were concealed in the jungle during the time the men were away at the feast. Gradually, the alliance cooled off again and the two groups remained relatively indifferent towards each other, but at peace. 628* 574 722

By 1960, Kąobawä's group had regained some of its military strength and had 628*

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

One of Damowä's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowä-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowä-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowä's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowä outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewä, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowä, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kaobawä and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowä's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowä were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowä-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowä the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowä's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kaobawä, a classificatory brother to Damowä, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowä's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwä, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hor* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage.

Kaobawä delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2] See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-3 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

burning it, and Kąobawä's village, where they took occasional rests to regain their energy. They returned to their old site only to collect plantains, which they carried to the new site. Kąobawä's group then built a new *shabono* and fortified it, anticipating the war they knew would be inevitable. Up to this point, Kąobawä's group, Upper Bisaasi-teri, maintained two small *shabonos* a few yards apart from each other, but they coalesced into a single, larger group and moved into the new *shabono* when it was completed. The visiting Monou-teri also helped them work on the new structure.

Meanwhile, the Patanowä-teri, knowing that they would be raided by the Monou-teri and their allies, also began clearing a new garden. They selected a site abandoned by Kąobawä's group many years ago, knowing that the peach-palm trees were still producing there. By this time the Patanowä-teri were in rather desperate straits. Their old enemies, the several groups on the Orinoco River, began raiding them with even greater frequency, as they had learned that the Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri were again at war with the Patanowä-teri. A few additional villages began raiding the Patanowä-teri to settle old grudges, realizing that the Patanowä-teri had so many enemies that they could not possibly retaliate against all of them.

The Patanowä-teri then began moving from one location to another, hoping to avoid and confuse their enemies. They spent the dry season in turns at their main producing garden, with the Ashadowä-teri, their only ally, and at their new garden. Each group that raided them passed the word to other villages concerning the location of the Patanowä-teri. If they were not at one place, then they had to be at one of the other two. The raids were frequent and took a heavy toll. At least eight people were killed by raiders, and a number of others were wounded. Some of the dead were women and children, a consequence of the fact that the Patanowä-teri themselves sent a heavy volley of arrows into the village of one of their enemies and killed two women. To revenge this, the enemy began deliberately shooting Patanowä-teri women. Females are normally not the target of raiders' arrows. The Patanowä-teri were raided at least twenty-five times while I conducted my fieldwork. They themselves retaliated as frequently as possible, but could not return tit for tat. They managed to drive their main enemies, the Hasaböwä-teri, away from their garden, forcing them to flee across the Orinoco. They concentrated on raiding this group until they had killed most of the *waiteri* (fierce ones). They were so successful at doing this that the Hasaböwä-teri ultimately withdrew from the war. Several of my informants claimed that they did so because their fierce ones were all dead, and nobody was interested in prosecuting the war any further.

When the Hasaböwä-teri withdrew from the raiding, the Patanowä-teri then concentrated on raiding the Monou-teri. Every time the Monou-teri returned to their main site they found the tracks of numerous men who had visited the village, tracks that always came from the direction of Patanowä-teri. Consequently, the Monou-teri moved into Kąobawä's group for protection, fearing to return to their old site until the jungle was completely inundated by the rains.

Kąobawä's group resented this somewhat and made no bones about reminding the Monou-teri that they were eating large quantities of food from the gardens. When complaining became intense, the Monou-teri moved into the village of the Lower Bisaasi-teri and lived off their produce until the latter also began to complain. Then they traveled to the Mõmariböwei-teri and lived with them for a while, returning to Kąobawä's village when these allies wearied of the visitors. When the hosts, the Lower

722 *628 [662] [576] Bisaasi-teri, for example, wanted to get rid of the Monou-teri, they would hold a feast in their honor. When the going-home food was presented to them, they had no alternative but to leave. It would have been insulting to remain after the food was presented. In between their moves they returned to their own producing site to collect plantains and carry them to their new garden. They subsisted there off the food they carried with them.

The Monou-teri soon resented being treated like pariahs by their allies and began to regain their courage. Much of this treatment was due to the fact that they failed to chase the raiders when Damowä was slain, displaying cowardice instead of ferocity. Many of the men in the Bisaasi-teri groups resented the Monou-teri for this and were not timid about displaying their disgust. The Monou-teri were a burden, as they rarely helped at expanding Bisaasi-teri's gardens and ate a good deal of the time.

721 726 *628 The raid Kąobawä organized to revenge Damowä's death took place late in April. The Shamatari allies—Mõmariböwei-teri and Reyaböwei-teri—were invited to participate, but they failed to send a contingency. As allies never really trust each other, the raid was delayed because some of the Bisaasi-teri suspected that their allies were waiting for the raiders to leave so that they could descend on the poorly protected women and make off with captives. Finally, a few of them did arrive and the *wayu itou* (warrior line-up) got under way. Still, the Bisaasi-teri feared treachery on the part of their Shamatari friends, so the men of Lower Bisaasi-teri decided to stay home and protect the women [574] left behind by the Monou-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri raiders. A small feast was held to entertain the visiting Shamatari allies.

726 On the afternoon of the feast a grass dummy was set up in the village, and the men who were to participate in the raid conducted a mock attack on the dummy, which was supposed to represent the body of a Patanowä-teri man. They painted themselves black, crept slowly around the village with bows and arrows ready, searching for the tracks of the enemy. They converged at one point, spread out, crept toward the dummy, and, at Kąobawä's signal, let fly with a volley of arrows. The Yąnomamö are good archers. None of the arrows missed its mark, and the dummy, looking like a pincushion, toppled ominously to the ground, a dozen or more bamboo-tipped arrows protruding from it. Then the raiders screamed and ran out of the village, simulating their retreat from the enemy. They drifted back into the village, one at a time or in small groups, and retired to their hammocks to wait for darkness.

The village became unusually quiet shortly after dark. Suddenly, the stillness was [825] pierced by an animal-like noise, half-scream and half-growl, as the first raider marched slowly out to the center of the village, clacking his arrows against his bow, growling his individualized fierce noise, usually a mimic of a carnivore: a wasp, or a buzzard. At [123] this signal—not knowing fully what to expect and a little nervous—I crept from my own [126] hammock and went to the center of the village with my tape recorder. The other raiders joined the first man, coming one at a time after short intervals, each clacking his arrows and growling some hideous noise. Kąobawä stood by and made sure the line was straight and faced the direction of the enemy; he would push or pull the individual warriors until they formed a perfectly straight line, joining them after the last one took his place.

The procession to the line-up took about twenty minutes, as about 50 or so men participated (see Fig. 5-2). When the last one was in line, the murmurs among the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

If there are novices in the raiding party, the older men will conduct mock raids, showing them how they are to participate. A grass dummy or soft log is frequently employed in this, as was the case in the *wayu itou* held in the village the day before the raiders left. Particularly young men will be positioned in the marching party somewhere in the middle of the single file of raiders so they will not be the first ones to be exposed to danger should the raiders themselves be ambushed. These young men will also be permitted to retreat first. Damowä had a twelve-year-old son when he was killed. This boy, Matarawä, was recruited into the raiding party to give him an opportunity to avenge his father's death. The older men made sure he would be exposed to minimum danger, as this was his first raid.

The separated groups of raiders approach the village at dawn and conceal themselves near the commonly used paths to the source of drinking water. They wait for the enemy to come to them. A good many of the victims of raids are shot while fetching water.

Frequently, the enemy is wary and acts defensively at all times when there is an active war going on. Only large groups of people can leave the village, and these are well armed. Raiders will not attack a large group such as this. When the enemy is found to be this cautious, the raiders have no choice but to retreat or to shoot volleys of arrows blindly into the village, hoping to strike someone at a distance. They retreat after they release their arrows, depending on the gossip of other villages to learn if their arrows did find their marks. Rarely, one of the raiders will attempt to enter the village during the night and kill someone while he sleeps. Damowä's younger brother allegedly accomplished this on one raid, but few men are brave enough to try it. Most of the time the raiders manage to ambush a single individual, kill him, and retreat before they are discovered. This is considered to be the most desirable outcome of the raid.

The women were nervous, frightened, and irritable while the men were away, and they were constantly on the lookout for raiders from other villages. This is always a time to suspect raiders, since allies occasionally turn on their friends when the women are poorly guarded, abducting as many as possible while their husbands are away.

After several days the women were so frustrated and anxious that fights began to break out among them. One woman got angry because another one, her sister and co-wife, left her to tend a small baby. When the mother returned, the angry one picked up a piece of firewood and bashed her on the side of her head with it, knocking her unconscious and causing her ear to bleed profusely.

The raiders had been gone almost a week when Kaobawä and his youngest brother staggered into the village, nearly dead from exhaustion. Kaobawä's pains had gotten so bad that he decided to turn back just before they reached the Patanowä-teri village. He could barely walk by that time and would not have been able to elude pursuers should the enemy have given chase. Shararaiwä, his brother, decided to accompany him back lest he run into a group of Patanowä-teri hunters, or his condition grow even more severe. Shortly after they had dropped out of the raiding party, Shararaiwä stepped on a snake and was bitten. The rains had started, and the snakes were beginning to concentrate on the higher grounds, making walking a hazard. His leg began to swell immediately, and he could not walk. Hence, Kaobawä had to carry him out on his back, despite the fact that he could barely walk himself. Carrying him for nearly two days, he managed to reach the Orinoco River. Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
516
411
765
276
926

Fig. 5–4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Damowã, slain Monou-teri headman.*

726
701

located the enemy, but Paruriwã refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

726
114

The Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri raided against the Patanowã-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

722
628

726

The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowã-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

[765]

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Damowã were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's village and entered into feasting relationships with his followers.

Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's village. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother, Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tĕka.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

over the loss of the five women, and Yąnomamö canons of ferocity dictated that this loss would have to be avenged. The Monou-tedi informed the Patanowä-tedi that they were going to shoot them on sight the next time they met.

After the Patanowä-tedi returned to Bisaasi-tedi they packed their possessions and left for home. The feast was cancelled, as the Patanowä-tedi feared being ambushed by a Monou-tedi raiding party if they remained at Bisaasi-tedi. Before departing, the Patanowä-tedi assured their hosts that they still wanted peace with them, no matter what the Monou-tedi eventually did.

This illustrates dramatically the Yąnomamö political philosophy that it is legitimate to take advantage of a weak village. The Monou-tedi, knowing that the Patanowä-tedi were politically in need of allies, took advantage of this situation when they abducted the women. They also knew that the Bisaasi-tedi would not take Patanowä-tedi's side in the dispute that was bound to follow, as too many of the Bisaasi-tedi had personal grudges against the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi also knew that the Patanowä-tedi were not likely to begin a war over this incident, as they already had more enemies than they could successfully withstand without allies. In short, the Monou-tedi knew that they stood a good chance of gaining women by abducting them from the Patanowä-tedi without great risk of being shot by the latter. As the conclusion shows, they managed to obtain two women and did not get into a shooting war with the Patanowä-tedi. However, their anger at

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

so frequent that the group elects to fission rather than attempt to keep an uneasy internal peace. Although a larger village has an advantage in terms of its capacity to raid other groups and is better able to defend itself from raids, the internal fights often lead to killings within the group. Then, there is no alternative but for one of the factions to leave. Its members may anticipate a situation like this and begin making a new garden long before the fighting becomes violent enough to lead to deaths, or a fight can develop unexpectedly and result immediately in bloodshed. The guilty faction must then seek refuge in the village of an ally until it can establish its own garden. Usually, however, the larger group fissions while its members are on relatively peaceable terms, and the two resulting villages remain in the same general area so that they can reunite when raids threaten them. This is the situation that prevails between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri; all three have a common history as a single village, but the members of each live in separate villages because of the numerous fights that took place within the group while they were still a single village. They continue, however, to rely on each other for protection when raids threaten. The Monou-teri (see Fig. 2–8), in fact, spent about a third of their time in either Lower Bisaasi-teri or in Kąobawä's group while I conducted my fieldwork. They were being raided by the Patanowä-teri and had not completed the new garden they were making. The Patanowä-teri forced them to abandon their producing site and move west.

The Patanowä-teri themselves were forced to establish a new garden because of the incessant raids by a number of villages. In addition to keeping always on the move between their two gardens, they also sought periodic refuge in the village of one of their own allies, a village two days travel to the south of their primary garden.

The raids against the Patanowä-teri by about a dozen villages illustrate a cardinal strategy of Yąnomamö warfare: attack a group when it is beleaguered and weakened by other enemies. When I first arrived, the Patanowä-teri were fighting only three groups. The Monou-teri then entered into the conflict by abducting a number of women from them, an act that ultimately led to raiding and killing. When the Monou-teri entered the conflict, they also persuaded their own allies to participate, bringing four other villages into the war. These, in turn, were joined by some of their allies so that the total number of belligerent villages rapidly grew to about a dozen. Many of them joined the hostilities because they knew that the Patanowä-teri could not defend themselves against a host of enemies. The new belligerents, therefore, stood a good chance of abducting women while being relatively immune to punitive raids. They could also discharge obligations to their allies by supporting their raids against the Patanowä-teri without exposing themselves to great danger.

In Fig. 2–8 the movements of Kąobawä's village over the past seventy-five years is summarized. The village originated at the site of Konata, occupied prior to 1900 by Kąobawä's grandfather. This site was abandoned because several villages (not indicated on the map) began raiding the people with such frequency that they were forced to flee south, cross the Orinoco River, and take refuge with allies at a place called Wareta. Similarly, Wareta was abandoned because of new wars, so the group again crossed the Orinoco River and settled at Namowei. Here, their old enemies again drove them out of the area, so the group migrated to Hąhoyaoba. Kąobawä was born at this location, some forty years ago. This site was abandoned because the soil in that area was very poor; even to this day, there are no Yąnomamö villages located in that general area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

One of Damowä's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowä-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowä-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowä's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowä outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewä, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowä, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kąobawä and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowä's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowä were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowä-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowä the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowä's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kąobawä, a classificatory brother to Damowä, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowä's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwä, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hor* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage.

Kąobawä delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2]See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-5 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
382 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the híkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the híkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the híkula of the enemy goes out to his
● 725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

701 703 721 123 114 pills before the raiding party left, but I forgot them. This almost ended the raiding party, as the younger men jumped on this as an excuse to stay home. The older men, however, forced them into line and severly chastized them for being cowardly.

701 721 725 Raiding tactics also require that approximately ten men be included in the raiding party. The raiding party usually splits into two or more groups when it approaches the village of the enemy. This increases the probability that the raid will be successful; two groups are more likely to confront individuals of the enemy village while at the same time splitting up reduces the possibility that the raiders will be accidentally discovered by the enemy. After the raiders shoot one or more of the enemy, they retreat in a standardized pattern. Groups of two men retreat a specified distance, their retreat being covered by two men who lie in ambush along the trail most likely to be taken by pursuers. The guarding pair then retreats, being covered by the first pair who lie in ambush. If the raiding party has separated into two groups, retreat tactics will necessitate at least 8 men.

721 727 The purpose of a raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and retreat before being discovered. A raid is successful only if one or more of the enemy is killed and none of the raiders is wounded or killed. When a joint raiding party from Mahekodo-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi raided Riakowë's village in the early '50s to revenge the deaths of two

721 727 Mahekodo-tedi men and the victims of the 1950-51 treacherous feast, they succeeded in destroying Riakowë's village and garden, recapturing two of the women abducted by the Shamatari, killing three men, and abducting Riakowë's son.[1] They did not consider the raid a success because the Shamatari succeeded in killing one of the raiders. Again, in 1965 a joint raiding party comprised of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi men raided the Patanowë-tedi, killing one man. One of the Monou-tedi, Konoreiwë, was badly wounded by the Patanowë-tedi and almost died. The raid was only partially successful according to the raiders.

701 • 725 721 *[628] The tactic of ambush and retreat does not require the participation of large numbers of men. Raiding parties of 60 men, therefore, are somewhat less effective than raiding parties of 25-30 men, because raiding parties of this size usually involve the cooperation of two or more villages. 701 *628 721 Then, the organization of such large numbers of men is a problem, as each village will have its own leader, and therefore the contingency of raiders provided by allied villages in a joint raid has its own leadership. Thus, joint raids are invariably less effective because of the numbers of men involved and the difficulty of organizing them properly. The contingency of allies in a joint raiding party is less enthusiastic about the raid than the group from the aggrieved village, and if the enemy is not to be found at the site being

[115] [1]Both Barker and my informants gave me an account of this raid. The two versions were identical.

/116 cont./

361 scanty knowledge, their population varies between 200 and 300.
161 Whereas there in the unexplored south organizational forms for
[62] larger numbers of people have evidently developed, the socio-
logical system of the Waika is organized for only the above-named
figure of a hundred village inhabitants; a surplus of births is
answered by village partition.

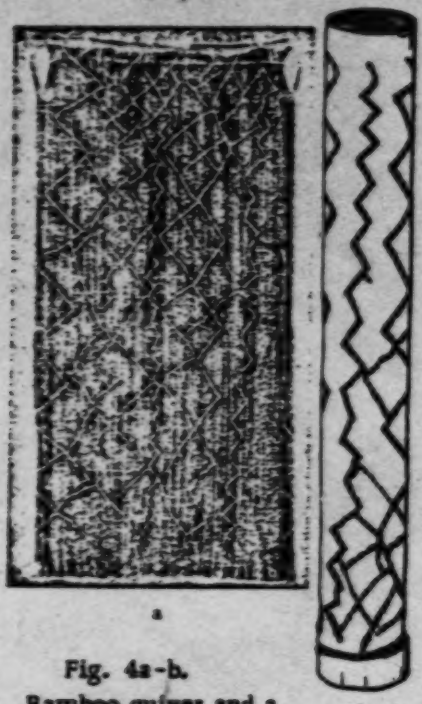
628 The politically independent villages are partners in war and
peace and for trading and visiting, and the momentary, frequently
changing relationships of the villages to one another give the
political situation in Waika territory its stamp. Let us first look
721 at the hostile relationships. Affairs involving women are for the
[583] most part the cause of war; if a wife is sought in other villages,
and if the offer is turned down, one resorts to abducting a woman.
Once there has been bloodshed in quarrels originating from this,
the war is self-perpetuating; the original cause has not been for-
gotten, to be sure, but because of its slight intensity in the con-
ceptual world it in no way suffices as a motive for the continuation
● 726 of the war. Rather, what does not permit breaking the chain of
attacks repeated at intervals of a few months, in which the enemy
men are killed, but the women abducted, /117/ is ideas and analogous
728 to blood revenge. Concluding peace is possible only when there has
been no bloodshed for a long period of time, and hostile relations
628 often last for generations. Thus Waika country is covered with a
network of hostile relationships of varying degrees, and, picking
a village at random, one can distinguish a series of villages that
are friendly, benevolently indifferent, neutral, sympathetic with
[726] the enemy, and, finally, completely hostile. For no two villages,
however, is this series completely identical; there are no ex-
tensive alliances; war is an affair of the individual village, and a
friendly village is aided only if there are personal reasons for
hostility. No Waika village is without an enemy, and because
of the many crisscrossings of the degrees of relationships the
political situation is extremely complicated. We therefore see
that even on the broadest social plane -- that of the people as
a cultural and linguistic whole -- there is a very pronounced

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

000 411 194 173 411 726 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would represent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waiká, Zerries reports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them

411 415 531



a b

Fig. 4a-b.
Bamboo quiver and a rubbing of the incised design.

173 411 726 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hímo," which are made from the wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

411 171 578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled, which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.
111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Puseheweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726]

Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. [115] (Statement by Herr Alípio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of la. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

and frequent wars (313).

313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551 162 [16[

The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]

314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

Surára, Pakidái

619 /74 cont./
648 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.
721

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-
[835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára
[171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriâna. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the
[171]

342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

/74 cont./

343 (cont.)
Richard Schomburgk points out that their body painting in wartime differs from that of peacetimes. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, page 322).

spend the night quietly, while a few scouts reconnoiter the position. At dawn the warriors blow large quantities of snuff into each other's noses and then, completely unfettered, but in all silence they storm the hostile maloka. Men and boys are killed ruthlessly with arrow shots, and the women and children are dragged off as captives. But the attackers, too, often have to suffer great losses, and it is said that they are sometimes put to flight.

During my stay among the Surára, I heard of an attack by the Xiriána and allied warriors on a maloka of the Waiká on the Río Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini (see p. 16). On this occasion, as I was told, all the Waiká men were killed, and the women and girls were brought to the Xiriána maloka as captives. The head of the Waiká chief, as the war chief of the Surára added, was then adorned with feathers by the Xiriána and left standing in front of their community house for several days as a trophy; after that it was thrown away (344). The night after

344. The Hõrio and Ebidoso in the northeastern Chaco, who occasionally behave in a similar way, are to be referred to as a parallel (Baldus, 1931, p. 73).

the attack there was a big dance festival, in which all the men took part. Before that they took snuff and prayed to the hekurá (see p.199), in order to thank them for the victory.

/222 cont./

793 the men learn because of the frequency with which he sings them.
773 He sings during the day, but especially at night. Suddenly he
[776] interrupts his song and flies up into the sky, where he joins other hɛwĩawán in order to sup with Omao.

The hɛwĩawán must jealously keep a certain number of
793 taboos, and on the degree of care with which he keeps them
784 depends, not only his power as a priest, but also the existence of
[262] all his people. Thus, for example, he must not eat crabs or other animals which in reality are men to them, just like eagles, etc.

[778] Should he do this, the "weight of the dead" kills his hikuladɛ, a disaster which, in turn, causes the death, not only
[726] of the priest, but also of a large part of his congregation. For the same reason, the hɛwĩawán never takes part in war or in any combat whatsoever, because, although he is invulnerable and no arrow or club can kill him, his hikuladɛ could not bear the "weight" of a man killed by his weapons. This is the reason why each Sanemá local group relies on a special chief for wartime.

793 The hɛwĩawán, who belongs to the court of Omao more than
[776] to the Sanemá community, does not marry a specific woman.
[836] He may have sexual relations with all the unmarried women of the group, but he is completely unconcerned about them and the children. He has no duties as either husband or father.

/223/ If a hɛwĩawán dies, any woman of the group may
[776] have a son predestined to be a hɛwĩawán. No one knows which
[781] of the boys born in the period immediately after the death of a priest may be the hɛwĩawán of the future, but one day the true hɛwĩawán will return from the forest where he has met the Great Jaguar, who changed him into a priest, replacing his human flesh with other flesh more worthy of his bones, the flesh of a bat-priest.

[771] He than informs the people of what has happened, and, as that election happens shortly after the death of a priest, the new hɛwĩawán tries to take the vacant place in time, assuring, in this manner, the continuation of uninterrupted contact which the Sanemá have had with Omao generation after generation.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

there for the taking in the forest and the supply, from both animal and vegetable sources, is inexhaustible.

The bow is of surprising dimensions. It is six feet six inches long, this being equivalent, considering the height of the archer, to nine feet nine inches for us. The simplest pattern is made from the *seke* palm. They also use a hardwood—from a tree known in Venezuela as the 'golden pole'. This is very rare, almost as rare among the Indians as metal. But the finest bows of all, possessed by the few and worth a fortune, are made from the corozo tree, the *lakse* of the Shirians. This wood is extremely hard but very fibrous, with the elasticity of a steel spring. The shaping and fining down of these bows, and the making of the arrows, is the one form of craftsmanship known to the Samatari. With this they occupy themselves during the rainy season, under rough roofs of palm leaves. A tree belonging to the Moraceae family furnishes the very tough fibre for the bowstrings: it is found all along the river-banks and in the forest glades.

The slender arrows, six foot six inches long, are made from a cane cultivated in the secret depths of the forest, though it grows naturally on any of the river creeks which flood regularly. Curassow or guan feathers, split in half, are bound on to the cane.

There are three types of arrow-head, according to the purpose for which they are to be used. The lightest is a splinter cut from the shinbone of a monkey, firmly fixed to the end of a short stick, in such a way as to form a sharp-pointed prong. This is used on small animals, and especially for birds and fish. There are numbers of big fish, like the *pampano* and *surapiri*, which lie near the surface so that a slight rippling of the water betrays their presence. The arrow which pierces them cannot be shaken out, and its length and weight make it difficult for the wounded fish to get very far.

Another kind of point is virtually a miniature spear fashioned out of a very hard bamboo cane. Very sharp, and razor-edged, it will strike deep into the most resistant flesh, the toughest hide. The Samatari use this on the bigger game, such as tapir, and also for war—though for the latter purpose it is superseded by a specialized warhead. This is a sharpened splinter of palm wood—the same as goes to the making of the bows—dipped in a red poison made from the bark of a certain tree. A series of rings, four or five of them, are notched out round the arrow-tip, so that it is weakened at these places. If the tip strikes bone on entering the body, or if the arrow is pulled out, it snaps at one of these weakened parts, leaving the broken tip embedded in the flesh so that

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the poison has time to spread and enter the bloodstream. The Samatari go off to war with masses of these poisoned arrows and a cane quiver slung across their shoulders. This contains spare arrow-heads which can be quickly attached to the arrows arriving in a stream from the enemy. Every fighter carries his own ammunition, but the weapons are really the common property of friend and foe alike.

There is one other widely used weapon, and a deadly one it is—a heavy wooden club for use on the cranium in close-combat conditions, such as usually arise at the end of the battle when the ammunition is exhausted and the antagonists have worked themselves up into a fine frenzy. Then the hand-to-hand fighting excels in ferocity, but the blood scattered on the ground is misleading—the actual mortality rate is very low. Tremendous whacks on the head are exchanged, that lay the scalp open right down to the bone. But cracking the cranium itself is not so easy: Samatari heads are harder than Corozo palm.

One may well ask why the Indians are forever fighting these wars, but this is to put the question a little too ingenuously. The answer can only be that it is their mode of life—just as it is other people's mode of life not to keep on fighting. There are vendettas as old as their race itself, fanned by their belief in the evil eye of the witch doctors who can cause the death of children and spread sickness through the tribe. Fear is the underlying cause, at the origin of these vendettas and at the origin of all origins; fear that is the very condition, the very breath of existence for primitive man in the inhuman, unhuman forest regions that set their stamp on all who live in them. Fear gives birth to these bloody encounters, which a little cool-headedness could transform into the meeting of friends. We ourselves owed our salvation to the fact that we hadn't fought back. We had a certain confidence too, over and above the passing moment of fear, a certain faith in the essential goodness of man.

But apart from fear and the vendettas which grow out of it, there is one native activity which just as easily leads to war: theft. Theft is the activity in which the Shirians excel, their way of living. Everything that can further their nomadic existence is torn out of the earth, the trees and the animals. The process means effort and struggle, always more or less exhausting and unsafe. It follows logically that if anything they basically need belongs to other men, they will take it from them, too. The tribe on the river so-and-so possesses a machete, or a knife—perhaps the result of long bargaining with their neighbours, or, more often, of a highly successful bit of burglary and some

/469 cont./

513 352 The third essential thing is the hammock. The Guaika must have a hammock in order to sleep at night. In his dwelling he has a cotton hammock or a hammock made of vines split longitudinally. On a hunting trip he may travel with his hammock made out of cords of vine or without carrying any. In this latter case, each night he will make a temporary hammock /470/ out of cords of bark, and, in case he stays in the same general area, he will use it for several nights. Then, in order to travel light, he will abandon this hammock of cords of bark and will go to his home, where his good hammock awaits him.

262 514 [251] The supply of food which the Guaika have is generally good and apparently quite nutritious. From time to time there is a shortage, and they do not accumulate reserves. Shortages are generally not too serious, for which reason they can usually bear the period of privation, subsisting from a neighboring settlement, which will be paid back for the visit when in its turn bad times come to it.

261 726 The complete loss of a "conuco" as a result of being constantly driven out of the area by an enemy is a quite serious matter. We observed a settlement (that of Bichaasatedi) subsisting with great difficulty for a year until its new "conuco" began to produce, after having been driven out of their former area by a hostile group (the one from Liakoatedi).

352 The Guaika do not make seats, but they rarely sit on the ground if they can avoid it. Generally they sit in a hammock or on a piece of firewood.

512 On an ordinary day the Guaika awake with the dawn. The wife prepares the roasted platanos for the whole family. Around 7:30 or 8:00 the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement go to work in the "conuco." Those who remain in the settlement in general rest the entire morning. Some few women gather in a party and go out to make firewood out of a dead tree, recently fallen. Those who work in the conuco begin to come back at noon. On the way to the settlement they bathe in the stream. After a brief rest each person roasts a few platanos for his lunch. Then, around 2:00 in the afternoon, the [276] "yopo" is prepared, and it is blown up the noses of many of the

/473 cont./

583 628 To a suitor who does not obtain the consent of the girl's settlement there is no other path but to look for a wife elsewhere or to try to abduct the girl in order to make her his /474/ wife. If he decides to do this latter, he gathers together his sympathizers: these are mostly men of the suitor's own settlement, although other friends may also help him. The group attempts to take the girl prisoner at a careless moment, carrying her off by force. The friends of the girl come to help her, starting a hand-to-hand fight. If the suitor manages to flee with the girl, she becomes his wife, but if he fails, he cannot make another attempt at abduction without then being considered a real enemy, and as such he will run the risk of being shot with an arrow and not simply have to put on a fight.

If a settlement decides not to accept the abduction committed for one of its girls for matrimonial purposes, a call for help can be made to a neighboring settlement, all of the men [411] gathering in a band, ready to recover her. The weapons used on such a raid are smooth poles about six feet long, intended not to kill the opponent, but to knock him down, leaving him hors de combat. If such a raid is successful, the girl is returned to her parents. And if the raid fails, any new attempt to recover the girl involves the risk of the attackers' being shot with arrows, since they would then be considered as true enemies. Both the men and the women can fight on the defense in case of such a raid.

A suitor alone or with the help of a few friends may succeed in carrying out the abduction of a wife, generally by finding the girl practically alone and carrying her off to his own settlement. In such cases the settlement of the abductor cannot back him, obliging him to return the woman to her parents rather than to lose their friends in her settlement.

721 302 When a raid to a truly hostile settlement is planned for the purpose of abducting a wife or other objects of value, each one of the members of the attacking band paints himself entirely •726 [411] black or dark maroon. For such raids the weapons are the bow and arrows, and, when the fight starts, both groups shoot to kill. Should the attacking band be small, it can only hope to capture some girl or woman who is alone in her "conuco" or /475/ cutting wood in the forest. Then it will try to escape with the

/475 cont./

726 booty without being discovered, because if they were, they would generally have to abandon the prisoner and flee in order to save their lives.

If the invading band is large, that is to say, made up of several settlements, it might be sufficiently strong to attack all of a full settlement. If an entire settlement can be put into disordered flight, many of the women and girls are easy prey for the attackers. Girls between 12 and 18 years of age are regarded as the best booty. It is almost certain that some of the men, especially of the settlement being attacked, will lose their lives or be wounded in the attack. Not always are women the only booty; every kind of object of value is abandoned in the hasty retreat. Such raids do not occur very frequently, but their possibility keeps the population in constant fear of them.

727 After having thus been attacked, the settlement can decide to abandon the entire area and found a new "conuco" in another area, or all of the friendly settlements might be called on to help in the reprisal raids.

712 726 When the enemy camps near a settlement at a distance closer than usual, or if there is some other reason to fear a raid, stockades or palisades are built. Posts and poles about 15 centimeters in diameter and two or more meters in length are tied in a vertical position, closing off all the approaches, particularly the pathways. Palm leaves and weeds are piled up against these walls to prevent the enemy from looking through the interstices. On the outside of these palisades, for a distance of 30 to 50 meters, all the trees are cut and left lying in thick underbrush as one more obstacle for the enemy intruders. Furthermore, under the eaves, at the back part of each and every house, they make an additional wall of sticks of firewood longer than usual. Should an attack occur, the women and children throw themselves against these walls of firewood in the back of the houses, while the men take their defensive positions and shout vigorous war cries, making their bows rattle in order to impress the enemy with their number and preparation.

•726 /476/ In general prolonged sieges are not attempted, out of fear that someone who came to visit the besieged settlement might have seen the attackers and gone in search of help. As a result of this the source that supplies them with water is generally not defended.

Frequently, before carrying out a larger attack, the attacking settlement moves into the forest so that the families may be sheltered while the men go out to battle.

583 628 If two young persons wish to marry, but one or both of their settlements do not favor their matrimonial union, they may flee to a settlement where they will be accepted and establish their home there. If they do not find a settlement that will shelter them, they must separate and try to contract marriage by the usual means, or they have to abandon their plan altogether.

586 628 A wife maltreated by her husband may flee from him by going to a settlement prepared to defend her, or to one where her husband would not dare go because of being considered an enemy there.

If a wife runs off alone or with another man, the husband may organize an expedition armed with macanas or clubs to regain her, but in this case, too, he can only make one single attempt. If she has taken the children with her, he can try to recover both the wife and the children or only the children, or some of them.

586 If a man abandons his wife, in general nothing can be done about it.

If the man and the woman separate by mutual agreement, the former generally keeps the children. Sometimes the smaller children remain at the side of the mother until they are of sufficient age to cook their own platanos (perhaps five or six years old).

587 The second marriage differs very little from the first marriage. In the majority of cases a virgin is preferred to a widow or to a married fugitive.

581 No man remains unmarried by his own will. If he is unmarried, it is because he has not been able to obtain a wife.

123 /154 cont./
721 At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/ bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look, raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the [752] men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pour- [755] ing water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood, since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the ● 726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In some way the chief and "Yelequei-jûu" managed to pass some of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were
763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a
183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also state the brave words which he would say.)

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to [764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had recovered.

/156 cont./

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

[302] [574] [822] [412] [361]

166 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called
361 "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could
721 live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at
361 their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was
[114] calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
[226] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having
[411] fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows
[859] of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

/157 cont./

726 628 But when they returned, none seemed overly alarmed. The men commented that it had probably been the Batanoatjeti or Bisheasetjeti on the way to make a raid on the other aldea, since they were the most bitter enemies and we were camped between them.

(The Majecototjeti were more or less friends of both aldeas at this time.)

726 But about three hours later some came saying that they had found the bow of "Valooboue" and the basket of one of the women lying near the tracks in disorderly fashion. The group had been attacked. Then the men prepared their bows and went out in every direction. There was a discussion concerning who had gone out with one of those already mentioned. "Etemi" (the wife of "Botai"), three of the wives of "Olami-Juu," an old man (the father of the three wives), and "Valooboue" had gone out together to gather moriche fruit. Two other women who had gone out with this group, but who had separated from them and gone back upstream, had already returned to the encampment. They said that they had heard an argument or a shout in the early part of the afternoon, but, not having heard anything else, had thought little of it.

A group of men went out to try to follow the tracks, but the tracks seemed to disappear or turn back on themselves. It was not clear what route the raiders had taken. Probably they had divided up to join forces and reassemble at some point. Finally, it was decided that they had gone back, toward the river, in the same direction that the tracks came from. Toward night-
[123] fall the men went to cross the Orinoco River and asked our men as well, who still lived on the north bank of the Orinoco, to look for more tracks at the wharf (only I accompanied them on the trip south of the Orinoco on this occasion).

That night the people who stayed in the camp speculated considerably concerning who the raiders might have been /158/ and how things had happened. Some said that it might be that David London had carried the Shibaatía-tjeti across the river in his boat. "Oh, that David," they said. Others were of the opinion that David would not have done such a thing.

/158 cont./

726 That night some of our missionaries were camped outside in a
114 casa abierta /"open house"/. Suddenly they were awakened by
a group of Yanomama men, who were standing and looking at
our missionaries, without saying anything. They all were painted
[302] black, as though to make it impossible to recognize them by
the light of the evening, or in the lesser light of the night.
Finally the silence was broken, and the men of Majecototjeti
told them that they were looking for the raiders who had killed
the man and the boy and had carried off the four women. Our
people had seen nothing of the raiders and were enormously sur-
prised at the news.

726 The following morning the men went to the place of the
attack and brought the arrows which were there. They did not
bring back the complete arrows, but only the ends with the feathers.
The arrows were not cut, but burned in two. The poisoned
points were brought also. The men carefully examined the arrows
and tried to make out from what aldea the raiders had come.
The arrows looked like those of the Liacoatjeti, but they had
seen a machete in that place, and who could imagine a
Liacoatjeti leaving a machete, even in a moment of danger.

There was also a rumor that a bark canoe had been found
some distance down the river. Probably the Shibaatía-tjeti had
crossed the river in this canoe. (This rumor later turned out
to be false.)

A search was carried out in a large circle in every direction
to try to find out what direction the raiders had taken. Finally
the track was found, and the Liacoatjeti were then recognized
as the raiders, and they had come from the south. Their path had
been made so as to cover the tracks, leaving the formation one
by one and reassembling farther on.

721 The Majecototjeti planned, in turn, a raid of /159/ re-
venge. First a banquet was held with tapir meat and cassava to
eat with the meat. A day or so later the men marched off on a
raid of revenge against the Liacoatjeti. The Majecototjeti had
gone off two weeks before, but had not found the Liacoatjeti in
their houses.

727 "Jolocoiue," a boy with a broken leg who had stayed with
[123] us, asked us to pray to God to send "Etemi" (one of the abducted
women) home safe and sound.

/159 cont./

727 women) home safe and sound. A few days after the Majecototjeti returned from their attempted raid, "Etemi" returned. When she returned, the whole aldea went back to the north bank of the Orinoco River, in case they were being followed.

She told how it was that she had had a chance to walk in front of an old woman, and, getting somewhat out in front along the way, she was able to get off the path without being seen and had returned.

We marveled at our little faith. Why had we not prayed to God to bring them all back?

721 The chief repeatedly called meetings for raids to get revenge on the Liatcoatjeti. Usually the aldeas of Bisheasetjeti
[628] and Macolimutjeti accompanied the Majecototjeti on their raids. Our missionaries and some of the believers and the Yanomama prayed together that the raiders would not kill anybody or lose any of their own. Once they did not find anybody in the houses. Another time they became lost and for lack of food had to return home. Another time the whole group was so sick that they had to return, having covered only a few days of travel from their point
721 of departure. When a Yanomama aldea or several aldeas are about
726 to go on a raid, they hold an impressive ceremony. They make one or several effigies which represent the enemy. Then a simulated raid is acted out, in which these effigies are wounded, broken in two, and then thrown down. If the enemy is far away, they can do this at home and several times on the way to the enemy. Sometimes the simulated raid is carried to the point of dividing the group into two parts: one group which shoots at the effigies and then escapes (flees) with several girls from the aldea; the other group comes along a little later, /160/ finds that the women are gone, and pursues the raiders until it finds them hidden, sometimes out in the forest, with the girls. When the raiders are found, each one gives a loud war-cry and the ceremony ends.

114
721 In December of 1954 all our missionaries went down the river for our field conference, leaving the Frobenius expedition alone in Platanal. One night a man from Shibaatía-tjeti slipped

/160 cont./

114 into the aldea of Platanal and shot at one of the men. His shot
721 wounded "Lublo-juu" in the thigh. Nevertheless, since he recovered, there was no gathering for a raid. The men of the Frobenius expedition treated his leg and prevented complications, since the wound was quite deep.

514 At the beginning of February 1955 the Macolimutjeti and
628 the Bisheasetjeti were invited to a Pijiguao or palm (Peach) festival among the Majecototjeti. The Macolimutjeti all came, men, women, and children. But the Bisheasetjeti were somewhat afraid. The Majecototjeti had been somewhat friendly with the Batanoatjeti, bitter enemies of the Bisheasetjeti, and the Bisheasetjeti feared a trick. (Years before, in 1951, they had been tricked by the Liacoatitjeti.) But so as not to show their bad faith, the men came (or at least a few of them), but none of the women, in order thus to reduce the "desirability" of a trick to steal them.

• 726 In March of 1955 the men of Platanal had gone for a new attempt at a raid, leaving the rest of the people in the principal aldea, located to the north of the Orinoco. One day, when /illustration appears here/ /161/ all of them except the lame boy were out of the aldea, the Shibaatía-tjeti returned. They found "Joashimocaoue," who was returning from the farm at the head of the others who had gone to take advantage of the Pijiguao or palm festival. The raiders shot him twice in the back, since he ran toward the refuge of the aldea. He was wounded by one bamboo point, not deeply, and by one point poisoned with curare, which caused a rather deep wound. In the aldea he told the lame
[123] boy to hide himself from the raiders who had killed him, and then, finding no help in the aldea, he ran to our house, about 200 to 300 meters away.

/161 cont./

•726
123 Some women had passed by our house on their way to the aldea. Upon hearing his cries, they turned around and ran toward our house; terrified, they came in and closed the door. Then they told us that a raid was taking place and to go to see if we could help. At first we thought that it would be better to stay in the house also, but then we heard a cry for help not far from our house. Upon hearing this, we opened the door. I went out and found a wounded man who had managed to get to about 20 meters from our house, but could come no farther.

He said, "Please, take out the poisoned arrow." I picked him up and brought him into our house.

I had heard that salt is good against the poison of the curare, but I had no idea of how to administer the salt. Since he was still conscious, I told David to try to take out the arrowhead while I had him drink all the salt water and try to keep it down before he became unconscious. It must have tasted terrible to him, since the Yanomama usually do not eat salt, but he was so desperate that he consented. He was unconscious before David managed to remove the arrowhead, so I gave him artificial respiration, while David finished extracting the arrowhead, because he had stopped breathing. We were never able to find the tip of the point. In spite of this, we put salt in the wound, hoping that it would help somewhat, since he was now unconscious and we did not know with certainty how to administer the salt.

/162/ David went to the aldea to see if anything had happened there to the lame boy or to anyone. I continued with the artificial respiration while he was gone. When David returned, about 20 minutes had passed, and from then on we took turns for almost two hours. His pulse remained good during the whole time. A little before two hours were up, he recovered consciousness and began to talk. He was soon breathing by himself, and we did not continue the treatment, because it hurt him. We stopped and found that he was breathing regularly enough by himself.

During all of this time the women were there looking on (one of them was a believer) and David and I were praying.

/162 cont./

726 123 Then the inhabitants of the aldea began to come back from the forest. Seeing him lying motionless in a puddle of blood, each group that came supposed that he was dead, and they were mourning greatly for a few minutes, lamenting him, before those who knew what had happened were able to quiet them. Finally, one of the older men with sufficient presence of mind said that he wanted to take him to the aldea, if this were possible.

First the man tried to walk on his own feet to the aldea, but "Joashimocaoue" was very weak and in much pain, and he could not do this at all. Therefore a hammock was sent for. They tied this to a post before rolling up the wounded man in it; two men carried him to the aldea. That night he again became unconscious. Two women came and told us, "We are weeping again." I recommended to David that he stay and pray while I sent to see what could be done.

Upon arriving in the aldea, I found him unconscious in his hammock. They wanted me to put some medicine on his wounds, but there he was, unconscious. I said, "Let us pray first." Almost all of the believers who were there, and even those who had never professed to be believers, prayed with me for him. I prayed first and then they all repeated it together, asking God to spare his life. I had never seen a gathering of Yonomama praying so fervently before or since then. I do not know exactly how long we were praying, but it must have been about an hour.

/163/ When all had finished praying, we looked over and there he was, conscious again. He sat up and asked me if they had treated his wounds. I put sulfa powder on them and bandaged them. After this he did not lose consciousness again, and although his wounds were very painful, he went along well without any complications arising, although the tip of the poisoned point must still have been stuck in some part of his back.

721 The men of Majecototjeti returned from their raid on the Liacoatjeti without finding anyone in their houses.

123 75 [609] A little before this an old woman from Shibeatía-tjeti visited some of her Majecototjeti relatives and told them how in her aldea they did not like foreigners, because they were always curing people. When someone in the aldea was wounded, they

123 /163 cont./
75 wanted that person to die. I assured them that we alone had not cured the boy. The whole aldea had asked God to cure him, and God had answered. The people of the aldea affirmed that this was the case. They had prayed sufficiently, and God had spared his life.

726 The chief's brother came to Yabitjaotjeti and told the chief that the Liacoatjeti had been visiting upriver and that now they were on their way to their homes in their own aldea.

The chief called a meeting for another raid. First the [622] whole aldea moved across the river in order to get away from the bank that was easy for the Shibaatía-tjeti to attack. David and I picked up our hammocks and went with them across the river. On the following day the men set off on the raid, or, more properly, they went down to the Bisheasetjeti to depart from there. Only the adult men went; the boys and children 17 years old or less remained at home.

This time David and I were able to pray that they might not fight. We asked, rather, that the Lord might protect the believers from danger. He did it. The raiders /164/ were gone 727 about three weeks. When they returned, the chief came to the aldea and had an official colloquy, briefly, with the most important man who was left in the aldea. At most the chanted colloquy lasted about half a minute. Then they all began to cry. Someone had been killed. We looked to see who had come back [302] and, if possible, to see who was missing. Some of the men had red marks on their cheeks and on the forehead as a sign that they had killed someone or had "hecho" /done, finished/ much in the fight, for they did not know whether they had killed anyone or not.

I later learned that three of the enemy had been killed, and that one of those of the party, a man from Macolimatjeti, had been wounded in the chest and had died.

727 The underbrush had been cleared away at the site of our
783 temporary aldea, which thus would not serve for the matadores /killers/ to fulfill the rites of a matador as they should be done in thick underbrush. Therefore within an hour we moved to a

/164 cont./
729 new place located several hundred meters away. The matadores
783 went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained
some distance away. They could not touch anything that they
[413] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They
had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later
their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the
[352] trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old
hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of
vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned
with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days,
until the matadores thought the ciclo /cycle, term/ completed.

• 726 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place.
The first aldea into which they penetrated was empty, and so was
the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the
principal aldea. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bisheasetjeti
began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that
farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains
were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it
would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so
much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed.
/Illustration appears here./

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The
revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders
advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were
camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed
him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them
camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River.
The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to
have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them
to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It
was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

166 Since they had fallen out with the Liacoatjeti, the
361 Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and
made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north
side.

/165 cont./

721 In April of 1955 I found that the Bisheasetjeti had taken a girl from Vitocaiyetjeti, contrary to the desires of her aldea. Not long after this the Vitocaiyetjeti made a raid on the Bisheasetjeti to recapture the girl. The raiders managed to go
(726) up the river as far as the Mavaca River, with one of the "Ceder" outfits which was working in the Yanomama territory. In the battle which followed there were a few banged heads and an abundance of broken arms, but nobody was killed. Nor did they manage to get the girl back. Now the two aldeas are threatening to shoot at each other.

628 The Vitacoiyetjeti, expecting to get help, told the Yoeitjeti that the Bisheasetjeti were also angry at them and were planning raids against them as well. They /166/ also told the Macolimutjeti that the Yoeitjeti were angry with the Bisheasetjeti, and, of course, the news reached the Bisheasetjeti.

628 On a trip of mine up the river I would stop in Bisheasetjeti.
123 The chief asked me to find out from the Bisheasetjeti whether the report was true. But the Bisheasetjeti were not at home when I passed. Nevertheless, the Majecototjeti did not know of any such intentions on the part of the Bisheasetjeti, in spite of having had several visits recently from the Bisheasetjeti.

I told this to the chief of the Yoeitjeti on my way back.

Now, in March 1956, the men and boys of Bisheasetjeti have gone down to Tamatama in canoes. But they did not stop in Yoeitjeti. The Yoeitjeti wanted to pursue them at once, but they lacked sufficient boats. Nineteen (19) men and two women from Yoeitjeti arrived at Tamatama a few days after the men of Bisheasetjeti had arrived there.

The Bisheasetjeti wanted to keep their bows when they arrived, in case their enemies might also come. But I told them to give us their bows and I would give them back when they were ready to leave.

If some other Yanomamas had come, I would also have taken their bows at the wharf in order to keep them from fighting. When the men of Bisheasetjeti saw the boat of the Yoeitjeti at a distance, they were afraid. I told them to go into my house and

[Introductory, P. iii]

128 Genealogical data in both sociological and
613 biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate
* 621 the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other
602 villages from which this sample village recently split are
* 628 presented to show that affinal ties between local descent
groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between
such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent
groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in
the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their
128 members into mutually hostile, independent villages.
• 172
182 The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to
* 182 determine in large measure both the size of the village and
* 621 the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances
* 628 based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn
128 horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence
241 on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political
* 628 alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the
182 direction of movement of relocated villages.
583

128 Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis.
721 First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-
* 628 village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which
* 621 males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that
182 increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females
581 reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage
162 practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the
128 conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is
721 chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages
582 require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between
183 these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social
* 182 organization are given to support these conclusions. Third,
628 the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E.
121 R. Leach's contention that the political and economic con-
128 texts within which marriages take place must be considered
581 as part of the ongoing social organization and must be in-
613 cluded in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis
[114] shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

583 582 *621 actual marriage practices reflect the immediate political and military needs of a given village. If it is more 583 582 183 *628 advantageous to dispose of a woman in a way that promotes greater solidarity between allies, the marriage rule is not followed.[1] An eligible female, therefore, is given to a man (perhaps unrelated) in another village if her kinsmen have reason to believe that they may be required to take refuge in or request military aid from that other village.

*628 574 *726 562 An ally's demands are not to be taken lightly, for to fail in an obligation to an ally may have the gravest consequences for survival; one tactic of Yanomamö warfare is invitations to feasts during which a disgruntled group kills the male guests and seizes their women. These treacherous feasts (nomohoni) occur often enough, so that local groups *628 583 582 are always suspicious of their allies. A dependable ally is won at the expense of women. Failure to hand over enough women creates a frustrated ally who is extremely dangerous. Yanomamö political behavior has largely to do with disposing of enough women to make the ally loyal, but not to give more women than is necessary to achieve this end; miscalculation in this respect has serious consequences. As it is imperative for local groups, for reasons to be outlined below, to have allies, it is likewise necessary for them to enter into marriage exchanges with other groups.

[1] When women are given to men from other villages, the men rarely, if ever, are related to them as FaSiSo or MoBrSo. The exchange of women for purposes of alliance usually establishes the initial kinship ties between the groups of the wife receivers and wife givers.

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yąnomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yąnomamö social organization of this single

phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the result of the shortage of women.

Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and this frequently causes the village to split. The larger the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion. Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each group establishes an independent village and enters into marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yanomamö village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

escalate, the factions involved usually use the interlude between a club-fight and actual killings to establish separate gardens.

Occasionally, however, a village suddenly becomes embroiled in a war that it has not expected, or fighting within the village immediately involves shooting to kill. Then the only recourse for the group is to take refuge with an ally and subsist on the produce of the ally's garden. If the critical situation develops out of an intra-village dispute, the smaller of the contesting factions is forced to flee to another village where it has friends or relatives.

If all the members of a village are forced to take refuge in another village, they proceed to make their own garden apart from that of their hosts; then, when the garden begins to produce, the refugee group moves to that site to live. They do this because the price of protection is always measurable in terms of the hosts' demanding access to the women of the guests, either as spouses for their own men or simply as temporary sexual partners.

Twice during the lifetime of my oldest Bisaasi-tedi informants their group was obliged to flee to an allied village to escape the raids of powerful neighbors, raids that resulted from the development of intensive hostilities before the group could establish a new garden of its own elsewhere. On both occasions the refugees lost a number of women to their protectors, and in neither case did they receive wives in return. Indeed, on the second occasion, the hosts planned

628 726 574 to kill all the male guests and to abduct the women, but the hosts themselves unexpectedly became involved in a war and required the aid of their guests.

628 241 722 361 Yąnomamö dependency on cultivated foods, then, promotes political alliances with other villages; the warfare pattern is such that the members of a village may have to flee from their site to avoid the raids of their enemies. If they have not had time to establish a new garden, they need the support of an ally until they are able to support themselves.

.-.-.-.-.-.

121 583 582 The variables that affect Yąnomamö marriage practices are numerous and diverse and combine with each other in complex ways. I shall show in the chapters that follow how these variables actually affect Yąnomamö marriage practices. At this juncture the point to be made is that Yąnomamö social practice in real life can not be completely isomorphic with the stated marriage preferences because the milieu within which marriages take place simply precludes such a neat fit. A functional, rather than a structural analysis seems to be demanded by the nature of the variables in question. I shall also show the degree to which we can predict actual marriage behavior, given specific information about the variables.

[726] [182] Finally, I should add that the Yąnomamö constitute a significant case for ethnological inquiry: this society offers

10:Chagnon E-4,5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

121 us the opportunity to estimate the effects of warfare on the
583 nature of marriage practices among a people who are chroni-
582 cally at war, a situation not frequently found in the present
182 ethnographic world.
726

128 B. The Data and Field Techniques

Several kinds of data are required to illustrate Yąnomamö marriage practices and the variables affecting them. The most important data are those I obtained from genealogies and the historical relationships between villages.

In total, I have genealogical data on some 3,000 individuals, living and dead, from 15 villages. Not all the data are comparable in quality and I shall confine my discussion to the populations of the five villages for which
128 my data are most complete. These five villages fall into
621 two groups with regard to their historical origins. Three
628 of them have a common history, separating initially about 1943 at which time two villages were formed.[1] One of these split again about 1954 to form two villages, giving a total of 3 separate but closely related villages. The other two of the five selected for this study also have a common history, but are distinct from the first three. For purposes of clarity I will refer to these two villages as Shamatari (see Chapter 5 for discussion). About 1960 the two Shamatari villages split from each other and are presently on good terms.

---

[1]See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the historical relationships of these villages.

175 contact with a Yąnomamö village on the upper Orinoco. Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, has been living continuously with the Yąnomamö since 1950, except for an occasional furlough to the United States. Three months after Barker arrived at Mahekodo-tedi, the members of that village took in a group of refugees from another village, a village that had just been the victim of a treacherous feast. Those refugees were the present residents of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, the two groups with whom I spent most of my time in the field. The treacherous feast invitation and the subsequent events will be outlined in detail below; suffice it to say at this point that the event was an important one in the history of these villages and its date is known (1951).

175 The second dated event was the abduction of a
648 Brazilian girl from her home in the upper Cauabury area by
726 the members of two Yąnomamö villages, Kohoroshi-tedi and Karawatari-urihi-tedi. The history of Nabëyoma ("woman of the foreigners"), as she was called by the Yąnomamö, may be told briefly. The members of the village of Kohoroshi-tedi, a splinter group from Karawatari's village, moved down the Shukumöna-u and began to hunt in the area southwest of their new village site. Occasionally they came across signs of foreigners, whom they were interested in locating in the hope of acquiring steel tools. On one hunt the Yąnomamö saw the foreigners and discovered their house. The Indians returned to Kohoroshi-tedi and the headman of the village, Ohiriwë, organized a raiding party, which also included men from

175 Karawatari's village.
648
[726] The raiders attacked the foreigners at dawn but were driven off by gunfire; a number of the Indians were killed, among them a man called Hokohenawä, and some of the foreigners were allegedly hit with arrows. The Indians managed to capture a young girl, taking her back to Karawatari's village on the Shukumöna-u. Shortly after arriving at Karawatari's village, the abductors were in turn raided by another Shamatari village, then on the Upper Mavaca River under the leadership of Matakuwä, one of the two "original" Shamatari men. Karawatari's group had split from Matakuwä's group and was on hostile terms with it. The girl was taken by Matakuwä's men on this raid and brought to the Mavaca River. Matakuwä's village was on a branch of the Mavaca River called Kedebaböwei-u when Nabäyoma was abducted from Karawatari's group. Terries (1964:14) gives 1934 as the date of the [114] abduction of Nabäyoma, whereas Seitz (1963:21) places it a little earlier.

[593] In Matakuwä's village, Nabäyoma was given to Yoyonahi's [952] son; he shot her with a barbed arrow for disobeying him and the girl fled into the woods to nurse her wound. At this time Matakuwä's group was on friendly terms with the residents of Patanowä-täka (who are now living in three distinct villages and constitute the groups from whom most of my data were taken). On one of their visits, the residents of Patanowä-[594] täka found Nabäyoma in the woods outside Matakuwä's village and took her home with them when they left after visiting.

At Patanowë-tëka she was given to Husiwë, by whom she had two sons (Orakuwë and Kariunawë). The approximate date of her move to Patanowë-tëka is 1935; it could not be much later, because a war broke out between Matakuwë's group and the group at Patanowë-tëka shortly after this date, and no visitors went between these two villages after hostilities commenced.

When the Patanowë-tëka group separted into two villages, Nabëyoma remained with the group that is presently called Patanowë-tedi. The two splinter groups entered into hostilities with each other shortly after they separated, and Nabëyoma's husband, Husiwë, was one of the first casualties. Nabëyoma, her co-wife (Shǫrǫkoma), and all their children fled from Husiwë's group and joined the other, cognate, group. Shǫrǫkoma, originally abducted from yet another Shamatari village, later returned to Patanowë-tedi, but Nabëyoma stayed with Patanowë-tedi's enemies. In 1951 when the treacherous feast was pulled on the group to which Nabëyoma belonged and the group fled to Mahekodo-tedi for protection, Nabëyoma was given to a man in Mahekodo-tedi, Remoriwë, as part of the cost of the alliance.

While Nabëyoma lived at Mahekodo-tedi, Barker and his colleague, David Landon, discovered that she still remembered how to write her name (Elena Valero). They informed the authorities in Puerto Ayacucho that a Brazilian woman was living with the Yąnomamǫ, presumable abducted by them from one of the settlements across the border, but

175 before action could be taken, Nabäyoma's new husband left
648 Mahekodo-tedi for his own village (Buinaböwei-tedi), taking with him Nabäyoma, her two sons by Husiwä, and his own son by Nabäyoma.

[997] The Salesian Mission in Puerto Ayacucho was authorized to handle the affair and they sent a party of men to Buinaböwei-tedi. The Indians did not wish to lose one of their women and the Salesian Mission party had to resort to forceful but prudent measures to recover Nabäyoma. She was returned to her family in Brazil in late 1956. Remoriwä subsequently made two unsuccessful trips to Brazil to find her.

174 As indicated above, the histories as I have recon-
175 structed them are no more than approximations as far as geographical locations and dates of occupation of the various sites are concerned. I am fairly certain, however, that the events themselves are accurately reported, especially those having to do with the warfare and raiding, because I obtained virtually identical versions from several informants on dif-
173 ferent occasions. The Yanomamö are good historians when it
• 726 comes to warfare. They have to be, lest they accept invi-
*628 tations to visit villages that have old grudges against them. All of them, even young children, know who killed their relatives and the circumstances in which the killings took place. These are the subject of constant discussion in the villages.

124 The first few descriptions I recorded of the 1950-51 feast
173 in which my group was victimized by a Shamatari village were obtained from young men who could not possibly have witnessed

what happened. The later descriptions obtained from much older informants were virtually identical with those I originally recorded from the younger informants. I believe, accordingly, that the accounts of the time period antecedent to the life-span of even my oldest informants are accurate in so far as their major features are concerned.

That the histories are filled with treachery, great violence, and much bloodshed will be apparent. The nature of Yanomamö warfare, however, has not changed. It was being conducted as vigorously and in similar ways in 1964-1966 while I conducted my field-work.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of the sex ratio, and the distribution of the women among them.

In Chapter 5 I will show how the two Shamatari villages, Reyabobŏwei-tedi and Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, participated in a treacherous feast during which they killed a number of their kinsmen from Mŏwäraoba-tedi. This feast committed the two Shamatari villages to an alliance with the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi in which the latter two villages were, in a political-military sense, less dependent on the support of the Shamatari than the Shamatari were on them. The Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi and the Reyabobŏwei-tedi represented the front of the Shamatari expansion into the unoccupied Mavaca River area. The territory they abandoned as they expanded to the west was subsequently occupied by other Shamatari villages, the members of which were historically related to them.[1] By participating in the treacherous feast and becoming enemies to their congeners, the two Shamatari villages subordinated themselves to the interests of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Since they formed a buffer between the villages of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi on the one hand, and the Shamatari village of Mŏwäraoba-tedi on the other, they bore the brunt of the raids mounted by the latter in revenge for the treachery. In short, they had only two dependable allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an im-

[1] See Chapter 5, "The History of Paruritawä-tedi."

Their dependence
*628 on these allies was transformed into an im- 60
583 balance in the exchange of women between the two groups of
162 villages, accounting for the variation in sex-ratio given for
562
*621 the villages in Table 1.

*628 The degree to which each village is dependent on its
583 allies is roughly indicates in Table 1. The Reyabobŏwei-tedi,
• 726 being closer, geographically, to the Mŏwărаoba-tedi, suffered
722 more from the revenge raids of the latter. In other words, they needed military aid from their own allies to a greater extent, and have, accordingly, lost far more women to their allies as a consequence. But the true situation is even more remarkable than suggested by the sex ratio for the Reyabobŏwei-tedi; a large percentage of the women in their village have been abducted by them in raids against the Mŏwărаoba-tedi, i.e., they have actually lost more women to their allies in exchanges than is suggested by the sex-ratio alone.

*621 Again, the sex ratios for the Bisaasi-tedi and the
162
*628 Monou-tedi are misleading without additional information.
583 These two villages would seem, from Table 1, to have gained a remarkable number of women in the political alliances they
162 made with their Shamatari friends. This, however, is not the
*628 only reason they have such a high percentage of women in
*621 their populations. In 1950 these villages were victimized
726 by the Mŏwărаoba-tedi and the Iwahikoroba-tedi in a treacher-
527 ous feast. They lost approximately 15 men. Were two-thirds
165 of these men alive today, for example, the resultant sex ratios for the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi population would more accurately reflect the dominance gradient, measured

in terms of women ceded to them by the Shamatari, that they maintain over their Shamatari allies.

The sex ratio data give a rough idea, then, of the extent of female infanticide and, in addition, reflect the political relationships of the villages to each other in terms of the flow of women. Other demographic data, however, suggest that the practice of female infanticide is even higher than the sex ratios alone indicate. Table 2 gives the stated cause of death of 240 adult individuals. These individuals are related to the living members of the three villages of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi. It is immediately apparent that more men die in warfare than women,[1] implying that the frequency of female infanticide is substantially higher than the 8% suggested by sex ratio data.

There are several ways the Yąnomamö remedy their woman shortage. Young bachelors, for example, practice sodomy (bei kë bosi kuwemou, bei kë bosi waumou) with each other. These relationships develop into a 'buddy' system (ẖawë) and promote ties of friendship that extend into adult life. Some of my informants confidentially told me that particular young men had been known to copulate with dogs in estrus, but this was regarded with contempt by all who knew about it. Homosexuality, however, was not considered despicable, but it was thought to be infantile. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[1] Twenty-two per cent (31/138) of all male deaths were due to warfare, while only 6% (6/102) of female deaths were due to this cause.

avoid the raids from the Patanowä-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with Konoreiwä's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by Konoreiwä. The entire village participated in the club fight. Konoreiwä punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the Patanowä-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the Patanowä-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the Patanowä-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

726 114 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time involved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

621 628 837 578 721 [241] When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

688 926 922 241 36 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare necessitates the formation of political alliances with other groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

---

[241] [361] [171] [128] [1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory. In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

these situations[1] by establishing new gardens as new wars develop; occasionally, however, the wars take on unpredictable intensity before new gardens can be established, and the members of the villages concerned necessarily seek refuge with their allies.

To the Yąnomamö, gardens (hikari) are the fount of subsistence. They acknowledge the relationship between chronic warfare and village relocation by being constantly on the lookout for new lands to settle. Men are always discussing the agricultural merits of the forested areas in which they hunt, and most new sites are selected on the basis of information collected by hunters. Thus, when the Namowei-tedi split up at Patanowë-tëka, the Bisaasi-tedi faction moved to Shihota, an area they knew well because they customarily hunted there.[2] In 1965 the Monou-tedi cleared a new garden at Moyanaböwei for the same reason. I accompanied hunting parties from Bisaasi-tedi on several occastions to new areas not normally frequented by these hunters, and the topic of agriculture invariably came up during the evening résumé of the day's experiences.

Other factors besides density of jungle, type of floral association, and general topography are considered by

[1] They avoid these situations because the hosts usually demand either sexual access to the women of the refugees, or wives for their bachelors. The refugees, of course, are reluctant to do either, but are frequently obliged to do both. The cost of the alliance, once again, is measured in terms of women lost.

[2] See Map C, and Chapter 5.

The politico-military situation in which the Patanowã-tedi found themselves during 1965 dramatically illustrates the importance of allies, i.e., neighbors upon whom one can depend for both military and subsistence items in times of crises. The Patanowã-tedi had been at war with a number of groups to their east and north for several years prior to my arrival in 1964. They managed, however, to hold their own in the wars against these villages, as they were a large group.[1] Earlier wars, and the latent hostilities resulting from these, precluded alliances with the Shamatari villages to their south. Their congeners, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, lived to the west of them, but the nature of the circumstances leading to their separation prevented alliances with these groups. Nevertheless, the Patanowã-tedi made peace overtures to the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi from time to time, and sporadic visiting between them began after 1955. In late 1964 the Patanowã-tedi managed to convince the Bisaasi-tedi of their sincerity to renew friendship and visited them, but the Monou-tedi shattered this attempted rapprochement by abducting seven women from the Patanowã-tedi. The events subsequent to this incident drew the Patanowã-tedi into yet another war, the proportions of which exceeded the defense capabilities of the Patanowã-tedi: they could no longer remain at one site and prosecute both wars effectively. They were surrounded on all

[1] They had attempted to split into three small groups before getting into the war with their northern and eastern neighbors, but the war forced the three groups to re-unite for defense purposes. See Chapter 5.

sides by villages that were actively raiding them. Fortunately, however, they had one ally, the Ashadowä-tedi, a large group (ca. 200-250 people) living two days' walk to their south. The Ashadowä-tedi allied themselves to the Patanowä-tedi because of their own interest in raiding the Hasaböwä-tedi, from whom they themselves separated on hostile terms in the recent past. Furthermore, the Ashadowä-tedi had penetrated Shamatari territory, and needed allies in the event that the Shamatari villages began hostilities against them.

The abduction of the seven Patanowä-tedi women by the Monou-tedi precipitated a war of such intensity that the Patanowä-tedi were immediately obliged to abandon their site. Under 'normal' circumstances, the Patanowä-tedi would have been able to resist a small group like the Monou-tedi, but their other war against the Hasaböwä-tedi detracted from their capacity to do so. When the Monou-tedi initiated raiding against the Patanowä-tedi, the allies of <u>all</u> the villages hostile to the Patanowä-tedi jumped, so to speak, on the 'band-wagon.' These allies were supporting Patanowä-tedi's enemies only half-heartedly up to the entry of the Monou-tedi into the war, for prior to this, the Patanowä-tedi were able to threaten these villages. When, however, the Monou-tedi and their allies (the Bisaasi-tedi, the Mõmaribõwei-tedi, and the Beyabobõwei-tedi) began raiding the Patanowä-tedi, it became immediately apparent that the offensive potential of the Patanowä-tedi was greatly reduced. Thus, villages at some distance from the Patanowä-tedi began to raid the latter,

726 +628 knowing that they would not be raided in return; the Patanowä-tedi simply could not conduct the war on that immense a scale. The participation of these peripheral villages in the war against the Patanowä-tedi conferred three advantages on them. First, the probability was good that they would benefit materially in the raiding by capturing women. Secondly, they demonstrated their solidarity to their allies at little cost or danger to themselves, thereby putting these allies under obligation to reciprocate the favor at a later time. Finally, the peripheral villages were able to demonstrate their ferocity to their neighbors by going to war, although the danger to themselves was almost negligible. In total, about a dozen villages began raiding the Patanowä-tedi in mid 1965, forcing them to abandon their garden before they could establish a new one elsewhere. The Patanowä-tedi had no alternative but to take refuge in the village of their allies, the Ashadowä-tedi. Without the aid of the Ashadowä-tedi, the Patanowä-tedi would have been forced to colonize from their single site and sustain very heavy losses from the incessant raids of their enemies. As the situation turned out, the Patanowä-tedi lost a large number of people in the raiding, despite having this ally, but the losses would have been much heavier without them.

726 +628 36 24

162 862 [847] [83]

Summary

The practice of female infanticide leads to a shortage of women. The Yanomamö attempt to overcome the shortage,

593 602 613 agnates of similar age tend to compete, rather than cooperate, with each other in the affairs of the group. Each behaves in such a way that it is obvious to all that he is not being bossed around by his equals. Finally, this competition and lack of solidarity is even more pronounced when there are two or more local descent groups of the same lineage within the village.

*621 601 *628 591 124 Co-residence as a factor in promoting solidarity can be illustrated by kinship usage. One of my female informants, Kaobawë's wife, used affinal terms for a number of Patanowë-tedi men who were technically her agnates. I was certain that my genalogies were correct, so I re-investigated the usage. I discovered that she used 'distant' kinship terms for these 'brothers' because they lived in a different village, but that she had called them by brother terms when they lived together in Patanowë-tedi. She explained that she would again use brother terms if the two villages were to re-unite. Although the terms for agnates normally do not change when a distant agnate joins a local descent group, the co-efficient of solidarity does.

*628 602 613 *726 The weakness of the tie between distantly related agnates can also be demonstrated with data on fighting. After the Patanowë-tedi separated from the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi in the early '40s, hostilities between the two groups developed. Each group, however, was similar in composition[1] in that each comprised local descent groups of the

[1] See Figure 3, Chapter IV, and Appendix A for the breakdown of the populations of these villages by lineage membership.

628 602 613 726 [622] same lineages. The warfare between the two groups, therefore, was largely a struggle between groups of distantly related agnates. Kɨobawɨ, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, participated in the raiding against the Patanowɨ-tedi. In one skirmish, he shot his classificatory brother, Rakoiwɨ, but Rakoiwɨ survived the wound. This man is as closely related to Kɨobawɨ as most of the men that presently constitute his agnatic following in Upper Bisaasi-tedi, again illustrating the significance of co-residence in determining the strength [583] of the agnatic tie. Two young men from Patanowɨ-tedi recenlty joined the Bisaasi-tedi to obtain wives. After they arrived, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Patanowɨ-tedi resumed their old [606] hostilities. The fathers-in-law of the two men recruited [583] both of them into raiding parties that attacked the Patanowɨ-tedi, and both men participated willingly, despite the fact that their actual fathers and brothers live in Patanowɨ-tedi. One of the young men, Sirorowɨ, told me that he would have avoided shooting his own father (Yoyosiwɨ) and actual brothers, but would have shot more distant agnates.

628 726 602 607 622 That the brother-in-law tie is stronger than the tie between distantly related agnates is also illustrated in the history of a war between Mahekodo-tedi and Yabitawɨ-tedi. These two villages are led by men who are classificatory brothers. The war stated when a man from Boreta-tedi, a brother-in-law of the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, was killed by the Yabitawɨ-tedi headman in a club fight. As the slain man's sisters were married to the Mahekodo-tedi headman, the

latter felt obliged to revenge the man's death by raiding his classificatory brother's village.

Similar cases occur in internal village fighting. Hunobawë, an Upper Bisaasi-tedi man of some 60 years, gathered a stalk of bananas from his garden and hung them in the roof of his hut to ripen. His son, Dikawë, 18 years old, discovered the ripening bananas and ate a large number of them without the consent of his father. When Hunobawë discovered the loss, he went into a rage and attacked Dikawë with a club. Dikawë got his own club and began assailing the old man. This precipitated a general free-for-all in the village, as large numbers of men took one side or the other in the melee.

Club fights between historically related but separate villages also pit agnates against each other. When Bisaasi-tedi's Lower Group seized a girl that the Monou-tedi had abducted from the Patanowë-tedi, a club fight was arranged to settle the dispute. But, the most important factions in Monou-tedi and the two Bisaasi-tedi groups were local descent groups of the same lineage, and their headmen were classificatory brothers. Although the dispute and club fight ultimately involved all the able-bodied men of each village, the fight was initiated by distantly related agnatic groups of the same lineage.

Some dyadic kinship ties are more stable than others. It is not possible to say, however, that any one in particular is so inherently stable that fighting between such kinsmen can not occur. Certain kinds of violence, however, are not

602 978 likely to take place between agnates of a certain degree of blood relationship, or between affines that are cognatically 593 related. While a father and son may club each other, it is not likely that the fight will escalate to spear thrusting or shooting with arrows. The same may be said of full brothers, 593 but with less conviction. That is, full brothers occasionally *621 *628 end up in different villages when a larger village splits, • 726 particularly if they are the only males in the sibship. Should a war develop between the two villages, there is a possibility that they might kill each other in the raiding; it is not always possible, in Yąnomamö warfare tactics, to pick a victim out of a crowd of people, as the Yąnomamö occasionally shower a village with arrows in raids. Chances are that brothers would not deliberately kill each other, but the fact that one has a brother in an enemy village by no means constitutes sufficient reason to desist in raiding that village.

*621 602 678 *628 613 726 Club fights within villages frequently pit close agnates against each other, but when club fights escalate to killing by spear thrust, it is not likely that such agnates will fight against each other. Distantly related agnates, however, occasionally do fight against each other with the intent to kill. Much of Yąnomamö warfare involved hostilities between villages that contain as the dominant political bloc local descent groups of the same lineage.

602 Perhaps the most important structural difference between agnatic and affinal ties is that the former tend to grow weaker as the kinsmen get older, whereas the latter are

128 that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of
*621 two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.
613

162 There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is
*621 not representative of the typical Yąnomamö village: the sex
*628 ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as
562 there are males in the village, and the group is politically
583 stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mąmariböwei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises
[529] two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed
[574] in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of
[726] Bisaasi-tedi.

*621 The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a
622 number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More
613 importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to
602 each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawä, has astutely manipulated

---

128 logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a
*621 number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity
*628 of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace
613 their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawä-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

*628 Lower Bisaasi-tedi gave its members refuge during the times
[602] when the Monou-tedi were threatened by raids from the Patanowä-
tedi. The closest neighbor, geographically, to Lower Bisaasi-
[361] tedi is Upper Bisaasi-tedi (a mere 400 meters upstream), the
[613] dominant political group of that village being a segment of
the Sha lineage. The two villages, however, behave quite in-
dependently in their alliance patterns. Lower Bisaasi-tedi's
political interests are in the Mämariböwei-tedi at the present
time, whereas Upper Bisaasi-tedi's interests are in the
*628 Reyaboböwei-tedi, Karohi-tedi, and Widokaiya-tedi. In the
• 726 war against the Patanowä-tedi, both the Lower and Upper
Bisaasi-tedi aid the Monou-tedi by providing warriors for the
raiding parties, and by giving refuge to the Monou-tedi when
raiding is particularly intense.

*621 Lower Bisaasi-tedi is a cohesive, well-integrated,
162 stable village. Much of the stability and cohesiveness de-
562 rives from the fact that there is not a shortage of women and
571 there are well-defined patterns of behavior for all members
*628 vis-à-vis others. But, Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not a militarily
722 viable group. It could not last long as an independent vil-
lage if the warfare situation became intense; the group is not
completely independent of the Upper Bisaasi-tedi village. At
least once during my field work the Lower Bisaasi-tedi group
coalesced with the Upper group when a raid from the Patanowä-
tedi seemed imminent. And, if raiding from the Patanowä-tedi
began, the group would have to merge with Upper Bisaasi-tedi
for defense purposes. When I began my field work in 1964,

raided, the allies usually insist on returning home rather than pursue the enemy further. In 1965 a joint raid involving men from Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, and Reyabobŏwei-tedi failed to locate the Patanowĕ-tedi at their village. The two Shamatari groups refused to go further in pursuit of the Patanowĕ-tedi, and the entire raiding party returned home, against the wishes of the Monou-tedi, whose dead headman was being avenged by this raid. Occasionally, however, the raiders are all enthusiastic about the raid and the possibility exists that an enraged raiding party may attempt to drive the enemy from the village. This partially accounts for the fact that warfare promotes the re-combination of smaller villages into larger, more defensible ones. If a raiding party of 60 men descended on the inhabitants of a village, the village could defend itself adequately only if there were approximately an equal number of adult men in the village. This would require that the village be at least as large as 180 people. Another factor, however, accounts for the fact that some villages have large populations. When a group has several enemies, it can raid them more effectively if it is able to send out raiding parties recruited from different factions within the village. The same raiders cannot return all the raids mounted against them and carry on the business of making a living as well. Again, larger numbers of men are required to defend the village while some of the men are away on raids, as the probability is higher that the village will be raided in the interim if the village has several enemies.

174
175 descent back to Shamatari ancestors. Shihowë-tedi and its
*628
*621 splinter village, Mokayëaba-tedi, were two Shamatari allies of the Namowei-tedi in this period of the latter's history.

194 The Namowei-tedi got into a war with a cluster of
195
*628 villages allied to Obotawë-tedi over a woman from the latter
721 village. The woman joined the Namowei-tedi against the wishes
583 of her own people. This led to a club fight between the two groups and, later, to a shooting war. Obotawë-tedi recruited aid from their allies, the Bokçoiwë-Urihi-tedi, Boreta-tedi, and Aramata-tedi while the Namowei-tedi were supported by the two Shamatari villages mentioned above. A number of men from each of the two groups were killed in the raiding that developed and several Namowei-tedi women were abducted. Obotawë-

194
195 tedi and their allies forced Namowei-tedi to abandon their
*628
721 garden and take refuge with the Wareta-tedi, a group that had
241
722 just abandoned the area (ca. 1890-1900) occupied by the Namowei-tedi because of a war with the Boreta-tedi. As the Namowei-tedi had not had time to make a new garden when the raiding became intense enough to force them to move, they moved into the village of Wareta-tedi and lived off the produce of the latter's garden.

Area 2: Wareta-tedi

174
*628 The residents of Wareta-tedi had their own war with
726 Shihowë-tedi when they were joined by the Namowei-tedi, but were on friendly terms with Husirawë-urihi-tedi, a village
000 to their north. The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë,

[Namowei-tedi Group]

The new garden at Mahoyaoba-tedi did not produce satisfactorily so the Namowei-tedi established a new one south of the Orinoco River, Patanowë-tëka, and moved there about 1925-30.[1]

Area 5: Patanowë-tëka

This site has a complicated history. The Namowei-tedi lived here as one group, abandoned it, split into two villages, and each faction returned to it only to abandon it again. Ultimately the site was reoccupied by one of these factions, and that faction presently lives there.

Most of the present generation of adults in Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi were born at Patanowë-tëka.

Three important events took place while the Namowei-tedi lived at Patanowë-tëka. The first of these was the development of hostilities between the Namowei-tedi and a Shamatari village. As this Shamatari village figures prominently in the later history of one faction of the Namowei-tedi, I make a point of identifying it here: Sibarariwë's village, located on the Mavaca River. The approximate date of the initiation of these hostilities was 1938-40, an estimate based on the ages of older children born at Patanowë-tëka of women abducted from Sibarariwë's village. Up to the start of the war with Sibarariwë's group, the Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with all of the Shamatari villages and visited a number of them regularly. Several marriage

[1] This is the only case I have of a garden being abandoned for soil fertility reasons.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 Several marriage alliances were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one
*628 of the Shamatari villages (Konabuma-tedi) when the war with
• 726 Sibarariwë's group started, but these eventually broke down
583 before any women were actually exchanged.

174 The second important event was the secession of a
+621 section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the
*688 development of hostilities between these cognate villages.

174 The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the ini-
361 tiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi
• 628 sections (Patanowë-tedi) and villages to its north; this
796 war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and has dictated the movements of the Patanowë-tedi from the time it began until now.

174 In order, the particulars of these three events are,
*628 briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with
781 the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a
721 number of years after they moved to Patanowë-tëka. However,
(175) several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria) about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called Ruwahiwë, Sibarariwë's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Namikinininiwë, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered Ruwahiwë with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

Shortly after Ruwahiwë was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded

and returned to Patanowë-tëka. A segment of the group that returned to Patanowë-tëka immediately began making a new garden (Shihota) about a day's walk to the west of Patanowë-tëka, anticipating that further hostilities with the Wanidima group would develop. Within a year of the club fight the Wanidima group attacked the group at Patanowë-tëka while the latter were having a feast, but the raiders' arrows missed their marks and no one was injured. The group at Patanowë-tëka abandoned their village and rejoined their agnates at the latter's new garden, Shihota-tëka, whence they began raiding the Wanidima-tedi. On one raid the group from Shihota found Wanidima-tedi deserted and followed the trail the villagers had taken. The Wanidima-tedi were found at Hasaböwë-tedi, feasting. The raiders killed one of the Wanidima-tedi men, but in doing so angered both the Hasaböwë-tedi and their cognate group, the Ashadowë-tedi.

With the aid of the last two villages, the Wanidima-tedi raided the Shihota-tedi and killed a younger brother of Makuwë. The Shihota-tedi reciprocated by raiding the Wanidima-tedi, killing Husiwë (Nabëyoma's husband), Hoari, and Siayeikema. This in turn was followed by raids from the Wanidima-tedi in which the Shihota-tedi lost Ushuenawë and the two younger brothers of Paruriwë, and had one of their women, Buhiomi, seized.

Eventually the superior numbers of the Wanidima-tedi and their allies decided the fighting, and the Shihota-tedi were forced to abandon their garden and make a new one elsewhere.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 *628 727 361 241 [195] move. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tika to Kreibowei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawë and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowë-tika, and became known as the Patanowë-tedi.

194 *175 *628 361 241

174 *628 721 578 *726 602 [622] [583] [591] The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawë-tedi and Kashorawë-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawë, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowë-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowë-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawë-tedi visited Patanowë-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowë-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawë-tedi. Hasabowë-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowë-tedi and Yabitawë-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

174 726 *628 722

174 the Patanowã-tedi.[1] Thus, the Patanowã-tedi were surrounded
• 726 on all sides by enemies; only one village, Ashadowã-tedi,
*628 remained on friendly terms with them. Beyond the Ashadowã-
922 tedi were the Shamatari villages, bitter enemies of the Patanowã-tedi since the killing of Ruwahiwã.

174 By the time the Patanowã-tedi had gotten into this
*628 situation, the war with their agnates had subsided. So the
361 Patanowã-tedi moved west, into the area abandoned by their
602 agnates, whence they harried the Hasabõwã-tedi and the groups
922 north of the Orinoco. They attempted with some success to effect a rapprochement with their agnates, and a few individuals from the Kreibõwei-tedi group visited the Patanowã-tedi. One of these individuals was able to obtain a wife in Patanowã-tedi, whom he subsequently took back to Monou-tedi with him.

361 The Patanowã-tedi are presently living between two
*628 sites: Patanowã-tëka and Shamata-tëka, a situation forced on
922 them by the hostile relationships they have with all their neighbors except the Ashadowã-tedi.

128 Area 6: Shihota-tëka

See "Area 5" point (2) above.

174 Area 7: Kreibõwei-tedi
175
361 This site was established in 1949. After fleeing
922 from Shihota to avoid the raids of the Patanowã-tedi, the
*628

[1] At this point the Patanowã-tedi returned to Patanowã-tëka from their three sites of Wanidima, Waiyari, and Rashawã.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's village and entered into feasting relationships with his followers.

Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's village. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother, Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tĕka.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 men for the Kreibŏwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari,
175 and a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi managed to escape.
727 These fled to a mountain called Wadubadidiobakĭkŏ where
• [729] they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-tĭka.
[103] Here, the Kreibŏwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the
[241] wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreibŏwei-
[752] tĭka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly
• [628] after the treacherous feast the Kreibŏwei-tedi were visited
by Shinanokawĭ, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his
followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the
Kreibŏwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them
to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made
a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

174 Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreibŏwei-tedi
175 undertook a revenge raid against Riakowĭ's group. They
721 killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collect-
• 628 ing their women and children at Kreibŏwei-tĭka as they pro-
361 ceeded from Riakowĭ's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was
early in 1951.

174 For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreibŏwei-tedi
175 worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi
361 at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more
241 plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the
• 621 Kreibŏwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before
Kobou-tĭka was producing, however, the Kreibŏwei-tedi decided

to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There had been a number of club fights between the two factions over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started (Monou-tëka and Barawë-tëka) before the Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other considerations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here that considerable fighting took place among the men when the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to the survivors.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as they could. It was rumored that their protectors were planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women. This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed the Kreibŏwei-tedi several years later of the details of the plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariwë-tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that the Kreibŏwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the two men killed by the Kreibŏwei-tedi after the treacherous feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Mahekodo-tedi became directly involved in the war against the Shamatari and needed the assistance of the Kreibŏwei-tedi. This prevented them from killing the Kreibŏwei-tedi men and seizing their women.

Makolima-tedi and Karohi-tedi, two allies of Mahekodo-tedi, assisted the latter in the revenge raids against the Shamatari; the Kreibŏwei-tedi, of course, participated in these raids. On one raid they found Riakowë's village abandoned so they burned down the houses and destroyed the garden: the plantains were cut down and the root crops dug up. The raiders pushed on, following Riakowë's trail, and caught up with their enemies on the Shukumŏna-u River near the village of Karawatari-urihi-tedi where the followers of Riakowë had fled to avoid the revenge raids from the Mahekodo-tedi. The raiders found Riakowë swimming in the river, together with his son, a boy about 7 years old, and two of the girls, Kayoma and Waiimi, abducted during the treacherous feast. They killed Riakowë and took all the children. On their way back to Mahekodo-tedi, however, the raiders were chased by the Shamatari, who managed to get ahead of them. The Shamatari surprised them the following morning, killing one man from Makolima-tedi while he slept. In the fighting that followed, the Shamatari lost another man.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi and the Mahekodo-tedi unsuccessfully raided the Shamatari a number of times after this raid, but eventually discontinued the raiding when they concluded that they had chased the Shamatari out of the area.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

mouth of the Mavaca River. The Paruritawë-tedi had split from Sibarariwë's village about 1945, and had not been involved in the treacherous feast of 1950 in which the Kreibŏwei-tedi lost so many men. The Paruritawë-tedi were still on good terms with Sibarariwë's followers, and the members of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi persuaded them to invite Sibarariwë and his group to a feast. Using their agnatic ties and existing friendship, the Paruritawë-tedi succeeded in getting the followers of Sibarariwë to accept the invitation, but a malaria epidemic prevented all but a handful of people from actually attending the feast: five men and four women. With the assistance of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the Paruritawë-tedi killed three of the guests and seized all four of the women.

By participating in this treachery, the Paruritawë-tedi subordinated themselves to the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. At the present time the Paruritawë-tedi live in two villages, and are intimately involved in a bride-exchange network with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter two villages receiving more women (and men doing bride service) than they give. The Paruritawë-tedi have no other allies, as they are the front of the expansion into this region and the only villages to their east are allies of Sibarariwë. Despite the fact that they would like to make friendly contact with Sibarariwë's group again, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, as we shall see, prevent them from doing so by chicane and threat. Thus, Monou-tedi and the

168

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 1: Aramamisi-kËkŏ

Matakuwë's group settled here after abandoning their site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawë's group. The village at Aramamisi-kËkŏ, according to my informants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, Aramamisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, MŏwËracoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawë-tedi, Kohoroshi-tedi, MËmaribŏwei-tedi, and Reyabobŏwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

A large segment of the population broke away from the main group and moved to the Rahuawë-u River, splitting into two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from the Aramamisi-kËkŏ population developed out of a feud over a woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from the original faction that separated from Matakuwë's group. The first three of these groups presently live in the Shukumŏna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

[1] There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

others. Matakuwë's group was being raided by Kayabawë's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-këkö. These raids forced Matakuwë and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-këkö and settle at Shirakoböwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakoböwei

Matakuwë's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawë's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewë and Orakawë. During the fighting a young man from Karehewë's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewë moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewë's followers raided the group at Shirakoböwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewë to move further north. Karehewë's son, Riakowë, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowë's son, Börösöwë. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Börösöwë's group. They feared Börösöwë would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyahowë, split off from

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Matakuwë's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors were absorbed by other villages.

Finally, Matakuwë and his group separated from Orakawë and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Mavaca basin. The group that remained at Shirakobŏwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakuwë and his followers separated from Orakawë's group for two reasons. First, Matakuwë decided to support Karehewë in the dispute over the death of a member of the latter's group. Secondly, Matakuwë and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shihowë-tedi, who continued to harrass them. By taking the side of Karehewë, Matakuwë and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawë's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

Area 3: Borabŏwei

Matakuwë and his followers moved here about 1910. Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi, forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a number of years Matakuwë's group lived alternatively between these two sites. Another garden was established at Kaurewë after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Borabŏwei, and Matakuwë's group fled to Kayurewë, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

Area 4: Kayurewä

174 175 +628 926 361 The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid Matakuwä's group at Kayurewä, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. Matakuwä's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwä, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowä-täka. Ruwahiwä was Matakuwä's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided Matakuwä's group at Kayurewä, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, Matakuwä moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174 +621 361 (622) (101) About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by Matakuwä's group, the group split into two villages. One of them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwä's son, Sibarariwä. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumöna-u River and took the name Paruritawä-tedi, led by Weiamamowä. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

(578) (721)

174 36 +628 722 175 Sibarariwä's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the Paruritawä-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Armamisi-tedi and the Paruritawä-tedi themselves forced Sibarariwä's group to abandon Konabuma

and move to Kakamoba. This site was occupied for just a few years, and by 1950 Sibarariwä's group was living at Amąrokobõ-wei: the 1950 treacherous feast for the Kreibõwei-tedi was conducted while Sibarariwä's group was here. After 1950 Sibarariwä's group fled south to avoid the raids of the survivors of that treacherous feast, establishing the garden of Dądamobõwei. This garden was abandoned because of raids mounted by the Paruritawä-tedi, and Sibarariwä returned to Amąrokobõwei about 1955. The Paruritawä-tedi eventually became friendly to Sibarariwä's group and were able to lure some of them, at the instigation of the Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, to a treacherous feast in 1960, during which three men were murdered and four women captured. In 1964 Sibarariwä's group moved to the headwaters of the Mavaca River, being known as the Mõwäraoba-tedi. Monou-tedi and Mõmaribõwei-tedi sent a raiding party against them at this location about the time I started my field work, and killed one man.

Area 6: Paruritawä-tedi

The Paruritawä-tedi made friendly contact with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi about 1960, and have entered into alliance with these groups. The Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi persuaded the Paruritawä-tedi to invite members of Sibarariwä's group to a feast in 1960 and, with the aid of the Paruritawä-tedi, murdered three men and seized four women. Sibarariwä's group avenged this by mounting raids

against the Paruritawä-tedi, and the latter abandoned their site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawä-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Mömariböwei and Reyaboböwei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyaboböwei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwä's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965 the Reyaboböwei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwä's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwä's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawä-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwä's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1966

The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowä-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowä-tedi to venture away from the village.

The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives they claimed, was that the Patanowã-tedi had to move frequently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the Patanowã-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense. It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consanguineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

The war between Monou-tedi and Patanowã-tedi

After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of Patanowã in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi began visiting Patanowã-tedi, and one of them, Torokoiwã, was given two wives by the Patanowã-tedi. The rapprochement, however, was never effected and the political relationships between

628 728 574 Patanowã-tedi and her two colonies, Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, were generally of a suspicious nature; only a few individuals trusted the members of the other group enough to visit their village.

796 628 By 1964 the Patanowã-tedi had become involved in a particularly vicious war with a number of neighboring villages, and were badly in need of military assistance. Their only allies were the Ashadowã-tedi, a large group living two days' walk south of them. Consequently, the Patanowã-tedi informed the Bisaasi-tedi that they were willing to make peace with them. The Bisaasi-tedi extended a feast invitation to the Patanowã-tedi to demonstrate their interest in making peace and, in late November 1964 the entire village of Patanowã-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in the feast. This marked the first time since 1940 that the two groups as groups visited each other.

726 728 628 527 574 The Monou-tedi were not involved in the feast, but a number of men from that village came to Bisaasi-tedi intending to abduct Patanowã-tedi women. They succeeded in capturing seven women the day that the Patanowã-tedi arrived, and took them back to Monou-tedi without being discovered. The Patanowã-tedi men, enraged at the loss of seven women, sent a party of men to Monou-tedi the following morning to recover the women. The Patanowã-tedi men entered Monou-tedi and forcibly took five of the seven women away from their captors. The Patanowã-tedi retreated before actual shooting broke out and returned to Bisaasi-tedi. The Monou-tedi were furious

over the loss of the five women, and Yąnomamö canons of ferocity dictated that this loss would have to be avenged. The Monou-tedi informed the Patanowä-tedi that they were going to shoot them on sight the next time they met.

After the Patanowä-tedi returned to Bisaasi-tedi they packed their possessions and left for home. The feast was cancelled, as the Patanowä-tedi feared being ambushed by a Monou-tedi raiding party if they remained at Bisaasi-tedi. Before departing, the Patanowä-tedi assured their hosts that they still wanted peace with them, no matter what the Monou-tedi eventually did.

This illustrates dramatically the Yąnomamö political philosophy that it is legitimate to take advantage of a weak village. The Monou-tedi, knowing that the Patanowä-tedi were politically in need of allies, took advantage of this situation when they abducted the women. They also knew that the Bisaasi-tedi would not take Patanowä-tedi's side in the dispute that was bound to follow, as too many of the Bisaasi-tedi had personal grudges against the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi also knew that the Patanowä-tedi were not likely to begin a war over this incident, as they already had more enemies than they could successfully withstand without allies. In short, the Monou-tedi knew that they stood a good chance of gaining women by abducting them from the Patanowä-tedi without great risk of being shot by the latter. As the conclusion shows, they managed to obtain two women and did not get into a shooting war with the Patanowä-tedi. However, their anger at

628 721 782 241 726 the Patanowä-tedi for managing to overwhelm their own force led them to declare war on the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi immediately began making a new garden at Moyenaböwei, across the Mavaca River from their village and several hours inland, anticipating the war that they knew would follow. After they had cleared the large trees from their new garden site, they raided the Patanowä-tedi in the last week of January 1965, and succeeded in killing Bosibrei.

727 581 582 593 628 Another important event took place while the Monou-tedi were clearing the trees from their new garden site, an event that illustrates the same principle of political philosophy. One of the stolen women, Kakoma, was given to a young man, Karidimö, who had only one leg. Karidimö could not do heavy work, and when his village moved inland to clear their new site Karidimö moved to Bisaasi-tedi with his new wife. Kakoma, however, was not pleased with her new husband, and asked the Bisaasi-tedi if she could stay with them, hoping that she would be permitted to rejoin the Patanowä-tedi if they returned to Bisaasi-tedi to visit. The Bisaasi-tedi men obligingly took her away from Karidimö by force and gave her to a bachelor in their own village. Karidimö, enraged at this, returned to Monou-tedi to recruit aid.

628 721 578 This put the Monou-tedi in a difficult position. They were planning to raid the Patanowä-tedi and would have to maintain good relations with the Bisaasi-tedi if the revenge raids from the Patanowä-tedi became intense. They could not, however, overlook the insult to Karidimö, for this

*628 would have been a display of weakness. They decided to
721
578 challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a club fight and settle their grievances by that means. Ten days after Kakoma was taken from Karidimõ, the Monou-tedi men arrived at Bisaasi-tedi and settled the dispute in a club fight. The Monou-tedi were thoroughly trounced by the larger number of Bisaasi-tedi, but they nevertheless demonstrated their potential and willingness to fight, thereby warning the Bisaasi-tedi that they better not attempt to seize more women in the future.

The Bisaasi-tedi clearly had taken advantage of the Monou-tedi numerical weakness and political needs to advance their own ends.

726 In the first week of March 1965 the Patanowã-tedi raided the Monou-tedi. They found the village site on the Mavaca River deserted, so they crossed the river and followed the trail taken by the Monou-tedi to their new garden. They
[622] caught the Monou-tedi headman outside the new garden and killed him.

*628 This attack brought about an immediate rapprochement
728 between the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi. Even Kpobãwã, leader of one of Bisaasi-tedi's main factions, was furious over this killing. Up to this point he was still interested in making peace with the Patanowã-tedi, but this even temporarily changed his mind. Kpobãwã ultimately led the revenge
726 raid against the Patanowã-tedi.

[564] The Monou-tedi burned the corpse of the slain headman and sent small gourds of his ground bones to members of allied

villages (Bisaasi-tedi, Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi, and Karohi-tedi). These ashes were to be consumed prior to revenge raids on the Patanowɛ̈-tedi. The Monou-tedi then set about transporting plantain cuttings to their new garden and spent the next several weeks working on the garden. They intended to delay their revenge raid until the beginning of the rainy season in order to make it difficult for the Patanowɛ̈-tedi to raid them in return. The Monou-tedi moved into Bisaasi-tedi at the end of March both for military protection and for respite from their heavy agricultural labors. They stayed with the Bisaasi-tedi until the end of April, fearing that they would be raided by the Patanowɛ̈-tedi if they returned to their own village before the rains started. They also planned to raid the Patanowɛ̈-tedi from Bisaasi-tedi at the beginning of the wet season, knowing that a revenge raid from Patanowɛ̈-tedi would be difficult once the rains started. They could return to their own village during the rainy season, as the jungle separating their village from the Patanowɛ̈-tedi is inundated at this time of the year and cannot be traversed.

On April 19th the Bisaasi-tedi sponsored a mortuary feast for the slain Monou-tedi headman in preparation for the revenge raid. The participants in the revenge raid were to include the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi, but they did not arrive as scheduled, so the raid was delayed until the 21st. Only a few Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi arrived to participate in the raid, and the Bisaasi-tedi immediately suspected that the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi were plotting to abduct women from them after

726 [722] the men left on the raid. One faction of Bisaasi-tedi did not participate in the raid in order to protect the women while the others were gone.

The raiding party left on the 21st and returned on [361] the 2nd of May. They killed one Patanowë-tedi at Shihota, a site abandoned in 1949 by the Bisaasi-tedi now being used by the Patanowë-tedi. The Patanowë-tedi chased the raiders, outflanking them at one point, and shot one of the Monou-tedi, badly wounding him. The man, Konoreiwë, was pierced with a bamboo point just above his heart. Although the tip of the point protruded out his back, he recovered.

726 36 *628 [221] [132] The Patanowë-tedi could not avenge this killing until the rains subsided. Accordingly, the Monou-tedi returned to their own village after they retreated to Bisaasi-tedi on May 2. They remained in their village until June 20, at which time they rejoined the Bisaasi-tedi; they did so because travel through the jungle was becoming possible by that date, as the rains subsided early in 1965. On July 10 the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, assisted by their allies, the Mõmaribõwei-tedi and Reyabobõwei-tedi, raided the Patanowë-tedi again, leaving from Bisaasi-tedi. The raid proved to be unsuccessful, as the Patanowë-tedi had moved into the village of their only ally, the Ashadowë-tedi. All the raiders except those from Monou-tedi wanted to turn back, as the trail to Ashadowë-tedi was a poor one and retreat would have been difficult. The raiding party did turn back, but the Monou-tedi were angry with their allies for forcing them to

726 return.

The Monou-tedi returned to their own village after this raid, angry because their allies refused to prosecute the war more vigorously. They collected food from their [241] garden and moved into their new site at Moyenabŏwei, extending their garden. For the next two months the Monou-tedi lived alternately at Bisaasi-tedi, their old village, and their new garden, to which they carried food from their old one as needed. By now the Patanowä-tedi were raiding them frequently to avenge the attack of April 21, and signs of the Patanowä-tedi raiders were found numerous times at the old site of Monou-tedi.

The Patanowä-tedi were also moving between several gardens to avoid raids from their enemies. They lived alternately between Patanowä-tëka, with the Ashadowä-tedi, and their new garden, Shihota. Moreover, they were actively engaged in another war at the same time. So effective were the Patanowä-tedi raids against the Hasabŏwä-tedi that, in mid 1965, the latter had to abandon their site south of the Orinoco River and move to the north side near the village of one of their allies, Kashorawä-tedi. They made a new garden near Kashorawä-tedi and abandoned their old one.

726 The war between the Patanowä-tedi and the Hasabŏwä-tedi had taken some unusual turns. On one raid in July, the Patanowä-tedi fired a volley of arrows into Hasabŏwä-tedi's village, killing two women. A few weeks later the Hasabŏwä-tedi deliberately waited for a woman, Huhuma, to come out of

726 the PatanowÃ-tedi village and killed her. In subsequent raids both villages resorted to killing even young children.

Thus, the PatanowÃ-tedi and the Monou-tedi had similar military problems and were solving them in essentially the same way. Both groups made new gardens, but were unable to move to them because the gardens could not support the populations until the plants matured and bore fruit. Both groups were being raided actively by enemies and could not remain at their producing sites. Therefore, each had to rely on aid from an ally. Of the two military situations, that of the PatanowÃ-tedi was the more critical; they were being raided actively by a dozen villages, whereas the Monou-tedi were being raided by only one enemy. Of the dozen villages raiding the PatanowÃ-tedi, only five had legitimate revenge reasons for doing so. The remaining villages were participating in the raiding with the hope that their raiders would be able to capture women. The members of these latter villages knew that the PatanowÃ-tedi could not possibly raid them in return, as there were too many villages enemy to the PatanowÃ-tedi in the path. Hence, they had women to gain and were almost completely immune to possible revenge raids.

726 628

726 621

Kinship ties mitigating the hostility of the war between the Monou-tedi and the PatanowÃ-tedi

Up to the middle of 1965, the upper group of Bisaasi-tedi behaved as a single political unit with respect to the war between the Monou-tedi and the PatanowÃ-tedi. There were,

726 There were, however, two recognizable factions within this group; one
*621 was led by Kɨobɨwɨ̈, who had many relatives in both Patanowɨ̈-
628 tedi and Moncu-tedi, and the other was led by Paruriwɨ̈, who
632 had no consanguineal relatives in Patanowɨ̈-tedi, but many in Moncu-tedi. Paruriwɨ̈'s group was linked to Kɨobɨwɨ̈'s by a number of marriage ties.

*621 Kɨobɨwɨ̈ was the acknowledged leader of the entire
629 upper section of Bisaasi-tedi, including Paruriwɨ̈'s group, although Paruriwɨ̈ had some influence in the affairs of the village. After the middle of the year, Paruriwɨ̈ began to emerge as leader in his own right, and began duplicating many of the activities normally the prerogative of the village headman. Thus, when Kɨobɨwɨ̈ initiated a feast for members
[521] of an allied village, Paruriwɨ̈ duplicated his efforts by
[674] sending out his own hunters to provide meat for the guests, and furnished an equal amount of cultivated food, which he disposed of from his own section of the village. Normally, the headman sends out the hunters and disposes of the cultivated food from his own house. Paruriwɨ̈, by duplicating Kɨobɨwɨ̈'s efforts in these activities, announced that he was a headman.

726 The emergence of Paruriwɨ̈ as an important leader was
*622 largely the result of his active prosecution of the war
628 against the Patanowɨ̈-tedi. Kɨobɨwɨ̈, after he led one revenge
[728] raid against the Patanowɨ̈-tedi, decided that he wanted to remain neutral in the fighting and wanted to make peace with the Patanowɨ̈-tedi. This led to a political vacuum within

Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid from them. Paruriwë seized upon this as his opportunity to advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated several raids against the Patanowë-tedi without the support of Kaobëwë. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi. As Paruriwë was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman (consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

Paruriwë's behavior in other respects changed after the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again, he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwë was entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field, Paruriwë and his group separated from Kaobëwë's and moved across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up until the time he moved, visitors from other villages consistently sought out Kaobëwë as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how much effort Paruriwë spent in emphasizing his own role in the feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

one real headman, Kɛobɨwɨ. Thus, Paruriwɨ had to separate from Kɛobɨwɨ's group to achieve a status equal to that of Kɛobɨwɨ.

In July 1965 Kɛobɨwɨ sent his brother-in-law, Kumanawɨ, to Patanowɨ-tedi to inform them that his group did not intend to raid the Patanowɨ-tedi in the future. When Kumanawɨ returned to Bisaasi-tedi, he brought two older people with him, demonstrating that the Patanowɨ-tedi trusted Kɛobɨwɨ and were anxious to promote good relations with his group. The older couple brought the message that three young men from Patanowɨ-tedi were coming on a visit soon. Three days later the young men, Hɛrokoiwɨ, Masiwɨ, and Koiyeiwɨ, arrived. Paruriwɨ's group was visiting the Widokaiya-tedi, and when word reached him that a delegation of Patanowɨ-tedi had arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to visit Kɛobɨwɨ, he and a group of men from Monou-tedi immediately returned to Bisaasi-tedi, intending to murder the three visitors. Kɛobɨwɨ, however, warned Paruriwɨ and the Monou-tedi that should they attempt to harm the visitors, he and his followers would defend them with force. A crisis developed out of this situation, and for a whole day Paruriwɨ and his Monou-tedi supporters debated the wisdom of their plan. Finally, Paruriwɨ decided to desist from the murders and even participated in a news chant with one of the Patanowɨ-tedi--the father of his youngest wife. This emphasized Kɛobɨwɨ's influence as a leader, and Paruriwɨ decided to move away from Kɛobɨwɨ's group after this incident. The Monou-tedi who were to participate in the murder of the three

visitors were enraged because Paruriwë failed to execute the plan, and they returned to Monou-tedi to recruit a raiding party, hoping to intercept the visitors on their way back to Patanowë-tedi.[1] Paruriwë placated the Monou-tedi by organizing a series of raids against the Patanowë-tedi, and by inviting the Monou-tedi to stay in his section of the village when they fled from their other two sites. Prior to this, the Monou-tedi had been staying with the members of the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi. By early November, the Monou-tedi had begun raiding the Patanowë-tedi with great frequency, supported by members of Paruriwë's group. Paruriwë himself sent three raiding parties against the Patanowë-tedi between November and February, all of which included men from Monou-tedi. Kaobëwë did not participate in or encourage these raids, but some of his followers took part in them.

This split was not the outcome of an internal feud. Rather, it developed out of the different political interests of two leaders, one of whom was ambitiously striving to improve his status as a headman. The other refused to prosecute the war against the Patanowë-tedi, as he had a large number of kinsmen there. The existence of these ties, however, did not preclude the war, as the Bisaasi-tedi are in fact raiding the Patanowë-tedi. The kin ties at best mitigate the intensity of the raiding. The situation is a problem for the Patanowë-tedi, as they do not want to kill the few Bisaasi-tedi friends

[1] Their plan failed, as I took the Patanowë-tedi back to their village part way in my boat, and we went the remainder of the way on a trail the Monou-tedi could not reach.

they have; but they must revenge raids coming from Bisaasi-tedi. Now that Paruriwë and his followers have moved away from Kąobëwë's group, the Patanowë-tedi can raid Paruriwë without having to 'look twice' before shooting. As Paruriwë's faction is a small one, it is vulnerable; one raid from the Patanowë-tedi will force it to rejoin Kąobëwë's group. The internal stability of the reunited groups will suffer if this happens, as Paruriwë will be obliged to demonstrate his leadership capacity. This will involve making an issue out of an incident that probably would have been overlooked prior to the separation of the two groups, and internal friction will be high.

The split within Patanowë-tedi

The incessant raiding from Hasabŏwë-tedi, Kashorawë-tedi, Yabitawë-tedi, Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and their respective allies brought about a high degree of tension among the Patanowë-tedi. It was not safe to leave the village at any time. The Patanowë-tedi had attempted to split into three groups several years earlier, as the population had reached a large size and internal fighting was a nuisance. The development of the war with the Hasabŏwë-tedi forced them to reunite. Factionalism, however, was pronounced within the village, and the added tension brought about by the new war with Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and the latter's two Shamatari allies ultimately led to an internal split within Patanowë-tedi a month before I left the field.

Moiyoawë had two wives, Borehima and her older sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with another man, Makorawë. Moiyoawë attempted to get his wife back from Makorawë, precipitating a club fight between two factions of the village. During the club fight, Makorawë stabbed Moiyoawë with the sharp end of his club, wounding him badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyoawë's faction, Rakoiwë, who then attacked Makorawë, running him through with a sharpened club, killing him. Makorawë's faction fled from Patanowë-tedi and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids against the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the Patanowë-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowë-tedi two times shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid they caught two Patanowë-tedi men hunting outside the village. They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was Kɑabëwë's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man, Shinahewë. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

The woman over whom the internal feud started was taken away from Makorawë's group. Moiyoawë cut both her ears off to punish her.

000 the factions still remain on friendly terms.

*621 *625 578 726 105 Material presented in the discussion above--details of the movements of factions that are not relevant to the origin of the five villages considered here--also support the contention that villages split over internal feuds. That villages are structurally unstable is evidenced by the sheer number of village splits and the fact that the related factions enter into hostilities with each other after separating. Data I collected on village movements for other Yanomamö groups support the conclusions I reach here.

*621 *625 608 582 583 105 [613] One can see that the process of village splitting leads to the formation of independent villages that comprise closely-related kinsmen. Intuitively, one can also see that marriages "between" such villages, i.e., between spouses that each claim to be of different villages, do not necessarily represent political alliances between those villages, for in many cases the marriages were contracted between the local lineages involved before they separated. This is not to say that all the cases of this sort can be dismissed in this fashion. Some marriages between ambilateral cross-cousins are in fact properly interpreted as marriage alliances between villages, for occasionally related villages enter into alliances with each other. In these cases, the marriages between them come about for essentially the same reasons that the exogamic marriages between unrelated groups occur. In short, the existence of the marriage rule alone does not account for alliances between related groups that enter into politico-military pacts.

contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

	Name of Individual	Patrilineage	Sex	Age	Comments
32.	Monomi's Da.	Tom	F	0.2	
33.	Nakakami	Sha	F	56	
34.	Niaiyowë	Sha	M	14	
35.	Omonoiwë	Tom	M	28	
36.	Reromawë	Sha	M	53	Headman
37.	Rosa	Sha	F	8	
38.	Ruwisa	Tom	F	7	
39.	Shiborowë	Shamatari	M	35	See p. 214
40.	Tiaböwë	Shamatari	M	5	See p. 214
41.	Tomahewë	Tom	M	21	
42.	Tomasi	Tom	M	6	
43.	Ugushi	Hor	M	22	
44.	Waiimi	Hor	F	21	
45.	Waiyamobemi	Shamatari	F	19	Alliance
46.	Waiyamobemi's son	Sha	M	0.5	
47.	Waiyuruma	Shamatari	F	50	Abducted
48.	Wakarabewë	Shamatari	M	16	Son-in-law to #6
49.	Yëbinëma	Kio	F	33	
50.	Yareama	Shamatari	F	2	See p. 214
51.	Yotoma	Tom	F	24	

Comments on particular individuals

1. Ahimi. Her present husband (Bokosiwë) visited the Patanowë-tedi within the past 5 years. Ahimi then lived in Patanowë-tedi and was married to a Sha man there (Makoakuwë), by whom she had already had one daughter (Huimashima). When Bokosiwë returned to Bisaasi-tedi, Ahimi followed him, taking her daughter with her, and became Bokosiwë's wife. As the Patanowë-tedi were technically at war with the Bisaasi-tedi, there was not much they could do to recover the woman. As they also wanted to make peace with Bisaasi-tedi, they did not press the matter.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

ingness to use violence to obtain one's ends are considered desirable traits. Much of the behavior of the Yąnomamö can be described as brutal, cruel, treacherous, in the value-laden terms of our own vocabulary. The Yąnomamö themselves, however, as Napoleon Chagnon came to intimately know them in the year and a half he lived with them, do not all appear to be mean and treacherous. As individuals, they seem to be people playing their own cultural game, with internal feelings that at times may be quite divergent from the demands placed upon them by their culture. This case study furnishes valuable data for phrasing questions about the relationship between the individual and his culture.

The Yąnomamö appear to be constantly on the verge of extranormal behavior, as we define it, and their almost daily use of hallucinogenic drugs reinforces these drives to what might seem to the outside observer to be the limits of human capacity. Life in their villages is noisy, punctuated by outbursts of violence, threatened by destruction by enemies. To the ethnographer it is frightening, frustrating, disgusting, exciting, and rewarding, and in this case study the ethnographer lets the reader know how he feels. His honest reactions help us, as interested outsiders, to know the Yąnomamö.

This is a study of a fierce people who engage in chronic warfare. It is also a study of a system of controls that usually hold in check the drive toward annihilation. Conflict among the Yąnomamö is regulated through a series of graded escalations, from chest-pounding and side-slapping duels, through club fighting, spear throwing, to raiding in a state of war, to the ultimate—the *nomoboni*—massacre by treachery. The processes of avoidance, settlement, or escalation of disputes are discussed in detail in this case study. There are implications that range beyond the Yąnomamö, and beyond primitive peoples, to the "civilized" world in which we live, for we too live in a state of chronic warfare and are threatened by annihilation.

The Yąnomamö goad each other, within their own villages, to the brink of an explosion (and they goaded the ethnographer in the same way). This hostility is projected on a larger scale in the negotiating of alliances between villages. Each principal must establish the credibility of his own threats, as well as discover the point at which the opposite party's bluffing will dissolve into action. It is, as the author says, a politics of brinksmanship, all too familiar to us.

The study is, however, not confined to a description of regulated violence. Dr. Chagnon provides us with an unusually clear chapter on social organization, with the genealogical details of kinship. The models he produces in his analysis are cast in sharper relief because he also discusses deviations from these models in actual behavior. He links social organization with the processes of fission that produce new villages and the alliances that are created in response to the threat of annihilation, reinforced and validated by the mutual ceding of women between villages. Social organization is presented not as an abstraction but as a dynamic process interrelated with other significant dimensions of life. The anthropological novice will find the analysis of social organization detailed but, with close attention, entirely understandable. The more experienced anthropological reader will grasp the full theoretical implications of the analysis and will find the author's references to various debates in the anthropological literature stimulating.

[P. xviii]

142
302
516
251
262
415
352
353

Clay pots and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Mamu-teri men shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 3).

142
291
516
411
342
726

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

anthropological training at the University of Michigan that kinship was equivalent to society in primitive tribes and that it was a moral way of life, "moral" being something "good" and "desirable." I was determined to work my way into their moral system of kinship and become a member of their society. 114 123 [121]

My heart began to pound as we approached the village and heard the buzz of activity within the circular compound. Mr. Barker commented that he was anxious to see if any changes had taken place while he was away and wondered how many of them had died during his absence. I felt into my back pocket to make sure that my notebook was still there and felt personally more secure when I touched it. Otherwise, I would not have known what to do with my hands.

The entrance to the village was covered over with brush and dry palm leaves. We pushed them aside to expose the low opening to the village. The excitement of meeting my first Indians was almost unbearable as I duck-waddled through the low passage into the village clearing. [361]

I looked up and gasped when I saw a dozen burly, naked, filthy, hideous men staring at us down the shafts of their drawn arrows! Immense wads of green tobacco were stuck between their lower teeth and lips making them look even more hideous, and strands of dark-green slime dripped or hung from their noses. We arrived at the village while the men were blowing a hallucinogenic drug up their noses. One of the side effects of the drug is a runny nose. The mucus is always saturated with the green powder and the Indians usually let it run freely from their nostrils. My next discovery was that there were a dozen or so vicious, underfed dogs snapping at my legs, circling me as if I were going to be their next meal. I just stood there holding my notebook, helpless and pathetic. Then the stench of the decaying vegetation and filth struck me and I almost got sick. I was horrified. What sort of a welcome was this for the person who came here to live with you and learn your way of life, to become friends with you? They put their weapons down when they recognized Barker and returned to their chanting, keeping a nervous eye on the village entrances. [515] [276] [231]

We had arrived just after a serious fight. Seven women had been abducted the day before by a neighboring group, and the local men and their guests had just that morning recovered five of them in a brutal club fight that nearly ended in a shooting war. The abductors, angry because they lost five of the seven captives, vowed to raid the Bisaasi-teri. When we arrived and entered the village unexpectedly, the Indians feared that we were the raiders. On several occasions during the next two hours the men in the village jumped to their feet, armed themselves, and waited nervously for the noise outside the village to be identified. My enthusiasm for collecting ethnographic curiosities diminished in proportion to the number of times such an alarm was raised. In fact, I was relieved when Mr. Barker suggested that we sleep across the river for the evening. It would be safer over there. 114 123 726

As we walked down the path to the boat, I pondered the wisdom of having decided to spend a year and a half with this tribe before I had even seen what they were like. I am not ashamed to admit, either, that had there been a diplomatic way out, I would have ended my fieldwork then and there. I did not look forward to the next day when I would be left alone with the Indians; I did not speak a word of their language, and they were decidedly different from what I had imagined them to be. The whole situation was depressing, and I wondered why I ever decided to switch from civil en- 114 123

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Village size is an important factor in determining the degree to which a Yąnomamö group must depend on its neighbors for military support in the face of raids. Small villages must make alliances to survive. Village size, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, ranges from 40 to 250 inhabitants. Approximately one-third of the village consists of males who are able to participate in the raiding, that is, men who are between 17 and 40 years old. The tactics of warfare are such that a village must be able to field a raiding party of approximately 10 men in order to be able to raid effectively. In addition, when the raiders are away, there must always be a few men at home to protect the women and children. Thus, the military requirements alone seem to demand that a village have at least 15 able-bodied men. As these represent about a third of the group, the minimum village size required by the raiding techniques is 40 to 50 people. I have never seen a village fall below this size in an area where raiding is active, and virtually every village split I investigated took place only when each of the resulting groups contained 40 or more people.

The upper limit to village size is also determined in large measure by the intensity of warfare. The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has over 200 people. It was being raided actively by about a dozen different groups while I conducted my fieldwork, groups that raided it about twenty-five times in a period of fifteen months. The Patanowä-teri at one time had split into three groups of about equal size, but raids from their enemies forced them to reunite for common defense. In general, a village will fission after it reaches a population of about 150 because internal feuds and fights are so frequent that peace can only be maintained with great difficulty. A village of 100 individuals, for example, can fission to produce two militarily viable groups of about 50 people each. Only the threat of raids from powerful neighbors will, as in the case of the Patanowä-teri, inhibit the fissioning, and frequently the fission groups will reunite in a single village to fend off the raids of their enemies.

But a small group of 40 to 50 people is not as viable as a group twice that size. Consequently, it enters into alliances with its neighbors.

FISSION AND SETTLEMENT There is a tendency for the group to attempt to maximize its size after it becomes an independent entity. This is done by trying to keep all marriages within the group so that there is very little migration of young men and women to other villages after marriage. A small group also welcomes the addition of families from other villages, families that have gotten into fights in their own group and who prefer to leave rather than attempt to patch up their grievances with their kinsmen. Finally, the group tries to attract young men and women from other villages, encouraging them to settle permanently in the group. Rerebawä, for example, is under considerable pressure to remain permanently in Kąobawä's group.

As the village grows in size and varies in composition, it becomes increasingly difficult to keep order and peace. Extramarital sexual liaisons are more frequent in larger villages, because the probability is lower that the affairs will be discovered. When the Monou-teri rejoined Kąobawä's group to avoid the raids of their enemies, a bloody club fight developed between two men of that village over an affair one of them had with the other's wife. The culprit waited until the group joined Kąobawä's village before approaching the woman, thinking that with so many people in one village he would not be caught.

By the time a village approaches 100 to 150 people, such fights over women are

361 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime
578 around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village
[101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at that site. Kąobawä's group fled to Shjhota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a
361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take
726 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had
721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they
628 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab-
[241] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kąobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954,
621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they
[721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of
[722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again,
[101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kąobawä
[648] and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to establish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of
[101] them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an upstream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2–8, have a settlement
621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being
578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away
722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more
184 complicated than the history of Kąobawä's group, since village fissioning began much earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2–8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above two groups of villages.

361 Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Mǫmariböwei-teri and Reya-
[134] boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2–8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by
[648] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neigh-
[722] bors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9]
[578] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yąnomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

[794] [825] [177] [123] [126] I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi*.[13] Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no shoshiki*, the part of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noreshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

[766] [887] TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

[763] [783] Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

[562] [858] After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.

[237] [531] [562] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment. The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

[531] The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

[266] [769] [266] About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of ceremonies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

[926] [929]

[13] Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

TABLE 3-3
SEX-RATIO DATA ON SELECTED VILLAGES

	Males	Females	Totals
Upper Bisaasi-teri	37	48	85
Lower Bisaasi-teri	25	26	51
Monou-teri	34	32	66
Reyabobŏwei-teri	52	46	98
Mŏmaribŏwei-teri	50	46	96
Patanowã-teri	122	90	212
Aikam-teri and Roko-teri	129	103	232
	449	391	840

Table 3-3 gives sex-ratio data on seven groups of Yąnomamö. The first three villages are not truly representative of the population in general, but are included because they have been frequently discussed in the text.

They are not representative because some 15 men from these villages were killed in a single treacherous feast in 1950, a significant fraction of the adult male population. These feasts are not very frequent. The three groups are allied to each other and have been extremely successful at coercing two neighboring Shamatari villages out of women; a surprisingly high proportion of their women come from these allies. As we shall see, they have been successful because of the geographical and historical relationships that characterize the alliance network in this area.

DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS As is apparent, there are more males in the Yąnomamö population than females. This demographic fact results from the practice of selectively killing female babies: *female infanticide*. The Yąnomamö also practice male infanticide, but because of the preference to have a male as their first child, they unknowingly kill more females than males. The Yąnomamö have only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. They are, accordingly, poor statisticians. They are quite unaware of the fact that they do kill more female babies, and every time I questioned them about it, they insisted that they killed both kinds—"more-than-two" of both kinds.

A child is killed at birth, irrespective of its sex, if the mother already has a nursing baby. They rationalize the practice by asserting that the new infant would probably die anyway, since its older sibling would drink most of the milk. They are most reluctant to jeopardize the health and safety of a nursing child by weaning it before it is three years old or so, preferring to kill the competitor instead. Kąobawã's wife, Bahimi, killed a newborn male shortly after I began my fieldwork. She later told me, quite tearfully, that it would have taken milk away from Ariwari, Kąobawã's favorite child. Ariwari at the time was over two years old, but Bahimi refused to wean him. Sometimes a child is killed simply because the mother doesn't feel that she can care for it properly and that it would be an inconvenience to have to tend a baby. I once saw a plump, well-fed, young mother eating a large quantity of food that would have been suitable to give to an older infant. Her emaciated, filthy, and nearly starved child—about two years old—kept reaching out for the food. The mother explained that the baby had gotten a bad case of diarrhea some time ago and had stopped eating. As a consequence, her milk dried up. She refused to attempt to feed it other foods because "it did not know how to eat other foods." When

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December–January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yąnomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1965 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowä's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawä's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawä and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąobawä's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąobawä's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawä's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawä's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąobawä's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawä and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawä's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąobawä and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16] James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawä and his group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Kąobawä's group. All their other neighbors, allied to the victims of the treacherous feast, relentlessly raided them. They were, in short, extremely dependent on Kąobawä's group and the two other villages related to Kąobawä's group.

Kąobawä and his followers have astutely finessed this situation in two ways. First, they have managed to coerce the two Shamatari villages into ceding women without reciprocating an equal number of their own in return. The men who have obtained Shamatari wives have, as well, managed to cut short their period of bride service in the Shamatari village. Conversely, Shamatari men who have been promised women of Kąobawä's group are pressed into very lengthy bride service, sometimes up to three years. Secondly, Kąobawä's group has prevented the two Shamatari allies from re-establishing friendly contacts with the other Shamatari to their southeast by chicane, threat, and intimidation. One of the two Shamatari allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri, has attempted a rapprochement with the Shamatari enemies of Kąobawä's group. In 1965, several months after I had been living in Kąobawä's village, Kąobawä's group managed to stage another treacherous feast for the old enemies by taking advantage of the renewed ties between the Reyaboböwei-teri and the enemies. They learned that the Reyaboböwei-teri planned to invite one of the villages to a feast, so they, along with the Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri, went to the feast in order to ambush the guests. The Reyaboböwei-teri, however, were reluctant to go through with the plan and warned the visitors about it. The visitors were en route to the village when word of the treachery reached them. This had the effect of creating even more difficulties for the Reyaboböwei-teri, for it is highly unlikely that they will succeed in gaining the confidence of their neighbors to the southeast. Nevertheless, some visiting between the groups still continues.[17]

The historical relationships between the villages helps account for the reasons behind contemporary alliance patterns. The discrepancy between marriage rules and actual marriage practice in Lower Bisaasi-teri is a result of the political advantages that group enjoys over one of its allies. It has used this advantage to gain a favorable imbalanced marriage exchange pattern, but one that is only temporary. The Shamatari are also shrewd in their alliance practices, and have succeeded in neutralizing their disadvantages by capitalizing on schisms between Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. This has been done largely by confining their marriage exchanges to important men in the dominant lineages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri. One of the Shamatari villages, Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri, has restricted its exchanges to Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri, while completely ignoring Upper Bisaasi-teri. The other Shamatari village has given its women only to Upper Bisaasi-teri. This has resulted in the weakening of ties between the three villages of Upper Bisaasi-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Monou-teri, whose members are

[17] I plan to use these visiting ties to establish contact with the Shamatari villages in that area, none of which have had contact with outsiders. These uncontacted Shamatari, however, know who I am because I attempted to reach them in 1965. They subsequently sent a message out urging me to visit them, angry because my guides forced me to turn back on my first attempt. In 1966 they even sent an old man to Kąobawä's village by way of Reyaboböwei-teri with an invitation for me to visit them. I had already left Venezuela by that time. Most of the men in the two contacted Shamatari villages tried to prevent me from going by telling horrible tales of the treachery that awaited my visit, describing how the Shamatari will kill me. The truth of the matter is that they know that I will bring the uncontacted Shamatari machetes and axes that might otherwise be given to them. The headman of one of the uncontacted villages has a brother in Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri. He privately conceded that no harm would befall me and offered to take me to visit in 1967. He was, unfortunately, bitten by a snake just before I arrived in March of 1967, and my plans were deferred until 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1988) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*628 related agnatically to each other, and who share a common history. That is, they have
581 lost solidarity as a network of allied villages and, therefore, some of the advantages they
582 enjoyed as wife receivers with respect to the Shamatari villages. They are less able to behave as a single political entity and force the Shamatari to cede women because the Shamatari have given them women in such a way so as to make them competitors with each other. This has also weakened the ties between the two Shamatari villages, which are also related to each other by agnatic ties and common history because each group has linked its political fate with the affairs of different allies. Nevertheless, the two Shamatari villages have, by exchanging women in this fashion, reduced the solidarity of the group of villages that once stood as a unified political bloc that coerced them out of women.

*621 This can be demonstrated in two ways. During the period 1964–1966, Upper and
*628 Lower Bisaasi-teri still maintained a common village and entertained visitors as a group.
581 Near the end of this period, after the marriage exchanges had begun to show their effects,
582 they abandoned the common village and began to entertain allies independently of each other. At that time they had together managed to acquire two dozen or so women from the Shamatari while having given or promised only a half-dozen in return. When I returned in 1967, the situation had changed appreciably. There were many more Shamatari men living in the group because they had been given women; that is, the exchanges were more balanced. Moreover, the relationships between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were not as amicable as they had been the previous year; each group was becoming more involved in the obligations it had acquired by entering into marriage exchanges with
[126] one of the two Shamatari villages. Just before I returned, there was a club fight involving all of the villages: The Upper Bisaasi-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri fought, as a group, against the Lower Bisaasi-teri and Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri; that is, the groups that had entered into marriage exchanges with each other behaved as a unit and fought against their close agnates and erstwhile allies. A group of men from Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri forcefully took a woman from the Reyaboböwei-teri, thereby precipitating a challenge to a club fight. The Monou-teri participated in the club fight as well, taking the side of the Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri, from whom they had taken several women and to whom they had promised several.

*628 Finally, the political situation altered somewhat. When the alliance first developed
726 between Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages in 1960, the political milieu
581 was quite serene. The treacherous feast resulted in a bloody war, but the two Shamatari
582 villages sustained most of the losses. Therefore, the Shamatari allies required the assistance of Kąobawä's group more than the latter needed their help, since Kąobawä's group had no active wars at the time. In 1965, however, the Monou-teri renewed their old war with the Patanowä-teri and it subsequently involved Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. Only then did they require military assistance from the Shamatari, and only then did the marriage exchanges tend to balance. I will discuss the development of this war in Chapter 4.

*628 Marriage in Yąnomamö society is the result, therefore, of many considerations.
581 It is not merely the outcome of a blind subscription to a rule that enjoins males to marry
582 women of a specific category, for in many cases the political affairs of the group oblige people to give their daughters to men in other villages. The Yąnomamö are practical
[183] and enterprising in this regard, particularly those in small villages. The capacity to exist as an independent but small group is greatly enhanced by creating alliances with members

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

his group was being trounced by their opponents, largely because only a few of the men were doing all the fighting for Kąobawä's group. These men were forced to take several turns in rapid succession, while a large number of men stood by and watched. The fighters wanted to escalate the battle to a duel with axes, hoping to intimidate their opponents into conceding. Kąobawä quickly forced the idle men to participate in the chest pounding, thereby distributing the punishment a little more evenly and reducing the possibility of a bloodier confrontation.

After the duel was over, Kąobawä coolly discussed the fight with the leaders in the opponents' group, explaining that he did not intend to raid them unless they raided first. A number of men in the village, notably Paruriwä and some of his followers, shouted threats at the departing opponents that they would shoot them on sight should they meet again. Paruriwä frequently boasted like this, but rarely put himself in a position that was potentially dangerous. He later ran into a party of hunters from the above-mentioned group while he was leading a raid against the Patanowä-teri. Instead of shooting them on sight as he threatened to do (they could have shot back, as they were armed), he traded arrows with them and rapidly retreated. He boasted in the village how he had terrified these men. I later visited their village and learned that Paruriwä was the one who was terrified. They themselves continued to hunt, while Paruriwä fled for home.

Kąobawä's personality differs considerably from Paruriwä's. Where the former is unobtrusive, calm, modest, and perceptive, the latter is belligerent, aggressive, ostentatious, and rash. Kąobawä has an established status in the village and numerous supporters, whose loyalties are in part determined by their kinship ties and in part because he is a wise leader. Paruriwä is attempting to share in the leadership and does not have a well-established position in this respect. It is obvious who the real leader is: When visitors come to Upper Bisaasi-teri, they seek out Kąobawä and deal with him, no matter how ambitiously Paruriwä attempts to emulate his position. Paruriwä does not have as many living brothers in his group as Kąobawä has, so his "natural following" is somewhat limited. In addition, two of his brothers are married to actual sisters of Kąobawä and have some loyalty to him. Paruriwä, therefore, has very little means with which to establish his position, so he is given over to using bluff, threat, chicanery, and treachery. This he does well, and many of the young men in the village admire him for it. He has gained the support of some of these men by promising them his wives' yet unborn daughters. Remarkably enough, some of them cling to these promises and do his bidding.

Finally, one of Kąobawä's most unpleasant tasks is to scout the village neighborhood when signs of raiders have been found. This he does alone, since it is a dangerous task and one that is avoided by the other men. Not even Paruriwä participates in this.

Kąobawä has definite responsibilities as the headman and is occasionally called upon by the nature of the situation to exercise his authority. He is usually distinguishable in the village as a man of some authority only for the duration of the incident that calls forth his leadership capacity. After the incident is over, he goes about his own business like the other men in the group. But even then, he sets an example for the others, particularly in his ambitions to produce large quantities of food for his family and for the guests he must entertain. Most of the time he leads only by example and the others follow if it pleases them to do so. They can ignore his example if they wish, but most of the people turn to him when a difficult situation arises.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

a local shortage of the item in order to have to rely on an ally for it, giving sufficient cause to visit them.

Often the specialization is less individualized than in the case of clay pot manufacture. Kąobawä's group, for example, exports cotton yarn to one ally, but imports it from another. The exported cotton frequently is brought back in the form of manufactured hammocks, the importer merely contributing labor to the process. In some cases, the shortages are merely seasonal; Kąobawä's group may import cotton from a particular ally at one time of the year, but export it at another. Most of the trade, however, involves items that are readily manufactured by or raised by any group, underscoring the fact that trade is the stimulus to visit. Food does not enter the trading system, although hospitality dictates that it must be given to friendly groups. Occasionally, a village will run short of plantains because of a particularly long hot spell, and its members may visit an ally to borrow food to last a week or so. This hospitality is usually reciprocated, but it is not a part of the trading network.

Alliances between villages may stabilize at any one of three points: sporadic reciprocal trading, mutual feasting, or reciprocal women exchange. These are cumulative levels in the sense that the third phase implies the first two: Allies that exchange women also feast and trade with each other. Likewise, allies that merely feast together also trade, but do not exchange women. At the lower end of this scale of solidarity lie those villages with which one fights to kill, while at the upper end are those villages from whom one's group has recently separated. Frequently, the scale is circular rather than linear: A village's mortal enemy is the group from which it has recently split. By way of example, Kąobawä's group trades sporadically with the Makorima-teri, Daiyari-teri, Widokaiya-teri, Mahekodo-teri, and Iyawei-teri. These are fairly weak alliances and even permit limited fighting. His group has more intimate ties with the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mǫmariböwei-teri, with whom it feasts regularly. The alliance with the Reyaboböwei-teri has even reached the point at which they are exchanging women with each other. Finally, at the other end of the scale, Kąobawä's group is at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, Möwarioba-teri, and Patanowä-teri. The first two of these groups are historically unrelated to Kąobawä's group, although they have a common history with two of his staunchest allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri and Mǫmaribowei-teri, from whom they separated in the past. The Patanowä-teri are related to Kąobawä and his followers, as was shown in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, they are bitter enemies and are at present raiding each other.

Although there is no rigid geographical correlation of the village settlement pattern to the degree of alliance solidarity, neighboring villages usually are at least on trading terms and are not actively conducting war on each other. Should war develop between neighbors, one of the two principals will abandon its site and move to a new location. Whether the ties between neighboring villages will be one of blood, marriage exchange, reciprocal feasting, or casual trading depends on a large number of factors, particularly on village size, current warfare situation with respect to more distant groups, and the precise historical ties between the neighboring villages. Whatever the nature of the ties between neighbors, each strives to maintain its sovereignty and independence from the others.

The Yąnomamö do not openly regard trade as a mechanism the ulterior function of which is to bring people repeatedly together, thus establishing an amicable basis from

111 Chagnon E-8 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

which more stable types of alliance can develop. Nor do they overtly acknowledge the relationships between trading and feasting cycles to village interdependency. In this regard they are like the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia: They have a "functional ignorance" of the more significant adaptive aspects of their trading institutions. To both the Yąnomamö and the Trobrianders, the mechanisms by which peoples from different groups are compelled to visit each other are ends in themselves and are not conceived to be related to the establishment of either economic or political interdependency. For the Yąnomamö participant in a feast, the feast itself has its significance in the marvelous quantities of food, the excitement of the dance, and the satisfaction of having others admire and covet the fine decorations he wears. The enchantment of the dance issues from the dancer's awareness that, for a brief moment, he is a glorious peacock that commands the admiration of his fellows, and it is his responsibility and desire to present a spectacular display of his dance steps and gawdy accouterments. In this brief, ego-building moment, each man has an opportunity to display himself, spinning and prancing about the village periphery, chest puffed out, while all watch, admire, and cheer wildly.

The hosts, too, have an opportunity to display themselves and strut before their guests. Moreover, the very fact that they have given the feast is in itself a display of affluence and surfeit apparently calculated to challenge the guests to reciprocate with an equally grandiose feast at a later date.[1] Each good feast deserves and calls forth another, and in this way allies become better acquainted with each other as they reciprocate feasts during the dry season and over the years.

Historical Background to a Particular Feast

One of the feasts I witnessed exhibited all the features of intervillage politics. Before describing this feast, I will give the historical antecedents to the event, recapitulating a number of points discussed in Chapter 3 in the context of the history of Kąobawä's village. The significance of the events will then become clear, for Kąobawä's prior relationships to the guests at the feast had a great deal to do with the outcome.

In 1950 Kąobawä's group, almost friendless, beleaguered by enemies, and somewhat isolated, began cultivating an alliance with the Iwahikoroba-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8), a Shamatari village, some two days' traveling distance southeast of their own village at Kreiböwei. The Iwahikoroba-teri were on friendly terms with another Shamatari group, the Möwaraoba-teri, from whom they had separated some years before. Kąobawä's group, on the other hand, was at war with this village because members of his own group murdered a friendly Möwaraoba-teri visitor in 1940, touching off a series of raids between them. Anxious to develop an alliance, Kąobawä's group accepted a feast invitation from the Iwahikoroba-teri and visited that village to participate in the feast. Up to that point they were only on trading terms with them.

The Iwahikoroba-teri, however, had made a prior arrangement with their friends, the Möwaraoba-teri, to help them massacre Kąobawä's men and abduct his group's women. The Möwaraoba-teri were hidden in the jungle outside the village when Kąo-

[1] The competitive aspects of feasting in many primitive societies has been dealt with at length by Marcel Mauss, whose essay *The Gift* is now an anthropological classic.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

bawā's group arrived. The men of Kąobawā's group danced both singly and en masse and were invited into the homes of their hosts. At this point their hosts fell upon them with axes and staves, killing about a dozen men before the visitors could break through the palisade and escape. Kąobawā's father was among the victims. Once outside, they were shot from ambush by the Mōwaraoba-teri, who managed to kill a few more and wound many others with arrows. A number of women and girls were captured by the hosts, though some were later recaptured by Kąobawā's group in revenge raids. It was probably their host's greed for the women that permitted any survivors at all, as my informants asserted that the Iwahikoroba-teri began chasing the women while the men were still vulnerable. A few of the Iwahikoroba-teri refused to participate in the slaughter and even helped some of Kąobawā's group escape.

The survivors fled to Kobou, a site they had begun clearing for a new garden. Here they removed the arrow points and nursed their wounds before reluctantly returning to Kreibōwei, their only producing garden. Kobou was still too new to support the group, and hunger forced them to return to Kreibōwei. As this location was well known to their treacherous allies, they wished to abandon it as soon as possible, knowing that their enemies could easily kill the rest of the men and abduct the remaining women.

Within a week or so of the treacherous feast, the Mahekodo-teri, a visiting ally of Kąobawā's group, learned of the massacre and offered aid. The Mahekodo-teri headman himself visited Kąobawā's village and invited the entire group to his village to take refuge. They accepted the offer, and in January of 1951, after conducting one revenge raid on the enemies, moved to Mahekodo-teri.

The Mahekodo-teri had been allied to Kąobawā's group a generation earlier, but after Kąobawā's group moved away from the Orinoco River, alliance activity had dwindled to just sporadic trading. True to Yąnomamö political behavior, the Mahekodo-teri, being in an obviously stronger bargaining position, offered their protection and aid with gain in mind: they demanded and received a number of their guests' women. Again, the members of Kąobawā's group suspected further treachery from their new protectors and assiduously worked at establishing a new garden. They were forced to stay with the Mahekodo-teri until their new garden could totally support them—about a year. Even during this time, however, they spent weeks on end away from their host's village, carrying their food with them and working on their new plantations. They would return to obtain new food supplies, rest for a few weeks, and leave again. When Mahekodo-teri later split into three factions, Kąobawā and his group learned from one of them the details of a plot in which the Mahekodo-teri were going to kill the men and abduct the women. The only thing that prevented them from doing so was the development of a new war between Mahekodo-teri and another village, one that required the assistance of Kąobawā and his group.

For a few years after the separation from Mahekodo-teri, Kąobawā's group was invited to feast there. Because they suspected that the Mahekodo-teri were plotting against them, however, usually the men alone would attend the feast, thereby reducing the probability of another massacre. The women and children were concealed in the jungle during the time the men were away at the feast. Gradually, the alliance cooled off again and the two groups remained relatively indifferent towards each other, but at peace.

By 1960, Kąobawā's group had regained some of its military strength and had

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

begun cultivating an alliance with a third Shamatari group, one that was related to the two that conducted the massacre in 1950. The new Shamatari group, Paruritawä-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8), was at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, but on feasting terms with the Mõwaraoba-teri. Kąobawä's group persuaded their new Shamatari allies to invite the Mõwaraoba-teri to a feast and planned a massacre similar to that of 1950, but with the tables reversed: Kąobawä's group would lie in ambush, while the Paruritawä-teri attacked the guests within the village. The Mõwaraoba-teri were being ravished by a malaria epidemic at this time, and only a handful of them actually came to the feast: The others were too sick to travel. With the aid of their newly found allies, Kąobawä's group managed to kill three of the five men and abducted four of their women. The other two visitors escaped to tell of the treachery. This revenge feast was only considered to be partially successful, and Kąobawä's group was not satisfied with the outcome. Their Shamatari allies, Paruritawä-teri, were obliged to abandon their site to avoid the revenge raids, splitting into two groups in the process: Mõmaribõwei-teri and Reyabobõwei-teri, both continuing to remain friendly to Kąobawä's group.

In early 1965, just a few months after I began my fieldwork, Kąobawä and his supporters left to visit Reyabobõwei-teri, one of the two Shamatari allies, hoping to conduct another treacherous feast for the Mõwaraoba-teri. They left a few men behind to protect the women and children. The men were gone almost two weeks. All during this time, those who remained behind flocked to my mud hut at dawn and remained in it the whole day, not permitting me to leave. Every hour or so they asked to see my shotgun. I soon discovered that they were frightened and suspected that the Widokaiya-teri were going to raid them to abduct women, for they knew of the plot. My hut lay on the path most likely to be taken by Widokaiya-teri raiders, and the few remaining men stood guard next to my door, hoping to intercept the raiders should they attack at night.

I, unknowingly, guarded the women and children by day with my shotgun, while the men did the same at night with their own weapons. This incident indelibly underscores the almost complete lack of trust between allies; the members of Kąobawä's group expected a raid from their friends and allies rather than from their enemies!

About ten days after the men had left, six visitors from another allied village passed through Upper Bisaasi-teri hoping to trade. It was obvious to them that the men were away and that the women were frightened. They carried word of the situation up the Orinoco River to their own allies, one of which was the Mahekodo-teri.

The evening before the men returned from their trip, one of the Salesian Missionaries, Padre Luiz Cocco, visited me, having traveled up the Orinoco River by dark—a dangerous undertaking at that time of the year. Padre Cocco had just received word by short-wave radio from the mission at Mahekodo-teri that a large party of men had left for Bisaasi-teri intent on capturing women. They had learned of the poorly guarded women from the six visitors and were determined to take advantage of the situation.

My house was full of women and children at dawn the following day, and the raiders were probably en route. I was in a difficult situation. On the one hand, if I told the Indians of the rumor, it would have been sufficient cause to start a war between Kąobawä's group and the Mahekodo-teri. This would have been most unfortunate if the story proved to be false. On the other hand, I dared not remain silent. If raiders were indeed coming, they would probably kill the defenders to capture the women. Fortunately, Kąobawä and the men returned early in the afternoon, and I was able to remain

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

neutral. The treacherous feast for their Shamatari enemies proved to be unsuccessful: The intended victims had accepted the invitation, but were informed of the plot just before they arrived. One of the Reyabobŏwei-teri who had close kinamen among them had misgivings about the matter and warned them.

Late in the afternoon it was learned that the Mahekodo-teri were, in fact, in the vicinity of the village, allegedly on a "camping trip." Kąobawä, of course, suspected their story, but to demonstrate his friendship he invited them to be his guests at a feast. As he and his men had been away for nearly two weeks, there was an abundance of food in their gardens and they could easily afford to entertain the Mahekodo-teri and their traveling companions, the Boreta-teri. Together, the guests numbered about 100—after they fetched their women and children.

This sets the stage for the feast in the kind of context that makes it more intelligible: The specific historical relationships between the participants and the nature of their mutual mistrust. Now I will give the details of the events that followed.

The Feast

Perhaps because he suspected the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri of intimidation, Kąobawä also invited the Karohi-teri to attend the feast. They are a small but dependable ally and had themselves separated from the Mahekodo-teri many years ago. This established a balance of power at the projected feast should any trouble arise, for the combination of both Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri was of sufficient strength to worry any host. With the aid of the Karohi-teri, Kąobawä's group was more of a match for the visitors.

The feast started out on a sour note. It is the custom of the Yąnomamö visitors to arrive only after an invitation from their hosts, sent by messenger on the day of the feast. The Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri, however, arrogantly arrived nearly a week before Kąobawä's group was prepared to receive them and set up a large, temporary camp a short distance from the village. They were guests and could legitimately demand to be fed. Because of this, Kąobawä and his covillagers were under obligation to feed them, some hundred or so people, and took them to the gardens to supply them with enough plantains to last a week. Kąobawä was a little disturbed that they would be so impolite as to arrive uninvited, but took the situation quite philosophically. After all, they had fed his group for the better part of a year.

He and several other men cut a large quantity of plantains, which were hung in his house and allowed to ripen for a week, to be boiled into *dato*, a thick, sweet soup, on the day of the feast. That afternoon Kąobawä and a few of the older men commissioned a hunting party comprised of young men, several of whom were Kąobawä's brothers, whose responsibility would be to obtain a large quantity of fresh meat to give to the visitors on the day after the feast. Most of them were reluctant to go, as their feet were still sore from the trip to the Shamatari village. A few of them claimed to be sick and managed to escape recruitment into the hunting party in this way. This hunt, with the hanging of the plantains in the headman's house, initiated the feast. The excitement that usually attends a feast began at this time.

That evening the young men danced and sang in the village, an institution called *[illegible]*, thereby insuring themselves with luck on the hunt. (The Yąnomamö also

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the visiting dancers entered, pranced around the village periphery, wildly showing off their decorations and weapons and then returning to the group. Each dancer had unique decorations and a unique dance step, something personal that he could exhibit. He would burst into the village screaming a memorized phrase, wheel and spin, stop in his tracks, dance in place, throw his weapons down, pick them up again, aim them at the line of hosts with a wild expression on his face, prance ahead a few steps, repeat his performance, and continue on around the village in this manner, while the hosts cheered wildly. When everyone had had an individual turn, the entire group entered, danced single file around the periphery several times, and gathered at the center of the clearing, where they formed a tightly knit group. They stood motionless, except for the heaving of their chests, holding their weapons vertically. After they had stood there a few moments—in a final display of decorations—Kaobawä's followers emerged from their houses and approached the center of the village, each man inviting one or more of the visitors to his house, leading him away from the village center by the arm. As each visitor was led away, his family, watching from the village entrance, unceremoniously joined him at the host's house, bringing the family possessions along. Within a few minutes the dance plaza was deserted and the visitors were resting comfortably in their hosts' hammocks. Even in the hammocks, the Yanomamö visitors are able to put on a silent display of their finery as they lay with their legs crossed, one arm behind their head, staring at the ceiling, waiting for their hosts to feed them ripe plantain soup from the bark troughs—it is almost as if they are strutting from a reclining position.

After the guests had been given their first round of soup, the men of Kaobawä's village assembled outside the entrance and came in to dance around the village for their guests. They, too, had an opportunity to put on a display of their own decorations, after which they retired to entertain the guests.

There were three troughs full of soup in the village. The first one was emptied in the process of bringing numerous gourdsful to the some one hundred visitors (see Fig. 4–2). After they had consumed this, the guests then assembled at the second trough and began eating there. Before this trough was finished, they moved as a group to the third trough and repeated their ceremonial consumption, before returning to their hammocks to rest and regain their appetites. Approximately two hours had passed from the time the first dancers entered the village until the guests retired from the third trough of soup. They had not yet eaten all of the contents—all in all, some 95 gallons of it—but managed to do so by morning.[6]

Shortly after dark the marathon chanting (*waiyamou*) began—it continued until dawn. At dawn the visitors conducted their trade and were given the baskets of "going-home food": boiled green plantains with smoked meat. The women and children departed with the food, leaving the men behind to trade. The visitors made requests through their headman, and Kaobawä would produce the item by enjoining one of the local men to give it. The item would be thrown at the feet of the man who wanted it. He would ignore it for a while and then give it a cursory examination, throwing it back on the ground. His peers would then examine it in greater detail and extol its virtues, while the

[6]During some feasts, the ashes of the dead are mixed with the boiled, ripe plantain soup and eaten by friends and relatives of the deceased. The feast also serves as a preliminary to a raid that involves two or more villages. The sponsor of the raid will entertain his allies in a feast the day before the raiding party departs. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the raid.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

they were about to release their arrows point-blank at Kaobawä's attackers, but when he and his aides turned them back, the crisis was over. The leaders of the visiting group rejoined the other men, some of whom had picked up glowing brands of firewood, and they backed out of the village, weapons still drawn, their way illuminated by those who were waving the brands.[7]

Kaobawä's group took no further action in this affair and was not invited to feast at Mahekodo-teri. Later in the year, their relationships worsened because of a club fight in yet another village, and for a while both groups threatened to shoot each other on sight. A temporary rapprochement developed after the club fight, when a group of raiders from Kaobawä's group met a group of hunters from Mahekodo-teri while en route to attack the village of one of their enemies. The men from both villages traded with each other and departed on friendly terms, the raiders abandoning their raid and returning to their village lest they be later ambushed on the way home by the Mahekodo-teri. They are presently on trading terms with each other, but their relationship is still somewhat strained and potentially hostile.

In general, feasts are exciting for both the hosts and the guests and contribute to their mutual solidarity. Under normal circumstances, allies that customarily feast with each other do not fight. Nevertheless, even the best allies occasionally agree beforehand to terminate their feast with a chest-pounding duel, thereby demonstrating to each other that they are friends, but capable of maintaining their sovereignty and willing to fight if necessary (Fig. 4–4). Kaobawä's group had a chest-pounding duel with one of its staunchest allies in 1966, as each had heard that the other was spreading rumors that it was cowardly. Of the six feasts I witnessed during the nineteen months I spent with the Yanomamö, two of them ended in fighting.

Any Yanomamö feast can potentially end in violence because of the nature of the attitudes the participants hold regarding canons of behavior and obligations to display ferocity.

Still, the feast and its attendant trade serve to reduce the possibility of neighbors fighting with each other at a more serious level of violence, and they contribute to intervillage solidarity and mutual interdependence.

[7] At this time, I was crouched in the house behind the line of bowmen, trembling in my boots.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

5

Yąnomamö Warfare

Levels of Violence

*628 THE FEAST AND ALLIANCE can and often do fail to establish stable, amicable relationships between sovereign villages. When this happens, the groups may coexist for a period of time without any overt expressions of hostility. This, however, is an unstable situation, and no two villages that are within comfortable walking distance from each other can maintain such a relationship indefinitely: They must become allies, *628 or hostility is likely to develop between them. Indifference leads to ignorance or suspi- 721 cion, and this soon gives way to accusations of sorcery. Once the relationship is of this 754 sort, a death in one of the villages will be attributed to the malevolent *bekura* sent by shamans in the other village, and raids will eventually take place between them.

• 726 Yąnomamö warfare proper is the raid. That is, not all of their feuding and squabbles can be considered as war, although the values associated with war—bellicosity, ferocity, and violence—undoubtedly increase the amount of all kinds of fighting.

*628 War is only one form of violence in a graded series of aggressive activities (Chag- 578 non 1967). Indeed, some of the other forms of fighting, such as the formal chest-pounding 152 duel, may even be considered as the antithesis of war, for it provides an alternative to kill- 154 ing. Duels are formal and are regulated by stringent rules about proper ways to deliver and receive blows. Much of Yąnomamö fighting is kept innocuous by these rules so that the concerned parties do not have to resort to drastic means to resolve their grievances. The three most innocuous forms of violence, chest pounding, side slapping, and club fights, permit the contestants to express their hostilities in such a way that they can continue to remain on relatively peaceful terms with each other after the contest is settled. Thus, Yąnomamö culture calls forth aggressive behavior, but at the same time provides a regulated system in which the expressions of violence can be controlled.

*628 The most innocuous form of fighting is the chest-pounding duel described in the 578 last chapter. These duels usually take place between the members of different villages and are precipitated by such minor affronts as malicious gossip, accusations of cowardice, stinginess with food, or niggardliness in trading.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited aid from their allies. Kąobawä's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that took the woman away from the cruel husband.

When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yąnomamö had deceived the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.[1] Thereafter, the two groups were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered. If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebawä told me of a raid he went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebawä, the raid was not a good one because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by Torokoiwä, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwä got sick of seeing this, so he shot the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

---

[1] The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yąnomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yąnomamö villages, as the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yąnomamö, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women. One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomaboni,* is the ultimate form of violence. Kaobawä's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

"Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kaobawä's group and the Paranowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yanomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Sästawä, coveted my British commando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinsmen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doubt my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yąnomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kąobawä's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggressive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *waiteri* (fierce one) of the group.

Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatari girl. Damowä seduced her, thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the final club fight that led to the separation of Kąobawä's group from the Monou-teri. Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kąobawä then organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kąobawä's raiders. Nobody

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

was killed in the incident. Manasinawä, his wife, and his daughter remained with Kaobawä's group, and he ultimately gave the daughter to Kaobawä for a second wife. Kaobawä still has her.

At this time, the groups, of Damowä and Kaobawä, respectively, were still at war with the Patanowä-teri, from whom they separated some fifteen years earlier. Damowä's group, after separating from Kaobawä's, attempted to make peace with the Patanowä-teri, as they were now vulnerable and could ill afford to remain on hostile terms with them. Damowä's group also made an alliance with the two Shamatari villages, which had given them cooperation when they staged the revenge treacherous feast discussed in the last chapter. For about five years relationships between Damowä's group and the Patanowä-teri were relatively amicable, but as the former's alliances with the Shamatari grew in strength, their relationship to the Patanowä-teri grew cool once again.

The Patanowä-teri then became embroiled in new wars with several villages on the Orinoco River and turned to Kaobawä's group for aid, hoping to patch up their old grievances and remain at peace. The first day I began my fieldwork marked the initiation of complete peace between Kaobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri: They were having a feast together in Bisaasi-teri. Damowä's group, the Monou-teri, were not participating in the feast, but a large number of men came anyway. They discovered a group of seven Patanowä-teri females outside the main village and could not resist the temptation: They forcefully took them back to Monou-teri. Later that day the Patanowä-teri men discovered that the women were missing, so they searched the neighborhood and found the tracks of the Monou-teri men at the site of the abduction, where signs of struggling abounded. The next morning they went to Monou-teri armed with clubs: They were bound to get their women back, but did not care to start another shooting war with the Monou-teri. They took five of the women away from the Monou-teri in a heated struggle, but had to pull back without the remaining two, unless they were willing to shoot to kill: The Monou-teri were determined to keep the other women at all costs.

The significance of this incident is this: The headman of Monou-teri realized that the Patanowä-teri would not risk getting into a shooting war with them since they already had more enemies than they could comfortably handle. Hence, this provided an excellent opportunity for the Monou-teri to abduct women with relatively little chance of getting shot in retaliation.

Damowä, the headman of Monou-teri, was angry because the Patanowä-teri had recovered so many of their women. He then threatened to ambush the Patanowä-teri when they left for home after the feast at Bisaasi-teri was over. The Patanowä-teri, in view of this, cut their stay short and left for home before the feast was over, hoping to avoid trouble with the Monou-teri.

Damowä was not satisfied, however, that he forced the Patanowä-teri to capitulate, leave for home, and not attempt to recover the two remaining women. He decided to raid them. In January of 1966 he and a party of men from Monou-teri raided the Patanowä-teri at the latter's village. They caught Bosibrei climbing a *ratha* tree, a prickly, cultivated palm that must be climbed slowly and with the aid of a pair of moveable stick frames in order to avoid getting pierced by the needle-sharp thorns that protrude from the tree's trunk (see Fig. 2–6). Bosibrei was almost to the top of the tree when the raiders caught him—he made an excellent target silhouetted against the sky. They shot and killed him with one volley of arrows as he reached for the fruits of the palm. One of

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

One of Damowä's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowä-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowä-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowä's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowä outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewä, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowä, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kąobawä and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowä's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowä were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowä-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowä the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowä's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kąobawä, a classificatory brother to Damowä, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowä's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwä, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hor* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage.

Kąobawä delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2] See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-5 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

burning it, and Kąobawä's village, where they took occasional rests to regain their energy. They returned to their old site only to collect plantains, which they carried to the new site. Kąobawä's group then built a new *shabono* and fortified it, anticipating the war they knew would be inevitable. Up to this point, Kąobawä's group, Upper Bisaasi-teri, maintained two small *shabonos* a few yards apart from each other, but they coalesced into a single, larger group and moved into the new *shabono* when it was completed. The visiting Monou-teri also helped them work on the new structure.

Meanwhile, the Patanowä-teri, knowing that they would be raided by the Monou-teri and their allies, also began clearing a new garden. They selected a site abandoned by Kąobawä's group many years ago, knowing that the peach-palm trees were still producing there. By this time the Patanowä-teri were in rather desperate straits. Their old enemies, the several groups on the Orinoco River, began raiding them with even greater frequency, as they had learned that the Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri were again at war with the Patanowä-teri. A few additional villages began raiding the Patanowä-teri to settle old grudges, realizing that the Patanowä-teri had so many enemies that they could not possibly retaliate against all of them.

The Patanowä-teri then began moving from one location to another, hoping to avoid and confuse their enemies. They spent the dry season in turns at their main producing garden, with the Ashadowä-teri, their only ally, and at their new garden. Each group that raided them passed the word to other villages concerning the location of the Patanowä-teri. If they were not at one place, then they had to be at one of the other two. The raids were frequent and took a heavy toll. At least eight people were killed by raiders, and a number of others were wounded. Some of the dead were women and children, a consequence of the fact that the Patanowä-teri themselves sent a heavy volley of arrows into the village of one of their enemies and killed two women. To revenge this, the enemy began deliberately shooting Patanowä-teri women. Females are normally not the target of raiders' arrows. The Patanowä-teri were raided at least twenty-five times while I conducted my fieldwork. They themselves retaliated as frequently as possible, but could not return tit for tat. They managed to drive their main enemies, the Hasaböwä-teri, away from their garden, forcing them to flee across the Orinoco. They concentrated on raiding this group until they had killed most of the *waiteri* (fierce ones). They were so successful at doing this that the Hasaböwä-teri ultimately withdrew from the war. Several of my informants claimed that they did so because their fierce ones were all dead, and nobody was interested in prosecuting the war any further.

When the Hasaböwä-teri withdrew from the raiding, the Patanowä-teri then concentrated on raiding the Monou-teri. Every time the Monou-teri returned to their main site they found the tracks of numerous men who had visited the village, tracks that always came from the direction of Patanowä-teri. Consequently, the Monou-teri moved into Kąobawä's group for protection, fearing to return to their old site until the jungle was completely inundated by the rains.

Kąobawä's group resented this somewhat and made no bones about reminding the Monou-teri that they were eating large quantities of food from the gardens. When complaining became intense, the Monou-teri moved into the village of the Lower Bisaasi-teri and lived off their produce until the latter also began to complain. Then they traveled to the Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri and lived with them for a while, returning to Kąobawä's village when these allies wearied of the visitors. When the hosts, the Lower

1 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Bisaasi-teri, for example, wanted to get rid of the Monou-teri, they would hold a feast in their honor. When the going-home food was presented to them, they had no alternative but to leave. It would have been insulting to remain after the food was presented. In between their moves they returned to their own producing site to collect plantains and carry them to their new garden. They subsisted there off the food they carried with them.

The Monou-teri soon resented being treated like pariahs by their allies and began to regain their courage. Much of this treatment was due to the fact that they failed to chase the raiders when Damowä was slain, displaying cowardice instead of ferocity. Many of the men in the Bisaasi-teri groups resented the Monou-teri for this and were not timid about displaying their disgust. The Monou-teri were a burden, as they rarely helped at expanding Bisaasi-teri's gardens and ate a good deal of the time.

The raid Kąobawä organized to revenge Damowä's death took place late in April. The Shamatari allies—Mõmaribõwei-teri and Reyabõwei-teri—were invited to participate, but they failed to send a contingency. As allies never really trust each other, the raid was delayed because some of the Bisaasi-teri suspected that their allies were waiting for the raiders to leave so that they could descend on the poorly protected [illegible] and make off with captives. Finally, a few of them did arrive and the *waya* [illegible] (warrior line-up) got under way. Still, the Bisaasi-teri feared treachery on the part of their Shamatari friends, so the men of Lower Bisaasi-teri decided to stay home and protect the women left behind by the Monou-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri raiders. A small feast was held to entertain the visiting Shamatari allies.

On the afternoon of the feast a grass dummy was set up in the village, and the men who were to participate in the raid conducted a mock attack on the dummy, which was supposed to represent the body of a Patanowä-teri man. They painted themselves black, crept slowly around the village with bows and arrows ready, searching for the tracks of the enemy. They converged at one point, spread out, crept toward the dummy, and, at Kąobawä's signal, let fly with a volley of arrows. The Yąnomamö are good archers. None of the arrows missed its mark, and the dummy, looking like a pincushion, toppled ominously to the ground, a dozen or more bamboo-tipped arrows protruding from it. Then the raiders screamed and ran out of the village, simulating their retreat from the enemy. They drifted back into the village, one at a time or in small groups, and retired to their hammocks to wait for darkness.

The village became unusually quiet shortly after dark. Suddenly, the stillness was pierced by an animal-like noise, half-scream and half-growl, as the first raider marched slowly out to the center of the village, clacking his arrows against his bow, growling his individualized fierce noise, usually a mimic of a carnivore: a wasp, or a buzzard. At this signal—not knowing fully what to expect and a little nervous—I crept from my own hammock and went to the center of the village with my tape recorder. The other raiders joined the first man, coming one at a time after short intervals, each clacking his arrows and growling some hideous noise. Kąobawä stood by and made sure the line was straight and faced the direction of the enemy; he would push or pull the individual warriors until they formed a perfectly straight line, joining them after the last one took his place.

The procession to the line-up took about twenty minutes, as about 50 or so men participated (see Fig. 5-2). When the last one was in line, the murmurs among the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

411
516
291
342
139
726

Fig. 5-2. Kaobawã's men and their allies lining up (wayu inou) *to raid the Patanowã-teri.*

726
[123]
[533]
[825]

children and women died down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording a sacred rite. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep baritone voice: "I am meat hungry! I am meat hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kaobawã calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke,

726 and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

[765] They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowä. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

[302] [291] [123] The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5–3). Some even put on bright red loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which the younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kąobawä to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *wayu itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

[822] [164] [701] [703] The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them and left for Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä had been complaining all year of severe pains in his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked. Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *wayu itou*, for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

[159] [484] The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

[372] The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last [703] evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
276
726

Fig. 5-3. One of Kaobawä's Shamatari allies, painted black, views the warriors lining up through his bowstring. He waits his turn to join them, a wad of tobacco protruding from his mouth.

at some point between their own village and the enemy's. These smaller groups must 726
contain at least four men, six, if possible. This is so because the raiders retreat in a pattern. While the others flee, two men will lie in ambush, shooting any pursuers that might follow. They, in turn, flee, while their comrades lie in ambush to shoot at their pursuers.

726 If there are novices in the raiding party, the older men will conduct mock raids, showing
701 them how they are to participate. A grass dummy or soft log is frequently employed in
702 this, as was the case in the *waya itou* held in the village the day before the raiders left. Particularly young men will be positioned in the marching party somewhere in the middle of the single file of raiders so they will not be the first ones to be exposed to danger should the raiders themselves be ambushed. These young men will also be permitted to retreat first. Damowä had a twelve-year-old son when he was killed. This boy, Matarawä, was recruited into the raiding party to give him an opportunity to avenge his father's death. The older men made sure he would be exposed to minimum danger, as this was his first raid.

726 The separated groups of raiders approach the village at dawn and conceal themselves near the commonly used paths to the source of drinking water. They wait for the enemy to come to them. A good many of the victims of raids are shot while fetching water.

Frequently, the enemy is wary and acts defensively at all times when there is an [722] active war going on. Only large groups of people can leave the village, and these are well armed. Raiders will not attack a large group such as this. When the enemy is found to be this cautious, the raiders have no choice but to retreat or to shoot volleys of arrows blindly into the village, hoping to strike someone at a distance. They retreat after they release their arrows, depending on the gossip of other villages to learn if their arrows did find their marks. Rarely, one of the raiders will attempt to enter the village during the night and kill someone while he sleeps. Damowä's younger brother allegedly accomplished this on one raid, but few men are brave enough to try it. Most of the time the raiders manage to ambush a single individual, kill him, and retreat before they are discovered. This is considered to be the most desirable outcome of the raid.

722 The women were nervous, frightened, and irritable while the men were away,
[562] and they were constantly on the lookout for raiders from other villages. This is always
*[628] a time to suspect raiders, since allies occasionally turn on their friends when the women are poorly guarded, abducting as many as possible while their husbands are away.

After several days the women were so frustrated and anxious that fights began to [578] break out among them. One woman got angry because another one, her sister and co-wife, [593] left her to tend a small baby. When the mother returned, the angry one picked up a piece of firewood and bashed her on the side of her head with it, knocking her unconscious and causing her ear to bleed profusely.

726 The raiders had been gone almost a week when Kaobawä and his youngest brother
484 staggered into the village, nearly dead from exhaustion. Kaobawä's pains had gotten
[641] so bad that he decided to turn back just before they reached the Patanowä-teri village. He could barely walk by that time and would not have been able to elude pursuers should the enemy have given chase. Sharariawä, his brother, decided to accompany him back lest he run into a group of Patanowä-teri hunters, or his condition grow even more severe. Shortly after they had dropped out of the raiding party, Sharariawä stepped on a snake and was bitten. The rains had started, and the snakes were beginning to concentrate on the higher grounds, making walking a hazard. His leg began to swell immedi- [758] ately, and he could not walk. Hence, Kaobawä had to carry him out on his back, despite the fact that he could barely walk himself. Carrying him for nearly two days, he managed to reach the Orinoco River. Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,[3] so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Sharaiwä had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kaobawä was very exhausted from the trip.

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chanted briefly with Kaobawä, explaining that they had reached Patanowä-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowä-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwä of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart.

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwä with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound.

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yanomamö have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwä was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered.

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowä-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowä. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *unokaimou* ceremony.

They were given spaces in Kaobawä's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kaobawä felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowä's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwä of Kaobawä's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowä-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowä-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they

[3] The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kaobawä's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Bisaasi-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Bisaasi-teri would not borrow it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
516
411
965
292
726

Fig. 5–4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Damowã, slain Monou-teri headman.*

726
701
726
114
722
*628
726
[765]

located the enemy, but Paruriwã refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

The Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri raided against the Paranowã-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

The Monou-teri also raided the Paranowã-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Damowã were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Everyone in the village gathered around the ashes and wept aloud. The bamboo quiver of the dead man was brought to the gourds, smashed, the points taken out, and the quiver itself burned. While this was going on, the mourners were in a state of frenzy, pulling at their hair and striking themselves, screaming and wailing. One of his brothers took a snuff tube and blew some of the drug into the gourds containing the ashes (see Fig. 5–4). The tube was then cut in half, one of the dead man's arrow points being used to measure the point at which the snuff tube was cut. I was never able to determine whether the arrow points taken from the quiver were possessions of the dead man or were, in fact, the points removed from his body. There were ten of them, and my informants were too touchy about the matter to be questioned in detail: I received affirmative nods to both questions. In any event, the ten bamboo points were distributed to the raiders, who fondled them and examined them carefully. Each man brought one with him on the raid that followed this ceremony. The severed snuff tube and the gourds of ashes were wrapped in leaves and put back in the thatch of the brother's house.

That night I think I became emotionally close to the Yąnomamö for the first time. I remained in my hammock and gave up collecting genealogies. As darkness fell Damowĩ's brothers began weeping in their hammocks. I lay there and listened, not bothering to tape record it or photograph it or write notes. One of the others asked me why I was not making a nuisance of myself as usual, and I told him that my innermost being (*bubii*) was cold—that is, I was sad. This was whispered around the village, and as each person heard it, he looked over at me. The children who inevitably accumulate around my hammock were told by their elders to go home and not bother me anymore. I was *bushwo*, in a state of emotional disequilibrium, and had finally begun to act like a human being as far as they were concerned.

The next day the raiders lined up, shouted in the direction of the Patanowã-teri, heard the echo come back, and left the village to collect their provisions and hammocks. I allowed them to talk me into taking the entire raiding party up the Mavaca River in my canoe. There, they could find high ground and reach the Patanowã-teri without having to cross the numerous swamps that lay between the two villages. There were only ten men in the raiding party, the smallest the war party can get and still have maximum effectiveness. As we traveled up the river, the younger men began complaining. One had sore feet, and two or three others claimed to have malaria. They wanted to turn back because I had forgotten to bring my malaria pills with me as I had promised. Hukoshikuwã (Fig. 5–5), a brother of the slain headman, silenced their complaints with an angry lecture on cowardice. I let them all out at the mouth of a stream they intended to follow. They unloaded their seemingly enormous supply of plantains and politely waited for me to leave. I sat among them and chatted, thinking that they were doing essential tasks as they fiddled with arrows and retied their provisions. Finally, one of them hinted that I should be leaving because I had a long trip and might not get home before dark. It was then that I discovered they were dallying, trying to be polite to me. They all thanked me for taking them upstream in my canoe, the only time Yąnomamö ever expressed gratitude to me, and I got in my canoe to leave. Hukoshikuwã came down to untie my rope for me and shove me off the bank. He watched, silently, as my canoe got caught up in the current and drifted away. He looked frightened, reluctant, anxious, but determined. After I had gotten my motor started and was under way, I looked back to see him turn, pick up his plantains and weapons, and disappear into the jungle. Even

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 137]

111 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
714
291
726
302

Fig. 5-5. Hakobikawä leading a raiding party against the Patanowä-teri.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwä probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen-even Kaobawä-implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowä. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwä's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwä failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwä and his raiders did not locate the Patanowä-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowä-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowä-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowä-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowä-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowä-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

[P. 138 is blank]

/68 cont./

835 Younger, unmarried brothers have the right to unite physically with the wives of their older brothers. Nevertheless the jealousy of the latter often prevents the realization, which, however, is made up for on a suitable occasion, for the women are altogether in favor of this custom (331).

331. This polyandrous feature is also found in the myth about the origin of human beings (see p. 247).

● 727 83 159 Among the Surára I found a pretty, delicate girl about 15 or 16 years old, Nikeromí, from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí (Ills. 17 and 18), who was held as a captive and was the common property of all the men, the unmarried as well as the married. When her maloka was raided, she fell into the hands of the Surára. She lived with the old widow Xututumí and her daughter Haikiamá, likewise widowed. During the day she occasionally took care of little children, deloused the wives of the chiefs, grated manioc or squeezed out the grated mass; she also strung beads or made a belt. When it grew dark, she always fetched wood for the night, just like the other female members of the tribe. She was the only woman who took a bath several times a day and played childish games with other small girls. Now and then she also went into the forest with other women to gather fruits. I never saw her inactive. When she works, however, she does so of her own free will. Yet at the same time she must always be ready for all the men, at any hour of the day or night. A man scarcely ever comes alone, but rather four, five, or more usually join him. They do not ask whether she has any desire for it, is sleeping, working, or is perhaps ill. One of them seizes her by the arm or the hair and sets out with her into /69/ the forest, and the others follow. Especially if the men have communal tasks to do in the forest, that is, felling trees for house construction, gathering palm leaves and lianas, Nikeromí is regularly taken along, whether or not she is willing. If she resists or raises objections, one of the men, with a big stick, will

/69 cont./

727 83 159 give her a blow on her tonsure, which is already full of scars, or he will scratch her body bloody with the sharp little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 117).

It is worth noting that the married men do not go furtively into the forest with Nikeromá, but quite openly. When I was wandering about with the tribe, I was often able to observe during the midday rest that a married man would suddenly go up to the little captive, take her by the arm, and go off with her a short distance, while five or six other men followed. The others present, men, women, and children, would laugh about it. The [593] wives, to be sure, were somewhat angry and would now and then throw a piece of wood after their husbands, but then they would make the best of it and likewise join in the laughter, though it was somewhat bittersweet. When the men returned with Nikeromá, after about an hour, we resumed our march. The women put up with this behavior of their spouses and, for their part, enjoy themselves with other men at a suitable opportunity. They never vent their wrath on the little captive, however. There is nothing defamatory about her actions, into which she is, of course, forced, for various wives were obliged to submit in the same way before their marriage. Little Nikeromá, however, found it hard to bear her fate; she was always grave and sad, in fact, almost melancholy, and suffered very much from homesickness. Yet one day, when other women and girls are captured from a hostile tribe, a Surára man will marry her.

It should be mentioned further that the Surára chief rigorously sees to it that Nikeromá is always supplied with plenty of meat and other food. He himself and his brothers treat the little captive very well, and I never saw them go into the forest with her.

The Pakidái had two captive Makuxí women.

727 83 171 In this connection I should like to refer to a very similar observation by Ehrenreich with regard to the Šambioa /Shambioa/ (Karajá /Caraja/), which the investigator describes as follows: "Moreover, unmarried men who wish to turn to the female sex may only have intercourse with the captive Kayapo /Cayapo/ women held in semislavery, a few of whom, at least among the Šambioa,

/69 cont./

727 are lodged in every village. They are regarded as common property. Unfortunately, one also sees children used for similar purposes. This clearly shows the dualism in the etiquette of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to members of their own tribe. This attitude, which is common to all primitive peoples, cannot, for this reason, alter our judgment concerning the morality of the Karaja in general" (332).

332. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 28.

844 585 764 k) Death and burial customs

As the previous comments have shown, there are neither birth nor marriage ceremonies among the Surára and Pakidái. The social and religious life is therefore dominated all the more by death practices.

764 If a human being who has completed the third year of life dies, the relatives are inconsolable. There is lamenting in the loudest tones, and the flood of tears among men, women, and children seems endless. Meanwhile, however, the customary occupations are not neglected. While the woman is fetching water from the river, for example, she weeps incessantly to herself and intermittently shrieks loudly; the same is true for the men at their work in the plantings and even for the children at their play. The other members of the tribe cast only an occasional compassionate glance at the mourners, and with this their interest is exhausted.

Immediately after a death it is the duty of the male relatives and /70/ friends to fell small trees in the forest, out of which they make a cylindrical wooden frame -- praotimá. This consists of 15 to 20 poles 1.60-1.80 meters long, which are tied with lianas a handbreadth apart. The corpse is slid into this, and liana ropes are drawn over the two open ends so that it is protected from the attack of birds, especially vultures.

Surára
Pakidái

/74 cont./

726
[191]
[302]

343 (cont.)
Richard Schomburgk points out that their body painting in wartime differs from that of peacetimes. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, page 322).

spend the night quietly, while a few scouts reconnoiter the [276] position. At dawn the warriors blow large quantities of snuff into each other's noses and then, completely unfettered, but in all [727] silence they storm the hostile maloka. Men and boys are killed ruthlessly with arrow shots, and the women and children are dragged off as captives. But the attackers, too, often have to suffer great losses, and it is said that they are sometimes put to flight.

726 During my stay among the Surára, I heard of an attack by
727 the Xiriána and allied warriors on a maloka of the Waiká on the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini (see p. 16). On this occasion, as I was told, all the Waiká men were killed, and the women and girls were brought to the Xiriána maloka as captives. The head of the Waiká chief, as the war chief of the Surára added, was then adorned with feathers by the Xiriána and left standing in front of their community house for several days
727 as a trophy; after that it was thrown away (344). The night after

344. The Hório and Ebidoso in the northeastern Chaco, who occasionally behave in a similar way, are to be referred to as a parallel (Baldus, 1931, p. 73).

the attack there was a big dance festival, in which all the men [276] took part. Before that they took snuff and prayed to the hekurá [782] (see p.199), in order to thank them for the victory.

/202 cont./

572 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

283 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727] [184]

/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
882 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[3196] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

● 727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the hĩkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the hĩkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the hĩkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

/226 cont./

756 chest. They enter, without loss of time, through the extremi-
533 ties of the body and through the head. They arrive in the order
774 in which their names are sung by the master sablf, who in this way "builds a pueblo" of a microcosmos in the body of the man. The stronger the master, the greater will be the "pueblo," and the greater this "pueblo" is, the better chance the sablf will have to augment his inner world and his power during his life.

756 The hikuladt of the sablf is essentially different from that
774 of the priest, in the sense that it is inhabited by the vital princi-
[778] ple of vegetable and animal species and not by the souls of departed ancestors. The man also has a specific hfkula, different from his soul and which, as is true of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, seems to be immortal and spiritual, essentially joined to animate matter until death. Each specimen of a species has a specific hfkula; after death, the speciman goes to a luminous place in the forest. While the soul of a man may abandon the body during sleep, etc., without its being detrimental for the man himself, the hfkula never leaves until the moment of death. Furthermore, the soul is typically human, while the hfkula is found in man and also in plants and animals. Some informed us with insistence that women and small children do not have hfkula.

773 Here is the story which explains the origin and the nature
774 of the hfkula in the animate world.

[776] Chinanfdmawan is a gigantic demon of dreadful shape, with long, sharp claws. He has skin which is impenetrable and as hard as rock.

/227/ One day Chinanfdmawan came to attack the Sanemá. The latter posted themselves with their weapons to face his attack. Soon, however, the Sanemá realized that arrows and lances had no effect on the demon, who captured most of his enemies. Chinanfdmawan quartered and devoured his victims, but kept the skins, which he nailed out on boards around and inside his house.

[171] (It is extremely interesting that this custom of keeping the skin
● [727] of enemies has been preserved in Sanemá mythology, since it is reminiscent of some tribes of the Cauca, in Colombia, of the Mauta of Ecuador, of the Huauca of Peru, and of the Inca. It also recalls the cult of Xipe in Central America.)

/475 cont./

726 booty without being discovered, because if they were, they would generally have to abandon the prisoner and flee in order to save their lives.

If the invading band is large, that is to say, made up of several settlements, it might be sufficiently strong to attack all of a full settlement. If an entire settlement can be put into disordered flight, many of the women and girls are easy prey for the attackers. Girls between 12 and 18 years of age are regarded as the best booty. It is almost certain that some of the men, especially of the settlement being attacked, will lose their lives or be wounded in the attack. Not always are women the only booty; every kind of object of value is abandoned in the hasty retreat. Such raids do not occur very frequently, but their possibility keeps the population in constant fear of them.

• 727 After having thus been attacked, the settlement can decide to abandon the entire area and found a new "conuco" in another area, or all of the friendly settlements might be called on to help in the reprisal raids.

712 When the enemy camps near a settlement at a distance closer
726 than usual, or if there is some other reason to fear a raid, stockades or palisades are built. Posts and poles about 15 centimeters in diameter and two or more meters in length are tied in a vertical position, closing off all the approaches, particularly the pathways. Palm leaves and weeds are piled up against these walls to prevent the enemy from looking through the interstices. On the outside of these palisades, for a distance of 30 to 50 meters, all the trees are cut and left lying in thick underbrush as one more obstacle for the enemy intruders. Furthermore, under the eaves, at the back part of each and every house, they make an additional wall of sticks of firewood longer than usual. Should an attack occur, the women and children throw themselves against these walls of firewood in the back of the houses, while the men take their defensive positions and shout vigorous war cries, making their bows rattle in order to impress the enemy with their number and preparation.

/482 cont./

753 Any strange or rare object can be considered to have given rise to an epidemic. According to their knowledge and understanding, it might be some kind of foreign sorcery.

755 179 The Guaika appreciate our medicine for the treatment of sores and sicknesses, but for them this medicine is simply another enchanted or magical substance.

752 /483/ The treatment which they use for a bee sting is to tie the member thus hurt with a piece of vine or string above the sting. They also suck the poison out of the wound.

The treatment for the bite of a spider or snake is similar, tying and sucking. Later, the croonings are considered appropriate for driving away evil forces.

If a man is wounded by a poisoned dart, the wound is sucked and he will live. If he is wounded where the poison cannot be sucked out, he will quickly die. When an animal or a man is mortally wounded by a poisoned arrow, he falls, loses control of his muscles, and then dies, shuddering, perhaps when the poison reaches the heart or lungs.

751 • 729 One who has killed an enemy on a raid must sit down on the ground and, taking a little piece of vine (perhaps some two centimeters in length), has to scrape one side of his own head in different places. If he fails to do this, some evil may overtake him.

755 758 Sick persons receive all possible care, in addition to all the incantations and exorcisms which are cast against the opposing forces of the spirits.

758 A sick person is well fed. If it is not possible for him to take certain foods, the Guaika will make every possible effort to get for him what he can eat.

An old woman who had an infection in her mouth and a throat so large that it was almost impossible for her to swallow anything was given honey as food. They tipped her head back and poured the honey into her mouth. They had a fire lighted for her all the time, and someone was with her constantly. When the settlement moved, she was carried on a man's back by means of a strap or cord such as is customarily used for loads or small children.

/cont./
/152/

574 628 721 [262] [411] The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti accepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 731 [499] The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food. They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 411 721 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and

166 722 628 ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was abandoned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest

000 near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

722 /152 cont./ One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,
499 the Bisheasetjeti also crossed; the bridge was /153/ cut by them near the bank. Guards were placed to keep a lookout for the enemy, should he try to repair the bridge and cross it.

● 727 Much after this, a raid was made on Liacoatjeti by some
[721] of the Bisheasetjeti and the Majecotjeti /sic/; "Jaiyeota," one of the Majecototjeti, shot one of them and killed him. A boy of four or five years of age was captured. One of the men from Majecototjeti, "Ushiu," took the boy and cared for him. All of the children were bothering the little one, calling him enemy and acting as if they were going to shoot him. One day, after this had gone on for a while, a young man from Bisheasetjeti shot the child near the water spring. He shot the arrow so hard that it passed through him. Ushiu gave the child a funeral, but none of the other inhabitants of the aldea came to the "lloro" /weeping/, because they said, "After all, he was an enemy."

628 The two aldeas had some bad times together. Often, when
721 they were in the forest, they had to come running back, feeling
578 sick. Frequently their ribs were showing. During this time
[164] several died of a strange fever which kept the victim hot day and night without relief. Others were very sick with the fever, and it
[361] was feared that they would also die. The two aldeas of Bisheasetjeti and Majecototjeti lived together for a year, until those of Bisheasetjeti made a new "farm" /granja/ down the Orinoco, on the other side of the Manaviche River. When they separated, friction caused by some women had reached such a point that the Majecototjeti summoned the Macolimutjeti, and both of them made a raid on Bisheasetjeti to recover the wife of a Majecototjeti who had gone to live with a Bisheasetjeti. One family did not take part in this raid and by its friendly and frequent visits prevented the two aldeas from shooting at each other.

628 Another incident of friction was that a young man from
578 Majecototjeti stole a Bisheasetjeti woman from her husband.
837 When the husband had almost persuaded his wife to come back with him, the Majecototjeti man shot him in the back with a bone-pointed arrow and kept the woman. The Bisheasetjeti man was seriously wounded, but recovered.

/156 cont./

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

[302] [574] [822] [412] [361]

166 361 721 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

● 727 361 [114] In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit, fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

[226] [411] [857] 726

/158 cont./

726 That night some of our missionaries were camped outside in a
114 casa abierta /"open house"/. Suddenly they were awakened by a group of Yanomama men, who were standing and looking at our missionaries, without saying anything. They all were painted
[302] black, as though to make it impossible to recognize them by the light of the evening, or in the lesser light of the night. Finally the silence was broken, and the men of Majecototjeti told them that they were looking for the raiders who had killed the man and the boy and had carried off the four women. Our people had seen nothing of the raiders and were enormously surprised at the news.

726 The following morning the men went to the place of the attack and brought the arrows which were there. They did not bring back the complete arrows, but only the ends with the feathers. The arrows were not cut, but burned in two. The poisoned points were brought also. The men carefully examined the arrows and tried to make out from what aldea the raiders had come. The arrows looked like those of the Liacoatjeti, but they had seen a machete in that place, and who could imagine a Liacoatjeti leaving a machete, even in a moment of danger.

There was also a rumor that a bark canoe had been found some distance down the river. Probably the Shibaatía-tjeti had crossed the river in this canoe. (This rumor later turned out to be false.)

A search was carried out in a large circle in every direction to try to find out what direction the raiders had taken. Finally the track was found, and the Liacoatjeti were then recognized as the raiders, and they had come from the south. Their path had been made so as to cover the tracks, leaving the formation one by one and reassembling farther on.

721 The Majecototjeti planned, in turn, a raid of /159/ revenge. First a banquet was held with tapir meat and cassava to eat with the meat. A day or so later the men marched off on a raid of revenge against the Liacoatjeti. The Majecototjeti had gone off two weeks before, but had not found the Liacoatjeti in their houses.

727 "Jolocoine," a boy with a broken leg who had stayed with
[123] us, asked us to pray to God to send "Etemi" (one of the abducted women) home safe and sound.

/159 cont./

727 women) home safe and sound. A few days after the Majecototjeti returned from their attempted raid, "Etemi" returned. When she returned, the whole aldea went back to the north bank of the Orinoco River, in case they were being followed.

She told how it was that she had had a chance to walk in front of an old woman, and, getting somewhat out in front along the way, she was able to get off the path without being seen and had returned.

We marveled at our little faith. Why had we not prayed to God to bring them all back?

721 The chief repeatedly called meetings for raids to get revenge on the Liatcoatjeti. Usually the aldeas of Bisheasetjeti
[628] and Macolimutjeti accompanied the Majecototjeti on their raids. Our missionaries and some of the believers and the Yanomama prayed together that the raiders would not kill anybody or lose any of their own. Once they did not find anybody in the houses. Another time they became lost and for lack of food had to return home. Another time the whole group was so sick that they had to return, having covered only a few days of travel from their point
721 of departure. When a Yanomama aldea or several aldeas are about to
726 to go on a raid, they hold an impressive ceremony. They make one or several effigies which represent the enemy. Then a simulated raid is acted out, in which these effigies are wounded, broken in two, and then thrown down. If the enemy is far away, they can do this at home and several times on the way to the enemy. Sometimes the simulated raid is carried to the point of dividing the group into two parts: one group which shoots at the effigies and then escapes (flees) with several girls from the aldea; the other group comes along a little later, /160/ finds that the women are gone, and pursues the raiders until it finds them hidden, sometimes out in the forest, with the girls. When the raiders are found, each one gives a loud war-cry and the ceremony ends.

114
721 In December of 1954 all our missionaries went down the river for our field conference, leaving the Frobenius expedition alone in Platanal. One night a man from Shibaatfa-tjeti slipped

123 /163 cont./
75 wanted that person to die. I assured them that we alone had not cured the boy. The whole aldea had asked God to cure him, and God had answered. The people of the aldea affirmed that this was the case. They had prayed sufficiently, and God had spared his life.

726 The chief's brother came to Yabitjaotjeti and told the chief that the Liacoatjeti had been visiting upriver and that now they were on their way to their homes in their own aldea.

The chief called a meeting for another raid. First the
[622] whole aldea moved across the river in order to get away from the bank that was easy for the Shibaatía-tjeti to attack. David and I picked up our hammocks and went with them across the river. On the following day the men set off on the raid, or, more properly, they went down to the Bisheasetjeti to depart from there. Only the adult men went; the boys and children 17 years old or less remained at home.

This time David and I were able to pray that they might not fight. We asked, rather, that the Lord might protect the believers from danger. He did it. The raiders /164/ were gone
• 727 about three weeks. When they returned, the chief came to the aldea and had an official colloquy, briefly, with the most important man who was left in the aldea. At most the chanted colloquy lasted about half a minute. Then they all began to cry. Someone had been killed. We looked to see who had come back
[302] and, if possible, to see who was missing. Some of the men had red marks on their cheeks and on the forehead as a sign that they had killed someone or had "hecho" /done, finished/ much in the fight, for they did not know whether they had killed anyone or not.

I later learned that three of the enemy had been killed, and that one of those of the party, a man from Macolimutjeti, had been wounded in the chest and had died.

727 The underbrush had been cleared away at the site of our
783 temporary aldea, which thus would not serve for the matadores /killers/ to fulfill the rites of a matador as they should be done in thick underbrush. Therefore within an hour we moved to a

/164 cont./

729 783 new place located several hundred meters away. The matadores went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained some distance away. They could not touch anything that they [413] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the [352] trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days, until the matadores thought the ciclo /cycle, term/ completed.

726 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place. The first aldea into which they penetrated was empty, and so was the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the principal aldea. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bisheasetjeti began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed. /Illustration appears here./

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River. The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

166 361 Since they had fallen out with the Liacoatjeti, the Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north side.

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

701 pills before the raiding party left, but I forgot them.
703 This almost ended the raiding party, as the younger men
721 jumped on this as an excuse to stay home. The older men,
123 however, forced them into line and severly chastized them for
114 being cowardly.

701 Raiding tactics also require that approximately ten
721 men be included in the raiding party. The raiding party
725 usually splits into two or more groups when it approaches the village of the enemy. This increases the probability that the raid will be successful; two groups are more likely to confront individuals of the enemy village while at the same time splitting up reduces the possibility that the raiders will be accidentally discovered by the enemy. After the raiders shoot one or more of the enemy, they retreat in a standardized pattern. Groups of two men retreat a specified distance, their retreat being covered by two men who lie in ambush along the trail most likely to be taken by pursuers. The guarding pair then retreats, being covered by the first pair who lie in ambush. If the raiding party has separated into two groups, retreat tactics will necessitate at least 8 men.

721 The purpose of a raid is to kill one or more of the
727 enemy and retreat before being discovered. A raid is successful only if one or more of the enemy is killed and none of the raiders is wounded or killed. When a joint raiding party from Mahekodo-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi raided Riakowë's village in the early '50s to revenge the deaths of two

721 Mahekodo-tedi men and the victims of the 1950-51 treacherous
• 727 feast, they succeeded in destroying Riakowë's village and garden, recapturing two of the women abducted by the Shamatari, killing three men, and abducting Riakowë's son.[1] They did not consider the raid a success because the Shamatari succeeded in killing one of the raiders. Again, in 1965 a joint raiding party comprised of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi men raided the Patanowë-tedi, killing one man. One of the Monou-tedi, Konoreiwë, was badly wounded by the Patanowë-tedi and almost died. The raid was only partially successful according to the raiders.

701 The tactic of ambush and retreat does not require the
725 participation of large numbers of men. Raiding parties of
721 60 men, therefore, are somewhat less effective than raiding
*[628] parties of 25-30 men, because raiding parties of this size usually involve the cooperation of two or more villages.
701 Then, the organization of such large numbers of men is a
*628 problem, as each village will have its own leader, and there-
721 fore the contingency of raiders provided by allied villages in a joint raid has its own leadership. Thus, joint raids are invariably less effective because of the numbers of men involved and the difficulty of organizing them properly. The contingency of allies in a joint raiding party is less enthusiastic about the raid than the group from the aggrieved village, and if the enemy is not to be found at the site being

[115]

[1] Both Barker and my informants gave me an account of this raid. The two versions were identical.

raided, the allies usually insist on returning home rather than pursue the enemy further. In 1965 a joint raid involving men from Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Mõmaribõwei-tedi, and Reyabobõwei-tedi failed to locate the Patanowã-tedi at their village. The two Shamatari groups refused to go further in pursuit of the Patanowã-tedi, and the entire raiding party returned home, against the wishes of the Monou-tedi, whose dead headman was being avenged by this raid. Occasionally, however, the raiders are all enthusiastic about the raid and the possibility exists that an enraged raiding party may attempt to drive the enemy from the village. This partially accounts for the fact that warfare promotes the re-combination of smaller villages into larger, more defensible ones. If a raiding party of 60 men descended on the inhabitants of a village, the village could defend itself adequately only if there were approximately an equal number of adult men in the village. This would require that the village be at least as large as 180 people. Another factor, however, accounts for the fact that some villages have large populations. When a group has several enemies, it can raid them more effectively if it is able to send out raiding parties recruited from different factions within the village. The same raiders cannot return all the raids mounted against them and carry on the business of making a living as well. Again, larger numbers of men are required to defend the village while some of the men are away on raids, as the probability is higher that the village will be raided in the interim if the village has several enemies.

[Hanowei-tedi Group]

and returned to Patanowë-tëka. A segment of the group that returned to Patanowë-tëka immediately began making a new garden (Shihota) about a day's walk to the west of Patanowë-tëka, anticipating that further hostilities with the Wanidima group would develop. Within a year of the club fight the Wanidima group attacked the group at Patanowë-tëka while the latter were having a feast, but the raiders' arrows missed their marks and no one was injured. The group at Patanowë-tëka abandoned their village and rejoined their agnates at the latter's new garden, Shihota-tëka, whence they began raiding the Wanidima-tedi. On one raid the group from Shihota found Wanidima-tedi deserted and followed the trail the villagers had taken. The Wanidima-tedi were found at Hasaböwë-tedi, feasting. The raiders killed one of the Wanidima-tedi men, but in doing so angered both the Hasaböwë-tedi and their cognate group, the Ashadowë-tedi.

With the aid of the last two villages, the Wanidima-tedi raided the Shihota-tedi and killed a younger brother of Makuwë. The Shihota-tedi reciprocated by raiding the Wanidima-tedi, killing Husiwë (Nabëyoma's husband), Hoari, and Siayeikema. This in turn was followed by raids from the Wanidima-tedi in which the Shihota-tedi lost Ushuenawë and the two younger brothers of Paruriwë, and had one of their women, Buhiomi, seized.

Eventually the superior numbers of the Wanidima-tedi and their allies decided the fighting, and the Shihota-tedi were forced to abandon their garden and make a new one elsewhere.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tëka to Kreibŏwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawë and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowë-tëka, and became known as the Patanowë-tedi.

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawë-tedi and Kashorawë-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawë, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowë-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowë-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawë-tedi visited Patanowë-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowë-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawë-tedi. Hasabŏwë-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowë-tedi and Yabitawë-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in
175 their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved
361 to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari
922
628 village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on
[574] the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's
village and entered into feasting relationships with his
followers.

174 Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari
175 with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's vil-
628
602 lage. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-
529
574 tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned
[123] to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing
[921] this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother,
Rusahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier
by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tëka.

174 The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and
175 went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December
628
529 through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along
574
922 with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the
[32] jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at
[48] the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's
men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were
killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades
were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with
the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large
174 number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were
175
922 seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari
929

174 men for the Kreibŏwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari,
175
* 729 and a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi managed to escape.
[729] These fled to a mountain called WadubadidiobakEkŏ where
[103] they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-tĔka.
[241] Here, the Kreibŏwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the
[752] wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreibŏwei-
tĔka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly
*[628] after the treacherous feast the Kreibŏwei-tedi were visited
by Shinanokawĕ, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his
followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the
Kreibŏwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them
to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made
a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

174
175 Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreibŏwei-tedi
721 undertook a revenge raid against RiakowĔ's group. They
*628 killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collect-
361 ing their women and children at Kreibŏwei-tĔka as they pro-
ceeded from RiakowĔ's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was
early in 1951.

174 For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreibŏwei-tedi
175 worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi
361 at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more
241 plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the
*621 Kreibŏwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before
Kobou-tĔka was producing, however, the Kreibŏwei-tedi decided

to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There had been a number of club fights between the two factions over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started (Monou-tëka and Barawë-tëka) before the Kreiböwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other considerations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here that considerable fighting took place among the men when the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to the survivors.

The Kreiböwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as they could. It was rumored that their protectors were planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women. This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed the Kreiböwei-tedi several years later of the details of the plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariwë-tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that the Kreiböwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the two men killed by the Kreiböwei-tedi after the treacherous feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

628 721 the Patanowë-tedi for managing to overwhelm their own force led them to declare war on the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi 782 241 immediately began making a new garden at Moyenaböwei, across 782 the Mavaca River from their village and several hours inland, anticipating the war that they knew would follow. After they had cleared the large trees from their new garden site, they raided the Patanowë-tedi in the last week of January 1965, and succeeded in killing Bosibrei.

727 581 582 593 628 Another important event took place while the Monou-tedi were clearing the trees from their new garden site, an event that illustrates the same principle of political philosophy. One of the stolen women, Kakoma, was given to a young man, Karidimö, who had only one leg. Karidimö could not do heavy work, and when his village moved inland to clear their new site Karidimö moved to Bisaasi-tedi with his new wife. Kakoma, however, was not pleased with her new husband, and asked the Bisaasi-tedi if she could stay with them, hoping that she would be permitted to rejoin the Patanowë-tedi if they returned to Bisaasi-tedi to visit. The Bisaasi-tedi men obligingly took her away from Karidimö by force and gave her to a bachelor in their own village. Karidimö, enraged at this, returned to Monou-tedi to recruit aid.

628 721 578 This put the Monou-tedi in a difficult position. They were planning to raid the Patanowë-tedi and would have to maintain good relations with the Bisaasi-tedi if the revenge raids from the Patanowë-tedi became intense. They could not, however, overlook the insult to Karidimö, for this

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December–January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yąnomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowï's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawï's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawï and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąobawï's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąobawï's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawï's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawï's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąobawï's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawï-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawï and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawï-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawï-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawï's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawï-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawï-teri. Kąobawï and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawï-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawï-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawï-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16]James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawï and his group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

bawä's group arrived. The men of Kąobawä's group danced both singly and en masse and were invited into the homes of their hosts. At this point their hosts fell upon them with axes and staves, killing about a dozen men before the visitors could break through the palisade and escape. Kąobawä's father was among the victims. Once outside, they were shot from ambush by the Möwaraoba-teri, who managed to kill a few more and wound many others with arrows. A number of women and girls were captured by the hosts, though some were later recaptured by Kąobawä's group in revenge raids. It was probably their host's greed for the women that permitted any survivors at all, as my informants asserted that the Iwahikoroba-teri began chasing the women while the men were still vulnerable. A few of the Iwahikoroba-teri refused to participate in the slaughter and even helped some of Kąobawä's group escape. 628* 574 726

The survivors fled to Kobou, a site they had begun clearing for a new garden. Here they removed the arrow points and nursed their wounds before reluctantly returning to Kreiböwei, their only producing garden. Kobou was still too new to support the group, and hunger forced them to return to Kreiböwei. As this location was well known to their treacherous allies, they wished to abandon it as soon as possible, knowing that their enemies could easily kill the rest of the men and abduct the remaining women. 628* 727 [241]

Within a week or so of the treacherous feast, the Mahekodo-teri, a visiting ally of Kąobawä's group, learned of the massacre and offered aid. The Mahekodo-teri headman himself visited Kąobawä's village and invited the entire group to his village to take refuge. They accepted the offer, and in January of 1951, after conducting one revenge raid on the enemies, moved to Mahekodo-teri. 628* 722 726

The Mahekodo-teri had been allied to Kąobawä's group a generation earlier, but after Kąobawä's group moved away from the Orinoco River, alliance activity had dwindled to just sporadic trading. True to Yąnomamö political behavior, the Mahekodo-teri, being in an obviously stronger bargaining position, offered their protection and aid with gain in mind: they demanded and received a number of their guests' women. Again, the members of Kąobawä's group suspected further treachery from their new protectors and assiduously worked at establishing a new garden. They were forced to stay with the Mahekodo-teri until their new garden could totally support them—about a year. Even during this time, however, they spent weeks on end away from their host's village, carrying their food with them and working on their new plantations. They would return to obtain new food supplies, rest for a few weeks, and leave again. When Mahekodo-teri later split into three factions, Kąobawä and his group learned from one of them the details of a plot in which the Mahekodo-teri were going to kill the men and abduct the women. The only thing that prevented them from doing so was the development of a new war between Mahekodo-teri and another village, one that required the assistance of Kąobawä and his group. [241]

For a few years after the separation from Mahekodo-teri, Kąobawä's group was invited to feast there. Because they suspected that the Mahekodo-teri were plotting against them, however, usually the men alone would attend the feast, thereby reducing the probability of another massacre. The women and children were concealed in the jungle during the time the men were away at the feast. Gradually, the alliance cooled off again and the two groups remained relatively indifferent towards each other, but at peace. 628* 574 722

By 1960, Kąobawä's group had regained some of its military strength and had 628*

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited aid from their allies. Kąobawä's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that took the woman away from the cruel husband.

When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yąnomamö had deceived the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.[1] Thereafter, the two groups were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered. If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebawä told me of a raid he went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebawä, the raid was not a good one because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by Torokoiwä, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwä got sick of seeing this, so he shot the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

---

[1] The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yąnomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yąnomamö villages, as the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yąnomamö, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women. One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomoboni,* is the ultimate form of violence. Kaobawä's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kaobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yanomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Sisiwä, coveted my British commando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,[3] so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Sharariwä had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kąobawä was very exhausted from the trip.

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chanted briefly with Kąobawä, explaining that they had reached Patanowä-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowä-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwä of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart.

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwä with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound.

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yąnomamö have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwä was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered.

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowä-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowä. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *unakaimou* ceremony.

They were given spaces in Kąobawä's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kąobawä felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowä's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwä of Kąobawä's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowä-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowä-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they

[3] The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kąobawä's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Bisaasi-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Bisaasi-teri would not borrow it.

/116 cont./

361 scanty knowledge, their population varies between 200 and 300.
161 Whereas there in the unexplored south organizational forms for
[621] larger numbers of people have evidently developed, the socio-
logical system of the Waika is organized for only the above-named
figure of a hundred village inhabitants; a surplus of births is
answered by village partition.

628 The politically independent villages are partners in war and
peace and for trading and visiting, and the momentary, frequently
changing relationships of the villages to one another give the
political situation in Waika territory its stamp. Let us first look
721 at the hostile relationships. Affairs involving women are for the
[583] most part the cause of war; if a wife is sought in other villages,
and if the offer is turned down, one resorts to abducting a woman.
Once there has been bloodshed in quarrels originating from this,
the war is self-perpetuating; the original cause has not been for-
gotten, to be sure, but because of its slight intensity in the con-
ceptual world it in no way suffices as a motive for the continuation
726 of the war. Rather, what does not permit breaking the chain of
attacks repeated at intervals of a few months, in which the enemy
men are killed, but the women abducted, /117/ is ideas and analogous
● 728 to blood revenge. Concluding peace is possible only when there has
been no bloodshed for a long period of time, and hostile relations
628 often last for generations. Thus Waika country is covered with a
network of hostile relationships of varying degrees, and, picking
a village at random, one can distinguish a series of villages that
are friendly, benevolently indifferent, neutral, sympathetic with
[726] the enemy, and, finally, completely hostile. For no two villages,
however, is this series completely identical; there are no ex-
tensive alliances; war is an affair of the individual village, and a
friendly village is aided only if there are personal reasons for
hostility. No Waika village is without an enemy, and because
of the many crisscrossings of the degrees of relationships the
political situation is extremely complicated. We therefore see
that even on the broadest social plane -- that of the people as
a cultural and linguistic whole -- there is a very pronounced

582 /477/ A young woman cannot remain unmarried for a long time, but some manage to reject all their suitors for several years 587 after puberty. A widow, especially a widow with children, sometimes remains alone forever after the death of her husband.

Making Peace

628 202 When one settlement wishes closer friendship with another, it sends a messenger to offer more friendly terms.

628 202 728 If the settlements are only "macana enemies," a messenger of the very settlement that takes the initiative might go, but if the settlements are "arrow enemies," then it is necessary to send a messenger from a settlement which is friendly with both of the settlements in question. The messenger who is a member of a settlement that is an "arrow enemy" would run the danger of being shot with an arrow before giving the message.

628 728 Thus, two very hostile settlements might manage to suspend the raids between them. Later, they might agree not to fight any more should they see one another in a friendly settlement. Until they arrive at this accord, a neutral settlement friendly to both, when it is visited by people from one of these settlements hostile to each other, must send a message to the other, warning that they should not come so long as there are visitors from the hostile settlement in it. Still later they might agree to receive the visit of a small group of visitors from the other [572] enemy settlement, for commercial purposes. From this time on the two settlements can undertake their negotiations directly, and friendships begin to form among their respective members. [582] Then, when one settlement, out of good will, gives its own girls as wives to the men of the other settlement, it can be said that they have recovered; they have truly become good friends.

While the greater the number of persons involved in a dispute or a fight, the less the probability that the opposing bands will reach an understanding after a short time, the disputes within a settlement itself are in general settled quickly. Within a few months all will have been forgotten. /478/ Disputes between settlements which have not gone beyond macana fights are usually forgotten in a year or two. Disputes between settlements which have occasion to use arrows, especially if someone has

/478 cont./

628 been killed, might require a greater number of years to be
● 728 reconciled. Disputes which have reached the proportions of regional wars are rarely forgotten within the same generation, since there is hardly any neutral settlement left by means of which peace negotiations can be made.

The Family

591 606 A newly married couple may live in the settlement of the wife's parents or in that of the husband's parents. But if they decide to live in the settlement of the wife's parents, they cannot live in the same dwelling with them, because it is prohibited (taboo) for the husband to approach his mother-in-law. He can enter her house only when she is outside. He would not dare to come any closer to her than three or four meters. If the couple decides to live with the husband's parents, there are no such restrictions, since there is no prohibition against the daughter-in-law approaching her mother-in-law. Even suitors customarily lodge on the side opposite that of the house of their future mother-in-law, in their town.

595 [578] The majority of the men have but one wife. Those who wish to, and are able to, may have two or more wives. This practice makes more acute the shortage of marriageable women and may be one of the principal causes of the fights over wives which are started by men who have remained without any.

When a man has more than one wife, his wives may live in the same house or in several houses in a row. They work together, but each one has her own property. Frequently they are sisters since a man is more likely to marry the sister of his wife than to find another wife elsewhere.

593 Within the family it is the man who exercises authority. I only know of one case where the woman gives orders in the house, and this because her husband is mentally deficient.

/166 cont./
628 close the door. I was able to take the bows and arrows from the
123 newcomers at the wharf. When the Yoeitjeti arrived, their chief
asked me about the Bisheasetjeti. I told him that the
628 Bisheasetjeti did not wish to fight and that I already had their
123 bows. He let me take the bows of his men, and I shut them up
● 728 in one of our houses. Then the men of Yoeitjeti and Bisheasetjeti
came together at my house, without weapons, and assured each
other that they wished to be friends. All 31 of them slept to-
gether in my house (a little crowded, but comfortably). I offered
them the empty house next to mine, but they did not want to
have anything to do with it. (My house is well ventilated, /167/
having Venetian blinds all around and two shutter-doors.)

[437] On the following day the Yoeitjeti left, after exchanging
their hammocks and bows with the Bisheasetjeti for machetes,
clothing, matches, and other things. I was happy to see the
two aldeas come together and become friends, because neither
one of them wanted to fight.

721 The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives
722 they claimed, was that the Patanowã-tedi had to move fre-
361 quently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the Patanowã-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both
*[628] groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the
[132] dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense.
[221] It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages
[241] that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural
721 practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events
602 discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consan-
*628 guineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

*628 The war between Monou-tedi and Patanowã-tedi
722

After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of
*[621] Patanowã in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a
[361] period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

• 722 In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two
524 factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi
*628 began visiting Patanowã-tedi, and one of them, Torokoiwã, was
[58] given two wives by the Patanowã-tedi. The rapprochement, how-
[583] ever, was never effected and the political relationships between

628 928 574 Patanowã-tedi and her two colonies, Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, were generally of a suspicious nature; only a few individuals trusted the members of the other group enough to visit their village.

786 628 By 1964 the Patanowã-tedi had become involved in a particularly vicious war with a number of neighboring villages, and were badly in need of military assistance. Their only allies were the Ashadowã-tedi, a large group living two days' walk south of them. Consequently, the Patanowã-tedi informed the Bisaasi-tedi that they were willing to make peace with them. The Bisaasi-tedi extended a feast invitation to the Patanowã-tedi to demonstrate their interest in making peace and, in late November 1964 the entire village of Patanowã-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in the feast. This marked the first time since 1940 that the two groups as groups visited each other.

786 928 628 574 The Monou-tedi were not involved in the feast, but a number of men from that village came to Bisaasi-tedi intending to abduct Patanowã-tedi women. They succeeded in capturing seven women the day that the Patanowã-tedi arrived, and took them back to Monou-tedi without being discovered. The Patanowã-tedi men, enraged at the loss of seven women, sent a party of men to Monou-tedi the following morning to recover the women. The Patanowã-tedi men entered Monou-tedi and forcibly took five of the seven women away from their captors. The Patanowã-tedi retreated before actual shooting broke out and returned to Bisaasi-tedi. The Monou-tedi were furious

over the loss of the five women, and Yąnomamö canons of ferocity dictated that this loss would have to be avenged. The Monou-tedi informed the Patanowë-tedi that they were going to shoot them on sight the next time they met.

After the Patanowë-tedi returned to Bisaasi-tedi they packed their possessions and left for home. The feast was cancelled, as the Patanowë-tedi feared being ambushed by a Monou-tedi raiding party if they remained at Bisaasi-tedi. Before departing, the Patanowë-tedi assured their hosts that they still wanted peace with them, no matter what the Monou-tedi eventually did.

This illustrates dramatically the Yąnomamö political philosophy that it is legitimate to take advantage of a weak village. The Monou-tedi, knowing that the Patanowë-tedi were politically in need of allies, took advantage of this situation when they abducted the women. They also knew that the Bisaasi-tedi would not take Patanowë-tedi's side in the dispute that was bound to follow, as too many of the Bisaasi-tedi had personal grudges against the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi also knew that the Patanowë-tedi were not likely to begin a war over this incident, as they already had more enemies than they could successfully withstand without allies. In short, the Monou-tedi knew that they stood a good chance of gaining women by abducting them from the Patanowë-tedi without great risk of being shot by the latter. As the conclusion shows, they managed to obtain two women and did not get into a shooting war with the Patanowë-tedi. However, their anger at

*628 would have been a display of weakness. They decided to
721 challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a club fight and settle their
578 grievances by that means. Ten days after Kakoma was taken from Karidimõ, the Monou-tedi men arrived at Bisaasi-tedi and settled the dispute in a club fight. The Monou-tedi were thoroughly trounced by the larger number of Bisaasi-tedi, but they nevertheless demonstrated their potential and willingness to fight, thereby warning the Bisaasi-tedi that they better not attempt to seize more women in the future.

The Bisaasi-tedi clearly had taken advantage of the Monou-tedi numerical weakness and political needs to advance their own ends.

726 In the first week of March 1965 the Patanowë-tedi raided the Monou-tedi. They found the village site on the Mavaca River deserted, so they crossed the river and followed the trail taken by the Monou-tedi to their new garden. They [822] caught the Monou-tedi headman outside the new garden and killed him.

*628 This attack brought about an immediate rapprochement
* 728 between the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi. Even Kpobëwë, leader of one of Bisaasi-tedi's main factions, was furious over this killing. Up to this point he was still interested in making peace with the Patanowë-tedi, but this even tempo-
726 rarily changed his mind. Kpobëwë ultimately led the revenge raid against the Patanowë-tedi.

[164] The Monou-tedi burned the corpse of the slain headman and sent small gourds of his ground bones to members of allied

There were, however, two recognizable factions within this group; one was led by Kąobëwë, who had many relatives in both Patanowë-tedi and Monou-tedi, and the other was led by Paruriwë, who had no consanguineal relatives in Patanowë-tedi, but many in Monou-tedi. Paruriwë's group was linked to Kąobëwë's by a number of marriage ties.

Kąobëwë was the acknowledged leader of the entire upper section of Bisaasi-tedi, including Paruriwë's group, although Paruriwë had some influence in the affairs of the village. After the middle of the year, Paruriwë began to emerge as leader in his own right, and began duplicating many of the activities normally the prerogative of the village headman. Thus, when Kąobëwë initiated a feast for members of an allied village, Paruriwë duplicated his efforts by sending out his own hunters to provide meat for the guests, and furnished an equal amount of cultivated food, which he disposed of from his own section of the village. Normally, the headman sends out the hunters and disposes of the cultivated food from his own house. Paruriwë, by duplicating Kąobëwë's efforts in these activities, announced that he was a headman.

The emergence of Paruriwë as an important leader was largely the result of his active prosecution of the war against the Patanowë-tedi. Kąobëwë, after he led one revenge raid against the Patanowë-tedi, decided that he wanted to remain neutral in the fighting and wanted to make peace with the Patanowë-tedi. This led to a political vacuum within

*621 622 361 527 574 one real headman, KąobËwË. Thus, ParuriwË had to separate from KąobËwË's group to achieve a status equal to that of KąobËwË.

*928 *623 622 574 In July 1965 KąobËwË sent his brother-in-law, KumamawË, to PatanowË-tedi to inform them that his group did not intend to raid the PatanowË-tedi in the future. When KumamawË returned to Bisaasi-tedi, he brought two older people with him, demonstrating that the PatanowË-tedi trusted KąobËwË and were anxious to promote good relations with his group. The older couple brought the message that three young men from PatanowË-tedi were coming on a visit soon. Three days later the young men, MąrokoiwË, MasiwË, and KoiyeiwË, arrived. ParuriwË's group was visiting the WidokaiyË-tedi, and when word reached him that a delegation of PatanowË-tedi had arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to visit KąobËwË, he and a group of men from Monou-tedi immediately returned to Bisaasi-tedi, intending to murder the three visitors. KąobËwË, however, warned ParuriwË and the Monou-tedi that should they attempt to harm the visitors, he and his followers would defend them with force. A crisis developed out of this situation, and for a whole day ParuriwË and his Monou-tedi supporters debated the wisdom of their plan. Finally, ParuriwË decided to desist from the murders and even participated in a news chant with one of the PatanowË-tedi--the father of his youngest wife. This emphasized KąobËwË's influence as a leader, and ParuriwË decided to move away from KąobËwË's group after this incident. The Monou-tedi who were to participate in the murder of the three

[803] [606]

*628 574 726 *621

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

was killed in the incident. Manatsinawã, his wife, and his daughter remained with Kąobawã's group, and he ultimately gave the daughter to Kąobawã for a second wife. Kąobawã still has her.

At this time, the groups, of Damowã and Kąobawã, respectively, were still at war with the Patanowã-teri, from whom they separated some fifteen years earlier. Damowã's group, after separating from Kąobawã's, attempted to make peace with the Patanowã-teri, as they were now vulnerable and could ill afford to remain on hostile terms with them. Damowã's group also made an alliance with the two Shamatari villages, which had given them cooperation when they staged the revenge treacherous feast discussed in the last chapter. For about five years relationships between Damowã's group and the Patanowã-teri were relatively amicable, but as the former's alliances with the Shamatari grew in strength, their relationship to the Patanowã-teri grew cool once again.

The Patanowã-teri then became embroiled in new wars with several villages on the Orinoco River and turned to Kąobawã's group for aid, hoping to patch up their old grievances and remain at peace. The first day I began my fieldwork marked the initiation of complete peace between Kąobawã's group and the Patanowã-teri: They were having a feast together in Bisaasi-teri. Damowã's group, the Monou-teri, were not participating in the feast, but a large number of men came anyway. They discovered a group of seven Patanowã-teri females outside the main village and could not resist the temptation: They forcefully took them back to Monou-teri. Later that day the Patanowã-teri men discovered that the women were missing, so they searched the neighborhood and found the tracks of the Monou-teri men at the site of the abduction, where signs of struggling abounded. The next morning they went to Monou-teri armed with clubs: They were bound to get their women back, but did not care to start another shooting war with the Monou-teri. They took five of the women away from the Monou-teri in a heated struggle, but had to pull back without the remaining two, unless they were willing to shoot to kill: The Monou-teri were determined to keep the other women at all costs.

The significance of this incident is this: The headman of Monou-teri realized that the Patanowã-teri would not risk getting into a shooting war with them since they already had more enemies than they could comfortably handle. Hence, this provided an excellent opportunity for the Monou-teri to abduct women with relatively little chance of getting shot in retaliation.

Damowã, the headman of Monou-teri, was angry because the Patanowã-teri had recovered so many of their women. He then threatened to ambush the Patanowã-teri when they left for home after the feast at Bisaasi-teri was over. The Patanowã-teri, in view of this, cut their stay short and left for home before the feast was over, hoping to avoid trouble with the Monou-teri.

Damowã was not satisfied, however, that he forced the Patanowã-teri to capitulate, leave for home, and not attempt to recover the two remaining women. He decided to raid them. In January of 1966 he and a party of men from Monou-teri raided the Patanowã-teri at the latter's village. They caught Bosibrei climbing a *ruzhu* tree, a prickly, cultivated palm that must be climbed slowly and with the aid of a pair of moveable stick frames in order to avoid getting pierced by the needle-sharp thorns that protrude from the tree's trunk (see Fig. 2–6). Bosibrei was almost to the top of the tree when the raiders caught him—he made an excellent target silhouetted against the sky. They shot and killed him with one volley of arrows as he reached for the fruits of the palm. One of

/152/

574 628 721 [262] [411] The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti accepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 731 [499] The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food. They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 411 721 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and 166 ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was abandoned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them 722 628 to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest 000 near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama
Makiritare 5520

731 In spite of their plantations and their skill in hunting and
262 fishing, the Makiritares occasionally experience periods of famine. At such times, when the children cry from hunger, they will dig up the foot-long earth-worms which abound in the humus under the undergrowth and eat them either raw or boiled. Frogs, too, then become part of the daily menu. I have seen Makiritares away from their village, when food was hard to come by, carrying no other provisions than dried frogs threaded like beads on a string.

123 We knew we should have to increase our flotilla of canoes, and to add more Makiritare boatmen to our strength as we proceeded up the Orinoco and the Rio Negro, but it was a necessity calling for discretion since we dare not risk the success of our enterprise by entering the territory of the Guaharibos with too many Makiritares in our company.
[122] Furthermore, we were counting on obtaining from the Cunucunuma villages the greater part of our *manioc* supplies; this formed not only the staple diet of our men, but also became an important part of our own diet. Frantz Laforest was most anxious to be *persona grata* with the Makiritares, so that he could observe and study the building of their fine Carib canoes at each phase of construction.

396 The method, he discovered, was to select a suitable tree, usually a variety of mahogany, and remove all branches for a considerable length of its trunk. Then followed the stripping of the bark and the rough shaping of the ends of the boat. Next the trunk was deeply hollowed out, first by means of a machete along its entire length, and then by fire which slowly enlarged the trough started by the hatchet. The longest operation, which took several days, was opening up the trough by means of wooden wedges, the growing hull being meanwhile
[531] held in position by means of cross-members. When all was complete the boat's sides were made waterproof by scorching, and decorations in the form of geometrical drawings were added. The vessel was eventually introduced to its natural element by hauling it from its place of building over wooden
[123] rollers to the water's edge.
[177] In spite of their skill in building the traditional type of

Table 2: Causes of death of 240 (adult) ancestors of the Namowei-tedi.

Stated Cause of Death[1]	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
Malaria & Epidemics	58	72	130	54.2
Dysentery, Diarrhea	16	5	21	8.8
Warfare	31	6	37	15.4
Clubfights	2	0	2	0.8
Snakebite	2	3	5	2.1
Sorcery (2)	15	10	25	10.4
Tigers	1	0	1	0.4
Chest infections	3	1	4	1.7
Hayaheri[3]	1	2	3	1.2
"Old age"	4	0	4	1.7
Pains in groin	3	0	3	1.2
Childbirth	0	3	3	1.2
Other	2	0	2	0.8
Totals:	138	102	240	99.9

1. These diagnoses were made by the Yanomamö. Some of the biological implications of these statistics have been brought to my attention by Dr. James V. Neel; I intend to discuss them in a later publication.

2. These deaths were probably due to such pathological causes as malaria. When malaria first reached epidemic proportions in some of the Yanomamö villages in the middle 1950's most of the deaths were attributed to the practice of harmful magic on the part of enemies.

3. This is a peculiar sickness associated with intense pains in the upper abdominal region; the pains may last several days. In most cases the Indians recover from this illness.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 *628 726 583 Several marriage alliances were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one of the Shamatari villages (Konabuma-tedi) when the war with Sibarariwë's group started, but these eventually broke down before any women were actually exchanged.

174 +621 *628 The second important event was the secession of a section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the development of hostilities between these cognate villages.

174 361 *628 796 The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the initiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi sections (Patanowë-tedi) and villages to its north; this war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and has dictated the movements of the Patanowë-tedi from the time it began until now.

174 *628 • 731 721 In order, the particulars of these three events are, briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a number of years after they moved to Patanowë-tëka. However, (175) several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria) about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called Ruwahiwë, Sibarariwë's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Mamikininiwë, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered Ruwahiwë with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

Shortly after Ruwahiwë was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded

only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service. The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Hekurama, and Hikarima) and the PatanowĒ-tedi (Ishinarima, Rubrobemi, Rǫkuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in PatanowĒ-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

(2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions, each making a new garden further up the Shanishani-u River and abandoned PatanowĒ-tĒka. The move was stimulated by the frequency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were always fighting with each other," said one of my informants, "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at PatanowĒ-tĒka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller (BrararabǪwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fearing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

Matakuwë's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors were absorbed by other villages.

Finally, Matakuwë and his group separated from Orakawë and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Mavaca basin. The group that remained at Shirakoböwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakuwë and his followers separated from Orakawë's group for two reasons. First, Matakuwë decided to support Karehewë in the dispute over the death of a member of the latter's group. Secondly, Matakuwë and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shihowë-tedi, who continued to harrass them. By taking the side of Karehewë, Matakuwë and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawë's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

Area 3: Boraböwei

Matakuwë and his followers moved here about 1910. Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi, forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a number of years Matakuwë's group lived alternatively between these two sites. Another garden was established at Kaurewë after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Boraböwei, and Matakuwë's group fled to Kayurewë, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

11: Chagnon (E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawä, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisaasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yąnomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kąobawä's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kąobawä's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2-8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowä-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowä-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowä-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwä, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowä-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowä-teri fissioned into two groups: They relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

begun cultivating an alliance with a third Shamatari group, one that was related to the two that conducted the massacre in 1950. The new Shamatari group, Paruritawä-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8), was at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, but on feasting terms with the Möwaraoba-teri. Kąobawä's group persuaded their new Shamatari allies to invite the Möwaraoba-teri to a feast and planned a massacre similar to that of 1950, but with the tables reversed: Kąobawä's group would lie in ambush, while the Paruritawä-teri attacked the guests within the village. The Möwaraoba-teri were being ravished by a malaria epidemic at this time, and only a handful of them actually came to the feast: The others were too sick to travel. With the aid of their newly found allies, Kąobawä's group managed to kill three of the five men and abducted four of their women. The other two visitors escaped to tell of the treachery. This revenge feast was only considered to be partially successful, and Kąobawä's group was not satisfied with the outcome. Their Shamatari allies, Paruritawä-teri, were obliged to abandon their site to avoid the revenge raids, splitting into two groups in the process: Mõmariböwei-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri, both continuing to remain friendly to Kąobawä's group.

In early 1965, just a few months after I began my fieldwork, Kąobawä and his supporters left to visit Reyaboböwei-teri, one of the two Shamatari allies, hoping to conduct another treacherous feast for the Möwaraoba-teri. They left a few men behind to protect the women and children. The men were gone almost two weeks. All during this time, those who remained behind flocked to my mud hut at dawn and remained in it the whole day, not permitting me to leave. Every hour or so they asked to see my shotgun. I soon discovered that they were frightened and suspected that the Widokaiya-teri were going to raid them to abduct women, for they knew of the plot. My hut lay on the path most likely to be taken by Widokaiya-teri raiders, and the few remaining men stood guard next to my door, hoping to intercept the raiders should they attack at night.

I, unknowingly, guarded the women and children by day with my shotgun, while the men did the same at night with their own weapons. This incident indelibly underscores the almost complete lack of trust between allies; the members of Kąobawä's group expected a raid from their friends and allies rather than from their enemies!

About ten days after the men had left, six visitors from another allied village passed through Upper Bisaasi-teri hoping to trade. It was obvious to them that the men were away and that the women were frightened. They carried word of the situation up the Orinoco River to their own allies, one of which was the Mahekodo-teri.

The evening before the men returned from their trip, one of the Salesian Missionaries, Padre Luiz Cocco, visited me, having traveled up the Orinoco River by dark—a dangerous undertaking at that time of the year. Padre Cocco had just received word by short-wave radio from the mission at Mahekodo-teri that a large party of men had left for Bisaasi-teri intent on capturing women. They had learned of the poorly guarded women from the six visitors and were determined to take advantage of the situation.

My house was full of women and children at dawn the following day, and the raiders were probably en route. I was in a difficult situation. On the one hand, if I told the Indians of the rumor, it would have been sufficient cause to start a war between Kąobawä's group and the Mahekodo-teri. This would have been most unfortunate if the story proved to be false. On the other hand, I dared not remain silent. If raiders were indeed coming, they would probably kill the defenders to capture the women. Fortunately, Kąobawä and the men returned early in the afternoon, and I was able to remain

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
883 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[564] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[578] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[141] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[554] measure of his sexual prowess.

573 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mõmaribõwei-tedi
• 732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwë. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwë), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

/118 cont./

153
191

563. (cont.)
Steinen about the Suya on the Xingú, in which he declares that these Indians knew how to use the pencil very well and drew beautiful motifs in his notebook, although he was the first white man they had seen (Karl von den Steinen, 1886, p. 212).

153
[177]
[191]

Younger people are distinguished by a gift for rapid comprehension and an astonishing learning capacity. Although these Indians very rarely come in contact with caboclos, and in most cases only the men, both sexes have at their command a rather large store of Portuguese words and figures of speech. One little
124
159
[191]
Surára boy about nine years old, Jubeauwõ, also called Mandú, who had spent almost two years in the hut of the palm-fiber gatherer Manuel Antonio Gómez on the Rio Aracá, had a nearly perfect command of the Portuguese language and performed unique service as my interpreter. I owe it to him alone that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the mental culture of the Surára and Pakidái and put together a complete vocabulary (564).

159
734
752

564. Three years ago the little boy suffered dangerous burns on the abdomen by an upset vessel containing boiling tree resin. Since the chief had given up hope that he would recover, he wanted to have
[888]
him given the deathblow. The custom of this tribe, as well as that of the Pakidái, decrees that all old and seriously ill persons who are no longer able to take part in the general migrations must be killed (see pp. 153/154). The grandmother of the little boy, who is an orphan took him secretly one night to the hut of the Spanish palm-fiber gatherer,

/118 cont./

159 •734 752

564. (cont.) Manoel Antonio Gómez, who succeeded in saving his life. The chief was said to have been very angry at first over the arbitrary action of the grandmother, but then, when he saw that the little one had recovered, he calmed down.

123 153 [177] Most men, after but a short time, had no difficulty handling our two guns; a few were soon even operating the outboard motor, and the Surára chief Hewemão, who showed great interest in my camera, took very acceptable pictures with it.

153 The reasoning power seems to be somewhat more strongly developed among the men than among the women (565).

[114] [171]

565. This conclusion agrees with an observation by Baldus among the Tumerehã, and the scholar adds a remark which could also be applied to the Surára and Pakidái: "The differences in the talents of the sexes are perhaps the result of their way of life and division of labor. Thus, among the Tumerehã, the man's way of acquiring food has probably developed his acuteness, for he does not merely gather fruits, like the woman, but also goes hunting..." (Baldus, 1931, p. 119).

802 /119/

XII. Counting and Conception of Time

The Surára and Pakidái count only to three:

1 -- mahón

2 -- porokabõ

3 -- prukatabõ.

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621 [162] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and therefore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups [578] soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

613 his brothers, terminologically, they have more in common with
602
*621 each other than they do with him. As he depends on them for
584
582 support within the village, he is under obligation to them and can not take their suggestions lightly.[1]

*621 Again, if there are two politically important descent
613 groups of the same lineage within a large village, and if
602 there are, in addition, a number of agnatically related
569
584 females not belonging unambiguously to either one, problems
• 736 arise over the disposition of the women; there will be rivalry between the two descent groups concerning the marriages (or remarriages) of these women. Situations like these arise when the father and brothers of the women are killed in raids or die of other causes, or when the woman's first husband dies after her (deceased) agnates arranged her marriage. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, split into two villages, each led by members of the same lineage. They had been victimized by a Shamatari group which killed a large number of men during a treacherous feast. There were a number of women, consequently, who were ambiguously related to the surviving males of the Upper and Lower halves of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the descent groups in what is now Lower Bisaasi-tedi managed to gain the upper hand in the

---

[573] [1]There seems to be a marked tendency for the daughters of such men to be given to men in other villages when alliances are made. I am unable to say, on the basis of my present data, whether such alliances are forced on these men by their agnates, or whether these men in fact prefer to dispose of their daughters in this way. This practice tends to keep such men more isolated from their agnates and prevents them from establishing strong affinal ties within the village.

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

---

[1] See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[2] By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absense of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Reromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-in-law. Reromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the village. He has four adult sons to support his position. Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[1] His son, Bäxäböwë, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Reromawë is getting old.

621 622 613 604 136 601 554 183 582

actual brothers of these women were killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast,[1] and the women therefore had few agnates to contest Reromawë's actions; his rights to dispose of these women increased after their brothers were killed in the feast. Because of the previous marriages between the members of the Shä and Tom lineages, Reromawë was already MoBr to the politically most important males in the Tom lineage, and he could command respect from them by virtue of the fact that he was of the ascending generation and principal wife-giver to them. He in fact gave two daughters to one of these men.

583 601 183 582

When he re-defined one of his classificatory daughters as sister, he advanced his position in two ways. First, he then became shoriwë to the man that was married to this sister (the man was already SiSo to Reromawë), compounding the cognatic tie (SiSo) that linked them with an important affinal tie (shoriwë). Second, he was able then to claim a daughter of this 'sister' as a wife for his own son (despite the fact that it was incestuous), creating additional stable ties between the two lineages on another generational level.

601 183 582

In another, similar, case, Reromawë re-defined a different classificatory daughter as 'sister,' making it possible for her son to marry his daughter. This was a strategic move, for the man involved was of the Hor lineage, a dominant political group in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. Thus, by manipulating the kinship system, Reromawë advanced his own position as village leader and managed to

[1] See Chapter V.

/44 cont./

301 825 237 Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxí osuemekés --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- occasionally adorns the perfora- [554] tion of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be used by older as well as younger warriors.

[962] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men, who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but sometimes they are scattered through the hair at random. The ornamental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case, for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile tribes, above all from the Waiká. They are caused by magical performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls. Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end (see also pp.211 and 229).

301 825 75

301 171 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá /Caraja/, Boróro, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé /Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G. Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

/479 cont./

75 If a child is frightened, the mother or guardian quickly
774 takes a handful of leaves and sweeps the place where the little creature was frightened. They do this so that the child's soul will not run off in fear and the child become sick.

/480/ Sometimes when a child is sick, they believe that the soul of the little creature has abandoned its body. Then they dispatch commissions in pursuit of it, which pass through the sites where they suspect that the child has been, and they come back sweeping the path with some branches and calling aloud for the little creature. If the child improves, it is because its soul was found; otherwise they must have missed the site where it was.

755 They believe that some sicknesses are due to the spirit or
[753] spirits which have got into the body of the sick person. In order
[776] for the sick person to recover his health, the harmful spirit must be cast out of his body. The one who tries to remove this spirit from the body of a sick person first takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage. He then intones a crooning song, while he marches to and fro in front of the patient. Then, from time to time he approaches the latter and rubs the affected part, which he pinches and hits, pulling on it, threatening the spirit and asking it to go away, making all sorts of noises in order to frighten the spirit (or spirits) so that they will go away. After being with his patient for a few minutes, he resumes the crooning. This practice is repeated many times, and if the desired outcome is not obtained, other men will test their forces, trying to cast out from there the harmful spirit.

[776] They might then come to the conclusion that this is not a matter of a sickness caused by a spirit hidden in the body of the sick person, but rather by one which has hidden in some part of the settlement. Thus a group of men organizes a "hunt for the spirit." Each of them takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage, and, after crooning for a short time in front of the sick person, they begin to make an inspection throughout the settlement, house by house, inspecting every basket and corner, swinging machetes and axes, pointing with the arrows, blowing through the "yopo" tubes as if they were blowguns, continuing the whole

/162 cont./

726 123 Then the inhabitants of the aldea began to come back from the forest. Seeing him lying motionless in a puddle of blood, each group that came supposed that he was dead, and they were mourning greatly for a few minutes, lamenting him, before those who knew what had happened were able to quiet them. Finally, one of the older men with sufficient presence of mind said that he wanted to take him to the aldea, if this were possible.

First the man tried to walk on his own feet to the aldea, but "Joashimocaoue" was very weak and in much pain, and he could not do this at all. Therefore a hammock was sent for. They tied this to a post before rolling up the wounded man in it; two men carried him to the aldea. That night he again became unconscious. Two women came and told us, "We are weeping again." I recommended to David that he stay and pray while I sent to see what could be done.

Upon arriving in the aldea, I found him unconscious in his hammock. They wanted me to put some medicine on his wounds, but there he was, unconscious. I said, "Let us pray first." Almost all of the believers who were there, and even those who had never professed to be believers, prayed with me for him. I prayed first and then they all repeated it together, asking God to spare his life. I had never seen a gathering of Yonomama praying so fervently before or since then. I do not know exactly how long we were praying, but it must have been about an hour.

/163/ When all had finished praying, we looked over and there he was, conscious again. He sat up and asked me if they had treated his wounds. I put sulfa powder on them and bandaged them. After this he did not lose consciousness again, and although his wounds were very painful, he went along well without any complications arising, although the tip of the poisoned point must still have been stuck in some part of his back.

721 The men of Majecototjeti returned from their raid on the Liacoatjeti without finding anyone in their houses.

123 75 [609] A little before this an old woman from Shibaatfa-tjeti visited some of her Majecototjeti relatives and told them how in her aldea they did not like foreigners, because they were always curing people. When someone in the aldea was wounded, they

123 /163 cont./
75 wanted that person to die. I assured them that we alone had not cured the boy. The whole aldea had asked God to cure him, and God had answered. The people of the aldea affirmed that this was the case. They had prayed sufficiently, and God had spared his life.

726 The chief's brother came to Yabitjaotjeti and told the chief that the Liacoatjeti had been visiting upriver and that now they were on their way to their homes in their own aldea.

The chief called a meeting for another raid. First the [622] whole aldea moved across the river in order to get away from the bank that was easy for the Shibaatía-tjeti to attack. David and I picked up our hammocks and went with them across the river. On the following day the men set off on the raid, or, more properly, they went down to the Bisheasetjeti to depart from there. Only the adult men went; the boys and children 17 years old or less remained at home.

This time David and I were able to pray that they might not fight. We asked, rather, that the Lord might protect the believers from danger. He did it. The raiders /164/ were gone 727 about three weeks. When they returned, the chief came to the aldea and had an official colloquy, briefly, with the most important man who was left in the aldea. At most the chanted colloquy lasted about half a minute. Then they all began to cry. Someone had been killed. We looked to see who had come back [302] and, if possible, to see who was missing. Some of the men had red marks on their cheeks and on the forehead as a sign that they had killed someone or had "hecho" /done, finished/ much in the fight, for they did not know whether they had killed anyone or not.

I later learned that three of the enemy had been killed, and that one of those of the party, a man from Macolimutjeti, had been wounded in the chest and had died.

727 The underbrush had been cleared away at the site of our
783 temporary aldea, which thus would not serve for the matadores /killers/ to fulfill the rites of a matador as they should be done in thick underbrush. Therefore within an hour we moved to a

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kaobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobimou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*roo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kaobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kaobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

/76 cont./

224 relatively infrequently, for the most part only when they stay in the vicinity of a maloka and thus constitute a danger for human
224 beings. Only the meat of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) is
262 eaten. For some hunters, however, pride in killing such animals plays a role, for finishing off a jaguar, especially the black one, gives him greater esteem. -- Snakes, which are very numerous here because of the considerable dampness, are killed with a stick. If a surucucu (Lachesis muta L.) -- perefma -- (Surára word) -- peléma -- (Pakidái word), the largest and most dangerous poisonous snake of South America, is killed, then the joy is especially great. The head is cut off, and every family gets a piece of the snake's body, which is cooked with other meat. It has an agreeable taste and reminded me of eel. The Surára and Pakidái also
[751] believe, however, that every person who has eaten the meat of
[825] a surucucu will never be bitten by any other poisonous snake. The sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) -- uaikonyá -- and the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatá -- are also eaten with relish. The jararaca (Lachesis sp.) -- karihirimá --, the papaova (Spilotes sp.) -- karimatá --, and the cobra-coral (Elaps corallinus Wied.) -- huamoxíke --, on the other hand, are never eaten. -- Now and then a cayman (Caiman sclerops Schneid.) -- ihuí -- or a lizard -- xaraimá -- are killed with a stick, and sometimes the hunter, but more often his dog, discovers in the forest a jabuti (Testudo tabulata Woelb.) -- totorí --, whose meat is also very tender and tasty; /77/ it does not come up to that of the water turtle, how-
[225] ever. Yet, of the numerous species which inhabit the Demini, Aracá, and their tributaries, the Surára and Pakidái catch only the peremã -- talmã --, and, to be sure, they seize it in shallow water with their hands.

223 Bird hunting requires special training. That is why even
[868] boys are encouraged to kill as many small birds as possible, so that later on they will be good hunters.

The following birds are most frequently hunted, on account of both their meat and their feathers: mutum (Crax sp.) -- parurí --, urumutum (Crax sp.) -- katarí --, mutum cavalo (Mitu mitu L.) -- kataurí --, jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nhapín --, cujubim

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 voice to the hekurá and constantly passed his hands from his head
[782] to his feet. His brother Kurikayawõ repeated each of his words
[788] and imitated the gestures (511). Around the four men, who were

511. This was again the symbolic transmission of the prayers from the hekurá to Poré/Perimbó (see also p. 228).

now officiating as priests, crouched red-painted warriors whose head hair was completely covered with the down feathers of the gavião-real. Whenever the Pakidái chief poured a new mixture of bone ashes and urucú into a larger jamaru vessel, he always pulled a few feathers from the heads of the warriors and threw them in (512). The closest relatives of the late deceased sat

• [751]

512. There is defensive magic connected with this. For if the men, in the subsequent ceremonial drinking of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes, swallow these feathers, they and their families are better protected against sickness.

behind the warriors and sobbed heart-rendingly, especially the
[782] women. Their tears /106/ flowed uninterruptedly, and at the same time they prayed in a low, singing cadence. When the bone ashes of another jamaru vessel were mixed with urucú by Poréhiwõ, their sobbing and their prayers changed to high, shrill tones. This made no impression upon the medicine men, however, who imperturbably went on with their activity. The
[302] mourners were surrounded by a circle of standing warriors painted
[301] red and adorned with upper-arm feathers, who held bows and arrows in their hands and faced outward. It was their task to shield
[522] the ceremony against harmful outside influences. Behind them stood numerous male spectators, who followed the proceedings with interest, to be sure, but without inner participation, for at times they laughed and joked.

Surára
Pakidái

/110 cont./

529 Between the patapáanomão festivals the Surára and Pakidái have only a few other festivities in the course of the year. These are but small celebrations, which, for example, take place after the two-months' training of two young men as medicine-man helpers, after a successful war-expedition, upon moving into a newly erected maloka, and in connection with the second menstruation of a girl. The latter has more of an intimate character, for only families of relatives and friends take part in it.

754 825 4. Magic for Sickness, Hunting, Love, and Rain

a) Magic for sickness:

[824] A magic powder is occasionally prepared from the bark ashes of a wild mimosa species (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurâhihenâ -- (see also p. 192) and the bone powder of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). In the evening, shortly before twilight sets in, if a gavião-real happens to be flying by or is sitting on a tree, the chief blows this powder in the direction of the bird. The latter receives it and with it transmits sickness to a specific hostile tribe.

224 789 b) Hunting magic:

[782] The evening before a proposed hunting expedition the hunter takes snuff-powder and prays for about 2-3 hours to the hekurâ (see pp. 200/201), whereby through them he requests [302] Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) for a successful outcome. Then, before he sets out the next morning, he paints serpentine lines [825] on his face and body with urucú. If his wife accompanies him, she also applies this design, and the snout and feet of a dog that is taken along are painted with the same color. This is [751] supposed to increase the luck of the hunt and is at the same time bound up with defensive magic against possible dangers threatened by poisonous snakes and jaguars.

/233 cont./

539 to search the sun's house. Then the sun burned its surface and from that came the scars which show on its face.

The moon went to the other side of the world, and, while the sun sealed its friendship with man, the moon was his ir-
539 reconcilable enemy. When the moon appears rose-colored, it
821 is because it, along with its family, is eating men. The sun also has a family, but does not eat human flesh. Sometimes the moon hides in its house in order to plan a new campaign.
[532] During that time women are very much afraid and, in order to
• [751] protect themselves, paint a likeness of the sun on their cheeks; they also commonly paint it on large stones which they find on the path.

/234/

OINEITĨB

539 Beneath the earth there exists the world of the dwarfs, who
[772] are called Oineitĩb. They live like men, but eat and speak very rapidly. They have no intestines or anus, and when they eat meat or other food, they cut it in pieces and swallow it raw, without chewing (25). They sometimes also eat women who conceal

[171] 25. See also the corresponding myth of the Yupa Indians of Venezuela (Wilbert, 1959d).

their menstruation. On one occasion the subterranean river grew so much that it acquired an enormous volume and gained so much strength that it blew out the earth beneath the ground of the rancheria in which there lived a woman who had tried to conceal her state. The houses collapsed and the inhabitants drowned, with the exception of the women, who were devoured by the dwarfs and their souls went to live forever with the guapo, who is also unable to go up to heaven and live with Omao.

Because the dwarfs have no intestines, they are always hungry and, for that reason, devour their food with much greediness. On occasion one of these dwarfs comes to earth to visit a man, but never a woman. The man cannot see his guest, but

/481 cont./

832 They believe that another substance is effective against women, especially if it is thrown at them. They use it to frighten them, and it also forms a part of the ceremony in which a man shows his preference for a woman whom he wishes to make his wife.

784 753 There is a taboo with respect to the burning of cloth or paper. The burning of cloth or paper, according to what they believe, causes sickness and /482/ perhaps death. The Guaika do not dare to do it "against an enemy," since they are afraid that they might die also.

753 795 Men cannot see a "bole" -- the spirit or soul of a dead person which has returned -- but women can see them on occasion, and, when they do, it is almost certain that the "bole" will make them sick. The "bole" has two eyes like embers, a cold skin, and in general has human forms. It customarily passes by way of the paths, especially at night, and frequently returns to abandoned settlements. They can talk and shout like a man; and many strange noises which are heard in the woods are attributed to the nearness of a "bole." The fall of a tree by itself is also attributed to a "bole."

[781] Once a woman told us about her encounter with a "bole." She had been awakened by something which touched her and hit her in the ribs. When she woke up, a voice said to her: "There are enemies outside." She became very frightened and did not go back to sleep for the rest of the night.

The mere presence of a "bole" is considered sufficient to cause an acute pain in some part of the body.

Frequently we were asked by the Indians if there were "boles" the night before in the surroundings.

It is believed that the "boles" travel alone in open country. Thus, they assume that a few palm leaves obstructing the entrance to the path are usually sufficient to block their way. It is also believed that fire is an effective weapon against the "boles" whereas an arrow would be useless.

•751 There is a belief that a certain seed is efficacious for keeping danger away from the children. They string these seeds as if they were beads and hang them around the child's neck.

/482 cont./

753 Any strange or rare object can be considered to have given rise to an epidemic. According to their knowledge and understanding, it might be some kind of foreign sorcery.

755 The Guaika appreciate our medicine for the treatment of
177 sores and sicknesses, but for them this medicine is simply another enchanted or magical substance.

752 /483/ The treatment which they use for a bee sting is to tie the member thus hurt with a piece of vine or string above the sting. They also suck the poison out of the wound.

The treatment for the bite of a spider or snake is similar, tying and sucking. Later, the croonings are considered appropriate for driving away evil forces.

If a man is wounded by a poisoned dart, the wound is sucked and he will live. If he is wounded where the poison cannot be sucked out, he will quickly die. When an animal or a man is mortally wounded by a poisoned arrow, he falls, loses control of his muscles, and then dies, shuddering, perhaps when the poison reaches the heart or lungs.

751 One who has killed an enemy on a raid must sit down on
727 the ground and, taking a little piece of vine (perhaps some two centimeters in length), has to scrape one side of his own head in different places. If he fails to do this, some evil may overtake him.

755 Sick persons receive all possible care, in addition to all the
758 incantations and exorcisms which are cast against the opposing forces of the spirits.

758 A sick person is well fed. If it is not possible for him to take certain foods, the Guaika will make every possible effort to get for him what he can eat.

An old woman who had an infection in her mouth and a throat so large that it was almost impossible for her to swallow anything was given honey as food. They tipped her head back and poured the honey into her mouth. They had a fire lighted for her all the time, and someone was with her constantly. When the settlement moved, she was carried on a man's back by means of a strap or cord such as is customarily used for loads or small children.

/70 cont./

764 Among the Pakidái I was able to be present on the sad occasion of a burial ceremony for the young, vigorous, and happy Hokotómarimá, an unmarried youth whose age was 19 years at most. He had fallen from the top of a pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) (the liana lashing of his climbing apparatus, see p. 121, had evidently not been firm enough) and must have suffered internal injuries. All the efforts to save him, which were carried out uninterruptedly by the chief and his helpers for two days and nights, were unsuccessful.

After the dead Hokotómarimá had been pushed into the wooden frame, five warriors whose bodies were painted all over with urucú carried him out of the maloka, amid loud lamentations. Two men carried the frame, one in front and one in back; now and then they were relieved by their companions. The women of his kin group, in part with children on their hips or by the hand, accompanied him, amid heart-rending, shrill tones of lament and endlessly flowing tears, on this last journey to the edge of the forest. Then the five men went on alone with the deceased. (The chief did not take part; he would do so only if the deceased were a relative.) After a walk of about 20 minutes, they suddenly stopped, set down the frame, and selected a suitable tree, in order to hang it in the crown. When they had found it, in this case a tall imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.) -- tokorí --, two men climbed up, each with two long lianas (cipó-titica) hanging around their necks. They chose a particularly thick limb, then lowered the lianas, where their companions tied them to the wooden frame, and pulled it up with the dead man lying in it. When the frame was hanging firmly and securely on the branch, they climbed down again.

Immediately thereafter the five men started back to the maloka. On the way, however, the brother of the deceased cut into a tree, the name of which the deceased bore -- hokotómarimá -- matamatazeiro (Eschweilera matamata Hub.), with his tercado (large bush-knife) and in the lower part of the trunk, deep notches which had the following appearance ~~~~~~~~~~~~ and extended around the entire trunk. This was supposed to make the tree die.

Surára
Pakidái

/97 cont./

755
759
171

498. (cont.)
I should like to mention the Kaskihí Indians in the northeastern Chaco, among whom the witch doctor tries to heal the sick in the same way (Baldus, 1931, p. 143).

164

During my nine-months' stay among the Surára and Pakidái the following sicknesses occurred there: grippe, pneumonia, malaria, chicken pox, and a gastric fever; fortunately, none was fatal (499). But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,

000

165
152

499. Only the Pakidái youth Hokotõmarimí died after a fall from a pupunha palm, which probably caused internal injuries (see p. 149).

123
755
759
177

But the two Surára women who had pneumonia, first a young woman, Xunamí, the wife of Kurikayawõ, the younger brother of the chief, and later an older woman, Xanimí, the approximately 47-year-old mother of Anyarawõ (see pp. 123/125), and a boy, Xaniwõ (see p. 127), about 12 years old, would probably not have survived without the penicillin that I had brought along, for, in spite of untiring treatment by the chief and his helpers, their condition grew worse from day to day. In the first instance, the chief, Hewemão, and the husband, Kurikayawõ, finally permitted me to give Xunamí a penicillin injection in the upper arm on two successive days, whereupon she improved dramatically (500). In the second and third cases,

500. This cure increased my reputation tremendously, so that afterward I was properly adopted into the tribe of the Surára and, on the occasion of the great festival in memory of the dead, was also permitted to drink the banana soup mixed with the bone ashes of deceased relatives (see p. 231). If the woman had died after the injection, however, the intervention could have had grave consequences for me.

/118 cont./

153
191

563. (cont.)
Steinen about the Suya on the Xingú, in which he declares that these Indians knew how to use the pencil very well and drew beautiful motifs in his notebook, although he was the first white man they had seen (Karl von den Steinen, 1886, p. 212).

153
[77]
[191]

Younger people are distinguished by a gift for rapid comprehension and an astonishing learning capacity. Although these Indians very rarely come in contact with caboclos, and in most cases only the men, both sexes have at their command a rather large store of Portuguese words and figures of speech. One little
124 Surára boy about nine years old, Jubeauwõ, also called Mandú,
159 who had spent almost two years in the hut of the palm-fiber
[191] gatherer Manuel Antonio Gómez on the Rio Aracá, had a nearly perfect command of the Portuguese language and performed unique service as my interpreter. I owe it to him alone that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the mental culture of the Surára and Pakidái and put together a complete vocabulary (564).

159
734
752

564. Three years ago the little boy suffered dangerous burns on the abdomen by an upset vessel containing boiling tree resin. Since the chief had given up hope that he would recover, he wanted to have
[888] him given the deathblow. The custom of this tribe, as well as that of the Pakidái, decrees that all old and seriously ill persons who are no longer able to take part in the general migrations must be killed (see pp. 153/154). The grandmother of the little boy, who is an orphan took him secretly one night to the hut of the Spanish palm-fiber gatherer,

/118 cont./

159
734
752

564. (cont.)
Manoel Antonio Gómez, who succeeded in saving his life. The chief was said to have been very angry at first over the arbitrary action of the grandmother, but then, when he saw that the little one had recovered, he calmed down.

123 Most men, after but a short time, had no difficulty handling
153 our two guns; a few were soon even operating the outboard
[177] motor, and the Surára chief Hewemão, who showed great interest in my camera, took very acceptable pictures with it.
153 The reasoning power seems to be somewhat more strongly developed among the men than among the women (565).

[114]
[171]

565. This conclusion agrees with an observation by Baldus among the Tumerehã, and the scholar adds a remark which could also be applied to the Surára and Pakidái: "The differences in the talents of the sexes are perhaps the result of their way of life and division of labor. Thus, among the Tumerehã, the man's way of acquiring food has probably developed his acuteness, for he does not merely gather fruits, like the woman, but also goes hunting..." (Baldus, 1931, p. 119).

802 /119/ XII. Counting and Conception of Time

The Surára and Pakidái count only to three:

1 -- mahón

2 -- porokabõ

3 -- prukatabõ.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

a torrid sun or the cold dankness of the forest after dark, the Indians are especially subject to respiratory troubles, bronchitis and chronic catarrh being common. It must be a short step from these to tuberculosis, to judge by the widespread incidence of the latter, though it is worth recording that among the Sanatari themselves the disease does not appear to have reached the same alarming proportions as among the Taurepàn of the Eastern uplands, where it [192] is a real scourge. Their name for it is an onomatapoeic one—*tectecmèh*—suggesting the coughing and catarrhal effects of any malady of the respiratory system, to which the word is applied.

[784] They are more afraid of tuberculosis than of any war, or any surprise [721] attack at night. Tribes infected with *tectecmèh* become taboo, and by the same token immune from attack, because their enemies are more afraid of their tuberculosis than their arrows. I was told this by Uarema, who said that some time ago a party of their enemies (of unspecified origin) set out to attack them. They had already been several days on the march when they learned that the Guayca were suffering from a bad epidemic of colds and catarrh. They gave up their idea of attacking them, and returned to their own lands.

752 Wounds infected by insects can be quickly cured, the reason being that with 164 these primitive Indians the defence-mechanism is vigorous and reacts immediately when assisted by antibiotics or sulphonamides. In this connection I have often determined by experiment the relative healthiness of the forest compared with the unhealthiness of the grasslands or savannah lying open to the sun. In the forest, damp and mouldering like some subterranean world, wounds rarely become infected, even if they are not kept clean.

123 I once fell down on a clay hillside, in the Upper Cuyuni country, with a 164 machete in my hand. It was pouring with rain and everything was covered with 752 mud and very slippery. The machete stuck into the ground as I fell forward, and my hand—as happens in the case of a fall like this—automatically tightened on the tool to help me regain my balance and slid along the blade, which was always kept razor-sharp. I had three fingers cut open right through the middle joint, the muscles and tendons being severed. We had nothing with us, not even a clean handkerchief. I at once closed my hand and bound up the fist with a bit of old rag. We then spent some days making our way down to the base-camp where we had our medicines and disinfectants. There I opened my fist, to find the cuts miraculously closed up, without the slightest sign of any infection. A

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

few days later my hand was completely healed, even though the tendons had been severed and the fingers partially paralysed.

Some antibiotic substance must surely be produced in great quantities in the soil of the dank forest regions: while in the grasslands the cycle of growth is altered owing to the effect of the sun's direct rays, which either destroy the culture or impede its development.

The most dangerous diseases are those which attack the young children and are naturally reflected in their mothers, too. Intestinal worms are the scourge of primitive populations and I have constantly observed that while among the Makiritari they affect the grown men as well, among the more primitive Shirians they are limited exclusively to the women and children, whose bellies are often swollen to an enormous size. Many of the children die at an early age from this, and from colics, intestinal obstruction, and suffocation.

Indians don't live long, even if they manage to survive the dangers that beset them in their early years. Like all primitive races, they develop precociously—the girls reaching womanhood at ten—and old age descends quickly upon them, their bodies being worn out by hard work, exposure to the extremes of weather, and anchylosis. Ancients are few and far between in any tribe: not more than one or two among some scores of men and women. The Indians whom we usually call old are not, in most cases, much more than forty.

In spite of this I have always believed in the existence of some super-ancient, some Methuselah of the Forest, an altogether exceptional individual whose organism has battled with and overcome every ill, achieving a high degree of immunity and resistance, and living on indefinitely. Certain experiences of mine with tribes of various races have led me to this conclusion.

IV

The Aracoa is a river of white water flowing over a bed of large granite stones. Near its mouth are huge falls where it pours over a solid sandstone shelf on its way to join the even clearer waters of the Uaruricoera, a little above the confluence of its sister stream the Quadu.

After a descent lasting several days, we were in camp on this sandstone shelf, with the roar of the falls in our ears, enjoying a feast of sunshine that everyone seemed to appreciate. Our chief preoccupations were the louse and the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

The poisonous ray with the sting in its tail lies crouched on the bottom, 136
scarcely distinguishable in colour from the sand. The incautious man who puts
his foot on it is immediately stung and suffers the most acute pain he has ever
felt. In this connection, we may mention an interesting cure which the natives
of Guiana resort to for ray-stings. They poultice the affected region with a [752]
compress soaked in water used for washing the intimate parts of a woman dur-
ing her menstrual period. This cure has yet to be verified scientifically, but we
hope matters will remain as they are. Why should the people be deprived of a
remedy at once so cheap, so exotic—and so successful?

That freshwater electric eel, *gimnote americano*, awaits its prey in the hopes
of transmitting some of its excess electricity, which accumulates in its belly-
batteries, charged during its periods of rest by the current passing from the
anode of the rocky bottom to its own cathode. It is a short, thick eel with an
ugly expression as though it had a set of false teeth, probably due to its com-
pressed energy, a nervous force denied an outlet, and also undeniably caused
by the glaring injustice of Man. For Man has raised monuments to Volta and
Faraday which would more fittingly have honoured the electric eel.

Last—and most frequent—of the five classic perils, is that carnivorous fish
known in Brazil as the *piraña* and in Venezuela as the *caribe*. In seething, ant-
like swarms it will lie impatiently waiting for its bloody prey: and while wait-
ing, just to keep in training, it will devour its own kind. Carnivorous fish are
not all of the same species: actually almost all freshwater fish in the tropics are
carnivorous, even the most innocent of them, and I recall now that the best
way to clean up certain wound or infected places is to dip the part into a shallow
stretch of river water. Crowds of the most sympathetic little fish will come
along sniffing and nibbling, and they will clean up the wound in such a way as
to strike envy into any surgeon's heart. But there are also fish that will nip off
a finger, or any soft part, at one fell swoop—as often happens to the diamond
workers when they dive into deep pockets in search of diamonds.

Generally speaking, the five perils we have mentioned, evil genii of the
plain, are not met with in waters at a higher altitude. These they cannot reach
because of the rapids which bar the way, and they would be unable to survive
there in any case, the water being too cold for them. Only the king of them all,
the cayman, permits himself to send his more modest envoys up into the higher
regions—alligators of tranquil character and appetizing flesh. And the ana-
conda will, from time to time, allow her little ones, who are eager to get to

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621
[162] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and there-
[578] fore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621
622 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command
578 will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

• 752
753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

/480 cont./

755 time their croonings and threats directed at the harmful spirit. From time to time they pick up some object which they take with them. Sometimes they finish by inspecting the whole circle of houses, but more frequently the one who heads the "hunt for the spirit" points with his finger at some object, which one of them picks up, the whole group suddenly rushing toward the hut where the sick person is.

755 /481/ Frequently one of those who participate in the "hunt
787 for the spirit" falls into a paroxysm, which he generally ends with a tremendous leap into the air, to fall unconscious on the ground. The women immediately bring water and after a while manage to revive him.

On one occasion a man who was crooning before a sick child suddenly lost his mind and began to say strange things. It seemed as though a strange power had seized him, to the point where it was necessary for six men to hold him so that the women could throw water on him to bring him out of his spell.

754 They also believe that a man can "send" a sickness or misfortune to another. Frequently the majority of the croonings which they intone in the evenings when they have taken "yopo" are designed to "send" calamities to their enemies.

754 On a certain occasion, when all were camped about two
752 hours of travel from the settlement, a girl was bitten by a poison-
123 ous snake. Her father came to get me to treat her. He told me that he was very angry, and he asked me if it were I who had sent the snake. He was very pleased when I assured him that I had not sent it.

754 They believe that a person can cause an enemy great harm, sickness, and even death, by gathering up "the track" of the enemy and rubbing it between the palms of the hands. For this reason the Guaika /Waica/ do not like to walk in front of somebody who is not in all certainty his friend, especially over soft earth.

The Guaika prepare certain powders which, when they are thrown in the air or blown in the direction of an enemy, can cause him annoyances or harm, according to what they believe, although the said enemy might be many miles away in another settlement.

/482 cont./

753 Any strange or rare object can be considered to have given rise to an epidemic. According to their knowledge and understanding, it might be some kind of foreign sorcery.

755 The Guaika appreciate our medicine for the treatment of
197 sores and sicknesses, but for them this medicine is simply another enchanted or magical substance.

752 /483/ The treatment which they use for a bee sting is to tie the member thus hurt with a piece of vine or string above the sting. They also suck the poison out of the wound.

The treatment for the bite of a spider or snake is similar, tying and sucking. Later, the croonings are considered appropriate for driving away evil forces.

If a man is wounded by a poisoned dart, the wound is sucked and he will live. If he is wounded where the poison cannot be sucked out, he will quickly die. When an animal or a man is mortally wounded by a poisoned arrow, he falls, loses control of his muscles, and then dies, shuddering, perhaps when the poison reaches the heart or lungs.

751 One who has killed an enemy on a raid must sit down on
727 the ground and, taking a little piece of vine (perhaps some two centimeters in length), has to scrape one side of his own head in different places. If he fails to do this, some evil may overtake him.

755 Sick persons receive all possible care, in addition to all the
758 incantations and exorcisms which are cast against the opposing forces of the spirits.

758 A sick person is well fed. If it is not possible for him to take certain foods, the Guaika will make every possible effort to get for him what he can eat.

An old woman who had an infection in her mouth and a throat so large that it was almost impossible for her to swallow anything was given honey as food. They tipped her head back and poured the honey into her mouth. They had a fire lighted for her all the time, and someone was with her constantly. When the settlement moved, she was carried on a man's back by means of a strap or cord such as is customarily used for loads or small children.

123 /154 cont./

721 At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/ bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look, raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the [752] men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pour- [755] ing water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood, since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the 726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In some way the chief and "Yelequei-jûu" managed to pass some of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were
763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a
183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also state the brave words which he would say.)

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to [764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had recovered.

175 Karawatari's village.
648
[726] The raiders attacked the foreigners at dawn but were driven off by gunfire; a number of the Indians were killed, among them a man called Dokohenawë, and some of the foreigners were allegedly hit with arrows. The Indians managed to capture a young girl, taking her back to Karawatari's village on the Shukumëna-u. Shortly after arriving at Karawatari's village, the abductors were in turn raided by another Shamatari village, then on the Upper Mavaca River under the leadership of Matakuwë, one of the two "original" Shamatari men. Karawatari's group had split from Matakuwë's group and was on hostile terms with it. The girl was taken by Matakuwë's men on this raid and brought to the Mavaca River. Matakuwë's village was on a branch of the Mavaca River called Kedebabëwei-u when Nabëyoma was abducted from Karawatari's
[114] group. Zerries (1964:14) gives 1938 as the date of the abduction of Nabëyoma, whereas Seitz (1963:21) places it a little earlier.

[573] In Matakuwë's village, Nabëyoma was given to Yoyonahi's
952 son; he shot her with a barbed arrow for disobeying him and the girl fled into the woods to nurse her wound. At this time Matakuwë's group was on friendly terms with the residents of Patanowë-tëka (who are now living in three distinct villages and constitute the groups from whom most of my data were
[288] taken). On one of their visits, the residents of Patanowë-
[574] tëka found Nabëyoma in the woods outside Matakuwë's village and took her home with them when they left after visiting.

men for the Kreibŏwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari, and a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi managed to escape. These fled to a mountain called Wadubadidiobakĕkŏ where they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-tĕka. Here, the Kreibŏwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreibŏwei-tĕka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly after the treacherous feast the Kreibŏwei-tedi were visited by Shinanokawĕ, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the Kreibŏwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreibŏwei-tedi undertook a revenge raid against Riakowĕ's group. They killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collecting their women and children at Kreibŏwei-tĕka as they proceeded from Riakowĕ's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was early in 1951.

For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreibŏwei-tedi worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before Kobou-tĕka was producing, however, the Kreibŏwei-tedi decided

The jungle provides a number of hazards to the barefoot traveler in that most species of palm have long, sharp spines protruding from their trunks or leaf stems. The most common and recurrent injury the Yąnomamö sustain is thorns in the feet. A party of ten men can rarely travel an hour without one of them stopping to extract a thorn from his foot. This is always accompanied by hisses and clicks of pain on the part of the victim, who gouges the thorn out with either an arrow point or another thorn. Their feet have thick calluses on them, but because the trails frequently cross streams and swamps, the calluses soften and are easily pierced by thorns.

Another, but rarer, hazard is snakes.[2] There are always a few cases of snake bite in each village every year, although few of them are fatal. Most snake-bite victims recover from the wound with no ill side effects. I treated two cases of snake bite that were like this. But a few bites are severe enough to cause the loss of a limb. One of my better acquaintances, a young man of some thirty years, lost a leg because of a snake bite when he was about fifteen years old, and will spend the rest of his life hopping on one leg, a form of locomotion he has mastered so thoroughly that he almost manages to keep up with the group when they visit other villages.

Most of the intervillage traveling is done from September through April, the dry season. For the remainder of the year the trails, or substantial portions of them, are underwater. At this time the rains are frequent and heavy, and the small streams that can be easily crossed on foot in the dry season become impassable torrents. Small lakes replace the marshy low ground, and communication between villages all but ceases. As the Yąnomamö are an inland people and avoid locating their villages near large streams, all travel is done on foot, and each village becomes an isolated entity at the peak of the wet season (June).[3] If the group must travel, it will make simple vine and pole bridges over the smaller streams. A pair of slender poles is stuck into the river and crossed to form an X-frame. Vines are used to lash the poles together where they intersect, and another pole is laid from the bank to the X-frame, also secured by vines. Then another pair of poles is stuck into the stream and lashed to form another X-frame. The long pole is then extended out further from the bank, and so on, until the stream is bridged. A vine railing is attached to the protruding members of the X-frames. The bridges usually last only a short time. The first heavy rain will swell the stream and the current will wash it away.

TECHNOLOGY Much of Yąnomamö technology is like the pole-and-vine bridge: crude, but very effective, and not destined to last for any great period of time. The only durable artifact produced is a crude, poorly fired clay pot. It is nearly an inch thick at the bottom and tapers to almost nothing at the brim. Consequently, it breaks very easily. For this reason, women, regarded as clumsy, are rarely allowed to touch or handle them. When the clay pots are used, the men do the cooking, as, for example, during feasts. The pot is made by the coil technique: The untempered clay is kneaded to the proper consistency by hand, rolled into long, slender ropes, and these, in turn, placed on top of each other to form a continuous rope of clay. The coils are then scraped flat so that the interior and exterior of the pot are smooth. The conical-shaped pot is allowed to dry in the shade, then fired by placing brush and wood over it. The end product is

[2] Two percent of all adult deaths are due to snake bite; 34 percent are due to malaria, and other epidemic diseases (Chagnon 1966) and 24 percent of adult males die in warfare.

[3] The Yąnomamö began moving their villages out to navigable rivers after 1955. Up to that time there was only one village, Mahekodo-teri, located on a navigable portion of the Orinoco River.

Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
825 emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

Surára
Pakidái

/77 cont./

223 (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) -- maraxí --, jacu (Penelope sp.) -- kuremá --, japim (Cacicus cela L.) -- anhakoramá --, inambu (Crypturellus sp.) -- rororôme --, inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.) -- honamá --, toucan (Rhamphastus sp.) -- mahebé --, arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) arakaké -- arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.) -- maracanã --, papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxeramakó --, papagaio curica (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxerá --, garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm) -- korihená.

[825] [353] The gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- nonexí -- is killed for magical reasons, because it is believed that there is concealed in it a hostile medicine man who brings sickness and [237] other disasters. Its down feathers are glued into the hair by the men as trophies (see p. 95); the meat is discarded. The gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.) -- nonexipéke -- is also killed only for its feathers, which serve the men as upper-arm ornaments.

[825] They never shoot at the urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.) -- uatubá --, for they are glad that they remove the refuse.

224 In conclusion it should be mentioned that traps are unknown to the Surára and Pakidái (353).

353. There is a corresponding statement by Zerries about the Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

[622] If the hunter has killed a small animal, he may keep this booty for himself and his family, but he often gives the chief a roasted or boiled piece of it. A big-game animal, on the other hand, is divided up under the chief's supervision, and each family gets a piece of meat. This communal feeling is very strongly marked, and no member of the tribe would ever violate it.

2: Becher--211 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/96 cont./

2. Curing the Sick

754
825
[753]

a) General

All sickness is attributed to hostile witch-doctors, especially those of the Waikâ (493). As carriers they use the gavião-real

[171]

493. The idea that sickness is caused by witch doctors is so widespread in South America that from the large number of examples I should like to quote only two authors for comparison: Roth, 1915, p. 346; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 192.

gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) and the bat. Both animals are therefore designated generally as -- nonexí --, that is, evil spirit or spirit of sickness (494) (495). If such an animal is sighted,

494. Nonexí, however, is also the specific name of the gavião-real.

495. Zerries documents the same name, "noneshi" or "nonish," for the Waikâ. With it, however, they designate the shadow-soul or the alter ago (Zerries, 1958a, p. 108).

it is immediately killed, in order to prevent a misfortune. Moreover, it is assumed that with its death a hostile medicine man, who, of course, temporarily inhabits it, has breathed his last. The down feathers of the gavião-real are therefore glued into the hair for a few days as a trophy (see p. 95).

[239]

755

If a member of the tribe has fallen ill, he can be cured only by having the chief, who among the Surára and Pakidái is at the same time the medicine man, and his helpers try to hurl the sickness back to the enemies. This can be done, however, only in the snuff-powder intoxication and by invoking

/219 cont./

588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.

589 793 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 159 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá, but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 753 825 763 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle. As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica, the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle. A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people, that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for his certain death.

159 764 Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

/228 cont./

756 The Sanemá sablf has great power over animals and plants
778 represented in his hikuladi, with which he communicates while
125 he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a
[533] jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song ōkamō against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladi of the sablf goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablf do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 The sablfes sing almost every night, and the bigger the
533 animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense
754 is the song. In his songs, the sablf can send any hfkula from
[125] his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however
[774] far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 I have the impression that the hfkulas belonging to the
756 various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish
[754] of the sablf. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a
● [753] hfkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention
[761] of the sablf and by his magical power.

The priest sablf, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts,
756 sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare
755 off the harmful hfkula which is striving to enter the body of the
774 man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the hfkula of the sablf and others chosen from his "pueblo of hfkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablf depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great hfkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the hfkula or hfkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablf makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the hfkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the poison has time to spread and enter the bloodstream. The Samatari go off to war with masses of these poisoned arrows and a cane quiver slung across their shoulders. This contains spare arrow-heads which can be quickly attached to the arrows arriving in a stream from the enemy. Every fighter carries his own ammunition, but the weapons are really the common property of friend and foe alike.

There is one other widely used weapon, and a deadly one it is—a heavy wooden club for use on the cranium in close-combat conditions, such as usually arise at the end of the battle when the ammunition is exhausted and the antagonists have worked themselves up into a fine frenzy. Then the hand-to-hand fighting excels in ferocity, but the blood scattered on the ground is misleading—the actual mortality rate is very low. Tremendous whacks on the head are exchanged, that lay the scalp open right down to the bone. But cracking the cranium itself is not so easy: Samatari heads are harder than Corono palm.

One may well ask why the Indians are forever fighting these wars, but this is to put the question a little too ingenuously. The answer can only be that it is their mode of life—just as it is other people's mode of life not to keep on fighting. There are vendettas as old as their race itself, fanned by their belief in the evil eye of the witch doctors who can cause the death of children and spread sickness through the tribe. Fear is the underlying cause, at the origin of these vendettas and at the origin of all origins; fear that is the very condition, the very breath of existence for primitive man in the inhuman, unhuman forest regions that set their stamp on all who live in them. Fear gives birth to these bloody encounters, which a little cool-headedness could transform into the meeting of friends. We ourselves owed our salvation to the fact that we hadn't fought back. We had a certain confidence too, over and above the passing moment of fear, a certain faith in the essential goodness of man.

But apart from fear and the vendettas which grow out of it, there is one native activity which just as easily leads to war: theft. Theft is the activity in which the Shirians excel, their way of living. Everything that can further their nomadic existence is torn out of the earth, the trees and the animals. The process means effort and struggle, always more or less exhausting and unsafe. It follows logically that if anything they basically need belongs to other men, they will take it from them, too. The tribe on the river so-and-so possesses a machete, or a knife—perhaps the result of long bargaining with their neighbours, or, more often, of a highly successful bit of burglary and some

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

with disinfectant, and from that time on examined their bodies carefully for the slightest little scratch. I daubed on a little red methylate, which thrilled them, as anything red does, and when I threw away the piece of cottonwool I had been using there was a regular fight for it, the winner using it to paint himself as he fancied.

But once I had started using the terramycin for the old man's benefit, an unforeseen problem arose. When I displayed the tablet, this panacea for all ills, the patient (backed by all the crowd of onlookers) would make me a sign to swallow it myself, and then give another to him. In the beginning I thought that this indicated a lack of faith in the benign effect of the medicine, and some fear of poison. But I afterwards learned that it was something quite different, arising out of their peculiar conception of illness, which to them was virtually magic. Sickness was an evil something which got into a man's body and then did all its bad things. So it had to be chased out, by fair means or foul. You could frighten it away, as the magic-men did with their nocturnal exorcisms; or, by putting some substance in the body which irked it, you could make it take itself off. This was what the men-that-wear-clothes did. Either way set the sufferer free from the evil thing.

But if you chase a mouse from under one piece of furniture, it will run under another. In the same way, this evil thing, chased out of the sufferer's body, will straightway take refuge in the body of the man effecting the cure! Therefore the medicament must be ready in two equal doses, to protect both doctor and patient. I must have had to swallow untold numbers of tablets of that nauseating terramycin when treating the Samarati! Fortunately, I could always go a little way off on my own, with a call of nature as an excuse, and insert a finger in my throat to make myself vomit.

Indians as a rule present few cases of sickness: the process of natural selection has been at work among them from their infancy, destroying the weak and the handicapped and leaving the better endowed to survive. They do, however, suffer a good deal from intestinal infections; stomach parasites are present owing to the eating of rotten or windfall fruit; and there are various skin diseases due to a fungus growth of the type the Brazilians call 'bicho geographico' because of the resemblance of the infected part to a map. Mange, and sores of various kinds, complete the range of skin troubles.

But there remains that queen of epidemics, which I have not mentioned till now—tuberculosis. Its victims are of all ages. Living naked, night and day, with

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621 [162] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and therefore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups [578] soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

/479 cont./

75 774 If a child is frightened, the mother or guardian quickly takes a handful of leaves and sweeps the place where the little creature was frightened. They do this so that the child's soul will not run off in fear and the child become sick.

/480/ Sometimes when a child is sick, they believe that the soul of the little creature has abandoned its body. Then they dispatch commissions in pursuit of it, which pass through the sites where they suspect that the child has been, and they come back sweeping the path with some branches and calling aloud for the little creature. If the child improves, it is because its soul was found; otherwise they must have missed the site where it was.

755 [753] [776] They believe that some sicknesses are due to the spirit or spirits which have got into the body of the sick person. In order for the sick person to recover his health, the harmful spirit must be cast out of his body. The one who tries to remove this spirit from the body of a sick person first takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage. He then intones a crooning song, while he marches to and fro in front of the patient. Then, from time to time he approaches the latter and rubs the affected part, which he pinches and hits, pulling on it, threatening the spirit and asking it to go away, making all sorts of noises in order to frighten the spirit (or spirits) so that they will go away. After being with his patient for a few minutes, he resumes the crooning. This practice is repeated many times, and if the desired outcome is not obtained, other men will test their forces, trying to cast out from there the harmful spirit.

[776] They might then come to the conclusion that this is not a matter of a sickness caused by a spirit hidden in the body of the sick person, but rather by one which has hidden in some part of the settlement. Thus a group of men organizes a "hunt for the spirit." Each of them takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage, and, after crooning for a short time in front of the sick person, they begin to make an inspection throughout the settlement, house by house, inspecting every basket and corner, swinging machetes and axes, pointing with the arrows, blowing through the "yopo" tubes as if they were blowguns, continuing the whole

/481 cont./

832 They believe that another substance is effective against women, especially if it is thrown at them. They use it to frighten them, and it also forms a part of the ceremony in which a man shows his preference for a woman whom he wishes to make his wife.

784 There is a taboo with respect to the burning of cloth or paper.
753 The burning of cloth or paper, according to what they believe, causes sickness and /482/ perhaps death. The Guaika do not dare to do it "against an enemy," since they are afraid that they might die also.

753 Men cannot see a "bole" -- the spirit or soul of a dead per-
795 son which has returned -- but women can see them on occasion, and, when they do, it is almost certain that the "bole" will make them sick. The "bole" has two eyes like embers, a cold skin, and in general has human forms. It customarily passes by way of the paths, especially at night, and frequently returns to abandoned settlements. They can talk and shout like a man; and many strange noises which are heard in the woods are attributed to the nearness of a "bole." The fall of a tree by itself is also attributed to a "bole."

[781] Once a woman told us about her encounter with a "bole." She had been awakened by something which touched her and hit her in the ribs. When she woke up, a voice said to her: "There are enemies outside." She became very frightened and did not go back to sleep for the rest of the night.

The mere presence of a "bole" is considered sufficient to cause an acute pain in some part of the body.

Frequently we were asked by the Indians if there were "boles" the night before in the surroundings.

It is believed that the "boles" travel alone in open country. Thus, they assume that a few palm leaves obstructing the entrance to the path are usually sufficient to block their way. It is also believed that fire is an effective weapon against the "boles," whereas an arrow would be useless.

751 There is a belief that a certain seed is efficacious for keeping danger away from the children. They string these seeds as if they were beads and hang them around the child's neck.

/482 cont./

753 Any strange or rare object can be considered to have given rise to an epidemic. According to their knowledge and understanding, it might be some kind of foreign sorcery.

755 The Guaika appreciate our medicine for the treatment of
177 sores and sicknesses, but for them this medicine is simply another enchanted or magical substance.

752 /483/ The treatment which they use for a bee sting is to tie the member thus hurt with a piece of vine or string above the sting. They also suck the poison out of the wound.

The treatment for the bite of a spider or snake is similar, tying and sucking. Later, the croonings are considered appropriate for driving away evil forces.

If a man is wounded by a poisoned dart, the wound is sucked and he will live. If he is wounded where the poison cannot be sucked out, he will quickly die. When an animal or a man is mortally wounded by a poisoned arrow, he falls, loses control of his muscles, and then dies, shuddering, perhaps when the poison reaches the heart or lungs.

751 One who has killed an enemy on a raid must sit down on
727 the ground and, taking a little piece of vine (perhaps some two centimeters in length), has to scrape one side of his own head in different places. If he fails to do this, some evil may overtake him.

755 Sick persons receive all possible care, in addition to all the
758 incantations and exorcisms which are cast against the opposing forces of the spirits.

758 A sick person is well fed. If it is not possible for him to take certain foods, the Guaika will make every possible effort to get for him what he can eat.

An old woman who had an infection in her mouth and a throat so large that it was almost impossible for her to swallow anything was given honey as food. They tipped her head back and poured the honey into her mouth. They had a fire lighted for her all the time, and someone was with her constantly. When the settlement moved, she was carried on a man's back by means of a strap or cord such as is customarily used for loads or small children.

/485/ m./

765 This funerary gourd which contains the remains is kept with the other objects that belong to the family. Then, one [766] fine day, they prepare a soup of platanos in which they mix the powdered bone. The near relatives drink this soup. All weep at this moment, as at the first funeral.

775 The Guaika believe that the correct observance of these practices has much to do with the life of the person after his death. If they do not manage to recover the body of a man killed in war and cremate it, his death is considered a doubly great calamity. A statement such as that of "We shall not cremate you when you die" consequently means a powerful threat.

Religion

[772] The Guaika /Waica/ have an idea that one ascends into heaven when one dies. This heaven is a good place, but less desirable than the present life. They also have an idea of hell, a place even less desirable to go to when one dies.

774 A person is for them body, soul, and spirit. The word to
775 designate soul also means "shadow" or "reflection." And the
828 word to designate spirit also means "cloud." Thus, the soul retains the form of the body, but the spirit can be formless.

The soul can abandon the body and return later. A seriously sick person in general loses consciousness while his soul is
● [753] absent. This is why they frequently go looking for the soul of a sick child, to return it to his body. The soul of an adult, on the other hand, should know how to find its way back.

The spirit abandons the body only with death.

775 A formal cremation and the rites which follow cremation help to ensure that the deceased, upon dying, will go to the most desirable place of the other life.

The Guaika believe that the spirits in heaven eat certain wild fruits. They are afraid that an enemy might /486/ return after death and cause sicknesses and other calamities to the people still corporeal. Many of these incorporeal spirits wander about the paths, especially at night. As we have said before, they are called "boles."

/486 cont./

825 821 [774] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame," "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 776 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

• [753] "Sulilíwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 754 [756] Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are religious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them.

Numbers and Measures

802 The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

Table 2: Causes of death of 240 (adult) ancestors of the Namowei-tedi.

Stated Cause of Death[1]	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
Malaria & Epidemics	58	72	130	54.2
Dysentery, Diarrhea	16	5	21	8.8
Warfare	31	6	37	15.4
Clubfights	2	0	2	0.8
Snakebite	2	3	5	2.1
Sorcery (2)	15	10	25	10.4
Tigers	1	0	1	0.4
Chest infections	3	1	4	1.7
Hayaheri[3]	1	2	3	1.2
"Old age"	4	0	4	1.7
Pains in groin	3	0	3	1.2
Childbirth	0	3	3	1.2
Other	2	0	2	0.8
Totals:	138	102	240	99.9

1. These diagnoses were made by the Yanomamö. Some of the biological implications of these statistics have been brought to my attention by Dr. James V. Neel; I intend to discuss them in a later publication.

2. These deaths were probably due to such pathological causes as malaria. When malaria first reached epidemic proportions in some of the Yanomamö villages in the middle 1950's most of the deaths were attributed to the practice of harmful magic on the part of enemies.

3. This is a peculiar sickness associated with intense pains in the upper abdominal region; the pains may last several days. In most cases the Indians recover from this illness.

829
648 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

704
152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three
753
761 parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leaving the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females.
825 Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

754 Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö
756 shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

*621
156
152 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

11: Chagnon E-5 • (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

there, so they copulated with her. After they quenched their desire for sex, Omauwä caused the girls vagina to be changed into a mouth with teeth.[10] Howashiriwä, another of the first beings, was sitting on the trail at this time, very hungry for sex. When Rahararioma's daughter walked by, he seduced her, but in so doing, lost his penis: her vagina bit it off. It was when this happened that Omauwä's son became very thirsty. Both Omauwä and Yoawä began digging a hole to find water to quench the boy's thirst. They dug the hole so deep that when water did gush forth, it caused a large lake to form and covered he jungle. Then some of the first beings cut down trees, and floated on them to escape the flood. Because this was such a strange thing to do, they changed into foreigners and floated away. Their language also changed into the tongue of foreigners, and gradually became unintelligible to the Yąnomamö. This is why foreigners have canoes and cannot be understood.

Many of the first beings were drowned in this flood. Those who managed to escape and remain Yąnomamö did so by climbing mountains. They climbed Maiyo, Howashiwä, and Homahewä mountains to escape the flood, Maiyo being a peak near the area where Kąobawä's village had its origin. Then Rahararioma, the mother of the girl whose vagina was changed into a mouth,[11] took a piece of red pigment and painted dots all over her own body. After she was completely covered with red dots, she plunged into the lake and caused it to recede. Omauwä then caused her to be changed into a *rahara*, a snake-like monster that lives in large rivers. After that, she caused Yąnomamö to drown when they tried to cross large rivers, either by eating them or by splashing large waves on them. Omauwä then went downstream and became an enemy to the Yąnomamö. Today he sends hiccups, sickness, and epidemics to the Yąnomamö.

It is because the foreigners refused to climb the mountains to escape the flood that they became enemies to the Yąnomamö. The foreigners tried to make friends with the Yąnomamö after the flood, but because their language was so different, the Yąnomamö refused to be friends. Today, however, the Yąnomamö are becoming friends with foreigners.

After the flood, there were very few original beings left. Periboriwä (Spirit of the Moon) was one of the few who remained. He had a habit of coming down to earth to eat the soul parts of children. On his first descent, he ate one child, placing his soul between two pieces of cassava bread and eating it. He returned a second time to eat another child, also with cassava bread. Finally, on his third trip, Uhudima and Suhirina, two brothers, became angry and decided to shoot him. Uhudima, the poorer shot of the two, began letting h.· arrows fly. He shot at Periboriwä many times as he ascended to *hadu*, but missed. People say he was a very poor shot. Then Suhirina took one bamboo-tipped arrow (*rahaka*) and shot at Periboriwä when he was directly overhead, hitting him in the abdomen. The tip of the arrow barely penetrated Periboriwä's flesh, but the wound bled profusely. Blood spilled to earth in the vicinity of a village called Höö-teri, near the mountain called Maiyo. The blood changed into men as it hit the earth, causing a large population to be born. All of them were males; the blood of Periboriwä did not change into females. Most of the Yąnomamö who are alive today are descended from the

[10] In some variants of this myth she put *piranha* fish in her vagina. These fish bit off Howashiriwä's penis.

[11] There are many linguistic parallels between eating and copulating in the Yąnomamö language. The verb "to eat" also means "to copulate", the verb "to eat like a pig" also means "to copulate excessively", the adjective meaning "satiated, full" also means "to be pregnant." The context of the statement decides the meaning.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kaobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kaobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kaobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kaobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kaobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kaobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kaobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*bekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *bekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kaobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *bekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *bekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yanomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi*.[13] Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no ubudibö*, the part of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noreshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter. For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment. The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of ceremonies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[13]Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobömaw*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*roo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

most common way for a child's soul to escape is to leave by way of the mouth when the child cries. Thus, mothers are quick to hush a bawling baby in order to prevent its soul from escaping. The child's soul can be recovered by sweeping the ground in the vicinity where it most probably escaped, calling for it while sweeping the area with a particular kind of branch. I once helped gather up the soul of a sick child in this fashion, luring it back into the sick baby. One of the contributions I made, in addition to helping with the calling and sweeping, was a dose of medicine for the child's diarrhea. A consequence of this set of attitudes about the vulnerability of children is that much of the village's activity with respect to shamanism and curing is directed toward the children.

RELATIVES BY BLOOD AND BY MARRIAGE Many forms of interpersonal behavior stem largely from the social roles implied in the kinship system. To be sure, some kinship behavior reflects the two distinctions of age and sex discussed above, for the terminology of kinship itself employs discriminations of this kind. For example, there are terms to distinguish older siblings from younger siblings and terms used by members of one sex only in reference to those of the opposite sex.

The relationship between kinship terms and biological parentage is not the same in the Yąnomamö language as it is in our own. As was shown in the first section of this chapter, people may stand in a child relationship to a number of individuals; that is, it is possible to have multiple "mothers" and "fathers" in Yąnomamö society. The term for mother and father conveys as much of a social as a biological relationship between individuals, and in the daily activities of the Yąnomamö it is the social implications of kinship roles that are most important.

What is implied in the kinship roles can best be seen in the way the kinship terms themselves are formed. All primary kinship terms take the ending *"-mou"* when used to describe the relationship between individuals. Thus, *osbeya* means "my younger sibling," but *osbemou* means that individual X *behaves* toward individual Y *as a younger sibling*. This ending, *-mou*, also occurs in nonkinship usage to express "a way of behaving," "to execute a particular activity in a specified manner," or "to perform the activity that is implied by the word to which *-mou* is affixed." For example, *oko* means fresh-water crab and *okomou* means "to go hunting for crabs"; *bowaishi* means "a mischievous white monkey" and *bowashimou* means "to act mischievously, to monkey around"; *nowa naba* means "enemy," and *nowa nabamou* means "to become an enemy by behaving objectionably"; *waiteri* means "fierce" and *waiterimou* means "to behave ferociously."

Whenever I would ask the Yąnomamö a question such as, "What do you call Kąobawä?" the answers would always be in the form of a kinship term to which *"-mou"* was affixed, but rarely in the form "I say such-and-such to him." Calling an individual by a specific term is, however, implied in the "way of behaving" toward that individual. But despite the fact that the Yąnomamö can say, literally, "I call him father" (*kama [illegible]ba, baya ya kuu*), they invariably say *"ya bąömou"*—"I behave toward him as a child."[20] Thus, they express their relationships to others in terms of *ways of behavior*. Each kinship category implies a set of these behavioral norms, and one's social life in the community is established with respect to all other individuals by the kinship terminology employed in each particular case.

[20] Although the word *bąö* translates literally as "father," the expression *ya bąömou* can best be understood with the translation given above.

/96 cont./

2. Curing the Sick

754 825 [753] a) General

All sickness is attributed to hostile witch-doctors, especially those of the Waikâ (493). As carriers they use the gavião-real

[171]

493. The idea that sickness is caused by witch doctors is so widespread in South America that from the large number of examples I should like to quote only two authors for comparison: Roth, 1915, p. 346; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 192.

gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) and the bat. Both animals are therefore designated generally as -- nonexí --, that is, evil spirit or spirit of sickness (494) (495). If such an animal is sighted,

494. Nonexí, however, is also the specific name of the gavião-real.

495. Zerries documents the same name, "noneshi" or "nonish," for the Waikâ. With it, however, they designate the shadow-soul or the alter ago (Zerries, 1958a, p. 108).

it is immediately killed, in order to prevent a misfortune. Moreover, it is assumed that with its death a hostile medicine man, who, of course, temporarily inhabits it, has breathed his last. The down feathers of the gavião-real are therefore glued into the hair for a few days as a trophy (see p. 95).

[239]

755 If a member of the tribe has fallen ill, he can be cured only by having the chief, who among the Surára and Pakidái is at the same time the medicine man, and his helpers try to hurl the sickness back to the enemies. This can be done, however, only in the snuff-powder intoxication and by invoking

Surára
Pakidái

/110 cont./

527 Between the patapšanomão festivals the Surára and Pakidái have only a few other festivities in the course of the year. These are but small celebrations, which, for example, take place after the two-months' training of two young men as medicine-man helpers, after a successful war-expedition, upon moving into a newly erected maloka, and in connection with the second menstruation of a girl. The latter has more of an intimate character, for only families of relatives and friends take part in it.

4. Magic for Sickness, Hunting, Love, and Rain

•754 825 a) Magic for sickness:

[824] A magic powder is occasionally prepared from the bark ashes of a wild mimosa species (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurâhihenâ -- (see also p. 192) and the bone powder of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). In the evening, shortly before twilight sets in, if a gavião-real happens to be flying by or is sitting on a tree, the chief blows this powder in the direction of the bird. The latter receives it and with it transmits sickness to a specific hostile tribe.

224 789 b) Hunting magic:

[782] The evening before a proposed hunting expedition the hunter takes snuff-powder and prays for about 2-3 hours to the hekurá (see pp. 200/201), whereby through them he requests

[302] Poré and Perimbõ (see p. 197) for a successful outcome. Then, before he sets out the next morning, he paints serpentine lines

[825] on his face and body with urucú. If his wife accompanies him, she also applies this design, and the snout and feet of a dog that is taken along are painted with the same color. This is

[751] supposed to increase the luck of the hunt and is at the same time bound up with defensive magic against possible dangers threatened by poisonous snakes and jaguars.

/111 cont./

832 wearer bites on it and holds it under the nose of a girl or a woman, he gains her favor through the fragrances emanating from it. In fact, I was told that love will then be so great that the woman or the girl would follow him everywhere (547).

547. This type of love magic is reminiscent of a myth of the Aruak /Arawak/ Manao: The Aromatic Root. (Baldus, 1958, pages 32 ff.)

In order to protect themselves from this love magic, married women use two kinds of neck chains. Younger ones [824] have tied to their string of curauá fibers numerous small pieces of tajá root, and older ones, small pieces of the camarau liana (Cipó sp.) -- hií -- (see p. 83). These many pieces of root or liana then counteract the effect of the young men's single piece of root.

•754 If a man is angry at a woman because she does not give him a hearing, he can avenge himself in the following manner: [824] On a rainy day he tears off a leaf of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and goes with it into the forest. When he reaches a matamatá tree (Eschweilera matamata Hub.) from which /112/ drops are falling, he lays the palm leaf under the tree. He leaves it there until it has rotted. Out of it comes a worm which the man later fetches and then roasts. If he throws this upon the sleeping woman, she will have no more children.

789 821 d) Rain magic:

Although the Surára and Pákidái appreciate rain more than too strong a radiation from the sun (548), there are occasions when

[171]

548. In contrast to this, I should like to point out that among the Taulipang, for example, there is great fear of rain (Koch-Grünberg, 1916, pp. 130/31).

/224 cont./

793 The function of the scarab in the curing process is as fol-
755 lows: If the hɛ̃wĩawán wishes to cure a patient, he takes the
825 hĩkula from his chest and places it upon the patient. In order to effect the cure, the scarab opens an invisible hole in the chest of the patient, and the hikuladɛ of the priest enters through there.
[775] /225/ Once within the patient's chest, the hĩkula-dĩb come out of the hikuladɛ in order to combat and bring to the exterior the cause of the sickness. After a while the priest again takes possession of his hikuladɛ, and the treatment is fully successful. The informant did not want to mention the name of the caleopteran or even to talk about it, fearing that if he were to do so and if he were then to become sick, the priest would not be able to cure him, since the insect would not open a hole in the chest of the patient.

793 It is our impression that the priest only cures the ailments
755 that result from the presence, in the body of the sick person,
775 of the soul of a wandering deceased person who has approached the rancherias and whose very presence causes pain.

If we understand that the part of the Sanemá which goes to the house of Omao is the soul, we may say that the priest is concerned with the well-being of the same in the bodies of his companions, and that he represents the actualizing principle between the subject "the soul of the man" and the object "Omao," who enter into communication by means of the inter-
[171] vention of the priest. For the soul, which goes to live in the house of Omao as hĩkula-dĩb, we noted down the name of hɛ̃npĩrtĩb, which essentially seems to correspond in its character to the "bole" of the Waica (Zerries, 1958b).

793 The hɛ̃wĩawán may send a hĩkula-dĩb to a neighboring
775 pueblo in order to cause sickness among its inhabitants, but his
● 754 primary function is to guarantee the well-being of the souls of his community and to present them eventually to Omao at death.
793 It is interesting in this respect to note that the Surara and Pakidai,
754 subgroups of the Yanoama of Brazil, are of the opinion that
825 sicknesses are transmitted by a shaman of a neighboring pueblo
000 by means of sparrow hawks and bats. The Sanemá say that the

/228 cont./

756 The Sanemá sablf has great power over animals and plants
778 represented in his hikuladɛ, with which he communicates while
825 he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a
[533] jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song ōkamō against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladɛ of the sablf goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablf do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 The sablfes sing almost every night, and the bigger the
533 animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense
754 is the song. In his songs, the sablf can send any hfkula from
[825] his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however
[774] far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 I have the impression that the hfkulas belonging to the
756 various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish
[754] of the sablf. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a
[753] hfkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention
[761] of the sablf and by his magical power.

756 The priest sablf, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts,
755 sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare
774 off the harmful hfkula which is striving to enter the body of the man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the hfkula of the sablf and others chosen from his "pueblo of hfkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablf depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great hfkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the hfkula or hfkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablf makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the hfkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

/228 cont./

756 may also happen that a sablf with a small "pueblo" of hfkulas in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a hfkula suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert sablf, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A young sablf is always hopeful that the hfkula "pueblo" in his chest will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

758 The potentiality of the hfkula of the sablf makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the sablf is the best
[624] man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A sablf of great power does not die until all the hfkulas of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
774 live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of his hfkula grows and brings about his death. Then the sablf in-
● [754] forms his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his hfkula frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24).

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The hfkula of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place. Our informant told us that the hfkulas of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /tigres mariposas/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a hfkula of his group or one from a dead sablf. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

/230 cont./
present by taking out from under his tongue stones, small sticks, vermin, etc. "Arrows" come out in the form of a black liquid, of tobacco, etc. He spits out and tramples on what he has been able to extract. The kâilala of the Sanemá also possesses power that is benevolent and malignant at the same time and can shoot magic arrows at the enemy rancheria, thus causing sickness or death. If we compare this religious complex of the Sanemá with that of the Warao, we find such a great similarity that there cannot be the least doubt but that both have the same origin.

Among the Warao the temple cult is strictly local and cannot be carried out in a place where there is no priest, who may be a man or a woman, although for this office there is a special category in the society of the Warao. It is not hereditary and can be obtained by the special calling of the Supreme Being, Kanobo.

The son of a priest is generally considered as more suitable -- by birth -- to fill the office of his father, but although the son may be competent to succeed his father in a political position, he does not necessarily have the right to succeed him as priest, as happens among the Taino, where the son inherits the office of priest together with the chieftainship.

The Warao temple cult is furthermore completely separate from shamanism and magic; religious matters are the responsibility of especially designated persons who act only within their own domain. /231/ The fact that the priest may cure sickness must not lead the observer to false conclusions, since it is logical, according to Warao mentality, that the priest controls -- through the power of God -- the spirits of heaven, whose desire is to take everyone to the side of God, to whom they owe obedience and whose orders are transmitted to them by the mediation of the priest. These are spirits objectively good, but which become subjectively bad when with their metaphysical capability they enter the body of a man, physically limited, causing a pressure, that is, a sickness. In Warao terminology the priest cures by "alleviating this pressure," bringing about as a result typical ailments, such as fevers of various kinds, which he cures by frightening away the spirits with merely his presence, but in particularly critical and difficult cases he may also use one of his maraca /gourd rattle/.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123
829

Naturally it wasn't our present hosts who had attacked the Brazilians. They denied it themselves. It was other Samatari 'along that way' (a vaguely south-westward direction was indicated): very bad men they were, very savage, they were really the true, dyed-in-the-wool Kasarape—monsters who took prisoners in their battles and then split them in two on a stake driven into the earth, and afterwards made a meal of them.

Anyone who has the least idea of Indians will know how much faith to put in their tales that they themselves are so good and the other tribes 'over there' so bad: precious little. The Indians one meets are always harmless, hardworking and peaceable—according to their own account: it is the neighbouring tribe that is so bad, harrying them and laying waste their fields and robbing them and exercising their wicked magic through their medicine men, causing their children—the strength and hope of the tribe—to die of the evil eye.

You can take a region in which acts of barbarism have been committed, and make a tour right round it, and if you believe the Indians it is always the tribe further on who are the bad men responsible for the outrage. And then there are those super-bad-men, the quintessence of badness, always right outside the closed circle, the dregs of the dregs in wickedness—the super-savages, the Guaikiri. But this time, so we were led to infer by our hosts, the tribe to blame were the Kasarape who lived on the right bank of the Uraricoera, fiercest of all the outcasts and intent on chopping up every Samatari's spine to suck the marrow out.

123
754

Luis Antonio had told me, some time during the night, that the Samatari were no longer friends of his. The Samatari and the Uarema Guayca were enemies now, the one having accused the other of the evil eye. Many Samatari babies had died lately, and if you followed out some tortuous paths of thought it apparently became clear that their deaths had been caused by the perversity of the elders of the Guayca tribe. These in their turn attributed the deaths of certain Guayca children who had been ill in recent years to the Samatari. The magic score was thus settled, but it left a remnant of hostility which had fallen upon Enrico and me. We stood in some danger between the opposing occult powers.

I learned, too, that the wretched little infant we had seen at the Mené landing—a scion of the Uarema tribe—had died mysteriously, so the Guayca thought, owing to Samatari magic. The excursion on which he was being taken at the time when we had seen him was made with the object of taking

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

him outside the range of the magic influence which had reduced him to such a hideous condition. But evidently they had only escaped the Samatari magic to fall straight into another, which was too much for the sick child. He died, sacrificed in a duel between two magic powers.

VI

The great 'provisioning-march' of the Samatari now began. We went along with them. We were prisoners, we were guests, we were tolerated visitors—a bit of everything. The main body, with the women and children, led the way along a track that was years old and had been opened up again the day before by the younger members of the tribe, who possessed the one metal weapon used by the Samatari: a piece of a knife-blade stuck into a stick and firmly bound with bark soaked in vegetable gum. What story could this scrap of steel have told when it finally reached the headwaters of the Aracosa!

The track was by no means straight, but for all its meanderings led vaguely towards the south-east. It lay for the most part through the dense thickets of fruit-bearing trees, which probably harboured other sorts of foodstuffs of which we knew nothing. The main body arrived to find that the young men had already picked nuts and fruit of all kinds and made piles of them at the foot of the trees. All the women had to do was take them up.

When meat of any sort is found and killed on these occasions, a couple of youngsters stay behind with it. They sling a hammock and light a fire and watch while it is slowly smoking on the spit. When the women come up, they pull off pieces of the flesh, put them into the rough hampers they carry on their shoulders and go on with the march, their babies jogging up and down on their backs, tied there with a strap made of bark. Some, like peripatetic vestal virgins, take fire with them, in the form of glowing brands, blowing on them as they go along lest the embers should grow cold. Thus the march of the Samatari leaves a trail of nutshells, rinds, ash, and little bits of charcoal. It suggests not so much an ordinary nomadic people on the move but rather a very special tribe composed of itinerant cooks.

With evening, or strictly speaking some time before the end of the afternoon, we found ourselves in a vast clearing where all the small plants, shrubs, bushes and grass had been cut away and swept and raked aside. All round this

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the poison has time to spread and enter the bloodstream. The Samatari go off to war with masses of these poisoned arrows and a cane quiver slung across their shoulders. This contains spare arrow-heads which can be quickly attached to the arrows arriving in a stream from the enemy. Every fighter carries his own ammunition, but the weapons are really the common property of friend and foe alike.

There is one other widely used weapon, and a deadly one it is—a heavy wooden club for use on the cranium in close-combat conditions, such as usually arise at the end of the battle when the ammunition is exhausted and the antagonists have worked themselves up into a fine frenzy. Then the hand-to-hand fighting excels in ferocity, but the blood scattered on the ground is misleading—the actual mortality rate is very low. Tremendous whacks on the head are exchanged, that lay the scalp open right down to the bone. But cracking the cranium itself is not so easy: Samatari heads are harder than Corozo palm.

One may well ask why the Indians are forever fighting these wars, but this is to put the question a little too ingenuously. The answer can only be that it is their mode of life—just as it is other people's mode of life not to keep on fighting. There are vendettas as old as their race itself, fanned by their belief in the evil eye of the witch doctors who can cause the death of children and spread sickness through the tribe. Fear is the underlying cause, at the origin of these vendettas and at the origin of all origins; fear that is the very condition, the very breath of existence for primitive man in the inhuman, unhuman forest regions that set their stamp on all who live in them. Fear gives birth to these bloody encounters, which a little cool-headedness could transform into the meeting of friends. We ourselves owed our salvation to the fact that we hadn't fought back. We had a certain confidence too, over and above the passing moment of fear, a certain faith in the essential goodness of man.

But apart from fear and the vendettas which grow out of it, there is one native activity which just as easily leads to war: theft. Theft is the activity in which the Shirians excel, their way of living. Everything that can further their nomadic existence is torn out of the earth, the trees and the animals. The process means effort and struggle, always more or less exhausting and unsafe. It follows logically that if anything they basically need belongs to other men, they will take it from them, too. The tribe on the river so-and-so possesses a machete, or a knife—perhaps the result of long bargaining with their neighbours, or, more often, of a highly successful bit of burglary and some

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

721 [685] skirmishing. After several days' howling and shrieking, an expedition is decided on. It is not certain that a battle will yield the desired utensil or object, but then, it is never certain that a hunt will fill the pot, and many a tree looks promising and then turns out to be barren, or to have no ripe fruit. But a good, just war, the Samatari think—and all their wars are just—always produces something worth fighting for, even if the immediate result isn't one that would [754] strike the impartial observer as advantageous. For even if the encounter produces only negative results, the enemy will henceforth go in fear and it will be a long time before their witch-doctors or magic-men dare to strike at the children again with their black arts of death.

And in addition to all these lines of reasoning, savages cannot grasp, as we can, the notion of victory or defeat, for this means first differentiating war from ordinary normal modes of life and treating it as a special occasion with its own scale of values. For the Indians, war is just one of the facts of life, like the harvest. Its result has no direct value, in so far as that result can always be changed by another war, and so on, *ad infinitum*.

III

*123 When we were not on the march I attended to the sick—an activity which soon grew to such dimensions that I found myself in charge of a full-scale open-air clinic, with a meek queue of patients waiting their turn to see the doctor, and an orderly to help me. The start of it all was the mournful bent old man who came along to us morning, noon and night, pointing to his kidneys and wailing '*Nini*, *nini*'—'Bad, bad.' We had fortunately succeeded in getting back the three or four tins containing our medical supplies, which included a good deal of terramycin presented to us by the manufacturers in exchange for the samples of earth we were to bring back. I imagined that in the case of people like the Samatari, who were completely unaccustomed to any drug at all, an antibiotic should have a very positive effect. In fact, the old fellow definitely improved after taking a few capsules. He was far less bent as he walked and no longer complained that he felt '*nini*'.

This must have been an excellent advertisement for us, because a great many patients began to come forward—most of them not showing any sign of suffering from anything at all. Then they began to understand that we treated wounds

/480 cont./

755 time their croonings and threats directed at the harmful spirit. From time to time they pick up some object which they take with them. Sometimes they finish by inspecting the whole circle of houses, but more frequently the one who heads the "hunt for the spirit" points with his finger at some object, which one of them picks up, the whole group suddenly rushing toward the hut where the sick person is.

755 787 /481/ Frequently one of those who participate in the "hunt for the spirit" falls into a paroxysm, which he generally ends with a tremendous leap into the air, to fall unconscious on the ground. The women immediately bring water and after a while manage to revive him.

On one occasion a man who was crooning before a sick child suddenly lost his mind and began to say strange things. It seemed as though a strange power had seized him, to the point where it was necessary for six men to hold him so that the women could throw water on him to bring him out of his spell.

• 754 They also believe that a man can "send" a sickness or misfortune to another. Frequently the majority of the croonings which they intone in the evenings when they have taken "yopo" are designed to "send" calamities to their enemies.

754 752 123 On a certain occasion, when all were camped about two hours of travel from the settlement, a girl was bitten by a poisonous snake. Her father came to get me to treat her. He told me that he was very angry, and he asked me if it were I who had sent the snake. He was very pleased when I assured him that I had not sent it.

754 They believe that a person can cause an enemy great harm, sickness, and even death, by gathering up "the track" of the enemy and rubbing it between the palms of the hands. For this reason the Guaika /Waica/ do not like to walk in front of somebody who is not in all certainty his friend, especially over soft earth.

The Guaika prepare certain powders which, when they are thrown in the air or blown in the direction of an enemy, can cause him annoyances or harm, according to what they believe, although the said enemy might be many miles away in another settlement.

/486 cont./

825 821 [774] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame," "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 776 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

[753] "Sulilíwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They ● 754 believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are religious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them. [756]

802 Numbers and Measures

The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

829
648 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

794
152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three
[753] parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leav-
[761] ing the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females.
[825] Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

• [754] Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö
[756] shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

*621
156 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence
152 in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1]Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2–7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hãrö*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
531
286

Fig. 2-7. Orastimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

241
754
829
184

nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

101
114

[8]The Yanomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xiriana, Guaharinbo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yanomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikä*, is a Yanomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yanomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yanomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yanomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yanomamö.

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *hekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *hekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *hekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *hekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *hekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *hekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *hekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and guests that gradually died off as each group busied itself in preparation for the dance.

Shortly after noon a rumor circulated through the village that the visitors had been raiding the gardens at night and stealing plantains. A number of people, particularly older men, were visibly upset by this new information, giving rise to another rumor that there would be a chest-pounding duel to set the matter straight. The guests had already worn their welcome thin by arriving uninvited a week in advance and by eating excessively. Their hosts were becoming angry with them, as it was all too obvious that they were deliberately taxing their hosts' patience; they were intimidating them.

The men of the host group had finished their preparations for the feast; they were all painted in red and black, bearing colorful feathers. They had cleaned the debris from their houses, had finished hauling out the weeds they had picked from the village clearing, and had brought in quantities of food to give their guests. Now, it was time for them to take *ebene*, their hallucinogenic drug. They separated into several groups and began blowing the brownish-green powder up each other's nostrils with 3-foot long hollow tubes. As the drug would be administered, each recipient would reel from the concussion of air, groan, and stagger off to some convenient post to vomit. Within ten minutes of taking the drug, the men would be bleary-eyed and wild, prancing around in front of their houses, stopping occasionally to vomit or to catch their breath. In each group there would be one man particularly adept at chanting to the *bekura*, the mountain demons, and he would soon take over the show, while the others retired to the sidelines in a stupor, green slime dripping from their nostrils. Should there be sick people in the village, the adept chanters—the *shabori*—would cure them by chanting, massaging, sucking, and vomiting out the evil spirit that caused the sickness. Otherwise, they would chant about other things, perhaps sending their *bekura* to enemy villages to eat the souls of children, or enjoining them to prevent their enemies from doing the same. Occasionally, one of the men takes too much of the drug and become violent. On this particular occasion, Shiimima, one of Kaobawä's brothers, grabbed his bow and arrows and ran to the center of the village. This caused a minor sensation for a moment, but one of the men managed to catch and disarm him, hiding his weapons so he could not find them. Things returned to normal again, and the other participants in the drug-taking began chanting to Shiimima to restore him to his senses. The chanting lasted for an hour or so, and the participants, one by one, returned to their houses to clean up their paint jobs; most of them had smeared their careful work by vomiting all over themselves.

While the men were taking their drugs, the women were busy painting and decorating themselves with feathers and red pigment. The visitors, also, were busy at the same tasks, and the excitement of the feast reached fever proportions by mid-afternoon. A few women were still busy finishing trade baskets, while Kaobawä's younger brothers continued with the monotonous cooking of what seemed to them an endless number of plantains.

Finally, an old man from the visiting group entered the village and marched unceremoniously across the clearing while the members of Kaobawä's group cheered him. He was too old to join the dancing, but too respected to wait behind with the women and children while the younger men put on their display. This was evidence that the visitors were about to send in their delegate to accept the feast invitation at Kaobawä's house.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

5

Yąnomamö Warfare

Levels of Violence

*628 THE FEAST AND ALLIANCE can and often do fail to establish stable, amicable relationships between sovereign villages. When this happens, the groups may coexist for a period of time without any overt expressions of hostility. This, however, is an unstable situation, and no two villages that are within comfortable walking distance from each other can maintain such a relationship indefinitely: They must become allies,
*628 721 • 754 or hostility is likely to develop between them. Indifference leads to ignorance or suspicion, and this soon gives way to accusations of sorcery. Once the relationship is of this sort, a death in one of the villages will be attributed to the malevolent *hekura* sent by shamans in the other village, and raids will eventually take place between them.

726 Yąnomamö warfare proper is the raid. That is, not all of their feuding and squabbles can be considered as war, although the values associated with war—bellicosity, ferocity, and violence—undoubtedly increase the amount of all kinds of fighting.

*628 578 152 154 War is only one form of violence in a graded series of aggressive activities (Chagnon 1967). Indeed, some of the other forms of fighting, such as the formal chest-pounding duel, may even be considered as the antithesis of war, for it provides an alternative to killing. Duels are formal and are regulated by stringent rules about proper ways to deliver and receive blows. Much of Yąnomamö fighting is kept innocuous by these rules so that the concerned parties do not have to resort to drastic means to resolve their grievances. The three most innocuous forms of violence, chest pounding, side slapping, and club fights, permit the contestants to express their hostilities in such a way that they can continue to remain on relatively peaceful terms with each other after the contest is settled. Thus, Yąnomamö culture calls forth aggressive behavior, but at the same time provides a regulated system in which the expressions of violence can be controlled.

*628 578 The most innocuous form of fighting is the chest-pounding duel described in the last chapter. These duels usually take place between the members of different villages and are precipitated by such minor affronts as malicious gossip, accusations of cowardice, stinginess with food, or niggardliness in trading.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women. One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomoboni,* is the ultimate form of violence. Kąobawï's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kąobawï's group and the Patanowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yąnomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Säsäwä, coveted my British commando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[796] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
● [155] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[437] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons
[764] are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only The branch-bow.

Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
825 emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
● 755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

Surára
Pakidái

/68 cont./

● 755 884 86 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemãõ would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 171 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 884 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be sure, but mandatory.

834 833 j) Sex life

The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 837 [593] If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

/96 cont./

2. Curing the Sick

754 825 [953] a) General

All sickness is attributed to hostile witch-doctors, especially those of the Waikâ (493). As carriers they use the gavião-real

[171]

493. The idea that sickness is caused by witch doctors is so widespread in South America that from the large number of examples I should like to quote only two authors for comparison: Roth, 1915, p. 346; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 192.

gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) and the bat. Both animals are therefore designated generally as -- nonexí --, that is, evil spirit or spirit of sickness (494) (495). If such an animal is sighted,

494. Nonexí, however, is also the specific name of the gavião-real.

495. Zerries documents the same name, "noneshi" or "nonish," for the Waikâ. With it, however, they designate the shadow-soul or the alter ago (Zerries, 1958a, p. 108).

it is immediately killed, in order to prevent a misfortune. Moreover, it is assumed that with its death a hostile medicine man, who, of course, temporarily inhabits it, has breathed his last. The down feathers of the gavião-real are therefore glued into the hair for a few days as a trophy (see p. 95).

[239]

755 If a member of the tribe has fallen ill, he can be cured only by having the chief, who among the Surára and Pakidái is at the same time the medicine man, and his helpers try to hurl the sickness back to the enemies. This can be done, however, only in the snuff-powder intoxication and by invoking

Surara
Pakidai

/96 cont./

755 the hekurá, and best of all at night by moonlight (496). All

[174 196] 496. The hekurá are the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being Poré/Perimbó (see pp. 199 ff.).

day long, usually one or two or sometimes even several men make preliminary attempts at healing. For all sicknesses there are very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps, which are taught the young men by their chief during a two-months' training course (see pp. 143/145). If the patient dies despite all efforts, the people yield to a certain fatalism, for in that case the power of the hostile medicine man was simply stronger (497).

[191] 497. The same thing is reported by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 202), Richard Schomburgk about the Warrau (Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 172), and Barrère as well as Quandt about the Galibi and Arowaken (Barrère, 1743, pp. 216/17; Quandt, 1807, p. 260), to mention only a few parallels.

755 For the reasons mentioned, there is only suggestive therapy,
757 supplemented by fasting and treatment with cold water. In the latter case a patient, even with the highest fever, must drink a great deal of water and take frequent baths in the nearby river or brook. He is also often exposed to pouring /97/ rain (Ill. 49), since it is assumed that it has healing powers because it comes from the rain tree of the moon (see p. 199). Sick persons who are already too weak and are unable to leave their hammocks are doused with cold water at regular intervals (498).

[191] 498. Treatment with cold water is widespread in South America. For comparison

Surára
Pakidái

/97 cont./

755
759
171

498. (cont.)
I should like to mention the Kaskihá Indians in the northeastern Chaco, among whom the witch doctor tries to heal the sick in the same way (Baldus, 1931, p. 143).

164

During my nine-months' stay among the Surára and Pakidái the following sicknesses occurred there: grippe, pneumonia, malaria, chicken pox, and a gastric fever; fortunately, none was fatal (499). But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,

000

165
752

499. Only the Pakidái youth Hokotómarimá died after a fall from a pupunha palm, which probably caused internal injuries (see p. 149).

123
755
759
171

But the two Surára women who had pneumonia, first a young woman, Xunamí, the wife of Kurikayawõ, the younger brother of the chief, and later an older woman, Xanimá, the approximately 47-year-old mother of Anyarawõ (see pp. 123/125), and a boy, Xaniwõ (see p. 127), about 12 years old, would probably not have survived without the penicillin that I had brought along, for, in spite of untiring treatment by the chief and his helpers, their condition grew worse from day to day. In the first instance, the chief, Hewemão, and the husband, Kurikayawõ, finally permitted me to give Xunamí a penicillin injection in the upper arm on two successive days, whereupon she improved dramatically (500). In the second and third cases,

500. This cure increased my reputation tremendously, so that afterward I was properly adopted into the tribe of the Surára and, on the occasion of the great festival in memory of the dead, was also permitted to drink the banana soup mixed with the bone ashes of deceased relatives (see p. 231). If the woman had died after the injection, however, the intervention could have had grave consequences for me.

/97 cont./
[755] [959] [123] [177] the chief even asked me to give the patients "penicilina" after his healing efforts had again brought no success.

Of the various cures at which I was allowed to be present, I should like to describe in detail the following two treatments:

b) Magic cure (rekurá) for Xunamí:

Xunamí, the young, pretty wife of Kurikayawõ, fell ill quite suddenly. She had a high fever, lay apathetically in her hammock, and complained of severe chest pains. Her husband, [593] [757] who, with touching devotion, remained with her throughout the first day, that is, he sat beside her or lay in his hammock, led her several times to the nearby small river, in which she always remained for some time and drank copious amounts. She was not permitted to eat anything, but she had no desire to do so. During the night, the fever seemed to climb, for she was quite delirious and unable to sleep soundly. The next day she felt [757] even worse. Three times in the forenoon and as often in the afternoon her husband took her to the river, but there was no improvement after the baths and the drinking. At noon on the third day the husband, together with two other men, began [302] the first special cure. First of all, Kurikayawõ and the second participant painted serpentine lines on their faces and bodies with urucú, while the third one rubbed himself all over with soot. Then they all three blew snuff-powder into each other's noses and in a few minutes they were in a state of ecstasy in which they leaped wildly about the sick woman lying in her hammock, shouted loudly, and gesticulated. Then, however, the cure followed very definite directions. The man painted completely black symbolically represented the spirit of sickness -- nonexí -- whom a hostile medicine man had conjured into the body of the sick woman, and the other two men, who now identified themselves with the hekurá (see p. 200), staged a sham battle against him. At first they were armed with large sticks and beat "nonexí" in order to kill him. But he defended himself with all his might. Then he hurled arrows at him, which, however, he threw back. After that the /98/ spirit of sickness stuck a carrying basket on his head, and this suddenly fell off. At once, the other two men

/98 cont./

1755 [535] beat quite hard upon the basket with their sticks, in order to give the sickness the finishing blow. All the movements were executed in a dance rhythm, two steps forward and one back, during which the "hekurá" uninterruptedly sang the words ho-he-hi-ha-ſk, ho-he-hi-ha-ſk, while "nonexí" uttered shrill sounds in between. At first the "battle" was enacted at some distance from the sick woman, but during the "argument" they drew nearer to her. "Nonexí" now danced alone at the head end of Xunamí, and the two "hekurá" stroked the body of the sick woman and sucked at it. Then they vomited, and one of them suddenly took a stone out of his mouth, and the other, a piece of wood. With shrill cries they threw these objects away, while "nonexí," who was still at the head end of the patient, crouched down and started to whimper loudly. With the stone and the piece of wood the sickness was to be hurled back to the Waiká. Then the sham battle between "nonexí" and the "hekurá" began anew, frequently interrupted by the sucking and stroking of the body of the sick woman, who suffered everything indifferently. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff-powder into each other's noses. For four hours the treatment went on, but there was no improvement to be seen in Xunamí; rather, she grew worse. The sick woman was then set on the ground in front of her hammock, and two other men, this time only personified hekurá, continued the treatment in snuff-powder intoxication, in that they danced around the woman, sang, and screamed loudly. In between, they stroked Xunamí's body and sucked out little stones, which they spat upon, licked, and then rubbed against their own bodies before they hurled them away with shrill cries. Now and then they also struck out with hands and feet and threatened an invisible foe. Occasionally they spat and stepped on the sputum with gestures of repugnance. Then the patient was again placed in her hammock and doused with cold water.

As a result of the high fever and long fasting, Xunamí was already very weak. But during the coming night a very great rekurá (magic cure; see also p. 211) was to be performed, and, to be sure, by Chief Hewemão and eight helpers. (The chief

/98 cont./

•765 intervenes only if the day-cures of individual men have been unsuccessful.) Immediately after darkness set in, the men assembled, eight of whom, including the chief, had painted their faces and bodies with red serpentine lines, while the ninth was blackened with soot. A little to one side of the sick woman they formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the center, upon which there was snuff-powder. They blew considerable amounts of this into each other's noses and then danced around in a circle, singing loudly and shouting. This, as the chief later explained to me, was to establish contact with the hekurá. These preparations lasted about half an hour. Then, dancing and singing, they drew nearer to the sick woman. This time she stood in front of her hammock, held by her husband, who had slipped his arms under hers and folded them over her chest, for she was no longer able to stand alone. Shouting loudly, the men danced around her several times and then leaped into the inner circle of the large, open maloka, where, in great rage, they hurled away invisible objects. Then they spat upon them and trampled furiously on these imaginary objects, at the same time uttering loud threats against the Waiká. After that they danced and leaped in apparent disorder back and forth between the sick woman, whose body they stroked a few times at each encounter, and the inner court of the maloka, during which they now and then shouted loudly, executed wild leaps, and at the same time turned in a circle. Whenever they came outside the dwelling part, they again tossed away invisible objects. This dancing, leaping, and shouting, the motions of /99/ casting away, the bending of the knees, the pointing forward and upward with the hands seemed to be utter confusion, and the noise that went with it was indescribable. After that the chief and his brother danced alone for about 40 minutes around the sick woman, who meanwhile was being held by another man. They blew in her direction and sucked at her body, at the same time massaging it. By turns they leaped a few meters backward and threw away imaginary objects. -- Meanwhile the eight medicine-man helpers had moved away a bit from the hearth. The man blackened with soot lay on the ground, symbolically portraying the evil

/99 cont./

755 nonexí, while the other seven, who, exactly like the chief and his brother, identified themselves with the hekurá, danced and leaped around him. They kicked at him with their feet, uttered invectives, threatened him with their fists, and beat him. Suddenly, "nonexí" tried to flee, but the other men quickly caught up with him and threw the "evil spirit of sickness" to the ground again. They tapped his body, sucked at it, and spat over him. In fact, they even beat him symbolically with sticks. Then a stone weighing two kilograms was placed on the abdomen of "nonexí," was picked up again after a short time, and was hurled away. At that the fiendish noise suddenly ceased. Chief Hewemãõ squatted before the sick woman, completely absorbed within himself. Behind him crouched his brother Kurikayawõ, who stroked his body and head and lightly tapped his back. Complete silence prevailed; only the moaning of the chief and of the sick woman was to be heard, frequently interrupted by the loud sighs of the former. The other seven "hekurá" meanwhile squatted silently around the prostrate "nonexí." The sick woman now sat between the legs of the man who had hitherto supported her. After the chief had concentrated, which lasted about 30 minutes, all the participants in the rekurá formed a circle around Xunamí. The chief crouched directly opposite her, face to face with her, and commenced to sing loudly in a wonderful baritone voice, while the other eight men, with the exception of the "nonexí," joined in chorus. It was a part song and so melodious that it sounded to me like an organ. Now and then the medicine-man helpers stood up and walked, singing, around the patient, while the chief stroked her body from head to foot, massaged her, tapped her, and sucked at her. Each time he would spit out imaginary objects, whereupon the other men always broke out in loud cries of "oh" and "ah." This choral singing and the manipulations accompanying it lasted for about three hours. Then Hewemãõ sucked especially vigorously on Xunamí's body, while his hands kept stroking her downwards. All at once there was a stone weighing about one kilogram in his right hand, and three small stones, two pieces of wood, and two fingernails in his left. He had sucked all these

/99 cont./

755 objects out of her body and now hurled them away with gestures of disgust, amid the loud shouts of "oh" and "ah" by his helpers. During this sucking and stroking, the chorus of all the "hekurá" standing in a circle swelled to tremendous power and subsided only after Hewemãõ slowly withdrew, for his work was ended for the time being. He was bathed in sweat and, completely exhausted, lay down in his hammock, where his two wives provided him with a nourishing meal consisting of roasted tapir meat, manioc flat-cakes, and a bacaba drink.

The sick woman was not released, however, even after this five-hour cure. From 11:00 to 1:00 at night the husband and the medicine-man helpers continued it in the manner described above. The main thing was the choral singing and the dancing in step, with occasional sitting, stroking the sick woman, sucking, threatening hand movements toward an invisible opponent, spitting, etc. added. At 1:00 two more men dropped out, including the husband. The latter now lifted his wife up and laid her in her /100/ hammock, then he crouched beside her and tenderly supported her head. For about another two hours the medicine-man helpers went on singing and "curing" and after that one alone until around 5:00. Only then could the sick woman surrender herself for a short time to a well-earned rest (501). Many other members of the tribe watched this magic

[761]

501. If patients have become very much worse, they are kept awake as much as possible to prevent their life from escaping. For if they fall asleep, death might take possession of them.

performance, above all women, who wept softly during it. They crouched in a semicircle at a somewhat greater distance and watched the proceedings with rapt attention, but only as long as the chief was acting. When he finished his work, the spectators gradually disappeared.

Unfortunately, all efforts remained unsuccessful in this case, and Hewemãõ confessed to me the next day, when the sick woman

/100 cont./

755 was much worse, that this time the power of the Waikâ medicine
123 men was extraordinarily great. I then proposed to him that I
177 should give Xunamî penicillin injections. After lengthy consultations with the husband and other male members of the tribe he consented, though with misgivings, and luck was with the patient as well as with me. From this moment on the name penicilina (Portuguese spelling) became a magic word, for it had helped to cast away the sickness. Hewemãõ even asked me to bring him a great deal of it on my next visit.

755 c) Magic cure (rekurâ) for Xanimâ:

Xanimâ, the approximately 47-year-old mother of
[164] Anyarawõ (see p. 126), had been ill for five days with chicken
pox and had had persistently high fever. At first she, too, was
[757] given the water cures, that is, she constantly had to take baths in the river and drink a great deal of water; as her weakness increased, she remained lying in her hammock and was doused with cold water. After that there were sham battles between two "hekurâ" and the bad, black-colored spirit of sickness, "nonexî."

When there was no improvement, Chief Hewemãõ and eight helpers again arranged a large, nocturnal rekurâ, but this time a somewhat different one, because, of course, a different
[302] sickness was involved (502). At first the men, eight with red

502. As has been mentioned above (see p. 212), every sickness has very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps.

serpentine lines painted on their faces and bodies and one colored black, in the light of the hearth, again formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the middle, on which snuff-
[296] powder had been poured. They filled their snuff tubes with generous amounts of it and blew it into each other's noses, whereupon, after a few minutes, the state of ecstasy set in. The men hopped around their own axis several times, and, after a hissing sound on the part of the chief and with prolonged shrill

/100 cont./

755 cries in the most diverse tones, they rushed toward the sick woman. They were like a wild horde, for the participants screamed at the top of their voices, bent their knees, leaped into the air, and shook their fists at an invisible foe. After a renewed hissing sound by Hewemão, they formed a circle around the sick woman lying in her hammock, and each man placed both hands on the shoulders of the one standing in front of him. With swaying dance steps, two forward and one back, 535 533 during which they sang ho-he-hi-ha-fk, ho-he-hi-ha-fk, they walked around the patient for some time. Then Hewemão hissed for the third time, whereupon the song ceased. Then the chief 755 struck up a melodious song which his helpers underscored with 533 humming. Meanwhile, with swaying step, they continued to 535 move around the sick woman, their hands always on the shoulders of the man in front as before. After 15 minutes Hewemão hissed again, and then they laid their hands crossed upon the shoulders of the one walking ahead. At the same time all the men joined in the song /101/ of the chief, and again they sang in parts. This choral singing, together with the dancing in step, lasted another 20 minutes. Then the chief and his brother Kurikayawõ placed themselves opposite each other at the head end of the patient and struck up an alternate song. At the foot end squatted two helpers who also faced each other and hummed softly. A short distance behind the head end two more helpers danced back and forth with faces turned toward each other; they were also humming, and occasionally they uttered bird-like sounds; they frequently ran their fingers through their hair and then always passed them downward over their seats.

755 Meanwhile the other three men, two painted red, the one black-colored, that is to say, two "hekurã" and "nonexf," were carrying on a sham battle beyond the foot end of Xanimã, in a manner similar to that already described on page 216. In the meantime the daughter-in-law of the sick woman had raised her up and had seated herself behind her in the hammock, at the same time supporting the old woman with both arms. Then when the sham combat was ended, and the bad "nonexf" lay on the

/101 cont./

755 ground and the two "hekurá" crouched beside him as "victors," a part song by all the participants began once more. At the same time the chief stroked the head and then the body of the sick woman. Then he started to suck at her, first at her head, then on the chest, on the stomach, and on the thighs. Then he uttered shrill cries and vomited. At this moment the singing ceased and all the helpers uttered loud cries of "ah" and "oh." Thereupon Hewemão hurled invisible objects to one side, which was always accompanied by ah and oh shouts of the other men. Then a chorus was struck up anew. This part of the magic performances lasted more than two hours. After the chief had sucked stones and pieces of wood out of the body of the sick woman and hurled them away amid animated cries of ah and oh by the helpers, however, the volume of the singing increased and was followed by shrill cries which ended in a general humming. -- After that there was complete silence. The men sat down in a circle around Xanimá, and each one leaned his head against his knees, for all were visibly exhausted, especially the chief and his brother. The wives of the latter, however, had seated themselves behind them and stroked their heads and shoulders and gently tapped their backs in order to give the weary ones new strength, for during the curing process they had completely spent themselves. The sick woman, too, could now lie down again. She had her eyes closed and one could see how exhausted she was from sitting up so long. After the noise that had been going on, the stillness had a very strange effect. But after only 15 minutes one of the medicine-man helpers arose; he began dancing in a circle around the sick woman, during which he softly sang. Meanwhile, however, clouds had passed before the moon and a heavy rain set in. Hewemão then decided to break off the session and continue it at dawn. "For with a [821] darkened sky," he said, "without the co-operation of the moon, it would be impossible to free the woman from her sickness." He left behind with the moaning Xanimá, shaken with fever chills, two helpers who crouched to the right and left of her head end and hummed softly, in order that, as Hewemão told

/101 cont./

● 755 me, contact with the hekurá would not be broken. Toward 4:30, the rain had stopped in the meantime, the nine men once more gathered around the sick woman and continued the cure for another two hours in the manner described above. By forenoon the fever was gone and the woman was on the way to recovery. She and every other member of the tribe were convinced that Hewemão had hurled the evil spirit of sickness, nonexí, back to the Waiká. Even Hewemão himself firmly believes that in the snuff-powder intoxication and with the help of the hekurá and the moon he is able to ward off sickness and accidents and to cast them out.

/102/ The two above-described magic performances for warding off two different diseases show a certain external pattern. Each cure begins with the taking of snuff-powder, which causes the chief and his helpers to fall into a state of ecstasy and to identify themselves with the hekurá. There follows the invocation of the hekurá, which is reinforced by wild gestures, then the sham struggle between two or more "hekurá" and the spirit of sickness, "nonexí." After that, very definite texts, melodies, and dances are used for each sickness. Unforgettable [533] for me are the choral part-songs which contain the requests to the hekurá and the serras, who, in turn, relay them to Poré/Perimbó (see pp. 197 ff.) (503).

[126]

503. I deeply regret that I was unable to record these songs on a sound track. Unfortunately, the tape recorder which the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft had sent by courier to the German Consulate in São Paulo before the start of my expedition was damaged by an employee there. Without permission, he had unpacked it and tinkered with it. Thus, I can only hope that on a subsequent expedition I shall have an opportunity to record these songs.

Surára
Pakidái

/102 cont./

755 I was allowed to take part as a spectator in all the cures,
[123] and each rel[illegible] was a new, great experience for me. I was
755 amazed at the devotion, passion, and fervor with which the
756 chief and his helpers interceded with all their physical and
622 psychic powers to ward off the sicknesses of their fellow-tribesmen (504). This explains why the Surára and Pakidái

[123]

504. The same care was bestowed upon me, the stranger. If I had an attack of malaria, the chief and his helpers likewise danced around me, and they sang in chorus while Hewemão stroked my body, massaged it, and sucked at it. He was of the opinion that the Waikâ had poisoned my blood because I lived in friendship with the Surára and had brought them so many beautiful gifts.

have such boundless confidence in their chiefs and are absolutely convinced of their magic powers. It is doubtless due to this unshakable faith that so many of the sick can be cured (505).

505. I never saw the chiefs demand a fee for their cures. The members of the tribe show their appreciation, however, by continuously offering their chiefs larger or smaller gifts (see p. 130).

[431]

755 In this context I should like to cite the following very re-
756 vealing description by Herbert Baldus: "The witch doctors were
114 simply called imposters by early travelers, and even today all whites who are incapable of understanding the mentality of the Indian are of the same opinion. One forgets that, as a result of the suggestibility of the primitive, the magic practices not only essentially help the sick person and rid his relatives of their fears, but also weave such a spell around the practitioner himself that it is impossible to decide to what extent he is acting in good

/102 cont./
755 756 114 faith and to what extent he is faking" (506). The fact that

506. Baldus, 1931, p. 142.

even in modern medicine great importance is now attributed to the suggestive influence of the physician on his patients is shown in the following statements by Hans Grimm: "If we emphasize that the suggestive influence of the physician's personality on the patient is often of decisive influence (Jores), if we use hypnosis, the so-called 'autogenous training,' etc., we are, in our own way, returning to what was already playing a role in shamanistic techniques" (507).

507. Grimm, 1958/59, p. 357.

769 3. Religious Festivals

Every year, toward the end of the dry season, March-April, the Surára and Pakidái jointly celebrate the festival in memory of the dead -- patapáanomãõ -- (508). It always takes

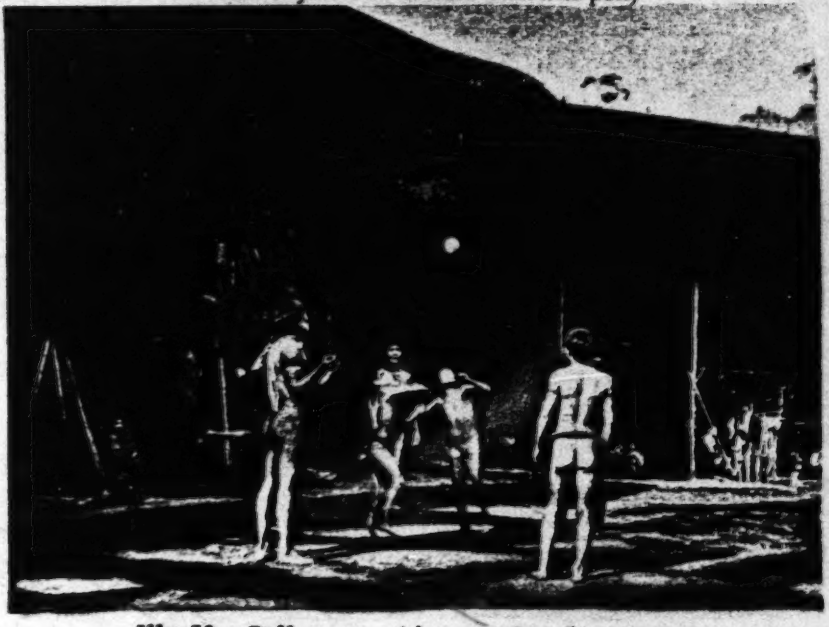
[192] 508. This contains the word for corpse, the male or female dead person -- anomãõ.

place in the large, open Surára maloka Jaracá (see pp. 25 ff.). Occasionally a few families of friendly tribes (Xiriána, Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri, etc.) also take part. The [114] patapáanomãõ festival, which I witnessed in all its phases, /103/ was held during the period from the fourth to the sixth of 769 April, 1956. But even before that there were great preparations 251 for this purpose. The men set out on a joint hunting expedition in order to kill as many tapirs as possible, the meat of which was then roasted on roasting racks over an even fire, not too hot, until it was black and bone-hard, so that it could be kept for a

2: Becher--281 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/16/
Surára
Pakidái
755
756
291

Ill. 49. Curing the sick in pouring rain. (Five Surára medicine-man helpers dance around a youth sick with chicken pox)

526
237



Ill. 50. Ball game with a monkey bladder

/223 cont./

776 The Great Jaguar has certain relations with Omao, the
793 deified hero of the Sanemá, since his name, "Omao-kõhe," indicates such a relationship, and it is possible perhaps to speak of a vocation for the office of priest, since the Sanemá Supreme Being admits him, after his encounter with the Great Jaguar, into the court of Omao.

793 According to South American ethnology, it is surprising
171 to find a "specialist" in a nomadic preagricultural society, but, as we shall state below, this is the second time that we have found a similar case in Venezuela; the other one was that of the Warao wiʃiráto.

793 The Sanema priest is a member of the court of Omao, not
776 only because the Great Jaguar changed him into a bat, but also
778 because Omao gave him a hikuladɛ which is invisible, although it has a spherical shape like a ball, and the larger the hikuladɛ, the more powerful the priest.

The hikuladɛ of the priest, the informant explained, is like a globe which the hɛwĩawán keeps in his chest. We shall also see later that the other religious practitioner of the Sanema
793 has a hikuladɛ too, but one which is essentially different. We
778 have the impression that the hikuladɛ of the priest contains "the
775 souls" of the ancestors who were destined by Omao to live there and help the priest. Since the data obtained are, in our opinion,
793 insufficient, we do not want to hazard peremptory statements,
778 but it seems certain that the Sanemá priest also cures the sick,
● 755 particularly those who are suffering from fever. Our informant
[114] explained to us that the ancestors (hikula-dĩb), the people of the
[775] hikuladɛ of the priest, are the ones who cure the fever when the priest brings the hikuladɛ out of his chest and deposits it for a time on the body of the patient.

Sometimes the desired effect is not attained, and that indicates that the soul of the /224/ victim has already abandoned the
793 body and does not want to return. The hfkula therefore constitute
778 a sort of supernatural "little pueblo" /pueblecito/ within the
628 Sanemá community in which the priest lives and do not wish to have any communication with the kfkula-dib /sic/ of the neighboring pueblo. The priests from nearby pueblos do not visit each

/224 cont./

793 The function of the scarab in the curing process is as fol-
● 755 lows: If the hɛ̃wĩawán wishes to cure a patient, he takes the
825 hĩkula from his chest and places it upon the patient. In order to effect the cure, the scarab opens an invisible hole in the chest of the patient, and the hikuladɛ̃ of the priest enters through there.
[775] /225/ Once within the patient's chest, the hĩkula-dĩb come out of the hikuladɛ̃ in order to combat and bring to the exterior the cause of the sickness. After a while the priest again takes possession of his hikuladɛ̃, and the treatment is fully successful. The informant did not want to mention the name of the caleopteran or even to talk about it, fearing that if he were to do so and if he were then to become sick, the priest would not be able to cure him, since the insect would not open a hole in the chest of the patient.

793 It is our impression that the priest only cures the ailments
755 that result from the presence, in the body of the sick person,
775 of the soul of a wandering deceased person who has approached the rancherias and whose very presence causes pain.

If we understand that the part of the Sanemá which goes to the house of Omao is the soul, we may say that the priest is concerned with the well-being of the same in the bodies of his companions, and that he represents the actualizing principle between the subject "the soul of the man" and the object "Omao," who enter into communication by means of the intervention of the priest. For the soul, which goes to live in the house [171] of Omao as hĩkula-dĩb, we noted down the name of hɛ̃npĩrtĩb, which essentially seems to correspond in its character to the "bole" of the Waica (Zerries, 1958b).

793 The hɛ̃wĩawán may send a hĩkula-dĩb to a neighboring
775 pueblo in order to cause sickness among its inhabitants, but his
754 primary function is to guarantee the well-being of the souls of his community and to present them eventually to Omao at death.
793 It is interesting in this respect to note that the Surara and Pakidai,
754 subgroups of the Yanoama of Brazil, are of the opinion that
825 sicknesses are transmitted by a shaman of a neighboring pueblo
050 by means of sparrow hawks and bats. The Sanemá say that the

/228 cont./

756 778 825 [533] The Sanemá sablí has great power over animals and plants represented in his hikuladɛ, with which he communicates while he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song õkamõ against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladɛ of the sablí goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablí do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 533 754 [825] [774] The sablíes sing almost every night, and the bigger the animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense is the song. In his songs, the sablí can send any híkula from his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 756 [754] [753] [761] I have the impression that the híkulas belonging to the various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish of the sablí. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a híkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention of the sablí and by his magical power.

756 ● 755 774 The priest sablí, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts, sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare off the harmful híkula which is striving to enter the body of the man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the híkula of the sablí and others chosen from his "pueblo of híkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablí depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great híkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the híkula or híkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablí makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the híkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

/228 cont./

756 may also happen that a sablf with a small "pueblo" of hfkulas in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a hfkula suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert sablf, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A young sablf is always hopeful that the hfkula "pueblo" in his chest will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

758 The potentiality of the hfkula of the sablf makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the sablf is the best
[624] man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A sablf of great power does not die until all the hfkulas of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
774 live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of
[754] his hfkula grows and brings about his death. Then the sablf informs his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his hfkula frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24).

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The hfkula of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place. Our informant told us that the hfkulas of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /tigres mariposas/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a hfkula of his group or one from a dead sablf. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

/229 cont./

774 The world of the "specific" hfkulas is found on the other side of the horizon and in contrast with the world of the souls. There the sablfes live forever, together with the dead animals and plants.

562 773 825 [774] It is worthwhile to refer once again to the insistence of our Sanemá informant from the Upper Caura regarding the fact that women do not have specific hfkula. He asserted to us, furthermore, that women have a different origin from men and that there still exists a purely feminine world, and that each Sanemá pueblo has its corresponding hanekasá. The informant would not identify the animal of which he spoke, but we knew [773] that it was of a well-known species. From the mythology one can deduce that the first men were made from a dead tree by the cultural hero brothers, while the first woman was fished out of a very large river.

Omao wished to metamorphose into women the butterflies which danced /230/ like people on the shore of a river, because the hanekasá are a pueblo of females in which there are only three males to insure reproduction. This pueblo of amazons is an exact replica of the female population of the rancheria neighboring a pueblo, in the characteristics of which we found a concept of alter ego for the Sanemá women.

[774] It is possible that there exists some relationship between [763] the hfkula and the male, for it is said that men die from the "weight" of the hfkula of certain animals; but we are not certain on this point (cf. Zerries, 1958b; Becher, 1960, p. 92). We are [763] more certain about the relationship which exists between women and the hanekasá animal, since a woman (of the neighboring rancheria) dies for each hanekasá which is killed. Other religious concepts which are difficult to interpret for the time being may also enter here.

791 A third type of theurgist which seems to exist in Sanemá 755 society is the magician, the káilala. He does not sing like the sablf and has no influence over the specific hfkulas or over souls. He is the curer of the organism, of the body of a man. He cures by uttering tremendous cries, gives massages on the ailing and painful limbs of his patients. Suddenly he will surprise all those

2/1 [see additional data on the hanekasá on p 113 .. Analyst]

Y /230 cont./
791 present by taking out from under his tongue stones, small sticks,
● [755] vermin, etc. "Arrows" come out in the form of a black liquid,
of tobacco, etc. He spits out and tramples on what he has been
Y able to extract. The kâilala of the Sanemá also possesses power
[754] that is benevolent and malignant at the same time and can shoot
Y magic arrows at the enemy rancheria, thus causing sickness or
[171] death. If we compare this religious complex of the Sanemá
with that of the Warao, we find such a great similarity that
there cannot be the least doubt but that both have the same origin.

W Among the Warao the temple cult is strictly local and
793 cannot be carried out in a place where there is no priest; who
[771] may be a man or a woman, although for this office there is
[787] a special category in the society of the Warao. It is not heredi-
[776] tary and can be obtained by the special calling of the Supreme
Being, Kanobo.

W The son of a priest is generally considered as more suitable --
[171] by birth -- to fill the office of his father, but although the son
may be competent to succeed his father in a political position,
he does not necessarily have the right to succeed him as priest,
as happens among the Taino, where the son inherits the office of
priest together with the chieftainship.

W The Warao temple cult is furthermore completely separate
793 from shamanism and magic; religious matters are the responsi-
755 bility of especially designated persons who act only within their
776 own domain. /231/ The fact that the priest may cure sickness
[771] must not lead the observer to false conclusions, since it is logical,
according to Warao mentality, that the priest controls -- through the
power of God -- the spirits of heaven, whose desire is to take
everyone to the side of God, to whom they owe obedience and
W whose orders are transmitted to them by the mediation of the
793 priest. These are spirits objectively good, but which become
755 subjectively bad when with their metaphysical capability they
776 enter the body of a man, physically limited, causing a pressure,
753 that is, a sickness. In Warao terminology the priest cures by
778 "alleviating this pressure," bringing about as a result typical
ailments, such as fevers of various kinds, which he cures by
frightening away the spirits with merely his presence, but in
particularly critical and difficult cases he may also use one of his
maraca /gourd rattle/.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

follow. Then, in the same fashion, the medicine-man would announce the name of another fruit, let us say *olashi*. The chorus would repeat the same formula. And so on, through all the thirty-two fruits of the forest, the litany was sung. Then it was the animals' turn—those that provided meat. From the noble tapir right down to the worm: might he pass serenely from his muddy lair into the tomb of the Samatari stomach.

When the victualling business had thus been settled, the time was ripe for more general songs and prayers. One little song that turned up I had already heard among the Guayca and other Shirians. The tune was easily recognizable, catchy, even, but the words were strange, and probably not understood by the singers themselves. Then came isolated songs, and broken snatches of tunes that went on all night till the first gleam of dawn, when the priest and his flock gradually dropped off to sleep. The ceremony was over.

It might appear from a hasty glance at their ceremonies of propitiation and exorcism that the Shirians believe in the supernatural, but this is not so.

We often questioned Uarema on the subject, but his reply was always in the negative, and he laughed at the Makiritari's Canaima and the other tribes' Maguaritón. 'We don't believe in those stories,' he answered, invariably, in his picaroon Spanish. The Shirians do not believe in supernatural beings such as gods, devils and their intermediaries. Certain ceremonies of theirs, it is true, are addressed to powers which we should not consider as belonging to the material world, but to the Shirian mind they do belong to this world, like other evident natural forces.

For instance, the medicine-man's cures for the sick possess a value and a methodology corresponding to medicine as we practise it. The sickness—the bad thing—is clearly visible. The medicine-man is a man with a powerful voice, which frightens the bad thing as it might frighten a man. The bad thing is forced to take flight, leaving the sufferer free. Magic, as we conceive it, is not involved.

Another example will emphasize the Shirian viewpoint even better. When the Shirians are shooting the rapids, anyone on board without a definite job, such as steering or paddling, will make a gesture with his hand to keep the swirling waters well away. For us, such a gesture would imply some sort of superstitious idea, for there is no physical connection between the hand that is trying to ward off the water and the water itself. But to the Indians it is rather an example of a purely physical phenomenon arising out of the man's will-power and his determination that the boat shall not be swamped, which his

/479 cont./

75 If a child is frightened, the mother or guardian quickly
774 takes a handful of leaves and sweeps the place where the little creature was frightened. They do this so that the child's soul will not run off in fear and the child become sick.

/480/ Sometimes when a child is sick, they believe that the soul of the little creature has abandoned its body. Then they dispatch commissions in pursuit of it, which pass through the sites where they suspect that the child has been, and they come back sweeping the path with some branches and calling aloud for the little creature. If the child improves, it is because its soul was found; otherwise they must have missed the site where it was.

● 755 They believe that some sicknesses are due to the spirit or
[753] spirits which have got into the body of the sick person. In order
[776] for the sick person to recover his health, the harmful spirit must be cast out of his body. The one who tries to remove this spirit from the body of a sick person first takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage. He then intones a crooning song, while he marches to and fro in front of the patient. Then, from time to time he approaches the latter and rubs the affected part, which he pinches and hits, pulling on it, threatening the spirit and asking it to go away, making all sorts of noises in order to frighten the spirit (or spirits) so that they will go away. After being with his patient for a few minutes, he resumes the crooning. This practice is repeated many times, and if the desired outcome is not obtained, other men will test their forces, trying to cast out from there the harmful spirit.

[776] They might then come to the conclusion that this is not a matter of a sickness caused by a spirit hidden in the body of the sick person, but rather by one which has hidden in some part of the settlement. Thus a group of men organizes a "hunt for the spirit." Each of them takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage, and, after crooning for a short time in front of the sick person, they begin to make an inspection throughout the settlement, house by house, inspecting every basket and corner, swinging machetes and axes, pointing with the arrows, blowing through the "yopo" tubes as if they were blowguns, continuing the whole

/480 cont./

755 time their croonings and threats directed at the harmful spirit. From time to time they pick up some object which they take with them. Sometimes they finish by inspecting the whole circle of houses, but more frequently the one who heads the "hunt for the spirit" points with his finger at some object, which one of them picks up, the whole group suddenly rushing toward the hut where the sick person is.

755 /481/ Frequently one of those who participate in the "hunt
787 for the spirit" falls into a paroxysm, which he generally ends with a tremendous leap into the air, to fall unconscious on the ground. The women immediately bring water and after a while manage to revive him.

On one occasion a man who was crooning before a sick child suddenly lost his mind and began to say strange things. It seemed as though a strange power had seized him, to the point where it was necessary for six men to hold him so that the women could throw water on him to bring him out of his spell.

754 They also believe that a man can "send" a sickness or misfortune to another. Frequently the majority of the croonings which they intone in the evenings when they have taken "yopo" are designed to "send" calamities to their enemies.

754 On a certain occasion, when all were camped about two
752 hours of travel from the settlement, a girl was bitten by a poison-
123 ous snake. Her father came to get me to treat her. He told me that he was very angry, and he asked me if it were I who had sent the snake. He was very pleased when I assured him that I had not sent it.

754 They believe that a person can cause an enemy great harm, sickness, and even death, by gathering up "the track" of the enemy and rubbing it between the palms of the hands. For this reason the Guaika /Waica/ do not like to walk in front of somebody who is not in all certainty his friend, especially over soft earth.

The Guaika prepare certain powders which, when they are thrown in the air or blown in the direction of an enemy, can cause him annoyances or harm, according to what they believe, although the said enemy might be many miles away in another settlement.

/482 cont./

753 Any strange or rare object can be considered to have given rise to an epidemic. According to their knowledge and understanding, it might be some kind of foreign sorcery.

● 755 177 The Guaika appreciate our medicine for the treatment of sores and sicknesses, but for them this medicine is simply another enchanted or magical substance.

752 /483/ The treatment which they use for a bee sting is to tie the member thus hurt with a piece of vine or string above the sting. They also suck the poison out of the wound.

The treatment for the bite of a spider or snake is similar, tying and sucking. Later, the croonings are considered appropriate for driving away evil forces.

If a man is wounded by a poisoned dart, the wound is sucked and he will live. If he is wounded where the poison cannot be sucked out, he will quickly die. When an animal or a man is mortally wounded by a poisoned arrow, he falls, loses control of his muscles, and then dies, shuddering, perhaps when the poison reaches the heart or lungs.

751 727 One who has killed an enemy on a raid must sit down on the ground and, taking a little piece of vine (perhaps some two centimeters in length), has to scrape one side of his own head in different places. If he fails to do this, some evil may overtake him.

755 758 Sick persons receive all possible care, in addition to all the incantations and exorcisms which are cast against the opposing forces of the spirits.

758 A sick person is well fed. If it is not possible for him to take certain foods, the Guaika will make every possible effort to get for him what he can eat.

An old woman who had an infection in her mouth and a throat so large that it was almost impossible for her to swallow anything was given honey as food. They tipped her head back and poured the honey into her mouth. They had a fire lighted for her all the time, and someone was with her constantly. When the settlement moved, she was carried on a man's back by means of a strap or cord such as is customarily used for loads or small children.

123 /154 cont./
721 At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/ bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look, raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the [752] men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pour- [755] ing water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood, since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the 726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In some way the chief and "Yelequei-jûu" managed to pass some of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were
763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a
183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also state the brave words which he would say.)

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to [764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had recovered.

[P. xvii]

142
291
301
411
137
574

Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekura (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).

142
302
291
411
516
755
342
415

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kąobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kąobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kąobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kąobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kąobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kąobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kąobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*bekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *bekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kąobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *bekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *bekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yąnomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *bekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *bekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *bekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *bekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *bekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *bekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *bekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2–9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

most common way for a child's soul to escape is to leave by way of the mouth when the child cries. Thus, mothers are quick to hush a bawling baby in order to prevent its soul from escaping. The child's soul can be recovered by sweeping the ground in the vicinity where it most probably escaped, calling for it while sweeping the area with a particular kind of branch. I once helped gather up the soul of a sick child in this fashion, luring it back into the sick baby. One of the contributions I made, in addition to helping with the calling and sweeping, was a dose of medicine for the child's diarrhea. A consequence of this set of attitudes about the vulnerability of children is that much of the village's activity with respect to shamanism and curing is directed toward the children.

RELATIVES BY BLOOD AND BY MARRIAGE Many forms of interpersonal behavior stem largely from the social roles implied in the kinship system. To be sure, some kinship behavior reflects the two distinctions of age and sex discussed above, for the terminology of kinship itself employs discriminations of this kind. For example, there are terms to distinguish older siblings from younger siblings and terms used by members of one sex only in reference to those of the opposite sex.

The relationship between kinship terms and biological parentage is not the same in the Yąnomamö language as it is in our own. As was shown in the first section of this chapter, people may stand in a child relationship to a number of individuals; that is, it is possible to have multiple "mothers" and "fathers" in Yąnomamö society. The term for mother and father conveys as much of a social as a biological relationship between individuals, and in the daily activities of the Yąnomamö it is the social implications of kinship roles that are most important.

What is implied in the kinship roles can best be seen in the way the kinship terms themselves are formed. All primary kinship terms take the ending *"-mou"* when used to describe the relationship between individuals. Thus, *osbeya* means "my younger sibling," but *osbemou* means that individual X *behaves* toward individual Y *as a younger sibling*. This ending, *-mou*, also occurs in nonkinship usage to express "a way of behaving," "to execute a particular activity in a specified manner," or "to perform the activity that is implied by the word to which *-mou* is affixed." For example, *oko* means fresh-water crab and *okomou* means "to go hunting for crabs"; *bowashi* means "a mischievous white monkey" and *bowashimou* means "to act mischievously, to monkey around"; *nowa naba* means "enemy," and *nowa nabamou* means "to become an enemy by behaving objectionably"; *waiteri* means "fierce" and *waiterimou* means "to behave ferociously."

Whenever I would ask the Yąnomamö a question such as, "What do you call Kąobawä?" the answers would always be in the form of a kinship term to which *"-mou"* was affixed, but rarely in the form "I say such-and-such to him." Calling an individual by a specific term is, however, implied in the "way of behaving" toward that individual. But despite the fact that the Yąnomamö can say, literally, "I call him father" (*kama kä iba, baya ya kuu*), they invariably say *"ya bŏömou"*—"I behave toward him as a child."[20] Thus, they express their relationships to others in terms of *ways of behavior*. Each kinship category implies a set of these behavioral norms, and one's social life in the community is established with respect to all other individuals by the kinship terminology employed in each particular case.

[20]Although the word *bŏŏ* translates literally as "father," the expression *ya bŏömou* can best be understood with the translation given above.

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and guests that gradually died off as each group busied itself in preparation for the dance.

Shortly after noon a rumor circulated through the village that the visitors had been raiding the gardens at night and stealing plantains. A number of people, particularly older men, were visibly upset by this new information, giving rise to another rumor that there would be a chest-pounding duel to set the matter straight. The guests had already worn their welcome thin by arriving uninvited a week in advance and by eating excessively. Their hosts were becoming angry with them, as it was all too obvious that they were deliberately taxing their hosts' patience; they were intimidating them.

The men of the host group had finished their preparations for the feast; they were all painted in red and black, bearing colorful feathers. They had cleaned the debris from their houses, had finished hauling out the weeds they had picked from the village clearing, and had brought in quantities of food to give their guests. Now, it was time for them to take *ebene*, their hallucinogenic drug. They separated into several groups and began blowing the brownish-green powder up each other's nostrils with 3-foot long hollow tubes. As the drug would be administered, each recipient would reel from the concussion of air, groan, and stagger off to some convenient post to vomit. Within ten minutes of taking the drug, the men would be bleary-eyed and wild, prancing around in front of their houses, stopping occasionally to vomit or to catch their breath. In each group there would be one man particularly adept at chanting to the *hekura*, the mountain demons, and he would soon take over the show, while the others retired to the sidelines in a stupor, green slime dripping from their nostrils. Should there be sick people in the village, the adept chanters—the *shabori*—would cure them by chanting, massaging, sucking, and vomiting out the evil spirit that caused the sickness. Otherwise, they would chant about other things, perhaps sending their *hekura* to enemy villages to eat the souls of children, or enjoining them to prevent their enemies from doing the same. Occasionally, one of the men takes too much of the drug and become violent. On this particular occasion, Shiimima, one of Kąobawä's brothers, grabbed his bow and arrows and ran to the center of the village. This caused a minor sensation for a moment, but one of the men managed to catch and disarm him, hiding his weapons so he could not find them. Things returned to normal again, and the other participants in the drug-taking began chanting to Shiimima to restore him to his senses. The chanting lasted for an hour or so, and the participants, one by one, returned to their houses to clean up their paint jobs; most of them had smeared their careful work by vomiting all over themselves.

While the men were taking their drugs, the women were busy painting and decorating themselves with feathers and red pigment. The visitors, also, were busy at the same tasks, and the excitement of the feast reached fever proportions by mid-afternoon. A few women were still busy finishing trade baskets, while Kąobawä's younger brothers continued with the monotonous cooking of what seemed to them an endless number of plantains.

Finally, an old man from the visiting group entered the village and marched unceremoniously across the clearing while the members of Kąobawä's group cheered him. He was too old to join the dancing, but too respected to wait behind with the women and children while the younger men put on their display. This was evidence that the visitors were about to send in their delegate to accept the feast invitation at Kąobawä's house.

/11 cont./

361 very well preserved and only the roofs would need to be covered with fresh palm leaves.

One exception is Camp Xiwarí, which is 35 kilometers north of the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá. Three-fourths [342] of the circle, which is 28 meters in diameter, is made up of ten of the small huts described, while a similarly constructed dwelling seven meters long and five meters high occupies the remaining fourth. In the center of the circle, as usual, stands the chief's [241] hut. Around the camp, rocas (forest clearings) have been laid out, where bananas, pupunha palms, manioc, species of sweet [271] potatoes, and tobacco are planted. The Surára stay here every year between the months of October and December. In the [756] large huts at that time two young men about 20 years old are always trained as medicine man's helpers for two months by the chief and his brother (see pp. 143 f.).

342 The second house-form is a large, open, almost circular
361 maloka which lies in a valley between three short mountain ranges, 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco (Ill. 5). This is a construction (see Fig. 1 /see p. 27 /) which has not been documented up to now for South American Indians. During the dry season it is occupied by the Surára and Pakidái jointly. As the more detailed explanation will show, this house form developed from the circularly arranged small huts which serve as overnight quarters. Camp Xiwarí described above clearly shows the transitional form.

361 Around an area 52 meters long and 48 meters wide three curved
342 windscreens about six meters high are erected (Ill. 6), as well as a rectangular house with gable roof, open toward the inner area. The length of the largest windscreen is 74.40 meters and that of the other two 28.60 and 25.40 meters, respectively. The chief's rectangular house is 9.70 meters long. Four entrances, 8 meters, 6.80 meters, 6.30 meters, and 2 meters wide respectively, lead toward the large open circular area. A fifth entrance, which is only one meter high and 50 centimeters wide, however, is inside the largest windscreen. Moreover, it should be mentioned that

Surara
Pakidai

/62 cont./ the father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confinements which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[622] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
[825] emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
● 756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
533 tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

Surára
Pakidái

/68 cont./

755 884 86 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemão would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

● 756 171 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 884 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be sure, but mandatory.

834 833 j) Sex life

The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 837 [593] If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

Surára
Pakidái

/102 cont./

755
[123] I was allowed to take part as a spectator in all the cures, and each rekurá was a new, great experience for me. I was
755 amazed at the devotion, passion, and fervor with which the
752 chief and his helpers interceded with all their physical and
622 psychic powers to ward off the sicknesses of their fellow-tribesmen (504). This explains why the Surára and Pakidái

[123]

504. The same care was bestowed upon me, the stranger. If I had an attack of malaria, the chief and his helpers likewise danced around me, and they sang in chorus while Hewemão stroked my body, massaged it, and sucked at it. He was of the opinion that the Waiká had poisoned my blood because I lived in friendship with the Surára and had brought them so many beautiful gifts.

have such boundless confidence in their chiefs and are absolutely convinced of their magic powers. It is doubtless due to this unshakable faith that so many of the sick can be cured (505).

505. I never saw the chiefs demand a fee for their cures. The members of the tribe show their appreciation, however, by continuously offering their chiefs larger or smaller gifts (see p. 130).

[431]

755
756
114 In this context I should like to cite the following very revealing description by Herbert Baldus: "The witch doctors were simply called imposters by early travelers, and even today all whites who are incapable of understanding the mentality of the Indian are of the same opinion. One forgets that, as a result of the suggestibility of the primitive, the magic practices not only essentially help the sick person and rid his relatives of their fears, but also weave such a spell around the practitioner himself that it is impossible to decide to what extent he is acting in good

/102 cont./
755 faith and to what extent he is faking" (506). The fact that
•756
114

506. Baldus, 1931, p. 142.

even in modern medicine great importance is now attributed to the suggestive influence of the physician on his patients is shown in the following statements by Hans Grimm: "If we emphasize that the suggestive influence of the physician's personality on the patient is often of decisive influence (Jores), if we use hypnosis, the so-called 'autogenous training,' etc., we are, in our own way, returning to what was already playing a role in shamanistic techniques" (507).

507. Grimm, 1958/59, p. 357.

769 3. Religious Festivals

Every year, toward the end of the dry season, March-April, the Surára and Pakidái jointly celebrate the festival in memory of the dead -- patapáanomão -- (508). It always takes

[192]

508. This contains the word for corpse, the male or female dead person -- anomão.

place in the large, open Surára maloka Jaracá (see pp. 25 ff.). Occasionally a few families of friendly tribes (Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, etc.) also take part. The
[114] patapáanomão festival, which I witnessed in all its phases, /103/ was held during the period from the fourth to the sixth of
769 April, 1956. But even before that there were great preparations
251 for this purpose. The men set out on a joint hunting expedition in order to kill as many tapirs as possible, the meat of which was then roasted on roasting racks over an even fire, not too hot, until it was black and bone-hard, so that it could be kept for a

2: Becher--281 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/16/
Surára
Pakidái
755
756
291

Ill. 49. Curing the sick in pouring rain. (Five Surára medicine-man helpers dance around a youth sick with chicken pox)

526
237

Ill. 50. Ball game with a monkey bladder

2: Becher

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidai

● 756

/For information on the initiation and training of young Surára and Pakidái men in matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing of the sick and tribal traditions, prior to their obtaining full adult status in the society, see category 884./

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
[689 tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
825] of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and,
as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to
speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists between the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law. Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom. These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes him in like another one of its own members. Older children also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted, properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denominations. We do not think that there are special terms to express a relationship of adoption.

554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main distinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers, and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three different theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
791 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
● 756 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not
793 the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman and priest in particular, represent the most influential position in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
000 by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

/212 cont. /We were greatly surprised to find
554 this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did
791 not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar
793 situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).
●756 The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists
171 who have studied this matter[1] is that it is a matter of a Circum-
194 Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of
793 priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural
771 complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence,
121 owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the
191 temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient platform of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its specific conditions, lent itself to the development or to the adoption of the cult.

121 We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the
773 Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit
793 authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have,
756 however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause, the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This personage is different from the shaman and his sphere.

771 The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts
171 of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the
774 Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

1 [i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

/220 cont./

159 764 inside, it is tied with lianas. Then they take the corpse into the forest where it is deposited, at a distance of some kilometers, on the branches of a tree in order for the flesh to decompose there. Often the members of the family will not leave the corpse alone in the forest for fear that animals will come and [775] devour it. The dead are very much afraid of animals and shout when a jaguar approaches them.

[225] The feline respects only a dead sablí, because he will die in turn if he approaches.

• [756] Our informant spent several nights next to his father's [784] corpse, always being very careful not to step on the damp ground beneath the dead man, because those who step there lose their feet.

152 764 The grief of the relatives is so intense that very often some of them can not endure the pain and go to the forest to die. Above all the women lament a great deal during the night and the men hold them back so that they will not run away to the forest. The informant remembered that the strongest man of his tribe behaved as though he were mad after the death of his father and wanted to kill everybody. The men did not allow him to go with them into the forest to gather up the bones of his father for fear that, given his behavior, he might commit some crime.

765 After one month, more or less, the men of the tribe go to the forest and gather up the bones of their companion; the flesh decomposes completely during this period. Some of the men let down the coffin and others wrap the remains of the deceased in some large leaves, making in this way a bundle of bones which they take back with them to the rancheria. There they place it in a hammock and leave it for about four days, while the relatives continue to weep in uninterrupted lamentation.

765 775 [756] Later the sablí carries the bones to a fire prepared in the plaza and places them on top of the pile of firewood. Our informant also said that as the sablí did this he pronounced a well-known formula which means: "you are getting along well," for, if he did not say this, the hĩkula would not be able to find its way. Afterwards he lights the fire, blows upon it at the same time as he raises his arms /221/ above his head, and in the smoke

/221 cont./

765 775 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĩkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĩkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 [276] The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their [756] neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĩ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 771 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of [184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 756 791 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a different supernatural sphere.

793 776 The first of the three is the hɛwĩawán, or the priest, who is the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

/225 cont./ The sanemá say that the
793 hɛwĩawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikulaɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[796] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
[126] propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[795] hɛwĩawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

● 756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
974 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the híkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

/226 cont./

756 chest. They enter, without loss of time, through the extremi-
533 ties of the body and through the head. They arrive in the order
774 in which their names are sung by the master sablf, who in this way "builds a pueblo" of a microcosmos in the body of the man. The stronger the master, the greater will be the "pueblo," and the greater this "pueblo" is, the better chance the sablf will have to augment his inner world and his power during his life.

756 The hikuladt of the sablf is essentially different from that
774 of the priest, in the sense that it is inhabited by the vital princi-
[778] ple of vegetable and animal species and not by the souls of departed ancestors. The man also has a specific hfkula, different from his soul and which, as is true of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, seems to be immortal and spiritual, essentially joined to animate matter until death. Each specimen of a species has a specific hfkula; after death, the speciman goes to a luminous place in the forest. While the soul of a man may abandon the body during sleep, etc., without its being detrimental for the man himself, the hfkula never leaves until the moment of death. Furthermore, the soul is typically human, while the hfkula is found in man and also in plants and animals. Some informed us with insistence that women and small children do not have hfkula.

773 Here is the story which explains the origin and the nature
774 of the hfkula in the animate world.

[776] Chinanfdmawan is a gigantic demon of dreadful shape, with long, sharp claws. He has skin which is impenetrable and as hard as rock.

/227/ One day Chinanfdmawan came to attack the Sanemá. The latter posted themselves with their weapons to face his attack. Soon, however, the Sanemá realized that arrows and lances had no effect on the demon, who captured most of his enemies. Chinanfdmawan quartered and devoured his victims, but kept the skins, which he nailed out on boards around and inside his house.
[171] (It is extremely interesting that this custom of keeping the skin
[727] of enemies has been preserved in Sanemá mythology, since it is reminiscent of some tribes of the Cauca, in Colombia, of the Mauta of Ecuador, of the Huauca of Peru, and of the Inca. It also recalls the cult of Xipe in Central America.)

/227 cont./

773 774 The Sanemá became discouraged in the face of the ferociousness of the monster and feared the day on which Chinanſdmawan would again mistreat and kill them.

773 774 756 In those days there lived among the Sanemá a great sablſ, very famous and extremely powerful, who began to think of how he could free them from this demon. The great sablſ went off to the forest, and there he found a liana which seemed very suitable for his purposes. He cut a piece of the bejuco and returned. During the night he went to the house of Chinanſdmawan in order to surprise him while he was asleep surrounded by his horrible trophies. In fact he did find him in a deep sleep; the sablſ then introduced a piece of the liana up his anus. The demon woke up startled. He realized that a powerful sablſ had found the means of killing him. In fact, shortly thereafter Chinanſdmawan died, and the Sanemá exposed his corpse to the sun so that the flesh might rot. But because the demon had such tough skin, the flesh dried up and the skin remained intact; they then tried to burn it, but this was impossible, so they flung it into the forest and fled from the place.

773 774 The skin of Chinanſdmawan, abandoned in the forest, gained access into the plants, animals, and men. That is why all male human beings, the animals, and the plants have within their bodies a hard and indestructible Chinanſdmawan which is called hſkula,

774 [764] The hſkula is that part of the male which remains on earth after his death. When the body of a person is burned, his hſkula, on seeing the black cloud which rises from the fire, joins all the other hſkulas and they remain there for a long time... listening and listening to what comes from the world where men live.

[826] The size of the hſkula of a man corresponds to the measure of his torso, and the larger the hſkula is, the stronger is the person.

[764] [276] During the funeral rites, the men, under the influence of yopó, sing about their gigantic hſkula, and, in order to prove their gigantic strength, /228/ they invite each other to the wasamú, and they squeeze each other powerfully with their arms or with sticks. Among the men, only the priest, hɛwīawan, has no hſkula, because he is already a citizen of heaven.

[793]

/228 cont./

• 756 778 825 [533] The Sanemá sablí has great power over animals and plants represented in his híkuladɛ, with which he communicates while he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song õkamõ against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladɛ of the sablí goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablí do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 533 754 [825] [774] The sablíes sing almost every night, and the bigger the animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense is the song. In his songs, the sablí can send any híkula from his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 756 [754] [753] [761] I have the impression that the híkulas belonging to the various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish of the sablí. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a híkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention of the sablí and by his magical power.

756 755 774 The priest sablí, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts, sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare off the harmful híkula which is striving to enter the body of the man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the híkula of the sablí and others chosen from his "pueblo of híkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablí depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great híkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the híkula or híkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablí makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the híkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

/228 cont./

•756 may also happen that a sablf with a small "pueblo" of hfkulas in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a hfkula suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert sablf, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A young sablf is always hopeful that the hfkula "pueblo" in his chest will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

758 The potentiality of the hfkula of the sablf makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the sablf is the best
[624] man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A sablf of great power does not die until all the hfkulas of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
774 live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of
[754] his hfkula grows and brings about his death. Then the sablf informs his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his hfkula frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24).

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The hfkula of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place. Our informant told us that the hfkulas of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /tigres mariposas/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a hfkula of his group or one from a dead sablf. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanoama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hāwiawan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kāilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hāwiawan* has not been observed.

Physical appearance. Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Samatari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, stout, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barker, 1953, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 33.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vinci, 1936, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1959.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

136 know the world, a few excursions into those terrible waters where the very absence of peril means, for these lowland monsters, the greatest peril of all.

V

* 123 The Samatari had now got quite used to having us in their midst and their primitive fear of us—the emotion which gives rise to an instinctive urge to [609] kill—had disappeared utterly. The fear strangers evoke in them is twofold: they are afraid of being killed, and of having their womenfolk raped. We hadn't killed anybody, and the women did not attract us. We left them in peace, even when they were driven by their insatiable professional curiosity to inspect our private parts.

From being merely tolerated, therefore, we soon passed quite naturally to the stage of having a rather more positive value placed upon us. Soon we were superior beings who had chosen their tribe as the privileged recipients of our friendship. This was without a doubt an auspicious sign for them, and one they must profit by. For the moment the profit which the medicine-man had in mind related only to matters appertaining to magic and moral spheres and had nothing to do with our persons. We ourselves, indeed, were not called upon to play an active part.

* 123 Ceremonies of propitiation were enacted at night. The medicine-man would ● 756 sit in his hammock with his feet dangling over the fire, invoking prosperity for 789 his own people and ruin and death for their enemies (who were doing the same 982 thing, in the same spirit, at the same moment, in some other corner of the forest). But the Samatari had us with them: the effect of their invocations would travel far and fast, like the explosion of the *bombamadé*.

* 123 The medicine-man would suddenly sit up in his hammock as if he was cold, 533 and after burbling something incomprehensible, slowly shout out the name of 756 a fruit—for instance, *monama*. The last syllable was held for some time, with 789 modulations that reminded me of an echo rebounding from hill to hill. When this solo was over the men's chorus—they were all sitting round the fire in their hammocks, too—would take up the refrain, reciting a long litany full of mournful verses. According to the brief explanations given by Luis Antonio, the gist of it was: much *monama* for the Samatari and none for their enemies. Let hunger strike them down. They are bad men. A moment's silence would

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

follow. Then, in the same fashion, the medicine-man would announce the name of another fruit, let us say *olashi*. The chorus would repeat the same formula. And so on, through all the thirty-two fruits of the forest, the litany was sung. Then it was the animals' turn—those that provided meat. From the noble tapir right down to the worm: might he pass serenely from his muddy lair into the tomb of the Samatari stomach.

When the victualling business had thus been settled, the time was ripe for more general songs and prayers. One little song that turned up I had already heard among the Guayca and other Shirians. The tune was easily recognizable, catchy, even; but the words were strange, and probably not understood by the singers themselves. Then came isolated songs, and broken matches of tunes that went on all night till the first gleam of dawn, when the priest and his flock gradually dropped off to sleep. The ceremony was over.

It might appear from a hasty glance at their ceremonies of propitiation and exorcism that the Shirians believe in the supernatural, but this is not so.

We often questioned Uarema on the subject, but his reply was always in the negative, and he laughed at the Makiritari's Canaima and the other tribes' Maguaritòn. 'We don't believe in those stories,' he answered, invariably, in his picaroon Spanish. The Shirians do not believe in supernatural beings such as gods, devils and their intermediaries. Certain ceremonies of theirs, it is true, are addressed to powers which we should not consider as belonging to the material world, but to the Shirian mind they do belong to this world, like other evident natural forces.

For instance, the medicine-man's cures for the sick possess a value and a methodology corresponding to medicine as we practise it. The sickness—the bad thing—is clearly visible. The medicine-man is a man with a powerful voice, which frightens the bad thing as it might frighten a man. The bad thing is forced to take flight, leaving the sufferer free. Magic, as we conceive it, is not involved.

Another example will emphasize the Shirian viewpoint even better. When the Shirians are shooting the rapids, anyone on board without a definite job, such as steering or paddling, will make a gesture with his hand to keep the swirling waters well away. For us, such a gesture would imply some sort of superstitious idea, for there is no physical connection between the hand that is trying to ward off the water and the water itself. But to the Indians it is rather an example of a purely physical phenomenon arising out of the man's will-power and his determination that the boat shall not be swamped, which his

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

771
789 gesture adequately expresses. The point is that the primitive has not yet clarified his ideas on the exact relationship between cause and effect, between the wish and its realization—which is to say, between will and reality, subjective and objective. Another clear proof of this lies in the attitude towards pregnancy and childbirth, which we had already noticed among Uarema's people.

789 Even the belief in amulets is one aspect of the complete naturalness of the
831 supernatural! Shirian amulets are made from the dust of a dried leaf or piece of wood, wrapped into a tiny parcel inside a banana leaf, and tied round the arm.
[832] Some of these have the power to attract love, if not quite in the same sense as the love philtres of Medieval Europe. It should be borne in mind that what we call love—for us, the cultural refinement of a physical attraction—does not exist for the Indians. For them, nothing is involved but the physiological relationship, together with the satisfaction of fulfilling an individual need, a sharing of erotic excitement and as a result, the future increase of their stock. Thus the phenomenon of 'falling in love' is not present: it is simply the taking of a man, or a woman. There is no courtship, only the act itself. In the light of this it becomes clear that what the Indian hopes for from the amulet is not success in wooing a man or a woman already known and selected, but a happy outcome of all things sexual, upon which so much depends—the woman, the family and the continuance of his race.

789 The amulet is not a 'charm' such as we imagine it: it consists simply of a
757 substance which possesses the required power by virtue of its own nature—not by virtue of our belief in it—in exactly the same way as some vegetable extracts have the power to produce diarrhoea, and others the power to stop it. As a cure for diarrhoea the Indians take something prepared from a liana, which puts a stop to the trouble and restores the system to its normal state. The virtue of this substance and the way in which it acts is no more and no less occult than in the case of the amulet worn to attract success in love. The curative pill disappears into the mouth and its effects are felt elsewhere. The relation between the two regions is no more and no less mysterious than in the case of the love amulet: the human body is just as real, just as complex and just as unknown as the external world and other human beings.

● 756 The medicine-man is to be found in all Shirian tribes. He is the witch-doctor
793 and the physician for all general purposes. His superior is the *lahalla*, a kind of high priest, and a very, very rare bird, who possesses wonder-working powers of an unheard-of degree of effectiveness. Uarema assured me that the *lahalla* at

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Pulipuli—the only one then known to exist—could pick out an assassin from a group of ten men gathered for his ceremonies of exorcism. After a few passes made by the wizard, the guilty man lost his hair at one fell swoop, and was thus unmasked.

Endowed as I was with unimaginable powers, I became the *lahalla*. I was called 'Lahallatuan'. My watch, by the aid of which I could see the passing of the hours, predict the weather, foretell the course of journeys and cure certain ills (by applying it to the affected part) had also been promoted. No longer was it mere medicine-man's magic, but lahalla's magic.

VI

We were now an integral part of the Samatari tribe and in certain respects their moral leaders. The chief, glorying in his (our) red drawers, gave us the benefit of strange daily discourses in which he seemed to be inviting us to take part in his counsels and share in the planning of tribal activities. I had begun to learn the language, which had already interested me in the Canaracuni days, and was able to reply with a few more or less appropriate words, hoping that they would fit in with what I imagined he was talking about. My efforts were generally crowned with success and everyone shouted with glee at the sight of a white man speaking Shirian.

The world the Indians know, within the limits of their primitive conception, is a boundless forest criss-crossed by rivers and water-courses flowing in every direction. The final destination of these streams is not understood, or even thought of. In the centre of this forest is the tribe itself. Over there are other Indians, known only to few and spoken of from time to time. Somewhere in the same forest there are Indians with beards and clothes, outboard motors and guns—terrible Indians, tall in stature and always bad, angry men: such is the first impression occidentals make on these more apathetic wild peoples. The two of us, envoys of these distant Indians, had shown that we were not such bad men, and not in such a perpetual rage. In all humility and simplicity, we had become part and parcel of the Samatari themselves, and they on their side did not lack a real and disinterested friendliness towards us, as witness the behaviour of the boys, our admirers, who never lost a chance of overwhelming us with their kindness. That I should speak their language was the most wonderful

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the last part of it, we should take about eight days to reach the Uagna, where we had the canoe. Our only worry was lest everybody should want to come along with us—as we had invited them to, in the hope that they wouldn't accept! However, if we found ourselves in the company of more of them than we could shake off, we could ask them all to wait for us on the Uagna, where it should be evident that the two canoes at our disposal could only carry three or four each.

But the Samatari understood this better than we did, being very sensible about such problems of logistics. If they came with us, they risked the well-being of their women and children in more or less unknown country where fruit was scarce. This they saw clearly, and after a discussion with the chief the majority of them dropped the idea. The medicine-man himself, who had put aside all false pride and professional dignity, came along to ask me to cure him of the intestinal pains that were troubling him, and spoke of the 'two pulipuli', but he let it be clearly understood that the auguries for such a journey were not good, and that the Uagna was bad—there must be something about this river, for unquestionably rich as the region is in game, it is no longer frequented by the Indians. The Sanemà, came the verdict, would not accompany us on the journey, except for a few, to the number of the fingers of one hand, or maybe one or two more—presumably the medicine-man meant our special boys who caressed us in the evening, full of love and admiration for our two bearded selves.

The tribe also performed a ritual ceremony at the chief's direction, and this showed them that the day of our departure was not far distant. A group of men arrived, followed by their womenfolk: they chased off the young children who were being too inquisitive, and then approached Enrico. The chief had a long pole in his hand. He put it beside my companion and asked him to raise his hand as high as possible. Suddenly we understood. The Indians wanted some permanent record of this giant's height (Enrico stood about six foot three) which to them was phenomenal. This gave a certain official touch to the proceedings. Enrico limbered up, coughed, and holding himself erect, touched the highest point he could on the pole. The Samatari watched in the utmost amazement. Then they wanted Enrico to stand on tiptoe so that he could reach still higher. Then they notched the pole to his measure and ran through the camp howling in a random dance around it, jumping up like monkeys to see who could reach as high. No one succeeded, and after many jokes and sallies,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

So we passed one of those anxious forest nights, our thoughts torn between the fate of our equipment and fear of an attack. But there were two aspects of the matter which reassured us, and bearing them in mind we managed to get some sleep towards morning. One was the comparative serenity of our Indians, who had made no alteration in their habitual way of spending the night—long spells of sleep, interrupted occasionally for a brief moment to attend to the fire. The other was the mental inventory we made of the items of equipment we still had with us, enough, certainly, for us to live on until we could get out of this region on to some Brazilian or Venezuelan river. One doubt still lingered: suppose the Indians refused to go on with us? They had been badly scared by whatever it was that had happened up on the hills, and rather than face it again they might want to change the route.

We set off next morning without any breakfast. But the fact that the Indians came along too, without making any bones about it, was very comforting. We went over two hills, and then the track crossed a stream of milky water running in a south-easterly direction. Its rocky bed was strewn with great jagged blocks of quartz. A little while later, on steadily rising ground, we turned aside into territory where there was no track at all, and reached a forest clearing which had been formed by the fall of a group of trees of the *cesalpinae* family. They were lying on the mouldering forest floor. And there, under a regular stockade of tree-trunks, was our baggage that the men had left on yesterday's trip. Our porters took some of the most-needed medical supplies and the best of the tinned stuff from this dump, to add to the burdens they were already carrying, and we went on towards the heart of the mystery.

The slope became gradually steeper and we finished up against a rocky sandstone cliff—a blank wall that we should have to climb. We followed along the foot of it to the right for perhaps two hundred yards till we came to a landslip, overgrown with bamboos and bromeliads, which offered an open view over the valley. We climbed up and found ourselves on a high plateau, among vegetation of a different order—poorer, thinner stuff. This plateau soon began to tilt downwards towards the farther side, at a steadily increasing angle, till we came to a stream of black water which ran in the same direction as the last we had seen.

As if performing some rite, the medicine-man took a bath here. There really was something extraordinary about this character. A purely voluntary

6: Vinci (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

bath like this—we had never seen him take one before—seemed to prove the point.

Between the sandstone of the high plateau and the usual granite of this region there was here an unexpected intermediary layer white with kaolin. After another hour of hard going we once more found ourselves in the lush vegetation of the lowlands. To the left of the track at one point, in a cavity formed by the collapse of a big tree whose roots had been torn out of the earth, we found the light baggage carried here and stowed the day before. It was apparently unharmed, even if literally covered with a revolting army of termites. We had the packs taken out of the hole (with the greatest caution for fear of a hidden snake), piled them all up together and covered them with palm leaves—because now the Indians didn't seem to be in any hurry to cover more mileage that day, nor did they lift a finger to start putting up the usual shelter for the night.

The baggage was untouched: the possibility of seeing our expedition through to the end was therefore open to us once more. Such a satisfactory state of affairs filled us with enthusiasm, and we decided to sacrifice no less than four tins of corned beef. We shared it out among the porters. This extra meal put some heart into the Indians, and picking up their machetes again they beckoned us to follow them along the track once more, where it veered to the south, through the forest. We could make out from their gestures that we were close to the heart of the great mystery now, and so took plenty of ammunition with us in case we should need it. The gradient stiffened. The track turned to the right, into a thick maze of wild banana and thorny iriarteae, and then through a little swamp where there were numerous prints of bare feet, to end up in front of a stockade of thorny palm, freshly piled up for some defensive purpose.

A sweet, heavy smell hung in the air—the typical smell of an Indian camp after it has been abandoned for a few days, which comes from rotting remains of meat and game, and decaying vegetable matter. The barrier of thorny palm was an insuperable obstacle for bare Indian feet. We followed it along to the right till we found a break, half hidden by a few tree-trunks, which led us inside the camp. At first sight it seemed no different from the usual Samatari pattern. Here and there—all over the place, in fact—were piles of ashes and vegetable refuse of all kinds. But this encampment had one particular feature which, although the conscious part of our minds missed it at first, made us feel

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

leaves, wanted one thing more: the nail, the nail that had been his perpetual bane! We had plenty with us, and gave him half a dozen.

We sat around big festive fires (though, alas, we had no fine beast to cook on them!) and the medicine-man exorcized their new possessions with his chants. That night we slept tighter than we had ever done since the time when we had drunk cacire on the Yevarehuri.

VII

The next morning's dawn was silent as the tomb, and drowsily we sensed a strange difference. Then, all of a sudden, we woke to the realization that the Shirians were gone. Men, women, children and dogs had vanished into the depths of the night. The fires hadn't been made up for some time and were nearly all out. The hammocks were still swinging in their places—it was not unusual for them to be abandoned and it had happened before, because being simply lianas and tree-bark they were very easily replaced.

Carmine fired off a few shots. The forest swallowed them up without even an echo. Our enthusiasm had betrayed us once more. We should have postponed the pay-off until the arrival of the promised Shirians, and then our men would not have shot the moon. As it was, we could only wait in the hope that the others would turn up, though it might well be that the medicine-man and his brother had invented them so that they could satisfy us and be off.... Dear, damnable brigand brother, with the gentle, brooding look that was like the cloudy sweetness of fermenting wine, off and away through the forest, leading his little band back over the familiar path, back to the river on the other side of the mountain—laden with our goods, and proud owner of the nail! The greatest experience of his lifetime was over now, and he was hardly to be blamed for having gone off in the middle of the night, without saying good-bye. How could anyone guess what reasons prompted him—a rebel, an anarchist, a wild savage from the Amazon mountains, who in a moment of weakness had joined up with an expedition of flat-foots, men incapable of keeping alive without a mountain of tins!

There was nothing to be done about it, because the situation itself was without remedy. If the new Shirians really did come, the departure of the old ones might even prove to be an advantage. The baggage was all here with us,

/486 cont./

825 821 [794] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame," "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 796 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

[753] "Sulíliwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 754 Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are religious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them. ● [756]

Numbers and Measures

802 The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

which is tied a bundle of feathers.[1]

Besides shamans, of which there are several in every village, there are influential 'big men.' The number of big men in a village depends, on the one hand, on the size of the village and the number of local patrilineages comprising it, and, on the other, on the number of men who are personally qualified to lead. The qualities that determine leadership are personal courage, fierceness, the ability to be outraged by even the slightest insult, marksmanship, diplomacy in trading with representatives from other villages, the ability to arrange marriages for male supporters with females from other villages, cunning and intelligence in dealings with allies, the ability to attract young men to live permanently in the village by promising them wives, and the defense of group members who get into difficulties with other village members.

Individuals who possess all these attributes are considered leaders only if they have a large natural following, i.e., brothers and sons living with them in their village. Otherwise, such men have only just a little more

---

[1] To give a more comparative statement on the poverty of Yąnomamö culture, they possess only 11 traits of the 354 listed in the 4th edition of Carneiro and Tobias' "Trait List to be Used for the Study of Cultural Evolution by Means of Scale Analysis," (1963, mimeograph). By contrast, the Siriono have 8, the Andamanese 10, the Jivaro 22, the Nuer 28, the Siuai 39, the Iroquois 64, the Bemba 100 and the Tahitians 140. (Carneiro and Tobias, 1963:201.) In the classification developed by E. R. Service (1962), the Yąnomamö are "tribal."

829
648 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

704
152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three
[753] parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leav-
[761] ing the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females.
[825] Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

[754] Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö
[756] shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

*621
156
152 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

342
302
301
824
142

Fig. 2-5. Thatching a new roof with leaves.

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwä, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof.

342 [821] [756] [789]

The Yanomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about

342 484

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The next layer is called *hadu kã mixi:* sky layer. It is made of earth on the top surface and provides the eternal home for the souls of the departed. A complete replica of life on earth is to be found on top of *hadu*, except that the inhabitants are spirits of men, not real men. They garden, make witchcraft, hunt, eat, and in general do what living man does. Everything that exists on earth has a counterpart on *hadu*, a sort of mirror image, although the activities of the two groups of objects and beings are independent of each other.

The bottom surface of *hadu* is the visible portion of the sky. The celestial beings are attached to this surface and move across it. It is not thought to be very far above the earth, since many of my informants asked me if I had crashed into it when I flew in an airplane.

Man dwells below the sky on "this layer": *hei kã mixi*. It originated when a piece of *hadu* broke off and fell to a lower level. This layer is a vast jungle, sprinkled with innumerable Yąnomamö villages. These are conceived to be located on earth, as shown in Fig. 2-4c. Even foreigners are thought to live in a type of house that resembles the Yąnomamö dwelling; after all, foreigners derived from the Yąnomamö by a process of degeneration.

Finally, the plane underneath this layer is almost barren. A single village of spirit-men is found here, the Amahiri-teri. A long time ago, after the earth layer was formed by a piece of *hadu*, another chunk of *hadu* fell down and crashed through earth. It hit earth at a place where the Amahiri-teri lived, carrying their village down to the bottom layer. Unfortunately, only their *shabono* and gardens were carried with the piece of *hadu*. Hence, the Amahiri-teri have no neighborhood (*uribi*) in which to hunt for game, and so they send their spirits up to earth to capture the souls of living children and eat them. There is a constant struggle between the evil spirits of Amahiri-teri shamans and the evil spirits of shamans on this layer, earth: They send malevolent demons against each other and preoccupy themselves with defending their respective villages from evil spirits.

The Amahiri-teri people lived at the time of the *no hadabö*, the first men. These original Yąnomamö were distinct from living man in that they were part spirit (*yai*) and part human. When they died, they became *yai*, spirits. *No hadabö* means, literally, "those who are now dead"; in a cosmological context, it refers to the time of the first beings.

THE FIRST BEINGS The first beings cannot be accounted for. The Yąnomamö simply presume that the cosmos originated with these people. Most of them, and there were many, had a specific function, such as creating a useful plant or object. They figure prominently in mythology. Many of them bear the names of plants and animals that are important in the Yąnomamö economy, and the first beings are considered to be the spirits of these. I will relate a few specific tales about some of these first beings, retaining where possible the Yąnomamö narrative style.

One of the first beings was called Boreawä, or simply Bore. He was the first to acquire plantains, the staple of the Yąnomamö diet. Because he had plantains first, he was the headman (*pata dodihiwä*) of the first beings. Boreawä did not tell the others that he had plantains, as he did not want to share them. At that time, the first beings ate only dirt and animals, as there was no domesticated food. One day another of the first beings, Horonama, got caught in a rain so he took refuge in a sheltered place in the jungle. He was lost and did not know whose neighborhood he was in. By luck, he took refuge in the very place where Boreawä had hidden his cultivated plantains. Horonama, a dirt eater,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kaobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kaobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kaobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kaobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kaobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kaobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kaobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*bekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *bekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kaobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *bekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *bekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yanomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
291
302
516
756 •
276
342

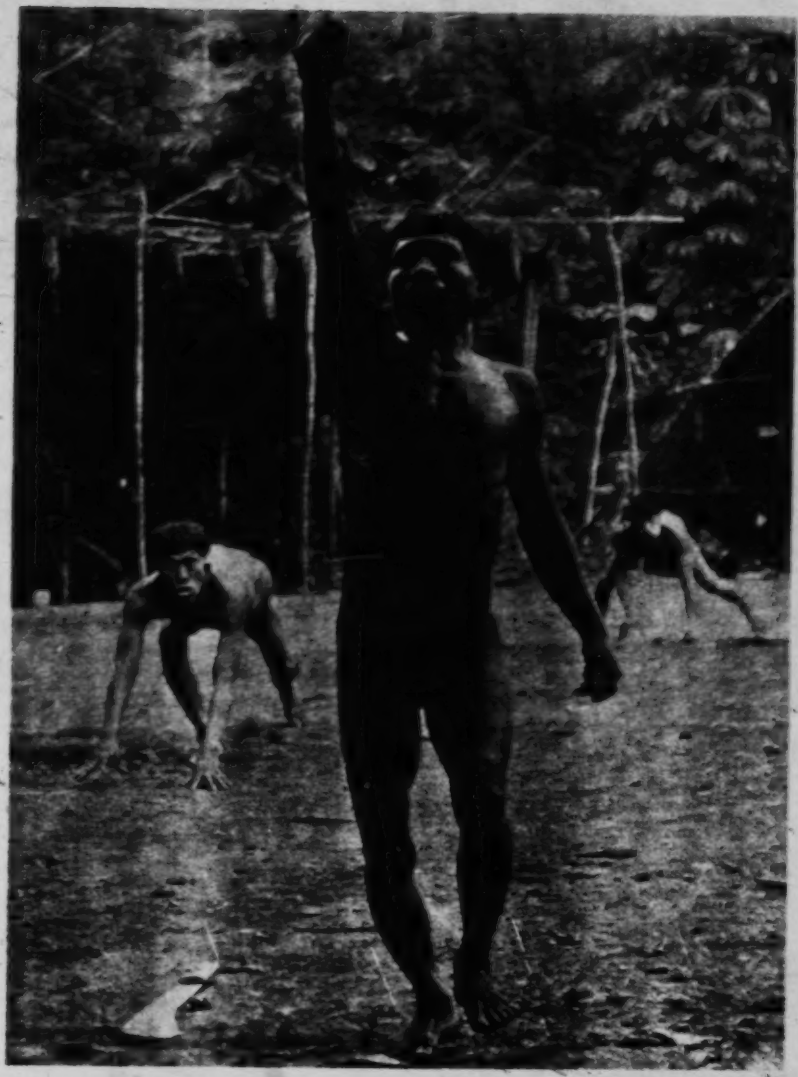


Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura*—demons.*

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *hedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yąnomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

769
266
628 *

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *hekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *hekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *hekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *hekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *hekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *hekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *hekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

/96 cont./

755 the hekurá, and best of all at night by moonlight (496). All

[MH] [M6]

496. The hekurá are the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being Poré/Perimbó (see pp. 199 ff.).

day long, usually one or two or sometimes even several men make preliminary attempts at healing. For all sicknesses there are very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps, which are taught the young men by their chief during a two-months' training course (see pp. 143/145). If the patient dies despite all efforts, the people yield to a certain fatalism, for in that case the power of the hostile medicine man was simply stronger (497).

[171]

497. The same thing is reported by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 202), Richard Schomburgk about the Warrau (Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 172), and Barrère as well as Quandt about the Galibi and Arowaken (Barrère, 1743, pp. 216/17; Quandt, 1807, p. 260), to mention only a few parallels.

755 For the reasons mentioned, there is only suggestive therapy,
● 757 supplemented by fasting and treatment with cold water. In the latter case a patient, even with the highest fever, must drink a great deal of water and take frequent baths in the nearby river or brook. He is also often exposed to pouring /97/ rain (Ill. 49), since it is assumed that it has healing powers because it comes from the rain tree of the moon (see p. 199). Sick persons who are already too weak and are unable to leave their hammocks are doused with cold water at regular intervals (498).

[171]

498. Treatment with cold water is widespread in South America. For comparison

Surára
Pakidái

/97 cont./

755
759
171

498. (cont.)
I should like to mention the Kaskihá Indians in the northeastern Chaco, among whom the witch doctor tries to heal the sick in the same way (Baldus, 1931, p. 143).

164 During my nine-months' stay among the Surára and Pakidái the following sicknesses occurred there: grippe, pneumonia, malaria, chicken pox, and a gastric fever; fortunately, none ooo was fatal (499). But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,

[165]
[752]

499. Only the Pakidái youth Hokotômarimâ died after a fall from a pupunha palm, which probably caused internal injuries (see p. 149).

123 But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,
755 first a young woman, Xunamí, the wife of Kurikayawõ, the
759 younger brother of the chief, and later an older woman, Xanimá,
177 the approximately 47-year-old mother of Anyarawõ (see pp. 123/125), and a boy, Xaniwõ (see p. 127), about 12 years old, would probably not have survived without the penicillin that I had brought along, for, in spite of untiring treatment by the chief and his helpers, their condition grew worse from day to day. In the first instance, the chief, Hewemão, and the husband, Kurikayawõ, finally permitted me to give Xunamí a penicillin injection in the upper arm on two successive days, whereupon she improved dramatically (500). In the second and third cases,

500. This cure increased my reputation tremendously, so that afterward I was properly adopted into the tribe of the Surára and, on the occasion of the great festival in memory of the dead, was also permitted to drink the banana soup mixed with the bone ashes of deceased relatives (see p. 231). If the woman had died after the injection, however, the intervention could have had grave consequences for me.

/97 cont./

[755] [959] [123] [179] the chief even asked me to give the patients "penicilina" after his healing efforts had again brought no success.

Of the various cures at which I was allowed to be present, I should like to describe in detail the following two treatments:

b) Magic cure (rekurá) for Xunamí:

Xunamí, the young, pretty wife of Kurikayawõ, fell ill quite suddenly. She had a high fever, lay apathetically in her hammock, and complained of severe chest pains. Her husband, [593] [759] who, with touching devotion, remained with her throughout the first day, that is, he sat beside her or lay in his hammock, led her several times to the nearby small river, in which she always remained for some time and drank copious amounts. She was not permitted to eat anything, but she had no desire to do so. During the night, the fever seemed to climb, for she was quite delirious and unable to sleep soundly. The next day she felt [759] even worse. Three times in the forenoon and as often in the afternoon her husband took her to the river, but there was no improvement after the baths and the drinking. At noon on the third day the husband, together with two other men, began [302] the first special cure. First of all, Kurikayawõ and the second participant painted serpentine lines on their faces and bodies with urucú, while the third one rubbed himself all over with soot. Then they all three blew snuff-powder into each other's noses and in a few minutes they were in a state of ecstasy in which they leaped wildly about the sick woman lying in her hammock, shouted loudly, and gesticulated. Then, however, the cure followed very definite directions. The man painted completely black symbolically represented the spirit of sickness -- nonexí -- whom a hostile medicine man had conjured into the body of the sick woman, and the other two men, who now identified themselves with the hekurá (see p. 200), staged a sham battle against him. At first they were armed with large sticks and beat "nonexí" in order to kill him. But he defended himself with all his might. Then he hurled arrows at him, which, however, he threw back. After that the /98/ spirit of sickness stuck a carrying basket on his head, and this suddenly fell off. At once, the other two men

/100 cont./

755 was much worse, that this time the power of the Waikâ medicine
123 men was extraordinarily great. I then proposed to him that I
179 should give Xunamî penicillin injections. After lengthy consultations with the husband and other male members of the tribe he consented, though with misgivings, and luck was with the patient as well as with me. From this moment on the name penicilina (Portuguese spelling) became a magic word, for it had helped to cast away the sickness. Hewemãõ even asked me to bring him a great deal of it on my next visit.

755 c) Magic cure (rekurâ) for Xanimâ:

Xanimâ, the approximately 47-year-old mother of
[164] Anyarawõ (see p. 126), had been ill for five days with chicken pox and had had persistently high fever. At first she, too, was
● [757] given the water cures, that is, she constantly had to take baths in the river and drink a great deal of water; as her weakness increased, she remained lying in her hammock and was doused with cold water. After that there were sham battles between two "hekurâ" and the bad, black-colored spirit of sickness, "nonexî."

When there was no improvement, Chief Hewemãõ and eight helpers again arranged a large, nocturnal rekurâ, but this time a somewhat different one, because, of course, a different
[302] sickness was involved (502). At first the men, eight with red

502. As has been mentioned above (see p. 212), every sickness has very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps.

serpentine lines painted on their faces and bodies and one colored black, in the light of the hearth, again formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the middle, on which snuff-
[276] powder had been poured. They filled their snuff tubes with generous amounts of it and blew it into each other's noses, whereupon, after a few minutes, the state of ecstasy set in. The men hopped around their own axis several times, and, after a hissing sound on the part of the chief and with prolonged shrill

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

771
789 gesture adequately expresses. The point is that the primitive has not yet clarified his ideas on the exact relationship between cause and effect, between the wish and its realization—which is to say, between will and reality, subjective and objective. Another clear proof of this lies in the attitude towards pregnancy and childbirth, which we had already noticed among Uarema's people.

789 Even the belief in amulets is one aspect of the complete naturalness of the
831 supernatural! Shirian amulets are made from the dust of a dried leaf or piece of wood, wrapped into a tiny parcel inside a banana leaf, and tied round the arm.
[832] Some of these have the power to attract love, if not quite in the same sense as the love philtres of Medieval Europe. It should be borne in mind that what we call love—for us, the cultural refinement of a physical attraction—does not exist for the Indians. For them, nothing is involved but the physiological relationship, together with the satisfaction of fulfilling an individual need, a sharing of erotic excitement and as a result, the future increase of their stock. Thus the phenomenon of 'falling in love' is not present: it is simply the taking of a man, or a woman. There is no courtship, only the act itself. In the light of this it becomes clear that what the Indian hopes for from the amulet is not success in wooing a man or a woman already known and selected, but a happy outcome of all things sexual, upon which so much depends—the woman, the family and the continuance of his race.

789 The amulet is not a 'charm' such as we imagine it: it consists simply of a
757 substance which possesses the required power by virtue of its own nature—not by virtue of our belief in it—in exactly the same way as some vegetable extracts have the power to produce diarrhoea, and others the power to stop it. As a cure for diarrhoea the Indians take something prepared from a liana, which puts a stop to the trouble and restores the system to its normal state. The virtue of this substance and the way in which it acts is no more and no less occult than in the case of the amulet worn to attract success in love. The curative pill disappears into the mouth and its effects are felt elsewhere. The relation between the two regions is no more and no less mysterious than in the case of the love amulet: the human body is just as real, just as complex and just as unknown as the external world and other human beings.

756 The medicine-man is to be found in all Shirian tribes. He is the witch-doctor
793 and the physician for all general purposes. His superior is the *lahalla*, a kind of high priest, and a very, very rare bird, who possesses wonder-working powers of an unheard-of degree of effectiveness. Uarema assured me that the *lahalla* at

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *bekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *bekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *bekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *bekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *bekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *bekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *bekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

/482 cont./

753 Any strange or rare object can be considered to have given rise to an epidemic. According to their knowledge and understanding, it might be some kind of foreign sorcery.

755 179 The Guaika appreciate our medicine for the treatment of sores and sicknesses, but for them this medicine is simply another enchanted or magical substance.

752 /483/ The treatment which they use for a bee sting is to tie the member thus hurt with a piece of vine or string above the sting. They also suck the poison out of the wound.

The treatment for the bite of a spider or snake is similar, tying and sucking. Later, the croonings are considered appropriate for driving away evil forces.

If a man is wounded by a poisoned dart, the wound is sucked and he will live. If he is wounded where the poison cannot be sucked out, he will quickly die. When an animal or a man is mortally wounded by a poisoned arrow, he falls, loses control of his muscles, and then dies, shuddering, perhaps when the poison reaches the heart or lungs.

751 729 One who has killed an enemy on a raid must sit down on the ground and, taking a little piece of vine (perhaps some two centimeters in length), has to scrape one side of his own head in different places. If he fails to do this, some evil may overtake him.

755 ● 758 Sick persons receive all possible care, in addition to all the incantations and exorcisms which are cast against the opposing forces of the spirits.

758 A sick person is well fed. If it is not possible for him to take certain foods, the Guaika will make every possible effort to get for him what he can eat.

An old woman who had an infection in her mouth and a throat so large that it was almost impossible for her to swallow anything was given honey as food. They tipped her head back and poured the honey into her mouth. They had a fire lighted for her all the time, and someone was with her constantly. When the settlement moved, she was carried on a man's back by means of a strap or cord such as is customarily used for loads or small children.

/483 cont./

758 515 They bathe sick persons. If the patient cannot go to the stream, they bathe him part by part at home and even in his own hammock.

/484/ Death

763 They are generally afraid of death and make every effort to keep a dying person alive for a while longer. When someone is in danger of dying, the relatives and friends hold meetings for lamentations at least once a day.

764 [302] [535] When a dying person expires, a time of mourning begins. Then, at about 3:00 in the afternoon, the funeral begins. The relatives and friends begin to paint themselves. There is much crying and lamentation. The women dance forward and backward, groaning and carrying several poisoned darts in one hand. If there are young children, they are frequently carried also. If the deceased is a little one, its little body may be carried during the final part of this mourning dance. A few closely related men and the intimate friends also participate in the dance.

After the lamentations have continued for a quarter of an hour more or less, the men go out in search of firewood and light a fire of two meters in front of the dwelling where the corpse is lying. When the fire reaches an adequate size, the body is carried there in a hammock made of cords of vine and placed on the fire. Then they put more wood on top of the [766] corpse. If the deceased is an infant, they place it in the fire in a flat basket rather than a hammock. They keep the fire burning [765] until around ten at night. Then they gather up the bones, wrap them in leaves, and hang them in the house.

If someone should die far from the settlement, his body is wrapped in leaves tied with vines and carried to the settlement to be cremated.

765 About three days after the cremation, the bones are pulverized in a small trough and then kept hermetically in a gourd capped with beeswax. The trough is made by using a machete to carve out the hole, burning its interior. They use it only once. After it is used, both the trough and the pestle are burned. Much weeping accompanies the process of pulverization and sealing the remains in the gourd.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123 From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dixies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their [152] fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One [758] of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

595 As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous
162 and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by
578 means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males
684 whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of
838 quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought
201 that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We
123 had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of gestures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

123 In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of
411 ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

[462] [985] Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that [838] [958] [955] older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired [84] [443] clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are [462] [422] [562] made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the [199] manufacture of cassave bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

---

[1] The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

726 If there are novices in the raiding party, the older men will conduct mock raids, showing
701 them how they are to participate. A grass dummy or soft log is frequently employed in
702 this, as was the case in the *waya itou* held in the village the day before the raiders left. Particularly young men will be positioned in the marching party somewhere in the middle of the single file of raiders so they will not be the first ones to be exposed to danger should the raiders themselves be ambushed. These young men will also be permitted to retreat first. Damowä had a twelve-year-old son when he was killed. This boy, Matarawä, was recruited into the raiding party to give him an opportunity to avenge his father's death. The older men made sure he would be exposed to minimum danger, as this was his first raid.

726 The separated groups of raiders approach the village at dawn and conceal themselves near the commonly used paths to the source of drinking water. They wait for the enemy to come to them. A good many of the victims of raids are shot while fetching water.

Frequently, the enemy is wary and acts defensively at all times when there is an [722] active war going on. Only large groups of people can leave the village, and these are well armed. Raiders will not attack a large group such as this. When the enemy is found to be this cautious, the raiders have no choice but to retreat or to shoot volleys of arrows blindly into the village, hoping to strike someone at a distance: They retreat after they release their arrows, depending on the gossip of other villages to learn if their arrows did find their marks. Rarely, one of the raiders will attempt to enter the village during the night and kill someone while he sleeps. Damowä's younger brother allegedly accomplished this on one raid, but few men are brave enough to try it. Most of the time the raiders manage to ambush a single individual, kill him, and retreat before they are discovered. This is considered to be the most desirable outcome of the raid.

722 The women were nervous, frightened, and irritable while the men were away,
[562] and they were constantly on the lookout for raiders from other villages. This is always
*[628] a time to suspect raiders, since allies occasionally turn on their friends when the women are poorly guarded, abducting as many as possible while their husbands are away.

After several days the women were so frustrated and anxious that fights began to
[578] break out among them. One woman got angry because another one, her sister and co-wife,
[593] left her to tend a small baby. When the mother returned, the angry one picked up a piece of firewood and bashed her on the side of her head with it, knocking her unconscious and causing her ear to bleed profusely.

726 The raiders had been gone almost a week when Kąobawä and his youngest brother
484 staggered into the village, nearly dead from exhaustion. Kąobawä's pains had gotten
[641] so bad that he decided to turn back just before they reached the Patanowä-teri village. He could barely walk by that time and would not have been able to elude pursuers should the enemy have given chase. Shararaiwä, his brother, decided to accompany him back lest he run into a group of Patanowä-teri hunters, or his condition grow even more severe. Shortly after they had dropped out of the raiding party, Shararaiwä stepped on a snake and was bitten. The rains had started, and the snakes were beginning to concentrate on the higher grounds, making walking a hazard. His leg began to swell immedi-
• [758] ately, and he could not walk. Hence, Kąobawä had to carry him out on his back, despite the fact that he could barely walk himself. Carrying him for nearly two days, he managed to reach the Orinoco River. Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,[3] so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Sharariwā had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kaobawā was very exhausted from the trip.

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chanted briefly with Kaobawā, explaining that they had reached Patanowā-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowā-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwā of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart.

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwā with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound.

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yanomamö have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwā was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered.

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowā-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowā. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *unokaimou* ceremony.

They were given spaces in Kaobawā's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kaobawā felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowā's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwā of Kaobawā's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowā-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowā-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they

[3] The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kaobawā's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Bisasi-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Bisasi-teri would not borrow it.

/71 cont./
765 dancing and singing. About an hour before sunrise, however, all
787 the sleepers were awakened; they again took snuff immediately,
276 and once more there began a wild dance with singing until day-
[821] break. The death ceremony must be kept secret from the sun (it
[775] is likewise regarded as a male creature), the worst enemy of the moon, because otherwise it would hinder the soul's wandering. Loudly sustained, shrill, joyous cries formed the conclusion and made it manifest that the soul of the deceased had found entry
765 into the moon. Then all the warriors, sobbing loudly, formed a circle around the burned-down funeral pyre, while the /72/ brother and other relatives gathered up the charred remains of the bones from the ashes. After these had been pounded in gourd vessels by means of small stone mortars, the bone ashes were emptied into two bowls made out of the jamaru fruit, which the brother of the deceased wrapped with palm leaves and a liana binding. Thereupon he handed them to the chief, who lifted up each one in the direction of the moon and, singing, blessed it, while the men standing about uttered shrill cries. With this the end of the ceremony was reached, and the exhausted warriors could again return to their maloka in order to recover in their hammocks from
[766] the strenuous night. The brother of the deceased tied the two jamaru bowls containing the bone ashes to the rafters of the roof behind his hearth, in order to keep them for the big annual festival in memory of the dead, at which the bone ashes of their dead, mixed with banana soup, are drunk by the men (see pp.231 ff.). From now on there was no more wailing and weeping in the maloka; daily life had resumed its normal course.

● 776 After the death of women and of children too, as soon as they have completed the third year of life, the death ceremonies are
[822] conducted in exactly the same way. For a deceased chief, on the other hand, there is dancing around the funeral pyre for three nights, for, of course, his entrance into the moon must be particularly solemn.

/99 cont./

755 objects out of her body and now hurled them away with gestures of disgust, amid the loud shouts of "oh" and "ah" by his helpers. During this sucking and stroking, the chorus of all the "hekurá" standing in a circle swelled to tremendous power and subsided only after Hewemãõ slowly withdrew, for his work was ended for the time being. He was bathed in sweat and, completely exhausted, lay down in his hammock, where his two wives provided him with a nourishing meal consisting of roasted tapir meat, manioc flat-cakes, and a bacaba drink.

The sick woman was not released, however, even after this five-hour cure. From 11:00 to 1:00 at night the husband and the medicine-man helpers continued it in the manner described above. The main thing was the choral singing and the dancing in step, with occasional sitting, stroking the sick woman, sucking, threatening hand movements toward an invisible opponent, spitting, etc. added. At 1:00 two more men dropped out, including the husband. The latter now lifted his wife up and laid her in her /100/ hammock, then he crouched beside her and tenderly supported her head. For about another two hours the medicine-man helpers went on singing and "curing" and after that one alone until around 5:00. Only then could the sick woman surrender herself for a short time to a well-earned rest (501). Many other members of the tribe watched this magic

●[761]

501. If patients have become very much worse, they are kept awake as much as possible to prevent their life from escaping. For if they fall asleep, death might take possession of them.

performance, above all women, who wept softly during it. They crouched in a semicircle at a somewhat greater distance and watched the proceedings with rapt attention, but only as long as the chief was acting. When he finished his work, the spectators gradually disappeared.

Unfortunately, all efforts remained unsuccessful in this case, and Hewemãõ confessed to me the next day, when the sick woman

/228 cont./

756 778 825 [533] The Sanemá sablí has great power over animals and plants represented in his hikuladɨ, with which he communicates while he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song ɔ̃kamɔ̃ against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladɨ of the sablí goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablí do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 533 754 [825] [774] The sablíes sing almost every night, and the bigger the animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense is the song. In his songs, the sablí can send any híkula from his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 756 [754] [753] [761] I have the impression that the híkulas belonging to the various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish of the sablí. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a híkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention of the sablí and by his magical power.

756 755 774 The priest sablí, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts, sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare off the harmful híkula which is striving to enter the body of the man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the híkula of the sablí and others chosen from his "pueblo of híkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablí depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great híkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the híkula or híkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablí makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the híkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

829
648 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

774
152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three [753] parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leav- [761] ing the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females. [825] Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

[754] Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö [756] shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

221
156 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence
152 in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kąobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kąobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kąobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kąobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kąobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kąobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kąobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*bekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *bekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kąobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *bekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *bekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yąnomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobömou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*rwo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

/219 cont./

588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.

589 793 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 159 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá, but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 753 825 763 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle. As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica, the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle. A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people, that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for

159 764 his certain death.

Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

/228 cont./

756 may also happen that a sablf with a small "pueblo" of hfkulas in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a hfkula suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert sablf, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A young sablf is always hopeful that the hfkula "pueblo" in his chest will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

75[illegible] The potentiality of the hfkula of the sablf makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the sablf is the best
[624] man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A sablf of great power does not die until all the hfkulas of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
774 live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of
[754] his hfkula grows and brings about his death. Then the sablf informs his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his hfkula frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24).

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The hfkula of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place. Our informant told us that the hfkulas of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /tigres mariposas/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a hfkula of his group or one from a dead sablf. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

/229 cont./

774 The world of the "specific" hĩkulas is found on the other side of the horizon and in contrast with the world of the souls. There the sablĩes live forever, together with the dead animals and plants.

562 773 825 [774] It is worthwhile to refer once again to the insistence of our Sanemá informant from the Upper Caura regarding the fact that women do not have specific hĩkula. He asserted to us, furthermore, that women have a different origin from men and that there still exists a purely feminine world, and that each Sanemá pueblo has its corresponding hanekasá. The informant would not identify the animal of which he spoke, but we knew [773] that it was of a well-known species. From the mythology one can deduce that the first men were made from a dead tree by the cultural hero brothers, while the first woman was fished out of a very large river.

Omao wished to metamorphose into women the butterflies which danced /230/ like people on the shore of a river, because the hanekasá are a pueblo of females in which there are only three males to insure reproduction. This pueblo of amazons is an exact replica of the female population of the rancheria neighboring a pueblo, in the characteristics of which we found a concept of alter ego for the Sanemá women.

[774] It is possible that there exists some relationship between • [763] the hĩkula and the male, for it is said that men die from the "weight" of the hĩkula of certain animals; but we are not certain on this point (cf. Zerries, 1958b; Becher, 1960, p. 92). We are [763] more certain about the relationship which exists between women and the hanekasá animal, since a woman (of the neighboring rancheria) dies for each hanekasá which is killed. Other religious concepts which are difficult to interpret for the time being may also enter here.

791 755 A third type of theurgist which seems to exist in Sanemá society is the magician, the kãilala. He does not sing like the sablĩ and has no influence over the specific hĩkulas or over souls. He is the curer of the organism, of the body of a man. He cures by uttering tremendous cries, gives massages on the ailing and painful limbs of his patients. Suddenly he will surprise all those

[See additional data on the hanekasá on p 113 .. Analyst]

/483 cont./

758 They bathe sick persons. If the patient cannot go to the
515 stream, they bathe him part by part at home and even in his own hammock.

/484/ Death

763 They are generally afraid of death and make every effort to keep a dying person alive for a while longer. When someone is in danger of dying, the relatives and friends hold meetings for lamentations at least once a day.

764 When a dying person expires, a time of mourning begins.
[302] Then, at about 3:00 in the afternoon, the funeral begins. The relatives and friends begin to paint themselves. There is much
[535] crying and lamentation. The women dance forward and backward, groaning and carrying several poisoned darts in one hand. If there are young children, they are frequently carried also. If the deceased is a little one, its little body may be carried during the final part of this mourning dance. A few closely related men and the intimate friends also participate in the dance.

After the lamentations have continued for a quarter of an hour more or less, the men go out in search of firewood and light a fire of two meters in front of the dwelling where the corpse is lying. When the fire reaches an adequate size, the body is carried there in a hammock made of cords of vine and placed on the fire. Then they put more wood on top of the
[766] corpse. If the deceased is an infant, they place it in the fire in a flat basket rather than a hammock. They keep the fire burn-
[765] ing until around ten at night. Then they gather up the bones, wrap them in leaves, and hang them in the house.

If someone should die far from the settlement, his body is wrapped in leaves tied with vines and carried to the settlement to be cremated.

765 About three days after the cremation, the bones are pulverized in a small trough and then kept hermetically in a gourd capped with beeswax. The trough is made by using a machete to carve out the hole, burning its interior. They use it only once. After it is used, both the trough and the pestle are burned. Much weeping accompanies the process of pulverization and sealing the remains in the gourd.

123 /154 cont./

721 At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/ bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look, raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the [752] men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pour- [755] ing water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood, since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the 726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In some way the chief and "Yelequei-jûu" managed to pass some of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were ● 763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a 183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also state the brave words which he would say.)

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to [764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had recovered.

Surára
Pakidái

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[796] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[155] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[437] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons
● [764] are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

/69 cont./

727 are lodged in every village. They are regarded as common prop-
83 erty. Unfortunately, one also sees children used for similar pur-
171 poses. This clearly shows the dualism in the etiquette of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to members of their own tribe. This attitude, which is common to all primitive peoples, cannot, for this reason, alter our judgment concerning the morality of the Karaja in general" (332).

332. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 28.

844 k) Death and burial customs
844
585 As the previous comments have shown, there are neither
764 birth nor marriage ceremonies among the Surára and Pakidái. The social and religious life is therefore dominated all the more by death practices.

• 764 If a human being who has completed the third year of life dies, the relatives are inconsolable. There is lamenting in the loudest tones, and the flood of tears among men, women, and children seems endless. Meanwhile, however, the customary occupations are not neglected. While the woman is fetching water from the river, for example, she weeps incessantly to herself and intermittently shrieks loudly; the same is true for the men at their work in the plantings and even for the children at their play. The other members of the tribe cast only an occasional compassionate glance at the mourners, and with this their interest is exhausted.

Immediately after a death it is the duty of the male relatives and /70/ friends to fell small trees in the forest, out of which they make a cylindrical wooden frame -- praotimá. This consists of 15 to 20 poles 1.60-1.80 meters long, which are tied with lianas a handbreadth apart. The corpse is slid into this, and liana ropes are drawn over the two open ends so that it is protected from the attack of birds, especially vultures.

/70 cont./

●764 Among the Pakidái I was able to be present on the sad occasion of a burial ceremony for the young, vigorous, and happy Hokotómarimá, an unmarried youth whose age was 19 years at [762] most. He had fallen from the top of a pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) (the liana lashing of his climbing apparatus, see p. 121, had evidently not been firm enough) and must have suffered internal injuries. All the efforts to save him, which were carried out uninterruptedly by the chief and his helpers for two days and nights, were unsuccessful.

[302] After the dead Hokotómarimá had been pushed into the wooden frame, five warriors whose bodies were painted all over with urucú carried him out of the maloka, amid loud lamentations. Two men carried the frame, one in front and one in back; now and then they were relieved by their companions. The women of his kin group, in part with children on their hips or by the hand, accompanied him, amid heart-rending, shrill tones of lament and endlessly flowing tears, on this last journey to the edge of the forest. Then the five men went on alone with the deceased. (The chief did not take part; he would do so only if the deceased were a relative.) After a walk of about 20 minutes, they suddenly stopped, set down the frame, and selected a suitable tree, in order to hang it in the crown. When they had found it, in this case a tall imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.) -- tokorí --, two men climbed up, each with two long lianas (cipó-titica) hanging around their necks. They chose a particularly thick limb, then lowered the lianas, where their companions tied them to the wooden frame, and pulled it up with the dead man lying in it. When the frame was hanging firmly and securely on the branch, they climbed down again.

Immediately thereafter the five men started back to the [551] maloka. On the way, however, the brother of the deceased cut into a tree, the name of which the deceased bore -- hokotómarimá -- matamatazeiro (Eschweilera matamata Hub.), with his tercado (large bush-knife) and in the lower part of the trunk, deep notches which had the following appearance ~~~~~~~~~~~~ and extended around the entire trunk. This was supposed to make the tree die.

/70 cont./

764 [551] If the deceased had borne, say, the name of an animal, it would have been the duty of the brother or a relative to kill such an animal. For, with the dead person, an animal or plant of the same name must also be killed or be made to die (see pp. 138/139).

While the deceased hung in the crown of the imbauba tree, the laments of his relatives in the maloka continued, and even the children did not lag behind their parents in this respect. At night one or two men were always awake, sometimes also a woman, who, at the same time, sang, wept, and intermittently uttered shrill sounds. The sleep of the other members of the tribe, however, was not disturbed by it.

765 Seventeen days after the death of Hokotómarimá the second part of the burial ceremony began. The male relatives cut down more trees, and, under the imbauba tree in whose crown the dead man hung, they raised a funeral pyre; moreover, they cleared the forest at this spot, so that there was a rather large open area. On the afternoon of the eighteenth day all the Pakidái men then painted themselves with urucú and, under the leadership of Chief Karenauõ, singing loudly and weeping at the same time, they went to the place of the dead. All the women and children remaining behind also wept fervently, even the ones who were not related to the deceased. The /71/ men carried bows and arrows in their hands; some of them also carried snuff-powder and the tube for blowing it in. The brother, moreover, had the weapons and tools of the deceased, as well as bowls made out of the jamaru fruit -- horotó.

When the procession reached the imbauba tree, two kinsmen climbed up once more and carefully lowered the wooden frame, which was received by the other warriors and placed on the pyre in such a way that the head of the deceased was turned toward the rising moon. The dead man, however, was only a skeleton. The flesh had decayed and fallen through the slats to the ground where the vultures, ants, and other animals had devoured it. The brother put his weapons and tools on the wooden frame, so that they would be available to Hokotómarimá in the realm of the dead. Several pieces of meat, bananas, some manioc flour, and the full calabash of a palm drink were to serve as food along the way.

Surára
Pakidái

/73 cont./

764 171 For the types of burial of the Surára and Pakidái, which are undoubtedly very old and original, there are no parallels thus far in South America (334). This is true of the combined tree- and

[184)

334. Among the Waikâ /Waica/, the corpse is cremated on the same day on the village square (Zerries, 1955b, p. 664).

fire-burial as well as of the earth burial of old people. A deceased member of the tribe, however, is only hung in a treetop for two or three weeks, so that his flesh will decay, before the bones are subsequently cremated.

765 171 175 The latter custom, albeit in the form of combined earth- and fire-burial, is, moreover, already mentioned in old sources. "Far inland," writes Barrère with regard to Guiana, "there are nations who assemble in order to dig out skeletons, when they think that the corpse is almost decayed, and after they have calcined these, they drink the ashes, which they soak in roucou, and they believe that they have thereby given their dead a more decent burial than if they left them to worms and putrefaction" (335).

335. Barrère, 1751, p. 172.

764 765 171 175 Similar reports are given by Froger about French Guiana (336)

336. "They have great respect for the old people, and when one of them dies, they inter him in the Carbet (Maloka) without any other ceremony than becoming very intoxicated: but when they believe that he is almost decayed, they assemble the Indians of the neighboring Carbets, dig out the bones, burn them, and take the ashes into their Oüicou in order to have a great feast" /translated from the French/ (Froger, 1715, p. 178).

Surára
Pakidái

175
764
765
771
[715]

/73 cont./
and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

5. War -- nĩanyu --

619
648
721

The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood revenge -- noyú -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

2: Becher--197 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

VIII. Religion and Magic

1. The Religious Conception of the World

821
796

According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the earth is a disk over which the sky arches like a bell. All power emanates from the moon -- Perimbó -- and from Poré, the lord of the moon, who is pictured as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red. Occasionally he comes down to earth, but is then invisible to human beings.

Thus, Poré and Perimbó constitute an inseparable unity that is regarded as eternal, just, and benevolent, but is also able to punish, if necessary. To it is attributed the origin of the earth and all life, and it is assumed that the events of creation followed in direct as well as in indirect fashion (442).

> 442. The creation myth of the Yanomámi /Yanoama/ represents an example of such indirect creations (see pp. 247/248).

821
795

The moon, a large, open, circular maloka located in the midst of a planting and surrounded by forests, mountains, and rivers (443), is at the same time regarded as the place where

> 443. The picture of the surface of the moon corresponds to the open, almost circular Surára maloka (see pp. 25/27).

all the souls of human beings who were cremated after death lead a paradisiac existence under Poré. There are animals, plants, and fruits in abundance here, and no moon-dweller need ever suffer hunger and thirst.

[821
794]

But only with the smoke rising during the cremation can a soul -- uwexík -- (identical with cloud, smoke), which exists in the bones and never leaves the body during life, reach this paradise. The souls of the dead who are not cremated become shadows -- petamíhi -- that must wander about restlessly.

Surára. Pakidái Waica

/92 cont./ and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waikâ /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omaua," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

Surára Pakidai Waica

/95 cont./

793 184 Surára and Pakidái, but here in addition there are also such for the animals themselves, and, to be sure, smaller ones are always transformed into larger ones (see p. 251). The myth of the creation of the ant bear, in which Omaua or Porê transforms a man who has committed incest with his mother-in-law into this animal by magic, is familiar to the Waiká (486), as well as to

486. Zerries, 1958b, p. 285.

the Surára and Pakidái, in the same version (see p. 250).

794 184 Likewise synonymous is the system of the species-spirits of animals and plants, hekurá (Surára and Pakidái), or "hekula" (Waiká) (487), which is closely connected with the medicine-man system.

487. Zerries, 1958b, pp. 286/87.

794 795 184 [X4] Of interest, finally, are comparisons concerning the conception of the human soul. It can ascend to the moon (Surára and Pakidái) or to heaven (Waiká) (488) only if the corpse is

488. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

cremated, for its name, uwexík (Surára and Pakidái), or "nobolebe" (Waiká) (488) /see footnote above/, is identical with that of cloud, smoke. According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the soul exists in the bones (see p. 151) (489).

[171]

489. In this respect they correspond to many other tribes, for in his essay "Die Antropophagie der südamerikanischen Indianer /The Anthropophagy of the South American Indians/," Koch (Grünberg) writes: "All these practices show that the Indian, incapable of separating the physical from the spiritual, regards the bones, which alone remain after the corpse has decomposed, as the actual and ultimate seat of the soul" (Koch (Grünberg), 1899, p. 83).

/209/

273 271 177 The beverage of the Sanemá is water. They do not make alcoholic beverages. In recent times the Sanemá who live in contact with the Makiritare have learned to prepare cashíri, and they are beginning to drink it with some frequency. Nevertheless, the preparation of alcoholic beverages is not common among the Sanemá and Yanoama in general.

252 263 261 The greater part of their food is toasted or broiled in the coals. They do not eat salt, properly speaking, but they use wood ashes and peppers. They also clean dry clay and eat it.

276 As stimulants they have tobacco and yopo. They do not smoke, but rather roll up the tobacco leaves, and, after treating them with ashes, they put them in back of the lower lip. The yopo is made with certain leaves and ashes of bark. It seems that they have several kinds, according to the degree of strength. They showed us a gray type and a black one. One who wishes to take a dose puts the intoxicating powder in a tube and a companion blows it into his nose. In general, yopo is related to religious ideas. [764] It appears that they take it at burial ceremonies when they accompany a deceased person and his "híkula upwards." The theurgists also use it frequently in their various ceremonies. There are known cases in which a man "flew off" with a strong dose of yopo and, losing his way, never came back to earth!

581 183 591 184 The founding of a family is the fervent desire of all the young people of the tribe. We observed a degree of irregularity in the custom of determining the matrimonial residence. In the Sanemá group of the Erebato, this seems to be bilocal, as among the Waica of the upper Orinoco (Barker, 1953, p. 478), while on the Ventuari we noticed a tendency toward unilocality. We

591 182 596 are not certain, but it would seem that normal residence is initially matrilocal with postmatrimonial betrothal service and then changes to bilocal. This arrangement brings about the formation of bilocal extended families in Yanoama society.

596 591 Societies with bilocal extended families are relatively rare, but their existence among the Sanemá does not surprise us if we bear in mind that the economic situation of the tribe lends

/219 cont./

588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.

589 793 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 159 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá, but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 753 825 763 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle. As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica, the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle. A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people, that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for his certain death.

159 764 Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

/220 cont./

159 inside, it is tied with lianas. Then they take the corpse into
764 the forest where it is deposited, at a distance of some kilometers, on the branches of a tree in order for the flesh to decompose there. Often the members of the family will not leave the corpse alone in the forest for fear that animals will come and
[775] devour it. The dead are very much afraid of animals and shout when a jaguar approaches them.

[825] The feline respects only a dead sablf, because he will die
[756] in turn if he approaches.

Our informant spent several nights next to his father's
[784] corpse, always being very careful not to step on the damp ground beneath the dead man, because those who step there lose their feet.

152 The grief of the relatives is so intense that very often some
764 of them can not endure the pain and go to the forest to die. Above all the women lament a great deal during the night and the men hold them back so that they will not run away to the forest. The informant remembered that the strongest man of his tribe behaved as though he were mad after the death of his father and wanted to kill everybody. The men did not allow him to go with them into the forest to gather up the bones of his father for fear that, given his behavior, he might commit some crime.

765 After one month, more or less, the men of the tribe go to the forest and gather up the bones of their companion; the flesh decomposes completely during this period. Some of the men let down the coffin and others wrap the remains of the deceased in some large leaves, making in this way a bundle of bones which they take back with them to the rancheria. There they place it in a hammock and leave it for about four days, while the relatives continue to weep in uninterrupted lamentation.

765 Later the sablf carries the bones to a fire prepared in the
775 plaza and places them on top of the pile of firewood. Our
[756] informant also said that as the sablf did this he pronounced a well-known formula which means: "you are getting along well," for, if he did not say this, the hikula would not be able to find its way. Afterwards he lights the fire, blows upon it at the same time as he raises his arms /221/ above his head, and in the smoke

/227 cont./

773 774 The Sanemá became discouraged in the face of the ferociousness of the monster and feared the day on which Chinanſdmawan would again mistreat and kill them.

773 774 756 In those days there lived among the Sanemá a great sablſ, very famous and extremely powerful, who began to think of how he could free them from this demon. The great sablſ went off to the forest, and there he found a liana which seemed very suitable for his purposes. He cut a piece of the bejuco and returned. During the night he went to the house of Chinanſdmawan in order to surprise him while he was asleep surrounded by his horrible trophies. In fact he did find him in a deep sleep; the sablſ then introduced a piece of the liana up his anus. The demon woke up startled. He realized that a powerful sablſ had found the means of killing him. In fact, shortly thereafter Chinanſdmawan died, and the Sanemá exposed his corpse to the sun so that the flesh might rot. But because the demon had such tough skin, the flesh dried up and the skin remained intact; they then tried to burn it, but this was impossible, so they flung it into the forest and fled from the place.

773 774 The skin of Chinanſdmawan, abandoned in the forest, gained access into the plants, animals, and men. That is why all male human beings, the animals, and the plants have within their bodies a hard and indestructible Chinanſdmawan which is called hſkula,

774 [764] The hſkula is that part of the male which remains on earth after his death. When the body of a person is burned, his hſkula, on seeing the black cloud which rises from the fire, joins all the other hſkulas and they remain there for a long time... listening and listening to what comes from the world where men live.

[826] The size of the hſkula of a man corresponds to the measure of his torso, and the larger the hſkula is, the stronger is the person.

[764] [276] [793] During the funeral rites, the men, under the influence of yopo, sing about their gigantic hſkula, and, in order to prove their gigantic strength, /228/ they invite each other to the wasamú, and they squeeze each other powerfully with their arms or with sticks. Among the men, only the priest, hɛwĩawan, has no hſkula, because he is already a citizen of heaven.

/483 cont./

758 515 They bathe sick persons. If the patient cannot go to the stream, they bathe him part by part at home and even in his own hammock.

/484/ Death

763 They are generally afraid of death and make every effort to keep a dying person alive for a while longer. When someone is in danger of dying, the relatives and friends hold meetings for lamentations at least once a day.

764 [302] [535] When a dying person expires, a time of mourning begins. Then, at about 3:00 in the afternoon, the funeral begins. The relatives and friends begin to paint themselves. There is much crying and lamentation. The women dance forward and backward, groaning and carrying several poisoned darts in one hand. If there are young children, they are frequently carried also. If the deceased is a little one, its little body may be carried during the final part of this mourning dance. A few closely related men and the intimate friends also participate in the dance.

After the lamentations have continued for a quarter of an hour more or less, the men go out in search of firewood and light a fire of two meters in front of the dwelling where the corpse is lying. When the fire reaches an adequate size, the body is carried there in a hammock made of cords of vine and placed on the fire. Then they put more wood on top of the [766] corpse. If the deceased is an infant, they place it in the fire in a flat basket rather than a hammock. They keep the fire burning [765] until around ten at night. Then they gather up the bones, wrap them in leaves, and hang them in the house.

If someone should die far from the settlement, his body is wrapped in leaves tied with vines and carried to the settlement to be cremated.

765 About three days after the cremation, the bones are pulverized in a small trough and then kept hermetically in a gourd capped with beeswax. The trough is made by using a machete to carve out the hole, burning its interior. They use it only once. After it is used, both the trough and the pestle are burned. Much weeping accompanies the process of pulverization and sealing the remains in the gourd.

123 /154 cont./

721 At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/ bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look, raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the [752] men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pour- [755] ing water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood, since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the 726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In some way the chief and "Yelequei-jûu" managed to pass some of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were 763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a 183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also state the brave words which he would say.)

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to [764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had recovered.

/164 cont./

729 new place located several hundred meters away. The matadores
783 went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained some distance away. They could not touch anything that they
[413] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the
[352] trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days, until the matadores thought the ciclo /cycle, term/ completed.

726 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place. The first aldea into which they penetrated was empty, and so was the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the principal aldea. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bisheasetjeti began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed. /Illustration appears here./

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River. The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

166 Since they had fallen out with the Liacoatjeti, the
361 Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north side.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

133 But ibis in immense droves refused to be disturbed as they
123 covered each new sandbank that was born.
[136] The water was as clear as if it had been filtered, its reflection of the sun blinding. Dark patches of smooth water amid the rippled surface elsewhere betrayed the next sandbanks to uncover.

We left behind the Padamo, Ocamo and the Mavaca, and all the time the river got narrower. We passed the nights on great flat platforms of rock which got larger as the water went down; with machetes we killed fish trapped in the rocky pools left by the receding stream. A dish of ananas and fish, half-soup, half-stew, is very tasty. It is called *sancoco* and from now on became our staple diet.

123 From Esmeralda we had brought supplies of sugar, coffee, salt, some oil and four big baskets of *manioc* from which we
[136] made coarse bread at all hours of the day. Several times we saw fresh water turtles clinging to the rocks and once or twice succeeded in catching one. But they are wily creatures and usually they dived before we could get near them. One we caught was handicapped by an injured foot which the men asserted was the work of a caribe. Unfortunately, it was too early for the females to be laying their eggs in the sand—they would have been manna, indeed.

123 We arrived at Platanal on November 21st to find that the
721 bridge had been cut down and learned that this had been deliberately done "for strategic reasons". The Indians greeted us like old friends and unhesitatingly took us to the village. There we found feverish activity on all sides. A boy had been kidnapped from the plantation and another killed
[764] by an arrow through the chest. The corpse had been cremated amid ritual weeping and the ashes stored by the family in an urn sealed by wax. Not until the death had been avenged could they be mixed with the dust of the lad's ancestors.

[712] The men had strengthened and consolidated the fortified enclosure and cut down the screen of trees round the village. Sentries had been posted and the entry through the fortification had been concealed by palm-leaves. Women were

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

*628 721 578 would have been a display of weakness. They decided to challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a club fight and settle their grievances by that means. Ten days after Kakoma was taken from Karidimõ, the Monou-tedi men arrived at Bisaasi-tedi and settled the dispute in a club fight. The Monou-tedi were thoroughly trounced by the larger number of Bisaasi-tedi, but they nevertheless demonstrated their potential and willingness to fight, thereby warning the Bisaasi-tedi that they better not attempt to seize more women in the future.

The Bisaasi-tedi clearly had taken advantage of the Monou-tedi numerical weakness and political needs to advance their own ends.

726 In the first week of March 1965 the Patanowã-tedi raided the Monou-tedi. They found the village site on the Mavaca River deserted, so they crossed the river and followed the trail taken by the Monou-tedi to their new garden. They [822] caught the Monou-tedi headman outside the new garden and killed him.

*628 928 This attack brought about an immediate rapprochement between the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi. Even Kaobãwã, leader of one of Bisaasi-tedi's main factions, was furious over this killing. Up to this point he was still interested in making peace with the Patanowã-tedi, but this even temporarily changed his mind. Kaobãwã ultimately led the revenge raid against the Patanowã-tedi.

726 [824] The Monou-tedi burned the corpse of the slain headman and sent small gourds of his ground bones to members of allied

villages (Bisaasi-tedi, Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi, and Karohi-tedi). These ashes were to be consumed prior to revenge raids on the Patanowɨ-tedi. The Monou-tedi then set about transporting plantain cuttings to their new garden and spent the next several weeks working on the garden. They intended to delay their revenge raid until the beginning of the rainy season in order to make it difficult for the Patanowɨ-tedi to raid them in return. The Monou-tedi moved into Bisaasi-tedi at the end of March both for military protection and for respite from their heavy agricultural labors. They stayed with the Bisaasi-tedi until the end of April, fearing that they would be raided by the Patanowɨ-tedi if they returned to their own village before the rains started. They also planned to raid the Patanowɨ-tedi from Bisaasi-tedi at the beginning of the wet season, knowing that a revenge raid from Patanowɨ-tedi would be difficult once the rains started. They could return to their own village during the rainy season, as the jungle separating their village from the Patanowɨ-tedi is inundated at this time of the year and cannot be traversed.

On April 19th the Bisaasi-tedi sponsored a mortuary feast for the slain Monou-tedi headman in preparation for the revenge raid. The participants in the revenge raid were to include the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi, but they did not arrive as scheduled, so the raid was delayed until the 21st. Only a few Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi arrived to participate in the raid, and the Bisaasi-tedi immediately suspected that the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi were plotting to abduct women from them after

774 I, in effect, was capturing the *nowãhi* of the child: A photograph was called *nowãhi*.[13]
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
170 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no wãwãhi*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *nowãhi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After [887] several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yąnomamö fear the smoke that is produced [553] when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on [783] contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones [783] are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and [562] women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe [858] carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter. [237] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the [531] circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment. [562] The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a [531] long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and [266] sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere- [726] monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[13] Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of that person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

Damowä's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowä-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowä-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowä's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowä outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders; although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewä, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowä, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kaobawä and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowä's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowä were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowä-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowä the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowä's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kaobawä, a classificatory brother to Damowä, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowä's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwä, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hor* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Shu* lineage to the *Hor* lineage.

Kaobawä delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2]See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-3 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

/70 cont./

764 [551] If the deceased had borne, say, the name of an animal, it would have been the duty of the brother or a relative to kill such an animal. For, with the dead person, an animal or plant of the same name must also be killed or be made to die (see pp. 138/139).

While the deceased hung in the crown of the imbauba tree, the laments of his relatives in the maloka continued, and even the children did not lag behind their parents in this respect. At night one or two men were always awake, sometimes also a woman, who, at the same time, sang, wept, and intermittently uttered shrill sounds. The sleep of the other members of the tribe, however, was not disturbed by it.

•765 Seventeen days after the death of Hokotómarimá the second part of the burial ceremony began. The male relatives cut down more trees, and, under the imbauba tree in whose crown the dead man hung, they raised a funeral pyre; moreover, they cleared the forest at this spot, so that there was a rather large open area. On the afternoon of the eighteenth day all the Pakidái men then painted themselves with urucú and, under the leadership of Chief Karenauõ, singing loudly and weeping at the same time, they went to the place of the dead. All the women and children remaining behind also wept fervently, even the ones who were not related to the deceased. The /71/ men carried bows and arrows in their hands; some of them also carried snuff-powder and the tube for blowing it in. The brother, moreover, had the weapons and tools of the deceased, as well as bowls made out of the jamaru fruit -- horotó.

When the procession reached the imbauba tree, two kinsmen climbed up once more and carefully lowered the wooden frame, which was received by the other warriors and placed on the pyre in such a way that the head of the deceased was turned toward the rising moon. The dead man, however, was only a skeleton. The flesh had decayed and fallen through the slats to the ground where the vultures, ants, and other animals had devoured it. The brother put his weapons and tools on the wooden frame, so that they would be available to Hokotómarimá in the realm of the dead. Several pieces of meat, bananas, some manioc flour, and the full calabash of a palm drink were to serve as food along the way.

/71 cont./

765 Shortly before sundown a bright, blazing fire was kindled with the help of the fire-drill, and the funeral pyre was set afire with it. Then the men blew the snuff into each other's noses, and after a few minutes they were in a state of intoxication, during which they danced, singing and screaming, around the flames that leaped up over the dead man. This was the appeal to the hekurá who are supposed to help the soul of the dead on its journey [782] to the moon (see pp.199/201). The chief uttered his prayers of supplication in a loud voice, and all the other men joined in the chorus. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff into each other's noses, so that their ecstasy constantly increased and finally reached an unimaginable climax when the fire took possession of the skeleton. It no longer seemed to be human beings who, howling, stamping, and gesticulating, now stormed around the pyre. They seemed to have taken leave of their senses, and, as a result of the snuff-intoxication, they probably actually were in another world. To me, the sight was like a nightmare and made me think [704] [705] of paintings by Hieronymus Bosch. The wandering of the soul of the dead existing in the bones, accompanied by the tree-soul, had begun, and the hekurá paved the way for them. Meanwhile, night had fallen, and the moon, which I suddenly noticed in the sky in its full size between the crowns of the trees, seemed to be waiting for its new inhabitant. In spite of the heat, which was increased [123] by the fire of the funeral pyre, cold shudders ran down my spine, and an indescribable feeling of terror clutched at my heart. Though I had not taken any snuff-powder at this ceremony, I, too, was in a veritable drunken fever. Never before, neither in church nor in a theater, had I experienced a scene as grandiose as the one here in the nocturnal forest of Amazonia.

765 787 276

This death ceremony continued until dawn. After midnight, however, only a few men, whose duty it was at the same time to keep the funeral pyre burning, were still dancing and singing. The other warriors lay exhausted on the ground and slept. Occasionally one of the dancers was nudged. He got up immediately, had snuff blown into his nose, and danced around the pyre, singing, while another lay down to sleep. Finally, only two men were still

/71 cont./

dancing and singing. About an hour before sunrise, however, all the sleepers were awakened; they again took snuff immediately, and once more there began a wild dance with singing until daybreak. The death ceremony must be kept secret from the sun (it is likewise regarded as a male creature), the worst enemy of the moon, because otherwise it would hinder the soul's wandering. Loudly sustained, shrill, joyous cries formed the conclusion and made it manifest that the soul of the deceased had found entry into the moon. Then all the warriors, sobbing loudly, formed a circle around the burned-down funeral pyre, while the /72/ brother and other relatives gathered up the charred remains of the bones from the ashes. After these had been pounded in gourd vessels by means of small stone mortars, the bone ashes were emptied into two bowls made out of the jamaru fruit, which the brother of the deceased wrapped with palm leaves and a liana binding. Thereupon he handed them to the chief, who lifted up each one in the direction of the moon and, singing, blessed it, while the men standing about uttered shrill cries. With this the end of the ceremony was reached, and the exhausted warriors could again return to their maloka in order to recover in their hammocks from the strenuous night. The brother of the deceased tied the two jamaru bowls containing the bone ashes to the rafters of the roof behind his hearth, in order to keep them for the big annual festival in memory of the dead, at which the bone ashes of their dead, mixed with banana soup, are drunk by the men (see pp.231 f.). From now on there was no more wailing and weeping in the maloka; daily life had resumed its normal course.

After the death of women and of children too, as soon as they have completed the third year of life, the death ceremonies are conducted in exactly the same way. For a deceased chief, on the other hand, there is dancing around the funeral pyre for three nights, for, of course, his entrance into the moon must be particularly solemn.

Surára
Pakidái

/73 cont./

764 171 For the types of burial of the Surára and Pakidái, which are undoubtedly very old and original, there are no parallels thus far in South America (334). This is true of the combined tree- and

[184)

334. Among the Waikâ /Waica/, the corpse is cremated on the same day on the village square (Zerries, 1955b, p. 664).

fire-burial as well as of the earth burial of old people. A deceased member of the tribe, however, is only hung in a treetop for two or three weeks, so that his flesh will decay, before the bones are subsequently cremated.

765 171 175 The latter custom, albeit in the form of combined earth- and fire-burial, is, moreover, already mentioned in old sources. "Far inland," writes Barrère with regard to Guiana, "there are nations who assemble in order to dig out skeletons, when they think that the corpse is almost decayed, and after they have calcined these, they drink the ashes, which they soak in roucou, and they believe that they have thereby given their dead a more decent burial than if they left them to worms and putrefaction" (335).

335. Barrère, 1751, p. 172.

764 765 171 175 Similar reports are given by Froger about French Guiana (336)

336. "They have great respect for the old people, and when one of them dies, they inter him in the Carbet (Maloka) without any other ceremony than becoming very intoxicated: but when they believe that he is almost decayed, they assemble the Indians of the neighboring Carbets, dig out the bones, burn them, and take the ashes into their Oüicou in order to have a great feast" /translated from the French/ (Froger, 1715, p. 178).

2: Becher--156 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
175
764
765
191
[M15]

/73 cont./

and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

619
648
721

5. War -- nĩanyu --

The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood revenge -- noyú -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

/218 cont./

595 We have mentioned that an adult may marry a very young girl, but must not have sexual relations with her until after the first menstrual periods. We do not base our observation on the practice of polygyny among the Sanemá in isolated cases, but rather on the fact that several men have several adult wives at the [554] same time. It does not seem that polygyny is an exclusive privilege of status or rank, but rather is an accepted thing, since [584] all adults may marry two or more women. Since there seems to be some scarcity of marriageable girls, the custom of binding oneself to a little girl can be looked upon as a form of foresightedness [589] by the man, with a view to the future. Many polygynous marriages, however, probably stem from the custom of the levirate.

587 There are widows who marry very shortly after the death ● 765 of their husbands; others, however, wait for many months. They live in the house of their brother-in-law or in that of their parents, and it seems that the future husband does not demand that they cease mourning since the person mourned and for whom they weep was not only their husband but also the brother of the new suitor.

If the brother (who is very often the youngest) does not want to or cannot /219/ marry all the widows of his deceased brother, he allows them to live with another man. These marriages take place only after some time, during which the brother of the deceased and the women live apart from the society in a sort of isolation.

587 There are no differential rules for secondary marriages, but the father of sisters has the right to prevent both of them from marrying the same man, particularly if the man, owing to his poor preparation or deficiency, cannot give assurance of the economic help which he expects from him. This explains why only older men with greater experience in life are able to marry several women with ease.

595 The wives of one man may live under the same roof or in several houses, and, in spite of there being no fixed rotation, the husband must devote the same amount of time, more or less, to each of his homes.

/220 cont./

159 764 inside, it is tied with lianas. Then they take the corpse into the forest where it is deposited, at a distance of some kilometers, on the branches of a tree in order for the flesh to decompose there. Often the members of the family will not leave the corpse alone in the forest for fear that animals will come and [775] devour it. The dead are very much afraid of animals and shout when a jaguar approaches them.

[825] The feline respects only a dead sablf, because he will die [756] in turn if he approaches.

[784] Our informant spent several nights next to his father's corpse, always being very careful not to step on the damp ground beneath the dead man, because those who step there lose their feet.

152 764 The grief of the relatives is so intense that very often some of them can not endure the pain and go to the forest to die. Above all the women lament a great deal during the night and the men hold them back so that they will not run away to the forest. The informant remembered that the strongest man of his tribe behaved as though he were mad after the death of his father and wanted to kill everybody. The men did not allow him to go with them into the forest to gather up the bones of his father for fear that, given his behavior, he might commit some crime.

● 765 After one month, more or less, the men of the tribe go to the forest and gather up the bones of their companion; the flesh decomposes completely during this period. Some of the men let down the coffin and others wrap the remains of the deceased in some large leaves, making in this way a bundle of bones which they take back with them to the rancheria. There they place it in a hammock and leave it for about four days, while the relatives continue to weep in uninterrupted lamentation.

765 775 [756] Later the sablf carries the bones to a fire prepared in the plaza and places them on top of the pile of firewood. Our informant also said that as the sablf did this he pronounced a well-known formula which means: "you are getting along well," for, if he did not say this, the hĩkula would not be able to find its way. Afterwards he lights the fire, blows upon it at the same time as he raises his arms /221/ above his head, and in the smoke

/221 cont./

765 775 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĩkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĩkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 [276] The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their [756] neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĩ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 771 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of [184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 756 791 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a different supernatural sphere.

793 776 The first of the three is the hɛwĩawán, or the priest, who is the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

/452 cont./

252 Women generally roast the platanos for everyone's breakfast. At noon and in the evening, everyone cooks his own platanos. To a child of seven they might give three green platanos in
[866] their skins, telling him: "Here is your dinner." The child then proceeds to cook them.

264 The Guaika /Waica/ in general have abundant food and eat it with pleasure. They do not look kindly upon remains of food being left. Anyone who does not lick his bowl clean after having drunk his soup of platanos is considered a prodigal.

266 The mere idea of cannibalism is rejected with horror, al-
765 though they do eat the pulverized bones of a cremated relative, after having kept them in a hermetically sealed gourd for about six months.

262 They do not eat carnivorous birds and animals, but carnivorous fish, even the caribe (piranha), are eaten with pleasure. Some
[252] snakes are eaten, others not. They boil them or else they cook them wrapped in leaves upon the embers.

271 Drink, Drugs, and Excesses

The Guaika /Waica/ take extreme care concerning the water they drink. The supply of water for a settlement must be obtained upstream from all the fords which cross the stream or brook. If a Guaika finds it necessary to drink water in a place below a ford, he makes a hole in the sand of the beach and waits until water which has filtered through it gushes up. The water of the current is considered dirty, just as the water from the hole dug
[415] in the beach is clean. Water is transported in gourds by the women for use in the settlement.

273 The Guaika do not prepare any alcoholic beverage.

276 Tobacco leaves are rolled up with ashes and placed in the mouth behind the lower lip. When there is a shortage of tobacco, /453/ they obtain a certain bitter root in the forest, strip the bark from it, and place it behind the lip to diminish the desire for tobacco.

/483 cont./

758 515 They bathe sick persons. If the patient cannot go to the stream, they bathe him part by part at home and even in his own hammock.

/484/ Death

763 They are generally afraid of death and make every effort to keep a dying person alive for a while longer. When someone is in danger of dying, the relatives and friends hold meetings for lamentations at least once a day.

764 [302] [535] When a dying person expires, a time of mourning begins. Then, at about 3:00 in the afternoon, the funeral begins. The relatives and friends begin to paint themselves. There is much crying and lamentation. The women dance forward and backward, groaning and carrying several poisoned darts in one hand. If there are young children, they are frequently carried also. If the deceased is a little one, its little body may be carried during the final part of this mourning dance. A few closely related men and the intimate friends also participate in the dance.

After the lamentations have continued for a quarter of an hour more or less, the men go out in search of firewood and light a fire of two meters in front of the dwelling where the corpse is lying. When the fire reaches an adequate size, the body is carried there in a hammock made of cords of vine and placed on the fire. Then they put more wood on top of the [766] corpse. If the deceased is an infant, they place it in the fire in a flat basket rather than a hammock. They keep the fire burning [765] until around ten at night. Then they gather up the bones, wrap them in leaves, and hang them in the house.

If someone should die far from the settlement, his body is wrapped in leaves tied with vines and carried to the settlement to be cremated.

765 About three days after the cremation, the bones are pulverized in a small trough and then kept hermetically in a gourd capped with beeswax. The trough is made by using a machete to carve out the hole, burning its interior. They use it only once. After it is used, both the trough and the pestle are burned. Much weeping accompanies the process of pulverization and sealing the remains in the gourd.

/485/ n.

765 This funerary gourd which contains the remains is kept with the other objects that belong to the family. Then, one [766] fine day, they prepare a soup of platanos in which they mix the powdered bone. The near relatives drink this soup. All weep at this moment, as at the first funeral.

775 The Guaika believe that the correct observance of these practices has much to do with the life of the person after his death. If they do not manage to recover the body of a man killed in war and cremate it, his death is considered a doubly great calamity. A statement such as that of "We shall not cremate you when you die" consequently means a powerful threat.

Religion

[772] The Guaika /Waica/ have an idea that one ascends into heaven when one dies. This heaven is a good place, but less desirable than the present life. They also have an idea of hell, a place even less desirable to go to when one dies.

774 A person is for them body, soul, and spirit. The word to
775 designate soul also means "shadow" or "reflection." And the
828 word to designate spirit also means "cloud." Thus, the soul retains the form of the body, but the spirit can be formless.

The soul can abandon the body and return later. A seriously sick person in general loses consciousness while his soul is [753] absent. This is why they frequently go looking for the soul of a sick child, to return it to his body. The soul of an adult, on the other hand, should know how to find its way back.

The spirit abandons the body only with death.

775 A formal cremation and the rites which follow cremation help to ensure that the deceased, upon dying, will go to the most desirable place of the other life.

The Guaika believe that the spirits in heaven eat certain wild fruits. They are afraid that an enemy might /486/ return after death and cause sicknesses and other calamities to the people still corporeal. Many of these incorporeal spirits wander about the paths, especially at night. As we have said before, they are called "boles."

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yanomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yanomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

726 and the men ran back to the respective houses, each making a noise—"Bububububububu"—as he ran. When they reached their hammocks, they all simulated vomiting, passing out of their mouths the rotten flesh of the enemy they had symbolically devoured in the line-up.

• [765] They retired for the night. Many of them wept and moaned, mourning the loss of their friend and kinsman, Damowï. At dawn the women went to the gardens and gathered large quantities of plantains. These were carried to the raiders, wrapped with their vine hammocks, and deposited outside the village for the men to collect as they marched in single file to war.

[302] [291] [123] The men painted themselves black again (Fig. 5–3). Some even put on bright red loincloths which I had traded to them, as the warrior line-up is a spectacle in which the younger men can show off to the girls. The loincloths were left behind when the men departed. They tinkered with their bows and checked to see if the bowstrings were weak at any spot, sharpened their best arrow points, and waited nervously for Kaobawä to signal for the line-up to begin again. The *unyu itou* was repeated, each man marching to the center of the village and taking his place in line. This time, however, they did not sing the war song. They merely shouted, as they had done the previous night, waited for the echo to return, and marched dramatically out of the village. Their mothers and sisters wept or shouted last minute bits of advice as they left the village: "Don't get yourself shot up!" "You be careful now!"

The men picked up their supplies of food where the women had cached them and left for Patanowä-teri. Kaobawä had been complaining all year of severe pains in his lower back, abdomen, and urinal tract, and was in considerable pain when he walked. Still, he insisted on going on the raid, suspecting that the others would turn back if he did not lead it. The raiders had not been gone five hours when the first one came back, a boastful young man, complaining that he had a sore foot and could not keep up with the others. The next day a few more young men returned, complaining that they had malaria and pains in the stomach. They enjoyed participating in the pomp of the *unyu itou*, for this impressed the women, but were, at heart, cowards.

[622] [164] [701] [703] [157]

[484] The raiders travel slowly their first day away from the village. They have heavy burdens of food and try to pace themselves so as to arrive in the enemy's territory just as their food runs out. They also attempt to reach a point in the enemy's neighborhood that will permit them to reach his village at dawn: far enough away so that enemy hunters will not discover their presence, but close enough to the village that they can reach it in an hour or so from their last camp.

[372] The men use fire only when they camp at a considerable distance from the enemy's territory. As they approach their destination, they exercise greater caution. Their final evening is spent shivering in the darkness, since they dare not make a fire to warm themselves. Most of the raiders emphasized this, as sleeping without fire is considered to be both dangerous and uncomfortable. The danger lies in the possibility of jaguar attacks, but even more in the fear that spirits will molest the unprotected raiders. On the last evening the raiding party's fierce ones have difficulties with the younger men; most of them are afraid, cold, and worried about every sort of hazard, and all of them complain of sore feet and belly aches.

[703]

The raiders always develop a strategy for attacking the unwary enemy. They usually split into two or more groups and agree to meet later at a predetermined location

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
516
411
765
276
926

Fig. 5–4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Damowã, slain Monou-teri headman.*

726
901

located the enemy, but Paturiwã refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

726
114

The Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri raided against the Patanowã-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

722
*628

726

The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowã-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

[765]

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Damowã were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Everyone in the village gathered around the ashes and wept aloud. The bamboo quiver of the dead man was brought to the gourds, smashed, the points taken out, and the quiver itself burned. While this was going on, the mourners were in a state of frenzy, pulling at their hair and striking themselves, screaming and wailing. One of his brothers took a snuff tube and blew some of the drug into the gourds containing the ashes (see Fig. 5–4). The tube was then cut in half, one of the dead man's arrow points being used to measure the point at which the snuff tube was cut. I was never able to determine whether the arrow points taken from the quiver were possessions of the dead man or were, in fact, the points removed from his body. There were ten of them, and my informants were too touchy about the matter to be questioned in detail: I received affirmative nods to both questions. In any event, the ten bamboo points were distributed to the raiders, who fondled them and examined them carefully. Each man brought one with him on the raid that followed this ceremony. The severed snuff tube and the gourds of ashes were wrapped in leaves and put back in the thatch of the brother's house.

That night I think I became emotionally close to the Yąnomamö for the first time. I remained in my hammock and gave up collecting genealogies. As darkness fell Damowä's brothers began weeping in their hammocks. I lay there and listened, not bothering to tape record it or photograph it or write notes. One of the others asked me why I was not making a nuisance of myself as usual, and I told him that my innermost being (*bubii*) was cold—that is, I was sad. This was whispered around the village, and as each person heard it, he looked over at me. The children who inevitably accumulate around my hammock were told by their elders to go home and not bother me anymore. I was *bushuo*, in a state of emotional disequilibrium, and had finally begun to act like a human being as far as they were concerned.

The next day the raiders lined up, shouted in the direction of the Patanowä-teri, heard the echo come back, and left the village to collect their provisions and hammocks. I allowed them to talk me into taking the entire raiding party up the Mavaca River in my canoe. There, they could find high ground and reach the Patanowä-teri without having to cross the numerous swamps that lay between the two villages. There were only ten men in the raiding party, the smallest the war party can get and still have maximum effectiveness. As we traveled up the river, the younger men began complaining. One had sore feet, and two or three others claimed to have malaria. They wanted to turn back because I had forgotten to bring my malaria pills with me as I had promised. Hukoshikuwä (Fig. 5–5), a brother of the slain headman, silenced their complaints with an angry lecture on cowardice. I let them all out at the mouth of a stream they intended to follow. They unloaded their seemingly enormous supply of plantains and politely waited for me to leave. I sat among them and chatted, thinking that they were doing essential tasks as they fiddled with arrows and retied their provisions. Finally, one of them hinted that I should be leaving because I had a long trip and might not get home before dark. It was then that I discovered they were dallying, trying to be polite to me. They all thanked me for taking them upstream in my canoe, the only time Yąnomamö ever expressed gratitude to me, and I got in my canoe to leave. Hukoshikuwä came down to untie my rope for me and shove me off the bank. He watched, silently, as my canoe got caught up in the current and drifted away. He looked frightened, reluctant, anxious, but determined. After I had gotten my motor started and was under way, I looked back to see him turn, pick up his plantains and weapons, and disappear into the jungle. Even

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 137]

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

•766 The ceremony for an old person is entirely different. After death has set in, his head is chopped off and is hung, likewise in a little wooden rack, in the crown of a tree, again 15 or 20 minutes away from the maloka. The body, however, is buried in the ground in the jungle without ceremony, and, to be sure, in a squatting position, bound tightly with lianas. This is supposed to prevent its possible return, for it would have dire consequences for the tribe. The head, however, is burned on a small pyre, under [775] the same circumstances as described above, so that the soul may reach the moon in the ascending smoke; the remaining bone ashes are also kept.

769 888 266 The reason for the different obsequies for younger and older persons is the following: At the big annual ceremony in memory of the dead, which is held jointly with the Surára (see pp. 222 ff.), all the men drink the bone ashes of their deceased relatives, mixed with banana soup, because they believe that in this way the vigor and spirit of the dead remain within the tribes. In the case of old people, however, it is assumed that their bodies are already too leached out for their ashes to be able to transmit strength any more. Only the bone ashes of the head are still regarded as valuable.

888 If members of the tribe are very old or so seriously ill that, in spite of all efforts to cure them, they are no longer able to take part in the joint migrations, they are killed. For this purpose there takes place beforehand a gathering of the chief and older, more experienced men, at which they choose a participant who has to perform the killing. He uses a stick for this and, while the person in question is asleep, beats him hard on the head several times, until he has breathed his last (333). These tribal

[771]

333. Old and sick people are killed in similar manner among the Ipurina. "Moribund persons," writes Ehrenreich, "are said to be dispatched to the other world not infrequently by sorcerers by means of club-blows" (Ehrenreich, 1891,

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

888
[191]

333. (cont.)
p. 70). Among the Piaroa Indians very weak old people are walled up alive in a cave. They are given food and drink for several more days and, when this has been used up, die of enervation (Marquis de Wavrin, 1944, pp. 197/98).

members destined for death are thus dispatched into the other world in an altogether humane manner, and even the killing itself is dictated by humane impulses. Since these old and sick persons can, of course, no longer take part in the customary seminomadic way of life, they would be obliged to remain helplessly behind when the tribe sets out on a new migration. This is to be prevented, however, /73/ and at the same time it is desired that the way to the moon, the paradise of the dead, be opened for them. After their death, they are cremated in the same way as all other deceased persons, that is to say, in the case of old people only the head is burned, and their ashes, too, are preserved and drunk at the festival in memory of the dead.

888
766

775 Greater than the fear of death among all Surára and Pakidái is the thought that they might one day die without being cremated, for example, during military actions, for then the entrance into the moon is barred for their soul (see p. 198).

766
[684] Persons who commit incest are excluded from cremation after their demise, and they are not mourned, for incest is re-
[784] garded as the greatest crime. Poré (see p. 197) does not want their souls on the moon, and partaking of their bone ashes would exert unfavorable influences on the male members of the tribe. They are therefore tied up in a squatting position and buried in a hole in the ground.

766
858
774 If children die before the completion of the third year of life, they are thrown into the river without any ceremony, since they belong to the flesh and blood of the mother and do not yet have their own soul (see p. 138).

/206 cont./

223 order to pick it up. As a result of his expertness in hunting, he knows the trees in which the birds gather to spend the night. The man, using palm leaves and bejucos, carefully prepares a blind with the sure hope that, by means of this ambush, the booty will be plentiful.

224 262 [237] [482] Hunting in groups is common among the Sanemá, and they do this particularly to surround a group of monkeys, peccaries, or in order to kill a feline. /207/ They do not eat the meat of jaguars, but keep the canine teeth in the roof of the house. They tie up the peccaries that they get, front feet to the back ones, load them on their backs, and carry them home. The meat of the peccary is greatly esteemed, and the whole rancheria gathers to eat the animal, with the exception of the young unmarried men, who, by order of the capitan, must not taste the meat so that the hunters who have killed the animals will not die. They may, however, eat other kinds of meat and the food which they most like.

There are some animals that the Sanemá are prohibited from hunting: thus, they do not eat snakes, they kill the cayman, but [766] do not sample its flesh. The Sanemá of the Erebato told us that they cremate caymans as they do men, for, in fact, as far as [784] they are concerned, caymans were previously men. It is taboo to kill a morrocoy or a turtle. They were people before and Omao 262 223 does not permit them to be killed. There are other animals which they kill and eat only under certain conditions, among them the eagle (21).

> 21. The Surará and Pakidai kill the eagle, but throw away its flesh. They say that it transmits sickness (Becher, 1960, p. 77). (Cf. the section on "death" in the present study /see pp. 93-94 /.)

223 125 262 If a hunter comes upon an eagle, he believes that he is facing a speciman of a species of animal which was previously a person. He may be facing a friend or an enemy. Therefore, before shooting, he asks the animal if it is a friend or an enemy, and only if

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

cannibalism. When someone dies in battle, or through some other violence—when he dies, that is, in the full prime of manhood—the body is cremated on a pyre and the ashes scrupulously gathered. Mixing these to a paste with water, they make a block which is wrapped in banana leaves and kept for the ceremony of the Drinking, by which they believe that the dead man's strength can enter their own bodies. Such ceremonies generally take place at large assemblies, people from neighbouring tribes also being present, and the festivities may last several days. Our Indians, however, wanting to assure a good augury for the voyage they were about to undertake with us, had limited themselves to a shortened version of the usual ceremony, since in these particular circumstances there was neither the time nor the opportunity for more.

II

In three little canoes, two of them the property of Frenario's people, we went down the Yevarehuri, making for the point where it is joined by a slightly smaller, darker stream flowing from the south—the Matahuri. It had been raining ceaselessly for days and the rivers were overflowing their banks, which made it difficult to find a camping-place for the night.

On the second day we had two fair-sized falls to negotiate. The third day's paddling brought us to the Marahuri, but we left it to the right of us, its mouth being apparently quite blocked by fallen trees, and entered a smaller stream just to the south of it, which offered quiet water and a clearly defined course between the giant vegetation of both banks. The Shirians told us that this new waterway was called the Toroli—that is, the Turtle—and that we had only to go up to the source to find the track crossing the cordillera which led to the north side of the Upper Parima river.

Our crew was hardly sufficient and progress was exasperatingly slow. Happily, there was plenty of game. Guans and curassow were plentiful, as well as monkeys and sloths—the Indians' favourite dish.

Our head man was a real lead-swinger. From the first day onwards he complained of a pain in his foot which made him draw the line at heavy work. Under the drenching rains that fell with every interminable afternoon, he would sit in the middle of the canoe, and also in the middle of the bananas we were carrying, holding a palm frond over his head. If we urged him to do

/~~443~~ cont./

Domestic Animals

231 Dogs are raised and generally used in hunting.

Birds of almost all types are captured when they are found before leaving the nest. Most of these only survive a few days. It seems that the parrots manage to survive in captivity much better than the other birds, so that almost all the settlements have a domesticated parrot. Turkeys and cranes are included among the other birds which can survive and reach the adult state.

Domesticated monkeys are also favorite animals. It is interesting to observe that almost without exception the monkey is the property of a woman. Doubtless this is related to the fact that women nurse the little monkeys until they are weaned. The mother monkey must be killed in order to be able to capture the little monkey.

Small rodents, such as squirrels and vesper mice, are brought to the house sometimes to be domesticated. One family even went so far as to raise a wild pig (chácharo).

231 /~~444~~/ When a domestic animal dies, it is incinerated out-
766 side the settlement, near some path. Its bones are left in the same spot where they were when the fire consumed them.

241

Agriculture

Platanos and banana trees occupy nearly 90 per cent of the cultivated lands. Other fruits include sweet yuca, bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, mapuey /yams/, sugar cane, maize the pijiguao palm /peach palm/, pepper, the papaya, and the sweet potato.

241 Tobacco, cotton, and onoto /annatto/ are the principal non-
824 edible products. Other nonedible products include a grass whose
302 stem is dried and used for cutting the hair; a variety of root
789 similar to the wild onion is used in magic for hunting, for ob-
302 taining a wife, etc.; especially fragrant leaves are used by the
276 women in their ears; and the ingredients used in the processing of "yopo," a narcotic which is blown into the nose.

/483 cont./

758 515 They bathe sick persons. If the patient cannot go to the stream, they bathe him part by part at home and even in his own hammock.

/484/ Death

763 They are generally afraid of death and make every effort to keep a dying person alive for a while longer. When someone is in danger of dying, the relatives and friends hold meetings for lamentations at least once a day.

764 [302] [535] When a dying person expires, a time of mourning begins. Then, at about 3:00 in the afternoon, the funeral begins. The relatives and friends begin to paint themselves. There is much crying and lamentation. The women dance forward and backward, groaning and carrying several poisoned darts in one hand. If there are young children, they are frequently carried also. If the deceased is a little one, its little body may be carried during the final part of this mourning dance. A few closely related men and the intimate friends also participate in the dance.

After the lamentations have continued for a quarter of an hour more or less, the men go out in search of firewood and light a fire of two meters in front of the dwelling where the corpse is lying. When the fire reaches an adequate size, the body is carried there in a hammock made of cords of vine and placed on the fire. Then they put more wood on top of the [766] corpse. If the deceased is an infant, they place it in the fire in a flat basket rather than a hammock. They keep the fire burning [765] until around ten at night. Then they gather up the bones, wrap them in leaves, and hang them in the house.

If someone should die far from the settlement, his body is wrapped in leaves tied with vines and carried to the settlement to be cremated.

765 About three days after the cremation, the bones are pulverized in a small trough and then kept hermetically in a gourd capped with beeswax. The trough is made by using a machete to carve out the hole, burning its interior. They use it only once. After it is used, both the trough and the pestle are burned. Much weeping accompanies the process of pulverization and sealing the remains in the gourd.

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, Kɑobäwä was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, Krämi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The Yɑnomamö rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the Yɑnomamö avoid incestuous affairs, according to Kɑobawä, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. Kɑobawä himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yawerɛmou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

794 I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi*.[13]
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
177 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no shaobibi*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noreshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After
[809] several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced
[763] when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on
[783] contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones
[783] are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and
[562] women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe
[858] carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.
[237] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the
[531] circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment.
[562] The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a
[531] long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and
[266] sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere-
[726] monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[13] Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be
[969] reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of this person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

/61 cont./

622 together for several years, both in the sierra during the dry season
619 and at the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá during the
624 rainy season. In the long run, however, the war chief Porêhiwõ did not like this, and there were also differences of opinion with the young chief, so he and his brother Kaxiribewõ, with their families temporarily withdrew from the tribe and remained alone in Taraquá, the Pakidái maloka on the middle Demini.

As a result of the youthful exuberance of the not yet fully mature Pakidái chief Karenauõ, the previously good relationship between the Surára and Pakidái was unfortunately slightly disturbed. Yet Karenauõ really had every reason to be grateful to Hewemãõ.

769 The discord began in March 1956 during the great festival
619 in memory of the dead, which the Surára as hosts and the Pakidái
622 as guests always celebrate together, and in which some friendly Puseheweterî and Xiriâna families also took part. During this gathering it is customary for Hewemãõ to be acknowledged as the head by the guests, even by their chiefs, and for his orders to be followed. Young Karenauõ, however, refused to do this. He suddenly felt himself very strong because the member of Pakidái, of course, is considerably larger than that of the Surára. The rivalry between the chiefs increased from day to day and extended even to the members of the two tribes. It was only thanks to the magnanimous, wise attitude of Hewemãõ and the mediation of the chief of the Pakidái, Porêhiwõ, who returned to his tribe and exerted great influence, that greater tensions or even military encounters could be avoided. This was only to be welcomed, for there is a long, traditional friendship between the two tribes, which has deepened consanguineously as a result of intermarriages.

[166] When the festival was over, at the end of March 1956, the Pakidái again moved to /62/ Taraquá on the middle Demini and the Surára to the Cachoeira dos Índos on the upper Aracá. But at this point I was to experience a great surprise. Three Pakidái men, with their families, no longer followed their chief Karenauõ, but joined Hewemãõ and thus actually emigrated to the Surára.

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

766 The ceremony for an old person is entirely different. After death has set in, his head is chopped off and is hung, likewise in a little wooden rack, in the crown of a tree, again 15 or 20 minutes away from the maloka. The body, however, is buried in the ground in the jungle without ceremony, and, to be sure, in a squatting position, bound tightly with lianas. This is supposed to prevent its possible return, for it would have dire consequences for the tribe. The head, however, is burned on a small pyre, under [975] the same circumstances as described above, so that the soul may reach the moon in the ascending smoke; the remaining bone ashes are also kept.

●769 888 266 The reason for the different obsequies for younger and older persons is the following: At the big annual ceremony in memory of the dead, which is held jointly with the Surára (see pp. 222 ff.), all the men drink the bone ashes of their deceased relatives, mixed with banana soup, because they believe that in this way the vigor and spirit of the dead remain within the tribes. In the case of old people, however, it is assumed that their bodies are already too leached out for their ashes to be able to transmit strength any more. Only the bone ashes of the head are still regarded as valuable.

888 If members of the tribe are very old or so seriously ill that, in spite of all efforts to cure them, they are no longer able to take part in the joint migrations, they are killed. For this purpose there takes place beforehand a gathering of the chief and older, more experienced men, at which they choose a participant who has to perform the killing. He uses a stick for this and, while the person in question is asleep, beats him hard on the head several times, until he has breathed his last (333). These tribal

[971]

333. Old and sick people are killed in similar manner among the Ipurina. "Moribund persons," writes Ehrenreich, "are said to be dispatched to the other world not infrequently by sorcerers by means of club-blows" (Ehrenreich, 1891,

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

/95 cont./

That is why they cremate only /96/ the skeleton of their dead, for if the flesh were still present, the soul would be unable to come out in time. The ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes, too, on the occasion of the annual festival in memory of the dead, is connected with the idea that strengthening remains of the soul are still present in them. In this connection Zerries writes with reference to the Waiká: "We were unable to find the idea of a bone-soul among the Waika, if we disregard the connection between bone ashes and bole" (490). Zerries also

490. Zerries, 1958a, p. 107.

points out that the soul, according to the view of the Waiká, is peculiar only to the human being, but not to the animal (491).

491. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

According to the statements of the Surára and Pakidái chiefs, however, the human soul of the dead on its journey to the moon must be accompanied by a like-named animal or plant soul of the dead, which serves as a guide (see pp. 149/150). It is assumed by the Surára and Pakidái that children are without a soul until they have completed the third year of life, because during this time they are nursed by the mother and thus still belong to her flesh and blood as well as to her soul (see also pp. 138 and 154). Waiká children are said to receive their souls only after the completion of the sixth year of life (492).

492. Zerries, 1958a, p. 106.

/102 cont./

755
756
114

faith and to what extent he is faking" (506). The fact that

506. Baldus, 1931, p. 142.

even in modern medicine great importance is now attributed to the suggestive influence of the physician on his patients is shown in the following statements by Hans Grimm: "If we emphasize that the suggestive influence of the physician's personality on the patient is often of decisive influence (Jores), if we use hypnosis, the so-called 'autogenous training,' etc., we are, in our own way, returning to what was already playing a role in shamanistic techniques" (507).

507. Grimm, 1958/59, p. 357.

● 769

3. Religious Festivals

Every year, toward the end of the dry season, March-April, the Surára and Pakidái jointly celebrate the festival in memory of the dead -- patapáanomão -- (508). It always takes

[192]

508. This contains the word for corpse, the male or female dead person -- anomão.

place in the large, open Surára maloka Jaracá (see pp. 25 ff.). Occasionally a few families of friendly tribes (Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, etc.) also take part. The

[114]

patapáanomão festival, which I witnessed in all its phases, /103/ was held during the period from the fourth to the sixth of

769
251

April, 1956. But even before that there were great preparations for this purpose. The men set out on a joint hunting expedition in order to kill as many tapirs as possible, the meat of which was then roasted on roasting racks over an even fire, not too hot, until it was black and bone-hard, so that it could be kept for a

/103 cont./

769 25 [462] few days. This roasting belongs to the men's sphere of duties, as does the harvesting of pupunha fruits. The latter are then made into a drink by the women. Moreover, they fetched from the plantings large quantities of bananas which were put in the sun so that they could ripen, and, finally, it should be mentioned that among all the families several stacks of manioc flat-cakes were piled up little by little.

769 535 [276] On the evening of April fourth, toward 9:00, the actual festival began. Five men and five boys, who wore cotton belts over their hip cords, danced, after the former had first blown snuff-powder into each other's noses, one behind the other (two steps forward and one back, during which the more marked lifting of the knees with a slight turning outward of the legs is to be noted), on a circular path in the open circle of the maloka, and, to be sure, counterclockwise (509a). The first two men

509a. In all the dances that go around the periphery of a circle the participants dance counterclockwise.

each held two arrows in the right hand, and the rest, as well as [533] all the boys, had their hands crossed behind their heads. Occasionally one man would sing in a beautiful, full bass voice, and the others would then join in chorus. The songs were very melodious and furnished the rhythm for the dance steps (509b).

[534] 509b. The Surára and Pakidái accompany dances in part with songs, for musical instruments are unknown to them.

[276] Toward 10:00 more men, in part with arrows, in part without, and boys (all without arrows) joined the dancers, and at 11:30 all the men and boys, with the exception of the Surára chief, were gathered in the center of the maloka courtyard, where, from a large clay plate filled with snuff-powder that had been placed here along with several snuff tubes, they blew huge quantities into each other's noses. Then they sat down in a

Surára
Pakidái

769 /103 cont./Then they sat down in a
535 circle and started singing a song in chorus. Soon afterwards
[533] five warriors, holding arrows in both hands, arose and danced around the singers. Now and then they made huge leaps and shouted in a high, shrill voice. All this was enacted on a cool, cloudy, full-moon night, but the numerous hearthsadded some light. All the women and girls, as well as my servant Mateus and I, lay in the hammocks and watched the unique spectacle. Toward 1:00 in the morning the male participants in the festival arose and now danced, again one behind the other, around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard. They were arranged in such a way that a man with two arrows was always followed by one who held his hands crossed behind his head.

[622] Suddenly Chief Hewemão, who was sleeping in his ham-
[123] mock next to me, was tapped lightly by a warrior with an arrow. He got up at once, removed shirt and trousers (he had been given the two articles of clothing by me as gifts), took a bow without a bowstring in his hand, had snuff-powder blown into his nose, and mixed with the dancers, who, however, immediately after his entrance formed the following new formation: Ten men arranged themselves in rhombus form at the head of the dance procession, one at the very front, two behind to one side, and two more behind and to one side of these; two stood directly opposite the latter, then followed two who stood somewhat inward and finally one who was in the middle behind these (Fig. 29). The first five warriors, who had blackened themselves with soot, symbolized the nonexí (evil spirits or spirits of sickness, see p. 211) and were obliged to dance backwards. The five dancers following them embodied hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits who /104/ /Fig. 29 appears here/ Pakidái; see pp. 199, 214 ff.). Between these two groups of five, the participants of which each held two arrows in their hands, a sham battle was being carried out during the dance (see also pp. 214 ff.). Each of the men of the first group danced two steps back and one forward, and those of the second, two steps forward and one back. In between, wild leaps and turns were executed, the men threatened each other with the arrows and screamed in the highest key. The "nonexí" were constantly in

Surára
Pakidái

/104 cont./

769
535

Fig. 29. Arrangement of the dancers on the occasion of a ceremony of the festival in memory of the dead.

retreat and defended themselves with all their might against the advancing "hekurá." Behind these ten "fighting" dancers there followed six men in a row, each with an arrow in his hand, the advance guard of the chief. At a slight distance they were joined by the Surára [622] chief Hewemão, flanked on either side by six men forming a double row. These men were also prominent personalities; thus, among them there were the two younger brothers of the chief, the war chief of the Surára, the chief and war chief of the Pakidái, as well as especially excellent older warriors of both tribes. Following them, as a rear guard, in a double-row formation, came the rest of the men, young men, and boys. All who took part in the procession moved in the customary dance steps, two forward and one back, during which they sang in chorus. Now and then Chief Hewemão would utter a hissing sound, whereupon all the participants grouped themselves in the center of the plaza around the large clay plate with snuff-powder. Here the chief, in a singing voice, prayed to the hekurá [622] and asked them to intercede with Poré/Perimbó, so that the festival [782] would be vouchsafed a happy and successful course. Then the men [276] blew new snuff-powder into each other's noses, whereupon the dance would continue in the manner described above. This dancing and singing lasted, except for the brief interruptions at the clay plate, until 6:00 in the morning.

Surára
Pakidái

/104 cont./

769
788 Immediately after that the Surára chief squatted down at his hearth, and beside him squatted a medicine-man helper. On the opposite side of the large maloka the Pakidái chief and a helper had assumed the same position. Hewemão, the first-named chief, began to speak loudly and distinctly to the hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits). While doing so, he kept stroking his hair from front to back and then slapping his seat. The helper squatting beside him repeated each of his words and copied all his movements. (This was to express symbolically that the hekurá, the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being, Poré/Perimbó, actually pass on all questions, requests, and wishes). After Hewemão, the Pakidái chief spoke to the hekurá, and his helper likewise repeated each word and imitated the gestures (stroking the hair and slapping the seat). This exorcism, which the two chiefs carried out alternately, lasted an hour.

769
461 After that the two exhausted chiefs and the rest of the men, young men, and boys lay down for a well-earned rest. /105/ Meanwhile the women had been going about their accustomed activity. They fetched water, prepared food, took care of the children; some of them also plaited a basket in the meantime, or they strung glass beads on a string. Some of the men who had meanwhile awakened continued to lie idly in their hammocks, some also played with the children, while others sat together in groups and talked.

769 Toward 2:00 the festival was resumed when 20 men, young men, and boys, each of whom held an arrow in his hand, rushed into the maloka courtyard with loud shouts. They were magnificently painted (510) and on the upper arms and in part

[302]
[301]

510. The painting had been done with urucú color and consisted of serpentine lines, circles and dots; several men, however, had painted their whole bodies red.

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 in the ear lobes were adorned with colorful feather ornaments
[302] (see pp. 93/95). Moreover, they had all glued into their hair
[301] the white down feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.), the dreaded carrier of sickness (see p. 211) (Ill. 43). They
769 made mighty leaps, then bent their knees, turned around
535 several times in between, threw their arrows into the air and
533 caught them again. After that they fell into a dance in step, during which they sang. But this dance was constantly interrupted by wild charges and rousing shouts, which were supposed to drive the nonexí out of the maloka and show them how dangerous it was to come here at all. The others present were enthusiastically watching this performance from their hearths. For the
[302] occasion of the festival all the men, women, and children had
[292] likewise painted themselves and in part donned the cotton belts;
[301] moreover, the men wore their upper-arm ornaments of feathers (Ills. 9-11).

769 After this two-hour dance performance a particularly solemn ceremony took place, the blessing of the preserved bone ashes of deceased tribesmen. For this purpose two leading personalities of each of the two tribes sat down in a square formation before the chief's hut. The Surára chief Hewemão was squatting in such a way that he faced the maloka courtyard. To the right and left of him, somewhat to the side and forward, squatted the Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, and Hewemão's brother, Kurikayawõ, respectively, and opposite Hewemão, Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, had his place. In front of the latter were arranged ten small jamaru vessels (jamaru = Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda) filled with bone ashes. Behind them stood one empty gourd bowl and one filled with urucú. The Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, on the other hand, had two large empty jamaru vessels standing in front of him.

Porêhiwõ now poured bone ashes from one after another of the small jamaru vessels into the empty gourd bowls, added a little urucú, mixed the two with his hands, and gave the bowl to Karenauõ, who each time poured the contents into one of the
[782] larger jamaru vessels. While the two Pakidái were silently per-
[788] forming their work, Hewemão was praying in a half-singing

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 voice to the hekurá and constantly passed his hands from his head
[782] to his feet. His brother Kurikayawõ repeated each of his words
[788] and imitated the gestures (511). Around the four men, who were

511. This was again the symbolic transmission of the prayers from the hekurá to Poré/Perimbó (see also p. 228).

now officiating as priests, crouched red-painted warriors whose head hair was completely covered with the down feathers of the gavião-real. Whenever the Pakidái chief poured a new mixture of bone ashes and urucú into a larger jamaru vessel, he always pulled a few feathers from the heads of the warriors and threw them in (512). The closest relatives of the late deceased sat

[751]

512. There is defensive magic connected with this. For if the men, in the subsequent ceremonial drinking of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes, swallow these feathers, they and their families are better protected against sickness.

behind the warriors and sobbed heart-rendingly, especially the
[782] women. Their tears /106/ flowed uninterruptedly, and at the same time they prayed in a low, singing cadence. When the bone ashes of another jamaru vessel were mixed with urucú by Porêhiwõ, their sobbing and their prayers changed to high, shrill tones. This made no impression upon the medicine men, however, who imperturbably went on with their activity. The
[302] mourners were surrounded by a circle of standing warriors painted
[301] red and adorned with upper-arm feathers, who held bows and arrows in their hands and faced outward. It was their task to shield
[522] the ceremony against harmful outside influences. Behind them stood numerous male spectators, who followed the proceedings with interest, to be sure, but without inner participation, for at times they laughed and joked.

/106 cont./

●769 When the mixing of bone ashes, which lasted about two hours, was finished, Porêhiwõ returned the half-empty little jamaru vessels to the relatives, who, amid lamentations, took them for further safekeeping. Then a solemn procession began, in which, however, the Surára chief did not take part. Karenauõ, the Pakidái chief, strode ahead, followed by Porêhiwõ and Kurikayawõ, each of whom held in his hand one of the large jamaru vessels filled with bone ashes, a little urucú, and a few down-feathers of the gavião-real; all three were singing prayers. Behind them, weeping and lamenting, walked the closest relatives, who carried the small jamaru vessels. The warriors participating in the ceremony formed the end of the train.
[533] [782] This procession, which walked around the maloka courtyard several times, came to an end, after half an hour in front of the chief's hut, with a prayer sung in unison.

[517] Meanwhile night had descended and most of the members of the two tribes were lying in their hammocks, sitting around the fire, or calling on each other, singly or in family groups, in order to chat. Loud, happy laughter often resounded. Opposite the hut of the Surára chief, however, six warriors who wore the feathers of the gavião-real in their hair had kindled three blazing fires, upon which, in several black, round-bottomed clay vessels (see p. 115) they cooked banana soup until midnight. During this time a medicine-man helper who carried a bow and arrow in his hand ran around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard, singing loudly, and requested the assistance [625] of the hekurá for the success of the soup. After that, general quiet set in; only two men made their rounds in front of the maloka, as they did every night, in order to warn the inhabitants, if necessary, of a hostile attack (513).

[624] [805] 513. The war chief divides up the watches each evening. The warriors have a feeling about when their time is up and they must waken their successors; as a rule this is done after two or three hours.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769
266

On the next day, April 6, 1956, the festival reached its climax. Toward 9:00 the Surára chief, his brother Kurikayawõ, and the chief and war chief of the Pakidái sat down around the pots of banana soup, in front of which also stood the two jamaru vessels with the bone ashes of the deceased, and all the other male members of the tribe sat around them. The Surára chief started to pray loudly, whereupon a rather long choral song was struck up. Then he poured the bone ashes into all the soup pots, mixed them thoroughly with his hands, and scooped out a calabash full for himself, which he emptied hastily and to the last drop. Thereupon the Pakidái chief, the brother of Hewemão, and the war chiefs of both tribes drank, followed by all the older and younger men, including the larger boys, who drank last (514). As a result of this ceremonial drinking of the

[533]

[123]

514. Hewemão also offered my servant and me a full calabash each, along with the war chiefs. When we had drunk them, he slapped our backs appreciatively and said that we were now true Sarára.

bone ashes, it is believed, the strength and spirit of the deceased will remain within the tribe and contribute to its vigor.

769
[533]

Following this drink, a prayer of thanksgiving was sung.

[782]

Then the men, youths, and boys together ate large quantities

/107/

[262]

of the roasted tapir meat, as well as manioc flat-cakes, and after that the women handed them calabashes full of the refreshing drink made of pupunha fruits.

Invigorated and fortified with the powers of the deceased, the men were now able to proceed with the most strenuous part of the festival. But before this began, half of them blackened their faces and bodies with soot, which they scraped off of their cooking pots. Meanwhile others had again set in the center of the maloka circle the large clay plate upon which they poured the brownish snuff-powder -- epená --, out of bamboo containers, and in front of the plate they laid a large number of

[302]

769
276

Surára
Pakidái

/107 cont./

769 276 snuff-tubes. After these preparations, the chiefs, all the men, youths, and boys, light and black-colored participants, assembled outside the maloka. At a hissing sound from Hewemão they then stormed into the courtyard, screaming loudly, ran once around the periphery, and then grouped themselves around the clay plate. The snuff-tubes were filled with powder, and the men by twos blew it with all their might into each other's noses (Ill. 44). On the occasion of this festival they take even more snuff than before other magic performances, curing the sick, and prayers. The effect was extraordinary. After only a few moments all the men were in a wild state of ecstasy (Ills. 45 and 46). At first they danced and leaped, gesticulating and screaming, in wild disorder around the clay plate, and after that they stormed around the courtyard several times in the [535] same manner. Then groups of five, ten, or more men put their arms around each other's necks and performed stamping circle-dances in this formation (Ill. 47), during which each man tried to pull another one tightly to him; now and then they also 769 526 danced with the knees bent. After half an hour, this ecstatic dancing, during which the participants were bathed in sweat, was replaced by an extremely strange type of sport -- petapóanhamũ. In the entire outer circle of the maloka courtyard there were seated everywhere two men opposite each other, chest to chest, with legs spread apart; in each case one had his on top of the thighs of the other one. The partners were always a Surára and a Pakidái; moreover, in each case one of them was blackened. They wound their arms around each other at the neck and, with vigorous arm movements, pulled each other back and forth with all their might (Ill. 48). Each tried to pull the head of his opponent quite close to him. Sometimes their arms would drop down on the back of the other one, and they would then pull at each other for a while in this position. During the struggle they constantly called out wrathful words at each other. Often the wives stood beside their husbands and spurred them on. But there were no victors and no losers in these combats. If the strength of a combatant flagged, another tribesman immediately came and continued the struggle with the opponent

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/107 cont./

769 526 [622] [624] [147] in his place. The wife then massaged the head of the exhausted one, so that he would quickly be ready to resume. The chiefs and war chiefs in particular distinguished themselves in this type of sport. They also fought the longest, some of them with five, six, and more opponents; they had positively unbelievable strength and endurance.

These combats, in which one man always symbolically represented the good spirit, that is, a hekurá, and the other, who had smeared himself with soot, the evil spirit, a nonexí (see pp. 213 ff., 225 ff.), lasted almost two hours. After [262] that the men were completely exhausted and refreshed themselves with a new, joint meal of tapir meat and maniec flat-[276] cakes. Afterwards, however, many of the participants suffered from severe headaches brought on by the snuff-powder in connection with the inhuman physical exertion, so that many wives were obliged to massage their husbands' heads.

769 In the evening there was another half-hour procession in the maloka courtyard, when all the little jamaru vessels in which remains of bone ashes were stored were carried along. This retention of a certain amount of ashes is very important, so that the next festival in memory of the dead can be held, even though no member of the tribe /108/ dies up to that time. It could not take place without any bone ashes of deceased Surára or Pakidái.

769 114 184 If one compares this annual festival with that of the Waiká, which was described by Zerries in great detail (515), one finds

515. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662-665.

extensive analogies in the most important phases. Zerries believes that among the Waiká it was originally a harvest festival to which other rites of various kinds were added (516).

516. Zerries, 1955b, p. 662.

For the Surára and Pakidái, on the other hand, it can definitely be said that here there are no features reminiscent of a harvest festival.

2: Becher--235 . E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára, Pakidái Waica

/108 cont./

769 182 184 789 526 [766]

festival. It is decidedly a festival in memory of the dead, which characterized by the ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe. At the same time, defensive magic against the nonexí is connected with it, for they, of course, are the ones who transmit sickness and thereby frequently cause death. As in all the magic cures for healing the sick, where the symbolic struggles between the "hekurá" and one or more "nonexí" are always enacted (see pp. 212 ff.), this factor is naturally also in evidence in all parts of the festival, in the dances, in the mixing of bone ashes, when the medicine man pulls down-feathers of the gavião-real out of the hair of the warriors and adds these, and in the duels performed in a sitting position. The latter are also documented for the Waiká in the same way, but Zerries writes that neither for him nor for the American missionaries was it possible to find out anything definite about the meaning of this ceremony (517). Presumably,

517. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

however, it is the same symbolic struggle between a good and an evil spirit as among the Surára and Pakidái. As yet nothing has been reported about this from other Indian tribes. My informants, however, told me that the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí engage in these combats on the occasion of their festivals in memory of the dead. Hence it seems to be a very special characteristic of the Yanonámi, which in former times may have been even more widespread. Herr Dr. Gerdt Kutscher, in connection with a lecture I gave in Berlin, called my attention to the fact that the position taken by the two men during this is reminiscent of the painting on a clay bowl from the Rio Ulúa, Honduras (518). According to Zerries, Barker,

114 769 526

518. This is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (No. IVa Ca 22381) and was reproduced in an article by Walter Lehmann (Lehmann, 1910, p. 737, Ill. 9).

Surára Pakidái Waiká

114 /108 cont./ According to Zerries, Barker,
769 and Dupouy, there is also a similar combat among the Waiká,
526 in which the partners alternately beat each other on the chest
184 with clenched fists (519a, b, c). I did not observe this among

519a. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

519b. Barker, 1953, p. 447.

519c. Dupouy, 1953, p. 495.

114 the Surára and Pakidái. Similarly unknown there is the custom,
769 also reported by Zerries, that the men, when they run about in
276 the snuff-powder intoxication, hit each other on the back with the palm of the hand (520). The author named regards this as a

520. Zerries 1955b, p. 665.

769 fertility rite. There seems to be involved here, however, out-
179 side influences of agricultural tribes, which is indicated also by the ceremonial gathering of pupunha fruits (521).

521. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

769 It is further noteworthy that among the Waiká women and
184 girls actively participate in the festival in that they take part in
562 some dances and even drink some of the banana soup mixed with
[266] bone ashes (522). In contrast to this, the female members of

522. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 662 ff.

the tribe act only as spectators among the Surára and Pakidái.

769 The endocannibalism should be regarded as a very signifi-
184 cant similar trait. It is documented for the Waiká by Cruxent (523a)
266
114

523a. Cruxent, 1953a, pp. 149/50.

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/108 cont./

769
184
266
114

and Zerries in several articles (523b) (524) (525). Moreover,

523b. Zerries, 1955a, p. 80.

524. Zerries, 1955b, pp. 664/65.

525. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

769
266
171

/109/ Moreover, the latter author, on the basis of contributions to the first five volumes of the Handbook of South American Indians, drew up a distribution map for the occurrence of endocannibalism, which was supplemented by numerous examples (526). Accord-

526. Zerries, 1955a, pp. 80/81.

ing to this, endocannibalism occurs in South American primarily in the western parts of the continent and among the marginal and submarginal tribes of the Tropical zone. This custom is particularly frequent among the Pano and Tukano /Tucano/. In most cases, besides the pulverized bones, which are mixed with chicha (for example, Pano and Tukano), water (for example, Tapuya), or a mash of Pará chestnuts (Moré Indians), the flesh is also eaten. The practice of the Surára, Pakidái, and Waiká, on the other hand, who consume only the cremated, pulverized bones, is very rarely found. The corresponding custom of the Sáliba, Guayupe, and Saé in Colombia is the most similar one. But in eastern Guiana, too, endocannibalism is widespread, for example, among the Karaiben /Carib/ Parukotó (527) and

527. Frikel, 1957, pp. 520 and 545.

among the Arapium, a Tupi tribe in the vicinity of Santarem (528).

528. Zerries, 1955a, p. 81.

Moreover, it is reported of the Kalina, Palikur, and Arawak that they consume cremated bones of the dead (529). Of the latter

529. de Goeje, 1943, p. 11.

2: Becher--238 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidai

/109 cont./

769 266 171 Ralegh also writes that they pound the bones to powder and consume them mixed with a beverage (530) (531), and the same has

530. Ralegh, 1848, p. 53.

531. Waitz, 1862, p. 388.

been attested to for the Mauhé (532).

532. von Martius, 1867, I, p. 404 A.

114 769 266 171 According to Whiffen, there is no endocannibalism at all in South America, for, according to his view, only vengeance against hostile tribes can be regarded as a motive for anthropophagy. "From all this," he continues, "it follows that intratribal cannibalism would be a criminal outrage by the tribe on itself, and therefore it could never occur that a member of the tribe was eaten, ... This disposes of any such thing as the eating of dead relatives as a sign of respect. These and similar statements are due to missapprehension /sic/ of facts by the writer, or a too hasty judgement on the part of the explorer" /cited in English/ (533). In conjunction with these devious

533. Whiffen, 1915, pp. 120/21.

statements by Whiffen with their completely unjustified criticism, I should like to cite a contribution concerning endocannibalism drawn up by Herbert Baldus and Emilio Willems (534):

534. This appeared in the eminently important, but long out of print, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, which came out shortly before World War II and is therefore, unfortunately, not available in most European libraries.

2: Becher--239 (E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

114
269
266
171

/109 cont./

/The long passage in Portuguese which follows on pp. 109-110 in the original source is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text/ /110/ (535a).

535a. Baldus e Willems, 1939, pp. 40/41.

Most recently there appeared the commendable study by Boglár, "Ein endokannibalischer Ritus in Südamerika /An Endocannibalistic Rite in South America/," in which the author presents the material of several competent sources (535b). I

535b. Boglár, 1958, pp. 67-85.

cannot, however, agree with his interpretations in connection with them. The consumption of the bone powder of the deceased is by no means always to be associated with agricultural tribes, for, as my informants among the Surára and Pakidái explained to me, their forebears, who were pure hunters and gatherers, already practiced this custom. Also the author's view that the showing of respect, the magical transmission of good qualities, etc., can be regarded merely as secondary motives of the endocannibalistic rite (535c), do not apply to the

535c. Boglár, 1958, p. 83.

Surára and Pakidái; here they are decidedly primary. Among them the future life of the dead is assured by cremation, for with the ascending smoke the soul of the dead reaches the moon (see p. 151).

It should further be mentioned that endocannibalism is documented also for Central America, Mexico, and in one case in North America, but Beals regards it as a typical element of the South American Indians (536).

536. Beals, 1932, pp. 123/24.

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
/13/

Surára
Pakidái

142
302
296

Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

769
142
291
516
302
342
415
266

Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

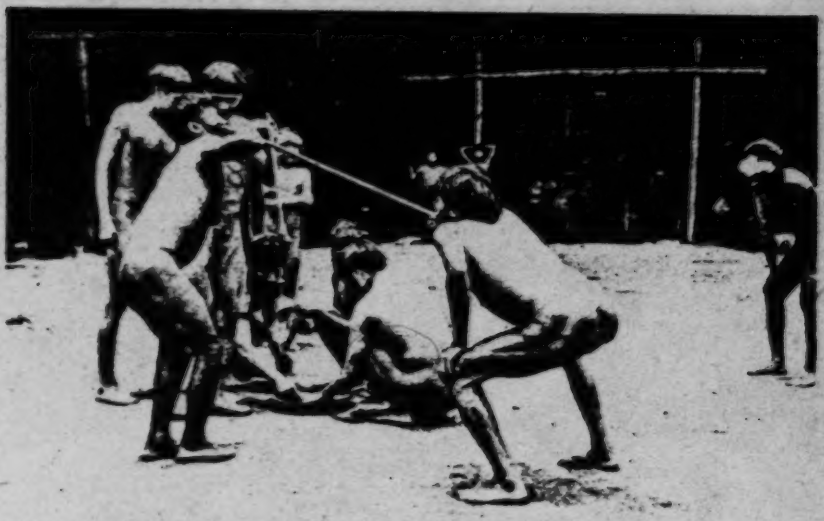
516
342
411
535

Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

2: Becher--279 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

142
516
276
769
291



Ill. 44. Surára and Pakidái men blow snuff-powder into each other's noses

769
276

Ill. 45. Beginning of the state of ecstasy after the taking of the snuff-powder

2: Becher--280 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

769
276
142
291
302

Ill. 46. Height of ecstasy

Ill. 47. Circle dance in the state of ecstasy

769
276
535
769
526

Ill. 48. Petapoanhamú -- the embracing-combat performed in a sitting position

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill [621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite 554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us, • 769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to 628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder, [266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablí shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be- [888] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex- [574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father, who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In 162 the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in 855 the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

121 I did not attempt to collect data on all aspects of Yąnomamö culture. Hans Becher (1960) and Otto Zerries (1964) had already done this. I concentrated, rather, on Yąnomamö social organization, settlement pattern, warfare and ideology and gathered data that would permit me to analyze these aspects of Yąnomamö culture and how they were related to each other in determining marriage practices.

124 The collection of genealogies proved to be the most [551] important and the most difficult task of my field work. The [191] widespread taboo against saying the names of both the living [969] and the dead found in South America, particularly in the Guiana area, was carried to an extreme by the Yąnomamö. Con- 124 sequently, much of my time was spent trying to discover which 128 of my informants were giving me erroneous information, a frustrating and time consuming task. It was not unusual to discover after I had spent weeks on particular genealogies working with data provided by crafty informants that I had to disregard most, if not all, of those data. The Indians soon discovered my interest and set about inventing names for everybody in the village--and learning them, making my task all the more difficult when I checked my genealogies with informants from other villages. Thus, I would arrive at what I considered an accurate genealogy for the members of the village I lived in only to be advised by an Indian from another village that most of the names were inventions. I was therefore unable to check the accuracy of the stated relationships between individuals with outside informants

124 until I devised techniques to overcome this informant re-
[128] action. I had ultimately to resort to using informants from
124 other villages to get much of the information, particularly
661 names, about the people with whom I spent most of my time, or,
969 to employ informants who had grudges against individuals with-
578 in the village; the greatest insult a Yanomamö can give is to say the name of a person's dead ancestor, and I capitalized on this custom at every opportunity.

124 Once I obtained accurate names,[1] the task became
551 easier and I was able to use local informants once again,
969 although rarely would they mention names of their dead relatives. Toward the end of my field work I managed to gain the confidence of several older individuals who verified and expanded on information I had collected by more devious means; even so, they themselves would not mention the names of many of the individuals in the genealogies, and I was constrained by my bargain with these informants not to mention the names
124 of any of their closely related dead kinsmen. By utilizing
128 several informants who were not closely related I managed to verify and correct the genealogies of the people with whom I lived, and I am reasonably sure that the information is accurate as far as it goes, although there are probably

---

[128] [1] I was satisfied that the name was accurate when I obtained the same name from several of my most trusted informants. The best proof, however, was the reaction of an informant who was related to the deceased. If this informant became angry or upset when I whispered the name in his presence while checking a genealogy, I was reasonably sure that I had the right name.

124 omissions in ascending generations. The genealogies of
128 individuals from other villages were easier to collect, particularly if my informants had grudges against the members of those villages, but I employed the same techniques in these cases as well.

124 After I had established the genealogical relationships, I visited the various villages to make estimates of the ages of the individuals, as well as to collect other
124 kinds of information. This was always a touchy business, as
123 the Yąnomamö resent being called by their names, particularly
551 older and more influential individuals. Occasionally I would
554 say the name of an individual who had recently been killed in
169 a raid; this always resulted in an unpleasant and possibly dangerous situation, as most of them were unable to understand why a complete stranger should want to possess such knowledge unless it were for harmful magical purposes. My guides were constantly reminding me not to mention the names of dead people of the villages I visited and of the disastrous consequences that would follow should I fail to heed this advice.

124 In short, the collection of the genealogies was an unpleasant, full-time task and left very little time for intensive study of other aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

114 The two monographs dealing with the Yąnomamö mentioned above are quite superficial in their treatment of social organization; to date no intensive analysis of Yąnomamö social organization has been attempted using data

726 villages (Bisaasi-tedi, Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi, and Karohi-tedi).
[764] [266] These ashes were to be consumed prior to revenge raids on
[245] the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi then set about transport-
ing plantain cuttings to their new garden and spent the next
[132] [221] several weeks working on the garden. They intended to delay
their revenge raid until the beginning of the rainy season
in order to make it difficult for the Patanowä-tedi to raid
[361] them in return. The Monou-tedi moved into Bisaasi-tedi at
*[628] the end of March both for military protection and for respite
from their heavy agricultural labors. They stayed with the
Bisaasi-tedi until the end of April, fearing that they would
be raided by the Patanowä-tedi if they returned to their own
village before the rains started. They also planned to raid
the Patanowä-tedi from Bisaasi-tedi at the beginning of the
wet season, knowing that a revenge raid from Patanowä-tedi
[132] [221] would be difficult once the rains started. They could return
to their own village during the rainy season, as the jungle
separating their village from the Patanowä-tedi is inundated
at this time of the year and cannot be traversed.

* [769] *[628] On April 19th the Bisaasi-tedi sponsored a mortuary
feast for the slain Monou-tedi headman in preparation for
the revenge raid. The participants in the revenge raid were
to include the Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi, but they did not arrive as
scheduled, so the raid was delayed until the 21st. Only
a few Mǫ̈maribǫ̈wei-tedi arrived to participate in the raid,
and the Bisaasi-tedi immediately suspected that the Mǫ̈mari-
bǫ̈wei-tedi were plotting to abduct women from them after

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi*.[13] Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no ubudibö*, the part of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noreshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter. For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment. The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of ceremonies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[13] Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
291
302
516
756
276
342

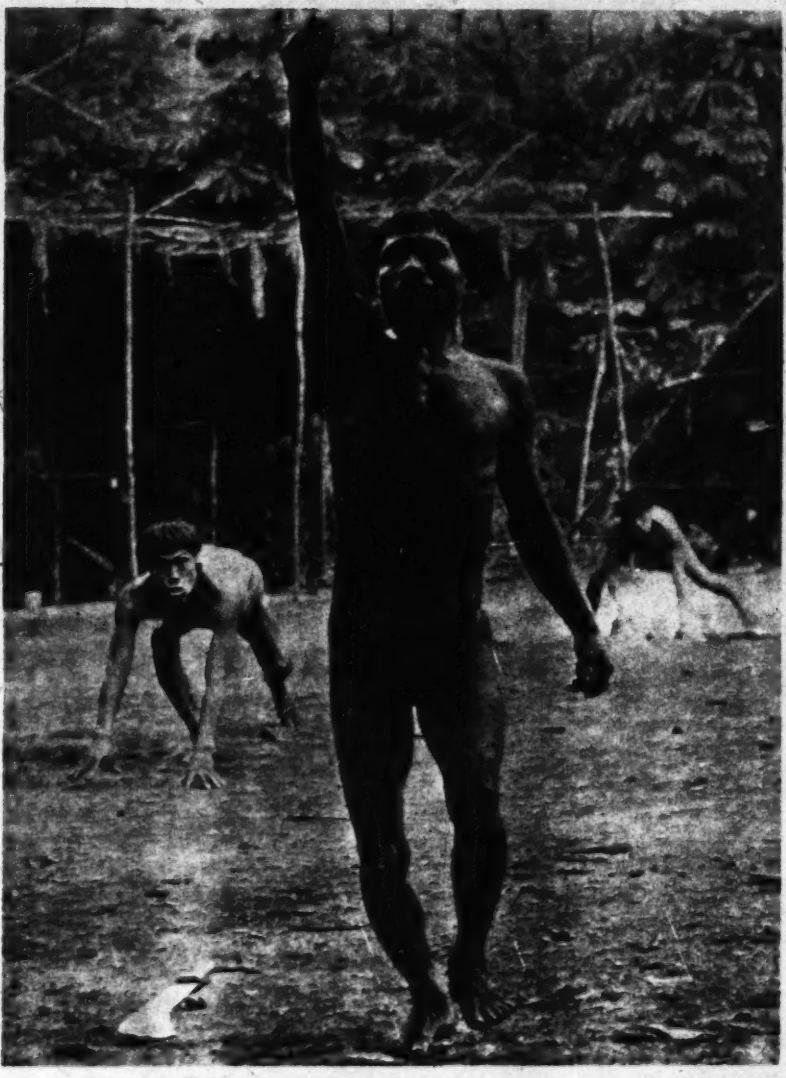


Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura*—demons.*

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *hedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yąnomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

769
266
628

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

the visiting dancers entered, pranced around the village periphery, wildly showing off their decorations and weapons and then returning to the group. Each dancer had unique decorations and a unique dance step, something personal that he could exhibit. He would burst into the village screaming a memorized phrase, wheel and spin, stop in his tracks, dance in place, throw his weapons down, pick them up again, aim them at the line of hosts with a wild expression on his face, prance ahead a few steps, repeat his performance, and continue on around the village in this manner, while the hosts cheered wildly. When everyone had had an individual turn, the entire group entered, danced single file around the periphery several times, and gathered at the center of the clearing, where they formed a tightly knit group. They stood motionless, except for the heaving of their chests, holding their weapons vertically. After they had stood there a few moments—in a final display of decorations—Kąobawä's followers emerged from their houses and approached the center of the village, each man inviting one or more of the visitors to his house, leading him away from the village center by the arm. As each visitor was led away, his family, watching from the village entrance, unceremoniously joined him at the host's house, bringing the family possessions along. Within a few minutes the dance plaza was deserted and the visitors were resting comfortably in their hosts' hammocks. Even in the hammocks, the Yąnomamö visitors are able to put on a silent display of their finery as they lay with their legs crossed, one arm behind their head, staring at the ceiling, waiting for their hosts to feed them ripe plantain soup from the bark troughs—it is almost as if they are strutting from a reclining position.

After the guests had been given their first round of soup, the men of Kąobawä's village assembled outside the entrance and came in to dance around the village for their guests. They, too, had an opportunity to put on a display of their own decorations, after which they retired to entertain the guests.

There were three troughs full of soup in the village. The first one was emptied in the process of bringing numerous gourdsful to the some one hundred visitors (see Fig. 4–2). After they had consumed this, the guests then assembled at the second trough and began eating there. Before this trough was finished, they moved as a group to the third trough and repeated their ceremonial consumption, before returning to their hammocks to rest and regain their appetites. Approximately two hours had passed from the time the first dancers entered the village until the guests retired from the third trough of soup. They had not yet eaten all of the contents—all in all, some 95 gallons of it—but managed to do so by morning.[6]

Shortly after dark the marathon chanting (*waiyamou*) began—it continued until dawn. At dawn the visitors conducted their trade and were given the baskets of "going-home food": boiled green plantains with smoked meat. The women and children departed with the food, leaving the men behind to trade. The visitors made requests through their headman, and Kąobawä would produce the item by enjoining one of the local men to give it. The item would be thrown at the feet of the man who wanted it. He would ignore it for a while and then give it a cursory examination, throwing it back on the ground. His peers would then examine it in greater detail and extol its virtues, while the

[6]During some feasts, the ashes of the dead are mixed with the boiled, ripe plantain soup and eaten by friends and relatives of the deceased. The feast also serves as a preliminary to a raid that involves two or more villages. The sponsor of the raid will entertain his allies in a feast the day before the raiding party departs. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the raid.

/212 cont. / We were greatly surprised to find
554 this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did
791 not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar
793 situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).
756
171 The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists
who have studied this matter is that it is a matter of a Circum-
194 Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of
793 priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural
● 771 complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence,
121 owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the
191 temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to
formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very
probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient plat-
form of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its
specific conditions, lent itself to the developme[illegible]o the
adoption of the cult.

121 We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the
773 Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit
793 authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have,
756 however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of
all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause,
the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest
as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This person-
age is different from the shaman and his sphere.

771 The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts
171 of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the
174 Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the
cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations,
is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification
of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes
it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also
certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we
consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society
in decadence.

I
A [i.e., regarding the stratification
of priest, shaman, and magician
in the society -- An.]

/221 cont./

765 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula
775 and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĭkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĭkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around
[276] the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their
[756] neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĭ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá
• 771 is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of
[184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious
756 practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a
791 different supernatural sphere.

793 The first of the three is the hɛwĭawán, or the priest, who is
776 the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

/222 cont./

793 the men learn because of the frequency with which he sings them.
773 He sings during the day, but especially at night. Suddenly he
[776] interrupts his song and flies up into the sky, where he joins other hɛwĩawán in order to sup with Omao.

793 The hɛwĩawán must jealously keep a certain number of
784 taboos, and on the degree of care with which he keeps them
[262] depends, not only his power as a priest, but also the existence of all his people. Thus, for example, he must not eat crabs or other animals which in reality are men to them, just like eagles, etc.

[778] Should he do this, the "weight of the dead" kills his
[726] hikuladɛ, a disaster which, in turn, causes the death, not only of the priest, but also of a large part of his congregation. For the same reason, the hɛwĩawán never takes part in war or in any combat whatsoever, because, although he is invulnerable and no arrow or club can kill him, his hikuladɛ could not bear the "weight" of a man killed by his weapons. This is the reason why each Sanemá local group relies on a special chief for wartime.

793 The hɛwĩawán, who belongs to the court of Omao more than
[776] to the Sanemá community, does not marry a specific woman.
[836] He may have sexual relations with all the unmarried women of the group, but he is completely unconcerned about them and the children. He has no duties as either husband or father.

/223/ If a hɛwĩawán dies, any woman of the group may
[776] have a son predestined to be a hɛwĩawán. No one knows which
[781] of the boys born in the period immediately after the death of a priest may be the hɛwĩawán of the future, but one day the true hɛwĩawán will return from the forest where he has met the Great Jaguar, who changed him into a priest, replacing his human flesh with other flesh more worthy of his bones, the flesh of a bat-priest.

[771] He than informs the people of what has happened, and, as that election happens shortly after the death of a priest, the new hɛwĩawán tries to take the vacant place in time, assuring, in this manner, the continuation of uninterrupted contact which the Sanemá have had with Omao generation after generation.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

follow. Then, in the same fashion, the medicine-man would announce the name of another fruit, let us say *olashi*. The chorus would repeat the same formula. And so on, through all the thirty-two fruits of the forest, the litany was sung. Then it was the animals' turn—those that provided meat. From the noble tapir right down to the worm: might he pass serenely from his muddy lair into the tomb of the Samatari stomach.

When the victualling business had thus been settled, the time was ripe for more general songs and prayers. One little song that turned up I had already heard among the Guayca and other Shirians. The tune was easily recognizable, catchy, even; but the words were strange, and probably not understood by the singers themselves. Then came isolated songs, and broken snatches of tunes that went on all night till the first gleam of dawn, when the priest and his flock gradually dropped off to sleep. The ceremony was over.

It might appear from a hasty glance at their ceremonies of propitiation and exorcism that the Shirians believe in the supernatural, but this is not so.

We often questioned Uarema on the subject, but his reply was always in the negative, and he laughed at the Makiritari's Canaima and the other tribes' Maguaritòn. 'We don't believe in those stories,' he answered, invariably, in his picaroon Spanish. The Shirians do not believe in supernatural beings such as gods, devils and their intermediaries. Certain ceremonies of theirs, it is true, are addressed to powers which we should not consider as belonging to the material world, but to the Shirian mind they do belong to this world, like other evident natural forces.

For instance, the medicine-man's cures for the sick possess a value and a methodology corresponding to medicine as we practise it. The sickness—the bad thing—is clearly visible. The medicine-man is a man with a powerful voice, which frightens the bad thing as it might frighten a man. The bad thing is forced to take flight, leaving the sufferer free. Magic, as we conceive it, is not involved.

Another example will emphasize the Shirian viewpoint even better. When the Shirians are shooting the rapids, anyone on board without a definite job, such as steering or paddling, will make a gesture with his hand to keep the swirling waters well away. For us, such a gesture would imply some sort of superstitious idea, for there is no physical connection between the hand that is trying to ward off the water and the water itself. But to the Indians it is rather an example of a purely physical phenomenon arising out of the man's will-power and his determination that the boat shall not be swamped, which his

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

771 789 gesture adequately expresses. The point is that the primitive has not yet clarified his ideas on the exact relationship between cause and effect, between the wish and its realization—which is to say, between will and reality, subjective and objective. Another clear proof of this lies in the attitude towards pregnancy and childbirth, which we had already noticed among Uarema's people.

789 831 Even the belief in amulets is one aspect of the complete naturalness of the supernatural! Shirian amulets are made from the dust of a dried leaf or piece of wood, wrapped into a tiny parcel inside a banana leaf, and tied round the arm. [832] Some of these have the power to attract love, if not quite in the same sense as the love philtres of Medieval Europe. It should be borne in mind that what we call love—for us, the cultural refinement of a physical attraction—does not exist for the Indians. For them, nothing is involved but the physiological relationship, together with the satisfaction of fulfilling an individual need, a sharing of erotic excitement and as a result, the future increase of their stock. Thus the phenomenon of 'falling in love' is not present: it is simply the taking of a man, or a woman. There is no courtship, only the act itself. In the light of this it becomes clear that what the Indian hopes for from the amulet is not success in wooing a man or a woman already known and selected, but a happy outcome of all things sexual, upon which so much depends—the woman, the family and the continuance of his race.

789 757 The amulet is not a 'charm' such as we imagine it: it consists simply of a substance which possesses the required power by virtue of its own nature—not by virtue of our belief in it—in exactly the same way as some vegetable extracts have the power to produce diarrhoea, and others the power to stop it. As a cure for diarrhoea the Indians take something prepared from a liana, which puts a stop to the trouble and restores the system to its normal state. The virtue of this substance and the way in which it acts is no more and no less occult than in the case of the amulet worn to attract success in love. The curative pill disappears into the mouth and its effects are felt elsewhere. The relation between the two regions is no more and no less mysterious than in the case of the love amulet: the human body is just as real, just as complex and just as unknown as the external world and other human beings.

756 793 The medicine-man is to be found in all Shirian tribes. He is the witch-doctor and the physician for all general purposes. His superior is the *lahalla*, a kind of high priest, and a very, very rare bird, who possesses wonder-working powers of an unheard-of degree of effectiveness. Uarema assured me that the *lahalla* at

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

villages have a profound effect on the nature of the settlement pattern of Yąnomamö villages, and that this same milieu influences the rate at which larger villages fission into smaller, vulnerable groups.

Finally, I emphasize the importance of cultivation in this pattern of village movement and relocation, particularly in the context of relying on allies. Twice during the history of Kąobawä's group they were obliged to take refuge in the village of an ally. All during my fieldwork the Monou-teri also relied on hospitality of this sort from Kąobawä's group, as they were beleaguered by raids from the Patanowä-teri and had not yet completed their new garden. In short, the fact that the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated food has led to specific obligations between members of allied villages: a good ally is one who will take you in when you are driven from your gardens by enemy raids. The essence of political life, therefore, is to develop stable alliances with neighboring villages so as to create a social network that potentially allows a local group to rely for long periods of time on the gardens of neighboring villages. I will describe the politics of alliance formation in Chapter 4, as it intimately bound up with feasting, trading, and marriage.

Intellectual Environment

The comparative poverty of Yąnomamö material culture is more than compensated for by the richness and complexity of their theological concepts, myths, and legends.

One of the distinctive features of Yąnomamö cosmology and theology is the opportunity it provides for inventiveness. Individuals can and do modify concepts, embellish them, improve on them and, in general, use their imaginations when trafficking in myths or concepts of the soul and afterlife. In short, there is room for thinkers in Yąnomamö culture.

The result of this is that many variants of the same basic myth can be found over a relatively small area. Indeed, each village will contain people who tell the myth a slightly different way; the basic elements remain the same each time, but personal views are interjected and reflect the idiosyncracies of the narrator. The Yąnomamö appear to enjoy these intellectual exercises, for in myth and cosmology they are able to demonstrate their personal abilities as users of their language, the true language of man.

THE COSMOS The Yąnomamö conceive of the external world as having an origin, boundaries, supernatural beings, and a specific nature.

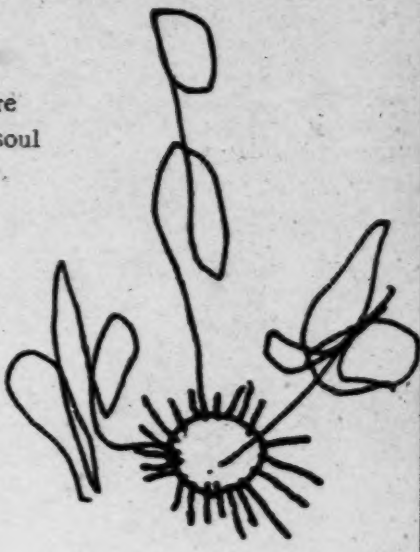
The cosmos is comprised of four parallel layers, lying horizontally and located one on top of the other (see Fig. 2-4b). They are like inverted platters: gently curved, thin, circular, rigid, and having two surfaces, top and bottom.

The uppermost layer is the "tender" plane: *duku kä misi*. At the present time, it is "empty" or "void" (*bryke*), but some things had their origins there in the distant past. These moved down to other layers. Today, the uppermost layer is sometimes described as being "an old woman" (*sua pata*), a phrase used to describe an abandoned garden or a female who is no longer capable of producing offspring. This layer does not figure prominently in the everyday life of the Yąnomamö; it is merely something that is there and once had a function.

4: Wilbert--71 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

532

Cremation of a corpse. The fire forms spirals of smoke and the soul appears coming out of the body. Drawing of a Sanemá Indian.



532
772

Vision of the cosmos. God above the path of the sun and the earth. The "guapo" seated on a bench under the earth with animals. Drawing of a Sanemá Indian.

/233 cont./

539 to search the sun's house. Then the sun burned its surface and from that came the scars which show on its face.

The moon went to the other side of the world, and, while the sun sealed its friendship with man, the moon was his ir-
539 reconcilable enemy. When the moon appears rose-colored, it
821 is because it, along with its family, is eating men. The sun also has a family, but does not eat human flesh. Sometimes the moon hides in its house in order to plan a new campaign.
[532] During that time women are very much afraid and, in order to
[751] protect themselves, paint a likeness of the sun on their cheeks; they also commonly paint it on large stones which they find on the path.

/234/

OINEITĬB

539 Beneath the earth there exists the world of the dwarfs, who
[772] are called Oineitĭb. They live like men, but eat and speak very rapidly. They have no intestines or anus, and when they eat meat or other food, they cut it in pieces and swallow it raw, without chewing (25). They sometimes also eat women who conceal

[171] 25. See also the corresponding myth of the Yupa Indians of Venezuela (Wilbert, 1959d).

their menstruation. On one occasion the subterranean river grew so much that it acquired an enormous volume and gained so much strength that it blew out the earth beneath the ground of the rancheria in which there lived a woman who had tried to conceal her state. The houses collapsed and the inhabitants drowned, with the exception of the women, who were devoured by the dwarfs and their souls went to live forever with the guapo, who is also unable to go up to heaven and live with Omao.

Because the dwarfs have no intestines, they are always hungry and, for that reason, devour their food with much greediness. On occasion one of these dwarfs comes to earth to visit a man, but never a woman. The man cannot see his guest, but

/485/ cf./

765 This funerary gourd which contains the remains is kept with the other objects that belong to the family. Then, one [766] fine day, they prepare a soup of platanos in which they mix the powdered bone. The near relatives drink this soup. All weep at this moment, as at the first funeral.

775 The Guaika believe that the correct observance of these practices has much to do with the life of the person after his death. If they do not manage to recover the body of a man killed in war and cremate it, his death is considered a doubly great calamity. A statement such as that of "We shall not cremate you when you die" consequently means a powerful threat.

Religion

•[772] The Guaika /Waica/ have an idea that one ascends into heaven when one dies. This heaven is a good place, but less desirable than the present life. They also have an idea of hell, a place even less desirable to go to when one dies.

774 A person is for them body, soul, and spirit. The word to
775 designate soul also means "shadow" or "reflection." And the
828 word to designate spirit also means "cloud." Thus, the soul retains the form of the body, but the spirit can be formless.

The soul can abandon the body and return later. A seriously sick person in general loses consciousness while his soul is [753] absent. This is why they frequently go looking for the soul of a sick child, to return it to his body. The soul of an adult, on the other hand, should know how to find its way back.

The spirit abandons the body only with death.

775 A formal cremation and the rites which follow cremation help to ensure that the deceased, upon dying, will go to the most desirable place of the other life.

The Guaika believe that the spirits in heaven eat certain wild fruits. They are afraid that an enemy might /486/ return after death and cause sicknesses and other calamities to the people still corporeal. Many of these incorporeal spirits wander about the paths, especially at night. As we have said before, they are called "boles."

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

342

772 ←

342 →

Fig. 2-4.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

villages have a profound effect on the nature of the settlement pattern of Yąnomamö villages, and that this same milieu influences the rate at which larger villages fission into smaller, vulnerable groups.

Finally, I emphasize the importance of cultivation in this pattern of village movement and relocation, particularly in the context of relying on allies. Twice during the history of Kąobawä's group they were obliged to take refuge in the village of an ally. All during my fieldwork the Monou-teri also relied on hospitality of this sort from Kąobawä's group, as they were beleaguered by raids from the Patanowä-teri and had not yet completed their new garden. In short, the fact that the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated food has led to specific obligations between members of allied villages: a good ally is one who will take you in when you are driven from your gardens by enemy raids. The essence of political life, therefore, is to develop stable alliances with neighboring villages so as to create a social network that potentially allows a local group to rely for long periods of time on the gardens of neighboring villages. I will describe the politics of alliance formation in Chapter 4, as it intimately bound up with feasting, trading, and marriage.

Intellectual Environment

The comparative poverty of Yąnomamö material culture is more than compensated for by the richness and complexity of their theological concepts, myths, and legends.

One of the distinctive features of Yąnomamö cosmology and theology is the opportunity it provides for inventiveness. Individuals can and do modify concepts, embellish them, improve on them and, in general, use their imaginations when trafficking in myths or concepts of the soul and afterlife. In short, there is room for thinkers in Yąnomamö culture.

The result of this is that many variants of the same basic myth can be found over a relatively small area. Indeed, each village will contain people who tell the myth a slightly different way; the basic elements remain the same each time, but personal views are interjected and reflect the idiosyncracies of the narrator. The Yąnomamö appear to enjoy these intellectual exercises, for in myth and cosmology they are able to demonstrate their personal abilities as users of their language, the true language of man.

THE COSMOS The Yąnomamö conceive of the external world as having an origin, boundaries, supernatural beings, and a specific nature.

The cosmos is comprised of four parallel layers, lying horizontally and located one on top of the other (see Fig. 2–4b). They are like inverted platters: gently curved, thin, circular, rigid, and having two surfaces, top and bottom.

The uppermost layer is the "tender" plane: *duku kö misi*. At the present time, it is "empty" or "void" (*brukr*), but some things had their origins there in the distant past. These moved down to other layers. Today, the uppermost layer is sometimes described as being "an old woman" (*sua pata*), a phrase used to describe an abandoned garden or a female who is no longer capable of producing offspring. This layer does not figure prominently in the everyday life of the Yąnomamö; it is merely something that is there and once had a function.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The next layer is called *hadu kã misi:* sky layer. It is made of earth on the top surface and provides the eternal home for the souls of the departed. A complete replica of life on earth is to be found on top of *hadu*, except that the inhabitants are spirits of men, not real men. They garden, make witchcraft, hunt, eat, and in general do what living man does. Everything that exists on earth has a counterpart on *hadu*, a sort of mirror image, although the activities of the two groups of objects and beings are independent of each other.

The bottom surface of *hadu* is the visible portion of the sky. The celestial beings are attached to this surface and move across it. It is not thought to be very far above the earth, since many of my informants asked me if I had crashed into it when I flew in an airplane.

Man dwells below the sky on "this layer": *hei kã misi*. It originated when a piece of *hadu* broke off and fell to a lower level. This layer is a vast jungle, sprinkled with innumerable Yąnomamö villages. These are conceived to be located on earth, as shown in Fig. 2-4c. Even foreigners are thought to live in a type of house that resembles the Yąnomamö dwelling; after all, foreigners derived from the Yąnomamö by a process of degeneration.

Finally, the plane underneath this layer is almost barren. A single village of spirit-men is found here, the Amahiri-teri. A long time ago, after the earth layer was formed by a piece of *hadu*, another chunk of *hadu* fell down and crashed through earth. It hit earth at a place where the Amahiri-teri lived, carrying their village down to the bottom layer. Unfortunately, only their *shabono* and gardens were carried with the piece of *hadu*. Hence, the Amahiri-teri have no neighborhood (*sriibi*) in which to hunt for game, and so they send their spirits up to earth to capture the souls of living children and eat them. There is a constant struggle between the evil spirits of Amahiri-teri shamans and the evil spirits of shamans on this layer, earth: They send malevolent demons against each other and preoccupy themselves with defending their respective villages from evil spirits.

The Amahiri-teri people lived at the time of the *no hadabö*, the first men. These original Yąnomamö were distinct from living man in that they were part spirit (*yai*) and part human. When they died, they became *yai*, spirits. *No hadabö* means, literally, "those who are now dead"; in a cosmological context, it refers to the time of the first beings.

THE FIRST BEINGS The first beings cannot be accounted for. The Yąnomamö simply presume that the cosmos originated with these people. Most of them, and there were many, had a specific function, such as creating a useful plant or object. They figure prominently in mythology. Many of them bear the names of plants and animals that are important in the Yąnomamö economy, and the first beings are considered to be the spirits of these. I will relate a few specific tales about some of these first beings, retaining where possible the Yąnomamö narrative style.

One of the first beings was called Boreawä, or simply Bore. He was the first to acquire plantains, the staple of the Yąnomamö diet. Because he had plantains first, he was the headman (*pata dodibiwä*) of the first beings. Boreawä did not tell the others that he had plantains, as he did not want to share them. At that time, the first beings ate only dirt and animals, as there was no domesticated food. One day another of the first beings, Horonama, got caught in a rain so he took refuge in a sheltered place in the jungle. He was lost and did not know whose neighborhood he was in. By luck, he took refuge in the very place where Boreawä had hidden his cultivated plantains. Horonama, a dirt eater,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

have chronic warfare, results in a distinctive settlement pattern and system of alliances that permits groups of people to exploit a given area over a relatively long period of time. Finally, the Yanomamö explain the nature of man's ferocity and origin in myth and legend, articulating themselves intellectually with the observable, real world.

Thus, each individual Yanomamö enters the world with the physical, social, and ideological traditions at his disposal that will permit him to confront and adjust to the jungle, his neighbors, and the demons that cause sickness. The cosmos is ordered and orderly, in *hadu* as it is on earth.

Surára
Pakidái

/86 cont./

231 Dogs are never killed; they are allowed to live until they
[262] die of old age. When I asked whether dog meat was ever eaten
in former times, men and women, with horrified faces, answered
in the negative. Yet this custom is supposed to have prevailed
● [193] at one time among various tribes of Guiana (414). There do not

414. Alexander von Humboldt, 1860, IV, p. 189.

seem to be any myths about dogs.

123 I should also like to mention that during my months-long,
23 extremely friendly stay with the Surára and Pakidái, and in
[114] spite of great efforts, in which the Indians helped me, I never
23 succeeded in winning the affection of their dogs. It meant a
[114] good deal that in time I was tolerated by them. I can agree
perfectly with Friederici when he writes: "The Indian dog has
always hated the white man, and, conversely, the dog of the
European, the Indian. The odors given off by the races are so
different that even a human nose can usually tell the difference,
how much more a dog. If a white man walked through an Indian
camp he usually had a whole pack of growling and teeth-baring
dogs behind him" (415). But I also found that the opposite was

415. Friederici, 1899, p. 365.

true. The dogs kept at the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on
the middle Demini, mongrels of the most diverse breeds, but
among them also former Indian dogs, behaved, in their hatred, as
though they were mad when Pakidái families came to visit (416).

[191]

416. Baldus, on the occasion of his Chaco expedition, also observed that Indian dogs, once they are in the hands of whites, become the bitterest enemies of their former masters (Baldus, 1931, p. 18).

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

776
184 /93 cont./ Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon--
821 Perimbó -- and with the latter forms an inseparable unity (450),

[114]
[171]

450. This conception, which seems rather strange and in which Josef Haekel therefore thinks he sees a contradiction (Haekel, 1959, p. 40), is, however, also confirmed for the Uitoto /Witoto/, for Preuss writes about it, among other things: "We thus have here the rare instance in which, through a combination of the god of the earth and a moon demon, a single deity has arisen, a sort of monotheism, alongside of which there are only very insignificant demons" (Preuss, 1922, p. 176). And elsewhere he states: "The fact that moon and Supreme Being here coincide may therefore have come about later, but not necessarily. Today we have them as an inseparable unity" (Preuss, 1922, p. 184).

whereas "Omaua," together with a helper, "Yoaua," lives in the western sky, where they too produce rain, in that they pour the water out of the two celestial rivers (451). In contrast to this

451. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

among the Surára and Pakidái it is believed that Poré shakes the rain-tree of the moon (see p. 199).

821 Great significance is also attached to the moon by the
184 Waiká, and, significantly enough, also in connection with the
● 773 creation of human beings. This may be seen from their legend of primitive times (452), which, except for minor deviations,

452. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

corresponds to the one which the Surára chief Hewemão told me

2: Becher--203 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

821
184
773

/93 cont./

(see pp. 247-248) (453). As a further parallel, the leg-birth

453. With reference to this, however, among the Waiká there is a second conception that the first human beings came to the earth in the rain (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). Hence they must have come out of the western sky where, to be sure, Omaua lives and produces rain. Zerries, however, thinks it possible that this rain is identical with the blood of the wounded moon and refers to a Uitoto myth as a parallel (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). In this myth the monthly blood of the daughter of the organizer of the festival of the animals is seen as a fine, cold rain, which Preuss interprets as the flood in miniature, which appears with the dark of the moon; it corresponds to the menses (Preuss, 1921, pp. 113-115).

773
184

As a further parallel, the leg-birth should be mentioned. According to the Surára and Pakidái version, the first four men and a woman came from the leg of a small bird at definite intervals (see p. 247), while, according to the one of the Waiká, the first woman came out of the pregnant leg of a man (454) (455). Both myths, however, have

454. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

793
191

455. Conceptions of leg-births are confirmed also for other South American tribes. Thus, among the Tukuna /Tucuna/ the tribal heroes Dyoi and Epi, together with their two sisters, spring from the knees, swollen by wasp stings, of the male Nutapa (Nimuendajú, 1952, p. 122), and among the Umutina, who unfortunately no

2: Becher--204 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára Pakidái Waica

/93 cont./

455. (cont.)
longer exist as a tribal unit, it is believed that civilized people and hostile Indian tribes came out of the inflamed and swollen calves of the first man, Aipuku (Oberg, 1953, p. 108).

the polyandrous feature in common, for the woman had a boy (Surára and Pakidái) (see p. 247) or several children (Waiká)(456)

456. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

by the men.

/94/ In the religious world of thought of the Waiká one also finds ideas that are very contradictory. Thus, "Omaua" is regarded, on the one hand, as the Supreme Being and creator of the earth and of mankind, and, on the other hand, is thought of as an actual enemy of the Waiká who is closely linked with alien tribes in the west and with the whites, as well as with their pernicious influences, diseases, puzzling cultural possessions (motor, gasoline, etc.) (457). Furthermore, it is noteworthy

457. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

that in white and black magic "Omaua" is directly invoked (458)

458. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

(the Surára and Pakidái communicate with Poré/Perimbó only through intermediaries), and that there lives with him a cannibalistic creature, "Omayali," which, according to Zerries, presumably represents a hypostasis of the former (459). He believes,

459. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

however, that "Omaua-Omayali" is an import from another culture

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/95 cont./

796 171 exactly as among the Surára and Pakidái; moreover, the correspondence between the names Aboré and Poré is especially great. The supplying of cultural possessions is also attributed to the deities in each case. In the Warrau myth it is even said that Aboré fled before Wowtáh into the land of the whites, from whence he provided his fellow tribesmen with import articles (481).

481. Brett, 1880, pp. 84 ff.

794 171 The idea that there are gigantic prototypes of each animal and plant species also exists among other South American tribes. Zerries has already worked out the connections for this and has cited several investigators who confirmed identical or similar views for various Indian peoples, among them Arawak, Mura, tribes of the Chaco, Karaiben in Guiana (Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, Cavina and Tumupasa Indians of northeastern Bolivia, Cayapa in Ecuador, and Yaruro in Venezuela (482).

482. Zerries, 1951, pp. 149/50.

794 171 114 The conception of the Yaruro in particular shows corresponding parallels, according to Petrullo's description (483).

483. Petrullo, 1939, p. 237.

For the Karaiben tribe Arekuná, Koch-Grünberg, to be sure, does not find any evidence of gigantic plant spirits, but their idea of the animal spirits is very similar; here they are called "podole" = father (484).

484. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 187.

• 793 184 If one then compares the myths which deal with happenings on the already created earth, one is struck by the fact that among the Waiká the transformations of human beings into land animals cover a wide range (485). The same is true among the

485. Zerries, 1958b, p. 283.

Surára
Pakidai
Waica

/95 cont./

793 184 Surára and Pakidái, but here in addition there are also such for the animals themselves, and, to be sure, smaller ones are always transformed into larger ones (see p. 251). The myth of the creation of the ant bear, in which Omaua or Poré transforms a man who has committed incest with his mother-in-law into this animal by magic, is familiar to the Waiká (486), as well as to

486. Zerries, 1958b, p. 285.

the Surára and Pakidái, in the same version (see p. 250).

794 184 Likewise synonymous is the system of the species-spirits of animals and plants, hekurá (Surára and Pakidái), or "hekula" (Waiká) (487), which is closely connected with the medicine-man system.

487. Zerries, 1958b, pp. 286/87.

794 795 184 [124] Of interest, finally, are comparisons concerning the conception of the human soul. It can ascend to the moon (Surára and Pakidái) or to heaven (Waiká) (488) only if the corpse is

488. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

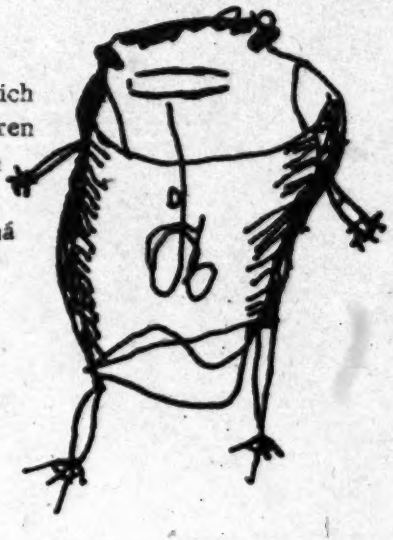
cremated, for its name, uwexík (Surára and Pakidái), or "nobolebe" (Waiká) (488) /see footnote above/, is identical with that of cloud, smoke. According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the soul exists in the bones (see p. 151) (489).

[171]

489. In this respect they correspond to many other tribes, for in his essay "Die Antropophagie der südamerikanischen Indianer /The Anthropophagy of the South American Indians/," Koch (Grünberg) writes: "All these practices show that the Indian, incapable of separating the physical from the spiritual, regards the bones, which alone remain after the corpse has decomposed, as the actual and ultimate seat of the soul" (Koch (Grünberg), 1899, p. 83).

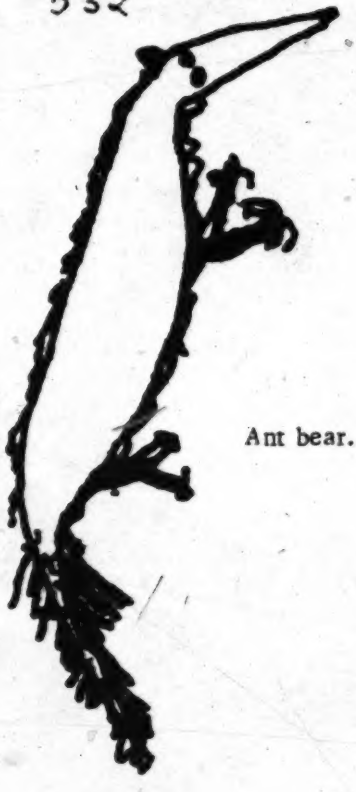
4: Wilbert--68 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

532
773



The female toad which saved the hero children from the persecution of the Great Jaguar. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

532



Ant bear. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

/212 cont./ We were greatly surprised to find this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).

The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists who have studied this matter[1] is that it is a matter of a Circum-Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence, owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient platform of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its specific conditions, lent itself to the development or to the adoption of the cult.

We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have, however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause, the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This personage is different from the shaman and his sphere.

The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

[1] [i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

The first menstrual period

/215 cont./

584 indicates that a man may have sexual relations with the wife
881 who was promised to him when she was still a child. Sometimes a girl will refuse to marry the man to whom she was promised as a wife, but she is afraid to conceal her first menstrual periods for mythological reasons.

881 In their oral literature the Sanemá tell of a very sad case
• 773 which occurred in remote times because a girl concealed her first menstruation. Oineitĩb, a scrawny dwarf, found out about what had happened and caused heavy rains to fall for a period which demolished the rancheria where the girl lived. All the men died. The young girl went away to live with the neighboring group, where she was greeted with unequivocal signs of friendliness. On the very day of her arrival a man went to the river to fish, when suddenly he saw floating on the water the dead bodies of the people of the rancheria recently destroyed by the heavy rain. He immediately realized what had happened. He returned to the rancheria and killed the girl. The dwarf ate the girl and all the people who lived in the rancheria destroyed by the rain. This happens very rarely, however, which is why the dwarf is so thin.

881 We do not know the content of the puberty rites, but it
[302] seems that the hair is cut in the case of both sexes, and, for the
[262] boys as well as for the girls, food is limited to cassava and water, and that in small amounts. They do not eat meat. An informant
343 from the Erebato spoke to us of a special hut where the women
841 remain for the duration of their menstrual period. If we under-
881 stood him correctly, this hut is round and dome-shaped and made of palm leaves stuck into the ground. Inside the hut there is a circle made of little sticks placed side by side, within which there are two sticks stuck into the ground one meter apart. Between these sticks is fixed a bejuco. /216/ The woman, who must not lie down during menstruation, sits down and the bejuco serves as a back support. We did not see any house of this type.

584 The arrangements for a marriage are initiated with a private discussion between the two young lovers. The boy indicates to his fiancée that he wishes to take her as his wife and says to her:

/221 cont./

793 [776 621] Since the Sanemá people cannot exist in good conditions without the continued and intimate contact with the house of Omao, sáiyawan, the priest makes himself indispensable in the grouping of a band, whose very existence is perpetuated in large part by the quality of the priest.

The hɛwĩawán of the Sanemá devotes himself exclusively to filling his high office. For this reason he cannot work, or hunt, or fish, etc. like a common man, and he lives on the benefactions given to him by the community as compensation for the services which he renders to it.

/222/ In his frequent flights between the earth and heaven he commonly kills a vulture or sparrow hawk and that explains why he often returns with his mouth covered with blood, bringing some cashew birds and, on certain limited occasions, even a human leg, trophies which he obtained as he killed the enemy (23).

23. It is likely that all this represents the ideal habitus rather than the real one of the priest.

793 ● 773 Before discussing the nature of the power of the hɛwĩawán, we shall first narrate the genesis of the first hɛwĩawán of the Sanemá, which will explain to us how it comes about that the hɛwĩawán is able to fly and why he always goes about raised some 30 centimeters from the ground when he is on the earth.

There was a man who one day went into the forest to hunt. There he was met by a Great Jaguar, omaukõhe, who is a gigantic jaguar, master of the other felines, and who goes about in an upright position like a man. The jaguar caught the man and ate all his flesh, leaving the skeleton picked clean but without breaking a single bone. The man remained alive and asked the Great Jaguar to give him other flesh. The Jaguar gave him other flesh, but told him that henceforth he would be hɛwĩ (bat).

[825] And from that time on the man hɛwĩawán is also a bat. He is a very timid man; children love him very much, because he never gets angry and does not scold. When he is in the company of men, he spends his time singing songs, wásámo songs, which

/222 cont./

793 the men learn because of the frequency with which he sings them.
773 He sings during the day, but especially at night. Suddenly he
[776] interrupts his song and flies up into the sky, where he joins other hɛwĩawán in order to sup with Omao.

793 The hɛwĩawán must jealously keep a certain number of
784 taboos, and on the degree of care with which he keeps them depends, not only his power as a priest, but also the existence of
[262] all his people. Thus, for example, he must not eat crabs or other animals which in reality are men to them, just like eagles, etc.

[778] Should he do this, the "weight of the dead" kills his hikuladɛ, a disaster which, in turn, causes the death, not only
[726] of the priest, but also of a large part of his congregation. For the same reason, the hɛwĩawán never takes part in war or in any combat whatsoever, because, although he is invulnerable and no arrow or club can kill him, his hikuladɛ could not bear the "weight" of a man killed by his weapons. This is the reason why each Sanemá local group relies on a special chief for wartime.

793 The hɛwĩawán, who belongs to the court of Omao more than
[776] to the Sanemá community, does not marry a specific woman.
[836] He may have sexual relations with all the unmarried women of the group, but he is completely unconcerned about them and the children. He has no duties as either husband or father.

/223/ If a hɛwĩawán dies, any woman of the group may
[776] have a son predestined to be a hɛwĩawán. No one knows which
[781] of the boys born in the period immediately after the death of a priest may be the hɛwĩawán of the future, but one day the true hɛwĩawán will return from the forest where he has met the Great Jaguar, who changed him into a priest, replacing his human flesh with other flesh more worthy of his bones, the flesh of a bat-priest.

[771] He than informs the people of what has happened, and, as that election happens shortly after the death of a priest, the new hɛwĩawán tries to take the vacant place in time, assuring, in this manner, the continuation of uninterrupted contact which the Sanemá have had with Omao generation after generation.

/224 cont./

793 778 628 [776] other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the hɛ̃wĩawán gather with their hĩkula-dĩb.

793 778 775 The hĩkula-dĩb of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria, in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial community, and for this reason more than one priest is unnecessary. In the section of the illustrations[1] one can see the

532 793 778 775 126 hikuladɛ̃ of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees there five hĩkula-dĩb, or souls of ancestors of the group in which the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him

532 793 778 775 126 825 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is based on the belief that a Sanemá must never speak of the insect of the house of the hikuladɛ̃. As a matter of fact our informant never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American ethnology.

171 ● 773 825 778 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it payak, a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to the hĩkuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá priest to note the Mataco custom of attributing a supernatural power to a maraca /gourd rattle/ with sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The similarity between the hikuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá and the "sacred maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

[1] [see p. 70 - -Analyst]

/226 cont./

756 chest. They enter, without loss of time, through the extremi-
533 ties of the body and through the head. They arrive in the order
774 in which their names are sung by the master sablĭ, who in this way "builds a pueblo" of a microcosmos in the body of the man. The stronger the master, the greater will be the "pueblo," and the greater this "pueblo" is, the better chance the sablĭ will have to augment his inner world and his power during his life.

756 The hikuladĭ of the sablĭ is essentially different from that
774 of the priest, in the sense that it is inhabited by the vital princi-
[778] ple of vegetable and animal species and not by the souls of departed ancestors. The man also has a specific hĭkula, different from his soul and which, as is true of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, seems to be immortal and spiritual, essentially joined to animate matter until death. Each specimen of a species has a specific hĭkula; after death, the speciman goes to a luminous place in the forest. While the soul of a man may abandon the body during sleep, etc., without its being detrimental for the man himself, the hĭkula never leaves until the moment of death. Furthermore, the soul is typically human, while the hĭkula is found in man and also in plants and animals. Some informed us with insistence that women and small children do not have hĭkula.

• 773 Here is the story which explains the origin and the nature
774 of the hĭkula in the animate world.

[776] Chinanĭdmawan is a gigantic demon of dreadful shape, with long, sharp claws. He has skin which is impenetrable and as hard as rock.

/227/ One day Chinanĭdmawan came to attack the Sanemá. The latter posted themselves with their weapons to face his attack. Soon, however, the Sanemá realized that arrows and lances had no effect on the demon, who captured most of his enemies. Chinanĭdmawan quartered and devoured his victims, but kept the skins, which he nailed out on boards around and inside his house.

[171] (It is extremely interesting that this custom of keeping the skin
[727] of enemies has been preserved in Sanemá mythology, since it is reminiscent of some tribes of the Cauca, in Colombia, of the Mauta of Ecuador, of the Huauca of Peru, and of the Inca. It also recalls the cult of Xipe in Central America.)

/227 cont./

773 774 The Sanemá became discouraged in the face of the ferociousness of the monster and feared the day on which Chinanídmawan would again mistreat and kill them.

773 774 756 In those days there lived among the Sanemá a great sablí, very famous and extremely powerful, who began to think of how he could free them from this demon. The great sablí went off to the forest, and there he found a liana which seemed very suitable for his purposes. He cut a piece of the bejuco and returned. During the night he went to the house of Chinanídmawan in order to surprise him while he was asleep surrounded by his horrible trophies. In fact he did find him in a deep sleep; the sablí then introduced a piece of the liana up his anus. The demon woke up startled. He realized that a powerful sablí had found the means of killing him. In fact, shortly thereafter Chinanídmawan died, and the Sanemá exposed his corpse to the sun so that the flesh might rot. But because the demon had such tough skin, the flesh dried up and the skin remained intact; they then tried to burn it, but this was impossible, so they flung it into the forest and fled from the place.

773 774 The skin of Chinanídmawan, abandoned in the forest, gained access into the plants, animals, and men. That is why all male human beings, the animals, and the plants have within their bodies a hard and indestructible Chinanídmawan which is called hídkula,

774 [764] The hídkula is that part of the male which remains on earth after his death. When the body of a person is burned, his hídkula, on seeing the black cloud which rises from the fire, joins all the other hídkulas and they remain there for a long time... listening and listening to what comes from the world where men live.

[826] The size of the hídkula of a man corresponds to the measure of his torso, and the larger the hídkula is, the stronger is the person.

[764] [276] During the funeral rites, the men, under the influence of yopo, sing about their gigantic hídkula, and, in order to prove their gigantic strength, /228/ they invite each other to the wasamú, and they squeeze each other powerfully with their arms or with sticks. Among the men, only the priest, hɛ̀wíawan, has no hídkula, because he is already a citizen of heaven.

[793]

/229 cont./

774 The world of the "specific" hfkulas is found on the other side of the horizon and in contrast with the world of the souls. There the sablfes live forever, together with the dead animals and plants.

562 773 825 [774] It is worthwhile to refer once again to the insistence of our Sanemá informant from the Upper Caura regarding the fact that women do not have specific hfkula. He asserted to us, furthermore, that women have a different origin from men and that there still exists a purely feminine world, and that each Sanemá pueblo has its corresponding hanekasá. The informant would not identify the animal of which he spoke, but we knew [773] that it was of a well-known species. From the mythology one can deduce that the first men were made from a dead tree by the cultural hero brothers, while the first woman was fished out of a very large river.

Omao wished to metamorphose into women the butterflies which danced /230/ like people on the shore of a river, because the hanekasá are a pueblo of females in which there are only three males to insure reproduction. This pueblo of amazons is an exact replica of the female population of the rancheria neighboring a pueblo, in the characteristics of which we found a concept of alter ego for the Sanemá women.

[774] It is possible that there exists some relationship between [763] the hfkula and the male, for it is said that men die from the "weight" of the hfkula of certain animals; but we are not certain on this point (cf. Zerries, 1958b; Becher, 1960, p. 92). We are [763] more certain about the relationship which exists between women and the hanekasá animal, since a woman (of the neighboring rancheria) dies for each hanekasá which is killed. Other religious concepts which are difficult to interpret for the time being may also enter here.

791 755 A third type of theurgist which seems to exist in Sanemá society is the magician, the kášilala. He does not sing like the sablf and has no influence over the specific hfkulas or over souls. He is the curer of the organism, of the body of a man. He cures by uttering tremendous cries, gives massages on the ailing and painful limbs of his patients. Suddenly he will surprise all those

7 [See additional data on the hanekasá on p 113 .. Analyst]

/235 cont./

539 transformed into a peccary; only her feet were still human. All those who accompanied her belonged to a great herd of peccaries. The pôlawan offered to show them the way, and very early on the following day he helped them attack the enemy encampment. During the attack the man found his wife; he recognized her by her feet, which had still not lost their human shape. He approached her and, from the rear, grasped her upper lip with his right hand and her lower lip with his left hand, tugged violently, and ripped off the peccary skin, freeing her in this way from that repugnant disguise. The skin got up and ran away toward the forest. The Sanemá killed all the wild pigs, the men, the women, and the children. Pôlawan said good bye to them, and the woman returned joyfully with the men to the rancheria.

THE HANEKASA

• 773 The hanekasá are a pueblo made up, in its immense majority, of women. There lives among them only one man of verile age, which insures reproduction. Only female children are born, and, when the progenitor reaches an advanced age, a male child comes who replaces his father in this pueblo of amazons. The number of males may not exceed three: a child, a man in the prime of life, and an old man.

The hanekasá by preference feed on lapa /paca/.

For each Sanemá settlement there is a corresponding hanekasá one. When two of these groups meet on the road, they fight like men. The hanekasá also fight against men. If a man, while hunting, kills a hanekasá, a woman in the neighboring tribe will die.

HARAMI

539 One day a young Sanemá man was alone in the forest. He was looking for food. After walking a considerable distance without killing a single /236/ animal, he became very angry, complaining bitterly because the animals remained in their hiding

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Sempronio—this was the name we had given to an Auai boy who had elected to stay with us.

We made our way up the river of the same name which plunges down from the highlands, with wonderful falls, into a ravine thick with vegetation. The Shirians were strongly disinclined to go anywhere near the falls. It took us three days to overcome their objections and they only decided to go along with us when we told them we should otherwise set off by ourselves. Luis Antonio explained that the deep pool formed by the waterfall was the home of an enormous watersnake, *Lalakilpara*—a monster which lay coiled in readiness to devour anyone or anything it saw looking over the edge of the pool.

We laughed, but as far as the Indians were concerned our laughter fell on deaf ears. Luis Antonio was no exception, and he warned us not to jest about certain things. Numerous trails made by tapir and peccary were pointed out to us as paths the serpent had taken. One curious thing about the monster which remained unexplained was that he came regularly along the river-bank to the Kirisochi savannah for his excretions. But at last the Indians overcame their reluctance enough to make an inspection of the pool. Dumbfounded, they had to admit that Lalakilpara didn't exist, except as a highly coloured fiction among their older kinsfolk, who could recount the monster's whole history. It seemed to us that the power of fancy had transformed a few cross-currents driven furiously against the walls of the gorge by the whirlpool set up by the tumbling water, into this gigantic serpent whose breath—the air-disturbance—could suck down any man or beast who went too near the edge of the precipice. As to the distance the monster covered for purposes of nature, the symbolism here was even clearer: what it sought to explain was the way in which the river's alluvial matter found its way to the Kirisochi plain. The water was calmer by the time it reached this point, and the detritus carried along with it tended to be deposited here. This fable of the serpent was an example of a natural phenomenon stated in terms of myth—the only such example we found among the Shirians. After we had exploded the legend, Lalakilpara slowly died away in the Indain mind, his place being taken by the aeroplane and the outboard motor—monsters no less fantastic, and no less dread.

The slopes of the Sarisariñama range were very poor in wild life, as is often the case with these mountains, and Luis Antonio, to whom we had given a gun after he had proved himself to be a better shot than we were, was only able to get a Capuchin monkey or two. We boiled them—the result being a murky

*628 *621 602 583 past. Finally, there is no way of scoring 'promises' to exchange women, and the strength of the shoriwã tie between members of two distinct villages is largely a function of such promises.

*621 602 613 Summarizing the difference in agnatic and affinal ties, the important point is that affinal ties have the potential of changing in their coefficient of solidarity when exchanges between two descent groups continues over time. It is largely for this reason that villages reduce to clusters of affinally related dual organizations (paired patrilineal local descent groups) that have exchanged women in the past and will probably continue to do so in the future.

C. Ferocity and Bellicosity

• 773 828 According to the Yąnomamö Moon Myth, Uhudima, a Spirit, shot Moon with an arrow. The drop of blood that fell to the earth flowed over the surface, causing all Yąnomamö to become fierce. Ever since that time the Yąnomamö have behaved fiercely, because they were born in blood.

828 577 829 648 The Yąnomamö regard themselves as being violent, coercive, crafty and quick to display aggressiveness; they value this behavior. Yąnomamö contacts with other tribes and with civilized foreigners have been consistently hostile until about 1955. They have succeeded in exterminating one tribe,[1] and have caused a number of villages of another tribe to relocate in order to avoid the attacks mounted on them by

[1] The Makú; see Migliazza, 1965.

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

101
131
161
162
361
101
177
THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

721
993
181
But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

114
122
123
I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and _____ way of life.

[194]
[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ə] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ë] vowel are pronounced as that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąobawë would be pronounced "cow-ba-wuh," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

villages have a profound effect on the nature of the settlement pattern of Yąnomamö villages, and that this same milieu influences the rate at which larger villages fission into smaller, vulnerable groups.

Finally, I emphasize the importance of cultivation in this pattern of village movement and relocation, particularly in the context of relying on allies. Twice during the history of Kąobawä's group they were obliged to take refuge in the village of an ally. All during my fieldwork the Monou-teri also relied on hospitality of this sort from Kąobawä's group, as they were beleaguered by raids from the Patanowä-teri and had not yet completed their new garden. In short, the fact that the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated food has led to specific obligations between members of allied villages: a good ally is one who will take you in when you are driven from your gardens by enemy raids. The essence of political life, therefore, is to develop stable alliances with neighboring villages so as to create a social network that potentially allows a local group to rely for long periods of time on the gardens of neighboring villages. I will describe the politics of alliance formation in Chapter 4, as it intimately bound up with feasting, trading, and marriage.

Intellectual Environment

The comparative poverty of Yąnomamö material culture is more than compensated for by the richness and complexity of their theological concepts, myths, and legends.

One of the distinctive features of Yąnomamö cosmology and theology is the opportunity it provides for inventiveness. Individuals can and do modify concepts, embellish them, improve on them and, in general, use their imaginations when trafficking in myths or concepts of the soul and afterlife. In short, there is room for thinkers in Yąnomamö culture.

The result of this is that many variants of the same basic myth can be found over a relatively small area. Indeed, each village will contain people who tell the myth a slightly different way; the basic elements remain the same each time, but personal views are interjected and reflect the idiosyncracies of the narrator. The Yąnomamö appear to enjoy these intellectual exercises, for in myth and cosmology they are able to demonstrate their personal abilities as users of their language, the true language of man.

THE COSMOS The Yąnomamö conceive of the external world as having an origin, boundaries, supernatural beings, and a specific nature.

The cosmos is comprised of four parallel layers, lying horizontally and located one on top of the other (see Fig. 2–4b). They are like inverted platters: gently curved, thin, circular, rigid, and having two surfaces, top and bottom.

The uppermost layer is the "tender" plane: *duku kä misi*. At the present time, it is "empty" or "void" (*broke*), but some things had their origins there in the distant past. These moved down to other layers. Today, the uppermost layer is sometimes described as being "an old woman" (*sua pata*), a phrase used to describe an abandoned garden or a female who is no longer capable of producing offspring. This layer does not figure prominently in the everyday life of the Yąnomamö; it is merely something that is there and once had a function.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The next layer is called *hedu kã misi:* sky layer. It is made of earth on the top surface and provides the eternal home for the souls of the departed. A complete replica of life on earth is to be found on top of *hedu*, except that the inhabitants are spirits of men, not real men. They garden, make witchcraft, hunt, eat, and in general do what living man does. Everything that exists on earth has a counterpart on *hedu*, a sort of mirror image, although the activities of the two groups of objects and beings are independent of each other.

The bottom surface of *hedu* is the visible portion of the sky. The celestial beings are attached to this surface and move across it. It is not thought to be very far above the earth, since many of my informants asked me if I had crashed into it when I flew in an airplane.

Man dwells below the sky on "this layer": *hei kã misi*. It originated when a piece of *hedu* broke off and fell to a lower level. This layer is a vast jungle, sprinkled with innumerable Yąnomamö villages. These are conceived to be located on earth, as shown in Fig. 2–4c. Even foreigners are thought to live in a type of house that resembles the Yąnomamö dwelling; after all, foreigners derived from the Yąnomamö by a process of degeneration.

Finally, the plane underneath this layer is almost barren. A single village of spirit-men is found here, the Amahiri-teri. A long time ago, after the earth layer was formed by a piece of *hedu*, another chunk of *hedu* fell down and crashed through earth. It hit earth at a place where the Amahiri-teri lived, carrying their village down to the bottom layer. Unfortunately, only their *shabono* and gardens were carried with the piece of *hedu*. Hence, the Amahiri-teri have no neighborhood (*uribi*) in which to hunt for game, and so they send their spirits up to earth to capture the souls of living children and eat them. There is a constant struggle between the evil spirits of Amahiri-teri shamans and the evil spirits of shamans on this layer, earth: They send malevolent demons against each other and preoccupy themselves with defending their respective villages from evil spirits.

The Amahiri-teri people lived at the time of the *no hadabö*, the first men. These original Yąnomamö were distinct from living man in that they were part spirit (*yai*) and part human. When they died, they became *yai*, spirits. *No hadabö* means, literally, "those who are now dead"; in a cosmological context, it refers to the time of the first beings.

THE FIRST BEINGS The first beings cannot be accounted for. The Yąnomamö simply presume that the cosmos originated with these people. Most of them, and there were many, had a specific function, such as creating a useful plant or object. They figure prominently in mythology. Many of them bear the names of plants and animals that are important in the Yąnomamö economy, and the first beings are considered to be the spirits of these. I will relate a few specific tales about some of these first beings, retaining where possible the Yąnomamö narrative style.

One of the first beings was called Boreawä, or simply Bore. He was the first to acquire plantains, the staple of the Yąnomamö diet. Because he had plantains first, he was the headman (*pata dodihiwä*) of the first beings. Boreawä did not tell the others that he had plantains, as he did not want to share them. At that time, the first beings ate only dirt and animals, as there was no domesticated food. One day another of the first beings, Horonama, got caught in a rain so he took refuge in a sheltered place in the jungle. He was lost and did not know whose neighborhood he was in. By luck, he took refuge in the very place where Boreawä had hidden his cultivated plantains. Horonama, a dirt eater,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

773 wondered what kind of strange vegetable food this was, so he stole some. At first he just peeled them and examined them, afraid to eat one. Horonama then sought out Boreawä and asked him how to produce these strange plants and what to do with them after they grew. Boreawä then instructed him in their use, the techniques of cutting jungle with stone axes, burning the fallen logs and brush, and planting the shoots of the young plants. Thus, because Horonama stole the plant from Boreawä, the others learned how to make gardens and no longer had to eat dirt.

Boreawä had a monopoly on many other cultivated crops, but one by one these were taken over by the others until all of the first beings were familiar with their use. [772] Today, when the Yąnomamö find stone axes in the jungle, as they usually do when they clear a new site for cultivation, they explain the axes as something that the first beings, Boreawä in particular, left behind for present man to discover and use.

Another of the first beings was Iwä (alligator). He and his wife, Bruwaheiyoma, were accustomed to go hunting together in the jungle. This was in the days before fire was known to Yąnomamö. Iwä, however, knew about fire and kept some hidden in his mouth. He refused to give fire to the others, so they had to eat their meat and insects raw. Only Iwä and his wife cooked their food in those days. The others decided to make Iwä laugh so that they could steal the fire when he opened his mouth. They made pranks to get Iwä to laugh, but he would not be amused. Finally, Dohomamoriwä did something funny and caused Iwä to laugh. When he opened his mouth, Kanaboriwä, a bird, flew into his mouth, snatched the fire, and took it up with him into a tree, After that, everybody had fire.

Haya (deer) also lived among the first beings. His daughter was married to Aiyakorari. One day Haya sent Aiyakorari out of the village to fetch him some *manaca* fruit from the jungle. Haya was at that time the only one who ate this fruit. He did not know, however, that Aiyakorari had a grove of peach palm, which he cultivated. Thus, Aiyakorari fetched some of his own fruit instead of the *manaca*. His father-in-law, Haya, was very angry over this, so he inhaled a pinch of snuff and began pulling the flesh from his calves up to his thighs. After this had been accomplished, he pulled the flesh of his forearms up to his shoulders and transformed himself into a deer. His wife did the same thing, as this was a propitious moment. Haya's daughter started to do the same thing, but Aiyakorari grabbed her by the hair and prevented her from doing so. Haya and his wife then bounded off into the jungle and became deer.

Omauwä is one of the first beings who figures prominently in a number of Yąnomamö myths. He and his brother Yoawä lived when Öra (jaguar) lived. Öra had a young son who was unable to speak. One day Aiyakorari's mother, Mamokoriyoma, cooked some of her son's peach-palm fruit and fed it to Öra's child. He got sick from eating the fruit and died. After he died, a sister of Omauwä then asked Mamokoriyoma if she could eat the dead child. "Mother-in-law, should I eat the dead child?" she asked. Mamokoriyoma then said, "Eat him." She took the body of the child, pulled a leaf out of the roof of the house, and used it for a dish on which to consume the child's body. When Öra discovered this, he was angry. As he himself was hungry for meat, he in turn ate Moyeinaiyoma, the mother of Omauwä and Yoawä, to get revenge. After he had done so, Yoawä shot him with an arrow and killed him.

Soon after that, the daughter of Rahararíyoma went to fetch water at the river where Omauwä and Yoawä were accustomed to catch fish. The two brothers found her

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

there, so they copulated with her. After they quenched their desire for sex, Omauwä caused the girls vagina to be changed into a mouth with teeth.[10] Howashiriwä, another of the first beings, was sitting on the trail at this time, very hungry for sex. When Rahararioma's daughter walked by, he seduced her, but in so doing, lost his penis: her vagina bit it off. It was when this happened that Omauwä's son became very thirsty. Both Omauwä and Yoawä began digging a hole to find water to quench the boy's thirst. They dug the hole so deep that when water did gush forth, it caused a large lake to form and covered he jungle. Then some of the first beings cut down trees, and floated on them to escape the flood. Because this was such a strange thing to do, they changed into foreigners and floated away. Their language also changed into the tongue of foreigners, and gradually became unintelligible to the Yąnomamö. This is why foreigners have canoes and cannot be understood.

Many of the first beings were drowned in this flood. Those who managed to escape and remain Yąnomamö did so by climbing mountains. They climbed Maiyo, Howashiwä, and Homahewä mountains to escape the flood, Maiyo being a peak near the area where Kąobawä's village had its origin. Then Rahararioma, the mother of the girl whose vagina was changed into a mouth,[11] took a piece of red pigment and painted dots all over her own body. After she was completely covered with red dots, she plunged into the lake and caused it to recede. Omauwä then caused her to be changed into a *rabara*, a snake-like monster that lives in large rivers. After that, she caused Yąnomamö to drown when they tried to cross large rivers, either by eating them or by splashing large waves on them. Omauwä then went downstream and became an enemy to the Yąnomamö. Today he sends hiccups, sickness, and epidemics to the Yąnomamö.

It is because the foreigners refused to climb the mountains to escape the flood that they became enemies to the Yąnomamö. The foreigners tried to make friends with the Yąnomamö after the flood, but because their language was so different, the Yąnomamö refused to be friends. Today, however, the Yąnomamö are becoming friends with foreigners.

After the flood, there were very few original beings left. Periboriwä (Spirit of the Moon) was one of the few who remained. He had a habit of coming down to earth to eat the soul parts of children. On his first descent, he ate one child, placing his soul between two pieces of cassava bread and eating it. He returned a second time to eat another child, also with cassava bread. Finally, on his third trip, Uhudima and Suhirina, two brothers, became angry and decided to shoot him. Uhudima, the poorer shot of the two, began letting h.- arrows fly. He shot at Periboriwä many times as he ascended to *hadu*, but missed. People say he was a very poor shot. Then Suhirina took one bamboo-tipped arrow (*rabaka*) and shot at Periboriwä when he was directly overhead, hitting him in the abdomen. The tip of the arrow barely penetrated Periboriwä's flesh, but the wound bled profusely. Blood spilled to earth in the vicinity of a village called Höö-teri, near the mountain called Maiyo. The blood changed into men as it hit the earth, causing a large population to be born. All of them were males; the blood of Periboriwä did not change into females. Most of the Yąnomamö who are alive today are descended from the

---

[10] In some variants of this myth she put *piranha* fish in her vagina. These fish bit off Howashiriwä's penis.

[11] There are many linguistic parallels between eating and copulating in the Yąnomamö language. The verb "to eat" also means "to copulate", the verb "to eat like a pig" also means "to copulate excessively", the adjective meaning "satiated, full" also means "to be pregnant." The context of the statement decides the meaning.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

793 [829] blood of Periboriwä. *Because they have their origin in blood, they are fierce and are continuously making war on each other.* This myth seems to be the "charter" of Yąnomamö society. It is the only one they repeatedly told me without my asking about it.

Where his blood was thickest, in the areas directly underneath the spot where Periboriwä was shot, the wars were so intense that the Yąnomamö in that area exterminated themselves. Where the blood had an opportunity to thin out, the Yąnomamö were less fierce and therefore did not become extinct, although they, too, fought continuously.

After this, there were only men. One of the men, a descendant of the blood of Periboriwä, was called Kanaboroma, not to be confused with Kanabororiwä, the bird who stole fire from Alligator's (Iwä's) mouth. One day his legs became pregnant. Women came out of the left leg, and men out of the right. These Yąnomamö were very *kirii* (docile, afraid) when compared to the ones who were derived from the blood. They rapidly multiplied and also contributed to the present population of Yąnomamö. All the present Yąnomamö came from the blood of Periboriwä or from the leg of Kanaboroma, or from a combination of both. The original beings all changed into *yai:* spirits.

794 THE SOUL. Yąnomamö concepts of the soul are elaborate and complicated. The true or real portion of living man is his "will" or "self" (*bubii*). At death, this changes
795 into a *no borebö* and travels from this layer to *hadu*, the place above where the souls of the departed continue to exist in an ethereal state, much in the same fashion as do the people on earth: gardening, hunting, and practicing magic.

The trail along which the *no borebö* travel forks after it reaches *hadu*. Sometimes, the Yąnomamö will point to the sky and explain that such and such a cloud is the *no borebö* of a Yąnomamö who is just reaching *hadu*. After the soul reaches the fork in the trail, a spirit, the son of Thunder (Yąru), Wadawadariwä, asks the *no borebö* if it had been generous during its life on earth. If it had been stingy, Wadawadariwä directs the soul along the path that leads to *shobari waka*, a place on *hadu* where souls of stingy Yąnomamö burn eternally. Most of the Yąnomamö I questioned on this asserted that they planned to lie to Wadawadariwä and avoid going to *shobari waka*. In general, they did not fear this place and were convinced that they would not be sent there. They expect Wadawadariwä to direct them to the trail that leads into *hadu* proper.

Another portion of the soul, the *no ubudi* or *bore*, is released at cremation. This part of the soul remains on earth and wanders about in the jungle. The children who die always change into this, as they do not have the *no borebö* portion that goes to *hadu:* It must be acquired. The reason that children do not change into *no borebö* is that their
794 "wills" (*bubii*) are ignorant or innocent (*mahode*). Thus, one has a character only after a certain amount of knowledge and experience are gained; with this, one develops a knowledgeable "will" and can expect to enter *hadu* in the form of a *no borebö*. Apart from
795 this, one is born with an *ubudi* (*bore*), which is invariably released at cremation and wanders eternally in the jungle after death. Some of these wandering *ubudi* are malevolent and attack travelers in the jungle at night. When they do so, they use sticks and clubs. The Yąnomamö usually use the name *bore* when describing the attacks of these malevolent spirits, although this is just an alternate name for the *no ubudi*.

794 825 NORESHI. Finally, each individual has a *noreshi*. This is a dual concept: One has a *noreshi* within his being, a sort of spirit or portion of the soul, and, in addition, an animal that lives in the jungle and corresponds to this soul. The *noreshi* animals are inher-

/71 cont./

765 Shortly before sundown a bright, blazing fire was kindled with the help of the fire-drill, and the funeral pyre was set afire 765 with it. Then the men blew the snuff into each other's noses, 787 and after a few minutes they were in a state of intoxication, dur- 276 ing which they danced, singing and screaming, around the flames that leaped up over the dead man. This was the appeal to the hekurá who are supposed to help the soul of the dead on its journey [782] to the moon (see pp.199/201). The chief uttered his prayers of supplication in a loud voice, and all the other men joined in the chorus. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff into each other's noses, so that their ecstasy constantly increased and finally reached an unimaginable climax when the fire took possession of the skeleton. It no longer seemed to be human beings who, howling, stamping, and gesticulating, now stormed around the pyre. They seemed to have taken leave of their senses, and, as a result of the snuff-intoxication, they probably actually were in another world. To me, the sight was like a nightmare and made me think [794] of paintings by Hieronymus Bosch. The wandering of the soul of [795] the dead existing in the bones, accompanied by the tree-soul, had begun, and the hekurá paved the way for them. Meanwhile, night had fallen, and the moon, which I suddenly noticed in the sky in its full size between the crowns of the trees, seemed to be waiting for its new inhabitant. In spite of the heat, which was increased [123] by the fire of the funeral pyre, cold shudders ran down my spine, and an indescribable feeling of terror clutched at my heart. Though I had not taken any snuff-powder at this ceremony, I, too, was in a veritable drunken fever. Never before, neither in church nor in a theater, had I experienced a scene as grandiose as the one here in the nocturnal forest of Amazonia.

This death ceremony continued until dawn. After midnight, however, only a few men, whose duty it was at the same time to keep the funeral pyre burning, were still dancing and singing. The other warriors lay exhausted on the ground and slept. Occasionally one of the dancers was nudged. He got up immediately, had snuff blown into his nose, and danced around the pyre, singing, while another lay down to sleep. Finally, only two men were still

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

888
[191]

333. (cont.)
p. 70). Among the Piaroa Indians very weak old people are walled up alive in a cave. They are given food and drink for several more days and, when this has been used up, die of enervation (Marquis de Wavrin, 1944, pp. 197/98).

members destined for death are thus dispatched into the other world in an altogether humane manner, and even the killing itself is dictated by humane impulses. Since these old and sick persons can, of course, no longer take part in the customary seminomadic way of life, they would be obliged to remain helplessly behind when the tribe sets out on a new migration. This is to be prevented, however, /73/ and at the same time it is desired that the way to the moon, the paradise of the dead, be opened for them. After their death, they are cremated in the same way as all other deceased persons, that is to say, in the case of old people only the head is burned, and their ashes, too, are preserved and drunk at the festival in memory of the dead.

888
766

775 Greater than the fear of death among all Surára and Pakidái is the thought that they might one day die without being cremated, for example, during military actions, for then the entrance into the moon is barred for their soul (see p. 198).

766
[684]
[184] Persons who commit incest are excluded from cremation after their demise, and they are not mourned, for incest is regarded as the greatest crime. Poré (see p. 197) does not want their souls on the moon, and partaking of their bone ashes would exert unfavorable influences on the male members of the tribe. They are therefore tied up in a squatting position and buried in a hole in the ground.

766
858
774 If children die before the completion of the third year of life, they are thrown into the river without any ceremony, since they belong to the flesh and blood of the mother and do not yet have their own soul (see p. 138).

VIII. Religion and Magic

1. The Religious Conception of the World

821
796 According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the earth is a disk over which the sky arches like a bell. All power emanates from the moon -- Perimbó -- and from Poré, the lord of the moon, who is pictured as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red. Occasionally he comes down to earth, but is then invisible to human beings.

Thus, Poré and Perimbó constitute an inseparable unity that is regarded as eternal, just, and benevolent, but is also able to punish, if necessary. To it is attributed the origin of the earth and all life, and it is assumed that the events of creation followed in direct as well as in indirect fashion (442).

442. The creation myth of the Yanomámi /Yanoama/ represents an example of such indirect creations (see pp. 247/248).

821
795 The moon, a large, open, circular maloka located in the midst of a planting and surrounded by forests, mountains, and rivers (443), is at the same time regarded as the place where

443. The picture of the surface of the moon corresponds to the open, almost circular Surára maloka (see pp. 25/27).

all the souls of human beings who were cremated after death lead a paradisiac existence under Poré. There are animals, plants, and fruits in abundance here, and no moon-dweller need ever suffer hunger and thirst.

[964]
[794] But only with the smoke rising during the cremation can a soul -- uwexík -- (identical with cloud, smoke), which exists in the bones and never leaves the body during life, reach this paradise. The souls of the dead who are not cremated become shadows -- petanuíhi -- that must wander about restlessly,

/91 cont./

821 of thirst and weakness, while plants often wither. For this reason, and especially out of fear of the shadows, the sun's rays are regarded as dangerous. Therefore, tasks for which one must expose himself to the direct radiation of the sun, for example, forest clearing, cultivation of fields, and house construction, are preferably undertaken in cloudy or even rainy weather. In the latter case, there is even a direct /92/ connection with the moon. A large tree stands on this celestial body, in the middle of the open maloka. When Poré shakes it, the wind rises first, and after that rain falls. The aversion of the Surára and Pakidái to the merciless sun's rays of the equatorial zone has a further, matter-of-fact explanation, for in former times, as pure hunters and gatherers, they practically never came out of the eternal twilight of the primeval forest.

821 The awe of Poré and the moon is so great that the Indians
774 do not dare pray personally to this united Supreme Deity. Serras
774 /sierras/ -- peatíle -- as well as gigantic animal and plant
[782] spirits -- hekurá -- (446), who live on them and are characterized
[192]

446. This word is derived from hetumisse = heaven and he = head, above.

by supernatural qualities, are the mediators. The serras are well suited for this, because they are situated between the earth, on the one hand, and the moon and sun on the other. They are regarded as higher divine helpers, who, after Poré and Perimbó, are the mightiest. At the same time they are regarded as the masters of all the animal and plant spirits living on them. Their power is much greater than that of the sun because there is, of course, only one sun whereas there are innumerable serras. Their attitude toward Poré and Perimbó, however, is not always a loyal one. Usually they are on their side, to be sure, but if there is occasionally a quarrel between them, it may happen that they ally themselves with the sun for a time. The united Supreme Deity has taken precautions, however, and considered any possible

Suráre
Pakidái

821 /92 cont./
796 danger. For the fact that it has chosen the serras as dwelling
794 places for the gigantic plant and animal spirits is injurious to their power if it is directed against Poré and Perimbó. In contrast to the serras, the hekurá are steadfastly faithful followers of the united moon deities and, together with the stars, protect them against any attacks on the part of the sun and its temporary allies. Sometimes, in an altercation which the serras wage with the moon or sun, an eclipse of the moon or sun appears, because the celestial body in question wishes to conceal itself from the other, so that it will not be drawn into the dispute (447). If, for example, it becomes dark before a thunderstorm and lightning begins to flash, then the sun is very thirsty, is hiding behind the serras and asking for rain. The latter relay the request to the moon. But it does not want to comply with the sun's wish, and already there is reason for the serras and the moon to quarrel. Then when it thunders, Poré has a headache out of anger, and he finally shakes the rain tree to put an end to the quarrel.

[171]

447. The relationship of moon and sun also plays a special role in the religious and mythological ideas of various other Indian tribes. In the myth of the Yurakaré /Yuracare/, for example, it is treated in the sense of the Orpheus motif (Rodrigues, 1875, pp. 252 ff.; d'Orbigny, 1835/47, III, p. 210).

794 The hekurá are gigantic prototypes of all the species of plants and animals that live on certain serras that are taboo for human beings. These nature spirits are regarded as subordinate helpers of Poré and Perimbó. They are usually favorably disposed toward human beings, permit and facilitate hunting, gathering, and agriculture for them. The men, however, must always show their gratitude to them by prayers, and they may
794 not indiscriminately destroy animals and plants. This is also
55 related to the fact that all members of the tribe, men, women,

Surára. Pakidái Waica

/92 cont./ and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waiká /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omaua," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/95 cont./

796 171 exactly as among the Surára and Pakidái; moreover, the correspondence between the names Aboré and Poré is especially great. The supplying of cultural possessions is also attributed to the deities in each case. In the Warrau myth it is even said that Aboré fled before Wowtáh into the land of the whites, from whence he provided his fellow tribesmen with import articles (481).

481. Brett, 1880, pp. 84 ff.

794 191 The idea that there are gigantic prototypes of each animal and plant species also exists among other South American tribes. Zerries has already worked out the connections for this and has cited several investigators who confirmed identical or similar views for various Indian peoples, among them Arawak, Mura, tribes of the Chaco, Karaiben in Guiana (Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, Cavina and Tumupasa Indians of northeastern Bolivia, Cayapa in Ecuador, and Yaruro in Venezuela (482).

482. Zerries, 1951, pp. 149/50.

794 171 114 The conception of the Yaruro in particular shows corresponding parallels, according to Petrullo's description (483).

483. Petrullo, 1939, p. 237.

For the Karaiben tribe Arekuná, Koch-Grünberg, to be sure, does not find any evidence of gigantic plant spirits, but their idea of the animal spirits is very similar; here they are called "podole" = father (484).

484. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 187.

793 184 If one then compares the myths which deal with happenings on the already created earth, one is struck by the fact that among the Waiká the transformations of human beings into land animals cover a wide range (485). The same is true among the

485. Zerries, 1958b, p. 283.

Surára Pakidai Waica

/95 cont./

773 184 Surára and Pakidái, but here in addition there are also such for the animals themselves, and, to be sure, smaller ones are always transformed into larger ones (see p. 251). The myth of the creation of the ant bear, in which Omaua or Poré transforms a man who has committed incest with his mother-in-law into this animal by magic, is familiar to the Waiká (486), as well as to

486. Zerries, 1958b, p. 285.

the Surára and Pakidái, in the same version (see p. 250).

774 184 Likewise synonymous is the system of the species-spirits of animals and plants, hekurá (Surára and Pakidái), or "hekula" (Waiká) (487), which is closely connected with the medicine-man system.

487. Zerries, 1958b, pp. 286/87.

774 775 184 [184] Of interest, finally, are comparisons concerning the conception of the human soul. It can ascend to the moon (Surára and Pakidái) or to heaven (Waiká) (488) only if the corpse is

488. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

cremated, for its name, uwexík (Surára and Pakidái), or "nobolebe" (Waiká) (488) /see footnote above/, is identical with that of cloud, smoke. According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the soul exists in the bones (see p. 151) (489).

[171]

489. In this respect they correspond to many other tribes, for in his essay "Die Antropophagie der südamerikanischen Indianer /The Anthropophagy of the South American Indians/," Koch (Grünberg) writes: "All these practices show that the Indian, incapable of separating the physical from the spiritual, regards the bones, which alone remain after the corpse has decomposed, as the actual and ultimate seat of the soul" (Koch (Grünberg), 1899, p. 83).

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

774 /95 cont./
775 That is why they cremate only /96/ the skeleton of their dead,
184 for if the flesh were still present, the soul would be unable to
[769] come out in time. The ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes,
[266] too, on the occasion of the annual festival in memory of the
dead, is connected with the idea that strengthening remains
of the soul are still present in them. In this connection Zerries
writes with reference to the Waiká: "We were unable to find
the idea of a bone-soul among the Waika, if we disregard the
774 connection between bone ashes and bole" (490). Zerries also

490. Zerries, 1958a, p. 107.

points out that the soul, according to the view of the Waiká, is peculiar only to the human being, but not to the animal (491).

491. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

774 According to the statements of the Surára and Pakidái chiefs,
775 however, the human soul of the dead on its journey to the moon must be accompanied by a like-named animal or plant soul of the dead, which serves as a guide (see pp. 149/150). It is assumed by the Surára and Pakidái that children are without a soul until they have completed the third year of life, because during this time they are nursed by the mother and thus still belong to her flesh and blood as well as to her soul (see also pp. 138 and 154). Waiká children are said to receive their souls only after the completion of the sixth year of life (492).

492. Zerries, 1958a, p. 106.

Surara
Pakidai

/96 cont./

755 the hekurá, and best of all at night by moonlight (496). All

[174] [196]

496. The hekurá are the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being Poré/Perimbó (see pp. 199 ff.).

day long, usually one or two or sometimes even several men make preliminary attempts at healing. For all sicknesses there are very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps, which are taught the young men by their chief during a two-months' training course (see pp. 143/145). If the patient dies despite all efforts, the people yield to a certain fatalism, for in that case the power of the hostile medicine man was simply stronger (497).

[191]

497. The same thing is reported by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 202), Richard Schomburgk about the Warrau (Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 172), and Barrère as well as Quandt about the Galibi and Arowaken (Barrère, 1743, pp. 216/17; Quandt, 1807, p. 260), to mention only a few parallels.

755 For the reasons mentioned, there is only suggestive therapy,
757 supplemented by fasting and treatment with cold water. In the latter case a patient, even with the highest fever, must drink a great deal of water and take frequent baths in the nearby river or brook. He is also often exposed to pouring /97/ rain (Ill. 49), since it is assumed that it has healing powers because it comes from the rain tree of the moon (see p. 199). Sick persons who are already too weak and are unable to leave their hammocks are doused with cold water at regular intervals (498).

[191]

498. Treatment with cold water is widespread in South America. For comparison

291 /203 cont./
Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
302 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
● 774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the híkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the híkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the híkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

/225 cont./ The sanemá say that the
793 hɛwĩawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikuladɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
778 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[776] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
[126] propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[775] hɛwĩawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
● 774 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the hĩkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

/226 cont./

756 chest. They enter, without loss of time, through the extremi-
533 ties of the body and through the head. They arrive in the order
774 in which their names are sung by the master sablí, who in this way "builds a pueblo" of a microcosmos in the body of the man. The stronger the master, the greater will be the "pueblo," and the greater this "pueblo" is, the better chance the sablí will have to augment his inner world and his power during his life.

756 The hikuladi of the sablí is essentially different from that
774 of the priest, in the sense that it is inhabited by the vital princi-
[778] ple of vegetable and animal species and not by the souls of departed ancestors. The man also has a specific híkula, different from his soul and which, as is true of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, seems to be immortal and spiritual, essentially joined to animate matter until death. Each specimen of a species has a specific híkula; after death, the speciman goes to a luminous place in the forest. While the soul of a man may abandon the body during sleep, etc., without its being detrimental for the man himself, the híkula never leaves until the moment of death. Furthermore, the soul is typically human, while the híkula is found in man and also in plants and animals. Some informed us with insistence that women and small children do not have híkula.

773 Here is the story which explains the origin and the nature
774 of the híkula in the animate world.

[776] Chinanídmawan is a gigantic demon of dreadful shape, with long, sharp claws. He has skin which is impenetrable and as hard as rock.

/227/ One day Chinanídmawan came to attack the Sanemá. The latter posted themselves with their weapons to face his attack. Soon, however, the Sanemá realized that arrows and lances had no effect on the demon, who captured most of his enemies. Chinanídmawan quartered and devoured his victims, but kept the skins, which he nailed out on boards around and inside his house.
[171] (It is extremely interesting that this custom of keeping the skin
[727] of enemies has been preserved in Sanemá mythology, since it is reminiscent of some tribes of the Cauca, in Colombia, of the Mauta of Ecuador, of the Huauca of Peru, and of the Inca. It also recalls the cult of Xipe in Central America.)

/227 cont./

773 The Sanemá became discouraged in the face of the
● 774 ferociousness of the monster and feared the day on which Chinanſdmawan would again mistreat and kill them.

773 In those days there lived among the Sanemá a great
774 sablſ, very famous and extremely powerful, who began to think
756 of how he could free them from this demon. The great sablſ went off to the forest, and there he found a liana which seemed very suitable for his purposes. He cut a piece of the bejuco and returned. During the night he went to the house of Chinanſdmawan in order to surprise him while he was asleep surrounded by his horrible trophies. In fact he did find him in a deep sleep; the sablſ then introduced a piece of the liana up his anus. The demon woke up startled. He realized that a powerful sablſ had found the means of killing him. In fact, shortly thereafter Chinanſdmawan died, and the Sanemá exposed his corpse to the sun so that the flesh might rot. But because the demon had such tough skin, the flesh dried up and the skin remained intact; they then tried to burn it, but this was impossible, so they flung it into the forest and fled from the place.

773 The skin of Chinanſdmawan, abandoned in the forest,
774 gained access into the plants, animals, and men. That is why all male human beings, the animals, and the plants have within their bodies a hard and indestructible Chinanſdmawan which is called hſkula,

774 The hſkula is that part of the male which remains on earth
[764] after his death. When the body of a person is burned, his hſkula, on seeing the black cloud which rises from the fire, joins all the other hſkulas and they remain there for a long time... listening and listening to what comes from the world where men live.

[826] The size of the hſkula of a man corresponds to the measure of his torso, and the larger the hſkula is, the stronger is the person.

[764] During the funeral rites, the men, under the influence of
[276] yopo, sing about their gigantic hſkula, and, in order to prove their gigantic strength, /228/ they invite each other to the wasamú, and they squeeze each other powerfully with their arms or with
[793] sticks. Among the men, only the priest, hɛwīawan, has no hſkula, because he is already a citizen of heaven.

/228 cont./

756 The Sanemá sablí has great power over animals and plants
778 represented in his hikuladɛ, with which he communicates while
825 he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a
[533] jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song ōkamō against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladɛ of the sablí goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablí do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 The sablíes sing almost every night, and the bigger the
533 animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense
754 is the song. In his songs, the sablí can send any híkula from
[825] his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however
[774] far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 I have the impression that the híkulas belonging to the
756 various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish
[754] of the sablí. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a
[753] híkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention
[761] of the sablí and by his magical power.

756 The priest sablí, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts,
755 sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare
774 off the harmful híkula which is striving to enter the body of the man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the híkula of the sablí and others chosen from his "pueblo of híkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablí depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great híkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the híkula or híkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablí makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the híkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

/228 cont./

756 may also happen that a sablf with a small "pueblo" of hfkulas in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a hfkula suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert sablf, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A young sablf is always hopeful that the hfkula "pueblo" in his chest will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

758 The potentiality of the hfkula of the sablf makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the sablf is the best
[624] man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A sablf of great power does not die until all the hfkulas of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
774 live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of
[754] his hfkula grows and brings about his death. Then the sablf informs his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his hfkula frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24)

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The hfkula of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place. Our informant told us that the hfkulas of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /tigres mariposas/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a hfkula of his group or one from a dead sablf. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

/229 cont./

• 774 The world of the "specific" hĩkulas is found on the other side of the horizon and in contrast with the world of the souls. There the sablĩes live forever, together with the dead animals and plants.

562 It is worthwhile to refer once again to the insistence of
773 our Sanemá informant from the Upper Caura regarding the fact
825 that women do not have specific hĩkula. He asserted to us,
[774] furthermore, that women have a different origin from men and that there still exists a purely feminine world, and that each Sanemá pueblo has its corresponding hanekasá. The informant would not identify the animal of which he spoke, but we knew
[773] that it was of a well-known species. From the mythology one can deduce that the first men were made from a dead tree by the cultural hero brothers, while the first woman was fished out of a very large river.

Omao wished to metamorphose into women the butterflies which danced /230/ like people on the shore of a river, because the hanekasá are a pueblo of females in which there are only three males to insure reproduction. This pueblo of amazons is an exact replica of the female population of the rancheria neighboring a pueblo, in the characteristics of which we found a concept of alter ego for the Sanemá women.

[774] It is possible that there exists some relationship between
[763] the hĩkula and the male, for it is said that men die from the "weight" of the hĩkula of certain animals; but we are not certain on this point (cf. Zerries, 1958b; Becher, 1960, p. 92). We are
[763] more certain about the relationship which exists between women and the hanekasá animal, since a woman (of the neighboring rancheria) dies for each hanekasá which is killed. Other religious concepts which are difficult to interpret for the time being may also enter here.

791 A third type of theurgist which seems to exist in Sanemá
755 society is the magician, the kãilala. He does not sing like the sablĩ and has no influence over the specific hĩkulas or over souls. He is the curer of the organism, of the body of a man. He cures by uttering tremendous cries, gives massages on the ailing and painful limbs of his patients. Suddenly he will surprise all those

7/ [see additional data on the hanekasá on p 113 .. Analyst]

/479 cont./

75 If a child is frightened, the mother or guardian quickly
774 takes a handful of leaves and sweeps the place where the little creature was frightened. They do this so that the child's soul will not run off in fear and the child become sick.

/480/ Sometimes when a child is sick, they believe that the soul of the little creature has abandoned its body. Then they dispatch commissions in pursuit of it, which pass through the sites where they suspect that the child has been, and they come back sweeping the path with some branches and calling aloud for the little creature. If the child improves, it is because its soul was found; otherwise they must have missed the site where it was.

755 They believe that some sicknesses are due to the spirit or
[753] spirits which have got into the body of the sick person. In order
[776] for the sick person to recover his health; the harmful spirit must be cast out of his body. The one who tries to remove this spirit from the body of a sick person first takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage. He then intones a crooning song, while he marches to and fro in front of the patient. Then, from time to time he approaches the latter and rubs the affected part, which he pinches and hits, pulling on it, threatening the spirit and asking it to go away, making all sorts of noises in order to frighten the spirit (or spirits) so that they will go away. After being with his patient for a few minutes, he resumes the crooning. This practice is repeated many times, and if the desired outcome is not obtained, other men will test their forces, trying to cast out from there the harmful spirit.

[776] They might then come to the conclusion that this is not a matter of a sickness caused by a spirit hidden in the body of the sick person, but rather by one which has hidden in some part of the settlement. Thus a group of men organizes a "hunt for the spirit." Each of them takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage, and, after crooning for a short time in front of the sick person, they begin to make an inspection throughout the settlement, house by house, inspecting every basket and corner, swinging machetes and axes, pointing with the arrows, blowing through the "yopo" tubes as if they were blowguns, continuing the whole

/485/ nt./

765 This funerary gourd which contains the remains is kept with the other objects that belong to the family. Then, one [766] fine day, they prepare a soup of platanos in which they mix the powdered bone. The near relatives drink this soup. All weep at this moment, as at the first funeral.

775 The Guaika believe that the correct observance of these practices has much to do with the life of the person after his death. If they do not manage to recover the body of a man killed in war and cremate it, his death is considered a doubly great calamity. A statement such as that of "We shall not cremate you when you die" consequently means a powerful threat.

Religion

[772] The Guaika /Waica/ have an idea that one ascends into heaven when one dies. This heaven is a good place, but less desirable than the present life. They also have an idea of hell, a place even less desirable to go to when one dies.

774 A person is for them body, soul, and spirit. The word to
775 designate soul also means "shadow" or "reflection." And the
828 word to designate spirit also means "cloud." Thus, the soul retains the form of the body, but the spirit can be formless.

The soul can abandon the body and return later. A seriously sick person in general loses consciousness while his soul is [753] absent. This is why they frequently go looking for the soul of a sick child, to return it to his body. The soul of an adult, on the other hand, should know how to find its way back.

The spirit abandons the body only with death.

775 A formal cremation and the rites which follow cremation help to ensure that the deceased, upon dying, will go to the most desirable place of the other life.

The Guaika believe that the spirits in heaven eat certain wild fruits. They are afraid that an enemy might /486/ return after death and cause sicknesses and other calamities to the people still corporeal. Many of these incorporeal spirits wander about the paths, especially at night. As we have said before, they are called "boles."

/486 cont./

825 821 [794] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame," "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 776 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

[753] "Suliliwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 754 Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are re- [756] ligious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them.

Numbers and Measures

802 The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

829
648 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

• 794
152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three
[753] parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leav-
[761] ing the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females.
[825] Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

[754] Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö
[756] shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

*621
156 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence
152 in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

blood of Periboriwä. *Because they have their origin in blood, they are fierce and are continuously making war on each other.* This myth seems to be the "charter" of Yąnomamö society. It is the only one they repeatedly told me without my asking about it.

Where his blood was thickest, in the areas directly underneath the spot where Periboriwä was shot, the wars were so intense that the Yąnomamö in that area exterminated themselves. Where the blood had an opportunity to thin out, the Yąnomamö were less fierce and therefore did not become extinct, although they, too, fought continuously.

After this, there were only men. One of the men, a descendant of the blood of Periboriwä, was called Kanaboroma, not to be confused with Kanabororiwä, the bird who stole fire from Alligator's (Iwä's) mouth. One day his legs became pregnant. Women came out of the left leg, and men out of the right. These Yąnomamö were very *kirii* (docile, afraid) when compared to the ones who were derived from the blood. They rapidly multiplied and also contributed to the present population of Yąnomamö. All the present Yąnomamö came from the blood of Periboriwä or from the leg of Kanaboroma, or from a combination of both. The original beings all changed into *yai:* spirits.

THE SOUL Yąnomamö concepts of the soul are elaborate and complicated. The true or real portion of living man is his "will" or "self" (*bubii*). At death, this changes into a *no borebö* and travels from this layer to *hadu*, the place above where the souls of the departed continue to exist in an ethereal state, much in the same fashion as do the people on earth: gardening, hunting, and practicing magic.

The trail along which the *no borebö* travel forks after it reaches *hadu*. Sometimes, the Yąnomamö will point to the sky and explain that such and such a cloud is the *no borebö* of a Yąnomamö who is just reaching *hadu*. After the soul reaches the fork in the trail, a spirit, the son of Thunder (Yąru), Wadawadariwä, asks the *no borebö* if it had been generous during its life on earth. If it had been stingy, Wadawadariwä directs the soul along the path that leads to *shobari waka*, a place on *hadu* where souls of stingy Yąnomamö burn eternally. Most of the Yąnomamö I questioned on this asserted that they planned to lie to Wadawadariwä and avoid going to *shobari waka*. In general, they did not fear this place and were convinced that they would not be sent there. They expect Wadawadariwä to direct them to the trail that leads into *hadu* proper.

Another portion of the soul, the *no ubudi* or *bore*, is released at cremation. This part of the soul remains on earth and wanders about in the jungle. The children who die always change into this, as they do not have the *no borebö* portion that goes to *hadu:* It must be acquired. The reason that children do not change into *no borebö* is that their "wills" (*bubii*) are ignorant or innocent (*mobade*). Thus, one has a character only after a certain amount of knowledge and experience are gained; with this, one develops a knowledgeable "will" and can expect to enter *hadu* in the form of a *no borebö*. Apart from this, one is born with an *ubudi* (*bore*), which is invariably released at cremation and wanders eternally in the jungle after death. Some of these wandering *ubudi* are malevolent and attack travelers in the jungle at night. When they do so, they use sticks and clubs. The Yąnomamö usually use the name *bore* when describing the attacks of these malevolent spirits, although this is just an alternate name for the *no ubudi*.

NORESHI Finally, each individual has a *noreshi*. This is a dual concept: One has a *noreshi* within his being, a sort of spirit or portion of the soul, and, in addition, an animal that lives in the jungle and corresponds to this soul. The *noreshi* animals are inher-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The *noreshi* animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kąobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kąobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kąobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kąobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kąobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kąobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kąobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*bekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *bekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kąobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *bekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *bekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yąnomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

774 I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi*.[13]
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
177 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no ubudibö*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noreshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After
[887] several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced
[153] when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on
[783] contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones
[783] are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe
[562] carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.
[858] After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.
[237] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the
[531] circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment.
[562] The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a
[531] long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and
[266] sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere-
[726] monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[749] [13]Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobömou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*roo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, are quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

/71 cont./

765 Shortly before sundown a bright, blazing fire was kindled with the help of the fire-drill, and the funeral pyre was set afire with it. Then the men blew the snuff into each other's noses, and after a few minutes they were in a state of intoxication, during which they danced, singing and screaming, around the flames that leaped up over the dead man. This was the appeal to the hekurá who are supposed to help the soul of the dead on its journey to the moon (see pp.199/201). The chief uttered his prayers of supplication in a loud voice, and all the other men joined in the chorus. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff into each other's noses, so that their ecstasy constantly increased and finally reached an unimaginable climax when the fire took possession of the skeleton. It no longer seemed to be human beings who, howling, stamping, and gesticulating, now stormed around the pyre. They seemed to have taken leave of their senses, and, as a result of the snuff-intoxication, they probably actually were in another world. To me, the sight was like a nightmare and made me think of paintings by Hieronymus Bosch. The wandering of the soul of the dead existing in the bones, accompanied by the tree-soul, had begun, and the hekurá paved the way for them. Meanwhile, night had fallen, and the moon, which I suddenly noticed in the sky in its full size between the crowns of the trees, seemed to be waiting for its new inhabitant. In spite of the heat, which was increased by the fire of the funeral pyre, cold shudders ran down my spine, and an indescribable feeling of terror clutched at my heart. Though I had not taken any snuff-powder at this ceremony, I, too, was in a veritable drunken fever. Never before, neither in church nor in a theater, had I experienced a scene as grandiose as the one here in the nocturnal forest of Amazonia.

This death ceremony continued until dawn. After midnight, however, only a few men, whose duty it was at the same time to keep the funeral pyre burning, were still dancing and singing. The other warriors lay exhausted on the ground and slept. Occasionally one of the dancers was nudged. He got up immediately, had snuff blown into his nose, and danced around the pyre, singing, while another lay down to sleep. Finally, only two men were still

/71 cont./

765 dancing and singing. About an hour before sunrise, however, all
787 the sleepers were awakened; they again took snuff immediately,
276 and once more there began a wild dance with singing until day-
[821] break. The death ceremony must be kept secret from the sun (it
[715] is likewise regarded as a male creature), the worst enemy of the moon, because otherwise it would hinder the soul's wandering. Loudly sustained, shrill, joyous cries formed the conclusion and made it manifest that the soul of the deceased had found entry
765 into the moon. Then all the warriors, sobbing loudly, formed a circle around the burned-down funeral pyre, while the /72/ brother and other relatives gathered up the charred remains of the bones from the ashes. After these had been pounded in gourd vessels by means of small stone mortars, the bone ashes were emptied into two bowls made out of the jamaru fruit, which the brother of the deceased wrapped with palm leaves and a liana binding. Thereupon he handed them to the chief, who lifted up each one in the direction of the moon and, singing, blessed it, while the men standing about uttered shrill cries. With this the end of the ceremony was reached, and the exhausted warriors could again return to their maloka in order to recover in their hammocks from
[266] the strenuous night. The brother of the deceased tied the two jamaru bowls containing the bone ashes to the rafters of the roof behind his hearth, in order to keep them for the big annual festival in memory of the dead, at which the bone ashes of their dead, mixed with banana soup, are drunk by the men (see pp.231 ff.). From now on there was no more wailing and weeping in the maloka; daily life had resumed its normal course.

76 After the death of women and of children too, as soon as they have completed the third year of life, the death ceremonies are
[822] conducted in exactly the same way. For a deceased chief, on the other hand, there is dancing around the funeral pyre for three nights, for, of course, his entrance into the moon must be particularly solemn.

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

766 The ceremony for an old person is entirely different. After death has set in, his head is chopped off and is hung, likewise in a little wooden rack, in the crown of a tree, again 15 or 20 minutes away from the maloka. The body, however, is buried in the ground in the jungle without ceremony, and, to be sure, in a squatting position, bound tightly with lianas. This is supposed to prevent its possible return, for it would have dire consequences for the tribe. The head, however, is burned on a small pyre, under
• [775] the same circumstances as described above, so that the soul may reach the moon in the ascending smoke; the remaining bone ashes are also kept.

769 The reason for the different obsequies for younger and older
888 persons is the following: At the big annual ceremony in memory
266 of the dead, which is held jointly with the Surára (see pp. 222 ff.), all the men drink the bone ashes of their deceased relatives, mixed with banana soup, because they believe that in this way the vigor and spirit of the dead remain within the tribes. In the case of old people, however, it is assumed that their bodies are already too leached out for their ashes to be able to transmit strength any more. Only the bone ashes of the head are still regarded as valuable.

888 If members of the tribe are very old or so seriously ill that, in spite of all efforts to cure them, they are no longer able to take part in the joint migrations, they are killed. For this purpose there takes place beforehand a gathering of the chief and older, more experienced men, at which they choose a participant who has to perform the killing. He uses a stick for this and, while the person in question is asleep, beats him hard on the head several times, until he has breathed his last (333). These tribal

[771]

333. Old and sick people are killed in similar manner among the Ipurina. "Moribund persons," writes Ehrenreich, "are said to be dispatched to the other world not infrequently by sorcerers by means of club-blows" (Ehrenreich, 1891,

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

888
[191]

333. (cont.)
p. 70). Among the Piaroa Indians very weak old people are walled up alive in a cave. They are given food and drink for several more days and, when this has been used up, die of enervation (Marquis de Wavrin, 1944, pp. 197/98).

members destined for death are thus dispatched into the other world in an altogether humane manner, and even the killing itself is dictated by humane impulses. Since these old and sick persons can, of course, no longer take part in the customary seminomadic way of life, they would be obliged to remain helplessly behind when the tribe sets out on a new migration. This is to be prevented, however, /73/ and at the same time it is desired that the way to the moon, the paradise of the dead, be opened for them. After their death, they are cremated in the same way as all other deceased persons, that is to say, in the case of old people only the head is burned, and their ashes, too, are preserved and drunk at the festival in memory of the dead.

888
766

● 775 Greater than the fear of death among all Surára and Pakidái is the thought that they might one day die without being cremated, for example, during military actions, for then the entrance into the moon is barred for their soul (see p. 198).

766
[684]
[784] Persons who commit incest are excluded from cremation after their demise, and they are not mourned, for incest is regarded as the greatest crime. Poré (see p. 197) does not want their souls on the moon, and partaking of their bone ashes would exert unfavorable influences on the male members of the tribe. They are therefore tied up in a squatting position and buried in a hole in the ground.

766
858
774 If children die before the completion of the third year of life, they are thrown into the river without any ceremony, since they belong to the flesh and blood of the mother and do not yet have their own soul (see p. 138).

2: Becher--156 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
175
764
765
971
[715]

/73 cont./
and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

619
648
721

5. War -- nĩanyu --

The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Caríb/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood revenge -- noyú -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

2: Becher--197 E-5 (1955-1956) 1980 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
pakidái

VIII. Religion and Magic

1. The Religious Conception of the World

821
796 According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the earth is a disk over which the sky arches like a bell. All power emanates from the moon -- Perimbó -- and from Poré, the lord of the moon, who is pictured as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red. Occasionally he comes down to earth, but is then invisible to human beings.

Thus, Poré and Perimbó constitute an inseparable unity that is regarded as eternal, just, and benevolent, but is also able to punish, if necessary. To it is attributed the origin of the earth and all life, and it is assumed that the events of creation followed in direct as well as in indirect fashion (442).

442. The creation myth of the Yanonámi /Yanoama/ represents an example of such indirect creations (see pp. 247/248).

821
●795 The moon, a large, open, circular maloka located in the midst of a planting and surrounded by forests, mountains, and rivers (443), is at the same time regarded as the place where

443. The picture of the surface of the moon corresponds to the open, almost circular Surára maloka (see pp. 25/27).

all the souls of human beings who were cremated after death lead a paradisiac existence under Poré. There are animals, plants, and fruits in abundance here, and no moon-dweller need ever suffer hunger and thirst.

[64]
[794] But only with the smoke rising during the cremation can a soul -- uwexík -- (identical with cloud, smoke), which exists in the bones and never leaves the body during life, reach this paradise. The souls of the dead who are not cremated become shadows -- petanuíhi -- that must wander about restlessly,

/91 cont./

821 without food and drink, between earth, sun, and moon (444).
• 795

444. One feels reminded here of the conception of the Homeric Greeks, who also assumed that the dead, after actual life has gone, are obliged to lead a wretched shadow-existence.

All Surára and Pakidái therefore greatly fear that after their deaths they might become such shadows. That is why, after military encounters, they make an effort to recover their fallen fellow-tribesmen, in order to cremate them. Though only the head of old persons is cremated (see p. 153), it is believed that this suffices to carry the soul up to the moon. Enemies are not cremated, however, for the shadow existence is desired for them.

821 The countless stars, which are also all inhabited by tribes, are allies of the moon (445). If a shooting star falls, it is

445. The Surára and Pakidái do not have special designations for the individual stars and constellations. There are only two general names, star -- purimá -- and big star -- purimá breu.

[192]

believed that the inhabitants of one star are visiting those of another.

The sun is of only minor importance in the religious life. It is regarded as rather weak and powerless, because it stands alone in the sky, has no strong allies, and travels around the earth-disk like a vagabond. It rules only the wandering souls of the uncremated dead and uses their shadows in order, in the protection of them, to slake its burning, unquenchable thirst on human beings, animals, and plants. In perspiration, my informants told me, one sees clearly how it draws the liquid out of bodies, and subsequently there remains for human beings and animals a feeling

[795]

Surára. Pakidái Waica

/92 cont./ and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waiká /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omaua," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

Surára Pakidai Waica

/95 cont./

793 184 Surára and Pakidái, but here in addition there are also such for the animals themselves, and, to be sure, smaller ones are always transformed into larger ones (see p. 251). The myth of the creation of the ant bear, in which Omaua or Porê transforms a man who has committed incest with his mother-in-law into this animal by magic, is familiar to the Waiká (486), as well as to

486. Zerries, 1958b, p. 285.

the Surára and Pakidái, in the same version (see p. 250).

794 184 Likewise synonymous is the system of the species-spirits of animals and plants, hekurá (Surára and Pakidái), or "hekula" (Waiká) (487), which is closely connected with the medicine-man system.

487. Zerries, 1958b, pp. 286/87.

794 795 184 [184] Of interest, finally, are comparisons concerning the conception of the human soul. It can ascend to the moon (Surára and Pakidái) or to heaven (Waiká) (488) only if the corpse is

488. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

cremated, for its name, uwexík (Surára and Pakidái), or "nobolebe" (Waiká) (488) /see footnote above/, is identical with that of cloud, smoke. According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the soul exists in the bones (see p. 151) (489).

[171]

489. In this respect they correspond to many other tribes, for in his essay "Die Antropophagie der südamerikanischen Indianer /The Anthropophagy of the South American Indians/," Koch (Grünberg) writes: "All these practices show that the Indian, incapable of separating the physical from the spiritual, regards the bones, which alone remain after the corpse has decomposed, as the actual and ultimate seat of the soul" (Koch (Grünberg), 1899, p. 83).

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

774 /95 cont./

●775 That is why they cremate only /96/ the skeleton of their dead,
184 for if the flesh were still present, the soul would be unable to
come out in time. The ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes,
[769] too, on the occasion of the annual festival in memory of the
[266] dead, is connected with the idea that strengthening remains
of the soul are still present in them. In this connection Zerries
writes with reference to the Waiká: "We were unable to find
the idea of a bone-soul among the Waika, if we disregard the
774 connection between bone ashes and bole" (490). Zerries also

490. Zerries, 1958a, p. 107.

points out that the soul, according to the view of the Waiká, is peculiar only to the human being, but not to the animal (491).

491. Zerries, 1958a, p. 105.

774 According to the statements of the Surára and Pakidái chiefs,
775 however, the human soul of the dead on its journey to the moon must be accompanied by a like-named animal or plant soul of the dead, which serves as a guide (see pp. 149/150). It is assumed by the Surára and Pakidái that children are without a soul until they have completed the third year of life, because during this time they are nursed by the mother and thus still belong to her flesh and blood as well as to her soul (see also pp. 138 and 154). Waiká children are said to receive their souls only after the completion of the sixth year of life (492).

492. Zerries, 1958a, p. 106.

4: Wilbert

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

● 775

[Information on the hĩkula, an immortal vital principle appearing in both plants and animals, but in man different than the soul (which he alone possesses), has been filed in category 774.]

/206 cont./

224 825 part on his dog. The hunter must also know a great variety of calls for attracting the animals and birds and, above all, know which arrow to shoot in order to kill the animal which may come in answer to his call.

224 775 All this and a great deal more about which we are ignorant must be learned by the Sanemá hunter in order to have the benefit of his knowledge not only on earth but also in the world of Omao after his death. An expert hunter continues to be one in "heaven" and there he will have the opportunity of recompensing Omao for the benevolence showed him during his earthly life.

224 The Sanemá hunt with bow and arrows. Usually each man carries with him, in addition to his bow, five arrows and a quiver with various types of points.

[415 372] The quiver, máde of bamboo, is carried, hanging by means of a bejuco, from the neck, on the chest, or across the back. In most cases they carry, tied to the same quiver, some small sticks with which to kindle fire. In the forest they pull out with extraordinary speed the point best suited to kill the animal which comes within range, and it is surprising with what dexterity and speed they can shoot one or several arrows.

If there are several hunters surrounding a pack of peccaries or a group of monkeys, the booty belongs to the one who kills it.

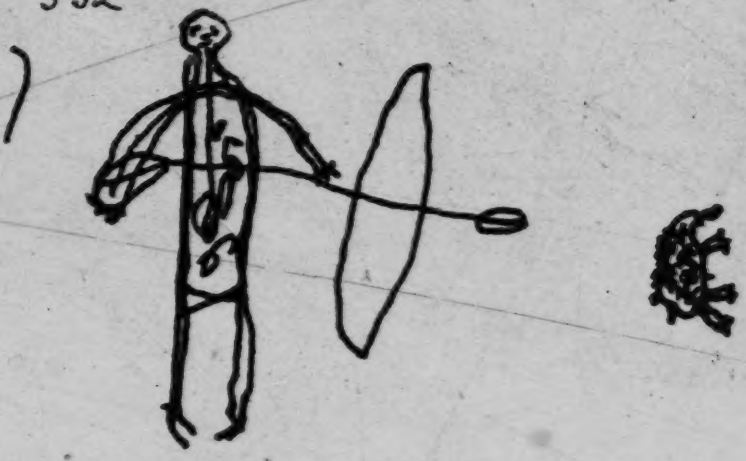
It seems that the Sanemá of the Erebato also use a kind of trap (Schwippgalgenfalle), particularly to capture the lapa /paca/ or deer (20).

20. It would seem that this trap reflects a cultural borrowing among the Sanemá, since the Surará, Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 77), and Waica (Zerries, 1956c, p. 151) do not have it.

223 In order to catch birds, the hunter climbs up into a very high tree and hides there behind some thick branches. He attracts the birds with whistles, and, when they are near, he shoots them; a companion waits at the foot of the tree for the prey's fall, in

4: Wilbert--70 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

532



Indian hunting peccaries with bow and arrow. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

532
978
775

The hikuladé of the priest. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian. 1/1

1/1 [see explanation of this figure on p. 99 --Anj

/213 cont./

793 For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain
624 later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may
[622] not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the im-
123 pression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly
[276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our
● 775 informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after
[841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a
[126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made
[532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals; he was the guapo. 1/1

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. 11-An.]

/220 cont./

159 764 inside, it is tied with lianas. Then they take the corpse into the forest where it is deposited, at a distance of some kilometers, on the branches of a tree in order for the flesh to decompose there. Often the members of the family will not leave the corpse alone in the forest for fear that animals will come and [775] devour it. The dead are very much afraid of animals and shout when a jaguar approaches them.

[825] [756] The feline respects only a dead sablí, because he will die in turn if he approaches.

[784] Our informant spent several nights next to his father's corpse, always being very careful not to step on the damp ground beneath the dead man, because those who step there lose their feet.

152 764 The grief of the relatives is so intense that very often some of them can not endure the pain and go to the forest to die. Above all the women lament a great deal during the night and the men hold them back so that they will not run away to the forest. The informant remembered that the strongest man of his tribe behaved as though he were mad after the death of his father and wanted to kill everybody. The men did not allow him to go with them into the forest to gather up the bones of his father for fear that, given his behavior, he might commit some crime.

765 After one month, more or less, the men of the tribe go to the forest and gather up the bones of their companion; the flesh decomposes completely during this period. Some of the men let down the coffin and others wrap the remains of the deceased in some large leaves, making in this way a bundle of bones which they take back with them to the rancheria. There they place it in a hammock and leave it for about four days, while the relatives continue to weep in uninterrupted lamentation.

765 775 [756] Later the sablí carries the bones to a fire prepared in the plaza and places them on top of the pile of firewood. Our informant also said that as the sablí did this he pronounced a well-known formula which means: "you are getting along well," for, if he did not say this, the hĩkula would not be able to find its way. Afterwards he lights the fire, blows upon it at the same time as he raises his arms /221/ above his head, and in the smoke

/221 cont./

765 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula
• 775 and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĭkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĭkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around
[276] the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their
[756] neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĭ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá
771 is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of
[184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious
756 practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a
791 different supernatural sphere.

The first of the three is the hɛwĭawán, or the priest, who is
793 the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He
776 belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

/223 cont./

776 The Great Jaguar has certain relations with Omao, the
793 deified hero of the Sanemá, since his name, "Omao-kóhe," indicates such a relationship, and it is possible perhaps to speak of a vocation for the office of priest, since the Sanemá Supreme Being admits him, after his encounter with the Great Jaguar, into the court of Omao.

793 According to South American ethnology, it is surprising
171 to find a "specialist" in a nomadic preagricultural society, but, as we shall state below, this is the second time that we have found a similar case in Venezuela; the other one was that of the Warao wiʃiráto.

793 The Sanema priest is a member of the court of Omao, not
776 only because the Great Jaguar changed him into a bat, but also
778 because Omao gave him a hikuladɛ which is invisible, although it has a spherical shape like a ball, and the larger the hikuladɛ, the more powerful the priest.

The hikuladɛ of the priest, the informant explained, is like a globe which the hɛwĩawán keeps in his chest. We shall also see later that the other religious practitioner of the Sanema
793 has a hikuladɛ too, but one which is essentially different. We
778 have the impression that the hikuladɛ of the priest contains "the
●775 souls" of the ancestors who were destined by Omao to live there and help the priest. Since the data obtained are, in our opinion,
793 insufficient, we do not want to hazard peremptory statements,
778 but it seems certain that the Sanemá priest also cures the sick,
755 particularly those who are suffering from fever. Our informant
[114] explained to us that the ancestors (hikula-dĩb), the people of the
[775] hikuladɛ of the priest, are the ones who cure the fever when the priest brings the hikuladɛ out of his chest and deposits it for a time on the body of the patient.

Sometimes the desired effect is not attained, and that indicates that the soul of the /224/ victim has already abandoned the
793 body and does not want to return. The hĩkula therefore constitute
778 a sort of supernatural "little pueblo" /pueblecito/ within the
629 Sanemá community in which the priest lives and do not wish to have any communication with the kĩkula-dib /sic/ of the neighboring pueblo. The priests from nearby pueblos do not visit each

/224 cont./

793 778 628 [776] other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the hɛ̃wĩawán gather with their hĩkula-dĩb.

793 778 775 The hĩkula-dĩb of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria, in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial community, and for this reason more than one priest is unnecessary. In the section of the illustrations[1] one can see the

532 793 778 775 127 hikuladɛ̃ of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees there five hĩkula-dĩb, or souls of ancestors of the group in which the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him

532 793 778 775 126 825 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is based on the belief that a Sanemá must never speak of the insect of the house of the hikuladɛ̃. As a matter of fact our informant never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American ethnology.

171 773 825 778 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it payak, a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to the hĩkuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá priest to note the Mataco custom of attributing a supernatural power to a maraca /gourd rattle/ with sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The similarity between the hikuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá and the "sacred maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

[1] [See p. 70 - -Analyst]

/224 cont./

793 The function of the scarab in the curing process is as fol-
755 lows: If the hɛwīawán wishes to cure a patient, he takes the
825 hĩkula from his chest and places it upon the patient. In order to effect the cure, the scarab opens an invisible hole in the chest of the patient, and the hikuladɛ of the priest enters through there.
[775] /225/ Once within the patient's chest, the hĩkula-dĩb come out of the hikuladɛ in order to combat and bring to the exterior the cause of the sickness. After a while the priest again takes possession of his hikuladɛ, and the treatment is fully successful. The informant did not want to mention the name of the caleopteran or even to talk about it, fearing that if he were to do so and if he were then to become sick, the priest would not be able to cure him, since the insect would not open a hole in the chest of the patient.

793 It is our impression that the priest only cures the ailments
755 that result from the presence, in the body of the sick person,
775 of the soul of a wandering deceased person who has approached the rancherias and whose very presence causes pain.

If we understand that the part of the Sanemá which goes to the house of Omao is the soul, we may say that the priest is concerned with the well-being of the same in the bodies of his companions, and that he represents the actualizing principle between the subject "the soul of the man" and the object "Omao," who enter into communication by means of the intervention of the priest. For the soul, which goes to live in the house of Omao as hĩkula-dĩb, we noted down the name of hɛnpĩrtĩb, which essentially seems to correspond in its character to the "bole" of the Waica (Zerries, 1958b).

[171]

793 The hɛwīawán may send a hĩkula-dĩb to a neighboring
775 pueblo in order to cause sickness among its inhabitants, but his
754 primary function is to guarantee the well-being of the souls of his community and to present them eventually to Omao at death.
793 It is interesting in this respect to note that the Surara and Pakidai,
754 subgroups of the Yanoama of Brazil, are of the opinion that
825 sicknesses are transmitted by a shaman of a neighboring pueblo
050 by means of sparrow hawks and bats. The Sanemá say that the

/225 cont./ The sanemá say that the
793 hɛwĩawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hĩkulaɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[796] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
[126] propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
● [795] hɛwĩawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
974 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the hĩkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

/228 cont./

756 may also happen that a sablf with a small "pueblo" of hfkulas in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a hfkula suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert sablf, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A young sablf is always hopeful that the hfkula "pueblo" in his chest will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

758 The potentiality of the hfkula of the sablf makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the sablf is the best
[624] man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A sablf of great power does not die until all the hfkulas of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
774 live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of
[754] his hfkula grows and brings about his death. Then the sablf informs his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his hfkula frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24).

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The hfkula of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
● 775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place. Our informant told us that the hfkulas of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /tigres mariposas/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a hfkula of his group or one from a dead sablf. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

/481 cont./

832 They believe that another substance is effective against women, especially if it is thrown at them. They use it to frighten them, and it also forms a part of the ceremony in which a man shows his preference for a woman whom he wishes to make his wife.

784 753 There is a taboo with respect to the burning of cloth or paper. The burning of cloth or paper, according to what they believe, causes sickness and /482/ perhaps death. The Guaika do not dare to do it "against an enemy," since they are afraid that they might die also.

753 775 Men cannot see a "bole" -- the spirit or soul of a dead person which has returned -- but women can see them on occasion, and, when they do, it is almost certain that the "bole" will make them sick. The "bole" has two eyes like embers, a cold skin, and in general has human forms. It customarily passes by way of the paths, especially at night, and frequently returns to abandoned settlements. They can talk and shout like a man; and many strange noises which are heard in the woods are attributed to the nearness of a "bole." The fall of a tree by itself is also attributed to a "bole."

[781] Once a woman told us about her encounter with a "bole." She had been awakened by something which touched her and hit her in the ribs. When she woke up, a voice said to her: "There are enemies outside." She became very frightened and did not go back to sleep for the rest of the night.

The mere presence of a "bole" is considered sufficient to cause an acute pain in some part of the body.

Frequently we were asked by the Indians if there were "boles" the night before in the surroundings.

It is believed that the "boles" travel alone in open country. Thus, they assume that a few palm leaves obstructing the entrance to the path are usually sufficient to block their way. It is also believed that fire is an effective weapon against the "boles" whereas an arrow would be useless.

751 There is a belief that a certain seed is efficacious for keeping danger away from the children. They string these seeds as if they were beads and hang them around the child's neck.

/485/ [illegible]

765 This funerary gourd which contains the remains is kept with the other objects that belong to the family. Then, one [766] fine day, they prepare a soup of platanos in which they mix the powdered bone. The near relatives drink this soup. All weep at this moment, as at the first funeral.

• 775 The Guaika believe that the correct observance of these practices has much to do with the life of the person after his death. If they do not manage to recover the body of a man killed in war and cremate it, his death is considered a doubly great calamity. A statement such as that of "We shall not cremate you when you die" consequently means a powerful threat.

Religion

[772] The Guaika /Waica/ have an idea that one ascends into heaven when one dies. This heaven is a good place, but less desirable than the present life. They also have an idea of hell, a place even less desirable to go to when one dies.

774 A person is for them body, soul, and spirit. The word to
775 designate soul also means "shadow" or "reflection." And the
828 word to designate spirit also means "cloud." Thus, the soul retains the form of the body, but the spirit can be formless.

The soul can abandon the body and return later. A seriously sick person in general loses consciousness while his soul is [753] absent. This is why they frequently go looking for the soul of a sick child, to return it to his body. The soul of an adult, on the other hand, should know how to find its way back.

The spirit abandons the body only with death.

775 A formal cremation and the rites which follow cremation help to ensure that the deceased, upon dying, will go to the most desirable place of the other life.

The Guaika believe that the spirits in heaven eat certain wild fruits. They are afraid that an enemy might /486/ return after death and cause sicknesses and other calamities to the people still corporeal. Many of these incorporeal spirits wander about the paths, especially at night. As we have said before, they are called "boles."

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, Kɑobɨwɛ̃ was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, Krɛ̃ɔ̃mi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The Yɑnomamɔ̃ rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the Yɑnomamɔ̃ avoid incestuous affairs, according to Kɑobawɛ̃, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. Kɑobawɛ̃ himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yawaremou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

blood of Periboriwä. *Because they have their origin in blood, they are fierce and are continuously making war on each other.* This myth seems to be the "charter" of Yąnomamö society. It is the only one they repeatedly told me without my asking about it.

Where his blood was thickest, in the areas directly underneath the spot where Periboriwä was shot, the wars were so intense that the Yąnomamö in that area exterminated themselves. Where the blood had an opportunity to thin out, the Yąnomamö were less fierce and therefore did not become extinct, although they, too, fought continuously.

After this, there were only men. One of the men, a descendant of the blood of Periboriwä, was called Kanaboroma, not to be confused with Kanabororiwä, the bird who stole fire from Alligator's (Iwä's) mouth. One day his legs became pregnant. Women came out of the left leg, and men out of the right. These Yąnomamö were very *kirii* (docile, afraid) when compared to the ones who were derived from the blood. They rapidly multiplied and also contributed to the present population of Yąnomamö. All the present Yąnomamö came from the blood of Periboriwä or from the leg of Kanąboroma, or from a combination of both. The original beings all changed into *yai:* spirits.

THE SOUL Yąnomamö concepts of the soul are elaborate and complicated. The true or real portion of living man is his "will" or "self" (*bahii*). At death, this changes into a *no borebö* and travels from this layer to *hadu*, the place above where the souls of the departed continue to exist in an ethereal state, much in the same fashion as do the people on earth: gardening, hunting, and practicing magic.

The trail along which the *no borebö* travel forks after it reaches *hadu*. Sometimes, the Yąnomamö will point to the sky and explain that such and such a cloud is the *no borebö* of a Yąnomamö who is just reaching *hadu*. After the soul reaches the fork in the trail, a spirit, the son of Thunder (Yąru), Wadawadariwä, asks the *no borebö* if it had been generous during its life on earth. If it had been stingy, Wadawadariwä directs the soul along the path that leads to *shobari waka*, a place on *hadu* where souls of stingy Yąnomamö burn eternally. Most of the Yąnomamö I questioned on this asserted that they planned to lie to Wadawadariwä and avoid going to *shobari waka*. In general, they did not fear this place and were convinced that they would not be sent there. They expect Wadawadariwä to direct them to the trail that leads into *hadu* proper.

Another portion of the soul, the *no ohudi* or *bore*, is released at cremation. This part of the soul remains on earth and wanders about in the jungle. The children who die always change into this, as they do not have the *no borebö* portion that goes to *hadu*. It must be acquired. The reason that children do not change into *no borebö* is that their "wills" (*bahii*) are ignorant or innocent (*mahodi*). Thus, one has a character only after a certain amount of knowledge and experience are gained; with this, one develops a knowledgeable "will" and can expect to enter *hadu* in the form of a *no borebö*. Apart from this, one is born with an *ohudi* (*bore*), which is invariably released at cremation and wanders eternally in the jungle after death. Some of these wandering *ohudi* are malevolent and attack travelers in the jungle at night. When they do so, they use sticks and clubs. The Yąnomamö usually use the name *bore* when describing the attacks of these malevolent spirits, although this is just an alternate name for the *no ohudi*.

NORESHI Finally, each individual has a *noreshi*. This is a dual concept: One has a *noreshi* within his being, a sort of spirit or portion of the soul, and, in addition, an animal that lives in the jungle and corresponds to this soul. The *noreshi* animals are inher-

2: Becher

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

776

/Information on the hekurá, gigantic prototypes of all the species of plants and animals, has been filed in category 774./

Surára
Pakidái

854 514 [123] /64 cont./ If the child's nose is not clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

856 593 The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, náp̈e=mother and háp̈e=father.

862 e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, [851] which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

851 846 114 171 842 325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

000 553 776 [782] has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

/64 cont./
553 776 [782] high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermediaries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris" throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 114 191 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 302 [412] [824] On the day of the name-giving the children are given a tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara -- Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in 553 291 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under [834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good [292] form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around children (See pp. 64ff.).

Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
[825] emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
• 776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

Surára
Pakidái

/88 cont./

123
276

434. (cont.)
servant Mateus and I were thereafter dependent on the cultivated tobacco of the Indians, which, however, was so strong that we simply could not enjoy it. Mateus, however, had the happy idea of washing the tobacco several times and then he let it dry in the sun. Since we had plenty of cigarette paper with us, we were not obliged to give up our customary enjoyment of cigarettes. We could never have become accustomed to sucking out the tobacco, for every attempt resulted in retching.

276 The narcotic snuff powder, similar to yopo or paricá, is made up of various ingredients, of which I was able to identify, besides the roasted and pulverized paricá seed (Piptadenia peregrina Benth.), the ashes of the burned bark of a wild species of mimosa (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurâhihenâ -- (435), as

[192]
[776]
[787]

435. This, it should be noted, contains the word with which the gigantic animal and plant spirits are called -- hekurâ -- with which the men are able to make contact only by means of the snuff powder.

well as a cultivated pepper plant /89/ (Piperacea sp.) -- maxarahâ -- (436) (437).

[192]
[184]

436. Zerries found the same combination among the Waiká, and even the names for the pepper plant are almost identical; the Waiká call it "masho hara." The bark of the mimosa, in which Zerries suspects there is an alkaloid, is, however, used only in the dried or roasted state (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

[126]

437. Herr Prof. Dr. Klaus Soehring of the

/90 cont./

514 [264] There is frequent belching during and after eating, and it happens not infrequently that a member of the family breaks wind, often with a loud noise, which, however, is received with happy laughter, without any damage to the appetite. Both sexes also spit a great deal as a result of the tobacco rolls which they have in the mouth almost constantly (see p. 190).

Urination is done in the immediate vicinity of the maloka during the day and in the hearth at night. Men and boys always urinate in a squatting position, just like women and girls. For their other needs they all go a bit deeper into the forest clearing during the day, or even to the edge of the forest. When they have finished, they rub the seat back and forth a few times on the ground or against a tree trunk. The mother holds small children, in case she happens to be lying in the hammock, over the edge of it. Then she wipes her hand or lower arm across its seat a few times, or, if necessary, she uses a little stick to clean it. The little heap is covered with ashes or earth and stamped into the ground by the mother. If an adult has more important business to attend to at night, he digs a small hole beside the hammock and subsequently covers it with ashes or earth. Old or sick persons do this during the day as well. [825] The reason that the Surára and Pakidái do not leave the maloka at night for the [776] aforementioned purpose is because they are afraid of snakes and jaguars, as well as of nonexf, the evil spirit which transmits sickness (see p. 211). Persistent unpleasant odors are not noticeable even in closed malokas, however, since they are dispelled by the ascending smoke of the constantly burning fire.

841 During their menstruation the women do not use anything to absorb the blood (see pp. 142/143). Pools of blood that remain on the ground are obliterated by them with their feet.

356 123 291 In general, however, the communal house is kept quite clean. One always sees men and women sweeping with a broom made of piaçaba fibers. For this work both sexes liked to put on the shirts and trousers or clothing which I had brought them as gift articles and which were otherwise not at all appreciated.

2: Becher--197 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

VIII. Religion and Magic

1. The Religious Conception of the World

821
•776 According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the earth is a disk over which the sky arches like a bell. All power emanates from the moon -- Perimbó -- and from Poré, the lord of the moon, who is pictured as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red. Occasionally he comes down to earth, but is then invisible to human beings.

Thus, Poré and Perimbó constitute an inseparable unity that is regarded as eternal, just, and benevolent, but is also able to punish, if necessary. To it is attributed the origin of the earth and all life, and it is assumed that the events of creation followed in direct as well as in indirect fashion (442).

442. The creation myth of the Yanonámi /Yanoama/ represents an example of such indirect creations (see pp. 247/248).

821
775 The moon, a large, open, circular maloka located in the midst of a planting and surrounded by forests, mountains, and rivers (443), is at the same time regarded as the place where

443. The picture of the surface of the moon corresponds to the open, almost circular Surára maloka (see pp. 25/27).

all the souls of human beings who were cremated after death lead a paradisiac existence under Poré. There are animals, plants, and fruits in abundance here, and no moon-dweller need ever suffer hunger and thirst.

[964]
[774] But only with the smoke rising during the cremation can a soul -- uwexík -- (identical with cloud, smoke), which exists in the bones and never leaves the body during life, reach this paradise. The souls of the dead who are not cremated become shadows -- petanúhi -- that must wander about restlessly,

/91 cont./

821 of thirst and weakness, while plants often wither. For this reason, and especially out of fear of the shadows, the sun's rays are regarded as dangerous. Therefore, tasks for which one must expose himself to the direct radiation of the sun, for example, forest clearing, cultivation of fields, and house construction, are preferably undertaken in cloudy or even rainy weather. In the latter case, there is even a direct /92/ connection with the moon. A large tree stands on this celestial body, in the middle of the open maloka. When Poré shakes it, the wind rises first, and after that rain falls. The aversion of the Surára and Pakidái to the merciless sun's rays of the equatorial zone has a further, matter-of-fact explanation, for in former times, as pure hunters and gatherers, they practically never came out of the eternal twilight of the primeval forest.

821 The awe of Poré and the moon is so great that the Indians 774 do not dare pray personally to this united Supreme Deity. Serras 774 /sierras/ -- peatíle -- as well as gigantic animal and plant [1982] spirits -- hekurá -- (446), who live on them and are characterized [192]

446. This word is derived from hetumisse = heaven and he = head, above.

by supernatural qualities, are the mediators. The serras are well suited for this, because they are situated between the earth, on the one hand, and the moon and sun on the other. They are regarded as higher divine helpers, who, after Poré and Perimbó, are the mightiest. At the same time they are regarded as the masters of all the animal and plant spirits living on them. Their power is much greater than that of the sun because there is, of course, only one sun whereas there are innumerable serras. Their attitude toward Poré and Perimbó, however, is not always a loyal one. Usually they are on their side, to be sure, but if there is occasionally a quarrel between them, it may happen that they ally themselves with the sun for a time. The united Supreme Deity has taken precautions, however, and considered any possible

Suréra
Pukidai

821 /92 cont./
776 danger. For the fact that it has chosen the serras as dwelling
774 places for the gigantic plant and animal spirits is injurious to their power if it is directed against Poré and Perimbó. In contrast to the serras, the hekurá are steadfastly faithful followers of the united moon deities and, together with the stars, protect them against any attacks on the part of the sun and its temporary allies. Sometimes, in an altercation which the serras wage with the moon or sun, an eclipse of the moon or sun appears, because the celestial body in question wishes to conceal itself from the other, so that it will not be drawn into the dispute (447). If, for example, it becomes dark before a thunderstorm and lightning begins to flash, then the sun is very thirsty, is hiding behind the serras and asking for rain. The latter relay the request to the moon. But it does not want to comply with the sun's wish, and already there is reason for the serras and the moon to quarrel. Then when it thunders, Poré has a headache out of anger, and he finally shakes the rain tree to put an end to the quarrel.

[191]

447. The relationship of moon and sun also plays a special role in the religious and mythological ideas of various other Indian tribes. In the myth of the Yurakaré /Yuracare/, for example, it is treated in the sense of the Orpheus motif (Rodrigues, 1875, pp. 252 ff.; d'Orbigny, 1835/47, III, p. 210).

774 The hekurá are gigantic prototypes of all the species of plants and animals that live on certain serras that are taboo for human beings. These nature spirits are regarded as subordinate helpers of Poré and Perimbó. They are usually favorably disposed toward human beings, permit and facilitate hunting, gathering, and agriculture for them. The men, however, must always show their gratitude to them by prayers, and they may
774 not indiscriminately destroy animals and plants. This is also
55 related to the fact that all members of the tribe, men, women,

Surára. Pakidái Waica

/92 cont./ and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waikâ /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omaua," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

776
184 /93 cont./ Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon--
821 Perimbó -- and with the latter forms an inseparable unity (450).

[114]
[171]

450. This conception, which seems rather strange and in which Josef Haekel therefore thinks he sees a contradiction (Haekel, 1959, p. 40), is, however, also confirmed for the Uitoto /Witoto/, for Preuss writes about it, among other things: "We thus have here the rare instance in which, through a combination of the god of the earth and a moon demon, a single deity has arisen, a sort of monotheism, alongside of which there are only very insignificant demons" (Preuss, 1922, p. 176). And elsewhere he states: "The fact that moon and Supreme Being here coincide may therefore have come about later, but not necessarily. Today we have them as an inseparable unity" (Preuss, 1922, p. 184).

whereas "Omaua," together with a helper, "Yoaua," lives in the western sky, where they too produce rain, in that they pour the water out of the two celestial rivers (451). In contrast to this

451. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

among the Surára and Pakidái it is believed that Poré shakes the rain-tree of the moon (see p. 199).

821 Great significance is also attached to the moon by the
184 Waiká, and, significantly enough, also in connection with the
773 creation of human beings. This may be seen from their legend of primitive times (452), which, except for minor deviations,

452. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

corresponds to the one which the Surára chief Hewemão told me

/93 cont./

793 191

455. (cont.) longer exist as a tribal unit, it is believed that civilized people and hostile Indian tribes came out of the inflamed and swollen calves of the first man, Aipuku (Oberg, 1953, p. 108).

773 184 the polyandrous feature in common, for the woman had a boy (Surára and Pakidái) (see p. 247) or several children (Waiká)(456)

456. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

by the men.

● 796 194 184 /94/ In the religious world of thought of the Waiká one also finds ideas that are very contradictory. Thus, "Omaua" is regarded, on the one hand, as the Supreme Being and creator of the earth and of mankind, and, on the other hand, is thought of as an actual enemy of the Waiká who is closely linked with alien tribes in the west and with the whites, as well as with their pernicious influences, diseases, puzzling cultural possessions [782] (motor, gasoline, etc.) (457). Furthermore, it is noteworthy

457. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

that in white and black magic "Omaua" is directly invoked (458)

458. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

(the Surára and Pakidái communicate with Poré/Perimbó only through intermediaries), and that there lives with him a cannibalistic creature, "Omayali," which, according to Zerries, presumably represents a hypostasis of the former (459). He believes, 776 174 171

459. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

however, that "Omaua-Omayali" is an import from another culture

/94 cont./

[171] area a[illegible]sites corresponding parallels from Aruak /Arawak tribes of northwestern Brazil as well as from Karaiben /Carib/ of Guiana (460), which are augmented by Haekel (461). The last-

460. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

461. Haekel, 1959, p. 41.

named scholar then poses the question: "Did the Waika, prior to this foreign influence, lack the conception of a Supreme Being?" (462)

462. Haekel, 1959, p. 42.

He assumes that the idea of a Supreme Deity in the sense of the Surára and Pakidái related to them might have been familiar to them, since in the ethnic groups named the moon, or the lord of the moon, occasionally comes down to earth, and, as a further link, he mentions the idea of a heavenly paradise of the [171] souls (463). Then Haekel points out that the Surára and Pakidái

463. Haekel, 1959, p. 42.

as well as the Waiká, in a religious-mythological respect, show remarkable similarity with the following Karaiben /Carib/ tribes (464), though it should be noted that some link the Supreme

464. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

Being with the moon and others with the sun (465): Kachuyana

465. Haekel, 1959, p. 35.

(Kashuiéna /Cashuena/) (even the name of the Supreme Being is very similar in this case, Purá) (466) (467), Barama (468),

466. Kruse, 1955, pp. 404 ff.

467. Polykrates, 1957, pp. 138 ff.

Surára Pakidái Waica

/94 cont./

776 174 [171]

468. Gillin, 1936, pp. 155 ff.

Kalina (469), Wajana (Oyana) (470), Makiritare (471).

469. de Goeje, 1943, pp. 26 ff.

470. Ahlbrinck, 1956, p. 26.

471. Cruxent, 1953, pp. 325 ff.

776 174 114 171 "The suggested parallels," Haekel goes on to say, "between Yanoama and Carib call attention, in any case, to a series of problems for which we are still far from a solution today. The probability of historical relationships can undoubtedly not be overlooked. But who were the 'givers,' who the 'receivers'? It is obvious that the Surara-Pakidai and Waika lie within the sphere of influence of Cariban tribes, but in my opinion there is no justification for thinking merely of influences from the Carib in connection with the similarities coming to light. One should also take into consideration the fact that Yanoama and Carib participated jointly in an older substratum" (472). On

472. Haekel, 1959, p. 43.

this point I agree with Haekel completely. I also share certain reservations that he has with regard to the avowed western orientation of the Waiká or the Yanonámi culture (473), which

473. Haekel, 1959, pp. 43/44.

Zerries represents (474). True, there is much in favor of it,

474. Zerries, 1955a, p. 83.

among other things a definite form of endocannibalism and the ritual taking of a narcotic snuffpowder. Further proof might be seen in the fact that among the Ipurína on the Rio Purús the

Surára
Pakidái

/94 cont./

776 174 171 114 moon -- "pati" -- is venerated as Supreme Being and "father," who causes the fruits to grow (475). In this case, however,

475. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 72.

Ehrenreich believes that there has been Christian influence. Among the Sáliva in southern and eastern Colombia /95/ one also finds certain features in the religion and mythology which are reminiscent of those of the Yanonámi and Karaiben, and the Supreme Being worshiped by them is called "Puru" (476), a

476. H. v. Walde-Waldegg, 1936, pp. 40 ff.

name which sounds very similar to Poré and "Purá." Haekel further points out that the religion of the Sáliva shows marked agreement with the neighboring Aruak Achagua (477), which

477. Haekel, 1959, pp. 45/46.

was described by Hernandez de Alba (478). Moreover, it should

478. Hernandez de Alba, 1948, pp. 410 ff.

be mentioned that the Guahibo Indians on the Venzuelan banks of the Orinoco, according to Zerries, have taken over their deity, Purnaminali, from the Achagua or Sáliva (479).

479. Zerries, 1956c, p. 232.

776 171 But in the eastern regions of Guiana there are also significant parallels with respect to the religious and mythological conceptions of the Yanonámi mentioned. Reference has already been made to the Kachuyana and their Supreme Being, Purá (see p. 205). They are even more strongly pronounced among the Warrau /Warao/. In their moon myth about "Aboré" and "Wowtáh" the moon has the character of a culture hero (480),

480. Brett, 1880, p. 76. -

Surára
Pakidái
Waiká

/95 cont./

776 171 exactly as among the Surára and Pakidái; moreover, the correspondence between the names Aboré and Poré is especially great. The supplying of cultural possessions is also attributed to the deities in each case. In the Warrau myth it is even said that Aboré fled before Wowtáh into the land of the whites, from whence he provided his fellow tribesmen with import articles (481).

481. Brett, 1880, pp. 84 ff.

774 171 The idea that there are gigantic prototypes of each animal and plant species also exists among other South American tribes. Zerries has already worked out the connections for this and has cited several investigators who confirmed identical or similar views for various Indian peoples, among them Arawak, Mura, tribes of the Chaco, Karaiben in Guiana (Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/, Cavina and Tumupasa Indians of northeastern Bolivia, Cayapa in Ecuador, and Yaruro in Venezuela (482).

482. Zerries, 1951, pp. 149/50.

774 171 114 The conception of the Yaruro in particular shows corresponding parallels, according to Petrullo's description (483).

483. Petrullo, 1939, p. 237.

For the Karaiben tribe Arekuná, Koch-Grünberg, to be sure, does not find any evidence of gigantic plant spirits, but their idea of the animal spirits is very similar; here they are called "podole" = father (484).

484. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 187.

773 184 If one then compares the myths which deal with happenings on the already created earth, one is struck by the fact that among the Waiká the transformations of human beings into land animals cover a wide range (485). The same is true among the

485. Zerries, 1958b, p. 283.

Surára Pakidái

/96 cont./

755 the hekurá, and best of all at night by moonlight (496). All

[174 196]

496. The hekurá are the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being Poré/Perimbó (see pp. 199 ff.).

day long, usually one or two or sometimes even several men make preliminary attempts at healing. For all sicknesses there are very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps, which are taught the young men by their chief during a two-months' training course (see pp. 143/145). If the patient dies despite all efforts, the people yield to a certain fatalism, for in that case the power of the hostile medicine man was simply stronger (497).

[191]

497. The same thing is reported by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 202), Richard Schomburgk about the Warrau (Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 172), and Barrère as well as Quandt about the Galibi and Arowaken (Barrère, 1743, pp. 216/17; Quandt, 1807, p. 260), to mention only a few parallels.

755 For the reasons mentioned, there is only suggestive therapy,
757 supplemented by fasting and treatment with cold water. In the latter case a patient, even with the highest fever, must drink a great deal of water and take frequent baths in the nearby river or brook. He is also often exposed to pouring /97/ rain (Ill. 49), since it is assumed that it has healing powers because it comes from the rain tree of the moon (see p. 193). Sick persons who are already too weak and are unable to leave their hammocks are doused with cold water at regular intervals (498).

[191]

498. Treatment with cold water is widespread in South America. For comparison

/112 cont./

789 [821] [302] it is not needed, for example, before hunting expeditions or during a tribal migration. In this case all the men, women, and children paint their bodies with a confusion of serpentine lines, in order by this means to command the rain to stop. If 526 789 this does not help, a tug of war -- toõtotõ -- with a thick liana is arranged. This liana personifies the sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) -- [796] uaikonyá -- which, as a strong water-animal, has the power to induce Porê to stop shaking the rain tree (see p. 199). At first only two groups of red-painted men engage in the tug of war. But if the rain simply will not abate, red-painted women also take part in it. Their participation is supposed to increase the [796] pressure on the sucuriju, for it is assumed that it is of the female sex and thus particularly well-disposed toward women. Such a [857] tug of war often goes on for several hours. In most cases, besides adults, I also saw children who imitated it with a thin liana.

526 789 821 If it happens to rain while the sun is shining, the Surára and Pakidái believe that a serious fight has broken out between the moon, from which the rain comes, and the sun. Then all the members of the tribe feel obligated to come to the aid of their Supreme Being, the moon. They do this by again forming two mixed groups of men and women -- one symbolically represents the population of the moon and the other that of the sun -- who throw wet earth at each other; this "battle" is called xejejõ.

782 5. A Special Way of Showing Gratitude to Porê and Perimbõ

In connection with the festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.) after the training period of the two medicine-man helpers (see pp. 143 f.), after the curing of the sick (see pp. 211 ff.), and other magic ceremonies, the people want to thank Porê and Perimbõ (see p. 197) in a special way, outside of the customary prayers which take place through the hekurá (see pp. 199/201). For this purpose a large calabash is filled with earth, [824] into which, in a circle, are stuck red-painted twigs of the imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.), which are connected

●776

[Additional information on the role of various supernatural beings in the mythology of the Yanoama will be found in category 539.]

/205 cont./

224 411 It is also dangerous to lose an arrow when one is hunting. That is why they only shoot the arrow when, should they miss the target, they can easily retrieve it. In spite of these precautions, the arrow is sometimes lost or remains hanging from an [782] inaccessible tree. Then the man, in order not to lose his aim, puts it under the protection of Omao, to whom he speaks, saying: "Omáuawan ipa ʃlaka toldápala!" which means: "Omao, watch over my arrow!"

224 777 789 826 To lose one's aim or luck in hunting may arise from a technical reason or a supernatural cause. The former is due to a weakening of the body brought about by sickness or other causes which influence sight or the strength of the arm. If it is due to this latter cause, the hunter knows the remedy. He goes to the forest and searches for a tree with hard, heavy wood; he cuts a piece and sets fire to it and collects the ashes, which he applies to the cuts inflicted on his arm. If he bears the pain without touching the hurt arm with the other hand and does not shout, his muscles will once again recover their lost strength and the hunter will recover his luck and good aim.

224 776 777 If the hunter returns without any game, it may be because Omao did not favor him, and this is the supernatural cause of his failure.

224 782 [777] According to our informants from the Erebato, a good hunter speaks frequently with Omao, for without his protection he will not be lucky. For this reason he says to him: "Omao awayí ipa ʃálawa hadu kapálama!" which is translated as: "Omao, draw my game out into the open!"

Worse than being unlucky is to lose one's life in a hunting accident, and in order to implore the protection of the other world, the hunter prays, "Omao sátoria palái!" that is to say: "Omao, protect me!"

224 825 /206/ Of course, all these precautions are useless if the hunter has not learned the art of hunting. He must know how the various animals live and how to identify their tracks. If these latter should be fresh, he orders his dog to follow the track of the game; the success of a Sanemá hunter depends in great

/221 cont./

765 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula
775 and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĩkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĩkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around
[276] the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and
[758] dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĩ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá
771 is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of
[184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious
756 practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a
791 different supernatural sphere.

793 The first of the three is the hɛwĩawán, or the priest, who is
● 776 the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

/221 cont./

793 Since the Sanemá people cannot exist in good conditions
● [776 without the continued and intimate contact with the house of
[621] Omao, sáiyawan, the priest makes himself indispensable in the grouping of a band, whose very existence is perpetuated in large part by the quality of the priest.

The hɛ̨wĩawán of the Sanemá devotes himself exclusively to filling his high office. For this reason he cannot work, or hunt, or fish, etc. like a common man, and he lives on the benefactions given to him by the community as compensation for the services which he renders to it.

/222/ In his frequent flights between the earth and heaven he commonly kills a vulture or sparrow hawk and that explains why he often returns with his mouth covered with blood, bringing some cashew birds and, on certain limited occasions, even a human leg, trophies which he obtained as he killed the enemy (23).

23. It is likely that all this represents the ideal habitus rather than the real one of the priest.

793 Before discussing the nature of the power of the hɛ̨wĩawán,
773 we shall first narrate the genesis of the first hɛ̨wĩawán of the Sanemá, which will explain to us how it comes about that the hɛ̨wĩawán is able to fly and why he always goes about raised some 30 centimeters from the ground when he is on the earth.

There was a man who one day went into the forest to hunt. There he was met by a Great Jaguar, omaukõhe, who is a gigantic jaguar, master of the other felines, and who goes about in an upright position like a man. The jaguar caught the man and ate all his flesh, leaving the skeleton picked clean but without breaking a single bone. The man remained alive and asked the Great Jaguar to give him other flesh. The Jaguar gave him other flesh, but told him that henceforth he would be hɛ̨wĩ (bat).
[825] And from that time on the man hɛ̨wĩawán is also a bat. He is a very timid man; children love him very much, because he never gets angry and does not scold. When he is in the company of men, he spends his time singing songs, wásámo songs, which

/222 cont./

793 the men learn because of the frequency with which he sings them.
773 He sings during the day, but especially at night. Suddenly he
[776] interrupts his song and flies up into the sky, where he joins other hɛwĩawán in order to sup with Omao.

The hɛwĩawán must jealously keep a certain number of
793 taboos, and on the degree of care with which he keeps them
784 depends, not only his power as a priest, but also the existence of
[262] all his people. Thus, for example, he must not eat crabs or other animals which in reality are men to them, just like eagles, etc.

[778] Should he do this, the "weight of the dead" kills his hikuladɛ, a disaster which, in turn, causes the death, not only
[726] of the priest, but also of a large part of his congregation. For the same reason, the hɛwĩawán never takes part in war or in any combat whatsoever, because, although he is invulnerable and no arrow or club can kill him, his hikuladɛ could not bear the "weight" of a man killed by his weapons. This is the reason why each Sanemá local group relies on a special chief for wartime.

793 The hɛwĩawán, who belongs to the court of Omao more than
[776] to the Sanemá community, does not marry a specific woman.
[836] He may have sexual relations with all the unmarried women of the group, but he is completely unconcerned about them and the children. He has no duties as either husband or father.

/223/ If a hɛwĩawán dies, any woman of the group may
[776] have a son predestined to be a hɛwĩawán. No one knows which
[781] of the boys born in the period immediately after the death of a priest may be the hɛwĩawán of the future, but one day the true hɛwĩawán will return from the forest where he has met the Great Jaguar, who changed him into a priest, replacing his human flesh with other flesh more worthy of his bones, the flesh of a bat-priest.

[771] He than informs the people of what has happened, and, as that election happens shortly after the death of a priest, the new hɛwĩawán tries to take the vacant place in time, assuring, in this manner, the continuation of uninterrupted contact which the Sanemá have had with Omao generation after generation.

/223 cont./

776 793 The Great Jaguar has certain relations with Omao, the deified hero of the Sanemá, since his name, "Omao-kõhe," indicates such a relationship, and it is possible perhaps to speak of a vocation for the office of priest, since the Sanemá Supreme Being admits him, after his encounter with the Great Jaguar, into the court of Omao.

793 171 According to South American ethnology, it is surprising to find a "specialist" in a nomadic preagricultural society, but, as we shall state below, this is the second time that we have found a similar case in Venezuela; the other one was that of the Warao wiʃiráto.

793 776 778 The Sanema priest is a member of the court of Omao, not only because the Great Jaguar changed him into a bat, but also because Omao gave him a hikuladɛ which is invisible, although it has a spherical shape like a ball, and the larger the hikuladɛ, the more powerful the priest.

The hikuladɛ of the priest, the informant explained, is like a globe which the hɛwĩawán keeps in his chest. We shall also see later that the other religious practitioner of the Sanema has a hikuladɛ too, but one which is essentially different. We 793 778 775 have the impression that the hikuladɛ of the priest contains "the souls" of the ancestors who were destined by Omao to live there and help the priest. Since the data obtained are, in our opinion, 793 778 insufficient, we do not want to hazard peremptory statements, but it seems certain that the Sanemá priest also cures the sick, 755 [114] [775] particularly those who are suffering from fever. Our informant explained to us that the ancestors (hikula-dĩb), the people of the hikuladɛ of the priest, are the ones who cure the fever when the priest brings the hikuladɛ out of his chest and deposits it for a time on the body of the patient.

Sometimes the desired effect is not attained, and that indicates that the soul of the /224/ victim has already abandoned the 793 778 628 body and does not want to return. The hĩkula therefore constitute a sort of supernatural "little pueblo" /pueblecito/ within the Sanemá community in which the priest lives and do not wish to have any communication with the kĩkula-dĩb /sic/ of the neighboring pueblo. The priests from nearby pueblos do not visit each

/224 cont./

793 778 628 776 other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the hɛ̃wĩawán gather with their hĩkula-dĩb.

793 778 775 The hĩkula-dĩb of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria, in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial community, and for this reason more than one priest is unnecessary. In the section of the illustrations[1] one can see the 532 hikuladɛ́ of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees 793 778 775 126 there five hĩkula-dĩb, or souls of ancestors of the group in which the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him 532 793 778 775 126 825 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is based on the belief that a Sanemá must never speak of the insect of the house of the hikuladɛ́. As a matter of fact our informant never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American ethnology.

171 773 825 778 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it payak, a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to the hĩkuladɛ́ of the Sanemá priest to note the Mataco custom of attributing a supernatural power to a maraca /gourd rattle/ with sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The similarity between the hikuladɛ́ of the Sanemá and the "sacred maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

[1] [See p. 70 - -Analyst]

/225 cont./ The sanemá say that the
793 hɛwĩawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikulaɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[796] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
[126] propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[795] hɛwĩawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
974 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the hĩkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

/226 cont./

756 chest. They enter, without loss of time, through the extremi-
533 ties of the body and through the head. They arrive in the order
774 in which their names are sung by the master sablí, who in this way "builds a pueblo" of a microcosmos in the body of the man. The stronger the master, the greater will be the "pueblo," and the greater this "pueblo" is, the better chance the sablí will have to augment his inner world and his power during his life.

756 The hikuladi of the sablí is essentially different from that
774 of the priest, in the sense that it is inhabited by the vital prin-
[778] ple of vegetable and animal species and not by the souls of departed ancestors. The man also has a specific híkula, different from his soul and which, as is true of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, seems to be immortal and spiritual, essentially joined to animate matter until death. Each specimen of a species has a specific híkula; after death, the speciman goes to a luminous place in the forest. While the soul of a man may abandon the body during sleep, etc., without its being detrimental for the man himself, the híkula never leaves until the moment of death. Furthermore, the soul is typically human, while the híkula is found in man and also in plants and animals. Some informed us with insistence that women and small children do not have híkula.

773 Here is the story which explains the origin and the nature
774 of the híkula in the animate world.

• [776] Chinanídmawan is a gigantic demon of dreadful shape, with long, sharp claws. He has skin which is impenetrable and as hard as rock.

/227/ One day Chinanídmawan came to attack the Sanemá. The latter posted themselves with their weapons to face his attack. Soon, however, the Sanemá realized that arrows and lances had no effect on the demon, who captured most of his enemies. Chinanídmawan quartered and devoured his victims, but kept the skins, which he nailed out on boards around and inside his house.
[171] (It is extremely interesting that this custom of keeping the skin
[727] of enemies has been preserved in Sanemá mythology, since it is reminiscent of some tribes of the Cauca, in Colombia, of the Mauta of Ecuador, of the Huauca of Peru, and of the Inca. It also recalls the cult of Xipe in Central America.)

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Sempronio—this was the name we had given to an Auai boy who had elected to stay with us.

We made our way up the river of the same name which plunges down from the highlands, with wonderful falls, into a ravine thick with vegetation. The Shirians were strongly disinclined to go anywhere near the falls. It took us three days to overcome their objections and they only decided to go along with us when we told them we should otherwise set off by ourselves. Luis Antonio explained that the deep pool formed by the waterfall was the home of an enormous watersnake, *Lalakilpara*—a monster which lay coiled in readiness to devour anyone or anything it saw looking over the edge of the pool.

We laughed, but as far as the Indians were concerned our laughter fell on deaf ears. Luis Antonio was no exception, and he warned us not to jest about certain things. Numerous trails made by tapir and peccary were pointed out to us as paths the serpent had taken. One curious thing about the monster which remained unexplained was that he came regularly along the river-bank to the Kirisochi savannah for his excretions. But at last the Indians overcame their reluctance enough to make an inspection of the pool. Dumbfounded, they had to admit that Lalakilpara didn't exist, except as a highly coloured fiction among their older kinsfolk, who could recount the monster's whole history. It seemed to us that the power of fancy had transformed a few cross-currents driven furiously against the walls of the gorge by the whirlpool set up by the tumbling water, into this gigantic serpent whose breath—the air-disturbance—could suck down any man or beast who went too near the edge of the precipice. As to the distance the monster covered for purposes of nature, the symbolism here was even clearer: what it sought to explain was the way in which the river's alluvial matter found its way to the Kirisochi plain. The water was calmer by the time it reached this point, and the detritus carried along with it tended to be deposited here. This fable of the serpent was an example of a natural phenomenon stated in terms of myth—the only such example we found among the Shirians. After we had exploded the legend, Lalakilpara slowly died away in the Indian mind, his place being taken by the aeroplane and the outboard motor—monsters no less fantastic, and no less dread.

The slopes of the Sariuriñama range were very poor in wild life, as is often the case with these mountains, and Luis Antonio, to whom we had given a gun after he had proved himself to be a better shot than we were, was only able to get a Capuchin monkey or two. We boiled them—the result being a murky

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

follow. Then, in the same fashion, the medicine-man would announce the name of another fruit, let us say *olashi*. The chorus would repeat the same formula. And so on, through all the thirty-two fruits of the forest, the litany was sung. Then it was the animals' turn—those that provided meat. From the noble tapir right down to the worm: might he pass serenely from his muddy lair into the tomb of the Samatari stomach.

When the victualling business had thus been settled, the time was ripe for more general songs and prayers. One little song that turned up I had already heard among the Guayca and other Shirians. The tune was easily recognizable, catchy, even, but the words were strange, and probably not understood by the singers themselves. Then came isolated songs, and broken snatches of tunes that went on all night till the first gleam of dawn, when the priest and his flock gradually dropped off to sleep. The ceremony was over.

It might appear from a hasty glance at their ceremonies of propitiation and exorcism that the Shirians believe in the supernatural, but this is not so.

We often questioned Uarema on the subject, but his reply was always in the negative, and he laughed at the Makiritari's Canaima and the other tribes' Maguaritòn. 'We don't believe in those stories,' he answered, invariably, in his picaroon Spanish. The Shirians do not believe in supernatural beings such as gods, devils and their intermediaries. Certain ceremonies of theirs, it is true, are addressed to powers which we should not consider as belonging to the material world, but to the Shirian mind they do belong to this world, like other evident natural forces.

For instance, the medicine-man's cures for the sick possess a value and a methodology corresponding to medicine as we practise it. The sickness—the bad thing—is clearly visible. The medicine-man is a man with a powerful voice, which frightens the bad thing as it might frighten a man. The bad thing is forced to take flight, leaving the sufferer free. Magic, as we conceive it, is not involved.

Another example will emphasize the Shirian viewpoint even better. When the Shirians are shooting the rapids, anyone on board without a definite job, such as steering or paddling, will make a gesture with his hand to keep the swirling waters well away. For us, such a gesture would imply some sort of superstitious idea, for there is no physical connection between the hand that is trying to ward off the water and the water itself. But to the Indians it is rather an example of a purely physical phenomenon arising out of the man's will-power and his determination that the boat shall not be swamped, which his

/470 cont./

512 men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the
[276] spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves
[721] are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against
[176] the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

[535] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may
[533] continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when
[203] there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be
[594] crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Un-
551 til the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

/479 cont./

75 If a child is frightened, the mother or guardian quickly
774 takes a handful of leaves and sweeps the place where the little creature was frightened. They do this so that the child's soul will not run off in fear and the child become sick.

/480/ Sometimes when a child is sick, they believe that the soul of the little creature has abandoned its body. Then they dispatch commissions in pursuit of it, which pass through the sites where they suspect that the child has been, and they come back sweeping the path with some branches and calling aloud for the little creature. If the child improves, it is because its soul was found; otherwise they must have missed the site where it was.

755 They believe that some sicknesses are due to the spirit or
[753] spirits which have got into the body of the sick person. In order
• [776] for the sick person to recover his health, the harmful spirit must be cast out of his body. The one who tries to remove this spirit from the body of a sick person first takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage. He then intones a crooning song, while he marches to and fro in front of the patient. Then, from time to time he approaches the latter and rubs the affected part, which he pinches and hits, pulling on it, threatening the spirit and asking it to go away, making all sorts of noises in order to frighten the spirit (or spirits) so that they will go away. After being with his patient for a few minutes, he resumes the crooning. This practice is repeated many times, and if the desired outcome is not obtained, other men will test their forces, trying to cast out from there the harmful spirit.

[776] They might then come to the conclusion that this is not a matter of a sickness caused by a spirit hidden in the body of the sick person, but rather by one which has hidden in some part of the settlement. Thus a group of men organizes a "hunt for the spirit." Each of them takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage, and, after crooning for a short time in front of the sick person, they begin to make an inspection throughout the settlement, house by house, inspecting every basket and corner, swinging machetes and axes, pointing with the arrows, blowing through the "yopo" tubes as if they were blowguns, continuing the whole

/486 cont./

825 821 [794] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame," "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

796 [753] "Sulilíwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 754 [756] Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are religious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them.

802 Numbers and Measures

The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The next layer is called *hadu hã misi:* sky layer. It is made of earth on the top surface and provides the eternal home for the souls of the departed. A complete replica of life on earth is to be found on top of *hadu*, except that the inhabitants are spirits of men, not real men. They garden, make witchcraft, hunt, eat, and in general do what living man does. Everything that exists on earth has a counterpart on *hadu*, a sort of mirror image, although the activities of the two groups of objects and beings are independent of each other.

The bottom surface of *hadu* is the visible portion of the sky. The celestial beings are attached to this surface and move across it. It is not thought to be very far above the earth, since many of my informants asked me if I had crashed into it when I flew in an airplane.

Man dwells below the sky on "this layer": *hai hã misi*. It originated when a piece of *hadu* broke off and fell to a lower level. This layer is a vast jungle, sprinkled with innumerable Yąnomamö villages. These are conceived to be located on earth, as shown in Fig. 2-4c. Even foreigners are thought to live in a type of house that resembles the Yąnomamö dwelling; after all, foreigners derived from the Yąnomamö by a process of degeneration.

Finally, the plane underneath this layer is almost barren. A single village of spirit-men is found here, the Amahiri-teri. A long time ago, after the earth layer was formed by a piece of *hadu*, another chunk of *hadu* fell down and crashed through earth. It hit earth at a place where the Amahiri-teri lived, carrying their village down to the bottom layer. Unfortunately, only their *shabono* and gardens were carried with the piece of *hadu*. Hence, the Amahiri-teri have no neighborhood (*urihi*) in which to hunt for game, and so they send their spirits up to earth to capture the souls of living children and eat them. There is a constant struggle between the evil spirits of Amahiri-teri shamans and the evil spirits of shamans on this layer, earth: They send malevolent demons against each other and preoccupy themselves with defending their respective villages from evil spirits.

The Amahiri-teri people lived at the time of the *no hadabö*, the first men. These original Yąnomamö were distinct from living man in that they were part spirit (*yai*) and part human. When they died, they became *yai*, spirits. *No hadabö* means, literally, "those who are now dead"; in a cosmological context, it refers to the time of the first beings.

THE FIRST BEINGS The first beings cannot be accounted for. The Yąnomamö simply presume that the cosmos originated with these people. Most of them, and there were many, had a specific function, such as creating a useful plant or object. They figure prominently in mythology. Many of them bear the names of plants and animals that are important in the Yąnomamö economy, and the first beings are considered to be the spirits of these. I will relate a few specific tales about some of these first beings, retaining where possible the Yąnomamö narrative style.

One of the first beings was called Boreawĩ, or simply Bore. He was the first to acquire plantains, the staple of the Yąnomamö diet. Because he had plantains first, he was the headman (*pata dadihiwã*) of the first beings. Boreawĩ did not tell the others that he had plantains, as he did not want to share them. At that time, the first beings ate only dirt and animals, as there was no domesticated food. One day another of the first beings, Horonama, got caught in a rain so he took refuge in a sheltered place in the jungle. He was lost and did not know whose neighborhood he was in. By luck, he took refuge in the very place where Boreawĩ had hidden his cultivated plantains. Horonama, a dirt eater,

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *hekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *hekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *hekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *hekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *hekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *hekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *hekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and guests that gradually died off as each group busied itself in preparation for the dance.

Shortly after noon a rumor circulated through the village that the visitors had been raiding the gardens at night and stealing plantains. A number of people, particularly older men, were visibly upset by this new information, giving rise to another rumor that there would be a chest-pounding duel to set the matter straight. The guests had already worn their welcome thin by arriving uninvited a week in advance and by eating excessively. Their hosts were becoming angry with them, as it was all too obvious that they were deliberately taxing their hosts' patience; they were intimidating them.

The men of the host group had finished their preparations for the feast; they were all painted in red and black, bearing colorful feathers. They had cleaned the debris from their houses, had finished hauling out the weeds they had picked from the village clearing, and had brought in quantities of food to give their guests. Now, it was time for them to take *ebene*, their hallucinogenic drug. They separated into several groups and began blowing the brownish-green powder up each other's nostrils with 3-foot long hollow tubes. As the drug would be administered, each recipient would reel from the concussion of air, groan, and stagger off to some convenient post to vomit. Within ten minutes of taking the drug, the men would be bleary-eyed and wild, prancing around in front of their houses, stopping occasionally to vomit or to catch their breath. In each group there would be one man particularly adept at chanting to the *bekuru*, the mountain demons, and he would soon take over the show, while the others retired to the sidelines in a stupor, green slime dripping from their nostrils. Should there be sick people in the village, the adept chanters—the *shakori*—would cure them by chanting, massaging, sucking, and vomiting out the evil spirit that caused the sickness. Otherwise, they would chant about other things, perhaps sending their *bekuru* to enemy villages to eat the souls of children, or enjoining them to prevent their enemies from doing the same. Occasionally, one of the men takes too much of the drug and become violent. On this particular occasion, Shiimima, one of Kąobawï's brothers, grabbed his bow and arrows and ran to the center of the village. This caused a minor sensation for a moment, but one of the men managed to catch and disarm him, hiding his weapons so he could not find them. Things returned to normal again, and the other participants in the drug-taking began chanting to Shiimima to restore him to his senses. The chanting lasted for an hour or so, and the participants, one by one, returned to their houses to clean up their paint jobs; most of them had smeared their careful work by vomiting all over themselves.

While the men were taking their drugs, the women were busy painting and decorating themselves with feathers and red pigment. The visitors, also, were busy at the same tasks, and the excitement of the feast reached fever proportions by mid-afternoon. A few women were still busy finishing trade baskets, while Kąobawï's younger brothers continued with the monotonous cooking of what seemed to them an endless number of plantains.

Finally, an old man from the visiting group entered the village and marched unceremoniously across the clearing while the members of Kąobawï's group cheered him. He was too old to join the dancing, but too respected to wait behind with the women and children while the younger men put on their display. This was evidence that the visitors were about to send in their delegate to accept the feast invitation at Kąobawï's house.

/64 cont./ high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermediaries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris" throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

On the day of the name-giving the children are given a tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara -- Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around children (see pp. 64ff.).

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for ● 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm. [841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

/205 cont./

224 411 It is also dangerous to lose an arrow when one is hunting. That is why they only shoot the arrow when, should they miss the target, they can easily retrieve it. In spite of these precautions, the arrow is sometimes lost or remains hanging from an [782] inaccessible tree. Then the man, in order not to lose his aim, puts it under the protection of Omao, to whom he speaks, saying: "Omáuawan ipa ʃlaka toldíapala!" which means: "Omao, watch over my arrow!"

224 •777 789 826 To lose one's aim or luck in hunting may arise from a technical reason or a supernatural cause. The former is due to a weakening of the body brought about by sickness or other causes which influence sight or the strength of the arm. If it is due to this latter cause, the hunter knows the remedy. He goes to the forest and searches for a tree with hard, heavy wood; he cuts a piece and sets fire to it and collects the ashes, which he applies to the cuts inflicted on his arm. If he bears the pain without touching the hurt arm with the other hand and does not shout, his muscles will once again recover their lost strength and the hunter will recover his luck and good aim.

224 776 777 If the hunter returns without any game, it may be because Omao did not favor him, and this is the supernatural cause of his failure.

224 782 [799] According to our informants from the Erebato, a good hunter speaks frequently with Omao, for without his protection he will not be lucky. For this reason he says to him: "Omao awayí ipa ʃálawa hadu kapálama!" which is translated as: "Omao, draw my game out into the open!"

Worse than being unlucky is to lose one's life in a hunting accident, and in order to implore the protection of the other world, the hunter prays, "Omao sátoria palái!" that is to say: "Omao, protect me!"

224 825 /206/ Of course, all these precautions are useless if the hunter has not learned the art of hunting. He must know how the various animals live and how to identify their tracks. If these latter should be fresh, he orders his dog to follow the track of the game; the success of a Sanemá hunter depends in great

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

neutral. The treacherous feast for their Shamatari enemies proved to be unsuccessful: The intended victims had accepted the invitation, but were informed of the plot just before they arrived. One of the Reyaboböwei-teri who had close kinsmen among them had misgivings about the matter and warned them.

Late in the afternoon it was learned that the Mahekodo-teri were, in fact, in the vicinity of the village, allegedly on a "camping trip." Kąobawä, of course, suspected their story, but to demonstrate his friendship he invited them to be his guests at a feast. As he and his men had been away for nearly two weeks, there was an abundance of food in their gardens and they could easily afford to entertain the Mahekodo-teri and their traveling companions, the Boreta-teri. Together, the guests numbered about 100—after they fetched their women and children.

This sets the stage for the feast in the kind of context that makes it more intelligible: The specific historical relationships between the participants and the nature of their mutual mistrust. Now I will give the details of the events that followed.

The Feast

Perhaps because he suspected the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri of intimidation, Kąobawä also invited the Karohi-teri to attend the feast. They are a small but dependable ally and had themselves separated from the Mahekodo-teri many years ago. This established a balance of power at the projected feast should any trouble arise, for the combination of both Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri was of sufficient strength to worry any host. With the aid of the Karohi-teri, Kąobawä's group was more of a match for the visitors.

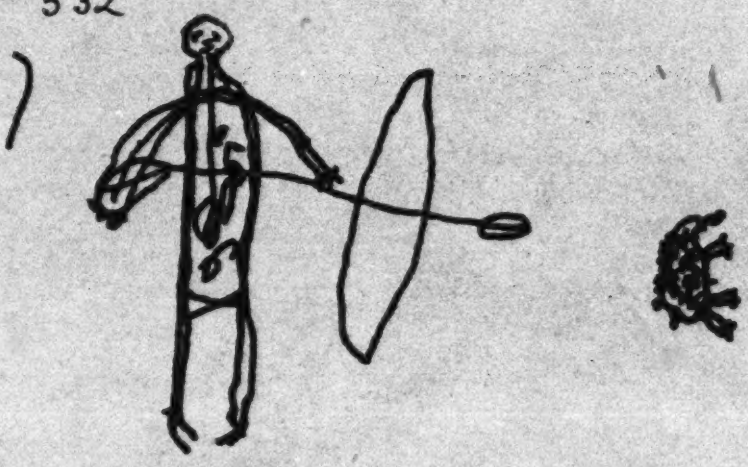
The feast started out on a sour note. It is the custom of the Yąnomamö visitors to arrive only after an invitation from their hosts, sent by messenger on the day of the feast. The Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri, however, arrogantly arrived nearly a week before Kąobawä's group was prepared to receive them and set up a large, temporary camp a short distance from the village. They were guests and could legitimately demand to be fed. Because of this, Kąobawä and his covillagers were under obligation to feed them, some hundred or so people, and took them to the gardens to supply them with enough plantains to last a week. Kąobawä was a little disturbed that they would be so impolite as to arrive uninvited, but took the situation quite philosophically. After all, they had fed his group for the better part of a year.

He and several other men cut a large quantity of plantains, which were hung in his house and allowed to ripen for a week, to be boiled into *date*, a thick, sweet soup, on the day of the feast. That afternoon Kąobawä and a few of the older men commissioned a hunting party comprised of young men, several of whom were Kąobawä's brothers, whose responsibility would be to obtain a large quantity of fresh meat to give to the visitors on the day after the feast. Most of them were reluctant to go, as their feet were still sore from the trip to the Shamatari village. A few of them claimed to be sick and managed to escape recruitment into the hunting party in this way. This hunt, with the hanging of the plantains in the headman's house, initiated the feast. The excitement that usually attends a feast began at this time.

That evening the young men danced and sang in the village, an institution called *amoamo*, thereby insuring themselves with luck on the hunt. (The Yąnomamö also

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

532



Indian hunting peccaries with bow and arrow. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian.

532
978
775

The hikuladé of the priest. Drawing by a Sanemá Indian. 1/1

[See explanation of this figure on p. 99 --Anj

/222 cont./

793 the men learn because of the frequency with which he sings them.
773 He sings during the day, but especially at night. Suddenly he
[776] interrupts his song and flies up into the sky, where he joins other hɛwĩawán in order to sup with Omao.

793 The hɛwĩawán must jealously keep a certain number of
784 taboos, and on the degree of care with which he keeps them
[262] depends, not only his power as a priest, but also the existence of all his people. Thus, for example, he must not eat crabs or other animals which in reality are men to them, just like eagles, etc.

• [778] Should he do this, the "weight of the dead" kills his
[726] hikuladɛ, a disaster which, in turn, causes the death, not only of the priest, but also of a large part of his congregation. For the same reason, the hɛwĩawán never takes part in war or in any combat whatsoever, because, although he is invulnerable and no arrow or club can kill him, his hikuladɛ could not bear the "weight" of a man killed by his weapons. This is the reason why each Sanemá local group relies on a special chief for wartime.

793 The hɛwĩawán, who belongs to the court of Omao more than
[776] to the Sanemá community, does not marry a specific woman.
[836] He may have sexual relations with all the unmarried women of the group, but he is completely unconcerned about them and the children. He has no duties as either husband or father.

/223/ If a hɛwĩawán dies, any woman of the group may
[776] have a son predestined to be a hɛwĩawán. No one knows which
[781] of the boys born in the period immediately after the death of a priest may be the hɛwĩawán of the future, but one day the true hɛwĩawán will return from the forest where he has met the Great Jaguar, who changed him into a priest, replacing his human flesh with other flesh more worthy of his bones, the flesh of a bat-priest.

[771] He than informs the people of what has happened, and, as that election happens shortly after the death of a priest, the new hɛwĩawán tries to take the vacant place in time, assuring, in this manner, the continuation of uninterrupted contact which the Sanemá have had with Omao generation after generation.

/223 cont./

776 The Great Jaguar has certain relations with Omao, the
793 deified hero of the Sanemá, since his name, "Omao-kõhe," indicates such a relationship, and it is possible perhaps to speak of a vocation for the office of priest, since the Sanemá Supreme Being admits him, after his encounter with the Great Jaguar, into the court of Omao.

793 According to South American ethnology, it is surprising
171 to find a "specialist" in a nomadic preagricultural society, but, as we shall state below, this is the second time that we have found a similar case in Venezuela; the other one was that of the Warao wiʃiráto.

793 The Sanema priest is a member of the court of Omao, not
776 only because the Great Jaguar changed him into a bat, but also
778 because Omao gave him a hikuladɛ which is invisible, although it has a spherical shape like a ball, and the larger the hikuladɛ, the more powerful the priest.

The hikuladɛ of the priest, the informant explained, is like a globe which the hɛwĩawãn keeps in his chest. We shall also see later that the other religious practitioner of the Sanema has a hikuladɛ too, but one which is essentially different. We
793 have the impression that the hikuladɛ of the priest contains "the
778 souls" of the ancestors who were destined by Omao to live there
775 and help the priest. Since the data obtained are, in our opinion,
793 insufficient, we do not want to hazard peremptory statements,
778 but it seems certain that the Sanemá priest also cures the sick,
755 particularly those who are suffering from fever. Our informant
[114] explained to us that the ancestors (hikula-dĩb), the people of the
[775] hikuladɛ of the priest, are the ones who cure the fever when the priest brings the hikuladɛ out of his chest and deposits it for a time on the body of the patient.

Sometimes the desired effect is not attained, and that indicates that the soul of the /224/ victim has already abandoned the
793 body and does not want to return. The hĩkula therefore constitute
778 a sort of supernatural "little pueblo" /pueblecito/ within the
628 Sanemá community in which the priest lives and do not wish to have any communication with the kĩkula-dib /sic/ of the neighboring pueblo. The priests from nearby pueblos do not visit each

/224 cont./

793 778 628 776 other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the hɛ̃wĩawán gather with their hĩkula-dĩb.

793 778 775 The hĩkula-dĩb of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria, in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial community, and for this reason more than one priest is unnecessary. In the section of the illustrations[7] one can see the 532 793 778 775 127 hikuladɛ̃ of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees there five hĩkula-dĩb, or souls of ancestors of the group in which the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him 532 793 778 775 126 825 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is based on the belief that a Sanemá must never speak of the insect of the house of the hikuladɛ̃. As a matter of fact our informant never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American ethnology.

171 773 825 778 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it payak, a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to the hĩkuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá priest to note the Mataco custom of attributing a supernatural power to a maraca /gourd rattle/ with sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The similarity between the hikuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá and the "sacred maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

7 [See p. 70 - -Analyst]

/225 cont./ The Sanemá say that the
793 hɐwĭawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikuladɐ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
● 798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[796] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
126 propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[795] hɐwĭawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablĭ. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablĭ who knows how to sing the "Great Kɐɐ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablĭes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
794 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɐɐ" well. This song is rendered by the sablĭ at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the hĭkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablĭ candidate waiting for them to enter his

/226 cont./

756 chest. They enter, without loss of time, through the extremi-
533 ties of the body and through the head. They arrive in the order
774 in which their names are sung by the master sablf, who in this way "builds a pueblo" of a microcosmos in the body of the man. The stronger the master, the greater will be the "pueblo," and the greater this "pueblo" is, the better chance the sablf will have to augment his inner world and his power during his life.

756 The hikuladi of the sablf is essentially different from that
774 of the priest, in the sense that it is inhabited by the vital prin-
[778] ciple of vegetable and animal species and not by the souls of departed ancestors. The man also has a specific hfkula, different from his soul and which, as is true of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, seems to be immortal and spiritual, essentially joined to animate matter until death. Each specimen of a species has a specific hfkula; after death, the speciman goes to a luminous place in the forest. While the soul of a man may abandon the body during sleep, etc., without its being detrimental for the man himself, the hfkula never leaves until the moment of death. Furthermore, the soul is typically human, while the hfkula is found in man and also in plants and animals. Some informed us with insistence that women and small children do not have hfkula.

773 Here is the story which explains the origin and the nature
774 of the hfkula in the animate world.

[776] Chinanfdmawan is a gigantic demon of dreadful shape, with long, sharp claws. He has skin which is impenetrable and as hard as rock.

/227/ One day Chinanfdmawan came to attack the Sanemá. The latter posted themselves with their weapons to face his attack. Soon, however, the Sanemá realized that arrows and lances had no effect on the demon, who captured most of his enemies. Chinanfdmawan quartered and devoured his victims, but kept the skins, which he nailed out on boards around and inside his house.
[171] (It is extremely interesting that this custom of keeping the skin
[727] of enemies has been preserved in Sanemá mythology, since it is reminiscent of some tribes of the Cauca, in Colombia, of the Mauta of Ecuador, of the Huauca of Peru, and of the Inca. It also recalls the cult of Xipe in Central America.)

/228 cont./

756 The Sanemá sablf has great power over animals and plants
●778 represented in his hikuladɨ, with which he communicates while
825 he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a
[533] jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song ɔ̃kamɔ̃ against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladɨ of the sablf goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablf do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 The sablfes sing almost every night, and the bigger the
533 animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense
754 is the song. In this songs, the sablf can send any hfkula from
[825] his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however
[774] far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 I have the impression that the hfkulas belonging to the
756 various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish
[754] of the sablf. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a
[753] hfkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention
[761] of the sablf and by his magical power.

756 The priest sablf, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts,
755 sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare
774 off the harmful hfkula which is striving to enter the body of the man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the hfkula of the sablf and others chosen from his "pueblo of hfkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablf depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great hfkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the hfkula or hfkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablf makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the hfkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

/222 cont./

793 the men learn because of the frequency with which he sings them.
773 He sings during the day, but especially at night. Suddenly he
[776] interrupts his song and flies up into the sky, where he joins other hɛwĩawán in order to sup with Omao.

793 The hɛwĩawán must jealously keep a certain number of
784 taboos, and on the degree of care with which he keeps them depends, not only his power as a priest, but also the existence of
[262] all his people. Thus, for example, he must not eat crabs or other animals which in reality are men to them, just like eagles, etc.

[778] Should he do this, the "weight of the dead" kills his hikuladɛ, a disaster which, in turn, causes the death, not only
[726] of the priest, but also of a large part of his congregation. For the same reason, the hɛwĩawán never takes part in war or in any combat whatsoever, because, although he is invulnerable and no arrow or club can kill him, his hikuladɛ could not bear the "weight" of a man killed by his weapons. This is the reason why each Sanemá local group relies on a special chief for wartime.

793 The hɛwĩawán, who belongs to the court of Omao more than
[776] to the Sanemá community, does not marry a specific woman.
[836] He may have sexual relations with all the unmarried women of the group, but he is completely unconcerned about them and the children. He has no duties as either husband or father.

/223/ If a hɛwĩawán dies, any woman of the group may
[776] have a son predestined to be a hɛwĩawán. No one knows which
[781] of the boys born in the period immediately after the death of a priest may be the hɛwĩawán of the future, but one day the true hɛwĩawán will return from the forest where he has met the Great Jaguar, who changed him into a priest, replacing his human flesh with other flesh more worthy of his bones, the flesh of a bat-priest.

[771] He than informs the people of what has happened, and, as that election happens shortly after the death of a priest, the new hɛwĩawán tries to take the vacant place in time, assuring, in this manner, the continuation of uninterrupted contact which the Sanemá have had with Omao generation after generation.

/481 cont./

832 They believe that another substance is effective against women, especially if it is thrown at them. They use it to frighten them, and it also forms a part of the ceremony in which a man shows his preference for a woman whom he wishes to make his wife.

784 753 There is a taboo with respect to the burning of cloth or paper. The burning of cloth or paper, according to what they believe, causes sickness and /482/ perhaps death. The Guaika do not dare to do it "against an enemy," since they are afraid that they might die also.

753 795 Men cannot see a "bole" -- the spirit or soul of a dead person which has returned -- but women can see them on occasion, and, when they do, it is almost certain that the "bole" will make them sick. The "bole" has two eyes like embers, a cold skin, and in general has human forms. It customarily passes by way of the paths, especially at night, and frequently returns to abandoned settlements. They can talk and shout like a man; and many strange noises which are heard in the woods are attributed to the nearness of a "bole." The fall of a tree by itself is also attributed to a "bole."

• [781] Once a woman told us about her encounter with a "bole." She had been awakened by something which touched her and hit her in the ribs. When she woke up, a voice said to her: "There are enemies outside." She became very frightened and did not go back to sleep for the rest of the night.

The mere presence of a "bole" is considered sufficient to cause an acute pain in some part of the body.

Frequently we were asked by the Indians if there were "boles" the night before in the surroundings.

It is believed that the "boles" travel alone in open country. Thus, they assume that a few palm leaves obstructing the entrance to the path are usually sufficient to block their way. It is also believed that fire is an effective weapon against the "boles" whereas an arrow would be useless.

751 There is a belief that a certain seed is efficacious for keeping danger away from the children. They string these seeds as if they were beads and hang them around the child's neck.

854 514 [123] /64 cont. /If the child's nose is not clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

856 593 The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, nápe=mother and hápe=father.

862 e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, [851] which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

851 846 114 171 842 325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

000 553 776 [782] has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

Surára, Pakidái

/64 cont./

553 276 [782] [799] high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermediaries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris" throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 114 191 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 302 [412] [824] 553 291 [834] [292] On the day of the name-giving the children are given a tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara -- Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around children (See pp. 64ff.).

/66 cont./

600 and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women
841 do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during these days, and, if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the bank of the nearby river or brook.

i) Initiation rites for young men

884 All young men who have reached the age of approximately
132 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December, halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and cele-
884 brate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an inter-
86 mediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate camp of the Surára, see p. 23) two young men are always trained for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemãõ and his brother Kurikayawõ among the Surára; Karenauõ and the war chief Porêhiwõ among the Pakidái) in all matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only after that are they regarded as full members of their community and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers. It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite
● [782] melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and plant spirits (hekurá, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clear-
[276] ing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices, however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication (see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead
884 and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely ex-
302 ternally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting,
825 which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú
86 on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representation of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

/71 cont./

765 Shortly before sundown a bright, blazing fire was kindled with the help of the fire-drill, and the funeral pyre was set afire with it. Then the men blew the snuff into each other's noses, and after a few minutes they were in a state of intoxication, during which they danced, singing and screaming, around the flames that leaped up over the dead man. This was the appeal to the hekurá who are supposed to help the soul of the dead on its journey to the moon (see pp.199/201). The chief uttered his prayers of supplication in a loud voice, and all the other men joined in the chorus. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff into each other's noses, so that their ecstasy constantly increased and finally reached an unimaginable climax when the fire took possession of the skeleton. It no longer seemed to be human beings who, howling, stamping, and gesticulating, now stormed around the pyre. They seemed to have taken leave of their senses, and, as a result of the snuff-intoxication, they probably actually were in another world. To me, the sight was like a nightmare and made me think of paintings by Hieronymus Bosch. The wandering of the soul of the dead existing in the bones, accompanied by the tree-soul, had begun, and the hekurá paved the way for them. Meanwhile, night had fallen, and the moon, which I suddenly noticed in the sky in its full size between the crowns of the trees, seemed to be waiting for its new inhabitant. In spite of the heat, which was increased by the fire of the funeral pyre, cold shudders ran down my spine, and an indescribable feeling of terror clutched at my heart. Though I had not taken any snuff-powder at this ceremony, I, too, was in a veritable drunken fever. Never before, neither in church nor in a theater, had I experienced a scene as grandiose as the one here in the nocturnal forest of Amazonia.

765 787 276 [782] [774] [775] [123]

This death ceremony continued until dawn. After midnight, however, only a few men, whose duty it was at the same time to keep the funeral pyre burning, were still dancing and singing. The other warriors lay exhausted on the ground and slept. Occasionally one of the dancers was nudged. He got up immediately, had snuff blown into his nose, and danced around the pyre, singing, while another lay down to sleep. Finally, only two men were still

Surára
Pakidái

726 /74 cont./

[171] [302]

343 (cont.)
Richard Schomburgk points out that their body painting in wartime differs from that of peacetimes. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, page 322).

spend the night quietly, while a few scouts reconnoiter the [276] position. At dawn the warriors blow large quantities of snuff into each other's noses and then, completely unfettered, but in all [727] silence they storm the hostile maloka. Men and boys are killed ruthlessly with arrow shots, and the women and children are dragged off as captives. But the attackers, too, often have to suffer great losses, and it is said that they are sometimes put to flight.

726 During my stay among the Surára, I heard of an attack by
727 the Xiriána and allied warriors on a maloka of the Waiká on the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini (see p. 16). On this occasion, as I was told, all the Waiká men were killed, and the women and girls were brought to the Xiriána maloka as captives. The head of the Waiká chief, as the war chief of the Surára added, was then adorned with feathers by the Xiriána and left standing in front of their community house for several days
727 as a trophy; after that it was thrown away (344). The night after

344. The Hório and Ebidoso in the northeastern Chaco, who occasionally behave in a similar way, are to be referred to as a parallel (Baldus, 1931, p. 73).

the attack there was a big dance festival, in which all the men [276] took part. Before that they took snuff and prayed to the hekurá [782] (see p.199), in order to thank them for the victory.

2; Becher--199 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/91 cont./

821 of thirst and weakness, while plants often wither. For this reason, and especially out of fear of the shadows, the sun's rays are regarded as dangerous. Therefore, tasks for which one must expose himself to the direct radiation of the sun, for example, forest clearing, cultivation of fields, and house construction, are preferably undertaken in cloudy or even rainy weather. In the latter case, there is even a direct /92/ connection with the moon. A large tree stands on this celestial body, in the middle of the open maloka. When Poré shakes it, the wind rises first, and after that rain falls. The aversion of the Surára and Pakidái to the merciless sun's rays of the equatorial zone has a further, matter-of-fact explanation, for in former times, as pure hunters and gatherers, they practically never came out of the eternal twilight of the primeval forest.

821 The awe of Poré and the moon is so great that the Indians 794 do not dare pray personally to this united Supreme Deity. Serras 794 /sierras/ -- peatile -- as well as gigantic animal and plant [182] spirits -- hekurá -- (446), who live on them and are characterized [192]

446. This word is derived from hetumisse = heaven and he = head, above.

by supernatural qualities, are the mediators. The serras are well suited for this, because they are situated between the earth, on the one hand, and the moon and sun on the other. They are regarded as higher divine helpers, who, after Poré and Perimbó, are the mightiest. At the same time they are regarded as the masters of all the animal and plant spirits living on them. Their power is much greater than that of the sun because there is, of course, only one sun whereas there are innumerable serras. Their attitude toward Poré and Perimbó, however, is not always a loyal one. Usually they are on their side, to be sure, but if there is occasionally a quarrel between them, it may happen that they ally themselves with the sun for a time. The united Supreme Deity has taken precautions, however, and considered any possible

Surára Pakidái Waiká

/93 cont./

773 191

455. (cont.)
longer exist as a tribal unit, it is believed that civilized people and hostile Indian tribes came out of the inflamed and swollen calves of the first man, Aipuku (Oberg, 1953, p. 108).

773 184 the polyandrous feature in common, for the woman had a boy (Surára and Pakidái) (see p. 247) or several children (Waiká)(456)

456. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

by the men.

776 174 184 /94/ In the religious world of thought of the Waiká one also finds ideas that are very contradictory. Thus, "Omaua" is regarded, on the one hand, as the Supreme Being and creator of the earth and of mankind, and, on the other hand, is thought of as an actual enemy of the Waiká who is closely linked with alien tribes in the west and with the whites, as well as with their pernicious influences, diseases, puzzling cultural possessions (782) (motor, gasoline, etc.) (457). Furthermore, it is noteworthy

457. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

that in white and black magic "Omaua" is directly invoked (458)

458. Zerries, 1958b, p. 286.

(the Surára and Pakidái communicate with Poré/Perimbó only through intermediaries), and that there lives with him a cannibalistic creature, "Omayali," which, according to Zerries, presumably represents a hypostasis of the former (459). He believes,

776 174 171

459. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

however, that "Omaua-Omayali" is an import from another culture

Surára
Pakidái

/104 cont./

769
535

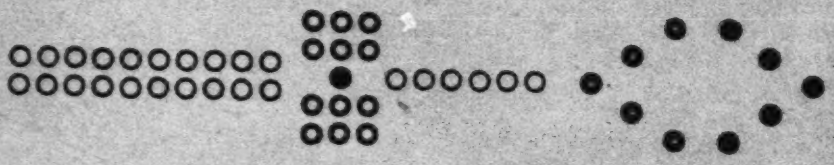


Fig. 29. Arrangement of the dancers on the occasion of a ceremony of the festival in memory of the dead.

retreat and defended themselves with all their might against the advancing "hekurá." Behind these ten "fighting" dancers there followed six men in a row, each with an arrow in his hand, the advance guard of the chief. At a slight distance they were joined by the Surára [622] chief Hewemão, flanked on either side by six men forming a double row. These men were also prominent personalities; thus, among them there were the two younger brothers of the chief, the war chief of the Surára, the chief and war chief of the Pakidái, as well as especially excellent older warriors of both tribes. Following them, as a rear guard, in a double-row formation, came the rest of the men, young men, and boys. All who took part in the procession moved in the customary dance steps, two forward and one back, during which they sang in chorus. Now and then Chief Hewemão would utter a hissing sound, whereupon all the participants grouped themselves in the center of the plaza around the large clay plate with snuff-powder. Here the chief, in a singing voice, prayed to the hekurá [622] and asked them to intercede with Poré/Perimbó, so that the festival [782] would be vouchsafed a happy and successful course. Then the men [276] blew new snuff-powder into each other's noses, whereupon the dance would continue in the manner described above. This dancing and singing lasted, except for the brief interruptions at the clay plate, until 6:00 in the morning.

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 in the ear lobes were adorned with colorful feather ornaments
[302] (see pp. 93/95). Moreover, they had all glued into their hair
[301] the white down feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.),
the dreaded carrier of sickness (see p. 211) (Ill. 43). They
769 made mighty leaps, then bent their knees, turned around
535 several times in between, threw their arrows into the air and
533 caught them again. After that they fell into a dance in step,
during which they sang. But this dance was constantly interrupted by wild charges and rousing shouts, which were supposed to drive the nonexí out of the maloka and show them how dangerous it was to come here at all. The others present were enthusiastically watching this performance from their hearths. For the
[302] occasion of the festival all the men, women, and children had
[292] likewise painted themselves and in part donned the cotton belts;
[301] moreover, the men wore their upper-arm ornaments of feathers (Ills. 9-11).

769 After this two-hour dance performance a particularly solemn ceremony took place, the blessing of the preserved bone ashes of deceased tribesmen. For this purpose two leading personalities of each of the two tribes sat down in a square formation before the chief's hut. The Surára chief Hewemão was squatting in such a way that he faced the maloka courtyard. To the right and left of him, somewhat to the side and forward, squatted the Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, and Hewemão's brother, Kurikayawõ, respectively, and opposite Hewemão, Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, had his place. In front of the latter were arranged ten small jamaru vessels (jamaru = Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda) filled with bone ashes. Behind them stood one empty gourd bowl and one filled with urucú. The Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, on the other hand, had two large empty jamaru vessels standing in front of him.

Porêhiwõ now poured bone ashes from one after another of the small jamaru vessels into the empty gourd bowls, added a little urucú, mixed the two with his hands, and gave the bowl to Karenauõ, who each time poured the contents into one of the
[782] larger jamaru vessels. While the two Pakidái were silently per-
[788] forming their work, Hewemão was praying in a half-singing

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 voice to the hekurá and constantly passed his hands from his head
[782] to his feet. His brother Kurikayawõ repeated each of his words
[788] and imitated the gestures (511). Around the four men, who were

511. This was again the symbolic transmission of the prayers from the hekurá to Porẽ/Perimbõ (see also p. 228).

now officiating as priests, crouched red-painted warriors whose head hair was completely covered with the down feathers of the gavião-real. Whenever the Pakidái chief poured a new mixture of bone ashes and urucú into a larger jamaru vessel, he always pulled a few feathers from the heads of the warriors and threw them in (512). The closest relatives of the late deceased sat

[751]

512. There is defensive magic connected with this. For if the men, in the subsequent ceremonial drinking of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes, swallow these feathers, they and their families are better protected against sickness.

behind the warriors and sobbed heart-rendingly, especially the
[782] women. Their tears /106/ flowed uninterruptedly, and at the same time they prayed in a low, singing cadence. When the bone ashes of another jamaru vessel were mixed with urucú by Porẽhiwõ, their sobbing and their prayers changed to high, shrill tones. This made no impression upon the medicine men, however, who imperturbably went on with their activity. The
[302] mourners were surrounded by a circle of standing warriors painted
[301] red and adorned with upper-arm feathers, who held bows and arrows in their hands and faced outward. It was their task to shield the ceremony against harmful outside influences. Behind them
[522] stood numerous male spectators, who followed the proceedings with interest, to be sure, but without inner participation, for at times they laughed and joked.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769 When the mixing of bone ashes, which lasted about two hours, was finished, Poréhiwõ returned the half-empty little jamaru vessels to the relatives, who, amid lamentations, took them for further safekeeping. Then a solemn procession began, in which, however, the Surára chief did not take part. Karenauõ, the Pakidái chief, strode ahead, followed by Poréhiwõ and Kurikayawõ, each of whom held in his hand one of the large jamaru vessels filled with bone ashes, a little urucú, and a few down-feathers of the gavião-real; all three were singing prayers. Behind them, weeping and lamenting, walked the closest relatives, who carried the small jamaru vessels. The warriors participating in the ceremony formed the end of the train.

[533] This procession, which walked around the maloka courtyard
● [782] several times, came to an end, after half an hour in front of the chief's hut, with a prayer sung in unison.

[517] Meanwhile night had descended and most of the members of the two tribes were lying in their hammocks, sitting around the fire, or calling on each other, singly or in family groups, in order to chat. Loud, happy laughter often resounded. Opposite the hut of the Surára chief, however, six warriors who wore the feathers of the gavião-real in their hair had kindled three blazing fires, upon which, in several black, round-bottomed clay vessels (see p. 115) they cooked banana soup until midnight. During this time a medicine-man helper who carried a bow and arrow in his hand ran around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard, singing loudly, and requested the assistance
[625] of the hekurá for the success of the soup. After that, general quiet set in; only two men made their rounds in front of the maloka, as they did every night, in order to warn the inhabitants, if necessary, of a hostile attack (513).

[624]

513. The war chief divides up the watches each evening. The warriors have a feeling
[805] about when their time is up and they must waken their successors; as a rule this is done after two or three hours.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769
266 On the next day, April 6, 1956, the festival reached its climax. Toward 9:00 the Surára chief, his brother Kurikayawõ, and the chief and war chief of the Pakidái sat down around the pots of banana soup, in front of which also stood the two jamaru vessels with the bone ashes of the deceased, and all the other [533] male members of the tribe sat around them. The Surára chief started to pray loudly, whereupon a rather long choral song was struck up. Then he poured the bone ashes into all the soup pots, mixed them thoroughly with his hands, and scooped out a calabash full for himself, which he emptied hastily and to the last drop. Thereupon the Pakidái chief, the brother of Hewemão, and the war chiefs of both tribes drank, followed by all the older and younger men, including the larger boys, who drank last (514). As a result of this ceremonial drinking of the

[123]

514. Hewemão also offered my servant and me a full calabash each, along with the war chiefs. When we had drunk them, he slapped our backs appreciatively and said that we were now true Sarára.

bone ashes, it is believed, the strength and spirit of the de-
769 ceased will remain within the tribe and contribute to its vigor.
[533] Following this drink, a prayer of thanksgiving was sung.
[782] Then the men, youths, and boys together ate large quantities
/107/ of the roasted tapir meat, as well as manioc flat-cakes,
[262] and after that the women handed them calabashes full of the refreshing drink made of pupunha fruits.

Invigorated and fortified with the powers of the deceased, the men were now able to proceed with the most strenuous part
[302] of the festival. But before this began, half of them blackened their faces and bodies with soot, which they scraped off of their
769 cooking pots. Meanwhile others had again set in the center of
276 the maloka circle the large clay plate upon which they poured the brownish snuff-powder -- epená --, out of bamboo containers, and in front of the plate they laid a large number of

/110 cont./

527 Between the patapšanomão festivals the Surára and Pakidái have only a few other festivities in the course of the year. These are but small celebrations, which, for example, take place after the two-months' training of two young men as medicine-man helpers, after a successful war-expedition, upon moving into a newly erected maloka, and in connection with the second menstruation of a girl. The latter has more of an intimate character, for only families of relatives and friends take part in it.

4. Magic for Sickness, Hunting, Love, and Rain

754
825 a) Magic for sickness:

[824] A magic powder is occasionally prepared from the bark ashes of a wild mimosa species (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurášihenš -- (see also p. 192) and the bone powder of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). In the evening, shortly before twilight sets in, if a gavião-real happens to be flying by or is sitting on a tree, the chief blows this powder in the direction of the bird. The latter receives it and with it transmits sickness to a specific hostile tribe.

224
789 b) Hunting magic:

The evening before a proposed hunting expedition the
• [782] hunter takes snuff-powder and prays for about 2-3 hours to the hekurá (see pp. 200/201), whereby through them he requests
[302] Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) for a successful outcome. Then, before he sets out the next morning, he paints serpentine lines
[825] on his face and body with urucú. If his wife accompanies him, she also applies this design, and the snout and feet of a dog that is taken along are painted with the same color. This is
[751] supposed to increase the luck of the hunt and is at the same time bound up with defensive magic against possible dangers threatened by poisonous snakes and jaguars.

Sutára
Pakidái

/110 cont./

224 If the hunter accompanied by his wife has slain small game or a bird, the wife carries the hunting booty into the community /111/ house. If the man was alone, he brings the animal only to the entrance of his dwelling. It is taken inside by his wife or by another man. The same is true for big game, for example, a tapir, from which a few pieces of meat are first taken along; the rest is fetched later by friendly fellow tribesmen. Thus, the hunter may always carry his booty to the entrance of the maloka, but he may never go inside with it. He must also leave the evisceration of the animal to other men. Subsequently he may roast the meat, to be sure, but after it has been prepared, he is forbidden to eat the first morsel. When
● [782] he has finished his meal, he is obliged to pray anew by way of the hekurá to Poré and Perimbó, for the latter demand that one thank them for the hunting booty. If the hunter observes all these rules, the united Supreme Being and the hekurá will always be well-disposed toward him and will always provide for a successful outcome of the hunt.

224 Among many other tribes of South America there are the
171 same or similar conceptions of hunting magic. I can here refer
114 to Zerries, who has gathered together the pertinent source material and made a comparative study of it (537) (538). This

537. Zerries, 1951.

538. Zerries, 1954a.

shows that urucú is almost always used for the red coloring before the hunt. Métraux, however, mentions that the ancient Mocovi in the Gran Chaco smeared the snouts of their dogs with jaguar blood (539). From this Zerries draws the justifiable

539. Métraux, 1944, p. 283.

conclusion that urucú is a substitute for blood (540), which

540. Zerries, 1954a, p. 22.

Surára
Pakidái

/112 cont./

789 [821] [302] it is not needed, for example, before hunting expeditions or during a tribal migration. In this case all the men, women, and children paint their bodies with a confusion of serpentine lines, in order by this means to command the rain to stop. If 526 789 this does not help, a tug of war -- toõtotõ -- with a thick liana is arranged. This liana personifies the sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) -- [776] uaikonyã -- which, as a strong water-animal, has the power to induce Poré to stop shaking the rain tree (see p. 199). At first only two groups of red-painted men engage in the tug of war. But if the rain simply will not abate, red-painted women also take part in it. Their participation is supposed to increase the [776] pressure on the sucuriju, for it is assumed that it is of the female sex and thus particularly well-disposed toward women. Such a [857] tug of war often goes on for several hours. In most cases, besides adults, I also saw children who imitated it with a thin liana.

526 789 821 If it happens to rain while the sun is shining, the Surára and Pakidái believe that a serious fight has broken out between the moon, from which the rain comes, and the sun. Then all the members of the tribe feel obligated to come to the aid of their Supreme Being, the moon. They do this by again forming two mixed groups of men and women -- one symbolically represents the population of the moon and the other that of the sun -- who throw wet earth at each other; this "battle" is called xejejõ.

● 782 5. A Special Way of Showing Gratitude to Poré and Perimbõ

In connection with the festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.) after the training period of the two medicine-man helpers (see pp. 143 f.), after the curing of the sick (see pp. 211 ff.), and other magic ceremonies, the people want to thank Poré and Perimbõ (see p. 197) in a special way, outside of the customary prayers which take place through the hekurá (see pp. 199/201). For this purpose a large calabash is filled with earth, [824] into which, in a circle, are stuck red-painted twigs of the imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.), which are connected

/112 cont./

782 [824] [737] with threads of Bromelia fibers. Such threads are also drawn crisscross over the sticks, and on them are glued down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). The structure -- akuanohé --, which women and girls are not permitted to see, gives the effect of a man's head, in the hair of which are glued down-feathers of the gavião-real. By order of the chief, several warriors take this calabash into the forest and set it down in a particular spot.

6. Birds as Transmitters of Messages

825 202

On May 21, 1956, in his maloka on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, a Surára man, Honohomá, was engaged in a loud monologue which started about 4:00 in the morning and lasted until about 6:00; during this he was lying in his hammock. [114] As to the meaning of this apparent monologue, my little interpreter Jibeauwõ afterwards gave me the following explanation: When Honohomá woke up, he heard the singing of the little bird kaukaumã, a japim (Cacicus cela L.), in which at the time, however, the soul of Porẽhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, was to be found. The latter was living with his tribe in the /113/ maloka on the middle Demini. The soul in the little bird said that the Pakidái, after the festival in memory of the dead, had arrived safely at their communal house. At the same time it reported the course of the journey in detail, the hunting successes, and the planting of new banana trees and pupunha palms. Whenever the little bird interrupted its song for a time, Honohomá would tell it about how the Surára were getting along.

According to the belief of the two tribes, the little japim is a transmitter of messages, who reports illness and death, as well as military encounters with hostile tribes.

/205 cont./

224 411 It is also dangerous to lose an arrow when one is hunting. That is why they only shoot the arrow when, should they miss the target, they can easily retrieve it. In spite of these precautions, the arrow is sometimes lost or remains hanging from an inaccessible tree. Then the man, in order not to lose his aim, puts it under the protection of Omao, to whom he speaks, saying: "Omáuawan ipa ʃílaka toldíapala!" which means: "Omao, watch over my arrow!"

[782]

224 777 789 826 To lose one's aim or luck in hunting may arise from a technical reason or a supernatural cause. The former is due to a weakening of the body brought about by sickness or other causes which influence sight or the strength of the arm. If it is due to this latter cause, the hunter knows the remedy. He goes to the forest and searches for a tree with hard, heavy wood; he cuts a piece and sets fire to it and collects t[illegible], which he applies to the cuts inflicted on his arm. If he bears the pain without touching the hurt arm with the other hand and does not shout, his muscles will once again recover their lost strength and the hunter will recover his luck and good aim.

224 776 777 If the hunter returns without any game, it may be because Omao did not favor him, and this is the supernatural cause of his failure.

224 782 [777] According to our informants from the Erebato, a good hunter speaks frequently with Omao, for without his protection he will not be lucky. For this reason he says to him: "Omao awayí ipa ʃálawa hadu kapálama!" which is translated as: "Omao, draw my game out into the open!"

Worse than being unlucky is to lose one's life in a hunting accident, and in order to implore the protection of the other world, the hunter prays, "Omao sátoria palái!" that is to say: "Omao, protect me!"

224 825 /206/ Of course, all these precautions are useless if the hunter has not learned the art of hunting. He must know how the various animals live and how to identify their tracks. If these latter should be fresh, he orders his dog to follow the track of the game; the success of a Sanemá hunter depends in great

/236 cont./
539 places (26).

[224
782
784]

26. Taking into account what has already been pointed out as a prayer directed to Omao in order that he allow to come out those animals which he would judge as surplus in the animal kingdom, the young man's behavior can be judged as an offense against God because he would not yield to his will.

The father of the young hunter was at home sitting in front of the fire. He was a sablf. Suddenly he saw a swarm of butterflies approaching to put out the fire. A great cloud of smoke arose. The sablf heard the prolonged and penetrating howls of the Great Fox who has various members of his family living in the river. When they come out of the waters, they do not only kill the hunter who made them leave their "house," but all of his family as well. The butterflies also live in the river and are the friends of the Great Fox, whom they help to kill bad and guilty hunters. After putting out the fire they attack the family of the bad hunter, and, if the latter happens to be at home, they suck out his blood from the corners of his eyes. The sablf knew all about this and the grave danger which his son and his whole family were in, but he also knew a means of defending them against the butterflies. He caught some of them and spat on them. The butterflies immediately ceased their attack on him and died. The Great Fox kept quiet because he knew that his victim was in the forest under the protection of a powerful shaman. In this way the young hunter was saved from the teeth of the Great Fox,[1] who devours his victims and swallows them without chewing.

KASMAI

Kasmái is a man who lives in the river. Every six months, when there is a new moon, he comes out of the water to live for three days among men. This pleases them, and they regale him with a dance celebration. Kasmái enjoys himself very much at these celebrations. He comes up out of the river with his body

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

136 know the world, a few excursions into those terrible waters where the very absence of peril means, for these lowland monsters, the greatest peril of all.

V

*123 The Samatari had now got quite used to having us in their midst and their primitive fear of us—the emotion which gives rise to an instinctive urge to [609] kill—had disappeared utterly. The fear strangers evoke in them is twofold: they are afraid of being killed, and of having their womenfolk raped. We hadn't killed anybody, and the women did not attract us. We left them in peace, even when they were driven by their insatiable professional curiosity to inspect our private parts.

From being merely tolerated, therefore, we soon passed quite naturally to the stage of having a rather more positive value placed upon us. Soon we were superior beings who had chosen their tribe as the privileged recipients of our friendship. This was without a doubt an auspicious sign for them, and one they must profit by. For the moment the profit which the medicine-man had in mind related only to matters appertaining to magic and moral spheres and had nothing to do with our persons. We ourselves, indeed, were not called upon to play an active part.

*123 Ceremonies of propitiation were enacted at night. The medicine-man would 756 sit in his hammock with his feet dangling over the fire, invoking prosperity for 789 his own people and ruin and death for their enemies (who were doing the same ● 782 thing, in the same spirit, at the same moment, in some other corner of the forest). But the Samatari had us with them: the effect of their invocations would travel far and fast, like the explosion of the *bombamdi*.

*123 The medicine-man would suddenly sit up in his hammock as if he was cold, 533 and after burbling something incomprehensible, slowly shout out the name of 756 a fruit—for instance, *monama*. The last syllable was held for some time, with 789 modulations that reminded me of an echo rebounding from hill to hill. When this solo was over the men's chorus—they were all sitting round the fire in their hammocks, too—would take up the refrain, reciting a long litany full of mournful verses. According to the brief explanations given by Luis Antonio, the gist of it was: much *monama* for the Samatari and none for their enemies. Let hunger strike them down. They are bad men. A moment's silence would

123 /163 cont./
75 wanted that person to die. I assured them that we alone had not cured the boy. The whole aldea had asked God to cure him, and God had answered. The people of the aldea affirmed that this was the case. They had prayed sufficiently, and God had spared his life.

726 The chief's brother came to Yabitjaotjeti and told the chief that the Liacoatjeti had been visiting upriver and that now they were on their way to their homes in their own aldea.

The chief called a meeting for another raid. First the
[622] whole aldea moved across the river in order to get away from the bank that was easy for the Shibaatía-tjeti to attack. David and I picked up our hammocks and went with them across the river. On the following day the men set off on the raid, or, more properly, they went down to the Bisheasetjeti to depart from there. Only the adult men went; the boys and children 17 years old or less remained at home.

This time David and I were able to pray that they might not fight. We asked, rather, that the Lord might protect the believers from danger. He did it. The raiders /164/ were gone
727 about three weeks. When they returned, the chief came to the aldea and had an official colloquy, briefly, with the most important man who was left in the aldea. At most the chanted colloquy lasted about half a minute. Then they all began to cry. Someone had been killed. We looked to see who had come back
[302] and, if possible, to see who was missing. Some of the men had red marks on their cheeks and on the forehead as a sign that they had killed someone or had "hecho" /done, finished/ much in the fight, for they did not know whether they had killed anyone or not.

I later learned that three of the enemy had been killed, and that one of those of the party, a man from Macolimutjeti, had been wounded in the chest and had died.

727 The underbrush had been cleared away at the site of our
• 783 temporary aldea, which thus would not serve for the matadores /killers/ to fulfill the rites of a matador as they should be done in thick underbrush. Therefore within an hour we moved to a

/164 cont./

729 783 new place located several hundred meters away. The matadores went into the thicker underbrush and the other people remained some distance away. They could not touch anything that they [413] were to eat, but rather had to reach for it with a stick. They had a special stick with which they scratched themselves. (Later their hammocks were hung in a certain type of tree, tied to the [352] trunk, and made secure at the spot with vines. When the old hammocks were discarded, they lay down in new hammocks of vines especially made for this purpose and painted and adorned with feathers.) We remained in this camp for about three days, until the matadores thought the ciclo /cycle, term/ completed.

726 Later I learned the details of how the raid took place. The first aldea into which they penetrated was empty, and so was the second, and apparently the same was true at the site of the principal aldea. To obtain at least some revenge, the Bisheasetjeti began to knock down all of the crops which they found on that farm. The others joined in the destruction. All of the plantains were cut down and all of the root crops were pulled up, so that it would be at least a year before the farm would again produce so much food. Nevertheless, the other farm was not destroyed. /Illustration appears here./

/165/ But even then the chief was not satisfied. "The revenge for spilt blood must be with spilt blood." Thus the raiders advanced and found recent tracks, at last. The Liacoatjeti were camping out in the forest. They found a man alone and killed him. At this the chief gave the order to return home.

The Liacoatjeti pursued the raiders and finally found them camping on the bank of the southwest side of the Mavaca River. The Liacoatjeti attacked and killed one man. They were said to have lost two men in this.

[764] The extra week that they were gone was required for them to go some distance and burn the body of the dead warrior. It was too far to carry him and burn him at home.

166 361 Since they had fallen out with the Liacoatjeti, the Majecototjeti had abandoned their farm south of the Orinoco and made a new one, this time farther down the river and on the north side.

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yąnomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

794 I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi*.[13]
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
179 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no shoudibō*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noreshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After
[889] several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yąnomamō fear the smoke that is produced
[763] when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on
[783] contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones
[783] are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and
[562] women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe
[858] carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.
[237] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the
[531] circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment.
[562] The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a
[531] long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and
[266] sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere-
[726] monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[13] Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.
[769]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ15 Yanoama SQ18

Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,[3] so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Shararaiwä had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kaobawä was very exhausted from the trip.

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chatted briefly with Kaobawä, explaining that they had reached Patanowä-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowä-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwä of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart.

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwä with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound.

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yanomamö have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwä was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered.

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowä-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowä. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *unokaimou* ceremony.

They were given spaces in Kaobawä's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kaobawä felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowä's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwä of Kaobawä's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowä-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowä-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they

[3] The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kaobawä's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Bisasi-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Bisasi-teri would not borrow it.

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

888
[191]

333. (cont.)
p. 70). Among the Piaroa Indians very weak old people are walled up alive in a cave. They are given food and drink for several more days and, when this has been used up, die of enervation (Marquis de Wavrin, 1944, pp. 197/98).

members destined for death are thus dispatched into the other world in an altogether humane manner, and even the killing itself is dictated by humane impulses. Since these old and sick persons can, of course, no longer take part in the customary seminomadic way of life, they would be obliged to remain helplessly behind when the tribe sets out on a new migration. This is to be prevented, however, /73/ and at the same time it is desired that the way to the moon, the paradise of the dead, be opened for them. After their death, they are cremated in the same way as all other deceased persons, that is to say, in the case of old people only the head is burned, and their ashes, too, are preserved and drunk at the festival in memory of the dead.

888
766

775 Greater than the fear of death among all Surára and Pakidái is the thought that they might one day die without being cremated, for example, during military actions, for then the entrance into the moon is barred for their soul (see p. 198).

766
[684] Persons who commit incest are excluded from cremation after their demise, and they are not mourned, for incest is regarded as the greatest crime. Poré (see p. 197) does not want
[784] their souls on the moon, and partaking of their bone ashes would exert unfavorable influences on the male members of the tribe. They are therefore tied up in a squatting position and buried in a hole in the ground.

766
858
774 If children die before the completion of the third year of life, they are thrown into the river without any ceremony, since they belong to the flesh and blood of the mother and do not yet have their own soul (see p. 138).

Surára Pakidái

/113 cont./

539 chief delight was to kill small birds with his little bow and arrow. But one night, for fun, /114/ he aimed at the moon and shot off his arrow. At once an eclipse of the moon set in. Blood dripped down and poured like a flood over the entire earth (554). From this blood came all the Yanonámi, that is,

[784] [821]

554. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái children are strictly forbidden to this day to shoot their arrows in the direction of the moon.

the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri, Xiriána, Karauateri, Waiká, etc. (see p. 12).

The Origin of Fire

539 392 The virgin forest with its wealth of plants and fruits was already created, and human beings, as well as all kinds of animals were living upon the earth. Only fire was still lacking. Besides their vegetable food, the human inhabitants were therefore able to eat only raw meat, and at night they shivered in their hammocks. They knew, however, that the cayman (jacaretinga) had fire in its mouth. Despite all entreaties, it would not give up any of it. So people resorted to a ruse. They asked the hummingbird to fly around the cayman and make jokes. At first the cayman was unmoved and took no notice of the little bird. But finally he could not suppress his laughter any longer, whereupon fire shot out of his opened mouth. The people were very happy about it and thanked the hummingbird extravagantly.

/206 cont./

223 order to pick it up. As a result of his expertness in hunting, he knows the trees in which the birds gather to spend the night. The man, using palm leaves and bejucos, carefully prepares a blind with the sure hope that, by means of this ambush, the booty will be plentiful.

224 Hunting in groups is common among the Sanemá, and they
262 do this particularly to surround a group of monkeys, peccaries,
[237] or in order to kill a feline. /207/ They do not eat the meat of jaguars, but keep the canine teeth in the roof of the house.
[482] They tie up the peccaries that they get, front feet to the back ones, load them on their backs, and carry them home. The meat of the peccary is greatly esteemed, and the whole rancheria gathers to eat the animal, with the exception of the young unmarried men, who, by order of the capitan, must not taste the meat so that the hunters who have killed the animals will not die. They may, however, eat other kinds of meat and the food which they most like.

There are some animals that the Sanemá are prohibited from hunting: thus, they do not eat snakes, they kill the cayman, but
[766] do not sample its flesh. The Sanemá of the Erebato told us that they cremate caymans as they do men, for, in fact, as far as
[784] they are concerned, caymans were previously men. It is taboo to kill a morrocoy or a turtle. They were people before and Omao
262 does not permit them to be killed. There are other animals which
223 they kill and eat only under certain conditions, among them the eagle (21).

> 21. The Surará and Pakidai kill the eagle, but throw away its flesh. They say that it transmits sickness (Becher, 1960, p. 77). (Cf. the section on "death" in the present study /see pp. 93-94 /.)

223 If a hunter comes upon an eagle, he believes that he is facing
225 a speciman of a species of animal which was previously a person.
262 He may be facing a friend or an enemy. Therefore, before shooting, he asks the animal if it is a friend or an enemy, and only if

/220 cont./

159 inside, it is tied with lianas. Then they take the corpse into
764 the forest where it is deposited, at a distance of some kilometers, on the branches of a tree in order for the flesh to decompose there. Often the members of the family will not leave the corpse alone in the forest for fear that animals will come and
[775] devour it. The dead are very much afraid of animals and shout when a jaguar approaches them.

[325] The feline respects only a dead sablf, because he will die
[756] in turn if he approaches.

Our informant spent several nights next to his father's
[784] corpse, always being very careful not to step on the damp ground beneath the dead man, because those who step there lose their feet.

152 The grief of the relatives is so intense that very often some
764 of them can not endure the pain and go to the forest to die. Above all the women lament a great deal during the night and the men hold them back so that they will not run away to the forest. The informant remembered that the strongest man of his tribe behaved as though he were mad after the death of his father and wanted to kill everybody. The men did not allow him to go with them into the forest to gather up the bones of his father for fear that, given his behavior, he might commit some crime.

765 After one month, more or less, the men of the tribe go to the forest and gather up the bones of their companion; the flesh decomposes completely during this period. Some of the men let down the coffin and others wrap the remains of the deceased in some large leaves, making in this way a bundle of bones which they take back with them to the rancheria. There they place it in a hammock and leave it for about four days, while the relatives continue to weep in uninterrupted lamentation.

765 Later the sablf carries the bones to a fire prepared in the
775 plaza and places them on top of the pile of firewood. Our
[756] informant also said that as the sablf did this he pronounced a well-known formula which means: "you are getting along well," for, if he did not say this, the hfkula would not be able to find its way. Afterwards he lights the fire, blows upon it at the same time as he raises his arms /221/ above his head, and in the smoke

/222 cont./

793 the men learn because of the frequency with which he sings them.
773 He sings during the day, but especially at night. Suddenly he
[776] interrupts his song and flies up into the sky, where he joins other hɛwĩawán in order to sup with Omao.

The hɛwĩawán must jealously keep a certain number of
793 taboos, and on the degree of care with which he keeps them
● 784 depends, not only his power as a priest, but also the existence of
[262] all his people. Thus, for example, he must not eat crabs or other animals which in reality are men to them, just like eagles, etc.

[778] Should he do this, the "weight of the dead" kills his hikuladɛ, a disaster which, in turn, causes the death, not only
[726] of the priest, but also of a large part of his congregation. For the same reason, the hɛwĩawán never takes part in war or in any combat whatsoever, because, although he is invulnerable and no arrow or club can kill him, his hikuladɛ could not bear the "weight" of a man killed by his weapons. This is the reason why each Sanemá local group relies on a special chief for wartime.

793 The hɛwĩawán, who belongs to the court of Omao more than
[776] to the Sanemá community, does not marry a specific woman.
[836] He may have sexual relations with all the unmarried women of the group, but he is completely unconcerned about them and the children. He has no duties as either husband or father.

/223/ If a hɛwĩawán dies, any woman of the group may
[776] have a son predestined to be a hɛwĩawán. No one knows which
[781] of the boys born in the period immediately after the death of a priest may be the hɛwĩawán of the future, but one day the true hɛwĩawán will return from the forest where he has met the Great Jaguar, who changed him into a priest, replacing his human flesh with other flesh more worthy of his bones, the flesh of a bat-priest.

[771] He than informs the people of what has happened, and, as that election happens shortly after the death of a priest, the new hɛwĩawán tries to take the vacant place in time, assuring, in this manner, the continuation of uninterrupted contact which the Sanemá have had with Omao generation after generation.

/236 cont./
539 places (26).

[224
782
784]

26. Taking into account what has already been pointed out as a prayer directed to Omao in order that he allow to come out those animals which he would judge as surplus in the animal kingdom, the young man's behavior can be judged as an offense against God because he would not yield to his will.

The father of the young hunter was at home sitting in front of the fire. He was a sablf. Suddenly he saw a swarm of butterflies approaching to put out the fire. A great cloud of smoke arose. The sablf heard the prolonged and penetrating howls of the Great Fox who has various members of his family living in the river. When they come out of the waters, they do not only kill the hunter who made them leave their "house," but all of his family as well. The butterflies also live in the river and are the friends of the Great Fox, whom they help to kill bad and guilty hunters. After putting out the fire they attack the family of the bad hunter, and, if the latter happens to be at home, they suck out his blood from the corners of his eyes. The sablf knew all about this and the grave danger which his son and his whole family were in, but he also knew a means of defending them against the butterflies. He caught some of them and spat on them. The butterflies immediately ceased their attack on him and died. The Great Fox kept quiet because he knew that his victim was in the forest under the protection of a powerful shaman. In this way the young hunter was saved from the teeth of the Great Fox,[1] who devours his victims and swallows them without chewing.

KASMAI

Kasmái is a man who lives in the river. Every six months, when there is a new moon, he comes out of the water to live for three days among men. This pleases them, and they regale him with a dance celebration. Kasmái enjoys himself very much at these celebrations. He comes up out of the river with his body

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

a torrid sun or the cold dankness of the forest after dark, the Indians are especially subject to respiratory troubles, bronchitis and chronic catarrh being common. It must be a short step from these to tuberculosis, to judge by the widespread incidence of the latter, though it is worth recording that among the Samatari themselves the disease does not appear to have reached the same alarming proportions as among the Taurepàn of the Eastern uplands, where it [192] is a real scourge. Their name for it is an onomatopoeic one—*toctocmòh*—suggesting the coughing and catarrhal effects of any malady of the respiratory system, to which the word is applied.

[784] They are more afraid of tuberculosis than of any war, or any surprise [721] attack at night. Tribes infected with *toctocmòh* become taboo, and by the same token immune from attack, because their enemies are more afraid of their tuberculosis than their arrows. I was told this by Uarema, who said that some time ago a party of their enemies (of unspecified origin) set out to attack them. They had already been several days on the march when they learned that the Guayca were suffering from a bad epidemic of colds and catarrh. They gave up their idea of attacking them, and returned to their own lands.

752 Wounds infected by insects can be quickly cured, the reason being that with 164 these primitive Indians the defence-mechanism is vigorous and reacts immediately when assisted by antibiotics or sulphonamides. In this connection I have often determined by experiment the relative healthiness of the forest compared with the unhealthiness of the grasslands or savannah lying open to the sun. In the forest, damp and mouldering like some subterranean world, wounds rarely become infected, even if they are not kept clean.

* 123 I once fell down on a clay hillside, in the Upper Cuyumi country, with a 164 machete in my hand. It was pouring with rain and everything was covered with 752 mud and very slippery. The machete stuck into the ground as I fell forward, and my hand—as happens in the case of a fall like this—automatically tightened on the tool to help me regain my balance and slid along the blade, which was always kept razor-sharp. I had three fingers cut open right through the middle joint, the muscles and tendons being severed. We had nothing with us, not even a clean handkerchief. I at once closed my hand and bound up the fist with a bit of old rag. We then spent some days making our way down to the base-camp where we had our medicines and disinfectants. There I opened my fist, to find the cuts miraculously closed up, without the slightest sign of any infection. A

/481 cont./

832 They believe that another substance is effective against women, especially if it is thrown at them. They use it to frighten them, and it also forms a part of the ceremony in which a man shows his preference for a woman whom he wishes to make his wife.

784 753 There is a taboo with respect to the burning of cloth or paper. The burning of cloth or paper, according to what they believe, causes sickness and /482/ perhaps death. The Guaika do not dare to do it "against an enemy," since they are afraid that they might die also.

753 795 Men cannot see a "bole" -- the spirit or soul of a dead person which has returned -- but women can see them on occasion, and, when they do, it is almost certain that the "bole" will make them sick. The "bole" has two eyes like embers, a cold skin, and in general has human forms. It customarily passes by way of the paths, especially at night, and frequently returns to abandoned settlements. They can talk and shout like a man; and many strange noises which are heard in the woods are attributed to the neamess of a "bole." The fall of a tree by itself is also attributed to a "bole."

[781] Once a woman told us about her encounter with a "bole." She had been awakened by something which touched her and hit her in the ribs. When she woke up, a voice said to her: "There are enemies outside." She became very frightened and did not go back to sleep for the rest of the night.

The mere presence of a "bole" is considered sufficient to cause an acute pain in some part of the body.

Frequently we were asked by the Indians if there were "boles" the night before in the surroundings.

It is believed that the "boles" travel alone in open country. Thus, they assume that a few palm leaves obstructing the entrance to the path are usually sufficient to block their way. It is also believed that fire is an effective weapon against the "boles," whereas an arrow would be useless.

751 There is a belief that a certain seed is efficacious for keeping danger away from the children. They string these seeds as if they were beads and hang them around the child's neck.

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

which is tied a bundle of feathers.[1]

Besides shamans, of which there are several in every village, there are influential 'big men.' The number of big men in a village depends, on the one hand, on the size of the village and the number of local patrilineages comprising it, and, on the other, on the number of men who are personally qualified to lead. The qualities that determine leadership are personal courage, fierceness, the ability to be outraged by even the slightest insult, marksmanship, diplomacy in trading with representatives from other villages, the ability to arrange marriages for male supporters with females from other villages, cunning and intelligence in dealings with allies, the ability to attract young men to live permanently in the village by promising them wives, and the defense of group members who get into difficulties with other village members.

Individuals who possess all these attributes are considered leaders only if they have a large natural following, i.e., brothers and sons living with them in their village. Otherwise, such men have only just a little more

---

[1] To give a more comparative statement on the poverty of Yąnomamö culture, they possess only 11 traits of the 354 listed in the 4th edition of Carneiro and Tobias' "Trait List to be Used for the Study of Cultural Evolution by Means of Scale Analysis," (1963, mimeograph). By contrast, the Siriono have 8, the Andamanese 10, the Jivaro 22, the Nuer 28, the Siusi 39, the Iroquois 64, the Bemba 100 and the Tahitians 140. (Carneiro and Tobias, 1963:201.) In the classification developed by E. R. Service (1962), the Yąnomamö are "tribal."

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, KąobÃwÃ was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, KrÃÖmi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The YąnomamÖ rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the YąnomamÖ avoid incestuous affairs, according to KąobawÃ, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. KąobawÃ himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yaweremou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
382 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs. A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to verify with any certainty whether some relationship between menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the hĩkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
● [785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks, for otherwise the hĩkula of the dead person would kill him too. After this time has passed the hĩkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to surprise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition in this lore.

262 /207 cont./
223 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of
825 cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear. The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for
[514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground,
[785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily" on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war"
/see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy.
[433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit,
[527] and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social
[114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48), Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion in greater detail, according to their observation of it among the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *bekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *bekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *bekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *bekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *bekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *bekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *bekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
[825] emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

/71 cont./

765 Shortly before sundown a bright, blazing fire was kindled with the help of the fire-drill, and the funeral pyre was set afire 765 with it. Then the men blew the snuff into each other's noses, 787 and after a few minutes they were in a state of intoxication, dur- 276 ing which they danced, singing and screaming, around the flames that leaped up over the dead man. This was the appeal to the hekurá who are supposed to help the soul of the dead on its journey [782] to the moon (see pp.199/201). The chief uttered his prayers of supplication in a loud voice, and all the other men joined in the chorus. Meanwhile the men kept blowing snuff into each other's noses, so that their ecstasy constantly increased and finally reached an unimaginable climax when the fire took possession of the skeleton. It no longer seemed to be human beings who, howling, stamping, and gesticulating, now stormed around the pyre. They seemed to have taken leave of their senses, and, as a result of the snuff-intoxication, they probably actually were in another world. To me, the sight was like a nightmare and made me think [794] of paintings by Hieronymus Bosch. The wandering of the soul of [795] the dead existing in the bones, accompanied by the tree-soul, had begun, and the hekurá paved the way for them. Meanwhile, night had fallen, and the moon, which I suddenly noticed in the sky in its full size between the crowns of the trees, seemed to be waiting for its new inhabitant. In spite of the heat, which was increased [123] by the fire of the funeral pyre, cold shudders ran down my spine, and an indescribable feeling of terror clutched at my heart. Though I had not taken any snuff-powder at this ceremony, I, too, was in a veritable drunken fever. Never before, neither in church nor in a theater, had I experienced a scene as grandiose as the one here in the nocturnal forest of Amazonia.

This death ceremony continued until dawn. After midnight, however, only a few men, whose duty it was at the same time to keep the funeral pyre burning, were still dancing and singing. The other warriors lay exhausted on the ground and slept. Occasionally one of the dancers was nudged. He got up immediately, had snuff blown into his nose, and danced around the pyre, singing, while another lay down to sleep. Finally, only two men were still

/71 cont./

765 dancing and singing. About an hour before sunrise, however, all
787 the sleepers were awakened; they again took snuff immediately,
276 and once more there began a wild dance with singing until day-
[821] break. The death ceremony must be kept secret from the sun (it
[715] is likewise regarded as a male creature), the worst enemy of the moon, because otherwise it would hinder the soul's wandering. Loudly sustained, shrill, joyous cries formed the conclusion and made it manifest that the soul of the deceased had found entry
765 into the moon. Then all the warriors, sobbing loudly, formed a circle around the burned-down funeral pyre, while the /72/ brother and other relatives gathered up the charred remains of the bones from the ashes. After these had been pounded in gourd vessels by means of small stone mortars, the bone ashes were emptied into two bowls made out of the jamaru fruit, which the brother of the deceased wrapped with palm leaves and a liana binding. Thereupon he handed them to the chief, who lifted up each one in the direction of the moon and, singing, blessed it, while the men standing about uttered shrill cries. With this the end of the ceremony was reached, and the exhausted warriors could again return to their maloka in order to recover in their hammocks from
[766] the strenuous night. The brother of the deceased tied the two jamaru bowls containing the bone ashes to the rafters of the roof behind his hearth, in order to keep them for the big annual festival in memory of the dead, at which the bone ashes of their dead, mixed with banana soup, are drunk by the men (see pp.231 ff.). From now on there was no more wailing and weeping in the maloka; daily life had resumed its normal course.

776 After the death of women and of children too, as soon as they have completed the third year of life, the death ceremonies are
[822] conducted in exactly the same way. For a deceased chief, on the other hand, there is dancing around the funeral pyre for three nights, for, of course, his entrance into the moon must be particularly solemn.

/88 cont./

123
276

434. (cont.)
servant Mateus and I were thereafter dependent on the cultivated tobacco of the Indians, which, however, was so strong that we simply could not enjoy it. Mateus, however, had the happy idea of washing the tobacco several times and then he let it dry in the sun. Since we had plenty of cigarette paper with us, we were not obliged to give up our customary enjoyment of cigarettes. We could never have become accustomed to sucking out the tobacco, for every attempt resulted in retching.

276 The narcotic snuff powder, similar to yopo or paricá, is made up of various ingredients, of which I was able to identify, besides the roasted and pulverized paricá seed (Piptadenia peregrina Benth.), the ashes of the burned bark of a wild species of mimosa (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurášihenâ -- (435), as

[192]
[776]
[787]

435. This, it should be noted, contains the word with which the gigantic animal and plant spirits are called -- hekurá -- with which the men are able to make contact only by means of the snuff powder.

well as a cultivated pepper plant /89/ (Piperacea sp.) -- maxarahâ -- (436) (437).

[192]
[184]

436. Zerries found the same combination among the Waiká, and even the names for the pepper plant are almost identical; the Waiká call it "masho hara." The bark of the mimosa, in which Zerries suspects there is an alkaloid, is, however, used only in the dried or roasted state (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

[126]

437. Herr Prof. Dr. Klaus Soehring of the

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

/92 cont./

and children, bear names of plants or animals (see pp. 138/139). This results in a symbiosis which at the same time furnishes proof of the alter-ego motif to be found here. If a person who has passed the third year of life dies, an animal or plant of the species whose name he bore must likewise be killed or its death be brought about. This is done so that, for the long journey to the moon, the soul of the deceased has a companion who leads the way and facilitates for it entrance into the paradisiac realm of the dead (see also p. 149).

/93/ If the chiefs, who, of course, are at the same time medicine men, or other male members of the tribe wish to make contact with the nature spirits, either in connection with curing the sick, before or after hunting expeditions, on the occasion of prayers of thanksgiving for a successful harvest, etc., they have another man blow narcotic powder into the nose with a bamboo tube and immediately afterwards fall into a state of intoxication in which they feel themselves to be giants among giants (see p. 193). Thus, it is understandable that in a snuff-powder intoxication they identify themselves with the hekurá and use a very similar sounding word -- rekurá -- for any magical performance.

If one compares the beliefs of the Surára and Pakidái with those of the related Waiká /Waica/, who were studied by Otto Zerries, Meinhard Schuster, and the American Missionary James Paul Barker (448) (449a) (449b), one finds that they are largely

448. Zerries, 1958a.

449a. Zerries, 1958b.

449b. Barker, 1953.

in accord in their basic features.

All the tribes mentioned believe in a Supreme Being, Poré or "Omawa," respectively, and ascribe to it the creation of the earth and all living creatures. To be sure, there are certain differences, which may, however, be traced back to external influences. Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon --

/480 cont./

755 time their croonings and threats directed at the harmful spirit. From time to time they pick up some object which they take with them. Sometimes they finish by inspecting the whole circle of houses, but more frequently the one who heads the "hunt for the spirit" points with his finger at some object, which one of them picks up, the whole group suddenly rushing toward the hut where the sick person is.

755 /481/ Frequently one of those who participate in the "hunt
787 for the spirit" falls into a paroxysm, which he generally ends with a tremendous leap into the air, to fall unconscious on the ground. The women immediately bring water and after a while manage to revive him.

On one occasion a man who was crooning before a sick child suddenly lost his mind and began to say strange things. It seemed as though a strange power had seized him, to the point where it was necessary for six men to hold him so that the women could throw water on him to bring him out of his spell.

754 They also believe that a man can "send" a sickness or misfortune to another. Frequently the majority of the croonings which they intone in the evenings when they have taken "yopo" are designed to "send" calamities to their enemies.

754 On a certain occasion, when all were camped about two
752 hours of travel from the settlement, a girl was bitten by a poison-
123 ous snake. Her father came to get me to treat her. He told me that he was very angry, and he asked me if it were I who had sent the snake. He was very pleased when I assured him that I had not sent it.

754 They believe that a person can cause an enemy great harm, sickness, and even death, by gathering up "the track" of the enemy and rubbing it between the palms of the hands. For this reason the Guaika /Waica/ do not like to walk in front of somebody who is not in all certainty his friend, especially over soft earth.

The Guaika prepare certain powders which, when they are thrown in the air or blown in the direction of an enemy, can cause him annoyances or harm, according to what they believe, although the said enemy might be many miles away in another settlement.

276 [412] powder as it dries, the flat side of a stone axe[6] serving as the grinding pestle. The dried, green powder, no more than several tablespoons full, is then swept onto a leaf with a stiff feather. The men then gather around the leaf containing the drug, usually in the late afternoon, and take it by blowing the powder into each other's nostrils (see Fig. 2-3). A small quantity of the powder is introduced into the end of a hollow cane tube some 3 feet long. The tube is then flicked with the forefinger to scatter the powder along its length. One end of the tube is put into the nostril of the man taking the drug, and his helper then blows a strong blast of air through the other end, emitting his breath in such a fashion that he climaxes the delivery with a hard burst of air. Both the recipient and the blower squat on their haunches to do this. The man who had the drug blown into his nostrils grimaces, groans, chokes, coughs, holds his head from the pain of the air blast, and duck-waddles off to some leaning post. He usually receives two doses of the drug, one in each nostril. The recipient usually vomits, gets watery eyes, and develops a runny nose. Much of the drug comes back out in the nasal mucus that begins to run freely after the drug has been administered. Within minutes after the drug has been blown into a man's nose, he begins having difficulties focusing his eyes and starts to act intoxicated. The drug allegedly produces colored visions, especially around the periphery •[187] of the visual field, and permits the user to enter into contact with his particular *bekuru*, miniature demons that dwell under rocks and on mountains. The man begins to chant to the *bekuru* when the drug takes effect, inviting them to come and live in his chest.

245 276 The Yąnomamö also cultivate a tree, *bisiema*, that produces hallucinogenic seeds. These are prepared in exactly the same manner as the noncultivated drug.

322 396 TROUGHS AND CANOES The Yąnomamö use the bark of another kind of tree to make a trough and a crude canoe, both of which are nearly identical in shape, size, and method of construction. The tree is beaten with clubs to loosen the bark. The bark is then removed in one piece and hauled back to the village. The ends are heated in a fire to make them pliable and folded back to make the ends of the container. They are held firm by lashing two sticks together, pinching the folded bark into a flat-nosed basin. The interior bark surface becomes the exterior surface of the soup container. If the container is to be used as a canoe, a crude framework of sticks is added to the inside, giving 501 it more stability. The craft is so crude and heavy that the Yąnomamö generally do not use it for any purpose other than the trip for which it was intended, usually a downstream trip, since it would be almost impossible to move against a current in this rough craft. It is easier to walk than to try to pole the canoe upstream. The canoe, hence, is usually discarded after it makes its maiden voyage. Another will be made when it is needed.

415 574 264 The container is pinioned to the ground with stakes if it is to be used as a soup trough. Each time a feast is held, one or more of these bark containers is made in front of the headman's house, filled with the boiled ripe plantain soup, and frequented by the hungry guests, who dip out the soup with gourd spoons. The trough is thrown on the village rubbage heap after the feast is over.

---

[172] [6] They find the stone axes when they make new gardens, explaining that the spirits left them behind for the Yąnomamö to use. This area was occupied in the distant past by tribes whose relationship to the present Yąnomamö is uncertain.

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *hekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *hekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *hekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *hekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *hekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *hekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *hekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

/104 cont./

769
788 Immediately after that the Surára chief squatted down at his hearth, and beside him squatted a medicine-man helper. On the opposite side of the large maloka the Pakidái chief and a helper had assumed the same position. Hewemão, the first-named chief, began to speak loudly and distinctly to the hekurá (gigantic animal and plant spirits). While doing so, he kept stroking his hair from front to back and then slapping his seat. The helper squatting beside him repeated each of his words and copied all his movements. (This was to express symbolically that the hekurá, the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being, Porê/Perimbó, actually pass on all questions, requests, and wishes). After Hewemão, the Pakidái chief spoke to the hekurá, and his helper likewise repeated each word and imitated the gestures (stroking the hair and slapping the seat). This exorcism, which the two chiefs carried out alternately, lasted an hour.

769
461 After that the two exhausted chiefs and the rest of the men, young men, and boys lay down for a well-earned rest. /105/ Meanwhile the women had been going about their accustomed activity. They fetched water, prepared food, took care of the children; some of them also plaited a basket in the meantime, or they strung glass beads on a string. Some of the men who had meanwhile awakened continued to lie idly in their hammocks, some also played with the children, while others sat together in groups and talked.

769 Toward 2:00 the festival was resumed when 20 men, young men, and boys, each of whom held an arrow in his hand, rushed into the maloka courtyard with loud shouts. They were magnificently painted (510) and on the upper arms and in part

[302]
[301]

510. The painting had been done with urucú color and consisted of serpentine lines, circles and dots; several men, however, had painted their whole bodies red.

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 in the ear lobes were adorned with colorful feather ornaments
[302] (see pp. 93/95). Moreover, they had all glued into their hair
[301] the white down feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.), the dreaded carrier of sickness (see p. 211) (Ill. 43). They
769 made mighty leaps, then bent their knees, turned around
535 several times in between, threw their arrows into the air and
533 caught them again. After that they fell into a dance in step, during which they sang. But this dance was constantly interrupted by wild charges and rousing shouts, which were supposed to drive the nonexí out of the maloka and show them how dangerous it was to come here at all. The others present were enthusiastically watching this performance from their hearths. For the
[302] occasion of the festival all the men, women, and children had
[292] likewise painted themselves and in part donned the cotton belts;
[301] moreover, the men wore their upper-arm ornaments of feathers (Ills. 9-11).

769 After this two-hour dance performance a particularly solemn ceremony took place, the blessing of the preserved bone ashes of deceased tribesmen. For this purpose two leading personalities of each of the two tribes sat down in a square formation before the chief's hut. The Surára chief Hewemão was squatting in such a way that he faced the maloka courtyard. To the right and left of him, somewhat to the side and forward, squatted the Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, and Hewemão's brother, Kurikayawõ, respectively, and opposite Hewemão, Porẽhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, had his place. In front of the latter were arranged ten small jamaru vessels (jamaru = Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda) filled with bone ashes. Behind them stood one empty gourd bowl and one filled with urucú. The Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, on the other hand, had two large empty jamaru vessels standing in front of him.

Porẽhiwõ now poured bone ashes from one after another of the small jamaru vessels into the empty gourd bowls, added a little urucú, mixed the two with his hands, and gave the bowl to Karenauõ, who each time poured the contents into one of the
[782] larger jamaru vessels. While the two Pakidái were silently per-
[788] forming their work, Hewemão was praying in a half-singing

Surára
Pakidái

/105 cont./

769 voice to the hekurá and constantly passed his hands from his head
[782] to his feet. His brother Kurikayawõ repeated each of his words
[788] and imitated the gestures (511). Around the four men, who were

511. This was again the symbolic transmission of the prayers from the hekurá to Porõ/Perimbõ (see also p. 228).

now officiating as priests, crouched red-painted warriors whose head hair was completely covered with the down feathers of the gavião-real. Whenever the Pakidái chief poured a new mixture of bone ashes and urucú into a larger jamaru vessel, he always pulled a few feathers from the heads of the warriors and threw them in (512). The closest relatives of the late deceased sat

[751]

512. There is defensive magic connected with this. For if the men, in the subsequent ceremonial drinking of the banana soup mixed with bone ashes, swallow these feathers, they and their families are better protected against sickness.

behind the warriors and sobbed heart-rendingly, especially the
[782] women. Their tears /106/ flowed uninterruptedly, and at the same time they prayed in a low, singing cadence. When the bone ashes of another jamaru vessel were mixed with urucú by Porẽhiwõ, their sobbing and their prayers changed to high, shrill tones. This made no impression upon the medicine men, however, who imperturbably went on with their activity. The
[302] [301] mourners were surrounded by a circle of standing warriors painted red and adorned with upper-arm feathers, who held bows and arrows in their hands and faced outward. It was their task to shield
[522] the ceremony against harmful outside influences. Behind them stood numerous male spectators, who followed the proceedings with interest, to be sure, but without inner participation, for at times they laughed and joked.

Surara
Pakidai

/39 cont./

301 171 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

301 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

● 789 832 It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, [824] to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrẽ. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrẽ -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hií -- (see p.243).

302 e) Hair style

Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around the head, including the tonsure -- hemõno. Shaving the latter, [462] but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp.--) (see p.119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

2: Becher--235 . E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára, Pakidái Waica

/108 cont./

769 182 184 789 526 [266]

festival. It is decidedly a festival in memory of the dead, which characterized by the ceremonial drinking of the bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe. At the same time, defensive magic against the nonexí is connected with it, for they, of course, are the ones who transmit sickness and thereby frequently cause death. As in all the magic cures for healing the sick, where the symbolic struggles between the "hekurá" and one or more "nonexí" are always enacted (see pp. 212 ff.), this factor is naturally also in evidence in all parts of the festival, in the dances, in the mixing of bone ashes, when the medicine man pulls down-feathers of the gavião-real out of the hair of the warriors and adds these, and in the duels performed in a sitting position. The latter are also documented for the Waikâ in the same way, but Zerries writes that neither for him nor for the American missionaries was it possible to find out anything definite about the meaning of this ceremony (517). Presumably,

517. Zerries, 1955b, p. 665.

however, it is the same symbolic struggle between a good and an evil spirit as among the Surára and Pakidái. As yet nothing has been reported about this from other Indian tribes. My informants, however, told me that the Xiriâna, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí engage in these combats on the occasion of their festivals in memory of the dead. Hence it seems to be a very special characteristic of the Yanonámi, which in former times may have been even more widespread. Herr Dr. Gerdt Kutscher, in connection with a lecture I gave in Berlin, called my attention to the fact that the position taken by the two men during this is reminiscent of the painting on a clay bowl from the Rio Ulúa, Honduras (518). According to Zerries, Barker,

114 769 526

518. This is in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde (No. IVa Ca 22381) and was reproduced in an article by Walter Lehmann (Lehmann, 1910, p. 737, Ill. 9).

Surára
Pakidái

/110 cont./

527 Between the patapáanomão festivals the Surára and Pakidái have only a few other festivities in the course of the year. These are but small celebrations, which, for example, take place after the two-months' training of two young men as medicine-man helpers, after a successful war-expedition, upon moving into a newly erected maloka, and in connection with the second menstruation of a girl. The latter has more of an intimate character, for only families of relatives and friends take part in it.

754 825 4. Magic for Sickness, Hunting, Love, and Rain

a) Magic for sickness:

[824] A magic powder is occasionally prepared from the bark ashes of a wild mimosa species (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekuráhihenâ -- (see also p. 192) and the bone powder of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). In the evening, shortly before twilight sets in, if a gavião-real happens to be flying by or is sitting on a tree, the chief blows this powder in the direction of the bird. The latter receives it and with it transmits sickness to a specific hostile tribe.

224 789 b) Hunting magic:

[782] The evening before a proposed hunting expedition the hunter takes snuff-powder and prays for about 2-3 hours to the hekurá (see pp. 200/201), whereby through them he requests [302] Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) for a successful outcome. Then, before he sets out the next morning, he paints serpentine lines [825] on his face and body with urucú. If his wife accompanies him, she also applies this design, and the snout and feet of a dog that is taken along are painted with the same color. This is [751] supposed to increase the luck of the hunt and is at the same time bound up with defensive magic against possible dangers threatened by poisonous snakes and jaguars.

/111 cont./

832 wearer bites on it and holds it under the nose of a girl or a woman, he gains her favor through the fragrances emanating from it. In fact, I was told that love will then be so great that the woman or the girl would follow him everywhere (547).

547. This type of love magic is reminiscent of a myth of the Aruak /Arawak/ Manao: The Aromatic Root. (Baldus, 1958, pages 32 ff.)

In order to protect themselves from this love magic, married women use two kinds of neck chains. Younger ones [824] have tied to their string of curauá fibers numerous small pieces of tajá root, and older ones, small pieces of the camarau liana (Cipó sp.) -- hií -- (see p. 83). These many pieces of root or liana then counteract the effect of the young men's single piece of root.

754 If a man is angry at a woman because she does not give him a hearing, he can avenge himself in the following manner: [824] On a rainy day he tears off a leaf of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and goes with it into the forest. When he reaches a matamatá tree (Eschweilera matamata Hub.) from which /112/ drops are falling, he lays the palm leaf under the tree. He leaves it there until it has rotted. Out of it comes a worm which the man later fetches and then roasts. If he throws this upon the sleeping woman, she will have no more children.

•789 821 d) Rain magic:

Although the Surára and Pakidái appreciate rain more than too strong a radiation from the sun (548), there are occasions when

[171]

548. In contrast to this, I should like to point out that among the Taulipang, for example, there is great fear of rain (Koch-Grünberg, 1916, pp. 130/31).

/112 cont./

789 [821] [302] it is not needed, for example, before hunting expeditions or during a tribal migration. In this case all the men, women, and children paint their bodies with a confusion of serpentine lines, in order by this means to command the rain to stop. If 526 789 this does not help, a tug of war -- toõtotó -- with a thick liana is arranged. This liana personifies the sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) -- [796] uaikonyá -- which, as a strong water-animal, has the power to induce Poré to stop shaking the rain tree (see p. 199). At first only two groups of red-painted men engage in the tug of war. But if the rain simply will not abate, red-painted women also take part in it. Their participation is supposed to increase the [796] pressure on the sucuriju, for it is assumed that it is of the female sex and thus particularly well-disposed toward women. Such a [857] tug of war often goes on for several hours. In most cases, besides adults, I also saw children who imitated it with a thin liana.

526 789 821 If it happens to rain while the sun is shining, the Surára and Pakidái believe that a serious fight has broken out between the moon, from which the rain comes, and the sun. Then all the members of the tribe feel obligated to come to the aid of their Supreme Being, the moon. They do this by again forming two mixed groups of men and women -- one symbolically represents the population of the moon and the other that of the sun -- who throw wet earth at each other; this "battle" is called xejejõ.

782 5. A Special Way of Showing Gratitude to Poré and Perimbõ

In connection with the festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.) after the training period of the two medicine-man helpers (see pp. 143 f.), after the curing of the sick (see pp. 211 ff.), and other magic ceremonies, the people want to thank Poré and Perimbõ (see p. 197) in a special way, outside of the customary prayers which take place through the hekurá (see pp. 199/201). For this purpose a large calabash is filled with earth, [824] into which, in a circle, are stuck red-painted twigs of the imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.), which are connected

/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
382 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The
pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit
which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint
one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which
they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp
and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the
moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs.
A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was
interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to
verify with any certainty whether some relationship between
menstruation and this design exists for them.

721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
● [789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the
Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the
one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest."
They believe that the híkula of the dead person is inside the
chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks,
for otherwise the híkula of the dead person would kill him too.
After this time has passed the híkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to sur-
prise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see
Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other
Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent
hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition
in this lore.

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm. [841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

/205 cont./

224 411 It is also dangerous to lose an arrow when one is hunting. That is why they only shoot the arrow when, should they miss the target, they can easily retrieve it. In spite of these precautions, the arrow is sometimes lost or remains hanging from an [782] inaccessible tree. Then the man, in order not to lose his aim, puts it under the protection of Omao, to whom he speaks, saying: "Omáuawan ipa ʃlaka toldápala!" which means: "Omao, watch over my arrow!"

224 777 ●789 826 To lose one's aim or luck in hunting may arise from a technical reason or a supernatural cause. The former is due to a weakening of the body brought about by sickness or other causes which influence sight or the strength of the arm. If it is due to this latter cause, the hunter knows the remedy. He goes to the forest and searches for a tree with hard, heavy wood; he cuts a piece and sets fire to it and collects the ashes, which he applies to the cuts inflicted on his arm. If he bears the pain without touching the hurt arm with the other hand and does not shout, his muscles will once again recover their lost strength and the hunter will recover his luck and good aim.

224 776 797 If the hunter returns without any game, it may be because Omao did not favor him, and this is the supernatural cause of his failure.

224 782 [797] According to our informants from the Erebato, a good hunter speaks frequently with Omao, for without his protection he will not be lucky. For this reason he says to him: "Omao awayf ipa ʃálawa hadu kapálama!" which is translated as: "Omao, draw my game out into the open!"

Worse than being unlucky is to lose one's life in a hunting accident, and in order to implore the protection of the other world, the hunter prays, "Omao sátoria palái!" that is to say: "Omao, protect me!"

224 825 /206/ Of course, all these precautions are useless if the hunter has not learned the art of hunting. He must know how the various animals live and how to identify their tracks. If these latter should be fresh, he orders his dog to follow the track of the game; the success of a Sanemá hunter depends in great

/228 cont./

756 may also happen that a sablf with a small "pueblo" of hfkulas in
755 his chest does not have at his disposal a hfkula suitable for bringing
774 about the desired result. In this case, one turns to a more expert sablf, who will receive for his services presents of food, etc. A young sablf is always hopeful that the hfkula "pueblo" in his chest will grow. But the /229/ older the man becomes, the less opportunity he has of augmenting his power.

758 The potentiality of the hfkula of the sablf makes him in-
774 vulnerable, and should anyone shoot an arrow at him he breaks
[789] his hand and his weapons. For this reason the sablf is the best
[624] man to lead as the war chief, or at least he inspires and helps with his magical power and his singing along the way.

756 A sablf of great power does not die until all the hfkulas of
763 the plants, animals, and, some say, of the stars have come to
774 live in his chest, and, when they have done this, the power of
[759] his hfkula grows and brings about his death. Then the sablf informs his people, says farewell to all those whom he has protected during all the years of his adult life, and, as a last service, promises to kill the neighboring enemy group just as soon as his hfkula frees itself from his body. On dying, the red stone which he had, which had come down with a great noise from heaven, once again goes back up to the place from which it came (24).

24. I have not been able to gather any further details regarding this stone, nor have I seen it.

774 The hfkula of a man, animal, or plant, after death, does
775 not go to heaven, but rather congregates in a special place. Our informant told us that the hfkulas of male human beings later change after some time into butterfly jaguars /tigres mariposas/. In this form they continue the life that they had in the man; they recognize friends and enemies and the men of the group to which they belonged and also the enemy men against whom they fought. Sometimes a man will meet a butterfly jaguar in the forest; he realizes that he has met a hfkula of his group or one from a dead sablf. He does not kill it and allows the jaguar to go by quietly without even threatening it with his weapon.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

136 know the world, a few excursions into those terrible waters where the very absence of peril means, for these lowland monsters, the greatest peril of all.

V

* 123 The Samatari had now got quite used to having us in their midst and their primitive fear of us—the emotion which gives rise to an instinctive urge to [609] kill—had disappeared utterly. The fear strangers evoke in them is twofold: they are afraid of being killed, and of having their womenfolk raped. We hadn't killed anybody, and the women did not attract us. We left them in peace, even when they were driven by their insatiable professional curiosity to inspect our private parts.

From being merely tolerated, therefore, we soon passed quite naturally to the stage of having a rather more positive value placed upon us. Soon we were superior beings who had chosen their tribe as the privileged recipients of our friendship. This was without a doubt an auspicious sign for them, and one they must profit by. For the moment the profit which the medicine-man had in mind related only to matters appertaining to magic and moral spheres and had nothing to do with our persons. We ourselves, indeed, were not called upon to play an active part.

* 123 Ceremonies of propitiation were enacted at night. The medicine-man would 756 sit in his hammock with his feet dangling over the fire, invoking prosperity for ● 789 his own people and ruin and death for their enemies (who were doing the same 782 thing, in the same spirit, at the same moment, in some other corner of the forest). But the Samatari had us with them: the effect of their invocations would travel far and fast, like the explosion of the *bombamald*.

* 123 The medicine-man would suddenly sit up in his hammock as if he was cold, 533 and after burbling something incomprehensible, slowly shout out the name of 756 a fruit—for instance, *monama*. The last syllable was held for some time, with 789 modulations that reminded me of an echo rebounding from hill to hill. When this solo was over the men's chorus—they were all sitting round the fire in their hammocks, too—would take up the refrain, reciting a long litany full of mournful verses. According to the brief explanations given by Luis Antonio, the gist of it was: much *monama* for the Samatari and none for their enemies. Let hunger strike them down. They are bad men. A moment's silence would

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

follow. Then, in the same fashion, the medicine-man would announce the name of another fruit, let us say *olashi*. The chorus would repeat the same formula. And so on, through all the thirty-two fruits of the forest, the litany was sung. Then it was the animals' turn—those that provided meat. From the noble tapir right down to the worm: might he pass serenely from his muddy lair into the tomb of the Samatari stomach.

When the victualling business had thus been settled, the time was ripe for more general songs and prayers. One little song that turned up I had already heard among the Guayca and other Shirians. The tune was easily recognizable, catchy, even; but the words were strange, and probably not understood by the singers themselves. Then came isolated songs, and broken snatches of tunes that went on all night till the first gleam of dawn, when the priest and his flock gradually dropped off to sleep. The ceremony was over.

It might appear from a hasty glance at their ceremonies of propitiation and exorcism that the Shirians believe in the supernatural, but this is not so.

We often questioned Uarema on the subject, but his reply was always in the negative, and he laughed at the Makiritari's Canaima and the other tribes' Maguaritón. 'We don't believe in those stories,' he answered, invariably, in his picaroon Spanish. The Shirians do not believe in supernatural beings such as gods, devils and their intermediaries. Certain ceremonies of theirs, it is true, are addressed to powers which we should not consider as belonging to the material world, but to the Shirian mind they do belong to this world, like other evident natural forces.

For instance, the medicine-man's cures for the sick possess a value and a methodology corresponding to medicine as we practise it. The sickness—the bad thing—is clearly visible. The medicine-man is a man with a powerful voice, which frightens the bad thing as it might frighten a man. The bad thing is forced to take flight, leaving the sufferer free. Magic, as we conceive it, is not involved.

Another example will emphasize the Shirian viewpoint even better. When the Shirians are shooting the rapids, anyone on board without a definite job, such as steering or paddling, will make a gesture with his hand to keep the swirling waters well away. For us, such a gesture would imply some sort of superstitious idea, for there is no physical connection between the hand that is trying to ward off the water and the water itself. But to the Indians it is rather an example of a purely physical phenomenon arising out of the man's will-power and his determination that the boat shall not be swamped, which his

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

771
● 789 gesture adequately expresses. The point is that the primitive has not yet clarified his ideas on the exact relationship between cause and effect, between the wish and its realization—which is to say, between will and reality, subjective and objective. Another clear proof of this lies in the attitude towards pregnancy and childbirth, which we had already noticed among Uarema's people.

789 Even the belief in amulets is one aspect of the complete naturalness of the
831 supernatural! Shirian amulets are made from the dust of a dried leaf or piece of wood, wrapped into a tiny parcel inside a banana leaf, and tied round the arm.
[832] Some of these have the power to attract love, if not quite in the same sense as the love philtres of Medieval Europe. It should be borne in mind that what we call love—for us, the cultural refinement of a physical attraction—does not exist for the Indians. For them, nothing is involved but the physiological relationship, together with the satisfaction of fulfilling an individual need, a sharing of erotic excitement and as a result, the future increase of their stock. Thus the phenomenon of 'falling in love' is not present: it is simply the taking of a man, or a woman. There is no courtship, only the act itself. In the light of this it becomes clear that what the Indian hopes for from the amulet is not success in wooing a man or a woman already known and selected, but a happy outcome of all things sexual, upon which so much depends—the woman, the family and the continuance of his race.

789 The amulet is not a 'charm' such as we imagine it: it consists simply of a
757 substance which possesses the required power by virtue of its own nature—not by virtue of our belief in it—in exactly the same way as some vegetable extracts have the power to produce diarrhoea, and others the power to stop it. As a cure for diarrhoea the Indians take something prepared from a liana, which puts a stop to the trouble and restores the system to its normal state. The virtue of this substance and the way in which it acts is no more and no less occult than in the case of the amulet worn to attract success in love. The curative pill disappears into the mouth and its effects are felt elsewhere. The relation between the two regions is no more and no less mysterious than in the case of the love amulet: the human body is just as real, just as complex and just as unknown as the external world and other human beings.

756 The medicine-man is to be found in all Shirian tribes. He is the witch-doctor
793 and the physician for all general purposes. His superior is the *lahalla*, a kind of high priest, and a very, very rare bird, who possesses wonder-working powers of an unheard-of degree of effectiveness. Uarema assured me that the *lahalla* at

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Pulipuli—the only one then known to exist—could pick out an assassin from a group of ten men gathered for his ceremonies of exorcism. After a few passes made by the wizard, the guilty man lost his hair at one fell swoop, and was thus unmasked.

Endowed as I was with unimaginable powers, I became the *lahalla*. I was called 'Lahallaman'. My watch, by the aid of which I could see the passing of the hours, predict the weather, foretell the course of journeys and cure certain ills (by applying it to the affected part) had also been promoted. No longer was it mere medicine-man's magic, but lahalla's magic.

VI

We were now an integral part of the Samatari tribe and in certain respects their moral leaders. The chief, glorying in his (our) red drawers, gave us the benefit of strange daily discourses in which he seemed to be inviting us to take part in his counsels and share in the planning of tribal activities. I had begun to learn the language, which had already interested me in the Canaracuni days, and was able to reply with a few more or less appropriate words, hoping that they would fit in with what I imagined he was talking about. My efforts were generally crowned with success and everyone shouted with glee at the sight of a white man speaking Shirian.

The world the Indians know, within the limits of their primitive conception, is a boundless forest criss-crossed by rivers and water-courses flowing in every direction. The final destination of these streams is not understood, or even thought of. In the centre of this forest is the tribe itself. Over there are other Indians, known only to few and spoken of from time to time. Somewhere in the same forest there are Indians with beards and clothes, outboard motors and guns—terrible Indians, tall in stature and always bad, angry men: such is the first impression occidentals make on these more apathetic wild peoples. The two of us, envoys of these distant Indians, had shown that we were not such bad men, and not in such a perpetual rage. In all humility and simplicity, we had become part and parcel of the Samatari themselves, and they on their side did not lack a real and disinterested friendliness towards us, as witness the behaviour of the boys, our admirers, who never lost a chance of overwhelming us with their kindness. That I should speak their language was the most wonderful

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

point, we pronounced that magic word 'work'—so potent that in the very act of pilfering, their hands were stayed.

We had brought with us a flask of mercury, for amalgamating metals, which aroused their curiosity—curiosity which turned to absolute amazement when they picked it up and became aware of its inordinate weight. By some dark and labyrinthine thought-processes, no doubt, they deduced that this terrible liquid constituted a bomb, and they drew back in horror shouting '*Bomba Amio*'.[1]

We didn't disillusion them. A little fear and dread disseminated among our porters might not be entirely without point, considering all the uncertain aspects of the journey and the curious make-up of these Indians. Yes, we said, that is the aeroplane bomb, and it would blow to pieces all the Samatari from the Parima, if they dared show themselves on our route. This greatly reassured the Shirians. At first they had been rather scared of meeting with an enemy, but now they could count on this terrifying weapon we had at our disposal, which would also increase their own prestige in the eyes of the nomad tribes.

That night, there were some strange noises in the hut, about thirty yards away from our hammocks. Something interesting seemed to be happening, so we put out our candle and, through our mosquito nets, watched a curious scene.

The medicine-man was surrounded by the rest of the Shirians. He was in his usual position for exorcism ceremonies—sitting in his hammock with his legs dangling over either side. The chief's wife had a bowl of water and was dissolving something in it—something she was taking from a cluster of banana leaves in her lap. When she had put in enough, she passed the bowl to her husband, who held it firmly, slightly raised. Then he waited. Suddenly, on an unexpectedly powerful note, a chant came from the medicine-man. Then the chief drank long draughts out of the bowl, came down from his hammock, and began to walk with a rhythmic, solemn step, round the fire. All the men then drank in turn: then the women. Then the babies at their breasts were made to touch the bowl with their lips. Now they were all marching behind the chief, with rapid, tiny steps that covered very little ground, while the medicine-man himself jumped from his hammock and brought up the rear.

We were watching the Drinking of the Ashes—a ceremony symbolic of

[1] Their rendering of the Spanish '*avion*' (aeroplane bomb).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanerma

cannibalism. When someone dies in battle, or through some other violence—when he dies, that is, in the full prime of manhood—the body is cremated on a pyre and the ashes scrupulously gathered. Mixing these to a paste with water, they make a block which is wrapped in banana leaves and kept for the ceremony of the Drinking, by which they believe that the dead man's strength can enter their own bodies. Such ceremonies generally take place at large assemblies, people from neighbouring tribes also being present, and the festivities may last several days. Our Indians, however, wanting to assure a good augury for the voyage they were about to undertake with us, had limited themselves to a shortened version of the usual ceremony, since in these particular circumstances there was neither the time nor the opportunity for more.

II

In three little canoes, two of them the property of Frenario's people, we went down the Yevarehuri, making for the point where it is joined by a slightly smaller, darker stream flowing from the south—the Matahuri. It had been raining ceaselessly for days and the rivers were overflowing their banks, which made it difficult to find a camping-place for the night.

On the second day we had two fair-sized falls to negotiate. The third day's paddling brought us to the Marahuri, but we left it to the right of us, its mouth being apparently quite blocked by fallen trees, and entered a smaller stream just to the south of it, which offered quiet water and a clearly defined course between the giant vegetation of both banks. The Shirians told us that this new waterway was called the Toroli—that is, the Turtle—and that we had only to go up to the source to find the track crossing the cordillera which led to the north side of the Upper Parima river.

Our crew was hardly sufficient and progress was exasperatingly slow. Happily, there was plenty of game. Guans and curassow were plentiful, as well as monkeys and sloths—the Indians' favourite dish.

Our head man was a real lead-swinger. From the first day onwards he complained of a pain in his foot which made him draw the line at heavy work. Under the drenching rains that fell with every interminable afternoon, he would sit in the middle of the canoe, and also in the middle of the bananas we were carrying, holding a palm frond over his head. If we urged him to do

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

leaven, wanted one thing more: the nail, the nail that had been his perpetual bane! We had plenty with us, and gave him half a dozen.

We sat around big festive fires (though, alas, we had no fine beast to cook on them!) and the medicine-man exorcized their new possessions with his chants. That night we slept tighter than we had ever done since the time when we had drunk cacire on the Yevarchuri.

VII

The next morning's dawn was silent as the tomb, and drowsily we sensed a strange difference. Then, all of a sudden, we woke to the realization that the Shirians were gone. Men, women, children and dogs had vanished into the depths of the night. The fires hadn't been made up for some time and were nearly all out. The hammocks were still swinging in their places—it was not unusual for them to be abandoned and it had happened before, because being simply lianas and tree-bark they were very easily replaced.

Carmine fired off a few shots. The forest swallowed them up without even an echo. Our enthusiasm had betrayed us once more. We should have postponed the pay-off until the arrival of the promised Shirians, and then our men would not have shot the moon. As it was, we could only wait in the hope that the others would turn up, though it might well be that the medicine-man and his brother had invented them so that they could satisfy us and be off.... Dear, damnable brigand brother, with the gentle, brooding look that was like the cloudy sweetness of fermenting wine, off and away through the forest, leading his little band back over the familiar path, back to the river on the other side of the mountain—laden with our goods, and proud owner of the nail! The greatest experience of his lifetime was over now, and he was hardly to be blamed for having gone off in the middle of the night, without saying good-bye. How could anyone guess what reasons prompted him—a rebel, an anarchist, a wild savage from the Amazon mountains, who in a moment of weakness had joined up with an expedition of flat-foots, men incapable of keeping alive without a mountain of tins!

There was nothing to be done about it, because the situation itself was without remedy. If the new Shirians really did come, the departure of the old ones might even prove to be an advantage. The baggage was all here with us,

/443 cont./

Domestic Animals

231 Dogs are raised and generally used in hunting.

Birds of almost all types are captured when they are found before leaving the nest. Most of these only survive a few days. It seems that the parrots manage to survive in captivity much better than the other birds, so that almost all the settlements have a domesticated parrot. Turkeys and cranes are included among the other birds which can survive and reach the adult state.

Domesticated monkeys are also favorite animals. It is interesting to observe that almost without exception the monkey is the property of a woman. Doubtless this is related to the fact that women nurse the little monkeys until they are weaned. The mother monkey must be killed in order to be able to capture the little monkey.

Small rodents, such as squirrels and vesper mice, are brought to the house sometimes to be domesticated. One family even went so far as to raise a wild pig (chácharo).

231 766 /444/ When a domestic animal dies, it is incinerated outside the settlement, near some path. Its bones are left in the same spot where they were when the fire consumed them.

241 ## Agriculture

Platanos and banana trees occupy nearly 90 per cent of the cultivated lands. Other fruits include sweet yuca, bitter yuca, caumo /malanga/, mapuey /yams/, sugar cane, maize the pijiguao palm /peach palm/, pepper, the papaya, and the sweet potato.

241 824 302 789 302 276 Tobacco, cotton, and onoto /annatto/ are the principal nonedible products. Other nonedible products include a grass whose stem is dried and used for cutting the hair; a variety of root similar to the wild onion is used in magic for hunting, for obtaining a wife, etc.; especially fragrant leaves are used by the women in their ears; and the ingredients used in the processing of "yopo," a narcotic which is blown into the nose.

/486 cont./

825 821 [794] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame." "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 776 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

[753] "Sulilliwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

● 789 754 Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are re- [756] ligious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them.

802 Numbers and Measures

The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

342
302
301
824
142

Fig. 2-5. Thatching a new roof with leaves.

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwä, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof.

342 821 756 789

The Yanomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about

342 484

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2-7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
[689 tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
[825 of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and,
as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to
speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists between the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law. Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom. These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes him in like another one of its own members. Older children also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted, properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denominations. We do not think that there are special terms to express a relationship of adoption.

554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main distinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers, and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three different theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
● 791 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
756 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not
793 the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman and priest in particular, represent the most influential position in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
000 by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

/212 cont./ We were greatly surprised to find this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).

The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists who have studied this matter is that it is a matter of a Circum-Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence, owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient platform of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its specific conditions, lent itself to the development or to the adoption of the cult.

We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have, however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause, the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This personage is different from the shaman and his sphere.

The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

[i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

/221 cont./

765 775 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĭkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĭkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 [276] [756] The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĭ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 771 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of [184] interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

793 756 791 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a different supernatural sphere.

793 776 The first of the three is the hɛwĭawán, or the priest, who is the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

/229 cont./

774 The world of the "specific" hfkulas is found on the other side of the horizon and in contrast with the world of the souls. There the sablfes live forever, together with the dead animals and plants.

562 773 825 [774] It is worthwhile to refer once again to the insistence of our Sanemá informant from the Upper Caura regarding the fact that women do not have specific hfkula. He asserted to us, furthermore, that women have a different origin from men and that there still exists a purely feminine world, and that each Sanemá pueblo has its corresponding hanekasá. The informant would not identify the animal of which he spoke, but we knew [773] that it was of a well-known species. From the mythology one can deduce that the first men were made from a dead tree by the cultural hero brothers, while the first woman was fished out of a very large river.

Omao wished to metamorphose into women the butterflies which danced /230/ like people on the shore of a river, because the hanekasá are a pueblo of females in which there are only three males to insure reproduction. This pueblo of amazons is an exact replica of the female population of the rancheria neighboring a pueblo, in the characteristics of which we found a concept of alter ego for the Sanemá women.

[774] It is possible that there exists some relationship between [763] the hfkula and the male, for it is said that men die from the "weight" of the hfkula of certain animals; but we are not certain on this point (cf. Zerries, 1958b; Becher, 1960, p. 92). We are [763] more certain about the relationship which exists between women and the hanekasá animal, since a woman (of the neighboring rancheria) dies for each hanekasá which is killed. Other religious concepts which are difficult to interpret for the time being may also enter here.

• 791 755 A third type of theurgist which seems to exist in Sanemá society is the magician, the kâilala. He does not sing like the sablf and has no influence over the specific hfkulas or over souls. He is the curer of the organism, of the body of a man. He cures by uttering tremendous cries, gives massages on the ailing and painful limbs of his patients. Suddenly he will surprise all those

7/1 [See additional data on the hanekasá on p 113 .. Analyst]

Y /230 cont./
791 present by taking out from under his tongue stones, small sticks,
[755] vermin, etc. "Arrows" come out in the form of a black liquid,
of tobacco, etc. He spits out and tramples on what he has been
Y able to extract. The kâilala of the Sanemá also possesses power
[754] that is benevolent and malignant at the same time and can shoot
Y magic arrows at the enemy rancheria, thus causing sickness or
[171] death. If we compare this religious complex of the Sanemá
with that of the Warao, we find such a great similarity that
there cannot be the least doubt but that both have the same origin.

W Among the Warao the temple cult is strictly local and
793 cannot be carried out in a place where there is no priest; who
[771] may be a man or a woman, although for this office there is
[787] a special category in the society of the Warao. It is not heredi-
[776] tary and can be obtained by the special calling of the Supreme
Being, Kanobo.

W The son of a priest is generally considered as more suitable --
[171] by birth -- to fill the office of his father, but although the son
may be competent to succeed his father in a political position,
he does not necessarily have the right to succeed him as priest,
as happens among the Taino, where the son inherits the office of
priest together with the chieftainship.

W The Warao temple cult is furthermore completely separate
793 from shamanism and magic; religious matters are the responsi-
755 bility of especially designated persons who act only within their
776 own domain. /231/ The fact that the priest may cure sickness
[771] must not lead the observer to false conclusions, since it is logical,
according to Warao mentality, that the priest controls -- through the
power of God -- the spirits of heaven, whose desire is to take
everyone to the side of God, to whom they owe obedience and
whose orders are transmitted to them by the mediation of the
W priest. These are spirits objectively good, but which become
793 subjectively bad when with their metaphysical capability they
755 enter the body of a man, physically limited, causing a pressure,
776 that is, a sickness. In Warao terminology the priest cures by
753 "alleviating this pressure," bringing about as a result typical
778 ailments, such as fevers of various kinds, which he cures by
frightening away the spirits with merely his presence, but in
particularly critical and difficult cases he may also use one of his
maraca /gourd rattle/.

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
[689 tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
[825 of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and,
as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to
speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists between the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law. Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom. These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes him in like another one of its own members. Older children also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted, properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denominations. We do not think that there are special terms to express a relationship of adoption.

554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main distinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers, and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three different theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
791 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
756 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not
793 the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman and priest in particular, represent the most influential position in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
000 by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

/212 cont. /We were greatly surprised to find
554 this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did
791 not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar
793 situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).
756 The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists
171 who have studied this matter is that it is a matter of a Circum-
194 Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of
793 priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural
771 complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence,
121 owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the
191 temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient platform of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its specific conditions, lent itself to the development or to the adoption of the cult.

121 We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the
773 Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit
793 authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have,
756 however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause, the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This personage is different from the shaman and his sphere.

771 The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts
171 of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the
174 Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

1 [i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

/213/

197 174 Regarding the Chibcha characteristics in the Warao and Yanoama idioms, it is probably a substratum which we shall provisionally call proto-Chibcha. The Chibcha traits which are perceived in them do not seem to represent elements acquired owing to contact, but rather an ancient stratum common to the idioms which are at the present time identified as Chibcha.

143 174 Finally, it is necessary to point out that, judging from the genetic constitution (the Diego antigen) of some Chibcha tribes, it might be surmised that the highly formative culture was introduced by people genetically different from the Marginal Chibcha such as Tunebo, Barí, Warao, Yanoama, whose culture was favorably conditioned in the direction of the adoption and the increment of formative cultures and indigenous civilizations. Some tribes were absorbed by the invaders; others, such as the tribes that we have just mentioned, maintained their independence. Perhaps we shall have to deal with greater emphasis in the future with primitive reminiscences in the formative cultures instead of talking so much about traits and loans from the west among the Marginals of Guayana /Guiana/ and others. We have the impression that we are bringing out a complex of ancient culture in South America, from which a number of traits have survived in the more highly developed cultures.

622 [624] [793] Political duties are performed by a chief /jefe/ and a military leader. We are of the opinion that the priest can at the same time be the chief of a local group. We cannot, however, make a categorical affirmation, owing to the confusion which exists among the people as a consequence of the strong cultural current which is invading this Sanemá nucleus. In the same group on the Ventuari we observed that the office of chief is inherited patrilineally. The old chief had left his duties to his eldest son, about 28 years old, and it was easy to see that his younger brother, about 20 years old, was also respected as a possible future chief (cf. Becher, 1960, pp. 60-61. Chieftainships over more than a local group do not exist.

/213 cont./

793 For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain
624 later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may
[622] not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the im-
123 pression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly
[276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our
775 informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after
[841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a
[126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made
[532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals; he was the guapo. 7/1

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. 11-An.]

/219 cont./

588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.

589 793 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 159 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá, but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 753 825 763 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle. As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica, the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle. A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people, that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for

159 his certain death.

764 Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

/221 cont./

765 775 that rises the nonmaterial part of the man ascends, his hikula and his soul and possibly something else which we do not yet understand. On occasion the owner of the hĩkula can be heard as he comes whistling to carry the hĩkula of the dead man to the place where all the others are to be found.

765 [276] [758] The men take great quantities of yopo and dance around the fire which relentlessly consumes the bones. They sing and dance all night long, while the relatives cry out against their neighboring enemies. The ceremony comes to an end in the morning, at which time the sablĩ pulls out the bones in order to pulverize them in a gourd.

[266] The gourd, covered with a leaf and containing the ashes which will be consumed in a broth of bananas during the forthcoming feast of the dead, is kept inside his house by a relative.

121 771 Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the Sanemá is insufficient, for in order to study the supernatural world of a tribe it is necessary to know the culture thoroughly, since the latter, in multiple activities, is a reflection of the former, and, furthermore, to enjoy the absolute confidence of the Indian so that he may expose without subterfuge everything that may be of interest to the researcher. Nevertheless, taking as a point of departure the data which we were able to obtain and those which have been published by various authors of unquestionable reliability, we dare to take up the matter of the religious life of the Sanemá, because, despite the fact that there are many traits similar to those of the other subtribes of the Yanoama, in general there stand out certain specific elements which will give us a better understanding of the metaphysical world of the Yanoama.

[184]

793 756 791 Yanoama society seems to have three theurgists or religious practitioners, but each one belongs to and officiates in a different supernatural sphere.

793 776 The first of the three is the hɛwĩawán, or the priest, who is the intermediary between the human community and Omao. He belongs to the pueblo which he represents as much as he does to the court of Omao. He lives in both worlds and frequently changes residence.

/221 cont./

793 [776 621] Since the Sanemá people cannot exist in good conditions without the continued and intimate contact with the house of Omao, sáiyawan, the priest makes himself indispensable in the grouping of a band, whose very existence is perpetuated in large part by the quality of the priest.

The hɛwīawán of the Sanemá devotes himself exclusively to filling his high office. For this reason he cannot work, or hunt, or fish, etc. like a common man, and he lives on the benefactions given to him by the community as compensation for the services which he renders to it.

/222/ In his frequent flights between the earth and heaven he commonly kills a vulture or sparrow hawk and that explains why he often returns with his mouth covered with blood, bringing some cashew birds and, on certain limited occasions, even a human leg, trophies which he obtained as he killed the enemy (23).

23. It is likely that all this represents the ideal habitus rather than the real one of the priest.

793 773 Before discussing the nature of the power of the hɛwīawán, we shall first narrate the genesis of the first hɛwīawán of the Sanemá, which will explain to us how it comes about that the hɛwīawán is able to fly and why he always goes about raised some 30 centimeters from the ground when he is on the earth.

There was a man who one day went into the forest to hunt. There he was met by a Great Jaguar, omaukõhe, who is a gigantic jaguar, master of the other felines, and who goes about in an upright position like a man. The jaguar caught the man and ate all his flesh, leaving the skeleton picked clean but without breaking a single bone. The man remained alive and asked the Great Jaguar to give him other flesh. The Jaguar gave him other flesh, but told him that henceforth he would be hɛwī (bat). [825] And from that time on the man hɛwīawán is also a bat. He is a very timid man; children love him very much, because he never gets angry and does not scold. When he is in the company of men, he spends his time singing songs, wásámo songs, which

/222 cont./

793 the men learn because of the frequency with which he sings them.
773 He sings during the day, but especially at night. Suddenly he
[776] interrupts his song and flies up into the sky, where he joins other hɛwĩawán in order to sup with Omao.

793 The hɛwĩawán must jealously keep a certain number of
784 taboos, and on the degree of care with which he keeps them depends, not only his power as a priest, but also the existence of
[262] all his people. Thus, for example, he must not eat crabs or other animals which in reality are men to them, just like eagles, etc.

[778] Should he do this, the "weight of the dead" kills his hikuladɛ, a disaster which, in turn, causes the death, not only
[726] of the priest, but also of a large part of his congregation. For the same reason, the hɛwĩawán never takes part in war or in any combat whatsoever, because, although he is invulnerable and no arrow or club can kill him, his hikuladɛ could not bear the "weight" of a man killed by his weapons. This is the reason why each Sanemá local group relies on a special chief for wartime.

793 The hɛwĩawán, who belongs to the court of Omao more than
[776] to the Sanemá community, does not marry a specific woman.
[836] He may have sexual relations with all the unmarried women of the group, but he is completely unconcerned about them and the children. He has no duties as either husband or father.

/223/ If a hɛwĩawán dies, any woman of the group may
[776] have a son predestined to be a hɛwĩawán. No one knows which
[781] of the boys born in the period immediately after the death of a priest may be the hɛwĩawán of the future, but one day the true hɛwĩawán will return from the forest where he has met the Great Jaguar, who changed him into a priest, replacing his human flesh with other flesh more worthy of his bones, the flesh of a bat-priest.

[771] He than informs the people of what has happened, and, as that election happens shortly after the death of a priest, the new hɛwĩawán tries to take the vacant place in time, assuring, in this manner, the continuation of uninterrupted contact which the Sanemá have had with Omao generation after generation.

/223 cont./

776 The Great Jaguar has certain relations with Omao, the
● 793 deified hero of the Sanemá, since his name, "Omao-kóhe," indicates such a relationship, and it is possible perhaps to speak of a vocation for the office of priest, since the Sanemá Supreme Being admits him, after his encounter with the Great Jaguar, into the court of Omao.

793 According to South American ethnology, it is surprising
171 to find a "specialist" in a nomadic preagricultural society, but, as we shall state below, this is the second time that we have found a similar case in Venezuela; the other one was that of the Warao wiʃiráto.

793 The Sanema priest is a member of the court of Omao, not
776 only because the Great Jaguar changed him into a bat, but also
778 because Omao gave him a hikuladɛ which is invisible, although it has a spherical shape like a ball, and the larger the hikuladɛ, the more powerful the priest.

The hikuladɛ of the priest, the informant explained, is like a globe which the hɛwĩawán keeps in his chest. We shall also see later that the other religious practitioner of the Sanema has a hikuladɛ too, but one which is essentially different. We
793 have the impression that the hikuladɛ of the priest contains "the
778 souls" of the ancestors who were destined by Omao to live there
775 and help the priest. Since the data obtained are, in our opinion,
793 insufficient, we do not want to hazard peremptory statements,
778 but it seems certain that the Sanemá priest also cures the sick,
755 particularly those who are suffering from fever. Our informant
[114] explained to us that the ancestors (hikula-dĩb), the people of the
[775] hikuladɛ of the priest, are the ones who cure the fever when the priest brings the hikuladɛ out of his chest and deposits it for a time on the body of the patient.

Sometimes the desired effect is not attained, and that indicates that the soul of the /224/ victim has already abandoned the
793 body and does not want to return. The hʃkula therefore constitute
778 a sort of supernatural "little pueblo" /pueblecito/ within the
628 Sanemá community in which the priest lives and do not wish to have any communication with the kʃkula-dib /sic/ of the neighboring pueblo. The priests from nearby pueblos do not visit each

/224 cont./

793 778 628 [776] other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the hɛ̃wĩawán gather with their hĩkula-dĩb.

793 778 775 The hĩkula-dĩb of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria, in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial community, and for this reason more than one priest is unnecessary. In the section of the illustrations[1] one can see the 532 hikuladɛ̃ of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees 793 there five hĩkula-dĩb, or souls of ancestors of the group in which 778 the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the 775 center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One 126 of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him 532 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is 793 based on the belief that a Sanemá must never speak of the insect 778 of the house of the hikuladɛ̃. As a matter of fact our informant 775 never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab 126 on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it 825 was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American ethnology.

171 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who 773 affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it 825 with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it payak, 778 a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to the hĩkuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá priest to note the Mataco custom of attributing a supernatural power to a maraca /gourd rattle/ with sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The similarity between the hikuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá and the "sacred maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

[1] [see p. 70 - -Analyst]

/224 cont./

793 The function of the scarab in the curing process is as fol-
755 lows: If the hɛ̃wĩawán wishes to cure a patient, he takes the
825 hĩkula from his chest and places it upon the patient. In order to effect the cure, the scarab opens an invisible hole in the chest of the patient, and the hikuladɛ of the priest enters through there.
[775] /225/ Once within the patient's chest, the hĩkula-dĩb come out of the hikuladɛ in order to combat and bring to the exterior the cause of the sickness. After a while the priest again takes possession of his hikuladɛ, and the treatment is fully successful. The informant did not want to mention the name of the caleopteran or even to talk about it, fearing that if he were to do so and if he were then to become sick, the priest would not be able to cure him, since the insect would not open a hole in the chest of the patient.

793 It is our impression that the priest only cures the ailments
755 that result from the presence, in the body of the sick person,
775 of the soul of a wandering deceased person who has approached the rancherias and whose very presence causes pain.

If we understand that the part of the Sanemá which goes to the house of Omao is the soul, we may say that the priest is concerned with the well-being of the same in the bodies of his companions, and that he represents the actualizing principle between the subject "the soul of the man" and the object "Omao," who enter into communication by means of the inter-
[171] vention of the priest. For the soul, which goes to live in the house of Omao as hĩkula-dĩb, we noted down the name of hɛ̃npĩrtĩb, which essentially seems to correspond in its character to the "bole" of the Waica (Zerries, 1958b).

793 The hɛ̃wĩawán may send a hĩkula-dĩb to a neighboring
775 pueblo in order to cause sickness among its inhabitants, but his
754 primary function is to guarantee the well-being of the souls of his community and to present them eventually to Omao at death.
793 It is interesting in this respect to note that the Surara and Pakidai,
754 subgroups of the Yanoama of Brazil, are of the opinion that
825 sicknesses are transmitted by a shaman of a neighboring pueblo
000 by means of sparrow hawks and bats. The Sanemá say that the

/225 cont./ The sanemá say that the
793 hɛwĩawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikulaɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
778 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[776] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
[126] propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[775] hɛwĩawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
774 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the hĩkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

/227 cont./

773 774 The Sanemá became discouraged in the face of the ferociousness of the monster and feared the day on which Chinanídmawan would again mistreat and kill them.

773 774 756 In those days there lived among the Sanemá a great sablf, very famous and extremely powerful, who began to think of how he could free them from this demon. The great sablf went off to the forest, and there he found a liana which seemed very suitable for his purposes. He cut a piece of the bejuco and returned. During the night he went to the house of Chinanídmawan in order to surprise him while he was asleep surrounded by his horrible trophies. In fact he did find him in a deep sleep; the sablf then introduced a piece of the liana up his anus. The demon woke up startled. He realized that a powerful sablf had found the means of killing him. In fact, shortly thereafter Chinanídmawan died, and the Sanemá exposed his corpse to the sun so that the flesh might rot. But because the demon had such tough skin, the flesh dried up and the skin remained intact; they then tried to burn it, but this was impossible, so they flung it into the forest and fled from the place.

773 774 The skin of Chinanídmawan, abandoned in the forest, gained access into the plants, animals, and men. That is why all male human beings, the animals, and the plants have within their bodies a hard and indestructible Chinanídmawan which is called hídkula,

774 [764] The hídkula is that part of the male which remains on earth after his death. When the body of a person is burned, his hídkula, on seeing the black cloud which rises from the fire, joins all the other hídkulas and they remain there for a long time... listening and listening to what comes from the world where men live.

[826] The size of the hídkula of a man corresponds to the measure of his torso, and the larger the hídkula is, the stronger is the person.

[764] [276] During the funeral rites, the men, under the influence of yopo, sing about their gigantic hídkula, and, in order to prove their gigantic strength, /228/ they invite each other to the wasamú, and they squeeze each other powerfully with their arms or with sticks. Among the men, only the priest, hɛwíawan, has no hídkula, because he is already a citizen of heaven.

[193]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

771
789 gesture adequately expresses. The point is that the primitive has not yet clarified his ideas on the exact relationship between cause and effect, between the wish and its realization—which is to say, between will and reality, subjective and objective. Another clear proof of this lies in the attitude towards pregnancy and childbirth, which we had already noticed among Uarema's people.

789 Even the belief in amulets is one aspect of the complete naturalness of the
831 supernatural! Shirian amulets are made from the dust of a dried leaf or piece of wood, wrapped into a tiny parcel inside a banana leaf, and tied round the arm.
[832] Some of these have the power to attract love, if not quite in the same sense as the love philtres of Medieval Europe. It should be borne in mind that what we call love—for us, the cultural refinement of a physical attraction—does not exist for the Indians. For them, nothing is involved but the physiological relationship, together with the satisfaction of fulfilling an individual need, a sharing of erotic excitement and as a result, the future increase of their stock. Thus the phenomenon of 'falling in love' is not present: it is simply the taking of a man, or a woman. There is no courtship, only the act itself. In the light of this it becomes clear that what the Indian hopes for from the amulet is not success in wooing a man or a woman already known and selected, but a happy outcome of all things sexual, upon which so much depends—the woman, the family and the continuance of his race.

789 The amulet is not a 'charm' such as we imagine it: it consists simply of a
757 substance which possesses the required power by virtue of its own nature—not by virtue of our belief in it—in exactly the same way as some vegetable extracts have the power to produce diarrhoea, and others the power to stop it. As a cure for diarrhoea the Indians take something prepared from a liana, which puts a stop to the trouble and restores the system to its normal state. The virtue of this substance and the way in which it acts is no more and no less occult than in the case of the amulet worn to attract success in love. The curative pill disappears into the mouth and its effects are felt elsewhere. The relation between the two regions is no more and no less mysterious than in the case of the love amulet: the human body is just as real, just as complex and just as unknown as the external world and other human beings.

756 The medicine-man is to be found in all Shirian tribes. He is the witch-doctor
● 793 and the physician for all general purposes. His superior is the *lahalle*, a kind of high priest, and a very, very rare bird, who possesses wonder-working powers of an unheard-of degree of effectiveness. Uarema assured me that the *lahalle* at

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Pulipuli—the only one then known to exist—could pick out an assassin from a group of ten men gathered for his ceremonies of exorcism. After a few passes made by the wizard, the guilty man lost his hair at one fell swoop, and was thus unmasked.

Endowed as I was with unimaginable powers, I became the *lahalla*. I was called 'Lahallatuan'. My watch, by the aid of which I could see the passing of the hours, predict the weather, foretell the course of journeys and cure certain ills (by applying it to the affected part) had also been promoted. No longer was it mere medicine-man's magic, but lahalla's magic.

VI

We were now an integral part of the Samatari tribe and in certain respects their moral leaders. The chief, glorying in his (our) red drawers, gave us the benefit of strange daily discourses in which he seemed to be inviting us to take part in his counsels and share in the planning of tribal activities. I had begun to learn the language, which had already interested me in the Canaracuni days, and was able to reply with a few more or less appropriate words, hoping that they would fit in with what I imagined he was talking about. My efforts were generally crowned with success and everyone shouted with glee at the sight of a white man speaking Shirian.

The world the Indians know, within the limits of their primitive conception, is a boundless forest criss-crossed by rivers and water-courses flowing in every direction. The final destination of these streams is not understood, or even thought of. In the centre of this forest is the tribe itself. Over there are other Indians, known only to few and spoken of from time to time. Somewhere in the same forest there are Indians with beards and clothes, outboard motors and guns—terrible Indians, tall in stature and always bad, angry men: such is the first impression occidentals make on these more apathetic wild peoples. The two of us, envoys of these distant Indians, had shown that we were not such bad men, and not in such a perpetual rage. In all humility and simplicity, we had become part and parcel of the Samatari themselves, and they on their side did not lack a real and disinterested friendliness towards us, as witness the behaviour of the boys, our admirers, who never lost a chance of overwhelming us with their kindness. That I should speak their language was the most wonderful

/118 cont./

574 628 on the morning of departure, return to their own village. In contrast to this hastily accomplished visiting by small groups or even individuals, there is the migration of whole villages. During the
● 796) great palm-fruit festival, which takes place in February and of which I shall show you a film in a few days, the villages visit each other, which is often done in such a way that the two villages celebrate first in the settlement of the one and the other. The various above-mentioned purposes of this intervillage intercourse
[184] are naturally combined in practice. The trading and visiting trips are responsible for the remarkable cultural unity of the Waika region, and the consciousness of this in the minds of the inhabitants.
574 On the other hand, in many cases they are the occasion and op-
721 portunity for quarrels and warfare; refusal to trade and refusal of
628 a girl lead at least to ill feeling, and, as was reported to us, neutral villages are sometimes invited to the palm-fruit festival solely for the purpose of attacking the men at a favorable moment in order to kill them and keep the women as booty. The language has a special word for this type of hostile act, and the procedure was described to us in detail, so there can be no doubt about its occasional occurrence.

628 In summary, the following may be said about the intervillage
182 relations presented in brief form. The balance between the two tendencies, the binding one and the separative one, both of which -- probably in correspondence to each other -- are expressed in remarkably vivid form, stamps the picture of the political organization in Waika country. The separative forces, in that they protect the detachment of the villages, prevent the formation of alliances on a wider scale, which could lead to political ascendancy, to regional groupings, to divisions -- in any case to a political unit extending beyond the village. Thus, in a cultural sense, these separative forces act indirectly in the same direction as the binding ones: both promote and maintain cultural homogeneity in a large territory. For since the individual villages are too weak to detach themselves from the leveling tensions /Verspannung/ with their neighbors, but, on the other hand, lasting, stable alliances cannot be achieved, political and cultural divisions

/118 cont./

628 are not feasible. The villages remain /119/ dependent on one
182 another in economic, sociological, and political respects, in connection with which the frequent change of partners guarantees the multiplicity of the contacts. Politically independent, with equal rights, and not anchored in any superordinate organization, the villages are the knots in a tightly woven network of active mutual relationships, in part of a positive kind, in part negative; the tension inherent in these relationships represents, on the one hand, the dynamic factor and, on the other hand, the stabilizing factor in the social life of the Waika.

621 Up to now I have used the term village as though it represented a stable unit; if we look at its internal structure, however, it turns out that this local body, the settlement community, very tightly united in itself, again is made up of individual groups which are distinguished from one another on certain occasions.
621 In many cases the festivals of human beings rather than their daily
796 life offer the opportunity to recognize the nature of their social
182 grouping; during festive occasions the community itself is represented and confirms this representation in ceremonial. Among
621 the Waika the ceremonial gift-exchange was the key to under-
431 standing the village structure. That is, after a successful large-scale hunt, in which the men of almost every house take part, it is customary to exchange baskets of roasted meat and a few bananas within the village. This exchange takes place, however, not between the individual houses, but between groups of houses; no baskets of meat are exchanged within the same group of houses, but rather only to and from the houses of the other groups. The village investigated by us was divided, according to the paths of exchange, into three groups of houses, which -- perhaps by chance -- were arranged in strips: on both sides of the oval several houses were combined in a group, and the two houses opposite each other in the middle likewise did not exchange gifts.
621 Now the next step must be to look at the reflection of the
611 sociologically inadequate term "group of houses" on the kinship level: the members of the individual groups of houses are to be characterized, according to their kinship relations, as bilateral and bilocal groups of families.

2: Becher

SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidai

796

/For ceremonies associated with the annual feast of the dead, see category 769./

/23 cont./

411 individual archers. The aforementioned men then shot three arrows into the air successively (one with a large lancet-shaped point, one with a small lancet-shaped point, and one with a bone point), and each one hit the leaf, usually even the center of it. This Indian [114] ability to hit targets even with an indirect shot has already been pointed out by Friederici and substantiated in the sources (107).

107. Friederici, 1907, p. 329.

I also observed, however, that not all the men were equally good archers, although from childhood on, of course, they are constantly handling bow and arrow. My servant Mateus and I each carried a shotgun, 20 caliber, with us, and the use of our guns aroused the interest of only a few men. The aforementioned three Surára and the Pakidái, however, as well as several other warriors, after a very short time, knew how to handle them just as well as bow and arrow.

[114] Koch-Grünberg came to similar conclusions on his journeys, for he writes: "This is not to say that every Indian is an accomplished hunter. Among these people, too, talents and inclinations are unevenly distributed..." (108).

108. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 59.

[422] It should be mentioned further that bows and arrows repre-
[796] sent the most valuable private property of every man, and they
[155] also play a large part in all magical and religious practices (cures of the sick, festivals, dances, etc.). Furthermore, the weapons
[437] are favorite trade items and gifts of honor which the Surára and
[431] Pakidái occasionally receive from the Xiriána or give the latter during visits (see pp. 13, 159/160). A young man who wants to
[584] marry a girl must also first make a bow and five different arrows for his future father-in-law. /24/ If a warrior dies, his weapons
[764] are burned with him, so that he may use them on his journey to the moon and on the moon itself (see p.150).

411 Before the Surára and Pakidái adopted the large reverse flat
173 bow from the Xiriána, I was told, their forefathers were acquainted with only the branch-bow.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

point, we pronounced that magic word 'work'—so potent that in the very act of pilfering, their hands were stayed.

We had brought with us a flask of mercury, for amalgamating metals, which aroused their curiosity—curiosity which turned to absolute amazement when they picked it up and became aware of its inordinate weight. By some dark and labyrinthine thought-processes, no doubt, they deduced that this terrible liquid constituted a bomb, and they drew back in horror shouting '*Bomba Amio*'.[1]

We didn't disillusion them. A little fear and dread disseminated among our porters might not be entirely without point, considering all the uncertain aspects of the journey and the curious make-up of these Indians. Yes, we said, that is the aeroplane bomb, and it would blow to pieces all the Samatari from the Parima, if they dared show themselves on our route. This greatly reassured the Shirians. At first they had been rather scared of meeting with an enemy, but now they could count on this terrifying weapon we had at our disposal which would also increase their own prestige in the eyes of the nomad tribes.

That night, there were some strange noises in the hut, about thirty yards away from our hammocks. Something interesting seemed to be happening, so we put out our candle and, through our mosquito nets, watched a curious scene.

The medicine-man was surrounded by the rest of the Shirians. He was in his usual position for exorcism ceremonies—sitting in his hammock with his legs dangling over either side. The chief's wife had a bowl of water and was dissolving something in it—something she was taking from a cluster of banana leaves in her lap. When she had put in enough, she passed the bowl to her husband, who held it firmly, slightly raised. Then he waited. Suddenly, on an unexpectedly powerful note, a chant came from the medicine-man. Then the chief drank long draughts out of the bowl, came down from his hammock, and began to walk with a rhythmic, solemn step, round the fire. All the men then drank in turn: then the women. Then the babies at their breasts were made to touch the bowl with their lips. Now they were all marching behind the chief, with rapid, tiny steps that covered very little ground, while the medicine-man himself jumped from his hammock and brought up the rear.

We were watching the Drinking of the Ashes—a ceremony symbolic of

[1] Their rendering of the Spanish 'avion' (aeroplane bomb).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

cannibalism. When someone dies in battle, or through some other violence—when he dies, that is, in the full prime of manhood—the body is cremated on a pyre and the ashes scrupulously gathered. Mixing these to a paste with water, they make a block which is wrapped in banana leaves and kept for the ceremony of the Drinking, by which they believe that the dead man's strength can enter their own bodies. Such ceremonies generally take place at large assemblies, people from neighbouring tribes also being present, and the festivities may last several days. Our Indians, however, wanting to assure a good augury for the voyage they were about to undertake with us, had limited themselves to a shortened version of the usual ceremony, since in these particular circumstances there was neither the time nor the opportunity for more.

II

In three little canoes, two of them the property of Frenario's people, we went down the Yevarehuri, making for the point where it is joined by a slightly smaller, darker stream flowing from the south—the Matahuri. It had been raining ceaselessly for days and the rivers were overflowing their banks, which made it difficult to find a camping-place for the night.

On the second day we had two fair-sized falls to negotiate. The third day's paddling brought us to the Marahuri, but we left it to the right of us, its mouth being apparently quite blocked by fallen trees, and entered a smaller stream just to the south of it, which offered quiet water and a clearly defined course between the giant vegetation of both banks. The Shirians told us that this new waterway was called the Toroli—that is, the Turtle—and that we had only to go up to the source to find the track crossing the cordillera which led to the north side of the Upper Parima river.

Our crew was hardly sufficient and progress was exasperatingly slow. Happily, there was plenty of game. Guans and curassow were plentiful, as well as monkeys and sloths—the Indians' favourite dish.

Our head man was a real lead-swinger. From the first day onwards he complained of a pain in his foot which made him draw the line at heavy work. Under the drenching rains that fell with every interminable afternoon, he would sit in the middle of the canoe, and also in the middle of the bananas we were carrying, holding a palm frond over his head. If we urged him to do

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 Several marriage alliances were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one of the Shamatari villages (Konabuma-tedi) when the war with Sibarariwë's group started, but these eventually broke down before any women were actually exchanged.

The second important event was the secession of a section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the development of hostilities between these cognate villages.

The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the initiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi sections (Patanowë-tedi) and villages to its north; this war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and has dictated the movements of the Patanowë-tedi from the time it began until now.

In order, the particulars of these three events are, briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a number of years after they moved to Patanowë-tëka. However, several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria) about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called Ruwahiwë, Sibarariwë's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Mamikininiwë, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered Ruwahiwë with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

Shortly after Ruwahiwë was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded

/114/

121 I shall describe to you in the following some aspects of the social structure of the same Indian tribe whose conceptions about the soul Herr Dr. Zerries has just discussed. The title, "Sociology," is too presumptuous, insofar as today I intend to deal with only the larger social units and thus touch upon only a small sector of the sociological field. I shall be able to present to you only raw expedition-material; the comparative arrangement of these data in South American cultural history will be the work of the next few months.

101 131 The Waika /Waica/ inhabit the upper Orinoco river region in southern Venezuela; their area of habitation, however, is not limited by the Sierra Parima, in which the Orinoco rises and which forms the mountain border with Brazil, but rather extends into Brazilian soil far beyond this mountain chain, about to the middle of the northern tributaries of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco. [161] The Sierra Parima therefore is more the backbone of the living space of this Indian group, which, according to the best estimates, contains about fifty thousand persons and an area of about half 137 the size of West Germany. According to external appearances, [132] this region is counted as tropical rain forest; seasonal differences are only slight and are practically without influence on the life 101 and culture of the people. The critical cultural importance of the 179 forest lies in its isolating effect: between the habitation area of [137] the Waika and the first mixed settlement there extends an almost [487] uninhabited forest-belt several hundred kilometers wide, and since there is very little river traffic and as other means of transportation there are only onerously traversable Indian paths, the culture of the Waika has been able to remain almost completely pure. Only a [197] few material things from our world have as yet found their way to them: a few machetes and axes, a few matches and fishhooks, which an American mission working from 1947 to 1955 under very difficult conditions and we ourselves brought along; since the Waika do not maintain any contacts of their own downriver, however, the barely begun acculturation process does not go on /115/ by itself, but ebbs away the moment the visiting whites leave Waika country.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/4 cont./

648 agencies, so to speak, in the primeval forest. It is also one of the duties of the personnel, however, to lay out plantations for their own living, where they grow manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas, mamão /papaya/, beans, tobacco, sugar cane, etc. In addition, they hunt and fish.

Since living conditions are more favorable on the Aracá and the work of the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) is more remunerative than that of the rubber gatherers, the population here is four times as large as on the Demini. The region of the Indians begins at the Cachoeira dos Indios (Ills. 2 and 3). There is not as yet, however, any Indian protection post on the Rio Aracá.

/5/

114 III. The Ethnic Affiliation of the Surára and Pakidái

As early as the beginning of the previous century important investigators, among them Alexander von Humboldt, Robert Schomburgk, Jean Chaffanjon, and Theodor Koch-Grünberg, undertook ethnographic and in part linguistic studies in the northern and western part of the area between Rio Branco, Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro among a few groups of the Xiriána /Shiriana/ (5b) and Waiká /Waica/, which were broadened and

[104] 5b. X is pronounced like sch /in German/.

deepened by Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster in 1954/55, especially with regard to the Waiká (6a) (Waika) in the catchment

[194] 6a. When the Surára and Pakidái pronounce the tribal name of the Waiká, their worst enemies, they always accent the final a.

[197] area of the upper Orinoco (6b). Their work was supported by North

6b. Zerries, 1956a.

American missionaries who have been in touch with the

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/5 cont./

114
997

aforementioned Indians for several years and used this opportunity to carry on their own ethnological investigations (7a, b). More-

7a. Barker, 1953.

7b. Finney, 1957.

over one should mention the Italian, Alfonso Vinci, who lived in southern Venezuela in 1953-1955 and there met Xiriâna and Waikâ groups (8).

8. Vinci, 1956.

On the subject of contacts with natives in the interior of that vast area between Rio Branco and Serra Parima, which Coudreau regarded as virtually unpeopled (9), that is, according to his view,

9. Coudreau, H.A., 1887, p. 255.

only west of the Rio Branco, between the lower Mucajaí and the lower Catrimani, did there live a few Indian groups "mal connus et redoutés" known as evil and feared/ (10), Georges Salathé

10. Coudreau, H. A., 1887, p. 247 and Map V.

and Donald Holdridge alone have reported as yet (11). The

114
648

11. The area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, as well as the region east of the Rio Branco, have for a long time been regarded as dangerous because, as Alexander von Humboldt and Robert Schomburgk have already reported, several of the tribes living there are supposed to have a very

/179 cont./

619 Each subtribe is composed of a certain number of local
[624] groups which form a band of extended families and provide the
596 peculiar characteristics of the group to which they belong, thus enriching the cultural patrimony of the subtribe. In this way we know the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, and Samatari as subtribes of the Yanoama, while the Pakidai and Surara appear to represent two local groups of the Samatari or of a subtribe whose name we do not know.

As local groups of the Sanemá we can mention the: Nabadub of the Ventuari, the Pubmatari of the Caranakuni, the Taclaudub in the region of the source of the Caura, and others whom we shall mention in the demographic section.

From what has been published up to the present regarding
[184] the Yanoama subtribes, we can gather that there exist among
[194] them more or less marked cultural differences, but it is also easy to demonstrate that these differences merely represent variants of one and the same cultural pattern, in spite of the fact that these divergences would correspond basically to a separation between these subtribes which would vary between 600 years as a minimum and 3,500 years as a maximum.

127 In order to facilitate the study of the distribution of the
128 Yanoama subtribes, we have put together the over-all map /see pp. 40-43/ which illustrates the present work. The data referring to the Surara and Pakidai settlements have been taken from the study by Becher (1960), who located them between the Demini and Aracá rivers in Brazil. The location of the Samatari of Brazil corresponds to the map published by Seitz (1960), and that of the Samatari of Venezuela to one drawn up by the Malariología, placed between the Waica on the upper Orinoco across from the mouth of the tributary Mavaca. From this latter source we have also taken the anthropogeographic data on the Waica and on the Sanemá of the Padamo. The reference map has been drawn up according to
[797] empirical data from the personnel of the Malariología, which were collected with the collaboration of the missionaries of this zone, above all, with that of Mr. James Barker of the New Tribes Mission, who has close contact with the Indians of this region.

Casapare
Cariban Indians SR7
Auake 555

A /186 cont./
131 cf. idem, 1922, p. 226) was visited on the Urumamy Falls by
175 a small group of Auaké (Arutani), who pointed out to the explorer that their land was on the source of the Paragua, where
A they had a communal house. But even by that time the Auaké
[617] (Arutani) had left their southern haunts to the Casapare and had
A migrated to the north. But a large number merged with the
[619] Casapare, and it is very likely that the Arutani of the upper Paragua represent the last vestiges of the Auaké.

A It is useful to stress the fact that both tribes, the Sapé and
101 the Arutani, belong among the primitive groups of South
174 America, and that their idioms constitute independent languages.
648 They have very probably served as buffers between the Caribe
[199] and the Yanoama, and while the former pushed them from the Paragua to the south, the latter absorbed them or displaced them
C toward the north. The Caribe have had the same function in
648 more recent times, when they were destroyed between the frontiers of white civilization and that of the Yanoama, and today only a few vestiges of these tribes remain.

A Regarding the idioms of the Sapé (Kaliana) and Arutani
197 (Auaké), it is interesting to point out that Loukotka (1935) found
194 Chibcha vestiges in the Auaké and the Kaliana. If we consider that the Yanoama are related to the Warao and that both have a relatively low cultural level, it is possible to believe in a substratum of marginal tribes with a Chibcha linguistic affiliation, to which the present Warao, Sapé, Arutani, and Yanoama tribes may possibly belong. We shall go into this interesting topic in the section which describes some of the linguistic aspects of the Yanoama /see pp. 38 ff./.

Y The most recent information that we have regarding the
114 Casapare was submitted by the previously mentioned Capuchin fathers, Armellada and Matallana (1942), by Gheerbrandt (1955), and by Montoya (1958).

Y The expedition of the Capuchin fathers was undertaken in
114 1940 with the intention of completing a missionary report on
● 797 the river and its native population. They went out in search of
162 men, and their conclusion that the Paraguá, apart from being a dangerous river and difficult to navigate, did not have large

Avake 555

/186 cont./ indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1942, p. 87) they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

/187/ This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history of the Yanoama. Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Púmpirí, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present volume only in the last decades. The marginal tribes, such as the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Uraricuera River starts.

According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail.

Makiritare SS 20

M
Y
648

/190 cont./ scorn them, and, at first sight, they seemed to be unworried, but the knowledge that they no longer live alone in the land of their fathers, and the fact of having heard that four days prior to our arrival /191/ at the conuco an Indian who had sought refuge by climbing a tree was shot by a Sanemá arrow and fell lifeless into the river, constantly tortured them.

M
Y
582
563
177
648
M
[186]

A powerful stimulus which always encouraged the Makiritare on their numerous trips was to get a wife among their neighbors of the same tribe. Nowadays, despite the intense scorn which the Makiritare profess toward the Yanoama, taking a wife from that tribe is not considered an impossible or degrading thing; there are many Yanoama women who have married Makiritare men (cf. Grelier, 1955b, p. 10). This matrimonial interchange inevitably carries with it an assimilation of cultures between the two tribes, a process in which the Makiritare cultural pattern will dominate that of the Yanoama and the Yanoama genes will infiltrate the Makiritare gene pool. There is not the least doubt but that the Sanemá, who were brought in for a short time, arrived at the upper Ventuari and Caura where they took up residence to stay, and that the present fusion between the Caribe and the Yanoama ought not to be explained so much by the good will of the former as by the vitality of the latter.

Y
167
563
177
648

Y
101

The Waica subtribe occupies the central part of the present Yanoama territory, that of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the mouth of the Ocamo, including also the southern bank of the river (Barker, 1953, p. 434). As we have already mentioned, they appear to live also in the general arc of the upper Rio Branco and its western tributaries, and Schuster (1958, p. 114) is very probably right when he says that the Sierra Parima does not bound the Waica zone, but that it extends to Brazilian territory.

Y
[77
● 997

We have already mentioned the first contacts which the Whites had with the Waica, and, after a somewhat unfruitful effort by Hamilton Rice at the beginning of the present century, the Waica world went without contact with science until the New Tribes Mission was able to start peaceful relations with the Waica through the missionary James Paul Barker. Some ethnographic data were also published on this Yanoama subtribe by several

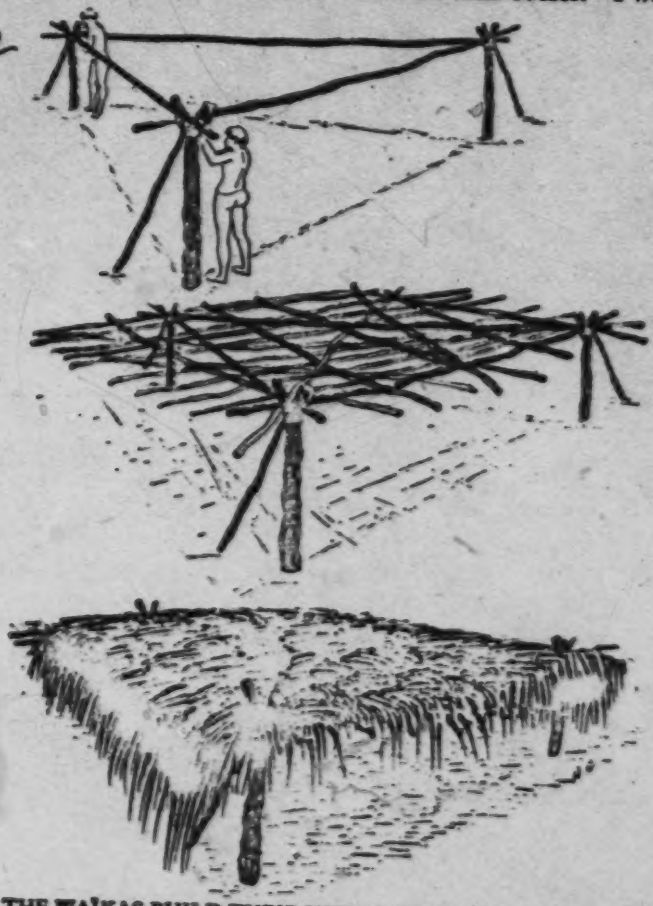
Y
114

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Wai'ca

797
123

On the riverside where the bananas were being stacked, we came across a strange character. He was a white man, young and prematurely bald, who watched the proceedings calmly, almost diffidently. His trousers and shirt were impregnated with the violet dye the Indians smear on their bodies. I went

342



THE WAIKAS BUILD THEIR HUTS IN A MATTER OF A FEW MINUTES. THE HUTS ARE ALWAYS BUILT TO THE SAME PATTERN

9:Greller K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

forward to meet him and he introduced himself as James Barker of the Evangelist Mission of San Fernando de Atabapo. He told me that he and a companion now up at the village had been living with the Waikas for the past seven months. He added that the Indians had sunk the boat in which they had come so that they were now quite isolated. He spoke their language fluently and his attitude to them was that of an indulgent schoolmaster.

I told him of our desire to see the village and he spoke about it to the Waikas. They were at once suspicious and reluctant; even when they eventually agreed, agreement was far from unanimous. Nevertheless, we fell in behind Barker and marched up a slippery path so muddy that I began to envy the forest people their nakedness. We came to a recently made clearing which had been cleared by fire and I tried to slip away up a little-used path. At once the Indians objected, their vehemence suggesting that the plantation to which the path probably led hid many wonderful secrets.

After twenty minutes of marching we came to a fence in a clearing. The fence was made of stakes lashed together forming a perfect circle. I thought this must be the village but we passed it by. A hundred yards beyond we came to another similar enclosure and this time our guides led us inside. As we entered I remembered what Pierre Ivanoff had told me of an earlier occasion when he and three companions had succeeded in reaching a Waika village. The first enclosure we had just seen was undoubtedly the counterpart of the one in which he had been forced to dance with his hosts before being allowed to go on to the second. In the present instance the dance was omitted from our programme.

Inside the enclosure, which was some thirty yards across, huts were built with their backs to the palisade, leaving a circular space in the middle shaded by a big tree. The corner of each hut consisted of three stakes in the form of a tripod supporting horizontal rafters of green wood tied in place by lianas. Wide-eaved roofs were thatched with banana leaves. The circle of fencing was unbroken except for the single entry. A pungent, musty smell pervaded the place as we

827 direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of
128 mountains. At a few points the Shukumöna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

128 Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extend-
131 ing nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the
133 Indians claim the Shukumöna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from
128 Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map
133 published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for
129 the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the
[126] Shukumöna-u of the Yąnomamö. I have used more recent maps,
[114] also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

126 In reconstructing the history of the village move-
174 ments, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have
361 relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the
133 Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimöwi-bora in Yąnomamö) and Raudal Guaharibo (Kamöbö-bora in Yąnomamö) near the present village of Kashorawö-tedi.

126 I employed three sources of information to locate
361 present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages
[115] I personally visited. Second, information from James P.
[777]

126 36 [116] [199] [184] Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he has lived among the Yąnomamö. Finally, on information obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yąnomamö have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants' accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi or Patanowä-tedi, I had the residents point in the direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps" required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain [802] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was the poverty of the Yąnomamö language in indicating numbers. The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu, dahiabä), two (porakëbä), and more-than-two (bruka). In establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to estimate the length of time each site was occupied before being abandoned.

175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five villages I have been guided by two historically known events. One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahekodo-tedi in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

At Patanowë-tëka she was given to Husiwë, by whom she had two sons (Orakuwë and Kariunawë). The approximate date of her move to Patanowë-tëka is 1935; it could not be much later, because a war broke out between Matakuwë's group and the group at Patanowë-tëka shortly after this date, and no visitors went between these two villages after hostilities commenced.

When the Patanowë-tëka group separted into two villages, Nabëyoma remained with the group that is presently called Patanowë-tedi. The two splinter groups entered into hostilities with each other shortly after they separated, and Nabëyoma's husband, Husiwë, was one of the first casualties. Nabëyoma, her co-wife (Shǫrökoma), and all their children fled from Husiwë's group and joined the other, cognate, group. Shǫrökoma, originally abducted from yet another Shamatari village, later returned to Patanowë-tedi, but Nabëyoma stayed with Patanowë-tedi's enemies. In 1951 when the treacherous feast was pulled on the group to which Nabëyoma belonged and the group fled to Mahekodo-tedi for protection, Nabëyoma was given to a man in Mahekodo-tedi, Remoriwë, as part of the cost of the alliance.

While Nabëyoma lived at Mahekodo-tedi, Barker and his colleague, David Landon, discovered that she still remembered how to write her name (Elena Valero). They informed the authorities in Puerto Ayacucho that a Brazilian woman was living with the Yąnomamö, presumable abducted by them from one of the settlements across the border, but

175 before action could be taken, Nabëyoma's new husband left
648 Mahekodo-tedi for his own village (Buinabŏwei-tedi), taking with him Nabëyoma, her two sons by Husiwë, and his own son by Nabëyoma.

[697] The Salesian Mission in Puerto Ayacucho was authorized to handle the affair and they sent a party of men to Buinabŏwei-tedi. The Indians did not wish to lose one of their women and the Salesian Mission party had to resort to forceful but prudent measures to recover Nabëyoma. She was returned to her family in Brazil in late 1956. Remoriwë subsequently made two unsuccessful trips to Brazil to find her.

174 As indicated above, the histories as I have recon-
175 structed them are no more than approximations as far as geographical locations and dates of occupation of the various sites are concerned. I am fairly certain, however, that the events themselves are accurately reported, especially those having to do with the warfare and raiding, because I obtained virtually identical versions from several informants on dif-
173 ferent occasions. The Yanomamŏ are good historians when it
726 comes to warfare. They have to be, lest they accept invi-
*628 tations to visit villages that have old grudges against them. All of them, even young children, know who killed their relatives and the circumstances in which the killings took place. These are the subject of constant discussion in the villages.
124 The first few descriptions I recorded of the 1950-51 feast
173 in which my group was victimized by a Shamatari village were obtained from young men who could not possibly have witnessed

847 two to three years, as women nurse their children until they
834 are at least two years old. Faced with this prospect, young
853 couples may decide to kill their child, irrespective of its sex.[1]

847 Infanticide is effected by a number of techniques. Most commonly, a woman strangles her child with a vine as soon as it is delivered. In other cases the child is allowed to suffocate if it does not begin breathing spontaneously. If the child begins to breathe, the mother may simply abandon it where it is born, or throw it into the jungle. A case of attempted infanticide came to my attention by way of the New Tribes Mission. A woman in one of the villages on the Padamo [197] River threw a new-born daughter into the jungle. The missionary living with the woman's village found the baby and took it into his own home. The woman had either struck the child on the head with an instrument, or the child had hit something when the mother threw it into the jungle, as there was a severe bruise on the side of the baby's face.[2]

[848] In another instance, a husband forced his wife to kill a child because he was certain that he did not sire the

---

[1] Occasionally the woman will arrange to have an abortion when the foetus is in an advanced state of development. The most common practice consists of rupturing the amnion by trauma: a pregnant woman will lie on her back and have someone, usually a female friend or kinswoman, jump on her abdomen. More rarely, she will have her husband rupture the amnion by squeezing her around the abdomen by an arm lock.

[2] The missionary ultimately adopted the infant and brought her to England when he left Venezuela.

raiding each other.[1]

That the shortage of women is the basis of internal feuding is illustrated by a practice recently adopted by members of the New Tribes Mission working in the village of Kosholowë-tedi, a small village on the Padamo River. The missionaries had a major problem with club-fighting within the village, most of which developed out of sexual liasons between married women and married men. The missionaries began an active campaign aimed at changing the coitus taboos during pregnancy and lactation. They were successful in their efforts, and the major result was that fighting was almost completely stopped. (Another result was a sharp increase in births.)

Village size and composition have an effect on the number of sexual liaisons within a village, as illicit affairs are more difficult to discover in large villages. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, as can be seen from Table 1, have less of a woman shortage than the other villages. Nevertheless, fights over women do break out in these villages. One of the clubfights I witnessed took place between two groups of Monou-tedi men in the village of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the Monou-tedi men had wanted to carry on an affair with the wife of Konoreiwë, another man of his village, but was unable to do so while the Monou-tedi lived in their own village. Once when the Monou-tedi moved to Bisaasi-tedi to

---

[1] See Chapter 5, Tables 5 and 6, for a summary of the causes of village splits and hostilities.

593 684 the enraged husband struck his wife in the face with a burning log, severely burning her mouth. Burning is a common punishment, and many women bear immense scars from wounds inflicted by enraged husbands. Just before I left the field [578] a fight developed in Patanowë-tedi between a man and his wife's lover. The lover was killed in the fight and the woman's husband punished her by cutting off her ears with a [665] machete. Some women have been killed by enraged husbands, but in most of these cases, the deaths resulted from wounds that were not intended to be fatal.

609 613 *621 *628 [598] Despite the fact that the tie between spouses is weak, marriages create strong ties between a man and his sister's husband. This tie is of great significance in the social organization of the Yąnomamö, as it is stable, well defined, non-ambiguous and politically important. The brother-in-law (shoriwë) tie is the key link in alliances between local descent groups, both within and between villages.

609 601 The term shoriwë (brother-in-law, MoBrSo, FaSiSo, friend) is used constantly by Yąnomamö men when they address any new male acquaintance. Shoriwë implies a set of obligations and duties between the speakers. One can depend on his shoriwë for material goods and gifts, and a request for such items from a shoriwë is not easily denied: shoriwë is, in addition to goods-giver, wife-giver. The Yąnomamö use this [997] [609] [101] term for foreigners as well; they use it so frequently that the Salesian Missionaries who have recently contacted a few

609 60 groups of Yąnomamö have begun referring to the entire tribe
799 as "Los Shori." The Yąnomamö address the missionaries with
609 this term hoping to maximize their chances of obtaining
601 desirable manufactured goods such as machetes and axes.

609 Men who are not related by blood constantly remind
52 each other of obligations when they use this kinship term.
601 A brother-in-law deserves respect, fair treatment, and gratitude. As the term is reciprocal, a conversation between two shoriwë is punctuated frequently by these constant reminders that each owes the other goods, services and respect by virtue of the fact that they stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other. Such conversations, usually about material goods or women, strike the outsider as something of verbal contests to determine which of the two speakers is more of a shoriwë than the other, i.e., who owes the other more goods, services, gratitude and generosity. One who has actually given a sister to the other's group has an advantage, in a trading sense, as he can more legitimately claim goods from the wife receiver.

#628 When men visit the village of an ally to beg, trade or
574 participate in feasts, they call all non-related men of that
609 village 'brother-in-law,' emphasizing the fact that they
601 stand in wife-giver relationship to them, and deserve, therefore, the generosity of the hosts.
583

#628 Alliances between villages involve, in addition to
527 military aid, mutual feasting and trading. It must be
574 remembered that alliances, no matter how many marriage ex-
583
581

000 rarily abandoning Konabuma.

174 195 *621 578 361 Matakuwë's group had three factions. Oroshowë, a man belonging to Matakuwë's faction, took a woman away from her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village of his own on the Shukumöna-u River. This split took place about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwë's vil-

174 175 *[628] 192 lages to avenge the death of Biawawë, the man killed in the feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was unable to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's

174 195 *621 361 [622] • [799] group to found their own villages: Warabawë-tedi, led by Newariwë, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwë. These last two villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time, as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Missionaries on the Cauabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group

361 [574] lived on the Shukumöna-u River, as men from Reyaboböwei-tedi

* [628] [792] danced there that year. When the Reyaboböwei-tedi left Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174 361 922 In about 1935 Matakuwë and his group moved to Kayurewë to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.

---

* [628] [1] Warabawë-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabëyoma.

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Urariçaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1] Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

184 648 721 contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. [411] [179] It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

184 562 *62 *628 578 721 Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered 721 *628 562 726 *707 77 [595] that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Ararican Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

---

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

11. Didihoma. See #28, Manassinawë, below.

12. Dimörama. This girl was abducted from a distant Shamatari village (Kohoroshi-tedi, probably in Brazil, on the Upper Cauaburi River) by the Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mömariböwei-tedi. Her husband--the man to whom she was given after being abducted--shot her in the stomach with a barbed arrow, wounding her gravely (see Shiborowë, below). The man was forced to flee from the village and take refuge in Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as other men in the village planned to use this incident as an excuse to take his wives from him. In late 1965 a party of men from Lower Bisaasi-tedi, including Shiborowë, set off for Mömariböwei-tedi to 'visit.' I accompanied them on their invitation. They were going to Mömariböwei-tedi to take Dimörama away from her protectors by force, if necessary, and asked me to come along knowing that I always travelled with a gun, presuming that my presence, with a gun, would aid in their objective. The girl was very nearly dead when we arrived (four months had passed since she was shot, and the wound was badly inflected). As the Bisaasi-tedi were one of the only allies of the Mömariböwei-tedi, they gave up the girl without much argument, since she would have died anyway. (The New Tribes Missionaries took the girl to the Territorial Capital by canoe for surgery in January 1966. She recovered from the wound and is presently living in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.)

21. Kakoma. This is one of the seven women abducted from the Patanowë-tedi in late 1964 by the Monou-tedi. She was taken from her Monou-tedi husband by force by the Lower Bisaasi-tedi and given to Koobauwë, one of the village bachelors.

23. Katabema. See Shiborowë, below.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968). 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

that I had to become very much like the Yąnomamö to be able to get along with them on their terms: sly, aggressive, and intimidating. 114 123

Had I failed to adjust in this fashion I would have lost six months of supplies to them in a single day or would have spent most of my time ferrying them around in my canoe or hunting for them. As it was, I did spend a considerable amount of time doing these things and did succumb to their outrageous demands for axes and machetes, at least at first. More importantly, had I failed to demonstrate that I could not be pushed around beyond a certain point, I would have been the subject of far more ridicule, theft, and practical jokes than was the actual case. In short, I had to acquire a certain proficiency in their kind of interpersonal politics and to learn how to imply subtly that certain potentially undesirable consequences might follow if they did such and such to me. They do this to each other in order to establish precisely the point at which they cannot goad an individual any further without precipitating retaliation. As soon as I caught on to this and realized that much of their aggression was stimulated by their desire to discover my flash point, I got along much better with them and regained some lost ground. It was sort of like a political game that everyone played, but one in which each individual sooner or later had to display some sign that his bluffs and implied threats could be backed up. I suspect that the frequency of wife beating is a component of this syndrome, since men can display their ferocity and show others that they are capable of violence. Beating a wife with a club *is* considered to be an acceptable way of displaying ferocity and one that does not expose the male to much danger. The important thing is that the man has displayed his potential for violence and the implication is that other men better treat him with respect and caution. 114 123 152 [593]

After six months, the level of demand was tolerable in the village I used for my headquarters. The Indians and I adjusted to each other and knew what to expect with regard to demands on their part for goods, favors, and services. Had I confined my fieldwork to just that village alone, the field experience would have been far more enjoyable. But, as I was interested in the demographic pattern and social organization of a much larger area, I made regular trips to some dozen different villages in order to collect genealogies or to recheck those I already had. Hence, the intensity of begging and intimidation was fairly constant for the duration of the fieldwork. I had to establish my position in some sort of pecking order of ferocity at each and every village. 114 121 123

For the most part, my own "fierceness" took the form of shouting back at the Yąnomamö as loudly and as passionately as they shouted at me, especially at first, when I did not know much of their language. As I became more proficient in their language and learned more about their political tactics, I became more sophisticated in the art of bluffing. For example, I paid one young man a machete to cut palm trees and make boards from the wood. I used these to fashion a platform in the bottom of my dugout canoe to keep my possessions dry when I traveled by river. That afternoon I was doing informant work in the village; the long-awaited mission supply boat arrived, and most of the Indians ran out of the village to beg goods from the crew. I continued to work in the village for another hour or so and went down to the river to say "hello" to the men on the supply boat. I was angry when I discovered that the Indians had chopped up all my palm boards and used them to paddle their own canoes[5] across the river. I knew that if 114 123 [199]

[5]The canoes were obtained from missionaries, who, in turn, got them from a different tribe. [501] [439]

Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the several missionaries who have recently located posts at a number of locations in Yąnomamö territory. The tools that they give to their local people are eventually traded inland to more remote villages so that all the Yąnomamö, even those who have not yet had any direct contact with outsiders, now have steel tools.[7] Before the missionaries arrived, the Yąnomamö occasionally obtained steel tools from the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians, who have long been in contact with civilization. Some of the Makiritare made periodic canoe trips in the last century as far east as Georgetown in order to obtain these tools. Kąobawä told me that when he was a young man, his village had a single piece of steel, a portion of a broken machete that came ultimately from the Makiritare Indians by way of several intermediate Yąnomamö villages. Everybody in the village used this tool when they made their gardens. It was hafted on a split stick and used as an axe. I have seen broken machetes used in this fashion in the more remote, steel-poor villages.

The Yąnomamö usually fell the big trees toward the end of the wet season, although I have seen them do it at all times of the year. In general, the clearing of the land tends to be an activity of the wet season while the burning is done during the dry season, but this schedule is by no means rigorous. An adequate burning can be achieved at the peak of the rainy season, provided that there are two days of sunshine in succession. The dead brush and the leaves of the large trees dry out rather quickly in the sun, provided that they have been lying on the ground for a sufficiently long period of time. The trunks of the large trees are never burned, so that a newly cleared garden is strewn with logs lying helter-skelter all over the cleared patch. These serve as boundaries between individual gardens, as the crops belong to the person who plants them.

Each man clears his own land. Brothers will usually clear adjacent portions of land and, if their father is still living, his garden will be among theirs. The headman of the village generally has the largest garden, as he must produce larger quantities of food; he is obliged to give food away at feasts. He can frequently enlist the aid of other men to help him make a large garden. Kąobawä, for example, is helped by a younger brother, a brother-in-law, and the latter's son. Once in a while one of his sisters who lives in a different village visits for a long stretch of time, and her son-in-law also helps Kąobawä work in the garden during these visits.

After the brush has dried out and the larger trees felled, the portable timber and brush is gathered up into piles and burned, each man having several fires going in his own patch, to which he hauls the brush as he gathers it up. Usually, the fires are built under or next to one of the larger logs. In this way the logs dry out even more completely and can be easily chopped up by the women for firewood. The ashes are not scattered to improve soil fertility.

If the new site is a great distance from the previous garden, the men will have to make numerous trips between the two sites in order to transport the plantain cuttings. If an ally's village is closer to the new garden site, some cuttings can be borrowed from his gardens, thereby reducing the transportation labor. Each mature plantain or banana plant sends out suckers which sprout a few feet away from the adult stalk. When the Yąnomamö cut the bunch of plantains or bananas from the producing plant, they also cut the entire plant down to permit the younger suckers to receive the sunlight. The larger

[7] One missionary told me that he has given the residents of his village approximately 3000 machetes over the past eight years! These are traded inland to more remote Yąnomamö.

244 [177] [252] [799] Many of the Yąnomamö villages have recently obtained bitter manioc, a poisonous variety that must be leached of its toxic ingredient before it can be eaten. This variety is grown in large quantities by the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians–and by rural Venezuelans–and most of it has been introduced to the Yąnomamö recently by missionaries. Where the Yąnomamö are in direct contact with the Makiritare, they have, of course, adopted the crop without the intervention of the missionaries.

Next in importance are three other root crops: taro, sweet potatoes, and mapuey. [252] All of these resemble potatoes; they are usually boiled, but occasionally they are roasted directly over the coals.

245 [423] The Yąnomamö also cultivate a species of palm tree that produces a large crop of fruit each February and a much smaller crop in June. Each tree is owned by the individual who planted it, and his rights to the fruit continue even after the garden has been abandoned. It takes about six or seven years for a newly planted tree to produce its first crop, so the Yąnomamö are quite reluctant to move very far away from sites where they possess producing groves of these trees. When they do move, they return each year to collect the peach-palm fruit. They try, as well, to move to an abandoned garden that still has producing peach palms. If thieves have been raiding the unguarded crop, the Yąnomamö may cut the trees down, keeping the wood to make bows. They would sooner destroy an item of personal property than permit others to exploit it without permission.

243 [262] Maize is probably next in importance, but in a special sense. It appears to be cultivated as an emergency crop because its seeds are light and easily transported. A group that must move its garden a long distance can carry large quantities of maize seed and produce a substantial crop in a relatively short period of time. Maize does not, however, under normal circumstances, figure prominently in the daily diet of the Yąnomamö.

Cane for arrow manufacturing is also grown. The mature plant consists of a long, slender, pithy cane that has no joints or branches and is ideally suited for arrow shafts. The Yąnomamö use the cane just as they harvest it. Their arrows are over 6 feet long. Wing feathers from the larger species of wild turkey are used to fletch the arrow. On [237] each side of the shaft, one feather is tied with finely spun cotton fibers, being attached in such a way that the arrow will spin when it is released; its accuracy is thus improved in the way a bullet's accuracy is improved by rifling in a gun barrel. A nock is carved [322] from wood with an agouti-tooth knife; it looks very much like a golf-ball tee when finished, except that it is grooved at the large end where it will be fitted to the bowstring. [314] The nock is inserted in the narrow end of the cane and held fast with pitch adhesive and [284] a tight wrapping of fine cotton thread. The large end of the cane is not altered if it is to take a curare tip, since it tapers to a fine point and, therefore, blends into the thin curare point. If the point to be mounted is of the lanceolate type, the tip of the cane is cut off at its maximum diameter, wrapped with heavy cord, and the point jammed into the cane pith with considerable force. The fiber wrapping prevents the cane from splitting while the point is being mounted. The finished product is a very handsome [531] piece of work, and the Yąnomamö are proud of their arrows. They decorate the bamboo points by painting them red and adding black designs, and they attach a few colorful [422] feathers to the fletched end. A seasoned arrow is a prized possession, in high demand in [437] the trading network.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3-3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebawä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3-3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December–January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yąnomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 * SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kaobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yanomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yanomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*628 begun cultivating an alliance with a third Shamatari group, one that was related to the two that conducted the massacre in 1950. The new Shamatari group, Paruritawä-teri (see map, Fig. 2-8), was at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, but on feasting terms with the *628 Möwaraoba-teri. Kaobawä's group persuaded their new Shamatari allies to invite the 574 Möwaraoba-teri to a feast and planned a massacre similar to that of 1950, but with the 726 tables reversed: Kaobawä's group would lie in ambush, while the Paruritawä-teri attacked the guests within the village. The Möwaraoba-teri were being ravished by a malaria [131] epidemic at this time, and only a handful of them actually came to the feast: The others were too sick to travel. With the aid of their newly found allies, Kaobawä's group managed to kill three of the five men and abducted four of their women. The other two visitors escaped to tell of the treachery. This revenge feast was only considered to be partially successful, and Kaobawä's group was not satisfied with the outcome. Their Shamatari allies, Paruritawä-teri, were obliged to abandon their site to avoid the revenge raids, splitting into two groups in the process: Mõmariböwei-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri, both continuing to remain friendly to Kaobawä's group.

*628 In early 1965, just a few months after I began my fieldwork, Kaobawä and his 574 supporters left to visit Reyaboböwei-teri, one of the two Shamatari allies, hoping to 726 conduct another treacherous feast for the Möwaraoba-teri. They left a few men behind 123 to protect the women and children. The men were gone almost two weeks. All during this time, those who remained behind flocked to my mud hut at dawn and remained in it the whole day, not permitting me to leave. Every hour or so they asked to see my shotgun. I soon discovered that they were frightened and suspected that the Widokaiya-teri were going to raid them to abduct women, for they knew of the plot. My hut lay on the path most likely to be taken by Widokaiya-teri raiders, and the few remaining men stood guard next to my door, hoping to intercept the raiders should they attack at night.

I, unknowingly, guarded the women and children by day with my shotgun, while the men did the same at night with their own weapons. This incident indelibly underscores the almost complete lack of trust between allies; the members of Kaobawä's group expected a raid from their friends and allies rather than from their enemies!

About ten days after the men had left, six visitors from another allied village [438] passed through Upper Bisaasi-teri hoping to trade. It was obvious to them that the men [203] were away and that the women were frightened. They carried word of the situation up the Orinoco River to their own allies, one of which was the Mahekodo-teri.

The evening before the men returned from their trip, one of the Salesian Mission- [197] aries, Padre Luiz Cocco, visited me, having traveled up the Orinoco River by dark—a dangerous undertaking at that time of the year. Padre Cocco had just received word by short-wave radio from the mission at Mahekodo-teri that a large party of men had left for Bisaasi-teri intent on capturing women. They had learned of the poorly guarded women from the six visitors and were determined to take advantage of the situation.

My house was full of women and children at dawn the following day, and the raiders were probably en route. I was in a difficult situation. On the one hand, if I told the Indians of the rumor, it would have been sufficient cause to start a war between Kaobawä's group and the Mahekodo-teri. This would have been most unfortunate if the story proved to be false. On the other hand, I dared not remain silent. If raiders were indeed coming, they would probably kill the defenders to capture the women. Fortunately, Kaobawä and the men returned early in the afternoon, and I was able to remain

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited aid from their allies. Kąobawä's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that took the woman away from the cruel husband.

When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yąnomamö had deceived the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.[1] Thereafter, the two groups were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered. If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebawä told me of a raid he went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebawä, the raid was not a good one because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by Torokoiwä, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwä got sick of seeing this, so he shot the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

---

[1] The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yąnomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yąnomamö villages, as the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yąnomamö, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women. One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomoboni*, is the ultimate form of violence. Kaobawä's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kaobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yanomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Sitäwä, coveted my British commando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

/57 cont./

551
162
[802]

Estimated Age (315)

315. These Indians count only to three, so I could only estimate the ages given.

Hewemãõ (316) -- chief and medicine man — 42 years

[123]

316. I was able to learn all the names only after my adoption into the tribe, for they are kept a strict secret from outsiders. But even then the individual men and women themselves never told them to me; I learned the names only from other members of the tribe, and, to be sure, always in a whisper. If they call each other in a loud voice, they use Portuguese names which they have heard from palm-fiber gatherers; I too had to give names to several members of the tribe.

Koentemá -- his first wife (from the Pakidã tribe) — 24 years
Kanikawõ -- son — 8 years
Daughter (has no name yet (317) — 1 year

[553]

317. Children are given their names only after the completion of their third year (see pp. 201 ff.).

Yaripanamá -- his second wife (from the Aramamesterí tribe) (She had a daughter who died in infancy.) — 35 years
Maxiuamá -- daughter of Hewemãõ and his former wife Taímakána, who died in childbirth — 9 years

/118 cont./

159
734
752

564. (cont.) Manoel Antonio Gómez, who succeeded in saving his life. The chief was said to have been very angry at first over the arbitrary action of the grandmother, but then, when he saw that the little one had recovered, he calmed down.

123
153
[177]

Most men, after but a short time, had no difficulty handling our two guns; a few were soon even operating the outboard motor, and the Surára chief Hewemão, who showed great interest in my camera, took very acceptable pictures with it.

153

The reasoning power seems to be somewhat more strongly developed among the men than among the women (565).

[114]
[191]

565. This conclusion agrees with an observation by Baldus among the Tumerehã, and the scholar adds a remark which could also be applied to the Surára and Pakidái: "The differences in the talents of the sexes are perhaps the result of their way of life and division of labor. Thus, among the Tumerehã, the man's way of acquiring food has probably developed his acuteness, for he does not merely gather fruits, like the woman, but also goes hunting..." (Baldus, 1931, p. 119).

802 /119/

XII. Counting and Conception of Time

The Surára and Pakidái count only to three:

1 -- mahón

2 -- porokabõ

3 -- prukatabõ.

Surára
Pakidái

/119 cont./

802 Then comes much -- pruká -- and very much -- pruká, pruka. The opposite of that, little, is called -- porkotauê. One hand is called mahõn imêk, and both hands, porokabõ imêk. The fingers -- imixõk -- are never used as an aid in counting.

802 The Indians named, to be sure, can determine at a
804 glance whether a quantity has become larger or smaller, but they do not have any way of expressing it in numbers. For example, if 20 arrows are standing together and one increases or reduces the bundle by only one during the owner's absence, he will notice this change at once upon his return.

805 The day begins with the rising of the sun -- petamahujehãu --
821 (Surára), -- bemututuorelí -- (Pakidái) and ends with the setting of the sun -- peimaujafuk -- (Surára), -- betamtíte -- (Pakidái). The place where the sun rises, however, is called peiuxomoprahomoprariekohê by both tribes, and the place where the sun sets, peiuximaakuimate. The rhythm of the day is determined by the position of the sun -- peniboínxi -- (Surára), -- benibeũx -- (Pakidái), the degree of light, the temperature fluctuations, and the wind -- ibokõ -- (Surára), -- yarí -- (Pakidái). In the morning, I was told, a light wind is usually felt, at noon it is almost always calm, and in the afternoon it blows somewhat stronger.

The day is called petamhâruk, the morning henahá, the evening -- petamahuwetehafik --, and night -- petamatíti. There are no designations for noon and midnight, nor for year, month, and week. One speaks only of the dry season -- peuhaxtiũ -- and the rainy season -- peuõnk.

821 Besides the word for moon -- perimbõ --, there are also designations for new moon -- istoríbe -- and full moon -- perimbõabreu --, as well as for eclipse of the moon -- peauábe -- (Surára), -- hubári -- (Pakidái). The eclipse of the sun is called xomokã by both. There are no special names for individual stars and constellations; one merely speaks in general of stars --
000 purimá -- and big stars -- purimá hreu. /The "Bibliography," pp. 120-129, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 the Quadu confluence we had wheeled round somewhat to the north, towards more uneven country where fruit was scarce, its place being filled by palm-hearts, a slightly laxative diet.

[802] It was night and Uarema was sitting underneath my hammock in the camp, counting the days. First on his fingers, then on his toes: three times altogether, which meant sixty days, or two moons, 'two pulipuli'.

The Samatari were listening, slowly taking in the idea and its implication: because now we had a plan of action for taking our departure, and it was based on these 'two pulipuli'. Our story had been thoroughly rehearsed in a council of war, with Uarema, Hashimo and Solituan in addition to our two selves. Sempronio was still with the boys. By now he was so well and truly Samatari-ized as to be unrecognizable. Narcissus and his companion had mysteriously disappeared.

The Guayca had approved of the plan, which was after all a simple one with no devious machinations about it. On the Merevari, from which we had come, we had a dump of merchandise, including everything anyone could possibly want. There was red cloth, which would make loincloths for the Samatari, and machetes, knives, axes, even dresses for the ladies, long lengths of cloth, shirts, and numerous remedies for sickness, besides something that counted even more—a big stack of guns. We would go to the Merevari accompanied by the Samatari, recover our store of goods, distribute it to them, and then altogether in a band, dressed, armed and equipped in all this finery, return to the Aracosa to live, making war on all their enemies, who would soon be laid low with the help of the guns.

Such was the story which the Guayca—interested parties themselves—undertook to spread among the Samatari. The latter thought it over well, and decided that it was reasonable enough. Every now and then, somebody passing would ask: 'Two pulipuli?'—just as if he was greeting us, or saying 'Good night'. Certainly, one must not hurry with Indians—one of the things they reproach us for is, in fact, our haste. This, combined with our hairy faces and our grim expressions, our stature and our superhuman air, makes us bad Indians, terrible as thunderstorms.

In a few days everyone was convinced that the plan was a good one. Fingers were counted to determine the length of the journey to the Merevari—which no one knew, though they had a general idea of its course. If we went direct, without retracing the steps we had taken on this provisioning march, or only

/486 cont./

825 821 [794] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame," "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 776 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

[753] "Sulilíwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 754 Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are re- [756] ligious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them.

Numbers and Measures

• 802 The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

126 36 D16 [199] Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he has lived among the Yąnomamö. Finally, on information [124] obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yąnomamö have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants' accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mąmariböwei-tedi or Patanowä-tedi, I had the residents point in the direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps" required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain [102] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was the poverty of the Yąnomamö language in indicating numbers. The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu, dahiabä), two (porakëbä), and more-than-two (bruka). In establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to estimate the length of time each site was occupied before being abandoned.

175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five villages I have been guided by two historically known events. One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahekodo-tedi in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

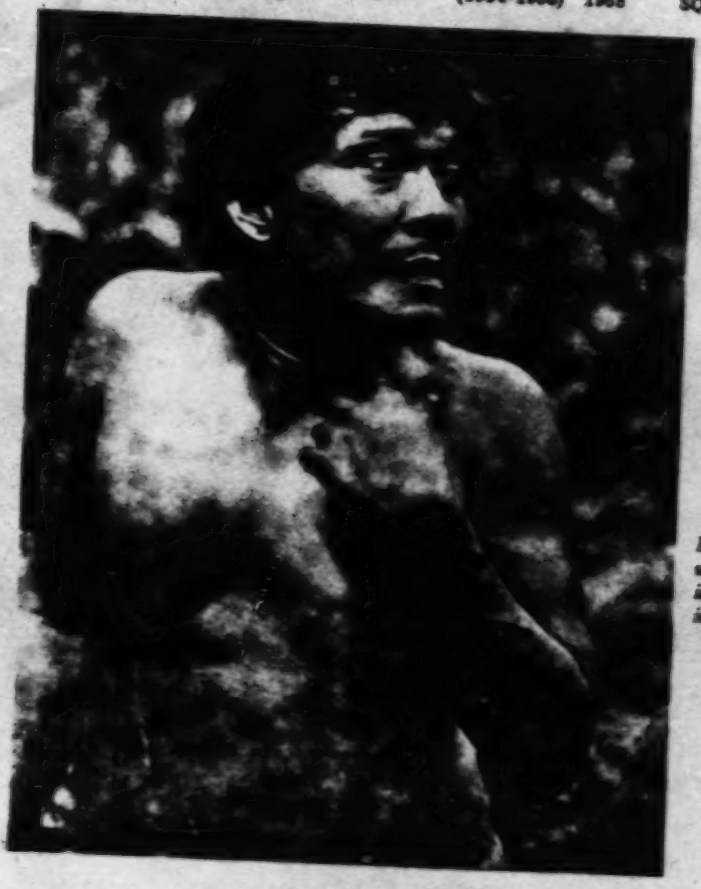


Fig. 1-3. Kaobawä, the war leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yanomamö, *if*, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

Kaobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yanomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kaobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kaobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

TABLE 3-3
SEX-RATIO DATA ON SELECTED VILLAGES

	Males	Females	Totals
Upper Bisaasi-teri	37	48	85
Lower Bisaasi-teri	25	26	51
Monou-teri	34	32	66
Réyaboböwei-teri	52	46	98
Mõmariböwei-teri	50	46	96
Patanowã-teri	122	90	212
Aikam-teri and Roko-teri	129	108	252
	449	391	840

Table 3-3 gives sex-ratio data on seven groups of Yąnomamö. The first three villages are not truly representative of the population in general, but are included because they have been frequently discussed in the text.

They are not representative because some 15 men from these villages were killed in a single treacherous feast in 1950, a significant fraction of the adult male population. These feasts are not very frequent. The three groups are allied to each other and have been extremely successful at coercing two neighboring Shamatari villages out of women; a surprisingly high proportion of their women come from these allies. As we shall see, they have been successful because of the geographical and historical relationships that characterize the alliance network in this area.

DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS As is apparent, there are more males in the Yąnomamö population than females. This demographic fact results from the practice of selectively killing female babies: *female infanticide*. The Yąnomamö also practice male infanticide, but because of the preference to have a male as their first child, they unknowingly kill more females than males. The Yąnomamö have only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. They are, accordingly, poor statisticians. They are quite unaware of the fact that they do kill more female babies, and every time I questioned them about it, they insisted that they killed both kinds—"more-than-two" of both kinds.

A child is killed at birth, irrespective of its sex, if the mother already has a nursing baby. They rationalize the practice by asserting that the new infant would probably die anyway, since its older sibling would drink most of the milk. They are most reluctant to jeopardize the health and safety of a nursing child by weaning it before it is three years old or so, preferring to kill the competitor instead. Kąobawã's wife, Bahimi, killed a newborn male shortly after I began my fieldwork. She later told me, quite tearfully, that it would have taken milk away from Ariwari, Kąobawã's favorite child. Ariwari at the time was over two years old, but Bahimi refused to wean him. Sometimes a child is killed simply because the mother doesn't feel that she can care for it properly and that it would be an inconvenience to have to tend a baby. I once saw a plump, well-fed, young mother eating a large quantity of food that would have been suitable to give to an older infant. Her emaciated, filthy, and nearly starved child—about two years old—kept reaching out for the food. The mother explained that the baby had gotten a bad case of diarrhea some time ago and had stopped eating. As a consequence, her milk dried up. She refused to attempt to feed it other foods because "it did not know how to eat other foods." When

Surára
Pakidái

/119 cont./

802 Then comes much -- pruká -- and very much -- pruká, pruka. The opposite of that, little, is called -- porkotauê. One hand is called mahõn imêk, and both hands, porokabõ imêk. The fingers -- imixõk -- are never used as an aid in counting.

802 The Indians named, to be sure, can determine at a
804 glance whether a quantity has become larger or smaller, but they do not have any way of expressing it in numbers. For example, if 20 arrows are standing together and one increases or reduces the bundle by only one during the owner's absence, he will notice this change at once upon his return.

805 The day begins with the rising of the sun -- petamahujehâu --
821 (Surára), -- bemututuorelí -- (Pakidái) and ends with the setting of the sun -- peimaujaâuk -- (Surára), -- betamtíte -- (Pakidái). The place where the sun rises, however, is called peiuxomoprahomoprariekohê by both tribes, and the place where the sun sets, peiuximaakuimate. The rhythm of the day is determined by the position of the sun -- peniboínxi -- (Surára), -- benibeũx -- (Pakidái), the degree of light, the temperature fluctuations, and the wind -- ibokõ -- (Surára), -- yarí -- (Pakidái). In the morning, I was told, a light wind is usually felt, at noon it is almost always calm, and in the afternoon it blows somewhat stronger.

The day is called petamháruk, the morning benahá, the evening -- petamahuwetehaũk --, and night -- petamatíti. There are no designations for noon and midnight, nor for year, month, and week. One speaks only of the dry season -- peuhaxtiũ -- and the rainy season -- peuõnk.

821 Besides the word for moon -- perimbó --, there are also designations for new moon -- istoríbe -- and full moon -- perimbóabreu --, as well as for eclipse of the moon -- peauíbe -- (Surára), -- hubári -- (Pakidái). The eclipse of the sun is called xomoka by both. There are no special names for individual stars and constellations; one merely speaks in general of stars --
000 purimá -- and big stars -- purimá breu. /The "Bibliography," pp. 120-129, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/487 cont./

804 They determine measures by comparing one thing with another. Thus, a man lies down on the ground to determine the distance which separates the posts which he is going to plant for setting up his hammock. In the same way the Indian measures the size of his belt by means of a string before making himself a woven cotton belt of the same length as that obtained with the string.

Weights are determined by lifting the object and mentally comparing its weight with that of other objects which have been lifted previously.

805 Time Reckoning

The Guaika /Waica/ divide the solar day as follows: morning, while the sun rises; the period of midday, while the sun is high in the heavens; afternoon, until the rapid setting of the sun; and night. A more precise time of day is indicated by pointing to where the sun is at the moment, where it was, or where it will be when a certain event will occur.

A period of time is correlated approximately with the distance that can be covered during this time. For example, they say: "We shall arrive at the house when the sun reaches that height (and they point to it)." Or they would say: "He will be back in the time that it would take you to go from here to the river."

The Guaika do keep count of the days. They count the weeks by the phases of the moon. They also count the lunar months. The seasons of the year are reckoned according to the cycle of the fruits. A year is the time that passed between two similar harvests.

114 Birth

This part of my essay has been kindly written for me by Mr. Edwin Killam, to whom we must express our thanks for his esteemed collaboration.

Surára
Pakidái

/106 cont./

769 When the mixing of bone ashes, which lasted about two hours, was finished, Porêhiwõ returned the half-empty little jamaru vessels to the relatives, who, amid lamentations, took them for further safekeeping. Then a solemn procession began, in which, however, the Surára chief did not take part. Karenauõ, the Pakidái chief, strode ahead, followed by Porêhiwõ and Kurikayawõ, each of whom held in his hand one of the large jamaru vessels filled with bone ashes, a little urucú, and a few down-feathers of the gavião-real; all three were singing prayers. Behind them, weeping and lamenting, walked the closest relatives, who carried the small jamaru vessels. The warriors participating in the ceremony formed the end of the train.

[533] [782] This procession, which walked around the maloka courtyard several times, came to an end, after half an hour in front of the chief's hut, with a prayer sung in unison.

[517] Meanwhile night had descended and most of the members of the two tribes were lying in their hammocks, sitting around the fire, or calling on each other, singly or in family groups, in order to chat. Loud, happy laughter often resounded. Opposite the hut of the Surára chief, however, six warriors who wore the feathers of the gavião-real in their hair had kindled three blazing fires, upon which, in several black, round-bottomed clay vessels (see p. 115) they cooked banana soup until midnight. During this time a medicine-man helper who carried a bow and arrow in his hand ran around the outer circle of the maloka courtyard, singing loudly, and requested the assistance

[625] of the hekurá for the success of the soup. After that, general quiet set in; only two men made their rounds in front of the maloka, as they did every night, in order to warn the inhabitants, if necessary, of a hostile attack (513).

[624]

513. The war chief divides up the watches each evening. The warriors have a feeling

• [805] about when their time is up and they must waken their successors; as a rule this is done after two or three hours.

Surára
Pakidái

/119 cont./

802 Then comes much -- pruká -- and very much -- pruká, pruka. The opposite of that, little, is called -- porkotauẽ. One hand is called mahõn imẽk, and both hands, porokabõ imẽk. The fingers -- imixõk -- are never used as an aid in counting.

802 804 The Indians named, to be sure, can determine at a glance whether a quantity has become larger or smaller, but they do not have any way of expressing it in numbers. For example, if 20 arrows are standing together and one increases or reduces the bundle by only one during the owner's absence, he will notice this change at once upon his return.

805 821 The day begins with the rising of the sun -- petamahujehãu -- (Surára), -- bemututuorelí -- (Pakidái) and ends with the setting of the sun -- peimaujasãuk -- (Surára), -- betamtíte -- (Pakidái). The place where the sun rises, however, is called peiuxomoprahomoprariekohẽ by both tribes, and the place where the sun sets, peiuximaakuimate. The rhythm of the day is determined by the position of the sun -- peniboínxi -- (Surára), -- benibeũx -- (Pakidái), the degree of light, the temperature fluctuations, and the wind -- ibokõ -- (Surára), -- yarí -- (Pakidái). In the morning, I was told, a light wind is usually felt, at noon it is almost always calm, and in the afternoon it blows somewhat stronger.

The day is called petamháruk, the morning henahá, the evening -- petamahuwetehaũk --, and night -- petamatíti. There are no designations for noon and midnight, nor for year, month, and week. One speaks only of the dry season -- peuhaxtiũ -- and the rainy season -- peuõnk.

821 Besides the word for moon -- perimbó --, there are also designations for new moon -- istoríbe -- and full moon -- perimbóabreu --, as well as for eclipse of the moon -- peauãbe -- (Surára), -- hubári -- (Pakidái). The eclipse of the sun is called xomokã by both. There are no special names for individual stars and constellations; one merely speaks in general of stars --

600 purimá -- and big stars -- purimá breu. /The "Bibliography," pp. 120-129, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/487 cont./

804 They determine measures by comparing one thing with another. Thus, a man lies down on the ground to determine the distance which separates the posts which he is going to plant for setting up his hammock. In the same way the Indian measures the size of his belt by means of a string before making himself a woven cotton belt of the same length as that obtained with the string.

Weights are determined by lifting the object and mentally comparing its weight with that of other objects which have been lifted previously.

• 805 Time Reckoning

The Guaika /Waica/ divide the solar day as follows: morning, while the sun rises; the period of midday, while the sun is high in the heavens; afternoon, until the rapid setting of the sun; and night. A more precise time of day is indicated by pointing to where the sun is at the moment, where it was, or where it will be when a certain event will occur.

A period of time is correlated approximately with the distance that can be covered during this time. For example, they say: "We shall arrive at the house when the sun reaches that height (and they point to it)." Or they would say: "He will be back in the time that it would take you to go from here to the river."

The Guaika do keep count of the days. They count the weeks by the phases of the moon. They also count the lunar months. The seasons of the year are reckoned according to the cycle of the fruits. A year is the time that passed between two similar harvests.

114 Birth

This part of my essay has been kindly written for me by Mr. Edwin Killam, to whom we must express our thanks for his esteemed collaboration.

/71 cont./

965 dancing and singing. About an hour before sunrise, however, all
987 the sleepers were awakened; they again took snuff immediately,
276 and once more there began a wild dance with singing until day-
[821] break. The death ceremony must be kept secret from the sun (it
[715] is likewise regarded as a male creature), the worst enemy of the moon, because otherwise it would hinder the soul's wandering. Loudly sustained, shrill, joyous cries formed the conclusion and made it manifest that the soul of the deceased had found entry
765 into the moon. Then all the warriors, sobbing loudly, formed a circle around the burned-down funeral pyre, while the /72/ brother and other relatives gathered up the charred remains of the bones from the ashes. After these had been pounded in gourd vessels by means of small stone mortars, the bone ashes were emptied into two bowls made out of the jamaru fruit, which the brother of the deceased wrapped with palm leaves and a liana binding. Thereupon he handed them to the chief, who lifted up each one in the direction of the moon and, singing, blessed it, while the men standing about uttered shrill cries. With this the end of the ceremony was reached, and the exhausted warriors could again return to their maloka in order to recover in their hammocks from
[266] the strenuous night. The brother of the deceased tied the two jamaru bowls containing the bone ashes to the rafters of the roof behind his hearth, in order to keep them for the big annual festival in memory of the dead, at which the bone ashes of their dead, mixed with banana soup, are drunk by the men (see pp.231 ff.). From now on there was no more wailing and weeping in the maloka; daily life had resumed its normal course.

76 After the death of women and of children too, as soon as they have completed the third year of life, the death ceremonies are
[822] conducted in exactly the same way. For a deceased chief, on the other hand, there is dancing around the funeral pyre for three nights, for, of course, his entrance into the moon must be particularly solemn.

2: Becher--197 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

VIII. Religion and Magic

1. The Religious Conception of the World

821
796

According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the earth is a disk over which the sky arches like a bell. All power emanates from the moon -- Perimbó -- and from Poré, the lord of the moon, who is pictured as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red. Occasionally he comes down to earth, but is then invisible to human beings.

Thus, Poré and Perimbó constitute an inseparable unity that is regarded as eternal, just, and benevolent, but is also able to punish, if necessary. To it is attributed the origin of the earth and all life, and it is assumed that the events of creation followed in direct as well as in indirect fashion (442).

442. The creation myth of the Yanonámi /Yanoama/ represents an example of such indirect creations (see pp. 247/248).

821
795

The moon, a large, open, circular maloka located in the midst of a planting and surrounded by forests, mountains, and rivers (443), is at the same time regarded as the place where

443. The picture of the surface of the moon corresponds to the open, almost circular Surára maloka (see pp. 25/27).

all the souls of human beings who were cremated after death lead a paradisiac existence under Poré. There are animals, plants, and fruits in abundance here, and no moon-dweller need ever suffer hunger and thirst.

[964]
[974]

But only with the smoke rising during the cremation can a soul -- uwexík -- (identical with cloud, smoke), which exists in the bones and never leaves the body during life, reach this paradise. The souls of the dead who are not cremated become shadows -- petanuíhi -- that must wander about restlessly.

/91 cont./

821 without food and drink, between earth, sun, and moon (444).
775

444. One feels reminded here of the conception of the Homeric Greeks, who also assumed that the dead, after actual life has gone, are obliged to lead a wretched shadow-existence.

All Surára and Pakidái therefore greatly fear that after their deaths they might become such shadows. That is why, after military encounters, they make an effort to recover their fallen fellow-tribesmen, in order to cremate them. Though only the head of old persons is cremated (see p. 153), it is believed that this suffices to carry the soul up to the moon. Enemies are not cremated, however, for the shadow existence is desired for them.

821 The countless stars, which are also all inhabited by tribes, are allies of the moon (445). If a shooting star falls, it is

445. The Surára and Pakidái do not have special designations for the individual stars and constellations. There are only two general names, star -- purimá -- and big star -- purimá breu.

[192]

believed that the inhabitants of one star are visiting those of another.

The sun is of only minor importance in the religious life. It is regarded as rather weak and powerless, because it stands alone in the sky, has no strong allies, and travels around the earth-disk like a vagabond. It rules only the wandering souls of the uncremated dead and uses their shadows in order, in the protection of them, to slake its burning, unquenchable thirst on human beings, animals, and plants. In perspiration, my informants told me, one sees clearly how it draws the liquid out of bodies, and subsequently there remains for human beings and animals a feeling

[775]

Surára
Pakidái

/91 cont./

821 of thirst and weakness, while plants often wither. For this reason, and especially out of fear of the shadows, the sun's rays are regarded as dangerous. Therefore, tasks for which one must expose himself to the direct radiation of the sun, for example, forest clearing, cultivation of fields, and house construction, are preferably undertaken in cloudy or even rainy weather. In the latter case, there is even a direct /92/ connection with the moon. A large tree stands on this celestial body, in the middle of the open maloka. When Poré shakes it, the wind rises first, and after that rain falls. The aversion of the Surára and Pakidái to the merciless sun's rays of the equatorial zone has a further, matter-of-fact explanation, for in former times, as pure hunters and gatherers, they practically never came out of the eternal twilight of the primeval forest.

821 The awe of Poré and the moon is so great that the Indians 776 do not dare pray personally to this united Supreme Deity. Serras 774 /sierras/ -- peatíle -- as well as gigantic animal and plant [782] spirits -- hekurá -- (446), who live on them and are characterized [192]

446. This word is derived from hetumisse = heaven and he = head, above.

by supernatural qualities, are the mediators. The serras are well suited for this, because they are situated between the earth, on the one hand, and the moon and sun on the other. They are regarded as higher divine helpers, who, after Poré and Perimbó, are the mightiest. At the same time they are regarded as the masters of all the animal and plant spirits living on them. Their power is much greater than that of the sun because there is, of course, only one sun whereas there are innumerable serras. Their attitude toward Poré and Perimbó, however, is not always a loyal one. Usually they are on their side, to be sure, but if there is occasionally a quarrel between them, it may happen that they ally themselves with the sun for a time. The united Supreme Deity has taken precautions, however, and considered any possible

Suréra
Pakidai

821 /92 cont./
776 danger. For the fact that it has chosen the serras as dwelling
774 places for the gigantic plant and animal spirits is injurious to their power if it is directed against Poré and Perimbó. In contrast to the serras, the hekurá are steadfastly faithful followers of the united moon deities and, together with the stars, protect them against any attacks on the part of the sun and its temporary allies. Sometimes, in an altercation which the serras wage with the moon or sun, an eclipse of the moon or sun appears, because the celestial body in question wishes to conceal itself from the other, so that it will not be drawn into the dispute (447). If, for example, it becomes dark before a thunderstorm and lightning begins to flash, then the sun is very thirsty, is hiding behind the serras and asking for rain. The latter relay the request to the moon. But it does not want to comply with the sun's wish, and already there is reason for the serras and the moon to quarrel. Then when it thunders, Poré has a headache out of anger, and he finally shakes the rain tree to put an end to the quarrel.

[191]

447. The relationship of moon and sun also plays a special role in the religious and mythological ideas of various other Indian tribes. In the myth of the Yurakaré /Yuracare/, for example, it is treated in the sense of the Orpheus motif (Rodrigues, 1875, pp. 252 ff.; d'Orbigny, 1835/47, III, p. 210).

774 The hekurá are gigantic prototypes of all the species of plants and animals that live on certain serras that are taboo for human beings. These nature spirits are regarded as subordinate helpers of Poré and Perimbó. They are usually favorably disposed toward human beings, permit and facilitate hunting, gathering, and agriculture for them. The men, however, must always show their gratitude to them by prayers, and they may
774 not indiscriminately destroy animals and plants. This is also
55 related to the fact that all members of the tribe, men, women,

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

776
184
821 /93 cont./ Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon--
Perimbó -- and with the latter forms an inseparable unity (450).

[114]
[171]

> 450. This conception, which seems rather strange and in which Josef Haekel therefore thinks he sees a contradiction (Haekel, 1959, p. 40), is, however, also confirmed for the Uitoto /Witoto/, for Preuss writes about it, among other things: "We thus have here the rare instance in which, through a combination of the god of the earth and a moon demon, a single deity has arisen, a sort of monotheism, alongside of which there are only very insignificant demons" (Preuss, 1922, p. 176). And elsewhere he states: "The fact that moon and Supreme Being here coincide may therefore have come about later, but not necessarily. Today we have them as an inseparable unity" (Preuss, 1922, p. 184).

whereas "Omaua," together with a helper, "Yoaua," lives in the western sky, where they too produce rain, in that they pour the water out of the two celestial rivers (451). In contrast to this

> 451. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

among the Surára and Pakidái it is believed that Poré shakes the rain-tree of the moon (see p. 199).

821
184
773 Great significance is also attached to the moon by the Waiká, and, significantly enough, also in connection with the creation of human beings. This may be seen from their legend of primitive times (452), which, except for minor deviations,

> 452. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

corresponds to the one which the Surára chief Hewemão told me

821
184 /93 cont./
773 (see pp. 247-248) (453). As a further parallel, the leg-birth

453. With reference to this, however, among the Waiká there is a second conception that the first human beings came to the earth in the rain (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). Hence they must have come out of the western sky where, to be sure, Omaua lives and produces rain. Zerries, however, thinks it possible that this rain is identical with the blood of the wounded moon and refers to a Uitoto myth as a parallel (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). In this myth the monthly blood of the daughter of the organizer of the festival of the animals is seen as a fine, cold rain, which Preuss interprets as the flood in miniature, which appears with the dark of the moon; it corresponds to the menses (Preuss, 1921, pp. 113-115).

773 As a further parallel, the leg-birth
184 should be mentioned. According to the Surára and Pakidái version, the first four men and a woman came from the leg of a small bird at definite intervals (see p. 247), while, according to the one of the Waiká, the first woman came out of the pregnant leg of a man (454) (455). Both myths, however, have

454. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

773
191

455. Conceptions of leg-births are confirmed also for other South American tribes. Thus, among the Tukuna /Tucuna/ the tribal heroes Dyoi and Epi, together with their two sisters, spring from the knees, swollen by wasp stings, of the male Nutapa (Nimuendajú, 1952, p. 122), and among the Umutina, who unfortunately no

/101 cont./

755 ground and the two "hekurá" crouched beside him as "victors," a part song by all the participants began once more. At the same time the chief stroked the head and then the body of the sick woman. Then he started to suck at her, first at her head, then on the chest, on the stomach, and on the thighs. Then he uttered shrill cries and vomited. At this moment the singing ceased and all the helpers uttered loud cries of "ah" and "oh." Thereupon Hewemão hurled invisible objects to one side, which was always accompanied by ah and oh shouts of the other men. Then a chorus was struck up anew. This part of the magic performances lasted more than two hours. After the chief had sucked stones and pieces of wood out of the body of the sick woman and hurled them away amid animated cries of ah and oh by the helpers, however, the volume of the singing increased and was followed by shrill cries which ended in a general humming. -- After that there was complete silence. The men sat down in a circle around Xanimá, and each one leaned his head against his knees, for all were visibly exhausted, especially the chief and his brother. The wives of the latter, however, had seated themselves behind them and stroked their heads and shoulders and gently tapped their backs in order to give the weary ones new strength, for during the curing process they had completely spent themselves. The sick woman, too, could now lie down again. She had her eyes closed and one could see how exhausted she was from sitting up so long. After the noise that had been going on, the stillness had a very strange effect. But after only 15 minutes one of the medicine-man helpers arose; he began dancing in a circle around the sick woman, during which he softly sang. Meanwhile, however, clouds had passed before the moon and a heavy rain set in. Hewemão then decided to break off the session and continue it at dawn. "For with a [821] darkened sky," he said, "without the co-operation of the moon, it would be impossible to free the woman from her sickness." He left behind with the moaning Xanimá, shaken with fever chills, two helpers who crouched to the right and left of her head end and hummed softly, in order that, as Hewemão told

/111 cont./

832 wearer bites on it and holds it under the nose of a girl or a woman, he gains her favor through the fragrances emanating from it. In fact, I was told that love will then be so great that the woman or the girl would follow him everywhere (547).

547. This type of love magic is reminiscent of a myth of the Aruak /Arawak/ Manao: The Aromatic Root. (Baldus, 1958, pages 32 ff.)

In order to protect themselves from this love magic, married women use two kinds of neck chains. Younger ones [824] have tied to their string of curauá fibers numerous small pieces of tajá root, and older ones, small pieces of the camarau liana (Cipó sp.) -- hif -- (see p. 83). These many pieces of root or liana then counteract the effect of the young men's single piece of root.

754 If a man is angry at a woman because she does not give him a hearing, he can avenge himself in the following manner: [824] On a rainy day he tears off a leaf of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and goes with it into the forest. When he reaches a matamatá tree (Eschweilera matamata Hub.) from which /112/ drops are falling, he lays the palm leaf under the tree. He leaves it there until it has rotted. Out of it comes a worm which the man later fetches and then roasts. If he throws this upon the sleeping woman, she will have no more children.

789 d) Rain magic:

•821 Although the Surára and Pakidái appreciate rain more than too strong a radiation from the sun (548), there are occasions when

[191]

548. In contrast to this, I should like to point out that among the Taulipang, for example, there is great fear of rain (Koch-Grünberg, 1916, pp. 130/31).

/112 cont./

789 it is not needed, for example, before hunting expeditions or
[821] during a tribal migration. In this case all the men, women,
[302] and children paint their bodies with a confusion of serpentine
lines, in order by this means to command the rain to stop. If
526 this does not help, a tug of war -- toötotó -- with a thick liana
789 is arranged. This liana personifies the sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) --
[796] uaikonyá -- which, as a strong water-animal, has the power to
induce Poré to stop shaking the rain tree (see p. 199). At first
only two groups of red-painted men engage in the tug of war.
But if the rain simply will not abate, red-painted women also
take part in it. Their participation is supposed to increase the
[796] pressure on the sucuriju, for it is assumed that it is of the female
sex and thus particularly well-disposed toward women. Such a
[857] tug of war often goes on for several hours. In most cases, be-
sides adults, I also saw children who imitated it with a thin liana.

526 If it happens to rain while the sun is shining, the Surára
789 and Pakidái believe that a serious fight has broken out between
821 the moon, from which the rain comes, and the sun. Then all
the members of the tribe feel obligated to come to the aid of
their Supreme Being, the moon. They do this by again forming
two mixed groups of men and women -- one symbolically rep-
resents the population of the moon and the other that of the sun --
who throw wet earth at each other; this "battle" is called xejejó.

782 5. A Special Way of Showing Gratitude to Poré and Perimbó

In connection with the festival in memory of the dead (see
pp. 224 ff.) after the training period of the two medicine-man
helpers (see pp. 143 f.), after the curing of the sick (see pp.
211 ff.), and other magic ceremonies, the people want to thank
Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) in a special way, outside of the
customary prayers which take place through the hekurá (see pp.
199/201). For this purpose a large calabash is filled with earth,
[824] into which, in a circle, are stuck red-painted twigs of the
imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.), which are connected

/113 cont./

526

7. Types of Sports

[578] Aside from the stick duels -- xelekuhahé --, which are carried out for reasons of jealousy (549), all other types of sports

549. I have already described these stick duels in detail (Becher, 1959, pp. 162-167).

have a religious or magical character.

[237] Noteworthy above all is the game of ball with a monkey bladder -- yarobussí. Only male members of the tribe may take part in it, and for this purpose they always put on their cotton belts. Then they form a circle and keep hitting the bladder upward with the palm of the hand; it then represents both the sun and the moon (Ill. 50).

526 171 ●821 This game of ball is very similar to that of the Uitoto /Witoto/, even with respect to the lunar and solar conceptions associated with it (550a). Moreover, it should be mentioned

550a. Preuss, 1921, pp. 123, 133-136; 1923, pp. 644 to 659.

that in a myth of the Paressi both celestial bodies are thought of as feather balls (550b). Finally, reference is to be made to the

550b. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 435/36.

Aztec popular belief in which the flying ball is likewise identified with sun and moon (551).

551. Krickeberg, 1948, p. 139.

526 Three other types of sports of the Surára and Pakidái have already been described elsewhere: petapoanhamũ, the fight

Surára
Pakidái

/113 cont./

539 chief delight was to kill small birds with his little bow and arrow. But one night, for fun, /114/ he aimed at the moon and shot off his arrow. At once an eclipse of the moon set in. Blood dripped down and poured like a flood over the entire earth (554). From this blood came all the Yanonámi, that is,

[784]
[821]

554. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái children are strictly forbidden to this day to shoot their arrows in the direction of the moon.

the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, Xiriána, Karauaterí, Waiká, etc. (see p. 12).

The Origin of Fire

539
392 The virgin forest with its wealth of plants and fruits was already created, and human beings, as well as all kinds of animals were living upon the earth. Only fire was still lacking. Besides their vegetable food, the human inhabitants were therefore able to eat only raw meat, and at night they shivered in their hammocks. They knew, however, that the cayman (jacaretinga) had fire in its mouth. Despite all entreaties, it would not give up any of it. So people resorted to a ruse. They asked the hummingbird to fly around the cayman and make jokes. At first the cayman was unmoved and took no notice of the little bird. But finally he could not suppress his laughter any longer, whereupon fire shot out of his opened mouth. The people were very happy about it and thanked the hummingbird extravagantly.

Surára
Pakidái

/119 cont./

802 Then comes much -- pruká -- and very much -- pruká, pruka. The opposite of that, little, is called -- porkotauê. One hand is called mahõn imêk, and both hands, porokabõ imêk. The fingers -- imixõk -- are never used as an aid in counting.

802 804 The Indians named, to be sure, can determine at a glance whether a quantity has become larger or smaller, but they do not have any way of expressing it in numbers. For example, if 20 arrows are standing together and one increases or reduces the bundle by only one during the owner's absence, he will notice this change at once upon his return.

805 The day begins with the rising of the sun -- petamahujehãu -- (Surára), -- bemututuorelî -- (Pakidái) and ends with the setting ● 821 of the sun -- peimaujaśuk -- (Surára), -- betamtîte -- (Pakidái). The place where the sun rises, however, is called peiuxomoprahomoprariekohê by both tribes, and the place where the sun sets, peiuximaakuimate. The rhythm of the day is determined by the position of the sun -- penibośnxi -- (Surára), -- benibeũx -- (Pakidái), the degree of light, the temperature fluctuations, and the wind -- ibokõ -- (Surára), -- yarî -- (Pakidái). In the morning, I was told, a light wind is usually felt, at noon it is almost always calm, and in the afternoon it blows somewhat stronger.

The day is called petamhâruk, the morning benahâ, the evening -- petamahuwetehaũk --, and night -- petamatîti. There are no designations for noon and midnight, nor for year, month, and week. One speaks only of the dry season -- peuhaxtiũ -- and the rainy season -- peuõnk.

821 Besides the word for moon -- perimbõ --, there are also designations for new moon -- istorîbe -- and full moon -- perimbõabreu --, as well as for eclipse of the moon -- peauâbe -- (Surára), -- hubâri -- (Pakidái). The eclipse of the sun is called xomokã by both. There are no special names for individual stars and constellations; one merely speaks in general of stars -- 000 purimâ -- and big stars -- purimâ hreu. /The "Bibliography," pp. 120-129, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/232 cont./

539 This time Soao pulled out an enormous fish. Omao put it in /233/ a basket, saying that it was his wife and that Soao must not touch it. Soao did not touch her despite the fact that she was very beautiful.

One day Omao told his brother that he wished to make a wife for him and also for the other men, that he was going to the shore and that he must take good care of his sister-in-law, being very careful not to touch her.

Omao went off and after walking a great distance came to the bank of a large river. There he found a great number of beautiful butterflies. From them he decided to create a wife for his brother and women for the other men. The butterflies were very wary and fled every time that Omao approached them. Then Omao changed himself into a fly and put out some sweet bait in order to attract the prey. But all was lost because at the very moment of catching the most beautiful butterfly Omao heard a scream which he identified as one from his wife. In fact, Soao, tired of waiting for his brother and for his wife, lost patience, opened the basket which his sister-in-law was in, and attempted to cohabit with her. But she gave a tremendous scream and escaped. The butterflies became frightened and fled from the shore.

Omao, angered by this, left his brother alone on the earth and went to heaven.

THE SUN AND THE MOON

•[221] The sun is a man and the moon is also a man. The two regard each other as enemies because of the occurrence which I shall relate.

One day the moon told a man to go and look for firewood. The man went off to look for it. When he brought it, he did not please the moon, who wanted a great deal more. Again it sent him into the forest. Then the man realized that what the moon wanted was to eat him. Then the man fled. He ran to the sun in search of asylum and protection. The sun hid him. When the moon arrived in search of him, the sun said that it had not seen the man. The moon, angered, insisted and even wanted

/233 cont./

539 to search the sun's house. Then the sun burned its surface and from that came the scars which show on its face.

The moon went to the other side of the world, and, while the sun sealed its friendship with man, the moon was his irreconcilable enemy. 539 When the moon appears rose-colored, it ● 821 is because it, along with its family, is eating men. The sun also has a family, but does not eat human flesh. Sometimes the moon hides in its house in order to plan a new campaign. [532] During that time women are very much afraid and, in order to [751] protect themselves, paint a likeness of the sun on their cheeks; they also commonly paint it on large stones which they find on the path.

/234/

OINEITĬB

539 Beneath the earth there exists the world of the dwarfs, who [772] are called Oineitĭb. They live like men, but eat and speak very rapidly. They have no intestines or anus, and when they eat meat or other food, they cut it in pieces and swallow it raw, without chewing (25). They sometimes also eat women who conceal

[171] 25. See also the corresponding myth of the Yupa Indians of Venezuela (Wilbert, 1959d).

their menstruation. On one occasion the subterranean river grew so much that it acquired an enormous volume and gained so much strength that it blew out the earth beneath the ground of the rancheria in which there lived a woman who had tried to conceal her state. The houses collapsed and the inhabitants drowned, with the exception of the women, who were devoured by the dwarfs and their souls went to live forever with the guapo, who is also unable to go up to heaven and live with Omao.

Because the dwarfs have no intestines, they are always hungry and, for that reason, devour their food with much greediness. On occasion one of these dwarfs comes to earth to visit a man, but never a woman. The man cannot see his guest, but

/486 cont./

825 821 [794] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame." "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 796 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

[753] "Sulilliwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 754 Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are re- [756] ligious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them.

Numbers and Measures

802 The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

342
302
301
824
142

Fig. 2-5. Thatching a new roof with leaves.

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwä, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof.

342 [821] [756] [789]

The Yanomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about

342 484

Surára
Pakidái

/44 cont./

301 South American tribal units developed their abilities and passed
171 on their traditions over the centuries from generation to generation.

301 For the Yanonámi the simple upper-arm ornament represents
184 a further external distinction, for Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and
114 Aramamesterí men whom I met wore it in the same manner. With regard to the Xiriána, my observations correspond with a statement by Koch-Grünberg: "The men," he says, "wrap around the upper arms long, red-dyed cotton strings, on the ends of which hang bird skins (Pl. 46, 2 and 2a). When they go to war, they stick bunches of tail feathers of the red arara in front under the arm bindings, so that they project above the /45/ shoulders" (239).

239. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

For the Waiká this upper-arm ornament is documented by photographs by Zerries (240) (241).

240. Zerries, 1955b, frontispiece.

241. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

301 As for ear and lip ornaments, parallels are found among
230 the Makuxí and Arekuná-Taulipang, but here the white down-
171 feathers of the king vulture or of the large hocco (mutum) are used (242).

242. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 28.

301 j) Bead ornaments
436 European glass beads, especially small ones, are to this day the favorite trade items among the Surára and Pakidái.
(822) They value most of all white, blue, and red beads (243), and

243. In this respect the Surára and Pakidái are like many other South American tribes (Menzel, 1957, p. 23 and Pl. 3).

/45 cent./

301
43
822
[171]

only then come beads in the colors of orange, yellow, black, and green (244).

244. Krause also notes with regard to the Karajá that they scorn green glass beads (Krause, 1911, p. 279), and among many other tribes there is likewise an aversion to this color (Menzel, 1957, pp. 17/18 and Pl. II and III). For this reason Brigitte Menzel asks the justifiable questions: "Could this rejection of green raw material among forest peoples be traced back to the predominance of green in their physical-geographical environment? Do they prefer other colors for reasons of contrast?" (Menzel, 1957, p. 18.)

301
462

They are strung by the women on cords of cotton or curauá fibers, at which the men occasionally help, and are used as neck chains, upper-arm and wrist cords, and ear pendants.

301
822

I was able to observe the following ways of making them: On a cord are strung, for example, only white, red, or blue beads. Depending on the taste of the person making it, however, a blue or red bead may always follow three white ones; others prefer the color combination of blue, white, red, or vice versa. There are many more variations, however, also in combination with other colors.

Moreover, chains are made of two strings, though less often. In this case, for example, a white bead is strung on both strings, then a red or blue one on one string, then again a white one on both, etc.

301

Women and girls like to wear several strings of beads, one over the other, as neck chains, whereas men and boys never tie on more than one. Only men wear upper-arm strings of glass beads and only boys and girls corresponding strings around their wrists. Short chains of beads which are fastened in the perforations of the ear lobes are worn by both sexes, though only rarely. Then,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

with disinfectant, and from that time on examined their bodies carefully for the slightest little scratch. I daubed on a little red methylate, which thrilled them, as anything red does, and when I threw away the piece of cottonwool I had been using there was a regular fight for it, the winner using it to paint himself as he fancied.

But once I had started using the terramycin for the old man's benefit, an unforeseen problem arose. When I displayed the tablet, this panacea for all ills, the patient (backed by all the crowd of onlookers) would make me a sign to swallow it myself, and then give another to him. In the beginning I thought that this indicated a lack of faith in the benign effect of the medicine, and some fear of poison. But I afterwards learned that it was something quite different, arising out of their peculiar conception of illness, which to them was virtually magic. Sickness was an evil something which got into a man's body and then did all its bad things. So it had to be chased out, by fair means or foul. You could frighten it away, as the magic-men did with their nocturnal exorcisms; or, by putting some substance in the body which irked it, you could make it take itself off. This was what the men-that-wear-clothes did. Either way set the sufferer free from the evil thing.

But if you chase a mouse from under one piece of furniture, it will run under another. In the same way, this evil thing, chased out of the sufferer's body, will straightway take refuge in the body of the man effecting the cure! Therefore the medicament must be ready in two equal doses, to protect both doctor and patient. I must have had to swallow untold numbers of tablets of that nauseating terramycin when treating the Samarati! Fortunately, I could always go a little way off on my own, with a call of nature as an excuse, and insert a finger in my throat to make myself vomit.

Indians as a rule present few cases of sickness: the process of natural selection has been at work among them from their infancy, destroying the weak and the handicapped and leaving the better endowed to survive. They do, however, suffer a good deal from intestinal infections; stomach parasites are present owing to the eating of rotten or windfall fruit; and there are various skin diseases due to a fungus growth of the type the Brazilians call 'bicho geographico' because of the resemblance of the infected part to a map. Mange, and sores of various kinds, complete the range of skin troubles.

But there remains that queen of epidemics, which I have not mentioned till now—tuberculosis. Its victims are of all ages. Living naked, night and day, with

/156 cont./

721 123 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. [302] [574] [822] But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and [412] fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people [361] of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

166 361 721 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 361 [114] In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 [226] [411] [857] Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit, fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying 726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

A vast and mu[illegible]rm horde it is that besieges the trees; a people millions strong, each one of whom wages its own small war and combines with the rest in the greater struggle.

IV

In the three brothers, all that was best in this wild region could truly be said to have found some form of expression. Their reactions were at times incomprehensible—sudden reflexes resulting from a life utterly different in every way from our own and in some degree akin to the animals'. They were always together, not mixing with the other Shirians and building their own little separate shelter. Every night, when work was finished, they came to us, rubbing themselves against us and indicating by gestures what goods they would like for their pay.

They had certain phobias, the most interesting being a fear of nails. Carmine always had a long nail handy, and each evening he would hammer it into one of the hut-poles to hang up his gun and cartridge-case. This produced a terrible effect on one of the brothers. He would stand and watch as it paralysed, for all the world as though the nail was being driven into his own forehead. If Carmine showed him the nail, holding it out to him, he would cry '*Ma, ma*' and run off to hide in his little hut. Generally, however, he was most friendly, even affectionate, towards us. Carmine had once rashly promised to cut his hair for him, and since a haircut for one meant a haircut for everybody and the expedition's only pair of scissors was precious, we lost a whole day while my companion gained some experience of the barber's trade. The Indians spent their time looking at themselves in the glass and examining each other's coiffure for defects which they wanted attended to at once.

In imitation of the tales the Shirians told, Carmine had invented a terrifying personage called Barabàn, a kinsman of his, who lived somewhere over the mountains. Barabàn made such an impression on everyone that the myth became a real moral weapon and came in very useful when the Indians needed a little prodding. When Carmine told his tale, in a mixture of Shirian, Makiritari, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian, they would listen with eyes like saucers, in curiosity and fear: 'Barabàn and a hundred robbers and a hundred fierce dogs—they live in the trees like monkeys—eat women and children, cooked—

similar to that presented here, and I regard my own efforts in this area as supplemental to the generally excellent ethnographic work of Zerries (1964) and Schuster (1958). Without genealogical data it is not possible to estimate the degree to which marriage practices deviate from stated preference, nor to grasp the importance of these deviant cases in Yąnomamö politics.

The histories of the five villages are equally important, as they illustrate the role of warfare in determining settlement pattern, the development of political ties between villages, and the process of village splitting. These factors provide the matrix within which the genealogical data become meaningful.

Piecing together the history of these groups of villages proved to be a difficult task. The geographical area under discussion is unexplored and unmapped. Not even major rivers are accurately known in their upper courses, so that of two published versions of the Siapa River I have had to choose the one most consistent with the account given to me by the Indians. The major problem in this regard has been the identification of a large river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u, whose headwaters lie near the source of the Orinoco River. According to my Yąnomamö informants (people who have either lived on this river or have visited or raided villages located on it), the Shukumöna-u, in its middle course, is nearly as large as the Orinoco at its junction with the Mavaca River. It flows in a westerly

direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of mountains. At a few points the Shukumöna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extending nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the Indians claim the Shukumöna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the Shukumöna-u of the Yąnomamö. I have used more recent maps, also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

In reconstructing the history of the village movements, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimöwi-bora in Yąnomamö) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karëbë-bora in Yąnomamö) near the present village of Kashorawë-tedi.

I employed three sources of information to locate present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages I personally visited. Second, information from James P.

/10 cont./
114 is true, the related Surára and Pakidái, as well as the Waiká in
142 the catchment area of the upper Orinoco, embody a type that is strange to us (see Ills. 9-24 /see pp. 270-274/ and ills. in Zerries, 1959), but certainly not one that is repulsive to that extent.

342

VI. Technology and Material Culture

1. House Forms

The Surára and Pakidái are familiar with four different house-forms. The simplest and probably the earliest form, which at present, however, is used only as overnight quarters by one family during the expeditions in the virgin forest, is similar to a wind-screen /Windschirm/ (Ill. 4). It is built in the following way: In front, one or two supports, 2-2.50 meters long, are set into the ground at intervals as long as a hammock; about three meters behind these there are two weaker supports, 1-1.50 meters long, at somewhat longer intervals. The upper ends are joined together with poles; cipó-titca (a type of liana) serves as lashing material. The poles are also frequently tied to trees standing a short distance apart, instead of the rear supports. Over this 12 to 15 thinner poles are placed crosswise, and on top of these four to six are placed lengthwise. This results in a more or less steep frame-
● [824] work which has the shape of a lean-to roof (Ill. 4). Palm leaves are laid on this so that the hut gives secure protection against the rain; even the most severe tropical thunderstorms cannot
[352] harm the Indians sleeping under it. The hammocks are fastened
[354] in the form of a triangle around the fire burning in the center; In the case of larger families, two hammocks often hang one above the other.

361 /11/ If the entire tribe is on the march, the huts of the individual families are always placed in a circle around the chief's hut standing in the center, after the virgin forest has been hastily cleared to a certain extent beforehand. The space between the huts is five to eight meters.

Surára
Pakidái

343 /11 cont./ Moreover, it should be mentioned that
342 between the chief's house and the windscreen that is 24.80 meters
361 long there stands a four-meter-long, rectangular, open gabled-hut, the rooster coop (Ill. 7). /12/ /Fig. 1 appears here./

342 /13/ The three windscreens are built as follows: Toward the interior, posts 3.30-3.60 meters high are set up at irregular intervals. Behind them, at intervals of 2.60 meters, stand smaller posts which are about 1.20 meters high. The front and rear posts are joined by strips which are allowed to project about two [824] meters at the top. Here, too, cipó-titica, a type of liana, serves for fastening them. Over these strips, at intervals of 50-70 centimeters, 31-35 thinner cross-strips are laid, which produces a windscreen construction. In contrast to the lean-to type of hut described above, these are genuine, albeit specially large windscreens, for they touch the ground on one side. They are about seven meters deep and the height of the roof is up to six meters. [824] For roof covering the leaves of the ubim palm (Geonoma sp.) are [171] used, the "tiles" of the Amazon. The rubber gatherers, the palm-fiber gatherers, the planters, and woodcutters also use these leaves as roof and wall covering, the durability of which is four to five years.

824 The ubim palm, which is very common in the Demini-Aracá area, reaches a height of only 1.50-2 meters. The leaves are 80 centimeters to one meter long and from 25 to 30 centimeters [461] wide. The gathering of these is quite strenuous and demands four to five hours of hard work. They are cut off or broken off and at first laid on top of one another in piles. When the Indian has gathered enough leaves, he clears a small rectangular place in the forest for a distance of about four meters. At this distance he thrusts three sticks, one meter high, into the ground on either side directly opposite one another. These are joined together with lianas. Then piles of eight to ten leaves are placed next to one another over the three liana strips. When he comes to the end, the Indian places additional piles of eight to ten leaves in the interspaces, but this time with the stem pointing toward the opposite side. He repeats this several times until finally all the gathered

[Text Continues on P. 28]

/13 cont./

824 leaves are neatly piled up on top of one another. Then he pulls out the three poles on one side and rolls up the leaves, along with the three liana strips on which they are lying, like a carpet. The ends of the lianas are then pulled together securely and one [482] stuck into the other. A carrying-strap of embira is wrapped around the ball, whereupon the Indian carries the heavy 60-70 kilogram load with his head or chest, in the latter case with the carrying-strap running over the chest and the two upper arms, 30 to 40 minutes or more through the pathless forest to his maloka. [481] The pace which the Indians strike up in doing this is so swift that I, without a load, always had difficulty following them.

824 285 Having arrived at the dwelling, on the same day or the following day, the leaves are worked up into rectangular mats which are to serve as roof covering, at which the women help. In this technique the efficiency and the inventiveness of the Indian are impressive.

Over a stalk of the paxiúba palm (Iriartea exorrhiza Mart.) 60-100 ubim leaves are laid next to one another with the underside on top, and, to be sure, in such a way that only the end of the leaf lies above the paxiúba stem, while the long stem of the ubim leaf projects beyond it. Each ubim leaf, moreover, consists of three to four V-shaped sides. From the right side there is now begun the fitting of the leaves together into a firm structure. The lower part of the right V-shaped side is now folded under. Then the long ubim stem is bent, wrapped around the paxiúba stem, led upward to the right of the leaf, and then laid over the leaf toward the left. The same procedure is followed with the adjacent leaves. The stem end of the last leaf on the left is fastened with a piece of liana wound around the paxiúba stem, or simply by bending this stem to the right, by way of exception, and shoving it under the other leaves. With this a pano (rectangular mat) is completed, generally with a length of five to eight 342 meters and a width of half a meter. Depending on the length 824 of the windscreen, 80-100 or more of these panos /14/ are now laid on the roof framework over one another tile-fashion at intervals of 30-50 centimeters and fastened with lianas.

/15 cont./

342 large posts. On each of the two narrow sides of the three tall middle posts, 11 thin sticks are attached, organ-fashion, between the supported horizontal poles and form the two gable faces. [824] Here, too, cipó-titica is used exclusively as the lashing material. To the right on the front broad-side and to the left on the rear one there is a small entrance only one meter high and one meter wide. After the framework is completed (Ill. 8), the panos (rectangular mats made out of the leaves of the ubim palm) are again laid over one another on the roof, like shingles, and fastened to the rafters. It is the same technique as has already been described in the construction of the large, open maloka. The upper part of the two gable sides is left open so that light may penetrate into the interior of the house and the smoke be carried off. The walls, too, are completely covered with panos, and in front of the entrances palm-leaf mats that can be drawn back are hung by means of lianas. Inside the house, the center part is left free for holding festivals and dances, while the families, in the same way as in the open maloka, live comparatively close to the wall, one [622] family beside the other. For the chief and his family a particularly large space is reserved on the side toward the river.

342 191 114 The astonishing fact in this form of house is that the ground plan is circular whereas the roof is gable-shaped. Ordinarily for houses with a circular ground-plan, the conical roof is characteristic, as Olga Coudreau (54) and Koch-Grünberg (55) have shown

54. Olga Courdreau, 1903, p. 121.

55. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 18 and Pl. 2 (1a, 1b, 2a, 2b).

for Karaiben /Carib/ tribes. In this case, one or at most two center posts are used. Koch-Grünberg also mentions, to be sure, a construction with three and writes: "If the two center posts are set farther apart or if, instead of two center posts, three or more are used, /16/ the ridge is lengthened and the circular ground-plan gradually becomes an elliptical one" (56).

56. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22 and Pl. 2 (4).

Surára
Pakidái

/17 cont./
and by Zerries for the Waiká (63).

63. Zerries, 1954b, p. 73.

411

3. War and Hunting Weapons and Accessories

For war and hunting expeditions the Surára and Pakidái, exactly like most of the other forest nomads of South America, use very large bows -- hâtonahî -- and arrows -- xeréka (Ill. 12).

[824] The bows, so-called simple bows because they consist of only one piece, are made out of the heavy black wood of the pupunha or chonta palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and are between 2.03-2.12 meters long. Their tension-strength weight is 32 kilograms and the length of stretch 71 centimeters (64). As

64. Pertinent comparisons with bows of other South American tribes may be found in Ranke's chart (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

the result of a not too marked, but uniform curvature, they have a symmetrical appearance. While the outer side is flat, the inner side is rounded, so that the cross-section, which in the center amounts to 2-2 1/2 centimeters, appears semicircular. The two ends come to a point (Fig. 2 i).

411 With regard to their construction it may be said that now-
412 adays the bow-staff is first roughly shaped with ax and terçado
322 (large bush-knife (65). (I did not find any stone axes, which

[439]

65. They obtain these objects by barter with piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) and as gifts from the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the middle Demini.

[439] were perhaps once used in former times.) Subsequently the men shape them with a small knife, which they likewise obtain by barter.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Yamatari

/17 cont./

411 barter. For smoothing, they use the inner edge of the eye-tooth
412 from the lower jaw of a wild pig and the rough leaves of the
322 curatella (Cecropia peltata), which gives the bow a beautiful,
237 shiny appearance.
824 The bowstring -- penahitábe --, which consists of three
411 strands of curauá (Bromeliaceae) fiber strings twisted to the right,
283 is fastened to the bow ends with a simple knot. If one wants to tighten up the bow, the string must be twisted more, which makes it shorter.

411 The bow described may be immediately classified as one of
191 the typical bow-forms of Guiana, which Métraux characterizes as
114 follows: "Guiana bows were generally convex on the belly while the back or outer surface was concave or flat" /cited in English/ (66).

66. Métraux, 1949, p. 232.

According to Meyer's classification, on account of its semi-circular cross-section, it would /18/ belong to the North Brazilian bow-type; on the basis of the material, however, to the Peru group, because it is not the reddish-brown, smooth leguminous wood, but that of the pupunha palm (67). P. Schmidt also

67. Meyer, no date, p. 31.

devotes a rather long section to this "reverse form of the flat bow" and already lists the following tribes north of the Amazonas where it occurs: "Kanamare on the Rio Jurua, Trio, Ojana, Makusi, Wapisiana, Uaupe, Porokoto, Passe (child's bow), Siriana on the Rio /Fig. 2 appears here./ /19/ Uraricapara,
411 Motomoto" (68). On the basis of the descriptions and illustra-
184
114

68. P. Schmidt, 1913, p. 1030.

tions of the Xiriána bow which Koch-Grünberg gives (69), it is

69. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311 and Pl. 47 (1 and 2a, b, c, d).

[Text continues on p. 39]

Surára. Pakidái. Shiriana Samatari

/19 cont./

411 184 114 [173] almost identical with that of the Surára and Pakidái, except for the fact that the former is set off at the ends. This confirms the statements made by the Indians investigated by me who said that they obtained bows of this kind and the knowledge of how to make them themselves from the Xiriána. In reply to my question as to why their bows were not set off at the end, I was told that the Xiriána demand this deviation. In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/, there are two Xiriána bows which were collected by Koch-Grünberg (12. 25:29, 12. 25:31). They are relatively small specimens, however, for they are only 1. 92 and 1. 32 meters high, respectively. A bow which came from the Xamatári of the Rio Maiá, a left tributary of the Rio Cauaboris, and which is also in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Boeldecke Collection, 56. 15:4) and is two meters high, has exactly the same shape as the Surára and Pakidái one, that is, without the offset ends. This is not surprising, for, according to the statement of the Surára chief Hewemão, the Xamatári are likewise satellites of the Xiriána (see p. 12). Finally, it should be mentioned that the same bow-form has also been documented for the Waiká in Venezuela (70).

70. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

411 249 824 The arrows -- xerêka --, whose total length comes to between 2-2. 12 meters (shaft length 1. 89-1. 94 meters; weight, 60-90 grams) (71) (72), are made out of arrow cane -- xerekaîbe --

[114]

71. These measurements confirm Weule's statement when he says that the arrow must correspond in length, shape, and weight to the bow, in order to guarantee a certain accuracy of aim (Weule, 1899, p. 6).

72. Pertinent comparisons with other South American tribes are to be found in the chart by Ranke (Ranke, 1903, p. 347).

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Xamatari

/19 cont./

411 [249] [824] [247] which the Surára and Pakidái plant in the vicinity of their malokas on the upper Araçá and the middle Demini, respectively. All five of the arrow types used by them have the same feathering -- jaromahik --, which consists of two halves of the black wing feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.) -- paruri. They are placed against the cane in such a way that they alternately show the upper and the lower side of the feather. At several places on the hand end they [282] are held by two threads of the tight winding of Bromelia fibers -- pemakatiurakama. Inside this winding, which is supposed to strengthen the weak cane against the pressure of the bowstring, there is stuck on the end of the cane in addition a small wooden peg fastened with resin, which has a notch in its thickened outer part, which is set on the bowstring. This is supposed to prevent the cane from splitting when the arrow flies off. The upper end of the feather shaft is wound with a second, narrower winding, in which, between the two halves of the arrow feathers, two additional small black mutum feathers are frequently stuck as ornaments (Fig. 2f).

411 184 114 The feathering described belongs to the Guiana type of feathering, according to the classification by Meyer (73). Koch-

73. Meyer, no date, p. 9.

Grünberg (74) confirms it for the Xirišna, and it can also be recog-

74. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (4, 7, 8).

nized on the arrows which that investigator brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:33-42). The arrows in the Alfred Boeldecke Collection (56.15:5-7) in the same museum and the drawings by Vinci (75) show that the Xamatári likewise use this

75. Vinci, 1956, p. 146, Fig. a.

/20 cont./

Métraux (83).

83. Métraux, 1949, pp. 236/37 and Fig. 64.

2. Rahaká -- This is a narrower lancet-shaped bamboo point which is inserted in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers in the same way as the kantaná (Fig. 2b). The individual points are 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5 - 2 centimeters wide in the middle. Wild pigs, water hogs (capybara), deer, pacas, and cutias (see p. 4) are killed with them. It is noteworthy that such narrow bamboo points have hitherto not been mentioned in the literature.

3. Kantarím -- Point with barb, made from a twin-pointed piece of bone from the cuatá (Ateles paniscus L.). This is lashed, by means of a winding of Bromelia fibers additionally coated with pitch, parallel to the upper end of a wooden shaft inserted in the arrow cane (Fig. 2c). With this arrow tip, which is very widespread in South America, the Surára and Pakidái shoot birds and fish.

According to the classification by Métraux, it belongs to the second principal type of arrow points occurring in the tropical forest region of South America (84). Meyer mentions that it is

84. Métraux, 1949, p. 237.

used in Guiana, but also in western Brazil and among the Karajá /Caraja/ (85). Within the Yanoámi group, they have furthermore

85. Meyer, no date, p. 18.

been documented for the Xiriána (86), Karimé (87), Xamatári (88),

86. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 312 and Pl. 47 (7).

87. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 300 and Fig. 3c.

88. Vinci, 1956, pp. 144 and 146, Fig. c.

Surára
Pakidái

/20 cont./
411 and Waiká (89) (90). In the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde
114
184

89. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

90. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

und Vorgeschichte, there are, /21/ moreover, three Xiriána arrows with this point (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:39-41) and an arrow from the Xamatári (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:6).

411 4. Ranaká -- Forked wooden point of a bird arrow; length, 12-15
● [824] centimeters. The material is furnished by a tree -- paioórimá -- which shows countless such forkings. The lower part of the stem is pointed and is set in the arrow cane wound with Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2e). Thus far there is a parallel for this arrow point only among the Waiká (91a).

91a. Barker, 1953, p. 464.

5. Unamú -- Wooden arrow-point with a coating of poison. A thin, pointed rod of the hard wood of the pupunha palm, 22-24 centimeters long, is coated with arrow poison, giving it a black appearance. The rear end is inserted in the arrow cane wound with
[824] Bromelia fibers (Fig. 2d). Such poisoned arrows are used exclusively for hunting monkeys, since these animals living in the tall trees are otherwise difficult to kill. According to the statements of Surára and Pakidái informants, they never shoot poisoned arrows at human beings.

411 Other Yanonámi tribes who likewise use poisoned arrows are
184 the Xiriána (91b), Karimé (92), and Waiká (93) (94). Moreover,

91b. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 312.

92. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 301 and Fig. 5a.

93. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

94. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

/21 cont./

278 The strongest poison is said to be obtained from the milk of a tree which, in the language of the Surára, is called -- patemá. [824] This tree was not pointed out to me; I was told that it only grows in a very distant region. To prepare an allegedly weaker poison the milk of the -- tototó -- (Strychnos toxifera) is used.

[415] As soon as it is obtained, the particular type of milk is [413] boiled in a clay vessel. This makes it turn black, and subsequently it is painted on the arrow points by means of a wooden stick which [415] is wrapped with cotton. Special bags -- kanabó --, which are made [824] out of the leaves of the açaí palm (Euterpe oleracea Mart.) and sewed with lianas, are used for storing them. There is never anything left of the poison itself.

278 I was also told that of the tribes allied with the Xiriána only 438 the Surára were entrusted with the preparation of these two types of poison. All the Indians who were friendly with them, even the Xiriána, thus obtained their poisoned arrows from them by barter. The Surára chief Hewemão, however, emphasized that the detested Waiká also knew how to prepare arrow poisons, which they used [114] above all to shoot at human beings. The latter statement is confirmed by Zerries (99).

99. Zerries, 1956b, p. 151.

278 /22/ The third type of arrow poison is the weakest. It is made out of snuff powder -- epená -- (see pp.190/193, which is mixed with water and boiled. This method is also supposed to be familiar to the Pakidái and Xiriána.

Unfortunately, I could not take part in the preparation of the poisons, for, with the exception of the chief /Fig. 3 appears here/ and his brother, only a few older men are familiar with them and they are kept strictly secret even from all the other members of the tribe. The meager information about them is limited to oral statements.

/22 cont./

411
524
[824]

Boys' bow:

The boys' bow -- hauoá -- is 80-90 centimeters long and consists of a curved branch of the paloôrimá tree, which also furnishes the material for the bird arrow-points. As in the case of all branch-bows, the arms are of different lengths, so that an unsymmetrical shape is produced, which affects the accuracy of the

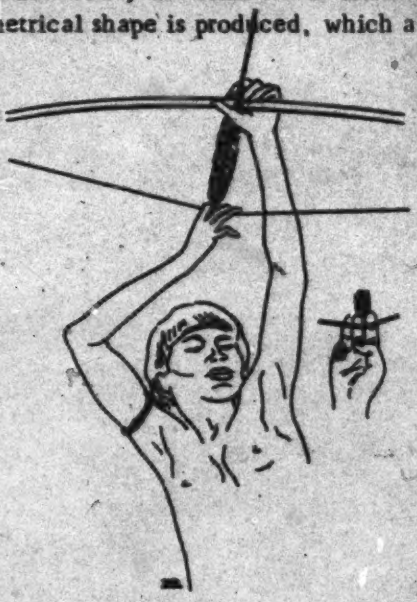


Fig. 3. Position for shooting with the bow.

shot. This is of no consequence, however, since these are merely
283] toy bows for small boys. On both ends the bow staff is tapered and
[824] set off to receive the bowstring -- pebatábe -- which is made out of a liana (cipó-titica) (Fig. 2g).

Boys' arrows:

[192] Ruhumacík is the name of the thin arrow, 80-90 centimeters
[824] long, for boys, which the fathers make out of the wood of the
[237] inaja palm Maximiliana regia Mart.) -- kareximací. The feather-
[283] ing -- jaronahík -- consists of two small halves of mutum feathers,
which are lashed to the shaft with a thread of cotton. Instead of
[192] an arrow point mounted separately, the arrow here is only slightly pointed (Fig. 2h); the designation for it is -- peimacikenâme.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

411 824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xiriâna, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114);

411 578 191

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldus, 1939, p. 113.

they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be-

411 184

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

tween the poles or clubs of the Waikâ and the sticks of the Surára and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is [174] therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed.

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tôra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the [581] most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b).

411 482 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrow-points wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

Surára
Pakidái

411
482 /24 cont./ lancet-shaped bamboo points, is worn on a neck cord by every hunter and warrior, who has it hang down on his back so that it does not interfere with the stretching of the bow.

411
184 /25/ Quivers of the same form and carried in the same way are also found among the Waikâ, as may be seen from a photograph by Zerries (116). Moreover, the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte owns such a quiver, though without decoration, from the Xamatâri (Boeldecke Collection, 56.15:3a).

372 4. Fire-making Apparatus

Tied by means of a string of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) to every Surára and Pakidái quiver at the top and bottom is the fire-drilling apparatus -- bocêrohík -- which consists of a lancet-shaped hearth -- panâibequehík -- and two drilling sticks -- ihirupehík (Fig. 5). Both parts are made from the soft wood of the wild cacao tree -- porôroá -- exactly as among the Waikâ (117).

[824]
[184]

117. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

372
114 Koch-Grünberg documents such a fire-drilling apparatus for the Xirianá (118), but without mentioning the material. On the basis

118. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 311.

of a specimen which he brought back for the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte (Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:124), however, one may state that it is likewise made of the wood of the wild cacao tree. He says nothing at all about quivers and thus does not seem to have found any. Nor did I find elsewhere in the literature any parallels for the very practical combination of quiver and fire-making apparatus (119). Nevertheless,

[411]

392
411
184
114 119. That it is well-known among the Xamatâri, however, is proved by two objects from that tribe in the Hamburg Museum

372 /25 cont./
(see p.116) and are /26/ connected with a small groove at the side. The hole is enlarged by the drilling. There is loosened a fine dust which slowly starts to smoke and glow and, by way of the groove, falls on tinder previously placed next to it (dry grass, leaves, or dry splinters of bamboo), which quickly catches fire. Cautiously the man blows upon it, and a short time later a flame leaps up. This requires a great deal of practice and skill, however; often he [171] has blisters on his hands after drilling. This is the most widely distributed method of producing fire in South America (120). In their malokas

120. Nordenskiöld, 1924, pp. 118-125 and Map 13.

the Surára and Pakidái preserve the fire.

283

5. Twining and Spinning

[824] For making thread and cord the leaf fibers of a Bromeliaceae, curauá (121), and cotton are used, the latter, however, only in more recent times.

[114] [171]

121. Koch-Grünberg also verifies the use of this material for the northwestern Brazilian tribes (Koch-Grünberg, 1910, p. 210).

[462] While to this day the curauá fibers are worked, mostly by men and only occasionally by women, with the right hand against the right thigh in the direction of the knee, to produce thread twisted to the right (122), a spindle is used to make cotton thread,

[171]

122. Threads which are not spun with the spindle are twisted to the right among most of the South American tribes. There are exceptions, however, for among a few nations of northwestern South America threads twisted to the left are more prevalent, and

Surára
Pakidái

/27 cont./

6. Dress and Ornament

291 a) Hip cords and belts

From the age of four on both sexes constantly wear a hip cord -- nhamaaxí -- which is made by the women, but occasionally also by men, out of curauá fibers, the original material (see p. 55), or out of cotton. For the former, two strands are twisted to the right, and for the latter, to the left. The old technique of the right twist in the working of curauá fibers was thus retained, in spite of the adoption of cotton. There is, however, a further important difference. Whereas the hip cord of cotton represents the everyday dress, so to speak, /28/ the one made out of curauá fibers is at present used almost solely for ceremonial purposes.

All male Surára and Pakidái tie the penis up by means of the hip cord, which is done before donning it by tying a knot and drawing the foreskin through it.

With the hip cord these Indians feel clothed, and they therefore never take it off, not even for sleeping or bathing. Once when I was out hunting with the war chief of the Pakidái, Porêhiwõ, he happened to tear his hip cord. He modestly stepped behind the nearest tree immediately and tied it together again. Later he told me that it would be the most flagrant offense against good form to walk about without the hip cord. The women would then cover their faces and scream loudly. Hence a man may never appear with his penis hanging down, and it would be a positively execrable crime, which is punished by blows, if he exposed his glans to the eyes of women and girls.

This shows that among the Surára and Pakidái the hip cord in general, for women and girls also use it without covering anything with it, and the tying up of the penis in particular are associated with feelings of propriety (137). I am herewith able to

137. The hip cord is never used as a device for carrying utilitarian articles, as Baldus noted, for example, among the Tapirapé

Surára
Pakidái

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
[192] xinarîke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarí -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
[824] out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
[531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
856 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
[824] busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
292 curauá fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí,
184 and Karauaterí whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
[114] said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xiriána (Schirianá). Among the Arekuná-
171 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

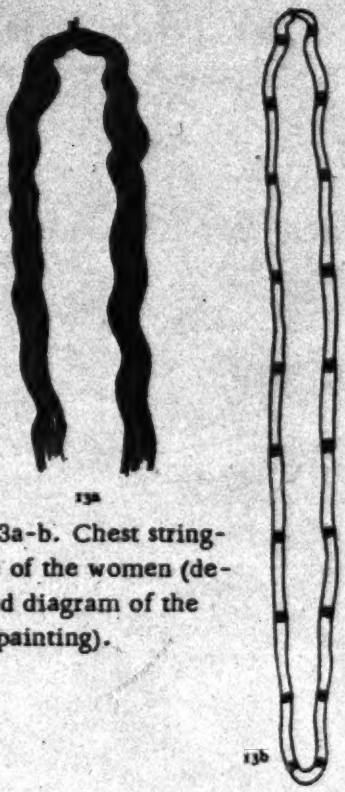
197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
174 cord of curauá fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
[191] transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

/37 cont./

301
531



13a 13b

Fig. 13a-b. Chest string-bundle of the women (detail and diagram of the painting).

301 c) Cords for arms, wrists, and legs

From the age of four on both sexes at times wear upper-arm cords, and women and girls in addition wrist- and leg-cords, which are made of curauá fibers or cotton. It was also [283] definitely established that the two-strand curauá-fiber cords twisted to the right are the original objects, whereas the two-strand cotton cords twisted to the left are of more recent [824] date. Moreover, here, too, it was observed that a strengthening effect is attributed to the plant fiber. [856]

/39 cont./

301 171 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

301 789 832 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, [824] to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrẽ. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrẽ -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hií -- (see p.243).

302 e) Hair style

Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around the head, including the tonsure -- hemõno. [462] Shaving the latter, but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp. --) (see p.119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

Surára
Pakidái

/41 cont./

as far as Guiana; the Tapuya on the eastern horn of South America remain isolated. The pattern of distribution coincides in essential features with the multiple perforations of the upper lip (these parts also merge into each other very much anatomically) and clearly rests on Andean prototypes" (222). The

222. Menzel, 1957, p. 33.

characteristic mouth-corner rods of the Yanonámi women may well fit into this area of distribution, but not in connection with perforations of the upper /42/ lip, for here instead of the latter, the lower lip is pierced.

g) Tattooing

All women and girls have pin-point tattooing over the upper lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth (Ills. 19 and 24) and is punctured on the girls during the first menstruation (see p. 66) (223). The designation for this among the Surára

223. This tattooing is also found among the female Xiriána, Puseheweterí, and Aramamesterí who are married to Surára and Pakidái men. The little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí is an exception. She assured me, however, that in her maloka the girls are also tattooed. But she had fallen into the hands of the Surára before her first menstruation, and the tattooing was not put on her here. If later, however, she is married by a Surára man, the pin-point design must subsequently be punctured on her.

is -- uarabakoxík -- and among the Pakidái -- uarabakoxíbe. These words are derived from the name for the genipap fruit -- uarabá --, the juice of which is used for puncturing the dots.

/42 cont./

304 824 386 412 177 The former use the juice of the genipap fruit as coloring matter, the latter the ashes of burned honey bees (229) /see footnote p. 90/. The original instrument everywhere for the puncturing of the dots was a palm thorn. Koch-Grünberg, however, also saw the use of pointed fragments of glass among the above-mentioned Karaiben (230).

230. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45.

304 174 171 114 A decision about whether the tattooings in the mouth region developed independently among the aforementioned Yanonámi, Karaiben, and Aruak tribes or whether they were brought about by reciprocal or outside influences cannot be reached as yet, although Koch-Grünberg saw a young Xiriána woman who had the fishhook and dot tattooing of the Arekuná-Taulipang painted on her face (231). This may have been an exception, however,

231. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305.

for, strangely enough, he did not find any further tattooing among the Xiriána.

[179] The designs of the Surára and Pakidái also seem to be more primitive than the basic motifs of the Karaiben and Aruaken in the form of fishhooks, which clearly point to borrowings from civilization. Moreover, the fact that among the Karaiben tribes of Guiana individual men and boys are tattooed in the region of the mouth leads one to conclude that there has been a leveling of this custom. For probably there, too, it was formerly reserved for only the women, just as it is today among the Surára and Pakidái.

In conclusion, reference is to be made to P. Schmidt and Nordenskiöld, from whom there are already available brief, summary studies about puncture-tattooing in South America. The first-named author differentiates two groups, which are reserved for men and women or only for women, respectively, and regards a western origin as probable (232). /43/ On the other

/43 cont./

304 174 171 114

232. P. Schmidt, 1913, pp. 1083/84.

hand, Nordenskiöld represents the view that puncture-tattooing "could rather easily have been discovered in various places." His map of distribution shows a concentration of this custom in the northern and central parts of South America (233). A com-

233. Nordenskiöld, 1918, pp. 128-130 and Map 19.

prehensive study on the tattooing of South American Indians would definitely produce worthwhile and informative results.

301 h) Painting

The body painting which is applied on ceremonial occasions, war expeditions, and occasionally also hunting expeditions is [531] very simple and artless. Either it consists of constantly recurring motifs, such as serpentine lines, circles and dots (234), which

234. The implements are also painted with these motifs.

are applied sometimes singly, sometimes mixed, or the entire body is rubbed with red or black coloring matter.

[824] [386] For the red coloring matter, there is urucú -- narâ --, a paste which is prepared from the red berries of Bixa orellana. Blue color is furnished by the seeds of the genipap fruit (Genipa brasiliensis) -- uarabâ --, whereas for black coloring matter the soot scraped off cooking pots is used, usually mixed with a little genipap.

[413] The serpentine lines, circles, and dots are applied with the fingers or a wooden stick, and for diffused coloring a little ball of cotton is used.

/45 cont./

301 in most cases, a silver triangle, a large glass bead, or a fruit pit is fastened at the bottom.

301 439 When I came to the Surára and Pakidái, a few bead chains were already in use. According to their statements, they had obtained the glass beads from the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Rio Demini, from rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, and from the Xiriána. The latter had presumably acquired this foreign commodity from Karaiben tribes who, for their part, had received it from the whites. This shows that the barter of glass beads is still carried on vigorously among the Indians themselves (245).

[114]

245. It was already observed by v. Martius that glass beads were traded over wide areas (von Martius, 1867, I, pp. 702 ff.), and Krause also points out that they are greatly prized as trade items (Krause, 1911, p. 279).

7. Hammocks

352 [824] The Surára and Pakidái have three different kinds of hammocks. The hammock of embira (tree bast, Malvaceae sp.) -- yâritanacík -- whose length is between 1.80-1.90 meters, may probably be regarded as the oldest and most primitive form (Ill. 26). It has no weft and consists only of ten to 14 embira strips [284] 1-2 centimeters wide. These are bent over at the ends and tied together by means of two ropes 1.30-1.40 meters long, which at the same time serve for suspension (Fig. 18a and b). Both ropes are very strong and durable, for they have been plaited in the form of a braid out of three one-centimeter-wide /46/ /Fig. 18 appears [462] here/ strands of embira. The manufacture of this hammock is [824] extraordinarily simple and is done only by men. From the embira [284] tree they remove 10-15 bast strips two meters long and 1-2 centimeters wide, which they tie together in the manner described above, after they have first plaited two ropes. To cut the tree [412] bast they use the little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 119). Since the yâritanacík is extraordinarily light, the men like to use it on their

Surára
Pakidái

/47 cont./

352 Finally, as the third and most important form, which is used constantly by men, women, and children, both in the maloka as well as during migrations of the tribe, the plaited hammock of cotton -- nyõ (258) -- is to be mentioned (Ills. 28 and 29). Aside

258. The cotton belts are also designated with the same word.

from the material, it differs from the two earlier types above all because of the weft. The lengths run between 1.60-2.20 meters, depending on whether they are meant for children or adults.
[462] Making them is again the duty of the men, though the women occasionally help a little.

352 Before they are made, two posts are rammed into the ground
28 and connected at top and bottom by cross-poles with lianas. The length of the hammock depends on the distance of the latter, for around these cross poles is /Figs. 19 and 20 appear here/ wound the continuous warp thread, the two ends of which are knotted with the warp at the start and finish. This produces front and rear layers of thread, which are united into a single layer by slipping the rear warp threads between the /48/ front ones. After that the plaiting of the double thread is begun, which is done without implements, only with the fingers, from right to left; it should also be mentioned that it is started at the top. All hammocks are plaited with very wide meshes, for the intervals between the individual cross-bindings, which are knotted at the beginning and end, are 8-12 centimeters. To fasten the hammocks ropes of
● [824] Bromelia fibers (curauá) are used, which, made of four strands, braidlike, are twisted to the right.

352 When a hammock has been used for some time, it gradually takes on a dirty-brown appearance. This comes about because
[302] the urucú color with which the Indians frequently paint their bodies rubs off on it somewhat when they lie down and adheres to the cotton.

/49 cont./

8. Basketry

285 462 [824] Basketry is carried on primarily by the women. The only exceptions are temporary carrying-baskets of natural palm leaves, which are made by both sexes, and carrying-baskets of curauá, the making of which falls to the men.

[824] If the Indians need a temporary carrying-basket in the forest, they simply place two pinnate palm leaves close together on the ground (most often they use for this the leaves of the pataúá, açaí, and ubim palm) and interweave the inner sides to make a firm surface. Then both leaves are bent over at the upper end, which makes the bottom, and on the outside a braidlike rim is plaited 482 (Ill. 32). By means of a carrying-band of embira, very heavy loads can then be carried with this basket, called pakokóhe, above all fruits, but also pieces of large game, for example, tapir, which the hunter alone cannot carry into the maloka. Men always slip the carrying-band over upper arms and chest, while women prefer the forehead for this.

285 191 Similar baskets are found among the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana (269), as well as among the

269. Roth, 1924, p. 379 and Pl. 124.

Urubu in the Brazilian state of Maranhão (270). Similar specimens,

270. Lopes, 1932, p. 147 and Fig. 6.

however, are used by the Nahukuá /Nahuqua/ and Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ in the Xingú source region (271), to mention only a few more

271. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 500 ff. and Figs. 13 and 14.

examples, which, however, could be augmented at will. It is seen from this that many tribes were in a position to make carrying devices out of natural palm leaves.

/49 cont./

285 462 [824] More highly developed is the carrying basket which consists of bast strips of the curauá plant (Ananas sativus Sch.) -- uaramá. It is made by the male members of the tribe in the following manner: Two groups of plaiting strips are laid on top of each other in different directions and then interwoven with a third group of strips running in still another direction (Ill. 33).

285 194 [171] This, according to Max Schmidt's classification, is the third principal type of South American plaiting (272) (273). This type

272. Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 490 ff.

273. Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 330 ff.

of basket (274), which is very widespread in South America, is

274. Abundant comparative material is to be found in Roth (Roth, 1924, pp. 321 ff. and Pl. 100 B and 102) and Mason (Mason, 1904, pp. 529 ff. and Pl. 240 (1, 2).

also regarded as very old, but today is seldom used any more by the Surára and Pakidái. Nothing concerning its origin is known any more among the tribes named. An autochthonous development [179] is possible, but an adoption from Karaiben or Aruak tribes, who use similar baskets, is more probable. The same basket is [184] likewise confirmed for the related Karimé (275).

275. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Figs. 9 and 10.

285 824 192 The one most frequently used at present is the women's large carrying-basket made of liana strips (276) -- wuëka --, which "has the shape of a somewhat elongated semicircle" (Ill. 34).

276. Each individual liana is split with the teeth into several flat strips. (Cf. also p. 101).

Surára. Pakidái

/51 cont./

285 [192] [824] Then there are small baskets with handles and square bottoms -- yorohíkes -- (Ill. 36), in which women keep their ornaments, arm, leg, and chest cords, the spindle and balls of cotton. To make these, split lianas are again used. The technique employed is very primitive, for the plaiting strip is merely led [184] alternately over and under a plaiting strand (287). The shape of

287. Max Schmidt includes this technique in the first principal group of South American plaiting (Max Schmidt, 1904, pp. 492/93).

these little baskets seems to be peculiar to the Surára and Pakidái, for in the literature I have not yet found a corresponding description with reference to other tribes.

285 824 372 Simple plaited fire-fans -- xuhéima -- are made of the leaf-stalk sheaths of the tucumã palm (Astrocaryum sp.). They have an elongated shape, and the ends of the strips are tied together to form a handle (Fig. 22).

285 372 174 17 Similar fans, but more evenly worked, were found by Koch-Grünberg among the Makiritare, Yekuaná /Yecuana/, and Guinaú in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco (288), from which one

288. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 345 and Pl. 24, 6.

might conclude that this object reached the Surára and Pakidái from here, probably by way of the Xiriána. The reverse route might also be possible, however, if only because most of the Karaíben and Aruak tribes of Guiana use fire-fans with a handle set crosswise (289).

289. Roth, 1924, pp. 291 ff., Pl. 78, 79, and Fig. 91.

/52 cont./

854
287
[824]
[413]

9. Band for Carrying Children

The band for carrying children -- okomakuſ -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (Daphnopsis brasiliensis Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- xamotimá -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- uarimaxſke -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- pekehſk -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little cutia-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

[412]
854

The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

[[71]
[184]
[114]

This carrying method is very widespread in South America and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying-band (292). Among the Xiriâna Koch-Grünberg does not seem to

292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

415
824

As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria Lin. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda = jamaru), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

[192]

These vessels in general are called -- horotokâ --, except for those of the jamaru fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- nhapotoſma.

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waiká
Karimé

/53 cont./

415 Fruits cut in two furnish correspondingly shaped bowls --
824 maraká. In order to cut them, men or women tie curauá fibers
around the fresh fruit and then scratch along this with the little
[386] cutia-tooth knife (see p.117). On the inside all the bowls are
given a black coating, which is made out of the charred wood of
the pupunha palm and the oily yolk of turtle eggs or cayman fat.

415 A few families also have black, thick-walled, undecorated
323 clay vessels -- haboká -- with a round bottom, which are poorly
[438] fired and break easily. I was told that they come from the Xiriána (293),

293. The name, too, is almost the same among the latter -- "hapóga" -- (Koch-Grünberg, 1928, p. 304).

for the Surára and Pakidái do not practice pottery themselves.

323 On the other hand, this craft is also familiar to the Waiká and
184 Karimé, and, to be sure, they make vessels of the same shape as described above (294) (295). /Fig. 24 appears here./

294. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

295. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 302 and Fig. 12.

123 My pots and pans of aluminum, brought along as gifts, were
415 highly prized by the women of both tribes, as were empty gasoline cans and food cans.

/54/

11. Tools

412 Primitive tools, which consist of teeth, tortoise shell, bone, taquara, bamboo, and wood, are few.

[192] The most important one, and reserved exclusively for male
[239] use, is a small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.) -- tomenáke --, which every Surára and Pakidái wedges under his left upper-arm cord while traveling and on hunting and war expeditions (Ill. 31) (296). The lower part

[301]

296. The women use the cutia teeth as ear ornaments (see p. 86).

Surára
Pakidái

/54 cont./ The lower part
412 of the tooth is firmly anchored with tree resin in a tubular bone
[314] of the jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nyapín -- which at the
[723] same time serves as the handle and is called -- nyapínmatáz --,
[192] and this part of the shaft is additionally wound with a thread of cotton or curauá (Bromelia fiber) (Fig. 25). /Fig. 25 appears here./

With this small knife the arrow cane is bored to insert the tip, a wooden shaft, or the notched hand-end. The crudely carved bamboo points are improved and sharpened with it, as

[415]
[824]

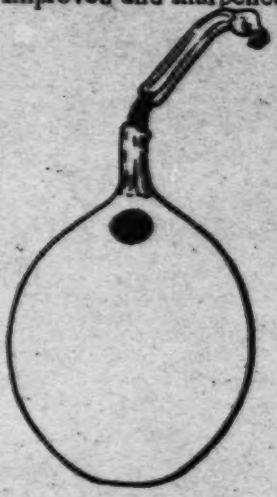


Fig. 24. Jamaru fruit.

are the points of bone and wood. It is also used, however, to bore holes in the hearth, that is, the horizontal piece of wood of the fire-making apparatus, and to cut a groove at the side. The
[531] serpentine lines and zigzag designs are put on the quiver with it,
[593] and finally it is used by the men to make deep gashes on the bodies of their wives for reasons of jealousy. Almost all the women have large and small scars from this; they always showed them to me with a certain amount of pride, however, as a sign that they are, or were, beautiful and desirable.

412 Other tribes of Guiana, too, and those that in the rest of
184 South America are part of the remnants of the original stratum
[191] use these small knives. They are documented for the Waiká by

412 /54 cont./
184 Zerries and Schuster, (297) (298), for the Karimé by Salathé (299).

297. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

298. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

299. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 306 and Fig. 16.

[237]

Fig. 25. Small knife made out of the sharp tooth of the cutia (Dasyprocta aguti L.).

Fig. 26. Knife made out of the ventral shell of the perema (water turtle).

[284] and for the Xiriâna by Koch-Grünberg (300). The latter, however,
[824]

300. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313 and Pl. 47 (9).

says that the Xiriâna lash the tooth to a wooden handle by means
ooo of Bromelia fibers (301). In the same place Koch-Grünberg likewise

301. Such a knife is to be found in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte Koch-Grünberg Collection, 12.25:108).

Shiriana
Surára
Pakidái

/55 cont./

412 knives are sometimes bound to a pointed wooden handle. This
184 strengthening, however, certainly was not added later, but rather is simply the shaft which the Xiriâna, unlike the Surára and Pakidái, mount on their arrow points (see p. 43).

412 For cutting hair and shearing off the tonsure, decidedly
462 women's work, a split piece of reed sharpened on one side
302 (taquara -- Guadua sp.) is used.

412 Such "knives" are also widespread among the South American
171 Indians; Prince zu Wied-Neuwied documents them for the Botokuden (307).

307. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1821, p. 9.

412 Another important tool is the eyetooth from the lower jaw
237 of the wild pig -- manacoauá --, with the inner edge of which the men smooth their bows.

[184] This tool is also used for the same purpose by the Waiká (308).

308. Schuster, 1958b, p. 17.

412 For work in the fields the men use a digging stick somewhat
[192] flattened at the lower end and 2-2.20 centimeters long --
824 namunamutehí --, which they make out of the hard wood of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.); as a substitute they also occasionally use an old, broken bow-staff.

[184] Zerries also observed the latter practice among the Waiká (309).

309. Zerries, 1956b, p. 153.

413 A piece of round wood from the trunk of the pupunha palm
462 should also be mentioned; it is used by the women as a bast beater -- xamotimá (see also pp. 112/114).

412 This exhausts the use of primitive tools. Even in olden
197 times, there were certainly not many more. During my stay among the two tribes, however, I saw them already using steel axes, as well as terçados (large bush-knives) and small knives.

Surara
Pakidai

/62 cont./ The father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
824 (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
842 magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confine-
ments which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
142 On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case
the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock
for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she
already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
622 is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
756

In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has
only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into
the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment.
When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and
berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast
on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is
constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking
its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have
such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in,
the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate
teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along
with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the
baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green
mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed
by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

/64 cont./
553 high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermedi-
976 aries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these
[782] Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris"
[797] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic
114 ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph
191 /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 On the day of the name-giving the children are given a
302 tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved
[412] off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara --
[824] Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in
553 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove
291 up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under
[834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good
[292] form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around children (See pp. 64ff.).

Surára
Pakidái

/66 cont./

595 The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the Pakidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Vari-
587 ous other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies, these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do not call them uncle, but likewise father.

881 h) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl, [302] on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú, a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may
881 speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. Dur-
304 ing the second day her mother or another woman applies a pin-point tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either
[413] side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a
[824] pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty-
[386] gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured, leaves a dark blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the
[147] little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears, and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysterious forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life.
881 With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated, and after that a small celebration takes place.

Surára Pakidái

/81/

192 245 Designation of the Surára and Pakidái:

pakatarimã

kuratá pauximí

nakaximí

rokojá

rokomã

parauá

rocrenvökãkö

xiahíma

Designation of the regional caboclo population:

pacovão

inajá

São Tomé roxa

São Tomé branca

banana maçã (?)

caité

banana bajé

Banana govêrno (375)

[126] 375. Unfortunately, I could not carry out a botanical classification of these varieties.

245 [412] [824] With the help of a digging stick made from the wood of the pupunha palm and 1.60-1.80 meters long, which has a flattened point at the lower end (Ill. 38), or a broken bow-staff, cuttings of banana trees are planted in the clearing, and after only a few months they are full-grown and bear fruit. The work of planting [462] as well as the care of the plants falls to the men, while the women help only with the harvest (376).

[184] 376. Among the Waiká, the plants are cared for by men and women (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Besides the banana, the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) -- komunamá -- is cultivated to a considerable extent. Cuttings are used for planting, but occasionally seeds as well. These palms, which always stand between the bananas, give the clearings of the Surára and Pakidái a characteristic stamp [481] (Ill. 37). The trunk, 18-20 meters tall, which is covered with pointed thorns -- mísmicibá -- and can therefore be climbed only

249 /82/ Besides the cultivated plants used for food, some are raised to be used for enjoyment. These are primarily tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) -- peenáke -- (387) and a pepper plant (Piperacea sp.) --

387. The Waiká word for this is "be" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

maxarahá -- (388) which is required for making the narcotic

[184] 388. This plant is also cultivated by the Waiká and is designated by almost the same name "masho hara" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

snuff-powder (see pp. 192), as well as -- perakí -- (389)

389. The Waiká call this pepper plant "blaki" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

(Piper caudatum Vahl.), Portuguese pimenta-dos-índios, with which they spice their food.

249 824 Finally, the cultivation of plants yielding important required articles should be mentioned. These are arrow cane (Sagittaria montevidensis Cham. et Schl.) -- xerekaíbe --, the urucuzeiro (Bixa orellana L.), from whose seeds, found in a thorny capsule, the red coloring matter urucú -- narâ -- is obtained (see p. 122), as well as a Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria L. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda), the fruits of which are used as vessels (see p. 114).

248 The cultivation of cotton (Gossypium barbadense or hirsutum) -- xinarí -- is of comparatively recent date.

252 [462] 8. Preparation of Food

The preparation of solid food is almost exclusively in the hands of the women, but the roasting of game is reserved for the men (390). There are two methods of doing this: The simplest

[171] 390. According to Baldus, this prerogative

Surára
Pakidái

/85 cont./

9. Meals and Eating Habits

264
262 In the morning the Surára and Pakidái eat very little, usually only one or two bananas or tubers roasted in the hot ashes. I often found that men and women set out to hunt or gather without having eaten anything. If they come across wild fruits on their wanderings, however, they help themselves generously. Small, light meals in the form of banana soup, roasted or steamed bananas, pupunha fruit, sweet potatoes, etc. are eaten at noon. Sometimes there are some leftovers from the meat of the day before. The main meal of the day does not take place until after sundown, by the light of the blazing fire. For at this time the whole family is usually assembled again, and the hunting booty which the man perhaps brought home in the afternoon or the products of the gathering by the women have been prepared. Everywhere one sees the men squatting beside the fire and waiting for food, which includes larger or smaller pieces of meat
• [824] supplemented by vegetable fare. In front of them the women have spread out a few palm leaves as an underlayer for the food. The men eat first, and they also get the best pieces of meat. When they are satisfied, the women and children may start eating. Nothing is drunk during the meal, but afterwards a palm-fruit or honey drink is enjoyed.

264 Eating is done with the hands. In one hand the Indian holds a piece of roasted or boiled meat and in the other a roasted banana, a manioc flat-cake, or something similar. Intermittently one reaches into the pot and takes out another piece or cuts it off from
[415] the wooden spit or roasting rack. Soups are drunk out of gourd bowls or calabashes, just like the palm-fruit and honey drinks.

[251] If the hunters' bag was particularly good, one may observe many Indians, men, women, and children, eating all night long, for meat is preserved only before festivals. In connection with this the individual members of the family lie comfortably in their hammocks, converse, sleep a little at intervals, then fetch themselves another piece of meat from the roasting spit or rack. It is
[261] astonishing what quantities they consume during such a night. On the other hand, they are also easily able to fast for a long period of time.

/87 cont./

231 In the evening the monkeys climb the tallest trees in order to spend the night in their crowns, and the birds, too, occasionally fly away. But all the animals come back, for, of course, they were tamed when small and are very attached to the Indians, who /88/ always treat them affectionately. They take the trouble, with great patience, to train the parrots and parakeets to talk, and they are happy when the first results appear.

11. Luxuries

27% The Surára and Pakidái use only two luxuries, tobacco -- peenáke -- and a snuff powder -- epená. The former serves for profane purposes and the latter exclusively for ritual use.

Tobacco is not smoked, however. The leaves are pulverized in the green state, mixed with wood ashes and water or saliva, and twisted between the hands into small rolls. These are then inserted between the lower or upper lip and the teeth, where they are sucked. Both sexes, including children, indulge in this enjoyment, which also is connected with a very practical purpose, for, as a result, the Indians are able to walk around all day in the forest without feeling hungry or thirsty; but their attractive faces are quite distorted by the tobacco roll (Ill. 41).

[184] Tobacco is used in the same way among the Waiká, but here, according to Zerries' account, the roll is inserted only be-
● [824] tween the lower lip and the teeth (426) (427). The investigator

426. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

427. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

named also mentions the occasional use of wild plants as substitutes in case tobacco is lacking (428) (429). Among the Surára

428. Zerries, 1956b, p. 154.

429. Zerries, 1958c, p. 180.

/110 cont./

527 Between the patapánomão festivals the Surára and Pakidái have only a few other festivities in the course of the year. These are but small celebrations, which, for example, take place after the two-months' training of two young men as medicine-man helpers, after a successful war-expedition, upon moving into a newly erected maloka, and in connection with the second menstruation of a girl. The latter has more of an intimate character, for only families of relatives and friends take part in it.

4. Magic for Sickness, Hunting, Love, and Rain

754
825 a) Magic for sickness:

●[824] A magic powder is occasionally prepared from the bark ashes of a wild mimosa species (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurâhihenâ -- (see also p. 192) and the bone powder of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). In the evening, shortly before twilight sets in, if a gavião-real happens to be flying by or is sitting on a tree, the chief blows this powder in the direction of the bird. The latter receives it and with it transmits sickness to a specific hostile tribe.

224
789 b) Hunting magic:

[782] The evening before a proposed hunting expedition the hunter takes snuff-powder and prays for about 2-3 hours to the hekurâ (see pp. 200/201), whereby through them he requests

[302] Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) for a successful outcome. Then, before he sets out the next morning, he paints serpentine lines

[825] on his face and body with urucú. If his wife accompanies him, she also applies this design, and the snout and feet of a dog that is taken along are painted with the same color. This is

[751] supposed to increase the luck of the hunt and is at the same time bound up with defensive magic against possible dangers threatened by poisonous snakes and jaguars.

Surára
Pakidái

224
191
114

/111 cont./
Métraux also documents for the Chiriguano (541).

541. Métraux, 1931, p. 154, footnote 1.

It should also be pointed out that the hunting rule so strictly observed by the Surára and Pakidái men, which says that a hunter may never carry his game into the maloka himself, can probably be traced back to Karaiben /Carib/ influences. In this connection Zerries speaks of propitiatory rites relating to the killed animal (542). According to his investigations, the

542. Zerries, 1954a, p. 359.

northern region of South America emerges as the nuclear area, where they are found primarily among Karaiben tribes of the Venezuelan coast and its hinterland (543). The author cites

543. Zerries, 1954a, pp. 136/37, 359/60.

Roth (544) and Crévaux (545) as the most important sources, as

544. Roth, 1915, p. 294.

545. Crévaux, 1883, p. 283.

well as the very old report by Rochefort (546), which shows that

546. Rochefort, 1658, p. 451.

even the Island Karaiben were acquainted with this custom.

832
[824]

c) Love magic:

For the purpose of love magic, young men sometimes wear a curauá-fiber string around the neck, to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the taió (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) hamrē -- (see p. 83). If the

Surára
Pakidái

/111 cont./

832 wearer bites on it and holds it under the nose of a girl or a woman, he gains her favor through the fragrances emanating from it. In fact, I was told that love will then be so great that the woman or the girl would follow him everywhere (547).

547. This type of love magic is reminiscent of a myth of the Aruak /Arawak/ Manao: The Aromatic Root. (Baldus, 1958, pages 32 ff.)

In order to protect themselves from this love magic, married women use two kinds of neck chains. Younger ones [824] have tied to their string of curauá fibers numerous small pieces of tajá root, and older ones, small pieces of the camarau liana (Cipó sp.) -- hif -- (see p. 83). These many pieces of root or liana then counteract the effect of the young men's single piece of root.

754 If a man is angry at a woman because she does not give him a hearing, he can avenge himself in the following manner: [824] On a rainy day he tears off a leaf of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and goes with it into the forest. When he reaches a matamatá tree (Eschweilera matamata Hub.) from which /112/ drops are falling, he lays the palm leaf under the tree. He leaves it there until it has rotted. Out of it comes a worm which the man later fetches and then roasts. If he throws this upon the sleeping woman, she will have no more children.

789 d) Rain magic:
821 Although the Surára and Pakidái appreciate rain more than too strong a radiation from the sun (548), there are occasions when

[191]

548. In contrast to this, I should like to point out that among the Taulipang, for example, there is great fear of rain (Koch-Grünberg, 1916, pp. 130/31).

/112 cont./

789 [821] [302] it is not needed, for example, before hunting expeditions or during a tribal migration. In this case all the men, women, and children paint their bodies with a confusion of serpentine lines, in order by this means to command the rain to stop. If 526 789 this does not help, a tug of war -- toθtotő -- with a thick liana is arranged. This liana personifies the sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) -- [796] uaikonyá -- which, as a strong water-animal, has the power to induce Poré to stop shaking the rain tree (see p. 199). At first only two groups of red-painted men engage in the tug of war. But if the rain simply will not abate, red-painted women also take part in it. Their participation is supposed to increase the [796] pressure on the sucuriju, for it is assumed that it is of the female sex and thus particularly well-disposed toward women. Such a [857] tug of war often goes on for several hours. In most cases, besides adults, I also saw children who imitated it with a thin liana.

526 789 821 If it happens to rain while the sun is shining, the Surára and Pakidái believe that a serious fight has broken out between the moon, from which the rain comes, and the sun. Then all the members of the tribe feel obligated to come to the aid of their Supreme Being, the moon. They do this by again forming two mixed groups of men and women -- one symbolically represents the population of the moon and the other that of the sun -- who throw wet earth at each other; this "battle" is called xejejő.

782 5. A Special Way of Showing Gratitude to Poré and Perimbő

In connection with the festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.) after the training period of the two medicine-man helpers (see pp. 143 f.), after the curing of the sick (see pp. 211 ff.), and other magic ceremonies, the people want to thank Poré and Perimbő (see p. 187) in a special way, outside of the customary prayers which take place through the hekurá (see pp. 199/201). For this purpose a large calabash is filled with earth, [824] into which, in a circle, are stuck red-painted twigs of the imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.), which are connected

/112 cont./

782 with threads of Bromelia fibers. Such threads are also drawn
[824] crisscross over the sticks, and on them are glued down-feathers
[237] of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). The structure --
akuanohé --, which women and girls are not permitted to see,
gives the effect of a man's head, in the hair of which are glued
down-feathers of the gavião-real. By order of the chief, several
warriors take this calabash into the forest and set it down in a
particular spot.

825
202

6. Birds as Transmitters of Messages

On May 21, 1956, in his maloka on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, a Surára man, Honohomá, was engaged in a loud monologue which started about 4:00 in the morning and lasted until about 6:00; during this he was lying in
[114] his hammock. As to the meaning of this apparent monologue, my little interpreter Jibeauwõ afterwards gave me the following explanation: When Honohomá woke up, he heard the singing of the little bird kaukaumã, a japim (Cacicus cela L.), in which at the time, however, the soul of Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, was to be found. The latter was living with his tribe in the /113/ maloka on the middle Demini. The soul in the little bird said that the Pakidái, after the festival in memory of the dead, had arrived safely at their communal house. At the same time it reported the course of the journey in detail, the hunting successes, and the planting of new banana trees and pupunha palms. Whenever the little bird interrupted its song for a time, Honohomá would tell it about how the Surára were getting along.

According to the belief of the two tribes, the little japim is a transmitter of messages, who reports illness and death, as well as military encounters with hostile tribes.

/200 cont./

162 C. Sanemá of the upper Ventuari (Nabudub)

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Weweña	50	The Nabudub of Ihuduña
2. Wadekuña	80	frequently move between
3. Mahanaña	50	the Ventuari and the
4. Ihuduña	200	Erebato.
Total	380 estimated individuals.	

161 According to this demographic estimation there are approximately 2,150 Sanemá in the zone of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura. We do not know how many Sanemá live on the Padamo.

342 We have seen four different types of houses among the Sanemá: (a) windscreen type, (b) triangular in shape and Makiritare system, (c) rectangular, and (d) oblong. We have found types (a) and (b) together in the same encampment on the Ventuari, facing Caño Mosquito.

342 361 [501] [137] [262] On our trip through that place we saw two Sanemá rafts moored on the bank of the Ventuari. We later climbed a cliff and followed a path which led us to a conuco of the Sanemá. At one end there was a gigantic algarroba tree laden with fruit. Judging from the skins scattered on the ground, we realized that the Sanemá had consumed a great quantity. Near the tree, which in times past offered them /201/ its generous shade, we found a desolate Sanemá encampment. It was made up of five

342 triangular huts and two of the windscreen type. Both types of construction seem to be typical of the Yanoama and are remarkable for their size, somewhat small. For the construction of a triangular cabin six poles 1.60 meters long are needed to serve as posts or supports. Three pairs are made out of them, each bound at the upper end with a bejuco, and with some 30 centimeters left free in order to form a fork. The lower parts of the poles are stuck into the ground at a distance of half a meter. These forks in tepee form with a separation of two meters form a

[824] regular triangle. Three sticks are later placed on the forks, and these support the roof made of platanillo /Musaceae/ leaves. A similar rancho was described by Koch-Grünberg (1923, Pl. 43).

/202 cont./

412 [184] (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl. 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surará and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife, [171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Sirionó (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a [179] peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of 411 [324] macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The bowstring is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

[627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

/208 cont./

241 [177] Among the Sanemá, doubtless as a result of their contact with their Macú and Caribe neighbors, agriculture has taken on increasing importance. The manner of cultivation is still very rudimentary, that of "slash and burn." The principal products are: plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, and certain herbs which have magical importance (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 444, similar plants among the Waica). Among the magical plants of the Sanemá there is one on which they lavish great care. An informant told us about the general consternation which seized all of them one day when a band of enemies tore up, during the night, all the magical plants of their conucos. They believed that they were going to die or at least become sick, and the "sabií had much work" in order to save his people. There is here a similar belief which we have already noted in connection with the eagles and hanekasá.

824 241

241 178 [628] Agriculture has given a degree of stability to the Sanemá subgroups and has introduced changes in their traditional social system. Not all the groups have adopted this new economy and disputes and fights frequently arise because the gatherers indiscriminately appropriate the products of a conuco of the agricultural group. That was the motive which caused the Makiritare to fight with the Sanemá, who at that time had still not adopted the agriculture which flourished among their neighbors.

[648]

231 [192] The Sanemá do not have domestic animals, and even dogs are uncommon. It is possible that the Yanoama have adopted them recently. They have still not found a specific name for this animal, and they call it póliawan, like the jaguar. Some informants insisted that there is a phonetic difference between the word póliawan = jaguar and póliawan = dog, but there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the same word is involved. They raise dogs so that they may serve them as helpers in hunting.

In a Sanemá rancheria there are frequently found animals of various species, but tame. The hunters take home young turkeys, cranes, macaws, and parrots, as well as guinea pigs, lapas, and monkeys, as presents for their wives or children. /Illustrations appear here./

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Barbasco is a kind of liana which can grow to impressive dimensions—attaining a stem up to eight inches thick. The Indians cut it in the forest and collect a large pile together at a convenient place for pressing. Their press is made from one of those dead trunks of hardwood which are found in such quantity in the forest and some wooden clubs specially cut for the purpose. The liana stems are pounded and then done up into bundles so that they can be easily taken to the place to be fished, which may be some way off. Here they are immersed several times in the river, releasing a milky juice which gives the water a whitish opalescence. The juice of the liana reduces the air content of the water through oxidization, and the fish very soon come floating up to the surface—asphyxiated but not poisoned.

This procedure is a very common one among the Indians, whose fishing follows a two-year cycle—this being the minimum time needed for each stretch of water to become repopulated after the use of barbasco. It goes without saying that this extract of liana loses its efficacy in anything bigger than a small stream. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity the Indians will attempt to fish medium-sized rivers in this way, banding together to collect huge quantities of liana. The fish taken are then smoked and wrapped in banana leaves, after which they will keep for months.

Ausi and his men had to go far afield with their barbasco before they found a suitable place. The probability was that the Shirians had already been at work, unknown to anyone, near the source of the Canaracuni. We therefore left him to it after all, and returned to camp early one morning, just in time to meet the plane that was circling the field.

VI

On Sunday, the 24th June, a big plane came into sight over the rim of the Sarisariñama mountains—towards the east where they merge into the Socaoc range. It swooped down to about three hundred feet and then went off without giving any signal. The excitement among the Indians on the spot—Luis Antonio was one of them and he explained the nature of the machine to his kinsfolk—was doomed to disappointment. And time and again this story of the aeroplane continued to arouse our hopes, only to dampen them once more.

A week later it appeared, at the same time—so suddenly and unexpectedly

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the usefulness of the Corozo palm end here: it furnishes a hard, black wood that gives the Indians their finest bows, real masterpieces treasured with pride by their owners and only bought and sold with a great deal of ceremony.

The *lahsa* represents the Indian food-ideal. It grows in bunches up to eighty pounds or more in weight, each fruit being the size of an egg and in shape and colour not unlike a small, ripe cheese. Cooking it takes a long time. The outside is a thick starchy layer, orange-coloured and rich-tasting without being over-sweet or sickly. It is better than any of our starchy foods such as bread or potatoes or chestnuts or *gnocchi*. The whole of it is edible right down to the little stone itself. This is a kind of delicious almond which crumbles pleasantly under one's teeth and leaves nothing but an insatiable desire for more—hence its name, *lahsa*.

Lahsa can be carried: there are no doubts about this, as in the case of the huamoshi. Its golden bunches are big enough to cover up a man, and the carrier protects himself from the thorns on the branches with a good thick cushion of leaves. In the evening they are cooked, so that the grim-faced women of the tribe are able to produce their milk after all and tirelessly pass it on to the scabby, drooling mouths of their infants, who in their turn convert it into blood and yield it up to the clouds of flies and mosquitoes which wrap them round with a perpetual dark veil like an aura of evil and accursed spirits.

In recompense for its fabulous generosity, the *lahsa* tree has been accorded one great privilege that sets it apart from all the other fruit-bearing trees of the forest: it is never cut down for the easier harvesting of the crop. The fruit is brought down by some clever manipulation of a long pole, for no climber's hands and feet could withstand the thorns. If in very special circumstances the tree has to be cut down, then its upper stem is opened so that its last, secret riches can be cut out—the ten pounds of sweet, crisp, chestnut-flavoured tenderness that is its growing point, the heart. Then the tree will weep out its tears from its torn breast, tears of wine that are lost.

Certainly the tribes living nearest to the forest and the forest's deep anti-human mysteries have chosen the *lahsa* as their god of food: but we, a hybrid mixture of natural fears and supernatural thunderings, chose to set up opposite it our own saint, the yellow and most luscious *sapak*. When the marching horde reached a gnarled tree which evoked the quick cry '*Sapak!*' they flung themselves at it—such is their agility in tree-climbing that they literally seem to fling themselves up—and began a feast that reduced them to silence because

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

there for the taking in the forest and the supply, from both animal and vegetable sources, is inexhaustible.

The bow is of surprising dimensions. It is six feet six inches long, this being equivalent, considering the height of the archer, to nine feet nine inches for us. The simplest pattern is made from the *sehe* palm. They also use a hardwood—from a tree known in Venezuela as the 'golden pole'. This is very rare, almost as rare among the Indians as metal. But the finest bows of all, possessed by the few and worth a fortune, are made from the corozo tree, the *lakse* of the Shirians. This wood is extremely hard but very fibrous, with the elasticity of a steel spring. The shaping and fining down of these bows, and the making of the arrows, is the one form of craftsmanship known to the Samatari. With this they occupy themselves during the rainy season, under rough roofs of palm leaves. A tree belonging to the Moraceae family furnishes the very tough fibre for the bowstrings: it is found all along the river-banks and in the forest glades.

The slender arrows, six foot six inches long, are made from a cane cultivated in the secret depths of the forest, though it grows naturally on any of the river creeks which flood regularly. Curassow or guan feathers, split in half, are bound on to the cane.

There are three types of arrow-head, according to the purpose for which they are to be used. The lightest is a splinter cut from the shinbone of a monkey, firmly fixed to the end of a short stick, in such a way as to form a sharp-pointed prong. This is used on small animals, and especially for birds and fish. There are numbers of big fish, like the *pampano* and *surapiri*, which lie near the surface so that a slight rippling of the water betrays their presence. The arrow which pierces them cannot be shaken out, and its length and weight make it difficult for the wounded fish to get very far.

Another kind of point is virtually a miniature spear fashioned out of a very hard bamboo cane. Very sharp, and razor-edged, it will strike deep into the most resistant flesh, the toughest hide. The Samatari use this on the bigger game, such as tapir, and also for war—though for the latter purpose it is superseded by a specialized warhead. This is a sharpened splinter of palm wood—the same as goes to the making of the bows—dipped in a red poison made from the bark of a certain tree. A series of rings, four or five of them, are notched out round the arrow-tip, so that it is weakened at these places. If the tip strikes bone on entering the body, or if the arrow is pulled out, it snaps at one of these weakened parts, leaving the broken tip embedded in the flesh so that

/443 cont./

Domestic Animals

231 Dogs are raised and generally used in hunting.

Birds of almost all types are captured when they are found before leaving the nest. Most of these only survive a few days. It seems that the parrots manage to survive in captivity much better than the other birds, so that almost all the settlements have a domesticated parrot. Turkeys and cranes are included among the other birds which can survive and reach the adult state.

Domesticated monkeys are also favorite animals. It is interesting to observe that almost without exception the monkey is the property of a woman. Doubtless this is related to the fact that women nurse the little monkeys until they are weaned. The mother monkey must be killed in order to be able to capture the little monkey.

Small rodents, such as squirrels and vesper mice, are brought to the house sometimes to be domesticated. One family even went so far as to raise a wild pig (chácharo).

231 766 /444/ When a domestic animal dies, it is incinerated outside the settlement, near some path. Its bones are left in the same spot where they were when the fire consumed them.

Agriculture

241 Platanos and banana trees occupy nearly 90 per cent of the cultivated lands. Other fruits include sweet yuca, bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, mapuey /yams/, sugar cane, maize the pijiguao palm /peach palm/, pepper, the papaya, and the sweet potato.

241 824 302 789 302 276 Tobacco, cotton, and onoto /annatto/ are the principal nonedible products. Other nonedible products include a grass whose stem is dried and used for cutting the hair; a variety of root similar to the wild onion is used in magic for hunting, for obtaining a wife, etc.; especially fragrant leaves are used by the women in their ears; and the ingredients used in the processing of "yopo," a narcotic which is blown into the nose.

/451 cont./

251 The Guaika /Waica/ do not keep reserves of food. All of their foods are cooked fresh or at least within a period of two weeks from the time they are ready. Therefore, in case their conucos have a scarcity of produce, they must go to live in the forest, gathering seeds, fruits, and roots, and devoting more [628] time than usual to hunting and fishing. When another settlement has an abundance of food in a time of scarcity, it would be very fortunate to be able to live completely from this settlement instead of having to subsist from the forest.

Consumption of Food

263 No salt is consumed as such, that is, as salt properly speak- [824] ing. They eat wood ashes, especially the ashes of a tree called "kololi." The ashes may be eaten as they are or with hot water poured over them to obtain a tasty liquid. To this liquid, called "ubu," is added strong peppers. Platanos and other foods are dipped in the resulting sauce to flavor and ingest them.

261 Clay is also dried and eaten, especially the clay from certain nests of insects.

[862] No child may be weaned until it has learned to eat the said ashes and clay.

Earth and clean dust are also eaten. They are considered clean if they are taken from a place where a fire has recently burned, from a river bed, or from a bare spot or bank of sand which the sun has been able to purify.

264 Their hours for eating are as follows: Breakfast is taken shortly after sunrise, and the second turn when they come back from work in their "conucos," generally at some time near midday. They eat again near /452/ sunset. This schedule varies, being adjusted for hunting trips, moving from the settlement, etc. They eat quite a lot between meals, especially wild fruits and bananas and ripe platanos.

/456 cont./

Preparation of Basic Materials

411 321 The Guaika /Waica/ make their arrow points out of bone. When they obtain a small piece of bone, they quickly transform it into a good arrow-point for killing birds. The long bones of legs and arms of monkeys are broken, and the sharp points which generally result have a form similar to that of arrowheads, are worked and finished, with the rest being thrown away. To give them shape, the points are scraped with knives or machetes and rubbed on some stone.

534 321 I also saw a whistle or a flute which seemed to be made out of bone or out of a quill of large size.

411 322 [824] [239] [412] The Guaika make their bows out of wood. They generally select the wood of the "pijiguao" palm. They give it a rough shape, using the machete. They achieve the final form by scraping the piece with the jawbone of a wild pig, the teeth constituting the cutting edges.

322 412 [239] They do wood carving with a small knife, which consists of the tooth of a rodent. With this tooth they manage the fine work of putting notches in the arrows. They also shape bamboo arrow-points and the oblong lower part of the apparatus for making fire.

They devote as much as half a day to carving the handles for their axes and machetes. They use the machete to shape them.

323 The Guaika make their pots of mud. The clay is obtained in specific places. This frequently requires a day or more of travel. Once the clay has been brought to the settlement, /457/ they go about extracting the stones from it while kneading it, moistened, for several hours. The pot is begun by taking a ball of mud which is given the shape of a bowl. Then they go on adding rings of mud which they join to the pot. The vessel is scraped and shaped with a piece of broken totuma /fruit of the calabash tree/. During the process of the scraping, they go on increasing the size of the pot. They keep the clay damp and plastic, spitting on it from time to time. After this they put the pot out to dry in the sun and finally bake it in the fire. The vessel comes out of

/457 cont./

323 [114] the fire quite blackened when well baked. On my last trip upriver I had the good luck to see how one of these pots was made, except for the baking in the fire. In spite of being very fragile, these pots are highly esteemed for cooking.

Constructions

342 335 The Guaika /Waica/ dwelling is a roof with only one slope and no walls. The basic structure is a triangle of beams supported at its vertices by uprights. The highest angle is supported by a long upright, while the two lower angles are held up by two short crossed stakes at each corner. Or one of these lower corners might be fixed to a living tree for greater stability.

The uprights are pointed at their lower end and stuck into the ground repeatedly until they are quite firm. Then the main beam, or bearing beam, is tied in place horizontally between the short uprights on which the roof is supported. Then the two diagonal beams which form a triangle with the main beam are put in place, and on this basic triangle are added four beams inclined toward both sides. Then the small beams which form the framework which will bear the leaves are put on top. (Fig. 3./see p. 29/.)

342 [824] The leaves are placed on top like tiles, but are not tied in place. Brush /breñas/ and sticks are put over the leaves so that the wind will not blow them off. Sometimes palm leaves and brush are drawn up against the back eaves so as to form a sort of back wall. /458/ /[illegible]/Fig. 3 appears here./

This basic structure may vary, two or more ranchos being joined laterally and their roofs united.

On sites more suitable for more stable constructions (that is to say, where there is considerable clayey ground and consequently fewer fleas or "niguas"), the Guaika build dwellings with the palm leaves of the roof fixed in place. These dwellings are similar to the more temporary constructions, but are generally larger, and the small beams of the framework are replaced by strings of vine stretched lengthwise across the inclined beams. The palm leaves are fixed to these strings, their stems being bent backwards and down, thus piercing the lower layer of leaves.

/462 cont./

Fire

372 The Guaika /Waica/ use the system of simple rotation to make fire. This consists of a piece of soft wood, flattened on one side and rounded on the other, about four centimeters wide at one end, and whose tapering shape ends in a blunt point at the other end. With the tooth of a large rodent they make a circular cut in it near its broader end, and in this is inserted a slender stick (from 30 to 40 centimeters /sic/ in diameter at its base). This stick is held between the palms of the hands and given a rotating movement until a spark burns in the wood dust which has been formed by the rotation of the stick in the hole made in the board. (See Fig. 6.)

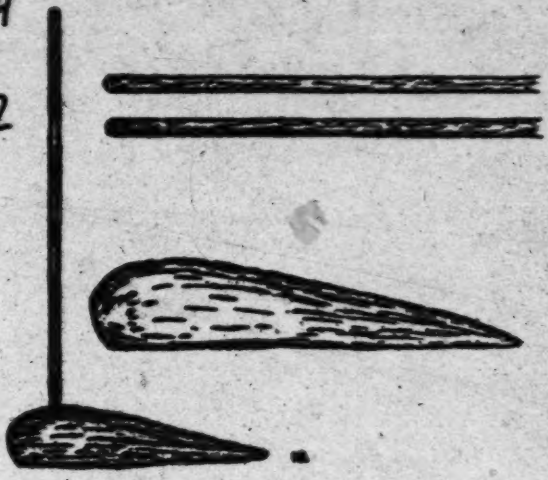
[237] [412]

[824] /463/ The tapered piece of soft wood is of cacao, in which several successive holes can be made, and each hole can be used several times for lighting a fire.

In general there is someone in the settlement who has a fire lighted, so that when some native needs fire he obtains it there. In order to carry fire a short distance, two or three lighted sticks are tied together, forming a fagot. When they travel at night, they carry lighted torches to protect themselves against animals

373 416 484

372



/Fig. 6/

/463 cont./

373 as well as to light the path. Torches of gum and resin are also
416 used sometimes on the paths during the night, but the common
484 type of torch is the fagot of tied pieces of wood. A group which travels at night (as occurs when they are returning after nightfall from the work of fishing) may carry only one torch. Then they stop from time to time to arrange the joined sticks and to revive the fire, keeping it from going out.

373 The wood fire is the principal source of light and heat in the
374 settlements. The fires are kept lighted during the entire night, both to produce warmth and for protection against predatory animals and the spirits of human beings which have returned.

372 There do not seem to be any beliefs or ceremonies related to the production and maintenance of fire.

Weapons

411 The principal weapon of the Guaica /Waica/ is the bow and arrow. They also use macanas.

[824] The bow is made of palm wood, generally of "pijiguao," [283] with a strong string made of threads of bark. This string has three or more threads of twisted bark, which give it great strength.

[249] The shafts of their arrows are made of the festooned part [237] of a certain wild cane, which they cultivate in their "conucos." They feather them with the points of wing feathers of wild turkeys.

Arrow points vary according to the type of game which is to be the target. The wide bamboo point is used /464/ principally against large land animals; the bone one for shooting large and medium-sized birds, and the poisoned points principally for monkeys. Any of these points might be used against man in the event of war. Against small birds they shoot the shaft, first removing the point, or they use a point ramified at the end, made out of a small branch quickly broken off some nearby plant. The accompanying Fig. 7 /see p. 35/ shows the different types of arrow points of the Guaika. /Fig. 7 appears here./

/464 cont./

411 [857] [824] The children make small bows, generally for their games, but they also shoot lizards, which are good bait for fishing. These bows may be made of several types of wood, but rarely of palm. The bows of the men are always made of palm.

411 [226] Macanas are used by women for fishing. They are also used by men in their attacks on other settlements with which they have had more or less friendly relations, for the purpose of recovering the wife or daughter held captive there.

[531]

/Fig. 7/

Poisons

278 [226] A variety of poisons for fishing are used by the Guaika /Waica/. One comes from a vine, another from the husk of a prickly nut, and the third from the bark of a certain thick tree.

[411] Arrow points are poisoned with the poison from the bark of a vine. They scrape the bark, and the scrapings, /465/ wrapped in leaves, are kept dry by hanging them over the current of air from a fire until they are needed.

On the day when an Indian is going to prepare poison, every man of the settlement gets ready to prepare a set of arrow points to be poisoned.

The preparer of the poison begins by pulverizing the scrapings of bark between the palms of his hands. He constantly utters a series of shouts and grunts while doing this. Then he places the [415] pulverized bark in a funnel made of leaves, into which hot water

/470 cont./

512 men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the [276] spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves [721] are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against [196] the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

[535] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may [533] continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when [203] there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be [594] crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Un-
551 til the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

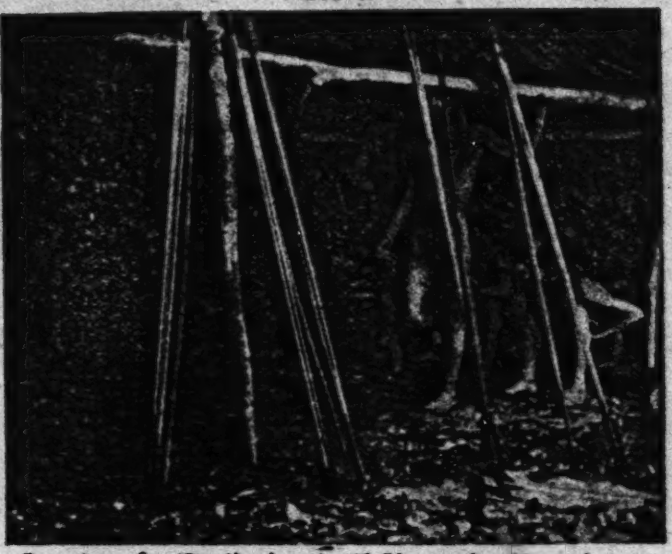
551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

7: Barker--65 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

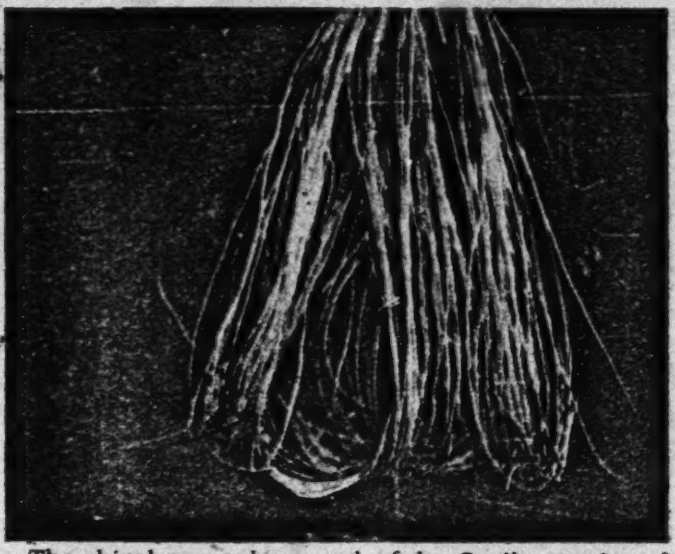
Plate V

342
411
291



Interior of a Guaika hut in El Platanal. Note the extraordinary length of their powerful arrows. (Photo. by the author.)

352
824



The chinchorro or hammock of the Guaika consists of vegetable fibers joined at both ends, without any transversal weaving. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

black, heavy, and very brittle. It breaks easily, but the pieces are used by the men as grinding surfaces for their drug manufacture, or as baking dishes when the women make cassava bread. As we shall see below, only a few villages make the clay pots and trade them to the members of other groups.

The most distinctive feature of Yąnomamö technology is that it is very direct.[4] No tool or technique is complicated enough to require specialized labor or raw materials. Each village, therefore, can produce every item of material culture it requires from the jungle resources immediately around it. That is, the simplicity of the tools, the processes of manufacture, and the distribution of resources are such that each village can exist independently of its neighbors as far as technological requirements are concerned. Nevertheless, some specialization in trade and manufacturing does occur, but it seems to be more closely related to the development of political alliances and is therefore discussed in a later chapter. I will describe the material culture at this point and relate it to the over-all adaptation later in this and following chapters.

WEAPONS Wood for bows is obtained from two species of palm tree, one that grows wild and one that is cultivated.[5] The bow is very heavy because palm wood is extremely dense. One cannot, for example, drive a nail into palm wood. The fibers that go into the thick bowstring come from the inner bark of a tree; these are twisted into a cord by rolling them with the palm of the hand against the thigh. The cord is so strong when it is new that it can be used as a hammock rope, but it deteriorates with age and must be replaced periodically. The bow itself is shaped with the lower jaw of a large, wild pig. The canine teeth in the pig's lower mandible are worn to razor-sharp edges by chewing and make magnificent cutting tools; the bow stave is held vertically and the mandible is planed up and down the surface, each upward stroke shaving off a fine layer of wood. After much labor and patience, the bow is completed. It has a circular or oval cross section and is very difficult to draw. Most Yąnomamö bows would compare favorably to our best hunting bows in strength.

Palm wood is also used for one type of arrow point. A splinter of palm wood about 15 inches long is smoothed down to a fine point, and several lateral grooves are cut into it along its length. This is done so that the point will break off in the body of the target. This type of point is covered with curare poison, which slowly dissolves in the animal (or man) after the point has broken off. This point is used most frequently for monkey hunting, as monkeys tend to grab hold of branches and tree trunks when they are wounded. The curare relaxes their muscles, and the monkeys sooner or later fall to the ground. Unless the point were coated with curare, the animal might die high in the treetops and could not be easily recovered. The Yąnomamö also carry large supplies of extra palm points in their bamboo quivers since these points break whether or not the arrow strikes the intended target. This type of point is manufactured in large quantities in several villages and is traded to other groups.

The curare vine is also collected wild from the jungle. It is soaked in hot water to leach out the active ingredient. The water containing the poison is then painted onto the palm-wood points over glowing coals; the water evaporates, leaving a brown, sticky

[4]For more details on Yąnomamö material culture than are given here, see Becher (1960) and Zerries (1964).

[5]The cultivated palm, *pijiguao*, produces a desirable fruit. It is cultivated for the fruit, but the wood of dead palms is used in bow manufacturing.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

278 layer of poison. Sometimes other ingredients are added to the poison to make it stickier and less soluble. Without these ingredients, the poison would be washed off by the rain. As an extra precaution against this, some men wrap a leaf around the curare point after it has been attached to the arrow.

415 411 [824] [438] [239] Arrow-point quivers are made from 2-inch bamboo sections of about 18 inches. The quiver is essentially a tube of wood with a natural joint serving as the bottom of the case. The bamboo grows wild in large stands, and some villages specialize in collecting it, making quivers, and trading them to other groups. A piece of monkey, snake, or jaguar skin, molded to fit over the top prevents water from getting into the tube. It usually contains a dozen or so extra arrow points, fibers for fastening the points to the arrow shaft, a ball of resin used as adhesive, a few splinters of bone used to tip one kind of arrow point, and, occasionally, a magical charm. A fiber or cotton string is tied around the bamboo tube near its top, and a loop is fashioned so that the tube can be worn around the neck. It hangs down the middle of the back.

372 [824] The Yąnomamö attach their fire drills and a pair of agouti-tooth knives to the outside of the bamboo quiver. The fire drill is made from the wood of the cocoa tree and consists of one or two 20-inch long, slender shafts, circular in cross section, and a 12-inch long lanceolate-shaped piece of cocoa wood into which have been worn several holes. The latter piece of wood is placed on the ground and held firmly in place by the foot. The tip of the slender shaft is placed into one of the holes, and the shaft is twirled rapidly with the palm of the hands; the heat of the friction ignites the wood dust that results from the spinning tip, and this is immediately transferred to some cotton tinder. The men usually work in pairs to start a fire, as the dust cools off by the time a single man can get his hands back up to the top of the slender shaft to begin another downward twirling motion.

412 [237] The agouti-tooth knives are manufactured from the lower incisor of the agouti rodent. The incisors are long, slender, gently curved, and very sharp. The tip of the incisor is shaped like a wedge and is frequently indented. The exterior part of the tooth is much harder than the pith so that a very sharp edge protrudes slightly above the softer, decayed dentine. The Yąnomamö keep the dentine worn down by periodically "sharpening" the tooth; this is accomplished by cutting into a particular kind of reed, which apparently contains a corrosive ingredient that attacks the dentine but does not affect the enamel of the tooth. The base of the tooth is fastened in a short piece of wood [314] by a resin adhesive and a fiber wrapping. The completed knife is as sharp as any steel [284] chisel, but because of its small size, its usefulness is limited. It is primarily used to whittle lanceolate arrow points from bamboo, a very time-consuming job.

226 The jungle also provides another kind of poison used by the Yąnomamö to kill fish. The men select a small stream, dam it up, and put the juice of a vine into the water. This stuns the small fish, which then float to the surface where they are scooped up by the women either by handfuls or with loosely woven, shallow baskets (see Fig. 2-2). If the woman is in the middle of the stream, she empties the contents of her basket into her hand and then stores the handful of squirming fish in her mouth until both the basket and her mouth are full. If larger fish are caught, the women bite them behind their heads to kill them and toss them out on the bank. The first one in the stream takes a chance on locating an electric eel; if she is shocked, the others try to locate the eel with sticks and kill it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1965) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

302
829
412

"Razor grass"—a reed—also grows wild in the jungle. It is used by the Yanomamö to cut their hair and to keep their tonsures cleanly shaved. A sliver of this reed is wrapped around the index finger in such a way that the sharp edge is exposed. The practiced hand can shave a head bald in a matter of minutes and with no more pain than would come from using a dull steel razor blade. This grass is also found around some of the villages, but appears not to be cultivated.

276

HALLUCINOGENIC DRUGS Another useful plant provided by the jungle is the *ebene* tree. The inner bark of this tree is used in the manufacture of one kind of hallucinogenic drug. The bark is scraped from the trunk after the exterior layer of bark is removed, or is scraped from the inside of the bark surface itself. This material, which is fairly moist, is then mixed with wood ashes and kneaded between the palms of the hands. Additional moisture is provided by spitting periodically into the pliable wad of drug. When the drug has been thoroughly mixed with saliva and ashes, it is placed on a hot piece of broken clay pot and the moisture driven out with heat. It is ground into a

[412]

Fig. 2-2. Women fishing in a dammed stream that has been poisoned by the juice of a wild liana. The poison is introduced upstream by the men, and the stunned fish are collected in baskets by the women.

226
139
415
516

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

342
302
301
824
142

Fig. 2-3. Thatching a new roof with leaves.

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwä, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof.

342
[821
756
789

The Yąnomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about

342
484

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

removed and laid along the ground in the direction of the burrow to measure the distance from the entrance. The men began digging at the end of the vine and located the asphyxiated armadillo on the first attempt.

The jungle provides many other kinds of foods and products too numerous to mention. Some, like vines and lianas, are very useful and commonly employed in basket-making; others, such as edible mushrooms, crabs, pigments, and decorative plant products, are less significant, and exploited only sporadically. Despite the amazing variety of food products to be found in the jungle, however, the Yąnomamö could not exist for any substantial period of time on collected foods only: they rely heavily on their cultivated crops. The tropical forest is much less productive and reliable than one would imagine. The most abundant foods, palm fruits, are seasonal—a group of people could only rely on them for a few months of the year, during which time some 80 group members would have to forage over a wide area to obtain sufficient palm fruits to keep everybody well fed.

Game animals are not abundant, and an area is rapidly hunted out, so that a group must keep constantly on the move. Furthermore, hunting depends as much on luck as it does on skill and is not a very reliable way to supply nourishment. I have gone on five-day hunting trips with the Yąnomamö in areas that had not been hunted for decades, and had we not brought cultivated foods along, we would have been extremely hungry at the end of this time—we did not collect even enough meat to feed ourselves. On other trips, we often managed to collect enough game in one day to feed the entire village.

GARDENING Although the Yąnomamö spend almost as much time hunting as they do gardening, the bulk of their diet comes from foods that are cultivated. Perhaps 85 percent or more of the diet consists of domesticated rather than wild foods—plantains are by far the most important food in the diet.

The Yąnomamö are constantly looking for potential garden sites. When I hunted with them, the topic of conversation that evening would eventually drift over to the merits of the area as a possible site for a new garden. Most new garden sites are, in fact, discovered by hunters.

The land for a new site should not be heavily covered with brush, which is difficult to remove. The larger trees should not be too numerous either, as it takes a good deal of work to chop them down. Ideally, the new site should have very light jungle cover, should be well drained, near a source of drinking water, and relatively free of thorny underbrush. The Yąnomamö call a garden *hikari täka;* jungle that has the potential of being a good garden is likewise called *hikari täka.*

The first operation in making a new garden is to cut the smaller trees and brush; the bigger trees, *kayaba hi,* are left standing until the underbrush is removed. Then the big trees are felled with axes and left lying on the ground to dry out in the sun.

My older informants claimed that they did not have steel tools when they were younger and had to kill the big trees by cutting a ring of bark off around the base of the stump, using a crude stone axe, piling brush around them, and burning them. The trees rarely fell, but the fire usually killed them, and their leaves dropped off, permitting the sunlight to reach the ground.

They also claimed that making a garden was more arduous in those days because a large area would have to be searched for the necessary quantities of kindling used to kill the big trees. Today, however, steel tools are quite common, being provided by the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

guishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö. Many wild plants are also said to have magical properties.

CONCLUSION The Yąnomamö have adapted to their jungle environment with a very simple technology. Exploiting both the naturally occurring foods and domesticated crops is relatively easy with this technology, and the resources of both the jungle and the garden provide the people with the two basic necessities of life: food and shelter. Although the resources are extremely varied and numerous, the diet is largely dominated by one food item: plantains. Techniques of manufacturing are so simple and direct that each individual can produce any item he needs from the resources immediately around him. The material aspect of the culture is decidedly rudimentary by comparison with other tropical forest tribes; the Yąnomamö appear to deliberately limit their possessions to an amount that can be easily transported in case the group is obliged to abandon its site on short notice.

Adaptation to the Sociopolitical Environment

The adaptation of the Yąnomamö to their environment can be only partially expressed in terms of how they make a living in the tropical forest with specific kinds of tools, plants, and techniques, for the forest is only one aspect of the external world to which they must adjust. Their adaptation also takes place in a social and political environment. This likewise affects the way in which the Yąnomamö are distributed over the land, how their villages are moved from one location to another, and the kinds of relationships each village has with its neighbors. In short, the Yąnomamö must relate themselves to each other as well as to nature.

ALLIANCES AND VILLAGE SIZE I spoke of the considerations that must be met when a new garden site is selected. However, the area within which the new site is selected is determined almost exclusively by political factors. A Yąnomamö group would remain indefinitely in the area it settled were it not for the threat of raids from warring neighbors. To be sure, the group would move its garden little by little each year, but the general area would be abandoned only if the people were driven out by stronger groups around them. Again, dissident factions of the village might leave the area if a particularly serious fight developed within the group, but because a garden is necessary for the group to survive as a group, the Yąnomamö abandon them only when faced with disaster. To establish a new garden at a great distance from the old one, a Herculean effort is required just to transport the necessary plantain cuttings and seed, not to mention carrying provisions for eating while the work of clearing the garden and planting the crops progresses. Then, since a new garden produces sporadically for the first year, the people are frequently faced with food shortage. They are, therefore, reluctant to sacrifice the predictability of subsistence at the established garden for insecurity, periods of hunger, and hard work at some distant location.

Instead, they develop political alliances with neighboring villages, thereby adjusting to their social environment. The nature of these alliances is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but at this point I will make some general statements about the relationships between villages to show why, on the one hand, the social environment calls forth the alliances, and why on the other hand, when alliances fail, a group must abandon its area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yąnomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

undertake it if it meant getting rid of their first group of visitors, who, by this time, had spent nearly a week eating Kaobawä's produce.

On the morning of the feast three large pieces of bark from the *araburi* tree were cut and brought to the village. These were made into troughs to contain the boiled, ripe plantain soup. All day long Kaobawä's younger brothers, who had returned from the hunt the day before, labored at cooking the enormous quantity of ripe plantains, pouring each boiling containerful into the trough as it was prepared.[3]

The plantains that Kaobawä had hung in his *shabono* roof a week before were now ripe. The young men who were preparing the soup would cut the bunches of plantains from the roof, split each fruit with their thumb, throw the two halves of the flesh into a cooking pot, and toss the skins onto a pile. They worked at this task from early morning until late afternoon, in addition to boiling a nearly equal quantity of green plantains, which provided the green vegetable food that customarily accompanies the presentation of meat. Yanomamö etiquette dictates that meat must be accompanied by vegetable food and vice versa.[4] It is an insult, for example, to offer someone meat without simultaneously offering a vegetable food with it. Peeling green plantains is a little more difficult than peeling ripe ones, which are very tough and brittle. The Yanomamö solve this problem, like they solve so many others, by using their teeth. Each plantain is bitten along its length several times, cracking the peel, which in turn is removed with the fingernails and further application of the dentition. On this particular occasion, two young men peeled, with their thumbs, enough ripe plantains to make approximately 95 gallons of soup, and, with their teeth, a sufficiently large quantity of green plantains to fill a dozen large pack-baskets.

In the morning on the day of the feast, Kaobawä went to the center of the village clearing where all could see him and proceeded to pull weeds. The clearing has to look presentable to the visitors, as it functions as the dancing plaza. As noted before, since Yanomamö headmen cannot directly order their followers to execute tasks such as these, they usually initiate them and hope that others will follow. By and by, a number of older men joined him, as well as a few women, and when a sufficient number of workers were pulling weeds and hauling them out, Kaobawä quietly retired to his hammock, from which he oversaw the food preparations and calculated the distribution of meat.

Excitement in the village grew conspicuously as the hours passed, and by noon there was a constant din of laughter and chatter, punctuated now and then with a shrill scream from some young man overcome with the thrill of the feast. Occasionally, the visitors would reply to the shouts, setting off a brief contest of screaming between hosts

---

[3] Kaobawä's group has access to aluminum pots now and uses them extensively in food preparations. Most Yanomamö groups still use crude clay pots, although these are being rapidly replaced by aluminum ware, which is traded inland to the more remote villages.

[4] The three vegetable foods considered to be suitable accompaniments for the meat presentation are: boiled green plantains, broiled *ruahe* fruit, and conserve bread. A number of misinformants and a few scientific observers have identified the Yanomamö feast strongly with the *ruahe* fruit (Zerries 1955; de Buxadainan 1966). If it is to be identified with any food, it should be called the "plantain feast," but to identify the feast with a food that sometimes (*ruahe*) or invariably (plantains) accompanies it is to overlook the sociopolitical causes of the feast. *Ruahe* is so unnecessary to the feast that it was served at only two of six feasts I attended. In short, the Yanomamö feast is a social and political event, not a harvest ceremony, and occurs independently of the abundance or availability of *ruahe* fruit. *Ruahe* fruit ripens in February, the peak of the dry season. It is only in the dry season that feasts can be held, because travel is difficult or impossible at other times of the year. The correlation of the ripening of *ruahe* and feasting is rather more fortuitous than causal.

/16 cont./

342 In the building method described by me, however, the
174 circular ground-plan is retained, in spite of the three center posts.
177 According to Koch-Grünberg, the gable roofs and huts with elliptical
ground-plan and others of a square shape owe "their origin obvi-
[114] ously to European influence" (57). On this point I am in com-

57. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 22.

plete agreement with the above-mentioned investigator and therefore believe that this maloka built by the Surára, which they modeled after the community house of the Xiriána, actually developed from the Karaiben conical-roofed hut, while the roof represents a borrowing from the civilized world (palm-straw huts of the caboclos). This is also indicated by the construction of the chief's hut within the periphery of the large, open maloka,
[184] which likewise has a gable roof (see p. 29). It is noteworthy, however, that the maloka of the Surára has a height of ten meters, while the round huts mentioned by Koch-Grünberg show
342 a height between 4.20-5.57 meters (58). My question as to why
825

58. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 21.

the Surára in the sierra occupy an open maloka and on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Aracá a closed one was answered to the effect that in the higher, cooler region between Demini and Aracá there are practically no mosquitoes, whereas there are relatively many along the riverbank of the Aracá. This explanation is very plausible, for in the closed community-houses of the Indians there are no gnats. They avoid the semidarkness and the smoke of the constantly burning fire.

2. Bridges

501 Boats are not used by the Surára and Pakidái. When, on
484 their narrow forest paths which are scarcely discernible to our
491 eyes, they come to brooks, they simply wade across. In the case of wider brooks which are greatly swollen during the rainy

302 593 /39 cont./ husband beats his wife for reasons of jealousy, he may likewise choose only this marked part of the head. As a further, but 302 825 probably secondary reason, I was told that the short haircut and the tonsure made it easier to control the plague of lice. People with long hair, they thought, were certainly unable to escape head lice.

302 538 The tonsure is also mentioned in religion and mythology. Poré, the lord of the moon, is imagined as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red (see p. 197).

302 191 184 As among many other South American tribes, the tonsure is also a /40/ characteristic feature of all small-sized light-skinned Indians between the Rio Negro and the upper Orinoco, for the members of both sexes of the Xiriâna, Puseheweterf, Aramamesterf, and Karauaterf whom I met also wore it (206).

302 191 114

206. The Brazilian country people designate all Indians with tonsures as Coroados = crowned. Baldus and Willems, however, quite rightly demand that the use of this name be avoided in Brazilian ethnology: "Coroado- Várias tribus de indios no Brasil, por exemplo, os Botocudos, Kaingang, Purí, Bororo, receberam do povo o nome de Coroados, devido ao modo de cortar o cabelo, se bem que êsse modo não fosse igual entre todas elas. Causou êste têrmo grande confusão na etnografia brasileira, razão pela qual deve ser abandonada" /Coroado -- Various tribes of Indians in Brazil, for example, the Botocudo, Caingang, Puri, Bororo, are given the name of Coroado by people, owing to the manner of cutting the hair, even though this style is not the same among all of them. This term has caused great confusion in Brazilian ethnography, and for this reason it should be abandoned/ (Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 67).

/43 cont./

302 174 Since Koch-Grünberg also found only very little body painting among the Xiriâna (Schirianâ) (235), it is to be sus-

235. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

pected that originally it was not peculiar to the three Yanonâmi tribes named, but is to be traced back to Karaiben influences. The following account by Alexander von Humboldt also points to this: "The custom," writes the great investigator, "of painting the body is not equally old among all the peoples on the Orinoco. It has only been since the frequent invasions by the mighty nation of the Caraiben into these lands that it has become more general. Victors and vanquished alike were naked, and in order to be agreeable to the victor, one was obliged to paint oneself as he did and to wear his color. Now the might of the Caraiben is past, they are confined to the region between the Carony, Cuyuni, and Paraguamuzi rivers, but the Caraiben custom of coloring the entire body has persisted; the practice is more enduring than the conquest" (236).

236. A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, pp. 92/93.

301 562 i) Feather ornaments

Feather ornaments -- pauxî -- are worn by men only and chiefly on the upper arms, but occasionally also in the perforations of the ear lobes and the lower lip.

301 825 237 Under the upper-arm cords and bands, which serve primarily as fastening devices for the upper-arm ornaments, individual or several tail feathers of the arara vermelha (Ara Macao L.) -- pauxî aratexinâ -- as well as small bunches of feathers, are wedged in front for war expeditions and festive occasions. The latter are always tied with a string of cotton or curauá fibers to a wooden stick 7-9 centimeters long (Ills. 9 and 14). The following list shows which birds are preferred as feather-suppliers for these objects:

301
237
825

/43 cont./

Pauxí maraxí -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.).

Pauxí koikoimão -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers of the gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.).

Pauxí pararíhonomaíbe -- upper-arm ornament of white breast feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.).

Pauxí marakanã -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.).

Pauxí xeraÿeramão -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) and the papagaio curica (Amazona sp.).

Besides these bunches of feathers which are stuck into the arm cords or bands from the top, /44/ there are also ornaments which are knotted to them and hang down. These are usually several small feathers from different birds, the quills of which have been tied together with a string of cotton or curauá fibers:

Pauxí prukatõba -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.), and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).

Pauxí maraxiakosíbe -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).

Finally, as the most valuable ornament in this category, one should mention upper-arm bindings of mutum feathers -- pauxí pararihés -- to which are fastened hangings -- pauxí manhebéahunque -- of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), toucan (Rhamphastus sp.), and jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.), or even skins of these birds. In addition, there are upper-arm bindings which consist only of feathers of the jacamim -- pauxí nhapinhéssi -- with feather hangings -- pauxí pehakossíbe -- from the same bird.

[554] All the feather ornaments listed also represent marks of distinction, for only the chiefs and trusted warriors have the right to adorn both upper arms; younger men, on the other hand, only one.

/44 cont./

301 825 239 Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxí osuemekés --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- occasionally adorns the perforation of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be used by older as well as younger warriors. [554]

[962] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men, who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but sometimes they are scattered through the hair at random. The ornamental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case, for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile tribes, above all from the Waiká. They are caused by magical performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls. Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end (see also pp.211 and 229).

301 825 75

301 191 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá /Caraja/, Boróro, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé /Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G. Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

/66 cont./

600 and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women
841 do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during these days, and if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the bank of the nearby river or brook.

i) Initiation rites for young men

884 All young men who have reached the age of approximately
132 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December, halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and cele-
884 brate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an inter-
86 mediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate camp of the Surára, see p. 23) two young men are always trained for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemãõ and his brother Kurikayawõ among the Surára; Karenauõ and the war chief Porẽhiwõ among the Pakidái) in all matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only after that are they regarded as full members of their community and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers. It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite
[782] melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and plant spirits (hekurá, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clear-
[276] ing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices, however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication (see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead
884 and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely ex-
302 ternally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting,
● 825 which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú
86 on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representation of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
825 emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

/76 cont./

224 relatively infrequently, for the most part only when they stay in the vicinity of a maloka and thus constitute a danger for human
224 262 beings. Only the meat of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) is eaten. For some hunters, however, pride in killing such animals plays a role, for finishing off a jaguar, especially the black one, gives him greater esteem. -- Snakes, which are very numerous here because of the considerable dampness, are killed with a stick. If a surucucu (Lachesis muta L.) -- perefma -- (Surára word) -- peléma -- (Pakidái word), the largest and most dangerous poisonous snake of South America, is killed, then the joy is especially great. The head is cut off, and every family gets a piece of the snake's body, which is cooked with other meat. It has an agree-
[151] able taste and reminded me of eel. The Surára and Pakidái also
● [825] believe, however, that every person who has eaten the meat of a surucucu will never be bitten by any other poisonous snake. The sucuríju (Eunectes murinus) -- uaikonyá -- and the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatá -- are also eaten with relish. The jararaca (Lachesis sp.) -- karihirimá --, the papaova (Spilotes sp.) -- karimatá --, and the cobra-coral (Elaps corallinus Wied.) -- huamoxíke --, on the other hand, are never eaten. -- Now and then a cayman (Caiman sclerops Schneid.) -- ihuá -- or a lizard -- xaraimá -- are killed with a stick, and sometimes the hunter, but more often his dog, discovers in the forest a jabuti (Testudo tabulata Woelb.) -- totorí --, whose meat is also very tender and tasty; /77/ it does not come up to that of the water turtle, how-
[225] ever. Yet, of the numerous species which inhabit the Demini, Aracá, and their tributaries, the Surára and Pakidái catch only the perema -- talmã --, and, to be sure, they seize it in shallow water with their hands.

223 [868] Bird hunting requires special training. That is why even boys are encouraged to kill as many small birds as possible, so that later on they will be good hunters.

The following birds are most frequently hunted, on account of both their meat and their feathers: mutum (Crax sp.) -- paruí --, uruniutum (Crax sp.) -- katará --, mutum cavalo (Mitu mitu L.) -- katauí --, jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nhapín --, cujubim

/77 cont./

223 (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) -- maraxí --, jacu (Penélope sp.) -- kuremá --, japim (Cacicus cela L.) -- anhakoramá --, inambu (Crypturellus sp.) -- rororôme --, inambu-relógio (Crypturellus strigulosus Temm.) -- honamá --, toucan (Rhamphastus sp.) -- mahebé --, arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) arakaké -- arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.) -- maracanã --, papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxeramakó --, papagaio curica (Amazona sp.) -- xeraxerá --, garça branca (Casmerodius albus egretta Gm) -- korihená.

[825] [753] The gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- nonexí -- is killed for magical reasons, because it is believed that there is concealed in it a hostile medicine man who brings sickness and [237] other disasters. Its down feathers are glued into the hair by the men as trophies (see p. 95); the meat is discarded. The gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm) -- nonexipéke -- is also killed only for its feathers, which serve the men as upper-arm ornaments.

[825] They never shoot at the urubus (Cathartes foetens, Cathartes aura, etc.) -- uatubá --, for they are glad that they remove the refuse.

224 In conclusion it should be mentioned that traps are unknown to the Surára and Pakidái (353).

353. There is a corresponding statement by Zerries about the Waiká (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

[622] If the hunter has killed a small animal, he may keep this booty for himself and his family, but he often gives the chief a roasted or boiled piece of it. A big-game animal, on the other hand, is divided up under the chief's supervision, and each family gets a piece of meat. This communal feeling is very strongly marked, and no member of the tribe would ever violate it.

Surára
Pakidái

/87 cont./

235 [552] also give names; they are fed by the women. During the day they run around freely, and at night they are confined in a common pen built out of thin trunks and sticks beside each maloka. When the tribe is traveling, it is the duty of the small boys to carry a rooster in the plaited carrying basket made from the bast strips of the curauá plant (see p. 106). When a temporary camp is set up in the afternoon, the cocks are set free. During the night they rest on the limbs of low trees, usually in the vicinity of their owners. Before the march is resumed the next morning, they are caught again and put in the baskets of the boys. I might also mention that the Surára and Pakidái never kill a cock, for it is a member of the household, and they believe furthermore that roosters and hens are unclean animals that eat any kind of filth. For this reason, eating their meat, including the eggs, would be very harmful for human beings (424).

[825] [262]

235
171
262

424. Among various Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ tribes of Guiana, where many chickens are kept, neither the meat nor the eggs are eaten (Im Thurn, 1883, p. 265). Ehrenreich reports the same thing about the Karajá /Caraja/: "Even the domestic hen, which reached the Araguaya /Araguaia/ tribes a long time ago in the domestic state and has multiplied tremendously, is, as a member of the household, not used for food, nor are its eggs. In modern times, however, it serves as a trade item in dealings with travelers, who sell the poultry in the first settlements of the province of Para at a high profit" (Ehrenreich, 1891, pp. 13/14).

231

[171] The tamed wild animals, such as monkeys, parrots, araras, and parakeets, also enjoy complete freedom. I never found them tied up, as is mentioned by Baldus, for example, for the Chaco tribes (425).

425. Baldus, 1931, p. 18.

Surára
Pakidái

/90 cont./

514 [264] There is frequent belching during and after eating, and it happens not infrequently that a member of the family breaks wind, often with a loud noise, which, however, is received with happy laughter, without any damage to the appetite. Both sexes also spit a great deal as a result of the tobacco rolls which they have in the mouth almost constantly (see p. 190).

Urination is done in the immediate vicinity of the maloka during the day and in the hearth at night. Men and boys always urinate in a squatting position, just like women and girls. For their other needs they all go a bit deeper into the forest clearing during the day, or even to the edge of the forest. When they have finished, they rub the seat back and forth a few times on the ground or against a tree trunk. The mother holds small children, in case she happens to be lying in the hammock, over the edge of it. Then she wipes her hand or lower arm across its seat a few times, or, if necessary, she uses a little stick to clean it. The little heap is covered with ashes or earth and stamped into the ground by the mother. If an adult has more important business to attend to at night, he digs a small hole beside the hammock and subsequently covers it with ashes or earth. Old or sick persons do this during the day as well. The reason that [825] [976] the Surára and Pakidái do not leave the maloka at night for the aforementioned purpose is because they are afraid of snakes and jaguars, as well as of nonexí, the evil spirit which transmits sickness (see p. 211). Persistent unpleasant odors are not noticeable even in closed malokas, however, since they are dispelled by the ascending smoke of the constantly burning fire.

841 During their menstruation the women do not use anything to absorb the blood (see pp. 142/143). Pools of blood that remain on the ground are obliterated by them with their feet.

356 123 291 In general, however, the communal house is kept quite clean. One always sees men and women sweeping with a broom made of piaçaba fibers. For this work both sexes liked to put on the shirts and trousers or clothing which I had brought them as gift articles and which were otherwise not at all appreciated.

/96 cont./

2. Curing the Sick

754 825 [753] a) General

All sickness is attributed to hostile witch-doctors, especially those of the Waikâ (493). As carriers they use the gavião-real

[171]

493. The idea that sickness is caused by witch doctors is so widespread in South America that from the large number of examples I should like to quote only two authors for comparison: Roth, 1915, p. 346; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 192.

gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) and the bat. Both animals are therefore designated generally as -- nonexí --, that is, evil spirit or spirit of sickness (494) (495). If such an animal is sighted,

494. Nonexí, however, is also the specific name of the gavião-real.

495. Zerries documents the same name, "noneshi" or "nonish," for the Waikâ. With it, however, they designate the shadow-soul or the alter ago (Zerries, 1958a, p. 108).

it is immediately killed, in order to prevent a misfortune. Moreover, it is assumed that with its death a hostile medicine man, who, of course, temporarily inhabits it, has breathed his last. [239] The down feathers of the gavião-real are therefore glued into the hair for a few days as a trophy (see p. 95).

755 If a member of the tribe has fallen ill, he can be cured only by having the chief, who among the Surára and Pakidái is at the same time the medicine man, and his helpers try to hurl the sickness back to the enemies. This can be done, however, only in the snuff-powder intoxication and by invoking

/110 cont./

527 Between the patapśanomão festivals the Surára and Pakidái have only a few other festivities in the course of the year. These are but small celebrations, which, for example, take place after the two-months' training of two young men as medicine-man helpers, after a successful war-expedition, upon moving into a newly erected maloka, and in connection with the second menstruation of a girl. The latter has more of an intimate character, for only families of relatives and friends take part in it.

4. Magic for Sickness, Hunting, Love, and Rain

754
825 a) Magic for sickness:

[824] A magic powder is occasionally prepared from the bark ashes of a wild mimosa species (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekuráhihenâ -- (see also p. 192) and the bone powder of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). In the evening, shortly before twilight sets in, if a gavião-real happens to be flying by or is sitting on a tree, the chief blows this powder in the direction of the bird. The latter receives it and with it transmits sickness to a specific hostile tribe.

224
789 b) Hunting magic:

[782] The evening before a proposed hunting expedition the hunter takes snuff-powder and prays for about 2-3 hours to the hekurá (see pp. 200/201), whereby through them he requests [302] Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) for a successful outcome. Then, before he sets out the next morning, he paints serpentine lines [825] on his face and body with urucú. If his wife accompanies him, she also applies this design, and the snout and feet of a dog that is taken along are painted with the same color. This is [751] supposed to increase the luck of the hunt and is at the same time bound up with defensive magic against possible dangers threatened by poisonous snakes and jaguars.

Surára
Pakidái

/112 cont./

782 with threads of Bromelia fibers. Such threads are also drawn
[824] crisscross over the sticks, and on them are glued down-feathers
[137] of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.). The structure --
akuanohé --, which women and girls are not permitted to see,
gives the effect of a man's head, in the hair of which are glued
down-feathers of the gavião-real. By order of the chief, several
warriors take this calabash into the forest and set it down in a
particular spot.

6. Birds as Transmitters of Messages

• 825
202

On May 21, 1956, in his maloka on the Cachoeira dos Índios on the upper Rio Aracá, a Surára man, Honohomá, was engaged in a loud monologue which started about 4:00 in the morning and lasted until about 6:00; during this he was lying in
[1114] his hammock. As to the meaning of this apparent monologue, my little interpreter Jibeauwõ afterwards gave me the following explanation: When Honohomá woke up, he heard the singing of the little bird kaukaumã, a japim (Cacicus cela L.), in which at the time, however, the soul of Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, was to be found. The latter was living with his tribe in the /113/ maloka on the middle Demini. The soul in the little bird said that the Pakidái, after the festival in memory of the dead, had arrived safely at their communal house. At the same time it reported the course of the journey in detail, the hunting successes, and the planting of new banana trees and pupunha palms. Whenever the little bird interrupted its song for a time, Honohomá would tell it about how the Surára were getting along.

According to the belief of the two tribes, the little japim is a transmitter of messages, who reports illness and death, as well as military encounters with hostile tribes.

/114 cont./

539 discipline of the tribe. Since all admonitions were of no avail, he was banished from the community.

Karemonã painted his body with urucú and left the maloka. After he had wandered about in the forest for a few hours, he lay down wearily on the ground and fell asleep. While he was asleep Poré transformed him into the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatã -- because of his insubordination.

539
●825

The Creation of the Black Jaguar

The Surára were already acquainted with clearing by burning and cultivated banana trees and pupunha palms. One day they saw a large toad in the forest clearing. A Surára wanted to kill it, but it fled to the other /115/ side of the roça (forest clearing) and there turned into a black jaguar.

The Creation of the Tapir

A cuatá monkey fell from a tall tree and was unable to climb up again. After several unsuccessful attempts, it turned into a tapir.

The Creation of Wild Pigs

A band of cuxiú monkeys fell from a tall tree. After futile attempts at climbing up again they were transformed into wild pigs.

The Creation of the Ant Bear

539
606
262

A Surára man who had raped his mother-in-law was turned into an ant bear by Poré as punishment. Since then there has been in-law avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law, and the meat of the ant bear may not be eaten by members of the tribe.

/205 cont./

224 411 It is also dangerous to lose an arrow when one is hunting. That is why they only shoot the arrow when, should they miss the target, they can easily retrieve it. In spite of these precautions, the arrow is sometimes lost or remains hanging from an [782] inaccessible tree. Then the man, in order not to lose his aim, puts it under the protection of Omao, to whom he speaks, saying: "Omáuawan ipa ʃflaka toldíapala!" which means: "Omao, watch over my arrow!"

224 777 789 826 To lose one's aim or luck in hunting may arise from a technical reason or a supernatural cause. The former is due to a weakening of the body brought about by sickness or other causes which influence sight or the strength of the arm. If it is due to this latter cause, the hunter knows the remedy. He goes to the forest and searches for a tree with hard, heavy wood; he cuts a piece and sets fire to it and collects the ashes, which he applies to the cuts inflicted on his arm. If he bears the pain without touching the hurt arm with the other hand and does not shout, his muscles will once again recover their lost strength and the hunter will recover his luck and good aim.

224 776 777 If the hunter returns without any game, it may be because Omao did not favor him, and this is the supernatural cause of his failure.

224 782 [777] According to our informants from the Erebato, a good hunter speaks frequently with Omao, for without his protection he will not be lucky. For this reason he says to him: "Omao awayf ipa ʃálawa hadu kapálama!" which is translated as: "Omao, draw my game out into the open!"

Worse than being unlucky is to lose one's life in a hunting accident, and in order to implore the protection of the other world, the hunter prays, "Omao sátoria palái!" that is to say: "Omao, protect me!"

224 ● 825 /206/ Of course, all these precautions are useless if the hunter has not learned the art of hunting. He must know how the various animals live and how to identify their tracks. If these latter should be fresh, he orders his dog to follow the track of the game; the success of a Sanemá hunter depends in great

/206 cont./

224 part on his dog. The hunter must also know a great variety of
825 calls for attracting the animals and birds and, above all, know which arrow to shoot in order to kill the animal which may come in answer to his call.

224 All this and a great deal more about which we are ignorant
775 must be learned by the Sanemá hunter in order to have the benefit of his knowledge not only on earth but also in the world of Omao after his death. An expert hunter continues to be one in "heaven" and there he will have the opportunity of recompensing Omao for the benevolence showed him during his earthly life.

224 The Sanemá hunt with bow and arrows. Usually each man carries with him, in addition to his bow, five arrows and a quiver with various types of points.

[415] [372] The quiver, made of bamboo, is carried, hanging by means of a bejuco, from the neck, on the chest, or across the back. In most cases they carry, tied to the same quiver, some small sticks with which to kindle fire. In the forest they pull out with extraordinary speed the point best suited to kill the animal which comes within range, and it is surprising with what dexterity and speed they can shoot one or several arrows.

If there are several hunters surrounding a pack of peccaries or a group of monkeys, the booty belongs to the one who kills it.

It seems that the Sanemá of the Erebato also use a kind of trap (Schwippgalgenfalle), particularly to capture the lapa /paca/ or deer (20).

> 20. It would seem that this trap reflects a cultural borrowing among the Sanemá, since the Surará, Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 77), and Waica (Zerries, 1956c, p. 151) do not have it.

223 In order to catch birds, the hunter climbs up into a very high tree and hides there behind some thick branches. He attracts the birds with whistles, and, when they are near, he shoots them; a companion waits at the foot of the tree for the prey's fall, in

/206 cont./

223 order to pick it up. As a result of his expertness in hunting, he knows the trees in which the birds gather to spend the night. The man, using palm leaves and bejucos, carefully prepares a blind with the sure hope that, by means of this ambush, the booty will be plentiful.

224 Hunting in groups is common among the Sanemá, and they
262 do this particularly to surround a group of monkeys, peccaries,
[237] or in order to kill a feline. /207/ They do not eat the meat of jaguars, but keep the canine teeth in the roof of the house.
[482] They tie up the peccaries that they get, front feet to the back ones, load them on their backs, and carry them home. The meat of the peccary is greatly esteemed, and the whole ranchería gathers to eat the animal, with the exception of the young unmarried men, who, by order of the capitan, must not taste the meat so that the hunters who have killed the animals will not die. They may, however, eat other kinds of meat and the food which they most like.

There are some animals that the Sanemá are prohibited from hunting: thus, they do not eat snakes, they kill the cayman, but
[766] do not sample its flesh. The Sanemá of the Erebato told us that they cremate caymans as they do men, for, in fact, as far as
[784] they are concerned, caymans were previously men. It is taboo to kill a morrocoy or a turtle. They were people before and Omao
262 does not permit them to be killed. There are other animals which
223 they kill and eat only under certain conditions, among them the eagle (21).

> 21. The Surará and Pakidai kill the eagle, but throw away its flesh. They say that it transmits sickness (Becher, 1960, p. 77). (Cf. the section on "death" in the present study /see pp. 93-94 /.)

223 If a hunter comes upon an eagle, he believes that he is facing
825 a speciman of a species of animal which was previously a person.
262 He may be facing a friend or an enemy. Therefore, before shooting, he asks the animal if it is a friend or an enemy, and only if

262 /207 cont./
223 it answers that it is an enemy is he to kill it. In the majority of
●825 cases it turns out to be an enemy, and the hunter kills it with a double aim: to have meat and to cause an enemy to disappear. The hunter carries the eagle home, and his wife prepares it for
[514] food. Those who eat the meat must not defecate on the ground,
[785] but only in the water. The hunter himself must not eat any of this meat and fasts for two months. The eagle "weighs heavily" on his chest, and only when it has "gone upwards" does the hunter get better and begin to feel well again. From now on those who have eaten of the meat may live without taking the above-mentioned precautions (22).

22. See the section which deals with "war" /see p. 57 /.

825 It might be said that for every Sanemá rancheria there exists a rancheria of eagles and of hanekasá. This belief has characteristics of the idea of the alter ego, and the Sanemá apply kinship terms to these animals when they speak to them. The same occurs with regard to jaguars and other animals which they mentioned to us vaguely.

226 Fishing plays a very secondary role in the Sanemá economy.
[433] They fish with barbasco, with bow and arrow, but we have not seen special arrows for this purpose. In recent times they have adopted fishhooks, which they now use quite frequently.

222 /208/ Of secondary importance, coming after hunting, is the gathering of various kinds of small animals, insects, wild fruit,
[527] and also honey and eggs. The shoots of palms represent an important part of the diet, but above all the fruit of the pijiguao palm (Guilielma sp.), the harvest of which, during the first three months of the year, marks the time of festivities and other social
[114] activities. We were not able to gather much information from the Sanemá regarding this matter, but Barker (1953, pp. 447-48), Zerries (1955b), and Becher (1960) refer to this festive occasion in greater detail, according to their observation of it among the Waica, Pakidai, and Surara (cf. Vinci, 1959, pp. 111-118).

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
[689 tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
• [825 of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and,
as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to
speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists between the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law. Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom. These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes him in like another one of its own members. Older children also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted, properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denominations. We do not think that there are special terms to express a relationship of adoption.

554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main distinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers, and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three differ-
791 ent theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
756 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
793 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman and priest in particular, represent the most influential position in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
ooo by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

/219 cont./

588 Marriages which oppose the bilateral extension of the law of incest are criticized and are prohibited, and anyone who contravenes this law is automatically placed outside society.

589 793 Unmarried men are few, and, they say, only the priest practices celibacy.

165 The number of persons of advanced age is very small among the Sanemá. Among the Nabudub we saw only one old man.

753 In the majority of cases, sickness has a magical cause and the theurgists attempt to cure those who are within their field of action. We did not penetrate into this intimate sphere of Sanemá culture and the little that we heard is set forth in the section which deals with religious and magical aspects of these Indians.

764 159 We were not present at any funeral among the Sanemá, but our young informant of the upper Erebato told us in great detail about the death of his father.

159 753 825 763 He had gone out to the forest. There he had found an eagle. As eagles are men, they may only be killed if they are enemies of one's pueblo. The father asked the eagle whether he was a Waica or a Sanemá, and, when it answered that it was a Waica, the Sanemá man killed it with his arrow. Naturally he observed all the taboos that are obligatory for a hunter who kills an eagle. A few days later he became sick. He had a very high fever and remembered that when he picked up the eagle he got the impression that it was feverish, and, as birds of prey are often sent by a theurgist of neighboring enemies in order to kill the people, that explained everything. There was no reason to look for any other cause, the diagnosis was clear, the eagle had transmitted its sickness to the hunter. He became worse as the days went by and /220/ finally died; but he had first explained to the members of his family the cause of his sickness and the reason for his certain death.

159 764 Immediately after the death, the whole family burst into tears and began to shout; meanwhile several men went in search of the material necessary for raising the corpse. For this there is needed a quantity of stakes and leaves with which a sort of cylindrical coffin is made, and, after the dead person is placed

/220 cont./

159 inside, it is tied with lianas. Then they take the corpse into
764 the forest where it is deposited, at a distance of some kilometers, on the branches of a tree in order for the flesh to decompose there. Often the members of the family will not leave the corpse alone in the forest for fear that animals will come and
[775] devour it. The dead are very much afraid of animals and shout when a jaguar approaches them.

• [825] The feline respects only a dead sablf, because he will die
[756] in turn if he approaches.

Our informant spent several nights next to his father's
[784] corpse, always being very careful not to step on the damp ground beneath the dead man, because those who step there lose their feet.

152 The grief of the relatives is so intense that very often some
764 of them can not endure the pain and go to the forest to die. Above all the women lament a great deal during the night and the men hold them back so that they will not run away to the forest. The informant remembered that the strongest man of his tribe behaved as though he were mad after the death of his father and wanted to kill everybody. The men did not allow him to go with them into the forest to gather up the bones of his father for fear that, given his behavior, he might commit some crime.

765 After one month, more or less, the men of the tribe go to the forest and gather up the bones of their companion; the flesh decomposes completely during this period. Some of the men let down the coffin and others wrap the remains of the deceased in some large leaves, making in this way a bundle of bones which they take back with them to the rancheria. There they place it in a hammock and leave it for about four days, while the relatives continue to weep in uninterrupted lamentation.

765 Later the sablf carries the bones to a fire prepared in the
775 plaza and places them on top of the pile of firewood. Our
[756] informant also said that as the sablf did this he pronounced a well-known formula which means: "you are getting along well," for, if he did not say this, the hfkula would not be able to find its way. Afterwards he lights the fire, blows upon it at the same time as he raises his arms /221/ above his head, and in the smoke

/221 cont./

793 [776 621] Since the Sanemá people cannot exist in good conditions without the continued and intimate contact with the house of Omao, sáiyawan, the priest makes himself indispensable in the grouping of a band, whose very existence is perpetuated in large part by the quality of the priest.

The hɛwĩawán of the Sanemá devotes himself exclusively to filling his high office. For this reason he cannot work, or hunt, or fish, etc. like a common man, and he lives on the benefactions given to him by the community as compensation for the services which he renders to it.

/222/ In his frequent flights between the earth and heaven he commonly kills a vulture or sparrow hawk and that explains why he often returns with his mouth covered with blood, bringing some cashew birds and, on certain limited occasions, even a human leg, trophies which he obtained as he killed the enemy (23).

23. It is likely that all this represents the ideal habitus rather than the real one of the priest.

793 773 Before discussing the nature of the power of the hɛwĩawán, we shall first narrate the genesis of the first hɛwĩawán of the Sanemá, which will explain to us how it comes about that the hɛwĩawán is able to fly and why he always goes about raised some 30 centimeters from the ground when he is on the earth.

There was a man who one day went into the forest to hunt. There he was met by a Great Jaguar, omaukõhe, who is a gigantic jaguar, master of the other felines, and who goes about in an upright position like a man. The jaguar caught the man and ate all his flesh, leaving the skeleton picked clean but without breaking a single bone. The man remained alive and asked the Great Jaguar to give him other flesh. The Jaguar gave him other flesh, but told him that henceforth he would be hɛwĩ (bat). [825] And from that time on the man hɛwĩawán is also a bat. He is a very timid man; children love him very much, because he never gets angry and does not scold. When he is in the company of men, he spends his time singing songs, wásámo songs, which

/224 cont./

793 778 628 [776] other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the hɛ̃wĩawán gather with their hĩkula-dĩb.

793 778 775 The hĩkula-dĩb of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria, in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial community, and for this reason more than one priest is unnecessary. In the section of the illustrations[7] one can see the

532 793 778 775 126 hikuladɛ̃ of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees there five hĩkula-dĩb, or souls of ancestors of the group in which the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him

532 793 778 775 126 825 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is based on the belief that a Sanemá must never speak of the insect of the house of the hikuladɛ̃. As a matter of fact our informant never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American ethnology.

171 773 825 778 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it payak, a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to the hĩkuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá priest to note the Mataco custom of attributing a supernatural power to a maraca /gourd rattle/ with sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The similarity between the hikuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá and the "sacred maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

[7] [See p. 70 - -Analyst]

/224 cont./

793 The function of the scarab in the curing process is as fol-
755 lows: If the hɛ̃wĩawán wishes to cure a patient, he takes the
825 hĩkula from his chest and places it upon the patient. In order to effect the cure, the scarab opens an invisible hole in the chest of the patient, and the hikuladɛ̃ of the priest enters through there.
[175] /225/ Once within the patient's chest, the hĩkula-dĩb come out of the hikuladɛ̃ in order to combat and bring to the exterior the cause of the sickness. After a while the priest again takes possession of his hikuladɛ̃, and the treatment is fully successful. The informant did not want to mention the name of the caleopteran or even to talk about it, fearing that if he were to do so and if he were then to become sick, the priest would not be able to cure him, since the insect would not open a hole in the chest of the patient.

793 It is our impression that the priest only cures the ailments
755 that result from the presence, in the body of the sick person,
775 of the soul of a wandering deceased person who has approached the rancherias and whose very presence causes pain.

If we understand that the part of the Sanemá which goes to the house of Omao is the soul, we may say that the priest is concerned with the well-being of the same in the bodies of his companions, and that he represents the actualizing principle between the subject "the soul of the man" and the object "Omao," who enter into communication by means of the intervention of the priest. For the soul, which goes to live in the house of Omao as hĩkula-dĩb, we noted down the name of hɛ̃npĩrtĩb, which essentially seems to correspond in its character to the "bole" of the Waica (Zerries, 1958b).

793 The hɛ̃wĩawán may send a hĩkula-dĩb to a neighboring
775 pueblo in order to cause sickness among its inhabitants; but his
754 primary function is to guarantee the well-being of the souls of his community and to present them eventually to Omao at death.
793 It is interesting in this respect to note that the Surara and Pakidai,
754 subgroups of the Yanoama of Brazil, are of the opinion that
825 sicknesses are transmitted by a shaman of a neighboring pueblo by means of sparrow hawks and bats. The Sanemá say that the

/225 cont./ The sanemá say that the
793 hɛwĩawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikuladɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[076] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
126 propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[095] hɛwĩawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
994 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the hĩkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

/228 cont./

756 778 825 [533] The Sanemá sablí has great power over animals and plants represented in his hikuladɛ́, with which he communicates while he is asleep. If he should dream about a dangerous animal, a jaguar for instance, he makes him sit down in order to begin the song õkamõ against jaguars. This song keeps the jaguar from the rancheria, but, when it is relatively near, the hikuladɛ́ of the sablí goes out to kill the jaguar in the forest, where the hunters will find him dead on the following day. But if the men sent by the sablí do not find the body of the jaguar, everybody remains in the rancheria on the following day, for they fear that the Great Jaguar may be in the forest and will kill anybody found in his way.

756 533 754 [825] [774] The sablíes sing almost every night, and the bigger the animal who appears to them in their dreams, the more intense is the song. In his songs, the sablí can send any híkula from his chest to go and kill a man in a foreign rancheria, however far it is. Usually he does this at night, and on the following day the victim's companions find him dead in his hammock.

774 756 [754] [753] [761] I have the impression that the híkulas belonging to the various species are, of themselves, absolutely passive and that they behave in an active way only at the command and wish of the sablí. Most sicknesses, including death, are caused by a híkula introduced into the body of the man by the intervention of the sablí and by his magical power.

756 755 774 The priest sablí, influenced by the effects of yopo, shouts, sings, and dances around the patient. With this he attempts to scare off the harmful híkula which is striving to enter the body of the man. It is very often personified by a man who is symbolically fought by the híkula of the sablí and others chosen from his "pueblo of híkula" in his chest. The curative art of the sablí depends to a great degree on his diagnosis, according to which he chooses from his great híkula in his chest those which, by their skill, can combat the híkula or híkulas causing the sickness. It goes without saying that a young and inexperienced sablí makes mistakes in his diagnosis of identifying, from among all the possible thousands, the híkula which is causing the sickness sent by an enemy. It

/229 cont./

774 The world of the "specific" hĩkulas is found on the other side of the horizon and in contrast with the world of the souls. There the sablĩes live forever, together with the dead animals and plants.

562 773 825 [774] It is worthwhile to refer once again to the insistence of our Sanemá informant from the Upper Caura regarding the fact that women do not have specific hĩkula. He asserted to us, furthermore, that women have a different origin from men and that there still exists a purely feminine world, and that each Sanemá pueblo has its corresponding hanekasá. The informant would not identify the animal of which he spoke, but we knew [773] that it was of a well-known species. From the mythology one can deduce that the first men were made from a dead tree by the cultural hero brothers, while the first woman was fished out of a very large river.

Omao wished to metamorphose into women the butterflies which danced /230/ like people on the shore of a river, because the hanekasá are a pueblo of females in which there are only three males to insure reproduction. This pueblo of amazons is an exact replica of the female population of the rancheria neighboring a pueblo, in the characteristics of which we found a concept of alter ego for the Sanemá women.

[774] [763] It is possible that there exists some relationship between the hĩkula and the male, for it is said that men die from the "weight" of the hĩkula of certain animals; but we are not certain on this point (cf. Zerries, 1958b; Becher, 1960, p. 92). We are [763] more certain about the relationship which exists between women and the hanekasá animal, since a woman (of the neighboring rancheria) dies for each hanekasá which is killed. Other religious concepts which are difficult to interpret for the time being may also enter here.

791 755 A third type of theurgist which seems to exist in Sanemá society is the magician, the kãilala. He does not sing like the sablĩ and has no influence over the specific hĩkulas or over souls. He is the curer of the organism, of the body of a man. He cures by uttering tremendous cries, gives massages on the ailing and painful limbs of his patients. Suddenly he will surprise all those

2/1 [see additional data on the hanekasá on p 113 .. Analyst]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 · SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Barbasco is a kind of liana which can grow to impressive dimensions—attaining a stem up to eight inches thick. The Indians cut it in the forest and collect a large pile together at a convenient place for pressing. Their press is made from one of those dead trunks of hardwood which are found in such quantity in the forest and some wooden clubs specially cut for the purpose. The liana stems are pounded and then done up into bundles so that they can be easily taken to the place to be fished, which may be some way off. Here they are immersed several times in the river, releasing a milky juice which gives the water a whitish opalescence. The juice of the liana reduces the air content of the water through oxidization, and the fish very soon come floating up to the surface—asphyxiated but not poisoned.

This procedure is a very common one among the Indians, whose fishing follows a two-year cycle—this being the minimum time needed for each stretch of water to become repopulated after the use of barbasco. It goes without saying that this extract of liana loses its efficacy in anything bigger than a small stream. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity the Indians will attempt to fish medium-sized rivers in this way, banding together to collect huge quantities of liana. The fish taken are then smoked and wrapped in banana leaves, after which they will keep for months.

Auai and his men had to go far afield with their barbasco before they found a suitable place. The probability was that the Shirians had already been at work, unknown to anyone, near the source of the Canaracuni. We therefore left him to it after all, and returned to camp early one morning, just in time to meet the plane that was circling the field.

VI

On Sunday, the 24th June, a big plane came into sight over the rim of the Sarisariñama mountains—towards the east where they merge into the Socsoc range. It swooped down to about three hundred feet and then went off without giving any signal. The excitement among the Indians on the spot—Luis Antonio was one of them and he explained the nature of the machine to his kinsfolk—was doomed to disappointment. And time and again this story of the aeroplane continued to arouse our hopes, only to dampen them once more.

A week later it appeared, at the same time—so suddenly and unexpectedly

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

842
846 the male as continuing in importance not only after conception—at which stage, in our own positivist scientific view, the male role ceases to count—but for a certain period after the actual birth. The male, the cause, is still in the picture, according to the Indian mind, when the mother and child are living a normal life.

843
844
[128
115] I had known other native peoples, and in regard to these Indian beliefs on the subject of childbirth, Luis Antonio confirmed what had already come to my knowledge.

'In order for the birth to be a success,' he told me, 'when the wife is five
[225] months gone, the husband should stop eating peccary, snake or *caribe* (the name given in Venezuela to the carnivorous fish known in Brazil as *piranha*), and the flesh of any animal of an aggressive nature.' (Here, principles of hygiene were
[846] mingled with elements of magic, as happens also in the more advanced religions.) 'Then, before the birth, during the birth and after, the man must stay in the hammock without stirring, because any strain on his part, or any mishap that came his way, would affect the child and might have dire results.'

[562] The explanation sounds quite normal and natural once one admits the principle of continued causation in the man, the woman being regarded simply as a means. In fact there is no need for her to obey the injunction to stay in the hammock. She will continue her daily round until she feels 'something break inside her'. Then, with the midwife, she will hurry to the appointed place on the river-bank.

*123
844 I once had the chance of being present at a birth. I was with the Taurepan Indians of the Gran Sabana, and I watched hidden behind a cluster of Mauritius palm, where I could follow the principal stages of the proceedings. The woman, with her head tilted back, was seated on the clay bank in a sort of arm-chair shaped hollow which had been scooped out—whether naturally or made for the purpose I do not know. The midwife knelt at her feet, waiting. For some time both remained in this position. The woman kept giving little cries—but not really cries of pain. After a brief labour, the mother uttered one long howl which sounded to me like an 'u . . . u . . . uh' of rapture, and the midwife rose to her feet, holding up a tiny, mottled infant head downwards by the heels.

Still holding the baby by the feet, the old lady washed him in the river—
—with exactly the motions you might expect from a washerwoman giving the final rinsing to some heavy garment. I couldn't see the next step, but a few

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

to use our machetes to open up a fair-sized space so that we could drag the canoes up on to dry ground beyond the reach of possible floods. Behind the bamboos we could see traces in the undergrowth of an old track, which after crossing thirty-two hills and the length of the Aracoea river would lead us to a horde of howling ape-men, who cultivated cane for their arrows, and nothing else.

Uarema had a young dove which he had caught alive on the way along the Merevari, and was looking after it. He gave it the affectionate name of Pipa. Sempronio helped him by looking for little berries, which the pretty little bird took greedily. The others were meanwhile busy putting up a shelter for the night and clearing a little more space around it, while Hashimo and Solitum went off to make a brief reconnaissance of the all but vanished track. Uarema paid no attention to anything but his Pipa, calling its name softly and fondling it like a child.

A love for animals always seems strange among these Indians, and when it exists it is subject to the wildest caprice. For instance, a monkey, after being brought up among them with every sign of affection, will suddenly become a comic target for their blunt arrows and die a slow death from its wounds.

For the moment Uarema was lavishing all his affection on Pipa, and when I accidentally trod on the bird, squashing it flat as a pancake, he turned on me instinctively, as if he was going to throw himself on me: the Guayca Indian in him had suddenly come out, roused by this offence against his love for the poor little dove crushed under the foreigner's foot. But suddenly his mood changed and without a word he picked up the squashed bird, under whose wings there was still a flutter of life, and threw it far off, with an air of disgust.

Sempronio watched the incident, laughing very quietly as he always did and looking up at me: he seemed to regard me as some sort of personal protector of his own. Then he went off in search of Pipa. Rolled up in a few leaves, the bird was put aside for his private cuisine.

Sempronio came from Auai stock. He was a mere boy, not fully developed, and he had joined us in this Samatari venture simply because I had told him to come. 'He doesn't want to come, but you want him to, so he comes'—these were the exact words into which Uarema had translated Sempronio's brief remarks. And he came everywhere with us, even to the Samatari, who were considered by his own people—a good, *smiling* people, whose only remaining primitive trait lay in their inordinate passion for theft—to be monsters ready at

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

CAPTURED BY THE SAMATARI

Among the Indians generally, and the northern Guayca tribes, there is a curious method of keeping wild animals at a distance which is based on this knowledge. They search round the streams for traces of the path the animals use when they go to drink. Then they scatter it with human excrement. If one of the creatures comes back that way, he will suddenly go bounding off across the width of the valley to seek refuge in the rocky heart of the mountain, such is his terror of the very traces of man.

Before we reached one table-topped hill which we had glimpsed from the last high point, Uarema killed an agouti. We ate it straight away, with a few palm hearts from San Paulo palm trees which Sempronio and Solituan—the youngest and oldest members of our expedition—gathered as we went along, and carried with them like bunches of flowers. We camped on the sandstone heights, where the vegetation had thinned out and was soft and mossy, with great clusters of Spanish moss, drenched with water, clinging to the tree-trunks, orchids growing on the ground and curtains of lichen hanging from the trees instead of the lianas found at lower levels.

And with the change of vegetation at this altitude, there was a change of atmosphere also. From the warm, heavy air of the plain, where one could feel a lush exuberance of life swelling the sap of every plant and setting a myriad little animals in motion, you passed to a region of cold silence, only broken at regular intervals by the lugubrious chant of the bell-bird, a bird with an astoundingly long white tail which, from concealment among the bushes, gives a call of long, mournful, metallic ring.

After our high spirits of the first day out, which the luxuriant life of the forest had sent even higher, now, on the heights, we were invaded by a sort of melancholy acceptance of these cool solitudes and their touch of death. We wanted to drop down again, to camp in some little valley where the chances of encountering animals were always greater; but the hour was very late, and we had to stay where we were for the night, on the south side. From here, as far as the eye could see, the humps of the mountains stretched out before us as we peered through the trees. They were covered with a thick dark green vegetation, absolutely uniform, and underneath it a hundred little streams drained into marshy depressions. Hashimo pointed out the hills with his usual gesture. Before we reached the Samatari, there were still eighteen more, or so we thought.

/486 cont./

825 821 [794] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame," "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 776 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

[753] "Suliliwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 754 Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are re- [756] ligious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them.

Numbers and Measures

802 The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

/488/

844 [123] James Barker (author of the essay) and I (Killam) were invited to witness the birth of a child. Our house was about 200 meters away from the Guaika settlement. We were able to hear the moans of the woman in confinement. When we arrived at the settlement, the father-in-law of the Indian woman was performing a stimulating dance in front of the dwelling which he shared with his son and his daughter-in-law.

At a short distance behind the house, in a clearing made in the woods and away from the path, there were several women, including the woman in confinement. We were taken along a path near to the place where the women were. There were several other persons observing the event along with us: a couple [123] of men and some children. They seemed to be only slightly interested, the children trying to make us go away from there in order to play with them.

The woman in confinement was walking incessantly from one side to the other, complaining about her pains, until she finally settled down on the ground among some weeds. We waited for some 15 minutes. Then, after having heard the cry of the infant, one of the women assisting called us. The child, a little girl, had just been born. The mother received us with a smile. She had squatted down, holding the baby upright in her lap. Two of the women proceeded to cut the umbilical cord, using a piece of cane, and then they stuffed it with some green leaves.

The mother gathered up the afterbirth with her hands, wrapping it in green leaves which a girl brought her. Another person later took it away. Then the mother rubbed mud and • [825] humus over the place where the afterbirth had been. They said that this is done for protection against wild animals.

Meanwhile, someone brought water in a gourd. The mother took a mouthful, which she then squirted gently over her little creature, bathing it with the water warmed in her mouth.

After the little girl had been bathed, they placed her on green, clean leaves, covering her with a few branches. Several of the women walked back and forth above her several /489/ times.

the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three parts. One of these parts, the ngreshi, is capable of leaving the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the ngreshi) returns. The ngreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females. Each human ngreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the ngreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that ngreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every ngreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the ngreshi of the enemy's children.

The complex of ferocity has an important consequence in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own ngreshi, for humans and their ngreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

blood of Periboriwä. *Because they have their origin in blood, they are fierce and are continuously making war on each other.* This myth seems to be the "charter" of Yąnomamö society. It is the only one they repeatedly told me without my asking about it.

Where his blood was thickest, in the areas directly underneath the spot where Periboriwä was shot, the wars were so intense that the Yąnomamö in that area exterminated themselves. Where the blood had an opportunity to thin out, the Yąnomamö were less fierce and therefore did not become extinct, although they, too, fought continuously.

After this, there were only men. One of the men, a descendant of the blood of Periboriwä, was called Kanaboroma, not to be confused with Kanabororiwä, the bird who stole fire from Alligator's (Iwä's) mouth. One day his legs became pregnant. Women came out of the left leg, and men out of the right. These Yąnomamö were very *hirii* (docile, afraid) when compared to the ones who were derived from the blood. They rapidly multiplied and also contributed to the present population of Yąnomamö. All the present Yąnomamö came from the blood of Periboriwä or from the leg of Kanaboroma, or from a combination of both. The original beings all changed into *pai* spirits.

THE SOUL. Yąnomamö concepts of the soul are elaborate and complicated. The true or real portion of living man is his "will" or "self" (*bahii*). At death, this changes into a *no bowähä* and travels from this layer to *hada*, the place above where the souls of the departed continue to exist in an ethereal state, much in the same fashion as do the people on earth: gardening, hunting, and practicing magic.

The trail along which the *no bowähä* travel forks after it reaches *hada*. Sometimes, the Yąnomamö will point to the sky and explain that such and such a cloud *is* the *no bowähä* of a Yąnomamö who is just reaching *hada*. After the soul reaches the fork in the trail, a spirit, the son of Thunder (Yąru), Wadawadariwä, asks the *no bowähä* if it had been generous during its life on earth. If it had been stingy, Wadawadariwä directs the soul along the path that leads to *shabori suuka*, a place on *hada* where souls of stingy Yąnomamö burn eternally. Most of the Yąnomamö I questioned on this asserted that they planned to lie to Wadawadariwä and avoid going to *shabori suuka*. In general, they did not fear this place and were convinced that they would not be sent there. They expect Wadawadariwä to direct them to the trail that leads into *hada* proper.

Another portion of the soul, the *no ahadä* or *bore*, is released at cremation. This part of the soul remains on earth and wanders about in the jungle. The children who die always change into this, as they do not have the *no bowähä* portion that goes to *hada*. It must be acquired. The reason that children do not change into *no bowähä* is that their "wills" (*bahii*) are ignorant or innocent (*mahadä*). Thus, one has a character only after a certain amount of knowledge and experience are gained; with this, one develops a knowledgeable "will" and can expect to enter *hada* in the form of a *no bowähä*. Apart from this, one is born with an *ahadä* (*bore*), which is invariably released at cremation and wanders eternally in the jungle after death. Some of these wandering *ahadä* are malevolent and attack travelers in the jungle at night. When they do so, they use sticks and clubs. The Yąnomamö usually use the name *bore* when describing the attacks of these malevolent spirits, although this is just an alternate name for the *no ahadä*.

NORERU. Finally, each individual has a *noreburi*. This is a dual concept: One has a *noreburi* within his being, a sort of spirit or portion of the soul, and, in addition, an animal that lives in the jungle and corresponds to this soul. The *noreburi* animals are inher-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[12] Kąobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kąobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kąobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kąobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kąobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kąobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kąobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*hekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *hekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who raid to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kąobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *hekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *hekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yąnomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[12]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

794 I, in effect, was capturing the *noreshi* of the child: A photograph was called *noreshi*.[13]
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
179 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no uhudibi*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noreshi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After
[389] several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced
[563] when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on
[783] contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones
[783] are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and
[562] women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe
[858] carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.
[237] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the
[531] circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment.
[562] The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a
[531] long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and
[266] sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere-
[726] monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[13] Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968, SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Bisaasi-teri, for example, wanted to get rid of the Monou-teri, they would hold a feast in their honor. When the going-home food was presented to them, they had no alternative but to leave. It would have been insulting to remain after the food was presented. In between their moves they returned to their own producing site to collect plantains and carry them to their new garden. They subsisted there off the food they carried with them.

The Monou-teri soon resented being treated like pariahs by their allies and began to regain their courage. Much of this treatment was due to the fact that they failed to chase the raiders when Damowã was slain, displaying cowardice instead of ferocity. Many of the men in the Bisaasi-teri groups resented the Monou-teri for this and were not timid about displaying their disgust. The Monou-teri were a burden, as they rarely helped at expanding Bisaasi-teri's gardens and ate a good deal of the time.

The raid Kąobawã organized to revenge Damowã's death took place late in April. The Shamatari allies—Mõŋaribõwri-teri and Reyabõwei-teri—were invited to participate, but they failed to send a contingency. As allies never really trust each other, the raid was delayed because some of the Bisaasi-teri suspected that their allies were waiting for the raiders to leave so that they could descend on the poorly protected women and make off with captives. Finally, a few of them did arrive and the *waya itow* (warrior line-up) got under way. Still, the Bisaasi-teri feared treachery on the part of their Shamatari friends, so the men of Lower Bisaasi-teri decided to stay home and protect the women left behind by the Monou-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri raiders. A small feast was held to entertain the visiting Shamatari allies.

On the afternoon of the feast a grass dummy was set up in the village, and the men who were to participate in the raid conducted a mock attack on the dummy, which was supposed to represent the body of a Patanowã-teri man. They painted themselves black, crept slowly around the village with bows and arrows ready, searching for the tracks of the enemy. They converged at one point, spread out, crept toward the dummy, and, at Kąobawã's signal, let fly with a volley of arrows. The Yąnomamö are good archers. None of the arrows missed its mark, and the dummy, looking like a pincushion, toppled ominously to the ground, a dozen or more bamboo-tipped arrows protruding from it. Then the raiders screamed and ran out of the village, simulating their retreat from the enemy. They drifted back into the village, one at a time or in small groups, and retired to their hammocks to wait for darkness.

The village became unusually quiet shortly after dark. Suddenly, the stillness was pierced by an animal-like noise, half-scream and half-growl, as the first raider marched slowly out to the center of the village, clacking his arrows against his bow, growling his individualized fierce noise, usually a mimic of a carnivore: a wasp, or a buzzard. At this signal—not knowing fully what to expect and a little nervous—I crept from my own hammock and went to the center of the village with my tape recorder. The other raiders joined the first man, coming one at a time after short intervals, each clacking his arrows and growling some hideous noise. Kąobawã stood by and made sure the line was straight and faced the direction of the enemy; he would push or pull the individual warriors until they formed a perfectly straight line, joining them after the last one took his place.

The procession to the line-up took about twenty minutes, as about 50 or so men participated (see Fig. 5-2). When the last one was in line, the murmurs among the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

411
516
291
342
137
726

Fig. 5-2. Kaobawä's men and their allies lining up (waya iroa) *to raid the Patanowä-teri.*

726
[123]
[533]
[825]

children and women died down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording a sacred one. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep baritone voice: "I am meat hungry! I am meat hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kaobawä calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke,

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without ● [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm. [841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [779] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

/205 cont./

224 411 It is also dangerous to lose an arrow when one is hunting. That is why they only shoot the arrow when, should they miss the target, they can easily retrieve it. In spite of these precautions, the arrow is sometimes lost or remains hanging from an [782] inaccessible tree. Then the man, in order not to lose his aim, puts it under the protection of Omao, to whom he speaks, saying: "Omáuawan ipa ʃílaka toldíapala!" which means: "Omao, watch over my arrow!"

224 777 789 ● 826 To lose one's aim or luck in hunting may arise from a technical reason or a supernatural cause. The former is due to a weakening of the body brought about by sickness or other causes which influence sight or the strength of the arm. If it is due to this latter cause, the hunter knows the remedy. He goes to the forest and searches for a tree with hard, heavy wood; he cuts a piece and sets fire to it and collects the ashes, which he applies to the cuts inflicted on his arm. If he bears the pain without touching the hurt arm with the other hand and does not shout, his muscles will once again recover their lost strength and the hunter will recover his luck and good aim.

224 776 777 If the hunter returns without any game, it may be because Omao did not favor him, and this is the supernatural cause of his failure.

224 782 [777] According to our informants from the Erebato, a good hunter speaks frequently with Omao, for without his protection he will not be lucky. For this reason he says to him: "Omao awayí ipa ʃálawa hadu kapálama!" which is translated as: "Omao, draw my game out into the open!"

Worse than being unlucky is to lose one's life in a hunting accident, and in order to implore the protection of the other world, the hunter prays, "Omao sátoria palái!" that is to say: "Omao, protect me!"

224 825 /206/ Of course, all these precautions are useless if the hunter has not learned the art of hunting. He must know how the various animals live and how to identify their tracks. If these latter should be fresh, he orders his dog to follow the track of the game; the success of a Sanemá hunter depends in great

/227 cont./

773 774 The Sanemá became discouraged in the face of the ferociousness of the monster and feared the day on which Chinanídmawan would again mistreat and kill them.

773 774 756 In those days there lived among the Sanemá a great sablí, very famous and extremely powerful, who began to think of how he could free them from this demon. The great sablí went off to the forest, and there he found a liana which seemed very suitable for his purposes. He cut a piece of the bejuco and returned. During the night he went to the house of Chinanídmawan in order to surprise him while he was asleep surrounded by his horrible trophies. In fact he did find him in a deep sleep; the sablí then introduced a piece of the liana up his anus. The demon woke up startled. He realized that a powerful sablí had found the means of killing him. In fact, shortly thereafter Chinanídmawan died, and the Sanemá exposed his corpse to the sun so that the flesh might rot. But because the demon had such tough skin, the flesh dried up and the skin remained intact; they then tried to burn it, but this was impossible, so they flung it into the forest and fled from the place.

773 774 The skin of Chinanídmawan, abandoned in the forest, gained access into the plants, animals, and men. That is why all male human beings, the animals, and the plants have within their bodies a hard and indestructible Chinanídmawan which is called hídkula,

774 [764] The hídkula is that part of the male which remains on earth after his death. When the body of a person is burned, his hídkula, on seeing the black cloud which rises from the fire, joins all the other hídkulas and they remain there for a long time... listening and listening to what comes from the world where men live.

• [826] The size of the hídkula of a man corresponds to the measure of his torso, and the larger the hídkula is, the stronger is the person.

[764] [276] [793] During the funeral rites, the men, under the influence of yopo, sing about their gigantic hídkula, and, in order to prove their gigantic strength, /228/ they invite each other to the wasamú, and they squeeze each other powerfully with their arms or with sticks. Among the men, only the priest, hɛwīawan, has no hídkula, because he is already a citizen of heaven.

/485/ rr./

765 This funerary gourd which contains the remains is kept with the other objects that belong to the family. Then, one
[766] fine day, they prepare a soup of platanos in which they mix the powdered bone. The near relatives drink this soup. All weep at this moment, as at the first funeral.

775 The Guaika believe that the correct observance of these practices has much to do with the life of the person after his death. If they do not manage to recover the body of a man killed in war and cremate it, his death is considered a doubly great calamity. A statement such as that of "We shall not cremate you when you die" consequently means a powerful threat.

Religion

[772] The Guaika /Waica/ have an idea that one ascends into heaven when one dies. This heaven is a good place, but less desirable than the present life. They also have an idea of hell, a place even less desirable to go to when one dies.

774 A person is for them body, soul, and spirit. The word to
775 designate soul also means "shadow" or "reflection." And the
● 828 word to designate spirit also means "cloud." Thus, the soul retains the form of the body, but the spirit can be formless.

The soul can abandon the body and return later. A seriously sick person in general loses consciousness while his soul is
[753] absent. This is why they frequently go looking for the soul of a sick child, to return it to his body. The soul of an adult, on the other hand, should know how to find its way back.

The spirit abandons the body only with death.

775 A formal cremation and the rites which follow cremation help to ensure that the deceased, upon dying, will go to the most desirable place of the other life.

The Guaika believe that the spirits in heaven eat certain wild fruits. They are afraid that an enemy might /486/ return after death and cause sicknesses and other calamities to the people still corporeal. Many of these incorporeal spirits wander about the paths, especially at night. As we have said before, they are called "boles."

*628 *621 602 583 past. Finally, there is no way of scoring 'promises' to exchange women, and the strength of the shoriwã tie between members of two distinct villages is largely a function of such promises.

*621 602 618 Summarizing the difference in agnatic and affinal ties, the important point is that affinal ties have the potential of changing in their coefficient of solidarity when exchanges between two descent groups continues over time. It is largely for this reason that villages reduce to clusters of affinally related dual organizations (paired patrilineal local descent groups) that have exchanged women in the past and will probably continue to do so in the future.

C. Ferocity and Bellicosity

773 • 823 According to the Yąnomamö Moon Myth, Uhudima, a Spirit, shot Moon with an arrow. The drop of blood that fell to the earth flowed over the surface, causing all Yąnomamö to become fierce. Ever since that time the Yąnomamö have behaved fiercely, because they were born in blood.

823 577 The Yąnomamö regard themselves as being violent, coercive, crafty and quick to display aggressiveness; they 829 648 value this behavior. Yąnomamö contacts with other tribes and with civilized foreigners have been consistently hostile until about 1955. They have succeeded in exterminating one tribe,[1] and have caused a number of villages of another tribe to relocate in order to avoid the attacks mounted on them by

[1] The Makú; see Migliazza, 1965.

/115 cont./

101 the language of the Waika, Shidishana, or Shamatairi, therefore the neighboring Indians as well.

Thus the term "Yanoama" refers to the cultural and linguistic identity; it does not have the least political aspect. There is no tribe of the Yanoama, nor is there any tribe of the Waika, the Shidishana, or the Shamatairi. At most one can speak of the "people"; but one must bear in mind that there is no institution, no office, that is representative of this people. Also the cognizance of this term in the thinking of the natives /116/ remains general and therefore inevitably vague, parallel to the small amount of geographical knowledge, which is limited to what they themselves have traversed, that is, as a rule, to the circle of the nearest villages, which are about one to two days' journey away from one's own.
101 Geopolitical thought, which would find expression in a more
621 extensive political organization, is unknown to the Yanoama; their conceptual world revolves around the village.

The village is the unit in which one thinks and after which one names himself: when questioned a Waika will never answer that he is a Waika or a Yanoama, but rather will give his village name, say, "Bolitaotedi," whereby "tedi" (village), like the Spanish "pueblo," refers less to the settlement and more to the
●829 people who live in it. It seems obvious that one is a Waika, for the slight contact with civilization has not yet led in their thinking to distinguishing their own culture from that of foreigners; the foreigner has remained an individual guest with peculiar habits and has not yet become the representative of a large, strange
101 world. It is not obvious, however, to which village one belongs;
621 village membership is the decisive political and sociological characteristic of the individual.

361 Externally the village is a clearing in the virgin forest, usually oval in ground plan, with a large diameter from 30 to 100 meters;
[162] the houses line the edge of this clearing. On the average a village is inhabited by about 100 persons. The villages of the Shamatairi south of the Orinoco, however, are much larger; according to our

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

173 /75 cont./ According to their
241 own statements, both tribes regard the Xiriána as their culture-
177 bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely
[829] adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

224 b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larâ -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norâ -- (350). The latter,

[593] [462] 359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

[184] 350. Among the Waiká, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers [231] in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xáma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajá. The

Surára
Pakidái

/117 cont./

888
[191]

559. (cont.)
no longer able to work for the family is regarded like a banana tree that has already produced the fruit, and no one pities them.../" P. Giacone, 1949, p. 25).

no longer able to take part in the general migrations, however, they were killed, in accordance with the tribal custom (see pp. 153/154).

829
[157] The friendly, open nature of all Surára and Pakidái is coupled with a very strongly marked self-assurance. Along with their allies, above all the mighty Xiriána, they feel like rulers of the world, which, in their opinion, consists only of virgin forest, mountains, rivers, and lakes. The caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers), the only members of civilization whom they know, are therefore always treated with a certain compassionate condescension by them, for they are of the opinion that all civilized persons, whites, blacks, and mixed, are weak and powerless and owe their lives solely to the benevolent
000 forbearance of the Indians (560). When I told them about cities

[171]

560. Baldus found similar conceptions among tribes of the northeastern Chaco (Baldus, 1931, p. 114), as did Métraux among the Kayapó /Cayapo/. (Herr Prof. Métraux told me this during the meeting of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde in Berlin, 1957.)

123 when I Told Them about Cities
829 in which many white and black people live, of the sea and the big ships sailing on it, they could not grasp this at first and then became very thoughtful. Later, at my departure, they urged me not to travel too far out on the ocean so that I would not fall off the earth-disk (see p. 197).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

I proceeded to show my gratitude to the chief by offering him the red woollen drawers which I had not yet put on. He studied them carefully, and then got into them as to the manner born. They fitted him well, and their colour being red, which Indians find irresistible, convinced him of the prestige value of this little scrap of clothing. Without a word he walked away with the solemn gait of a man who has had a pot of gold revealed to him in a vision. He made a tour of the encampment in stately fashion, and when he returned to us he was followed by a train of Samatari who were all clicking their tongues and emitting little deep-throated grunts. He stopped when he reached us, just beside me.

I carried on with the good work of thawing him. The watch was still in my hand, and I showed it to him, with signs that I was willing and anxious to explain the true nature of this metallic animal. The twelve figures for the hours, I told him, with sweeping gestures eked out by a few words of Shirian, represented the fixed stars of the sky. The big hand was the sun, and the little one the moon. They followed each other through the firmament, among the stars. This explanation found the mark straight away—perhaps because it only went to confirm their own suppositions about the little animal which had been worrying them during the night.

'*Pilmoro, pilmorokuan,*' shouted the chief, and his followers danced about, echoing him, which seemed to mean that they had identified the watch with the sun and its circular motion. '*Pilmoro, sapulite, lahallate*'—magic, big magic.

Then we were aware of some fresh surge of movement. It came mainly from the women. They had gathered for an animated discussion, which might have something to do with what Luis Antonio had said about the trousers. Indian women find white men an irresistible attraction and their menfolk, in all tribes, have one favourite tactic to prevent their being deceived: they tell their wives that these damnable white men possess such gigantic, nay monstrous, organs that they cause laceration and death. This legend is half-believed by the men themselves, partly by reason of the Europeans' actual superiority in regard to this important anatomical detail.

For once, however, it seemed that the Shirian ladies were not quite convinced. One of them could attest by the evidence of her own eyes that this dreaded enormity was a disingenuous exaggeration. But the point had not been generally confirmed, and it had started a discussion among the womenfolk. Men who had been listening to the explanation of the watch now joined in with much jeering and laughter. Enrico was obliged to yield his person to the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123
• 829
831

general curiosity, and it was he who dispelled for ever the belief that white men were a danger in themselves, apart from their guns and other terrifying adjuncts. The women fell on him. In a frenzy of excitement they insisted on seeing everything: they might have been doctors. His trousers dropped and feminine curiosity was slowly appeased; to the accompaniment of wondering cries and deep howls from the men, Enrico had to turn about and bend backwards and forwards. One woman, whose curiosity outdid all the rest, even touched him so that she could measure the normality of the dimensions with her hand. Then they began to eye me, perhaps wondering if I might not be a giant in this respect, but fortunately nothing more happened, the conversation became general and excited, and the inspection was over. Luis Antonio and Solituan joined in the talk, their excitement tinged with a certain sly amusement.

*123

The children were kept very strictly some distance away from us, although the grown-ups did not find this easy, curiosity being always strongest in the young, and especially so among primitive races where the youngsters are particularly active and intelligent and enjoy a life of perfect freedom within the bosom of the tribe. The parents kept an eye on them all the time, and if they came near us they were scolded and sent off with a sound smacking. There was every likelihood that their mothers didn't want them to come under our magic influence, which might be an evil magic all too potent against the weak and defenceless little ones. We afterwards learned that this had been a very real factor in the hostility with which we and our Guayca companions had been received, though the latter should have been known to them as friends.

The fresh morning air brought our hunger back in full force, and at last Uarema succeeded in getting hold of a piece of burned meat for us: it came from a nearby hut, and heaven only knew what it was. The charred fibres of it went down our throats like splinters of glass. Then, beyond the smoke of the first row of hammocks, I made out the roof which sheltered the chief, just as he came out with a modest throng around him. He had the gun in his hand, holding it like a bow and firing imaginary arrows by pulling at an invisible string, to the accompaniment of boom-booms that were taken up and echoed by the chorus of his followers.

I asked Luis Antonio the meaning of this pantomime. He hadn't seen what was happening and he didn't take the trouble to look, since he knew all about it already: he said the gun was looked on as a kind of bow that fired arrows with an explosion.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Naturally it wasn't our present hosts who had attacked the Brazilians. They denied it themselves. It was other Samatari 'along that way' (a vaguely south-westward direction was indicated): very bad men they were, very savage, they were really the true, dyed-in-the-wool Kasarape—monsters who took prisoners in their battles and then split them in two on a stake driven into the earth, and afterwards made a meal of them.

Anyone who has the least idea of Indians will know how much faith to put in their tales that they themselves are so good and the other tribes 'over there' so bad: precious little. The Indians one meets are always harmless, hardworking and peaceable—according to their own account: it is the neighbouring tribe that is so bad, harrying them and laying waste their fields and robbing them and exercising their wicked magic through their medicine men, causing their children—the strength and hope of the tribe—to die of the evil eye.

You can take a region in which acts of barbarism have been committed, and make a tour right round it, and if you believe the Indians it is always the tribe further on who are the bad men responsible for the outrage. And then there are those super-bad-men, the quintessence of badness, always right outside the closed circle, the dregs of the dregs in wickedness—the super-savages, the Guaikiri. But this time, so we were led to infer by our hosts, the tribe to blame were the Kasarape who lived on the right bank of the Uraricoera, fiercest of all the outcasts and intent on chopping up every Samatari's spine to suck the marrow out.

Luis Antonio had told me, some time during the night, that the Samatari were no longer friends of his. The Samatari and the Uarema Guayca were enemies now, the one having accused the other of the evil eye. Many Samatari babies had died lately, and if you followed out some tortuous paths of thought it apparently became clear that their deaths had been caused by the perversity of the elders of the Guayca tribe. These in their turn attributed the deaths of certain Guayca children who had been ill in recent years to the Samatari. The magic score was thus settled, but it left a remnant of hostility which had fallen upon Enrico and me. We stood in some danger between the opposing occult powers.

I learned, too, that the wretched little infant we had seen at the Moné landing—a scion of the Uarema tribe—had died mysteriously, so the Guayca thought, owing to Samatari magic. The excursion on which he was being taken at the time when we had seen him was made with the object of taking

*628 past. Finally, there is no way of scoring 'promises' to
*621 exchange women, and the strength of the shoriwä tie between
602 members of two distinct villages is largely a function of
583 such promises.

*621 Summarizing the difference in agnatic and affinal
602 ties, the important point is that affinal ties have the
613 potential of changing in their coefficient of solidarity when exchanges between two descent groups continues over time. It is largely for this reason that villages reduce to clusters of affinally related dual organizations (paired patrilineal local descent groups) that have exchanged women in the past and will probably continue to do so in the future.

C. Ferocity and Bellicosity

773 According to the Yąnomamö Moon Myth, Unudima, a
828 Spirit, shot Moon with an arrow. The drop of blood that fell to the earth flowed over the surface, causing all Yąnomamö to become fierce. Ever since that time the Yąnomamö have behaved fiercely, because they were born in blood.

828 The Yąnomamö regard themselves as being violent,
577 coercive, crafty and quick to display aggressiveness; they
• 829 value this behavior. Yąnomamö contacts with other tribes
648 and with civilized foreigners have been consistently hostile until about 1955. They have succeeded in exterminating one tribe,[1] and have caused a number of villages of another tribe to relocate in order to avoid the attacks mounted on them by

[1] The Maku; see Migliazza, 1965.

• 829 642 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

794 152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three [753] [761] parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leaving the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females. [825] Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

[754] [756] Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

*221 156 152 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

---

[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

organization is only approximated, however, as an examination of the genealogies given in Appendix A will show. The smaller the village, the more conspicuous is the tendency for the composition to approach a moiety-like structure. Larger villages are more composite and may contain as many as four or five distinct lineage segments.[1]

The tendency for small villages to be characterized by two (and only two) dominant lineage segments, each linked to the other by marriage ties, recurs with sufficient frequency to permit me to use a simple dual organization model as the basis of the analysis of village structure. The model given in Figure 1 should be taken as only a heuristic devise in the discussion of Yanomamö village structure that follows; the Yanomamö do not conceive of their villages as being bifurcated into two groups, for in most instances they are not. And, small villages soon lose their moiety-like structure as they begin to include males and females from villages with which marriage ties are made.

The relationships between kin discussed in the previous chapter are all given in Figure 1. The adult males in Generation 1 exchange sisters[2] and are, therefore, related to each other as shoriwä (brother-in-law). This is a well-defined, stable, non-ambiguous relationship; the males in

---

[1] See Appendix A for a discussion of village composition. Details of one small village are given in the Appendix, but the composition by lineage is summarized for three other villages.

[2] In Figure 1, $A_{1.1}$'s wife is the sister of $B_{1.2}$.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers
[622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village,
[156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the
[582] villages to which Kąobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kąobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kąobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relation-
[622] ships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[582] He does not intend to stay in Kąobawä's group and has not made a garden. He
[591] feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an
[837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked
[593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother
[578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

● [829] Despite the fact that he admires Kąobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kąobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good
[522] side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yąnomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1-5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
302
291
531
286

Fig. 2-7. Opasimi, Kąobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

241
754
[329]
[184]

nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kąobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kąobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö.

[101]
[14]

[8]The Yąnomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xirixana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yąnomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikai*, is a Yąnomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yąnomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yąnomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yąnomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yąnomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The next layer is called *hadu kã miti*: sky layer. It is made of earth on the top surface and provides the eternal home for the souls of the departed. A complete replica of life on earth is to be found on top of *hadu*, except that the inhabitants are spirits of men, not real men. They garden, make witchcraft, hunt, eat, and in general do what living man does. Everything that exists on earth has a counterpart on *hadu*, a sort of mirror image, although the activities of the two groups of objects and beings are independent of each other.

The bottom surface of *hadu* is the visible portion of the sky. The celestial beings are attached to this surface and move across it. It is not thought to be very far above the earth, since many of my informants asked me if I had crashed into it when I flew in an airplane.

Man dwells below the sky on "this layer": *hei kã miti*. It originated when a piece of *hadu* broke off and fell to a lower level. This layer is a vast jungle, sprinkled with innumerable Yąnomamö villages. These are conceived to be located on earth, as shown in Fig. 2–4c. Even foreigners are thought to live in a type of house that resembles the Yąnomamö dwelling; after all, foreigners derived from the Yąnomamö by a process of degeneration.

Finally, the plane underneath this layer is almost barren. A single village of spirit-men is found here, the Amahiri-teri. A long time ago, after the earth layer was formed by a piece of *hadu*, another chunk of *hadu* fell down and crashed through earth. It hit earth at a place where the Amahiri-teri lived, carrying their village down to the bottom layer. Unfortunately, only their *shabono* and gardens were carried with the piece of *hadu*. Hence, the Amahiri-teri have no neighborhood (*aribi*) in which to hunt for game, and so they send their spirits up to earth to capture the souls of living children and eat them. There is a constant struggle between the evil spirits of Amahiri-teri shamans and the evil spirits of shamans on this layer, earth: They send malevolent demons against each other and preoccupy themselves with defending their respective villages from evil spirits.

The Amahiri-teri people lived at the time of the *no hadabö*, the first men. These original Yąnomamö were distinct from living man in that they were part spirit (*yai*) and part human. When they died, they became *yai*, spirits. *No hadabö* means, literally, "those who are now dead"; in a cosmological context, it refers to the time of the first beings.

THE FIRST BEINGS The first beings cannot be accounted for. The Yąnomamö simply presume that the cosmos originated with these people. Most of them, and there were many, had a specific function, such as creating a useful plant or object. They figure prominently in mythology. Many of them bear the names of plants and animals that are important in the Yąnomamö economy, and the first beings are considered to be the spirits of these. I will relate a few specific tales about some of these first beings, retaining where possible the Yąnomamö narrative style.

One of the first beings was called Boreawä, or simply Bore. He was the first to acquire plantains, the staple of the Yąnomamö diet. Because he had plantains first, he was the headman (*pata dadihiwä*) of the first beings. Boreawä did not tell the others that he had plantains, as he did not want to share them. At that time, the first beings ate only dirt and animals, as there was no domesticated food. One day another of the first beings, Horonama, got caught in a rain so he took refuge in a sheltered place in the jungle. He was lost and did not know whose neighborhood he was in. By luck, he took refuge in the very place where Boreawä had hidden his cultivated plantains. Horonama, a dirt eater,

there, so they copulated with her. After they quenched their desire for sex, Omauwä caused the girls vagina to be changed into a mouth with teeth.[10] Howashiriwä, another of the first beings, was sitting on the trail at this time, very hungry for sex. When Rahariyoma's daughter walked by, he seduced her, but in so doing, lost his penis: her vagina bit it off. It was when this happened that Omauwä's son became very thirsty. Both Omauwä and Yoawä began digging a hole to find water to quench the boy's thirst. They dug the hole so deep that when water did gush forth, it caused a large lake to form and covered he jungle. Then some of the first beings cut down trees, and floated on them to escape the flood. Because this was such a strange thing to do, they changed into foreigners and floated away. Their language also changed into the tongue of foreigners, and gradually became unintelligible to the Yąnomamö. This is why foreigners have canoes and cannot be understood.

Many of the first beings were drowned in this flood. Those who managed to escape and remain Yąnomamö did so by climbing mountains. They climbed Maiyo, Howashiwä, and Homahewä mountains to escape the flood, Maiyo being a peak near the area where Kąobawä's village had its origin. Then Rahariyoma, the mother of the girl whose vagina was changed into a mouth,[11] took a piece of red pigment and painted dots all over her own body. After she was completely covered with red dots, she plunged into the lake and caused it to recede. Omauwä then caused her to be changed into a *rahara*, a snake-like monster that lives in large rivers. After that, she caused Yąnomamö to drown when they tried to cross large rivers, either by eating them or by splashing large waves on them. Omauwä then went downstream and became an enemy to the Yąnomamö. Today he sends hiccups, sickness, and epidemics to the Yąnomamö.

It is because the foreigners refused to climb the mountains to escape the flood that they became enemies to the Yąnomamö. The foreigners tried to make friends with the Yąnomamö after the flood, but because their language was so different, the Yąnomamö refused to be friends. Today, however, the Yąnomamö are becoming friends with foreigners.

After the flood, there were very few original beings left. Periboriwä (Spirit of the Moon) was one of the few who remained. He had a habit of coming down to earth to eat the soul parts of children. On his first descent, he ate one child, placing his soul between two pieces of cassava bread and eating it. He returned a second time to eat another child, also with cassava bread. Finally, on his third trip, Uhudima and Suhirina, two brothers, became angry and decided to shoot him. Uhudima, the poorer shot of the two, began letting his arrows fly. He shot at Periboriwä many times as he ascended to *hadu*, but missed. People say he was a very poor shot. Then Suhirina took one bamboo-tipped arrow (*rahaka*) and shot at Periboriwä when he was directly overhead, hitting him in the abdomen. The tip of the arrow barely penetrated Periboriwä's flesh, but the wound bled profusely. Blood spilled to earth in the vicinity of a village called Höö-teri, near the mountain called Maiyo. The blood changed into men as it hit the earth, causing a large population to be born. All of them were males; the blood of Periboriwä did not change into females. Most of the Yąnomamö who are alive today are descended from the

---

[10] In some variants of this myth she put *pirumu* fish in her vagina. These fish bit off Howashiriwä's penis.

[11] There are many linguistic parallels between eating and copulating in the Yąnomamö language. The verb "to eat" also means "to copulate", the verb "to eat like a pig" also means "to copulate excessively", the adjective meaning "satiated, full" also means "to be pregnant." The context of the statement decides the meaning.

blood of Periboriwä. *Because they have their origin in blood, they are fierce and are continuously making war on each other.* This myth seems to be the "charter" of Yąnomamö society. It is the only one they repeatedly told me without my asking about it.

Where his blood was thickest, in the areas directly underneath the spot where Periboriwä was shot, the wars were so intense that the Yąnomamö in that area exterminated themselves. Where the blood had an opportunity to thin out, the Yąnomamö were less fierce and therefore did not become extinct, although they, too, fought continuously.

After this, there were only men. One of the men, a descendant of the blood of Periboriwä, was called Kanaboroma, not to be confused with Kanabororiwä, the bird who stole fire from Alligator's (Iwä's) mouth. One day his legs became pregnant. Women came out of the left leg, and men out of the right. These Yąnomamö were very *kirii* (docile, afraid) when compared to the ones who were derived from the blood. They rapidly multiplied and also contributed to the present population of Yąnomamö. All the present Yąnomamö came from the blood of Periboriwä or from the leg of Kanaboroma, or from a combination of both. The original beings all changed into *yai:* spirits.

THE SOUL Yąnomamö concepts of the soul are elaborate and complicated. The true or real portion of living man is his "will" or "self" (*bubii*). At death, this changes into a *no borebö* and travels from this layer to *hadu*, the place above where the souls of the departed continue to exist in an ethereal state, much in the same fashion as do the people on earth: gardening, hunting, and practicing magic.

The trail along which the *no borebö* travel forks after it reaches *hadu*. Sometimes, the Yąnomamö will point to the sky and explain that such and such a cloud is the *no borebö* of a Yąnomamö who is just reaching *hadu*. After the soul reaches the fork in the trail, a spirit, the son of Thunder (Yąru), Wadawadariwä, asks the *no borebö* if it had been generous during its life on earth. If it had been stingy, Wadawadariwä directs the soul along the path that leads to *shobari waha*, a place on *hadu* where souls of stingy Yąnomamö burn eternally. Most of the Yąnomamö I questioned on this asserted that they planned to lie to Wadawadariwä and avoid going to *shobari waha*. In general, they did not fear this place and were convinced that they would not be sent there. They expect Wadawadariwä to direct them to the trail that leads into *hadu* proper.

Another portion of the soul, the *no ubudi* or *bore*, is released at cremation. This part of the soul remains on earth and wanders about in the jungle. The children who die always change into this, as they do not have the *no borebö* portion that goes to *hadu:* It must be acquired. The reason that children do not change into *no borebö* is that their "wills" (*bubii*) are ignorant or innocent (*mohoda*). Thus, one has a character only after a certain amount of knowledge and experience are gained; with this, one develops a knowledgeable "will" and can expect to enter *hadu* in the form of a *no borebö*. Apart from this, one is born with an *ubudi* (*bore*), which is invariably released at cremation and wanders eternally in the jungle after death. Some of these wandering *ubudi* are malevolent and attack travelers in the jungle at night. When they do so, they use sticks and clubs. The Yąnomamö usually use the name *bore* when describing the attacks of these malevolent spirits, although this is just an alternate name for the *no ubudi*.

NORESHI Finally, each individual has a *noreshi*. This is a dual concept: One has a *noreshi* within his being, a sort of spirit or portion of the soul, and, in addition, an animal that lives in the jungle and corresponds to this soul. The *noreshi* animals are inher-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

have chronic warfare, results in a distinctive settlement pattern and system of alliances that permits groups of people to exploit a given area over a relatively long period of time. Finally, the Yąnomamö explain the nature of man's ferocity and origin in myth and legend, articulating themselves intellectually with the observable, real world.

Thus, each individual Yąnomamö enters the world with the physical, social, and ideological traditions at his disposal that will permit him to confront and adjust to the jungle, his neighbors, and the demons that cause sickness. The cosmos is ordered and orderly, in *hadu* as it is on earth.

Surára
Pakidái

/68 cont./

835 Younger, unmarried brothers have the right to unite physically with the wives of their older brothers. Nevertheless the jealousy of the latter often prevents the realization, which, however, is made up for on a suitable occasion, for the women are altogether in favor of this custom (331).

331. This polyandrous feature is also found in the myth about the origin of human beings (see p. 247).

727 Among the Surára I found a pretty, delicate girl about
● 83 15 or 16 years old, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the
159 Karauaterí (Ills. 17 and 18), who was held as a captive and was the common property of all the men, the unmarried as well as the married. When her maloka was raided, she fell into the hands of the Surára. She lived with the old widow Xututumí and her daughter Haikiamá, likewise widowed. During the day she occasionally took care of little children, deloused the wives of the chiefs, grated manioc or squeezed out the grated mass; she also strung beads or made a belt. When it grew dark, she always fetched wood for the night, just like the other female members of the tribe. She was the only woman who took a bath several times a day and played childish games with other small girls. Now and then she also went into the forest with other women to gather fruits. I never saw her inactive. When she works, however, she does so of her own free will. Yet at the same time she must always be ready for all the men, at any hour of the day or night. A man scarcely ever comes alone, but rather four, five, or more usually join him. They do not ask whether she has any desire for it, is sleeping, working, or is perhaps ill. One of them seizes her by the arm or the hair and sets out with her into /69/ the forest, and the others follow. Especially if the men have communal tasks to do in the forest, that is, felling trees for house construction, gathering palm leaves and lianas, Nikeromá is regularly taken along, whether or not she is willing. If she resists or raises objections, one of the men, with a big stick, will

/69 cont./

727 83 159 give her a blow on her tonsure, which is already full of scars, or he will scratch her body bloody with the sharp little cutia-tooth knife (see p. 117).

It is worth noting that the married men do not go furtively into the forest with Nikeromá, but quite openly. When I was wandering about with the tribe, I was often able to observe during the midday rest that a married man would suddenly go up to the little captive, take her by the arm, and go off with her a short distance, while five or six other men followed. The others present, men, women, and children, would laugh about it. The [593] wives, to be sure, were somewhat angry and would now and then throw a piece of wood after their husbands, but then they would make the best of it and likewise join in the laughter, though it was somewhat bittersweet. When the men returned with Nikeromá, after about an hour, we resumed our march. The women put up with this behavior of their spouses and, for their part, enjoy themselves with other men at a suitable opportunity. They never vent their wrath on the little captive, however. There is nothing defamatory about her actions, into which she is, of course, forced, for various wives were obliged to submit in the same way before their marriage. Little Nikeromá, however, found it hard to bear her fate; she was always grave and sad, in fact, almost melancholy, and suffered very much from homesickness. Yet one day, when other women and girls are captured from a hostile tribe, a Surára man will marry her.

It should be mentioned further that the Surára chief rigorously sees to it that Nikeromá is always supplied with plenty of meat and other food. He himself and his brothers treat the little captive very well, and I never saw them go into the forest with her.

The Pakidái had two captive Makuxí women.

727 83 171 In this connection I should like to refer to a very similar observation by Ehrenreich with regard to the Šambioa /Shambioa/ (Karajá /Caraja/), which the investigator describes as follows: "Moreover, unmarried men who wish to turn to the female sex may only have intercourse with the captive Kayapo /Cayapo/ women held in semislavery, a few of whom, at least among the Šambioa,

Surára
Pakidái

/69 cont./

727 are lodged in every village. They are regarded as common prop-
● 83 erty. Unfortunately, one also sees children used for similar pur-
171 poses. This clearly shows the dualism in the etiquette of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to members of their own tribe. This attitude, which is common to all primitive peoples, cannot, for this reason, alter our judgment concerning the morality of the Karaja in general" (332).

332. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 28.

844 k) Death and burial customs
585 As the previous comments have shown, there are neither
764 birth nor marriage ceremonies among the Surára and Pakidái. The social and religious life is therefore dominated all the more by death practices.

764 If a human being who has completed the third year of life dies, the relatives are inconsolable. There is lamenting in the loudest tones, and the flood of tears among men, women, and children seems endless. Meanwhile, however, the customary occupations are not neglected. While the woman is fetching water from the river, for example, she weeps incessantly to herself and intermittently shrieks loudly; the same is true for the men at their work in the plantings and even for the children at their play. The other members of the tribe cast only an occasional compassionate glance at the mourners, and with this their interest is exhausted.

Immediately after a death it is the duty of the male relatives and /70/ friends to fell small trees in the forest, out of which they make a cylindrical wooden frame -- praotimá. This consists of 15 to 20 poles 1.60-1.80 meters long, which are tied with lianas a handbreadth apart. The corpse is slid into this, and liana ropes are drawn over the two open ends so that it is protected from the attack of birds, especially vultures.

knowing that they would not be raided in return; the Patanowä-tedi simply could not conduct the war on that immense a scale. The participation of these peripheral villages in the war against the Patanowä-tedi conferred three advantages on them. First, the probability was good that they would benefit materially in the raiding by capturing women. Secondly, they demonstrated their solidarity to their allies at little cost or danger to themselves, thereby putting these allies under obligation to reciprocate the favor at a later time. Finally, the peripheral villages were able to demonstrate their ferocity to their neighbors by going to war, although the danger to themselves was almost negligible. In total, about a dozen villages began raiding the Patanowä-tedi in mid 1965, forcing them to abandon their garden before they could establish a new one elsewhere. The Patanowä-tedi had no alternative but to take refuge in the village of their allies, the Ashadowä-tedi. Without the aid of the Ashadowä-tedi, the Patanowä-tedi would have been forced to colonize from their single site and sustain very heavy losses from the incessant raids of their enemies. As the situation turned out, the Patanowä-tedi lost a large number of people in the raiding, despite having this ally, but the losses would have been much heavier without them.

Summary

The practice of female infanticide leads to a shortage of women. The Yanomamö attempt to overcome the shortage,

sexually, by the practices of sodomy, wife sharing, incest, and permitted affairs. However, two ways in which the problem is resolved--clandestine affairs within villages and raiding to abduct women between villages--create political situations that favor the development of political alliances for the purposes of defense. Since these involve the transfer of women between the allies, the practice of female infanticide constitutes a functional component in the marriage alliance system.

The process of village splitting, growing out of feuds over women, results in the establishment of small, militarily vulnerable villages. The timing of the split is conditioned by the agricultural requirements of the village on the one hand, and the nature of its politico-military relationships with other villages on the other. The graded system of violence permits flexibility in the settlement pattern and the precise conditions of a village split. Because the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated foods, alliances may be interpreted as an attempt to maximize the chances of survival of groups of kinsmen as independent groups; the possibility always exists that a given group may be forced by its enemies to seek protection and provisions in the village of an ally.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Shararaiwä, Kąobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kąobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kąobawä's younger wife. Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kąobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yąnomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kąobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

I proceeded to show my gratitude to the chief by offering him the red woollen drawers which I had not yet put on. He studied them carefully, and then got into them as to the manner born. They fitted him well, and their colour being red, which Indians find irresistible, convinced him of the prestige value of this little scrap of clothing. Without a word he walked away with the solemn gait of a man who has had a pot of gold revealed to him in a vision. He made a tour of the encampment in stately fashion, and when he returned to us he was followed by a train of Samatari who were all clicking their tongues and emitting little deep-throated grunts. He stopped when he reached us, just beside me.

I carried on with the good work of thawing him. The watch was still in my hand, and I showed it to him, with signs that I was willing and anxious to explain the true nature of this metallic animal. The twelve figures for the hours, I told him, with sweeping gestures eked out by a few words of Shirian, represented the fixed stars of the sky. The big hand was the sun, and the little one the moon. They followed each other through the firmament, among the stars. This explanation found the mark straight away—perhaps because it only went to confirm their own suppositions about the little animal which had been worrying them during the night.

'*Pilmoro, pilmoroksuan,*' shouted the chief, and his followers danced about, echoing him, which seemed to mean that they had identified the watch with the sun and its circular motion. '*Pilmoro, sapulite, lahallate*'—magic, big magic.

Then we were aware of some fresh surge of movement. It came mainly from the women. They had gathered for an animated discussion, which might have something to do with what Luis Antonio had said about the trousers. Indian women find white men an irresistible attraction and their menfolk, in all tribes, have one favourite tactic to prevent their being deceived: they tell their wives that these damnable white men possess such gigantic, nay monstrous, organs that they cause laceration and death. This legend is half-believed by the men themselves, partly by reason of the Europeans' actual superiority in regard to this important anatomical detail.

For once, however, it seemed that the Shirian ladies were not quite convinced. One of them could attest by the evidence of her own eyes that this dreaded enormity was a disingenuous exaggeration. But the point had not been generally confirmed, and it had started a discussion among the womenfolk. Men who had been listening to the explanation of the watch now joined in with much jeering and laughter. Enrico was obliged to yield his person to the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123
829
831

general curiosity, and it was he who dispelled for ever the belief that white men were a danger in themselves, apart from their guns and other terrifying adjuncts. The women fell on him. In a frenzy of excitement they insisted on seeing everything: they might have been doctors. His trousers dropped and feminine curiosity was slowly appeased; to the accompaniment of wondering cries and deep howls from the men, Enrico had to turn about and bend backwards and forwards. One woman, whose curiosity outdid all the rest, even touched him so that she could measure the normality of the dimensions with her hand. Then they began to eye me, perhaps wondering if I might not be a giant in this respect, but fortunately nothing more happened, the conversation became general and excited, and the inspection was over. Luis Antonio and Solituan joined in the talk, their excitement tinged with a certain sly amusement.

*123

The children were kept very strictly some distance away from us, although the grown-ups did not find this easy, curiosity being always strongest in the young, and especially so among primitive races where the youngsters are particularly active and intelligent and enjoy a life of perfect freedom within the bosom of the tribe. The parents kept an eye on them all the time, and if they came near us they were scolded and sent off with a sound smacking. There was every likelihood that their mothers didn't want them to come under our magic influence, which might be an evil magic all too potent against the weak and defenceless little ones. We afterwards learned that this had been a very real factor in the hostility with which we and our Guayca companions had been received, though the latter should have been known to them as friends.

The fresh morning air brought our hunger back in full force, and at last Uarema succeeded in getting hold of a piece of burned meat for us: it came from a nearby hut, and heaven only knew what it was. The charred fibres of it went down our throats like splinters of glass. Then, beyond the smoke of the first row of hammocks, I made out the roof which sheltered the chief, just as he came out with a modest throng around him. He had the gun in his hand, holding it like a bow and firing imaginary arrows by pulling at an invisible string, to the accompaniment of boom-booms that were taken up and echoed by the chorus of his followers.

I asked Luis Antonio the meaning of this pantomime. He hadn't seen what was happening and he didn't take the trouble to look, since he knew all about it already: he said the gun was looked on as a kind of bow that fired arrows with an explosion.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

771
789 gesture adequately expresses. The point is that the primitive has not yet clarified his ideas on the exact relationship between cause and effect, between the wish and its realization—which is to say, between will and reality, subjective and objective. Another clear proof of this lies in the attitude towards pregnancy and childbirth, which we had already noticed among Uarema's people.

789 Even the belief in amulets is one aspect of the complete naturalness of the
● 831 supernatural! Shirian amulets are made from the dust of a dried leaf or piece of wood, wrapped into a tiny parcel inside a banana leaf, and tied round the arm.
[832] Some of these have the power to attract love, if not quite in the same sense as the love philtres of Medieval Europe. It should be borne in mind that what we call love—for us, the cultural refinement of a physical attraction—does not exist for the Indians. For them, nothing is involved but the physiological relationship, together with the satisfaction of fulfilling an individual need, a sharing of erotic excitement and as a result, the future increase of their stock. Thus the phenomenon of 'falling in love' is not present: it is simply the taking of a man, or a woman. There is no courtship, only the act itself. In the light of this it becomes clear that what the Indian hopes for from the amulet is not success in wooing a man or a woman already known and selected, but a happy outcome of all things sexual, upon which so much depends—the woman, the family and the continuance of his race.

789 The amulet is not a 'charm' such as we imagine it: it consists simply of a
757 substance which possesses the required power by virtue of its own nature—not by virtue of our belief in it—in exactly the same way as some vegetable extracts have the power to produce diarrhoea, and others the power to stop it. As a cure for diarrhoea the Indians take something prepared from a liana, which puts a stop to the trouble and restores the system to its normal state. The virtue of this substance and the way in which it acts is no more and no less occult than in the case of the amulet worn to attract success in love. The curative pill disappears into the mouth and its effects are felt elsewhere. The relation between the two regions is no more and no less mysterious than in the case of the love amulet: the human body is just as real, just as complex and just as unknown as the external world and other human beings.

756 The medicine-man is to be found in all Shirian tribes. He is the witch-doctor
793 and the physician for all general purposes. His superior is the *lahalla*, a kind of high priest, and a very, very rare bird, who possesses wonder-working powers of an unheard-of degree of effectiveness. Uarema assured me that the *lahalla* at

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

---

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

/39 cont./

301 171 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

301 789 832 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

[824] Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrë. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrë -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hií -- (see p.243).

302 e) Hair style

Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around [462] the head, including the tonsure -- hemõno. Shaving the latter, but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp. --) (see p.119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

224
191
114

/111 cont./
Métraux also documents for the Chiriguano (541).

541. Métraux, 1931, p. 154, footnote 1.

It should also be pointed out that the hunting rule so strictly observed by the Surára and Pakidái men, which says that a hunter may never carry his game into the maloka himself, can probably be traced back to Karaiben /Carib/ influences. In this connection Zerries speaks of propitiatory rites relating to the killed animal (542). According to his investigations, the

542. Zerries, 1954a, p. 359.

northern region of South America emerges as the nuclear area, where they are found primarily among Karaiben tribes of the Venezuelan coast and its hinterland (543). The author cites

543. Zerries, 1954a, pp. 136/37, 359/60.

Roth (544) and Crévaux (545) as the most important sources, as

544. Roth, 1915, p. 294.

545. Crévaux, 1883, p. 283.

well as the very old report by Rochefort (546), which shows that

546. Rochefort, 1658, p. 451.

even the Island Karaiben were acquainted with this custom.

832
[824]

c) Love magic:

For the purpose of love magic, young men sometimes wear a curauí-fiber string around the neck, to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hamẽ -- (see p. 83). If the

Surára
Pakidái

/111 cont./

●832 wearer bites on it and holds it under the nose of a girl or a woman, he gains her favor through the fragrances emanating from it. In fact, I was told that love will then be so great that the woman or the girl would follow him everywhere (547).

547. This type of love magic is reminiscent of a myth of the Aruak /Arawak/ Manao: The Aromatic Root. (Baldus, 1958, pages 32 ff.)

In order to protect themselves from this love magic, married women use two kinds of neck chains. Younger ones [824] have tied to their string of curauá fibers numerous small pieces of tajá root, and older ones, small pieces of the camarau liana (Cipó sp.) -- hif -- (see p. 83). These many pieces of root or liana then counteract the effect of the young men's single piece of root.

754 If a man is angry at a woman because she does not give him a hearing, he can avenge himself in the following manner: [824] On a rainy day he tears off a leaf of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and goes with it into the forest. When he reaches a matamatá tree (Eschweilera matamata Hub.) from which /112/ drops are falling, he lays the palm leaf under the tree. He leaves it there until it has rotted. Out of it comes a worm which the man later fetches and then roasts. If he throws this upon the sleeping woman, she will have no more children.

789 d) Rain magic:

821 Although the Surára and Pakidái appreciate rain more than too strong a radiation from the sun (548), there are occasions when

[191]

548. In contrast to this, I should like to point out that among the Taulipang, for example, there is great fear of rain (Koch-Grünberg, 1916, pp. 130/31).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

771
789 gesture adequately expresses. The point is that the primitive has not yet clarified his ideas on the exact relationship between cause and effect, between the wish and its realization—which is to say, between will and reality, subjective and objective. Another clear proof of this lies in the attitude towards pregnancy and childbirth, which we had already noticed among Uarema's people.

789 Even the belief in amulets is one aspect of the complete naturalness of the
831 supernatural! Shirian amulets are made from the dust of a dried leaf or piece of wood, wrapped into a tiny parcel inside a banana leaf, and tied round the arm.
[832] Some of these have the power to attract love, if not quite in the same sense as the love philtres of Medieval Europe. It should be borne in mind that what we call love—for us, the cultural refinement of a physical attraction—does not exist for the Indians. For them, nothing is involved but the physiological relationship, together with the satisfaction of fulfilling an individual need, a sharing of erotic excitement and as a result, the future increase of their stock. Thus the phenomenon of 'falling in love' is not present: it is simply the taking of a man, or a woman. There is no courtship, only the act itself. In the light of this it becomes clear that what the Indian hopes for from the amulet is not success in wooing a man or a woman already known and selected, but a happy outcome of all things sexual, upon which so much depends—the woman, the family and the continuance of his race.

789 The amulet is not a 'charm' such as we imagine it: it consists simply of a
757 substance which possesses the required power by virtue of its own nature—not by virtue of our belief in it—in exactly the same way as some vegetable extracts have the power to produce diarrhoea, and others the power to stop it. As a cure for diarrhoea the Indians take something prepared from a liana, which puts a stop to the trouble and restores the system to its normal state. The virtue of this substance and the way in which it acts is no more and no less occult than in the case of the amulet worn to attract success in love. The curative pill disappears into the mouth and its effects are felt elsewhere. The relation between the two regions is no more and no less mysterious than in the case of the love amulet: the human body is just as real, just as complex and just as unknown as the external world and other human beings.

756 The medicine-man is to be found in all Shirian tribes. He is the witch-doctor
793 and the physician for all general purposes. His superior is the *lahalla*, a kind of high priest, and a very, very rare bird, who possesses wonder-working powers of an unheard-of degree of effectiveness. Uarema assured me that the *lahalla* at

/481 cont./

832 They believe that another substance is effective against women, especially if it is thrown at them. They use it to frighten them, and it also forms a part of the ceremony in which a man shows his preference for a woman whom he wishes to make his wife.

784 753 There is a taboo with respect to the burning of cloth or paper. The burning of cloth or paper, according to what they believe, causes sickness and /482/ perhaps death. The Guaika do not dare to do it "against an enemy," since they are afraid that they might die also.

753 795 Men cannot see a "bole" -- the spirit or soul of a dead person which has returned -- but women can see them on occasion, and, when they do, it is almost certain that the "bole" will make them sick. The "bole" has two eyes like embers, a cold skin, and in general has human forms. It customarily passes by way of the paths, especially at night, and frequently returns to abandoned settlements. They can talk and shout like a man; and many strange noises which are heard in the woods are attributed to the nearness of a "bole." The fall of a tree by itself is also attributed to a "bole."

[781] Once a woman told us about her encounter with a "bole." She had been awakened by something which touched her and hit her in the ribs. When she woke up, a voice said to her: "There are enemies outside." She became very frightened and did not go back to sleep for the rest of the night.

The mere presence of a "bole" is considered sufficient to cause an acute pain in some part of the body.

Frequently we were asked by the Indians if there were "boles" the night before in the surroundings.

It is believed that the "boles" travel alone in open country. Thus, they assume that a few palm leaves obstructing the entrance to the path are usually sufficient to block their way. It is also believed that fire is an effective weapon against the "boles" whereas an arrow would be useless.

751 There is a belief that a certain seed is efficacious for keeping danger away from the children. They string these seeds as if they were beads and hang them around the child's neck.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2-7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

Surára
Pakidái

/28 cont./

291
114 circumcision, is more suggestive. "Not that the opening is enlarged; it is a matter of a gymnastic treatment of phimosis rather than an operative one. Do they not stretch the skin which the others cut? Do they not make room inside, where the others make it toward the outside? This may be doubted least of all for the clamping of the preputium by means of the hip cord, which, as has already been mentioned, seems to be the oldest form, for the hip cord has been retained everywhere. The skin was roughly pulled forward with the cuff. Among young men it often looked sore and scraped. The European has the shoemaker put shoes that are too tight upon the last, but in the interior of Brazil, where only finished, imported goods are bought, a man of social standing thinks nothing of appearing in patent leather shoes which he has widened by a couple of vigorous slashes. His knife is to the shoemaker's last what the circumcising splinter or thorn is to the hip cord"(144).

144. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 199.

Besides the verified feeling of modesty, this assumption may
● [833] quite possibly be a second reason. One would then have a parallel, as it were, to the girls who are deflowered with the finger by the mother after the first year of life; it is expressly stated that this is done to facilitate sexual intercourse later on (see p. 135).

291
184 Among other Yanonámi tribes, too, the hip cord of plant fibers or cotton is used by both sexes, /29/ and the men likewise tie up the penis with it. I was able to verify this among members of the Xiriána, Puseheweteri, and Aramamesteri who, as wives or visitors, were staying in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái. The captive Karauateri girl, Nikeromá, also always wore a hip cord and told me that this was characteristic for her tribe and that the men likewise stuck the member under it. Similarly, Zerries (145) and Hübner (146) point out that the

145. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

146. Hübner, 1907, p. 231 and Fig. 12.

Surára
Pakidái

/63 cont./

854 593 It is simply touching to see how lovingly and solicitously every mother treats her child. But the love of the father is no less great. He openly acknowledges the child and clearly shows his feelings of pride and fatherliness (318), though he is otherwise

[114] [171]

318. In contrast to this, Alexander von Humboldt, with reference to the Indians on the Orinoco, writes that fathers do not have any affection for their children (A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 155).

very reserved in his expressions of feeling. When he comes wearily into the communal house after a strenuous hunting expedition or from his field work, he never forgets to devote himself first of all to his little child for a while. He either takes it on his arm and goes walking with it, or he lays it beside him in the hammock. Even during migrations of the tribe he sometimes [858] carries the child for hours. Moreover, he loves a daughter just as much as a son.

854 304 During the first year of life the ear lobes and the lower lips of boys and girls are pierced by the mother with a sharp palm thorn, and, in addition, the girls are given perforations in the corners of the mouth. To prevent the wounds from healing, small wooden rods are stuck in temporarily and moved back and forth 304 frequently.

854 833 When a little girl has completed the first year of life, she is deflowered by the mother with her finger. This procedure is done in preparation for sexual intercourse later on.

114 171 Similar procedures were observed by von Feldner among the Machacarí /Mashacali/ Indians, and he describes them as follows: 854 "Nulla inter illas invenitur virgo, quia mater inde a tenera aetate 833 filiae maxima cum cura omnem vaginae constrictionem 304 ingredimentumque amovere studet hoc quidem modo: manui dextrae imponitur folium arboris in infundibuli formam redactum, et dum index, in partes genitales immissus huc et illud movetur, per infundibulum aqua tepida immittitur" (319). In this connection

319. von Feldner, 1828, II, p. 149, footnote.

/63 cont./

114 191 854 833 304 Ploss and Bartels have already observed: "These manipulations probably serve not so much the purpose of cleanliness as preparation for the later sexual functions" (320).

320. Ploss and Bartels, 1927, p. 376.

171 304 854 A custom which is said to prevail in Paraguay should be mentioned in this connection. When a girl is born there, the midwife inserts her finger into the vagina and says: This is a woman (321). Unfortunately, there is no account of the origin

321. Written communication from Montegazza to Ploss (Ploss, 1912, p. 219).

of this custom. It is possible that it was taken over from Indians, because in Paraguay the Indian population is, of course, numerically the largest.

Among most South American tribes for whom there is evidence of an artificial destruction of the hymen, however, chiefly those of the Tukano /Tucano/ and Pano linguistic families, but also some of the Aruaken /Arawak/ and Tupi, it is done for ritualistic purposes at the onset of puberty (322).

322. Fuchs, 1956, pp. 79-81.

Among the Totonaken /Totonac/ in Mexico it is one of the duties of two priests to destroy with their fingers the hymen of female babies 28-29 days after birth. At the same time they ordered the mothers to repeat the defloration six years later with their fingers (323). Strebel regards this procedure as a castigation rite,

323. Krickeberg, 1918-1922, p. 47.

corresponding to the circumcision of male infants, which was also carried out by the priests. "Even the child was to pay its tribute to the gods, /64/ and the fact that the sexual parts were chosen for

171 /64 cont./
304 this is likewise understandable, considering their significance,
854 though the least possible loss of blood may also have been a consideration" (324).

324. Strebel, 1885, p. 13.

854 On the other hand, with regard to the Surára and Pakidái
304 it should be noted that there is no circumcision of boys among them
[833] and the defloration of small girls unequivocally serves for later sexual intercourse; there are no religious motives or hygienic reasons connected with it. Whether this was different in former times neither the chiefs nor older men and women were able to say (325a).

171 325a. It is an interesting fact that among the
304 Itälmen on Kamchatka little girls are de-
854 flowered at a very tender age by their mothers in the same manner as among the Surára and Pakidái and for the same reason (Stellers, 1774, p. 346).

This type of body deformation has been documented for China and Indonesia too. It is done there, however, for hygienic purposes, in order to remove the mucus which gathers in the genitalia (Ploss, 1912, pp. 218/19).

593 It should be mentioned further that all Surára and Pakidái
839 fathers often touch the vulva of their small daughters with the mouth and gently suck on it.

854 If a man has two or more wives, they help each other in
[595] caring for a baby. The grandmother, a sister, or the eldest
[593] daughter are also loving helpers. Infant care, of course, does
854 not require much trouble, for regular baths are unknown. It is
515 only when the crust of dirt is a little too thick that the mother washes it off a bit when she goes to fetch water from the river. The infrequent washing has the advantage that the skin is more
000 nearly invulnerable to mosquito bites. If the child's nose is not

Surára
Pakidái

/65 cont./

524 child" or "married couple." In the latter game sexual activity
524 is already often involved. As long as the children have not yet
864 reached puberty, the adults laugh about it. It is only the mothers of girls who are a little annoyed when they hear about it. They do not regard it as tragic, however, since they themselves were reprimanded about it by their mothers when they were little girls.

/66/

582 g) Marriage

At the age of 7-8 a girl as a rule has already been given in
585 marriage. The husband is usually 8-10 years older. They do not as yet lead a regular married life, however. During the day the little girl plays with other children, and only at night does she sleep
[833] in her hammock beside her husband. Sexual intercourse, however, is strictly forbidden until after the second menstruation. She also
[593] fetches firewood and water and receives prepared food for herself and her husband from her family. When the tribe is on the march,
[484] she carries the hammock of her spouse and the few household articles. Economic reasons are connected with this marriage in childhood, for the young husband must hunt for his little wife and
606 her parents. Especially noteworthy is the reserve toward in-laws which operate in such a way that son-in-law and mother-in-law never
582 speak to each other and may not visit each other. Since the fear of incest is very great in both tribes, a marriage, which is always agreed upon by the parents, may be entered into only by partners who are not related by kinship. For this reason young wives are preferably obtained from a friendly tribe; in this case, however, the young man must live there until his wife has put her second
583 menstruation behind her. Occasionally young girls and women are abducted from hostile tribes. They are first held as captives and prostitutes for some time, however, before a man may finally marry them. I met such a little female captive among the Surára. She came from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí and was approximately 15 or 16 years old.

Surára
Pakidái

/68 cont./

755 884 86 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemão would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 171 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 884 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be sure, but mandatory.

834 833 j) Sex life

The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 837 [593] If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

/64 cont./
553 276 [782] high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermediaries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris" [777] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 114 191 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 302 [412] [824] On the day of the name-giving the children are given a tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara -- Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in 553 291 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must [834] no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around [292] children (see pp. 64ff.).

Surára
Pakidái

/68 cont./

755 884 86 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemão would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 171 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 884 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be sure, but mandatory.

834 833 j) Sex life

The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 837 [593] If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

121 The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yąnomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data 114 covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the 124 field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yąnomamö in their language.

162 Census data on five Yąnomamö villages are presented 847 to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage 595 of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is compli- 834 cated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos 721 and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter- 182 village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

621 The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the 613 basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal 578 descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves 562 to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal 000 descent groups. Geneological data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii]

621 is allied to another which can provide it with more military
628 assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can
722 give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women
583 will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for
630 reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least
439 needs the military aid of the other.

621 The character of Yąnomamö warfare is not as inti-
628 mately related to village size as might be expected, although,
722 of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare
724 successfully over a long period of time from one location.
583 Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their
582 location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

621 Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size
562 of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males
162 to females, for example, is high, partly because of the
583 practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of
582 women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is
182 prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing
[847] children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the
[839] available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the
[595] consequences for Yąnomamö social organization of this single

621
578
628
722
562
182

phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the result of the shortage of women.

Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and this frequently causes the village to split. The larger the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion. Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each group establishes an independent village and enters into marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yanomamö village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide. There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice. First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

[1] The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, listed in Table 1, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

847
834
853 two to three years, as women nurse their children until they are at least two years old. Faced with this prospect, young couples may decide to kill their child, irrespective of its sex.[1]

847 Infanticide is effected by a number of techniques. Most commonly, a woman strangles her child with a vine as soon as it is delivered. In other cases the child is allowed to suffocate if it does not begin breathing spontaneously. If the child begins to breathe, the mother may simply abandon it where it is born, or throw it into the jungle. A case of attempted infanticide came to my attention by way of the New Tribes Mission. A woman in one of the villages on the Padamo [799] River threw a new-born daughter into the jungle. The missionary living with the woman's village found the baby and took it into his own home. The woman had either struck the child on the head with an instrument, or the child had hit something when the mother threw it into the jungle, as there was a severe bruise on the side of the baby's face.[2]

[848] In another instance, a husband forced his wife to kill a child because he was certain that he did not sire the

---

[1]Occasionally the woman will arrange to have an abortion when the foetus is in an advanced state of development. The most common practice consists of rupturing the amnion by trauma: a pregnant woman will lie on her back and have someone, usually a female friend or kinswoman, jump on her abdomen. More rarely, she will have her husband rupture the amnion by squeezing her around the abdomen by an arm lock.

[2]The missionary ultimately adopted the infant and brought her to England when he left Venezuela.

10:Chagnon E-4,5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

raiding each other.[1]

That the shortage of women is the basis of internal feuding is illustrated by a practice recently adopted by members of the New Tribes Mission working in the village of Kosholowä-tedi, a small village on the Padamo River. The missionaries had a major problem with club-fighting within the village, most of which developed out of sexual liasons between married women and married men. The missionaries began an active campaign aimed at changing the coitus taboos during pregnancy and lactation. They were successful in their efforts, and the major result was that fighting was almost completely stopped. (Another result was a sharp increase in births.)

Village size and composition have an effect on the number of sexual liaisons within a village, as illicit affairs are more difficult to discover in large villages. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, as can be seen from Table 1, have less of a woman shortage than the other villages. Nevertheless, fights over women do break out in these villages. One of the clubfights I witnessed took place between two groups of Monou-tedi men in the village of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the Monou-tedi men had wanted to carry on an affair with the wife of Konoreiwä, another man of his village, but was unable to do so while the Monou-tedi lived in their own village. Once when the Monou-tedi moved to Bisaasi-tedi to

---

[1] See Chapter 5, Tables 5 and 6, for a summary of the causes of village splits and hostilities.

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

---

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *bekuru*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *bekuru* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *bekuru* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *bekuru* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *bekuru* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *bekuru* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *bekuru* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3–3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebawä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3-3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

Surára
Pakidái

/66 cont./

595 The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the Pakidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Various other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies, these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

587

• 835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do not call them uncle, but likewise father.

881 h) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl, [302] on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú, a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may 881 speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. Dur- 304 ing the second day her mother or another woman applies a pinpoint tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either [413] side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a [824] pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty- [386] gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured, leaves a dark blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the [147] little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears, and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysterious forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life.

881 With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated, and after that a small celebration takes place.

Surára
Pakidái

/68 cont./

●835 Younger, unmarried brothers have the right to unite physically with the wives of their older brothers. Nevertheless the jealousy of the latter often prevents the realization, which, however, is made up for on a suitable occasion, for the women are altogether in favor of this custom (331).

331. This polyandrous feature is also found in the myth about the origin of human beings (see p. 247).

727 Among the Surára I found a pretty, delicate girl about
83 15 or 16 years old, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the
159 Karauaterí (Ills. 17 and 18), who was held as a captive and was the common property of all the men, the unmarried as well as the married. When her maloka was raided, she fell into the hands of the Surára. She lived with the old widow Xututumí and her daughter Ha[illegible]amá, likewise widowed. During the day she occasionally took care of little children, deloused the wives of the chiefs, grated manioc or squeezed out the grated mass; she also strung beads or made a belt. When it grew dark, she always fetched wood for the night, just like the other female members of the tribe. She was the only woman who took a bath several times a day and played childish games with other small girls. Now and then she also went into the forest with other women to gather fruits. I never saw her inactive. When she works, however, she does so of her own free will. Yet at the same time she must always be ready for all the men, at any hour of the day or night. A man scarcely ever comes alone, but rather four, five, or more usually join him. They do not ask whether she has any desire for it, is sleeping, working, or is perhaps ill. One of them seizes her by the arm or the hair and sets out with her into /69/ the forest, and the others follow. Especially if the men have communal tasks to do in the forest, that is, felling trees for house construction, gathering palm leaves and lianas, Nikeromá is regularly taken along, whether or not she is willing. If she resists or raises objections, one of the men, with a big stick, will

Surára, Pakidái

619 /74 cont./
648 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.
721

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-

• [835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára

[171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriâna. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the

[171]

342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

/113 cont./

526 between two men embracing each other, which is performed in a sitting position (see p. 233); the tug of war (see p. 244); and the throwing of wet earth at one another (see p. 244).

539

IX. Myths and Legends

[115] The following myths and legends were told me by the Surára chief Hewemãõ:

The Creation of the Yanonámi

The earth already existed and was full of plants and animals, but as yet was without human beings. But one day the first man, Uruhí, came out of the leg of the xiapó, a small bird with black and yellow feathers similar to the japim. A short time later the bird-leg gave birth to a second man, then a third, a fourth, and finally a woman, Petá. These four men and the woman lived together in perfect harmony. Petá, to be sure, was the wife of Uruhí, the first-born, but the other three brothers also had the right to have sexual intercourse with her (552).

• [835] 552. Among the Surára and Pakidái, the younger, unmarried brothers likewise have the right to have sexual intercourse with the wives of their elder brothers. Moreover, the members of both tribes believe that a woman is able to have strong children only if she has frequent intercourse with other men during her pregnancy.

[843]

After a year Petá gave birth to a strong, healthy boy who grew rapidly and called all four men "father" (553). The boy's

[601] 553. The Surára and Pakidái children also call the unmarried brother of their father, not uncle, but likewise father.

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
883 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[564] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[678] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[64] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[554] measure of his sexual prowess.

573 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
• 835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mõmaribõwei-tedi
732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwë. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwë), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

595 in the family. The transfer of the woman from the older to
593 the younger brother was, in some of the cases, quite gradual. Thus, Kaobawä gave Hantoami to his younger brother, Shadadama, because his other two wives complained about not having enough game to eat. Kaobawä continued to have sexual relationships with Hantoami after she had become Shadadama's wife, and sired two of her children.

*628 Another form of permitted affair is called nohimou--
722 "to befriend" or "act like a friend" to a woman. This type
836 of relationship might occur, for example, when the members
837 of a village have to take refuge with an ally. The allies invariably enter into nohimou relationships with the women of the refugees. The refugees are reluctant to give their women as wives to the men of the host village, but they are obliged to permit them to have sexual access to the women. These kinds of affairs also develop within a village between a man and the wife of a friend, or, with single girls. Again,
*629 when men go on visits to other villages and bring trade goods,
574 they frequently are permitted to have affairs with the hosts'
438 women, particularly if the men have brought goods that are
837 highly prized by the hosts.
836

• 835 Incestuous affairs between classificatory siblings are quite common.[1] One of my female informants used husband

[1]Incest, to the (male ego) Yanomamö, is any sexual relationship with a member of one's lineage or with mother, mother's sister, mother's mother, and mother's sister's daughter. Failure to avoid a woman of the mother-in-law category is also incestuous in the eyes of the Yanomamö, but only if the woman is sexually active. Menopausal women of

835 terms for a number of men that were, genealogically, her distant agnates. She explained the usage by the fact that she had incestuous relationships with several of them when she was a young woman. Kaobawë told me that he had incestuous relationships with Hayamamasimi, his FaBrDa, but did not want the others in the village to know about it. In another case, a man married three girls who were his FaBrSoSoDa, i.e., his 'granddaughters.' The Yanomamö explanation of this case illustrates the relationship of the woman shortage to warfare and alliance. The people in question all live in Patanowë-tedi, a village that has numerous enemies, only one ally, and a serious woman shortage. The parents of the girls in question did not want them to marry into the village of the allies, as they had given a number of women to the allies already. The man, Ishiweiwë, had no spouse and could not get one from the allies. So, the parents of the girls stopped calling Ishiweiwë by the appropriate consanguineal terms and began calling him by affinal terms suited to the marriage of the three girls to him. The girls, in turn, stopped calling him grandfather. Ishiweiwë married just one of the girls at first; after she died, he married the other two, as he already called them 'wife' by virtue of the fact that he had married their sister. The initial marriage was the major hurdle. After he married the first girl and the kinship terms were

---

835 the mother-in-law category are not avoided, nor are FaSi or MoBrWi. The implications of this last fact for Homans and Schneider's work are obvious.

*628
584
582
60
885
183
584
[593]
[607]
[995]
[184]
[766]
835
[123]
601
[183]

appropriately adjusted, he had no difficulty marrying the remaining two.

The close ties between siblings of the opposite sex and between brothers-in-law are also reflected in the fact that incestuous relationships are not severely punished. Thus, KąobäwÄ was known to be having an affair with his classificatory sister, KrÄömi, but her husband overlooked the matter. Incest is not severely punished. The YąnomamÖ rely on the internal sanctions of shame and conscience, bolstered supernaturally by the fear that incestuous affairs prevent the release of the soul of the guilty party during cremation. As a counter measure, they dismember the body of someone known to have committed incest during his life time, and burn the parts of the body a much longer time than they normally would have otherwise. Some of the YąnomamÖ avoid incestuous affairs, according to KąobawÄ, because one of their ancestors turned into a sloth (ihama) after having committed incest. KąobawÄ himself initially denied having incestuous affairs because incest (yaweremou), as he put it, ". . . is the most despicable thing possible." Later, he confided that he had fornicated with his FaBrDa on a number of occasions and did not seem particularly concerned about the matter, except his fear that I would tell his wife. Other data suggest that incest, far from being feared, is widely practiced. In particular, kinship usage varies considerably from the expected usage predictable from genealogical data and the Iroquois terminology. Whenever I

835 601 183 investigated discrepant kinship usage I found that the terminology changed because of incestuous relationships between my informant (or his close kinsman) and the members of the local lineage in question. I have not investigated all discrepant usages, but the high incidence of the terminological aberrations suggests that incest is widely practiced.

835 601 183 582 [162] [562] Incestuous affairs and marriages occur largely because of the woman shortage. I have already mentioned that IshiweiwÄ of PatanowÄ-tedi married his three 'granddaughters' because he could not find a wife of the appropriate category. A similar situation occurred in Bisaasi-tedi. RëromawÄ, one of the important men in the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi, has redefined a number of his classificatory daughters as sisters,[1] thereby making it possible for his sons to marry their children, otherwise incestuous marriages. His oldest son, BäkÄböwÄ, technically married his FaDaDa, but because his father had redefined the mother of BäkÄböwÄ's wife as 'sister,' the marriage was appropriate within their marriage rules.

837 *621 578 [721] The woman shortage is remedied by illicit affairs within the village. These affairs are the major cause of feuds and village splits. During the 15 months covered by my field work five club-fights occurred. Four of them were over women who had been caught in illicit affairs, and in one case, the village split into hostile factions that began

---

[1] See Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of this.

*622 Koima, a girl of
613 some 15 years, was promised to Rerebawä, a young man from
591 Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawä had
583 already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom
606 he had two children. Rerebawä wished to return to his own village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawä began making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effectively, and Rerebawä was growing impatient. His parents-in-law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter,
584 provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however,
583 refused to go to Rerebawä, suspecting that he would not keep
591 his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead,
578 • 835 Bäkotawä, her classificatory FaSiSo. She began an affair with
613 *624 Bäkotawä, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated
627 Rerebawä, who challenged Bäkotawä to a club fight. Bäkotawä belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi and was cognatically related to the members of the headman's
[626] descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment was on Bäkotawä's side, but the girl belonged to a descent group over whose affairs Bäkotawä's supporters had no claims. Rerebawä's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was promised to him by her agnates: Bäkotawä was, in effect, having an

affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawä's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawä threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawä shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawä, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bäkotawä, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawä discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawä, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

128 extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yanomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0. 121 I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that 913 polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than 575 his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his 583 836 wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual 837 alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of 128 them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend 162 Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions 602 675 in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relation- 562 578 ship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
516

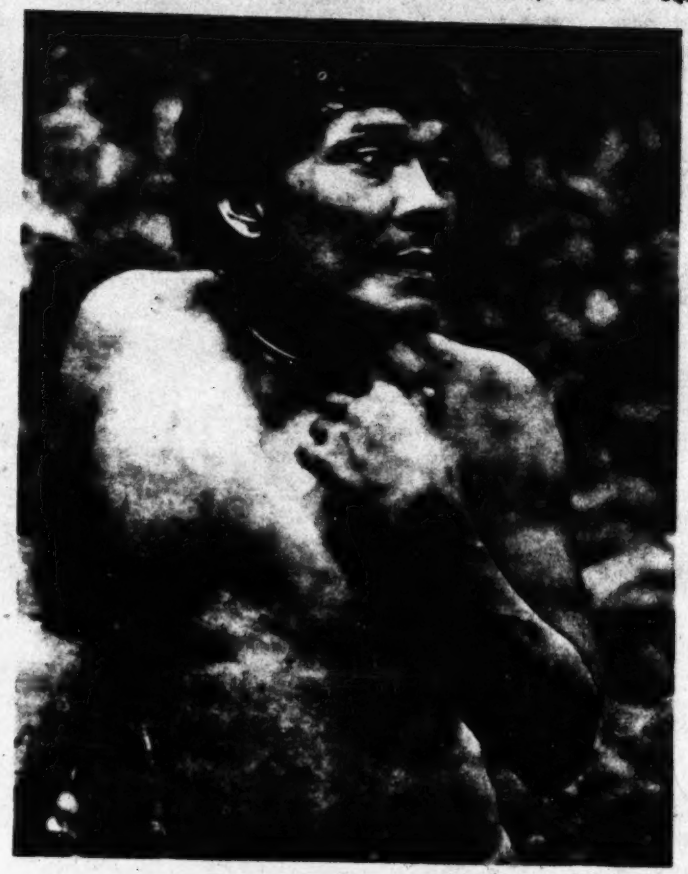


Fig. 1–3. Kąobawä, the wise leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

. I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

114
123
124

Kąobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1–3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1–4). Kąobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kąobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

115
[802]
[595]
[837]
[835]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

New individuals are incorporated into the community by an extension of kinship ties. Unless one is incorporated into the village in this fashion, there is no basis for social behavior vis-à-vis others, for the kinship system defines one's role in society. An orphaned teen-ager joined Kąobawä's group shortly before I began my fieldwork. He was from a distant Shamatari village and had no blood relatives in Kąobawä's group. He established his position in the community by calling Kąobawä "father." This defined his relationship to all of Kąobawä's kinsmen as well. As an exercise in kinship, I had the young man give me his relationship term for everyone in the village. He not only had specific terms for every member of the group, but he had also extended them to all the residents of Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri as well, since Kąobawä was related to these people. In short, the boy learned how Kąobawä was related to all the members of three different villages and logically extended his own assumed relationship to Kąobawä outward to the others; and he behaved toward them accordingly: He avoided women he called mother-in-law and refrained from sexual activities with women he called sister.

To emphasize the fact that the kinship categories do not always correspond to biological relationships, let me give an example of an incestuous marriage. Kąobawä's younger brother, Shiimima, recently (1966) took a young girl for his wife, outraging most of the community because he "behaved toward her as brother" before the marriage. The girl's mother had been abducted some twenty years earlier from a distant village and was given to a man who stood in a father relationship to Kąobawä and Shiimima. Thus, both Kąobawä and Shiimima called the abducted woman "mother" and called her daughter "sister." The abducted woman's husband died of malaria; after this, she had a number of temporary affairs with other men before being officially taken as a wife by another man in the village. Her daughter is the issue of a temporary affair she had with the headman of Mahekodo-teri, the group that gave Kąobawä refuge after the treacherous feast in 1950. She is, therefore, biologically unrelated to Kąobawä and Shiimima, but since they behaved toward her as brothers, Shiimima's marriage to her is a blatant case of incest. The matter was as disgusting to my informants as it would have been had Shiimima married his own biological sister.

There are many important kinship distinctions in Yąnomamö social life, but the one between relatives by marriage and agnatic relatives should particularly be emphasized. This distinction is at the basis of Yąnomamö political behavior and village fissioning. This point was emphasized in the discussion of village fissioning and marriage rules in the first section of this chapter.

One of the most important characteristics of affinal ties is that they are capable of growing in strength over time because they can be solidified and reinforced by marriage exchanges between the groups. Ties between agnates, on the other hand, tend to weaken over time. For example, Kąobawä's local descent group could renew its friendship to similar affinally related groups in the village of Patanowä-teri by entering into marriage exchanges with them once again. There is no way, however, in which his own descent group could reinforce or strengthen the agnatic ties with the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in Patanowä-teri. By marrying into the affinally related Patanowä-teri descent groups, Kąobawä's group would enter into direct competition with agnatic counterparts in that village, further straining the relationships between the two communities.

There is another way of looking at this situation. Men who are related to each other as agnates (for example, brothers and parallel cousins) get along well with each

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

• 836 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their hus-
937 bands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passional
586 motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry
587 is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of
607 the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under
[836] his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has
587 always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children
593 find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have al-
[601] ways called "father" and he has called them "children." In
[184] this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

/222 cont./

793 the men learn because of the frequency with which he sings them.
773 He sings during the day, but especially at night. Suddenly he
[776] interrupts his song and flies up into the sky, where he joins other hɛwĩawán in order to sup with Omao.

793 The hɛwĩawán must jealously keep a certain number of
784 taboos, and on the degree of care with which he keeps them depends, not only his power as a priest, but also the existence of
[262] all his people. Thus, for example, he must not eat crabs or other animals which in reality are men to them, just like eagles, etc.

[778] Should he do this, the "weight of the dead" kills his hikuladɛ, a disaster which, in turn, causes the death, not only
[726] of the priest, but also of a large part of his congregation. For the same reason, the hɛwĩawán never takes part in war or in any combat whatsoever, because, although he is invulnerable and no arrow or club can kill him, his hikuladɛ could not bear the "weight" of a man killed by his weapons. This is the reason why each Sanemá local group relies on a special chief for wartime.

793 The hɛwĩawán, who belongs to the court of Omao more than
[776] to the Sanemá community, does not marry a specific woman.
● [836] He may have sexual relations with all the unmarried women of the group, but he is completely unconcerned about them and the children. He has no duties as either husband or father.

/223/ If a hɛwĩawán dies, any woman of the group may
[776] have a son predestined to be a hɛwĩawán. No one knows which
[781] of the boys born in the period immediately after the death of a priest may be the hɛwĩawán of the future, but one day the true hɛwĩawán will return from the forest where he has met the Great Jaguar, who changed him into a priest, replacing his human flesh with other flesh more worthy of his bones, the flesh of a bat-priest.

[771] He than informs the people of what has happened, and, as that election happens shortly after the death of a priest, the new hɛwĩawán tries to take the vacant place in time, assuring, in this manner, the continuation of uninterrupted contact which the Sanemá have had with Omao generation after generation.

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
883 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[564] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[678] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[101] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[564] measure of his sexual prowess.

573 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mõmaribõwei-tedi
732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwã. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwã), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

595 in the family. The transfer of the woman from the older to
913 the younger brother was, in some of the cases, quite gradual. Thus, Kɐobawɨ gave Hantoami to his younger brother, Shadadama, because his other two wives complained about not having enough game to eat. Kɐobawɨ continued to have sexual relationships with Hantoami after she had become Shadadama's wife, and aired two of her children.

*623 Another form of permitted affair is called nohimou--
722 "to befriend" or "act like a friend" to a woman. This type
• 836 of relationship might occur, for example, when the members
837 of a village have to take refuge with an ally. The allies invariably enter into nohimou relationships with the women of the refugees. The refugees are reluctant to give their women as wives to the men of the host village, but they are obliged to permit them to have sexual access to the women. These kinds of affairs also develop within a village between a man and the wife of a friend, or, with single girls. Again,
*629 when men go on visits to other villages and bring trade goods,
574 they frequently are permitted to have affairs with the hosts'
438 women, particularly if the men have brought goods that are
887 highly prized by the hosts.
836

835 Incestuous affairs between classificatory siblings are quite common.[1] One of my female informants used husband

[1]Incest, to the (male ego) Yɐnomamɔ̈, is any sexual relationship with a member of one's lineage or with mother, mother's sister, mother's mother, and mother's sister's daughter. Failure to avoid a woman of the mother-in-law category is also incestuous in the eyes of the Yɐnɐmamɔ̈, but only if the woman is sexually active. Menopausal women of

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawã, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisaasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yąnomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kąobawã's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kąobawã's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowã-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2-8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowã-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowã-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowã-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwã, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowã-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowã-teri fissioned into two groups: They relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

/68 cont./

755 884 86 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemão would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 171 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 884 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be sure, but mandatory.

834 833 j) Sex life

The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 837 [593] If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

/217 cont./

606 The husband helps economically the family of orientation of his wives, supplies them with produce from the conuco, but dealings with his wife's parents are reduced the most indispensable ones. When he meets his mother-in-law on the path, he changes his direction immediately, does not greet her, and would not dare to speak to her for anything. Between father-in-law and son-in-law there exists a cold friendship from which all manifestations of cordiality are absent. The same taboo exists between parents-in-law and daughter-in-law.

836 The Sanemá of the Erebato assured us that an unmarried young man could have sexual relations with all the unattached girls of his group and that very often the girls are the ones who [584] take the initiative in this. When a boy is attractive, he joins up with one or two girls, who /218/ in all frankness and good faith ask him to stay with them for a few nights more, offer him food, and hope that he will resolve to ask one of them to marry him.

593 It seems that in general women do not abandon their husbands and confidently expect the spouse to behave in the same manner and not have extramarital sexual relations.

593 Frequently angry fights arise in the family out of passional motives, to the point where the man no longer tolerates it and leaves the rancheria forever and eventually marries another woman in a distant pueblo.

595 Usually, only older men have several wives; polyandry is not permitted. Widows, as a general rule, marry a brother of the deceased husband, who takes his nieces and nephews under his protection. This custom does not cause any great problems, since the brother of the deceased has already had sexual intercourse with his sisters-in-law before marrying them, for he has always considered them as possible wives. Nor do the children find it difficult to accept their new father, whom they have always called "father" and he has called them "children." In this way the Sanemá (and also the Waica, Surará, and Pakidai) are a society which allows polygamy, the sororate, and the levirate.

722 /152 cont./ One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,
499 the Bisheasetjeti also crossed, the bridge was /153/ cut by them near the bank. Guards were placed to keep a lookout for the enemy, should he try to repair the bridge and cross it.

727 Much after this, a raid was made on Liacoatjeti by some
[721] of the Bisheasetjeti and the Majecotjeti /sic/; "Jaiyeota," one of the Majecototjeti, shot one of them and killed him. A boy of four or five years of age was captured. One of the men from Majecototjeti, "Ushiu," took the boy and cared for him. All of the children were bothering the little one, calling him enemy and acting as if they were going to shoot him. One day, after this had gone on for a while, a young man from Bisheasetjeti shot the child near the water spring. He shot the arrow so hard that it passed through him. Ushiu gave the child a funeral, but none of the other inhabitants of the aldea came to the "lloro" /weeping/, because they said, "After all, he was an enemy."

628 The two aldeas had some bad times together. Often, when
721 they were in the forest, they had to come running back, feeling
578 sick. Frequently their ribs were showing. During this time
[164] several died of a strange fever which kept the victim hot day and night without relief. Others were very sick with the fever, and it
[361] was feared that they would also die. The two aldeas of Bisheasetjeti and Majecototjeti lived together for a year, until those of Bisheasetjeti made a new "farm" /granja/ down the Orinoco, on the other side of the Manaviche River. When they separated, friction caused by some women had reached such a point that the Majecototjeti summoned the Macolimutjeti, and both of them made a raid on Bisheasetjeti to recover the wife of a Majecototjeti who had gone to live with a Bisheasetjeti. One family did not take part in this raid and by its friendly and frequent visits prevented the two aldeas from shooting at each other.

628 Another incident of friction was that a young man from
578 Majecototjeti stole a Bisheasetjeti woman from her husband.
837 When the husband had almost persuaded his wife to come back with him, the Majecototjeti man shot him in the back with a bone-pointed arrow and kept the woman. The Bisheasetjeti man was seriously wounded, but recovered.

phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the result of the shortage of women.

Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and this frequently causes the village to split. The larger the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion. Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each group establishes an independent village and enters into marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yanomamö village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

*621 578 241 escalate, the factions involved usually use the interlude between a club-fight and actual killings to establish separate gardens.

*621 *628 241 361 722 Occasionally, however, a village suddenly becomes embroiled in a war that it has not expected, or fighting within the village immediately involves shooting to kill. Then the only recourse for the group is to take refuge with an ally and subsist on the produce of the ally's garden. If the critical situation develops out of an intra-village dispute, the smaller of the contesting factions is forced to flee to another village where it has friends or relatives.

If all the members of a village are forced to take refuge in another village, they proceed to make their own garden apart from that of their hosts; then, when the garden begins to produce, the refugee group moves to that site to [583] [582] [391] live. They do this because the price of protection is always measurable in terms of the hosts' demanding access to the women of the guests, either as spouses for their own men or simply as temporary sexual partners.

Twice during the lifetime of my oldest Bisaasi-tedi informants their group was obliged to flee to an allied village to escape the raids of powerful neighbors, raids that resulted from the development of intensive hostilities before the group could establish a new garden of its own elsewhere. On both occasions the refugees lost a number of women to their protectors, and in neither case did they receive wives in return. Indeed, on the second occasion, the hosts planned *628 726 574

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
883 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[664] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[578] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[104] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[554] measure of his sexual prowess.

573 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mõmaribõwei-tedi
732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwã. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwã), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

595 in the family. The transfer of the woman from the older to
593 the younger brother was, in some of the cases, quite gradual. Thus, Kaobawä gave Hantoami to his younger brother, Shadadama, because his other two wives complained about not having enough game to eat. Kaobawä continued to have sexual relationships with Hantoami after she had become Shadadama's wife, and sired two of her children.

*629 Another form of permitted affair is called nohimou--
722 "to befriend" or "act like a friend" to a woman. This type
836 of relationship might occur, for example, when the members
• 837 of a village have to take refuge with an ally. The allies invariably enter into nohimou relationships with the women of the refugees. The refugees are reluctant to give their women as wives to the men of the host village, but they are obliged to permit them to have sexual access to the women. These kinds of affairs also develop within a village between a man and the wife of a friend, or, with single girls. Again,
*629 when men go on visits to other villages and bring trade goods,
574 they frequently are permitted to have affairs with the hosts'
438 women, particularly if the men have brought goods that are
897 highly prized by the hosts.
836

835 Incestuous affairs between classificatory siblings are quite common.[1] One of my female informants used husband

[1]Incest, to the (male ego) Yanomamö, is any sexual relationship with a member of one's lineage or with mother, mother's sister, mother's mother, and mother's sister's daughter. Failure to avoid a woman of the mother-in-law category is also incestuous in the eyes of the Yanomamö, but only if the woman is sexually active. Menopausal women of

835 601 183 investigated discrepant kinship usage I found that the terminology changed because of incestuous relationships between my informant (or his close kinsman) and the members of the local lineage in question. I have not investigated all discrepant usages, but the high incidence of the terminological aberrations suggests that incest is widely practiced.

835 601 183 582 [162] [562] Incestuous affairs and marriages occur largely because of the woman shortage. I have already mentioned that Ishiweiwä of Patanowä-tedi married his three 'granddaughters' because he could not find a wife of the appropriate category. A similar situation occurred in Bisaasi-tedi. Reromawä, one of the important men in the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi, has redefined a number of his classificatory daughters as sisters,[1] thereby making it possible for his sons to marry their children, otherwise incestuous marriages. His oldest son, Bäkäböwä, technically married his FaDaDa, but because his father had redefined the mother of Bäkäböwä's wife as 'sister,' the marriage was appropriate within their marriage rules.

• 837 *621 578 [721] The woman shortage is remedied by illicit affairs within the village. These affairs are the major cause of feuds and village splits. During the 15 months covered by my field work five club-fights occurred. Four of them were over women who had been caught in illicit affairs, and in one case, the village split into hostile factions that began

---

[1] See Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of this.

raiding each other.[1]

That the shortage of women is the basis of internal feuding is illustrated by a practice recently adopted by members of the New Tribes Mission working in the village of Kosholowë-tedi, a small village on the Padamo River. The missionaries had a major problem with club-fighting within the village, most of which developed out of sexual liasons between married women and married men. The missionaries began an active campaign aimed at changing the coitus taboos during pregnancy and lactation. They were successful in their efforts, and the major result was that fighting was almost completely stopped. (Another result was a sharp increase in births.)

Village size and composition have an effect on the number of sexual liaisons within a village, as illicit affairs are more difficult to discover in large villages. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, as can be seen from Table 1, have less of a woman shortage than the other villages. Nevertheless, fights over women do break out in these villages. One of the clubfights I witnessed took place between two groups of Monou-tedi men in the village of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the Monou-tedi men had wanted to carry on an affair with the wife of Konoreiwë, another man of his village, but was unable to do so while the Monou-tedi lived in their own village. Once when the Monou-tedi moved to Bisaasi-tedi to

[1] See Chapter 5, Tables 5 and 6, for a summary of the causes of village splits and hostilities.

avoid the raids from the PatanowÃ-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with KonoreiwÃ's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by KonoreiwÃ. The entire village participated in the club fight. KonoreiwÃ punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the PatanowÃ-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1948. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1948 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the PatanowÃ-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the PatanowÃ-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

726 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time in-
114 volved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

*621 When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved
628 peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's
837 lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the
578 establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The
721 timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of
[241] Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens
separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the
feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village
726 warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an
722 extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare
241 necessitates the formation of political alliances with other
361 groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in
a situation where they have no choice except to move into the
village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's
garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

---

[241] [361] [171] [128] [1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory. In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

these situations[1] by establishing new gardens as new wars develop; occasionally, however, the wars take on unpredictable intensity before new gardens can be established, and the members of the villages concerned necessarily seek refuge with their allies.

To the Yąnomamö, gardens (hikari) are the fount of subsistence. They acknowledge the relationship between chronic warfare and village relocation by being constantly on the lookout for new lands to settle. Men are always discussing the agricultural merits of the forested areas in which they hunt, and most new sites are selected on the basis of information collected by hunters. Thus, when the Namowei-tedi split up at Patanowë-tëka, the Bisaasi-tedi faction moved to Shihota, an area they knew well because they customarily hunted there.[2] In 1965 the Monou-tedi cleared a new garden at Moyanabŏwei for the same reason. I accompanied hunting parties from Bisaasi-tedi on several occastions to new areas not normally frequented by these hunters, and the topic of agriculture invariably came up during the evening résumé of the day's experiences.

Other factors besides density of jungle, type of floral association, and general topography are considered by

[1] They avoid these situations because the hosts usually demand either sexual access to the women of the refugees, or wives for their bachelors. The refugees, of course, are reluctant to do either, but are frequently obliged to do both. The cost of the alliance, once again, is measured in terms of women lost.

[2] See Map C, and Chapter 5.

I. Marriage Ties

602 593 581 583 [609] Marriages bind the groups of the spouses to each other in a system of exchanges involving goods, services, and the promise to reciprocate women at a later date. Yąnomamö marriage is peculiar in that the ties between husband and wife are very weak, but that ties between a man and his sister's husband are strong. The significance of marriage as an institution that initiates (or continues) alliances between non-agnatic groups stems, therefore, from the nature of the ties that it creates between the male members of the allied groups.

593 Ties between spouses are usually very tenuous, due largely to the fact that men are constantly suspicious of their wives' motives whenever the women leave the village unescorted. Men always suspect their wives of infidelity, and will even beat them if there is the slightest suspicion that the women have been seeing other men. A certain amount of 839 593 trysting goes on in all villages, but it is more frequent and more easily accomplished in larger villages. Discovery of [578] liaisons by the cuckold inevitably leads to club fighting between the factions of the lover and the husband. The woman 593 684 involved usually suffers more than either of the male principals in the fighting that follows, as women are severely punished by their husbands. The punishment usually consists of a beating with a club, but men frequently shoot their unfaithful wives with barbed arrows in a non-vital area of the body, such as the buttocks or leg. In one instance I witnessed,

128 extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yanomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0. I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relationship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

---

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

---

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

They enjoyed watching me learn these names. I assumed, wrongly, that I would get the truth to each question and that I would get the best information by working in public. This set the stage for converting a serious project into a farce. Each informant tried to outdo his peers by inventing a name even more ridiculous than what I had been given earlier, or by asserting that the individual about whom I inquired was married to his mother or daughter, and the like. I would have the informant whisper the name of the individual in my ear, noting that he was the father of such and such a child. Everybody would then insist that I repeat the name aloud, roaring in hysterics as I clumsily pronounced the name. I assumed that the laughter was in response to the violation of the name taboo or to my pronunciation. This was a reasonable interpretation, since the individual whose name I said aloud invariably became angry. After I learned what some of the names meant, I began to understand what the laughter was all about. A few of the more colorful examples are: "hairy vagina," "long penis," "feces of the harpy eagle," and "dirty rectum." No wonder the victims were angry.

I was forced to do my genealogy work in private because of the horseplay and nonsense. Once I did so, my informants began to agree with each other and I managed to learn a few new names, real names. I could then test any new informant by collecting a genealogy from him that I knew to be accurate. I was able to weed out the more mischievous informants this way. Little by little I extended the genealogies and learned the real names. Still, I was unable to get the names of the dead and extend the genealogies back in time, and even my best informants continued to deceive me about their own close relatives. Most of them gave me the name of a living man as the father of some individual in order to avoid mentioning that the actual father was dead.

The quality of a genealogy depends in part on the number of generations it embraces, and the name taboo prevented me from getting any substantial information about deceased ancestors. Without this information, I could not detect marriage patterns through time. I had to rely on older informants for this information, but these were the most reluctant of all. As I became more proficient in the language and more skilled at detecting lies, my informants became better at lying. One of them in particular was so cunning and persuasive that I was shocked to discover that he had been inventing his information. He specialized in making a ceremony out of telling me false names. He would look around to make sure nobody was listening outside my hut, enjoin me to never mention the name again, act very nervous and spooky, and then grab me by the head to whisper the name very softly into my ear. I was always elated after an informant session with him, because I had several generations of dead ancestors for the living people. The others refused to give me this information. To show my gratitude, I paid him quadruple the rate I had given the others. When word got around that I had increased the pay, volunteers began pouring in to give me genealogies.

I discovered that the old man was lying quite by accident. A club fight broke out in the village one day, the result of a dispute over the possession of a woman. She had been promised to Rerebawä, a particularly aggressive young man who had married into the village. Rerebawä had already been given her older sister and was enraged when the younger girl began having an affair with another man in the village, making no attempt to conceal it from him. He challenged the young man to a club fight, but was so abusive in his challenge that the opponent's father took offense and entered the village circle with his son, wielding a long club. Rerebawä swaggered out to the duel and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

114 hurled insults at both of them, trying to goad them into striking him on the head with
123 their clubs. This would have given him the opportunity to strike them on the head. His
124 opponents refused to hit him, and the fight ended. Rerebawä had won a moral victory
578 because his opponents were afraid to hit him. Thereafter, he swaggered around and in-
839 sulted the two men behind their backs. He was genuinely angry with them, to the point of calling the older man by the name of his dead father. I quickly seized on this as an opportunity to collect an accurate genealogy and pumped him about his adversary's ancestors. Rerebawä had been particularly nasty to me up to this point, but we became staunch allies: We were both outsiders in the local village. I then asked about other dead ancestors and got immediate replies. He was angry with the whole group and not afraid to tell me the names of the dead. When I compared his version of the genealogies to that of the old man, it was obvious that one of them was lying. I challenged his information, and he explained that everybody knew that the old man was deceiving me and bragging about it in the village. The names the old man had given me were the dead ancestors of the members of a village so far away that he thought I would never have occasion to inquire about them. As it turned out, Rerebawä knew most of the people in that village and recognized the names.

114 I then went over the complete genealogical records with Rerebawä, genealogies I
124 had presumed to be in final form. I had to revise them all because of the numerous lies and falsifications they contained. Thus, after five months of almost constant work on the genealogies of just one group, I had to begin almost from scratch!

114 Discouraging as it was to start over, it was still the first real turning point in my
123 fieldwork. Thereafter, I began taking advantage of local arguments and animosities in
124 selecting my informants, and used more extensively individuals who had married into the group. I began traveling to other villages to check the genealogies, picking villages that were on strained terms with the people about whom I wanted information. I would then return to my base camp and check with local informants the accuracy of the new information. If the informants became angry when I mentioned the new names I acquired from the unfriendly group, I was almost certain that the information was accurate. For this kind of checking I had to use informants whose genealogies I knew rather well: they had to be distantly enough related to the dead person that they would not go into a rage when I mentioned the name, but not so remotely related that they would be uncertain of the accuracy of the information. Thus, I had to make a list of names that I dared not use in the presence of each and every informant. Despite the precautions, I occasionally hit a name that put the informant into a rage, such as that of a dead brother or sister that other informants had not reported. This always terminated the day's work with that informant, for he would be too touchy to continue any further, and I would be reluctant to take a chance on accidentally discovering another dead kinsman so soon after the first.

114 These were always unpleasant experiences, and occasionally dangerous ones, de-
123 pending on the temperament of the informant. On one occasion I was planning to visit
124 a village that had been raided about a week earlier. A woman whose name I had on my
551 list had been killed by the raiders. I planned to check each individual on the list one by one to estimate ages, and I wanted to remove her name so that I would not say it aloud in the village. I knew that I would be in considerable difficulty if I said this name aloud so soon after her death. I called on my original informant and asked him to tell

11: Chagnon . E-5 (1964-1968) 1969 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

142
301
302
516

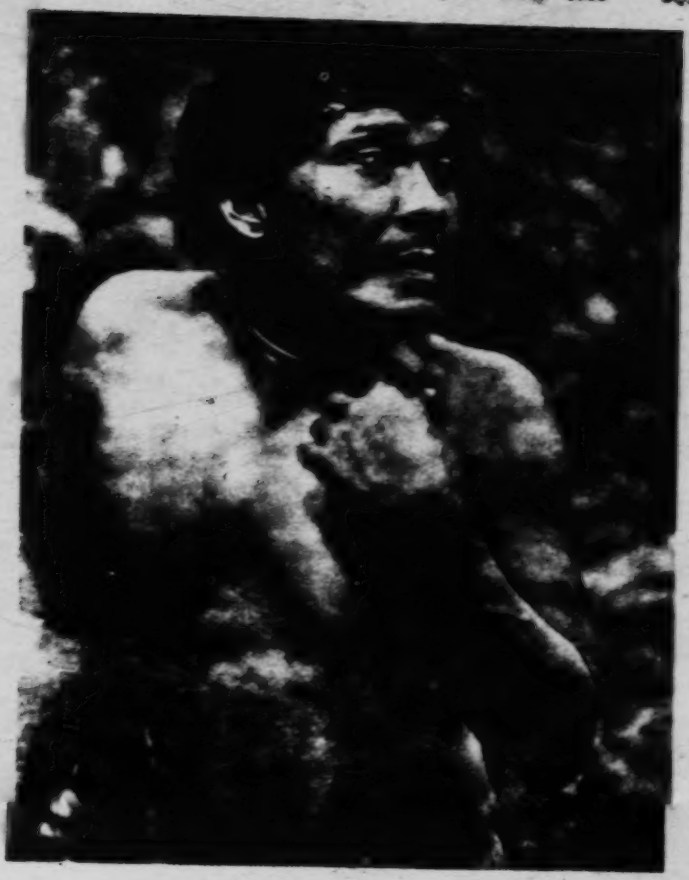


Fig. 1-3. Kąobawä, the wise leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

Kąobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kąobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kąobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

11: Chagnon E-6 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąobawä's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

[849]
[593]
[839]

Kąobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

[822]
[156]

142
301
302
516
291
854

Fig. 1-4. Kaomashima, Kąobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers
[622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village,
[156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-3). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the
[582] villages to which Kaobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kaobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kaobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action.
[622] Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relationships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[583] He does not intend to stay in Kaobawä's group and has not made a garden. He
[591] feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an
[837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked
[593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother
[578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kaobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kaobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good
[522] side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yanomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

*621 *623 Village size is an important factor in determining the degree to which a Yąnomamö group must depend on its neighbors for military support in the face of raids. Small villages must make alliances to survive. Village size, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, ranges *621 701 722 from 40 to 250 inhabitants. Approximately one-third of the village consists of males who are able to participate in the raiding, that is, men who are between 17 and 40 years old. The tactics of warfare are such that a village must be able to field a raiding party of approximately 10 men in order to be able to raid effectively. In addition, when the raiders are away, there must always be a few men at home to protect the women and children. Thus, the military requirements alone seem to demand that a village have at least 15 able-bodied men. As these represent about a third of the group, the minimum village size required by the raiding techniques is 40 to 50 people. I have never seen a village fall below this size in an area where raiding is active, and virtually every village split I investigated took place only when each of the resulting groups contained 40 or more people.

*621 721 726 The upper limit to village size is also determined in large measure by the intensity of warfare. The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has over 200 people. It was being raided actively by about a dozen different groups while I conducted my fieldwork, groups that raided it about twenty-five times in a period of fifteen months. The Patanowä-teri at one time had split into three groups of about equal size, but raids from their enemies forced them to reunite for common defense. In general, a village will fission after it [578] reaches a population of about 150 because internal feuds and fights are so frequent that peace can only be maintained with great difficulty. A village of 100 individuals, for example, can fission to produce two militarily viable groups of about 50 people each. Only the threat of raids from powerful neighbors will, as in the case of the Patanowä-teri, inhibit the fissioning, and frequently the fission groups will reunite in a single village to fend off the raids of their enemies.

* [628] But a small group of 40 to 50 people is not as viable as a group twice that size. Consequently, it enters into alliances with its neighbors.

*621 582 166 FISSION AND SETTLEMENT There is a tendency for the group to attempt to maximize its size after it becomes an independent entity. This is done by trying to keep all marriages within the group so that there is very little migration of young men and women to other villages after marriage. A small group also welcomes the addition of families from other villages, families that have gotten into fights in their own group and who prefer to leave rather than attempt to patch up their grievances with their kinsmen. Finally, the group tries to attract young men and women from other villages, encouraging them to settle permanently in the group. Rerebawä, for example, is under considerable pressure to remain permanently in Kąobawä's group.

*621 578 ♥837 As the village grows in size and varies in composition, it becomes increasingly difficult to keep order and peace. Extramarital sexual liaisons are more frequent in larger villages, because the probability is lower that the affairs will be discovered. When the Monou-teri rejoined Kąobawä's group to avoid the raids of their enemies, a bloody club fight developed between two men of that village over an affair one of them had with the other's wife. The culprit waited until the group joined Kąobawä's village before approaching the woman, thinking that with so many people in one village he would not be caught.

By the time a village approaches 100 to 150 people, such fights over women are

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

so frequent that the group elects to fission rather than attempt to keep an uneasy internal peace. Although a larger village has an advantage in terms of its capacity to raid other groups and is better able to defend itself from raids, the internal fights often lead to killings within the group. Then, there is no alternative but for one of the factions to leave. Its members may anticipate a situation like this and begin making a new garden long before the fighting becomes violent enough to lead to deaths, or a fight can develop unexpectedly and result immediately in bloodshed. The guilty faction must then seek refuge in the village of an ally until it can establish its own garden. Usually, however, the larger group fissions while its members are on relatively peaceable terms, and the two resulting villages remain in the same general area so that they can reunite when raids threaten them. This is the situation that prevails between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri; all three have a common history as a single village, but the members of each live in separate villages because of the numerous fights that took place within the group while they were still a single village. They continue, however, to rely on each other for protection when raids threaten. The Monou-teri (see Fig. 2–8), in fact, spent about a third of their time in either Lower Bisaasi-teri or in Kąobawä's group while I conducted my fieldwork. They were being raided by the Patanowä-teri and had not completed the new garden they were making. The Patanowä-teri forced them to abandon their producing site and move west.

The Patanowä-teri themselves were forced to establish a new garden because of the incessant raids by a number of villages. In addition to keeping always on the move between their two gardens, they also sought periodic refuge in the village of one of their own allies, a village two days travel to the south of their primary garden.

The raids against the Patanowä-teri by about a dozen villages illustrate a cardinal strategy of Yąnomamö warfare: attack a group when it is beleaguered and weakened by other enemies. When I first arrived, the Patanowä-teri were fighting only three groups. The Monou-teri then entered into the conflict by abducting a number of women from them, an act that ultimately led to raiding and killing. When the Monou-teri entered the conflict, they also persuaded their own allies to participate, bringing four other villages into the war. These, in turn, were joined by some of their allies so that the total number of belligerent villages rapidly grew to about a dozen. Many of them joined the hostilities because they knew that the Patanowä-teri could not defend themselves against a host of enemies. The new belligerents, therefore, stood a good chance of abducting women while being relatively immune to punitive raids. They could also discharge obligations to their allies by supporting their raids against the Patanowä-teri without exposing themselves to great danger.

In Fig. 2–8 the movements of Kąobawä's village over the past seventy-five years is summarized. The village originated at the site of Konata, occupied prior to 1900 by Kąobawä's grandfather. This site was abandoned because several villages (not indicated on the map) began raiding the people with such frequency that they were forced to flee south, cross the Orinoco River, and take refuge with allies at a place called Wareta. Similarly, Wareta was abandoned because of new wars, so the group again crossed the Orinoco River and settled at Namowei. Here, their old enemies again drove them out of the area, so the group migrated to Hąhoyaoba. Kąobawä was born at this location, some forty years ago. This site was abandoned because the soil in that area was very poor; even to this day, there are no Yąnomamö villages located in that general area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Upper Bisaasi-teri, and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Table 1). Politically, they are either the two dominant lineages in each of the above-named villages or one of the two dominant lineages. For example, the headmen of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawä and Reromauwä, respectively, come from the *Sha* lineage. In Patanowä-teri there are two headmen, one from the *Sha* lineage and one from the *Hor* lineage. Finally, in Monou-teri, the headmanship shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage in 1965 because the *Sha* headman was killed in a raid by men from Patanowä-teri. I might add that he was killed by men of his own lineage to whom he was related as "brother." After he died, his brother-in-law, of the *Hor* lineage, assumed the leadership. It is not surprising that the headmanship shifted to this large, important group. In terms of sheer numbers, the *Hor* lineage (see Table 3–1) was stronger than the *Sha* lineage in Monou-teri. The distribution of political power within these two lineages underscores the dual organization of most Yąnomamö villages.

It is apparent from the foregoing example that the ties between agnates who live in different villages are not necessarily amicable. The most bitter fighting, in fact, takes place between members of different villages who are related to each other agnatically. It is not uncommon for men to kill their classificatory brothers in the ensuing raids. As a consequence of the killing of the Monou-teri headman, for example, the raiders from Monou-teri avenged his death by shooting Bosibrei of Patanowä-teri. The two men who actually killed Bosibrei were related to their victim as brothers. Similarly, Kąobawä himself shot Rakoiwä, the present *Sha* headman of Patanowä-teri, wounding him badly. He had shot to kill even though Rakoiwä was his older (classificatory) brother.

Once the lineage splits up and is redistributed in several villages, the ties between the men of that lineage weaken dramatically. And, as we shall see below, the fissioning of a village is frequently the result of a bitter club fight within the village over the possession of women. The result is that many villages that have a common history are at war with each other due to the nature of the feuds that led to their splitting away from the common village. The Patanowa-teri, for example, are at war with all three of the villages from which they originally separated (see Fig. 3–5, discussed later).

The kinship ties between agnates who live in the same village are likewise quite weak. They are strongest between a man and his younger brothers, for the age differences alone call forth a certain amount of respect and amity. An older man can be expected to aid his younger brothers in fights and help them to secure wives. In some cases, the younger man obtains his wife from a polygynous older brother; some men appear to accumulate extra wives with the intention of passing them on to their younger brothers. Kąobawä, for example, gave one of his wives to a younger brother and will probably give another wife to a second younger brother. (He is presently permitting the brother to share her sexual services.) Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, is quite jealous of the co-wives because they can command some of the tasty morsels of food that would otherwise be her own prerogative. And, since the younger wives are more attractive physically, Kąobawä does pay considerable attention to them. In Lower Bisaasi-teri, one of Kąobawä's classificatory brothers was forced by his older wife to get rid of his young, attractive second wife. The man gave her to an unmarried younger brother. He himself had acquired the younger wife as part of a political alliance he had made with the members of an allied village, knowing at the time that his first wife would object strenuously to the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawä, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisaasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yąnomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kąobawä's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kąobawä's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2–8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowä-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowä-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowä-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwä, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowä-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowä-teri fissioned into two groups: They relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

137
142
29
30
462
482
313

Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers.

462 313 [482]

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity.

593 462 [252] 593 164 [537]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Shararaiwä, Kąobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kąobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kąobawä's younger wife. Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kąobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yąnomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly [illegible] campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and [illegible] and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kąobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinsmen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doubt my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yąnomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kąobawä's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggressive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *waiteri* (fierce one) of the group.

Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatari girl. Damowä seduced her, thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the final club fight that led to the separation of Kąobawä's group from the Monou-teri. Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kąobawä then organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kąobawä's raiders. Nobody

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123 From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dixies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their [152] fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One [758] of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

595 As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous 162 and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by 578 means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males 684 whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of 838 quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We 201 had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of ges- 123 tures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

123 In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of 411 ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

in terms of women ceded to them by the Shamatari, that they maintain over their Shamatari allies.

The sex ratio data give a rough idea, then, of the extent of female infanticide and, in addition, reflect the political relationships of the villages to each other in terms of the flow of women. Other demographic data, however, suggest that the practice of female infanticide is even higher than the sex ratios alone indicate. Table 2 gives the stated cause of death of 240 adult individuals. These individuals are related to the living members of the three villages of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, and Patanowä-tedi. It is immediately apparent that more men die in warfare than women,[1] implying that the frequency of female infanticide is substantially higher than the 8% suggested by sex ratio data.

There are several ways the Yanomamö remedy their woman shortage. Young bachelors, for example, practice sodomy (bei kä bosi kuwemou, bei kä bosi waumou) with each other. These relationships develop into a 'buddy' system (kawä) and promote ties of friendship that extend into adult life. Some of my informants confidentially told me that particular young men had been known to copulate with dogs in estrus, but this was regarded with contempt by all who knew about it. Homosexuality, however, was not considered despicable, but it was thought to be infantile. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 617]

[1] Twenty-two per cent (31/138) of all male deaths were due to warfare, while only 6% (6/102) of female deaths were due to this cause.

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
863 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[564] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[578] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[64] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[554] measure of his sexual prowess.

573 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mõmaribõwei-tedi
732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, YoyosiwÃ. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwÃ), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawĩ, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisaasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yąnomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kąobawĩ's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kąobawĩ's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowã-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2-8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowã-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowã-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowã-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwĩ, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowã-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowã-teri fissioned into two groups: They relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

1171 /64 cont./
304 this is likewise understandable, considering their significance,
854 though the least possible loss of blood may also have been a consideration" (324).

324. Strebel, 1885, p. 13.

854 On the other hand, with regard to the Surára and Pakidái
304 it should be noted that there is no circumcision of boys among them
[833] and the defloration of small girls unequivocally serves for later sexual intercourse; there are no religious motives or hygienic reasons connected with it. Whether this was different in former times neither the chiefs nor older men and women were able to say (325a).

1171 325a. It is an interesting fact that among the
304 Itälmen on Kamchatka little girls are de-
854 flowered at a very tender age by their mothers in the same manner as among the Surára and Pakidái and for the same reason (Stellers, 1774, p. 346).

This type of body deformation has been documented for China and Indonesia too. It is done there, however, for hygienic purposes, in order to remove the mucus which gathers in the genitalia (Ploss, 1912, pp. 218/19).

593 It should be mentioned further that all Surára and Pakidái
● 839 fathers often touch the vulva of their small daughters with the mouth and gently suck on it.

854 If a man has two or more wives, they help each other in
[595] caring for a baby. The grandmother, a sister, or the eldest
[593] daughter are also loving helpers. Infant care, of course, does
854 not require much trouble, for regular baths are unknown. It is
515 only when the crust of dirt is a little too thick that the mother washes it off a bit when she goes to fetch water from the river. The infrequent washing has the advantage that the skin is more
000 nearly invulnerable to mosquito bites. If the child's nose is not

in terms of women ceded to them by the Shamatari, that they maintain over their Shamatari allies.

The sex ratio data give a rough idea, then, of the extent of female infanticide and, in addition, reflect the political relationships of the villages to each other in terms of the flow of women. Other demographic data, however, suggest that the practice of female infanticide is even higher than the sex ratios alone indicate. Table 2 gives the stated cause of death of 240 adult individuals. These individuals are related to the living members of the three villages of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi. It is immediately apparent that more men die in warfare than women,[1] implying that the frequency of female infanticide is substantially higher than the 8% suggested by sex ratio data.

There are several ways the Yąnomamö remedy their woman shortage. Young bachelors, for example, practice sodomy (bei kë bosi kuwemou, bei kë bosi waumou) with each other. These relationships develop into a 'buddy' system (ãawã) and promote ties of friendship that extend into adult life. Some of my informants confidentially told me that particular young men had been known to copulate with dogs in estrus, but this was regarded with contempt by all who knew about it. Homosexuality, however, was not considered despicable, but it was thought to be infantile. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[1] Twenty-two per cent (31/138) of all male deaths were due to warfare, while only 6% (6/102) of female deaths were due to this cause.

/66 cont./

600 and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women
● 841 do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during these days, and, if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the bank of the nearby river or brook.

i) Initiation rites for young men

884 All young men who have reached the age of approximately
132 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December, halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and cele-
884 brate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an inter-
86 mediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate camp of the Surára, see p. 23) two young men are always trained for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemão and his brother Kurikayawõ among the Surára; Karenauõ and the war chief Porẽhiwõ among the Pakidái) in all matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only after that are they regarded as full members of their community and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers. It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite
[782] melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and plant spirits (hekurá, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clear-
[276] ing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices, however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication (see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead
884 and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely ex-
302 ternally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting,
825 which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú
86 on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representation of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

/90 cont./

514 [264] There is frequent belching during and after eating, and it happens not infrequently that a member of the family breaks wind, often with a loud noise, which, however, is received with happy laughter, without any damage to the appetite. Both sexes also spit a great deal as a result of the tobacco rolls which they have in the mouth almost constantly (see p. 190).

Urination is done in the immediate vicinity of the maloka during the day and in the hearth at night. Men and boys always urinate in a squatting position, just like women and girls. For their other needs they all go a bit deeper into the forest clearing during the day, or even to the edge of the forest. When they have finished, they rub the seat back and forth a few times on the ground or against a tree trunk. The mother holds small children, in case she happens to be lying in the hammock, over the edge of it. Then she wipes her hand or lower arm across its seat a few times, or, if necessary, she uses a little stick to clean it. The little heap is covered with ashes or earth and stamped into the ground by the mother. If an adult has more important business to attend to at night, he digs a small hole beside the hammock and subsequently covers it with ashes or earth. Old or sick persons do this during the day as well. The reason that [825] [976] the Surára and Pakidái do not leave the maloka at night for the aforementioned purpose is because they are afraid of snakes and jaguars, as well as of nonexí, the evil spirit which transmits sickness (see p. 211). Persistent unpleasant odors are not noticeable even in closed malokas, however, since they are dispelled by the ascending smoke of the constantly burning fire.

• 841 During their menstruation the women do not use anything to absorb the blood (see pp. 142/143). Pools of blood that remain on the ground are obliterated by them with their feet.

356 123 291 In general, however, the communal house is kept quite clean. One always sees men and women sweeping with a broom made of piaçaba fibers. For this work both sexes liked to put on the shirts and trousers or clothing which I had brought them as gift articles and which were otherwise not at all appreciated.

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm.

● [841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

/213 cont./

793 For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain
624 later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may
[622] not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the im-
123 pression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly
[276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our
775 informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after
● [841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a
[126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made
[532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals; he was the guapo. 1/1

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. 71-An.]

The first menstrual period

/215 cont./

584 881 indicates that a man may have sexual relations with the wife who was promised to him when she was still a child. Sometimes a girl will refuse to marry the man to whom she was promised as a wife, but she is afraid to conceal her first menstrual periods for mythological reasons.

881 773 In their oral literature the Sanemá tell of a very sad case which occurred in remote times because a girl concealed her first menstruation. Oineitĩb, a scrawny dwarf, found out about what had happened and caused heavy rains to fall for a period which demolished the rancheria where the girl lived. All the men died. The young girl went away to live with the neighboring group, where she was greeted with unequivocal signs of friendliness. On the very day of her arrival a man went to the river to fish, when suddenly he saw floating on the water the dead bodies of the people of the rancheria recently destroyed by the heavy rain. He immediately realized what had happened. He returned to the rancheria and killed the girl. The dwarf ate the girl and all the people who lived in the rancheria destroyed by the rain. This happens very rarely, however, which is why the dwarf is so thin.

881 [302] [262] We do not know the content of the puberty rites, but it seems that the hair is cut in the case of both sexes, and, for the boys as well as for the girls, food is limited to cassava and water, and that in small amounts. They do not eat meat. An informant 343 from the Erebato spoke to us of a special hut where the women ● 841 remain for the duration of their menstrual period. If we under- 881 stood him correctly, this hut is round and dome-shaped and made of palm leaves stuck into the ground. Inside the hut there is a circle made of little sticks placed side by side, within which there are two sticks stuck into the ground one meter apart. Between these sticks is fixed a bejuco. /216/ The woman, who must not lie down during menstruation, sits down and the bejuco serves as a back support. We did not see any house of this type.

584 The arrangements for a marriage are initiated with a private discussion between the two young lovers. The boy indicates to his fiancée that he wishes to take her as his wife and says to her:

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobimou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*roo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

Surára
Pakidái

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri, etc.

648
161
[842]
[164]
[165]
[726]

Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of la. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

[115]

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551
162
[160]

The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

/62 cont./

4. Life Cycle

842 862 [163] [165] a) Birth control

The number of children among both the Surára and the Pakidái is very small; no woman has more than three at most. Aside from the high infant mortality rate as a result of the lack of hygiene, however, this is bound up with the fact that the women must observe an interval of at least three years after each birth, as long as a child is fed with mother's milk, which, in the opinion of these Indians, prevents conception to a considerable extent. If a woman nevertheless becomes pregnant, the medicine men know how to prepare an abortive medicine from plant juices. The reason for birth control, I was told, is that if a child were born during the period of restriction, it would not be healthy and able to cope with life, because the mother's body would still be too weak.

842 847

843 b) Food taboos during pregnancy

Before the birth the mother must observe many food taboos in order not to harm her child. Her diet then consists primarily of the tender meat of the mutum (Crax sp.), cooked bananas, manioc flat-cakes, and a drink that is made from the nourishing, very oily pupunha fruits. If she were to eat wild-pig meat, for example, the child would be born dead; the meat of the pirarucu (Osteoglossidae, the largest fresh-water fish), which carries inside it the bad breath of the river, would make it blind, and parrot meat would make it cry constantly later on.

844 c) Birth

While giving birth, the woman kneels in front of a tree and embraces the trunk with both arms. The ground has been sprinkled with water beforehand so that it is slimy and soft. Several female members of the tribe assist the woman in labor. After the birth, two women, each with a cotton thread, tie off the umbilical cord, and a third one then bites it off. The father

Surara
Pakidai

/62 cont./ The father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confinements which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[622] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

854 514 [123] /64 cont./ If the child's nose is not clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

856 593 The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, nápe=mother and hápe=father.

862 e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, [851] which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

851 846 114 171 842 325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

000 553 776 [1182] has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill [621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite 554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us, 769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to 628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder, [266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablf shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be- [788] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex- [574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

●842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father, who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In 162 the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition 855 we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

not only let us take his picture but begged us to take it again, with his wife beside him. Then he caused general merriment by posing beside the 'public woman' who was painted and dolled up like a bird of paradise. In a third take, he stood between the two women, caressing their breasts in an excess of zeal. At this, enthusiasm knew no bounds. Even Uarema's brother, a venerable figure with his head crowned with the scars of old battles, burst into such a vehement laugh that he lost his horrible quid of tobacco. This change of mood enabled us to get on with our job. But our takes were often interrupted, for Uarema had started a vogue and couples would come along and insist on being photographed in their full feather rig.

III

For our forthcoming river trips we were anxious to engage one of Luis Antonio's many brothers, who was apparently of the same age and had the reputation of being the tribe's most experienced traveller. To a certain extent he was even familiar with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. But his wife was expecting a child, so that he was prevented from going very far away from home. This seemed to us the most natural thing in the world. The wife was a tiny little lady, her only sign of maturity being her enormous belly, which very clearly did not owe its size to the swelling caused by internal parasites, the privileged possession of these women and children. Without this evidence of pregnancy she might have been taken for a girl of ten.

'The birth will come any day now,' Luis Antonio told us. 'But my brother won't be able to start straight away. He'll have to rest.'

We were reminded of the ritual of childbirth which with a few variations here and there is practised by all the Indians of tropical America. It affects the husbands as well as the wives and at bottom, in its way, contains a certain realism, characteristic of primitive peoples. Like us, they accept the principle of cause and effect and they do not really ascribe the pregnancy to strange half-magic phenomena. They know its cause for what it is—man, and his erotic acts. The effect, for them, is not in the woman herself: she is only a means, a vehicle. The true effect is the child. Up to this point, their attitude is no different from ours. The different point of view comes with the valuation placed by the Indians upon the cause after the effect has been produced. They see the role of

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

842 846 the male as continuing in importance not only after conception—at which stage, in our own positivist scientific view, the male role ceases to count—but for a certain period after the actual birth. The male, the cause, is still in the picture, according to the Indian mind, when the mother and child are living a normal life.

843 844 [128] [115] I had known other native peoples, and in regard to these Indian beliefs on the subject of childbirth, Luis Antonio confirmed what had already come to my knowledge.

[825] 'In order for the birth to be a success,' he told me, 'when the wife is five months gone, the husband should stop eating peccary, snake or *caribe* (the name given in Venezuela to the carnivorous fish known in Brazil as *piranha*), and the flesh of any animal of an aggressive nature.' (Here, principles of hygiene were mingled with elements of magic, as happens also in the more advanced [846] religions.) 'Then, before the birth, during the birth and after, the man must stay in the hammock without stirring, because any strain on his part, or any mishap that came his way, would affect the child and might have dire results.'

[562] The explanation sounds quite normal and natural once one admits the principle of continued causation in the man, the woman being regarded simply as a means. In fact there is no need for her to obey the injunction to stay in the hammock. She will continue her daily round until she feels 'something break inside her'. Then, with the midwife, she will hurry to the appointed place on the river-bank.

*123 844 I once had the chance of being present at a birth. I was with the Taurepan Indians of the Gran Sabana, and I watched hidden behind a cluster of Mauritius palm, where I could follow the principal stages of the proceedings. The woman, with her head tilted back, was seated on the clay bank in a sort of arm-chair shaped hollow which had been scooped out—whether naturally or made for the purpose I do not know. The midwife knelt at her feet, waiting. For some time both remained in this position. The woman kept giving little cries—but not really cries of pain. After a brief labour, the mother uttered one long howl which sounded to me like an 'u . . . u . . . uh' of rapture, and the midwife rose to her feet, holding up a tiny, mottled infant head downwards by the heels.

Still holding the baby by the feet, the old lady washed him in the river—with exactly the motions you might expect from a washerwoman giving the final rinsing to some heavy garment. I couldn't see the next step, but a few

847 [848] child: he had scrupulously observed the coitus taboo during lactation--the wife had not.

Most cases of infanticide take place when a couple already has a small child. Sickness takes a heavy toll during the early months of a child's life, and women are reluctant to jeopardize a child that has already survived the first two years. So, they frequently kill the new-born so that their older child will have no competition for milk. Bahimi, a woman of some 30 years, killed a new male baby shortly after I started my fieldwork in Bisassi-tedi. She explained, tearfully, that she did not feel that she could successfully raise the new child because she still had a son that was nursing.

847 562 162 These cases do not, however, explain why there is a consistent bias to kill females rather than males. When I discovered how significantly the sex ratio diverged from the expected value of 1.0 in some villages, I tried to get an explanation from the Yąnomamö. I was surprised to find out that they were ignorant of their own bias in killing children. [842] What did come to light, however, was the fact that Yąnomamö prefer to have a male baby for their first child and, if it turns out that the first child is a girl, they will frequently kill her. If, however, a couple prefers to have a girl and the first child is a boy, they generally do not kill the boy.[1]

[114] [582] [1]Whatever the reason may be for the preference toward males as eldest children, there is one structural effect that deserves further enquiry. Rose (1960) effectively showed that where males tend to marry females that are younger than them-

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3-3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebawä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3-3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

/62 cont./

4. Life Cycle

842 a) Birth control

862 [163] [165] The number of children among both the Surára and the Pakidái is very small; no woman has more than three at most. Aside from the high infant mortality rate as a result of the lack of hygiene, however, this is bound up with the fact that the women must observe an interval of at least three years after each birth, as long as a child is fed with mother's milk, which, in the opinion of these Indians, prevents conception to a considerable extent. If a woman nevertheless becomes pregnant, the medicine men know how to prepare an abortive medicine from plant juices. The reason for birth control, I was told, is that if a child were born during the period of restriction, it would not be healthy and able to cope with life, because the mother's body would still be too weak.

842 847

• 843 b) Food taboos during pregnancy

Before the birth the mother must observe many food taboos in order not to harm her child. Her diet then consists primarily of the tender meat of the mutum (Crax sp.), cooked bananas, manioc flat-cakes, and a drink that is made from the nourishing, very oily pupunha fruits. If she were to eat wild-pig meat, for example, the child would be born dead; the meat of the pirarucu (Osteoglossidae, the largest fresh-water fish), which carries inside it the bad breath of the river, would make it blind, and parrot meat would make it cry constantly later on.

844 c) Birth

While giving birth, the woman kneels in front of a tree and embraces the trunk with both arms. The ground has been sprinkled with water beforehand so that it is slimy and soft. Several female members of the tribe assist the woman in labor. After the birth, two women, each with a cotton thread, tie off the umbilical cord, and a third one then bites it off. The father

Surára
Pakidái

/68 cont./

755 884 86 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemãõ would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 171 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 884 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be sure, but mandatory.

834 833 j) Sex life

The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

● 843 837 [593] If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

/113 cont./

526 between two men embracing each other, which is performed in a sitting position (see p. 233); the tug of war (see p. 244); and the throwing of wet earth at one another (see p. 244).

539 [115] IX. Myths and Legends

The following myths and legends were told me by the Surára chief Hewemãõ:

The Creation of the Yanonámi

The earth already existed and was full of plants and animals, but as yet was without human beings. But one day the first man, Uruhí, came out of the leg of the xiapó, a small bird with black and yellow feathers similar to the japim. A short time later the bird-leg gave birth to a second man, then a third, a fourth, and finally a woman, Petá. These four men and the woman lived together in perfect harmony. Petá, to be sure, was the wife of Uruhí, the first-born, but the other three brothers also had the right to have sexual intercourse with her (552).

[835] 552. Among the Surára and Pakidái, the younger, unmarried brothers likewise have the right to have sexual intercourse with the wives of their elder brothers. Moreover, the members of both tribes believe that a woman is able to have strong children only if she has frequent intercourse with other men during her pregnancy.

[843]

After a year Petá gave birth to a strong, healthy boy who grew rapidly and called all four men "father" (553). The boy's

[601] 553. The Surára and Pakidái children also call the unmarried brother of their father, not uncle, but likewise father.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

842
846 the male as continuing in importance not only after conception—at which stage, in our own positivist scientific view, the male role ceases to count—but for a certain period after the actual birth. The male, the cause, is still in the picture, according to the Indian mind, when the mother and child are living a normal life.

843
844
[128]
[115] I had known other native peoples, and in regard to these Indian beliefs on the subject of childbirth, Luis Antonio confirmed what had already come to my knowledge.

[225] 'In order for the birth to be a success,' he told me, 'when the wife is five months gone, the husband should stop eating peccary, snake or *caribe* (the name given in Venezuela to the carnivorous fish known in Brazil as *piranha*), and the flesh of any animal of an aggressive nature.' (Here, principles of hygiene were mingled with elements of magic, as happens also in the more advanced [846] religions.) 'Then, before the birth, during the birth and after, the man must stay in the hammock without stirring, because any strain on his part, or any mishap that came his way, would affect the child and might have dire results.'

[562] The explanation sounds quite normal and natural once one admits the principle of continued causation in the man, the woman being regarded simply as a means. In fact there is no need for her to obey the injunction to stay in the hammock. She will continue her daily round until she feels 'something break inside her'. Then, with the midwife, she will hurry to the appointed place on the river-bank.

*123
844 I once had the chance of being present at a birth. I was with the Taurepan Indians of the Gran Sabana, and I watched hidden behind a cluster of Mauritius palm, where I could follow the principal stages of the proceedings. The woman, with her head tilted back, was seated on the clay bank in a sort of arm-chair shaped hollow which had been scooped out—whether naturally or made for the purpose I do not know. The midwife knelt at her feet, waiting. For some time both remained in this position. The woman kept giving little cries—but not really cries of pain. After a brief labour, the mother uttered one long howl which sounded to me like an 'u . . . u . . . uh' of rapture, and the midwife rose to her feet, holding up a tiny, mottled infant head downwards by the heels.

Still holding the baby by the feet, the old lady washed him in the river—
—with exactly the motions you might expect from a washerwoman giving the final rinsing to some heavy garment. I couldn't see the next step, but a few

10:Chagnon E-4,5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide. There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice. First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 53]

[1] The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, listed in Table I, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3–3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebawä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3–3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

/62 cont./

4. Life Cycle

842 862 [63] [65] a) Birth control

The number of children among both the Surára and the Pakidái is very small; no woman has more than three at most. Aside from the high infant mortality rate as a result of the lack of hygiene, however, this is bound up with the fact that the women must observe an interval of at least three years after each birth, as long as a child is fed with mother's milk, which, in the opinion of these Indians, prevents conception to a considerable 842 847 extent. If a woman nevertheless becomes pregnant, the medicine men know how to prepare an abortive medicine from plant juices. The reason for birth control, I was told, is that if a child were born during the period of restriction, it would not be healthy and able to cope with life, because the mother's body would still be too weak.

843 b) Food taboos during pregnancy

Before the birth the mother must observe many food taboos in order not to harm her child. Her diet then consists primarily of the tender meat of the mutum (Crax sp.), cooked bananas, manioc flat-cakes, and a drink that is made from the nourishing, very oily pupunha fruits. If she were to eat wild-pig meat, for example, the child would be born dead; the meat of the pirarucu (Osteoglossidae, the largest fresh-water fish), which carries inside it the bad breath of the river, would make it blind, and parrot meat would make it cry constantly later on.

844 c) Birth

While giving birth, the woman kneels in front of a tree and embraces the trunk with both arms. The ground has been sprinkled with water beforehand so that it is slimy and soft. Several female members of the tribe assist the woman in labor. After the birth, two women, each with a cotton thread, tie off the umbilical cord, and a third one then bites it off. The father

Surara
Pakidai

/62 cont./ The father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confine-
ments which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case
the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock
for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she
already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[622] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has
only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into
the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

/69 cont./

727 are lodged in every village. They are regarded as common prop-
83 erty. Unfortunately, one also sees children used for similar pur-
171 poses. This clearly shows the dualism in the etiquette of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to members of their own tribe. This attitude, which is common to all primitive peoples, cannot, for this reason, alter our judgment concerning the morality of the Karaja in general" (332).

332. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 28.

844 k) Death and burial customs
585
764 As the previous comments have shown, there are neither birth nor marriage ceremonies among the Surára and Pakidái. The social and religious life is therefore dominated all the more by death practices.

764 If a human being who has completed the third year of life dies, the relatives are inconsolable. There is lamenting in the loudest tones, and the flood of tears among men, women, and children seems endless. Meanwhile, however, the customary occupations are not neglected. While the woman is fetching water from the river, for example, she weeps incessantly to herself and intermittently shrieks loudly; the same is true for the men at their work in the plantings and even for the children at their play. The other members of the tribe cast only an occasional compassionate glance at the mourners, and with this their interest is exhausted.

Immediately after a death it is the duty of the male relatives and /70/ friends to fell small trees in the forest, out of which they make a cylindrical wooden frame -- praotimá. This consists of 15 to 20 poles 1.60-1.80 meters long, which are tied with lianas a handbreadth apart. The corpse is slid into this, and liana ropes are drawn over the two open ends so that it is protected from the attack of birds, especially vultures.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

842
846 the male as continuing in importance not only after conception—at which stage, in our own positivist scientific view, the male role ceases to count—but for a certain period after the actual birth. The male, the cause, is still in the picture, according to the Indian mind, when the mother and child are living a normal life.

843
844
[128]
[115] I had known other native peoples, and in regard to these Indian beliefs on the subject of childbirth, Luis Antonio confirmed what had already come to my knowledge.

[825] 'In order for the birth to be a success,' he told me, 'when the wife is five months gone, the husband should stop eating peccary, snake or *caribe* (the name given in Venezuela to the carnivorous fish known in Brazil as *piranha*), and the flesh of any animal of an aggressive nature.' (Here, principles of hygiene were mingled with elements of magic, as happens also in the more advanced religions.) 'Then, before the birth, during the birth and after, the man must

[846] stay in the hammock without stirring, because any strain on his part, or any mishap that came his way, would affect the child and might have dire results.'

[562] The explanation sounds quite normal and natural once one admits the principle of continued causation in the man, the woman being regarded simply as a means. In fact there is no need for her to obey the injunction to stay in the hammock. She will continue her daily round until she feels 'something break inside her'. Then, with the midwife, she will hurry to the appointed place on the river-bank.

*123
844 I once had the chance of being present at a birth. I was with the Taurepan Indians of the Gran Sabana, and I watched hidden behind a cluster of Mauritius palm, where I could follow the principal stages of the proceedings. The woman, with her head tilted back, was seated on the clay bank in a sort of arm-chair shaped hollow which had been scooped out—whether naturally or made for the purpose I do not know. The midwife knelt at her feet, waiting. For some time both remained in this position. The woman kept giving little cries—but not really cries of pain. After a brief labour, the mother uttered one long howl which sounded to me like an 'u . . . u . . . uh' of rapture, and the midwife rose to her feet, holding up a tiny, mottled infant head downwards by the heels.

Still holding the baby by the feet, the old lady washed him in the river—
—with exactly the motions you might expect from a washerwoman giving the final rinsing to some heavy garment. I couldn't see the next step, but a few

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

minutes later the two women were quietly walking home with the baby, who appeared to be dead.

While the mother goes about her normal tasks, with the child tied on her back all the time, the father stays in the hammock, absolutely motionless, eating nothing but fruit and palm-hearts—'they don't heat the blood,' Luis Antonio assured us.

Among the Guiana-Amazon Indians I have never heard of the father himself suffering from birth-pangs during this period of rest. Such reports, however, have come from travellers and observers of the Indian tribes inhabiting the southern regions of the lower Amazon. Before one can believe them one must accept a little more than the theory of the inter-relation of cause and effect. A good dose of barefaced auto-suggestion would also be needed to account for this phenomenon, and only the most undeveloped of the Indians would be capable of it.

IV

Of kindred interest, while we are on the subject of childbirth, is the organization of Indian society. It has been asked whether the pattern is patriarchal or matriarchal, and what part is played by the individual family.

If the question is limited to the Shirians, the answer is simple: they have reached no stage of organization above the rudimentary animal level. The family has the sole function of producing life and protecting it until the offspring is capable of fending for itself. Their society is not patriarchal, because the role of the family ceases where its physical functions cease, at the point where, in civilized societies, moral functions begin. Nor is the pattern matriarchal, because the women are held in a form of slavery, though the very lack of an exact social system means that they sometimes emerge from this to become the companions of the men—a state of affairs which may be regarded as more emancipated, or less.

The children of both sexes, while they are young, remain the exclusive responsibility of the women, but when the boys reach an age at which they can do without their mothers (this generally means as soon as they cease to be breast-fed) they become independent males and do not belong to anybody in particular. Up to a certain point the father is free to pick out one who may be

/488/

844 [123] James Barker (author of the essay) and I (Killam) were invited to witness the birth of a child. Our house was about 200 meters away from the Guaika settlement. We were able to hear the moans of the woman in confinement. When we arrived at the settlement, the father-in-law of the Indian woman was performing a stimulating dance in front of the dwelling which he shared with his son and his daughter-in-law.

At a short distance behind the house, in a clearing made in the woods and away from the path, there were several women, including the woman in confinement. We were taken along a path near to the place where the women were. There were several other persons observing the event along with us: a couple [123] of men and some children. They seemed to be only slightly interested, the children trying to make us go away from there in order to play with them.

The woman in confinement was walking incessantly from one side to the other, complaining about her pains, until she finally settled down on the ground among some weeds. We waited for some 15 minutes. Then, after having heard the cry of the infant, one of the women assisting called us. The child, a little girl, had just been born. The mother received us with a smile. She had squatted down, holding the baby upright in her lap. Two of the women proceeded to cut the umbilical cord, using a piece of cane, and then they stuffed it with some green leaves.

The mother gathered up the afterbirth with her hands, wrapping it in green leaves which a girl brought her. Another person later took it away. Then the mother rubbed mud and [825] humus over the place where the afterbirth had been. They said that this is done for protection against wild animals.

Meanwhile, someone brought water in a gourd. The mother took a mouthful, which she then squirted gently over her little creature, bathing it with the water warmed in her mouth.

After the little girl had been bathed, they placed her on green, clean leaves, covering her with a few branches. Several of the women walked back and forth above her several /489/ times.

844 123 /489 cont./ They also invited us to do this, but, not knowing the meaning of the practice, we declined to do so.

846 After this, the mother took the little creature and went off to her house. There she rested for two or three days before resuming her work in the "conuco."

844 Later, another child was born at night. We were not there, but we were informed that it had been born in the house, to which green leaves were brought for the birth.

Puberty

881 To reach puberty is an important event, especially for the girls. It is considered that the girl has reached puberty at her first menstruation. Her mother, older sister, or another woman who might be her guardian gathers leaves and builds a wall around her hammock to isolate her from everything. For approximately one week, the girl never leaves this area. Her mother brings her food, water, firewood, and any other things which might be needed.

At the end of this retirement, the girl comes out, adorned with flowers, leaves, cotton belts, strings of beads, and feathers.

Maturity

885 622 A man is considered mature when he has marriageable children. The head of a settlement is frequently a grandfather, but sometimes the settlement may be governed by a somewhat younger man.

Old Age

888 Retirement from active life is somewhat gradual, depending upon the strength of the individual.

Old persons are respected, but they are no longer leaders in the affairs of the settlement. They are cared for even when they are no longer capable of contributing to their own support. /Plates I-V follow./

/62 cont./ The father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confinements which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[622] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

Surara
Pakidai

/62 cont./ The father

844 of the ch[illegible] later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confine-
ments which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case
the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock
for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she
already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[622] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has
only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into
the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment.
When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and
berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast
on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is
constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking
its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have
such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in,
the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate
teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along
with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the
baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green
mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed
by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

Surára
Pakidái

854 514 [123] /64 cont./ If the child's nose is not clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

856 593 The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, nãpe=mother and hãpe=father.

862 e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, [851] which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

851 846 114 171 842 325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 133.)

000 553 796 [782] has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

not only let us take his picture but begged us to take it again, with his wife beside him. Then he caused general merriment by posing beside the 'public woman' who was painted and dolled up like a bird of paradise. In a third take, he stood between the two women, caressing their breasts in an excess of zeal. At this, enthusiasm knew no bounds. Even Uarema's brother, a venerable figure with his head crowned with the scars of old battles, burst into such a vehement laugh that he lost his horrible quid of tobacco. This change of mood enabled us to get on with our job. But our takes were often interrupted, for Uarema had started a vogue and couples would come along and insist on being photographed in their full feather rig.

III

For our forthcoming river trips we were anxious to engage one of Luis Antonio's many brothers, who was apparently of the same age and had the reputation of being the tribe's most experienced traveller. To a certain extent he was even familiar with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. But his wife was expecting a child, so that he was prevented from going very far away from home. This seemed to us the most natural thing in the world. The wife was a tiny little lady, her only sign of maturity being her enormous belly, which very clearly did not owe its size to the swelling caused by internal parasites, the privileged possession of these women and children. Without this evidence of pregnancy she might have been taken for a girl of ten.

'The birth will come any day now,' Luis Antonio told us. 'But my brother won't be able to start straight away. He'll have to rest.'

We were reminded of the ritual of childbirth which with a few variations here and there is practised by all the Indians of tropical America. It affects the husbands as well as the wives and at bottom, in its way, contains a certain realism, characteristic of primitive peoples. Like us, they accept the principle of cause and effect and they do not really ascribe the pregnancy to strange half-magic phenomena. They know its cause for what it is—man, and his erotic acts. The effect, for them, is not in the woman herself: she is only a means, a vehicle. The true effect is the child. Up to this point, their attitude is no different from ours. The different point of view comes with the valuation placed by the Indians upon the cause after the effect has been produced. They see the role of

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

842
846 the male as continuing in importance not only after conception—at which stage, in our own positivist scientific view, the male role ceases to count—but for a certain period after the actual birth. The male, the cause, is still in the picture, according to the Indian mind, when the mother and child are living a normal life.

843
844
[128]
[115] I had known other native peoples, and in regard to these Indian beliefs on the subject of childbirth, Luis Antonio confirmed what had already come to my knowledge.

'In order for the birth to be a success,' he told me, 'when the wife is five
[225] months gone, the husband should stop eating peccary, snake or *carîle* (the name given in Venezuela to the carnivorous fish known in Brazil as *piranha*), and the flesh of any animal of an aggressive nature.' (Here, principles of hygiene were mingled with elements of magic, as happens also in the more advanced
[846] religions.) 'Then, before the birth, during the birth and after, the man must stay in the hammock without stirring, because any strain on his part, or any mishap that came his way, would affect the child and might have dire results.'

[562] The explanation sounds quite normal and natural once one admits the principle of continued causation in the man, the woman being regarded simply as a means. In fact there is no need for her to obey the injunction to stay in the hammock. She will continue her daily round until she feels 'something break inside her'. Then, with the midwife, she will hurry to the appointed place on the river-bank.

*123
844 I once had the chance of being present at a birth. I was with the Taurepan Indians of the Gran Sabana, and I watched hidden behind a cluster of Mauritius palm, where I could follow the principal stages of the proceedings. The woman, with her head tilted back, was seated on the clay bank in a sort of arm-chair shaped hollow which had been scooped out—whether naturally or made for the purpose I do not know. The midwife knelt at her feet, waiting. For some time both remained in this position. The woman kept giving little cries—but not really cries of pain. After a brief labour, the mother uttered one long howl which sounded to me like an 'u . . . u . . . uh' of rapture, and the midwife rose to her feet, holding up a tiny, mottled infant head downwards by the heels.

Still holding the baby by the feet, the old lady washed him in the river—
—with exactly the motions you might expect from a washerwoman giving the final rinsing to some heavy garment. I couldn't see the next step, but a few

6: Vinci T 5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

minutes later the two women were quietly walking home with the baby, who appeared to be dead.

While the mother goes about her normal tasks, with the child tied on her back all the time, the father stays in the hammock, absolutely motionless, eating nothing but fruit and palm-hearts—'they don't heat the blood,' Luis Antonio assured us.

Among the Guiana-Amazon Indians I have never heard of the father himself suffering from birth-pangs during this period of rest. Such reports, however, have come from travellers and observers of the Indian tribes inhabiting the southern regions of the lower Amazon. Before one can believe them one must accept a little more than the theory of the inter-relation of cause and effect. A good dose of barefaced auto-suggestion would also be needed to account for this phenomenon, and only the most undeveloped of the Indians would be capable of it.

IV

Of kindred interest, while we are on the subject of childbirth, is the organization of Indian society. It has been asked whether the pattern is patriarchal or matriarchal, and what part is played by the individual family.

If the question is limited to the Shirians, the answer is simple: they have reached no stage of organization above the rudimentary animal level. The family has the sole function of producing life and protecting it until the offspring is capable of fending for itself. Their society is not patriarchal, because the role of the family ceases where its physical functions cease, at the point where, in civilized societies, moral functions begin. Nor is the pattern matriarchal, because the women are held in a form of slavery, though the very lack of an exact social system means that they sometimes emerge from this to become the companions of the men—a state of affairs which may be regarded as more emancipated, or less.

The children of both sexes, while they are young, remain the exclusive responsibility of the women, but when the boys reach an age at which they can do without their mothers (this generally means as soon as they cease to be breast-fed) they become independent males and do not belong to anybody in particular. Up to a certain point the father is free to pick out one who may be

/489 cont./

844 123 They also invited us to do this, but, not knowing the meaning of the practice, we declined to do so.

846 After this, the mother took the little creature and went off to her house. There she rested for two or three days before resuming her work in the "conuco."

844 Later, another child was born at night. We were not there, but we were informed that it had been born in the house, to which green leaves were brought for the birth.

Puberty

881 To reach puberty is an important event, especially for the girls. It is considered that the girl has reached puberty at her first menstruation. Her mother, older sister, or another woman who might be her guardian gathers leaves and builds a wall around her hammock to isolate her from everything. For approximately one week, the girl never leaves this area. Her mother brings her food, water, firewood, and any other things which might be needed.

At the end of this retirement, the girl comes out, adorned with flowers, leaves, cotton belts, strings of beads, and feathers.

Maturity

885 122 A man is considered mature when he has marriageable children. The head of a settlement is frequently a grandfather, but sometimes the settlement may be governed by a somewhat younger man.

Old Age

888 Retirement from active life is somewhat gradual, depending upon the strength of the individual.

Old persons are respected, but they are no longer leaders in the affairs of the settlement. They are cared for even when they are no longer capable of contributing to their own support. /Plates I-V follow./

/62 cont./

4. Life Cycle

842 a) Birth control

862 The number of children among both the Surára and the
[63] Pakidái is very small; no woman has more than three at most.
[65] Aside from the high infant mortality rate as a result of the lack of hygiene, however, this is bound up with the fact that the women must observe an interval of at least three years after each birth, as long as a child is fed with mother's milk, which, in the opinion of these Indians, prevents conception to a considerable
842 extent. If a woman nevertheless becomes pregnant, the medicine
847 men know how to prepare an abortive medicine from plant juices. The reason for birth control, I was told, is that if a child were born during the period of restriction, it would not be healthy and able to cope with life, because the mother's body would still be too weak.

843 b) Food taboos during pregnancy

Before the birth the mother must observe many food taboos in order not to harm her child. Her diet then consists primarily of the tender meat of the mutum (Crax sp.), cooked bananas, manioc flat-cakes, and a drink that is made from the nourishing, very oily pupunha fruits. If she were to eat wild-pig meat, for example, the child would be born dead; the meat of the pirarucu (Osteoglossidae, the largest fresh-water fish), which carries inside it the bad breath of the river, would make it blind, and parrot meat would make it cry constantly later on.

844 c) Birth

While giving birth, the woman kneels in front of a tree and embraces the trunk with both arms. The ground has been sprinkled with water beforehand so that it is slimy and soft. Several female members of the tribe assist the woman in labor. After the birth, two women, each with a cotton thread, tie off the umbilical cord, and a third one then bites it off. The father

Surafa
Pakidai

/62 cont./ The father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confinements which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[622] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

121 The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yanomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data 114 covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the 124 field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yanomamö in their language.

162 Census data on five Yanomamö villages are presented • 847 to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage 595 of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is compli- 834 cated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos 721 and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter- 182 village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

* 621 The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the 613 basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal 578 descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves 562 to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal 000 descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii]

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yąnomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yąnomamö social organization of this single

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide. There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice. First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

[1] The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, liated in Table 1, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

847
834
853 two to three years, as women nurse their children until they are at least two years old. Faced with this prospect, young couples may decide to kill their child, irrespective of its sex.[1]

847 Infanticide is effected by a number of techniques. Most commonly, a woman strangles her child with a vine as soon as it is delivered. In other cases the child is allowed to suffocate if it does not begin breathing spontaneously. If the child begins to breathe, the mother may simply abandon it where it is born, or throw it into the jungle. A case of attempted infanticide came to my attention by way of the New Tribes Mission. A woman in one of the villages on the Padamo [849] River threw a new-born daughter into the jungle. The missionary living with the woman's village found the baby and took it into his own home. The woman had either struck the child on the head with an instrument, or the child had hit something when the mother threw it into the jungle, as there was a severe bruise on the side of the baby's face.[2]

[848] In another instance, a husband forced his wife to kill a child because he was certain that he did not sire the

---

[1]Occasionally the woman will arrange to have an abortion when the foetus is in an advanced state of development. The most common practice consists of rupturing the amnion by trauma: a pregnant woman will lie on her back and have someone, usually a female friend or kinswoman, jump on her abdomen. More rarely, she will have her husband rupture the amnion by squeezing her around the abdomen by an arm lock.

[2]The missionary ultimately adopted the infant and brought her to England when he left Venezuela.

847 [848] child: he had scrupulously observed the coitus taboo during lactation--the wife had not.

Most cases of infanticide take place when a couple already has a small child. Sickness takes a heavy toll during the early months of a child's life, and women are reluctant to jeopardize a child that has already survived the first two years. So, they frequently kill the new-born so that their older child will have no competition for milk. Bahimi, a woman of some 30 years, killed a new male baby shortly after I started my fieldwork in Bisassi-tedi. She explained, tearfully, that she did not feel that she could successfully raise the new child because she still had a son that was nursing.

847 562 162 These cases do not, however, explain why there is a consistent bias to kill females rather than males. When I discovered how significantly the sex ratio diverged from the expected value of 1.0 in some villages, I tried to get an explanation from the Yąnomamö. I was surprised to find out that they were ignorant of their own bias in killing children. [842] What did come to light, however, was the fact that Yąnomamö prefer to have a male baby for their first child and, if it turns out that the first child is a girl, they will frequently kill her. If, however, a couple prefers to have a girl and the first child is a boy, they generally do not kill the boy.[1]

[114] [582] [1] Whatever the reason may be for the preference toward males as eldest children, there is one structural effect that deserves further enquiry. Rose (1960) effectively showed that where males tend to marry females that are younger than them-

847 Several kinds of demographic data suggest that the
562 rate of female infanticide is high. Table 1 gives the sex
162 ratios of five Yąnomamö villages. The sex ratio for the total population sample (576 individuals) gives a more meaningful estimate of the rate of female infanticide, as there is considerable variation by village in the value of the sex ratio. The excess of males in the total population (8%) gives a first
562 approximation of the frequency of female infanticide. The
162 variation in the sex ratio by the village, on the other hand,
628 expresses the political relationships of the villages to
722 their allies. That is, the distribution of women in these
[583] five villages is a function of the military requirements of the particular villages in the marriage alliance network. Thus, the cline in sex ratio from Reyaboböwei-tedi to Bisaasi-tedi (ignoring the Patanowä-tedi, who are not allied to the other groups) reflects a dominance gradient in politico-
125 military requirements of each village. The total sample of
847 576 individuals must be considered in order to estimate the
162 frequency of female infanticide among the Yąnomamö, but the
628 political relationships between the villages must be under-
562 stood to account for the variation by village of the value

---

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 69]

847 selves, it is highly unlikely that men will marry a FaSiDa,
562 despite the kinship terminology. Rose did not, however,
162 consider the possibility that sibships may have a systematic
114 bias in their composition; if males tend to be older than
582 their sisters considering all sibships, the probability that a FaSiDa is of marriageable age is increased. I specifically questioned the relationship between female infanticide and FaSiDa marriage, and the Yąnomamö denied any correlation between the two practices. There can be no doubt, however, that the occurrence of FaSiDa marriage among the Yąnomamö is made more probable by female infanticide.

of the sex ratio, and the distribution of the women among them.

In Chapter 5 I will show how the two Shamatari villages, Reyabobŏwei-tedi and Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi, participated in a treacherous feast during which they killed a number of their kinsmen from Mŏwăraoba-tedi. This feast committed the two Shamatari villages to an alliance with the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi in which the latter two villages were, in a political-military sense, less dependent on the support of the Shamatari than the Shamatari were on them. The Mŏmaribŏwei-tedi and the Reyabobŏwei-tedi represented the front of the Shamatari expansion into the unoccupied Mavaca River area. The territory they abandoned as they expanded to the west was subsequently occupied by other Shamatari villages, the members of which were historically related to them.[1] By participating in the treacherous feast and becoming enemies to their congeners, the two Shamatari villages subordinated themselves to the interests of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Since they formed a buffer between the villages of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi on the one hand, and the Shamatari village of Mŏwăraoba-tedi on the other, they bore the brunt of the raids mounted by the latter in revenge for the treachery. In short, they had only two dependable allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. Their dependence on these allies was transformed into an im-

[1]See Chapter 5, "The History of Paruritawă-tedi."

in terms of women ceded to them by the Shamatari, that they maintain over their Shamatari allies.

The sex ratio data give a rough idea, then, of the extent of female infanticide and, in addition, reflect the political relationships of the villages to each other in terms of the flow of women. Other demographic data, however, suggest that the practice of female infanticide is even higher than the sex ratios alone indicate. Table 2 gives the stated cause of death of 240 adult individuals. These individuals are related to the living members of the three villages of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi. It is immediately apparent that more men die in warfare than women,[1] implying that the frequency of female infanticide is substantially higher than the 8% suggested by sex ratio data.

There are several ways the Yanomamö remedy their woman shortage. Young bachelors, for example, practice sodomy (bei kë bosi kuwemou, bei kë bosi waumou) with each other. These relationships develop into a 'buddy' system (kawë) and promote ties of friendship that extend into adult life. Some of my informants confidentially told me that particular young men had been known to copulate with dogs in estrus, but this was regarded with contempt by all who knew about it. Homosexuality, however, was not considered despicable, but it was thought to be infantile. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

[1] Twenty-two per cent (31/138) of all male deaths were due to warfare, while only 6% (6/102) of female deaths were due to this cause.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

knowing that they would not be raided in return; the Patanowä-tedi simply could not conduct the war on that immense a scale. The participation of these peripheral villages in the war against the Patanowä-tedi conferred three advantages on them. First, the probability was good that they would benefit materially in the raiding by capturing women. Secondly, they demonstrated their solidarity to their allies at little cost or danger to themselves, thereby putting these allies under obligation to reciprocate the favor at a later time. Finally, the peripheral villages were able to demonstrate their ferocity to their neighbors by going to war, although the danger to themselves was almost negligible. In total, about a dozen villages began raiding the Patanowä-tedi in mid 1965, forcing them to abandon their garden before they could establish a new one elsewhere. The Patanowä-tedi had no alternative but to take refuge in the village of their allies, the Ashadowä-tedi. Without the aid of the Ashadowä-tedi, the Patanowä-tedi would have been forced to colonize from their single site and sustain very heavy losses from the incessant raids of their enemies. As the situation turned out, the Patanowä-tedi lost a large number of people in the raiding, despite having this ally, but the losses would have been much heavier without them.

Summary

The practice of female infanticide leads to a shortage of women. The Yąnomamö attempt to overcome the shortage,

162 562 83 sexually, by the practices of sodomy, wife sharing, incest, and permitted affairs. However, two ways in which the problem 162 562 583 is resolved--clandestine affairs within villages and raiding to abduct women between villages--create political situations • 847 721 722 *628 that favor the development of political alliances for the purposes of defense. Since these involve the transfer of women between the allies, the practice of female infanticide constitutes a functional component in the marriage alliance system.

*621 *628 578 241 722 The process of village splitting, growing out of feuds over women, results in the establishment of small, militarily vulnerable villages. The timing of the split is conditioned by the agricultural requirements of the village on the one hand, and the nature of its politico-military relationships with other villages on the other. The graded system of violence permits flexibility in the settlement pattern and the precise conditions of a village split. Because the Yanomamö rely heavily on cultivated foods, alliances may be interpreted as an attempt to maximize the chances of survival of groups of kinsmen as independent groups; the possibility always exists that a given group may be forced by its enemies to seek protection and provisions in the village of an ally.

11: Chagnon S-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kaobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kaobawä's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kaobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kaobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

Fig. 1–4. Kaomishima, Kaobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

TABLE 3-3
SEX-RATIO DATA ON SELECTED VILLAGES

	Males	Females	Totals
Upper Bisaasi-teri	37	48	85
Lower Bisaasi-teri	25	26	51
Monou-teri	34	32	66
Reyabobŏwei-teri	52	46	98
Mŏmaribŏwei-teri	50	46	96
Patanowã-teri	122	90	212
Aikam-teri and Roko-teri	129	103	232
	449	391	840

Table 3-3 gives sex-ratio data on seven groups of Yąnomamŏ. The first three villages are not truly representative of the population in general, but are included because they have been frequently discussed in the text.

They are not representative because some 15 men from these villages were killed in a single treacherous feast in 1950, a significant fraction of the adult male population. These feasts are not very frequent. The three groups are allied to each other and have been extremely successful at coercing two neighboring Shamatari villages out of women; a surprisingly high proportion of their women come from these allies. As we shall see, they have been successful because of the geographical and historical relationships that characterize the alliance network in this area.

DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS As is apparent, there are more males in the Yąnomamŏ population than females. This demographic fact results from the practice of selectively killing female babies: *female infanticide*. The Yąnomamŏ also practice male infanticide, but because of the preference to have a male as their first child, they unknowingly kill more females than males. The Yąnomamŏ have only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. They are, accordingly, poor statisticians. They are quite unaware of the fact that they do kill more female babies, and every time I questioned them about it, they insisted that they killed both kinds—"more-than-two" of both kinds.

A child is killed at birth, irrespective of its sex, if the mother already has a nursing baby. They rationalize the practice by asserting that the new infant would probably die anyway, since its older sibling would drink most of the milk. They are most reluctant to jeopardize the health and safety of a nursing child by weaning it before it is three years old or so, preferring to kill the competitor instead. Kąobawã's wife, Bahimi, killed a newborn male shortly after I began my fieldwork. She later told me, quite tearfully, that it would have taken milk away from Ariwari, Kąobawã's favorite child. Ariwari at the time was over two years old, but Bahimi refused to wean him. Sometimes a child is killed simply because the mother doesn't feel that she can care for it properly and that it would be an inconvenience to have to tend a baby. I once saw a plump, well-fed, young mother eating a large quantity of food that would have been suitable to give to an older infant. Her emaciated, filthy, and nearly starved child—about two years old—kept reaching out for the food. The mother explained that the baby had gotten a bad case of diarrhea some time ago and had stopped eating. As a consequence, her milk dried up. She refused to attempt to feed it other foods because "it did not know how to eat other foods." When

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3–3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebawä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3–3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yąnomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18] Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yąnomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shoriwë* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19] Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

847 two to three years, as women nurse their children until they
834 are at least two years old. Faced with this prospect, young
853 couples may decide to kill their child, irrespective of its sex.[1]

847 Infanticide is effected by a number of techniques. Most commonly, a woman strangles her child with a vine as soon as it is delivered. In other cases the child is allowed to suffocate if it does not begin breathing spontaneously. If the child begins to breathe, the mother may simply abandon it where it is born, or throw it into the jungle. A case of attempted infanticide came to my attention by way of the New Tribes Mission. A woman in one of the villages on the Padamo
[799] River threw a new-born daughter into the jungle. The missionary living with the woman's village found the baby and took it into his own home. The woman had either struck the child on the head with an instrument, or the child had hit something when the mother threw it into the jungle, as there was a severe bruise on the side of the baby's face.[2]

[848] In another instance, a husband forced his wife to kill a child because he was certain that he did not sire the

---

[1]Occasionally the woman will arrange to have an abortion when the foetus is in an advanced state of development. The most common practice consists of rupturing the amnion by trauma: a pregnant woman will lie on her back and have someone, usually a female friend or kinswoman, jump on her abdomen. More rarely, she will have her husband rupture the amnion by squeezing her around the abdomen by an arm lock.

[2]The missionary ultimately adopted the infant and brought her to England when he left Venezuela.

847 [848] child: he had scrupulously observed the coitus taboo during lactation--the wife had not.

Most cases of infanticide take place when a couple already has a small child. Sickness takes a heavy toll during the early months of a child's life, and women are reluctant to jeopardize a child that has already survived the first two years. So, they frequently kill the new-born so that their older child will have no competition for milk. Bahimi, a woman of some 30 years, killed a new male baby shortly after I started my fieldwork in Bisassi-tedi. She explained, tearfully, that she did not feel that she could successfully raise the new child because she still had a son that was nursing.

847 562 162 These cases do not, however, explain why there is a consistent bias to kill females rather than males. When I discovered how significantly the sex ratio diverged from the expected value of 1.0 in some villages, I tried to get an explanation from the Yanomamö. I was surprised to find out that they were ignorant of their own bias in killing children. [892] What did come to light, however, was the fact that Yanomamö prefer to have a male baby for their first child and, if it turns out that the first child is a girl, they will frequently kill her. If, however, a couple prefers to have a girl and the first child is a boy, they generally do not kill the boy.[1]

---

[114] [582] [1]Whatever the reason may be for the preference toward males as eldest children, there is one structural effect that deserves further enquiry. Rose (1960) effectively showed that where males tend to marry females that are younger than them-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yąnomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yąnomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3–3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yąnomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebuwä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3-3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yąnomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

Surara
Pakidai

/62 cont./ the father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confinements which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[22] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

Surára
Pakidái

/64 cont./If the child's nose is not clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, nápe=mother and hápe=father.

e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

Surara
Pakidai

/62 cont./ the father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confinements which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[622] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

Surara
Pakidai

/62 cont./ the father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confine-
ments which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case
the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock
for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she
already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[622] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has
only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into
the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
• 853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide. There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice. First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

[1] The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, listed in Table 1, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

two to three years, as women nurse their children until they are at least two years old. Faced with this prospect, young couples may decide to kill their child, irrespective of its sex.[1]

Infanticide is effected by a number of techniques. Most commonly, a woman strangles her child with a vine as soon as it is delivered. In other cases the child is allowed to suffocate if it does not begin breathing spontaneously. If the child begins to breathe, the mother may simply abandon it where it is born, or throw it into the jungle. A case of attempted infanticide came to my attention by way of the New Tribes Mission. A woman in one of the villages on the Padamo River threw a new-born daughter into the jungle. The missionary living with the woman's village found the baby and took it into his own home. The woman had either struck the child on the head with an instrument, or the child had hit something when the mother threw it into the jungle, as there was a severe bruise on the side of the baby's face.[2]

In another instance, a husband forced his wife to kill a child because he was certain that he did not sire the

---

[1] Occasionally the woman will arrange to have an abortion when the foetus is in an advanced state of development. The most common practice consists of rupturing the amnion by trauma: a pregnant woman will lie on her back and have someone, usually a female friend or kinswoman, jump on her abdomen. More rarely, she will have her husband rupture the amnion by squeezing her around the abdomen by an arm lock.

[2] The missionary ultimately adopted the infant and brought her to England when he left Venezuela.

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *bekuru*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *bekuru* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *bekuru* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *bekuru* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *bekuru* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *bekuru* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *bekuru* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they

11 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

TABLE 3–3
SEX-RATIO DATA ON SELECTED VILLAGES

	Males	Females	Totals
Upper Bisaasi-teri	37	48	85
Lower Bisaasi-teri	25	26	51
Monou-teri	34	32	66
Reyabobŏwei-teri	52	46	98
Mŏmaribŏwei-teri	50	46	96
Patanowã-teri	122	90	212
Aikam-teri and Roko-teri	129	103	232
	449	391	840

Table 3–3 gives sex-ratio data on seven groups of Yąnomamö. The first three villages are not truly representative of the population in general, but are included because they have been frequently discussed in the text.

They are not representative because some 15 men from these villages were killed in a single treacherous feast in 1950, a significant fraction of the adult male population. These feasts are not very frequent. The three groups are allied to each other and have been extremely successful at coercing two neighboring Shamatari villages out of women; a surprisingly high proportion of their women come from these allies. As we shall see, they have been successful because of the geographical and historical relationships that characterize the alliance network in this area.

DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS As is apparent, there are more males in the Yąnomamö population than females. This demographic fact results from the practice of selectively killing female babies: *female infanticide*. The Yąnomamö also practice male infanticide, but because of the preference to have a male as their first child, they unknowingly kill more females than males. The Yąnomamö have only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. They are, accordingly, poor statisticians. They are quite unaware of the fact that they do kill more female babies, and every time I questioned them about it, they insisted that they killed both kinds—"more-than-two" of both kinds.

A child is killed at birth, irrespective of its sex, if the mother already has a nursing baby. They rationalize the practice by asserting that the new infant would probably die anyway, since its older sibling would drink most of the milk. They are most reluctant to jeopardize the health and safety of a nursing child by weaning it before it is three years old or so, preferring to kill the competitor instead. Kąobawã's wife, Bahimi, killed a newborn male shortly after I began my fieldwork. She later told me, quite tearfully, that it would have taken milk away from Ariwari, Kąobawã's favorite child. Ariwari at the time was over two years old, but Bahimi refused to wean him. Sometimes a child is killed simply because the mother doesn't feel that she can care for it properly and that it would be an inconvenience to have to tend a baby. I once saw a plump, well-fed, young mother eating a large quantity of food that would have been suitable to give to an older infant. Her emaciated, filthy, and nearly starved child—about two years old—kept reaching out for the food. The mother explained that the baby had gotten a bad case of diarrhea some time ago and had stopped eating. As a consequence, her milk dried up. She refused to attempt to feed it other foods because "it did not know how to eat other foods." When

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When I insisted that she share her food with the child, he ate it ravenously. In short, she was letting the baby die slowly of starvation. I have similar accounts from missionaries who have also witnessed cases such as this.

Male babies are preferred because they will grow up to be warriors and hunters. Most men make known their wishes to have a son—even to the point of insinuating that the wife ought to deliver a male or suffer the consequences. This is always done in a subtle way, usually by displaying signs of anger or resentment at the thought of having a daughter that constantly eats without being potentially an economic asset or guardian of the village. Many women will kill a female baby just to avoid disappointing their husbands. The Yanomamö also practice abortion in a very crude but effective way. The pregnant woman will lie on her back and have a friend jump on her belly to rupture the amnion. Sometimes abortions are effected because the woman does not want to kill the baby after it is born. In other cases a man will order his wife to abort if he suspects that somebody else conceived the child.

Several techniques are used to kill a newborn child. The most common method is to strangle it with a vine so as not to touch it physically. Another common method is to place a stick across the child's neck and stand on both ends of it until it chokes. In some cases the child is not given the stimulus to breathe and is simply abandoned. Finally, some women throw the child against a tree or on the ground and just abandon it without checking to see if it was killed by the injuries sustained. One of the New Tribes Missionaries discovered a female baby in 1964 that had been discarded in this fashion and brought her home with him. The baby's face was badly bruised on one side, but she survived. The missionary subsequently adopted her legally and is raising her in England.

The demographic result of the Yanomamö infanticide practices is that there is a shortage of females.[13] This shortage of females, however slight, assumes greater proportions for a number of culturally determined reasons. That is, the shortage of women is even greater than statistics alone imply because of the practice of polygyny and because of taboos relating to sexual intercourse.

The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has 122 males and only 90 females (see Table 3-3). But many (about 25 percent) of the politically important men in the village have two or more wives. Hence, many men have no wives. Polygyny, therefore, increases the women shortage because the available women are distributed unequally.

In addition to this, the Yanomamö have taboos against intercourse when a woman is pregnant or is nursing a child. The taboo is by no means followed to the strict letter, since children are nursed for three years or more—some men sheepishly admit having coitus with a lactating wife. Rerebawä, whose youngest child is about a year old, told me that he recently tried to persuade his wife to make love. He added: "She told me to go take some drugs and chant to my forest spirits; she is still 'stingy' with her vagina." Hence there is considerable concern within the village over the acquisition and possession of

[13]The frequency of female infanticide must be considerably higher than the statistics in Table 3-3 imply, since warfare results in the death of more men than women. This shows up in the age and sex distribution: There are more males in the younger age categories than females because of the infanticide preferences. As the males get older, however, they are more liable to death in warfare, resulting in a fairly even distribution of males and females in the thirty- to forty-year age interval. Finally, there are more old women than old men, also reflecting the higher male mortality due to warfare. I have published more substantial data on Yanomamö demography in Neel and Chagnon, 1968.

2: Becher--113 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Suvára
Pakidái

372
285

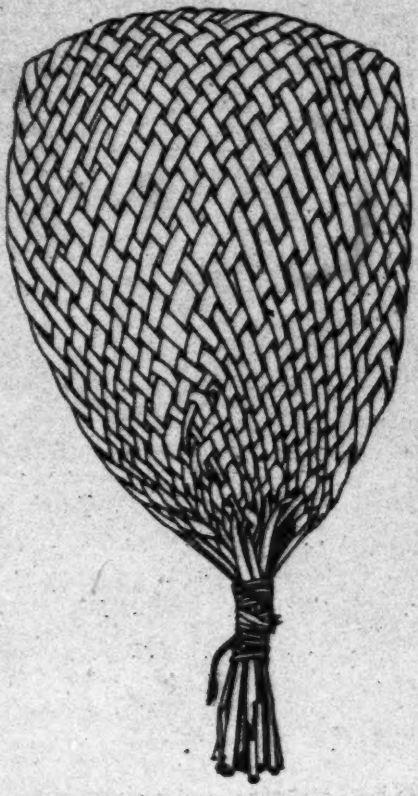


Fig. 22. Plaited fire-fan.

854
287

287

[413]

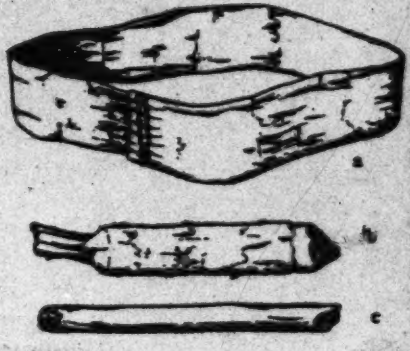


Fig. 23a. Band for carrying children, made of embira tree-bast.

Fig. 23b. Part of an embira trunk with beaten tree-bast which has already been partly pulled off.

Fig. 23c. Bast-beater made of embira wood.

/52 cont./

854 287 [824] [413]

9. Band for Carrying Children

The band for carrying children -- okomakuá -- is made from the bast of an embira tree (Daphnopsis brasiliensis Mart.). For this purpose thin trunks are cut down by the men. Then the women remove the bark and /53/ with a bast beater -- xamotimá -- (a piece of wood 30-40 centimeters long, from the embira tree) beat on the trunk for 1-2 hours. Through this the bast -- uarimaxíke -- becomes loosened, soft, and pliable, so that finally it can be easily peeled off the trunk -- pekehík -- (Fig. 23a-c). Then the two ends are slipped into each other and sewed double with a thread of Bromelia fibers or cotton. The holes are pierced beforehand with the little cutia-tooth knife (see p.117), and then the thread can be drawn through without effort.

[412] 854

The carrying-band is always slung over the right shoulder so that the right hand remains free for work, and it ends at the level of the left hip (Ill. 15), which gives the sitting child additional support if the mother puts its legs around her body.

[171] [184] [714]

This carrying method is very widespread in South America and is also employed by tribes that do not use the carrying-band (292). Among the Xiriána Koch-Grünberg does not seem to

292. See, for example, Koch-Grünberg 1923a, Pl. 45.

have seen such carrying-bands, for he says nothing about them.

10. Receptacles

415/ 824

As receptacles, the fruits of the Bignoniaceae (Crescentia cujete Lin.) and Cucurbitaceae (Cucurbita lagenaria Lin. and Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda = jamaru), which offer a variety of shapes (ball shape, bottle shape, cucumber shape, and others), are used principally.

[192]

These vessels in general are called -- horotoká --, except for those of the jamaru fruit (Fig. 24), which are called -- nhapotofma.

/62 cont./ The father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confinements which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
[142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[622] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

● 854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

/63 cont./

854 593 It is simply touching to see how lovingly and solicitously every mother treats her child. But the love of the father is no less great. He openly acknowledges the child and clearly shows his feelings of pride and fatherliness (318), though he is otherwise

[114] [191] 318. In contrast to this, Alexander von Humboldt, with reference to the Indians on the Orinoco, writes that fathers do not have any affection for their children (A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 155).

very reserved in his expressions of feeling. When he comes wearily into the communal house after a strenuous hunting expedition or from his field work, he never forgets to devote himself first of all to his little child for a while. He either takes it on his arm and goes walking with it, or he lays it beside him in the hammock. Even during migrations of the tribe he sometimes [858] carries the child for hours. Moreover, he loves a daughter just as much as a son.

854 304 During the first year of life the ear lobes and the lower lips of boys and girls are pierced by the mother with a sharp palm thorn, and, in addition, the girls are given perforations in the corners of the mouth. To prevent the wounds from healing, small wooden rods are stuck in temporarily and moved back and forth 304 frequently.

854 833 When a little girl has completed the first year of life, she is deflowered by the mother with her finger. This procedure is done in preparation for sexual intercourse later on.

114 191 Similar procedures were observed by von Feldner among the Machacarí /Mashacali/ Indians, and he describes them as follows: "Nulla inter illas invenitur virgo, quia mater inde a tenera aetate 854 filiae maxima cum cura omnem vaginae constrictionem 833 ingredimentumque amovere studet hoc quidem modo: manui 304 dextrae imponitur folium arboris in infundibuli formam redactum, et dum index, in partes genitales immissus huc et illud movetur, per infundibulum aqua tepida immittitur" (319). In this connection

319. von Feldner, 1828, II, p. 149, footnote.

2: Becher--136 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Suráya
Pakidái

114
171
854
833
304

/63 cont./
Ploss and Bartels have already observed: "These manipulations probably serve not so much the purpose of cleanliness as preparation for the later sexual functions" (320).

320. Ploss and Bartels, 1927, p. 376.

171
304
854

A custom which is said to prevail in Paraguay should be mentioned in this connection. When a girl is born there, the midwife inserts her finger into the vagina and says: This is a woman (321). Unfortunately, there is no account of the origin

321. Written communication from Montegazza to Ploss (Ploss, 1912, p. 219).

of this custom. It is possible that it was taken over from Indians, because in Paraguay the Indian population is, of course, numerically the largest.

Among most South American tribes for whom there is evidence of an artificial destruction of the hymen, however, chiefly those of the Tukano /Tucano/ and Pano linguistic families, but also some of the Aruaken /Arawak/ and Tupi, it is done for ritualistic purposes at the onset of puberty (322).

322. Fuchs, 1956, pp. 79-81.

Among the Totonaken /Totonac/ in Mexico it is one of the duties of two priests to destroy with their fingers the hymen of female babies 28-29 days after birth. At the same time they ordered the mothers to repeat the defloration six years later with their fingers (323). Strebel regards this procedure as a castigation rite,

323. Krickeberg, 1918-1922, p. 47.

corresponding to the circumcision of male infants, which was also carried out by the priests. "Even the child was to pay its tribute to the gods, /64/ and the fact that the sexual parts were chosen for

Surára
Pakidái

171 /64 cont./
304 this is likewise understandable, considering their significance,
● 854 though the least possible loss of blood may also have been a consideration" (324).

324. Strebel, 1885, p. 13.

854 On the other hand, with regard to the Surára and Pakidái
304 it should be noted that there is no circumcision of boys among them
[833] and the defloration of small girls unequivocally serves for later sexual intercourse; there are no religious motives or hygienic reasons connected with it. Whether this was different in former times neither the chiefs nor older men and women were able to say (325a).

171 325a. It is an interesting fact that among the
304 Itälmen on Kamchatka little girls are de-
854 flowered at a very tender age by their mothers in the same manner as among the Surára and Pakidái and for the same reason (Stellers, 1774, p. 346).

This type of body deformation has been documented for China and Indonesia too. It is done there, however, for hygienic purposes, in order to remove the mucus which gathers in the genitalia (Ploss, 1912, pp. 218/19).

593 It should be mentioned further that all Surára and Pakidái
839 fathers often touch the vulva of their small daughters with the mouth and gently suck on it.

854 If a man has two or more wives, they help each other in
[595] caring for a baby. The grandmother, a sister, or the eldest
[593] daughter are also loving helpers. Infant care, of course, does
854 not require much trouble, for regular baths are unknown. It is
515 only when the crust of dirt is a little too thick that the mother washes it off a bit when she goes to fetch water from the river. The infrequent washing has the advantage that the skin is more
○○○ nearly invulnerable to mosquito bites. If the child's nose is not

Surára
Pakidái

/64 cont./If the child's nose is not clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, nápe=mother and hápe=father.

e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

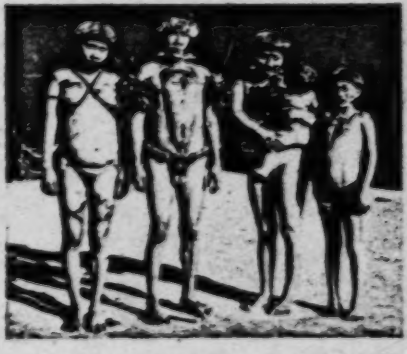
2: Becher--270 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

342
361

Ill. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)

142
301
302
291
622

Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)



Ill. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children

142
291
301
302
854
622

142
301
302

Ill. 11. Kurikayawo, the younger brother of the Surára chief

2: Becher-- 272 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Shiriana
Karauateri
Pusehaweteri

/7/

142
291
302
516
854 ●

Ill. 15. Surára family. (The woman is a member of the Pusehaweteri and wears the characteristic fringed belt of this tribe)

142
301
302

Ill. 16. Xiriána woman, Ironasteri, with deforming facial adornment

Ill. 17. Nikeromá, a girl of the hostile Karauateri. (She is a captive of the Surára)

137
142
291
302

Ill. 18. Nikeromá (rear view!)

Surára
Pakidái

352
516
●854
593

Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

342
231
←

142
302
291
516
372
→

Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

4: Wilbert--64 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Nabudub

291
142
516
●854

Nabudub Indians in front of their house an imitation of a Makiritare house.

142
291
352
516
594
283

A Nabudub (Sanemá) nuclear family in front of its house. The hammocks are of vegetal fiber.

Nabudub

4: Wilbert--65 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 Sanema

142
291
516
854
302

Nabudub (Sanemá) women and children.

142
302
291
352
516

Nabudub couple seated on hammocks of cotton made by the woman.

4: Wilbert--73 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

Y
142
291
302
854
516

M
[344]

Group of Sanemá women and children of the upper Orinoco. In the background the wall of a communal house of the Makiritare Indians.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

approaching, and barked in astonishment: the Indians made signs, urging us not to shoot them. The otter is an animal with a strong dose of magic in his veins, and to kill him would be asking for prolonged rain. 880

From the Mari we passed into its smallest tributary, the Uaina, and thence into the insignificant Moné—a yellow, stagnant stream, perpetually overgrown, like a green tunnel. Great tree-trunks blocked our passage and the Indians clambered out armed with axes to deal with them. Sometimes a trunk would lie just a few inches under the surface, so that it was impossible to back through it. With the motor at full throttle we would literally skip over such obstacles, taking care to hoist up the outboard just in time to avoid smashing it against the submerged trunk. Each time we rounded a curve the Indians waved their arms and announced the Moné landing ahead; but when, on the second evening of our journey up the Moné, the landing did come into view at last, no one noticed. It was only by pure chance that we didn't overshoot the spot.

Old ruined huts, mouldering and full of spiders, crickets, and beetles, littered the Moné beach. We had to build fresh ones. The others we burned as firewood. The next day we set out through the forest with the first boat. But for all the vast local knowledge of the Sape men, we went up the wrong stream! And after a long day of gruelling effort the canoe ended up in a dry little stream-bed where, so far as we could judge, we were at least two kilometres further up the Kupãpaipà.

Our plight was serious. A boat weighing a thousand pounds couldn't possibly be got down this sandy ditch. Far the better plan would be to turn back and retrace our steps, in spite of the difficulty, and lose two days. But for the moment we decided to do nothing, leaving the craft where she was, wedged between a tree-trunk and a mudbank.

The *Pirata*, without the misleading help of the Sape guides, made her way triumphantly straight to the right beach without any loss of time at all. 123*

While we were coming back from the Kupãpaipà to the hut on the Moné the Sape men heard something in the distance which alarmed them: other Indians were approaching from the direction of the Mari. We very soon met them. They were hauling a little canoe, the common small boat of Guiana known as a *curiara*. It was a flimsy affair, which slipped along over the poles we had laid down for our own boat as if it was on water. Sitting in it was a girl with a child like some horrible spider clinging to her back. The boy was a mere [501] [854]

[pp. 1-24 not processed]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

him outside the range of the magic influence which had reduced him to such a hideous condition. But evidently they had only escaped the Samatari magic to fall straight into another, which was too much for the sick child. He died, sacrificed in a duel between two magic powers.

VI

The great 'provisioning-march' of the Samatari now began. We went along with them. We were prisoners, we were guests, we were tolerated visitors—a bit of everything. The main body, with the women and children, led the way along a track that was years old and had been opened up again the day before by the younger members of the tribe, who possessed the one metal weapon used by the Samatari: a piece of a knife-blade stuck into a stick and firmly bound with bark soaked in vegetable gum. What story could this scrap of steel have told when it finally reached the headwaters of the Aracosa!

The track was by no means straight, but for all its meanderings led vaguely towards the south-east. It lay for the most part through the dense thickets of fruit-bearing trees, which probably harboured other sorts of foodstuffs of which we knew nothing. The main body arrived to find that the young men had already picked nuts and fruit of all kinds and made piles of them at the foot of the trees. All the women had to do was take them up.

When meat of any sort is found and killed on these occasions, a couple of youngsters stay behind with it. They sling a hammock and light a fire and watch while it is slowly smoking on the spit. When the women come up, they pull off pieces of the flesh, put them into the rough hampers they carry on their shoulders and go on with the march, their babies jogging up and down on their backs, tied there with a strap made of bark. Some, like peripatetic vestal virgins, take fire with them, in the form of glowing brands, blowing on them as they go along lest the embers should grow cold. Thus the march of the Samatari leaves a trail of nutshells, rinds, ash, and little bits of charcoal. It suggests not so much an ordinary nomadic people on the move but rather a very special tribe composed of itinerant cooks.

With evening, or strictly speaking some time before the end of the afternoon, we found ourselves in a vast clearing where all the small plants, shrubs, bushes and grass had been cut away and swept and raked aside. All round this

/455 cont./

283 Cotton is spun by means of a hand spindle. This thread is then twisted into three-thread cords.

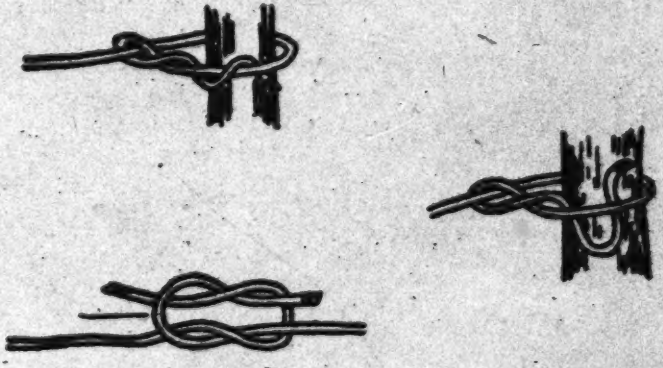
Various fibers of bark are twisted to make bowstrings or fishing lines. These same fibers of bark are frequently plaited to make hammock strings.

The fiber of a certain plant similar to the pineapple is also extracted and twisted, producing a very tough cord.

284 The knots which the Guaika /Waica/ make are very simple and practical. The timber hitch is employed in all cases in [411] which a flexible cord is used. This includes the stringing of the [352] bows. The hammock is hung using a timber slipknot. This knot is made in such a way that it can be instantly untied by a pull. The square knot is used to join the ends of two cords. In the accompanying Fig. 2, we show drawings of the three knots concerned.

289 /456/ A band of bark is made for carrying children. First
● 854 they obtain a stick of the right size, which is beaten with another stick for several days. The scaly outer bark comes off. Finally, the smaller end of the cylindrical bark is inserted into the larger end (of greater diameter), and the two are then firmly sewed together. The result is a band or strip without rough or cutting edges, which remains flexible and useful for many months.

284



/Fig. 2/

7: Barker--61 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate I

342
361

The primitive huts of the Guaika, roof-on-posts type, lined up in a broad circle, have their fronts toward the great central patio free of vegetation. (Photo. by the author.)

616
● 854

Guaika women with their babies. Note the manner of sitting, in El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

78h

The women carry great weights hanging from the head and shoulders. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

A Guaika wom
or strap of bark

342
B54

7: Barker--62 M-5 (ca. 1951-1959) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Plate II

Waica

n carrying her child by means of a band
El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

111 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115

other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kaobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kaobawä's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yanomamö standards, she and Kaobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kaobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

Fig. 1-4. Kaomishima, Kaobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

most common way for a child's soul to escape is to leave by way of the mouth when the child cries. Thus, mothers are quick to hush a bawling baby in order to prevent its soul from escaping. The child's soul can be recovered by sweeping the ground in the vicinity where it most probably escaped, calling for it while sweeping the area with a particular kind of branch. I once helped gather up the soul of a sick child in this fashion, luring it back into the sick baby. One of the contributions I made, in addition to helping with the calling and sweeping, was a dose of medicine for the child's diarrhea. A consequence of this set of attitudes about the vulnerability of children is that much of the village's activity with respect to shamanism and curing is directed toward the children.

RELATIVES BY BLOOD AND BY MARRIAGE Many forms of interpersonal behavior stem largely from the social roles implied in the kinship system. To be sure, some kinship behavior reflects the two distinctions of age and sex discussed above, for the terminology of kinship itself employs discriminations of this kind. For example, there are terms to distinguish older siblings from younger siblings and terms used by members of one sex only in reference to those of the opposite sex.

The relationship between kinship terms and biological parentage is not the same in the Yąnomamö language as it is in our own. As was shown in the first section of this chapter, people may stand in a child relationship to a number of individuals; that is, it is possible to have multiple "mothers" and "fathers" in Yąnomamö society. The term for mother and father conveys as much of a social as a biological relationship between individuals, and in the daily activities of the Yąnomamö it is the social implications of kinship roles that are most important.

What is implied in the kinship roles can best be seen in the way the kinship terms themselves are formed. All primary kinship terms take the ending *"-mou"* when used to describe the relationship between individuals. Thus, *osheya* means "my younger sibling," but *oshemou* means that individual X *behaves* toward individual Y *as a younger sibling*. This ending, *-mou*, also occurs in nonkinship usage to express "a way of behaving," "to execute a particular activity in a specified manner," or "to perform the activity that is implied by the word to which *-mou* is affixed." For example, *oko* means fresh-water crab and *okomou* means "to go hunting for crabs"; *howashi* means "a mischievous white monkey" and *howashimou* means "to act mischievously, to monkey around"; *nowa naba* means "enemy," and *nowa nabamou* means "to become an enemy by behaving objectionably"; *waiteri* means "fierce" and *waiterimou* means "to behave ferociously."

Whenever I would ask the Yąnomamö a question such as, "What do you call Kąobawä?" the answers would always be in the form of a kinship term to which *"-mou"* was affixed, but rarely in the form "I say such-and-such to him." Calling an individual by a specific term is, however, implied in the "way of behaving" toward that individual. But despite the fact that the Yąnomamö can say, literally, "I call him father" (*kama kä iba, haya ya kuu*), they invariably say *"ya hǫ̈mou"*—"I behave toward him as a child."[20] Thus, they express their relationships to others in terms of *ways of behavior*. Each kinship category implies a set of these behavioral norms, and one's social life in the community is established with respect to all other individuals by the kinship terminology employed in each particular case.

[20] Although the word *hǫ̈* translates literally as "father," the expression *ya hǫ̈mou* can best be understood with the translation given above.

/116 cont./

593 he soon loses all desire for further mistreatment. The other members of the tribe watch such a spectacle with interest. Moreover, it is worth noting that most of the women are very energetic and can scold with persistence. If a woman is angry with her husband, perhaps because he was unfaithful or did not go hunting, she will often scold loudly to herself for hours, so that all the other occupants of the maloka hear every word.

[592] Meanwhile, however, the man being scolded remains lying in hammock in stoic calm, for a scolding woman may never be

598 interrupted. But between women, too, there are sometimes regular cannonades of vituperation carried on with the greatest vocal display. I always had the impression that at any moment they would come to blows. Sometimes this actually happens. Then they pull one another by the hair and strike each other in the face and on the rest of the body with the hands. /117/ In this case, other women do not interfere, nor do the men. Everybody watches calmly and waits until the scuffle is over.

•855 Children are treated with special love and tenderness. In most cases, they show their gratitude to their parents by bestow-

888 ing upon them everlasting affection. I never saw old people neglected (559). If they became so weak and ill that they were

[117]

559. Baldus also reports of the Tapirapé that the old people are very well treated there (Baldus, 1956, p. 603), whereas later Giacone paints a very gloomy picture in this respect about the Tukano: "Entre os índios dêsses rios, a condição dos velhos é das mais penosas .... Poderíamos dizer, sem medo de errar, que o velho ou a velha, quando não pode mais trabalhar para a família, é considerado como bananeira que já deu cacho, e ninguem terá compaixão deles... /Among the Indians of these rivers the situation of the old people is most painful .... We might say, without fear of error, that the old man or old woman, when

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill
[621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite
554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us,
769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to
628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder,
[266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablf shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be-
[888] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex-
[574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father,
162 who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition
● 855 we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of
ooo the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

minutes later the two women were quietly walking home with the baby, who appeared to be dead.

While the mother goes about her normal tasks, with the child tied on her back all the time, the father stays in the hammock, absolutely motionless, eating nothing but fruit and palm-hearts—'they don't heat the blood,' Luis Antonio assured us.

Among the Guiana-Amazon Indians I have never heard of the father himself suffering from birth-pangs during this period of rest. Such reports, however, have come from travellers and observers of the Indian tribes inhabiting the southern regions of the lower Amazon. Before one can believe them one must accept a little more than the theory of the inter-relation of cause and effect. A good dose of barefaced auto-suggestion would also be needed to account for this phenomenon, and only the most undeveloped of the Indians would be capable of it.

IV

Of kindred interest, while we are on the subject of childbirth, is the organization of Indian society. It has been asked whether the pattern is patriarchal or matriarchal, and what part is played by the individual family.

If the question is limited to the Shirians, the answer is simple: they have reached no stage of organization above the rudimentary animal level. The family has the sole function of producing life and protecting it until the offspring is capable of fending for itself. Their society is not patriarchal, because the role of the family ceases where its physical functions cease, at the point where, in civilized societies, moral functions begin. Nor is the pattern matriarchal, because the women are held in a form of slavery, though the very lack of an exact social system means that they sometimes emerge from this to become the companions of the men—a state of affairs which may be regarded as more emancipated, or less.

The children of both sexes, while they are young, remain the exclusive responsibility of the women, but when the boys reach an age at which they can do without their mothers (this generally means as soon as they cease to be breast-fed) they become independent males and do not belong to anybody in particular. Up to a certain point the father is free to pick out one who may be

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

462 495 Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that 488 458 older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, 455 children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired 184 493 clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are 462 422 562 made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the 199 manufacture of cassave bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

---

[1] The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

142
302
352
855
251

Fig. 1–5. Ariwari, Kaobawä's son, being fondled by his mother's brother. This is a very intimate kinship relationship in Yanomamö society.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by caustically accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

560 727 [869]

CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kaobawä, for example, lets Ariwari bent him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwari is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flush of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

858 865 [593]

Fig. 3-7. Ariwari, Kaobawä's favorite son, building a make-believe house while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.

142 302 867 137

11: Chagnon E-S (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharaiwä, Kaobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kaobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kaobawä's younger wife. Kaobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kaobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yanomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *hashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kaobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

Surára
Pakidái

291 /36 cont./
171 been documented for the men of the Makuxí (193) and Waiwai (194).

193. Farabee, 1924, p. 61.

194. Farabee, 1924, Pl. XXX.

b) Chest cords

301 The simple cord slung crosswise over chest and back --
[192] xinarfke -- and the similarly used string-bundle -- xinarí -- (195)

195. This name is identical with the word for cotton.

represent among the Surára and Pakidái characteristic articles of clothing for the girls and women. Among the latter, the cord or string-bundle runs directly below the breasts and crosses over the chest cavity, so that, at first glance, it looks like a bust support; but no lifting of the breast is connected with it, for it is quite loose (Ill. 10).

[283] Whereas the women's cord, 1.50-1.60 meters long, twisted
[824] out of two threads, and knotted at the ends, is made of curauá fibers or cotton (the length of the corresponding girls' cord is 1.20-1.40 meters), in the case of the string bundles there are layers of cotton 56-90 centimeters long, which consist of 60-80 strings and are tied together at one point. The thinner specimens are used by young women and the thicker ones by older women.
386 Both the string bundles and the cord are either dyed red all over
301 or, as in the case of the former, for example, are provided with
[531] red rings, one centimeter wide, at intervals of 6-7 centimeters
[302] (Fig. 13a and b), for which urucú dye is used. Undyed objects in time take on a dirty brown appearance, like the hammocks, for the red body-painting adheres to the cotton.

301 The chest cord, which is now and then tied around little girls
● 856 from four years old on, is supposed to help give them beautifully shaped breasts later on. Even the younger women, however, have

Surára
Pakidái

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
856 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
[824] busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
292 curauá fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xiriána, Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri,
184 and Karauateri whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
[114] said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xiriána (Schirianá). Among the Arekuná-
171 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
174 cord of curauá fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
[191] transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

/37 cont./

301
531

13a

13b

Fig. 13a-b. Chest string-bundle of the women (detail and diagram of the painting).

301 c) Cords for arms, wrists, and legs

From the age of four on both sexes at times wear upper-arm cords, and women and girls in addition wrist- and leg-cords, which are made of curauá fibers or cotton. It was also [283] definitely established that the two-strand curauá-fiber cords twisted to the right are the original objects, whereas the two-strand cotton cords twisted to the left are of more recent [824] date. Moreover, here, too, it was observed that a strengthening effect is attributed to the plant fiber.
[856]

301 /37 cont./
856 Thus, the upper-arm cord -- xinariúnko -- is supposed to impart greater muscular and arm power (198). The wrist cord used

[192] 198. It is noteworthy that the curauá-fiber cord is also called by the word Xinariúnko, although the name for cotton -- xinarí -- is contained in it.

only by women and girls, likewise called xinariúnko, strengthens the wrists, it is believed, and the cord worn below the knees -- hukuá -- the legs.

301 171 As an ornament for the upper arms, however, besides the simple cord, bands of string -- nyöômutimá -- the forms of which are exact miniature reproductions of the belts (199), a

[192] 199. In the word -- nyöômutimá -- there is contained the name for belt, nyö, to which is appended the diminutive form ômutimá.

novelty /38/ for South America, since there are as yet no parallels for this. Thus, the string-bands of the men, 20-22 centimeters long and 1.5-2 centimeters in diameter (string-bands of boys: length, 12-15 centimeters; diameter, 0.5-1 centimeter), have the same roll-shaped appearance as their belts (Fig. 14a and b; Fig. 15a and b) and are made and painted or dyed by the women in the same way (see pp. 64/65). The wide, flat shape of the women's bands (length, 18-22 centimeters; width, 1-2.5 centimeters), however, corresponds perfectly with the belts worn by them, apart from the smaller size (Fig. 16a-c; Fig. 17), so that with regard to the manufacture and painting I can refer to the making of the women's belts (see p. 66). It should also be mentioned that the upper-arm /Figs. 14-16 appear here/ bands of younger women are narrower (1-1.5 centimeters) than those of older women (2-2.5 centimeters) (200).

200. An older Pakidái woman, by the way, wore a woven upper-arm band two and a half

Surára
Pakidái

/64 cont./ If the child's nose is not
854 514 [123] clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

856 593 The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, nápe=mother and hápe=father.

862 e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, [851] which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

851 846 114 171 842

325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

000 553 776 [782] has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

/65 cont./

000 children (see pp. 64 ff.). A thin cord of cotton or plant fibers,
301 which is occasionally worn below the knees, is supposed to
● 856 strengthen the legs, and corresponding upper-arm cords, the muscles (in the case of boys) and the arms (in the case of girls). Moreover, small girls wear strings crossed over their chests so that they will have well-shaped breasts later on.

f) Childhood

593 Even in boyhood and girlhood the family bears the chief
857 responsibility for all educational measures. The boy, to be sure, is now drawn to the father somewhat more and gradually begins to free himself from his mother. With his bow, which his father has made for him, he daily practices shooting small birds, for it is believed that a boy who kills many birds will later become a good hunter. They are cleaned and prepared by the girls, however, and together the children then have a meal, to which the girls often contribute cooked bananas or manioc flat-cakes. In play the children are properly prepared for their future duties and responsibilities as adults. Thus, the girls occasionally also help their mothers and fetch their water or wood, or they assume the care of their younger siblings.

861 The modest, thoughtful nature of these Indian children
[157] should be emphasized. Yet they are never beaten and they never hear a harsh word either from their parents or from other adults. Gentle admonishment suffices to reprove a child if it is really
857 naughty on occasion. Even in their play, however, there are
152 seldom such quarrels as are so frequent among civilized children. It would be quite unthinkable, for example, for a Surára or Pakidái child to run to its mother in order to complain about a playmate.

524 Boys and girls grow up together quite naturally and without constraint, as is shown by the fact that group games are preferred to solitary games. A great favorite, among others, is a game of ball which they play with a monkey bladder. It is batted upward with the palm of the hand (see also p. 246). They also play a sort of tug-of-war with lianas (see p.244). Moreover, the boys
[868] often imitate the dances of the men, while the girls are very fond of string games. It is especially popular to play "mother and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2–7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *bixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*sua hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

/65 cont./

000 301 856 children (see pp. 64 ff.). A thin cord of cotton or plant fibers, which is occasionally worn below the knees, is supposed to strengthen the legs, and corresponding upper-arm cords, the muscles (in the case of boys) and the arms (in the case of girls). Moreover, small girls wear strings crossed over their chests so that they will have well-shaped breasts later on.

f) Childhood

593 ●857 Even in boyhood and girlhood the family bears the chief responsibility for all educational measures. The boy, to be sure, is now drawn to the father somewhat more and gradually begins to free himself from his mother. With his bow, which his father has made for him, he daily practices shooting small birds, for it is believed that a boy who kills many birds will later become a good hunter. They are cleaned and prepared by the girls, however, and together the children then have a meal, to which the girls often contribute cooked bananas or manioc flat-cakes. In play the children are properly prepared for their future duties and responsibilities as adults. Thus, the girls occasionally also help their mothers and fetch their water or wood, or they assume the care of their younger siblings.

861 [157] The modest, thoughtful nature of these Indian children should be emphasized. Yet they are never beaten and they never hear a harsh word either from their parents or from other adults. Gentle admonishment suffices to reprove a child if it is really naughty on occasion. Even in their play, however, there are seldom such quarrels as are so frequent among civilized children. It would be quite unthinkable, for example, for a Surára or Pakidái child to run to its mother in order to complain about a playmate.

857 152 524 Boys and girls grow up together quite naturally and without constraint, as is shown by the fact that group games are preferred to solitary games. A great favorite, among others, is a game of ball which they play with a monkey bladder. It is batted upward with the palm of the hand (see also p. 246). They also play a sort of tug-of-war with lianas (see p.244). Moreover, the boys [868] often imitate the dances of the men, while the girls are very fond of string games. It is especially popular to play "mother and

/112 cont./

789 it is not needed, for example, before hunting expeditions or
[821] during a tribal migration. In this case all the men, women,
[302] and children paint their bodies with a confusion of serpentine lines, in order by this means to command the rain to stop. If
526 this does not help, a tug of war -- toθtotó -- with a thick liana
789 is arranged. This liana personifies the sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) --
[776] uaikonyá -- which, as a strong water-animal, has the power to induce Poré to stop shaking the rain tree (see p. 199). At first only two groups of red-painted men engage in the tug of war. But if the rain simply will not abate, red-painted women also take part in it. Their participation is supposed to increase the
[776] pressure on the sucuriju, for it is assumed that it is of the female sex and thus particularly well-disposed toward women. Such a
[857] tug of war often goes on for several hours. In most cases, besides adults, I also saw children who imitated it with a thin liana.

526 If it happens to rain while the sun is shining, the Surára
789 and Pakidái believe that a serious fight has broken out between
821 the moon, from which the rain comes, and the sun. Then all the members of the tribe feel obligated to come to the aid of their Supreme Being, the moon. They do this by again forming two mixed groups of men and women -- one symbolically represents the population of the moon and the other that of the sun -- who throw wet earth at each other; this "battle" is called xejejó.

782 5. A Special Way of Showing Gratitude to Poré and Perimbó

In connection with the festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.) after the training period of the two medicine-man helpers (see pp. 143 f.), after the curing of the sick (see pp. 211 ff.), and other magic ceremonies, the people want to thank Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) in a special way, outside of the customary prayers which take place through the hekurá (see pp. 199/201). For this purpose a large calabash is filled with earth,
[824] into which, in a circle, are stuck red-painted twigs of the imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.), which are connected

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

especially strong and intelligent, and keep him at his side, adopting him, as it were, as his successor. The little girls continue to live in the feminine world of their tribe. Shy and submissive, they take on the humblest tasks, fetching water, making the fire and helping in the preparation—highly problematical—of food.

Such definitions of customs have, however, only a relative value, like any attempt to estimate the Shirian way of life: for Shirians are to be found spread over wild territory of vast extent. Their customs are less well defined than one might suppose after reading certain tracts about primitive peoples—the Pacific islanders, for instance. These give the impression that with slight formal changes only, Western culture might have much to learn from the degree of social organization they have attained to. The Shirian tribes, cut off from one another as they are by physical barriers such as mountains and rivers, and moral barriers like the ceaseless state of war which exists between the various branches of this race of 'howling Indians', have developed their own customs in their own sporadic fashion. Sometimes they have been weakened by contact with foreigners, such as the Makiritari in the north-west and the Makushi in the east. More often they have been weakened by a lack of strong traditions, which do not spring easily from such an excessively low level of culture, where mere survival calls for an unending struggle against the tremendous power of the eternally hostile forest.

The most primitive races are those most affected by their geographical setting. Their environment conditions them. Only by adapting themselves continually to their surroundings, only by the long process of response to the determining factor of geography, can they create that growing racial identity which at last succeeds in reversing the process—that is, in conditioning the surroundings instead of being conditioned by them. But we are here touching on the larger question of the development of civilization generally.

Where the Shirians are concerned, we are still at the beginning of the beginning, when geography is the absolute determining factor. Here environment is the master of man—a creature inferior, qualitatively and quantitatively, to the region which it is his fate to inhabit.

The territory they occupy is immense. Divided though it may be by great cordilleras, which make it the breeding ground for various rivers rushing north, west and south, it possesses one marked characteristic throughout its whole extent: the sources and the headwaters of the rivers are contained in a sort of

/441 cont./

Obtaining Food

224 Hunting.

Hunting is done with bows and arrows.

A broad arrow-point of bamboo is used against larger land game, such as the danta, the váquiros /peccaries/, and the large [411] rodents. Poisoned points are used against monkeys and occasionally against dantas. Bone points are used principally to hunt birds. Small birds are hunted with arrows with a blunt point or forked point.

[231] Dogs are used in hunting, and in the case of the smallest wild pigs, these dogs frequently do more killing than the hunters.

The hunters hunt together and surround the game. The one who succeeds in killing it is the owner of the animal. He might make a gift of a few pieces to those who have helped him, but in general he carries the entire animal to his house, where it is cooked. A danta, of course, must be divided up on the spot in order to be transported.

262 Almost all the mammals are eaten, felines being the principal exception. A few snakes are eaten; others are not. The babilla /an amphidious reptile/ is also eaten. Birds of prey, such as hawks, eagles, vultures, and turkey buzzards and others, are not eaten. Almost all the other birds are eaten, even the little humming birds.

/442/ Meat is considered an essential part of the diet and perhaps occupies the second place of importance after platanos.

226 Fishing.

Several types of toxins are used to poison fish in the small currents of water. One of these is a bejuco. Another is the shell of an edible nut with a prickly husk. Another is the bark of a certain tree of great size.

226 When the waters lower in streams and swamps (generally
462 around the months of January and February), women and children
● 857 go out armed with clubs and come back with baskets full of fish.

/445 cont./

241 Many of the Guaika /Waica/ are very careful with regard to weeding their plantings, especially when the plants are small. Later, when the plants have reached a good development, they weed the plantings less frequently. Then, perhaps three or more years later, when the land has begun to yield less produce, they cease weeding it altogether and harvest only what has managed to grow by hard efforts.

222 Generally, there is found in these "conucos," at least in the abandoned ones, the "pijiguao" palm. This is because the "pijiguao" begins to produce about the time the earth has become too poor for other produce.

222 481 The fruit of the "pijiguao" palm is harvested by loosening the bunches by means of a long pole with a hook. When the palm has grown too much to perform /446/ this operation from the ground, the Guaika climb it, using two devices, each one made out of a pair of sticks tied together in the form of an X, which, although being adjusted to the thorny trunk of the palm, can be slid up or down while the climber keeps his foot on one of these platforms (see Fig. 1). Once the bunch has been reached and loosened, it is carefully lowered to the ground, tied to a liana to prevent the fruit from being damaged by a fall from such a height. /[illegible] Fig. 1 appears here./

241 [462] The men are the ones who clear the "conucos." The women go to the "conucos" more than anything in order to transport the harvests to their homes.

241 857 [423] Every family has its own "conuco." Frequently the boys begin to prepare their own "conucos" at an early age (at about 11 years old). Even boys seven years old succeed in having a few of their own plants in the "conuco" of their father or of their older brother. Other boys only help their father in the plantings and have little or nothing until they reach 18 years of age or more.

/464 cont./

411 The children make small bows, generally for their games, but
● 897 they also shoot lizards, which are good bait for fishing. These
[824] bows may be made of several types of wood, but rarely of palm.
The bows of the men are always made of palm.

411 Macanas are used by women for fishing. They are also used
[226] by men in their attacks on other settlements with which they have had more or less friendly relations, for the purpose of recovering the wife or daughter held captive there.

[531]

/Fig. 7/

Poisons

278 A variety of poisons for fishing are used by the Guaika
[226] /Waica/. One comes from a vine, another from the husk of a prickly nut, and the third from the bark of a certain thick tree.

[411] Arrow points are poisoned with the poison from the bark of a vine. They scrape the bark, and the scrapings, /465/ wrapped in leaves, are kept dry by hanging them over the current of air from a fire until they are needed.

On the day when an Indian is going to prepare poison, every man of the settlement gets ready to prepare a set of arrow points to be poisoned.

The preparer of the poison begins by pulverizing the scrapings of bark between the palms of his hands. He constantly utters a
[415] series of shouts and grunts while doing this. Then he places the pulverized bark in a funnel made of leaves, into which hot water

/156 cont./

721 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make
123 another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

[302] [574] [822] [412] [361]

166 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called
361 "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could
721 live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at
361 their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was
[114] calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit,
[226] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having
[411] fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows
[857] of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying
726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yanomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18]Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yanomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shaviwi* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19]Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by caustically accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden product. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

569 721 [165]

CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kaobawä, for example, lets Ariwari beat him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwari is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flush of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

858 865 [593]

Fig. 3-7. Ariwari, Kaobawä's favorite son, building a make-believe house while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.

142 302 857 137

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yakëmaa*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*reo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

supplies soak the new leaves in water and add ashes from the hearth to the wad. Men, women, and children chew tobacco and all are addicted to it. Once there was a shortage of tobacco in Kaobawä's village and I was plagued for a week by early morning visitors who requested permission to collect my cigarette butts in order to make a wad of chewing tobacco. Normally, if anyone is short of tobacco, he can request a share of someone else's already chewed wad, or simply borrow the entire wad when its owner puts it down somewhere. Tobacco is so important to them that their word for "poverty" translates as "being without tobacco." I frequently justified my reluctance to give away possessions on the basis of my poverty. Many of them responded by spitting their tobacco into their hand and handing it to me.

Work begins as soon as breakfast is completed; the Yanomamö like to take advantage of the morning coolness. Within an hour after it is light the men are in their gardens clearing brush, felling large trees, transplanting plantain cuttings, burning off dead timber, or planting new crops of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, yuca, taro, or the like, depending on the season. They work until 10:30 A.M., retiring because it is too humid and hot by that time to continue with their strenuous work. Most of them bathe in the stream before returning to their hammocks for a rest and a meal.

The women usually accompany their husbands to the garden and occupy themselves by collecting firewood or helping with planting and weeding. In this way the men are sure that their families are safe and that the women are not having affairs with other men.

The children spend a great deal of time exploring the wonders of the plant and animal life around them and are accomplished biologists at an early age. Most twelve-year-old boys can, for example, name twenty species of bees and give the anatomical or behavioral reasons for their distinctions—and they know which ones produce the best honey. An eight-year-old girl brought me a tiny egg-like structure on one occasion and asked me to watch it with her. Presently it cracked open and numerous baby cockroaches poured out, while she described the intimate details of the reproductive process to me.

The younger children stay close to their mothers, but the older ones have considerable freedom to wander about the garden at play. Young boys hunt for lizards with miniature bows and featherless arrows. If they can capture one alive, they bring it back to the village and tie a string around it. The string is anchored to a stick in the village clearing and the little boys chase it gleefully, shooting scores of tiny arrows at it (see Fig. 3–8). Since lizards are very quick, and little boys are poor shots, the target practice can last for hours. Usually, however, the fun terminates when an older boy decides to make an end to the unhappy lizard and kills it with his adult-size arrows, showing off his archery skills to the disgruntled small fry.

Little girls learn very quickly that it is a man's world, for they soon must assume much of the responsibility for tending their younger siblings, hauling water and firewood, and in general helping their busy mothers.

Most of the people rest in their hammocks during the heat of midday, although they will collect fruits and other wild foods from the surrounding area, if any are in season. They avoid being in the direct rays of the midday sun.

If the men return to their gardening, they do so about 4:00 P.M., working until sundown. Otherwise, they gather in small groups around the village and take hallucinogenic drugs in the late afternoon shadows, chanting to the mountain demons as the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

/63 cont./

854 593 It is simply touching to see how lovingly and solicitously every mother treats her child. But the love of the father is no less great. He openly acknowledges the child and clearly shows his feelings of pride and fatherliness (318), though he is otherwise

[114] [171] 318. In contrast to this, Alexander von Humboldt, with reference to the Indians on the Orinoco, writes that fathers do not have any affection for their children (A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 155).

very reserved in his expressions of feeling. When he comes wearily into the communal house after a strenuous hunting expedition or from his field work, he never forgets to devote himself first of all to his little child for a while. He either takes it on his arm and goes walking with it, or he lays it beside him in the hammock. Even during migrations of the tribe he sometimes [858] carries the child for hours. Moreover, he loves a daughter just as much as a son.

854 304 During the first year of life the ear lobes and the lower lips of boys and girls are pierced by the mother with a sharp palm thorn, and, in addition, the girls are given perforations in the corners of the mouth. To prevent the wounds from healing, small wooden rods are stuck in temporarily and moved back and forth 304 frequently.

854 833 When a little girl has completed the first year of life, she is deflowered by the mother with her finger. This procedure is done in preparation for sexual intercourse later on.

114 171 Similar procedures were observed by von Feldner among the Machacarí /Mashacali/ Indians, and he describes them as follows: 854 "Nulla inter illas invenitur virgo, quia mater inde a tenera aetate 833 filiae maxima cum cura omnem vaginae constrictionem 304 ingredimentumque amovere studet hoc quidem modo: manui dextrae imponitur folium arboris in infundibuli formam redactum, et dum index, in partes genitales immissus huc et illuc movetur, per infundibulum aqua tepida immittitur" (319). In this connection

319. von Feldner, 1828, II, p. 149, footnote.

/72 cont./

888
[191]

333. (cont.)
p. 70). Among the Piaroa Indians very weak old people are walled up alive in a cave. They are given food and drink for several more days and, when this has been used up, die of enervation (Marquis de Wavrin, 1944, pp. 197/98).

members destined for death are thus dispatched into the other world in an altogether humane manner, and even the killing itself is dictated by humane impulses. Since these old and sick persons can, of course, no longer take part in the customary seminomadic way of life, they would be obliged to remain helplessly behind when the tribe sets out on a new migration. This is to be prevented, however, /73/ and at the same time it is desired that the way to the moon, the paradise of the dead, be opened for them. After their death, they are cremated in the same way as all other deceased persons, that is to say, in the case of old people only the head is burned, and their ashes, too, are preserved and drunk at the festival in memory of the dead.

888
766

775 Greater than the fear of death among all Surára and Pakidái is the thought that they might one day die without being cremated, for example, during military actions, for then the entrance into the moon is barred for their soul (see p. 198).

766
[684]
[184] Persons who commit incest are excluded from cremation after their demise, and they are not mourned, for incest is regarded as the greatest crime. Poré (see p. 197) does not want their souls on the moon, and partaking of their bone ashes would exert unfavorable influences on the male members of the tribe. They are therefore tied up in a squatting position and buried in a hole in the ground.

766
858
774 If children die before the completion of the third year of life, they are thrown into the river without any ceremony, since they belong to the flesh and blood of the mother and do not yet have their own soul (see p. 138).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

minutes later the two women were quietly walking home with the baby, who appeared to be dead.

While the mother goes about her normal tasks, with the child tied on her back all the time, the father stays in the hammock, absolutely motionless, eating nothing but fruit and palm-hearts—'they don't heat the blood,' Luis Antonio assured us.

Among the Guiana-Amazon Indians I have never heard of the father himself suffering from birth-pangs during this period of rest. Such reports, however, have come from travellers and observers of the Indian tribes inhabiting the southern regions of the lower Amazon. Before one can believe them one must accept a little more than the theory of the inter-relation of cause and effect. A good dose of barefaced auto-suggestion would also be needed to account for this phenomenon, and only the most undeveloped of the Indians would be capable of it.

IV

Of kindred interest, while we are on the subject of childbirth, is the organization of Indian society. It has been asked whether the pattern is patriarchal or matriarchal, and what part is played by the individual family.

If the question is limited to the Shirians, the answer is simple: they have reached no stage of organization above the rudimentary animal level. The family has the sole function of producing life and protecting it until the offspring is capable of fending for itself. Their society is not patriarchal, because the role of the family ceases where its physical functions cease, at the point where, in civilized societies, moral functions begin. Nor is the pattern matriarchal, because the women are held in a form of slavery, though the very lack of an exact social system means that they sometimes emerge from this to become the companions of the men—a state of affairs which may be regarded as more emancipated, or less.

The children of both sexes, while they are young, remain the exclusive responsibility of the women, but when the boys reach an age at which they can do without their mothers (this generally means as soon as they cease to be breast-fed) they become independent males and do not belong to anybody in particular. Up to a certain point the father is free to pick out one who may be

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

especially strong and intelligent, and keep him at his side, adopting him, as it were, as his successor. The little girls continue to live in the feminine world of their tribe. Shy and submissive, they take on the humblest tasks, fetching water, making the fire and helping in the preparation—highly problematical—of food.

Such definitions of customs have, however, only a relative value, like any attempt to estimate the Shirian way of life: for Shirians are to be found spread over wild territory of vast extent. Their customs are less well defined than one might suppose after reading certain tracts about primitive peoples—the Pacific islanders, for instance. These give the impression that with slight formal changes only, Western culture might have much to learn from the degree of social organization they have attained to. The Shirian tribes, cut off from one another as they are by physical barriers such as mountains and rivers, and moral barriers like the ceaseless state of war which exists between the various branches of this race of 'howling Indians', have developed their own customs in their own sporadic fashion. Sometimes they have been weakened by contact with foreigners, such as the Makiritari in the north-west and the Makushi in the east. More often they have been weakened by a lack of strong traditions, which do not spring easily from such an excessively low level of culture, where mere survival calls for an unending struggle against the tremendous power of the eternally hostile forest.

The most primitive races are those most affected by their geographical setting. Their environment conditions them. Only by adapting themselves continually to their surroundings, only by the long process of response to the determining factor of geography, can they create that growing racial identity which at last succeeds in reversing the process—that is, in conditioning the surroundings instead of being conditioned by them. But we are here touching on the larger question of the development of civilization generally.

Where the Shirians are concerned, we are still at the beginning of the beginning, when geography is the absolute determining factor. Here environment is the master of man—a creature inferior, qualitatively and quantitatively, to the region which it is his fate to inhabit.

The territory they occupy is immense. Divided though it may be by great cordilleras, which make it the breeding ground for various rivers rushing north, west and south, it possesses one marked characteristic throughout its whole extent: the sources and the headwaters of the rivers are contained in a sort of

774 I, in effect, was capturing the *noruhi* of the child: A photograph was called *noruhi*.[13]
825 Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed
177 having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them
123 back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no ubudibö*, the part
126 of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *noruhi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

766 TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After
[889] several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced
[63] when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on
[783] contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

764 Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones
[783] are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and
[562] women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe
[858] carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter.
[239] For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the
[531] circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment.
[562] The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a
[531] long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and
[266] sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

769 About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with
266 boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of cere-
[926] monies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[13]Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

[969]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by caustically accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

562 721 [855]

CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kaobawä, for example, lets Ariwari beat him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwari is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flash of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

858 865 [593]

Fig. 3-7. Ariwari, Kaobawä's favorite son, building a make-believe house while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.

142 302 857 137

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobïmou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*no*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

most common way for a child's soul to escape is to leave by way of the mouth when the child cries. Thus, mothers are quick to hush a bawling baby in order to prevent its soul from escaping. The child's soul can be recovered by sweeping the ground in the vicinity where it most probably escaped, calling for it while sweeping the area with a particular kind of branch. I once helped gather up the soul of a sick child in this fashion, luring it back into the sick baby. One of the contributions I made, in addition to helping with the calling and sweeping, was a dose of medicine for the child's diarrhea. A consequence of this set of attitudes about the vulnerability of children is that much of the village's activity with respect to shamanism and curing is directed toward the children.

RELATIVES BY BLOOD AND BY MARRIAGE Many forms of interpersonal behavior stem largely from the social roles implied in the kinship system. To be sure, some kinship behavior reflects the two distinctions of age and sex discussed above, for the terminology of kinship itself employs discriminations of this kind. For example, there are terms to distinguish older siblings from younger siblings and terms used by members of one sex only in reference to those of the opposite sex.

The relationship between kinship terms and biological parentage is not the same in the Yąnomamö language as it is in our own. As was shown in the first section of this chapter, people may stand in a child relationship to a number of individuals; that is, it is possible to have multiple "mothers" and "fathers" in Yąnomamö society. The term for mother and father conveys as much of a social as a biological relationship between individuals, and in the daily activities of the Yąnomamö it is the social implications of kinship roles that are most important.

What is implied in the kinship roles can best be seen in the way the kinship terms themselves are formed. All primary kinship terms take the ending *"-mou"* when used to describe the relationship between individuals. Thus, *osheya* means "my younger sibling," but *oshemou* means that individual X *behaves* toward individual Y *as a younger sibling*. This ending, *-mou*, also occurs in nonkinship usage to express "a way of behaving," "to execute a particular activity in a specified manner," or "to perform the activity that is implied by the word to which *-mou* is affixed." For example, *oko* means fresh-water crab and *okomou* means "to go hunting for crabs"; *bowabi* means "a mischievous white monkey" and *bowabimou* means "to act mischievously, to monkey around"; *nowa naha* means "enemy," and *nowa nahamou* means "to become an enemy by behaving objectionably"; *waiteri* means "fierce" and *waiterimou* means "to behave ferociously."

Whenever I would ask the Yąnomamö a question such as, "What do you call Kąobawä?" the answers would always be in the form of a kinship term to which *"-mou"* was affixed, but rarely in the form "I say such-and-such to him." Calling an individual by a specific term is, however, implied in the "way of behaving" toward that individual. But despite the fact that the Yąnomamö can say, literally, "I call him father" (*kama kä iha, haya ya kuu*), they invariably say *"ya hąimou"*—"I behave toward him as a child."[20] Thus, they express their relationships to others in terms of *ways of behavior*. Each kinship category implies a set of these behavioral norms, and one's social life in the community is established with respect to all other individuals by the kinship terminology employed in each particular case.

[20]Although the word *hąi* translates literally as "father," the expression *ya hąimou* can best be understood with the translation given above.

/66 cont./

600 and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women
841 do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during these days, and, if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the bank of the nearby river or brook.

i) Initiation rites for young men

884 All young men who have reached the age of approximately
132 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December, halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and cele-
884 brate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an inter-
86 mediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate camp of the Surára, see p. 23) two young men are always trained for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemãõ and his brother Kurikayawõ among the Surára; Karenauõ and the war chief Porẽhiwõ among the Pakidái) in all matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only after that are they regarded as full members of their community and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers. It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite
[282] melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and plant spirits (hekurá, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clear-
[276] ing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices, however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication (see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead
884 and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely ex-
302 ternally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting,
825 which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú
86 on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representation of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
825 emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[182] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

/68 cont./

755 884 86 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemão would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 171 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 884 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be sure, but mandatory.

834 833 j) Sex life

The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 837 [593] If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

/210 cont./

594 family exists as a definite cell in that tribe, assuming all the
624 functions and all the specific responsibilities of that social entity. Thus, there exists the formal arrangement of marriage, which sanctions sexual contact between the spouses and guarantees procreation. There exists economic co-operation among the members of the nuclear family, which organizes work and apportions the necessary subsistance and, in this way, injects persistence in the family's living together. There are practically no tasks which exceed the capacity of the nuclear family and the children learn the way of life directly from their parents and elders.

[86]

594 The most visible center of the nuclear family is the fire
354 around which they eat and sleep. From here they go out to their work and, upon their return, reassemble at the fireside. After a long trip, the man takes the small sticks from his quiver and makes a fire; there is a new fire; a new home is established.

596 Each individual Sanemá belongs also to an extended family
621 made up according to the residence rules already explained. The local group /211/ consists of two or more of these extended families of the same bilateral kinsfolk and form /sic/ a band. This local group or band is the largest social unit to which a Sanemá belongs. The terms "subtribe" and "tribe" which we use are artificial terms lacking in real meaning for the Sanemá. But the band is definitely a familiar concept for him, one which he knows very well and with which he identifies. The band guarantees economic and social stability, and its well-being benefits the individual member, who feels tied to it by a multitude of family ties.

[619]

621 Each local group has innumerable enemies, while the circle
628 of friends is extremely small. Contact between all of one group with a neighboring group is rare, but does sometimes occur. They sometimes get together for commercial reasons or at funeral ceremonies, but their friendship is weak and unstable.

601 We were unable, for lack of an informant, to obtain a list of
582 kinship terms. Our impression is that a Hawaiian system is involved.
000 One may not marry a female cross or parallel cousin. There are

/65 cont./

000 children (see pp. 64 ff.). A thin cord of cotton or plant fibers,
301 which is occasionally worn below the knees, is supposed to
856 strengthen the legs, and corresponding upper-arm cords, the muscles (in the case of boys) and the arms (in the case of girls). Moreover, small girls wear strings crossed over their chests so that they will have well-shaped breasts later on.

f) Childhood

593 Even in boyhood and girlhood the family bears the chief
857 responsibility for all educational measures. The boy, to be sure, is now drawn to the father somewhat more and gradually begins to free himself from his mother. With his bow, which his father has made for him, he daily practices shooting small birds, for it is believed that a boy who kills many birds will later become a good hunter. They are cleaned and prepared by the girls, however, and together the children then have a meal, to which the girls often contribute cooked bananas or manioc flat-cakes. In play the children are properly prepared for their future duties and responsibilities as adults. Thus, the girls occasionally also help their mothers and fetch their water or wood, or they assume the care of their younger siblings.

861 The modest, thoughtful nature of these Indian children
[157] should be emphasized. Yet they are never beaten and they never hear a harsh word either from their parents or from other adults. Gentle admonishment suffices to reprove a child if it is really
857 naughty on occasion. Even in their play, however, there are
152 seldom such quarrels as are so frequent among civilized children. It would be quite unthinkable, for example, for a Surára or Pakidái child to run to its mother in order to complain about a playmate.

524 Boys and girls grow up together quite naturally and without constraint, as is shown by the fact that group games are preferred to solitary games. A great favorite, among others, is a game of ball which they play with a monkey bladder. It is batted upward with the palm of the hand (see also p. 246). They also play a sort of tug-of-war with lianas (see p.244). Moreover, the boys
[868] often imitate the dances of the men, while the girls are very fond of string games. It is especially popular to play "mother and

/62 cont./

4. Life Cycle

842 a) Birth control

862 [163] [165] The number of children among both the Surára and the Pakidái is very small; no woman has more than three at most. Aside from the high infant mortality rate as a result of the lack of hygiene, however, this is bound up with the fact that the women must observe an interval of at least three years after each birth, as long as a child is fed with mother's milk, which, in the opinion of these Indians, prevents conception to a considerable extent. If a woman nevertheless becomes pregnant, the medicine men know how to prepare an abortive medicine from plant juices. The reason for birth control, I was told, is that if a child were born during the period of restriction, it would not be healthy and able to cope with life, because the mother's body would still be too weak.

842 847

843 b) Food taboos during pregnancy

Before the birth the mother must observe many food taboos in order not to harm her child. Her diet then consists primarily of the tender meat of the mutum (Crax sp.), cooked bananas, manioc flat-cakes, and a drink that is made from the nourishing, very oily pupunha fruits. If she were to eat wild-pig meat, for example, the child would be born dead; the meat of the pirarucu (Osteoglossidae, the largest fresh-water fish), which carries inside it the bad breath of the river, would make it blind, and parrot meat would make it cry constantly later on.

844 c) Birth

While giving birth, the woman kneels in front of a tree and embraces the trunk with both arms. The ground has been sprinkled with water beforehand so that it is slimy and soft. Several female members of the tribe assist the woman in labor. After the birth, two women, each with a cotton thread, tie off the umbilical cord, and a third one then bites it off. The father

854 514 [123] /64 cont./ If the child's nose is not clean, the mother carefully takes it between her teeth, presses its contents into her mouth, and spits them out. The women found it most unhygienic that I blew my nose into a handkerchief and carried it with me.

856 593 The little Surára and Pakidái learn to walk and talk at the same age as the children of civilization, and they are aided by their parents, siblings, and relatives. The pleasure of the relatives is great and they are overjoyed when the child is able to stand and walk and babble its first words, nápe=mother and hápe=father.

862 e) Name-giving

After the completion of the third year, a new, important period of life begins. The nursing period is ended, and the child, [851] which hitherto belonged to the flesh and blood of the mother (325b), has become an independent human being.

851 846 114 171 842 325b. This idea is very unusual for South American Indians. It should be remembered, however, that among most of the tribes the so-called couvade, the men's childbed, is practiced. Karl von den Steinen, who has examined the psychological basis of this custom, says that in this case the child, whether it be a boy or girl, is "the little father," so to speak, a part of the father, that is, a bit of his body. (K. von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 334 ff.) "The activity of the mother in this connection is compared to that of the soil, which receives the seed." (von Spix and von Martius, 1831, p. 1339.)

000 553 776 [782] has become an independent human being. Now it is also given a name, which is taken from the animal or vegetable kingdom. The name is given to the father, when he offers his prayers in snuff-powder intoxication, by the gigantic animal and plant spirits living on

/451 cont./

251 The Guaika /Waica/ do not keep reserves of food. All of their foods are cooked fresh or at least within a period of two weeks from the time they are ready. Therefore, in case their conucos have a scarcity of produce, they must go to live in the forest, gathering seeds, fruits, and roots, and devoting more [628] time than usual to hunting and fishing. When another settlement has an abundance of food in a time of scarcity, it would be very fortunate to be able to live completely from this settlement instead of having to subsist from the forest.

Consumption of Food

263 No salt is consumed as such, that is, as salt properly speak- [824] ing. They eat wood ashes, especially the ashes of a tree called "kololi." The ashes may be eaten as they are or with hot water poured over them to obtain a tasty liquid. To this liquid, called "ubu," is added strong peppers. Platanos and other foods are dipped in the resulting sauce to flavor and ingest them.

261 Clay is also dried and eaten, especially the clay from certain nests of insects.

• [862] No child may be weaned until it has learned to eat the said ashes and clay.

Earth and clean dust are also eaten. They are considered clean if they are taken from a place where a fire has recently burned, from a river bed, or from a bare spot or bank of sand which the sun has been able to purify.

264 Their hours for eating are as follows: Breakfast is taken shortly after sunrise, and the second turn when they come back from work in their "conucos," generally at some time near mid- /452/ day. They eat again near sunset. This schedule varies, being adjusted for hunting trips, moving from the settlement, etc. They eat quite a lot between meals, especially wild fruits and bananas and ripe platanos.

TABLE 3-3
SEX-RATIO DATA ON SELECTED VILLAGES

	Males	Females	Totals
Upper Bisaasi-teri	37	48	85
Lower Bisaasi-teri	25	26	51
Monou-teri	34	32	66
Reyaboböwei-teri	52	46	98
Mõmariböwei-teri	50	46	96
Patanowä-teri	122	90	212
Aikam-teri and Roko-teri	129	103	232
	449	391	840

Table 3-3 gives sex-ratio data on seven groups of Yąnomamö. The first three villages are not truly representative of the population in general, but are included because they have been frequently discussed in the text.

They are not representative because some 15 men from these villages were killed in a single treacherous feast in 1950, a significant fraction of the adult male population. These feasts are not very frequent. The three groups are allied to each other and have been extremely successful at coercing two neighboring Shamatari villages out of women; a surprisingly high proportion of their women come from these allies. As we shall see, they have been successful because of the geographical and historical relationships that characterize the alliance network in this area.

DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS As is apparent, there are more males in the Yąnomamö population than females. This demographic fact results from the practice of selectively killing female babies: *female infanticide*. The Yąnomamö also practice male infanticide, but because of the preference to have a male as their first child, they unknowingly kill more females than males. The Yąnomamö have only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. They are, accordingly, poor statisticians. They are quite unaware of the fact that they do kill more female babies, and every time I questioned them about it, they insisted that they killed both kinds—"more-than-two" of both kinds.

A child is killed at birth, irrespective of its sex, if the mother already has a nursing baby. They rationalize the practice by asserting that the new infant would probably die anyway, since its older sibling would drink most of the milk. They are most reluctant to jeopardize the health and safety of a nursing child by weaning it before it is three years old or so, preferring to kill the competitor instead. Kąobawä's wife, Bahimi, killed a newborn male shortly after I began my fieldwork. She later told me, quite tearfully, that it would have taken milk away from Ariwari, Kąobawä's favorite child. Ariwari at the time was over two years old, but Bahimi refused to wean him. Sometimes a child is killed simply because the mother doesn't feel that she can care for it properly and that it would be an inconvenience to have to tend a baby. I once saw a plump, well-fed, young mother eating a large quantity of food that would have been suitable to give to an older infant. Her emaciated, filthy, and nearly starved child—about two years old—kept reaching out for the food. The mother explained that the baby had gotten a bad case of diarrhea some time ago and had stopped eating. As a consequence, her milk dried up. She refused to attempt to feed it other foods because "it did not know how to eat other foods." When

524 /65 cont./
524 child" or "married couple." In the latter game sexual activity
524 is already often involved. As long as the children have not yet
● 864 reached puberty, the adults laugh about it. It is only the mothers of girls who are a little annoyed when they hear about it. They do not regard it as tragic, however, since they themselves were reprimanded about it by their mothers when they were little girls.

/66/
582 g) Marriage

At the age of 7-8 a girl as a rule has already been given in
585 marriage. The husband is usually 8-10 years older. They do not as yet lead a regular married life, however. During the day the little girl plays with other children, and only at night does she sleep
[833] in her hammock beside her husband. Sexual intercourse, however,
[593] is strictly forbidden until after the second menstruation. She also fetches firewood and water and receives prepared food for herself
[484] and her husband from her family. When the tribe is on the march, she carries the hammock of her spouse and the few household articles. Economic reasons are connected with this marriage in childhood, for the young husband must hunt for his little wife and
606 her parents. Especially noteworthy is the reserve toward in-laws which operate in such a way that son-in-law and mother-in-law never
582 speak to each other and may not visit each other. Since the fear of incest is very great in both tribes, a marriage, which is always agreed upon by the parents, may be entered into only by partners who are not related by kinship. For this reason young wives are preferably obtained from a friendly tribe; in this case, however, the young man must live there until his wife has put her second
583 menstruation behind her. Occasionally young girls and women are abducted from hostile tribes. They are first held as captives and prostitutes for some time, however, before a man may finally marry them. I met such a little female captive among the Surára. She came from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí and was approximately 15 or 16 years old.

/472 cont./

574 A visitor who comes to a settlement where only one family is friendly with him can expect a very different reception. He can certainly expect the welcome of his friends, /473/ but the rest of the settlement, rather than applauding him, will shout at him: "Enemy group attacking! Enemy group attacking!" And at the same time they will point at him with their bows and arrows and also point all around as if they were going to fight an attacking enemy group. Quite a chilly reception, to say the least!

• 865 When two lads become angry with each other and fight, each one must be prepared to receive a blow equal to the one which he has given. If one hits the other on the chest with the fist it is expected that the former will present his chest to the latter to receive a like blow, and so forth. The scuffle continues until one of the two considers that he has received enough and refuses to return the blow which he has just received, or until one of the two combatants really gets angry and loses his temper. Then, in general, the others intervene. Frequently, when two boys are fighting, they are encouraged to keep hitting each other until both come to wish that they had never started the fight. The boys quickly learn to be careful not to start a scuffle.

If someone maltreats a lad smaller than he, he can be sure that he will be paid back for it by one of the relatives of the little one or by some spectator.

Marriage and War

584 A matrimonial union can be arranged considerably in advance with the consent of all who are interested. A girl nine years old may already be engaged to some boy.

But more frequently the girl reaches puberty without any arrangement having been made for her future marriage. Then the suitors not only have to solicit the favor of the girl, but also that of the whole settlement where she lives. Frequently it respects the selection made by the girl and rejects the suitors whom she does not want, but the settlement might give her in marriage against her wishes.

11: Chagnon 2-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by caustically accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kaobawä, for example, lets Ariwari beat him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwari is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flash of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

Fig. 3–7. Ariwari, Kaobawä's favorite son, building a male-latine house while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.

/452 cont./

252 Women generally roast the platanos for everyone's breakfast. At noon and in the evening, everyone cooks his own platanos. To a child of seven they might give three green platanos in [846] their skins, telling him: "Here is your dinner." The child then proceeds to cook them.

264 The Guaika /Waica/ in general have abundant food and eat it with pleasure. They do not look kindly upon remains of food being left. Anyone who does not lick his bowl clean after having drunk his soup of platanos is considered a prodigal.

266 765 The mere idea of cannibalism is rejected with horror, although they do eat the pulverized bones of a cremated relative, after having kept them in a hermetically sealed gourd for about six months.

262 They do not eat carnivorous birds and animals, but carnivorous fish, even the caribe (piranha), are eaten with pleasure. Some [252] snakes are eaten, others not. They boil them or else they cook them wrapped in leaves upon the embers.

271 Drink, Drugs, and Excesses

The Guaika /Waica/ take extreme care concerning the water they drink. The supply of water for a settlement must be obtained upstream from all the fords which cross the stream or brook. If a Guaika finds it necessary to drink water in a place below a ford, he makes a hole in the sand of the beach and waits until water which has filtered through it gushes up. The water of the current is considered dirty, just as the water from the hole dug [415] in the beach is clean. Water is transported in gourds by the women for use in the settlement.

273 The Guaika do not prepare any alcoholic beverage.

276 Tobacco leaves are rolled up with ashes and placed in the mouth behind the lower lip. When there is a shortage of tobacco, /453/ they obtain a certain bitter root in the forest, strip the bark from it, and place it behind the lip to diminish the desire for tobacco.

/65 cont./

000 children (see pp. 64 ff.). A thin cord of cotton or plant fibers,
301 which is occasionally worn below the knees, is supposed to
856 strengthen the legs, and corresponding upper-arm cords, the muscles (in the case of boys) and the arms (in the case of girls). Moreover, small girls wear strings crossed over their chests so that they will have well-shaped breasts later on.

f) Childhood

593 Even in boyhood and girlhood the family bears the chief
857 responsibility for all educational measures. The boy, to be sure, is now drawn to the father somewhat more and gradually begins to free himself from his mother. With his bow, which his father has made for him, he daily practices shooting small birds, for it is believed that a boy who kills many birds will later become a good hunter. They are cleaned and prepared by the girls, however, and together the children then have a meal, to which the girls often contribute cooked bananas or manioc flat-cakes. In play the children are properly prepared for their future duties and responsibilities as adults. Thus, the girls occasionally also help their mothers and fetch their water or wood, or they assume the care of their younger siblings.

861 The modest, thoughtful nature of these Indian children
[157] should be emphasized. Yet they are never beaten and they never hear a harsh word either from their parents or from other adults. Gentle admonishment suffices to reprove a child if it is really
857 naughty on occasion. Even in their play, however, there are
152 seldom such quarrels as are so frequent among civilized children. It would be quite unthinkable, for example, for a Surára or Pakidái child to run to its mother in order to complain about a playmate.

524 Boys and girls grow up together quite naturally and without constraint, as is shown by the fact that group games are preferred to solitary games. A great favorite, among others, is a game of ball which they play with a monkey bladder. It is batted upward with the palm of the hand (see also p. 246). They also play a sort of tug-of-war with lianas (see p.244). Moreover, the boys
[868] often imitate the dances of the men, while the girls are very fond of string games. It is especially popular to play "mother and

Surára
Pakidái

/76 cont./

224 relatively infrequently, for the most part only when they stay in the vicinity of a maloka and thus constitute a danger for human
224 beings. Only the meat of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) is
262 eaten. For some hunters, however, pride in killing such animals plays a role, for finishing off a jaguar, especially the black one, gives him greater esteem. -- Snakes, which are very numerous here because of the considerable dampness, are killed with a stick. If a surucucu (Lachesis muta L.) -- pereíma -- (Surára word) -- peléma -- (Pakidái word), the largest and most dangerous poisonous snake of South America, is killed, then the joy is especially great. The head is cut off, and every family gets a piece of the snake's body, which is cooked with other meat. It has an agree-
[151] able taste and reminded me of eel. The Surára and Pakidái also
[825] believe, however, that every person who has eaten the meat of a surucucu will never be bitten by any other poisonous snake. The sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) -- uaikonyá -- and the jibóia-vermelha (Epicrates cenchris) -- oatí -- are also eaten with relish. The jararaca (Lachesis sp.) -- karihirimá --, the papaova (Spilotes sp.) -- karimatá --, and the cobra-coral (Elaps corallinus Wied.) -- huamoxíke --, on the other hand, are never eaten. -- Now and then a cayman (Caiman sclerops Schneid.) -- ihuí -- or a lizard -- xaraimá -- are killed with a stick, and sometimes the hunter, but more often his dog, discovers in the forest a jabuti (Testudo tabulata Woelb.) -- totorí --, whose meat is also very tender and tasty; /77/ it does not come up to that of the water turtle, how-
[225] ever. Yet, of the numerous species which inhabit the Demini, Aracá, and their tributaries, the Surára and Pakidái catch only the peremã -- talmã --, and, to be sure, they seize it in shallow water with their hands.

223 Bird hunting requires special training. That is why even
[868] boys are encouraged to kill as many small birds as possible, so that later on they will be good hunters.

The following birds are most frequently hunted, on account of both their meat and their feathers: mutum (Crax sp.) -- paruí --, urumutum (Crax sp.) -- katará --, mutum cavalo (Mitu mitu L.) -- katauí --, jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.) -- nhapín --, cujubim

/41 cont./

301 as far as Guiana; the Tapuya on the eastern horn of South
171 America remain isolated. The pattern of distribution coincides
301 in essential features with the multiple perforations of the upper
304 lip (these parts also merge into each other very much anatomi-
171 cally) and clearly rests on Andean prototypes" (222). The

222. Menzel, 1957, p. 33.

characteristic mouth-corner rods of the Yanonámi women may well fit into this area of distribution, but not in connection with perforations of the upper /42/ lip, for here instead of the latter, the lower lip is pierced.

304 g) Tattooing

[881] All women and girls have pin-point tattooing over the upper lip, which extends downward on either side of the mouth (Ills. 19 and 24) and is punctured on the girls during the first menstruation (see p. 66) (223). The designation for this among the Surára

[192]

[184]

223. This tattooing is also found among the female Xiriána, Puseheweteri, and Aramamesteri who are married to Surára and Pakidái men. The little captive of the Surára, Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the Karauateri is an exception. She assured me, however, that in her maloka the girls are also tattooed. But she had fallen into the hands of the Surára before her first menstruation, and the tattooing was not put on her here. If later, however, she is married by a Surára man, the pin-point design must subsequently be punctured on her.

is -- uarabakoxik -- and among the Pakidái -- uarabakoxibe. These words are derived from the name for the genipap fruit --
[824] [386] uarabá --, the juice of which is used for puncturing the dots.

/42 cont./

304
171 For the Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruak /Arawak/ women of Guiana, however, a puncture-tattooing in the mouth region is also characteristic, and occasionally one finds it even among male Karaiben. In this case, too, it is regarded as a sign of maturity and usually has a magical significance. The punctured patterns, however, differ entirely from those of the Surára and Pakidái. Among the Makuxí /Macusi/ they consist of numerous short, vertical, parallel lines, and the Arekuná-Taulipang /Arecuna/ prefer dots, dashes, and fishhook patterns (224). The

224. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 45; Pl. 12 (3-16).

latter motifs have also been confirmed for the women of the Wapixana /Wapishana/ (225) (226) and other Aruak tribes in

225. Appun, 1871, p. 523.

226. Farabee, 1918, p. 82, Fig. 9.

British Guiana as well as Surinam (227) (228).

227. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 226.

228. Joest, 1893, p. 83 and Ill. a and b.

304
171 There are also slight differences with regard to the time of tattooing. The Surára and Pakidái carry it out during the first
881 menstruation, the Arekuná-Taulipang and Makuxí, on the other
[184] hand, shortly before the onset of it, and, to be sure, in connection with the ant torture (229).

229. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 128.

Surára
Pakidái

595 /66 cont./

The Surára chief has two wives, a third one died, and the Pakidái chief, who is still comparatively young, has one. Various other men also have two or more wives. If the husband dies, these women, without being able to decide for themselves, are taken on, along with their children, by one of his brothers, the younger one as a rule, even if he is already married.

587

835 Bachelors have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers, and thus the children of these women do not call them uncle, but likewise father.

• 881 h) Puberty rites for girls

At nine to ten years old, the Surára and Pakidái children have already reached maturity, which is probably related to the fact that these Indians live in the hot, humid rain forests of the equatorial zone. There are no initiation rites for boys. A girl, [302] on the other hand, at the onset of her first period, is kept isolated in a circular pen 3-4 meters in diameter, which is erected a short distance from the maloka; her entire body is painted with urucú, a red plant pigment. Here the little one must sit motionless and receives only once a day from her mother a calabash of banana soup and a second one of water. In the evening she is brought into the communal house, so that she can lie down to sleep there, but neither parents and siblings nor other members of the tribe may 881 speak to her. The next morning she is put back in the pen. During 304 the second day her mother or another woman applies a pinpoint tattoo above her upper lip, which extends downward on either [413] side of the mouth to the chin. The tattooing instrument is a [824] pointed thorn of the pupunha palm. This is dipped into the dirty- [386] gray juice of the genipap fruit, which, after the skin is punctured, leaves a dark blue dot. This procedure is extremely painful for the [147] little girls. Yet they bear it with passive faces, suppress their tears, and do not utter a sound. With this tattooing, all the evil, mysterious forces which are in the menstrual blood, and which might bring danger to the husband, are banished for the rest of a woman's life. 881 With the second onset of the period, too, a girl is again isolated, and after that a small celebration takes place.

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill
[621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite
554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us,
769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to
628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder,
[266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablf shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be-
[788] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex-
[574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father,
162 who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition
855 we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

• 881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of
ooo the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

The first menstrual period

/215 cont./

584 881 indicates that a man may have sexual relations with the wife who was promised to him when she was still a child. Sometimes a girl will refuse to marry the man to whom she was promised as a wife, but she is afraid to conceal her first menstrual periods for mythological reasons.

881 773 In their oral literature the Sanemá tell of a very sad case which occurred in remote times because a girl concealed her first menstruation. Oineitĩb, a scrawny dwarf, found out about what had happened and caused heavy rains to fall for a period which demolished the rancheria where the girl lived. All the men died. The young girl went away to live with the neighboring group, where she was greeted with unequivocal signs of friendliness. On the very day of her arrival a man went to the river to fish, when suddenly he saw floating on the water the dead bodies of the people of the rancheria recently destroyed by the heavy rain. He immediately realized what had happened. He returned to the rancheria and killed the girl. The dwarf ate the girl and all the people who lived in the rancheria destroyed by the rain. This happens very rarely, however, which is why the dwarf is so thin.

881 [302] [262] 343 841 881 We do not know the content of the puberty rites, but it seems that the hair is cut in the case of both sexes, and, for the boys as well as for the girls, food is limited to cassava and water, and that in small amounts. They do not eat meat. An informant from the Erebato spoke to us of a special hut where the women remain for the duration of their menstrual period. If we understood him correctly, this hut is round and dome-shaped and made of palm leaves stuck into the ground. Inside the hut there is a circle made of little sticks placed side by side, within which there are two sticks stuck into the ground one meter apart. Between these sticks is fixed a bejuco. /216/ The woman, who must not lie down during menstruation, sits down and the bejuco serves as a back support. We did not see any house of this type.

584 The arrangements for a marriage are initiated with a private discussion between the two young lovers. The boy indicates to his fiancée that he wishes to take her as his wife and says to her:

/216 cont./

584 There are cases in which a brother or a friend of the suitor wishes to serve as intermediary and offers to speak to the father-in-law. The gesture is very well received and highly appreciated.

585 During the first two or three days the young husband remains
583 in the forest /217/ hunting; the woman hangs her hammock near that of her husband in the house of the family of orientation,
[476] that is, where she has always lived. This time having elapsed, the man tries to bring together some twenty friends to help him clear the land for the three conucos requested by his father-in-law. Usually he has no difficulty in finding this help. The father of the boy and his brothers do their best to feed the workers well, and, when the work is done, the young husband offers them as presents arrows, bows, etc. which they refuse to accept. Later, the man begins to clear some conucos for his own family.

584 Our informant from the upper Caura insisted that, once con-
627 sent has been obtained, delivery is definite and the girl cannot then accept any other young man. In order to give us an example, he told us what had happened to a man of his group.

A girl had accepted him as a husband, but, because of unforeseen circumstances, he had not had time to talk to the father-in-law. Then the girl surrendered to another young man and married him. The father-in-law knew nothing about the first offer. One day the people of the pueblo found the young couple in their hammock pierced by two arrows poisoned with curare. The murderer informed the father-in-law and the inhabitants of the rancheria of the motive which had caused him to perpetrate the crime. Neither the father-in-law nor the people intervened in the matter, for, according to them, the young lover was right in punishing the two who had deceived him in this way.

584 Sometimes parents marry off their children before they
595 reach maturity. Some men also take a second wife when she is
881 still underage, but they respect them and have no sexual contact with them until after the first menstrual periods have passed.

844 /489 cont./
123 They also invited us to do this, but, not knowing the meaning of the practice, we declined to do so.

846 After this, the mother took the little creature and went off to her house. There she rested for two or three days before resuming her work in the "conuco."

844 Later, another child was born at night. We were not there, but we were informed that it had been born in the house, to which green leaves were brought for the birth.

Puberty

• 881 To reach puberty is an important event, especially for the girls. It is considered that the girl has reached puberty at her first menstruation. Her mother, older sister, or another woman who might be her guardian gathers leaves and builds a wall around her hammock to isolate her from everything. For approximately one week, the girl never leaves this area. Her mother brings her food, water, firewood, and any other things which might be needed.

At the end of this retirement, the girl comes out, adorned with flowers, leaves, cotton belts, strings of beads, and feathers.

Maturity

885 A man is considered mature when he has marriageable chil-
122 dren. The head of a settlement is frequently a grandfather, but sometimes the settlement may be governed by a somewhat younger man.

Old Age

888 Retirement from active life is somewhat gradual, depending upon the strength of the individual.

Old persons are respected, but they are no longer leaders in the affairs of the settlement. They are cared for even when they are no longer capable of contributing to their own support. /Plates I-V follow./

segments or fibres from the seje palm leaf are worn through the ear lobes. Small sticks are inserted in the lip and nasal peforations, but, as the women get older, these are discarded. Older women wear only single strings around the wrists, ankles, knees, and upper torso, or, like the children, nothing at all.

Other than the social feasts held during the dry season, ceremonies are limited to female puberty rites, purification rites for men who have killed other men in raids, a vision-quest rite to induct shamans, and mortuary feasts during which the pulverized bones of the dead are consumed in a soup made from boiled ripe plantains.

The puberty rite for females and the purification rite for killers are almost identical. The initiate is confined to quarters that are covered over with a specific kind of palm leaf, the cotton garments and cotton possessions belonging to the initiate are discarded and replaced with new ones, special sticks are used to scratch the body and to pick up food, and straws are used to drink water. The shedding of blood, of considerable mythological importance to the Yanomamö in validating their ferocity and warfare, is ceremonially expressed in two of five rites.

The induction of shamans involves drug-taking, fasting and meditation. The candidate is forbidden to walk anywhere except on a set number of paths in and around the village, and he is distinguished in the village by a staff to

593 important in the organization of village life as ties between
621 male agnates, but a man's sisters prefer to stay in his faction when the village splits.

593 Males consider their role as sister's protector with
601 some seriousness, and are prompt to defend her against sever mistreatment. The amity between siblings of the opposite sex is reflected in kinship usage. A man will frequently refer to his sister, despite her age, as owasimi, a term that may be translated as 'darling little female relative.' The term is used by both sexes to refer to their female children, nieces, sisters, daughters and granddaughters. There is a corresponding term for younger male kinsmen, owasiwi, but a man never uses it to refer to post-pubescent brothers, with whom he is generally reserved and whom he treats with coolness.

593 Brothers are close to each other, in an affective
561 sense, only when their relative ages are considerably different. A man is indulgent to very young brothers, but as they enter into manhood, behavior toward them changes gradually
281 to reserve and respect. Although there is no rite de passage
[281] for males, one can tell when a boy is approaching manhood; the first indication is the young man's display of anger when someone uses his name. The surest indication that a boy has entered manhood is name avoidance; when no one dares use his name in reference or address, the boy is an adult. Young men tend to be touchy and impulsive, as they are obliged to demonstrate their manhood by their ability to coerce others with threats of fierceness, and the use of

111 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kaobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobimou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*ro*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kaobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kaobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hakuru*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

in terms of women ceded to them by the Shamatari, that they maintain over their Shamatari allies.

The sex ratio data give a rough idea, then, of the extent of female infanticide and, in addition, reflect the political relationships of the villages to each other in terms of the flow of women. Other demographic data, however, suggest that the practice of female infanticide is even higher than the sex ratios alone indicate. Table 2 gives the stated cause of death of 240 adult individuals. These individuals are related to the living members of the three villages of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, and Patanowë-tedi. It is immediately apparent that more men die in warfare than women,[1] implying that the frequency of female infanticide is substantially higher than the 8% suggested by sex ratio data.

There are several ways the Yanomamö remedy their woman shortage. Young bachelors, for example, practice sodomy (bei kë bosi kuwemou, bei kë bosi waumou) with each other. These relationships develop into a 'buddy' system (kawë) and promote ties of friendship that extend into adult life. Some of my informants confidentially told me that particular young men had been known to copulate with dogs in estrus, but this was regarded with contempt by all who knew about it. Homosexuality, however, was not considered despicable, but it was thought to be infantile. Most of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61?]

[1] Twenty-two per cent (31/138) of all male deaths were due to warfare, while only 6% (6/102) of female deaths were due to this cause.

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
843 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[564] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[578] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[41] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[554] measure of his sexual prowess.

573 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mõmaribõwei-tedi
732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwë. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwë), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

/66 cont./

000 and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women
841 do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during these days, and, if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the bank of the nearby river or brook.

i) Initiation rites for young men

● 884 All young men who have reached the age of approximately
132 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December, halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and cele-
884 brate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an inter-
8C mediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate camp of the Surára, see p. 23) two young men are always trained for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemãõ and his brother Kurikayawõ among the Surára; Karenauõ and the war chief Porêhiwõ among the Pakidái) in all matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only after that are they regarded as full members of their community and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers. It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite
[782] melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and plant spirits (hekurá, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clear-
[276] ing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices, however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication (see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead
884 and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely ex-
302 ternally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting,
825 which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú
8C on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representation of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

Surára
Pakidái

884 /67 cont./
86 poisonous snake of South America, which is over three meters
[302] long. The painting is supposed to help to banish the dangers that
825 emanate from this and other poisonous snakes. As daily nourish-
[262] ment the two candidates may take only a ripe banana and half a
liter of water. After two months they are very thin and appear to
[276] be nothing but skin and bones. In order to suppress their feeling
of hunger and thirst, they constantly have the roll of tobacco
mixed with water and ashes between their lower or upper lip and
[782] teeth (see p.190). Moreover, they must blow large pinches of
[276] the snuff-powder into each other's noses several times a day in
order to make contact with the gigantic animal and plant spirits --
hekurá. Thus, they pass their training period in a regular trance-
state.

884 It is worth noting that the initiation rites of the male members
756 of the tribe take place comparatively late, and that in this way
776 all the men are gradually trained as medicine-man helpers.
Through this, the Surára chief Hewemão explained to me, they
are able to protect themselves and their families against sickness
and accidents in an emergency. If, for example, a man is
threatened along the way by a poisonous snake or a jaguar, he is
now in a position to banish the danger by calling upon the tutelary
spirits. He must never fail to thank the hekurá after a successful
hunting expedition or a good harvest, however, for otherwise he
755 would incur their anger. Even when his wife, one of his children,
[753] or a relative falls ill, he himself must first try, by means of song
and dance in which he addresses the hekurá, to hurl the sickness
back to the hostile tribe from which it was sent. Only if his efforts
remain unsuccessful may he appeal for the aid of the chief, who
is always willing and, with the help of 8-9 assistants, carries out a
great rekurá (cure). Thus, during the day /68/ or at night among
the Surára and Pakidái one frequently sees one man, or often even
several men, praying or attempting to cure a member of the
[276] family. Before that, however, they must take snuff-powder because
contact with the hekurá can be made only in a state of intoxica-
[533] tion. The songs are somewhat monotonous and are combined with
animal sounds, animal movements, such as the beating of wings,
hopping, etc.

/68 cont./

755 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention
884 to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and
86 their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemão would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar
171 form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be
884 sure, but mandatory.

834 j) Sex life
833 The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together
837 frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, [593] however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

593 +621 important in the organization of village life as ties between male agnates, but a man's sisters prefer to stay in his faction when the village splits.

593 601 Males consider their role as sister's protector with some seriousness, and are prompt to defend her against sever mistreatment. The amity between siblings of the opposite sex is reflected in kinship usage. A man will frequently refer to his sister, despite her age, as owasimi, a term that may be translated as 'darling little female relative.' The term is used by both sexes to refer to their female children, nieces, sisters, daughters and granddaughters. There is a corresponding term for younger male kinsmen, owasiwë, but a man never uses it to refer to post-pubescent brothers, with whom he is generally reserved and whom he treats with coolness.

593 561 Brothers are close to each other, in an affective sense, only when their relative ages are considerably different. A man is indulgent to very young brothers, but as they enter into manhood, behavior toward them changes gradually to reserve and respect. Although there is no rite de passage for males, one can tell when a boy is approaching manhood; the first indication is the young man's display of anger when someone uses his name. The surest indication that a boy has entered manhood is name avoidance; when no one dares use his name in reference or address, the boy is an adult. Young men tend to be touchy and impulsive, as they are obliged to demonstrate their manhood by their ability to coerce others with threats of fierceness, and the use of

884 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

593 621 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yąnomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [583] [595] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

*621 602 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed *[628] as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be effectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other *621 613 602 591 [622] villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kąobawä of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were

[1] See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobïmou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*reo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hakuru*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

844 123 /489 cont./ They also invited us to do this, but, not knowing the meaning of the practice, we declined to do so.

846 After this, the mother took the little creature and went off to her house. There she rested for two or three days before resuming her work in the "comico."

844 Later, another child was born at night. We were not there, but we were informed that it had been born in the house, to which green leaves were brought for the birth.

Puberty

881 To reach puberty is an important event, especially for the girls. It is considered that the girl has reached puberty at her first menstruation. Her mother, older sister, or another woman who might be her guardian gathers leaves and builds a wall around her hammock to isolate her from everything. For approximately one week, the girl never leaves this area. Her mother brings her food, water, firewood, and any other things which might be needed.

At the end of this retirement, the girl comes out, adorned with flowers, leaves, cotton belts, strings of beads, and feathers.

Maturity

• 885 622 A man is considered mature when he has marriageable children. The head of a settlement is frequently a grandfather, but sometimes the settlement may be governed by a somewhat younger man.

Old Age

888 Retirement from active life is somewhat gradual, depending upon the strength of the individual.

Old persons are respected, but they are no longer leaders in the affairs of the settlement. They are cared for even when they are no longer capable of contributing to their own support. /Plates I-V follow./

I, in effect, was capturing the *nowahi* of the child: A photograph was called *nowahi*.[19] Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no ahoahi*, the part of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *nowahi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yanomamö fear the smoke that is produced when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not like a chance on contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter. For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment. The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of ceremonies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

---

[19]Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsman, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

766 The ceremony for an old person is entirely different. After death has set in, his head is chopped off and is hung, likewise in a little wooden rack, in the crown of a tree, again 15 or 20 minutes away from the maloka. The body, however, is buried in the ground in the jungle without ceremony, and, to be sure, in a squatting position, bound tightly with lianas. This is supposed to prevent its possible return, for it would have dire consequences for the tribe. The head, however, is burned on a small pyre, under [975] the same circumstances as described above, so that the soul may reach the moon in the ascending smoke; the remaining bone ashes are also kept.

769 The reason for the different obsequies for younger and older
● 888 persons is the following: At the big annual ceremony in memory
266 of the dead, which is held jointly with the Surára (see pp. 222 ff.), all the men drink the bone ashes of their deceased relatives, mixed with banana soup, because they believe that in this way the vigor and spirit of the dead remain within the tribes. In the case of old people, however, it is assumed that their bodies are already too leached out for their ashes to be able to transmit strength any more. Only the bone ashes of the head are still regarded as valuable.

888 If members of the tribe are very old or so seriously ill that, in spite of all efforts to cure them, they are no longer able to take part in the joint migrations, they are killed. For this purpose there takes place beforehand a gathering of the chief and older, more experienced men, at which they choose a participant who has to perform the killing. He uses a stick for this and, while the person in question is asleep, beats him hard on the head several times, until he has breathed his last (333). These tribal

[971]

333. Old and sick people are killed in similar manner among the Ipurina. "Moribund persons," writes Ehrenreich, "are said to be dispatched to the other world not infrequently by sorcerers by means of club-blows" (Ehrenreich, 1891,

Surára
Pakidái

/72 cont./

888
[191]

333. (cont.)
p. 70). Among the Piaroa Indians very weak old people are walled up alive in a cave. They are given food and drink for several more days and, when this has been used up, die of enervation (Marquis de Wavrin, 1944, pp. 197/98).

members destined for death are thus dispatched into the other world in an altogether humane manner, and even the killing itself is dictated by humane impulses. Since these old and sick persons can, of course, no longer take part in the customary seminomadic way of life, they would be obliged to remain helplessly behind when the tribe sets out on a new migration. This is to be prevented, however, /73/ and at the same time it is desired that the way to the moon, the paradise of the dead, be opened for them. After their death, they are cremated in the same way as all other deceased persons, that is to say, in the case of old people only the head is burned, and their ashes, too, are preserved and drunk at the festival in memory of the dead.

888
766

775 Greater than the fear of death among all Surára and Pakidái is the thought that they might one day die without being cremated, for example, during military actions, for then the entrance into the moon is barred for their soul (see p. 198).

766
[684]
[184]

Persons who commit incest are excluded from cremation after their demise, and they are not mourned, for incest is regarded as the greatest crime. Poré (see p. 197) does not want their souls on the moon, and partaking of their bone ashes would exert unfavorable influences on the male members of the tribe. They are therefore tied up in a squatting position and buried in a hole in the ground.

766
858
774

If children die before the completion of the third year of life, they are thrown into the river without any ceremony, since they belong to the flesh and blood of the mother and do not yet have their own soul (see p. 138).

/116 cont./

593 he soon loses all desire for further mistreatment. The other members of the tribe watch such a spectacle with interest. Moreover, it is worth noting that most of the women are very energetic and can scold with persistence. If a woman is angry with her husband, perhaps because he was unfaithful or did not go hunting, she will often scold loudly to herself for hours, so that all the other occupants of the maloka hear every word. [592] Meanwhile, however, the man being scolded remains lying in hammock in stoic calm, for a scolding woman may never be 598 interrupted. But between women, too, there are sometimes regular cannonades of vituperation carried on with the greatest vocal display. I always had the impression that at any moment they would come to blows. Sometimes this actually happens. Then they pull one another by the hair and strike each other in the face and on the rest of the body with the hands. /117/ In this case, other women do not interfere, nor do the men. Everybody watches calmly and waits until the scuffle is over.

855 Children are treated with special love and tenderness. In most cases, they show their gratitude to their parents by bestowing upon them everlasting affection. I never saw old people neglected (559). If they became so weak and ill that they were

[171]

559. Baldus also reports of the Tapirapé that the old people are very well treated there (Baldus, 1956, p. 603), whereas later Giacone paints a very gloomy picture in this respect about the Tukano: "Entre os índios dêsses rios, a condição dos velhos é das mais penosas .... Poderiamos dizer, sem medo de errar, que o velho ou a velha, quando não pode mais trabalhar para a família, é considerado como bananeira que já deu cacho, e ninguem terá compaixão deles... /Among the Indians of these rivers the situation of the old people is most painful .... We might say, without fear of error, that the old man or old woman, when

Surára
Pakidái

/117 cont./

888
[171]

559. (cont.)
no longer able to work for the family is regarded like a banana tree that has already produced the fruit, and no one pities them.../" (P. Giacone, 1949, p. 25).

no longer able to take part in the general migrations, however, they were killed, in accordance with the tribal custom (see pp. 153/154).

829
[159]

The friendly, open nature of all Surára and Pakidái is coupled with a very strongly marked self-assurance. Along with their allies, above all the mighty Xiriána, they feel like rulers of the world, which, in their opinion, consists only of virgin forest, mountains, rivers, and lakes. The caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers), the only members of civilization whom they know, are therefore always treated with a certain compassionate condescension by them, for they are of the opinion that all civilized persons, whites, blacks, and mixed, are weak and powerless and owe their lives solely to the benevolent
000 forbearance of the Indians (560). When I told them about cities

[171]

560. Baldus found similar conceptions among tribes of the northeastern Chaco (Baldus, 1931, p. 114), as did Métraux among the Kayapó /Cayapo/. (Herr Prof. Métraux told me this during the meeting of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde in Berlin, 1957.)

123 when I told them about cities
829 in which many white and black people live, of the sea and the big ships sailing on it, they could not grasp this at first and then became very thoughtful. Later, at my departure, they urged me not to travel too far out on the ocean so that I would not fall off the earth-disk (see p. 197).

/118 cont./

153
191

563. (cont.)
Steinen about the Suya on the Xingú, in which he declares that these Indians knew how to use the pencil very well and drew beautiful motifs in his notebook, although he was the first white man they had seen (Karl von den Steinen, 1886, p. 212).

153
[177]
[191]

Younger people are distinguished by a gift for rapid comprehension and an astonishing learning capacity. Although these Indians very rarely come in contact with caboclos, and in most cases only the men, both sexes have at their command a rather large store of Portuguese words and figures of speech. One little
124 Surára boy about nine years old, Jubeauwõ, also called Mandú,
159 who had spent almost two years in the hut of the palm-fiber
[191] gatherer Manuel Antonio Gõmez on the Rio Aracá, had a nearly perfect command of the Portuguese language and performed unique service as my interpreter. I owe it to him alone that I was able to penetrate more deeply into the mental culture of the Surára and Pakidái and put together a complete vocabulary (564).

159
734
752

564. Three years ago the little boy suffered dangerous burns on the abdomen by an upset vessel containing boiling tree resin. Since the chief had given up hope that he would recover, he wanted to have him given the deathblow. The custom of this tribe, as well as that of the Pakidái, decrees that all old and seriously ill persons who are no longer able to take part in the general migrations must be killed (see pp. 153/154). The grandmother of the little boy, who is an orphan took him secretly one night to the hut of the Spanish palm-fiber gatherer,

[888]

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill
[621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite
554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us,
769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to
628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder,
[266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablí shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be-
[888] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex-
[574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father,
162 who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition
855 we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of
~~000~~ the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

844 123 /489 cont./ They also invited us to do this, but, not knowing the meaning of the practice, we declined to do so.

846 After this, the mother took the little creature and went off to her house. There she rested for two or three days before resuming her work in the "conuco."

844 Later, another child was born at night. We were not there, but we were informed that it had been born in the house, to which green leaves were brought for the birth.

Puberty

881 To reach puberty is an important event, especially for the girls. It is considered that the girl has reached puberty at her first menstruation. Her mother, older sister, or another woman who might be her guardian gathers leaves and builds a wall around her hammock to isolate her from everything. For approximately one week, the girl never leaves this area. Her mother brings her food, water, firewood, and any other things which might be needed.

At the end of this retirement, the girl comes out, adorned with flowers, leaves, cotton belts, strings of beads, and feathers.

Maturity

885 622 A man is considered mature when he has marriageable children. The head of a settlement is frequently a grandfather, but sometimes the settlement may be governed by a somewhat younger man.

Old Age

●888 Retirement from active life is somewhat gradual, depending upon the strength of the individual.

Old persons are respected, but they are no longer leaders in the affairs of the settlement. They are cared for even when they are no longer capable of contributing to their own support. /Plates I-V follow./

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

462 935 Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that 838 958 955 older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired 84 443 clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are 462 422 562 made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the 199 manufacture of cassave bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

---

[1]The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.